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**CONTEXTUALISING MĀORI WRITING:
A STUDY OF PROSE FICTION WRITTEN IN ENGLISH BY WITI
IHIMAERA, PATRICIA GRACE, KERI HULME AND ALAN DUFF**

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Frontispiece: Tukutuku Variations (Pownall 99).

ABSTRACT

All prose fiction written in English by Māori is political on one level or another. The authors considered in this thesis, Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme and Alan Duff, choose to identify as Māori, but for each writer exactly what this entails implies something different. The diverse range of Māori characters represented in their work illustrates the heterogeneity of contemporary Māori identity. Whilst bearing in mind that there is no fixed Māori identity, this thesis proposes that all fiction written in English by Māori is motivated by a belief that Māori are a disadvantaged group within New Zealand society.

Three of the four writers, Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme, write against a background of colonisation. Their fiction confronts grievances based on perceived injustices committed against Māori in the past by European colonists and is concerned with the restoration of Māori rights pertaining to land, language, identity and political voice. While all three engage with these issues in their fiction, this thesis specifically considers the way in which Ihimaera treats the theme of land, Grace focuses on issues of education and Hulme explores Māori mythology.

Alan Duff stands apart from the other three writers in his belief that colonisation is not to blame for contemporary Māori disadvantage. Rather, Duff considers the situation to be the result of inherent flaws within Māori society. Through his often didactic writing he proposes that improved Māori socio-economic levels can only be achieved through a radical structural and economic re-evaluation of Māori culture.

This thesis contextualises the work of the four authors and explores the ways in which their fiction engages with historical and contemporary issues of “race relations” and cultural identity in New Zealand. A sociological approach has been applied to the texts. This approach derives from the Māori writers’ own insistent reading of contemporary Māori identity as the product of historical encounter between Māori and Pākehā. The authors work in a dialectical relationship to previous Pākehā representations of Māori in literature, are historically revisionist, and are frequently adversarial.

Despite the differences in personal and political perspectives held by the authors, their fictions share a common goal in their search for Māori pathways to empowerment. This thesis argues that prose fiction written in English by Māori

writers contributes to the political activism of the Māori people and helps to foster an environment in which new perspectives on Māori culture and bicultural relations can be articulated.

PREFACE

In 1996 I wrote a dissertation for my Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in English Literature at the University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, England. I chose to write about three contemporary Māori writers: Hone Tuwhare, Keri Hulme and Patricia Grace. There had not been any New Zealand literature included in the English courses I had taken, although the postcolonial paper I took in my third year incorporated contemporary Indian, African and Native American fiction.

the bone people (1983) was the catalyst to my dissertation research. I was curious about the society and culture represented in the text and saw parallels in the novel's literary techniques (language use, circular structure) with the Native American fiction I had been reading. I decided to write about *the bone people* and this led me to discover the body of fiction referred to as "Māori writing in English". My focus on creative literature guided me to poetry by Hone Tuwhare and short stories and novels by Patricia Grace and Witi Ihimaera.

The dissertation touched on issues of Māori and Pākehā identity politics and gave an overview of New Zealand history. It focused on the creative energy in the texts produced through cultural confrontation and reconciliation. However, the length of the dissertation and the time I had to write it in, limited the depth of the research. I had confronted difficulties obtaining primary and secondary research material, but had been lucky enough to find a supervisor who had recently completed his Doctorate in South Pacific literature.

After completing the dissertation I applied for a Commonwealth Scholarship to continue my study of Māori writing in English, in New Zealand. One of the principal motivations behind the decision to continue studying in this field was the obvious lack of knowledge about New Zealand fiction in English universities. Although this situation is changing, particularly with the focus on Commonwealth literature at Leeds University and the interest in South Pacific literature at the University of Kent in Canterbury, there is still room for expansion. My Doctoral thesis therefore was written, primarily, with an English audience in mind and seeks to provide a more in-depth study than was possible in my dissertation of the context out of which contemporary Māori writing is produced.

I acknowledge my position as an "outsider" to the issues of Māori and Pākehā identity politics discussed in this thesis. This position has, if anything,

enabled me to take an objective perspective on highly emotive subjects (such as land rights, and the “Māori problem”) which have engendered national debate.

This thesis is an exploration of the ways in which the writers negotiate contemporary Māori identity against historical forces that have tried to denigrate, manipulate and appropriate “Māoriness”. The texts studied deal with universal issues of power relations, history, cultural conflict and reconciliation, and human emotions, but are intrinsically concerned with Māori cultural politics. It is this cultural and historical specificity that I have focused on in the thesis because I believe that the changes in the contemporary political climate that the authors campaign for (or against) are intimately connected with the history of race relations between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand.

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Mary Arvidson scanned the pictures in the thesis, which saved me a great deal of time and trouble, and I am extremely grateful for her help.

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INTRODUCTION

Kaupapa Māori

This thesis examines prose fiction by four contemporary Māori writers from a socio-historical point of view. The body of work in focus is frequently referred to by critics and authors alike as Māori writing in English. Such categorisation is problematic in its Eurocentric homogenisation of Māori, its application of racial boundaries (around the author and the content) and its genre inclusiveness. In his entry in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature* Charles Royal usefully expands the concept of Māori writing through his application of the term “Te Ao Hurihuri” to describe the flux and change within this body of work. In a collection of essays on change in the Māori world edited by Michael King in 1992 under the title *Te Ao Hurihuri*, a postscript by King describes the concept as:

a world revolving:
a world that moves forward
to the place it came from;
a wheel that turns
on an axle of strength.

It is possible, then, to identify the axis around which literature by Māori revolves as a kaupapa Māori, a Māori objective or purpose, which is the interpretation and reinterpretation of the world from a Māori perspective. It is this objective which links texts written by Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme, and Alan Duff, and informs all the fiction studied in this thesis under the label of “Māori writing in English”.

The authors considered illustrate that there is not just one pan-Māori perspective on the world but a multitude of perspectives originating from different Māori iwi, hapū, whānau and individuals. The four authors studied have been chosen because of their high profiles and because the work of each writer raises issues relating to contemporary Māori politics of identity which have been discussed in the wider literary and social arenas. Ihimaera and Grace were the first Māori male and first Māori female to publish collections of short stories and novels. Since the early 1970s they have published new texts at a steady rate and have consistently commented on both their own fiction and socio-political concerns related to Māori in general. Keri Hulme’s novel *the bone people*, raised some significant questions about the construction of Māori identity in the 1980s and the book’s status as a Booker Prize winning text makes it, and the

accompanying reviews, impossible to ignore in any discussion of Māori writing in English. Likewise the contribution to New Zealand literature made by Alan Duff cannot be overlooked. Since its publication in 1990, Duff's novel *Once Were Warriors* has sold more than 80,000 copies and has never been out of print in New Zealand. The novel has also been published in fourteen other countries, including Australia and the United States (Mason 415). Duff is outspoken on issues relating to Māori and has strong and often contentious opinions. Duff's fiction and political views stand in direct contrast to the political perspectives found in texts by Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme, and this difference in opinion provides interesting points of comparison between the texts studied in this thesis. Other Māori authors, such as Apirana Taylor and Bruce Stewart, enter my discussion as reference points, extending the main focus on Ihimaera, Grace, Hulme and Duff.

The kaupapa Māori which stands behind literature (non-fiction and fiction) written by Māori authors means that the work enters into the discourse of identity politics within New Zealand. The interpretation of the world from a Māori perspective challenges the mainstream perception of New Zealand as a culturally harmonious country. Prose fiction by Māori is often confrontational and structured around the binary oppositions of Māori/Pākehā or colonised/coloniser. This type of literature is born out of a sense of historical injustice suffered by Māori at the hands of the Pākehā and often seeks redress for past grievances.

Prose fiction by Māori shares the objectives of the wider Māori "renaissance" movement begun in the 1960s to decolonise and empower Māori. The anthropologist, Steve Webster, characterises the Māori renaissance as a "series of distinguishable social movements" beginning with a trade union movement against racial oppression (29). This was followed in 1970 by the Young Māori Leadership conference held at Auckland University which gave rise to Nga Tamatoa ("the young warriors") which demanded, amongst other things, separate rights for Māori and official recognition of the Māori language. Establishment support for such movements began in the field of education in the early 1970s with an increasing awareness of taha Māori ("the Māori side") in the curriculum. In 1981 the New Zealand tour by the South African rugby team, traditionally viewed as an ambassador of apartheid, resulted in large-scale protests by Māori and Pākehā against racial oppression. During the 1980s Māori gained

greater recognition in education and in 1987 *te reo*, the Māori language, was officially recognised in New Zealand. There was a renaissance in Māori art in the 1980s, most notably the international tour of *Te Māori*, an exhibition of Māori carvings and artifacts which helped raise public awareness of Māori heritage. Political gains were also made during this period. Government ministries made greater room for Māori and consultation between government agencies and Māori advisory boards took place. In 1985 the power of the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate Māori land grievances was made retrospective to 1840, the year in which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, rather than 1975 as initially proposed. In 1993 the Māori Affairs Bill 1984 was passed into legislation and effectively reversed the trend towards individualisation of Māori land titles since the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865. Overall the renaissance resulted in greater politicisation of Māori and greater recognition by government of Māori socio-economic concerns.

This politicisation of Māori is reflected in the way novels by Ihimaera, Grace, Hulme and Duff draw on historical documents, parliamentary reports, newspaper articles, and current events in their fictional recreations of Māori life. The intimate relationship established between Māori fiction and “reality” demands that a cultural materialist approach to the work be taken in order that the issues raised within the texts are adequately contextualised and understood. Māori literature in general seeks to educate its readers about Māori culture and about the ways in which Māori have been, and still are, treated as an ethnic group within New Zealand. With one foot in the past, the other in the present, the literature proposes routes down which identity politics in New Zealand may be explored in the future.

The kaupapa Māori demands both the re-interpretation of previous Eurocentric perspectives of New Zealand history and the continual assessment and reassessment of Māori values and perceptions in the contemporary climate. The fiction discussed in this thesis presents Māori culture and identity in a dialectical relationship to Pākehā culture and identity, but it also proposes an internal examination of Māori social structures. The texts form part of the ongoing reconstruction of Māori cultural identity in the present and highlight the forces (Māori and Pākehā, internal and external) which contribute to this process.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapters One, Three, Five and Seven provide historical material while Chapters Two, Four, Six and Eight focus on individual contemporary Māori writers. The thesis is further structured around chapter pairs, the dominant theme in the work of each author being introduced by a preceding discussion of its historical background. Read together, the historical chapters provide a detailed account of the cultural, economic, social and political effects of colonisation on Māori iwi, hapū, whānau and individuals. These chapters illustrate the specific context against which all the authors write, either directly, as in the case of Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme, or indirectly in the case of Duff. All the authors engage with the four chosen themes of land, education, mythology and violence to some extent, but they are presented in the thesis in relation to one particular theme for organisational purposes. The author-based chapters inter-link to form an impression of the new context in which contemporary Māori live and write.

Chapters One and Two focus on the significance of land in Māori identity politics. Chapter One outlines various historical discourses constructed by Māori and Pākehā about the relationship between Māori iwi and their land and illustrates how, during the early period of colonisation, Māori gradually lost the majority of their land to the Crown and to European settlers. At the heart of Māori grievances against the Crown lies the Māori belief that the Treaty of Waitangi, signed by colonial authorities and Māori chiefs in 1840, has been dishonoured.¹ Under the Treaty, Great Britain annexed New Zealand but guaranteed Māori possession of land within tribal jurisdictions. However, since the 1830s, Māori land holdings have reduced to a mere 3.5 million acres (approximately 3.5 percent of the total land area of New Zealand). The first chapter explores some of the principal events in the nineteenth century that led to loss of Māori land, including the large scale government confiscations in the latter half of the century following the Land Wars. The chapter also gives details of Māori resistance movements against land alienation, and illustrates the ways in which Māori have reworked past discourses

¹ There are two principal versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, an English version (appendix A) and a Māori version, referred to as Te Tiriti o Waitangi (appendix B). Further discussion of the Treaty is given in Chapter One.

(by both Māori and Pākehā) about their relationship to the land in order to assert Māori cultural, historical and spiritual ties to tribal areas.

Chapter Two investigates how (and why) Witi Ihimaera writes about the ties between Māori iwi and whānau to their land, in particular his own iwi. This chapter illustrates how during the 1980s Ihimaera re-oriented his early pastoral representation of Māori in order to highlight and politicise individual, tribal, and pan-tribal Māori “rights” to land in New Zealand. By focusing on Ihimaera’s use of Māori oral myth narratives in *The Matriarch* (1986) and *The Dream Swimmer* (1997), the chapter demonstrates how Ihimaera’s fiction forms part of the tradition of Māori resistance against colonial land confiscation described in Chapter One.

Chapters Three and Four form the second pair of chapters. These chapters focus on the role of education (formal and through literature) in the construction of Māori identity. Chapter Three looks at the ways in which the New Zealand education system promoted the assimilation of Māori into mainstream Eurocentric culture between 1816 and 1969. It draws on representations of Māori in school texts to illustrate how Māori were encouraged to think of themselves as a lower race than the Europeans, as a people whose culture was primitive and archaic, and as a race more suited to manual labour than pursuits of the mind.

In her short stories and novels, Patricia Grace draws attention to the damage done to Māori culture under the colonial education system outlined above. Chapter Four discusses Grace’s representations of Māori experience in both Native Schools and the contemporary school system. This aspect of Grace’s work forms part of the wider educative purpose behind her fiction to show Māori and Pākehā alike, Māori cultural ways from an “inside”, Māori perspective. Although this is a common aim of all Māori writers, Grace has specifically identified it as a motivating factor behind her work. Through the inter-racial social relations depicted in her stories, her use of te reo and English, and polyphonic narration, she evokes an environment in which cross-cultural (or bicultural) communication can take place. Grace makes it clear that Pākehā must not simply expect Māori to cross bridges into mainstream culture but should actively attempt to cross bridges in the opposite direction. The inclusion of Grace’s fiction in formal education curriculums indicates an apparent movement towards greater recognition of Māori culture, but such a move is problematised in view of Steve Webster’s analysis of

the widespread empty patronage of Māori culture, discussed in Chapters Two, Six and Eight.

Chapters Five and Six look at the function of mythology and spirituality in Māori identity politics and by extension New Zealand's national identity. Chapter Five illustrates that what is understood as Māori mythology today is a syncretic composition derived from European transcriptions of oral narratives written down by missionaries and ethnologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter proposes that Māori mythology has been, in part, used by Europeans since the middle of the nineteenth century to foster assimilation of Māori and to establish a uniquely New Zealand national identity for Pākehā.

Whereas Eurocentric ethnographers emphasised the similarities between Māori and Europeans in order to justify assimilation, contemporary Māori writers stress the differences between the two cultures. Māori mythology and spirituality as they are understood today in their syncretic forms, are favourably compared by Māori, to Eurocentric, Pākehā culture which is deemed by Māori (and some Pākehā) to be void of spiritual attributes. In *the bone people* Hulme proposes that individuals (Māori and Pākehā), and New Zealand as a nation, need to realise their Māori heritage as well as their European history if they are to become united, healthy entities.

Chapter Six is divided into two parts. Part One illustrates how Keri Hulme uses Māori mythology in *the bone people* and discusses some of the issues concerning the politics of Māori identity raised in reviews of the novel.

the bone people has been read as a "nation building novel" (Fee "Inventing New Ancestors" 59) in that it posits a possible "solution" to racial tension and spiritual malaise in New Zealand. Part Two of Chapter Six examines Hulme's role as a "Myth Maker": a storyteller who uses her fiction to explore and explain human behaviour. Hulme draws on all types of religious, historic, social and literary "myths" from a range of cultural backgrounds in her novel. My proposition is that she consciously uses archetypal mythic characters in order to show psychological connections between cultures and individuals. The narrative traces the journeys made by the three protagonists from positions of weakness and loneliness to positions of strength and connectedness. Through a Jungian reading of the novel it is possible to explain these journeys in psychological terms and to

highlight the role of the archetypal figures incorporated by Hulme into the novel. This Eurocentric analysis of the novel takes its cue from the author herself who speaks of using Jung's idea of the collective purpose of humanity in *the bone people*. The use of Jung is not intended to reduce the novel to an expression of multiculturalism, but to show how the movement towards psychic wholeness, and towards imaginative healing, underpin Hulme's promotion of spiritual values in a non-spiritual environment. The reading suggests parallels between Jungian psychology and Māori cultural concepts rather than applying a Māori psychological model to the novel because at the time of writing no such Māori model was accessible.

Chapters Seven and Eight form the last pair of chapters in their shared focus on violence. Chapter Seven examines how the association between Māori and violence developed throughout the history of cultural encounter in New Zealand. This chapter proposes that colonial literature stereotyped Māori as Noble and Ignoble Savages to bolster the European belief in their own superiority and justify cultural domination of Māori.

The Noble and the Ignoble stereotypes of Māori have bequeathed two traditions of representation to contemporary Māori artists. The Noble Savage, in the form of toa, or warriorhood, has been taken up as a model of resistance to Pākehā oppression – for example, in the 1970s by Nga Tamatoa the “young warriors” mentioned earlier. Meanwhile the legacy of the Ignoble Savage has been blamed for high Māori violent offending rates. Whereas the majority of social commentators and Māori writers (including Ihimaera, Grace, and to a certain extent Hulme) view contemporary Māori violence as a consequence of colonisation and land alienation described in Chapter One, Alan Duff understands Māori violence to be an essential Māori characteristic. The answer for Duff to Māori behavioural problems does not lie within the Māori culture but in Eurocentric self-help philosophies. Chapter Eight focuses on Duff's essentialist representation of Māori violence in *Once Were Warriors, What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* (1996) and *Both Sides of the Moon* (1998), and considers his proposed remedies for the “Māori problem” offered within these books and in his non-fiction social commentary *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* (1993).

The thesis intends to show how Māori identity is culturally syncretic and continues to be reinterpreted over time from a variety of different standpoints. It aims to show how Māori writing is inextricably linked to the history of race relations in New Zealand and to illustrate the key concerns within current debates over Māori identity politics. The contextual analysis of the novels leads into an examination of the ways in which the texts help to create new social contexts. Although there is no way of proving that fictional texts directly influence political and socio-economic change, it is possible to perceive how fiction reflects contemporary attitudes and aids trends in public opinion. Thus, texts by Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme are considered as sharing in the Māori renaissance movement in their push for greater historical, political and social recognition of Māori culture. Duff's work is considered as a push towards internal reassessment of Māori culture. Implicitly, the thesis proposes that reconstructions of Māori identity in the present bear upon the future national character of New Zealand.

CHAPTER ONE

Māori, Pākehā and the Land: Discursive Relations/Colonial Transactions

Since the arrival of Māori in New Zealand, Māori identity has been configured in relation to land. Numerous historical discourses, produced by both Māori and Pākehā, stress this “special” relationship for a variety of political reasons. This chapter traces the origins and influence of the most prominent discourses in order to illustrate how associations between Māori and land have become an integral aspect of Māori cultural identity. The chapter also points out the paradox that whilst discourses about Māori and their land circulated, Māori “ownership” of land declined. Since the nineteenth century, Māori have considered the ways in which Pākehā acquired land in New Zealand to be unjust and this sense of grievance has sparked new discourses which reconfigure Māori relationship to the land. “Reinventions” of the relationship between Māori and the land draw on existing discourses so that what is understood today as a specifically Māori relationship is a flexible and syncretic concept built out of Māori and Pākehā discourses. Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme tap into these discourses and continue to re-evaluate this specific aspect of Māori identity from a position of grievance.

Pre-European Māori Land and Identity

Various narratives characterise pre-European Māori as a “primitive” race who, out of necessity, lived close to the land.² This physical relationship with the natural environment is documented by Cook in his journals written on first contact with Māori. Māori are described as living in small communities. Cook writes that their “chief diet” was “Firn root, Dogs, Fish, and wild foul” for “Cocos, Yamms and sweet Potatoes” were not cultivated everywhere (Beaglehole *Cook* Vol. I 282). Houses were made from wood and thatch and were built low to the ground. Timber was also used to build canoes. Clothing was made from flax, dog skin and feathers. Tools and weapons were made from stone, bones and wood, and fishing nets were made from flax (Beaglehole *Cook* Vol. I 276-285). This type of relationship with

² Aside from Cook’s *Journals* mentioned in the text above, this relationship was written about by Makereti in her thesis *The Old Time Maori* which was published after her death in 1938. Contemporary historians, such as Anne Salmond in *Between Worlds*, and Ranginui Walker in *Struggle Without End*, also write about pre-European Māori ties to the land.

the land is common amongst all “primitive” peoples. More specific to Māori is their cultural relationship to the land, defined primarily through Māori mythology.

Pre-European Māori cultural relations to the land were articulated in oral myths and legends. Chapter Five illustrates how over the course of New Zealand history Māori myths and legends have been altered during the process of transcription rendering it impossible to formulate an accurate understanding of pre-European Māori values. However, it is widely accepted that the Māori creation myth, the myth of Māui “fishing up” the land, and the legends concerning the Māori discovery and population of New Zealand, define “traditional” Māori (i.e., pre-European) relations to the land.

The Māori creation myth makes explicit the relationship between Māori and earth – Māori view themselves, and every natural element in the world, as descendants of Papatūānuku (the earth mother) and Ranginui (the sky father). The human form was shaped from red clay by Tāne Mahuta, son of Papa and Rangi and god of the forests and all things that inhabit them. The human spirit is descended from Tūmatauenga, god of war and the personification of human wrath, also born from the union of the primal parents. During the separation of Papa and Rangi their children fought against each other and although Tū conquered his brothers on earth and bequeathed to his descendants control over the earth’s resources, humans are thought never to be safe from acts of revenge by the defeated brothers (for example, storms at sea unleashed by Tangaroa, god of the oceans). Thus, Māori relation to their natural environment was mythologised in a way that stressed human caution and respect for the land and sea. Oral and written retellings of the Māori creation myth tend towards the romanticisation of Māori as living harmoniously “with” the land and are set in binary opposition to the notion of European economic exploitation of land and natural resources. However, history shows that both groups were capable of exhausting natural resources; Māori hunted the moa to extinction, and Europeans near depleted the whale population.

In Māori mythology the existence of New Zealand is accounted for by the story of Māui Tikitiki a Taranga (a demi-god) “fishing” up the north island from the sea. The south island is considered to have been his canoe. The traditional

Māori cultural perspective of New Zealand places the south island above the north, the bottom of the north island being the head of the fish, the top its tail. *The New Zealand Historical Atlas* shows New Zealand from this perspective (Plate 17). Other indigenous Polynesian groups have similar myths about Māui and their own islands, but the Māori version of the narrative specifically consolidates the special relationship between Māori descendents of Māui Tikitiki a Taranga and the land of New Zealand.

The first human to discover New Zealand, according to Māori legends, is Kupe in 925 AD. He is thought to have voyaged across the ocean from Hawaiki, the mythical homeland of all Māori. His path was followed sometime in the fourteenth century by a “Great Fleet” of seven canoes named Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Kurahaupo, Tokomaru, Aotea and Takitimu. The people from the canoes settled at different areas in the new land and from the captains of each are descended the different tribes. Thus, specific areas of New Zealand are considered the “homeland” of particular tribes (fig. 1). Iwi, hapū and whānau think of themselves as belonging to certain areas of land rather than vice versa.

Chapter Five discusses the origins of the legend of the fleet of Māori canoes and argues that the narrative is a Pākehā construction of Māori history. In the late nineteenth century the story was taught in schools throughout the twentieth century as standard “fact”. The idea of a fleet romanticises and simplifies the process of Māori immigration to New Zealand but, nevertheless, remains a key “historical” narrative defining Māori tribal relations to the land.

The tribal nature of pre-European Māori society implied that there was no homogeneous Māori relationship with the land. The term “Māori” was only applied after the arrival of the first Europeans in order to distinguish the “ordinary” inhabitants of New Zealand from the “Pākehā” or foreigners. Each Māori tribe formed its own relationship to its surrounding land. Tribal areas were carefully defined by their chiefs. Topological features, sites of sacred or historical significance or regions of economic importance usually demarcated tribal spheres of influence. Cultural lores regulated land ownership and use. Land could be acquired through take kitengahou, right of discovery; take raupatu, right of conquest; take tuku, gift; or take ōhākī, death/succession. All land rights

depended on ahi kā, occupation.³ Land transactions were therefore intimately connected to the loss or gain of tribal mana, the acknowledgement of genealogies, referred to in Māori as whakapapa, and history. In this light, tribes did not exist in a static relation to the land and inter-tribal warfare implied that Māori ties to land were often written in blood rather than cemented by mythology.

It could be argued (provocatively) that the colonisation of New Zealand by Europeans in the nineteenth century was in keeping with Māori cultural customs of land acquisition through take raupatu and take tuku. However, Māori consider these terms as applying to Māori cultural groups alone, and do not view Pākehā military conquests and economic transactions as justifiable means of gaining land.

Early Colonial Period (1769-1840)

Early colonial discourses about the connection between Māori and the land were influenced by prevailing European attitudes towards colonisation. Māori were romanticised through the trope of the Noble Savage which overlooked specific cultural and economic ties to the land and were constructed as part of the wild new land in need of taming by the introduction of European “civilisation”. Both these discourses stressed the association of Māori and nature and were used to justify European cultural superiority.

The eighteenth century European tradition of representing “primitive” man as Noble Savage, contributed to prevailing colonial beliefs that Māori were appropriate candidates for amalgamation. Theories of the Noble Savage located Māori in a relationship with nature that placed them “naturally” below civilised man – i.e., Europeans. David Spurr explains:

On one hand nature is opposed to culture and civilisation: primitive peoples live in a state of nature. On the other, nature, or “natural law”, is also that which grants dominion over the earth to the more advanced peoples; the land shall belong by natural right to that power which understands its value and is willing to turn it to account. Colonial discourse thus naturalizes the process of domination: it finds a natural justification for the conquest of nature and of primitive peoples, those “children of nature”. (156)

³ For further information about ancient Māori land holdings see Douglas Sinclair “Land: Maori view and European response” in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* 66-69.

The tradition of the Noble Savage was heavily romanticised. The French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) had proposed that man in nature, in his natural condition, represented the ideal state in which to live. The Savage was characterised as free from artifice, openly emotional and in tune with his environment. Although possessing a propensity for barbarism (the culmination of negative natural instincts), the essential character of the Noble Savage was deemed to be one of positive moral worth which only needed to be teased out by the agents of civilisation (colonists and missionaries) to produce a finer breed of man who could be successfully amalgamated with Europeans. The Noble Savage was a carefully constructed and qualified image capable of encapsulating contradictory characteristics. His counterpart, the Ignoble Savage, who was believed to be beyond all salvation was equally well crafted to suit colonial purposes. Chapters Three and Eight discuss the production of both these stereotypes in greater depth and give further information about the Ignoble Savage, but in terms of the representation of Māori and the land it is the character of the Noble Savage that figures most predominantly in European narratives.

The classic image of the Māori Noble Savage is summarised in paintings by William Hodges, the Draughtsman on Captain Cook's Second Voyage to New Zealand. "A View in Dusky Bay" (fig. 2) and "Waterfall in Dusky Bay" (fig. 3) show Māori dressed in dogskins and set in picturesque landscapes. In each picture the central figure carries a spear by his side reminding the observer of his potential for violence (either as a hunter or in combat), but the man is poised in a non-threatening stance. The golden glow of the background in the first picture and the rainbow over the waterfall in the second, illustrate the romantic treatment applied by the artist to his Māori subjects.

Similar depictions of Māori as Noble Savage can be found in early colonial literature. In *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand* (1817), John Nicholas refers to Māori as the "sons of nature" (84) and is at pains to illustrate their "genuine sensibility" (86) and "happy" disposition (182). He represents them as friendly and eager to learn from the Europeans and refers to one Māori as "dignified and noble", "engaging and courteous" (24). If only they could throw off their "barbarous practice" of facial tattooing (360) and their "absurd and



Fig. 2. William Hodges' *A View of Dusky Bay in New Zealand*, 1773 (rpt. in L. Bell 75).



Fig. 3. William Hodges' *Waterfall in Dusky Bay, New Zealand*, 1775 (rpt. in Blackley 15).

extravagant” superstitions which clouded them in darkness (55), Nicholas felt that Māori could benefit from the enlightened knowledge of European Christianity and civilisation (346). Ironically, conversion to the European way of life as Nicholas views it implies the severance of the bond between Māori and nature which he finds so appealing.

The colonial project of civilising the Māori Noble Savage was connected to European designs to tame and cultivate the wild New Zealand landscape. In this respect Māori were viewed through European eyes as though they were part of the land itself. Paul Shepard writes: “The heathen and the wild land were interrelated. To the evangelical view, wilderness and paganism were part of the same context [...] sin in man and in nature were counterparts of the same unsatisfactory but redeemable state” (4). The Reverend Richard Taylor, a missionary in Wanganui between 1843 and the 1860s, considered that the New Zealand fern was like the savage – both were going down before civilisation. He wrote in his journal:

[...] the whole country itself is in a transition state, England has passed through its fern age, the fern there is only to be seen beautifully impressed on the coal slate; here the country is still enveloped in its dingy mantle of fern. England’s painted savages are now the most highly civilized race on the face of the globe; here the savage bedaubed with red ocre and shark oil is still lord paramount, but my faith assures me old things are rapidly passing away a new and better order will and is already arising the fern is being everywhere trampled down, the cow the sheep and the horse are encroaching on its ancient domains, but alas the native race is very small from the sea to this spot which is 150 miles. (Vol. III 91, cited in Shepard 28)

Wishing to naturalize power relationships between themselves and the Māori, Europeans utilised an established set of binary oppositions, common in all colonies, which associated “civilisation” with Europeans and “nature” with “primitive” indigenous groups. Combined with enduring representations of the Noble Savage the Māori were effectively fixed in their relationship to the land in the European imagination.

The Treaty of Waitangi (1840)

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed by Māori chiefs and British representatives of the Crown on the 6 February 1840, laid out the relationship between Māori, settlers, the colonial government and the Queen of England, and articulated their respective “rights” to land in New Zealand. Several versions of the Treaty were made, some in Māori and some in English, and discrepancies between the texts have led to a series of historical discourses concerning Māori and Pākehā land rights.

An English version of the Treaty was written by William Hobson, the newly appointed consul to New Zealand, and James Busby, the British Resident (appendix A). The English text was then translated into Māori by Henry and Edward Williams (appendix B). The Treaty is comprised of three articles. By the first article in the English version Māori leaders gave up “all the rights and powers of Sovereignty” over their land to the Queen of England. The second article guaranteed Māori leaders and people, collectively and individually, “exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties”. It also gave to “Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands” if the Māori wished to sell. The third article extended to Māori “the rights and privileges of British subjects”.

At a meeting held on the grounds outside Busby’s house at Waitangi on 5 February, Hobson and Williams addressed a gathering of Māori chiefs. Hobson outlined the benefits to the Māori present of increased British control over the unruly settlers in their land. Williams proposed that in becoming British subjects themselves Māori would benefit from the Queen’s “love” and British protection from foreign powers – namely the French (Orange 45-46). The Treaty was presented by Williams as a way for the Māori chiefs to secure what was theirs – “their property, rights and privileges” (Orange 45). However, his own translation of the Treaty in Māori (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) differed slightly from the English version in that Article One stated that Māori were to give “te kāwanatanga katoa” – the complete government over their land, to the Queen. In using “kāwanatanga”, the Māori transliterated word for governance, rather than the Māori concept of mana, which was perhaps more in line with the British idea of sovereignty referred to in the English version, Williams made it appear that the

chiefs were to retain more control than the English Treaty promised them. Perhaps he chose not to use the term *mana* in the knowledge that no Māori chief would agree to cede such power to the British. Māori who supported the signing of the Treaty thought they were entering into an agreement between equal partners. The guarantee of “*te tino rangatiratanga*” – the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures, reinforced this interpretation.⁴

Not all the Māori chiefs consulted about the Treaty agreed that it was to their benefit to sign. Some, like Te Wherowhero of Waikato, foresaw in it the demise of their authority and control over the land and refused to sign. Only after great persuasion did chiefs such as Kawhiti and Te Taonui agree to sign. Hobson and his allies managed to convince these chiefs that the Queen did not want the land, merely the sovereignty, or as the chief Nopera Panakareao poetically explained to his tribe: “The shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us ...” (Caselberg 50). Other chiefs took less persuading; they signed the Treaty and took the blankets and provisions offered without fully comprehending the document. By September 1840 over 500 Māori signatures had been collected and New Zealand officially became a British colony.

During the late 1840s and early 1850s Governor George Grey and his chief purchasing officer, Donald McLean, used large grants from London to buy huge tracts of Māori land. Through the practice of pre-emptive Crown purchase, by 1853 they had bought 32 million acres for £50,000 (Gardener 61). Rather like a state sponsored Wakefield plan, much of this land was then sold on to the settlers at a profit.⁵ As more and more Māori land left the control of Māori chiefs – either by voluntary sale or shrewd manipulation by Governor Grey and his associates – it became increasingly evident to the Māori that Europeans not only wanted the shadow of the land but also its substance. Over the next 50 years the colonial government used both military force and legal power in order to acquire more Māori land.

⁴ Claudia Orange provides a fuller discussion of the disparities between the English and Māori versions of the Treaty of Waitangi in her book *The Treaty of Waitangi*.

⁵ The Wakefield Plan, so called after Edward Gibbon Wakefield, attempted systematic colonisation of New Zealand by buying land cheaply from Māori and selling it for profit to immigrants and absentee investors. Between 1839 and 1845 the New Zealand Company landed nearly 9000 settlers in New Zealand but by 1847 faced bankruptcy due to bad management.

In 1877 Judge Prendergast declared the Treaty a legal “nullity” because it had not been incorporated into domestic law. It was apparent to Māori that the Treaty was being interpreted in a way that increasingly restricted their autonomous rights and by the 1880s Māori organised a series of tribal meetings in which to discuss Treaty issues. Claudia Orange explains how Māori tribes developed “unity” movements based on shared grievances against the Crown:

Despite the fine words of governments, both British and colonial, treaty promises had not been fulfilled. Disappointed and frustrated, many Maori forged a unity of purpose, looking to the treaty as their support in conflicts with the government, now that warfare had failed. Maori grievances, diverse and sometimes confused, found kotahitanga (unity) in the treaty. (185)

In 1891 the Kotahitanga movement was formed and in 1892 it established a Māori parliament at Waitangi. Thereafter, it continued to meet annually at different Māori centres around the north island until 1902, when it gradually lost support. Despite widespread support for its aims, the Kotahitanga could never secure the complete Māori union it desired. Nevertheless, it began the formal political process of negotiating Māori land rights stated under the Treaty with the colonial government. The Treaty gave Māori a lever on which to politically elevate their “rights” to “exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates” and has been the basis of subsequent Māori petitions against the Crown to the present day. The inauguration of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 and later amendments to the tribunal’s scope of investigation opened up Māori land claims dating back to 1840, thus raising the profile of the Treaty. In 1986 the State Owned Enterprises Act recognised principles stated in the Treaty and, by so doing, incorporated the Treaty into statutory law. The discourse of Māori land politics, as defined in the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, continues to be articulated and researched in the present and is likely to remain at the forefront of Māori/Crown dealings until such a day when Māori feel fully compensated for the loss of lands guaranteed under the Treaty.

Kingdoms and Prophets: Māori Narratives of Resistance (1858-1943)

The Treaty initiated the political discourse of Māori sovereignty, but throughout the nineteenth century Māori reconfigured their relationship to the land in numerous other ways. Each new development grew out of an increasing sense of Māori grievance as more land changed from Māori to Pākehā hands. The most significant discourses were associated with the King movement and the Prophetic movements.

Increased competition over land between Māori and the settlers during the 1850s and 1860s resulted in a series of political and military disputes. In 1854 Māori began to hold intertribal meetings to discuss how to prevent the steady loss of land to the settlers. At the same time, settlers were eager to buy more Māori land and were pressuring McLean to make more purchases. Desperate to provide the settlers with more land, McLean resorted to less and less scrupulous methods of obtaining it. He began to accept offers of land made by chiefs or small groups of owners without gaining the consent of the whole tribe as had been the previous protocol. His deceitful dealings caused tension amongst Māori tribes and led to several skirmishes between “land-holders” and “land sellers”. In fear of losing their lands altogether, Māori formed anti-land-selling leagues, the most influential of which was the King movement in the Waikato region.

Ideas of establishing a Māori Kingdom to unite the chiefs and protect Māori lands were largely influenced by the existence of a British Queen, but the movement was not merely an imitative organisation. At its heart were “traditional” Māori concepts of land ownership, Māori political practices and social structures.

During a series of inter tribal meetings, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa, known as the “King-maker”, directed and influenced the shape of the movement. He proposed the election of a King and in 1858 the Waikato chief Te Wherowhero, after much persuasion, agreed to take up the position. Te Wherowhero referred to himself as Potatau I. He possessed all the qualifications deemed necessary for this office: *mana tangata* (prestige on the human side), *mana whenua* (prestige of land as shown by the possession of significant territory), and *mana kai* (prestige through food resources). He was a famous warrior who had

led the Tainui tribes in the Musket Wars of the 1820s. His qualifications were summed up as follows:

Ko Potatau te tangata, ko Taupiri te maunga, ko Waikato te moana, he piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha - Potatau is the man, Taupiri is the mountain, Waikato river is the sea, in every bend there is a monster. (Sorrenson "The Maori King Movement" 45)

The saying refers to "Potatau's human prestige; to the significance of Taupiri mountain as the burial place of the ancestors, and as sentinel to the whole Waikato-Waipā territory; to the significance of the Waikato river as a line of communication and a source of food; and to the veritable galaxy of important chiefs (the *taniwha*) residing along its banks" (Sorrenson "The Maori King Movement" 45). It reflects the enduring existential bonds between Māori and their land. However, out of necessity these bonds were now being politicised in opposition to European land prospectors.

Chiefs from Waikato, Taupo, Hawke's Bay, the Eastern coastal region and Southern Taranaki placed their tribal land under the mana of Potatau who refused to sell it on any account. The movement was primarily about retaining land ownership, not as portrayed by Gore Browne, the Governor of New Zealand between 1855-1861, about challenging the Queen's Sovereignty. The King party leaders did think in terms of a "Maori nation", "territorially and politically independent, co-operating with but not submitting to Europeans" (Sorrenson "The Maori King Movement" 36), but only the more extreme Kingites wanted to see the Europeans driven into the sea. The majority shared the co-operative view: "The King on his piece [of land]; the Queen on her piece; God over both; and Love binding them to each other" ("Curiosus", *New Zealander* 3 July 1858, Te Ahura [Ngātihaua tribe] at Rangiriri meeting, cited in Sorrenson "The Maori King Movement" 36). However, European settlers considered the Queen's "piece" of land in New Zealand too small and continued to pressure the government to use

legal and military forces to acquire more.⁶ The incidents at Waitara in the late 1850s and early 1860s were a case in point.

The province of Taranaki had suffered intra-hapū rivalries and Māori and Pākehā disputes since the almost simultaneous arrival of the first settlers and of parties of Te Ati Awa returning from slavery or exile. The Māori were divided between “land sellers” and “land holders”. Settlers helped the land sellers and pressed the government to intervene to repress those Māori who refused to sell. Reluctant to get involved, the Executive Council decided to insist on a minimum level of law and order: they announced that any Māori fighting on European land would be treated as rebels. During a meeting to communicate this message Governor Gore Browne was approached by a Māori named Teria who offered to sell to him land at the mouth of the Waitara. The offer was to be accepted subject to confirmation of Teria’s title.

Local chief, Wiremu Kingi, objected to Teria’s offer claiming that it was not the individual right of the man to sell land owned communally by the tribe. Kingi proposed to exercise his right of chieftainship to prevent the sale of the land. Kingi told the Governor: “*I will not agree to our bedroom being sold (I mean Waitara here), for this bed belongs to the whole of us ...*” (Caselberg 75). However, Gore Browne, after being poorly advised by McLean, agreed to the purchase. By this action chiefly right to land as stated in the Treaty of Waitangi was contravened and the communal nature of Māori land ownership ignored. Furthermore, the authorities gave no credence to the claims of occupation – despite the fact Wiremu Kingi and a group of some three hundred followers had been living on the land in question since their return to Taranaki in 1848.

After Kingi removed the government surveyor’s pegs, martial law was declared. Kingi defended his pa against imperial troops. The King movement supported Kingi’s claims to the land and a faction of warriors led by Rewi Maniapoto traveled to Taranaki to help with the fight. In 1861 a truce was called and the promise of an investigation of the Waitara purchase made. In 1863 Grey

⁶ After settler agitation in 1858 the New Zealand General Assembly passed the Native Territorial Rights Act which allowed for direct settler purchase of Māori land. However, the Act was rejected by the Imperial government in 1859.

intervened and ordered the return of the land to Kingi as it was evident to him, and most intelligent observers, that it had been wrongly purchased by Gore Browne.⁷

The Waitara incident drew to the government's attention the need to firmly establish Māori title to the land before making a purchase. In 1862, The Native Land Act proposed that a "Court" be established for the purpose of defining who owned what lands. Certificates of title were to be granted to those people who could prove customary title to the land. Before titles were to be issued the land was to be surveyed. In this way, Māori and their relation to the land were brought within a Eurocentric framework of land tenure. The Act also waived the Crown right to pre-emption, thus opening the way for settlers to buy land straight from the Māori. Despite the increased pressure on Māori from settlers to sell land initiated by this piece of legislation, the Act could not compel Māori to sell. To Governor Grey it became increasingly obvious that the most desirable lands in the north island – the fertile lands of the Waikato protected by the Māori King – could only be obtained through military force.

On 12 July 1863, General Cameron, under Grey's orders, crossed the Mangatawhiri stream which defined the northern border of the Māori King's land. After nearly one year of fighting the British claimed a victory over the King movement. Under the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 and the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, the government confiscated almost 3¼ million acres of "rebel" Māori land of which 1,202,172 acres were taken in the Waikato, 1,275,000 acres in Taranaki, 290,000 acres in Tauranga and 448,000 acres at Opotiki (Sorrenson "Maori and Pakeha" 158). The land was divided into sections, some of which were given as payment to the colonial soldiers who had fought in the war. Other sections were sold to settlers. The King retreated into the Ngāti Maniapoto domain, which became known as the "King Country", and continued to champion the Māori cause although his power had been drastically reduced.

Not content with the areas of confiscated Māori lands, the government passed another Native Land Act in 1865, which simplified the procedure whereby settlers could purchase land from individual Māori named in the Court's certificate of ownership. The certificates limited the number of named owners of

⁷ For further information regarding the Waitara dispute see Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* 125-130.

any one tract of land to ten, thus virtually nullifying the rights of other tribal members. Through the Land Court the government hoped to achieve what it had set out to do before the war in the Waikato: “to pass a statute which would ensure that customary title would be transmuted into negotiable paper titles” (Parsonson 190). The Court also implied that “individuals could now defy their chiefs and sell to Europeans any land the Court awarded them” (Sorrenson “The Maori King Movement” 48). Chiefs who did not go to Court to gain a certificate of title to their lands were therefore in danger of having it sold out beneath them. However, the Court process was a long drawn out affair during which the claimants incurred a number of costs. More often than not by the time the Court hearing was over and the title been awarded, the claimant would have to sell the land in order to pay off his debts. The power invested in the Land Court to bring Māori and their land under European control was tenfold that of any military regiment. A few years after its inception, Henry Sewell commented on the dual purpose of the Land Court to enable the British to colonise the north island by making the land easier to buy once the Court identified and recorded all the owners of any given block, and to “detrribalize” Māori by destroying “the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based” (*NZPD* 1870 IX 361).

During the 1860s a new type of Māori resistance to European land claims took shape in the form of the “Prophetic movements”. Whereas the King movement redesigned Māori tribal relations to land by forming a union based on land ownership and jurisdiction equivalent to the concept of a “kingdom”, the prophetic movements formed unions between Māori who had no land left to bargain with. In the Taranaki region Te Ua Haumene established the Pai mārīre faith, and on the East Coast Te Kooti Te Turuki Rikirangi initiated the Ringatū church. The prophets combined Old Testament teachings with traditional Māori cultural beliefs in order to emphasise old and new spiritual links to the land they believed had been wrongly confiscated by the Crown. The movements promised Māori the return of their lands by divine right. Pai mārīre and Ringatū brought hope to many despairing Māori and instigated a period of resistance which was “more savage, more implacable” than previously witnessed (Keith Sinclair 141).

The Pai mārīre (good and peaceful) faith was founded in 1862 by Te Ua, a Māori who had fought the Europeans in Taranaki. The new faith combined some Old Testament morality with Māori religion. In the process the elaborate ritual of the nui pole was established. A belief in magical immunity against bullets for all true believers was also developed. As Pai mārīre soldiers rode into battle they would raise their right hand and cry “Pai mārīre, hau! Hau!” as a form of incantation against the bullets. For this reason they became commonly known as the Hau hau. To some extent the Hau hau identified themselves with the Jews. “They believed that they were a second Chosen People, and that, with divine aid, they would return from the wilderness to their hereditary lands” (Keith Sinclair 141). In 1865 the Pai mārīre traveled to the East Coast, where despite the peaceful intentions of Te Ua, some of the followers kidnapped and murdered the missionary Carl Volkner in the belief that he was acting as a government spy.⁸ A period of unrest followed in the region between Hau hau “rebels”, settlers and “friendly” Māori. In 1866 the government asserted its authority by confiscating “rebel” land. As it was difficult to distinguish between rebels and loyal Māori it was decided that land would be confiscated from both then returned to the latter group once they had been identified. This scheme was outlined in the East Coast Land Titles Investigation Act 1866. The schedule of the land to be taken was amended in 1867 and implemented after the East Coast Act 1868. Among the land to be taken was that at Poverty Bay, where the great grandparents of Witi Ihimaera lived.

One “rebel” who had been wrongly arrested and sent to the Chatham Islands without being tried was Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (Rongowhakaata). His lands were amongst those confiscated and not returned. The government and in particular those officials responsible for his deportation paid a heavy price for this injustice.

Whilst in exile on the Chatham Islands Te Kooti founded the Ringatū faith. Like the Pai mārīre it was a blend of Old Testament and Māori beliefs, but Te Kooti commanded more respect and retained more control over his followers

⁸ Volkner was hung and decapitated. It is reported that the Hau hau who killed him tasted his blood or smeared it on their faces. “Kereopa forced out the eyes and swallowed them, describing one eye as Parliament and the other as the Queen and English law” (*The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Vol. 1 1769-1869: 566-567).

than Te Ua. He established his authority through the Māori prophetic tradition, claiming to be the chosen one spoken of by Toiroa Ikariki.⁹ After several visitations by angels and a deliverance from near death, he convinced fellow prisoners on the Chathams of his Christian divinity. Plus, Te Kooti was an intelligent man, well versed in the Scriptures and capable of careful strategic planning both in peace and war. Like Te Ua he claimed affinity with the Jews and styled himself as a Māori Moses destined to lead his people back to their homeland. On 4th July 1868, Te Kooti and his followers commandeered a ship. Five days later they arrived back in New Zealand at Whareongaonga on the East Coast.

Te Kooti initially desired peaceful repatriation of the prisoners but the government demanded his arrest and began a process of trying to capture him and his followers. Government pursuit of Te Kooti through the Ureweras and into the King Country lasted over 20 years. Te Kooti used guerilla warfare to inflict fatal blows on his opponents and in November 1868 he raided Matawhero, killing 33 settlers and 37 kupapa (“friendly”) Māori. This act was primarily one of revenge against those government officials who had sent him to the Chathams and who were currently occupying his land. In contrast to the earlier land wars Te Kooti’s style of fighting was viewed as more savage and merciless, although such savagery was not confined only to his side. Ropata Wahawaha, a government Māori ally, had a policy of keeping no prisoners to which the British generals turned a blind eye.

Te Kooti was eventually hounded into the King Country where he resided under the protection of the Māori King until his death. The Ringatū faith acquired a substantial number of followers and throughout the Ureweras and the King Country Māori meeting houses were built in Te Kooti’s honour. The faith gave Māori a new way in which to conceive of their relationship to the land – one which retained all the old existential bonds but added the new religious allegory of the “Promised Land”. Thus, even those Māori who found themselves no longer living on their cherished tribal homelands retained a strong psychological and emotional relationship with them and maintained a powerful belief in their right to

⁹ For more information about the tradition of prophecy surrounding Te Kooti and about his life in general see Judith Binney’s *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*.

return. The oral narratives that sustained and surrounded the Ringatū movement were fundamental in articulating the relationship between the followers and their land. Centred around both Māori and Old Testament beliefs the narratives formed a tradition of prophecy which linked prophets of the past with those of the future and outlined an inalienable spiritual connection between the people and their land.

In the early twentieth century Te Kooti's prophecies were taken up by Rua Kenana, who claimed to be Te Kooti's "son", and the next Messiah. Rua's followers called themselves Israelites and followed a religious service much like that of the Ringatū. Rua called his faith Wairua Tapu. He prophesied that King Edward VII of England would come to New Zealand and give him enough money to purchase back all the lost Māori land. Despite this event not taking place many Tuhoe, Ngāti Awa and Whakatohea Māori placed their trust in the prophet and flocked to live in his community at Maunga Pohatū in the Ureweras. In 1916, under the pretence of apprehending Rua on charges relating to seditious language and sly-grogging, the government sent in police to raid the community.

Although the government managed to prevent the Pai māriri, Ringatū and Wairua Tapu faiths ever forming into politically effective Māori nationalist movements, the narratives formed around these organisations could not be eradicated and continue to provide Māori with historical and spiritual links to the land to the present-day. One Māori spiritual movement that could not be prevented from becoming a political force was led by the faith healer W.T. Ratana. Primarily a spiritual movement from 1918-1922, it developed into a serious political force from 1928 onwards. By 1943 Ratana candidates held all four Māori seats in Parliament. Unlike the previous prophetic movements the Ratana organisation was pan-tribal in that, as Michael King puts it, its "basis was religious and political rather than regional and tribal" ("Between Two Worlds" 300). This may have accounted for its greater number of followers. Unlike the prophetic leaders before him, Ratana opted into the Pākehā sphere of political control rather than remaining outside. The Ratana MPs worked steadily to improve the material conditions of the Māori and campaigned for the re-enactment of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, they were never a real threat to Pākehā political control and were never as singularly influential as James Carroll, Apirana Ngata, Māui Pomare and Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa).

Twentieth Century Economic Transformations of Māori Land Holdings.

By 1911 Māori land holdings amounted to 7,137,205 acres. Over the following nine years this area was reduced to 4,787,686 acres. Out of this total 1,500,000 acres were leased to Europeans or estimated as unsuitable for development (King “Between Two Worlds” 291). During these years the Māori population was still predominantly rural. The majority of Māori were either landless or used the remnants of land they still owned only for subsistence. They worked as seasonal labourers in fencing, draining, shearing, flax-cutting and processing, scrub-cutting, felling timber, gum digging and public works. Land which remained under Māori title was often scattered thus making farming difficult, or it required large-scale capital investment which Māori did not have and could not raise from the state or private institutions. The Māori rural proletariat was therefore effectively working land that used to belong to their ancestors for the benefit of Pākehā settlers and the government.

During the 1920s Apirana Ngata, “Princess” Te Puea, and W.T. Ratana brought public and government attention to Māori land grievances. The Coates ministry of 1921-28 was active in supporting Māori interests and set up a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the 1863 confiscations which resulted in modest compensation payments and land returns in the Waikato, Taranaki, Tauranga and Opotiki.¹⁰

As MP for Eastern Māori and later as Native Minister in 1928, Apirana Ngata was highly influential in the development of Māori land. Ngata focused his efforts on reorganising Māori land around Māori communities and gaining capital for farming ventures. In 1929 he succeeded in gaining state credit for Māori farms. By 1937 Ngata managed to raise over \$600,000 in government funds, bringing 1,388 farms and 750,000 acres under his Māori land Development Schemes. These schemes provided a livelihood for around 18,000 people, most of whom lived and worked on the land they were developing (King “Between Two Worlds” 292).

¹⁰ In the Waikato out of a total of 1,202,172 acres confiscated 314,264 acres were returned. In Taranaki out of 1,275,000 acres confiscated, 557,000 acres were purchased and 256,000 acres returned. In Tauranga 240,250 acres were purchased out of a total of 290,000 acres confiscated. In Opotiki out of 448,000 acres, 6,340 acres were purchased and 23,600 acres returned (figures from Sorrenson “Maori and Pakeha” 158).

Despite the success of Ngata's schemes they could not provide for all Māori nor compete with more efficient Pākehā owned farms. "Uneconomic farming sent workers into the towns and cities; rural communities thus became less viable and urban migration more attractive" (King "Between Two Worlds" 293). In 1936 only 11.2 per cent of the Māori population lived in urban areas; by 1945 this figure stood at 19 per cent. After the Second World War the need for jobs drove more Māori into the cities. "By the late 1960s," writes King, "Māori had become a predominantly urban people" (King "Between Two Worlds" 289). In 1974 it was estimated that the amount of "Māori land" left was 3½ million acres (Metge 110). Some urban Māori maintained links with their old tribal communities, but others found themselves without ties, without a *tūrangawaewae* on which to stand. For many the loss of Māori land, combined with the pressures of day to day urban living, implied the loss of "traditional" Māori cultural ways.

Ironically, throughout this period the concept of "Māoritanga" was being developed by the bastions and patrons of Māori culture in the echelons of the academic world. Steve Webster, describes Māoritanga as "an idealised general conception of essential or traditional Maori culture" (29). The popular stereotype of Māori culture it embodied included characteristics such as:

[...] kin and community solidarity; respected and authoritative elders; public ceremonial and ritual symbolism in *hui* at *marae* (gatherings at kin-based meeting places including meeting-houses decorated with symbolic carvings, weavings, and paintings); generosity and sharing of resources; Maori language as mother tongue; harmony with the natural world; and profound spirituality centred on notions of *tapu* ("taboo"), *mana* ("prestige"), and *wairua* ("spirit").
(29)

These characteristics were assumed to be grounded in tradition and they presented Māori society as a "whole way of life" (Webster 29) regardless of Māori social struggles and political economic reality. Webster states that the ideals of Māoritanga "have deep roots in European Romanticism and images of primitivism, the 'noble savage', and folk society, as well as in the records of Maori traditional culture" (29). He argues that the concept of Māoritanga was promoted in the 1920s by anthropologists and administrators as a means of

placating the increasingly restless Māori “underclass”, the idea being that by encouraging Māori to become *more* Māori by adopting the ideals represented above, they would be distracted away from political and economic issues. An unthreatening “pride in Māoriness” was to replace a potentially disruptive sense of Māori grievance.

During the economic depression in the 1930s the presumption (supported by the concept of Māoritanga) that Māori knew how to “live off the land”, was used by the government to justify giving Māori lower relief payments than Pākehā. Although Ngata, himself an advocate of Māoritanga, supported this decision, its implementation by the government illustrates how the manipulation of Māori identity politics by those in power has historically forced Māori into a position of economic disadvantage.

In the early years of urbanisation Māori mourned the loss of their economic and cultural ties to the land, but by the 1960s they had combined their own cultural knowledge of the land with the concepts embodied in Māoritanga to form political and moral justifications for the return of alienated Māori “lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess” (Treaty of Waitangi, appendix A).

Conclusion

The government may have physically taken Māori land, but Māori existential bonds to tribal areas, and New Zealand as a whole, were fuelled by the discourses constructed by Māori and Pākehā outlined above. Although Pākehā exploited Eurocentric representations of Māori and nature to aid colonisation, they also (unintentionally) provided Māori with discursive means by which to protest for the return of land. The Treaty of Waitangi articulated Māori land rights in Eurocentric terms and Māori have subsequently used the document to help protect their culturally inherent rights defined therein. The British monarchy provided Māori with the model of a King, which temporarily strengthened Māori economic and political power in the Waikato before the war in 1863. Missionary teachings intended, in part, to sever Māori from the “heathen” beliefs which framed their relationship with the land, also provided the analogy of the Israelites used by

Māori prophets to strengthen Māori spiritual and emotional attachment to their lost homelands.

Resistance to colonisation took many forms and illustrates the flexibility of Māori to “reinvent” their culture where necessary. Past discourses about Māori and the land remain in circulation and influence modern narratives of Māori land politics. Prose fiction narratives written by Māori in English since the 1960s incorporate these discourses and, as the next chapter about Ihimaera’s novels *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* illustrates, these narratives have become increasingly political in response to the broader politicisation of Māori land grievances. Like their ancestors before them, Māori at the turn of the twenty-first century face the challenge of turning their existential bonds to the land back into physical ownership. The first step in this process must be the re-articulation of the existential bonds on which Māori historical and spiritual “rights” are based. Contemporary Māori writers play an essential role in this political movement.

CHAPTER TWO

“The Land, Always the Land”: Witi Ihimaera and Narratives of Resistance

Because of the presence of the colonizing outsider, the land is recoverable at first only through the imagination. (Said *Culture and Imperialism*)

Contemporary Māori authors write against the history of land alienation described in Chapter One. Their work engages with this history in a direct manner, for example, through reference to particular historic events such as the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Land Wars, and in an indirect manner, for example, Duff's work deals with the repercussions for urban Māori of being landless. Ihimaera, Grace, and Hulme write generally about land issues facing Māori iwi, hapū and whānau. They write about a common history of dispossession and use techniques such as allegory and parable to tell stories about the loss of, and the hopeful restoration of, Māori land. Ihimaera and Grace also write about iwi specific land in their fiction.

Fiction by Māori writers about Māori ties to land in New Zealand has changed in style and content over the past forty years as Māori continue to re-evaluate and reinterpret their culture in the present. The authors studied in this thesis write about the past in relation to their present, and as the contemporary context out of which they write changes, so do their interpretations of the past. Such new interpretations hope to have some bearing on the way readers approach issues relating to Māori iwi, hapū and whānau in the future. Thus, the literature in question seeks to provide new contexts for Māori/Pākehā relations. This chapter proposes that since the 1980s the context out of which, and into which, Māori writers present their fiction, and in particular their representations of the relationship between Māori iwi and their land, has become increasingly politicised.

In the first section of this chapter an outline is given of the way fiction by Māori in the late 1950s, 60s and early 70s represented Māori emotional bonds to tribal land. The focus is on stories published in *Te Ao Hou*, the journal of the Department of Māori Affairs running from 1952-1974, and the early work of Witi Ihimaera – the first Māori writer to publish a collection of short stories (*Pounamu*, *Pounamu* in 1972) and a novel (*Tangi* 1973). Although this literature has educational qualities in that it powerfully evokes and explains Māori existential

ties to place, it is written in the tradition of pastoral romanticism and is very much influenced by the emergent politics of integration.

As Māori activists campaigned for greater cultural and political independence Māori authors began to write within a paradigm of resistance to continued Pākehā injustice and Māori land alienation. They developed new strategies for articulating Māori existential bonds to tribal land. During the 1980s Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme and Witi Ihimaera used a combination of historical revisionism, political allegory, Māori mythology and Māori language to make statements about the inalienable connection between Māori people and their lands. They were in effect contributing to the demands of Māori political groups to have their culture recognised and protected under a bicultural national framework. The third section of the chapter explores work published in the 1980s and 90s by Witi Ihimaera and illustrates the developing political dimensions of Māori fiction in relation to land issues. Ihimaera is the focus of the chapter because although Grace and Hulme write about Māori relationship to the land, Ihimaera has written more extensively and consistently about his own tribal land. He uses traditional and non-traditional methods of aligning Māori in general, and his own whānau in particular, with the land. *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* continue the nineteenth century tradition of resistance to Pākehā land domination by incorporating and extending oral narratives surrounding the lives of Te Kooti and Rua Kenana. Ihimaera outlines the historical and legal right of his semi-fictional characters to the land in question and adds a weight of (syncretic) existential ties to their claim by creative use of the existing narratives. The land Ihimaera writes about in the two novels is an area near Gisborne belonging to his own tribe. In 1869 the government confiscated some of this land. The novels form part of the ongoing political campaign to have the confiscated land returned to its rightful, Māori owners.

Early Literature

Short stories by Māori writers contributed to *Te Ao Hou* between 1952-1974 employ a form of pastoral romanticism in writing about the relationship between Māori and their land. The stories develop problematic notions of Māoritanga in their idyllic representation of Māori culture. As the last chapter demonstrated,

Māori ascription to Māoritanga has not always been beneficial for Māori and actually placed them at an economic disadvantage in the 1930s depression. Similarly, the revival of Māoritanga during the Māori renaissance in the 1960s was dubiously beneficial. Māoritanga, as sponsored by *Te Ao Hou*, took the form of a Pākehā-guided initiative aimed at the integration of Māori into mainstream New Zealand. Māori prose fiction contributions to the magazine during this period subscribed to the central tenets of the prevailing philosophy, which viewed traditional Māori cultural life-ways as fast disappearing into the past.

The short stories in question locate rural communities as pure authentic centres of Māoritanga. The rural communities are thought to be authentic because they are cut off from the encroaching Pākehā cities and modern influences. Stories such as Arapera Blank's "Ko Taku Kumara Hei Wai-u Mo Tama" (No 24 1958), celebrate the "natural rhythm" that is presumed to have existed between Māori and the land before the advent of the competitive Pākehā economy. In the story "I Remember" (No 67 1969), Kanarahi Mio writes in a nostalgic tone about living "simply" on the land in the days before urbanisation. Likewise, in Witi Ihimaera's story "Halcyon" (No 69 1970), rural Māori are portrayed as living in a blissful relationship with nature. However, it is evident in all the stories that a transition is taking place; Māori are beginning to leave their land for the cities in the hope of finding better job prospects and education. He Manuka's story "The New World" discusses how Māori can best bridge the gap between their old world which was "close to Nature's heart" and "Te Ao Hou", the New world, which is one of Pākehā education and modernity. Attitudes to the "Pākehā cities" are ambivalent because despite being the place of opportunity they are also violent and threatening. Many of the stories contributed to the journal are moral anecdotes about young Māori who succumb to the temptations of parties, alcohol and money and fail to make proper use of the education on offer.¹¹

In his early work Ihimaera used a form of pastoralism to depict emotional bonds between rural Māori communities and their surroundings. There is a sense, in *Pounamu*, *Pounamu* in particular, of a past golden age in which Māori lived a

¹¹ For example "I Failed the Test of Life" by Mason Durie (No. 14 1956) which was considered the best English entry in the second *Te Ao Hou* literary competition and "The Fledgling" by Peter Sharples (No. 34 1961) another competition winner.

pure and simple life in harmony with the land. This world is represented by the community elders. As the old people die so too do these bonds. In “The Whale”, Ihimaera symbolically compares the old kauamātua and the whale – both are stranded and are dying. The kauamātua knows that there is no place for him in “this changing world” (“The Whale” 121). The younger characters in *Pounamu*, *Pounamu*, *Tangi* and *Whanau* are moving away from the community in search of better opportunities in the cities. The old communal ways are coming under pressure from capitalism. As the father of the family in “Search for the Emerald City” explains, “I don’t like to move. Waituhi is where our bones are. But we got to move. Not much room for pa living anymore” (*Pounamu*, *Pounamu* 65). A sadness permeates the stories as the characters mourn for a lifestyle which is fading. Waituhi disappears into the distance in the rear window screen of the family’s car as they head towards the city.

Stories such as the “The Whale” and “Search for the Emerald City” present a backwards look at Māori culture and do not explore future possibilities for the revival of the culture in a modern context. By locating Māori in their rural communities and representing them as “close to nature”, Ihimaera, and writers like him, placed Māori in binary opposition to Pākehā modernity – represented by the cities. Thus, they implicitly confirmed that Māori culture was based in the past. Nostalgic tones and pastoral idylls reinforced this impression.

These stories tend not to envisage anything beyond the gradual integration of Māori into Pākehā society. “Search for the Emerald City” illustrates a negative form of cultural integration as Māori have to exchange one set of values for another. In some of the stories contributed to *Te Ao Hou* and in Ihimaera’s early novels, there are characters who successfully negotiate the survival of Māoritanga in the modern world (for example Tama Mahana in *Tangi*), but the majority of the characters face an either/or situation. Although the Hunn Report in 1961 proposed that the aims of integration were “to combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct” (Hunn 15), critics considered that this was a thinly disguised form of assimilation.¹² Aside from a few concessions made in the field of Māori arts,

¹² Professor Ralph Piddington refers to the term “integration” as an equivalent of “assimilation”, aptly described by one of his students as: “What the shark said to the snapper” (Schwimmer 260).

Māori were still expected and encouraged to participate in Pākehā social, economic and political systems. By the mid to late 1970s it became clear to many Māori that they were making few cultural gains and suffering continued losses. Policies of integration were not the way towards a genuine Māori revival within the modern context. Māori writers began to reassess the pastoral representations they had previously produced which conformed, from their point of view, to the more negative aspects of integration and began to use their fiction to explore ways in which Māori could successfully unite traditional Māori values with modernity.

In a lecture at the Turnbull Library in 1982 Ihimaera said that the aim of his early work had been to “convey an emotional landscape for the Maori people” (“Maori Life and Literature” 47). On reflection he considers that he “created a stereotype”, of “a people who lived in rural communities” (53). He considers that literature written by Māori writers in the 1960s and 1970s “lacked strength and direction”. He elaborates:

It was illustrative, pictorial and of the kind sponsored by *Te Ao Hou*, the journal of the Department of Maori Affairs. It was what I have termed “the pastoral tradition of written Maori literature” and, with very few exceptions, the work lacks anger or political thought. (50)

In hindsight Ihimaera felt that the writers were “given sleeping pills, tranquillisers”; that they were influenced by the editors (Erik Schwimmer, Bruce Mason, Margaret Orbell) of *Te Ao Hou* to conform to the political climate of integration. However, as Māori mobilised themselves in political opposition to continued Pākehā injustices, Māori literature likewise became more politicised. Rather than mourning the passing relationship between themselves and their tribal areas, Māori used the tenets of Māoritanga to promote their present and future political rights to the land.

Increased Political Tension Between Māori and Pākehā

Government patronage of Māoritanga during the 1960s and its apparent praise of the romanticised relationship between Māori and nature, stood in direct contrast to the enactment of several Acts of Parliament aimed at the continued alienation of

Māori from their land. The Rating Act 1967 authorised compulsory sale of Māori land to recover unpaid rates. In the same year the Māori Affairs Amendment Act gave the government the power to compulsorily alienate uneconomic Māori land. Throughout the 1960s Māori continued to move to the cities in search of employment. Joan Metge writes that, “in 1961 barely 40 per cent of the Maori population lived in urban areas: in the space of ten years the proportion rose to 68 per cent” (78). By the 1970s many Māori found themselves landless and urbanised: their reality was a far cry from the idyllic rural life promoted by early Māori fiction.

In 1975 Māori responded to these Acts with the Land March from Te Hapua in the north to the capital in Wellington, led by the former president of the Māori Women’s Welfare League, Whina Cooper. As the march made its way down the centre of the north island it raised awareness of Māori land grievances and politicised the Māori population. The message put out by the march was that “not one more acre of Māori land” was to be alienated. When the protestors arrived in Wellington they presented the Prime Minister with the Memorial of Rights, which asked the government to protect remaining Māori lands from statutes with power to alienate, designate or confiscate them. Land was once again at the heart of race relation issues in New Zealand.

Two high profile Māori land disputes followed the march. At Raglan the Tainui Awhiro people campaigned for the return of the Te Kopua block. This area of land was compulsorily taken in 1941 for an aerodrome under the War Energy Regulations. After the war it was vested in the Raglan County Council which let it to the local golf club. In April 1976 a group of protestors led by Eva Rickard, demonstrated on the golf course. They claimed that a bunker had been built over a sacred burial site. After much legal wrangling the Minister of Māori Affairs agreed to re-vest the land with tribe.

In 1977 the Orakei Māori Action Committee occupied land at Bastion Point in Auckland in protest at the government’s systematic dispossession of the Ngāti Whatua in this area. The occupation lasted for 506 days and was finally brought to an end on 28 May 1978 by a force of 600 policemen.

In both of the cases mentioned, Māori claimed legal right to the land and sought redress through the legal system. In 1975 Matiu Rata, Minister of Māori

Affairs, steered the Treaty of Waitangi Act through Parliament. The Act established the Waitangi Tribunal in 1976 as a mechanism to hear Māori land grievances. The Tribunal was limited to hearing only those cases that arose after the Act had been passed, thus it did not cover cases such as the Raglan golf course dispute or the Bastion Point petition. After continued protest by Māori against Waitangi celebrations held annually on the 6 February, the Labour government passed an Amendment Act in 1985 to make the Waitangi Tribunal retrospective to 1840. With these powers in place more Māori land claims were made. Issues of ownership were again debated – Māori claims comprised of historical, legal, spiritual and moral rights. Traditional existential ties to the land were brought to the forefront of debate. In Raglan Eva Rickard had used the spiritual significance of the Māori burial ground on the golf course to help give moral fibre to her case. The existence of “sites of significance” was to become a widely contested area in subsequent years.

Hone Tuwhare’s poem about the land march, written in 1978, stresses traditional mythological ties between the Māori people and Mother Earth:

“Papa-tu-a-nuku (Earth Mother)”

We are stroking, caressing the spine
of the land.

We are massaging the ricked
back of the land

with our sore but ever-loving feet:
hell, she loves it!

Squirming, the land wriggles
in delight.

We love her.

(An Anthology of New Zealand Poetry in English 242)

In the Māori creation myth it is said that when Rangi-nui was pushed into the sky Papatūānuku was rolled over onto her front. Thus, the path the land march took down the centre of the north island followed the line of Papa’s spine. This pathway, if traveled in a northerly direction, is also the way to Te Reinga, the place where Māori spirits leap from New Zealand out towards Hawaiki. The

march therefore consolidated Māori political determination at the same time as it re-emphasised Māori spiritual bonds to the land.

During the 1980s Māori writers continued to write about rural Māori communities and their emotional relationship to the land, but they added a political dimension to their stories which had not been in evidence before. A range of literary strategies were devised which asserted continuity in the ties which held Māori to their land. Unlike the nostalgic literature of the 1960s and early 70s, this new literature actively promoted resistance to further land alienation.

Potiki (1986) by Patricia Grace is a political allegory about Māori resistance to further land alienation. It is based on events at Raglan, Bastion Point and within her own community near Wellington. *the bone people* by Keri Hulme, much like *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* by Ihimaera, uses Māori mythology to articulate Māori spiritual bonds to New Zealand in such a way as to assert prior Māori “ownership” of the land. In *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* Ihimaera uses Māori oral myth narratives and historical revisionism to consolidate the rights of his tribe and whānau to a particular area of land on the East Coast of New Zealand.

Land in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*

In the Turnbull lecture of 1982, Ihimaera stated his family lineage and tribal affiliations. He is linked with Te Aitanga-A-Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, and Ngāti Kahungunu through his father, Te Whānau-A-Apanui through his grandfather’s mother, and Tuhoe through his great-grandfather. On his grandmother’s side he is a descendant of Wi Pere who was a Member of Parliament for the East Coast in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Ihimaera’s whānau is the Whānau-A-Kai, their marae is Rongopai in Waituhi, near Gisborne. He describes his early years in Waituhi as “in the main, lived between the boundaries enclosing Mangatu to the west, Nuhaka to the south, Hikurangi in the north and the sea, Te Moana nui a Kiwa, to the east” (“Maori Life and Literature” 46). The land Ihimaera grew up on is exactly the same piece of tribal land that features in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*.

The precise location of the “Mahana land” is given time and again in the two novels. In the Prologue to *The Matriarch*, Artemis recites Tamatea’s tribal

affiliations, she states where the boundaries of the Rongowhakaata area lie, and names the surrounding tribes:

This is our land, mokopuna. *Here.* Now *look.* There, is the boundary between us and the Ngati Porou to the east. There, we have the Whanau A Apanui to the north. There, to the south, we have the Ngati Kahungunu people with whom we have close affiliations. And the Tuhoe, the Children of the Mist, are to our west. Now, within Turanganui, we have the Rongowhakaata confederation, Ngati Tamanuhiri and Te Aitanga A Mahaki. The boundary of the Rongowhakaata confederation begins at the sea north of Muriwai and runs along the Oneroa Beach as far as Waikanae. There, lies the boundary between Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga A Mahaki, running to Makaraka, south-west across the Waipaoa River to, and up, the Waikakariki Stream, past Patutahi, then east to join the Tamanuhiri tribal boundary. (5-6)

She then pinpoints the site of Waituhi:

Watch even closer, mokopuna, for now I must point out to you your land of Waituhi as it exists within the tribal lands of the people of Turanganui. Commit this to memory: we are on the western side of the Waipaoa River and opposite the Waimarie settlement near Ormond. We are washed by the Waipaoa River on our east and our north. We are divided from Repongaere by Tore o Haua. We are separated from Pukepapa by the Pouarua Creek on the west. We are five miles from Patutahi. Ramaroa Pa is our ancient hill fort. Taumata o Tumokonui is our highest peak. Our family marae is Rongopai. We are the Whanau A Kai and our kin are Nga Potiki. (5-6)

The details of the land are important as the natural features provide tribal boundaries which define who the people are. In Māori it is customary to greet a stranger not with the words “what is your name?” but with “where are you from?” In this manner identities are formed and links between people, where appropriate, are established.

The land in question in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* has an interesting and colourful history. Ihimaera has mixed the “real” history of this

land (his own tribal land) with the semi fictional characters of the Mahana clan. Parallels can be drawn between the figure of the matriarch and Ihimaera's own grandmother Teria Pere. They bear the same relation to Wi Pere and share minor, but significant details.¹³ Overall the matriarch is most likely a conflation of many strong female characters either related or known to Ihimaera, but the associations with Teria Pere highlight the personal dimension of the novels.¹⁴ Among the preparatory material for *The Dream Swimmer*, draft Land Court Records show the name of Ihimaera's mother "Julia Keelan". These references to his mother and grandmother compiled with similar whakapapa links between himself and Wi Pere, and the narrator Tamatea and Wi Pere, suggest that in the two novels discussed here Ihimaera is telling the "story" of his own tribal lands. The boundaries of his family land given in the Turnbull lecture are frequently repeated in the course of *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*.¹⁵ As the history of this area is related it becomes clear that Rongowhakaata and Whānau-A-Kai land claims dating back to 1869 have not been forgotten. Periodic protests and petitions have been made to the government concerning this land and these events compromise the main "action" of the two novels. The novels themselves conform to the characters' "kaupapa", "to fight and keep on fighting" (*Dream* 418) until the land taken by the government in 1869 is returned to the Māori people.

There are three levels on which the struggle for the retention or reclamation of land is dramatically portrayed by Ihimaera. Firstly, there is the Mahana land and Tamatea's personal struggle to reclaim his "birthright", that is, the land given to him by his grandmother, the matriarch, on her death. Secondly, the lands which Te Kooti, Rua Kenana, Wi Pere, the matriarch, Tamatea and Eretra fight for are East Coast and Poverty Bay tribal lands which the government

¹³ In a publication produced for the Wi Pere Trust Centenary, information regarding the biography of Teria Pere Smiler (1894-1955) states that she "was the roller skating champion of Gisborne" (41). In *The Matriarch* Tamatea tells Regan, "my aunt says that my grandmother used to roller skate" (22).

¹⁴ There are several historical female figures from the East Coast region to which the matriarch can be compared. In *Amiria: The Life Story of a Maori Woman* (1976), Anne Salmond tells the story of Mihi Kotukutuku, the wife of Duncan Stirling and a chieftainess of the Whānau-a-Apanui. On the East Coast, high-ranking women such as Mihi Kotukutuku, are traditionally allowed speaking rights on the marae. After traveling to Rotorua to a tangi, Mihi stood up and spoke on a Te Arawa marae where no woman was permitted to do so. She did not back down to the insults of the men (70-71).

¹⁵ See for example, *The Matriarch* 5-6, 101-104 and *The Dream Swimmer* pages 113-114, 175-176, 418.

confiscated after the Pai māriri and Ringatū uprisings in the 1860s. Thirdly, Ihimaera expands the issue of land confiscation and reclamation beyond the specific region of Poverty Bay out to other Māori tribal lands and other colonised peoples. These three levels will be looked at in turn.

The Mahana Land – Tamatea’s birthright.

Tamatea is the matriarch’s first born grandson. He is the one chosen by her to act as guardian of the land she inherited from Wi Pere. The matriarch prepares him not only to protect their own family land but to challenge the government over the outstanding confiscated lands which, in her view, are owed to the tribes of Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-A-Mahaki. The land she bequeaths to Tamatea includes the “Wi Pere Estate”. This estate is said by Tamatea to consist of two farms; Whakarau Station and Ramaroa Station. “Both were small islands in an ocean of land taken by the Pakeha as reparation for resistance in the Land Wars” (*Dream* 176). Historically this estate was a successful business; in the 1890s when under the partnership of Wi Pere and a close relative Peka Kerekere it held an estimated 18,000 sheep. In 1899 the estate was put under a Deed of Trust and is now governed by the provisions of the Māori Purposes Act 1991.¹⁶ In the novel however, the estate is under the sole name of Artemis Riripeti Pere. Whilst she is alive her husband and extended family work on the land. Te Ariki, Tamatea’s father describes the estate:

The major part of the estate was run as two farms. The larger farm, Whakarau, was good strong land, but hilly, and best suited for grazing and fattening stock, both sheep and cattle [...]. The second, smaller farm was Ramaroa. This was run by a Pakeha manager, Mr Joseph Horner, until I grew into manhood and took it over. (*Dream* 113)

Over the page he describes the family involvement in running the farms:

Circe became your grandmother’s secretary, helping her with the accounts and day-to-day finances. Alexis worked on Whakarau with Ihaka; but

¹⁶ The estate is located approximately 20 miles north west of Gisborne and owns and manages farms comprising of sheep, cattle horticulture and cropping activities. It is a substantial business and employs many of its beneficiaries. Witi Ihimaera’s father, Thomas Smiler, was a statutory trustee of the estate.

farming wasn't really in Alexis's blood and, as you know, he soon left to find his fame and fortune gambling in Wellington. Pita and Manaaki did the milking. Your gentle Uncle Danny looked after the hives. Floria and Hiraina worked in the homestead. (*Dream* 114)

Ihimaera's novel *Bulibasha* focuses on the workings of another section of the Mahana clan's estate. The people of Waituhi were divided between the two religions of Ringatū and Mormonism. *Bulibasha* tells the story of the Mormon families whilst *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* focus on the Ringatū followers. Both novels however, emphasise family operation of a farming business. The land is an economic commodity as well as a spiritual resource.

The internal wrangling between the Ringatū Mahana clan concerns the matriarch's wish that Tamatea be named as the sole beneficiary of the land. Her eleven children disagree and have her last will which states this intention repealed in favour of a former will which gives the property to her surviving husband (*Dream* 113). As a consequence of this action Tamatea, who was intended to inherit everything, receives nothing. This is the act that brings about the mate/spell on the Mahana family. Tamatea's struggle throughout the two novels to find the cause of the mate culminates in the understanding that his relatives brought it upon themselves.

Ihimaera appears to have mixed fiction, fact and autobiography in the writing of the two novels. This process is most evident in regard to the Land Court Records given at the end of *The Dream Swimmer*. The Records are fictitious but the details in the headings and the conclusions are of the right kind. An authentic Land Court Record reads like this:

Mana Moanaroa Pere or Edwards Decd
Application 119/1953

Date 14 August 1961
Present B.Sheehan Esq
Judge
R.W. Pohatu
C/Intrpr.

Reel 419
Micro-Z 3094

Ihimaera has inserted the names of his fictional characters, such as Artemis Riripeti Pere, in place of “Mana Moanaroa Pere”. For reasons of space Ihimaera’s text reduces the records to two to three lines:

*RIRIPETI ARTEMIS MAHANA neé PERE DEC’D: Application 135/ 1957:
TAIRAWHITI MAORI LAND COURT RECORDS: Reel-803: Gisborne 15 May
1958: 4.50pm. (Dream 402)*

The association between the novels and his own family concerns is extended through the reference to his mother, Julia Keelan, mentioned earlier. Ihimaera’s family and their land provide much of the source material and whilst refraining from reading *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* as an autobiography it does become clear that the political dimension of the text is directly related to the Rongowhakaata and Whānau-A-Kai land surrounding Waituhi. Family squabbles over the Pere Estate in the novels make the point that land should reside with its “rightful” owners or else negative consequences will arise.

The story of Tamatea’s personal relationship with the land enables Ihimaera to explore the existential importance of the land. Tamatea is educated by the matriarch into an understanding of the historical, tribal and spiritual importance of the lands surrounding Waituhi. She makes him “walk the proud land” (*Matriarch* 102) with her as she points out the boundaries and the sites of significance. “And because this is your land”, she tells Tamatea, “you must know it like it knows itself [...]. You must get to know its very boundaries, e mokopuna, and every part of it because without this knowledge you are lost” (*Matriarch* 95). The boundaries and “the stories attached to their making” (*Matriarch* 103) must be “memorised” by Tamatea. The land becomes like a “geography text” or a “history book” (*Matriarch* 103) which he must read in order to understand where he has come from.

Specific land formations in each tribal area help define the people who inhabit the region. The matriarch is defined through the land; “Maunga Haumia was the mountain, Waipaoa was the river, Te Whanau A Kai was the iwi and Riripeti was the woman” (*Dream* 176). Tamatea similarly defines his own identity through reference to the land. He states; “My mountain is Maunga Haumia. My river is the Waipaoa. My meeting house is Rongopai. I am so lucky to have a small valley to come from and a people to love” (*Dream* 418). By

internalising the map of the land on his mind Tamatea sustains his own sense of identity and helps to continue the “tribal memory” (*Matriarch* 103) and therefore the tribal identity in the present.

Apart from the visible signs of history on the land such as the “small mound called Pa Whakarau” (*Matriarch* 101), which relate to stories of tribal ancestors, the land possesses a spiritual dimension which is particularly significant to the Whānau-A-Kai. As Mark Williams has pointed out, behind the dilapidated buildings of Waituhi lies “another, invisible, Waituhi”:

[...] the Waituhi of the family, the whanau, the ridgepole connecting past and present. This Waituhi is absent from the lives and even from the broken dreams of most of the present inhabitants. But it is operative for those, like the matriarch, in whom eternity still lives and moves because they possess the imaginative and spiritual capacity to envisage it. (*Leaving the Highway* 120)

Tamatea, like the matriarch, possesses the ability to see this invisible world:

All of a sudden, the veil between day and night lifted, and the matriarch and the child were in some otherworld where gods and men commune. Where timelessness begins and there is no separation of past and present. A world energised with glowing forces and creatures of light fading in and out of the hills, the plains and the physical landscape of Waituhi. The child saw into the essence of things. He saw the gleaming sap ascending the trees, and the sap and the dark red blood coursing his transparent body were one and the same. He saw into the geological structures of the earth, and the diamond sparkling structure of the mountains were one and the same as the gleaming cellular structure of his body. He saw the movement of light and wind and cloud, and they were one and the same as his own life force. (*Matriarch* 108-109)

The source of this spiritual energy which can not be seen with the eye “*but with the heart and the soul and the intellect*” (*Matriarch* 110), is the mauri, “a talisman of great power” which was brought by the early canoe voyages to rest in the Place

of the Willows (*Dream* 184).¹⁷ The mauri radiates a “profound occult energy” and invests the land with mana and tapu. It is from this energy that the matriarch draws her spiritual power. As Tamatea grows older the energy in the land fades because more and more land is sold or lost and the people leave it for the cities. In the matriarch’s opinion the Pākehā is to blame; “He is the Devil, the devourer of souls and land” (*Dream* 176). It is Tamatea’s task to save Waituhi, to regenerate the mauri and to return the land to the people. This challenge is much like the one set Joe Gillayley in *the bone people* examined in Chapter Six. As the people unite under Tamatea to petition the government for the return of their tribal lands the life force of the land begins to be revived. The spiders, which are symbolic representations of the power of the mauri, begin to reappear (*Dream* 338).

The type of language used by Ihimaera to describe the spiritual character of the land has caused much debate. Ken Arvidson has suggested that Ihimaera writes, not so much in the vein of “art for art’s sake” but to convey a political message. The purpose of Ihimaera’s “magical realist” discourse appears to be the assertion of “the survival of Māori spirituality and to stress its difference from the Judaeo-Christian tradition” (“Aspects” 125). Ihimaera, like Keri Hulme, in Arvidson’s understanding, uses “heightened language” “not so much to compensate for any lack of spirituality in the world of the Māori as to assert vehemently its validity in contexts where non-Māori readers might not have looked for spiritual values, as in the relation between people and the land, for example, or in people’s relation to their dead and to the past in general” (“Aspects” 125).

In *The Matriarch*, pre-European New Zealand is spiritualised in terms of “a time scale that dwarfs the colonising efforts of the Pakeha” (Williams *Leaving the Highway* 123). Ihimaera’s retelling of the Takitimu canoe voyage to New Zealand enhances the romance and the mythical dimension of the story. The gods enclosed in the canoe’s altar are described through technicolour images. The canoe itself, after voyaging to New Zealand accompanied by taniwha, comets and supernatural greenstone adzes, and “settling different areas with its cargo of gods”

¹⁷ Māori believe that every single object in the world has a “mauri”, a life force. James Richie makes this point: “[e]verything in the Maori world has a spiritual dimension” (*Becoming*

(*Matriarch* 5), is then subsumed into a sea of greenstone (*Matriarch* 277). Such a fantastic retelling of the myth does, as Arvidson has suggested, draw attention to the fundamental link between the Takitimu descendants and the land. The name Tamatea also connects Ihimaera's protagonist with the captain of the Takitimu canoe. The spiritual links between land and man, which existed in the past, are therefore imaginatively reiterated in the present. The matriarch's land descends to her family from legendary and mythical times. She tells Tamatea:

This was our land. This was our life. It is your life and land now. It has been yours even before you took your first breath. It came to you beyond the time of men and gods to the very beginning of Night and the Void. A thousand years and further back, mokopuna. We had eternity in us. (*Matriarch* 6)

A similar technique is used in Ihimaera's earlier novel, *Tangi*. The novel is framed by the creation myth of Rangi and Papa. The protagonist, who once again is Tama Mahana, comes to terms with the death of his father and begins to accept his place in the Māori rural community through an understanding of the mythical and legendary origins of his people. The individual is incorporated into the family, the family into the tribal unit, which, in turn, is given meaning by the communal ownership and nurturing of tribal land. "The whole social system and its attendant values are given meaning within the framework of a specific system of myths" (Corballis and Garrett 34). The mythological structure invests the Māori individual in the present with ancient ties to the land. Whereas *Tangi* represents these ties primarily on an emotional and personal level, *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* couch them, and the accompanying emotion, within a political context.

In *The Matriarch*, the arrival of Captain Cook and the temporal association of the Pākehā with New Zealand are satirically contrasted by Ihimaera to the spiritual and eternal relationship shared by his Māori protagonists with the land. Ihimaera writes:

The glorious birth of the nation has the taste of bitter almonds when one remembers that six Maoris died so that a flag could be raised and that the *Endeavour*

had lain in Poverty Bay for only two days and fourteen hours. (*Matriarch* 37)

Ihimaera therefore describes the special relationship of the Māori with the land and asserts Māori claims to it whilst simultaneously diminishing the presence of the Pākehā.

Ihimaera illustrates the importance of land to individual identity, but Tamatea's individual quest is part of a larger process that is concerned with tribal lands rather than individual titles. Tamatea is portrayed as the one character who understands the spiritual and cultural importance of the land and it is to him that the task of leading his whānau in the protest against the government for the return of tribal land falls. Through Tamatea's fictional protest Ihimaera charts the history of his own land and makes a very real political statement concerning tribal rights of ownership.

Tribal lands

Tamatea is only one character amongst many in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* who campaign for the return of tribal lands confiscated by the government in the late nineteenth century. Te Kooti, Wi Pere, Rua Kenana, the matriarch, and the East Coast Rastafarians also take the task upon themselves.

The history of the area in question in the two novels is given, if in a fractured manner, by Ihimaera during the course of the narrative action. For much of the information on land confiscation Ihimaera has used Mackay's *Historic Poverty Bay* and M.P.K Sorrenson's entry on Land Tenure in the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand History*.¹⁸ The 26,000 acres of Māori land which Tamatea informs the Prime Minister at the end of *The Dream Swimmer* were "taken in error", refer to a real section of land which entered the Crown's hands after the Land Wars of the 1860s. The area of land referred to by Tama Mahana is the 26,161 acres of land deemed by the Crown Commission in 1920 to have been wrongly taken by the government after the Hau hau uprisings in 1869.

¹⁸ Mackay's text has been extensively used by Ihimaera in the section on Te Kooti in Act Two of *The Matriarch*. In Act Three (238-244) Ihimaera uses Mackay's chapter entitled "Spoils to the Victors" (305-309) alongside Sorrenson's essay. Ihimaera's failure to acknowledge Sorrenson as a source sparked controversy – see "Matriarch Passages Copied – Historian" by Andrew Johnston, *Dominion Sunday Times*, 26 Nov. 1989:1.

During the Poverty Bay Commission in June 1869 the tribes of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki and Rongowhakaata, and the hapū of Ngaitahupo offered the Crown three blocks of land at Patutahi, Muhunga and Te Arai, as recompense for some of their members being involved with the Hau hau. The hope was that in giving these sections the government would waive claims to the rest of their land. As the tribes understood it the amount of land offered was 15,000 acres spread evenly between the three blocks, although, boundary points mentioned indicate that the area may have been slightly larger. As the government understood it, 5000 acres were to be taken at Muhunga, 57,000 acres at Patutahi, and 735 acres at Te Arai. No-one actually clearly defined the borders of the land to be taken and much confusion arose over its size and exact location. In a memorandum in August 1869 McLean stated that the ceded lands were to be divided three equal ways between the government, and the two loyal tribes of Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu. The government was to acquire Muhunga (Ormond) as a military base, Ngāti Porou were given Patutahi and Ngāti Kahungunu given Te Arai. Further difficulties led to the government buying the Ngāti Porou share – an area of 10,000 acres. As the sections were to be equal this made the size of the other two 10,000 acres. However, the government still retained 56,161 acres. Wi Pere opposed the confiscations of these lands and various appeals (like the Patutahi Compensation Claim 1872) led to the setting up of a Commission of Enquiry in 1919. In 1920 the Royal Commission, presided over by Chief Judge Jones, held that there was an outstanding discrepancy between the amount of land taken by the Crown in 1869 and the amount believed to be appropriate for recompensation of rebel activity. Despite evidence suggesting that only 15,000 acres (5,000 acres in each block) were ceded by Ronogowhakaata, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki and Ngaitahupo in 1869, the 1920 Commission found that the Crown was entitled to 30,000 acres. This left an area of 26,161 acres deemed to be taken in “error” (*AJHR* 1921-22 (vol.2) G-5 14-20).

Out of the 26,161 acres taken in excess, the Commission deducted a total of 5,824 acres which had either been returned to Māori or been financially compensated for. This included the 4,214 acres of the Arai Matawai reserve returned to Rongowhakaata, the 1,019 acres of Rakaukaka included in Patutahi for which the two grantees had received compensation, the 500 acres of Patutahi

returned to the landless Whānau-A-Kai, and the 91 acres of Muhunga for which Wi Pere had been compensated.¹⁹ This left a discrepancy of 20,337 acres. While the 1920 Native Land Claims Commission offered no suggestions as to compensation for this loss it did “move to damp down any Māori expectations of substantial compensation, observing that it had clearly been intended that the Crown was to retain the best flat portions of Patutahi, so the excess must be comprised of, ‘the hillier and less valuable land at the back (south and west) of Patutahi and Te Arai blocks’” (Bruce Stirling 684).

The government did not dispute the findings of the 1920 Native Land Claims Commission, but did little to act on them (Bruce Stirling 334). A process of determining the “owners” of Patutahi followed and during this process the Whānau-A-Kai were excluded from the land claims. Several petitions were filed by the Whānau-A-Kai in 1925, '26, '27, '29, '30. The government refused to consider their claims separate from the wider Rongowhakaata claims and only those people willing to submerge their Whānau-A-Kai identity to Rongowhakaata, and who could prove strong whakapapa links to the latter group received small shares in Patutahi. Subsequent struggles for adequate compensation for both Whānau-A-Kai and Rongowhakaata members followed throughout the 1930s and 40s. In May 1949 Whānau-A-Kai sent a delegation to Wellington to put their case for Kaimoe, an area taken under the Rongowhakaata cession in 1869. The government refused them compensation. In July 1949 Rongowhakaata and Whānau-A-Kai met and decided to draw up a joint strategy to improve the government’s compensation offer. In 1950 Rongowhakaata were offered \$38,000 in compensation (they had asked for \$60,000), but the government refused to acknowledge the Whānau-A-Kai claims despite further petitions (Bruce Stirling 334- 352).

The distribution of compensation to individual claimants of Rongowhakaata did nothing to help the Whānau-A-Kai, and nor did it address the more fundamental grievances relating to the far greater area of Rongowhakaata

¹⁹ In 1882 Wi Pere applied to the government for land for the Whānau-A-Kai. He also applied for all the land over and above the 5,000 acres in the Muhunga block taken by the Crown, and for a portion called Waiewaki which he said was to be returned to him personally. The Commissioner recommended that 500 acres be set apart for the Whānau-A-Kai, that the government purchase back from the Europeans three burial-places on the Muhunga block, and that Wi Pere be granted 91 acres. *AJHR* Session II 1884 “Active Claims to Land, etc.,” Poverty Bay. G-4: 11-12.

land taken in excess of 15,000 acres in 1869. Bruce Stirling writes, “deeper issues – such as the justification for taking even the 15,000 acres they had been forced to concede, who the land was (and was not) taken from and why, and the background to the events of 1865-1869 – remained unaddressed” (351).

Whānau-A-Kai and Rongowhakaata land grievances remain to this day. They stand alongside numerous other land claims currently being made to the Waitangi Tribunal.

In both *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* characters from Te Whānau-A-Kai petition the government for land which has not been rightfully returned nor adequately compensated for (244; 356). This is why the matriarch takes her “ope” to the Wellington hui – to demand that the Prime Minister “finally settle the account and return the land to its rightful owners” (*Matriarch* 244). Tamatea, likewise, nearly thirty years later petitions the government for exactly the same reason.

Throughout the course of the novels Ihimaera charts the various Māori movements which have tried to regain East Coast Māori land from the government. Te Kooti represents the old style warrior, fighting with force to reclaim family and tribal land. His prophetic movement grew out of Māori land alienation and discontent with the Pākehā justice system. In her biography of Te Kooti published in 1995, Judith Binney draws attention to the personal dimension of Te Kooti’s land grievances. Land near Matawhero, which he had once lived and worked on, was confiscated by the government. George Reed and Captain Biggs were amongst those who settled on this land. “Te Kooti’s decision to attack Matawhero”, writes Binney, “was far from random: it was a war to reclaim his land” (*Redemption Songs* 112). This argument has often been overlooked by Pākehā commentators who have tended to represent Te Kooti as a merciless, irrational savage rather than a man with a justifiable sense of grievance. In *The Matriarch* Ihimaera focuses on Te Kooti’s vendetta against Captain Biggs and shows the attack on Matawhero to be an act of revenge meted out to those people Te Kooti believed had treated him unfairly.

Te Kooti was followed by another prophet, Rua Kenana, in the early twentieth century. Both movements conflated Māori spirituality with the

teachings of the Old Testament and both sought the return of the Māori people to their native homelands.

Wi Pere used political debate to try and regain confiscated lands. Ihimaera has included edited sections of Hansard reports which deal with Wi Pere's speeches in Parliament concerning Māori land in general. In particular, Pere opposes Pākehā legal determination over Māori tribal lands. He calls for the cession of land purchasing by government, the abolishment of the Native Land Court and the removal of rates from Māori ancestral lands. There is little debate over who he believes to be responsible for the loss of Māori land. In an address to the parliament Pere states; "Yes, you baited the hooks with sweet bait, and we swallowed them, and the result is that our land has departed from us" (*Matriarch* 320).²⁰ Pere states time and again that Māori should be able to make their own laws in regard to tribal lands because he believes that the legal system can not help Māori if it continues to be manipulated by Pākehā politicians. Ihimaera allows his principal narrator, Tamatea, to make the damning accusation that: "The problem was the Pakeha. He played power games with the Maori" (*Matriarch* 316). Misuse of political power is Ihimaera's prime criticism.

The three characters, Te Kooti, Rua Kenana and Wi Pere, are all real historical figures. Each of their stories form narrative threads throughout *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*. Ihimaera weaves the fictional lives of the matriarch and Tamatea into these existing historical narratives and thus places them in a tradition of politically minded East Coast/Poverty Bay leaders who have challenged the government over land issues.

One way in which Ihimaera's novels establish this pattern of leadership and endorse a tribally specific land claim can be seen through his incorporation of the myth narratives which relate to the prophets, Te Kooti and Rua Kenana.

Māori Prophetic Movements

In an article concerning the Māori perspective of history Ihimaera wrote:

I believe that Maori people have every reason to be suspicious of the history that we are taught and which, to a certain extent, still determines the shape

²⁰ Ihimaera incorporates most of Wi Pere's speech. For the full text see, *NZPD* Vol. 48 (Aug 7-25, 1884) Supply Sep 24, 1884: 591-592.

of our lives. Our duty is to confront history with our own. Indeed, there is no such thing as History. Rather there are many histories and, even within the Maori framework, this is acknowledged. Each iwi, each hapu has a different or, rather, tribal, approach to their histories which are more parallel observations having parallel facts and parallel perceptions on the same factual events. These are further informed by the holistic frameworks of the unreal as well as the real. (“A Maori Perspective” 53-54)

In the two novels Ihimaera presents the history of a Ringatū whānau. As discussed in Chapter One, the Ringatū religion was established by Te Kooti in the 1860s. Te Kooti used both Christian teachings (predominantly the Old Testament) and Māori mythology as means through which to interpret the history of colonisation in New Zealand. In *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, Ihimaera’s protagonists, Artemis and Tamatea, retell the history of the Ringatū church. The syncretic character of the prophetic movement is echoed in the narrative strategies of the novels.

The Influence of the Bible on Māori Prophetic Movements

The prophetic movements of the late nineteenth century combined Māori cosmology with Judeo-Christian beliefs. Judith Binney writes:

Maori internalised the redemptive messages of the Scriptures, as they identified with the genealogically structured, orally composed narratives of the Bible, the Israelitic tribal traditions of journeying, and the Jewish history of dispossession. (“Songlines” 232)

Each of the Māori prophetic leaders saw themselves as Moses, the Pākehā as Egyptians led by Pharaoh. Binney notes that encoded in this identification is the premise of continual leadership; subsequent prophets would arise to fulfil the quest of Moses to return the people to their homeland and to their autonomy (“Songlines” 232). In *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* Ihimaera relates the rise of the two prominent Māori prophets, Te Kooti and Rua Kenana. The principal narrator of these sections is the matriarch herself, who as a follower of Te Kooti’s Ringatū faith, recounts the lives of the prophets through a biblical

model. Her language is that of the Old Testament and is punctuated with religious refrains:

Glory To Thy Holy Name. And upon landing at Whareongaonga, on 10 July 1868, the prophet told the people that he would be like unto Moses and that, with the guidance of Jehovah, would lead us out of bondage of Egypt. (*Matriarch* 140)

The oral nature of the matriarch's language is derived from the Bible.²¹ The refrain "*Glory To Thy Holy Name*" is alternated with the Māori "*Kororia Ki To Ingoa Tapu*" thus reflecting the syncretic nature of the Ringatū religion.

Te Kooti drew his authority as a prophet from both the Bible and Māori sources. Within New Zealand he placed himself in a tradition of matakites, Māori visionaries. He claimed his descent from Toiroa Ikariki (Ikarihi) a reputed prophet who lived at Nukutaurua on the Mahia Peninsula in the early nineteenth century. Toiroa, in turn, claimed his descent from Nga-Toro-i-Rangi, the tohunga of the Arawa canoe. Te Kooti stated:

Na ko ahau (Te Kooti) te kai whakaatu i matakitetia mai ai e ia, a ki te whanau ahau ka tae mai he iwi hou ki tenei motu. He Atua ano to ratau, ara ko Tama-i-rorokutia he Atua pai otira ka ngaro te tangata.

Now I (Te Kooti) was the one to reveal what he [Toiroa] prophesied, that when I was born a new people would come to this land. They would have another God, that is Tama-i-rorokutia, a good God, however the people would be oppressed. (*Binney Redemption Songs* 12)

The statement evokes the colonial predicament of the Māori but also anticipates the hope that might be found in the new religious teachings of the Bible. The biblical parallel drawn between Te Kooti and Moses grew in strength as their spiritual concerns and nationalist tendencies melded and practical details, such as the government pursuit of the Ringatū followers, mirrored that of Pharaoh and the Israelites. Te Kooti aligned himself further with Moses as the war he waged against the colonial government was both a religious war and a battle over land.

²¹ Walter Ong has commented on the use of orality in Biblical texts in *Orality and Literacy* 75.

The associations between the two prophets are emphasised in great detail in *The Matriarch*. For the “factual” information concerning Te Kooti’s life Ihimaera has used Mackay’s *Historic Poverty Bay* as a source. However, he has overlain the material with the matriarch’s religious nationalist tract; thus altering the perspective of “History” from that of a Pākehā, male academic to a Māori, female, Ringatū one.

In Act Two the matriarch extends the association of Moses and Te Kooti. Like Moses, Te Kooti “lived in the land of Egypt” and “worked for Pharaoh” (i.e., the Pākehā) (*Matriarch* 134), until on his wrongful arrest “his eyes were opened to the uncleanness of the temple, and the sin of pride of Egypt” (*Matriarch* 135). According to the Ringatū church, whilst in exile on the Chatham Islands the figure of God appeared to Te Kooti (Binney *Redemption Songs* 68-69). This action parallels the revelation of God to Moses in the land of Midan. On the “mountain of God” Moses was called upon by the Lord to return to Pharaoh and lead the children of Israel out of Egypt to the land of “milk and honey”; the New Canaan. Likewise Te Kooti “established his church, Ringatu, as the power of the people in bondage in Egypt” (*Matriarch* 136). He studied the psalms, the books of Joshua and Judges, and wrote Scriptures. Whilst on the Chathams Te Kooti received a vision in which he saw a ship anchoring at the Islands and taking himself and his people back to the Māori nation to begin their task of leading the people out of bondage. A ship did arrive and Te Kooti and his followers captured it and returned to New Zealand. Once back in their homeland government forces pursued them throughout Poverty Bay and the Ureweras. Te Kooti encamped on Puketapu (Holy Mountain) and settled his church there before descending into Matawhero to commence battle with “Pharaoh”.

Te Kooti took the sign of the upraised hand as a motif for the Ringatū religion. This gesture is perhaps based on the actions of Moses, who during the first military encounter after the Israelite escape from Egypt, took his position on a nearby hill and kept his hands upheld (with the help of Aaron and Hur) until Israel had triumphed (Exodus 17:9-13). Binney states that this sign is written about in “The Lamentation of Jeremiah”, the original hymn of the Ringatū faith. She explains:

It [the hymn] describes the pain of bondage and exile. In its final lines the hymn says. “Our own lands have been taken by strangers, but you will always be my father, for ever”. (“Kua riro to matou wahi tipu i nga tangata ke, ko koe tonu i a hei Matua tipu moku, ake ake”). The hymn also says, “But let my heart and my hands be raised up in search for my God”. (“Aue kia ara toku ngakau me oku ringaringa, ke te whai i toku Atua”). The practice which would become particular to Ringatu and which gave the faith its name – the raising of the hand in praise of God at the end of each prayer – stemmed from these words. (*Redemption Songs* 66)

The site of the mountain top is significant in both Māori and Judeo-Christian discourses. For Māori the top of a mountain is where Papa and Rangi are at their closest. Mountains are also thought of as living embodiments of the spirit of Papa. Hone Tuwhare’s poem “A Fall of Rain at Miti-Miti” conveys the life possessed by a mountain: “Mountain why do you loom over us like / that, hands on massive hips?” Furthermore, mountains offer a means of tribal identification, either acting as a land boundary or being used in a motto maxim to identify the homelands of a speaker. In the Judeo-Christian theological conception of the world, mountains are viewed as marking the meeting place of heaven and earth. It is on the “mountain of God” that Moses’s destiny was told to him and it is also here that God revealed the Covenant to him.

In the Māori myth narratives of Te Kooti and Rua Kenana specific mountains take on particular significance. It is believed that Te Kooti hid a diamond on the sacred mountains of each of the tribes who had sheltered him during the war with the colonial government. Rua Kenana, who claimed to be Te Kooti’s successor, is recorded as ascending to the top of Maunga Pohatu. Here, the diamond of Te Kooti was revealed to him. The character Tamatea, in Ihimaera’s novels, also sees the “*diamond of Te Kooti*” whilst on the top of a mountain – Maunga Haumia (*Matriarch* 293). It is on this mountain that Tamatea undergoes a spiritual awakening. Tamatea has seen “the pillars of the sky” (*Matriarch* 292) which evoke the images of the “pillar of cloud” and the “pillar of fire” which guided Moses out of Egypt towards the land of Canaan. Furthermore, he has “*looked into the faces of the gods*” and not been blinded (*Matriarch* 294), just as Moses looked upon God whilst on the summit of the “mountain of God”

(Exodus 33:20-23). Ihimaera appears to be implying that, like Moses, and like Te Kooti and Rua Kenana, Tamatea shares a special relationship with his gods.

Moses was the standard by which subsequent prophets were measured. In Deuteronomy 18:15-18 God announced that he would raise up prophets after Moses who would, like him, be God's spokesmen. The prophet acts as an intercessor; he calls the people's attention to the Scriptures but also receives "calls" from God. Other such biblical prophets were Samuel (1 S 3:1-4), Isaiah (Isa 6:1-3), and Jeremiah (Jer 1:4-9), to name but a few. All the prophets were bound by their common conviction that Moses spoke of God's sovereign will when he told of how the Children of Israel would be delivered to the Promised Land. The Book of Kings in the Old Testament deals with the prophet's interpretations and predictions of history in light of the covenants binding Israel and God. The words of the prophets had the power to plant and uproot nations. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* refers to a series of prophecy fulfillment patterns which occur in the Book of Kings, (for example, 2 S 7:13 par and 1 K 8:20; 1 K 11:29 par 12:15; 13:2 par. 2 K 23:16-18) and states that the prophetic word should be conceived of as "a history creating force that is unleashed in the world and accomplishes its purpose" (Vol. 2 935).

The Māori prophets worked within a similar tradition. Prophecies were made and interpreted according to the present political climate. Judith Binney explains how the narratives which grew up around Te Kooti and Rua Kenana were "brought forth to help make sense of their political decisions and to guide the choices they make" ("Songlines" 235). She goes on to explain that the stories were told to "evaluate contemporary political, spiritual and cultural problems in the light of the people's past experiences ("Songlines" 235). As with the biblical prophets, the power of prophecy actually had the ability to influence history. By claiming his descent not only from the Māori line of prophets but also allegorically from the Old Testament prophets, Te Kooti sought to legitimise his leadership position. Te Kooti prophesied about future leaders and set tasks and quests for them to follow. The Tuhoe prophet Rua Kenana, claimed his baptismal name Hepetipa (Hephizibah) in 1906 from a prediction of Te Kooti uttered in 1885:

Te kupu whakaari mo te maungarongo ... e ki nei ka karangatia koe ko Hepetipa, to whenua ko Peura, no te mea ka hua reka a Ihoa i a koe, a ka whai tahu to whenua.

The prophetic saying concerning the abiding peace ... it says you shall be called Hephizibah and your land Beulah, for the Lord is well pleased with you, and your land shall have a spouse. (Binney "Songlines" 222)

As Binney notes, the scriptural text upon which this predictive message was based was Isaiah 62:4, which looks to restoration of fruitfulness in the land. Rua was baptised as Hepetipa by Eria Raukura, the senior tohunga of the Ringatū faith. It is this action which the matriarch tells us in *The Dream Swimmer* split the community of Waituhi in two; "between those who agreed with Eria and those who preferred to await a successor chosen by the elders whom Te Kooti had nominated" (*Dream* 130). By taking the name Hepetipa, Rua was stating that he was the daughter of Zion (Binney "Songlines" 223). In 1907 Rua referred to himself as Moses and in the early years of his community at Maunga Pohatu the people tried to live by Mosaic codes (Binney "Songlines" 222-223). He later came to identify himself with Christ and like Te Kooti was often seen riding a white horse symbolic of the returning Christ at the end of the Book of Revelation.

Further biblical parallels were evident in Rua's actions and the sacred building named Hiona (Zion), which was the centre of the religious movement, was symbolic of the syncretic theological movement he had created. In *The Dream Swimmer*, Ihimaera gives us this description of the temple:

Hiona was a Maori mosque. Its brilliant colours of white, with diamonds of yellow and trefoils of blue, replicated Israel's royal vestments. They conjured up biblical ancestors like Mordecai, David, Solomon himself. And by using the iconic diamond, they tied the history of Israel to that of Te Kooti, Te Whiti, Ratana, Rua himself and the Maori Israelites living in Aotearoa. (138)

The diamond referred to in the passage above provides an important link between the Christian elements of the prophetic movements and the Māori elements. The image of the diamond is also central to the story of the matriarch. It is through

this precious stone that Ihimaera links his own fictional characters, Artemis and Tamatea, to the myth narratives that surround the Māori prophets.

Māori Myth Templates

Te Kooti and Rua Kenana used traditional myth cycles about Māui and Tawhaki and matakite to establish their mana. Binney writes;

In the nineteenth century, kinship was not necessarily the only path of inheritance to power: prediction, and accomplishment offered an alternative path. But the hau (the essence of life) in all cases was summoned into the present from the ancestors. In this sense, ancestral authority, no matter how it was transferred or seized, remained crucial to each successive leader. (“Songlines” 220)

The narratives that Binney explores link the prophets to the great culture heroes of Māori mythology. The narratives also establish a continuous lineage, or inheritance between the prophets themselves. Thus, Rua’s mana is consolidated through his relationship to Te Kooti. Indeed, the Iharaira (the Israelites, the followers of Rua, who are mostly Tuhoe people of the Ureweras) narratives tell of Rua’s claims to be Te Kooti’s “son”. Prophecies told by one leader are acted upon by the next who claims to share the power of matakite. The quests Rua undertook as a prophet stemmed variously from the tasks set by Te Kooti for his successor. Thus, the narratives which link the prophets actually influence the course of history. In *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, Ihimaera incorporates some of the principal narratives that surround the lives of the prophets. He illustrates how they have been interpreted and acted upon by successive East Coast leaders; Te Kooti, Rua Kenana and the Rastafarians. Each generation expands or redirects the stories so that multiple layers of discourse overlap. Hybrid cults, which blend biblical rhetoric, prophetic visions and contemporary politics are formulated. Ihimaera imaginatively places the matriarch and Tamatea into these same narratives and in doing so can be seen to be responding to his own late twentieth century political concerns.

The two myth narratives identified by Binney as underlying the actions of the prophets and the narratives which surround them are, the Tawhaki tale and the story of Te Tahī-o-Te Rangi the marakihau, or sea monster, who succours his

descendants. Both these templates also underpin Tamatea's quest to secure his own mana in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*. A third myth narrative, concerning the cycle of stories about the demi-god Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga is also present in Ihimaera's novels.

In her article "Songlines from Aotearoa" Binney writes:

Maori myth-narratives often focus on the transference of power to the next generation. Thus, they follow the general pattern of narratives about a son who claims his paternal, or maternal, lineage and who completes the unfinished tasks, just as Tawhaki identified, and recovered, his father's lost bones. (234)

In *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, Tamatea claims his paternal lineage and begins to accept the responsibilities this brings. His task is to secure the return of ancestral lands to the whānau. In this task he is associated with Te Kooti, (who in turn was associated with Tawhaki, as a wanderer and a master of disguise (Binney "Songlines" 227-228). The matriarch locates Tamatea in a line of leaders and in doing so connects him simultaneously to his past and to his destiny:

And so I begin your journey, e mokopuna, at the time of your awakening, by pushing you out into the universe. This the people did in Hawaiki when the *Takitimu* voyaged to this land. And this the mother of Moses did when she placed her sacred son into a tiny woven vessel and consigned him to the Nile so that he would escape the fury of Pharaoh. And the child was guided to the daughter of Pharaoh and lived in Pharaoh's palace and, from there, he grew into manhood until the time came when he said unto Pharaoh, "E hoa, let my people go." And in our own country, these were the words said by your ancestors also. By Te Kooti on the dark side, and by Wi Pere in the parliament of the Pakeha. And these were the words which have come down to me, and which I now pass on to you. (*Matriarch* 294)

Tamatea is characterised by his place in the genealogy, and is designated as the tribal guardian.

The matriarch's possession of "the diamond of Te Kooti" links Tamatea and herself directly to the myth narratives and to Te Kooti and Rua. There are

many stories concerning Te Kooti's diamond. In her article "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts", Binney includes a conversation with Ned and Heni Brown, held at Whatatutu, 14 February 1982. The Browns offer information concerning Te Kooti and the diamond. Ned Brown's grandfather went to see Te Kooti in 1878 to ask him what would happen to his family's land. After a short while Te Kooti said to him, "I'll give you something – he mauri. He mauri mo te whenua". Ned Brown goes on to explain that Te Kooti was "pertaining to some powers unknown to us", that would protect the grandfather's rights to the land (19). Ned Brown continues:

So my grandfather never talk about this thing. But I hear a lot of others – outsiders – talking about it. 'Cos it is believed that it was part of the diamond that Te Kooti used – to go through the dense bush at Te Wera. And those that followed him saw it. It was in the form of a lamb: the diamond. Some say that it is a portion, or part of it broken off from that, and given to my grandfather to bring back and plant it on Mt Maungahaumi[a]. That is the mauri, to hold and preserve the family in the years to come. It was told to Te Hira's father, old Pera Uetuku Tamanui. Te Kooti said to him, "You can sell the rest of Mangatu, but don't ever sell the mountain. Hold the mountain. Because that mountain in days to come, well, your great-great-grandchildren will have a footing. It's better that than having no land."
(20)

As Binney notes, this story establishes the family's relationship both to the prophet and the land. Te Kooti bestowed his protection upon the family and in this telling the diamond, which is symbolic of this protection, is identified with the sacrificial Lamb of God. The multitude of meanings invested in the diamond reflect the hybrid nature of the Ringatū church. Binney writes:

It is not only an image of hidden wealth, or power to be recovered in "the days to come". It recreates the quintessential image for the Maori world, Te Ao Marama, the world of light and knowledge, and it specifically asserts through its biblical reference the salvation of the people in the "days to come". ("Maori Oral Narratives" 20)

As diamonds are not found naturally in New Zealand the origin of the diamond remains uncertain. Binney identifies several imaginative sources; these include the possibility that the North American legend of the diamond hidden in the land, which had been retold by Nathaniel Hawthorne in 1851 as “The Great Carbuncle”, may have circulated and been adapted either by Te Kooti or his followers. Alternatively, the narrative of Tawhaki, who is believed to have brought back the first *whatu kura*, precious stones, used in the East Coast to “seal scholars’ knowledge” may be cited as a source for the “diamond”. Some narratives state that scholars had to search for tiny stones, usually white or red, and then swallow them to seal their knowledge (Binney “Songlines” 229). In some *whare wānanga*, Maori schools of learning, a stone was used to keep the rhythm of the sacred teachings e.g., *karakia*, *whakapapa*, to aid memory and to seal the knowledge in the student’s mind. Binney continues to explain how on *Wharekauri*, in 1868 “Te Kooti set the prisoners a riddle to resolve before their escape: how to eat a small white stone that he said had been revealed to him. The solution, to pound the stone and share it, bonded the prisoners and sealed their grasp of the escape plan” (“Songlines” 229). The diamond is therefore symbolic of land, knowledge and solidarity: three key aspects of the Ringatū movement.

Rua Kenana, who claimed to be Te Kooti’s successor, according to *Iharaira* (Israelite) narratives is recorded as ascending to the summit of his mother’s tribal mountain, *Maunga Pohatu*. Whilst at the summit the diamond of Te Kooti is said to have been revealed to him:

This bright stone remains covered and protected by Te Kooti’s shawl (*horo*), just as Tane’s younger brother covered the bright stars with his mats (*whara*), before he gave the stars to Tane to create the skies [...]. In the *Tuhoe* narrative, Rua is the last to have seen the diamond on the mountain. It is sometimes said to be hidden within one of the three strangely coloured lakes on the mountain’s plateau, and in some versions the diamond was revealed to Rua by *Whaitiri*, the grandmother of Tawhaki, who is also ancestress of the *Tuhoe* people. In all versions, Rua encountered *Whaitiri* on the mountain’s summit. She is described, at first, as disguised in rags, but revealing herself to be like “an

angel”, possessing wings, and as “more or less Rua’s sister [...]. (Binney “Songlines” 228-229)²²

In *The Matriarch*, Artemis and Tamatea ascend Maunga Haumia. It is on the summit of this mountain that Artemis, Tamatea’s grandmother, “uncovered” the diamond. By looking on the precious stone Tamatea glimpses a world beyond his own:

It splintered the physical landscape so that I was able to see into the essence of things. I saw the gleaming sap ascending the trees, and the sap and the dark red blood coursing my transparent body were one and the same. I saw into the geological structures of the earth, and the diamond sparkling structure of the mountains, Maunga Pohatu, Maunga Haumia and of Paparatu, were one and the same with the gleaming cellular structure of my body (293).

In this section of *The Matriarch* Ihimaera draws a number of parallels between Tamatea, Rua, Te Kooti and Tawhaki. The matriarch in her relation to Tamatea and her love of opera is aligned with Tawhaki’s grandmother, “Whaitiri”, who appears in the guise of an “angel” singing “ageless music” (*Matriarch* 294). Further parallels between the elision of Maunga Pohatu and Maunga Haumia establish Artemis and Tamatea in the myth cycle of the diamond of Te Kooti. By being prefigured in Rua and Whaitiri, just as Tawhaki prefigured Te Kooti, their mana is presented as equal to that of their spiritual ancestors. Ihimaera leaves his readers with no doubt as to the power of the mana at stake in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*.²³

²² This is one telling of the story but there are several local variations. In her article “Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts” Binney contrasts Te Puhi Tatu’s version (daughter in law of Pinepine, Rua’s first wife) and Heta Rua’s. In both narratives Whaitiri is present but in the former Christ is also present with his “sister” (“yuhine”), Whaitiri, on the mountain top (25).

²³ Judith Binney makes the point that: “In the Maori oral histories the tribal or family heroes are unique, yet the stories may be similar. This similarity is evident in the discrete accounts of Te Hira Uetuku of Ngariki, the ancient hapu of Maungahaumia, and of Rua, whose mother (from whom he traced his descent) was from Tamakaimoana of Maungapohatu. At the heart of each narrative is the diamond; and at the heart of each is the protection Te Kooti bestows upon the people. But the tipuna are their own, and each narrative is a statement of *their* mana” (“Maori Oral Narratives” 24). Ihimaera appears to be linking into the narratives based around Maunga Haumia. He is, as Binney describes tribes and families doing in oral histories, investing his fictional characters with mana by associating them with these historical/narrative events.

Ihimaera retells the story of Rua and Te Kooti's diamond in *The Dream Swimmer* (129-132). In this version Ihimaera conflates several narrative discourses: Iharaira narratives which in themselves blend Māori mythology and Christianity, are interspersed with folklore and allusions to the Arthurian legend.²⁴ Here is an extract:

And when he saw the diamond, Rua knew that there was no going back to his old life. For this was the same diamond that Te Kooti had spoken about. It was the diamond that sometimes allowed itself to be seen and sometimes hid itself. Sometimes, sailors would see it like a beacon shining from Maungapohatu like a star. "What is that?" a sailor might ask. "Why that is Te Kooti's diamond," would be the answer. Often, a ship would become so fascinated by the glorious light that it would sail toward the siren star. But the closer it got the further away the star shone until, with a wink, it would disappear.

From that time forth, Rua knew he was the one. The diamond was like the sword in the stone. It was like the star that announced the birth of Christ at Bethlehem.

Then Gabriel left, and in his place a Maori woman appeared from out of the mist. Her long black hair gleamed in the first shafts of the sunlight. She was dressed in rags. But when she took off her rags Rua and Pinepine saw her glowing wings and knew she was also an angel. (129-130)

Again, we see the process of spiritual rebirth, the acknowledgment that the life of the chosen one will never be the same again. The presence of Whaitiri is also described. However, the inclusion of popular legend and the reference to the European Arthurian saga illustrate how myth narratives are interpreted according to the present times. Such eclectic use of sources may also reflect upon Rua's own borrowings from international events reported in the *Auckland Weekly News*.

Rua Kenana was a regular reader of the *Auckland Weekly News*. The walls of his home and surrounding buildings at Maai were papered with the

²⁴ This is not the only reference to the Arthurian legend – see *The Dream Swimmer* (418). The lifting of the mate is compared to the coming of the spring to the wasteland. This suggests the epic nature of the tale and alludes to the cycle of death and resurrection which is evident in both the Christian and Māori perception of the world. Christ was "reborn", as were the prophets. The mauri of the land in the Place of the Willows is also representative of this cyclical view of life.

photographic images taken from the magazine. Binney identifies how Rua rekindled the stories of Te Kooti's diamond in 1905, and suggests that his intended purpose to use the diamond (which he had somehow in his own possession) to buy back New Zealand from King Edward in 1906, was based upon the case of the Cullinan diamond reported in the magazine in January of 1905. The South African Cullinan diamond, or "God's Stone" as it was called by the Boers, after much public discussion and parliamentary debate, was offered, in 1907, to King Edward VII as a statement of Boer loyalty. Binney notes how Rua appears to have pre-empted this decision and in his pilgrimage to Gisborne in 1906 planned, likewise, to give the diamond to the King. However, Rua's "gift" was intended to "buy back" the land "given" to the Crown in 1840. The impetus behind Rua's actions was claimed by him to be a revelation received on the 12th April 1906:

On that day it was revealed; on June 25th I will
ascend the throne, the King will arrive at Turanga
[Gisborne]. (Binney "Songlines" 231)

The King never arrived, and although some of Rua's followers reinterpreted the prophecy as indicating that Rua himself was the King, others in Poverty Bay began to lose faith in him.

In *The Dream Swimmer* Ihimaera retells the same story (131). Artemis narrates the rise of Rua and tells of the divisive effects his ascension as Te Kooti's successor had on the people of the East Coast. Eria Raukura who Te Kooti had baptised as a tohunga in the Ringatū faith supported Rua's claims against the wishes of the elders chosen by Te Kooti to name a successor. All but a few of the people of Waituhi refused to join the Ihairaira behind Rua. When he failed to live out his prophecy concerning King Edward their doubts as to his rightful mana were confirmed. Even Eria Raukura, the tohunga questioned him in the end. Further factionalisation of the Ringatū faith followed as Raukura and then Wereta set up new branches of the church. Although Artemis commiserates the divisive nature of Rua's rise to power, she recognises his indisputable mana in the eyes of those who kept faith with him: "even we in the Waituhi acknowledge Rua Kenana's great patriotism and his leadership of the Māori sovereignty movement among the people of Tuhoe, particularly our kin of Maungapohatu and Te

Waimana” (*Dream* 132). Artemis tells us that it was in the face of this tribal factionalism that Wi Pere instated her as the leader of the iwi Ringatū in Waituhi. She sets herself up as an equal to Rua; this is seen through his proposal of marriage, which she refuses, and the point that they both claim to hold “the diamond of Te Kooti”.

Ihimaera adds a further twist to the tale of the diamond of Te Kooti. At the very end of *The Dream Swimmer* Tamatea returns the sword of Catarina to Venice. The place from which Artemis took the sword also appears to be another source of her mana. As Tamatea enters the chapel he is confronted with “a large free-standing statue of a woman with wings enfolding beasts of all kinds [...] this statue was blind” (415). It is the goddess Artemis who Tamatea recalls ruled both in Hellenic Greece and also in Asia Minor, “she had been the unchallenged goddess ruler of all, the Great Mother, ruler of wild beasts, free of domination by men and their demands” (415). It would appear that this is the goddess the matriarch worshipped and named herself after. Like the goddess Artemis, Apollo’s sister, the matriarch possesses great beauty and is associated with both the forces of creation and destruction.

The blindness of the statue also connects the matriarch to the Māori figure of Whitiri, Tawhaki’s grandmother. Whitiri lost her sight when she was with Kai-tangata in the world of men. She had descended from the heavens to live with Kai-tangata because she thought that he ate men as she did.²⁵ However, Kai-tangata was a fisherman and not a cannibal. When Whitiri was on earth she incorrectly recited a karakia, thus rendering herself blind. She eventually left Kai-tangata and returned to the heavens. Whitiri’s sight was restored to her by her grandson, Tawhaki, when he came across her on his journey to the heavens to find his wife, Hapai, and his daughter, Puanga (Alpers 113-117).²⁶ Similarly it is

²⁵ The cannibalistic tendencies of Whitiri extend the matriarch’s association to her. In “The Time of The Spider” (Act Three) the matriarch, in the guise of a spider, “eats” Timoti the elder who opposed her right to speak on the Wellington marae (*Matriarch* 258).

²⁶ Alpers writes: “Tawhaki placed two pieces of moistened clay against her eyes, uttering the karakia that begins:

Irimata irimata,
Weromata, weromata,
he wei o mata ki te ra...

Her sight was at once restored, and she saw quite plainly, and recognised her grandchildren and wept over them” (114).

Tamatea, the matriarch's grandson who returns "the two large blue diamonds" to Venice – presumably the "eyes" of the statue of Artemis.

Whether the matriarch is aligned with Artemis, the Greek goddess or Whaitiri, the Māori goddess, it is clear that Ihimaera has envisaged her within a tradition of powerful, yet destructive female mythological figures. Tiana, Tamatea's mother also fits in this mould as a protector and destroyer of life. This aspect of Ihimaera's work has been exceedingly controversial.²⁷

The restoration of the statue's "sight" suggests that Tamatea has fulfilled a certain duty in regard to his grandmother. Indeed, in *The Dream Swimmer*, "it was an acknowledgment that something had been put right" (416). It is uncertain whether this is the action that will remove the mate from the Mahana clan but the fact that the eyes of the statue which Artemis modelled herself on are restored seems to suggest that her own insight into the Mahana clan's balance of mana is confirmed. In her eyes Tamatea was to be the sole leader of the group, when this viewpoint was challenged the mate struck. With the return of the diamonds her wishes are recognised and the mate is perhaps lifted.

It appears that the blue diamonds which fall from the handle of the sword of Catarina are not the same "diamond" shown by the matriarch to Tamatea in Waituhi. Nevertheless, the image of the diamond works symbolically, in both cases, to signify the path of rightful leadership. The latter diamond is the "diamond of Te Kooti" which has passed out of Tamatea's hands to the rūnanga (tribal committees), (*Dream* 417). It is this body that has been endorsed by the Māori people as the guardian of their lands and culture. Although, "the days of the charismatic leader with supernatural powers to aid him or her have gone" (*Dream* 418), the kaupapa remains the same: to reclaim ancestral lands, "always to fight and keep on fighting until it is done, generation after generation" (*Dream* 418). The struggle for land will continue through Eretra but there is a sense that Tamatea's personal psychological struggle is over. Tamatea began Act One of *The Dream Swimmer* as a wanderer, like Tawhaki. He writes: "over the last

²⁷ See for instance, Atareta Poananga, "The Matriarch: Tahia Wahine Toa. Trample on Strong Women" *Broadsheet* (Dec 1986) 24-28 and (Jan / Feb 1987) 24-29. Poananga objects not only to the spider image which she sees as a negative association but to the portrayal of women as destructive, man eating agents. This, she claims, "is not the power of Maori woman as we know it; embracing, nurturing, and positively directed; it is instead something to be completely feared [...]. It is an insult heaped on Maori womanhood" (Part I 26).

decade I have been running away, travelling but without destination” (21). By the end of the novel he has fulfilled his tribal responsibility, passed to him on his father’s side, and has laid his mother to rest in the place and manner she requested. The destructive forces which surround the matriarch are appeased through the return of the sword and the blue diamonds to Venice. Tamatea is now free to concentrate his attention on the present, primarily on his wife and daughters.

Through the narration of Tamatea’s journey, Ihimaera has demonstrated how the myth narratives which surround Te Kooti and Rua Kenana continue to take on new relevance in contemporary society. Ihimaera has used the myth narratives to connect present political concerns to those of the past and in so doing has ascribed “tradition” and weight to present Te Aitanga-A-Makaki and Rongowhakaata Māori land claims.

The second myth template used by Ihimaera in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* is that of the marakihau, the sea creature, Te Tahī-o-Te Rangi who succours his descendants. Although there is no direct relation between Hine Te Ariki and Te Tahī, other than that they are both sea creatures who symbolise peace, mercy and protection, the inclusion of the “merwoman” figure in the novels strengthens Tamatea’s association with Te Kooti and Rua. Hine Te Ariki is Tiana and Tamatea’s kaitiaki, or guardian. These types of spirits are thought by Māori to have been left behind by deceased ancestors to watch over their descendants and to protect sacred places. Kaitiaki are also messengers and a means of communication between the spirit realm and the human world. They usually take the form of animals, birds, insects or fish.

The form of the sea taniwha is common to the Tairāwhiti tradition and is especially associated with Mataatua. Te Tahī appears on the porch of Te Whai-a-te motu (The Pursuit-across-the-land), the carved meeting house built by Tuhoe for Te Kooti in 1888. The figure depicts a male taniwha with a tube-like tongue and a long coiled tail. Binney notes that Te Kooti opened this meeting house in 1891, and suggests that Rua would have been present to take part in the following discussion of Tuhoe land. She goes on to explain:

This principle of mercy, or tolerance, for which Te Tahī-o-Te Rangi was remembered, Te Kooti had taken as his own when he eschewed war from 1873.

Rua, in his turn, used this Tuhoe ancestral figure as his character (or guide) when he adopted Te Kooti's principle of maungarongo, lasting peace, and he had Te Tahī's name stitched onto one of the flags he flew at Maungapohatu. ("Songlines" 232)

A modern version of the marakihau can be found in the dining hall of Nga Tamatoa. The carving represents a female marakihau, with breasts, and a realistically depicted tail with scales (fig. 4).

In Ihimaera's novels the presence of Hine Te Ariki, conflated with the diamond narratives and the stories of Tawhaki, appears to strengthen Tamatea's association with Te Kooti and Rua Kenana. At the end of *The Matriarch* (and several times in *The Dream Swimmer*) Hine Te Ariki swims across the oceans, and through dreams, to save Tamatea from harm. She is described as a guardian and a "protectress" (*Dream* 104), with a moko on her chin that lights up with love and recognition of Tiana and Tamatea (*Matriarch* 453, *Dream* 101). Physically, she is described as being both "twenty feet long" (*Matriarch* 453), or "six metres long" (*Dream* 101). In both passages Hine Te Ariki has the "face of a woman" but "the features were inhuman, unearthly". The description continues:

Her skin was dark and mottled, like the skin of the mermaids and mermen she commanded in the Waipaoa River. Her dark green eyes were as soft as the light on Maungahaumia, the ancestral mountain [...]. She had rudimentary breasts, and thick hair at the armpits and groin. Her lower body gleamed with scales. (*Dream* 101)

This mythical creature features mainly in the two passages where Tiana enters the dreams of her son (*Matriarch* 449-456, *Dream* 364-371). In the dreams Tiana and Hine Te Ariki protect Tamatea from the destructive forces of the mate and ultimately from death. In *The Dream Swimmer* Tiana appears to be the source of destruction; she takes Tamatea to the edge of the abyss and throws him over (*Dream* 367). Nevertheless, she dives in herself, with Hine Te Ariki, in order to save him from the ponaturi who are waiting to tear him apart.²⁸

²⁸ The conflict between Tamatea and Tiana stems from Tamatea's misguided belief that his mother has subverted his rightful mana. Tiana allows Tamatea to think this of her in order to protect her husband who colluded with other family members in taking away Tamatea's mana/birthright. This destructive/protective relationship is played out in the dream sequences.

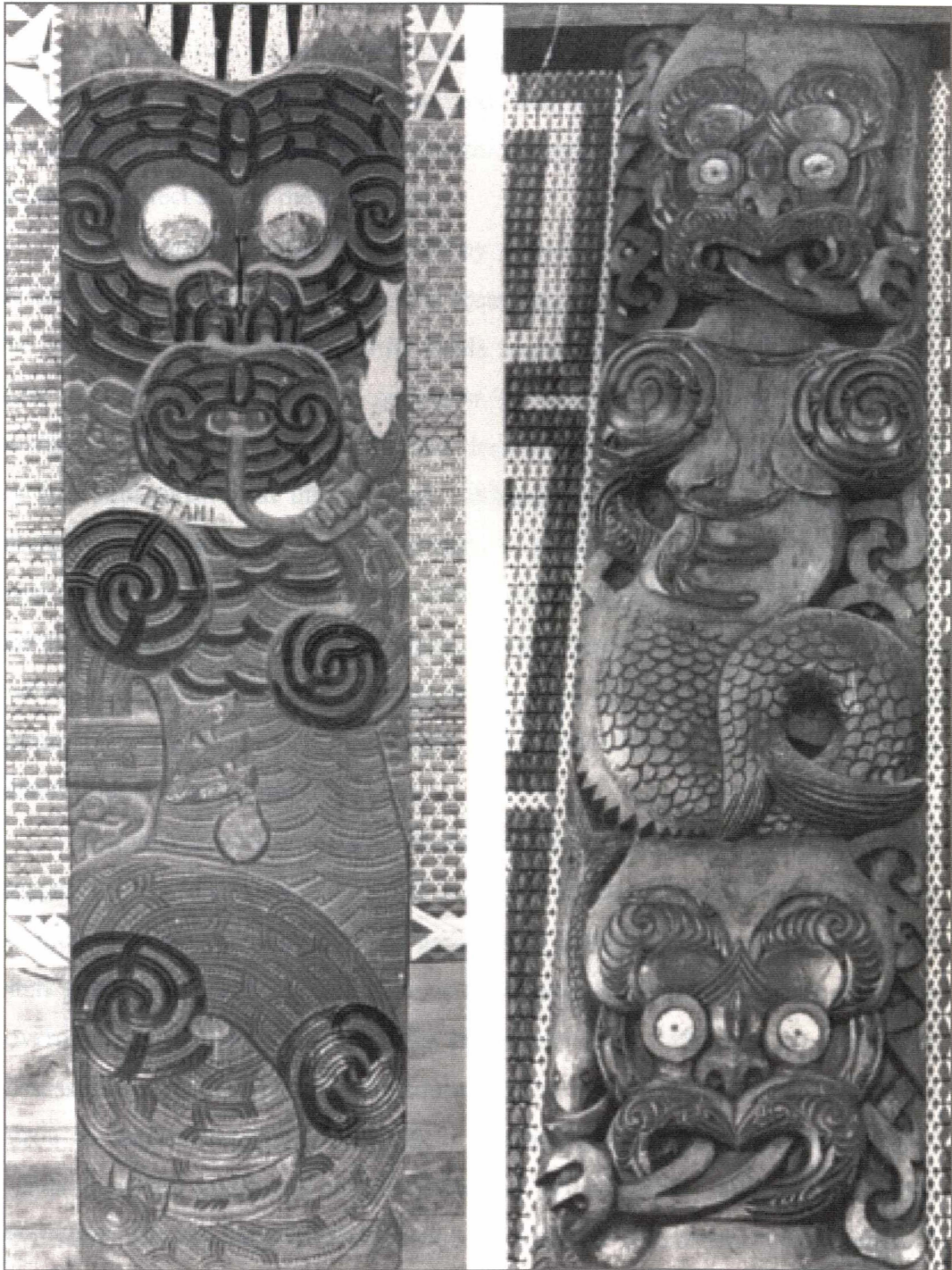


Fig. 4. Carved representations of marakihau. Left, the Mataatua ancestor Te Tahī carved as a marakihau in Te Whai-a-te-motu at Ruatahuna 1885; right, more modern version of marakihau at Nga Tamatoa dining hall at Hiruharama, East Coast (rpt.in Mead 182).

Hine Te Ariki is also present when Tamatea takes his mother's body to the cave on Mount Hikurangi and although she disagrees with some of Tamatea's actions she helps him lay her to rest in the manner Tiana dictated. The violence of the dream swimmer comes to an end and Hine Te Ariki, although temporarily enraged with Tamatea, swims away into the distance presumably to return if needed to protect him in the future.

The third myth narrative used by Ihimaera in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* concerns Māui. The recurring image of a new born baby with one eye swimming in blood and its hands around its neck recalls the manner of Māui's birth. Māui was the youngest of five sons. When he was born prematurely his mother thought he was dead so she wrapped him up in a tuft of her hair and threw him into the sea. Whilst in the sea Māui became further entangled in seaweed and kelp. Eventually he was blown ashore and found by his great ancestor Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi. Māui was not dead. Years later he went to find his mother, and after she recognised him as her child she lavished attention upon him much to the dissatisfaction of her other sons. Māui grew up to be a culture hero and amongst other deeds was responsible for "fishing" the north island of New Zealand out of the sea.

The image of strangulation is particularly associated with the matriarch (*Matriarch* 51), Tamatea (*Matriarch* 113) and Eretra (*Dream* 375). This sign designates them as the inheritors of great mana and places them in a tradition of tribal leaders whose purpose in life is to regain the lost tribal lands from the government. Tamatea is especially associated with Māui. Like Māui, he possesses supernatural power – by squeezing the air with his hands he can cause Toroa to suffocate (*Matriarch* 402). Furthermore, Tamatea is the favoured grandson of the matriarch and is envied by his relatives. His cousins Raina (*Matriarch* 89) and Sammy (*Matriarch* 393) both bear resentment towards him. It is the design of his relatives to divert mana away from him that creates the mate over the family. Such parallels align Tamatea with the gods/demi-gods and signify the extent of his mana. In his use of the Māui myth to underpin the family relationships in the two novels Ihimaera illustrates the way family histories and genealogy are integral facets of Māori history. Although this myth cycle is not directly related to the narratives of Te Kooti or Rua Kenana, Ihimaera's use of

myth serves a similar purpose. In all cases the position of the present leader is elevated by way of ancestral association.

Conclusion to Ihimaera's Use of Māori Oral Myth Narratives

The conflation of the myth narratives surrounding Te Kooti and Rua Kenana in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, enables Ihimaera to couch his story of the Mahana family in a specifically Māori format. The stories offer him a means of linking the present with the past. The biblical dimension to the prophecies constitutes an integral part of Ringatū faith and also reinforces the sanctity of the prophets. In both the biblical and the Māori mythic traditions narratives were brought forth in order to help orators and prophets make sense of spiritual and political situations. In this light Ihimaera's texts offer a comment on his contemporary political climate. The story of Moses, the narratives of the diamond of Te Kooti, and the symbol of the sea creature as an ancient protectress, are concerned with the retention of spiritual and cultural integrity, leadership and the land. Ihimaera, through his fictional leaders, Artemis and Tamatea, is reasserting the Rongowhakaata claims to land confiscated after the Land Wars. He sees this claim as an ongoing process, one which links the present and future generations with tribal ancestors: "The kaupapa is always to fight and keep on fighting until it is done, generation after generation [...]. The past is not something that lies behind us. The past is before us, a long unbroken line of ancestors to whom we are accountable" (*Dream* 418). New philosophical frameworks and culturally syncretic processes are constantly being applied to the fundamental "kaupapa". The Rastafarian movement on the East Coast in the 1980s testifies to the Māori need to keep on reinterpreting the legacy of colonisation through different methods in order to understand, and where possible seek to rectify, the situation. In the two novels Ihimaera provides various alternative models through which to consider the plight of Māori in New Zealand. Biblical and mythological parallels are only two of the many frameworks he uses in order to talk about the issue that appears to concern him most – the land. Like the prophets of the nineteenth century he seeks to frame Māori experience in a universal context of colonisation and oppression. Thus, further parallels between Greek myth, the Italian Risorgimento and the war in Afghanistan in the late 1970s, are made. In each of

these models it is “the land, always the land” (*Matriarch* 314) which is at the heart of the matter.

International Analogies

In *The Dream Swimmer* Regan, Tamatea’s wife, associates the Mahana family with the Greek story of the House of Atreus (*Dream* 92-93). A curse was placed over the Atreus family by Myrtilus (son of the god Hermes) when Atreus’s father, Pelops, threw him over a cliff. The curse continued to affect subsequent generations of the family. The story told by Regan concerns Agamemnon (son of Atreus) and Orestes his son. In this narrative Agamemnon goes to help King Menelaus in the ten year Trojan war. While he is away his wife, Clytemnestra, takes a lover, Aegisthus, and both have reasons for hating Agamemnon. Before Agamemnon left for the war he killed Iphigenia, a daughter he had with Clytemnestra. Regan informs Tamatea that it was the goddess Artemis who ordered him to make this sacrifice. Clytemnestra never forgave him and when he eventually returned from the war, with the help of her lover, she killed him. Electra and Chrysothemis, the remaining two daughters are held by their mother but the son Orestes, heir to the throne, is banished. Regan likens Tamatea to the ousted Orestes. As a consequence of Orestes’s banishment things fall apart in the Royal court. Electra goes insane and guilt gnaws at Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. Similarly whilst Tamatea lives in “exile” of his family in the city, and their hatred of him continues the curse over the Mahana clan spreads.

Ihimaera appears to offer the Greek mythological framework as another angle through which the machinations of the Mahana whānau may be understood by the European reader who perhaps knows little about the transference of mana in Māori society. The Mahana clan is heavily based on Ihimaera’s own family so by extension Ihimaera elevates his private family history to the level of public myth. In this light family intrigues extend beyond the parochial into the universal. A similar pattern occurs in the author’s use of Māori mythology. The purpose of such a process may simply be, as C.K. Stead has stated, an act of “personal mythologizing” on Ihimaera’s part (“Ihimaera: Old Wounds and Ancient Evils” 192). However, the way in which Ihimaera constantly metaphorically raises the importance of one family’s misfortunes through the use of Greek and Māori

mythology and contextualises their lives in the larger framework of New Zealand's history, suggests that his purpose goes beyond the personal into the political. At the heart of the Greek myth of Orestes, the Māori myth narratives of Te Kooti and the story of Tamatea, lie the themes of justice and land. All three characters have been "exiled" in some manner and all seek the justice which will see them returned to their former positions. Likewise, Ihimaera campaigns for the return of tribal lands confiscated in 1869. The mythical models demonstrate that there can be no peace until land is secured to its rightful owner and justice is achieved.

Ihimaera draws two parallels between the concerns of the Māori in New Zealand and international political movements. The first association is made in *The Matriarch* and connects Māori nationalist ideals with those of the Italian Risorgimento (c 1859-1870). Ihimaera has explained why the Italian connection is made in a novel which is concerned with Māori issues. In the process he confirms the link between his own grandmother and the character of the matriarch:

Why the Italian connection? This question is too difficult to answer exhaustively. First, Renata Tebaldi *does* look like my grandmother. Second, I saw in Te Kooti the Maori version of Garibaldi. Third, the Ringatu faith's teachings, along the lines of the Israelites enslaved into Egypt is similar to Verdi's operas of nationalism. Fourth, my first reaction to Venice was that it was similar to Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pamamao. Fifth, I felt that New Zealanders, were ignorant of their history and needed a European analogue to begin to understand this importance and significance. Sixth, my grandmother *may* have visited Venice. All these and other elements became built into the structure and breadth of the novel. (James 112)

In *The Matriarch* Ihimaera links Artemis to the soprano Renata Tebaldi:

There is a photograph of the Italian diva, Renata Tebaldi, which suggests something of the look of the matriarch in later years. The face has a madonna smile which belies the strength of intellect and beauty that the soprano possessed [...]. The matriarch was like a diva herself and, in the style of

her people she proclaimed her nobility with the beautiful moko on her chin. [...]

Curiously enough, the voice of Tebaldi comes even nearer to describing the matriarch than the photograph. It has a splendour which lies not so much in its range as in the evenness with which that range is negotiated [...]. With her voice at the pitch of its passion, ah, that is the matriarch indeed, commanding and at her most imperious. *A costoro schiava non sono ... della mia patria degna sarò. I am not a slave ... I will be worthy of my native land.* (*Matriarch* 13)

The operatic refrain at the end of the passage is from Verdi thus extending the matriarch's association with Tebaldi. The Māori nationalism expressed by the matriarch finds a parallel in Verdi's emotional nationalistic operas. Art, life and land are implicitly connected in the words of the opera. The Italian Risorgimento was an artistic, spiritual and political movement aimed at reviving and expressing an Italian national consciousness. Through these analogies, Ihimaera offers a European analogue to the Māori cause in New Zealand. The matriarch embodies the spirit of a Māori Risorgimento; she stands for Māori spiritual, political and cultural autonomy.

Trevor James has written that in "*The Matriarch* spiritual conflict is the heart of the quarrel between Maori and Pakeha. While the surface conflict is over the land, Pakeha secularity cannot comprehend the spirituality which binds Maori and land" (James 116). Rongopai, the Māori meeting house in Waituhi, is a central symbol of this spirituality. As in his earlier novels Ihimaera describes the special qualities of the house in order to elucidate the nature of the spiritual bond between Māori and their land/place. However, in *The Matriarch* he draws a parallel between the interior world of Rongopai and metaphysical atmosphere of Venice. This comparison simultaneously puts Māori spirituality on a level with an historic European culture and offers non-Māori/European readers a way of comprehending its magnitude and importance to the Māori people.

Both Venice and Rongopai express a particular spiritual consciousness and merge spirituality with political purpose. Venice encapsulates the Italian Risorgimento – an artistic movement seeking to assert Italy's unique spiritual and political identity. Rongopai, painted "in the likeness of the people of Te Whanau

A Kai” (*Matriarch* 191) was “their political statement” (*Matriarch* 194), defining allegiance to Te Kooti, Ringatū and Māoritanga. In both movements spiritual, cultural, and political matters are directly linked to the specificity of place.

Furthermore, as James reminds us, “the Italian *Risorgimento* was an intensely literary movement, fostered by such writers as Abba, Carducci, Verga and Fogarazzo, who began forcefully to express an Italian national identity and advance its development” (James 119). The Māori “renaissance” of the past 30 years has similarly been fostered by the work of Māori writers. Māori authors such as Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme, and Witi Ihimaera have, to varying degrees and in different ways, written about Māori identity. James views this expression of a “new Maori consciousness” as being founded on “Maori spirituality”. Although both these terms tend towards the homogenisation of all Māori values regardless of tribal differences, the point James makes about the crafting of Māori identity in literature in a way that stresses its difference from the Pākehā is significant. The debate over whether the Māori spirituality displayed in Ihimaera’s and Hulme’s novels is a “Pākehā construct” or a contemporary expression of “authentic” Māori values is examined in Chapter Six, but in relation to *The Matriarch*, *The Dream Swimmer* and *the bone people* it is clear that, however Māori spirituality is configured, it is offered as the prime justification for Māori “ownership” of traditional tribal lands. From this premise stems historical, economic and political issues. Thus, cultivation and expression of this “spiritual” link to the land strengthens and promotes Māori claims to it.

In *The Dream Swimmer* Ihimaera’s “spiral” of international associations for the plight of the Māori in New Zealand takes his narrator to Afghanistan. The year is 1977 and fighting is taking place between government troops and nationalist guerilla groups protesting against the increasing Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Tamatea meets Nasim who is part of the Islamic resistance guerilla movement. Nasim introduces him to the leader of his tribal faction, “The Falcon”. As a powerful woman involved in nationalist opposition to “Imperialist” powers “The Falcon” bears resemblance to the matriarch. Both women fight “for sovereignty” in a “Holy War” (152). Land is once more an issue. The Falcon states:

We fight because we do not acknowledge that anyone has power over us. Our enemies fight because they want to impose boundaries on us [...]. We do not accept borders made by imperialists [...]. We will establish our ancient boundaries and will fight to the death doing it. (153)

Through her words Tamatea realises that: “love of one’s country, love of one’s soil, love of one’s religion and love of one’s people and history, are the same throughout the world” (152). He draws “all the energy of Afghanistan to the purpose, the kaupapa”, which as stated by the matriarch in words that echo The Falcon’s, “is to fight the Pākehā, always fight him, always” (176).

The material in *The Dream Swimmer* concerning Afghanistan is complicated in light of the recent war between the U.S.A (and allies) and terrorist Islamic fundamentalists based in Afghanistan. The connection made by Ihimaera demonstrates the adversarial approach Māori political activists take towards Pākehā control in New Zealand but the sympathies displayed in the novel towards the Islamic resistance movement can not be read as condoning recent Islamic terrorist activity – or by extension armed Māori resistance.

Conclusion

This chapter and the preceding one illustrate how land is considered by Māori and Pākehā to be at the heart of Māori cultural identity. Although this relationship has been used for various political and cultural reasons, and a number of modes of representation have been employed to portray it, the basic assumption that Māori have a special connection to the land of New Zealand is a continual factor. In keeping with this tradition writers of the early Māori cultural renaissance wrote about Māori emotional relation to their land in a way which provided them with a cultural identity that stood in opposition to that of Pākehā New Zealanders. This was done in a nostalgic pastoral style and confined Māori identity in the past rather than ascribing to it dynamic evolutionary possibilities. As political tensions between Māori and Pākehā increased throughout the 1970s, Māori writers reassessed the representations of themselves they had produced and opted towards more politically charged self-portraits.

Fiction written by Māori in the 1980s and 1990s re-articulated the notion that land is an integral part of Māori identity. More than that, it suggested that land is the base upon which other factors (history, cosmology, diet) of Māori identity flourish. Māori writers played a key role in conveying the centrality of land to personal, communal, tribal, pan-tribal and international Māori identity. Greater understanding amongst Pākehā of Māori existential bonds to the land has, to some degree, been achieved. Evidence of this can be found in the Resource Management Act (1991) and Ture Whenua Māori Act (1993) which protect Māori sites of historical, spiritual, and cultural significance.

Māori writers, Witi Ihimaera in particular, use a combination of “traditional” and non-traditional means to convey Māori associations with the land. As discussed in Chapter One, “traditional” Māori ties to the land have been complicated through interaction with Europeans. However, Ihimaera takes the idea that Māori have a special bond with their natural environment and uses it to establish spiritual rights to the land. Radhika Mohanram explains: “By deliberately ‘incarcerating’ themselves in their relationship to land, Maori form the contours of the pan-tribal, nationalistic movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand” (100). There are drawbacks to this idea. By aligning Māori identity so closely with the land and promoting it as “authentic” all those Māori (the majority) who have no connection to tribal, or even personal land, are automatically cast as “inauthentic”. Urban Māori may possess other facets of Māori culture (for example they may “look” Māori or be able to speak the Māori language) but without the existential ties to specific areas described by Māori activists and writers, they can make no land claims nor derive any Māori tribal status which is traditionally territorial. The dispute between traditional iwi and the newly formed urban Māori communities, which wish to claim themselves “urban iwi”, is informed by these issues. The urban iwi are denied tribal status (by traditionalists and by the Privy Council) because they have no historic or existential bonds with the land upon which they now live.²⁹ To admit them as a tribe would be, in the

²⁹ During a dispute over the allocation of multimillion dollar fishing assets to Māori the Manukau Urban Māori Authority argued that urban Māori should be considered “iwi” in order to ensure they receive their fair share of the assets (they doubted that traditional iwi structures could effectively deliver the benefits to all Māori). The Manukau group took their claim to the Privy Council but it was rejected. The Privy Council confirmed that allocation of the pre-settlement assets was

eyes of the traditionalists, to deny the fundamental factors on which Māori cultural identity is based. However, the very issue illustrates contemporary attempts to renegotiate the boundaries of indigenous identity.

Throughout his work Ihimaera conveys the emotional, historical and spiritual connections he feels to his own home-land. He consciously reworks “traditional” representations of Māori and the land to raise cultural and political issues. Like the prophets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Ihimaera “articulates” new discourses (law, economics, even literature and the discourse of fiction) to old causes. Stuart Hall describes the evolving political character of this process of cultural transformation:

It is transformation through a reorganisation of the elements of cultural practice, elements which do not in themselves have any political connotations. It is not the individual elements of a discourse that have political or ideological connotations, it is the ways those elements are organised together in a new discursive formation. (*Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* 143)

Ihimaera’s novels demonstrate the discursive flexibility of Māori identity politics, but at the heart of his personal representation of the relationship between Māori and their land is a fundamental sense of attachment and belonging to a particular place, and it is this sentiment that motivates him, and other Māori writers, to strive to capture in literature the driving force behind Māori land claims.

intended for “traditional” tribes, ruling in favour of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission. See Angela Gregory, “Maori urged to quit fish fight as appeal lost” *NZ Herald* July 4 2001, A5.

CHAPTER THREE

Māori and the New Zealand Education System 1816-1969.

[...] the violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom. (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 9)

In New Zealand between 1816 and 1969 Pākehā authorities used the education system to help promote and sustain colonial ideologies. Early mission schools (independent from 1816-1847, then subsidised by the government 1847-1867), government run “Native” Schools (termed “Native” Schools from 1867-1947, then “Māori” Schools 1947-1969), and “State” Schools (open to both Māori and Pākehā from 1877 onwards), all sought to assimilate Māori into European practices. This was to be achieved by encouraging Māori to renounce their own culture and replace it with the language and habits of Europeans. By promulgating hierarchical ideas of race, which elevated white Europeans and denigrated darker skinned peoples such as Māori, the education system inscribed colonial attitudes and practices. Strategical curriculum planning limited the types of skills Māori learnt and channeled them into manual labour rather than intellectual pursuits. Contemporary Māori authors, Patricia Grace in particular, expose the forms of cultural repression experienced within the education system. Their fiction intends to raise awareness of the institutionalised racism embedded within New Zealand’s history and pursues an educative purpose aimed at decolonising Māori and Pākehā mindsets produced through years of colonial control over the education system.

Michel Foucault’s theories about discourse, knowledge and power and Edward Said’s discussion of *Orientalism* provide useful frameworks through which to consider how the New Zealand school system (1816-1969) produced and promoted racialised knowledge which effectively regulated the behaviour of Māori students and maintained colonial power relations. Colonial discourse represented Māori as inferior (abnormal) to Europeans (normal) and promoted Māori assimilation or Europeanisation. Forms of representation (primarily found in school texts) and techniques of power combined to achieve this outcome. During the process Māori pupils internalised negative images of themselves and, to a certain extent, actively suppressed their own culture.

Nevertheless, it was never the case in New Zealand that the “imperial encounter pitted an active Western intruder against a supine or inert non-Western

native; there was always some form of active resistance” (Said *Culture and Imperialism* xiii). Said proposes that colonised subjects can not only invert discursive power relations erected by the colonisers, but that they can also resist colonial discourse from their culturally different discursive sites. The binary opposition of the coloniser/colonised is therefore destabilised.

In New Zealand the implementation of colonial discourse varied across schools, it was never completely effective or irreversible. Māori resisted from within the education system and actually used knowledge gained from it to preserve their culture and promote access to power. Māori also resisted Pākehā racial discourse from outside the framework of the education system – from a culturally alternative discursive position. Māori culture has managed to retain some of its “traditional” channels of knowledge transmission independent of Pākehā discourses (for example whakapapa or genealogical knowledge handed down through families and on marae).

Contemporary Māori writers inherit both traditions of repression and resistance. On one hand there is a history of negative representations of Māori presented in Pākehā literature. Patricia Grace in her novels *Potiki*, *Cousins* (1992) and *Baby No-Eyes* (1998) illustrates how internalisation of these images by Māori results in negative self-images. This theme is also explored by Mihi Edwards in her book *Mihipeka: Early Years*. On the other hand, Grace and Edwards (to name only two such writers) draw on traditions of resistance to the dominant discourse. Grace, in particular, writes about the recovery of culturally transmitted knowledge and presents it as an alternative way for Māori to learn about themselves.

The aim of the chapter is to provide an overview of historical attitudes to Māori, their language and their culture in order to highlight the legacy of psychological repression and resistance inherited by contemporary Māori authors. This chapter covers the period between the establishment of the first missionary school in 1816 and the integration of Native/Māori Schools with other schools under the control of the Education Board in 1969. The first section of the chapter will focus on missionary schools and the spread of literacy amongst Māori (1816-1865). The second section will examine the role played by the Native Schools in

the education of Māori (1867-1969). This will be followed by close analysis of the school texts used to teach children in both Native and State Schools.

Mission Schools and the Spread of Literacy Amongst Māori

Between 1816 and 1847 missionaries in New Zealand established the first European-run schools and promoted the spread of literacy amongst Māori through the printing and circulation of biblical texts. The introduction of European knowledge worked in contradictory ways to repress and promote Māori interests.

The first European school in New Zealand was set up at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands in 1816 by Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society. Prior to this, Māori had their own sophisticated and functional system for educating their young. Graham Hingangaroa Smith explains:

This system consisted of a powerful knowledge base, a complex oral tradition and a dynamic ability to respond to new challenges and changing needs. The traditional system of education, while complex and diverse, was also fully integrated in that skills, teaching and learning were rationalised and sanctioned through a highly intricate knowledge base. The linking of skills, rationale and knowledge was often mediated through the use of specific rituals. (Simon 2)

The missionaries desired to set up their own schools in order to facilitate civilisation and Christianity. It was not that they actively set about destroying the existing forms of Māori education (if they were indeed aware of them) rather that they thought it their duty, what Kipling famously referred to as their “White Man’s burden”, to educate the Māori according to European standards and methods.³⁰ Christian Missionary Society, Methodist and Catholic missionaries learnt the indigenous language of the people to whom they preached and encouraged literacy among them.

Earlier, in Sydney in 1815, Kendall had made the first attempt at producing a Māori orthography, *A Koraono New Zealand*. He went on to publish a much improved version, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* in London in 1820 with the help of Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge

³⁰ Rudyard Kipling “The White Man’s Burden”, 1899 in *A Choice of Kipling’s Verse* made by T.S. Eliot, 136-137.

and the Ngāpuhi Māori chiefs, Hongi Hika and Waikato. This opened the way for the translation of biblical texts into the Māori language. In 1835 St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians was printed followed by a complete Māori New Testament in 1837.

As D.F McKenzie points out, the decision to teach literacy skills in the vernacular had long since been settled elsewhere, including Bengal (McKenzie 12). The difference in New Zealand was that Māori language for the first time was being put into print, thus the printers retained a remarkable degree of control over the content of the texts being produced. For the missionaries, selective use of the Māori language offered an expedient means to communicate the teachings of the Bible to the Māori and for a period, the only texts in Māori were of a biblical nature. The bias in translation suggests a willful manipulation of the knowledge disseminated to Māori. McKenzie proposes that it was a calculated choice by the missionaries not to use the English language:

[...] the missionaries were all too well aware that English would give the Maori access to the worst aspects of European experience. By containing them culturally within their own language, they hoped to keep them innocent of imported evils. By restricting them further to the reading of biblical texts and vocabulary, they limited the Maori to knowledge of an ancient middle-eastern culture; at the same time the missionaries enhanced their familiar pastoral role by making the Maori dependent on them morally and politically as interpretive guides to Pakeha realities. (McKenzie 12-13)

The very process of gaining literacy skills through biblical texts aided the propagation of missionary beliefs. Kuni Jenkins has explained how in using Scriptures as reading material the missionaries taught Māori the lesson of their own inferiority and inadequacy and imparted "a belief in the supremacy and goodwill of the British" (23).

Text-based learning contrasted with traditional oral methods of transmitting knowledge. Reading the Bible provided personal access to knowledge and the skill of literacy implied that the "Tohunga and kaumatua were no longer the exclusive source of knowledge" (Moon 31). Thus, traditional social

structures and the mana of tohunga, kaumātua and chiefs were inadvertently threatened by the arrival of literacy in New Zealand.

Despite these apparent adverse effects, Māori were eager to learn how to read and write and their demands for reading materials in the Māori language led to increased production of religious scripts. By 1845 it was estimated that there was at least one Māori testament for every two Māori people in New Zealand (Moon 19). By the late 1850s about half the adult Māori population could read in the Māori language and about a third of them could write it (Simon 5). Although it has been suggested that Māori literacy rates were exaggerated by missionaries eager to prove the extent of their influence (McKenzie 16), and that Māori often memorised Scriptures rather than learning to read the words on the page (McKenzie 17), the number of letters written in Māori during this period is evidence that levels of literacy amongst Māori were quite high.³¹

Until the late 1840s missionary schools were independent of the government and chose to help Māori students become literate in their own language. In 1847 the State decided to help subsidise the schools on the condition they provided industrial training as well as religious training, teach the English language and be subject to government inspection. The missionaries reluctantly agreed to these conditions. The reports by School Inspectors given in Parliamentary records from this period show that pupils were taught reading in Māori and in English, as well as basic writing skills. During the late 1840s and 1850s missionaries were in a position to provide a bilingual education and Māori pupils were keen to learn literacy skills in both languages.

The wars between 1860 and 1865 disrupted missionary stations and brought education for Māori to a halt. In 1867 the government passed the Māori Schools Act in an attempt to re-establish some form of schooling for Māori children.

³¹ Jane McRae notes that “scores of letters in Maori” were sent to government administrators to express opinions on personal and public matters. “They can be found in the files and letter books of government departments, printed (along with petitions) in the *AJHR*, and in great quantity amongst the papers of government officials” (“Maori Literature: A Survey” 11).

Native Schools (1867-1969)

In 1867 the State decided to take full control of the education system in order to speed up the assimilation of Māori into Pākehā society. Between 1847 and 1867 a number of government reports pointed towards this end. In one report, Hugh Carleton, a Member of the House of Representatives, spoke of the aims of schooling Māori as a “double object, the civilisation of the race and quieting of the country” (*AJHR*, 1862, E-4, 17). In another report, George Clarke, a missionary who was also Civil Commissioner for the Bay of Islands, wrote that “schools will give the government an immense moral influence in the country such as is not attained in any other way” (*AJHR*, 1863, E-9, 18). Whereas the government aimed at replacing Māori culture with that of the European, Māori themselves, unaware of the government’s intentions, welcomed the extension of the education system, (often giving land and money to help establish schools) in the belief it would extend – not replace – their existing body of knowledge. As Simon writes: “Maori were embracing schooling as a means to maintaining their sovereignty and enhancing their life chances. The state, on the other hand was supporting schooling as a means to securing control over Maori and their resources” (9).

The Native Schools Act established a system of secular village primary schools which, although never exclusively Māori, became known as “Native Schools”. Like the missionary schools, the Native Schools often had a contradictory impact. “On the one hand they may be seen merely as instruments of colonisation set up to aid cultural assimilation and economic exploitation. On the other hand they may be viewed as sites of opportunity for the educational aspirations of Māori” (Simon 2). There were two main phases in the development of the Native Schools marked respectively by the influence of James Pope, Chief Inspector of Native Schools from 1880-1903, and William Bird, Chief Inspector, Senior Inspector and syllabus co-ordinator 1903-1930. Under the influence of William Bird the Native Schools followed more stringent assimilation policies than in the Pope years. The accumulative effect of these policies was the repression of Māori language, culture and identity. Although some individual Māori did achieve high levels of education and gained prominent positions in

government, the majority of Māori were adversely effected by Pākehā authorities' attitudes towards cultural assimilation in the first half of the twentieth century.

James Pope (1880-1903)

In 1880 the Department appointed James Pope as its first Organising Inspector of Native Schools. Pope was responsible for the preparation and implementation of the Native Schools Code (1880) which set out the ways in which the schools were to be run (*AJHR*, 1880, H1-F, 1-7). The code emphasised the community role of the teachers and stressed their influence as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life, thus reinstating the aims of “civilising” the Māori along European lines. The code also set down regulations for the establishment of new schools, the training, classification, salaries and appointments of teachers, the election and duties of schools committees, and the general conduct of the school. A syllabus was provided for each class from Standard I to Standard IV, and, from 1897, to Standard VI. Teachers were required to teach Māori children to read, write, speak English and to “further instruct them in the rudiments of arithmetic and geography, and generally, endeavour to give them such culture as may fit them to become good citizens” (Native Schools Code *AJHR*, 1880, H-1, 1).

The code made it clear that school instruction was to be given in English but that the Māori language could, if necessary, be used to facilitate the teaching of English to the junior classes. Part II. 3 of the code reads:

It is not necessary that teachers should, at the time of their appointment, be acquainted with the Maori tongue. In all cases English is to be used by the teacher when he is instructing the senior classes. In the junior classes the Maori language may be used for the purpose of making the children acquainted with the meanings of the English words and sentences. The aim of the teacher, however, should be to dispense with the use of Maori as soon as possible (*AJHR*, 1880, H-1, F, 1).

The Education Department at this time considered that discipline was to be “mild but firm” and advised that teachers should “if possible, avoid inflicting corporal punishment” (“Directions for teachers of Native Schools” *AJHR*, 1880, H-1, F, 7).

William Bird (1903-1930)

When William Bird took control of the Native School system in 1903 a new “direct method” of teaching English to Māori children was initiated. The assumption behind this method was that young children would learn a second language more effectively if immersed in it from an early age, and consequently the Māori language was officially prohibited in schools in the early twentieth century. In 1917 a pamphlet was published and distributed to Native Schools which advised teachers of the following:

Do not speak to your pupils in Maori, and do not permit them to speak to you, or to one another if you can help it. The less they hear of Maori the better it will be for their English. (Department of Education *The Teaching of English in Native Schools* 6)

Teachers differed in their responses to this policy. Although many continued to allow Māori to be spoken in their schools and classrooms others enforced the dictate with corporal punishment. This practice was only officially stopped by the Department of Education in the early 1960s, after appeals by university lecturers in anthropology and education, but it continued unofficially for some time after.

Punishment in Schools

“Discipline” within the Native Schools had multiple meanings and methods of assertion. There were varying styles of punishment for general inappropriate behaviour (Simon 87-88) and physical drills and timetables to encourage self-control and group order. Although all schools employ disciplinary practices to some extent, “from a critical standpoint” the notion of discipline in the Native Schools “might also be taken to mean the cultural and political domestication of Māori pupils” (Simon 87).

The Education Department never stated a policy of corporal punishment for the use of the Māori language within the Native Schools but emphasis on the “direct method” of teaching Māori pupils English resulted in some teachers applying harsh controls over which language should be spoken within their classrooms and indeed within their schools. There are numerous accounts of children being strapped or caned for speaking in Māori. Those using physical punishment intend that the person being inflicted with pain, often accompanied by

humiliation, understands that the action they committed which resulted in their punishment be associated with something “wrong”, “bad” or “abnormal”. Although ostensibly a physical form of punishment, the psychological dimensions of caning exert greater disciplinary power than the corporal. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault demonstrates how psychological coercive techniques have a greater disciplinary impact on an individual’s behaviour than physical pain because they work on individuals from inside their minds. In the case of corporal punishment it is the fear and humiliation of the act rather than the pain inflicted (although this is a factor) which regulates the children’s activities. Punishment for speaking Māori at school forced Māori children to think of their own language as transgressive and resulted in the self-suppression of their natural linguistic abilities. It is the production of such self-regulating psychological techniques of power that Ranginui Walker views as the most devastating legacy of corporal punishment experienced by Māori children for speaking Māori in the classroom, he writes:

The damaging aspect of this practice lay not in corporal punishment *per se*, but in the psychological effect on an individual’s sense of identity and personal worth. (*Struggle Without End* 147)

Māori children were forced to modify their behaviour and adapt to Eurocentric practices and manners, or to learn to accept their position as “abnormal” and inferior. Either way they were made to mask their identity and to feel ashamed of who they were.

In her novel *Baby No-Eyes*, Patricia Grace provides a deliberately exaggerated fictional representation of the consequences of this type of identity suppression in order to dramatise the devastating effects it had on Māori. Riripeti, a young Māori girl attending a Native School, is punished for speaking Māori. She is smacked and made to stand in the corner. Later Riripeti is caned. The narrator, Gran Kura, recalls:

It was when I ran off that Riripeti called out to me but forgot to speak in English. Well, all the holidays we had been speaking in that Maori language of ours, so perhaps that’s why she forgot. Mrs Wood grabbed Riripeti by the shoulders and brought her to Mr Wood for the cane. We all had to

stand in our lines and watch this caning so we would
learn how bad our language was. (37)

After the next holiday Riripeti can no longer face going to school; at the thought of it:

Her throat closed and wouldn't let any food go
down. Her skin was moist all the time and she
couldn't get out of bed.

Not long after that she died.

Killed by school.

Dead of fear. (38)

Still the narrator blames the “evil [Māori] language” rather than those people who instilled the fear in her younger cousin. It takes Kura nearly her whole life to rediscover within her the Māori language she suppressed and to re-embrace this facet of her identity.

Apart from corporal punishment, other forms of discipline were used to control and influence pupils in the Native Schools. The traditional classroom set-up with rows of desks facing front towards the teacher established spatial order. James Pope suggested that full timetables prevented ill discipline by leaving the pupils no spare time in which to be idle or mischievous (AJHR, 1890, E-2, 10). Military and physical drills were routinely practiced in order to increase physical health, patriotism and group discipline. Often during these drills the British flag would be raised. Despite William Bird being expressly against it at least one Native School practiced the haka in place of a British style physical drill (Simon 90).

Limited Education for Māori: the Focus on Manual Skills in the Native Schools.

The requirement stated in the Education Ordinance Bill of 1847 regarding industrial training began a trend of preparing Māori for labouring roles as opposed to focusing on their intellectual development. The argument behind this policy lay in the misguided belief that Māori were more naturally inclined than Europeans to manual work. Henry Taylor affirms this in the following statement:

I do not advocate for the Natives under present
circumstances a refined education or high mental

culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour. (*AJHR*, 1862, E-4, 38)

Attitudes like this continued to inform Native School curriculums well into the twentieth century. “The goal” of the Native Schools, writes Simon, “was not to extend the pupils intellectually but rather to provide them with “sufficient” schooling to become law-abiding citizens” (17). Ideas like this illustrate Foucault’s theory about the active engineering of people for particular roles in society.

The understanding that Māori were by nature more suited to physical rather than intellectual work prevailed in the New Zealand education system until the mid 1940s. The Native Schools curriculum offered woodwork, “technical” work and elementary agriculture for boys, domestic skills for girls. Whilst the skills learnt by Māori pupils may have been useful, focus on manual work denied the pupils the same opportunities as those given to students in other schools. The decision to teach manual and domestic lessons in the Native Schools “reflected colonial perceptions in general about the place of the ‘Native’ in society” (Simon 113). Māori were in effect being prepared to occupy mainly working class roles within society.

One school for Māori boys, Te Aute College, would not conform to the curriculum policies of the Education Department. In the 1880s the principal, John Thornton, gave his most promising students academic coaching in preparation for the matriculation examination of the University of New Zealand. Amongst the first wave of Māori university graduates in the 1890s and early 1900s were Apirana Ngata, and Peter Buck, both former Te Aute pupils. The Education Department attempted to persuade Thornton to abandon his academic curriculum and replace it with an agricultural one but Thornton refused and the Department was unable to force the issue because Te Aute was under the control of the Anglican Church. However, scholarships were cut off and a few years later Thornton’s successor gave in to the Department’s demands and implemented a more agriculturally based curriculum.

The position of men like Sir Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Sir Peter Buck highlight the ambiguous nature of education in a colonial society. Although these men are unusual products of a unique school and are in no way representative of the majority of Māori during this period, they managed to use the knowledge they had gained within the framework of the Pākehā education system to promote Māori socio-economic and political concerns.

In his position as Minister of Māori Affairs, Ngata introduced Māori cultural activities into the school curriculum and initiated important economic changes concerning Māori land. As Minister of Health, Pomare played a key role in improving basic Māori sanitation and hygiene and Buck raised Māori cultural self-awareness through his anthropological work. Activities of all three men helped to heighten Māori political awareness.

Between 1907 and 1955 the number of Native Schools in New Zealand increased from 97 to 166. During the 1930s, under the influence of the new Inspector of Native Schools, Douglas Ball, a policy of “cultural adaptation” was initiated which aimed at incorporating “the best of Maori heritage and custom” such as poi dances, weaving and carving, into the curriculum (*AJHR*, 1934, E-3, 3-4). Ball was influenced by the adaptation policy governing schooling in British territories in colonial Africa, and the newly developing field of social anthropology (Simon 73). Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Puea had initiated a cultural revival movement in Māori communities during this period which also influenced Ball’s policy. Simon writes: “this community-based movement, outside the influence of the school, was too powerful for the school to resist” (Simon 73). Māori language was not included in the cultural adaptation policy although it had been made a formal subject of study for Māori in secondary schools from 1909 and an optional subject for Māori Junior Scholarship holders in church secondary schools. From 1941 it was included in the secondary curriculum of the Native District High Schools. By treating Māori language as a formal subject (like French or German) rather than incorporating it in the general adaptation movement the Education Department continued to control the divide between the Māori populace and their language.

After the heroic performance of the Māori Battalion in World War II, Pākehā attitudes towards Māori appeared to change. In 1947 the negatively

connotative “Native” Schools were renamed “Māori” Schools and during the late 1950s and 1960s the schools were gradually transferred to the State School system. By 1969 all Māori Schools had been transferred to the Education Boards, thus complying with the new government policy of integration of Māori and Pākehā.

School Text Books

Although it could be argued that discrepancies in funding and curriculum criteria between the Native and State Schools implicitly segregated Māori and Pākehā children, there were no actual barriers on attendance.³² Pākehā children could go to Native Schools and often did if they lived in the area. Māori students were also present at State Schools. In 1909 the number of Māori children attending Board (or State) Schools exceeded the number in the Native Schools. Generations of Māori children therefore, grew up in the early twentieth century learning the same lessons as Pākehā school children.

Lessons in both the State Schools and the Native Schools were organised around articles in the school readers. The ways in which Māori are represented in these texts illustrate the relationship between power and discourse discussed by Foucault. As Stuart Hall comments:

Power has to be understood here, not only in economic terms of economic exploitation and physical coercion, but also in broader cultural or symbolic terms, including the power to represent someone or something in a certain way – within a regime of representation. (*Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* 259)

Between 1816 and 1969 the Eurocentric discourse of representation, or, as Foucault calls it, the “regime of truth”, dictated how Māori were presented in school texts, therefore by looking at past copies of these texts it is possible to analyse Pākehā attitudes to Māori and their culture.

The *Native School Reader* written by James Pope in 1887 will be examined. This reader was for specific use in the Native Schools and tailored for

³² In 1867 the Māori Schools Act allocated £4000 a year to subsidize the Native Schools. In contrast the 1877 Education Act provided £300,000 a year for State Schools.

a class comprised predominately of Māori students. Its most salient function was to help Māori pupils learn the English language, but the articles chosen are clearly intended to convey Eurocentric “messages” and lessons to the children.

The content of the second text to be looked at, Apirana Ngata’s *Maori Grammar and Conversation with Vocabulary*, further illustrates the way Eurocentric values and perspectives of the Māori people were filtered through educational material.

The focus in the last section will be on representations of Māori in the *School Journal* (the reader funded by the Department of Education) between 1907 and 1960. Like other school readers published before and during this period the *School Journal* was produced primarily for use in State Schools but was also used in Native Schools. The *School Journal* is the longest running reader series published for New Zealand school children and is still in print today.

The Native School Reader

The *Native School Reader* written by Pope in 1887 illustrates the way in which he envisaged Māori pupils might be taught in school to become good citizens. The reader is in three parts. Part I is made up of simple “lessons”, each calculated to last about fifteen minutes, constructed around themes which would be familiar to Māori pupils. Part II consists of “fifty fables, altered and, in some cases, *localised*, to make them more interesting to Maoris” (Preface 3). Part III is comprised of translations and adaptations of a considerable number of Wittich’s “German Tales” in the hope that they would help teach Māori English as they had helped to teach English children German.

The lessons can be divided into several different categories: hygiene, moral instruction, work, environment, history and civilisation. In the first category are lessons such as “After School” (I) which conveys the message that children should swim in the sea because it makes them “clean and strong”. “Soap” (XVIII) tells the children that if they “sit about much, and do little work” their pores will become “choked with dirt” which will make them feel “lazy and stupid, and perhaps ill”. Soap should be used to clean the pores and to make them feel “well, strong, and happy” (20). At the turn of the twentieth century it was standard practice to give lessons on basic health and hygiene to primary school

children, and this practice continues in schools today. However, in a period when Māori were often referred to as being dirty and unhygienic these stories carry with them an inference that Māori children are *more* unclean than Pākehā. This notion is subtly evident in the lesson “Fresh Air” (XI) which states that too many people in a house make it hot and produces “bad air”. This comment can be read as a reference to contemporary Pākehā attitudes to Māori communal living.

The second category of lessons falls under the rubric of “moral instruction”. These lessons include “Strong Drink” (II) a warning against alcohol, “Go to School” (XVIII) which stresses the values of learning to read and write, and “True Kindness” (XXX) which suggests that it is a greater kindness to tell lazy people that they are such than to indulge them with generosity. Towards the end of the nineteenth century advocates of the idea that Māori were a “dying race” pointed towards alcoholism, ill discipline and laziness within Māori communities as evidence of their demise. These three lessons are devised to counter such “Māori defects” and to help Māori children adopt good Pākehā values.

“Work” lessons stress the benefits of hard work. In “Gum” (III) the girl has to dig gum to sell in order to buy new clothes for school. “The Olive” (XIX) and “Silk” (XX) suggest two areas of agricultural work that Māori could invest their time and energy in. In both these lessons the authorial voice takes on a didactic tone in using phrases such as “the Maori should”. Combined with the emphasis on manual work for Māori pupils in the Native Schools this type of statement can be seen to be indicative of the prevailing attitudes towards the socio-economic status of Māori in New Zealand. Māori children in the Native Schools were expected to want, and be suited to, trade-based jobs and were never encouraged to take on intellectual pursuits or to aspire to be doctors, politicians or lawyers; these roles were reserved for Pākehā children.

Lessons about the environment are localised in that they take into account native animals, flora and fauna. There are lessons about the kauri tree (IV), the katipo spider (XIII) and the weka (XIV) – a native bird. This type of material was not found in the imported or locally produced *Imperial Readers* of the same period. Pope’s intention was to make the lessons meaningful and interesting for the Māori children in order that they might learn more effectively.

One of the “history” lessons retells the story of Hongi Hika and his musket wars in the North during the 1820s (IX). Hongi embodies characteristics of a Noble Savage. He is presented as “a brave and clever man, but very fierce and cruel” (12). He “killed a great many people” and “made many slaves” before his eventual death. This history lesson is one repeated in most of the school readers well into the twentieth century.

The lessons grouped under the “civilisation” heading are those which describe facets of European modernity. In the reader there are lessons about the major industrial centres in New Zealand: Auckland (XXI), Wellington (XXII), Christchurch (XXIII) and Dunedin (XXIV). There are also lessons about “Steamers”(XXV), “The Train” (XXVI), “The Telephone” (XXVII), “The Post Office” (XXVIII) and the “Police” (XXIX). These new developments are presented as highly beneficial to the Māori and “better, no doubt” than their old ways.

The *Native School Reader* was printed in both Māori and English, the Māori versions were used to assist the reading of the English versions. Pope followed the expectation held by the missionaries that Māori pupils would gain literacy in the English language at a much quicker rate if they were first literate in their own language and were permitted to use Māori text to help them understand English. Several books designed to teach Māori children English grammar also worked on this principle.

Grammar Books

Two of the earliest Māori/English Grammar texts used in schools were *Willie’s First English Book* (Government Printer 1872), and Apirana Ngata’s *Maori Grammar and Conversation with Vocabulary*.³³ The content of the last book illustrates how Māori themes were used as discussion material, for example Part II is titled “On the mythology and treasures of the New Zealanders”. Eurocentric political attitudes were filtered through the grammar exercises:

³³ The exact date of first publication for this grammar book and the identity of the first editor are slightly confused. Sir Apirana Ngata’s name was first associated with editions of this work in 1901 but the original compiler is cited as Mary Joseph Aubert who published the first version in 1885 under the initials S.A with the title *New And Complete Manual of Maori Conversation: With A Complete Vocabulary*. Nevertheless Ngata’s name is most commonly found associated with the work. It has been republished several times.

How does the Government act towards the Maoris?
The Government has always been solicitous that
the Maoris should be preserved as a people.

He tikanga pēwhea tā te Kawanatanga ki nga
Maoris?

Ko te tino hiahia o te Kawanatanga o mua iho, kia
ora tonu nga Maori hei iwi ki te ao nei. (114)

Māori attitudes to education are mentioned in the grammar book:

Do Maoris wish to have their children educated?
The Maoris manifest an earnest desire that a
knowledge of the English language should be
imparted to their children. They understand that
the future welfare of their children depends, in a
great measure, upon their progress in European
education.

E hiahia ranei te Maori kia whakāākona āna
tamariki?

E ngakau nui ana te Maori kia akona a rātou
tamariki ki te reo Ingirihi. E mohio ana hoki rātou,
kei te matāuranga o nga tamariki ki nga akoranga
pakeha tetahi tikanga nui e whai oranga ai rātou
nga takiwa e takoto ake nei. (116)

Māori attitudes to work are also discussed:

Are the Maoris fond of work?
Many of them spend their time in idle pursuits, and
intemperate habits have ruined a great many.

He iwi mahi pea te Maori?

He tokomaha o rātou e mau-mau ana i o rātou rā ki
nga mahi hanga noa iho, a kua tinitini noa o rātou
kue rawa kore kua hē noa iho ite mahi kai waipiro.
(116)

In putting his name to the text above Ngata illustrates his acceptance of certain Eurocentric views of the Māori people.

In 1987 Harry Ricketts published some extracts from *Maori Grammar and Conversation With Vocabulary* as found poems. Out of context, over a century from when they were first produced, the examples above appear as odd fragments, for example:

6: Peace And Goodwill Prevail

What sort of people are the Maoris?

The Maoris may be regarded as
a manly and patriotic race.

Are the Maoris fond of work?

Many of them spend their time
in idle pursuits, and intemperate
habits have ruined a great many.

Are the Maoris a religious sort of people?

Many of the more intelligent among them
express a strong desire to see
people return to the true religion.

How does the Government act towards the Maoris?

The Government has always been solicitous
that the Maoris should be preserved as a people.

(*Coming Here* 48)

Rickett's poems retain their authoritative colonial tone but appear to modern readers as incongruous and amusing. The assimilationist views they promote have long since been rejected in favour of greater Māori self-determination.

The *School Journal* (pre 1960s)

The first issue of the New Zealand *School Journal*, published by the Education Department, appeared in 1907. In 1877 parents had been promised a free and compulsory education for their children but prior to 1907 school readers had to be bought.³⁴ The readers varied from area to area which increased the cost for pupils moving to a new school and made the task of teaching more difficult for new teachers. The aim of the *Journal* was therefore to provide a free and comprehensive reader to all school pupils within the State/Board system. From 1909 the *School Journal* was available for use in Native Schools (Regulations Relating to Native Schools 1909, *New Zealand Gazette*, 2515). In 1914 its use in State Schools was made compulsory (*AJHR*, 1914, E-2, 10). The *Journal* was initially published in three parts; Part One for Standards I and II, Part Two for Standards II and IV, and Part Three for Standards V and VI. In 1946 a fourth part

³⁴ "School readers" are different from the *School Journal*. The readers were printed by independent publishers. Initially the readers were printed in Great Britain but from 1883 Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, who were based in Australia, began to dominate the Australasian school market. Further information concerning early publishers and the readers which they printed can be found in an article by Colin McGeorge, "The Use of School Books as a Source for the History of Education 1878-1914".

was added to the series when it was decided to cater more adequately for those children in Standard I who had been unable to read the old Part One *Journal*. Then in the 1950s, first Parts Three and Four and then Parts One and Two changed from being a small, monthly publication to a larger less frequent one. By 1958 the *Journal* ceased to be the personal property of the school pupil and was kept in school as “class sets”.³⁵

Initially the *Journal* took a “magazine” format covering a wide range of subjects. Each issue consisted of 30-50 pages of stories, poetry and articles with some pictures or photographs. It was in constant use during spoken and “silent” reading classes, as well as being used for homework purposes; it has been estimated that at least one-eighth of school time was occupied with the use of the *Journal* (D.R. Jenkins 3). Patricia Grace recalls the part played by the *School Journal* in her own education:

The primary school that I attended wasn't well off for books. I don't remember there being any books apart from our reading primers, the school journals, our catechisms, arithmetic texts and a few social study type books (McRae “Patricia Grace.” 285).

From 1907 to the late 1920s the *Journal* emphasised Imperial ideology.³⁶ Favoured topics during this period included: the Royal family; the Royal Navy; accounts of famous battles and British heroes; articles on the genesis of the Union Flag and the New Zealand Ensign. The Empire was portrayed as a moral concept; articles constantly emphasised that the glory of the Empire, was founded on liberty and justice. Pupils were encouraged to devote their lives to the service of the Empire and its values. Subordination of the individual to the needs of the State and the Empire were principles instilled within the articles, poems and Empire Day messages. However, as British foreign policy, and in parallel, New Zealand policy, became increasingly liberal and pacifist the bombastic and exhortatory tone of the *Journal* was tempered.

³⁵ In 1954 Parts I and II continued as monthly 16 page booklets to be given away to pupils, but Parts III and IV appeared as 72 page booklets in card covers (printed in colour), published quarterly, and now to be kept in the school. By 1958 Parts I and II had increased in size and included photographs and a coloured covers, they too were kept in the school as class sets. Information taken from the entry under “Journals” in Hugh Price, *School text books published in New Zealand to 1960*.

³⁶ For more information on this subject see E.P Malone “The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology”.

Although the dominant influence on the *Journal* was invariably British there was also a strong infusion of New Zealand material. Before the 1930s this largely consisted of nature studies and settler history with the occasional inclusion of Māori history and legends. After the New Education Conference in 1937 more emphasis was placed on the importance of providing reading material that related to the children's own environment. In 1939 the *Journal* came under the responsibility of the new School Publications Branch and the search for local writers of children's stories and poetry began. By the 1950s writers of quality, including Amelia Batistich, Maurice Duggan and Ruth Dallas, offered occasional contributions and by the 1960s the emphasis of the *Journal* became predominantly literary, entirely local and void (as far as possible) of ideological overtones.

Representations of Māori in School texts 1877-1950s

D.R Jenkins, in his work *Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal* and E.P Malone, in "The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology", have both made useful analyses of the contents of the *School Journal* published in the early twentieth century. Both these studies focus on the ideological intentions of the educational publications which fostered individual compliance with the values and structures of the state and the British Empire. Whilst displaying the conscious manipulation of the content of the *Journal* in order to produce "good" citizens and to shape for life a child's political ideas and moral judgements these studies rarely mention the social, cultural and political attitudes which surround the representation of the Māori in the *Journals*. D.R. Jenkins notes that "a social attitude to the Maoris can hardly be said to be part of the *Journal*" as they are rarely mentioned and when reference is made to them it is in the past tense, despite the fact that many thousands of the readers would have been Māori children (23). The fact that references to Māori are few and far between does in itself demonstrate a social attitude which conforms to the view presented throughout the school texts that Māori are a people of the past. As the following study of the *School Journal* will illustrate, the use of the past tense in connection with the Māori confirmed, at least in text, the fulfillment of late nineteenth century European theories of the "dying Māori".

A study by Colin McGeorge of primary school readers since 1877 illustrates how close analysis of the texts given to school children in the first half of the twentieth century can reveal a range of racial, social and political attitudes towards the Māori (“Race and the Maori in the New Zealand Primary School Curriculum Since 1877”). My intention is to examine and extend McGeorge’s research to include the *School Journal*.

Representations of Māori in the *School Journal* during this period were in keeping with colonial theories of race relations. Māori were represented as a lower race than Europeans and were frequently historicised or mythologised. In the latter half of the nineteenth century theories of “scientific racism” replaced previous “creation” narratives of the origins of the races. In *Imperial Leather*, Anne McClintock explains how “anatomical criteria” were sought by statisticians and surgeons for “determining the relative position of races in the human series” (50). Racial worth was accredited according to the geometry of the human body and the physique of the white European male (including details of jaw structure, brow shape, length of nasal cartilage, etc.) became the standard form against which all other races were judged. McClintock illustrates through reference to Dr. John Beddoe’s “Index of Nigrescence” how the core of whiteness was centred in the South of England and the index of “blackness” increased from east to west and south to north. Beddoe’s model highlights how even “white” people, primarily the Irish, were considered “black” because of their presumed degenerate character.

The invented criteria for distinguishing degeneracy were finally gathered up into “a dynamic, historical narrative by one dominant metaphor: the Family of Man” (McClintock 50). Montagu’s “Morphological Tree of the Human Races” illustrated how “racial hierarchy and historical progress became the fait accompli of nature” (McClintock 38). The Aryan race occupied the highest reaches of progress. Ernst Haeckel, the German zoologist, captured the idea that “the ancestral lineage of human species could be read off the stages of a child’s growth” (McClintock 50), thus, for example, a black Negro was considered to exhibit a similar level of civilised behaviour as a young white male child. Haeckel’s model reflects a Darwinian approach to existing colonial paternalistic attitudes towards dark-skinned colonised races.

Early school texts in New Zealand reflect the theories of scientific racism discussed above. The doctrine of racial classification propounded by the texts supported ideas of British physical, intellectual and cultural superiority thus providing further justification for the spread of Empire. The races of the world were divided into categories depending on physical features, character traits, aptitudes and cultural practices. The position of a race was determined by the extent to which it emulated the “standard” set by European civilisation. Thus the white race was the highest:

Whites form by far the most important race, for they have the best laws, the greatest amount of learning, and the most excellent knowledge of farming and trade. (Ward 44)

The Caucasian race is regarded as the highest, and the most civilised [...] typical members of the Caucasian race are fair or white in colour. (Gregory 278)

The centrality and importance of the white race is represented in a picture entitled “The Peoples of the British Empire” published in the *New Zealand School Journal* in 1917 (fig. 5). The picture clearly shows the white core of the Empire – at its centre is an Englishman who is framed by an Irishman, a Scot and other white men. New Zealand is represented by a European man who is set only a fraction back from the inner core. From the centre to the periphery other people of the Empire are represented, shaded from light to dark. The position held by the Māori on this picture is typical of the status they were allocated in the “scale of races” during this period. The Māori figure sits behind the Pākehā New Zealander, dressed in a feather cloak and wearing a full moko. The question as to which “race” the Māori belonged provoked a mixed response from European observers, nevertheless, most agreed that Māori were fairly civilised for “savages”. Māori were therefore placed in a higher relation to Europeans than other dark-skinned peoples.

Through the school texts Māori and Pākehā children received messages about their respective place in the world. Whereas Pākehā children, while not



Fig. 5. "The Peoples of the British Empire" *School Journal* 1917 (rpt. in Simon Nga Kura Maori 80).

British, could nevertheless identify with the white skin of the powerful Europeans, Māori children received the idea that they were on the outskirts of importance and power with other dark-skinned races.

A simple short story which appeared in the *School Journal* in 1907 reinforces the relative positions of the Māori and Pākehā and presents a typical colonial image of the “Loyal Native” seen in colonial fiction from around the world.³⁷ The story of Tawaki is about a Pākehā family who entrusts their sick son, Jack, to the care of a Māori boy (Tawaki) who takes him across the land to see a doctor (*School Journal* Part I Vol. 1 No. 4 August 1907). In this story Tawaki is representative of “the Maoris” (53) in that he is “kind” (53), “friendly” (53), “noble” (56), and ready to help his Pākehā friend before himself: “The faithful Maori had always given the little boy enough to eat, even though he went hungry himself” (56). He carries Jack across rivers and up and down hills with “not one cross or unkind word” (57). At the end of the story the two boys have grown up. Whereas Jack is a “socially mobile” figure of vitality and wealth, Tawaki has “grown old and bent” (57), “but he was never tired of telling the bright-faced children of that long journey when he took the little white boy to the doctor” (57). Tawaki is thus shown as static, remembering the time when he had the honour of helping the white boy. The story reinforces a pattern of social relations mirrored on a political level; Māori were supposed to graciously subordinate themselves to the Pākehā. The contrast of the two grown up boys at the end of the story, Jack with his children and Tawaki “old and bent”, signifies the anticipated future of the two races.

All the readers and the *School Journal* contributed implicitly to late nineteenth and early twentieth century Darwinian ideas which held that the Māori would die out or be assimilated by the way they constantly referred to Māori as people of the past. Historicisation of the Māori was a key technique used in the school texts. It enabled Pākehā authorities to define “Māori attributes” from a safe distance, calling on historical precedents that endorsed the Pākehā vision of Māori. By locating Māori in the past a distance was created between the thousands of contemporary Māori readers and their occasional representatives in

³⁷ The best example of a “loyal Native” is perhaps Friday in Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*.

the texts. This was just one of the techniques used in the journals to “de-authenticate” contemporary Māori culture.

“Historical” articles in the school texts deal with either the pre-European Māori or focus on particular Māori figures up to and including the Land Wars. Alternatively, Māori are mythologised as warriors from the past. As Colin McGeorge writes:

As far as the schools were concerned the Maori’s part in New Zealand’s history ended with the land wars and the Maori receded over further into the past to join the Greeks and the Romans, King Alfred and the Vikings (“Race and the Maori” 17-18).

Few references to contemporary Māori are made. The poet Lauris Edmond recalls that at her school in the 1930s “Maoris were a subject, quite distinct from the few Maori children who happened to be in my class” (“Membership of the Club” 75). The school texts did not show Māori culture as an integral part of everyday life but fixed Māori people into a sequence of stereotypes thus producing a paradoxical division between Māori self-perception, home-life and school experiences.

One of the standard topics included in the school curriculum was “Maori life in pre-European times” (Department of Education *Syllabus for Instruction for Public Schools*, 1937 36). This subject covered the arrival of the Māori in New Zealand, and pre-European arts and industries.

The story of the arrival of the Māori in New Zealand is told most fully in a series of four articles written in 1916.³⁸ The first section deals with Kupe and the discovery of New Zealand, the second with Toi and Whatonga, the third with Nuku, Manaia and the things the Māori brought with them to the new land. The fourth section tells the story of the “Coming of the Great Fleet”; a story often credited to the Pākehā historian S. Percy Smith. Although the story comments on the planned immigration from Hawaiki to New Zealand, and remarks on the preparations made by the occupants of the seven canoes, a reproduction of L.J. Steele’s painting of emancipated Māori figures desperately looking towards the

³⁸ Part 1 “The Earliest Voyagers” appeared in *The School Journal*, Part III Feb 1916, 23-29. Part 2 “Toi and Whatonga” followed in March 1916, 41-46. Part 3 “Manaia. What the Maoris Brought”, April 1916, 83-90. Part 4 “The Coming of the Fleet”, May 1916, 99-105.

land from their canoe accompanies the text thus implying that the arrival of the Māori in New Zealand was no more than a fortunate accident. The picture stands in stark contrast to the many photographs and drawings of great British sailing vessels frequently featured in the *Journal* and readers at this time. The “Coming of the Maori” continued to be a standard theme on the school syllabus and although theories about the origins of the Māori and the patterns of their migration to New Zealand have changed over the years it is still a topic taught in schools and universities today.

Much of the material relating to the Māori in the school texts deals with the period of settlement in New Zealand “before the white man came”. Arts, industries and warfare are given most attention. Most of these accounts offer a qualified representation of the Māori as an intelligent but violent race. The articles employ the past tense and talk about the “ancient” Māori as distant, fictional characters. One reader dramatically comments that:

The ancient Maori did not spend his whole life altogether in burning his enemy's pa and making night hideous with the yells of the fearful war dance [...] one point in which the domestic life of the Maori resembled our own was their fondness for keeping tame birds. (*The Pacific Readers* 4th Reader 177)

The paternalistic perspective on Māori often combined with a romantic vision of them as “the children of nature”. The following passage, taken from *The Imperial Readers* 6th Reader illustrates this point:

Like other savages, the Maoris were the children of nature, and their religion was the religion that belongs to the infancy of every race - a worship of spirits and deified ancestors, of the heavenly bodies, the earth, the sea, the air, darkness, light, and even certain of the lower animals. (79)

The extract represents Māori as innocent and artless thus rendering them ripe for religious instruction and western education/civilisation. The association made here between Māori and nature is an enduring characteristic used by Māori and Pākehā alike to demarcate cultural difference between the two races (see Chapters One and Two above).

That the Māori culture was not taken seriously in the school texts is most evident in the notion of “playing Māori”. To communicate their lessons about pre-European Māori, teachers often used interactive activities such as the following list of “Questions and Suggestions”:

1. Use a sand tray, or go into the playground and make a small *pa*. If you cannot do this, get three of your class mates to help you and make one in plasticine.
2. What is the difference between a *pa* and a *kainga*?
3. Into your book paste pictures of Maori carvings, houses and palisades.
4. Imagine you are a sentinel in one of the towers. Tell the story of an attack on the *pa*; or if you are a girl, tell the story of how your mother cooked food in the *hangi*.
5. Make a class collection of as many Maori articles as you can.
6. What do you know of a Maori *tohunga*?
7. Make a list of things the Maoris used. Do it in columns like this:-
Clothes Weapons Food Tools.
(*Our Nation's Story*, Standard III, 29)

Thus, Māori culture exists only as a game of make-believe or on the pages of a book; the message received by the children is that it no longer exists in the present. Lauris Edmond recalls learning about the Māori in this manner:

[...] we did the Maoris. Regularly, predictably, year after year at primary school I learnt the shape and purpose of the *pa* (a fortified village), the meeting house, the *pataka*, a store house where village food supplies were kept. Each year I waited for the familiar descriptions - like the details of how pigeons, cooked *hangi*-style in the ground, were preserved in fat and kept behind wooden bars locking the *pataka* till the day for a feast. (“Membership of the Club” 75)

“Uncles Three at Kamahi”, a story contributed to the *School Journal* (Part III) in September 1927, reiterates the concept “playing Māori”. Jan, a Pākehā, imitates Māori by painting tattoos on her face and calling herself “Chief Waimakaririrangitata-selwynorari” (246). She goes on to brandish her hockey stick and shout the only Māori words she knows, which are names of Canterbury

rivers and towns, in “blood thirsty” (247) cries accompanied by “her best war dance style” (247). She states directly that she is “playing Maoris to amuse the children” (247) a game which the older Mr Corfan associates with “playing Indians” (247).

Kay Schaffer, in her book, *In the Wake of First Contact*, shows how European conflation of indigenous races in textual representations of colonial contact zones in the early nineteenth worked to “produce stereotypes of the primitive other in the popular imagination which fuel[ed] white fears and promote[d] exploitation” (30). Schaffer uses Eliza Fraser’s story of *The Shipwreck of the Stirling Castle* in the 1830s to illustrate her case. Through various narratives of the shipwreck, which occurred on Fraser Island off the coast of Australia, the Aborigines in the story are increasingly represented as barbarous savages and credited with universal features of the “primitive other”. A woodcut representing the incident, which appeared in a popular English broadsheet in 1837, depicts the savages with stereotypical African features, dressed in Native American Indian skirts and, set against a Polynesian landscape. Mrs Fraser, babe in arms, is being chased by the savages who have already mutilated several European crew-members. European representations of indigenous peoples as violent barbarians will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, but what is important here is the easy manner in which indigenous people have been merged in European media into a universal stereotype thus eliding and distorting local identities. The story from the *School Journal* in 1927 discussed above illustrates the enduring nature of such stereotypes and demonstrates how in a period of established European order in the settler colonies, the universal indigenous villain became more a figure of ridicule than fear.

In a process similar to the reduction of Māori to figures of ridicule through the process of “playing Māori”, traditional Māori mythology was relegated to the realm of fairytale. Early in the twentieth century a sequence of “Maoriland Fairy tales” appeared in the *School Journal*. The stories were based on Sir George Grey’s popular versions of “traditional” Māori myths. The adventures of Māui dominated the series. The myths were “cleaned up” and simplified for Pākehā school consumption. The story about Māui and the death goddess is a prime example. In the original story Māui enters Hinenuitepō’s vagina in an attempt to

gain immortality for men by travelling through the goddess and existing from her mouth. Chapter Five discusses this and other Māori myths in greater detail. In the *School Journal*, however, Māui enters the goddess's "mouth", not her vagina, which is understandable considering the age of the school pupils. There is even a picture of Māui's legs hanging out of Hinenuitepo's mouth (see appendix C for the full version of the myth told in the *Journal* including the picture of Māui and Hinenuitepō). The once sacred myth is bowdlerised and "Pākehāfied". The myths are homogenised and show no relation to their original hapū or iwi. Although not a new phenomenon the fact that the myth appears in print takes it out of the kuamātua's hands and its open accessibility further desacrilizes it. By titling the sequence "Maoriland Fairytales" the stories are ranked alongside fictional entertainment and become interchangeable with such stories as *Alice in Wonderland* or tales from *Arabian Nights*. The social and cultural relevance of the myths is entirely overlooked. Lauris Edmond describes the effect of this type of presentation:

There were of course Maori legends, and these were a pleasure, but only in the way that Greek tales were, or fairy stories from Grimm or Hans Andersen. All were collections of stories. What happened in England was *true*. ("Membership of the Club" 75)

In relegating the myths to fairy stories the Māori culture was not only "distanced" but devalued from its reader's reality.

The discussion of "true" historical events and characters in the *School Journal* was usually confined to British history and New Zealand settler history. However, there are a handful of Māori historical figures who crop up occasionally in the texts. The 1929 syllabus lists the lessons of Māori history to be taught: "the 'Maori war' and its causes, some famous Maoris and stirring events connected therewith – Hongi, Te Rauparaha, Hone Heke, Te Kooti" (1937 *Syllabus* 36). In 1948 *The Primary School Curriculum: Revised Syllabus* suggested topics for Standard 3 should include "stories from New Zealand history, e.g., Hongi, Marsden, Te Rauparaha, Grey". In the first topic for Form 1, "Making New Zealand", suggested lessons include "Hone Heke, the siege of Orakau, and the pursuit of Te Kooti". But as Colin McGeorge notes, "the Maoris left the stage at

the end of the land wars and of such people as Rua Kenana or Ratana there was, of course, nothing” (“Race and the Maori” 18).

Particular characters from Māori history came to represent particular facets of Māori culture or Māori characteristics, as defined through Pākehā eyes. Thus, Hongi was the typical Noble Savage; “He was a brave and clever man, but very fierce and cruel” (*Longman’s New Zealand Readers*, The First Book, 1910, 106). Ruatara was cast as the naive savage grateful for missionary instruction in agriculture and religion (*School Journal*, Part I “The Story of Ruatara”, 1910, 28-32). Te Rauparaha is notorious for his savagery. He is responsible for massacres and cannibal feasts and is often depicted with theatrical overtones; “‘That girl looks fat and tender!’ said Rauparaha, pointing at poor Pito-rua, ‘Kill her and cook her!’” (“The Swimmer”, *School Journal*, Part III, June 1918, 190). The presentation of the Māori as the villainous cannibal occurs elsewhere in some of the fictional stories included in the school texts. In a short story about “Rena, the Maori Slave”, which is set in the days when “the Maoris were very fierce and warlike, and were often very cruel”, a young Pākehā woman protects Rena from the pursuers who intend to “eat” her (*School Journal*, Part I, April 1910, 34-38).

Hone Heke, most famous for his attack on the flagstaff at Kororareka in the 1840s, is presented as defiantly seeking war in the face of government demands for peace. After his defeat the government is described as magnanimously granting him a free pardon and allowing him to retain his land but few explanations for Heke’s actions are given. In the story of Hongi Hika in the *New Zealand Graphic Reader*, Sixth Book the name of Hongi Hika is accidentally replaced with Hone Heke and then repeatedly written as Honi, thus highlighting the inattention to the particulars and details of the role played by Māori in settler history. Representations of Māori chiefs and their exploits against the colonial forces serve functional purposes – they highlight the civilised and civilising behaviour of the Europeans whilst justifying settler presence in New Zealand.

Perhaps the most misrepresented Māori figure in the school readers was Te Kooti. Often erroneously aligned with the Pai māriri religion, he was branded as a savage rebel. Although it is mentioned that he was sent to exile on the Chatham Islands without trial no further account for his actions against the government

troops and settlers is attempted. Te Kooti is presented as the arch-enemy of the state. His actions are described as random acts of violence:

Early in the mourning of November 10th, 1968 Te Kooti and his savages came down from the Urewera country by an old path, and fell on the settlers of Matawhero, near Gisborne. Thirty-two white people and nearly forty natives were killed in that dreadful raid [...]

[...] For the next two years Te Kooti kept the countryside in a state of constant fear [...]. Te Kooti had a way of appearing where he was least expected. Now he swooped down on this settlement, now on that, and always left behind him several victims, treacherously murdered. (*Our Nation's Story*, Standard IV 54-55)

Such a one sided representation of Te Kooti not only helped to reinscribe stereotypes of the bloodthirsty Māori savage but totally negated the Māori (in particular the Ringatū – followers of Te Kooti) perspective of events. Representations such as these also forced Māori children to be ashamed of their history rather than celebrating it. In an article in 1987 Judith Binney notes how Western-trained historians helped perpetuate colonist attitudes in their “so called objective histories” (“Maori Oral Narrative, Pakeha Written Texts” 17). Rearticulation of these histories, particularly through the *School Journal* and school readers, has “served, to a considerable extent, to erase Maori memories and perceptions” (17). Binney refers to a statement by the great-granddaughter of Te Kooti to illustrate this point:

I didn't know anything about him. I used to hear how he was a rebel and all, and that I didn't think I was connected to him [...]. I was in Standard VI [in 1928], and we were asked to write about Te Kooti and, well, I didn't *know*. I didn't know anything about him. I went home and talked about it, and was told to forget it. “Don't worry about it! It is over! Finished.” I went back and told them [my parents] that my headmaster was threatening to strap me. Because I didn't know anything about Te Kooti. And I asked them - *then*. My mother said, “Oh well, it is too late now”. And she started telling me who we were, who he was. My grandfather was

there and she said, “That is his son sitting over there.” I must have been about fifteen then. (17)

The family had suppressed their history because of shame. The overriding interpretation taught in Poverty Bay about Te Kooti was that he was a rebel, an enemy of the state, and the *School Journal* reinforced this view.

In the early 1900s reports of the Land Wars in school readers followed the general trend of the period by representing Māori “rebels” (excluding Te Kooti and Titokowaru) as gallant but doomed foes of the British. *The Growth of the Colony: 1853-1907* published circa 1907, emphasises the heroic and chivalric character of the Māori and ascribes to the Land Wars ideas of fair play and mutual respect, ending inevitably in British victory.

In 1939 James Cowan contributed two articles about the Battle of Orakau to the *School Journal*. The story is a tribute to Māori heroism; “deeds of courage and fortitude” in the face of insurmountable odds: “For three days and two nights the Maoris held the fort, a noble three hundred and ten against six times their number of well-armed, well-fed soldier foes” (*School Journal*, Part III, March 1939, 49). According to Cowan, defeat for the Māori was inevitable. Cowan ends his article with the question: “was it good to destroy a race who could so defend their native land?” implying that in this, “the final battle of the Waikato war”, the Māori race, though respected and admired, was finally crushed. Only recently have such “Victorian interpretations” of the Land Wars and Māori/Pākehā race relations been reconsidered by revisionist historians and authors such as James Belich in *The New Zealand Wars*, Ihimaera in *The Matriarch* and Maurice Shadbolt in *Season of the Jew*.

All the stories of historical uprisings by Māori against the government conclude with the restoration of the government’s authority. Commenting on the presence of Māori within the school readers, Colin McGeorge notes that:

He [the Māori] bowed out of New Zealand’s history with the last shot of the land wars and references to Maoris which were not about the pre European times or events prior to Parihaka were confined to pious statements about racial equality and formal equality before law. (“Learning About God’s Own Country” 5)

Order is, therefore, metaphorically restored in the journals as the content returns its focus to the magnanimity of British rule and European based subjects.

Conclusion

Māori school children up until the 1960s were not provided with adequate representations of their own culture. The *School Journal* reinscribed the official and popular belief in assimilation of the Māori into Pākehā society. In some cases the educational literature produced for use in schools, as indeed some of the elements of the school system itself, actively “miss-educated” pupils about New Zealand history and the position of the Māori in the past and in contemporary society. One of the reasons why a straight-forward account of the Māori people’s current situation was not addressed may have been because it would have revealed the cherished New Zealand myths of good race relations, and equality for all as unfounded. Economically, socially and politically the claims were not true. Further factors contributing to the lack of recognisable Māori figures in the school journals and readers may have been a belief on the part of the Education Department that “things Māori” were best taught to Māori children in their homes by their parents, or more simply due to a lack of good Māori writers who could present the Māori “from the inside” rather than the outside perspective.

Between 1816 and 1969 missionary, Native and State Schools in New Zealand all to some degree helped facilitate assimilation of Māori into European based social structures, values and attitudes. The schooling provided for Māori did increase their general level of education and taught them skills applicable to an evolving industrial country, and many Māori welcomed these developments. In hindsight, however, it is possible to see trends in curriculum policies which actively limited Māori knowledge and acquisition of skills in ways that adversely influenced the position of Māori in the socio-economic order of New Zealand to the present-day.

Between 1816 and 1867 the Māori language was the medium of instruction used in missionary schools. From 1867 to 1904 Māori language was used as a bridge to help Māori children better understand English. From 1904 onwards English was the principal medium of instruction. From the instigation of

the “direct method” of teaching Māori children to speak English the day to day use of the Māori language began to decline.

The suppression of te reo denied Māori free expression of their identity. Punishments for speaking in Māori at school led many children to think negatively about themselves and their culture. Representations of Māori in the school readers failed to provide Māori pupils with positive role models. Disparities between what they were being taught at school and their home life led to confusions and contradictions in how they perceived their own identity. Although some individuals under special circumstances successfully negotiated a path between the two cultures, for many the lack of focus on Māori culture in schools combined with increasing urbanisation which took families away from the older generations of Māori who could speak te reo, implied the eventual decline of knowledge regarding Māori language and culture. In 1935 Ngata realised the threat of extinction facing the Māori language. In communication with Peter Buck, Ngata writes:

Whether our efforts in and about the maraes, in the ceremonials and by reviving chants, hakas &c will stem the tide now flowing strongly in many homes towards English speaking and compel bilingualism is the question. A language must be in common every-day use if it is to survive. (Sorrenson (ed) *Na To Hoa Aroha* Vol. 3 199)

It was not until 1941, when the first Native District High Schools were opened, that the Māori language was permitted in the state-controlled Native Schools. Māori language returned to the Native Schools curriculum, not as a basis for teaching English, but as a subject to be studied. As Simon explains: “That Maori pupils were now studying their native tongue as a second language might be seen as testimony to the ‘success’ of the ‘direct method’” (85). Nevertheless, the Māori language was gradually beginning to be revived and reclaimed from within the education system. This process would eventually lead to the establishment of independent Māori language “nests” (Kōhanga reo) for pre-schoolers, and bilingual junior schools (Kura kaupapa) in the 1980s. The very system used to assimilate Māori into European culture is used, in part, today to promote Māori values and language.

The Māori authors studied in this thesis grew up in the period when schools were beginning to incorporate more Māori material in their lessons. Their conscious use of literature to promote Māori issues illustrates how they use their education and the traditionally western novel form to expose racial prejudice and resist further Māori assimilation into mainstream Pākehā culture. The next chapter explores how Patricia Grace, like many other Māori writers, uses fiction as a tool through which to reassess the psychological damage suffered by Māori in the past. Grace also uses fiction as a channel through which to “re-educate” readers about the historical and contemporary relevance of Māori culture to its people and to New Zealand as a nation.

CHAPTER FOUR

“Showing Them Who We Are”: Patricia Grace’s Educative Purpose

Patricia Grace (1937-) is of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Ati Awa descent, and is affiliated to Ngāti Porou by marriage. She was born in Wellington and was educated at St Anne’s School, St Mary’s College and Wellington Teachers’ Training College. Between the early 1960s and 1985 Grace worked as a primary school teacher. In 1977 she became the first Māori woman to publish a collection of short stories (*Waiariki*) and since then has enjoyed a prosperous writing career. Grace’s work displays the twofold purpose of “decreating” (or decolonising) previous literary Māori stereotypes and “recreating” (or re-representing) Māori people in literature. Her fiction contains an educative purpose to “teach” New Zealanders about the Māori way of life from a Māori perspective. In an article titled “The Maori in Literature” Grace articulates this motivating factor:

My hope is that I can contribute towards greater understanding of who we are so that others may come to realise that we do have a legitimate and structured way of life, and a real seriousness and a deep spirituality [...].

I think it is important for me and other Maori writers to write about us in all our variousness, our feelings and aspirations and values [...]. (80-81)

In their recent collection of writing from and about the Pacific, Rob Wilson and Vilsoni Hereniko discuss the “creative dialectic” which arises out of the “process of decreation and recreation”:

(1) At the outset, *decreation* implies the articulation of an engaged process of decolonization, critical negation, and the culture-based resistance to forces of global belittlement and symbolic effacement, the workings of “Pacific orientalism,” and the semiotics of Euro-American domination, but, beyond such acts of negation, belatedness, and resentment, (2) *recreation* involves the ongoing rehabilitation, affirmation, and cultural-political strengthening of the indigenous and local imaginations that are struggling to be heard and to link up inside the Pacific. (1-2)

Grace’s stories participate in the movement towards decolonisation of the negative mentality historically ingrained in Māori by colonial forces. Many of her characters (such as Hemi in *Potiki*, Kura in *Baby No-Eyes*) undergo a process of

self-realisation; they become aware of their own passive, colonial-induced mentality and seek to overcome it. Grace's characters, and her books in general, overcome the silence and repression of the past by redefining Māori cultural identities in the present. The texts voice Māori opinion and experience and work towards the effective construction of channels of communication between Māori and Pākehā.

This chapter examines the “creative dialectic” within Grace's texts. The first section investigates Grace's expose of the mechanisms of the colonial education system that downgraded Māori people, their language and their culture. The following section, “Showing Them Who We Are”, looks at Grace's work as part of a larger movement aimed at the re-education of Māori and Pākehā about “things Māori”. Grace is a writer and an “educator” who, like many of the protagonists in her novels, sees her work as “concerned with explaining to others,” “teaching” them about Māori culture and history (*Cousins* 216). The educative purpose of Grace's work has been recognised by educational institutions in New Zealand and abroad and her fiction has been taken up in a formal way through universities and schools. Grace's contribution to the field of children's literature is examined here with particular reference to her stories published in the *School Journal*.

As part of showing the reader who Māori (in all their “variousness”) are, Grace displays a critical awareness of the problems facing Māori society. The section of the chapter titled “Confronting Contemporary Issues in Māori Society” discusses the types of problems raised by Grace in her fiction, such as the need for modern redefinitions of Māori social structures and domestic abuse in Māori families. Like Ihimaera, she consciously strives not to replace one set of Pākehā stereotypes of Māori with an equally misrepresentative Māori set. Grace keeps reassessing Māori culture from a modern perspective but never loses touch of the deep-rooted Māori values which continue to inform her work. Against the destructive forces of colonisation, Grace, much like Ihimaera and Hulme, presents the healing and empowering strength of Māori spirituality. Her representation of Māori spiritual strength is discussed in this chapter with reference to *Baby No-Eyes*.

Grace does not just represent Māori in fiction but works towards the development of greater understanding between Māori and Pākehā. Her exploration of cross-cultural learning in relation to her first novel *Mutuwhenua* is examined and is followed by a discussion of the way she produces models for effective trans-cultural communication through careful manipulation of language.

Exposing the Mechanisms of Power: Grace's Representation of the Impact of the Colonial Education System on Māori Self-perception.

[...] people need to know [...] there is [...] an education system that withholds knowledge, blunts understanding, erodes self-esteem and confidence. (*Cousins* 216).

In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o writes:

Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others. (16)

The most effective means of gaining control over people's "mental universe" is through the education system. In this way, as illustrated in the previous chapter, Eurocentric values can be implanted into the minds of generations of children. Mental control is more permanent than physical and can be made to be self-induced, thus the status quo of power relations can be maintained without any visible display of domination. Colonial discourse works insidiously to convince the colonised of their inferiority to the colonisers.

Grace's work helps to expose the mechanisms of colonial ideology. In her first novel, *Potiki*, Hemi, the father of the family in focus, reflects on this very process:

In his day they had been expected to hide things, to pretend they weren't what they were. It was funny how people saw each other. Funny how you came

to see yourself in the mould that others put you in, and how you began not to believe in yourself. You began to believe that you should hide away in the old seaweed like a sand flea, and that all you could do when disturbed was hop about and hope you wouldn't get stood on. But of course you did get stood on. (65)

Hemi realises that the school system plays a central role in establishing this sense of inadequacy:

[...] their ancestors had been rubbished in schools, and in books, and everywhere. So were their customs, so was their language. Still were rubbished too, as far as he could see. Rubbished or ignored. And if those things were being rubbished then it was an attack on you, on a whole people. You could get weak under the attack [...]. (65)

When Hemi says that his ancestors had been “rubbished in schools” he is referring to the types of lessons illustrated in the previous chapter which were taught to Māori children in both the Native and State Schools. Māori customs, Māori language and history, if acknowledged at all, were often misrepresented, desecralised or ridiculed. Reuben, a relation and contemporary of Hemi's, echoes Hemi's sentiments in his arguments against attending school:

“Aren't I something already? Aren't I? That's all I learn at school – that I'm not somebody, that my ancestors were rubbish and so I'm rubbish too [...]. I'm not learning one thing, not one thing, that's anything to do with me, or us. And some of the stuff, well, it's against me and against us. It makes us dumb, it puts us wrong.” (74-75)

In *Baby No-Eyes* Grace expands on the ways in which Native Schools actively alienated Māori from their culture. As discussed in the previous chapter, Gran Kura, the eldest member of the family portrayed in *Baby No-Eyes*, recalls her experience as a child at a school where English was the medium of instruction and the Māori language was forbidden to be spoken. Kura tells of how the Māori children were given English names by the teacher (Kura was re-named Kate, Riripeti was called Betty, and Minaroa was named Dulcie). Riripeti, Kura's

younger cousin, did not understand this enforced duality of identity and was constantly punished for not replying to her English name and for talking in Māori.

Riripeti's punishment involves being made to stand in the corner, being smacked and caned. When she is caned the other children are made to watch in order that they too receive the message that speaking Māori is "bad" (37). When their native language becomes associated with pain and humiliation, the instinct to suppress or "hide" it takes over. "Good" people in Kura's opinion refrain from speaking the "evil" Māori language and learn to protect themselves by complying with the requirements of the teacher. Disciplinary power, enforced physically and psychologically, inculcates the binary concept in the children's minds that everything Māori is bad and everything English is good.

The power schools had to silence the Māori language is dramatically and metaphorically represented in the text by the death of Riripeti. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the young girl's throat closes up until she can no longer eat, then she dies, "killed by school" (38). Riripeti's death symbolically stresses the interrelation of a person's identity and their language. In repressing her language the child's identity is literally destroyed. This process can be metaphorically extended to convey the impact suppression of Māori language had on Māori culture in general. Although not dying out as predicted at the turn of the twentieth century, Māori culture was driven underground, and was to a large degree, "silenced".

Kura expresses the burden of shame carried by her generation and the legacy of silence, anger and frustration bequeathed to their descendants:

[Riripeti] was me, she was all of us. She was the one who had died but we were the ones affected, our shame taking generations to become our anger and our madness. (38)

Kura's generation think that in suppressing their own culture they are protecting their children from punishment in the future:

We keep our stories secret because we love our children, we keep our language hidden because we love our children, we disguise ourselves and hide our hearts because we love our children. We choose names because we love our children. (39)

In an interview with Antonella Sarti, Grace comments on this process of self-repression:

[...] what has happened to Maori society is that a lot of Maori are taking on board the view of the colonizers. They have become afraid and lacking in self-esteem; they have come to see themselves as unworthy. They have come to see dark skin as being something negative and their language as being inferior. (46-47)

In *Baby No-Eyes* the character of Shane, Kura's grandson, is the result of years of cultural suppression. Shane has been brought up in ignorance of his cultural heritage. Although he looks Māori he has no understanding of what it means to be Māori. "Look at this black face" he asks Kura:

"But what to go with it? Uh? Black, but what to go with it? Shane for a name. Shane, Shame, Blame, Tame, Lame, Pain. Nothing to go with this," he prodded at his chest with stiff stick fingers, "nothing to go with this. How can I be Pakeha with this colour, this body, this face, this head, this heart? How can I be Maori without ... without ... without what? Don't even know without what. Without what?" (27)

Shane's volatile nature stems from his lack of a secure sense of self. The internalisation by Kura's generation of Pākehā stereotypes of Māori, and Pākehā values of "good" and "bad", distorted their own self-perception and resulted in a fractured sense of identity. The list of negative characteristics that rhyme with Shane indicate how his identity has been built out of destructive or restricted forces. His frustrations are the product of Kura's repressed anger that has not yet learnt to channel itself into a constructive force. He feels incomplete. He has no way to access the part of him that has been denied, nor can he make sense of the part identity inscribed on his body. He can not escape what Frantz Fanon calls, the "fact of blackness" (77) but neither does he know how to conceive of it in positive terms. He has no history to sustain his Māori identity. The psychological condition this rupture between body and mind has caused is imbued with the capacity for self-destruction. Thus, the violent tendencies Shane displays can be

read as originating in the fracturing of Māori identity during the process of colonisation.

Shane dies in a car accident. Although Te Paania is in the car with him at the time she survives, but the baby inside her womb dies. The destructive capacity entrenched within the history of colonisation is fully realised through this act. The process of imposed subjugation and self-negation begun by Kura's generation (especially of denying the colour of their skin) filtered destructively through Shane, culminates in the death of his unborn baby. In this manner Grace demonstrates the negative cycle of cultural repression which must be broken before Māori culture and Māori people can regain a secure sense of their identity.

Through her fiction Grace raises awareness of colonial ideological control over print and screen media. In *Potiki*, Hemi states that Māori were "rubbished" in books. His son, Manu, says there are no stories for him at school – a sentiment echoed by Makareta in *Cousins* when she says, "our truth does not appear on pages of books unless it is between the lines" (215). Neither does the television reflect the lives of Māori. In *Potiki* Roimata says:

There was little indication through television that we existed at all in our own land. There was little on television that we could take to our hearts. (105)

When Māori do appear in books and films produced by Pākehā before the 1980s they are generally stereotyped. In an article written in 1978, Grace describes such representations:

Creative writing of the past has helped to endorse my awareness that Maoris are regarded in either comic or romantic lights by many non-Maori. Happy-go-lucky, lazy people, mostly not too bright, suitable subjects for much lampoonery and many bad jokes. Otherwise it is the big-brown-eyes and little-bare-feet touch [...].

Much of what has been written has to my mind been superficial, and writers have drawn mainly on what are the outwardly observable things, especially of speech and general appearance, but also of attitudes and customs. So that we get supposed Maori English such as, "By George, that the good stuff!" or "But the poor old pakeha – golly, he the funny one, eh? Show him the Maori not the

fool, eh?" (*Tidal Creek* – Roderick Finlayson) [...].
 ("The Maori in Literature" 80-81).

For Pākehā who had little contact with Māori these representations were the only means they had of forming an understanding of clichéd Māori culture and its people, thus cultural ignorance proliferated. For Māori, these stereotypes were misrepresentative and insulting. Nevertheless, via control of the "mental universe" of Māori (and Pākehā) through education, many of the concepts behind the stereotypes were internalised. It was not until the publication of Noel Hilliard's novel *Maori Girl* in 1960 that any serious attempts to represent Māori in a more socially realistic manner were made, and even then Hilliard's portrait was limited. In 1969 Bill Pearson drew attention to the damaging stereotypes of Māori in New Zealand literature in his article "The Maori and Literature 1938-65". Perhaps one of the most reductive insinuations for the social, economic and psychological well-being of the Māori people has been the notion that, as Grace puts it, Māori are "mostly not too bright". The previous chapter demonstrated that this idea has informed education policies in New Zealand since the nineteenth century.

In *Baby No-Eyes*, the baby's mother, Te Paania, remembers the types of lessons she was taught at school. Most of her classes focused on manual skills such as cooking, sewing and metalwork. Despite protests that she can cook adequately enough already and knows how to look after a family of ten, the teacher tells her that at school she will learn to cook "proper food", thus implying that her "Maori food" ("Flaps, hocks, neck chops and livers. Puha and spuds and doughboys") is somehow "improper" (89). Despite arguing with this teacher on numerous occasions, Te Paania acknowledges an essential difference between the cooking teacher who, "had enough belief in what she did to think she could teach us", and the other teachers who "thought that teaching us was impossible" (90). When we meet Te Paania in the novel she is an intelligent woman who has educated herself regardless of the lack of help from the "smiling thieves" (teachers) who she believes stole her school education.

Reflecting on her own school experience in an article about the influences on her writing career in *Inside Out*, Grace says:

I was the only Maori child at the schools I attended, and though I enjoyed school and liked learning, I was often puzzled, as a small child, by my “difference” and by the low expectation that some teachers had of me as a scholar; on the other hand, they always recognized my sporting abilities. (65)

These neo-colonial attitudes towards Māori and education are explored in the short story “Letters from Whetu”.

The protagonist of the story, Whetu, is a young Māori girl in the sixth form of high school. She is articulate and critical about the treatment she and her friends receive from the Pākehā teachers. Whetu is the only Māori in the class. The teacher patronises her ability, Whetu says: “she thinks she, and she alone, got me through S.C last year [...] she thinks I’ve got no brayne of my own” (*Collected Stories* 121). Whetu tests the teacher’s patience by repeatedly using colloquialisms in her essays (“you”), because she is “sick of being her honourable statistic, her minority person MAKING IT” (*Collected Stories* 122). Whetu’s observation about being a “statistic” draws attention to the actual participation rates of Māori in formal further education. Māori participation is still proportionately lower than Pākehā, although the situation is improving.³⁹ Whetu notes the teacher’s prejudice against Andy, who is also Māori; her fear of “his looks, of the way he talks, of his poor clothes” (129), and the vice principal’s poor handling of the smoking incident which resulted in Iosefa receiving a black eye from his father. Both these situations illustrate an education system still ill equipped to deal with cultural difference.

Whetu wonders about the relevance of the knowledge she is learning at school to the rest of life. “KM” (Katherine Mansfield) and “ACCREDITING DAY” mean little to her. Although she understands the expectations put on her by her parents to do well she questions the Pākehā notion of “making it”:

³⁹ In 1996 Māori made up 20 percent of all school students following a period of high growth. As a result of staying at school for a longer period, Māori school leavers were more qualified in 1996 than 10 years earlier. The proportion with qualifications rose from 46.6 percent in 1986 to 61.0 percent in 1996. Between 1991 and 1996 the growth in the number of Māori enrolled in tertiary education exceeded that of non-Māori. Much of this growth came from increased female participation. Despite these gains the participation rate of Māori aged 18-24 was half that of non-Māori. *New Zealand Now, Maori*, 1998: 58.

[...] it seems we get put through this machine so that we can come out well-educated and so we can get interesting jobs. I think it's supposed to make us better than some other people – like our mothers and fathers for example, and some of our friends [...] (*Collected Stories* 121).

Whetu's cynical observation that education "is supposed to make us better than some other people" implicitly points up the divisive effects acquisition of education can have between family members and friends. This is a theme explored in the short story "A Way of Talking" where the less educated Hera feels distanced from her well-educated sister. It is also a theme explored by Alan Duff in *Both Sides of the Moon* where he presents cultural attitudes to the acquisition of education as a divisive difference between Māori and Pākehā.

The lessons Whetu learns neither hold her interest nor stretch her intellectually. Rather than providing her with skills for life, with the "real" meaning of things, school constrains and smothers her. She tells Andy:

E hoa, I want to walk all over the world but how do I develop the skills for it sitting in a plastic bag fastened with a wire-threaded paper twist to keep the contents airtight. You sit cramped in there, with your head bowed, knees jack-knifed up under your chin. (132)

Again, Grace is drawing attention to the detrimental effects a limited, or inappropriate, education can have on an individual. Much like Riripeti in *Baby No-Eyes*, Whetu feels that the school is draining her of vitality rather than enhancing her future opportunities.

The movement towards independent Māori schools since the 1980s suggests that the State education system in New Zealand was failing to provide appropriate cultural tuition for Māori students. Some junior and secondary schools do now have bilingual units and most schools provide pupils with opportunities to learn Māori language, history and culture. Curriculum documents emphasise bicultural and multicultural awareness and have begun to incorporate Māori cultural perspectives in their approach to teaching.⁴⁰ However, the effects

⁴⁰ Since 1984 the Department of Education has moved towards the inclusion of a policy of *Taha Māori* in the school curriculum. The Māori language science curriculum document opens with a

of over a century of cultural erosion cannot be reversed overnight. Some critics of the Department of Education consider that too little too late is being done to promote Māori culture and that despite the appearance of change, underlying Eurocentric ideologies have not altered.⁴¹ The work of Māori writers such as Grace helps to expose the injustices of this ideological base and to gain support for gradual change.

“Showing Them Who We Are”: Grace’s Representation of “Ordinary” Māori.

On numerous occasions Grace has stated her aims to show non-Māori readers who the Māori people are, and to offer Māori readers characters and situations they can easily relate to. Early in her writing career Grace wrote:

I think it is important for me and other Maori writers to write about us in all our variousness, our feelings and aspirations and values; attitudes to life and death, affinity for land and land issues, about kinship and social orders and status; about the concept of aroha embracing awhina and manaaki; attitudes towards learning and work, towards food – its growing and collecting and preparation. And most especially about the spiritual aspects of all these things. Also about Maoris relating to Pakehas and vice versa, and all that this implies. (“The Maori in Literature” 80-81).

Grace writes about “ordinary, everyday things, things that many Maori people live with everyday” (McRae “Patricia Grace.” 295). Grace’s stories record a way of life that is passing, for example, the lives of the older people in “So I Go” and “Transition”, but like Ihimaera, she consciously works against recreating “new stereotypes” (DeLoughrey and Hall 12) of Māori as purely rural people whose culture is fading into the past. Grace also presents vibrant modern Māori. In *Dogside Story*, her latest novel, the Māori community undertakes a business venture to capitalise on millennium holiday fever in order to fund the building of their new wharekai. In *Baby No-Eyes*, Te Paania lives in the city, befriends a gay

tauparapara (chant) reciting the creation of the universe in Māori lore. The inclusion of this cultural perspective on the world illustrates a movement towards the unification of “culture” and “science” which have previously been conceived of as diametrically opposed to each other.

⁴¹ See for example *Ideology in the Schooling of Maori Children* by Judith A. Simon.

couple and works as an office manager. Her friend Mahaki is a lawyer. Grace also writes about Māori who have no knowledge of their culture, for example, Mata in *Cousins*.

In her first collection of short stories, *Waiariki*, Grace proposes that in order to improve cross-cultural relations with Pākehā, Māori have a responsibility to correct past misrepresentations and misunderstandings of their culture. This idea is clearly stated in “A Way of Talking”, the opening story in the collection. Two young Māori girls (Hera and Rose) visit a Pākehā woman (Jane) who has offered to make the bridesmaid’s dresses for the eldest girl’s wedding. Whilst at the woman’s house Rose objects to Jane’s use of the generic phrase “the Maoris” in reference to the people her husband employs to cut the scrub. The use of this colonial phrase by the Pākehā woman reflects the offhand way language has been used in New Zealand to categorise and homogenise Māori. By the end of the story, Hera, who has lived her life never objecting to any slight against her, her family or her people, realises that such abusive use of language and prejudicial attitudes is not acceptable. She comes to the realisation however, that it is equally as much her responsibility to educate Jane out of ignorance as it is Jane’s. Hera asks herself, “how can the likes of Jane know when we go round pretending all is well? How can Jane know us?” (14). The answer to this question is given in “Parade”, the final story of the collection when the old man Hohepa tells his grand-daughter that it is her “job”, “to show others who we are” (91). In both “A Way of Talking” and “Parade”, it is implied that it is the responsibility of those who possess knowledge of Māori history and culture to ensure that those without the knowledge, be they Māori or Pākehā, are properly informed.

In *Potiki*, Grace shows that Māori have their own stories and their own ways of telling them. The novel focuses on Māori methods of storing information in traditional formats such as carving and weaving. Particular attention is drawn to the carved panels of the poupou inside the meeting house. The poupou tell the “stories which were of living wood [...] stories of the ancestors” (10). They are listened to by the people, understood and celebrated. The story of the potiki told by Grace becomes part of the poupou. The space left on the panel by the Master carver in the prologue is filled in by a carving of Toko, at the end of the novel. Principles of continuation and intergenerational communication embodied in

Māori carving and weaving are used by Grace as artistic guidelines for her literary text. Furthermore, in the novel *Roimata* and Hemi recognise that the school which their children attend does not impart to them knowledge about their own culture and their own ways of living, and they decide to tell their own stories to their children. In this way, Roimata hopes to teach the children, and herself in the process, about exactly who they are. In *Baby No-Eyes* a similar role of “educator” falls largely on Gran Kura whose very name is the Māori word for school.

Children’s Fiction

Grace’s project of representing Māori in fiction, is particularly directed towards children. Many of her stories feature children and throughout her writing career she has written short stories, picture books and Māori language school readers for children. Early in her writing career Grace joined a number of other Māori writers, including Alistair Campbell and Witi Ihimaera, in the conscious movement to raise the profile of Māori culture in the *School Journal*. The stories contributed by these authors to the *Journal* fulfilled the two-fold aim of increasing literary standards and promoting positive images of Māori. By writing about Māori from the “inside” Campbell, Ihimaera and Grace gave Māori school children figures to identify with. For Pākehā children the stories offered warm, human images of Māori as opposed to the fantastic or ferocious characters who occupied the pages of previous journals. Language, location, cultural values and practices, mark the particularly Māori orientation of most of these stories.

Patricia Grace first contributed to the *School Journal* in 1967. Two poems appeared in the Standard I, Part 3, publication: “One Piece of Straw” – an educational poem aimed at helping young children to count, and “Breakfast Time” – an imaginative look at breakfast presumably intended to make the meal more appealing to children. Of greater interest is the story “Firewood” which appeared in the Standard II, Part 4 *Journal* of the same year. This story is about three young Māori brothers (Hughie, Tony and Rana) and their father taking the horses out to collect firewood. Grace shows the Māori family working harmoniously together in a rural setting. After a breakfast of porridge, sweet tea and “two thick slices of Maori bread” the boys go out to help their father. At the end of the day they look forward to more Māori bread and “a big pot full of mussels” (22). The

food items are significant because they are “traditionally” Māori and therefore offer a link between the story and the lives of the Māori school children. The only Māori word included in this story is “pikau bag”, which is asterisked and footnoted as meaning “a saddle made from a sugarbag with pockets at each end”, however, the dialogue in the story, although simple, is indicative of Grace’s later concern with accurate replication of different ways of talking, in particular the colloquial Māori way of speaking English: “Come on you fellas”, Tony shouts to his brothers.

“Huria’s Rock”, printed in the *School Journal* in 1977, is linguistically more challenging than “Firewood”.⁴² In this story Grace uses the English language with Māori syntax to convey the thoughts of an old Māori man. Characteristic of this style is the reversal of the subject/verb pattern in English, e.g. “Drowned she” as opposed to “She drowned”. In her later stories Grace expands on the linguistic detail of her work in order to convey the structure, feel and sense of te reo through the written English medium.

In 1980 the short story “Drifting” was published in the *School Journal*.⁴³ In this story two cousins, Mereana and Lizzie go out fishing with their Uncle Kepa. The story is similar to one contributed to the *Journal* in 1961 by Albert Wendt. However, Wendt’s story “Fishing” is set in Samoa and the main characters are male. Grace’s story is located in New Zealand and, characteristically of Grace, her protagonists are female. Mereana is sea-sick but she refuses to go home until she has caught a fish – which she achieves with the help of her Uncle before they all return home happy. Uncle Kepa tenderly refers to his nieces as “my babies”, the girls sometimes laugh at their Uncle but they love and respect him. Grace effectively renders a child’s perception of Kepa’s sudden dive into the sea to save Mereana’s fish from escaping:

Uncle Kepa was brave you know. What if a shark came and bit his legs off, or a whale, or a giant octopus like the one that picked up a whole submarine in the pictures. The back of the boat rose as he levered himself up over the bow. He was in. He made it and his legs were still on. (30)

⁴² “Huria’s Rock” was first published in *Te Ao Hou* 1969.

⁴³ “Drifting” was first published in *Te Ao Hou*, 1974.

In 1984, “Beans” was the last story by Grace to be published in the *School Journal*. It is a celebration of the energy and beauty of life as seen through the eyes of a young boy who is not identified as either Pākehā or Māori.

Since the late 1980s the Ministry of Education has translated numerous short stories from English to Māori for inclusion in the *School Journal Story Library*. From 1960 Māori language readers became available for secondary and tertiary level students but in the 1980s a gap was identified in the provision of Māori language texts for primary school children.⁴⁴ Currently there are several Māori reader series produced by the Ministry of Education and private enterprises which are aimed at primary and junior level Māori language learners.⁴⁵ Grace has contributed to the text of several primary readers: *He Aha te Mea Nui?*, *Ma Wai e Whangai Nga Manuhuri?*, and *Ahakoia He Iti*, first published as a series by Longman Paul in 1985, and *I Retireti Atu Au* (1996), *Ma Wai?* (1998), and *Ko Au Tenei* (1998) which form part of the *Nga Kete Korero* series published by the Ministry of Education. All these readers contain simple stories featuring Māori characters and have pictures to help the children match the words to the objects referred to in the text.

In addition to the stories contributed to the *School Journal* and the Māori language readers, Grace has published four children’s books. In an interview with Jane McRae she comments on her interest in writing for children:

I enjoy writing stories for young children. The most difficult part of that kind of writing for me is to get the idea – a new, fresh, lively idea. Once I have that I seem to be able to write them quickly. I want to do more stories for children because there are so few stories that Maori children see themselves in and that reflect their lives. (“Patricia Grace.” 288)

The first children’s book Grace wrote, *The Kuia and the Spider*, was written in the hope that “Maori children will see themselves, and that their family values will be reinforced for them” (Grace *Tea Tree and Iron Sands* 63). In the story an old lady and a spider have a competition to find out who is the best at

⁴⁴ The series known as *Te Wharekura* (now *Te Whare Kura*) published its first Māori reader in 1960. This series is suitable for secondary and tertiary students.

⁴⁵ For example, *Nga Kete Korero* (Ministry of Education) and *Sunshine Books* (private commercial company).

weaving. Each makes appropriate objects for their children to use. Despite the continual arguing between the spider and the grandmother the tone of the story is one of aroha and love. The story demonstrates some “traditional” characteristics of Māori culture – weaving, extended family, activities such as collecting seafood and love of discussion/argument. In this book, as in her stories published in *The School Journal*, Grace appears to be fictionally recreating a similar Māori pastoral world to that produced by Witi Ihimaera in his early texts. Although she does expand on this conservative representation of Māori society in some of her novels and stories and probes beyond the superficial appearance of idyllic rural Māori communities (see the later section “Confronting Contemporary Issues in Māori Society”), Grace, like Ihimaera, returns again and again to the representation of Māori as intimately connected to the natural environment. Three of the four children’s books written by Grace feature animals that interact with the human protagonists. The genre of these stories allows for such magical events to take place and they are not questioned as readily as, say, the figure of the sea creature, Hine-Te-Ariki, in Ihimaera’s historical novels is, but to some degree they serve a similar function as symbols of a special, Māori, mystical relationship to nature. Grace, Ihimaera and Hulme refuse to drop this particular stereotype of Māori. Chapters Two and Six illustrate the political motivations behind such continued reconfigurations of seemingly old stereotypes.

The Kuia and the Spider introduces several Māori words – hoha, kit, kuia, kumara, pipis, koretake, all translated in the glossary at the end of the story. The last of these words, koretake, is perhaps the least common of the Māori words. Its meaning of “useless, to no purpose” can however be partially determined from the context in which it appears:

The Kuia called back to the spider,
 “Spider, your weaving is koretake,
 it’s only good for catching flies”. (5)

This type of language use (contextualisation of indigenous words as opposed to direct translation) is common in Indian and African prose fiction written in English and is a technique used widely by Grace in her novels. Witi Ihimaera also employs the technique in his story “The Pupu Pool” which appeared in the *School Journal* in 1974.

As for Mum, she liked nothing better than to wade out to where some women were. Then she could korero with them while she was looking for seafood. All the long afternoon those women would talk and talk and talk and talk! (7)

In the extract it is apparent that “korero” means to talk.

The Kuia and the Spider has been separately published in the Māori language and numerous copies of both the English and Māori versions have been issued.

Watercress, Tuna and the Children of Champion Street (1984) takes a multicultural theme. In her novels and the majority of her short stories Grace foregrounds bicultural issues, but in this story, as in “Letters from Whetu”, she expands her range of characters to include Māori, Pākehā and Pacific Islanders. In the story an eel (Tuna) jumps out of the creek and onto Champion Street. He has a “magic throat” out of which come different, culturally appropriate, items for the children. Roimata, a Māori girl receives a poi, Losa from Samoa is given an ula. The children all meet in the street and dance until morning. The illustrations by Robyn Kahukiwa enable the reader to match the word with the object, a pronunciation guide of New Zealand Māori, Cook Island Māori, Tokelauan and Samoan words is also given, but there is no glossary. With this book Grace hoped that “children from the different ethnic backgrounds will recognise themselves, and [that] the multicultural nature of our society will be promoted” (*Tea Tree and Iron Sands* 63). Alongside the English version this book has been published in Māori and Samoan.

In her fourth children’s book, *Areta and the Kahawai* (1994), Grace continues in the vein of the first two books by depicting children and families in culturally familiar activities. However, Grace’s third children’s storybook, *The Trolley* (1993), introduces a different aspect of her work: social realism. This story is set in the city and features a Māori solo mother who is too poor to buy her children a Christmas present so she makes them a buggy/go-cart out of an old trolley. The story shows a strong independent woman and although her anxiety at not being able to afford a present for her children is evident, the values of love and sharing dominate the story. The themes of Māori hardship and poverty are also tackled by Witi Ihimaera in his stories “The Best of Everything” and “Our Own

Place”, which appeared in the *School Journal* in the 1970s. These stories are adapted by from his novel *Tangi*. In these stories the Mahana family are forced to move around the country in search of work and they do so in a stalwart and cheerful manner. They eventually save up enough money to buy themselves a farm and whole-heartedly accept the challenge to make it their home.

Grace has stressed time and again the importance of providing young school children with stories and characters they can identify with. The discussion of the *School Journal* in Chapter Three illustrated that up until the late 1950s and early 1960s, stories containing positive images of Māori, especially Māori children, were virtually non-existent. Alongside other writers such as Alistair Campbell, Katerina Mataira, Albert Wendt and Witi Ihimaera, Grace actively helped to fill a void and promote Māori and Pacific Island identity in the field of children’s literature. Over the last thirty years the number of children’s books in Māori and in English for Māori children has dramatically increased. Challenges in Māori writing for children in the future lie in maintaining a consistent level of Māori language publications and, as the editors of *Te Ao Marama* Volume 4 suggest, “the development of iwi-specific literature” (21).

Confronting Contemporary Issues in Māori Society

Grace’s project to show readers who the Māori people are does not romanticize Māori life. She writes openly about prevailing problems within Māoridom such as the divisions between “traditional” Māori and “modern” Māori. Modernity has required that some aspects of Māori culture redefine themselves in order to be sustained. This does not mean an overhaul of traditional practices but does imply gradual accommodation of contemporary economic, political and social mores.

Grace draws out the divisions within Māori communities that this process ignites in *Dogside Story*. The novel illustrates the problems facing Māori whānau and hapū now that their members are spread out across New Zealand and shows that subtle changes in the “traditional” definition of these terms are taking place. Rifts arise between the urban dwellers and the “home people” over millennium business plans to go ahead with a tourist venture in order to gain enough finances to build a new communal dining area. Wai (a home person) leads the campaign to proceed with the venture but faces opposition from those like Dion (an educated

urban dweller) who see the project as selling out to capitalism. After open discussions about the pros and cons of the project, which involves opening up a camping ground on tribal land for the millennium celebration period, an agreement is reached to go ahead with the plans:

They all understood the necessity to rebuild the dining room, which would need to be fully equipped and easy for the home people to manage, all knew they had to get the money from somewhere and that Wai had outlined a good way to do it. (148-149)

As in *Potiki*, Grace positively affirms the strength of Māori communal identity through the symbolic reconstruction of a community building, but the novel as a whole challenges Māori to take an honest look at their culture and at the “secrets” that linger there. *Dogside Story* outlines problems of corruption in Māori society through the character of Piiki Chiefy who uses his positions of responsibility (“in government departments and on advisory boards”) to scam people out of money (185-189). Grace also draws attention to issues related to child abuse in the story of the two aunts (Babs and Amiria) who neglect Kid, the child under their guardianship. She also delves into the previously unspoken issue of incest in Māori society in the revelation that Kid’s biological parents are also siblings. Perhaps even more than the controversial work of Alan Duff, Grace’s latest novel challenges Māori to address problems within their society, but it does so without casting the issues as inherent ethnic problems, or castigating Māori in the process.

In *Cousins* Grace shows divisions between those Māori with knowledge of their culture and those without. Makareta comments on the gangs:

There in the streets groups of men terrorised each other, brutalised the women that lived with them and caused fear wherever they went. They were the beaten, the hollowed-out of our people, the rawakore, the truly disinherited, where nothing substantial was inbuilt and nothing was valued or marvellous – where there was no memory, where the void had been defiled by an inrushing of anger and weeping. No one had loved their hair. Or, if sometimes they were not the disowned and disinherited, then they were those who had learnt to look at who they were in distorted mirrors, had seen awry reflections of themselves and had become traumatised. And their stories of self-hatred were

told in their foulness and self-defacement, their maiming and their havoc. They guarded what was left of themselves with weapons, high walls, and dogs. (208)

In contrast she criticises those in Māori circles who gain and exploit individual power:

There were those among us too, building their own empires, who postured and posed and traded on the mystique of being Maori, and there was, therefore, a need to challenge, expose, confront – the way that women often do, not that women were always the blameless ones. As a people we had our own convoluted minds to straighten out, our own anger to deal with, our own priorities to set, our own hakihaki, our own mortiferous sores to tend to. (209)

Grace often depicts women as instigators of social change in her fiction. In all her novels she creates strong female protagonists who overcome personal and cultural difficulties to become informal leaders in their communities, for example, Tangimoana in *Potiki*, Makareta and Missy in *Cousins*, Kura and Te Paania in *Baby No-Eyes* and Mania in *Dogside Story*.

In two of her short stories Grace draws attention to problems of sexual and physical abuse within Māori families. In “Flower Girls”, in *The Sky People*, the prestige and moral standing of the local Māori chief is undermined by the revelation of the sexual abuse he has inflicted on his daughters. In the story “Valley” it is implied that Hiriwa, a young child at the local primary school, is being beaten by his father (*Collected Stories* 75). It is also suggested that Hiriwa’s mother suffers at the hands of her husband (67). Grace does not imply, unlike Alan Duff, that these are “Māori problems”, rather that as in any other society such issues do exist. In “Geranium” the abused housewife is not identified as either Māori or Pākehā.

Māori Spiritual Strength

One way in which Grace affirms the position and strength of women in Māori society is through her use of mythology. In 1984 Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa produced an illustrated book about Māori goddesses titled *Wahine Toa* (literally

meaning “women warriors”). This book celebrates the central role of female gods in Māori mythology and culture. Grace has also incorporated Māori mythology into her fiction. *Cousins* in particular makes reference to female figures such as Hinenuitepō, the death goddess; Mahuika, guardian of fire on earth; Murirangawhenua, who gave Māui her enchanted jaw-bone with which he performed great deeds; and Hinetītama, the Dawn Maid. The references to these goddesses are used to consolidate the message in the text that women are central to the lifeblood of Māoridom – physically as birth givers and historically and socially as nurturers and transmitters of oral culture.

The use of mythology in Grace’s fiction is linked to her expressed desire to convey the “deep spirituality” of Māori culture (“The Maori in Literature” 80). The spiritual dimension of her work has been consistently and increasingly present in her stories from “Huria’s Rock” through *Mutuwhenua*, *Potiki* and *Cousins* to *Baby No-Eyes*. Grace undramatically introduces spiritual figures in her books, for example, the ancestral spirits who silently fill Ripeka’s grandmother’s kitchen as the old woman recites her whakapapa (*Mutuwhenua* 72). This uncomplicated acceptance of the existence of spirits is extended in the story of *Baby No-Eyes*. The baby in the story is a “spirit baby” returned from the land of the dead to keep her mother and brother company. The child’s presence is described by Tawera (her brother) in realistic and concrete terms:

My sister was like this: four years old and dressed in K Mart clothes, that is, jade track pants tied at the front with pink cord, jade T-shirt with a surfer on it riding a great pink wave, coloured slippers fastened by velcro straps. She was thin and dark like Shane in the photograph, and not near as froggish as my mother and me, not speckled at all. She had straight black hair that flickered and glistened as her head moved this way and that. She had no eyes.

“All right Mum,” I said, “tell us about yourself and about this sister of mine who has no eyes. Stolen? How come?”

“She died in an accident,” Mum said. (19)

Baby No-Eyes is described in minute physical detail – we can envisage her body shape, skin colour and hair. Her K Mart clothes place her in a contemporary context whilst the tied pink cord and velcro straps lend a tangible feel to her

presence. Yet, we know that she must be a spirit because she “died in an accident”.

The spirit baby in Grace’s book can be effectively “explained” in culturally specific terms. In *The World of the Maori*, Eric Schwimmer describes how Maori believe that, after death, the wairua, or spirit, leaves the body and travels north to Te Reinga where it departs for Hawaiki, the mythical homeland (63). Schwimmer states that this land is “only vaguely imagined by the Maori” and is “rather similar to that on earth. It has houses, maraes, villages, canoes, just like the living” (63). Baby No-Eyes describes the road which the spirits travel down:

“You’d be walking along the roadway and you’d see all the different people gathered at their houses, all the different houses – people gossiping, laughing, playing games, laying out cards, decorating themselves while they waited. You’d hear singing and see dancing.” (221)

However, as Schwimmer notes, the spirit does not always remain fixed in this land.

In the case of premature babies who die inside their mother’s womb or at birth, the spirit is inclined to remain in the vicinity of the family, often as a malevolent or mischievous being. Māui was one such baby. Antony Alpers explains how Māori protocol requires special prayers and ceremonies to be practiced over the baby to prevent it from returning as a “kind of evil spirit, always doing mischief to the human race” (29-30). No such rituals were made for Baby No-Eyes who died inside her mother’s womb during the car accident. Her spirit therefore remains on earth, but not as a particularly malevolent force, rather as a positive or healing force to help Te Paania through her grieving. During the tangi Te Paania tells her grandfather about the baby’s presence: “Asleep and dreaming, or awake and not dreaming there’s Baby – crying, sleeping, walking, breathing in my ear ...” (83). Her grandfather explains that:

She got to hang around for a while so we know she’s a mokopuna, not a rubbish, not a kai. How do we know she not a fish if she don’t hang around for a while – or a blind eel or old newspaper or rat shit. Huh. You don’t expect her go away, join her ancestors, foof, just like that [...]. (83)

He goes on to tell Te Paania that she must send her baby away:

Kura and them didn't send that baby off. Got to send it off, otherwise trouble, get up to mischief, hee hee. Girl you got trouble. (83)

The sending away of the spirit often comprises part of the ritual during the tangihanga. Joan Metge describes how the spirit must be “encouraged, by expressions of *aroha* and direct commands, to go to join the ancestors” (262). But in *Baby No-Eyes* Te Paania does not want to farewell her baby as she has not had time to get to know her; there has been no childhood and no family. Baby No-Eyes explains to Tawera how, because of Te Paania's loss she was returned by the spirit people of the underworld to be by her mother's side:

There was someone there at the ceremonies who felt sorry for our mother. She told the people to send me back, so they did. It was only supposed to be for a little while. They're keeping my place for me. (222)

It is not until Baby No-Eyes decides herself that it is time to leave her family behind that she makes Tawera say the words that will send her away to the spirit land. Tawera explains: “So swear,” my sister said. “Go on, your hardest. Tell me to piss off. Hard” (286). Only once Tawera has been forced to tell her to go can she leave this world behind.

The presence of spirits who interact with living human “reality” is shown by Grace to be a widely believed and experienced situation for many Māori. This point is reinforced by Grace's comments on reader's reactions to *Mutuwhenua*: “I've spoken to Maori readers who said they really enjoyed it because it was such a straight, ordinary read, with everything in it literal” (Tausky 100). Joan Metge identifies how Māori “continue to believe in a spiritual reality that transcends limitations of time, space and the human senses, and at the same time pervades and operates in the world of human experience” (54). Spirits and the supernatural are not confined to an isolated spirit world independent of the human one, movement between the worlds is fluid. In a letter to Trevor James Witi Ihimaera explains a this concept:

The Maori world view emphasises the holistic approach and the ultimate oneness of life and history. This view sees no difference between

natural and supernatural, real or unreal, history and myth, sacred and pagan, truth and legend. All is part of the world. (116)

Grace's incorporation of the "dead narrators" in *Cousins* and *Potiki* illustrates this holistic viewpoint. Missy's dead twin brother (*Cousins*) and Toko after his death (*Potiki*) possess the ability to see beyond the day to day events of the other characters' lives. Their spirit voices help to form part of the overall narrative and the language they use is the same as that used by the living characters. The baby in *Baby No-Eyes* is perhaps the most extreme example of spiritual intervention in this world that Grace has written about, but in keeping with her earlier work she avoids fantastical allusions and "magical" word spinning.

By approaching the character of Baby No-Eyes through a Māori cultural framework it is possible to read her as a specifically Māori spirit whose form/presence is culturally and politically significant. By structuring her novel around the story of Baby No-Eyes Grace makes a statement about the strength of Māori spirituality. As mentioned earlier, the baby's death is symbolic of the culmination of destructive colonial policies directed at Māori throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The baby's refusal to "die", the strength she imparts to her brother and mother and their acceptance of her continued existence in the modern world, testify to the degree of spiritual resistance present in Māori culture to Pākehā domination. The fictional creation of the character of the baby is Grace's imaginative affirmation of this resistance.⁴⁶

Cross-Cultural learning

Part of Grace's intention to show the reader who Māori are, involves writing "about Maoris relating to Pakeha and vice versa, and all that this implies" ("The Maori in Literature" 81). *Mutuwhenua* deals precisely with this issue. It is a

⁴⁶ Other explanations for the presence of the baby are possible. For example, a psychoanalytic reading may focus on her as a product of Te Paania and Tawera's imaginations – perhaps manifested by misplaced feelings of guilt over her untimely death. Alternatively, in Lacanian terms, the baby can be understood as the "mirror image" against which Tawera forms his own identity. This interpretation of the baby may be read as an allegory for the situation faced by contemporary Māori. The baby is a symbol of historical repression against which Māori must define their present identity.

novel about degrees of cultural difference and the movement towards effective cross-cultural communication. Ripeka comes to understand that similarities between Māori and Pākehā exist and that even the most apparently divisive cultural practices/beliefs can be accommodated if both parties are willing to acknowledge positive, or at least non-restrictive, concepts of difference. That is to say that fixed forms of difference may be made more fluid; difference can remain but no longer needs to be thought of as being locked into a negative oppositional framework.⁴⁷

In the novel *Grace* registers differences between Māori and Pākehā attitudes towards land, history and the belief in ancestral spirits, through the discovery of the greenstone. She contrasts the reaction of Māori elders towards the greenstone with that of a Pākehā road developer. The Pākehā is possessive about the greenstone and wishes to take it away to sell. The Māori on the other hand appreciate its historical and spiritual significance. The intensity of their stunned silence indicates the sacred nature of the stone:

“Look what I found,” he said, and there was sudden silence in the kitchen, all with eyes on him and what he held.

“Well,” his father said. He took it from the boy and weighed it in his hands, looking about at all the adults. But they too had become stone in the leaping silence of the room.

“Well,” he said. “Must be worth a coin or two.” But they didn’t move or speak.

“In the creek,” the boy said into the long moment. “Just lying there.”

Then my grandfather said, “It goes back. Back to the hills.” And we all waited.

“Come off it,” the man said. “Can’t you see?”

They didn’t answer him.

“Well, look, think of it this way. What use is it to anyone back there in the hills. Who can see it there?”

He told the boy to go and put the stone in the car [...]. (7)

⁴⁷ The idea that Ripeka moves beyond the binary oppositions of colonial discourse is advanced by Elisabeth Koster in her article “Oral and Literacy Patterns in the novels of Patricia Grace”.

Ripeka sees that the Pākehā man does not understand the significance of the stone to the elders. Although at the time of discovery she does not fully comprehend the cultural value of the stone, throughout the novel she comes to realise that it “stands for something fundamental to her identity as a Māori, as inescapable as fate” (Arvidson “Aspects” 122).

When she tells her best friend Margaret about the stone Ripeka again experiences a situation of cross cultural mis-communication:

[...] we stared hard at each other – but I only remember this now. We stared with our eyes widening, each of us wondering, and trying to understand what the other had said. The bell was ringing. (24)

Ripeka gradually comes to realise that the differences that exist between herself and Margaret, and the elders and the Pākehā man, are fundamental differences of identity, and that these differences have the capacity to erect barriers between people. This is why she fears telling Graeme, her Pākehā husband, about the greenstone and the spiritually oriented world view it represents to her: “I was afraid to find out how far apart we might be, remembering Margaret” (78).

Grace presents the dichotomy between Ripeka (Māori) and Graeme (Pākehā) in terms of spirituality versus skeptical rationality. Rather than being centred on the “rational” Pākehā perspective (as in novels by Pākehā) the focus is on the Māori spiritual side. Graeme, the Pākehā, is positioned on the “outside”. It could be argued that Grace replicates the binary oppositions of colonial discourse but inverts the concepts of centre and periphery associated with the coloniser and colonised. At the end of the novel it is the Pākehā who is asked to bridge the gap between the cultures. Ripeka decides to leave her firstborn child in the care of her mother. This is an old Māori tradition intended to help teach the younger generations the ways of the old people. It is also a gift which helps to bind families together. Graeme is unaware of Ripeka’s actions and it is anticipated that he will struggle with her decision. It does appear, therefore, that Grace purposefully places the Pākehā in the position where they have to make compromises in cross-cultural decisions. This, she says, is “the position that the Maori usually occupies” (McRae “Patricia Grace.” 291).

Grace's fictional strategies do reverse colonial discourse, but it is misrepresentative to suggest that her work merely reinscribes stereotypes and "fixed" binary oppositions of the past. Grace acknowledges that differences between Pākehā and Māori exist but in the novel she illuminates several small incidents which collapse difference in favour of similarities and stress a movement towards a place where, "even with differences you can be open to knowing" (152). In this flexible model, notions of difference are still retained and their relationship varies depending on where you are looking at them from. There is no hierarchical relationship between elements, no superimposition of one factor over another. There is recognition of distinctions without negation.

In *Mutuwhenua* there are several small similarities established between Māori and Pākehā, principally in the areas of food, housing, and clothing. Food is a constant theme in the novel. It is often used to describe the differences between Māori and Pākehā, such as when Ripeka contrasts her meal on the ferry to the "rough sort of kai" (38) she and her family eat at home, or when Toki and Tom make fun of the Pākehā TV chefs who make "flash" recipes out of their "Maori kina" (60). However, food is also shown to be a site of intersection between the two cultures. Graeme enjoys eating mussels on the beach and regrets the fact that there is not any "puha" near his place in the city. Ripeka, although at first ashamed of her mother bottling beetroot in the kitchen in her old clothes when Graeme calls round for her, realises that his own mother does the same thing and that "their house was much the same as ours" (66). Graeme's grandmother is presented as forthright and as stubborn as Ripeka's. Even the incident between Ripeka and Margaret where each girl tells the other about their special objects, and which Ripeka remembers as a point of cross-cultural difference, contains within it the potential for positive communication and cultural appreciation.

Ken Arvidson has suggested that the function of the greenstone in *Mutuwhenua* is not "culturally delimited". He writes:

The stone is plainly enough an ancient patu and hence Maori, of course; but most people are familiar with objects within their own families or cultures – heirlooms or works of art, for example – with which in some measure they identify themselves. ("Aspects" 122)

Thus, the stone acts as a symbol of cross-cultural imaginative connection. The values that it denotes can be recognised by people from different cultures, not always in the same way, but with enough similarities to make the object's worth transculturally comprehensible. The comparison of the greenstone patu and the violin illustrates and extends this point. Although at the time Ripeka and her friend Margaret fail to see the similarities between the two objects they are describing, the imagery they use indicates that the differences between them are not insurmountable:

Last night, she [Margaret] said. My father.
Showed me the violin.

On Sunday, I [Ripeka] said. We found.
Something.

It's shiny brown, she whispered. With two cut
holes, like esses facing each other.

In the creek. My cousins and me, and a boy.
Shaped like a big tongue, with a place for your
hand.

There's a place to put your chin and it's nearly
worn out – her lips were close to my ear. My
grandfather's chin has been on it, and my father's
too.

It's heavy, I said. If you hold it in one hand your
hand will shiver. And if you hold it up high it's like
looking and staring under the sea.

At one end, she said, there's a shape curled, like a
new fern growing.

By the end, I said, where you put your hand there's
a pattern you can hardly see. Because most of it
wore away long ago from people holding it, and
from being in the ground and in the river. It's a
curled shape, like a new fern growing. (23-24)

The shape of the koru, or “new fern”, used by both girls is an image of the potential creativity relevant to both objects, but also infers the possibility of future communication between the two cultures.

All the factors mentioned above suggest that on the larger issues which divide Māori and Pākehā it may be possible to reach some understanding. The most effective means of bridging gaps between Māori and Pākehā is presented in the novel as being through love. Whereas Ripeka previously thought that “in some things there can be no bridge to understanding” based on her experiences with the greenstone and Margaret, she eventually comes to realise “not until it was

almost too late [...] that completeness of understanding is not so important when there is love” (121). In a discussion with Graeme she expands on this concept:

“We can know [...]”

“Without understanding?” Like we know darkness and the wind and the lulling of sun. Like we know shadowed pathways and fresh or fetid smells that come from the earth, sting of berries crushed to a mauve pulp, know that you love a person, know the vigour of the unborn. Like knowing about the commitment between sky and earth, and the commitment between earth and people. (136-137)

This type of knowing without fully understanding is based on trust. Graeme may not share all the values represented by the greenstone but he can appreciate their immense importance for Ripeka. Where their child is concerned he will have to have faith in her and open his imagination to the possibility that her proposal will work. Ripeka and Graeme both need to arrive at a point where they can accommodate each other’s difference without negating or consuming it.

By placing her son with her mother, Ripeka hopes to provide him with a secure position from which to enter into the world. He will grow up knowing the traditional Māori ways represented by his great grandmother Ripeka and in the company of Toki whose sense of identity has “never once erred” (152). He will thus inherit a secure sense of belonging which will provide him with the confidence to step boldly into the “Pākehā world” of his father. With regard to her son, Ripeka displays a belief that a cultural situation of “both/and” can be achieved as opposed to a structure of oppositional binaries.

Despite the potential for cross-cultural communication evident in the novel it remains debatable how far the book induces a truly empathetic cross-cultural reading. Throughout the novel Grace breaks down stereotypes of Māori and Pākehā and guides her characters to a greater appreciation of each other’s culture. The way the novel ends challenges Pākehā to think outside their Eurocentric family values. The process that Ripeka undergoes to move beyond the “either/or” of colonial discourse to reach a position of “both/and” is exactly the challenge laid down by Grace to the reader.

Language

As part of her interest in cross-cultural communication Grace focuses on the ways in which language in New Zealand is used as a bridging medium between Māori and Pākehā, or more precisely between te reo and English to form Māori-English. At the same time as inserting Māori voices into fiction, Grace develops linguistic patterns which foster bicultural models of communication.

Many of her novels focus on the connection between Māori language and Māori identity. Her aim is to recoup and rearticulate Māori cultural experiences by inserting Māori voices, in all their variety, into the text. By listening to the people around her and carefully reproducing their speech patterns Grace establishes new Māori identities which are culturally specific and can be located historically and geographically in New Zealand.

Grace does not write in Māori because it is not her first language. She tells one interviewer: “I need to write in English because I can’t write well enough in Maori” (Sarti 49). As a child Grace spent the majority of her time in a Pākehā environment in Wellington. Her mother was Pākehā, and her father Māori. In an interview with Thomas E. Tausky Grace talks about frequent visits to her father’s family in Plimmerton. When asked if Māori was spoken in the family home she replies:

None except for a few items of vocabulary when I was with the cousins. My father’s family had been close to the city for some years, and the older people did not speak it in front of the children, unfortunately, because they had the idea that it was better for the children if they didn’t, and so they spoke to children in English. (90)

This was the situation for many Māori growing up in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

Grace’s work accurately reflects the range of Māori-English spoken New Zealand. Her work stands in direct contrast to the misrepresentation of Māori-English speech evident in earlier stories by Pākehā writers, for example *Tidal Creek* by Roderick Finlayson mentioned earlier. Grace’s representation of Māori-English is more detailed, more complex and less generalised than Finlayson’s.

In the same year that *Potiki* was written statistics showed that Māori aged 35 and over were more likely to be fluent in te reo than those in the age group

below 35 (see fig. 6). Grace's fiction reflects this language trend. The characters who speak Māori in her stories are generally from the older age group. In *Potiki* it is Granny Tamihana who speaks Māori, in the short story "At The River" the grandparents speak their "own language" (*Collected Stories* 22), in *Cousins* the kuia Kui Hinemate speaks only in Māori and in *Baby No-Eyes* Gran Kura rediscovers her Māori language. Grace uses a variety of techniques to indicate that Māori is the first language of her older characters.

In several of her early short stories Grace's older characters speak in English but use a Māori syntactical structure. An example of this type of speech occurs in the short story "Toki":

A happy fisherman then, I, heading for home to the crowd on the beach. A lucky day this, and knew I'd not be beaten. (*Collected Stories* 19)

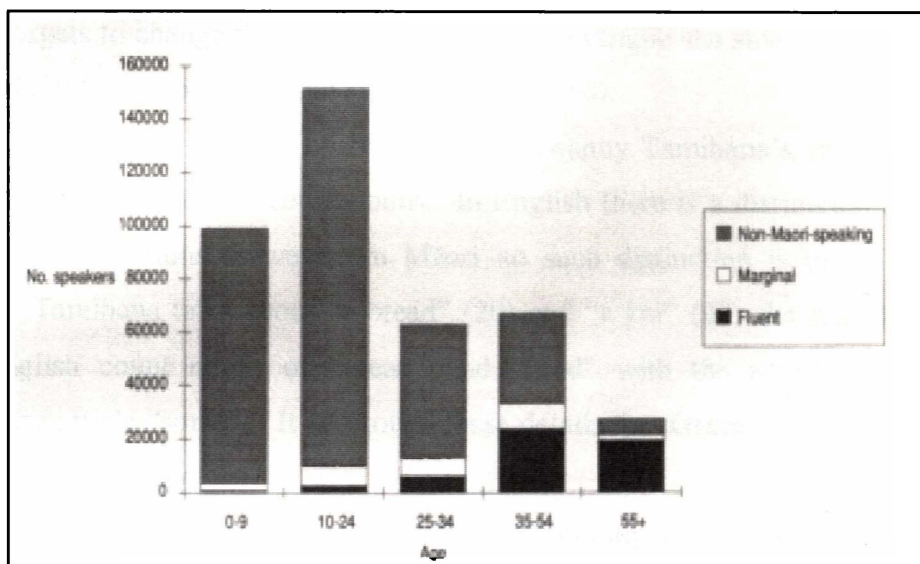
The English pattern of subject followed by verb has been reversed as in te reo. This effect immediately signals cultural difference and indicates that the speaker's first language is Māori rather than English.

In *Potiki* the character of Granny Tamihana speaks Māori and English. She often speaks to her grandchildren in a simple form of te reo which they apparently understand. In Chapter 18, "The Urupa", Granny Tamihana's dialogue is followed by a partial translation given by the omniscient narrator:

"Haere mai mokopuna ma ki te kai paraoa, ki te inu ti. Tomo mai ki roto. Kei te matemoe koutou? Kei te matekai koutou? Tomo mai ki roto."

They would go into Granny's kitchen where the fire was always going and where the table would be set with best cups, and glass dishes of butter and jam. The big new round of bread would be on the board wrapped in a cloth. (125-126)

Grace's foregrounding of Granny Tamihana's use of Māori and the textual space she gives to speeches made by the grandmother in te reo illustrates the author's increased political awareness of the need to assert the presence of Māori people,



Fluent and Marginal Maori Speakers in the North Island, by Age Groups, 1986 Estimates

Fig. 6. “Fluent and Marginal Maori Speakers in the North Island of New Zealand, by Age Groups, 1986 Estimates” (Waite 31).

their culture and their language in New Zealand during the 1980s. However, rather than sealing the Māori language sections off from readers who have no understanding of te reo, Grace provides partial translations for Granny Tamihana's speeches.

When Granny Tamihana speaks in English she often makes little "mistakes" that indicate her first language is Māori. Her most frequent habit is the mistranslation of words that in English demarcate the past, present or future tense. In Māori, tense markers are inserted before or after the verb to indicate which tense it implies. The tense particles are e, ana, kua, i, ra. In the negative perfect kua becomes kia. Whilst dropping the Māori tense marker Granny Tamihana often forgets to change the tense of the verb, for example she says: "Those days I cry and cry for my brother. And smack him too" (56).

A similar process of mistranslation in Granny Tamihana's speech occurs over the use of mass and count nouns. In English there is a distinction between these types of nouns, however, in Māori no such distinction is made. When Granny Tamihana talks about "a bread" (20) and "a kai" (20) she fails to prefix the English count nouns of "bread" and "food" with the appropriate plural indefinite article "some". It is through these details that Grace constructs a sense of cultural difference.

In *Baby No-Eyes* Grace favours a technique used in *Cousins* for the character of Kui Hinemata whereby a character is understood by the reader to be speaking in fluent Māori but the words on the page are written entirely in English. This method affords the Māori character greater integrity as their thoughts and words are not compromised through broken English. Both Kui Hinemata and Kura are portrayed as wise kuia – a status which Grace reinforces by giving them fluent, intelligent and dignified voices.

The Māori language statistics cited earlier show that the majority of young Māori in 1986 could not speak te reo. The language which Grace uses to represent the speech of her younger characters is in keeping with this contemporary social situation. None of the young characters are monolingual in Māori, and although some understand Māori and may be able to speak the language, in conversation with each other the dominant tongue is English.

In *Potiki* the children's first language is English but they use common Māori words such as *whānau*, *wharenuī* and *kai* as part of their everyday language. On one occasion the children visit the *urupa* and talk directly to their deceased ancestors. In these short speeches they alternate between Māori and English, Toko addresses his great-uncle in this way:

“Tena koe, Granny’s brother. She said I could have your name. Eight people died in one month when you got born. Eight of our own *whanau*, because there was a bad sickness where we live [...] Granny gave me your name to help me, [...]. And she gave me a *taonga* from her ear to help me too [...] but it is not the only *taonga* that I have. *Ko Tokowaru-i-te-Marama koe, ko Tokowaru-i-te-Marama au. Kua mutu.*” (124-125)

In this extract Toko opens and closes his speech in Māori thus signaling to the spirit of his great-uncle a shared cultural identity. The body of the speech is interspersed with the Māori words “*whanau*” and “*taonga*” in the English text because they represent specific Māori cultural concepts. Although translation of these words is possible their exact meaning is conveyed more appropriately through the Māori term. Toko and his siblings use the Māori language in this situation partially because of the ceremonial aspect of talking to the spirits of the dead, partially to create connections between themselves and others, and partially to help identify themselves.

In the short story “The Pictures” (1980), Grace presents a situation in which an older character speaks in Māori to a younger one who then replies in English. Both languages are printed on the page. In the story two boys visit their auntie in the hope that she will give them some money to go to see a film. The following exchange takes place:

“Hello, Auntie.”
 “Tena koe, e hoa. Kei te pehea korua?”
 “Kei te pai, Auntie.” Talk Maori back to her.
 “Yeh. Kei te pai, Auntie.” That’ll keep her in a good mood.
 “Ka pai.”
 “We came over to see you.”
 “To see how you’re getting on with your flowers.”
 “And your ducks.”

“Ka pai ano. Kei whea o korua hoa?”
 “Down the beach.” Hope that’s right.
 “Yes, down the beach. And Charlotte and Ana
 are do-dah-ing themselves up for the pictures.”
 “The pictures tonight.”
 “Ah.”
 “It’s a good one.”
 “Yes real good.”
 “Kei te haere korua?”
 “Not him. Not me, but all those others are going.
 Everyone else.”
 “But him and me, we can’t go.”
 “Na te aha?”
 “Because ... because ... Auntie Connie’s in a bad
 mood. For nothing.”
 “Yes, just for nothing.”
 “Kare aku moni, e tama ma.”
 And that’s easy enough to understand, she’s bloody
 well broke.
 Shit what a waste of a good mood ...
 “Well ...”
 “Well ... we have to go, Auntie.” (*Collected
 Stories* 163-164)

There is very little direct translation in this extract. The reader who does not understand Māori must work out what the Auntie is saying through the responses of the two boys. The boys themselves are unsure about some of their Auntie’s questions which signals their lack of fluency and competence in the Māori language.

The young people speak a contemporary form of New Zealand English to each other best illustrated in the stories about Denny Boy, Macky, Charlotte, Mereana and Lizzie.⁴⁸ The vernacular which the young people use often incorporates slang words such as in the following exchange between Denny Boy and Macky:

“What about Uncle Harry?”
 “He’s too mingy.”
 “We could hoe his garden for him, and chop his
 morning wood,”
 “Boy, we’d be working all day.”
 “And he mightn’t give us anything. He might be
 broke.”

⁴⁸ Principally: “Kepa”, “The Pictures”, “Whitebait”, “Kip”, “Flies” and “The Urupa”, but the characters sometimes appear in other stories as well. (See *Collected Stories*)

“And we might work all day for nothing.” (“The Pictures” *Collected Stories* 162-163)

Similarly in *Baby No-Eyes* Shane speaks in a contemporary urban English vernacular. The following exchange is representative of this type of speech:

“Grow up man.”
 “Yeh, come on bro, put a beer in there...”
 “Or a coffee ...”
 “All yours. Look at yiz. Pissheads [...].” (27)

Shane is Māori but does not know anything about his culture. He feels that part of him is missing and as a consequence he has a moody temperament and harbours pent up frustrations. He does not possess the Māori language, or even its “identity card”. The majority of the time Shane resorts to violence as an expression of his confused emotions and unresolved personal identity in much the same way as Alan Duff’s characters in *Once Were Warriors*. However, Grace’s characters never completely lose the ability to express themselves in words and their language never becomes as debased as the characters’ speech in Duff’s novels. Although Shane is angry he still knows that he lacks something and he explains this through the metaphor of an empty cup (27). Even the list of words noted earlier, which he rhymes with his name (“Shane, Shame, Blame, Tame, Lame, Pain” 27), signify his sense of loss and demonstrate a certain ability to articulate his emotions. Nelson Wattie has criticised the way Grace’s characters “tend to talk with the same voice, a voice which belongs less to them than to the author-in-the-book, a presence more poetically inclined than they and, unlike them, verging on sentimentality” (15). In terms of social realism Wattie does have a point, but Grace gives her characters more variation than he allows for and although she may over invest the character of Shane with more poetic talent than a character like him in “reality” would possess, she also shows the corrosion of his ability to express himself verbally through his anger and drinking and the language he uses i.e., the limited urban vernacular – “stuff” (26), “mm” (24), “load-a-shit grannies” (27).

Through her presentation of Māori-English Grace illustrates the way the two languages have joined together to form new idioms. In her fiction she

consciously manipulates language in order to make it express the bicultural nature of cultural identities in New Zealand.

One of the most familiar techniques used by Grace, and Māori authors in general, to give their fiction a feel of biculturalism is the insertion of individual Māori words into the English text. Most well known Māori words such as “whānau”, “marae” and “kai”, which are commonly used by Māori people when they are speaking English, do not need to be translated as most New Zealander readers understand their meaning. In her earlier books Grace provided a glossary for the more unfamiliar Māori words, for example “pahau” (beard), “porangi” (demented) in *Mutuwhenua*, but in *Potiki* no glossary is given; Māori words such as “poupou” and “kehua” remain untranslated in the text. Furthermore, *Potiki* concludes in the Māori language. Some critics have read Grace’s increased use of te reo as a sign of her refusal to compromise to Pākehā demands over the priority of the English language in New Zealand. There is no doubt that the assertion of te reo combined with the final message of aggressive cultural resistance has made *Potiki* a politically charged novel, but the general movement in the text is towards the reduction, not erection, of cultural linguistic barriers. Grace works out of necessity from a bilingual position and by ending the novel in te reo she also calls for the reader to make a step towards acceptance and understanding of the Māori language. Rather than denying access, Grace advocates the right of individuals to personal expression. The last sentence “ka huri” means “it turns”. This is an indication in Māori oratory that the speaker has finished and it is time for another to begin. The phrase extends a challenge to readers who speak Māori to take the opportunity to express their own experiences and identity, to tell their own story. But this offer is not exclusive to Māori, merely because it is written in Māori at the end of the novel, it is a message which comes through the book as a whole and is extended to all those who feel their story has not yet been told.

Grace often uses a bilingual approach when representing her Māori characters. This most commonly happens when characters “code switch” in dialogue. In the examples below the characters give the English translation of the Māori words they use but the process appears natural and does not disturb the flow of the dialogue.

“E ta, ko haunga to tuna,” said Ritimana slicing the air with his hand. “Your eel stinks.” (“The Dream” *Collected Stories* 31)

“Parengo. Your stink parengo! Who told you to put your haunga seaweed in my drier?” (“Holiday” *Collected Stories* 37)

And down, down, and splash in the small water. And bang. His head break on that rock there with a big kehua on it. My poor brother, ka pakaru te upoko. (*Potiki* 56)

In the last example, taken from Granny Tamihana in *Potiki*, the reader can workout that “ka pakaru te upoko” means “his head broke” as the translation has already been given by Granny in the previous sentence. “Pakaru” is the Māori for broken, “upoko” means head.

In an extended interchange between Granny Tamihana and Mary, Granny switches from Māori to English, and by doing so gives a partial translation of her Māori words to Mary and the reader:

“Haere mai te awhina o te iwi. Haere mai ki te kai, haere mai ki te inu ti.”

“See, Gran?”

“Very beautiful my Mary.”

“Beautiful and nice.”

“Very beautiful and nice ... You come and have a cup of tea now.”

“Cup of tea.”

“Come and have a cup of tea and a bread.”

“Come back after and do my work.”

“When you had your cup of tea and a kai.” (20)

The Māori translation given by Granny Tamihana is not complete. Keown has translated the Māori as meaning: “Come here, caretaker of the people. Come and eat, come and drink tea” (“Taki Iwi, Taku Whenua, Taku Reo” 59). Although the substance of the sentence is conveyed the English and Māori do not match up word for word thus denying the reader with no knowledge of Māori complete understanding of the text. This technique may appear politically challenging but it is probably more indicative of Grace’s refusal to compromise the flow of the dialogue with interrupting translations than any political stance.

Grace's use of Māori and English shows that the two languages are not isolated from each other. Grace writes from a bilingual position and she presumes, to a certain degree, that her audience has some bilingual knowledge. Since the publication of the statistics mentioned in 1986, there has been a gradual increase in the number of Māori and non-Māori able to speak te reo.⁴⁹ There has also been a marked increase in the number of young Māori able to speak their language. This is largely due to the kohanga reo movement established in the 1980s. These pre-school groups are run by mature native speakers of the Māori language and are conducted entirely in Māori. The aim of the scheme is to make every Māori child bilingual by the age of five. In 1983 the annual report of the Department of Māori Affairs made clear the importance of the project:

Without the Maori language there can be no Maori culture, and the survival of a unique Maori identity; this is the spiritual force behind the creation of the kohanga reo. (5)

The first pilot scheme commenced in 1981 and by 1988 the number of kohanga reo had increased to 521. By 1996 over 45 percent of Māori children enrolled in early childhood education attended a kohanga reo (*New Zealand Now, Maori* 1998 56). The kura kaupapa Māori (Māori primary schools) grew by extension. In 1994 there were over 200 secondary school bilingual units and three Māori language universities and tertiary institutions. Although Grace feels unable to write a novel entirely in Māori, through her Māori language readers for primary school children she actively supports the spread of te reo.

A survey in 1996 indicated that levels of Māori speakers were marginally higher for 5-19 year olds than in the 20-24 and the 25-29 age groups, suggesting that kohanga reo and kura kaupapa may have begun making positive steps to revive the Māori language (*New Zealand Now, Maori* 45). In keeping with these figures Grace has commented that: "The situation is changing, as we now hear much more Maori spoken by younger people as they attempt to become fluent in the language" (DeLoughrey and Hall 13). It is feasible that in the near future

⁴⁹ A 1996 census showed that out of a total of 154,000 residents claiming to speak Māori, 116,000 people claimed to have Māori ancestry. This would suggest that 38,000 non-Māori speak the Māori language. However, as the newspaper article, "Talking the Te Reo Talk", printed in *The New Zealand Herald* 28 July 2001 implies, such a figure may be a slight over-estimation.

there will be bicultural and bilingual Māori authors who will be in a position to choose which language they wish to write in.

Conclusion

The “creative dialectic” within Grace’s work is presented as an open-ended process. The ideological manipulation of Māori during colonisation has had far reaching consequences and requires a sustained campaign of decolonisation to, where possible, reverse the process. In order to effect decolonisation Grace illustrates how an active and honest promotion of Māori culture is necessary. Thus, she recreates the lives, language and vision of her people through her texts.

In Grace’s early story “Parade”, Granny Rita tells the young girl who is beginning to lose faith in her culture and her people that as you grow older you begin to understand more and to realise that, “No-one can take your eyes from you” (91). She is referring here to a secure cultural vision deep within her that no one can strip her of. Twenty three years after the publication of this story Grace wrote *Baby No-Eyes* – a novel about the power of Pākehā neocolonial institutions to do just that; to take the very eyes from a person. However, despite being a symbolic and literal assault on Māori cultural vision, this action does not crush the family concerned nor does it successfully destroy their outlook on life. The return of the spirit baby and the fact that her brother and mother see her and that Tawera becomes her eyes, conveys the message that Māori cultural vision runs deep and remains strong even in the face of oppression. *Baby No-Eyes* and the vision she represents derives from the same plane of cultural awareness as the invisible Waituhi seen by Tama Mahana in *The Matriarch*. In writing about their culture in this manner, both authors seek to convey to their audience the inalienable spirit of the Māori people and their culture.

CHAPTER FIVE

Māori Mythology and the History of European Transcription

Since the late 1970s there has been a gradual movement by some Māori towards the reclamation and promotion of their cultural mythology. Chapters Two, Four and Six examine this movement as a process by which Māori cultural activists, Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace and Keri Hulme in particular, identify their inalienable spiritual and historical links to the land as a protest against colonisation. The present promotion of Māori mythology draws on both Māori oral traditions and textual records collated by Pākehā ethnologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The focus in this chapter is on textual retellings of Māori myths rather than oral retellings, both because of accessibility to records and the fact that contemporary Māori authors are involved in the extension of literary versions of the myths.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Pākehā ethnologists appropriated Māori myth narratives to serve their own political ends. In the process, they contributed to the body of material known today as Māori mythology, which is used by Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme to promote Māori political interests. Critical studies of *the bone people* have drawn attention to the author's use of Māori mythology, some praising its "authenticity", others disputing its credibility. This chapter provides an historical overview of the production of the culturally syncretic Māori mythology used by Hulme and demonstrates how her representation Māori myths and spiritual beliefs (discussed in the next chapter) is born out a tradition of conscious political manipulation of Māori mythology by both Māori and Pākehā.

The Function of Māori Mythology

"Māori mythology", as discussed here, refers to material commonly classified as pan-Māori. Although tribal variations exist, the narratives discussed here have been recognised by both Māori and Pākehā ethnologists as founding texts common to all tribes.

There are three story cycles which comprise the mythology, progressing from the "creative activities of the gods and demi-gods to the activities of real men" (Walker "The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition" 171). The stories encode the Māori world view, as Marsden and Henare explain:

Myth and legend in the Maori cultural context are neither fables embodying primitive faith in the supernatural, nor marvellous fireside stories of ancient times. They were deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilable forms their view of the World, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man. (3)

Kaupapa, or first principles, and tikanga, Māori customs, are derived from the actions of the protagonists within the myth narratives. Walker refers to Māori myths as containing “myth-messages” and “moral truths” to guide people in their day to day lives. He writes:

Myths reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating charters. Sometimes a myth is the outward projection of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. Alternatively, a myth might provide a reflection of current social practice, in which case it has an instructional and validating function. (“The Relevance” 170-171)

The functionalist approach to Māori mythology outlined by Marsden and Henare and Walker has been accepted amongst Māori and Pākehā (see, for example, Buck *The Coming of the Maori* 431-536, Metge *The Maoris* 23). In contemporary cross-disciplinary academic fields, as in Māori society, it is now accepted that the myths embody a system of beliefs upon which Māori spiritual and social values rest. However, Pākehā academics have not always approached Māori mythology with such cultural sensitivity or understanding.

Māori Mythology – An Overview

Māori myths can be divided into three categories – those relating to cosmological beginnings; those that deal with the deeds of the demi-gods such as Māui and Tawhaki; and those which involve the activities of people on earth. In relation to cosmological beginnings there are two strands of mythological thought: on one hand is the creation story, which offers a progressive evolution of the universe, on the other is the mythology of Io – the Supreme Being thought to have created all.

The creation story involving Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, and Ranginui, the Sky Father, is the most commonly repeated myth of origin. The Io narratives only became popular knowledge during the 1850s, and until this time they are said to have been guarded by the tohunga from the “tūtūā”, the common people.

The myths and traditions that follow are intended to be a representative selection of the narratives which form “Māori mythology”. They illustrate the types of stories told by ancient Māori in order to help make sense of people’s relation to the environment and to each other. They are drawn from written records spanning from Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology* to contemporary explanatory texts by Māori anthropologists and historians.

Io is the “Supreme God” (Smith *The Lore* Part 1. 110; Marsden “God, Man and Universe” 130). He is referred to as “Io-matua-kore” (Io the parentless, the self created) and is considered to be the origin of all things. In Part One of *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* Smith refers to a series of names for Io that describe his omnipotence:

Io-nui	Io-the-great-god-over-all
Io-roa	Io-the-enduring (or everlasting)
Io-matua	Io-the-all-parent (omniparent)
Io-te-wānanga	Io-of-all-knowledge (omniscient)
Io-te-taketake	Io-the-origin-of-all-things (the one true god)
Io-tamua-take	Io-the-immutable
Io-te-Toi-o-nga-rangi	Io-the-summit-of-heaven
Io-mata-putahi	Io-the-god-of-one-command
Io-mata-ngaro	Io-the-hidden-face
Io-mata-wai	Io-god-of-love
Io-mata-aho	Io-only-seen-in-a-flash-of-light
Io-te-hau-e-rangi	Io-presiding-in-all-heavens
Io-tikitiki-o-rangi	Io-the-exalted-of-heaven
Io-matua-kore	Io-the-parentless (self-created). (110-111)

There is nothing outside or beyond Io: “with him is the power of life, of death, of godship” (Smith 111). From Io stemmed the seed of potential in Te Kore. Then he created the night realms, light, earth, sky, and waters. Cleve Barlow illustrates the Māori cosmic genealogy as follows:

Iomatua
|
Te Kore
|
Pō
|
Aomārama
|
Ranginui = Papatūānuku (171)

Only the high priests (tohunga ahurewa and tohunga tūāhu) in the whare wānanga were taught the esoteric version of the creation mythology involving Io. This knowledge was considered sacred – a gift from the gods given to Tāne (son of Rangi and Papa) on his visit to the twelfth heaven. Thus, dissemination of information was a regulated process and was passed down the generations orally with strict attention to exact repetition of narratives. A secondary class of tohunga was taught the creation myth beginning with Te Kore. In this myth the universe evolves from the union of Rangi and Papa. This version of creation was communicated to the populace.

The Māori creation myth explains how Māori people are descendants of Papatūānuku, the earth mother and Ranginui, the sky father. Aside from explaining the evolution of the world, the creation story establishes several lores in Māori culture, the most evident of which is the lore of utu. Tāwhiri’s desire for revenge against his brothers sets into motion a sequence of actions of attack and counter attack – thus establishing the notion of reprisal found in utu – in this case with negative connotations. In turning his brothers into food Tū also committed the first act of cannibalism, thus setting a cultural precedent for the treatment of enemies in war. It is customary for Māori to repeat karakia before taking produce from the earth, forests and sea in order to appease the appropriate gods and prevent further counter attacks.

Tāne Mahuta brought into being the first human by fashioning the figure of a woman, Hineahuone, out of earth. He then put the breath of life into her mouth, nostrils and ears. Tāne cohabited with Hineahuone and she bore him a daughter, Hinetītama, the dawn maid. Tāne then cohabited with Hinetītama until the day she asked who her father was. On realising her husband was also her father she fled from him to the world of darkness where she was transformed into Hinenuitepō, the goddess of death. This myth explains how humans are descended from the earth – the body of Papatūānuku – and it clearly implies that incest, although necessary in the creation myth to bring about the human line is a socially unacceptable practice (Walker “The Relevance” 172).

After the gods and goddesses came the demi-gods. Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga is the most well known and most significant Māori demi-god. Māui is responsible for, amongst other things, fishing up the north island of New Zealand, bringing fire to humankind, and challenging death.

Māui was the last born of five brothers. When his mother gave birth to him she thought he was dead and wrapped him up in her hair and cast him out to sea. However, after being washed ashore he was rescued by an ancestor and revived. Māui eventually reunited with his parents and brothers and as the youngest child he was spoilt and became mischievous.

Walker writes that Māui “acts out the role of both arch-trickster and benefactor to mankind” in his dealings with his ancestors. Māui deceives his ancestress Murirangawhenua by concealing food from her, “yet, despite this, she favoured him by giving into his keeping the enchanted jawbone” (174). It is this bone Māui uses to beat the sun and slow its passage across the sky, giving people more daylight, and as a prototype fish-hook to fish up the land of New Zealand.

Māui tricks another of his ancestors, Mahuika, into giving to him the secret of fire. In this story he takes the first lot of fire she gives him (enclosed in her finger-nail) and mischievously extinguishes it. He returns to her and asks for another nail which, like the first one, he discards. This process continues until Mahuika, who has grown wise to Māui’s tricks, throws her last toe-nail onto the ground in front of him. The land catches fire and Māui is forced to ask for help from Tāwhiri-ma-tea and Whati-tiri (thunder) to give him water in order to quench the fire. In some accounts of this myth Māui turns himself into a hawk and flees

the fire by flying above it (Smith *The Lore* Part I 179). The fire is extinguished but some of its essence is retained in certain trees, for example the *kaikōmako*.

Māui's last act was his attempt to defeat death by passing through the body of Hinenuitepō. Before he left with his companions to find Hinenuitepō, his father warned him that during his baptism he made a mistake in the incantation and thus brought an impending ill omen on Māui. Māui failed to heed his father's warning and continued on his journey to challenge the goddess of death. Māui shed his clothes and entered Hinenuitepō's vagina as she slept. He planned to exit from her mouth but when he was half way inside her a little bird laughed at the sight and Hinenuitepō awoke. She closed her legs and strangled Māui. "This episode", writes Walker, "justifies the Maori belief in the predictive powers of omens, as well as providing a rationale for death" (175).

The myths reciting the deeds of the demi-gods are followed by human traditions concerning the arrival of the Māori in New Zealand. These stories begin with the migratory period from Hawaiki (the mythical homeland of the Māori) in the fourteenth century. Walker points out that "the distinction between myth and tradition is not sharply demarcated." "Real men" populate the traditions but "their activities have much in common with their mythological predecessors" in that they are endowed with super-natural powers. The traditions are considered to refer to historic events, but they also contain, like the myths, messages about social conduct ("The Relevance" 180). Some of the principal protagonists of these traditions are Tamatekapua, captain of the Arawa canoe, Ngatoroirangi, the high priest originally on the Arawa until Tamatekapua had him abducted and seduced his wife, and Tia, an explorer of the interior. Ngatoroirangi serves as an example of the crossover between mythology and tradition in these narratives. Walker illustrates some of the super-natural actions taken by this hero figure:

The episode where he created a whirlpool that threatened to engulf the Arawa canoe as punishment for Tamatekapua's seduction of his wife demonstrated his supra-normal prowess. In his exploration of the interior of Aotearoa, Ngatoroirangi was credited with the creation of fresh water whitebait. This episode is the mythical basis for the origin of an important food resource to the tribes of the interior, which serves to further enhance the mana of Ngatoroirangi as an ancestor

hero. He gave further demonstrations of his supernatural powers at Tongariro, when he killed Hapeketuarangi, the rival claimant, by bringing down dense black clouds, snow and sleet on the mountain. He is also credited with calling forth the volcanic fires in the thermal region of the island (181).

Retellings of Māori Myths and Legends

In the search for cultural precedents and guidance, myths and traditions are retold to help Māori decide what course of action to take in the present. Marsden and Henare write:

When contemplating some important project, action or situation that needs to be addressed and resolved the tribe in council would debate the kaupapa or rules and principles by which they should be guided. There is an appeal to first principles in cases of doubt and those principles are drawn from the creation stories of Tua-Uri [the first basket of knowledge obtained by Tāne which consists of the narratives of creation in a time “beyond the world of darkness”], the acts of the gods in the period of transition following the separation of Rangi and Papa, or the acts of the myth heroes such as Maui or Tawhaki and numerous others. (17)

In her article “Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts”, Judith Binney explains that Māori myths generally retain their core moral message but may alter according to the teller and the situation in which they are being told.

In many ways Pākehā textual accounts of Māori mythology can be viewed as an extension of the oral tradition. Appendix C shows how the same myth about Māui and the death goddess is repeated over time in various ways. The versions of the myth told by White, Anderson, Alpers and Sullivan, draw on Sir George Grey’s translation. Alpers also makes a reference to material mentioned by S. Percy Smith. A *School Journal* picture of Māui and Hinenuitepō illustrates how the myth, even in text, can be adapted to the context in which it is told (see appendix C, fig. 15). Sullivan and Slane, in their graphic novel, *Maui: Legends of the Outcast*, illustrate how the myth has been transmitted via different artistic mediums.

However, once incorporated into the European textual and ideological frame the function of the myths and traditions altered. In the hands of men like Governor Grey the myths were no longer merely illustrations of Māori tikanga, but tools of European colonial policy. Over time some these alterations have been accepted by Māori scholars, including Ranginui Walker, for Māori cultural and political purposes.

European Influence on Māori Mythology: Some Textual “Inventions”

By looking at the ways in which Māori mythology was recorded by Pākehā in the nineteenth century, and at the motivating factors behind the collections, several issues concerning authenticity arise. The early recordings of Māori mythology by Pākehā demonstrate personal and historical approaches to indigenous belief systems. It is possible to trace how attitudes changed over time and how the myths evolved (in style of narration and sometimes in content) in accordance with the context in which they were retold.

The debate over the authenticity of Māori mythology is not a new one. In the 1850s Edward Shortland quoted a common Māori reply when questioned about the validity of the myths they recited to European ethnologists:

“E hara i te mea poka hou mai: no Hawaiki mai ano” – (It is not a modern invention: but a practice brought from Hawaiki). (*Traditions and Superstitions* 61)

The Māori informants were keen to have their narratives acknowledged as authentic by claiming that they had originated in the Māori homeland with their ancestors. In recent years historians and anthropologists have recognised that “culture” and “tradition” are “anything but stable realities handed down intact from generation to generation” (Hanson 890). Authenticity, then, has been reconfigured to take account of “cultural inventions”. Hanson writes that: “inventions are common components in the ongoing development of authentic culture” (899). The “analytic task” “is not to strip away the invented portions of a culture as inauthentic, but to understand the process by which they acquire authenticity” (Hanson 898).

Hanson suggests that what is known today of Māori “traditional culture”, inclusive of mythology, is the product of “cultural invention” by Pākehā anthropologists, scholars, and government officials. Invention of tradition by the politically dominant for subordinate peoples (in this case the Māori) is viewed by Hanson as “part of a cultural imperialism that tends to maintain the asymmetrical relationship of power” (Hanson 890). In the late 1970s D.R. Simmons and M.P.K. Sorrenson suggested that the story of the “Great Fleet” of canoes sailing from Hawaiki to Aotearoa in the fourteenth century was a “myth” constructed by Pākehā. Reasons for the “invention” of such a myth range from European desires to overlay Eurocentric notions of historical time on Māori traditions to the belief that in giving Māori a history analogous to that of the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand the latter’s position in the country would somehow be justified. Sorrenson also suggested that the “cult of Io” was a European concept derived from Christianity.

However, Simon During recognises that Māori were complicit in the telling of these myth narratives and in their subsequent proliferation, and suggests that rather than being read as conscious colonial manipulations of Māori cultural material the “inventions” should be considered as arising out of “complex interrelations” between the two cultures. In During’s opinion what counts as Māori mythology today has “been produced, unconsciously and over time, in exchanges and conflicts between the two. To use a Derridean concept, it is counter signed” (“What Was the West?” 765).

Written records of Māori mythology illustrate how European transcription, collection and interpretation of Māori mythology abetted colonisation whilst simultaneously preserving Māori cultural material which has subsequently been “reclaimed” by Māori in their movement towards self-definition.

The following section highlights some Pākehā “inventions” or “adaptations” of Māori myths and traditions. The intention is not to discredit European ethnologists or Māori cultural beliefs, but to illustrate how traditions evolve and acquire authenticity in a politically charged arena.

The Texts and the Collection Process

From the 1840s European missionaries and government officials expressed an interest in learning about the myths and traditions of the Māori, and by the turn of the century several significant collections of material were published in both English and Māori.

In the 1840s Edward Shortland had been employed by the government to “spy out” the southern part of the south island and the information he gathered went into his books: *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (1851) and *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (1854, revised 1856). Rather than being a compilation of myths in the style of Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology*, Shortland’s *Traditions and Superstitions* is a narrative of his personal experiences at Maketu in the Bay of Plenty. Māori myths and traditions, told to him by local chiefs, are inserted within his narrative.

In 1853 Sir George Grey, twice Governor of New Zealand (1845-53, 1861-1868) and Premier (1877-1879), published *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori*, a listing of 533 waiata song texts and some narrative pieces. A compilation of his informants’ writings, written in Māori, was published under the title *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna* in 1854. This work is comprised of a series of short narratives concerning the creation of men and women, legendary heroes and heroines, and the episodes of the arrival and settlement of the Māori in New Zealand. It was translated into English by Grey and published under the title *Polynesian Mythology* in 1855. In the same year Richard Taylor, a university graduate who had come to New Zealand as a missionary, published *Te Ika a Māui*. This work includes a study of natural history in New Zealand as well as information about the traditions of the Māori.

A collection similar to Grey’s was published by John White under the title *The Ancient History of the Māori, His Mythology and Traditions* (1887-1890). This six-volume compilation is the result of a government-sponsored project to record Māori myths and traditions. The history begins with the Māori gods and ends with information regarding Māori and European contact. Each volume has a Māori and English section.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century European ethnologists debated the origins of the Māori. In 1885 Edward Tregear proposed the theory of the

Aryan Māori, and in 1898 S. Percy Smith described Māori migratory patterns from Hawaiki to New Zealand. In the early twentieth century Smith published information regarding Māori esoteric beliefs in the *Lore of the Whare Wānanga*, and Elsdon Best produced several ethnographic texts about Māori culture including *Waikaremoana* (1897), *The Maori* (1924) and *The Maori As He Was* (1924).

All the authors mentioned above gained information from Māori during the course of their employment in New Zealand. They were well-educated representatives of the British Empire: Grey was Governor, White was employed as a translator in the Native Land Court, Taylor was a missionary, and Tregear and Smith were, amongst other things, surveyors. These men all spoke Māori and translated narratives recited by Māori informants. Since the 1850s most of their texts have been reprinted several times. Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* was reprinted in 1885, 1906, 1961 and 1988 (under the title *Legends of Aotearoa*), and White's *Ancient History* has recently been republished and transferred onto CD-Rom by the University of Waikato. It is these texts, Grey's in particular, on which Pākehā knowledge (and to some extent Māori knowledge) of Māori mythology and traditions in the present is based.

Once committed to paper oral narratives were incorporated into the scribe's (or editor's) ideological framework. Personal, political and cultural motivations for collecting the narratives filter through into the translator's interpretations of the events in the myths and traditions.

Motivations

In the preface to the first edition of *Polynesian Mythology* Grey gives his motives for collecting and publishing the material. He explains how, when he first arrived as Governor of New Zealand, he discovered some hostility between Māori and the Queen's troops. He could, he believed, "neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought" he was "quite unacquainted" (v). In their speeches and letters Māori "frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology" (vii). Grey believed that "the most

important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms” but he could not understand the references (vii). As Grey himself identifies, it was in order to govern his subjects more effectively that he collected legends, proverbs and songs. Similar motivations may also lie behind the government commission of the *Ancient History of the Maori*. Grey and his associates undoubtedly understood that knowledge is power and that the more they knew about the Māori the greater control they could exert over his physical and mental universe.

In the same year that *Polynesian Mythology* was first published, Richard Taylor stated his reasons for collecting cultural information about the Māori in the preface to *Te Ika a Maui*:

The Author’s aim has been to rescue from that oblivion into which they were fast hastening, the Manners, Customs, Traditions and Religion of a primitive race: already the remembrance of them is rapidly being forgotten; the rising generation being almost as unacquainted with them as our Settlers in general. (vi)

Taylor’s comments, written only fifteen years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, illustrate the colonial assumption that Māori were rapidly amalgamating with the Europeans and, in the process, losing touch with their own culture. This view of New Zealand race-relations appears to sit paradoxically with Grey’s understanding of Māori mythology as the “key” to contemporary Māori political thought. However, the two outlooks are essentially two sides of the same colonial coin; Grey’s method of obtaining power was to learn and dominate, and Taylor’s display of power lay in his assumption of Māori cultural “loss” and his historical objectification of the Māori. Grey’s intention to “know” the Māori is exemplified in the ethnographic dissection of Māori cultural ways, manners, customs, traditions and religion carried out by men like Taylor, Shortland, Smith and Best. Like a new species of plant or insect, Māori culture was classified and categorised under the European gaze of imperialism in order to bolster colonial knowledge, authority and power.

By the time the second edition of *Polynesian Mythology* was published in 1885 the colonial government had defeated the Māori in the Land Wars. Grey subscribed to what Belich has called the “Victorian Interpretation” of the wars, by

painting a picture of the English as a “generous conquering race” and the Māori as “noble” adversaries “who fell before superior numbers and weapons” (Preface to Second edition xiv). In this context Grey considers the importance of *Polynesian Mythology* to be its status as a “memento of a noble race, in its original state when first discovered” (xiv).

The desire to record Māori traditions and way of life increased in the 1890s when it was commonly believed that the Māori were a “dying” race. John Stenhouse, in his article “A Disappearing Race Before We Came Here”, discusses how and why ideas of the “dying Māori” were circulated amongst Pākehā intellectuals at the end of the nineteenth century. He proposes that the “dying Māori” concept supported Pākehā land claims and cites Alfred Kingcome Newman’s oft-quoted article, “A Study to the causes leading to the Extinction of the Maori” (1892), as supporting the idea that if Māori faced “utter effacement” then the land which they occupied (and which lay “idle” in Māori hands) would be better taken over and developed by Pākehā. Stenhouse also notes that Newman’s theory that the Māori were a disappearing race before Pākehā came to New Zealand, worked to alleviate Pākehā guilt for Māori decline (126). Nevertheless, Stenhouse points out that although Māori population figures had declined after European contact by about 10-15% per decade between 1850-1890, there was no rational justification for Pākehā predictions of Māori extinction (136). In opposition to recent critical historical studies that emphasize the racism of the Victorian Pākehā, Stenhouse stresses the point that not all the members of the Wellington Philosophical Society, to whom Newman delivered his speech on “A Study of the Cause”, agreed with his thesis. Some, like Dr Morgan Grace, even predicted that the Māori race would increase in time (133). Māori population declined to an estimated low point of 42,113 in 1896, but by 1901 numbers were beginning to increase again. It appears, however, that like Grey and Taylor, the men of the Polynesian Society, which was established in 1891 to record and preserve Māori culture before it passed away, subscribed to a generalised and popularised interpretation of Newman’s theory that the Māori were indeed a dying race. Edward Tregear, S. Percy Smith, and Elsdon Best were leading members of the Society.

Alterations and “Inventions”

Either unconsciously or consciously alterations were made to the myth narratives as they were translated from Māori into English. Translations from one language to another can not reproduce the exact meaning of the original text, be it oral or written. This is further problematised when translators possess an incomplete knowledge of either one of the languages involved, or have little time to produce a thorough translation. Sir George Grey and S. Percy Smith draw attention to the problems of translation from Māori to English in the prefaces to their collections of Māori myths and traditions. In the preface to the first edition of *Polynesian Mythology* Grey states:

With regard to the style of the translation a few words are required. I fear in point of care and language it will not satisfy the critical reader; but I can truly say that I have had no leisure carefully to revise it. (ix)

In the introduction to the *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* Smith says:

A frequent difficulty has met the translator in finding concise English equivalents to the many obsolete words in the Maori text [...] it is exceedingly difficult for the European mind to occupy the same stand-point as that of the Polynesian, and thus many things that are to the latter people quite clear are to us very obscure. (iii)

Other Pākehā scribes did not acknowledge the difficulties of translation they came across in compiling their narratives, but it is evident in the case of John White that his understanding of Māori was limited and, as a consequence, errors in content and meaning occur in his translations of Māori myths and traditions. As the narratives pass from the oral setting either in the whare wānanga or on the marae, and onto the pages of books their meanings also become altered. Verbal nuances and physical gestures during the “performance” or recital of a myth can not be indicated in text.

Grey did publish in Māori. Research by D.R. Simmons and Jenifer Curnow (amongst others) shows how Grey edited the Māori manuscripts written for him by Te Rangikaheke. In some cases, such as *Nga Moteatea*, the material was “sparingly edited”, but in others, such as *Nga Mahinga*, the material was

“freely handled” by Grey (Curnow Thesis 2). Nevertheless, because of the existence of Te Rangikaheke’s manuscripts it is possible to trace these amendments to the original texts. The fact that Grey did publish texts in Māori (inclusive of his own material and Te Rangikaheke’s) is significant because they offer a record of Māori language during the period of transcription and can be used as a counter reference to Grey’s English translations. Grey’s decision to print the texts in the original has enabled later scholars to correct his mistakes in translation. In the 1988 reprint of *Polynesian Mythology (Legends of Aotearoa)* S.M. Mead notes in the introduction that Grey’s translation is neither complete nor exact:

The original text in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* is, of course, much more valuable than the English translation. The English version is not an exact translation of the Maori text, and many of the chants which appear as a natural part of the original stories were omitted. In addition, Grey took liberties with his translation for he concentrated on translating the sense of the sentences rather than the actual words of his Maori sources. (1-2)

This observation is echoed by Jane McRae: “The English version [of *Polynesian Mythology*] fails to convey the complexity of the Maori texts, their dramatic and poetic qualities and expression of Maori values and custom” (“Maori Literature” 13). However, both Mead and McRae note that these errors do not detract seriously from the contribution to literature made by the collection.

Grey’s attitude towards Māori mythology affected his treatment of the narratives in his collection. Although favourably comparing Polynesian mythology with that of the Saxons, Celts, and the Scandinavians, he characterised the collection as “puerile” and “absurd” (Preface to the first edition x). Such intellectual arrogance and Anglocentrism is reflected in the way he homogenised tribal traditions and failed to acknowledge his Māori sources. Although Shortland appreciated the complexities of Māori mythology and noted tribal variations (as did White), he also approached the “superstitions” of the Māori with a degree of skepticism and was not beyond perceiving some of their beliefs in certain atua (spirits) as absurdities.

During his editorial process Grey exerted a conservative hand over some of the more sexually explicit aspects of the stories he collected. Māui's entry into Hinenuitepō, via her vagina, was "blurred over", although in hindsight it can be read into the text (Alpers 239).

John White has been accused of similar editorial manipulation in his handling of material for *The Ancient History of the Maori*. Scholars have criticised White's collection, recording and preparation of traditions for publication. Michael Reilly summarises these criticisms:

Some have suggested he [White] falsified sources and took information without acknowledgment. Others have questioned his competence in the Maori language. Certainly his methods could be unsophisticated. Until the 1850s he randomly selected Maori informants. Owing to lack of paper and work pressures, recording was often from memory or brief headlines. He also on occasion prompted informants' responses by telling some story often derived from his reading. (588)

White's haphazard methods combined with the publication of several works cast as fiction but based on Māori ethnographic data resulted in his subsequent reputation for "invention" of Māori tradition. White's "historical novels": *Te Rou: or, the Maori at Home* (1874) and *Revenge: A Love Tale of the Mount Eden Tribe* (1940), were popularisations and dramatisations of Māori history and traditions. They were written in an attempt to recoup goldfield losses suffered around 1870 (Reilly 588), and as such reflect European fictional exploitation of Māori material for commercial gain. Nevertheless, at the time of publication White's contemporaries (Edward Tregear and A.S. Atkinson, to name only two) reviewed *Te Rou* and *The Ancient History* favourably (Reilly 588).

The Influence of Christianity

In the years preceding the first compilations of Māori myths and legends, Christian Missionary Society, Catholic, and Wesleyan missionaries were influential in disseminating Christianity through Māori society. Christian references and values found their way into Māori myth narratives either from missionary

influence over the Māori informants or from Christian interpretations of Māori material by European collectors.

In *Traditions and Superstitions*, Shortland writes about references to a large flood in the story “The Children of Heaven and Earth”, narrated in Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology*. It is related that during the wars between Tāwhirimātea and his brothers the greater part of the earth was submerged, “so that only a small portion of dry land projected above the sea” (*Polynesian Mythology* 8). From a Christian perspective this event reads much like the great flood sent down by God to cleanse the earth of evil mentioned in Genesis. With this parallel in mind Shortland doubts that the great flood in the Māori myth is really a part of the original tradition and suggests that it is “merely an interpolation of the native who compiled the manuscript”. He goes on to write that: “There is some ground for this suspicion because it is rather inconsistent with a statement contained in the same tradition, namely, that the human race then existing withstood all the attacks of the god of tempests, and remained uninjured by them” (79).

“The Deluge” story appears again in Chapter XII of White’s first volume of *The Ancient Maori*. In this retelling several parallels to the Christian narrative about Noah and the Great Flood are evident. The rain descends in torrents on the people of the earth because they had turned to “evil” and failed to recognise the doctrines preached by Tāne. Only Para-whenua-mea (debris of the flood) and Tupu-nui-a-uta (king of the interior) who retain faith in Tāne survive. They build a raft and land on dry earth at Hawaiki, the place from which Māori believe they originated.

Shortland draws attention to the ease with which Māori narratives were interpreted through Christian frameworks by some Europeans, as well as by Māori graduates of mission schools. In *Traditions and Superstitions* he refers to “a gentleman connected with the Church Mission” who applies a Christian understanding of the Great Flood to a Māori narrative. Shortland explains the process by which he came to realise the gentleman’s mistake:

As this gentleman had been twelve or fourteen years in the country, and possessed an intimate knowledge of the Maori language, his statement would have been generally accepted as most worthy of reliance. On further inquiry, however, from the same tribe of natives who were his informants, I was soon

convinced that he had been misled by his own pre-conceived ideas, and that the deluge of his imagination was no more than a remarkable flood, which had overwhelmed a village several generations ago. (*Traditions and Superstitions* 78)

Willingness to read Christian parallels into Māori mythology stemmed from a desire on the part of the Europeans for Māori to amalgamate into European culture. Finding Christian frameworks within Māori mythology was one way to justify this proposition.

There has been an ongoing debate amongst ethnologists and historians over the authenticity of the Supreme Being Io in Māori mythology. The revelation of Io by S. Percy Smith in the early twentieth century has been considered by some, including Sir Peter Buck, to be an extension of the post-European Christianising of indigenous beliefs. Best, on the other hand, like Smith, maintains that Io was known to Māori before the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand. In *Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion*, Best writes about Io as either a concept that “the ancestors of the Maori brought [...] from an Asiatic homeland”, the name being a transliteration of Iahveh, or Iahoue, or an independent belief in the one Supreme Being described in the Old Testament as Jehovah or Jahweh, only under the different name of Io (21). He also refers to the fact that people in the Cook and Society Islands shared a knowledge of Io. It is a point he makes in order to support his thesis that the Māori Supreme Being is not a local production, but one with a long and complicated history. Whereas Best appears determined to find pre-European roots for the Io cult in New Zealand, Buck sees it as a product of European religious colonisation of the South Pacific. In other words, for Buck, Io is the shortened form of Ihowa, the Māori transliteration of Jahweh - a figure Māori only became acquainted with after being introduced to the Old Testament by European Christian missionaries.

Debate over the authenticity of Io as a Māori esoteric narrative remains today, but within the contemporary field of Māori writing in English the existence of a Supreme Being is rarely mentioned. Rather, texts such as Patricia Grace’s short story “Between Earth and Sky” and Hone Tuwhare’s poem “We Who Live in Darkness” refer to the creation story involving Papa and Rangi.

Role of Informants

In the preface to the second edition of *Polynesian Mythology* Grey acknowledges his “very large obligations” to “the Maori chiefs” for their assistance in the compilation of his records. However, unlike the “European friends” who contributed manuscripts to his project (including White, Rev. Octavius Hadfield, Sir William Martin, and Archdeacon Maunsell), he does not name the Māori chiefs. Little was known about Grey’s informants until after the turn of the twentieth century and more particularly after 1922, when Grey’s library was returned from South Africa to the Auckland Public Library.

Grey employed several Māori chiefs to help him gather the material. The most notable of these men was Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke (c.1815-1896), a chief of Ngāti Rangi-wewehi, Te Arawa. Jenifer Curnow has given an account of the relationship between Grey and Te Rangikaheke in her article “Wiremu Mahi Te Rangikaheke: A manuscript about Maori knowledge, its retention and transmission”, based on her 1983 M.A. thesis. She notes that Te Rangikaheke was, “for a time”, paid £36 a year by Grey and provided with living quarters for him and his family attached to Grey’s own house. It was Te Rangikaheke who provided Grey with the manuscripts which were the source of most of the prose material in the appendices to *Ko Nga Moteatea me Nga Hakirara O Nga Maori* (1853) and much of the material for his *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna* (1854), and therefore for its translation, *Polynesian Mythology* (1855) (85). Te Rangikaheke’s writing is considered as “some of the finest in Maori literature” (McRae “Maori Literature” 8), yet he is never mentioned by Grey.

Extracts of the oral tradition written down by knowledgeable nineteenth century Māori are also to be found in collections of Māori mythology by Shortland, White, Smith, and Best. In *Traditions and Superstitions* Shortland names some of his informants (see, for example, the reference to Te Whero-where in connection with the “tradition respecting Tainui” 4). John White does not name his informants, but does give the area from which particular traditions derive.

Like Grey, White paid some of his informants, but White was less discriminating about who provided the information. He randomly selected informants and after 1883 paid them at fixed rates “for the quantity rather than the quality of information provided” (Reilly 588). White’s six-volume collection

reflects the eclectic nature of his research methods. White blames the disjointed character of his work on the informants' reluctance to impart information about the most sacred sections of the stories in fear of punishment by their Māori gods. This statement raises questions as to how "honest" the informants were in their retellings of the traditions and how "true" to the original Māori oral narratives the written stories are. The Māori informants edited their narratives and selected which stories the Europeans were to hear. A reluctance to disseminate sacred knowledge is still apparent in the present day. In his preface to *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture*, Cleve Barlow writes:

I have pondered for a long time as to how best to disseminate this knowledge to others without revealing too much (as I was taught in my own training), but still being able to offer a useful basis from which others could achieve greater understanding. (xvi)

Māori respect for tradition may explain why knowledge of Io was not obtained by many of the early European ethnologists. There is no mention in the works by Grey, Taylor or Shortland of Io, the Supreme Being. This information was gained by S. Percy Smith from the recorded teachings of eminent "old tohungas" at a gathering on the East coast in the late 1850s. The original manuscripts were in existence for some fifty years before coming to the attention of the Polynesian Society. Smith copied and translated *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* from the manuscript. In the introduction to the work, Smith states that:

[...] the advance of civilization amongst the people, and the knowledge of the risk the papers ran of being destroyed by fire or other accident, at last induced their owner to allow them to be copied and be preserved in print. (ii)

It may not have been the owner's intention that the sacred knowledge contained in the text be disseminated through print, consequently making it available to Māori and Pākehā masses, but when Smith published *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* this was the outcome.

Māori Origins and Migrations: Towards Amalgamation.

The argument given by Smith that the advance of civilisation in New Zealand would diminish Māori cultural practices unless they were actively preserved, was a theory subscribed to by the Polynesian Society in the early twentieth century. The same Darwinian theories that inspired the concept of the “dying Māori” also fuelled an interest in tracing the racial origins of different peoples. European fascination with categorising people into original civilisations was a familiar practice in the nineteenth century and admiration of the Māori people provoked early visitors to New Zealand to favourably compare them with European races. Māori were variously thought to be of Jewish descent (Samuel Marsden 1819) and Greek or Roman descent (Earle 1832) and by the late nineteenth century scholars were suggesting kinship links between Māori and New Zealand’s European settlers. The discovery of sophisticated Māori philosophies (demonstrated by Grey’s collection) strengthened Eurocentric assumptions of a possible tie between the two races. As a Māori history of heroic discoveries, migrations and esoteric religious beliefs was “revealed”, it became increasingly possible for New Zealand Europeans to entertain links between themselves and Māori. Such links were desired as they helped to justify theories of amalgamation and helped to establish Pākehā indigeneity in New Zealand.

Edward Tregear, a founding member of the Polynesian Society, proposed that the Māori were of European stock in his book *The Aryan Maori* (1885). Tregear was interested in the academic pursuits of “Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology”, and set about demonstrating affinities between Māori language and lore and that of other countries including India, ancient Greece, Rome and Britain. The absurdity of his ideas can be demonstrated through his linking of Māori words with similar sounding words in Sanskrit. One example is the Sanskrit word “gau”, meaning cow, which Tregear translated as the Māori term “kau”. To “prove” the association Tregear found numerous words in Māori (e.g., mata-kautete – a Māori weapon) where the meaning could be made to have associations with cows (for example, the shape of a mata-kautete was reminiscent of a “cow-titty”). In the colonisation of the Pacific, Tregear writes:

[...] the two vast horns of the Great Migration have touched again; and men whose fathers were brothers on the other side of those gulfs of distance and of

time meet each other, when the Aryan of the West greets the Aryan of the Eastern Seas. (105)

“What better myth could there be for a young country struggling for nationhood and for the amalgamation of its races,” asks Sorrenson, “than this reunification of the Aryans?” (*Maori Origins and Migrations* 30).

Two central facets of Māori culture, which at the beginning of the twentieth century were believed to support a fusion of the two races, were the cult of Io and the Great Fleet. S. Percy Smith’s involvement in the first of these two topics has already been stated, but he is perhaps most famous for his reconstruction of Māori history. It was Smith who, with the help of Elsdon Best, disseminated the popular story of the Māori migration to New Zealand. In his book *Hawaiki* (1898, final version 1921) he speculated on the original home of the Māori and constructed a time frame for waves of migration from the original land to New Zealand. In his other works, *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* (1915) and *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast* (1910), Smith sets out the particulars of the Great Fleet narrative. The rudiments of the story are these: New Zealand was discovered in A.D. 925 by Kupe, a man from Ra’iatea in the Society Islands. The first settlers, Toi and his grandson Whatonga, arrived from Tahiti in about the middle of the twelfth century. Finally, a fleet of seven canoes – Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Kurahaupo, Tokomaru, Aotea, and the Takitimu – set out in about 1350 from a homeland named Hawaiki, which was probably Ra’iatea or Tahiti. After a stop in Rarotonga, the fleet arrived in New Zealand and the migrants dispersed to populate the various parts of the country.

Smith’s version of Māori history forms an interesting analogue to the history of the colonists’ arrival in New Zealand. Notable Māori navigators, Kupe, Toi and Whatonga, can be compared with Tasman and Cook. The Māori left a homeland in which there was conflict, perhaps over competition for resources; British settlers fled a rapidly industrialising country in search of new resources and more space. In both histories positive reports of the new land were circulated in the homeland and inspired large-scale migration. On arriving in New Zealand the Māori encountered the Moriori, a race who experts have suggested were Melanesian or part-Melanesian and therefore “inferior” to the Māori, who were of Polynesian stock. This relationship between the incoming “colonisers” and the

“indigenous” people prefigures the balance of power between the European colonists and Māori. The oppression of the Moriori by the Māori has often been cited by Pākehā colonial authorities as a justification for European behaviour towards the Māori via an appeal to Darwinian ideas of nature’s law and the survival of the fittest. By constructing the Māori as savage oppressors, the pursuits of European colonist were ironically thought to be more acceptable.

The story of the Great Fleet has long since been discredited but the general substance of Smith’s theory has been, and remains, entrenched in the New Zealand popular imagination. In his controversial article “The Making of the Maori”, Allan Hanson comments that:

While it is undeniable that Maori tribes tell of the arrival of their ancestors in migration canoes, the notion of an organized expedition by a Great Fleet in about 1350 seems to have been constructed by European scholars such as Smith in an effort to amalgamate disparate Maori traditions into a single historical account [...]. Dating the fleet at 1350 was a particularly blatant work of fiction, since Smith simply took the mean of a large number of tribal genealogies that varied from 14 to 27 generations before 1900. (892)

Cultural homogenisation of the Māori was promoted through European discourses because it made “knowing the Māori” much easier and dealing with them less complicated. Elsdon Best helped contribute to this reductive treatment of Māori as one people through his *The Maori*, and *The Maori As He Was*, which, as the titles would suggest not only homogenised Māori, but located them in the past.

Although the colonial government wished to treat Māori tribes as one body, Māori resisted homogenisation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The government was forced to deal separately with individual tribes and during the Land Wars adopted a common colonial policy of divide and rule by playing one tribe off against another. The tribes themselves used the government in this process. Both the government and “the Māori people” today continue to emphasise cultural unity or tribal independence depending on the political situation. Chapters Two and Six of thesis illustrate the ways in which Ihimaera and Hulme create links with pan-tribal Māori myths of migration from Hawaiki to New Zealand in order to make political points about the longevity and depth of

Māori historical and spiritual ties to the land in contrast to the short history of Pākehā habitation in New Zealand.

Towards “Indigenisation”: Pākehā Appropriation of Māori Mythology.

Elsdon Best expressed the appeal of Māori mythology to Europeans in New Zealand at the turn of the twentieth century in his book *Waikare-moana* (1897).

Best writes about the:

[...] strange sensation of vivid interest and pleasing anticipation which is felt by the ethnologist, botanist, and lover of primitive folk-lore when entering on a new field of research. For the glamour of the wilderness is upon him, and the *kura huna* – the “concealed treasure” (of knowledge) – loometh large in the Land of Tuhoe. (9)

Peter Gibbons has identified how Best’s comments give a “hint of the greediness with which Pakeha appropriated information” (62). Māori mythology, like the landscape of the Ureweras, had exotic appeal and was treated by the ethnographers (and later Pākehā novelists, for example, Hume Nisbet in *The Rebel Chief: A Romance of New Zealand* 1896) as indicative of a mystery waiting to be unraveled; a journey which would lead them to the heart of the new land.

The ethnographers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often saw their work as having a specific purpose in the creation of a Pākehā cultural identity. Gibbons artfully refers to this process as “primitive accumulation of cultural capital” (62). It could be argued that the myths and traditions of the Māori were recorded by early ethnographers as a self-reflective exercise rather than a genuine desire to understand, or help preserve, Māori culture. Knowledge of Māori mythology, like Māori land, was “acquired” for the benefit of Europeans, not Māori. *Waikare-moana* includes a preface by Smith, in which he explains how local Māori myths can offer tourists access to the land. He states that the work had been printed “with a view of furnishing information to tourists as to the various scenes of beauty on the lake” (6). He goes on to declare: “young countries like New Zealand are often wanting in the historic interest associated with so many of the sights of Europe. This is not because New Zealand has no history, but because the guide-books fail to touch upon it” (7). Thus, the land

might be invested with a history through the stories “gathered together in the following pages” (7). “In effect”, Gibbons surmises, “Smith is saying that Maori lore, disseminated through print, could be utilized to make the Pakeha feel ‘at home’”(62). As Nicholas Thomas points out in connection with the recent revival of Australian interest in Aboriginal Dreamtime, dominant white cultures move from one form of exploitation to another – not content with taking the land, colonial and neo-colonial agents appropriate indigenous mythology in the hope it will somehow naturalise them to it.

The discussion of *the bone people* by Keri Hulme in Chapter Six highlights the contemporary debate over Pākehā attempts to acquire a unique New Zealand national identity via their appropriation of Māori mythology.

The Legacy of European Transcriptions of Māori Mythological Traditions.

In many ways, Pākehā transcriptions of Māori mythology had a negative impact on Māori culture. When once-sacred Māori beliefs were put into print and widely circulated, Māori knowledge which had previously been transmitted through tightly controlled cultural protocol, was desacralised. In the transformation from oral narrative to print media much original meaning, structure and emphasis was lost. Either unconsciously or consciously, European cultural influences impinged on texts during the recording process and Māori material was manipulated. Some of the “mistakes” in translation and the more outlandish European theories cast over Māori via incorrect interpretation of mythology and traditions were later corrected by Māori scholars such as Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). However, during the first half of the twentieth century Māori mythology was frequently treated by Pākehā authors and publishers with little serious regard. The *School Journal* printed extracts of Māori myths as though they were fantastical fairytales, made up by a race of people who existed long ago. Any historical and social relevance was omitted. Antony Alpers comments in his preface to *Māori Myths and Tribal Legends* (1964) on the tendency of Pākehā ethnologists to reduce Māori mythology to “pallid fantasy”. He accuses its accompanying illustrations of degrading Polynesian gods and heroes to “a tribe of ludicrous hobgoblins, or brownies prancing about in the forest earning bushcraft badges”. He goes on to state:

In this way we ensure that the stories can give no real impression of the lives and culture of those whose literature they originally were – and whose own children, of course, were brought up on them. What is worse though, we destroy the essence of the myth: we destroy its religious sense. Which is perhaps what we unconsciously intend: the people were savages, with no religion. (6)

As late as 1970, A.W. Reed published a collection of Māori myths titled *Maori Fairy Tales*.

The tendency to focus on the mythological aspect of Māori culture as opposed to, say, its economic or social structures, highlights the particular choice on the part of Pākehā to represent Māori culture in a certain way. Emphasis on mythical and mystical elements contributed to romantic representations of Māori as “primitive” other and thus implied the inverse that economics and scientific rationalism were attributes of the Pākehā subject. Any links envisaged between Europeans and Māori were made by ethnologists between present Pākehā society and past Māori culture rather than between contemporary Pākehā and contemporary Māori. Colonial discourse maintained the Eurocentric assumption that Māori could, and would, successfully assimilate into contemporary Pākehā society, but rarely did the proponents of such a theory ever register the destructive consequences of colonisation on contemporary Māori. The men of the Polynesian Society subscribed in theory to colonisation of Māori without paying attention to its practical implications. Tregear and his colleagues had no time for “the degraded Natives who hang about our towns” who “have little of the appearance or the character of the true Maori” (Tregear quoted in Gibbons 60).

The proposition that an over-emphasis on mythological traditions distracts attention away from Māori economic, social and political concerns is one currently advocated by Alan Duff. Chapter Eight explores Duff’s adversarial stance against Māori and Pākehā who continue to focus on Māori mythology and spirituality rather than face what he views as more pressing issues of Māori social and economic underachievement. Duff’s derision of Māori mythology stands in stark contrast to Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme’s promotion of it as the corner-stone of a powerful pan-Māori voice.

Pākehā manipulations of Māori oral traditions have resulted in new intellectual mythologies, which Māori politicians and writers have used to Māori advantage. Although dismissive of the mythology of Io, Sir Peter Buck supported the story of the Great Fleet. Sir Apirana Ngata proposed that the 600 year anniversary of the arrival of the fleet in New Zealand be celebrated in 1950. This proposition stressed the length of time Māori had been in the country compared to that of the Europeans who celebrated the centennial signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1940. As Simmons showed in his book *The Great New Zealand Myth*, Māori oral traditions do contain references to several canoes setting sail from Hawaiki at the same time even if they do not mention a Great Fleet of vessels. The acceptance (or “counter-signing”) of the story of the fleet by Māori, and in particular by Māori politicians such as Buck and Ngata, and later by writers such as Ihimaera and Hulme, is not a capitulation to Pākehā “inventions” of Māori history; rather, it is a development of their own traditions in a political and cultural strategic direction. The very homogeneity subscribed to Māori by Pākehā is adapted in this case to unite Māori in a shared history, giving them political strength against the Pākehā. The narrative of the Great Fleet is unique in that it enables tribes to retain their individual histories and traditions at the same time as sharing in the pan-Māori migration from Hawaiki. This may account for some of the story’s popularity. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, Ihimaera uses the myth to bolster tribal and pan-Māori identity in *The Matriarch*.

Conclusion

By transcribing Māori mythology, European politicians, ethnologists and missionaries attempted to understand the fundamental tenets of Māori culture for a variety of different reasons. Although the transcription process did aid the process of colonisation it also illustrates the degree of cultural integrity retained by Māori throughout the most turbulent period in New Zealand race relations. The written records gave Māori tradition a place within the discourse of New Zealand history and in the conceptual process of New Zealand nationalism. Peter Gibbons notes the intractable nature of this move: “Once the indigenous people were located in the textual world as participants, and their traditions were accorded status within the discourse, they could not be erased” (61). A space for Māori inside the

discourse of New Zealand cultural politics had been created and this space, which seemed apparently marginal during the colonial period, has provided Māori writers such as Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme, with a degree of political leverage. Some contemporary issues surrounding Māori and Pākehā uses of Māori mythology are discussed in the next chapter in relation to Keri Hulme's novel *the bone people*.

CHAPTER SIX

“Te Ao Wairua; the Spiritual World”: Keri Hulme and *the bone people*

Part One: Māori Mythology and the Politics of Identity

Part One of this chapter begins with an overview of the ways in which Māori writers currently use Māori mythology to define their cultural identity. The focus then turns to Hulme’s specific use of Māori mythology and Māori cultural elements in *the bone people*. A synopsis of *the bone people* is followed by a description of the initial reception of the novel in New Zealand. The eager praise afforded the novel leads into a discussion of *the bone people* as a continuation of Pākehā construction and appropriation of Māori culture, which in turn opens up the debate regarding the authenticity of Hulme’s Māori identity and exactly “Who can write as Other?” Hulme’s attempt to resist Pākehā appropriation of Māori spirituality is discussed in the section “Prose Fiction Representations of Māori Mythology and Māori Beliefs”. Hulme acknowledges that a restoration of Māori cultural values in the present is necessarily a culturally collaborative act, and she sees strength, not weakness, in this project. This aspect of her work is discussed in relation to Rod Edmond’s article, “No Country for Towers” in the section titled “Acknowledging Cultural Diversity”.

This discussion of the novel in Part One prepares the ground for Part Two in that it provides the reader with an understanding of the narrative of *the bone people* and of the author’s personal perspective on race relations in New Zealand. As will be argued in Part Two, Hulme foregrounds Māori cultural elements and values within her work in order to raise an awareness of New Zealand’s Māori heritage, and to stress its importance to the health of the nation in the present, but she does this within a text that celebrates cultural diversity. Like Grace, her work promotes positive trans-cultural communication, not the re-establishment of binary oppositions and unequal power structures.

Māori Use of Māori Mythology

The publication of books about, or pertaining to, Māori mythology increased during the 1980s. Undoubtedly, one of the primary reasons for the publication of this material was the desire on the part of Māori writers to inform/educate both Māori and Pākehā in the cultural ways of the Māori. Mythology takes a reader straight to the heart of Māori cultural vision. Cultural concepts of time, the

relation of humankind to the environment, social relationships, and moral values are embedded within the myths. The Māori creation story is a key element in both *The Matriarch* and *Potiki* because it explains the relationship between the Māori and the land, which drives the narrative action. Ihimaera's use of specific oral narratives that contain mythical allusions to Māui and Tawhaki also illustrates how Māori use mythology to delineate tribal identity. By incorporating the myths into their fiction, Māori writers assert the place of mythology, and the cultural identity that goes with it, both in literature and in New Zealand art in general.

Whereas Pākehā ethnologists during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used Māori mythology in a way that stressed similarities between the Māori and Europeans in order to make European assimilation of Māori indigeneity possible, Māori writers use mythology to assert cultural difference. The anthropologist Allan Hanson proposes that contemporary Māori actively define themselves in opposition to Pākehā culture as a means of promoting political and cultural strength. Part of this process involves a re-appropriation of the attributes accorded to the Māori people by early European ethnographers. Hanson remarks:

If Maoris have always been willing to accept any qualities of racial greatness that Pakeha scholars might attribute to them, it was not so much to believe themselves worthy of assimilation into the White population and culture as it was to bolster a sense of their own ethnic distinctiveness and value.
(893)

Recent Māori movements “stress the unique contribution that Maori culture has made to national life” (Hanson 894). To do this they focus on those aspects of Māoritanga that contrast with Pākehā culture, and particularly with those elements of Pākehā culture that are least attractive. Hanson summarises the standard binary oppositions that circulate through the discourse of cultural politics in New Zealand. It is worth quoting Hanson in full because the relationship he depicts between the two cultures helps to describe the atmosphere out of which *the bone people* was written:

In New Zealand as in the United States, human relations among Pakehas are often thought to lack passion and spontaneity; the Pakeha approach to

things is detached and coldly rational; Pakehas have lost the appreciation for magic and the capacity for wonder or awe inspired by the unknown; Pakeha culture is out of step with nature – it pollutes the environment and lacks a close tie with the land.

Maori culture is represented as the ideal counterbalance to these Pakeha failings. Maoris cherish the dead, speaking to them and weeping freely over open caskets, while Pakehas mute the mourning process and hide the body from sight [...]. The Maori has a “close, spiritual relationship with the land”; he “loved his land and identified with it perhaps more closely than any other race” (Sinclair 1975: 115). Maori thought appreciates the mystical dimension and transcends reason [...]. (894)

The way that Māori museum pieces were displayed in the *Te Maori* and *Toanga Maori* exhibitions in the 1980s illustrates how Māori have inverted colonialist stereotypes and reproduced the idea of essential difference to promote their culture as embodying everything that is lacking in Pākehā society. The exhibitions were shrouded in mysticism, most prominent during the dawn ceremony. Nicholas Thomas describes how material in the *Taonga Maori* exhibition was associated with “a stable, authentic and radically different social universe that is characterized particularly by its holism, archaism and spirituality” (*Colonialism’s Culture* 184). Both *Te Maori* and *Taonga Maori* helped to raise the profile of Māori culture within New Zealand and abroad.

It is not just Māori who advocate positive “Māori” values in contrast to negative “Pākehā” ones. Many liberal minded Pākehā support calls for a renegotiation of New Zealand identity that is more in keeping with Māori cultural beliefs. This type of cultural patronage is discussed by Steve Webster in his book *Patrons of Maori Culture*. Generally, Webster argues that some contemporary Pākehā (much like European settlers in the nineteenth century) desire to gain a new postcolonial identity via Māoriness, and therefore they support the Māori cultural revival. This process is, however, often superficial and discursive and does not result in any improvement in Māori social, political, or economic conditions. Thomas has drawn attention to similar examples of neo-colonial sponsorship of indigenous cultures in Australia and America. However, he suggests that whereas those former settler colonies, where white patronage

continues to be connected with assumptions that the indigenous people have succumbed to “fatal impact”, or will soon, patronage of Māori culture in New Zealand can be used to a greater advantage by Māori because it is linked with the promotion of contemporary Māori political issues. Thomas writes:

The example of Aotearoa New Zealand reinforces the argument that there is a new appropriative dynamic of nationalized indigenous identity, but would undermine the view that this is no more than a further tactic of white dominance. (183).

A problem occurs, therefore, over the interpretation of the motives behind the publication of, and the public interest in, Māori mythology. When authors (Pākehā or Māori) use Māori material, is it to promote Māori cultural difference and political concerns or are their representations still trapped within the dominant Pākehā ideological framework? Exactly how “Māori” are the “Māori elements” of novels such as *The Matriarch*, *Potiki* and *the bone people*? This question has sparked debate in popular and critical responses to Hulme’s novel.

***the bone people* – A Synopsis**

the bone people is oriented around a central concern; the lack of spirituality in contemporary New Zealand. It is a story about a part Māori Pākehā woman, Kerewin Holmes, and a part Pākehā Māori man, Joseph Gillayley, who have both lost touch with the Māori side of their identity. Kerewin tells Joe that “the best part” of her (her Māori side) has “got lost” in the way she lives (62). Kerewin has won the lotto and built herself a tower by the sea. She is cut off from her family for reasons that are never entirely explained, although it is apparent there has been an argument in which some harsh words were exchanged. The loss of spirituality and family is accompanied by her loss of artistic ability. She is lonely and listless and fills her days with fishing, drinking and sleeping.

Joe has also lost connection with his Māoritanga. He lives a Pākehā lifestyle, working in a poorly paid factory job to pay the rent and raise his family. His wife and child die of influenza and he is left to bring up the difficult young foster child he and his wife took on. The child, Simon Peter, is unusual looking and mute. He has a fiery temper and is often in trouble with the local police. Joe can not raise the child alone, but he refuses help from his extended Māori family.

He drinks too much and frequently takes his aggression out on the small boy. Simon is a resilient character who believes that if Joe and Kerewin form a relationship both will be much happier and Joe will stop beating him. This goal is achieved, but nearly at the cost of his own life, as it is only after a brutal beating from Joe that the three characters begin to find a way towards each other and a peaceful future.

Joe and Kerewin undergo personal journeys where they are rescued from near-death experiences. After completing his prison sentence for beating Simon, Joe ventures out into the bush where he meets a wise Māori kaumātua who says he has been waiting his whole life for him to come. The man makes Joe the guardian of an ancient mauri stone. This is a magical object believed by the old man to possess a spiritual life force. Through this encounter Joe is reconnected to his Māoritanga and he discovers that there are more positive ways to live his life than in anger. After the kaumātua dies (now that his task of passing on the guardianship rights has been fulfilled), an earthquake dislodges the mauri from its hiding place and Joe decides to take it with him when he returns to visit Kerewin in her new home. The mauri then sinks back into the ground.

When Simon is taken into foster care and Joe sent to prison, Kerewin falls sick from cancer. She dismantles her tower and travels to the McKenzie country where her family own a small hut. She refuses all medical help, and it appears to be her intention to die in the hut. Whilst in a state of delirium, she encounters a spirit being who helps cure her from cancer and, after a number of dreams in which her Māori ancestors beckon her to embrace the land and the community, she begins to rebuild the marae at Moerangi and her own home in accordance with Māori social and spiritual values. She starts to accept a greater degree of social responsibility and agrees to give her “name” to Simon – presumably as an adoptive parent. The new house she builds is in the shape of a shell and represents her idea of “commensalism” – a model in which people can be both individuals and part of a community. She is reunited with her family and at the close of the novel Simon, Joe and herself, stand together beside the place where the mauri has returned to the land. There is a feeling of optimism as the three characters face the new dawn.

The Initial Reception of *the bone people*

The bone people was greeted in New Zealand with a rapturous reception. It was, as Mark Williams writes in his essay on Keri Hulme in *Leaving the Highway*, “the literary success story of 1984” (84). Williams states that the novel was viewed as a homegrown “classic” born out of the “soil and air of Aotearoa” (85). In a *Listener* review of the novel in 1984 Joy Cowley praised the “flowering of a talent which had not been transplanted from the northern hemisphere, which owed nothing to the literary landscapes of Europe or the film sets of California, but which would grow – seed, shoot, roots and all – from the breast of Papa” (60). She felt that the book represented New Zealanders as they really are: “the pages are textured with the rough and smooth of our own being [...]. We are the bone people” (60). Cowley applauds the fluidity of Hulme’s presentation of changing emotional states and the range of multicultural experiences displayed in the text. For Cowley, everything in the novel has “the feeling of rightness” from the credibility of the characters to the “large chunks of description” (60).

A second review of the novel, printed alongside Cowley’s, is written by Arapera Blank. Like Cowley, Blank lavishes praise upon the novel. She claims it has “the preciousness of a piece of ‘kurau pounamu’”, and that it pulsates with “the rhythm of the sea around us that is Aotearoa” (60). Where Cowley registers the book as a text that “has given us – us”, implying the whole of postcolonial New Zealand inclusive of its Māori and Pākehā elements (Cowley herself is Pākehā), Blank interprets the novel in particularly Māori terms. She feels that the oral and emotional quality of the work “reverberate[s] with the music and drama of the marae that is oratory, the waiata, and the pounding feet of the haka” (60). Like Cowley, she responds on an emotional level to the novel, and has nothing but praise for its author.

The favourable opinion of *the bone people* was enhanced by reports of its romantic struggle against the odds to find a publisher. Mark Williams succinctly summarises the story which grew around the novel:

A myth quickly gathered around the book: that it had been rejected repeatedly by short-sighted, probably unconsciously racist publishers, unable to recognise a work of native genius when it presented itself. (*Leaving* 85)

The principal exponents of this myth (aside from Hulme herself) were Miriama Evans and Elizabeth Webby.

Miriama Evans was one of the three women involved in the Spiral publication of *the bone people*. In her article, "Politics and Maori Literature" Evans discusses the contemporary hostility of established publishing houses to literature by Māori writers. She notes how Patricia Grace was challenged for her experiments with language by Pākehā reviewers and claims that *the bone people* "was rejected by several publishing houses as simply too unorthodox" (41). For Evans, *the bone people* is a politically significant text because it challenges monocultural publishing houses which have hitherto marginalised Māori literature within New Zealand.

In her article in *Meanjin*, Elizabeth Webby recounts the publication history of *the bone people* indicating her personal commitment to, and belief in, Hulme's literary capabilities. Webby writes about the search for a publisher and suggests the resistance encountered by the novel came about because of its "length", its "feminism" and its "Maoriness". She relates the process by which the Spiral collective gathered funds and struggled to print and proof read the novel. The less than perfect result, those copies of *the bone people* with "misprints", "lack of uniformity", "linking and margin" errors and inconsistent type set, are prophesied by Webby to "become collectors pieces". Webby appears to be ware of the "romantic" nature of her tale, but this does not prevent her drawing further "happy coincidences" between the novel's themes and structure and its eventual publishers:

Three women, Maori and Pakeha, publish a novel which argues that biculturalism is fundamental to the future of New Zealand. The novel, rejected by monocultural publishers, is a huge success. (17)

In 1985 *the bone people* won the Pegasus Prize for Māori Literature. Later the same year Hulme stepped into the international limelight when the novel received the Booker McConnell Prize. The favourable views of New Zealand critics appeared to have been vindicated. However, Hulme's reception of the Booker Prize sparked a greater degree of critical interest in the novel and the

reviews that followed were more probing and less approving than the previous ones.

***the bone people* Read as a Continuation of Pākehā Construction and Appropriation of Māori Culture.**

In September 1985 Simon During published an article in *Landfall* titled “Postmodernism or Postcolonialism?” in which he discusses the cultural orientation and literary composition of *the bone people*. He identifies how the formulation of identity in a postcolonial era is a problem for both the postcolonised and the postcolonisers:

[...] the crisis of postcolonialism is not just a crisis for those who bore the burden of imperialism: who have seen the destruction of their modes of production, the de-privileging of their language and the mutilation of their culture. It is also a crisis for those who have been agents of colonialism and, who, once colonisation itself has lost its legitimacy, find themselves without strong ethical and ideological support. (370)

During proposes that in New Zealand the postcolonising agents have turned to the postcolonised as a means of constructing a new identity for themselves. He suggests that New Zealand is unique in its position as a country in which there is a degree of “equilibrium” between these two forces. During is careful to acknowledge that political, social and economic disparities still exist between the two races, the Pākehā retaining the greater power, but suggests that in as far as what can be called “discursive politics”, “the comparative strength of the two communities is, if anything, overturned” (370). “New Zealand”, writes During, “is inevitably coming to know itself in Maori terms” (370). He goes on to explain:

The asymmetry between socio-economic/political and ideological power is a result of the indirection, illegitimacy and emptiness of postcolonising discourses. Postcolonised needs and self-images come to dominate in the absence of postcolonising voices; though, no doubt they undergo profound mutations in the process. (370-371)

During proposes that *the bone people* provides an illustration of this process. He writes:

[...] it [*the bone people*] desires a postcolonial identity given to it in Maoriness. The heroine, in rebuilding a marae, the hero, in guarding the remnants of the sacred ships of the tribe, heal their alienations by contact with a precolonial culture. (373)

However he goes on to say that, “against its own wishes” the text fails to assert the centrality of the Māori elements because of its modernist structure. He states:

Maori culture is absorbed and controlled by its profoundly Occidental narratives. And the text’s index – which is not at all external to the work – finishes this appropriation of the precolonial by translating the Maori words into English and thus allowing them no otherness within its Europeanising apparatus. (373-374)

Hulme’s attempt to synthesise a new postcolonial identity out of the postcolonised and postcolonising elements in New Zealand fails in During’s opinion because through its Eurocentric structures the text destroys the otherness it seeks to promote. During suggests that the “the book’s rapturous reception owes more to the desire of New Zealand to see a reconciliation of its postcolonising and postcolonised discourses than it does to either close reading of the text itself, or an examination of the book’s cultural political effects” (374). Failure to look too closely at the cultural politics of the novel may imply an initial reluctance to face up to the possibility that New Zealand’s postcolonial identity is anything but natural, spontaneous, or culturally harmonious. Rather, it is a complicated negotiation of political discourses in which power relationships between Māori and Pākehā continue to revolve and evolve.

C.K. Stead, Mereana Mita, Mark Williams, Ruth Brown and Rod Edmond, (to name but a few literary critics), agree that the novel seeks to construct a postcolonial New Zealand identity based on “Māoriness”. However there is widespread disagreement as to exactly how central the Māori elements are to the novel and its concluding vision. Doubt over the legitimacy of the Māori material has also been cast – the question being how far cultural “mutations” have erased

the Māori vision and replaced it (consciously or unconsciously) with a predominantly Pākehā perspective.

In her article titled “Maori Spirituality as Pakeha Construct” in *Meanjin* in 1989, Ruth Brown reads *the bone people* as offering a “metaphysical palliative” for western culture. The spirituality represented in the novel is non-threatening and requires little commitment:

When Joe suggests that destruction of the land has gone so far that the whole order of the world would have to change for the spirit to be revived, the kaumatua dismisses these fears. “Eternity is a long time,” he says comfortably. “Everything changes, even that which supposes itself to be unalterable. All we can do is look after the precious matters which are our heritage, and wait, and hope.” “Stolid educated middleclass people” [...] can be comfortable with a spirituality that asks them merely to wait, hope and preserve some undefined “precious matters” – perhaps by subscribing to a Maori heritage museum? (252-253)

Brown goes on to suggest that the character of Joe “becomes the paradigm of the Westerner’s Maori – exorcised of all demons (including the desire to be anything other than a factory worker) and patiently awaiting the restoration of the spirit of the land.” Joe fits “docilely into place as a worker within the capitalist system; existing material practices go on unimpeded” (253). Brown believes Māori have been represented by Pākehā in colonial discourse as spiritually oriented as a means of “ignoring or underplaying Maori involvement in entrepreneurial enterprises, so paving the way for continuing colonialist domination” (257). *The bone people*, by extension, draws on the same Pākehā-constructed ideas of Māori spirituality and in doing so, produces in art a representation of Māori holism that is unsubstantiated by material life (Brown “Contextualising Maori writing” 83-88). Pākehā attempts to record and acquire Māori spirituality have turned it into a “simulacrum”; another marketable object. *The bone people* is, in Brown’s opinion, just one more piece of merchandise.

Brown’s reading of *the bone people* as offering a comforting myth of New Zealand race relations to its Pākehā readers is supported by Mark Williams in his discussion of the novel in *Leaving the Highway*. Williams identifies a “romantic

base” in Hulme’s narrative, which displays “resistance to a world in which the old “natural” bonds between humans and between humans and things, have been replaced by “artificial” bonds of money and machinery” (93). He believes Hulme looks towards pre-European New Zealand as a “shining land” in which these bonds still exist and he points out the irony of Hulme’s projection backwards into prehistory of the “familiar settler myth of New Zealand as a possible Eden” (96). Williams contends that it is present Māori spiritual reality – which tries to trace its origins back to this pre-contact Māori order – that gives New Zealand its distinct national identity; it “is what saves New Zealand from being merely another former British colony being formed in the image of American consumer capitalism.” (97). Thus, the supernatural links to the old Māori spiritual order which form the core of Hulme’s vision for New Zealand’s present and future identity are dramatised in the novel in order to accentuate this message. In Williams’s opinion, Hulme is asking the reader to affirm a form of “mystical nationalism” (102). He feels this concept appeals to Pākehā readers as it allows them to “feel at home in New Zealand by expelling from consciousness all those qualities associated with rationality that prevent the anguished postcolonial subject from fully empathising with the people his or her ancestors displaced and the land they made their own” (102). In this analysis Williams illustrates what Ruth Brown has termed the consoling Pākehā-oriented nature of Hulme’s Māori spirituality.

Who Can Write as Māori?

In his article on *the bone people* in *Ariel* in October 1985 C.K. Stead suggested that the novel won the Pegasus Prize because it “touches a number of currently, or fashionably, sensitive nerves” – in other words, the Pākehā desires to appear open to “Māoriness” (Māori spirituality in particular) regardless, in Stead’s opinion, of the quality of the work (102). Stead questions both the “Māoriness” of the novel and the authenticity of Hulme’s claim to be Māori. He takes task with the criteria of the Pegasus competition: why, he asks, was poetry excluded? Why was the Māori language not insisted upon? Why were the literary forms of novel and autobiography a prerequisite rather than “traditional” Māori genres? (103). Furthermore, he wonders why a “special award for a Maori writer” is needed at all

considering that Māori writers “compete successfully for government grants and literary awards”. He questions exactly what makes a “Maori writer” and concludes that Hulme’s traceable one eighth inheritance of Māori blood does not qualify her to claim Māori identity (103). “*the bone people*,” writes Stead, “is a novel by a Pakeha which has won an award intended for a Maori” (104).

Stead’s comments on Hulme’s cultural identity have provoked further discussion over the politics of identity in New Zealand. As Margery Fee puts it, he raises the question of exactly “who can write as other”. In her 1989 article about *the bone people* Fee responds to Stead’s analysis of Hulme’s right to accept the Pegasus Prize as a Māori writer. Fee asks two questions: “how do we determine minority group membership?”, and “can majority group members speak as minority members?” (“Who Can Write as Other?” 11). She considers Stead’s concern over indigenous speaking rights to be worthy of address because:

[...] the figure of the indigene has been appropriated for so long and for so many exploitative purposes having little or nothing to do with indigenous well-being, that we must be highly suspicious of the motive behind texts that use indigenous themes and characters. (12)

The tenor of her article supports Hulme’s right to speak as Māori, but Fee acknowledges certain debatable issues that surround the writer’s position.

Fee points out that “fairly widespread agreement exists in the academic community that the biological contribution to race, gender and class difference is highly negligible: these differences are, rather, strongly rooted social constructs” (13). Nevertheless, a person’s genetic inheritance does influence attitudes and social position. “Thus”, writes Fee, “although biology may not, in theory, be destiny, one’s socialization is to a large degree posited on one’s visible [...] minority features” (13).

Keri Hulme does not look obviously Māori. Through the semi-autobiographical character of Kerewin, Hulme acknowledges the problems even within the Māori community caused by this discrepancy between appearance and identification:

[...] the brown faces stare at her with bright unfriendly eye [...].

As always, she wants to whip out a certified copy of her whakapapa, preferably with illustrative photographs (most of her brother, uncles, aunts, and cousins on her mother's side, are much more Maori looking than she is) [...]. (112)

The ambiguity of Hulme's own appearance matches the ambiguous nature of her socialisation as Māori. In interviews Hulme stresses the parts of her childhood spent in Okarito and Moeraki with her extended Māori family as opposed to her years in Christchurch. For Fee, to make socialisation the criterion for minority group membership seems to Fee to be a dubious concept. If this were the case, any "white" writer could claim to socialise themselves into a particular indigenous group and write from a position which opens the way for what Fee calls "facile exploitation of indigenous material" (15).

In Keri Hulme's case the situation is complicated because as Fee points out "she has Maori ancestry" and is "accepted as Maori by the Maori literary community and readership, and by many Pakeha" (16). Hulme has not concealed her European heritage, and Fee argues that "if those who gave her the Pegasus Award had wanted to exclude her on the basis of her white ancestry, they could easily have done so" (16).

Responding to Stead's argument that Hulme was not brought up speaking Māori (and by implication was not, therefore, even socialised as Māori), Fee points to the legacy of colonisation, and argues that "for a member of a majority culture to try to deprive anyone of an indigenous identity just because of the success of this sort of program of cultural obliteration is ironic at best" (17). Few Māori people of Hulme's generation would have grown up speaking Māori. Patricia Grace and Witi Ihimera have had to learn the language and it is therefore unreasonable to expect them to write fully in Māori. Hirini Melbourne and Merata Mita agree with Stead that Māori language must be used in texts which are classed as Māori literature. Most Māori critics agree that more Māori language texts need to be produced in New Zealand, however they realise that this is not always possible or desirable. Literature by Māori writers written predominantly in English has been accepted as reflecting the predicament of the authors. One of the principal aims of literature written by Māori has been to educate non-Māori about

Māori culture. Until more Pākehā begin to learn te reo, this purpose is best served by writing in the English language.

Fee considers that Stead's insistence that the Pegasus Award for Māori literature should have gone to a work written in a traditional Māori form is a demand for "authenticity" which denies "Fourth world" writers a "living, changing culture". "For Stead", writes Fee, "the function of the Maori work of literature is to preserve the past, not to change the future" (17). On the other hand, Fee suggests that Hulme's own definition of Māori identity is "too liberal" because it concludes that if one feels Māori, "by heart, spirit and inclination", then one *is* (*the bone people* 62). This liberal definition of identity could lead to a profusion of "inauthentic" texts: "I may feel Maori, I may think I am writing as one, and be completely deluded" (Fee 18). Cultural authenticity in the present must be thought of as something relative and context bound.

Prose Fiction Representations of Māori Beliefs and Mythical Elements.

Contemporary understandings of "Māori" and "Pākehā" have evolved in relation to each other. They are not, and never have been, fixed categories. This is not to say that each culture does not possess certain traits, traditions and values which can be viewed as distinct to that group. However, as mentioned in the earlier chapters, "tradition" can be considered as a contemporary interpretation of the past, rather than as something passively received. Culture is continually being "recreated" in the present, and "to admit that cultural transmission is creative is not to undermine the reality or the legitimacy of modern cultural identities" (Linnekin 152). In this understanding of culture it is accepted that modern culture (be it Māori, English, Irish) is not, and can not be, the same as it was centuries before. Thus, Māori culture today is still Māori, but it is different to pre-colonial times.

Both *The Matriarch* and *the bone people* are consciously intertextual, and both, to some degree, rewrite literary and historical material for their own purposes. Hulme has mentioned in an interview with Harry Ricketts reading A.W. Reed's retellings of Māori legends at school (19). Ihimaera actually refers to S. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best by name in *The Matriarch*. Williams suggests that there is nothing unusual about Hulme or Ihimaera using these sources because

all writers, to some extent, are influenced by the literature that preceded them. In Hulme's case he suggests that she has had to learn about the Māori culture through books because it is not, in Kerewin's words, hers by "blood, flesh and inheritance". Even Ihimaera, whose Māori identity has never been questioned, is self-taught in Māori history and Māori language through books written by both Māori and Pākehā. As Williams states, there is not a pure, unmediated, direct link back to the source of Māori culture. What is important, however, is the way in which these authors use the material in their novels (*Leaving* 100).

Both Hulme and Ihimaera dramatise the myth of the Great Fleet as it works to substantiate their claims that the Māori have historical and moral rights to New Zealand. In each story an ancient canoe arrives in New Zealand carrying a sacred mauri. In an article written for a conference in 1977, Hulme gives three definitions of mauri:

1. Life principle, thymos of Man.
2. Source of the emotions.
3. Talisman, a material symbol of the hidden principle protecting vitality, *mana*, fruitfulness. ("Mauri: An Introduction to Bicultural Poetry in New Zealand" 290)

These definitions are taken from *A Dictionary of the Māori Language*, edited by Henry Williams and Dr. Pei Te Hurunui Jones. Hulme goes on to explain that:

In the old days a *mauri* might be a stick or a stone, carven or in its natural state. They could be trees or rocks, but whatever they were, they were potent conditionally. Time, and the person interacting with the *mauri*, determined its potency. (290)

In *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori*, Best remarks that "[d]eep-sea voyagers apparently carried a mauri of their vessel with them" (34). In Best's words, the material of the mauri was regarded as "an abiding place of the gods" (35). The mauri represented in *the bone people* and *The Matriarch* are primarily talismans (Hulme's third definition of mauri, although aspects of one and two also apply) that house gods or spiritual forces. According to Māori mythology, they were brought to New Zealand by the canoes that made the voyage across the ocean from Hawaiki.

Both Hulme and Ihimaera retell the story of the Great Fleet. In *The Matriarch*, Ihimaera is explicit. In her narration of the history of the Takitimu canoe, the matriarch tells Tamatea that:

[...] it is said that others of the seven legendary canoes were ready for the exodus at the same appointed hour and that, when the tide was at its fullness and making deep the channel between lagoon and open sea, *Takitimu* was joined by these other waka. Perhaps *Tainui* or *Te Arawa*, or *Maataatua*. Otherwise, *Kurahaupo* or *Tokomaru*. (259-260)

In Ihimaera's novel, the Takitimu canoe is said to have carried a "cargo of gods" in a "crystalline" altar that emits light and this can be interpreted as the vessel's mauri. When the altar is lifted by the priests, "all the tipua, the unseen escorts, the great beasts of earth and sky and sea" come to attend it, and there is an earthquake (261). On arriving in the new land the, "mauri, the life-giving spirit", is implanted "into the body of the land", and the Takitimu canoe is eventually swallowed up into the sides of a gorge (271).

In *the bone people* Tiaki Mira, the kaumātua, tells Joe that the precious object he guards is "a stone that was brought on one of the great canoes" (363). The stone is home to the "mauriora" and is watched over by a "little god". Joe says he has seen such objects in museums and describes them as "pierced stones and old wooden sticks where the gods were supposed to live. Where the vital part of a thing was supposed to rest" (364). The stone the kaumātua watches over is referred to as a "godholder" and the spiritual force it is said to contain is the "heart of Aotearoa", the "country's soul" (370). It has been buried in the ground for hundreds of years and the power of the mauri is fading. When Joe queries why the land around where the mauri is hidden is not flourishing the kaumātua tells him that the mauriora:

... despaired of us, remember. It is asleep [...] maybe its very sleep keeps the living things away, [...] Maybe we have gone too far down other paths for the old alliance to be reformed, and this will remain a land where the spirit has withdrawn. Where the spirit is still with the land, but no longer active. (370-371)

The mauri, which is the life-force of the land, is losing its power because it has been neglected. The kaumātua says that at a certain point in history the Māori people “changed” and “ceased to nurture the land”. “We fought amongst ourselves”, says Tiaki Mira, “we were overcome by those white people in their hordes. We were broken and diminished. We forgot what we could have been, that Aotearoa was the shining land” (364). The implication is that even before the arrival of the Pākehā the Māori had lost touch with the land, but greater blame is laid against the “white hordes” who made a “mess” of it. Against these odds the kaumātua’s tribe, and his grandmother in particular, secured and looked after the piece of land in which the mauri is buried. The latent power of the mauri is indicated by the descriptions of the pool in which it resides. Joe looks on the “pale green” water and reaches out to touch it. Immediately he snatches his hand out again when he feels an odd sensation, “like ten thousand tiny bubbles bursting on his skin, a mild electric current, and aliveness” (367). The description of the pool continues:

He notices that the water is not still at the far end of the pool. Fine tendrils, filaments of clearness, rise and meld with the pale green, like an ice-cube melting in whisky and spinning lucid threads into the surrounding colour. (367)

Tiaki Mira says that once he sang to the water in an attempt to make the little god and the mauri rise to the surface, but the water began to boil so he stopped. The mauri is evidently still alive.

After the kaumātua dies there is an earthquake and the mauri is brought to the surface. When Joe walks over to pick it up it is described as follows:

It’s a hump in the dusk, a round, a disk, a thing the size he could hold in his two spread palms. Settled on a broken-backed rock, balanced on the crack as though it had grown there. It looks very black or very green, and from the piercing, the hole in the centre, light like a glow-worm, aboriginal light. (384)

Joe expects the stone to be heavy, but when he lifts it he discovers that it is “light light light, no weight at all” (385). He feels an “ecstasy as he carries it, a buoying stream of joy that makes him want to shout and sing and dance” (385). He can see

“streamers and fields of brightness round everything” and “the very weeds and stones at his feet coruscate with brilliant fire” (385). As Joe holds the mauri he knows “as sure as the light that lives steadily in the stone” that he is going “home”. He takes the stone with him and replants it in the ground outside Kerewin’s new house. “It vanished completely” back into the earth, but its power can still be felt like “a sort of pricket and tremble” inside Joe, Kerewin and Simon (445).

As discussed in Chapter Two, Ihimaera uses layers of fantastical imagery conveyed through a dramatic prose style in his description of the journey of the Takitimu canoe in order to highlight the spiritual strength of the pre-European Māori world. Hulme uses a similar type of word-spinning in her description of the magical properties of the mauri stone. In his two articles, “Some Maori Versions of Pastoral” and “Aspects of Contemporary Maori Writing in English”, Ken Arvidson refers to both Ihimaera’s and Hulme’s style as “overwriting”, and suggests that, in their attempts to emphasise the special nature of the objects they describe, the authors use a literary style similar to that found in nineteenth century European romance.

Arvidson compares Hulme’s novel to Tennyson’s *Morte d’Arthur*. He notes the “feelings of wonder and awe” that suffuse Tennyson’s description of the sword Excalibur as it is returned to the Lady of the Lake, and suggests that the stylistic foregrounding of spirituality in Tennyson’s nineteenth century text is more evident than in medieval texts dealing with similar subjects. Arvidson proposes that as religious belief weakened in England between the medieval period and the nineteenth century, a “need for compensation for the unavailability of what are sometimes called the religious emotions” was created (“Aspects” 125) and writers such as Tennyson found they could fill this gap with the magical aura of romance. Similarly, Māori writers use “heightened language” to assert the survival of Māori spirituality and to stress its difference from the Judeo-Christian tradition. Māori spirituality is pervasive, not structurally hierarchical like Christianity, and this may account for some of the exuberance of the writing. “In a sacralized world”, writes Arvidson, “it requires some special pleading, a special tone of voice, to insist on the especially sacred character of a greenstone patu, for example, or a mauriora or a poupou” (“Aspects” 125-126). Arvidson does not

offer this explanation by way of justification of the “jarring stylist incongruities and excesses” in Hulme’s novel; rather, he proposes it as a “way of trying to understand what is going on when a characteristic air of strain appears and the writing becomes overheightened” (“Aspects” 126).

It is also possible to draw a comparison between the fantastical writing of Hulme and Ihimaera and the words used by the Māori prophets in the nineteenth century. The Pai māriri and Ringatū movements blended Māori and European religious discourses and used mystical prophecies and an aura of the supernatural to produce an atmosphere of spirituality that filled Māori cultural and political hunger. The movements stressed Māori spiritual links to the land – in both European and Māori terms – as do Ihimaera and Hulme. Just as the prophetic movements were met with incredulity on the part of many observers (mainly Pākehā), so are the more fantastical sections of Hulme and Ihimaera’s texts to contemporary readers. Like prophetic discourses and European romance, Hulme and Ihimaera’s novels emphasize a source of spirituality and mysticism against an increasingly secular social backdrop and highlight the creative endurance of the Māori imagination against the forces of colonisation.

Despite the insistence by Hulme and Ihimaera that the Māori spiritual world interacts with the human world, on an ordinary day-to-day basis, the particular events described above are treated as extraordinary. Unlike South American “magic realists” such as Marquez and Carpentier, who portray the supernatural as part of everyday life, Hulme and Ihimaera have chosen to demarcate it as something special and unusual. Those people who are aware of this spiritual plane are regarded as privileged and in the novels these people are generally Māori (although Simon in *the bone people* is an exception). Thus, Hulme and Ihimera emphasise Māori “appreciation for magic and the capacity for wonder or awe inspired by the unknown” (Hanson 894) in a Pākehā-dominated society that is out of kilter with spirituality. Hulme proposes that these are the very qualities which will save the “soul” of New Zealand.

In his article “Literary Constructions of Orality” Mark Williams proposes that Hulme uses dramatic “oral prose” for much the same reasons as she does spiritual “overwriting”. As in *Leaving the Highway*, Williams proposes that Hulme has conflated a romantic view of the world with pre-European Māori

spirituality as a means of resistance to the capitalist nature of contemporary Pākehā society. Spirituality distinguishes Māori from Pākehā, and in Williams's view, "we can readily interchange *spirituality* and *orality*" because, as he explains, "*orality* is a word which wears an aura; it is suggestive of spiritual connection to the land, to tradition, to community" ("Literary Constructions" 91). He identifies a "curious species of 'oral' tradition" that grew in the 1980s. This style of writing "figures forth the vanished organic order of wholeness and connection, in which humans were in touch with the land and the gods" via "an excessively dignified and highly formulaic prose" (91). He draws upon an example from *the bone people* to illustrate his point. The section used is part of the kaumātua's interior monologue:

I have watched the river and the sea for a lifetime. I have seen rivers rob soil from the roots of trees until the giants came foundering down. I have watched shores slip and perish, the channels silt and change; what was a beach become a swamp and a headland tumble into the sea. An island has eroded in silent pain since my boyhood, and reefs have become islands. Yet the old people used to say, People pass away, but not the land. It remains forever.

Maybe that is so. The land changes. The land continues. The sea changes. The sea remains. (336).

In this extract Hulme invests Tiaki Mira's speech with repetition, alliteration and a rhythmical beat to imbue it with a feeling of orality. Unlike Grace, Hulme tends not to insert Māori syntax into the English sentence structure. Tiaki tells Joe that until he was ten he was brought up speaking English, he even thought in English, and still can (359). From the age of ten his grandmother took care of him and as she was "one of the old people" presumably spoke to him in Māori. Tiaki, therefore, can speak both languages but uses English in conversation with Joe, because although Joe can partially speak Māori, his vocabulary is limited. As Tiaki relates the history of the mauri to Joe, his voice has a "hypnotic" effect; we are told that "the old fashioned phrases slide easily into Joe's ears" (361) despite the fact that the majority of the text we read is written in standard prose. Tiaki also states that he is glad Joe is Māori because it would be hard to explain things if he were European, but then proceeds to convey his information in English.

Through these comments it is clear that Hulme wants to encourage the reader to think of Tiaki as a traditional Māori kaumātua who, in his proximity to the old people, as evidenced through his old fashioned language and his “archaic moko”, is close to the spiritual core of Māori culture. This is further consolidated by his position as guardian of the mauri. Hulme outlines the depth of the kaumātua’s cultural allegiance whilst using the English language to convey to the non-Māori reader the properties of the spiritual force he guards.

Hulme’s use of Māori language in *the bone people* has provoked much criticism. Māori language is used in the novel in connection to mythology (Papa, Rangi, Rehua, Ponaturi, mauri); cultural concepts (aroha, utu); cultural artifacts (mere, pounamu); indigenous plants and animal life (ngaio, tutu, paua, kina, pupu); and proverbs (“Haere, mou tai ata, moku tai ahiahi”: “Go, the morning tide for you, the evening tide for me” 357). The Māori language is also used occasionally by Joe, Kerewin and Tiaki in conversation, most frequently when they wish to convey something of emotional significance. This usually takes the form of a personal address, for example, Joe addresses Kerewin as “E hoa” meaning friend, and Tiaki as “E pou”, an affectionate term of respect for an old person. Joe also uses Māori when he is excited (282) and when he is most thoughtful (228). The Māori ancestors in Kerewin’s dream welcome her on to the land in Māori (428) and she communicates with the spirit of the land at the old marae site in Moerangi in Māori (430). She asks a series of questions and is eventually rewarded with an answer:

[...] a great warmth flows into her. Up from the earth under her feet into the pit of her belly, coursing up like benevolent fire through her breast to the crown of her head. (430).

Thus, the Māori language is shown to be of a more emotional quality than English, and it is only through this language that one can communicate with the spirit of the land. The relationship between the language and the land appears to reinforce the special position Hulme advocates for Māori culture in New Zealand.

C.K. Stead criticised Hulme’s use of Māori language as being willed and self-conscious (Stead 104). The public promotion of Māori culture often involves a conscious use of te reo, which may appear willed in an environment that is not

yet comfortably bilingual, but this does not mean that its source is inauthentic. Nevertheless, Stead, amongst others, demands instant authenticity and ease of use. He reads the incorporation of a glossary at the end of *the bone people* as an indication of Hulme's contrived use of Māori. Simon During considers that the index, "which is not at all external to the work", finishes the appropriation of the "precolonial" elements within the novel by "translating the Maori words into English and thus allowing them no otherness within its Europeanising apparatus" (During, "Postmodernism or Postcolonialism?" 374). Indeed, the ending of Patricia Grace's novel *Potiki*, which closes with an untranslated Māori chant, appears culturally and politically more assertive than Hulme's inclusion of a glossary, but the latter's decision can also be read as politically motivated. In her article about *the bone people*, Maryanne Denver suggests that rather than marginalising the Māori language Hulme:

[...] inverts the conventional sense of privileging, the glossary forming the key into a restricted or privileged form of knowledge. ("Violence as Lingua Franca" 24)

From this perspective the Māori culture is neither consumed nor ignored by the English language. Hulme's intention seems to be to provide the non-Māori reader with access to Māori cultural material, not as a means of facilitating Māori assimilation into Pākehā, but in order to promote greater appreciation and understanding of Māori culture by Pākehā without negating Māori difference in the process.

Acknowledging Cultural Diversity

Rod Edmond, in his article "No Country for Towers", suggests that a retrieval of Māori culture, and the return to a healthier, more holistic lifestyle this implies, is demonstrated in *the bone people* to be a cross-cultural collaborative act (286). Simon is an outsider of unknown origins who precipitates Joe and Kerewin's reconnection with Māoritanga. Joe and Kerewin are of mixed descent. The mauri stone has been protected through a combination of Māori guardianship and Pākehā land laws. Edmond proposes that although Hulme advocates a return to the source of Māori cultural values, she does not confuse this with "a return to a

static, romanticised traditional order” (286). When the kaumatua passes guardianship of the mauri – the spirit of the land – over to Joe, both its strength and its vulnerability are evident. Edmond explains:

There is loss as well as continuity in handing on the guardianship. The kaumatua lacks the power of his grandmother to call the god and the mauri to the surface. Joe, in turn, lacks the power of the kaumatua to see his ancestors and to make the waters of the tarn boil (pp. 368-370). The soul of the land sleeps and the kaumatua wonders whether it will remain permanently withdrawn (pp. 370-1). There is no answer to this question. There is no going back. (287)

Edmond interprets the increasing weight of the mauri as Joe turns back to the cave where the grandmother’s bones are entombed as another sign that there is no way back to the past. Joe is propelled forwards, the mauri is taken to a new home outside Kerewin’s meeting house, where it again disappears. Edmond concludes:

The kaumatua’s question is left unanswered. The past is irrecoverable. Continuity is the life-stream of culture but its flow carries one away from the source. (287)

In *the bone people* Hulme establishes a postcolonial vision for New Zealand that is a combination of continuity with the past and flexibility for the future. Her vision is inclusive and based on the acceptance of difference and otherness. Edmond resists reading the ending of the novel as providing a comforting myth of race relations and emphasises the vulnerability of the newly formed community. “*The bone people*”, he writes, “ends with reconciliation and rebirth, but the cost of this has been enormous and the future is entirely open” (288). Although Hulme’s vision is optimistic it is not naïve. Through Tiaki Mira she expresses the concern that humankind may have gone too far in the direction of individualistic capitalism for a spiritual rebirth to take place (371). But, as Edmond writes, there is optimism at the end of the novel: “a hope based on possibility rather than assurance” (Edmond 285).

Edmond reads the Māori and Pākehā elements in the novel as being woven together in a complex relationship: “The novel as a whole explores and negotiates the tensions between otherness and isolation, between connection and

dispossession.” These issues form part of what Edmond regards as the deeper structure of the book: “one of wounding and healing, sickness and recovery”. It is this structure which, he continues, “holds together the personal and the mythic, individual and cultural identity, past and present” (278). In order to demonstrate how this deeper structure works in tandem with a multitude of cultural references within the text, Part Two provides a Jungian reading of the novel. The intention of this analysis is not to undermine the specificity of the Māori cultural elements, or even to deny their centrality, but to show how Hulme establishes a cross-cultural imaginative frame which aims to promote human integration *and* acceptance of difference.

Part Two: A Jungian Analysis of *the bone people*

By applying a Jungian framework to *the bone people* it is possible to explain the universal appeal of the novel, and to provide a better understanding of the novel's structure and the relationship between its cross-cultural references. The Jungian concept of the collective unconscious can be compared with Māori cultural understanding of time, procreation and the relationship of the individual to the group presented in the novel. Thus, Hulme combines psychology with mythology in order to stress the importance of psychological and spiritual well-being in the context of contemporary New Zealand. By broadening the personal experiences of the characters to the level of myth she projects the need for psychic, spiritual and social healing onto the New Zealand national psyche.

In an interview with Shona Smith, Hulme says that her approach to psychology is “more Jungian than Freudian” but she claims that she is not committed to either school of thought. She states that it was her “intention” to use Jung’s idea of the collective purpose of mankind in *the bone people*; that is the notion that one can function harmoniously as a social being while retaining one’s individuality (“Constructing The Author” 27). The novel makes it clear that individuals need to possess a well-rounded sense of themselves for healthy mental stability. The character of Kerewin who becomes imprisoned in her own solitude, illustrates how ineffectively humans live in isolation. Alternatively, Joe’s experiences show how a person can be prevented from functioning constructively if his/her sense of personal identity is diluted by the social role he/she plays. Joe’s monotonous factory job leaves him feeling like “a puppet in someone else’s play” (89). Hulme reinforces the need for a balance between individuality and community in her comments to Smith:

You cannot be, obviously, a total isolate and you have a responsibility as a communal person to be a constructive force rather than a destructive force.
 (“Constructing the Author” 27)

Hulme goes on to explain that traditionally, the Māori individual does not “make sense” apart from his or her “whanau”. She understands this to be the reason why other Māori writers (namely, Patricia Grace and Witi Ihimaera) “tend to work

from a ‘we’ perspective. It’s thoroughly Maori and thoroughly proper [...]” (“Constructing The Author” 27). The notion of whānaungatanga dominates Patricia Grace’s novel *Potiki*. The literary critic Judith Dell Panny explains that this Māori term implies the family ties and responsibilities uniting a group of relatives or friends in “loyalty, obligation, commitment, and inbuilt support systems” (18). It is this communal social system which Dell Panny believes has broken down in *the bone people*:

Joe does not accept the assistance of his extended family. Joe’s aunt and uncle, Marama and Wherahiko, wanted to care for Simon when Joe’s wife died, but the widower would not part with the boy. The result is anger and tension between Joe and his family for his failure to consider the welfare of Simon first. (18)

Hulme is aware that in modern New Zealand society, “people are now taught to be individuals and to see themselves apart [...] from the community”. Traditional, Māori collective identity, says Hulme, “can no longer work” (Smith, “Constructing the Author” 27). In reverse to the Māori “we”, “I” has often been associated with Pākehā individualistic social values which have come to dominate Māori communal ones. However, as mentioned earlier, Hulme partially resists this simple binary by having the kaumātua explain how Māori fought amongst themselves before the arrival of the Pākehā. In an interview with Diana Witchel, Hulme also validates individuality over an enforced communalism (21).

The project in *the bone people* appears to be the establishment of a new, harmonious balance between the “we” and “I” approaches to life, based largely upon the Jungian concept of a “collective purpose”. The construction of the new shell-shaped building (a communal home) around the old tower (a symbol of Kerewin’s isolation), and Kerewin’s idea of “commensalism” offer future living models in keeping with this aim. In contrast to the hopeful ending of *the bone people* which looks forward to a time of greater social harmony, the stories in *Te Kaihau* focus more on the dissolution of communal ties. Susan Ash believes *Te Kaihau* “demonstrates the defeat of the ‘we’ with the holocaust sinking of ‘o so many islands’ (240) in the title story” (134). The change in emphasis between the

two works may help explain the literary success of *the bone people* and the comparative silence over *Te Kaihau*.

Further parallels between Hulme's understanding of Māoritanga and Jungian psychology can be made in relation to the concept of the collective unconscious. Jung describes the collective unconscious as the deepest level of unconsciousness. In contrast to the personal unconscious, the contents of the collective unconscious are universal. Within the collective unconscious are pre-existent thought forms, called archetypes, which give form to certain psychic material that enters the consciousness through dreams, religious beliefs, myths and fairytales (*Collected Works* Vol. 9: 3-53). Jung defines myths as "the original revelations of the preconscious psyche" (*Essays on a Science of Mythology* 73). Myths do not merely represent life, they constitute "the psychic life of the primitive tribe, which immediately falls to pieces and decays when it loses its mythological heritage, like a man who has lost his soul" (*Essays* 73). Myths offer a link between the present world and the prehistoric. On this level they are a form of "tribal history handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth" (*Essays* 72). A tribal group that knows its mythology remains linked to its past. The recitation of whakapapa in Māori oratory is significant for the very same reason. Tribal whakapapa traces present-day human's descent from mythological figures such as Māui and Tawhaki back to the primordial parents Papatūānuku and Rangi-nui. In Jungian terms Māori tribal historians can be thought of as preserving Māori oral myths in order to remain in touch with the psychological thought processes of their ancestors, thus maintaining their spiritual links to the past. Hulme grants a similar role to the artist. She feels that she has access to a long and rich tradition of Māori mythology and history, this she says "privileges" her as it feeds instinctively into her work. She speaks of this as being, "a kind of ancestor's memory, or a collective unconscious, whatever you like to call it, but you can tap on it, you can draw on it and it's both good and a responsibility" (Alley 145). The artist, like the historian, can connect people with their past via myth.

The importance of the collective unconscious to *the bone people* is that it represents human continuity; it links the past to the future. It also represents communion between individuals, cultures and nations. Joe and Kerewin both

experience the process of “individuation” defined by Jung as a psychological development which leads to one becoming a “single, homogeneous being”. Jung explains further, “in so far as ‘in-dividuality’ embraces our innermost, last, and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one’s own self. We could therefore translate individuation as ‘coming to selfhood’ or ‘self-realization’”. (*Collected Works* Vol 7, 171). Jung proposes that on the psychic journey towards individuation a number of archetypal figures who inhabit the collective unconscious are encountered. These figures take on slightly different forms every time they appear, but they can be grouped into types which share underlying common characteristics (for example the mother figure, the wise old man or the trickster). In *the bone people* Simon plays the role of the child archetype who instigates Kerewin’s and Joe’s individuation process. As Kerewin’s and Joe’s experience of this process occurs simultaneously with their rediscovery of Māoritanga the archetypal figures that they encounter on their personal journeys towards selfhood are specifically Māori. The pair’s ultimate understanding of the interconnected nature of time, the conscious and the unconscious planes, the physical and the spiritual, the individual and the community are expressed through Māori symbols and concepts. Hulme has written a novel that is simultaneously “Māori” and universal.

Kerewin Holmes: The Cold Lady and Her Dreams of Disintegration

“Estranged from my family, bereft of my art, hollow of soul, I am a rock in the desert. Pointing nowhere, doing nothing, of no benefit to anything or anyone.”
(289)

Kerewin is a talented, wealthy woman who owns a home near the sea. She spends her days painting, fishing, cooking, playing the guitar and perusing her possessions. She is self-sufficient, an expert in martial arts, incredibly well read and articulates her thoughts with creativity and humour. However, despite appearing to have it “all”, Kerewin lives under the shadow of loss which she identifies variously as: the loss of “the best part” of herself – her Māoritanga (62); the loss of her painting ability – “I have everything I need, but I have lost the main part” (62); and the loss of family which she says has left a “hole in my heart”

(242). The result of this overpowering sense of loss is a retreat into despair, listlessness and moroseness.

In the chapter called “Feelers” Kerewin tries to paint a picture of a spider, but all she can produce are “tangles of lines” which scream out to her of “unjoy” and “misery” (63). She throws the picture against the wall and sinks into a state of “wooly despair”. The picture of the spider may represent two things. Firstly, as in *The Matriarch*, some Māori tribes believe that the spider is an indicator of spiritual forces. The fact that Kerewin can not draw this image is therefore in keeping with her loss of spirituality. Secondly, the spider is described by Kerewin as “spidery and shadowed, a remnant of dreams” (63). As a “shadow” trapped beneath a webbed network the image has parallels with the “shadow” archetype identified by Jung. For Jung, the shadow is composed of the dark elements of the personality, having an emotional and primitive nature which resists moral control (*Collected Works* Vol. 9.2: 8-10). Kerewin’s shadow represents the dark side of her nature and controls her more sinister thoughts displayed through her indulgence of “petty killing”, her “killer instinct” (190) and her cold mean streak which allows her to hope that Joe “knocks” Simon “sillier than he is now” for breaking her guitar (307). The shadow may also be linked to the inner voice Kerewin calls her “Snark”. This voice “comes into its own during depressions” (91) and is responsible for her negative self-image. Looking into a mirror Kerewin comments on her “little piggy eyes in a large piggy face” (289). Kerewin can not control the voice of the shadow/Snark because she has not yet confronted it properly. At this stage of the novel she does not have the strength to drag herself outside of her self-pity or overcome her self-alienation.

Kerewin’s tower is the first of many significant homes in *the bone people*. It is symbolic of her physical and emotional isolation: “Until late one February it stood, gaunt and strange and embattled, built on an almost island in the shallows of an inlet” (7). Kerewin lives alone amongst her spicejars, tapestries, and paintings, and never invites anyone into her home. Up the middle of the tower runs a spiral staircase wide enough for only one person. On the roof is a “stargazing platform”. However, rather than providing the splendid isolation Kerewin envisaged the tower becomes her “prison”. She feels “encompassed by a wall, high and hard and stone”(7) from which she cannot escape.

Kerewin's self-imposed isolation manifests itself in two other forms. It is evident in the way she dresses: "encased in jeans, leather jerkin [...]" (21), and in the way she uses language to conceal her real emotions. She tells Simon that "obfuscation" is her trade (24), and Joe notices her tendency to "wiggle away under cover of words" (243). Kerewin's vocabulary is extensive and as she points out, there are no other characters in the novel who can match her for wit (275). She uses words to form barriers between herself and others. Joe finds it difficult to forge an emotional relationship with her because the words get in the way:

"I need a dictionary to talk to you." He thinks,
You bugger, you cold lady you. (195)

Kerewin's verbosity contrasts with Joe's limited vocabulary and Simon's muteness. When she overhears Joe talking and swearing in the pub she says:

"I'd believe the poor effing fella's short of words.
Or thought. Or maybe just intellectual energy". (12)

Joe needs to improve his verbal communication, Kerewin her non-verbal. Whereas Joe and Simon include human touch in their repertoire of communication, Kerewin shies away from it. When she first meets Simon she takes "intense care not to touch" him as she reads the information on his pendant (17). When he reaches out to take her hand, he does so "as if reaching over a barrier" (31). Simon's grip on Kerewin's wrist is described as "Not restraining violence, pressing meaning" (31). This action, like his kisses, is "part of language" (265). Simon uses gesture and touch as communication rather than sign language or written words in an attempt to close the gap between the articulation of meaning and meaning itself. Kerewin, on the other hand, is obsessed with naming and labeling everything. When Simon and Kerewin are on the beach he collects items and brings them to show her. She insists on naming and explaining what each item is. After identifying a gull's feather, an echinoderm, a fishbone (vertebra), part of an electric lightbulb, and kowhai seeds, Simon touches her hand and gently blows in her ear. He thinks to himself:

[...] knowing names is nice, but it don't mean much. Knowing this is a whatever she said is neat, but it don't change it. Names aren't much. The things are. (126)

His hand is “more real” than Kerewin’s words. It is Simon’s endeavour to teach Kerewin that human communication is about interpersonal connection which, in its sum, is much more than the exchange of words.

Kerewin’s control over language, her knowledge of varied scientific, literary and religious terms, and her penchant for word play reflect her extreme self-consciousness. While on the verge of death she considers a pathologist’s report of her character based on her bones. In her mind she can hear his evaluation: “Above all, she was incredibly incurably sense-able. To all modes, declensions, conduits and canticles of feeling – she would never, could never, stop being conscious” (423). Because Kerewin is unwilling to release her tight intellectual grip over her mind and her life she ends up suppressing her emotions, which leads her into a state of inner turmoil

The imbalance between Kerewin’s intellectual (conscious) side and her spiritual (unconscious) side is evident in her dreams. Throughout the novel Kerewin has a number of significant dreams which convey her emotional state to the reader. In the first dream, occurring in the first chapter, Kerewin sees a crayfish moving silently through clear azure water. Because the cray has “bright scarlet armour” rather than a purple-maroon and orange shell, she realises it is being cooked. The disturbing part of the dream is that the boiled cray is “living” and walks calmly through the pool. Paula McCool has interpreted this dream as follows:

In a dream sequence she “sees” a cooked crayfish crawling in a boiling pool of water. This is a symbol of repressed desire. If water is a symbol for the unconscious, then boiling water could be a symbol for the unconscious seething to be transformed into steam, a vapour suspended in air. Air is a symbol for the intellect or the consciousness. Some content important for life, as represented by the crayfish, is trapped in Kerewin’s unconscious, unable to make the transition to the conscious mind. (15-16)

On awaking Kerewin goes down to the seashore and looks in the rock pools: “balanced on the saltstained rim, watching minute navyblue fringes, gill-fingers of tubeworms, fan the water [...]” (13). McCool reads Kerewin’s position on the seashore as representative of a state between unconsciousness (sea) and

consciousness (land); a position in which meaning is construed out of the two elements. "It suggests", writes McCool, "that Kerewin is ready to find a way out of her isolation which prevents her from painting" (16). Considering what Kerewin does next, this reading appears far too optimistic. Kerewin moves from the rock pools to the estuary where she commences a spree of "petty killing" (13). She uses a stick with "seven inches of barbed steel [...] fit neatly into slots in the stick top" (14) to spear flounder. "With a darting levering jab" the flounder is stabbed and she drops it into a sack "still weakly flopping" (14). If the crayfish/flounder are representative of something trapped in Kerewin's unconscious then she appears content to keep it there. The flounder is speared, bagged and pinned to a piling with a knife. Kerewin's consciousness remains brutally in control.

In Kerewin's second dream she has an abscess in her jaw that has become infected. She takes a razor blade and, using a mirror as a guide, attempts to open up the abscess to let out the pus, but she is unsuccessful. As she looks in the mirror her two front teeth transform into "bloodstreaked stumps". The spongy nerves and bone centres are exposed and she fears the teeth will dissolve if she touches them. The bloody teeth turn into an image of a volcano erupting. She feels the weight of bodies on top of her, then enters a landscape of dark lunar shadows and senses a man "suctioning" on her throat. When she realises the man is a vampire she weakens in to a state of "black horror" (185-186).

Several explanations of this dream are possible, for example, a Freudian dream analysis of the "dental stimulus" in the dream would focus on Kerewin as sexually frustrated (*Complete Psychological Works* Vol. V 387-392), but the most significant reading of the dream can be made by contextualising it with events in the novel.

The dream occurs during the night after her fight with Joe. The pain in Kerewin's stomach (caused by cancer, not from a blow by Joe in the fight) can be interpreted as representative of her inner frustrations, her alienation from her self, her art and her family. In trying to gouge out the abscess in her dream she is symbolically trying to eradicate the pain in her stomach, but in neither case is this possible until she confronts the core problems that manifest themselves as physical illness. The infection/disease can only be removed once her emotional,

spiritual and intellectual facets are in balance and she begins to function as a social human being. At this stage in the novel Kerewin has become involved with Simon and Joe but, reluctant to give away too much of her privacy, she maintains a degree of distance from them. Nevertheless, against her wishes she is drawn further and further into their lives. In Chapter Seven she visits Joe and Simon and finds them in the middle of an argument. Joe wants to cut Simon's hair, but the child is terrified at the prospect and lashes out against Joe. Kerewin helps to calm Simon down and eventually between herself and Joe the child's hair is cut. During this episode Simon grins at Kerewin through his tears in a way that "always gets to her" (270). As the three drink their tea they are joined in "companionship". However, after a heavy night of drinking she wakes in her own home in a bad mood and becomes irritated by the intrusion of Joe and Simon into her thoughts and her life and feels as though her independence is being compromised. She refers to the Gillayleys as "Emotional vampires", "sucking me dry", "slurping all the juice from my home" (278).

The vampire in her dream may therefore be representative of Joe and Simon who drain her of energy and make her feel "weakened". The digging action in this dream is destructively directed against the self and threatens to make her teeth dissolve. This image of dissolution reoccurs during her cathartic experience in the latter part of the novel, whereby she feels her very bones have "dissolved" (423). The expectation of her teeth dissolving in this dream therefore signals the later "diminution of personality" (Jung *Four Archetypes* 53) which must take place before she can be "reborn" as a healthier social being.

In Kerewin's third dream, she dreams of the small Maukiekie island off the coast of New Zealand. She enters a hole in the ground which takes her to a marae at the heart of the island. She is surrounded by the breathing of Papatūānuku. The marae lightens as the rock above it is removed and Kerewin hears a superhuman voice cry out "Keria!", which as Joe explains, was the call of peace among the ancient Māori (254).

This dream has been read by Le Cam as symbolic of another journey into Kerewin's mind: "The self is represented by the small island (Maukiekie), and walking down the hole is a symbol of mental exploration" ("The Quest" 71). Unlike the previous dream, this one leads to "positive dissolution", described by

LeCam as “a communion with the surrounding world which *enlarges* and strengthens the self (instead of reducing it)” (71). The themes of social communion and oneness with the land in this dream prefigure Kerewin’s final dream and Joe’s discovery of the mauri – represented in this dream by the marae. However, at this stage (unlike the final dream) Kerewin does not understand the symbolism of her dreams and as she looks out to the real Maukiekie island she feels “sad” (254-255). Failure to recognise the emphasis on communality in this dream registers her persistent emotional isolation despite Simon and Joe’s efforts to draw her towards them.

A subsequent dream takes the form of a premonition of the violent chaos in store for Kerewin, Joe and Simon. Kerewin sees pictures emerge on a pack of blank tarot cards. The images she sees are not stable:

The pair chained to the column in the card called The Devil shifted and stretched and became The Lovers. The Fool stepped lightly forever towards the abyss, but the little dog snapping at his heels ran on to bay at the Moon. The benign placid face of the Empress became hollow-eyed, bone-cheeked, and Death rode scything through the people at his horse’s feet. (267)

The pictures merge “together in a rainbow fluidity that turned white” (267). One card stands alone and for a split second Kerewin is absorbed into the scene:

The sky split and thunderbolts rained down, and she started falling, wailing in final despair from the lightning struck tower. (267)

The figures on the cards are images of Joe, Simon and Kerewin. The chained pair who turn into The Lovers may be Joe and Kerewin. Both have metaphorical chains around them which prevent their enjoyment of life. Before they can draw closer to each other (in the preceding passage Joe hopes for a sexual union with Kerewin but is content with platonic love), they must live through near-death experiences. Joe attempts suicide and Kerewin nearly succumbs to cancer. Le Cam offers two possible interpretations of The Fool, the dog and The Moon:

[...] either The Fool is Joe who indeed falls into the abyss (throws himself from a cliff), the little dog is Simon whose mischief tests his foster father’s nerves, and the Moon which the dog is very much

interested in is Kerewin herself (other parallels in the novel suggest the lady's close affinity with the Moon). Or (second interpretation) Kere is both The Fool and The Moon – the two sides of her personality: The Moon represents her ability to connect with her surroundings, and symbolizes in this way the natural forces buried within her. The Fool, on the other hand, represents her inability to connect and her determination to remain an isolated unit. And just as The Fool falls into the abyss, Kere falls from her tower to a wailing death after being sucked into the card. Again, the net result is negative dissolution. (“The quest” 71-72)

Kerewin is also connected to The Empress with her “gouges for eyes” (275) and her loss of weight during the impending illness. Death is the anger and violence which lurks around the lives of the three characters and sweeps into action when Joe brutally beats Simon to the verge of his existence. The lightning-struck tower prefigures Kerewin's destruction of her own tower. Her falling from the tower, although open to Freudian analysis (the tower as symbolic of the penis, Kerewin's falling “as a way of describing a surrender to an erotic temptation” (*Complete Psychological Works* Vol. V 394-395), is more likely to represent the destructive forces both inside and outside her. As a symbol of the defeat of her isolation this image could be read as containing positive connotations. However, the destroyed tower is also representative of the dissolution of identity she must experience before rebuilding her personality and her life.

Joe Gillayley: The Broken Man and Child Abuse.

“I'm drunk or I'm angry, I'm not myself...” (171)

Like Kerewin, Joe feels “desolation and the deep of despair” (6). His wife and child died during a freak bout of influenza, he has a job he hates, a foster son “he no longer really wants” (6), drinks too much, and possesses an anger he can not control. By blood he is more Māori than Kerewin, but like her, he feels that his Māoritanga has got lost in the way he lives. Joe's ambition to be a seminarian was thwarted due to financial pressures and his subsequent job at the factory fails to challenge him or to provide him with an opportunity for self-improvement. His attempts to raise Simon alone are made more difficult by the child's erratic,

and often violent behaviour. Joe's frustrations are conveyed in the novel through his use of language, the environment he lives in, and his brutal beatings of Simon.

Joe is first presented to the reader through Kerewin's eyes as she watches him drinking with his friends at the local pub. She describes him as:

A Māori, thickset, a working bloke with steel-toed boots, and black hair down to his shoulders. He's got his fingers stuck in his belt, and the heavy brass buckle of it glints and twinkles as he teeters back and forwards. (11-12)

The emphasis on the metal belt buckle and the steel-toed boots conveys the harsher side of Joe's personality. His posture is both defensive and offensive, and the hand on the belt anticipates Simon's punishment. When Joe speaks his sentences are peppered with swear words: "And no good for even fuckin Himi eh? Shit, no use, I said ..." (12). Kerewin comments that Joe's speech is "filled with bitterness and contempt" (12). She thinks his monotonous use of swear words demonstrates his lack of "intellectual energy". In part, Joe is playing a role (the entertaining drunk who claims solidarity with his immediate audience through common language ties and a sense of joint social oppression), because, as Kerewin learns later, he can actually express his emotions fairly well, especially in the Māori language. Joe has become trapped in this role – a role, it could be argued, that has been designated to him by a capitalist, Pākehā-dominated society. He laughs bitterly:

"I'm a typical hori after all, made to work on the chain, or be a factory hand, not try for high places".
(229-230)

Like his aspirations his language has been stunted. Part of the Māoritanga he has lost stresses the importance of korero; talking things over. Instead of talking to Simon about their problems, Joe is fuelled by alcohol, frustration and anger, and lashes out at him. His violence is a product of his own discontent.

In a discussion of Joe's background as a character, Hulme speaks about the "dichotomy between [the] [...] idealised picture of *taha Maori/Maoritaka* and the way things presently were within [her] [...] Maori relations and [...] friends" (Turcotte 138). She says that Joe grew out of the "many [Māori] people in jail, in mental homes or destroying themselves [...] with drink or drugs, or writing

themselves off in car crashes or whatever” (Turcotte 138-139). She relates Joe to his pre-colonial ancestors in much the same way that Alan Duff places Jake Heke. In Hulme’s understanding the breakdown of the Māori culture under the pressures of colonisation has “dispossessed Maori men from what was seen as their main functions, basically protector and nurturer of other members of the extended family group” (Turcotte 139). In Hulme’s opinion, the “fighting instinct” in Māori men that was “carefully nurtured” in the past used to be “drained off, through seasonal warfare” (Turcotte 147), but now, with the dissolution of the Māori male’s role as tribal protector/fighter, the aggression has “nowhere to go” (Turcotte 147). Hulme, like Duff, theorises Māori violence as an inherited racial trait. She comments that “Joe has the energy and the aggression which are quite characteristic, still today, of Maori people, but nowhere to use these energies” (Turcotte 139). This argument is problematic and will be considered in relation to Duff’s representation of Māori in Chapter Eight.

The discontent felt by Joe derives not only from the death of his wife and child, his perceived lack of social purpose, and his loss of spirituality, but also from his unrealised desire to control Simon. Simon plays truant from school and “specialises in sneakthievery and petty vandalism” (34), but it is his muteness which makes him such a difficult child for Joe to raise. Joe wishes for a child “as ordinarily complex and normally simple as one of Piri’s rowdies” (381) and feels ashamed of Simon’s differences. Simon’s own frustration at the inability of people to communicate with him engenders much of the trouble he finds himself in. His impish nature (such as when he prepares to throw a lit match at Kerewin) makes him unpredictable and difficult to control. He has violent nightmares and if not given some form of drug will scream and shake in his sleep. On top of these problems Simon fails to meet Joe’s idea of how a son should act. His femininity, signified by his long hair and his earring, remind Joe of his own homosexual past and it is notable that Simon’s worst beatings come after events which imply an unwanted connection between Joe’s homosexuality and Simon’s present actions. Thus it may be that the violence directed against Simon is metaphorically channeled against Joe himself in an attempt to expunge an undesirable facet of his character.

Joe remembers a scene in which his cousin Luce suggested that Simon would “get to prefer boys” under the influence of his foster parent. Luce taunts Joe by saying:

The look in your eyes, Hohepa, when you talk and kiss, my god, it's hot enough to turn me on at twenty paces distant, let alone the pretty child himself. There's something very appealing about the half wild and the half broken-in – and you know what I mean by *that*, sweetie. And the way he kisses back ... did you teach him? (174)

Joe smashes Luce in the face. On arriving home he belts Simon until the child faints (174). He proceeds to drink more whisky and reminisces about his homosexual love affair with Taki. Seeing Simon crawl into the bedroom Joe observes “the tired sick way he moves, the mess of him, his cringing, the highpitched panting he makes instead of any normal cry”, and concludes that “this thing is no child of mine” (175). Subsequently he pins Simon against the wall and punches him in the “face and body until he whitens horribly and faints a second time”. Then he throws the unconscious body on the bed where Simon remains until morning (175).

When Joe finds out that Simon has visited the local pederast Binny Daniels instead of going to Kerewin's or the Tainui's, he belts him, telling himself that: “he's my child, my responsibility” (136). Joe feels that there is no other way to make Simon do as he says: “I'm sorry to have to hit you so hard” says Joe, “but you've got to learn to do as I say” (136).

Most of the times when Joe beats Simon he is drunk. On occasions he is unaware the following day that he has beaten Simon:

Only when he'd wakened the child for breakfast this morning – “Himi, it's nearly nine o'clock, where the hell are you?” thinking, I'll bet he's drifted off to Kerewin again – he'd been curled up in a foetal ball on top of the bedclothes, arms wrapped round his chest, knees drawn to his chin, and his face still wet from weeping. He couldn't stand properly. Hunched over and moaning, he clung to Joe. “Whatsmatter?” His head was throbbing horribly. “Sweet Jesus, did I do that?” (138)

Joe explains to Simon that when he hits him he is “drunk or angry”, and goes on to say that: “I’m not myself” (171). Joe’s “real self” has got lost in the way he lives; what remains is a fragmented identity that suffers loss and confusion. Like Kerewin and Simon, Joe frequently has nightmares which are the sign of a disturbed inner conscious. He has lost his personal integrity and the ability to positively verbally communicate; thus he resorts to violence. Maryanne Denver has read the violence in *the bone people* as a perverse form of lingua franca. Both Joe and Simon use it to communicate with each other (Joe to exert control, Simon to gain attention and affection), but this is an essentially negative form of communication. Persistence along these lines of communication injures them both and nearly kills Simon.

The caustic character of violence as a form of communication between Joe and Simon is emphasised by the tightly controlled prose used to describe the scenes in which Simon is beaten. Hulme’s dramatisation of child abuse is so realistic that, as Mark Williams points out: “our identification [with the child] is so total that we forget that what we are reading is a representation of life, not life itself” (*Leaving* 90). Hulme presents Joe’s final beating of Simon with economy and detailed naturalism:

When Joe comes back into the kitchen, he is carrying his belt by the leather end. The buckle glints as it swings just above the floor.

His stomach convulses, knotting with fear.

He swallows violently to keep the vomit down.

Joe is surrounded by pulses and flares of dull red light.

He says in a low anguished voice.

“You have ruined me.”

He says,

“You have just ruined everything, you shit.”

He doesn’t say anything more, except when he has turned the chair against the table.

Joe says, “Get over.”

He does. He lays his arms in front of him, left hand stiff, and his head on his arms.

He sets his teeth, and waits.

* * *

The world is full dazzlement, jewel beams, fires of crystal splendour.

I am on fire.
 He is aching, he is breaking apart with pain.
 The agony is everywhere, hands, body, legs, head.
 He is shaking so badly he cannot stand.
 The hard wood keeps griding [*sic*] past him.
 He keeps trying to stand.
 Joe's voice is thin and distant.

“When did you get this?”
 “When did Bill Drew give you this?”
 “How long have you kept this?”

He is pulled up and held into the door frame.
 The wood gnaws his body.
 He pushes forward with all his strength against the
 hand that pins him down.
 He is thudded back into all the teeth of the wood.

“When did you do this?”
 “When did this happen?”

Sliding the sliver out of the wrapping, his hand
 trembling uselessly. He fists forward. It seems a
 foolish feeble blow.
 But I need to stop the wood coming through.
 Joe screams.
 The first punch hit his head.
 His head slammed back into the door frame.
 The punches keep coming.
 Again.
 Again.
 And again.
 The lights and fires are going out.
 He weeps for them.
 The blood pours from everywhere.
 He can feel it spilling from his mouth, his ears, his
 eyes, and his nose.
 The drone of flies gets louder.
 The world goes away.
 The night has come. (308-309)

Williams has analysed why this passage is so effectively disturbing and powerful.

His comments are perceptive and succinct:

The perspective of the whole piece is skillfully
 focused through the eyes of the child who is the
 subject of the attack so that we feel its full horror as
 the action crowds upon his consciousness in a
 chaotic sequence of colours and sensations, the

significance of which remains at a distance from him. There is no overwriting. The clarity and control of the prose allows us no escape from the terror of what it records. Precisely because the narrator avoids intruding emotion and because the boy himself is too numbed and disconnected from the event's meaning to experience it emotionally – it is direct sensation for him – the reader's emotions are the more fully engaged. (*Leaving* 92)

In the beating scene Simon's world is smashed apart. The lights and the fires he sees around people (different kinds of auras) are destroyed. His body is broken apart with pain and he finally loses consciousness. Joe too is shown to have been broken. When he says to Simon "You have just ruined everything, you shit", the reader is reminded of Kerewin's first encounter with Joe as a drunk, described by Williams as: "hiding the brokenness of his own culture under swear words in the very language that signals his loss" (*Leaving* 92). The focus on Joe's belt in the two scenes also highlights this comparison. In the first section of the extract Joe's language is taught and acts almost like a dam holding back his emotions. Once he begins to beat Simon, Joe unleashes a tirade of questions and anger which he can no longer control. He is only silenced when Simon pushes the glass splinter into his stomach.

Hulme represents the social evil of child abuse in a psychologically realistic manner that conveys the desperation and damaged mental state of both the victim and victimiser. In another scene earlier in the novel we witness Joe removing the bandages put on Simon's wounds by Kerewin. It was Joe who inflicted the injuries on Simon and in this scene he is skillfully represented as both the victimiser and the care giver. Through Simon's actions and Joe and Kerewin's reactions Hulme conveys a moral repulsion of child abuse but at the same time illustrates its emotionally complex nature:

Joe removes the bandages Kerewin had put on without a word. For a minute, strangely like his son, he won't meet her eyes. When he does, his eyes are full of tears. It takes Simon's slow headshake, straight stare at his father, so full of disgust, so full of disbelief, so exaggerated[.] Regrets now? Ah come *on*, to break the tension.
 "Ah you," says Joe, half-laughing, half-crying.

“Yeah, ah you,” Kerewin grins helplessly to the child’s sly grin.

There is, after all, really nothing else to say. (197)

Throughout *the bone people* love and pain are tightly interlinked. When Simon bites Joe on the hand and says “aroaha” the relationship between the two emotions (and between Joe and Simon) is neatly summed up. The sickness Joe feels (“Ka nui taku mate”) may be the result of disturbing mixture of these emotions within him.

The repressive nature of Joe and Simon’s relationship is symbolised by their house. They live in a state home on a road ironically named “Pacific Street”. Kerewin calls the home a “queer strait antiseptic haven” (88). She describes it as follows:

A neat lawn bordered by concrete paths. No flowers. No shrubs. The places where a garden had been were filled with pink gravel.

The hallway was dim, an unshaded bulb dangling from the ceiling, no carpet. There was not a suspicion of dust anywhere, nor any sign of flowers [...].

The kitchen is gas-heated, square and bare, almost institutional in its unadorned plainness [...] at the end of the bench there is a canvas-covered birdcage on a stand. (76)

The lack of a garden represents Joe’s alienation from the land and his history. The sparse furnishings and immaculate cleanliness further represent sterility and an unnurturing environment. The bird in its cage is symbolic of all three characters: Joe’s entrapment in his factory job; Kerewin’s isolation in her tower; and Simon’s seclusion from spoken language. Like Kerewin’s tower, this house and its contents represent everything that Joe must change in order to form a more natural and integrated sense of himself and a constructive, nurturing relationship with Simon.

Keri Hulme has said that in *the bone people* she “wanted very much to make explicit, explicable, the spiritual world [...] to make clear why, when people are alienated from that, they do terrible things to themselves and to others” (Turcotte 153). The scene in which Joe beats Simon, quoted above, epitomises the destructive consequences that alienation from spirituality and a rooted sense of

self can have on people. This scene is, as Williams writes, “the antithesis of those moments of mythic assertion of visionary wholeness and healing which the novel offers” (*Leaving* 90). Some critics have felt that Hulme’s use of psychological realism fits incongruously with the later mythic sections in the novel but the author herself views the two styles as intimately connected. Joe and Kerewin experience psychological breakdowns because they fail to unite their conscious and unconscious sides, or in other terms, their rational and their spiritual sides. As Hulme sees it this is not just a problem for the characters in her novel, but one for modern people in general. The “whole point” of the novel, says Hulme, was to create a vision for a kind of harmonious future that could emerge out of the violence and confusion of New Zealand history. To counterbalance the spiritual and emotional degradation of modern life she projects her characters into the realm of mythology where, in Jungian psychological terms the conscious and the unconscious can be united. The characters can then return to their “normal”/“real” lives as healthier, more unified human beings. That is at least, the grand vision. As discussed earlier in this chapter, doubt has been cast over the credibility of this ending – does it really stand up as a relevant or realistic solution to the problems encountered in contemporary New Zealand society? Are Hulme’s remedies restricted to the realm of art in such a way that actually hinders real social progress rather than supporting it? These questions will be discussed in the last section of the chapter.

Simon: The Child Archetype

Simon is the link between Kerewin and Joe. His character has been read variously by critics as a Māui figure, a Christ figure, a blend of both, a postcolonial version of Friday (*Robinson Crusoe*) or Caliban (*The Tempest*), and a child archetype. In many ways this last definition encompasses the previous readings and gets to the heart of Simon’s function as a character in the novel. By suggesting that Simon is an archetypal figure, present in the novel as a catalyst to Kerewin and Joe’s processes of individuation, it is not intended that his “real” presence be dismissed. Simon’s physicality is emphasised throughout the book and it is his pain, rendered in precise human terms by Hulme, that provides the novel with some of its most powerful passages. However, Hulme establishes Simon as an archetypal figure in

order to initiate Kerewin and Joe's journeys of self-discovery and their eventual reintegration with the community. The fact that Joe and Kerewin's psychological problems are displaced onto Simon through violence against his body makes an explicit connection between mental health and physical well being. As mentioned before, this was one of Hulme's intentions in writing *the bone people* (Turcotte 153).

In Jungian psychology archetypal figures are expressions of the collective unconscious. In their most primitive form they appear in dreams. They take on more complex forms due to the operation of conscious elaboration in myth, religion and fairytale. Archetypes give form to certain psychic material which then enters the conscious. Jung writes that "the representations themselves are not inherited, only the forms, and in that respect they correspond in every way to the instincts" (*Collected Works* Vol 9.1 79). There are many different types of archetype, the most common of which are, the mother, the wise man, the trickster, the hero and the child. Patterns of rebirth are considered archetypal, as is the shadow (which personifies everything the subject does not want to face in him or herself). The anima (the female personality hidden in a man) and the animus (the masculine personality hidden in a woman), also find expression through archetypal imagery. In his analysis of archetypes present in both dreams and mythology, Jung finds evidence to support his theories of underlying universal thought processes; or, as he calls it, the collective unconscious. To Jung's mind, the contents of the collective unconscious represent eternal "truths" about humans, thus they link individuals across cultures and across generations.

Jung identifies the particular character and function of the child archetype. This archetype is thought to appear in the psyche of individuals undergoing a process of individuation. Individuation is the movement towards selfhood. The appearance of the child archetype therefore, personifies a desire for self-realisation. It represents a state of wholeness antithetical to the present divisions within the personality. Jung writes that the child figure appears in the unconscious when:

[...] a man's present state may have come into conflict with his childhood state, or he may have violently sundered himself from his original character [...]. He has thus become unchildlike and

artificial, has lost his roots. All this presents a favourable opportunity for an equally vehement confrontation with the primary truth. (*Collected Works* 9.1 162)

Both Joe and Kerewin have lost their roots, are detached from their original characters and display artificial behaviour (especially Kerewin in her over-conscious word-play). As an archetypal figure Simon anticipates their movements away from this mentally fractured state towards individuation. Jung explains that the child is a symbol which:

Anticipates the figure that comes from the synthesis of conscious and unconscious elements in the personality. It is therefore a symbol which unites these opposites; a mediator, bringer of healing, that is, one who makes whole. (*Collected Works* Vol 9.1 164)

In Jungian psychology, wholeness or unity is expressed as roundness, the circle or the sphere, or the quaternary. Simon can not only be connected with these symbols through the ring he wears in his ear and the cross on his rosary (to name but a few relevant images), but to a host of pertinent characteristics of the child archetype. In his archetypal role Simon is a sign of a potential future based on balance and harmony.

The child figure represents both the past and the future. In individual terms he stands for forgotten or abandoned things in our personal childhood but, as Jung points out, “the archetype is always an image belonging to the whole human race and not merely to the individual” (*Essays* 80). Therefore, “the child motif represents the preconscious, childhood aspect of the collective psyche” (*Essays* 80). The appearance of the child signals that a disruption between the past and the present has occurred – both in individuals and in society. As a symbol of unfulfilled potential the child represents a change in the future personality/national consciousness based on a synthesis of the unconscious past and the conscious present. In terms of *the bone people*, Kerewin and Joe each undergo an individuation process in which they become reconnected to their unconscious mind, a process synonymous with their rediscovery of their personal roots. On a national level, Hulme appears to be equating the

unconscious/childhood state, with the pre-European Māori, as it is through encounters with Māori oriented archetypal figures that the pair eventually arrive at the future state portended by Simon. Thus, Hulme creates her own myth about the “rebirth” of a national consciousness. The child figure represents the possibility of attaining a future state – not yet defined – which combines the past and the present, the unconscious and the conscious, that is: “something perilous and new, something strange and growing and great” (4).

Jung identifies that the child hero is born in unusual circumstances often involving abnormal birth procedures, and events which threaten his life. When Joe discovers Simon on the beach he has to resuscitate him:

I hadn't gone that far when I saw something at the water's edge. I thought, ahh Ngakau, it's a weedtangle again, get going. The shore was littered with them, and it wasn't the first time I'd mistaken one for a body, eh. [...]

“Then I saw his hair ...long then, even longer than it is now. He was thrown mainly clear of the water, but a high wave from the receding tide would drag at him. He was front down, his face twisted towards me as I ran skidding over the sand and weed. There was sand half over him, in his mouth, in his ears, in his nose. I thought, I was quite sure he was dead. But I cleaned out his mouth and nose, and pressed water from his lungs. (85)

Arapera Blank was the first literary critic to draw attention to the parallels between Simon's experiences and those of the Māori mythological figure Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga. When Māui was born prematurely his mother, thinking he was dead, wrapped him up in her hair and cast him out to sea. He was “fashioned and formed by the seaweed, squabbled and screeched over by the sea-gulls, cradled in the deep, and rescued by his grandparent, Tama-Nui-Te-Rangi” (Blank 60). Paula McCool has drawn attention to the manner in which the child archetype in mythology is, as Jung writes, “born out of the womb of the unconscious”, often symbolised by the sea or a similar body of water. Simon follows this pattern (McCool 6). Following the analogy of Simon with Māui, Joe plays the role of the grandparent who discovers him washed up on the seashore. Like Māui, Simon is “impish, devilish, bloody infuriating, bloody-minded and wanting to be loved” (Blank 60). Both figures possess special powers (a feature

of the child hero as identified by Jung): Māui is a demi-god who can change his physical shape and the shape of others; Simon can see auras and has a prophetic understanding of how the future will evolve. Māui caught a gigantic fish which became the land mass of the north island of New Zealand; Simon goes out fishing with Joe and Kerewin and catches a huge groper “as big as he is” (216). This last connection to Māui illustrates Simon’s role, not only in bringing Joe and Kerewin closer to their unconscious minds (symbolised by the fish), but in the bringing forth of a new national consciousness.

Aside from the parallels to the Māori mythology there are a number of Christian references in *the bone people*. Simon’s full first name; “Simon Peter”, connects him to the biblical figure of the same name. In the Bible, Simon, also known as Peter, was one of Christ’s Twelve apostles. The Gospel according to Saint Mark (1:16-18) relates how Jesus saw Simon Peter and his brother Andrew fishing in the Sea of Galilee one day. Jesus said to them: “Follow me and I will make you into fishers of men”, i.e., disciples whose work it is to draw others into the net of Christianity. In Matthew 10.6 it is recorded that Jesus told his apostles to go to the “lost sheep of the house of Israel”. Their task is to “cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons” (10.9). It could be said that in *the bone people* Simon Peter helps to cure Joe and Kerewin of their mental, emotional, and physical sickness by aiding them to discover within themselves a greater sense of spirituality.

When Kerewin first meets Simon, the imagery used to describe him contains further Christian allusions. The encounter is described as follows:

In the window, standing stiff and straight like
some weird saint in a stained gold window, is a
child. A thin stockheaded person, haloed in hair,
shrouded in the dying sunlight. (16)

Judith Dale has referred to Simon as “transfixed like a crucifix” into an “an image of hope” (420). In his role of redeemer Simon acts as a Christ figure; through his suffering Joe and Kerewin are given a “second chance” at life.

It is evident therefore that in his role as a child archetype Simon can be connected cross-culturally to numerous similar archetypes. Hulme reacted with surprise at Blank’s comparison of Simon and Māui, and with annoyance at the number of Christian references that have been made in connection with the child.

Hulme herself views Simon's origins as derived from Celtic mythology. In a letter to Judith Dale she identifies his "provenance" as the Celtic "marvellous stranger" or "marvellous child" (Aoifa and Cuchulainn's son Connla, or Arianrhod's child Dylan, from the Mabinogion) and refers to his sea-colouring as evidence (427-428).

Little is known about Dylan ("Son of the Waves") other than he was a Welsh sea god whose parents were sister (Arianrhod) and brother (Gwydion). As soon as he was born he headed straight for the sea, where he immediately swam as well as a fish. When his uncle, the smith god Govannon, killed him, all the waves of Britain and Ireland lamented his death. In this myth we see the pattern of the child god being born from unusual circumstances and "delivered" through water (*The Encyclopedia of Mythology* 126).

Connla (Conlai) was born from the union of Cuchulainn and Aoifa. Cuchulainn, a brave hero from Ulster, traveled to the sky to visit the Land of the Shadows in order to challenge the warrior woman, Aoifa, to single combat. After a long struggle Cuchulainn won the battle. The pair became lovers and Connla was conceived. Before Cuchulainn departed he gave Aoifa a gold ring. Years later Connla wore the ring on a visit to Ulster where he challenged the local heroes. He met Cuchulainn but was too proud to reveal his identity. Cuchulainn, without knowing that Connla was his son, took up the challenge to fight him. The pair were fairly matched in their swordsmanship until Cuchulainn lost his temper the moment Connla cut off one of his locks of hair. The duel ended when Cuchulainn drove his spear through Connla's stomach. It was only then that Cuchulainn recognized the ring on his son's finger and was overwhelmed with grief (*Encyclopedia of Mythology* 116-117).

It is possible to trace particular resonances of this Celtic myth in *the bone people*. Although Simon is not Joe's biological son there is an indication that he is his "true" son. Joe's wife, Hana, places Simon "before them all", including her and Joe's own child (6). Simon is delivered to Joe wearing a gold ring in his ear. Like Cuchulainn and Connla, both Joe and Simon have quick tempers (Joe says Simon has a "touchpaper temper" 134) which are vented against each other. In contrast to the myth, every time Joe tries to cut his son's hair there is a fight (268-269). At the prospect of getting his hair cut Simon gets wild and throws a plate at

Joe. During the final fight between the two of them just before Simon loses consciousness he takes a glass splinter from his pocket and sinks it like “a glass dagger” neatly into Joe’s stomach (309, 311). Again the father and son roles in the myth are reversed. Unlike Connla, Joe does not die. As a father however, he feels all Cuchulainn’s remorse and grief for a son he has left virtually deaf, comatosed, bruised, battered and scarred.

As an archetypal figure Simon can be read as a conflation of all these mythical child heroes. Furthermore, Simon’s mystical attributes (for example, his ability to see auras) align him with Jung’s description of the child-hero who is considered to be semi-divine:

[...] the hero’s supernaturalness includes human nature and thus represents a synthesis of the [...] unconscious and human consciousness. Consequently he signifies the potential anticipation of an individuation process which is approaching wholeness. (*Essays* 85)

The approach to wholeness is also signified by Simon’s hermaphrodite nature. When Joe first saw him lying on the beach he “thought he was a girl at first” because of his long blond hair (85). When the three of them go to the bar in Moerangi the barman asks Joe if Simon is “a boy or a girl?” (244). Jung describes the qualities of the hermaphrodite figure:

[...] the hermaphrodite has gradually turned into a subduer of conflicts and a bringer of healing [...]. The archetype, because of its power to unite opposites, mediates between the unconscious substratum and the conscious mind. It throws a bridge between present-day consciousness, always in danger of losing its roots, and the natural, unconscious, instinctive wholeness of primeval times. (*Collected Works* 9.1 174)

Simon therefore stands at the beginning of Kerewin and Joe’s individuation process. He is the catalyst to their personal journeys of self-realisation and eventual reunification with himself and each other.

In drawing out the intertextual connections my aim is to illustrate the degree to which Hulme has invested Simon with the archetypal qualities of the child hero because his position as such is central to the psychological (and artistic)

development of the other two characters and to the establishment of a new social order. The unusual beginnings and often miraculous events that surround the birth of the child hero are interpreted by Jung as psychic experiences “whose object is the emergence of a new and as yet unknown content” (*Essays* 86). Thus Simon (like Christ, Māui, Moses and Connla) anticipates the development of events which impact on the nation’s future. In *the bone people* the nation in question is alluded to metaphorically as Hulme extends the story of Joe, Kerewin and Simon into a postcolonial allegory.

Kerewin’s Individuation Process

Kerewin’s journey to self-realisation takes her through a tumultuous experience of physical and mental deterioration, followed by corporeal and psychological “rebirth”. Her deterioration maps Jung’s theory of the “diminution of personality” or “loss of soul” in civilised man, her “rebirth” his proposed model of “renovatio”.

Jung describes the “diminution of personality” in civilised man as follows:

It is a slackening of the tensivity of consciousness [...] this is felt subjectively as listlessness, moroseness, and depression. One no longer has any wish or courage to face the tasks of the day. One feels like lead, because no part of one’s body seems willing to move, and this is due to the fact that one no longer has any disposable energy. This well-known phenomenon corresponds to the primitive’s loss of soul. The listlessness and paralysis of will can go so far that the whole personality falls apart, so to speak, and consciousness loses its unity; the individual parts of the personality make themselves independent and thus escape from the control of the conscious mind, as in the case of anaesthetic areas or systematic amnesias. The latter are well known as hysterical “loss of function” phenomena. This medical term is analogous to the primitive loss of soul. (*Four Archetypes* 53-54)

This process corresponds directly to Kerewin’s experience. The function of Simon as a child archetype is to re-direct the “onesidedness and extravagance of the conscious mind” seen in Kerewin and Joe, by connecting them to their unconscious. Kerewin’s tight conscious control over her mind is relaxed during

the diminution process in order that a new balance between her unconscious and conscious may be established.

After Joe beats Simon for the last time, the boy is taken away to the hospital and then put into foster care. Kerewin dismantles her tower, packs a few necessities and sets off on a journey that eventually leads her to her family back in the McKenzie country. It is during this period that the cancerous lump in her stomach riddles her with pain and disease. There are a number of references to her illness as a product of spiritual malaise. Kerewin refers to the skin rash she gets as the “itch of my own sick soul” (412). She composes a poem/song that reads:

In this disease
part spiritual
my hands are betrayed
gross, flaccid
decayed to illuse
and all the silent
tender strength
they hold is
in abeyance
out of their reach.
(419)

Her physical and mental states are intimately connected and both have turned against her. She feels “at war with herself” (412).

The listlessness described by Jung is evident in Kerewin’s behaviour as “she traveled for weeks in an aimless way” (411) before arriving at the hut. In an address to her favourite knife, “Seafire” (the same knife that Simon stole from her) she slides into moroseness: “you may yet have the pleasure of slicing my sweet and tender blue veins. When the going gets too tough” (411). The drugs she takes leave her “feeling dopped and sluggish” (412), her pain renders her “immobile all the long tense night” (412). In a depressive state she thinks about her own “uselessness”, “loneliness” and “selfishness” before considering herself “mentally [...] almost drowned” (412). As her personality falls apart and she loses consciousness her body decays “piece by piece” (420). For most of the third week at the hut she lies in bed hardly moving. She has to crawl outside to relieve herself and she becomes partially blind. The disintegration of her mental faculties is signified through her lack of control over language. Kerewin loses her previous

mastery over words and enters a state akin to schizophrenia. The disorder of her mind is reflected in the fracturing of her images and sentences. The change from meaning-based sentences to lists of impressionistic sound based thesaurisms and sensations registered via colours, takes her closer to Simon's unconscious world of sounds and lights. As she lies on her bed an odd set of words run through her head before she loses consciousness:

Geegaw
knicknack
kicksure
bric-a-brac

That's all the whole thing matters eh, as this
snowflake world splinters and glistens. Gimcrack
trumpety in gold and azure and scarlet and a glory
silver ... becasually nerthing is ... (418)

She refers to the words as "little febrile clots [...] hanging everywhere" (418), her language has lost its fluidity. The frost outside symbolises the mental/creative stagnation she is experiencing.

As Kerewin's conscious mind releases its grip over her she hears "something" calling out to her from "the dark beyond" (421). The "something" turns out to be "a small dark person" (424). It is difficult to tell whether this figure is a figment of Kerewin's imagination or a real person as Kerewin has trouble remaining conscious. Its presence, whether metaphoric or physical, signifies the beginning of Kerewin's recovery.

In Jungian psychological terms it is possible to read the figure as an archetypal representation of the "spirit". This figure usually takes the form of a wise old man, but Kerewin's figure is described as follows:

[...] a thin wiry person of indeterminate age.
Of indeterminate sex. Of indeterminate race.
Browned and lined, and swathed in layers of old
blanket weathered and sundyed. Silver hair. Silver
eyebrows. A massive burnscar for half a face, with
mouth and eyebrows wreaked and twisted by pink
keloid tissue. (424)

As the psyche itself is considered bisexual the figure can be read as a projection of Kerewin's mind and is in keeping with her own neuter make up. The figure

serves much the same function as the wise old man in that it “asks questions like who? why? whence? and whither? for the purpose of inducing self-reflection and mobilizing the moral forces” (*Four Archetypes* 98). The most important question the figure asks Kerewin is “What do you love?” (423). In response Kerewin works through all the things she loves and realises that she is not alone in life – she has Joe and Simon:

[...] He’s the bright sun in the eastern sky, and he’s the moon’s bridegroom at night, and me, I’m the link and life between them. We’re chance we three, we’re the beginning free. (424)

Susan Ash explains the allusions to Māori myth in Kerewin’s answer. She reads the “bright sun” as Simon and the “moon’s bridegroom” as Joe:

The significance of the symbolism may be found in a proverb from Tane, “tenei nga tokorua, te ra, te marama.” (“There are two, the sun, the moon,” from which came the perfect light.) According to some legends, this union resulted in the birth of Nga Whetu, the stars (Reed 31). Another legend has Te Ra, Te Marama and Nga Whetu all children of Rangi and Papa, three different but necessary forms of light (Reed 41). Both legends are reflected in the novel as the presence of Joe and Simon leads to Kerewin’s rebirth; at the same time Kerewin considers herself the “moon’s sister” (89). (127)

Kerewin’s realisation that she must integrate herself more with others is put succinctly in a three line poem:

*Life is lonely.
Foe we all are,
one apart from the other.* (424)

The poem points towards an understanding of the common purpose of mankind discussed earlier. Kerewin’s perspective on life is moving from an individualist stance to a communal one.

Kerewin’s dreams now speak to her of reintegration with her past, her family, and the community. In her final dream she is called by her ancestors onto the land which is gradually regenerating itself (“she can see the bush starting to grow” 428). An “old rusting building” transforms under her touch into a new

“straight” one from which “other buildings flowed out” as though they were growing out of the land itself. She is surrounded by people who “touch and caress” her and “she feels herself dissolving piece by piece with each touch” (428). She then “diminishes to bones, and the bones sink into the earth which cries “Haere mai!” and the movement ceases” (428). Kerewin is reconnected to the land and to the community. This dissolution is positive as her bones are united with her ancestors and the earth. She is absorbed into the spiral of time which links the past, present and future bones of mankind. Joe expresses this concept through a proverb : “E nga iwi o nga iwi” (395). Judith Dell Panny explains the meaning: “The word ‘iwi’ means both ‘people’ and ‘bones’; ‘O the people of the bones’ and ‘O the bones of the people.’” This implies that “the individual is shaped by the ancestors; each man or woman, in turn, is responsible for contributing to the shaping of the people to come. Joe sees the ancestors, the living and the unborn, as one” (22). Thus, Kerewin, Joe and Simon, who are “the bone people”, are emblematic of both the past and future, their ancestors and descendants. They embody Hulme’s idea of a “continuum of ancestors”, “something” she says, “like Jung’s collective unconscious” (*What I Believe* 82).

In her own life span Kerewin has undergone the renovatio process. She has been reborn physically, mentally and spiritually. She speaks of her journey of self-discovery in terms which suggest a phoenix-like rebirth. Like the sculpture of the tricephalos she has been through fire – the dream references to being cooked alive and the burning sensations of the pain within her represent her mental and physical “death” – a process which leads to a cleansing of the soul and a spiritual rebirth. On her recovery she says:

Art and family by blood; home and family by love
 ... regaining any one was worth this fiery journey to
 the heart of the sun. (428)

Kerewin places her “paper soul”, her personal journal which contains all her intimate thoughts and secrets, on the “funeral pyre”. She no longer needs external reflections of herself to guide her as she has discovered inner unity; her soul feels “harmonious”. She embraces the future and the “second chance” she has been given.

Kerewin's social reintegration is conveyed through her construction of communal buildings. She begins rebuilding the Māori hall at Moerangi on her own but soon the locals pitch in and the hall begins to take shape. As the building develops the community draws together:

They came with gallons of glorious rainbows, a tin of paint from everyone's shed. They came with a surplus of song and willing hands.

And on Sunday I'm greasy with picking mutton-bone, and more than slightly riddled with good brown beer, and I'm singing with the rest inside the tight sweet hall that's got a heart of people once more. (432)

As in Ihimaera's novel *Whanau* and Grace's novel *Potiki* the rebuilding of the marae is synonymous with a restoration of collective identity. The structure of the whare whakairo represents the body of a tribal ancestor, by renovating the building the community reunites itself with the history of the tribe. In *the bone people* the gateposts from the old marae, each with their own name, are re-erected in front of the new to signify both the literal and metaphorical joining of the past and present. Kerewin leaves Moerangi in the knowledge that the "fire's been relit" – a reference to the lore of *ahi ka in*, which a tribe must show signs of their connection to a particular area of land through occupation or utilisation by "keeping the fires burning".

Kerewin also rebuilds her own house. She constructs it in a spiral shape around the base of the old tower. The spiral motif is an image that recurs in the work of Māori authors – particularly that of Grace and Ihimaera, as well as being significant in Māori visual arts. In *the bone people* we are told directly of the symbolic qualities of the spiral:

It was reckoned that the old people found inspiration for the double spirals they carved so skillfully, in uncurling fernfronds: perhaps. But it was an old symbol of rebirth, and the outward-inward nature of things... (45)

Kerewin proposes that the new house will have rooms expanding outwards from the centre: "privacy, apartness, but all connected and all part of the whole" (434). This is her idea of "commensalism", a way to live both separately and together, as

an individual and a communal being. The “outward-inward nature of things” also refers to the combination of outward and inward unconsciousness – a balance Kerewin has successfully established. She is now willing to accept the social responsibilities she previously shunned. We are told that she gives her “name” to Joe and Simon, presumably implying that she becomes a legal guardian for Simon. Her reunification with her family illustrates the distance she has traveled from a state of emotional isolation to open acceptance of others. Joe describes her as “content in the long wordless embrace given by her mother” (443).

Joe’s Individuation Process

After beating Simon for the final time Joe is sent to prison. Whilst he is serving his sentence, Simon is removed from his care and Kerewin falls ill and leaves her tower with no forwarding address. Joe sold his house before he went to prison and on being set free has no home, family or friends to return to. On leaving prison he takes a bus into the middle of nowhere with the idea of sleeping rough in the bush. It is here that Joe’s journey towards individuation begins. Like Kerewin he must endure a near death experience before being healed physically, mentally and spiritually. Only then can he return to his own community and begin to function as a constructive rather than a destructive human being.

Joe’s journey begins by walking through bush. Although the route he takes from the road out to the sea is not too arduous: “the scrub was high enough to prevent him seeing where he was going” (335) he is, nevertheless, travelling into the unknown (metaphorically the unconscious). The landscape reflects his inner despair and is described as a kind of wasteland: “The manukas were blackened with blight and there was a pervading stink of swampwater throughout the bush” (335). At a later stage Joe thinks of himself as a “waste, a wilderness of alien gorse and stone that scores all who enter.” (343). Like Kerewin he is withdrawing from society into his own destructive isolation. As he walks through the bush he is “slashed” by the manukas and the straps on his pack bite into his shoulders. When he mistakenly settles for the night by the side of a swamp, he is attacked by “every kind of biting life” (337). As his mental state deteriorates his body is being worn away. This is a prelude to his apparent suicide attempt.

Joe looks over a bluff at the beach below and contemplates what would happen to him if he threw himself off. He is undecided whether or not to jump:

[...] the shuffling became a dance of abandon, of pain, of illusion. Stagger of despairing hope forward; a step of beaten-by-circumstance back. It's become the sin dance of forlornness, the one dance of death. (340)

Joe is haunted by images of Simon's beaten face. In desperation he screams out to Simon and Kerewin, then he jumps with the idea that if he survives "it will be a sign" (341). Much like Gloucester in *King Lear*, Joe's decision to jump from a cliff, followed by survival, initiates a process of learning. Joe's path to wisdom takes him towards the kaumātua, Tiaki Mira, who has been waiting patiently to guide him to his destiny for the previous fifty years or more.

The kaumātua fulfills the role of the spirit figure in Jungian psychology, in the guise of a wise old man. The spirit is conceived of by Jung as an invisible but dynamic living presence originally external to man. Although it has been internalised in the consciousness, it is still creative rather than created. The spirit spurs man on, "giving him lucky ideas, staying power, 'enthusiasm' and 'inspiration'" (*Four Archetypes* 91). Man may think he controls the spirit but "because of its original autonomy [...] the spirit is quite capable of staging its manifestations spontaneously" in the conscious (*Four Archetypes* 92). Psychic manifestations of the spirit are considered to depend on the existence of an autonomous, primordial, archetypal image in the preconscious makeup of mankind. The figure of the old man is one such archetypal image. This archetype generally appears when insight is needed which the conscious mind is unable to supply. Thus, the archetype compensates for spiritual deficiency. The wise old man in fairytales, myths and dreams typically appears "when the hero is in a hopeless and desperate situation from which only profound reflection or a lucky idea [...] can extricate him" (*Four Archetypes* 95). As Joe lies at the base of the cliff: "his whole body shakes, with shock and hurt and crying" (341). This situation exemplifies the hopeless state the hero finds himself in and it is here that the kaumātua discovers him. Like the wise old man archetype in fairytales, Tiaki Mira heals Joe and guides him towards self-realisation.

Joe has undergone a process of “diminution of personality” similar to that experienced by Kerewin. Joe’s experience is closely aligned to that of the primitive man who accounts for this condition as a “loss of soul”. Jung explains:

The peculiar condition covered by this term is accounted for in the mind of the primitive by the supposition that a soul has gone off, just like a dog that runs away from his master overnight. It is then the task of the medicine-man to fetch the fugitive back. Often the loss occurs suddenly and manifests itself in a general malaise. (*Four Archetypes* 53)

Tiaki Mira is a medicine man and uses natural and manufactured drugs to heal Joe. He administers both physical and mental treatments and restores Joe’s faith in spirituality. Tiaki lives in the forest (the local version being New Zealand bush), a location often symbolic of the unconscious. His purpose in life has been to watch over a “magic talisman” and to wait for the next guardian to arrive. He awaits the fulfillment of a prophecy in which a digger, broken man or stranger will come and replace him as keeper of the mauri stone. Joe is the “broken man” – literally and figuratively. Kerewin is the digger (her dream calls to her to “Keria. Keria!”), and Simon is the stranger, both because his origins are unknown and he is removed from Joe’s care. It is Joe whom the kaumātua meets and it is to him that he shows the special talisman.

Joe calls out to the gods when he hits the depth of despair:

E atua ma, wairua ma, if there are gods, if there are spirits, o, people of this place, I am made known by my stupidity. Aid me. (342)

The kaumātua answers him. Tiaki begins Joe’s healing process with direct medicine then he helps to explain and heal Joe’s mental anxieties. Jung describes some of the characteristics of the wise old man as follows:

The old man [...] represents knowledge, reflection, insight, wisdom, cleverness, and intuition on the one hand, and on the other, moral qualities such as goodwill and readiness to help, which make his ‘spiritual’ character sufficiently plain. (*Four Archetypes* 100)

By referring to Māori beliefs, the kaumātua explains the meaning of Joe's nightmare in which he sees his dead wife Hana turn into a moth. He encourages Joe to sleep, ensuring him that he will no longer dream and that it is "time for ... [him] to heal, to be whole" (355). The tendency of the wise man to ask the protagonist to sleep has been identified by Jung as an invitation for the hero to begin thinking through his own problems – i.e to sleep on it (*Four Archetypes* 98). When Joe wakes up again he feels better and is more convivial towards the kaumātua. He feels as though a burden is being lifted from him (347). Tiaki can now relate the story of the mauri stone to Joe and communicate the nature of the young man's heroic task. He tells Joe:

I guard a stone that was brought on one of the great canoes. I guard the canoe itself. I guard the little god that came with the canoe. The god broods over the mauriora, for that is what the stone is home to, but the mauri is distinct and great beyond the little god ... the canoe rots under them both ... aie, he is a little god, no-one worships him any longer. But he hasn't died yet. He has his hunger and his memories and his care to keep him tenuously alive. If you decide to go, he will be all there is left as a watcher, as a guardian. (363)

Joe is being asked to become the next guardian of the mauri stone, which Tiaki goes on to explain is the "heart" of New Zealand.

Tiaki takes Joe to the resting place of the mauriora. He can not make it right up to the cave in which the stone sits and so Joe must make this part of the journey alone. When he arrives at the cave he sees that it "hasn't a floor". It is a "great natural well, like a sink hole, a cenote" formed in the rock. The well is the archetypal location for a hero's encounter with supernatural forces. Water is associated with the unconscious and in this scenario the depth of the well may signify the deeper layers of the collective unconscious as opposed to the more superficial layers of the personal unconscious. When Joe reaches out to touch the water he feels an odd sensation like a mild electric current.

Tiaki explains the spiritual significance of the land on which the mauriora is buried. He tells Joe that he has seen his ancestors standing near by the entrance of the cave. In an echo of Caliban's speech to Stephano in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Tiaki informs Joe that "all the land is filled with mysteries, and this

place fairly sings with them” (368).⁵⁰ He is connected to the spiritual dimension of the land and it is his ultimate purpose to link Joe to this force. Once assured of his protégé’s ability to complete the task at hand, Tiaki has no further purpose and prepares to die leaving Joe the land in his will. The two men act as tribal guardians, or perhaps more symbolically as guardians (or links) to the collective unconscious.

After Tiaki’s death Joe returns to the kuamatua’s home in order to take time to heal and to come to terms with his new knowledge. Whilst he is out in the bush there is an earthquake which simultaneously precipitates his self-realisation and his acquisition of spirituality (in the shape of the mauri stone). As the earthquake rumbles Joe begins to acknowledge the previous faults in his conduct with Simon and Kerewin. He realises that he was ashamed of Simon, that he tried to make him as “tame and malleable as possible” and that this was wrong and destructive (381). Similarly with Kerewin he realises he “was trying to make her fit [...] [an] idea of what a friend, a partner was” (381) instead of accepting her for who she was. From his new position he can now see “other possibilities, other ways” (381) of approaching people and relationships. The earthquake shakes the land so violently that it throws up the mauri stone out of the pool. Joe picks the stone up expecting it to be heavy, but it is of “no weight at all”. He feels “ecstasy as he carries it, a live buoying stream of joy that makes him want to shout and sing and dance”. The lights he sees around everything remind him of the auras Simon used to see. The mauri guides him back to the kaumātua’s home where he decides “for sure as the light that lives steadily in the stone, he’s going home” (385). He takes the mauri with him and it sinks back into the earth outside Kerewin’s new shell-shaped home. Its power can still be felt by Simon, Joe and Kerewin as a “sort of pricket and tremble” in their stomachs (445). Thus, the three characters are connected via Kerewin’s home and name to each other, and via the mauri stone to the land. It appears that Joe, like Kerewin, has successfully realised his previous mistakes and although he can not change them he can prevent repeating them. When antagonised by Luce, Joe refuses to let his anger get the better of him, he tells himself “No way. Not that way ever again” (445). He is ready to

⁵⁰ In *The Tempest* Caliban says “the isle is full of noises / Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and not hurt” (Act III scene ii lines 140-141)

join the community as an individual and to let others exist as independent but connected beings. Thus, his individuation process is complete.

Conclusion

Keri Hulme once wrote on her tax return form that she was a “Myth Maker” (Sarti 61). In *the bone people* she has woven together literary, historical and cultural myths in order to tell a story that lays out allegorical models for future social relations in New Zealand. She envisages new family structures and living models and proposes a blueprint for race relations between Māori and Pākehā. *The bone people* has been described by some critics as a “nation building novel”. However, there has been debate as to exactly what kind of nation is envisaged and how accurately this vision matches up with the reality of the social situation in New Zealand.

In the novel *Kerewin*, Joe and Simon form a new “family”. Simon is initially fostered (but not adopted) by Joe but after the brutal beating is taken away by social services. *Kerewin* then formally adopts him. In this trinity Joe and *Kerewin* take the traditional place of parents, and Simon needs both of them. However, Joe and *Kerewin* do not have a traditionally romantic involvement. Joe would like there to be a sexual component to their relationship but *Kerewin* insists that she is “neuter”, an asexual person. The ties between the three characters are so strong that neither Joe, *Kerewin* nor Simon can live without the other two. Even after being nearly beaten to death by Joe, Simon can not face life without his foster parent:

[...] home is Joe, Joe of the hard hands but sweet love. Joe who can comfort, Joe who takes care. The strong man, the man who cries with him. And home has become *Kerewin*, *Kerewin* the distant who is so close. The woman who is wise, who doesn't tell him lies. [...].

And if he can't go home, he might as well not be. They might as well not be, because they only make sense together. He knew that in the beginning with an elation beyond anything he had ever felt. He has worked at keeping them together whatever the cost. He doesn't know the words for what they are. Not family, not whanau ... maybe there aren't words for us yet? (395)

Stead has observed that what gives the novel its imaginative strength is “that it creates a sexual union where no sex occurs, creates parental love where there are no physical parents, creates the stress and fusion of a family where there is no actual family” (181). Ironically, against his own argument for the racial classification of the author, Stead praises Hulme’s proposal that social identity does not have to be based on fixed genetic or even traditional requirements. Simon, as an adopted child, represents one further way Hulme resists forms of social identification that stress blood ties and “racial purity”. Hulme is suggesting a flexible and inclusive approach to social relations whereby individuals are accepted and their differences respected. Kerewin’s vision of commensalism (“privacy, apartness, but all connected and all part of the whole” (434)) is the model for relations between Joe, Kerewin and Simon. They will live together under the same roof but give each other space to develop as individuals.

The new “family” established by the three protagonists and the shell-shape house form a political allegory of race relations in New Zealand. Margery Fee states that a “nation building novel” is one which attempts “to rewrite their author’s nation, often showing ways to reunite a nation spilt along cultural lines” (“Inventing New Ancestors” 59). Fee notes that in the common aim of “rewriting the ideology of nationalism at a metaphorical level” these novels (for example, Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children*, and Margaret Laurence’s *The Diviners*) share many features. Primary among these features is the use of a family, or a version of family, to represent the nation. In the characters of Joe (a part Pākehā Māori man) and Kerewin (a part Māori Pākehā woman), Hulme represents the degree of cultural blending between Māori and Pākehā at individual and national level in New Zealand. Although each character, and Hulme herself, stresses the fact that “you can’t section up your Maori side and your Pakeha side because they are intimately intertwined” (Alley 149), space must be given to each “part” in order for an individual to grow as a healthy human being. Understanding of both cultural heritages provides the individual with greater self-knowledge and security. This is in keeping with the aims of biculturalism. During the 1980s New Zealand moved away from the policy of integration towards biculturalism. In 1968 Eric Schwimmer defined biculturalism as “the conscious confrontation and reconciliation of two conflicting value systems, both of which are accepted as

valid” (13). *the bone people* echoes these sentiments and looks towards a future “flowering” of cultural relations. By 1990, seven years after the first publication of Hulme’s novel, New Zealand was officially, and to some extent in practice, a bicultural society.

Has the flowering taken place? Was there a move towards mutual understanding and co-existence between the two cultures? When asked this question in 1992 Hulme replied with qualified optimism:

I think so because over the last few years I *think* we have become much more honest with one another. Now this is curious, it’s partly because we are trading myths – but no reasonable people any longer pretend that all the past is glory and light or even that it was mainly nice all the time. Because there are a lot of horrible things about the relationship of Maori and Pakeha and I think the chance is now a viable one because of that honesty. In fact *now* is our chance. If we fluff it up I don’t like to think what the future would be. We can do all the right things, we can, for instance, within New Zealand reconcile the cultures and provide for something new and wondrous in the form of Aotearoa. (Alley 155)

From this statement it is evident that Hulme regards the process of cultural co-existence as beginning from an interweaving of diverse imaginative perspectives (exactly what her novel proposes). Since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 the government has gradually incorporated Māori cultural perspectives and cultural lores into official policies (for example, in the Resource Management Act). In 1988 the government declared the Treaty of Waitangi to be “part of the basic law” of New Zealand. But as Williams states, these moves are largely discursive. Although in general, and at a tribal level, Māori are receiving greater cultural recognition, the changes that have been made to government or legal systems have not fundamentally altered the European nature of those institutions. By 2050 New Zealand may very well be renamed Aotearoa and have a registered “Māori” population that exceeds the “Pākehā” but will the underlying Eurocentric institutions and laws have altered, or will New Zealand be, as Edward Wakefield envisaged in the nineteenth century, a country of “brown[ish] Pākehās”. At the level of cultural politics and policy making biculturalism may

sound like a way of achieving harmonious race relations but as far as practical implementation of its ideals are concerned New Zealand has a lot of ground to cover.

Some critics of biculturalism in New Zealand claim that in its limited discursive role it acts as a shield under which the dominant Pākehā group can consolidate its position of authority. Williams writes:

Biculturalism [...] has allowed the dominant Anglo-Celtic group to redefine the history and contemporary identity of the nation so as to move beyond the shameful associations of the past [...] biculturalism has clearly been advantageous in fashioning an acceptable national self image in a world where colonialism and racism are bad for business. (“How many cultures?” 12)

Although Hulme advocates an honest confrontation with the past (“It’s past but we live with it forever” 444), the project proposed in *the bone people* is a move beyond racism and destructive power relations into a future which asserts positive relationships. Joe is reunited with his son and is forgiven by both Simon and Kerewin – the two people he has hurt the most. As discussed earlier, this ending may seem unlikely and overly optimistic – both on the level of personal relations and on an allegorical level of race relations. Ruth Brown has argued that the “flowering” of interpersonal and inter-racial relationships anticipated by Kerewin at the end of the novel is confined within the novel; within art. Brown insists on a “cultural materialist” reading of *the bone people*, because, it is implied, to not look beyond the text is detrimental to New Zealand cultural politics, or as Brown puts it is: “a version of fiddling while Rome burns” (“Contextualising Maori Writing” 87). Like Steve Webster, Brown argues that *the bone people* colludes in the movement which patronises Māori culture and ignores the social truth faced by the majority of Māori people:

Maori comprise 12% of the population but they are unemployed and imprisoned in disproportionately large numbers, the main victims of poverty, deprivation and social polarisation. Rather than remedying this situation, the validation of Maori culture may have colluded with it, by providing in art a holism that material life is seen to lack. In a country where all is not a part of everyday life, but

is a valuable cultural export. (“Contextualising Maori Writing” 86-87)

The violence in *the bone people* and the loss and isolation felt by Joe and Kerewin illustrate Hulme’s awareness of the human capacity for destruction of those they love. In *Te Kaihau/The Windeater* this facet of human life is repeatedly drawn out in detail. Mentally or physically scarred characters inhabit the stories in this book and they live their lives feeling or inflicting loneliness and pain. For the woman with an unborn child in “One Whale Singing” the only way out of her lonely predicament (and away from her patronising husband) is death by drowning in the ocean. The Māori girl in “While my Guitar Gently Sings” extricates herself from her loving family only to live an impoverished life in the city. As her mother calls for her on her deathbed, the girl sits “alone in the dark” amidst the city lowlifers, thinking regretfully about her mother. The newly formed cultural group in “He Tauware Kawa, He Kawa Tauware” expect to be met with a traditional Māori welcome at the marae they are visiting, but are left out in the cold and dark.

Hulme, like Duff, is aware of increasing divisions in human relations, but she chooses – in *the bone people* at least – to focus on possible creative responses to such divisions. Her novel seeks out new combinations from the level of single words (“bluegreen”, “feldapart”) to cultural formations, epitomised by Simon Peter. The novel proposes that the path to a healthier life for all New Zealanders lies in embracing a form of spirituality that is deemed to have been lost in modern capitalist life-ways. That this spirituality is located within the Māori culture in the novel simultaneously asserts Māori centrality in the formulation of a postcolonial New Zealand identity whilst subjecting it to continued Pākehā appropriation. Māori writers must negotiate their own cultural politics in relation to these aims (and this is made more necessary by the Pākehā dominance over book publishing and book buying in New Zealand). As the attendant criticism of *the bone people* illustrates, Keri Hulme’s novel can be interpreted as a positive affirmation of Māori culture *and* as capitulation to Eurocentric discourses. This shows the difficulties encountered in evolving a present working Māori identity in relation to mainstream Pākehā identity. The ambiguity of the novel derives from the way that any definition of Māori identity in the present is, of necessity, based upon

culturally syncretic (or cross cultural) repositories of Māori “tradition”. This is something Ihimaera demonstrates in his latest edited collection of short stories, *Where’s Waari*. As Māori continue to negotiate their identity (pan-tribally and tribally), and New Zealand continues to strive towards harmonising its postcolonising and postcolonised forces, honest cultural debate that retains a firm eye on social reality must take place. In their own ways, Hulme, Duff, Grace and Ihimaera contribute to such a debate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Violent Other: A Survey of Colonial Representations of Māori as Noble and Ignoble Savage.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries numerous stereotypes of Māori existed. As with similar representations of indigenous peoples throughout the British Empire, this multitude of stereotypes illustrates the manner in which the “native” was refracted through the colonial imagination. Contradictions abound within the representations: for example, Māori were seen to be both loyal and rebellious, honourable and deceitful, gentle maidens and ferocious cannibals. The historian James Belich describes Eurocentric representations of “savages” in general, and Māori in particular, through the metaphor of a “septifocal set of distorting spectacles”, the seven coloured lenses being “clear, grey, white, black, red, brown, and green” (*Making Peoples* 21-22). The grey lens which “saw the Māori as a shadowy, declining or dying race” (21) has been referred to in Chapters Three and Five, the white lens which “portrayed Māori as quite European-like, with great potential for conversion” (21) has been discussed in Chapters One and Five, and the brown lens, through which Māori were viewed as “natural subordinates: potentially faithful, sometimes comic” (21), was mentioned in Chapter Three. This chapter proposes to analyse the ways in which Māori were viewed through the black and the red lenses as cannibals and warriors and considers, where possible, how such distorted perspectives of indigenous violence sit in relation to evidence given through, what some commentators still believe to be, the “relatively unbiased” clear lens of history.

The material in this chapter provides the background to what Christina Thompson refers to in her article “A Dangerous People”, as the “mythology of violence” (109) that surrounds the historical presentation of Māori and which continues to influence representations and understandings of Māori in the present. Representations of Māori through the black and red lenses of the Eurocentric “distorting spectacles” as Ignoble and Noble Savages have entrenched the belief internationally, within New Zealand and in some Māori themselves, that Māori were, and still are, essentially violent. Alan Duff subscribes to this opinion and his novels rework late eighteenth and early nineteenth century stereotypes of Māori as violent thereby extending the mythology of violence that continues to surround Māori culture.

The Universal Violent Other

Within colonial discourse it has been a familiar strategy of representation to associate indigenous, colonised peoples with violence. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the Carib and Arawak Native Indian populations of the West Indies were represented by Columbus as savage cannibals. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the not unfounded but heavily exaggerated reputation for cannibalism spread to the Aborigines of Australia and the Māori of New Zealand. Thus, a universal image of savagery was established.

In many cases the belief in indigenous savagery was the product of irrational Eurocentric fears of the unknown other, rather than a rational understanding of the behavioural characteristics of individual tribes and cultures. That is not to say that the people who came under the observational lens of European history were non-violent, as this suggestion offers an equally distorted picture of the people in question as that which assumes them to be excessively violent, but it is now widely acknowledged that European observers and recorders dramatised and enlarged upon the aggressive elements of the indigenous practices they “witnessed” or heard about. A good example of this process is the story of Eliza Fraser recounted in ballad form in a broadsheet in 1837. In 1836 Eliza and the crew of the *Stirling Castle* were shipwrecked off the coast of Australia. Whilst in captivity on Fraser Island, Eliza’s husband (Captain of the vessel) and several crew-members were killed. The ballad version of the story exaggerates the event and depicts it as a full-scale massacre (Schaffer 46-448).

For pre-twentieth century explorers, traders, and missionaries setting out on trans-oceanic voyages fears of shipwreck, disease and death were very real. When they set sail for uncharted waters they left everything that was familiar to them. As early as the fifth century BC, Herodotus, the Greek historian, wrote about man-eaters inhabiting the fringes of the known world. When Europeans began to explore the outer reaches of their universe from the fifteenth century onwards, fear and fascination over the types of people they expected to find prompted them to consider native inhabitants of distant lands with suspicion. The foreigners they encountered came to stand for everything the European thought himself not to be. In the series of binary oppositions which placed Europeans as civilised, and the colonised other as primitive, the dichotomy of self as peace-

loving humanitarian and the other as barbaric savage gained currency. Violence as a marker of cultural difference became conflated with ideas of race, and was frequently deemed to be an essential characteristic of “lower”, less civilised, dark-skinned peoples.

Each Imperial excursion across the seas fuelled the growing discourse about indigenous violence. Since the claims of Columbus that the Caribs were cannibals, seamen, travellers, castaways and missionaries circulated stories about the propensity of indigenous peoples in far away isles for violence of the most heinous kind. In 1719, Daniel Defoe’s scenes of indigenous cannibalism in *Robinson Crusoe* reinforced the stereotype of the violent other. Defoe offers a detailed account of the bodily remains of the victims of a cannibal feast:

When I [Crusoe] came to the Place, my very Blood ran chill in my Veins, and my Heart sunk within me, at the Horror of the Spectacle: Indeed it was a dreadful Sight, at least it was so to me; though *Friday* made nothing of it: The Place was cover’d with humane Bones, the Ground dy’d with their Blood, great Pieces of Flesh left here and there, after a Victory over their Enemies; I saw three Skulls, five Hands and the Bones of three or four Legs and Feet, and abundance of other Parts of the Bodies; and *Friday*, by his Signs, made me understand, that they brought over four Prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth. (207)

By the time Cook entered the South Pacific, expectations of native cannibalism were rife. Gananath Obeyesekere refers to what he calls the “Cannibalistic Complex” of the British reading public in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. He explains it as follows:

- 1 the British reading public wanted to hear accounts of cannibalism;
- 2 cannibalism was what voyagers most expected to find; and
- 3 it was what they feared most. (635)

British explorers therefore, assumed that the natives were cannibals and took this knowledge with them on their voyages of discovery. In this way the stereotype of

the primitive other in the popular imagination helped to “fuel white fears and promote exploitation” (Schaffer 30).

In a recent article about cannibalism in the New World, Heidi Zogbaum suggests that Columbus invented the charge of cannibalism against the Arawaks and Caribs so that they would be deemed beyond redemption and therefore made eligible for sale as slaves to Spain’s Most Catholic Kings (735). Zogbaum is not alone in her opinion, and she notes the skepticism now applied by scholars to accounts of cannibalism from the New World. Likewise, Ian Barber, in his essay about reports of Māori cannibalism before 1815, recalls the views held by Arens that no adequate documentation of cannibalism as a custom in any form of society has yet been uncovered (241). Barber cautions the reader in their approach to the source material provided by Cook and his crewmen as to the existence of cannibalism in New Zealand:

[...] one must also be careful to separate analytical descriptions relevant to historical reconstruction from speculations grounded in a contemporary cultural milieu. In some accounts an apparent mix of fact and fancy is also compounded by a lack of concern for careful documentation. (244)

The “evidence” of Māori cannibalism provided by Cook, his crewmen, traders and missionaries was influenced by the circulating discourse of indigenous violence and should be read in the light of Barber’s caution.

Within the tradition of representation there have been several shifts in the philosophical reasoning for the causes of Māori violence – in the early nineteenth century Māori were considered by many European observers as inherently violent but after the Land Wars Māori aggression was thought by some to be a courageous response to colonial oppression. The debate as to whether violence perpetrated by Māori is indicative of an essential racial trait or, paradoxically, the product of colonisation and the ensuing loss of traditional culture, has drawn much contemporary commentary and is discussed in greater detail in relation to Alan Duff. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Māori stereotypes still exist in contemporary literature *and* influence derivative identities.

The Black Māori: Representations of Māori as Ignoble Savage

In New Zealand today it is a widely accepted view that pre-European Māori practiced cannibalism and that in the early years of contact with Europeans several feasts on white bodies took place. Such acts may have occurred, but little reliable evidence has been found to prove that Māori engaged in the practice as frequently as European/Pākehā texts would have us believe.

As indigenes of lands remote from Europe, Māori were placed under a suspicion of cannibalism even before regular contact was established. Upon contact, reports of cannibal tendencies fuelled further expectations. Cook's own fascination and repulsion and his relentless desire for "proof" of cannibal acts were mirrored by his crewmen. The result was "'an orgy' of ship board entries [...] with graphic details and philosophical speculation aplenty" (Barber 214). Joseph Banks noted the tendency of men to project their own hunger for proof (and perhaps the notoriety that came with it) onto situations. In his report of two accounts of cannibalism by men from the *Endeavour* in Totaranui in January 1770, he concludes the two stories are variants based on the misrepresentation of a single incident. Banks remarks that the gentlemen writing the reports "know only a few words of the language, and eating people is now always the uppermost Idea in their heads" (Beaglehole *Banks* Vol I 462). It might be instructive at this point to consider some examples of the accounts of Māori cannibalism produced by Cook and his crewmen.

On Wednesday 17th January 1770 Captain Cook's ship, the *Endeavour*, anchored in Ship Cove at the north-eastern end of the south island of New Zealand, an area known to Māori as Totaranui. Two days later, Cook "went in the Pinnace into a norther cove" (Beaglehole *Cook* Vol I 236). On meeting two or three Māori he remarked:

[they] must have been regailing themselves upon human flesh, for I got from one of them the bone of the fore arm of a Man or a Woman which was quite fresh and the flesh had been but lately pick'd off which they told us they had eat. (236)

Cook and his men had not "the least doubt but what this people were Canabals" (236) and the "Bone with part of the sinews fresh upon it was a stronger proof

than any” (236) of cannibalism yet encountered. As a result of these events, Cook named the area now known as Little Waikawa Bay, “Cannibal Bay” (236).

There are several other accounts of the same incident. Francis Wilkinson, a seaman on board the *Endeavour*, gives an embellished report:

They Saw Several Indians round an Oven made of Stones where the[y] Bake their fish or Flesh ... even the Intrels was Laying on a Bank of Grass by them.
(Beaglehole *Cook* Vol I 236)

Another seaman, Richard Pickersgill, similarly enlarges upon the incident in a later report:

... we saw one of the Bodys and two arms with flesh upon them which we saw them eat this is the first Proof Positive we had of the Inhabitants being CANNIBALS and I believe these are the only People who kill their fellow creatures Purely for the meat which we are well Assured they do by their laying in wait one for another as a sportsman would for his game and they carry this detestable crime so far as to glory in carrieing in their ears the Thumbs of those unhappy sufferrrs who fell in their way ... their was a young girl seized upon by some People in the same bay & eat one morning whilst we were here and about two hours afterwards they brought the Bones to sell to some of our People these with several other Instances of Barbarrous cruelty these savages is guilty of which ought to make them be abhord by all who may have occasion to tutch at these Islands. (Beaglehole *Cook* Vol I 236)

Although Cook and his men had no doubts that cannibalism existed in New Zealand, they did gather reports that suggested it was not a universal practice. The Māori in Cannibal Bay openly demonstrated a liking for human flesh: “they bit a[nd] naw’d the bone and draw’d it thro’ their mouth and this in such a manner as plainly shew’d that the flesh to them was a dainty bit” (Beaglehole *Cook* Vol I 236-237). In other areas the idea of cannibalism was met with either shame or denial. According to Joseph Banks, when the *Endeavour* first landed at Taoneroa (Poverty Bay) on the east coast of the central north island, he met with two boys who “seemd ashamd of the custom, saying that the tribe to which they belonged did not use it but that another very near did” (Beaglehole

Banks Vol I 443). Ian Barber states that these observations may hint at “variant (regional and perhaps even generational) perspectives on the purported practice” (250). Alternatively, Kay Schaffer, suggests that stories told by indigenous people about their neighbours/enemies being cannibals, unlike themselves, illustrates the way in which “the term crosses cultures as a useful ploy for identifying the ultimate mark of otherness” (111). In some cases during the early years of contact, Māori cajoled Europeans to side with them against a particular tribe which they considered more of an enemy “other” than the newly arrived white-skinned men, and the accusation of cannibalism helped serve this purpose.

After the first Pacific voyage, when Cook nearly lost the *Endeavour* on the Great Barrier Reef, he decided to take two ships on the next expedition. The second voyage consisted of his own ship, the *Resolution*, and a sister ship, the *Adventure*, commanded by Tobias Furneaux.

During the *Resolution*'s second visit to Totaranui between 3-25 November 1773, a group of officers happened across a small party of Māori warriors recently returned from a plundering raid. The head of a male youth, his intestines, liver and lungs were lying on the ground. His heart was “stuck on a forked stick and fixed to the prow of their largest war canoe” (Salmond *Between Worlds* 95). One of the Māori skewered the discarded lungs with his spear and held them close to Pickersgill's mouth, making signs for him to eat it. Pickersgill, who had no doubts that the Māori had eaten the rest of the body, refused the offer but did barter two nails for the head. Back on board the *Resolution*, the head became the focus of a live demonstration of Māori cannibalism.

Charles Clerke cut a piece of the flesh from the face, grilled it, and offered it to a party of Māori (from a different area of the Sound) who happened to be on board the ship at the time. One man took up the “steak” and “devour'd it most ravenously, and suck'd his fingers ... in raptures” (Beaglehole *Cook* Vol II 292-293). On the return of Cook to the ship the process was repeated again. Cook watched “one of these cannibals eat it [human flesh] with seeming good relish”, which had “such effect” on some of the ship's company as to cause them to vomit (Barber 252).

The over emphasis of the “cannibal's” gestures of enjoyment has lead critics to question the “authenticity” of this episode as adequate “proof” of

cannibalism. Ian Barber has read the “exaggerated gestures” as indicative of an attempt “to convince for whatever motive”. He goes on to state: “this incident hardly impresses as a spontaneous cultural expression or preference” (255). Anne Salmond notes the history of Charles Clerke as a man given to sending up the idea of “witnessing” and scientific “truth”. His “impromptu barbecue”, writes Salmond, “mocked both experiments and cannibals”, while in their “finger-licking responses”, Māori mocked the Europeans on board and the young man, Hitihiti, from Borabora (*Between Worlds* 94).

This episode may also be classed as a case of Māori “auto-ethnography”. The Māori subject willingly and knowingly displays the very characteristics the European observers expect of him. The show of aggression is arguably an integral aspect of Māori culture, for example the haka is intended to intimidate its audience and command respect for the warriors. Since first contact with Europeans, Māori have used the appearance of violence to intimidate Pākehā and, as discussed in the next chapter, this has led to problematic repercussions and limitations on cultural identity.

One observation the majority of Europeans agreed upon was the belief that Māori practiced cannibalism only against their enemies. The following statement by Banks expresses this opinion:

They [Māori] [...] universally agree that they eat none but the bodies of those of their enemies who are killed in war, all others are buried. (Beaglehole *Banks* Vol I 443)

In Māori culture cannibalism was connected to the custom of utu. “Cannibalism among Maori”, writes Salmond, “was not arbitrary, but a devastating act of retribution. Where there had been hara, or offence against mana, there had to be utu (or some kind of return)” (*Between Worlds* 144). Intertribal wars were generally conducted in attempts to gain utu, and eating one’s enemies in a victory feast provided a means of debasing the foe by turning them into food which was considered “noa” or profane. Thus earlier insult was met in kind. As Ranginui Walker states:

Eating an enemy was more than a symbolic ingestion of mana. It was the ultimate debasement to be passed through the alimentary canal and emerge as excrement. (*Struggle Without End* 72)

In the early days of Māori/Pākehā contact Europeans believed cannibalism to be confined to the Māori (that is, Māori would only eat Māori enemies). However, as race relations strained with the arrival of more and more ships to the coasts of New Zealand, Māori evidently begun to apply their laws of *utu* to the Pākehā.

A number of incidents of cannibalism against Europeans occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1772, the French explorer Marion du Fresne and twenty-five of his men were attacked, killed and reportedly eaten by Māori in the Bay of Islands in reprisal for their transgression of *tapu*, Māori sacred laws (Salmond *Between Worlds* 20).⁵¹ In December 1773, a party of Captain Furneaux' men were feasted upon by Māori in Totaranui after a disagreement over trade (Salmond *Between Worlds* 100-105). Both these incidents are symbolic of the rising tensions between the Māori and the European visitors. European vessels had depleted local resources, venereal diseases had been introduced, and Māori *tapu* and *mana* trampled on (Salmond *Between Worlds* 143-144). However, although widely discussed and reported, neither incident mentioned above drew as much media attention as the sacking of the *Boyd* in 1809.

The *Boyd* was a transport ship commanded by John Thompson that had stopped to visit Whangaroa for timber en-route from Port Jackson to London when it was attacked, plundered and burnt by Ngāti Uru Māori.

The ship had been attacked in retaliation for the Captain's mistreatment of a local chief. The chief in question, "George", or Te Aara, had apparently tried to steal a carpenter's axe from the ship and as a consequence was tied up by Thompson and threatened with a flogging. In reply to this transgression of Te Aara's *mana* Ngāti Uru chiefs raided the *Boyd*.

The fate of the *Boyd* was discovered by Alexander Berry, Captain of the *City of Edinburgh*. An account of Berry's report is given in Anne Salmond's book *Between Worlds* (383-386). Included in Berry's evidence are indications of

⁵¹ James Belich offers an alternative view: "such breaches from ignorance were often forgiven in the history of contact, and it seems that local politics was also a factor. The French were a new factor in a delicate balance of tribal power relations in the Bay. Unwilling to become allies with

cannibalism; amongst the debris of the *Boyd* were “mangled fragments and fresh bones [...] with the marks even of teeth remaining upon them” (383).

Before leaving the Bay of Islands Berry wrote a Notice warning other ships about the “Massacre of the crew of the *Boyd*”. Information included in the Notice was most likely given by Matengaro, a probable enemy of Ngāti Uru chief, Te Pahi, to whom the blame for the sacking of the *Boyd* was ascribed.⁵² The incident is represented as a “surprise attack” and the work of treacherous savages. News of the massacre spread quickly through New Zealand, Australia and Britain.

A broadsheet was printed in London describing the “Atrocious and Horrible Massacres of the Crew of the Ship *Boyd*” (fig. 7). Part of the lurid report read as follows:

There were about 40 in all, 30 of whom the horrid
monsters tore limb from limb, and regaled
themselves on the flesh of the unfortunate victims.

The report ended with a ballad describing the event:

Ye British seamen with hearts of gold,
Who plough the raging sea,
Attend, while I to you unfold,
A horrid Massacree,
Which did of very late take place,
Upon a British crew,
So dismal and so foul a case,
Before you never knew.

Returning home from Botany Bay,
The Captain and his crew,
At anchor in New Zealand lay,
Some timber for to view.
And while the Captain went on shore,
The timber for to see,
Chief Tippohee came on board,
With all his company.

Some time he view'd the vessel o'er,
Then gave a dreadful yell,
Which was the signal to begin,

any one side and offending the gods of others it was most likely decided Marion be removed from the picture” (*Making Peoples* 77).

⁵² There was much confusion over who was actually to blame. Although Te Pahi was accused it is more likely that it was Te Puhī, Te Pahi’s father-in-law and Te Aara’s elder brother, who was involved. See Salmond, *Between Worlds* 383-394.

Atrocious and Horrible MASSACREE,

Of the Crew of the Ship Boyd, Capt. Thomson, Newcastle, who were Unmercifully Devoured by the Cannibals of New Zealand, here the Ship had touched on her way home from Botany Bay.



It appears that whilst the Boyd was at Botany Bay the Captain went with one of the two Chiefs who govern the Island of New Zealand, named Tippoohee & agreed with him to purchase some timber to take to England. As soon as the voyage would permit, the ship arrived at the Island, and the Captain was promised the timber in two days. In the mean time, he was invited on shore, and attended the Chief with part of the ship's company in the boat. Nothing particular transpired on this occasion; but the Chief returned on board, the ship attended by a number of canoes full of men. They were permitted to examine the ship, as a matter of curiosity. Tippoohee was treated with great respect; and having continued on board some time, he got into his boat, for the purpose as was supposed, of meeting the Captain who had gone to see the timber. Instead however, he gave a dreadful yell, which was the signal for the massacre of the whole ship's company.—There were about 40 in all, 30 of whom the horrid monsters tore limb from limb, and regaled themselves on the flesh of the unfortunate victims. Ten of the men, 2 women passengers, and a lad, ran below; the Chief hailed the men, and told them they had got all they wanted, having plundered the ship, and if they would come down their lives should be spared. The deluded men obeyed, and fell like their comrades, a sacrifice to the inordinate and brutal appetites of the cannibals. The 2 women and the boy were taken on shore, and their lives spared but the ship was burnt. The rival Chief, Pari, situated at a different part of the Island, heard of the affair, and expressed his sorrow on the occasion to the Captain of the City of Edinburgh, who was at the Island for timber, and prepared to accompany him with an armed force to release the women & boy, in which they perfectly succeeded.

The following address has been circulated on the subject of the late massacre by the cannibals natives of that quarter;—"All Masters of ships frequenting New Zealand, are directed to be careful in not admitting many natives on board, as they may be cut off in an instant by surprise. These are to certify, that during our stay in this

YE British seamen hearts of gold,
Who plough the raging sea,
Attend, while I to you unfold,
A horrid Massacre.
Which did of very late take place,
Upon a British crew,
So dismal and so foul a case,
Before you never knew.
Returning home from Botany Bay,
The Captain and his crew,
At anchor at New Zealand lay,
Some timber for to view,
And while the Captain went on shore,
The timber for to see

Chief Tippoohee came on board,
With all his company.
Some time he view'd the vessel o'er,
Then gave a dreadful yell,
Which was the signal to begin,
Upon the crew they fell.
Thirty of whom the monsters tore,
Limb from limb with speed,
And while their flesh did reek with gore,
They eat it as 'twere bread.
Two women and a lad they took,
On shore, and both were sav'd,
The Captain murder'd was on shore,
All by these blood-hound knaves.

The ship they robb'd of all her store,
Then burnt her up with speed,
The Monsters hasten'd to the shore,
When they had done the deed.

Be warn'd ye Captains, by the fate,
Of Thomson, and his crew,
Touch not that cursed fiore left you
These Cannibals pursue.
Those murd'rous fiends who live by blood,
Like Tigers watch their prey,
For while they smile they're bent the while,
To take your lives away.

harbour, we had frequent reports of a ship being taken by the natives of the neighbouring harbour of Wangangoa, and that the crew were killed and eaten. In order to ascertain the truth of this report, as well as to rescue a few people who were said to be spared in the general massacre, Mr. Berty accompanied by Mr. Russel, and Metangangoa, a principal Chief of the Bay Islands, who volunteered his services, set out for Wangangoa in three armed boats, on Saturday the 4th of May and upon their arrival they found the miserable remains of the ship Boyd, which the natives after stripping of every thing of value, had burnt down to the water's edge. From the handsome conduct of Metangangoa, they were able to rescue a boy, a woman, and two children, the only survivors of this shocking event; which, according to the most satisfactory information, was perpetrated entirely under the direction of that old rascal Tippoohee who had been so undeservedly caressed at Fort Jackson. This unfortunate vessel intended to load with masks, &c. She had been there 3 days; after her arrival, the natives informed the master, that in two days they would show the spars. Next day, in the morning, Tippoohee came from Tippoohee, and went on board; he staid only a few minutes. He then went into his canoe, and remained along-side the vessel, which was surrounded with a considerable number of canoes that had collected for the purpose of trading; and a great number of the natives gradually intruded into the ship, and sat down upon the deck. After breakfast, the master left the ship to look out for spars with two boats. Tippoohee, after waiting a convenient time now gave signal for Massacre—in an instant the savages, who appeared peaceable on deck, rushed upon the unarmed crew who were variously employed about the ship: the greater part were massacred in an instant, and were no sooner knocked down than they were cut to pieces still alive. Five or six men escaped by the rigging. Tippoohee now having possession of the ship, hailed them with a speaking-trumpet, and ordered them to unband the sails and cut away the rigging and they should not be hurt they complied with his commands, and afterwards came down upon the deck he then took him on shore in a canoe, and immediately killed them. The master went ashore without arms, and of course, was easily dispatched. The natives of the Spar district in this harbour have behaved well, even beyond expectation, and seem much concerned on account of the event! and dreading the displeasure of King George, have requested a certificate of their good conduct, in order to exempt them from his vengeance; but let no man after his trust a New Zealander.

(Signed) Simon Pattinson, Alex. Berry, Supercargo, James Russel.
Given on board the City of Edinburgh, Captain S. Pattinson, at the Bay Islands.

The boy Davinson, mentioned above, owed the preservation of his life to his being club footed, the natives taking him for a son of the devil.

Printed by J. Catnach, 2, Monmouth-court, 7 Dials

Fig. 7. J. Catnach's "Atrocious and Horrible Massacree of the Crew of the Ship Boyd", c. 1809 (rpt.in Salmond, *Between Worlds* 389).

Upon the crew they fell.
 Thirty of whom the monsters tore,
 Limb from limb with speed,
 And while their teeth did reek with gore,
 They eat it as 'twere bread.

Two women and a lad they took,
 On shore, and both were saved,
 The Captain murder'd was on shore,
 All by these blood-hound knaves.
 The ship they robb'd of all her store,
 Then burnt her up with speed,
 The Monsters hasten'd to the shore,
 When they had done the deed.

Be warn'd, ye Captains, by the fate,
 Of Thompson, and his crew,
 Touch not that cursed shore lest you
 These Cannibals pursue.
 Those murd'rous fiends who live by blood,
 Like Tigers watch their prey,
 For while they smile they're bent the while,
 To take your lives away.
 (Salmond *Between Worlds* 388)

This ballad is typical of those by James Catnach, the main ballad printer of the Seven Dials, in the UK in the 1820s and 1830s. The Māori are represented as brutal, violent and animal-like (“tigers”) in their behaviour. “This form of ballad”, writes Schaffer, “had mass cultural appeal” because it “fed the working-class love of melodrama and farce, spectacle and pageantry” (48). The ballad series reported similar savage incidents committed by indigenous peoples throughout the world against Europeans (for example, the broadsheet ballad of *The Wreck of the Stirling Castle* referred to earlier) and helped to establish, not only the Māori reputation for cannibalism, but the British conception of the “universal savage”.

In the picture accompanying the text about the “Atrocious and Horrible Massacres” of the Crew of the *Boyd*, dark figures hack at white men with axes and knives. A backdrop of palm trees locates the action somewhere “exotic” (but not necessarily New Zealand as these types of palms do not grow here). The scene takes place on a beach. The Europeans are trapped by the Māori as they are separated from the main ship which stands to one side of the picture as a symbol

of European technical and educational advancement. The Māori in this picture are the epitome of the Ignoble Savage. One of the Europeans is shown to be praying, thus associating Europeans with religious and moral integrity, and conversely, the Māori as savage fiends with no knowledge of the Christian God.

Māori were represented on the international scene as a dangerous, violent race and the notion that they were cannibals became entrenched. But to what degree was this notion based on empirical evidence? Ian Barber has proposed that most of the reported cases of cannibalism were based on circumstantial evidence. Barber also asserts that archaeological evidence does not support the view of widespread cannibalism.⁵³ He does conclude however, that:

[...] a compelling case emerges for the occasional practice of cannibalism among late 18th-century Maori communities of both North and South Islands. Against the further weight of Maori oral tradition [...] one would be hard pressed to argue otherwise. (280)

The “occasional” practice of cannibalism was enough to terrify European sailors, and the many tracts upon the subject testify to the very real experience of fear. The impact of these texts has, however, stigmatised pre-European Māori as a fearsome race who once, frequently, indulged in cannibalism.

During the Musket Wars in the 1820s and 1830s the Maori reputation for violence increased and further accusations of Maori cannibalism were reported. The presence of Europeans in Māori settlements caused resentment amongst tribes and fuelled existing rivalries. In 1818 agricultural revolution, pioneered by Te Pahi and Ruatara, established the means of mass producing pigs and potatoes. Potatoes were more reliable and resilient than kumara crops and helped feed long-range expeditions in an unprecedented way. Māori war parties could travel further and longer in pursuit of their enemies. Once engaged in battle newly acquired European muskets proved to have devastating effects.

In 1821 Hongi Hika (fig. 8) travelled to England and returned armed to the hilt with guns. He used his initial monopoly over the gun trade to crush his rivals

⁵³ Although Barber acknowledges the problem of what actually counts as “evidence” he concludes that most archaeological sites do not produce conclusive evidence of cannibalism: “In some site reports, it is also likely that evidence of cremation and/or secondary inhumation has been confused with cannibalism” (283).



Fig. 8. Horatio Robley's representation of the famous Ngapuhi rangatira Hongi Hika, 1923 (rpt.in Crosby 100).

– Ngāti Paoa of Tamaki, Ngāti Maru of Thames, Arawa of the Bay of Plenty and the Waikato tribes (1821-23), Ngāti Whatua, Ngare Raumati and the people of Whangaroa (1825-1827). Hongi Hika himself died in 1828 from a gun-shot wound in his chest.

Whilst Hongi Hika and his allies were busy in the northern territories of New Zealand, Te Rauparaha (fig. 9) led the Ngāti Toa tribe south from Kawhia which had come under attack from Waikato tribes. Te Rauparaha and his allies Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Rarua, Taranaki people of Te Atiawa, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama, attacked the island pa at Horowhenua in revenge for the murder of some of Te Rauparaha's children (including his eldest son) by the Mauapoko inhabitants. They moved on to capture Kapiti Island and launched a series of attacks on both north and south island enemies. R.D. Crosby gives more details about Te Rauparaha's movements during the wars in his book *The Musket Wars*. Crosby highlights the savagery of the wars often noting cannibal feasts and brutal killings of enemies and slaves.

Many missionary journals written during the Musket Wars also speak of cannibal acts. The Rev. John Morgan's journals and letters provide one such example. Morgan was the missionary stationed at Otawhao (present-day Te Awamutu) between 1841 and 1863. In the following passage from his journal Morgan describes a surprise attack on a pa at Maketu near Rotorua by tribes from Waikato and Tauranga on 28 March 1836 and gives a detailed description of a cannibal feast:

After the fall of the pa there followed all the horrible scenes attendant upon savage cannibalism warfare. But how shall I describe a cannibal feast? It is beyond my powers to point out its horrors. The savage war dance, the horrid yells, the distorted features, and indecent gestures all combine to add horror to the scene. In the distance you may behold the women gathering reeds to coat their careful repast. On the field of battle you may see the naked savages with their tattooed faces, blood-stained bodies, hatchet in hand burying and cutting up the human victims. The legs, arms, the trunks are being carried by men – alas friends, to the place selected for cooking their inhuman feast [...]. The men are cleaning the bodies, if cleaning it can be called – tearing out the bowels, plucking out the hearts,

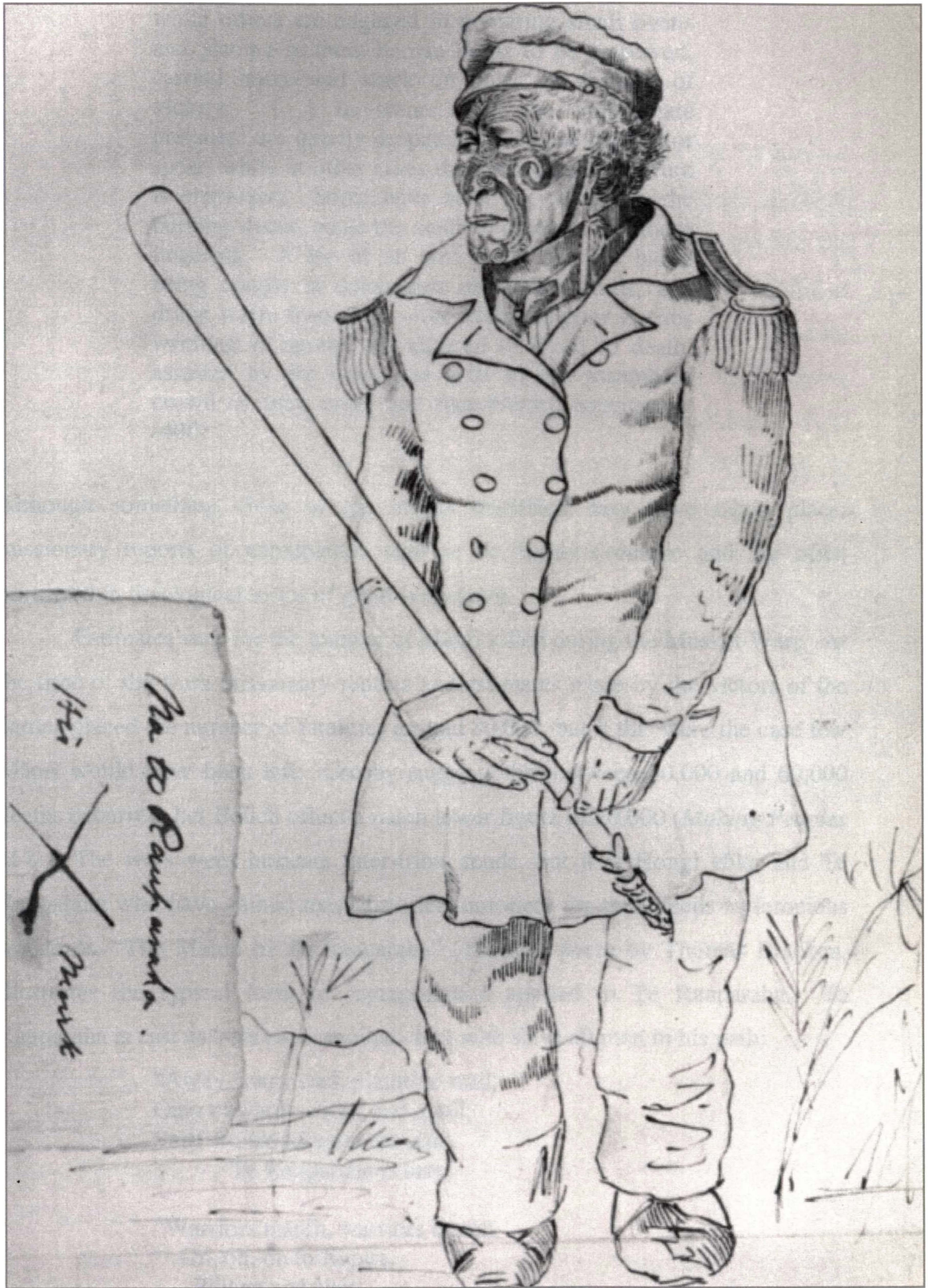


Fig. 9. William Bambridge's pen and ink drawing of Te Rauparaha (rpt. in Butler 80).

scoping out the eyes, which they swallow whole, while others are engaged in preparing small ovens and placing in them human heads to be preserved, carried home and stuck on poles as trophies of victory. [...] In some cases the unfortunate prisoners are quietly despatched with the hatchet or spear, while in other cases the most dreadful torture is employed. Some have been put alive into the burning ovens, while the death of others is still more lingering. A leg or an arm is cut off, the blood being caught in calabashes or human skulls, and drunk warm from their veins while the poor victims writhing in agony, are allowed to bleed to death, assailed by the cries and yells of the assembled crowd of their cruel and bloodthirsty conquerors. (400)

Although something close to the events described may have taken place, missionary reports of cannibalism tend to be highly dramatic and are often portrayed in theological terms of good versus evil.

Estimates vary for the number of Māori killed during the Musket Wars. At the time of the wars missionary reports and estimates made by the victors of the battles placed the number of fatalities around 80,000, but if this were the case few Māori would have been left. Crosby suggests that between 50,000 and 60,000 deaths occurred, but Belich offers a much lower figure of 20,000 (*Making Peoples* 157). The wars were intricate inter-tribal feuds, but it is Hongi Hika and Te Rauparaha who have gained most historical notoriety for their deeds as ferocious war-lords. “The March of Te Rauparaha” (1884), a poem by Thomas Bracken, illustrates the typical form of representation applied to Te Rauparaha. Te Rauparaha is cast as a shrewd cannibal chief who slays all men in his path:

“Away, away each plaintive wail,
Only cowards whine and quail,
Sniff we blood upon the gale,
Te Rauparaha is here.

“Warriors march, warriors march,
On, on, on to Kapita.
Pillage and slay,
Away and away,
On, on, on to Kapita.

“Warriors march, warriors march,

On, on, on to Kapita.
 Scour every plain,
 Feast on the slain,
 On, on, on to Kapita. (24)

Both Te Rauparaha and Hongi's conduct during the wars was interpreted by Europeans in the nineteenth century (and subsequently) as evidence of Māori warmongery. Recent reappraisals of New Zealand history have tempered the assertion that these men were inherently warlike by considering their actions as the product of intricate political tribal disputes rather than barbaric instinct. Furthermore, it has been recognised that it was the introduction of European muskets which drastically altered the style of Māori warfare, making it more deadly than ever before. It may also have been possible that Hongi and Te Rauparaha actually cultivated European presumptions about their ferocity in order to inspire awe and prevent European interference in tribal disputes. Nevertheless, Hongi Hika and Te Rauparaha are to this day exemplary representatives of the image of the violent Māori other who has the capacity to instill both fear and fascination in the Pākehā observer.

The Red Māori: Representations of the Māori Noble Savage

The tradition of representing Māori as “black” savages only forms half of the picture of the violent Māori other seen through the European “septifocal spectacles” in the nineteenth century. The other half of the picture comprises of representations of the “red” Māori, or the Noble Savage.

As discussed in Chapter One, the discourse of the Māori Noble Savage developed in the early nineteenth century as part of the colonial project to civilise and amalgamate Māori into Eurocentric society. Representations of the Māori Noble Savage emphasised and idealised the association between Māori and nature. Interpretations of Māori violence viewed through this trope were similarly romanticised.

The European perception of Maori propensity for violence did not always culminate in negative representations of Maori. Often, as illustrated by J.L. Nicholas, European observers were struck with admiration for the strength and

ferocity displayed by Maori chiefs. In a *Narrative of Voyage to New Zealand* Nicholas writes:

The approach of the canoes to the ship was marked with a wild grandeur of the noblest description, and it was impossible to behold the scene without being impressed with the force of its distinctive sublimity. The different chiefs were all standing up with their war mats thrown gracefully over their shoulders, their hair neatly tied in a bunch upon the crown of the head, and ornamented according to the general fashion of their country with the white feathers of the gannet. Their attitudes and gestures, violently impetuous, as if intent on making an immediate attack upon the vessel, might strike the most resolute beholder with terror; and their fierce countenances, furrowed over with hideous punctures all deeply painted with a blue pigment, or quite black, gave a horrible identity to the savage display. The reader, who has never seen man in this state, can form no conception of him from the portrait I have attempted to draw, which falls infinitely short of the terrible appearance with which he presents himself. (Vol I 194).

The picture of “A Chief of New Zealand” (fig. 10), which provides the frontispiece to Nicholas’s first volume of work, visually conveys the type of image the author is referring to in the passage cited above.

Similar descriptions of Māori as Noble Savage can be found in Augustus Earle’s *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*. Earle was an artist who valued the aesthetic and tended towards picturesque representations of Māori. In a rather romantic allusion, he compares Hongi and his men to “the wanderer Ulysses and his gallant band of warriors” (88) (fig. 11) and later talks about the stature of young Māori boys as being in the mould of “the Infant Hercules” (187).

Such romantic constructions of the Māori Noble Savage prevailed in colonial media coverage of the Land Wars in New Zealand between 1845 and 1872. Prior to the 1960s these wars were commonly referred to as the “Māori Wars”, thereby implying that it was Māori who initiated war and “the Māori” (as a homogeneous group) who were the enemy of the European defenders of order. The renaming of the wars illustrates greater appreciation of the complexity of the causes and course of the wars. However, the labeling of the “Māori Wars”



Fig. 10. "A Chief of New Zealand". Frontispiece to J.L. Nicholas's *Narrative of a Journey to New Zealand performed in the years 1814 and 1815*.



Fig. 11. Augustus Earle's *Meeting of the Artist with Hongi at Bay of Islands*, November, 1827 (rpt. in Blackley, 19).

conflated the representation of “Māori” and “violence” for almost a century after the close of the last battle and helped to promulgate the numerous images of Māori as violent other which were established during this period of New Zealand history.

The dominant representation of Māori during the wars has been discussed and analysed by James Belich in his study *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Belich argues that the Victorian representation of race relations during and following the Land Wars established a “false picture” of events. The dynamic force behind the Victorian interpretation was the conviction of European racial superiority. Contemporary fatal impact theories propounded by polygenists from the 1840s (Robert Knox, J.C. Nott) and evolutionists from the 1850s (Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin) contended that European contact with lesser races would lead to the latter’s extermination. British victory against the Māori was therefore expected, and in fulfillment of this belief war reports were manipulated and evidence fabricated to confirm Māori defeat in battles. In the process, a number of stereotypes revolving around the Māori as warrior developed.

British assessment of Māori warfare was tempered with both praise and criticism. Nineteenth century Victorian preoccupations with heroism, honour and chivalry were projected on to the Māori. Māori were considered strong, heroic and courageous – the more so under the British presumption of victory. The most frequently referenced incident of this type of bravery was the battle of Orakau (31 March to 2 April 1864). Members of at least nine Māori tribes, directed by Rewi Maniapoto of Ngāti Maniapoto, were involved in the battle, which saw them besieged by the British in an incomplete pa for three days. During the third night the Māori attempted an escape by charging through British lines. William Pember Reeves gives a familiar account of the event in *The Land of the Long White Cloud*:

Some three hundred Maoris were shut up in entrenchments at a place called Orakau. Without food, except for a few raw potatoes; without water; pounded by artillery, and under a hail of rifle bullets and hand grenades; unsuccessfully assaulted no less than five times – they held out for three days, though completely surrounded. General Cameron

humanely sent a flag of truce inviting them to surrender honourably. To this they made the ever-famous reply, “Enough! We fight right on, for ever!” (Heoi ano! Ka whawhai tonu, aké, aké, aké.) Then the General offered to let the women come out, and the answer was. “The women will fight as well as we.” At length, on the afternoon of the third day, the garrison assembling in a body charged at quick march right through the English lines, fairly jumping (according to one account) over the heads of the men of the Fortieth Regiment as they lay behind a bank. So unexpected and amazing was their charge, that they would have got away with but slight loss had they not, when outside the lines, been headed and confronted by a force of colonial rangers and cavalry. Half of them fell; the remainder, including the celebrated war-chief Rewi, got clear away. The earth-works and the victory remained with us, but the glory of the engagement lay with those whose message of “Aké, aké, aké” will never be forgotten in New Zealand. (281-282)

This stirring event in New Zealand history has been the subject of many historical novels and films, including *The Greenstone Door*, by William Satchell and *Rewi’s Last Stand*, a film directed by Rudall Hayward, in which Rewi Maniapoto becomes the epitome of the heroic Māori warrior. As already discussed in Chapter Three, the “heroic” battle of Orakau was also a topic taught in the *School Journal*. Figure 12 illustrates the perceived bravery of the Māori defenders of the pa at Orakau.

In *The New Zealand Wars*, Belich proposes that emphasis on romantic heroism functions to “conceal the need for revision and obscures other aspects of the Māori performance – aspects ultimately more important than courage and chivalry” (319). The British were willing to acknowledge certain Māori military abilities, for example, courage, dexterity at guerilla methods and intuitive or traditional fort building skill, but as Belich argues, there was a marked reluctance to “credit the Maori with the higher military talents: the capacity to co-ordinate, to think strategically, and to innovate tactically and technically” (*The New Zealand Wars* 316). The latter reservation stemmed from Eurocentric ideas of Māori racial inferiority. Considered as a lower race in relation to the Europeans, Māori were thought incapable of a higher application of intelligence, and therein lay the

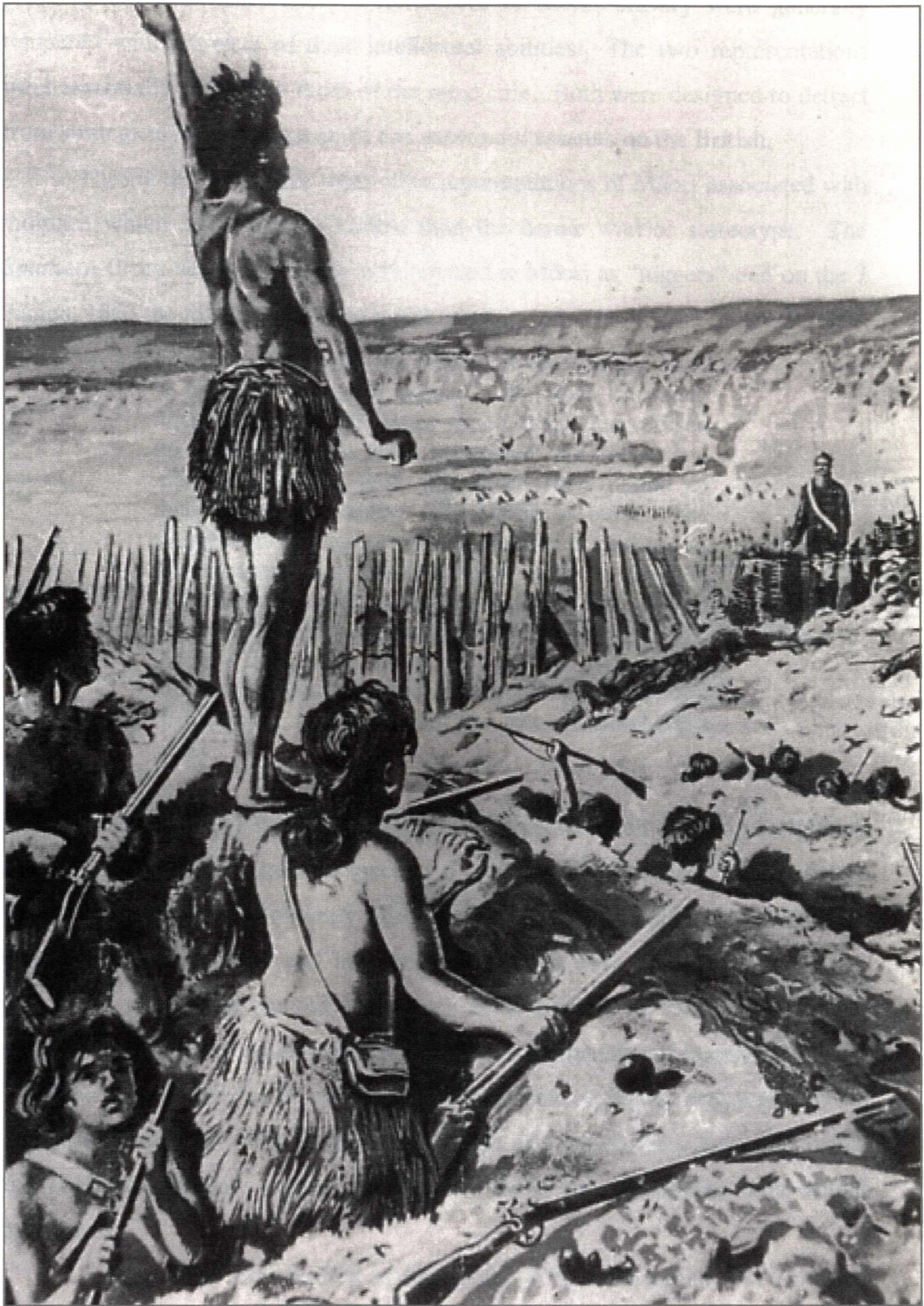


Fig. 12. A.H. Messenger's representation of Maori rejecting General Cameron's peace terms at Orakau (rpt. in Stowers 102).

presumption of British victory. References to Māori bravery were generally tempered with criticism of their intellectual abilities. The two representations were essentially alternative faces of the same coin. Both were designed to detract from strategical Māori manoeuvres and successful assaults on the British.

During the wars there were other representations of Māori associated with violence which were less favourable than the heroic warrior stereotype. The *Southern Cross* newspaper frequently referred to Māori as “niggers” and on the 7 August 1863 the following comment was made:

We have dealt with the natives of this country upon a principle radically wrong. We have conceded them rights and privileges which nature has refused to ratify.... We have pampered ignorance and misrule, and we now experience their hatred of intelligence and order. The bubble is burst. The Maori is now known to us as what he is, and not as missionaries and philanthropists were willing to believe him. [In reality, the Maori is] a man ignorant and savage, loving darkness and anarchy, hating light and order; a man of fierce, and ungoverned passions, bloodthirsty, cruel, ungrateful, treacherous. (qtd.in Belich *The New Zealand Wars* 328)

Represented here is the late nineteenth century representation of Māori as Ignoble Savage, and from a Pākehā perspective it was the rebel warriors Te Kooti and Titokowaru who most adequately fitted this definition. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, Te Kooti and his band of warriors were thought of as savage murderers, responsible for the “massacre” at Matawhero in 1868. Titokowaru, with his one eye and “ceremonial cannibalism to intimidate his enemies” (Belich *The New Zealand Wars* 235) appeared as the epitome of depraved barbarity to the colonists, despite his early insistence on peace. By demonising these two rebels the colonists justified waging war against them and obfuscated their actual grievances.

Two notable texts written in the 1860s, William Martin’s *The Taranaki Question* (1861) and John Gorst’s *The Maori King* (1864), argued against the belief that Māori were inherently warlike by demonstrating that the events and injustices which lead them into war were a means of resistance and survival. In many cases war was the very last option open to Māori who wished to protect

their land and their mana. The King movement was a peaceful organisation and rather than being the aggressor in the Waikato war, merely acted in response to the invasion of Kingite territory by Grey's troops. Nevertheless, in the popular European imagination of the period the King movement was cast as a rebellious organisation intent on defying British rule and instigating war.

Recent studies such as Belich's *New Zealand Wars*, and Binney's *Redemption Songs* address the complexities of the wars in which Māori fought as both "loyal" and "rebel" subjects. However, this movement away from the racial stereotyping of Māori as innate warriors cannot "undo" the pervasive influence of its historical presence, and in some ways (such as in Belich's admiration for Māori development of, and effective use of, trench warfare) lends further credibility to the concept.

After the defeat of the Māori in the Land Wars, Pākehā fears of Māori violence subsided. The once terrifying prospect of Māori cannibalism and savage warfare faded as a reality and gradually became thought of as a thing of the past. The portraits of Māori chiefs by Lindauer illustrate how Pākehā, and Māori, represented Māori violence in a symbolic form through the motif of the moko and the display of weaponry (fig.13). These symbols signify the whole of the mythology of violence which surrounds Māori history and, as will be discussed in the next chapter, are still used in the present day as powerful indicators of the presumed propensity for aggression possessed by Māori.

Conclusion

Like any other race in the world, Māori committed violent acts, but the fact that European observers were in a position to record such acts has stigmatised Māori with a legacy of violence. The British victory over the Māori in the Land Wars gave Pākehā New Zealanders power over the means of representation and the freedom to portray Māori as they saw fit. Christina Thompson suggests that Māori were in fact no more violent than the Europeans who represented them as barbaric savages. Within the first days of Cook landing in New Zealand several Māori had been killed at the hands of the British. Most Māori violence committed against Europeans was the result of provocation on the latter's part which suggests

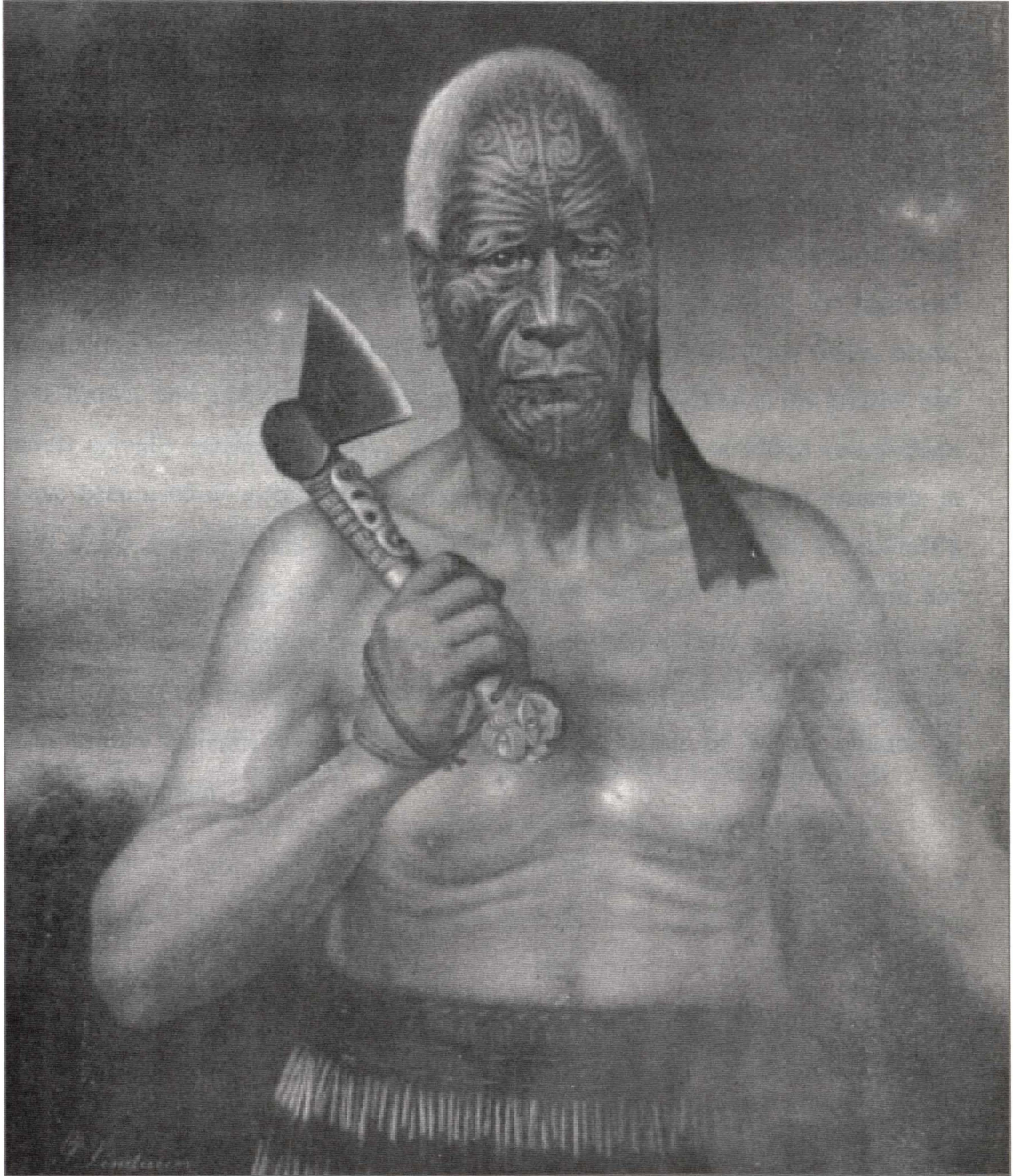


Fig. 13. Gottfried Lindauer, *Taraia Ngakuti te Tamuhuia*, 1874 (rpt. in L. Bell 83).

that rather than being inherently violent Māori were merely reacting to circumstances which had been forced upon them.

The frequency with which early observers of Māori mention violent behaviour suggests that Māori did have certain violent cultural practices of which cannibalism was the most extreme. However, as illustrated, the records left by explorers, traders and missionaries should be treated with caution as they are often selective or distorted representations of what actually occurred.

Māori have been viewed through the black and red lenses of the Eurocentric “distorting spectacles” since first contact with Abel Tasman in 1642. Contemporary representations of Māori in literature are linked to the historical production of cultural stereotypes. In many ways the “clear, grey, white, black, red, brown, and green” representations of Māori are re-worked in the present and never actually vanish altogether. Although representations of Māori cannibalism have been used as a source of humour in the twentieth century, for example, in *Fill It Up Again* (1964), which features the comic character Hori, Alan Duff’s graphic representation of contemporary Māori violence leaves no room for comedy. The next chapter explores the ways in which Duff links his fictional characters to eighteenth and nineteenth century stereotypes of Māori as Ignoble and Noble Savages in his (problematic) presentation of Māori culture as inherently violent.

CHAPTER EIGHT

“Warriror Genes”: Alan Duff’s Theory of Inherent Māori Violence

During the early years of the Māori renaissance in the 1960s, fiction by, or about, Māori focused on the idealistic values of Māoritanga. As discussed in Chapters One and Two popular understandings of Māoritanga incorporated ideas of Māori community solidarity, traditional ceremonies, Māori arts and language, a special Māori bond with the natural world, and profound spirituality. Anthropological and historical studies also tended to focus on culture, tradition, ritual and symbolism as opposed to contemporary Māori society and economic realities. This phase was essential to the regeneration of Māori culture but by the 1980s Māori writers (Ihimaera in particular) began to feel that there had been an overemphasis on a sentimental rose-coloured picture of Māori life at the cost of honest social analysis. Their writing became more overtly political and urban oriented. Nevertheless, *The Matriarch*, *Potiki*, and *the bone people*, all rely on holistic representations of Māori identity and therefore reinforce the central tenet of renaissance philosophy which classifies Māoritanga as a “whole way of life”.

In 1990, Alan Duff took a radical approach to previous representations of Māori in literature. In his first novel, *Once Were Warriors*, he highlights the disparity between the popular stereotype of Māori culture and the lived urban reality. It is not “sweet old ladies, wise old kaumatua men”, “kai moana” and “mokopuna” that occupy the pages of Duff’s fiction but “hard drinking men, and not a few women, who were appalling parents, who were wife beaters, child rapists, beer-sodden lowlifes” (Duff *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* ix). Duff exposes the repressive living conditions faced by many New Zealand urban dwellers, many of who are Māori. In doing so, he challenges the media presentation of Māori-Pākehā relations as “‘one people’ joined together, hand in hand” (*Maori* vii). Witi Ihimaera described *Once Were Warriors* as “the haka, the rage” of the Māori people and “a kick in the guts to New Zealand’s much vaunted pride in its Maori-Pakeha race relations” (Thompson “In Whose Face” 106).

Once Were Warriors breathes life into statistics which show increasing income disparities between Māori and Pākehā households, rising levels of Māori unemployment, disproportionate rates of Māori violent offending, solvent abuse,

child neglect, and suicide.⁵⁴ The novel reveals the paradox that behind the ideology of Māori culture as an integrated and effective way of life lies the truth of a deteriorating social reality for most Māori. The book was, in Christina Thompson's evaluation, an "instant classic that broke the mold of contemporary Pacific fiction" ("In Whose Face" 106).

In the twelve years since the release of *Once Were Warriors*, Alan Duff has published four more novels: *One Night Out Stealing* (1992), *State Ward* (first as a play for National Radio then as a book in 1994), *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* (1996), and *Both Sides of the Moon* (1998). He has become a syndicated columnist, with readers in every part of New Zealand. In 1993 he published a collection of essays under the title *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge*, and in 1999 he published an autobiography titled *Out of the Mist and*

⁵⁴ In 1996, a higher proportion of Māori than non-Māori lived in households with a household income in the bottom 25 percent of household incomes (38.5 percent) compared to (23.0 percent). A higher proportion of dependent Māori children than non-Māori lived in households with a household income in the bottom 25 percent of household incomes of all children (39.1 percent compared to 21.0 percent). This suggests that both Māori children and the total Māori population are in a relatively disadvantaged income position compared to their non-Māori counterparts (*New Zealand Now. Maori* 1998: 89)

Māori continue to be over-represented amongst New Zealand's unemployed. In 1996, Māori comprised 27.7 percent of all unemployed people but only 12.3 percent of the total working age population. In 1997, 7.5 percent of the Māori labour force was unemployed. This was almost 3 times higher than for non-Māori and represents a widening gap between the two groups since 1986 (*New Zealand Now. Maori* 1998: 68-70)

Māori are significantly over represented in apprehension, prosecution and conviction statistics. In 1998, Māori (aged 17 and over) were 3.3 times more likely to be apprehended for a criminal offence than non-Māori and represented 51 percent of the prison population but only 14 percent of the general population. In all categories except violent offences, people of non-Māori and non-Pacific Island ethnicity made up the majority of offenders apprehended. In the violent offences category, Māori made up 41 percent, Pacific Islanders 11 percent, and other ethnicities represented 47 percent. A breakdown of violent offenders by type of offence shows a similar ethnic profile among those apprehended for assaults and homicide. In 1995, 49 percent of those apprehended for homicide were European, 44 percent Māori and 6 percent Pacific Island people. Of those apprehended for assaults, 44 percent were European, 41 percent Māori and 12 percent Pacific Islanders. Of those people apprehended for robbery (which is classified under violent offences) 60 percent were of Māori ethnicity, 15 percent Pacific Island and just 23 percent of European ethnicity (*New Zealand Now. Crime* 1996: 36).

In comparison with selected OECD countries New Zealand suffers from an extremely high number of youth suicides. Between 1985 to 1996 the annual rate of suicide has increased from 12.6 deaths per 100,000 population in 1985, to 26.9 deaths per 100,000 population in 1996. Male and female suicide death rates have more than doubled from 1985 to 1996. Male suicide deaths have increased from a rate of 19.6 per 100,000 population in 1985 to 39.5 per 100,000 population in 1996. Female suicide deaths have increased from 5.1 per 100,000 population in 1985 to 14.3 per 100,000 in 1996.

In 1996, a total of 38 Māori aged 15-24 years died by suicide. Of this number, nine were females and 29 were males. The overall rate for young Māori was 38.4 per 100,000. The rate for Māori females in the age group was 17.8 and for Māori males was 59.6 (*New Zealand Youth Suicide Prevention Strategy* 29).

Steam. His work has been anthologised in numerous collections of New Zealand and Pacific writing and his texts are taught on university courses within New Zealand and abroad. Lawrence Jones, in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, refers to Duff as “New Zealand’s most-read novelist in the 1990s” (183).

This chapter will focus on *Once Were Warriors* to examine the ways in which Duff’s use of social realism has drawn public attention to the socio-economic problems faced by many urban Māori in New Zealand. It will address the author’s depiction of contemporary (re)creations of Māori identity in light of urban alienation from Māori culture and the influence of Black American role models. The bulk of the chapter will focus on Duff’s understanding of contemporary urban Māori identity in relation to his theory of inherited violence. The issue of violence in Māori homes has gained a great deal of attention in the media. My aim is to show how Duff’s construction of Māori homes as inherently violent places him in opposition to mainstream (Pākehā and Māori) opinion, which considers disproportionate rates of Māori violent offending in New Zealand a consequence of colonisation. Duff’s representation of “Māori violence” is highly problematical as it reinscribes essentialist interpretations of race constructed by Pākehā writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His representation of Maori and violence draws on the stereotypes of the Māori Noble Savage and Ignoble savage discussed in Chapter Seven. However, although the previous chapter concluded with examples of humor in depicting Maori violence, Duff has no room for humour in his representations.

Duff’s depiction of violence as inherent to Māori society complies with his political interpretation of the “Māori problem” in general. He blames Māori culture for the current socio-economic plight of urban Māori. He considers Māori culture anachronistic, unable to adapt to the economic and educational demands of modernity. It is not a “return” to an idyllic version of Māori culture that he promotes, but a need for social and economic change. He proposes traditionally right-wing Pākehā policies of individual responsibility, self-sacrifice and hard work as a solution to Māori problems. At best this may be viewed as a radical redefinition of Māori identity: a synthesis of Māori “culture” and modernity. At worst it is an argument for the assimilation of Māori into the dominant Pākehā

society. Duff's politics have been the subject of many studies and he continues to spark debate as his views become increasingly recalcitrant. His political motivations infringe on his fiction and limit the content and style of his work. Recent critical reviews have tended to focus more on the literary merit of his work than on the political policies peddled in the texts which have previously drawn much attention to the writer. Although Danielle Brown has argued that the repositioning of Duff on the margins of "good literature" by Pākehā critics is a ploy to silence his radical views, several critics have attempted unbiased assessments of his literary style.

Alan Duff as a Social Realist

Duff speaks as a "privileged" informant, a "native son" of the increasing swell of urban Māori poor. The child of a Pākehā scientist (Gowan Duff) and a Māori mother (Hināu Josephine Raimona of Ngāti Rangitīhi and Tuwharetoa descent), he grew up in a state housing area of Rotorua. In his autobiography, *Out of the Mist and Steam*, he describes his father as an "incongruity" living in their area (14). He was intelligent, fair minded, "consistent and rational" and worked hard at his job (28). His mother on the other hand was "notorious" throughout the neighbourhood for her drinking and fighting (33). Her lifestyle accorded to their community environment and dominated the Duff household. Duff discusses the effects of alcohol and violence on his own family and in the wider, predominantly Māori, community. He details his experience as a state ward and then as a young man in borstal. In *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* he explains how his own life provided him with the impetus to write:

I wrote it [*Once Were Warriors*] because it had much, too much, to do with my childhood. What I'd witnessed. What I'd experienced [...].

I wrote it in outrage. And, quite possibly, in relief that I had not turned out as just another of the losers I portrayed.

[...] I write this because I've lived that life – because I've been on the same path of aimlessness, self-destruction and the destruction of others who have been innocents.

[...] I write this because I have not only lived the life, I have long anguished, long wondered in absolute frustration at what the hell was always

going so wrong with my life, the Maori life, that wasn't happening to my Pakeha counterparts. Why, and what was it, what made it so, what *kept* it so, this repeat cycle of life turning on itself?

[...] I write it from a position of strength, from a history of past failures, past wretchedness, that gives me the qualifications of first-hand experience. That's the position I write from. (xii-xiii)

In *Once Were Warriors* Duff writes about the underbelly of New Zealand society, the unemployed, undereducated, urban Māori who occupy the country's state housing complexes. He writes graphically about alcohol and drug abuse, about "going no-where nobodies" who are "boozing away their lives" (8). In the opening chapter of the novel we meet the "unkempt, ill-directed, neglected kids" living in the state owned 'slum', "practising to be the nothing nobody, but violent, adults of the future" (8). Everything within this environment is "neglected, run-down, abused" (11). The footpath is cracked and when it rains "the rubbish in the gutter'd block up the drains, have the street awash with its own gunge" (14). Duff paints scenes of abject poverty and portrays people trapped in their own squalor through lack of education, lack of skill, and inertia.

Once Were Warriors is the story of a dysfunctional family living in a public housing estate called Pine Block. The father, Jake Heke, is an unemployed alcoholic. He is excessively violent and regularly gets involved in pub brawls. He beats his wife, Beth, and is accused of raping their daughter Grace. Beth is also dependent on alcohol and is complicit in the neglect of their six children. She vaguely realises something is wrong but is usually too drunk to do anything about it. Her second eldest son, Boogie, is made a ward of the state, Grace commits suicide and Nig, her eldest son, joins a gang and is subsequently murdered. It takes the death of her daughter to make Beth take positive action and begin to help herself and her remaining children out of the dismal life they are living in. Jake is thrown out of the house and at the end of the novel is a vagrant living in the local park. Literary critic Christina Thompson has suggested that it is "not so much a matter of what, precisely, happens to these characters, as it is the relentless crushing degradation of their everyday lives" that Duff renders so well ("In Whose Face" 108). Beth's apathetic attitude to her repeated beatings by Jake, the

children's misery and the frustrated ambitions of all the characters communicate the wretchedness of their lives.

In his review of the novel, Peter Beatson identifies Duff's determinist brand of social realism:

[...] Duff maps the topography of this country's underclass. He traces the vicious circle whereby financial and emotional poverty amplify each other, those caught in the poverty trap either conniving through lack of will power in their own dispossession, or else becoming embroiled in crime as they attempt to shortcut the path to material affluence. (Rev. of *Broken Hearted?* 138)

Duff gets inside the minds of his characters and through their own words presents the kind of mentality that keeps them trapped at the bottom of the socio-economic heap. In chapter one of *Once Were Warriors* Duff recreates a dialogue between two unnamed men about what they intend to do with their welfare payment:

Tomorrow, man, gonna get my dole money and buy me some Chinese. Gonna buy me *lotsa* Chinese. And fuck the power bill. Spare ribs, man, oh far out. And a loafa bread. And butter *thick*, man, gonna dip it in that sauce they do and gonna *stuff* myself. [...] Ah, man, you call what they give you on the dole bread? [...] Well it beats having to *work* for it, man. I mean, work ... just the thought of it makes me tired. [...] How long does it last? Brother, it ain't gonna last me one day by the time I'm finished tomorrow. Buyin pork bones too. I'll be waiting for his truck to come, the Pork Bone Man. Gonna be waiting with that look, you know, real cool, casual, eh, like I just won something. The horses, like I just won a big trifecta or sumptin. Or this Lotto. Man, what I wouldn't do to win that. Million bucks first prize. But hey, what would I be doing standing in the middle of Pine Block waiting for some cunt to arrive with over-priced pork bones? Eh brother? You wouldn't see me for dust. So where would you be then, man? I'd. I'd – a frown creasing the brow, having to think about that one, really think about it – Well, not Pine Block thaz for sure. Maybe, brother, but you'd be back. Back what? Back here, where you started. Come on ... When the bread ran out you'd be back. Ran out? Man, how's a fuckin cool million gonna run out? Same way as it ran in, bro – luck. When it's in, it's

in. But it always goes. And half the time don't come back. What we all count on in this shit joint, Pine Block – luck. No wonder a man's gettin himself drunk all the time: it's the – the – the. No word for it. Not even so simple a word as frustration. It's being what we are, man, that's what'll bring you back. That's what keeps us drunk. Luck. (16-17).

Duff captures the apathetic attitude of these characters who blame “luck” rather than their own irresponsibility for their financial and social problems.

The Pine Block way of life stunts the intellectual development of its inhabitants and restricts the potential of its children. In contrast, the Tramberts, a middle class Pākehā family who live behind Pine Block, are constructed by Duff as financially and emotionally secure. Grace looks into their house and reflects upon the gulf that exists between her own life and that of the Trambert's daughter, Penelope:

The light from the room where the piano was fell in neat blocks onto the neat lawn. Real tidy. [...] Oh ...? *Ohh*, at the person playing the piano when she lifted her head. She can't be ... she can't be any older than me! Grace astonished. Crushed. At the girl her ability. But mostly her confidence. God, to sit there and play that stuff with those two adults standing over you watching your every move. [...] you didn't inherit the ole Maori shyness neither. (Or have it thrust on you. [...]) Grace looking at the girl still playing and feeling more and more crushed. Massively deprived. Then she began noticing the surroundings of that big room the three were in: furniture real nice, that old stuff, antiques, and paintings up on the walls, and vases with lovely flowers inem, and objects she did not recognise. (86-87)

Through an overly trite use of binary oppositions, Duff explicitly portrays the socio-economic gaps that exist between middle class Pākehā and the predominantly Māori underclass. The Tramberts and Pine Blockers are not united as “one people” but divided, in Duff's opinion, socially, economically and racially by a symbolic “brick wall” (87).

To a large extent, Duff deals with human universals rather than specifically Māori qualities. His welfare-dependent characters act in ways similar to populations all over the world who occupy the lower rungs of the socio-economic scale. He shows how social situations and inter-personal relationships may drive or destroy a person in a similar way as, for example, Charles Dickens had done in Britain in the nineteenth century. However, although dealing with universal themes has assisted the international success of *Once Were Warriors*, Duff's novels, like Noel Hilliard's *Maori Girl* tetralogy and Maurice Shadbolt's *The New Zealanders*, focus on social, cultural and economic problems that are particular to New Zealand.

Duff applies a "keen ethnographic eye" to his subject of study. Beatson identifies how Duff notes the "ritualised repertoires of approved gestures, clothing, adornment, turns of phrase, forms of music, food, alcohol and drugs, even of emotions and values, as an anthropologist notes the customs and iconography of a strange tribe" (Rev. of *Broken Hearted?* 138). Duff represents his characters as naturalised in their behaviour and environment. One area he pays particular attention to is the reproduction of their urban idiom.

Literary critic David Eggleton has remarked on Duff's "awesome ability to recreate the kiwi concrete vernacular, especially that part of it associated with the underclass – the disenfranchised, alienated, urban Maori in the packed suburbs on the fringes of the main towns" ("Site-specific Ghetto-centricities" 1). Duff's Pine Block characters share the same vernacular. They all tend to shorten the -ing verbal suffix to -in, for example as in "fuckin", "singin". They have a habit of compounding words in a manner typical of oral delivery; "should have" becomes "shoul'da". In more elaborate compounds several words are joined together, for example, "whatyoucalls" (147), or "Turnitup" (141). Other phrases and words are shortened and altered as in "nemine" for "never mind" or "stead" for "instead". Transcribed words are used heavily to convey a sense of place and shared understanding – "ofem", 'sumpthin', "bedda", "bruthas", "sistas". Expletives run throughout the text; "fuck" has a number of derivatives that are used extensively and vary in tone according to the situation. They are not, as the character Kerewin Holmes observes in *the bone people* just a "sad counterbalance to every phrase"

(12) but, in their own limited way, such expletives are integral facets of Pine Block speech.

In his article “Wrestling with Caliban: Patterns of Bi-racial Encounter in *Colour Scheme* and *Once Were Warriors*”, Bruce Harding suggests that these shared linguistic habits are “frequently underscored by Maori influenced speech rhythms which are delivered in a Maori-accented form of New Zealand English” (147). Harding does not give examples, nor does he expand on this thesis. The characters living in Pine Block cannot speak Māori. In *Once Were Warriors*, Jake Heke has no understanding of the language beyond “kia ora – “course a man understood kia ora, who doesn’t even the honkies do [...]” (64). During a party Beth mentions that most of her friends cannot speak Māori: “You call yourselves Maoris? [...] Can any of us in this room speak the language? No reply” (28). Aside from being told directly that the characters are Māori, the only textual indications that they are lie in the use of words typically associated with Māori, for example “fullas” for “fellows”. This may be what Harding has in mind when he writes about “Maori accented forms of New Zealand English”, but Duff does not often craft the dialogue of his characters to include “Maori influenced speech rhythms” and syntax in the same way that, for example, Patricia Grace does.

There is a sense that the urban vernacular spoken by Duff’s characters is made particular to Māori not in a traditional sense, but in a “hybridised” modern way. Their speech patterns are borrowed from Black American culture. Expressions such as “honkies” meaning Pākehā, “tats” for tattoos, “gats” for guitars, “yeow” for yes and “bro” to imply a male friend, have been incorporated into New Zealand speech in general, but it is urban Māori who tend to use them the most. Phrases in *Once Were Warriors* like “I thought you was someone else” (61) and “he’s my son. I’m the one who borned him” (132) show the influence of both Māori language syntax and contemporary Black American speech. Considering the extent to which black men, like the boxer Sugar Ray Leonard, act as role models in the lives of the Jake and Nig Heke, and given their lack of contact with the Māori language it is most likely that the American influence that predominates. However, as the characters’ language is possibly linked to both, Duff shows how the “new” Māori accented form of speech appears naturalised in New Zealand.

Identity

What do we know of our culture? [...] Beth went right on at them. She told them the Maori of old had a culture, and he had pride, and he had warriorhood, not this bullying, man-hitting-woman shet, you call that manhood? It's not manhood, and it sure as hell ain't Maori warriorhood. So ask yourselves what you are. (*Once Were Warriors* 28)

When Beth challenges the people at her party to consider who they think they are, she highlights the problem of identity faced by many Māori in contemporary New Zealand society. Although Jake and his friends have the physical appearance of being Māori they know nothing of the culture. They can not speak the language, do not know to which iwi they belong, and have probably never set foot on a marae. Their Pine Block “culture” revolves around beer, cigarettes, sex and violence. This situation is neatly summed up in the poem “Sad Joke on a Marae” by Apirana Taylor:

My name is Tu the freezing worker
 Ngati D.B. is my tribe.
 The pub is my Marae.
 My fist is my taiaha
 Jail is my home
 (*Eyes of the Ruru* 15)

In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff draws attention to diverse groups within Māori society. On one side are those Māori who “have history” and remain connected with their culture. They are the people of Wainui who attend a marae, understand formal Māori oratory and mau rakau (weaponry). Beth observes their “pure joy at being Maori”, their complete sense of who they are (127). In his book *Spiral of Values*, Alan Webster analyses current trends of cultural identification within New Zealand and refers to Māori who identify as “Maori Maori” (6.5 percent of the survey group) as opposed to “Maori New Zealanders” (half the Māori surveyed identified themselves as New Zealanders) as being more in touch with their culture and more determined to protect it against mainstream influence than the latter group. It is this sector of society that Beth observes on the marae.

In contrast to the people from Wainui are the “nobodies” of Pine Block who lack knowledge of their cultural heritage. Beth comments on the performance of the waiata tangi by the elders of her marae during Grace’s funeral: “aren’t (they) we a *together* race when (they) we’re like this?”(127). The use of brackets indicates that the type of Māori who are culturally and emotionally complete are a subset of the total Māori population. Those groups with a strong sense of their own identity are presented by Duff as much healthier than the seething masses who have lost contact with their culture. Literary critic Michelle Keown has drawn attention to the way that Duff constructs the speeches made by Wainui elders at Grace’s tangihanga. She notes Duff’s recreation of the theatrical nature of Māori oratory and the occasional use of Māori in the text. Translation of Te Tupaea’s speech by Beth’s aunt Matawai is reproduced in standard English. Thus Duff conveys the figurative beauty of Māori speeches and chants which helps to differentiate the language of the Wainui Māori from the limited vocabulary and harsh tenor of the Pine Block idiom (“Taku iwi, taku whenua, taku reo” 81). Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme propose that all Māori should draw on the strength of their culture represented and held by the “Maori Maori” in order to achieve greater cultural, social and political strength. *Once Were Warriors* can be read as proposing a similar solution to Māori social problems when Beth draws the strength and guidance she needs to lift herself, her family, and her community out of their desperate situation. However, a close reading of *Once Were Warriors* in conjunction with Duff’s other texts reveals that the author does not view a heavy dose of Māori culture to be the answer to Māori social ailments. Duff’s opinions on the “Māori problem” are examined in the section titled “Duff’s Politics” later in the chapter.

The Pine Block characters are not Pākehā, but neither are they “Māori” in the traditional sense. They do not partake of the practices of Māoritanga such as cultural ceremonies, or speak te reo. Steve Webster proposes that the increasing rate of Māori referrals to psychiatric hospitals throughout the 1980s and 90s indicates “the double bind between a cultural renaissance and declining social and economic welfare” that “sometimes results in schizophrenia and alcohol and drug disorders (the preponderant diagnosis) among Maori” (*Patrons* 43). Many of the

characters in *Once Were Warriors* are culturally and financially powerless and display similar self-destructive psychological traits.

The technique of “sliding between subjectivities” (Harding 148) incorporated into Duff’s prose conveys a sense of the fractured identities of his characters. The majority of *Once Were Warriors* is told in the internal first-person perspective. During these narratives, the narrator’s subjectivity slips between first and third-person. Jake refers to himself as “a man”, “I”, “he (I)”; likewise, Grace and Beth refer to themselves as “a girl”, “a woman”. Like the vandalised neighbourhood and the broken-up footpath “smashed to smithereens” (8), the characters fail to maintain a unified sense of themselves. Drugs and alcohol exacerbate the dissipation of identity. Grace wants to sniff glue to “get wasted” in order to take herself out of her “stinkin as usual” life (115).

Duff’s non-standard prose style with its appearance of unedited fluidity is particularly well suited to describing intoxicated states of mind. In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff represents Nig’s drunken perspective as follows:

Smokin, guzzlin, faggin, rappin, bigtimin, hate-talkin, smokin and guzzlin some more. And the music, man, expanding to ya ear ... hearin it so clear ya felt ya’d composed it yaself [...] Smokin, ahh, but that is *goood* shet, man. Guzzlin [...].

The SOUNDS, keep on callin to a man, tellin im sumptin. (140)

Duff has an ability to reproduce the fractured English in which his characters speak even when sober. It is characteristically written in short sharp sentences, comprised of swear words, colloquialisms and transcribed phonetic spellings. Brackets, colons, and ellipses break the sentences apart again signifying dis-unified perspectives.

With no given identity of their own, young urban Māori begin to look towards other cultures for role models. Irihapeti Ramsden writes about this process in her essay “Borders and Frontiers”:

And what of the children of the land of nobody? The refugees who move between the established worlds? Those children, now up to three generations in town who have been cut away from their midwives, who do not know the names and the heroes? [...] These children are cutting deep the

moko of their own reality. [...] People below the age of 30 make up the greatest number of Maori today. Many of them take their model from another colonised culture. The proudly Black culture of the Rastafarian movement has great appeal for those whose home models have been stolen or redefined as rebels or radicals and have been deprived of value and dignity. (350)

The characters in *Once Were Warriors* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* borrow heroes from Black American culture. Black boxers like Sugar Ray Leonard are revered for their fighting skills and physical prowess. Nig and Jake imitate the fighting combinations they have seen on TV and video. The gang listens to Bob Marley's reggae, which is associated with the Rastafarian movement (*Warriors* 141). Social attitudes towards women are influenced by "real niggers" (*Warriors* 40) in America who call "their women bitch and ho" (*Broken Hearted* 190). In *Once Were Warriors*, Beth states that to be called a "Maori nigger" by a fellow Māori is a term of "affection not contempt" (40). Grace tells us that her eldest brother Nig (presumably short for "nigger") was given the name by one of his uncles as a "compliment" (85).

This imported identity takes on the generalised connotations of "blackness" or the colonised "other" which have been identified in Chapter Seven. Jimmy Bad Horse, the leader of the Brown Fist gang, derives his name from American Indian culture. In *Once Were Warriors*, Jake refers to himself as an "Indian chief" (65). During the "show down" between Jimmy Bad Horse and Jake, Duff exposes the charade of their imposed identities by deliberately drawing attention to the elements of performance in their conduct. The scene plays itself out like an American western; the pub crowd is the audience that adds "canned" exclamations ("OOOOO!") as the tension mounts. In this manner, Duff illustrates that borrowing identities from other cultures, especially colonial, manufactured identities, can not substantiate Jake and Bad Horse's existence.

An irony exists in the fact that in his literary expose of the fabricated lifestyles led by Jake and the gang members, Duff borrows heavily on literary techniques used by American writers such as Hubert Selby Jr. and William Faulkner. Bruce Harding notes the particular technical debt Duff owes to Selby. This includes the compounding of words - "shut thehellup" (*Last Exit to Brooklyn*

21), “tellinya” (*Last Exit to Brooklyn* 16), the use of block capitals for angrier vocal outbursts – “FUCKYOU” (*Last Exit to Brooklyn* 126), “FREAK FREAK FREAK!” (*Last Exit to Brooklyn* 23), and transcribed spellings – “sumethin” (*Last Exit to Brooklyn* 19), “muthua” and “ovah” (*Requiem for a Dream* 5). Sliding subjectivities and a “plethora of undifferentiated voices aided by non-use of speech marks” are also traits taken from Selby’s work (Harding 148). The dialogue quoted earlier between the two unnamed men in the first chapter of *Once Were Warriors* illustrates how Duff has absorbed these techniques into his own writing. Duff borrows Selby’s techniques but makes them seem indigenous to New Zealand because they slide off his character’s tongues with ease. As mentioned earlier, this may be because of a general affinity that exists between New Zealand Māori and the idiom of Black Americans from similar socio-economic backgrounds, but there is also a history within the New Zealand literary tradition of writers, notably Sargeson and Ballantyne, being influenced by American realists such as Ernest Hemingway, Sherwood Anderson and William Faulkner. Sargeson draws on Anderson’s depiction of visionless and frustrated characters in *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919) and on Hemingway’s distancing of emotion and use of understatement in *In Our Times* (1925) in his representation of the semi-articulate working-class New Zealand male in the 1930s. Duff’s representation of urban Māori “street talk” is influenced by both Sargeson’s literary crafting of the “ordinary” New Zealand voice and by his own reading of American realist texts.

Some young Māori groups have successfully managed to articulate a particularly positive “Black” identity to an existing Māori one, for example the rap group *Upper Hutt Possy*. This group uses a form of communication linked with Black Americans. They “borrow” ideas of Black Pride but relate it specifically to Māori culture and history. The following lines are taken from a rap composed by Dean J. Hapeta titled “E Tu” which cites historical Māori warriors such as Te Rauparaha, Te Kooti, Titokowaru and Moana Ngarimu as examples of men who “stood strong” against adversity: “You’ve got to learn the history to know where you truly are / [...] Kia kaha, kia mau ki to Maori, don’t let no one stand on you / Eu tu, stand proud, kia kaha, say it loud” (Ihimaera (ed) *Te Ao*

Marama Vol.3: 330). Implied in the rap is the potential strength Māori can draw from their tradition of warriorhood.

More frequently however, associations made between Māori and other repressed “Black” cultures are essentially destructive because they focus on notions of victimhood and violence. Grace’s negative self image is exacerbated when she considers herself as “jussa black girl” (87). She “hates” being “black” because it marks her as: “A loser. A member of a race on its way out” (161). Grace has internalised the media’s conflation of “blackness”, inadequacy and social deviancy. She commits suicide because she views it as her only way out of her racially and economically determined situation, the repeated rapes she endures intensifies her sense of helplessness and acts as a catalyst in her movement towards death.

The characteristics of “blackness” that Jake and Jimmy Bad Horse draw upon focus on European/American-based constructions of the black man as violent other. Their willingness to embrace this association locks them deeper into their violent lifestyles. However, the root cause of their aggression, in Duff’s opinion, lies in their own racial make up. Duff’s characters may be confused as to exactly who they are but the author has very clear ideas on the subject.

The Descendants of Tū

The garment of Tu
 a moth ball of modern neglect
 (“Henare” “Te Ra Hou” Paremorama Collective
Reflections – Voices from Paremoremo 30)

The urban Māori who have lost contact with their cultural heritage still, to Duff’s mind, inherit an essential Māori characteristic: aggression. Through his fiction Duff presents his essentialist theory that “warrior genes” make Māori a more violent race than others. In *Both Sides of the Moon*, pre-European Māori warriors are shown to be excessively violent due to their genetic programming and culture of warfare. In Duff’s estimation contemporary Māori inherit their ancestors’ genetic make up and therefore are similarly aggressive. Whereas in the past Māori warriorhood was a necessity and an “art” to be proud of, “warriorhood” today has degenerated into aimless violence. Māori vent their aggression against

society and more often than not, against each other. They are trapped in a destructive violent cycle.

Duff's theory of violence being inbred into the Māori "race" is similar to a theory proposed by Konrad Lorenz in his book *On Aggression* (1966). Lorenz is committed to the idea that intertribal warfare (be it between Native American Indians or Māori) necessitates extreme aggression to ensure survival. This necessity then "produced changes in the hereditary pattern", resulting in a genetic propensity for violence (210). Both Duff and Lorenz believe that descendants of these (colonised) groups, "suffer greatly from an excess of aggression drive", for which "in the social order of today he finds no adequate outlet" (Lorenz 209-210). In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff rephrases this idea and places it in the New Zealand context. The following quotation is taken from Beth's interior monologue concerning "warriorhood":

... the warriors thing got handed down, see. Well, sort of handed down; in a mixed-up sense it did. It was more toughness that got handed down from generation to generation. Toughness, eh. [...] But this toughness [...] it started to mean less and less as the world got older, learned more, and new technology all this fandangled computer stuff, oh, but even before computers, it all made toughness redundant. (47-48)

The warrior ethos mutates and loses its value and context. The only remnant is a physical preoccupation with "toughness". Other skills such as mastery of weapons, self-discipline, individual and tribal training, strategic thinking, bravery and pride, have fallen by the wayside. Aggression permeates Pine Block. Duff portrays urban Māori as fractured identities, hopelessly clinging to a redundant image of themselves which will ultimately destroy them. In his study of violence in Māori fiction, Otto Heim sums up Duff's bleak scenario:

Unable or failing to adopt to the rational and technological progress of modernity, the Maori got stuck in their violent selves, doomed as an inferior race, but dangerous because in the modern context their killer instinct can only fulfil itself in stupefying self-violence and crime. (47)

Violence in the Past

Duff's fictional representations of pre-European Māori warriorhood appear contradictory. On one hand he praises it as a concept worthy of emulation by contemporary Māori but on the other he posits it at the head of a tradition of Māori violence.

In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff comments on the value of the warrior tradition to contemporary Māori through the character of Te Tupaea. Te Tupaea is the Paramount Māori chief of Beth Heke's home village, Wainui. He promotes a reconnection of Māori to the warrior past in order to facilitate a spirited Māori resistance to urban hardship. Te Tupaea encourages the people to look to their history of "defiance" against the Pākehā and draws on past acts of "chivalry" to highlight the Māori fighting spirit. When he leads the haka he unleashes a surge of energy and understanding in the Māori audience:

Suddenly he was bursting into a roaring cry signifying the start of a haka. And so a line-up of older males behind him stood. Like a row of fierce-faced guards. And they danced. The dance of war. The expression of anguish. A dozen, no more, thundering voices led by their chief. A dozen chest-slapping, thigh-slapping, elbow-slapping, arm-out-thrusting, arm-dancing, feet-stomping warriors from yore. And this man in a suit and a carved walking stick dancing back and forth across their front, twirling his tokotoko this way and that. Gold fob watch flying. Spit flying. And joined by four women, who launched themselves into it with even greater ferocity than the men.

And the people sitting there with chills running up and down them and not from the cold either. And this incredible beat of war setting off things in their heads: of understanding themselves, some locked away part of themselves suddenly opened up, sprung by him and they up there, shuddering this very ground we sit upon. And their movements all as one. The near-shrieking and roaring wording in exact time.

And in every line of mad, rhythmic shout, this familiarity just impossible to know where it was coming from or why. Just this sense of: This is me. At them, the sight of your warrior past stood in animated defiance of all that this struggle of a life can throw up. Sorta like a, you know, a culturalised way of saying: Fuck you! I am me! I stand here, I fall here. Sumpthin like that. (179-180)

Reconnection to the warrior ethic appears to be empowering. Political groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s tapped into this very notion. In the 1960s a group of Auckland University Students organised the political group Nga Tamatoa and styled themselves as Māori warriors defending their land, cultural integrity and political voice. In the 1980s cultural “schools” such as Te Whare Tū Taua o Aotearoa based in West Auckland harnessed the physical and mental concepts of Māori warriorhood to promote knowledge of Māori culture and personal self esteem. In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff implies reconnection to the warrior ethos can help foster resistance to hardship. Beth Heke channels her energy and pride gained from her Māori ancestry into self-help schemes. Charlie Bennett, the social welfare officer, teaches Boogie to sing and perform a Māori waiata at his sister’s funeral. Beth notices “how ramrod-straight this teaching had made her boy” (132). The film of *Once Were Warriors* draws out the personal benefits traditional Māori arts such as taiaha training can have on directionless, insecure Māori youths like Boogie. However, a closer reading of Duff’s portrait of Te Tupaea’s display of warriorhood reveals the author’s understanding of it as a concept more related to the aggression of Tū displayed by the Ignoble Savage than of the holistic tradition of “toa”, meaning bravery; warrior; champion; hero; or winner, stereotypically displayed by the Noble Savage.

The description of the haka mentioned above, like the description of the haka that is performed at Grace’s funeral, focuses on the physicality of the warrior tradition. In both scenes sweat drips and spit flies as the chant escalates into a “mad” and “encrazed” “animal rhythm” (127-128). Otto Heim suggests that Duff “ahistorically presents the essence of warriorhood as a combination of animalistic nature (genetically determined) and madness, i.e., as an aspect of savagery” (*Writing Along Broken Lines* 48-49). In Heim’s opinion, “the best use that can be made of Maori culture, it is implied, lies in controlling the violent propensities inherent in the racial genes and directing this aggressiveness into harmless and socially constructive paths” (49). Duff’s “reduction of Maori culture to a [physical] warrior ethos” leaves “no room for an indigenous sense of production and economy” (Heim 49). In subsequent novels, Duff’s focus on the aggressively physical side of warriorhood becomes more explicit.

In *Once Were Warriors*, Beth draws attention to historical intertribal Māori warfare. During her internal monologue on warriorhood she states:

...we used to war all the time, us Maoris. Against each other. [...] Hated each other. Tribe against tribe. Savages. We were savages. (47)

In *Both Sides of the Moon*, Duff expands on these themes of Māori warfare and savagery.

Both Sides of the Moon is a story about a young “half-caste” (8) boy (Jimmy) growing up in New Zealand in the 1950s and 60s. Jimmy is struggling to understand his Māori side, in particular the actions of his extended Māori family who spend their lives drinking and fighting. In an attempt to comprehend he listens to the stories told to him by an old kuia (Mereana) about his Māori ancestors. This forms a second story line and is interwoven with the narrative about Jimmy’s life. Jimmy must come to terms with the Māori part of his cultural heritage before he can resolve problematic issues in his own life and move forward to the brighter side of the moon; his Pākehā half. Duff connects Jimmy’s Māori relations to their ancestors by the theme of warriorhood.

As in *Once Were Warriors*, Duff begins *Both Sides of the Moon* with the premise that warriors in the past were fearless and noble. Tribes fight for “mana” (95) and “utu” (96), and individual warriors fight for status and honour. “Combat” is viewed as the “highest art” and warriors practice to perfect their skills (96). However, descriptions of warfare slide into scenes of barbaric savagery:

They laid waste to the village [...]

Ground soggy with blood and spilled brains and bodily insides scattered distances from their origins, or flung out from corpses like unheeded cries for help; freshly severed heads topped wooden stakes, some of the more attractive women were being ravaged and then killed. (97)

After the battles the victors partake of a cannibal feast:

All the people’s eyes grew wide and their mouths salivated at the sight of carried severed heads, of enemy tattooed faces held like fat fruit in so many of the warrior’s hands; the chief himself slowly lifting two fine heads, one with skull cleaved widely

open, and empty of brain, which he and his sons
would have eaten even as it had thought. (81)

The warriors are ruled by violent passions and act more out of animal instinct than bravery. Duff's representation of warriorhood boils down to an image of primitive man genetically locked into a state of mindless and meaningless violence. Pat Heretaunga Baker's *Behind the Tattooed Face* contains similar scenes of barbaric violence to those mentioned above in *Both Sides of the Moon*, but whereas Baker provides political, cultural and emotional motivations for the wars he depicts, Duff fails to adequately contextualise the intertribal battles in his novel. For example, when we meet the first war party we are not told why they are on the warpath. Thus the whole ethos of warriorhood is undermined. Kapi's war party is "a murderous group of hard-trained and thought-voided men" (45), not brave men fighting for mana or utu. They are dedicated to Tūmatauenga the God of war, and personify his rage and wrath. "A thousand years" of "warrior breeding" have gone into making these Māori warriors, and being inherently violent they are fated to live on the "dark side of the conceptual moon, like hapless animals in a deep forest trap" (27).

In *Both Sides of the Moon*, Duff expands on the subject of slavery in Māori society mentioned by Jake Heke in *Once Were Warriors*. The original tribe to which Kapi (the leading male protagonist in the tale of Jimmy's ancestors) and Tangiwai (Kapi's first wife) belong takes slaves in battle to use as menial workers and as target practice on which boy warriors may "sate their need to murder" (82). The slaves are also cooked and eaten: "Freshly killed slave was hacked into pieces for the many hangi pits" (82). Hakere (the savage leader of the outcast "gang") captures Tangiwai and her band of followers and forces them into slavery. As in *Once Were Warriors*, Duff insinuates that colonisation is not to blame for the violent behaviour of contemporary Māori because the origins of Māori violence are internal to Māori culture. The physical and mental violence involved in slavery leaves deep scars. Jake Heke is descended from slaves who had the "curse" on their heads for "five hundred years" (103). Duff links Jake's negative self-perception to his Māori whakapapa thereby by-passing the issue of colonisation. He categorically considers aggression an essential Māori characteristic.

Violence in the Present

In *Once Were Warriors* an unidentified narrator comments on what it is that makes young Māori want to join gangs and commit violent crime:

It was funny, being drunk and therefore somehow wise, you could just see why these young warriors'd joined up with the Browns: it was love. Being loveless. As well as something else missing ... but what was it ...? sumpthin to do with race, with being a Maori and so being a bit on the wild side when you compared with the other race, the ones running the show. (74)

Beth expresses the same sentiment in her consideration of the high Māori crime rate:

[...] all the crime, or too damn much of it, is committed by us. Hell, I dunno, must be something in the Maori make-up makes us wilder, more inclined to breaking the law. (43)

Duff's theory of inherited aggression is evident in these comments. Like the narrator of Taylor's poem "Sad Joke on a Marae", the only Māori heritage Duff's characters inherit is connected to the wrath of Tūmatauenga.

When Jake the Muss is referred to by Dooly Jacobs as a "warrior", the label connotes Duff's understanding of contemporary Māori "toughness". Jake's life is saturated with violence. He wakes up in the morning "almost invariably, with a desire to punch someone" (50). It is violence he is most "tuned to", even in his dreams. He assesses every man in terms of his "fighting potential" and approaches every situation as a "field of physical confrontation" (50). For him might is always right and he never questions this philosophy.

Jake often struggles to articulate his thoughts and generally resolves arguments with his fists. When he does speak it is in an abrupt and aggressive manner. His sentences are often short and sharp or else fragmented with commas and semicolons, for example:

But I ain't fuckin walkin, no way; not on a Friday night, everyone going to town for late shopping and going past a man saying, Hasn't he got his own car yet? Fuckem. I had the bread I wouldn't be buying

no fuckin car anyrate; I'd get something else nice. A stereo. Or one a them big colour TVs with the screens like a fuckin pitcha theatre. Magine watching the big fights on one a them. Don't need no car though. (52)

Jake spends most of his time at McClutchy's bar. The majority of the patrons at this bar are Māori: "this wasn't a bar for non-Maoris; you had to be related to one, be an idiot, or be [...] tough [...] to have white skin and come in here" (67). As Jake and Dooly walk into the bar they become immersed in its violent atmosphere:

The tinkle of breaking glass. The *pop* of a fist exploding in someone's face, the immediate yelling and screaming of someone – a woman, some bitch, Jake registering – then a roaring male: I'LLFUCKINKILLYA!!! – Laughter. Humming dying, heads turning to the incident. (60-61)

Jake lords over the bar with his fists; any man who tries to challenge his authority pays a price in blood. Jake's fists "tingle" for action, he thrives on violence and has built his whole reputation around the size and force of his muscles.

Duff's project appears to be exposure of the inadequacy of this type of violent lifestyle. Jake's bravado is undercut by a satirical indictment of the depravity of his actions. Jake surveys his "territory" (McClutchy's bar) with immense pride, but Duff depicts it as a den of iniquity, seething with "beer-bloated, mindless humanity" (65). The setting of Jake's first "rumble" is the pub toilets – a place which come the end of the night is "near awash with blood; and sick too, and missed piss" (71). Duff deliberately undermines Jake's heroic perception of himself and his friends' awe by focusing on such sordid detail. Dismissive authorial vocalisations inform the reader that Jake and his compatriots are "beer guzzlin darkies" and "scum" (80). Duff also provides the reader with the perspective of a Chinese takeaway owner who views his Māori customers as "foul smelling" and "stupid drunk".⁵⁵ Duff's portrait of the Chinese man is racist and stereotypical. He is described from the perspective of a resentful Māori customer as "slit-eyes", and a money grabbing "cunt" (81). The role he plays in

⁵⁵ Until 1990 Duff was the owner of a Chinese takeaway restaurant in Rotorua.

the story appears purely functional; he is another voice of condemnation blaming drunken Māori behaviour and their “mixed up”, “troubled” natures on their “race” (81-82).

One of the criticisms leveled against the Māori by the takeaway owner concerns domestic violence. He comments on the “Brown People[s]” tendency to “beat up [their] wives” after returning home from the bar. In his novels and his critical essays, Duff presents this issue as a particularly “Māori problem”. In *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* he indicts Māori for their tolerance of aggressive behaviour:

[...] Maori have no overwhelming disapproval of violence. It is because, certainly where violent crime is concerned, Maori culturally condone certain acts of violence, such as sorting out a dispute with fists, hitting wives and girlfriends just as long as the woman “deserves it”. (66)

The same message is given in *Once Were Warriors*. Jake’s attitude is that “Beth’d more than deserved her hiding” (52), thus justifying his actions. Duff presents this as a common belief among Māori men. Domestic violence is nothing unusual in Pine Block where after closing time at the pub wives can be heard “screaming, or taking their beatings in pain grunting silence” (82). When Beth refuses to obey Jake’s orders to cook his friend fried eggs her daughter, who overhears the conversation, knows what is coming next and fears for her mother’s physical well being. The pattern has become predictable, she waits for “the inevitable to follow” (28).

Statistical analysis reveals that Māori women are more likely to suffer domestic violence than non-Māori women. A report published in 1996 based on a study of 500 women (149 Māori, 351 non-Māori) found that twice as many Māori women in its survey group compared to non-Māori women were treated or admitted to hospital as a result of their partner’s violence (Morris 67). The majority of the abusive partners were Māori. Alan Duff’s fiction has played an important role in bringing this problem to public attention. His portrait of Beth Heke as a victim of repetitive violence, unable to break the cycle of abuse until motivated by the death of her daughter, is a realistic illustration of the helpless

mentality of women trapped in similar violent relationships. Beth's eventual empowerment is held up as a model for battered women to follow.

It is not just women who suffer in Pine Block at the hands of family members. Children are abused and neglected by their parents and adult relations. A man Grace thinks may be her father rapes her in her own bed. Although the text does not name the rapist it establishes an environment of abuse in which such an incestuous crime could happen. In the Pine Block area children live in car wrecks because their parents have thrown them out of home. Grace's friend Toot lives in a wreck just outside his parent's house. When his parents return from the pub they walk straight past him as if he does not exist. Tania (Nig Heke's girlfriend) tells a story of how her parents left her for days on end to take care of her younger siblings with no money and no food. One day after stepping out of the house for a short time Tania had returned to find the house on fire. All her brothers and sisters had died. Tania believes this would not have happened if she had been Pākehā. In a discussion about the neglect of Māori children she tells Nig:

Ya never see Pakeha kids like that do ya? [...] they don't go leavin their kids to fend for emselves while they're pissin up. Ya don't see Pakeha kids in hotel carparks do ya? (152).

It is wrong to suggest that such behaviour never occurs in Pākehā families. Within the first six months of 1999, the European/Other rate of child abuse was recorded to be 0.42%, indicating that a total of 2582 children were abused.⁵⁶ Although drastically lower than the figures for Māori, these statistics illustrate that child abuse is a problem throughout New Zealand, regardless of ethnicity

Nevertheless, child abuse and neglect is represented by Duff, as it is in most media, as another specifically "Māori problem". As Beth holds a dying boy in her arms who has overdosed on drugs she thinks about a biblical phrase: "all the suffering children", and wonders, "what colour the suffering kids were in those days. Because they were surely brown of skin and Maori of feature now"

⁵⁶ An article in the *New Zealand Herald* titled "Massacre of the Innocents" (5-6 August 2000) placed the abuse rate for Māori children at 1.23 percent, Pacific Island children at 0.72 percent, European/Other at 0.42 percent and Asian children at 0.12 percent. The information is based on research conducted by Statistics New Zealand and Child, Youth and family.

(167). In *Out of the Mist and Steam*, Duff talks about a Māori “culture of violence” in which children are physically, sexually, and mentally abused. In the following passage he writes about his time in the Hamilton Boys Home:

We shared tales of our childhoods, mine tame in comparison to most. There were stories of a foster mother who would get a boy to urinate on her whilst she lay on her back masturbating; of a mother burning her children with cigarettes; of a father, an uncle, a grandfather who “was dirty with me”, since none could speak specifically of the sexual abuse they’d suffered. Stories of hidings and thrashings and beatings and whippings and jug-cord lashings and kickings, of torture, of unrelenting verbal abuse and lives of being screamed at, made to feel like nothings. Of boys remembering being beaten up by their father from a young age, and how they laughed bitterly when they told about getting a further beating for crying with pain. The vast majority of these sordid tales came from Maori children ... every one of us surging with the hormones of puberty and manhood, all of it overlaid with a culture of violence. Yet there was that other Maori quality of love and spontaneous wit and humour.
(119)

Violence is considered by Duff to be an essential “Maori quality” that expresses itself in today’s climate in bitter and twisted cycles of abuse. He paints an horrific picture of what lies behind the statistics which rate child abuse in Māori homes three times greater than in European/Other homes. For Duff, this is a further indicator that Māori society is gradually destroying itself and its future by its own hand.

The “ruined” children who grow up in Pine Block denied of love and dreams become embroiled in drugs, crime and violence. Many youths look to the gangs for direction and aspire to be fully “Patched” members. Duff’s novels take the reader into the world that exists “behind the tattooed face” of a contemporary gangster. He describes gang headquarters, activities, protocol and attitudes. When *Once Were Warriors* was published in 1990 it was the “most ambitious fictional re-creation of gang life” ever seen in New Zealand literature (Heim *Writing Along Broken Lines* 80). Alongside *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* it remains the only in-depth fictional exploration of gang sub-culture in

New Zealand today. There have been occasional poems, for example, by Haare Williams, and references to gang life in novels such as Patricia Grace's *Cousins*, but few authors have attempted to present an "insider's" view. Bill Payne, in his book *Staunch*, provides the most comprehensive social study of New Zealand gangs. He uses interviews and photographs as channels through which the gang members can "tell" their own story. Payne gains access to gang houses via connections he made when he was in prison. Duff has not stated any personal connection with gang members, nor is it evident that he has ever visited a gang house. His entry into the world of the gang is fictional, but his claims of "insider" knowledge of what it is like to grow up in a community where gang activity (and violence in general) is rife lend his accounts an air of authority. Indeed, they are taken as "truth" by many readers who have never seen "real life" gang members and who probably will never enter the areas of New Zealand where gangs are based. Because Duff's representation of gangs matches the image given to them in the press, his "authority" on the subject appears to be enhanced.

Duff represents the gang as a group of individuals banded together to form a collective which molds an identity for itself based on territory, gang regalia and aggression.

The Brown Fist gang in *Once Were Warriors* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* occupy "a complete two-family double unit" (*Warriors* 95). They have erected "high sheet-iron fences" topped with barbed wire. The set up is intended to be imposing: "the top of the two-story rearing up like direst of threats but of trembling, fury-rising challenge, too" (*Broken Hearted* 168). The gang locks itself in behind the gates. It rejects society and forms its own social microcosm with self-imposed rules. The Brown Fists occupy their grounds rent free "because the government agency was too afraid to send someone in to collect it" (*Warriors* 95). The inside of the house is an aggressive masculine domain where violence, drugs and gang rape are permissible. The imposing gang house and the values it represents are positioned by Duff as an anathema to society.

The "filthy gang regalia" (*Warriors* 59) worn by gang members consists of tattoos, bandanas and the "Patch". The Patch bears the name of the gang and it is worn on the back of a jacket:

BROWN FISTS TWO LAKES emblazoned in black capitals around the outer edge of a big red circle on the cutaway jean jacket. A bunch of fives filled the center circle. (*Warriors* 73)

The Patch is the most important signifier of gang membership and it visibly distinguishes one gang from another. A prospect must earn his Patch by proving his commitment to the gang, either through demonstration of physical toughness (as in the case of Nig who joins the Brown Fists), or by committing crimes that increase gang resources (as in the case of Abe and Mookie who join to Black Hawks), or gang credibility. Tania, a female prospect, remarks that sexual violation was her passport into gang life (*Broken Hearted* 188). Once a Patch is earned the wearer becomes a “brother” or “sister” in the gang “family”. They must obey the strict code of loyalty; the first rule being “the gang before anything” (*Warriors* 136). When Nig joins up he is not permitted to attend his real sister’s funeral because his new family (the gang) demand his presence.

Aside from the Patch, tattoos are a visual sign of gang membership. Facial tattoos, in the style of a modern Māori moko, are “the big thing to do these days amongst these gang members” (*Warriors* 181). The tattoo is an external sign of “toughness”. Gang members wear the moko because it gives them a “wild”, terrifying look. They take the “olden-day” designs, worn by venerated warriors, and appropriate both the savage connotations and the mana that lay behind them (fig. 14). The designs are also worn as a mask, like the sunglasses and the Patch they are part of the performance of being a gang member. They represent a chosen identity but not necessarily a true one. The facial tattoos are made with an electric needle, they are not carved into the face like the moko of the past. Duff makes much of this distinction in his novels and his newspaper columns as he feels men who wear the moko today ridicule its prestigious origins.

Gang activities revolve around violence. In *Once Were Warriors*, gang members act as debt collectors for a Pākehā businessman and they enforce his dictates with relentless ferocity. In *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* the gang has moved on to bigger crimes including drug dealing and bank robbery. In both novels they participate in violent feuds with rival gangs. Like Jake Heke the members thrive on violence. Nig Heke speaks of his love of fighting: “Rumblin,



Fig. 14. Julian Arahanga as Nig Heke in the film version of Alan Duff's *Once Were Warriors*, 1994 (www.culture.co.nz/maori-in-movies).

man. LOVE IT” (*Warriors* 142). Violence is a way of life for the gang members who frequently fight amongst themselves and ritualistically gang rape their women. The leader of the Brown Fists, Jimmy Bad Horse treats his members with contempt: “There were dudes who’d had their fucken heads kicked in, their lights punched out [...] There were bitches he’d fucked, raped, sodomised, slapped around, beaten up, humiliated [...]” (*Broken Hearted* 42). These same people remain in the gang and remain loyal to their leader because without the gang they feel they have nothing else.

Gang members move from an environment in which they feel invisible to one where they become visible. In childhood they “were scared of the discouraging adults, the arsehole parents who were always tellin em ya gotta be this, ya can’t be this, don’t be this [...] ya mind tellin ya ya ain’t nuthin but a little cunt no matta *how* hard ya try not ta be” (*Warriors* 142.) When they join the gang they gain visibility and recognition from their compatriots and society. Drunk on beer and dancing in the gang house Nig feels confident in himself: “*Lookit* me” he thinks. “*Watch* me, *watchme*” he says as he does an impression of Sugar Ray’s punch (*Warriors* 142). The “hole” Mulla feels within him is filled by the gang (*Broken Hearted* 17). The Patch, the shades and the tattoos provide gang members with the means to mask their emptiness and hurt. Haare Williams also expresses this process in a poem; “Patches Hide No Scars”:

They bear patches
on their jackets
hiding scars and wounds
finding their own
direction, discipline
orders
(Haare Williams *karanga* 12)

Solidarity is found in the gang, and members truly feel that they belong to a family.

Duff seeks to expose the inadequacy of the gang as a social formation. Nig Heke, Tania, Mulla Rota and Abe Heke are reader “informants” on gang life. They occupy positions both “inside” and “outside” of gang mentality and act as voices of criticism.

On his first debt-collecting expedition with the Brown Fists Nig begins to feel alienated from the gang. His disapproval of their actions is expressed by his desire to get out of the situation, “(And Nig wanting out)” (*Warriors* 157). He begins to see the gang in a different light – “dumb Maoris” doing ‘dirty work’ for “some white prick with a business in town” (*Warriors* 158), terrorizing people like themselves who have nothing left to take. As the action evolves, Nig wonders: “(Man oh fuckin man, what’ve I got myself into?)” (*Warriors* 157).

Likewise, Mulla Rota, Jimmy Bad Horse’s right hand man, has “heretic” thoughts about the gang. He thinks about the prospects with their “stupid dreams” of joining the gang and wishes they would come to him to find out what it is really like:

Why didn’t they come to Mulla Rota so he could tellem (in private), Man this ain’t what you think it is, bein’ a patched-up member. Whassa use of a gang patch if you gotta do five, six, maybe more years inside for it? An’ tha’s jus’ each stretch. An’ what if you kill (smoke, waste) someone? What then, kid, of your life? (*Broken Hearted* 107)

Tania’s character is used to expose the lot of women in a gang situation. As she faces death at the hands of a fellow Black Hawk (the Brown Fists rival gang) she considers how much the men dislike the women: “They hate us” (*Broken Hearted* 190). She has been raped so many times her body no longer feels like it belongs to her: “It never belonged to me, not from when the firs’ uninvited man helped himself to it [...] Funny that, how violation of my vagina should be my entry card, my passport to the gang countries (to hell) [...]” (*Broken Hearted* 188)

Through these dissenting voices Duff displays the brutality, corruption and harsh reality of life in the two gangs. Throughout the course of the two novels, Nig, Mulla and Tania all die, thereby implying that rather than giving a person an identity, gang membership actually consumes it.

Essentialism

Duff presents violence as an essential characteristic of the Māori race. This type of racist theorising is widely accepted to be problematic and unscientific.

Scientists reject the claim that there is “a racial essence that can explain a person’s moral, intellectual, or literary aptitudes” and refuse to recognise racial classifications, such as Negro and Caucasian, on the grounds that there are too many people who do not fit into any category (Appiah 277). A person’s skin pigmentation and hair type implies little or nothing about his/her other individual characteristics. The idea that dark skinned races were more aggressive than light skinned ones was developed by European imperialists in the nineteenth century who used it as a means of naturalising dark-skinned races as inferior subjects. Duff’s assertion that Māori, as a race, are more violent than other peoples because they possess inherent aggressive characteristics continues this negative racialist stereotyping.

Duff has (mistakenly) conflated the creation and acceptance of a “race role” which defines Māori males as innately aggressive with Lorenz’s ideas of genetic inheritance. This is an extremely dubious practice because it promotes colonial essentialist views of Māori as a race. It imposes markers around Māori identity, restricts the possibility for self-representation and locks many young Māori men into a situation of mimetic violence. In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff suggests the people who join gangs are trapped in an image of their own, and of their community’s, making. As the critic Melanie Wall has stated: “Maori ‘underachievement’ is blamed on Maori themselves, ignoring the wider process of racialisation” (“Stereotypical Constructions” 44). Duff fails to acknowledge the part played by Pākehā literary history in the construction of this image. He does not see that his own novels, written within the Pākehā tradition, promote a “role, a race role” (*Warriors* 141) of tough young Māori men, which applies pressure on the youth of Pine Block and similar state housing areas to conform to the expected image.

Furthermore, the behavioural traits of his Māori characters are perhaps less connected to race and culture than they are to class. The habits of the welfare dependent characters in *Once Were Warriors*, who like spending money on alcohol and cigarettes instead of household necessities, are typical of people living in lower socio-economic circumstances the world over. Likewise, poor health, low education and high crime statistics are symptomatic of urban unemployed

people everywhere. They are not, as Duff suggests, products of a flawed Māori culture.

Duff's theory of violence as a Māori genetic trait derives from racist discourses promoted by European colonisers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Chapter Seven has shown, the stereotype of Māori as inherently violent can be traced through travel narratives written during the early years of cultural contact between European and Māori. Europeans have used representations of the Noble and Ignoble Savage sporadically throughout the history of contact for a variety of political purposes, all of which aimed to subjugate Māori. This focus on violence provided justification for colonisation, for economic exploitation and the Land Wars. The over-emphasis of a Māori predilection for violence in early Pākehā narratives of encounter is re-figured by Duff as authentic Māori tradition.

Modern Noble and Ignoble Savage stereotypes

In *Once Were Warriors* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* Alan Duff provides examples of what could be classed as continuations of the Noble (or Red) and Ignoble (or Black) Savage stereotypes. In her struggle to overcome the “savage” tendencies that hold her back (namely alcoholism, lack of education and apathy), Beth Heke is presented as a modern Noble Savage. She has the ability to become a “better” person but needs to embrace civilisation (represented here, as in colonial times, by the capitalist philosophies of the dominant Pākehā society) before she can achieve this.

Duff's representation of the gangs conforms to contemporary interpretations of ignoble savagery and confirms negative media representations of them as violent anarchic groups who deal in drugs, beat people up and commit murder and rape. The Black Hawk gang member, Chylo, in *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* is the epitome of this type of savagery: “tall and lean an' not jus' mean but bad; Chylo hated the world, everyone and thing in it, he only liked his bruthas and even some a them he hated [...]. Cunt carried knives strapped to each leg, a Stanley knife for cutting faces not lino” (100). He is described several times as “a murder waitin” to happen” (214, 203). Jimmy Bad Horse and Apeman also typify merciless brutality, and their names convey the savage animalistic

behaviour they display. Duff's fictional representation of the Brown Fists and the Black Hawks capitulates to Pākehā stereotypes of Māori gangs.

Bill Payne's book, *Staunch*, reveals a different story. Under the influence of its leaders Bill Maung and Rei Harris, *Black Power*, one of the largest "ethnic" gangs in New Zealand, is looking towards education and employment training for its members. Most of its "chapters" (affiliated groups) are becoming progressively political, culturally orientated and less violent. They are trying to establish an identity that balances physical strength with economic, political and cultural strength. Negative press reviews and films like *Once Were Warriors* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* work against the positive flexibility groups like *Black Power* are trying to introduce into their social identity. Nevertheless, not all gangs are making similar progress. In 1996, members of the Mongrel Mob were prosecuted for dealing in Class A drugs and individual Mob members, just like individual Black Power members, regularly appear in the courts on drug and violence related offences.

Much like the stereotype of the savage in previous colonial literature, Duff's novels, and the films based on them, promote an ambivalent message. Despite speaking out against Māori cultural condonation of certain acts of violence the novels/films actively promote the identification of young Māori males with powerful masculine characters like Jake the Muss. In *Once Were Warriors*, Jake is physically attractive: "all six foot three inches of hard-muscled towering man" (18). He is frequently sexualised through Beth's eyes, and she describes his "sexy grin" (18), alluring wink (20), and his touch like "an electric shock" (103). He is charismatic, knows how to throw a party and is an impressive singer. People feed on his popularity and hope to gain his protection.

Jake acts as a model for those who have nothing in this world but their toughness. Even after his supposed redemption from violence it is his reputation and intimidating physique, plus a shotgun, that allows him to successfully confront the Brown Fists:

[...] I stepped where they could see me in the spillover of light: You get the fuck outta here. Then I saw he had a carpet knife. So I lifted my rifle at his head, angry...

[...] Walked behind 'em to their car. Told her to get in and steer it, him to push. A bullet up your arse you try anything smart, mista [...]

I stood on the Trambert private driveway watching the gang car disappear its red eyes into the night. (*Broken Hearted* 214-215)

In the film version of *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* Jake resorts to physical strength to save his son from Jimmy Bad Horse. At the end of the day his muscles are important because they give him the courage to stand up against the gang. Only his age prevents him from killing Jimmy – a job accomplished by his unexpected help-mate Mulla Rota. Duff's novels and the films based on them have helped produce a multitude of Jake “look-a-likes”, who walk the walk and talk the talk of “toughness”. Just as Jake looks at his companions and sees in them a “mirror” of himself and thus confirming the acceptance of his behaviour, so (some) young Māori men look towards the cinematic representation of Jake Heke and find in him a glorified image of their own aggressive masculinity.

The film versions of *Once Were Warriors* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* promote racialised stereotypes of young Māori men. The appearances of the gang members play upon connotations of the dangerous primitive savage (as in the case of Jimmy Bad Horse and Apeman) as well as the exotic other (particularly in the case of Nig Heke). Melanie Wall has deftly summed up the way this latter stereotype operates:

The “designer gangs” in *Once Were Warriors* are an example of how Maori masculinity is commodified as the primitive exotic Other with traditional tattoos on partially clothed, extremely attractive young men clad in leather “ensembles” (bearing little resemblance to gang life in Aotearoa / New Zealand). (“Stereotypical Constructions” 44)

The stereotype of the exotic gangsters, like the alluring appeal of Jake Heke, “help[s] to reinforce and naturalise the ‘problems’ highlighted by the film as racial differences, further defining, refining and confining Maori as the Black Other” (Wall “Stereotypical Constructions” 44).

Ruth Brown has criticised *Once Were Warriors* (both the book and the film) on the grounds of their literary and cinematic commodification of violence.

She believes that Māori ethnic violence has willingly been promoted to the international audience as New Zealand's own particular brand of violence ("Immersion Therapy" 22). Sensationalised representations of violence in New Zealand literature have been available on the international market since the late nineteenth century when novels such as *Utu* (1894) by Margaret Carson Bullock and *War to the Knife* (1899) by Rolf Boldrewood presented scenes containing exotic, violent Māori characters. Whereas these early novels idealise the forces which resist violence (the European colonists and high-born mixed race characters), *Once Were Warriors* tends to glorify the forces (all Māori) which inflict it. Herein lies Brown's concern over the distorted, negative impression of New Zealand cultural politics *Once Were Warriors* promotes to the world.

Colonisation

Most social commentators argue that contemporary Māori violence is a consequence of colonisation. In her speech at the New Zealand Psychological Society Conference 2000, Tariana Turia, the Associate Minister of Māori Affairs at the time, likened the Māori experience of colonisation to a "holocaust" and talked about Māori suffering from "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder". Turia's controversial comments were made in response to the criticism of high levels of Māori violent crime. She claimed on National Radio that the media was treating the issue of abuse in Māori communities as "the result of some inherent genetic weakness in our [Māori] people". Her task was to set the record straight by denying these claims and reminding people of "the issues of colonisation and the effects on indigenous peoples" (quoted by Hewitson "Fact and Friction" 1).

Although Turia's choice of words grossly exaggerates the colonial situation in New Zealand, her underlying argument that high rates of Māori offending and Māori violence are a direct result of European colonisation, is one widely shared by more moderate social commentators.

Three principal exponents of what I have termed the "colonisation theory" of Māori violence are Moana Jackson, and Jane and James Ritchie.

In the late 1980s, lawyer and political activist Moana Jackson, conducted a research project in which Māori offending and the effects of the criminal justice system were considered. The results were published in "Maori and the Criminal

Justice System: He Whaipaanga Hou – A New Perspective” (1988). The report links the violence of young Māori men to the violence done to their culture during colonisation. In a more recent article Jackson re-articulates his viewpoint:

It is a myth in this country that the dispossession of Maori was somehow “not as bad” as that of other indigenous peoples. The costs are always the same – poverty, an internalised violence, and a lack of awareness and pride in your identity. (“Battered People Syndrome” 67)

Jackson considers Māori people to be suffering from “a battered people syndrome, an ongoing process of disempowerment and abuse of the indigenous soul” (“Battered People” 67). He maintains that the violence of colonialism takes many forms and that non-physical violent acts, such as the mispronunciation of Māori names, continue to be perpetrated against Māori in the present day. Although Jackson believes that recent violent crimes committed against Māori children by their family members “cannot be excused”, their “resolution”, he says, “lies in finally dealing with the inexcusable violence of colonisation” (“Battered People” 67).

Jane and James Ritchie support Jackson’s analysis of the Māori experience of colonisation in their study of *Violence in New Zealand* (1990). The Ritchies write:

From the outset, Maori culture was subjected to waves of violation by representatives of different European institutions, each of which had its own patterns of coercion. The early traders exploited and depleted resources and were frequently lawless, indulging in rape, pillage, and random slaughter. The advent of mercantile commerce required further resource capture, including that of labour and of land. Settler militias added to the destruction. Waves of epidemic swept through the indigenous population, who were denied access to medical services. [...] The missionaries collaborated with and condoned many of these oppressive acts. They seized land themselves. They armed the natives. The Church blessed guns and armies. It was an arm of the state, just as the military was. (83-84)

The Ritchies ask Pākehā readers to place themselves in the position of the Māori: “How, then, would you feel?” (146). They view Māori violence against the

symbols, structures and persons of Pākehā authority as an understandable expression of resentment. Like Jackson, the Ritchies view internal and external violence committed by Māori as the result of the removal of traditional basis of control:

In the past, the violence was contained by systems
of control, of rahui, tapu, utu, and muru, by
collective decisions or by the authority of chiefs.
Now it breaks out, like fire in the root of the fern.
(146)

Although this view admits the pre-existence of violence in Māori society before the advent of colonialism, the Ritchies, like Jackson, place a double “blame” on the Pākehā for stripping Māori of their traditional practices and subjecting them to repeated violent cultural, economic, political and personal offences. Māori are positioned as victims, their violent acts as the expression of powerlessness.

In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff admits that many of the gang members have had difficult lives. The tattoos on Jimmy Bad Horse’s arms look “like a chart of his troubled childhood and early adulthood written all over him” (76). Beth Heke’s monologue on warriorhood indicates that she is aware that a change has taken place in the Māori self-image as a result of colonisation, and that this change has left Māori with only a negative violent image of themselves:

We used to be a race of warriors, O audience out
there...
[...] It’s very important to remember that.
Warriors. Because, you see, it was what we lost
when you, the white audience out there, defeated us.
Conquered us. Took our land, our *mana*, left us
with nothing. But the warriors thing got handed
down, see. Well, sort of handed down; in a mixed-
up sense it did. It was more toughness that got
handed own from generation to generation.
Toughness, eh. Us Maoris might be every bad thing
in this world but you can’t take away from us our
toughness. (47)

In this extract Duff uses a technique similar to that found in Ihimaera’s *The Matriarch*, whereby the reader is addressed directly as “You” and “Pakeha” in an accusing tone. Duff comes close here to admitting that colonisation is to blame for contemporary Māori violence. Christina Thompson effectively summarises

the implications of Beth's argument and illustrates how it stands in contradiction to Duff's own theory of violence:

[...] Duff registers, implicitly at least, the relationship between conquest and cultural values, the way in which historically constructed power relations can change the way people think about themselves. He comes perilously close here to conceding that the toughness in which Maori take so much pride is a product of their historical relationship to the Pakeha; that far from being *essentially* aggressive, Maori are *conveniently* aggressive; that Maori belligerence has been magnified as the expense of "softer" attributes like humor, discretion, warmth [...] with the result that Maori appear "naturally" more in need of incarceration, punishment and control. ("In Whose Face" 116)

Through Beth's ruminations we get a glimpse of the larger structural framework in which Māori identity is constructed, but throughout the novel Duff's ardent emphasis on intransigent Māori characteristics dominates.

In a talk given at the University of Sydney in 1989, Keri Hulme appeared to agree with Duff's theory of inherent Māori violence. She stated:

What used to be, in some ways, drained off, through seasonal warfare – a fighting instinct that was carefully nurtured – that directed aggression now has nowhere to go. Except, of course ... in body contact games. (Turcotte 147)

The character of Joe in *the bone people* "has the energy and the aggression which are quite characteristic, still today, of Maori people, but has nowhere to use these energies" (Turcotte 139). Joe's frustrations are released on his foster son, Simon, who, in the course of the novel, is beaten to the verge of death. However, unlike Duff, Hulme openly blames colonisation for the weakening of Māori social structures, the "strongly hierarchical, strongly spiritual system," aimed at the prevention of violence, that positioned men as "protector and nurturer of other members of the extended family group" (Turcotte 139). As Chapter Six illustrates, Hulme's proposed remedy to present Māori violence lies in the reconnection to Māori spiritual and communal values, not in the emulation of Pākehā culture as proposed by Duff.

Witi Ihimaera represents Māori as victims of colonial violence rather than the perpetrators of aggressive acts. In two poems published in 1996, “Dinner With the Cannibal” and “Skulls and Cannibals”, he uses the concept of cannibalism as a metaphor for colonisation. Ihimaera’s poems echo the words of Te Heu Heu, a great chief of Taupo, who in 1857 commented that the English were gradually obtaining the best lands in New Zealand and that the Māori would soon “be eaten up, and cease to be” (Gorst 36).

In “Dinner With the Cannibal”, Ihimaera launches a satirical attack on the way Māori were duped by Pākehā into signing the Treaty then consequently stripped of their land and culture. In the first stanza the Māori is invited to dinner, in the second he realises he *is* the dinner:

It was understood of course that I was privileged to
be there
With him in dinner jacket and black bow tie
The fact that he drank claret should have made me
realise
That he liked his meat rare yet, even so
I was taken aback when, all of a sudden
He reached across the table to snap off both my legs
As if I was a crisp brown Māori-bread man
Saying, “You won’t need these, will you”
(219)

Because Māori negotiated a Treaty with the British Crown, it is often thought that they suffered less under colonisation than, say, the Aborigines of Australia or Native American Indians. Thus it has been understood that the Māori were “privileged”. However, Māori still had their “legs” snapped off; they had their culture crushed. The image of having one’s legs cut off also occurs in Apirana Taylor’s novel, *He Tangi Aroha*. Atarau describes the loss of Māori culture as “cutting our legs off” (178), and Rata uses the same image to describe his cultural alienation: “it’s like me legs were cut off” (202). The image represents a state of immobilisation and connotes the physical and metaphysical violence of colonial practices.

In the poem Ihimaera acknowledges the similar experience of other indigenous peoples who “have dined with the cannibal”:

He was a gourmet of impeccable sophistication
“That was much better than Aboriginal or Red
Indian”

He said, “And I have never liked the taste of Hindu
 or Pakistani
 Too much curry in their diet taints the flesh
 You are a repast quite delicious
 Almost like Sāmoan, less fatty than the Tongan”
 (220)

This stanza mocks the idea of a “scale of mankind” which in the nineteenth century was used to rank different races in order to establish European “superiority” and help facilitate colonisation. The British Empire (represented by the cannibal in his “dinner jacket and black bow tie”, his “impeccable” manners and his dialect: “old chap”) is represented as an all-consuming agent of destruction – all the more sinister for its appearance of civility.

The colonisation process signified in the poem by the actions of the cannibal is a long, drawn out affair. Its effects were still evident in the 1990s. This is indicated in the poem by the cannibal’s removal of the Māori’s arms to “prevent any further throwing of wet black T-shirts / At Her majesty” – a direct reference to the incident on Waitangi Day (an annual holiday to commemorate and “celebrate” the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) in 1990, when a Māori protester threw a wet T-shirt at the Queen. In “Skulls and Cannibals”, Ihimaera makes the point that Pākehā (who are again cast as the cannibals) continue to defile Māori cultural practices and “consume”/appropriate their history.

Patricia Grace explicitly represents Māori violence as a consequence of colonisation. In her brief comment on gang activity in *Cousins*, Grace presents gang members as victims of a historical process of repression and assimilation. Her character Makareta sees evidence of Jackson’s theory of a battered people written on the “scarred and broken faces, in the sick, disabled bodies, in the dreamless, frightened eyes” of contemporary Māori (215). Māori have been stripped of their cultural heritage, left battered and bruised, with no identity to hold on to:

The outward signs of the distress of our people were there in the streets. For years we had been told through statistics and through the media of our lowly position, our poverty, our bad health, our underachievement, our unemployability and our criminality. We didn’t need to have these things spelled out to us, because we were living them, or living next to them every day. They were the things

I'd seen and heard talked about when I was a child. Now sorrow, our powerlessness and our destitution were out there in the streets for everyone to see.

There in the streets groups of men terrorised each other, brutalised the women that lived with them and caused fear wherever they went. They were the beaten, the hollowed-out of our people, the rawakore, the truly disinherited, where nothing substantial was inbuilt and nothing was valued or marvellous – where there was no memory, where the void had been defiled by an inrushing of anger and weeping. No one had loved their hair. Or, if sometimes they were not the disowned and disinherited, then they were those who had learned to look at who they were in distorted mirrors, had seen awry reflections of themselves and had become traumatised. And their stories of self-hatred were told in their foulness and self-defacement, their maiming and their havoc. They guarded what was left of themselves with weapons, high walls, and dogs.

There were children too, mauled and ravaged, committing slow suicide with petrol, pills and glue. Pretty children in large coats who inhabited the subways, doorways and pathways of the town. None of us could be unaffected by them and no one was blameless. (208)

Like Duff, Grace is willing to accept that Māori are partly to “blame” for this situation. She proposes that a remedy must come from within Māori society, but to her mind this involves a restructuring of the cultural network of the Māori world, a return to communal care, and not the adaptation to individualism proposed by Duff.

In his novel, *He Tangi Aroha*, Apirana Taylor represents urban Māori deprivation as a manifestation of structural violence. Institutional racism, unemployment and personal experiences of family violence render the characters powerless and angry. In terms reminiscent of Beth Heke's diagnosis of the Māori situation, Taylor's character, Rata, considers the arrival of the Pākehā to blame for Māori cultural denigration and subsequent deprivation:

The destruction of Maori society began when the Pakeha arrived. Once the Pakeha began to outnumber the Maori they set up a government and a system in which they had all the power and

control. Little, if any notice was ever taken of Maori aspirations. It was all destruction destruction destruction destruction and drunkenness and beatings up and broken families and loss and wondering and mangling and incest and weakening, no more warrior all broken down broken down broken smashed, he yelled and raged inside. (144)

Unlike Duff, Taylor is committed to the idea that violence is the result of historical conflict and confusion which are intensified by global forces and cause unemployment, pollution and war. The attempts of the characters to work their way out of depressive situations leads them into opposition with dominant structures and practices that frustrate their attempts. Rata fails to break the cycles of family and systemic violence that he finds himself embroiled in and he dies in a shoot out with the police.

In his short story “Broken Arse” Bruce Stewart considers the idea that Māori do have an authentic tradition of violence within their culture. He identifies two conflicting aspects in Māori cultural heritage, one violent, one creative, represented by Tūmataunga (God of War) and Tānemahuta (God of forests) respectively. His proposition is that Western institutions (in this story the prison system), amplify the former aggressive strand and marginalise the latter. Duff’s novella, *State Ward*, the story of 13-year old Charlie Wilson’s experiences and escape from Riverton Boy’s Home, picks up a similar theme in its description of the pecking order, established through violence, amongst the boys (who are mostly Māori), and describes the abuse of power by the Head of the institution against young Charlie (85), but Duff, unlike Stewart, does not develop the theme. At the end of “Broken Arse”, it is Tū’s merciless brutality that reigns over the prison:

Tu was standing in the shadows, up against the brick wall. So were all his Maori heavies. There were about 80 of them. They seemed to enjoy the brokenness [...]

We could all feel the stomping. It was a slow, deliberate stomp, though there wasn’t a sound. They were stomping their feet, swaying their bodies from side to side like a haka. They stomped. Broken arse, broken arse. You couldn’t hear a sound. They looked so black, so ugly, so strong.

Henry and Piggy Screw looked so pale, so weak,
so broken.

Tu rolled a large, slow smoke. (95-96)

Tū is a representative Māori figure; he is the cannibal, the warrior and the Patched gangster, “an implacable image straight out of every white, suburban nightmare” (Beatson *The Healing Tongue* 35).

Stewart’s story represents the opinion of the majority of authors, historians and anthropologists in its suggestion that, like most cultures, Māori do have a history of violence, but that this is only one side of a more complex heritage. The imposition of Western cultural frameworks and institutions over the Māori has corrupted and exacerbated this violent strand. Peter Beatson summarises this proposition:

If the posture of Tu represents a menace to many New Zealanders, then it is a menace which they have themselves in part constructed. He is the alter ego of their own acts of injustice. (Beatson *The Healing Tongue* 71)

Duff’s Politics

Through his syndicated newspaper columns, fiction and collected essays, Alan Duff airs his political views in a loud and abrasive manner. He is a “bootstraps moralist and a libertarian ideologue” committed to notions of individual responsibility, self-sacrifice and hard work (Thompson “In Whose Face” 109). In *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* he gives his most comprehensive interpretation of Māori and Pākehā cultures, their values, successes and failures. Through a limited and generalised analysis he presents Western culture as successful and Māori values and institutions as anachronistic. Rather than complying with the prevailing interpretation of current Māori problems (high rates of violence, child abuse, alcohol dependency) as the consequence of colonial historical processes, he considers that Māori to blame for their failure to adapt to “an inevitable new order” (27). His political stance can be compared to that of Stuart C. Scott, whom many Pākehā regard as a controversial “redneck”. Scott is a right wing businessman who believes that Māori culture “is the culture of a primitive race which, in the last 150 years, has struggled, with understandable difficulty, to adjust to the standards of a vastly more sophisticated ethnic group –

Europeans” (154). A significant difference between the two commentators is that Scott is Pākehā, Duff Māori. The latter therefore stands in opposition to his own culture, but he uses his part Māori heritage to authenticate and justify his political views.

Duff does not deny that Māori have suffered in the past from Pākehā trickery over land and resources. He concedes that “land grabbing took place by Europeans on a grand and unprincipled scale” (*Maori* 111), and that in previous years educational and employment opportunities for Māori have been less than equal. *Once Were Warriors* is set against this context. But he is adamant that Māori must throw off the shackles of their own making and must reassess, restructure, or discard those elements of their culture which prevent them from seizing the opportunities afforded them in today’s society.

In *Once Were Warriors*, it is “Pākehā” economic values which Te Tupaea endorses. “Pākehā” implies capitalist theories of competitive individualism and “self help”. In 1859, Samuel Smiles wrote *Self Help*, which explicitly connected individualistic economic values with the English character. Duff offers “Smilesian self-help solutions to de-tribalized Māori in a world of chronic structural dysfunction” (Harding 145). The chief dresses in pinstripe suits and wears gold cufflinks and a gold watch. When he visits Pine Block he takes with him, “someone well known, a local Maori fulla who’d become an All Black, a Maori lawyer, a Maori doctor, a Maori surgeon” (191). Each man is an individual success. They have appropriated ideas of individualism and the work ethic which Te Tupaea tells the Pine Blockers they must embrace in order to find their “way out” of poverty. Once inspired by Te Tupaea, Beth accepts the idea of “self-help”. It becomes her “catchcry”. She goes to the library to take out “Teach Yourself” books and becomes a self-styled teacher. Through Beth, Duff stresses his interpretation of the benefits to be gained by following the Smilesian philosophy:

Like this self-help idea was so beautifully all-embracing it was a wonder why they, the Maori people in general, hadn’t cottoned onto it before. Why, it helped the helpers, it helped the owners of the businesses they purchased from, it helped most of all the lost, unwanted, ill directed kids. It was self-fulfilling [...]. (166)

In 1990, when Duff published *Once Were Warriors*, it may have seemed feasible to him that Māori culture could be wedded to concerns of modernity. Te Tupaea is the embodiment of this vision. The representation of this marriage takes on a similar guise to that of Pākehā concepts of integration in the 1960s. Although Māori culture remained distinct, it was thought of largely in terms of artistic practices and traditions rather than as a system of economic or social values. The “cultural” part in Duff’s analysis of Māori heritage is distanced from economic or political significance. Bruce Harding suggests that Duff seems to be “a collaborator within the dominant white regime” (147). Harding continues: “There is a sense in which Duff not only gains his resolute perspective from a life lived on the margins of two sharply distinct worlds, but also almost berates the Maori for failing to adapt to Western modernity in the canny way that has been characteristic of the Japanese, for instance” (147).

Duff’s Critique of Māori Culture

Duff representation of Maori culture as static and unable to adapt to new situations contrasts to historical descriptions of Maori society. Historical and archeological research has found that upon arrival in New Zealand from their warmer homeland Māori successfully adapted their way of life (that is, housing, clothing, hunting and agricultural methods) to suit the new environment. Historians Judith Binney and Anne Salmond, amongst others, have detailed successful Māori adaptations to modernity from the early period of contact onwards. In his criticism of Māori culture, Duff ignores these developments, and instead depicts traditional Māori culture as savage, ignorant, and static. In Duff’s opinion, given categorically in *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge*, rigid Māori hierarchical political structures based on descent, cultural ideological practices that (to his mind) reinforce authority and obedience, and the tradition of orality which confines knowledge to the select few, amount to “the very quality responsible for holding Maori back” (5). That is the quality of “unthinkingness” (6).

Alan Duff criticises the rigid caste system of traditional Māori society. He accuses the social structures of inflexibility and elitism. In *Once Were Warriors*, Jake Heke tells his children how he is a descendant of slaves:

Five hundred years, that's what they used to tell us Heke kids. Five hundred years of the slave curse bein on our heads [...] As for the kids related to the chief: if we went within a hundred fuckin yards ofem they'd be throwin stones, yelling and screaming at us to get away, go home, you Hekes're juss a packa fuckin slaves. (102-103)

A couple of pages later (in case the reader has missed his point) Duff tells us through Beth's thoughts: "how unfair it was that one lot got to inherit slave status while another inherited chieftainship" (106). Through the story of Beth's upbringing in a traditional Māori community Duff also accuses marae protocol of endorsing sexism:

Beth half resenting the male elders, their privileged position, their secret language that only they and a few others knew; remembering that this very place, its cultural practices, had always been a mystery to a young girl growing up: a males only domain. And certain males at that. From certain families. From chiefly lines. And to hell with the rest, you're here to serve us. That's how a girl'd felt. And growing up to the knowledge that as a woman she was never going to have the right to speak publicly [...] (120)

Duff's criticisms of traditional Māori leadership are gender biased and not strictly true. His focus on male lineage does not take into account tribal variations; many women in the Ngāti Porou tribe achieved leadership and had hapū named after them (Mahuika 46-58). To consolidate his/her position as leader, a "chief" must have other mandates besides their birth credentials. A traditional leader was required to possess talents (for example, he/she must be a good warrior, be able to organise warfare and settle disputes, he/she must have knowledge of the arts and be able to lead quests for food). Furthermore, in pre-European times, as now, a leader could be removed if a suitable alternative was found or simply if the people refused to endorse his/her authority. Elsdon Best writes:

Much stress was laid on primogeniture by the Maori, and he ever respected rank and birth so long as the individual was worthy of such respect. But should the eldest son of a tribal or clan headman prove to be unworthy of such a position, then he might be passed over by the people, who would place some more desirable person in the position, probably a younger brother or the deposed one. (*The Maori as He Was* 93)

Nevertheless, Duff considers that today's leaders construct themselves as untouchable and thereby deny the people's right to replace them. Leadership gets "drunk on itself and its guarantee of power" and becomes corrupt and autocratic (*Maori* 5). In-built systems and ceremonial supports, such as the right of speaking privilege, confine power to a select few and create a situation of elitism.

According to Duff, most leaders today are ill-suited to the role. He is particularly scathing about the Māori practice of assigning precedence according to age. In most iwi, hapū and whānau Māori elders are respected and consulted on issues that affect the people. This principle of deferring to age remains influential in the organisation of Māori social behaviour, perhaps more so now than the system of descent. In this light, as Christina Thompson states, "Duff's charge that merely having lived a long time hardly qualifies anyone for leadership is an attack on the very core of Maori culture" ("In Whose face" 112). Aside from being old, Duff accuses most kaumātua (tribal elders) of being "stubborn", "dogmatic", "poorly read" "uninformed", "misinformed" and "sadly wrong". The leaders and the cultural structures that confer their positions of authority are considered "anachronisms" (6-7). Duff pulls no punches. To his mind the system needs to be changed before it destroys the Māori people.

In *Both Sides of the Moon*, Duff uses his fiction to promote these views on Māori leadership. In the narrative about Jimmy's ancestors he splits the original Māori tribe into "savage" and "noble" groups in order to criticise traditional cultural practices. The discussions held between members of Kapi's "noble" group satirise traditional tribal structures of power. Duff attacks the seniority principles of the Māori chief system by having Kapi praise Wild Hair's authority, which is based on merit:

No man more intelligent had he ever heard speak.
 And nor calmly unauthoritative and yet so
 authoritative. A chief without need to title, to high-
 birth family lineage. A man of power without
 imposing power. A chief that saw in the future not
 defeat but change. (170)

Here, Duff implies that tribal chieftainship produces a static people unable to change. One of the reasons that change is barred lies in the unthinking and unquestioning atmosphere established through leadership based on inheritance and enforced with might. Kapi expresses interest in the enlightened ways of Wild Hair's community thus laying an indirect criticism at traditional tribal protocol:

He could hear Wild Hair being asked in *questioning* tone by younger voices female and male, his hearing close to an outrage, for he had heard no man of authority addressed so except in direct challenge for leadership. Such dissenting even in this tone should be enough to invite instant death. But then it was tone not so threatening. And clearly how they conducted themselves in discourse. (192)

In the 1970s, Dun Mihaka, "a self proclaimed political agitator" (100) criticised "the Māori way of doing things, the way they conducted hui gatherings and the like on marae" as being far from the show of democracy that "liberals and Pākehā bleeding hearts club and unimaginative darkies both claim" (93-94). Duff continues Mihaka's criticism of Māori social organisation. In *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* he attacks traditional speaking rights on the marae: "That lineage, the tracing of one's birthline back through a series of chiefly-born, can decide in this day and age the right to make public speech is simply ludicrous" (48).

Duff's particular gripe with this aspect of Māori culture comes after a public debate over his own right to speak out – through his syndicated newspaper column and the publication of his novels – on "Māori issues". Many of his critics feel he has spoken out of turn, that he should have consulted tribal leaders with his criticisms of Māori culture rather than presenting them in the public arena. Duff actively sets himself in opposition to the leadership "elite" and casts himself as a tough-speaking truth-teller who is "brave" enough to take on the establishment.

However, Duff's critique of Māori culture is severely limited by his tendency to generalise, for example, in his discussion of Māori leadership models, and in his personal attacks on public figures, such as Irihapeti Ramsden, which gain him few supporters. Some critics question his knowledge of traditional Māori customs and find him uneducated about the issues he speaks of. Andrew Vercoe (Whakatohea, Ngāti Tai, Ngāti Pikiao, Tuhoe), a lecturer in Māori education at the University of Waikato, has written a book, *Educating Jake*, in reply to *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge*. Vercoe calls Duff's arguments "tenuous and unstable" (xii), and presents an alternative understanding of contemporary Māori society which takes into account the destructive impact colonisation had on Māori and their culture. In a forward to the book, Ihimaera explains that *Educating Jake* is "an antidote to all the victim-blaming, Maori-bashing Duff *stuff*" (xi). Vercoe proposes that the solutions to the problems faced by many Māori at the present time lie in a combination of pro-active Māori cultural involvement with their own people to raise cultural pride, self-worth, and the relinquishment of power by the Crown in order to restore mana and tino rangatiratanga to Māori.

In *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge*, Duff is particularly critical of Māori spiritual ideologies. "Superstition-laden" beliefs such as mākutu (Māori curse) are considered by Duff as discredited by modern thinking. The "kaumatua type of assessment" which revolves around "metaphysical arguments" is referred to as a "type of ignorance which has Maori not understanding *any* of the problems which afflict them" (49). To Duff's mind, the discourse of Māori spirituality courted by the "elite" holds Māori back because it prevents a logical evaluation of problems and distracts from more progressive economically minded ventures: "Always the permanent obstacle in the way of monetary understanding is the old cultural cliché: Not our way. Not in our culture. We are a spiritual people" (51).

In *Both Sides of the Moon* Duff ridicules traditional Māori spiritual leadership and casts tohungas as tricksters. The representation of the tohunga during the war raids of Kapi's original tribe reveals him as an effective observer of human actions as opposed to the mystic reader of heavenly signs he claims to be. Wild Hair speaks in damning terms of the tohunga:

And what would a priest have to offer us with his
craftily designed gods and cunningly chosen omens?
What would a tohunga's ways of trickery and word-

disguised lies and manipulations have to give us? Who is he that nominates one object as tapu and death to the person who breaks it, when his latrine smell is the same as any of us? [...] No mere man has contact with the gods'. Indeed, we are of the thinking that god's only contact with man is in man's mind. Why would we have a tohunga who practises deceit and visits death upon those who do not cave into his orders, bow to his manipulations? (163-164)

As discussed in Chapter Five, many nineteenth century Pākehā visitors and settlers in New Zealand considered tohungas in much the same way. F.E. Maning in *Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times* portrayed the tohunga as a crafty trickster:

These *tohunga* [...] pretended to the power, by means of certain familiar spirits, to foretell future events, and even in some cases to control them [...]. Most of these predictions were, however, given, like the oracles of old, in terms which would admit a double meaning, and secure the character of the soothsayer no matter how the event turned out. (152)

In the narrative of his travels in New Zealand between the years 1831 and 1837, J.S. Polack presented the tohunga as a ventriloquist and describes the trickery and manipulation exercised by him over the people (255-262). The way Duff characterises the tohunga is therefore illustrative of a Pākehā tradition that portrays Māori culture with skepticism and ridicule.

Duff's criticisms of Māori culture anticipate later critical reviews of the Māori cultural renaissance. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, Steve Webster in his book *Patrons of Maori Culture*, proposes that the Māori renaissance promoted an idealised conception of essential Māori culture that is at odds with the reality of Māori life as an experience of historic, economic and social struggle. Māori academics and "patrons" of Māori culture helped foster romantic images of Māori that work against the economic concerns of the majority. Duff exposes the fallacy of these romantic ideals about Māori. *Once Were Warriors* brought public attention to urban Māori cultural and economic poverty, that is, to the struggle mentioned by Webster. Webster applies a Marxist

analyses to the paradox of cultural efflorescence and economic deterioration and concludes that radical social change is necessary for the latter to be alleviated. He also believes that the history of Māori struggle actually contains within it progressive forces. Duff on the other hand applies a racist colonial framework. He plays down the idea that Māori have been positioned in a particular relation to the means of production by dominant Pākehā forces. Ironically, his representation of Māori culture as inherently violent and instinctual reconfirms the premise that Māori are not an economically minded people. Duff thinks within a framework of cultural binaries and has been heavily criticised for representing everything that connotes economic and social progress as Pākehā and everything indicative of “stone-age” ignorance as Māori. This thesis is evident in his critical essays and his works of fiction.

Binary Oppositions

A demographic survey of the Māori characters represented across the spread of fiction written by Māori over the last thirty to forty years would reveal that the majority of them occupy low income, or no income, levels of employment; rural farm labourers and factory workers predominate. There are exceptions, such as Tama Mahana in Ihimaera’s *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, who becomes an international diplomat like Ihimaera himself, and Mahaki in Grace’s *Baby No-Eyes* who is a lawyer, but generally it is Pākehā characters who represent the middle-class. In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff dramatises this dichotomy by contrasting the middle class Pākehā Trambert family and the working-class/unemployed Māori Pine Block community. Gordon Trambert is an educated man who owns a successful business. He has refined tastes, listens to Russian choral music, and refers to himself in the third person (“one”). In contrast, the Māori characters have little education and own virtually no financial assets. They speak in rough colloquial patterns heavily punctuated with swear words. Everything Pākehā is assessed as progressive and everything Māori as regressive.

Christina Thompson has drawn attention to the way Duff “consistently renders Maori values in negative terms, recasting Maori virtues as Pakeha vices” (“In Whose Face” 110). She goes on to explain:

Generosity becomes an inability to practice self-restraint; family loyalty becomes a bar to self-improvement; modesty becomes poor self-esteem; casualness becomes sloth; pride becomes arrogance. Pakeha values, one the other had, are never critically examined. Competition does not involve oppression; individualism cannot be read as selfishness; upward mobility never translates as greed. Most Maori and Pakeha will recognize these descriptions for what they are: bent accounts of both cultures. (110)

To a certain extent Duff acknowledges the complexities of such binary oppositions in *One Night Out Stealing* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* In *One Night Out Stealing*, Duff writes about Pākehā low-lifers represented by Jube and refers to Pākehā as well as Māori gangs. However, the novel still divides Māori and Pākehā through the contrast of the Māori protagonist's (Sonny's) impoverishment and the Pākehā wealth he aspires to. In *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* Gordon Trambert is given more textual space and Duff reveals that his lifestyle is not as unproblematic as the Māori of Pine Block believe it to be. Nevertheless, the basic binary structure still holds.

Both Sides of the Moon accentuates the divisions between the two races. Imagery of light and dark function as metaphors for Pākehā modernity and Māori ignorance. The image is used in the splitting of the original tribal group into two. On the dark side are the savages, Hariana and Tangiwai, and on the light side the forward thinking group represented by Wild Hair, Tekapo, Mihinui Taikato and Moonlight. The latter group eagerly embrace the future and with it the intelligence of the white man:

[...] the white men were settling, his complicated dwellings were springing up everywhere, it was said there were entire plains built and being built of them [...] He was more organised than seemed humanly possible and he has systems of thinking in place that enabled his strengths to grow [...]

It was time, the two modest leaders said, to look into another tomorrow and see what future lay there. (209)

The concept of two sides of the moon refers to Kapi who is both savage and then later a reformed man with the name “Moonlight”, thus signifying the light that is beginning to shine on him.

The narrator, Jimmy, is also representative of the relationship Duff constructs between Māori and Pākehā cultures. Jimmy is half caste: “The dark half calls my white half, Pakeha”, “The white half calls the dark half Hori” (7). Duff uses this division to create a space from which to criticise Jimmy’s Māori heritage. In *Once Were Warriors*, Duff uses narrators who are simultaneously part of, and separated from, Pine Block mentality. This insider/outsider perspective is most frequently conveyed through the interchanging of the pronouns “them” and “us”/“I” during the course of a narrator’s interior monologue (for example, Beth’s thoughts on “my own people. Them out there. Us. The going-nowhere nobodies who populate this state-owned, half of us state-fed, slum” 7). In *Both Sides of the Moon*, Duff uses the racial division in Jimmy’s identity in a similar way. He sets up a dichotomy between the ethical values of each race, and in every discussion Jimmy’s “Pakeha side” voices criticisms of his ignorant Māori side. Like Duff’s relation to his own father, and grandfather, Jimmy identifies with his father’s Pākehā “enlightenment” (8). His mother and her Māori friends are considered “pissheads” (57) living on “the dark side of the conceptual moon” (12), i.e., in “ignorance” (8).

Duff represents contemporary Māori as inheritors of an “unthinking” culture. He proposes that because it is not in their nature to question, unemployed urban Māori fail to ask themselves why they have ended up at the bottom of the socio-economic heap. Their complacent attitudes and collective mentality entrench them further into a sub-culture of ignorance and dependency. Rather than spending time in “self contemplation” or “honest self analysis”, Duff’s Māori characters reach for the beer, for the “instant gratification” of emotional needs regardless of the consequences (*Both Sides of the Moon* 180). They gamble, beat each other up and neglect their children because they are “mindless” (*Warriors* 65). They mirror each other’s behaviour (an image Duff frequently employs) and excuse their own depravity by considering it to be the accepted norm. Violence is tolerated because, as Jimmy’s mother in *Both Sides of the Moon* says, “we do it all the time” (76) and “It-must-be-right-if so-many-doing it” (182). Any attempts at

individualism are considered suspicious: “They [the collective] show distrust, even hatred for questioning minds, even blood-related ones” (11). This type of insular culture “will protect you – as long as you surrender to its dictates” (11). *Once Were Warriors* also shows this restrictive group mentality. Duff portrays “the modern urban Maori as a people victimized as much by their own ethnically inscribed enculturation process as they are put down by the harmful effects of the Pakeha system” (Harding 149). Attempts at self-advancement and education are met with scorn. In *Both Sides of the Moon*, Jimmy is criticised by his mother’s drunken friends for his enjoyment of reading:

Is that a *book* you got your prettyboy half-caste face buried in? And what would this *book* be about? Something high-falutin’ I bet. Like your daddy, eh boy? He gets you into all this stuff, don’t he? To make you clever than the rest, right? [...] Turn you into a real li’l smartarse. Eh? Eh? A Clever Dick thinks he’s better’n my kids. (56)

There is a suggestion here that to be educated somehow implies being less “Māori” and more “Pākehā”. This notion is the product of stereotyping. Duff attacks Māori people who accede to this view and find some kind of identity or glorification in it. The stereotype of Māori as uneducated but happy and carefree has been internalised by many unemployed Māori, maybe as a means of alleviating the stress of their situation, but as Duff shows, it locks them into a cycle of low achievement. He suggests they begin to value education and begin to appropriate it from the Pākehā. The *Books in Homes* scheme set up by Duff and Christina Fennyhough in 1995 aims to provide reading material to children from lower income families, most of whom are Māori. The scheme has been an enormous success and has now been taken up in Queensland Australia. Ironically though, in his promotion of educational advancement, Duff reinforces the divisive notion that education is a Pākehā value. This association is made in his fiction through the repeated grouping of “enlightenment” and progress with Pākehā, and “ignorance”/“unthinking” and stasis with Māori. In *Both Sides of the Moon*, it is also evident in the split between Jimmy’s educated Pākehā father and uneducated Māori mother.

Duff's Solution

Duff blames Māori culture for contemporary Māori social, economic and political difficulties, so it is no surprise that he rejects the popular belief of the Māori renaissance movement which suggests that greater focus on Māori culture will improve the lot of Māori in New Zealand. Duff's manifesto for Māori socio-economic progress proposes emulation of Pākehā economic practices rather than recourse to Māori spiritual or cultural practices. The "cultural bullshit" as he views it, "hui after hui windbagging, waffling about ancestry (yet again), having go-nowhere discussions" reflects the unproductive stasis Māori cultural ideologies have produced (*Maori* 12). Duff increasingly views Māori culture as artifice designed by totalitarian leaders who favour personal power over honest pro-active development. To his mind teaching traditional arts of oratory represents a slide back to a system of rote learning – a mindset characterised by "unthinking". In Duff's eyes, Māoridom needs new leadership and new direction.

Duff suggests that the new direction for Māori will come from business minded young men and women, educated in the Pākehā system. He measures success in profit made, not cultural knowledge acquired, and reduces everything, including the relationship between parents and children, children and schooling down to an economic venture (see, for example, the financial incentive scheme aimed at getting school children to do their homework proposed in "Kickstarting the education process" (*Maori* 97-101). Duff's emphasis on the modernisation of Māori culture can be read as either the promotion of contemporary assimilation of Māori into the dominant Euro-American influenced culture of Pākehā New Zealand, or, more favourably, as a call for a dramatic revision of Māori cultural ways in order to keep pace with the developing world. Either way, it is economics first and culture second: "I've always said get economically strong, and the culture will get strong with it" (Hereniko133).

Duff does not deny that knowledge of one's culture is important but he stresses that "culture by itself is not enough" (Hereniko 124). In *Once Were Warriors*, Beth, Charlie Bennett and Te Tupaea draw personal strength from Māori culture but they do so only in combination with the rewards they reap from practicing hard work and self reliance, those values Duff associates with Pākehā culture.

It is evident that as time goes by Duff becomes more recalcitrant in his views. It is possible to read the solution to the “Māori problem” proposed in *Once Were Warriors* as being “collective and cultural” (Beatson Rev. of *Broken Hearted?* 140), but in *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* Māori culture plays no part in Jake Heke’s salvation. Jake embraces the concept of self-help, finds respect through work and becomes responsible for his own actions. Duff’s message is clear - Māori should help themselves out of the situation they find themselves in and they do not need to rediscover their heritage to do this. Nor do they need traditional Māori leaders to help them achieve success because, as Beatson writes, “salvation lies not in becoming more Maori, but more middle-class” (Rev. of *Broken Hearted?* 140). The Douglas brothers act as role models for Jake. They work hard, interact socially in games of rugby and hunting, and share a strong sense of family loyalty. Despite being big men with large reputations they also display self-discipline. They are new model Māori warriors and appear to have Duff’s approval.

Authorial Intrusion

Duff’s political views shape his storylines and intrude on his fictional representations of Māori in a heavy-handed manner. Like Selby Jr., Duff applies an unflinching eye to the most depraved elements of society and strives for a medium of expression adequate to the task of describing it, but whereas Selby Jr’s presence is largely undetectable in his prose, the authorial persona of Alan Duff is ever present and frequently interferes in the story to make moral or social judgements on “The People” who he writes about.

By sliding in and out of the mind of his characters Duff creates a space for himself to comment on his characters’ actions. For example, when Jake tells Beth of his “luck” at getting the sack, rather than giving Beth’s response in the first person narrative (as is used to describe her joy at receiving the surprise parcels) Duff conveys her/his thoughts through the comment: “A woman wasn’t so sure about this luck business that it was really luck and not just plain hard work, self motivation” (*Warriors* 21). By using the term “a woman” Duff is able to insert his own interpretation of the situation whilst thinly disguising it as Beth’s own view.

At times the distance between Duff (the social critic) and his characters is increased through his use of a second-person mode of direct-address (for example, “you stupid drunk Māori”, “your collective stupidity, your monumental idiocy, Brown People” (*Warriors* 81)). He also passes generalised offensive comments describing Māori as a race of “beer guzzlin darkies” (*Warriors* 65). Alternatively, he channels “didactic messages to the reader via the unspoken thoughts of key characters” (Harding 147). Beth is most frequently Duff’s spokesperson – she conveys his disparaging comments on the state of urban Māori, their inadequacy with money (99), apathetic attitude (8), tendency towards violence (47-48), crime (43) and neglect of their children (167). Beatson believes that Duff’s “heavy-handedness”, his “excessive explicitness, repetition and moralising” undermines the “intelligence and perceptiveness of his audience” (141). He goes on to say that Duff blurs the lines between novelist and columnist and ends up producing tracts of “pop sociology and psychology” (141).

Bruce Harding suggests that Duff uses a narrative approach dubbed by F.K. Stanzel as “reflectorisation”. Quoting from Stanzel, Harding notes that this involves “making an authorial narrator think and speak as if he were one of the characters of the story” (Harding 148). Assimilation of the teller’s language to that of the character’s occurs quite naturally when the teller is an inhabitant of the same social circles he/she describes. In Chapter One of *Once Were Warriors*, Beth reflects on the lives of her neighbours in the shared vernacular of Pine Block. At other times the narrator is unidentified but speaks like the characters of the story:

So the parties raged, all over Pine Block they raged, man. And people, every man and woman and jack ofem, they were thinking this must be life because it is life, you know ...? But yet something not quite equating. Ah, but who gives a fuck? Drink up and be happy. And if you wanna fight then go to it, bro. Might even join in it looks good.
(82)

The majority of Alan Duff’s novels draw on experiences from his own life. A reading of his autobiography *Out of the Mist and Steam* illustrates this point. Duff grew up in an area similar to Pine Block. He witnessed, and became involved in, the types of violence graphically described in all his novels. When

Duff was thirteen years old he was made a ward of the state. In 1993 he wrote *State Ward*, first as a radio play and then as a novel. The protagonist of this story, a mixed race boy called Charlie Wilson, is referred to as a “state house boy” from Two Lakes (the English translation of Rotorua) and is sent to Riverton Boys Home (“sixty two miles” from Two Lakes and presumably in Hamilton). Duff’s fifth novel *Both Sides of the Moon* is semi-autobiographical. It follows the movements of a “half-caste” boy growing up in Rotorua in the 1950s. *One Night Out Stealing* is perhaps less directly autobiographical in its narrow focus on two low life burglars, but Duff writes with an insider’s knowledge of the housing estates and bars through which the characters move. Figuratively speaking, Duff is a character in his novels and, as demonstrated earlier, gives a running commentary on the events therein. Like the “reflector” characters who tell the story, Duff is simultaneously inside the tale and outside of it.

As a successful writer Duff no longer lives alongside the welfare dependant characters he writes about in his novels. However, he maintains a media image that connects him to these characters. It is an image of “toughness” constituted largely through his verbally aggressive demeanour. Duff’s abrupt tone is similar to that of his “streetwise” characters. He presents himself in opposition to the Pākehā middle-class literary establishment. He is unafraid to use coarse or offensive language in interviews, for example: “if you’re an asshole, it don’t matter what colour you are” (Hereniko 126). Duff’s aggressive interview style is summarised by Hereniko:

His remarks reminded me of the quick but painful punches that a boxer delivers to the enemy. There were lots of them. (120)

Duff tells Hereniko: “I got brought up as a warrior, and I don’t remember a warrior ever allowing himself to be bullied” (122). In his offensive remarks Duff displays his essentially defensive personality. His heritage is the same as Jake Heke’s but whereas Jake has no means of articulation and fights with his fists, Duff knows how to verbally express himself and he does so with apparently unlimited gusto.

Alan Duff is “proud” to be Māori but this does not prevent him criticising the Māori culture. He believes that the culture has some serious flaws, the most

damaging of which is its lack of economic strength. Duff vehemently opposes Māori leaders who (to his mind) promote traditional practices before practical skills and modern education. Likewise, he criticises Pākehā liberals for their patronage of Māori culture. In *Maori: The Crisis and the Challenge* he devotes a whole chapter to criticism of these “Culture Vultures”. Duff locates himself against the mainstream of Māori politics. Again, he casts himself as the repressed truth-teller who has to fight injustice and prejudice in order to be heard. Because he speaks out against long cherished Māori cultural practices he is often rejected by other public Māori figures as an “inauthentic” Māori. In her article in *SPAN*, Danielle Brown argues that Ranginui Walker challenges Duff’s right to speak as a Māori by constructing him as “Pakeha-identified” (77). Duff however, claims his democratic and literary “right” to speak out and refuses to be “bullied” into silence by eminent Māori figures like Walker. His offensive verbal lashings have been directed both at Pākehā and Māori institutions as well as numerous individuals including Peter Sharples, Sir Douglas Graham, and Iriapeti Ramsden. Duff is a political “warrior”, and his books and syndicated newspaper columns are his means of attack. Like Apirana Taylor, whom Bruce Stewart referred to as a “new kind of warrior”, Duff is unafraid to “whomp us in the guts, where it hurts” (Intro to *Eyes of the Ruru*). His fighting/writing style may lack finesse, but it does generate extensive public debate over social and racial issues in New Zealand.

Danielle Brown has proposed that after the initial favourable reviews of the quality of Duff’s work, Pākehā critics re-situated him on “the margins of a Pakeha paradigm of “good writing”” (75). Literary critics (Nigel Cox in particular) applied European aesthetic literary traditions to his work and found it lacking. Brown claims that behind this process was an aim to “disempower and silence Duff” because “an unrestrained Alan Duff is a considerable threat to the pieties of Pakeha liberals, who have embraced to the point of appropriation what Ken Arvidson calls the “pastoral mode” of the Maori Renaissance (76). Brown’s argument has some merit, but it should not follow that all criticism of the literary merit of Duff’s work is symptomatic of Pākehā liberal fears over what he might say. As Peter Beatson has written in his 1997 review of *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?*:

[...] now that the inhabitants and social problems of Two Lakes have become a familiar feature of this country's folk consciousness, it is time to stop arguing about the validity of its creator's vision of Maoridom, and to begin assessing how Duff the writer, as opposed to social commentator, stacks up against other New Zealand authors. (137)

Beatson praises Duff as a social realist and moral psychologist and places him in line with New Zealand authors Dan Davin, James Courage, Noel Hilliard, Ian Cross, Maurice Shadbolt and Maurice Gee. Beatson might have included John A. Lee in his list as Duff, like Lee, draws on autobiographical material in his novels. Beatson calls Duff "an adroit and riveting story-liner" and praises his "orchestration" of events. He considers Duff's use of symbolism to be partially successful – the stars in *Once Were Warriors* and *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* "becoming rather tiresome", but the oak tree a "self-respecting literary device" (Rev. of *Broken Hearted?* 140-141).

The major flaw in Duff's work is his constant intrusion into the internal monologues of his characters. His incessant moralising and labouring of points (such as the idea that the gang members wear sunglasses to mask their emotions) is obtrusive and irritating. Nowhere is this more so than in *Both sides of the Moon* where the reader is told over and over that Māori are violent because of their "warrior genes".

Authorial intrusions strain the credibility of the characters and delay the movement of the story. Duff occasionally "feels compelled to deploy vocabulary that would normally be out of reach of his linguistically impoverished characters" (Beatson Rev. of *Broken Hearted* 142). In *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* Mulla Rota launches an attack on a rival inmate. The scene is described as follows:

Then he came out of his cell charging. His scream the main ... cacophonous (last year's crossword – I finished that one) echo in the prison wing. (20)

The insertion of the first-person perspective in parentheses is characteristic of Duff's work. It is implied that Mulla chose the word "cacophonous" himself to describe the sound. Time is taken to explain how a gang member such as Mulla,

with little education and a track record of violent crime, has come across this “intellectual” word. Beatson evidently feels the device is too self-conscious and clumsy. Would a man running down a prison corridor, knife in hand, ready to attack someone, actually have time to think about a word in last year’s crossword? Probably not, but it is the juxtaposition of aspiration and actuality that Duff is attempting to convey. The hesitancy with which his characters use “big words” even in their own minds reflects “how they strain beyond the narrow confines of their cramped verbal universe to clothe in words their inarticulate yearnings for something more meaningful” (Beatson Rev. of *Broken Hearted* 142). At the same time however, they defer to social mores which reject the appearance of intellectualism. Their actual use of language is clumsy, and Duff successfully conveys this in his reproduction of it. In the case of Mulla’s use of “cacophonous”, Duff may have chosen an unlikely word and placed it in an even more unlikely situation, but his exploration of the hesitant approach to language taken by characters like Mulla is fairly true to life.

However, many examples of unconvincing word choice litter Duff’s novels. Beatson’s point about linguistically impoverished characters using words beyond their reach, especially at inappropriate times in the story, is best illustrated during Apeman’s assault of Tania in *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted?* After he has punched her several times in the face he threatens to shoot her up her vagina. Tania’s reply reads:

HAHAHAHA! Mista, I had *worse* up there, know what I mean? (Oh, he knows alright. Jus’ lookit his face now.) Ape, ya bedda not explode before your gun does, bro. Here it comes – bang! ‘Nutha whack for the road. Feel bedda now, Mista Bullet? No, Mista Bullet doesn’t, why he sticks the gun down there, at my bizniz (some bizniz. It’s bankrupt!) my cunt, my hole, my box, my snatch, my twat, their and his bitta (dry) meat. It never belonged to me, not from when the firs’ uninvited man helped himself to it, not since the moments in time my life disowned me, dispossessed me of myself. Funny that, how violation of my vagina should be my entry card, my passport to the gang countries (to hell) when I never had ownership of any sexuality, no actual feelings that were the same sweet shivers I dreamed they could be, and Nig Heke a few times took me close to knowing. (188)

Expressions such as “dispossessed me of myself” and “violation of my vagina” sit incongruously with “cunt”, “bedda” and “bizniz”. Even in her moment of revelation we would not expect Tania to use such carefully crafted phrases – especially considering her situation. Furthermore, during this scene Tania reminisces about a visit to a music shop when she and three other gang members found emotional release singing in public to a copy of “Let’s Be Hippies”. This interlude shows Tania’s emotional potential. Alongside her stories of neglect and male brutality the episode is calculated to extract reader sympathy. She reports her own death in slow motion; the moment the bullet hits she finds her “perfect day”. The narrative then slides into overt sentimentality:

Light. Light. Light, ligh’, li’lies and this softest of darkness on the fast way; with it the mother I knew and the father I didn’t saying goodnight and sorry so sorry, but it’s alright. It’s alright, now it is. This’s so much better than I thought and hoped it would be. Got my own sorries to say to my sister, my two brothers. That’s alright, Tarns. Wasn’t your fault. We’re here where everything is forgiven, and there’s Nig. Hello, Nig. Smiling my pure smile atim. Tarns is home. (194)

To make his moral points Duff often relies on the type of sentimentality evoked in the scene above. In *Once Were Warriors*, the double deaths of Grace and Nig Heke draws out the implied self destructive nature of the community in which they live. Toot breaking down at Grace’s grave side holding a red flower (“like blood”), Tania’s tear-jerking story about her brothers and sister dying in a house fire, and the unnamed child dying in Beth’s arms from a drug overdose, are choreographed for maximum effect. Duff’s novel reveals the hardship and suffering that accompanies reported high rates of Māori youth suicide, solvent abuse, and child neglect, but it does so through dramatic exaggeration. This is the prerogative of a fiction writer and perhaps explains why a novelist as opposed to an anthropologist has made more impact in raising awareness of the plight of poor urban Māori in New Zealand. Duff condenses social problems of unemployment, domestic violence, drug and alcohol abuse, child neglect, suicide, crime and gang membership into the experiences of one family (the Hekes) and in doing so makes

the valuable point that all these issues are interrelated. Duff's evocation of reader sentimentality has led some Pākehā critics to feel manipulated into feelings of shame (and blame) that innocent Māori women and children are dying through mindless violence which thrives in inadequate living conditions on the margins of all New Zealand towns. This is obviously a misinterpretation of Duff's intention. It is not Pākehā critics he is trying to agitate: rather it is Māori leaders and Māori families.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that when *Once Were Warriors* was first published in 1990 it made a huge impact on the New Zealand literary scene. The continued attention the novel receives in academic studies suggests that it remains a pivotal text on which readings and re-readings of urban Māori identity can be considered. Duff's social realism powerfully captures the hardships faced by some urban Māori and undercuts the rhetoric of those who promote Māori culture as a holistic, nurturing way of life. His fiction likewise cuts through the "one nation" image of New Zealand peddled by successive governments.

Once Were Warriors forms part of a social realist prose fiction tradition in New Zealand well suited to the description of current problems facing urban Māori. Similar themes to the poverty and violence found in *Once Were Warriors* are evident in Ihimaera's *The New Net Goes Fishing* (1977), Hulme's *the bone people* (1984), and in the more recent short stories by Phil Kawana and Briar Grace Smith (to name but a few).

Duff's notoriety in New Zealand has been built up around his extreme political opinions rather than the literary merit of his fiction. Admittedly, *Once Were Warriors* is New Zealand's best selling novel and Duff does have the ability to tell a gripping story, but the book's popularity owes more to fortunate timing and sensationalism than careful narrative manipulation and character development.

Duff is distinguished from his contemporaries by the unflinching tirades he unleashes against Māori society. For many observers the right wing political dictates he proposes as the "solution" to the "Māori problem" make him the spokesperson for redneck capitalist opinion in New Zealand. However, Duff's

position is more complex than this. He is proud to be Māori and his Books in Homes Scheme, and to some degree his book of *Maori Heroes*, show a genuine desire to help educate young Māori about their own culture. The scheme is a tacit acknowledgement that self-help alone is not always enough.

Duff's outspoken political views have produced a climate of Māori self-assessment of traditional structures and practices. Duff is representative of forces within Māori society that want an end to corruption and that call for new direction and new leaders who show greater responsibility to their people. The thrust towards modernisation to ensure Māori survival in the future recognises that "culturalism" alone is not the answer, and perhaps never was. Māori are moving away from merely blaming colonisation for their problems towards pro-active self-analysis of the inherent flaws within Māoridom itself. This movement is reflected in the novels of Patricia Grace. In 1986, *Potiki* explored inter-cultural issues and dealt with questions of decolonisation but the more recent *Dogside Story* (2001) addresses intra-cultural issues such as the working definition of "hapū" in an increasingly urbanised and globalised society, the economic viability of rural Māori communities, drug-abuse, child neglect and incest. Like Duff, Grace calls upon Māori to take responsibility for their futures by freeing themselves from the negative elements within their past and their culture that restrict and corrupt them.

Nevertheless, Grace, unlike Duff, retains a hold on the positive attributes of Māoridom centred around the strength of the community and she sets up a Māori frame under which pressing Māori issues can be discussed. In *Dogside Story* the community is drawn together to build a new wharekai and the discussions, revelations, arguments and reassessments the characters undertake throughout the book all take place as part of the process by which the community kitchen is erected. Likewise, as discussed in Chapter Four, Grace produces her text in the form of a whare whakairo in which all stories – even the secret one Māori would rather not acknowledge – are told.

Duff's frame for discussion of Māori problems is political and public, and he has been criticised by Māori elders for hanging out Māori dirty washing. Duff's answer to this criticism is that it is partly his own dirty washing he is putting up for display and judgment (Hereniko 122). Duff's Māori heritage has

given him greater freedom to criticise Māori, and he ventures down path-ways many like-minded Pākehā would be scared to tread (at least in public).

Duff's literature (both fiction and non-fiction) serves the valid purpose of igniting discussion about "Māori issues" and, as Christina Thompson has written, it is "insightful" when it comes to evidence of urban Maori poverty ("In Whose Face" 111). However, Duff is "off the wall when it comes to causes and effects" ("In Whose Face" 111), especially in his discussion of Māori aggression, and in many ways his work reconfirms racist attitudes towards Māori. Combined with the fact that he is one of New Zealand's most read authors (if not the most read), the prospect that these attitudes will be broken down appears thin. At the same time as attempting to merge Māori into mainstream middle-class socio-economic values, Duff reinforces colonial binaries that hold the two cultures apart, and it is this combination of assimilation and segregation of Māori, together with a genuine desire for the empowerment of Māori, that complicates readings of his texts and of the man himself.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has applied a contextual approach to prose fiction by Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme and Alan Duff in order to illustrate how, whilst avoiding a victim complex, contemporary Māori writing is motivated by a belief that Māori are a disadvantaged group within New Zealand society. The thesis shows how Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme write against a background of perceived injustice committed against Māori during colonisation and since, and illustrates how these three authors write within a strong tradition of Māori resistance to colonial and neo-colonial forces. In contrast Alan Duff is shown to write from an altogether different angle. Rather than blaming colonisation for contemporary Māori social and economic disadvantage Duff accuses Māori culture itself of holding Māori back.

The historical chapters presented an overview of historical relations between Māori and Pākehā. Chapter One outlined historical discourses, created by Māori and Pākehā, which connect Māori to nature and the land. It also focused on land transactions between the two parties in order to demonstrate how, and when, Māori lost the majority of their lands, because it is the perceived injustice of this loss that fuels Māori grievance against the Crown in the present. Discourses about Māori and land have been reworked on pan-Māori and tribal levels during a number of historical campaigns by Māori to have land returned. Late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Māori prophets blended Māori and Pākehā discourses to form syncretic justifications for the return of their land. Likewise, contemporary Māori writers, Witi Ihimaera in particular, build upon existing narratives which stress a special bond between Māori and the land as part of a wider political campaign for increased recognition of Māori land rights.

In the 1960s and early 1970s Māori wrote about their emotional relationship with the land. This work has been referred to as pastoral romance as it painted a glowing and nostalgic picture of rural Māori life set in a world apart from everyday life. Although the work tended to confirm the decline of Māori life-ways it did emphasise a difference between Māori and Pākehā relations to the land and it is this difference in identity politics that helps to define Māori culture in the present.

Increased Māori urbanisation during the 1970s and rising tensions between Māori and Pākehā resulted in a reassessment of the ways in which Māori and their

land were portrayed in literature. By the 1980s prose fiction by Māori had become immersed in Māori land politics. New strategies within the fiction were designed to articulate Māori existential bonds to the land. Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme used a combination of historical revisionism, political allegory, language techniques and Māori mythology to highlight the inalienable connection between Māori and their land.

Ihimaera continues the nineteenth century tradition of resistance to Pākehā land domination by incorporating oral narratives about Te Kooti and Rua Kenana into *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*. Knowledge of the historical context against which Ihimaera's novels are set is imperative to understanding not only why the characters relentlessly crusade for the return of the land but also why the novels are written in such an adversarial tone. Ihimaera is personally connected to the historical events and figures he presents in the novels, and the sense of injustice felt by characters such as Wi Pere, Te Kooti and the matriarch, filters through his own work. *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* argue that (tribal and pan-tribal) land wrongfully taken by the Crown should be given back to Māori.

Māori land issues have been a consistent feature of Māori writing in general. In *Potiki* and *Baby No-Eyes* Grace wrote allegorically about real land disputes between Māori and Pākehā. In the short story "Ngati Kangaru" she satirized the methods of the New Zealand Company in their attempt to systematically colonise New Zealand. However, land does not always figure in her texts, or the texts of other Māori writers, as a topic of dispute between Māori and Pākehā. In *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* Ihimaera depicts intra-tribal and intra-whānau disputes over land. In Grace's novel *Dogside Story*, discussion about land owned by the whānau revolves around land usage rather than land ownership. The tourist venture undertaken by the whānau shows the successful utilisation of Māori land by Māori for Māori purposes. In this way Grace highlights the economic importance of land to Māori as well as its cultural and historical aspects and shows how Māori can combine economic and cultural concerns in the modern era.

Land in fiction by Māori is used as a metaphor for the whole of Māori culture. To have land is to have a tūrangawaewae, a solid base. Land represents

history, culture and the possession of economic resources. In the nineteenth century Māori were represented as part of the land and in some ways this identity remains today and, as this thesis demonstrates, is promoted in texts by Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme. From *The Matriarch* to an Air New Zealand advertisement (screened in 2000), in which the face of a Māori kuia fades into the lush greenery of the New Zealand landscape, Māori are presented as being “close to the land”. Māori writers use this identification to make political statements about Māori land rights but the advertisement uses the images to “exoticise” New Zealand, attract tourists and make money. In the process, the advert disempowers Māori by turning stereotyped representations of their culture into sales material. The association between Māori and the land remains problematic in its reductionist and essentialist tendencies and is further complicated by its insistence on authenticity. As discussed at the end of Chapter Two, if Māori identity is configured in relation to Māori land then this automatically rules out the majority of Māori who have lost both their physical and existential ties to the land.

Landless Māori are the subject of Alan Duff’s novels. It could be argued that Duff’s texts confirm the proposition that Māori without land suffer from a crisis of identity. The majority of Duff’s characters live in state-owned houses, receive government benefits and have no knowledge of their cultural heritage. However, there are a few characters, namely Beth Heke, Boogie and Charlie Bennett, who do want to know more about their culture. These figures represent the many urban Māori who, although landless, wish to retain their Māori heritage or to make a reconnection with it. In city centres urban marae have been established. People attending these marae are of varied tribal denomination and in some cases do not know to which tribe they are affiliated. However, all members of the marae consider themselves to be Māori. Under the rubric of “authentic Māori” identity defined as being connected to tribal land, these groups are denied a valid Māori identity and this has economic ramifications in that “urban iwi” are not entitled to a share of Māori resources.

Defining who is and who is not Māori is a current preoccupation in New Zealand and there exists an invisible, but influential, scale of “Māoriness” which is applied to individuals and groups for various political, economic and social reasons. For example, educational grants are awarded to Māori who meet certain

criteria and who have knowledge of their tribal affiliations – again those Māori who, as a consequence of colonisation, have no knowledge of their whakapapa are penalised, thus widening the gap between “those who have history” and those who do not. As Steve Webster proposes, patronage of Māori culture by Pākehā dominated institutions has led to some political gains for Māori but has also diverted attention away from the socio-economic concerns of the majority of Māori. Alan Duff’s novel *Once Were Warriors*, and the film based on the book, played a key role in drawing public attention to “the other side of Māori culture” as a whole way of struggle” rather than a “whole way of life” (Webster 39, 28).

The historical “struggle” by Māori against oppression was experienced by Māori in all sectors of society, but especially within the New Zealand education system. Between 1816-1969 schools in New Zealand facilitated racialised knowledge, effectively regulated the behaviour of Māori students and maintained colonial power relations. Although the education system did help many Māori to acquire basic reading and arithmetic skills, it limited the knowledge taught to Māori and channeled them into manual labour. In this manner a low income earning Māori workforce was produced and socio-economic structural relations between Māori and Pākehā established.⁵⁷

Prior to the 1960s, school texts filtered negative representations of Māori through the education system. In Chapter Three, the psychological impact of such representations and the suppression of te reo were discussed in order to illustrate how many Māori came to internalise negative images of themselves and, to a certain extent, suppress their own culture. Generations of Māori and Pākehā grew up with distorted understandings of what it meant to be Māori and it is against these misinformed opinions that Māori writers, Patricia Grace in particular, set their own versions of what it means to them to be Māori in contemporary New Zealand.

Grace’s texts, like the majority of texts by Māori, work to “decreate” stereotypes of Māori presented in earlier fiction by Pākehā by showing Māori life from the “inside”. Grace’s work displays Māori, in all their plurality, by detailing

⁵⁷ In 1997 Māori were one and a half times more likely to be employed as trades workers and plant machinery operators than legislators, administrators and managers (Statistics New Zealand website) and Māori continue to be over-represented in the lowest quartile personal income bracket.

Māori emotional and cultural perspectives on the land, spirituality, and language. Like Ihimaera and Hulme, Grace articulates Māori existential ties to the land through reference to mythology, particularly the Māori creation myth, and shows the land to be a communal space, filled with tribal history.

In *Mutuwhenua: The Moon Sleeps*, Grace uses the greenstone found by the children as a symbol of the mythological and historical importance of the land to the whānau in the story. The greenstone in Grace's novel can be compared to the mauri guarded by Tiaki in *the bone people*, the "diamond of Te Kooti" given to Tama Mahana by the matriarch, and the family heirloom in Ihimaera's short story "The Greenstone Patu". All these items are invested with "magical" properties intended to convey to the reader the awesome power of the culture they represent. Ihimaera and Hulme tend to favour a dramatic approach in their description of such objects, but Grace tends towards a more understated indication of their significance. In *Mutuwhenua* the importance of the greenstone to Ripeka is conveyed through an initial emotional appreciation of the object. Ripeka then goes through a learning process whereby she comes to understand the central importance of the stone (or rather, the culture the stone symbolises) to her and her family. Whereas Ihimaera and Hulme use "heightened language", Grace's descriptions of the greenstone in *Mutuwhenua* and the poupou in *Potiki* are based on simple visual details and the emotional reactions of the characters. In many ways Grace's texts make the non-Māori reader work harder than Ihimaera and Hulme's texts do to understand the importance of these cultural artifacts because she does not give easy access via dramatic descriptions which announce their significance. In *Mutuwhenua* she does offer the non-Māori reader access to understanding the significance of the greenstone to the Māori family through the parallel of the violin owned by Margaret, the Pākehā girl, but the two experiences are only represented as similar – not the same.

Grace demonstrates there are some sections of a culture that are not accessible to everyone from outside that culture, but she makes it clear that this does not have to result in a breakdown of communication. Her texts work towards cross-cultural communication in a bicultural framework, and stress the point that an essential ingredient of biculturalism is that cultural differences are recognised, appreciated and bridged, but not fused. This approach is also reflected in Grace's

use of English and te reo. Grace uses both languages in her texts in a way that fosters cross-cultural communication without negating difference. The ending of *Potiki* best illustrates this point. Here, Grace combines her educative purpose with a political purpose to increase the profile of Māori culture by concluding entirely in te reo. This ending not only makes non-Māori speakers work to bridge the cultural gap but serves to show how in some cases complete access into another culture may not be achieved. It is not so much the words which convey the sense of cultural difference at the end of *Potiki* as the poetic format they are spoken in and the position on the poupou they are spoken from, and an understanding of such aspects of Māori culture can not be gained by merely translating the text.

In contrast to the present emphasis by Māori writers on cultural difference, nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnologists focused on similarities between Māori and European histories in order to facilitate Māori assimilation into Pākehā culture. Pākehā ethnologists and politicians appropriated Māori myth narratives to serve their own political ends, but in the process they contributed to what is known today as Māori mythology. Māori writers draw on both oral Māori narratives and Pākehā written texts as source material for their representations of Māori mythology. In particular, the narrative of the “Great Fleet” has been used by Ihimaera and Hulme as a means to highlight pre-European Māori land rights.

The discussion of *the bone people* drew attention to the role played by Māori mythology in New Zealand identity politics. Hulme’s novel is ambiguous in that it can be interpreted both as a positive affirmation of Māori culture and as a capitulation to Eurocentric discourses about Māori spirituality. Hulme places Māori spirituality at the centre of her novel and at the centre of a healthy New Zealand national identity. Part One of Chapter Six argued that she resists simple patronage of Māori culture by stressing its importance to New Zealand’s heritage within a text that celebrates cultural diversity. Part Two applied Jungian analysis to the text to show how she achieves this.

The characters in *the bone people* obtain personal and communal harmony and look towards a hopeful and optimistic future. Through her model of “commensalism” Hulme allegorically presents a “solution” to destructive cultural relations in New Zealand. However, the idealism of the novel is not reflected in reality: New Zealand is not a culturally harmonious country. Māori and Pākehā

remain divided over land issues, education, the legal practice and health care, to name but a few areas where cultural tension can be found. There are disputes between Māori and Pacific Islanders; the former campaigning for biculturalism, the latter for multiculturalism, and more recently antagonism between Somalian refugees and Pacific Islanders has become apparent. Hulme's solution, therefore, as Ruth Brown indicates, is confined within art, but it remains there as a guiding ideal.

In contrast to Hulme's optimistic reading of New Zealand race relations, Alan Duff paints a bleak scene of a nation divided along racial and class lines. Furthermore, Duff shows Māori to be divided amongst themselves. The "educative purpose" behind his work appears to be to show Māori and Pākehā liberals that "culturalism" will not alleviate the problems faced by poor urban Māori. Indeed, Duff blames Māori culture for the problems in the first place.

Duff rejects cultural stereotypes of Māori as nature loving, spiritual beings in favour of social realist representations of dysfunctional Māori families living on state-owned estates. However, as Chapters Seven and Eight illustrate, Duff applies a different form of cultural essentialism to Māori in his representation of inherent racial violence. Whereas, Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme build upon nineteenth and twentieth century Pākehā discourses about Māori in ways which positively promote Māori culture, Duff draws on the discourse of Māori violence and produces negative stereotypes of Māori. Duff claims to want to motivate Māori into taking responsibility for their actions and he advocates the need for honest cultural assessment, but the negative representations of urban Māori in his texts work in a similar way to the negative representations of Māori in the *School Journal* in their complicity in the creation of a negative Māori self-image which serves to undermine Māori confidence and disempower individuals. Although Duff's texts are intended to show Māori how not to behave, they actually work to confirm expectations of the Māori "lot" as the disadvantaged, uneducated underclass and in so doing help to sustain such a situation.

Māori writers individually negotiate their path between Hulme's optimistic representation of New Zealand race relations and Duff's brutal cynicism. The majority of Māori writers (Ihimaera, Grace, Hulme, included) show in their work a country striving towards biculturalism whilst still battling against

institutionalised neo-colonial attitudes. New Zealand is discursively bicultural, in that Treaty of Waitangi principles are emphasised in the media, the education system and the international political arena but it is not yet bicultural in practice. As Mark Williams writes: “it would be difficult to point to changes within the governmental or legal systems that have fundamentally altered the existing European nature of those institutions” (“How Many Cultures Make a Culture?” 12). Fictional texts by Māori writers point out where biculturalism falls short in the day to day lives of their Māori characters, and form part of the campaign to increase awareness and recognition of the taha Māori.

However, this campaign is complicated by the heterogeneity of contemporary Māori identity. As this thesis illustrates, Māori identity in contrast to Pākehā identity means a multitude of things, but “Māori identity” is itself comprised of many internal, often contradictory entities. Māori identities are rural and urban, traditional and modern, “authentic” and syncretic, but most divisively tribe-less, tribal and pan-tribal. Nevertheless, all these identities represent different ways in which Māori interpret and reinterpret the world from various standpoints. This kaupapa weaves the different configurations of identity together like strands of thread in a tukutuku panel.

Fiction by Māori writers continues to foreground issues relating to Māori identity and Māori politics. Whilst the literature is becoming increasingly divergent (for example with the inclusion of gender and sexual politics in Ihimaera’s *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*) the kaupapa, to interpret and reinterpret the world from a Māori perspective, remains a source of strength and actually fosters new styles and techniques. Cultural evolution implies that Māori identity will be renegotiated in the future, but until New Zealand becomes thoroughly bicultural in practice the kaupapa followed by the Māori writers discussed in this thesis, will remain politically oriented.

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Appendix A: The Treaty of Waitangi (English text)

Her Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the first

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

Article the second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possessions; but the

Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all their Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

[signed] W. Hobson Lieutenant Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Note: This English text was signed at Waikato Heads in March or April 1840 and at Manukau on 26 April by thirty-nine chiefs only. The text became the "official" version.

Text (including the note) reproduced from Claudia Orange *The Treaty of Waitangi* 258-259)

Appendix B: Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi, Māori text)

Ko Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te wenua nei me nga motu – na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tonu Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aiane amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu – ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu. Ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.

Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Note: This treaty text was signed at Waitangi, 6 February 1840, and thereafter in the north and at Auckland. It is reproduced as it was written, except for the heading above the chiefs' names: ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga.

Text (including the note) reproduced from Claudia Orange *The Treaty of Waitangi* 257.

Appendix C: The Māori Myth of Māui and Hinenuitepō.

- i. “Legend of the Brothers ‘Maui’ and the ‘Great-Daughter-of-Night.’” From Edward Shortland’s *Traditions and Superstitions* 1854.

“In the early history of the world, a race of men endowed with supernatural powers are fabled to have existed. In those days lived three brothers; named Maui. The eldest was called Maui-mua, another was called Maui-roto, and the youngest Maui-potiki. The youngest brother was very badly used by his elder brothers, who were in the habit of leaving him at home when they went abroad. They did not even suffer him to sit at meals with them, but would throw him a bone or other offal to eat, while they devoured the best parts themselves. [...]

“Some way off from the habitation of the three Maui lived an old woman called Hine-nui-a-te-po [sic] (Great-daughter-of-the-night). She had the reputation of being a terrible person, and no one ventured to meddle with her property. Little Maui, however, determined to go and visit her country, to see whether he could find anything good there. So coming near the place where Hine-nui lived, he seated himself on a hill overlooking her garden, and began to play a tune on his flute.

“As soon as Hine-nui heard the sound of the flute, she sent out some of her slaves to watch and see who was coming. But before they went, she gave them this injunction, ‘If the man comes down the hill walking upright on his legs, catch him, for he is a thief: but if he comes walking on his hands and feet, having his belly and face up-wards, then know he is an *Atua*, and be sure not to meddle with him.’

“Little Maui heard all she said, and, of course, came down the hill on his hands and feet; and as the slaves never meddled with him, supposing him to be an *Atua*, he crept into the old lady’s *kumara* store, and after eating as much as he could, carried off a basket full.

“The next day his brothers sat together eating their morning meal, and every now and then threw a bit to little Maui, who sat as usual by himself at a distance from them. Instead of picking up these morsels, however, he pulled out

from under his cloak a kumara, and ate it. At last the elder Maui, seeing all the scraps thrown to his brother still lying untouched, asked little Maui what he was eating. 'Excellent food, let me tell you,' said little Maui, throwing a handful towards his two brothers.

"The elder Maui was much pleased with the taste and size of the *kumara*, and wished to know where some more of them were to be obtained.

"Little Maui then told them how he had stolen the kumara from the store of Hine-nui-a-te-po. But instead of repeating correctly the command which the old woman had given her slaves when she sent them to watch in the garden, he made her say, 'If the man comes down the hill on his hands and legs catch him, for he is a thief: but if he comes walking upright on his legs, leave him alone, for he is an *Atua*.'

"Maui-mua was so pleased with the adventure of his young brother that he resolved to set off the same evening, and steal some kumara in the same way. So when it began to grow dusk, he started, little Maui calling to him as he was going, and bidding him to be sure to remember correctly the command given to her slaves by Hine-nui-a-te-po.

"Maui-mua soon arrived at the hill overlooking the garden, played a tune on his flute, as his brother had done, and then descended to the kumara store. But Hine-nui's slaves were on the look out, and seeking [sic] that he walked after the manner of men, and not like an *Atua*, they caught him and brought him to their mistress, who squeezed him between her thighs so hard that he was killed.

"This was the first death which took place in the world." (61-64)

- ii. "The Legend of Maui" from Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology* 1855.

Maui now felt it necessary to leave the village where Irawaru had lived, so he returned to his parents, and when he had been with them for some time his father said to him one day, "Oh my son, I have heard from your mother and others that you are very valiant, and that you have succeeded in all feats that you have undertaken in your own country, whether they were small or great; but now that you have arrived in your father's country, you will, perhaps, at last be overcome." Then Maui asked him, "What do you mean? What things are there that I can be vanquished by?" And his father answered him, "By your great ancestress, by Hine-nui-te-po, who if you look, you may see flashing, and as it were opening and shutting there, where the horizon meets the sky." And Maui replied, "Lay aside such idle thoughts, and let us both fearlessly seek whether men are to die or live for ever." And his father said, "My child, there has been an ill omen for us; when I was baptizing you, I omitted a portion of the fitting prayers, and that I know will be the cause of your perishing."

Then Maui asked his father, "What is my ancestress Hine-nui-te-po like?" and he answered, "What you see yonder shining so brightly red are her eyes, and her teeth are as sharp and hard as pieces of volcanic glass; her body is like that of a man; and as for the pupils of her eyes, they are jade (pounamu); and her hair is like the tangles of long seaweed, and her mouth is like that of a barracouta." Then his son answered him, "Do you think her strength is as great as that of Tama-nui-te-Ra, who consumes man, and the earth, and the very waters, by the fierceness of his heat? [...] But I laid hold of Tama-nui-te-Ra, and now he goes slowly, for I smote him again and again, so that he is now feeble, and long in travelling his course, and he now gives but very little heat, having been weakened by the blows of my enchanted weapon; [...] So, also, I found the sea much larger than the earth; but by the power of the last born of your children, part of the earth was drawn up again, and dry land came forth." And his father answered him, "That is all very true, O my last born and the strength of my old age; well, then, be bold, go and

visit your ancestress who flashes so fiercely there, where the edge of the horizon meets the sky.”

Hardly was this conversation concluded with his father, when the young hero went forth to look for companions to accompany him upon this enterprise; and so there came to him for companions the small robin, and the large robin, and the thrush, and the yellow-hammer, and every kind of little bird, and the water-wagtail, and these all assembled together, and they all started with Maui in the evening, and arrived at the dwelling of Hine-nui-te-po, and found her fast asleep.

Then Maui addressed them all, and said, “My little friends, now if you see me creep into this old chieftainess, do not laugh at what you see. Nay, nay, do not, I pray you; but when I have got altogether inside her, and just as I am coming out of her mouth, then you may shout with laughter if you please.” And his little friends, who were frightened at what they saw, replied, “O sir, you will certainly be killed.” And he answered them, “If you burst out laughing at me as soon as I get inside her, you will wake her up, and she will certainly kill me at once; but if you do not laugh until I am quite inside her, and am on the point of coming out of her mouth, I shall live, and Hine-nui-te-po will die.” And his little friends answered, “Go on then, brave sir, but pray take good care of yourself.”

Then the young hero started off, and twisted the strings of his weapon tightly around his wrist, and went into the house and stripped off his clothes, and the skin on his hips looked mottled and beautiful as that of a mackerel, from the tattoo marks cut on it with the chisel of Uetonga; and he entered the old chieftainess.

The little birds now screwed up their tiny cheeks, trying to suppress their laughter. At last the little Tiwakawaka could no longer keep it in, and laughed out loud, with its merry, cheerful note; this woke the old woman up; she opened her eyes, started up, and killed Maui. (33-35)

iii. From John White's *Ancient Maori History*. 1887.

[...] Maui then went away, but returned to his father, who said, "O son! Your mother had told me that you are a brave man, and that you can do great as well as small deeds in the land of your birth; but now that you have come to the home of your own father, perhaps you may be overcome." Maui said, "By what shall I be overcome?" His father answered, "By your progenitor Hine-nui-te-po, whom you may see sparkling in the horizon yonder." Maui said, "So let it be. Let us investigate the matter, whether life or death shall follow." The father said, "There is evil impending over you. When I chanted the incantation at your baptism I forgot some of the words of the ceremony, and for this I divine you are to die." Maui asked, "Will this be by Hine-nui-te-po? and what is she like?" The father said, "Her eyes, which you see flashing yonder, are dark as greenstone; her teeth are sharp as obsidian; her mouth is like that of the barracouta; the hair of her head like the kelp of the sea: her body only is in human form." Maui asked, "Is her power like that of Tama-nui-te-ra, who, until I caught him and beat him, and retarded his speed and diffused his heat by the blows of my weapon, was consuming man and land and water, and would soon have consumed the world if his heat had continued as great as before. Now he shines on all parts of this world. The ocean was also greater than the land until I, the fruit of your declining years, drew up the land and increased it." His father said, "It is true, O my last-born, and the power of my old age! Now, then, rise and go see your progenitor, who like lightning flashes yonder on the horizon." No sooner had Maui and his father ended their conversation than Maui sought for companions, and there came to him the miromiro (Petroica toitoi), the pitoipitoi, the tataeko, the kori-roriro, the tirairaka (tiwai-waka), and many other birds; and when all were assembled they started off, and in the evening they arrived at the house of Hine-nui-te-po, who was asleep. Maui said to the birds, "If I go into the stomach of this old woman, do not laugh until I have passed through her and come out at her mouth; then you can laugh at me." His friends said, "O son! You will be killed." Maui said, "If you laugh at me when I have only entered her stomach, I shall be killed; but if I have passed through her and come out of her mouth, I shall escape, and Hine-nui-te-po

will die.” His friends said, “Go then. The decision is with you.” Maui advanced, and, twisting the thong of his weapon round his hand, he entered the house, and when he had thrown off his garments his skin, like the scales of a mackerel, shone and sparkled with soot of kauri and the marks made by the many-pointed chisel of Ue-tonga (sense of pain suppressed). He entered the stomach of Hine-nui-te-po head first: his shoulders and chest had disappeared, when the tiwai-waka (or tirai-raka) burst out into laughter, and thus awoke the old woman, who with a start opened her eyes as the chest of Maui was just entering her throat. She shut her mouth with a snap, and cut him in two at his waist, allowing his lower limbs to tumble from her mouth. And thus Maui was truly killed. (105-107)

- iv. "Maoriland Fairy Tales. VI. More About Maui." From *The School Journal* Nov. 1909.

The Moa stopped to take breath, for he had been talking very fast. "Well," he said, when he went on again, "Maui did many other wonderful things. Some of them were good, for, as you have seen, he was not always in mischief; but most of them were tricks on somebody. At last he met his death through trying to play a trick on Hine, [...] the Goddess of Death, and this is how it all happened:-

He had often heard his mother and the older people talk about the Goddess of Death, and how strong and big, and powerful she was, and how nobody dared to go near her. She lived in a desert land, where the sky and the earth met, they said. Lightening came from her eyes, and her mouth was as big as the mouth of a shark.

Of course, all this talk made Maui say he would go and see Hine. "I will go and jump down her big throat," he said, "and then come back alive."

"If you can do that," the old people said, "you will never die; for anyone who can touch Hine's heart and come back alive will live for ever. But you cannot do it even with all your magic."

"I can, and I will," said Maui.

"My son, I forbid you to go," said his mother. "Something tells me that if you go you will die, and I shall never see you again."

But Maui took no more notice of his mother than he had of the others. "I am going," he said. "Who will come with me?"

Nobody answered, for nobody else wanted to go near Hine. "You will come, wont you?" he asked his brothers. They shook their heads. "No," they said; "we don't wish for death. We will not come one step of the way." He asked several others, but nobody wanted to on so dangerous an errand. "You are foolish," they all said. "Why should we risk our lives for your trick?"

"Very well, then," said Maui, "I shall go by myself"; and off he started through the bush.

Now, the little bush-birds were very fond of Maui, for they liked his merry tricks. When they saw him setting off by himself they said one to another, "We cannot let him go to Hine by himself. Let us go with him."

So they all flew to Maui, and went with him for company, sometimes hopping gravely along beside him, sometimes flitting about from bush to bush on either side of the track. They were a very merry band, and kept Maui from feeling lonely. They told him all about their life in the trees, and about their nests and little ones; and he told them in return what he meant to do when he found Hine.

At last they came to the place where the earth and sky met; and here they found Hine.

"She is asleep," whispered Maui to the birds. "What a good thing! See how wide open her mouth is! I can jump down her through quite easily. Only, whatever you do, don't make the least noise. I may look very funny when I am going down her throat, but do not laugh, or you will wake up, and then I shall be killed."

"Oh, no, no!" whispered the birds; "we will not make a sound"; and they stood quite still and watched Maui getting ready for his jump. He threw off his cloak, and ran back for a good spring. Then he ran swiftly forward, and with a jump he landed right in Hine's throat.

But he did not slip through quite so easily as he had expected, and for a few moments his legs dangled and kicked outside while his head and shoulders were inside. You can imagine how funny he looked.

The little birds had promised not to make a sound; but he looked so comical that they had to put up their wings over their beaks to keep from laughing out. They were all shaking and holding their sides, when suddenly the little fantail laughed out loud. He could keep quiet no longer.

In an instant Hine woke up and shut her mouth, and poor Maui was killed. (163-166).



Fig. 15. "Maui's legs dangling out of Hinenuitepo's mouth" (*School Journal* 1909: 166).

- v. From S. Percy Smith's *The Lore of the Whare-Wānanga* Part 1, 1913.

[...] (my omission) Here she [Hine-nui-te-pō] (my addition) finished and then retired to the innermost pillar of the house and there laid down. She was overcome with the heat and fell into a deep sleep, with her legs stretched out far apart. When Māui and his companions [...] (my omission) arrived there they found her still lying at the back of the house, Potaka-rongorongo, with her legs wide apart. Māui then assumed the form of a rat, and asked his companions, "How do you think this will do?" [...] (my omission) Tatahore replied, "It will not do at all! It is quite different to what it ought to be. She will be aroused!" Māui then took the form of a reptile (*sic*), the worm called *noke*. Tiwaiwaka said, "She will be waked up by the horns of the waxing Moon." So Māui then assumed the form of the *moke-huruhuru* [the hairy lizard] and began by squirming about the court-yard. His friends all laughed at this, and said [ironically], "That is better!" Māui now said, "Enough! My command to you two is, when I enter the womb of Hine-nui-te-po, you must on no account laugh. When I reach her heart and begin to gnaw it in order that she may be killed by us, if you see she begins to squirm then scoop out her eyes!" His friends replied, "That is well, we will do so!" Māui finally said to his companions, "Be sure that you do not laugh!"

So Māui having taken on the form of the *noke* worm then entered the Paepae-o-Tiki [the womb], but as he disappeared within, the parts of Hine-nui-te-po opened out. At this Tatahore burst out laughing, whilst Tiwaiwaka rushed out to the court-yard and began dancing about [with delight]. And then was aroused the 'World-of-light' – life [...] (my omission) of Hine-nui-te-po, and feeling the squirming of the worm within her, she closed her parts, and strangled the neck of Māui, who was thus killed. This death is referred to as 'Wai-kumia' and "Wai-haro-rangi." (177-178)

- vi. “How Maui Gave Mortality to Man.” From Antony Alpers’ *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends* 1964.

After what he had done to Irawaru, Maui found it advisable to leave that village and live somewhere else. He went to his parents, in the country of the manapau trees. When he had been there for a time his father decided to have a talk with him.

‘My son,’ said Makea tutara one evening at dusk, when they were sitting outside the house, ‘I have heard from your mother and from others that you are brave and capable, and that in everything you have undertaken in your own country you have succeeded. That says a great deal for you. But I have to warn you: now that you have come to live in your father’s country you will find that things are different. I am afraid that here you may meet your downfall at last.’

‘What do you mean?’ said Maui. ‘What things are there here that could be my downfall?’

‘There is your great ancestress Hine nui te Po,’ said Makea, gravely. And he watched Maui’s face as he mentioned the name of Great Hine the Night, the daughter and the wife of Tane and goddess of death. But Maui did not move an eyelid. ‘You may see her, if you look,’ Makea went on, pointing to where the sun had gone down, ‘flashing over there, and opening and closing, as it were.’ His thoughts were on death as he spoke. For it was the will of Hine nui, ever since she turned her back on Tane and descended to Rarohenga, that all her descendants in the world of light should follow her down the same path, returning to their mother’s womb that they might be mourned and wept for.

“Oh, nonsense,” said Maui affectionately to the old man. “I don’t think about that sort of thing, and you shouldn’t either. There’s no point in being afraid. We might just as well find out whether we are intended to die, or to live forever.

Now Maui had not forgotten what his mother once said about Hine nui te Po: that he would some day vanquish her, and death would then have no power over men. He remembered this now, and was not moved by his father’s fears.

[...]

‘My child,’ said Makea now in a tone of deep sorrow, ‘there has been a bad omen for us. When I performed the tohi ceremony over you I missed out a part of the prayers. I remembered it too late. I am afraid this means that you are going to die.’

‘What’s she like, Hine nui te Po?’ asked Maui.

‘Look over there,’ said Makea, pointing to the ice-cold mountains beneath the flaming clouds of sunset. ‘What you see there is Hine nui, flashing where the sky meets the earth. Her body is like a woman’s, but the pupils of her eyes are greenstone and her hair is kelp. Her mouth is that of a barracuda, and in the place where men enter her she has sharp teeth of obsidian and greenstone.’

‘Do you think she is as fierce as Tama nui ra, who burns things up by his heat?’ asked Maui. ‘Did I not make life possible for man by laming him and making him keep his distance? Was it not I who made him feeble with my enchanted weapon? And did the sea not cover much more of the earth until I fished up land with my enchanted hook?’

‘All that is very true,’ said Makea. ‘And you are my last-born son, and the strength of my old age. Very well then, be it as it will. Go there, and visit your ancestress if that is your wish. You will find her there where the earth meets the sky.’ And they sat for a while in the dusk until the red clouds turned to grey and the mountains into black.

Next morning early, Maui went out looking for companions for the expedition. The birds were up when he left, and among them he succeeded in finding several who were willing to go with him. There was tiwaiwaka, the little fantail, flickering about inquisitively and following Maui along the track as if he might have something for him. There was miromiro, the grey warbler, tataeko, the whitehead, and pitoitoi, the robin, who is almost as tame and curious as the fantail.

Maui assembled a party of these friends and told them what he intended to do. They knew that it was an act of great impiety to invade the realm of Hine nui te Po with mischievous intentions. And now, they learned, it was Maui’s idea to enter her very body. He proposed to pass through the womb of Great Hine the Night, and come out by her mouth. If he succeeded, death would no longer have

the last word with regard to man; or so his mother had told him long ago. This, then, was to be the greatest of all his exploits. [...]

Taking his enchanted weapon, the sacred jawbone of Muri ranga whenua, he twisted its strings around his waist. Then he went into the house and threw off his clothes, and the skin on his hips and thighs was as handsome as the skin of a mackerel, with the tattooed scrolls that had been carved there with the chisel of Uetonga. And off they went, with the birds twittering in their excitement. When they arrived at the place where Hine nui lay asleep with her legs apart and they could see those flints that were set between her thighs, Maui said to his companions:

‘Now, my little friends, when you see me crawl into the body of this old chieftainess, whatever you do, do not laugh. When I have passed right through her and am coming off her mouth, then you can laugh if you want to. But not until then, whatever you do.’

His friends twittered and fluttered about him and flew in his way. ‘O sir,’ they cried, ‘you will be killed if you go in there.’

‘No,’ said Maui, holding up his enchanted jawbone. ‘I shall not – unless you spoil it. She is asleep now. If you start laughing as soon as I cross the threshold, you will wake her up, and she will certainly kill me at once. But if you can keep quiet until I am on the point of coming out, I shall live and Hine nui will die, and men will live thereafter for as long as they wish.’

So his friends moved out of his way. ‘Go on in then, brave Maui,’ they said, ‘but do take care of yourself.’

Maui at first assumed the form of a kiore, or rat, to enter the body of Hine. But tataeko, the little whitehead, said he would never succeed in that form. So he took the form of a toke, or earthworm. But tiwaiwaka the fantail, who did not like worms, was against this. So Maui turned himself into a moko huruhuru, a kind of caterpillar that glistens. It was agreed that this looked best, and so Maui started forth, with comical movements. The little birds now did their best to comply with Maui’s wish. They sat as still as they could, and held their beaks tight shut, and tried not to laugh. But it was impossible. It was the way Maui went in that gave them the giggles, and in a moment little tiwaiwaka the fantail could no longer contain himself. He laughed out loud, with his merry, cheeky note, and danced

about with delight, his tail flickering and his beak snapping. Hine nui awoke with a start. She realised what was happening, and in a moment it was all over with Maui. By the way of rebirth he met his end. (66-70)

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