THE SOCIOCULTURAL IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE TE ARAWA PEOPLE OF ROTORUA, NEW ZEALAND

by

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku

Ko Whaitiri i te Rangi

Ko Te Arawa i te Whenua

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of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

This is a study of how tourism in New Zealand has affected a major tribal community; their insights, reactions, and experiences. Covering five generations, it presents an oral account of the actively concerned social groups. Wherever possible, or necessary, this is reiterated and reinforced by the written record.

The work comprises two parts, the first which outlines the historic background according to available documentation, and the second which focusses on particular aspects of tribal culture and experience. Material for this section, otherwise unrecorded, came from the narrated stories, reminiscences, and often shrewd observations of the people themselves. It deals with residential community, song and dance, arts and crafts, and the role of women.

As an essentially ethnographic commentary, the study does not examine the economic features or effects of tourism, except where fiscal factors are pertinent to the understanding or continuity of the Te Arawa experience of the tourist world.

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Haere e kui ma, e koro ma, haere wairua ki te po...

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determination, without her insight, this study could not have been written.

And so, in gratitude to her, and in celebration of this material finally being recorded, I offer it humbly to the memory of Hera Hineiwahia, Guide Sarah. She often promised me that one day, she would send me to the islands, back to the warmth and lush beauty of Hawaikinui.

She did, and so my project began.

PREFACE

Background:

This study was born in 1974, as a reaction to what I then perceived as the singularly malevolent influence of tourism in Takiwa Waiariki, the thermal regions. I originally intended to write a deliberately contentious and provocative account, and I discussed my ideas with people in the Maori and the academic worlds.

My interests coincided with a Programme on Pacific Island Tourism Development being planned at the East West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, and I was invited to participate. I remained in Honolulu for most of 1975.

On my return to Aotearoa, I decided to continue the project as a programme for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Thus, this dissertation. Initially, my approach was heavily biased and not even remotely academic. I determined to expose tourism as a corrupter of pure culture, spawning immeasurable cultural malaise.

Time spent in the field - at home, literally, with people whose everyday lives are affected by it - effectively invalidated the preconceptions I'd built up during my seven years away from my natal village of Ohinemutu. I had slipped rather hopelessly out of touch.

I lived at home, continuously, again for two years, and participated in tribal and community affairs, as well as actual tourist oriented activities. I began to realize that I'd been imposing my own prejudices on many people, and had thus misjudged them, often seriously.

I listened to their stories, and I observed closely, taking care to mellow my own response. I then concluded that there was indeed substance to my people's loud and frequent claim that tourism has not hurt Te Arawa; in many instances, it has helped us.

Thus the nature of the task changed considerably, and my own perspective shifted.

There were initial difficulties - I was young, female, and unmarried; I was also seen at first as a political activist, and therefore probably untrustworthy, and likely to abuse or distort information received. I spent two long years resuming and reconstructing my relationships within Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi, and as much as they learned about me, I learned about them. For a few of us, a lot of this dissertation is a shared effort. To them, I am intensely grateful. Credibility was eventually created, and sustained, but I had to remain constantly watchful.

Because of this tension, I needed some distancing from the field itself during my writing up period. The ideal opportunity was offered in a twenty four month internship at the East West Center. As a research intern at the Culture Learning Institute, every aspect of my dissertation research was funded, including a deeply appreciated four month field trip back to Aotearoa.

Sources:

Information has been gathered from a variety of different places. In the first section, on social, cultural, and economic history, I have concentrated primarily on written materials. Published texts, guide books, travel accounts, and academic articles, as well as unpublished materials - manuscript letters and journals - are used extensively. I have interpreted them from a Maori perspective, presenting history according to my own Maori view.

The second section, a contemporary analysis, is an exercise in oral history, in collecting and retelling some of the stories of my people.

Over a three year period, I involved about a hundred people in my study. Twenty of them, thirteen women and seven men, volunteered hours, even weeks, of their time, advice, interest, and enthusiasm.

Method in the Field:

I employed a number of devices in compiling information. Some folk, particularly the very elderly, adamantly refused to have any notes written, or taperecorded, in their presence. I conceded to their request, deviously developing a chronic bladder trouble which prompted my leaving every hour or so. In the lavatory, I furiously scribbled down key points of our dialogue. Most of the group, however, were tolerant of notebook or taperecorder, and a marked few were actually delighted to be recorded, often turning on an elaborately worded and entertaining monologue for both my machine and me.

I eventually learned to tape interviews sparingly, if at all, and to refine my notetaking to the substance of the discussion.

My interviewing style was oblique, and usually unstructured. I'd raise an issue occasionally in conversation, at a social gathering, or in a tourist oriented environment. More often, I'd arrange to visit people, after I'd told them what I was doing. The clearest explanation of my task was that I was writing a book about tourism, and what they thought it had done to us.

A full year passed before most of the community vaguely understood my project, and their acceptance of me was very gradual. Once I had the confidence and visible support of certain elders, many more doors were predictably opened, and I was warmly received. Excerpts from these field sessions feature throughout the second section of this study, and are thus designated - (p.c.) - indicating personal communication, from an elder, a resident, or a person involved in tourism in some way.

Unless otherwise specified, the contemporary subject matter concerns events in Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu, and other tourist activities involving Maori interests, up until February 1978. I resided in Rotorua from November 1975, until February 1978. I returned for a

refresher period in December 1978, remaining until February 1979.

Illustrations:

This has possibly been the most distracting aspect of the project. Hundreds of hours spent pondering thousands of images, the constraints of financial cost always present.

I have narrowed the selection drastically, and am acutely conscious of omissions made in the arts and crafts, and entertainment sections.

Wherever possible, I have used the cheapest medium - picture postcards, and xeroxing of the black and white glossy prints contained in the top copy. Only when necessary, as in illustrating craft work and colour, have I retained the polychrome print.

Although much is missing, I have endeavoured to present an artistically, and academically, balanced compendium of images.

Language:

Except where indicated in the text, English is the language used in interviewing. Occasionally, participants and informants spoke Maori, but my understanding and facility with te reo rangatira are abysmally limited, and they understood this. Wherever appropriate, the Maori language is used, especially to retain vernacular meanings not easily rendered in English.

Writing and Structure of Dissertation:

Although I have made liberal use of quotations and excerpts from written and oral materials, I have endeavoured to maintain an easy flow of harmonious narrative. The ultimate readership of my initial efforts, when this began as a rhetorical statement in 1975, was my own people. My perception has since matured, but I have still written this study for them, primarily, to read, debate, and most of all, enjoy.

Often, chapters, or parts of chapters, began in the form of letters to my mother, or as journal entries. Being a somewhat dogged diarist since my eleventh year, I have kept a conscientious record of this dissertation's growth since February 1978, and many relevant insights were made within those pages.

The study itself is structured in two sections. Section One is an ethnohistoric summary of the settlement, and exploitation, of Takiwa Waiariki by the Maori, then by the pakeha. And then both. The study concentrates on this latter aspect, detailing the socio-economic, and cultural development of tourism in the thermal region. This section concludes with the turn of the century, a time of living memory for a small number of koroheke who have graciously contributed to it.

Section Two comprises four chapters. Beginning with Kainga, an account of residents' attitudes in the two Te Arawa communities most heavily impacted by tourism, Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu. The extent of tourist involvement by the hapu of these two settlements, Tuhourangi and Ngati Whakaue respectively, is more closely explored in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter Two, on Entertainment examines commercial dance, and also focusses on the popular Te Arawa belief that tourist interest kept the performing arts dynamic and creatively alive.

This attitude is further scrutinized in the next chapter, on Arts and Crafts. Exactly to what extent tourist concern and curiosity has contributed to sustaining traditional Maori art and crafts forms is discussed in this chapter by the practitioners themselves. The focus is on women's crafts.

Women, and the role of women in tourism, are the subject of the final chapter of this section. I examine traditional attitudes, and how they are challenged, and occasionally defied, by the outstanding contribution women have made in the tourism enterprise and experience. I also discuss the image of the Polynesian women in tourism, and its implications.

****

The aim of this study has been not only to present a definitive cultural statement on tourism and Te Arawa, but also to capture the memoirs, stories, concerns, and anecdotes of many special people.

I have tried to record, faithfully, and with as little personal bias as possible, their version of the tourism experience, and how they coped with, and confronted, it.

Above all, this study is about cultural survival, against apparently overwhelming odds.

Ko Whaitiri i te rangi
Ko Te Arawa i te whenua
Thunder within the heavens:
Te Arawa upon the earth.

PART ONE

Chapter One : The People, the Land

Beginning with the background of Te Arawa, ethnographic notes, and an introduction to the realm of Takiwa Waiariki.

Chapter One

Toia te Arawa tapotu ki te moana!
Ma wai e to? Ma te whakaranga ake!
He tara wainuku, he tara wairangi.
Tinia, monoa. Nau mai, nau mai, e Tane!
Ka kau taua, kia matakitakina koe
E te tini o te tangata.
Naku koe i tiki atu i te wao nui o Tane,
He tane miroi, he tane koakoa,
He tane rangahau. E patua mai ana
E te komuri hau na runga o Waihi.
Panekeneke ihu o te waka,
Turuki, turuki! Paneke, paneke!

Ko Te Awekotuku e tuhituhi atu nei, i tenei reo tamaiti noa iho - ahakoa tenei, me tere atu oku whakaaro ki nga wa o mua, kia whakamaramatia - kia ratou, nga tini rangatira, nga tini tipuna, kua haere wehewehea ki te po, ki Hawaiki pamamao, nui tonu ake ...

I reach out to you across the centuries - may the canoe be dragged back through my thoughts, as I yearn to know, to understand, to record. (And failing this, to create.)

For your stories are my stories,
and in their telling, we rejoice for the coming generations.

Ko te mea tuatahi, me korero atu au ki oku tupuna, kua wheturangitia - mo ratou ra tenei mahi hohonu a ta ratau tamahine noa ake nei.

I address myself to my forbears, for it is they, and only they, who truly know the secrets of our origin,
who can tell when the canoe came
by whom she was fashioned
through what ocean paths she sailed ...

Arguments continue even to this day, over a pet dog, a fruit tree, and a cunning youth - and popular versions of their cause recite how Houmaitawhiti, a chief on the island of Hawaiki, had two sons, Tamatekapua, and Whakaturia. The elder brother, Tamatekapua, cherished his loyal canine, Potakatawhiti. One day, this dog slurped at the skin of the chief of a nearby village, and was eaten by his chief's cousin, Toitehuatahi. Others say that Uenuku, whom the dog had licked, was himself its killer.

Searching for his pet, Tama approached Toi, who denied any knowledge of the animal; at this moment, Potaka himself began to howl pathetically from within Toi's stomach, and perceiving this, Tama went off, swearing a silent oath of vengeance.

Toitehuatahi owned a poporo tree, and Tama was a partial to this fruit as Toi was to dog meat. With his brother, Tama raided the tree nightly, balanced on high stilts, which were to become their symbols in carved representation. The stilts left no human mark; the fruit continued to vanish. Puzzled, Toi decided to watch his poporo.

Tamatekapua, and Whakaturia were thus discovered. Tama escaped, but Whakaturia was captured, and sentenced to the grisly, slow death of suffocation in the house rafters above the cooking fire. Hanging there, sooty and miserable, he suddenly heard his brother's voice from the roof, and he listened and understood the plan.

Famous for his dancing, he called down to Te Tini o Manahua below; he decried their dance skills, and extolled his own. Curious, they took him down. Clad in the finery he had requested of Uenuku, which made him look appropriately regal, he whirled and leapt so brilliantly that his audience agreed to open the door. Thus the captors became the captives. Whakatuira danced spryly over the threshold, where the waiting Tama slammed the door shut, bolting it tight, and within minutes the house was ablaze. Thus the Tini o Manahua perished, and

warfare was rife on Hawaikinui.

The tree that became the canoe, Te Arawa, was felled, and fashioned by the axe Te Awhiorangi, greenstone brought back from Aotearoa. She was designed by the twin sons of Tuamatua, Rata and Wahieroa[1], and her captain was the wily Tamatekapua. The navigator was Ngatoroirangi, whose services had actually not been volunteered. He had been persuaded, with his wife Kearoa, to board the canoe and perform certain sacred rites before the voyage - engrossed in his incantation, he did not realize his true situation until Te Arawa was far out to sea.

Tamatekapua then seduced Kearoa as her husband was studying the night skies; wary of the other's intentions, Ngatoro had taken the precaution of fastening a cord to his wife's pubic hairs and by its pressure, he was reassured. Tamatekapua, however, untied the cord, and looped it around the thwart.

Righteously enraged at this cuckolding, Ngatoroirangi plunged the canoe into Te Korokoro o te Parata, and Throat of the Sea Demon Parata, a churning whirlpool of death. Many were killed, and seeing his wife's terror, Ngatoro pitied her, calmed the ocean's wrath, and lifted the canoe to milder waters. And Te Arawa sailed on, to Aotearoa.

Ta Apirana Ngata suggested in a dialogue recorded by Te Herekiekie Grace that Te Arawa and Tainui may have been a <u>tau ihu waka tau</u> - a double hulled canoe, one hull captained by Tamatekapua, of Te Arawa, and the other by Hoturoa, of Tainui. He further speculated that the entire double vessel itself was named Te Mahanga a Tuamatua, after the great founding ancestor. Apirana cites kumara lore, hauling chants, and the coastal adventures of arrival, culminating his argument with

> Why not Arawa and Tainui, double canoes with a platform connecting them, and the people living under shelter, otherwise the picture of Ngatoroirangi trying to catch the illicit relations between Tamatekapua and Kearoa would have no point, unless you have some sort of structure, two decker[3].

Sparse mention has been made of this theory by the descendants of the canoe itself. Te Rangikaheke, a nineteenth century Te Arawa sage and writer, drew a flat-prowed, single-hulled vessel to illustrate his manuscript. This represents his visualizing the ancestral canoe as his own teachers must have perceived it[4].

Further controversy surrounds the Hekenganui - the Great Fleet which migrated from Hawaiki as a result of the internecine wars, supposedly in the midfourteenth century. Te Arawa, Tainui, Mataatua, Takitimu, Aotea, Kurahaupo and Tokomaru are celebrated in contemporary song and dance; in his Coming of the Maori, Te Rangihiroa extols this as the most significant event in early Polynesian history; many writers on matters Maori have since reiterated this theory, and a few have questioned it[5].

The most convincing case is presented by Simmons, in which the migration legend is refuted as a modern, and possibly even manufactured, tradition. Puzzling to the nineteenth century mind, the myriad tribes and clans of the new colony were thus tidily organized into appropriate groupings, and slotted into a convenient matrix, with successive waves of migration, and seven vastly important vessels, from which the indigenous population descended neatly in a straight and visible line. By closer scrutiny of the sources, Simmons reveals that

> it has been found that what is usually accepted and repeated as authentic Maori tradition in the New Zealand "myth" is an interpretation in European terms of nonauthentic traditions[6].

Yet whatever their origins, these are the stories I heard as a child, these are the images I see carved into the panels of my wharetupuna, these are the events robustly reenacted in song and dance.

Despite their suspect accuracy, these tales persist as the ones being told on the marae of Te Arawa today. And despite further introspective and scholarly argument, they will probably continue being told tomorrow.

What is important is that to us, they are seen as a highly valued aspect of our cultural being. Our response is based on very different assumptions from those of the literate, fact conscious non Maori researcher.

Yet in no way does one point of view detract from the validity of the other - instead, both are merged to become part of the richness of contradictory and conflicting lore that is so essentially Maori.

Toia mai, te waka
Ki te moenga, te waka
Ki te urunga, te waka
Ki te takoto ra nga mai takoto ai, te waka ...

Te Arawa was finally hauled ashore at Maketu, her original landing place. The two anchors, Tokaparore, of the bow, and Tu te rangiharuru, of the stern, were cast into the Kaituna river, where is said they remain to this day. And there, the canoe was burned by Raumati, a Tainui chief who met his fate at the hands of Hatupatu, and avenging Arawa[7]. These ancient animosities, spawned in the flames of Te Arawa, have persisted even until modern times. Their most recent historic resugence was in the Land Wars of last century, when Te Arawa sided with the British against the Waikato, and Taranaki resistance to colonial takeover. This will be discussed more fully later.

From Maketu, the seafarers journeyed inland; two important explorers were Ngatoroirangi, the erstwhile navigator, and the chief Ihenga, accompanied by a canine friend Ohau, or, some say, Potakatawhiti.

Ngatoroirangi ventured far into Te Ika a Maui. His response to the challenge of the massive shining mountains of the central region was to climb them. But as he ascended, the coldness increased, and his companion, Auruhoe, died in the bitterness of the wind, and Ngatoro invoked the aid of his sisters, Pupu and Hoata, in faraway Hawaiki.

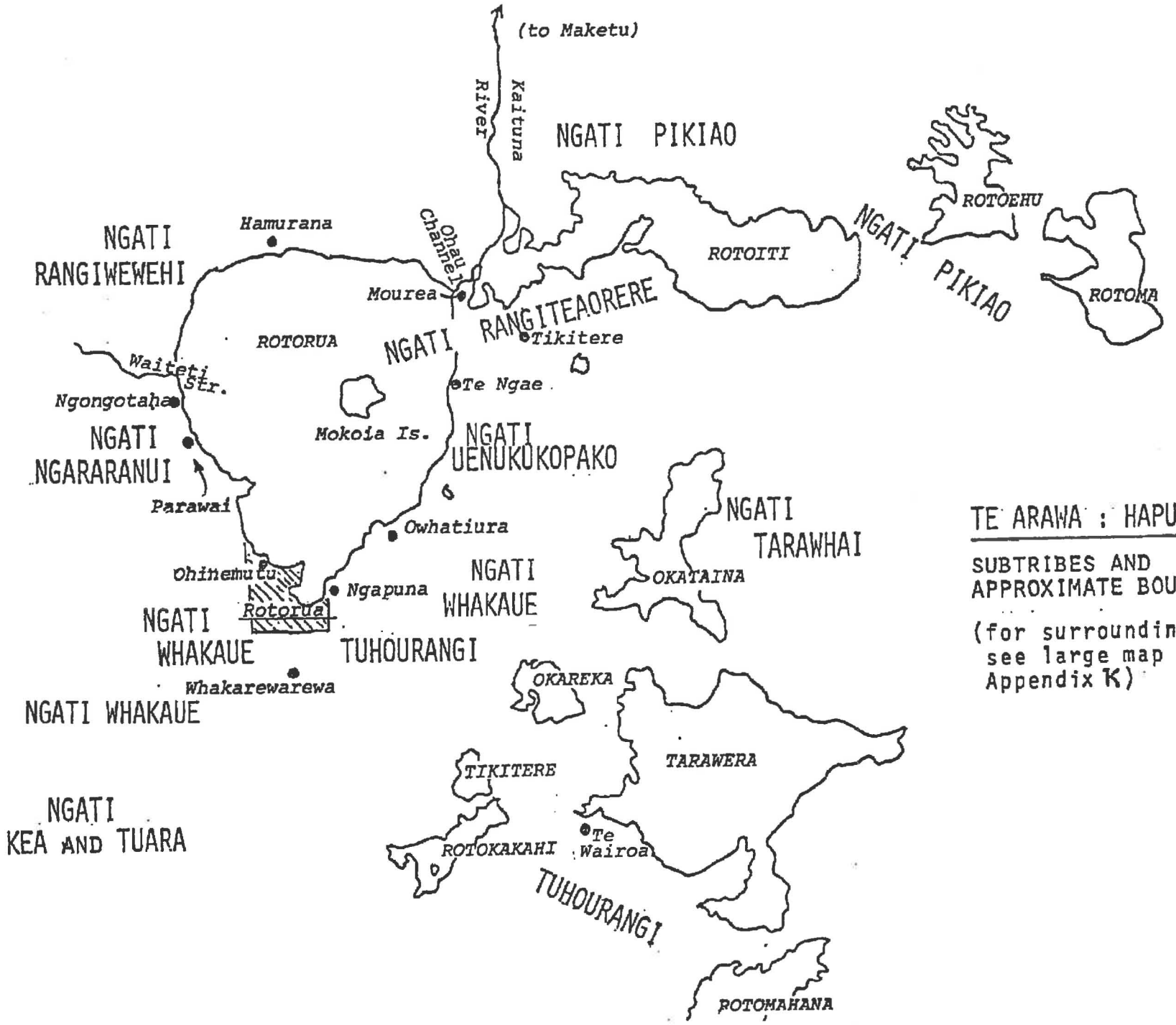
They came swiftly on wings of flame, wherever they rested - Whakaari, Tikitere, Rotomahana, Whakarewarewa, Orakei, Waiotapu, Waimangu, Wairakei - their burning heat remains, boiling water seared and bubbling in the earth, Wai Ariki. Comforting their kinsman, they embraced him in their steaming warmth, which even to this day is felt at the cloudy summits of the volcanoes, Tongariro, Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe. And Ngatoro turned his face to the waters of the great lake, Taupo, and its surrounding hills and bays and valleys, and he settled there. The younger man, Ihenga, also tramped inland - named Rotoiti, which he compared to the vastness of the ocean, and also Rotorua - Te Rotorua Nui a Kahumatamamoe, after his uncle, and many other places, like Ngongotaha and Ohinemutu, commemorate his many experiences.

The descendants of the waka, Te Arawa, settled in what is now known as the Bay of Plenty, and the thermal regions -

Ko nga rohe o Te Arawa
Ko te ihu kei Maketu e here ana
Ko te kei, takoto rawa
Ki te take o Tongariro maunga

Most whakapapa recited on the marae today reach down from Rangitihi, that eponymous patriarch whose descendants together form Nga Waru Pu Manawa o Te Arawa - the eight hearts of the tribal nation of Te Arawa. Rangitihi sired eight children on three different wives. The offspring were - Rangiwhakaekehau, Kawatapuarangi, Ratorua, Rakeiao, Apumoana, Rangiaowhia, Tauruao, and Tuhourangi. Their descendants are still arguing about who was the first born son, in goodnatured debate on the many marae of Te Arawa.

Settlement of the Lakes District need not be detailed here; instead, I choose to cross the wake of centuries, until just before the advent of the paleskinned colonist in the thermal regions.



TE ARAWA : HAPU

SUBTRIBES AND APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES

(for surrounding area, see large map in Appendix K)

Of the eight major tribal groups descended from Rangitihi, those six who inhabit the Lakes region will be discussed here. As we travel inland from Maketu, we enter the domains of Ngati Pikiao, around Rotoiti, Rotoehu, Rotoma, to the village of Mourea, on the Ohau channel between Rotoiti and Rotorua. Circling the lake, Rotorua, from Mourea to Te Ngae, and east to Tikitere, are the lands of Ngati Rangiteaorere, and from Te Ngae to Owhatiura, Ngati Uenukukopako dominates. Conflict and contention, even in recent years, have resulted in the southwestern shores of the lake belonging to Ngati Whakaue, apart from a pocket at Ngapuna, which is Tuhourangi; but the realm of Whakaue extends along the western lake shore, to Waikuta, and the bay at Parawai. At this point the ground is that of Ngararanui, until just beyond the Waiteti stream, where it is that of Rangiwewehi, curling around the northwest shore of the lake, almost to Hamurana, and the lands of Parua/Pikiao. The offspring named for Tuhourangi, however, staked territory in the region of Rotomahana-Parekarangi-Horohoro, to the south of Rotorua, and thus was the situation until certain events of the nineteenth century.

Even as the colonist and tourist arrived, intertribal hostilities continued to occur, and the land itself was conquered and repossessed, tribal boundaries changing fluidly until the colonist judicial processes were imposed. For despite a common ancestry, occasionally recognized, and despite an obvious kinship network, warfare was a much relished institution between the closely related clans of Te Arawa. These conflicts will be the subject of a later chapter.

A general discussion of some aspects of the Maori world is necessary at this point. Attempts to delineate the structure of precontact Maori society have resulted in an idealized and neatly pyramidic scheme which I outline below. About this, I have certain reservations, because the actual system was probably infinitely messier, and more convoluted than such academic tidying up can ever realize.

The largest territorial unit in precontact Maori society was the tribe, or iwi, named for an eponymous ancestor, such as Whakaue or Tuhourangi, and dwelling within a certain area. The iwi itself was composed of hapu, or subtribes, lineages connected within the iwi, but residentially, economically, and militarily independent of each other. The groupings were further broken down into the whanau, or extended family, which formed the basic social entity, made up of four generational levels, and functioning as the most effective economic unit. Even today, a person can be recognised through the descent groups of her/his four grandparents, although the male lines are generally preferred. Kinship, however, is based on a bilateral reckoning, the primary orientation being to the hapu in whose territory one resides, but claim to other areas is seldom relinquished[8].

A much wider grouping has been suggested in more recent scholarship[9]. This is the institution of the waka, or "canoe group", a loose miscellany of associated iwi who can claim their affiliation through a common canoe - for example, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Tainui, or Takitimu. Because it is based on the assumption of collective descent from a canoe voyaging ancestor of the Great Migration, this does not apply to a number of tribes, some of whom choose instead a tribal identification based on a personality, a historic event, or a landmark - for example Ngati Porou, Ngapuhi or Ati Awa.

Nevertheless, the contemporary Maori world is tending more and more to assert an emphatically broader tribal identification. People are naming themselves not only within the context of whanau, hapu, and iwi, but within this wider association as well. A sense of Te Arawa-tanga, Tuhoe-tanga, Waikato-tanga - being part of this particular gathering of people, and thus inheriting unique traditions - is becoming increasingly more important to the Maori people. It may well be partly in reaction to the homogenization processes of the first few decades of this century,

when one's Maoriness (Maoritanga) was stressed primarily, and positively reinforced by far-sighted Maori educators and elders as a fine heritage indeed, despite pakeha attitudes, and white New Zealand at large.

Colonist attitudes will be discussed and described more fully in the following chapters. The Maori people, particularly those inhabiting the more desirable tracts of land, endured many hardships and brazen injustices during the decades of colonial acquisition and settlement of Aotearoa ... the process of becoming "New Zealand". Perceived by the pakeha as one group, whose members were indistinguishable despite obvious differences in dialect and local custom, its leaders involved in political reconstruction and renascence thus chose to respond as one group. Although the most impressive achievements occurred at a local level, with specific tribal leaders, emphasis was on the race as a whole. To pakeha eyes, for a Maori in Gisborne to succeed augured well for a Maori in Rotorua, and as they shared the common burden of their miseries, so did the Maori people enjoy success.

Over the last two decades, in the rapidly growing second and third generations of urban Maori, a consciousness of tribal rather than just ethnic origin has emerged, and been quite zealously cultivated, as bonds are reforged and tightened between city and country dwellers, and an understanding of common ancestral heritage is shared.

Relating this to the study, Te Arawa itself names both the waka, and the iwi. As a canoe group, it comprises two lines, Te Arawa, the descendants of Tamatekapua and other canoes personnel, and Ngati Tuwharetoa, the myriad offspring of the navigator Ngatoroirangi. I am examining Te Arawa, a confederation of some eight tribes, populous enough to be iwi in themselves, but more often referred to as hapu. According to Metge, the various groups did not actually unite until a century ago, when they formed the loyalist ArawaFlying Squadron. This was a military unit organized by the colonialist troops, trained, as

other "Flying Squadrons", to quell native insurrection. In the Arawa case, this collaboration consisted mainly of chasing the charismatic Te Kooti around the island. Their adoption of the tribal canoe name was not absolute until the establishing of the Arawa Trust Board in 1923, through moneys from the rights to the lakes of the Waiariki district[10].

Of the iwi of Te Arawa, the people of the hapu Ngati Whakaue, and Tuhourangi will be most closely scrutinized for the purposes of this study because actual intense visitor/host contact occurs within the villages and ancestral lands of these hapu.

Other hapu - Rangiteaorere, Pikiao, Rangiwewehi and Ngararanui - will be so acknowledged when mentioned. Most, if not all, of the socio-cultural analysis will be confined to a more general hapu, rather than specific whanau, or extended family, level. Some whanau will, of course, be mentioned, but only in their relationship to the "touristic tradition".

In the Maori world in general leadership remains a hotly debated issue. Primogeniture through the male line was said to be preferred by most iwi; only two, Tuwharetoa and Waikato, professed dynastic families. Some others were notably less patriarchal, and more gender complementary, in their leaders - Ngati Porou, and Whanau Apanui both enjoy strong evidence of aggressive and gifted female warriors, like Hinetapora, Materoa, and Hinematioro, orators and chiefs[11].

In ancient times, just as today, there existed a certain fluidity; a person of well demonstrated ability could rise in times of crisis, despite a less illustrious lineage; a more capable younger brother could ascend over an older brother who was incompetent. On the iwi, and hapu level, leadership was generally exercised by the senior, and older, men. In times of hostility, some generational reshuffle may have occurred, with the younger, fighting men in command, but their physical

fitness and youth more probably complemented rather than eclipsed the Kaumatua's experience and expertise.

Within the whanau, a number of forms of leadership existed, and the criteria were many - though I conjecture the most important was age, and seniority of descent. A male may have been the ritual, and visible head of the household, but the major decisions may well have been made by the beloved Kuia.

Tradition, and the pakeha interpretation of tradition, have placed women in a vague, often contradictory, and certainly subordinate role, in the Te Arawa case. Contemporary elders, when questioned, inevitably tend to confirm this as "women's place". There is a need for a deeper and more sensitive reappraisal of Maori women's role, and significance, from a nonwestern perspective.

Exactly how much of the blustering mysogynistic attitude so often bellowed forth on the contemporary Te Arawa marae is due to post-European, missionary influence, is seldom considered. Some Biblical rhetoric is presented, and the notion of women as unclean is thus inflated. As the subject of a later chapter, I will examine the role of women in Te Arawa tourism. Their ascendance will be summarized by the achievements, opinions, and contributions of the women who are themselves most involved. Every male elder has his ponderous rationale for the prohibition of women orators on the marae of Waiariki; every carver has his sharp edged justification for the banning of females from an unfinished house or working space. Women are denied entrance to a traditional house during construction, or to the work site of a canoe being carved. Reasons vary from their uncleanness and thus profanity demeaning the space itself, to the simple explanation that they may distract the men and thus accidentally injure either carver, or wood, or both - all resources of immense community value. Underlying this is the reality of tapu, and noa.

Tapu is the sacredness of a person, object, or property; in more recent times, it has also come to apply to certain types of knowledge, and its transmission. A person's tapu increased with her/his rank within the iwi, and the energy itself was focussed on the head. It is believed that generally males were more tapu than females - more attuned to hidden forces, and receptive to secret knowledge, or so we have been told in later years.

Balancing this is the notion of noa - commoness, clarity of function, accessibility; at its very deepest level, the energy within the genitals, especially the female genitals. So delicate is this balance that it is often contradictory - a woman who breeds chiefs is regarded as whare rangatira, and therefore also tapu, in another sense.

The rendering of a canoe, house, or person "noa", and therefore safe to the people's touch, gaze and experience, were rituals which always required a woman's presence. Women's functions as agents to ritually dismiss the contaminating elements of tapu prevented a massive proliferation of tapu-based restrictions which may have affected everyday life. Such an occurence allegedly constipated precontact Hawaiian society, whichultimately resorted to a ritualized and absolute rejection of the institution[12].

Certain sites - burial places, ancient battlefields, altars of tribal deities, accident sites - were proclaimed tapu for their peculiarly dangerous significance. A tapu on land was sometimes also conservational - to protect wildlife or seafood during certain seasons. Such tapu areas would be marked by a rahui, a stone, wooden, or natural marker to warn people away. Nowadays, this may mean reserve lands, or also the withholding of certain practices and forms[13]. Tapu is not only a sacred concept, but also judicial, and an aspect of social control.

Transgression of tapu brought down supernatural sanction, and it was also considered adequate cause for war. In this sense, it is related to another prevailing theme in traditional, and even contemporary, Maori society, the concept of mana. This was personal, charismatic power - a form of prestige that may be inherited through senior descent, or may be acquired through various skills and achievements. People of chiefly rank had considerable mana, as did the tohunga, or expert within a certain specialist field - carving, navigation healing, sorcery or tattooing. The mana of the tohunga commanded enormous respect, even fear, because those adept in the priestly arts were often attributed with praeternatural abilities. To trample someone's mana was also considered an act of hostile intention - payment or revenge was necessary, and this would involve the principle of utu. Often taken to mean revenge, it was more precisely the settling of old scores; the most frequently this was enforced on the battlefield, though sorcery was also widely practised. For this reason, warfare was an important dynamic in Maori society. It affected economic distribution, settlement patterns, political intermarriage, and village planning. And even after initial European contact, certain sections of Te Arawa continued to follow Tumatauenga, the God of War, in expeditions for land, for revenge, and finally for the monarchs of Britain.

What is happening in Te Arawa of the late Twentieth Century? The kinship networks within the various hapu have remained stable, although marriages with outside tribes, other Polynesians, pakehas, and South Asians have occurred. It is impossible to be specific, but instances of marriage outside the tribal group are frequent, especially in more recent times. The writer's immediate family includes two Cook Islanders, one Samoan, one Tongan, two South Asian Indians, and two Pakistanis. In every case, the outsider is a husband. Ngati Whakaue embraces about thirty such families, and the overall number in Te Arawa would be an estimated seventy or more.

In the event of certain life crisis ceremonies - a death, a wedding, and also more frequently, major land court hearings and land related hui - a representative cross section of the hapu assembles, and the bonds are discussed, tightened, enjoyed. Young people mature in an atmosphere of some conviviality, usually bewildered by a multitude of relatives they know are theirs, but exactly how is another story.

Moving out into the larger cities, for education and employment, six times out of ten, they confront the insulting epithet from other Maoris - "Te Arawa poi swinger", or "Penny diver!". Many take care to clarify this issue, either evading it by identification with a nontourist involved hapu like Pikiao or Uenukukopako, or by meeting it head on with, "So what? Na matou koe i tohutia nga mahi Maori!" ... We've shown you the way in Maori things! (Like dance, and crafts.) Children of the last two generations have been raised with the proud, encouraging, and very often correct, impression that Te Arawa experts in carving, weaving, song and dance, have carried these treasures to many other tribes in Aotearoa, where such knowledge seemed to have declined.

Certain descent groups within a hapu are also noted as having special "gifts" - in artisanship, in beautiful women, in haka stance, in carving, in martial arts prowess, in voice. Within Te Arawa, there remains a sense of tribal identification based in some awareness of one's own genealogy, and one's relationship to the papakainga - the land on which the carved meeting house and dining hall stand, and where the ancestors lie within the earth. This complex has come to be called a marae, although that term actually denotes the ceremonial forecourt which is situated before the carved ceremonial house. It is usually comprised of a small grouping of separate buildings, each one serving a specific purpose. More recently - in the last two generations - it has also come to be known as a "pa", although it is not fortified.

The meeting house in Te Arawa is usually named for a male ancestor, and the accompanying dining room is named for the favourite or first wife, or sometimes a younger sibling. Most village communities have only one such ceremonial focus; in the later chapter detailing Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, certain marae will be discussed much more closely.

The marae is rarely unoccupied, and dormant - tangihanga, the necessary rituals which follow death, occur on the marae thus magnifying its tapu, and weddings and birthdays are also celebrated there. In the last decade, Maori language seminars, meet the people rallies for policemen, school teachers and public officials have also taken place in the marae context. Similar conferences have rented marae facilities to student and teachers groups, to conferences of service clubs, and even to government departments in a rather self-conscious effort to build interracial and intercultural bridges. During the 1976 South Pacific Festival of Arts, hosted in Rotorua, twentythree different marae accommodated the festival participants and patrons.

Awareness of the traditional undercurrents of tapu, sorcery and utu still prevails in this iwi, even among the younger generation, despite a massive decline in the use of Maori as a household language. Involvement in the marae experience is still great, and it is in this environment primarily that knowledge of the older ways, customs and beliefs is learned. Women still automatically stress their acceptance of the kawa of Te Arawa, which forbids them ritual speaking rights. Kawa is marae protocol, and has a number of other meanings to be detailed later. They firmly believe their power as females is more subtle, but at least as significant, in decisionmaking on a tribal level. Some are, however, beginning to question the situation, but in a very cautious way. Most men, predictably, cleave hard to their privilege. They claim vociferously that it is in this kawa that they claim their identification as Te Arawa, and to challenge this is to

challenge the underlying mana of the canoe itself. I propose to examine this more fully in a later chapter.

Coming over the Mamaku hills, after a climb of almost a thousand feet from the lowlands of Waikato, I see Mokoia, floating on the silver waters of Rotoruanui a Kahumatamamoe, and I know I am home. The ranges - Whakapoungakau, Tihiotonga, Patetere, Mamaku, Waerenga - encircle the lake, richly green, newly forested, sometimes farmed. Faraway, to the east, is the shore line of the Bay of Plenty, and as one approaches from Maketu, the road winds by the beaches of Lake Rotoiti which stretches its long uneven shape for many miles. To the south, Tauponui a Tia, a land-bound sea guarded by the icey peaks of Ngauruhoe, Tongariro and Ruapehu. And, reaching westwards, over the ranges of Patetere and Mamaku, the realm of Tainui, which stretches across to the slopes of Taranaki.

There are thirteen lakes in the volcanic district, a twenty mile radius of the township. Of these, Rotoiti, Rotorua, Tarawera, Okataina, Rotoma, Rotoehu and Okareka are the largest, each lying in the bowl of an extinct volcanic crater, part of the caldera that forms the region. Before colonization, many villages spread along their shores - at the time of writing, Rotorua, Rotoiti, Rotoehu and Rotoma support a few residences; on the other lakes stand the holiday homes and batches of nonMaori New Zealanders, and Okareka has become in recent years an exclusive subdivision.

Off the main trunk highway, Rotorua township is served by two main provincial highways, one from Hamilton to Taupo, the other branching east to the Bay of Plenty. The lakes, and thermal resorts are connected by well-sealed roads, many of which follow the original walking tracks of ancient days.

The face of the country itself is largely green - thousands of acres of exotic pine stretch to the southwest; in the north and east, rugged pastoral farmland; and the slopes of Ngongotaha, the low mountain which looms western before Mokoia, and the other ranges - all glowing dense in moist native forest - rimu, kahikatea, some totara. From the summit of Ngongotaha, the eastern coast is visible and in especially clear conditions one can sometimes see the western seashores, and Taranaki.

In 1867, European brown trout were introduced, and in 1883, the rainbow (American steelhead) was also released in the region. With a number of natural fresh water springs in the hills, the Rotorua area soon had many beautiful fish sanctuaries that have since been developed as trout springs - Rainbow Springs, Fairy Springs, Paradise Valley, Taniwha and Hamurana, where visitors can gape at trout in serenely beautiful surroundings.

Parts of the lakes district - to the south, and south east of Rotorua - glower like scars ripped deep in the earth, or shine starkly white, jagged, patched with manuka and trees blasted by sulphurous deposits. Columns of steam rise from these places, over which there always hangs a light, luminous vapour. As the hautonga, the southern winds, blow through from the mountains of Tuwharetoa, a faint tinge of sulphur fills the city streets. This is the fragrance of the Wai Ariki, the Waters of the Gods, whose healing properties caused the building of many spas in post European days. One, the Waitangi Soda Springs near Lake Rotoehu, remains a Maori operation. The more famous, however, were the government established Bath House and Sanatorium, now Tudor Towers, a restaurant/museum/art gallery complex, and the famous Blue Baths, that are merely swimming pools. The Ward Baths, formerly a health spa, has since become the opulent Polynesian Pools; the three aforementioned places are located in the Government Gardens park reserve on the southwest lake shore by the township.

As a spa the area is richly provided. Within a thirty mile radius of Rotorua, there are six major thermal areas - Whakarewarewa and Tikitere are the closest to the town, and will be the subject of a later chapter. The four others, Waimangu, Waiotapu, Orakei Korako and Wairakei, are in an almost straight line in volcanic activity, the last being the site of intensive geothermal power development over the last twenty five years.

Tikitere, Waiotapu and Orakei Korako are still owned by Maori, although as tourist thermal resorts they are leased to, and operated by, European business interests. Of the six mentioned, only two, Whakarewarewa and Tikitere, are strictly within the tribal boundaries of nga uri o Tamatekapua. The other four are located within a much disputed and marginal borderland, where Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngai Tahu, Te Arawa and Waikato have all blended together. Ownership of these blocks is divided amongst certain hapu of all these tribes.

From its earliest settlement in 1880, the population has grown. Rotorua became a city in 1963 with a population of 20,000 which has since doubled to 45,000. The commercial and administrative centre, covering the land originally surveyed as a townsite in 1881, is the focus of agriculture, industry and tourism in the Bay of Plenty region. Although volcanic pumice, the rugged farmlands to the north, east, and southwest of the lakes were radically upgraded after World War II, with the discovery of cobalt deficiency in the soil. Once this problem was rectified, agriculture - sheep and some dairy farming - began to flourish.

Forestry, and the related industries, also developed, from 1900 onwards with a massive pine forest of 124,000 acres being planted at Kaingaroa, and other exotic tree plantations spread across the volcanic plateau. Centres of the timber industry - Kawerau and Tokoroa - have sprung up less than thirty miles from Rotorua itself. The 1976 N.Z. official Yearbook records that the region supports 209 factories, which

employ 9,177 workers; it is the fourth most industrialized region in the country. In the western Bay of Plenty, Mount Maunganui serves as a rapidly growing port in the handling and export of timber and agricultural produce from the volcanic region.

In recent years, one of the area's most important economic concerns has been tourism, as previously discussed. No data on the actual traffic into Rotorua itself are available. Accommodation statistics for the region, as of 1976, disclose that there are 1,148 hotel rooms, 1,345 motel units, and numerous motor camps and cabin sites provided for the travelling public. A great variety is also offered - from very simple, unheated batches with merely roof and walls, to the plush high rise luxury of the world class hotel. Those promoting Rotorua tourism take enormous care to impress the feeling that the visitor to their thermal wonderland is satisfied in every way. Considerable emphasis is focussed on Rotorua's varied attractions for the "visitor industry".

In 1978, the Development and Research Division of the Tourist and Publicity Department completed a survey on the attitudes to, and use of, Rotorua by New Zealanders. Apart from mention as "Attractions and Facilities" in Appendix V of the departmental survey and reproduced as an appendix to this study, Maori involvement and participation was not isolated as an examinable factor. For this reason, I have chosen not to exhaustively discuss the survey itself. The principal outcome, valued for its "promotional use" was the confirmation, by other New Zealanders, that Rotorua is very different from other New Zealand towns. How, and why, is not clearly established or even suggested in this quantitative analysis of visitors' attitudes.

This is also the hub of extensive outdoor sporting and recreational activities. There are three 18 hole golf courses, and three 9-hole links. Aquatic sports - fishing, sailing, angling, skiing, even diving - are enjoyed within a thirty mile radius of the lake, the sea

being a half hour's drive away. The skifields of Ruapehu are less than three hours' away, and the dense mountain forests of Whakapoungakau and Te Urewera offer ideal hunting. Hiking is also popular, as are the racquet sports.

For a century now, Rotorua has enjoyed a variety of entertainments - numerous Maori concerts, to be examined later; and the first cabaret liquor licence to be issued in the country, prompted by tourist demand. Nevertheless, a common visitor complaint is that the town dies, like any other colonial provincial town, after 5 p.m., and especially on weekends. Rotorua is a burgeoning city, with a diversity of faces, choices, and futures. How did this city begin? When? And with whom?

Chapter Two : European Settlement & Colonization

Missionaries, Traders, and Military - How they came, where they went, and what they did. And why.

Chapter Two : European Settlement & Colonization

The Missionaries were the first Europeans to come in to Waiariki. They came, ironically, in the wake of the Ngapuhi who had sacked, plundered and ravaged Mokoia island, Te Motutapu a Tinirau, in the late summer of 1823. Led by their chief, Hongi Hika and reinforced by the superior weaponry of the European, the Taitokerau clans came down to avenge a blood debt. The Ngapuhi had been exposed to the pakeha for a number of years; whalers, sealers, voyagers, and missionaries. Whatever they had gained in virtue, this contact certainly gave them the advantage in evil.

Te Arawa, the people of the volcanic region, sought refuge on their sacred island, which instead of sanctuary became a scene of carnage and despair. Armed only with the traditional arsenal of mere, taiaha, and kotiate, tewhatewha and wahaika, the hand weapons of their ancestors, three thousand people perished; some survived, a few escaped. and some were spared. Of those spared, hundreds owed their lives to Te Aokapurangi, an Arawa woman of Ngati Rangiwewehi and Ngati Whakaue. She had been residing in the north with her husband Te Wera, a lieutenant of Hongi Hika, and she had accompanied the warparty in its pursuit of vengeance. Distraught at the imminent destruction of her kin, she pleaded for their lives, and Hongi replied that he would save whoever passed between her legs. Such advice implied incestuous and multiple acts of sexual intercourse, or else an outrageous alternative. This latter point involved a severe breaking of tapu, for it was believed that a person's groin, and thus the space between the legs, was unspeakably defiling. So, Te Aokapurangi considered all this, and she waited for the right time.

The leader of the attackers, Hongi was wearing a steel helmet, and the ball fired from the one solitary Te Arawa musket deflected

from the metal, momentarily stunning him and causing intense panic in his taua. At this point, Te Aokapurangi moved, sprinting to Tamatekapua, the largest building in the kainga. She then scaled the poupou, balanced herself on the tekoteko, and along the line of the armlike maihi above the porch, she stretched her legs wide. Then she shouted that all those who entered the house between her legs would not be slain by the enemy. From this came the proverb -

Ano, kei te whare whawhao o Te Aokapurangi.
Once again, we have the crowded house of
Te Aokapurangi.

Female survivors of beauty and high rank were taken as wives by the victors. One of the latter eventually became a Christian convert, assuming the name Pita. He and his wife occasionally returned to her home, discussing Te Rongo Pai with her relatives; the "Good News" brought first to the northernmost part of Aotearoa by Samual Marsden in 1814[1]. Their stories aroused much interest, and in 1828, Pango of Te Arawa journeyed north, and while in the Bay of Islands met the missionary Henry Williams. The latter's tactful intervention in defence of Pango, whom the Ngapuhi accused of sorcery, magnified the mana of the Church Missionary Society workers, and their church, in Te Arawa. For three years, Pango continued to insist on missionaries coming to Waiariki, but the Society was not so enthusiastic.

The only station functioned at Kororareka, almost four hundred miles north of the lakes district, and the struggling mission was reluctant to undertake the risk of such isolation - physical distance, lack of human resources, and the horrors of what they saw as stoneage heathendom, prohibited any possible development further south for some time. They had in fact, only a toehold in the North, few converts as yet, and good reason to take on the fewest possible risks.

In 1831, Pango sent his kinsman Taiwhanga to Paihia with orders not to return without a missionary. That year, Thomas Chapman, an irrepresibly enthusiastic young American, arrived in the Bay of Islands. He expressed great willingness to establish a new station in the wilderness, and by October both he and Williams were on the Karere, a scow southbound for the Bay of Plenty.

From Tauranga, they moved along the coast, eastwards to Maketu, and from that historic centre, ventured inland by canoe. They reached Ohinemutu on 28 October. Pita and his wife were with them, and their message was heartily received by Ngati Whakaue. Chapman recorded:

> We had previously been made acquainted with the circumstance of this country, abounding with hot springs - we now visited several, and found the natives cooking from them - in some places outside the pa the natural cauldrons of boiling water were as large as a moderate sized room and in one part there are four near to each other[2].

Chapman and Williams were to remain in the area a few more days. On returning to Paihia, they decided the safest and most effective plan would be a chain of stations, near each other, in the proposed districts.

By 1835, Church Missionary Society personnel had increased considerably, and stations were planned at Rotorua, Tauranga, and Maketu[3]. The Rotorua mission was established at Te Koutu, just over a mile from the simple whare which an old kuia, Wharetutu, had offered as a place of worship in 1831.

In Tauranga, the pastor based at Otumoetai was one Richard Wade, a missionary with a keen ethnographic eye. His published recollections vividly describe Ohinemutu of 1835, "the very seat of the principal boiling springs", and he describes in detail the various springs, and their diverse qualities. He was also impressed by the prolific carvings around the village, including enormous war canoes, one of which measured sixty feet, and a "small fancy canoe, perfectly finished, in imitation of a war vessel". He records thus:

> The high fence of Oinemuhi exhibited a variety of hideous figures, as carved tops to the posts. The larger carvings of the New Zealanders are of the rudest cast, and often highly indelicate; but their smaller and more finished pieces of workmanship display much ingenuity. Their carved spear heads, and clubhandles, their tinder boxes, and boxes for carrying feathers, the head and stern posts of their canoes, their best paddles, the elaborate work in front of their houses, as well as their effort in a variety of other ways in both wood and stone, all show their capabilities[4].

Wade was also struck by the people, whom he regarded as:

> Superior over any that I had seen. The garments they wore, the canoes on the beach and their neat plantations, all indicated a degree of creditable industry; while at the same time there was more of the untamed independence of savage life in their manners than we had been accustomed to among the Ngapuhis. Indeed, they rendered themselves, except for firearms and ammunition, almost independent of foreigners. I found they even made their own pipes, and grew their own tobacco[5].

Ngati Whakaue was also experiencing some contact with other Europeans, and had subsequently begun cultivating maize and tobacco. Such horticultural pursuits were common in areas where the Maori population had been visited by whalers, sealers and traders. The last mentioned group were an especially shrewd class of colonist who set out to whet the Maori appetite for foreign goods, and profit from their need.

Hans Tapsell, a Danish seaman, was the first white trader in the Bay of Plenty area about 1828. He was an agent for the Sydney firm of Jones & Walker, which marketed the flax hemp necessary for marine cordage. In the Maketu area, Tapsell espied vast, flax-rich coastal flats, and he settled there with his wife, a kinswoman of Te Arawa. Still smarting from the deep wounds inflicted at Mokoia, many of the tribespeople were aware that by working in flax, they could engage in trade, and thus acquire firearms. Eventually, the hitherto relatively uninhabited swampy district of Maketu supported a

burgeoning population of flaxgrowers, cutters and scrapers. From this eagerness for European arms was to emerge an increasing dependance on European trade in the coastal areas.

Not everyone, however, migrated to the coast. In 1833, a Mokoia chief named Hikairo invited Tapsell to set up a trade centre on the island. He sent Farrow, an agent who became extremely discouraged by his situation, and soon returned to the coast. A rival partnership, James and Cabbage, also found the inland trade discomforting. Their boorish attitudes and unseemly behaviour soon offended their Maori hosts. James barely escaped with his life, and Cabbage met his fate in an earth oven[6].

Income from the flax scraping was distributed among the leading chiefs of each clan; in one instance Tapsell, or his agent, committed a costly diplomatic faux pas which was to engulf the area in the flames of intertribal war.

An important chief, Haerehuka, was absent at the allocation of earnings, and on his return, was furious to learn that the sum due him had been neither considered nor apportioned. He was further enraged by the rumour that his family mausoleum had been desecrated by a group of lovers who allegedly had used it as a place of assignation. His ancestors, his offended pride, and his hapu all demanded vengeance. After consulting with relatives, and being assured of the support of Ngati Parua, a powerful hapu, he killed Te Hunga. This man had been one of the men who had supposedly profaned his waahi tapu, and he was a nephew of the formidable chief of Ngati Haua, Te Waharoa, of the waka Tainui. It is said that by incurring the wrath of Te Waharoa, Haerehuka deliberately sought to bring calamity upon those who had so greviously slighted him. For calamity was inevitable, and so began a decade of grisly skirmishes and orgiastic battles, the fighers replenished by te ika a Tumatauenga, the sweet fish of the great God

of War - human flesh.

Te Hunga died on the only Christmas day the Chapmans were to celebrate at their new station, which was razed to the ground by Te Arawa, who feared that Ngati Haua forces might use it themselves as a base. The Chapmans then moved to Mokoia Island, relatively safe from the mainland hostilities which, by 1839, had become a more sporadic and seasonal series of erratic but nevertheless gory encounters. That year, Chapman received a visitor, John Carne Bidwill, a botanist and businessman who perceived the Maori as surprisingly greedy, and aware of money -

> I had knocked off a number of specimens to bring away, when the natives said I should not have them unless I paid for them.

He also notes that

> Mr Chapman had just returned from Taupo and was the first white man who had ever penetrated so far[7].

The volcanic region was still unexplored by whites when another traveller, the German scientist Ernest Dieffenbach, stayed with the Chapmans in 1841. The station had been reestablished on the mainland, on a fifty acre lot at Te Ngae. Dieffenbach wrote

> the natives of Rotorua were the most primitive tribe in New Zealand, and still resisted firmly the inroads of European manners[8]

by this, he presumably meant dress. Because of the abundant hot pools, and frequent bathing, almost total nudity in both men and women was not uncommon. He also comments on Ohinemutu

> The pa, which is the finest I have seen in New Zealand, occupies a large surface, which is actually intersected by crevices from which steam issues, by boiling springs, and by mud volcanoes ... The structures in this pa - the houses, doors, and pallisades - displayed the most ingenious pieces of native workmanship. I have nowhere else seen carvings of such profusion, and some of them apparently very old ...[9]

He estimated the population to be about 5,000 - Te Arawa had recovered from the holocaust of less than a generation past. Few travellers

ventured into the lakes region, because Chapman's and Wade's reports of gruesome intertribal warfare, in sickening detail, no doubt discouraged curiosity seekers for a number of years. Little was known, to the European, about the healing qualities and magical beauty of the thermal springs of Waiariki.

What may be one of the earliest accounts on record of these qualities is the letter of Bishop Selwyn, 22 December 1842

> walked to some hot springs a short distance from the station, where we found vast cauldrons of black mud boiling furiously; a little further on was a small brook of milky water, at one place forming a series of cascades ... bathed in the tepid water which was about the usual temperature of a warm bath; a sprain which I had had for some days was entirely removed ....[10]

Because of the described proximity to the Mission Station at Te Ngae, the location was probably Tikitere, whose curative properties Thomas Henry Smith, another guest in 1846, mentioned in a letter to his brother[11]. Governor Grey also realized the place's potential, and his ammanuensis, G.S. Cooper, records

> Here the Governor promised to establish a hospital for the benefit of the natives who visit this part of the country in great numbers for the benefit of the warm sulphur baths for the cure of scrofula and other disease[12]

The promise, however, was never to materialize.

In 1852, another mission station was set up in the district, at Te Mu, by the village of Te Wairoa on the lake, Rotomahana. For health reasons, Chapman moved to Maketu, and he was replaced by Spencer, who chose to establish and work at Te Mu. He engaged two carpenters, who built a house and church, and the Te Ngae station was unoccupied until the appearance of T.H. Smith, a magistrate in 1852. The land nevertheless remained in Church hands.

At Rotomahana were the fabled Pink & White Terraces - Otukapuarangi, and Te Tarata - whose existence were probably not revealed to pakeha eyes until the late 1840's. Over hundreds of years, the mineral-rich

waters trickling and spraying from natural springs had formed layers and layers of silica terraces. They ascended to over a hundred feet, and covered an enormous acreage. Otukapuarangi, the larger one, was a spectrum of lush magenta to faintly pastel pinks; Te Tarata was frosted white, like icey filigree. Such awesome loveliness was used by the local Maori people as a leprosy colony, a place of the diseased and the scourged, a place to die[13].

But the white newcomers did not see it that way. John Johnson, Colonial Physician, made a typical, confident projection -

> Rotomahana would be a most agreeable summer residence - pleasing scenery, riding parties to the lakes, hot and cold bathing, and it may be anticipated at no very distant period when the true character of its waters as remedial agents has been ascertained, and its beautiful localities and salubrious air known, it will be part of the country much resorted to by invalids, and by those whose leisure will permit them to vary their residence[14].

The visual uniqueness of Ohinemutu, though remaining the "most extraordinary pa yet seen" was fast becoming eclipsed by Rotomahana, thus celebrated by Jolliffe

> What a fashionable bathing place would this fairy like spot become, if it were transferred to England[16].

But England, instead, was to come to Rotomahana, effecting enormous changes on Ngati Tuhourangi, the Te Arawa proprietors of the volcanic wonderland. Until 1850, only a few Europeans had gazed upon the beauties of Te Tarata, but in the ensuing decades, there was to occur an accelerating tide, thousands who were to gasp, bathe and wonder, in relentless waves of change.

Both Dieffenbach and Wade noted the fiercely maintained independence of the Maoris of Waiariki, and their resistance to European custom and curiosity. However, a transitional cash economy had been germinated by the coastal flax trade, and it was not long before people realized the value of money - to purchase muskets, and eventually to procure foreign foodstuffs and European garments as well.

Bidwell complains of the costliness of inland travel from Tauranga - seven native bearers had to be paid, and in crossing the lake to Mokoia, and the Chapman residence, he reluctantly, and resentfully, hired twelve extra canoe paddlers, being in no position to bargain.

Other instances of "native extortion" were deplored by pioneer travellers - Johnson, 1847, Smith, 1848, Jolliffe, 1849 - but Russell, an army officer, observes

> Tourists being fair game all over the world, I was well pleased[17].

Johnson and Smith further complain of theft of possessions, which were then sold back to them after much alleged haggling.

Ngati Tuhourangi were fast becoming aware of the tremendous assets of the ngawha across the lake, although the waves of eager tourists had not yet come. The missionaries instilled in them a sense of money, and worth, and European cash value[17], although contact with outside pakeha had been meagre indeed. However, those few travellers who returned to the main settlements of Auckland and the Bay of Islands must have carried marvellous tales of their scenic adventures; the touristic interest generated by these pioneers must have been considerable. And, it presented Te Arawa with the moot question - to whom did these fabled acres of towering silica rightfully belong?

Paerau Mokonuiarangi, a chief of Ngati Rangitihi, had a daughter, Ngakarauna. This much celebrated beauty married Abraham Warbrick, an English flax trader who had settled in Matata, his bride's coastal village, in 1849. Seeing the bounteous possibilities of establishing a Ngati Rangitihi claim to the ngawha of Rotomahana, the entire family moved there in 1853, and built a house close to Te Tarata. Warbrick and Ngakarauna lived there. The complete absence of any other dwellings in that vicinity suggests that it may have been a hallowed environment. Such looming majesty and awe, to the old time Maori was,

I conjecture, best appreciated from afar; friendly and passable during daylight hours, at night no doubt Te Tarata assumed an altogether quite different aspect, magical, yet sinister.

Tuhourangi were incensed by the trespass of Warbrick, and their Ngati Rangitihi kin. They drove him off the land, and destroyed his house. Hearing this, Mokonuiarangi himself was self righteously enraged, reasserted his "rightful" proprietorship, and then challenged Tuhourangi to fight for Te Tarata. A series of pitched battles followed, in which Rangitihi enlisted the support of Ngati Pikiao. They suffered heavy losses, including the chief, Mokonuiarangi himself. More determined than ever now that the war magnified from a land dispute to a matter of blood vengeance, Rangitihi went into battle reinforced by Ngati Whare, as well as Pikiao. Again, they were soundly defeated, but hostilities continued, until June 1854.

Through the dogged efforts of their ageing chief, Hakaraia, (whose name indicated he may have been christened and named for Zacharaiah), warfare eventually ceased. Tuhourangi were finally persuaded to accept the Rangitihi tokens of peace, provided the latter dropped all claims to Te Tarata. Certain high ranking women of Ngati Rangitihi then married chiefs of Tuhourangi, and peace was thus ensured[18].

With this serenity came a new consciousness. Six months later, Chapman described its manifestation, in a letter dated 10 November 1854. A notice board had been erected by the Ohiwa stream, which ran wide across the trail from Te Wairoa to Te Tarata. It read -

> Listen! The payment for crossing Ohiwa is now 8/-. This is the payment, and thats all it is necessary to say[19].

And the flow of Victorian fashion was about to discover Te Tarata; Ferdinand von Hochstetter predicted in 1858

> As these hot springs according to the experience of the natives have proved very effective in the curing of chronic cutaneous disease and rheumatic pains, I have no doubt that, at no very distant period, this remarkable lake will become the centre of attraction not only for tourists of all nations, but also a place for invalids from all parts of the world[20].

Rotomahana, for decades the home of Tuhourangi, for a few years perhaps a well kept secret, was about to become the "eighth natural wonder of the world", in previously inconceivably wealthy merger of native village and tourist resort.

The 1860's were a turbulent period for the newly established British colony. In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed by many Maori chiefs, though Te Arawa representation had been conspicuously absent. This document supposedly ensured the Maori the full rights and privileges of British subjects. However, the Maori felt unprotected, particularly in those fertile regions of Waikato and Taranaki, where the encroaching and steadily increasing numbers of white settlers had already cast covetous eyes. There, Treaty or no Treaty, the issue was greed, and the lawlessness of the invaders.

Because the British ruler had been so failing in her Treaty promises, and after the Constitution Act of 1852 effectively disenfranchised the Maori landowner whose property was communally and not individually owned, enthusiasm was generated in establishing a Maori sovereign. Potatau te Wherowhero was evaluated as King of the Maori people in April 1857, after many months of intertribal negotiation and counselling by Wiremu Tanihana, the statesman of Ngati Haua, and architect of the "King Movement". Potatau himself was the paramount chief of the Waikato people, and related closely to the ariki lineages of other tribes.

To Te Arawa, however, the King Movement had little direct relevance, as the sterile volcanic domains of Waiariki were not immediately covetted by the colonists. Nevertheless, two leading

figures from the Te Arawa canoe grouping of tribes, Te Heuheu Iwikau, of Ngati Tuwharetoa, and Te Amohau, of Ngati Whakaue, were present at the decisive 1856 meeting. Called at Pukawa, on the shores of Lake Taupo in the heart of Tuwharetoa, this historic gathering of chiefs determined that the kingship fell on Potatau. Te Heuheu himself was prominent in elevating him, and Te Hurinui documents these discussions in some detail[21].

By 1860, the lands dispute in Taranaki had intensified, and marital law was proclaimed. A two year truce was agreed upon in 1861, but in the Waikato, troubles were accelerating, and from 1863 to 1865, much fighting between pakeha and Maori occurred. Taranaki rose again under the leadership of Te Ua Haumene, and the Pai marire cult during the mid-1860's.

From 1868 to 1872, another charismatic rebel leader, Te Kooti Rikirangi, defied both colonists and "friendly Maoris". He also withdrew behind the aukati, or boundary, line of the King Country, the southern reaches of the Waikato, where the leaders and supporters of the Kingitanga were to remain while three million acres of their richest land was unjustly confiscated.

During this time, the thermal regions were seldom visited by pakeha. Webb records that by 1865, even Spencer had left Te Wairoa for the comparative safety of Maketu, although Te Arawa were purportedly "loyalists", and had allied themselves with the Queen. The dispute over their involvement, as they did not sign the Treaty, continues today. The most convincing rationale, however, is vengeance, and the settling of old blood feuds and intertribal debts. Kelly and Stafford both record the gruesome battles fought between Te Arawa and Waikato in the earlier half of the nineteenth century[22]. By the time of the Land Wars, the same issues were still unresolved.

Throughout the 1860's, military personnel visited the district. One of the earliest was Lieutenant Stratton Bates, who writes

> There is no other scene, I believe, in which the wondrous and the beautiful are so intimately connected. There can be no doubt that one day this place will attract visitors from all parts of the world, even now there are a considerable number every year, last year there were between 30 and 40[23].

Bates statistics are the earliest yet documented; he also photographed a much more sophisticated notice board outlining rates, which he included in his manuscript.

Four years later, a visiting naval officer, Herbert Meade of the Curacoa, accompanied Governor Grey's party into the interior; it was a daring gesture of goodwill and confidence on Grey's part. Meade's descriptions of the people and the scenery have suffered extensive plagiarization, for their excellence, and impressive eloquence. He vividly describes Ohinemutu, but his most delightful, and evocative, account is of bathing in the Ruapeka Bay

> From every side we heard Maori songs and shouts from the players at some native game; and joyous peals of laughter came ringing along the surface of the water from beyond those misty veils. Apart from these revellers, there were a few groups of staid old men, squatting up to their chins in water, and smoking pipes in conclave solemn. Poihipi, with his jolly face, fat corporation, and lighted pipe looming through the steam, looked the very picture of enjoyment.
>
> We had not been in long, before one of the chiefs called on the girls to come and haka for the strangers, and in a few minutes a number of the prettiest young girls in the settlement were seated in a circle in very shallow water, looking like mermaids, with the moonlight streaming over their wellshaped busts and raven locks. They sang us a wild song, and beat their breasts to the changing time with varied and graceful gestures. Others soon collected around us, the fear of the pakehas, which most of the girls had shown at first, had by this time passed away, and the choruses and songs which followed were joined in by scores of voices.
>
> But ever and again these voices were hushed and stilled, while, with a weird and rushing sound, the great geyser[23] burst from the still waters, rising white and silvery in the moonbeams which shone from the dark outlines of the distant hills, and edashing its feathery sprays against the starry sky ...
>
> The scene was the very incarnation of poetry of living and inanimate nature ...[24]

Meade also visited Rotomahana -

> Anything so fairy-like I should never have dreamt of seeing in nature (and at Te Wairoa) a white skin was so rare a sight as to render a peep (on the part of the Maoris) as quite irresistible[25].

He comments on the absence of liquor, and describes the deserted mission station at Te Wairoa. The Catholic priest had nevertheless remained entrenched, Father Boibeaux maintained a solitary mission between Rotorua and Rotokakahi, since the arrival of Catholicism to the area in 1841, on the Sancta Maria with Father Boyon, and Brother Justin. Catholicism was, however, never to supplant the Anglican church in Waiariki. A more detailed account of the early Catholic missions in the Bay of Plenty, and their varying successes, is given by Gifford and Williams[26].

Towards the end of the decade, with two major areas of conflict seemingly resolved, more travellers came into the thermal regions. The first recorded instance of Maori accommodation houses date from this time, as previously, tourists would be at the hospitality and whim of the Maori hosts and proprietors, who usually provided shelter and some food, but never in a commercially organized manner. Russell states

> We were received by Pererika, and lodged in his house, a very nice, well built one, with beautiful mats. We had our meals at a public, for which we paid a shilling a meal[27].

It is unfortunate that no further mention is made of the public, and that the only publicized account of Maori business involvement in this period is a rather facetious and insulting anecdote taken from the notes of the railways engineer James Stewart[28].

By the final year of this turbulent decade, things were changing in Ohinemutu; Lieutenant-Colonel St John's description of the ruapeka contrasts shrilly with the lyrical narrative of Mead:

> It was always full of Europeans and natives swimming about, racing, diving, ducking each other and

> disporting themselves like so many mermen, and mermaids too; for, clad somewhat after the fashion of Biarritz or Leuk, the dusky beauties of the pa frolicked in the water as gaily as on the shore[29].

The advent of Continental fashion - the Biarritz bathing costume - thus invoked the boom years of Ohinemutu and Rotomahana tourism; the wonders of the Tattooed Rock. Te Tarata, were about to be revealed to the sightseeing world. A period of dynamic prosperity, inconceivable changes, and untold extravagance, was about to spill over the terraces and into the reality of Te Arawa.

Mass tourism was about to begin.

Chapter Three : Touristic Emergence

The Beginnings of Tourism in Hotels, Guide Books, Essential Fees, and How the Natives Related to the Newcomers who were Confused (at first) about Relating to the Natives.

Chapter Three : Touristic Emergence

Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, briefly visited the volcanic regions in 1870, ushering a decade of great change, and presenting Te Arawa with a marble bust of his mother the Queen, Victoria. Supposedly symbolizing the monarch's gratitude for some Maori support during the land wars, this unlikely portrait broods still, above a carved podium on the Papaiouru marae in Ohinemutu.

This village, as a destination area in itself, was becoming more of a stopover point on the route overland to Te Wairoa. Certain facilities were developed by the local people. The Hot Lakes Chronicle of 19 August, 1896, reports -

> At Ohinemutu, travellers could get a whare to sleep in, and that was all. A year or two afterwards, about 1870, Harry Katera opened a wharemanuhiri (guest house) on the banks of the Utuhina stream.

Another account cites -

> There is a fair accommodation for a limited number of travellers to be obtained at the store, which is kept by an enterprising native who is most civil and obliging.

Ari Katera[2] was Maori despite his alias - Harry Carter - and by late 1872 he no longer monopolized the accommodation business. The Hot Lakes Chronicle of 9 September 1899 records -

> The Rotorua Hotel was the second weatherboard building erected in Ohinemutu. It was built about 1872 by the father of Mr W. Rogers, but since that time has been enlarged and improved. It was first donated by Mr Bennett, and came into the possession of Mr & Mrs Morrison about 25 years ago.

Under the Bennett management the Rotorua Hotel fared well - the first liquor licences in the region were introduced there, and thus, Bennett advertized extensively in newspapers and the first popular guide book of the period, Guide to the Hot Lakes, published in Tauranga in 1872.

Travellers were more inclined to patronize the "execrable accommodation" of their own countryman, and with some scathing publicity in its wake, the whare manuhiri closed its doors[3]. Less than a year later, another Maori operation had appeared.

> The accommodation house ... of the Maori - Honi Wharoheka - if you wish to know his name, is a much better place than that of the European we had patronized before. It is a wooden house, kept respectably clean, it stands on a hillside a little above the town, and all its stream and smell[4].

Lyon also observes that Ohinemutu had only two resident Europeans - a storekeeper, and a publican. He mentions the occassional residence of "two or three carpenters" as well. All of these men married women from Ngati Whakaue.

By 1875, two weatherboard hotels were established on the slopes of Pukeroa Hill - the Ohinemutu of Wharoheka, that was to be taken over by Isaac Wilson, and the Bennett establishment. The former became the Lake House, now the Lakes Tavern and still very popular, and Bennett's became Morrison's Family Hotel in 1975.

At Te Wairoa, facilities were comparatively limited until the middle years of the decade. Most travellers stayed at the mission house, and when that was unavailable, would use whatever was vacant, or offered, in the village itself. Although documentation is relatively meagre, it may be assumed that many visitors were catered to by Tuhourangi themselves, on a casual basis. One isolated reference is recorded, of Waretini, who "did his very best for us" in his accommodation facility described in the 1872 Guide. Three years later, another Guide Book was to observe -

> The want of proper accommodation is much felt at this place, the only place at present being a miserable raupo hut presided over by a Frenchman, who, however, is an excellent cook. Since the preceding paragraph was printed Mr Wakeham has opened a comfortable accommodation house. The reason for this discomfort is that the Natives object to a proper European house being built[5].

Tuhourangi remained mindful of the value of Te Tarata, and the development of Te Wairoa, to themselves. Little is known of organized commercial enterprize in the village during the early 1870's, though it doubtlessly existed.

Despite their support of the colonist forces during the land wars, Te Arawa fiercely resisted pakeha efforts to alienate the lands of Waiariki, in the years following the hostile period. At Ohinemutu, the hotel owners were reprieved from more delicate tenant-proprietor relationships by marrying into the tribe itself, but land ownership was nevertheless a constant problem to the aspiring farmer-colonist. The effects of the Native Land Court Legislation of 1865 had yet to hit Waiariki; all of the land was still owned by the hapu, and prospective buyers, or lessees were compelled to deal with a countless number of claimants and owners. The same situation existed at Rotomahana, where ownership of the Terraces had been indisputably established by Ngati Tuhourangi during the hostilities of two decades previously, but it was communal ownership which was yet to be systematized by the colonial judicial process.

Another reason that Te Wairoa persisted so fondly in apparent disorder was that the Tuhourangi themselves were feeling ambivalent about what was happening around them. They enjoyed the cash, gifts, tobacco; they probably even enjoyed the strangers' presence in their kainga, but they also sensed impending change. They may have been bewildered by the desire for gain, in sharing Te Tarata and Otukapuarangi, on the one hand, and by protecting their magic, their matchless beauty on the other. Tuhourangi therefore asserted a jealous sovereignty of the Terraces, and access to them.

European enterprize was not invited, or encouraged, and for a few years the only pakeha in the area, apart from the Missionaries, was the Frenchman Pierre Procope (Buchner, 1876), alias Pierre de

Fangerrand, who kept a small lodging variously named Maison de Paris, and Maison de Repos. He greatly impressed the young painter, Blomfield, who enjoyed his hospitality, and heeded his warnings in 1875, commenting -

> The natives get their living by paddling people over to Rotomahana in canoes. They are very jealous of anyone finding the way by themselves. We had dinner at the Frenchman's ... he warned us the Maoris would not let us go without some bother[6a].

His presence was openly resented, though he was married to a Maori woman. Though rather comic, he copes with local opposition thus -

> Only shoost the other day, I horsevipped a Maori woman I caught setting fire to my house. Dey want all the trade of this place, so they are going to turn me aowt. Dey shall loose a peeg presently. Oh de fowls I have stole from de blackguards[6]!

A curious mode of frontier law seemed to be operating in Te Wairoa.

During the latter half of the 1870's, Maori resistance began to decline, and more pakeha settlers began to venture in. Ngati Tuhourangi themselves were in transition - the traditional patterns of seasonal horticulture, fishing, gathering and birdsnaring, were almost completely broken down. With the reliance on European staple foodstuffs, and the wartime abandonment of flourmills at Te Wairoa, a growing dependance on a cash income emerged.

As loyalist troops, Te Arawa war veterans were entitled to receive military pensions under the Military Pensions Act 1866[7]. The rates were questionably distributed, for although chiefs served as officers, with corresponding responsibility to their pakeha counterparts, they received the same pay as Europeans of much lower rank, and the pay for the Maori rank and file was even less. Yet despite this obvious inequity, the retired fighters of Te Arawa were deplored as "petted" by the Government, who fed and supported them, and this pittance was vociferously resented by the white colonists. The English writer,

Trollope, comments -

> When I asked them how they lived, I was told that they were friendlies, and that therefore the Government fed them. This Maori chief had a salary - and that Maori chief. Then there were men on the roads who received wages - and the sugar and flour policy was prevailing. It might be better to feed them than to have to fight them[8].

Holloway, another colonial traveller, reports the same practise, but the pakeha Maori with whom he discussed the situation was unprintably scathing and caustic in his observations[9].

Poorly controlled immigration, and the extreme greed of colonizing operations like the New Zealand Company resulted in the midcentury arrival of thousand of unskilled, unemployable, but aspiring "farmers", which created a critical period in race relations which was to become a constant seemingly contained New Zealand problem. The main provincial centres - Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin - were burdened with poverty, disease, and chronic unemployment. There was not enough land, opened land, to go around, despite massive confiscations of the Taranki lowlands, and the Waikato Valley[10]. During the war years, thousands of former immigrants left the country, and most of those who remained were to become even more bitter and disillusioned. For a brief period, from 1872-1879, in an ambitious scheme initiated by Premier Vogel, N.Z. bank loans increased from £3.5 million to £13.8 million[11]. This investment was encouraged by the steadily rising population, and the consequently emerging emphasis on "domestic" enterprize, in contrast to the export oriented and extractive economic pursuits of farming and mining. With so much capital available, the colonists turned again to the original landowners - speculation increased, and the Native Land Court was choked with work. In parts of the country where land sales were slow, and Maori opinion contrary to settler expectations, the Maori were condemned as obstinate, primitive, and a troublesome threat to the civilizing tide of colonial progress -

no matter how loyal, or "friendly" they may have been in the previous decade[12].

Greedy for land, and covetous of the spectacular resources of the thermal region, many colonial travellers-turned-settlers were to write with growing contempt and bad grace of the Te Arawa people as Maoris who emphatically refused to sell. The arid volcanic wastelands and rugged interiors of the Bay of Plenty had been ignored by the land speculators among the first waves of immigrants. The region was unproductive, remote, infertile, but with the colonial migrant population reaching 248,000 by 1870, and a burgeoning new generation of homegrown New Zealanders, in-colony entertainments, investment and expansion were essential. New Zealand's oligarchic squattocracy and landshark elite were beginning to contemplate yet again the wonders of Rotomahana.

For those colonials and travellers in the newly found cities and towns, the most likely introduction to, and discovery of, the thermal regions was through the popular contemporary medium of guide books. Between 1872 and 1878, four such publications were available.

The earliest surviving guide, mentioned previously, is the Guide to the Hot Lakes by H.G., printed as a letter to the Editor of the Tauranga Bay of Plenty Times in August 1872. Facing the opening page is a full page advertisement for Thos. Bennett's Rotorua Hotel. The writer describes the journey by horse from Tauranga, via Maketu and Rotoiti, where he encountered "exceedingly ingenious beggars"[13], then on to Ohinemutu, which had an "air of spurious civilization". Accommodation is detailed - the hotel at Maketu, the accommodation house at Ohinemutu, the hostelry of Waretini at Te Wairoa, and the rates for guides and canoe hire. He also describes Waretini -

> He seems already to have got the people about that district under considerable control, or as he himself expresses it in his imperfect English, "Frightened at him"[14].

This Maori is presented as not only entrepreneurial, but also somewhat Europeanized, and in the process of Europeanizing others - a trait not only admirable, but necessary in the Queen's dusky subjects, for assimilation was then very much in vogue. H.G. then recounts the haggle over canoe hireage, finally realizing it was indeed worth "the culmination of our hopes", as he lyricizes -

> How shall I attempt to describe Rotomahana? If photography cannot do it justice, which it does not, how can the effete tracings of my pen soar to the conception of the most remarkable and most beautiful phenomena of nature that I have as yet ever seen in the world. Niagara, with all its grandeur, is after all a gigantic waterfall, and the Yosemite Valley is nothing more than a deep gorge unequalled by any other gorges for wilderness of beauty, but the wonders of Rotomahana stand, as far as I know, by themselves, not only unequalled, but incomparable[15].

He then describes the geology, advises on provisions, and concludes with the homeward journey via Te Ngae, which had a hostelry[16]. He spent time at Maketu, where a haka was reported:

> There is very little dance about it at all; but consists of gestures, sounds and facial expressions all remarkable in themselves, but equally incomprehensible[17].

Little attention is paid the Maori in this guidebook, but much more space is given in a publication of the following year, Chapman's Travellers' Guide throughout the Lake District, 1873, which opens with a pretentious account of the "Maori seasons of New Zealand", and plagiarizes Mead's description of Maori women's beauty. Another sympathetic, and unabashedly positive guidebook was the Handbook to the Bay of Plenty and Guide to the Hot Lakes, published in 1875 by Langbridge and Edgecumbe at the Bay of Plenty Times. This booklet describes the general Bay of Plenty region, and the Lake District is introduced with a Maori legend on the origins of the hot springs, and the first location discussed is the village of Ohinemutu. More legends are narrated, and Tikitere, Whakarewarewa and Tikitapu are recommended, as well as Kaiteriria, and of course the Terraces.

Costs are outlined, but little significant comment is made on the behaviour, customs, or lifestyles of the Maori themselves.

A totally different tone is presented in the Southern Guide of J. Chantry Harris, published in January 1878 for the Union Steam Ship Company. Covering the entire country for the recently arrived shipping concern, this thorough publication from Dunedin reveals the Maori colonist situation in the thermal regions in astonishing detail.

> But for the energy and pluck of the white settlers who, to hold their own and avoid stagnation, have taken the word of the Maoris on trust, have built, planted and will, when the position is better defined and more assured, convert the Ohinemutu plain into a garden of Eden, utter stagnation may have resulted, a visit to the lakes, instead of being one of pleasure, would have been just the reverse, lacking decent accommodation. Why the tenure of land is uncertain at Ohinemutu is just the old question again. Whites ready to buy or lease, Maoris ready to sell or lease, and dozens, or scores, as the case may be, claiming the ownership of the same piece of ground.
>
> It is said the natives have decided not to part with the fee simple at any rate ... The question at present rests entirely between the white squatters and the Maoris. The government will not interfere until its authority is established by the process known as a native court.

The above passage is headlined, the Native Difficulty, and Harris does not miss a chance to indict, criticize and mislead, remarking on how the -

> Charmed circle of the King Country is tapu to outsiders like ourselves[18].

The King Country is South of the Waikato valley, where the supporters of the King Movement had withdrawn and settled. It was absolutely closed to Europeans until John Bryce, the Native Minister -

> Succeeded in detatching the Ngati Maniapoto tribe from the King[19].

in 1883. Close kin to the Kings tribe, Maniapoto were the overall proprietors of the King Country. By his statement, Harris was deliberately comparing the Te Arawa people with those of the King

Movement, probably to reinforce the widely held belief that all Maoris were the same, no matter how loyal they seemed. He further observes that the Maori are "illogical" in their treatment of visitors, and deplores the conservation practices as inconsiderate of the tourists' need and

> a ridiculous course of game preserving scarcely worth the candle[20].

To protect the waterfoul around Lake Rotomahana, hunting was permitted only during certain periods. During the breeding season, the area was especially off limits, much to tourist chagrin.

The Wairoa Hotel earns much lavish praise, though he omits to mention by whom it is owned and operated, and he remarks snidely

> there are two contending factions at Te Wairoa. To neutralize the influence which the possession of the hotel has given to one faction, the other has given a piece of ground to Mr Wilson to encourage the erection of another hotel[20].

But this second hotel was never to be built. Harris also slates Maori-owned facilities and guiding services, warns the reader about "fleecing", and advises the hiring of only pakeha guides. He recommends one Frazer, the Frenchman Peter, and also Loefly, who operated from Taupo, and is the paternal greatgreat grandfather of the present writer. Maori extortion is roundly assailed in the fees for painting and photography, Harris records

> a photographer has to pay five guineas for the privilege of using his camera at Rotomahana, and an artist as much for sketching. The Maori reason for this imposition is that the pictures are taken for sale, and hence a good profit that he has a right to share in is made[20].

Another reason may have been to supplicate the sense of guilt, or fear, Tuhourangi experienced in permitting the pakeha to "steal" the image of Te Tarata, thereby reducing its mauri, or mystical essence. The tone of the guide books increased in disapproval of the burgeoning Maori entreprenourial effort. They realised the value of their assets,

and they were loath to part with them, an attitude which caused friction and impatience on the part of the covetous tourist colonial.

In view of the disruptions foisted unthinkingly upon their traditional economic system by the pakeha colonizers, the Maori people had every right to demand whatever amount they presumed the latter could afford. As it was, they had no summary economic index against which to compare, and thus structure, their fees; and extortion, in itself, is a relative matter.

Considering the distances travelled, the risks taken, and the great costs of transporting baggage, food, and other gear, the Maori rightfully assumed that those travellers who also came equipped to paint, or take photographs, must have been wealthy. Or at least a great deal richer than the more common type of roving colonial - a military man, or a missionary. Prices were usually fixed according to this criteria. No longer a charming, friendly, manipulable savage, the Maori of Te Arawa were becoming a nuisance, and one to reckon with.

A few travellers were, however, more tolerant and sympathetic. One notable account is an anonymous woman's -

> My Maoris behaved admirably, was it because I had a native guide, or was it the case bottle or rum I discovered lying in the boat, and which I took to be belonging to the Maoris. (Mr W.) put it there without my knowledge, in order to secure for me proper behaviour from the natives. I learned that afterwards, when the bill was presented, and felt disappointed, for I fondly believed that the much maligned natives had been so respectful on my own account[21].

And if the truth be known, they probably were.

Liquor was to become more of a problem at Te Wairoa - the practice of making the Maori dependant on alcohol and trade goods, and exacting land as payment, was widespread in the colony[22]. The hotel manager, by this act, was encouraging the consumption of alcohol, not for the

advantage of the traveller herself, but to secure his own gains. This also occurred in Ohinemutu, where the accumulated liquor debts were often paid in carving[22]. This woman also comments that

> indeed, the natives earn their money well

but it is possible that as a visitor to the country, and one with absolutely no expressed intention of remaining as a settler, she viewed the situation with a less jaundiced eye.

Until she married, the Maori woman usually enjoyed considerable sexual freedom. The exception to this was the puhi, a high ranking young woman whose marital future was arranged in the interests of the tribe to confirm peace, or seal political alliances. Betrothal at birth, or during childhood, for political or kinship reasons, also determined sexual activity[23]. But the generally more liberal attitude prevailed throughout Aotearoa, much to the horror or delight of the European newcomers. During the tempestuous whaling period of the early nineteenth century, Kororareka, a small harbour town in the Bay of Islands, became a notorious settlement. Donne states -

> At this time it was the practice to permit single girls to visit the ships and remain on board over night, sometimes for several days; the recompense being a nail, gimlet, chidel, hammer, saw, tomahawk, axe, or gun. It is alleged that a chief, named Pomare, maintained in the Bay of Islands one hundred girls, ninety four to be precise, for the purpose of participating in these maritime picnics[24].

What had formerly been a primarily pleasurable activity changed, with the advent of a cash economy and the impact of European weaponry, to a matter of fiscal gain. The Austrolabe reports[25] that in the earlier days of contact, only slave women were prostituted, and D'Urville notes -

> These poor creatures nearly always handed over to their masters the gains made from their favours, and only kept for themselves the biscuit or food that they managed to procure as an extra[26].

A common term for halfcaste child was "utu pihikete" - the cost of some biscuit. Traffic increased in the Bay of Islands, and prostitution escalated, especially as Nga Puhi armed themselves for war. Augustus Earle, a respected scholar of the period, goes so far as to state that daughters, formerly asphyxiated at birth as unwelcome, were now raised and appreciated for their economic worth[27].

Prostitution was practised openly, and without shame, for traditional Maori attitudes to premarital sex allowed such activity.

> Prostitution is not recognized as a crime, or a disgrace, among unmarried women, and the chiefs come and offer their unmarried sisters or daughters for prostitution, and expect a present in return[28].

It would be therefore safe to assume that prostitution was also practised in Waiariki. The missionaries' influence had subsided on their enforced departure during the war years, and despite any Christian reproach, the sensuous enjoyment of mixed bathing continued.

Only one written account of prostitution in Ohinemutu has surfaced to-date. Written and published in 1878 by a sensitive and most sympathetic German physician, the descriptions are remarkable. He describes his friend's house as -

> A most wonderful testimony of the wellknown iron health of prostitutes in general and the brown ones in particular[29].

And he later declares -

> The principle that exists in most primitive societies, that unmarried women can decide freely over their bodies without being penalised is also found among the Maoris. Very intensive prostitution has developed in Ohinemutu, through the incidence of sexual freedom, and increasing contact with Europeans. However, a type of moral police, organized by the chiefs of the community, prevails, and more than once did I see girls who were loitering picked up bodily, and carried home[29].

This passage would suggest that although the
unlike the Bay of Islands situation, it did

institutionalized economic activity, and was subject to scrutiny and regulation. From the scarcity of documentation, it may be inferred to exist, but it was probably haphazard, disorganized and casually undertaken by the women themselves, and the acceptance of a gift was probably no more than that, the simple acceptance of a gift. Also the prestige of a "turihi" lover may well have been enough, sex being above all else for one's pleasure, and the concept of commercial exchange may have been a remote consideration.

Two accounts from the turn of the century dogmatically refute the existence of any such activity. Both are recorded by Te Arawa people. Hohepa Te Rakei, an eccentric sage of Ngati Rangiteaorere, dictated to Ettie Rout -

> Promiscuity was a deadly sin and severely punished (even by castration), but it was practically non-existent until the Maori came under Christian influence. Inconstancy was exceedingly rare, and prostitution and loveless intercourse unknown[30].

Te Rakei ironically ascribes responsibility for less inhibited sexuality to missionary influence, yet this is exactly what the Christians were struggling to eradicate. His immediate kin were the original proprietors of the mission land at Te Ngae, and his statemen is a curious one.

Makereti, the famous Guide Maggie Papakura, assumed a similarly outraged tone -

> That girl would not dream of having any other man than the one she slept with (was married to). She would not give herself to any pakeha who came along. The Maori did not do this. Such behaviour may occur today under the deteriorating influence of western civilization, but to suggest that such a thing was done in the time of our old people - I emphatically say no! I feel sure, knowing my people as I do, that even at the present day, our Maori women would not sell themselves for money[31].

Biggs[32] states that Makereti has been heavily prejudiced by missionary contact and education, but I speculate she was in a very delicate personal situation. A former native guide, she had married an English

gentleman, settled in Oxford, then divorced him. She was pursuing a degree at the time of writing, and was ever mindful of her position in country society. She thus concedes -

> Some women of the lower type of Maori may have consorted with sailors of a like nature, as certain English women with foreign seamen in this society[33].

Once married, however, a woman assumed a monogamous lifestyle. Adultery was never unnoticed, and almost always penalized. The implications of this interpretation of the traditional status of women in precontact Maori society are far reaching and demand further investigation; but, alas, not in this paper.

Another dimension of tourist dalliance with the Maori is illustrated by Cooper's account of 1871 in Ohinemutu -

> We scattered ourselves amongst the huts. Crawling through the low entrance of one, I seated myself crosslegged in the midst of the family circle, and became popular by the present of a little tobacco, a portion of which, mingled with many compliments I presented to what I imagined to be a young and lovely Maori belle, with a pair of huge and magnificent eyes, her graceful form being wrapped up in a blanket, when to my disgust after a short time I found I was flirting with a boy[34]!

A comparable experience occurred to a seaman in Tahiti -

> One of the mates was very much smitten with a young girl. But what was his surprise, when the performance was ended, and after he had been endeavouring her to go with him on board our ship ... to find that this supposed damsel, when stripped of her theatrical paraphernalia, was a smart and dapper lad[35]!

Little is known of homosexuality as it occurred in traditional Maori society - my informants unanimously assure me that the incidence of it, in both female and male, was marked. Family anecdotes and often comic remembrances, of such people are still shared, the appearance of overt homosexual behaviour being met with frequently reassuring stories about "how you are just like Uncle so and so, he was one ...", and thus the individual is identified and accepted. The

Maori term seems to have been lost, if one ever existed. It is likely, considering the occurrence throughout the Pacific where most Polynesian cultures have a name for it - mahu (Hawaii and Tahiti), fa'afafine (Samoa), fakaleiti (Tonga). Levy has described in sensitive detail the role and activities of the mahu in Tahiti, documenting ethnohistoric background, and the phenomenon within contemporary Tahitian society. He notes minimal distaste and revulsion on the part of his informants, even those who are very Christian; the practice is not regarded as unnatural or deviant[36]. This is one area of research that desperately needs profound and sympathetic investigation by objective indigenous scholars.

That Maori men were quite uninhibited in their physical contact with each other was observed by Roux on the French ship Le Mascarin in 1772.

> These natives are greatly given to embracing each other, but they display in their caresses a most noticeable ferocity. They are strangely fond of kissing each other, and this they do with great intensity - they never weary of admiring our skins, especially their whiteness, but when we permitted them to place their lips, either upon our hands or faces, they sucked the flesh with a surprising greediness (une avidité étonnante)[37].

The subject itself has yet to be objectively scrutinized. That it existed, and continues to exist, seems without doubt, in Waiariki. In 1906, a doggerel poem was published; it indicated varied and available sexual activity for the tourist so inclined[38].

> The guides all "Whakapakeha",
> To make their meaning clearer;
> You whakagirl or whakaboy
> At Whakarewarewa
> But, be your language plain or flowery
> You'd better never "Whakamaori".

Open sexuality and physical enjoyment in Ohinemutu and Te Wairoa were seized by calvinistic, self righteous colonists, and presented as warped confirmation of their own distorted values, enflaming them

further with the moral rightness of their task - to assimilate the Maori people, and acquire their lands.

After the quelling of any organized Maori resistance elsewhere, and the opening of Waiariki, great changes occurred in Ohinemutu and Te Wairoa. Although control of the thermal areas were exercised by Te Arawa, the growing traffic of European visitors also attracted outside economic attention. The stereotype of the comic, incompetent, amusing native totally incapable of managing their own resources began to emerge. Coutts, a travel writer thus describes a Maori resident of Ohinemutu in 1878 -

> He drops down on his hands and knees, and, in this undignified posture, by feeling carefully before him, the Maori will avoid the treacherous pits[39].

And Gilfillan, a tourist, reinforces the image by describing a dance performance as -

> Most disgusting ... yet they were all smiling as if they were doing great wonders[40].

Bunbury, an army officer travelling with the Governor General, further comments -

> I was disappointed to find the natives were broadnosed, thicklipped, tattooed savages[41].

No longer objects of fascination and appeal, except to the overseas visitor on occassion, the Maori people of Rotorua were increasingly regarded as a prolofic nuisance, an obstruction to what some projected as "the great sanatorium of the southern world"[42].

The marked shift in attitude is best demonstrated in Travers' account of Ohinemutu in 1876. A travelling gentleman romanticizes the past, then shoves the reader into his own brutal scenario, which I have decided to cite betow. That he is writing as a pakeha who righteously disclaims any responsibility for the changes, who sees with a blinkered eye, is painfully evident.

> In former days, each dwelling was surrounded by its own pole fence, and was ornamented with specimens of native carving in wood, generally of the most grotesque character, whilst larger ones erected on lofty poles stood among the defensive line of the pallisading ... in these respects, as well as the neatness which was formerly observed by the natives around their dwellings and enclosures, there is a great falling off; and the remains of ruined whares, fragments of cast off clothing, broken bottles, kerosene and sardine cans, old pots and kettles, children in ragged shirts or without any at all, half starving horses, and all kinds of mongrel dogs and squealing pigs - the latter, as they root among the refuse, avoiding, with marvellous ingenuity, the numberless boiling springs and steam holes which occur over the whole surface - appear to occupy every inch of available space, the scene being completed by Maori women preparing food, naked men and boys lying in the open baths, and ancient females squatting on the warm stones used for drying the berries of the tawa. In fact, it is difficult to describe the state of filth and demoralization to which the Maori population of this, and the adjacent settlement at Wairu, are generally sliding; and it is certainly to be regretted that the efforts and self denial of the early missionaries, in their attempt to introduce civilized habits amongst these people, should have been neutralized by the drunkenness and vice into which they have lapsed, as a result of contact with brandy sellers and pakeha Maoris, and from their abandonment of habits of industry in reliance upon extraneous means of support ... but Ohinemutu, though no longer possessing its former characteristics as a famous Maori pa, still affords to the contemplation of the visitor objects of the very highest interest. There is not a square rod of the lower ground that is not occupied by one or more of the hot springs or fumeroles, which give it so peculiar an appearance when the whole area are in high activities. This was the case on the second morning after my arrival there; and as the whares and enclosures, with the people moving about them, were only dimly visible through the dense clouds of steam which rose from all sides, the scene presented a weird appearance to which no mere description can do full justice[43].

Yet Travers himself does full justice to the scene. His very adequate visual record of a village assailed by civilizing contact evokes massive images, and much deeper implications. Ohinemutu remains for him a commendable curiosity, although, alas, a dirty one, and the settlers' role in ravaging the village is but scantily acknowledged.

Instead, Maori demoralization and ineptitude are seized upon and exaggerated. The purpose of such reporting was to subvert any incidence of Maori autonomy and economic assertiveness to the greater

colonial process, and to ensure European economic and political supremacy. To the new pakeha New Zealander, anything else was anathema.

But with Te Arawa, they were in for a big surprise!

Chapter Four : New Township, Nemesis & Recovery

The Township Begins, and Depression Hits; The Leaseholders Retreat, Litigating, and Te Wairoa Flourishes. Other Spas Open, Then All Is Flattened by A Volcanic Eruption. And Recovery Is Slow but Successful.

Chapter Four : New Township & Nemesis

Ohinemutu had become the main commercial and communications centre in the volcanic region by 1880. According to the late Raniera Kingi, a respected elder of Ngati Whakaue -

> The Rotorua area, with its thermal wonders and lakes, was attracting visitors from overseas - the Pink and White Terraces were irresistible. The Government of the day - 1880 - realizing that the district had valuable assets to be exhibited, decided that a town should be founded on a site central to those assets[1].

A number of Europeans had already entered into casual leasehold agreements with the local people; some, such as Thomas Bennett, and James Morrison, hotel proprietors, and the Rogers brothers, Charlie and Willie, drapers and general retailers, had married into the hapu itself. Tapsell describes a flourishing commercial hamlet[2], and Kingi maintains that some form of government intervention, and regulation, would have been advantageous to all parties[3]. The area was also visited by F.J. Moss, the Member of Parliament for Parnell, who supported development of the area, where it was becoming increasingly evident that the facilities offered were by no means adequately meeting the ever-increasing tourist demand. By the later months of 1880, negotiations for a township were soon underway.

A meeting was called on 22 November 1880 between Chief Judge Francis Dart Fenton, of the Maori Land Court[4], and the chiefs of Ngati Whakaue. Fenton proposed the creation of a township, and the setting

> aside of the thermal springs for the benefit of the people of the World. (Hei oranga no nga iwi katoa o te Ao). The creation of a town would mean a resident doctor will be appointed who will investigate the curative properties of the Springs for various ailments ... I know you do not want to sell the land, a lease would be acceptable, but then it

> would have to be for a lengthy period to enable the pakehas to make financial arrangements to meet the necessary commitments. (And further on in the meeting.) The Government is my friend, you are my friends, my hands are clean, unbesmirched by shady dealings in land, which they handle only in respect of my duties as a Judge of the Maori Land Court. If you feel disposed to consider the creation of a Town, choose six representatives to cooperate with me in drawing up conditions for the establishment of a Town[5].

Fenton himself was hardly a sympathetic and trustworthy emissary, as his dealings with the tribes of Waikato and Ngati Whatua reveal; but that is another story[6].

On Fenton's departure from the meeting, six men were appointed by the assembled tribespeople, and on that same day, Rotohiko Haupapa, Chief Administrative Officer of the Komiti-nui-o-Rotorua[7], advised him in writing of the selection of Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke, Pirimi Mataiawhea, Taekata Te Tokoihi, Te Tupara Te Tokoaitua, Tamati Hapimana, and Pererika Ngahuruhuru. They were to immediately commence their deliberation on the township issue with Fenton.

Three days later, Haupapa received a letter from Fenton, submitting the conditions and provisions which he and the other six men had drawn up. Because he wished to return to Auckland in the next few days, Fenton requested that the negotiations with the tribe be expeditious, and that the names of those individuals endorsing the tentative document be submitted to him before his departure. The meeting to ratify the proposal was held, and the suggested conditions and provisions were subsequently approved and adopted. The document was entitled, Agreement for a Township at Obinemutu between Francis Dart Fenton for the Government of New Zealand, and the Chiefs of

Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Rangiwewehi, and Ngati Uenukukopako, the Supposed Owners of the Soil[8].

Over the next few months, the latter phrase, "Supposed Owners of the Soil" became a key issue. Four of the six appointees who had consulted with Fenton were primarily representing Ngati Whakaue; the other two were from Ngati Rangiwewehi, and Ngati Uenukukopako respectively. Although not in actual physical possession of the land in question, both of these hapu had a valid claim in equity, and in kinship qualification. Litigation commenced in the Maori Land Court, held in the Tamatekapua Meeting House, Ohinemutu, on 29 January, 1881. The block of land in dispute was Pukeroa Oruawhata, and its estimated government value was £3,131.

The Court proceedings continued for six months, and Judgement was finally awarded in favour of Ngati Whakaue by Judge John Jermyn Symonds on 28 June 1881, who stated in his address -

> This case cannot be brought under the head of ancestry ... it comes more properly under conquest and occupation[9].

These were recognized as being sufficient grounds for a successful claim, according to the principal of ahi ka, keeping the fires of occupation warm and steady.

Of all the main hapu comprising the Komiti nui o Rotorua - Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Uenukukopako, Ngati Rangiwewehi, Ngati Rangiteaorere, Tuhourangi and Ngati Kea and Tuara, only Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Kea - Tuara were successful. The latter subtribe was awarded land at Tarewa, on the western boundary of the block in dispute, because their occupation had been established long before the arrival of Spenser who noted it in 1843, so it "must be respected"[9]. Ngati Whakaue established occupation and use of the land over many preceding generations, and thus, centuries.

Appended to the judgement is a proclamation by Symonds that the

land under litigation be subject to the Agreement made "between Fenton on the one part, and the chiefs of Ngati Whakaue Ngati Rangiwewehi and Ngati Uenukukopako, on the other". Hearings were to continue for another ten months, on the contentious matter of allocation of shares, and individual ownership of the disputed block. This will be dealt with more fully later in this chapter.

The Government wasted no time in passing the necessary legislation that was to effectively "open up" the thermal regions for capital intensive development. On 24 September 1881, the Thermal Springs Districts Act was passed. The preamble clearly states its intention -

> Whereas it may be advantageous to the colony, and beneficial to the Maori owners of the land in which natural mineral springs and thermal waters exist, that such localities should be opened to colonization and made available to settlement[10].

The Act itself was in operation on the Proclamation of the Township of Rotorua on the 12 October 1881[11]. Within a month, on 15 November 1881, the Ngati Whakaue tribe, through their chiefs Petera te Pukuatua, Eruera Te Uremutu, and Rotohiko Haupapa "confirmed and declared (our) consent" to the 1880 Agreement, in a letter of that date to Fenton, the Chief Judge[12].

The leases offered in the Pukeroa Oruawhata Block were auctioned, after a vigorous government promotional campaign, on 2 March 1882 in Auckland. All the lots were sold, at heady prices to buyers from as far afield as Melbourne and Madras[13]. The anticipated annual income for Ngati Whakaue was £2,750.10.0, and each lease was for a ninety nine year period. Certificate of Title had not yet been issued at the date of the auction, but was temporarily resolved in favour of 280 owners by a Court Order of 27 April 1882. Six hapu, or subtribes within Ngati Whakaue itself, were successful claimants - Tunohopu, Taeotu, Rorooterangi, Rangiwaho, Pukaki, and Hurunga.

However, many people were dissatisfied with the decision, and initiated a further Land Court Hearing which was held on 22 April 1884. It was then acknowledged that as the claimants alleged, all the six hapu of Ngati Whakaue were not equally entitled to the block, Pukeroa Oruawhata, upon which the township was planned. It is recorded that -

> For the sake of convenience, the approximate area of 2,766 acres was then divided into 250 shares, of which each hapu got around 30 shares of 332 acres, until the lot was absorbed[14].

Even that magnanimous decision seems hardly equitable. Lists of names were then drawn up, but nothing further was done until 1888.

The extensive advertising in Australia and New Zealand, and the Government publication of a 36 page pamphlet of maps and plans were to prove themselves a dismal investment. The rent was payable on a half-yearly basis, and the first six months instalment, less £34, was duly paid. The tenants were not as forthcoming the following half year, and in November 1882, the Commissioner of Lands reported that no less than twenty-four lessees had declined to take up their leases, and that of the eighty-four tenants, only twenty-five had paid the rent due, leaving a sum of £1,034 in arrears.

In consideration of these problems, Mr Henry Tacy Clark entered into an Agreement with Ngati Whakaue. He was acting on behalf of the Government, and a document entitled <u>An Agreement between Henry Tacy Clark on the Part of the Government of New Zealand and the Chiefs and People of Ngati Whakaue whose Names have been Admitted by the Native Land Court</u> was drawn up[15]. It endorsed the first Agreement of 1881, except for the third subsection of Section 3 -

> Where it says "the persons who own pieces of land on Pukeroa are to be compensated by allotments in the Town" is to be cancelled also the words of part of Section 8 when it says "If the Maori owners desire to have their pieces partitioned the subdivision must follow the line of the Sections. If the Town or any part thereof is so apportioned the Commissioner or his appointee shall hand over the rents to the several owners" shall also be cancelled and the following substituted[15].

The Agreement described how the rent was to be distributed, pending the final decision of the Native Land Court with regard to the ascertained ownership of the land in question. At the time of this Agreement, litigation regarding the ownership was still in progress.

In May 1883, the first payment of rent by the appointed receivers took place; a sum of £1,400 of the £2,014,15s. collected was paid to certain members of Ngati Whakaue. That only £2,014.15 had been collected reveals that the rent of the March 1883 quarter was also in arrears, as the rent accruing for three half years would have been in excess of £4,000. This left almost £2,000 owing.

A Board of Management for the Township was appointed on 28 March 1883[16], consisting of three men - Rotohiko Haupapa, for Ngati Whakaue, H.W. Brabant, resident Magistrate, and Dr. Hope Lewis, the resident physician. On 2 April 1883, Pukeroa Hill was proclaimed a park subject to the Board's administration, and the £200 in rent was henceforth payable to the Board, and not the Maori owners[17].

The new township was being severely affected by the crippling economic recession of the 1880's. The heady optimism of only the previous year had deflated, and the mood in the new town soured more markedly with each passing week. As one Guide Book states -

> The Government township of "Fentonville" ... has proved a most lamentable failure. It consists of a barren flat, without any firewood, no water at all in summer and a great deal too much of it in winter. The natives agreed to lease this land as a township, in accordance with an agreement between themselves and the Government, for ninety-nine years. The different lots were sold amidst great eclat by the Crown Lands Commissioner in Auckland, and fetched fancy prices in the aggregate, I believe, to the amount of Two Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds a year, but the natives complain bitterly they have never received anything for it yet. When the Hon. Mr Bryce was up there, they made a modest request for a portion of what they thought was legally due them, and informed him that they were starving; in

> fact, they asked him for bread and he gave them a stone - or to them something equally sarcastic - for he gave them some excellent advice, equally cheap and nasty, and the very last thing in all this world they would have thought of doing, viz. : "Get to work and drink less grog!" But my own opinion is that not one in four of the purchasers will pay a second half year's rent for they can clearly see that the town will never be there, but will remain where it is[18].

And from and undated entry in the Vaile Scrapbook in the Auckland Public Library -

> The embryo Rotorua of the future looks as miserable and Godforsaken a place as ever the stupid perversity of man, dressed in a little brief authority, selected for the abode of civilized humanity.

Ohinemutu remained the commercial centre, and the Great World Depression of the 1880's prohibited much investment in the newly subdivided township. Ngati Whakaue, however, were adamant that their grievances be resolved, and the rents paid, although relations between Maori and colonist were becoming more strained, as is evident from the tone of the Guide Book quoted above.

On 19 April 1883, the Attorney General was informed by the Commissioner of Lands that he had been instructed to take steps to recover the rents in arrears. Eighty-four lessees had paid the first instalment of rent, sixty-one had duly signed their leases, twenty-three had not taken up their leases, and only forty-three had paid the second instalment.

The settlement in itself was neither economically viable nor realistic, in view of the financial crisis of the time. Though the Maori participants in the affair were unaware of the true circumstances, the pakehas most likely entered into the arrangement not only duped by distantly dreaming bureaucrats, but also on the greedy assumption that as in Ngapuhi, Ngati Whatua and Ngaitahu, to name a few, the Maori could be easily manipulated. Otherwise, such enormous investment, with so little capital around, was asinine -

and there was a "safe" alternative, a way out. Make long term leases, but withdraw if the going was not good; promises made to Maoris were, after all, probably negotiable.

Consequently, the European tenants also organized themselves, and Hansard records the inception of the Rotorua Leaseholders Defence Association[19]. The principal goal of the organization was to evade payment of the leases, and on 27 July 1883, the Association obtained a legal opinion that the Agreement, and the subsequent leases, were void, and that the leaseholders could not be compelled to pay rent.

On 8 September 1883, the Thermal Springs District Amendment Act was passed, ratifying the Agreement with Clark. It was described in the Attorney General's memorandum to the Auditor General as an "act to remove several legal difficulties in reference to the Rotorua lands". According to Jones -

> The Auditor General expressed the opinion that there could be no doubt that in equity the Government was responsible to the Native owners for the rentals and that they ought for that reason to be recovered with more than usual punctuality. "The arrears", said he, "considering the short term the account had been opened, were enormous, and indicated a system which if continued would be ruinous"[20].

A month later, in 4 October 1883, the Commissioner undertook to institute immediate proceedings for the recovery of all rents outstanding, yet by December 18, that same year, arrears still amounted to £3,236 and chances of their being honoured were very meagre indeed.

Litigation against one tenant, a "test case" continued for a year, from 31 January to 24 December, and although judgement had been given in favour of the Maori plaitiffs, the rent fell still further into arrears and the costs incurred totalled £80.

A deputation of leaseholders then visited the Minister of Lands, who was also Native Minister, Mr Bryce, in 28 January 1885. They were informed that because the land in question was not Crown land, the

Government was in trusteeship of the land to the Maori people involved, and the latter group rightfully expected to receive rent, as had been agreed. To quote Jones –

> The Government were in the position where they were compelled either to take some action to maintain what they had done or they were placing themselves in the position of having deceived the Natives. In conclusion, he said the Government had absolutely no power to break the contract[20].

A similar reply was given to a lessee who saw him on 6 February 1885. The Solicitor General suggested that the leases could be surrendered with the consent of the lessors. After much negotiation, this proved unpracticable, so provisions were made for re-entry for non-payment of rent. This meant that the owners had every right to reclaim the property they had leased out.

Fate took a hand. In 1886, the volcanic peaks of Tarawera erupted. This horrendous disaster, and its social, economic and cultural aftermath in Te Arawa, will be discussed in a latter section. Suffice to say now, that the complete obliteration of Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata, the principal and unfailing assets of the area, was enough to kill an already crippled regional economy.

By 1888 a considerable number of leaseholders had surrendered their leases. About this time, no doubt to salvage their huge investment, the government was investigating the feasibility of purchase of the township site. The Member of Parliament for the district, and Taiwhanga, the Maori Member of the House of Representatives, were lobbying for the Crown to buy the freehold title to the site. Their efforts were soon to bear fruit.

According to the Jones Report, on 29 February 1888, intrinsic evidence suggests that a list based on 1,100 shares, and <u>not</u> the original 250 of the April 1884 Judgement of the Native Land Court, was prepared by Judge Tacy Clark at his Waimate home. There is no record

of this list being drawn up on the Native Land Court Register for that year; the figure of 1,100 was supposedly for use in rent distribution only, rather than in determining individual land interests. To quote from the Jones Report -

> The parties bought and sold on that list of shares, and it cannot now be altered, but it shows that the Natives were not, as should have been done, told the full facts and put on their guard, but were led to believe the finding as to the shares was unassailable[20].

And recalling the words of Raniera Kingi -

> "Whatever irregularities the Government practiced were validated by legislation."[21]

A committee of fifteen or sixteen chiefs were meeting daily to discuss the issues; they seemed unanimous in their desire to sell, and realizing the significance of their decision, "wished to obtain very much more in payment than the Government was prepared to give"[22]. On 3 November 1888, a year before the purchase was made, the Surveyor General commented, after having looked over the site -

> In naming the value for purchase, regard must be had to the hot springs and other attractions in the vicinity which give a prospective value to the block in expectation that it will become a great resort in the future and so create a possible value as the ground is required for residential purposes. On these considerations, I should say it would be worth the Government giving from 30s. to 40s. per acre[23].

This observation, however, would seem in brazen contradiction of the breathlessness and enthusiasm with which the properties had been offered for auction in 1882. However, the destruction of the Pink and White Terraces by the eruption caused a considerable drop in value, as the appeal of the area changed. Mr Bush, the Resident Magistrate, wrote in his books that the Maoris would, in his opinion accept £6,400 - a figure based on the Surveyor General's assessment, and in September, through a Mr Howarth, Solicitor, Ngati Whakaue offered to sell for the sum of £15,000. This price was proposed for the 3,020 acres of the Site -

both Reserve Land, and the land previously leased.

The sale of the township was finally concluded in May 1890, at £8,250 for 1,973 acres, the rest being reserve land. Allocation of the moneys was done on the basis of £7.10 a share, according to Clarke's appointment of February 1888. As the anonymous special correspondent of the Auckland Public Library Vaille Scrapbook declared -

> There is good reason for believing that the Government, although conscious of having committed an egregious blunder, will keep their hands at the plough, and refuse to turn back. They have crossed the Rubicon, and destroyed their bridges and burned their boats. So much the worse for Rotorua[24].

The breathless government dream had turned into an apalling economic nightmare. In 1886, the Gods themselves seemed to have turned against the region's development, with the catharsis of Tarawera. Land covered in arid grey ash, metres thick, now worse than useless - almost to be feared - yet having negotiated for it, the Government could not give it up. They were committed.

During this period of land court hearings, and time-absorbing disputation, much was happening in the wider community of the thermal district. Ohinemutu, as previously stated, remained the principal centre of trade and communications. Other villages and spas were also being opened, and exploited for visitor use. One resort that seemingly developed in isolation was Tikitere, four miles from Te Ngae, and fifteen from Ohinemutu. The curative properties described by Bishop Selwyn in 1842 were soon celebrated -

> We came to the far famed Tikitere, a favourite resort for invalids with chronic complaints. At the time I write there are a good many out there, there are several huts which they rent at a nominal sum, and take their provisions with them[25].

The other mineral springs that welcomed visitor scrutiny were at Whakarewarewa, where a permanent resident community was forming rapidly, the place originally being a resting place for Ngati

Tuhourangi who would travel between their lands in Rotomahana, to the east, and Horohoro - Parekarangi, to the west.

Ohinemutu was still the main point of dispersal and accommodation for the non-Maori visitor to the volcanic regions. Over the decade, the face of the community was to change considerably, and the observations made of the local people were to be recorded, in both glowing, and derogatory terms. However, the latter sentiment tended to prevail, and a mood of racial antagonism tempered with a sense of latter day Victorian prudery is noticed in the writing of that period.

A number of writers described the physical appearance of Ohinemutu; one commented on the absence of fences -

> Accidents did occur from time to time, but fencing was no one's business in particular, and as no Cabinet Member or Bishop had ever been boiled alive, the danger was allowed to remain[26].

and many described the proliferation of carvings that were to disappear over the next decade -

> Many of the whares in this settlement are good specimens of Maori carving, while many separate pieces of carving will be seen lying around rotting, which must be regretted, as the Maoris are fast getting too lazy to do much of that sort of work now[27].

And Lady Gordon-Cumming -

> Only a few pieces of quaint, grotesque old Maori carving lie about the place, rotting on the ground; and none dare carry them away, for their ownership is disputed, and the place is tapu[28].

Another writer of the same period, Kerry-Nicholls also remarks -

> Porticos of curious carvings, old canoes, and grotesque figures in wood lay scattered about in every direction, and one was apt to wonder how it was that they had not been destroyed or carted off to grace some antiquarian museum as relics of a rude art that is fast falling into decay[29].

The antiquarian collectors were to claim their booty soon enough, sale of Maori artifacts and carvings was rife; as cheaply purchased "artificial curiosities", they are now in museums and private collections throughout the world[30]. One example is the carved house of Te Wairoa, Hinemihi, purchased by Lord Onslow, Governor General of New Zealand, for £50, in 1892, and reconstructed on his Hampshire estate.

Guide books also recommended that the village be looked over; one emphasizes -

> Visitors will do well to inspect them (whares) and their people, who are pleased at such visits[31].

However, the village itself, despite an "air of spurious civilization"[32] was seldom praised; Herries declared the accommodation was "quite the worst I have been into in the colony"[33], and Payton, an artist and popular travel writer of the period, comments on "some six to eight stores in Ohinemutu, where a little of everything is sold to the natives at exorbitant prices"[34]. Of the people, Payton has much to say -

> A more frolicsome, light hearted, happy set of people I have never met that these Ohinemutu Maoris. I have seen many different tribes over New Zealand, but I never saw any of them who seemed to enjoy life so thoroughly as the dwellers of the hot springs; the whole place seems to be in a kind of perpetual holiday state ... Most of their property belongs to the tribe, not to individuals[35].

Intercourse between pakeha and Maori was still occasionally bitter, and the pioneer traveller's perception of the Ohinemutu Maori was in marked contrast to Payton -

> The fact is, the Maoris of Ohinemutu have been hopelessly demoralized by contact with the pakeha, and are rapidly degenerating into the worst possible types of the native race. The patronage of the Government, and the extravagances of the tourists, have completely debauched them, and comparing these spiritless wretches with their ancestors, one is forced

to the conclusion that -

> 'When wild in the woods, the Maori savage ran, he was a better and a nobler man.'[36]

Despite uneasy relations with recently arrived immigrants, and the first generation of white New Zealanders, the Maori of Ohinemutu still fascinated the travelling foreign pakeha. With the all-absorbing matters of land litigation underway, and continuing through out the decade, there was little realization of an intensive tourist-oriented development in Ohinemutu, as there was at Te Wairoa. Although Ngati Whakaue were not absolutely content to remain merely custodians of the watering place, and stopover point for those en route to Rotomahana, they remained patiently aware that once the township itself were established as a successful venture, they would be rich beyond their wildest dreams, and command much mana, and respect. But such was not to be granted easily.

Rotomahana was becoming a vastly popular resort, one such as Addison describes -

> Where possible, an amphitheatre of hills was expected in the background, romantically broken by rocks that were a trifle too stagey in effect, shaded by tree, equally theatrical, which afforded the 'pleasant shade', and 'pleasing prospects' so dear to the eighteenth century heart[37].

Te Tarata was perfect raw material for the scenario that those afflicted with a mid-Victorian "spa sensibility" most appreciated.

Ownership of the wonderland had been established in 1882, in a Native Land Court Judgement of 26 June -

> With reference to Rotomahana, and the adjacent hot springs. It appears that as Tuhourangi have for many years held possession in spite of many the attempts to eject them, it is not right that they should be dispossessed now, and for this reason, the court awards Rotomahana and all those portions ... to the tribe of Tuhourangi[38].

Many changes had occurred in Te Wairoa, the village from which one set off on the final seven mile journey to the fabled terraces.

The Newest Guide to the Hot Lakes by a Man Constantly in Hot Water states that the Rotomahana Hotel of McRae was the only one in the district. "Luxuriantly furnished throughout"[39], this hotel had the monopoly of tourist accommodation. Waretini, and the rival establishment mentioned in a previous chapter, were eclipsed by the more recent pakeha entrepeneur. Ngati Tuhourangi were also in a state of transition - two observers note:

> Among the buildings, the flour mill, erected by the missionaries forty years ago, is conspicuous; but as it is not used now, it is falling into decay, the natives having ceased to grind the golden grain, preferring to cultivate the acquaintance of the pakeha, and see what amount of gold they can grind out of him instead[40].

> The natives appear to be robust and healthy, and I noticed among the men some very find specimens of the noble savage ... but in these degenerate days they have a marked predilection for raw rum and strong tobacco. They formerly tilled the soil but now they are not by any means industrious, although they fish in Tarawera sometimes ... and in the proper season they reap a fair harvest by "interviewing" tourists ...[41]

Whatever fragile transitional structure based on flour milling the tribe had evolved after the missionaries settled in their midst was gradually disrupted with the colonial hostilities in other parts of the island, and the departure of most of the ablebodied men as volunteers in the Arawa Flying Column that ostensibly supported the British queen. The 1880's witnessed the inward expansion of colonial mercantilism as well, so that the subsistent, and modestly commercial wheat growing and milling efforts introduced by the Spencer family were easily undermined. The flour mills fell into disuse, and disrepair. Although there occurred a growing dependance on European trade goods - blankets, sugar, steel tool and white flour - cultivation of the visitor for a cash reward seemed a most obvious, logical, and healthy development.

The voyage to the terraces was still rugged, although amenities

had been improved since the seventies. Senior notes in 1880 -

> Two years ago, the voyage was made in a very low type canoe, a mere dug out - now, a capital whaleboat, and two other craft of similar capacity[42].

Many writers of the period describe the types of canoes and boats used[43] and the Newest Guide presents the clearest indication of what the tourist was to expect -

> First of all, provide yourself with an old pair of boots or slippers, as the warm water is constantly trickling over the terraces, and if you go with a good pair of boots, they will not be worth much on your return. Now, having embarked for the Terraces, nothing can be more pleasant than the pull across Lake Tarawera, the distance is only seven miles, and the majority of tourists wish it were twice as long, as the Maoris keep them amused singing their weird-like songs as they keep time with their oars. The boat generally calls in at a Maori settlement halfway ... Having arrived at the other side if Lake Tarawera we come to the Kaiwaka stream, which is quite warm and acrid. Ladies and invalids only are expected to go up this river in the canoe, as it is a laborious journey for the pullers, and every additional pound weight tells; the distance is about a mile[44].

From the number of signatures written in lead pencil on the slopes of the White Terrace, Otukapuarangi, it was evident many hundreds of people had visited Te Wairoa, and Rotomahana; their scrawlings had "darkened and degraded into a common visitors' book"[45], and Payton records one feature which was "a disgrace to the English tourist"; the terrace was defaced with literally hundreds of names. At the time of his visit, selected pieces were sold by Tuhourangi for 2/6 each, and a notice nearby read -

> Anyone trying to chip a piece of the enamel as a specimen, or writing his name on the Terrace, is fined £20[46].

Whether or not that warning was enforced is now unknown, but from the attitudes expressed by other travellers regarding what they loudly considered extortionate Maori greed, it is doubtful that Tuhourangi benefitted much at all from these extra sources of touristic revenue.

Both Payton and Thorpe Talbot talk of Huruwhenua, a mythical taipo, or water monster that lived near a large stone situated at Te Ariki, the halfway point to the Terraces, on the Lake Tarawera shore. Silver coins were to be deposited to appease the demon's wrath; otherwise there was every chance the vessel might be overturned on the water, possibly in the annoyed frustration of her paddlers! Another aspect of the ferrying of the tourists to the Te Tarata was the fuelling of the paddlers with rum. A practice initiated by travellers in the previous decade, by 1885, it was expected as part of the hireage fee[47]. While seriously doubting its advantages, the tourists nevertheless still treated the paddlers to a bottle, only to complain, in retrospect, about their services[48].

By 1880, the costs for hiring transport and guide's services to Te Tarata were becoming more stabilized. Senior[49] mentions a "printed scale of charges at the hotel", and both Spencer's Guide and the Newest Guide include a comprehensive listing of the fees scale; though they were both published the same year, it is interesting to note that each one has different charges (see Appendix). Payton remarks:

> There are the guide's fees (12s.), fees for admission to the terraces, canoe up the Kaiwaka, canoe on Rotomahana, and various other little charges ingeniously introduced, which may run up the day's expenses to some £2 or more for each person. But it is cheap at any price[50].

Extra remuneration was expected for the taking of photographs and the painting, or sketching of pictures, much to the chagrin of the visiting tourist. Many tourists went to great lengths to evade this issue; one account is given by Gordon-Cumming, who smugly describes how she and her party of fourteen whites successfully secreted all their equipment out of Te Wairoa, pondering meanwhile on the Maoris' allegation -

> They said it was certain I should make a fortune by showing these pictures in Auckland, perhaps even in Britain, where they, the owners of the place, would have no share in the profits[51].

The fee asked at this time, and by public notice, was £5.

Apart from the whaleboats and canoe hire, the Ngati Tuhourangi were also active in other aspects of tourist entrepreneurship. Concert entertainment and dance were one such form; I intend to discuss the evolution and development of the concert parties, and the experiences of the Maori entertainment world in the second section of this study.

Certain activities were nevertheless offered in the Te Wairoa of the 1880's; similar performances were also staged in a much more sporadic manner in Ohinemutu. Sir William Herries says of Te Wairoa -

> We got there about six ... then went out to the Maori meeting house and saw them dance a Haka, as they call the native dance. It is danced in two lines, women in front and men behind, and consists in various contortions of the body, pointing of fingers, and other actions, accompanied by a sort of Gregorian chants and groans. For this we paid one sovereign. It was, however, well worth it[52].

Spencer disagrees:

> Hinemihi, the carved meeting house, and where the haka, or Maori dance is performed before the admiring gaze of gentlemen tourists, is worth a visit, not however, to see the dance, which is only what might be expected from a primitive race, who have no idea of the delicate organization of the civilized races[53].

The gentlemen tourists gaze was nevertheless "admiring", and part of the unwritten lore of old Te Wairoa relates the beauty of "Hinemihi Of The Golden Eyes" - the wealth of the Tuhourangi was such that instead of regular paua shell inlay, the eyes of the poupou, or carved panels lining the wharenui walls, were fashioned from gold sovereigns.

Thorpe Talbot, in her guidebook, was typically admonishing -

> (At the Temple) the natives are willing to perform the haka for visitors who are willing to pay for that exhibition. We did not see it, but we heard quite enough about it to feel justified in saying that it is every white man's duty to suppress rather than encourage it. Excited by rum and pakeha approval, the dancers often bring this haka to a pitch of indescribable indency, and the result of it often is a filthy, drunken orgy of several days duration[54].

An American social commentator endorses her remarks within the same paragraph -

> More evil was wrought among those at Te Wairoa by the injudicious encouragement of the haka than by any other means almost. There are innocent hakas, the performance of which would harm nobody but at Wairoa these indecent ones are more frequently exceeded than not, and the result is often unlimited drunkenness and immorality[55].

Perhaps these observations were made tongue in cheek, for to the jaded Victorian palate, such an offering would seem irresistible!

Charles Blomfield spent six weeks camping with his eight year old daughter Mary at Rotomahana, in the summer of 1884-85. During this time, he painted the Terraces, capturing much of their beauty and magic, and he commented a few years later -

> The tourists came every week day, from ten to thirty of them, mostly moneyed people, from all parts of the world[56].

This observation reveals the volume of traffic, at least over the warmest months of the year, at that time. It was not at all inconsiderable.

Personalities had also emerged, dominating the tourist scene, as unique and intriguing to the tourist, as the Terraces themselves. One such person was the old chief, Tamihana Te Rangiheua, alias "Thompson the Thundercloud" but the two most outstanding, and in many ways entrepreneurial characters were the guides, Sophia and Kate. The Newest Guide describes them -

> There are two appointed by the Tuhourangi tribe, viz., Sophia and Kate, half castes and ladies of mature years. They both speak English fluently and take the greatest care of the tourists committed to their charge[57].

More will be discussed in the later section on women in the tourist experience in Te Arawa; suffice now to say that both Kate and Sophia were of Tuhourangi descent, and were answerable, according to the guide books, to the tribe itself. Sophia was particularly interesting; she was daughter of Alexander Grey, a Scotsman, and Hinerangi, and she was born in Kororareka, the Bay of Islands in 1830. That her mother was of Te Arawa lineage suggests that she may have been one of the young women taken north by the Ngapuhi marauders of 1823. But a lot can happen in seven years!

Sophia was also a matakite, or visionary. Talbot Thorpe writes in 1882:

> About a year ago, the water in Tarawera suddenly changed colour, and became nauseous and unwholesome. There was some corresponding disturbance in Rotokakahi too, and the creek between rose rapidly to such a height that the natives were alarmed, and apprehensive of a flood, swarmed up the hills and waited till it subsided again. Sophia asserts that she saw a great lizard struggling up the creek to Rotokakahi on the morning after the disturbance, but, as no one else saw it, she cannot prove the truth of her vision[58].

Later in the decade, she was again to perceive an omen of impending doom; this time, it was affirmed.

The gift of matakite, or second sight, was not uncommon in the Maori world. Operating on a much simpler level than the sophisticated arts of divination practise by the tohunga, it was claimed by a number of people of all ages and statuses, and was not as greatly feared. Whereas those with most awesome gifts became tohunga, by the rigorous discipline of the whare wananga, for ordinary folk, matakite was a part of everyday life. News of impending doom, rediscovery of lost articles, sexing of an unborn child, were some of the attributes of a person with matakite. As missionization intensified, the matakite experience became misunderstood, and even

unwelcome. Fear clouded one's visions. But they continued to occur, and have persisted to this day, most often surfacing in families of noted tohunga ancestry.

Of the many personalities who lived at Te Tarata, one of the most feared and respected was the ancient tohunga, Tuhoto Ariki. Descended from the great twelfth century sorceror Tama o hoi, whom Ngatoroirangi interred within the cleft of Tarawera itself, Tuhoto was apparently cynical of the new developments around his village, and the sacred places of Te Tarata and Otukapuarangi. According to Jenkin -

> He was forever haranguing the Tuhourangi about their way of life, how they had succumbed to the white man's drink, and how their whole life had become based on money and tourism. Gold sovereigns had even replaced the usual paua for the eyes of the carved ancestors in the meeting house[59].

Stories are also told of how Tuhoto quarelled with some of his younger relatives[60], whatever the case may be, the old sage was often held responsible for the calamity that was to occur.

The three peaks which loomed over Rotomahana - Tarawera, Ruawahia, and Wahanga - were ancient burial places of the Ngati Tuhourangi. Like Te Tarata, they were venerated, but even more, they were intensely tapu - forbidden to everyday traffic, approachable only at the time of burial, when the deceased would be folded carefully into one of the myriad caves and creases that textured the mountain slopes. As more tourists arrived every season, the likelihood of their wishing to explore the "pleasing prospects" in the vicinity increased. Such activities probably did occur, and created more confusion, and consternation than ever before.

During the winter of 1886, according to Jenkin[61], typhoid fever was present in the village, and thirteen Maoris had died of it in seven weeks. There was also a noticeable fluctuation in the water levels of the lake which were commented on by a Melbourne tourist and

physician some time later. But the most potent augury of the coming disaster was the apparition, on the lake, of a phantom canoe.

Many versions of this apparition have been recorded. Sophia and another guide, Kate, had each guided out a canoe of visitors. With Sophia were six Maori paddlers, another Maori woman, Father Kelliher, Dr. Ralph of Melbourne, Willie Quick, and the Sise family; the accounts from this boat were the most publicized. Mrs Sise wrote to her son -

> After sailing for some time we saw in the distance a large boat looking glorious in the mist and sunlight. It was full of Maoris, some standing up, and it was near enough to me to see the sun glittering on the paddles. The boat was hailed, but returned no answer. We thought so little of it at the time that Dr. Ralph did not even turn to look at the canoe and until our return to Te Wairoa in the evening we never gave it another thought. Then to our surprise we found the Maoris in great excitement and heard ... that no such boat had ever been on the lake[63].

Mr Sise later declared that he had seen nine figures in the craft, three of whom were standing. Quick's testimony is detailed by Warbrick -

> The strange craft was approaching the boats, whose people could see the crew's heads and bodies bowing and rising in the action of paddling. The courses of the canoe and boats converged until the waka taua was about a mile distant. It appeared to have 12 or 13 people in it. Then, all at once, the war canoe vanished. It melted away like a mirage ...[64]

But what Sophia saw was by far the most sinister spectacle of them all:

> We pulled away about a mile when I looked around and saw a small canoe with one man in it come from under a Christmas tree. We thought it was someone going to catch kouras (a species of fresh water crayfish) and the men said 'Look, there is someone going to catch kouras', but as we looked the canoe got larger and shot out of the lake, and then from one man the number increased to five, they were all paddling fast, fast, and to our horror they appeared to have dogs' heads on the bodies of men. Then the canoe got larger till it looked like a war canoe, and then we saw thirteen in it all paddling faster and faster. Whilst we were watching astonished and terrified (for the boatmen had stopped rowing) the canoe got smaller until only five men were left, and at last there remained but one very big man, the canoe got still smaller and then with the

> last remaining man disappeared into the waters of the lake[65].

For generations, the lakeside dwellers of Ngati Tuhourangi had been aware of the tradition of the waka wairua, the appearance of a canoe of death, warning of impending catastrophe for the people of the Rotomahana region. Returning to the village, Sophia approached the tohunga Tuhoto Ariki for his interpretation of the phenomenon -

> "He tohu tena? He aha te tohu o tera waka?"
> "He tohu tera, ara, ka horo katoa tenei takiwa ..."
> "Is that an omen? What does it mean?"
> "It is indeed an omen; a warning that this entire region will soon be overwhelmed."[66]

Ten days later the triple peaks of Tarawera, Ruawahia and Wahanga erupted, obliterating the glories of Te Tarata and Otukapuarangi forever, destroying the kainga of Moura and Te Ariki, and claiming at least one hundred and fifty lives, seven of whom were European. Two outstanding Maori accounts, in English, record that dreadful night. Sophia tells her story -

> At 12.30 a.m. the noise seemed to get louder, the thundering and booming with explosions, and a continuous vibrating sound like hm, hm, hm. It was as light as day - yes, lady, almost like the sun that is now shining on us. The light came from the crater. Then an apalling crash, and my old man shouted to me 'Haere mai, e tai, kei te wera te ao' (come and see, the world is going to be burnt).
> "Lady, it was a grand and awful sight; Tarawera in flames rising into the sky, the red hot stones and lava pouring down its sides, the beautiful lake glowing in a blaze of light, all bright like noonday, and the surrounding bush nearest the mountain in flames. A great wind too came rushing down the Wairoa valley towards the eruption, and so the splendid forest was blown down and quite destroyed. At 1.30 a.m. a big black cloud came over Tarawera, settling over it black as the darkest night; and then we sat in my whare waiting, as we thought, for the last moment to come. "We could hear the people come crawling along the little pathway, groping their way up the hill, for they could not see, for there was not a ray of light, only the blackest darkness, such as I had never seen before or since[67].

By quick thinking and organization, and the bolstering of the house frame with extra props and timber, Sophia's whare saved the lives of sixty-two

people, while calamity rained down upon their papakainga.

Meanwhile, camping in the forest of Makaiti, near Rotomahana, Alfred Warbrick was out with a pigeon shooting party. His narrative also demands extensive quotation -

> ... we were amazed at the sight that met our gaze. The whole country round was lighted up by an unearthy glare and glow. "The sky is all on fire" yelled one of the men, as he put his head out.
> I saw instantly that Tarawera mountain, right in front of us across the lake, had burst into eruption. Our camp was on the edge of the bush directly facing the lake, which lay considerably below us, and on its further shore was the mountain apparently in blaze. It sent up sheets of flaming matter to an enormous height, great quivering masses of fire. The flames went up in quick spasms of expulsion. White-hot ash and stones and debris were hurled far into the sky. The ground was rolling, the shaking and jumping were ceaseless. We could not stand up without holding onto something. We clung to the front of the slab whare. We tried to speak to each other, but our voices were quite inaudible amid that terrific roar.
> I was well acquainted with the topography of Tarawera and I saw that the mountain was vomitting flames and glowing rock and ash from four distinct places. Wahanga was the nearest to us, the bold battlemented peak overlooking the lake. As I watched that sacred burial mountain of our ancestors rent asunder, throwing forth its flames and rocks, I thought of my mother who had been laid to rest in the cave on its shoulder and of the innumerable dead whose last home was shattered and hurled aloft in that fearful blast. Wahanga was the first centre of volcanic explosion, then came two distinct points of eruption on Ruawahia, the middle peak, and on Tarawera, the furtherest peak, overlooking Rotomahana, there also developed a flaming crater.
> As I watched this fearful spectacle, there was a thundering roar of still greater intensity, if such were conceivable, and I saw the south end of Tarawera peak split right down and open up, vomitting forth an immense volume of flame. We could not see then the dire direction of the split, but the fact was that the explosion burst a great rift right down into Lake Rotomahana and up three miles towards the southwest. The whole of that huge earthquake rift and the volcanic craters from Wahanga to the present site of Waimangu were belching into the sky liquid ash and incandescent rocks ...
> As we watched, the flames from the crater gradually died down; they disappeared, and all was darkness[68].

Warbrick and his party returned through the wasteland to Rotorua, and Ohinemutu, then organized a rescue expedition in the devastated area. This operation, and his experiences, are graphically described in his biography, and other peoples' stories of the eruption have been published elsewhere[69]. Much emphasis is on the plight of the small and largely insignificant pakeha population, and their losses; this piece of writing intends primarily to examine the Maori perspective, and more particularly the Tuhourangi perceptions of the holocaust.

Many scores of people had sheltered in the bosom of Hinemihi, She of the Golden Eyes, and survived to tell the tale in Ohinemutu; oral history relates that the aitua or disaster was punishment for the people's neglect of te taha Maori; for their courting of the pakeha, commercial ways; others firmly believed that the old sage, Tuhoto, had invoked praeternatural forces to bewitch the people, and redirect their path.

Alone in his simple whare, and buried beneath layers of lava and volcanic mud, he was found alive, alert, communicative, by Warbrick's party four days later. His survival convinced the people that he was responsible for invoking the disaster; and the old man resigned himself to death. On the shearing of his hair by the officiously insensitive medical staff at the hospital, Tuhoto passed on to his forebears ten days later, two weeks after the eruption. It is said that in losing his hair, in having his most sacred personal aspect so trespassed upon, he willed himself to death[70].

Of great interest is the oral history and epithet concerning this disaster. Many people of non-Tuhourangi descent suggest that the Gods of the Maori were punishing the Tuhourangi for their wayward use of what was one of the most sacrosanct wahi tapu in the region[71]. Others claim that the rahui muru - the waterfoul conservation system adhered to until the early 1880's[72] - were no longer observed, and the pakeha

and his money were increasing dangerously in their influence and power. Such infringements of the traditional laws of tapu, as these were, would inevitably bring down the wrath of the Gods.

According to some records of the period, however, the contriteness of Ngati Tuhourangi seemed surprizingly shortlived. The Vaile notebooks declare -

> Life at Ohinemutu has resumed its normal condition of phlegmatic placidity ... Men eat and drink and work and play as if there had been no eruption, as if the green tinted waters of Rotomahana still shimmered in the sunlight and Te Tarata and Te Otukapuarangi stood, as they stood of yore, in all their pristine loveliness, a petrified dream of fairyland[73].

The writer then speculates that in the remains of the catastrophe itself there are still sights to be seen, and marvels to visit.

Whakarewarewa thus came into its own. Previous to the eruption, however, evidence of commercial tourist activity is recorded. Morton noted in 1878 -

> At the entrance was a stile guarded by an old Maori lady who made a charge of "one herin" for passing[74].

Both Senior[75] and Talbot[76] also comment on the shilling toll which was still charged in 1885 -

> About two miles from Ohinemutu is Whakarewarewa, famous for its geysers, mineral baths and boiling mud holes, etc. The driver generally calls in here on his way to Wairoa, if requested to do so. For the small charge of a shilling per head the Maoris will show you all over the place. I have seen geysers at Whakarewarewa spout as high as fifty feet or more[77].

It is popular knowledge amongst the people of Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi that Tuhourangi resettled at Whakarewarewa, having chosen to move from the site of so much tragedy and destruction. One very misleading belief, often thrown by Ngati Whakaue in the face of their less fortunate cousins, is that Ngati Whakaue were, before the eruption of Tarawera, actually the proprietors of Whakarewarewa, the

ngawha springs below Pohaturoa. Maori land court documentation establishes that this is not quite so; both subtribes were entitled to the disputed land. At the definitive land court hearing in Rotorua, October 1893, some time after the eruption -

> Judgement in the Whakarewarewa block was given yesterday afternoon, and was the occasion of considerable excitement on the part of the natives. The Court awarded five sixths of the block to Ngati Whakaue, the Tuhourangi having to be content with one sixth[77].

However, Tuhourangi had been occupying Whakarewarewa by right of ancestral claim before the Tarawera calamity, and the gifting of that block by Ngati Whakaue is based to a certain degree in fact, but is not completely true. As the judge remarked in the litigation for the blocks of Rotomahana-Parekarangi, when ownership of the Terraces was disputed in 1882 -

> The size of the block claimed by Tuhourangi has exercised the mind of the Court most of all for it is impossible to say where Ngati Whakaue end, and where Tuhourangi begin ...[78]

Further illustration is best seen in a simplified genealogical table -

RANGITIHI
|
TUHOURANGI
|
UENUKUKOPAKO
|
WHAKAUE

The vagaries of war, mobility and fortune had differing effects on those descent groups which were identified from either ancestor; by the time of European contact, Ngati Whakaue had become the more ascendant power.

Writers of the period were also to voice critical and scathing judgement of the mercenary behaviour of the Maori people; some writers delight in describing how they avoided paying the toll. Gordon Cummings is one such example; others are merely judgemental and derogatory[79]. Whakarewarewa was to experience more intensive tourist development, however, as the town and two villages moved into the last

decade of the nineteenth century, and breathlessly approached the onset of the third millenium.

****

During the period of establishing the township, another, related development was initiated - the opening, and purchase of huge blocks of land between Cambridge and Rotorua, for the purpose of opening a railway. In 1881, a business syndicate based in Auckland, the Patetere Association, named for the landblocks in which they expressed interest, purchased 260,000 acres of land[80]. The projected success of the town was dependant upon the opening of the thermal regions to the larger port and burgeoning metropolis of Auckland. The Government subsequently obliged, with the passing of the Railways Construction and Lands Act in 1881, and the Thames Valley and Rotorua Railway Company was set up. Ngati Whakaue sold twenty thousand acres to the Crown, and a further area of ten thousand acres were gifted, as railway reserve. This acreage, however, is still under dispute; documentation remains obscure and inaccessible, and further investigation of the current government ownership is still necessary. Government claim was disputed by Ngati Whakaue in 1885, but their allegations were summarily dismissed by the Minister himself, Ballance, in a February visit that same year[81].

The recession, and the Tarawera calamity, nevertheless affected the new venture. The railway was not completed until 1894, and it was opened 8 December 1894, with the arrival, from Auckland, of a thirteen carriage locomotive, named Te Arawa, and lavish festivities. Reaction to the railway was mixed; the editorial of the Hot Lakes Chronicle for 7 November 1894 declares -

> The outlook for tradespeople is, we are sorry to say, anything but bright. The opening of the line will simply bring them into more direct competition with Auckland, and we all know what that means ... do not let us be expecting a great deal, at least for some years to come, for, if we do, great will be our disappointment.

Despite such doomsday prophecy, tourism continued to flourish. An Auckland entrepreneur, Nelson, leased some property near the geyser reserve of Whakarewarewa, and built the famous Geyser Hotel, which incorporated much Maori design and motif. He also hired the services of prominent local master carvers, which will be discussed in a later section.

Entrance to the geysers was possible only on the payment of a toll, exacted by a vigilant member of Ngati Tuhourangi. This was, however, soon to change. The Hot Lakes Chronicle and Tourist's Journal reports -

> His Honour Judge Wilson gave his award as to the deposition of the Whakarewarewa Block No. 3 yesterday. The Natives have been awarded 58 acres in the centre of the Block from the Puarenga river to the Southern boundary containing the Oil Bath, the old native burying ground on top of the hill, and the cooking and washing pools - in fact, the whole of the area on which their whares stand. The bridge also crosses the creek into their ground, but right of way to Crown portions on either side is reserved. The portion awarded to the Crown contains 157 acres, and contains the whole of the geysers and other natural wonders on the western side of the native ground, and on the eastern side, TURIKORE, or the SPOUT BATH, and other springs. The award may be regarded as satisfactory, as it ensures the continued presence of the natives on the ground. This in itself is a source of the greatest interest to tourists who seem never tired of watching the peculiar customs and manners of the "MAORI AT HOME". The abolition of the toll will follow in due course, but it is not likely that this will be interfered with during the present season. Even after the toll is abolished the majority of tourists visiting the place will not begrudge the Native who guides them around a trifling fee for his trouble.
>
> January 1896

The same newspaper notes that with Government ownership, a tighter control would be placed upon the nefarious activities of "relic

hunting tourists", although the Maoris had exercised a restraining influence. The famous personality from Rotomahana, Guide Sophia, was appointed the official caretaker, and with Ngati Tuhourangi, she established the system of guiding that will be reviewed in the chapter dealing with women and tourism.

The presence, and entrepreneurship of Sophia herself excited some objection among the Whakarewarewa people who had established themselves as guides in and proprietors of the geyser valley long before the eruption. Corkill[82] discusses this in some detail. By 1896, however, Sophia is once again a dominating tourist personality -

> Fortunate the visitor who manages to secure her attendance in his peregrinations among the marvels of Whakarewarewa. Her soft and pleasing tones invest with a double interest her recitals of the traditions of the place, which she relates, not after the perfunctory fashion of her more youthful assistants, but with the gusto and embrassement of one who has laid them to heart[83].

Writing by contemporary travellers, colonists and business people further describes the Maori's apparent attitude -

> Within recent years considerable changes have taken place in their immediate vicinity, but no change stirs the sang froid of the Whakarewarewa Natives. The weird sights and sounds which excite wonder and inspire awe in the average European are stale to them. Accustomed to them from infancy, they value them only, as a means of replenishing their exchequer[83].

> The natives, who at one time had pride and pleasure in revealing the strange sights of which they are custodians, are now indifferent to the admiration of the visitors. The guide's only thought is the money he is to receive for his services[84].

Taken in the context of the race relations of that time as detailed in Ward's study, these remarks are hardly surprising, although Rotorua was outwardly displaying a harmonious civic attitude.

Maori and pakeha participated equally in such significant events as the inception of the railroad[85], and the opening of the Wahiao Bridge at Whakarewarewa two years later, in 1896, to replace the bridge erected by Tuhourangi in 1885, which facilitated tourist

access to the area even before the Tarawera catastrophe. Built at government expense, this bridge spanned the Puarenga stream, the natural boundary which separated the thermal pools, geysers and more spectacular activity from the growing town. At the ceremony, the Ngati Tuhourangi expressed anxiety at the anticipated loss of revenue -

> It is desired by the three hapus who reside at Whakarewarewa to lay before the officers of the Government their wishes and desires. One of these and the principal one is that they should be allowed to levy toll on visitors crossing the bridge, as it was and has been for a long time their means of livelihood and they now ask it especially in the names of their women and children[86].

Mueller, Commissioner of Crown Lands, replied -

> He would suggest to the Government that a certain sum be set apart and paid annually to the natives in lieu of the toll gate receipts and further he felt sure the suggestion would be acted upon[87].

A compromise was reached. Because of the dangers of the thermal park, the services of a native guide were forcefully recommended in government publicity, and subsequent tour books[88]; their fee was a shilling, sixpence less than their previous toll. Most salient to the practice, too, was the employment of women of Ngati Tuhourangi descent in the guiding profession. This ruling was rigidly enforced until 1963.

Levying of tolls was resented by visitors and settlers in the Rotorua region, and a chorus of complaints dominated the popular press of the day. Bullock, however, chose to defend the Natives -

> I cannot find it in my own heart to snarl, as some do, at the Natives for levying toll. Most assuredly, were the interesting sights they have to show situated on the land of an ordinary European he would decline to throw them open as a free show to crowds of specimen hunting strangers. Neither, considering the matter from this point of view, do I consider their toll excessive[89].

However, the media continued to maintain that -

> The toll gate nuisance is assuming alarming proportions ... the result is that the visitors are beginning to fight shy of the sights, and business people are of course suffering[90].

Apart from Whakarewarewa, and Ohinemutu, where Ngati Whakaue required payment of a shilling for the inspection of Tamatekapua, other points of interest in the volcanic region were also developing commercially.

Tikitere was first noticed by Bishop Selwyn in 1842[91], and in 1849, the Governor George Grey mused on the possibility of building a sanatorium on that thermal site[92]. Because of "jealousies and rivalry", the development never materialized, according to Cooper[92]. More probably, the socioeconomic and unstable condition of the struggling colony prevented any such proposition for at least two decades. By 1875, Tikitere had become a celebrated healing spa; Langbridge and Edgecumbe describes it as -

> Consists of several springs, one of which is supposed to possess powerful medicinal properties[93].

He then cites the case of a fatally rheumatic cripple, who walked away young and virile after a month of bathing. Ten years later, the Newest Guide was to acclaim -

> ... far famed Tikitere, a favourite resort for invalids with chronic complaints ... there are a good many out there ... several whares or huts which they rent at a nominal sum[94].

By this time, a retired soldier, McRory was co-managing the property with a representative of Ngati Rangiteaorere. His wife's people, they were the principal owners of the Tikitere No. 3 Block, which comprised the medicinal springs.

Ngati Rangiteaore is a small hapu of Te Arawa, dwelling on the eastern shores of the Lake Rotorua, at Te Ngae, to the volcanic outcrops of Tikitere. The resort was not one of spectacular, limpid, visual beauty; it did not attract those visitors who desired purely scenic pleasure, but rather accommodated the needs of an invalid and special clientele. For this reason, government interference at Tikitere was minimal, and the owners pursued a variety of commercial activities in this stark, uniquely rugged and peculiar environment.

One such venture was sulphur mining, which was to continue only for a short period of time[95]. The curative, rather than extractive, aspects of Tikitere were to be far more highly intensively realized; a public notice was issued in the mid-1890's outlining fees, and by 1899, Ruihi Ratema Te Awekotuku, grandmother of the writer, was to establish her successful resort, independant of government assistance, and encouragement[96].

Rainbow trout had also been released in the Rotorua area at that time, and the Maori owners of Awahou (Taniwha Springs), Te Puna o Tuhoe (Fairy Springs) and Paradise Valley were advertizing their rates and hours in the Hot Lakes Chronicle[97].

Other thermal park areas - Waiotapu, Waimangu, and Orakei Korako were also opening at this time. On the fringe of Te Arawa territory, they covered the papakainga of both Te Arawa, and their kinsfolk Tuwharetoa. For this reason, reference to the opening and development of these resorts will be only in passing. The principal areas of focus in this case study, as previously stated, will be Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu, and to a lesser degree Tikitere.

Photographs: Te Wairoa and Rotomahana

One of the earliest views of Te Tarata, sketched by Rev. Richard Taylor in 1849. "A place to die", he comments on page 37.

-courtesy Turnbull Library.



a portion of the hot springs at Rotomahana.

Tarawera, by Charles Blomfield.
Probably one of the villages on the
lake shore, steam rises from the
cliffs in the background.

-courtesy Turnbull Library.



A View of Te Tarata, and the Islands of Lake Rotomahana.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



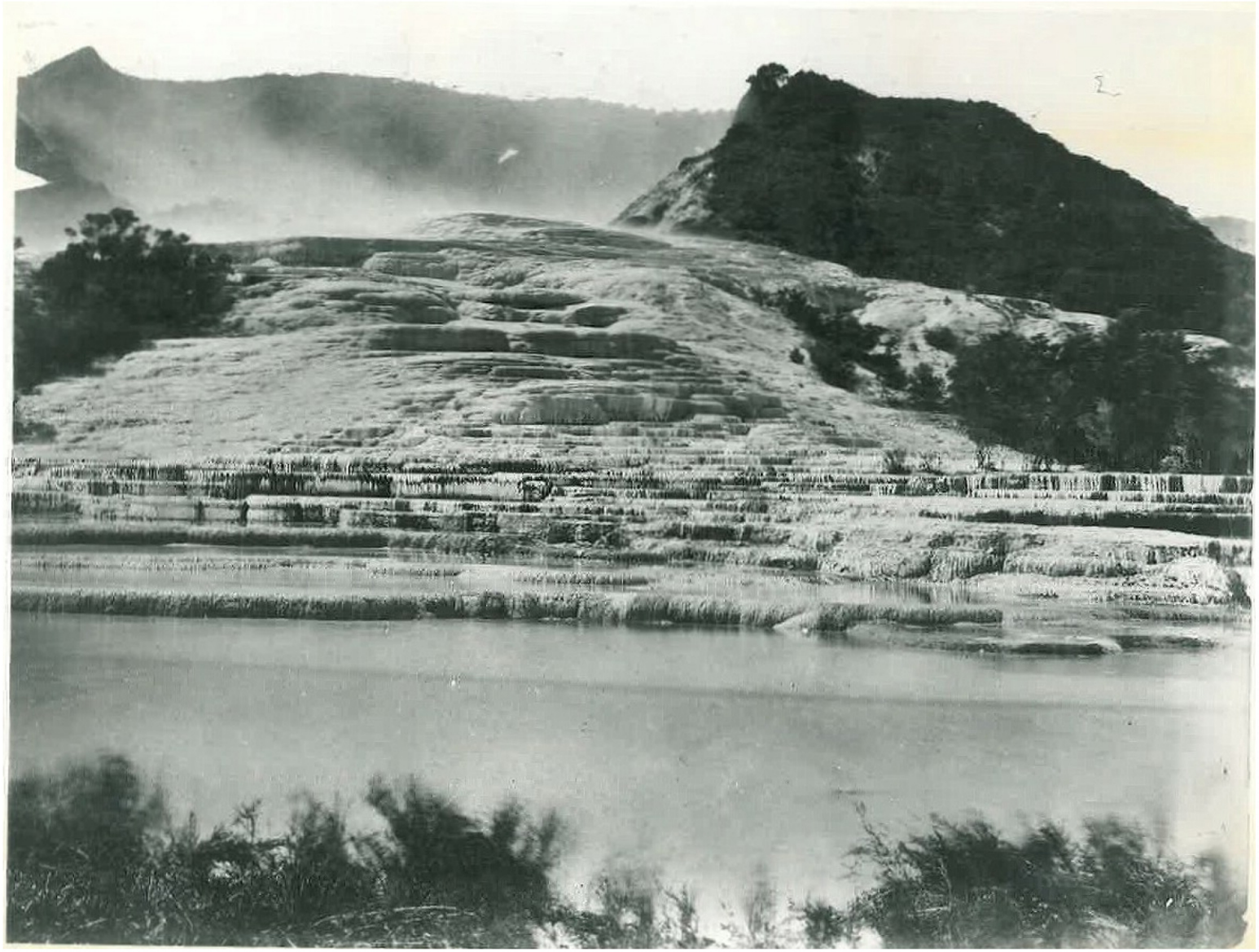
Lake Tarawera, with the mountain loomimg in the background, and in the forefront, the village of Te Wairoa. Rotomahana, the lake and Terraces, were about seven miles, and many hours, away.

-courtesy Turnbull Library.


TARAWERA LAKE and MOUNTAIN 37 CV

Te Tarata - the White Terrace 1880,
further, and feebly, described pages 40, 42, 52

- courtesy Turnbull Library



Te Tarata - a closer view of the tepid bathing pools on each terrace. The slender brown sylph in the background demonstrates the scale of this incredible natural formation.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.


3809 - THE HOT WATER BASINS - WHITE TERRACE.
LATE BURTON BROS. DUNEDIN
MUIR & MOODIE.

Otukapuarangi - the glorious Pink Terraces, ascend from the Rotomahana Lake shore. The canoe shown was one of the many that ferried the sightseers from Te Wairoa until the arrival of larger whale boats in 1880.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.


PINK TERRACE. L. ROTOMAHANA 20. CV

Otukapuarangi - the delicate silica formations broken, as described on page 80.
Still massively awesome, and so beautiful.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



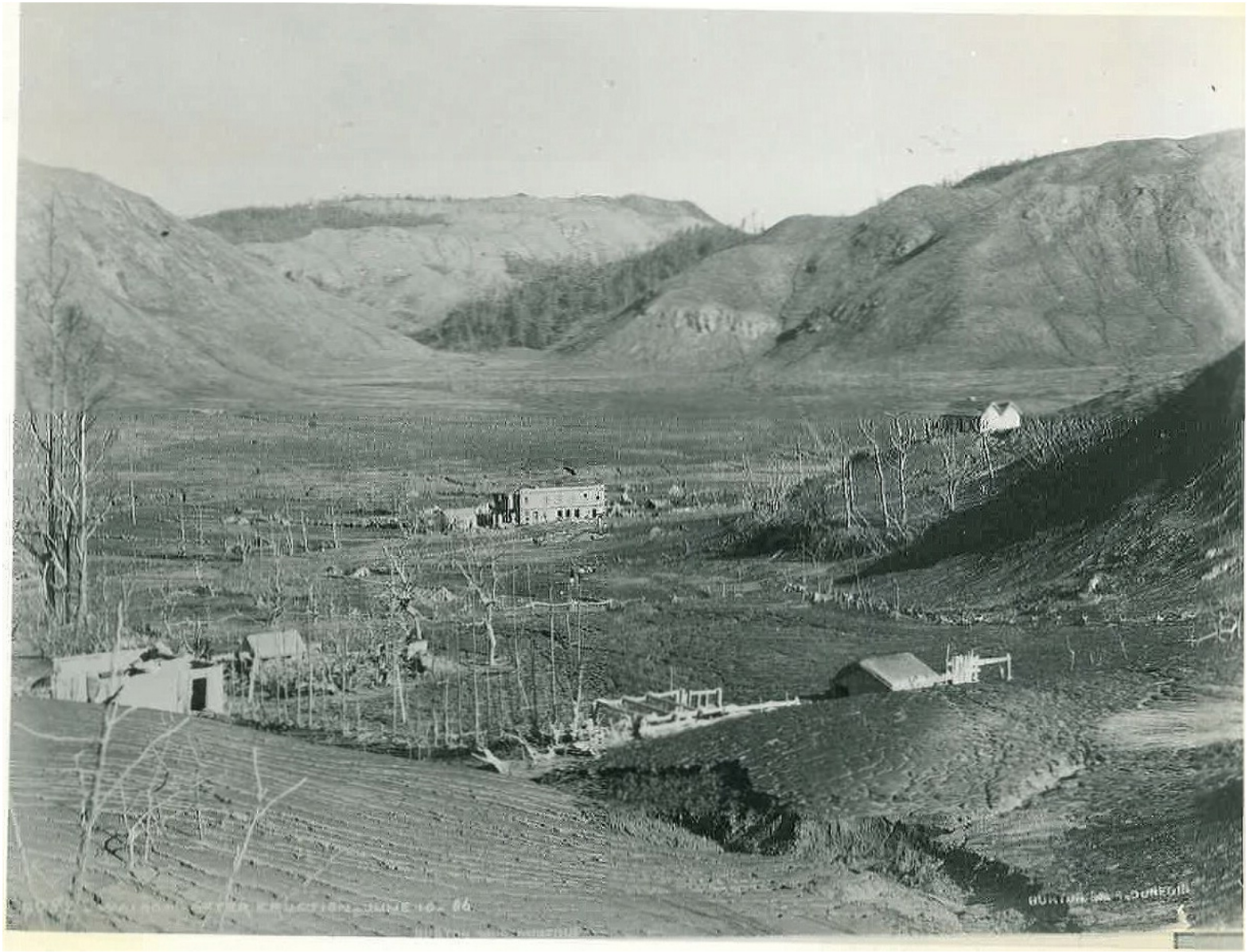
Te Wairoa before 1886.
A view showing McRae's Hotel.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.


3848 - WAIROA.
BURTON BR

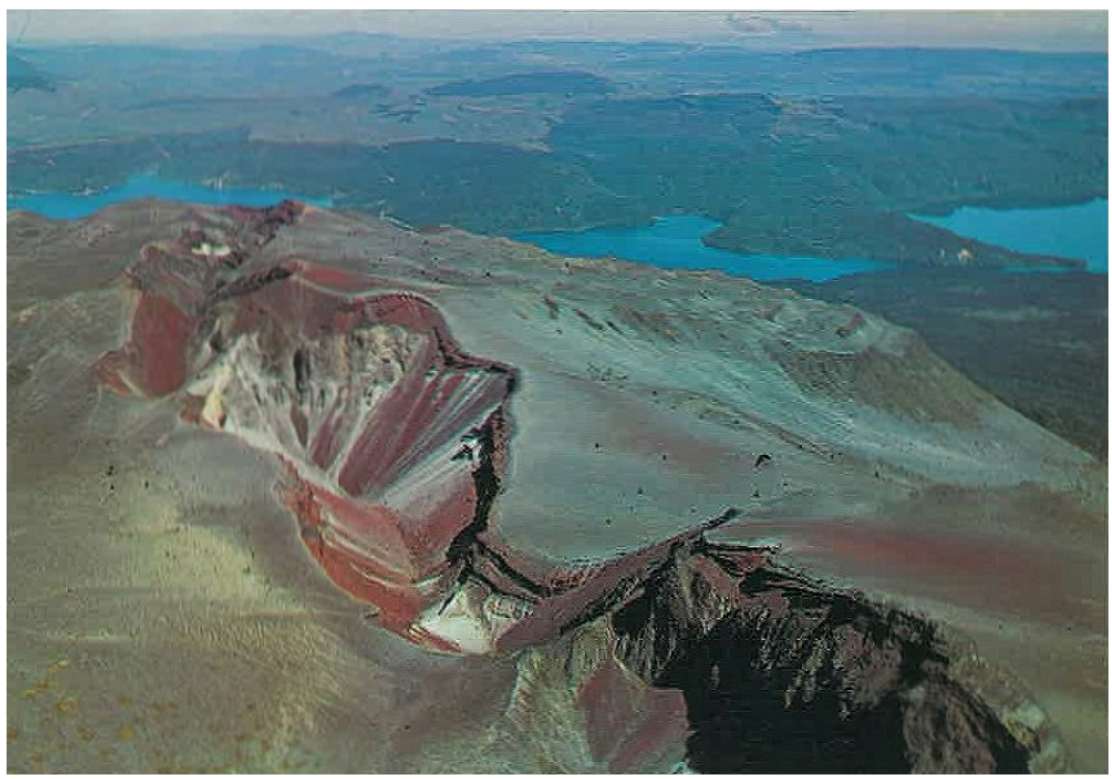
Te Wairoa, after 10 June 1886.
The village, and McRae's Hotel.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



The craters of Tarawera, 1980.
"The eruption opened up this gash sixteen
kilometres long, and up to 152 metres wide,
from Lake Rotomahana to the summit....
four cubic kilometres of material was
blown off its summit....

- postcard caption.





"PINK TERRACE, ROTOMAHANA, N.Z."
(Destroyed by the Eruption of Mount Tarawera, June 10, 1886).
W. Potts, Lith. C. Spencer, Photo. A.D. Willis, Lithographer, Wanganui N.Z. Chromolithograph; Rotorua Art Gallery permanent collection.



"WHITE TERRACE, ROTOMAHANA, N.Z."
(Destroyed by the Eruption of Mount Tarawera, June 10, 1886)
W. Potts, Lith. C. Spencer, Photo. A.D. Willis, Lithographer, Wanganui N.Z. Chromolithograph; Rotorua Art Gallery permanent collection.



"MOUNT TARAWERA IN ERUPTION", June 10, 1886.
(From the Native Village of Waitangi, Lake Tarawera, N.Z.)
W. Potts, Lith. C. Blomfield, 1848–1926. del. A.D. Willis, Lithographer, Wanganui N.Z. (Copyright reserved) Rotorua Museum Collection.

Chapter Five : Into the Twentieth Century

Commentary on the turn of the century : how Te Arawa fared, and how the Twentieth century, until the end of its first decade, began ...

Chapter Five : Into the Twentieth Century

Most commentators on Maori culture, life, and realities in the late nineteenth century almost inevitably tended to dwell on the negative. Whatever the Maori did, whoever they were, wherever they lived, however they may have progressed or acculturated, they were criticized, ridiculed, scorned, resented, and made the focus of racist invective and insult[1].

The attitudes emerging in the late 1870's - the disgusted reporting by Europeans on visible change in the villages, oblivious to the fact that they had caused it, reflect a waning tolerance in the pakeha sector. The Maori, who no longer seemed an effective military or even socioeconomic danger, were to be made totally subordinate to the foreign migrants. Consequently, government policy was designed to meet this end; institutions such as the segregated system of political representation, and the machinery of the Native Land Court, were effectively established.

The Te Arawa achievement of successfully adopting some aspects of pakeha society for the tribal and national interest was seldom acknowledged. Accounts chose, instead, to emphasize the drunkenness, promiscuity, and gambling that apparently occurred in Ohinemutu and Te Wairoa. Related to this was the vociferous and constant howling about native extortion and greed, despite increasing pressure from mercenary European tradesmen and shopkeepers. Few had the understanding approached by Bullock on the issue of Maori entrepreneurship; most preferred to snarl[2].

Gambling, particularly horseracing, was a popular activity. Ross vividly describes the annual Maori race meeting, where he declares betting is mainly in eels, plug tobacco and dried shark[3] and another writer, Morton, records in his manuscript -

> (The Maoris) are passionately fond of horse racing, and great numbers had assembled at Ohinemutu. I was told on good authority that one hotel keeper took £300 during the three days racing time[4].

Another much discussed issue was alcohol. Although liquor had been introduced to the colony by the whaling and sealing operations of the early nineteenth century, it did not reach the volcanic regions until the sixties, when the habit of giving the Te Wairoa canoe paddlers alcohol as a form of gratuity became a favoured institution. Corkill comments on this, during the period before the eruption -

> Mr Fairbrother (the Anglican parson of Te Wairoa) told me that whatever influence he has for the good is far more than nullified by that of McRae, the inkeeper, who has the leading chiefs under his thumb, and who gets ALL THE LARGE SUMS OF MONEY the natives get from the visitors[5].

His remark is as intriguing as it is isolated, in the documentation of that time. The anonymous "German Lady" tourist of the preceding decade had also made a similar observation[6], on discovering that her guides and rowers had been supplied with rum by the publican.

Such sympathy is rare; Moore details a much more common attitude, based on fallacy and prejudice.

> It appeared, on inquiry, that owing to the great difficulty of complying with the Provisions of the Native Lands Court, in order to obtain the signatures of every male member of a tribe or hapu (which is necessary for the ownership of any plot of land held as communal property), the man who builds or leases a hotel feels bound to give free liquor and tobacco to the natives when they demand it. If one refused, the court might turn him out of his holding. Violent scenes used to take place. In 1880, the Maori loafer of Ohinemutu was indeed a low and degraded creature - a baser and coloured imitation of the low white man - of whom there were dozens living there[7].

Government handling of the liquor problem, like most other important issues such as national finance and economic planning in the emerging colony, was inconsistent and capricious. The Sale of Spirits Ordinance of 1847 prohibited sale of liquor to the Maori population

The Maori chiefs protested this discrimination, and the law was brazenly defied. Total prohibition was argued; or no prohibition at all. The grog sellers continued to roam until the Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits Act 1870, which provided for the licensing of liquor outlets in districts of at least two thirds Maori population. The discriminatory ordinance was not repealed until 1881, although it remained unenforced. Alcohol was to be a concern of the Ngati Whakaue chiefs for many years to come, but the drunkenness and debauchery, so deplored by the settler and beloved of the tourist, was to feature only inasmuch as the reporter of that period sought it out.

Apart from liquor, Te Arawa were exposed to yet another unscrupulous economic pressure on the part of the mercenary pakeha settler, who inevitably bellowed against Maori greed, sloth, and extortion. Survey charges were absurdly high -

> One of the requests mentioned in our address presented to you this morning was that survey charges should be reduced. Some years ago, when the surveys first commenced in our district, the charge made by the surveyor was £1 a day. Even if twenty small pieces were surveyed in one day, the charge would only be £1 ... the charge for now surveying our small blocks of land is £6 each ... so that the Surveyor, though he might survey a number of small pieces in one day, yet charges £6 for every piece. Under this arrangement we feel that we are unable to meet these charges[8].

Little wonder that the toll and guiding fees were so huge.

At an institutional level, the colonists' discriminatory attitude is best demonstrated by the paying out of government moneys to victims of the Tarawera eruption. Statistics are still unsure, though the European death count can be taken as exact. The populations of Moura and Te Ariki are unknown, but both villages perished. Ward states -

> When Mount Tarawera erupted in 1886; killing ninety seven Maori and seven pakeha, parliament

> voted £400 for feeding and housing the destitute Maori, and £2,000 for the settlers; Ballance exceeded the vote for the Maori by £800[9].

Ballance was the Native Minister of the day; despite his much disapproved of generosity, the treatment of the Maori survivors reflects the mood of the period.

Fifty years of intensive colonization had passed. New Zealand was supporting its own homegrown generation of antipodean colonials; the relationship of white New Zealand settler, and Maori, was beginning to develop. Never, and nowhere, was it easy. Having realized the futility of armed resistance which the ancient ways demanded the Maori of the late nineteenth century turned to more political, and "progressively European" processes. Organized protest movements emerged in regions in which Maori land had been confiscated.

In Taranaki, at the village of Parihaka, a millenial prophet Te Whiti o Rongomai led a movement based on boycott, protest and passive resistance. He amassed thousands of followers, from all over the country, and severely disconcerted the pakeha population, who saw him as fiendish and fanatical. He aimed to peacefully accept the European presence, but to restore Maori political dominance and control, particularly in land matters. This was anathema to the colonists, whose barbaric reaction - the plundering and destruction of his sophisticated community that resembled a New England village, and their merciless use of violence - remains one of the least discussed aspects of New Zealand colonial history[10].

The Kingitanga Movement had also taken a blander, more litigatory direction. Still bitterly suspicious, and distrustful, the tribes rallied under the leadership of the visionary Waikato king, Tawhiao, who also exerted considerable religious influence. In 1884, Tawhiao presented a petition to the queen, to -

> Grant a government to your Maori subjects
> to those who are living on their own lands
> .... that they may have the power to make
> laws regarding their own lands and race,
> lest they perish by the ills that have come
> upon them[11].

Although politely received, the Maori delegation left London dissatisfied, to return again in 1887, with a similiar plea. For despite the sturdy efforts of the settler government to stabilize the colony, the Maori people were not about to cede their substance, and become "amalgamated" into the main stream of neo-British New Zealand life. The King Movement established a Kauhanganui, or Great Council, which dealt with land matters, and the increasing encroachment of European settlers. Tawhiao died in 1894, and with his death, the pakeha sector gleefully anticipated the passing of Kingitanga influence on the Maori world, and any further orchestrated opposition to their plans.

Unlike the people of Taranaki and Waikato, most of the remaining tribes of Aotearoa were "victims, not of the pakeha's war, but the pakeha's peace"[12]. The nations of Ngapuhi, Kahungunu, Ngati Porou and Te Arawa, were selling, or about to sell, more and more land to European buyers. Their appearance of successful acceptance of European culture was widespread, with considerable intermarriage, and educational achievement. The Maori Members of Parliament were also from these tribal groups.

Their embracing of te ao pakeha was, however, ambivalent, and their feelings were expressed openly at a meeting in Waima, Northland in December 1891. At Waitangi the following year, in April, another assembly was held, in which the significance of the Treaty was hotly debated. From this assembly, the national Kotahitanga movement was formed; it held large annual meetings until 1902. Three hui were hosted by Te Arawa, at the house Tamatekapua, in Ohinemutu, 1895, 1901 and 1902.

The people of Te Arawa had by this stage become even more disenchanted with the colonial government, and after the farce of the Ngati Whakaue leases, resolved that the only solution to an increasingly more problematic situation was greater Maori autonomy.

Te Arawa itself subsequently presented a petition to the queen in 1891, requesting greater sovereignty, but recognizing the "glorious bond of union in the Treaty of Waitangi". Ratification of the treaty itself was the basic plea. After this attempt failed, inevitably, the Kotahitanga began to evolve. And again, the European reacted fearfully, and negatively -

> One European, after observing the Ohinemutu meeting of 1895, reported that it had been "more a gathering of friends and families than a meeting carrying out any fixed purpose of Maori socialism", and that "pleasure was the leading character of the gathering". Another observer, seeing beyond the surface of hospitality and feasting, regarded the leaders of the movement as political agitators who were leading their people away from valuable objectives. "It is not want of legislation that prevents the prosperity of the Maori people", he said, "but their own innate indolence"[13].

According to Ward, the one great success of the Kotahitanga was the inception of a fairly effective boycott of the Native Land Court in 1893[14]. However, by the turn of the century, the movement had passed its zenith, and in 1900, Seddon, the Liberal Labour Prime Minister, had passed legislation to establish Maori Village Councils and Land Boards, which ostensibly accommodated some of the Kotahitanga demands, and provided the illusion of Maori control of Maori issues. It also caused the Kotahitanga to disperse and the organisation eventually faded away.

Te Arawa had become very much a victim of the white man's peace; most of the township land had been purchased by the Crown who had failed so absysmally in administration of the leases, and the Whakarewarewa geysers had also become Crown property. Although the

tribe had made strenuous and enthusiastic strides towards mutual development of the colony for both Maori and pakeha, their efforts were either generally ignored, or observed with cynicism and ignorance. Like the other tribes of Aotearoa, the thermal regions' original proprietors were becoming more disenchanted with the pakeha way of doing things.

The colonists had come from a background of calvinistic self righteousness, and a firm belief in reaping the rewards of individual labour and hard work. This was not the Maori mode; the traditional economic system depended on a sharing of tasks, and a communal productivity in which every member of hapu contributed both time and energy. With the breakdown of this system, as more and more tribal land was devoured by pakeha settlement, and a western cash economy was firmly established, some floundering occurred - the transition was not simple. The official approach favoured a hasty amalgamation; the Maori was to become as westernized as possible, accept European culture, laws, values and religion unreservedly, and thus consolidate God's own country, the "Social Laboratory of the World", the model colony, where one member of parliament hopefully envisaged -

> We shall have no Maoris at all, but a white race with a dash of the finest coloured race in the world[15].

Maori feeling, however, reflected a determination to remain vigorously and fiercely and assertively Maori, choosing to espouse those things of the pakeha that were beneficial - technology, education - but choosing them in their own time, at their own pace. Civilization was not to be thrust upon them; it was to be gradually understood, then absorbed. And most of all, to be discussed, reviewed, questioned, scrutinized, in the runanga of Parihaka, of the Kingitanga, and of Kotahitanga, and a thousand other marae around the country. The Maori was not going to be "the same".

Realizing this, the settlers attitude was more racist than judgemental as Ward states -

> The Maori culture itself was widely denigrated. At best it was regarded as a hindrance to Maori participation in the new order; at worst as depraved and obscene. In 1886 the Premier officially informed the leader of a Maori concert party that the Governor could not be present at the performance of war dances in a Wellington theatre because of their alleged depravity. But while their own culture was assailed and disrupted through the land purchase system, little encouragement was given to Maori participation in a wide spectrum of pakeha vacations[16].

Tribal identity and strength was most visibly and vociferously demonstrated at a gathering of most of the tribes of Aotearoa to welcome the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall in 1901. Ngata and Te Rangihiroa both describe this event most eloquently[17]. The reception for the Royal couple was held at Rotorua, and the absolute confidence, virility and pride displayed by each representative group belied the current belief that the Maori race was becoming fast extinct, that the population had reached its very nadir[18]. Sir James Carroll, the halfcaste Maori member of Parliament for the Eastern Maori electorate organized the assembly, which was to be the largest gathering of Maori people in post contact history. In its planning, the convenors even considered ancient tribal conflicts, such as the friction of Ngapuhi and Te Arawa, and the Urewera tribes. Sophia, of Te Wairoa, and her niece, the young Maggie Papakura, were the official guides for the visiting dignitaries. Te Arawa also held two separate tribal powhiri, one hosted by the hapu Ngati Whakaue in Tamatekapua at Ohinemutu, the other by Tuhourangi in Wahiao, at Whakarewarewa.

The settlement of Rotorua was managed by the Township Board set up in 1883, consisting of the resident magistrate, the resident physician,

and a representative of Ngati Whakaue. This continued until 1901, when a seven man Town Board of three elected and four government appointed members was introduced. Only one member was Maori, although the Maori population of the area by far exceeded the European[19].

In 1902, the newly established Department of Tourist and Health Resorts tabled its first annual report in Parliament. In the lengthy section headlined ROTORUA, the report states -

> The popularity of this resort is advancing by leaps and bounds. From the thousands of visitors of more or less note one hears only a chorus of appreciation regarding its unique and interesting surroundings.

It further describes the facilities - four hotels and fifteen boarding houses, which were so inadequate that at Easter -

> Between two and three hundred persons arrived by rail late at night who could not get lodgings and they had to sleep in railway carriages, sheds etc. and return to Auckland the next morning. An additional two hundred had perforce to put up with improvised accommodation, in some cases of the roughtest description.

Rotorua was finally beginning to afford substantial returns for the Governments initial investment. In the year ending March 1902, the number of railroad passengers to Rotorua totalled 17,728 - this does not include the tourists who arrived by other means from Tauranga, and other parts of the expanding colony.

The Maori presence was seen, by the administration, as a necessary element in tourism activity and attraction. In the Report, the Minister suggests a means of control; although the place was built, the Maori never participated in the manner proposed.

> As an additional attraction to the Rotorua district, I recommend that a model Maori pa or kainga should be established in the Whakarewarewa Reserve between the water supply setting basins, and the Native school. There is ample land of a substantial nature available there, also some very interesting thermal action and fresh water lagoons. My proposals provide for the

> rerection of a runanga (meeting house), pataka (food store-house) - these to be carved in the old Maori style - and several comfortable whares; a shed to be built near the schoolhouse, in which the young Native boys should be taught carving, and the girls matmaking, the whole to be fenced in the Maori manner. Later on a model fighting pa could be added. Selected Native families to be given residence at this pa, and sanitation be a salient feature of it. The villagers could make carvings and mats for sale, thereby earning sustenance. Thus, two important object-lessons would be provided for the Maoris generally, and visitors would have an opportunity of seeing a replica of old Maori life. The total cost need not exceed £500.

The village was duly built, but it was never populated. That the Minister had even anticipated that it would be, and that a selection process was required, reveals how insensitive the pakeha sector was to the Maori reality of the period. Despite the patronizing attentions and rare sympathy that existed at this time for the Maori people, the poem (Appendix F) illustrates the more universal tone of the white New Zealanders' perception of their Maori compatriots. Cynicism and animosity persisted, but despite this, Te Arawa continued to merge with the mainstream New Zealand society. A speech welcoming Miss Murcutt, an English university lecturer, illustrates this (Appendix G). The text was printed in the N.Z. Herald of August 26, 1907, and reveals the extent to which the chiefs of Waiariki were eager to make progress in the European sense.

The twentieth century had begun.

I have attempted to outline the development of European contact in the volcanic regions of Te Arawa. Apart from the earliest appearance of trader and missionary, until the opening of the town site, and communications, Rotorua was the region of the traveller artist, and pleasure seeker, but not the settler, and landhungry colonist.

Even in the time of initial contact, however, the entrepreneurial future of Rotomahana was perceived by some, and their ownership disputed

and established. The ensuing decades witnessed a growing tourist activity, and increasing sophistication in visitor facilities and overland communication. Despite the factors of communal proprietorship, interfamily jealousies, and pakeha landsharking, Maori entrepreneurship was evident and successful. Te Arawa until the 1890's retained a significant control and sovereignty of their spectacular assets. By this time, the most celebrated had been destroyed, and other areas had been leased to the Crown.

Ngati Tuhourangi, of Te Wairoa, had been entertaining foreign guests for over thirty years, and not a single acre was alienated. On the destruction of the Terraces, the hapu moved to Whakarewarewa, where their involvement with the travelling public continued. One can only speculate on what may have occurred had the terraces not been obliterated, but the attitude that it was maybe just as well, a tohu, a Divine Act, is still widely held by the descendants of those who survived the catastrophe.

On the shore of Lake Rotorua, Ngati Whakaue played an entrepreneurial and mediatory role. By way of Ohinemutu, the Victorian sightseers traversed the ruggedly inhospitable route to Rotomahana. The village flourished, and its population was eventually to subsidize a government township. Like Te Wairoa, certain possibilities and factors dominated, but tourist and settler contact continued unabated.

Other tribal groups of the region, from Maketu to Tongariro, were also drawn into the industry. Ngati Tuwharetoa, of Lake Taupo, were involved to the extent that one chief made written comment on how he deplored -

> Tourists who howl and shout over our once eloquently silent country, who unsettle things of old, and cause depravity amongst our young people[20].

By this time, too, the Government had become predictably entrenched in developing a strong travel industry. Ownership, or subsequent control

of, the thermal real estate was creeping into their hands by various means and manipulations. They nevertheless recognized the necessity of Maori participation, but preferred it on their terms; presenting it in their promotional literature. With some of their land resources thus alienated, Te Arawa still retained a strong tradition of artisanship, dance, and hospitality, as well as a uniquely exotic lifestyle which was their own to share with, or carefully shelter from, the pakeha strangers. For as the second decade of the new century began, tourism, and the visitor presence, had become a lucrative, unavoidable, and constantly visible aspect of life in the villages of Ohinemutu, and Whakarewarewa.

Photographs: Early New Zealand, Rotorua
Te Ngae and Tikitere

Traders Bartering with the Upriver Natives - a picture of a copy by T.W. Downes of a sketch by J.A. Gilfillan, this was a common scene in the early days of trading.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



Te Ngae Mission Station, ca. 1843.
- a sketch by Reverend Richard Taylor.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.


The Mission station at
Te Ngae Rotorua.

"View on the lake of Rotorua. The Island of Mokoia in the centre of the Lake". 1843. Pen & ink wash drawing in the Eliza Hobson Album, by an unknown artist.
A view, probably from Te Ngae, with Ngongotaha Mountain in the mid-background.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.

Rotorua Township 1887, from Pukeroa Hill. Prominent buildings include the Post Office, and Government Sanatorium near the lake shore.

- courtesy Auckland Institute and Museum.


ROTORUA N.Z. 928

Rotorua City 1972, an aerial view.

- courtesy National Publicity Studios.



"The Golden Mile" - two views of Fenton Street, the main route to Whakarewarewa.


SCOT



Hell's Gate, Tikitere

Mimiokakahi Waterfall,
about 1900.

-: Courtesy Turnbull Library



Tikitere

Guide Te Aho Martin with George Bernard Shaw at Hell's Gate, 1934.

- Courtesy Rotorua Museum



PART TWO

Chapter One : Kainga

The villages, Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa :
Their stories, their residents, and
Their experience of tourism.

Section Two : The Contemporary Scene

Chapter One : Kainga

Te toto o te tangata, he kai
Te oranga o te tangata, he whenua

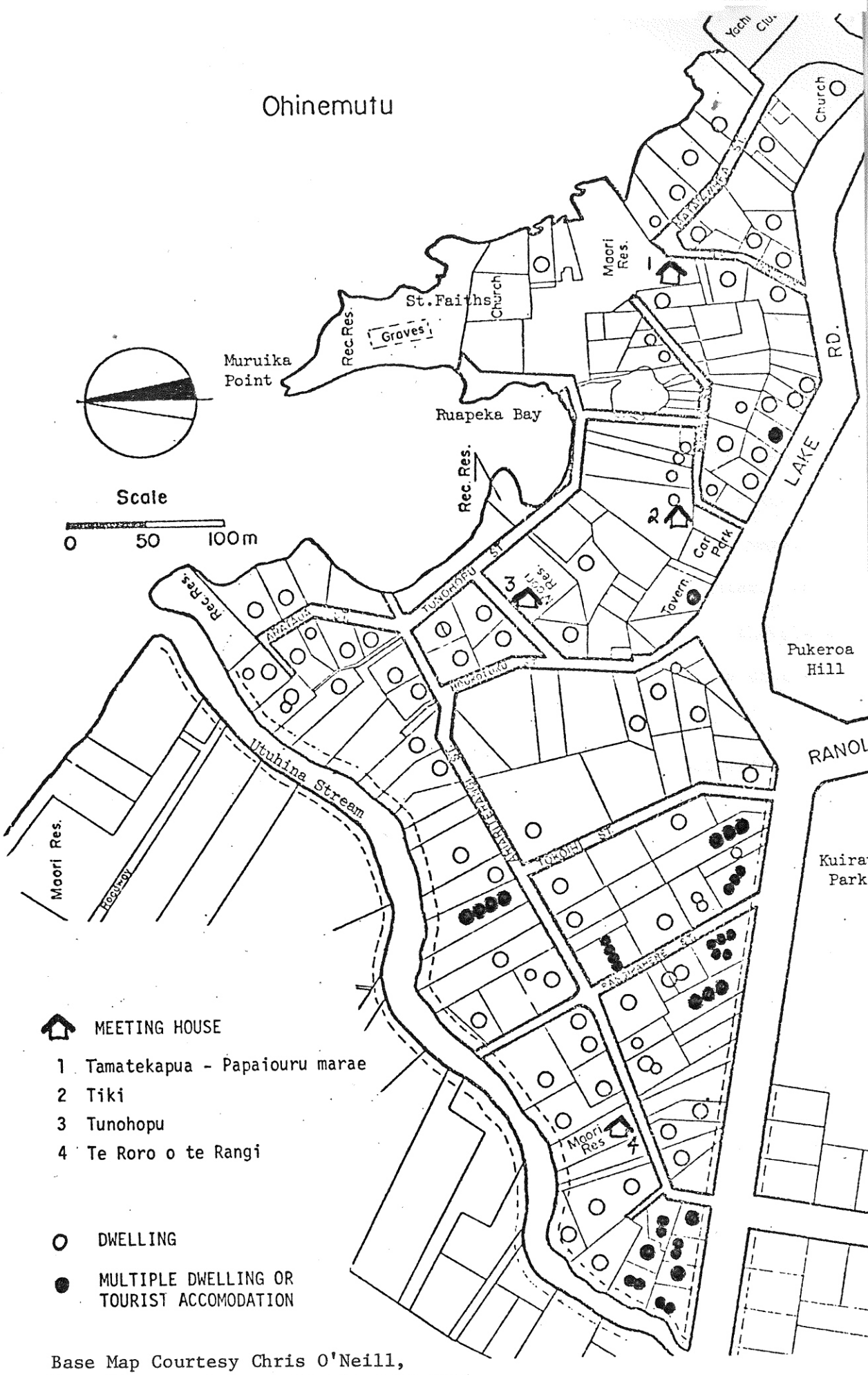
Blood may feed,
but the earth nourishes.

What do modern residents of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa feel about their kainga? How do they see it? Kainga is a relatively recent term referring to land upon which houses are built, and permanent peacetime settlement established. Unlike the pa, kainga were not fortified, although they were generally situated near an area of protective fortification. The kainga denotes a safe, warm, sustaining environment, identified by certain features, and contained within certain natural boundaries.

For most, it is a residential community with special aspects that make it meaningful and historic. Yet each village grew through different circumstances, and what continues to be manifest in one way no longer occurs in the other. Both, Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa however, experience direct daily tourist contact, and the residents have evolved a number of different ways of dealing with the pressures of an alien, and sometimes even intrusively inquisitive, presence.

I will describe Ohinemutu as I most clearly, and intimately, understand it. One of the 320 residents counted in the 1976 census, I passed twenty years of my life within this village, which is my own birthplace, and papakainga. I present Ohinemutu, to the reader, as an experience which nurtured me, and inspired this dissertation.

Regarding Whakarewarewa, however, I employ another device : the reader approaches this famous kainga-Maori first as a tourist, and sees what a tourist sees. Then the narrative assumes the perspective of a visiting Maori, for that is how I know Whakarewarewa best though it is the home of 70 permanent residents. In this way, I will attempt



Base Map Courtesy Chris O'Neill,
Town Planner, Rotorua District Council

to detail the atmosphere, and some of the life, in these two unique Te Arawa communities.

* * * * * *

> E Hine e! Ka mutu nei ano taku tamahine
> i te ao, ko Kakara!
>
> O dear girl! Cut off from this world forever
> is the maiden, my Kakara!

Thus lamented Ihenga, the original explorer of Te Arawa, when he returned from an expedition to find his beloved missing. Stafford records that Kakara, or Hinetekakara, was actually his wife[1], whereas Cowan's version describes the tragic disappearance and murder of Ihenga's daughter. What remains important in this incident is recalled in the naming of the place in which the incident allegedly occurred - Ohinemutu - the place of the young woman who was cut off from the world. Cowan elaborates -

> The name in the course of time carried a wider application, but the "tino" of Ohinemutu, the exact spot from where the place takes its name, is that historic papakohatu, or flat rock in the shallow waters by Muruika's shore[2].

Six centuries later, the gentle waves of Lake Rotorua continue to lap over the rock of Kakara, and a village of about four hundred people flourishes nearby.

The lake waters move placid, mirror like; the prow barely cuts the rippling shallows, and as we approach the shore, the colours change. From the deep, weed entangled murk of Rotorua, we scrape against the bleached pumice and tawny yellow pebbles, nearing the darkening line of dried algae, scattered lake debris, and crushed fresh water shells, kakahi. The water is warm. We alight from the canoe, feel bubbles rise around our feet, no longer cramped within the hull. If we shuffle too vigorously in the loose, gritty sand, we are reminded that very hot water may be only a few inches further down.

We have beached at the foreshore which faces the wharewhakairo, Tunohopu, glowing behind an ornately carved waharoa, or gate, which breaks the march of white-washed concrete blocks around the marae itself. A narrower gate, flanked by two lofty carved human figures, opens into Rukuwai, the favourite wife of Tunohopu, the whare kai renovated and refurbished in 1974. The actual marae is smooth white concrete from the larger gate to the meeting house verandah, and lush green lawn, punctuated by a boisterous steam vent that has been sealed over and redesigned as a chunky volcanic mini cone of broken bricks. Remaining on the shore, through which tiny pockets of mud and sulphur tingle and splash, we observe to our right the street which follows the waterline, then forks, turning towards the mountain, Ngongotaha, in the west, and north until it reaches the stream Utuhina, which is the northwest boundary of the kainga. And then we turn left, reaching towards the essence of Ohinemutu, (and, some say, Te Arawa) the Papaiouru, the principal marae.

We pass a lagoon -- the banks reinforced with District Council steel, concrete and stone -- some places steam gently, others the level drops, patchy and uneven, raupo struggling through a slime of algae. Yet a little of the charm of the Ruapeka Lagoon of so many nineteenth century travellers' tales has remained. Jutting into the lake, a verdant tree-entagled silhouette against remote Mokoia, is the peninsula of Muruika, the final resting place of the warrior dead of ancient and modern times. A stark white cenotaph before the mossy vaults provides uncomfortable contrast to the few weathered and wretched pallisade heads that thrust gloomily from the waters near the crumbling bank. According to my Kuia, these are the only survivors of a fiendish night long ago, when two women sorcerors, Te Aratukutuku and Papakino, avenged themselves on the inhabitants of Muruika pa. Strong fortifications were no defence against magic which caused the earth to shake and split open,

swallowing the pa, and all inhabitants, beneath the waters of the lake.

A strong tapu thus enshrouded the peninsula, to be lifted some generations later in 1885, by the tohunga, Tuhoto Ariki of Te Wairoa. He focussed all the awesome energies on a small island, Motu Harakeke, which is avoided to this day, a scrubby outcrop off the point, alone and deadly. And, standing incongruously Tudor and picturesque, is the embodied reason for Tuhoto's work - the Anglican church of St. Faith's, cream and dark brown, the tiled belltower ringing above the marble angels and snowy vaults before its doors. Steeped in its own pagan spirituality, part of the peninsula was donated by the tribe to the Anglican church during the time of one of the most powerful leaders of Ngati Whakaue, Pukuatua. After almost three generations of Christianity, the keen rivalry of Catholic and Anglican in converting souls was causing some conflict in the community. Pukuatua solved the problem in a legendary manner. Gathering the tribe in the meeting house Tamatakapua, he divided the assembly neatly down the middle. Standing, before them, he decreed that from that moment on, those to this side of his body were Mihingare, or Anglican, and those to the other were Catholic, Katorika. His edict is observed to this day; whole families were affected, many members becoming one, and the rest following the faith of the other.

St. Faith's, despite a quaintly English exterior, is a celebration of the Te Arawa weaving and carving arts. It is an uncommon blend of Christian, and pre-Christian Maori aesthetic achievement and expression.

And so we leave St. Faith's, walk past the jagged and unhappy site of the dining room, Whakaturia, of which only the chipped concrete forecourt and fiercely bubbling cooking springs attest to the destructive fire of 1963. And the Papaiouru - paved with black tarmac - feels warm beneath our tread. Uru, the ancient ngawha for whom the marae is named, splutters noisily, venting through cement-plastered rock a curl of steam

which threats around the bust of Queen Victoria, cold stone atop a column of ornate carving. Nearby are more huge burial vaults, outside the home of their descendants. One reads the memory of a colonial militaryman endeared of the hapu. Facing them, mouth gaping, eyes bulging, is the famous Tarakaiahi, the sentinel whose resonant "Kia Hiwa Ra" is heard no more, his stretched jaw now the subject of tourist abuse or admiration.

Tamatekapua stands before us. Brought over from Mokoia in the mid-nineteenth century, the house was most recently renovated in 1940, but most of the elaborate poupou are the work of venerated masters long passed away. This wharewhakairo is regarded by most as the essence of all the mana of Te Arawa. It commemorates Tamatekapua, and records the earliest history of the tribe of takiwa waiariki, before their ancestors' arrival in Aotearoa, and the sequence of exploration and settlement after that landfall. A gaudy sign in pale blue, bright orange, and red, black and white leans beneath the stained glass window. It blurts of a Maori Concert Tonight! Traditional Dances! Authentic Costume! Scintillating Poi! Ferocious Haka! in peeling enamel paint.

We go inside. A coolness envelopes us. Some light filters through iron fret windows of red coloured glass, with ornate Maori motifs. The painted rafters swoop and swirl, cut and pierce, each from the head of a poupou, each separated by a panel of tukutuku, a geometric lattice design of white kiekie blade on black matai wood. Supporting the elaborately painted central spine of the great house is the poutokomanawa, the centrepole, held on the shoulders of Houmaitawhiti, the father of Tamatekapua, and reaching up to Ihenga, the explorer, whose feet rest above his dog Potakatawhiti.

A modern anecdote tells of this poutokomanawa, from which there hangs precariously an electric fan for tourist comfort on the hotter summer nights. It seems to be secure, with heavy black tape, and nylon cording,

for no one wants to hammer or screw metal into the flawlessly carved surface. Yet at one time, it is said some folk were contemplating something far worse. A master builder who supervised the 1940 reconstruction tells the story of how a concert entrepreneur approached him, supposedly on behalf of many other Te Arawa people. They wished to redesign the meeting house, by removing the poutokomanawa, as it obstructed the tourists' view of the stage. For the old man, this was tanatmount to castration, and intense sacrilege. He relates that within a year, the entrepreneur, and every notable person he said supported him, had.died. To make such a suggestion, let alone implement it, was inconceivable - for any reason. The house is regarded by the more traditional Maori as an organic, living entity - one who breathes, feels, and senses, knowing all, constantly aware.

Just to the left of the house, on the high red forecourt of broadly terraced steps, is the memorial bell, rung on hui occasions, and a flagpole on a carved base, and to the right is Te Aomarama, the Anglican Church Hall, gifted by Ngati Whakaue in the first decade of this century. Of modest size, with some carving, and very fine tukutuku, this house serves the whole community as a recreation hall, and homework centre for school children. For a few years it was the home of a new and growing family descended from one of the original owners. Te Aomarama sits slightly back from the main street entrance into the village, and opposite another small lane which winds up the hill to Pukeroa, and the Rotorua Public Hospital.

We turn again. Pass a souvenier shop - Te Huia - a contentious presence yet one whose many predecessors reach back over a century of time. The proprietor, himself of one of the most illustrious lines in Ngati Whakaue, asserts his enjoyment of his business, and the tourists who come, adding that those people who object to his operation are usually ignorant of the previous ones, or have very short memories.

Thus he confirms to himself that his critics have not been as immediately involved with the Papaiouru itself as he has, over a long continuous period of time. The shop is actually the front half of his house, the manicured lawn, trimmed shrubs, and gleaming windows juxtapose the Japanese and English lettering on the cream house walls, flanked by rich green flax. It is not altogether incongrous. And the elder's seventy years of constant, watchful residence reassure him that whatever he chooses to do on the marae itself can never be harmful to its harmony, and meaning.

We venture down the small street behind Te Huia; older houses line one side. Behind them lurks the boggy spread of Waikite, an enormous pool fringed by scratchy manuka on crumbling banks, once a spectacular geyser whose fountains, as the name translates, were visible for miles around. This is the lakeward side of the street, the area between Waikite and the Ruapeka studded with manuka, and a few brick-walled private bath houses in bright shades of pink, kowhai yellow and apple green.

On the other side of the rockstrewn and patchy road, there remain but two houses. One by Tamatekapua, the other built on a rising slope which ascends abruptly to Pukeroa. Dense bamboo, and other exotic trees surround this small cottage, and a high fence faces the road, passing the house section, and along to a culdesac. The fence, unpainted weatherboard, offers more than privacy. It protects resident and tourist alike, for behind it rages and swirls the most extraordinary ngawha. The waters blue, green paua-like, spin and dazzle and swirl in a haunting kaleidoscope - the stark rock of the hillside is exposed, encrusted in silica that hangs beneath a dense pall rising from the churning surface of this now nameless spring. During a recent mat weaving project, the flax had to be prepared by immersion in boiling water. The women were working in Te Aomarama, and this pool was the

closest and most convenient. Because of the fearful reaction of most of the women to what they called the weird feeling of the place - "like it's trying to drag you in, every time you go the edge and look down" - only the women who had inherited property interests in the pool itself, and the adjacent sections, went down there. They never felt threatened in any way at all, and even said they enjoyed the ngawha's brilliant display of colour, and bottomless energy.

At the culdesac are a few cooking springs - known in these times as hangi, or hot boxes - which are still used by some local families. Over the years, however, residents are using these communal hangi less often, and many have constructed their own in their back yards. The most commonly expressed reason is that food is often spoiled, or interfered with, by curious tourists -

> who come in, lift the sack, have a look,
> and sometimes poke around, saying, "Eeyoo"!
> And if it's good kai - like a pudding
> or something - they help themselves!
> Yeah! Really! Big chunks gone, and once
> a whole pot of stew!

A family's entire evening meal has been known to walk, so cooking at this spot usually involves keeping an eye on the hangi. It is a vivid illustration of the daily problem of maintaining private boundaries and identity in a situation which others - the others being tourists - tend to see as public. This is one of the essential conflicts tourism has caused in both communities studied.

Along the track leading back to the Ruapeka we pass a tiny, elaborately wharewhakairo - Tiki - a magnificent family home, with a courtyard of bare yellow earth, pockmarked and pitted with small spluttering pools. For this house, an American reputedly offered the inhabitants a million dollars. Adjacent are two wharepuni - family sleeping houses of the original type, still inhabited, seen and described in early Ohinemutu and very much enjoyed.

Photographs: Ohinemutu

"Pa of Oinamutu on the Rotorua Lake"
- a sketch from Eliza Hobson's album,
early 1840's. One of the earliest recorded
visual images of Ohinemutu pa, possibly
from the Ruapeka.

courtesy Turnbull Library



The Pah of Oinamutu on the Rotorua lake.

Ohinemutu in 1870.
The prominent body of water
is the Ruapeka Lagoon.

-courtesy Turnbull Library



Tiki, one of the waharoa, or gateways, into Ohinemutu. Standing until the turn of the century, this carving is now in the Auckland Museum. Note the flourishing introduced vegetation - pine & cypress trees.

- courtesy Turnbull Library


1882 – TIKI – OHINEMUTU.
BURTON BROS DUNEDIN

Ohinemutu, early 1880's.
A romantic view by Charles Blomfield.

- courtesy Turnbull Library



Rear view of Pukeroa Hill across the Ruapeka, 1890. Taken from behind the submerged pallisades of Muruika Pa.
Prominent buildings include the Lake House hotel.

-courtesy Turnbull Library


3880 - THE SUNKEN PA - OHINEMUTU.
MUIR & MOODIE, DUNEDIN.

The garden and bathhouse of the Lakehouse Hotel, or Graham's Hotel of 1884. St Faith's Church in the background.

-courtesy Turnbull Library



View of the Lakehouse Bath & Garden 1979

View of bath house, the Ruapeka, and
Tiki meeting house 1979.





Advertising "Appolinaris Table Waters", these members of Ngati Whakaue posed for this picture in the 1890's.
Note the flag, Uenuku, in the foreground, on the marae, Papaiouru.
The tall, imperious woman before the door, holding the taiaha, is Kirimatao.

- courtesy Rotorua Museum


APOLLINARIS

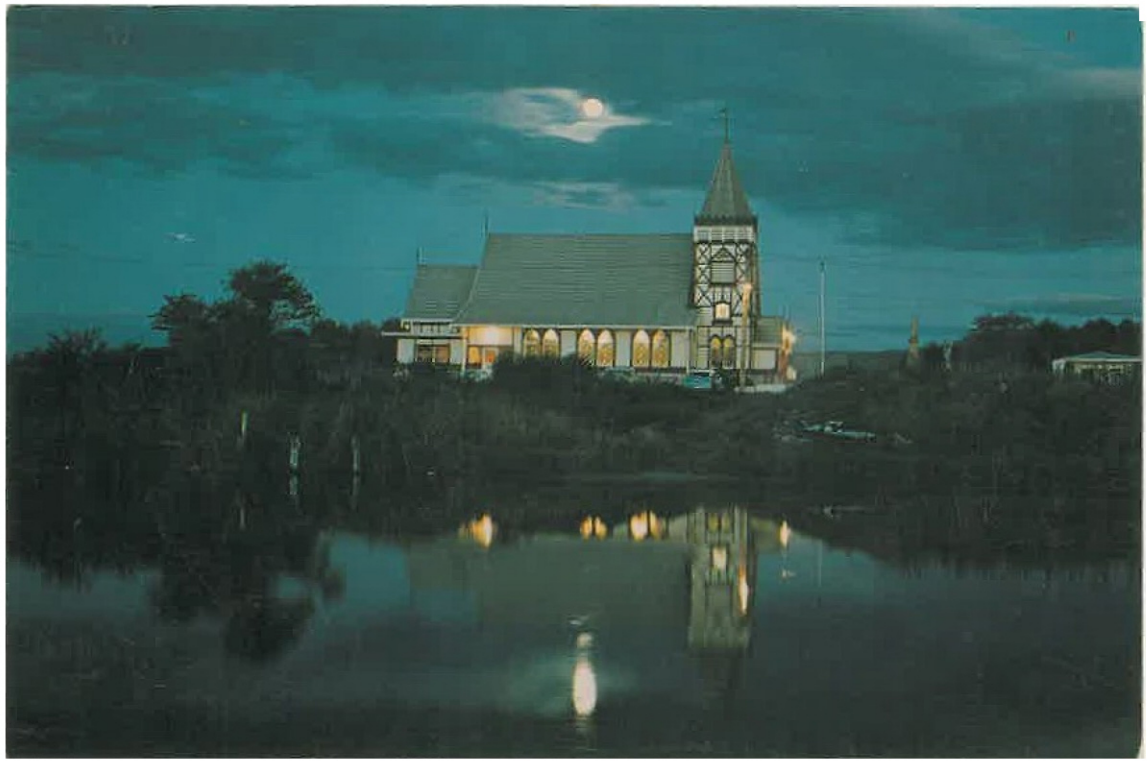
"Old Tama".
Tamatekapua in 1908 - note the sign outside the door, advertising a concert.
This whare runanga was first renovated in 1872, and further refurbished in 1904.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.


MAORI HAKA
POI DANCE
CARVED HOUSE
OHINEMUTU ROTORUA 1355

St Faith's Church, the Ruapeka in the foreground.

Interior of St Faith's Church.

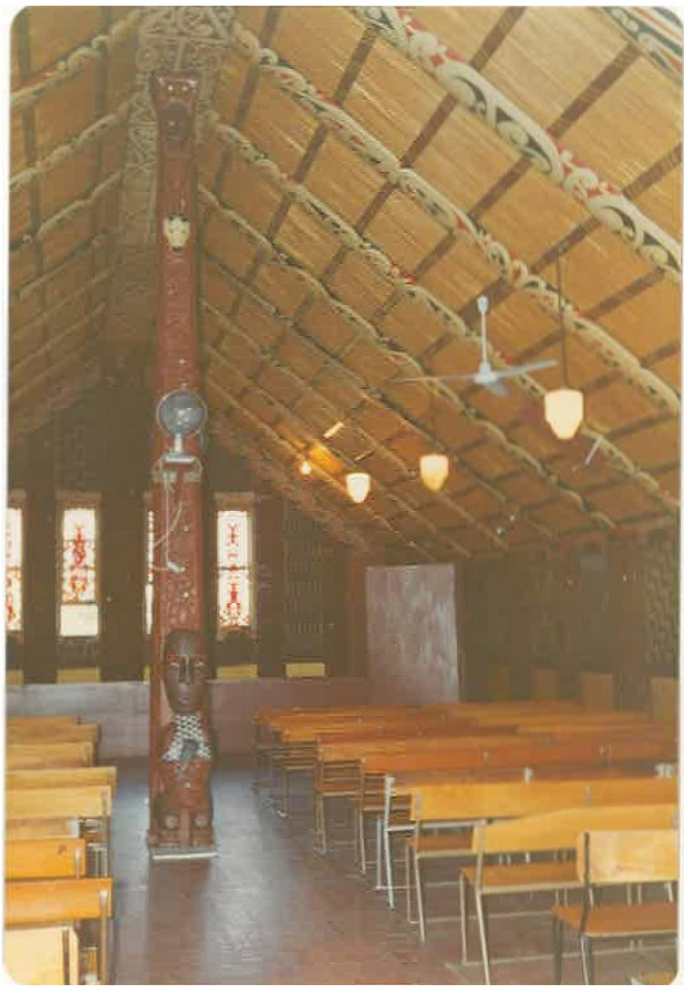




Tamatekapua today - and still the concert signs.

Interior of Tamatekapua set up for a concert. Note the stage, seating, and fans. Also the masking tape on the poutokomanawa.





Te Roro o te Rangi.

Tunohopu meeting house, with the Rukuwai dining room. The small white building is the mattress storage room. Lakes Tavern, formerly the Lake House Hotel, encroaches in the background. Taken fron the Ruapeka foreshore





Te Aomarama, the Anglican Church Hall. Early concerts were held here. It was also the site of the 1920's Carving School, a private home, and more recently the scene of the Ngati Whakaue whariki weaving project.

Te Aomarama during the Ngati Whakue whariki weaving project described in the Arts & Crafts chapter.




KEEP
OUT

View of Papaiouru marae, showing
Tamatekapua, and Te Huia Souvenirs.

Te Huia Souvenirs.
Note the Japanese sign on lawn.




MAORI ARTS & CRAFTS
ARTIFACTS CARVINGS TAUA
TE WAIA SOUVENIRS
JK 6875

A Hangi, or hot box, at work.

The results - kapai the kai hangi!





Northern entrance to Ohinemutu.
Note the No Buses sign.
Red roof in the background is
Te Roro o te Rangi

Lake Road Boundary of Ohinemutu -
Lakes Tavern is in the background. All
the buildings shown are motels or
tourist flats and holiday apartments.


Y.H.A.HOSTE
TAREWA RO



Te Kopura Bath.
Lots of bamboo!

Communal hangi, and in background, the disused remains of a communal bath, now reverted to a pool of boiling water, or ngawha.







Ohinemutu - a panorama by Dana Peterson

And, before we reach Tunohopu, we pass Waihunuhunukuri, another hugely growling and vaporous spring, which fed the bathhouse fenced in by nineteenth century pickets. This is part of the establishment that dominates the village - more than the lake, more than the steam itself - and has done so for over a hundred years. It is The Rotorua Lakes Tavern - colonial architecture that drools hungrily above the kainga, and with which Ngati Whakaue has continued an intense libatory relationship of many generations.

At the fork in the road, there are the concrete remains of former community baths - closed only a few years ago because of ownership disputes and management; neighbouring them is the Rotorua Rowing Club, a largely pakeha institution, and further along is a modern lakeside home recently bought by Europeans, from Maori owners unable to keep up with heavy land taxes.

We move in towards Ngongotaha, following the course of the river, Up on a rocky knoll above the road is a smooth-lipped mouth of white rock, issuing steam in a steady rumble. This is the sleeping geyser Kahukura, whose play is erratic, years apart, but for those few privileged witnesses, it is memorable indeed. Kahukura continues to pump boiling water down to enclosed bath houses and cooking boxes along the river bank.

From Kahukura, we walk down a street of many vacant lots - densely covered in thatchy grey-green manuka, and noxious exotic growth. Columns of pungent rising steam reveal why such land remains unused and empty. A few homes with wide yards open to our gaze, wooden bathhouses and steaming hangi to the rear, then the vicarage of St. Faith's, and we are in the neighbourhood of a well-known middleclass Ngati Whakaue family. To them, this area is affectionately known as "Mitchellville".

Careful landscaping, large powerboats, a lawn tennis court, and elegant rose bushes characterize this privileged enclave. Such contra-

inevitably compels both tourist private car and tourist coach to pause, admire the roses, gawk over the fences (that rise higher each year), and profoundly irritate the whanau affected. This family is descended from a singularly successful cultural broker whose mother was a Ngati Whakaue woman, and whose father was an ambitious British colonial surveyor of lands for development, a profession in which his son also excelled. A man of two worlds, indigenous Maori and pakeha colonist, Taiporutu Mitchell manipulated his biracial background, interpreting one side to the other with enormous material success.

Further along, we encounter the beauty of Te Roro o te Rangi, the diminutive marae of the Ngati Whakaue hapu of the same name. The dining room is Kai Matai, and the courtyard slopes down to the languid Utuhina stream. Boasting beautiful exterior carvings, and some fine interior artwork, this little turangawaewae often shelters members of Ngati Roro o te Rangi who are building or finding a new home, as well as conducting the usual customs of life and death. It is alive, and truly loved.

On the other side of the street is a large groaning stand of bamboo, at whose roots struggle the survivors of an ancient taro patch - a food which even my Kuia remembered from decades ago, now sour and displaced by white bread and potatoes. Within the bamboo grove, away from the prying foreign eye, is a special bath, the Kopura, the Bamboo Bath, still celebrated throughout Te Arawa for its legendary curative powers. To this day, kaumatua affected with rheumatics and other disorders go down at dawn or twilight, to immerse in the luminous waters, whose healing green sleekness rises from a stoney sand and latticed base. Te Kopura is a well kept secret.

Before the street ends, the motel encroaches. A pakeha enterprise, it has purchased most of the land on one side of a narrow lane down to the stream. The owners of the remaining Maori property refuse to consider selling, despite escalating land taxes, and outrageous financial

temptations. A Japanese businessman made an offer of $150,000 cash. To the family approached - my family - it was simply incomprehensible, "just way out", and never even remotely considered.

The street ends, or begins, on the main Rotorua - Hamilton highway. Conceding to Ohinemutu residents' demands, the District Council has erected a high, driver's eye-level sign post on this corner. Often, it is flagrantly defied by tour drivers. It reads - NO BUSES.

That is how Ohinemutu is, now. What was it like before?

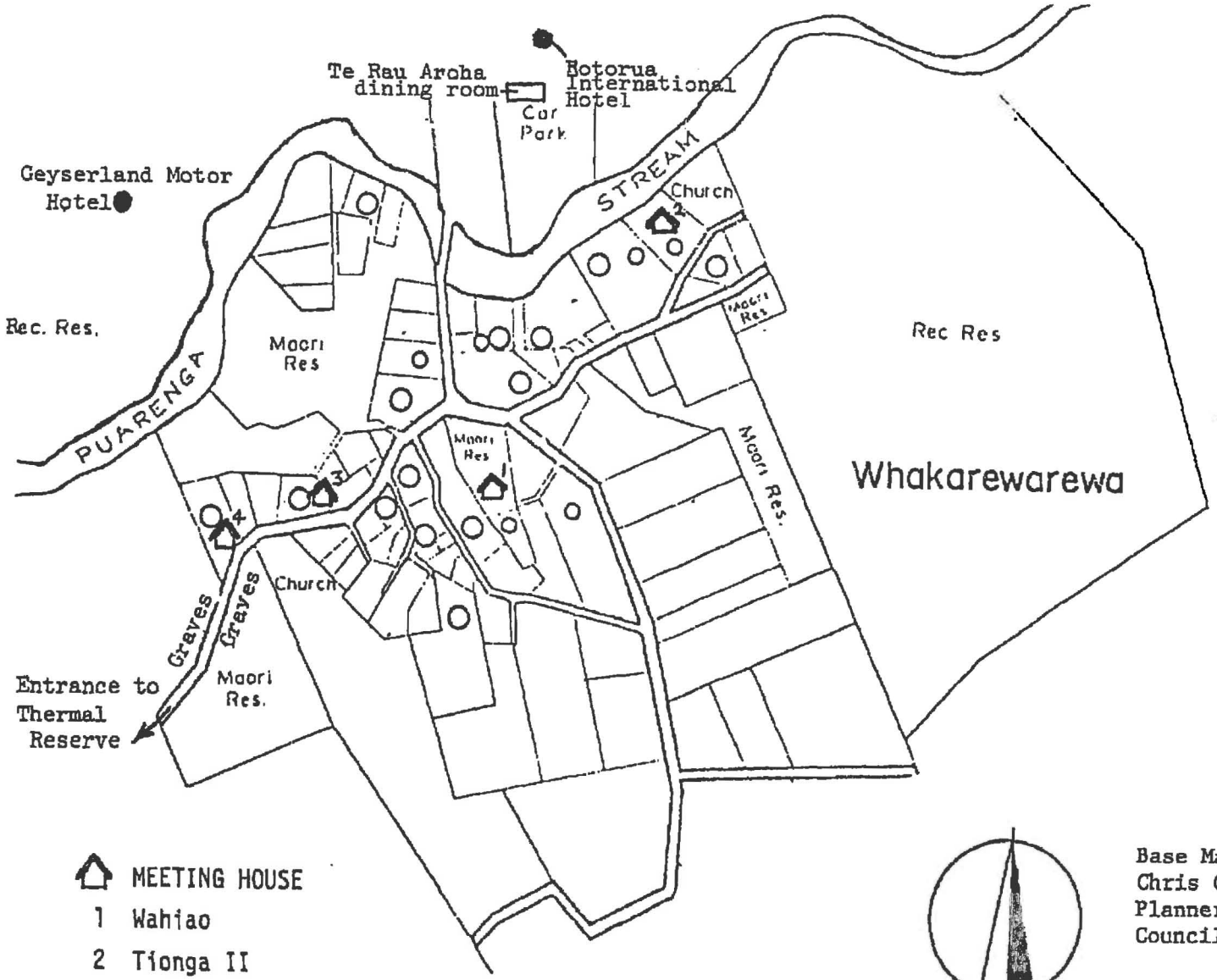
> The marae then was full of people, young people, it was a real Maori pa. Everyone lived in whares, and there was the Hindu store, he was the only foreigner allowed inside the pa, and he only went in the last ten years. We used to dive for morihana in the Ruapeka, then go over to the limebath, and cook them, jump in and have a bath, and eat them, no problems! It's so different now. The pa is looking like a pakeha village. There were no muted voices in those days, no fences in that pa when I was a child, and there were children everywhere.

A woman talks of her childhood in Ohinemutu; another recounts how her elders lived -

> The floors on their whares covered with coal sacks that were scrubbed, shining, shining, white, so white that you could eat off them.

And until very recently, this scene would unfold.

Early morning, the steam rising, damp droplets scatter in the morning light. I stroll past the Ruapeka, and I see Paretipua. She is vast and deeply brown, her hair is bound in a large white towel, and covering her body is a length of scarlet cloth, tucked and draped and tied like a Kaitaka, the dress of her forebears. She pauses at the verandah of her whare, which is weathered and storm blackened, and she turns, facing the autumn sun. And she unfurls the towel, loosening her tangled, wet hair, a cascade of rippling black ribbons in the moist air. Motionless, I feel my mind peel away a hundred years of contact. Tears swell in my eyes. This was part of the beauty of earliest Ohinemutu;



Base Map Courtesy
Chris O'Neill, Town Planner, Rotorua District Council

this was part of us that has somehow remained. But for how long?

Ko te Whakarewarewatanga o te Ope a Wahiao.

The leaping up in training for battle of the war party of Wahiao.

Many generations ago, Wahiao, heroic warrior ancestor of the Ngati Wahiao Hapu of Tuhourangi, prepared his men for combat. Their training ground was the starkly white and rugged terrain below the cliffs of Tuturu, and the fortified slopes of Pohaturoa. To commemorate this, the place was named for it -- Te Whakarewarewaretanga o te Ope a Wahiao. In more recent times this was abbreviated to Whakarewarewa, until the final blow was dealt by tourist and colonial. It then became "Whaka", always mispronounced "wokker" (as in whopper), and completely meaningless as a name.

Slowly, the bus turns the corner, passes the hotel. Ahead is the terminal -- a small open shack, and waiting at the black puddled tarmac is a guide. She wears red -- a loosely fitting polyester dress, trimmed in white piping, and a red cardigan. A straw hat, splashed with a red chiffon scarf above the brim, shades her fine bronze face from the sun. Her manner is composed, but not aloof. Her English is impeccable.

The tour party tumbles out, some assisted by the jovial pakeha driver, others placing feet firmly on the tiny pinewood platform as they descend. Cameras are re-checked, headgear rearranged, and crumpled clothing smoothed. The line of quaint shops, beckoning from the far side of the street, their facade cutely colonial, is considered. And after a well-practised introduction, the tour begins.

A bridge crosses the Puarenga Stream, and over its entrance stretches an archway of cream painted concrete enhanced with some fine carving. Te Hokowhitu a Tu, this memorial commemorates the Maori dead -- specifically, the Ngati Wahiao -- of both World Wars. Impressed, the visitors walk onto the bridge, amid the shouts and yelps and delighted

guffaws of tourist and pennydiver. People are leaning over the rail, and from the bridge, Maori children are plunging into the stream fifteen feet below, as silver coins are tossed down by the smiling spectators. Tourist cameras work overtime. A couple are approached by two young imps who offer a tongue jabbing pose for a dollar each. The noise continues. The tour party has now entered the village area; the guide indicates the splendidly carved meeting house, Wahiao, and speaks briefly of Maori custom and traditions. She then ushers the group towards a fenced and signposted area. Just off the finely sanded white path is a toll booth, and behind this can be seen the concrete foundations of what was once a large building. Below is the Puarenga Stream, winding around uneven manuka clad slopes. Near the toll booth, a large covered chipboard leans against a picket fence. It is dotted with brightly coloured souvenier poi balls, and small items of weaving in red, black, gold and white. From within the booth, smiling radiantly, the manufacturer beams at the approaching visitors, while her small children romp about outside.

Beyond the toll booth is the Maori Reserve. Concreted boxes covered in sacking issue the flavoursome steam of some family's dinner, and on a terraced rise encircled by plastered stone and grey cement the boiling pool, Parekohuru, bubbles ferociously. Shimmering threads of hot water weave across the ground, in channels scoured inches deep, to spill over the steep banks into the Puarenga. A bottle green painted shelter roofed in iron dominates one corner, in which five deep rectangles of still, transparent water glimmer and shine. These are the Oil Baths, which the guide describes as having the softest, most refreshing water. They are fed by crudely wood-lined aqueducts from the rumbling Korotiotio, a fierce mass of spray and rocks and steam. Through the furthest gate walks a young woman toting an empty purple bucket. She fills it at Parekohuru, and, oblivious to tourist curiosity, goes home to finish her chores.

Having left the Reserve, the group ascends Baulcombe Avenue. Many of the surrounding houses, some close together and all obviously very old, are ornamented with carving. A small Catholic church opens its doors, the simple interior subtly decorated with some Maori motif, the building itself amidst a strange graveyard, or urupa, alive with thermal activity, small pools extending through the mossy gravestones. Bracken, manuka and scrub cover the side of the road.

The tourists' interest is aroused by a cluster of houses above the Reserve. One is Tuhoromatakaka, the carved residence of Maggie Papakura, the world famous guide and entrepreneur; it is now the home of her surviving relatives. Nearby is another wharewhakairo Awai Manukau, also enjoyed by a family. Discreet signs declare that it is private property, and not for public inspection, although there are no fences barring intrusion. The back wall of Tohoromatakaka comes upon another urupa, terraced and full. A carved spire hails the memory of Makereti, and a shining white vault near its base is that of the late guide Rangi, an international celebrity and daughter-in-law of Maggie herself. Ponderously, a few of the tourists pause thinking about this great lady and her memory.

They approach the entrance to the thermal valley. Along the path, carved figures in miniature of previous guides and concert personalities pose from atop strong totara posts. A bank of high trees casts shade along the well-tramped path of red earth. Another toll booth and the thermal tour begins.

We are sitting on the enclosed porch of Kuia Kiddo's tiny weatherboard house. A flagstone path angles through the sloping garden to a narrow gate in the tall macrocarpa hedge. Marigolds, daisies, petunias glow in the faint rainfall, and a tortoise-shell cat slides noiselessly between the two burial vaults near the front wall.

The far view is dominated by the vastness of the Rotorua International Hotel, seven floors above the tribal dining room, Te Rau Aroha, on the other side of the Puarenga Stream. Coming closer to the house, the eye scans the tall eucalyptus trees and soft manuka lining the stream, and I notice a naked patch of rock, the foundations of the old Te Rau Aroha, near the Rahui. From the bridge, the road widens -- approaching Te Pakira, the marae of Wahiao. I ponder the times I have come here, welcomed the cords strung taut across the marae and the sternly marked notices and arrow signs which direct tourists away. Any ritual of Ngati Wahiao is observed with a vigilant sensitivity -- non-Maori strangers are ushered off, and a large, strong man casually but confidently strolls near the entrance, alert and possessive. Few questions are answered during these times, and persistent curiosity is often encountered with an equally direct rudeness.

As one jovial fellow beamingly confides -

> At times like our tangis, I don't mind telling pakehas to piss off. They have to understand that much is ours.

Below Kuia's house adjoining the marae is a large open area which is a carpark for those attending Wahiao. An extensive wasteland of scrub, fumeroles and rising steam reaches from this rocky lot to the vaporous expanse of Te Roto a Tamaheke -- five or six acres of boiling water, the surface constantly eddying and swirling, hung low with pungent steam. Exotic rich green conifers fringe the farthest shores.

A short lane ventures from the carpark, to stop abruptly by the Anglican Church, a small whare with brightly painted maihi -- front gables. One side, nearest the lake, is wild vegetation; the other side has a few houses and from my seat on Kuia's porch I see the Hirere.

The outside walls are deliberately unimposing -- weathered, unpainted wood, looking somehow naked and neglected. Yet for many Ngati Wahiao, this is the prime social centre of the community.

the quiet murmur and gentle lilt of conversation in Maori and English, the sound of rushing water fills the warm, steaming air, and in the far corner is a fall of soft, healing water that plummets over mossy footworn rocks, and into a large, sparkling pool.

Two sides of the bath are walled in, and the other two rise up to wooden ledges, crude benches along the wall, with hooks and nails for clothes. The scene in early morning, and dusk into evening time, is very busy - people coming and going, laughing, scolding, gossiping, all kinfolk one way or another, all jolly yet discrete in their enjoyment of each other's company, and the soothing swirl of the Hirere. Nakedness abounds, and no one worries; the business of washing and socializing in this place are generations old. A gurgling infant wallows in his mother's arms, to the delight of the oldest kaumatua, who rinses her steel-streaked hair beneath the bubbling water, and chuckles happily. For most manuhiri Maori, time spent in the domain of Ngati Wahiao is incomplete without a plunge in the wonderful Hirere.

Within the Rahui, there is another bathing place - the Oil Baths, and many village people come here at night. During the day, the concrete oblongs are either empty, or filled with hot water, but as night approaches, and the last tourist leaves, water is pumped into these five pools, open beneath the evening sky, for unlike the Hirere, the Oil Baths are not walled in. The water itself is channelled and contained by more artificial ("pakeha"), rather than natural ("Maori") means.

Some change has occurred over the years at Whakarewarewa, and tourism has not been the main cause, as this fine old kaumatua tells me -

> The village was always full of song in those days - Sunday night was special, spent on the bridge, all the children singing songs. The people were always singing, whistling around the village. Someone was always singing. But that changed after the Second World War, with the sudden maturity that created such exigency and strain among our people.

Another describes the beauty of pre-war Whakarewarewa -

> Sometimes, some of us would spend a fair bit of the night sitting in the bath and singing ... and I recall one night, we'd all been to the pictures, and back in the bath afterwards we sang all the songs, in the brilliant moonlight. There were about fifteen or twenty of us there ... I've got this picture of this beautiful girl sitting on a rock, playing a guitar, with the frosty steam all around in the moonlight, and of course completely naked, all of us, it was BEAUTIFUL! And I carry that picture with me all my life because that was 1939 - and by the same time the next year, all the boys were in Egypt, and many never came back. That night was the last one, of the good old times, then the war came, and smashed it all.

And a middle-aged woman resident also recalls -

> The pa was full of people, lots of babies, it was rare if you didn't have one! And you'd do your housework, go down to the pool at half past eight, everybody would be there bathing their babies, then we'd put them to sleep, and sit around the washing pool with the bucket of washing, and this was where you picked up the news of the day. Seven or eight women would be washing at once, and it was natural for tourists to see such a group, and say oh how beautiful that soap lathers, the water must be so soft, and instantly there was conversation.

For many this life continues, as one young woman attests -

> Even though there's a lot of tourists everywhere there's nothing we can do about them. And in spite of them, I want to come back here, and live like everyone else does around here in the pa where I was brought up. It's the real Maori way. The houses are old, but I'd give anything to come back here to live, I really would. I'm working at my husband to move back here. Just think of the savings!! Washing the nappies in the ngawha over there, and all that hot water. It's so good!

But as families grow, and work draws people elsewhere, considerable movement away from Whakarewarewa has occurred.

> You know, if you walked across the bridge now, and stopped at the first house you came to, and then turned, and faced the bridge, you should spread your arms. And in that small area, eleven houses have gone. Yes, eleven. Now empty lots - the problem is the multiplicity of owners, and no one is willing to build at the risk of others. Oh, we must keep the village living, I say - it may be ramshackle and tumbledown, but at least people are living there, and keeping the village ALIVE. That is the most important thing of all to me.

The village of Whakarewarewa, though no longer densely populated, is nevertheless exuberantly and dynamically alive. Although many families have shifted to Sala Street, and housing schemes on Maori land nearer the lake at Ngapuna and Owhata, ties with the papakainga remain strong and resilient. Some continue to bathe nightly at the village pools, dropping in on their way home from work, or social activities. They agree that being there, the feeling of Whakarewarewa gives them something, hard to define, but very real and very special indeed. As one former resident so aptly put it -

> On that side of the river, somehow it seemed to me, you were part of an organism if you were there; and you were out of it a bit if you weren't.

And it's still like that.

This study reiterates that the people of Te Arawa consciously support tourism - or the social and economic presence of a "visitor population" - only to the extent that tribal control of certain factors is retained. One such factor for two participating hapu, Ngati Whakaue, and Ngati Tuhourangi, is control of the kainga, or village situation. Having described the appearance and atmosphere of each village, I will now attempt to present the differences and also commonalities of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, and present a summary of residents' reaction. At this point the reader is again reminded that the writer herself has been deeply embroiled in the political and social affairs of one kainga being studied. I make no apologies, however, for being subjective ... there is no other way.

Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa are different in many ways. Whakarewarewa is two miles from downtown Rotorua, and although the thermal park itself fronts the main highway, the Maori residential area is some distance away. Entrance to the kainga is restricted to a single bridge across an imposing physical barrier - the Puarenga stream itself. Traffic on this bridge is noticed by residents, who watch out

for unfamiliar vehicles. Rules of tourist conduct and activity are well established, and usually accepted by most tourists for whom the trails are clearly marked and activities precisely defined. To enter the Maori Reserve, and see the cooking, washing, and bathing pools, a payment is necessary. At five o'clock, and six in the long hours of summer, guided tours cease, and related activity closes for the day. After this hour, the Oil Baths, named for the softness of their water, are filled or cooled down, and the Hirere echoes with the sound of conversation and laughter. Women check their pots in the hot box hangi; young people carry home buckets of hot water. The village assumes another face.

On the other side of the city, merely a mile's walk from the main post office, Ohinemutu is open night and day to public inspection. Access is by a number of streets - many branch in from the main highway, and the principal thoroughfare to Papaiouru is from the lakefront park. Two streets enter directly from the Lakes Tavern. No signs are visible, apart from the concert and souvenier shop advertising. Tour coaches frequently cruize through the village, despite a "No Buses" sign at the northern entrance. On a busy day in summer, as many as eleven buses, containing an average of 30 people each, will park on the marae Papaiouru, and residents have counted forty passing on a February afternoon. The communal bathhouses - the Lime and the Corner Bath - were pulled down after falling into disuse and disrepair. The only communal waiariki is the Kopura, now used primarily for healing and therapeutic reasons, and not social ones.

In the Whakarewarewa situation, the Government intervened, and rules were established for resident and tourist contact fourtuitously early. Purchase of the thermal valley by the Crown in 1894, and recognition of access through the Maori Reserve, prompted relatively amicable relations and agreement. Fees were decided, and hours of traffic were deliberated, and agreed upon.

Ohinemutu, however, has always been a free showplace for the curious pakeha, and continues to be mentioned as such in tourist literature. For a few years, a toll was exacted at the door of Tamatekapua, and guiding services have also been sporadically available. Nothing has been organised at a tribal level for many years. During the fifties and early sixties Tai Paul, and his "Pohutu Boys", a well known dance band, had a contract with the Papaiouru Trustees. This opened the doors of Tamatekapua on weekend nights for the famous "Tama Dances", which were actually more patronized by Maoris than any other group. According to the Trust Board Chairman of that time, the dances were discontinued because they were not profitable, and "Housie Evenings" were introduced in Whakaturia. These were enormously successful, and huge profits were reaped until the dining room was razed by fire in 1963.

As their households grew, the last two generations have also seen large scale movement of most of the traditional leading families of the hapu to Te Koutu and elsewhere, and the families now prominent in the village assert a clearly middleclass individualism. These factors, plus the continued and unregulated tourist access to the village itself, have accelerated the breaking down of day to day communal activity.

Bonds of kinship and community tighten and rise only in specific circumstances at Ohinemutu : tangihanga, weddings, land meetings, and special marae projects such as whariki (fine mat) weaving. Small pockets of whanau do occur - around the wharewhakairo Tiki, and those houses immediately fronting the Papaiouru - but there is no longer a place whose function parallels the Oil Baths, or the Hirere at Whakarewarewa. Many former Ohinemutu residents recall communal bathing and washing with nostalgia, while most of those who have remained are content with, and even proud of, specific ownership of their own little walled in and securely locked waiariki. One woman recounts sadly -

> Locks and doors are only a new thing - they happened after the war. Pakehas started invading our baths, and they'd drink and carry on and have parties in them, and that's why the doors now.

Bath houses were thus locked for security reasons, and eventually families began building their own.

In the case of one bath house, considerable and continuous argument surrounded management of the premises itself, and possession of the keys. The conflicts staggered through a number of years, and maintenance became negligible. This structure was finally demolished by the trustee for the underaged owner of the land on which it stood. Visitors and the locals staying at Tunohopu marae were thus absolutely deprived of the use of the last remaining sizeable public bath house, and another tradition was summarily discontinued. Some manuhiri are taken to private family baths, but the majority now use the recently built marae shower block.

In this context, a trend towards individualistic proprietorship has become manifest in the kainga. Mitchellville best illustrates this. For decades, there was only one bath house serving a cluster of Mitchell family homes which embraced a focal point, the white roughcast "Big House". Over the last decade, each household has constructed its own bathing facility, and two of the seven bathhouses are a mere ten feet apart.

A mixed variety of reactions to the tourist is encountered in both kainga. The most common insists that provided they are respectful and not a nuisance, tourists are all right. But too often, they show little, or no, understanding of Maori values, and seem to assume that the village is there primarily for their own amusement. Tolerance of tourist blundering and discourtesy has lowered in recent years, and the most negative experiences tend to be the most vividly remembered by many villagers.

Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi both accept tourists with resignation, and both admit feelings of ambivalence.

> We accepted the tourists, knowing that the thermal area attracted them, but it jarred when it came to their use of cameras. They had complete disregard for the personal niceties. And what used to get the children's backs up was the way they were ordered around, as if they were there for the tourists right-like, stick your tongue out, roll your eyes, do this, do a haka, do that ...

Even non-resident Maori may be victims of touristic zeal -

> An ope of elders was getting ready to leave the Papaiouru marae for a trip. One of them, an old kuia, had a moko. A tourist rushed over and pushed his camera right up to her face, the cheeky devil. She lost her temper and waved her tokotoko at him! One of the elders stepped in. The tourist said he had asked her, and when she didn't answer, he thought this meant it was okay. He apologized, but she was still wild.

Another old lady recounts how a tourist walked "right through my front gate, and right up into my garden". She reacted thus -

> You try getting into Buckingham Palace and see how far you get. This is my property, so OUT! OUT! He was very surprized, but he was nice about it. Sometimes you have to yell at them.

All the residents remain intensely jealous of their property - their tribal space. Many also lament that this space is being more frequently abused.

> Lots of our graves here are being desecrated by tourists, who walk over them, jump about and take photos. I just hate it.

The regulation of tourist activity and traffic seems to be the most urgent concern. Their presence - or anticipated presence - persists, with constant impact on the community. To-date, there have been two outstanding instances of confrontation and conflict in Ohinemutu. Without the regulating institutions, such as set visiting times, of Whakarewarewa, and being much more vulnerable to casual and continual tourist contact, this village has had to cope with intrusion in many forms.

Factionalism within the community has further confused the issue, with many proposing militant resistance, some doing nothing at all, and others offering open arms. Unlike Whakarewarewa, alienation of land to pakeha buyers has continued to occur within the village area itself. In the last year, a choice lakeside section was sold because the owners could not afford the rates. This was met with surprize and resentment from a large number of residents, who have struggled to retain their holdings. They are threatened by such a rash action, and find it hard to understand. Land sale such as this, despite urgent and vociferous encouragement to retain at all costs, exemplifies the basic ambivalence which troubles the heart of many Ngati Whakaue.

Certainly, the grandmothers and great grandmothers of this present generation had no doubts about their being, and belonging to the kainga, as the kainga belonged to them. They organized their own successful action group. In 1894, the Native Women's Parliament prevented a tourist launch from mooring in the Ruapeka Bay. The launch proprietor had been previously warned, in writing, but chose to treat the communication as a "huge joke". Indignant at the strong and well-organized resistance to his entrepreneurial plans, he was forced to concede, and beach his boats elsewhere[4].

A similar action, with less favouring consequences, occurred in 1974 - nearly a hundred years later. Since the original Township Agreement of 1881, maintenance and repair of the privately owned streets of Ohinemutu were the assumed responsibility of successive municipal administrations. This continued until about 1970, when the City Council claimed it was actually not authorized to undertake such services. The streets, meanwhile, became dangerously potholed, and a potential health and traffic hazard. Supported by a small group of Ohinemutu residents, the Council had legislation introduced transferring title to the street land from the Maori owners to the Council itself. Only with such vested ownership, the Council argued, could the roads be

maintained.

A tribal committee, Te Kotahitanga o Ngati Whakaue, had resurrected itself to raise funds for the new Whakaturia, and many of the members were active political thinkers. While the Bill was being drafted, Te Kotahitanga organized resistance on a number of levels. Lobbyists based in Wellington solicited support from members of Parliament, and extensive legal research was underway. A petition opposing the Council's intentions was circulated widely in the community. The Bill soon approached its final reading, and a more radical stance was then taken. Two principal entrances to the village, the Ariariterangi Street across by Te Roro o te Rangi, and the junction between Tamatekapua and Te Aomarama, were barricaded. Members of Te Kotahitanga kept a round the clock barricade watch throughout the three day period. All vehicular transport was denied entry. As this action coincided with the fiftieth year conference of the Maori Tribal Trust Boards of New Zealand, and Ohinemutu was the host kainga, the barricades initially created a huge uproar. The media adopted an unsympathetic attitude, and amplified the voices of the pro-Council faction, conferring the unlikely title, "most senior elder" on one cooperative kaumatua[5].

Te Kotahitanga met with the Minister of Maori Affairs, whose hollow reassurances were followed by the news that the Bill itself had been enacted that day, by Vice Regal signature. Now on public land, the Ariariterangi Street roadblock was dismantled, but access on to the Papaiouru remained barred, as the marae itself was Maori Reserve, despite being part of a frequently used thoroughfare. Seeing this as one of a series of late twentieth century Maori land grabs, Te Kotahitanga emphasized the role played by Ngati Whakaue in establishing the township, and the previous gifting of 1047 acres for public use. The media, and the supporting faction, both tended to overlook this crucial point.

The Tamatekapua barricade continued for another twenty four hours

after the legislation was passed. During this final vigil, two members of Te Kotahitanga were shot at by an irate pakeha taxpayer. Alleging they had assulted him earlier that evening, when he was denied passage through the roadblock, he returned to the post with a loaded .22 rifle. He fired this at point blank range into the windscreen of the car in which they were both sitting. One was fast asleep, the other alert enough to move herself and companion in time. Ironically, the marksman was the Proprietor of the Lake House Hotel. Four months later, he was charged and convicted of negligent use of a firearm with reckless disregard for others, and he was fined a thousand dollars.

As principal witness, I left the country two days after the trial in disgusted disbelief, at the seeming insignificance of the charge, which successfully decreased the accused's true intention and attitude. I was also appalled at the unmeritted leniency of his sentence, and deeply hurt by the outright hostility of most of the Rotorua public to our - the witnesses' - case. We, the victims, were the ones who were taught a hard lesson. At that point, I resolved to write what I then considered to be the authentic history of Takiwa Waiariki.

Tourism was an underlying issue during this controversy. A statement made to the press by the Kotahitanga chairman declares -

> The City Council had other motives for taking this land. They just want to turn it into another tourist mecca. It is only a matter of time before the village has disappeared altogether. We are already surrounded by motels[6].

This was countered by an elder's press release -

> Tourists visiting the famous Maori village were forced to walk ... it is a shame that a domestic argument had become public[7].

Endorsing his comments, another remarks -

> The militant element of behaviour had been acquired from sections of the community in other cities. They want to impose this attitude on the inhabitants of the village[8].

A press photograph published in the New Zealand Herald November 8 1974 shows seven people attending a barricade. All had been born and raised in the village, three continued to reside within its boundaries, and three others had parents or siblings still there. This was the principal basis of the group's solidarity. The seven also represented some of the most senior descent lines of Ngati Whakaue. All were active members of Te Kotahitanga, and resisted the alienation of village lands. Each had a genealogical claim to the kainga, as well as property interests. A small percentage of the protesters were from "outside", temporarily, as students in larger cities. But their roots were very much in the Papaiouru.

Over five years have passed since the protest action, which has faded into the fabric of legend. The streets were duly repaired and upgraded, concrete curbing was put in, and all the residents of Ohinemutu subsequently acclaimed their delight in the innovations. Although a rash and rapid conscious-raising experience, the protest action and its meaning soon became yet another village anecdote.

For many Ngati Whakaue, however, Ohinemutu persists as a symbol of old and cherished values, even if these do not actually seem present as a day to day phenomenon within the village boundaries. Because of this, many emigrants to the major centres feel they are entitled to comment on happenings, and possible future developments, within the pa. Some also insist that from a distance they can see what is happening much more clearly, and so their verbal contributions should be considered. And many secretly fear that the mana of Ohinemutu, the ihi of the Papaiouru, its spiritual essence, are shrinking. This is brought out in the case of Whakaturia.

Much anxiety is centred on the rebuilding of the Whakaturia dining room, which has become an embodiment of Ngati Whakaue aspiration and endeavour. A number of plans have been drafted, and shelved, and

countless meetings have assembled, disputed, and adjourned, while two possible sites have been debated. Yet in seventeen years, construction has not commenced. One elder declares -

> I have heard others say Whakaturia will never stand again, because the mauri, the essence, of our marae has gone - it has been trampled over for too long by tourists, parked on by their cars and buses. My reply is, Papaiouru is dormant, and will revive, because Ngati Whakaue cannot afford to be negative, we cannot.

Most of the residents of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, especially those who experience tourist contact continually, live suspended in a state of seemingly schizophrenic ambivalence. As tourist traffic increases, tourists become more difficult to avoid; the dimension of privacy in either kainga diminishes.

At Ohinemutu, the boundary on Lake Road has one tavern, one guest house, three sets of tourist flats, and an ambitiously expanding motel complex which comes into the village itself. Two other sets of flats are actually within the kainga. The steamy skyline of Whakarewarewa is dominated on one side by the monolithic Hotel International, and sprawling along the cliff of the geyser valley is the large lowhanging Geyserland Motor Hotel.

When the relationship is chosen, anticipated, and on the villagers' terms, then it is agreeable. But as the opportunity to choose decreases, and face to face encounter becomes more inevitable, it also becomes less pleasant. The feeling that the place is "not completely ours anymore" begins to grow.

Certain spheres will continue to be protected from the tourist eye, or touch. I recall two outstanding occasions of this. The first was at Ohinemutu, where I was taking photographs of Tamatekapua in 1978. I had previously been talking with my uncle, who owns the souvenier shop. I left him dealing exuberantly with a group of tourists. As he was pouring on the charm, I went into the meeting house, and a short

time later, the same group came in too. Wanting to get some interior shots, I turned on the lights. Minutes later, my uncle was at the door, roaring abuse in no uncertain terms, shouting his anger at the befuddled sightseers. He accused them of turning on the lights without permission, and stated he had had too much tourist disrespect. Then he saw me, and my camera, and my rather startled face. He slammed the lights off, continued his harangue as a matter of form, then lowering his voice, motioned me to the door in Maori. Once more in the backroom of his shop, he explained that too often, tourists take it for granted that they can stroll around Tama, turn on the lights, then leave without another thought.

The N.Z. Maori Arts and Crafts Institute at Whakarewarewa was the scene of another somewhat similar incident. A ticket booth is situated outside one of the Institute's workrooms, in which a number of Tuhourangi women were busy weaving fine mats to furnish Wahiao. Outside the fly-screen door was a clearly marked sign, stating, "Private! Staff Only". From her booth, the ticket vendor hawkishly watched the activities of anyone who came. Occasionally, tourists would ignore the sign, and slip in without her noticing them. They would be severely reprimanded and sent out by the disturbed weavers. One time, after a series of such incidents, a large family group of eight New Zealanders blithely trooped past the sign, intent on watching the weaving. The vendor stormed in, gesticulating furiously at the notice, and shouting, "Out! Out! Can't you read, you dummies!? That sign there says "Private Staff Only", so <u>get</u>!" She then dashed back to her booth, and quickly composed herself. When the same group came to purchase tickets to the thermal park, she was smiling, poised, and courteous - a picture of unruffled Maori charm.

Both these incidents - in Tamatekapua, and at the Arts and Crafts Institute - illustrate the chameleon-like flexibility

roles that have ensured the integrity of Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi. In the Arawa tourist region, this type of behaviour has become a fine art.

As Maori communities in a progressive multicultural country, Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa share problems common to many other kainga around Aotearoa - of adapting traditional forms, of changing protocol, of erratic leadership, and of factionalism. Tourism may have intensified one or two elements, but it is not the sole cause of such irrevocable change. And, as will be demonstrated in the next two chapters, tourism is held by many to be a means of successfully conserving and embellishing some cultural activities and forms.

Nevertheless, it has erected a clear and convenient stage in which the relationships, and crosscultural patterns of communicating, and miscommunicating, can be observed, and delineated. The relationships of the Taha Maori - the Maori world, and the Taha pakeha in the context of the villages described can be presented in two different schemes.

Although a dichotomy is the obvious model, I feel that the movement of elements within each scheme suggests a much more volatile phenomenon.

Firstly we can examine the contact situation for the actual papakainga, as in the accompanying diagram (a). The second model (b), summarizes the lifestyle experience within the village context. Both these schemes suggest a strong sense of Maori control and domination within what has remained a comparatively closed world. Little movement is volunteered from the dark to light circles, but the split lines reveal those elements currently merging into the Maori side with an increasing impetus. Very little of the Taha Maori is left unaffected.

Simply stated, the tourist presence seems inexorable, and as such is accepted by the residents, although face to face contact can

DIAGRAM (a): Contact Situation within the Papakainga

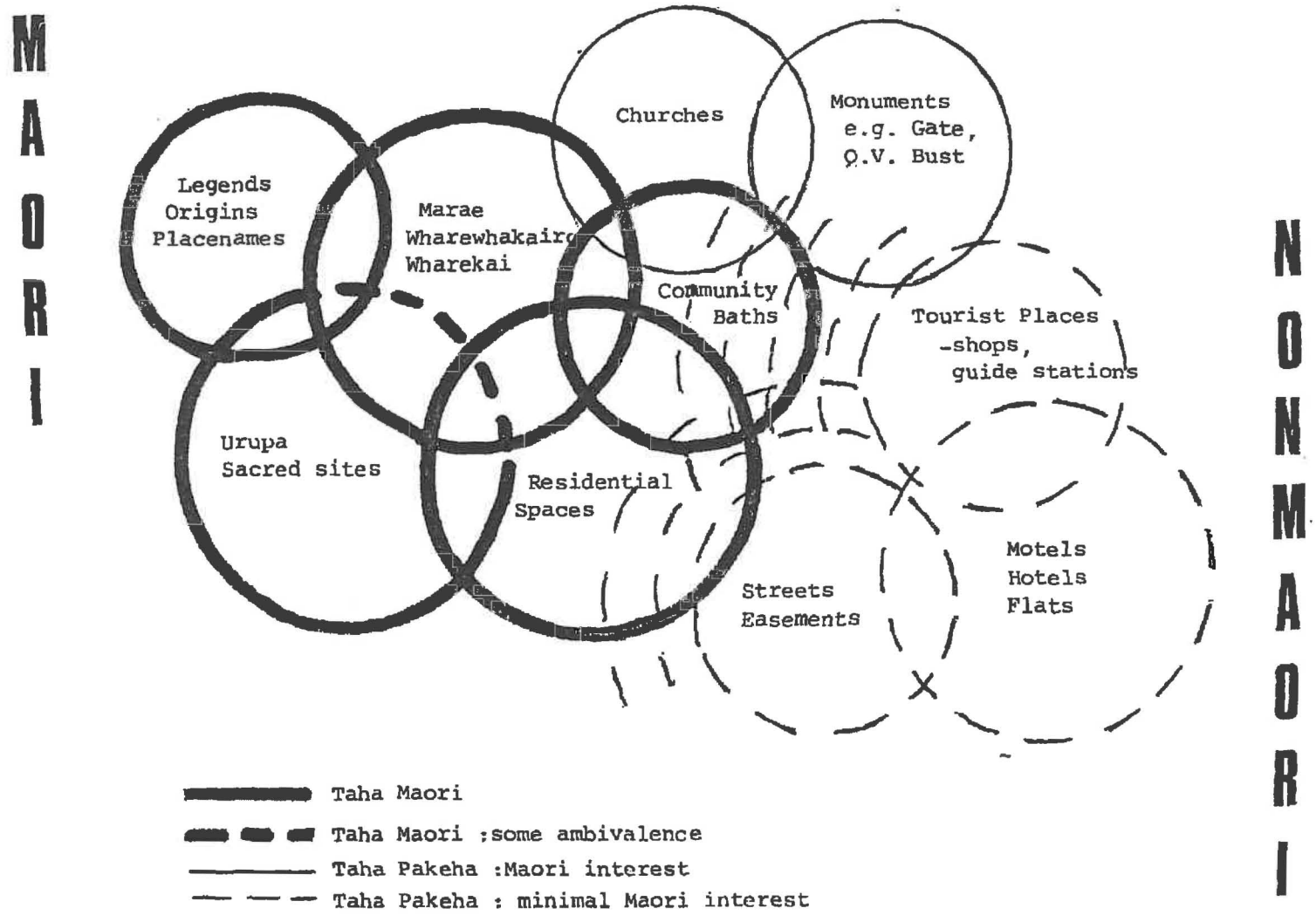
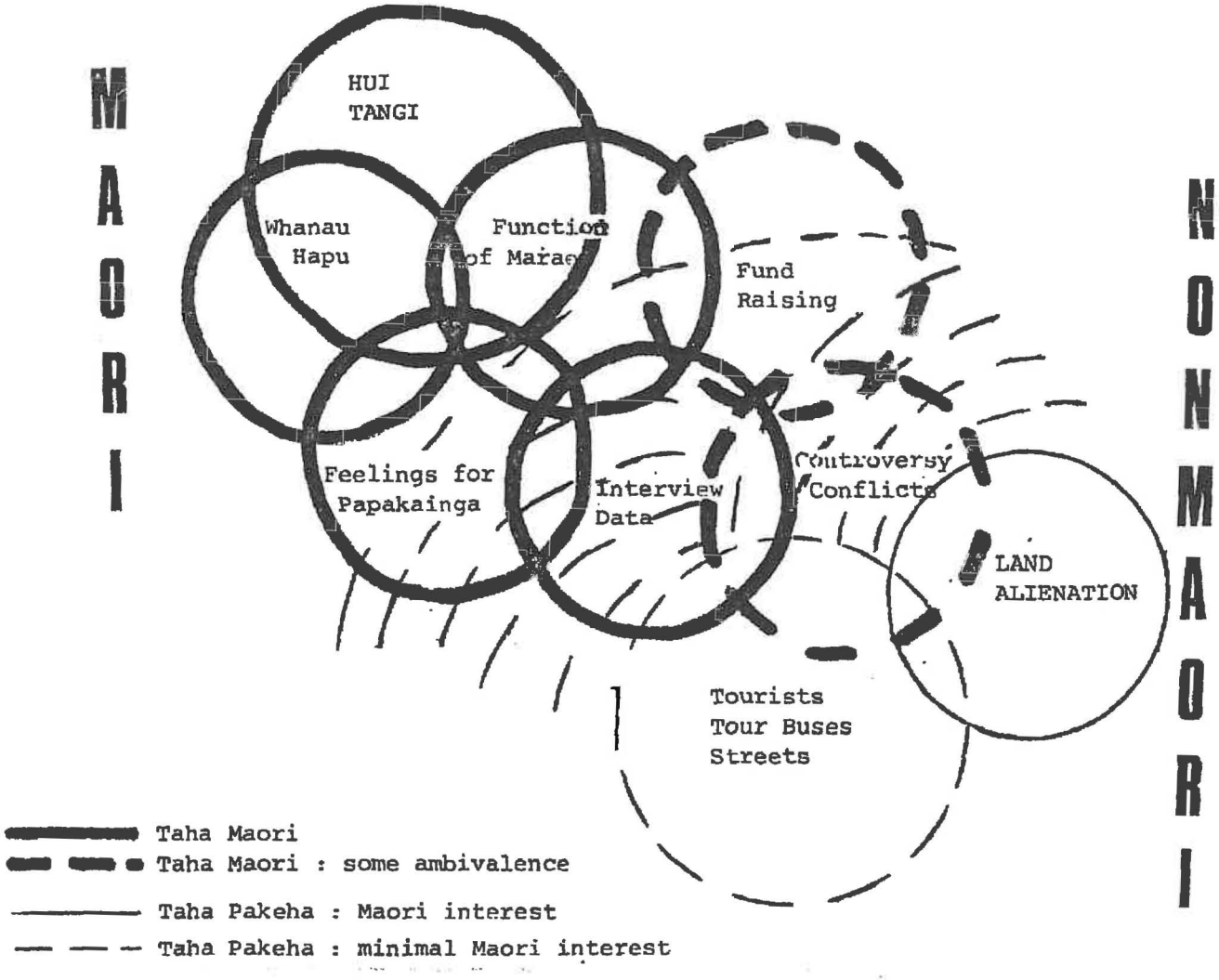


DIAGRAM (b): Lifestyle Experience within the Papakainga



be limited to certain situations, some "staged", and others not. In the Ohinemutu case, it is worth mentioning that the concert party currently performing in Tamatekapua is comprised mainly of non-residents, managed by a non-Te Arawa businessman. This is a "staged situation", which the participants for various reasons, mainly economic, consciously choose. The non-staged is the constant presence of tourists just over the fence in the motel unit next door, or gawking bleary eyed into the family cooking box.

During the first half of 1980, the Rotorua District Council conducted a residents' survey of the villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa -

> As a practical planning exercise aimed at illustrating how particular social characteristics of a population can be ascertained and reflected in the framing and implementation of public policy, in particular that relating to environmental planning[9].

Questionnaires were delivered to the village households - of 82 delivered in Ohinemutu, 69 were completed and returned. This was an 88% response. In Whakarewarewa, 22 were delivered, and 17 returned, presenting a 77% response.

The survey had a practical emphasis, focussing on ownership and use of property, types of housing used or desired, roads, community and recreational facilities, and future planning. Three questions of the twenty-eight asked applied specifically to tourism -

20. Would you like to see more tourists visit your marae or village?

21. Do tourists create any problems in your village? If so, what would you like to see done to improve the situation?
    - Keep tourists out
    - Restrict access
    - Provide walkway

22. Are there any problems of privacy on your maraes?

Question twenty is notable for the high number of abstentions - less than half the seventeen Whakarewarewa people responded to the

question, but of those who did, 63% welcomed the idea of more visiting tourists.

Response to the next question - on tourists creating problems - was much higher, thirteen of seventeen respondents, 87% agreeing, and almost as many supporting the suggested improvements. An almost even number - 54% agreed to 46% disagreed - that there were problems of privacy on the marae, but considering that four of the seventeen respondents abstained from answering may indicate ambivalence on this issue. On tourist hotels overlooking Whakarewarewa village, a slightly higher proportion, 38%, replied they don't mind, but an equal number agreed that either height should be limited, or the buildings should not be allowed at all.

Ohinemutu has a much higher rate of overall response on the first two questions - 68 of the 69 in question 20, and all the respondents in question 21. Like Whakarewarewa, more tourists were welcome, but a much higher proportion believed they created problems. Residents seemed less sure about the suggested improvements, and some confusion exists in regard to the privacy of the marae. They were also asked about motels, and 91% of the 69 respondents replied that they should be discouraged.

Conclusion

Most of the residents of the kainga discuss tourists and tourism with a thinly veiled uneasiness - tourists are around, they are noticed, they are increasing, and they are talked about. In Ohinemutu, people have erected physical barriers - fences, locked doors, and reproachful stares. For certain tribal ceremonies - weddings and tangihanga particularly - roadblocks may be set up, and traffic re-routed, on written application to the Rotorua District Council prior to the event. The two complete marae complexes most frequently used are fenced off, and securely locked - Tunohopu, and

Te Roro o te Rangi. Once the wharekai, Whakaturia, is functioning, controversy surrounding the use of Papaiouru will inevitably erupt. Despite tourist concerts, and ubiquitous buses, and frequent abuse, this is still the place where the more illustrious of our dead are brought to be farewelled. Tourists are hustled away, the signs are removed, and the rites are observed. A few days later, concert advertizing reappears, the house is again filled with auditorium seating, and commercial practices resume. And for those involved, it does not seem even slightly inconsistent. As I continued this line of enquiry with my elders, and informants, I was told that my questioning was morbid.

For Tuhourangi, the situation is different -

> At night, it is a somewhat fearsome place if you're not used to it - no lights, and the steam. It is dangerous. And so, in many ways, Whakarewarewa safely withdrew into itself at nightfall.

The environment itself protects them, and for five generations, this has been cherished and guarded and understood.

For each kainga, the future is probably very different, but the forces now affecting them are very much the same. Everyone I spent time with, however, agreed with the remark of one elder -

In our pa, the pakeha will never see us as our real selves. Because we don't want them to. And thus a sense of control - however tenuous in reality - is sustained.

Photographs: Whakarewarewa

Whakarewarewa - a view in the 1880's
Painting by Walter Boodle in the Auckland
City Art Gallery.

Photograph courtesy of Turnbull Library



Whakarewarewa in the 1880's.
This scene suggests a settled
village population, probably many
being the former inhabitants of
Te Wairoa.

Photograph courtesy of Turnbull Library



The approach to Whakarewarewa village, early 1890s. Note 1885 Puarenga bridge.

– Rotorua Museum print



photo – Rotorua Museum

Whakarewarewa, early 1890s. Note 1885 Puanerga bridge, and toll box.

- Courtesy Turnbull Library


WHAKAREWAREWA. 189. G.V.

Sophia's whare at Whakarewarewa,
early 1900s.

- Rotorua Museum print



photo – Rotorua Museum

Whakarewarewa

A panorama of Whakarewarewa pa, 1903. Note Puarenga stream bridge, built 1896. Large whare whakairo shown side on is Umukaria, no longer extant.

- Courtesy Turnbull Library

Whakarewarewa 1904.
"Cruise Ship Day"
Note the tiny conifers on Pohaturoa, part of the Government Afforestation Scheme.

Photograph courtesy of Auckland Institute & Museum.

Whakarewarewa 1904.
A cruise ship crowd views the eruption of Te Wairoa geyser. Clear indication of the number of people visiting the Reserve at that time.

Photograph courtesy of Auckland Institute & Museum.





Panorama of Whakarewarewa village, from
the Puarenga stream bridge.
The three wharewhakairo are
Wahiao - centre left
Awai Manukau - centre right
Tuhoromatakaka - on rise at far right.



Postcard, interior of Wahiao,
displaying whariki, fine mats.



View from Kuia Kiddo's verandah -
the Rotorua International Hotel.

View from below Kuia Kiddo's - the
Te Pakira marae.
Note in centre background, the
Geyserland Motor Hotel.



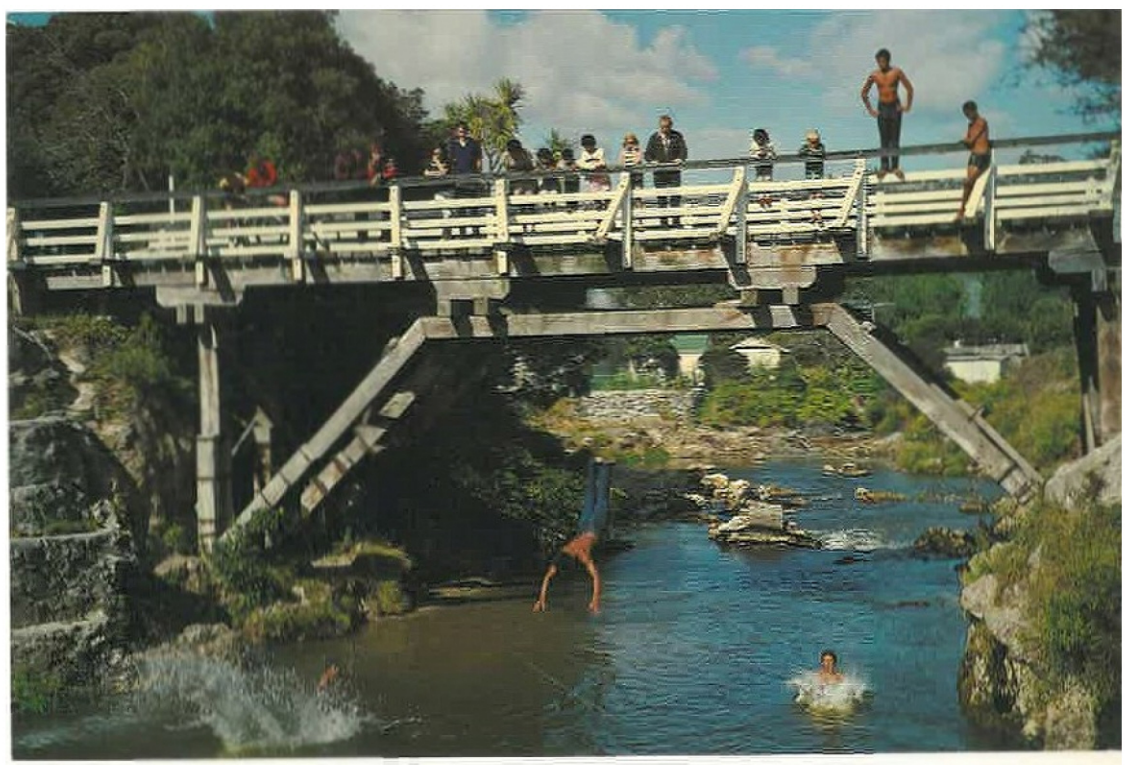




Jumping for pennies at the Whaka Bridge. c. 1905.

photo – Rotorua Museum

Diving for pennies from Whakarewarewa bridge, 1980.



Chapter Two : Entertainment

A Brief Survey of Literature : Early Record; Some Nineteenth Century Description; And the Evolution of the Twentieth Century Tourist Stage.

Chapter Two : Entertainment

Little serious study has been undertaken on the subject of Maori dance. Apart from perfunctory mention by Buck, Best and other early ethnographers[1], documentation has been limited to the works of Andersen[2], Armstrong[3], a few random comments by McLean[4], and the recent considerations of two American dance ethnologists, Kaeppler and Youngerman[5].

In this chapter, I intend to present a descriptive overview of Maori dance, from a few of the earliest recorded accounts, to the present situation. Emphasis will be on the Maori perspective; the voyagers' and colonial travellers' materials are used only to establish certain continuities of form and gesture which were noted by those first observers, and are still current.

I will also discuss the self-centred belief that Te Arawa has retained much of its demonstrable Maori identity because of - not necessarily in spite of - tourism. Te Rangihiroa, a famous Maori leader and academic, observed

> ... survivals occur in a tourist-frequented district such as Rotorua where groups of local Maori give regular entertainments for commercial purposes. In addition to Maori dances and songs, such games such as matimati and touretua were revived to add variety to the programme. As a result, many exponents have become expert[6].

I realize that it would be asinine to assert that Te Arawa "held the Maori culture flag aloft"; although Te Rangihiroa certainly suggests it, and so do a myriad of Te Arawa elders, many of whom are my own most valued informants. Activity in the performing arts - haka, poi, waiata - was undeniably vigorous in other parts of the country during the lean and dismal early decades of the twentieth century. Examples are Waikato[7], and Tairawhiti[8], spurred primarily by the political events of the period.

Apirana Ngata, a great Maori statesman, orator and hakaman, composed haka and action songs sharply relevant to issues affecting his tribe, the Ngati Porou, just as there were also some written and performed especially about him. They centered on dairy farming, sheepshearing, prohibition, tribal consciousness, and the need to be financially strong.

In Waikato, Te Puea organized a concert party which travelled the country fundraising for the Turangawaewae marae, and the agricultural development programme of Waikato. Both instances were acutely different - Ngati Porou strove to consolidate and magnify their economic and political wealth, which was already quite considerable. Waikato struggled, and ultimately triumphed, in re-establishing a strong and vigorously resilient base from which to reclaim the mana of Waikato.

Keen to expand their repertoire, during this time, the polished performers of Te Arawa did not hesitate to borrow items from other areas, nevertheless often stressing their claim to being the most richly, actively, colourfully Maori tribe of the day. Rivalry with other tribes was frequent, and the traditional theatres of war were replaced by the playing fields, and games courts, where robust battles of another sort were won or lost. Constant display in the tourist genre inevitably inflated those of Te Arawa prone to arrogance anyway, and the grand denouement occurred at the Waitangi Treaty Celebrations in 1934, at the opening of the magnificent new meeting house -

> I took a concert party up to compete in the competitions for the Rehia Cup which was donated by Lord Bledisloe. Our action song was Uia Mai Koia. We'd been on a fund raising tour to pay for the carved archway and the carvings along Baulcomb Avenue. We travelled up to the East Coast, and at Whangaparoa they did Paikea for us. We learned it from them, and then Bella and Kanea's husband changed the words, and made it all about us, Te Arawa, and we won the cup with this song! And afterwards the old man, Apirana, came up to me and said, "It's ironic, isn't it, you won on a song you got from us!"

Other comments from the disgruntled Ngati Porou, also competitors for the much covetted prize, were considerably less subtle.

Such stories aside, one factor does make the people of Takiwa Waiariki unique in the Maori world. This is a continuous tourist presence; families from certain hapu of Te Arawa are involved in tourist entertainment every day of every year, and have been since the first visitors came five generations ago. Many - like the Morrisons - are themselves descendants of the first white colonial tourist entrepreneurs. Thus Te Arawa is distinguished from those tribal districts where dance performance and competition would rise in response to a specific need, or event - political expression, fundraising, the opening of buildings and ceremonial occasions - and then would recede.

Only in the last decade, with the dramatic revival of the Maori performing arts, has there been a comparable continuity of dance performance outside the thermal regions. This is partly due to immensely successful annual competitions financed in part by the government. Until very recently, the need for such cultural renaissance was not recognized - now, it is a forcefully bonding phenomenon of assertive Maori, even of New Zealand, cultural identification.

Because of this ongoing involvement with a tourist audience, some dance forms in Te Arawa have become either entrenched, or experienced drastic reinterpretation and innovation. Offerings on the contemporary stage present the range - from the earliest format and repertoire, mislabelled "traditional" by the performers, to the most daring modernistic experiments. The latter has usually been initiated by "outsiders" - Maori people from other tribal areas and dance backgrounds - who have in the last ten years appeared on a stage formerly monopolized by the Te Arawa dancers.

The Earliest Impressions

Monkhouse, surgeon on Cook's ship, the "Endeavour", vividly records what may have one of the very first conscious performances of dance by the Maori, for a pakeha audience. He states -

> ... placing themselves back to back a little asunder, the foremost begins, the others following his motions minutely, with lifting up his right leg, at the same instant raising his arms to a horizontal position, and bending his forearm a little, he trembles his fingers with great quickness - begins a kind of song, and the right leg behind raised as above, off they go, beating time singing and trembling the fingers in the most exact uniformity - the body is now and then inclined to one side or the other - sometimes they bend forwards exceedingly low and then suddenly raise themselves, extending their arms, and staring most hideously - at one time, they make a half turn and face one way, and in two or three seconds (return) to their former position, in doing of which they bend forwards make a large sweep downwards with both arms, extended, and as they turn upon the left foot, elevate their arms in a curve, stare wildly, and pronounce a part of a song with a savage hoarse expiration - this part of the ceremony generally closes the dance[9].

Certain features are noted - the "following (of) motions minutely", "trembling the fingers in the most exact uniformity", "beating time singing", and the motions of arms, legs, and body. On a later voyage, Edgar, on Cook's "Discovery", writes about a posture dance, but he emphasizes the facial grimaces -

> The War dance or Heva consists of a variety of violent motions and hideous contortions of the limbs, there is something in them so uncommonly savage and terrible, their eyes appear to be starting from their head, their tongue hanging out down their chin, and the motion of their body entirely corresponding with these in a manner not to be described[10].

A few years later, de Sainson, a French seaman on the Austrolabe, attempts another description -

> Little by little their bodies are thrown back, their knees strike together, the muscles on their backs swell, and the head is shaken by movements which look like convulsions; their eyes turn up, so that, with horrible effect, their pupils are absolutely hidden under their eyelids, while at the same time they twist their hands with outspread fingers very rapidly before their faces. Now is the time when this strange

> melody takes on a character no words can describe, but which fills the whole body with involuntary tremors. Only by hearing it can anyone form an idea of this incredible crescendo, in which each one of the actors appeared to us to be possessed by an evil spirit; and yet what sublime and terrible effects are produced by this savage music[11]!

All of these gestures prevail in the contemporary repertoire - the exactness of movement for an ensemble effect, the finger trembling, or wiri, the eye motions, or pukana, and the ever-jabbing tongue, still inexplicable, so beloved of many tourists snapshots.

The term haka has come to mean not only posture dance, but also war dance, in more modern times. Most of the early nineteenth century observers actually witnessed peruperu, and whakatuwaewae or tutungarahu, to be described further on. These were performed with weapons, and the latter forms, according to Te Rangihiroa[12], demonstrated the precise training of a combat troop. One exercise was the simultaneous leaping, high off the ground, in one exact movement. The slightest mis-timing was a bad omen, which led to more intensive training. Perfection in agility and co-ordination, so sharpened by these dance forms, was of paramount importance to martial success.

Peruperu were danced before battle to intimidate the enemy, and to make the blood rise strong and fearless. Bidwill, a naturalist-traveller, witnessed one such precombat event at Tauranga in 1841 -

> Imagine a body of about 3,000 nearly naked savages, made as hideous as possible by paint, standing in close ranks, and performing a sort of recitative of what they would do with their enemies if they could lay hold of them. They stood in four close lines, one behind the other, with a solitary leader (as it appeared) in front at the right end of the line. This leader was a woman who excelled in the art of making hideous faces (viz. poorkun). The feet had but a small part of the work to perform as they did not break their lines, but merely kept up a kind of stamp in excellent time with one foot; their arms and hands had plenty to do, as they were twisted into all possible positions to keep tune with the recitative; their eyes all moved together in the most correct time it is possible to conceive - and some possessed the power of turning them so far downwards that only the whites were visible. This was particularly the case with the woman

> whom I have spoken of as the leader; she was a remarkably handsome woman when her features were in their natural state, but when performing she became more hideous than any person who has not seen savages can possibly imagine : she was really very much like the most forbidding or the Hindoo idols - the resemblance to a statue being rendered more perfect by the pupilless eyes, the most disagreeable part of sculpture[13].

This account is remarkable for its clarity, and further description of a female haka leader. Earle also comments on womens participation in haka -

> The dances of all savage nations are beautiful, but those of the New Zealanders partake also of the horrible. The regularity of their movements is truly astonishing, and the song, which accompanies a dance, is most harmonious. They soon work themselves up to a pitch of frenzy; the distortions of their face and body are truly dreadful, and fill the mind with horror. I was astonished to find that their women mixed in the dance indiscriminately with the men, and went through all those horrid gestures with seemingly as much pleasure as the warriors themselves[14].

Perhaps this harshness and virility on the part of a female offended the Victorian males' sensibility; that Maori women also participated in more refined dance activities is illustrated by Markham, who visited in 1834 -

> The Third and last day we had a scene very different. Eighty women dancing a Slow Monotonous Step, but graceful movements of the Arms. The Mats were round their Middles and the Upper part exposed all their Breasts but I never saw a finer set of Women or Girls in an Opera Ballet. They were in two divisions of Moyterra's Tribe ... Forty in each division. Ten in each row, two lines advancing about two inches at a time and two lines retrograding, Naked to the Middle and using arms with slow but graceful Movements. The People on the Ground keeping up a Monotonous Chant in good time. The name of this Dance was Cunnu Cunnu (kanikani) and was Religious[15].

To the Maori of 1980, kanikani denotes social dancing, like disco or rock'n'roll; the meaning has shifted a little from the religious, if indeed it ever was, to the most blatantly secular. Regarding Earle and Markham, the imposition of European male expectation on the Maori female dancer is a question to be considered in greater detail in the

chapter dealing with women and tourism in Takiwa Waiariki.

Haka was not, however, danced exclusively as an exercise of martial arts nor as a prelude to battle. As Thomson indicates -

> Singing, or the Haka, was the amusement of village maidens and young lads on fine evenings. For this purpose they assembled with flowers and feathers in their hair, and red paint, charcoal, and the petals of flowers on their faces. Most songs were accompanied with action. The singers first arranged themselves in a row, in a sitting attitude, on a conspicuous place; the best voices commenced and finished each verse, then all joined in the chorus, which consisted of a peculiar noise caused by repeated expirations and inspirations, slapping one hand on the breast, raising the other aloft and making it vibrate with great rapidity, and moving the body in indelicate attitudes. Sensual words were generally sung, at other times the idea was simple and beautiful ...
> When the haka was sung by grown men, the singers stood in rows or in squares. The action of the legs and body was graceful, but the uplifted hands vibrating in the air during the chorus, and the forced expirations and inspirations produced a singular wildness. The action is a mimic war dance, and the songs are either glees or war songs ...
> As men sang in the open air in the evening, and as maidens assembled to hear the singing, and also to behold the finest-shaped men, there were frequently intrigues on these occasions[16].

Dance, music, and song were an integral part of pre-European Maori society.

Best[17] discusses the notion of the <u>wharetapere</u> - a house of games and amusement, although its diverse activities could occur anywhere - on the marae, by the sea, in a whare puni, by the riverside. Much of the early colonial record does not, however, discuss this. Instead, the focus is on dance as <u>conscious exhibition</u>, either in preparation for battle, or as demonstration for curious newcomers. Related to the latter point, traditional Maori rituals of encounter always include a stylized dance - the <u>haka powhiri</u>, which identifies, then welcomes and embraces, visitors to one's marae.

Every tribal group has its own legends and myth about music and dance[18], just as there are many beautiful versions concerning their

origins. Tuhoe recites how the shimmering of summer heat along the edges of the forest, and upon the waters, is the dance of Parearohi, whose husband is Rehua, responsible for human lethargy and torpor. From her action comes the wiri, a quivering of the hands in dance. The wiri also depicts the dancing of Tanerore, son of Hine Raumati, for his Goddess Mother, and yet others say it is the Mother herself. Many other women - Raukata Uri, Rauhata Mea, and Hine Te Iwaiwa feature prominently in legends concerning song and dance. For Te Arawa, one of the most virtuoso performances of all times can be attributed to Whakaturia, the brother of Tamatekapua, captain of the ancestral Te Arawa canoe. Through his dancing skills, he outwitted his captors, and escaped a painful death. Te Rangikaheke, a Te Arawa scribe, recounts the tale, in a manuscript presented to Governor Grey in 1852 -

> Te whakatikanga ake o taua tawhiti raka, i raro ano e haere ake ana; anana, mehemea ko Kopu ka rere i te pae; he karu to te maipi, he karu to te tangata, tukunga atu ki tetahi taha, a puta moa ki te whatitoka; katahi ka tahuri ki tetahi taha, puta noa ki te whatitoka; katahi ka tahuri ki tetahi taha, puta noa ki te tuarongo, ka tu mai i reira.
>
> Katahi ka hamumu mai te waha, "E mate ana au i te werawera, toia ake te tatau kia tuwhera, kia puta mai ai te hauhau kia au." ....
>
> Katahi ka tahuri ki tetahi taha a Whakaturia, te pehanga atu o nga karu ki tetahi taha ana, te hokinga mai ki tetahi taha; ana, he karu to te tangata, he karu to te taiaha, he karu to te pakiwhero; turua kautia ki te taha ki te whatitoka, turia kautia ki roto; te pekenga mai i roto, ana, tu rawa mai i waho i te roro!

Translated by Grey -

> Then he stood up to haka, and as he rose from his seat on the ground he looked bright and beautiful as Kopu the morning star appearing in the horizon; and as he flourished his maipi his eyes flashed and glittered like the paua eyes in the head carved on the handle of his maipi. And he danced down one side of the house, and reached the door; then he turned and danced up the other side of the house, and reached the end opposite the door, and there he stood. Then he said quietly to them, "I am dying of heat; just slide back the door, and let it stand open a little, so that I may feel the cool air." ...
>
> Then Whakaturia, as is the custom in the haka, turned round to his right hand, stuck out his tongue,

> and made hideous faces on that side; again, he turned round to his left, and made hideous faces on that side; his eyes glared; his apron (paki) and his taiaha looked splendid; then he sprang about; and appeared to stand hardly a moment at the end of the house near the door before he had sprung back to the other end; and standing just a moment there, he made a spring from the inside of the house, and immediately he was beyond the door[19].

Awareness of such ancestry, and exposure to early colonizing Christian influence, may well account for many of Dr. M'Gauran's Troupe of Maori Warrior Chiefs, Wives and Children, which toured Australia and England in 1862. Over half of the company of twenty-one members were from the thermal regions, in a colonial export of human curiosities that were advertised as -

> Exhibiting the sacred ceremonies, solemnities, festivals, exciting war dances, songs, invocations, games and combat[20].

This was part of a doubtful Drama entitled The Pakeha Chief, penned by a certain Mr Whitworth. Audiences demanded encores of the "war dance" thus breathlessly described by a critic of the day -

> Extremely exciting and most grimly quaint in character ... composed of a series of intoned solos, delivered as a kind of chant, each of which is followed by an extraordinary chorus, expressed in stentorous-like expirations, and accompanied with an obligato of outrageous gestures and postures, and slapping of knees, breasts, and hands ... The entertainment terminated with the Maori battle which was rapturously received[21].

According to Mackrell, the group "fell on hard times", M'Gauran ended up in debtor's prison, and those who survived the harsh English winter returned finally to Aotearoa in 1865. Another Maori party led by a provincial government interpreter, William Jenkins, was in England at the same time, but sailed home in 1864.

Within a few years of their return, those Ngati Whakaue who travelled may well have resumed their theatrical activities for the booming tourist trade of Takiwa Waiariki. Because of the many aliases naming people of that time, and the security of written Maori record, it is difficult to

establish that any such individuals did actually participate in tourist entertainment.

Concerts were being presented as early as 1872[22], and Holloway, in his journal of 1873, describes one performance -

> And having witnessed it once, I have no desire to see it repeated. These Haka's consist primarily of songs, relating to the deeds of departed ancestors, chorussed with a series of gutteral intonations, and accompanied by contortions of the body, quiverings of the hands, and distortions of the whole body or features. Male and female alike take part ...
> and so excited they become, that the perspiration pours off them in streams, every muscle quivering - the hands being frequently clapped, and every motion of the body, in its various gestures, brought out with such precision and regularity, as if it was performed by one person[23].

Like earlier observers, he comments on the precise movement, describing the accompanying music, attempting to explain its significance, and noticing the (unseemly) sweatiness.

Buchner, a German physician, notes further points of interest -

> And what was even more outstanding was the way that the women, especially the older ones, moved their bellies up and down with suppleness, as if they possessed for this specific joints. This movement probably occurred in the particularly elastic ligaments of the lumbar area, otherwise I wouldn't be able to explain it anatomically. To make their virtuosity emphatically clear, they carried their bellies above their skirts, held in above and below by coloured ribbons so tightly tied up, so they were lifted up like great round spheres.
> ... During the whole time, the eyes were rolled in a truly horrible way. The song ... periodically erupted into howling and barking sounds, and usually ended with yelling short, sharpely expelled noises, so that the quiet afterward made a very strange impression[24].

The onioni, pirori, hopehope or kopikopi movement, a rotation of the hip, and sometimes belly, in similar style to Tahitian tamure and some Hawaiian hula forms, is considered unorthodox in modern tourist dance. It is usually enjoyed on exclusively Maori occasions, on the marae, and in the wharepuni during a hui, and it is very much an art form practiced by the kuia, and large bodied ladies. Also of interest in Buchner's account is the costume; the piupiu, or swinging skirt of dyed flax

thrums suspended from a plaited waistband, had yet to evolve and be perfected as a dress primarily for dancing. Bunbury, an American writer, of the 1870's, describes a similar performance in detail, on the occasion of Governor Grey's visit to Waiariki[25].

Often advertised as "Temples"[26], in the tourist literature of the 1880's, the meeting houses Hinemihi at Te Wairoa, and Tamatekapua at Ohinemutu, provided the concert stage. The effect of flickering candle light, looming poupou, and jostling human closeness must have created an extraordinary atmosphere for both the pakeha sophisticate, and the Victorian prude. Bunbury remarks also on costume, and his description of the chant recalls Wade[27] and Buchner[28] in canine comparisons. This is also the first record to tell of a child performer.

By the early years of the next decade, entrepreneurial consciousness was clearly emerging -

Herries tersely records in 1882 -

> ... Went to the Maori meeting house and saw them dance a Haka ... For this we paid one sovereign. It was, however, well worth it[29].

Talbot describes the Haka of Jubilee, which she contrasts with the offerings at Te Wairoa -

> At the Temple, natives perform the haka for visitors who are willing to pay for that exhibition. We did not see it, but we heard quite enough about it to feel justified in saying that it is every white man's duty to suppress rather than encourage it[30].

As a leading newspaper columnist of the day, her dubious judgements based on hearsay probably drew more encouraging sightseers than any other current promotion.

A further commentator of this period, Lacy, writes on the "questionnable" dances of Te Wairoa which were "got up for the delectation of male travellers". He confides -

> I was a witness to one of these dances, and though certainly not refined, I have seen as bad in Paris and Vienna casinos. They were, however, conducted according to scale, and the more that was paid, the looser they became[31].

For a consideration, the Maori entertainers of even a century ago were selecting their repertoire from a variety of styles to accommodate travellers' tastes. Senior describes a well organized operation of 1880 -

> And we saw the Maori dance, called a Haka, and had also to pay for it heavily. The old chief was there, dignified as ever, and not overburdened with clothes. The entertainment took place in the large Maori meeting house ... candles, stuck with their own grease upon sticks planted in the ground, lighted the spacious gloomy interior ... There were about forty performers, laughing and shouting ...
> By-and-by a humpbacked official, something between a medicine man and a secretary, bawled out names, to which the owners responded, and the scribe ticked them off in a note book with great effusion. The front row consisted of about twenty women, young and old, goodlooking and ugly; in the back rows were men and boys. The women were nicely dressed, and in all their finery; the central couple, plump young parties with white muslin bodices and short scarlet petticoats, were the principal performers, and they had taken great pains to decorate their wavy blue-black hair with flowers. Save the legs, these women were less exposed than European ladies in evening attire. The men had blankets twisted round their loins ... It was a singular performance ... The performers ... formed in capital line, eyes to the left. The conductor ... continued his promenade in front of the line, walking and talking quickly ... reciting a poem, and at the end of each line, the performers, at first softly, chanted a response, simultaneously beating time on the ground with the right foot, which was gracefully advanced, and by the clapping of the hands. As the fugleman worked himself almost frantic, the performers got excited too; the movement with hand and foot quickened and strengthened; and at intervals the performers shouted a deep-drawn and prolonged "Hah-hah-ah", accompanied by a quivering outward and upward movement of the hands. The strict time of the chant was never lost, and when the movement was at its height the excitement was catching. The movement and sounds swept you along with it. It suggested inspiration, respiration and perspiration. The bodies of the performers swayed and twisted, and represented a variety of movements, some of them assuredly deserving of all the hard things said of them. The two leading women were admirable actresses, throwing themselves heart and soul into the spirit of whatever was going, becoming positively ecstatic when the topic was love, and hideously furious in war[32].

The notebook, the costume, and the performance predict the trends of the coming decades.

The eruption of Tarawera in 1886, discussed in Chapter Four of Section One, momentarily halted the entrepreneurial entertainment of

the Tuhourangi at Te Wairoa. With their settling in at Whakarewarewa, and the development of a strong community in that geyser valley, the Tuhourangi concerts began once more. In Ohinemutu, the shows continued.

Te Arawa, and the township of Rotorua, were host to a supreme moment in the history of the Maori performing arts. The Maori Reception for the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall in 1901, also a spectacular greeting to the new century. Apirana Ngata wrote a copious and brilliant account in Loughnan's Royalty in New Zealand; over two thousand people representing every tribal group of Aotearoa assembled to welcome the Royal Couple. Enthusiasm was fierce, and competition was acute - perfect performance became a matter of tribal honour, as Ngata declares -

> It was in fear of the critical eye of the Maori that the great feast of poi and haka was spread for the Duke[33].

Ngata appraises each haka performed by each tribe; of Te Arawa, he writes -

> The powerful picturesque column burst into movement, with the alternate bounds and simultaneous brandishings of the peruperu; with their war-cries, their fierce faces, glaring eyes, lolling tongues, and swaying heads, their extraordinary vigour, and still more extraordinary perfection of precision.
> Imagine the scene. The column remains on the ground stationary, yet it is in the most violent possible movement, and, though its violence is excessive, the movement is orderly. Every figure of all the hundreds leaps up high from the right, with taiaha raised over the opposite shoulder and brandished; every face frowns, every mouth gives a frantic yell; and there is a great thud as the leap ends with the figures landing to the left ... Desperately this goes on from right to left and left to right; goes on by leaps and bounds to the measured cadence of frantic war-cries[34].

Himself the most renowned exponent of haka and peruperu, Ngata also turned his attention to the poi, which he comments on -

> In their hands, the women now grasped two poi, one in each hand ...
> One whirled in a half circle from shoulder to head, while the other sank from head to breast, to linger a brief moment then both flashed outward and circled down to meet the knee; with the bodies swayed forward

> the dancers stepped lightly and brought the poi up, slowly playing round each other until level with the chest; then with a half-turn the right poi glanced outward and touched the next dancer lightly on the shoulder, while the left poi twirled at an angle to the left of the head[35].

Of the many tribes assembled, only a few presented poi dancers, and it is Ngati Raukawa who stunned the audience of Maori and pakeha with the movement Ngata so vividly describes in the above passage, "such a revelation". This became immediately absorbed into the concert programme of the host tribal group.

It is extremely puzzling that the poi had yet to be presented as tourist entertainment in Ohinemutu and Te Wairoa, and later Whakarewarewa. This is assuming that if it were, the writers of the period would most certainly have recorded it. This unusual dance form is, however, not mentioned in any of the sources I have examined, and if it were mentioned by even one, for its very uniqueness and oddity, it would thus be recorded in many others. Possibly Te Arawa may not have sustained an active poi tradition like the people of Whanganui and Taranaki; perhaps the dancers judged it unsuitable for tourist consumption. The question remains, demanding further research.

I now propose to briefly outline some of the history of poi, as it is documented by early writers. Nicholas states in 1815 -

> They made Mr Marsden a present of a ball called a poi, with which the ladies amuse themselves by throwing it repeatedly backward and forward; it is somewhat larger than a cricket ball, and made of their cloth or canvas, stuffed with the down of a bull-rush, having a long string appended to it, which they seize with the forefinger while the ball is in motion, and are very dexterous in this practice.[36]

Many poi from this period are now displayed in foreign museums, collected by early maritime voyagers.[37] Thomson also furnished a lucid description of the dance-

> Poi is a game played with variegated balls, about the size of large oranges, to which strings are attached. The string is held in one hand, and the ball is struck with the other. The hand holding the string is often changed,

> the string is shortened and lengthened, and the ball is struck from under the arms, and in a variety of ways. Poi is played in a sitting posture, and players sing songs applicable to the time. Much practice is requisite to play the poi ball properly, and when well played, with a handsome ball, and a good song, the effect is beautiful.[38]

After the 1901 gathering, the poi became an essential tourist item presented as exclusively Maori, and certainly unique to our southern islands of the Pacific. This claim, however, may be challenged by the women of Hood Peninsula in New Guinea, who enjoyed something very similar, as Haddon records-

> The girls walked in a somewhat stately manner, and gracefully swung a cord about three feet in length, to which a small netted bag was attached... They swung it with the right hand, causing it to make a graceful sweep behind the back round to the left side, where it was caught by the left hand... The action was then repeated with the left hand, the tassel being caught with the right hand....[39]

Ingenuity soon evolved another poi form - one tour guide book exclaims-

> The poi dance is very pretty... The canoe poi, one of the most interesting variations of the dance, was invented by Guide Bella. All the girls sit on the floor, imitating the paddling of a canoe with poi balls![40]

This is still an immensely popular number on the tourist stage. For the tourist, this display was not only quaint but for one or two it was something else again. As Herz remarks in 1909-

> "Is it a symbol of the testes on the funiculus spermaticus?"[41]

in a far fetched Freudian inquiry that may well have prompted Best's comment that any theory of the poi a phallic worship would indeed be very difficult to prove.[42]

The Twentieth Century: A Brief Summary

A number of tourists were visiting the thermal regions with candidly salacious expectations, and their tastes were catered for.[43] This attracted the attention and anxiety of Frederick Bennett, a Ngati Whakaue clergyman who was later to become the first Anglican Bishop of Aotearoa.

> He found that the Maori concerts which were given were of such low and often obscene standard that many of the tourists were repelled by them. He convinced an enthusiastic group of young Maori men and women that there was great scope

> for a concert party whose programme would be not only tuneful and attractive but would appeal to a wide public for whom the other type of concert had no attraction. The funds collected from these concerts were to be applied to building churches and halls and to subsidise funds raised by the natives throughout the area for that purpose[44]

Bennett worked closely with Makereti, also known as Guide Maggie Papakura, who led a Maori cultural troupe to the 1911 Festival of Empire Celebrations on England. The programme consisted of dance, song, carving, weaving, and canoeing demonstrations, and the group was sponsored by an Australian syndicate.[45] Forty strong, and led by Makereti and the Tuhourangi chief, Mita Taupopoki, the party spent a number of weeks in Sydney and Melbourne before sailing on to England. On arrival, they appeared at the White City Exhibition, with other ethnic troupes from throughout the Empire; the men were paid £4.0.0 a week, plus keep, and the women received £3.0.0. The tour ended officially in 1911, but another English promoter persuaded half of them to remain. They stayed until late 1912. For the group itself, life continued pretty much as usual for those couples who were married, and raising families. A number of children were born; one, Hori Karaneihana Hiini, alais Coronation George Hiini, was named for the event with which his birth so auspiciously coincided, and my mother was given the name Paparoa, after the ship on which she was born during the homeward journey. Though war was brewing in Europe, the party returned to a triumphal welcome, and a new and exciting medium of work.

Part of the programme was the reenactment of the legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai, a lyrical romance that has always captivated the tourist imagination. Briefly, it concerns a young woman of high birth, who falls hopelessly in love with the illegitimate, and therefore lowcaste, son of a chieftainness residing on the island, Mokoia. His name was Tutanekai, and he, too, had noticed Hinemoa, but any attempt at getting together had been thwarted by her father, whose pa was on a small headland, Owhatiura. Finally, guided by the melody of her love's flute, Hinemoa swam across the lake at midnight, and their mutual passion, curiosity and love were fulfilled.

Performed as a tableau, with chant, and a very descriptive and beautiful poi, as well as haka, this always brought the house down. Subsequently, Geo. H. Tarr, one of the earliest motion picture entrepreneurs,

approached the recently reunited and reorganized Koea Maori a Rev. F.A. Bennett - Rev. Bennett's Maori Choir - and proposed filming the tableau. My grandmother, Hera Tawhai (Guide Sarah), played the title role in Te Kaunga o Hinemoa ki Mokoia, filmed entirely in Rotorua, and being "2,500 feet long". It opened to a breathless and mainly Maori audience in August 1914 at the Lyric Theatre, Rotorua. Unfortunately, the film is no longer extant.

Makereti remained in England with her English husband, a wealthy Oxford landowner, Staples-Browne, and the direction of the party was undertaken by Rev. Bennett.

As Britain and the Commonwealth nations became embroiled in the European War, Maori entertainers from the Rotorua area worked heartily for the patriotic fund. Programmes retained much of the same material, but a new, and quite different dance form was being evolved at that time. This was the action song, the waiata kori, or waiata a ringa.

According to Alan Armstrong, a recreation and cultural expert with the New Zealand army,[46] it originated on the East Coast, and its first recorded appearance was on the programme of the 1908 Young Maori Party Conference. The Party was an inspired and powerful caucus of young Maori political and professional leaders, the most prominent of whom was Apirana Ngata, to whom is most popularly attributed the invention of the action song form. Expanding on the six or seven basic gestures of haka waiata, and peruperu, Ngata and his team of composers and musicians evolved a loosely pantomimic series of movements to complement the songs, which were usually European tunes, and often in swinging waltz time. As in the ancient haka waiata, however, the lyrics and poetic message were much more important than the actions and body movement. Armstrong claims that "even before 1908", Te Puea of Waikato had organized a touring party

which featured "rudimentary action songs", based on Pacific Island Dances. This cannot be so, as Te Puea's fundraising group, the brilliant Te Pou o Mangatawhiri, did not begin public entertainment until 1923.[47]

Throughout the First World War, action songs were composed, expressing lofty purpose, and acute emotion, despite being done to seemingly incongruous pakeha tunes. They were popularized, and introduced to the Maori world at large by the massively successful fundraising shows staged throughout the country. They poured money into the Maori Soldiers Fund, and also were part of an active recruiting campaign for the first Maori Battalion.

Whakarewarewa boasted an especially active party, Papawharanui. A fine example of incongruity is the beautiful E Pari Ra, written by Paraire Tomoana for a relative buried in Flanders. To the melody of Blue Eyes Waltz, it is a most poignant and fitting lament. Twenty years later, World War Two continued the trend of turning popular pakeha tunes to Maori action songs. The most outstanding composition of that genre was E Te Hokowhitu A Tu, which exhorted the Maori Battalion to valorous endeavours, and mourned the (glorious) death of Victoria Cross winner, Te Moananui a Kiwa Ngarimu. The action song was composed and choreographed by the late Tuini Ngawai, a woman who was one of Ngata's most creative lieutenants. The sentiments and seriousness of Tuini's most popular composition leave well behind its melodic origins in the Glenn Miller jazz classic, "In the Mood".

Between the Wars, during the twenties and thirties, Te Arawa concert work continued. Many changes were beginning to occur. At Whakarewarewa, the meeting houses Wahiao, Umukaria (now no longer standing), and

Makereti's own place, Tuhoromatakaka, staged concerts on a weekly basis, but in Ohinemutu, most of the action was focussed on Te Aomarama, in which the Bennett's Choir performed. Shows in Tamatekapua became much less frequent, and by the late Twenties, with the Carving School established in Te Aomarama, most of the concert performers of Ngati Whakaue had aligned with their relatives from Whakarewarewa. Membership of a group often depended on kinship factors, and family loyalties, the people from Ohinemutu often joining a party with which they had close affinal, if not consanguinous, bonds, although a few, like my own Kuia, went where she felt most comfortable and welcomed - to the group of her very best friend, Guide Kiri.

By 1930, the tourist shows were being put on in hired entertainment premises, such as the Old Peerless Hall, and the Lyric Theatre, both in the heart of town.

Much promotional work was being done, mainly by non-Maori business interests - new hotels were rising, and in 1926, another Hinemoa was filmed, based on Isaac Selby's script, Hinemoa: The Leap Year Pantomime. A tragi-comic extravaganza, the film displayed most of New Zealand's scenic charms - Waitomo Caves, the Waikato River, the Alps, and White Island, as well as the thermal region. All was threaded into a most ambitious storyline, based to some extent on the original legend, as the very beautiful Kuia who played the Hinemoa of 1926 recalls -

> I went into the cave at Okere Falls before I had my swim, and the next thing I ended up at Waitomo, and Tutanekai was thrown into a ngawha - Tukutuku, the one here in Whaka - and then he ended up on White Island! But it was real Maori, none of these pakeha songs adapted into Maori, oh what a pity there was no sound in those days, because the haka was fantastic, and there was a long poi, and other dancing too.

Concurrent with the Bennett Choir were the Hinemoa Maori Entertainers, managed by the celebrated Twin Guides, Eileen and Georgina, and Guides

Eva and Ruth. A group of ten women from this party toured the major cities of Australia in 1926-27, billed as Princess Rangiriri and her Nine Maori Maids, and with them was the korimako (bell bird) voiced Ana Hato, a raw but talented coloratura soprano, who cut her first record in 1926, after the visit of the Duke of York. She began a memorable professional relationship with her Tuhourangi kinsman, Dean Waretini, who remarked on their first recording venture, "In a small and totally inadequate room, our first records were made".[48] Over half a century later, those scratchy old seventy-eights are still enjoyed, and for many of the people of Takiwa Waiariki, and other places too, they have assumed the status of taonga, treasures from the past.

Five years later, the people of Ngati Whakaue were also to be recorded, as the Rotorua Maori Choir, featuring Rotohiko Haupapa as bass, Mere Amohau as contralto, Molly Mason as soprano, and Tiawhi Rogers, my koro (grandfather) as tenor. Thirty songs were impressed on wax, and the recording was done in Tumohopu, where shawls and blankets, mats and kakahu were hung from the rafters to deaden the echo. The whole venture covered a three months period, producing a further series of highly cherished recordings.

Not long after the return of the Nine Maori Maids, two more guides had begun concert groups, which are still working, though not as often as previously.

Documentation from the period between the Wars is pitifully meagre, and my informants seldom agree to the same dates for anything, much of their dating being done from leads such as "Bonnie was the baby in the Village Life Scene, so it must've been the year she was born", and "Around the time the Duke of Gloucester came" - and often, a lot of my information seemed to be contradictory. For these reasons, I have taken

these years as one whole period - the upheavals and rivalries that occurred within and between the various groups provided a continually changing scenario, and with such a dearth of corroborating oral material, I choose to recount the stories merely as I heard them myself.

During the time that the Guides Rangi and Kiri had organized their respective ventures, the venerable Mita Taupopoki approached Ana Hato to start yet another group, which was tribally based, and named the Tuhourangi Concert Party. This created some ill feeling, as a number of the better performers refused to leave Rangi's group, but with other Te Arawa dancers, this party won the Rehia Cup in 1934. It would appear that any income accrued was not for personal enjoyment, but rather the tribal account, and this may explain the reluctance of some to forego their commercial pursuits.

By the mid-thirties, both parties had amicably worked out a system - performing alternate nights, they avoided any direct confrontation of the type seen in more recent years. To ensure a good audience, the female group members would -

> go round the hotels, dressed in our Maori costumes, touting the tourists to come to our concerts. Rangi's nights were Monday, Wednesday and Saturday, and the other group had the other nights.

As the Railways Magazine describes -

> The Maoris already hold indoor concerts almost every night of the week. From lack of interest, you may not at first be very keen to go, but like everybody else you will very quickly succumb to the charming smiles and winning salesmanship of the Maori women who every night visit all the accommodation houses and parade the streets securing their audiences.[49]

For some, it was extremely difficult and embarrassing; some are still expressing their shyness thirty years after the experience. But for most, it was seen as just an extension of guiding, which was their daily work. Touting, as a practice, discontinued after the Second World War.

Meanwhile, in Ohinemutu, the Bennett Choir became realigned with the Anglican Church, and was known as the St Faith's Youth Club, which, like the Whakarewarewa groups, was to produce a lot of outstanding talent. To celebrate the opening of the renovated Tamatekapua meeting house, the famous, and fabulous, Taiporotu Club was founded in 1942, by the distinguished Arawa leader, Taiporutu Mitchell. During the War Years, this party enthralled visiting servicemen on rest and recreation leave, and after 1945, it continued performing primarily as an illustrious cultural rather than commercial troupe, until the Fifties. A copy of their programme can be found in Appendix H.

Between the Wars, Te Arawa was honoured by three more visits of British Royalty - the Prince of Wales in 1920, the Duke of Cornwall and York in 1927, and the Duke of Gloucester in 1934. Though not accorded the same glamorous treatment as the regal tourists of 1901, they were nevertheless ushered into the steaming domains of the loyal Arawa with some pomp and circumstances.

After the war, two principal concert parties dominated the tourist stage - Rangi's and Kiri's. Both continued with the arrangement of alternate nights, and Guide Kiri's group also ventured into hotel work, performing one night a week at Brents. This contract was later undertaken by the St Faith's Youth Club, during the winter months. Rangi's group also did concerts for private tour groups, by special arrangement.

Because of the largely seasonal nature of the tourist industry, "the big money" was limited to the summer time - from Christmas to March, a lucrative three month period, with a "mad rush at Easter". Before the onslaught of mass tourism, and jet aircraft, most of the traffic came by train from the cruise ships; their stay was limited, and their activities regulated. At such times, competition was fierce indeed, not

only for the concert audiences, but also for tour parties to guide through the geyser valley. The intervening months, however, were thin indeed.

During the lean months, many experienced performers polished their skills and shared their knowledge, by participating in the church or marae based cultural clubs which still compete in irregularly held festivals and competitions. Some of these groups also fed their better or keener performers into the commercial shows.

Unlike the church and cultural groups, whose cash earnings went into a putea, or charitable fund, the concert parties paid their members on an individual basis. This was usually a share of the doortakings, so that the size of the house determined the amount of one's takehome pay -

> Christmas and New Year, it'd be as much as £3 or £4 - but in the winter, aue! Nothing!

which is why, with such dismal pickings, concerts in the winter months were usually limited to one or two weekly shows, apart from the ongoing contracts made with tourist hotels, and the occasional special jobs.

Financially, particularly, the last decade of 1970-80 has witnessed radical changes, which will be discussed in the case study concluding this chapter.

Involved in the concert scene from its inception in 1947, the Rotorua Public Relations Office, a District Council agency for the promotion of Rotorua tourism

> took on the responsibility of ensuring one weekly Maori concert at the Council Concert Chambers. This was more the providing of a service than a money making venture, and the Whaka guides were involved.

Despite many ups and downs, and some lean years, these concerts continued until the 1970s, and the appearance of a very different style, and form, of tourist entertainment.

The Stage Presentation

Kotiro Maori, e aue
Pai to ahua, e aue
E matakitaki
Ko te iwi pakeha
Whatiwhati to hope, e aue
Whatiwhati to hope, e aue

Maori maiden, oh
How beautiful you are
Watching you now are the pakehas
So make your hips move....

- popular tourist ditty, ca. 1980

Costume, staging and repertoire will be discussed in this section.

From the descriptive passages quoted earlier in this chapter, the dance costume of the early nineteenth century was the everyday mode, with flowers and feathers - the woven flax fibre korowai or kakahu for women, the rapaki, or flax fibre loin cloth, for men. Garment manufacture in itself will be examined in detail in the following chapter in women's crafts, as tourist entertainment and the evolution of certain forms were closely interrelated and interdependant.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century blouses and half-petticoats of European fabric were the fashionable dress, and, many photographs of this period show men and women modelling the military bandolier. This sash, known as a tapeka, was of fabric or taniko weaving, and the pictures also show people wearing the thrummed piupiu garment, which was to become synonymous with Maori costume. Frequently worn about the shoulders, or diagonally, the piupiu evolved into a skirt suspended from the waist. The thrums thickened, and got longer, and the body into which they had been woven was reduced in width to the fineness of a plaited waist band.

Ngata's account of the 1901 Royal Visit describes the Te Arawa women's costume -

> In white, with blue sashes, rustling piupiu dashed with black, and white feathers.[50]

and he mentions the sound effects -

> You heard the slap of bare hand on bare skin, and the rattle of the piupiu struck smartly.[51]

About the piupiu, Ngata wrote in 1940 -

> No warrior ever wore a piupiu, because it covered little or nothing, it rattled in the forest or bracken or scrub, it could not shelter the body from rain or cold...[52]

His comments describe the piupiu as a primarily decorative and ceremonial garment, highly suited to the acoustics and visual effects of dance performance. This corresponds exactly with my own informants' insistence that the piupiu itself was primarily a feature of the tourist stage, and became a well established prop only after the First World War.

In the Bennett Choir, the younger members would wear "clean white dresses", and the women would be similarly attired, with a piupiu worn over the skirt, feathers in the hair, and sharks teeth and greenstone ornaments.

The photograph of the 1911 company which travelled to England is also significant; all except three men are wearing fine woven cloaks, and one prominent male member is wearing the modern piupiu.

By the late 1920s, a form of Maori stage costume had evolved, and this has since been regarded as the most "Maori" and authentic. During the interwar period, certain conventions in colour, materials, hemlength and design were established, and only in the last decade has this been challenged, and in some circumstances drastically changed.

The "uniform" was established by the 1927 visit of the Duke of Gloucester although one informant who sang in a duet for the royal visitors while still a small child recalls -

> We both wore white dresses with crossing blue and white bands, and looked just like a Union Jack!

Pictures of guides accompanying royalty reveal the dress which became the symbol of the guide and tourist entertainer, and yet was also ironically adopted by Maori groups in other centres as an emblem of Maori tradition.

For women, the piupiu hung over a red fabric skirt, to just below the knee. The skirt had two or three white stripes circling above the hem, and was ideally a narrow cut. A bodice, or pari, similar to a chemise, covered the upper half of the body. This was usually made by taniko, or single pair twine weaving, in the "traditional" colours - red, white and gold, on a dominant black background. Geometric motif is the usual pattern, although recent years have seen radical departures, and not only in the tourist context. One performer currently sports a green and purple peacock design with great pride, and many urban cultural groups are displaying club initials and symbols, the most common being the Christian cross.

A tipare, or headband of the same motif, colours and manufacture, completes the basic outfit. The materials are coloured silks or wool, on a black macrame weft. The use of bulkier plied cotton is also increasing.

Over this may be worn a kakahu, or korowai, a finely woven rectangular cape ornamented with rare feathers, black thrums, or taniko borders, although some may be decorated with all three forms. Because of the expense, time and energy in their manufacture, these taonga now appear only on ceremonial and special occasions. Feathers in the hair or from the ear, poi balls at the waist, mako (sharks' teeth) earrings, and priceless pounamu - greenstone - neck and ear pendants are optional accessories.

Most of my informants agree that the most handsome and impressive is the kakahu or long korowai, "worn like a sun frock" - wrapped around

the body, the upper edge level with armpits, the hem ideally to the ankles. For them all, this is the most classical, the haute couture of Maori fashion. A slight modification is the baring of one shoulder, and the fastening of the garment on the other, and below the armpit on the same side.

Both these styles have been revived in the last ten years, and named "kaitaka". Extremely flattering, and ideally suited for the larger figure, these are usually machine sewn in the appropriate colours. Red, off-white and black are the most popular, and some are also wearing navy blue, purple and dark green. The fabric is ornamented with tassles of a contrasting colour, generally black or white, and the upper border or hem, but seldom both, is taniko or tapestry. The latter technique has been employed in more recent years, and found by many women to be much more preferable, as shaping of the bodice to the body for a more flattering, "sexier" line is allowed. Most younger women complain that the pari taniko flattens one's chest "to a board, ugh", and this affects their stage confidence and poise considerably. Most of the veterans regard this attitude with cynical disappointment, seeing it as yet another indication of change.

For men, the rapaki and piupiu have changed little, although hems have shortened to reveal more rippling thigh. The rapaki, a brief rectangular wrap sometimes hung with thrums, has been of European cloth for the last few generations, and in recent years a much more daring two pieced garment has appeared. One fabric flap covers the front, the other services the rear, and the sides are open; ornamentation is also more elaborate. A particularly virtuoso performer in both the marae and commercial milieu parades around with a garish tiki motif in irridescent green over the appropriate place on the front flap.

The last ten years have also seen the controversial appearance of the much blighted plastic piupiu - a practical duplicate of the original, made from black thick wool threaded through a fine cream plastic tubing. Many of the performers who dance nightly welcomed this invention, as a traditionally made piupiu soon deteriorates after the heavy wear and tear of constant stage use. From the audience, these replicas have a successful visual effect, but the rustling sound of the flax piupiu, a gentle percussion so unique to Maori dance, becomes a brittle tinny clacking. Plastic piupiu are also either deplored or roundly applauded for their spectacular luminosity during black light numbers, when the stage lights are turned off, and ultra violet picks up the tossing batons, twirling poi-balls, and garish tekoteko back drops.

I will now discuss staging. Until the groups moved to hired premises downtown, the carved walls of the whare whakairo provided the most picturesque and exotic stage set imaginable.

Transplanted to the Old Peerless Hall, the Lyric Theatre, and other such alien environments, stage props were soon introduced. My mother recalls with singular hilarity how she and another relative were instructed to smoke cigarettes in the wings, and huff great clouds of smoke onto the stage, simulating the rising steam of Hinemoa's pool. Inhaling huge lungfulls, mother "overdid it", and began to cough uncontrollably which made her partner collapse into silent but hysterical giggles until she too was coughing. The "steam" dissipated instantly, the onstage performers were distracted, and the wings echoed with muffled shrieks of laughter punctuated with great giggley coughs. Both women were severely chastised, and fined one shilling each, the maximum penalty, a practice introduced by the Twin Guides Eileen and Georgina to maintain dress and performance standards, and discipline. The actual programme can be

found in Appendix H.

Thermal effects were a popular image during the interwar period, and in the Australian tour of the Nine Maori Maids, the painted backdrop portrayed a huge active volcano. Mokoia Island was another popular scene.

By far the most popular stage environment, however, is the "village scene" - toetoe, manuka and even exotic foliage like bamboo is arranged near the wings, and often tenuous pallisading, and one or two representations of carved houses are placed about the stage. Most recent stage productions also use elaborate stage lighting, but with comparatively little understanding of the medium, as the most frequent throwing of switches is either for ultraviolet, or houselights.

One unusual reminiscence about stage props is recounted by an elder who performed with Guide Rangi's concert during the thirties -

> And then there was this item announced as a haka by the girls... everyone of them would have been at least in their mid-forties, and weighing about eighteen stone, and this itself brought a bit of a chuckle from the audience. At some stage, Guide Minnie would say "Shake it up, girls", and there would be a lot of hopehope, and in the final piece de resistance, somebody would be dancing male style with a spear at the end of one line, and then another "girl" would come out at the other end with a "No Parking" sign, and they had this No Parking sign as one of the props, and right at the end of the haka, this would bring the house down every time, because it was just so incongruous, it made the whole thing as a sort of farce. That wretched parking sign would come in, in every performance of the haka by the girls. Oh, it was such good fun.

This atmosphere of general hilarity has been largely replaced by a much more professional and self-conscious soberness, though the doyenne of the commercial Rotorua stage, Guide Kiri, alias Kuia Kiddo, still insists -

> Look happy, smile a lot, and the show will be good. Never go onstage afraid of your own shadow, the secret of the stage is a smile, and the audience knows this. Laugh and look happy.

There are six shows staged at the present time: two are in hotel restaurants, one is in a hotel's houseguest lounge, one appears nightly in the Tamatakapua meeting house, another in a theatre restaurant/cabaret, and the sixth, a Cultural Theatre, has its own premises for nightly performance. This last is the most elaborate, while the theatre restaurant is the most adventurous. All the concerts, except the latter, utilize a conventional stage space, with the dancers in two or more rows, facing the audience, with the men in the back. The exception presents its performers on raised tiers, each one facing a different section of the audience, with most of the males on a raised platform to the rear, while two are on tiers flanking the sides of this raised area. A spiral staircase is also utilized in the opening scene, descended by a woman chanting, and then leaned upon by the tohunga, or High Priest. Often rearranged according to the entrepreneur/director's whim, this staging is considered most unconventional and distracts enormously from the "ensemble effect" so keenly sought after by most Maori dance exponents. Every single performer becomes a soloist, isolated from the others, on her or his own little stage. Most of the dancers agree that it "took a while to get used to", but was "not too bad". Others refuse to dance like that, and the veterans generally do not approve - their idea of Maori dance being focussed very much on the display of precision and regularity that is seen only in the ranks.

Repertoire and Programming

A concert programme of the Hinemoa Party, dating from the mid Twenties, indicates the following order, and items -

Part One

1 THE MAORI AT HOME
2 LOVE DITTIES
3 POI MANUREWA
4 SOLO By Ruth
5 HIHI-o-TE-RA (a chant)
6 HAKA BY MEN
7 FAMOUS CANOE POI
8 WOMEN'S HAKA
9 DITTIES

Interval of Ten Minutes

Part Two

10 GLEE
11 TABLEAUX OF HINEMOA AND TUTANEKAI
12 SOLO
13 POI WAEROA Long Poi
14 DUET
15 Haka TOU-TOU
16 WAIATA POI
17 E PARI RA
18 ME TOHU E TE ATUA (God Save the King)[52]

No action songs as such were performed until well into the Thirties, and every show lasted about two hours, the highlight being the Hinemoa and Tutanekai tableau which featured poi, chant and haka. Towards the end of the Thirties, the action song was gradually included in the programme, and ten years later formed a major part, with the wartime compositions expanding the repertoire.

Until 1970, all shows followed an established format, the curtain rising on the scene of the Maori At Home, and about to burst into song, or in the hotel context, the troupe would file out onto the stage from the side - through a door - singing a tuneful and appropriate song introducing themselves, with simple gestures -

> Tenei ra matou, Ohinemutu e
> Here we are, of Ohinemutu...

Items would follow - a bracket of action songs, a poi, another action song culminating in a haka, more poi, love ditties, a sequence of Maori games like tirakau, long single baton stretching and swinging exercise,

and tititorea, rythmic tossing of two short batons. This would be followed by an action song, and a combination poi, displaying skill with the long and the short corded poi balls, then another action song, and as the show winds down, an action song like the previously mentioned E Pari Ra that will lead into the plaintive Po Atarau, Now is the Hour, the song of farewell.

Everyone of my informants, of my mother's, my kuia's, and my own generation, agree that somehow the "old style concerts" were much more traditional, done in the "true Maori spirit", and thus more Maori. The pace was slower, the company much larger, and an infectious sense of humour pervaded the stage and the audience, as one elder recalls -

> Announcing the haka, there would be this little catch cry, "Every muscle of the whole body is exercised, including the tongue", said in a very deadpan voice. And the next week you hear it again, "Every muscle of the whole body is exercised, including the tongue", and there was always laughter, and even now, forty years later, when we perform, someone is still laughing at it.

And another declares -

> We had no rivalry in the early days, and no real tension. We ran alternate nights, and we had a lot of good will, and often the groups combined for a damn good show, which is how it should be. But nobody does the real haka any more, the groups are too small, and yet that is what we can truly call ours. The essence of Maori entertainment is spontaneity, that's what's wonderful.

Another kuia comments -

> We had the best ever Maori concerts in those days - none of this hula business, that's why our concerts were so good, they were MAORI or nothing at all. I don't think much of this modern stuff, the way they juggle their poi around, it's unnatural, that's what it is.

These critics of the "modern stuff" are continuing to perform, but on a special basis, doing private contracts. Most of their concert party members form "the cream" of the more modern groups which work at the Hotel International, and the Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre. A few are in shows

at Tudor Towers, the theatre restaurant, and the Tamatekapua meeting house. Yet another party, Te Kotuku, dances at the Travelodge Hotel, but is made up of largely non-Te Arawa personnel, who are working to raise funds to build a tribal community centre in their recently chosen urban home of Rotorua. They are from the East Coast, and much of their repertoire is Ngati Porou, and Ngati Kahungunu.

The group at Tamatekapua, managed by a Kahungunu couple who spent some time at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii, follow the format of the Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Two other parties remain to be examined. Both have been established in the last decade by non-Te Arawa entrepreneurs: men with wide overseas experience on the stages of Hawaii, South East Asia and Australia, and a Mormon education. Both are within the "dinner show" milieu, but each is very different indeed. With such similar backgrounds, the two directors have shared a number of ideas, and the one who choreographed and master-mined the Hotel International show also contributed enormous creative energy and inventiveness to the nightly spectacle at the Tudor Towers cabaret restaurant. A most gifted and artistic individual, he describes his planning of the show at the Hotel International -

> In a tourist programme, it's important to have one of each thing, one single poi, one double poi, one single long poi, and one multiple, and that's all. Also one haka, one solo vocal, so the audience leaves, elevated by the beauty of hearing that glorious voice just once, and then two action songs, two choral numbers to show off our gift for harmony, and one legend tableau. I feel tourists don't, can't appreciate the real thing anyway, so why waste it on them. Rather we create a sound, a picture, a visual memory, which should linger long after they have left the show. The tourists should not be overexposed, because if they get too much of anything, then nothing at all will sink in. And dignity is important - when they see me, offstage, the tourists think, "Ugh, what is that fat Maori thing", but up there, I know I can show them, we all can. We are worth something, and we have something, and this we can share.

This formula works exceptionally well. The programme is amplified by comprehensive narration, and the "mystical effects" of the legend tableau are achieved by the use of chilly blue lighting, creating a glimpse of ghostliness that the tourists respond to well, and do "take away with them".

The company consists of many young performers, and some veterans. The veterans, who also work at the cultural theatre, smilingly observed -

> This is what we do for a rest! It is so easy, and relaxing, and the emcee talks so much, too.

Almost half of the company are from out of Rotorua, and many have a Mormon background. The director himself is currently employed at the Mormon Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii, his gifts having been noted and capitalized on by his Church. The group is being managed in his absence by a noted Te Arawa personality who is endeavouring to "refocus" the show on Te Arawa imagery, and a local repertoire. Perhaps the Hinemoa Tableau will be staged yet again....!

The other highly controversial offering, at Tudor Towers, opens with a creative dance sequence depicting the Maori Creation. Elaborate sound effects and ambitious lighting are enhanced by a female voice chanting the karanga, and the stylized intoning of the High Priest in prayer. The two young dancers, clad in ragged hessian shifts and looking primordial, cease writhing on the floor boards, and snake off the stage, onto which the company promenades, chanting about the ancestral homeland of Hawaiki. A narrator recounts the story, which unfolds with the epic canoe voyage, the settlement of Aotearoa, and the demonstration of games and pastimes. The show itself continues for about forty-five minutes, and the entrepreneur director fills out a lot of time with "informative" chatter, inviting questions from the audience at the show's end. He stresses the significance of his troupe's performance

as a genuine cultural sharing, and an educational experience. Members of the company also answer tourists' questions, and most of the replies are misleading and erroneous, particularly on points of dance, or pre-European Maori ethnography. However, the tourists eat it up, along with their venison steaks and freshly steamed trout. This approach is not only new, but alien, to the veteran dancers of Te Arawa, who see the stage primarily as the stage, and not a lecture podium, or classroom. Most of them have also been involved in daily tourist question time on their guiding rounds, and they candidly admit -

> The point of our early commercialism is that we opened our culture - parts of it - up to the public, and we shared. We really shared - but not everything.

A similar educational style is presented at the show, staged in Tamatekapua where the entrepreneur cashes in on the environment, although he is not of Te Arawa descent. This latter point has raised some objections, and many villagers insist that the group using the house should be Ngati Whakaue. But despite this constant fussing and hostile gossip, the group continues to renew its lease from the Papaiouru Marae Trustees, unchallenged by a village-based concert party, or local competition. Previously, the group which performed here was an Ohinemutu family, the Morrison Group, who presented a classic old style programme. As returns shrank, the winter months became leaner and colder, and trade diverted to the Cultural Theatre, the group discontinued its Tamatekapua engagement around 1973, and focussed on hotel work. The leader of the party, a dignified middleaged and middleclass Maori matriarch, says of this experience -

> We were at Brents with Kiddo, then we moved to Travelodge, and got that scene going, and then on to the International, where my son Lauri started the hangi idea, which really took off! These are all our own, and were more or less started by us, and we had nothing to do with any outside groups.

A few local people deplore the general Te Arawa apathy, and resent the seemingly relentless encroachment of outsiders in Maori entertainment, though all will unanimously concur that "It's better that Maoris do it, instead of pakehas". The complacency of the local people was, however, challenged by a professional entertainer, from another tribe, at a gathering of cultural performers and leaders, dealing with the tourist dance issue -

> Te Arawa, you ask for what you get.

meaning, the local tribe's lethargy invites outsiders to come in and take over the scene.

One commercial group is aware of this situation, as are the founders, and hardworking supporters of the Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre, which I will discuss more fully later in the chapter.

As the pace has quickened, and the showtime reduced, other changes have been wrought, ostensibly to "please a tourist audience", many veterans suspect, but in most instances, a Maori audience is equally enthralled.

Three major forms in Maori dance have been modified. The female pukana, so beloved of the early record, is seldom, if ever, seen. One reason is that most really fine exponents of the art consider it "too special", and are sure the tourists would not appreciate it anyway, and think it "freaky". It is a refined skill wasted on the commercial stage -

> I can only do it when it comes from the heart, when it really means something. I'll really let go in Rangiwewehi, the cultural group from home, whereas on the stage, I can't, and if I do, my eyes might go all karurewha, you know . And tourist dancing is not the sort of thing that inspires it, it's another form completely.

Pukana has remained part of the men's haka, but this has assumed

a considerably different impact in the reduced company of three to eight men currently being presented. Many of these performers may also be teenage youths. This has changed the quality of the haka noticeably in recent years, and one veteran complains -

> What makes me so mad is that if they do a haka now, the men are so effeminate, with their hands waving around like flowers. Ugh. We did such beautiful hakas, real Maori, and there was a lot of us, not like now, with the stage almost empty.

The most drastic and obvious innovations have been in the poi. Ngata first describes the virtuosity of the poi ball at the Royal Reception in 1901 -

> One realized in a flash the ingenuity of the colour arrangement. As the poi faced the stand (where the Royal Visitors were sitting) two deep, white alternated with scarlet; as they formed fours, the white and the scarlet were grouped in sections apart; and on returning to the line two colours came together again with beautiful effect.[53]

Over the last two decades, it has assumed an unusual versatility. A dancer may perform with one or two short poi, in a series of fluttering or rapping, or wheeling pantomimic movements to either a European style melody, or an ancient waiata. The most experimental work has been with the poi waeroa, or long poi, that had been manipulated literally in multiples. Singularly, then double - one in each hand; then triple - one in one hand, two in the other; and finally quadruple, with two expertly grasped, and twirling rythmically to the guitar accompaniment. A few dancers accelarate the pace, in the very modern groups, and some display extraordinary expertise, lying flat on the stage with the balls whirling, and sitting, kneeling, and assuming other positions. Every show, except the theatre restaurant where lit dining facilities inhibit the effect, use ultraviolet light, so the darkened stage is ablaze with the glittering swirl of irridescent poi balls turning in perfect time to the music,

usually amid a frenetic dazzle of camera flash activity.

A Polynesian Review in Waikiki has succeeded in upstaging the Rotorua entertainers with the ultimate - two in each hand, and one delicately spinning from the right foot. As described by the choreographer, a vivacious elderly Maori woman, a former Mormon, and protegé of Ngata himself -

> It was the rage of the strip! Just brought the house down, I was so pleased with it! Mind you, it takes a particular kind of girl - she has to be very dainty, very petite, for it to be truly effective.

Though seen by a number of Te Arawa Maori visiting Hawaii, this interpretation was somehow pardonable because it was in Waikiki. But everyone insisted, that they would "never get away with it at home, never". But as the scene oscillates in the Rotorua Tourist Diamond, one can never really know for sure.

In this instance, for tourismic titilation, Maori dance has become true airport art, according to Kaeppler's model.[54] The words are irrelevant and insignificant, even unnecessary, guitar or band music being enough, and only the meaningless but spectacular gestures hold the audience, and dominate the stage.

For many of the entertainers I spent time with - veterans, and people from my own generation - the scene is changing quickly and irrevocably. Three of the six currently running shows are managed now by non-Te Arawa people, and one other was founded by an outsider.

Another new and contentious operation has been introduced by the Tudor Towers entrepreneur, and has involved many Te Arawa people formerly not directly concerned with tourism. Over a year ago, in the season of 1978-79, three rural Maori communities opened their marae as tourist venues. The tourists are bussed in to the marae, being briefed about

marae protocol and Maori custom en route. They are given a traditional Maori welcome, and after the ceremonial hongi, or pressing of noses in which everyone participates, they are treated to a hangi meal in the marae dining room, and some cultural entertainment. Only one community has continued with the enterprize, at this time of writing. The other two withdrew, stating openly that they had no further need to raise funds, whereas the true reason, according to my own sources, was actually ideological. Most of the people felt some things just should not be commercialized. In an interview with the local newspaper, the operator claimed -

> The project has given Maoris the chance to keep tradition alive without "selling out" to the tourists. The life of the marae is kept alive day to day, rather than being reserved for such occasions as tangis and other special gatherings.[55]

Most of the elders with whom I discussed these comments agreed that these were the words of someone "who has been away from home too long", for the situation in the Takiwa Waiariki is hardly as he describes it, and the marae communities are very much alive. He also stresses the "humility" of the Maori, and how the tourists, particularly the American, delight in this, for it is the "real image", the "old Maoris who bow their head, and cry when applauded". But perhaps the most cutting indication is this entrepreneur's final press statement, which many Maori elders, and youth, criticized -

> The true concept of the Maori is humility. One example was when a party of Americans was visiting the marae at Waiteti. One of them discovered an elder helping with the dishes after the meal. "Look, the chief is washing the dishes", called one of the visitors. There was a storm of flash bulbs, as the tourists flocked to see the "chief" at work.[55]

Of course, this does have its funny side, and many people laughed, "Typical. Silly damn tourists", but the passage, I feel, speaks for itself.

The less developed communities should be able to exercise their right to entertain, and capitalize, on their unique lifestyle in the tourist arena. Careful planning by the locals, and not the seductive persuasions of a sophisticated entrepreneur, is the ideal approach - and now, all except one of the above-mentioned marae are uninvolved, and no longer interested, safe behind a screen of cautious conservatism.

By 1978, conflicts between various groups and personalities reached its peak. The establishment of the Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre, presenting a show based on the 1972 off-Broadway production, caused much antogonism. Instead of a percentage of the door takings, the Cultural Theatre dancers were paid a set wage for each performance, regardless of the size of the house. This was a major change in business technique, and was initially acclaimed, attracting many fine performers from other groups. After five years of continuous operation, during which time other similar ventures rose, struggled, and fell, a member casually complained to an official from Actor's Equity, the "show business and media workers union", about inadequate rates of pay.

This plunged the usually apolitical dancers and singers of Takiwa Waiariki into a brief and befuddled period of panic. Unprecedented, and inconceivable, this move was roundly disapproved, but the "ball was set rolling", and the original "grizzler" conveniently vanished into anonymity before the first meeting. This event was attended by about twenty interested individuals, and was addressed by the Secretary of the Auckland Branch, who misjudged his audience, launched into a heavily Marxist tirade, and alienated everyone with his "militant ideas". To compound his crosscultural blundering, the representative failed to consider the kinship based nature of most Maori concert operations, and

the fact that for all except two, concert work was very much a "hobby", or a "part-time job", a secondary source of income. Unionizing would incur a secondary tax on earnings that were relatively lean anyway.

A second meeting was called four weeks later, and a flier was circulated by the facilitators, both men involved in some way with the business. Dominating the mimeographed document were the sentences -

> THE ISSUES ARE CLEAR. WE CANNOT IGNORE THE UNIONS - IF WE DO NOTHING ABOUT IT, ACTORS EQUITY WILL TAKE US OVER BY DEFAULT AND IT WILL BE TOO LATE TO START TALKING ABOUT THE TREATY OF WAITANGI WHEN YOU ALL GET YOUR ACCOUNT FOR $35.00 PAY UP OR THE UNION WILL NOT LET YOU ON STAGE.

Fifty people came to the meeting, representing the six active comercial groups, three semi-retired concert parties of the old style, and the marae based clubs. I was unexpectedly appointed the meeting recorder, and kept faithful notes of the rather muddled proceedings.

The Chairman opened the meeting, and invited discussion on the three alternatives -

1. Joining Actors Equity and each individually paying the $35.00 dues;
2. Forming a Maori independant organization designed for our own needs;
3. Doing nothing, which in the long run would be disadvantageous.

A Maori representative from the Union, himself a well known TV actor, stressed that the Union protects the workers, and that a minimum wage would be set and guaranteed. But most of the debate focussed on the significance of the need to unionize, as one speaker reiterated rather forcefully -

> On the hotel scene, I've done the wero, two minutes for fifteen dollars. All Actors Equity is doing is completing what the old people started so long ago, when our old people made an ass out of our culture and sold it for money... the ones to get are the tour agencies, they're

> the ones with the money, they're the ones we should ask for more... We can set our own rate here, and we should know that the day we all stop performing, then tourism in Rotorua goes PHUT! They come to see us... and we should make them bleed for it.

After an hour or so of excited agreement, and verbal endorsement of this stance, one of the veteran performers, and a concert party leader, rose to speak.

> I know that if I pull out, if my group pulls out, someone will take my place, and that has happened, whether for only two, three or four dollars a night. I doubt this will get off the ground, because someone will always take our place. Everybody likes it, and it's like a sport, it's fun.

The outcome of the meeting was to establish a separate, independent Maori based organization. It was agreed that each group would send a delegate to the meeting to set it up. During this time, the Auckland Branch Secretary wrote a letter of support, with a veiled threat that if Actors Equity had not heard from the Rotorua concert entertainers -

> by letter not later than 1 August, I shall commence proceedings against the employer at the Maori Cultural Theatre for employing workers who have refused to become members of Actors Equity, contrary to the qualified preference clause in our award.[56]

A brief statement was immediately dispatched from Rotorua, and the delegates meeting was called. Apart from the three facilitators, merely seven people showed up. After waiting nearly half an hour, the Chairman dismissed the pitiful gathering with the remark -

> Well, it looks like everyone's going to row their own canoe, and the Union will take action now, because we didn't. This is the general downfall of us all.

Just over a year has passed since that meeting, no litigation has occurred yet, and any complaints about wages and conditions are contained and resolved within the Maori context. The first commercial venture to react constructively to this supposed threat was the Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre.

The Rotorua Maori Cultural Theatre - A Brief Case Study

In 1972, the New Zealand Maori Company formed, and travelled to New York and Broadway as part of an ambitious world tour. The members themselves invested heavily, and selection of the successful applicants who auditioned was based on some controversial criteria - weight, colouring, and physical attractiveness, as well as voice and stage experience, and knowledge of Maori culture and language. Many fine but very fat singers - voices famous in the Maori world - were turned down, or given an ultimatum to lose weight. Hostility flared openly, and the airport send-off was livened up by a bomb hoax and the appearance of urban Maori activists who staged a guerilla theatre performance, questioning the dancers' qualifications to disseminate Maori culture abroad, and challenging the criteria for selection.

Because little advance publicity had been organized, and the New Zealand based promoters had absolutely no idea about American stage marketing, and the shrill urgency and competitive tumult of New York show business, the venture failed, miserably. After three weeks performing in and off off Broadway theatre - "near Times Square where the porno movies and sex shops are" - the company crossed the American continent and returned, demoralized and embittered, to New Zealand. Tens of thousands of dollars had been irretrievably lost - all but a minute fraction being Maori money.

One person who returned considerably wiser was an entertainer from the Ngati Pikiao hapu of Te Arawa. Together with his wife, a well seasoned entertainer from an illustrious Tūhourangi family of singers and hakamen, he perceived the opportunity to retrieve some of their joint losses from the original company. They took some of the American tour repertoire, approaching each composer individually asking for the desired

item, and presented a new professional stage show. They initially hoped to establish a Maori cooperative venture, but their partners soon lost interest, or faith, in the operation, which they now bemusedly recall all the other groups of the time describing then as "fly-by-nighters". They were "on their own". They also approached the Te Arawa Trust Board, and tribal and marae committees, in the firm belief that -

> such business should be run by the hapu or a marae group ideally - it's the sort of thing the Te Arawa Trust Board should do, if they would only wake up. But Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi have sat around waiting for the world to come to them, and up until now, the world has, and they have become cosy in their past successes and years of letting the pakehas administrate, even in the town. And the administrators always rake off the profits. But here in the Theatre we know this, and we know how to get to the top. I know those pakeha businessmen are threatened by us. But it is our culture, and we should set the terms by which it is marketed. It's a fact that Maori culture is part of the tour package deal, and we Maoris should and must regulate the trade.

Having leased premises from the Rotorua Agricultural & Pastoral Association, the entrepreneurs set about harnessing the trade, and staffing their stage. The male partner, and principal director, visited the big international tour companies in the major cities, and offered an unprecedented deal - that every night, for their tour parties, there would be a Maori concert staged in Rotorua, regardless of tour numbers, weather, or adverse circumstances. This was the contract. Such astute business strategy immediately paid off - the package deals included a Maori concert, and the brotherhood of European tourist wholesalers were pleased to be dealing with someone dependable. Previous clients, tour escorts, and coach drivers, had often complained that the concert that they had been looking forward to had been cancelled at the last minute - because of diverse circumstances, ranging from absenteeism caused by the weather, to absenteeism caused by the demands of Maori custom. One coach

driver was annoyed by a notice pinned to a concert hall door -

> Sorry No Concert Tonight
> Gone to a Tangi

The entrepreneurs of the Cultural Theatre argue that one's traditional commitments need never clash with one's commercial interest: the latter must remain secondary, but "Working it out is possible". Before the Theatre began operating, the concert business was rather haphazard and seasonal, with no facilities to adequately accommodate what was an obviously burgeoning traffic. The old style groups and other parties were active, and constantly available, only during the peak season of the year.

With the market cornered, the entrepreneurs sought out entertainers. Initially, they dealt with marae based cultural groups -

> ... but this was no good, they were too slack and casual, coming some nights, and missing others. Attendance was too inconsistent, even though the proceeds went straight into their marae funds. Some nights it was too wet, or too cold, and many complained about driving in from so far out of town.

After three months of this type of trial and error, and a nightly show being staged nevertheless, they decided to approach people individually offering a set wage, regardless of the size of the audience. A fine core of entertainers was soon formed, consisting of "the cream of Rangi and Kiddo's groups", which were then in semiretirement. And soon all except a few of the international tour company's coaches were parking outside their hall.

Seeing the amount of business the Theatre was gaining to their obvious loss, all the other cultural and commercial tourist groups immediately protested, acclaiming that their tactics were "ruthless", "mercenary", and exhibited a very pakeha greed which enraged everyone who was missing out, "because they hadn't thought of it themselves first".

Subsequently, to air grievances and "see what could be done", a meeting was called with the Public Relations Office. The agency was asked to intervene, but the Public Relations Officer stated at the meeting, which was attended by all the leaders of all the commercial and cultural groups then on the scene, that he -

> Could not not intervene. A P.R.O. cannot back any money making concern - even a Maori concert - that competes with private enterprize. It contravenes the law, and is not the function of the Public Relations Office.

He advised them to set up similar operations to undercut the Theatre, but every attempt was unsuccessful as the Theatre has literally monopolized the trade. He also told the "slighted parties" that -

> If the Theatre was providing a necessary service, and a reasonable standard of entertainment, and pleasing the audiences, then they would not sink. And they haven't yet... He has also got the best performers because he has offered the best deal, despite all the tremendous hostility and jealousy.

Despite this opposition, a basic group of intensely loyal supporters has remained with the Theatre since its inception. A few are from the original New York company, and many are from the entrepreneurs' whanau, and are former members of the semiretired Tuhourangi concert parties. Some of the most staunch also recognized the basic sincerity and common sense of the exercise in the beginning, and thus climbed on board. In the last two years, even the most vociferous rivals have softened, and some have joined the ranks of the Cultural Theatre.

After six years of operation, the management envisaged expanding to more sophisticated premises but hard times were looming. For six months the profits were adversely affected by the enforced grounding of all DC-10 aircraft in 1979. This disrupted the prearranged package tour bookings, and resulted in half empty houses.

Other fluctuations in world tourism drastically affected their

returns. For many months, Rotorua was rife with rumours of bankruptcy and liquidation, but the concerts continued to be staged every night, albeit with a reduced company. This ordeal was survived, and the entrepreneurs emerged with a much broader based company, the type of enterprize originally desired, as other Te Arawa people invested in it.

The issue of Actor Equity was also resolved by the incorporation of the Theatre Club, enabling those who so wished to pool their earnings into a cooperative credit union, whereas those who wanted to be paid individually continued to be so. In the last year and a half, much more drastic changes have occurred, and these are reflected in the shows, and also to an extent in the offstage atmosphere before a performance.

The lease for the first premises was sold to another bidder, another Maori entertainment entrepreneur who unsuccessfully attempted to establish a rival operation, which actually never opened its doors.

From this hall, which was rough, extremely old, poorly ventilated, but intimate, with a warm offstage area with cooking facilities and copious dining space, the company moved into another world. The new premises is a recently built concrete block, steel and glass former warehouse for farm vehicles and hire pool machinery. There is no comparable off stage area of suitable space in which the performers can hang around, exchange gossip, relax, and prepare for a show. Instead, they come already in costume, and the relationships are reduced. Another salient change is the lack of accommodation facilities - in the old hall, the manager slept most nights in a small flatette on a mezzanine above the audience chamber. He lived with his show, night and day.

At the time of writing, another partner has appeared, and invested heavily in the Theatre. He owns the lease to a huge downtown commercial

space which the Theatre aspires to operate from eventually, as a restaurant/theatre complex with retail facilities. This speculator is part Maori, and "from down the line", where he reaped extraordinary profits in urban real estate investment. Many of the "old hands" regard his presence as something of a "creeping takeover". To reduce overheads, he has cut the dancers on stage each night to the smallest possible number of performers, six women and three men, and his understanding of the operation is so negligible that one night -

> he had five altos and one soprano, which was terribly inconsiderate, and unfair on the performers.

It is unlikely, however, that the company will put up with his casting much longer, and as objections increase, a confrontation approaches. His trump card, however, is that he is subleasing the present premises to the Theatre; he owns the extremely long term lease to the entire city block on which it is located.

Over the last seven years, the programme has remained the same - a presentation in two parts, one depicting the Migration of the Maori to New Zealand, and Village Life. The concept begins with a wero, or traditional dance of challenge by a "priestly warrior"; this is followed by the "wailing chant of a woman", once the warrior has determined "the visitors have come in peace". Only in recent years has the wero and the karanga been taken from the traditional marae context, and reenacted on the tourist stage. Many veterans object to it, as profaning traditional ritual, and remind everyone that the old style concerts had no such thing on the programme. But the show goes on. A brief oration welcoming the audience is then intoned, and the dancers then accelerate into a flashy and brilliantly executed poi chant. The journey of the seven canoes is dramatized in a bracket of chants, poi, solo items, action songs, and haka, and within thirty minutes, the Maori

have settled into their new life, and land, and a different scene unfolds: Village Life, and serenely peaceful pursuites. One activity is the mythical and certainly misleading sequence of a visiting tribe coming to "select a bride for their chief". This culminates in a beautiful bracket of love duets sung by superb soloists, but it also seems a little absurd, the bogus ritual of the suitor presenting a patu (hand weapon) to his blushing bride to be, as a marriage token, before they both rapturously burst into song. Meanwhile, the narrator pours forth Maori pop ethnography from a prepared text read from a series of index cards. After the pairing, the event is celebrated by a sequence of extremely difficult poi, the single short, Pa Kete Whero, a composition unique to Te Arawa and dating from the time of Makereti, and the poi waeroa, Porotiti, the single long poi, which provides a pleasing and gracious pause in the hitherto relentlessly galloping pace of the show. With their breaths back, the company then performs an action song, and a bracket of haka, more for comic than ferocious effect, and interpreted by the narrator as "for the perpetuation of the race"! The next item is a combination long poi, an easy pace done beneath dazzling black light, as flashbulbs erupt throughout the auditorium, and the show concludes on two final action songs. The last, Tangihia, is described as "depicting the situation of the Maori people today". A politically inspired number which begins with a classical lament for the dead, and finishes with a rousing burst of ethnocentric enthusiasm, this composition by Bill Kerekere of Tai Rawhiti is famous primarily for its strong, clear lyrics, and the exquisite beauty yet correspondent simplicity of the actions, which complement, rather than dominate, the performance. The last few minutes, the mournful strains of Po Atarau fill the hall, as a dancer

moves front stage, and thanks the audience for coming, wishing them farewell and "Haere ra".

It is exactly an hour long, and most of the entertainers find the pace fast, but fun. The repertoire is also considered the most difficult and demanding currently being performed on the Rotorua tourist stage. The pace is often criticized, but the founders insist that the snappiness holds the audience attention, and keeps them awake.

The theatre lobby accommodates a well stocked souvenir shop, where the bustling tourists mill around in breathless curiosity every evening. No one is yawning. They really enjoyed the show.

Conclusion

Tourist dance, while maintaining a semblance of the older forms, has risked losing some of its precision of meaning and performance. The persistent curiosity of, and commercial appeal to, the non Maori audience caused a noticeable slackening in standards, even as early as the late nineteenth century.[57] Key gestures, such as the pukana, and the tutamawahine stance for women, were subsequently modified. Experimentation and drastic innovation, to please the tourist audience, has also occurred.

To experience the beauty of highly drilled Maori ensemble dance, one must be present at a tribal function, or cultural festival, with a critical but appreciative and predominantly Maori audience. Even the dancers themselves are aware of the difference - for the Maori, they present one thing, for the tourist, another, with no conflict, conscience or confusion. The tourist stage is work; the marae stage is tribal pride, and the latter is immeasurably more important.

The situation may be described as a continuum which began with the

more traditional and tribally based offerings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, through the "old style" programmes which continued until a decade ago, to the various slick presentations on the modern stage.

Such trends are also evident in the varying business styles - an evolution from amicable relations, good natured bickering, and nightly touting expeditions, to the more competitive entrepreneurship styles, and advanced business strategy of the latter twentieth century.

Underlying those changes has been the factor of kinship, whanaungatanga. The nineteenth century presentations, and the old style concerts, were based within the hapu structure, even as the more commercial enterprizes and interest emerged.

In most of the modern groups, the performers do not all share a common ancestor only five or six generations past, and they are primarily employees, and not members of a tribal party of specialists. The Culture Theatre, however, approaches a successful balance, in the heterogenous ratio of its personnel.

It is also of considerable interest that much of the current entrepreneurial zeal originates among non Te Arawa, but Maori, migrants to the district. A number of these newcomers match the Te Arawa in talent, and expertise, and although their success has been resented, it has eventually been accommodated.

The future remains remote, even mysterious. Because perceptions of what culture is are continually changing, song and dance in Takiwa Waiariki move accordingly. But as this chapter has revealed, the progression until 1970 was very slow indeed reflecting the maintained and desired pace set early by Te Arawa.

Style, content, and the overall genre of commercial tourist dance has, however, changed rapidly and relentlessly in the last ten years. My guess is that it will continue to do so, until a more visible and acute polarity is evolved and acknowledged - that which is staged for tourist consumption only, and that which is presented as privately, and particularly, Te Arawa.

Photographs: Entertainment

As Earle himself described Maori dance on page 154.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



PLATE 42. A HAKA (WAR DANCE). 'A Dance of New Zealanders.' Engraving in sepia by J. Stewart, after Earle, in the *Narrative*. 6 × 9 1/2 inches.

War Dance before the Pah of Ohinemutu".
- George French Angas 1847.
Note the symmetry and ensemble effect
of this peruperu, as described on page 153.

- courtesy Turnbull Library



Peruperu by Ngati Tuwharetoa at the Waitangi Celebration 1934.
This tribe is still famous for the grace and precision of its hakamen.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



The War Dance of Ngai Te Rangi,
as seen by an unknown observer
of the 1840's.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



Dr McGauran's Troupe of Maori Warrior Chiefs, Wives, and Children, London 1862, as mentioned on page 157.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



ARIATA TETAPUITI, WIFE OF HARE POMARE. HARE POMARE. PARATENE TE MANU.—TAKERE NGAWAKA. WIREMU TE WANA. HIRINI PAKIA. MR. JENNER, INTERPRETER.
ANA TE AYUA. KAMERIARA TE HAETAKIRI WHAKIPAPA. HAPIMANA NGAPEKO. REIHANA TAURAWAU. HARIATA TE IRINGA, WIFE OF HIRINI. NGAHUI. HIRINI TE PUAHU.

GROUP OF NEW ZEALAND CHIEFS NOW ON A VISIT TO ENGLAND.—(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY VERNON HEATH.)

The Cultural Group that travelled to England in 1911, as described on page 164.

Chief Mita Taupopoki centre front row, and Makereti on his right, her sister Bella on his left. The writer's kuia, Hera, in kakahu kiwi, stands behind Makereti.



Training in the pukana began very early,
as revealed by this delightful image
of Tuhourangi children's "penny haka".

- courtesy Turnbull Library



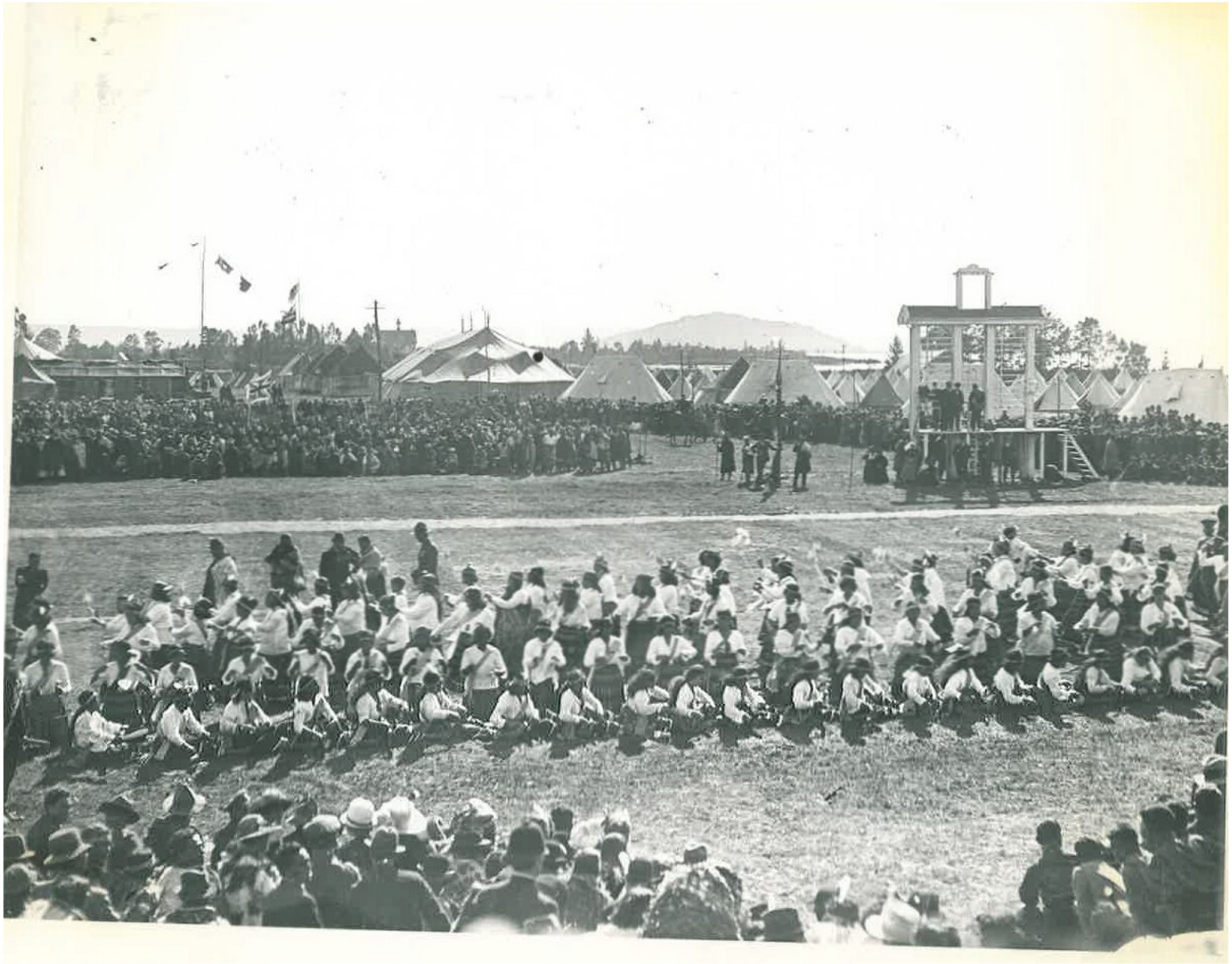
Maggie Papakura, and the chief Mita Taupopoki, present the poi team of their tribe, Tuhourangi.
The "Canoe Poi", created around 1904, as described on page 163.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



The first massive public demonstration of the poi at the 1901 Royal Tour Reception, described on page 161.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



A poi for a cruise ship crowd in the early 1920's, held inside the Model Village.

All the performers are guides.
Note the women's style, and the kakahu covering their legs.

-courtesy Turnbull Library.


3558

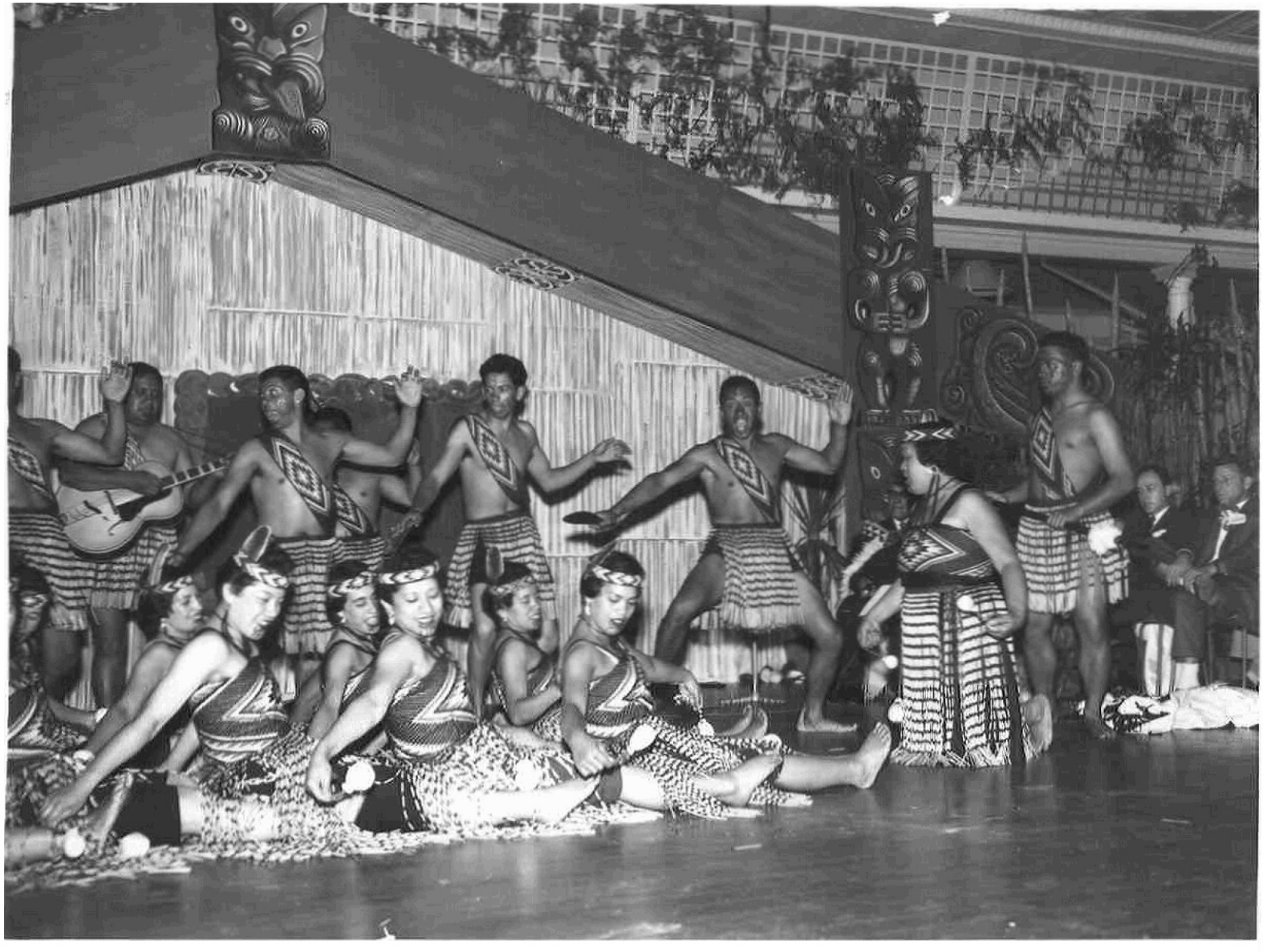
Poi Waka - Canoe Poi 1960.
Guide Rangi's Concert Party women perform in the Model Village, with Guide Rangi standing at the rear.
Note the different age, stance/style, and costume of the dancers compared with the previous plate.

- courtesy National Publicity Studios.



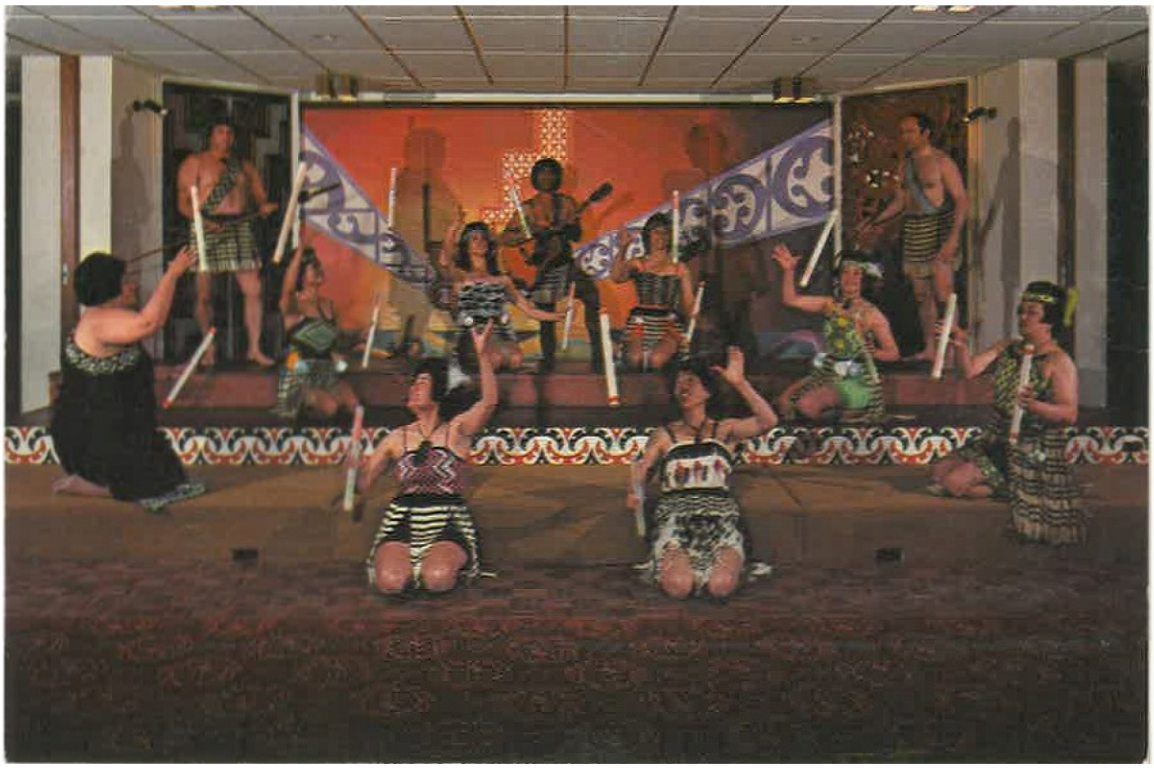
A Maori group entertains travel industry representatives at the Annual Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) conference, 1960. Note the painted meeting house facade.

- courtesy National Publicity Studios



Tititorea - traditional stick games
jazzed up for the 1980's concert stage.
Note the lighting, costumes, stage, and colours.
Upper picture, Rotorua Maori Culture Theatre,
lower picture, Te Kotuku.
Both are promotional postcards.





The Morrison Family Cultural Group perform in the Tamatekapua meeting house, as described on page 193.



ROTORUA, NEW ZEALAND

An impressive haka for the tourists, by the Ngati Rangiwewehi Cultural Group.



Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa -- as we dance
for ourselves!

-courtesy Rotorua Daily Post.



Chapter Three: Arts and Crafts

A Survey of the Literature, and A Description of the Relationship of Tourism and Traditional Arts and Crafts in Takiwa Waiariki, with the Emphasis on Women's Crafts.

Chapter Three: Arts and Crafts

Unlike dance, much has been written by many pakeha writers on the arts and crafts of the Maori. One of the finest, and most comprehensive is Hamilton[1], whose 1901 publication has recently been reprinted and is graphically sumptuous. Following him, Roth[2] and Rowe[3], produced two studies which focussed mainly on women's crafts, and Best[4] also contributed to the written record.

By the midcentury, carving had captured the interest of many pakeha scholars. Phillips[5] published a bulletin on Te Arawa houses, and Archey[6] wrote a general account on wood sculpture. By the midseventies, Barrow produced a splendidly illustrated work on Maori carving[7], preceded by his earlier lightweight overview of the decorative arts[8], and Phillips[9] wrote a small but informative monograph on the state of the art in 1972. The most recent contribution is an as yet unpublished study of Ngati Terawhai carving by Roger Neich.[10]

Exhaustive and wholehearted research has been undertaken by Maori scholars as well, beginning with the manuscripts of Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa, written in the midnineteenth century.[11] Te Rangihiroa[12] published an account on basketry and plaitwork, followed by his detailed chapters on arts and crafts in a larger work[13], and Ta Apirana Ngata[14] presented a fine historical and contemporary analysis on the subject in Sutherland's anthology.

Mead[15] has been the most prolific and conscientious of modern writers, with a number of works which I will refer to later in this

chapter.

Only very recently has material dealing with tourist art been published. All are included in general anthologies on tourism, and all have appeared in the last five years. At the time of writing, Graburn[16] is the sole publication centered on tourist arts.

More detailed reference to the literature described above will be presented where relevant.

The emphasis of this chapter will be on the political, social, cultural and economic factors which have culminated in the present arts and crafts situation in Takiwa Waiariki, in the tourist context. Primarily, however, I wish to demonstrate the priorities of the crafts-people themselves, and how their traditional skills have continued in spite of, as well as because of, tourism.

This will be exemplified by an account of the New Zealand Maori Arts & Crafts Institute's women's crafts programme, which is based in Rotorua, and how this programme occurs in the commercial and the community environments.

I will discuss tourism as part of an ongoing process of cultural change, and relate some of the theory outlined above to the Te Arawa situation, drawing on my own fieldwork materials and firsthand tribal experiences.

During my two years continually at home I came to realize how, for the craftswomen and the carvers, tourism itself may be important, but it remains secondary. The reward is in the craft itself, not the economic returns, and only the small number employed full time by the Institute claim arts and crafts as their sole source of income.

Related to this is the fact that in contrast to the entertainment world, the Rotorua arts and crafts community is extremely small,

specialized, and because of the New Zealand Maori Arts & Crafts Institute activities, much more visible. I avoid naming the persons concerned whenever possible, though one of two more widely known identities I cannot disguise, or deny. I also choose to recreate some of the atmosphere which they so graciously shared with me, and occasionally attempt to draw the reader in to the artist's world, by describing my encounters with them. Some vignettes are taken verbatim from the fieldnotes written on the actual occasion.

Another consideration is my own subjectivity - the women of my whangai family have been continually involved in arts and crafts for many generations. Garments woven by my great-grandmother and grandmother graced the shoulders on many illustrious non-Maori visitors, culminating in my kuia's manufacture of the korowai for Queen Elizabeth II in 1954. The honour of making the Queen's garment fell to my kuia after considerable discussion by the Maori leaders organizing the Grand Royal Reception. She was chosen as the most outstanding traditional weaver of that time, being still actively involved in the craft.

Her daughter, who is my mother, is currently an instructor at the New Zealand Maori Arts & Crafts Institute.

Since the coming of the eighteenth century whalers and sealers, whose red woollen caps were unravelled to decorate shining flax fibre cloaks, Maori arts and crafts have been undergoing continual change. Steel tools, missionary evangelizing, and more sophisticated weaponry wrought enormous havoc. Two hundred years later, the transition is still occurring, and in the world of the Maori artist and artisan, it is confronted, and acknowledged.

In Takiwa Waiariki, to isolate tourism as a primary causal factor in major change is erroneous and misleading, because the travel industry

has been merely one agent in the homogenizing onslaught of twentieth century civilization. Rather than lament, "It's the tourists who have done all this to us", a much more feasible accusation can be levelled against actual colonization, and the actions and attitudes of an immigrant population bent on assimilating the native race over many decades. For, paradoxically, tourism itself may be a conserving phenomenon, and to an extent, Aotearoa and Te Arawa may illustrate this. As McKean observes of Bali -

> the coming of tourists to Bali has strengthened the "folk", "ethnic" or "local" survival of the Balinese, rather than leading them into the homogeneity of the industrialized world. Their traditional roles as dancers, musicians, artists, or carvers are now alternative and additional sources of livelihood for individuals and whole communities. By no means has the traditional ethos perished, and a complex selective process is operative.[17]

This attitude is endorsed by May[18] and Deitch,[19] and Swain related the situation of the Cunha Indian of Panama -

> Ethnic tourism is a paradoxical agent of change and continuity for this indigenous group, in that acceptance of tourism simultaneously encourages the maintenance of traditions, and provides many stimuli for change.[20]

This is certainly what seems to have occurred in the Te Arawa region; most of the artists and artisans with whom I worked supported the view that were it not for the tourist interest, the traditional skills of garment manufacture and even house carving may well have lapsed, and been discontinued. As Te Rangihiroa pessimistically declared, writing in 1949 -

> Though the craft may linger in a few districts, it has completely disappeared over most of New Zealand. Localities which derive an income by entertaining tourists continue to make flaxen kilts as part of the stage wardrobe. Associated with commercial ventures, taniko bands are made as fillets for the head, and waistbands for kilts.[21]

Tourists and European collectors' patronage, which will be discussed later, was also a principal influence in Maori wood sculpture.

By perceiving tourist souvenirs as the sad and solitary remnants of a once glorious artistic heritage, one underestimates and perhaps even insults the artistic integrity of the contemporary native artisans in a tourist area. Most of the products cluttering the retail souvenir shelves of Auckland International airport, and downtown Rotorua, are not Maori work at all, and actually cause considerable consternation in the Maori community, as one publication reveals -

> Members of the Institute have for some time been concerned at the growing volume of poor quality and plastic imitation Maori artifacts presented for sale and hope in the near future to bring down suggestions which will help to give some measure of protection for Maori craftsmen producing genuine Maori items.[22]

It is more likely that many forms of artistic change occur simultaneously in the indigenous community. Graburn outlines these processes, stating that -

> these arts have often been a major means of articulation between mutually acculturating societies, not only in aesthetic but in economic, technological and psychological ways.[23]

He then develops a paradigm of artistic change, which he presents in more detailed and inclusive form in a recent publication.[24] He outlines seven distinctive directions and processes of change. Extinction, in which traditional arts have declined and disappeared; Traditional or Functional Fine arts, in which he cites Maori carved house building as an example; Commercial Fine Arts such as Peruvian gourds; Souvenir Arts, termed airport arts or "ethnokitsch", exemplified by some types of African woodcarving; Reintegrated Arts, like the Cunha mola blouses and Navajo blankets; Assimilated Fine Arts presented in the work of Australian Aboriginal Albert Namatjira; and the Popular Arts, demonstrated best

in the New Zealand context by the canvasses of the Maori painter Selwyn Muru.[24]

Mead's analysis of the arts and crafts situation in contemporary Maori society is based on this model. He describes five different categories. Traditionally Based Arts, such as housecarving, and the weaving of prestige cloaks, and fine mats - "a conscious effort to protect a threatened culture from extinction"; Folk Arts, "made by persons who receive no formal training whatever in the techniques required", such as the painted wall panels depicting canoes, birdsnaring and other activities in Maori meeting houses; Commercial Arts & Crafts such as those objects produced by the New Zealand Maori Arts & Crafts Institute in Rotorua; Tourist Art, which he dismisses thus -

> They do not look like Maori carving. The modern tourist thus has provided a powerful economic incentive that encourages many pakeha craftsmen to turn to Maori art and the Assimilated Fine Arts, in which Maori artists, painters, sculptors "openly compete with pakehas" in works done in "the Western tradition", though they try "to a greater or lesser extent" to "maintain an ethnic identity"[25]

Mead's general conclusion, however, seems relatively bleak; he perceives that a clear Maori/pakeha dichotomy no longer exists, and the tide of assimilation thrusts on relentlessly, as non-Maori New Zealanders exuberantly "Maorify" their outward symbols, for example the Air New Zealand logo, the garb of international beauty queen contestants of non-Maori descent, and the overseas New Zealand consulate offices embellished by Maori carving.

Though it may appear to Mead that whatever survives of Maori culture may eventually become "giftwrapped for the tourists", current trends and attitudes in the Maori world - as I understand and have experienced it - contradict this notion. Paramount to the continuity

of an artistic tradition are the intentions of its inheritors, and their own criteria of excellence and understanding. All of the practitioners who gave their time, ideas, and encouragement to this study agreed that tourism - the economic factor - was a secondary reason for their working as carvers and weavers. That "the old people" - the previous two generations - have retained their skills and continued carving and weaving largely to meet tourist and pakeha demand, was a recognized and stated "fact". It was an economic solution during those most critical years of Maori-pakeha contact, and general nationbuilding. It reinforced their Maori identity, and thus their heirs will stress that educating other Maori people - disseminating their knowledge and sharing their expertise - is the most important and gratifying activity. Perhaps this is the essential "degree of separatism" that Mead so cautiously prescribes to waylay doom.

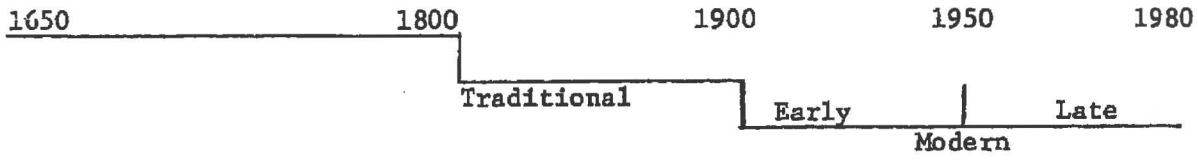
Maori arts and crafts have inevitably excited considerable scholarly interest, with the descriptions by early travellers, and the acquisitions of countless fine pieces by eighteenth and nineteenth century voyagers. Much has since been written on whakairo - wood carving. Best,[26] Te Rangihiroa,[27] and Rowe[28] discuss some aspects, and Hamilton presents a comprehensive account.[29] In more recent years, Phillips,[30] Mead,[31] and Barrow[32] have made substantial and well illustrated contributions to the study of whakairo.

Outstanding in the field is the work of Roger Neich. This very recent study documents historical change in the woodcarving art of the Ngati Tarawhai hapu of Te Arawa, and examines in depth the relationship of the artist, tourism, and patronage. An excellent summary is presented in the comprehensive table drawn up by Neich.[33] Although by far the most prolific and celebrated, Ngati Tarawhai, the close kin of Tuhourangi,

were not the only Te Arawa carvers of note during the turn of the century. My informants declare that Ngati Whakaue also boasted a few outstanding carvers, as did Pikiao and Rangiwewehi. Neich mentions them briefly, but focusses his thesis on the Ngati Tarawhai. Partly due to vigorous and persistent European and tourist patronage, the carving art continued in Takiwa Waiariki, to be boosted more dramatically and definitively by government intervention in the mid 1920s. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Women's crafts have received some mention by early ethnographers - Best, who recounts the institution and ritual of the whare pora,[34] or "house of weaving", Te Rangihiroa's close examination of technique and function,[35] and Hamilton's account of clothing design.[36] Roth also presents a comparative analysis of North West Coast Indian and Maori weaving styles in an older publication.[37] Currently available are two instructional manuals on piupiu making[38] and taniko weaving,[39] which briefly outline their history and development, the latter being especially lucid.

The most comprehensive text on the subject is Mead.[40] He posits a developmental model within a historical framework



and categorizes each type of garment in a functional classification which also considers style element and mode in critical detail. Working from ethnographic literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the paintings of early artists such as Weber and Angas, and actual garments stored in museum collections in New Zealand and overseas, Mead's

otherwise neatly definitive model overlooks one crucial aspect of Maori garment manufacture. Creativity. The maker of cloaks and mats was not only an artisan, she was often an artist, and as such her work was highly prized. Subsequently, her own personal expression and artistic inventiveness would usually defy placement within any one absolute category in Mead's scheme.

As a description of the general trends in Maori garment manufacture, however, this model serves well, and Mead's book remains a significant contribution to our reconstructing, as best we can, the fashions of our ancestors.

Women's crafts were essentially functional: the manufacture of articles for protection and warmth, the weaving of mats and baskets for domestic use. Seldom isolated from the domestic and functional context, it remained within the small universe of the human body, and the household. Women also contributed to house construction, weaving tukutuku panels which enhanced the wall between each slab of a carved house, and also painting the rafter designs. This was a comparatively rare activity, spurred only by the usually once in a lifetime building of a wharewhakairo. It was not an ongoing activity.

Because the dissemination of Maori women's crafts today is closely related to tourism in some respects, and because as a woman myself access to female informants and the crafts have been instantaneous and free, most of this presentation will focus on the women's crafts situation. However, whakairo, "the prestige art of the people", will also be duly recognized and discussed.

The period following the first world war witnessed not only marked activity in the Maori performing arts, but also a conscious effort by prominent Maori political leaders to increment the continuation of Maori Arts and Crafts, and thus excite the artistic genius of the Maori people. In 1926, the Maori Arts and Crafts Act was passed. Its architect was Apirana Ngata, who wrote -

> The setting up of the school at Rotorua represents one of the most important measures taken towards the rehabilitation of the Maori people.[41]

After a century of increasing colonization, as described in the previous section of this dissertation, the Maori people were depressed, and largely demoralized. Ngata and his colleagues determined to rechart the path of the indigenous race emphasizing pride in tribal culture and identity..

Why Rotorua? Tourist interest had maintained a constant level of productivity, and Ohinemutu itself was still the home of a number of skilled carvers. According to Ngata -

> In the Rotorua district alone, the demands of the tourist traffic required that a knowledge of carving and the associated arts should be maintained and here Maori adepts still passed their knowledge on to the younger men. Elsewhere the mind of the youth of this generation were diverted from the things that belonged to a continuation of Maori life.
>
> In the second decade of this century the bald position was that outside the Arawa tribe there were only two experienced carvers, one in the Urewera country and the other among the Ngati Porou of the East Coast... It became necessary to import carvers from the Rotorua district to assist the sole surviving expert of what had once been one of the most celebrated schools of Maori art. The realization that so large a part of the Maori people had lost, or was about to lose, its expert artists, was the chief reason behind the representations made to the Government of the day which resulted in the establishing of the School of Maori Arts and Crafts at Rotorua.[41]

One of the original students of this school agreed to share some of his experiences with me, not long before he died of a lingering

illness. Haere e Koro, ma runga i o mata waka, e Koro e...

With his late brother Pine, a brilliant carver and quite notorious eccentric, Hone came from Ngati Porou, and together they worked on over forty whare whakairo. Noted for their brash and unreserved opinions, the Brothers Taiapa were not widely beloved of their hosts among Te Arawa. While I was gathering my relatives' stories, I was sternly warned to stay away from Hone. I approached him anyway, not only in the interests of academic freedom, but out of a genuine respect and affection for a delightful elder I'd known and watched all my life, and whom I knew would be pleased to talk to me.

My last meeting with Hone, which I have taken almost verbatim from my field notes, is described below.

Late winter- a comfortable house in Koutu, Rotorua. Frost settles on the windowpane as darkness bleeds across the lush green lawn. We are in the sitting room. The old man coughs sporadically. I remain crosslegged on the floor, perplexed and excited. Once more I tell my story, and outline my project. He listens carefully, and he smiles. His presence is very strong, and yet something about him is very spare, ascetic, intense, even visionary, with eyes that see far beyond, and yet constantly spark and shine with a vivid fire.

The beginning of the Rotorua School of Art unfold -

> In Te Arawa, in the nineteen twenties, there were about six remaining carvers. Api chose to establish the School here because he felt that in Te Arawa were the last remaining embers of the fire of carving. The trouble was, they didn't add the firewood, so the glow was fading. These men were Iharaira Piripi, Rotohiko Haupapa, whom they called Tiny because he weighed in at thirty-two stones, and the half-brothers, Wihau and Kapu Te Raihi. Api told my mother that my older brother Pine and I had to go. We arrived in Rotorua a week before him, he had parliamentary meetings, and he could not take us in. So Pine and me went in. In his mihi, Rotohiko said "I don't know why you people came here to pinch our bread and butter. You people are wealthy, you are farming people. Carving is our

> livelihood, it is all we have". Two others from Waikato were with us, they were sent by Te Puea, they were Piri Poutapu and Waka Kereama. So Pine replied for us, and he said, "When Ngata sends anyone to learn something, they go. And when Te Puea sends anyone to learn something, they go. And if you are going to be so possessive, then we will teach ourselves". From this moment on, it was like an imaginary line was cut across the floor of Te Aomarama. It was very delicate, and we did not cross it. We decided we could do it even without them being there. We would also take the train to Auckland, to the Institute and Museum, and there we photographed and studied all the old carvings from our own areas.

After much persuasion from Ngata, and a year of brittle tension in the Anglican Church Hall of Ohinemutu, a master carver from Ngati Terawhai joined the project. He was Eramiha Kapua, whom Hone recalls with great affection and profound gratitude. Unlike the men of Ngati Whakaue, who were hesitant to impart their tribal carving skills to outsiders, Eramiha shared his knowledge bountifully,and instructed the Taiapa brothers, and the two men from Waikato. They were later joined by two Cook Island Maoris, Aiotua Tuarau and Wili Marama. Ngata had set up marae jobs all over the country, and despite the intervention of yet another world war, by 1955 over forty carved houses had been completed, all of them exhibiting the artistry of Hone and Pine Taiapa. These houses were in the Waikato, Bay of Islands, Northland, Hokianga, Taranaki, Lower Whanganui, Otaki, Wairoa, Gisborne, Rotorua, the East Coast, and the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Part of the scheme was teaching the local men, as the carvers themselves stayed in the community for which they were carving. A vivid account of this is in Te Ao Hou.[42] As a result of the live-in situation, almost a hundred men were trained.

Although most were masters of their own regional carving style, the travelling group also became adept in every other tribal style. By the mid-fifties, the demand for carved meeting houses - the availability of constant work - declined drastically. Certain men, like Kima Hakaraia

and Tuhaka Kapua of Ngati Whakaue, continued to produce for the tourist market, manufacturing small portable pieces, which they sold from their own outlets in Ohinemutu. During the war, many locals quickly acquired carving skills to meet the voracious souvenir collecting appetites of the American and New Zealand servicemen on rest leave in Rotorua. For almost all the carvers, however, whakairo could no longer pay the bills. Most returned to farming, and other jobs; many, including Hone, went into the building trade, and the Koutu premises of the Rotorua School of Art closed its doors.

Ngata's vision perceived the Maori people as essentially bucolic - during his gargantuan political life, he worked to keep the Maori farming on the land - their land. Consolidation schemes, incorporation of ownership interests, funding of land development, formed the basis of his programme to retain Maori land, and establish Maori economic survival. Related to this, I believe, was the beautification and enhancement of the ritual focus of every Maori community - the marae and its buildings - the whare whakairo and whare kai, and the staunch maintenance of an essentially tribal identification. Ngata could not have predicted the most far reaching and stupendous outcome of the postwar era. The ultimate assimilative phenomenon of urban migration, from the country to the city, would depopulate the rural marae all over the country, and particularly those strongly Maori regions of the East Coast, and Northland.[43] Almost a decade - the 1950s - passed; again, the carving art was sustained, ostensibly, by tourist attention. Professional carvers continued their art to supplement their main incomes, and to keep their skills sharp. Not yet intruded upon by the synthetic products of pakeha enterprize, the souvenir shop shelves were constantly supplied with small, portable, and generally meaningless items by these men.

By the early 1960s, a new interest from the city dwellers was being generated in things Maori. As its second, recently retired (1980) director tells the story -

> In the early nineteen sixties, people agitated on the Maoris losing identity; the language, the arts and the crafts seemed to be fading. So, the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute was created. The Director appointed by the Board was from Ngati Rangiwewehi, and he approached me to become the Secretary. I said I didn't want to, I was at the top of my career in the civil service, but he talked till one o'clock in the morning, so I applied. And I got it.

The Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act was passed in 1963 -

> to engage in the business of creating, buying, or selling articles having a special significance in respect to Maori arts and crafts, or relating to Maori life or culture.

The Institute began in 1955, operating from the old Post Office building of Ngongotaha, a small lakeside town north of Rotorua. Eventually, the operation moved to newly built and carefully designed premises adjacent to the Rotowhio model pa, above the thermal valley of Whakarewarewa. The Institute is funded by moneys accrued from the traffic of tourists through the Crown Reserve, which has been leased from the Crown, and maintained and administered by a Board of Trustees.

The first director of the Institute, Kake Leonard, talked with me as we watched the metallic waters of the lake churn and ripple below his huge lounge window, one grey and gloomy afternoon. His manicured fingers etched the fine relief of his own work, a splendidly carved tokotoko, as he recalled -

> The first thing I did was change the name to New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, because Rotorua smacked too much of tribal connotations. I set up the place on my own, and even designed the buildings. I also proposed to amalgamate the shares in the Rahui - the Whakarewarewa village - so that the Institute could administer the ticket sales for Tuhourangi. But they threatened to put me in a ngawha, and cook me, they felt that Whaka belonged to them alone, and it was really tough. The former

> arrangement was a family one - every family had a week at a time to take the money from the tourists going through. The most money they ever made in one year was eight hundred pounds. Under the new system, after the first year, the returns were two thousand. So it began to succeed. I do firmly believe that tourism has kept Maori culture alive in Rotorua.

After a year and a month, illness in the family prompted his resignation, and his secretary, Kuru Waaka, a most astute and articulate descendant of Tuhourangi, successfully applied for the directorship -

> I had already set up the office procedures, and it operates exactly now as it did then. We have a staff of around sixty, and there is not one pakeha. I do this intentionally, despite any hints of racism. When a pakeha applies, my first question is, "Can you speak Maori?" Of course they cannot! I also believe that tourism and tourists are the livelihood of the Institute. They are helping to finance our cultural activities, and we have upgraded our facilities to meet their demands.

An instance of the tourists' demand being more than adequately met was in the opening of a "$55,000 kiwi nocturnal house containing two live kiwis".

> This was opened to the public early in March 1976, and despite fears to the contrary, both birds are thriving and are of great interest to overseas and local people alike.[44]

Hone Taiapa accepted the appointment of master carver and head instructor, and initiated the carvers' three years apprenticeship scheme. The students are paid according to the Carpenters and Joiners' Union Apprenticeship Award wage scale. The first intake of seven young men graduated in December 1969, and with each yearly enrolment of trainees, a careful tribal representation is maintained. In 1973, it was decided to restrict the number enrolling to four, "so that four will pass out as four are accepted". Major commissions including meeting house poupou, are undertaken before the tourist eye, as the men work in an area enclosed by an elevated walkway. For a Maori visitor, this can be disconcerting - women are prohibited entry to meeting houses under construction. According to one master carver, "they might distract the carver who must

keep his mind on his work and carving is highly tapu", yet at the Institute, "all is bared to the world". One woman, an avid traditionalist, suggested that perhaps the carvers "do not consider the tourists to be people"; it is as Hone himself describes,"they are not there".

The apprentices usually work in this fully exposed and exhibitive environment, although in the last two years some actual marae work has also been undertaken in the King Country by first year trainees. After graduation, most remain in the Institute workshop, which has been severely criticized by some in the Maori world.[45] Most negative comments focus on the "bull ring", and how the staged aspect of the workshop gives the "undignified impression of a zoo". To his critics, Hone Taiapa replies -

> You know, the funny thing about carving, as I say to the boys when they start, is that you notice people for the first month, and after that, you don't see or hear them, because your mind is so set on what you are doing. As for this human zoo idea, well, everyone is an animal, and you don't have to be confined to a bullring like up there to be criticized. You're still an oddity, and people will always talk and criticize! There's always somebody! And none of these people know what I have in here (points sharply at head), none of them! And I know what I am doing, and why.

A recent Institute report describes the scene -

> All carvers, both graduates and trainees, are currently engaged on the carvings for the Mataatua meeting house which is being completely reconstructed by the Tuhoe people living in Rotorua. Massive pieces already finished ring the workshop and are a continual source of interest not only to overseas tourists but also to the New Zealand visitors, both Maori and pakeha. In fact we believe that the Maori takes greatest interest as material evidence of the revival of his culture.[46]

For the Institute artists and craftswomen, the final statement in the paragraph says it all.

Considerable controversy surrounds the graduates' future. By 1979, thirty three fully qualified carvers had graduated from the Institute - at the time of writing, thirteen remained employed at the Institute.

According to their teacher, however, their prospects do not seem promising.

> When they leave, they do nothing! They end up just like any other young fulluh looking for a job. I tried to set them up with a scheme in the Education Department, teaching in the High Schools. I was told they had to be trained in the school curriculum - but they are trained already! And now, they have pakeha woodwork teachers teaching carving in the schools...

At this point, words failed him utterly, and the kaiwhakairo master carver merely grimaced in profound disgust.

The tourist market inevitably beckons, and the construction of urban marae seems likely to continue. However, the idealism with which the graduate carvers achieve their expertise and approach their hallowed vocation needs to be qualified by a keen grasp of economic reality, and a cutting awareness of pakeha business skills. The issue demands a close investigation. Otherwise, what is it all for? The Institute reports all stress -

> Although the supply from the carving school has been fairly steady, sales could readily increase if production were greater. However, this cannot be expected as the teaching of the art is the main purpose of the school, and not production for sales purposes.[47]

One person involved with the Institute in a supervisory capacity confided that what made its products so desirable to the retailer and discerning tourist is their very exclusiveness, but she agrees this is more circumstantial than deliberate, the Institute itself being more concerned with Maori rather than tourist demand.

The last sixty years have thus witnessed conscious measures undertaken by Maori leadership prompting government measures to conserve and continue traditional Maori arts and crafts. Huge changes have occurred since the turn of the century, as the bitter recollections of one octogenarian, himself a respected orator and noted carver, reveal one trend that was occurring in his childhood -

> I firmly believe that tourism has kept carving alive for the last eighty years; I know, they were selling it before I was born. What bothers me is how they did it. Like this - an old man would put some work in a sugar bag, go off to town, and offer them to a souvenir retailer who would put up a ridiculously low price. The Maori would refuse, walk off, and meanwhile, the retailer would telephone around the town quoting his offer, and they would price the carvings exactly the same. And so the standard began to deteriorate, I saw that with my own eyes. Because the carver saw little sense in selling perfect artworks for a pittance, when something else would suffice. And I can also remember museum people and wealthy collectors and tourists asking for pieces of carving, and in payment, what did they give in return? Cast-off clothing!

One scholar, Phillips, also notes -

> Gradually Ohinemutu became stripped of its former glory as tourists and others acquired choice carvings of the old time pa.[48]

Such damage remains irreparable, but the resilient efforts of Ngata, and the surviving twentieth century carvers were relatively successful. The graduates of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute are the heirs of the tradition, and in the marketing of Maori art works and handcrafts, the manufacturers are now very much in control, as Neich's chronological/developmental table so lucidly illustrates.

At the time of writing, Maori women continue to dictate the terms in women's crafts in the tourist context. There are no "middlemen" in the commercial situation, and the producers usually sell directly to the ultimate buyer, though some also sell to the Institute, and to two or three small, well established souvenir shops. The demand constantly

exceeds the supply. Women's crafts, particularly the "softer" variety of taniko weaving, wrist and head bands, coin purses, book markers, and other novelties, as well as bodices and dainty feather evening baskets, make ideal souvenirs. Colourful and lightweight, they are portable, functional and extremely distinctive. Flax work articles - small green kits, button hole poiballs, piupiu, and patterned fine baskets - are also popular, the first two items being avidly consumed by tourist buyers. Whereas carving has been duplicated by Western technology, and resulted in mass production and misrepresentation, even cheapening, it is well nigh impossible to synthetize Maori weaving. Screen printed and tapestry work is sold, and also lock-knit products, but they cannot claim to be "authentic" or "traditional" in manufacture, as they are so obviously not, although the patterns and design of such articles may be so. Nevertheless, there is some fears of this, even among the crafts-women -

> Pakehas could really commercialize our whariki patterns, just as they have with taniko, and that would be it. That really bugs me, it really does, like nothing is really ours any more, they turn it into a knitting pattern or whatever, and that's it.

The fear of loss is very strong, and may be related to another prevalent attitude, the sense of retaining what is uniquely Te Arawa, an attitude held by the early Carving School's reluctant instructors who were heavily criticized for their possessiveness and jealousy.

Two women talked of their experiences. One was the assistant instructor of women's crafts when the Institute commenced its programme. She recalls -

> It was unheard of that you taught outside people and when we started at the Institute, we had a lot of setbacks. Our own people, the elderly ones, wouldn't help us, and the only old dear who gave us her support was the one from Reporoa. But we got none from our own, because you just

> teach OUT. Most of the time, though, we taught outsiders, from Auckland, the South Island, Taumaranui, and there was more horror than resentment at our giving it away, it was unheard of. After about four courses the locals started coming in, then we had the feeling maybe they were supporting us, but it was mainly the young ones. It took a long time.

This is further borne out by the Women's Crafts Supervisor. Although infectiously energetic, she has a surprizing serenity, and is as much the verbal artist as she is an adept craftswoman. Niece of the late Guide Rangi, Emily Schuster recalls an idyllic childhood, raised by grandparents who continued to harvest forest food, snare birds, carve wood, weave garments, and sustain a traditional lifestyle. She states -

> Before I applied for this job, I had to get Mum's and Guide Rangi's blessing, and they thought about it for two weeks. Then they gave their blessing, because they felt that Tene Waitere, the old carver, had broken the tradition by teaching Pine Taiapa, and three times Ngata approached him, three times he refused, until he realized there were no men to continue for him. So they agreed that I, too, could teach out, and I still remember Aunty saying, "Don't talk about anything you don't know".

Demonstration for tourists does not bother the supervisor at all, and she readily answers their questions, attributing her ease to almost twenty years as a guide in the thermal reserve. Another tutor, who has since retired from the public arena, but still travels with the group, has strong feelings of a very different nature.

> The distraction at the Institute is just too much. I hated it. I hated the work there, demonstrating. I couldn't do whakairo kits, I just couldn't concentrate. These things are private to myself, I couldn't be creative at all there, yet at home I could go haywire being creative, especially on my little whatu kits, jumpjumpjump. oh, I end up with too many things on my little bags! But with tourists I really shut off. Ugh. With comments like when a whole lot of New Zealanders will come along and say they had a Maori neighbour who grew flax and made things and they helped her, and I get so brassed off, I want to say, "Come on, you show us then". They say they used to make kits, "Oh I learned taniko", and they prattle off. But what do they care about Maoris, really?

There are currently six women employed in the Women's Crafts Section of the Institute, and production for the tourist market remains, for them, a secondary concern, although crafts demonstration for the tourists is a continual activity. The tourist enters a spacious area from the paved courtyard, or the souvenir shop, and is struck by the copious daylight glowing from a high, honey coloured wall, hung with Maori garments in various stages of manufacture, and displaying other craft items. To one side, at a table near a huge window, red uniformed guides are busy weaving taniko: head bands, wrist bands, purses. Their work training includes proficiency in the women's crafts, which they produce and demonstrate when they are not showing tourists through the geyser valley. Next to the main entrance a section is cordoned off. Here, a small group of women sit either on the floor weaving fine mats, at a table etching patterns on flax blades for piupiu, or making other types of flax article. A merry convivial atmosphere prevails, and one craftswoman recalls -

> One day a tourist came in with a bag from New Guinea, it was so strong and pliable, a tree bark pounded to a fibre just like muka, so soft and fine. It was so beautiful, seeing the differences, and the similarities. If you can talk to others about their crafts, then that's just right on.

Neighbouring this section is an elevated stand, loaded with grinding and cutting machines, and fronted by glass display cases. Here, the greenstone carver, a young man still being trained, is at work. On the far side of the room, located against a massive picture window, is a fine flax fibre cloak, in the making, suspended from a wooden frame. Close by, also behind the cordon, is a table at which a young woman is attentively involved in the intricacy of weaving a patterned flax basket. Two doors in the middle of the room, facing the entrance, lead

in to the promenade above the carvers' workshop. Between these doors is a display case, and also a small table where the guides demonstrate the basics of piupiu making for their tour parties.

Rather than educate and entertain the tourists, the Supervisor regards the Institute as serving, primarily, the needs of the Maori people -

> What interested me when I applied for the job was the purpose of the programme. I understood the purpose was to teach Maori women only, and I saw it as being something to give of myself to my people.

The Women's Handcrafts Project began in 1969, with a series of three-week classes in kit and mat making, and three in piupiu, and taniko. Three weeks had been suggested as long enough to learn the basics of a craft, and this was confirmed by the majority of participants. Most of the women who attended the classes were from outside Rotorua.

> These women have come from all over the country and from all walks of life. Apart from the satisfaction of learning something imparted by the Institute, a matter of equal importance is the realization by women from all the tribes throughout the country that the Institute belongs to each and every one of them and this feeling of "belonging" which is shown by their attitudes while attending the courses has been one of the most rewarding aspects of this project.[49]

High school students also enrolled during the school holidays, and by 1973, 150 women had attended classes at the Institute. All had spent most of their time learning in view of the "general public" as the application forewarned, and those I talked with felt that the hours of exposure were well worth the enormous benefits and skills they had learned during the courses.

After the huge successes of a weekend live-in course at Waiouru and a week long project in Gisborne in 1973, another venture was proposed. By travelling to women in remote communities, and also those who could not "come to Rotorua for three weeks for family and economic reasons",

the Institute could reach out and teach the crafts skills much more directly and effectively. Within a year, the travelling teachers' scheme was flourishing, and over the next five years, the teachers would spend every second week in a different part of the country. Working between the months of March to December, they have involved over forty different communities and groups, many of whom have had repeat visits and revision sessions. The host community agrees to feed and house the two or three teachers, and the Institute pays their wages and covers the costs of transport, and all materials except flax, which is gathered from the locality in one morning's work. This flax cutting is an important lesson in itself. Heavily booked months in advance, the Insitute does not need to advertize the programme. Following is an account of one such trip away, with the Institute crafts teachers.

We have been on the road for about four hours - after a couple of "comfort stops", we park beneath a rugged hill. Concealed by scrub, a deeply potholed gravel drive winds down to our parking place, by an inconspicuous yellow sign pointing skyward, "Marae".

Four of us are waiting - all women, three from Te Arawa, and one from Atiawa-Raukawa. Presently, one of the local men appears, to accompany us on to the marae, and make the ritually necessary response to the traditional mihi, or greetings. Being women who have come from Te Arawa territory, we are forbidden the role of orator, but as the karanga echoes across this windy hilltop, blending with the mad evening birdsong from the forested gully below, the oldest woman takes us on with her keening reply. We all think about why we are there, and what we are about to do -

> Although we are called on as manuhiri tuarangi when we visit a tribe, we must humble ourselves. We put the onus on them, and turn the mana back to them,

> because they are the learning tribe, they want the knowledge which is their right. We are merely there to show, and they must be honoured, for they will be the ones passing it on for that marae.

On all, except a few notably urban or westernized occasions, the teachers are greeted with chant and oratory. For many communities, their coming is a welcome opportunity to practice the marae skills - women compose a tuneful karanga, old men choose the well turned phrase, and the cooks and dishwashers organize the week's menu and roster - in a carefree atmosphere, without the stress of a tangi, or the brief but frantic rush of a wedding or birthday. Over the week, exciting legends are recounted, the Maori language becomes the vernacular, often resulting in spontaneous teaching sessions, and old chants are revived and memorized. Often, old portraits and photographs will be brought out, and lovingly shared, as the dress of former generations is examined, and carefully copied. In this way, specific tribal patterns are recognized, invented, or revived. The learners are inspired, and constantly encouraged, and a teacher comments -

> We get such wonderful insights into the marae, the different histories, and background. And the elders come every night, tell stories, and remember the old days. Most of all they comment on how they haven't seen such a thing, women working on the marae, weaving like that, since they were very very young.

The Institute thus stimulates strong marae activity, promoting not only pride in one's Maori and tribal being, but a sharper awareness of what it all means, for now, and for the future.

After the greetings ceremony, the teachers are settled in their lodgings, usually the meeting house, where a number of locals will keep them company. Food comes next, and discussion concerning the time to begin. Most want to start work immediately.

The Supervisor opens the course, with a detailed outline of the

history of the Institute, and how it paid for itself from tourist revenue in its first year of operation. She concludes, stressing -

> The Institute is for all of us as Maoris, and any Maori from anywhere in New Zealand should be able to go there and feel that they are part of the place. It was set up to meet the needs of the Maori people, and that is why we are here.

She refers to tourism, and the tourist generated dollar, two or three times in her opening lecture, but places it entirely within an economic context.

> Tourism brings in the money, which we need to finance these courses. But we do not, in any way, alter what we are doing, or making, to suit the tourists, and what they think they want.

The women can choose to learn any one of the traditional women's crafts, and most prefer some aspect of garment manufacture. Of the forty three communities involved at the time of writing, over half have been outfitting their cultural performing teams with piupiu, pari, and headbands.

This area of productivity has been sustained in recent years by Maori demand, as the following report after five years of women's crafts work reveals -

> In this area the Institute has produced 320 piupiu, 15 pari or bodices, 495 tipare, or headbands, 104 kits, and 8 whariki or floormats. An interesting fact is that 137 of the piupiu were supplied by local women of the district thus creating a form of cottage industry.[50]

The cottage industry, however, is not a new thing; local Te Arawa women have been the suppliers of piupiu to dance teams from all over the country for over fifty years, as noted by Mead.[51] All except a minute fraction of piupiu orders come from such groups who are unable to make their own, or participate in the visiting teachers' project. Contact is made through a Maori network, which Mead describes -

> Orders are received by weavers through distant relatives consanguinal and affinal, or through friends, or via

one of the guides, (of Whakarewarewa).[52]

But the work remains essentially a supplementary source of income, and the Institute itself idealistically aspires to establish the preferred situation where a community, newly taught and trained, can supply itself. But as one leading Maori journalist, the late Harry Dansey, has written -

> Here was another aspect of the much criticized but little understood commercialization of Maori craft. As far as the traditional types of garments go, Maoris themselves head the queue of customers.[53]

Every community visited, and taught, is different - some are essentially Maori, with fabulous meals, and tables laden with local delicacies - karengo, pikopiko, tuna, kina - from either sea or bush or both. Others are sometimes town based, and occasionally lodge the teachers in a motel, or billet them in individual's homes. This profoundly affects the teaching process, which becomes a much more formally structured 8 to 5 routine, rather than a more synergistic Maori experience. Some courses also have a high pakeha attendance, co-sponsored by the Country Women's Institute and local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League. This latter organization is the principal non-marae based participating body in the scheme. One week long session which the writer attended, had 12 pakehas and 5 Maoris, including one local man. This is apparently the exception, rather than the rule; "Otherwise", one teacher confided, "I'd refuse to go". Most trips out are to marae communities, which treat the Institute women as highly honoured guests, and their leavetaking from these places is always sad and emotional. Often a party or special dinner is held the night before they depart, and the learners present them with gifts - frequently unique to the locality, such as pounamu from Westland, petrified mako teeth from Wharekauri, puhitoroa from Otakau, and piles

of special food - inanga, titi, or toheroa, depending on the season. Return visits are made, if the community reapplies. A course was also held in Perth, Western Australia, funded by the affluent Maori community of that city. Of an estimated Maori population of two thousand, sixty women attended the two week programme.

The teachers usually rotate their schedule - the Supervisor travels every time - but the five other women choose which alternative weeks and which communities they prefer. Strong friendships are forged, and often long lost relatives are rediscovered, as the Institute women teach the skills and crafts with a passing thought to tourism, the phenomenon which supports their mobility.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

One project underwritten by the Institute, but initiated very much at the "flax roots level", was the weaving of whariki, or fine floor mats, for the marae of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa. This occurred during the months from February to August 1977, as reported by the Institute -

> The two large meeting houses at Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa have benefitted greatly over the past year by now being adequately supplied with whariki. Local women have been able to obtain instruction from the Institute in the weaving crafts.[54]

About thirty women from each community were involved at one stage or another during the project, which had very humble, but sharply remembered, origins -

> The project began this way. A couple of years ago, we went to Reke's tangi. Poor old Reke, he's a rangatira at that, and he had one of those island mats, and I was so wild, and sad. So I vowed and declared that I was going to make whariki for Tunohopu, and they would be open, for every one, for every family, no claims would

> be put on them, they'd belong to the marae. I wanted to leave something behind, like my mother did - everywhere you go on the marae, I see Mum's work, and that motivated me. The only thing that is important to me now is to do something like Mum did, and now I hear my Grandmother did some beautiful work too, and I feel very humble. Anyway, I found out how to make whariki, and then went out and cut the flax with two Ohinemutu women who know flax - that was way back in 1974. Then we started the trips with the Institute, and I was sitting on everybody's whariki in other maraes, but never my own. I was going to take time off work, but Emily suggested that the Institute could concentrate two months on it. We approached Girlie, who wrote to the Institute for Ngati Whakaue, and we started in February.

Arrangements were made with a woman whose farm, near Reporoa, had acres of good flax through which her pigs and cattle were voraciously running loose. One day in early February, seven Ngati Whakaue women drove out for a day of cutting and trimming the long sleek blades of harakeke. A van was loaded almost to the roof, and the following morning work commenced on the cleaning and sizing of the flax, and its softening in boiling water. The work place was Te Aomarama, an appropriate crafts environment which fifty years previously had housed the Carving School of Ngata's time.

Preparation of the flax for weaving continued over a long period, each day beginning at about eight a.m., and finishing when the last worker left at six. Midday meals for the working bee, which averaged about fifteen women, were prepared each day by a different whanau, or extended family. On the fourth day, three women from Tuhourangi came in and helped, stating that their marae was enjoying a similar Institute scheme. After their own flax cutting expedition the next day, Tuhourangi were working in the fenced garden area between the Kiwi Nocturnal House, and the Institute building at Whakarewarewa.

Actual weaving commenced about a week after the first flax was cut and gathered. An Anglican vicar came in to Te Aomarama, and somewhat

perfunctorily blessed the project, by leading the "Our Father" in Maori. Thirty-one women started their first lessons on tuwhara, or rough place mats and door mats, and from this point some dividing into individual families, and family interests occurred.

In contrast to the Whakarewarewa team, the women of Ngati Whakaue had more than one marae for whom they could weave mats - each one was meagrely furnished - and they misunderstood the original intent of the course, which was to cover the floor of Tunohopu. This is the marae in continual use. A small group admitted they were learning for their own marae, and there was such bickering over priorities that they all gradually stopped coming. Most of the Ohinemutu women were over fifty years old, and many were embarrassed by, or guilty about, the fact that they could have learned from their mothers, but had not. A few claimed to have flashes of recall, which would fade away as soon as they handled the flax. There were also many "knowalls", who actually knew very little. The atmosphere was tense and competitive, and the women rarely helped each other, and when they did, it was between close kin. Family divisions were acutely visible at this point.

On the other side of town, the Whakarewarewa women seemed carefree, relaxed, convivial, and warmly supportive of each other. Most of the regular group were young mothers under forty, and all except two had no previous experience working with flax. They admitted their ignorance openly and discussed "how hungry they all were to <u>know</u>". The atmosphere was easygoing, and productivity was high. All were from the one hapu of Tuhourangi, Ngati Wahiao, and their mats were being made to furnish <u>the one house</u>. No one mentioned her own specific family house, and the idea of furnishing the smaller marae was rarely discussed.

The process mastered, sixteen women of Ohinemutu had completed

eight mats by early April, and a small group - the teacher, her two cousins, and her daughter, the writer, were residing in Te Aomarama -

> We all cried over the first mat, it was a really emotional experience.

Circumstances at Whakarewarewa continued happily productive, and the approach of winter hustled the women indoors to the centrally heated Institute "Conference Room", a massive open studio with two walls of windows opening onto the back garden. Five white mats, each weave delicately patterned, were being completed, and a core team of seven women were continually present, some weaving sixteen hours a day, because they were unable to live on the premises. Most structured their housekeeping activities around the whariki weaving, and often young children played quietly nearby. Husbands were proudly supportive.

More flax was cut and prepared for dyeing in anticipation of the whariki whakairo - the prestigious mats with a coloured pattern. A very gifted elderly craftswoman from Torere became involved in the Ngati Whakaue project, and helped those who were floundering and dissatisfied with the Institute tutor. Four continued at home, away from the group, and donated their work to one of the smaller, specific family houses. By the end of May, Tunohopu had a beautiful selection of thirteen whariki. A rather subdued luncheon, attended by the women, their tutors, and the vicar, was held in Te Aomarama, and the house floor gleamed with the newly shining mats. These were later rolled up and unceremoniously bundled into the vicar's car and deposited at Tunohopu. The apparent absence of any ritualized passing over of the products of their months of hard work was not noticed by the women. Their teacher, however, felt it reflected the divisiveness of the hapu, and the strong preoccupation with personal, and individualized family interests.

Tuhourangi continued until August. On a clear, biting day in early

spring, seventeen whariki were formally presented by the Institute Director, on behalf of the teachers and their triumphant students, to the wharewhakairo of Wahiao. Graciously received by one of the kaumatua of the marae, they lay beneath the poupou, arranged exquisitely, glowing and admired with gratitude and awe by the village people present. Everyone laughed and cried and remembered old times and was humble and proud and extremely delighted. These adept weavers are continuing to work in each others' homes teaching their daughters and nieces the crafts, as they aim to cover every inch of floorboard in their beloved Wahiao.

Institute staff and facilities were used by both communities in their weaving project, and in the Tuhourangi case, tribal activities occurred on actual Institute premises. In Ohinemutu, after the initial two weeks, strong family focussed groups emerged, with definite goals and grudges, which distracted from the weaving. The conflicts were not confronted, and many women withdrew, until the kuia from Torere came in to help. Even at the time of writing, some of the hurts, real and imagined, have yet to be resolved. Cynical observers, themselves Ngati Whakaue, remark that this is consistent with being part of the Ohinemutu hapu - involvement in an ongoing process of tribal fragmentation and individualizing of interests seems inevitable.

Tuhourangi began as a unified group motivated solely by the desire to learn the craft and thus furnish Wahiao, the one house. They acknowledged the Insitute, and gave lip service to the tourist dollar that is such a ubiquitous element of their daily lives as Tuhourangi people.

Established primarily to counter the perceived decline of productivity and vigour in Maori arts and crafts, the Institute has come a long way in the area of women's crafts. The supervisor reiterates -

> I feel the future of women's crafts is secure for the next generation. We have taught over five hundred women, of whom a hundred I consider expert. I can be very sure of them, but it will be up to the next generation, the second, to keep it going. Of them, I am unsure. They will probably have lost interest - I do believe interest is a cyclical thing, which comes and goes.

She also insists that apart from tourism funding the Institute projects, the relationship between the crafts and the industry is necessarily shallow. As she and her teachers solemnly avow -

> The only way our work affects tourism is if the women we teach produce and sell their things in the shops. And that doesn't happen very much.

Such a supply is limited, as the Report cites -

> Because the women's crafts section is almost totally engaged in taking the crafts to women's organizations throughout the country, the supplies of piupiu, kits and taniko work from the Institute itself is very limited. However, as a result of the teachings of our tutors, many women now depend on the Institute to dispose of what they produce at home.[54]

Of the five hundred women taught, the "many" described actually number no more than ten, and their supply is irregular indeed.

All except three of the fifty women learners interviewed and talked with in this study said they were in no way motivated by a cash interest. Their desires were strongly ethnic and sentimental, reinforcing their Maoriness by mastering a craft of their ancestors, and most preferred to retain the articles made, within their extended family. A limited trade exists, but it provides only supplementary income, as the time spent weaving rarely meets the market prices. A fine cotton or silk belt in taniko will fetch about twenty-five dollars, and will entail at least twelve hours of weaving.

As a highly successful revenue producing and essentially Maori concern, the Institute has also undertaken to financially "assist worthy and urgent urban marae projects". The first such grant, of five thousand dollars, was made in 1973, to the Hui Te Rangiora marae in Hamilton. In 1978, the "shortfall of $3000" by the Mataatua marae in Rotorua city was covered by the Institute. Thus tourism, by creating so much surplus revenue, is an unwitting benefactor in the precarious symbiosis of host and guest, artisan and souvenir hunter.

The table below demonstrates the number of paying tourists who visited the Whakarewarewa Reserve, and the gross income accrued. The far right column indicates the amount spent on arts and crafts activities, and since the inception of the Women's Crafts scheme, those specific costs are in parentheses.[55]

Year	Income from Tourist Admissions	Number of Paying Tourists	Costs of Crafts and Carving School
1966	£19,408	£149,507	Not yet operational
1969	$50,202.50	177,232	$2,456.59
1972	$165,564.61	200,237	$6,469.28 ($2,125.01)
1975	$284,496	269,639	$61,712 ($5,411)
1978	$443,383	255,196	$109,823 ($22,219)

The concluding notes from a field interview best demonstrate the sense of wellbeing and achievement in the arts and crafts of Takiwa Waiariki -

> At this point, the Director stood up, and flourished his right hand, thumping it on a huge pile of paperwork with a most dramatic, oratorical gesture. Beaming widely behind his glasses, he declared:
>
> This is big business (thump)
> And it's a hundred percent Maori run (thump)
> And it's SUCCESSFUL! (Extra emphatic thump)
>
> And that concluded our time together for that day. I left quite overwhelmed, blinked my way out of the plush,

> heavily shaded office suite, and into the dazzling sunlight of the Institute courtyard...
>
> (Excerpt from field interview)

Despite their dependance on tourist funding to run the Institute, most of the artists and craftswomen of Te Arawa observe that for them, personally, tourism has not much relevance. All except a minute fraction of their work is for the Maori consumer, in both the carving and the weaving sections, and the tourist buyer is incidental to that main trend. Tourism is, nevertheless, perceived by everyone involved as the conserving influence which sustained traditional arts and crafts during the difficult years of social and cultural transition, when a marked decline occurred in all except one or two remote communities like Te Kuiti, and Torere.

This is not to say, however, that all Maori carvers and weavers are aloof, and apart, from the tourist buyer. In recent years, a small number of carvers have worked for souvenir shops, and one, from Ngati Kahungunu, has a modest retail outlet in a downtown flea market. Competition with rows and rows of plastic and polystirene rubbish cluttering the market place is hard, and the tourist is not a discerning buyer, seeing only the most exotic, as well as the most inexpensive, portable item.

Such souvenirs - flourescent paua shell clocks, kauri gum warriors taiaha in hand, and kowhaiwhai lampshades set on fibreglass tekoteko - do not influence indigenous arts and crafts in Aotearoa. They are, actually, a "spin off" from them. Many Maori people find these items offensive, but just as may (if not more) exhibit them proudly on the mantelpiece. For some, it is a crass cheapening of culture; for others, it is merely making pakeha junk for pakeha buyers. For all of us, there remains considerable comfort in the knowledge that the true arts and crafts - the traditional forms - are still solely Maori in execution, and

control. But their very rareness and exclusivity are in many ways self defeating. Those articles which are most valued - feather cloaks, fine patterned bags - are usually priced far beyond the means of the ordinary Maori city dweller. One solution has been the acquiring of covetted weaving skills by the women in a city family, and thus providing the whanau with these prestigious taonga or treasures. In this way, the Institute has made a substantial and ongoing contribution.

The Institute staff are painfully aware of the rubbish on the market, and have countered this deluge by issuing public statements, and by offering superior pieces of sale, though they are far beyond the price range of the average package deal tourist. By far the most successful activity has been the travelling teachers scheme, which should ideally "play itself out" by 1985. At that time, the teachers envisage that most of the women instructed in the crafts will have shared their skills further, and thus the future of the women's crafts will be assured, primarily for Maori interest and consumption, with an incidental involvement in the tourist market.

The productive vitality of Maori arts and crafts in contemporary New Zealand society may be partly due to tourism, as a contributing economic interest, but it is motivated primarily by kin and community relationships, and the persistence of the traditional values and tribal structure.

Carving - the prestige art of the people - was boosted not to increase the production of small, portable souvenir items for tourist consumption, but to encounter and satisfy a more overwhelming need. This was the restoration of the marae, and the beautification of the ancestral forms of architecture. For this reason, other Maori art forms related to house building - women's tukutuku and kowhaiwhai rafter

painting - were also restimulated.

Similarly, women's crafts did not appear simply as quaint little pieces which could be carried so conveniently out of the country by tourist buyers. The greater significance of women's crafts is in their expression of a community's economic welfare in Maori terms. Their function can be described in the context of the family, and the wider community - the hapu, or even iwi. On the latter level, crafts products are of paramount importance. Whariki - fine woven patterned mats in special flax, or the endemic kiekie - cover the floor, demonstrating hundreds of hours of communal work and dedication by the women of the hapu. Kakahu and korowai are the desired mantel over the deceased, lying in state at the tangihanga. These garments are highly valued, are often named, and are imbued with the most sacred mana and tapu of their people. They are regarded as essential to the death ritual, and to be without them at such a time is a nakedness shameful indeed.

As each marae encourages learning of dances and songs the outfitting of their teams in the appropriate costumes is equally essential, and equally a matter of saving face. Thus manufacture, or acquisition, of piupiu, and the other accoutrements of the "traditional" Maori wardrobe is achieved. To raise funds for the marae, small feather bags and fine kits are made and raffled; proceeds from such ventures usually finance the purchase of piupiu, or a bus trip away.

On a community level, whether in the country or the city, these activities occur - and more often than not, the learning of these skills, or the acquisition of the taonga mentioned, can be traced back to the Institute and their teachers.

On a more immediate family level, manufacture and/or possession of valued crafts items occurs just as widely. Certainly, most families

treat the hanging of a kakahu in their wardrobe as a form of privileged custodianship for the iwi, although some kakahu are also reserved for purely personal use. Most of these are "clean", or have not lain over a tupapaku; currently in the Maori world there are a vast number which were woven for individual buyers. These latter were pilgrims on the Twenty Eighth Maori Battalion 1977 tour to the cemetaries and theatres of war in the Middle East, and to honour the gravestones of their warrior dead, many travellers commissioned small kakahu,or made them themselves.

Maori fashion also abounds with visible display of craft items - taniko belts and coin purses, feather bags, kete pingao and kete whakairo, taniko boarders. These consciously enhance and reinforce a sense of Maori identity. Interior decor is also becoming more resplendent with such paraphernalia - piupiu on the wall, even kakahu, and in the Bay of Plenty I have admired many sitting rooms in which the piece de resistance is a wall of finely woven baskets - in feathers, kiekie, flax, pingao, and humble wool. This is one of the things that make the home Maori, and different from the ones down the road.

Carving and tukutuku are also creeping into the homes of the more affluent, although many resist this, insisting that the meeting house is the only appropriate place for such strong decoration. Nevertheless, whakairo, and tukutuku have ventured further than their traditional positions - schools, banks, churches, hotels, office buildings, and even the Mauna Kea Hotel on the island of Hawaii, have been enhanced by the architect's or owners' appreciation of Maori aesthetics. It should therefore not be surprizing that it survived - as a living and dynamic art form.

Conclusion

Overall, tourism has had a minimally negative influence on the integrity of the traditional arts and crafts of Takiwa Waikariki. Indirect travel industry support of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts activities ensures the rich growth and vigorous dissemination of traditional skills in the contemporary Maori world.

Every practitioner involved on this study asserted the belief that tourism helped conserve the knowledge they inherited gratefully, but about the retail stock available as "Maori" products they were amused, outright angry, or ambivalent. They observed nevertheless that these products had little or no effect on Maori arts and crafts work done by the Maori themselves for traditional use.

Aesthetic values in carving and weaving have seldom been compromised. Adaptability, and an agile inventiveness, produced smaller versions of some forms - tekoteko, wakahuia, model war canoes - or unusual experiements with others - taniko earrings and feather evening bags - but the essential idea that is the craft remains.

And ironically, tourism, the gentle benefactor, the destructive pollutant, played a vital role in its survival.

Photographs: Arts and Crafts

Carved image of Pukaki, a chiefly ancestor
of Ngati Whakaue.
A work from the early nineteenth century, this
carving now stands in the Auckland Museum.


STOCKADE IMAGE

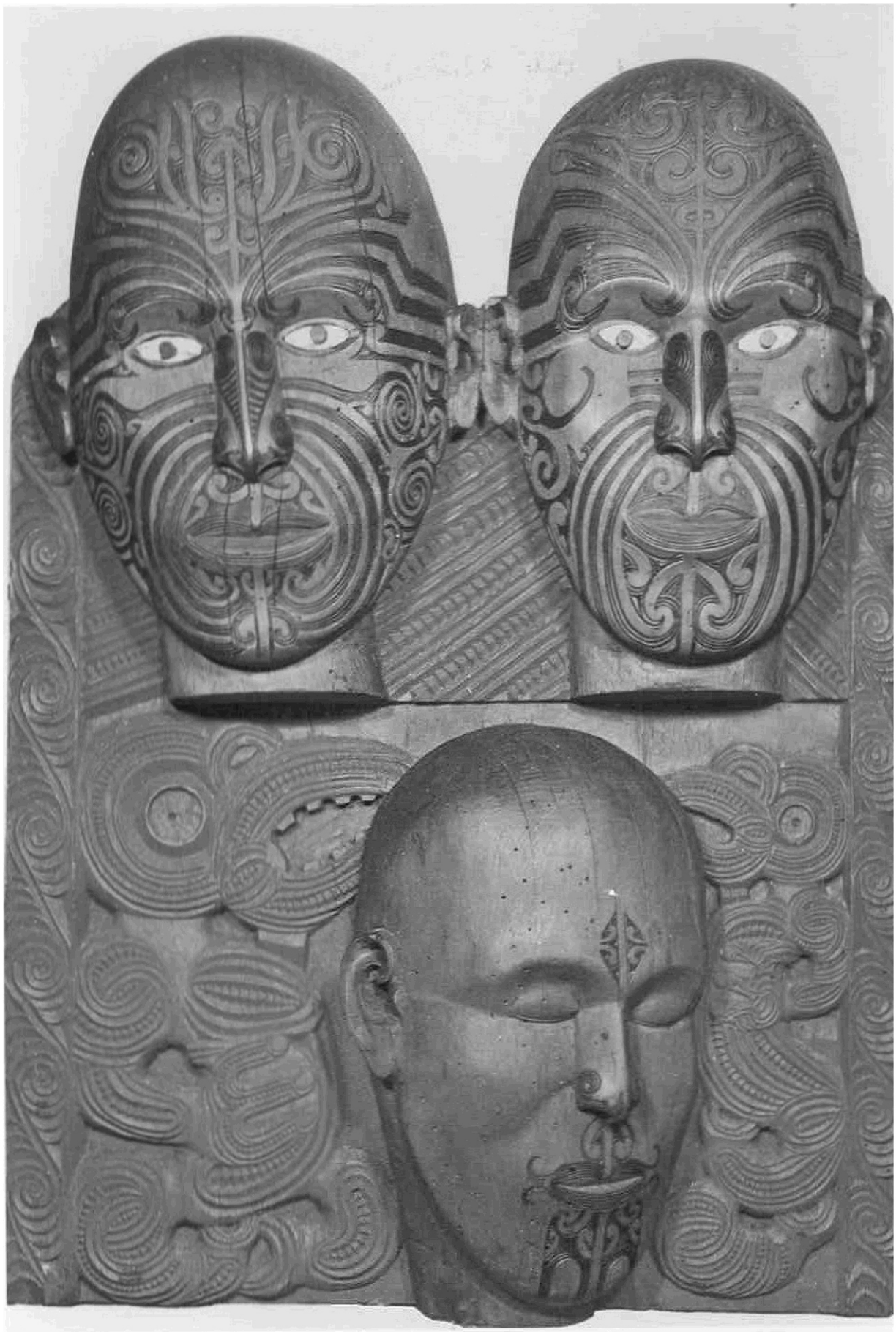
Detail from Te Puawai o Te Arawa, a pataka - storehouse - built by Pokiha of Maketu in 1860.



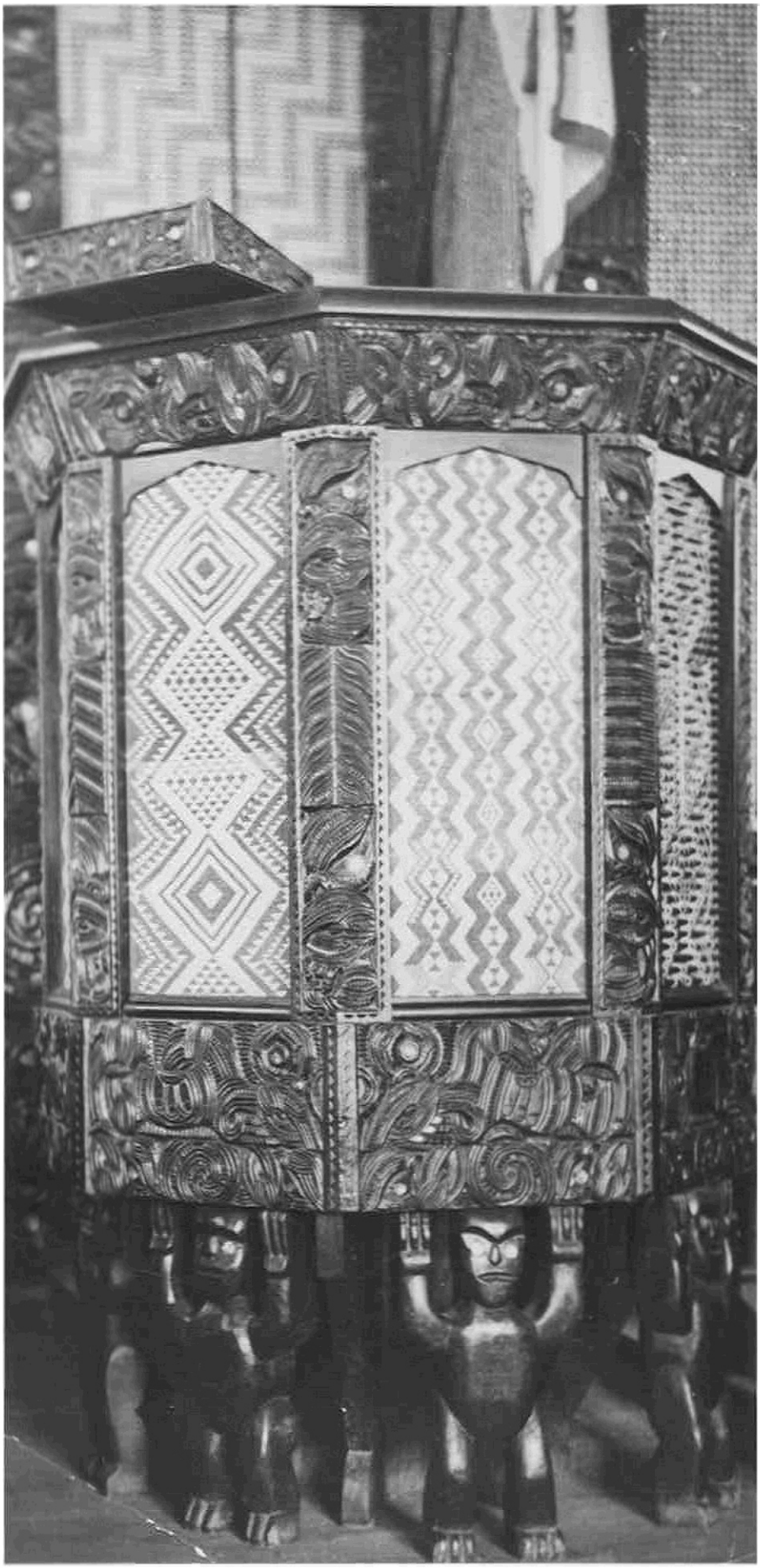
Anaha Te Rahui, the tohunga whakairo of Ngati Tarawhai. He trained many carvers, one of the most outstanding being Tene Waitere, grandfather of Guide Rangi.
Much of Anaha's work left the country as regal and viceregal gifts.



The work of Tene Waitere, this exquisite piece was carved to illustrate the lines of female and male facial tattoo.



The pulpit of St Faith's Church, showing the taniko done by the writer's grandmother, Hera Rogers.



Women of Tuhourangi, 1910.
Behind them their work - a screen of
beautiful whariki.

- courtesy Rotorua Museum.

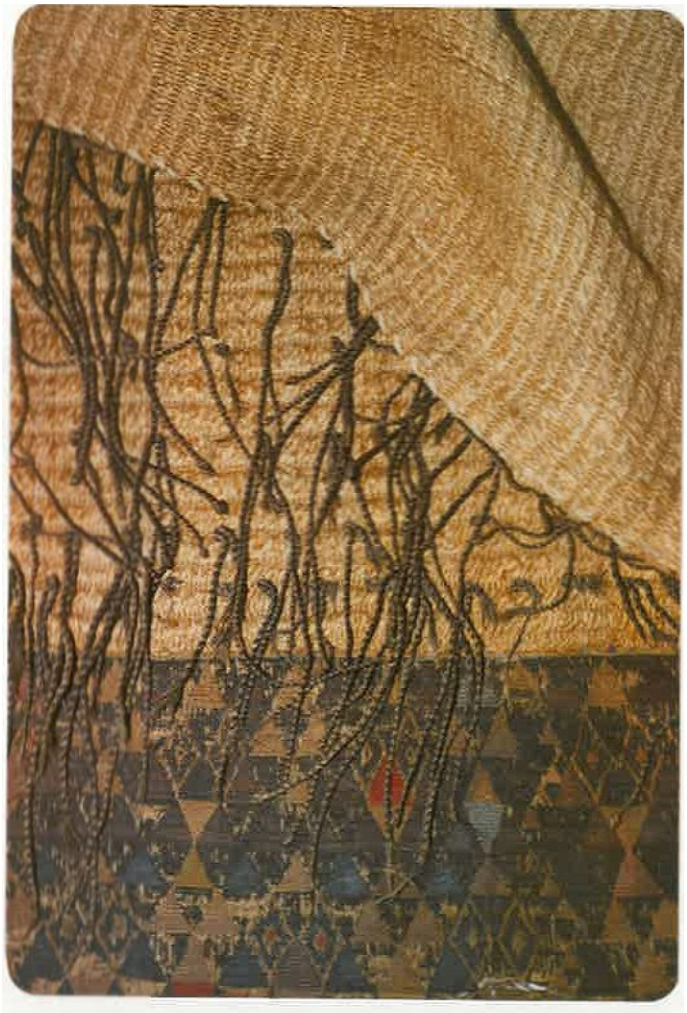


Hone Te Kauri Taiapa, the late tohunga whakairo, instructs young students at the NZ Maori Arts & Crafts Institute.

- National Publicity Studios.



Korowai, made in about 1880, by Mereana, the mother of Hera. Now severely flood damaged. Woven in muka fibre, with a taniko design in coloured cottons.



Kakahu kiwi, made around 1900, also by Mereana. Some white kiwi highlights, and kaka feathers as well. Pure muka, with a hem of silk taniko.





Korowai made by Hera in 1953, from remnant materials of the cloak commissioned for the Royal Tour.
Pure muka, with coloured silk taniko hem

Kakahu made by Hera in the 1950's. Border of kiwi feathers, with white highlights, and a coloured silk taniko hem.





Kakahu made by Paparoa for Ngahuia in 1980.
Full length, fine ply wool as warp, and
as wheft threads.
Feathers are from red chickens, and taniko
is doubleknit wool.
Manufacture is absolutely traditional, though
materials are not.

Weaving in progress. On the wall, a completed
garment, and on the stand, another project.
Stone crock contains feather dusters which
are stripped, and used in weaving.





Kete by Hera, made around 1930. All muka, with kaka and kereru feathers.

Kete by Paparoa, 1972. Her first attempt with muka and feathers, with a 2-ply wool highlight.





Kete by Paparoa, all muka, demonstrating the flattering use of only a few feathers.

Kete by Mrs. Googie Tapsell of Maketu, incomplete, on a wooden stand to demonsrate the shaped rectangular bottom like the one above. Materials in both are dishcloth cotton and wool, with duster feathers.





"The Wall" - in the house of the writer's mother, Paparoa Gordon.
Hat shown is woven from kiekie, and the small yellow bags are pingao.
The tekoteko on the television is by the late Kima Hakaraia, of Ngati Whakaue.
The upright dark stone slab, and the whitish rock, are both pounamu - greenstone.

Collection of small ornate evening bags, which tourists purchase whenever available.





New Wave taniko by Mrs Googie Tapsell of Maketu,
incorporating unconventional colour and design.

Taniko bag by Mrs Sue Broughton of Maketu,
showing unconventional colour.


RICHARD



View of Whakarewarewa Thermal Reserve, before entrance to NZ Maori Arts & Crafts Institute.

Imperious and quite wonderful female image at entrance to the Institute.


WHAKAREWAREWA THERMAL RESERVE.
administered by N.Z. MAORI ARTS & CRAFTS INSTITUTE.
ENTRANCE. →
400 METRES UP THE ROAD.



View of the "Bullpen" - the walkway, and carvers' working area at the Institute.





Demonstration of piupiu making in the Women's Crafts section at the Institute.

In the foreground is Mrs. Emily Schuster, Supervising Tutor in Women's Crafts.





Interior, McDonald's Restaurant, Rotorua.
Carved by Tony Tukaokao, formerly Master
Carver and Tutor at the Institute.
Note the realistic representation of the
male human figure.





DB Rotorua Hotel, foyer and bar.





Bank of New Zealand Commission in the stairwell
of Rotorua main branch.
The work of Kima Hakaraia.





ANZ Banking Building, Tutanekai Street, Rotorua.
Carved by the NZ Maori Arts & Crafts Institute.


ANZ
B·S·B



"Typical" souvenir shelves.

Another shelf in the same shop. The squat figure with a coronet-like head is common in Hawaiian souvenir shops. Made in the Phillipines, how on earth did it get to Rotorua? And pass for Maori carving?





More souvenir shop kitsch - candles, dollies, tea towels, and lampstands.





Chapter Four: Women and Tourism

A Survey of the Literature; Personalities and Perspectives of the Guide and Tour Hostess - Woman As Polynesia - Her Significance, Success, and Self Image.

Chapter Four: Women and Tourism

Writing about Maori women - about those of Te Arawa, and tourism - a number of questions come to mind. How has it affected us? What have we done for tourism? What has tourism done for, and to, us? The relationship continues, unchallenged and unexamined, as the paucity of literature reveals.

About women and tourism, hardly a word is written anywhere - Cottington[1] measures the psychiatric effect of resort development on rural, working class female employees in an unpublished study; Byrne Swain[2] presents the argument that women's crafts in a Panamanian Indian community have sustained the people's ethnicity and economy; and Naibavu and Schutz[3] examine the incidence of female prostitution in a South Pacific tourist destination. About women in Maori society, there is some ethnographic and biographic record, still meagre, and often biased.

Heuer[4] attempts to survey women's role as it is described in early historic record. Rife with generalizations, the book overlooks - or does not see - specific tribal differences, and draws heavily on the prejudiced products of white Victorian male observation. Concerned only with their own gender's half of the world, and its political and temporal magnitude, which were more accessible, early ethnographers wrote very little about women. Buck mentions them merely in passing,[5] Best's[6] one major contribution has been severely discredited by Biggs,[7] and White[8] and Tregear[9] afford minimal attention indeed.

One notable account is that of Makereti,[10] herself a Te Arawa woman. Writing from this unique perspective, she discusses female aspects of "old-

time Maori" life - menstruation, sexuality, and childbirth. Biggs challenges her, too, in his classic reconstruction of traditional Maori marriage, which mentions the role and function of women in precontact society in comparable detail.

Three vastly different biographies of more contemporary Maori women have been published in very recent years. Guide Rangi of Rotorua, attributed to Guide Rangi herself, but actually written by a pakeha newspaperman, Ross Annabel, has some merit for the neat documentation of the old lady's active and fascinating life, and recent tourist history of Whakarewarewa. However, its wretchedly one-dimensional style does little to recapture the essential Rangitiaria as she is remembered by those who have survived her.

The second book is Amiria, coauthored by Amiria herself, as she told her story to Ann Salmond. This is an extraordinary document - a lively narrative that sensitively retains the gaiety, warmth, and infectious humour of its subject, as well as recounting aspects of female life and custom unique to the tribal groups described.

Most recent is Te Puea, by Michael King, an equally valuable work that is not so much a sympathetic, personal biography, but an analytical account of the twentieth century Kingitanga, and the charisma and determination of its most dynamic leader - who happened to be a woman. As with Guide Rangi, the sense of her being female, and exceptional for that fact, is not conveyed.

Mahuika[11] writes eloquently addressing the point that in his iwi, Ngati Porou, women have been great leaders and orators -

> Tribal variations lie at the root of Maoritanga and gives it its strength

and he uses the case of female leadership to demonstrate such variations. He thus energetically routs the points reiterated "ad nauseam" on male primogeniture. So far, this is the only published account questioning the edicts issued by Buck, White, Best and the turn of the century ethnographers on this subject. As Dave Simmons so superbly exploded the Great Migration myth with his enduring scholarship, so must a similar project be undertaken to reassess, and balance, the writing on women - or rather, challenge its absence.

One writer who reinforces his tribal view of women's role is Karetu,[12] whose statements I find bewildering, and defensive, though superbly expressed. He articulares clearly, and well, the attitudes of Tuhoe, and also Te Arawa. Women are prohibited speaking rights in marae ritual, because it is like war, and women, as whare rangatira - bearers of future chiefs - must not risk such injury and death. Verbal weaponry can indeed be potent. Yet ironically, those most denied whaikorero are women well beyond child bearing age. A further prohibition states that the sacred male head must not be defiled by females' clothing hung in a place higher than his head, or by a woman sleeping on a mattress on a loftier level. She must remain below, in deference to the man's sacred and superior status. She must not diminish it.

After deeper scruitiny, and the brushing aside of any protestations disclaiming misogyny, to me these attitudes reveal that misogyny most certainly persists, at a most profound and oppressive level. It is that misogyny which regards women merely as the seminal repository - the

medium through which, indeed, male chiefs are brought into the world, primarily to serve the interests of their own gender. Male aggrandisement is the first step in the querulous reconstruction of precontact institutions adapted for the contemporary situation. Too little consideration is afforded the possibility that within the male-female relationship of precontact Maori society, a sane and complementary balance may have been the norm.

Naturally, I anticipate howls of contempt from no less than my own kaumatua, both male and female, and they will come to the inevitable conclusion that I have been pakehafied beyond the pale, and what I have to say is immediately invalidated by a most non-Maori feminist perspective. I can only say this: argument, in pursuit of knowledge and to broaden understanding, remains a most cherished traditional marae activity. Having been denied that forum, I present myself here.

Whatever Maori women - and Te Arawa women - experienced before colonization can only be precariously reconstructed. The privileges, the oppression, the domestic and extradomestic theatre of day to day life can never be completely recalled, as it occurred, especially considering how we, the offspring, have changed, and been changed. It is widely accepted that in Te Arawa, women have always been in a supportive, subordinate position, tending their men very much from below. Little seems to be recorded which proves otherwise, in ethnography, or oral history and chant. But these latter sources may be reinterpreted, and that I choose to do. Women may not have had such an oppressed time - in the feminist sense - after all; because they always had the company of other women, and a strong bonding and certainty with each other. A form of sisterhood.

Beginning with the stories of strong women: those few which have come down the centuries, survived bigotry or bad memories, and fed us poor benighted females of Te Arawa a taste of their beauty. Who were they? The farthest back are Pupu and Hoata, the sisters of the tohunga explorer Ngatoroirangi, who navigated the Te Arawa canoe. In response to his plea for warmth - he was freezing to death on the icey heights of Ngauruhoe - they took there the fires of Hawaikinui, which erupted from the earth at each place they rested. Thus the hot mineral springs - the Waiariki - came to be.

About the same time, there lived Whakaotirangi, who was a female passenger on the great voyaging canoe. It was she who brought the precious kumara from Hawaiki, planting it at Maketu, where it flourishes to this day. Near her garden stands Te Kete o Whakaotirangi, the dining room on Te Awhe marae, in memory of her bountiful food basket. So there are three women of many centuries ago, and food and hot water were thus conveyed by women from the traditional homeland to the place of new cooking fires, a place for future generations.

On a similarly remote and mythical level, although she features in tribal whakapapa (genealogy), is the sensational Kurangaituku. She was half bird, sporting huge feathered wings, and classic peregrine features. Ferociously independent, she shared a cave home with a delightful variety of pets - birds, lizards, rats, of all breeds and sizes. She decided to add a human male to her menagerie, and his name was Hatupatu. After some months of peaceable domesticity, during which recorded legend states he cooked the food and kept the cave clean, he decided he'd had enough. Kurangaituku would fly in with the day's hunting trophy, and smother Hatupatu with all sorts of endearments and caresses; tiring of this, he schemed his escape, which was a nasty one. He suggested that she try

the most distant ranges, and as soon as she was safely far away, he plundered her possessions - weapons, and prestigious garments, and then quite systematically exterminated all her animals and birds. All except one little creature who escaped, and flew swiftly to warn her mistress. A frantic chase ensued. By various enchantments, Hatupatu evaded her, finally reaching the cauldrons of Whakarewarewa, his own land. Unfamiliar with the volcanic landscape, Kurangaituku raced after the insolent Hatupatu, ducking between, and prancing about, the steaming pools and manuka thickets. This was exactly as he'd hoped - for she misjudged the thinness of the ground, which broke beneath her talonned feet. And thus she perished, in the ngawha, Whangapipiro. Her spirit and energy have been appropriately commemorated in a yearly netball tournament, and so her legend lives on.

That she perished is hardly surprising, in a tribal area which insists on the "face value" subordination of women. Her ascendence over Hatupatu may suggest an earlier, more female dominant element in ancient mythology, but the vagaries of translation, and the heavy inroads of Christianization have probably effectively removed any evidence of this.

Women who were stridently assertive in love matters are also remembered - like Huritini, who chose to plunge to her death in a boiling pool rather than be miserably married to a man she did not love, and Hinemoa, the puhi, who braved the misty midnight waters of Rotorua to consummate her illfavoured but intense attraction to the illegitimate flautist Tutanekai. He was himself the child of a fleeting but passionate love affair between Rangiuru, the wife of Whakaue, and a visiting Taupo chief, Tuwharetoa.

Of all these personalities, Hinemoa is the one most acclaimed and vividly recalled. Chants and dances in her honour have survived

generations, and her beauty and courage were regarded as exemplary. Above all, she is remembered as a dynamic young woman, who determined to attain her goals, at the risk of drowning and disgrace.

And one of the most outstanding and courageous is Te Aokapurangi, whose ingenuity during the 1823 Ngapuhi sacking of Mokoia island is recounted in the first section of this study. She may well have been the last of our ancient Te Arawa heroines - a woman of the precontact, preChristian tradition. For in the decades following, Waiariki was to undergo irrevocable and drastic change.

Until the escalation in tourism and commerce, the women of Te Arawa scarcely feature in the immediate post contact, pakeha record. Johnson writes in his journal of an ariki of Tuhourangi -

> a handsome, interesting looking woman, but stone blind.[13]

and during the 1860s, travellers mention the beauty of the women, and their physical charms. Among them are Russell, in his private papers,[14] and Meade,[15] whose lush reminiscences have already been quoted.

At Rotomahana, women were ferrying passengers to the Terraces - Lieutenant-Colonel St John describes his canoe paddlers as "four strapping girls",[16] and as discussed in a previous chapter, male visitors and colonials experienced various kinds of encounter with the women of Waiariki.[17] As missionary efforts expanded haphazardly throughout the district, the coastal flax trade flourished, and warfare of unprecedented intensity was rife, the isolation of Te Arawa, and especially Tuhourangi and Ngati Whakaue, eroded. Public leadership in the Maori sphere remained a male realm, but the hospitable reception of visitors was still primarily a woman's responsibility.

As traffic to the Pink and White Terraces increased, the women of Te Arawa responded well in the role of gracious hostess and guide, and by

1870, certain colourful and strong personalities emerged, and guiding as a female occupation was established.

In Ohinemutu, the leading figure was Te Kirimatao - known as the "Duchess" for her rumoured dalliance with Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh in 1870, and quite rapturously recalled by Mair.[18] Remembered by some even at the time of writing as the "Queen of Ohinemutu", she is mentioned by Ngata as the leader of the Arawa poi team in the 1901 Royal Reception.[19]

At Rotomahana, Alfred Warbrick and Pierre the Frenchman freelanced as guides, joined occasionally by Edward Loffley, but according to a Guide Book of the period -

> There are two appointed by the Tuhourangi tribe, viz., Sophia and Kate, half castes, and ladies of mature years. They both speak English fluently and take the greatest care of tourists committed to their charge.[20]

The same publication recounts how Kate was commended for a Royal Humane Society Medal, after her valorous rescue of an elderly tourist whose canoe had capsized. Kate was eclipsed in popularity by her "arch rival" Sophia, and much is made of the competitive nature of their relationship by a number of writers.[21]

Like Kate, Sophia was a Tuhourangi woman, although she was born in the Bay of Islands in 1830. Her mother was Hinerangi, and her father a Scotsman, Thomas Grey, whose surname inspired the widespread story that she was actually the daughter of Governor Grey himself - gossip which has survived even to this day. Sophia was acclaimed as the heroine of the Tarawera eruption, and her own account of that awful night is recorded earlier in this study. When Tuhourangi relocated to Whakarewarewa, she resumed her guiding duties there. The Ngati Wahiao, however, were much more mindful of her activities, and their assets, and one source suggests

that her presence and her popularity with the tourists were resented by the locals -

> We approached (the natives), and an excited discussion ensued; they were objecting, Sophia afterwards explained, to her taking me around; she didn't belong to Whakarewarewa; and the guide fees, as well as the gate money, were the prerequisites of their hapu (clan; subtribe). She had to hand over the coin to them.[22]

On the purchase of the mineral springs of Whakarewarewa by the Crown a few years later, Sophia was appointed the first official guide and caretaker. Being "less active than of yore",[23] she encouraged a number of younger women, and within ten years tourist guiding had become an enjoyable, and lucrative mode of employment for many of the women of Tuhourangi.

Two of the most outstanding of the Tuhourangi guides were the Thom sisters, Maggie, and her younger sister Bella.

> When guides and interpreters were required, the Thom girls were always sought out. They became in almost constant demand, as the tourist trade developed, and overseas visitors began to pour through Whakarewarewa. Maggie Thom was a natural organizer and leader.[24]

The first born of one of the most chiefly families of Ngati Wahiao, Maggie's swift ingenuity was demonstrated by her own renaming, as her daughter-in-law and most famous successor recalls -

> One day a tourist asked Maggie if she had a Maori Christian name. Maggie said it was Makereti, the equivalent of Margaret. The tourist then asked what her surname was in Maori. Maggie figured that the tourist must be satisfied at all costs. She glanced round for inspiration and saw the geyser Papakura bubbling away nearby.
> "My surname is Papakura", she replied straight-faced.[25]
>
> (My underlining)

With her sister Bella, she guided the Royal party of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901, and continued the association by organizing a Maori group which travelled to Britain ten years later for the Festival of Empire celebrations honouring their coronation. A

model Maori village was also shipped to the White City in London, complete with her own whare whakairo, or carved meeting house Tuhoromatakaka. This was later moved to her residence in Oddington, near Oxford. After her untimely death in 1930, the elaborate carvings were scattered far and wide - the New Zealand High Commissioner shipped many back to Whakarewarewa in 1947, retaining a few exceptionally choice pieces to enhance New Zealand House in London, and others are in the Pitt Rivers Museum, and on a war memorial she erected in Oddington church.

Before her departure for Britain, where she married a scholarly English gentleman, R.C. Staples Brown of Oddington, Maggie was also very active in the temperance society. With a number of other prominent Arawa chiefs, including Mita Taupopoki, Werahiko, and Te Naera, Auoha, Te Wheoro, Rangiriri and Reverend (later Bishop) Fred Bennett, she campaigned for prohibition. She believed that alcohol was a major and immediate cause of Maori social ills and health problems at the turn of the century. Having married in Britain before the return of her tour company, she accompanied them back to New Zealand, and stayed briefly before returning to her husband's country. She made one more visit in 1925, and is fondly recalled by those who survived her as a great and inspiring lady whose sudden death was widely lamented. An unquestioned authority on many things Maori, she registered for a B.Sc. degree at the Society for Home Students, which later became St Anne's College, Oxford, and she commenced writing a thesis on Maori life. Published eight years after her death, it was finally edited and prepared for the press by her friend and colleague, T.K. Penniman, who typed her manuscript materials. It is the ethnography, <u>The Old-Time Maori</u>... As she now lies unsung in a remote English graveyard, Maggie's story awaits a deeper and more meaningful telling. Haere, e Kui, haere, haere, haere ki te Po...

Her strength and determination was certainly matched by Rihi Taekato, a fiery woman of comparable status and charisma in Ngati Whakaue. Working to improve welfare and conditions in Ohinemutu, Rihi vigorously opposed the use of the Ruapeka Bay by commercial tourist launches, and in the early 1890s helped organize a Native Women's Parliament. Its success is documented in an earlier section, but I am frustrated enormously by the dearth of material on this subject. Memories in this area seem conveniently short, or cloudy, and apart from the Chronicle Report, no other written record is currently known to exist. Rihi also attempted to smooth over, and consolidate the bickering factions of Ngati Whakaue, proposing a politically oriented and unified group, Te Kotahitanga o Ngati Whakaue. Even at the time of writing, however, the arguments and divisions continue, in and concerning the village, as profuse and as volatile as the noisy little ngawha of Muruika itself.

Another outstanding female peer of Maggie and Rihi was Ruihi Te Awekotuku. Ruihi's involvement with tourism began when she guided for the launch and coach tours of Rotorua and Rotoiti, and at nineteen she owned and operated a fishing lodge on the Ohau Channel between the two lakes. Hiring launches from McDonald's, the Rotorua company, she promoted her own cross country and round the lake tours, which also included the crater lake Rotokawau, and Tikitere mineral springs. Her own family were the major landowners in the latter resort, and by 1899, she was operating refreshment and guiding services at that spa. After an unsuccessful marriage to a gentleman scholar in the British foreign service, and two daughters, she acquired the lease of the Tikitere facility from her relatives of Ngati Rangiteaorere and Ngati Uenukukopako. She enjoyed considerable good fortune there until her death in 1939, when

her younger daughter, Mrs Te Aho Welsh assumed management.

* * * * * * * *

The profession of guiding, particularly since the 1890s, has been almost exclusively female. A number of reasons for this development are outlined below.

Tree planting for the great State Forests of the Volcanic Plateau commenced in 1898, with a nursery near Whakarewarewa.[26] Consequently, almost all of the men of Tuhourangi were employed in the foresty, and almost all the women remained in the village.

Around this time, however, tourism was accelerating, and according to all the Kuia who participated in my study, this was the main reason that guiding because a female profession.

> Women took up guiding here because the growth of the tourist business coincided with the opening of the forestry. All the men worked there, planting trees and clearing land, and there was no one else around to guide. Especially on such a casual system. There were steady incomes in forestry, all year round, but guiding was just for a limited time of the year. So that is what women did, though a lot worked in forestry too.

On a deeper level, guiding could have been another expression of a much more ancient and traditional female practice, such as the puhi and the kai arahi. The functions of the puhi included personable entertainment of visitors, and a pleasing display of feminine skills in dance, chant, and food presentation. Another suggestion is that of the kai arahi - for many tribes, a woman's role, in which she leads a visiting party onto her own marae, or into unfamiliar surroundings which she herself

knows well. A couple of my informants agreed this may be so, but nevertheless all of them insisted that the principal reason was economic. Men, as breadwinners, worked on year round forestry contracts, and were thus neither interested in, nor available for, guiding work. Many of the people I talked with, men and women, also expressed the strong belief that -

> Women are much better guides than men. They are more caring, and more attractive to the tourists. And it is like being a hostess in your own home - and it is our home. So for us,it is a very easy and natural.thing to do.

After a number of years, through the efforts of Maggie and Bella Papakura, and the people of Tuhourangi under the guidance of the venerable Taupopoki, it was decided to organize the profession at Whakarewarewa. As Guide Rangi declared in her biography -

> Guiding had been a hit and miss affair until 1910, when the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts began to licence Maori guides to operate the Government Reserve on a more business like basis. Guides had to be eighteen years old, pay a ten shilling annual licence fee, speak good English, and produce character references.[27]

Because access to the Government thermal reserve was through the Whakarewarewa Maori village, it was tacitly understood that the only women involved in guiding would be the residents themselves. There were a couple of noted exceptions recalled recently by one kuia -

> Mita, our chief, insisted that all the guides come from Whaka, and on this condition, he and the trustees allowed the road to the sights to be put through the village. The only exceptions were Maggie Tawhai, because she and her husband were so active in the pa, and Hera got in because she was Eva's best friend, and Harriet got in because she was Kanea's best friend, and it was like that.

For the next decade, guiding nevertheless continued as a haphazard summertime occupation, with the women freely setting their own hours and days of work according to the weather, the number of tourists, and their

own domestic and family affairs.

One other reason for the exclusive Tuhourangi monopoly on guiding was summarized neatly by a veteran of forty years experience -

> Every woman whose family had a Rahui (Reserve) interest had ticket books, and the tourists would pay sixpence to get through the Rahui, and a shilling to the guide. While the government didn't pay any lease money for the access, every family and every home was getting some of the lolly by having a guide. So it was a good thing. This system operated right up until the time that the Institute took over in 1965.

Apparently, becoming a guide was not an automatic birthright. According to all my informants, after the licensing of the first group of Tuhourangi women in 1910, and as Guide Rangi describes above, applicants were also required to endure a somewhat formidable screening process. However, no one could recall any woman being turned down, but one described her own experience, which she insisted was typical of the recruiting of her time. She applied in what must have been a tough year, for she recounts -

> After we first applied, we had to do a probationary period of two years, and we went through the valley with a Senior Guide. She'd do most of the explanations, and we'd be there close to her, listening to every word. Then we were tested again by the Tourist Department, and there was a panel in my time. The local Department Manager, our Senior Guide who in my time was Bella, a member of Tuhourangi - our chief, Mita Taupopoki, and also someone from the Te Arawa Trust Board. They were there to test our knowledge of Maori. They'd be in the Manager's office, all sitting around, and he would say, "Well, you're at the Bridge and waiting for clients. I'm in a car and I pull up. From there, you proceed".

For the tourists, the guiding services were actually optional. Many of them were unaware of this, and the guides were obliged to inform them of this fact.

> The procedure was, you went over to these people, who had just got out of their car, and were coming to the bridge. You'd ask them if they'd like a

> guide, and they'd ask what it entails, and you had to tell them that if they went through without a guide they didn't have to pay anything. But if they had a guide, it would mean paying a guide fee, which includes the toll fee to the Maori Reserve area. If they didn't pay, they didn't go into the Reserve. Out of two shillings, we got one and six and if they didn't want a guide, we got nothing.

It was clearly a job demanding tremendous skills in persuasion, and dogged assertiveness.

Until the advent of mass tourism and air travel, which coincided with the change of administration of the thermal park in 1965, the most frantic and intense times were in the summer months, from December to February. Cruise ships berthed at Auckland, and up to a thousand tourists a day arrived at Whakarewarewa. At such times, there would be work for everyone, including the casual and intermittent guiding activities of many village women not regularly involved. There were many attempts to systematize the guides employment, but they had little success. The women were ultimately their own bosses, and capably supervised themselves during their fifty five years of operating.

Rivalries inevitably ran strong and fierce, and many of the guides were intensely competitive -

> It was really tough, and could become quite embarrassing - the old girls would just about haul people out of their cars, they were really bumptious old girls, and the rows they used to have! Accusing each other of stealing tourists. They used to be ready for a scrap if they thought anyone were doing them wrong!
>
> It got really heated -
> "Aai, you took my pakehas".
> "They were mine"!
> "No, I asked them first".
> And they'd have a dingdong go right in
> front of the pakehas, and it was so embarrassing.

Attempting to avoid such confrontations, another rule was introduced, to be enforced by the resident caretaker, a Tuhourangi man on the payroll of the Tourist Department. Each guide was to take no more than six

tourists in a party; if there was even one more, another guide had to accompany the group. From this grew the practice of "punting" - a younger female relative, usually still selfconscious and inexperienced, would assist her older aunt. Most of these women, now themselves the "old hands" fondly recall that for them, this was a good thing - they overcame their shyness gradually, and gained valuable experience. Some also devised a way around the new system, by having a close friend or relative whom they knew was taking a break accompany them only part of the way. Subject to such schemes, and the varying discipline of successive caretakers, the system was eventually discontinued.

To augment their guiding fees, the guides, and their families, often manufactured a variety of small brightly coloured mementoes. Sitting at the guides station near the memorial gate, or by the village entrance, they often passed time between tours making button hole and brightly tasselled poi, and during the Christmas New Year season, gaudily coloured crepe paper leis. These were a recent "tradition" of disputed origins, dating back to the time before the last war when there was more contact between Cook Island and New Zealand Maori. The leis are a rare sight now; few of the guides or souvenir shops sell them, their popularity declining markedly only in the last decade. Stored in old tobacco tins, the poi were produced from their kits at the most appropriate opportunity, although on extremely busy days, the guide herself would be wearing them in a variety of ways.

> Dressed in our piupiu, and everybody draped from head to toe with pois, the long pois with fringes were so colourful, and you'd see one guide, she'd have two kits in her hand, and inside the kits were her tins of button hole pois, and she'd have them hanging all around the handles of her kits too. And the long pois, and the short ones, all sorts of colours, hanging from her piupiu. And all of them to sell.

The guide herself usually judged when the tourists would be most likely to buy. Comic situations often developed on very busy days, or when a guide as unaware of what some of her charges were doing. It was considered "not cricket" to hawk one's sourvenirs to another guide's tour group, but it happened nevertheless -

> Now Minnie was a real saleswoman, she'd get wild with whoever sold their pois to her group - "Naku wena pakeha, hokona atu i o poi"!* and she'd just take them off the tourist, and give them back to the seller, after giving her a dressing down in Maori. Then she would peddle her own to the same pakeha, as if nothing had happened.

Concern touting, described in another section, was also rife, and although the rivalry is remembered as being friendly, the direct day to day encounters described sometimes belie this. Alternating concert nights, and alternating nights in hotels, were arranged agreeably, but the competing women would all be there, facing each other on a hot and busy summer's day.

The commercial concert parties vied for tourist attention and income, one led by Guide Kiri Maniopoto, now the reigning doyenne of guiding, and the other by the late Rangitiaria Dennan, known throughout the world as "Guide Rangi". Each woman had a distinctly different approach to her job. Rangi possessed an acute business acumen, and was keenly aware of herself as cultural broker - as someone between two worlds, choosing to mediate one world to the other, through her own involvement in pakeha type specialized economics and employment -

> I began to see that most of the visitors were interested in Maoris as well as the geysers and the mud. It seemed my career was, after all, right here among my own people. A guide could become an ambassador, serving by example to show visitors the true worth of our race... Here was a

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* These are my pakehas! So you sell your pois somewhere else"!

> good chance to do something to improve the Maori image, and make a worthwhile career at the same time. Where else could one meet and talk with so many foreign people, whose impressions of their brief glimpse of Maoridom would be taken to the four corners of the world?[28]

Like most of the children of Tuhourangi, Rangi became aware of tourists at a very early age, but guiding was her third career choice. Poor health prevented her from pursuing the two occupations she first attempted - teaching, and then nursing. With guiding, she had found her ideal calling. Her grandfather, the great Ngati Terawhai carver Tene Waitere, built her a small whare wahakiro neighbouring their family home on the townside of the Puarenga stream. Rangi consciously aspired to the excellence of her predecessor, Maggie Papakura, whose son she later married. Owning her own whare whakairo - as Maggie had hers - and having a close knit but extensive family group, Rangi became a highly successful and much sought after personality. She was painstakingly efficient and reliable, determined not to "muddy this proud image (Maggie) had done so much to create". As the late Harry Dansey, who was a member of her concert party in his youth, recalls -

> She was a powerful woman, she was an outspoken woman, in many ways she was an unpopular woman, because of these qualities. For instance, in the important matter of dealing with tourists, many of the arrangements were made between the Tourist Department and her, as they knew how she worked, and they trusted her. She was completely reliable, and she would often have a whip hand in economic dealings with the Department. Sometimes they didn't want to be involved with tribal things, but be more commercial, and she was not beholden to Tuhourangi at all. She had her own meeting house, and if a small thing had to be done - one or two people of some distinction had to be meet and shown around - she could put it on at her place. No one else had that facility, so of course she was envied.

Deaf to the criticism of her peers, Rangi continued to guide until a few years before her death in 1970. Even in her last couple of years,

although very sick, she yearned to be out guiding visitors through the valley she loved so much.

What Rangi did for guiding was set a model of strict professionalism - she also defined, for herself and the women she taught, certain standards of behaviour, dress, and language. Like Maggie, her English was precise and impeccable, and for this she was often resented by her rivals, and accused of "putting on airs". But Rangi's gift was the unerring and uncanny skill of the successful cultural broker and entrepreneur - she knew exactly how to interpret her own culture, she commanded exactly the phrases, manner, information, and "discovery" that her tourists wanted to experience and hear. And her own droll, quiet sense of humour quickly put her visitors at ease, as she involved them all in her guided tour of her domain, which was a part of her Maori world. Conversely, she shared her experiences freely with her own people, encouraging, and teaching younger guides, building their confidence, and assuring them that success was not only possible, but rightfully theirs. When I talked with her family, they mentioned that a number of people would probably be critical, and even negative, "You will hear all sorts of things about Auntie, especially over the concerts, but don't take any notice of them", because they knew my own Kuia, Guide Sarah, was herself firmly esconced for many decades in the "rival camp". I remember Guide Rangi with awed admiration; she guided all the famous people, she had her own marae, and she was guide to the Royal Family on more than one occassion. She achieved vocal and visible success, like Makereti before her, in a tribal environment which tended to discourage any female involvement in the public sphere.

The other guides, typified in many ways by Guide Kiri (Kuia Kiddo), were much more conservative in their tourist dealings. Although they enjoyed meeting people, and although a few strong friendships were forged, they were not as determined as Rangi to "make our mark on the world". They claim to be contented with their lives, and the simplicity of their relationships with the visitors -

> When we finished a tour, we finished, and that was that. They were all the same to us. Once one party left, another party came along, and you took them around, and they left too.

Considerable discrimination existed amongst tourists, and guides, in the valley. Many tourists clamoured openly for Rangi and a few still do, unaware of her passing ten years ago. A sharply image conscious woman, her figure graced many publicity materials in film and print, and she was widely known. She could thus pick and choose whom she conducted through the sights, and she made some strong friendships with many visiting celebrities who often sought out her services.

In 1965, the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute took over administration of the guides, imposing a much more structured and less flexible working day on the women, and establishing a new payment system. Instead of individuals or families collecting the tourist fee, and passing it on less a percentage to the tribal coffers, the Institute introduced a numbered ticket system. In its first year of operation, the returns exceeded £2,000.00, over twice as much as the previously recorded all time high of £800.00 under the old system. This has been dealt with in more detail in the preceeding chapter on arts and crafts.

The income accrued from guiding varied enormously according to the time of year, the weather, and a guide's own personal style and outlook. It was, therefore, small and sporadic. Because of the work's seasonal nature, many women preferred to go out only as it suited them, on a casual

basis. Heavy traffic usually coincided with that time of year when household expenses were high - the Christmas-New Year period, with luxury food and holiday bills. Most guides supplemented a husband's earnings quite generously, although complete economic independence was more the exception than the rule. Special savings accounts were also opened for their children's education, often in the most prestigious Maori church schools, Te Aute, St Josephs and St Stephens. Travel, overseas and around New Zealand, also consumed much of their earnings.

Only a few women - among them such outstanding personalities as Maggie, Kiri and Rangi - single handedly supported their households by guiding. For them, a continual and reliable income was essential. Overall, however, the money earned in one year was relatively meagre, augmented substantially by the sale of small souvenirs, and the manufacture of piupiu and taniko garments. This latter enterprize is described in the chapter on arts and crafts. From all this, the economic impact on the lifestyle and self esteem of the women guides has been quite considerable. Their own money has enabled them to acquire many luxuries, educate their children well, and even become tourists themselves, visiting distant parts of the world.

In 1972, active recruitment of new guides, "with the emphasis on youth", occurred. Nine young women, all of Tuhourangi or part Tuhourangi descent, were selected from the thirty-five applicants who responded to the advertisements. Given extensive training in first aid, Maori arts and crafts, myths and legends, and basic volcanology -

> They were not placed on salary unless proven to be well versed in all these subjects.[29]

The guiding program has continued to experience some upheaval in the past seven years. All except one of the original young group have

left, for domestic and other reasons, some voicing loud complaints about inadequate pay - and the guides themselves are in two distinct groups. From the original guiding population, a number continue working on a roster system, being paid on a per capita fee basis. Because of the largely seasonal nature of the work, these women only operate in the summer months. The permanent staff are salaried employees of the Institute, and when not actively guiding, are also engaged in making small handcrafts for sale at the Institute souvenir shop. Demonstration of weaving and piupiu making also take up a large part of their working day.

Since the first intake, and the inception of the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute guides, profound changes have occurred. Tuhourangi response to the most recent guiding recruitment schemes was minimal, mainly because much better work opportunities were offered elsewhere, and reports from former trainees were so disparaging, to those who did express interest. A few young women from the hapu of Te Arawa - notably Ngati Rangiwehehi, and Ngararanui - and other "outsiders" - now work in the geyser valley. Although they are Te Arawa women, raised in the Rotorua district, their own papakainga and hapu affiliations preclude any personal and social involvement in the Whakarewarewa, and thus Tuhourangi, residential and tribal community. Subsequently, their identification with their work is on a simple day to day basis; for them it is rarely more meaningful than the weekly paycheque, and the occassional glimpse of a visiting celebrity.

Tuhourangi women still involved in the profession appear to be confused about what they see happening. They comment that the newcomers don't speak Maori, don't know Whakarewarewa, and worst of all, treat guiding as "just another job". What was an easy choice for them -

treading literally in their mothers' footsteps - is not as automatically decided by their daughters. Childrearing, and housekeeping can no longer be fitted in to the structured schedule of the modern Whakarewarewa guide, who must work forty hours a week, clock in and out. and be answerable to superiors who are always there. This has been one of the most obvious changes caused in the new system; the loose rules can no longer apply.

Recently, another controversy erupted at Whakarewarewa, with the compulsory retirement of most of the old guides by the Tourist Department. They had reached, or were over sixty-five years old, the maximum working age for public service employees. The Institute, as it is partly administered by a government department, is considered a government agency. Many felt it was as if a covenant had been broken, and one forceful veteran spoke out in the press, against the inconsistent and unfair treatment of the older guides by the Institute administration.[30] This same outstanding kuia, past seventy and refusing to retire, has arranged contracts of her own with international tour agencies with whom she had established a firm relationship over the years, and whose clients she beamingly escorts past the Institute guides and into the thermal valley.

The guiding system at Whakarewarewa continues to undergo change. Guide Rangi, the modern doyenne, passed away without a comparable successor in the younger generation; Guide Kiri remains contentedly retired, watching from her verandah above Te Pakira; Guide Hepine doggedly continues to work independently, loving it; and Guides Merekorama, Katie, Tamaku and Molly seem resigned to gracious old age.

Elders themselves now, they fondly recall the old dears of their day as figures from another time, and another reality - when guiding was in

itself very Maori; when it was a meaningful expression of Maori pride and "naturalness". As if being a woman, and therefore a guide, at Whakarewarewa, were in the natural order of things - "this is simply what we do, because our mothers did it before us" - and now that order is no more. And it is certainly ironic to consider that the order - the doing - the being a guide was in response to something quite outside the Maori world; the arrival and curiosity of foreign tourists. By adjusting to them so well, the women of Tuhourangi evolved a pattern of self presentation and courtesy that was proudly and essentially Tuhourangi - and uniquely Maori. Thus some of the ravages of post colonial - and tourist inspired - change were accommodated.

But the process continues today. No longer in the immediage control of Tuhourangi women, guiding has become systematized, and its older image is being slowly but certainly displaced. Although the former regime was obviously haphazard, and even rather disorganized, the underlying structure of the kinship network - women being able to depend on each other even "at the eleventh hour" - and staunch tribal pride, inevitably saved the day. With vastly different economic circumstances, and a substantially and substantively different tourist industry, a new, ostensibly "modern" but actually "pakeha", approach has displaced the previous one. But it, too, has its drawbacks, as the last ten years have revealed. Meanwhile, young Maori women continue to welcome the tourist to the wonders of Whakarewarewa.

How was the role of the hardy female entrepreneurs most often presented to the world? In what manner, and style, was their work interpreted?

1864 — This settlement has always been famed throughout Maori land for the beauty of the women, from the days of Hinemoa down to the present time, and during our stay, we say a few girls with complexions like southern gypsies, just fair enough to let the warm colour show through clear olive skin, and large dark lustrous eyes, with great ever changing expression, and beautiful, snow white, regular teeth.[31]

1900 — Calm, shining eyes; a gentle half smile framed by copious waves of rich black hair, she appears gracefully at ease. Her shoulders are softly contoured, one half-covered by a cloak, fine dark thrums forming a fringed diagonal across her breast. A slightly darker shade of flawless skin, one nipple peeks unselfconsciously over the line of finely plaited flax.

1939 — Guide, Glamour Girl, Her Frock Made from a Lily Plant, She is One whose Race has been described as Earth's Most Splendid Savage! Watch her Make Obeisance to the Ancestral Gods, Plait a Flax Skirt, and Cook her Dinner in a Boiling Pool...
and bend lush and bare breasted, to scoop warm grey water from a turgid mineral water fall of sour graphite to her sweetly smiling lips. Meet her in the Thermal Wonderland of New Zealand...[32]

1970 — Gleaming black hair draped about bare light olive shoulders, she leans against one arm, tucking smooth legs neatly beneath the supple patterns of her piupiu. With the other hand, she extends her hand, dangling minced meat over the clear, dazzling pool. The trout leap and cavort, hungry and excited, splashing icey water on her shapely push up tapestry top, from which her breasts rise invitingly...

One recurring image of the Pacific is Woman - Hawaiian, Tahitian, Maori. She features in pictorial publicity material dating back to the turn of the century - postcards, calendars, magazine illustrations, record covers, posters, even tea towels. And the picture persists - the appealing, youthful, smiling, brightly costumed maiden whose brown eyes beckon.

Though slightly different on each Polynesian island, she represents the pleasurable paradox of exotic sensuality and sunlit innocence, a

relentless lure. In the Maori context, she reflects both the assumed expectations of the tourists, and the extent of Maori participation on this aspect of ethnic tourism.

For the most part, even until very recently, the Maori women involved were largely unwitting participants - being photographed "just for the fun of it", offering minimal protest or suggestion, and going along with a friend, or in a group.

The earliest examples date from the studios of the American Photographic Company, an Auckland firm whose main photographer, McCarrigle, was working in the late 1860s and 1870s. More famous and extremely productive were the Burton Brothers of Dunedin, whose studies of the latter years of the nineteenth century capture the depression, and also much of the beauty, of the Maori world of that time. Dozens of their prints became postcards; the women very robust, dusky, gracious forms, often with tattooed chins and lips, and long cascading hair. Native scenes were also popular, but much was reconstructed, and as a visual ethnographic record of its time, this collection has some value, although a lot of the reconstructed material is questionable indeed.

At the turn of the century, George Isles set up shop in Rotorua, and focussed his lens on young Maori women for the lucrative postcard trade. Main states -

> These found a ready sale with tourists who had over 200 examples to choose from.[33]

He also worked with the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, which produced a series of romantic, breathless nostalgia studies over the following three decades. All of the models were guides, or women of Tuhourangi.

Costuming was often highly elaborate and ceremonial, and the poses often coy and even silly. One incongruous image that has been repeated

several times, and never questioned, is the cooking scene. Women bedecked in ornate regalia; kiwi feather cloaks; long piupiu, and rich taniko, pensively suspend a basket of raw food into a steaming hot pool. No one, not even the models, pause to reflect on how they are play-acting at ethnic cooking, clad in the extremely rich and splendid garb used only on exalted tribal occasions. Another favourite is the maiden delicately drinking the grey graphitic waters of a thermal spring or waterfall, with prettily cupped palm. A recent variation of this has the lady studying a waterlily, with a frog at her ear.

By the mid twentieth century, the slim, fairskinned image was well established. Te Arawa produced two international beauty queens - Moana Manley, Miss New Zealand 1939, whose exposure and effectiveness were severely curtailed by the outbreak of war, and Miss New Zealand 1962, Miss Maureen Kingi whose lovely features already graced many promotional materials by that time. With Maureen, ethnic tourist photographic modelling in Waiariki took a much more professional slant. Although not union members, the models were paid the set minimum wage for photographic work, and elaborate contracts were signed. As popular Western taste demanded, all the models are of slim build, with light complexions, and long hair. Lacking the desired tresses, a model will wear a wig on assignment -

> because that's part of the glamour image, you know, it's the mystique. I see it as a special effect, and it's part of the tourists' fantasy world, too, and I like that.

Photographic modelling is not a major source of income, and there is a remarkable absence of business competition among the women themselves. It is not regarded as important.

It is interesting to note, however, that the prevalent image is very much the Western aesthetic ideal; the Maori ideal, large, graceful, buxom women, has been completely eclipsed. As one of the leading elders of Ngati Whakaue observed, when pondering the rebirth of a tribally based cultural group and concert party -

> Leave all the skinny women in the tourist shows.
> Our front rows will all be big women, really
> big, and graceful.

But these days, fineness, and fairness, make the front row, along with an affected delicacy of movement and presentation. Younger women are no longer trained in the more forceful dance styles, unless they ask, and on the concert stage, many women assume a dainty stance, described by one irate elder as -

> that nambie pambie thing, and that's good for
> the tourists, oh Lord! Drying their fingernail
> polish, that's what they're doing, and I reckon
> it's the pakeha version of what's feminine.

Exactly how the extent of "pakeha feminization" is difficult, if not impossible, to assess, particularly in that it cannot be isolated from the overall assimilative colonial process during the first half of this century.

"Art" studies, and erotic literature, from the Victorian era certainly suggest that the more voluptuous and full bodied woman was the fashionable ideal, until the 1900s all American "Gibson Girl" prototype was foisted upon the public as the prevailing image of twentieth century beauty.

On the tourist stage, even the use of comic obesity and robust female eroticism have declined, as the audience taste has changed. In the Maori context - on the marae, and at private parties, festivals, and social gatherings, this humour has nevertheless persisted, and it is not confined to just the older generations. Anecdote and tribal legend recount the grace and beauty of the carriage, the movements, and the simple presence of

larger women. Ever practical, a couple of my informants have also observed that fatness of the body was nature's preparation for the lean months of winter, and thus ensured the physical future and continuity of the tribe, embodied in the robustly healthy fecundity of the women.

Although a relatively unsophisticated business, the commercial projection of the comely young woman as an image of Rotorua tourism was successful for many years. The models were often sisters, or closely related, and there was considerable pride taken in that line of work. It was generally accepted as an offshoot from guiding, or concert work, but in 1965, a highly controversial experiment was undertaken in Rotorua. The suggestion came from Maoris, but the idea was implemented by the dominantly white business community, and was eventually discontinued.

A Maori golf club tour group to Australia's Gold Coast was gleefully astonished to encounter glamourous young women in the street, clad in gold coin spangled micro bikinis, and oozing with suntanned sensuality. To promote goodwill amongst visiting motorists, they would replenish expired parking meters, "to save the inconvenience of a fine, and make your stay in our fine city a happy one". This was done with the compliments of the Surfers Paradise and Gold Coast Progressive Businessmen's Association. So, the golfers mused, why not Maori girls, dressed in traditional finery, doing the same thing in Rotorua?

Amidst widely publicized argument between Maori leaders, many of whom opposed the idea as "one step short of prostitution", applications were invited from interested young Maori women, for the two jobs available over the 1965-66 Christmas period. After talking it over with my family I was persuaded to apply,and I got the job. My partner was a year younger than me, and extremely beautiful; curvaceous, doe eyed, tall. Raised by a pakeha mother, she was not conversant with matters Maori, and on this

point, I came in. She smiled, and I talked, and together we tramped the streets six hours a day for six weeks, surviving some initial abuse from Maoris, and enjoying extravagant attention from tourists. Very few Maori people were openly supportive, but they eventually outnumbered the ones who publicly opposed what we were involved in.

From the files of the Rotorua Daily Post came the following excerpts -

> EXPLOITING MAORI GIRLS SAYS ROTORUA MINISTER
> ... is a revolting step, and to commercialize the piupiu offers nothing to the cultural standard we are trying to establish.
>
> Daily Post, 12.11.65

> A gimmick is a gimmick and this happens to be one at the expense of my Maori culture and I object!
>
> - Interview with elder
> Daily Post, 20.22.65

Comments of a similar nature appeared in letters to the editor from Rotorua Maori people, and the Tuhoe Tribal Executive also recorded their public disapproval -

> We register strong formal protest over the use of Maori costume as advertising media.
>
> Daily Post, 23.22.65

One traditionalist, a vicar from an East Coast tribe, sounded me out in Maori for my ignorance, and remarked that he was surprised that my grandmother had permitted such a thing. He did not realize that at first the scheme was seen by most Te Arawa Maoris as just another form of the guiding experience that had become a local tradition.

Some of the elders' worst fears were confirmed when an exchange was set up between the Gold Coast and Rotorua. I travelled to Surfers' Paradise, and a Courtesy Meter Maid who was later to become one of Dean Martin's Vegas Play Girls visited Rotorua. For ten days in Australia, I posed, sang, and danced, vigorously promoting tourism for Rotorua. Not

once did I question what I was doing, what I was being used for... I only knew that I was representing my people, and that I sincerely wanted all those lovely beer swilling redneck Australian rowdies to come over to New Zealand and visit us.

In Rotorua, the promotion was quite successful, but the incongruous matching of a Maori maiden in traditional dress with a sleek bathing beauty was only partly overcome. On the Gold Coast, my obvious youth - I was 16 - prompted their promoting me in Gidget/Midget cutesie Maori Girl mould, while in Rotorua, the other Maori Meter Maid enjoyed the more glamorous aspect, lowering her top, and drastically lifting her hem. For three consecutive summers the promotion continued; I returned to school, and my partner continued, becoming involved in beauty pageants and professional modelling until she married. Our successors were varied; one summer, a man was employed for a brief period, and before the scheme folded up completely, the last one on the street was a pakeha; blond, blowsy, and in full Maori costume. So perhaps the <u>costume</u> was the conscious gimmick after all, just as the Kaumatua observed.

Maori women have been a promotional instrument in tourism over the last hundred years, whether they have realized it or not. Seemingly shrewd and more enlightened personalities - Sophia, Maggie, Bella, and in recent years, Rangitiaria, dignified and also used the image; articulate, gracious, and attractive, without being necessarily sensuous or exotic, although Maggie herself was occassionally thus slighted.[34] What is important is that despite the photographic image, and the spurious writings of colonial travellers, the Maori women themselves were largely unaware of how they were being projected. Considering this, it is valid to assume that they were probably exploited by the turn of the century recorders and image makers, who strove to capture a deliberately ambiguous image.

Until very recent years - even to the 1960s - flattery and praise were sufficient payment for the professional photographer's interest. This naivety which has persisted is also regarded as charming, and irresistible - to the photographers, and to the consumer of their products. But what the model finally gets, apart from a few moments of flattering attention, is negligible indeed.

Nineteenth century prostitution has already been discussed in the first section of this study, but at the time or writing, there appears to be little evidence of organized sexual commerce between Maori and tourist in Waiariki. If relationships do occur, it is probably as a casual and carefree interlude for both parties. And should there be prostitution on the part of local Maori women, no one from the two communities with which I have been intimately involved seem to know about it. This surely indicates that such activity is rare among Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi, because word about something like that travels fast, especially in a community as close as Whakarewarewa.

Brief liaisons may take place, and the rare offspring of such an affair is affectionately known as "Ngati Bonnicci", after a package tour bus company that takes in the thermal valley, and also visits Ohinemutu.

Much continues to be made in casual marae conversations, at small gatherings of Maori women, and by the emerging leaders of tomorrow, of the subordinate status of women in Te Arawa. They afford minimal analysis or understanding of this status, how it is imposed, and what it means to the women who have inherited it.

For an outsider, whether feminist pakeha or city Maori, there exists a tangle of restrictions, and one restriction I now propose to discuss in detail.

Te Arawa has been noted throughout the marae of Aotearoa as one of the most regidly conservative tribes on the issue of marae protocol. The voice of a woman is said to be the first heard on Arawa marae, chanting the welcoming call to the visitors, as a prelude to the face to face·rituals of encounter. But in more recent times, this karanga has quite often not sounded forth. This may be because there was either no one there who felt confident enough to call, or else the only capable woman was temporarily absent at the time. So people went without, and it almost became regarded as no longer critically important.

In the last decade, an erratic effort to educate the older women, build their confidence, and share these skills, has been underway. Whare wanganga sessions, often incongruously termed "Seminars", have been conducted on marae around Te Arawa, in Ngati Whakaue, Tuhourangi, and Ngati Pikiao. Since 1973, these meetings have occurred, often involving entire weekends. Richly rewarding, and consciousness-raising, these hui were often followed by Sunday afternoon or evening classes, at the marae involved. Subjects taught were usually waiata, and language, with some time spent on the Karanga. Women's role was supportive background to a successful male performance which was emphasized above all else.

Oratory is an exclusively male perogative, and observation of the kawa o Te Arawa is demanded of visiting tribes with leading female speakers and chiefs. One notable example is Mihikotukutuku, of Whanau Apanui, who confronted the force of Te Arawa wrath at her rising to speak on the

Papaiouru. When rebuked, and commanded to sit down by none other than the venerable Mita Taupopoki, she lifted the hem of her skirt, and exclaimed derisively -

> "... you say, no woman has ever stood on this marae. Well, I tell you this, if it wasn't for a woman, you wouldn't be here today... This is where your grey hairs come from"![34]

By this action, she was not only brazenly defying the superficial reasoning that women lacked the ingenuity, knowledge and creative imagination needed to orate, she was also challenging the deeper chauvinist rationale. As "whare rangatira", females are too sacrosanct to risk participating on the symbolic battlefield of the marae. Ironically, they may also pollute it. Mihikotukutuku effectively called their bluff - her action was a profoundly disturbing reminder of their own origins, and their own detumescent male frailty.

The superficial rationale of female inadequacy and ignorance is further contradicted by the traditional, corrective role of the Kuia who carefully followed the word of the kai whaikorero, and exercised their right to expose any inaccuracy, mistake or oversight in his deliverance. They reserved the privileges of their age and status, and if a speaker misquoted a genealogy, he was howled down and humiliated by the crones. These vigilant elderly women were often regarded as the true repositories of tribal lore; as well as educating their daughters, they tutored their sons, and their husbands, and as they ensured that the recitations presented were exact, their knowledge had to be impeccable.

Alas, the modern situation is not so clearly defined. Although the Kuia of today are strong minded, too often they lack the knowledge of the one essential element, whakapapa or genealogy. Particularly in Ngati Whakaue, this information seems to have become the jealously guarded possession of a mere handful of old men. They resist the women's

queries, effectively undermining the latters' ancient rights to such knowledge. By doing this, these misogynists are successfully reforming and revising "tradition" by demolishing one of the timehonoured and necessary controls - the function of the Kuia to ensure that only information in its correct form is conveyed from one generation to the next. From their actions, the women's ignorance is inevitable.

No matter how lofty a woman's lineage, even at her death the male elders stretch the limits of their interpretation of protocol. Mid-summer 1977, a leading chieftainess died, to be honoured by a tangihanga in the main whare runanga, Tamatekapua. She lay within the house, and thousands came to farewell her. The heat was intolerable, and the atmosphere within the house itself was suffocating. On the shadeless, sunbaked marae, many manuhiri waited hours to be called in to the small respite of Tamatekapua. A lot suffered enormous discomfort; a few had to return home. Realizing this, the Ngati Whakaue women suggested that the deceased be taken outside onto the verandah, thus opening a much larger ritual space. The men opposed this vehemently, insisting defensively that as a woman, despite her high status, and the reality of the visitors' obvious dis-ease, she could not be honoured outside on the Papaiouru. Why? Because she was a woman. No further discussion was countenanced. The patriarchs had issues their edict, and that was that.

The women were incredulous; but they accepted the situation, with much muttering and verbal discontent. As an isolated experience, its implications were allowed to slide by. Practicalities were insignificant - only the mana o Te Arawa, as this group of selfishly orthodox elders perceived it, was important. Somehow, to me, this seemed to be a desperate attempt at maintaining the status quo, with no deep understanding of the cosmology - the deeper elements, and the simpler ones - that

underlie, and justify, it. And the women recognized this weakness, but were unable to counter it. The dimension of fluidity, so much a part of Maori tradition, was denied them.

On another occassion, however, they did succeed in toppling what they considered an unreasonable restriction. Motutawa is a small, historic island on Rotokakahi, and in the four generations has functioned exclusively as an urupa. Over the years, it became a place forbidden to women; as contaminating agents, they were refused the right to set foot on it. The female relatives of a recently deceased person now interred there refused outright to observe this restriction, and wait on the shore. They argued that no calamity would occur, because women had frequented the island, even lived there at one time, and the current restriction was so recent it was suspect. So they abolished it. They also insisted that their own forebears, entombed on those mossy green banks, would not hert them, and this faith gave the women courage.

Despite these expressions of discontent, the women of Te Arawa vigorously defend the prohibition of whaikorero, and imbue this with a profound significance, believing that it articulates our tribal distinctiveness, making Te Arawa what it is. When reminded that this is also the kawa of other tribes, such as Waikato, or Tuhoe, they respond with a parochial flourish that what happens elsewhere is unimportant, and what matters primarily is the assertion of Te Arawa-tanga. Of all the canoe groups, perhaps on this particular issue Te Arawa is the most publicly vociferous and demonstrative. Even at hui in recent years, such as tangihanga in Ngati Porou, or urban marae events, Te Arawa have threatened to leave in protest if a woman orated - and have often acted on their threats. Consequently, beyond their marae, this is the only attitude that is heard, and it is often misinterpreted.

What actually occurs is quite different. In the public, and ritual, Maori realm, women affect an inferiority, and assume an apparently subordinate status which emphasizes the tapu/noa, male/female polarities which I discussed in a previous chapter. Behind the scenes, the women claim such asymetry does not occur, and they also insist that tribal issues are discussed, and openly decided upon, by both male and female elders. Membership of the Te Arawa Tribal Trust Board nevertheless belies this - since its inception in 1974, only men have served. Elected by a democratic process, the Board has had one solitary female candidate. Running in the mid 1960s, her endeavours were mocked throughout the district. She was simply not taken seriously, even by women.

Demographically, the protocol is being threatened by another reality. Women live longer than men, and the marae of Te Arawa suffer a literal scarcity of qualified, competent orators. Male elders are outnumbered by the women by an average of four to one on each marae. A few kainga have also become dormant because there have been no elder kinsmen to carry the male's ritualistic role, yet these places often have a vast number of articulate, rangatira women. Only the future - the next two generations - will reveal what will come of this.

One further sphere of Maori life usually prohibited to all women is the ancient, prestigious art of whakairo, woodcarving. Elements of this have been covered in the Arts and Crafts chapter - women were either unclean, or distracting, and forbidden access and therefore participation. Until I commenced this study, I had never heard of a female carver, apart from one eccentric lady from Ngati Porou, who married into Te Arawa. Mention of her unorthodox interest occurred at her tangi, which I attended with my church Youth Club. Being very young, I was shocked by such heresy, as was every one else - it was a revelation I filed away for about

fifteen years.

And then I was told about one woman, a strong Ngati Whakaue, in hushed, morbid tones - "she carves"! As my distant kinswoman, we knew each other well, and she is a proficient exponent of women's traditional crafts. She comments -

> My father was a carver, and it just came naturally to me; I'd play with his chisels, and come out with something. And my husband carves too, and so does my eldest daughter. We've carved and sold things to people (and those) that I know have not responded to me in a peculiar way. If a man wants a taiaha carved by me, I make it. He knows it is the work of a woman, but its mana is no less because I carved it, and you know Hapi, who does the wero, is very Maori. Yet his wero was taught to him by a woman, who got it from their koroua. So he doesn't mind that women do things for him, whereas another person might.
>
> I've been carving now for thirty years; I've done a door lintel, and I helped my husband carve a meeting house in Te Awamutu. The people there know, they accept it. It wasn't the thought of breaking the tapu that made me carve - I don't want to defy anything, I just love carving. I wouldn't step on my elders here, or anywhere, although I know there is a tapu on it for women. Most of the stuff I do now is private jobs, small things like patu and taiaha, for relations and other Maoris. You know, I can't keep up with the demand!

Most of the (Arawa) women I discussed this with remained wary, and even critical, insisting it was a male domain, and it was insolent to challenge it. Others conceded that the carving of small items was permissible, and somehow not inappropriate for a woman to do, but house carving was unthinkable, quite heretic. Taiapa, the Master himself, observes -

> Te Puea was a woman steeped in tapu... yet she did a carving in Mahinaarangi, she was so wild with the progress of the men she defied everything, and said, "This won't kill me"! and she did it! It's on the river side just before the center of the house.
>
> Other women were known to carve, even in Te Arawa, in Ngati Whakaue here. One old kuia, Wharetoroa, who was a staunch Ringatu, would sit on the paepae of

> Tiki, and carve. I know another woman who carved an entire house at Dargaville. She had a real flair for it. Can women carve? Oh, hang yeah!

Despite this, and his own Ngati Porou heritage and loyalties, Hone refused to consider female carving apprentices at the Insititute. He glibly evaded the issue by narrating how the only female applicant thus far had been pakeha, and so not eligible on those terms.

Whakairo remains a solely male prerogative - although night classes taught by Maori men have a high female enrolment. All these women are pakeha; because the products were small, and their designs lacked ancestral significance, the teachers rationalize that it is all right. They have yet to deal with a Maori woman learner, because none has so far come forward. But it is truly heartening to know that one day someone will; and what will happen then?

Conclusion

Overall, the women themselves are convinced that by remaining within the long established structure of traditional prohibitions, their Te Arawa-tanga is strengthened, the mana magnified. Thus, they belong. This dogged acceptance of the dictates of tradition are experienced by most of the younger generation as well. Women who espouse a feminist consciousness behave discretely in the marae situation, although they verbalize their acute disagreement with the protocol itself. Such women are well educated, live and work in the metropolitan centers, and return home only occasionally.

On the home front itself, a growing number question, discuss, and mill over the kawa among themselves - and as one great grandmother put it -

> The change will have to come. I know it will - there are not enough men, not enough to man the paepae. But I hope I am not around when it happens - I know I won't be.

However, persistent and dogged adherence to these cultural forms deny the flexibility that is also so basic to Maori cultural institutions - the dimension to adapt. And this dimension is the one which Te Arawa women have, in the tourist context, so triumphantly explored. Tourism imposed itself upon the Maori view, and women became not only the mediators, but the main players, for the Maori side.

They undertook this role with very little conflict in values. Some established themselves as highly successful entrepreneurs, dealing proficiently with the pakeha, yet retaining a basically Maori view of the world. Arts and crafts, dance and music, flourished not only for their income, but also for their own intrinsic worth. At every level, even the most brazenly commercial, the guides retained some subjective, intangible quality that was Maori. Their reverence of prohibitive traditions, their immediate observation of tangihanga, and instant stopwork, their retention of the use of the Maori language in the home, all reflect a compartmentalizing of their lifestyle. One was as Maori as the other, one fitted neatly into the other, but each was very different.

Their exemplary involvement in the origins of tourism prompted the next two generations to regard guiding, and entertainment as an established part of a woman's life in Whakarewarewa, and something of a tradition. It was also a seasonally lucrative, and interesting activity that could be fitted around her family life and relationships without difficulty. Only in very recent times has this attitude changed, and the occupation been removed from direct Tuhourangi input and control.

One pleasant irony lies in Te Arawa being so strongly male oriented and misogynistic, and yet in Te Arawa themselves projecting the strongest and most unforgettable image of Maori identity - the female guide, the ornately costumed hostess to the tourists.

As a conscious and conspicuous ambassador for the Maori people, the Whaka guide interpreted her culture, and its meaning for her, to hundreds of thousands of non-Maori visitors from all over the country, and all over the world. Despite the ascendance of political leaders like Tai Mitchell, the impact of the guides is far greater - because it is personal, it is face to face, and it endures.

Women - as entrepreneurs, guides, cultural brokers, innovators - have been essential to the understanding, and experience, of tourism by Te Arawa. Women's female leadership, as a drastic innovation in Te Arawa terms, also directly mirrored the intense transition created by the colonial process. They coped, and they coped well. Their role can never be understated, and their success is yet to be measured.

Let this chapter be a beginning.

Photographs: Images of Women

Kurangaituku, as she was visualized by the carvers of the house, Nuku te Apiapi in the late nineteenth century.
This image captures the essence, and the energy, of her dynamic persona.



Outside Hinemihi of the Golden Eyes, three imperious women of Te Wairoa.
Guide Sophia, heroine of the Tarawera eruption, stands behind Guide Kate, and an unidentified third woman sitting nearest to the wall.

- courtesy Turnbull Library


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The beautiful and illustrious Makaereti - Guide Maggie Papakura, pictured where she worked, shared, and enjoyed so much.

-courtesy Turnbull Library.



Three ladies of Whakarewarewa - Guides Mari, Susan, and Eva, pensively performing the culinary duties as described in the chapter on women.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.

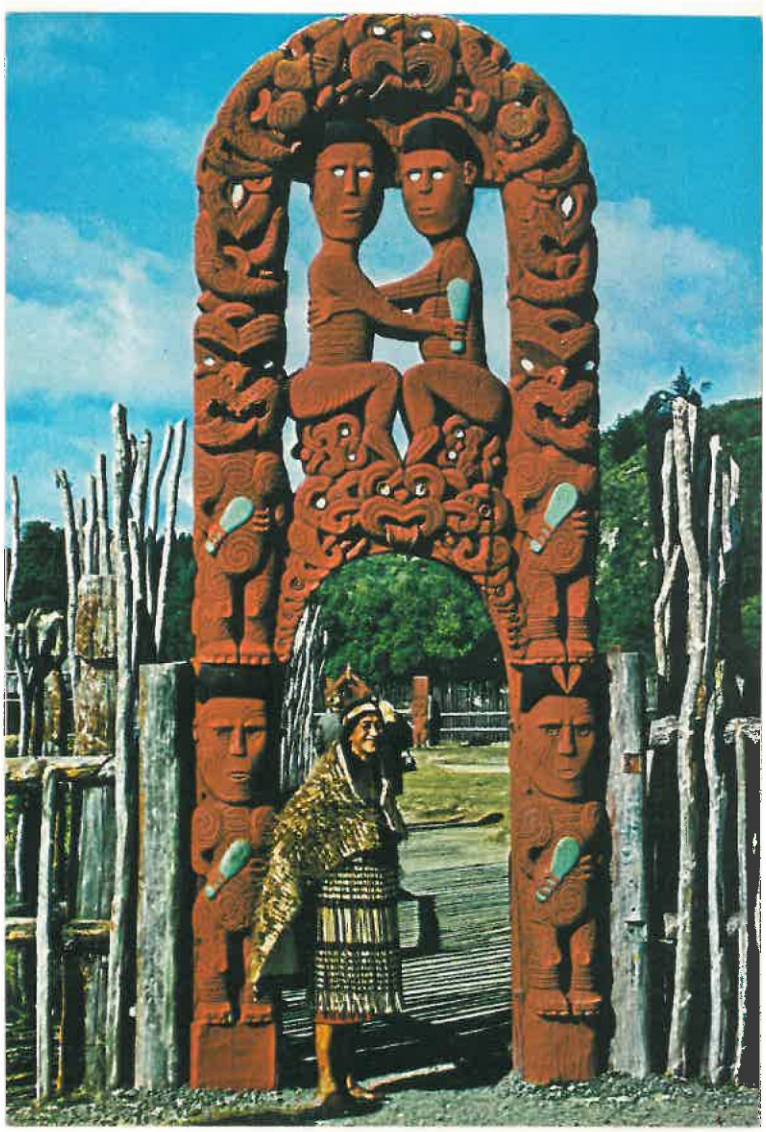


A much loved, and outstanding, Whakarewarewa personality - Guide Kiddo, Kiri Maniopoto, in her hey day.
Note the crepe paper leis on the fence, and the gaily patterned variety of poi for sale.

- photograph from Maori, by Ans Westra, and James Ritchie, reproduced by permission.



Guide Rangi, at the carved gateway
to the model pa, Rotowhio, at
Whakarewarewa.
This is how thousands of people
best remember this charming,
gifted, and impeccable woman.



The Guide becomes a tourist -
Rangitiria boards a TEAL
(now Air Nz) flight for the
islands of Fiji.


TEAL

A Group of New Zealanders 1843, by Joseph Jennier Merrit, in the Eliza Hobson Album..
Four doe eyed, artistically posed young women, toying delicately with poi. The tallest has the beginning of a moko on her upper lip. This image reflects Meade's celebration of Maori womanhood.

- courtesy Turnbull Library.



A fine study of three young Te Arawa
maidens of the early 1900's.
The one on the left, with long hair,
is the writer's kuia. She later became
Guide Sarah, and was known in her time
as "The Belle of Ohinemutu".

- courtesy Rotorua Museum.



This carefully composed and sensitive image reflects the second description on page 265.

- courtesy Rotorua Museum.



These postcards are still very popular,
and depict the image discussed page 265.
The frog and waterlily were taken ca. 1962,
and the trout scene dates from 1965-66.





The First Two Maori Courtesy Maids,
summer 1965-66.

On the left, June Northcroft.
Clutching the parking meter, the writer!

-courtesy National Publicity Studios.


Furnitur
Carpets

Maori Maiden 1980.

Some concession to the more jaded
appetite, spoiled by the coyness
of a red underskirt.

-a Winkworth postcard.



The Enduring Image.

Tourists gaze at the vaporous play of the geyser Pohutu, indicated with a practised flourish by a young, ornately costumed guide.
Note the high rise roof top letters which proclaim the Rotorua International Hotel in the immediate right background.

-courtesy National Publicity Studios.



Chapter Five: Summary, and A Look Toward the Future

Chapter Five: Summary, and A Look Toward the Future

> Of all the tribes, Te Arawa, because of the continuous tourist traffic, has had a particularly close contact with the pakeha, but this appeared to have resulted in the heightening and intensification of tribal consciousness, and pride.
>
> A.T. Ngata, 1940

This statement presents the major theme of my dissertation.

In the beginning, I set out to prove my personal belief that tourism had ruined Te Arawa, and blighted the Maori world generally; I was soon to discover that this was not so.

Instead of an exposure of negativity and defeat, this exercise became a celebration of resilience, and triumph, a record of how Te Arawa coped with colonization, then the neocolonization of tourism, and finally modern entrepreneurial commercialism, and coped well.

The tourism studied here is unique in the South Pacific grouping of Polynesian islands, for unlike Rarotonga, Samoa, Tonga or Niue, the Maori of Aotearoa were taken over, their population decimated, and their sovereignty ceded to a colonizing Western power.

As an ethnic and cultural minority the Maori, like other people of the fourth world, are anxious to conserve what remains of the language, customs, values and traditions of their forebears, while nevertheless appreciating the inevitable reality of change.

Rather than succumb completely to the ravages and subtleties of colonial socio-economic conquest, and ultimate cultural devastation, the Maori people rallied, and in their rallying they demonstrated an inspiring adaptability to the rapacious onslaught of Western civilization.

The Te Arawa people, and their experience of tourism, illustrate this spirit. Two factors were prevalent.

Early leadership was confident, articulate, and capable; the chiefs and chieftainesses readily assumed a mediatory role, as cultural brokers who willingly, and superbly, interpreted their way of life to the pakeha. They knew that these strangers had come to stay, and they agreed to negotiate with them, in the colonial, religious, military, and tourist milieu. The colonists' opening and development of Takiwa Waiariki was made easier by these perceptive Maori leaders who shrewdly set the terms.

The other factor affecting their settlement was the type of pakeha Te Arawa had to deal with. To the nations of Waikato, Ngati Whatua and Taranaki, travelled hordes of voracious land grabbers - aspiring farmers who demanded vast acreages, and stopped at nothing to get them. Their avarice was on a grand scale, reinforced by the chance of military conquest. They needed space to make capital, and they seized it ruthlessly. Takiwa Waiariki was then quite obviously unsuitable for agriculture; the assets of Te Arawa, while certainly visible, were nevertheless limited. Only a few pakeha - the entrepreneurial adventurer, the nouveau riche colonial, the business elite - were interested, and working with so small a number, Te Arawa emerged competently competitive with this other variety of nevertheless still greedy alien. Tourism is about helping people have a good time (mauri ora) rather than commerce which sooner or later kills the golden goose (mauri mate).

Timing was also significant. They began arriving en masse in the latter part of the nineteenth century, after the Te Arawa leadership had acquired considerable literacy, and poise, in encounters with their kind.

Consciousness of a need to conserve those traditional values and practices that have remained is the principal theme of the second section.

It was powerfully charged by the Tai Mitchell and A.T. Ngata revivalism of the 1920-1940 period.

The kainga chapter discusses the fear of losing control of a vital resource, land, and the conflicts of the private and the public realm, in the delicately sustained balance of the current situation.

More confidence is evident in the sphere of arts and crafts and entertainment, where vital aspects of Te Arawatanga have continued within a precarious symbiosis with tourism. The practitioners all insist there is no contradiction in theis relationship - the end, conservation and dissemination of traditional cultural practices and forms, justifies the means, which is some reliance on tourist funding. As demonstrated in the text, these aspects of being Maori and Te Arawa have reached the point where they are enjoyed for, and of, themselves, and many matters have become largely irrelevant.

Women have played an essential and decisive role in the shaping of Te Arawa tourism. Their strong influence and entrepreneurial endeavours, however low key, firmly belie the submissiveness and docility that the reconstructed "traditions" of today dictate and idealize. Instead, the woman guide has dominated this crosscultural market place for almost a hundred years, challenging such notions of "a woman's place".

* * * * * * * * * * *

Te Arawa's experience of tourism offers some lessons to their Pacific cousins, and other nations contemplating the tourist dollar. Retention, and conserving, of resources - the wealth of the land, the beauty of a unique cultural inheritance, and in the case of fourth world, ethnic minorities, the virility of one's language as a living experience -

are all of paramount importance. Displacement or loss of these factors, as part of the colonial process, will inevitably result in a negligible form of host-tourist contact, and more damage than joy.

As far as it is possible, work within the traditional frame of reference - ancient aesthetic standards, if they are still extant, and kinship networks, which ideally provide leadership and flexibility. The case of Arts and Crafts and Entertainment, in the Te Arawa context, have proved this is to be so. Shape modernity and change around this frame - don't make shifts in what has endured, and survived, generations of scrutiny and appraisal.

Within the pakeha, westernizing, system and its inevitable stresses, it is possible to sustain, and manipulate, the covert, underlying structures of the traditional world. Apart from the Te Arawa way of dealing with tourism, other examples in the Maori context are the Kingitanga, and the consciously tribal and highly successful schemes of Te Puea and Apirana Ngata.

In the final analysis, accept, acknowledge, and assess the opportunities offered by tourist development, and above all, never be afraid to reject them, or those aspects of them that are incompatible, offensive or undesirable.

And remember, tourism can only be as good, for the home people, as the home people who first plan it, and those who continue to monitor its costs and benefits.

What do I guess the future to be?

Because this has been a primarily cultural and social analysis, emphasizing Te Arawa experience, I have elected to leave the economic

aspects of this subject to some other enduring researcher. Subsequently, any predictions or projections I make in this concluding statement are taken from a sociocultural base.

In becoming a leading international industry, tourism itself has evolved from a means of simplistic sex, sun and surf escapism to a diversified offering of particular satisfactions - consumed in a mass budget package.

Tourism, generally, is now a much more acceptable field of academic pursuit, spawning various publications in recent years, the best of which come not only from objective observers[2], but also from those who are themselves most intensely involved.[3] Visions of the future remain cautiously subdued, and usually confined to charts of figures and financial and traffic projections and goals.[4] I conjecture this occurs because the future, as an inexorable reality, is probably rather frightening for most of us, and the demands of today are more than enough to encounter. But serious examination of the next hundred years - or even the next ten - is essential to plan wisely for future generations. By assessing visible trends, and considering their outcome, we can estimate a possible scenario.

As has been stressed repeatedly[5], the contradiction of tourism is that its success depends on resources - at least in the Pacific and New Zealand destination areas - that are as irreplaceable as they are fragile. Sione Tupounuia, an articulate Pacific Islander, summarizes succinctly -

> Tourists arrive at their destination as they expect it to be, and as it is advertized. But by their very presence and in their high rate of expectations, they are changing these conditions. In fact, this is the

> dilemma of the tourist industry - that is, by its existence, it tends to destroy what it wishes to see preserved.[6]

Takiwa Waiariki is currently being set upon, and developed; and at this point, to envisage a probable future, and optimistically charter a preferable one, I wish to outline what I see as the contemporary trends in the tourism experience of Rotorua.

Over the last ten years, an increasing number of "outsiders" - Maori people from other tribal areas - have become lucratively involved in tourism, as entertainers, and souvenir retailers. This has been described in preceding chapters. Their presence is gaining visible strength, and there is a rarely discussed but nevertheless increasing suspicion that they are "taking over the scene". The offerings of these people, while still Maori, inevitably lack the uniquely Te Arawa sense of place - an orientation born of the volcanic earth itself, an aspect that makes the show, or the souvenir, special to Takiwa Waiariki and its indigenous tribespeople.

Te Arawa people themselves, mostly involved in occupations unrelated to tourism, seem resigned to such changes, nevertheless insisting that their own tourist oriented presentations have always been "authentic" anyway. Certainly, at the time of writing, little organized or funded effort is underway to challenge the new influences and innovative enterprize of the newcomers. Perhaps the most glaring example of this is the leasing of the Tamatekapua meeting house by the Papaiouru trustees of Ngati Whakaue to a concert group led, and dominated, by people from Ngati Kahungunu.

Another significant factor is the overt cynicism or laissez faire of many elders. One highly respected orator pronounces with absolute

candor and beaming benevolence that a glamourous hotel resort or gambling casino would be wonderful on Mokoia Island, because, he reasons -

> It's going to happen anyway, so why not now,
> when I am here to enjoy it!

and the doyenne of guides, Kiri herself, remarks in a newspaper interview -

> I wouldn't be at all surprized if they get
> little trams. Tourists would start off from
> the Model Pa, and be taken past Pohutu Geyser,
> and their bus would be waiting at the end?

These statements may have been made tongue in cheek, but as they were repeated to me on a number of occasions, and tend to reflect a common attitude, I doubt it. Our elders may well be more perceptive of, and receptive to, the tides of progress than we, their mokopuna, perhaps realize.

Participation of Maoris in decision and policy making in the Rotorua area has been very limited, and not actively canvassed in the past two generations. Input has been minimal or prejudiced, even on issues of specifically tribal significance. This may be illustrated by the rezoning, or renegotiation, of reserves and Crown Lease Lands, such as the Rotorua Airfield, originally a recreation part gifted by Ngati Whakaue in the 1881 Agreement and rezoned and subdivided as hugely profitable residential real estate in the 1960s by the City Council. Other examples include the leasing of the Government Ward Baths by the Crown to private enterprize in 1974, the Ohinemutu Village Streets land alienation in 1974, and the currently boiling controversy over the Government's lease of the Waimungu Thermal Valley to a very wealthy private developer.

It is tacitly assumed in the pakeha world that silence, or no comment, implies consent and therefore approval. In the Maori world this is certainly not the case, but has repeatedly been interpreted as such by the pakeha, particularly in the Takiwa Waiariki context. To successfully canvass, or even measure, Maori support for a project, a face to face and

open approach is always the best, though it defies all the canons of bureaucracy. One affable planner in the Rotorua District Councio, Chris O'Neill, realized this, and his survey results on Ohinemutu, Whakarewarewa and Ngapuna demonstrate its success.[8] But otherwise, the rules of white New Zealand predominate, and the Maori owners and their decendants seem to suffer silently.

Many Maori owners are also firmly convinced that, due to multiplicity of ownership, high rates, apparently prohibitive overheads, and the lack of necessary skills and expertise, their choices are limited. As a result, they lease potential or developed thermal resorts, trout springs, or uniquely scenic lands to pakeha enterprise. A few examples are Waiotapu, the summit of Tarawera, where helicopters visit the gaping volcanic slash of the sleeping craters, Tikitere, the Mokoia Island launch service, Rainbow and Fairy Springs, and just recently the crater lake of Rotokawau.

Further trends can be found in the rapid growth of Rotorua and its frantic development as a full resort area in the last ten years. A most dramatic illustration of the lack of planning and avoidance of responsibility to the region's unique resources is the indisciminate abuse of small scale thermal power. Motel and guest house owners within a mile radius of Whakarewarewa have proven themselves to be their own worst enemies. Drilling wells to acquire thermal heating and fill their widely promoted private mineral spas, they have tapped directly from Whakarewarewa, the geyser valley itself.[9] And, the geysers have disappeared - Papakura, illustrious for Makereti, dried up and died away in March 1979. By ensuring their patrons the finest facilities in which to rest, the pakeha business property owners are systematically destroying that which their patrons have most come to see and enjoy. One fatuous retort from Rotorua tourism developers may well be that if certain resources decline, well, they

can just get out there, be inventive, and make new ones - as in the case of the valve controlled piped steam geyser at Hell's Gate thermal resort, a triumph in latter day tourist marketing.

I suggest it is all in the game of the short term vs. the long term dollar, and this persistent and promiscuous exploitation of the thermal resources indicates it is not the latter they are most concerned about. And, so far, a succession of municipal authorities has failed to effectively regulate the use of this resource. Argument bubbles on between the local and national authorities about their role and responsibilities while the geyser valley continues to be drained.

As Tupouniua, and other writers previously mentioned, all warn, the avalanche of tourism that most Rotorua business folk are excitedly busying themselves for may well be that - an avalanche, ultimately damaging to the cultural and scenic uniqueness of the region.

Thus the probable future - which contemporary trends indicate - is not an especially cheery one.

On the understanding that the financial and political situation of the country experiences no traumatic change - and a revolution in New Zealand does seem unlikely - further untramelled growth and tourist expansion are inevitable.

Resident reaction has yet to be gauged empirically - of both Maori and non-Maori. What dominates is the urge to establish an industrial plant that is largely insensitive to the needs, values, and perceptions of those who will be most affected by it. The eventual result of setting up a major resort area and catering for the mass tourist market through international tourist agencies, is alienation of the population, and ultimate resentment. Noronha summarizes -

> An examination of the literature shows that this resentment grows generally because with institutionalized tourism, the population in the destination area is not consulted, and is treated as a mere agent of decision makers who reside outside the destination area. The tourist is merely the focus of resentment.[10]

Maori - and primarily Te Arawa - control is rapidly but relentlessly becoming more indirect, more oblique, more illusory. A few dynamic and superb Maori enterprises - the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute and the Rotorua Cultural Theatre - survive, and succeed. They are predominantly Te Arawa. We need more.

The only way to avoid the miseries described by Knox[11] in the Hawaiian tourism situation, also detailed by Kent,[12] and comprehensively investigated by Fujii, Mak and Nishimura,[13] is sensitive, well researched, and impeccable planning, which involves the resident population. Consultation with this group is also emphatically more important and essential if the group itself, as a visible cultural or ethnic minority, enhances the tourist "appeal" of the resort area.

What I perceive to be the probable outcome of current trends in Takiwa Waiariki is saddening indeed - a white dominated community which has already remodelled most of the region's last hundred years to its own jaundiced version of history, and now strives to assimilate most of the Maori voices in a shrill display of the national fetish - mutliracial harmony - unaware, ironically, that the Maori - Te Arawa - are becoming more and more alienated, even resentful.

Maybe I misjudge my contemporaries - those of us who have consciously inherited such a challenging and unique legacy. Should we dare shape it for ourselves, there is a more preferable future. This involves a greater amount of Te Arawa, and Maori capital, and an accordingly more visible Te Arawa and Maori control of the key resources - land, accommodation, and

transportation. Working on a modest scale, at visitor levels not greatly expanded from the present, this type of tourism would constantly monitor its effects on the environment, and the social, cultural and economic climate of the region. Residents' interests and participation would be of vital importance. And it is possible, although there are some major obstacles.

Apart from those described previously, as trends towards a probable future, for Te Arawa, one of the most brazen obstacles is within the tribe itself. This is the paucity of overall, cohesive leadership. Although the Te Arawa Trust Board meets occasionally, and functions as a decorously unified tribal body, it exercises little effective leadership or political direction in tribal affairs. Most matters are dealt with at the hapu level, among warring factions, and rival families, where issues are eventually resolved. By a rigorous overhaul in attitudes and approach, Te Arawa, or the affected hapu, could assert more dominance and control. Cooperation by, and consultation with, municipal and national planning authorities should be actively sought after, and demanded.

A number of hapu have successfully exercised an active, and profitable, interest in agriculture, through the intensive development of their tribal lands. While this must remain the primary and principal form of land use in the region, it could be feasible to invest deliberately in their more tourist and resort oriented real estate assets as well.

One conclusion is the actual investment of tribal moneys in tourism per se - in a tour agency, in small hotels, and in low profile, high budget resort development. Currently, two hapu, Ngati Parua and Ngati Whakaue, as well as the Te Arawa Trust Board, are proprietors of modern office blocks in downtown Rotorua. Two of these ornate and expensive buildings have vacant rooms and unleased space. Surely this money could be more

profitably directed in a modest tourism-oriented venture. This alternative would also involve, and employ, a number of Te Arawa personnel who would experience not only the satisfaction of knowing they were working for themselves, but also working within a tradition that has grown, in Takiwa Waiariki, over five generations. No one but Te Arawa themselves can or should be the arbitors of quality, high standards and integrity in matters pertaining to their own traditions.

Education, and training in the required trade skills, are also an immense priority. To ensure the success of any tourist - oriented investment, a full scholarship programme should be offered the youth of Takiwa Waiariki; interest in the managerial and professional echelons of tourism and tourism planning should be stressed, vigorously supported, and encouraged.

So far, the type of tourism discussed in this chapter - and actually throughout the latter section of the study - is the large scale tourism of jumbo jets, loaded tour buses, scrambling crowds, and jam-packed souvenir shops alive with the clatter of cash registers. It is a tourism as delicate, and as prone to breakdown and setbacks, as world economic health, labour disputes, airline strikes, and residential over reaction. And this is the tourism that the Rotorua developer has been working breathlessly to attract, beguile, and accommodate.

Yet is it the tourism exactly appropriate to the fragility of this region? The package tour hordes, in themselves, do not spend much money in a host area. Transportation and lodgings consume almost their entire expenditure - usually going to a travel company <u>outside</u> the place visited - and thus only whatever pittance remains is spent on souvenirs, food and sundries. And most retailers complain that package tourists only buy the cheapest, lightest, shoddiest lines, and care little for authentivity anyway. We should bring the profit home.

As if in anticipation, the Golden Arches of the ubiquitous McDonalds All American fast food chain are now being erected on a strategic street corner in Rotorua, competition for the recently built Pizza Hut, and the Colonel's older established Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet.

The alternative is planning for the more selective, more discerning, more specialized tourist market - people who prefer to travel independently, disdain the regimented budget package routine, and can afford some luxury. They seek privacy, quiet, and serenity and they pay generously. Their numbers are small, but their expenditure is huge; they represent an elite whose needs, and foibles, the planners of Takiwa Waiariki should not deny.

Another market to support an alternate form of tourism includes the "special interest" categories - forest and bird fans, limnologists, golfers, bilingual schoolteachers, cyclists, small farmers, craftspeople, fishermen, elderly folk, and game hunters - in small tour parties organized to such a degree that most of the money spent is left within the region itself - in accommodation, entertainment, and as much transportation as possible. Such forms of tourism, being much more personable, and small scale, may also recall, and even perhaps reestablish, the leisurely and satisfying, but lucrative, pace of the earliest days of the industry in the region.

Of all the choices, these two seem the most preferable, and the most improbable, unless a small but drastic revolution occurs within the hapu of Te Arawa, the board rooms of the Rotorua business community, and especially larger companies involved, as well as the planning and policy making bodies at a local, and national level.

Success in this preferred future essentially demands mutual respect, and understanding. This means the respect of pakeha for Maori, and Maori for pakeha; and of tourist for resident, and resident for tourist.

Related to this is the even more idealistic and perhaps fanciful notion of integrity - understanding and respect for one's space, and an honest, holistic relationship with it, as it is.

A strong relationship with, and living concern for, their resources - their land, their space - directed the old people of Takiwa Waiariki of more than a hundred years ago. Motivated by the firm knowledge that their day was over, our forebears perceived that the region would be changed irrevocably. They knew this, and they also knew their land. And thus bringing the wheel of this study full circle, I quote from an atypically sensitive tourism planner, Herbert Hiller -

> For development, the guiding principle of tourism must not be "you have to give them what they want", but instead, "you have to give them what you have - and make what you have what they want". It becomes possible if we understand that what it is "they want" lies outside of tourism, but that we can supply it if we will offer it as a travel experience based on the integrity of being in our places.[14]
>
> (My emphasis)

We stand at the edge of a critical future. The hope remains that we can move forward, consider the options, and choose with wisdom and perceptive judgement comparable to that of our forebears.

The Te Arawa response to the overbearing pressures of acculturation, and a clamouring colonist insistence on inherent Maori inferiority, was a cultural efflorescence and strengthening that was paradoxically stimulated, and reinforced, by perhaps the most decadent pakeha institution of the day - tourism.

Te Arawa desired to be civilized, to be educated; to meet the pakeha as an equal, to come to grips with "civilization". Their vehicle was tourism, and the deliberate manipulation of it, for their own benefit.

Despite pakeha inconsistency, greed, and unscrupulousness, they were tenanciously determined to survive, and more than that, to succeed.

Their aspiration, and achievement, was best expressed by the long since gone elders themselves, in the text of a welcoming speech. Only the English version remains -

> We welcome you as a distinguished traveller who has seen many lands, and many peoples. Come and see us, the Maori people, a neolithic race striving to assimilate civilization. Come and see this remaining fragment of a race in their struggle for existence. Many fall by the wayside, but the survivors struggle on, for we are in the "matikukupango" - the Black Fingernail of Death - and we would draw the remnants of our race out of the clutches of Hinenuitepo, the Great Goddess of the Night, to some taumata okiokinga, some summit of rest where we may emerge above the threatening clouds of extinction, where the sun may smile upon us as of old, and where we may behold once more Te Aomarama, the World of Light.[15]

I only hope that we, their offspring, can be worthy of their epitaph.

E Kui ma, e Koro ma i te po, enei nga korero pu rakau a ta koutou mokopuna - hei ohaki kia koutou.

Ma matou, ma tenei whakareanga e whakamatau o koutou whakaaro, a koutou wawata, a koutou moemoea, kia whakapuawaetia ki te ao hurihuri nei.

Heoi ra ta matou he tono ki to koutou Atua kia manaakitia matou, kia kore ai e ngaro a koutou taonga, to koutou mauri mauria mai e koutou i Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pamamao....

CHAPTER NOTES: PART ONE

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Simmons, 1976:160, cf. Stafford, 1867:5, and Grace, 1966:54.
2. Grace, 1966:54.
3. Ngata, 1950:341.
4. MS Te Rangikaheke, 1852.
5. Salmond, 1975:12; Winiata, 1967:25; cf. Metge, 1976:129.
6. Simmons, 1976:315.
7. See Reed, Cowan and Stafford for more detailed versions.
8. Kawharu, 1977:38; Ritchie, 1963:18.
9. Metge, 1976:5; Winiata, 1967:25.
10. Metge, 1976:32.
11. Mahuika, 1977:69; Salmond, 1975:150-151.
12. Kroeber, 1948:403.
13. In 1979, Syd Mead of the Ati Awa tribes, declared a rahui on the playing of rugby by Maori People. This was an attempted political protest against the continuing association of the New Zealand Rugby Union with the apartheid regime of South Africa.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Chapman, MS, 1831:24.
2. Webb, 1949:15.
3. Wade, 1842:142.
4. Ibid:151.
5. Ibid:150.
6. Cowan in Evening Post, 30 July, 1903:33; Tapsell, 1972.
7. Bidwill, 1841.
8. Dieffenbach, Vol. 2, 1974:386.
9. Ibid:390.
10. Tapsell, 1972.
11. Smith, 1847:234.
12. Cooper, 1851:186.
13. Taylor, 1850:44-49.
14. Johnson in Taylor, 1959:177.
15. Tauranga Historical Society Journal.
16. Russell MS 1858, unnumbered pages.
17. Johnson in Taylor, 1959:165 on Mrs Spencer's instructing Maori women in "to value and care for things for which they had to pay".
18. Stafford, 1967.
19. Chapman MS, 1854.
20. Hochstetter, 1867:417.
21. Te Hurinui n.d.:194-199.
22. Kelly, 1949; Stafford, 1967.
23. Bates MS, 1860:7.
24. Meade in Taylor, 1959:441.
25. Ibid:452.
26. Gifford and Williams, 1940:170.
27. Russell, 1868.
28. Stewart, 1892:591-602.
29. St John in Taylor, 1959:547.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Ollivier, 1871.
2. Rotorua Minute Books, 1881.
3. Tinne, 1873:18.
4. Lyon, 1873:11.
5. Langbridge and Edgecumbe, 1987:13.
6. Kennedy, 1876.
6a. Williams, 1979:51.
7. AJHR, 1871 G-42:17.
8. Trollope in Reed, 1969:123.
9. Holloway MS n.d.: unnumbered pages.
10. A total of 2.5 million acres; 1.2 million in Waikato, and in the Taranaki-Whanganui a 10 mile wide strip, plus 1.2 million acres.
11. Sinclair, 1969:160.
12. Ward, 1973.
13. Guide, Anonymous, 1872:5.
14. Ibid:8.
15. Ibid:9.
16. This seems to be an isolated reference - no other records of the period mention such a place at Te Ngae.
17. Ibid:9.
18. Harris, 1878:3.
19. Sinclair, 1969:147.
20. Harris, 1878.
21. Anonymous German Lady, 1877.
22. Ward, 1973:136 and 143-145; personal communication from a number of informants.
23. More detailed information in Makereti, 1938; Biggs, 1970.
24. Donne, 1927:223-4 cf. Thomson, 1859:284-5.
25. Wright (ed), 1959:22.
26. D'Urville in Wright, 1947:181-182.
27. Earle, 1909:195.
28. McNab (ed), Vol. 2, 1908:554.
29. Buchner, 1878:145-146.
30. Te Rake, 1926:57.
31. Makereti, 1938:101.
32. Biggs, 1970:16: Makereti's insistence that such attendants were not offered for sexual purposes must be regarded as the failure of a Christian Maori to understand the moral code of her forebears.

CHAPTER THREE - Continued

33. Makereti, 1938:103.
34. Cooper, 1871:523.
35. Mortimer, 1791.
36. Levy, 1976:130-141, 239; also Ledyard, 1964:132.
37. Roux in McNab, Vol. 2, 1908:369.
38. New Zealand Mail, 28 February, 1906:21.
39. Coutts, 1880.
40. Gilfillan MS, 1875.
41. Bunbury, 1879:356.
42. Bullock, 1897.
43. Travers, 1876:5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR - PART ONE

1. Unpublished materials of Raniera Kingi, in files of Kotahitanga o Ngati Whakaue.
2. Tapsell, 1972:87-88.
3. Kingi, op cit.
4. The (Native Lands) Act, 1862 established a Native Land Court in the form of panels of important chiefs in each district meeting under the chairmanship of a pakeha magistrate... it envisaged working through existing Maori leadership, determining, as far as possible, the various customary rights in the land, and agreeing, after exchange and arbitration of claims, who would share the grant of legal title. Ward, 1973:152.
5. Kingi, op cit.
6. Ward, 1976:289.
7. Komitinui o Rotorua embraced the main subtribes of Te Arawa, residing on the Rotorua lake shore. It dealt with matters pertaining to the Kotahitanga movement, a more national Maori sodality, and also with issues common to the hapu of the lakes region.
8. See Appendix for Copy of Agreement.
9. Rotorua Minute Book No. 1:344.
10. See Appendix for Copy of Act.
11. New Zealand Government Gazette, 1881:1267.
12. Kingi, op cit.
13. AJHR, 1882, No. 7:8-9.
14. Two petitions were presented to the government, one in 1928 (No. 55) and another in 1934 (No. 146), by Ngati Whakaue. Both begged clarification and relief in the matter of the administration of the leases, and subsequent purchase of the Pukeroa Oruawhata Block by the Government. In 1936, an inquiry was held, and R Jones, Chief Judge, submitted a report, the text of which is reprinted in the Appendix.
15. See Appendix.
16. New Zealand Government Gazette, 1883:375.
17. New Zealand Government Gazette, 1888:481.
18. Newest Guide, 1885:8-9.
19. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 46:110 and 510.
20. Jones Report, 1936, see Appendix.
21. Kingi, op cit.
22. Jones Report.
23. New Zealand Government Gazette, 1888:481.
24. The Vaile scrapbook is a folio scrapbook of pasted newspaper clippings of the period 1880-1900. Most of the entries are undated. It is in the Auckland Public Library.

CHAPTER FOUR - Continued

25. Tapsell, 1972:57.
26. Cassell's Picturesque Australasia, Vol. 1, 1889:92.
27. Spencer's Illustrated Guide, 1885:19.
28. Gordon-Cumming, 1881, cf. Large, 1882.
29. Kerry Nicholls, 1884:60.
30. Gathercole, 1975; Kaeppler, 1978.
31. Hayr's Tourist Guide, 1886:17 cf. Corkill, 1884(2):53.
32. Anonymous Guide, 1872:7.
33. Herries, 1882.
34. Payton, 1888:99.
35. Op. cit:105.
36. Vaile Notebook, August, 1886; Froude, 1885:256.
37. Addison, 1952:12.
38. Rotorua Minute Books, No. 3, 1882:231.
39. Corkill, 1885:12.
40. Spencer's Illustrated Guide, 1885:20.
41. Kerry Nicholls, 1884:86 cf. Corkill, 1884:61.
42. Senior, 1888:224.
43. Gordon Cumming, 1881; Herries, 1882; Large, 1882; Talbot, 1882; Kerry Nicholls, 1884.
44. Newest Guide, 1885:13-14.
45. Talbot, 1882.
46. Payton, 1888:122.
47. Gordon Cumming, 1881; Herries, 1882; Large, 1882.
48. Large, 1882; Herries, 1882.
49. Senior, 1880:222.
50. Payton, 1888:131.
51. Gordon Cumming, 1881(2):224.
52. Herries, 1882.
53. Spencer's Illustrated Guide, 1885.
54. Talbot, 1882.
55. Anonymous contributor to Talbot, 1882.
56. Williams, 1979:74.
57. Newset Guide, 1885:111.
58. Talbot, 1882:45.
59. Jenkin, 1970:115.

CHAPTER FOUR - Continued

60. Ibid:114, also personal communication.
61. Ibid:6, also personal communication.
62. Ibid:120.
63. Warbrick, 1934.
64. Ibid., also Tapsell, 1972:98.
65. Massey, n.d.:17.
66. Warbrick, 1934.
67. Massey, n.d.:18.
68. Warbrick, 1934.
69. New Zealand Herald 10-11 June, 1886, front page; Jenkin 1970; Graland, 1971.
70. Cowan, 1938.
71. Lacy, 1899; Dennan, 1968:17.
72. Harris, 1878:60, "Absurd Restriction"; the practise of conserving fowl. The European tourist discouraged this, even sneered at it.
73. Vaile Notebook.
74. Morton MS, 1878:11.
75. Senior, 1880:221.
76. Talbot, 1882:12.
77. Hot Lakes Chronicle and Tourists Journal was published from 1890 to 1900. Unfortunately, few copies have survived, and the material used herein are from the Malfroy scrapbooks of the Rotorua Museum archives. Hot Lakes Chronicle, November 1st, 1893.
78. Rotorua Minute Books No. 3:228.
79. Gordon Cumming, 1881; Cassells, 1889:92.
80. AJHR, G-1, 1885:44.
81. Kingi notes.
82. Corkill, 1888(3):12.
83. Bullock, 1897:15.
84. Brett, 1895:35.
85. A ribbon stretched across the tracts at the Rotorua Station was held on either side by lady prepresentatives of the Maori and pakeha community. They were Mrs Dansy (wife of the Postmaster), Miss Madge Malfroy (daughter of Jean Malfroy), and Misses Rihi Taekato and Mere Kanawa. Tapsell, 1972:116.
86. The Tuhourangi chief Hira - excerpt of address in H.L.C.
87. Mueller, as reported in H.L.C.
88. Bullock, 1897:13.
89. Ibid:15.

CHAPTER FOUR - Continued

90. Hot Lakes Chronicle.
91. Tapsell, 1972:52.
92. Cooper, 1851:186.
93. Langbridge and Edgecumbe, 1875:12.
94. Newest Guide, 1885:9-10.
95. Lands and Survey Department, 1897 (pamphlet).
96. Hot Lakes Chronicle and private communication.
97. Ibid.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Gilfillan, 1875; Couttes, 1878; Bunbury, 1879; Talbot, 1882; Payton, 1888 and Ward, 1973.
2. Bullock, 1897:13.
3. Ross, 1895:15.
4. Norton MS, 1878-86:26.
5. Corkill, 1884(2):68.
6. German Lady, 1877:25.
7. Moore, 1890:100.
8. Te Waiatua in A.J.H.R. G-1, 1885:45.
9. Ward, 1973:294.
10. Scott, 1975; Williams, 1969:39-42.
11. Williams, 1969:43.
12. Ibid:48.
13. Ibid:65.
14. Ward, 1973:305.
15. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, Vol.127:538. CXXVII (Nov. 12, 1903):538.
16. Ward, 1973:305.
17. Ngata in Loughnan, 1902:61-103.
18. Williams, 1969:12; Sinclair, 1976:192.
    Population Estimates, 1860 55,000
    " " 1896 40,000
    " " 1921 56,000
19. Tapsell, 1972:147, on pakeha population.
20. Letter by Ngapuia of Ngati Tuwharetoa, dated 30 September, 1887, cited in Ward, 1973:296.

CHAPTER NOTES: PART TWO

NOTES: KAINGA

1. Stafford, 1967:42.
2. Cowan, Auckland Star, 10 June, 1910.
3. N.Z. Official Yearbook, 1976:1030.
   Official Rotorua Visitors Guide, 1978:10.
4. Hot Lakes Chronicle, 14 November, 1894.
5. Daily Post, 8 November, 1974.
6. New Zealand Herald, 8 November, 1974.
   Auckland Star, 8 November, 1974.
7. New Zealand Herald, 9 November, 1974.
8. Daily Post, 8 November, 1974.
9. O'Neill, 1980.

NOTES: ENTERTAINMENT CHAPTER

1. Buck, 1952:238-252, 391-392; Best, 1976:85-109.
2. Andersen, 1934:305-364. Most of this is a reprint of Loughnan, 1902:61-133 and which in turn was written by Ngata, and Ngata, 1919:10-14.
3. Armstrong, 1964.
4. McLean, 1971.
5. Kaeppler, 1977:71; Youngerman, 1976:122.
6. Buck, 1953:250.
7. King, 1977.
8. Stirling and Salmond, 1976.
9. Beaglehole, 1955:569.
10. Quoted in Best, 1976:86.
11. Quoted in McLean, 1971:16.
12. Buck, 1952:391-392.
13. Bidwill, 1841:82.
14. Earle, 1909:62, also Thomson, 1859(1):127.
15. Markham, 1963:52.
16. Thomson, 1859:193.
17. Best, 1976:20.
18. Te Ponga and Puhihuia of Waikato, and Te Hahureremoa of Ngati Paoa.
19. Grey, 1971:54-57, also 1965:101-104.
20. Quoted from Maoris Had Audiences Yelling for More - in 1862, in Rotorua Public Library Vertical File, 1 May, 1978.
21. Mackrell, in New Zealand Listener, 28 October, 1978.
22. Guide to the Hot Lakes, 1872.
23. Holloway, MS.n.d.:142.
24. Buchner, 1878:143.
25. Bangury, 1879:359.
26. Talbot, 1882:16.
27. Wade, MS. 1886:n.p.
28. Buchner, ibid.
29. Herries, 1969.
30. Talbot, 1882:16, also Anonymous, 1889:8.
31. Lacy, 1899.
32. Senior, 1880:233.
33. Quoted in Andersen, 1934:322.
34. Ibid:342.

ENTERTAINMENT - Continued

35. Ibid:332.
36. Nicholas, 1817:317-318.
37. Gathercole, 1976; Kaeppler, 1978.
38. Thomson, 1859:196.
39. Haddon, 1901:217.
40. Maggie Papakura, 1905.
41. Herz, 1909:181-182.
42. Best, 1976:107.
43. New Zealand Mail poem, in Appendix.
44. Webb, 1949:55-56.
45. Makiha Hemana, Daily Post Interview, 1 December, 1970, front page.
46. Armstrong, 1973:6.
47. King, 1977:117.
48. Te Ao Hou, September, 1971, Vol. 36:63.
49. Railway Magazine, 1 March, 1930:53.
50. Andersen, 1934:361.
51. Ibid: 342.
52. Programme in writer's possession.
53. Andersen, 1934:332.
54. Kaeppler, 1977.
55. Daily Post article, 3 March, 1979:19. Twofold Aim in Sharing Maoritanga.
56. Correspondence in writer's possession.
57. Personal communication from informants; also Talbot, 1882, Anonymous, 1889, Lacy, 1899 and Webb, 1960.

NOTES: ARTS AND CRAFTS - CHAPTER THREE

1. Hamilton, 1901.
2. Roth, 1923.
3. Rowe, 1928.
4. Best, 1941.
5. Phillips, 1946.
6. Archey, 1955.
7. Barrow, 1969.
8. Barrow, 1964.
9. Phillips, 1972.
10. Neich, 1977.
11. Te Rangikaheke ms. 1852.
12. Buck, 1923 and 1924.
13. Buck, 1952.
14. Ngata, 1940.
15. Mead, 1961, 1968, 1969 and 1976.
16. Graburn, 1976.
17. McKean in Smith 1977:98.
18. Mav in Finney and Watson, 1975:132.
19. Deitch in Smith, 1977:184.
20. Swain in Smith, 1977:71.
21. Buck, 1952:177.
22. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1979:4.
23. Graburn, 1969:458.
24. Graburn, 1976:5.
25. Mead in Graburn, 1976:285.
26. Best, 1941.
27. Buck, 1949.
28. Rowe, 1928.
29. Hamilton, 1901.
30. Phillips, 1946 and 1972.
31. Mead, 1961.
32. Barrow, 1969.
33. Neich, 1977.
34. Best, 1898.
35. Buck, 1923 and 1924, also 1949.
36. Hamilton, 1901.

ARTS AND CRAFTS - Continued

37. Roth, 1923.
38. Mead, 1968.
39. Hopa, 1971.
40. Mead, 1969.
41. Ngata in Sutherland 1940:320-321.
42. Te Ao Hou, September, 1959:34.
43. Metge, 1976:76-77.
44. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1977:3.
45. The Maori Magazine, 1975(7):7.
46. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1977:3.
47. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1970:4.
48. Phillips, 1946:5.
49. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1977:4.
50. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1974:3.
51. Mead, 1968:44.
52. Mead, 1969:188.
53. Dansey, 1978:82.
54. N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report, 1977:4.
55. Table made up from N.Z.M.A.C.I. Reports of years indicated.

NOTES: WOMEN AND TOURISM - CHAPTER FOUR

1. Cottington, 1969.
2. Byrne Swain in Smith, 1977:71.
3. Naibavu and Schutz in Tupouniua *et al*. 1975:139.
4. Heuer, 1972.
5. Buck, 1952.
6. Best, 1929.
7. White, 1887.
8. Tregear, 1904.
9. Makereti, 1938.
10. Biggs, 1970.
11. Mahuika in King, 1977:64.
12. Karetu in King, 1978:67.
13. Johnson in Taylor, 1947.
14. Russell, ms, 1868:27.
15. Meade in Taylor, 1947:441.
16. St John in Taylor, 1947.
17. Cooper, 1871:523; Mair, 1923:89; Buchner, 1878.
18. Mair, 1923:89.
19. Ngata in Loughnan, 1902:96-97, 130-131.
20. Newest Guide, 1885-11.
21. Corkill, 1884:10-85; Payton, 1888:12.
22. Bullock, 1897:15.
23. Dennan, 1968:48.
24. *Ibid*: 49
25. *Ibid*: 74.
26. Poole, 1969.
27. Dennan, 1968.
28. *Ibid*: 74.
29. *N.Z.M.A.C.I. Report*, 1976:4.
30. *Daily Post*, 10 September, 1977, front page.
31. Meade in Taylor, 1947:441.
32. *Australian Pix Magazine*, 22 July, 1939. The underlined description is mine - verbally detailing a magazine photograph that could not be copied.
33. Main, 1976:74.
34. Stirling and Salmon, 1976:70.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Ngata in Sutherland, 1940:331.
   Cohen, 1972.
2. Turner and Ash, 1975; Finney and Watson, 1975.
   Farrell, 1977; Smith, 1977.
3. Finney and Watson, 1975; Tupouniua et al. 1975;
   Farrell, 1977.
4. Ibid., also Burkart and Medlik, 1974;
   Bryden, 1973.
5. Mata'afa, 1971; Plog, 1972; Turner and Ash, 1975;
   Finney and Watson, 1975; Tupouniua et al. 1975; Farrell, 1977.
6. Tupouniua, 1972.
7. Free Press Rotorua, 27, September, 1977.
8. O'Neill, 1980.
9. New Zealand Herald Report, 29 December, 1980.
10. Noronha, 1977.
11. Knox, 1978, 12 Kent in Finney, 1975:169.
13. Fujii et al. 1978.
14. Hiller in Finney and Watson, 1975:246.
15. Part of a speech presented by Te Arawa chiefs, printed in New Zealand Herald, 26 August, 1907:6. See Appendix for typescript of text and report.

GLOSSARY: Maori words used in the text.

The brief explanations given relate specifically to the text - in other contexts their meanings may vary.

A

ahika	keeping the fires warm, and thus sustaining use and occupation of land.
aitua	accident; bad luck.
Aotearoa	New Zealand.
ariki	aristocratic person; a paramount chief.
aukati	the boundary line behind which Tawhiao, the Waikato King and his forces and supporters gathered their strength after the Land Wars and subsequent confiscations.

H

haka	a posture dance.
haka powhiri	a dance of welcome.
haka waiata	incidental dance accompanied by chant.
hangi	an earth oven to cook food by steaming. In Rotorua, it also describes the thermal "hot boxes" used in cooking.
hapu	a subtribe within a larger tribal group.
harakeke	flax.
hautonga	south wind.
hongi	touching of noses, mingling of breath in greeting.
hopehope	comic, sometimes erotic, hip movement in dance.
hui	a gathering of Maori, usually kinfolk, for a specific purpose, such as weddings, death rituals, or meetings, an assembly.

I

ihi	spiritual essence, energy.
inanga	whitebait.
iwi	literally "bones"; the larger tribal group.

K

kai	food.
kai arahi	person who guides one along the way.
kainga	unfortified settlement, village.
kaitaka	wrap-around garment, or cloak.
kai whaikorero	orator.
kaiwhakairo	carver.
kakahi	fresh water shellfish.
kakahu	woven cloak
kanikani	contemporary dance.
karanga	women's chant of welcome.
karengo	edible seaweed.
karurewha	runny, discharging eyes.
kaumatua	elder.
kauri	a large native forest tree.
kawa	protocol.
kete	kit; basket.
kete pingao	kit woven from pingao.
kete whakairo	patterned flax kit.
kiekie	creeping vine that grows on large forest trees.
kina	sea-eggs.
Kingitanga	the Maori King Movement established to counter British Nineteenth Century colonialism.
Komiti-nui-o-Rotorua	- consortium of tribal decision makers of Waiariki, around 1880-1890.
kopikopi	dance movement similar to hopehope.
korimako	the bellbird.
koro	grandfather, endearing term for old man.

koroheke	male elder(s).
koroua	fresh water crayfish.
korowai	handwoven cloak, made only from flax.
kowhai	native tree with golden bell-like flowers.
kowhaiwhai	rafter painting.
kuia	grandmother; old lady.
kumara	sweet potato.

M

maihi	carved gables of meeting house.
maipi	a long shafted wooden weapon.
mako	shark; shark's tooth.
mana	prestige, chiefly or spiritual power and status.
manuhiri	visitor, usually referring only to Maori.
manuhiri tuarangi	- visitors from far away.
manuka	scrubby bush, "Australian teatree".
marae	plaza before the meeting house; more recently used to describe the entire complex of meeting house, dining room, and plaza.
matai	a large native forest tree.
matakite	second sight; prophecy.
matimati	fingernails.
mauri	the life principle of a person, object or place.
mihi	greetings.
moko	facial tatoo; more recently used to describe the chin ornamentation of women.
morihana	Morrison! Golden carp introduced by Morrison the Publican in the 1880s.

N

noa	clean, uncontaminated, neutralizing of tapu.

Ng

nga uri o Tamatekapua	descendants of Tamatekapua.
ngawha	hot springs or pool.

O

onioni	erotic hip movement in dance.
ope	group, usually travellers.

P

pa	forified village.
Pai marire	Millenial religion founded by Te Ua Haumene during the Taranaki Land Wars.
pakeha	European.
paki	slap
Papaiouru	Forecourt plaza of Tamatekapua.
papakainga	village to which one actually "belongs" - "the sustaining earth".
papakohatu	grave stone, rocky ground.
pari	post European female garment, covering chest, like a bodice.
pari taniko	traditionally handwoven bodice.
pataka	food store-house.
patu	hand weapon.
paua	abalone shellfish.
peruperu	dance form of men.
pikopiko	small edible fern fronds.
pingao	a yellow-stemmed grass that grows in sand dunes.
pirori	roll along or twirl around.
piupiu	ceremonial dance skirt, made from flax.
poi	ball on string, used in dance. Also dance form itself.
poi waeroa	ball on long string, also dance form.
pounamu	greenstone.

poupou	carved panel in meeting house.
poutokomanawa	centre pole in meeting house.
puhi	high ranking, unmarried young woman. Often a ceremonial leader in social activities.
puhitoroa	albatross feather.
pukana	dance gesture, popping or rolling the eyeballs.
putea	common fund, like a "kitty".

R

Rahui	Maori Reserve Land, absolutely inalienable.
rahui muru	conservation area.
rangatira	chiefly person, tribal leader.
rapaki	wrap around garment worn by men.
raupo	bullrushes.
ruapeka	lagoon in Ohinemutu.
runanga	decisionmaking tribal assembly.

T

taha	side
taiaha	spear-like close combat hand weapon; shaft with carved head.
taipo	devil
takiwa	place, domain.
Takiwa Waiariki	the Place of the Waters of the Gods.
tangi	to wail, cry.
tangihanga	death rituals.
taniko	weaving technique, and product.
taonga	treasure.
tapeka	bandolier.
tapu	sanctity; awesomeness, contaminating and fatal influences of spirit world.
taro	a plant cultivated throughout Polynesia for its edible corm.

te ao pakeha	the white New Zealand world.
Te Arawatanga	being an Arawa and what it means.
tekoteko	carved human-like figure.
te reo rangatira	chiefly language, i.e. Maori.
te taha Maori	the Maori side or perspective.
tino	essence.
tipare	head band.
tirakau	sticks used in games and dancing.
titi	mutton bird. .
tititorea	stick game done to chant.
toetoe	sedge grass.
toheroa	a large shellfish.
tohu	sign, omen.
tohunga	sage, priestly expert, shaman.
tokotoko	walking staff.
totara	a large native forest tree, ideal wood for carving and construction.
touretua	dexterous game accompanied by chant.
tukutuku	lattice weaving.
tuna	eel.
tupapaku	corpse.
turangawaewae	locus of a Maori's kin affiliations, "a place to stand".
turihi	tourist.
tutamawahine	virile stance for women dancers.
tutungarahi	men's posture dance.
tuwhara	rough flax mat; originally used like a table cloth, to eat off and discard.

U

urupa	cemetary.

utu	payment or revenge.

W

waharoa	large carved gate onto a marae.
wahi tapu	sacred place.
waiariki	"waters of the gods"; thermal springs, baths.
waiata	song, chant.
waiata a ringa	action song.
waiata kori	dance form with chant.
waka	canoe.
wakahuia	treasure box, special container.
waka taua	war canoe.
waka wairua	ghost canoe.
wero	ceremonial dance of challenge.
wiri	quivering of the hands.

WH

whaikorero	oratory.
whakapapa	genealogy.
whakatuwaewae	male dance movement.
whanau	extended family.
whanaungatanga	kinship, family bonds.
whangai	adoption, or adopted person or adoptive parents.
whare	house.
wharekai	dining room.
wharenui	large house.
whare manuhiri	guest house.
whare pora	Best's notion of a house of weavers.
whare puni	sleeping house.
whare rangatira	chiefly line; elaborate house.
whare runanga	meeting house.

whare tapere	entertainment house.
wharetupuna	ancestral house.
whare wananga	university, house of learning.
wharewhakairo	carved meeting house.
whariki	fine floor mats.
whatu	weaving technique.

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CONCERT PROGRAMMES

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Huia Maori Entertainers.

Taiporutu Club.

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New Zealand Maori Cultural Theatre.

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Appendix A

AGREEMENT FOR A TOWNSHIP AT OHINEMUTU BETWEEN FRANCIS DART FENTON FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND AND THE CHIEFS OF NGATIWHAKAUE NGATIRANGIWEWEHI AND NGATIUENUKUKOPAKO THE SUPPOSED OWNERS OF THE SOIL

1. THE LAND from the West end of Te Pukeroa to Paurenga Stream, and from the Lake Rotorua up to the Mountains must be investigated and the ownership thereof certified by the Native Land Court of New Zealand excluding the Native Village of Ohinemutu as hereafter defined. With this view a claim defining the boundaries must be immediately sent into the Registrar of the Native Land Court.

2. IMMEDIATELY on receipt of the Claim Mr Smith, Chief Surveyor will survey the land comprised therein. As soon as possible afterwards the Court will sit at Ohinemutu.

3. AS SOON AS the land is surveyed Mr Smith will set off the Town in the manner partially indicated to Te Amohau and the other Chiefs this morning. The particulars of the Town are as follows:

   (i) The site of the present Maori village between Te Pukeroa and the Lake will be left as it is a "Kainga Maori"; but the present road is to be widened if necessary and carried on into the Town.

   (ii) Te Pukeroa to be a Reserve for Public Recreation under the management of certain Pakehas and Maoris to be nominated by the Committee.

   (iii) The persons who own pieces of land on Te Pukeroa are to be compensated by allotments in the Town, te Komiti Nui of Rotorua will arrange these exchanges.

   (iv) The Roman Catholic Church will receive a section of the Town as compensation for their claims on Pukeroa.

   (v) An experienced Doctor is to be stationed in the Town.

   (vi) All the Medicinal waters within the claim shall be Public Reserves and under the management of the Doctor who may make laws regulating their use.

4. ALL the streets of the Town are to be conveyed to the Queen.

5. LAND is to be given for a water course to bring the water of Utuhina River to the Town free of charge.

6. MAORI sick are to be admitted to the Hospital without payment.

7. AS SOON AS the Town is of sufficient importance a Resident Magistrate, appointed by the Government, is to be stationed here. The Resident Magistrate, the Doctor and a Native appointed by the Committee shall be a Licensing Board for Public Houses, to the exclusion of all other Licensing Authorities but until these persons are appointed the existing authorities may act.

   The Allotments in the principal streets of the town to be a quarter acre around the margin of the Town to be larger. The streets to be

one chain and a half wide. Reserves to be made for Court House, Telegraph Offices, Schools, Hospitals and other Public objects.

The Town to be drained into Puarenga Stream.

8. THE ALLOTMENTS of the Town will be let by Auction in Auckland by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, for a term of ninety-nine years, rent payable half yearly, first half year's rent to be paid in advance on the signing of the lease. The Commissioner of Crown Lands shall sign the leases on behalf of the Native Owners. The first half year's rent will be received by the Commissioner of Crown Lands on the signing of the lease. All subsequent rents will be received by him or some Officer appointed by him for the purpose. These Officers must hand over the rents after deducting cost of advertisements to some person to be appointed by the Committee for the purpose. If the Maori owners desire to have their pieces partitioned the subdivisions must follow the lines of the Sections. If the Town or any part thereof is so apportioned the Commissioner or his Appointee shall hand over the rents to the several owners.

9. THE MAORIS shall not trouble the European lessees with business about the leases, but shall go to the Commissioner or his local representative.

10. NONE of the land within this Claim shall be sold by the Natives but when the Native Land Court is sitting it shall be asked to tie up the land so that it cannot be sold or mortgaged. If hereafter the owners desire to let other portions of the claim outside the Town the land shall be cut into sections of not exceeding forty acres. These shall be dealt with as previously provided for the Town Sections.

11. FORTY ACRES shall be devoted for a Cemetery; the site to be fixed by the Chief Surveyor. The present Cemetery is to be closed.

12. THE COST of the Survey is to be paid out of the first rents.

13. NO LAND within the Block is to be rated until leased. Then the Lessee shall become liable to rates.

14. NO LAND within the Native Village excluded shall be let or sold hereafter to the Pakeha. This provision is not to effect in any way the supposed rights of Europeans now settled in Ohinemutu. The Provisions of this Agreement also shall not apply to those Pakehas on that piece of land.

15. ALL Licensing fees and rates are to be expended for the benefit and improvement and the planting of the reserves of the Town by the three persons who have been mentioned.

16. THE principle of the law of trespass shall be that the owner of animals must fence them in and the owner of land is not required to fence them out. All animals may be impounded if trespassing on land whether fenced or not.

'R. Whititera Te Waiatua'
'F.D. Fenton for the Government'

Appendix B

THIS IS AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN HENRY TACY CLARKE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND AND THE CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF NGATI WHAKAUE WHOSE NAMES HAVE BEEN ADMITTED BY THE NATIVE LAND COURT

1. ALL those portions of the Agreement made on the 25 November 1880 between Francis Dart Fenton, and Chiefs of Ngati Whakaue that have not yet been fulfilled are to be carried out. Those obligations on the Government by the Government, those obligations on the Natives by the Natives.

2. THE THIRD sub-section of Section 3 of the Agreement of the 25 November, 1880, where it says "the persons who own pieces of land on Pukeroa are to be compensated by allotments in the Town" is to be cancelled, also the words of part of Section 8 when it says "If the Maori owners desire to have their pieces partitioned the subdivision must follow the line of the Sections. If the Town of any part thereof is so apportioned the Commissioner of his appointee shall hand over the rents to the several owners", shall also be cancelled and the following substituted.

3. THE MONEY accruing from the rent of the Town shall be spread over the whole Block called Pukeroa Oruawhata Block excepting that part of it called Tarewa awarded by the Court to Ngati Tuara and Ngati Kea.

4. ALL the Hapus or individuals who shall be found to be owners within the above Block shall receive a share of the money so accruing in proportion to their ascertained claims within the Block.

5. THE money for rent for the Town now in the hands of the Government shall be given to the six Hapus of Ngati Whakaue - the names of those Hapus are Te Rorooterangi, Tunohopu, Te Rangiwaho, Pukaki, Hurunga and Taeotu - the persons who are to receive the money are the Chiefs mentioned in the List hereto affixed, each respective hapy its own receivers who shall sign the necessary receipts for same.

6. THE above Section is only intended as a temporary arrangement when the claims of hapus or individuals within the Blocks have been investigated then it will be known who have established claims and who have not. The person who has not established any claim will receive no money hereafter.

7. WHEN the claims to the lands within the block have been investigated then will be known the proportioned claims of hapus or individuals, those who have larger claims will have larger shares and those who have smaller claims will have smaller shares, and the money will be divided proportionately in accordance therewith.

8. THE investigation of the Court for sub-divisions within the Block must not be long delayed. It will be for the Government to arrange this so that the work be soon completed.

The Thermal-Springs Districts Act, 1881

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THERMAL-SPRINGS DISTRICTS OF THE COLONY.

WHEREAS it would be advantageous to the colony, and beneficial to the Maori owners of the land in which natural mineral springs and thermal waters exist, that such localities should be opened to colonization and made available for settlement: And it is expedient that powers should be given to the Governor enabling him to make arrangements for effecting that object:

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. The Short Title of this Act is "The Thermal-Springs Districts Act, 1881."

2. The Governor may issue proclamations from time to time defining districts of the colony to be subject to this Act, being localities in which there are considerable numbers of the ngawha, waiariki, or hot or mineral springs, lakes, rivers, or waters, and from time to time may vary the boundaries or abolish any of such districts.

3. After the publication in the *Gazette* of any Proclamation defining a district as aforesaid, this Act shall be in force therein, and it shall not be lawful for any person other than Her Majesty to acquire any estate or interest in Native Land therein, except by virtue of or through the means prescribed or permitted by this Act.

4. Any such proclamation shall supersede the operation within the district of any statute at variance with this Act, or with any Act incorporated or partly incorporated herewith, or with any regulations made thereunder.

5. As soon as may be after the issue of any Proclamation under this Act, and after the land has passed through the Native Land Court, the Governor may make arrangements with the Native proprietors for rendering available the territory of the district for settlement by Europeans, and he may from time to time exercise any of the powers following within the district:—

(1) Treat and agree for the gratuitous cession, or for the purchase, or for the lease of any land which he may deem necessary for the purposes of this Act, and enter into any contract which he may think fit;
(2) Act as agent for the Native proprietors in dealing with intending lessees;
(3) Treat and agree with the Native proprietors for the use and enjoyment by the public of all mineral or other springs, lakes, rivers, and waters;
(4) Lay out and survey towns, suburban allotments, and farms;
(5) Make, stop up, divert, widen, or alter any bridges, ways, or water-courses;
(6) Exercise powers of compulsorily taking land under "The Public Works Act, 1876," for the purposes of water-supply, or for providing outlet for sewage;
(7) Exchange any reserve or public land for other land to be dedicated to the same or different public objects;
(8) Execute all deeds and assurances that may be necessary for effectually executing the powers by this Act conferred upon him, and such deeds and assurances shall be valid and effectual against Her Majesty and all persons whomsoever.

6. The Governor also may, with the consent of the Native proprietors, to be ascertained in such manner as he may think fit, do any of the following things:—

(1) From time to time set apart and dedicate any of the land within a district for a park or domain, or for any specific purpose of public amusement or recreation, and annul any such setting apart and dedication;
(2) Set apart land as sites for schools and places of worship;
(3) Set apart cemeteries, and close burying-places already existing;
(4) Build any lodge, museum, or other ornamental building;
(5) Appropriate any of the land for squares, gardens, or open places, and leave any part thereof for yards or courts to be attached to any houses agreed to be leased;
(6) Enclose and plant any of the aforesaid places;
(7) Manage and control the use of all mineral springs, hot springs, ngawha, waiariki, lakes, rivers, and waters, and fix and authorize the collection of fees for the use thereof;
(8) Erect pump-rooms, baths, bath-rooms, and other buildings for the convenient use of the baths, springs, and lakes.

7. By Order in Council the Governor may from time to time make and enforce orders and regulations for the management, preservation, disposition, and care of land so set apart as aforesaid, and the government of all persons using or frequenting the same, and impose a penalty not exceeding five pounds for a breach of any such order or regulation.

8. A person authorized by the Governor shall receive the license fees, fees for springs or baths, and all other revenue, and shall expend the same in the improvement and maintenance of the town or district whence the fees and revenue arise.

9. "The Native District Regulation Act, 1858," is incorporated with and forms part of this Act.

10. Until any town established under this Act shall come under the operation of the ordinary municipal law of the colony, the Governor may appoint a Board, not exceeding five in number, to administer its affairs, and may delegate to it all the powers and authorities vested in him by this Act (except the power of appointing an agent or attorney for the execution of deeds). The accounts of the aforesaid Board shall be forwarded every half-year to the Native Minister, and shall be audited by the Auditor-General.

11. Any lease, not exceeding twenty-one years from its commencement, of land of which the lessee was in actual occupation on the twenty-fifth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and eighty may, notwithstanding anything in this Act contained, be validated by the Native owners, although such lease was made before a title to such land was obtained by the Native owners through the Native Land Court. This section shall only apply to the land at Ohinemutu situate between the Lake Rotorua on the north and the road from the Utuhina River to Mrs. Morrison's house on the south, and between the Utuhina River on the

west and a line from Mrs. Morrison's house due north to the said lake on the east.

12. If the terms of any arrangement with the Native proprietors are such that the land for the use of settlers is to be disposed of by lease, the Governor may, with the assent of the Native proprietors, to be ascertained as he may think fit, do the following things:–

(1) Manage and administer such letting or disposal, but always by public auction or tender;
(2) By writing under his hand authorize any person to sign deeds on behalf of Native proprietors, or a Native tribe, found by the Native Land Court to be owners of the land dealt with; and his execution of any deed or behalf of such proprietors or tribe shall vest in the lessee the estate described in his deed;
Deeds shall be translated into Maori before execution, and a copy given to the Native proprietors or one of them;
(3) For the convenience of lessees, appoint one or more receivers of rents, whose receipts shall be effective discharges;
(4) Make regulations for the payment of expenses of the management of the property and the collection of rents, and for the payment or division of such rents, and for the places, times, and manner of payment to the Native proprietors;
(5) Do any other thing necessary for conferring a valid and peaceful title upon a lessee in conformity with the terms of his lease.

13. Nothing in this Act shall abridge or affect the duties, powers, or jurisdiction of the Native Land Court, or the liability of lessees of land, within a district constituted under this Act, to the payment of stamp or other duties payable in respect of land whereof the title is derived through the Native Land Court.

14. Until otherwise ordered by the General Assembly, this Act shall be in force within the Counties of Tauranga and East Taupo only.

Appendix D

The Jones Report 1936 as recorded verbatim by Stafford, Te Arawa, Reeds, 1967

Problems of Township Leases

THE SETTLEMENT OF A SEPARATE TOWNSHIP of Rotorua was not undertaken without a certain amount of opposition, particularly from those who had business interests in the village of Ohinemutu. The objections were, however, eventually overcome, and in due course the township was laid out and a considerable area sold by auction at extremely high prices. The enthusiasm of the original purchasers died soon after they had taken possession of their land, and this in later years was the basis of dispute between the original Maori owners and the Government. Two petitions were presented to the Government, one in 1928 (No. 55) and another in 1934 (No. 146), praying for relief with respect to the administration and subsequent purchase of the Crown of the Pukeroa-Oruawhata block forming the Rotorua Township.

An inquiry into these petitions was held by the Native Land Court, and in 1936 R. N. Jones, the Chief Judge, submitted to the Native Minister the following report which the Court had compiled on these matters.[1] The report outlines fully the initial steps taken and the development of the Township of Rotorua.

"The Court begs to submit the following report of the inquiry held by it relative to the above petitions.

"Petition No. 55 of 1928 alleged that the Native owners of the Pukeroa-Oruawhata Block were entitled to the bath fees received by the Crown in respect of the reserves for thermal purposes at Rotorua on the ground that the land had not been paid for; that the consideration of £8,250 mentioned in the deeds of purchase for the Rotorua Township was quite inadequate, and that the relative interests of the owners had never been validly defined. At an inquiry held by the Court in March and April, 1930, it was admitted on behalf of the petitioners that the thermal reserves were a gift by the Natives to the Crown for the public benefit. The petitioners therefore made no further claim to the bath fees.

"Petition No. 146 of 1934 alleged that the purchase of the town by the Crown was a breach of trust, and that the sale should be declared null and void and the land revested in the Native owners or, alternatively, that compensating damages should be paid to such owners. The petition incidentally refers to the income received from the baths to show that it totalled more than the sum paid for the acquisition of the township. It also questions the validity of the relative interests.

"There seems, therefore, two main heads upon which it is necessary for the Court to report:–

(1) The administration of leasing the township on behalf of the Natives;
(2) The Crown's purchase of the township.

[1]Copy held by Rotorua City Council.

Part I – As to the Leases under the Thermal-Springs Act.

"In order to understand the position, knowledge of the circumstances of the formation of the township is necessary.

"In the year 1880 difficulties arose owing to the fact that certain persons at Rotorua entered into tenancies with the Native owners of the land despite the fact that its title had never been investigated. Several Europeans were able to negotiate for occupationary tenures without a legal basis. Disputes arose between these tenants and their Native landlords giving rise to criminal prosecution for forcible entry and the like. The Government on its part was extremely anxious that the asset of these natural wonders should be fully exploited in the interest of visitors, and that legal tenures should, if possible, be provided so as to ensure suitable accommodation.

"The Government approached Chief Judge Fenton, who had the confidence of the Natives, and requested him to negotiate with the object of securing some fixity of tenure. He was, if possible, to obtain a cession, or a long-term lease to the Crown of sufficient land to form a township. If, however, the Natives would neither sell nor lease, then he was to endeavour to arrange that a town might be laid out and leased by the Crown for their benefit, also for the use of the thermal springs and waters. The records show that the Government was prepared to agree to almost any terms which would effectively render the lake country more agreeable and attractive to visitors than hitherto.

"Chief Judge Fenton accordingly met the Natives in November 1880, and later he reported that 'the Natives pretty well put themselves in my hands with the exception of not permitting cession to the Crown'. Save for their steadfast opposition to sale of the freehold either to the Crown or to private individuals he found the Natives tractable and reasonable to deal with. On 25th November 1880, he entered into an arrangement with the representative Native chiefs which provided for the surveying and laying-out of the Township of Rotorua on its present site; and for the disposal of the sections by way of 99-year leases through the agency of the Crown. The arrangement also provided for ample thermal reserves, a recreation-ground, sites for public offices, and other reserves. These together with all streets required were to become vested in the Crown for the public benefit. Chief Judge Fenton explained that the leading ideas in his mind were:–

(1) Fixity of tenure over a long period;
(2) Authority over the thermal springs;
(3) Control of hotels and boardinghouses;
(4) Sole supervision of the layout of the town;
(5) Exceptional local government;
(6) Devotion of sufficient suburban land for farming purposes.

"It was recognised that these matters would eventually require legislative authority.

"One of the first decisions arising out of the arrangement was to have the Native title investigated so as to know with what persons the Government had to deal. The land was surveyed and an application for investigation of title lodged. On the 28th June 1881, the Native Land Court made an order that the Ngatiwhakaue tribe were the owners of the Te Pukeroa-Oruawhata No. 1 Block. This was insufficient to create a title, as the law required the names of individuals to be recorded. It was, however, useful in limiting the ownership to that tribe as between the several claimants. The Government sought to obtain confirmation of the arrangement of 1880 from some of the members of the tribe, and on the 20th November 1881, an agreement with a section of that tribe was entered into. From that date the Government evidently considered it had authority to act. The title was pushed to completion and on the 27th April 1882, a certificate of title under the Native Land Court Act, 1880, was ordered to be issued in favour of 295 Natives, being members of Ngatiwhakaue tribe with the relative interests undefined.

"Meantime the Thermal-Springs District Act, 1881, came into operation on the 24th September 1881. Although that Act does not mention the 1880 arrangement it was doubtless intended to embrace it. The preamble recites that 'it would be advantageous to the colony and beneficial to the Maori owners of land in which the natural mineral springs and thermal waters exist that such localities should be opened to colonization and made available for settlement'. The Act provides that the Governor may proclaim districts in which the Act shall operate. The fifth section enacts that as soon as any Native land within the district has passed through the Court the Governor may make arrangements with the Native proprietors for rendering the land available for settlement by Europeans, and grants certain powers. Of these, the only ones which concern the present inquiry authorise the Crown to:–

(1) Act as agent for the Native proprietors in dealing with intending lessees;
(2) Execute all deeds and assurances that might be necessary.

"The twelfth section provides that where the arrangements with the Native proprietors are such that the land is to be disposed of for settlement by leases, the Governor might, with the assent of the proprietors (to be ascertained as he might think proper), do certain things – namely, to:–

(1) Manage the letting of the land;
(2) Authorise the execution of deeds of lease;
(3) Appoint receivers to give good discharges to tenants for the rent;
(4) Make regulations for the collection and distribution of rents.

"Following up the passing of the 1881 statute the Pukeroa-Oruawhata Block was by proclamation dated 12th October 1881, defined and declared to be a district under the Act (*Gazette*, 1881, page 1267). In *Gazette*, 1882, p.263, the appointment of Daniel Austin Tole to execute leases and receive rents is notified. The appointment, however, does not refer to any particular land, and the Court has been unable to discover any regulation made under section 12 (4) of the Act.

"A township was laid out called Rotorua, and on 7th March 1882, shortly before the final order of the Court, leases for a term of ninety-nine years were submitted to public auction. In order to obtain the best rentals the officers of the Crown left no stone unturned. The auction was extensively advertised in New Zealand and Australia and, in addition to these

advertisements, the Government printed by command a 36-page pamphlet with a series of maps. The result was that the auction proved a great success from a pecuniary point of view, and brought rentals much beyond the upsets. A sum of £2,750.10s. annual rental was thus obtained, the half of this (less £34) being paid in as the first half-year's rent. A full list of the tenants appears in 1882 Parliamentary Paper, Legislative Council No. 7. When the second half-year's rent fell due the tenants were not so anxious to pay. The Commissioner reported in November 1882, that no less than twenty-four lessees had failed to take up their leases, and that only twenty-five out of eighty-four tenants had paid the current half-year's rent, leaving a sum of £1,034.5s. then in arrear.

"On 26th February 1883, nearly twelve months after the leases were auctioned, Mr. Henry Tacy Clarke, on behalf of the Government entered into a further agreement with the Natives which purported to modify the arrangement of 25th November 1880, in some respects, and also to appoint receivers of the rent for payment to the Native proprietors. It is difficult to see where the power to appoint receivers came from, but the owners appeared to have raised no objection to its adoption.

"The first payment of rent to the Natives took place in May 1883. A sum of £1,400 (out of £2,014.15s. collected at that date) was paid to the Native receivers appointed by the agreement. The fact of only £2,014.15s. being collected shows that the rent of the March 1883 quarter must have again fallen behind as the rent for nearly three half-years would be over £4,000. This left nearly £2,000 in arrear.

"On the 28th March 1883 (*Gazette*, page 375) a Board of Management for the Township was appointed, and on 2nd April 1883 (*Gazette*, page 481), the Pukeroa Hill was proclaimed as a park under the administration of that Board, and apparently some £200 per annum rent that had hitherto been paid by tenants to the Natives became thereunder payable to that Board and not to the Natives.

"On the 19th April 1883, the Commissioner reported to the Attorney-General, who was then resident in Auckland, that he had been instructed to take steps to recover outstanding rents. The position as placed before the Attorney-General was that: Eighty-four lessees had paid up the first instalment of rent, sixty-one had duly signed their leases, twenty-three had not taken up their leases, and only forty-three had paid the second instalment of rent. Apparently there was a general desire by the lessees to escape from responsibility for their leases, as, according to *Hansard*, Vol. 46, pages 100 and 510, the European tenants had formed themselves into a Rotorua Leaseholders Defence Association and had on 27th July 1883, obtained a legal opinion that the whole transaction was void, and that the lessees could not be compelled to pay rent.

"In August 1883, the Thermal-Springs District Amendment Act, 1883, was introduced into the Upper House, and finally passed into law on 8th September 1883. Meanwhile by memorandum of 18th August 1883, the Auditor and Controller-General had directed the responsible Minister's attention to what seemed to be a complete failure in the punctual collection of these rents. The Auditor-General expressed the opinion that there could be no doubt that in equity the Government was responsible to the Native owners for the rentals and that they ought for that reason to be recovered with more than usual punctuality. 'The arrears', said he, 'considering the short term the account had been opened were enormous, and indicated a system which if continued would be ruinous.'

"This memorandum was returned to the Auditor-General with the following minute by the Attorney-General:-

> There were several legal difficulties in reference to the Rotorua lands but as these have been removed by an Act of last session I see no reason why there should not be more punctuality in future. 21/9/83.

"On 4th October 1883, the Commissioner was instructed to take proceedings at once for the recovery of all arrears. The Controller and Auditor-General again complained on 18th December 1883, pointing out what the Hon. Mr. Whitaker had said about more punctuality in the future, and continued, 'arrears still amounted to the sum of £3,236, of which a good deal will never be recovered at all'.

"On the Commissioner being telegraphed as to the position he replied that the solicitor attending to the matter had certain doubts, and proposed to confer with Mr. Whitaker on his return from Australia. Apparently legal steps were eventually taken against one tenant, as on 31st January 1884, the Commissioner reported that the District Court Judge had given judgment for the defendant upon technical grounds. The judgment was followed by an appeal to the Supreme Court which was successful. A re-hearing by the District Court followed and finally, on 24th December 1884, the Commissioner reported that judgment had been given in favour of the Natives. It is hardly necessary to say that during the currency of these legal proceedings, which are in the nature of a test case, the rent fell still further into arrears.

"In addition, some £80 costs were incurred. It is interesting to note that in the following August a proposition was made on behalf of the defendant in that case to pay £20 if he received a full release – otherwise bankruptcy was threatened. The Commissioner reported that the rent due by this tenant to 7th September 1885 was £240, and he thought it useless to proceed. On 8th September 1885, the Minister authorised the acceptance of £20 in full settlement. Thus, in this case the Natives lost £300, including the £80 costs which was deducted from their other rents.

"On 28th January 1885, a deputation of the lessees had waited upon the Minister of Lands, who was also Native Minister, at Auckland. The latter pointed out to the deputation that the land involved was not Crown land but that they (the Government) were simply in the position of trustees. The Natives had handed over to the Government a certain quantity of land and the Natives expected to receive the rent. The Government were in the position where they were compelled either to take some action to maintain what they had done or they were placing themselves in the position of having deceived the Natives. In conclusion he said the Government had absolutely no power to break the contract. Another tenant saw him on 6th February 1885, to whom a similar reply was given.

"Evidently it was suggested that to surrender the leases would be one way out of the difficulty. The Minister of Lands asked for the opinion of the Solicitor-General as to whether the leases could be surrendered before

the end of the 99-years term and whether it would be necessary to obtain the consent of the Native proprietors to each such surrender. The opinion given was that the leases could be surrendered but not without the consent of the lessors, they being the persons in whom the reversion remained vested. On the very day that this opinion was received, the Commissioner telegraphed from Auckland that the rents were coming in very slowly and nothing short of legal proceedings would be successful in enforcing payment.

"This shows the difficulties the Commissione , who was in control of the leases, had to contend with. He had no regulations to guide him nor any Land Board to solve his problems. Every proposed step had to be reported to Head Office and from there would be referred to the Minister of Lands. Whilst no doubt each thought he was deciding for the best in the interests of the Natives, it was difficult to exercise that due diligence and care in the management of the trust estate which was essential and which men of ordinary prudence and vigilance would use in the management of their own private affairs. The Commissioner might, and often did, have very definite opinions as to what should be done, but being subject to the rulings of Head Office he apparently considered it necessary to refer every step to that office and follow the directions given implicitly. Out of this an extraordinary position arose. Surrenders being ruled out as impracticable, Head Office suggested as alternatives that re-entry be made for non-payment of rent. The Minister concurred, and said there should be no delay as the township was being injured by the non-paying, non-improving lessees.

"The Commissioner was thereupon instructed to take legal opinion as to whether re-entry could be legally made for the non-payment; and, if so, to inform the tenants that *if they would pay up arrears to within two months the Commissioner would be prepared to re-enter for non-payment of rent.* The Commissioner thereupon submitted a circular letter in the following form:–

Crown Lands Office, Auckland,
March, 1885.

Sir,–I beg to give you notice that if within days from the date hereof you will pay up the arrears of rent (£), due by you to 7th January, 1885, upon your Rotorua leases as noted in the schedule below, I shall be prepared to re-enter for default in payment and thus relieve you from further liability.

In the event, however, of your not taking advantage of this offer payment will be enforced.

Commissioner of Crown Lands.

"Schedule."

"The Commissioner was advised on 21st March 1885, that the Minister approved of the proposed circular, and to take immediate steps. The notice was thereupon sent out to forty-one tenants, many of whom were in a position to pay but were also desirous of being released from their contract.

"In the Court's opinion, he had no power as a Government official to enter into a compact of this kind which had the effect of terminating the lease any more than he could accept a surrender. It also actually undertook to relieve the defaulting tenant from two months rent, the bulk of which would probably have been forthcoming as a condition of a surrender, as well as from all future rent due under the lease.

"So far from the Natives having assented to the course taken, Taupua te Whanoa, the Chairman of the Ngatiwhakaue Native Committee wrote to the Commissioner on 7th May 1885, saying that the Natives had heard about the notice to the tenants – 'From what we have heard about the proposals we consider that we shall be thrown into great trouble on account of the actions of the Government. Now this is to ask you to inform us what will be the result of this manner of conducting affairs by the Government at the present time so that we may clearly understand.'

"The Native's letter was forwarded through the Government's agent at Rotorua who in a covering memorandum remarked ' This is a matter of importance . . . the Natives are getting very much dissatisfied with the continued delay. They consider that the lessees occupying substantial positions should not be allowed to determine, but should be compelled to pay. If lessees have gone away and cannot be reached then they think that re-entry should be made.' This correspondence was submitted to the Minister of Lands with the Minute: 'It is not now possible to retract from the position which has been taken up in the matter.' Why this should be so is difficult to understand. The time limit must have expired in each case. Up to that time only £183 had been collected since the 25th March 1883, out of a total of £2,336 6s. 2d. due by those who had signed leases. It will be seen as the report proceeds that the offer to take part and release was actually renewed four months afterwards. With regard to the Native protest the Minister directed a reply to be sent: 'That the action taken was in the interests of the Natives; that to insist on the letter of the bond in a vast number of cases would drive lessees into the Bankruptcy Court, the Natives losing all.' This was amplified in transmission to the Commissioner by the addition of the following: 'And the Natives would lose all the arrears of rent, whereas if the arrears are paid up with a view to accepting surrenders in cases where lessees are unable to keep up the payments required by the lessee, the lessors might get better tenants.' This shows that the re-entry was treated as equivalent to a surrender.

"The records show that on 1st April 1885, arrears amounted in all to £4,920 9s. 6d.; £2,336 6s. 2d. in the case where lessees had signed leases and £2,584 3s. 4d. where the leases were not so signed. On 10th April 1885, the Commissioner was asked how many of the tenants had responded to the circular notice, and replied that out of the forty-one persons circularised only five had responded. paying £37 13s. 4d. back rent. The Commissioner asked for approval of proceedings being taken against the other thirty-six. This was approved, but on the following day Head Office sent a telegram 'Do not proceed against any Rotorua lessees who have paid unless they, want to re-enter and are two months in arrear. The re-entry is to relieve lessees of future payments.'

"On 27th May 1885, the Commissioner reported that no further legal proceedings had been taken, partly through the absence of the solicitor dealing with the matters and partly because of the realisation by the tenants of the determination of the Government to sue for outstanding

rents. On 11th July 1885, the Commissioner reported that no further action had been taken, and he was instructed to let proceedings take their course as the tenants had had every consideration shown to them.

"On 3rd September 1885, the Commissioner reported that he had issued further notices to tenants, offering to take part of rent and release the tenants. Some of those against whom he had issued summonses wished now to revert to the former terms offered and be permitted to forfeit their leases. This it will be observed was subsequently to the May protest from the Natives. The effect of the various forfeitures on the collection of rent will be seen in the following table of rents collected:–

	£	s.	d.
March, 1882 (first half-year's rent)	1,353	5	0
1st April, 1882, to 31st March, 1883	661	10	0
1st April, 1883, to 31st March, 1884	273	0	6
1st April, 1884, to 31st March, 1885	577	0	0
1st April, 1885, to 31st March, 1886 (year of forfeitures)	1,045	7	9
1st April, 1886, to 31st March, 1887	266	5	3
1st April, 1887, to 31st March, 1888	175	11	2
1st April, 1888, to 31st March, 1889	21	1	5
1st April, 1889, to 31st March, 1890	52	4	3
	£4,425	5	4

"Of the amount collected about £3,600 is supposed to have reached the Natives, the balance being exhausted in surveys, legal costs, advertising, and other expenses.

"On 3rd July 1888, a return was compiled showing the persons who had 'surrendered' their leases. This shows that the tenants affected by the forfeiture should have been paying at least a total rental of £677 per annum. The rental payable by this section up to 7th March 1885, appears to be about £2,171, and as they are credited with having paid £1,962.6s. up to that date the rent for this section of tenants must have been fairly well paid up.

"After 1886 there would be new leases substituted for the forfeited ones and also new leases for additional sections, and it is difficult to understand the position as to the arrears with regard to unforfeited leases. It may be that some of the arrears for that period are included in the sum of £1,249 arrears shown to be due in 1893, because the Commissioner says (8/3/93) that the lessees ceased to pay in 1888. It is also apparent in another case that the lease seems to have run on as arrears amounting to £240 were remitted for a payment of £56, and it is stated that the lessee had paid his first half-year's rent in 1882 and nothing since. This reduction to £56 was caused by the arrears being recalculated on a new upset rental, a principle adopted in many cases.

"It may be contended that the Crown, in its subsequent purchase of deeds, having taken an assignment of the rents which had accrued due under the deeds of lease, would not have to account for any further collections of the back rents, but the Supreme Court held in Eruera te Urumutu *v.* The Queen, that a fiduciary relationship had been created by statute between the Crown and the Natives. There was not only the duty of letting and receiving the rents, but there was the duty of distributing them according to the terms of the instruments. There is a principle governing such cases which forbids the agent to make a profit for himself out of the trust estate, and this applies whether the contract relates to real estate or personalty or mercantile transactions, the disability arising not from the subject-matter but from the fiduciary character of the contracting party.

"Further, the agency of the Crown for the granting of such leases was extended by section 351 of the Land Act, 1892, notwithstanding that the Crown since 1889 had been purchasing interests so that while receiving such rents it still remained in a fiduciary position. It is impossible for the Court to tell what amounts were so collected, but on one occasion in 1894 it was stated that a sum of £1,260 of the amount collected was written off – i.e., not payable to the Native sellers, under some arrangement between the Surveyor-General and the Under-Secretary of the Native Department. A fresh account was made from that date showing £109.10s. of the rent already collected as due to the non-sellers. It is quite possible also that some of the £1,260 collected by the Crown may belong to persons who had sold their interests subsequently to the period for which the rent was paid.

"It must not be thought that the Natives stood by and permitted the actions of the Crown to pass without a complaint. The case referred to of Eruera te Urumutu *v.* The Queen was a petition of right in 1890 alleging negligence in the collection of rents. The action was held by the Supreme Court to be barred by the Crown Suits Act as not having been commenced within twelve months of the occurrence of the grievances alleged. The Crown in those proceedings pleaded that it had used due and proper diligence in endeavouring to recover the rents from all persons who had executed leases, but it was found that in nearly all such cases such persons were wholly unable to pay any such rents and the judgments against them could not be enforced. In the majority of cases the Commissioner re-entered for non-payment of rent. It was further admitted that the annual rentals received had fallen from £2,740 to £159. while other sections had since 7th March 1882, been let at a rental totalling £461.10s. per annum, but that these rents had also fallen into arrear for the same reason. There were also petitions to Parliament at various times while the grievance was publicly mentioned before the Native Land Commission of 1891 and the Stout-Ngata Commission in 1908, which recommended inquiry should be made into the allegations of the Natives.

"As between subject and subject an agent dealing with the leasehold as the Crown did in this case would give the Natives a right to claim damages from the agent for the loss of rent caused by entering into unauthorised arrangements having the effect of bringing the leases to an end irrespective of the financial status of the tenants. In cases where the leases had for some reason not been signed it was optional for the agent to forfeit the deposit, probably the best way out of the difficulty in such cases. There were doubtless other cases in which the pecuniary difficulties of the tenants made it impossible to collect the rents. The list of tenants as published in Parliamentary Papers, Legislative Council No. 7, gives the names and addresses of the tenants, and here will be found professional men, merchants, heads of Government Departments, and even members

of Parliament, none of whom would willingly risk bankruptcy for the comparatively small amounts involved.

"Some allowance must be made for the difficulties of collecting rent in view of the depression then existent, and there is nothing to show that in many of the cases the Government officials did not do their best to collect the rent. In the case of the leases forfeited by arrangement, of which the annual rent totalled £677, there does not, however, appear to be a single case where the rent might not with due diligence have been collected. It is doubtful, too, whether some of the rent payable to the Natives under leases not forfeited has not been collected by the Crown and utilised for its own purpose. On the other hand, there has to be taken into account the payment of the part of the survey of the town that was not charged to the Natives. These doubtful matters may possibly be fairly set against claims arising out of the non-forfeited leases.

"To be on the safe side the Court, taking the £677 as a basis, considers that five years rental could reasonably be expected to have been collectable. In addition, there is the case of a bank paying £81 per annum whose name does not appear in the surrendered leases but which certainly could not have pleaded poverty, making a total of £758 per annum. Five years elapsed between March, 1885, and March, 1890, by which time the main sale of interests took place. The total rent for these five years on the leases mentioned would be £3,790 subject to an allowance of, say, 10 per cent. for bad or doubtful debts and 7½ per cent for collection on the balance. This leaves a balance of £3,155 rental which the Court thinks might have been collected if the Crown had not without the Natives authority released the tenants from their contracts. The Court recommends an *ex gratia* payment of £3,155 to the Natives.

Part II – Purchase of Township by Crown.

[How the proposal to purchase the township arose is explained by the Under-Secretary of the Native Department in a report dated 12 May 1890.]

"At the time the township was laid out and leased there was a sanguine hope that the place had before it an important and prosperous future. It was generally supposed that the Government, who evidently took a great interest in the scheme, would use every effort to make it a complete success . . . When the leases were offered in Auckland by auction, although the upset prices were high they were exceeded, and a vigorous competition ensued for sections within the township . . . The Natives moreover imagined that large revenues arising from the land or rents would be assured to them and went into debt accordingly. Strange to say the sales were hardly ended when the purchasers of leases began to repent of their bargains.

"He [Under-Secretary] explained that some lessees never signed at all while others took advantage of an opportunity offered by the Government to relinquish their leases. This left a few tenants still in occupation some of whom paid rent and others did not, and the amount of rent accruing to the Natives was therefore very small. Pressure had been brought on the Government through the member for the district to purchase the freehold and also through Mr. Taiwhanga, Maori Member of the House of Representatives, and Mr. Howarth (solicitor) who, on behalf of the Natives approached the Government to purchase the township block.

"Acting upon instructions the Under-Secretary had met the Natives and explained that the Government had been urged both by Europeans and Natives to buy out the interests of the Rotorua owners, it being felt that the then position of the township was unsatisfactory to all concerned and extremely unprofitable to the Natives. 'I pointed out,' he says, 'that although the Government had spent large sums of public money in the development of the township, indeed many thousands on the erection of the Sanatorium buildings, laying out the grounds, the construction of public buildings in the new township, bringing a magnificent supply of water into the place and in other directions, yet as a township it was a failure and the rents accruing from the leases under the present arrangement when divided among the owners amounted to merely a nominal sum. It therefore appeared to be a question for the owners to consider whether it would be to their advantage to accept a lump sum for all their interest in the township, including the leases and rents, rather than allow matters to remain in their present position. The question of back rents which they considered due to them was fully gone into and indeed every conceivable phase of the subject was argued out and met.'

"It is quite evident that the Under-Secretary could not have fully explained the position as to the rents that should have been collected as that was a matter within the scope of another Department, and there is intrinsic evidence in the report that he was not fully conversant with the facts. He knew, however, that the Natives had made claims regarding alleged improper administration, and hence an assignment of rents was included in the conveyance.

"The Natives appointed a committee of some fifteen or sixteen chiefs to go into the matter, who met day after day. The Under-Secretary states that they evidently considered that they were dealing with a matter of the greatest importance. After one or two meetings it is stated they seemed unanimous in their desire to sell, but wished to obtain very much more in payment than the Government was prepared to give.

"He eventually arranged with the Natives to buy out the whole of their interests at £7.10s. per share, according to Mr. Clarke's apportionment. These shares were fixed at 1,100 and the total consideration mentioned in the deed was £8,250, while the area of land was stated to be 3,020 acres. There is no explanation why shares were taken as a basis for the purchase-price instead of the area of the land. In his report; the Under-Secretary says, 'I might perhaps mention that a large number of the Natives expressed great dissatisfaction at Mr. Clarke's allotment of shares, but I pointed out that it would be impossible to re-open or in any way to reconsider the decision at which he had arrived, and eventually this statement was accepted.'

"The question of these shares is one of the present grievances of the Natives. The conveyance recites that on the 29th day of February 1888, Henry Tacy Clarke, Judge of the Native Land Court had determined the relative interests of the persons certified to be owners. But no such

determination by the Court can be found nor is there any order drawn up to that effect. Judge Clark did attempt to determine the relative interests of the parties. According to the records he was appointed a Judge for that purpose. Being without experience in that direction he first attempted to arrive at the matter by a series of sub-divisions of the land into small parcels and purported to make orders accordingly. On 22nd April 1884, the Court delivered judgment indicating that the six hapus mentioned in the judgment were not equally entitled. The approximate area of the block was 2,766 acres, and for the sake of convenience the Court divided the block into 250 shares awarding to the respective hapus thirty shares or 332 acres, and so on, till the whole 250 shares and 2,766 acres were absorbed. Later the Court passed the lists of names of the persons belonging to the respective hapus, but nothing further was done.

"The list of relative interests was enclosed in a letter written to the Under-Secretary, and is referred to as a report in that letter and in subsequent official correspondence. There is intrinsic evidence that the list or report was prepared at Mr. Clarke's home at Waimate, and the Registrar at Rotorua states that Judge Clarke held no sitting in the Rotorua district in the year 1888. Instead of being based on 250 shares mentioned in the decision of the Court, the list is based on 1,100 shares. It is evident that it was intended for use in the allocation of rents rather than as defining the landed interests of the Natives. Even if it were an actual determination of the Court there is little blame in expressing dissatisfaction with the shares as found. However, the parties bought and sold on that list of shares, and it cannot now be altered, but it shows that the Natives were not, as should have been done, told the full facts and put upon their guard, but were led to believe the finding as to the shares was unassailable.

"Coming now to the price paid by the Crown, the only evidence that the Court can find of an attempt to ascertain the selling value of the land was that made by the Surveyor-General on 3rd November 1888, a year before the purchase was undertaken when he stated that 'the quality of the land is very inferior and intrinsically is of very little value for pastoral or agricultural purposes. In naming a value for purchase, regard must be had to the hot springs and other attractions in the vicinity which give a prospective value to the block in expectation that it will become a great resort in the future and so create a possible value as the ground is required for residential purposes. On these considerations, I should say it would be worth while the Government giving from 30s. to 40s. per acre.' "

[If this is correct it becomes difficult to understand why such high upset rentals were placed on 1,230 acres put up for lease in 1882, six years previously.]

"Mr. Bush, Resident Magistrate, in his reports in 1888 says that he thought the Natives would take £6,400, evidently based on the Surveyor-General's figures. The Natives themselves made an offer on 20th September 1889, through Mr. Howarth, a solicitor, to sell the Rotorua portion, 3,200 acres, for £15,000. This excluded the question of the leasing administration by the Crown, the allegations as to which it was suggested should be submitted to arbitration. Under ordinary circumstances the agent would welcome his principal having independent advice, but it appears to have been resented in this case. The writer was informed that the Government intended to deal direct with the Natives. It would have been wiser to have permitted the Natives to have independent advice as to the value. Even as it was, that of the Surveyor-General's was considered insufficient, as a greater price was given. Evidence of value was given before this Court, but it seemed to be based on what has happened since, much of which would not be known at the time the purchase was made. There was a depression on, the people were just recovering from the effects of the 1886 eruption at Tarawera; the railway was still in the air, and many of the leases that were re-offered could not be disposed of even at a reduced rental.

"On the other hand, even if the Court takes the value of the Surveyor-General as some basis to guide it, it must be remembered that the town was already surveyed and laid out as such, that the Natives without compensation had donated the thermal springs, the reserve of the sanatorium grounds, and also the Pukeroa Hill on which they had previously received £200 a year in rental, which rental had been taken and expended on the streets of the town. The gift of the reserves is not referred to as a reason for increasing the value, but the Government, being the owner of these reserves, might reasonably be expected to utilize and improve them within the near future and thus add to the value of the township adjoining the reserves. The records show that between 1881 and 1890 a sum of £27,182 had been spent out of the Consolidated Fund upon the sanatorium and a sum of £11,749 out of the Public Works Fund, whilst £724 approximately had been spent upon the public buildings within the township. Possibly some of the first-named amount may have been expended in salaries, but even so the expenditure was an earnest of the Government's intention to utilise the reserves for health-giving purposes.

"Possibly the solicitor who offered to take £15,000 for the township on behalf of the Natives ascertained in some way a value as the basis for such offer, and it was not likely to be less than its worth. The area in this offer was stated at 3,020 acres. The sanitorium grounds and Pukeroa Hill were possibly included for assurance of title, but if we exclude these and other reserves, including road lines, it brings us pretty close to the area stated in the judgment of the Court in 1884 – namely, 2,766 acres. The Court thinks that if the purchase-price had been fixed at say £5 per acre it would not have been an unreasonable price to give, and would have been fair to both parties. But some 11 acres have to be deducted in respect of the interests referred to in section 11 of the Thermal-Springs Act, 1910, the value of which interests was ascertained as at 1910 and paid for. The total cost of the township to the Crown is said to have been £10,834. This would no doubt include the expenses of purchase which should not fall on the seller. The amount of purchase-money mentioned in the deeds is said to be £9,138 6s. 2d. In addition to this it is known that a sum of £451 3s. 6d. was paid out to certain Natives in connection with the sale. There are some reserves given to the Native sellers – about 20 acres in area. If, then, we take 2,755 acres at £5, equalling £13,755 and deduct say £9,775 from it, we get a balance of £4,000 and the Court recommends an *ex gratia* payment of that sum to be made to the Natives.

"If any amount is decided to be paid to the Natives it should not be distributed upon the basis of 1,100 shares, but should be distributed to

the persons and upon the relative interests as found by the Court in respect of the 20 acre reserve granted to Ngatiwhakaue, or it might be paid to the Waiariki District Maori Land Board on their behalf.

"Some question has been raised as to the legality of the sale to the Crown. Seeing that the transactions have been validated it seems useless to come to a formal finding on that subject. It ought to be said, nevertheless, that the Department prior to purchasing took care to obtain legal advice, and was advised that under the peculiar w rding of the Act of 1881 the Crown was legally justified in undertaking the purchase from the Natives. There has been no objection to the actual sale. It is the inadequacy of the consideration for the purchase that is really in dispute as well as the smallness of the rental collected by the Crown for the Natives."

Appendix E (i)

The Newest Guide to the Hot Lakes by a Man Constantly in Hot Water.
Wilson and Horton, 1885, Auckland, p. 13.

the church and old mission station, where Capt. Way and his family now reside; it was formerly the residence of the Rev. Mr. Spencer, who first occupied it over thirty years ago. From the church a magnificent view of Lake Tarawera can be obtained. Having slept at Wairoa, the boat will be in readiness to take you across to Rotomahana about 7 a.m. next morning. The distance from the hotel to the landing is about three-quarters of a mile. The Maoris carry down all you may require for the trip. There is a printed fixed scale of charges hanging up in the hotel, so the tourist need not be afraid of being swindled by the Maoris, but I should advise everyone just to leave the whole matter in Mr. McRae's hands who will arrange everything for you, pay the Maoris, etc., and put it in the bill. The charges for crossing Lake Tarawera to the Terraces are as under:—

	£	s.	d.
If only one passenger	2	0	0
„ two passengers	2	5	0
„ four „	4	7	0
„ six „	4	17	0
„ seven „	5	1	0
„ eight „	5	8	0

The commodious whaleboat is pulled by from four to six stalwart Maoris according to the number of passengers. There is also a further fee of 10s. shillings for the guide, which is divided amongst the party, and some 3s. or 4s. per head for the canoe on the Kaiwaka stream and crossing Lake Rotomahana, from the White to the Pink Terrace, but Kate the guide will take most jealous care that you are not robbed. First of all provide yourself with an old pair of boots or slippers, as the warm water is constantly trickling over the terraces, and if you go with a good pair of boots they will not be worth much on your return. Now, having embarked for the Terraces, nothing can be more pleasant than the pull across Lake Tarawera, the distance is only seven miles, and the majority of tourists wish it were twice as long, as the Maoris keep them amused singing their weird-like songs as they keep time with

E.W. Payton,
Round About New Zealand, (London, Chapman & Hall, 1888), pp.130-131.

given them their dinners. So they quietly paddled on, saying we should be several hours late, and that they were not going to hurry themselves. Two of our party were annoyed at this, as they wished to start back for Ohinemutu by daylight, so I told them if they really wanted to get there early, the best thing would be to promise the men a bottle of rum if they rowed well. This we did, and they changed their easy paddle into a sharp, swinging stroke at once, and kept it up till we got back to Wairoa. Going across Tarawera they kept singing in turns, all joining in at the end of a verse, and keeping time with their oars. The Maoris are excellent musicians in their way, and keep time in a manner that would put to shame many a European chorus party.

Tarawera looks grand by the evening light, and every one of our party enjoyed the voyage back across the lake. Our two impatient friends, who were evidently doing as much touring as they could in a given time, started back to Ohinemutu by daylight, and were happy.

The natives' charges in connection wi.h this sight-seeing are rather high, and during my visit the chiefs met in solemn conclave to consider the expediency of still further raising them. They know they have a good paying property in the terraces, and know that a few shillings extra will not stop the tourists who have come several hundred miles purposely to see them; so they fleece strangers in a most exemplary manner. The charge for being rowed across Lake Tarawera varies from £2 to £1 per head, according to the number of passengers; and as generally all the boatmen have to do is to sit still and steer the boat and sing songs, as the boats can usually be sailed most of the way, it is a nice easy way of getting money. Then there are the guide's fee (12s.), fees for admission to terraces, canoe up the Kaiwaka, canoe on Rotomahana, and various other little charges, ingeniously introduced, which may run up the day's expenses to some £2 or £3 more for each person. But it is cheap at any price. The sight is magnificent, and (what is more valued by many tourists) unique. No one knows how long the terraces have been in existence. Even men of science do not venture to enlighten us as to how long that constant stream of water has flowed over these fairy-like structures, ever leaving coat after coat of silica, till the present gigantic mass has been formed. By boring through the mass and finding the thickness an idea might be formed of its age; but I doubt if the Maoris would allow of this, even for scientific purposes, so sacred do they hold Te Tarata.

Spencer's Illustrated Guide to the Hot Springs of Rotorua and Taupo, (Auckland, Murray & Spencer, 1885), pp.22-23.

	Boat and Crew.				Creek Canoe and Paddlers.				Total.		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
For one person ...	2	10	0	...	0	12	6	...	3	2	6
For two persons ...	3	0	0	...	0	15	0	...	3	15	0
For three persons	3	10	0	...	0	17	6	....	4	7	6
For four persons...	4	0	0	...	1	0	0	...	5	0	0
For five persons ...	4	10	0	...	1	2	6	...	5	12	6
For six persons ...	5	0	0	...	1	5	0	...	6	5	0
For seven persons	5	10	0	...	1	7	6	...	6	17	6
For eight persons...	6	0	0	...	1	10	0	...	7	10	0
For nine persons...	6	10	0	...	1	12	6	...	8	2	6

Not more than nine persons can be taken in one party.

Licensed guides will be conveyed free in the boats and canoes. They are authorised to charge for going to Rotomahana, 10s.; for going to Wairoa Waterfall—One person, 1s.; two or more persons, 6d. each.

Visitors must provide themselves with tickets, which will be issued by Maika Kepa, the Secretary to the Committee.

The above charges are inclusive, and visitors are warned that no others are authorised, nor are they required to supply the rowers with food. Giving intoxicating liquors to natives is expressly prohibited by law in the Rotorua District. Any person damaging, drawing, or writing on the Terraces will be prosecuted.

WI KEPA TE RANGIPUARUHE,
Chairman of Committee.

Approved
W. ROLLESTON.
May 1, 1884.

MAIKA KEPA,
Secretary.

It is important to make a early start if the day is to be got through without hurry. Six or eight persons is the most convenient and economical number for one party. After starting, the first half-mile is occupied in getting clear of the long winding arm of Lake Tarawera, and then about six miles to a point at the far side of the lake, round which the boat turns to the right, which is then seen to be another long arm of Tarawera. Just round the point is a Maori village, where a halt is frequently made to procure a kit of kouras or prawns, or a kit of fruit in the season, peaches or cherries. Then another four miles and Te Ariki is reached, a Maori village at the head of Tarawera. This is the end of the journey by boat, the rest is by a walk of about one mile and a-half, or else by canoe up the creek, which is preferable, as the first sight of the White Terrace is not so disappointing from the creek as from the top of the hill where you first see it if you walk. Suppose you go by canoe the natives have to pole against a rapid current all the way, and it takes fully half-an-hour. Nothing particular is seen until you get nearly to the end of the creek, when the canoe rounds a bend and the White Terrace is before you.

THE WHITE TERRACE.

The natives call it Te Tarata, which means tattooed rock, and if it is examined the markings are in places seen to be as regular as tattooing, and very much resemble it too. The Maoris run the canoe in to the bank, you get out and land on what is really the extended foot of the terrace. And now the interesting part of the day's sightseeing commences. The terrace is difficult to describe, because there is nothing in nature to compare it to. It is something like an

Appendix F

Anonymous Poem: The New Zealand Mail 28.2.1906, p. 21.

"Rotorua: A Tourist's Linguistic Nightmare"

Verse 1

Ye tourists all, who make a call at far famed Rotorua
Before you leave this spot so hot you'll learn a thing or two, ah!
The first thing that your notice claims is Maori speech and Maori
names
The wonders that you here behold of boiling springs and geysers
Might raise the hair and shake the crowns of Princes, Kings and Kaisers
But, after all, hot springs and craters and earthquake rents are small
potaters.

Verse 2

But, oh! The liquid Maori speech, there's nothing can be purer
Sweet music ripples from the lips of Maggie Papakura
And then the lovely names of places, to speak them causes strange
grimaces.

Verse 3

There's Ngongotaha, towering high, and beauteous Hamurana
And Tikitere where the mud boils in a curious "mana"
Waimangu, and a crowd of "Wais" of every temperature and size.

Verse 4

Here the Waimakariri cold, and there the warm Waiwera
Until you murmer "Waikanae not get some good Waipiro?"
There's "wai that's short or long" e hoa, and also "wai" that's
totoroa.

Verse 5

There's motu this and motu that, like Motuwhareraupo
And motulaunches on the lake and motucars to Taupo
No need "to hoea te waka", or on hot cinders dance a haka

Verse 6

There's Tara north and Tara south and Tara in the middle
And Tara hot and Tara cold and lots of Taradiddle
The guides all mostly give the latter
But Maori yarns don't Matamata.

Verse 7

There's Rotobig, and Rotosmall, and Roto high and mighty
And Rotoma and Rotopa and Roto hoity toity
There's rot o, rocks and rot o, wheather - it's rot, O rot, O altogether.

Verse 8

The guides all "Whakapakeha"
To make their meaning clearer;
You whakagirl or whakaboy
At Whakarewarewa
But, be your language plain or flowery
You'd better never "Whakamaori".

Verse 9

Now, let me say, in case you may be getting too suspicious
The baths and wells and Grand Hotels are really most delicious
Come hither all for health and fund, and now my rambling song is
done.

Appendix G

FULL TEXT: THE PETITION TO MISS MURCUTT

New Zealand Herald, 26 August 1907:6

Miss Murcutt, the lecturer, who recently visited Rotorua, was given a unique welcome by the Maoris, and the chiefs of the Arawa tribe, at a public gathering, presented her with a petition praying her to urge upon the Government to grant the Maori race the power to vote at the local option poll. It was signed by the following:

Te Naera, Mita Taupopoki, Auoha, Werahiko, Te Wheoro, Rangiriri, Maggie Papakura, and the Reverend Bennett.

Haere mai e te manuhiri tuarangi. Welcome o distinguished stranger from beyond the seas. We, the Maori people, welcome you to Rotorua, to the home where our ancestors lived and flourished. The sheltering totara trees of the Great Forest of Tane have fallen, and the lofty mountains have been levelled, and the authority and power have departed. Our fathers, who would have stirred you with their oratory, have been laid to rest in Papatuanuku, the earth.

We are but a remnant of the race whom Fate directed through the isles of the Pacific afar from the activities and intellectual evolution of other races, and decreed to remain within the age of polished stone until the quickening hand of the white man opened the doors of our stone prison with a key of metal. The gap of three thousand years that lies between us cannot be bridged over in two generations. You, the white people, the products of centuries of education and progress rendered possible by the happy chance that gave you metals, often wax impatient at our tardy progress whilst we, your neolithic brethren cast into one of the back eddies of the world, and left behind by the stream of evolution, oft grow weary of the

arrogance and inconsistency of civilized man.

You brought us your civilization, and you decimated our ranks with strange diseases and modern armaments. You supplied us with fire arms, and when, in the lust of war, we had slain almost half of the flower of our race (and a few of yours), you punished us as rebels, and confiscated our lands. You gave us the Bible, and you broke its precepts. You taught us ethics, and you had no scruples in your transactions with us. You gave us alcohol, and then you punished us and gave us an evil name for using it. Our fathers desired to be civilized, but because of your inconsistencies, they abandoned your teaching, and opposed it with their hearts' blood. We retrograded, and the gap between us widened. You have had to make up the ground lost by your fathers, we have had to overcome the distrust and suspicion engendered in the hearts of ours, ere we could once more take up the broken thread of progress.

Of the evils introduced by the white race, that of alcohol has wrought us incalculable harm. Though by wise enactments its evils have been considerably lessened, we are not allowed the public expression of our opinion upon the subject. The race which introduced the liquor traffic speak for themselves, and for us, but that voice is the voice of the white man alone. We think the time is now ripe when our own voice, however feeble, should be given an opportunity to be heard. We consider that the local option should be extended to us a matter of common justice. We pray you therefore to assist us with your sympathy, with your voice, and with your influence in moving the Government of this country to grant this humble petition of the Maori people. Help us lest the sun set upon the Maori race forever, lest the proverb of our old men come true: "Kua ngaro a moa te iwi nei" -

this race has become extinct like the moa.

We welcome you as a distinguished traveller who has seen many lands, and many peoples. Come and see us, the Maori people, a neolithic race striving to assimilate civilization. Come and see this remaining fragment of a race in their struggle for existence. many fall by the wayside, but the survivors struggle on, for we are in the "matikuku pango" - the Black Fingernail of Death - and we would draw the remnants of our race out of the clutches of Hinenuitepo, the Great Goddess of the Night, to some taumata okiokinga, some summit of rest where we may emerge above the threatening clouds of extinction, where the sun may smile upon us as of old, and where we may behold once more Te Aomarama, the World of Light.

Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai.

Welcome, thrice welcome.

The Huia Maori Entertainers will give their Unique Entertainment
c.a. 1935.
courtesy: Rotorua District Council Museum.

Programme

Part I.

1. Maoris at Home (still life)
   - Powhiri, or welcome with Twigs
   - Speech, Incantation, Hongi (or rubbing of noses)
   - Tititorea, played with sticks, accompanied by singing
   - Matemate, played by two. This game is to train the hands to be as quick as the eyes
   - War Cry, or Kamate! Kamate!
2. Maori Love Ditties — Company
3. Poi Dance — Company
4. Solo — Guide Isabel
5. Haka — Men
6. Long Poi — Girls
7. Solo "Home little Maori, Home" — Mere Amohau
8. Haka — Women
9. Maori Songs and War Cry — Company

INTERVAL

Part II.

1. The Tableaux of "Hinemoa and Tutanekai"—
   - Scene 1. Tutanekai playing his Flute
   - 2. Hinemoa in a listening attitude
   - 3. Hinemoa swimming
   - 4. Hinemoa resting
   - 5. Hinemoa sitting in bath
   - 6. Servant offering Hinemoa a drink
   - 7. Hinemoa returning broken calabash
   - 8. Tutanekai in the act of spearing
   - 9. Recognition and Re-union—
     "Home Sweet Home"
2. Solo — Mere Amohau
3. Haka — Men
4. Waiata Poi (composed by Mr. Alfred Hill)
5. Duet — Mere Amohau and Guide Isabel
6. Canoe Poi — Girls
7. Blue Eyes, or Eparira (Action Song) — Company

GOD SAVE THE KING

Under the Management of Guides Susan, Mary, Eva, Isabel, Rangi and Teresa

Taiporutu Club c.a. 1945
courtesy: Rotorua District Council Museum.

Programme - Part 1

1. THE MAORI AT HOME:
   (a) The group in the Village—weaving, plaiting food basket.
   (b) Ngeri or chant: "Whiua! Whira!"
   (c) Pao or Maori Love Ditty. "Taku Ripine Pai."
2. TE POWHIRI—THE WELCOME:
   (Performed with green twigs.)
   A form of welcome given to distinguished guests whose welcome to their courtyard has been warmly approved by the people.
   (a) Haere Mai—Cry of Welcome.
   (b) Speech of Welcome.
   (c) Waiata or Chant—No speech from an elder is considered complete, full or warm in effect without this invocation to the Spirit of our forbears calling for guidance.
   (d) Te Hongi—Pressing, not rubbing of noses.
3. MAORI GAMES:
   (a) Tititorea—played with sticks to the accompaniment of music.
   (b) Mate Mate—catch me if you can; a hand game played by two. The motive being to catch your opponent in the same movement of the hands. These games were used to encourage alertness and quicknsss of the eye. In the case of the male all combat was carried out by hand, and it was by games akin to these that they trained their eyes, hands and brain to a high degree of alertness.
4. MAORI LOVE DITTIES:
   (a) E Hara te Waea; (b) Po Atarau, E Hine.
5. POI DANCES:
   (a) Paicete Whero—Single Poi; (b) Manurewa—Double Poi.
   In (a) the rhythmic tapping of the poi balls against the palms of the hands has a resemblance to the hoof beats of galloping horses.
   (b) is a legacy of Maggie Papakura of revered memory.
6. ACTION SONGS:
   (a) Karangatia Ra.
   (b) Arohaina Mai. Words by Tuini Ngawai.
   An invocation calling upon the Eternal Father to guard the men of the Maori Battalion and bestow upon them His gracious blessings.
7. SOLO: Selected
8. MEN'S HAKA—KOWHIRI:
   Leader: Hamuera Mitere
9. POI WAERO or LONG POI: Girls
   This is the traditional poi and only maidens of highest rank were initiated into its mysteries. Their humbler sisters copied some of the movements and so started the smaller, better-known pois.
10. ACTION SONGS: Words by Tuini Ngawai.
    (a) Nga whakaaro; (b) Totoia-Ma te Penei.
    Company
11. DUET.
12. COMBINED HAKA:
    (a) Haria Haria; (b) Kai Rawa—Kai Rawa.
13. FAREWELL LAMENT:
    To the late Kingi Tahiwi, organiser of the Ngati-Poneke Maori Club.

Programme - Part 2

1. CHORUS:
   (a) Maringi Ai.
   (b) Ee moe ra e te tau.
   (c) Paterc-tere koia nga uru whetu.
2. TE POI TAPARA or DOUBLE LONG POI:
   This is a further stage in the advancement of the single long poi. The movements and actions are more intricate, requiring perfect timing and dexterity.
3. ACTION SONG: Company.
   (a) Haere mai e Te Kawana
   Papaki Nui
   Nga .wi.
   (b) Tamatekapua.
4. HAKA: Patohau and Takiri atu-Takiri atu
   By the older women. This haka by the wahines is partly a genuine attempt to emulate the warlike movements of the men—partly a burlesque. It is doubtful whether performers or audience enjoy this item most.
5. SOLO:
6. POI DANCES:
   (a) Poi Makarita—Double; (b) Poi Kukume—Single.
7. MEN'S HAKA—TOUTOU:
8. ACTION SONGS:
   (a) Te Reo o Taiporutu-Mururai Words by Mere Amohau.
   (b) Taku Meremere.
   (a) A lament dedicated to the late H. Tai Mitchell, C.M.G., founder and patron of the Taiporutu Club.
   (b) An adaption of an ancient war dance illustrating the use of the Mere—in close combat by the men and by the women on ceremonial occasions.
9. (a) CANOE POI with ancient chant accompaniment
   (b) CANOE POI with modern accompaniment
   The canoe poi is proudly associated with the Arawa people. It is undoubtedly the richest in movement and background in that performing it the minds of the proud descendants of Tamatekapua, the High Priest, re-enact the scenes of privation, hunger, love, life and ultimate rejoicing when at length those warriors piloted their canoe to Aotearoa, "The Land o' the Long White Cloud."
10. COMBINED HAKA:
    (a) Haka Potae; (b) Hua atu au Ko Matariki.
11. WAIATA POI: Ana Hato.
12. (a) UIA MAI KOIA:
    (b) E PARI RA: Words by the late Paraire Tomoana.
    A farewell song to the soldiers who left New Zealand in the last war. 1914-18.
13. TOHUNGIA E TE ATUA: God Save the King.



1.	WERO	A challenge to important visitors on to a Marae or Courtyard.
2.	KARANGA	The call of welcome.
3.	E TE IWI E	Song of Unity
4.	E KO NGA NGIRANGIRA	Haka or war dance stimulus to battle.
5.	UTAINA	Visitors welcomed on to a Courtyard.
6.	WHAIKORERO	Speech of welcome extended by Chief of Tribe.
7.	TAKU PATU HAERE MAI	Songs of Compliment following speech making.
8.	KIA RITE	Double Short Poi.
9.	TITITOREA TI RAKAU	Short and long Stick Games.
10.	TAIAHA DRILL	Manipulations of Taiaha or Halbert.
11.	KARU	Fishing Chant
12.	UIA MAI KOIA	Action Song depicting the Canoe Voyage.
13.	E RERE RA	Love Song
14.	TE ARAWA E	A call to rally the younger members of the Tribe.
15.	POI WAKA	Canoe Poi enhanced by traditional chant.
16.	PAPAKI TITAHA	An expressive Action Song.
17.	TOIA MAI	Beaching the Canoe.
18.	HOKI HOKI	A love ditty.
19.	POI HINEMOA	A poi dance symbolising a beautiful Maori maiden.
20.	POKARE KARE ANA	The Maori love song of all time.
21.	PAKETE WHERO	Double short poi.
22.	TENEI MATAU	Action Song.
23.	POI WAEROA	Single Long poi - the traditional poi dance.
24.	WHAKARONGO	Action Song with modern lyrics
25.	RINGA PAKIA	A Haka or War Dance expressing the inner inhibitions of the Warriors.
26.	KA HARAMAI TONU	Double Long poi depicting the Kotuku or White Heron in full flight.
27.	KARANGATIA RA	An action song paying tribute to illustrious Leaders of Maoridom.
28.	POATA RAU or NOW IS THE HOUR	The famous Maori Song of Farewell.

Appendix I

GUIDING LICENCE

CONDITIONS.

1. DRESS.—To be clean and smart. Suggested dress being red handkerchief on head, tussore blouse, red skirt, also the necessary badge of office. Piu piu to be worn on all special occasions.
2. The Guide is to fully describe the various sights to the tourist, see that the tourist does not go into dangerous places, and also that he or she does not interfere with the terrace formation, sulphur, &c., in the Reserve.
3. The Guide to ask and encourage every party to go into the Maori section of the Reserve, but should they not desire to do so, the Guide must not force the issue.
4. Guides to accept Government coupons.
5. Guides to be in permanent attendance at Whakarewarewa for guiding duties.

   NOTE.—This does not mean that the Guide is debarred from going away for a holiday, or for other reasons, but in all cases this office should be notified, and if the Guide is away for any lengthy period the license to be cancelled.
6. Guides must be able to speak reasonably good English.
7. Guides, while in the Reserve, to be under the control of the Government Caretaker-in-charge, and to carry out any instructions he may issue.
8. Guides at all times to conduct themselves as respectable members of the Maori race, and to take full interest in their work, and to see that their parties are shown everything worth seeing, and that they enjoy their trip.
9. Tourists who do not ask for any particular Guide to be allotted as evenly and fairly as possible among the Guides waiting. No rushing of buses or cars to take place.
10. Each Guide must conduct her own party of not more than six persons—excepting in the case of special parties booked ahead, or in the case of more than six people wanting to keep together (in this case the Guide must take an assistant Guide with her).
11. Should reliable information be supplied to the Department that any Guide is not complying in full with the above conditions, the Department reserves the right to immediately cancel the license to guide in the Government Reserve.

200/4/33—292]

NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT

No. 16

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE, TOURIST AND PUBLICITY.

This is to certify that Sarah Rogers (Name.) (Guide Sarah), having paid the prescribed fee, is hereby licensed to act as an authorized Guide within the Government Reserves at Whakarewarewa, and to charge a fee not exceeding one shilling per trip for each person guided by her. This license (unless sooner revoked) continues in force for one year from 1st March, 1933, but may be annually renewed by endorsement at the discretion of the Department for a further period on payment of renewal fee of 2s. 6d. per year. This license is issued subject to the conditions set out hereon, which must be strictly adhered to.

Dated and issued this 1st day of March, 1933.

W. Gunn, General Manager.

This License is hereby renewed for one year from 1st March 1934 to 28th February 1935.
Renewal fee of 2s. 6d. received.
Date: 3 : 3 : 34 — District Manager.

This License is hereby renewed for one year from 1 MAR 1937 to 28 FEB 1938
Renewal fee of 2s. 6d. received
Date 1 MAR 1937 — District Manager.

This License is hereby renewed for one year from 1st March 1935 to 28th February 1936
Renewal fee of 2s. 6d. received.
Date: 7 : 3 : 35. — District Manager.

This License is hereby renewed for one year from 4 MAR 1936 to 28 FEB 1937
Renewal fee of 2s. 6d. received.
Date: : : — District Manager.

This License is hereby renewed for one year from 1st March 1936 to 28th February 1937.
Renewal fee of 2s. 6d. received.
Date: 7 : 3 : 36 — District Manager.

This License is hereby renewed for one year from ... to ...
Renewal fee of 2s. 6d. received.
Date: : : — District Manager.

NOTE.—An official numbered receipt must be obtained for renewal fees paid.

Appendix J Rotorua Visitor Survey - A Study of Attitudes to and use of Rotorua by New Zealanders.

Tourist and Publicity Department, Wellington, 1978.

VISITS TO ATTRACTIONS AND FACILITIES

Attractions and Facilities (in alphabetical order)	'Visitors' (n = 600) Ever Visited	Visited Last Trip	Not Last Trip, but on Previous Trip
	%	%	%
Agrodome	26	15	11
Blue Baths	66	29	37
Blue Lake	74	40	34
Fairy Springs	70	33	37
Golden Springs	24	8	16
Government Gardens	77	47	30
Green Lake	69	36	33
Hamurana Springs	44	18	26
Hell's Gate	68	28	40
Hongi's Track	50	15	35
Kuirau Park	38	17	25
Lake Okareka	30	10	20
Lake Okaro	20	7	13
Lake Okataina	39	12	27
Lake Rerewhakaitu	16	4	12
Lake Rotoehu	38	14	24
Lake Rotoiti	62	28	34
Lake Rotokawau	24	7	17
Lake Rotoma	50	19	31
Lake Rotomahana	33	9	24
Lake Rotorua	85	57	28
Lake Tarawera	60	27	33
Little Village, Whakarewarewa	52	26	26
Maori Arts and Crafts Institute	54	29	25
Maori Concert Parties	41	15	26
Model Pa, Whakarewarewa	69	31	38
Mokoia Island	26	4	22
Mount Ngongotaha	41	14	27
Mount Tarawera	36	13	23
Ohau Channel	31	11	20
Ohinemutu Village	54	27	27
Okere Falls	62	28	34
Paradise Valley Springs	42	16	26

Continued.....

VISITS TO ATTRACTIONS AND FACILITIES (Continued)

Attractions and Facilities (in alphabetical order)	'Visitors' (n = 600) Ever Visited	Visited Last Trip	Not Last Trip, but on Previous Trip
	%	%	%
Polynesian Pools	45	23	22
Rainbow Springs	83	42	41
Rose Gardens	54	28	26
St Faith's Church, Ohinemutu	48	26	22
Tamatekapua Meeting House, Ohinemutu	43	21	22
Taniwha Springs	31	8	23
Te Amorangi Maori Trust Museum	22	9	13
Te Wairoa Buried Village	61	26	35
Tudor Towers City Museum	34	14	20
Tui Ridge Farm	12	3	9
Waikite Valley Thermal Pools	27	10	17
Waimangu Thermal Valley	41	15	26
Waiotapu Thermal Valley	39	12	27
Whakarewarewa	84	45	39
Whakarewarewa Forest Park	37	17	20

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MAP OF THE THERMAL REGIONS OF NEW ZEALAND

Published by the
Department of Lands & Survey, NZ.
under the authority of I.F.Stirling,
Surveyor General

The Rotorua Tourist Routes &c.

INSET MAP enlarged to show in fuller detail many features of particular interest including Geysers, Blow-holes, fumeroles, also Springs, *hot* + or *cold* +

0 1 2 4 6M

LEGEND

- Boroughs & Cities
- Towns & Localities
- Native Villages or Pas
- Highways
- Tracks
- Railways
- Fishing Dists
- Bdy of Areas embraced by Inset Maps
- Bush, Forest or Plantations
- Plains
- Swamps
- Geysers, Hot+Springs &c. xxx

Note: A more comprehensive stream pattern is shown on the larger scale NZMS 1 series.

MAORI GLOSSARY

Maunga	*Mt or Hill*
Puke	*Hill*
Motu	*Island &c*
Pa	*Native Village*
Moana	*Sea or Lake*
Roto	*Lake*
Whanga	*Bay*
Awa	*River*
Manga	*Stream*
Wai	*Water*

The Taupo Tourist Routes & Fisheries

INSET MAP enlarged to show in detail various camping & fishing sites ●, fly-fishing only ○, hot-springs +, Native Pas or Villgs ⌂ and many other items useful & interesting

SCALE
4 3 2 1 0 4 8 12 16 20 24M
5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 Km

N.Z.M.S. 50

6th EDITION 1974

A.R.Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand

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