http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

Have you heard of Hinehau?

A research journey of reclamation.

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts in Māori Cultural Studies/Tikanga Māori

at

The University of Waikato

by

Sandy Wakefield

Ngāpuhi, Ngai Tahu

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2021

ABSTRACT

As the Māori political and cultural movement continues to grow, issues of representation, power, and control are critiqued by Māori minds.
After discovering a tribal myth about the mana of a woman known as Hinehau, a chain reaction of enquiry develops into the reclamation of tribal knowledge.
By investigating the historical context surrounding the narrative of Hinehau, her story transcends the fairy-tale myth she was confined to, and exposes the rendering down of her story.
Under the umbrella of Western science, European and Pākehā historical archives created an enduring legacy of "Māori myth" that is synonymous with falsehood. Through the assertation of tribal oral tradition and connecting our experiences to our missing histories, Hinehau is relocated. The Hinehau story renews through reconnecting to mātauranga Māori, Ngāpuhi kōrero tuku iho and the creativity of the researcher. In this process, her story renews.
With the guidance of hapū members, mentors, and a diversity of literature, the narrative of Hinehau becomes a part of a much larger inter-tribal narrative held within an ancestral landscape which is sometimes hard to recognise in whenua we no longer have tribal autonomy over. Our Indigenous identity is still under threat as we are still "othered" in our tribal lands. This work contributes to pushing the envelope of what it means to think, exist, and challenge as tangata whenua in Aotearoa, where traditional tribal roles have been minimalised in society, or disappeared through generations of the colonial project (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

HE MIHI

Tirohia atu rā te rangi ki te whānau marama

Ko Matariki tērā e piata mai nei

Ko Aotahi tērā e taukapo mai nei

Ko Rehua tērā e kohiko mai nei

Koutou te huihuinga i te rangi

Nei mātou ō waihotanga mai e mihi ana, e tangi ana

Te hunga mate, ki te hunga mate e moe

Ka hoki ki a tātou e whakakanohi nei i a rātou, tēnā tātou

Tukuna tō ringa ki te hoe urungi

Tākiritia ngā rā

Ko ngā karu ka hoki ki runga

Ki a rātou ngā mana o ngā rangi

Ki ngā whetū e here nei i te haere o tō tātou waka

I ngā au o wawata, i ngā tai o āwhero

Kia tae atu rā ki uta

Ki te whenua taurikura

Ki taku taunahanahatanga

Arā taku tōpuni ki te whenua e

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I begin by acknowledging the spiritual guidance I received; thank you for guiding me in those moments when I felt so alone and afraid. To my grandparents and great-grandmothers who cherished me as a child, I will continue to reflect the creativity, knowledge and lust for life you all demonstrated. To my Mum, thank you for teaching me how to love unconditionally. To my Dad, your interest in everything I do makes me want to do better and make you proud. To my sisters Nicki and Rachel, you are both a constant and essential part of my life. Together with your partners, you have all welcomed me into your homes filled with laughter and children. To all the nephews and nieces, thank you for reminding me about the magic in life. To my supervisor, Donna Campbell, thank you for the robust debates I needed to focus on expressing what I was feeling and experiencing throughout this project. I don't know how I would have got this in without you. To Carol Peters and her family at the Feaver farm, thank you for giving me space to conduct research on the whenua. Whaea Nossi, nōku te whiwhi. Nā te taenga mai ki tō taha tuatahi, mahi whanaungatanga ai. Kaua e wareware i a ahau i ngā hui roa i roto i te papara kauta me tō āhua hari. Ka tū ahau aianei i roto i tōku tūākiri Te Parawhau nā tō mahi tautoko aroha. Ngā mihi nui ki a koe e whaea Nossi. Me mihi hoki ki a matua Pierre Lyndon. He kaiārahi, he tangata ngākaunui o te mātauranga Ngāpuhi. Ko kōrua kē ngā tino kaiako ki tōku māramatanga whakapapa. To all the whanau, cuzi's and friends who knowingly and unknowingly supported my ideas and let me 'crash on the couch' during all the trips up and down the country, thank you so much. Big shout out to my post-grad metes I met through Te Toi O Matariki. The solidarity I felt renewed my ambition just when I thought I couldn't go on. Ki taku hoa tāne, Thom, perhaps you had the most challenging job of all, having to live with me. Thank you for being you and giving me the space to do this mahi. I love you.

PREFACE

This thesis contains words written in te reo Māori that will require translation for those unfamiliar with reo Māori. Although it is conventional practice to provide a glossary translation of non-English terms. In this thesis, a glossary will not be included. This follows a precedent set in the writing of academics Mahingaarangi Baker, Carl Te Hira Mika and Georgina Stewart (Baker, 2012; Mika & Stewart, 2017). A bilingual Māori-English reading and general knowledge of mātauranga Māori is preferable in order to be able to comprehend the concepts that are discussed. In terms of translation, translating Māori words into English is difficult as the Māori language is both metaphorical and holistic. I want to put in place words in their origin, which are multidimensional in meaning. Translations, footnotes and other information in the appendices are provided when further explanation is necessary. Though the translation of Te Reo Māori is, at this point, a necessary step in the research process when completing a thesis in English, the meanings of these different words in Te Reo Māori vary widely across individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore as Mika and Stewart (2017) suggest, I do not recommend taking provided definitions as representative of how all Māori view these concepts.

PROLOUGE: The Prophetess Hinehau[1]

Taurau[2] is credited with sharing this story. Living at Maunu many years ago was Hinehau. She held an important position for a woman, for she was the tribe's tohunga. As such she directed the fortunes of her people in battle with such success that her mana stood high throughout the Whangārei District and beyond. Before her death she instructed her people to place her bones in their wāhi tapu, a cave at the foot of Maunu hill. She also decreed that on the eve of any battle, the chief must sleep the night beside them, and her mana would ensure success. She lies in the Mokoparu wāhitapu. Sometime later, when the tribe was planning a battle, the chief remembered Hinehau's decree and he knew he must obey notwithstanding that the kōiwi of the dead were tapu and kēhua sometimes roamed around at night. After two aborted attempts to comply with Hinehau's decree, and one battle lost, the chief decided to use strategy to obtain the help of Hinehau's mana. He took a secret journey to the cave in daylight, when fears of the spirits of darkness would not un-man him, and muttering incantations to remove the tapu, he carried Hinehau's bones and carefully placed them in a pūriri tree near his whare. On the eve of the next battle, the chief slept under the pūriri tree directly below Hinehau's kōiwi. This time he was successful, proving that the mana of Hinehau was as strong in death as it was in life (T. George, 2013).

[1] This prologue is a verbatim record in George, T (2013) Brief of evidence of Taparoto George (WAI1040,#I34)

[2] Taurau Kukupa is a Te Parawhau Rangatira who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi along with his older brother Te Tirarau Kukupa.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

CHAPTER ONE: Have you heard of Hinehau?

Let me tell you first how I heard about Hinehau.

The same story in the prologue is how I first heard of Hinehau. This brief of evidence was in the Te Paparahi O Te Raki[3] claims[4]. These resulting claims of the mana of a wāhine had moved me. I re-read it, wanting to know more. I had never heard of a tohunga wāhine from Whangārei before. Maunu is commonly described as an affluent farming area on the outskirts of town. It's a volcanic hill, west of the township of Whangārei and provides beautiful vistas of the harbour. Today, set in pretty green pastures divided by scoria rock walls, well-maintained homesteads, and a sizeable equestrian showground, Maunu is home to Whangārei's Settler Museum and a Pompallier Catholic College. Evidence of any pre-colonial occupation or tribal presence in the Maunu area is not apparent. I picked up the phone and began making calls to the tribal members who contributed to the evidence brief. *Have you heard of Hinehau?*

Finding more about Hinehau was going to take more than just a few quick phone calls. I managed to ascertain two key facts very early on. Firstly, the brief evidence story of Hinehau is sourced from a book written and conceptualised by a Pākehā woman. Secondly, tribal members told me Hinehau is not from Whangārei and was brought to Maunu as a war captive. How can Hinehau be a war captive and a powerful tohunga simultaneously? I began

[3] The name of Ngāpuhi's treaty claim against the Crown's historical breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

[4] See Appendices for the original brief of evidence from whaea Taparoto George nō Te Parawhau of the story of Hinehau.

to think about the kind of relationship Hinehau would've had with the hapū of Te Parawhau and the wider Ngāpuhi Iwi. My knowledge of intertribal warfare, commonly known as the Musket Wars, was rudimentary. My understanding of pre-colonial livelihoods of wāhine Māori was limited. I wanted to understand how Hinehau commanded this kind of respect and faith from the people of Te Parawhau, who went to such great efforts to utilise her mana to 'ensure success'.

To search for clues, I found a copy of *The Mana of Hinehau,* the fairy-tale authored by Florence Keene (Keene, 1986a). However, upon reading this fairy-tale version of Hinehau, I was uncomfortable by the author's rudimentary portrayal of these tūpuna.

Fairy tales originate from European folklore culture and are typically children's stories about magical and imaginary beings and lands. Categorising traditional Indigenous stories as fairy-tales, folktales, myths, and legends has a long tradition (Hearne, 2017). Elizabeth Bullen and Naarah Sawers discuss this phenomenon about the absorption of traditional Aboriginal narratives into an Australian fairy-tale or folktale tradition to authenticate a national identity via colonial literature for children (Bullen & Sawers, 2016). Sadhana Naithani (2010) describes the colonial motives, methods, and theories of folklore collection through a series of South Asian and African examples in her study *Story-Time of the British Empire*. Late-nineteenth century colonial representations of Hawaiian "legendary lore", which delegitimised Native Hawaiian epistemologies, relationships to land, and claims to sovereignty, is deconstructed in *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*, written by Cristina Bacchilega (2007). According to Bacchilega, the translated mo'olelo strategically served the needs of the settler culture. They conjured alluring and non-threatening images of the Hawaiian Islands that were important to the nascent tourist industry. They were also mistakenly associated with Western conceptions of legends, myths, and fairy tales from the past and were hence misunderstood and trivialised.

When I studied the Eurocentric fairy-tale adaption of Hinehau, I was drawn to the parts of the story that contained tribal tikanga and kawa. There were glimpses of how Whangārei tribes conducted ruakōiwi burial and the livelihoods of tūpuna in times of war. Indigenous traditional stories are not strictly fantasy because there is a different relationship with the

truth. Squashed under the weight of a far-fetched fairy-tale, I saw a potential tribal paradigm that demonstrated reconciliation of mana between a woman and a man and a rangatira and a tohunga. Her story captures the essence of traditional relationships between the living and the dead and how the energy and power of mauri and mana transfer into the environment, in this case, a Pūriri tree.

The nature of this research enquiry grew and evolved the more I found out about Hinehau. This journey started with Hinehau in the pages of a fairy-tale, which evolved into tribal accounts full of context and integrity. In parallel to this search for Hinehau, I begin to find out about myself too and join her in my reclamation journey of culture and identity.

This chapter introduces the thesis topic and considers some issues in tribal history recovery relevant to this study. I state my position as the researcher and how I approach this work. I also define some of the critical terms, values and scope of the topic. This research journey is a return home to look for a powerful wāhine in the ancestral landscape of Whangārei. This opportunity gave me a sense of purpose, I have been looking for a way to return home, and this kaupapa was the tohu.

Nō Ngāpuhi

It is of paramount importance to me that a Ngāpuhi point of view, ideology and approach is central to this work. I was raised in Whangārei and Ngāpuhi culture. The Hinehau narrative is located in the customary lands of Te Parawhau to which I belong. Te Parawhau hapū lands cover a Southern - Western area of the Whangārei township, to the shores of the harbour and inland to Whatitiri maunga, converging with the many neighbouring hapū including Te Uriroroi and Te Māhurehure. I also belong to Ngāti Hau, a hapū from the northern side of the Whangārei township. Our whanau Kake urupā, marae and Hāhi Mihingare, was built-in 1886 and located at Pehiāweri, just past the Otuihu Falls. We share ancestral links with Ngati Hine, Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Kahu o Torongare and our coastal relations of Waiariki and Ngāti Wai. These hapū and Iwi have their own identities and autonomy and are also intertwined in Ngāpuhi whanau and hapū relationships.

Ngāpuhi is part of Te Tai Tokerau country and connects with other tribes in many ways. Te Rarawa, Te Aupōuri, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kurī, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Wai, and various hapū groupings stand as part of a larger, five-poled whare together with Ngāpuhi. Each of the groups constitutes the five supporting poupou which together, with the significant maunga of Ngāpuhi as pou tokomanawa, hold up the tāhuhu, all located within the embrace of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. The significant, all-embracing, and encircling maunga of Ngāpuhi are Puhangatohora, Te Ramaroa, Whiria, Panguru, Papata, Maungataniwha, Tokerau, Rakaumangamanga, Manaia, Tutamoe and Manganui. In Ngāpuhi, these connections act as our tauparapara, whakatauki and pepehā. We can express in our whaikōrero all or some of these spiritual and physical connections we have to our surroundings that ground us in our Ngāpuhi identity.

Tāhuhu Nui O Rangi

The title of this section is the name of a revered Whangārei tūpuna Tāhuhu Nui O Rangi. He connects our Polynesian origins to our hapū identities in Whangārei. The shape of the majestic maunga and his descendant Manaia stands sentinel on the northern side of the Whangārei Harbour.

Tāhuhu Nui O Rangi was a navigator for the waka Moekāraka and an architect. He built his wharenui on top of Pouerua [hence the name] that was so gigantic it required two internal pillars to hold up the ridge pole. In Whangārei oral tradition, Tāhuhu Nui O Rangi unites the alliances north and south of the Whangārei District. The exploits of his mokopuna form the myths and legends of Whangārei, and it is also the name given to my nephew, born in 2020. My family value our whakapapa, and we take measures to hold on to our tūpuna stories.

Ngāpuhi identities are commonly expressed in pepehā. An evolutionary and uncomplicated tikanga that acknowledges one's ipukārea. Pepehā pertains to the physical attributes of our ancestral homelands, a place that represents the history and emotional attachment of the tribe. It can also be places that rejuvenate the wellbeing of the individual.

> The pepehā and its processes are about allowing connection in a way that will connect the parties concerned at that point in time and for that reason… It's, all about connections, connectivity of this world. Um, in terms

> of our emotional, uh, spiritual and physical wellbeing. I really believe that connectivity, active connectivity is part of our resilience. Part of our survival. I think it's actually our intelligence (L. Norris, personal communication, 5 June 2020)

Nana Nossi nō Te Uriohau and Te Parawhau hapū puts emphasis on the connectivity practice of the pepehā as a mark of wellbeing, resilience, and intelligence. Nana Nossi, is an outgoing and energetic whaea. She has always worked with her people of Whangārei, and I've had the privilege of spending time with Nana Nossi discussing the themes of this project and sharing tūpuna kōrero together. Nana Nossi was my kindergarten teacher, and in a way, there is this symbolic return to her side to receive the loving support and guidance she once offered me as a child many years ago.

With this research design and processes, I locate my political views, values, and beliefs in my knowing that the Crown broke the promises and agreements forged within the tenets of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tīreni and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ngāpuhi were there at the foundation of these two documents, which confirmed our rangatiratanga and sovereignty to the world. Since 1835, I believe Ngāpuhi experienced and still experience dishonourable actions from the Crown that sought to suppress us, weakening the words of our tūpuna while trampling upon the vision of what our tūpuna were trying to achieve. Ngāpuhi did not cede our sovereignty in 1840 (Independent, 2012).

My tupuna whaea Te Koke had two brothers, Te Tirarau and Taurau Kukupa (as cited in Keene, 1986), who signed these founding documents as Te Parawhau rangatira and engaged in wider Ngāpuhi debate and political affairs. They conducted business with Taumārere rangatira and participated in intertribal warfare. Te Tirarau managed the establishment of Catholic and Wesleyan missionaries in the Whangārei District and developed enterprises in potato, spars, Kauri gum and flax. He also controlled the first European settlers into the Te Parawhau tribal rohe (Fordyce, 2009) along with many other Te Parawhau rangatira, while prospering in Musket War times.

Tied up in preparing this thesis, I sensed a deep ache of responsibility that comes with writing about our history. At times, I had to deal with feelings of inadequacy when researching hapū history and identity. Whakapapa was only given on a 'need to know basis' in my family and shared with a lucky few. It was something we were 'supposed to know' without being taught 'how to know'. We spent time growing up at our marae, attending tangi and weddings and playing with our cousins while the adults would attend hui on the whenua block. But the memories of being made aware of my lack of knowledge of our tribal affiliations and identity outweigh the rare and informative lessons which ultimately taught me who I am and from whom I descend.

Looking for Hinehau is a torch in the dark, shining a way home

As I begin to think about the 'which', 'what' and the 'why' parts of my life that led me to study in Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao in 2021, I attempt to externalise things I haven't thought to put much meaning to before.

> It has always been within me. Dormant for the most part, but all of a sudden, tiny sparks created smoke just under the surface, it started as a dry itch in the back of the throat, looking for a way out (S. Wakefield, personal diary, 10 February 2020)

Five years ago, I would never have considered being a postgraduate student. I was too busy building an international freelance career in the film and television industry. But suddenly, out of nowhere, while visiting family friends in Whangārei, I became a victim of sexual assault.

There is this repulsive domino effect to being assaulted I was unprepared for. The emotional toll it took on the people that took care of me, the constant waves of uninvited assailant supporters that washed up on the shores of my family, intimidating and aggressive. It was the women who told me their stories of 'him' after speaking out publicly, and it was the humiliation experienced on the stand in the Whangārei District courtrooms.

The traumatic event left scars on my body and a deep-seated sense of dread that I can only describe as a form of 'homesickness'. This 'homesickness' leapt out at me every time I returned home to Whangārei. The assault profoundly impacted my relationships with my precious ūkaipō of Whangārei. These deep spiritual and heartfelt associations I had with the place I was raised in became unsafe. I didn't go home very often after that. After the assault, positive experiences of returning home would depend on how successful I was at managing my 'homesickness'. I would practice escape scenarios over and over in my head. The idea of bumping into 'him' or his many family members and friends was unbearable at times. I was forced to examine every part of my being to heal from that traumatic event that woke up this dormant presence. Five years ago, my actions, my words and my relationships meant everything to me. Through the methods chosen and the approaches I adopt in this project, I have created an opportunity to strengthen my 'taha hinengaro' (Mason Durie, 1998) and secured a chance to reconnect to my homelands and people in a very intentional and personal way. Looking for Hinehau is a torch shining a way home in the dark.
Cue the guitar and sing with me.

Te Hokinga mai, tēnā koutou

Tangi ana te ngākau, i te aroha

Tū tonu ra, te mana, te ihi, o ngā tūpuna, kua wehea atu rā

Mauria mai te mauri tangata

Hei oranga mō te mōrehu, tangi mōkai nei

E rapu ana i te ara tika, mō tātou katoa[5]

This waiata is the sound of our whanau at the last Toki Kake Whanau reunion and is always sung when that whanau gets together. I reminisce and reflect on my upbringing, mourn for people who have passed away and express deep aroha for our home people still keeping the fires burning.

Good intentions?

Have you heard the ironic joke about good intentions? How *the path to hell was paved with good intentions*? An intention is something you start with when you first set out to do something, whether you pull it off or not. A good intention is a good start. But starting with *good* intentions doesn't mean the outcome will automatically be *good*. It is also not enough to simply mean to do well; one must take action to do well. It is about knowing the difference between what someone intends to do and what they actually end up doing.
A good intention is a good place to start but is meaningless unless backed up. I must protect myself and this work from a path to hell by issuing this proverb as a disclaimer.

[5] In 1986, an exhibition of taonga Māori called 'Te Maori' travelled throughout the United States, sparking a revival of interest in Māori material culture and associated tikanga. When the exhibition returned to New Zealand, it travelled around the country to emotional scenes under the name 'Te Māori – Te Hokinga Mai'. The waiata 'Te Hokinga Mai' was composed by Taite Cooper and Father Mariu to commemorate the event and is one of the favourites at Pehiāweri marae. http://folksong.org.nz/te_hokinga_mai/index.html

Staying off the path to hell

To start with, this phrase is a warning first to me - the postgraduate student embarking on a Kaupapa Māori research journey concerning a historical narrative for the first time. In Aotearoa, New Zealand, there is an undeniable culture of ambivalence between the past and history-making. Groups within this society have maintained control of the past or instead retained control of narratives about the past (Poster, 1982).

The Hinehau narrative is from a pre-colonial time. To understand Ngāpuhi livelihoods and knowledge systems in the time Hinehau lived in Maunu is today an exercise of the imagination. Through processes of deforestation, farming and a capitalist economic system regime applied to our confiscated lands (Boast & Hill, 2009), our ancestral narratives and landscapes have disappeared, and our tribal pedagogy systems of whenua (Mason Durie, 1998) has eroded and disintegrated (Sorrenson, 1956).

Ngāpuhi intelligence has been violently under attack since the beginning days of colonialism through processes that removed Ngāpuhi people from their homelands (Independent, 2012). Whether those processes are outright dispossession, land destruction through resource extraction, imposed poverty, or colonial gendered violence. Nevertheless, our knowledge systems and traditional pedagogies must continue to ultimately support Māori revitalisation through ongoing work that regains our connection to self, culture, kin, land and sky (Riki Tuakiritetangata & Ibarra-Lemay, 2021).

To stay off the path to hell, I immerse this research project in Ngāpuhi epistemologies. Within Ngāpuhi epistemology, spiritual knowledge is a tremendous, ubiquitous source of wisdom that is the core of every system in the physical world. Our ontological concepts provide the stories that answer all of our questions. We gain access to this knowledge by being open to that kind of knowledge and being engaged in the way of living that generates a close, personal relationship with our ancestors and relations (Elder, 2020). Within the realm of this knowledge, oral tradition arts and practices associated with storytelling is where I position this narrative of Hinehau. Her story harkens back to the traditional lives of our tūpuna, their livelihoods and realities. Knowing her story re-engages me with our

epistemologies, becoming an act of revitalising our culture and strengthening our identity in learning about ourselves.

In the living times of Hinehau, Te Parawhau lands, people, and trade were under various levels of leadership and guardianship. Te Parawhau political control was made up of a matrix of rangatira, tohunga and ariki, who worked within whanau and hapū collectives. They embodied Ngāpuhi mātauranga because they were practitioners of Ngāpuhi mātauranga.

The customary covenant of mana must be understood to understand Hinehau. Mana and tapu are held and ingrained throughout Pacific societies (Hohepa, 2011). Mana is vital to chiefly authority and the wellbeing of tribal groups. Therefore, it was absolutely essential that it be maintained or, better still, enhanced. Attacks on the mana of an individual, hapū or whanau were to be dealt with and dealt with effectively. Insults, often considered trivial to non-Māori, could represent a severe attack on the mana of the victim or group. Forms of warfare offered an opportunity to restore mana and ensure spiritual and material wellbeing (Hohepa, 1999). Warfare played a vital role in inter-hapū relations (Ballara, 2003).

One of the typical ways researchers avoid walking a 'path to hell' is by applying a code of ethics to their work (Cram, 1993). Ethics in research promote and support the project's aims, such as expanding knowledge honestly. For example, Moana Jackson, nō Ngati Kahungungu and Ngāti Porou is a lawyer who has researched and spoken on several subjects, including criminal justice, colonisation, race, and constitutional change Aotearoa. In addition, Jackson has worked on Te Tiriti o Waitangi issues and the international Indigenous rights issues overseas.

Jackson provides us with ten research ethics that he advises should underpin any research on Indigenous peoples to advance Indigenous aspirations in research worldwide (Institute, 2013, pp. 61-63). First, in a Māori paradigm, time is not linear but is whakapapa based or, as Jackson refers to as 'a series of never-ending beginnings' (Institute, 2013). It's a notion of time that turns back on itself, bringing the past into the present and future.

This notion of time makes me think about my relationship with history and how I could create a connection with Hinehau in the past, Hinehau in the present, and how I relate to her in the future. Jackson's ten ethics set out to challenge approaches to research that prioritise non-Indigenous methods and values and allow non-Indigenous researchers to claim expert status over Indigenous peoples, places and knowledge. The theme of self-determination runs under the surface of Jackson's ethics and underpins contemporary approaches to Indigenous development and the repositioning of state-Indigenous nation relationships. Jacksons' ten ethics help to guide my decisions in selecting the history and literature included in this writing and what to exclude.

This warning of a path to hell is not just a precaution to me and the ethical choices I make in research but also a warning to the academy. This project will view New Zealand history like a 'camera on the shore' (Barclay, 2015; Milligan, 2015; Tuckett, 2009). I read and view Pākehā and European text on Māori histories from a Māori vantage point because I descend from the people that stood on the shores of these Islands, who watched the European ships sailing toward them. I hold the mirror up to the imperial 'gaze of power' (Foucault, 2012; Kaplan, 1997). This power lines the shelves of the University library walls with historical texts written on Indigenous lives, and it's the same' gaze of power' that has reigned supreme over the history of this country. I meet their gaze from the shores of my tūpuna. Their 'good intentions' are now under my observation. To do this, one must be well-versed in Kaupapa Māori research and decolonial theory.

> Decolonisation, we know, is a historical process: In other words, it can only be understood, it can only find its significance and become self-coherent insofar as we can discern the history-making movement which gives it form and substance (Fanon, 1965, p. 1)

Born on the Island of Martinique under French colonial rule, Frantz Omar Fanon 1925–1961, was one of the most influential writers in black Atlantic theory (Gilroy, 1993) in an age of anti-colonial liberation struggle. His critiques have influenced subsequent generations of thinkers and activists. Integrating psychoanalysis, phenomenology, existentialism, and Negritude theory, Fanon articulated an expansive view of the psychosocial repercussions of colonialism on colonised people. Fanon was naturally critical

of the institutions of colonialism and an early critic of the postcolonial governments, which failed to achieve freedom from colonial influences and establish a national consciousness among the newly liberated populace. For Fanon, the rise of corruption, ethnic division, racism, and economic dependence on former colonial states resulted from the "mediocrity" of Africa's elite leadership class.

Fanon theorises that a decolonisation process is measured on the actions and focus of a specific colonial movement, ideally, in past, present and future tenses. Similar to Jackson's first research ethic of prior thought, regarding the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, one must acquire a high level of awareness of what existed in Aotearoa before imperial ideology sailed to these Islands. Then, an ability to distinguish the depth and reach of the colonial movement must be located in the present day to build the necessary resilience to the ongoing form and substance of the movement to finally gain the ability to disrupt the scale of colonialism for our future.

Fanon and the critical thinkers applying his theory to colonisation experiences demand us to decolonise our minds and souls first to possess the ability to think in a decolonial mindset (Coulthard, 2014; Fanon, 1965; Freire, 2015). I intend to deliver insight into what is perceived as the form and substance of the Hinehau narratives and contribute to her history by producing research grounded in Māori concepts by using these concepts as the 'thinking framework' or methodologies. This framework is the first challenge of becoming self-coherent enough to rethink the powerfully embedded colonising narratives we have learnt to live amongst.

My political and cultural positioning through the assertation of Ngāpuhi oral tradition and mātauranga Māori is strategic. It will provide evidence for analysis to uncover new information about Hinehau and create a better understanding of her.

The “white” elephant in the room

To issue a warning to 'be aware' of good intentions from the outset positions this research to the philosophical underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori research in sharing an emancipatory and critical approach (Hoskins & Jones, 2017; L. T. Smith, 2018; Tui, 2020). Indigenous

scholars (Andersen, Hokowhitu, Larkin, Moreton-Robinson, & Tuhiwai-Smith, 2020) all over the world breakdown types of 'superficial support' in favour of decolonisation (Lund & Carr, 2015) and how they manifest in former British colonies around the world regarding Indigenous land, resources and sovereignty (Held, 2019; Kivel, 2013; Stewart, 2020, 2021a; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Some of the most extreme anti-Māori arguments come from highly placed academics and political leaders. The concept of "whiteness" in all its identifying terms such as white privilege, white fragility and white supremacy is in recognition that being 'white' is the norm in Britain and former British settler colonies such as Australia, Canada and India (Liebow & Glazer, 2019; Parasram, 2019). This work argues that engaging with settler colonialism texts and historical documents reveals white supremacy's enduring social, economic, and political impacts as a materially grounded set of practices. I am of the position that white supremacy is not an artefact of history or an extreme position, but rather the foundation for the continuous unfolding of practices of race and racism within the settler state of Aotearoa, New Zealand (Mahuika, 2017; Moffat, 2004; Pickles, 2002). In Aotearoa, New Zealand, Pākehā ideas and attitudes towards Māori today are diverse, but still include 'truth myths' that continue to undermine Māori beliefs and paradigms. Examples of these truth myths (Stewart, 2021b) are founded in colonial fiction and have been supported in mainstream media. For instance, the Māori experience of colonisation is regarded as historical (Flikschuh, Ypi, & Ajei, 2014). Terms like 'post-colonialism' continue to gaslight Māori understanding of our continuing experiences of colonisation (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Another

popular 'truth myth' is 'Māori experience of colonialism has been overall beneficial' [6] or 'Māori have only themselves to blame for their poverty [7] and 'Māori language and culture is inferior to European language and culture' [8] (Elkington, 2020b, pp. 107-132; Ngata, 2019; Stewart, 2020). Embedded truth myths such as these are why decolonial thinking at its core can never be just a piece of writing alone. Transformation must be both the intention and the action of the work when it comes to our experience of genocide, land confiscation, spiritual assimilation and cultural gaslighting (Ruíz, 2020) in our homelands.

During the level 4 lockdown 2020, I began searching historical records and collecting pages and pages of information through online archives. I spent late nights with enlarged images of handwritten Native Land Court records. I spent days reading through years of historical records. Waka migrations, growing hue, kōrero of the Huia bird in Te Tai Tokerau, pakanga, atua, tūpuna, maunga, tikanga, the Kīngitanga, wāhi tapu robbers from Vienna and anything that mentioned placenames between Kerikeri to Kaiwaka in the off chance of miraculously finding Hinehau in an index, chapter or footnote. In general, these accounts demonstrated the origins of the perpetuating truth myths and, at the same time, discount wāhine Māori, an authentic voice in history whose stories have been marginalised and erased from the history books. These types of colonial interpretations of Māori culture (Pearson, 1958) illustrate the undermining of Māori beliefs and especially towards our tūpuna kuia (Hanson, 1982).

6 https://www.waateanews.com/waateanews/x_news/Mjc1NzQ/Opinion/OPINION:-National's-bewildering-evaluation-of-the-impact-of-Colonisation-on-Maori-is-embarrassing

7 https://www.otago.ac.nz/wellington/otago640012.pdf

8 https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/106817310/whats-the-point-in-learning-te-reo-maori-a-language-spoken-only-in-new-zealand

Romanticism is not for the faint-hearted

Regarding tribal history recovery, there are many choices to make as Indigenous people worldwide engage in contemporary art forms, film-making and digital platforms to reinvigorate ancestral knowledge and histories.

Kim Anderson, an Indigenous Metis scholar, has spent her career working to improve the health and wellbeing of Indigenous families in Canada. She cautions Indigenous researchers of the dangers of glorifying pre-colonial pasts. Due to the cultural genocide under colonial rulings, Indigenous people tend to look for a culture free from the coloniser's influence as we move through processes of recovery. Anderson warns us that our knowledge loss and our need to reclaim our 'original' ways can lead us down a dangerous path of romanticising our traditions into a perceived golden age of our ancestors (K. Anderson, 2015, p. 13).

In a transcribed critical dialogue (Burgess et al., 2020), Indigenous writers and thinkers discuss the relationship between romanticism and imagination and what that means to Indigenous reimagination. They debate the actuality of imagining anything without romanticising it.

The mainstream notion of romanticising the past is where something is perceived as better than it is. But what about the people who strategically use romanticised narratives of Indigenous histories to critique the current paradigm.

> It is these romanticisms that are often dismissed, silenced or discredited… Indigenous romanticism is where the past is what informs the future present (Burgess et al., 2020, p. 17).

The discussion introduces the role of the imagination in a decolonial process. Imagination is required to think of a world without colonisation, and the only real point of reference lies in our pre-colonial pasts (Jackson, 2020).

> Years ago, I thought to myself that one of the first things that oppression takes from the oppressed is the ability to dream. And not in the go to sleep sense, but really the imaginings of an alter-native reality, of the imaginings of something else and I believe that it is often robbed from oppressed

> people. Dreams are important ways to be able to create new realities (Burgess et al., 2020, p. 21)

I think Anderson's concern of romanticising the past (K. Anderson, 2015) has the potential to limit the political and disrupting power of Indigenous reimagination. If there is a world we want to live in, but it no longer exists, or is yet to exist, then we must imagine it into being.

Let's turn to present-day Aotearoa, New Zealand. The colonial histories of this nation are an appropriate example of a romanticised past. In every town in New Zealand, streets are named after Crown military leaders of the New Zealand Wars. Colonial monuments stand in town squares, and pioneer settler history museums in every town and city showcase an essentialised version of the European immigrant families as the founding communities of Aotearoa, New Zealand. These romanticised stories are the foundation of many Pākehā heritages that sailed to the South Pacific to 'break in' wild and savage land (Grayland, 1963; Peden 2011; Moon, 2012). These examples of the 'single story' (Adichie, 2009; Tunca, 2018) pioneer settler histories act as the only valid history which creates stereotypes and truth myths. The problem with stereotypes and truth myths is not that they are untrue and incomplete. It is a problem that the 'single story' becomes the only one. Author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie uses single stories (2009) to describe the overly simplistic and sometimes false perceptions formed about individuals, groups, or countries. Her novels and short stories complicate the single stories many people believe about Nigeria, where she is from.

Besides researching and writing this thesis, I produce an audio drama re-imagined and inspired by Hinehau. I create a world where the mana of Hinehau can be activated in a present context. In chapters two and three, I explain this creative project in further detail and how it becomes a contribution to the wider Ngāpuhi community.

The imperial gaze on Ngāpuhi

This study identifies systematic, cultural and spiritual barriers that confront us when we locate ourselves in missionary and settler literature. Regarding the search for Hinehau, I have chosen not to ignore the colonial writings of histories written by non-Māori. There are insights gained in these readings.

In the accounts of their early years in New Zealand, sister in-laws Marianne and Jane Williams portray themselves as being engaged in a battle for control over Māori woman's bodies and minds (As cited in Fitzgerald, 2001). Māori women's bodies and minds were contested sites over which the missionary women must establish control. Marianne William describes New Zealand as a 'stronghold of Satan' (Fitzgerald, 2001) where missionaries' fight the battles of the Lord' (Fitzgerald, 2001). As educated, middle-class Anglican women, Marianne and Jane held firm beliefs regarding the role of Christian wives and mothers. This evangelical framework guided their missionary work and activities with Ngāpuhi women. Williams records a Ngāpuhi disregard (M. Williams, 2004) for European concepts of private property. Her accounts are full of stories of Ngāpuhi men and women who walk over missionary picket fences, help themselves to missionary cultivations, collect their eggs, and enter their houses and bedrooms. Ngāpuhi men and women were also recorded as employees of the missionary families who carried out domestic duties for the Christian families.

> 7 January 1824
> For savages, I think they do wonders: but they are still savages. Generally speaking they will do what they like when they like (Williams, 2004, p.70)

> 12 January 1824
> If there is anything to be seen, or anything extraordinary occurs in New Zealand, the mistress must do the work while the servants gaze abroad. She must not scold them either, for if they are rangatira's [of noble birth] they will run away in a pet, and if they are kukis [slaves] they will laugh and tell her 'she has too much of the mouth'. Having been forewarned of this, I wait and work till they come back (Williams, 2004, p.73)

There is a strong sense in William's accounts that wāhine Māori ultimately had the upper hand in these missionary women – wāhine Māori relationships. Sometimes the missionary's wishes and ways were ignored; other times, they were overtly challenged, cheerfully

ridiculed or shunned. However, scolding was not tolerated as the accounts record wāhine Māori walking out of the mission, which the 12 January 1824 journal entry demonstrates. In the Williams accounts, Ngāpuhi women were considered far more morally degraded than Ngāpuhi men and in serious need of missionary women's civilising influence and Christian teachings. Consequently, the first school opened was for Ngāpuhi women (Fitzgerald, 2001). William's writing demonstrates her ambition and preoccupation with covering and controlling Ngāpuhi women's sexuality and domesticating them according to middle-class English notions of womanhood.

Charles Darwin, the English naturalist, geologist and biologist, was best known for the science of evolution and the inspiration for Positivism. He is also the originator of a theory in which one superior species outperforms and outlives an inferior one and was also convinced that evolution was progressive and that the white races, especially the Europeans, who were considered evolutionarily more advanced than black races, thus establishing race differences and a racial hierarchy (Lieberman, 2017). When we read descriptions of Māori bodies written by Darwin, it is hard not to ignore his imperial mindset judging Ngāpuhi tūpuna.

> 22 December 1835 – Excerpt from a journal of Charles Darwin's visit to Kororāreka.
>
> He may, perhaps, be superior in energy, but in every other respect, his character is of a much lower order. One glance at their respective expressions brings conviction to the mind that one is a savage, the other a civilised man. Both their persons and houses are filthy dirty and offensive: the idea of washing either their bodies or their clothes never seems to enter their heads. I saw a chief who was wearing a shirt black and matted with filth; and when asked how it came to be so dirty, he replied, with surprise, 'Do not you see it is an old one?' (M. Williams, 2004, p. 222)

When we read descriptions of Māori bodies written by Charles Darwin, the English naturalist, geologist and biologist, best known for the science of evolution and the inspiration for Positivism. He is also the originator of a theory in which one superior species outperforms and outlives an inferior one and was also convinced that evolution was

progressive, and that the white races, especially the Europeans, who were considered evolutionarily more advanced than black races, thus establishing race differences and a racial hierarchy (Lieberman, 2017).

In these few selected examples of literature, we learn much more about the English mindset than we do about Māori bodies. If we had the Māori accounts, the picture and the interpretations given of the interaction would be very different. Nevertheless, it's difficult to ignore the imperial gaze on Ngāpuhi tūpuna that tended to the missionary children, prepared their food, made their clothes, healed their wounds, built their houses, taught them te Reo Māori and helped to establish homes and places to cultivate in their new home. In the search for Hinehau, the task of reading about Ngāpuhi culture through this 'imperial' gaze is confronting.

Ngāpuhi intelligence and oral tradition hold a mirror up to these imperial gazes of power. According to our tribal histories, missionaries were, in fact, manuhiri and not the employers of tangata whenua in the early 1800s. There were consequences for the missionaries and early settlers if they didn't adhere to Ngāpuhi tikanga or understand the realms of mana, tapu and utu9. Various forms of muru were carried out as compensation for their digressions. Muru range from taking food and resources to getting expelled from an area and as severe as loss of life[10] (Pat Hohepa, 1999).

10 https://nzhistory.govt.nz/marion-du-fresne-arrives-in-the-bay-of-islands

These are just a few examples of experience of my Ngāpuhi ancestors and it directly affects me, my whanau and our future generations ability to connect to our customary lands today. Kōrero tuku iho ceases to be transmitted en masse. Our narratives and stories are largely unseen and hidden out of sight for many different reasons. In the story of Hinehau, her kōiwi were put in the caves of Ruarangi, located in Whangārei. Further along in the thesis, I give historic context of these caves to Whangārei hapū and within the story context of Hinehau. These are the burial caves which housed kōiwi of generations of Ngai Tāhuhu, Ruangaio and Te Parawhau rangatira and was forced to be boarded up to stop the constant dececration of this customary burial site.

Hands up who cross-cultural code-switches

Māori have always had a minimum of two audiences, even if we're simply talking at the obvious level of Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders. We're constantly working with many conflicting dynamics, even if we're starting with the act of writing about Māori concepts with English words. We are on a constant receiving end of unrequited bi-linguicism and bi-culturalism that accommodates the comfort levels of Pākehā (Makereti, 2018). Terms like bilingualism and bi-culturalism give the impression that in Aotearoa, New Zealand, we use both languages and relate to two cultures which are not my experience. I have purposely modified my behaviour in both Māori and Pākehā settings to accommodate the different cultural norms for appropriate behaviour. I identity as Māori, and my mother is Pākehā. At a deeper level, this position at the centre of such long-standing contradictory forces causes tension between self-expression and social acceptance. This project is positioned as a Kaupapa Māori project which centres on Māori knowledge, values and beliefs. This aligns with the personal goal to practice my mana motuhake and honour the mana and mauri of Hinehau. I need the ability to not live in fear of being myself and talking the way I want when I am home, which is important to my process and practice.
Kaupapa Māori research practices require Pākehā individuals to become ordinary, at ease in Māori contexts, open to Māori knowledge and familiar with te Reo Māori. (Hoskins & Jones, 2017, p. 188).

I will be spending time with a Pākehā family that share their family connection to Hinehau with me. Traversing Māori and Pākehā settings is a code-switching practice I am familiar

with. For the most part, I code-switch to identify within social groups, or in this instance, present as either Māori or Pākehā. Whether it's subconscious or conscious code-switching, I need to observe when I code-switch and why. I want to learn to identify and unsubscribe from the prescribed Pākehā worldview[11] [12] of who and what is 'Māori' today[13].

Mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory and practice

The clear and distinct feature of mātauranga Māori is the unapologetic focus of a Māori-centric space. It does not rely on seeking validity or approval from other worldviews, and it is not couched in the epistemes of others. It does not require us to expend vast amounts of energy on validation to others, translating our meanings, explaining ourselves, or justifying our ways of knowing and being (Panuku, 2013-2016, pp. 43,44; Royal, 2009a).

Connecting with mātauranga Māori and expanding the inventory of ideas is to work with the knowledge that remains. Language, story art, and landscapes in their various media are a rich source of knowledge that can curl out and make links with ngā taonga tuku iho a ngā tūpuna – our timeless epistemological truths (Bean, Black, Collings, & Nuku, 2012, pp. 45, 46).

This will not be a linear story utilising just one silo of knowledge. This is a study of connection. It's a synergy across everything, and this is what mātauranga Māori is. An example of a mātauranga Māori framework is the famous whare tapa whā that has been

11https://www.maorieverywhere.com/single-post/national-maori-authority-calls-for-national-to-sack-senior-members-after-endorsement-of-colonisation?fbclid=IwAR0LP7pfNL1RsqweAouKXgoArfd_ILd8QByv6jqwAwbVib7cs8VTJ_rJEps
12 https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/news/2019/12/16/maori-tv-changes-migrants-views-on-maori.html
13 https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/racism-or-satire-how-to-tell-the-difference/

adopted and utilised in many health organisations[14]. Sir Mason Durie nō Rangitāne, Raukawa ONS KNZM, a professor in Māori health and celebrated for his 'whare hauora' concept. He adopts mātauranga Māori into a framework of understanding into a whare of four walls. These walls have sides made up of taha tīnana, taha wairua, taha whānau and taha hinengaro. These four terms hold concepts of Māori wellbeing. These components come together to build capacity and wellbeing into the relationships an individual has with themselves, their environments and whanau, hapū and Iwi. (Mason Durie, 2011).

Another example of using Indigenous knowledge and truth in research is in *Blood Narrative.* Native American Professor Chadwick Allen proposes that we think of Indigenous identities within a frame characterised by three terms - blood, land, and memory (Allen, 2002; Schwimmer, 2004). These terms represent three interrelated sites to counteract and potentially subvert dominant settler discourse as they raise issues of history and belonging and where they're placed in contemporary colonial societies. Allen's 'comparative study' between New Zealand Māori and First Nation Indian draw out resemblances of cultures colonised by white settlers to show that these colonised cultures suffered prominently from the loss of blood, land, and memory.

Our narratives remind us that oral storytelling is done to maintain and sustain cultural continuity, while at other times, stories allow for directional cultural change. A story can enable a culture to regenerate itself. Storytelling honours our memory while validating the diverse movement and interconnectivity nature of mātauranga Māori, as change is the only constant in our lives. (Archibald, Lee-Morgan, De Santolo, & Smith, 2019).

14 https://www.healthnavigator.org.nz/healthy-living/t/te-whare-tapa-wh%C4%81-and-wellbeing/

Applying these knowledge bases in mahi rangahau involves exploring how our tūpuna would have viewed and approached problems. It is the researcher's job to critique the timelessness of the solution and adapt the answer for the contemporary situation. This gives functionality to ancient wisdom whilst still making it context-appropriate. It's important to begin to explore and make connections between these paradigms. Kaupapa Māori theoretical approaches provide a 'cultural template' that is informed by mātauranga Māori (Pihama, 2010; Pihama, Tiakiwai, & Southey, 2018). I will utilise three interconnecting mātauranga Māori terms of whenua, whakapapa, and kōrero tuku iho as a framework of understanding. Not dissimilar to Allen, I will use these three terms, not as a reminder of loss and depletion but focus these terms as the 'superpower' to assist the reimagination of Hinehau's story and assist my personal reclamation as a tribal member of Whangārei. In doing so, I have created a practice for myself, an 'ongoing wānanga' with which to interact and participate with.

The cloak of invisibility is sliding off her shoulders

Knowledge about whakapapa comes with a responsibility to protect the mauri and integrity of the collective tātai. At times, whakapapa can be considered tapu and not be shared lightly for fear of exploitation and abuse (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). I am acutely aware of my responsibility and accountability to my whanau, ngā uri whakaheke, my tūpuna and those who have passed on. While I am reluctant to disclose whakapapa and the stories I descend from, this is necessary for understanding my position as the researcher. As part of this research, I completed a whakapapa analysis. Looking into the lives of my tūpuna kuia connected me to them in an extraordinary but sombre way.

I am a descendant of Te Kauta Kake. She was a known Ngati Hine matakite and was not permitted to be buried inside the whānau urupā as she wasn't baptised Anglican. Our marae has had a solid Anglican presence since the 1870s. Her life as a matakite and burial site is not common knowledge in our whanau. She is left largely unacknowledged.

On my taha Ngāi Tahu, my tūpuna kuia Parapara [Jane] Neke Smith was born in a small settlement on Rakiura and was part of the Whenua Hou collective that moved around the

Murihiku coast and Southern Islands. The fury of Te Rauparaha's raids into Te Waka a Maui forced Ngai Tahu and Kati Mamoe to send wāhine to safety on the Murihiku coasts and remote Islands. Sending wāhine Māori away was a tikanga to keep whakapapa and mātauranga safe. European and American whalers and sealers based on the Southern shores were advised unions for these wāhine. Unfortunately, the whaler and sealer men introduced diseases that kept infant mortality at a very high rate and threatened Māori survival at the time. There were many unions and 'half-cast' papakainga made up of Pākehā men and Ngai Tahu wāhine (A. Anderson) were formed throughout the Rakiura Islands. These precious kōrero tuku iho are held in the whakairo of the Te Rau Aroha whare in Bluff. Parapara died at the age of 34 of turburculosous; a sickness wāhine Māori were especially vulnerable to in the 1820s.

On my taha Whakatōhea, I descend from rangatira Mokomoko and partner Kimohia. According to whānau kōrero, in retaliation for Carl Völkner's killing, the Government sent soldiers to Ōpōtiki to make arrests. The soldiers encountered some resistance, and the Government used this as the basis for raupatu of tens of thousands of hectares of whenua Māori in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Many were killed, kāinga destroyed, and Whakatōhea's shipping fleets were destroyed. Kimohia, was repeatedly raped before being stabbed to death by soldiers with a bayonet.

The memory of the wrongdoings to our tūpuna has been burnt into the consciousness of each successive generation of whānau. This intergenerational trauma is something that a Pākehā world wouldn't see up close. These histories are still ever-present in our whanau. To produce a piece of authentic Kaupapa Māori research, we need the courage to find strengths to draw support to write our truths.

Through this whakapapa exercise, I could pull the cloak of invisibility off these wāhine tūpuna and visit site-specific places to honour them. I wrote about my feelings during a hīkoi in Whangārei at our whanau block, Te Rewarewa. *What does it mean to be truly seen? To be visible in your own life? If you had asked me this question several years ago, I'd have been unable to answer it. Instead, I've learnt that being visible is an ongoing practice. For me, it's about unlearning who I thought I was supposed to be and practising new ways of*

being. Often this is uncomfortable at first, but the more I honour my heart, the easier being visible has become.

During many hīkoi throughout Whangārei, I acknowledge my own feelings of invisibility amongst my own people and homelands. These tūpuna kuia I am connected with have only previously been names rope learnt in tātai. Before this research project, I had never thought about their lives or acknowledged what they went through in their lifetimes. Visiting site-specific places where they lived allowed me to remember them.

There is a theme of invisibility emerging in the research. The kōrero of Hinehau is not fully known. This project is pulling the cloak of invisibility off Hinehau and finding the historical context of her life, and visiting the sites specifically to form a relationship with her and the surrounding ancestral landscape she resides. Raising the visibility of Hinehau is integral to this project.

We are what we remember; society is what we remember

Albert Wendt, a Samoan poet, is one of New Zealand's significant novelists and has been an influential figure since the 1970s in the development of New Zealand and Pasifika literature. Wendt has taken on the task of correcting colonialist representations of Pasifika culture from an insider perspective. The role of memory becomes central to the Wendt's transposing of oral traditions into written forms. 'No culture is static… our cultures were changing even in pre-papalagi times… There was no 'noble savage' then, or now, there was no 'golden age' then and there certainly no 'golden age' now' (As cited in Sharrad, 2002, p.111). Wendt reinforces our sense of the world and ourselves and the current predicament as colonised people with family histories of assimilation. 'If we have no memories .. Would we be aware that we existed?' (Sharrad, 2003, p. 211) This philosophical question has political implications:

> Memory is the only source of finding out who we are… The self is a trick of memory. We are what we remember; society is what remembers. That is why we must control what we remember – history- and hand that on to our children (Wendt, 1992, p. 178)

If colonisation and its effects are the hard-hitting truth to understanding Wendt's work, then his role as a storyteller could be seen as a solution. In Wendt's memoir 'Out of the Vaipe, the Deadwater: A writer's early life' (2015) , his pre-colonial knowledge acts as a soothing balm and a radical path in Wendt's personal decolonisation. The grandmother who told him stories each night in the fale of the tradition of fagogo [traditional Samoan narratives] informed Wendt's knowledge of pre-Christian Samoan spirituality. The German, English and New Zealand occupations of Samoa are Wendt's context, and Samoan spirituality, mythology and oral tradition have been the tools of Wendt's empowerment process, both of himself and of the Pasifika literature that did not exist before the printing of his extensive range. In the search for Hinehau, Wendt's work leads me to ponder the bigger questions. How does dominant New Zealand remember pre-colonial Aotearoa? If Hinehau is remembered as a fairy-tale, does that mean more stories are considered just a tale too?

This chapter outlines my key research questions and my intentions behind looking for Hinehau. I explain the approaches and goals within this project framework and some of the issues I may collide with along the way. Adhering to Kaupapa Māori in theory, design and purpose make room for me and this work to evolve, grow and change as the project continues to unfold as new information comes to light. I have designed intentional methods that encompass, celebrate, and privilege my tribal intelligence and knowledge within this approach. This also lets me practice our tribal custom of making analyses by making connections and relationships in all aspects of the project. The art of knowing whakapapa and making tātai is laid out in the next chapter. In looking for Hinehau, I learn about myself and the stories of my tribe. I liken this research project to a journey. A reflective work based on my experiential learning through utilising a participatory methodology, a simulation or dedication to our traditional wānanga schools of education. Many reasons have driven me to produce this work which gets discussed throughout this writing. I set out a series of reflections on working with Ngāpuhi knowledge, Pākehā family memories of Hinehau and non-Māori literature within a research context; and report on the challenges and tribulations that were overcome. Literature is full of a negative discourse of wāhine Māori written by non-Māori I have mentioned in this chapter and will continue to point out in this

thesis. This project makes visible the mana of wāhine Māori, which I will lay out in chapter three.

I believe wānanga is a special gift, and I feel privileged to be doing this mahi. It's not just about lecturing or teaching; wānanga is about facilitating a conversation that draws out the magic and the genius in the room (Maihi, 2017). Wānanga is about learning and how to reprogram ourselves. As we reprogram ourselves to our tūpuna genius, it makes room for any shedding of previous preconceptions and allows us to lean into the vulnerability that comes with growth and development because it can be scary, especially if we have been taught how to think another way. Wānanga is a deliberate space to grow and understand who we are and where we come from, so we can then know where we are going. To extend that understanding of self, that then takes us to another place of learning. Wānanga is about having deliberate conversations. Wānanga should engage with your wairua, your hinengaro and your tīnana (Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020). And as you engage the three, it aligns to give you that indescribable feeling of 'wow'. That reclaiming of tūpuna wisdom, the alignment of seeing your past and how it connects to the present, is how to imagine one's future.

CHAPTER TWO: How will I search for Hinehau?

Have you heard of Hinehau? This research question is centred around the searching for validity in the Hinehau narrative and how it can be understood and interpreted. The second part of this research question is *how* to look for this knowledge when very little is known. These questions may sound simple enough, but the nature of this research grew, evolved and changed shape as I started to learn about her. In parallel to learning about Hinehau, I also learn about myself. This chapter lays out the Kaupapa Māori methodological and theoretical approaches used to provide coherent and logical answers to the research questions based on Māori beliefs and values. This chapter also illustrates how mātauranga Māori creates this research framework and guides the choices made in designing this work.

Principals of a culturally preferred way of learning and knowing

Pre-existing frameworks in academia do not determine Kaupapa Māori methodology. This means Kaupapa Māori pedagogy is not something in relation to the Western norm but something we must define in relation to our understanding of ourselves as Māori, our past and our potential, as mātauranga Māori is the knowledge tradition or the epistemology that had its genesis in ancient Polynesia (Sadler, 2007; Hohepa, 2011, Mead, 2016; Royal 2009b; Marsden 2003; Moore, 2016).

Kaupapa Māori has been described by many who have worked to develop Māori research, and I am inspired by the many insightful writers and thinkers that have contributed to the issues and problems within Māori scholarship (Hoskins & Jones, 2017; Hutchings, Potter, & Taupo, 2011; Ormond, 2019; Pihama, 2001; Powick, 2003; Ruru & Nikora, 2021; G. Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012; G. H. Smith, 2002; L. T. Smith, 2018; Tui, 2020) .

One of these trailblazers is Professor Graham Smith nō Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Kahungunu. Professor Smith has been an influential contributor to the development of what he has described in his writings as the twenty-five-year Māori

educational revolution of 1982–2007[15]. This period saw the development of alternative educational strategies by Māori communities, beginning with Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura, and the emerging tertiary option of Wānanga. Known for his hands-on approach concerning his participation and commitment to these initiatives, Smith was the founding chairperson of the Council for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in Whakatāne. He quintessentially describes Kaupapa Māori research as the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori and where 'Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right' (G Smith, 2002).

Professor Graham Smith is the marital partner to Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith's nō Ngāti Porou. Known as the mother of Indigenous Studies, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* is considered one of the most influential texts on Indigenous research. She is one of the first Māori women to become a Fellow of the Royal Society. She has received an Honorary Doctorate in Canada, and her Prime Minister's Award is the highest national award for lifetime achievement in education. At a 2011 Kaupapa Māori conference, Smith highlights the flexible boundaries and multiple dimensions of Kaupapa Māori research:

If I think about Kaupapa Māori as it was, as it is, and as it will be, in definitional framework I think it's really simple. It was what it was, it is what it is, and it will be what it will be. It is more than and less than other comparative terms. It is more than a theory and less than a theory; it is more than a paradigm and less than a paradigm; it is more than a methodology and less than a methodology. It is something much more fluid. For me, I love these sorts of

[15] http://www.manu-ao.ac.nz/

spaces because there's a sense that you can continue to create what it will be (Hutchings, Potter, & Taupo, 2011b, p. 11).

Smith chooses here not to define Kaupapa Māori theory or adhere to a short 'dictionary meaning' as that could be seen as limiting its full potential. I think what she is trying to illustrate is that a small paragraph cannot accommodate the holistic and multi-layered nature of Kaupapa Māori. The heart of Kaupapa Māori research must continue to beat in the historical context to which it has arisen. It's the response that resonates throughout Māori scholarship and across all disciplines in the dissatisfaction with the continued failure of Western research paradigms and practices to address the needs of Māori communities (Henry & Pene, 2001). A transformative praxis is an essential part of Kaupapa Māori research. If this aspect is neglected, then the radical potential of Kaupapa Māori is at threat of becoming domesticated (Jones & Hoskins, 2020; G. Smith et al., 2012).

Academia has almost exclusively focused on Western paradigms and approaches to research. Indigenous research paradigms and knowledge traditions can be considered research objects but have not been accepted and respected as coequals within Western universities[16]. This manifestation of ontological oppression results from Western science being exported around the globe from Europe and sold with the matching imperialistic and colonial attitudes (Beattie & Morgan, 2021). Positivist paradigms are ontologically founded on the notion of one reality or truth. Established through a scientific method that draws on

[16] https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/447898/university-academics-claim-matauranga-maori-not-science-sparks-controversy

empirical data and the senses, Positivist paradigms are interpreted in an objective and value-free way (D. Wilson, Mikahere-Hall, & Sherwood, 2021). Post-positivists however, have moved beyond this perspective, recognising that such approaches were prone to error and that truth is contextually bound. The objective, value-free approach of positivist and post-positivist paradigms clashes with Indigenous worldviews, cultural values, practices and, importantly, our realities defined by the physical and metaphysical relationships and connectedness with people and the environment (L. T. Smith, Smith, Curtis, & Walker, 1992). Many 'scientific' research fails to contextualise historical and contemporary events that determine Indigenous realities and experiences (Chilisa, 2014). A colonialist approach (Todd, 2016) to research involves navigating a tension between Indigenous stories told without Indigenous peoples' involvement and not acknowledging Indigenous people at all. Either way, authentic Indigenous voices are silenced and perpetuated by a lack of accountability (Brayboy, 2000). Reliance on individualised, deficit and victim-blaming produced by positivist research often portray Indigenous peoples negatively and overlooks their strengths and assets (Anaru, 2011; Andersen et al., 2020; Mertens, Cram, & Chilisa, 2013) and the resilience and resistance they possess (Anaru, 2011; Andersen et al., 2020). Furthermore, dependence on positivist and post-positivist research paradigms and methodologies alone overlook the harmful and ongoing intergenerational effects of colonisation on Indigenous peoples (Mahuika, 2019b). The colonisation of Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women, has marginalised ways of knowing and invaliding customary practices (Mikaere, 2017; Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed- Pihama, & Gabel, 2019).

A research paradigm that has emerged to challenge the assumptions of positivism is the discipline of Critical theory and should be mentioned here because of its paradigm position that aligns with Kaupapa Māori theory (Eketone, 2008; A.-M. Jackson, 2015). Both are anti-positivist in nature and have research themes involved with critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation from structures of oppression (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Critical theory and Kaupapa Māori challenge and expose the underlying assumptions of positivism that conceal the power relations within society and how dominant groups construct concepts of common sense and facts (Pihama, 1993).

The intention of using a Kaupapa Māori approach in this project addresses the failings of Western educational systems to mātauranga Māori by creating the space that validates Māori paradigms, knowledge, and values. A Kaupapa Māori paradigm gives Māori power over the whole research process and addresses the political and social determinants that affect Māori wellbeing on every level. Centring Māori wellbeing does not mean that Māori worldviews are considered more important than those held by any other culture or academic discipline or that Māori worldviews should be forced upon other groups. Instead, Kaupapa Māori promotes the reclamation of a sovereign Māori space, taking Māori values and paradigms for granted and engaging with issues affecting us from that sovereign position.

In New Zealand today, the emergence and dominance of the Kaupapa Māori research paradigm are forcing Pākehā researchers to come to terms with this new cultural norm. It is referred to as 'Pākehā paralysis' (Tolich, 2002), a Pākehā inability to distinguish between their role in Māori-centred research and their role in research in a New Zealand society. As a result, pākehā researchers now have to do the work to find ways to push through this cultural paralysis (Hotere-Barnes, 2019) that avoids Māori in their research, failing to fulfil Te Tiriti responsibilities when supposedly addressing cultural concerns in this country.

Kaupapa Māori methodology is Mana Māori Motuhake

In this study, the key ontological and epistemological perspective in Kaupapa Māori is the value that Ngāpuhi culture places upon the knowledge that originates beyond this physical world and is acquired through a process of spiritual inquiry. This project is founded on the ontological Ngāpuhi belief of another realm that begins with Te Kore (Hohepa, 2011). It's the space beyond the world of our everyday experience as we do not live in a closed system, where what we see is all there is. The critical epistemological method of learning about this ontological reality is whakapapa. The entire universe is seen as a vast and complex cosmic family where everything is connected and related. Whakapapa helps us understand, learn and experience the world and act within these celestial relationships of connection. This philosophical truth begins with Te Kore, a void of space with future potential for being. From within this dark void of nothing came a search for inquiry and followed closely and

carefully. This potential swells and beings to grow and increase volume, which creates an anticipated desire for it to continue growing. This awareness is formed by deep thoughts and emotion that emerges and manifests like a longing for more. Dr Ranginui Walker nō Whakatohea was a powerful advocate for Māori. A Māori academic, an award-winning writer, an author, and a historian. He ran a long life of debates as a Māori intellect that led to many developments in Māori revitalisation. He explains Māori epistemologies as emanating "from the celestial realm of the gods. Rangiatea, the storehouse of occult knowledge and prototype of the whare wānanga, was situated in the uppermost realm of the heavens. Tāne-nui-a-Rangi ascended to the uppermost heaven where he obtained the three baskets of knowledge from the Supreme being" (Walker, 2004, p. 344)

As difficult as it is to translate this definite and symbolic beginning of a Māori worldview into an English language understanding. Inspiration and enlightenment are felt every time I reflect on this beginning as an experience in learning, loving, forming relationships and those future potential things still yet to come into being. This fundamental worldview translates into this project and is the research journey to get to know Hinehau.

Where did Hinehau come from?

Who put her jawbone in a Pūriri tree?

How did she come to live in Whangārei?

What motivated her to help the people that captured her?

As I began to connect whakapapa to these research questions, new knowledge began to unfurl like a fern. As I make these connections, it grows into areas combining other ideas in layers of contextual relevance. The query moves into new areas as connections are found in unexpected places. As the fern stem straightens and strengthens, it instinctively begins curling upwards towards the light, revealing unquestionable truths. The fern is almost completely unfurled by this stage and develops intricate jagged edges, making feathery shadows on the ground. The unfurling fern is the new knowledge that continues to

strengthen and grow the more I expand my knowledge of whakapapa and make connections in my own understanding of mātauranga Māori.

I te tīmatanga,
ko te kore
kō te pō
nā te pō
Ka puta ko te rapunga
Nā te rapunga te whaia
Nā te whaia te kukune
Nā te kukune te pupuke
Nā te pupuke te hihiri
Nā te hihiri te mahara
Nā te mahara te hinengaro
Nā te hinengaro te manako
Nā te manako,
Ā, ka hua te wānanga
Tihei Mauriora! [17]

17 This was built from various sources. Ancient History of the Māori. White, John. Illustration plate. No1 (d) Maori Mythology. Ngāpuhi wānanga teaching resources attended in 2019, 2020 and Te Tohu Paetahi classes 2018.

This fern framework illustrates the universal process of growth and development (L. Williams & Henare, 2009). Here, the growth and development of knowledge and the growth and development of the researcher is as relevant as each other.

Kaupapa Māori theory overlaps into a political sphere and can be seen as an exercise of power to enhance Māori concepts, values and qualities. Sovereignty is a cultural notion, and while Indigenous cultures share many similarities, the English notion of sovereignty derives from cultural values that are antithetical to ours (Mutu, 2020).

Māori sovereignty manifests in physical and metaphysical dimensions, enhancing social, geopolitical, and cultural aspirations for both individuals and the collective. A re-emergence of our collective selves is currently in progress. Māori sovereignty, which is explicitly described and understood in a Māori worldview as 'tino rangatiratanga' and 'mana Māori motuhake' have their own contextual definition and emphasises that the mana of the Māori people is distinct and ensures we always remain the tangata whenua - the original people of the land. Mana Māori motuhake is our form of Indigenous sovereignty.

The story of Hinehau possesses a concept of power that is not well understood nor transcended into our contemporary cultural relationships. To uncover and expand this mana wāhine narrative, I lean heavily on conceptual tribal knowledge that realises a whole universe of relationality and is expressed in oral tradition, reflected in nature and remembered in Te Reo Māori. To heal the association I have with Whangārei, the engagement and quality of relationships formed in this research journey take priority.

Ko te mana o te whakapapa

Ngāpuhi narratives are synchronised to whakapapa, the most necessary part of Māori epistemology. Our creation genealogies manifest in all expressions of oral tradition forms and serve as the backdrop on ways of thinking and understanding the world, creating distinct and diverse kōrero from one iwi to the next (M. Jackson, 2020; Moore, 2016; Tate, Paparoa, & Motuti Community, 1987). Voyages, taniwha and tūpuna are remembered for their resilience, overcoming obstacles and guidance on their journeys to Aotearoa. Our Pasifika ancestors travelled upon Te Moana nui o Kiwa taking many different routes,

observing, experiencing, and adapting to the various sites of occupation and the diverse range of climate within these Islands.

“Tātai ki ngā tangata me whakapapa ki te whenua” (Tito, 2020a) Te Parawhau kaumatua Pereti Tito illustrates the difference between whakapapa and tātai as a practice from a Te Parawhau, perspective. He explains whakapapa as the correct way to connect ourselves to whenua. Tātai is the practice of recalling descent lines to the living. In records of Native Lands court hearings from 1865, our ancestor's recitals of whakapapa, tātai, waiata and kōrero tuku iho lay claim to whenua. Matua Tito, made a distinction that whakapapa links us to the whenua – as tangata whenua. Tātai is the maps of descent through people that illustrate that connection.

Moana Jackson explains that whakapapa is what:

> "ultimately links all iwi and hapū together and provides a papa upon which mana is based because mana which humans might exercise as a political power could only be legitimised in concert with mana whenua, mana moana and mana atua" (M. Jackson, 2010, p. 10).

Whakapapa is ultimately connected to mana. These genealogies intersect and connect at some point, and it is these points I wish to illustrate in the following chapter where I lay out different experiences of history and heritage. Whakapapa is ultimately connected to mana.

Māori scholars have defined mana in many publications (Mead, 2016; Walker, 2004). For example, in the article, *My musket, my missionaries, my mana* by Patu Hohepa nō Hokianga, Te Mahurehure is a Ngāpuhi leader and expert in Hokianga history. He defines mana as:

> …driven by prestige and coupled with inheritance and achievement, mana comes from the gods and flows through our ancestors. Therefore, mana flows from the sea and the land, joining the personal mana based on physical and personal achievements. Mana can be inherited, as well as acquired. All things have their own mana, for they are all part of the procreation of the gods and descended from them. Therefore, mana cannot

> be self-imposed because mana is transferred through genealogical lines. (Pat Hohepa, 1999, p. 197)

Hohepa distinguishes the intricacies of how mana performs as a nonvisible changing measure and applies it to Ngāpuhi values during the Musket war era.

> It can remain static, increase, or decrease, depending on the actions or inaction of the recipient, and it can be enhanced or diminished. It can be removed by others. Thus one can speak of the increasing or decreasing mana of a highly successful tohunga or rangatira pakanga facing continuing changes of fortune. One can speak of the mana of a warrior, the mana of a woman leader, the mana of a child prodigy. If a woman chief is captured and enslaved, however, she loses her mana. Her captor can make that loss permanent and absorb her acquired mana by killing and eating her. That acquired mana is retrieved by her relatives or family, who continue to hold the ancestral mana by successfully avenging her capture or death, in other words, achieving successful utu. (Pat Hohepa, 1999, p. 198)

Whakapapa as methodology

Dr Rāwiri Taonui nō Te Hikutū, Ngāti Korokoro, Te Kapotai and Ngāti Te Taonui, describes whakapapa as a "taxonomic framework that links all animate and inanimate, known and unknown phenomena in the terrestrial and spiritual worlds. Whakapapa, therefore, binds all things. It maps relationships so that mythology, legend, history, knowledge, tikanga, cosmology, philosophies and spiritualities are ontologically organised, preserved and transmitted from one generation to the next" (As cited in Taonui, 2015)

On whakapapa, Pihama (2010) writes that mātauranga Māori is created by the utilization of whakapapa. She regards whakapapa as an analytical tool that our people have employed to understand our world and relationships. In such a framework it appears that whakapapa is both vehicle and expression of mātauranga Māori.

This stance resonates with this project and is one of the fundamental differences between a non-Māori researching Māori and a Māori researching Māori. Sir Hirini Moko Mead KNZM is an anthropologist, historian, artist, teacher, writer and prominent Māori leader, nō Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāi Tūhoe and Tūhourangi. He explains whakapapa as the

fundamental attribute and a gift of birth. In short, whakapapa is belonging, 'without it, an individual is outside looking in' (Mead, 2016, pp. 42-43). I can now create an infinite number of connections to the whenua of Whangārei Terenga Parāoa[18] through whakapapa and kōrero tuku iho. These layers of tribal intelligence are key paradigms in finding out about Hinehau.

Building research on these knowledge traditions creates a deeper understanding of Māori identity and culture. I get the opportunity to practice Kaupapa Māori research and its applications whether I'm in the University library, on the marae, or invited to someone's whare for a cup of tea. Kaupapa Māori research methods contextualise the research because it is guided by tikanga Māori. This means the engagements with participants, the environments I visited, and even my interactions with myself are guided by Māori values and beliefs. For example, behind this thesis are many acts of reciprocity and ritual, which

[18] Whangārei Terenga Parāoa is the full name of the harbour and its surrounding attributes. It means the 'gathering place of the whales'.
Paraōa is the name for the sperm whale. This great creature is held in high regard by Ngāpuhi who refer to it as the largest 'fish' of the ocean. Symbolically the paraōa represents persons of chiefly status. As carved sculpture or painted motif it symbolises wealth, rich food and abundance. Its stranding heralds sacred events. The paraōa was an important gift from the gods. In large quantity it meant meat for food, oil to light lamps, massage limbs, mix coloured clay into paint, the hard bone fashioned into domestic utensils, weapons for war and items of chiefly adornment. In days past the paraōa frequented the waters outside Whangaārei harbour in numbers, sometimes coming inside the harbour to strand on the out-going tide. Tribes living around the shore benefited from this gift. At other times tohunga climbed pathways to rocky altars hidden on the mountain tops and performed powerful rituals attracting the paraōa, encouraging them to enter the harbour.
In the early 1820s, Hongi Hika, returned from England and Australia bringing guns and ammunition for revenge against Ngaāpuhi enemies. He called other chieftains of Ngaāpuhi to mobilise their armies and meet at Whangaārei harbour before taking to the war- trail. Seeing all the chiefs gathered here caused them to be referred to as the legendary paraōa, those great fish of the ocean gathering in the harbour.

are usually not mentioned in research methods. They are normalised practices when spending time within our communities. I went to great lengths to obtain a bucket of Tītī to share amongst the research participants. Whaea Nossi gave me watermelon seedlings which I planted in my garden. I took the opportunity to practice karanga, karakia and mihi to Hinehau when I first visited her wāhi tapu in Maunu. I have never previously had an opportunity to act upon these customs alone, and the experience humbled me. To acknowledge Hinehau in this way made me feel 'right in the puku' and gave me the confidence to pursue the completion of this thesis when the world felt so uncertain in the Covid 19 pandemic.

Te mana o ngā wāhine

Marking Waitangi Day February 6, 2021, Judith Collins, the opposition party leader, called out 'Māori culture as sexist' an accusation to why she was not given a chance to speak during Waitangi Day formalities[19] .Her comments sparked public debate[20] on women being 'less than' within te ao Māori[21](L. George, 2014; L. George, Norris, Deckert, & Tauri, 2020)(Paterson, 2017)[22]. For example, for wāhine Māori who wished to join the suffrage movement, they were racially oppressed by signing agreements that they would never take moko kauae. The Women's Christian Temperance Union were the spearhead of the suffrage

[19] https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/judith-collins-on-causing-a-stir-at-waitangi-she-came-she-saw-she-did-not-speak/DAAUN63YTBOK4NMJS6EO7U5EAQ/

[20] https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/analysis-those-jumping-defence-judith-collins-over-speaking-rights-marae-blind-leading

[21] https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/13-03-2020/the-argument-for-maori-women-speaking-on-the-marae/

[22] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ukLlOFRIg90&ab_channel=ICSRentals

movement. While the acquisition of the women's vote was a step ahead within the colonial context[23], wāhine Māori nevertheless struggled, and still work, to recover political rights (Stewart, 2021a).

Mana wāhine is a contemporary term used to redefine wāhine Māori roles and status in a colonial context. Because of the patriarchal nature of colonisation that has eroded and oppressed practices regarding wāhine knowledge, it has become necessary to articulate the definition of mana wāhine (Mikaere, 2017). Mana wāhine is an extension of Kaupapa Māori theory and as such, is an integral part of the anti-colonial political project (Murphy, 2013; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2014).

I am arguing that Māori women must take control of spaces where our stories can be told. The silencing of Māori women's voices has meant silencing our theories and worldviews. It has meant that Māori women's stories can then be defined as 'myths', therefore some figment of the cultural imagination. The marginalisation of Māori women's theories is such that we constantly have to try and 'find' ourselves within the texts of the dominant group. (Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed-Pihama, & Gabel, 2019, p. 62)Mana Wāhine can mean something like 'Kaupapa Māori feminism' (Simmonds, 2011).'Māori feminism' (2011). It extends Kaupapa Māori theory by explicitly exploring the intersection of being Māori and female and the various and complex things it can mean in this intersecting space. At its base, mana wāhine is about making the narratives and experiences visible in all the diversity of wāhine Māori.

[23] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kate_Sheppard

Hinehau tells a story, the land tells a story, so I reply with a story

As an artist and a creative, I'm always coming up with story ideas and images based on what I'm reading, learning or experiencing at the time[24]. The inspiration of Hinehau and my postgraduate studies prompted me to think about how I can contribute to the Hinehau narrative through a creative project. Indigenous autoethnography aims to ground one's sense of self in what remains 'sacred' to us. This refers to how Indigenous peoples relate to the world we live in and how we construct our identity as Māori (Whitinui, 2014). The inherent subjective and flexible nature of Indigenous autoethnography as a research method can potentially transform the conditions of knowledge production in Indigenous research.

I claim a space both in a cultural context and as a researcher and author of this work by creating an audio play of Hinehau[25], which reveals abstractions from my narrative. Like the twins in the play, I made a spiritual journey to reclaim mātauranga Māori. We find the courage and the confidence to reframe Hinehau in a Māori context and tribal understanding, which helps us succeed in our endeavours. All while under the close and loving watch of our tribal members and whanau.

In the same vein as Whitinui (2014), Ahukaramū Charles Royal nō Marutūahu talks about it as a 'gift of indigeneity' (Royal, 2009b) that lies in our ability to rediscover and recentre our

24 rurumedia.com is the website that holds details of my previous works and future projects.
25Please listen to the audio play at https://kauwhatareo.govt.nz/en/resource/te-mana-o-hinehau/

culture from 'within' as opposed to relying solely on 'externally codified' forms of knowledge where our ways of knowing are absent. Royal stresses it is the journey that is deeply necessary to enable an individual to spend time reflecting on their cultural, intellectual wisdom and supporting individuals to recalibrate one's own inner and collective potential. I have personally felt this on so many levels throughout this project. Intentional visits home to Whangārei, to our marae in Pehiāweri, and spending time with extended whanau that still live at home were prioritized. The excitement of walking in the footsteps of our tūpuna, and being amongst my own whanau members brought a sense of renewal for me, both inspiration and aroha was drawn from this research hīkoi.

The theory of hermeneutics adds another dimension to this project. Hermeneutic thinkers examine our cultural traditions, language, and nature as historical beings to make understanding possible (Chandler, 2013; Lindberg). The purpose of using hermeneutics in this study is to bridge the gap between my knowledge of Hinehau from my position with the opposing work of the missionary and colonial writers I find. Like the fern unfolding another leaf, the binary of settler and Indigenous knowledge can be used in the analysis. In chapter three, I lay out specific dates of the writer Florence Keene and her pioneer settler heritage besides the experience of Ngāpuhi tūpuna.

The Hinehau narrative is a story of this land and reflects the values needed for a non-colonising future. Her story offers the chance to enhance the dignity of everyone who lives here and a lesson about how Iwi and hapū become the 'we' that is tangata whenua (Elkington, 2020). This study reveals the multifaceted relationships from a Māori worldview, between the seen and unseen worlds past, present and future where imagination and creativity exists. Ancestral stories like Hinehau name our right to stand in places and provide 'an intellectual tradition' that gives us insight into the obligations that go along with the right to stand (Henry & Pene, 2001).

Figure 1: Imaged sourced from Te Wānanga o Ngāpuhi 2019 private forum Facebook page. L-R Aperahama Edwards, Matua Pierre Lyndon, Sandy Wakefield.

Who is that Pākehā lady?

Besides the personal reservations of my capability that crop up from time to time, I bump into situations that would question my 'being here' in this wānanga space. My physical appearance is not usually identified with being Māori, this post on Facebook was taken after the completion of a whakawhiti kōrero session at a Ngāpuhi wānanga I attended [March 9 2019]. These posts are not public and are only shared on the wānanga page. I am sometimes confronted by a sense of guilt and shame of being associated with the Pākehā colonisers in Māori spaces. I am continually finding ways to deepen my resolve and resilience as a fair-skinned Māori and an emerging Kaupapa Māori researcher.

I sought the shelter of the Ngāpuhi wānanga under the tuition of matua Pierre Lyndon nō Ngati Hine, Ngati Hau. He is an educator, a famous orator in Ngāpuhi and is a tribal expert in Ngāpuhi whakapapa. The wānanga is an intentional Ngāpuhi space to practice our customs grounded in tribal mātauranga in a nurturing environment.

Matua Pierre offers insights into Ngāpuhi whakapapa and Ngāpuhi oral tradition in all its forms. His kauwhau spectrum encompasses lived experiences of a taumata, and his storytelling ranges from critical analysis, absurdity to sentimental retellings of the nannies who raised him. The Ngāpuhi dialect is the heart and soul of his wānanga. Guest speakers

are invited to the wānanga to share tūpuna kōrero with students, and my favourite is when they speak fondly of the elders who taught them.

By attending wānanga, I began to practice drawing tātai down in a whakapapa book which has been a practice I have carried throughout this project. As I spoke to people from home or attended wānanga noho, I practised making links with the limited knowledge I started with and began to build upon it. The book started to fill up with longer and more detailed tātai as I attended more wānanga and made connections with other Ngāpuhi kōrero and whakapapa. I would then connect three names into a broader network of tūpuna or even to a kōrero. My knowledge expanded to kāinga, the enemies of so and so and the allies of that one. The wero in the Ngāpuhi wānanga is to practice speaking to these systems of whakapapa we filled our book with. I found I could explain how hapū were explicitly related to one another, how Whangārei lands became occupied and had a few goes at telling stories of Ngāpuhi political alliances through our complex relationships regarding whakapapa.

By attending Ngāpuhi wānanga and aligning the methods and practices with Kaupapa Māori, I began to see a research path that would not lead me to hell but instead an intentional journey in applying and using our tribal mātauranga Māori to find Hinehau.

I draw from the many writings of Indigenous writers (Archibald et al., 2019; Brayboy, 2000; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008; Elkington et al., 2020; Marsden, 2003; Meyer, 2003, 2013; Mucina, 2011; Pihama, 2001; Simpson, 2017; Webber, 2019; Wendt, 2015; L. Williams & Henare, 2009) who all describe individual journeys and stories that relate to the complex nature of Indigenous knowledge traditions and how it is applied in the academy. Through engaging with these educational journeys, an appreciation for the responsibility of a Kaupapa Māori researcher becomes clear to me. We must continually invent and reinvent ourselves and be open to new practices to explore what it means to be Māori in the here and now.

At the beginning of this research, I went through a short period of denial about what this thesis was about and what it was going to involve. I wanted to divorce myself from the writing of the thesis and the feelings I was experiencing inside. I have since realised

researching historic Māori narratives are inseparable from tribal identity, especially when I whakapapa to these site-specific places in the Hinehau narrative. In my early journal entries, it's easy to get a sense of my paranoia after a hui with two Te Parawhau kaumatua at my cousin's office in Whangārei City for a discussion about Hinehau.

> It was funny because he told me to meet at Bob's at 10 am. I didn't know who Bob was, it turns out it was the name of a café. I had accidentally stood them up. They waited for 20 mins for me in the café and then decided to come looking for me. Bob - the best café in Whangārei, according to them. After my cheeks stopped burning and they stopped laughing, I began to kōrero about the project. Both uncles listened to me speak about Hinehau and my quest to find out who she was. How she came to our rohe, who put her in the Pūriri etc... I finished by asking for their whakaaro. They admitted they had never heard of her. They turned to each other and began a gentle response... When they suggested, it's perhaps of more importance to make this research a story about my reconnection and identity – because that is the stuff that will make you feel really good inside here, as he circled his hand over and over his puku. I felt embarrassed. Did they even listen to me? I don't think they trust me yet (S. Wakefield, personal diary, November 14, 2019)

In hindsight, it's clear that it was, in fact me that didn't trust them at that time. I resisted looking 'inwards' for fear of producing some navel-gazing, overindulgent work.
The uncles' suggestion of privileging inner reflection to get that 'puku feeling' started to change from an embarrassment to validation. I had to include my own journey of looking for Hinehau as this is where a lot of the transformation is happening. I have come to understand that Kaupapa Māori is a process rather than an endpoint. It's a process that not only requires cultural knowledge but also requires a commitment to ongoing theorising, practice and reflection (Graham Smith et al., 2012).

Practice makes perfect

The extensive historical records collected started to make sense when I began cross-referencing with my developing whakapapa book. I could link tūpuna with the archival

material I had collected. After attending the 2021 175th Ruapekapeka commemorations I made links to tūpuna that were part of the Northern conflicts and began to cross-reference tūpuna that participated in the war with archival records I had collected. History was coming alive before my eyes. The cross-referencing gave me real-life parallels of how two sides of histories and understandings exist in parallel. Ngāpuhi kōrero tuku iho opposes much of the recorded histories of Pākehā and Europeans which I lay out in the next chapter.

Through this method, I began looking systematically for Hinehau in the literature. According to my ancestors, I looked in Ngāpuhi kōrero tuku iho, whakapapa and Te Tai Tokerau tribal experiences. I would then overlay this information with non-Māori records and literature to see where it would lead me. The findings from this method are laid out in chapters three and four.

Wesleyan, Catholic and Anglican Missionaries kept journals and diaries, and many early Pākehā historians [amateur and professional] wrote their personal life experiences in pre-Tiriti times in Te Tai Tokerau. Misspelt tūpuna names and misspelt place names are common in all these accounts. For example, in written records, Hongi Hika was often referred to as "Shungee" or "Shunghi" by early European settlers (Kendall, 1957). Many Ngāpuhi people in these accounts are left largely un-named and remain anonymous.
These types of records repurposed 'Māori knowledge for non-Māori purposes' (Stewart, 2021b, p. 16). Handling these documents was a completely different experience to wānanga and whakapapa-based narratives I had become accustomed to. I found stories of our Ngāpuhi tūpuna described as dismissive and boastful rebels that led unchristian lives (Fordyce, 2009, pp. 275, 280-285; Malcolm, 1994, pp. 4-5, 22), ultimately costing them humiliation and misfortune. The pioneer settlers are storied as heroic characters compared to the savages in *Coasts of Treachery* (Grayland, 1963; Keene, 1989). Some records, Māori are storied as victims of their own demise (Rountree, 1998), who were constantly fighting and needed settler intervention (Martin, 1884). The missionary narratives were the voice of reason with many story themes of 'I told you so' or teaching their 'fellow Māori' ways to best lead their miserable lives from here on in (Fitzgerald, 2001, 2005; C. Smith, 2008; M. Williams, 2004). Working through these documents, I got a sense of our Māori experience of

'living in two worlds' genuine; it is not simply a 'figment of the Māori imagination' (Stewart, 2021b, p. 17).

> The great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do. It could scarcely be otherwise, since it is to history that we owe our frames of reference, our identities, and our aspirations (Baldwin, 1966, p. 173)

American author and civil rights activist James Baldwin reminds us in his 1966 essay how essential it is to come face to face with history to enable true, sustaining reconciliation. Of course, it is impossible to divorce ourselves from history, but perhaps our intertwining with its painful legacies keep us committed to altering its course. These lingering memories make forgetting impossible, ultimately alluding to a more outstanding, collective obligation to address painful histories to heal as individuals and as a nation.

Once were not colonised

There was a time in our past when we existed freely, unmolested in 'pre-contact' time. These times are often pondered about by us (Walker, 1992, 2004) and just as often told back to us in Pākehā ‘truth myths' (Stewart, 2020, 2021a, 2021b). There is comfort in noting that Ahukaramū Charles Royal mentions a sense of this in the Editor's Introduction of *The Woven Universe* (Marsden, 2003).

> This sense that the version of Māoritanga that we possess, and exhibit today is not quite the real thing, that it is somehow inferior. I remember feeling this way after Māori's death in 1993 as I felt that we had lost something fundamental, something authentic and of great value, something we could never be able to possess again (As cited in Marsden, 2003, p. x)

Royal's sentiment (p. x) about the passing of Māori Marsden reminded me of a 'mihi' trend that occurred on both sides of Y2K where Ngāpuhi kaikōrero would mihi to kaumātua or highly regarded people by likening them to the character 'Chingachgook' in the American historical drama film *The Last Of The Mohicans* (Mann, 1992). Depending on the delivery from the kaikōrero this likening was often met with laughter, but other times it was a quiet nod of acknowledgement to the old days and the old ways, now long behind us.

During the Level 4 Covid 19 lockdown in March 2020, there was a collective return to some of those old values which I imagine our tūpuna lived. We all began making bread from scratch. My newsfeed reflected whanau and friends starting māra kai in backyards and there was a resurgence in maramataka knowledge resurfacing around our Islands. The Covid 19 pandemic made people aware of their natural environments[26]as wānanga flourished online[27]. In the 2020 and 2021 lockdowns, Ngāpuhi practised rangatiratanga by setting up roadblocks on State Highway One and organised food deliveries to rural whanau[28]. I have kept my māra kai going in our suburban backyard of Fairfield twelve months after lockdown. I have grown ruruhau, puha, kūmara, peruperu, raspberries, kale, strawberries, snow peas, sunflowers, pumpkins, beans, tomatoes, chilli, cucumber, herbs, artichokes, flowers and huē. I selected heritage seeds over the mass-produced Bunning Warehouse seedlings. I followed the monthly advice from a maramataka calendar by Ihaka Poata – Ngāpuhi[29]. Keeping this māra kai and following maramataka provided a sense of calm in the uncertain period of 2020 (Roberts, Weko, & Clarke, 2006). I could say for sure, this felt 'good in the puku'.

[26] https://theconversation.com/caring-for-community-to-beat-coronavirus-echoes-indigenous-ideas-of-a-good-life-136175

[27] https://www.facebook.com/watch/INDIG100series/1110650205966911/

[28] https://ngapuhi.iwi.nz/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/ZA20-COVID-flyer.pdf

[29] Even though my garden is in Kirikiriroa I acquired the maramataka calendar from Te Tai Tokerau. I have been following the advice and had a successful garden throughout winter, spring, summer and autumn.

In a lockdown, tending to my kai garden in the Waikato, my thoughts would often return to Hinehau. With my fingers in the earth of Papatūānuku, I began drawing connections to the whakapapa of the children of Rangi and Papa (Haami & Roberts, 2002; Taonui, 2015; Webber, 2019). Hinehau connects to these ātua Māori. Her mauri is in a Pūriri tree and has been there before I was born and probably well after. All these life forces have their own independent lives before humans interact with them. Whakapapa binds us differently than time and dates of a linear history cannot. The beauty of a whakapapa approach to history is that it's relationship-based, not event-based. It is not a construct, but a lived reality.

Māori Marsden nō Te Roroa, was ordained Anglican minister and a graduate of the whare wānanga of Te Aupōuri. His writing explored pre-Christian theology, understandings of divinity and the Māori worldview. He confirms traditional wānanga gave students a genuine and authentic sense of self.

A truly educated person is not one who knows a little about everything, or everything about something but one who is truly in touch with his centre and has no doubts about his basic convictions. If he has faced up to the ultimate questions posed by life, his centre no longer remains in a vacuum which ingests everything that seeps into it (Marsden, 2003, p. 179)

This thesis is an observation of [re] knowing through my eyes. It’s not a Māori lens – like a pair of disposable glasses that anyone, anywhere may wear on a whim, but a way to observe the world that is ingrained within an Iwi, hapū, whanau existence. Within the whare of longevity and vision lives whakapapa – immediate, past and future (Burgess et al., 2020, pp. 207-230).

Figure 2: Photo taken by Sandy Wakefield. Canopy of the Hinehau Pūriri tree.

Hīkoi as method

Thinking and walking has been something philosophers have done since time immemorial (O'Neill & Roberts, 2020). Walking, ideally, is a state in which the mind, the body, and the world are aligned, as though they were three characters finally in conversation together. Walking allows us to be in our bodies. It leaves us free to think without being wholly lost in our thoughts. A walking pace generates a kind of rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts (Solnit, 2000). My mind wanders to Whina Cooper's thirty days (Harris, 2004) and how revolutionary she made the simple act of walking. I wonder if she had the same sensation of her mind, body and the world aligning during her hīkoi in 1975?

Every return trip to Whangārei, intentional hīkoi to specific sites was factored in. I visited Te Nohonga o Torongare, Portland mudflats, Te Rewarewa, Otaika Valley, Maunu Valley walkway and Toetoe. These are some of the site-specific places that came up in the cross-referencing method between historical records and the whakapapa book I worked on. Walking these places connected me and helped me think about Hinehau. Walking means

being present, bearing witness, putting one's body into the research process. It can result in blisters, getting wet or thirsty, feeling exhilarated, bored or exhausted. But, after all these, it can mean becoming attuned to something more significant at a deep rhythmic level. It can help connect us to the desperate social and planetary issues such as environmental degradation and the physical absence of the Ngāpuhi history and occupation I was making connections within my expanding whakapapa book.

Land dispossession is one of the most significant attacks on mātauranga Māori because that is where our knowledge bases reside. Land dispossession is the ultimate historical intergenerational trauma that has left many Māori suffering from mental and physical unhealth and poverty (Rawiri/David, 2013; Waretini-Karena, 2013; Wirihana & Smith, 2019). Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, a Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg writer, musician and academic from Canada, writes about Indigenous resistance as a radical rejection of contemporary colonialism focused around refusing the dispossession of Indigenous bodies and land in *As We Have Always Done* (2017). Simpson challenges revitalising not only tribal knowledge but a strong need for tribal ways of teaching and ways of learning.

Simpson (2017) states this as a pedagogy of learning by doing. For example, the teaching of building fires. From making a fire from the small and slow ambers of mānuka for smoking mullet from Whangaruru harbour. This differs from creating a red-hot fire needed to heat kōhatu for hāngi. It is also the learning of associated concepts about fire. The practice of ahi ka, which translates to the 'keeping of an ancestral fire burning' (Stone & Langer, 2015, p. 20) is demonstrated by a sustained relationship with whenua through whakapapa. In other words, living full-time on tribal lands or practising appropriate tikanga of the place. This way of living connects us back to our primary ancestors. The word ahiahi is translated to mean evening as derived from the word ahi since the evening was the time when fires were lit. *'Land as Pedagogy'* (Simpson, 2017) is both an Indigenous theory and the site of where the education took place. This knowledge is remembered within the reo and customary practices that engage with whenua (Stone & Langer, 2015). Simpson's book on Indigenous freedom through radical resistance lays out an argument that we shouldn't be just striving for land-based pedagogies. The land must once again *become* the pedagogy (Simpson, 2017). Walking through our tribal lands teaches me about the many relationships we have

with the environment. It connects me culturally, spiritually, and politically to our pedagogies woven into the land. This is the dimension where I start to see Hinehau.

In the writing and scholarship of Opaskwayak Cree academic Shawn Wilson, he brings forward a relational research paradigm to engage with the production of Indigenous knowledge in a colonial world whose current system relies heavily on a European tradition of understanding. "Knowledge cannot be owned or discovered but is merely a set of relationships" (Shawn Wilson, 2008, p. 127). Detailed in his 2008 work *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, he uses the Indigenous concept of relationality to allow for Indigenous knowledge to guide the research process. He develops this research framework to encourage the celebration of Indigenous cultures among its peoples and assist in the non-Indigenous understanding of historical and contemporary Indigenous cultural values and issues. Relationality, he argues, is about how "we *are* the relationships that we hold and are part of" (Shawn Wilson, 2008, p. 80). In other words, relationality, when discussed as an ontology of knowledge, regards how knowledge is produced and realised as a part of the culture and cultural interactions. It encompasses all people's relationships with other people, animals, objects, ideas, and environments.

In this thesis, I view relationality as the methodological concept (Stan Wilson, 1995; Shawn Wilson, 2008) which has the potential to encourage people's participation in learning about alternative histories and knowledge. In terms of this study, I am challenging today's Settler colonial ideologies that impose specific hierarchical narratives (Tuck & Yang, 2012) on Māori cultures and worldviews. I use the term Settler colonial to describe the structure of colonialism that has 'annihilated, displaced, and/or marginalised' (Held, 2019) Ngāpuhi populations resulting in the non-Indigenous Settlers becoming the majority population in Whangārei today.

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori[30]

Known for her bright coloured clothes, high intelligence and sense of humour. Dr Rangimārie Te Turuki Arikirangi Rose Pere, an educator, conservationist, tohunga and academic nō Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Ruapani and Ngāti Kahungunu. E ai ki a Rose Pere:

> Kōtahi he tino taonga ki a ngai taua te Māori, ahakoa te iwi, ahakoa te, ahakoa te whanau, ko tō tatou reo rangatira. Ko te reo i heke mai i Rangiatea, te hoki ki ngā tuhaha, i whapakeketia ai ki te oneone, i tanumia, a, mai i te kohurehuretanga ake i toro i te oneone nei, i whakatipuria ai, i poipoia ai, i penapenatia ai, i manakitia ai, i tipu ai, a nō te tipunga ka haumi, ka awhiowhio tōna kakara ki ngā topitopito o te ao a rātou mā. Te Reo rangatira nei, he wairua kamaatu tona, he momo huna, kia kore e mohio a tauiwi ki ona hohonutanga, engari te raruraru I tenei wā, he maha ngā tangata Māori, kaore I te mohio ki ngā hohonutanga, ngā whanuitanga o te reo. (Pere, 1999, p. 4)

Pere says here that no matter which tribe we are from, our reo Māori comes from Rangiatea, which evolved with observations and new practices created in the new

[30] Our language is the core of Māori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori. (The language is the life force of the mana Māori.) If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left to us? Then, I ask our own people, who are we?' Māori Battalion veteran and Ngāpuhi leader Sir James Hēnare posed these questions in 1985 when he spoke to the Waitangi Tribunal as it heard the Māori language claim. The claim asserted that te reo Māori (the Māori language) was a taonga that should be nurtured. The tribunal's recommendations, released in 1986, were far-reaching. They led to legislative and policy changes that assisted in the resurgence of te reo Māori.

environment of Aotearoa. Our reo was cherished and well cared for. Our language has its own inherent wisdom that outsiders may not ever understand it's hidden depths. Our Māori understandings must not be compared or translated into single English words as a new defining term (Pere, 1999).

Professor Leonie Pihama nō Te Ātiawa, Ngati Mahanga, Ngā Māhanga ā Tairi is a Kaupapa Māori academic and activist. Leonie's key contribution is her focus on Kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine theory. Her teaching, research and scholarship is always clearly positioned within Kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori. In Leonie Pihama's PhD thesis *Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori framework* (Pihama, 2001) she considers te reo Māori not only central to Kaupapa Māori but the 'necessary part of our survival as Māori'. She asserts te reo Māori is 'the only language through which Kaupapa Māori can be fully expressed'. However, she also acknowledges the reality of many Māori having limited fluency in te reo Māori and that we should not overlook:

> … the inherent danger of Māori being defined as being 'real' Māori only if we have fluency or knowledge of tikanga. Experience may tell us that to be fluent in te Reo Māori does not immediately mean that a person is more or less knowledgeable of what it means to be Māori than someone who does not know te Reo Māori. Nor does being fluent in Māori necessarily mean that one will act in ways that are in the interests of Māori (Pihama, 2001, p. 117).

These ideas indicate to me that although reo Māori carries uniquely Māori concepts of the world and therefore can influence one's worldview simply through its acquisition, this is no guarantee that a person with deep knowledge of te reo and Māori culture will naturally embody the values of Kaupapa Māori research. Kaupapa Māori creates the space for the researcher to be at whatever stage they are at regarding decolonisation and acquiring te reo and tikanga Māori. I acknowledge my Kaupapa Māori journey has, in many ways, just begun and so I submit this thesis with the acknowledgement that there is much more for me to experience using this powerful tool of personal and social transformation.

Although I am a second language learner in the process of attaining and maintaining reo fluency, this work is inspired and founded on traditional concepts based in our reo. I make efforts to reclaim in the creative work produced in this project but also in my personal and professional life as well.

Comfortably uncomfortable

Collecting information from Pākehā narratives of Hinehau, the missionary and settler stories of tūpuna in Whangārei, the Native Land Court records and the conversations with Te Parawhau kaumātua brought an unexpected complexity to this project. The information I was collecting came from both Māori and Pākehā sources and I became aware I was dealing with types of settler-indigenous relations in a Kaupapa Māori context (Jones & Hoskins, 2020). Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins calls this process' outsider within' (Hill Collins, 1986). Hill Collins is an Indigenous researcher that attempts to write and draw from both sides of the binary. Such an uncomfortable though insightful position requires a constant struggle with tensions and contradictions.

As I conduct my research from the outsider's perspective, the question arises. Would Hinehau have known her mana could transcend tangata whenua and into the hearts and minds of Pākehā? While departing from a hui in Whangārei, I told a kaumatua I was anxious to learn about Hinehau from Pākehā for a Kaupapa Māori project. He recommended putting the focus back on our hapū. 'Why doesn't Te Parawhau remember Hinehau? If they [Feaver family] remember her, why not go to them? Kaua e whakamā' (S. Wakefield, personal communication, 9 November 2019). At that time, I was weighing up how problematic it was to be working with Pākehā on a Kaupapa Māori project. I had to work out how to approach the Feaver family and how much family story to include in this thesis.

Critical theory (Brayboy, 2000) helps navigate this tricky environment of cultural relations by providing a framework to think through these relationships in terms of dominant and subordinate power relations of the coloniser and the colonised (Andersen et al., 2020). Perhaps Te Parawhau doesn't remember Hinehau because our livelihoods were interrupted by colonisation through land sharking. Much of our ancestral landscapes and narratives were extinguished in the process.

Suppose the politics of Kaupapa Māori continue to focus on colonisation and its effects. In that case, we continue to centre the coloniser and our theorisation remains within a colonial and binary logic. (Jones & Hoskins, 2020, p. 425)

Here Te Kawerau Hoskins nō Ngati Hau looks at approaches within Kaupapa Māori research regarding settler-indigenous relations (Hoskins & Jones, 2017; Jones & Hoskins, 2020). She warns of these exclusive values within binary logic limiting future potential ties. I am both challenged and in agreement with Hoskins. Through Kaupapa Māori research, I seek to assert the right to explore, express and retain the unique and historical relationship to the wāhi tapu of Hinehau as a Te Parawhau hapū member. Predominant rhetoric in this country, illustrated by Pākehā[31] argue that Māori have no customary rights[32], and Te Tiriti claims have no basis[33].

I filled my journal expressing the distance between the metaphorical 'them' and 'us', getting caught up in a binary perspective: The settler and the native. Pākehā and Māori. Colonisers and the colonised. The privileged and the impoverished. The wealthy part of town and the hood. Colonising and de-colonising. White and non-white. English language and the Māori language. Polluted and the pristine. A whakatau or a morning tea? Tangata whenua or manuhiri.

[31] https://www.hobsonspledge.nz/to_all_new_zealanders_are_we_being_conned_by_the_treaty_industry
[32]https://www.newsroom.co.nz/jackson-unleashes-on-maori-mps?fbclid=IwAR164DhIYt-d8ccIX4QJJxIdBOcwbdktqtXBOMYcqDZ5X43aaYdCDvTjAzA
[33] http://www.investigatemagazine.com/jan4treaty.htm

I need to find the liminal space between these binaries, I look to mātauranga Māori knowledge and concepts to help calm the absurdity of these conflicting relationships. Pihama (2020) uses the ceremony of pōwhiri to think about settler-indigenous relations and the responsibilities of Pākehā.

What they need to understand is that they are manuhiri and they need to learn to be good manuhiri. We show this on the marae all the time. Pōwhiri is a very clear example of how we come together as tangata whenua and as manuhiri. When they come onto the marae, they become part of us, but they don't own the marae. They become part of our community on our terms, within our tikanga. That is the role for many Pākehā particularly who are interested in being supportive with us in Māori politics. They need to understand what it means to be good manuhiri and understand what it means to be aligned to kāwanatanga and what that means for us. (Mahi Tahi, 2020)

Jones & Hoskins (2020), on the other hand, understand the cultural practice of pōwhiri as a means to focus on the practice of engagement and not the roles of manuhiri or tangata whenua. They point out that paradoxically 'the very lively and rich' Māori values, cultural traditions and concepts are entirely at odds with the binary tendencies of critical theory.

> Māori ontological practice is fundamentally relational. Engagement is everything, even risky engagement. In general terms, Māori always have, and still do, favour engagement over disengagement, and complex relating over simple positioning (Jones & Hoskins, 2020, p. 448)

Pōwhiri is a ritualistic and ceremonial encounter. Elements of pōwhiri were used to inspire and guide the engagements in this project. I found manaakitanga, reciprocity, extending aroha and using mihi instinctively within this project and also outside of the project. The pōwhiri ritual gives me an ontological practice to establish healthy kōrero with everyone as either manuhiri or tangata whenua.

Every element is oriented to the productive potential of engagement. There is a wero-why have you come? What are your intentions? Respond to me! The kāranga calls in ancestors of all parties particularly the arrivals; the call acknowledges the places from which the others have come, and their reasons for coming. The whai kōrero establishes the shared ground of

engagement, drawing out ties and connections. The hongi intermingles the hau to bind the two parties together (Jones & Hoskins, 2020, p. 448)

Pākehā educator and author Alison Jones, writes and talks about how Pākehā get stuck, either getting defensive or trying to ignore Aotearoa, New Zealand's colonial-settler past. She writes about the uneasiness and challenging nature of indigenous-settler collaborations. She unpacks the difference between relations based on learning about the difference from the 'Other', rather than learning about the 'Other' ("Rethinking Collaboration: Working the Indigene-Colonizer Hyphen," 2008). "If we see ourselves as saviours, rather than in real relationships with Māori, we're stuck in a self-serving charity approach that reminds me a bit uncomfortably of the early missionaries who came to 'help' Māori" (Montgomery, 2020) Jone's memoir *This Pākehā Life, An Unsettled Memoir* covers a whole range of relationships and friendships with Māori with sixty years of New Zealand social history experience. It gives me hope for a future where we can branch out into other theoretical frameworks that are not just the binary of coloniser and colonised. Kaupapa Māori theory matched with cultural values and practices makes room for robust debate that's required in creating these new ideas of thinking about Pākehā-Māori relations.

The initial reservations I had engaging with Pākehā in this project evaporated after my first meeting with Carol Peters. During one of our whakawhiti kōrero sessions together, Carol Peters of the Feaver family spoke of her family's connection with Hinehau and how she strives to honour this connection.

We've got lots of family stories, but this is a family story that is about the connection between us and Māori, which is quite cool to us, it's important to us because we're interested in Te Tiriti and how we are able to stay here, you know, we want to do so honourably. So that honourable landing in Aotearoa is quite important to me and my sister. And our children, you know, it's an important thing (Peters, 2020)

The approach to this project all along has always been about relationship and connection. The validation of Hinehau through Carol Peter’s family connection has been a part of that journey. It doesn't matter what side of the room you are on, it is the engagement and the quality of relationships that are to be formed that takes priority.

In conclusion, to embody and practice these profound universal truths of how our world and knowledge relate to us all, I create the opportunity to renew the complex relationships between the seen and unseen worlds past, present and future. This is where imagination and creativity exist, the necessary ingredient in re-imagining Hinehau out of the shackles of the settler literature and re-locate her into a Māori world view of understanding.

CHAPTER THREE: Ko Te Mana O Hinehau

This chapter identifies the range of context in which Hinehau and her mana are located and acknowledged in this research project. Kōrero tuku iho, whakapapa, written records, historical records, and family memories have been collected and organised into these sections I have the honour of laying out in this chapter. I strongly recommend listening to the audio play of Hinehau[34] and reading the three versions of the Hinehau narrative located in the appendixes before reading this chapter. These stories will be referred to and examined closely in this chapter.

> I am a body of people who are asking not to be forgotten
>
> I feel my tūpuna in my blood
>
> Hinehau, have patience with me
>
> I am only recovering and learning
>
> (S. Wakefield, personal communication, March 16 2020).

Ngā atua wāhine

The whakapapa of wāhine Māori begins with the creation of Hine-ahu-one also known as, Hine-hau-one from Papatūānuku by Tāne. She is the connection to the primaeval parents, both human and divine. Her daughter Hinetītama is the mātāmua of the line of human beings; the tuākana of all wāhine.

[34] https://kauwhatareo.govt.nz/en/resource/te-mana-o-hinehau/

> Triumphantly he returned to the village with this beautiful girl. The other slaves treated her differently, their eyes on the ground before her. He demanded to know why and was told she was Hinehau, the wind maiden, daughter of Tāne (Feaver & Gray, 2017, p. 68).

Here, the Feaver family's reference to Hinehau as a daughter of Tāne likens her mana and status to atua wāhine Hinehauone. Atua wāhine and their attributes are representative of an aspect that wāhine Māori can express as fully functioning members of the whānau, hapū and iwi. Ngāti Tuwharetoa scholar Marata Tamaira (2010) argues that atua wāhine are not the 'supernatural heroines stranded in an irrelevant mythology'; instead, they are actual ancestors, genealogically linked to their female descendants.

Suzanne Gray (2017) uses written letters and oral family histories from her grandparents and great grandparents to publish their family stories. What remained in the family version of Hinehau is a subtext to whakapapa and pūrākau of Hinehauone as 'daughter of Tāne'.

The creation narratives of Papatūānuku, Tāne and Hinehauone, is full of many teachings about relationships, reconciliation, and consequence. It has inspired many descendants to write and reinterpret these atua beginnings throughout generations. Wiremu Grace nō Ngāti Toa, Atiawa ki Waikanae, Ngāti Porou is a kura kaupapa Māori teacher. He writes and publishes children's books, short stories for teenagers and adults and reo Māori educational

resources. Here is a small excerpt from his *A trilogy of Wāhine Toa*[35] , a story written in the first person of Hinehauone.

> And when Tāne came to me he helped soothe my fears, showing me his world as an atua, the creations that had passed by him. And in turn, I helped him understand what it was like to be human, to feel, to touch, to experience the world as a physical being. And from that time, we brought our worlds together to conceive our firstborn, Hinetītama, whose journey was also written before her time. I am Hinehauone, the creator of people (Grace, 1999).

Kōrero pūrākau, like Hinehauone, enables us to retain, reflect on, and understand our experiences. They also provide a context through which we can identify and consider the relevance of critical messages to our own life experiences. Whatever the variations in the account, the story of Hinehauone is etched into our memory of who we are as Māori and how we understand the world we live in.

In the Feaver version, the antagonist is a Te Parawhau man who wishes to keep Hinehau captive and inherit her mana by having children with her.

> Tama laughed and said “All the better my children will be of royal blood.” He gave her a whare of her own and servants to feed and clothe her. But

[35]https://eng.mataurangamaori.tki.org.nz/Support-materials/Te-Reo-Maori/Maori-Myths-Legends-and-Contemporary-Stories/A-trilogy-of-Wahine-Toa

> she was stubborn and only stared defiantly every time anyone approached. As the weeks went by, she grew thinner and thinner. Then with her dying breath she cursed the tribe for their cruelty in taking the life of her father. Tama was so angry that he threw her body down on the swamp where the tribe would relieve themselves. (Feaver & Gray, 2017, p. 68)

Tama's misconduct towards Hinehau costed him failed crops and unsuccessful war parties. A paranoia descended on him that his father would drop dead. He sought instruction of a Tohunga who advised he had to make things right by Hinehau. Tama had to overcome challenges to address Hinehau's grievances and reconcile his wrongdoing by restoring her mana by interring her kōiwi into the burial caves of Ruarangi correctly. This story arc demonstrates the reconciliation of mana between a woman and a man and a rangatira and a tohunga. In all three story versions of Keene (1986), T. George (2013) and Silver, Silver, Jensen-Whakataka, and Wakefield (2020), the story of Hinehau captures the essence of our established relationships between the living and the dead and how the energy and power of mauri and mana transfers into the environment. There are two lessons out of this narrative. The first one is about leadership and tribal sustainability. The other is valuing and acknowledging relationships with kaumātua and reciprocity with key informants who share their knowledge and wisdom. Essentially, the man, Tama, the rangatira in this narrative had not spent the necessary time establishing a relationship with Hinehau. Yet, he sought to extract her knowledge and resources without any offer of reciprocity. Hinehau must have had suspicions about this rangatira, so she set out to restore the balance of what was taken. In this narrative, mana represents a part of Hinehau's essence, her mauri. Due to the man's inability to suitably acknowledge Hinehau, she herself had to seek redress to restore the balance of her mana and mauri. This process emphasises the fundamental basis of Māori epistemological systems (Meihana Durie, 2021).

Under the pā of Ruarangi, a series of limestone caves were reserved as a resting place for highly regarded people of the hapū of Whangārei. The story of Hinehau preserves ancestral knowledge, reflects a tribal worldview, connection to atua Māori, and portrays the lives of tūpuna.

Mana wāhine past, present, and future

In the characteristics of three female tūpuna and atua wāhine, Papatūānuku, Hinehauone and Hinenuitepō, we sense an influence and enduring impression in Ngāpuhi oral tradition, tīkanga and customary practices. In Ngāpuhi mōhiotanga, wāhine are intricately woven into the social, spiritual, and cultural fabric of the very existence of the Iwi (Moore, 2016; Sadler, 2014, pp. 140,141). Wāhine provides direct connections to whenua, tūpuna and atua, and maintain the core practices of ahikā and ūkaipō without which, the mana of hapū and whānau would not exist. The sacredness of the whare tangata is where Māui tikitiki a Taranga met his demise in the quest to destroy Hinenuitepō. Maui's demise demonstrates to us, their descendants that wāhine Māori represent the gatekeepers to life and death. In this aspect, wāhine is the core power base of Ngāpuhi as a people.

Figure 3: A whakairo illustrating the pūrākau of Hinenuitepō and the demise of Māui. Maui attempted to gain immortality for humankind by climbing into her teke while she slept. Instead, she crushed him to death effortlessly. Alexander Turnbull Library. Reference: PAColl-6585-10, Photograph by Charles A. Lloyd.

In the narratives of Hinehau, her behaviour aligns with characteristics originating from ngā atua wāhine, in the execution of mana. In the Feaver family narrative, her makutu over the

haukāinga people interrupts their livelihood when ‘all the raids the tribe went on failed. The world became so cold nothing would grow and the tribe began to starve. Even the mighty mountain Tutamoe’s hair went white’ (Feaver & Gray, 2017, pp. 67-69).

In Keene’s version, Hinehau’s mana is displayed in her ability to prophesize. ‘The next day he led his warriors into battle and fierce fighting ensued for several days. In spite of his clever strategy, many of his men were killed and eventually, he was forced to admit “dismal defeat” just as Hinehau has prophesied, and he returned to Maunu under a cloud of shame’ (Keene, 1986, pp. 36-37).

Mana wāhine is a contemporary term that is used to re-define wāhine Māori roles and status in a colonial context. Because of the patriarchal nature of colonisation that has eroded and oppressed practices regarding wāhine knowledge (Annabel Mikaere, 2017), it has become necessary to articulate the definition of mana wāhine. Mana wāhine is an extension of Kaupapa Māori theory and as such, is an integral part of the anti-colonial political project (Murphy, 2013; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2014).

What I am arguing is that it is critical that Māori women take control of spaces where our stories can be told. This includes theoretical space. Our voices have been silenced for too long. We are forever trying to see ourselves in the images created by the colonisers. (Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed-Pihama, & Gabel, 2019, p. 62)

> The need for Mana Wāhine theory has been necessary. Even in Kaupapa Māori, wāhine Māori views and interests may be side-lined. Mana Wāhine can mean something like the term ‘Kaupapa Māori feminism’ (Simmonds, 2011). It holds the principles of Kaupapa Māori and is overlaid with a critical feminist lens. Dr Naomi Simmonds nō Raukawa explains Mana wāhine being often understood as a type of (Whetu-Iti, Komako, Alejandra, & Sandy, 2020)

Within the storyline of the script for the audio play, Hinehau was written as the character that oversaw the trials and tribulations of the protagonists Hine and Te Hau. She acknowledges them after they met the challenges she laid down to them. Hinehau’s final

words is a reminder to them both of their own mana that remains inside them and is always there to help them endure through dark times. We wrote Hinehau as a conduit for the twins as a tūpuna whaea, directly connected to the fate of the environment, namely the health of the Pūriri tree eco system. In order to summon her, and the help of her mana, the twins must activate their own courage to pursue this goal. Retelling a pūrākau is not limited to traditional stories but includes storying in our own contemporary contexts and to the audiences we wish to tell them to. (Archibald et al., 2019; Lee, 2009)

Ka whawhai tonu mātou

Ironically, simultaneous to Judith Colins comments, the announcement of the Mana Wāhine claim against the Crown lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in July 1993 finally began in 2021[36].

The Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry is taking place against a backdrop of social extremes for wāhine Māori, who are at once recognised globally for leadership in Indigenous academia[37], business[38], environmental advocacy[39] and education[40], but who are also significantly underpaid for their work[41], experience numerous barriers to adequate healthcare and social assistance[42] and suffer one of the highest incarceration rates for women in the world

36https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/300223598/the-founding-mothers-how-mori-women-are-reclaiming-their-birthright-this-waitangi.
37https://www.teaomaori.news/indigenous-studies-professor-first-maori-be-elected-prestigious-american academy
38 https://mwdi.co.nz/our-leadership/
39 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wep6L5R1yYY&ab_channel=TePou
40 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KsvywsjSvVs&ab_channel=UniversityofAuckland
41https://www.union.org.nz/maori-women-effectively-working-for-free-for-the-rest-of-the-year/
42https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2021/05/why-m-ori-women-aren-t-accessing-the-healthcare-they-need-and-how-the-new-m-ori-health-authority-could-fix-that.html

(George, 2014; George, Norris, Deckert, & Tauri, 2020). Wai 2700 – Mana Wāhine Inquiry will hear outstanding claims which allege prejudice to wāhine Māori because of Treaty breaches by the Crown. These claims extend across many fields of Crown policy, practice, acts, and omissions, both historical and contemporary, and of related legislation, service provision and state assistance. Addressing the fact that under the colonial regime, wāhine Māori suffered greater political oppression than at any other time (Paterson, 2017)[43]. For example, for wāhine Māori who wished to join the suffrage movement, they were racially oppressed by having to sign agreements that they would never take moko kauae. The Women's Christian Temperance Union were the spearhead of the suffrage movement. While the acquisition of the women's vote was a step ahead within the colonial context[44], wāhine Māori nevertheless struggled, and still struggle, to recover political rights (Stewart, 2021a).

Much of the literature from early ethnographers and the missionary men and women of pre-1880 years, wāhine Māori were generally ignored in the interviewing, recording and the writing process (Murphy, Ellison, & Balzer, 2014; Pihama, 2001; Yates-Smith, 1998, p. 117). As well as being ignored, stories and knowledge about our atua wāhine were distorted and corrupted with Christian intent (Kivel, 2013). All the while, the European gaze of wāhine Māori bodies (Rountree, 1998; M. Williams, 2004) infiltrated into Māori cosmology (Best, 1995; White, 1887), Māori society (Savage, 1807) and into the psyche of Māori people on the whole (Fenton, 1860; Mikaere, 2017).

43 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ukLlOFRIg90&ab_channel=ICSRentals
44 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kate_Sheppard

To help us understand the significance of Hinehau, we must understand her livelihood in a pre-colonial context. In Ngāhuia Murphy's PhD thesis titled *Te Awa Atua, Te Awa Tapu, Te Awa Wahine. An examination of stories, ceremonies, and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world.* Murphy nō Ngati Manawa, Ngati Ruapani and Tuhoe, investigates wāhine Māori in tribal oral tradition and kōrero tuku iho to relocate the whare tangata in Māori lore. Murphy's research proves that wāhine Māori and especially menstrual blood were used in rites of protection for intertribal warfare (Murphy, 2013, pp. 111-115). These rites demonstrate that menstrual blood could restore and keep balanced the relationship between men and atua. This aided warriors with tactical abilities to acquire mental stamina, vigour, and courage in battle (Best, 1941, p. 228). This is in direct contrast to early colonial ethnographic views on wāhine Māori bodies (Fenton, 1860; Hanson, 1982; Rountree, 1998; C. Smith, 2008) that sought to restrict and repress the liberation of wāhine Māori (M. Williams, 2004). The freedom of our tūpuna wāhine, who led men politically and culturally, threatened the livelihoods of European women and roles (Fitzgerald, 2001; Middleton, 2018; Paterson, 2017).

Figure 4: A depiction of a young woman leading a haka of men in the Musket Wars. Title A war dance 1851 in watercolour. Artist: Thomas John Grant. Te Papa Collection.

In the written records of Hinehau, she is described as a priestess, a tohunga and prophetess for the Whangārei people [see written versions in appendices] In *The Mana of Hinehau*

(Keene, 1986b), Hinehau threatens the hapū with 'dismal defeat' if they do not follow her decree:

> Place my bones in our wāhi tapu in the cave at the foot of the hill. On the eve of any battle, the chief must sleep the night beside them, and my mana will ensure success. Disobey my command and you will suffer dismal defeat (Keene, 1986b, p. 37)

In particular, in customary pūrākau the jawbone of powerful and influential people was often used by tohunga as a continuation of mana that can be accessed through the bone, providing strength to an individual, a hapū or an Iwi.

> He grabbed the bone pelted down the mountain and through the swamp to his kainga. He tied Hinehau's jawbone in the Pūriri tree nearby and slept under the tree. After that, the matuku was lifted, confidence returned to the warriors and their raids were always successful (Feaver & Gray, 2017, p. 69)

Within the teachings of traditional whare wānanga, the jawbone is associated with the physical manifestation of a knowledge repository which relates to a whole body of knowledge and philosophy concerning 'te kauae runga' which focuses on the many dimensions of celestial Māori lore and 'te kauae raro' which focuses on terrestrial lore. Te Matorohanga nō Ngāti Kahungunu and Nepia Pohuhu nō Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou were trained scholars and worked between Wairarapa and East Coast areas during the 1800's. Their works were heavily edited by S. Percy Smith, who added commentary and published the teachings of these tohunga in *The Lore of Te Whare Wānanga* in two volumes (1913, 1915).

One of the most well-known references to a powerful jawbone is in the kōrero pūrākau of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. When Māui wanted to go fishing, he had to employ the cooperation of his grandmother Murirangawhenua. Murirangawhenua was a tohunga who possessed knowledge that Māui needed. So he persuades her to lend him her jawbone. Once out fishing, Māui recites karakia and incantations that she had taught him and follows her instructions of making her nose bleed to acquire her blood to smear on the jawbone hook. Tūpuna wāhine are renowned as the repositories of tribal knowledges (Mikaere, 2013).

Ani Mikaere nō Ngati Raukawa me Ngati Porou produces work that investigates the impact of colonisation, Māori legal practices, tino rangatiratanga and Te Tiriti. In her book *Colonising Myths Māori Realities,* she gives an analysis of Māori cosmogony, which recognises the significance of female sexual and reproductive functions by offering her perspective on tūpuna kuia and atua wāhine. Mikaere highlights that it is Māui who is commonly credited with fishing up Te Ika a Māui, yet the mātauranga and strategy he used, was under the instruction of his grandmother Murirangawhenua.

In Ngāpuhi kōrero, Hongi Hika possessed the jawbone of a powerful tūpuna Mahia. In Hika's war expeditions, he refused to go to war without it. Mahia was a paramount war chief and was a 'giant of a man' (P. Lyndon, personal communication, February 23 2019). Before Hongi Hika acquired the jawbone of Mahia, it was given to Hongi Hika's mother Turikura, who was a powerful tohunga and was blind. Turikura was a fighting warrior, and she was remembered for her fierce fighting abilities[45].

In Ngāpuhi, we do not speak about Hongi Hika as an ariki that led alone. We do not mention him without mentioning his tohunga wāhine, Turikatuku. When Turikura passed, the jawbone of Mahia was given to Turikatuku, nō Te Hikatu, Ngāti Rehia, who was known as Hongi's closest friend. They had several children together, and for six years straight, they travelled together to wage war on their enemies of Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Maru, Waikato-Tainui, Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Whatua. Turikatuku was a terrifying enemy to Ngāti Whatua, who wrote her into song after the battle of Te-Ika-a-Ranganui. '… *tarure ki te taha*

[45] https://rangihousacredburialsite.wordpress.com/hongi-hikas-wife-turikatuku-ii/

ko Turikatuku, te wāhine taki wairua. I riro haukore atu aku hoa, ī' (Leslie, 1938). It is said that after witnessing the death of her eldest son Hāre on the battlefield, she performed haka that gave strength to Ngāpuhi warriors to overcome the Ngāti Whatua enemy.

Samuel Marsden regarded Turikatuku as extraordinary (Cloher, 2003), and it is recorded that Hongi never travelled or fought without Turikatuku as his chief adviser (Cloher, 2003). The devotion of Turikatuku to Hongi was also witnessed by early missionary (Middleton, 2018) visitors in 1814 and 1816[46] (Corbalis, 1996).

Turikatuku was afflicted with an eye disease that left her blind in young adulthood. She was a proficient gardener, and when Samuel Marsden returned to Te Puna village at Rangihaua pā in 1819, he was surprised to see her working in the food gardens in her blind condition (Digital, 2018).

The mana of Turikatuku and Hongi Hika continued with their daughter Hariata Hongi also known as Rongo, who partnered with Hone Heke. Her mana, inherited from both her parents, was greater than that of her husbands. Sir George Grey considered that 'it was from her rank that Heke had, in a great measure, derived his influence' [47] (As cited in

[46] Angela Ballara. 'Turikatuku', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t114/turikatuku (accessed 27 June 2021)

[47] George Grey to Earl Grey, 5 September 1850, 1420.01.25, British Parliamentary Papers (GBPP); http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz?e=d-01000-00---off-0despatch--00-1--- -0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-en-50---20-bpphome---00-3-1-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=despatch&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH01ce77669b175bb86ea5acfa

Middleton, 2018, p. 88). Hariata did not lose her Ngāpuhi identity in adapting new skills and technology the Europeans provided. She is commonly known as Hone Heke's scribe or 'wife', but on close inspection (Middleton, 2018; Paterson, 2017) it was her name that signed off letters and orders. She held fast to traditional wāhine Ngāpuhi practices. She demonstrated her commitment to these customs by practicing hahunga ceremonies openly frowned upon by the growing European settler population in the Bay of Islands. Although Hariata and Hone Heke were baptised, their conversion was purely surface level. They fought for Ngāpuhi tino rangatiratanga alongside other Ngāpuhi leaders in 1845, igniting the New Zealand Wars in this country.

Informed by other wāhine Māori scholars, I intentionally choose not to use the term 'wife' or 'marriage' concerning the pre-colonial partnering of our tūpuna in this thesis. This is because Tūpuna wāhine should not be regarded by the Western stereotypes of European women regarding sex, sexuality, long term relationships or raising children (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2014; Yates-Smith, 1998). Rangimarie Rose Pere shares knowledge of her tūpuna in the critical essay *To Us the Dreamers are Important*.

> My Maori female forebears, before the introduction of Christianity, and the 'original sin of Eve', were extremely liberated as compared to my English tupuna. With the exception of slaves (male and female), the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions; they retained their own names on marriage. Retaining their own identity and whakapapa was of the utmost importance and children could identify with the kinship group of either or both parents (Pere, 1987, p. 9).

In Mikaere's informative work, *A Balance Destroyed*, she concludes that wāhine Māori histories, narratives, and tradition tell us that we possess the ability to 'mediate the boundaries of tapu and noa'. And have autonomy over our bodies and our relationships with others and ourselves. Mikaere (2017) states that the recognised centrality of female sexuality to survival meant that 'women celebrated their femaleness with confidence', expecting and exercising sexual autonomy.

In the written versions of Hinehau, she is portrayed as a beautiful young woman and an older woman at the end of her life. Her stories all finish similarly, but her demeanour varies between the versions. Her mannerisms range in vengeance levels to manaaki to aroha for the haukainga people. A storyline in all versions, is in the requirement of the men to 'sleep with Hinehau', instructed either by herself or another tohunga. This mediating between tapu and the noa allows the men access to her mana, and the chance to reconcile her vengeance and grief by honouring her in tribal tikanga practices of cave burial and interring mauri into a rākau Pūriri. In all narratives, the men fail in their first attempts of 'sleeping with Hinehau' in fear of losing their own lives. This universal theme of powerful women equipping young men with the necessary skills to achieve their goals is seen throughout the anthology of kōrero pūrākau, aligning especially with the Maui-tikitiki-a-taranga adventures.

The 'potency of female sexuality' is essentially connected with the womb symbolism of Te Kore and Te Pō, and in the birth of Papatūānuku and Ranginui's children into Te Ao Mārama (Murphy, 2013; Sharman, 2019). There are specific details regarding the first sexual encounter between Tāne and Hinehauone and is demonstrated explicitly again when Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga meets his death between the legs of Hinenuitepō (Ani Mikaere, 2013; Murphy et al., 2014). The more profound spiritual concept behind the physical womb across te ao Māori seals humanity to our fate and our destiny.

> They brought back a seer and a prophetess whose name was Hinehau. She was a very special person in many ways, her status, her ability, and in terms of her expertise. They wanted to marry her to the rangatira, they built her a house and treated her well, but they had killed her people, and she was very, very angry with them. She sat in the house and starved herself to death, cursing them as she did (S. Grey, personal communication, November 6 2020).

In the story from the Feaver family[48], Hinehau is described as a seer and a prophetess. A position that Ngāpuhi leadership in the Musket Wars took very seriously. The Feaver family tells us the rangatira gave Hinehau 'a whare of her own and servants to feed and clothe her' when he found out she was a tohunga and possessed great mana . In Ngāpuhi kōrero, tohunga and matakite performed ceremonies interpreted tohu and provided foresight to aid rangatira and their hapū to defeat their enemies. The stories of Hinehau are consistent with Ngāpuhi knowledge and share the characteristics of ātua wāhine and tūpuna wāhine narratives.

When proud heritage and colonialism coincide/collide

> We were told that Māori histories were unreliable myths and fantasies, and that real New Zealand history was a narrative of Pākehā settlement and the making of the nation-state (Mahuika, 2021, p. 152)

This section opens with this quote from Nepia Mahuika nō Ngāti Porou, to demonstrate how mātauranga Māori has been, overall, devalued, absent in mainstream classrooms and generally understood that history is not about 'us'. In my upbringing, our Ngāpuhi heritage was a large part of our family culture. Still, when outside of our family cultural dynamic and in the more expansive and dominant Pākehā New Zealand culture, we experienced New Zealand history narrative of Pākehā settlement upheld.

Comparing and contrasting the intergenerational experience of colonisation and how it can occupy and maintain control of New Zealand history becomes evident in this exercise.

[48] Feaver family is the name I'll use in this research that refer to the three generations of land occupiers that currently live on the farm where the wāhi tapu of Hinehau is located.

The positionality of a storyteller is informative to the stories that are chosen to tell. It gives insight into what is in focus and how things are interpreted, which I draw on here in connecting historical parallels between the settler and the native. I use the history of the writer and author Florence Keene, who wrote *Te Mana o Hinehau* (1986)and many other tribal accounts in Northland. Her pioneering heritage and career as a writer will be compared to the experiences of the tribe she has often written about. For example, Ngāpuhi were at war with the Crown just five years after Te Tiriti was signed, while Keene's ancestors were still residing in England (Keene, 1989).

As a proud great-granddaughter of Kaitaia mission founder Reverend Joseph Matthew, Keene (1908-1988) authored several books and booklets, including many on 'Māori myths and legends of Te Tai Tokerau'. She was a New Zealand Women's Writers Society member, the Historic Places Trust Regional Committee, the Northland Regional Museum, the Anglican Church, Zonta Club of Whangārei and the Anglican Church. Besides writing on Māori narratives, she wrote stories based on her pioneering settler ancestors' journals and letters. They sailed from England and settled in Whangārei under The Forty Acre scheme (Keene & Holman, 1972, p. 82). The Forty Acre scheme (Phillips & Hearn, 2008) established in 1858-1868 encouraged settlers from the United Kingdom to populate Te Tai Tokerau. Agents operated in Britain, Ireland, Canada, and Cape Town. The scheme offered forty free acres per adult and twenty acres per child. The only condition is they had to pay for their passage out to the new country (Ward, 1997). Before Keene's great-grandparents' adventure to claim their forty acres (Keene, 1989), Ngāpuhi hapū were haemorrhaging land. After the sacking of Kororāreka in 1845, there were three main battles: Te Kahika 1845, Ohaeawai 1845 and Ruapekapeka 1846. Ngāpuhi hapū are politically autonomous and chose to side either with the British forces or the Ngāpuhi rebellion led by Hone Heke and Te Ruki Kawati nō Ngati Hine.

Before, during and after the Northland Wars, Māori land was either 'confiscated' (Phillipson, 2005) or 'land sharked' (Jones, 2020, p. 176; Tribunual, 2014, pp. 205,206) from Ngāpuhi hapū. In the process, Ngāpuhi rangatira Pōmare II nō Ngati Manu was arrested after the sacking of Kororāreka. His Ngāti Manu ships were seized, and his kainga Otuihu pā was burnt to the ground. Although he did not participate in the rebellion at Kororāreka

(O'Malley, 2019) he was further humiliated by being handcuffed and shipped to a prison in Tāmaki Makaurau (Hamilton, 2017).

> He ngawari te ki ko ahau to hoa… E hoatu ana nga tau e toru . Tena pea a tera wa ka kitea e tatou mehemea he tino hoa ia e kahore ranei . He tangata whai rawa a Pomare i tenei wa. Aini pea ka pohara ia. Ka kite ahau a tera wa ka taea te Māori pohara e tahanga ana ki tona kuaha. Ka tukua he paraikete he kai mena e matekai ana. He ngawari noa iho te ki, Ko ahau to hoa. Ka hoatu ahau ki a Kapitana Hopihana nga tau e toru ki te whakatau ana korero (Hamilton 2017)

Figure 5: Pōmare's pā burning, with the H.M.S Northstar in the foreground. By J. Williams. Sourced from the Alexander Turnbull Library. Ref. A-079-032

This kōrero of Pomare and the sombre Williams illustration leave a strong impression. Prior to 1845, Pōmare was cynical to the friendly Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson, Surveyor-General Felton Mathew, and land occupier J. Clendon when they asked him for more land. Pōmare could see through the businessmen's empty promises of 'friendship' in his question to the Governor; *You are only friendly to me now because I am a wealthy man, but maybe I won't be one day. If a naked and starving Māori knocked on your door, would you clothe and feed him?* (A. Hamilton, personal communication, February 3, 2021)

The parallel I draw here is while Keene's ancestors were awarded forty acres of Whangārei land by the Crown, Ngāpuhi rangatira were harassed and coaxed into land purchase deals with many promises of future profit and prosperity for the hapū. Government officials came to Pōmare with the promise of enduring friendships and a future of big business for Ngāti Manu if Pōmare sold them the land to build the capital of New Zealand at Okiato. Mathew drew ambitious plans for a town, but only one of the intended roads was ever made leading directly from the town hall to the town jail (King, 1992, pp. 26-28). Okiato was abandoned as a site of the capital in 1842, and Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson moved to Auckland and died soon after. Governor Fitzroy replaced him in 1843. The Crown embarked on a comprehensive sub-standard programme of purchasing whenua which Hobson, Clendon and Kemp all played their part. The Forty Acre Scheme was the re-branding and marketing of that land sharked whenua to attract settlers into Te Tai Tokerau after the Northland Wars.

As Whina Cooper nō Te Rarawa (1895-1994) led the first Māori land march hikoi in 1975 to the steps of parliament in a stand for Māori sovereignty chanting "Not one more acre of Maori land!"[49], Florence Keene's book *Tai Tokerau* was published. In 1975, many Ngāpuhi were walking the length of the North Island[50] under the group Te Rōpū Matakite (Steven, 1975). Te Rōpū Matakite was a synergy of old and new ideologies, which unified a diverse range of groups and interests: kuia, kaumātua and rangatahi, young urban activists and older conservative traditionalists. In the six months leading up to the hīkoi, alliances were

[49] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u3i8jm1qaw4&ab_channel=TeKarereTVNZ
[50] https://youtu.be/vYNxGNbWyV8

cultivated with iwi, the Kīngitanga, the Māori council, Ngā Tamatoa, the league, trade unions, socialist organisations, churches, and the anti-apartheid movement. The considerable support of Pākehā also sent the message to the government that Māori were not the only ones fed up with racial discrimination and unjust laws in Aotearoa. The hīkoi was a protest of the continuing loss of whenua Māori.

In the well documented personal scrapbooks of Florence Keene, we get an insight into her interests at the time. These scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and handwritten notes are housed in an archival collection room in the Whangārei City Library. In her scrapbooks dated between 1974-1976, she collected stories on the flourishing farming and agriculture industry of Whangārei. Newspaper articles are collected with titles such as 'Glenbervie readies for second plant' (Collection, 2020). This refers to a District Pine Tree Scheme for Māori landowners to plant their whenua in pine as a twenty-year forestry investment. The establishment of planted forests is an integral part of New Zealand's colonial and post-colonial land-use history. Since 1840, Ngāpuhi has endured significant alterations to our ancestral land's tenure, governance, and regulatory frameworks. Traditional autonomous land access through sustained occupation has been altered through a complicated raft of legislation and regulation, resulting in the present day scenario of multiple ownership, fragmented shareholdings and land alienation constraints (Rotorangi, 2012). Another newspaper article collected in Keene's scrapbook, 'The reviewed District scheme affects YOU'. This article breaks down how Whangārei farmers will eventually benefit from the 1953 Town and Country Planning Act as the government has declared they have 'local farmers' interests at heart' (Collection, 2020). Keene's politics and values of land during the 1975 land march is in opposition with the united tribal effort nationwide in the protest of systematic law and governmental policies that take land out of Māori ownership. This united tribal protest was the Ngāpuhi political backdrop during Keene's research and writing of *Tai Tokerau.*

Florence Keene's *Te Tai Tokerau* is a selection of Māori myths and legends from the tribes of Te Tai Tokerau. She includes whakapapa charts of Ngāpuhi tūpuna and Ngāpuhi oral tradition of the waka migrations from Te Moana Nui o Kiwa. Stories are chaptered into geographical areas: The Far North, The Middle North, Whangārei and Kaipara Districts and a

final chapter called ‘customs’ where various practices of interest to the author range from tangitanga, lifting tapu to cutting hair customs of Ngāpuhi tribes. She has a credit page at the back acknowledging various contributors, both Māori and Pākehā.

In the Whangārei and Kaipara District chapter, there is a small page and a half story titled *The Mana of Hinehau.* In the footnote, she credits Mr Richard Feaver as the land occupier of 1963. She adds that it was ‘probably Taurau Kukupa’ nō Te Parawhau pointed out the Pūriri tree of Hinehau to Mr Richard Feaver.

As a descendant of Kukupa by his first Ngai Tāhuhu partner Whitiao, I descend from Te Koke, an older sister of Taurau Kukupa. In our whanau knowledge, Taurau Kukupa and Richard Feaver’s paths would never have crossed as Taurau Kukupa died in 1896, the same year Richard Feaver arrived in New Zealand as a child with his family, which settled in Taranaki.

In a conversation I held with Mr Richard Feaver’s granddaughter Carol Peters, we discussed Florence Keene’s contribution to Hinehau.

> She [Florence Keene] subverted stories, when my grandfather [Richard Feaver] read it, he was really angry. She didn’t show them back what she was going to write, right until the book was written. And he looked at me and thought, what has she done? She turned it into an English fairy tale (C. Peters, personal communication, November 4, 2020)

In Nepia Mahuika’s book *Rethinking Oral History & Tradition – An Indigenous Perspective,* Derek Lardelli nō Ngāti Porou talks about the deliberate mockery of Māori histories by settler Pākehā.

> They need to write about us to justify their existence here. And in their colonial miseducation, Māori and Iwi were reduced to “natives” and “savages” while the discursive construction of the “settler” and “New Zealander” becomes powerful political archetypes and histories (as cited in Mahuika 2019, p.101)

In Keene's book *With Flags Flying*, pioneering settler families roughing it in Mangapai Whangārei becomes part of the illustrious founding settler history of the Whangārei township (Keene & Holman, 1972). These settlers are framed as heroic, brave and courageous. The more obvious settler sentiment and judgement of Ngāpuhi people are illustrated in *Tales of Yesteryear*. Rangatira are referred to as 'old creatures' or 'a wretch to manage' (Malcolm, 1994, pp. 4-5). The writing has a heavy tone of contempt toward Ngāpuhi Māori, even towards tangata whenua who aided and protected the settlers. There is an air of ownership over tangata whenua in the writing. Descriptive writing examples like 'Our Whangārei natives, our servants, and our chiefs' are constantly getting scolded. Many are told to clean up their appearance or outwitted by clever settler men. 'The Maoris began to think they were far better off in the old whaling days' when an un-named elderly kaumatua complains about the problems with land sales and property rights with the settler storyteller (Malcolm, 1994, p. 15)

In *The Mana of Hinehau* Keene demonstrates that an entertaining tale is of more importance than relaying a historical event. Keene's direct translation of Hinehau as 'daughter of the wind' or 'the wind maiden' is incorrect in recognising the name in recognition of the korero tuku iho of Hinehauone. Hinehau is, in fact, a reference to Hinehauone and the first breath given by Tāne and is memorialised every time someone announces Tihei Mauriora (Yates-Smith, 1998). Simply put, te reo Māori has the depth and understanding that is not seen on the surface of a non-speaker. Keene is at fault here for simplifying Reo Māori to surface level English translations.

In Keene's writing, she describes Hinehau's role 'unusual for a woman' (p. 36), demonstrating Keene's lack of understanding of wāhine Māori in pre-colonial times. She considers Hinehau as 'not the status quo' or not the 'usual thing' (Keene, 1986b). This subtle example is what continues to undermine wāhine Māori roles as leaders by instilling a truth myth that it is 'unusual' or 'highly unlikely' that a wāhine Māori would or could be a powerful tohunga (Stewart, 2020).

Oral historian Megan Hutching points out the difference between oral history and oral tradition as relying on recollections 'beyond the lifetime of the informants' (Hutching, 1993). Mahuika summarises what this means for tribal tradition.

> This differentiation is significant in its 'other'ing of native historical knowledge, a more recent contribution to a colonial legacy that has displaced Māori perceptions of history, reducing them to less reliable myths, superstitions, and traditions (Mahuika, 2019a, p. 4).

One example of displacement has been the continuing use of Keene's publications throughout Northland primary and secondary schools today. With the need and desire to acquire local hapū and Iwi narratives for schools[51], regional councils, and community groups, reach for Florence Keenes stories over engagement with local hapū or tribal knowledge holders. For example, in *The Northland Age* article dated July 4 2019, Te Tai Tokerau Principals Association president Pat Newman is working with a second-hand book dealer to find out how to obtain Keene's books on Māori myths and legends to base a Northland school curriculum around. Earlier in chapter one, I explain Keene's story of Hinehau, reaching as far as a brief of evidence in Te Paparahi o Te Raki. This displacement of Māori ancestral knowledge written by a Pākehā and then cited in the Ngāpuhi Treaty Claim is terrifying.

This is an example of what Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) refers to as re-inscribing a Western 'ethnocentric' view (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012) that any work by Indigenous peoples can only be identified as legitimate and genuine knowledge if it fits within a Western framework. Here

[51] https://www.pressreader.com/new-zealand/the-northland-age/20190704/282303911688172

Keene has put a Māori narrative into a Western framework of the folktale or a fairy-tale narrative, continuing the regime of truth (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012), validating Keene's work on Māori myths and legends as being genuine and correct.

A place of protection

Hinehau plays a particular part in the Feaver family's heritage, and the life of a grandfather, Richard Feaver, is unequivocally connected to Hinehau. Granddaughter of Richard Feaver, Carol Peters is a Whangārei District councillor, artist, scholar, and farmer. She is commemorated as a 'community hero' in Whangārei for her quest for social justice throughout Te Tai Tokerau. Along with her partner Tim Howard, they were generous with their time during all my visits to the Feaver farm. Carol's younger sister Suzanne Grey also spent a day with me on their farm and shared family stories with me. Suzanne has published a book on their grandfathers' legacy called *Chasing Rainbows*.

> He came up here from Taranaki around 1907. He came up just before the smallpox epidemic if you know anything about that. He was a drover; he was quite young. When he first came up here, he would have been 17 or 18. Māori were extremely affected by the smallpox epidemic, they were the food basket for the Whangārei township and smaller villages at the time, but they weren't allowed to come to Whangārei during the smallpox epidemic, so they couldn't sell their meat and milk especially their milk.
>
> My grandfathers' family were pharmacists, so he knew a little bit about infection, and he knew that if you have cowpox - he was cow milking - you don't catch smallpox. So, he happily went out and collected the milk - he was a conduit for milk for Māori in the mid north, around Whangārei. As a result of that, he was sold some land (S. Grey, personal communication, November 6 2020)

Carol and Suzanne's grandmother Vida Te Aho Hammond married Richard Feaver in 1914. By 1916, he was conscripted and sailed for Passchendaele WWI. Vida was left nursing their firstborn at her father's house in Pōneke and anxiously awaited Richard's return. Vida's father is Reverend T.G Hammond also known as Te Hamana, a Methodist clergyman who ran Māori missionaries in Waimā, Hokianga, and Pātea in Taranaki.

> So, she's [Vida's] there, and the newspaper comes in, that there's been a terrible battle at Passchendaele, and thousands of New Zealanders have been killed. And all through the list - there were two editions - and she's going through the paper and going through the paper; dead, dead, dead, dead, missing, and he was missing. And she thought, well, missing is the same as dead, just not found yet. So, she thought he'd died. She was very unhappy (S. Grey, personal communication, November 6 2020).

At this time, a guest of Te Hamara, by the name of Uenuku ki te Rangi Kiwikiwi Jackson was travelling to Wellington 'on land confiscation business' (Feaver & Gray, 2017). He consoled Vida in her grief and began to tell her the story of Hinehau.

> You don't need to worry because he's never going to die in battle. And she's like; Why? Because of the story of Hinehau. Uenuku went on to tell Vida 'You're husband has put his whare right by those trees, which means anyone who sleeps in that house will not die in battle. Your husband's not dead. He's coming home'. And he did (S. Grey, personal communication, November 6 2020).

The Hinehau narrative was shared to Vida by Uenuku to reassure her of Richard's return from WWI.

> Because when my grandfather had come to this place, he made his first whare just under the branches of that Pūriri tree, and because he had slept under that tree, people who sleep under that tree will not die in battle and as he [Uenuku Jackson] predicted, my grandfather came back from the war, he had been injured, but he lived. He and Vida gave birth after that to my mother, and then mother gave birth to me, and I gave birth to these children, and they've given birth to my grandchildren, and that is the reason we are all alive. It is a place of protection (C. Peters, personal communication, November 20 2020)

It's an inside job

This section features the ideologies and inspiration behind creating a 15-minute audio drama of Hinehau, re-imagined. It's a contemporary story written for listeners of the next

generation and will be used as a learning resource in Kura Kaupapa Māori. I hope to encourage the current and future generations to help raise the vibrations of mana Wāhine. To restore the natural order and balance that we had in the past.

A group collaboration of writers involved in the script creation of the audio play *Ko te mana o Hinehau* (2020). Writers Whetu Silver and her sibling Komako perform in theatre and contribute to Māori performance arts, storytelling and music.

> Hinehau:
>
> I te mātakitaki au i tō kourua haerenga...
>
> E Hine, kua rapua e koe tō ake pūmanawa, arā ko te reka hoki o tō reo!
>
> Te Hau, kua rapua e koe tō ake pūmanawa, arā ko te ngākau māhaki hei ārahi i tō whānau!
>
> Kua hikina te mauri, kua mōwai te whenua, kua ea!
>
> Ka haramai te ata hāpara. Me wehe kourua. Māku e ārahi i te hau kaha hei kawe i a kourua ki te kāinga.
>
> Kei wareware kourua. Kei a kourua te mana! (Silver et al., 2020)

Besides the singing of the oriori, this is the only dialogue of Hinehau to the protagonists. Hinehau was written as the character that oversaw the trials and tribulations of the protagonists Hine and Te Hau. Hinehau acknowledges them after they meet the challenges she laid down. Hinehau's final words remind them both of their own mana and the self-determination that resides inside them and is always there to help them endure through dark times. We wrote Hinehau as a conduit for the twins as a tūpuna whaea, directly connected to the fate of the environment, namely the health of the Pūriri tree ecological system. In order to summon her and gain access to her mana, the twins must activate their own courage to pursue this goal. Retelling a pūrākau is not limited to traditional stories but includes storying in our contemporary contexts, and to the audiences, we wish to tell them to (Archibald et al., 2019; Lee, 2009).

The creative project ‘Ko Te Mana O Hinehau’ was written and conceived by a group of wāhine Māori. Under the guidance of Manukaroa Anderson nō Te Arawa, she supported the idea and concept that we translated into an imaginary world we created through a series of hui. We centred this drama around a story arc of two young protagonists who sought out the mana of Hinehau to recover environmental balance. We made it a war of climate change instead of intertribal warfare by which the sibling twins must succeed as the health of the Pūriri tree depends on it. The Pūriri tree has stopped flowering at their Nana and Koro’s kainga, which could bring on a potential chain reaction of adverse outcomes for all of them. There will be no berries if there are no flowers which meant there will be no food for Kukupa whose job is to spread seed to the forest floors.

I chose the format of a pūkenga whakarongo [listening resource] because it stays true to customary oral tradition. Unlike audiobooks, an audio drama has an entire cast and sound design, creating an immersive experience. Using a mixture of traditional and modern techniques, students delve into the soundscape world of the audio drama with characters, narration, atmospheric sounds, waiata and te mita o Te Tai Tokerau.

Like sitting in the whare tūpuna, listening to a lyrical whaikōrero, an audio drama allows listeners to actively imagine their own versions of characters and scenes. This makes it one of the most intimate forms of media. Furthermore, the use of sound effects and sound shots in an audio drama increases the level of mental imagery, causing listeners to pay more attention, constantly building their own imagery based on their listening.

The kaupapa behind the play *Ko te Mana o Hinehau* (Wakefield, 2020), funded by the Ministry of Education as a Te Aho Ngārahu project, aims to bring balance back to the narrative of Hinehau. As the creative director and co-writer behind this project, using voice actors that speak in the Ngāpuhi reo was important to me. I took the project to Iwi radio station Ngāti Hine FM in Whangārei. My whanaunga Hinemoa Apetera nō Te Parawhau was the station’s administrator at the time and engaging with her and her team on this creative project was nothing but special. She helped me get in front of the right people in a short space of time. We auditioned on day one and recorded on day two. The recorded audio files

were then sent off to Te Amokura Productions in Wellington for the sound post-production on day three.

To ensure Māori are not disinherited of our stories and histories calls for innovative oral tradition in ways that will resonate with the younger generation is required. Māori language and culture are inclusive (Royal, 2009a). New Zealanders can, and should, also be encouraged to be an integral part of the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori. Ideas and philosophies created in one language cannot always be translated into another language without losing some meaning, because each language speaks to a specific contextually created knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith, Maxwell, Puke & Temara, 2017).

> Our ancestral memories are in your blood, they are in your muscles, they're in your bones, they're in your hair... That is why when we hear the drum, our spirit is moved. The vibrations of the drum stir old memories – our ancestral memories. These memories come out of the molecular structure of our being. That is also why when you hear someone speaking your language, your molecular structure picks up those vibrations, because each language has its own peculiar patterns, and you feel good that somebody is speaking your language (Wilson, 1995, p. 65)

In Stan Wilson's research (1995), he quotes an interview with Cree Elder Lionel Kinunwa, whose uplifting sentiment about the sensation of hearing one's own tribal language and stirring ancestral memories in the body. The poetic Cree elder's expression reminded me of Tā Hemi Hēnare nō Ngati Hine when he said;

> Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori. Ko te kupu te mauri o te reo Māori. E rua ēnei wehenga kōrero e hāngai tonu ana ki runga i te reo Māori. Ko te reo, nō te Atua mai.[52]

As a student of reo Māori, I wanted to express my love of the language through this audio drama to create something positive and exclusively from Whangārei to help mitigate some of the sad feelings I experienced in this research.

We initially thought to compose a pātere about Hinehau with its association to pakanga and conflict, but the kupu for a haka never came. As soon as someone mentioned oriori, it made sense for the rangatahi audience the story was aimed for. The late Amster Reedy nō Ngāti Porou regards oriori as traditional waiata that tells stories and is often sung to children. They can be stories about ancestors' journeys, geography, or whakapapa. Oriori are composed to implant Iwi tradition and lore into a child's mind (Hemara, 2000). Oriori can also be motivational and inspirational to illustrate to mokopuna what desired behaviours were. They are designed to encourage and uplift and can be used as a socialisation tool. Through repetition, oriori reinforces messages about desired qualities in mokopuna and suggests their needs (Apiti, 2011). We used oriori as a source of personal empowerment for 'Hine', the story's protagonist, who uses the waiata to overcome her obstacles. Also included symbols and themes connected to the taiao around the wāhi tapu. The swamp, Pūriri moth, Pūriri berries, Pūriri flowers and the Kukupa are all significant to the area of Maunu and play an essential part in the seasonal cycle of the rākau Pūriri.

[52] These words were uttered by Sir James Henare to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 and were broadcast on 'Waka Huia' in 1988.

Ko te mana o Hinehau I roto i a ahau

Kia puawai te mauri o Pūriri

Ko te mana o Hinehau I roto I a koe

Kia aio te oranga o te iwi e

Ko te mana o Hinehau I roto I a ahau (Wakefield, 2020)

At some stage our loss makes itself known and it usually manifests as a heavy realisation. I was so excited to come across a kōrero like Hinehau, something so empowering and from my tribal area. However, the more I searched for her, the more questions than answers presented themselves. I slid into a profound sadness. Perhaps no one knew anything about her anymore. Maybe her identity beyond this small glimpse in an old, dog-eared book is gone, and this could be all that remains of her narrative. A story stripped of whakapapa, the names of rangatira missing. If kōrero tuku iho and ancestral landscapes are what we use to identify ourselves, where do we locate ourselves if our narratives have been scrubbed clean? I mourn for the losses our ancestors experienced. What did they have to repress and suppress to survive? I mourn for my loss of identity as an outcome. It connects me to them in a very sombre way. This oriori is a note to self. I get to remember my own self-worth as this is a reminder that I belong to a collective and a forever changing landscape within the realms of whakapapa. It is always with me as it manifests in all of us.

In a way, I created this audio drama for my younger self in mind. To teach her about herself and her inheritance in the shape of te reo Māori, oral tradition, and the power to imagine. I'd like to think the nurturing aspects of this story-making process and the themes within the audio drama can shed some light on getting back to the foundations of our wellness and matriarchal ideologies. It's about giving people the opportunity to discover that the answer has been inside them all along. Hinehau is a story that continues.

CHAPTER FOUR: Toitū te whenua

This chapter gives a brief overview of the environment surrounding the wāhi tapu of Hinehau in Maunu, Whangārei. I will connect places found within the narrative of Hinehau into a Te Parawhau ancestral and cultural landscape. An ancestral landscape is the outcome of tribal relationships between seasonal changes, the passage of time and tribal cycles of activity and rest (Kawharu, 2009). Kōrero tuku iho and historical information are drawn upon to contextualise the geographical area in the immediate surrounds of the wāhi tapu of Hinehau. The specific place names and geographical regions mentioned in the narrative of Hinehau hold layers of Te Parawhau mātauranga, identities and spiritual significance. Most of the historical information has been sourced from Northland Māori Land Court Minute Books between the years 1865-94. I have also drawn from the Te Paparahi o Te Raki hearings, published reports, and my own tribal knowing and understanding gained from wānanga, hapū kaikōrero, tangihanga and kōrero from my own whanau and hapū members.

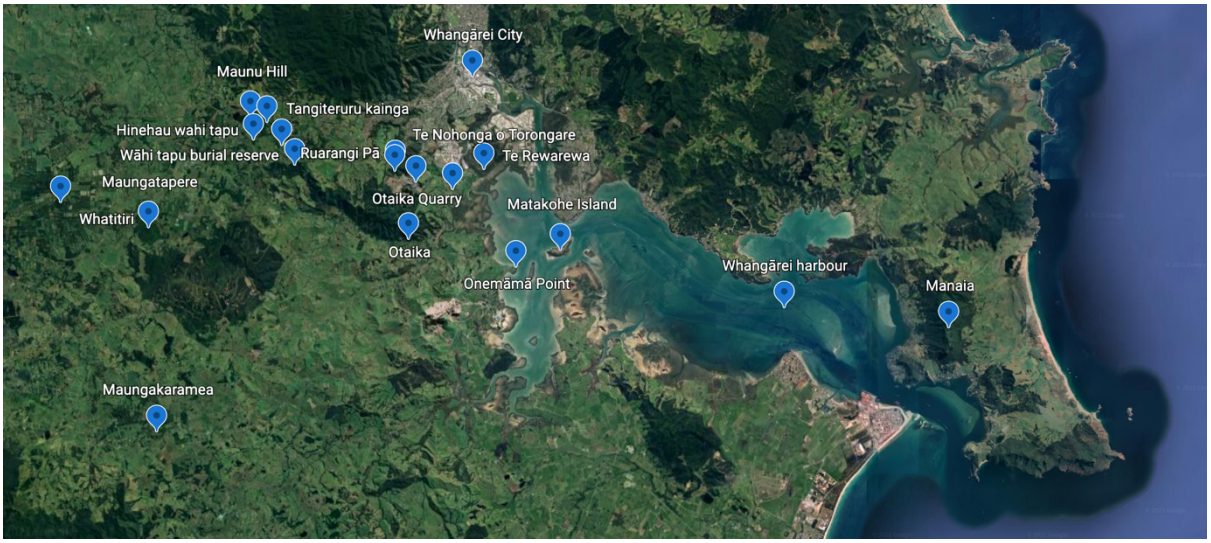


Figure 6: Google maps. Credit: Sandy Wakefield

The South-Western District of Whangārei

Maunu hill is located within the maunga of Whatitiri, Maungatapere and Maungakaramea. This volcanic area between these mountains was described as an ideal place to live, abounded in birds, eels, and other food sources. In addition, the upper harbour, with its

mangrove flats and tidal creeks, offered a variety of fish, including sharks, snapper, mullet, and significant quantities of a limited variety of shellfish species (Pickmere, 1986, p. 17).

Ruarangi pā

The pā of Ruarangi is a small, ridge peaked terraced pā that was last occupied approximately 350 years ago with radiocarbon artefacts evidenced from the 16th century (Green, 1975). A 1971 archaeological report (Haugaard, 1971) reports pathways paved with limestone slabs, stone hearth fireplaces, complex drainage systems, karaka tree orchards, kōwhai tree groves, and areas that been heavily palisaded. The Ruarangi pā lays in the heartland of Te Parawhau and was protected by Raumanga, Waiiti, Toetoe, Rewarewa, Otaika, Otara and Maunu kainga.

Upon Ruarangi Pā is a large limestone rock called Te Nohonga o Torongare. It was the taumata of tūpuna Torongare, a founding Ngāpuhi ancestor of Whangārei and father of Hineamaru, the eponymous ancestress of Ngāti Hine (**Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**). There, on his nohonga he would receive important visitors. Ruarangi Pā is a strategic position overlooking the Whangārei harbour from a southern perspective. From the height of the nohonga is a clear view of Matakohe Island and straight across to Manaia at the harbour's entrance.

Torongare and his partner Hauhaua travelled to Whangārei from Hokianga with their children. They made settlements at different places along the way. *Te Poaka o Ruangaio*, a burial cave of Ruangaio. Ruangaio is a grandson of Torongare and Hauhaua and was interred at Ruarangi and, subsequently those of his descendants. The last internment reputedly happened around 1900.

Significant large Pūriri trees surround the Ruarangi Pā area. Pūriri were used by Ngai Tāhuhu and Ngāpuhi to suspend tūpāpaku. The tūpāpaku were left for two to three years to undergo the decaying process. Then, the skeletal remains were scraped, decorated with red ochre, and placed into the burial caves after the completion of the rites.

> The reasons for this secretiveness were that the dead were supernaturally dangerous to the group to which they belonged and that desecration of

> bones frequently accompanied or was a cause of intertribal warfare. Burial grounds were thus stringently protected by tapu from the chance intrusions of the local population. (Oppenheim, 1971, p. 24)

Pūriri trees hold cultural significance in Ngāpuhi. Pūriri leaves are the correct greenery to use in tangihanga, for kaikaranga to use in tangi, and to fashion into tauā (Te Hiku, 2021). Pūriri grew in abundance on the fertile volcanic soils inland and south of the Bay of Islands region. The durability and resilience of these trees are remembered in whakatauki, *Ka kata ngā Pūriri o Taiamai* (Sissons, Hohepa, Sissons, & Wi Hongi, 2001). The Pūriri continue to flourish and laugh despite the ravages of war and rivalry, which disturbed the peace of this much sought-after territory over the centuries. In the battle of Ohaeawai, the palisades were made of Pūriri timber walls, impenetrable to the scrambling Red Coats (O'Malley, 2019; Trust, 2021). The Pūriri, like a powerful man, woman, or nation, must, however, be wary of overconfidence and underrating weak opposition as our whakatauki says: *He iti mokoroa ka hinga te Pūriri*. By its steady, unobtrusive chomping, the tiny, delicate Mokoroa larvae can fell even the mightiest Pūriri.

Particular Pūriri trees are also known in the Whangārei District as wāhi tapu or markers for the dead. Whangārei hapū matauranga associate large Pūriri trees close to burial caves or burial areas (Maxwell, 2012, p. 5). During the 1965 study of Ruarangi Pā, 'a European resident from nearby pointed out a large and undoubtedly old Pūriri tree which she maintained had been pointed out to her when a child by an elderly Māori as a tree in which corpses had been hung for decay (Oppenheim, 1971, p. 25).

On Ruarangi Pā, in the bush-clad valley above Tauroa St, is a large cave described by speleologist Peter Crossly and other caving enthusiasts as the most pristine cave in the Whangārei District (Kermode, 1965), with spectacular features of unbroken stalagmites and stalactites. Knowledge handed down through the generations of Te Parawhau talks of the whole area riddled with caves, caverns, fissures and underground streams. Evidence of Identified natural features includes crystalline limestone bluffs, cave systems, burial sites, funeral sites, underground water systems and native trees of considerable age. By the late 1880s, the area became a popular destination for recreational activities of European

settlers, and fossickers began to explore the caves to remove bones and other taonga. Following this desecration, Taurau Kukupa ordered the caves to be sealed (Tito, 2020b).

The Ruarangi Pā abuts an active Quarry. Established in the 1950s, Winstone Aggregate took ownership of the Otaika Quarry, with its thick beds of 220-million-year-old greywacke rock. As the quarry has occupied a large section of the pā, quarry sink holes fill with water during heavy rain, and overflow issues push water through the underground stream system connected all through the area and surrounding properties. As a result, kōiwi have been dislodged and washed into surrounding lands from where they were initially placed. Elders in the 1950's and '60s used to walk the streams after heavy rains and collect the koiwi and reinter them at Toetoe Urupā.

Figure 7: Google Maps. Credit: Sandy Wakefield

The Ruarangi Pā caves are the known burial place of the bones of Hinehau in all written narratives of her. It is a burial place Whangārei hapū held in very high regard and the burial place of the descendants of Ruangaio and his grandfather Torongare. From the Pūriri tree of Hinehau, Ruarangi Pā is visible and in walking distance to the Tokaanui Māori land reserve on Cemetery road [see figure above for mark named *wāhi tapu burial reserve*]. This ancestral landscape strongly suggests Hinehau would have lived amongst the descendants of Ruangaio to have been interred there before her mauri was put into the Pūriri tree.

A Ngai Tāhuhu and Ngapuhi dynasty

Ngai Tāhuhu initially occupied the Whangārei District. For many generations, Ngai Tāhuhu enjoyed a position of power and influence as the major Iwi in the large area extending from Tāmaki Makaurau to the Bay of Islands in the north. Many Ngāti Whatua, Ngāpuhi, Ngati Rangi, Patukeha and Ngāti Wai tribes continue to recite their Ngāi Tāhuhu tātai today.

By the early 1700s, Ngai Tāhuhu had lost a considerable part of their territory through inter-tribal warfare with Ngāpuhi from Hokianga. Ngāpuhi rangatira sought to establish themselves in the Whangārei District and arranged themselves with Ngai Tāhuhu wāhine. During the merging of Ngai Tāhuhu and Ngāpuhi tribal relations in the Whangārei District, Haumia established a kainga at the base of Maunu hill (Nevin, 1982). He is associated with other Ngāpuhi rangatira such as Ponaharakeke, Ngarokiteuru, Te Waikeri, Tawhiro, Hautakere, Te Tokaitawhio, Te Whata and Te Kahore who all sort out Ngai Tāhuhu wāhine to gain access to Ngai Tāhuhu hunting areas, food sources and ultimately whenua. The descendants of Te Waikeri and Te Kahore identified as Te Uriroroi people and lived within the inherited Ngai Tāhuhu whenua of their hoa wāhine (Index to the Wai 1040 combined record of inquiry for Te Paparahi o Te Raki, 2015).

From these Ngāpuhi and Ngai Tāhuhu unions, Ngāti Ruangaio formed as a fierce and formidable hapū. Ngāti Ruangaio drew mana from this duel tribal heritage (*Index to the Wai 1040 combined inquiry record for Te Paparahi o Te Raki*, 2015, pp. 10-12), and Te Parawhau marks its rising dynasty in the 1700s as being the time of our tūpuna Kukupa. Most of the associated Ruangaio chiefs named above were subsequently killed in various warring. This was a time of great warfare in the Whangārei area and was the environment in which Kukupa was raised.

Kukupa's uncle, Te Tirarau I, met his demise in a significant fight with Rangitukiwaho of Ngāti Wai at Punaruku awa. The fall of Te Tirarau I was memorialised, and the tribal collective made up of Ruangaio, Ngāpuhi, Te Uriroroi, and Ngai Tāhuhu people began to identify as the hapū of Te Parawhau. This was after Te Tirarau's body was wrapped in the leaves and bark of the whau tree to maintain some preservation when returning to

Whatatiri. However, when they arrived at Whatatiri, upon removing the funeral wrapping, they could see that the body had already started to decay and that it was covered in para or slime. We take our name Parawhau after the slime covering Te Tirarau's body, attached to the whau leaves and whau bark wrappings. (Nossi, 2020; Index to the Wai 1040 combined record of inquiry for Te Paparahi o Te Raki, 2015; Tito, 2020a)

Kukupa was groomed for leadership and was educated in military warfare and hand to hand combat. Kukupa was a contemporary and relative of Ngāpuhi chief, Hongi Hika. His principal pā was established on Onemāmā Point, a Ngāi Tāhuhu strong hold. Kukupa had three principal Tāhuhu wives: Whitao, Taupaki and Hauauru. They were sisters and daughters of rangatira, Tūwhakatere and granddaughters of Hautakere. Te Parawhau people descend from either one or all of these wāhine. Kukupa's descendants went on to become rangatira, and his daughters and granddaughters consolidated the influence of Te Parawhau, securing the south and west sides of the Whangārei District, producing children with powerful men throughout the wider District.

Te Parawhau in Ngāpuhi Musket War

There are several phases to the Musket Wars and they are not so clear cut and frequently overlap. Ngāpuhi were the first Iwi to acquire large numbers of muskets and launched aggressive taua (R. Crosby, 2020) . Between 1818 and 1825, Ngāpuhi and closely related hapū and Iwi led wide-sweeping raids that inflicted massive casualties, took large numbers of captives and forced migrations or temporary displacements particularly of Ngati Whatua people (R. Crosby, 2020). Ngāpuhi certainly did not finish the Musket Wars. It was more of a combination of developments, events and influences that brought Māori, on the whole, to realise that it was no longer possible to exercise power with impunity through the Musket. The arrival on masse of Pākehā colonists and settlers gave rangatira new political and physical realities to manage in their regions. Christianity conversion rates significantly affected customary practices like utu, the keeping of captives, and cannibalism. European diseases also affected the ability to maintain health while leading long seasonal war campaigns. And lastly, the political and economic reasoning behind Te Tiriti o Waitangi broke up the many motivations behind the Musket Wars. Regardless of what views

rangatira held, Te Tiriti o Waitangi brought about the creation of a national governance system that was backed by a Crown military force.

Many descendants of Ruangaio participated in the Musket Wars and lived in the wider Maunu area. The rangatira that are mentioned to have occupied the area for long periods is Iwitahi, his father Te Manihera, Tatau, and Koroneho[53].

The military might of Whangārei hapū that committed to Ngāpuhi's Musket War was massive and politically complicated. I have attempted to include the information relevant to the Hinehau narrative to help answer how she may have arrived in Whangārei. This section offers insights into this Musket War period regarding the realities of Ngāpuhi captives and the roles Te Parawhau hapū participated in the Ngāpuhi Musket Wars.

The Whangārei Harbour is positioned geographically as the southernmost Ngāpuhi border. When enemy tribes would seek utu from Ngāpuhi, the first port of call Whangārei, was where this utu would be carried out. Matakohe Island in the Whangārei harbour is a known gathering place of the allied forces of Ngāpuhi before leaving on war campaigns. There they would hui, train and prepare for Musket War campaigns in Te Parawhau territory.

Te Parawhau were great allies of Hongi Hika and took lieutenant and military leader roles in Hika's campaigns. Te Parawhau were involved in the Musket Wars from the very start. In Samuel Marsden's diary January 19 1806, 'The brig called in at Whangārei, where the

[53] Whangarei MB No.03, Maunu No.1 Block pgs 20-49, District Taitokerau

natives told them only one vessel, 'The Venus' had ever been before. They had visited Kereru and Mahanga[54].' (P. S. Smith, 1984, p. 85).

The 'Venus' was a small vessel mutinied by a group of convicts including Benjamain Kelly, Charlotte Badger and Catherine Hagerty on the coast of Tasmania and sailed to New Zealand following the Eastern coastline south. They captured two wāhine Māori from Te Aupouri and Ngāpuhi and traded them with East Coast Māori. One was a sister to Te Morenga, a rangatira of Taiāmai, and the other, a niece, Tawaputa, who was taken from Whangārei. Te Morenga's sister was a close relative to Hongi Hika. (Ballara, 2003, p. 191)These women's lives were compromised by the convicts on the ship Venus, and their deaths led to a series of raids to the East Cape in later years with muskets by Ngāpuhi and Ngati Maru (R. D. Crosby, 2012).

In search for utu for their female relatives, in 1818, Te Morenga, along with Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa and Te Parawhau allies, headed to Tauranga and Whakatane and carried along the East Coast. They returned to Te Tai Tokerau with many captives and preserved heads for trade with Europeans in the Bay Of Islands. Hongi Hika, along with Te Haupa of Ngati Maru (whose daughter was also taken by the convicts of the ship Venus) simultaneously began their raids at Maketu causing destruction down the East Coast burning and killing at villages. Whanau a Apanui Pā, Maraenui fell to Hongi and when Ngāpuhi arrived at Hicks bay, Te Haupa was killed by Ngati Porou.

Captured people brought to Te Tai Tokerau

Hongi Hika told Samuel Marsden (S. P. Smith, 1984, p. 95) approx. Two thousand prisoners were brought back to the Bay of Islands, with significant numbers of preserved heads of the slain. One waka, which landed at Rangihoua, contained 70 heads. Marsden reported he met a young woman in Rangihoua who was captured and given to a young Ngāpuhi chief. 'She said Hongi Hika's people had made her prisoner between the Thames and the East Cape and that their village was taken by surprise; her father, mother, and seven sisters having escaped, whilst she was caught'. She added that she was a niece of Hinematioro, of Aitanga a Hauiti (as cited in S. P. Smith, 1984, p. 95)(R. Crosby, 2020).

In 1820, while Hongi Hika left for England for more muskets, Tareha organised a Ngāpuhi taua to follow the Mangakāhia river down to the Kaipara to attack Murupaenga of Ngati Whatua, one of Hika's biggest foes. But Murupaenga knew how to fight against the muskets. After firing the guns, he told his warriors to rush at Ngāpuhi after firing the guns, as the musket took some time to reload. Tāreha was a powerful rangatira of Ngāti Rēhia, large in both mana and size. He had relationships with numerous women from other hapū, which gave him access to resources and loyalty with numerous Ngāpuhi hapū, including Te Parawhau (S. P. Smith, 1984, p. 143). There are reports of enslaved people and captives being brought back to Whangārei after Tareha campaigns against Ngāti Whatua (Crosby, 2012, p. 74).

Meanwhile, Te Morenga revisits Tauranga in 1820 to continue avenging the death of his niece in 1806 and launches an attack against Ngaiterangi leader Te Waru. After a battle ensued, 65 Ngaiterangi people were taken to Whangārei, and the other 125 captives went to the Bay of Islands with Te Morenga's people (P. S. Smith, 1984, p. 159)(Crosby, 2012, p. 72). Te Waru's courage after this battle created formal peace between Ngāpuhi and Ngaiterangi.

In many of the Ngāpuhi conquests, many records regard captured elite wāhine as slave wives to Ngāpuhi rangatira. Pomare of Ngati Manu and Te Wera Hauraki of Te Ahuahu Pā were infamous Ngāpuhi rangatira who led successful war campaigns. Their taua attacked Pā

in Maketu, East Cape and Māhia Peninsula. A Rangatira Te Whangongo, was killed at Maketu and unfortunately, his head was taken back to the Bay of Islands. His daughter Te Ao-kapurangi was taken captive by Te Wera Hauraki. The dignity and courage of Te Ao-kapurangi of Ngati Rangiwehi are commonly referred to as Te Wera's 'slave wife', yet her mana and actions proved she was anything but. She travelled back to her homelands of Te Arawa and advocated for her Ngāti Rangiwehi hapū. She held counsel with Ngāpuhi rangatira, including Hongi Hika and held her own in debates to spare her people, which she succeeded in. During the battle at Mokoia Island, Te Ao-kapurangi famously spread her legs over the doorway of the whare tupuna of Tamatepapua. The action of Te Ao-kapurangi created peace amongst Ngāpuhi and Te Arawa iwi. (Ballara, 2003; Hemara, 2000; Stafford, 2007).

Pomare nō Ngati Manu held women of high rank. Rangiipāia nō Ngāti Porou wāhine was taken in Okauwharetoa during the Whetumatarau raid against Ngati Porou (R. D. Crosby, 2012). In Pōmare's siege of Whetumatarau, many Ngati Porou people were taken, and their abundant Te Araroa crops plundered while Ngati Porou starved in the hills. (Wi-Repa, 1918). Rangiipāia lived with Pomare in Matauwhi Bay, Bay of Islands but later returned to her people with Pomare when he sought reconciliation with Ngāti Porou. She helped secure this peace-making and afterwards travelled freely between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Porou tribal bases with her people. She also had children with other men after Pomare. So it's not clear to see how she was a 'slave wife' or held 'captive'. If Rangiopāia ever was, she was not for very long. (S. P. Smith, 1984).

Te Parawhau participated in Pomare's campaigns to the East Coast as Māori Land Court Book Kaipara 06 records show. Kukupa had a Ngāti Porou wāhine named Tahinga, who was later killed by Ngati Whatua in a utu raid in Whangārei. She is buried at Whatitiri. Female captives are also recorded at the significant Te Parawhau strongholds of Piritaha and Te Aotahi kainga. They belonged to Ngati Kahungungu, Ngati Porou and Te Aitanga a Hauiti tribes. Kukupa was recorded as having brought Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungungu captives into the Whangārei region and they lived in Okoihu, Piritaha and Aotahi Pā of Te Tirarau II, a principal rangatira of Te Parawhau and a son of Kukupa. Te Tirarau II was strategic in his business and formed alliances with Ngāpuhi, Hongi Hika and their major foe Ngati Whatua

through tātai whakapapa. He ran business empires with other Ngāpuhi rangatira throughout the Musket War period (as cited in MLC Kaipara MB No. 06, p. 139, 148, 155, 156, 159)

The MLC records show Ngāti Porou people buried at Piritaha, and Te Parawhau rangatira having Ngati Porou mōkai at smaller villages that tended to Te Parawhau gardens, particularly rīwai. Te Tirarau and other Te Parawhau rangatira shared captives amongst their kainga. Female prisoners of higher status were known to be partnered with rangatira. On the MLC record, Renata Manihera talked of his tūpuna Haumia and Tatau that lived in the kainga in Maunu for long periods and had 'enslaved people' with them. Tatau had Waikato captives that worked in the gardens and dug fernroot (MLC WHG 03, Maunu No.1, p. 20-49). There is also a record of woman Henrietta Makoare, a descedant of Tatau, who expressed for her and her brothers to live on the Maunu block. She lived with Te Tirarau II for a time, but he turned her away from Piritaha Pā and said, 'the woman is a nuisance'. He was bothered that she or her brothers were bewitching him.

In 1821, hundreds of enslaved people were brought to the Bay of Islands after raiding against Ngati Paoa at Mokoia and Mauinaina Pā and Ngati Maru at Te Totara pā. Te Parawhau rangatira Kukupa and Te Ihi participated in Hongi Hika's deceitful peace at Te Totara Pā (P. S. Smith, 1984, pp 192,193). As a result, the Tamaki isthmus became depopulated as Ngati Paoa and Ngati Whatua vacated and sought refuge in the Waikato, in fear of Ngāpuhi attacks.

By 1823, Ngati Whatua, Ngati Paoa and Waikato taua invaded Te Parawhau in a series of surprise attacks in Whangārei. This was a response to the 'deceitful peace' at Te Totara Pā. Pōtatau Te Wherowhero led a taua to Whangārei in an attack against Te Parawhau and successfully brought 40 women back to Kumeu (P. S. Smith, 1984, pp. 312,313).

After returning from the battle of Kaipiha in Pirongia, Te Parawhau rangatira Iwitahi's potato cultivations were dug up and eaten. Iwitahi was known as being hot-headed and was incensed by Ngati Paoa for this potato incident. Shortly after this, Ngāpuhi went to make peace with Ngati Paoa and Ngati Maru. Iwitahi accompanied this Ngāpuhi group. However, when the two parties met, during the wero, Iwitahi shot one of the Ngati Paoa people to

satisfy his sense of injury at the potato episode. Afterwards, Iwitahi insisted on entering the pā of Mauinaina and was there, killed and eaten. After this incident, peace was established between Ngāpuhi and Ngati Paoa (S. P. Smith, 1984, pp. 312,313). William Colenso describes the character of Iwitahi as one of the 'most remarkable personalities of the day'. His explosive temper kept everyone in awe, Māori and Pākehā alike. In anger, he is said to have shot a female captive when she failed to prepare the potatoes to his liking in Whangārei (Pickmere, pp. 16,17).

The significance of the Musket Wars in both historical and contemporary terms is that their outcomes still drive and provide the terms of inter-Iwi relationships and have ever since. Without knowledge of the Musket Wars and their results, it is difficult to properly understand present-day inter-Iwi or even inter-hapū relationships. Relationship issues still affect Iwi alliances today and can be attributed to events from the Musket War period. This continues to be the case in the Te Tiriti settlement process, as the substantial effects to the mana of Iwi and hapū involved. Disputes over customary rights and entitlements from competing Iwi or hapū still happen today. Resolution to who has the right to assert or exercise tangata whenua status in an area is weighted on the outcome of the Musket Wars.

These historical references set out to illustrate how closely related and similar the narrative of Hinehau sits within the Te Parawhau tribal histories and their participation in the Musket Wars. It is easy to be convinced that Hinehau was brought to Whangārei through war and was partnered with a Te Parawhau rangatira in Maunu. This section shows us how the Te Parwhau tribe prospered and responded to Ngāpuhi Musket warfare. These few mentions of Te Parawhau rangatira demonstrate how they set about to manage their lands, people, conflict and captives. These small glimpses of historic accounts coincide with the narrative of Hinehau. Although I never found a direct reference to Hinehau or the Te Parawhau captor rangatira portrayed in her story. I found many records that indicate many elements of truth in her story.

CHAPTER FIVE: Hindsight is 20/20

The phrase *hindsight is 20/20* means to look back at a situation with a clearer understanding of what has come to pass. I liken this phrase to the many forms of insights and knowledge gained in this research journey which I try to render into this chapter. In concluding this work, I provide my arguments and reflect in the hope to acknowledge those who have nurtured and challenged me on this journey. I also want to recognise those still fighting their way or who have yet to begin their journey.

This Kaupapa Māori study demonstrates methods of researching the past, looking at language and working with local people has been at the forefront. This involved strategic choices in whose voices to privilege, whose stories to tell, and how to tell them. This research occasion has allowed me to call upon the skills intellect and find solace in tribal oral traditions and Māori literature. I showcase Māori values and concepts as interventions and solutions to our collective wellbeing, which has already proved successful within the education sector and Kaupapa Māori spaces. However, I am of the opinion that there are many more spaces to reclaim and infiltrate if we are to resurge forward as a people.

This thesis has laid out an argument for the many reasons why Māori need to be in control of our narratives and histories in Māori revitalisation projects, especially regarding Māori reports or Māori histories. In the searching for validity in the Hinehau myth, many records of misinterpretations and misrepresentations were found, which were recorded by the 'good intentions' of Pākehā that have not done our culture any favours. Tribal oral tradition and kōrero tuku iho must not continue to be told from a Pākehā world-viewpoint. Work must be done in Government agencies across all sectors to develop authentic relationships with tangata whenua in every region.

This study has identified that traditional Ngāpuhi culture and values are closely linked to the environment. Whenua, in particular, establishes personal and tribal identity. It symbolises social stability and is an essential emotional and spiritual strength source. Whenua is the resting place for the dead, a spiritual base for traditional beliefs and heritage for future generations. Te Parawhau and hapū of Whangārei have expressed concern for the

quality and condition of environmental areas and places of significance. Of particular concern is the need to protect wāhi tapu from desecration through further development. To maintain the sovereignty of our tribal mātauranga, the creation of Kaupapa Māori developed archive tools have to be established for the utilisation of agencies, councils and businesses. New Zealand history books are primarily single-sided stories and dominate the library shelves with pioneer settler histories. Māori histories in our libraries are incomplete and researched predominately by non-Māori. Many Iwi has launched geospatial projects to begin to tackle this issue. For example, the impetus for Maniapoto to begin a GIS project was an incident that destroyed a taonga known as 'Rongomai o te Kakara' in the Marokopa area in March 2010[55].

In education, Māori teachers in mainstream schools are using tribal pūrākau and kōrero to connect children to their heritage[56].

> Kei te marae ko te pūrākau e rere ana, ko te mōteatea, te whakapapa te pepehā. Nā reira ko ēnei mahi, he puare i ngā akomanga kia hou mai o mātou tikanga, o mātou tikanga o te marae ki roto i o mātou akomanga.
> Arohanui Allen (Whatitiri, 2021)

In simulating what is heard on a marae in moteatea, pūrākau and whakapapa, the strategy 'Pūrākau', uses Māori narratives in mainstream schools as a way to inspire and engage all

[55] https://www.maniapoto.iwi.nz/
[56] https://www.teaomaori.news/schools-urged-use-maori-narratives-mainstream-get-better-outcomes.

students and has proven successful. For example, Arohanui Allen talks about a female student's delight upon learning that her tūpuna wāhine, Kuramarotini, named 'Aotearoa'.

> I te wahanga tuatahi ko tētahi o ngā painga mō te kōrero o Kupe, Ki ētahi o ngā kōtiro, kīhai rātou i mōhio ko te tūpuna a Kuramarotini nānā i whakaingoatia a Aotearoa. I tupu o rātou māia ki te mōhio, i whakarongo tētahi tāne ki a Kuramarotini, nā ko Aoteraroa, tōna mana. (Whatitiri, 2021)

Along with other teachers, Allen wants to instil in their students the confidence of knowing themselves through their language and culture. However, her experience working with Māori students at mainstream schools isn't as prevalent as Kura Kaupapa Māori students.

Limitations of this research and future research

This study has the potential to link with other smaller studies and sit within more extensive projects and could potentially be used for a number of inter-tribal history projects. Initially, I hoped to travel to Musket War battle sites - namely Whetumatarau, Matakitaki, Te Totara, Mokoia, and Te Ikaranganui. I wanted to work with Iwi members that knew Musket War details of captives. This critical Kaupapa Māori study could open up a whole new body of tribal histories research of inter-tribal relationships during the Musket Wars period to the present day. So many archival records, journals, and diaries have not been analysed and assessed against the network of various tribal narratives.

This would not be a quest for the one truth, but a chance to liberate our tribal histories from a Pākehā view of our histories; to give a complete and holistic understanding of such a difficult political period all tribes had to deal with and have had to fight to remember it 'our way' whilst surviving the severity of colonisation. This work has been completed on a microscopic scale and only within Ngāpuhi and Te Parawhau whakapapa.

The COVID-19 global pandemic sent psychic shock waves through the hearts and minds of people around the whole planet. During this study, I had to assess and prioritise what was important and what wasn't. Working to time restraints also proved difficult and the

intended knowledge holders and planned whakawhiti kōrero were constantly postponed or cancelled. Some were rendered down to a series of informal phone calls that were unfocused on the Hinehau kaupapa but whakawhanunga and the current state of affairs in the hapū/Iwi space. When I did spend time amongst my people in Te Tai Tokerau, many of our conversations and kōrero were very deep and required a lot of time and patience. In addition, there were times when I had to pull out of a whakwhiti kōrero session with a participant due to financial commitments outside of this research project. In hindsight, I overcommitted myself to work full-time and struggled under the pressure of completing a research Masters' thesis in a global pandemic. However, completing this project has given me a new appreciation for the value of time and how precious it is.

E Hine e, nei rā tō mana, he mana tuku iho, tuku iho

This study renews the relationships between Hinehau, our hapū narratives and history. By the intentional layering of empirical evidence and ground-truthing, the myth of Hinehau becomes a reality grounded in history. She is sewn into the ancestral landscape of Te Parawhau through the Pūriri tree and burial tikanga of Ruarangi Pā. This locates her within the realms of Ruangaio histories and Te Parawhau pre-colonial rangatiratanga.

The legacy of her story and her mana continues through Whangārei tribes, Ngāpuhi, the Maunu community, and the descendants of Richard Feaver. They tell her story and honour Hinehau as the key contributing factor to their grandfather's return from Passchendaele in WW1. This project has made sensitive the fact that we are all the product of our stories and our identities in the landscape. Although the landscapes have changed over the years and are used differently, tribal identity is still attached to whenua. Oral tradition is our touchstone - literally metaphysically, psychologically and physically. We're bound to the landscape and our whenua with histories of stories and events. These identities need to be living, breathing acknowledgements of us, and oral tradition and practices can reinstill these customary connections again. We are still here, and our histories are still in the landscape. We are not redundant.

The Hinehau narrative, like the stories of many wāhine during the Musket Wars period, were recorded as 'slave wives' is questionable. I argue that the Christian understanding of

'wives' and 'slaves' has boxed wāhine Māori and their livelihoods into European ideological constructs of women's roles compared to men's. Hinehau, Turikātuku, Te Aokapurangi, and Te Rangiipāea demonstrate in their actions and behaviour that their adherence to tikanga and kawa of their tribes was not the Christian value of the 'wife'. Hinehau's story shows to new generations the liberation and unconstrained ability to move amongst tribal authorities as wāhine. These rangatira wāhine Māori narratives all carry messages to descendants in their actions, intentions, and determined purpose for the wellbeing of our people.

In the study of Hinehau, she reveals the connection to atua wāhine - in her name and the decision she made to reconcile with Te Parawhau people beyond death. Her story has a sense of a vision for a better future. As we listen to the moving briefs of evidence in the Mana Wāhine claim in 2021[57], I draw connections to what we face as wāhine Māori in the present. We collectively reclaim parts of ourselves that were cut off and scrubbed clean in the colonial project. Listening to these briefs in the Mana Wāhine claim, our minds connect the dots between our tūpuna wāhine and the contemporary systematic structures of prejudice and racism we face today.

The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 was an expression of an underlying mindset that was fundamentally hostile to mātauranga Māori and the roles of wāhine Māori as carers, healers and visionary leaders. The Act's title sent an aggressive and disturbing message about the Government's view of Māori beliefs. The Act was unjustified and racist in that it defined a fundamental concept of Māori culture as wrong and in need of 'suppression'. The tohunga

[57] https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/02-08-2021/the-mana-wahine-inquiry-isnt-over-yet/

that it affected were spiritual leaders, teachers of traditional wānanga, the people that would recite karakia at births and mātauranga Māori exponents that worked within the seen and unseen realms in traditional societies. (Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed-Pihama, et al., 2019; Tribunal, 2011)

Our voices have been silenced for too long. The removal of wāhine Māori voices has meant tribal theories and worldviews have been missing. This meant Māori women's stories were allowed to be defined as 'myths' by the likes of Florence Keene, and therefore made some figment of our cultural imagination. The marginalisation of Māori women's theories is such that we constantly have to try and 'find' ourselves within the texts of the dominant group (Pihama, 2011). Still, through Kaupapa Māori methods, respectful recovery of our truths and realities can be pulled out of these fictions with careful forms of analysis and care. It is time to phase out the coloniser's words and descriptions of our tūpuna.

> The pepehā and its process is about allowing connection to be used in a way that will connect the parties concerned at that point in time and for that reason… It's all about connections, connectivity of this world, in terms of our emotional, spiritual and physical wellbeing. I really believe that active connectivity is part of our resilience. Part of our survival. I think it's actually our intelligence (L. Norris, personal communication, October 13 2020)

We need to control our world narratives and construct new stories that embrace the experiences and realities of all wāhine Māori, not just a select few. Wāhine Māori must take control of spaces where our stories can be told. This project experiments with intertwining knowledge of whakapapa with whenua to create new insights. The approach to this project has always been about relationships and connection. Through family memories, atua wāhine and speaking back to Eurocentric archives of wāhine Māori, this research project has validated Hinehau in new ways.

Whakapapa is both individual and group-oriented. It is process and outcome, curriculum and pedagogy. It's embedded in a whanau- and hapū-based view of the world, an epistemology and experience which marks out the boundaries and the geography over which our collective struggles as wāhine Māori are fought. We are related to each other -

not just because we are women - but because we are part of a complex genealogical template. We cannot claim to be sisters or part of a sisterhood in the way other women have claimed. How we are related is not necessarily important, as we are *tuakana* or *teina* to other women, with sets of responsibilities or obligations according to these culturally defined relationships (Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed-Pihama, et al., 2019; Pihama, Smith, Simmonds, Seed- Pihama, et al., 2019; Sharman, 2019).

The narrative of Hinehau can teach us about the human manifestation of the female elements. Wāhine Māori has been engaged in a monumental and historic-mythological spiritual struggle, a struggle marked by significant events: the tearing apart of Papatuānuku from Ranginui, the creation of Hinehauone, the transformation of Hine-tītama into Hinenuitepō or the deeds of Maui against his grandmothers. This spiritual struggle continues to be fought in our role as mediators of tapu. Wāhine Māori has the power to make things noa, to intervene in states of tapu-ness. The freedom within this role suggests that it is incredibly active and dynamic. The ability to make things noa contains within it the power over day-to-day life, food and commerce.

Our spirituality is dynamic and should not be compared to the roles of Tāne. It waxes and wanes, ebbs and flows, and transforms itself. To achieve states of reciprocity, the female elements have to be active: they have to neutralise, they have to procreate, and at times, they have to destroy. We have the right to connect to our kuia and our ātua Māori. Physical relationships were formed by taking the intentional time and space with no distractions by walking the whenua. I experienced neutralisation of my anxieties, as safety was found again in my homelands and amongst my people. These rituals of reclamation are very personal and private things. Learning and knowing through Hinehau is the pathway I chose to discover the primary relationship of these female elements. Like in any other relationship, time must be set aside to nurture and feed these relationships and practices of re-connection and healing. The story of Hinehau has deepened my relationship with myself and with divine creation. This is a practice, and essentially the reminder that WE personify as atua and everyone has the right to connect to the taiao.

Some of the most inspirational and enlightening moments have resulted from informal conversations with elders who have been raised immersed in te ao Māori, as well as senior Kaupapa Māori researchers and scholars who have been actively involved in their decolonisation processes for much longer than I have. This revealed how important it is for anyone committed to authentic Kaupapa Māori research to be part of a Kaupapa Māori research community to support their praxis.

Despite the challenges that arose during the research, my overall sense is that I have successfully achieved what I was hoping for. This achievement aligns with many principles and values required by a Kaupapa Māori methodological approach to research. Furthermore, such an approach has enabled the gathering and analysis of rich literature and data to be culturally appropriate for the participants and the researcher.

The proof is in the pudding

Our genealogies and relationships to people and place mediate our life experiences, our interactions, and the stories we choose to tell through research. New Zealand has a history of non-Māori who have set about writing their record over the top of the indigenous landscape, re-identifying the whenua, and plotting a new course for tangata whenua. A reconfiguring of the landscape is now vital to relocating a potential destination and each individual's point of departure. The reclaiming and re-mapping of these spaces has been one of the significant strengths of both Indigenous methodologies and Kaupapa Māori theory. (Mahuika, 2019b) Kaupapa Māori, for instance, places mātauranga Māori at the centre, challenging the place of Pākehā history and power, re-positioning them as historians from elsewhere whose cultural and intellectual frameworks are inadequate for interpreting the histories and worldviews of the indigenous people in Aotearoa. The notion of disturbing the centre has also been a significant aspect of a decolonising theory. (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

Recent accounts of Western scientists have told the world we need to use Indigenous knowledge to help resolve the manufactured ecological and climate crisis threatening our planet (Callaghan et al., 2018). It's a neon sign of change because of mātauranga Māori as having equal status to science (Bean et al., 2012). During the Whakaari disaster 2019, the

tikanga of Ngāti Awa, became part of the response. The Iwi stood next to the council and first responders, sharing its perspective and leadership.

Settled Treaty of Waitangi claims have enabled Iwi nationwide to build their commercial and cultural capabilities within their tribal areas to respond. The phrase 'new normal' became popular after the Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 when everything considered 'normal' in Canterbury was shattered by the earthquakes. Ngāi Tahu, who was on the outer before the earthquakes, became part of the new normal. The Iwi were given unprecedented statutory authority to partner with the local council and then stamped their cultural mark in the rebuild. (Kake, 2018). As we deal with the impacts of climate change in the future, we will need to include Māori knowledge, leadership and practices. They've already proven to be resilient and resourceful (O'Regan, 2014).

The continuing arc of the Takarangi spiral

The Takarangi is an intersecting double spiral pattern that signifies humanity's celestial origin born at the beginning of the Universe. Used widely in Māori carvings and art, the Takarangi double spiral uses space to separate its two solid spirals; it is this space that allows us to see the spirals. The two intersecting solid spirals represent Ranginui and Papatūānuku and the close bond they share. The centre of the Takarangi represents the origin of all, the beginning, singularity. The open space between the two spirals symbolises Te Ao Mārama and the link man has with te ao Wairua. This symbolic spiral is cosmological, and connects us to our ways of viewing time, space and knowing (L. R. T. Williams & Henare, 2009).

The evolving Takarangi shape is like the unfurling of our native ferns, our iconic koru shapes. Liminal spaces like the space in-between the double spiral of the Takarangi is where transformation occurs, and where knowledge is, as of yet unknown but in formation. The liminal may be discussed as a means for understanding how knowledge is produced in this space when different cultures encounter each other. The narrative of Hinehau, which is a site and land specific story teaches us about the potential for the occurrence of a non-hierarchical knowledge production through people's exposure to alternative histories and cultural knowledges.

The wāhi tapu of Hinehau can be mobilized as a place where different cultural knowledges can come together to share, learn, and understand in a way that is respectful of their differences, sensitive to their unique positionality, and that works against hierarchical structures that promote the domination and privileging of for example, European knowledges over Indigenous knowledges.

The questions and answers of this project is driven by our people, whānau and the vision for tino rangatiratanga and mana māori motuhake. It's the vision to get our whenua back, a vision for our reo to be spoken every day by our people and heard every day. Our vision for this country is to be grounded in tikanga and mātauranga Māori, no different to the vision our tūpuna had when they signed Te Tiriti.

Hinehau challenges us to maintain cultural continuity, and at the same time, allows for cultural directional change. A story can allow a culture to regenerate itself. Storytelling honours our memory while validating the diverse movement and interconnectivity nature of mātauranga Māori, as the only constant in our lives is change (Archibald et al., 2019). Put simply, our stories are our efforts to create shared interpretation structures about experience so that change can have a shared meaning. Hinehau shouldn't be treated as a relic, retired, or considered as our older selves. We want what our tupuna had when they created He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti. Mana motuhake and rangatiratanga. There was no need or desire for fences. The increasing use of Māori cultural practices and perspectives is an indicator of a subtle power shift. Māori are slowly gaining back authority that was lost through colonisation.

This thesis is an ongoing conversation and aims to motivate and inspire readers to engage with their tribal narratives to find the brilliance to be part of a collective re-emergence.

APPENDICES:

Written versions of Hinehau kōrero

Book: 'Tai Tokerau' by Florence Keene.

The Mana of Hinehau

Living at Maunu in the Whangārei District many years ago was Hinehau, whose beautiful name meant daughter of the wind. She held an important and unusual position for a woman, for she was the tribe's *tohunga.* As such she directed the fortunes of her people in battle with such success that her *mana* stood high throughout the Whangārei District and beyond.

The years went by until she became weak with age, but her mind was still as sharp as a *patu.* The only foe she could not outwit was Death, but before her spirit sped on its journey to Te Reinga, she made one last decree: "Place my bones in our wahitapu in the cave at the foot of the hill. On the eve of any battle, the chief must sleep the night beside them, and my mana will ensure success. Disobey my command and you will suffer dismal defeat."

Now this was almost asking the impossible of any warrior, no matter how brave he might be. Custom had taught the Māori that the bones of the dead were absolutely tapu, and must not be touched or even approached without the proper rites being performed by a tohunga - and certainly not at night when few Maoris ventured abroad.

Nevertheless, sometime later, when the tribe was planning a battle, the chief remembered Hinehau's decree: "On the eve of the battle, you must sleep beside my bones," and he knew he must obey. While the rays of the great Tama-nui-te-Ra, the sun god, lit up the bushlands and valleys, he felt strong with determination to carry out Hinehau's order. He flexed his muscles. "Ae", he said with satisfaction, "Ana ta te uaua paraoa" - I have the strength of a sperm whale. I am ready to face any danger.

Just as dusk was darkening into night, he set out along the track down the hill to the mouth of the cave. Concealed by native bush, the entrance looked to the chief like a black hole of eerie horrors, where kēhua were lurking to pounce on him. His steps lagged, his heart quickened with fear. His whole body was shaking. Just as he stepped unwillingly into the

blackness, his foot slipped, stones rolled into the cave's echoing gloom, and a gecko - that creatures of ill omen to the Māoris - shot across in front of him. Stifling a cry, he turned and raced back to his whare, feeling sure that the appearance of the Gecko was an unmistakable warning not to enter the cave.

The next day he led his warriors into battle and fierce fighting ensued for several days. In spite of his clever strategy, many of his men were killed, and eventually he was forced to admit "dismal defeat" just as Hinehau has prophesied, and he returned to Maunu under a cloud of shame.

Time went by and he again decided to go to war. With mixed feelings he remembered Hinehau's words and was torn between the fear of disobeying them, and the dread of spending a night in the cave with her bones. Recalling his previous defeat, he felt he must obey her last decree and, as before, as long as daylight lasted, his strength of purpose was strong. But as he walked along the track to the cave, his doubts and fears began to sabotage his courage as he thought of the ghostly horrors that could be hidden in the darkness of the moonless night. By the time he reached the cave, the night was so dark that he felt as if he were stumbling forward with his feather cloak thrown over his head. With every nerve tensed, he groped towards the opening of the cave - forcing himself on. His heart felt like a huge greenstone mere beating in his throat. Suddenly in the blackness there came a flutter of the ghostly wings that brushed past his face. Petrified, he stopped, momentarily unable to move. Surely that thing, that unknown thing, must be a follower of Whiro, the god of darkness and evil, bent on wrecking upon him some dreadful form of destruction? He fled up the path as if all the kēhua of the underworld were pursuing him - the fact that he heard a startled morepork calling to its mate did not reassure him, nor explain the fluttering wings.

In spite of these failures, the chief was an intelligent man and decided to use strategy to obtain the help of Hinehau's mana. Before he set out with his war party, a third time, he took a secret journey to the cave in daylight, when fears of the spirits of darkness would not un-man him. Muttering incantations to remove the tapu, he carried Hinehau's bones. This time he was successful, proving that the mana of Hinehau was as strong in death as it was in life.

Book: 'Chasing Rainbows' by Richard Feaver & Suzanne Gray

Chapter 'Waiting' by Vida

..The Reverend was entertaining, as always. These were visitors from home in the Hokianga, come to korero with the government on issues of land confiscation. So naturally Te Hamana, Rev. T.G Hammond, my father, was a port of call to catch up and to discuss the finer points of the argument that were to be put before the minister.

"Don't fret little kotiro", purred Mr Uenuku Jackson.

"Have you read the papers Matua Nuku? The men are passing in the hundreds!" I vented hoping I could stay angry so the sobbing wouldn't start.

"But not your man, he will never die in battle," he looked at me with large passionate brown eyes confidently smiling. I just stared back in disbelief. " Don't you remember the story kotiro, the story of Hinehau, the wind maiden?"

"No matua, tell me, anything to take my mind off this worry," I pleaded. Uenuku ki te Rangi Kiwikiwi Jackson was a kaumatua in his tribe and is well known for his beautifully crafted speeches which could turn the hearts of many people.

"Years back the people who lived where you live now were a powerful tribe . Fiercely, they strove to vanquish other tribes and take for themselves whatever they wanted. To this end they raided well out of the Whangārei territory as far away as the Waikato. There they burned and killed those they could not take as slaves. The chief's son, Tama, was with them on their most ambitious raid yet. He noticed a beautiful girl who was grieving over the charred body of a man. He grabbed her and decided she would be his wife.

Triumphantly he returned to the village with this beautiful girl. The other slaves treated her differently, their eyes on the ground before her. He demanded to know why and was told she was Hinehau, the wind maiden, daughter of Tane. Tama laughed and said "All the better my children will be of royal blood." He gave her a whare of her own and servants to feed and clothe her. But she was stubborn and only stared defiantly every time anyone approached . As the weeks went by she grew thinner and thinner. Then with her dying breath she cursed the tribe for their cruelty in taking the life of her father. Tama was so angry that he threw her body down on the swamp where the tribe would relieve themselves.

Well, after that nothing went right. All the raids the tribe went on failed. The world became

so cold nothing would grow and the tribe began to starve. Even the mighty mountain Tutamoe's hair went white. Finally, the Tohunga spoke to the spirits and then summoned Tama. "You have brought this makutu on our tribe! You must live it! You must gather the bones of HInehau and give her a proper burial in the caves of Ruarangi. Then you must sleep with the bones." Tama wretchedly agreed. He cleaned the bones and laid them out to bleach as was appropriate. Then he carefully wrapped the bones in a cloak with white heron feathers and took them to the catacombs at Ruarangi. He settled down to spend the night but as he fell asleep an owl flew into the cave and stared him straight in the face. As you know this is a sign that someone in your

family is going to die. He ran home to check on his father who was warm in his own bed and not too happy about being woken up.

"Don't be stupid, Tama, I'm healthy as a horse," his father roared, " Finish what you started! Don't come back until you do!" But Tama did not go back that night. He resolved to try again the next night. The next night Tama settled down once more and was just drifting off when a great black cloud containing the voices of kēhua circled around him chiding him and turning his hands and feet to ice. Tama screamed and took off to the whare o te tohunga. "Aue Tama" the tohunga said, "that cloud was just bats, our curse will never be lifted and we will all die." Tama vowed he would lift the curse and was up at the caves the next night determined to beat his fears. He decided not to go to sleep but sat awake in the darkness. With eyes open he saw the white kēhua circle and reach with their icy fingers passed his hands and straight for his heart. The gooseflesh raised up on his skin and panic flooded his belly. He knew he would be dead by morning.

Tama cried out a prayer to Tane for forgiveness and at that moment a sliver of moonlight struck a bone protruding from the feathers. He grabbed the bone, pelted down the mountain and through the swamp to his kainga. He tied Hinehau's jawbone in a pūriri tree nearby and slept under the tree. After that the makutu was lifted, confidence returned to the warriors and their raids were always successful. The world began to warm up. To this day if anyone sleeps under that tree they will never die in battle. Your whare, the house where you have slept soundly with your husband for three years, is under that tree. Kia kaha kotiro."

Brief of Evidence in Wai 1040 claims of Taparoto George, researched by Marina Fletcher.

The Prophetess Hinehau

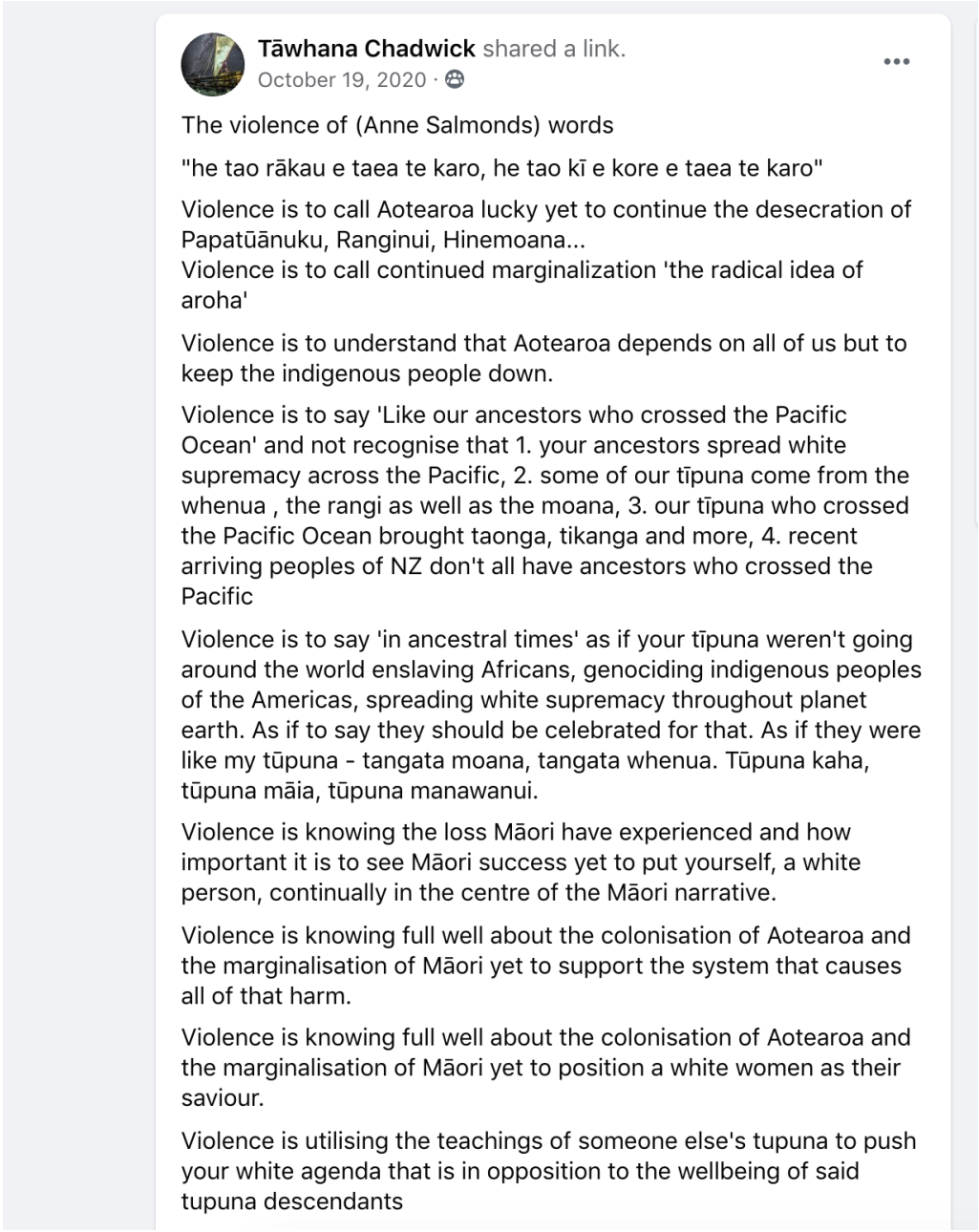
Taurau is credited with sharing this story. Living at Maunu many years ago was Hinehau. She held an important position for a woman, for she was the tribe's tohunga. As such she directed the fortunes of her people in battle with such success that her mana stood high throughout the Whangārei District and beyond.

Before her death she instructed her people to place her bones in their wāhitapu, a cave at the foot of Maunu hill. She also decreed that on the eve of any battle, the chief must sleep the night beside them, and her mana would ensure success. She lies in the Mokoparu wāhitapu.

Sometime later, when the tribe was planning a battle, the chief remembered Hinehau's decree and he knew he must obey notwithstanding that the kōiwi of the dead were tapu and kēhua sometimes roamed around at night. After two aborted attempts to comply with Hinehau's decree, and one battle lost, the chief decided to use strategy to obtain the help of Hinehau's mana. He took a secret journey to the cave in daylight, when fears of the spirits of darkness would not un-man him, and muttering incantations to remove the tapu, he carried Hinehau's bones and carefully placed them in a pūriri tree near his whare. On the eve of the next battle, the chief slept under the pūriri tree directly below Hinehau's kōiwi. This time he was successful, proving that the mana of Hinehau was as strong in death as it was in life.[1]

The pūriri tree is still standing today on the property that is now owned by Carol Peters, who states that the 'mana' of Hinehau is still strong. The night before her brother left NZ to fight overseas in WWII, he spent the night under that Pūriri. He did this because he believed in the historical events of the great ancestress Hinehau. As a result he survived WWII to return home.

A reply to Ann Salmond's 16/02/2021 Dame Anne Salmond: Navigating by the stars | Newsroom article.



Tāwhana Chadwick shared a link.
October 19, 2020 ·

The violence of (Anne Salmonds) words

"he tao rākau e taea te karo, he tao kī e kore e taea te karo"

Violence is to call Aotearoa lucky yet to continue the desecration of Papatūānuku, Ranginui, Hinemoana...
Violence is to call continued marginalization 'the radical idea of aroha'

Violence is to understand that Aotearoa depends on all of us but to keep the indigenous people down.

Violence is to say 'Like our ancestors who crossed the Pacific Ocean' and not recognise that 1. your ancestors spread white supremacy across the Pacific, 2. some of our tīpuna come from the whenua , the rangi as well as the moana, 3. our tīpuna who crossed the Pacific Ocean brought taonga, tikanga and more, 4. recent arriving peoples of NZ don't all have ancestors who crossed the Pacific

Violence is to say 'in ancestral times' as if your tīpuna weren't going around the world enslaving Africans, genociding indigenous peoples of the Americas, spreading white supremacy throughout planet earth. As if to say they should be celebrated for that. As if they were like my tūpuna - tangata moana, tangata whenua. Tūpuna kaha, tūpuna māia, tūpuna manawanui.

Violence is knowing the loss Māori have experienced and how important it is to see Māori success yet to put yourself, a white person, continually in the centre of the Māori narrative.

Violence is knowing full well about the colonisation of Aotearoa and the marginalisation of Māori yet to support the system that causes all of that harm.

Violence is knowing full well about the colonisation of Aotearoa and the marginalisation of Māori yet to position a white women as their saviour.

Violence is utilising the teachings of someone else's tupuna to push your white agenda that is in opposition to the wellbeing of said tupuna descendants

REFERENCES

Adichie, C. (2009). *The danger of a single story.* Paper presented at the TEDGlobal.

Allen, C. (2002). Blood narrative: Indigenous identity in American Indian and Māori literary and activist texts. Durham: Duke University Press.

Anaru, N. A. (2011). *A Critical Analysis of the Impact of Colonisation on the Māori Language Through an Examination of Political Theory.* (Master of Arts in Māori Development). Auckland University of Technology, Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10292/2463

Andersen, C., Hokowhitu, B., Larkin, S., Moreton-Robinson, A., & Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*. Milton: Taylor and Francis.

Anderson, A. (1998). *The Welcome of Strangers: An ethnohistory of Southern Māori A.D. 1650-1850*. Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press in association with Dunedin City Council.

Anderson, K. (2015). *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Second Edition ed.). Toronto, Ont.: Second Story Press.

K. Morgan (Director). (2011). Māori oriori [Television series episode]. In Apiti, M. (Executive producer), *Waka Huia*: TVNZ.

Archibald, J.-A., Lee-Morgan, J., De Santolo, J., & Smith, L. T. (2019). *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology*. London: ZED Books.

Bacchilega, C. (2007). Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Baker, M. (2012). The Korowai Framework: Assessing GE Through Tribal Values. *New genetics and society, 31*(1), 87-98. doi:10.1080/14636778.2011.597984

Baldwin, J. (1966). Unnameable objects, Unspeakable Crimes. *The White Problem in America, John Pub. Co. Inc., Chicago*, 170-180.

Ballara, A. (2003). Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars' or Tikanga?: Warfare in Māori society in the early nineteenth century. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.

Barclay, B. (2015). *Our Own Image A Story of a Maori Filmmaker* (First University of Minnesota Press edition. ed.). Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Bean, D., Black, T., Collings, W., & Nuku, W. (2012). *Conversations on Mātauranga Māori*. Wellington: NZQA.

Beattie, J., & Morgan, R. A. (2021). From history of science to history of knowledge? Themes and perspectives in colonial Australasia. *History compass, 19*(5), n/a. doi:10.1111/hic3.12654

Best, E. (1995). Maori Religion and Mythology: Being an account of the cosmogony, anthropogeny, religious beliefs and rites, magic and folk lore of the Maori folk of New Zealand. Part 1. Wellington, N.Z.: Museum of New Zealand.

Boast, R., & Hill, R. S. (2009). *Raupatu: The Confiscation of Māori Land*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Brayboy, B. M. (2000). The Indian and the researcher: Tales from the field. *International journal of qualitative studies in education, 13*(4), 415-426. doi:10.1080/095183900413368

Bullen, E., & Sawers, N. (2016). Australian Fairy-Tale Films. In J. Zipes, P. Greenhill, & M.-J. K (Eds.), *Fairy-Tale Films Beyond Disney: International Perspectives* (1st ed., pp. 233-245): Routledge.

Burgess, H., Goode, L., Hartendorp, K., Gonzalez, A., Morgan, J., Murtola, A.-M., . . . Webb, T. (2020). *Whose Futures?* Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland, New Zealand: Economic and Social Research Aotearoa.

Callaghan, P., Paraone, R., Murray, M., Tahau, N., Edgarton, S., Bates, E., . . . Ataria, J. (2018). Tuākana/Teina Water Warriors Project: A collaborative learning model integrating mātauranga Māori and science. *New Zealand Journal of Marine and Freshwater Research, 52*(4), 666-674. doi:10.1080/00288330.2018.1509880

Chandler, M. J. (2013). On Being Indigenous: An Essay on the Hermeneutics of 'Cultural Identity'. *Human development, 56*(2), 83-97. doi:10.1159/000345775

Chilisa, B. (2014). Indigenous research is a journey: An interview with Bagele Chilisa. *International journal of narrative therapy and community work*(2), 41-44.

Cloher, D. U. (2003). *Hongi Hika, Warrior Chief*. Auckland, N.Z.: Viking.

Collection, N. R. D. (2020). Florence Keene Scrapbook Volume 7D. Retrieved from https://wdc.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4857. Retrieved 18th Jul 2021 16:15 https://wdc.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/4857

Corbalis, J. (1996). *Tapu*: Sinclair-Stevenson.

Coulthard, G. S. (2014). Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition: University of Minnesota Press.

Cram, F. (1993). *Ethics in Maori research: Working paper*. Conference Contribution retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/10289/3316

Crosby, R. (2020). The Forgotten Wars: Why the Musket Wars Matter Today: Oratia Media.

Crosby, R. D. (2012). *The Musket Wars : A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict, 1806-1845*. Auckland, N.Z.: Libro International.

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Smith, L. T. (2008). *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles: Sage.

Turikatuku, He wahine taki wairua. (2018). Digital, K. (Version 2.0) [Mobile application software]. Retrieved from kiwadigital.com

Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora : Maori health development* (2nd ed. ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2011). *Ngā tini whetū: navigating Māori futures*. Wellington, N.Z: Wellington, N.Z: Huia.

Durie, M. (2021). Mātauranga at the interface. In J. Ruru & L. W. Nikora (Eds.), *Ngā Kete Mātauranga: Māori Scholars at the Research Interface*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press.

Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori directed practice. *MAI review*(1).

Elder, H. (2020). Aroha: Māori wisdom for a contented life lived in harmony with our planet. Auckland: Penguin Random House New Zealand.

Elkington, B. (2020). *Imagining decolonisation*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Elkington, B., Jackson, M., Kiddle, R., Ripeka Mercier, O., Ross, M., Smeaton, J., & Thomas, A. (2020). *Imagining Decolonisation*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Fanon, F. (1965). *The Wretched Of The Earth*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.

Feaver, R., & Gray, S. (2017). *Chasing Rainbows*. Whangārei, N.Z: Hinehau publications.

Fenton, F. D. (1860). Observations on the State of the Aboriginal Maori Inhabitants of New Zealand. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 23*(4), 508-541. doi:10.2307/2338533

Fitzgerald, T. (2001). Jumping the Fences: Maori women's resistance to missionary schooling in northern New Zealand 1823-1835. *Paedagogica Historica, 37*(1), 175-192. doi:10.1080/0030923010370111

Fitzgerald, T. (2005). Archives of memory and memories of archive: CMS women's letters and diaries 1823-35. *History of education (Tavistock), 34*(6), 657-674. doi:10.1080/00467600500313948

Flikschuh, K., Ypi, L., & Ajei, M. (2014). *Kant and colonialism : historical and critical perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fordyce, S. (2009). Tangiteroria: Crucible of the Kaipara 1836-54, missionary impulse & impact. Ruawai, N.Z: Charford Press.

Foucault, M. (2012). *The Birth of the Clinic*: Taylor and Francis.

Freire, P. (2015). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (30th anniversary edition. ed.). New York: Bloomsbury.

George, L. (2014). Narratives of suffering and hope : historical trauma and contemporary rebuilding for Māori women with experiences of incarceration. *MAI journal, 3*(3), 183-196.

George, L., Norris, A. N., Deckert, A., & Tauri, J. (2020). *Neo-Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women*. Cham: Springer International Publishing AG.

George, T. (2013). *Brief of evidence of Taparoto George*. (WAI1040, #I34).

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Grayland, E. (1963). *Coasts of Treachery*. Wellington: Reed.

Green, R. C. (1975). RADIOCARBON AGE ESTIMATES FOR RUARANGI PA (N20/41), WHANGAREI. *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 12*, 47-48. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/stable/42906220

Haami, B., & Roberts, M. (2002). Genealogy as taxonomy. *International social science journal, 54*(173), 403-412. doi:10.1111/1468-2451.00392

Hamilton, A. (2017) *Arapeta Hamilton: Extended Interview/Interviewer:* ***M. Forbes***. NZ Wars: The Stories of Ruapekapeka, RNZ, Great Southern Television, NZ on Air, RNZ website.

Hanson, A. F. (1982). FEMALE POLLUTION IN POLYNESIA? *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 91*(3), 335-381.

Harris, A. (2004). *Hīkoi: Forty years of Māori protest*. Wellington, N.Z: Huia Publishers.

Haugaard, M. P. (1971). Excavations on Ruarangi Pa (Site N20/41), Whangarei, New Zealand. *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, December 17th, 1971, Vol. 8 (December 17th, 1971), pp. 1-22*. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/42906160

Hearne, J. (2017). “I Am Not a Fairy Tale”: Indigenous Storytelling on Canadian Television. *Marvels & tales, 31*(1), 126-146. doi:10.13110/marvelstales.31.1.0126

Held, M. B. E. (2019). Decolonizing Research Paradigms in the Context of Settler Colonialism: An Unsettling, Mutual, and Collaborative Effort. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 18*, 1609406918821574. doi:10.1177/1609406918821574

Hemara, W. (2000). *Māori Pedagogies: A view from the literature*. Wellington, N.Z: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Hēnare, M. P. A., Middleton, A., & Puckley, A. (2013). *He Rangi Mauroa Ao te Pō: Melodies Eternally New* (Wai 1040, #E67). Retrieved from Auckland:

Henry, E., & Pene, H. (2001). Kaupapa Maori: Locating Indigenous Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology in the Academy. *Organization (London, England), 8*(2), 234-242. doi:10.1177/1350508401082009

Hill Collins, P. (1986). Learning from the Outsider Within : The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought in Theory Issue. *Social problems (Berkeley, Calif.), 33*(6), 14-32.

Hohepa, P. (1999). My Musket, My Missionary, and My Mana. In *Voyages and Beaches, Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840* (pp. 180). Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

Hohepa, P. (2011). *Hokianga: From Te Korekore to 1840* (Wai 1040 #E36). Retrieved from

Hoskins, T. K., & Jones, A. (2017). *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Maori*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Hotere-Barnes, A. (2019). *Beyond Cultural Paralysis: A path towards just relationships.* Paper presented at the TEDx Talks Tauranga, Tauranga.

Hutching, M. (1993). *Talking history: A short guide to oral history*. Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books.

Hutchings, J., Potter, H., & Taupo, K. P. T. (2011a). Kei Tua o Te Pae hui proceedings : the challenges of kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century, Pipitea Marae, Wellington, 5-6 May 2011. Wellington, N.Z: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Hutchings, J., Potter, H., & Taupo, K. P. T. (2011b). Kei Tua o Te Pae Hui Proceedings: The challenges of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century, Pipitea Marae, Wellington, 5-6 May 2011. Wellington, N.Z: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Independent, P. (2012). Ngāpuhi speaks: He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tīreni and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (9780473229818). Retrieved from Kaitaia, NZ:

Institute, T. K. (2013). *A compilation of all keynote speakers from the Inaugural He Manawa Whenua 2013 conference along with other presenters*

papers. Paper presented at the He manawa whenua, e kore e mimiti - Indigenous centred knowledge-unlimited potential, Waikato.

Jackson, A.-M. (2015). Kaupapa Maori theory and critical discourse analysis: Transformation and social change. *AlterNative: An international journal of indigenous peoples, 11*(3), 256-268. doi:10.1177/117718011501100304

Jackson, M. (2010). *Brief of Evidence of MONA JACKSON*. Retrieved from https://nwo.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Moana-Jackson-WAI1040.pdf

Jackson, M. (2020). Where to Next? Decolonisation and Stories in the land. In A. Hodge (Ed.), *Imagining Decolonisation*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Jones, A. (2020). *This Pākehā Life An Unsettled Memoir*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Jones, A., & Hoskins, T. K. (2020). Māori, Pakehā, critical theory and relationality : a talk by Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones. *New Zealand journal of educational studies, 55*(2), 423-429. doi:10.1007/s40841-020-00174-0

(2018). *Indigenous Urbanism* [Retrieved from http://indigenousurbanism.net/

Kaplan, E. A. (1997). Looking for the other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze. New York: Routledge.

Kawharu, M. (2009). ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES AND WORLD HERITAGE FROM A MĀORI VIEWPOINT. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 118*(4), 317-338.

Keene, F. M. M. (1986a). The Mana Of Hinehau. In *Tai Tokerau*. Whangarei, N.Z: F.M.M. Keene.

Keene, F. M. M. (1986b). *Tai Tokerau*. Whangarei, N.Z: F.M.M. Keene.

Keene, F. M. M. (1989). *No Turning Back*. Tauranga, N.Z.: Moana Press.

Keene, F. M. M., & Holman, E. (1972). *With Flags fFying*. Whangarei, N.Z: Centre Print.

Kendall, T. (1957). A korao no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander's first book; being an attempt to compose some lessons for the instruction of the natives. Auckland, N.Z: Auckland Institute and Museum.

Kermode. (1965). *Ruarangi Pā Speleology*. MLC

King, M. (1992). A Most Noble Anchorage: A Story of Russell and the Bay of Islands. Kerikeri, N.Z: The Society.

Kivel, P. (2013). Living in the Shadow of the Cross: Understanding and resisting the power and privilege of Christian hegemony. Gabriola Island, British Columbia: New Society Publishers.

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI review*(2).

Leslie, G. K. (1938). FRAGMENTS OF NGAPUHI HISTORY: Moremu-nui. 1807. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 47*(4(188)), 173-181.

Lieberman, P. (2017). The Theory That Changed Everything: "On the Origin of Species" as a Work in Progress. New York: Columbia University Press.

Liebow, N., & Glazer, T. (2019). White Tears: Emotion Regulation and White Fragility. *Inquiry (Oslo)*, 1-21. doi:10.1080/0020174X.2019.1610048

Lindberg, T. On Indigenous Academia: The Hermeneutics of Indigenous Western Institutional Participation—Eleven Theorems (2014). In (pp. 71-87). Rotterdam: SensePublishers.

Lund, D. E., & Carr, P. R. (2015). Revisiting the Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education (Second Edition). Rotterdam: BRILL.

(2020, 29/10/2020). *Indigenous 100* [Retrieved from https://indigenous100.com/episodes/

Mahuika, N. (2017). An outsider's guide to public oral history in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Public History, 5*(1), 3-18. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/10289/12795

Mahuika, N. (2019a). An outsider's guide to public oral history in New Zealand.

Mahuika, N. (2019b). Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective. New York: Oxford University Press.

Maihi, B. T. (2017). Urban Māori whānau connection/ re connection to cultural confidence via whānau wānanga. University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Makereti, T. (2018). Maori Writing: Speaking with Two Mouths. *The Journal of New Zealand Studies*(NS26). doi:10.26686/jnzs.v0iNS26.4842

Malcolm, M. (1994). *Tales of Yesteryear: Including Oral Histories of the North*. Russell, N.Z.: Russell, N.Z. : Kororareka Press.

Mann, M. (Writer). (1992). The Last of the Mohicans. In M. Mann & H. Lowry (Producer). United States: Twentieth Century Fox.

Marsden, M. (2003). *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Otaki, N.Z.: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Martin, L. (1884). *Our Maoris*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Maxwell, H. (2012). *Ngā Maumahara: Memory of loss.* (Master of Art and Design Masters). Auckland Univesity of Technology, Auckland University of Technology.

Mead, H. (2016). Tikanga Maori (Revised Edition): Living By Maori Values. Wellington, NZ: Huia

Mertens, D., Cram, F., & Chilisa, B. (2013). *Indigenous pathways into social research voices of a new generation*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.

Meyer, M. A. (2003). Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology. *Amerasia journal, 29*(2), 139-164. doi:10.17953/amer.29.2.6412231414633728

Meyer, M. A. (2013). Holographic epistemology: Native Common Sense. *China media research, 9*(2), 94.

Middleton, A. (2018). The 'Illustrious' Hariata Hongi and the authorship of hōne Heke's letters. *New Zealand journal of history, 52*(2), 87-113.

Mika, C. T. H., & Stewart, G. M. (2017). Lost in Translation: Western Representations of Māori knowledge. In.

Mikaere, A. (2013). Colonising Myths - Maori Realities. He Rukuruku Whakaaro. New York: Huia NZ Ltd.

Mikaere, A. (2017). *The Balance Destroyed*. Ōtaki Aotearoa: Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Milligan, C. (2015). Sites of exuberance: Barry Barclay and Fourth Cinema, ten years on. *International journal of media and cultural politics, 11*(3), 347-359. doi:10.1386/macp.11.3.347_1

Moffat, K. (2004). European myths of settlement in New Zealand fiction.

Montgomery, D. (2020). Alison Jones: 'Pākehā shouldn't let our collective past be crippling' (Publication no. https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/news/2020/09/02/alison-jones-an-unsettled-memoir.html). Retrieved 3 April 2021, from UniNews, Faculty of Education and Social Work, Te ao Māori

Moore, P. (2016). He kōrero tuku iho nō Ngāpuhi nui tonu, Me Ngāti Rehia rātou ko ngā hapū o Mangakahia. Retrieved from Te Ao Limited, Whangarei:

Mucina, D. D. (2011). Story as Research Methodology. *AlterNative: An international journal of indigenous peoples, 7*(1), 1-14. doi:10.1177/117718011100700101

Murphy, N. h. (2013). Te Awa Atua. Menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world: An examination of stories, ceremonies and practices regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world. Ngaruawahia: He Puna Manawa Ltd.

Murphy, N. h., Ellison, S., & Balzer, R. (2014). *Waiwhero: He Whakahirahiratanga O Te Ira Wahine*. Ngaruawahia: He Puna Manawa.

Mutu, M. (2020). Mana Māori Motuhake: Māori concepts and practices of sovereignty. In B. Hokowhitu, A. Moreton-Robinson, L. Tuhiwai Smith, C. Andersen, & S. Larkin (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*. Milton: Taylor and Francis.

Naithani, S. (2010). The Story-Time of the British Empire: Colonial and Postcolonial Folkloristics. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Nevin, G. (1982). *Site survey of the South-West Whangārei District*. Retrieved from Ministry of Works and Development:

Ngata, T. (2019). *Kia Mau: Resisting Colonial Fictions*. Wellington, New Zealand: Kia Mau Campaign.

Ngāti Manu, E. a. k. a. (2021). Otuihu Pā Whakamaumahara. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/eaikiangatimanu/posts/1553998434759251. Retrieved 05/04/21, from E ai ki a Ngāti Manu https://www.facebook.com/eaikiangatimanu/posts/1553998434759251

Nossi, N. (2020, 2019-2021). [Whakawhiti kōrero sessions with Whaea Nossi].

O'Malley, V. (2019). *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

O'Neill, M., & Roberts, B. (2020). *Walking methods: Research on the move*. London: Routledge.

O'Regan, T. (2014). New Myths And Old Politics: The Waitangi Tribunal and the challenge of tradition. Wellington, New Zealand: BWB Texts.

Oppenheim, R. S. (1971). THE BURIAL SYSTEM AT RUARANGI BURIAL GROUND. *Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 8*, 23-27. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/stable/42906161

Ormond, A. (2019). Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori: By Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones, Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers, 2017, 211 pp., ISBN: 9781775503286, NZD 45.00. *New Zealand journal of educational studies, 54*(1), 195-197. doi:10.1007/s40841-018-0124-5

Panuku, K. E. (2013-2016). Mātauranga Māori. Retrieved from The initiative has ceased but the kaupapa lives on in schools and Communities of Learning.

Parasram, A. (2019). Pathological White Fragility and the Canadian Nation: Pathological white fragility and the Canadian nation. *Studies in political economy, 100*(2), 194-207. doi:10.1080/07078552.2019.1646457

Paterson, L. (2017). He Reo Wahine: Maori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century: Auckland University Press.

Pearson, W. H. (1958). ATTITUDES TO THE MAORI IN SOME PAKEHA FICTION. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 67*(3), 211-238.

Pere, R. (1987). To Us the Dreamers are Important. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. B. Simmonds, J. Seed- Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana Wahine Reader. Mana Wahine Reader: A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume 1*.

Pere, R. (1999). *Te Reo me Ona Tikanga* Retrieved from Wellington:

Phillips, J., & Hearn, T. J. (2008). *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland & Scotland, 1800-1945*. Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press.

Phillipson, G. (2005). *Bay of Islands Māori and the Crown 1793-1853* (Wai 1040 #A1). Retrieved from

Pickles, K. (2002). Kiwi Icons and the Re-Settlement of New Zealand as Colonial Space. *New Zealand Geographer, 58*(2), 5-16. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-7939.2002.tb01631.x

Pickmere, N. (1986). *Whangarei :The Founding Years*. Whangarei, N.Z: N. Pickmere.

Pihama, L. (1993). Tungia Te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu O Te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents As First Teachers. (Thesis (MA--Education)). University of Auckland, ,

Pihama, L. (2001). Tīhei Mauri Ora: Honouring our voices: Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework. (PhD). University of Auckland, Auckland.

Pihama, L. (2010). Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa. *He pūkenga kōrero: A journal of Māori studies, 9*(2), 5-14.

Pihama, L., Smith, L. T., Simmonds, N., Seed-Pihama, J., & Gabel, K. (2019). Mana Wahine Reader: A Collection of Writings 1999-2019 Volume II. *Te Kotahi Research Institute, II*, 207.

Pihama, L., Smith, L. T., Simmonds, N. B., Seed- Pihama, J., & Gabel, K. (Eds.). (2019). *Mana Wahine Reader: A Collection of Writings 1987-1998 Volume 1* (Vol. 1): Te Kotahi Research Institute

Pihama, L., Tiakiwai, S.-J., & Southey, K. (2018). Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshops series. In: Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Poster, M. (1982). Foucault and History. *Social research, 49*(1), 116-142.

Powick, K. (2003). Māori research ethics : a literature [review] of the ethical issues and implications of kaupapa Māori research and research involving Māori for researchers, supervisors and ethics committees. Hamilton [N.Z: Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, School of Education, University of Waikato.

Rawiri/David, W.-K. (2013). Transforming Māori Experiences of Historical Intergenerational Trauma.

Rethinking Collaboration: Working the Indigene-Colonizer Hyphen. (2008). In (pp. 471). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Riki Tuakiritetangata, D., & Ibarra-Lemay, A. (2021). Tūhonotanga—A Māori Perspective of Healing and Well-Being through Ongoing and Regained Connection to Self, Culture, Kin, Land and Sky. *Genealogy, 5*(2), 55. Retrieved from https://www.mdpi.com/2313-5778/5/2/55

Roberts, M., Weko, F., & Clarke, L. (2006). *Maramataka: Ahe Māori moon Calendar*. Canterbury, N.Z: AERU.

Rotorangi, S. (2012). *Planted Forests on Ancestral Land: The Experiences and Resilience of Māori Land Owners.* (Doctor of Philosophy). University of Otago, University of Otago. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10523/2221

Rountree, K. (1998). Māori bodies in European eyes: Representations of Māori bodies on Cook's voyages. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 107*(1), 35-59.

Royal, T. A. C. (2009a). *Mātauranga Māori: An Introduction*. Retrieved from MKTA:

Royal, T. A. C. (2009b). Te Kaimanga: Towards a New Vison for Matauranga Māori (The MANU AO Academy was involved in a series of weekly seminars, 'named' lectures, leaders' workshops, leadership course's, academic fora, symposia, scholarship research, Monday motivationals and other related activities, including University campus-based Chapter programmes.). Retrieved from http://www.manu-ao.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/subsidiaries-commercial-ventures/manu-ao/seminars/2009-seminars/2009-seminars_home.cfm. from The MANU AO Academy - a national inter-University Māori Academy for Academic Leadership and Professional Advancement was supported by the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors' Committee (NZVCC) in association with all eight NZ Universities. NZVCC's Māori Standing Committee, Te Kāhui Amokura, acted as the governance entity for this three-year Tertiary Education Commission funded programme, hosted by Massey University from 2008-2011. http://www.manu-ao.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/subsidiaries-commercial-ventures/manu-ao/seminars/2009-seminars/2009-seminars_home.cfm

Ruíz, E. (2020). Cultural Gaslighting. *Hypatia, 35*(4), 687-713. doi:10.1017/hyp.2020.33

Ruru, J., & Nikora, L. W. (2021). *Ngā Kete Mātauranga: Māori Scholars at the Research Interface*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press.

Sadler, H. (2014). *Ko tautoro, te pito o tōku ao : a Ngāpuhi narrative*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Savage, J. (1807). Some account of New Zealand : particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country, with a description of the religion and government, language,arts, manufactures, manners and customs of the natives, &c.&c. London: Murray.

Schwimmer, E. (2004). The Local and the Universal: Reflections on Contemporary Maori Literature in Response to 'Blood Narrative' by Chadwick Allen. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 113*(1), 7-36.

Sharman, A. R. (2019). *Mana wahine and the characteristics of atua wāhine.* (Masters). Victoria University Victoria University, Wellington. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10063/8639

Sharrad, P. (2002). Albert Wendt and the Problem of History. *The Journal of Pacific history, 37*(1), 109-116. doi:10.1080/00223340220139315

Sharrad, P. (2003). *Albert Wendt and Pacific literature: Circling the void*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press.

Silver, W.-I., Silver, K., Jensen-Whakataka, A., & Wakefield, S. (Writers) & S. Wakefield (Director). (2020). Ko te Mana o Hinehau. In F. Apanui-Kupenga (Producer), *Ko Te Mana o Hinehau*. New Zealand: Te Amokura Productions.

Simmonds, N. (2011). Mana wahine: Decolonising Politics. *Women's studies journal, 25*(2), 11.

Simmonds, N. (2014). Mana wahine geographies of birth in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Simpson, L. B. (2017). As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sissons, J., Hohepa, P. W., Sissons, J., & Wi Hongi, W. (2001). *Ngā pūriri o Taiamai: A political history of Ngāpuhi in the inland Bay of Islands*. Auckland, N.Z: Reed in association with the Polynesian Society.

Smith, C. (2008). *Gender in Missions: A case study of Thomas Kendall and Henry and Marianne Williams.* Dissertation (B.A. (Hons.) History)--University of Waikato, 2008.,

Smith, G. (2002). *The Development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis.* (Ph.D thesis). University of Auckland, Auckland, N.Z.

Smith, G., Hoskins, T. K., & Jones, A. (2012). Interview: Kaupapa Maori: The dangers of domestication. *New Zealand journal of educational studies, 47*(2), 10-20.

Smith, L. T. (2018). Kaupapa Māori research- Some Kaupapa Māori principles. In L. Pihama & K. South (Eds.): Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Smith, L. T., Smith, G., Curtis, T., & Walker, R. (1992). *The Issue of Research and Māori*. Auckland. N.Z: The Research Unit.

Smith, P. S. (1984). Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century: The Struggle of the Northern against the Southern Maori tribes prior to the colonisation of New Zealand in 1840 (2nd and enl. ed.. ed.). Christchurch, N.Z.: Capper.

Smith, S. P. (1984). Maori wars of the nineteenth century : the struggle of the northern against the southern Maori tribes prior to the colonisation of New Zealand in 1840 (2nd and enl. ed. ed.). Christchurch, N.Z: Capper.

Solnit, R. (2000). *Wanderlust: A history of walking*. New York: Viking.

Sorrenson, M. P. K. (1956). LAND PURCHASE METHODS AND THEIR EFFECT ON MAORI POPULATION, 1865-1901. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 65*(3), 183-199. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20703557

Sorrenson, M. P. K. (2013). Maori Origins and Migrations The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends. New York: Auckland University Press.

Stafford, D. M. (2007). A Wild Wind From The North: Hongi Hika's 1823 Invasion of Rotorua. Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed Books.

Steven, G. (Writer). (1975). Te Matatike o Aotearoa - The Māori Land March. In T. Seehear (Producer). N.Z: TV2.

Stewart, G. T. (2020). A typology of Pākehā "Whiteness" in education. *The Review of education/pedagogy/cultural studies, 42*(4), 296-310. doi:10.1080/10714413.2020.1773177

Stewart, G. T. (2021a). Academic-Māori-Woman: The impossible may take a little longer. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 1-6. doi:10.1080/00131857.2021.1892484

Stewart, G. T. (2021b). *Maori Philosophy: Indigenous Thinking From Aotearoa*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Stone, G. A., & Langer, E. R. (2015). Te ahi i te ao Māori - Māori use of fire: Traditional use of fire to inform current and future fire management in New Zealand. *MAI journal, 4*(1), 15-28.

Taipari Munroe, Taipari, Munroe Sess. 848 (2015).

Taonui, R. (2015). Whakapapa-genealogy-What is Whakapapa? Retrieved from https://teara.govt.nz/en/whakapapa-genealogy/page-1

Tate, H., Paparoa, T., & Motuti Community, T. (1987). *Karanga Hokianga*. Kohukohu, N.Z.: Motuti Community Trust.

Te Hiku, M. (Producer). (2021). Tikanga behind Pūriri at Tangihanga. Retrieved from https://tehiku.nz/te-hiku-radio/te-reo-o-te-rangatira/18902/tikanga-behind-pūriri-at-tangihanga?fbclid=IwAR1NCTxCvJTnzIbdl9Q8bUvD8VPy8RBa5q5qSp5vcZjrgdX46ePBPkvuCBE

Tito, P. (2020a, 05/10/20). [Cup o Tea and a kōrero].

Tito, P. (2020b). [Ruarangi Pā].

Todd, Z. (2016). An Indigenous Feminist's Take On The Ontological Turn: 'Ontology' Is Just Another Word For Colonialism. *Journal of historical sociology, 29*(1), 4-22. doi:10.1111/johs.12124

Tolich, M. (2002). Pākehā 'paralysis': Cultural safety for those researching the general population of Aotearoa. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 19*.

Tribunal, W. (2011). *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A report affecting Māori culture and identity. Te Taumata Tuatahi*. Retrieved from Wellington: NZ: www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz

Tribunual, W. (2014). *Te Paparahi Stage One Report*. Retrieved from

Trust, T. R. P. (2021). *Kawea a Pūriri Mai.* Paper presented at the Te Ruapekapeka 175, Kawea A Pūriri Mai, Ruapekapeka Pā, Maihi Marae.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. (2012). Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor. *1*.

Tuckett, G. (2009). Barry Barclay the camera on the shore. *Camera on the shore*. New Zealand: Film Shop,].

Tuhiwai Smith, P. L. (2012). Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples. London: Zed Books.

Tui, N. W. Ā. T. (2020). Kōrero 1 - The foundations of Kaupapa Māori Theory: Distinguished Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith. *Kaupapa Māori Online Series.* Retrieved from https://www.ngawaiatetui.org.nz/kaupapa-maori-online-series-episode-1/

Tunca, D. (2018). The Danger Of a Single Short Story: Reality, fiction and metafiction in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's "Jumping Monkey Hill". *Journal of postcolonial writing, 54*(1), 69-82. doi:10.1080/17449855.2017.1419833

Wakefield, S. (2020). Ko Te Mana O Hinehau [Audio play]: Te Amokura Productions.

Walker, R. (1992). The Relevence of Māori Myth and Tradition. In M. King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga* (pp. 170-182). Auckland.

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou! Struggle Without End* (Rev. ed.. ed.). Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.

Ward, A. (1997). *National Overview*. Retrieved from Wellington, New Zealand:

Waretini-Karena, D. (2013). Maori Experiences of Historical Intergenerational Trauma: Responding to Maori deficit statistics: Presentation to funder [PowerPoint slides].

Webber, M. O. C., Kapua. (2019). A Fire in the Belly of Hineāmaru: Using Whakapapa as a Pedagogical Tool in Eeducation. *Genealogy, 3*(41).

Wendt, A. (1992). *Black rainbow*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.

Wendt, A. (2015). *Out of the Vaipe, the deadwater: a writer's early life*. Wellington. New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Limited.

Whatitiri, T. W. (2021, 2:56pm, Tuesday 10 August 2021). Schools urged to use Māori narratives in mainstream to get better outcomes. *Te Ao*.

White, J. (1887). The ancient history of the Maori, his mythology and traditions. Wellington, [N.Z.]: Government Print.

Whitinui, P. (2014). Indigenous Autoethnography:Exploring, Engaging, and Experiencing "Self" as a Native Method of Inquiry. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 43*(4), 456-487. doi:10.1177/0891241613508148

Wi-Repa, T. (1918). Te Whetu-mata-rau. *Kopara*. Retrieved from https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/KOPARA19181012.2.12

Williams, L., & Henare, M. (2009). The Double Spiral And Ways of Knowing. *MAI review*(3).

Williams, M. (2004). *Letters from the Bay of Islands : the story of Marianne Williams*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland, N.Z. : Penguin Books.

Wilson, D., Mikahere-Hall, A., & Sherwood, J. (2021). Using indigenous kaupapa Māori research methodology with constructivist grounded theory: generating a theoretical explanation of indigenous womens realities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 1-16. doi:10.1080/13645579.2021.1897756

Wilson, S. (1995). Honouring Spiritual Knowledge. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 21*.

Wilson, S. (2008). Research is ceremony: indigenous research methods. Black Point, N.S: Fernwood.

Wirihana, R., & Smith, C. (2019). Historical trauma, healing and well-being in Māori communities. *He Rau Murimuri Aroha, 2*.

Yates-Smith, G. R. A. (1998). *Hine! e Hine! Rediscovering The Feminine in Maori Spirituality.* (Thesis (Ph.D. Maori)). University of Waikato,