Helen M. Hogan

STORIES OF TRAVEL

HE KÖRERO ĖNEI MŌ TE HAERENGA

Volume II
# VOLUME TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>1. Why Travel?</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Seven Journeys</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Separation</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Inclusions and Omissions</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Self Awareness</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Exploitation</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Emotions</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Language and Style</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| III.    | 1. Document One (1844)  
Rēnata - Within New Zealand | 317  |
|         | 2. Document Two (c. 1850)  
Hone Rū - to Australia | 334  |
|         | 3. Document Three (1859-1860)  
Te Rerehau - to Vienna | 351  |
|         | 4. Document Four (1874)  
Mohi Taharangi (on whaling vessel) | 383  |
|         | 5. Document Five (1874)  
Rapata Wahawaha - to Australia | 389  |
|         | 6. Document Six (1888-1889)  
Wiri Nehua - Rugby Tour | 403  |
|         | 7. Documents Seven A and B (1902)  
Henare Kohere and Terei Ngatai - to Britain and Europe | 437  |
IV. THE NEXT DECADE

1. Document Eight (1905)
   Divinity Students - to Ûawa 479

2. Document Nine (1905-1906)
   Pine Tamahori - to Rotorua 484

3. Document Ten (1905-1906)
   Reweti Kohere - to the Chatham Islands 488

4. Document Eleven (1907-1908)
   - Gisborne to Rotorua 500

5. Document Twelve (1909-1910)
   Te Arawa - to New York 504

6. Document Thirteen (1910)
   Poihipi Kohere - to New Hebrides 517

7. Document Fourteen (1910)
   H.M. Nuku with Te Arawa - to Australia 522

APPENDIX 539

BIBLIOGRAPHY 540
### SECTION TWO

(End-notes are placed at the end of the section)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Why Travel?</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Seven Journeys</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Inclusions and Omissions</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Self Awareness</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Exploitation</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Emotions</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Language and Style</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Travel is in the blood of New Zealanders. The forebears of every ethnic group represented amongst these island dwellers set off from their native country to make landfall here.

Māori mythology has many stories of the journeys to this country from Hawaiki; the natural features of many parts of New Zealand are given mythological being in the accounts of journeys.

Once settled in New Zealand the Māori people were required to travel within the country for a number of reasons. Their economy demanded travel, not only to seasonal sources of food, but to seek new areas when hapū outgrew the resources of a settlement. In search of new territory some Māori even moved offshore, for instance Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Tama, and Ngāti Mutunga to the Chatham Islands.

Warfare also involved travel from home, and quite astonishing distances were covered by aggressors and those in retreat.

From the late eighteenth century onwards, that is after Cook had visited New Zealand, there were many other reasons for travel.

Unwilling participants

Not all travellers were willing participants. The first recorded "obligatory" journey was that of Ranginui, a prisoner taken arbitrarily by Surville St Jean Baptiste in 1769. He was apparently treated reasonably well on the long journey towards Peru, but died of scurvy some three months later.

Rather more willing were the youths, Te Weherua and Koa, who in 1777 went
aboard Cook's Resolution as retainers to the Young Tahitian man, Mai. Mai's return to his native Tahitian land was Cook's responsibility. Mai had been away from his home for four years and after what he had observed of upper class English society, he decided that it was appropriate that he should arrive back home with an attendant. Te Weherua, called Tiaaroa by Cook, was a high-born youth of about 17 living in Queen Charlotte Sound. Because his father had died and he was a rangatira in his own right, it was thought that he too should have a retainer, and so a cheerful young lad, Koa, (variously referred to as Cooa or Cocoa) not yet into his teens, agreed to serve in that position. As Cook pointed out, there was no prospect of their ever returning to New Zealand.

The two boys were very popular on board ship, but there is some record that they did suffer some home-sickness. A house was built for Mai on the island of Huahine. Later accounts vary as to the fate of the three, but it is generally thought that none of them survived for more than three or four years, possibly much less.

In 1793 two men, Tuki the son of a priest, and Huru the son of a Bay of Islands chief, were kidnapped and taken to Norfolk Island. At that time Norfolk Island was a penal colony and it was believed that the two New Zealanders would be able to instruct the convicts in flax-weaving. The scheme was ill-conceived for the flax on the island was unsuitable, and the two Māori men had no experience of weaving. They were treated with respect but were desperately unhappy.

The voyages of such navigators as Cook in Pacific waters opened up the area to traders and whalers and as early as 1795 we learn of chiefs travelling to Sydney for trade, and of others sailing on Pākehā vessels as crewmen. By 1800, they had travelled as far as Asia, America, and Europe. The majority of these seamen were
Ngā Puhi as at this time this was the part of New Zealand where whalers and traders most frequently called. Again, not all these seamen were volunteers. Some were "impressed".

There were to be other unwilling travellers. In 1846, five Whanganui Māori, with some irregularity of procedure, were shipped to the penal settlement in Hobart, and from there to a similar settlement on Maria Island, east of Tasmania. The following year one of their number died of tuberculosis, and the remaining four were repatriated in 1848.2

Much later, in 1866, when the government was at war with the Hauhau forces, men taken as prisoners were deported to the Chatham Islands. Among them was a controversial figure, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. He had been at the time fighting on the side of the government, and was arrested on suspicion of being a spy, and packed off with the prisoners-of-war, without any trial.

Visiting the Monarchy

The first Māori person to go to England and be presented to the monarch was a Ngā Puhi man, Moehanga, who accompanied Dr John Savage on board the whaling vessel, Ferret, in 1806. As a commoner Moehanga found on his return that his stories were disbelieved and his treasure appropriated by people of higher rank.

George III also met Matara, son of Te Pahi, in the following year.

There were to be a number of visits to the Royal Family for political purposes at a later date.
Missionary Companions

In 1809 there began a series of journeys that were to continue for another 60 years. These were the journeys undertaken by individuals taken by a missionary. The first was Ruatara. Samuel Marsden was responsible for taking several, beginning with Maui of Ngā Puhi. The climate in England was very severe for these Northern Māori and Maui was the first of several to succumb and die there. Other Christian converts did not go as far as England, but went to Australia to study with Marsden there. One of these was Rawiri Taiwhanga whose son features in this outline of overseas journeys later in the century.

Probably the most vivid personality accompanying a missionary to England was Hongi Hika who along with a younger chief, Waikato, went with the missionary Thomas Kendall in 1818. This voyage is memorable because having made something of a stir in royal and upper class circles in England, and having been given many royal gifts, Hongi Hika capitalised on their value to outfit himself with what he saw as real wealth, trading the goods for muskets and ammunition in Australia on his way back to New Zealand.

Later in the century Richard Taylor, a missionary in the Whanganui area, took Hoani Wiremu Hipango to England, 1855-6, and a decade later took his son Hori Kingi Wiremu. This latter journey began in 1867, and Hoani remained in England.

In Search of Weapons

A development of Hongi Hika’s experience can be seen in Te Pehi Kupe’s journey to England. He was a Ngāti Toa leader, an ally of Te Rauparaha. The increased tribal warfare of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and the
introduction of musketry into the pursuit of tribal differences made the possession of further armaments very pressing. In 1824, he paddled out to a becalmed vessel, the *Urania*, and indicating he came in peace persuaded the captain to allow him on board. He demanded guns and ammunition, and on being told there were none he informed the captain that he intended to stay on board until they took him to England where he would ask King George for some. He sent his men and the canoes they had used back to shore and refused to budge. The captain, Richard Reynolds, was obliged to allow him to stay as a suitable wind finally blew up and they had to weigh anchor.

He and Reynolds developed a friendship which was cemented by an incident at Montevideo where Te Pehi saved Reynolds's life. The visit was a great social success. He was presented to George IV, learnt to ride a horse, even survived an attack of measles, and received a number of royal gifts. These met the same fate as Hongi Hika's. He was provided by the British government with a passage back to New Zealand aboard the *Thames*.

**Show Business**

Inspired by the crowds that had followed Te Pehi in the Liverpool Streets, an English showman decided to profit from the interest shown. In 1829-30 a tour through England and Wales was put on as a commercial venture. As far as I can ascertain this was the first instance of Māori people being taken on a journey for the purpose of display. The Exhibition advertised itself as being to "defray travelling expenses" and much play was made of the "savagery" of the exhibits. Not much is known about the venture, except that the two men of Ngāti Maru contracted measles and were abandoned. Fortunately someone of more charitable feelings rescued them.
and looked after them until their recovery.

Less quixotic was the assistance Edward Gibbon Wakefield offered to two Ngāti Toa men stranded in Le Havre. They had come to Europe on a whaler. Wakefield, believing that they could advance his designs in organising colonisation through his New Zealand Company, sent help to them in 1837. He had mistaken them for high chiefs. They were made much of in England, but because of their lowly status were unable to be of any assistance.

In the 1860s there were two touring groups of Māori in England. One was a profit-making tour run by a Dr McGaurin. It was the fore-runner of today's Māori Concert Party. There were some twenty members in the troupe. It was followed by a tour organised by William Jenkins who saw himself as conducting illustrated lectures of an educational nature. 4

Political Petition

As the pressure of settler desire for land began to impinge on Māori life in New Zealand, so the need for a political solution became more urgent, and a number of the journeys taken abroad in the following years were for a political reason. Māori travellers to England and to Europe could see for themselves the power that a single ruler, uniting all groups, could give to a country. One such observer was Pirikawau who travelled with Governor Gray as his interpreter, first to England in 1854, and in 1857 to Cape of Good Hope. Te Rauparaha’s son, Tamihana, also visited England in 1852.

In 1882 Hirini Taiwhanga led a deputation to England to present grievances to Queen Victoria related to the Treaty of Waitangi. This was followed by a further
deputation led by King Tawhiao himself, in the same year.

Even as late as 1906 a report in *Te Pīpīwharauroa* referring to some price reductions in steamer fares, included the following:

Ko te utu ināianei kei te £30 ka piki ki te £100 ki Ingarangi, otirā kua tukua e tēnei kamupene, mō te ihu ki Rānana e £12, mō te kei £25, Ka ngāwari noa te tae ki Ingarangi i ēnei rā. He take anō tēnei e māmā ai te haere o te hunga e mea ana ki te kawe i te pithana ki te Kīngi.

The price currently is £30 rising to £100 to England, but it has been reduced by this company for the first class to London by £12 for the first class and by £25 for the steerage. Travelling to England is quite comfortable these days. This is indeed a reason why it is easy for people who want to take a petition to the King to make the journey.

**Matrimonial**

Hirini Taiwhanga claimed that his marriage to an Irish immigrant, Sarah, was the first legally contracted marriage of a Māori man to a Pākehā woman. There were however partnerships formed between Pākehā men and Māori women, some of whom went with their husbands on their return to England. One such was the wife of Charles Wilkinson.

**Sport**

A relatively late comer in the types of journeys undertaken was that for sporting fixtures. The first instance that I have discovered is the inclusion in a New Zealand rugby team of Joseph Warbrick and Jack Taiaroa. They played in Australia in 1884. This experience led to Warbrick’s idea for the tour of Australia and England in 1888-1889, the subject of Document Six in this thesis.
Trade

Some of the earliest contacts that Māori had with Pākehā came about because Pākehā came here as traders. For the same reasons some Māori travelled abroad. Tuhawaiiki, from Ruapuke Island owned several trading vessels. By 1863, at least one Māori man, P. Tuhaere, had set up a trading post in Rarotonga.

Preaching

Pākehā came here as missionaries. But at the same time there were some missionaries of Polynesian birth working elsewhere in the Pacific region.6 Besides travelling to Australia to study with Marsden, many other Māori people had undertaken religious studies abroad, or had travelled to attend particular religious events. One instance was the journey of Tamatea and Aterea to a Salvation Army International Congress in England in 1894, another was a twelve-year old girl, Keita Mete, to study with the Mormons in Utah, in 1905.

In the same year, Reweti Kohere travelled to the Chatham Islands, to preach there. Five years later his brother Poihipi travelled into the Pacific to visit a number of missions there and to work specifically in Tikopia, an outlying island in the Vanuatu group.

War

As we have noted, war had long been a reason for travel within New Zealand. As is well known, in the changed circumstances of the twentieth century also, Māori warriors continued to travel to engage in battle. Māori soldiers were a significant proportion of New Zealand forces fighting abroad.
The preceding paragraphs have listed a number of reasons for Māori people to travel off-shore. It must be remembered that most of these were extensions of what they were already doing within New Zealand. They had travelled or were travelling to visit, to trade, to study, to preach, to fish, to fight, and to engage in political persuasion at hui. They had been taken captive, they had entertained each other with music, dancing, and games.

What follows is a study of seven documents chosen as significant and representative accounts of travel over two generations, 1843-1902.

The final section of this thesis looks at the next decade. Most of the material from this period cannot be reproduced because it is not yet out of copyright restrictions.
CHAPTER 2 SEVEN JOURNEYS

"Travel broadens the mind."  (Proverbs)

"It is a pity that people travel in foreign countries; it narrows their minds so much."  (G.K. Chesterton)

Whatever it is that travellers bring home at the conclusion of their journey, the mental luggage with which they set out is almost uniform. What they carry with them is a mind-set that is formed by and reflects their home environment. The degree to which they approve or disapprove of what they observe may depend on their personal characteristics, but what they observe and their understanding of what they observe stems from their previous experience.

The seven journeys which form the basis of this study were undertaken and recorded by Māori men in the six decades between 1843 and 1902. This thesis topic was not chosen because there is something unique about Māori people travelling. If the statement made in the preceding paragraph is true, then, by studying what they had to say, much can be learned about 19th century New Zealand. Through their eyes we can form a picture of the rapidly changing social and economic conditions in this country, particularly as it impinged on the lives of the Māori people.

The following chapters in this section will consider the seven documents under six general headings.
CHAPTER 3  SEPARATION

For most travellers, whatever the reason for the journey, there is a wrench, an uprooting, and a sense of loss.

In Māori tradition, in their legends and in their waiata, separation is a significant component. The language of separation and the images that arise from nostalgia are well-developed to express the poignancy of this emotion.

It is interesting to note that of the many scores of texts that were translated and studied in order to make the selection for this thesis, all but one is confined to describing the journey from home. This exception is Rapata Wahawaha's description of his return from Australia. [V, second part]

Rēnata's account [I] might be seen as another but it is atypical in two respects: he was not really "leaving" home as the far north was the territory of his captors, not his kāinga tūturu, and the section of the journey he describes was circular, so there was no occasion when he reached a "point of return". In one sense the only section of his journey which could be said to be "returning" was from Auckland to Waimate North, and this he does not describe. Rēnata's account is the only one included here that contains no reference to homesickness.

In the remaining six documents, we are told how strong yearning is triggered off by particular experiences. The first sense of loss is revealed when the New Zealand coastline can no longer be seen. Both Hone Rī [II] and Rapata Wahawaha [V] refer to this. Wiri Nehua [VI] puts it rather differently:

I konei tōku kitenga whakamutunga i te Māori.
Here was my last sight of Māori people.

Frequently the onset of nostalgia is associated with some natural feature of landscape or weather. The movement and appearance of the sea in particular has a strong effect on a number of the writers. Combined with seasickness this becomes a very intense experience for some.

In his account [II], Hone Rī first mentions this after describing how he climbed the mast and surveyed the vast ocean and ships sailing by in the night. He is overwhelmed with longing for his family - his father, his wife, and children, and underlines the words in the manuscript to emphasise this. He goes on to say:

... i mihi anō tōku ngākau ki a koutou katoa. E koutou, e āku w[h]anaunga, e āku tamariki, tēnā rā ko koutou. E tōku matua, e tōku hoa, tēnā ko koutou. [M 29-31]

... my heart called its greetings to you all. Oh you, my family, my children, greetings to you. My father and my wife, greetings to you. [E 31-33]

Once he becomes sea-sick, he succumbs to the power of his yearning and is visited by dreams in which his wife appears.

Although there is no mention of dreams, the two Waikato men [III] describe a similar experience; they were simultaneously sea-sick and home-sick. They attributed their inability to eat to the homesickness which they believed was responsible for their illness.

Mohi Taharangi [IV] feared for his life. The rough seas made him think of his parents whom he might never see again.

kua ahu mai āku whakaaro ki te kāinga i mamo, kua poroporoaki i runga i te pōuri ki a Pāpā rāua ko Whaea. [M 17-19]
my thoughts turned to my home far away, and in grief I bade farewell to my father and mother. [E 17-19]

Henare Kohere [VII] on his steamer, half a century later, was a great deal less pessimistic. No doubt the steamer of 1902 felt much safer than the sailing vessels of the earlier time. He and his cousin found the vastness and roughness of the sea exhilarating, and the experience made them reflective in mood:

... rere ana te ngaru ki runga i te tima. Ko māua anake ko Terei ngā mea ora, kātahi māua ka piki ki te tūnga o te kāpene. Tētahi ngahau atu, ka heke ana te tima, ngaro katoa atu te ihu ki roto i te wai, nui atu tō māua rekareka. Ka hoki atu ngā kōrero ki te kāinga nā. [M 206-209]

... the waves crashed over the steamer. Terei and I were the only ones who stayed well and then we climbed up to the bridge. It was really exciting; whenever the steamer dipped down, its prow completely hidden in the water, we were absolutely delighted. Conversation reverted to home. [E 213-217]

Not only sea, but land also occasioned memories of home. Travelling into the countryside from Sydney Rapata Wahawaha, [V], longs for the mountains of the East Coast.

... Heoi anō tōna maunga ko te paewai o te rangi; kōrehurehu kau ana te tiro atu. He hanga whakaaroa; me te mea ko te whakapaewaitanga o te rangi i te moana e tirohia atu nei i Niu Tirangi nei te rite o taua whenua ki te titiro atu. [M 56-58]

... The only mountain in view was where the sea met the sky, and all you could see was just a haze; it was something to arouse yearning, for the horizon there where the sky meets the ocean, gazed at there in New Zealand, looked just like that land. [E 56-59]

The sight of land, on reaching Australia, had the same effect for Henare Kohere.
Kei wareware i a koe tēnei te hokinga o ngā whakaaro ki te wā kāinga, i te korenga kāore e kite i te mata o te whenua mō ngā rā e whā. [M 48-49]

You’ll be aware that this occasioned the return of our thoughts to our home place, after not setting eyes on land for four days. [E 52-53]

and

Pai atu te whiti o te rā, tae ana ngā whakaaro ki te wā kāinga, ki ngā kōrerotanga, ki ngā koanga tahitanga. [M 180-181]

As it was a lovely sunny day, thoughts turned to home, to the speech-making, to the joy of being together. [E 187-188]

This is a particularly interesting reference because in it he specifies what it is he associates with home. For him, be it storms at sea, sight of land, a lovely sunny day, being at anchor in Port Elizabeth, or finally reaching England -- all lead him to reflect on home.

Most of the journeys included here demanded high personal courage and a spirit of adventure. That homesickness featured in their accounts is not surprising, but does highlight the inner strength that enabled the writers to undertake the journeys. The time they were away from home varied from Rī’s journey to Australia of about three months to the Waikato men’s journey to Vienna when they were away for two years.

Both Henare Kohere and Terei Ngatai [VII] make repeated reference to looking for and receiving letters from friends and family at home. This is a feature of travel abroad that is not mentioned in the earlier documents. No doubt the change reflects an improvement in the speed of communication.
Earlier in this Section it was stated that what a traveller observes on a journey is influenced by previous experience. In the record of the journey this influence is seen both in what is included for comment and what is omitted. What is selected for inclusion is that part of the new experience that overlaps with previous experience but provides differences. If there are no differences it does not seem worth commenting on. If there is nothing in common between former experience and the new circumstances encountered the latter is not understood and probably not even observed.

It is the intersection of these two circles that provides the material for what is included in the traveller's writing.
Generally speaking it is difficult to appreciate what has been omitted from an account of a journey. However, in Rēnata’s account [I] he was travelling in the company of the clergyman, William Cotton, who kept an extensive day to day account of what occurred and his personal thoughts and feeling about what he observed.

Cotton had been in New Zealand only a year and for him the scenery, the customs, and the language of the country were all unfamiliar. Consequently he writes at length about all three, comparing them with life in England. He writes with excitement about the beauty of the plant life and the mountains and with enthusiasm about missions and churches. He stresses the danger of the river crossings and the mountain traverses, and emphasizes the heroism, strength, and skill of the Māori men, particularly of Rēnata himself.

Rēnata scarcely ever mentions his own role in facing the dangers of the journey. He carried the clergymen across raging, and deep, icy-cold torrents. He bore heavy Pākehā gear up steep mountains. But he does not record this. The scenery and the activity he took for granted.

Nor does he include any of the clerical negotiations that were the reason for Cotton’s journey in the first place. Although Rēnata was a participant in the regular church services that were held daily throughout the journey, and although at a later date he became actively involved in preaching and in establishing new churches, at this point the business of church administration was outside his experience.

What he did write about was the best way to solve the day to day problems that a journey in New Zealand at that time entailed, where to stop for the night to ensure an adequate supply of water:
We set off walking and in the evening we came to a stream. I told Cotton that we should stay the night there.
Cotton said to me, "No, we'll go on to another stream."
I told him, "We won't find a stream."
Cotton insisted on going on. And that's what we did. Night fell and indeed we found no water. All we could do was go to bed in the bush. [E 407-412]

and how best to organise the movement of a canoe backwards and forwards across a lake when its capacity was much smaller than the number of people to be conveyed:

The Ngāti Hau people paddled a canoe to berth at Waitahanui. They off-loaded people ashore to clear a space in the canoe for us; and then we paddled until we landed at Te Rapa; next we paddled back in the canoe for the Ngāti Hau people. We landed at Waitahanui, took them on board the canoe, paddled to Te Rapa, landed, and stayed the night here. [E 30-34]

Each day presented a new experience and a new set of problems, but they were problems that were best solved by the knowledge that came from his experience of Māori bushcraft and Māori customs.

Not only is it difficult, normally speaking, to realise what has been omitted from a description as a result of its being taken for granted, but it is similarly difficult to know what has been omitted because the new experience has no overlap with
previous experience. Occasionally, however, a writer appreciates his own incomprehension.

Te Rerehau and Toetoe [III] were taken to a cloth-weaving factory. Realising that the operation he was watching bore a resemblance to flax-weaving Te Rerehau makes an attempt to describe what he has observed. He was also aware that, although the principle was similar to that of flax-weaving, there were additional operations that he currently could not explain.

Nui atu te mahinga o taua mahi, e kore e taea te whakaaro e te Māori. Hāunanga ētehi mahi e taea anō e te Māori te mahi ko tēnei ko te tūhonohononga. [M 114-116]

There are more tasks in that manufacture than a Māori can absorb. There are, as well, some jobs that could be done by a Māori, for example, thread-joining. [E 117-119]

Omissions are useful to consider when we have some point of comparison, as in Document One, but the process of selection is a more rewarding subject of study if only because there the clear instances are more plentiful. From what the writers choose to refer to, describe, or explain, we can usually draw a conclusion about similar features in New Zealand life. In addition we can frequently learn something about the writers’ thoughts, feelings, and concerns, although these are rarely explicitly expressed in the seven documents presented here.

An obvious point of comparison that the travellers noticed was the landscape. All the writers were North Island Māori and many were surprised at the flatness of other places.

We have already noted Rapata Wahawaha’s feelings about the flatness of the Australian countryside. He also comments on the flatness of Melbourne, and its
inland areas. Wiri Nehua only needed to travel as far as the South Island to be astonished by the Canterbury Plains.

Ko te whenua pāpaku rawa atu tēnei i kite ai mātou i Niu Tīreni.

This is the flattest land we have ever seen in New Zealand.

The two Ngāti Porou men also had their mountainous home much in mind as they travelled. Terei Ngatai, looking down onto the flat playing fields of Eton from Windsor Castle proudly adds to the "Waterloo" legend by asserting that New Zealand soldiers’ training is equally effective for it takes place on New Zealand hills.

On his first glimpse of London, Henare was astonished at the height of the buildings and at how close they were to each other.

E hika mā, ka mātakitaki ki te tāone nei, ki Rānana, mau ana te wehi, e tata tonu ana te tū a ngā whare te rite ki ētahi pukepuke o konā nā. E 8 tae ki te 12 ngā whakapaparanga o runga, kātahi hoki ka whakapapa atu hoki ki raro i te whenua. [M 572-575]

My friends, we looked at this city of London, filled with awe, the houses were like hills back home with you; they were built so close to each other. They have eight to twelve storeys and then as well a floor underground. [E 589-592]

As the writers were all rural dwellers, it is not surprising that the agricultural potential of places overseas attracted their interest. This was true of the later writers, particularly of Wiri Nehua. [VI]

He laid particular emphasis on the large tracts of land that were all sand unable to sustain growth, and it was with some relief that he moved into the Mediterranean and saw the fertility of the Italian landscape. He continued to praise the quality of the soil and the crops he saw growing until after his arrival in England.
Even at the Melbourne Exhibition, his farming interests prevailed. Of all the items on display, the one that he selected for special comment was the chicken incubator that also fed the birds automatically.

One feature of the landscape that nearly all the overseas travellers referred to was the fact that stone was used for building. In pre-European times the Māori had built only in wood, and wood continued to be the most common building material in New Zealand because of its availability.

Arriving in Sydney, Hone Rū [II] writes:

Ka nui te w[he]re kōw[h]atu; he kōw[h]atu kau anō tōna w[h]are. [M 66]

There are many stone buildings. Its buildings are all made of stone. [E 70]

Similarly Rapata Wahawaha in Melbourne [V] comments:

... ka nunui hoki ngā whare pōhatu, kāore he whare rākau, he pōhatu anake. [M 153-154]

... and the stone houses are large - there are no wooden houses; they are all made of stone. [E 159-160]

In England and in Europe Wiri Nehua [VI] and the Ngāti Porou cousins [VII] encounter impressive stone structures, castles and cathedrals, and they marvel at their age.

Not only buildings, but carvings in stone are noticed with interest. The Waikato men [III] were fascinated by the stone carvings of animals that ornamented the city, particularly the lions with fountains spouting from their mouths.

While travelling through the Mediterranean Wiri Nehua [VI] had the opportunity to visit Pompeii and Herculaneum. He takes the opportunity to explain
how these cities, which were destroyed by the Vesuvius volcano, have been excavated to allow visitors to see the pattern of life of those ancient times. In describing the beautiful artifacts he explains:

He mōhio rawa hoki rātou ki te whakairo ki te kōhatu.

They knew very well how to carve in stone.

Rapata Wahawaha [V] was much less appreciative of the stone statues on display in Melbourne. Apparently shocked by their nudity, he drew attention to Pākehā inconsistency.

Tākiri koe, tēnā īwi, te Pākehā, e! E kore e makere te pātene noa o te kakī o te hāte, kua mātaka ia kua mea, "Ha! ha! te pātene o tōu hāte, ka makere! Ka kitea e te wahine Pākehā tō kakī!"

Kāore, tēnā anō ia, kai te hanga marire ki te pōhatu he tangata kiri tahanga hei whakaaatu mana ki te tangata haere! Ko wai ka mōhio ki ana tikanga? [M 177-182]

Oh dear, oh dear, you Pākehā! What peculiar people the Pākehā are! If just a button falls off your shirt, they become upset and say "Oh look, the button of your shirt has come off. A Pākehā lady might see your neck!"

And yet, on the other hand, they happily create naked people in stone, and display them to anyone who goes there. Who can understand these practices? [E 182-188]

New Zealand, at the end of the 20th century, is still a very sparsely settled country. In the previous century the population was much more scattered and much less numerous. For the rural-dwelling travellers represented in this thesis, the contrast when they visited cities, even Melbourne and Sydney, let alone Birmingham, Leeds, London, Paris, and Vienna, can be readily imagined.

Many of them marvel at the size of the ports they visit, and the number of the
vessels lined up, either at the quay, or moored out in the harbour. They are astonished at the proximity of the houses to each other and the number of storeys that they possess.

Crossing a busy thoroughfare presented a problem. Their reactions vary. Wiri Nehua [VI] learns to adjust:

Ka nui rawa atu te nunui o te whare o tēnei kāinga, ahakoa haere mā runga i te terēina kāore e mutu te tini o te whare. Kei ētahi wāhi e mā runga ana i ngā whare te haerenga o te terēina, ā, he wāhi anō ka haere kē mā raro i ngā whare. Ngā tiriti hoki o konei kikī ana i te pahihī, i te pakī, i te kāta noa. Arā nā te pai o ngā whakahaere i kore ai e tini ngā tāngata e mate i te hōiho. Engari ināianei kua taunga noa iho mātou ki te haere tāone me te kore hoki e tino hiahia ki te kotititi.

There are a huge number of houses in this town, even when we go by train, there is no end to the houses. The streets of this place, too, are full of buses, buggies, and carts. Indeed it is only by good management that many people are not killed by the horses. But now we have got quite accustomed to going to town and we no longer have a strong desire to duck out of the way.

Terei Ngatai [VII] writing nearly twenty years later, is rather more impatient:

Ki te hiahia te tangata ki te whakawhiti i tētahi tiriti nui te mahi kia pau te hāwhe hāora e tatari ana kātahi anō ka whiti.

If someone wants to cross a busy street, he will have to wait half an hour before he can ever get across.

... Ngā wiki ana tērā te tāngata i ngā tiriti, kapi tonu ngā huarahi i te kōti, i te pakī, i te kāta. Mehe mea ki te piki te tangata ki tētahi wāhi tiketike i waenganui o Rānana e kore e kitea e ia te mutunga mai o te tāone; pōuri tonu te rangi i te nui o te pawa o te ahi.

... Ahakoa haere ki hea, he mano te tangata kei reira, kore rawa he wāhi matatae, kāore he wāhi hei okiokinga.

You could be in the streets for weeks, and the roads would still continue to be full with coaches, and buggies, and carts. If someone were to go to a high place in the middle of London he could see no
end to this city. Daytime is quite dark from the amount of smoke from the fires.

... No matter where we go, thousands of people are there; there are never any open spaces, and nowhere to rest.

Many of the travellers abroad commented on the railways they encountered. In New Zealand the earliest section of railway built were all in the South Island. Planning for more extensive railway coverage began about 1870, and it was in the 70s that a few sections of line were completed in the North Island. The first trunk line in New Zealand, that between Christchurch and Invercargill, was not completed until 1879. When the Rugby Team [VI] was formed in 1885, it will be noted that much of its tour of New Zealand in the North Island was undertaken by coastal shipping.

Naturally the travellers abroad were interested in and appreciative of the comforts that European technology provided. The first mention of train travel is made by Hemara Rerehau [III] when he tells us they travelled inter-state on the eisenbahn. We are not told how they enjoyed the experience.

Railways feature in all the last three documents, and all these writers are impressed by the speed. However, it is possible to have too much of a good thing. The train journey that the Rugby Team [VI] took from London to Hull lasted eleven hours.

Both the last two documents comment on viewing the never-ending houses from the train, and the way in which the level at which the train is travelling is sometimes above, and sometimes below that of the houses they pass.

Particularly impressive, naturally, is the London Underground, as Terei Ngatai indicates.
The railway is a wonderful feature, too; it is one that goes underground. You go down from the London streets to get to the stations. It must be 40 or 50 feet that you have to go underground. If you want to go sight-seeing, you can get on the train up on the surface, and perhaps for a station later on, you have to go underground; and so you go down again, and then when you go back up to the surface, you will sometimes be taken up on board the train, or you will be taken up by a lift. There is also running in the tube underground a train which is pulled by electricity; and it is just twopence for everyone --- it’s absolutely wonderful.

Different or more powerful technology was not the only new experience that overseas travel provided. Some of the most vivid writing in these documents comes from descriptions of creatures not previously encountered.

However, on the sea voyages references are confined to fish and horses, both very familiar to the writers. Although there was almost certainly not much else to observe, it is interesting to notice that a number of the authors refer to the fish they saw, almost as if this was a welcome link with the world they were leaving.

The problem of travelling with large numbers of animals on board is one not easily visualised by modern travellers. In Document One, the vessel, on which Rēnata travelled between Wellington and Nelson, was shipping a large number of sheep. Rēnata makes no mention of their presence, but Cotton relates that they were accommodated on the deck, and when through negligence the sail-ropes became unfastened they fell to the deck and became entangled in the sheep’s feet.
Keeping animals alive was also a problem, especially on lengthy journeys or in rough seas. For Wiri Nehua [VI] and for Henare Kohere [VII] the first time a horse died and had to be thrown into the sea, the occasion was memorable. On the latter’s journey the 10th Contingent travelling to South Africa belonged to a mounted regiment and they were shipping their horses with them. There were 768 passengers and 600 horses on board. This was the condition in which they travelled for almost two months, until they reached Durban. After the 10th Contingent and the horses disembarked, and the soldiers going on to the coronation changed vessels, the freshness of the atmosphere made the passage feel as if they were travelling first class.

Three of the travellers had the opportunity to visit zoos. The first of these was Te Rerehau [III] in Vienna. His excitement at viewing animals about which he had been taught at school but never before seen is conveyed powerfully in his description of the lion and the tiger. Of the tiger he writes:

Ko tōna whiore he roa, ko tōna huruhuru he nui te pai, te māeneene; he popoto, he ngāwari. Kei runga i ōna ng a > utu ētahi kumikumi mārō. Ko tōna kara i pēnei me tō te ngeru nei. Te āhu[a] i whakatāingo i haere iho i runga i te tuarā he kōhai wero ki te taha ki te uru, ā, me te hope a roto o ngā hūhā he mā me te puku hoki. Kei tōna whiore i <taka miomio> [takaāmiomio] ngā kara. [M 196-201]

He has a long tail and his fur is beautiful and smooth; it is short and soft. He has some stiff whiskers above his lips. He has a colour like a cat’s. He is multi-coloured for yellow stripes run down from his back to his sides, and to his head; his waist inside his thighs is white and his belly is too. The colours on his tail whirl round and round. [E 192-196]

Both Rapata Wahawaha [V] and Wiri Nehua describe visits to Australian zoos. Wahawaha did not share the fascination exhibited by the Waikato men [III]. Of the lion, the bear, and the snake he writes:
... Kīhai i ū aku kanohi ki te titiro atu, i te wehi mai. Ki taku mahara me kore ārā mea e hōmai ki tēnei motu, hei reira anō ka mutu atu. Me kaha rawa te kupu whakakore i ārā mea kia kaua e maua mai ki tēnei motu. [M 193-196]

... I could scarcely look at them, I found them so terrifying. In my opinion these creatures should not be brought to this country; they should stop where they are. We should strongly urge that those creatures be banned from being brought to this country. [E 200-203]

Strangely, only one visitor to Australia mentions the kangaroo. Wiri Nehua writes:

He kaingaru. Ko tēnei mea mau haere ai i tana kūao i roto i tētahi puke kei raro i tana puku. He nui atu hoki te kaingaru ki Marepana nei.

Kangaroo. This creature goes about carrying its young in a bulge under its belly. There are a great many kangaroos here in Melbourne.

Sometimes the customs or circumstances of a new country are so different or unexpected that the travellers have to puzzle out how they operate, and when they are understood the writer explains the circumstances to the reader.

A good example of this is to be found in the existence of neighbouring nations in Europe. Crossing national frontiers is a difficult concept for an island dweller to grasp. Te Rerehau [III] breaks off from his description of the day he and Toetoe were presented to the Emperor to explain some of the political intricacies:

Taua pā e tata ana ki Itari, te ingoa te Riete. He nui te matara o tau[a] pā nō te Tariana; he wehenga anō [no] Haramane, engari nō te Tāiiti anō taua iwi; kotah[ī] <k>e tonu te kīngitanga, ko Paranihi Hohepa.

Otiia e toru kīngitanga i roto o taua whenua kotahi o Haramane, e whā: te tuatahi, Paranihi Hōhepa; tuarua, kei tētahi wehenga o Haramane - te ingoa o taua pā, Rewaria, tōna kīngitanga Makimiriana; tuatoru nō Wiatene Peaka, tōna kīngitanga Wiremu Wiatene Peaka; tuawhā ko te kīngitanga o Puruhia, (moe te tamāhine a te Kuini i te kīngitanga o taua whenua). Nō Haramane anake ēnei
That town is near Italy and its name is Trieste. That Italian town is very far away, and lies apart from Germany, but its people are part of Austria; both are united under the rule of Franz Joseph.

However, there are three [other] kingdoms in that one Germany of four realms: First, Franz Joseph; second a section of Germany the name of which is Bavaria, the kingdom of Maximilian; third, Wurttemberg; and fourth, the kingdom of Prussia. (The Queen’s daughter married into the royal family of that land.) All of these kingdoms belong to Germany. [E 245-252]

Some forty years later, Henare Kohere writes:

The people are different as are some of its industries. It is a different race from that we had just left. It has a different language and [unlike France] it has a King.

(I should point out, Europe is a general name, but there are many governments, independent of each other, that are included in that one name. Some, those I have written about, we actually visited.) [E 1200-1208]

Much earlier, in Australia, Hone Rī [II] is puzzled and no doubt intimidated by the operation of the law. He writes that people can be arrested for drunkenness.

He returns to the topic to explain the difference between being drunk in a public place and being drunk at home.

Ka haurangi te tangata, ka riro ia ki te watiauhe i ngā kātipa. Ka haurangi ki roto ki te w[h]are, e kore e tangoa e ngā kātipa. [M 162-163]

When someone gets drunk, he is taken to the watch-house by the constables. When he is drunk inside his house he will not be taken by the constable. [E 176-178]
At the time that Hone Rī was writing, English law was unevenly applied in New Zealand, and must often have seemed inexplicable to Māori communities living at some distance from Pākehā settlements. We know that many Māori people regarded the English practice of imprisonment with horror. Hone Rī tells us that in addition to visiting the Sydney prison he saw penal colony chain-gangs at work. It is easy to see why he sought explanation for what he observed.

Unfortunately this thesis does not contain any documents written by Māori women travellers, for none has been found. However, within these seven documents there are a number of references to women that indicate something about the roles of Māori women in New Zealand at the time.

About the occasion when the Viennese police were beating the public back from grabbing at the two Māori men in the procession, Te Rerehau [III] writes:

me ngā w<h>āhine hoki he tō hei mātakiti. [M 65-66]

and women too were tugging at us to get a good view. [E 69-70]

The implication may be that such aggressive or uncontrolled behaviour would not have been characteristic of Māori women.

In Viennese clothing factories he makes special note that it is women who do the weaving work. A quarter of a century later a similar comment is made by Wiri Nehua. In Birmingham he writes that it is the women who do the finishing in the factory he visits, and at a munitions factory most of the workers were women.

At the time when these men were writing, New Zealand was almost exclusively an agricultural country. The manufacturing industry was negligible. Moreover, the Māori people lived mostly in rural areas. Women’s labours were
confined to agricultural and domestic activity.

A rather different slant is given to the same issue in Document Seven. When Henare Kohere sees women working in the fields he writes:

Hei reira ka kite mātou i te wāhine e mahi ana, -- hua atu hoki rā au ko tāua anake, ko te Māori o ngā iwi mōhio o te ao e whakamahi ana i ā tāua wāhine. Pēnei anō te tū mahi a te wāhine me ngā mahi e mahi nei te wāhine Māori, e hauhake taewa ana, e whiu kāta ana, e parau ana i ngā māra. [M 978-982]

It was there that we saw women working --- and I thought that the Māori were the only people in the world known for making our women work. The sort of work of the women was just like the tasks Māori women perform, digging potatoes, driving carts, and ploughing fields. [E 1005-1009]

He also sees a likeness between Scots people and Māori in that the women of both races wear no shoes, doubtless a commentary on the depressed economic situation of both races at the time.
CHAPTER 5 SELF AWARENESS

The seven journeys in this thesis were written over a period of sixty years. The first was four years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In Rēnata’s journey through New Zealand he travelled in a party of Māori and Pākehā men. The Pākehā were all clergymen. They met many groups of Māori, stayed in Māori settlements, but almost the only Pākehā they met were clergymen or missionaries.

Between then and when Document Three was written (1859-1860), the Pākehā population rose to equal in number the Māori population. Between Document Three and Document Five (1874) the Pākehā population had rapidly increased, the country had been engaged in land wars, and through government confiscation and land sales, much land had passed from Māori to Pākehā ownership. Although the wars were now over, the cost to the Māori people impinged on their life for many years to come.

The last of the seven documents (1902) was written when there seemed to be some optimism in New Zealand race relations. In the East Coast area of the Ngāti Porou, where the writers of Document Seven had their home, sheep-farming was developing, bringing some prosperity, and such movements as The Young Māori Party brought a new confidence to the Māori people.

For most people, overseas travel is likely to engender thoughts about national identity. It is interesting to trace through these seven documents the references made in relation to ideas about What is a Pākehā? and What is a Māori? Although from such a small sample no general conclusion can be reached, the changes in attitude from one period to the next do appear to reflect the changes in fortune of the Māori people briefly outlined above.
In the first document (1843-1844) no statements are made that might suggest any consideration at all of the characteristics of "Māori" or "Pākehā".

Hone Rī [II] (c.1850) indicates a much sharper awareness of differences and of possible conflict as a result of these differences. Working as a sailor on the trading vessel going to Sydney, he comments:

Ka rua anō ngā ua i a mātou i te moana nei. Ko te pai hoki o ngā Pākehā o te kata nei, e kore e riri, e kore e kanga, e kore e tono ki te mahi. [M 44-45]

We doubled our effort in this sea. How good the Pākehā of this cutter are; they do not lose their tempers, and they do not curse, and they do not order you to work. [E 46-48]

This seems to indicate surprise, perhaps because he was not accustomed to such courtesy from Pākehā in New Zealand.

However, the experience of meeting Pākehā in a country outside New Zealand appears to concentrate the attention of the traveller on the issue of national or racial characteristics. As has been seen in the previous chapter Rī is puzzled and almost certainly apprehensive about the operation of the law. He concludes:

He iwi pai te Pākehā; e kore e pokanoa te riri. Me tāhau anō, kātahi anō ka riro ki te w[h]are herehe[re]. [M 139-141]

The Pākehā are an even-tempered people; they will not become angry for no reason. But if you steal, that is when you get taken off to prison." [E 147-149]

At the same time his fears for the future of the Māori people under British colonisation are awakened by what he observes and what he is told by Māori acquaintances in Sydney.
Ka nui te Pākehā ki Nui Tireni a mua. I rongo ahau ki ngā tangata Māori o Pohihaēka he kāinga tango arikena nā te Ingirihi. Nō te Mangumangu tērā kāinga; Ko Pohihaēka, he kāinga tango nā te Ingirihi. E hoa mā, ka kite ahau i ngā tāngata o Pohihaēka e haere no[a] ana i te ara. Ko ngā Mangumangu hoki ngā tāngata o Pohihaēka i mua. Ināianei, he Pākehā kau ki Pohihaēka, ko ngā tāngata i te kāinga; ko ngā Mangumangu e haere noa ana i runga i ngā maunga. Ko te tini no[a] atu o ngā motu i tangohia nā e te Ingirihi. Ko te ritenga ēnei mō Nui Tireni a mua e takoto ake nei. Ahakoa mea te tāngata e kore e riro a Nui Tireni i te Ingirihi, ka riro koe he hinu anō a ngā Pakehā. [M 94-103]

The Pākehā in New Zealand are going to be numerous in the future. I listened to the Māori people of Port Jackson, which was a settlement taken .... by the English. That town belonged to the Blacks; Port Jackson was a settlement taken by the English. My friends, I saw the people of Port Jackson just walking around on the paths. And the Aborigines were indeed the people of Port Jackson formerly. Now, in Port Jackson it is Pākehā alone who are in the town and the black people are just wandering around on the mountains. Quite a number of the islands have been taken thus by the English. This is just what New Zealand’s situation will be in times to come. Even though people say New Zealand will not be taken by the English, you will become victims of the Pākehā. [E 102-112]

Although Hone Rī appreciates that a Māori finds strangeness in Pākehā ways he does not mention any awareness of how strange a Māori might appear to a Pākehā. Perhaps there were already a sufficient number of Māori people living in Sydney for Rī’s appearance not to be a novelty.

This was not the situation for Te Rerehau and Toetoe in Vienna, and they were very conscious of how they were being perceived.

He nui no[a] atu e mātakitaki ana māua e mātakitaki ana hoki tērā ki a māua, arā, te Pākehā tā te iwi kātahi anō ka kite i te Māori. [M 18-20]

We were staring a good deal, and the Pākehā were in return staring at us, the first Māori they had seen. [E 20-21]
When they finally were permitted to emerge from the printery where they were housed, crowds massed to get a view of them. As they joined the procession in Schiller’s centenary celebrations they had to be protected from being grabbed by people standing watching, so anxious were the Viennese to get a closer look.

After this celebration, their pictures appeared in European papers, and members of royalty and leaders of state travelled across Europe to visit them at the printery, to see for themselves these men from so far away. The spirit of Rousseau’s "Noble Savage" was still very much alive.

The circumstances must indeed have encouraged the two Waikato men to regard themselves and their people with pride and satisfaction. Admittedly they saw technology, for example in cloth manufacture, that they could not fully understand, but they had mastered the printing trade, and returned to New Zealand not only able to print, but to speak some German and Italian in addition to Māori and English.

After such an enthusiastic reception in Vienna it is not surprising that comparisons were made between Pākehā whom they had known in New Zealand, and Pākehā encountered in Europe. In Vienna the Māori men had a scarcity value, they were the guests being housed at Imperial expense, and none of the social factors that led to racial strain in New Zealand were present in Vienna.

Ka nui te atawhai o taua iwi, he karanga noa mai ki te tangata kia haere atu ki te kai. Nui atu te atawhai o taua iwi, e kī ana ahau he pēnei me te Ingarihi nei te kore atawhai; nui nui nui atu te aroha o tēnā iwi. [M 20-22]

This people shows great hospitality; they frequently invite people to dine with them. In this respect I would say they are a very generous people, but the English are not generous. The warm-heartedness of this people is so very, very great. [E 21-24]
Such racial pride is not so obvious in the next two documents. These were both written after the land wars were over. Although not all Māori communities were directly affected by the death and destruction of the battles, nor by the land confiscation and deprivation that followed, a depression of spirit pervaded.

These two documents were both written in the same year, 1874, in a newspaper, *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, that was dominated by government influence, and was patronising in tone. The self-deprecation of the two documents was no doubt in keeping with the sentiment of the paper’s editorial policy, which was missionary in its zeal to introduce Māori people to "Pākehā wisdom".

Mohi Taharangi [IV] describing the fear he has for his life in tempestuous seas writes:

> Hai aha ki tēnā iwi ki te Pākehā - te rangatira o te mātauranga. He oranga ngākau ki a ia aua tini mea whakamataku, arā ki te mate. Ka tatata mai ki te tinana te mate, kātahi ka tino kaha te Pākehā ki te whakahoki i te aitu. E kore e taea e mātou whaka Māori aua tini mahi a te Pākehā. [M 20-24]

But what mattered it [danger] to the Pākehā people - those masters of knowledge? Their spirits thrive on those many perilous events, even death. It is when death approaches, when their lives are threatened, that the Pākehā are most vigorous in resisting disaster. We could never achieve in our Māori way the many accomplishments of the Pākehā. [E 20-25]

My interpretation, which assumes he is considering Pākea as braver in the face of danger than Māori, is not the only one possible. It could be thought that it is Pākehā technology he is praising in the form of ships built to withstand the storms. Even if it were so, the last sentence indicates a total lack of faith in future Māori achievements.

Document Five presents us with a more ambivalent approach. Its author,
Major Rapata Wahawaha was a powerful, highly-skilled, fiery and intransigent military leader who supplied a company of his men to assist the government in suppressing first the Pai Marire forces and later those of Te Kooti. His military leadership was an important factor in the Government success. His success in war was achieved at great economic and physical cost to him and with a ruthless and autocratic single-mindedness.

In those troubled times the Māori people were divided in loyalty. In the first instance it was probably his belief in the Anglican church that made him take up the position he did, but, no doubt the fact that he could also settle some old "iwi" scores while fighting for the Government was not unimportant to him.

His military prowess and his position as a Ngāti Porou leader of influence led him into the company of such Government Representatives as Donald McLean. In his aspirations for the Māori people Rapata Wahawaha no doubt found he had some values in common with McLean. McLean, however, had a hidden agenda; his sympathies at bottom lay with those who wanted to exploit land to its full for agricultural wealth, and in general that meant the British settler.

Rapata Wahawaha was a colourful and strong personality. A study of some of his speeches recorded in *Te Waka* and of this document, show a deep understanding and love of Māori lore and tradition. Yet, on this journey he seems to have been strongly under McLean’s influence. Lonely and unwell, unable, for lack of English, to converse with people he met, he was entertained at top government level, in top accommodation. He was pulled in two directions by seemingly conflicting passions; on the one hand he was full of admiration for the prospects of technological advances and Pākehā learning, but on the other hand he retained his affection the New Zealand
Māori world in which he grew up.

He praises Pākehā enterprise but shares with his people the sense of confusion and noise that the busyness produces. He criticises New Zealanders for allowing war to impede economic advance, and sees Pākehā education and the English language as a Māori salvation, while calling on the resources of the Māori language and legends to make his point. Perhaps his dilemma is that of all nations at all times. "How far will progress erode national identity? How far will clinging to national identity impede progress? How can we have the best of both worlds?"

Wiri Nehua [VI] was more than forty years younger than Rapata Wahawaha. In 1885 he appeared to face none of the problems of the older man. Bilingual, he was able to mix easily with the people he met in England, even playing as a guest in an English provincial town's rugby fifteen.

As will be discussed in the following section, (pp. 395-397) at the outset, the "Māoriness" of the team’s composition was exploited by the promoters. Before and after matches in Australia and for a while in England, the team members were dressed in Māori traditional cloaks and driven around on a horse-drawn brake. Wiri Nehua wrote of this in a matter-of-fact manner. He was neither enthusiastic or condemnatory.

But he was aware of the effect the appearance of Māori people had on the English people and he commented on the way in which they congregated and stared. The romantic excitement, however, that the Waikato men found in Vienna, no longer obtained. The promoters soon found that the quality of the rugby played attracted more crowds than the ethnicity of the players. What is more, apparently the English expectations of a Māori "noble savage" were not "savage" enough.
Nowhere in Wiri Nehua’s diary is there any suggestion of either pride or deprecation as a member of the Māori people. The only emotion displayed is that of amusement at being mistaken for, as he refers to them, Red Indians.

The journey to Edward VII’s coronation [VII] provides a very different emotional climate. On the first day the men were selected they were addressed by Sir James Carroll exhorting them to:

Haere, kei runga i a koutou te mana rangatira o tō tātou iwi, … [M 55-56]

Go, the mana of a rangatira of your tribe is upon you, … [E 58-59]

The emphasis of their military duties was on pride - pride in appearance and pride in Māoriness. Hours were spent on military drill for smartness of movement, on cleaning uniforms and shining buttons, for smartness of turn-out, and on developing the contingent haka.

Moreover, wherever they went they encountered ethnic variety which led the writers to ponder on the difference they observed, particularly between non-Pākehā peoples. These differences then led them to draw some conclusions about themselves.

At this time a popular belief among Pākehā was that of all indigenous races, the Māori was the most intelligent, or generally superior. What criteria were used to reach this conclusion is difficult to know, but as a tenet of faith it must have been a comforting one for the Māori people, when the adversities of shrinking land tenure, reduced economic base, and falling birth rate are considered.

No doubt it affected Henare’s perception of what he saw when he met people from other races. The first group he describes are the Fijians whom he met at the Sydney Military Barracks. He writes:
I reira ka kītō i te īwi nei i te Whītī, ā, ka rerekē, kāore he hū, he rāpaki te taraū, kāore he pōtae, ko ngā makawe he roroa, engari he mea whakapoutihi ki runga, pania ai ki te hinu, ā, ka mau te wehi. E haere ana anō ki Ingarangi. [M 155-158]

There we saw these people, the Fijians, and they were unusual in that they wore no shoes, their trousers were replaced by wrap-round skirts, they had no hats, their hair was long but put up in an unkempt fashion and smeared with oil, and they were awesome. They were also going to England. [E 161-165]

Being pulled in a rickshaw by a Kaffir in Durban did not appear to trouble him. He admires the man’s stamina. A visit to a native settlement sets him thinking, and although obviously concerned at the deprivation he witnesses he draws comfort from Māori superiority.

He expresses no opinion on the example of racial discrimination he finds in the city, but the inclusion of what he sees suggest that it shocks him.

While the two men are getting to see many different races, as Terei Ngatai discovers, their English hosts are rather shaky in their knowledge of which is which:

O ngā īwi Māori katoa i Rānana nei ko te Māori kei runga. Ko te whai a te Pākehā kia kīte, kia kōrero ki te Māori, he kī nā te Pākehā, "Ko ngā Māori ngā mea pai atu i ērā atu katoa."

Ahakoa te whakamiharo o Rānana, he kuare te tāngata hui atu ki ngā tāngata rangatira: kāore rātou e mōhio kei hea rānei tēnei whenua a Niu Tirenī; ki te whakaaro a ētahi kei āwherika, kei Poihākena, kei Merepana rānei. E puta ana he kōrero i roto i ngā nūpepa Pākehā mō ngā Māori ia rā, ia rā, haere kē ai te Pākehā ki te puni o ngā Whītī ka kī anō, "A, arā ngā Māori. I ētahi wā ka ui ki ngā Māori anō kia whakatūria ki a rātou ngā Māori, he i te kīnga atu a te Māori he Māori anō ia, ka ohorere.

Of all the indigenous peoples here in London, the Māori are most highly regarded. The Pākehā are eager to see and speak to the Māori; for the Pākehā says, "The Māori is better than all the others."

Although London is wonderful the people are ignorant, even the
upper class; they do not know where this land of New Zealand is. Some believe that it is in Africa, or Sydney, or Melbourne. Everyday something is published in the Pākehā newspaper about the Māori people, but the Pākehā head off to the Fijian camp, and say, "Ah, there are the Māori!" Sometimes they ask the Māori themselves to point out the Māori people to them. And when a Māori tells them that he himself is a Māori, they are quite taken aback.

The two cousins considered they were very hospitably treated while they were in England. They were even taken on a tour of some European places through the generosity of a well-wisher. Perhaps the opinion they held of Pākehā before they left New Zealand can be gleaned from this sentence of appreciation of English hospitality:

Ka kite au i te aroha o te iwi nei, o te Pākehā, e kī nei tātou, "Kāore te Pākehā e mōhio ki te aroha." [M 697-698]

I discovered the good-heartedness of this Pākehā race, of whom we say, "The Pākehā does not know aroha." [E 718-719]
None of the journeys that these seven documents describe was initiated by their writers. But they were all journeys undertaken voluntarily.

All but Rapata Wahawaha [V] "worked his passage" in the sense that their labours were for the benefit of someone else's gain. Even Rapata in a metaphorical sense might be said to be serving McLean's purpose in travelling as his guest.

It is difficult to define what constitutes exploitation, for most decisions to work in cooperation with others and to benefit from others' actions combine a complexity of motives.

Rēnata [I] was "employed" as Cotton's bearer. Missionaries then could scarcely have contemplated the journeys that they were obliged to take without such assistance, for they lacked the knowledge and customs to have coped with the circumstances. But Rēnata was also Cotton's teacher and friend. Moreover, he had much to gain from the journey himself. It might well have been the single most important journey of his life in that it enabled him to visit his people in Te Rewarewa, a people scattered by war and from whom he had been arbitrarily separated for some seventeen years. He was now their leader and was soon to reunite them in their home area of Ahuriri.

Cotton could not have managed without him, but he was never merely a tool in Cotton's hands.

We do not know why Rī [II] went as a sailor to Sydney. It could have been merely in a spirit of adventure. He may also have been seeking his fortune, unsuccessfully as it appears. Hone Rī's home was Hokianga, and at about this time
the Māori people living in the far north were experiencing a fall-off in trade, the consequence of the shift of the centre of government from the Bay of Islands to Auckland. This drop in prosperity was partly responsible for the discontent that had its expression in Hone Heke’s actions, referred to by Hone Rī. From what evidence we have, Hone Rī’s work on board ship could not be classed as exploitation.

The journey to Vienna undertaken by Te Rerehau and Toetoe [III] took place in very different circumstances. The Austrian frigate *Novaro* was on a two-year circumnavigation of the world. It was fitted out as a scientific laboratory, and on board were six eminent scientists, representing a number of scientific disciplines, one of which was anthropology. Their task was to study the natural phenomena of the places they visited, and to collect samples to take back to Vienna. The two Waikato chiefs might be regarded as part of the sample collection.

The expedition has to be viewed in the light of the intellectual climate of the times. For the previous eighty to ninety years, since the journeys into the Pacific of navigators like Captain Cook and the arrival in Europe of Polynesians like Mai, enthusiasm for more information had been sustained and fostered. Publication in a variety of forms, varying considerably in fanciful elaboration and scientific theories, had been produced.¹⁰

The Austrian authorities saw the arrival of the two Māori chiefs as serving a dual purpose. It meant that the Māori language and customs could be studied at close quarters. It was also believed that the "heritage of culture" that was Austrian or German could be brought back by these two men and spread in distant Pacific lands. It was a romantically idealistic belief. It had not happened when Mai returned to Huahine in 1779. It was unlikely to happen in 1860.
Not only is it possible to regard the two men as scientific specimens, it is also possible to see them "displayed" on the Schiller day procession, and feel indignant at the way they were being "used".

An advantage, however, of reading what the two men themselves had to say is that their view can then be taken into consideration. They did not feel like mere specimens on display. They enjoyed their experience. They were proud of their position. To condemn the whole enterprise would be to deny them the right to choose to join it.

As for Document Four, we know too little about the circumstances of Mohi Taharangi's employment on the whaling vessel to include that journey in this section. Rapata Wahawaha [V] travelled to Australia as McLean's guest - for all we know, at Government expense. On the face of it, his inclusion in the government party was an on-the-spur-of-the-moment invitation, an act of generosity from one friend to another. It might also have been a reward for the services rendered in the recent wars.

Whether McLean set out with a conscious intention to use the journey in order to demonstrate the advantages of his political and philosophical views cannot be known. Perhaps he did not, as he was soon to give up his political activity, and indeed he had not long to live. However, the experience did appear to have a profound influence on Rapata Wahawaha.

The clearest example of exploitation in these documents is to be found in the journey of the Rugby players. [VI] If the Novara expedition were to be labelled exploitative, it would at least be able to be condoned on the grounds that it was carried out for the purpose of increasing human scientific knowledge. The chief
purpose of the rugby tour was to bring a financial return to the promoters for their capital outlay.

The tour demanded a gruelling year of fixtures, and no doubt there were some grumbles about some of the things that happened during that year. Was there ever a sports tour that took place without incident? But to read Wiri Nehua’s diary is to know that he would not have preferred to be left behind.

The journey described in the last of the seven documents can also be seen as exploiting "Maoriness" in that the British government’s intention was a celebration that would make manifest to the world the vast variety of ethnic groups that comprised the British Empire; the decision to send thirty-two Māori soldiers was part of that intention.

Some of the conditions they experienced seem rather daunting now - but they were merely a part of army life at the times. The men not only took part willingly, but eagerly.
Comparatively speaking there is very little direct expression of feelings in any of the seven documents presented here. Yet, with most of them, the reader is left fairly certain as to what emotions the writer was experiencing.

The most free from overt statements of feeling is Rēnata's account. The following is the extent of emotion displayed. About the occasion when he was in great pain with ulcers on his legs he writes:

Ka pōuri tōku ngākau, ka riri ahau ki a Te Katene. Ka mea mai a Te Katene ki ahau, "E kore koe e mahue." Kātahi ahau ka tangi i roto i tōku ngākau. Ka pōuri hoki ahau. [M 328-321]

I was very unhappy and I was angry with Cotton. Cotton said to me, "We won't leave you behind." Then I wept within myself and was very unhappy. [E 344-347]

But then he dismisses the incident with: "Heoi anō." ["Well that was that."]

The remainder of his account is factual.

Hone Rī [II] has much to worry him. He feels insecure and worries lest the cutter neglects to pick him up on its return to New Zealand. He falls ill, and runs out of money to buy food. As with some of the later writers in this thesis, he is bewildered and wearied by the density of people and buildings in the city. These emotions he records.

There are many other emotions implicit in the selection of topics that are to be found in his record. We can sense the emotions with which he observes the prevalent prostitution and drunkenness in Sydney. We think we know how he feels when he writes (my italics):

299
What people do in that town, Port Jackson, Māori and Pākehā, is get drunk. *There is much drunkenness among the Pākehā.* [E 155-157]

In Te Rerehau’s account we learn things that he likes and dislikes. Travelling on a sailing vessel is "only for the strong". Austrians are more generous than English, but we are not told what he *feels*. However the pride, the excitement, and the amazement he experiences are all indicated by the care with which he records detail, and the structure of his sentences.

Mohi Taharangi describes his fear at sea in a storm. He tells us he thought he was going to die and he thought about his parents. The extent of his fear however is more fully represented in his description of the storm.

... ko ngā ngaru tūātea e whai ana e taupatupatu ana i a rāua. Ka pā hoki ngā hau nunui o tēnā kāinga, o te moana, ka riro te kaipuke ki raro, ko te ngaru ki runga e taupoki iho ana. [M 15-17]

the foaming waves which chase and beat upon each other. The great gales in that ocean domain struck the ship; it was swept down, and the wave above bore down upon it. [E 9-11]

For Rapata Wahawaha [V] the objects of his terror are the lion, the bear, and the snake on which he cannot bring himself to gaze; for Henare Kohere, the military patrols in the streets of Capetown.

It was normal practice in earlier times for Māori people to travel in groups. Hone Rī [II] and Mohi Taharangi [IV] may have travelled by themselves, that is to say away from a group of friends and acquaintances; there is no mention of travelling companions, other than their employers, in either document. All the other travellers
in this thesis were in groups,- - in Document Seven in a large group of 32.

None of the writers mentions loneliness specifically. Hone Rū's anxieties were doubtless exacerbated by such an emotion. Rapata Wahawaha [V] certainly was lonely, as he was isolated by his inability to converse in English:

... tē ai he hoa kōrero, tē aha. Hei tiro kau atu ki ngā ngutu o te Pākehā e tametame ana, he pēhea rānei ngā kupu. [M 80-82]

... and so I have no companions to talk to at all, none whatsoever. All I can do is look at the Pākehā lips moving, and wonder what the words are. [E 81-83]

... E kai ana, e kōrero ana te Pākehā i āna kōrero, whakarongo kau ana te taringa Māori. [M 164-164]

... While we were dining, the Pākehā kept up a conversation; my Māori ears heard, but could not understand any of it. [E 170-172]

Like many New Zealanders on their first visit to an overseas city, the travellers in these documents reacted to the much higher density of population that they found. Hone Rū [III] mentions being surrounded by buildings; the mass of people is a problem for Te Rerehau [III] who describes being surrounded by so many people that he cannot not see. Both Wiri Nehua [VI] and Terei Ngatai [VII] comment on the danger of the traffic as has been previously mentioned.

Rapata Wahawaha [V] refers to the constant movement of the busy Pākehā as an activity that Māori people might find tiresome and noisy.

... Tāna mahi, tā te Pākehā, e kore e mutu i ngā rā katoa; he takaahua reka anake. Mehe mea ko tāua, ko te Māori, ka kīia ki te pōrearea, ki te turituri noa iho. [M 66-68]

... Every day their activity (the Pākehā's) goes on endlessly; without exception they are engaged in some fascinating occupation. Faced with this, we Māori, would describe it as tiresome, just a racket. [E 65-67]
Terei Ngatai in London writes:

... nāwai rā hōhā ana tērā. I te hōhā noa iho ka hoki atu te whakaaro ki Tūranga nā, ki te kāinga o te rangimārie.

... after a while, all these activities become wearisome. I am weary too when my thoughts return to Gisborne and to the peacefulness of home.

Disapproval is variously expressed. Rapata Wahawaha [V] is apparently shocked by the nudity of Pākehā statues, and Wiri Nehua reacts adversely to dirty towns.

Hone Rī, Rapata Wahawaha and Terei Ngatai all express political views related to their respective times. Rī’s anti-colonial and Rapata’s pro-government views have already been referred to. Terei Ngatai tends to an early socialist view. He writes with disapproval of the profits made by speculators in providing seating for the coronation procession, and expresses his concern at the hopelessness and lack of opportunity for the London poor:

He hanga wehi ētahi wāhi o Rānana, te pito rawa-kore. I tuku kitenga, ka whakawhetai te ngākau mō te whānautanga ki Niu Tīreni. Kāore he take e rawakore ai te tangata i Niu Tīreni, tēnā ki Rānana nei ki te whānau rawakore te tangata ka rawakore tonu a mate noa. Hei konei ka whaia koe e te tamariki he inoi kapa; ka whiwhi tēnā tamaiti i tāna kapa ka tino hari anō, kua whiwhi ia ki te £100. I tino wehea nga rangatira me ngā rawa kore.

Some parts of London, the end where the poor people live, are frightful. When I saw it, my heart gave thanks that I was born in New Zealand. There is no reason why anyone should be poor in New Zealand, whereas here in London, the people who are born penniless will remain penniless right up until they die. And so you are followed by children begging for pennies; when each of these children gets his penny he is so very happy, as if he had acquired £100. There is a great division between the upper class and the poor.
It is interesting to note that he looks upon his own opportunity as a New Zealander as being more hopeful. No doubt after what they had observed in Africa it seemed so.
CHAPTER 8 LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Inevitably the European colonisation of New Zealand put the Māori language under stress, for it had in a relatively short space of time to accommodate changes in the pattern of living, changes in the surrounding objects, fauna, and flora, and changes in ideas and attitudes. Nevertheless, a living language is robust, and as the changes, even though rapid, were experienced by Māori communities corporately, the language adjustments were absorbed without too much difficulty.

The position of the traveller abroad, however, was quite different. New images, new ideas, new happenings came crowding in upon him, and in endeavouring to record what he experiences he generally does not have the benefit of the "to" and "fro" of general conversation to weld the new thoughts into a comfortable means of expression. He was forced continually to be reaching out for an elusive phrase. Sometimes an expression such as "kīhai i taea ...." is used to emphasise the difficulty. For example, Hone Rī [II] writes:

kīhai i taea te tuhituhi e ahau. [M 124]
I couldn't manage to write about them. [E 131]

Describing the scene in Durban Henare Kohere writes:

E kore e taea e te waha te kōrero ngā mea i kitea e te kanohi. [M 352-53]
My mouth cannot find the words to describe what the eyes behold. [E 366-367]

His cousin passes over two famous buildings as follows:
I could never describe another of the big churches of London, Westminster, where the king is to be anointed, nor could I describe the House of Parliament.

The use of transliterations was the most obvious method of overcoming difficulties, but it has to be remembered that unless the reader back in New Zealand is already familiar with the concept referred to by the English words and its Māori transliteration, the word by itself will bear no meaning. Probably for the first time in his life, Terei Ngatai encountered a lift in the London underground system. He searched round for a similar principle, and said they were taken up in a "pouaka", the transliteration of "box".

The pattern of transliterations employed in these seven documents will be considered at the end of this chapter.

Where transliteration may not be adequate, some of the writers use imagery. Not only is this a rich source of language, but particularly effective in relating the foreign scene to the home experience. For example, Te Rerehau [VII] writes:

Nō te hokinga ka pōkia māua e ngā Pākehā. Kāore e kite, ko tētahi pōngarongaro nānō ko te rite o te Pākehā te nui, te hira. [M 74-76]

On our return we were surrounded by Pākehā. You couldn’t see; the Pākehā were just like a swarm of midges, there were so great a number of them. [E 78-80]

Of the lion he says:

Kei tōna whiore kei te pūreireitanga o ngā huruhuru, tētahi mea koi, i rite ki te maire kau nei. [M 127-129]

The hair is formed into a bunch on his tail, sharp-pointed like a cow's
horn. [E 128-130]

Faced with describing an unnamed and unfamiliar monster, Mohi Taharangi [IV] uses a simile and a metaphor. The first he draws from the new, technological world:

Öna niho, me te kani poroporo nei. ... He niho katoa kai tōna tinana. [M 32-35]

Its teeth were as if it were a cross-cut saw. ... There are teeth all over its body. [E 32-36]

Even more forceful is his analogy, presented with a traditional image:

Tēnā anō tētehi ngārara horo tāngata, tino whakamataku, kai te moana nui; ko ngā ngaru tuātea e whai ana, e taupatupatu ana i a rāua. [M 14-15]

And there is as well another man-eating, terrifying reptile on the great ocean: that is the foaming waves which chase and beat upon each other. [E 14-15]

In Sandridge, Rapata Wahawaha surveys the varied array of vessels at anchor, and harking back to New Zealand images, he describes them as follows:

Me he tawera kānga ōna rewa nā te ahi; [M 139-140]

Their masts were like corn that has been burnt by fire; [E 145]

For me, the most powerful analogy in these seven documents is that used by Henare Kohere [VII], where he highlights the distance he and his cousin have travelled in space, in time, and in circumstances, as follows:

I reira mātou, ka hoki mai ā māua kōrero ki Waiapu, ki ngā wā

306
While we were there our conversation went back to Waiapu, to the days when we were children going to school, shirts our only clothing, and the grown-ups sending us to go and catch horses. We burst out laughing. It had just struck us what a contrast those days were with now. But, here we are at last, travelling in Europe. My friends, we stopped laughing. How incongruent these two situations are, going in only a shirt to school, and setting foot in Europe. [E 1272-1278]

The seven documents under consideration span a period of six decades, during which many changes took place in the nature of the Māori language as written. A full consideration of these changes is not appropriate to this thesis, nor could any valid conclusions be drawn from such a small sample. It might be helpful, nevertheless, to comment on some of the linguistic features that can be observed in them.

The first of these was composed in 1844, and at this early date must have drawn directly from oral traditions of recounting journeys undertaken. One aspect of its construction that reflects an oral presentation is the extent to which Rēnata Kawepō uses direct speech. Such interchanges as:

Ka mea atu a Te Kātene, "Kāhore he whakaaro i ahau, kei a Renata te whakaaro."
Ka mea mai a Te Kātene ki ahau, "E pēhea ana tōu whakaaro?"
Ka mea atu ahau, "Ko tōku whakaaro, me haere tātou." [M 268-271]

Cotton said, "I have no opinion, it's up to Rēnata to decide."
And Cotton asked me, "What do you think?"
I replied, "In my opinion we should keep going." [E 280-282]

could be reduced to a briefer statement using indirect speech, but it would lose much
of its colour.

Sometimes the choice between direct and indirect speech left confusion in the writer's mind as to the appropriate pronoun to use. Almost certainly the direct speech option was frequently employed orally for the advantage it gave in acting out with voice and gesture the behaviour of the people being reported. The anacoluthon caused by slipping from direct to indirect or vice versa would not impede the understanding in an oral delivery, but cause problems in written accounts. (See on to pp 326-329.)

Hone Rī [II] also uses direct speech, but not to the same extent. It is interesting to note that he confines his use of it to the first section of his narrative, as if the longer he wrote the further he moved away from oral traditions.

Te Rerehau [III] reserves the use of direct speech to crowd calls, or to dramatic moments, such as the questions of royal visitors and their answers:

Ko te haerenga mai o ngā kīngi o aua tāone kia kite i ngā tāngata o Nui Tireni.
Ka mea ngā Pākehā, "I haere mai ēnei tāngata i runga i tewhea kaipuke?"
Ka mea ētahi, "I runga i a te Novara, nō Nui Tireni hoki ēnei tāngata."
Ka mea ētahi, Nā wai i ārahi mai?"
"Nā te Komotoro rāua ko Hata, rangatira o te Novara."
Ināiane, "Kei whea e noho ana?"
"Kei te whare perehi a te rangatira nui rawa." [M 83-92]

The rulers of those towns came to see the men from New Zealand.
The Pākehā asked, "On what ship did these men travel?"
Some told them, "These men came on the Novara; they are from New Zealand."
Others asked, "Who brought them?"
"The Commodore and Scherzer, Novara officers."
Next, "Where do they live?"
"In the printery of the great leader." [E 87-94]
The short piece of Document Four contains no speech, but Document Five, written in the same year, 1874, is very interesting in the use its writer makes of direct speech. He reserves it for the conversations that take place within the two stories he tells.

The first of these, the account of the loss of the "kura", the "red feather", is a Māori legend. The second story, recounting Captain Cook’s visit to Poverty Bay and Ūawa, also bears legendary characteristics. The speech of the people in these stories must have been re-enacted many times in the author’s memory.

The use he makes of the two stories, also, has marae oratory as its precedent. The stories are retold to reinforce a political point.

Wiri Nehua [VI] appears to have moved a considerable distance from oral precedents. Although diary form is informal in tone, it generally precludes direct speech, a feature which plays no significant part in Nehua’s document.

Nor does it play a major part in either Henare Kohere’s or Terei Ngatai’s writing [VII]. However, Kohere uses it for two purposes. Addresses given by Sir James Carroll to the Māori soldiers, by Captain Taranaki to the 10th contingent, and the King to the troops were all presented in direct speech.

The second purpose was to relate the conversation overheard by Weteri in the amusing anecdote told on pp 160-161 and pp 215-216.

In the seven documents of this thesis this is the only example of a "deliberate" inclusion of humour. Yet, with the possible exception of the two 1874 documents [IV and V] the reader senses a good humour in all the writers.

We know, for instance, that Rēnata frequently set people laughing by his acting and his fine ear for mimicry. In retrospect we might laugh at his dilemma.
in crossing the Manawatū, (pp 11-13 and p 30-32) but there is nothing on the page that tells the reader that this was intended as an amusing account. The dimension of voice and gesture is missing from the written word.

One other difference between spoken and written language that should be considered here is that which relates to a narration’s shaping. In formal situations the protocol of the occasion will enable the listener to know when one part of a story is at an end and another beginning. In informal situations the story is shaped by what is happening, for instance response to questions and promptings, or resumptions after a meal.

A written narrative, on the other hand, has to establish conventions to code in the shape of the narration.

Rēnata Kawepō’s account appears to carry on in a continuous flow. The significant points for moving from one part of the story to the next occur, proceeding from the smaller units to the larger, with resumption of the journey after a meal, after sleep, night, and daybreak, or on Mondays after the compulsory rest on a Sunday.

Meals and night-rest also play some part in Hone Rī’s narrative [II]. But in addition he feels the need to sign-post a change in direction in his account. This is largely because, unlike Rēnata’s account, which is strictly chronological in order, Hone Rī’s is discursive. He helps the reader by such additions as:

Ko te mutunga tēnei o ngā kōrero o te rerenga atu i moana. [M 55]

This is the finish of the descriptions of sailing at sea. [E 58]

or:

Hoi anō ēnei kōrero. Ka mutu ēnei.
He kōrero ēnei mō ngā taonga a Nui Tireni:- [M 87-88]
So much for those stories. That’s the end of them.
This is an account of New Zealand treasures:- [E 93-95]

The need for indicators such as these is not felt in Te Rerehau’s account of life in Vienna [III] for it largely consists of a series of set-pieces, each with its own point of culmination.

Mohi Taharangi’s letter also is not chronological and rambles according to the flow of the author’s memory.

Although in Document Five Rapata Wahawaha follows through the events of his journey in the order they occurred, the shaping of his writing, especially the second letter, takes its form from the political points he wishes to establish.

A consideration of Wiri Nehua’s work [VI] is not relevant as a diary imposes its own formula.

By far the most consciously constructed writing comes from Henare Kohere. Most the pieces he sent back for publication build to a peak towards the end. This is especially true of the final piece ending with his time in Germany and the arrival back in England. (See p 191 and pp 246-247)

Vocabulary

The eight writers whose travel accounts are the basis of this study varied in age, iwi, place of birth, and schooling. The form of their writing varied, as did the time when it was written, and the distance they travelled. All these factors had some bearing on the degree to which their choice of words was influenced by English.

In Section Three, each chapter includes a list of transliterations found in the document under study. As the chapters are presented chronologically it might be
expected, other things being equal, that the percentage of transliterations would increase. However, other things are not equal, and the pattern does not conform to such a simple expectation, as the following graph indicates:

![Graph I Transliterations 1844-1902]

This is far too small a sample to attach any particular significance to lexical composition, but there are some interesting occurrences to be noted.

When Wiremu Toetoe and Te Rerehau were presented to the Emperor they prepared a speech for him. Incorporated in the words were:

Tēnā koe, tēnā koe, e te Kingi a ngā kīngi, te Ariki o ngā ariki, Ohana ki runga rawa. [M 293-294]

Greetings, greetings, King of kings, Lord of lords, Hosanna in the highest. [287-288]

The influence of their mission education was clearly showing.

There are other passages in these documents that might indicate the absorption
into the Māori sentence of an English idiom, but it is difficult to be certain. The following is the most probable example:

...i tōna tamaiti, he ingoa Māori te ingoa, ko Huia, he mea karanga i muri i a Ngāti Huia, [M 1065-1066]

...his son, who has a Māori name, Huia, named after Ngāti Huia, [E 1096-1097]

Travel accounts need some way of referring to the passing of time. Reference has already been made to the way in which Rēnata Kawepō [I] and Hone Rū [II] achieve this. Rēnata refers to only four days, Saturday through to Tuesday, Hone Rū mentions six, omitting Saturday. The first use of months occurs in the next decade. Te Rerehau [III] not only refers to January, February, May, September, and November, but also uses dates, e.g. "Noema 10".

In Rēnata Kawepō's narrative [I] there occurs the word "pēti" formed from English "bed". Referring to the same object he elsewhere uses the Māori word, "moenga". Similar pairs occur in later writers. Henare Kohere [VII] refers to the coronation both by the transliteration "karaunatanga" and by an older Māori word "whakawahinga" [anointing]. Te Rerehau uses three different words in referring to the Emperor Franz Joseph: kīngi [king], emepara [emperor], and rangatira [chief, leader].

Names of Places

In the last two documents, the travellers were needing to refer to a very large number of places. They had to choose how to refer to places whose names they may never have heard of before leaving New Zealand. They had to choose between transliteration or giving the word in the form used in English. If they chose the
former, they risked the name's not being recognised, if the latter the form could be unpronounceable using Māori sounds. Sometimes they compromised, giving the transliteration followed by the English in brackets, for example, "Kātarana (Scotland)". Sometimes they used a Māori transliteration in one place and English in another, for example "Tēmi" and "Thames". [VI] Most interesting are the occasions when a place-name is not transliterated but translated into Māori. Examples are:

Moana Whero [Red Sea] [VI]
Maunga Tēpu [Table Mountain] [VII]

or a half and half version:

Roto Romana [Loch Lomond] [VII]

Within New Zealand, writers sometimes had the choice: to write the English name given to a place, or a transliteration of that English name, or the original Māori name; "Christchurch" or "Karaitiati" or "Ōtautahi".

So that readers can quickly see what choices the writer made, in Sections III and IV at the end of each chapter, place-names are listed in category groups.

Although the last few pages have been devoted to the influence of the English language on the Māori, the significant point to stress is how low the proportion of transliterations are, when we remember the vast changes that were taking place, within New Zealand and in the lives of those writers who travelled abroad.
End-notes for Section II

1. Mai, often referred to as Omai, had arrived in England in July, 1774. He was a native of Huahine, an island in Tahitian waters. He was taken at his request on board the *Adventure* which was travelling with the *Resolution* on Cook’s expedition to discover "The Southern Continent". His life in England caused a considerable stir and he was introduced and lived amongst the high society of the time. See McCormack 1977.


3. Hipango wrote an account of this journey, Part II of which was published in *Te Wharekura*, No 16, School Publications Branch, Department of Education, Wellington, 1969.

4. A full study of this controversial tour can be found in Mackrell, 1985.


7. See Porter, 1923 (1897)

9. See Ryan 1993, 53, for cartoon in an English newspaper published in advance of the tour. In it the Māori rugby player looks exactly like the cartoons that used to portray an African about to boil up a missionary.

10. See McCormick 1977 for a very full account of the circumstances.

11. See p 00 for a discussion of this in relation to Document One.

12. Rēnata’s skill in acting and mimicry is referred to a number of times in the Journals of William Cotton.

13. "i muri i" is probably an idiom borrowed from English.

14. See p 00 for reference to Hone RT’s method of counting time.

15. In the English language there are many such pairs. Some of these became part of the language because of the need after the Norman Conquest to cross-interpret between Norman French and Anglo-Saxon. Doubtless the same thing was happening in Māori as early as 1844. In English, such pairs as "goods and chattels" (the first coming from Anglo-Saxon, the second from French) are called "bilinguals".
SECTION THREE

This section consists of an analysis of each of the following Documents:

(Endnotes are placed at the end of each document analysis.)

I. Document One
   Rēnata Kawepō’s Journey within New Zealand
   1843-1844

II. Document Two
    Hone Rī’s Journey to Sydney
    c. 1850

III. Document Three
     Hemera Te Rerehau’s and Wiremu Toetoe’s Journey to Vienna
     1859-1860

IV. Document Four
    Mohi Taharangi’s Journey on a whaling vessel off West Coast
    of South America
    (written 1874 about an earlier time)

V. Document Five
    Rapata Wahawaha’s Journey to Sydney and Melbourne
    1874

VI. Document Six
    Wiri Nehua’s Rugby Tour of New Zealand, Australia, and
    Great Britain
    1888-1889

VII. Document Seven
     Henare Kohere’s and Terei Ngatai’s Journey to Great Britain
     and Europe, 1902
DOCUMENT ONE

The Source

This account is to be found in William Cotton’s Journal, No VI, on verso pages 2-65. William Cotton was Bishop Selwyn’s chaplain. During his time in New Zealand he wrote twelve journals, eleven of which have survived and are lodged with the Dixson Library in Sydney, Australia.

Cotton daily recorded in his diary detailed descriptions of his activities and the scenes in which they took place. These entries he transcribed into his journals where he also included samples of ecclesiastical notices, drawings of occasions, scenes, fauna, flora, and whatever he could collect to amuse and inform his family in England. The Journal was written up often a year or more after the events were recorded in his diary, as he had to wait for suitable stationery to arrive from England and for snatched moments of leisure from his duties.

In Journal No. VI, Document One is followed by other pieces of Māori prose, at least one other being by the same author. They are copied into the Journal in copperplate script, but who the scribe was we do not know. Cotton makes reference on his "Contents" page to "a beautiful copperplate hand," but does not say whose it is. It is quite unlike Cotton’s handwriting in the body of the journal, which is difficult to read, but it could still be Cotton’s, for he may have been taking care to make the unfamiliar words especially legible for his family.

Another possibility is that the calligraphy is that of one of Cotton’s colleagues, as they were responsible for some of the sketches in his journal.

It could not be the author’s handwriting as he had left the Bay of Islands
before the Journal was written up.

It is probable that he gave Cotton his account as an aid to Cotton’s study of Māori.

The Author

The author is Rēnata Kawepō whose birth name was Tama ki Hikurangi. His baptismal name, Rēnata, is the transliteration of the English name, Leonard.

Rēnata belonged to Ngāti Te Upokoiri, a tribe living in the areas around Hastings and Te Aute. Born probably in the first decade of the 19th century, he spent his childhood in very troubled times. Before he reached the age of 20 his tribe were scattered in defeat and he had been taken as a slave by Ngā Puhi.

By 1837 he had moved north with his captors and was living in the Bay of Islands. Little else is known about his first thirty years.

When Ngā Puhi chiefs began to adopt Christianity, many of their slaves were equally ready to study with the Pākehā mission teachers. Rēnata, however, at first resisted the adoption of the new faith. As he later explained, it was an elderly Ngā Puhi chief who converted him at an all night sitting. We know that when Ngā Puhi chiefs became Christians they were persuaded to free their slaves, but we do not know when Rēnata was freed.

From Cotton’s Journals we learn that Rēnata taught Cotton to speak and understand Māori, and that before their journey he was writing out Māori legends for Cotton to study. We also know that Cotton used Rēnata as a proof-reader to check the accuracy of the official material printed in Māori for Selwyn’s establishment. We do not know who taught Rēnata to write, but we assume it was a Bay of Islands
missionary.

Renata was a very able man, intellectually and physically. On his return from the journey that this document describes, he was enrolled at St John’s College and trained as a Christian teacher. At the end of the year, he went with the missionary, William Colenso, to the Ahuriri area, and assisted Colenso in establishing a mission there.

He withdrew from his work with Colenso in 1850, by which time he had become a very powerful, wealthy, and highly respected principal chief of Ngāti Te Upokoiri. He had persuaded his scattered tribesmen to bring their families back to Ahuriri. Some of these people had been living at Te Rewarewa at the time of his journey with Cotton, and it was to spend three weeks with them that he left Cotton over the Christmas period. It was probably then that he began planning the re-establishment of his people back in their kāinga tūturu, their home area of former times.

Circumstances

The journey described in this document was one organised initially by George Augustus Selwyn, the first Bishop of New Zealand, and planned so that Selwyn and Cotton between them might visit the areas in the North Island and as far south as Nelson, wherever Anglican missions had already been established, or where Selwyn was considering establishing a new centre.

When Renata’s account is read in conjunction with Cotton’s, it becomes clear that the group met almost all the leading Māori rangatira and the leading Pākehā missionaries living at that time in the Northern half of New Zealand.
The three Pākehā who set out on this journey were Selwyn, Cotton, and William Nihill, a young catechist studying for ordination. They had all travelled out from England on the same ship and had arrived in New Zealand only one year previously. They were therefore heavily dependent on the Māori men they took with them for the understanding of the New Zealand environment and customs. They needed help with crossing rivers, carrying gear, putting up tents, foraging for food, paddling canoes, and finding paths through difficult terrain. It would not be an exaggeration to say that not only their mission but their very lives depended on this assistance.

When their routes diverged and the men split up into two parties, Rēnata was the leader of the Māori men who accompanied Cotton and Nihill.

Rēnata’s journey with Cotton extended over a period of five months. They left their quarters in Waimate in the Bay of Islands on October 4, 1843, and arrived back there on March 1, 1844. Cotton recorded their movements daily. These entries appear in Volumes V and VI of his Journals; many of the explanatory endnotes in the chapter have been drawn from this source. Rēnata’s account begins at the point where they set off south from the mouth of the Waihou river.

It is unlikely that Rēnata wrote his record on a day to day basis. The way the Māori men travelled, the heavy duties they undertook, and the only type of sleeping accommodation available to them, would have made that almost impossible. Most probably he wrote it from memory when he returned. It was probably intended as an exercise to assist his pupil, Cotton, to improve his Māori language skills. The fact that the earlier part of the journey is much more compacted than the latter, more freshly remembered part, where more details are supplied by Rēnata, also supports
this theory.

Rēnata’s account has been transcribed into Cotton’s journal on the top half of each verso page. It seems likely that Cotton had intended to write an English translation on the bottom half of each page. However, this was never accomplished, and the bottom half-page remains blank.

The journey was largely undertaken on foot, although canoes were used to travel along rivers, or to ford them; they travelled by sailing vessel from the Bay of Island to Auckland, from Auckland to the mouth of the Waihou River, and across Cook Strait to Nelson, and back to New Plymouth.

After they left Auckland they travelled down the Waihou River to Matamata. There they spent some time with the young rangatira, Wiremu Tamihana, subsequently sometimes referred to as "The Kingmaker". It was here that several missionaries from distant Waikato and Tauranga centres converged in order to meet the new Bishop. From there, the party travelled to Rotorua, and stayed at Te Ngae. They had arranged to meet the American missionary, Seymour Spencer, who had travelled in from the East Coast. From Rotorua, Spencer was sent on ahead and they caught up with him again a few days later in the Lake Taupō area, where it was planned that he should set up a new mission. Selwyn decided that it should be on the east shore of Lake Taupō, at Ōrana.

While in this area they were the guests of Te Heuheu Tukino II, a very famous and powerful rangatira of Tūwharetoa. He had his principal residence at Te Rapa, which was on the South West edge of Lake Taupō, and he was displeased at the suggestion that the mission should be set up on the eastern shore.

In the Taupō area they met Selwyn’s friend, Judge Martin, who was also
travelling in his line of duty as New Zealand’s first Chief Justice. When we consider the conditions under which both parties had been travelling, and the lack of means of communication that existed, the fact that this pre-planned meeting took place on schedule is quite remarkable. From his supply the Bishop’s party was able to replenish their store of rice.

They walked from Lake Taupō to Lake Rotoaira, and from there set off towards the Whanganui River. On their way they came across Richard Taylor coming from the opposite direction. Taylor continued on towards Taupō, although the plan was that the group from the Bay of Islands were ultimately to visit Taylor in his mission area along the Whanganui.

Rising rivers made the route impossible for the Bishop’s party and they had to turn back to Te Rapa.

Eventually, Selwyn, Cotton, Nihill, and Taylor set off with their combined Māori assistants - a much bigger group because of the number of Taylor’s men - and by a different route they made their way toward the Whanganui River.

They lost their way, and became stranded with almost no food. They were in a place called Makokomiko. Rēnata’s account of their week of hunger makes light of the circumstances; but when we read Cotton’s description we not only appreciate the very real peril in which they found themselves, but also the great generosity of the Māori men, whose sacrifice and skill ensured the Pākehā survival. Apparently the Pākehā and Māori had separate stores of food, and when the food ran short, the Māori donated all their potatoes to the Pākehā and made do with what they could provide by beating fern root and snaring birds. Rēnata made no mention of this act of charity.
When a canoe was eventually obtained they were able to make their way down the Whanganui River to Taylor’s mission centre at Putiki; but before they reached it Bishop Selwyn’s group left them in order to follow a separate route, for the delay at Makokomiko had meant he was behind in his schedule of visits.

From Putiki, Rēnata and Cotton and their group continued southwards until they came to Ōtaki, where Octavius Hadfield was the Anglican missionary. Here Rēnata left Cotton and Nihill and his Māori travelling companions, and with two other Māori men he retraced his steps to the mouth of the Manawatū River. They had some difficulty getting a vessel to ferry them across and so were delayed. This meant that a decision had to be made about travelling on the Sabbath which was regarded as an irreligious practice by both Pākehā and Māori Christian preachers, but particularly by the latter. Rēnata’s companions argued against continuing, but Rēnata made a compromise as otherwise, he believed, they would have had insufficient food.

Their destination was almost certainly Te Rewarewa, a settlement which no longer exists and was situated in a bend of the river rather near where Foxton is today. He delayed meeting his people until the Sabbath was over, in order not to offend. He tells us that they were very pressing in their requests for him to live there permanently.

It was at about this time that Te Wanikau, Rēnata’s cousin, died. Te Wanikau was the principal rangatira of Ngāti Te Upokoiri, but since the intertribal wars of the 1820s he had been living on Kapiti Island under the protection of Te Rauparaha.

After Te Wanikau’s death, the leadership and responsibility fell to Rēnata, so it is understandable that Te Rewarewa people welcomed him so warmly after a separation of some fifteen to twenty years.
This was clearly an historical reunion, but Rēnata tells us very little about it. If this narrative was written for Cotton, Rēnata most probably assumed that Cotton would not be very interested in the affairs of Ngāti Te Upokoiri.

Rēnata probably felt tempted to stay longer, but he felt he had a responsibility to Selwyn and Cotton, and so, after three weeks, he journeyed back to Ōtaki, and then on to Wellington, where Cotton was staying with the Anglican minister, Robert Cole.

From Wellington they sailed to Nelson. Rēnata scarcely mentions this crossing, but Cotton’s account makes it clear that it was both unpleasant and dangerous. The Māori bearers on all these sailings were not provided with cabins, and were expected to doss down amongst the luggage.

The next crossing, from Nelson to New Plymouth was delayed, and Rēnata found the movement of the vessel while it was at anchor off the coast from Nelson, especially distressing.

From New Plymouth they set off northwards to Kāwhia and across country to Auckland. Rēnata’s narrative concludes at the point where they reached Judge Martin’s house. This was on Saturday, February 24. From Cotton’s journal we learn that they arrived back in Waimate in the Bay of Islands the following Saturday, March 2, 1844.

The Text

This is the earliest of the documents in this collection and possibly the earliest surviving example of written Māori narrative of substantial length. Rēnata’s account
of his journey had few, if any, written traditions to build on. It must therefore be assumed that it had as its foundation the stories told to their families by travellers on their return home.

Unlike Māori legends, which were passed down through the generations and took on a formulaic pattern, these narratives were specific to the occasion and consequently did not become a part of recorded material collected in the 19th century. We therefore cannot assess with any certainty to what extent Rēnata’s account used the conventions of oral traditions of travellers’ stories. It might be possible to glean something of the genre by observing what can be found in this first document that is different from later documents in this thesis, or conversely what can be found in later documents that is not found here.

It is necessary to approach this matter with caution for the nature of Rēnata’s journey was quite unlike the traditional journeys of his ancestors. Moreover, the intended reader of his account was not an audience of Māori relatives, but his Pākehā pupil, William Cotton. These two circumstances may well have been factors that led to modifications of tradition.

For the most part Rēnata’s narrative is terse, concerned especially with recording the day to day decisions. It is so compacted, that unless we read Cotton’s account with its accompanying dates, it would be difficult to realise that the journey he describes occupied a period of five months. It is not until towards the end, that we detect any specific expressions of emotion.

His words flow very naturally; his style is lucid and easy to read. There is almost no ambiguity, which is remarkable when we remind ourselves that in the shift from speaking to writing, techniques have to be developed to compensate for the loss
of voice inflection, body language, and the presence both of the message recipient and any objects or circumstances involved in the communication. It might have been expected that the transition from oral to written expression that this early text represents might suffer from lack of clarity. It is a measure of Rēnata’s remarkable language skills that this almost never happens in this account.

The one exception arises in relation to the use of direct speech. It is not just a matter of punctuation. As the narrative has been transcribed from Rēnata’s manuscript by some else, the punctuation is probably not Rēnata’s. The problem arises in the use of pronouns.

The manuscript in Cotton’s journal reads:

Ka mea ngā tāngata, "E kore tātou e tae ki te wai. Ka pō te rā. Hei konei tātou moe ai. [M 87-88]

People said, "We won’t get to water. It is getting late. Let us stay here for the night." [E 97-98]

The failure to close the inverted commas in the manuscript, as in this example after the word "ai" commonly occurs in the journal, both in Rēnata’s account, and in Cotton’s own records. At this point in the narrative there is no difficulty in understanding the writer’s intent, as the use of the inclusive pronoun "tātou" makes it clear that direct speech is being used, and the context enables the reader to understand when it concludes.

The manuscript has:

Ka mea atu ahau ki aku hoa, tātou ki te hanga mōkī mō tātou i te rakau. [M 115-116, my italics]

I said to my companions, "We will make ourselves a raft of logs." [E 127]
Here the use of the inclusive pronoun "tātou" makes clear that direct speech is being employed, even though the manuscript uses no inverted commas. There are many examples of passages like the above two.

However, there are places where confusion arises because of this unreliable punctuation. An example is:

"Ka kī mai anō rāua ki ahau, "Ka haere tātou i te wiki, ka hē, erangi me noho tātou i konei ka tika. He mea hē ki tēnei iwi te haere i te Rātapu. [M 159-160, my italics.]

The two of them said to me, "If we travelled on a Sunday, that would be wrong, but if we stay here, that’s the correct thing to do. According to these people it is wrong to travel on the Sabbath." [E 172-175]

Clearly the inverted commas would not be used before "Ka kī", for the direct speech must begin at "Ka haere tātou ..." The problem arises as to where Rēnata intended them to close. If the speech ends at "ka tika" then what follows is Rēnata’s narrative comment and "tēnei iwi" must refer to his two companions. This would suggest that it is their Sabbatarian principles that are at issue.

On the other hand, if the direct speech ends at "te Rātapu", then "tēnei iwi" must refer to the people at Te Rewarewa. This is the more probable interpretation.

As we do not know who Rēnata’s companions were, - whether they were local guides from Ōtaki, kinsmen from Te Rewarewa, or Wirihana on his way back to Matamata with a friend - this passage must remain in doubt.

At M 193-194 there is an example of direct speech within direct speech. The manuscript scribe uses two sets of opening inverted commas and no closing ones, but the meaning is perfectly clear. The pronouns "ahau" and "ia" establish this.
Ka mea mai ia ki ahau, "Kua rere pea, ina hoki i mea mai, "Haere ki a Rēnata, kia hohoro mai; ka mahue ia i te kaipuke. [My italics]

He said, "Perhaps he has already sailed, for he told me, ‘Go to Rēnata, to get him to hurry’ or the ship will sail without him.’" [E 205-206]

At M 267 the scribe has indicated direct speech when the pronoun and adverb indicate otherwise.

Ka mea nga tāngata, "Kia moe mātou i reira." [My italics]

The people said we ought to sleep there. [E 279] —

Had this been direct speech as punctuated in the journal, the words might rather have been, "Kia moe koutou i konei."

There are other examples similar to the above, but the most ambiguous passage is:

Ka kī mai a Te Kātene ki ahau, "kia pīkaua e ahau te tēneti."
Ka mea atu ahau, "Āe." [M 407-408, my italics]

Punctuated this way it can be translated,

Cotton said, "Let me carry the tent."
I said, "Yes." [E 429-430]

However, there are some problems with this interpretation. Rēnata is angry that Cotton proposes to divert to Tāmaki. If the above translation is correct it might be supposed that Cotton, concerned about Rēnata’s sore leg, is offering to carry the load Rēnata normally carries, in order to placate him when he is anxious to get to
Auckland and not walk the extra distance.

But in the following paragraph when they are again disputing the visit to Tāmaki, Rēnata is told to give his load to Nihill to carry. Moreover, we have no evidence that Rēnata is still lame. Indeed, Cotton writes in his diary that after they left Tāmaki, Rēnata was the only one who could keep up with him.

It is much more likely that the journal transcript is wrongly punctuated and that what took place was a conversation as follows:

Cotton said that I would have to carry the tent and I agreed.

The vocabulary that Rēnata uses in his account is not difficult to follow, even though 150 years have elapsed since it was written. There are three words for which a meaning cannot be found in Williams, 1985. These are:

- pororauhiki in M 173
- ngaoa in M 291
- honoa in M 306

The context for the second of these suggests that it has the same meaning as "maoa"; it therefore seems possible that it was a transcription error.

The third word is probably also a scribe’s error. The transcript in the journal reads as follows:

kahore he he wai; ka noho matou, tonoa tera honoa.

with macrons added and syllables divided into words according to current usage, the edited version is as follows:
Kāhore <he> he wai; ka noho mātou, tō noa te rā <honoa>.

It can be seen that already a superfluous "he" was added in the first clause. Perhaps "honoa" was a confused repetition of tonoa (= tō noa). The sentence makes good sense if the word is omitted.

Transliterations:

The following words (excluding proper nouns) that have been borrowed from English can be found in Rēnata’s account. [The numbers in brackets represent the number of times the word appears in the text]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hapa</td>
<td>communion (supper)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hararuru</td>
<td>arrowroot</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāte</td>
<td>shirt</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herengi</td>
<td>shilling</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hereni</td>
<td>shilling</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hū</td>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāho</td>
<td>cask</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaihe</td>
<td>looking glass</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēna</td>
<td>can</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōhua</td>
<td>boil in an iron pot</td>
<td>[11]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuki</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mane</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manei</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>[8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minita</td>
<td>minister</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<td>moni</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>[2]</td>
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<td>paraikete</td>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>parakuihi</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<td>parāoa</td>
<td>bread (flour)</td>
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<tr>
<td>parete</td>
<td>potato (pratie)</td>
<td>[9]</td>
</tr>
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<td>pēti</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihikete</td>
<td>biscuit</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihopa</td>
<td>bishop</td>
<td>[10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poaka</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>[7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poti</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>[4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pouaka</td>
<td>box</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raihi</td>
<td>rice</td>
<td>[6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēneti</td>
<td>tent</td>
<td>[8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīna</td>
<td>lunch (dinner)</td>
<td>[4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupeka</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūrei</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>spend Sunday</td>
<td>[10]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiki</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>[4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>week</td>
<td>[8]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interesting words in this list are "pēti" (bed), "parete", "kōhua", and the two forms of shilling and Monday. "Pēti" is worth noting because Rēnata describes the same object with the Māori word, "moenga", shortly afterwards. Although there are a number of words in Māori to refer to potato, Rēnata uses "parete" which is derived from the Irish dialect word, "pratie". The word "kōhua", used to refer to boiling in an iron pot, is thought to have been derived from sailors’ words, "Go ashore", when they went on land for a boil-up.

It is worth noticing that although Rēnata was describing day by day a journey of five months, he uses only four days of the week, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. As Sunday was a rest day, the remainder of the week was remembered from that day, and the remaining days (or nights) were counted off, as they almost certainly were in earlier times, by nights and sunrises. His word for Saturday is not included in the list above as it is not a transliteration. See Note 00 in text.

If "pīhopa" is excluded, as in this account it amounts to a proper noun, and if the two variations of "shilling" and "Monday" are treated as one each, borrowed words amount to 28, appearing 110 times in all. This is 1.9% of the vocabulary used. Of the place names used in the text, there are only two transliterations, which makes up 4.17% of the total:

Hauraki
Kaiatawa
Kakepuku
Kāwhia
Kenepuru
Kumutoto
Makokomiko
Manawatū
Manganui-o-te-ao
Mangapōuri
Mangatawhiri
Marokopa
Matamata
Motutere

331
Ömata
Otahuhu
Otaki
Otūmatua
Pātetere
Pipiriki
Porirua
Pukerua
Pūtikiharanui
Rangiitikei
Rotaira
Rotomahana
Rotongaio
Tamaki
Tāpirimoko
Taranaki
Tarawera
Taupō
Te Kauri
Te Rewarewa
Te Rapa
Tongariro
Tōtara
Waihou
Waikanae
Waikato
Waitahanui
Waitara
Wakamarino
Whakapapa
Whakarū
Whanganui

Ākarana
Pōneke
End-notes for Section Three, Document One

1. For a study of this document in conjunction with William Cotton’s account of the same journey, see Hogan, 1994.

2. Ngāti Te Upokoirī subsequently came to be grouped as a member tribe of Ngāti Kahungunu. See Ballara, 1991.

3. One of these, a Māui legend, is also transcribed into Cotton’s *Journal VI*.

4. Ahuriri covered a very wide area around where Hastings is today. The mission centre was situated in what is now Clive.

5. Matamata then was situated north of the present Matamata, and was approximately where Waharoa is today.

6. The place where they were stranded is marked in atlases today as the Makomiko Stream and lies some 30 km north west of the stream that now bears the name Makokomiko.
The Source

The manuscript from which this account is taken is lodged with the Alexander Turnbull Library and is to be found in the ms papers 32 McLean: 735.

The manuscript takes the form of a booklet composed of sheets of paper 6 inches in height and seven and a half inches across (about 150 centimetres by 190 centimetres) which have been folded in half and wrapped round each other to make a book of two sections. These two sections have been hand-stitched together with string.

The sixteen pages of the first section appear to have been taken from stationery originally intended for book-keeping; a 5/8 inch margin is printed on the left hand side, and there are columns drawn for pounds, shillings, and pence on the right-hand side. The writer has ignored all these vertical lines and his writing extends from the edge of the page to the centre fold line. The second section is made up of 28 pages of the same dimension but without the vertical lines.

Not all the manuscript is devoted to the author’s account of his journey to Sydney. The narrative as it appears in this thesis is confined to that account. It extends from page one through to page fifteen, i.e. to the second to last page of the first section. Then, after eleven blank pages it continues for half of page 27.

After another blank page, there appears the record of three deaths and burials on pages 29 and 30. Pages 31 and 32 are blank. The following two pages describe a Ngā Puhi feast at which the author appears to have been a guest, and an inventory
of the division of food portions. After two further pages there begins an account of a journey within New Zealand, and a failed farming or trading venture, which seems to have little to do with the journey to Sydney. This is the material (namely that between pages 28 and 38) that has been omitted in this thesis.

On the next two pages, pages 39-40, there is set out a summary of his Sydney journey. A sketch occupies p 41; it looks like sailing vessels in Sydney Harbour. And after a further blank page, there is a statement that one of his hosts in Sydney is coming to Hokianga. The last page is blank.

The death notices that appear on pages 29 and 30 are the only dates given in this manuscript. The dates are 1847, 1849, and 1850. The question then arises as to whether they preceded or followed the account of the Sydney journey.

As the booklet is obviously "homemade" it cannot be assumed that it was in its sewn-up form at the time it was written, but because of the sequence it is certain that the pages of the first section were in their folded and grouped form at the time of writing.

The document is not assigned a date. The fact that the two pages of death notices comprise the only writing that is found on the centrefold of the second section makes it especially difficult to use their presence to guess with any accuracy the date of the main narrative. It is not even certain that they are written by the same hand as the letters in the death notices are much larger, although they do seem to have been formed in the same style.

A better indication as to date comes from internal evidence; the reference to incidents in Hone Heke's life lends support to a belief that the narrative was not written before the death notices, and probably after or at about the same time as the
last one. That is, it was probably written about 1850.

**The Author**

The author signs himself Hone RI, followed by the English form of the name, John Lee. His name suggests that he had been baptised. He gives his address as Waimā, Hokianga.

We know almost nothing else about him, except what we can deduce from his writing: that he is literate, has an inquiring mind, and that he has an interest in arithmetic, but with a rather unorthodox method of reckoning time.

In the section which is omitted from Document Two, he gives an account of a journey within New Zealand, and describes being persuaded to travel to Te Tio and to stay with Te Warena. He says that what he has written was for Kuini to receive when he arrives home in Waimā. Presumably Kuini was his wife. Perhaps his diversion took place on his arrival in New Zealand on his return from Sydney and before he reached Waimā. Kuini joined him a year later, he writes, and they lived at Te Tio a further two years.

He appears to have been involved in some trading enterprise in which he was disappointed. He refers to trading, having purchased some horses in exchange for a gun.

We do not know his age when he made his journey but we do know that his father was still living, and that he himself was a father of children:

... i mihi anō tōku ngākau ki a koutou katoa. E koutou, e āku w[h]anaunga, e āku tamariki, tēnā rā ko koutou. E tōku matua, e tōku hoa, tēnā ko koutou. [M 29-31]

... my heart called its greetings to you all. Oh you, my family,
my children, greetings to you. My father and my wife, greetings to you. [E 31-33]

Circumstances

It seems likely that the sailing vessel on which Hone Rī was travelling was a trading ship plying between Hokianga, Sydney, and Port Phillip, and that he was working as a casual hand. Although we know that Māori men had undertaken such employment for more than 50 years previously, it is clear from his account of early conversations on board the ship, that this was a new experience for Rī.

He chose to stay in Sydney while the vessel moved on to Port Phillip. This implies that he did not much enjoy sailing, and that his terms of employment (whether it be paid employment or working his passage) afforded him that option.

We learn from his narrative that there was a body of Māori people resident in Sydney. Even if he had not previously known the people with whom he stayed, there was obviously a line of communication through which he might get in touch with such a family.

We do not know why he set off on this adventure, but the care with which he describes his experience suggests a naturally inquiring mind. He seems to have hoped to meet a man called Parāone (or Brown,) who was engaged in whaling, and was perhaps someone off a whaler whom he had met in New Zealand, or an acquaintance who had taken up employment on a whaling vessel working in the Pacific.
The Text

Because the manuscript is hard to read, and in deciphering it there has been little certainty of context, some passages inevitably remain obscure. The number of these, however, are relatively small. Perhaps future studies may reveal further pieces of knowledge that will throw light on some of the unresolved problems of the text.

As it was intended for the information and pleasure of his immediate family, who were not sharing in his experiences, it is more detailed than, for example, the narrative found in Document One.

A particular feature of Hone Rī’s writing is his expression of personal feeling. A number of emotions are presented.

In later documents it will be seen that in letters home, as part of the opening or closing, expressions of homesickness and love of family have become almost an essential part of the tradition of letter-writing. While certainly sincerely felt, they are at the same time conventional.

In 1850, there was probably no written convention. There were however conventions in the composition of songs, for instance in waiata aroha. Doubtless, Rī’s utterances of yearning stem from his overwhelming sense of the vastness of the ocean drew on these conventions. On a hot Monday evening he climbs the mast and looks out and sees a great ship close by, and they sail on in the dark.

Ao ake, i te Tūrei, ka puta mai anō ki [a] au he aroha ki a koutou, .....I aua nā i te moana i puta mai ai tēnei; arohatanga nui ōku ki a koutou. [M 28..32]

On the next day, on the Tuesday, I was overwhelmed with my love for you;... I am so far away at sea and this great yearning of
mine for you comes to me. [E 30–34]

They move into rougher seas and the next day he develops a severe headache, and his family appear to him in a dream which he describes.

Once he arrives in Sydney, he does not again mention his yearning for his people. But he experiences further difficulties.

At sea he suffered headaches and sleeplessness; on land he is a prey to anxiety.

Nō tōku nohoanga ki uta ka pōuri tōku ngākau kei mahue atu ahau i tō mātau kata ki Poihākena. [M 79–80]

When I was staying ashore my heart grew troubled lest I be left behind by our cutter at Port Jackson. [E 85–86]

He fears that the cutter will neglect to pick him up on its way back to New Zealand from Port Phillip.

The density of Sydney buildings confuses and wearies him, and he succumbs to illness. Finding that it requires more money than he has available to live in Sydney, he becomes hungry. He regrets his decision not to stay on board.

I tāku nohoanga ki Poihākena, ka hē ahau i tāku nohoanga; ka pōuri tōku ngākau i reira. [M 112–113]

I had remained in Port Jackson and I was wrong to have stayed behind. [E 122]

For the rest, his emotional reactions to his new environment are not explicitly declared, but the reader senses the implicit horror in his description of the convicts’ hard labour, and his disgust at the widespread drunkenness and prostitution among
the Sydney population.

Travellers carry with them their own frames of reference drawn from their own past experience and accustomed environment. Hone Rī is no exception. On his first morning at sea the detail Hone Rī mentions is the fish that he recognises.

When he arrives in Sydney, what he chooses to comment on are aspects of his environment that he is already familiar with in New Zealand, but which have differences of appearance or operation that surprise him.

He has seen moored ships, but never so many in one bay, so close to the buildings. He has seen European houses, but most of these ones are built in stone:

Ki te mea ka haere te tangata Māori hea kē, i te tini hoki o te w[h]are. [M 66-67]

Wherever a Māori person should go he finds himself in the midst of many buildings. [E 71-72]

On the face of it this may sound illogical as the concentration of buildings does not alter because the person walking there is a Māori, but the perception does. Hone Rī’s choice of words here indicates an awareness of this fact.

Three aspects of Sydney life that Hone Rī laid some emphasis on were prostitution, excessive drinking, and imprisonment. By 1850 in New Zealand for some time Māori leaders, missionaries, and others had been concerned about the evil influence that "loose-living Pākehā" were having on Māori living patterns. Drinking and prostitution had long been a problem in the Bay of Islands and the Hokianga inhabitants would certainly have been familiar with them, but clearly never on the
scale on which Hone RT encountered them in Sydney.

The impact that they made on him is indicated by the fact that he turns to each
topic more than once in his narrative. The reader gets the impression that he is
endeavouring to tease out an understanding of the Sydney way of life.

Ka 3 aku tino wiki ki Poihākena, ka mātau ahau ki ngā ritenga o te Pākehā. [M 136-137]

After I had been in Port Jackson for 3 weeks I understood the ways of the Pākehā. [E 146-147]

And it is perhaps with some smugness that he concluded (my italics):

Ko te mahi ki tērā kāinga, ki Poihākena, he taraka nō te Māori, nō te Pākehā; ka nui te haurangi o te Pākehā. [M 144-145]

What people do in that town, Port Jackson, Māori and Pākehā, is get drunk. There is much drunkenness among the Pākehā. [E 155-157]

As New South Wales was a penal colony and New Zealand was not, it is not
surprising that imprisonment was uppermost in his mind as he studied Sydney life.
His description of the hard labour of the prisoners expresses no emotion, but the
words I have italicised are significant:

Ka kite ahau i ngā mahi a te Pākehā herehere e mahi ana. Ko tā rātou mahi he keri kōw[h]atu. Mau anō ngā mekameka i te tuarā e keri ana i ngā kōw[h]atu. E tū ana anō ā rātou kaitia <a>ki i ō ratou taha, he hōia. Ka rī 5 tekau o te herehere ki te mahi. Ka rangona ngā mahi a te mekameka ka ngatete, ko[i][a] anō. Āe, he rā tēnā e kore e w[h]aka[a]ro; he werawera, mahi tonu anō tā rātou. [M 156-161]

I saw the ways in which the imprisoned Pākehā have to labour. What they have to do is quarrying stone. And they are bound by chains on their backs as they dig the stones. There are guards standing beside them, soldiers. 50 of the prisoners are chained together to work. You can hear the action of the chains; they clank. Yes, that is
what happened. That was a day when it was unimaginably hot, and they still kept on with their work. [E 170-175]

Clearly he is puzzled by the relationship between offence and retribution.

Nā, ka haere anō ahau kia kite i te w[h]are herehere, i te watiauhe. Ka haurangi te tangata i te rama, ka kawea ki taua w[h]are rā; mutu anō, ka puta ia ki waho. [M 126-128]

And, I went also to see the prison and the watch-house. When someone gets drunk on rum, he’s taken into that building; afterwards, he is released. [E 137-138]

He returns to such arrests some lines later when describing the work of the constable on the beat. Later, after several changes of topic, he reverts to the issue, explaining what must have at first puzzled him, the difference between being drunk at home and being drunk in the streets:

Ka haurangi te tangata, ka riro ia ki te watiauhe i ngā kātipa. Ka haurangi ki roto ki te w[h]are, e kore e tangohia e ngā kātipa. [M 162-163]

When someone gets drunk, he is taken to the watch-house by the constables. When he is drunk inside his house he will not be taken by the constable. [E 176-178]

It is interesting to learn that animals were used, somewhat as guide dogs are today, to assist blind people. Interesting, also, are his observations of trading practices. Presumably in Hokianga commodities in Pākehā settlements were mostly purchased from general stores.

Hone Rī is a man with an inquiring mind, and despite his feelings of strangeness and bewilderment he visits many buildings and institutions, and carefully records what he learns: the different sales people, the prices of the prostitutes, the objects he is given. Lists are the hallmark of his diligence. Not surprisingly he can
find no words for the strange smells he encounters:

   Ko te tini noa iho o ngā hā a te Pākehā; kīhai i taea te tuhituhi e ahau. [M 122-123]

   As for the huge number of Pākehā noises, I couldn’t manage to write about them. [E 133-134]

In this narrative Hone Rū finds himself in a position of needing to consider the nature of Pākehā people, both as individuals and as a political force. He makes a point of paying tribute to the Pākehā on board ship:

   Ka rua anō ngā ua i a mātou i te moana nei. Ko te pai hoki o ngā Pākehā o te kata nei, e kore e riri, e kore e kanga, e kore e tono ki te mahi. [M 44-45]

   We doubled our effort in this sea. How good the Pākehā of this cutter are; they do not lose their tempers, and they do not curse, and they do not order you to work." [E 46-48]

This could be thought to suggest that he would expect different behaviour from a Māori boss, but a much more likely explanation is that Pākehā in New Zealand did not generally behave so reasonably as these sailors.

Later, while he is puzzling out the way the law operates in the Pākehā world, he writes:

   He iwi pai te Pākehā; e kore e pokanoa te riri. Me tāhau anō, kātahi anō ka riro ki te w[h]are herehe[re]. [M 139-141]

   The Pākehā are an even-tempered people; they will not become angry for no reason. But if you steal, that is when you get taken off to prison." [E 150-152]

However, during his stay with the Sydney Māori he was warned of the consequences for the Māori people of British colonisation. In 1850 the Māori still
outnumbered the Pākehā in New Zealand, and were to do so for most of that decade; but his Māori companions in Sydney could draw his attention to the plight of the Aboriginal people of Australia. Hone Rī indicates his interest in politics by extrapolating from what he saw of the position of the Aboriginal people, and so begin to forecast the events to come for the Māori people. Hone Heke’s acts of defiance consequently made sense to him and he looks upon them with admiration.

Hone Heke

To understand the references to Hone Heke it is necessary to know some details of his life. Born in the early 19th century Hone Heke was educated at the Kerikeri Church Missionary School. Hariata was his second wife; his first wife and their two children all died in the mid-1830s. Hariata was the daughter of Hongi Hika.

Although Hone Heke was the first chief to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, he subsequently became disenchanted. The looked-for trading benefits from the association with Great Britain were lost when the centre of Government was moved from the Bay of Islands to Auckland, and discontent grew as the Māori in the North suffered an economic depression.

The flagpole at Kororareka (Russell) became the symbol of British authority, and although Hone Heke had originally donated it, his army cut it down in 1844, an act which was repeated a further three times before April 1845.

Governor Fitzroy allowed this act of defiance to trigger off a war, and British military assistance was called in from Australia.

By the middle of the year Hone Heke had been seriously wounded and could no longer fight, although he continued to gain support from his people and to inspire
others. One of his allies was the older Ngā Puhi leader, Te Ruki Kawiti. Kawiti made peace later that year, but Heke refused to meet Governor Grey, who had replaced Fitzroy; and did not do so until 1848.

Some time after 1846 he remarried, in the vain hope of having an heir. The partnership failed and he returned to Hariata; he was now a sick man, suffering from tuberculosis.

Hariata was a feisty woman, and she expressed her anger at his desertion by striking him. He accepted her assault with humility and she nursed him until his death in 1850. We can conclude therefore that Hone Rī’s manuscript must have been written after 1848.

The Passing of Time

In Rēnata’s narrative (Document One), the journey was largely through rural or uncultivated areas and time was measured by where he slept, found water, ate, the over-riding constraint being the requirement to observe the Sabbath, so that setting out again on a Monday became a notable event.

Hone Rī’s time is spent away from the country, and the organisation of activity is controlled by the time-table of the cutter, or the town. Whereas Rēnata refers to four days of the week, namely Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, Hone Rī extends to six, Saturday being the only day not mentioned. Nevertheless, the patterns of narrative stemming from sleeping and eating still are apparent on board the cutter:

Ka tina, ka rere a waho i te moana. [M 9-10]
We had lunch and were sailing right out to sea. [E 10-11]
Ka rere mai anō tō mātau kata i taua rā, ā, ka pō te rā. [M 13]

Our cutter kept sailing and then it grew dark. [E 14]

Ā, ka ao, i te parakuihi ka kite au i ngā papahu e tere ana. [M 14]

And then next morning at breakfast I saw the papahu swimming. [E 15]

Ka tina mātou ka kite mātou i te kaipuke e rere ana. [M 24]

We had lunch and we saw a vessel sailing along. [E 26]

Nō te Tāete i kite[a] ai te w[h]enua i te tina; [M 50-51]

On Thursday land was sighted at lunch-time. [E 52-53]

I te hapa ka tata ki te wahapū a Poihākena. [M 51-52]

At dinner-time it was close to the Port Jackson Harbour. [E 54-55]

These are the natural rhythms of human activity, but in addition Hone Rī seems to be fascinated by the "counting" of time. He asks,

"E hia rā i muri iho i te wiki ka w[h]iti tātau ki Poihākena?" [M 19-20]

"How many days after the week will we cross to Port Jackson?" [E 21-22]

And on his return, he does his sums near the end of his "pukapuka", [M 179-200]. In former times the Māori had counted by nights. Here his arithmetic is difficult to follow, but on his sea journeys he seems to double the time taken by
adding the number of nights to the number of days, as though he had a foot in both worlds.

In this document there are a number of words whose meanings have not been established. Some are not to be found in Williams, 1985, for example "arikena" [M 121], but mostly the difficulty arises from lack of certainty as to how the syllables on the page were intended to be grouped and divided into words. Overall, the vocabulary used can be said to be straightforward and direct.

**Transliterations:**

The following words (excluding names of people and places) that have been borrowed from English can be found in Hone Rī's account. [The numbers in brackets represent the number of times the word appears in the text]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āw &lt;e&gt; he</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>[4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapa</td>
<td>dinner [supper]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hea</td>
<td>hare</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēra</td>
<td>sails</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hereni</td>
<td>shilling</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiriwa</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōia</td>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōiho</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotapita</td>
<td>saltpetre</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānara</td>
<td>candle</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>copper</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaíhe</td>
<td>glass</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātione</td>
<td>crown</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td>cutter</td>
<td>[16]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātīpa</td>
<td>constable</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāwana</td>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōura</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td>[1 or 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuini</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhi</td>
<td>mast</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mane</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merengi</td>
<td>melon</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miraka</td>
<td>milk</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moni</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāparakāuhe</td>
<td>public house</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraire</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A comparison of the transliterations used in Documents One and Two reveals that the two texts have the following ten words in common:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hereni</th>
<th>karaihe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mane</td>
<td>parakuihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parete</td>
<td>poti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tina</td>
<td>Türei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>Wiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki = week</td>
<td>Wiki = Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that both writers use the "parete" form for "potato". The word "mekameka" [chains] is not listed amongst the transliterations as its derivation is not known, although clearly the concept had been introduced by Europeans.³

Borrowed words in Document 2 amount to 53, appearing 122 times in all.

348
This is 4.5% of the total number of words used.

The following place names can be found in the document. The transliterations make up 23% of the total:

- Aotea
- Hokianga
- Mahurangi
- Manawaka
- Manukau
- Taupō
- Tokorau
- Waimā
- Wairoa
- Waitangi
- Nui Tireni
- Poheripi
- Poihākena
1. For an account of Hone Heke's life see Freda Rankin Kawharu's entry in Oliver 1990, 184-187. One version of the war that arose out of his actions can be found in Rutherford, J 1947. His actions are also the background of the novel, The House of Strife. See Shadbolt 1993.

2. See Kene Hine Te Ura Martin's entry in Oliver 1990, pp 219-221.

3. See Williams, 1971: "The word is obviously of recent origin, but no clue has been found as to its derivation."
The Source

The manuscript of this account is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library (m.s. papers 151 of A.T. McDonnell 5).

It takes the form of a booklet of folded sheets of paper wrapped around each other to form sections which are stitched together by hand. The sheets unfolded are 9½ inches wide by 7¼ inches high (230.5 centimetres by 180.5 centimetres).

The booklet is probably incomplete and assembled in the wrong order. The pages have been numbered in a shade other than the original ink, and with different figuring. There are also other marks on the manuscript that suggest that someone studying it subsequently added the page numbers. The number 1 is given to a left-hand side page, and numbers are omitted from pages devoted to material that is not part of the narrative.

The beginning of the narrative was probably on a missing half sheet. The four sections of folded pages are not of equal number, and one page, perhaps forming a fifth section, seems to be torn away from its folded half. It is very probable that the pages were sewn together by someone at a time later than the manuscript was written and in the wrong order, the first half having been placed second.

The section that is second in the manuscript begins on the page that has been torn from its folded half, and the words at the top of this page do not follow on from the preceding page. Nor do they stand alone.

If the pages are rearranged as presented in this thesis, they run in
chronological order.

Not all the pages are devoted to the narrative found in Document Three; two are blank and others appear to have been used to try out the spelling of words; there are also sketches of patterns (perhaps of Māori weaving), lists of numbers, long addition sums, arithmetic with pounds shillings and pence, and botanical sketches. One page is headed:

"He reo nō Haramane 1860" [A language of German 1860]

Below are four columns of mostly familiar Māori words with the very odd inclusion of the words "shona" and "Hosstone".

One page has a waiata written out in Māori.

Perhaps some of these pages were used to demonstrate to Austrian colleagues something of the author's language, culture, and country.

Wherever the narrative appears to have been resumed as a fresh diary entry, that is, wherever there is a spacial break, this has been indicated by asterisks.

The first page of the booklet, like other "spare" pages contains faint scribbles including the outline of a horse and indecipherable words. Superimposed on these, clearly written by a different hand, is the following: 

Atiria Wina 1858-9
Whare Perahi a Te Kingi nui
Austria Vienna, Print House
of The Great King

"This ms was written by" Wiremu Toetoe who went to Europe on board of [sic] the Austrian Frigate "Novara" with Dr Hochstetter. They visited Vienna & the Archduke Maximilian [sic]. He showed them all over the City & on parting asked what he would like him to give them as a present, he answered. "A Printing Press & types." So it was brought to N.Z. & used by the King's Natives to print their little Paper called the Hokioi in the year 1861.
With the same ink and handwriting the words "and Te Hemara Rerehau" have been added after "Toetoe". As can be seen, the writer (perhaps A.T. McDonnell himself), was in some confusion as to whether he was writing about one or two men in his use of prepositions: "He showed them" ..... "asked what he would like him to give them."

The "he" of the latter quotation has been emended to "they" by a different writer again.

The Author(s)

The question of authorship needs some consideration. As has been shown, the English words subsequently added to the manuscript attribute the writing to two men. One was Wiremu Toetoe and the other was Hemara Te Rerehau.

In 1958 an edited version of this document was published with translation in the October and December issues of the journal, Te Ao Hou. The first section of the ms booklet appeared in the first of these two issues and was attributed to Wiremu Toetoe Tumohe.3 This cannot be correct, for the author writes:

I mua ko Hata me te Tiuka, muri mai ko Wiremu, muri mai ko ahau, muri rawa ko the timeara. [M 268-269]

Scherzer and the Duke went in front, behind them was Wiremu, and I followed behind him, and behind me was the chamberlain. [E 261-263]

This section, at least, was therefore written by Hemara Te Rerehau⁴ to whom the second section of the ms is attributed by the Te Ao Hou articles.

We know that the two men went together to Austria, and we might assume with some confidence that they travelled about together and shared the experiences
of their stay there. It is therefore likely that they each had an input in expressing their experiences.

However, after a careful examination of the manuscript, I cannot find any point which indicates either a change of composition style or of handwriting. Some passages are written in a much smaller handwriting than others, and the changes in size sometimes occur part-way down a page. It is probable that the changes indicate a break in time; when the record is resumed on a later occasion a different nib may have been used, or a different ink. The formation of the letters appears not to differ.

In 1984, a paper on the circumstances of their journey was published.\(^5\) The author from his study of a number of German texts has produced information about these two men that is not available from other sources. Fletcher wrote that the two men were seen strolling about Vienna streets jotting down "in their notebooks" comments in Māori. The manuscript of Document Three might be just one of these notebooks, or it might be a booklet drawn from the material in those jottings. It is not unreasonable to assume a joint responsibility for the ideas expressed in it.

According to Fletcher, Te Rerehau was the son of a wealthy chief and related to Toetoe; he was the younger man, about twenty, and had no moko. He had been baptised and educated at a missionary school, and was competent in all aspects of the production of bread from sowing the grain to milling and baking. He is described as "having a smattering of learning." It may have been because of this opinion that Toetoe was assumed to be the principal author of this document.

Toetoe appears to have been the more "glamorous" of the tourists. He was a Waikato chief, heavily tattooed, and 32 years of age. He was a land-owner, with a part-English wife and one son. He had been baptised when he was 15, and held the
position of postmaster for the Auckland - Hawkes Bay Circuit. The two men returned to Auckland in 1860 and went back to live with their people in the Waikato area. Toetoe died in 1881.

Circumstances

In 1857 the Austrian frigate, *Novara* was fitted out for a round-the-world scientific exploration. On board were an artist and six scientists. One of these scientists was Dr Ferdinand Ritter Von Hochstetter, a prestigious geologist, who also took a keen interest in botany, zoology, and ethnology.

The vessel set out from Trieste in 1857 and made its way via Gibraltar, Madeira, and Rio de Janeiro to Capetown, in South Africa. There Hochstetter met Sir George Grey who urged him to include Auckland in the ship’s itinerary. The New Zealand Government also put in a request, for a geologist was required to make a survey of the Drury Coalfield in Auckland. From Africa the *Novara* sailed on to India, the Far East, through the Pacific to Sydney. It reached Auckland in December, 1858. The *Novara* departed again on January 8, 1859, and on board were Toetoe and Te Rerehau. However, Hochstetter remained in New Zealand where he travelled extensively.

Although Hochstetter did not accompany the two Waikato men on their voyage to Trieste, he appears to have been the prime mover in their being taken. On his return to Vienna he assumed responsibility for their presentation to the Emperor Franz Joseph and his brother, Archduke Maximilian.

In the ship's records Te Rerehau and Toetoe are listed as "seamen, first class." General responsibility for them seems to have been assigned to the scientist,
Dr Karl Scherzer, who is listed as a specialist in anthropology, geography, national economy, and ethnography.\textsuperscript{11} He is the man Te Rerehau referred to as Hata. [M 90]

After the \textit{Novara} left Auckland it had just two ports of call, Tahiti and Valparaiso before it headed round Cape Horn and back up to the Mediterranean.

We are told\textsuperscript{12} that Scherzer left the \textit{Novara} to travel from Chile to Central America, and that he rejoined the frigate in Gibraltar. What cannot be true is the following statement, which is to be found in the same paragraph. Referring to Hochstetter's interrupting his homeward journey to investigate mining potential in New Zealand and Australia, Carle writes:

> On the voyage via Mauritius and the Red Sea, Hochstetter, picturesquely named Mr Hokiteta by the Maoris, was accompanied by the handsome young Maori chief, Toetoe, a sensation which made him known throughout Europe.

As we know, Toetoe and Te Rerehau had reached Trieste on August 26, 1859, four and half months ahead of Hochstetter.

During the two years the \textit{Novara} had been circumnavigating the world, war had broken out between the French and the Austrians. It might be supposed that the Austrian frigate would be in some danger passing through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean. But because it was laden with geological, botanical, and anthropological treasures, the French declared the vessel "neutral" and supplied safe escort through the war zones.\textsuperscript{13} One wonders if such international respect for scientific endeavour would nowadays be demonstrated.

When the party of scientists arrived in Vienna a decision had to be made about how Toetoe and Te Rerehau should be employed and accommodated. The responsibility fell to Karl Scherzer. He had originally trained as a printer. At that
time the director of the Austrian Imperial printery was Alois Auer, a famous typographer. He accepted the two men in a nine-month, unpaid apprenticeship, and they lived at the printery as members of the foreman’s family.14

Their printing teacher, Herr Zimmerl, was at this time studying the Māori language. This seems an astonishing coincidence, but it has to be borne in mind that the Novara was bringing back botanical and anthropological specimens, and the intellectual stimulus that had inspired such an expedition no doubt extended to the language; perhaps the hope was that it could explain some of the material collected. Zimmerl’s brief was to teach the visitors German and at the same time to acquire a knowledge of the Māori language which could then be made available to Austrian scientists. In addition, Zimmerl taught them type-setting, lithography, copper-plate engraving, and drawing from nature. This latter might account for the sketches of a horse and various flowers in the manuscript.

Auer expressed a faith that the two men would return to New Zealand and disseminate the gifts of "German culture and breeding".15 Certainly the two visitors wrote with warm appreciation of Austrian hospitality:

Ka nui te atawhai o taua iwi, he karanga noa mai ki te tangata kia haere atu ki te kai. Nui atu te atawhai o taua iwi, e kī ana ahau he pē nei me te Ingarihi nei te kore atawhai; nui nui nui atu te aroha o tēnā iwi. [M 20-22]

This people shows great hospitality; they frequently invite people to dine with them. In this respect I would say they are a very generous people, but the English are not generous. The warm-heartedness of this people is so very, very great. [E 21-24]

Tēnei kōrero mō te pai o tēnei iwi o te Tāīti. Ka nui te pai o tau[a] iwi, heoi anō te iwi pai i kītea ai e māua ki ngā whenua Pākehā. Te papai o ngā whare, te papai o ngā kai me āna wai. I nui te pai o tōna tāngata te karanga noa mai kia haere atu ki te whare ki[a] mahia he

357
This account is about the goodness of these people, the Germans. They are a very fine people, the best we have encountered in European countries. How excellent are their houses, their food and drink. There were many kindnesses in invitations to go to their houses and have meals prepared for us. There is no rum-taking; we have not seen a single drunk person on the roads, even though we have been living here a full 9 months. Nor have we seen any badly behaved person in that land. Indeed, Germany is the finest country in the world.

As for their time in Austria, Fletcher writes that they entered into the swing of the social life there; they became expert ball-room dancers and popular guests, charming and delighting their hostesses with puzzling entries in autograph albums. But the best source of information is the manuscript itself.

According to Te Rerehau’s account they were required by Imperial direction to stay confined within the printery until the time came for them to attend the Schiller centenary celebrations which took place a little over two months after their arrival. Were the Austrians unsure of Māori behaviour, were the Māori themselves being protected until they had sufficient understanding of language and customs to look after themselves, or was their presence being reserved for a grand revelation to top off the gaiety of the Schiller festival?

At the end of their residence in Austria, Hochstetter took the two men across Europe to London. On the way they met King Wilhelm I of Württemberg, and stayed with Hochstetter’s parents in Esslingen.

Auer saw them off at the station. He had suggested that the Emperor should give the men printing equipment to bring back to New Zealand so that they might continue practising the graphic arts, and a printing press, type fonts, and tools were
accordingly shipped to Auckland.

In London the two men were presented to Queen Victoria. Afterwards they boarded their ship, *Caduceus*, at Southampton, on a return voyage to Auckland. This time they sailed as passengers, their fare having been paid by the Austrian government.

After nearly two years' absence they arrived back in New Zealand at the end of October, 1860, and rejoined their people in the Waikato. By this time the relationship between the Waikato supporters of the King Movement and the New Zealand Government had gravely deteriorated, and they naturally lent their support to the Māori King.

Hochstetter later reported that he had received a letter informing him that Toetoe had suffered severe burns to his face, the result of attempting to make gunpowder.\(^\text{18}\)

The printing press was used to print the Māori King Movement newspaper, which appeared in the years 1861-1863 and was entitled *Te Hokioi o Niu Tireni e Rere Atu Na* [The Hokioi that flies above], or *Te Hokioi* for short. The hokioi was a mythical bird. It is not known whether Toetoe and Te Rerehau assisted with the printing. It must be supposed that at least in the early stages they instructed the compositors. The following passage was written by the missionary, Robert Maunsell, after visiting the headquarters of the King Movement in 1863. It brings home to us what a contrast the Austrian printing apprentices must have experienced on their return:

> In my late visit through the district I spent a good portion of two days there. I was surprised to find that with a few lessons from a Maori that had been taught at St John's, they had started a Maori
newspaper at Ngaruawahia, and had fitted for that purpose in a rush hut the primitive press given by the Emperor of Austria to William Taetoe [sic]. It afforded one of the most curious scenes I have ever witnessed. No light but from the door, no other fittings than rough pieces of stick tied by flax, one long board served for a table and one as a seat in front of the types. They had just struck off the last newspaper and were engaged in distributing the types. The hut is open to all comers and in it they sometimes have divine service or discuss any matters that interest them. As I entered a young man with a pipe in his mouth was seated on the aforesaid board arranging the types. After working for about an hour he exclaimed this is tiring work, rose and left. Another then came and sat down in his blanket, worked at the same task for half an hour, and then yielded to weariness. In the meanwhile the editors were anxiously seeking information from me as to the division of words, punctuation, and the use of capitals. I spent two hours with them correcting their last paper, they either approving or questioning the correctness of my alterations. I was much struck with the earnestness with which they address themselves to their work and was gratified to find that their love for Christianity was not in the least affected by recent events. 19

Governor Grey, alarmed at the cogency with which the King Movement viewpoints were presented in Te Hokioi, decided to set up a counter-newspaper with John E. Gorst as editor. It was called Te Pihoihoi Mokemoke [The Sparrow on the Housetop].

The Text

Document Three represents the journey that occupied the longest time away from home of all the journeys included in this thesis. Toetoe and Te Rerehau were away for about 22 months. Their undertaking involved considerable personal courage as they were working amongst people who spoke an unfamiliar language, and almost no-one knew any Māori. They were studying a new technology, and being introduced to Europeans whose wealth and royal connections were grand in the extreme.

Their vividly written narrative transmits an enthusiasm for new experiences
that is expressed with eloquence and fine descriptive detail. We see here for the first time in this collection of travel writing, an awareness of how the Māori appear to non-Māori people, an awareness of what being Māori is.

In the manuscript and in the text itself there is no indication of who was the expected reader of this account. It might well have been written for a family or small community, but the impression is more general, as though it were a literary rather than a specific communication.

As in Document Two, this narrative begins with a description of the sea journey. The journey, of course, is much longer and considerably more perilous as it included rounding Cape Horn. Like Rī, they did not much enjoy the experience. Like him, too, Te Rerehau begins by claiming they were not seasick, but developed giddiness. He attributed it to yearning for home. Obviously the effects of homesickness and seasickness became intertwined in their experience and they found it difficult to separate them. Rī fell sick and had dreams about home; the Waikato men felt homesick and could not eat.

In both documents the sight of land, Sydney in one case, Tahiti and Valparaiso in the other, elicit description as seen from on board ship.

The writer here considers the agricultural possibilities of Tahiti. No doubt this reflects Te Rerehau’s interest in the wheat-growing.

Ko te oneone o taua whenua, ngangana ana te oneone i te ngaunga a te rā. Kāore e tupu tōna rīwai. [M 11-13]

The soil of that land is red, a soil that has been affected by the sun. It will not support potato growth. [E 14-15]

On their arrival in Europe the two men gaped at the number of the buildings
and the size of the city, but unlike Rī, they were also aware that the people were taking notice of them.

He nui no[a] atu e mātakitaki ana māua e mātakitaki ana hoki tērā ki a māua, arā, te Pākehā tā te iwi kātahi anō ka kite i te Māori. [M 18-20]

We were staring a good deal, and the Pākehā were in return staring at us, the first Māori they had seen. [E 21-22]

When Rī first visited Sydney, Māori people had been travelling there for many years, and would not have been a remarkable sight to the Australian inhabitants. This was of course not the situation in Austria. In addition, the two Waikato men now had to extend word "Pākehā" to people different from the range of Europeans encountered in New Zealand. For the most part these had come from the British Isles. The new experience led naturally to comparisons.

That the Austrians came out as favoured race is not surprising. As the two men were unpaid apprentices they were given free board and lodging. The public reaction to them suggested they were as precious and rare as the artifacts and scientific specimens brought back on the Novara, and it seems probable that they were treated with much the same care and respect. They might themselves be regarded as precious anthropological samples.

Apart from the missionaries, the Pākehā they had hitherto known were English settlers. The relationship was totally different. At the time when Toetoe and Te Rerehau left, the Pākeha population was just reaching the same numbers as the Māori. The Pākehā clamour for an ever-increasing share of land strained political and social decisions.

Of the settlers, those from the upper class tended to regard the Māori in the
way that other indigenous races had been treated in other colonies, that is as an available labour force. The lower class settler, coming from grinding hardship within a depressed rural environment, or in hopeless labour condition in an industrialised city, looked for a new future. Ill-educated, and bitter from always being "the bottom of the heap," they readily adopted a stance that placed them, in their own eyes at least, in a superior role to the indigenous people. None of these circumstances prevailed in Austria.

The first occasion on which Toetoe and Te Rerehau mad a public appearance was the centenary celebration of the poet Schiller’s birth. The fact that the newspapers announced their participation ahead of the event suggests that their presence was regarded by the authorities as something of a coup. This is confirmed by the fact that the crowd knew where to be in order to get the first look:

Ko ngā Pākehā, hui mai ko te taha o te whare perehi kia kite i tō māua putanga atu ki te rori, [M 31-32]

As for the Pākehā, they all gathered alongside the printery to see us emerge into the street, [E 34-35]

Another feature of the celebrations must have been the procession of the Novara personnel, scientists and crew, organised to honour their achievement (and therefore the achievement of the Austrian Empire) in their circumnavigation of the world. The vision of a handsome, highly tattooed Māori chief dressed in Austrian sailor’s uniform must have been quite spectacular. That the clothing was an essential part of the celebrations is indicated by the fact that they were twice taken home by chariot to change.

The excitement of the procession is vividly expressed in Te Rerehau’s
selection of detail - chariot, the flags, the music, the passage cleared between the spectators, the cheering, and the acclaim. He pauses to mention that there were only men in the procession, presumably not what he would have expected. Moreover, when members of the crowd tried to pull the Māori men out of line to get a better look, he emphasises that even women took part in this unruly behaviour.

In the newspaper of the following day under a headline that refers to the New Zealanders in the Schiller procession, reference is made to the two men, saying that among the various coloured costumes of those taking part in the torchlight procession, the New Zealanders attracted the most interest. Both were wearing sailor suits, and the tattooed one [Wiremu Toetoe] wore glasses. It said they were very impressed with the whole ceremony dedicated to Schiller, and that they had remarked that Schiller must have written excellent poetry.

Two images used in the description of this occasion are of special interest, the first because it is echoed in other later writing, and the second for its traditional origins:

.... me he awatea nānō te pō i te mārama o te kānara. [M 64]
.... and the light from the candles turned night into day. [E 67-68]

and

Nō te hokinga ka pōkia māua e ngā Pākehā. Kāore e kite, ko tētahi pōngarongaro nānō ko te rite o te Pākehā te nui, te hira. [M 74-76]

On our return we were surrounded by Pākehā. You couldn’t see; the Pākehā were just like a swarm of midges, there were so great a number of them. [E 78-80]

From that point, having got their photograph in the European newspapers, they
were caught up in a heady social whirl, and for a month afterwards they were regularly visited by royalty and nobility from other states who had travelled to Vienna to have an opportunity of seeing the Māori men for themselves.

By New Year the two printing apprentices were able to record some visits they had made. They admire the statues, particularly the animal shapes.

He mea hanga ki te āhua o ngā raiona me ngā pea. Whakahāmama ai te waha, ka puta mai te wai i roto i te waha o ngā kūri, he mea hanga ki te kōhatu. I roto i ētahi wai ko ngā ika. [M 101-103]

And there are figures in the shape of lions and bears; their mouths are open so that water comes out from inside the mouths of those stone animals. In some pools there are fish. [E 103-105]

The short last sentence here makes a simple, strong statement. They were impressed. On another occasion they said, they said, "We have seen all over your land" and they mentioned "the fountains with the fish in the water."

Some of the features shown to them involved technology that was unfamiliar to them. They made no attempt to explain how the water came to flow from the statue's mouths, but when they were taken to see cloth being woven, the principle involved was one with which they were familiar. They, themselves, may never have woven, but they had observed Māori women doing so.

Te Rerehau attempted to describe the operation of the huge looms:

Ka whakamārōrōkia ngā [a]ho rirau iho, rirau iho. Ka rere te ringaringa ki te pēpēhi i te rākau whakahaere o te wīra, ka rere te mira. Ko ngā miro e whakawhitihiti ana ki ōtāhia taha, ki ōtāhia taha. He wāhine ngā tāngata mahi o taua mahi, he tāne hoki tā ngā wāhine mahi he tūhonohono i ngā miro kia pai ai te mahi. [M 110-114]

The threads are stretched taut and brought down to be interwoven. When their hands move to depress the wooden lever that makes the wheel operate, the mill functions. The threads cross backwards and
forwards from one side to the other. The people who do this work are women; in addition to the women workers there are also men whose task it is to join the threads so that the work can proceed satisfactorily. [E 111-117]

He realises that some of the operations he is watching are similar to flax-weaving in principle. He also realises that the machinery requires other skills that are currently beyond his understanding, but he comforts himself that they are not all too difficult.

There are more tasks in that manufacture than a Māori can absorb. There are, as well, some jobs that could be done by a Māori, for example, thread-joining. [E 117-119]

This is the first example of Māori self-deprecation to be found in these documents, and does not represent any very strong emotional reaction. After all, the two men’s experience in Vienna had frequently reinforced a Māori sense of self-worth.

The two men were taken to the zoo. The description of the lion and the tiger that they see there comprise the most remarkable section of this manuscript. The information that Te Rerehau includes is a mixture of what they observed and what they must have been told about the creatures in their natural habitat, and probably some extrapolation from the two.

Presumably the language of instruction was German; even if the one person who was studying the Māori language had advanced sufficiently in his studies to hold a sustained conversation, he was unlikely to have a Māori vocabulary suited to the
subject of discussion. It is therefore to be assumed that the two men’s knowledge of
German was by this time very competent. They had been in Europe only six months,
but they had also been on board an Austrian vessel for a further six months.

The description is interesting because of the detail. It is very easy to imagine
the two men staring at this exciting new creature, until every fine point of its
appearance has been fixed in their mind’s eye with vivid permanence. In turning their
experience and their information into the words of their own language, they have to
struggle to find images:

Kei tōna whiore kei te pūreireitanga o ngā huruhuru, tētahi mea koi,
i rite ki te maire kau nei. [M 127-129]
The hair is formed into a bunch on his tail, sharp-pointed like a cow’s
horn. [E 129-130]

Te Rerehau thinks about the way the lion is said to behave and tries to put
himself inside the creature’s mind-set. The result is anthropomorphic.

Ko tōna māhunga i maranga tonu whakarunga, ko tāna haere i haere
whakahīhī, me tāna titiro hoki. [M 121-122]
He always holds his head up and he goes along with a haughty gait
and gazes arrogantly. [E 124-125]

and

Engari i te mea kua kite mai ia i ngā kurī e rere atu ana ki te ngau i
a ia, <ia> ka rere ki runga ki tētahi pupepuke tū mai ai, ka whakaaro
a roto i tōna ngākau, "E! he rahi ahau, he ririki koutou." [M 182-185]

But if he saw the dogs approaching to attack him he would run off to
a hillock and stand there, and his inner feelings would be saying, "Ah,
I am big and you fellows are small." [E 180-183]

The precedent for looking at animals in this way could have come from Māori
antecedents. In Māori mythology, spirits and creatures were frequently given human characteristics. This is, after all, one way of exploring the nature of humans. But anthropomorphism was also a feature of European thought, and it would be impossible to decide what influence, if any, resulted in the expression of these ideas.

Te Rerehau sounds very earnest and confident in his advice on what to do when coming face to face with a lion:

Mehemea ka haere te tangata he pū rānei, he aha rānei, ki tōna ringaringa, ki te mea ka tūtaki ia i te raiona i te huarahi, kauaka e rere te tangata, engari me tū, me titiro whakatau ki te raiona. Engari ia ka kino te titiro atu Kia āhua riri, ki[α] pakari te tū, ka wehi te raiona, ke rere no[α] atu i tāna rere. [M 171-174]

If someone is going along with a gun or some other weapon in hand and meets a lion on the way, that person should not run away but should stand and stare hard at the lion. He should look ferocious and hostile and stand firm and the lion will be afraid and run away. [E 170-174]

We must be grateful that within the safety of the Vienna zoo, there was no requirement to put the theory to the test.

They were not entirely unprepared for their first sight of the animals. In their "Farewell to Vienna", they said,

We were delighted to see the animals which we had heard about in New Zealand when we talked to the English who gave us descriptions of these animals: the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the wolf, the reindeer, the fox, the bear, the giraffe, every animal, and birds too, whose pictures we have seen in New Zealand.

Just as Rī had discovered that shopkeepers might be specialists, so the two Waikato men make a point of explaining that coinage and currency differed from nation to nation. While English coinage was no doubt well established in New
Zealand by 1860, its general use by Māori people would have been growing only during the lifetime of the two men. It easy to imagine that the knowledge that somewhere else coins were different was a surprise.

The exciting events of their stay in Vienna culminated in their presentation to the Emperor. It was all organised according to protocol and was apparently part of an occasion when the scientific officers of the Novara were also being presented. Perhaps they had by this time concluded the first part of their scientific report on their findings. We know that both Hochstetter and Scherzer had been away in Trieste working on their papers.

Te Rerehau, describing Scherzer's receipt of Hochstetter's letter, writes:

A tuhituhi ana ia ki a Hata i te Riete ka mea atu kia hiahia te rangatira nui kia haere atu ēnei rua Māori kia kite ia, ā, whakaāe ana a Hata mō te rua o ngā wiki ka haere atu ai ahau. [M 237-240, my italics]

He wrote to Scherzer from Trieste and said that the great leader desired that these two Māori should go to see him, and Scherzer agreed that I should go in two weeks time. [E 233-235, my italics]

The use of "ahau" ["I"] here might seem strange in view of the fact that the context immediately before and after makes it quite clear that the reference is to "we both". But compare:

Te kāore he mea e ngaro i ahau me ngā tiata, me ngā whare i takoto ai ngā kākahu o ngā kīngi o mua. [M 24-25, my italics]

There was nothing I didn’t see -- theatres and buildings where the clothes of former monarchs are stored. [E 26-27, my italics]

where probably the sights were shown to both of them. Compare also this from Rēnata’s narration in Document One:
"... Engari me haere tātou mā roto haere ai ki ngā whakahoki, hei whakawhiti mō koutou i ahau." [I. M 105-106, my italics]

which was translated:

"... Instead we will have to walk inland to get to the place for crossing and then we can take you across." [I. E 106-107 my italics]

as "ahau" seemed to refer to the whole group.

A noteworthy example of expressing "we two" can be found in the following extract:

Te take, māna e whakarite te wāhi hei nohoanga mō māua. Ā, rite ana, karangatia ana ki te whare perehi a te rangatira nui noho-ai ēnei rua Māori, taihoa kia tata ngā rā o tō rāua hokinga ki tō rāua kāinga, ka haere ai kia kite i te Emepera. [M 232-235, my italics]

The purpose was for him to organise accommodation for us. This was arranged, and we were invited to the leader's printery; and there these two Māori men stayed waiting until it was nearly time for their return home, when they were to go to visit the Emperor. [E 226-230, my italics]

The switch from "we" to "these two Māori" and "they" is interesting because it has the effect of distancing the writer from the events of which he and his companion were central. It lends support to the statement made above that in this document there is an awareness of how people from another race are regarding the Māori guests.

Before he gets to the great occasion, Te Rerehau indulges in an aside to try to sort out the complexities of national relationships. Germany as a country had not yet come into existence, but at the time there was a loose Germanic confederation. In the "Farewell to Vienna" a reference is made to being taught about the German kings at school in New Zealand, and how strong they were in battle. Both Te Rerehau and Toetoe were educated in mission schools. It would be interesting to know what
else was in their history syllabus.

The aside takes on very much the rhythms of an oral dissertation, where time is taken to interpolate explanatory passages. Orally the tone of voice, or the speaker's demeanour makes the break in the narrative clear. He is aware of the difference in writing and makes the nature of the interruption clear with the remark that now he is coming back to his main story.

On the day of the imperial presentation the Maori men took care that they were well turned out, and once they had reached the palace gateway they formed into a procession.

The attention to detail in the description is a delight; the scene is so easy to picture:

Titiro rawa atu ki te hōia, o tētahi taha, o tētahi taha, me te whakahōnore haere, ko runga anake anō e tuohu haere ana, ka tae ki te tatau i te rūma i noho ai te rangatira. [M 269-271]

Everywhere we looked, on either side, there were soldiers, and as we proceeded we paid tribute by bowing, all the upper part of the body, and then we came to the door of the room in which the Emperor was seated. [E 263-266]

The speech that the men composed to be delivered to the Emperor, not only demonstrates a nice attention to diplomacy but also reflects the vocabulary of their mission training:

".... Tēnā koe, tēnā koe, e te Kīngi a ngā kīngi, te Ariki o ngā ariki, Ohana ki runga rawa. [M 293-294]

".... Greetings, greetings, King of kings, Lord of lords, Hosanna in the highest. [E 287-288]

The degree to which they were satisfied with the composition of this speech
can be concluded from the fact that they presented the King of Württemberg with the same one.

The vocabulary used in Document Three calls for special consideration. The two men were away from home for nearly two years, during which, we must assume, the only contact they had with their own language was each other, and their printing teacher who was probably more their student than their adviser when it came to the Māori language.

They were confronted with a vast number of new experiences, new objects, new ideas, for which there were no Māori words. They struggled to find expressions to describe them:— The light of the candles turned night into day and the crowd massing round the two men were likened to midges.

As will be seen, most of the transliterations were from English, which was not the language being spoken at the time they were meeting these new experiences. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were not entirely consistent in spelling them. "Mueheke" and "miuheke" is an example.

Transliterations:

The following words (excluding names of people and places) that have been borrowed from English can be found in this narrative. [The numbers in brackets represent the number of times the word appears in the text]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aikiha</th>
<th>handkerchief</th>
<th>[1]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emepara</td>
<td>Emperor</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hánuere</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>híaora</td>
<td>o'clock [hour]</td>
<td>[5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haramane</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>[7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td>Meanings</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hariata</td>
<td>chariot</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauta</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hepeta</td>
<td>sceptre</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hepitema</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heramana</td>
<td>sailor [sailorman]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heramanatanga</td>
<td>sailormanship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hereni</td>
<td>shilling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biraka</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōia</td>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōiho</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hū</td>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iari</td>
<td>yard [measurement]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānara</td>
<td>candle</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kara</td>
<td>flag [colour]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kara</td>
<td>colour</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kingi</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kingitanga</td>
<td>rule [kingdom]</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>kokonaitu</td>
<td>coconut</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>komotoro</td>
<td>commodore</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuini</td>
<td>queen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>crew [?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māero</td>
<td>mile</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maki</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuaao</td>
<td>man'O'war</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mei</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīra</td>
<td>mill</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīueke</td>
<td>music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moni</td>
<td>money</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moni pukapuka</td>
<td>paper [book] money</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>műeke</td>
<td>music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noema</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nota</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuipepa</td>
<td>newspaper</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>orangi</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palihe</td>
<td>polish [?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāmu</td>
<td>square [farm]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panana</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraire</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parakuihi</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parao</td>
<td>bravo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pea</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pene</td>
<td>penny</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepuere</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perehi</td>
<td>press</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pia</td>
<td>beer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poa</td>
<td>boar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirihimana</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>pukapuka</td>
<td>book</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>raiona</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>rama</td>
<td>rum</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reta</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripine</td>
<td>ribbon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ropere</td>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rori</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūma</td>
<td>room</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāika</td>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāima</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>[4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāone</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>[6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarana</td>
<td>drum</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēpa</td>
<td>tape</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tima</td>
<td>steamer</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiuka</td>
<td>duke</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāina</td>
<td>wine</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakahōnore</td>
<td>pay tribute</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>week</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wira</td>
<td>wheel</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition there are the following words taken from German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tāiti</td>
<td>German [Deutsch]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timeara</td>
<td>chamberlain [kämmerer]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aihanapana</td>
<td>railway [eisenbahn]</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a surprisingly small proportion of German words, considering the circumstances in which the Document was written.

The following words from the above list are transliteration from English of meanings already existing in Māori:

Hauta [South], Nota [North], and tāima [time].

Compare Rēnata’s use of both "moenga" and "pēti" [bed]. Perhaps "kīngi", and "emepara" might come into the same category, for the writer uses both these terms and the word "rangatira" all to refer to Franz Joseph. For the word "potato" "rīwai" is used in this text, not "parete" as in the previous two.

Transliterations that are used in all three documents are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hereni</td>
<td>[shilling]</td>
<td>moni</td>
<td>[money]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parakuihi</td>
<td>[breakfast]</td>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>[week]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only transliteration to be found in this and in Rēnata’s text but not in Rī’s is:

hū [shoe]
but those in this and in Rī's, but not in Rēnata’s are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hōia</td>
<td>soldier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānara</td>
<td>candle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuini</td>
<td>queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pia</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tima</td>
<td>steamer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōiho</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraire</td>
<td>Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama</td>
<td>rum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waina</td>
<td>wine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Document Three is the first in this thesis to refer to the names of months, January, February, May, September, and November being mentioned. Friday and Saturday are the only days of the week referred to, but dates are used, e.g. "Noema 10" [M 36].

The word "whakahōnore" is the first example in this thesis of a combination of a Māori morpheme with a transliterated root.

Excluding "Hauta" and "Nota" because they make up part of place-names, the borrowed words in Document 3 amount to 72, appearing 202 times in all. This is 4.3% of the vocabulary used.

**Place-names:**

Of the place-names used, two are straight versions one of English, one of German. Two are Māori or Polynesian. The rest (85%) are all transliterations.

**English:**
Austria

**German:**
Neu Zeeland

**Polynesian:**
Otiaiti
Waikato

**Transliterations:**
Commentary

There are two issues connected with the events in Document Three that call for further thought.

The first is the question of exploitation. Europeans have been criticised for taking Māori as "exhibits" on tours of England and elsewhere. No doubt the intentions of each Pākehā or group of Pākehā who have been responsible for such enterprises has differed, and certainly some might well have been culpable of greed, some of romanticising, and many of condescension. But these moral strictures are all reached through looking at the issue through Pākehā eyes.

To regard the issue from only the Pākehā perspective, however morally righteous, denies the Māori self-determination, and is in its own way also patronising.

The two Waikato men asked to go on this trip. They made excellent use of
their travel and clearly found pride in the interest they aroused. As they walked in the Schiller centenary procession, and heard the crowd shouting "Bravo, New Zealand," they doubtless felt like a New Zealand Olympic gold medal winner away in some foreign land as the band plays "God Defend New Zealand."

In this chapter it has been mentioned that Toetoe and Te Rerehau could be seen as part of the Novara's scientific cargo, living specimens of ethnological research. And in one sense this was so. There is no evidence, however, that they were treated any the less as respected humans. Indeed, they were regarded as good friends, they were offered hospitality, respect, and honour.

Toetoe and Te Rerehau had the satisfaction of knowing that in return for the hospitality, friendship, and knowledge they had been afforded in Vienna, they had in return provided experience and knowledge for the Austrian public.

The eminent Alois Auer spoke of "the favourable impression which they made on me even during the first weeks of their stay and which was never consequently dispelled for a single moment." And he prophesied that they "could well become on their return to their mother country not unworthy missionaries among their fellow countrymen of German culture and breeding."

And what of that return? As has been noted, when they returned to the Waikato the events were in train that led to the land wars of the 1860s and the confrontation between the Governor's forces and the King Movement. Both men lent their support to the King Movement, Te Rerehau being in command of a small military force, and Toetoe scarring his face in a gunpowder accident.

They were stirring times, but the frustrations that the King Movement faced,
and their tragically sinking fortunes, must have seemed very depressing to the young men after the glamour and glory of their time in Vienna.

Apart from the use of their printing press to print *Te Hokioi*, there is nothing to tell us whether the knowledge they had gained in Vienna was put to any use in New Zealand. The following passage suggests that one at least of them was disappointed.

(Gorst was journeying through the village where the Māori King was lodged.)

The guard-room adjoined the house in which Mr Fox was lodged, and the evolutions of the royal army were a never-failing source of amusement; bugle-blowing and drilling appeared to go on incessantly from morning till night. The general was a very smart young fellow, one of a party that had been taken over to Europe, a few years before in an Austrian frigate, the *Novara* which had visited New Zealand on a scientific exploring expedition. He spoke a little English, French, German, and Italian, and took care to exhibit his proficiency in each in turn. He was certainly much ashamed of the ragged regiment at the head of which we had caught him; but he said it was only a little pastime to amuse himself for a short time. On Sunday, the army was paraded and marched to church, where they looked very stiff and unhappy in their tight coats and military stocks, as contrasted with their civilian neighbours in the freedom of a simple blanket. The general carried their Prayer-books to church in a bag, and served them round to the men. Towards the end of the sermon, when he caught sight of two talking and laughing, he walked down the rank and boxed their ears with his hymn-book. Most of them were very young lads: two came privately, when off duty, to say how much they wished there was a good school to which they could go. The old men did not seem to approve of the soldiery. One veteran, as he sat with his pipe in his mouth, watching their evolutions, grunted out: "Humph! they'll spoil them for fighting, and make them fit for nothing but keeping barracks."

Gorst, who was normally reasonably appreciative of the Māori endeavour, seems rather dismissive of Te Rerehau's astonishing achievements abroad.

More disturbing is the attitude taken by a comparatively recent commentator, John Fletcher, that in returning to their Waikato people, and remaining loyal to them, the two men had in some way betrayed the New Zealand Governor, the British
Queen and the Austrian Emperor. The New Zealand Governor and the British Queen had not paid for their trip to Austria, they had worked their passage, and the Austrian government paid for their return. There was no reason why they more than any other Waikato Māori should turn against their own people.

Scherzer was dismayed at the news of their activities. No doubt this was dispatched to him from the Pākehā point of view in the dispute.

"According to the latest reports (January, 1864) from New Zealand the two Maoris have since their return home become the most outspoken opponents of the English and are using the typographical equipment given them to enable them to follow a peaceful calling, to print fulminating proclamations and to issue demands for revenge and for the extermination of their friends, the English."28

Fletcher writes, that after having visited Queen Victoria and Toetoe's having presented her with a declaration of loyalty in Māori with translation,

"The Buckingham Palace protestations patently forgotten, both lost little time in becoming embroiled in the Kingite rebellion against the New Zealand Government."29

This overlooks the fact that initially the King Movement saw itself as operating without any break in loyalty to the Queen. The statement also seems to imply that the Māori were the aggressors.

Fletcher records30 that the New Zealand Government tried to bribe Toetoe into not returning to the Waikato fold, by offering land. It was thought that after the experience of seeing England's might he would regard a struggle against them as futile and use his power to pacify his people. It almost certainly had the reverse effect.

The King Movement believed that the Bible enjoined them to choose a king
from among their people, and they saw that such a king might help to maintain law and order among them. Leaders such as Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, argued that British law in New Zealand operated to protect Pākehā from Pākehā and from Māori, but remained idle in protecting Māori from Māori and from Pākehā. The way Wiremu Kingi had been treated in Waitara was cited as an example.

A glance at the transliterations listed above shows that "king", and "kingship" and "emperor" comprise more than 15% of them. The two men had visited a number of European courts, they had in turn been visited by princes, dukes, and other nobility. They had lived in two Imperial centres at the zenith of their power. Far from discouraging an attempt to set up a Māori king, it might well have fanned their enthusiasm.
End-notes - Section Three, Document Three

1. On the page numbered 19 the word "Translated" has been written across the text.

2. The punctuation on the manuscript is retained here. It should be noted that the dates 1858-9 are incorrect. See End-note 9.

3. In Oliver 1990, as on the ms, this name appears in the form, Wiremu Toetoe.

4. This is the name attributed to him in Oliver 1990. On the manuscript it is written as Te Hemara Rerehau, and in Te Ao Hou as Te Hemara Rerehau Paraone.


6. A brief obituary of Toetoe appeared in the New Zealand Herald 18 February, 1881. It was sent in by "Our correspondent at Alexandra". In this obituary appeared the following: "It was thought, when Toetoe returned from Europe that (it being the very crisis of the war) he would be the means of persuading his countrymen to remain peaceable. It was thought that his mind would be so affected with the strength and resources of England that he would see at once how futile was any attempt to cope with them, and that his influence would be exerted to keep his countrymen from taking up arms. Toetoe, however, was not able to stem the tide, if he ever tried very hard, and as it is with Maoris as with Highlanders -- Toetoe cast in his lot with his people. He was never, so far as we have heard, accused of having anything to do with any of the murders before or after the war. Probably he never entertained any hope that the Maoris would win.

7. 616,000 guilders were raised towards the special scientific equipment. See Carle , 12.


9. It can be seen that the dates 1858-1859 placed on the title page of the ms was incorrect. It should be 1859-1860. See End-note 2.

10. The enthusiasm with which the New Zealand Government welcomed his surveys lends support to RI's fears, in Document Two, that the British Crown was looking to how it might benefit from New Zealand's mineral resources.


12. Ibid , 11-12. This is confirmed by Scherzer, 1859.

13. Ibid, 12.

14. Ottakring is the name of a Viennese suburb.

15. Fletcher 1984, 149.

16. Ibid, 150.

17. Ibid, 151.

18. Ibid, 152. This is interesting in light of the comments made about saltpetre in Document 2. See pp 51 and 61.

20. The English and Welsh Elementary Education Act that aimed to provide for all children, was not passed until 1870.


22. This farewell speech, "Farewell to Vienna" was printed in Te Ao Hou with the edited version of the ms, but it was not included in the ms itself.

23. Ibid.

24. Quoted by Fletcher 1984, 151.

25. Ibid, 149

26. Gorst 1864, 238-239.

27. Fletcher, 1984.


29. Fletcher 1984, 152.

30. Ibid.
The Source

The Maori newspaper, *Te Waka Maori of Ahuriri*, first appeared in 1863 and continued publication until mid-1871. In October of that year the first issue of *Te Waka Māori of Niu Tirani* was published. It took the motto of the earlier publication "Ko te Tika, ko te Pono, ko te Aroha" [Justice, Truth, Love]. Its second issue was renumbered Vol 8, No 2, so that it might be considered a continuation of the earlier journal. However, unlike its predecessor, this second publication was totally under government control.

Originally the newspaper was printed all in Māori, but from Volume 9 No 15 onwards, the left-hand column of each page was in Māori and the right-hand in English. It ceased publication in 1877.

"Exception was taken by Parliament to the Government's use of the paper, and its publication was discontinued. About a year later it was resuscitated by a private company in Gisborne under its former editor, Mr James Grindell."¹

Document 4 is a letter that was published in *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*. It appeared in the issue of May 5, 1874, Vol 10, No 9, pp 115-116. One section of the newspaper was entitled *He Whārangī Tuwhera* translated as *Open Column*, and it was in this section that Document 4 was printed.

The Author

I have not found any information about Mohi Taharangi apart from what he himself tells us in this letter. His name does not appear in Volumes I and II of the
Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

Circumstances

A series of lengthy articles describing Dr Livingstone’s exploits in Africa had appeared in preceding issues of Te Waka. News of his adventures aroused much interest in New Zealand as it did in other parts of the world.

It is to these articles that the author is referring. Reading them triggered off his memory of a journey on board a whaling vessel. He does not say whether it was British or American owned. (Both countries had whaling vessels operating in New Zealand waters.) It is difficult to assess the number of Māori men who sailed on Pākehā whaling vessels. We know that some had been engaged in this work from times as far back as the previous century. It would be interesting to discover what persuaded them to leave their homes and family and set off on such perilous journeys. Economic, social, and military pressures are factors that may force people to break their traditional living patterns. So too can a spirit of adventure and a curiosity about other places and people. Many of the documents in this thesis are evidence of this.

The Text

Unlike the earlier texts this letter was written with publication in mind. It is also much briefer, encompassing a much smaller range of experiences.

Nevertheless, it does have some features in common with them. As in Documents Two and Three, when the seas become difficult, the author’s thoughts turn to his people at home:

kua ahu mai āku whakaaro ki te kāinga i māngai, kua

384
my thoughts turned to my home far away, and in grief I bade farewell to my father and mother. [E 17-19]

Like the Waikato men in Vienna, he is fascinated by unusual animals, and he endeavours to describe the man-eating reptile that the Pākehā took a shot at. To do this he uses a simile and a metaphor:

Öna niho, me te kani poroporo nei ...... He niho katoa kai tōna tinana. [M 32-35]

Its teeth were like those of a cross-cut saw ...... There are teeth all over its body. [E 32-36]

When the Waikato men in Document Three visited a weaving factory Te Rerehau suggested that some of the operations were beyond the attainment of a Māori. Whether they were referring to Māori people as such, or to the Māori weaving practices of the time is not made clear, In any case it was just a momentary suggestion of inferiority. Such lack of faith in Māori strength and skill is much more marked in this letter. When faced with his own fear of drowning he writes:

Hai aha ki tēnā iwi ki te Pākehā - te rangatira o te mātavranga. He oranga ngākau ki a ia aua tini mea whakamataku, arā ki te mate. Ka tatata mai ki te tinana te mate, kātahi ka tino kaha te Pākehā ki te whakahoki i te aituā. E kore e taea e mātou whaka Māori aua tini mahi a te Pākehā. [M 20-24]

But what mattered it [danger] to the Pākehā people - those masters of knowledge? Their spirits thrive on those many perilous events, even death. It is when death approaches, when their lives are threatened, that the Pākehā are most vigorous in resisting disaster. We could never achieve in our Māori way the many accomplishments of the Pākehā. [E 20-25]

As a piece of racial generalisation this is demonstrably untenable. It could be
understood if an inexperienced individual, surrounded by experienced sailors, wrote such a passage at the time of the storm. But this letter was written some time after the event, perhaps many years after it.

What could lead someone to ignore so categorically the proud record of courage, seamanship, and skill of his own people? The outcome of the previous decade of land wars, its psychological effect on Māori people, and the patronising tone of the newspaper in which this letter appeared may well have had something to do with it.

The overall structure of the letter is loosely a stream of associations. Although it shows signs of being "managed" in a literary manner, it is shaped in the way conversation is shaped. It is like the rambling of an elderly person recalling the past:

Nō tāku kitenga iho i te kōrero o ngā tini kūrī me ngā tini ngārara ..... kua waiho tonu hai māharahara āhuarekatanga nui mā tōku ngākau i te rā, i te pō. [M 7-10]

Ever since I saw the description of the many animals and reptiles ..... I have thought about this with pleasure, day and night. [E 7-9]

The literary "management" referred to above takes the form of images. The description of the man-eating reptile has already been mentioned. The most emphatic image Taharangi uses is the analogy drawn between wild animals and the sea.

Beneath the letter there appears in brackets additional information about Santiago, presumably contributed by the editor. It reads like a piece copied out of an encyclopaedia. Te Waka leaves the impression that its aim is to "enlighten" its Māori subscribers, that is, to keep them informed of the Pākehā world.

386
It is impossible to know the date at which this journey down the east coast of South America took place. The writer sounds like an older man, and the hey-day of whalers calling in New Zealand waters was in the 1830s and 1840s, but whaling certainly was not exclusive to those decades. Perhaps another indication that it was some considerable time before the writing of this letter can be found in the small number of transliterations used.

Transliterations:

The following words (excluding names of people and places) that have been borrowed from English can be found in this narrative. [The numbers in brackets represent the number of times the word appears in the text]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
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<td>minute</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letter</td>
<td>reta</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>tākuta</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>town</td>
<td>tāone</td>
<td>[5]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these the only words occurring in previous Documents are "Hauta" and "tāone" found in Document III. (Te Rerehau did refer to a railway but used a transliteration from German.)

Excluding "Hauta" and "tākuta", because they make up part of two proper nouns, the borrowed words in Document Four amount to 4, appearing 9 times in all. This is only 1.7% of the vocabulary used.

Place Names:

Taupō
Ākarana
Hanatiako

387
End-notes - Section Three, Document Four

1. Williams 1924, 97.
The Source

Document Five comprises two letters that appeared in the Open Column of the Journal, *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* Vol 10, No 9, May 5, 1874 (pp 113-115) and Vol 10 No 16, August 11, 1874 (pp 200-205) respectively.

The Author

Major Rapata Wahawaha was a prominent Ngāti Porou leader in the 19th century. Born about 1820, he was captured and enslaved in 1828 by Rongowhakaata in a land dispute with Ngāti Porou. His name, Rapata, was that of his "master", Rapata Whakapuhia.

Rapata sometimes spelt his name Ropata, as he does in these two letters. This was the way it sounded when pronounced by the Scotsman, Donald McLean, and Rapata preferred this spelling as it broke the connection of his name with its origins in captivity.

His friendship with McLean developed during the 1860s, when members of Ngāti Porou were divided in their allegiance, some supporting the King Movement and the Pai Marire religion, others, like Rapata, finding the new religion unacceptable. Rapata was a committed Anglican.

Rapata was a distinguished and fierce soldier and between the years 1865-1866 he led a contingent of men in battle against the Hauhau warriors, and again in the
Māori nationalism as embodied in the King Movement, a consequence of which was that in his opposition to it, he was fighting in alliance with the New Zealand government. He was also settling old scores, and exacting revenge on his previous captors, Rongowhakaata.

At the time he wrote the letters in Document Five, the land wars, the raruraru [troubles] to which he refers [M 205, E 212] had been ended some three years earlier, but inevitably they left in their wake bitterness and tribal and personal deprivation. Rapata did not approve of the attempts made by the Repudiation Movement⁴ to regain Māori land by legal proceedings, but he did feel that he personally had not been adequately rewarded for his military contribution.⁴

Both he and Ōpōtiki D « Rēnata Kawepō, the author of Document One, were subsequently awarded the Queen’s Sword of Honour for their part in the land wars, a gesture that scarcely compensated them for their physical suffering, and their financial sacrifices. The cost of feeding and outfitting their soldiers had been borne by them personally.

Rapata’s letters in Document Five read like the words of an old man. He was in fact only in his mid-fifties at the time, with another 23 years of life ahead of him. Doubtless, he was still war-weary, disillusioned, and, while he was in Australia, lonely and powerless because of language barriers.

**Circumstances**

Rapata Wahawaha tells us that he came by chance to join Donald McLean’s party on his visit to New South Wales. At the time McLean held the cabinet portfolio of Native Affairs and Defence, a position to which he had been appointed in 1869, that is when the land wars were still in progress.
Before that, he had worked in the conduct of the war with those East Coast Māori rangatira who were opposed to the King Movement. Major Rapata Wahawaha was a leading figure among them.

Mclean had held various public offices over the previous twenty to thirty years, work that involved him in close dealings with Māori chiefs, particularly in the matter of land transactions. His being already bilingual in Gaelic and English perhaps assisted him to become fluent in Māori, and this seemed to fit him for his work. Many Māori people believed he was their friend. But his position was, to say the least, ambivalent. His real sympathies lay with the settlers who sought land for farm development. He convinced himself that there was a conspiracy among the Māori people, (particularly of Taranaki and Waikato) to block land sales, and because of this he stubbornly refused to recognise the injustice of the Government position which led to the Waitara dispute and triggered off the land wars of 1860-1871, wars for which he must, at least in part, be held responsible.

1874 was a year of apparently personal and political triumph for McLean. This was the year in which he was knighted, and on the tour of New South Wales and Victoria he was received with ceremony and honour. At the time, he was 54 years old, about the same age as Rapata, and already wearying of his public life. He resigned at the end of 1876 and died just one month later.

What influence he held over Rapata, it is difficult to say. They shared a similar viewpoint, for instance, in relation to Māori separatism, but this might well be for different reasons. But was Rapata being guided to see his Australian experience thought McLean’s eyes?

"He genuinely worked for the day when, in the words of his
These words describing McLean are so like Rapata’s it is easy to suppose so.

Those Pākehā people in the places where I visited had just one set of customs, and one attitude. They live together and work together. No matter whether they are English, French, Chinese, Scots, or any other nationality, they live together in one community in those places that I visited; I did not see any trouble from disaffected people living there. That was what I saw, just happiness and compliance with the laws enacted in the Parliaments of those places ... [E 297-303]
Rapata was accustomed to command, experienced in speech-making, and his words read like those of someone who expects to be heeded. His narrative is mixed with reflections on suitable education for Māori children; homilies on Pākehā diligence; and admonitions to return to Christianity and peace in order that the benefits of the technology he observed in Australia could be enjoyed in New Zealand also.

Koia hoki i tika ai te whakahaere a te Kawanatanga o Niu Tirani, e mea nei kia whakatūria he kura mō ngā tamariki Māori, kia mōhio ai ki te reo Pākehā me ōna tikanga o roto o te reo Pākehā: arā, kia mātou ai rātou ki ngā mea katoa a te Pākehā. Tērā pea e hohoro te mōhio o ngā tamariki o Niu Tirani, ki te pai rā te māhi a ngā kai-whakaako. [M 71-75]

That's why it is appropriate that the Government of New Zealand is making preparations to establish schools for Māori children, so that they can learn the English language and the benefits inherent in it; that is to say so that they can learn all about European matters. The [Māori] children of New Zealand will doubtless progress rapidly in their knowledge, if the teachers are diligent in their work. [E 71-76]

Nā, he kupu whakaatu anō tēnei ki a koutou. E aku hoa o te motu, ahakoa nui noa ngā tikanga a te Pākehā, kotahi anō tikanga i nui ake, ko te māhi anake. Mā te māhi tonu ka whiwhi; mā te māngere, he aha māna? E mōhio ana koutou ki te whakatauāki Māori nei, "Ko māhi ko kai; ko noho ko iri." [M 187-191]

Well now, let me tell you this. My countrymen, friends, although the Pākehā have a great many attributes, the most important of all is their application to work. From consistent work comes gain. What comes from idleness? You know the Māori saying, "Work and eat; sit idle and go hungry." [E 194-198]

Nā, e hoa mā, tērā anō pea tātou e kite tahi i te mahinga o ērā mea ki tō tātou motu me i kawa tātou te raruraru, tē hoki whakamuri.[M 204-205]

Now, my friends, the manufacture of these things could be seen in our country if it were not for our troubles, and that we go backwards..[E 211-212]
Before he leaves this theme he exhorts his readers to take his advice to heart:

Ki te mōhio iho i a koe tāu rārangi i pai ai o te nei reta, māu e tapuhi hei tāonga māu. [M 294-295]

If you realise that a line of this letter is applicable to you, you should cherish it as a treasure for yourself. [E 310-311]

Like a speech on a marae, his message is beautifully illustrated by stories: the legend of the discarded red feather brought on the canoes, Te Arawa and Tainui, and retelling of Captain Cook’s gifts to Māhina-i-te-Tangi.

Although the tone of Document Five differs from the preceding ones, there are some features that it has in common. In Document Two, when Rī’s vessel moved out of sight, the Pākehā sailors pointed it out to him, perhaps teasingly, "Where’s Hokianga?"

Rapata, himself, poses a similar question in Document Five,

Ao rawa ake tirotiro kau ana, kei hea rā Niu Tirani? Heoi, ka mutu te whakaaro mō te kite i te whenua. [M 18-19]

Next morning we looked in vain, wherever was New Zealand? Well, that was the end of thoughts about seeing land. [E 16-17]

The interval of time between Rī’s account and Rapata’s is twenty or more years, but the Australian scene was sufficiently similar to elicit some similar topics of comment: the number and variety of vessels in the Sydney Harbour, the distance into the harbour they were able to sail, the crowds of people they encountered, and the fact that the houses were built of stone, not timber.

There were, however, significant differences in the attitudes of the two writers, and they drew very different social conclusions from what they say. Rī
commented on the hard conditions faced by the convicts, and on the fact that the Aboriginal people had been driven from the city. Rapata detected no such problems:

... I kite anō au i ētahi o ngā mōrehu o ngā mokopuna a Kahukura Māmangu e whakahanumi ana i roto i te Pākehā. [M 59-60]

... And I saw some of the surviving descendants of the Black Kahukura mingling among the Pākehā. [E 59-60]

Rī appeared to look upon the drunkenness, the gambling, and the widespread employment of prostitutes with a fascinated disgust. Rapata saw no such lawlessness.

... E mahi ana hoki i ana mahi huhua; purei kāri, me te tini ana purei, kāore he hīanga kāore he whakatuma ki ā rātou Pākehā. [M 48-49]

... They keep themselves occupied with many activities; they play cards, with a number of card-games, and there is no cheating or confrontation among them. [E 48-49]

And as previously quoted7 all he saw was happiness and compliance with the laws enacted.

Almost certainly the difference in what the two men observed lay in the circumstances of their travel and the company they kept. Rī met a number of Māori people in Sydney with whom he could converse, and mixed with ordinary people in ordinary work-a-day life. Rapata moved in government and official circles, living in hotels and attending official functions. Moreover, he was under the patronage and guidance of a politician whose agenda involved fostering "assimilation for the Māori people" and "application to hard work" for all.

Both Rī and Rapata had periods of stress on their visit, but for very different reasons. Rī had difficulty earning sufficient money to supply himself with basic needs, and he experienced confusion and anxiety alone in a foreign environment.
Rapata was protected from such anxieties. But he experienced loneliness, for unlike Rū, he met no Māori people to converse with.

... tē ai he hoa kōrero, tē aha. Hei tiro kau atu ki ngā ngutu o te Pākehā e tametame ana, he pēhea rānei ngā kupu. [M 80-82]

... and so I have no companions to talk to at all, none whatsoever. All I can do is look at the Pākehā lips moving, and wonder what the words are. [E 81-83]

... E kai ana, e kōrero ana te Pākehā i āna kōrero, whakarongo kau ana te taringa Māori. [M 164-164]

... While we were dining, the Pākehā kept up a conversation; my Māori ears heard, but could not understand any of it. [E 170-172]

For a man who was accustomed to being a principal orator at hui, his situation at this dinner must have felt very strange.

A comparison might also be made with Te Rerehau’s narrative. Both Te Rerehau and Rapata describe a visit to the zoo. But not for Rapata the enthusiasm and detailed description of the strange creatures they saw for the first time. Rapata totally dismisses the lion, the bear, and the snake:

... Kihai i ū aku kanohi ki te titiro atu, i te wehi mai. Ki taku mahara me kore ērā mea e hōmai ki tēnei motu, hei reira anō ka mutu atu. Me kaha rawa te kupu whakakore i ērā mea kia kaua e maua mai ki tēnei motu. [M 193-196]

... I could scarcely look at them, I found them so terrifying. In my opinion these creatures should not be brought to this country; they should stop where they are. We should strongly urge that those creatures be banned from being brought to this country. [E 200-203]

In discussing Document Four reference has been made to Taharangi’s comparisons between the Pākehā and Māori in relation to physical courage at sea, to the detriment of the latter. This discounting of Māori qualities is more apparent in
Document Five. Apparently overwhelmed at Australian technological "progress". Rapata appears to go out of his way to belittle his own people. They lack enterprise, he complains; his stories are designed to demonstrate how inadequately the Māori people have made use of Pākehā technology. Counter arguments to his reasoning could be put forward, but obviously he was so impressed with the industrial advances of Australia that he was overwhelmed.

... Tāna mahi, tā te Pākehā, e kore e mutu i ngā rā katoa; he takaāhua reka anake. Mehe mea ko tāua, ko te Māori, ka kīa ki te pōrearea, ki te turituri noa iho. Kotahi anō te mate o tēnei hanga o te Māori, ko te kore ngahau. Me te tekoteko whakairo - tē kī te waha, tē aha. Āu hanga rā, e te kūare! Hē noa iho tēnei pakeke. [M 66-70]

... Every day their activity (the Pākehā's) goes on endlessly; without exception they are engaged in some fascinating occupation. Faced with this, we Māori, would describe it as tiresome, just a racket. The one thing wrong with our people, the Māori people, is their lack of spirit. They are like carved figures; they do not speak, or anything else. That's the way it is with the ignorant! This old chap is quite at a loss. [E 65-70]

His inclusion of himself in this last sentence goes some way to soften the effect of his sermonising.

Moreover, there is a degree of ambivalence in his exhortation to imitate the "get-up-and-go" of the Australian "Pākehā". His use of the words "pōrearea" [tiresome] and "turituri" [racket] indicates something of his own reaction to the bustle. Similarly, the noise of the buses and the multiple bell-ringing are commented on.

He admires the beauty of Sydney, and the different, flat beauty of Melbourne, but misses the mountains, hills and valleys of New Zealand.

... Heoi anō tōna maunga ko te paewai o te rangi; kōrehurehu kau ana
The only mountain in view was where the sea met the sky, and all you could see was just a haze; it was something to arouse yearning, for the horizon there where the sky meets the ocean, gazed at there in New Zealand, looked just like that land. [E 56-59]

Nor is he the sort of tourist who admires all he sees. He found the unclad sculpture shocking and the zoo animals terrifying.

Like so many sea voyages of last century, whether described by Māori or Pākehā, Rapata’s account of his return to New Zealand reads grimly. The route they took is interesting, particularly the use made of a South Island West Coast Fiord to shelter from the gale.

Apart from Document One, in which Rēnata describes a journey that is circular in direction, and does not have "a return" as such, Rapata’s account is the only one in this thesis that describes his coming back. The fact that the others do not, almost certainly reflects the emphasis in Māori traditional composition on separation.

Vocabulary

The first of these two letters was written in Sydney, at a time when the author was restricted in opportunity for conversation as he was not bilingual. The second letter was written after his return to New Zealand.

Transliterations

Excluding names of people and places, there are 62 words in Document Five that have been borrowed, 61 of them from English, and "ture" which is derived from
the Hebrew "torah". This is the word regularly used for law; it was adopted from Tahitian missionaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Āperira</td>
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<tr>
<td>hāora</td>
<td>hour / o'clock</td>
<td>[6]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hātarei</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
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<td>captain</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<td>clock / o'clock</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hotel / public house</td>
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<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pāremete</td>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<td>pātene</td>
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<td>[2]</td>
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<td>pāuna (£)</td>
<td>pound</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<tr>
<td>paura</td>
<td>powder (gunpowder)</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<tr>
<td>pea</td>
<td>bear</td>
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<td>pere</td>
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<td>pi</td>
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<td>pouaka</td>
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<td>game / play / race</td>
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<td>puru</td>
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<td>putu</td>
<td>foot (measurement)</td>
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<td>pūtu</td>
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<td>raiona</td>
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<td>rērewē</td>
<td>railway</td>
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<td>reta</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<tr>
<td>tāima</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāitei</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāone</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>[25]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen that Rapata, like Rēnata, used both forms "Mane" and "Manei" for Monday.

If Document Four is not considered (on account of its relative shortness) transliterations that have appeared in all documents so far are:

- moni
- parakuihi
- wiki.

Several words that appear in both journeys to Sydney (Documents Two and Five) are spelt differently:

- āwhe
- hāwhe [half]
- parapakauhe
- paparikauta [public house]
- Taetei
- Taitei [Thursday]

In all, transliterations are used 186 time, which amounts to 3.9% of the text. Compared with the percentage in Rī’s account (4.5%) some twenty years earlier, this is a little fewer. The difference is not significant, except that with the passage of time, the development of technology, and the "tourist" nature of Rapata’s stay, the reverse might have been expected.

Place-names:

Māori and Polynesian:

Hawaiki
Ōtakau
Pei-o-whairangi
Reerenga Wairua
Türanganui-o-Kiwa
Uiwa
Waïapu
Walikawa
Whangaparrāoa
Kokorutanga Kaikore

Transliterations:

Ākarana
Hanareti
Hirini
Ingarani
Katapere
Merepana
Nēpia
Niu Tirani
Parawhe
Polihākena
Pōneke
Pōti Kupa
Tahimēnia
Werengitana
Wikitoria
1. For reference to this Journal see back to p 383, (Document Four).

2. For a full account of his campaigns see Porter 1923 and Oliver 1990, 568-569.

3. This was basically an attack on McLean’s land policy. See Cowan 1940, 136, and Stephen Oliver in Oliver 1990, 569.


5. For further information on Donald McLean’s relationship with the Māori people, see Oliver 1990, 255-258; Cowan 1940; Butterworth 1990.


7. See p 392.

8. See pp 385-386.
The Source

Document Six consists of 71 hand-written pages of diary written by Wiri Nehua during the time that the New Zealand Māori Rugby Team was touring New Zealand, Australia, and Great Britain, in 1888-1889.

The study of this document was undertaken from a microfilm in the possession of The University Library, Auckland. The transcript and translation of this manuscript are not included in Section II of this thesis, as it is not clear that the work is out of copyright, and the librarian at the Library does not know how to locate the owner to request permission to use it.

The microfilm itself has been damaged, and there seem to be parts of the diary missing. The manuscript consists of a diary spanning the period April 23, 1888 to March 5, 1889. The microfilm records 71 unnumbered pages of diary, some newspaper cuttings reporting some football matches in Great Britain, and a further five pages of handwriting, three of which are recipes for various Māori cures for ailments such as rheumatics, stiff joints, and swellings. These recipes, apart from some of the ingredients, are written in English. They may not be in the same handwriting as the diary.

The remaining two pages are written in an entirely different hand. The writer of these was probably elderly, and not familiar with handwriting Māori.

The Author

The author of the diary is Wiri Nehua. He is thought to have been born about 1866, and lived until 1943. Little else is known about him. At the time when this diary was written he appeared to be living at Taharoa, from where he travelled on horseback to Mangawhai Harbour. He is described as returning "to Whakapara near Whangarei" but the address of the additional pages of 1985 is still given as Taharoa.

He was selected to be one of the 26 members of the largely Māori rugby team.
to make the tour of Great Britain. At the time, he was a student at Te Aute College, about 22 years of age. Not the most effective member of the team, he played in only 8 of their 74 matches during the time in Great Britain. The promoter of the tour, Thomas Eyton, regarded him as a strong player and "a good kick", but rather slow. He played at various positions. On one occasion, when he was playing full-back, Wiri Nehua writes that his kicking was off that day, and he lost the Māori the match.

I hē taku kikinga i tēnei pureitanga (fullback) i whai paina ai ngā Pākehā, ā, i ruhi ai hoki mātou, kāore ā mātou paina.

[My kicking was off in this game (fullback) so that the Pākehā scored a point, and we lost with no points.]

He also played as a forward and as a three-quarter.

Although we have little information about the rest of his life; a number of characteristics reveal themselves in his diary. He seems a fairly gentle person, appreciative of kindnesses shown to him and to the members of his team. Many of his sentences begin, "Ka nui te pai o... [Great was the good of...]

When the team was accommodated at Colin’s Hotel in Christchurch:

Ka nui te pai o ngā Pākehā te atawhai i a matou.

The Pākehā looked after us extremely well.

On their arrival at Plymouth in England:

Ka nui te pai o ngā pāmu e kitea atu ana e mātou.
The farms we have seen are excellent.

And similarly "Ka nui te pai:
 o ngā takotoranga tūpāpaku.
 the arrangement of the graves in Westminster Abbey

 o tēnei tāone o Birmingham.
 this town of Birmingham

 o ngā Pākehā o konei ki te waiata.
 the people of Leeds at singing

 o tēnei tākarō o ngā Pākehā o Leeds nei whakahāhua reka noa i a mātou.
 a performance of mesmerists and ventriloquists at Leeds, and one sentence
later:

o ngā waiata hīmene ki ngā whare karakia nei.
the hymn-singing in the Leeds churches

o tō mātou whare noho o te Royal Scotch [sic] Arms, their
accommodation at the Royal Scotch Arms in Hartlepool.

o ngā tāngata o konei ki te Māori i Wigan,
Wigan people's treatment of the Māori team

o ngā mea o tēnei tiata,
theatre items, -- the skill of the Pakehā at the Folly theatre in
training mice, cats, and birds to perform together on ropes.

Whether it was because of this gentle appreciative nature, or because of his
relatively unimportant part in the team, he was twice cast in the role of "nursemaid"
to injured members of the side. On the first occasion, one of the key players, Joseph
Warbrick, broke the bones in his ankle in a match within New Zealand. After three
weeks of treatment in Auckland he was shipped to Dunedin, and from there he and
Wiri Nehua boarded a steamer to go ahead of the others, so that Warbrick could get
medical attention in Melbourne. Wiri Nehua was needed because Warbrick could not
walk unaided.

Later, at the end of the year, while they were in Great Britain, Charles
Madigan broke his ankle, and he was left behind in Carlisle in Wiri's care. The
others went on to play in other places such as Kendal, Swinton, Liverpool, and
Ireland. After this, Wiri seemed frequently to be independent of the team, staying
behind to see the Queen's daughter arrive in Newcastle, occasionally playing as a
"friend" in local teams, and even attending a soccer match.

In Australia and in Great Britain, the team was given many "outings", shown
over factories, taken to "estates", and regaled at dinners. Invitations were extended
to exhibitions, shows, and theatres. Wiri first mentions theatre-going early on the tour while they were in Melbourne. He takes pains to explain that they attended only to oblige the theatre-owners, who gave them free seats. He said that the owners explained that if the Māori men attended the performance, others would be attracted to come, in order to see the Māori there.

Te take he nui kē atu te wini o te rangatira o ngā whare pērā, mehemea ki te haere mātou ki tōna whare. Ka haere mātou mai hoki te tini Pākehā kia kē i a mātou. Tautohe ana te Pākehā kia haere mātou ki tāna purei tāna aha rānei.

The reason is that the owner of such a building rather gains more if we go to his establishment. When we attend, a great many Pākehā also attend, just to see us. The Pākehā compete as to whether we go to this one's entertainment or that one's.

But what began as a fulfilment of an obligation, soon, it seemed, developed into a craving, and Wiri's attendance at the theatre, all over England, became almost a nightly occurrence.

The "theatre" embraced all types of performance: plays, music hall, acrobats, performing animals, mesmerism, farce, and pantomime. On the eve of the match at Burton-on-Trent, Wiri was still excusing their theatre visiting as follows:

Ehara i te hiahia nui kia kē i te tiata engari hei whakarite i te aroha o ngā rangatira tiata ki a mātou. Kaore mātou i tino whakaroa ki waho i tēnei pō kia kaha ai hoki ki te purei anō i te ata o te Tāite, Oct 18th.

We did not much want to go to the performance but felt obliged because of the kindness of the theatre owners to us. We did not stay out long this evening as we wanted to be fit and strong for the game on the Thursday morning, Oct 18th.

It should be noted that this was the fourth consecutive night that he had attended a Birmingham theatre. It was the last time in the diary that Wiri mentioned a conflict
between theatre and rugby. Considering how little he was called upon to play, it is no wonder that as the diary continued, theatre visits played an increasing part.

Not that he was only bent on entertainment. He showed an interest in bridges, churches, markets, and commented on those things in the organised visits to factories that interested him. He regularly attended church, frequently at the cathedral of a city, and although, as an old boy of Te Aute, he was probably an Anglican, he also attended Catholic and "Scotch" services.

Nehua’s diary comes to an abrupt end, with the last entry being for March 6, three weeks before their departure for Australia. It ends with an account of a ceremony where caps and badges were awarded players. A medal was awarded him for being the strongest at kicking the ball in Theatre Sports.4

The two additional pages included in the manuscript record the death of a Wiri Nehua in 1895. This Wiri Nehua was a schoolboy of 16 when he died. Perhaps he was the nephew of the diary’s author for he was too old to be the son. The notice reads as if it were the boy’s grandfather who wrote it.

Circumstances

Less than ten years after the first rugby unions were formed in New Zealand, sending a predominately Māori Rugby team on tour to Australia and Great Britain was the joint idea of two men, Joseph Warbrick and Thomas Eyton.

Joseph Warbrick was a three-quarter who along with Jack Taiaroa had been included in the first New Zealand representative team which had toured Australia in 1884. By this time a number of exclusively Māori Rugby clubs had been formed, and there were many other Māori men playing alongside Pākehā in other clubs. The
growth of Māori rugby was particularly fostered in schools such as St Stephen's and Te Aute.

Thomas Eyton was an Englishman who emigrated to New Zealand in 1862. He returned to England for the Jubilee Year in 1887, and while there attended a number of matches and came to the conclusion that the games he had watched in New Zealand were almost as good. As promoter of the tour he hoped to make the venture a financial success. This meant, he believed, that it had to be a private venture. (He was critical of provincial unions wanting to take control, and as the New Zealand Rugby Football Union was not formed until 1892, there was no national body to prevent the tour).

Eyton wanted an exclusively Māori team, but he was not involved in their selection. The implication is that he hoped to cash in on the prevailing fascination in England for visits from indigenous groups. This was amply born out by Nehua's frequent reference to the dressing up of the team in Māori cloaks before and after matches in the earlier part of the tour. There were many others who quickly saw the financial potential for the tour and were keen to profit from it. Another important backer was the Gisborne Publican, James Scott, who successfully managed the tour through its arduous programme.

The selection of the team was made by Joseph Warbrick, and despite the fears that the inclusion of players who were not full-blooded Māori would in some way reduce the profits, the composition is believed to be as follows: five full-blooded Māori, (the author of Document Six being one); 14 or 15 had one Māori parent, and at the last minute five Pākehā were added to the team, and its name changed from "The New Zealand Maori Team" to "The New Zealand Native Team".
In New Zealand they played 17 matches against provincial sides and won 14 of them. In Australia they played 16 rugby games, winning 15 of them. In Great Britain they played 74 matches winning 49 and drawing five. This included three tests against Ireland, Wales, and England. They defeated Ireland. In addition, they were trained in Victorian Rules, and won 3 of the matches they played in this code.

They left New Zealand in August 1888 and returned one year later, in August 1889. Their last match was played in Auckland that month. In all, they played 107 rugby matches and won 78 of them. Considering that this year included a return sea journey between Australia and Great Britain, and a return sea journey between New Zealand and Australia, for activity and sporting success, this must compare favourably with the record of any other New Zealand sports team travelling abroad.

The Text

Document Six is the only text in this thesis that has been written in true diary form. It is not known if the diary was intended as an official account of the tour, as a personal record, or as an account to interest family and friends. Nor is it known whether it was continued in another document not included in the microfilm from which this study was undertaken. As it stands, it stops several months short of the end of the tour.

The fact that it was written in diary form has affected the style of the language and the tone of the account. There is no evidence of conscious literary management, and very little attempt to develop themes, or pass moral judgment on what the writer encounters.

Nevertheless, a very clear picture of the circumstances in which the men found
themselves emerges; similarly, a reader cannot but feel that Wiri Nehua becomes an acquaintance, a friend, as his personality is revealed in his selections of content. The diary is headed "The Accounts of Our Games", but it becomes much more than that.

It opens on April 23, as he rides horseback with a companion from his home in Taharoa to Mangawhai Harbour. Here he catches a steamer to Auckland. This takes two days. In Auckland he meets another selected player, Dick Maynard, and from there they catch a larger steamer, arriving in Napier five days after his setting out from home.

They went into training at a camp at Te Waipatu, and within two months, the first match of the tour was played at Napier, where they defeated the Hawkes Bay Pākehā, 5-0.

In all, they played eight matches in New Zealand before going to Australia. Wiri Nehua missed the last two games against Dunedin as he went on ahead with the injured Joseph Warbrick. It is not always possible to know from the diary when the author played in a game, or went with a sight-seeing group. He uses "mātou" to mean either "we" (including me, as in English) or "our men". Even "ētahi o mātou" (some of us) is frequently used to mean "some of our men" went to …., but I stayed at …..

After the second Napier match, June 30, he returned home, but came south to Auckland to watch the match there, where the team lost. Of the seventeen games they played in New Zealand before and after their year overseas, they lost only three times.

The enormous number of games that was required of the players while touring has already been referred to. Even within New Zealand they had to meet rugged conditions. Straight after the Auckland match, they travelled to Onehunga to board
a vessel for Nelson.

Nui rawa atu te ngaru me te hau i konei, mate katoa mātou. Kīhau i tū ki Taranaki. I te Wenerei ka ū mātou ki Nerihana, purei tonu atu ki reira. I purei mātou i roto i te wai me te paru i runga hoki i tō mātou mate i te tima. Wini ana mātou e rima ā mātou paina, kāore a ngā Pākehā. (Hūrae 2) I taua pō ka tū he tina, he muri ka rere anō tō mātou tima ki Pōneke.

The waves and the wind were so strong at this time that we were all sick. We did not land at Taranaki. On Wednesday we landed at Nelson, and played a match there immediately. We played in the wet and the mud, added to our sickness from the steamer. We won, five points to us, and none to the Pakeha. (July 2). That night a dinner was organised, and afterwards we immediately set sail for Wellington.

They were held up by fog at Picton and had to go ashore there, unable to continue until the following day. Even so, they still managed to fit in an inspection of Parliament Buildings before their match in Wellington. And then they were off to play at Christchurch, Timaru, and twice at Dunedin.

In the South Island Wiri Nehua was very far away from his home base. The particular features that he selected to comment on are the Lyttelton tunnel, five miles long, and the very flat countryside to which he referred twice:

Ko te whenua pāpaku rawa atu tēnei i kite ai mātou i Niu Tireni.

This is the flattest land we have ever seen in New Zealand.

Notwithstanding their playing and training commitments, they managed to fit in a visit to the Kaiapoi Woollen Mills, and the flour mills in Timaru.

Wiri Nehua and Joseph Warbrick boarded their steamer for Australia in Dunedin. Their first port of call was the Bluff. From there they left for Tasmania.
after leaving New Zealand have commented on losing sight of the land. Nehua's comment is a little different:

    I konei tōku kitenga whakamutunga i te Māori.

    Here was my last sight of Māori people.

The journey to Australia took six days. Nehua has little to say about it. His two observations were:

    Ka tū te karakia te Rātapi i runga i a Te Mararoa. I mate hoki tētahi hōiho pai i tēnei ra.

    A church service was held on board The Mararoa on Sunday. A fine horse died on that day.

Earlier in this section a reference was made to the effect of the diary form on the style of this document. Sometimes the result is a little incongruous. In Hobart,

    Ka kite ahau i tētahi tangata nui i konei, tāna taumaha e 32 tōne. I kite anō hoki au i ngā whare mahi hamī.

    Here I saw a big man who weighed 32 stone. I also saw the jam factories.

This reads almost like Cecily's diary in Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* and in each case the reason for this can be attributed both to the form and to the inexperience of the diarist, (artful inexperience in the case of Cecily). As Wiri Nehua's diary proceeds, it is possible to detect a growing maturity and independence.

A few days later, in Melbourne, having recorded that his friend Joseph was taken into medical care he wrote:

    Kātahi anō ahau ka wātea ki te haere noa iho.
At last I was free to go wherever I wished.

The effect of this is to imply he begrudged the assistance he had been giving to Joseph Warbrick. A more "managed" text would have avoided this impression. Clearly Nehua, as is shown repeatedly in his diary, is a kindly, appreciative young man, most ungrudging in spirit. Again, the effect here is the result of his inexperience.

As has been said earlier, there are very few sentences of condemnation in the diary. One aspect, however, that drew Nehua into critical statements was dirtiness.

He awa haunga rawa a te Iara.
The Yarrow is a very smelly river.

Hoi anō te kino o tēnei tāone he paru nō ngā tiriti. [Naples]
The bad thing about this town was the dirt in the streets.

In Burton-on-Trent, a town whose principal manufacture was alcohol, and where after the post-match dinner many of the team got drunk, he writes:

Kāhore mātou i tino pai ki tērā tāone, ki Burton, he āhua paru hoki.

We did not like the town of Burton very much, for it was rather dirty.

Melbourne was the first place that Nehua records attending the theatre. He and Joseph went the night before Joseph began his treatment. After the rest of the team has arrived he writes:

Kei ngā pō he haere tonu tā mātou mahi ki te mātaikitaki i ngā
We continued to spend our evenings going to the theatre and many were the new and entertaining things that were performed there. We went for one hour to each building merely to fulfil the wishes of the theatre owners. Some of our men did not manage to get to the large number of play-houses. There was great joy if a single one of the Māori men came to their establishment. On another occasion we split up and attended all the theatres. One very good show was "Esmeralda"; the Governor of this place went to this performance.

In the daytime they went to the Exhibition that had just opened in Melbourne. Nehua lists a number of displays, but the one that seemed to capture his imagination most vividly was a machine for incubating birds’ eggs,

Ka paopao ngā pīpī, mā taua mīhini nei anō e whāngaia nui noa ngā pīpī heihei.

When the chickens hatch out it is by means of that machine alone that the hen chicks are given a lot of food.

Regularly throughout his travels he took note of the care given to keeping attractive surrounds for exhibitions, and estates. Of the marine display at the exhibition he writes,

Pai atu te mahinga o taua mea nei. He nīkau, he ponga, he aha noa ngā mea e tupu ana i ngā taha.

This [display] was very pleasantly planted. There were nīkau, ferns, and similar plants growing round the sides.

When they were invited to play at Sheffield Park and were entertained by Lord
Sheffield on his estate Nehua was particularly impressed with the flower garden and the way the grounds were kept. Several times he visited public gardens. A favourite was Belle Vue Gardens in the Manchester area. In Wigan they visited Lord Wigan’s estate and again he commented on the garden.

While in Melbourne some of the team went to the zoo. Nehua lists a number of creatures; his favourite he says is the seal. The only one he made further comment about is the kangaroo.

He kaingaru. Ko tēnei mea mau haere ai i tana kūao i roto i tētahi puke kei raro i tana puku. He nui atu hoki te kaingaru ki Marepana nei.

Kangaroo. This creature goes about carrying its young in a bulge under its belly. There are a great many kangaroos here in Melbourne.

Strangely, kangaroos are not mentioned by any other visitors to Australia who are included in this thesis.

The sea journey on board S.S. Cuzao, from Australia to England, took almost six weeks. They were very pleased with the ship, as they had feared that if it was as poor as the ones they had crossed to Australia in, they would have a rough voyage. Nehua was sick for the first week after that:

... ka ora rite tonu tō mātou tima anō kei te whenua anō mātou e noho ana. Ka mōhio hoki mātou ki te pai o te Cuzeo.

... and then I felt as well as if we were living on land and not on our steamer. We really appreciated the quality of the Cuzeo.

The first concern of the promoters was how best to keep the players fit during this time. Incredible as it may seem, they had the men employed stoking the engines.
This practice was only terminated when the other passengers complained that the toilet rooms were left dirty with coal dust after the men washed. The players then spent the time swinging clubs, climbing ropes, and running races on the deck.

Kāhore atu he mahi nui atu te hōhā i te nohoanga i te tima. Kāhore rawa atu i kite whenua, kaipuke rānei hoi anō he moana anake. Hoi anō ngā mea e kīte ana mātou he īka e rere ana i te moana anō he tini para.

There is no occupation more boring than living on a steamer. We saw neither land nor ship, just the sea alone. The only things we saw were fish swimming in the sea and a great deal of debris.

When they approached the equator they were troubled by the heat. In the daytime they went bare footed, clad only in trousers and pullover. When it was dark they stripped off and lay on the decks.

Presumably surprised, Nehua notes:

Ngā Pākeha anō hoki e noho noa iho ana i te nui o te wera o te rā.

Even the Pākehā also just sat about because of the day’s great heat.

The Suez Canal had been opened nine years previously\(^{10}\) but according to Nehua, the construction process was still continuing. He saw many camels carrying stones for constructing the canal sides.

What impressed him most was the fact that the land was all sand, and it was with relief, when their vessel came out into the Mediterranean, that he viewed Regina in Italy and Messina on the island of Sicily.

Nō konei kātahi anō mātou ka kite i te whenua e tupungia ana e te tarutaru one te pai anō hoki.
At last, here, we saw land on which vegetation could grow, good soil again.

He continues to observe which places are of agricultural value: Naples is in a good situation for growing trees for it is not too hot; the Portuguese Cape St Vincent is very pleasantly situated; at Tilbury, the countryside is very well situated for things to grow strongly. In fact, England seems to have been a pleasant contrast at the end of the journey.

Ka nui rawa atu tō mātou whakapai ki tēnei whenua ki Ingarangi. He pai kē atu i ngā whenua kua kite nei mātou. Otirā i āhua pēnā anō i ngā takiwā pai anō o Niu Tīreni.

We really like this land of England. It is even more pleasant than all the countries we have seen. It is very like the best parts of New Zealand.

It probably reminded him of home.

For any New Zealander travelling overseas for the first time, the evidence of an ancient past in the form of stone constructions is impressive. Wiri was no exception. Perhaps his first experience was in Naples. While there he ponders on the effects of the Vesuvius eruption on Pompeii and Herculaneum. He describes how excavations have been made to allow visitors to see how fine the cities were, and what beautiful things their people had created.

He mōhio rawa hoki rātou ki te whakairo ki te kōhatu.

They knew very well how to carve in stone.

Throughout his time in England he made regular visits, sometimes on his own, more frequently with one or other of his football mates, even for instance staying
overnight in London when the others went back to headquarters, in order to visit such places as the Oratory, the Albert Memorial, the Birmingham Museum, St Paul’s Cathedral, St Nicholas church and Castle Garth in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Carlisle Cathedral, Hampton Court, and the Houses of Parliament. Westminster Abbey especially fascinates him.

Westminster Abbey, October 8th

Ko tēnei whare nō mua noa atu arā he whare nō ngā kīngi o Ingarangi o namata noa atu. He whare nui rawa atu tēnei, ka nui rawa te pai tonu te ora, he kōhatu kataoa hoki. Ko taua whare nei he mea whakarite hei tanumanga nō ngā Kīngi me ōna uri, me ngā rangatira nui hoki me ngā tāngata toa ki te whangai. Otirā kei monei ngā tāngata inoa nui e takoto. Ki kataoa ngā wāhi kataoa o roto o tēnei whare i te tūpāpaku. Haereere ana te tāngata mā runga i ngā urupā o aua rangatira kataoa engari ko ngā Kīngi he rūma kē anō tō rātou. Ka nui te pai o ngā takotoranga tūpāpaku. He mea mahi kataoa hoki ki te kōhatu ā kei runga e takoto ana te āhua o aua tāngata he mea mahi ki te kōhatu rite tonu anō. Ko taua tāngata mate. Ka nui rawa atu te tāngata i tae mai ki konei karakia ai; kore rawa atu nei he wāhi takoto noa. Tū tonu hoki te nuinga i te kore rūma hei nohoanga.

Pai rawa atu nei ngā waiata hīmene me te kauwhau hoki.

This building belongs to quite a long time ago, that is to say, it is a building that belonged to the kings of England in the days of old. It is a very large building and is still in very good condition. It is a building that was designed as a burial place for the kings and their descendants, and the great leaders, and the brave warriors in battle. But at the same time famous people lie here. Everywhere in this building there are corpses. People can walk on the graves of all those leaders but the kings have a different room specially for them. The graves of the dead are very beautifully arranged. They are all made in stone and on them lies a likeness of those people carved in stone to look just like that dead man. Many of the people have come here to pray; there is not any place for them to lie. Most are still standing because there is not room to lie down.

The hymns and the sermons are very good too.

Three days later he went back with another friend.
Ka kite i te whare karakia o te Kīngi (Henry VII Chapel) me to nohoanga hoki i noho ai te Kuini Wikitoria me ērā Kīngi katoa o mua mai i a ia, i te takiwā i karaunatia ai rātou hei Kīngi, hei Kuini rānei mō Ingarangi. Kua tawhito rawa taua nohoanga nei engari kei te whai mana tonu i nātanei. Kei konei anō hoki te kōwhatu o ngā Kīngi o Kātarana (Scotland) (Scone Stone) [sic].

We saw the king’s church (Henry VII Chapel) and the very best seat where Queen Victoria sits, and all those kings before her, in the place where they were crowned as Kings or Queens of England. That seat is very old, but it still is full of significance today. The stone of the Kings of Scotland is here also (Scone Stone).

Apparently it was a feature of sporting tours that the team members were taken to representative factories in each town they visited. This tour was no exception and as has been seen the practice began even before they left New Zealand.

Their English factory visits included, in Birmingham, manufacture of silver and gold tableware, pens ammunition, foreign coin, in Newcastle a coal-mine, in West Hartlepool. makers of engines and boilers, and shipyards, in Manchester, factories that made clothing-machinery and engines, clothing, chemicals, and cotton cloth, in Radcliff glass-ware manufacture.

How interested the men were in the processes they witnessed is not known; Wiri Nehua mostly just lists where they went, and adds his appreciation of the owner’s or manager’s hospitality, for they were usually given refreshments. The two sets of comments he does make are therefore significant. In Birmingham, of the factory that made silver and gold tableware he writes:

Ko ngā wāhine hei whakapai rawa i te mutunga.

It was the women who did the finishing.

and at the Munitions Factory,

He wāhine anō hoki te nuinga o taua iwi e mahi nei i konei.
Most of the people working here are women.

We can assume that he was surprised at the number of the women in the work force. Manufacturing industry in 1888 was so little developed in New Zealand that he could have had no real basis for comparison.\textsuperscript{11}

The other observation he makes is also about the composition of the work-force. At the Cox Lodge coal-mine in Newcastle, they were taken to a depth of 1,000 feet, and then traversed a route of more than two miles from there.

\begin{quote}
He tini rawa atu ngā hōiho kei roto i tēnei maina i tae pea ki te 200; ko ētahi o ēnei hōiho ka 20 tau i noho ai ki roto i te maina. He tini rawa anō hoki ngā tini ara haerenga terēina kei roto i tēnei maina.
\end{quote}

There are many horses in this mine, up to about 200. Some of these horses have been living in the mine for 20 years. There were also a very great number of train tracks in this mine.

Typically, these observations are made without any opinion or moral standpoint being expressed. The reader may perhaps infer the author's viewpoint by their very inclusion.

As can be seen already, the diary is more about what they did when they were not engaged in playing football, than about the game itself. In addition to touring factories, attending theatres and church services, inspecting old buildings and bridges, and public parks, Nehua went to a soccer match, prize boxing, two billiards matches, cattle markets, and many social gatherings.

As the tour proceeded he acquired a circle of friends outside the team. The people he met often had Māori or New Zealand connections, and offered hospitality because of this. On occasions when his side was elsewhere playing a match, he played for the local English side. Indeed, his social contacts became quite
cosmopolitan; he refers to meeting people from Paris, Spain, and Africa.

At after-match functions, and indeed whenever he resorted to *The Brown Bear* in Richmond, or whatever the local meeting place happened to be, singing was an important ingredient in the occasion’s conviviality. He and his mates sang and were sung to. He was particularly appreciative of the singers at Leeds, commenting on the quality of the singing on three occasions; he also was impressed by the hymn-singing at Newcastle-on-Tyne. At Halifax, the team was entertained by a choir of footballers. The New Zealand team even sang when they were given refreshments on factory tours, and most of all they sang when they visited private homes. In Manchester, he writes,

Ka waiata haere i te teihana tae noa ki te Grosvenor.

We sang going from the station all the way to the Grosvenor.

On Christmas Day some the men were taken to the home of a Mrs Paisley.

Ka mutu, ka haere mātou ki te kai, ki te waiata hoki, i te whare o Mrs Paisley. Ka moe mātou i konei.

When the game was over we went to dine and to sing at Mrs Paisley’s place. We slept here.

On their arrival in England, as might be expected, there are comments on the effects of a much denser population. They travel by train from Tilbury to Richmond.

E mā runga ana i ngā whare te terēina i ētahi wāhi.\(^{12}\)

In some places the train travelled above the houses.

and a few days later:

Ka nui rawa atu te nunui o te whare o tēnei kāinga, ahakoa
haere mā runga i te terēina kāore e mutu te tini o te whare. Kei ētahi wāhi e mā runga ana i ngā whare te haerenga o te terēina, ā, he wāhi anō ka haere kē mā raro i ngā whare. Ngā tiriti hoki o konei kikī ana i te pahihi, i te paki, i te kāia noa. Arā nā te pai o ngā whakahaere i kore ai e tini ngā tāngata e mate i te hōiho. Engari ināianei kua taungenga noa iho mātou ki te haere tāone me te kore hoki e tino hiahia ki te kotititi.

There are a huge number of houses in this town, even when we go by train, there is no end to the houses. The streets of this place, too, are full of buses, buggies, and carts. Indeed it is only by good management that many people are not killed by the horses. But now we have got quite accustomed to going to town and we no longer have a strong desire to duck out of the way.

So it did not take long for them to adjust. On one occasion he is pleased to have the opportunity to travel on one of the fast trains, but on another, when they travelled from London to Hull,

Kino rawa atu nei te noho i runga i te terēina i te roa rawa hoki o tenei haerenga mai.

It was really awful sitting on the train for the very long time this journey took.

No wonder! They were up at daybreak, made their way through the confusion of the Covent Garden market where stalls were being set up, and finally left the station in London at 10 a.m. They reached Hull at 9 p.m.

One of the biggest trials of the tour was the weather. Nehua, whose home was in the Whangarei district, must have found it particularly trying. Much of their touring time was spent in the North of England, because the promoters believed that enthusiasm for rugby was strongest there, and so they would get their best gates in that region.

At first they were bothered by heavy fog and smoke, when, as he reports there
was no visibility until midday. He stayed indoors and wrote letters or played billiards in his hotel. By the end of October, Nehua refers to playing in rain and cold, and in mid-November a second match was played in Newcastle, the poor gate at the first being attributed to the weather. Despite the fact that the weather was also bad for the latter match, a large number of people came.

The following week they played in Carlisle,

Ko tēnei purei, i tū i roto i te ua nui, i te hau, te hukarere me te whatu hoki, nui rawa atu te makariri.

This game was held in heavy rain, wind, snow, and hail, and it was terribly cold.

From then on, there are regular reports of rain, cold, frost, and fog, the latter being particularly thick on New Year’s Day, 1889. Nehua reports seeing frost on the ground and on the trees in December; by February, this time in the London area, he encounters a good snowfall.

Kātahi anō mātou ka āta ki te tēnei mea i te huka "snow" ma katoa te whenua me ngā whare hoki kotahi putu te hōhonu. He mahi nui rawa atu ka taea ngā tiriti he whakapai i te nui o te huka i ngā takiwā katoa.

That was the first time we had a really good look at this thing, snow; it was all over the ground and houses, one foot deep. It was a hard job managing to clean up the streets because of the amount of snow everywhere.

And again a few days later he refers to another heavy fall and the difficulty the people have in dumping it in the Thames. A regular reporting of fog, cold, rain, and snow continues to the end of the diary, (March 5).

There is no doubt that the intention of the promoters in taking this team to
England was exploitative. From the very first match in Melbourne the intention by the promoter to milk the potential of overseas interest in the "Māoriness" of the team was clear.

Ko ngā Māori he mea whakakakahu ki te korowai, ki te kiwi, ki te pīkake, ki te ngeri, otirā ki te kahu Māori, mau atu hoki ētahi o mātou ki ngā tāiaha i mua i te haerenga ki te papa purei i runga i te perēkī.¹³ Nui atu te pai me te whakamiharo o ngā Pākehā. Ka tae ki te tūmatanga o te purei ka karanga ngā Māori i te karanga Pākehā e "Three cheers for Melbourne, Hip, hip, hurrah!" Nō muri ka karanga Māori, "Ake, ake! Kia Kaha!"¹⁴ Ka umere katoa ngā Pākehā e titiro mai ana.

The Māori team dressed in tag cloaks, cloaks with kiwi feathers, cloaks with peacock feathers, plain but Māori cloaks, and some of us carried tāiaha while we were on the brakes before going onto the playing field. The Pākehā were very appreciative and amazed. At the beginning of the game the Māori players called out the Pākehā call, "Three cheers for Melbourne, hip, hip, hurrah!" After that they did the Māori call, "Ake, ake! Kia kaha!" All the Pākehā shouted as they watched.

However, nowhere in the diary does Nehua indicate any dissatisfaction with this situation. He seems to accept the interest of the Pākehā public, if not with overt pride, at least with interest. These appearances in Māori clothing were resumed in England. Wiri Nehua records his last mention of this practice, on October 13. Apparently shortly after this it was dropped. Expectations in England of something exotic and romantically "savage" were considerably in excess of the reality.

Eyton wrote:

The British public no doubt expected to find the Māori football team (as it was so often called) to be composed of black fellows, and as we could not show anyone darker than Smiler, Karauria, Nehua, Taiaroa and Rene, who can only be said to be badly sunburned, it looked almost like a fraud to expect the British public to believe such as the Warbricks, and the Wynyards & co. to be typical of the Māori race. We had not even a tattoo mark among the team, and in their
walks abroad they attracted little or no attention from the casual passer-by.\textsuperscript{15}

This was not entirely in accordance with Nehua's experience. On their arrival in England at Tilbury Docks he records:

\begin{quote}
Ka tirohia mātou e te mahi a te Pākehā.

The Pākehā spent their time staring at us.
\end{quote}

and shortly afterwards:

\begin{quote}
Kāore rawa e mutu te mahi a te Pākehā ki te aru haere i a mātou kia kite rātou i tēnei iwi i te Māori e purei putuparo ana.

The Pākehā spend all their time following us round to see this people, the Māori, playing football.
\end{quote}

They may of course have been followed because of their fame as footballers, although at this stage their prowess had not yet been fully established.

Nehua does include references to colour and race in his diary, but they are along entirely different lines of thought. He refers to difference of appearance and the misconceptions that some English people have regarding these differences. In Swinton he says that they are frequently taken for North American Indians. He attributes this to the fact that "Buffalo Bill" was playing at theatres, and he draws sympathy from an unexpected source:

\begin{quote}
Ka kite mātou i tētahi Pākehā nō Kimberley nui atu tana aroha ki a mātou te take he hāwhe-kāihe tāua wahine nō reira.

We met someone from Kimberley who greatly sympathised with us because his wife was a half-caste from there.
\end{quote}

The only other overt reference to racial difference and colour is one he records on the journey from Australia to England. In the Suez Canal area their vessel
was boarded by Arabs selling wine, melons, apples, and rugs.

Rite tonu tēnei iwi te mangu ki te Māori engari he mō <h>io rawa atu ki te mahi i ngā takaro whakapōhēhē nei i te tāngata.

This people is black like the Māori people, but they are much more conversant with playing games that trick and confuse people.

Later he says that they felt sorry for the Arabs, for they were so hungry that they would swim along the Canal after the steamer just in the hope of being thrown a biscuit.

On the face of it, racial differences do not seem to loom large in his mind as an issue. In spite of the questions people today might ask about the acceptability of the promoters’ approach, and in spite of his reference to "the last sight of Māori people" as he left the Bluff, like most of the other travel writers in this thesis, he proves eminently adaptable.

At all times he shows himself graciously acknowledging the hospitality shown to him and his mates, and happily accepting the friendships he forms as he travels; perhaps the proof of his adaptability is the opportunity he is given to play as a guest in an English local team.

Vocabulary

The lexical composition of this document differs markedly from that of the preceding five documents as a result of the author’s being bi-lingual. This represents in part a generational change. The year that this diary was begun was the same year in which the author of Document One, Rēnata Kawepō died at the age of 80. Nehua was 22. This is a gap of two generations.
The text still employs a number of transliterations (listed below) but these are interspersed with a number of English words, including words containing consonants not found in the Māori language. There are at least five ways in which they are incorporated into the text:

a/ They can appear within a Māori grammatical structure:

Ka kite anō hoki au i ngā raiona, i ngā taika, pea, wuruhi, arewhana, ria, makimaki, i ngā neke, i te ostrich, me ngā āhua manu tini ana otipā he tini noa [a]tu hoki ngā mea pai ki taua wāhi nei. He tini ngā mea tauhou ki a mātou i konei. He kāmera ētahi me ngā zebra e noho ana i ō rātou nei tāiepa. He kekeno ētahi o ngā mea pai o aua kāinga nei. Hoi nei ngā mea o te Royal Park. [My underlining].

I also saw the lions, the tigers, the bears, wolves, elephants, rhea, monkeys, snakes, ostrich, and many sorts of birds; but there is a huge number of lovely creatures in this place. There are many creatures here that we had never seen. There are camels and zebras living in their enclosures. Some of the nice creatures in that place were seals. That’s the list of creatures at Royal Park.

The dots represent seven zoo animals all in transliterated form.

or

Ka haere ahau ki te Gymnasium

I went to the Gymnasium.

b/ They can appear in brackets after a sentence in which the author has had to struggle to express in Māori an experience not previously described in his language:

Nō te 10 Ākuhata i puare ai te whare aha ka mātakitaki o Merepana. (Exhibition).

On August 10 the Melbourne viewing building was opened. (Exhibition)
c/ Sometimes brackets are used, (as inverted commas or italics are used in English,) to indicate that a phrase is not in the same language as the rest of the text:

Ko te ingoa o taua wāhi ko (Royal Park Zoological Gardens).

The name of that place is the (Royal Park Zoological Gardens).

d/ Many of the diary pages are given a heading referring to the principal event appearing on the page, even when the first line of text is a continuation of a sentence from the page before. Some of these headings are in Māori, some are in English, some are mixed. Many of the headings are, or include, dates. An example of the mixture is:

Marepana          August 2nd
Melbourne         August 2nd

One page which describes a shooting range where the contestants fired at a mechanical rabbit is entirely in Māori, but the heading reads:

Birmingham - The Artificial Rabbit

Oct 16th 1888

e/ Dates appear with either a month transliterated into Māori, or with an English month, but in either case in combination with the English use of "th", "nd", "rd", or "st" is used. On the first page of the diary both the following appear:

Āperira 28th [April 28th]
May 1st

Many of the English words that he uses are place-names, names of theatres and hotels, or titles of plays. This is as might be expected for he was living in England and going to so many new and different towns and buildings. However, some of the place names which were already known in transliteration in New Zealand, and which appear in other documents in this thesis as transliterations, (even at a much later date), are in this diary given in English form.

Place names such as: Adelaide, Albany, Australia, Christchurch, Hobart, and Lyttelton appear in English. The words Rānana [London], Kātarana [Scotland], and Tēmi [Thames] appear sometimes in one form, sometimes in the other. Similarly some famous names are transliterated: Parao [Pharaoh], Mohi [Moses], Ponipata [Bonaparte]; but others are presented in English: Queen Victoria, Henry VII.

Understandably the hotels where Nehua stays are recorded in English, but strangely, late in the diary, he stays at "te Hōtēra a Finlay". This is the only hotel he names in this way.

There are one or two other word usages that suggest that Nehua was truly bilingual and that he was often thinking as much in English as he was in Māori. When referring to a match between two sides he occasionally uses "v" for versus:

Manchester Rangers v Runcore.

On one occasion in giving the score, he slips in the English word "to":

i wini mātou i Dublin (13 to 4).

we won in Dublin (13 to 4).
Perhaps the most interesting vocabulary use occurs in his description of Cape Vincent:

Ka kite anō hoki mātou i Cape St Vincent; he pah anō hoki.

We also saw Cape St Vincent which is another fortified settlement.

The spelling "pah" to represent Māori "pā" is generally confined to English texts of some time ago.

Transliterations:

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<th>Irish</th>
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<td>August</td>
<td>[9]</td>
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<td>Āperira</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<td>āporo</td>
<td>apple</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<td>Arapi</td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>[3]</td>
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<td>eka</td>
<td>acre</td>
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<td>Chinese</td>
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<td>[3]</td>
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<td>[2]</td>
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<td>half-caste</td>
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<td>[1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nū 1a</td>
<td>New Year</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōkena</td>
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<td>[1]</td>
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<td>[1]</td>
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<td>press</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>piriti</td>
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<td>purei</td>
<td>play (v &amp; n) game</td>
<td>111</td>
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<td>game, playing, match</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>foot (measurement)</td>
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<td>lion</td>
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<td>raiti</td>
<td>light</td>
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<td>raka</td>
<td>rug</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>rama</td>
<td>rum</td>
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<td>rāpeti</td>
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<td>room</td>
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<td>tie (equal score)</td>
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<td>taika</td>
<td>tiger</td>
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<tr>
<td>tāima</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>Tai-te</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>tāone</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>tarau</td>
<td>trousers</td>
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<td>teihana</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>tiata</td>
<td>theatre</td>
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<td>ticket</td>
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<td>tīma</td>
<td>steamer</td>
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<td>team</td>
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<td>timera</td>
<td>chimney</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīna</td>
<td>dinner or lunch</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīra</td>
<td>steel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiriti</td>
<td>street</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toa</td>
<td>shop</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōnapi</td>
<td>turnip</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōne</td>
<td>stone (weight)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupeka</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tūreie</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>waīna</td>
<td>wine</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wenerei</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Wenerei</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēra</td>
<td>whale</td>
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</table>
Excluding names of people and places the borrowed words in Document Six amount to 149, appearing 773 times in all. This is 5.95% of the total number of words. However, of this total of 13,059 words, 676 of them are English words, that is 5.2%. If the English words are deducted from the total, then the transliterations are 6.3% of the remainder.

As can be seen from the following list there were many place-names used in this document. There are 21 transliterations, but they make up only 16.9% of the total, as there are 93 names given in English.

Place-names:
Miñi
Kaiapoi
Mangawai
Oamaru
Onehunga
Taharoa
Taranaki
Te Waipatu
Timaru
Tūranganui
Moana Whero

Transliterations:
Ākarana
Awherika
Hehitingi
Iara
Iharaira
Ingarangi
Itari
Kariti
Kātarana
Marepana
Metitareiniana
Napori
Nēpia
Nerihana
Niu Tireni
Paremata
Poneke
Ranana
Roma
Tanaitini
Têmi

English

Adelaide
Aden
Aldershot
America
Atlantic Ocean
Batley
Bay of Biscay
Belfast
Birmingham
Bitter Lakes
Blackheath
Bluff
Bolton
Broughton
Burton-on-Trent
Cape Guardafui
Cape Vincent
Carlisle
Christchurch
Corsica
Cumberland
Dewsbury
Dublin
Edgbaston
Euston
Fenchurch Station
Gibraltar
Halifax
Hartlepool
Hawick
Herculaneam
Hobart Town
Holbeck
Hull
Humber
Hutt
Kendal
Kew
Kimberley
Kingston
Kirstall
Lancashire
Leeds
Leigh
Liverpool
London
Manchester
Manningham
Maryport
Middlesex
Moseley
Newcastle-on-Tyne
North Shields
Northampton
Oldham
Paris
Picton
Plymouth
Pompeii
Port Said
Port Chalmers
Port Lyttelton
Portsmouth
Preston
Radcliffe
Richmond
Roncoren
Salford
Sardinia
Sheffield
Spain
Stockton
Strait of Messina
Stromboli
Suez Canal
Sumner
Sunderland
Surrey
Swinton
Teddington
Thames
Tilbury Docks
Twickenham
Tyne
Tynemouth
Vesuvius
Wakefield
Wales
Warrington
Wigan
York
Yorkshire
End-notes - Section Three, Document Six


2. Ibid


4. The diary entry is open to two interpretations. "Ka rongo mātou ka hōmai he medal mō te tangata kaha o mātou ki te kīki te paoro i roto i ngā Theatrical Sport." "It was announced that a medal was being awarded to me [or - was being awarded] for the man amongst us who was best at kicking the ball in Theatrical Sport."

5. A comparison might be made with Jenkins's touring concert party in 1863, or the Aboriginal Cricket team that went to England in 1868.

6. Document Three makes recordings under a few given dates, but consists of set descriptions of events on those days rather than a day-to-day account.

7. Ryan 1993, 143, records the score as 9-0.

8. This is something of an exaggeration. He was clearly either misinformed or misremembered the length of the tunnel. (1 mile). Compare Wahawaha's reference to the length in Document V.

9. "Today I broke off my engagement with Ernest. I feel it is better to do so. The weather still continues charming."

10. It was opened in 1869. In 1888, the year in which they passed the football team passed through, all nations were granted freedom of navigation by Convention.

11. Compare this with a similar observation in Document 3, pp 74 and 88.

12. Compare this with a similar comment in Document VII, pp 163 and 219.

13. A brake was a large horse-drawn wagonette without sides. It is also sometimes spelt "break".

14. "For ever and ever. Be strong!"

The Source

This document consists of a series of letters and essays that were published in the Māori newspaper, *Te Pipīwharauroa*. They appeared from time to time over a period of nine months, the first being in the May issue, 1902, and the last in January, 1903. The authors were two Ngāti Porou soldiers, Henare Kohere and his cousin, Terei Ngatai.

Only the writing of the former is reproduced in this thesis, as it is not known whether Ngatai's work is yet out of copyright. Reference, however, will be made to it.

*Te Pipīwharauroa* was a Māori newspaper issued by the Anglican church, and published monthly between the years 1898 and 1913. At first it was produced in Nelson with Rev F.A. Bennett as its editor. Later it was based in Gisborne and printed on the Te Rau Press. *Te Rau Kahikatea* was the name of the college for Māori students training for the ministry. In Gisborne the deputy principal of that college, Reweti Kohere, was its editor. The journal's sub-title was *He Kupu Whakamarama* [Words of Explanation].

Reweti Kohere produced an excellent journal, full of interest. He himself travelled at regular intervals, usually during the college Christmas holidays. His journeys were thoughtfully recorded for *Te Pipī* and have comprised a significant proportion of the material studied for this thesis. Regrettably they cannot be reproduced here because they are still under copyright. Among them are a series of articles on the Chatham Islands; he journeyed there in his Christmas vacation to take
church services, the inhabitants having been without a clergymen for a very long time. At that time there were just eight full-blooded Moriori living in the Chathams, and he spent much time in conversing with them and recording their history as they related it to him.

Other of his articles described the 1906 Christchurch Exhibition, and a bicycle journey to Rotorua. After he left Te Rau College, he became the village clergymen in Te Araroa, the family’s kāinga tūturu.

The Author

The author of Document Seven was Henare Kohere, Reweti’s younger brother. Although not very much has been written about Henare, some conclusions may be drawn about his life from Reweti’s biography of their grandfather, and from Reweti’s autobiography.¹

The Kohere family of Ngāti Porou had strong connections with the Anglican church. The grandfather, Te Mōkena Kohere, a close friend of the minister, Mohi Turei, won acclaim for his prowess in war, fighting on the government side against the Pai Marire forces. In recognition of his service, like Rēnata Kawepō and Rapata Wahawaha previously mentioned, he was awarded the Queen’s Sword of Honour. In 1872 he took up a seat on the Legislative Council, the first Māori to do so.

In order to appreciate what changes had occurred in Henare’s experience up to the journey in Document Seven, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the circumstances in which Henare grew up.

Te Araroa, also known as Kawakawa, is a small remote rural community between East Cape and Hicks Bay. There his father kept a store, grew maize and
took it to Auckland by sailing vessel in order to market it. The journey was very
dangerous. The family farmed the maize by hand, using a small wooden plough as
at that time they owned no horses. It was a close-knit community at Te Araroa, and
on Sunday mornings the families came together at the meeting house for communal
prayers and a shared breakfast.

The year before Henare was born, there was an attempt to start a school in the
area, but the schoolmaster left after a short time.

When Henare was two years old, Reweti was taken by his father on a visit to
Gisborne. They owned no pack-horses so they went by whale boat and risked the
perilous seas of the coastline. They camped in a small Māori settlement out of
Gisborne. On his visit to town he tasted for the first time, butter, baker’s bread,
sausages, and he discovered that shops could have shop-windows and sales attendants.

On a later visit to Gisborne, Reweti went by horseback. It took four days, and
at Waiapu they had to be ferried across with the horses in tow. On this occasion he
had his first experience of sleeping between sheets.

Reweti, after the local school closed, attended the Wai-o-Matatini school and
stayed with a family at Te Horo on the Waiapu river in return for bags of flour
supplied by his father. This family, like Reweti’s family, made their own bread, but
most Māori families in the area at this time did not. The children had fruit, roasted
maize, or potatoes for school lunch. However, he was too homesick to make much
progress at school.

When Henare was six, and almost certainly still without schooling, (as Te
Horo was so far away from Te Araroa for such a young child), an attempt was made
to get Reweti into Te Aute College. Reweti was fourteen years old. To get there was
an enormous undertaking. He and his father rode horseback to Gisborne with his clothes in a swag in front of his saddle. There they parted and the child had to travel alone. He went by boat from Gisborne to Napier, and then took his first train ride from Napier to Te Aute.

He knew very little English but was pleased that the headmaster, John Thornton, spoke simply and clearly. The school was very crowded, and as it turned out, there was insufficient accommodation; some new entrants had to be turned away. They were given a test and Reweti was the first to be eliminated because he had so little educational grounding.

He returned to Gisborne, where his father found him a Māori family to live with so that he could attend school there. He began in the primers.

Two years later he returned to Te Aute, still having difficulty with English pronunciation, particularly with the consonant "l", and knowing almost no arithmetic. Again he had to be the tall older boy amongst juniors as he was put in Standard Three. But within four years he had passed his matriculation examination, and in the following year he was dux of the school.²

Reweti clearly had a thirst for education. He went on to study English at Canterbury College of the University of New Zealand, and to teach at Te Rau College. While there he graduated L.Th.³ The second boy in the family, Poihipi Kohere, also became an Anglican minister. He was the minister at Waiapu for fifty-two years, a record in the diocese for length of service in the one place.⁴

Where Henare received his schooling is not known,⁵ but it must also have been with a late start. Reweti regarded Henare as the "man of action" of the family, the one of their generation who carried on the warrior traditions of their grandfather.
This possibly implied that Henare’s inclination was towards doing rather than studying, but Document Seven certainly reveals that he possessed a thoughtfulness and a literacy that indicate not only a very intelligent writer, but an adequately educated one.

Before the end of the century their father had died and their mother moved to Rangitukia, just a few kilometres inland from the mouth of the Waiapu river. This is the address given for Henare and his cousin when he was selected for the Coronation attendance in 1902.

After the Coronation, Henare was married to the daughter of the well-known Ngāti Porou minister and writer, Mohi Turei. Keeping fame in the family one of the couple’s daughters was married to the New Zealand rugby full-back, George Nepia.

A fore-runner of Henare’s future acts of valour may be seen in an incident when the scow Whakapai was wrecked and Henare saved the only survivor. For his bravery he was awarded the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society.

In World War I, Henare and a younger brother, Tawhai, both served with the New Zealand forces. Tawhai returned to New Zealand but sadly Henare was killed. He has been highly praised not only for his bravery, but also for his unselfish concern for the men with whom he served.

As we read the young Henare’s account of his journey to England we come to appreciate his pride in representing both Māoridom and New Zealand as he strove for perfection in his organising their haka. How sad that this young man with so much potential was to have such a short life.

In 1936, in attendance at the Coronation of Edward’s grandson, George VI, Henare’s son was one of those representing New Zealand.
Circumstances

In 1902, at the end of Victoria’s lengthy reign, Great Britain was celebrating the peak of her imperial glory. The coronation of Edward VII was therefore seen as an occasion to display in all its colourful variety the extent of her world power. To view and to be part of all the pomp and circumstance, soldiers of her many colonies were invited to be present.

The date chosen happened to coincide with the end of the Boer War. The military and naval displays that were part of the royal celebrations were heightened in their emotional impact by the arrival back in England of their victorious hero, Lord Kitchener.

It was an opportunity, also, to satisfy the fascination with "the noble savage" that had gripped the European world since Cook’s voyages more than 100 years earlier. Among the representatives of the colonial military forces were a range of ethnic backgrounds. The Indian contingent, alone, was so numerous that they had to be accommodated in a separate camp at Hampton Court, and some of the military and royal ceremonies had to be held twice, once with the Indians taking part, and once with the combined remaining colonials.

From the Pacific we know there were Australians, Fijians, and two groups of New Zealanders, Pākehā and 32 Māori. There seemed not to be any Australian Aborigines.

The date of the coronation had been planned for June 26. In preparation the 32 Māori were selected from a large number of soldiers eager to be chosen. According to Henare Kohere the selection was made on the principle that many iwi should be represented and that they should all be from leading families.
He mea whakaaro ko ngā tāngata mō tēnei haere me momo rangatira katoa me whiriwhiri katoa mai i ngā wāhi o te motu. [M 16-17]

The policy was that the men for this journey should all be of rangatira birth, and should be chosen from all parts of New Zealand. [E 17-18]

They began their training in Wellington at the beginning of April, 1902, and had a further week of training in Addington. Here another group of soldiers were training for military action in South Africa, but the training for the Māori and Pākehā contingent chosen for England concentrated more on ceremonial. They left from Lyttelton on April 20. They did not arrive in England until June 21.

Travelling with them were the South Island section of the 10th Contingent going to the Boer War. At Durban these soldiers and their horses were offloaded, and the soldiers for England were transferred to another ship. Before they left South African waters they had learned that the war was over. The Tenth Contingent arrived too late to be involved in any action.

Unfortunately for the British organisers, the coronation had to be postponed. The king was seriously ill. His condition had at first been kept from the public as it was hoped he might recover in time, but as the day approached, an acute peritonitis was diagnosed, and his physician believed he would die if he were not operated on.

It can be appreciated how enormous were the problems associated with accommodating and feeding thousands of colonial troops, not to mention foreign royalty and dignitaries. But when it became clear that the temporary nature of the undertaking was to be extended a further two months, the difficulties must have seemed insurmountable.

It had taken the Māori group two months to reach England. There was no
possibility of their going home and returning again in the intervening time. In fact, the only group of colonial soldiers who went back were the Canadians.

In 1902, most New Zealand Pākehā had relatives still living in Great Britain, and they were given leave and encouraged to stay with them. There was no such possibility for the Māori contingent.

During this period the Māori men were entertained in a number of ways, and as a result, Henare Kohere and his cousin Terei Ngatai were able to extend their travels.

The Two Accounts:

Terei Ngatai’s Account

Ngatai’s two articles appeared in the September and October issues of Te Pīpīwharauroa, 1902. They are in the form of letters. The first is written during the second week after their arrival in London and endeavours to give an overall review of what he had so far been to see. The second is a more extended piece of writing and gives more detailed and descriptive accounts of what was listed in the first. It is given the title, Rānana Whakamtharo, [Wonderful London].

Henare Kohere’s Account

Henare Kohere had nine articles published dealing with their experiences on the trip, the last of which was split between two issues of the journal. The earlier accounts were probably intended as personal letters to his brother, Reweti, but organised in such a way that suitable material for the journal could be lifted out for
publication. Instead, Reweti chose to publish them in their entirety.

The first letter is written on board the troopship taking them to Sydney. From there the following pieces are written on sections of the voyage and posted at calling points on the way, until they reach London. After this there appears to be some overlapping of events, and they are out of sequence.

The explanation is that the shorter letters outlining their movements posted from England were followed by one much longer and more descriptive piece, perhaps composed on the journey home, and not published until after their return. This was specifically written for the journal and did not have to serve the dual purpose of letters home to the family. Published in two sections it begins with the heading *Ngā Rā Nui i Rānana* [Great Days in London.] [See M 661, E 697]. All Henare’s pieces came out under the general heading, *NIU TIRENIKI INGARANGI*, [NEW ZEALAND TO ENGLAND.]

The Text

Both in length and in descriptive interest, Document Seven is the most significant inclusion in this thesis.

Homesickness again features early in these texts. Previous writers found that seasickness reinforced their longing. On this journey it seemed to be more the vastness and the excitement of the ocean that occasioned their nostalgia

Of a storm as they approached Albany, Henare writes:

... rere ana te ngaru ki runga i te tima. Ko māua anake ko Terei ngā mea ora, kātahi māua ka piki ki te tūnga o te kāpene. Tētahi ngahau atu, ka heke ana te tima, ngaro katoa atu te ihu ki roto i te wai, nui atu tō māua rekareka. Ka hoki atu ngā kōrero ki te kāinga nā. [M 207-210]

445
... the waves crashed over the steamer. Terei and I were the only ones who stayed well and then we climbed up to the bridge. It was exciting; and whenever the steamer dipped down, its prow completely hidden in the water, the greater our delight. Conversation reverted to home. [E 213-217]

But even reaching land has the same effect. Coming in to Sydney he writes:

Kei wareware i a koe tēnei te hokinga o ngā whakaaro ki te wā kāinga, i te korenga kāore e kite i te mata o te whenua mō ngā rā e whā. [M 48-49]

You’ll be aware that this occasioned the return of our thoughts to our home place, after not setting eyes on land for four days. [E 52-53]

Not only storms and the sight of land, but even pleasant weather elicited a homesick response.

Pai atu te whiti o te rā, tae ana ngā whakaaro ki te wā kāinga, ki ngā kōrerotanga, ki ngā koanga tahitanga. [M 180-181]

As it was a lovely sunny day, thoughts turned to home, to the speech-making, to joy of being together. [E 187-188]

And kicking his heels off shore from Port Elizabeth, when they are not allowed on land, he watches the barges transferring goods between ship and shore and writes:

He tuhituhi taku mahi i tēnei reta i tēnei rā, he kaha nō te aroha atu ki te kāinga nā. [M 382-383]

I am spending today writing this letter for I have so much longing for you all at home. [E 395-396]

It is interesting that not only writing but receiving letters is now closely connected with nostalgia. None of the previous writers have mentioned this, doubtless
because the nature of overseas transport meant that sending letters abroad was not a common practice in Māori communities before this date.

On arriving in London Henare writes:

E hika mā, tēnā koutou katoa. He nui te aroha ki a koutou i te taenga mai ki konei, kei konei kātahi anō ka āta kite i te pāmamaotanga mai i te wā kāinga. E Rē, he nui te aroha i te taenga mai o ā kōrua reta ko Poihipi. [M 493-495]

Hullo, all of you. My feeling of love for you is great on reaching here, for it is here that I appreciate the distance from my home place. Rē, when your and Poihipi’s letters finally came here, what great yearning I felt. [E 508-510]

Similarly Terei writes:

Kei te wawata tonu te ngākau kia tae mai he rongo kōrero o te kāinga nā, me te mea nei ka nui noa atu ngā tau o tō mātou wehenga mai i Niu Tireni, i te wā kāinga.

My heart just longs for news of home to get here, just as if we had been away from New Zealand, our homeplace, for ever so many years.

But it was clear that while never forgetting their folk at home, they were both keen to explore the new places and to share with their readers what they discovered. The "big town" nearest them in New Zealand was Gisborne and that was more that 100 kilometres away from Rangitukia. A perusal of photos of Gisborne at the turn of the century gives an appreciation of the astonishing differences the two men must have felt on reaching London.6

Of the crowds, Terei writes:

Ngā wiki ana tērā te tāngata i ngā tiriti, kapi tonu ngā huarahi i te kōti, i te pakī, i te kāta. Mehemea ki te piki te tangata ki tētahi
wāhi tiketike i waenganui o Rānana e kore e kitea e ia te mutunga mai o te tāone; pōuri tonu te rangi i te nui o te pawa o te ahi.

... Ahako haere ki hea, he mano te tangata kei reira, kore rawa he wāhi matatea, kāore he wāhi hei okiokinga.

You could be in the streets for weeks, and the roads would still continue to be full with coaches, and buggies, and carts. If someone were to go to a high place in the middle of London he could see no end to this city. Daytime is quite dark from the amount of smoke from the fires.

... No matter where we go, thousands of people are there; there are never any open spaces, and nowhere to rest.

They were camped in tents in the grounds of Alexandra Palace and having their meals inside the building. In addition to all the other soldiers camped there, masses of visitors arrived daily.

This is how Terei Ngatai describes it:

I ngā ahiahi nui ata ngā tāngata e tae mai ki roto o tēnei whare i ngā tāngata katoa o Turanga nā. I te nui o te tāngata ki te kāri me te whare tērā koe e pōhēhē kei konei anake ngā tāngata o Rānana, he i te putanga atu ki etahi wāhi, he tini anō ia te tāngata kei reira.

In the evening there are more people coming into this building than all the people of Gisborne over home. With the many people in the garden and the house you might make the mistake of thinking that all the people of London are there; but when you go to other places there are crowds there too.

The Pākehā visitors overwhelm them with hospitality and he becomes exhausted.

... nāwai rā hōhā ana tērā. I te hōhā noa iho ka hoki atu te whakaaro ki Turanga nā, ki te kāinga o te rangimārie.

... after a while, all these activities become wearisome. I am weary too when my thoughts return to Gisborne and to the peacefulness of home.

But this is just in the first fortnight and in spite of this fatigue, they still
manage to get to see an Earl’s Court exhibition, the Tower of London, St Pauls, The Inner Temple, Westminster Abbey, Hyde Park, the British Museum, Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle and many other places.

Something that fascinates them both is the underground, and the speed of the British and European trains. Henare writes:

Ka rerekē te haere o te tereina o tēnei whenua, huhū ana tērā. ... E 87 māero i Southampton ki Rānana, e rua tonu hāora i haeretia ai tēnei 87 māero. I te whanga noa atu mātou, ka kite atu i te tumera, ā ha ha! kāore he wāhi matatua, tōna hanga, tēnā noa atu. [M 567-572]

The train travels differently in this country, it whizzes along. ... It is 87 miles from Southampton to London, and it took us just two hours to travel this 87 miles. While we were sitting waiting we saw chimneys, and do you know, no clear space -- just buildings and nothing else. [E 583-589]

and this is Terei’s description of the underground:

Ko te rerewē anō tetahi mea whakamiharo, kei raro kē i te whenua. Kia 40 kia 50 putu rānei te hekenga ki te whenua i ngā tiriti o Rānana ka tae ki ngā teihana. Ki te hiahia koe ki te haerere, ka eke ki te tereina kei runga anō, hei te teihana pea o muri atu ka heke koe ki te whenua, ā, ka heke anō, ko te pueatanga ake mā te tereina anō pea koe e mau ake ki runga me huti ake rānei i roto i te pouaka. Kei konci anō tētahi tereina rere ai i roto i te paipa, kei raro i te whenua mā te hiko e tō e rua kapa anō te utu mō te katoa; he mea whakamiharo rawa.

The railway is a wonderful feature, too; it is one that goes underground. You go down from the London streets to get to the stations. It must be 40 or 50 feet that you have to go underground. If you want to go sight-seeing, you can get on the train up on the surface, and perhaps for a station later on, you have to go underground; and so you go down again, and then when you go back up to the surface, you will sometimes be taken up on board the train, or you will be taken up by a lift. There is also running in the tube underground a train which is pulled by electricity; and it is just twopence for everyone --- it’s absolutely wonderful.
However, for Terei the experiences are not all joy. Like Wiri Nehua, he has difficulty crossing streets:

Ki te hiahia te tangata ki te whakawhiti i tētahi tiriti nui te mahi kia pau te hāwehe hāora e tatari ana kātahi anō ka whiti.

If someone wants to cross a busy street, he will have to wait half an hour before he can ever get across.

He is especially concerned at the extremes of rich and poor:

He hanga wehi ētahi wahi o Rānana, te pito rawa-kore. I taku kitenga, ka whakawhetai te ngākau mō te whānautanga ki Niu Tirenī. Kāore he take e rawakore ai te tangata i Niu Tirenī, tēnā ki Rānana nei ki te whānau rawakore te tangata ka rawakore tonu a mate noa. Hei konei ka whaia koe e te tamariki he inoi kapa; ka whiwhi tēnā tamaiti i tāna kapa ka tino hari anō {ānō?}, kua whiwhi ia ki te £100. I tino wehea ngā rangatira me ngā rawa kore.

Some parts of London, the end where the poor people live, are frightful. When I saw it my heart gave thanks that I was born in New Zealand. There is no reason why anyone should be poor in New Zealand. whereas here in London, the people who are born penniless will remain penniless right up until they die. And so you are followed by children begging for pennies; when each of these children gets his penny he is so very happy, as if he had acquired 100 pounds. There is a great division between the upper class and the poor.

He is also shocked at the way in which speculators have cashed in on building seating for those coming to see the coronation parade. Apparently he believed that there was a racket which involved demolishing buildings on the route, charging £50 for a seat, and then using the profits to erect new buildings and make further profit.

He finds the routines tiring, as indeed they must have been for Alexandra Palace was far north of London; for instance, on the day of the coronation, they had to leave with their horses at three o’clock in the morning to take up their positions on the coronation route. They had to remain there all day, and there was not room
to dismount and stand beside their horses.

Henare Kohere’s account is particularly interesting because of the attractive personality that his writing reveals.

He does not often express as directly as Terei what concerns him, but from his selection of incidents it is possible to detect a youthful sensitivity and an eagerness to strive for ideals.

In the storm they encountered between Melbourne and Albany, one of the horses died and was thrown into the sea. A similar incident had left its impression on Wiri Nehua. Perhaps Henare became inured to the procedure by the time the tenth and last horse had been heaved overboard.

Horses feature noticeably on their journey. From the day they left Wellington until they disembarked in South Africa they were accompanied by horses. The smell increased the likelihood of sea sickness. On the S.S. Norfolk, for instance, they started off with 718 passengers and 600 horses.

Even more thought-provoking than the despatch of the dead horses must have been the cook’s suicide:

I taua takiwā ka rere tō mātou kuki, arā te kuki ake o te tima, ki rō wai. I a ia e rere ana ka poroporoaki ia, "Good-bye". Te taunga atu ki rō wai, ka makaia atu he pōito, ka tukua hoki te poti. Ka rapu noa, kīhāi i kitea, ngaro, hemo heke atu ki te papa o te moana. I muri i tērā kāore noa iho he tino mahi, peke tonu he mate. [M 39-44]

At that place our cook, that’s to say the steamer’s cook, dived into the water. As he went he called "Goodbye". When he landed in the water, a lifebuoy was thrown; the boat was also let down. In vain they searched but he was not found; he had disappeared; he had vanished down to the floor of the ocean. After that, there was nothing very much to be done; he had really jumped to his death. [E 42-48]

Puzzling, also, were the two incidents that occurred at Albany, wherein one
of the soldiers of the Tenth Contingent was caught stealing apples and put ashore, and
another was prevented from going with the coronation group because he was in
receipt of a pension for a severe war injury. Presumably this was regarded as
"double-dipping". It was a tough profession Henare was entering.

His distress at other's suffering is shown in the way he mentions the illness
of the Captain and Lieutenant. Nor does he hesitate to mention what fills him with
trepidation. In Capetown, although the war was over there were crowds of soldiers.

Ka mau te wehi o te hōia ki te haere i te tiriti i te pō. [M 445-446]

When you walk in the streets at night you are gripped by awe
of the soldiers. [E 459-460]

Henare's personality is also revealed in his attention to detail. Like the
Waikato men in Vienna, [III], he describes the ceremonial movements with care; the
queen keeps bowing her head in the march past, while she reviews the troops. At the
presentation of medals he describes the positioning so that each could receive his
own. They had to receive the medal from the Prince of Wales, but at the same time
acknowledge that it was the king who was bestowing it.

Ka haere atu, ka tae atu ki te aroaro o te Kīngi, ka tū ka
whakanui, ka rere atu te ringa ki te metara, ka huri mai ki te Kīngi
anō, ka whakapai, ka huri ka haere. [M 879-881]

We marched up and when we passed before the King we stood
to salute, and when we extended our hand for the medal we turned to
the King again, in acknowledgement; then we turned and marched
away. [E 903-906]

Unless an island-dweller is especially schooled in the political geography of
a continent such as Europe, the existence of national borders must come as a surprise.

The Waikato travellers to Vienna took care to explain how it worked. Henare does the same. Crossing from France to Belgium, he writes:

Te iwi he rereke, me ētahi o āna mahi. He ēwi kē tēnei i tērā i mahue ake rā i a mātou. He reo kē, he Kīngi kē. ...
(Me whāatu ake e au, ko Europe te ingoa nui, engari he nui ngā mana e wehewehe ana kei raro i tāua ingoa kotahi. Ko ētahi, ēnei i tuhia ake rā e au, i kite nei hoki māua.) [M 1165-1172]

The people are different as are some of its industries. It is a different race from that we had just left. It has a different language and [unlike France] it has a King. ...
(I should point out, Europe is a general name, but there are many governments, independent of each other, that are included in that one name. Some, those I have written about, we actually visited.) [E 1200-1208]

Whether he was worried about money, or whether he was especially interested in acquiring it, it is impossible to say, but the question of financial gain seems to have been a concern, judging by the number of times it crops up in his narrative. In his first letter, apparently unrelated to the immediate context, he writes:

Ka nui te pai hei Rānana rā anō mātou whiwhi moni ai. [M 65-66]

It's a good thing, isn't it, that we will be paid in London. [E 68-69]

On board boat they have races and he and Terei have success. Having listed his winnings for his two firsts he goes on to say they are carving pipes to sell to Pākehā. The pronoun used is "mātou", so presumably it is something all the Māori group are doing to fill in time on the ship.

Elsewhere he shows his awareness of the cost of the hospitality that is shown
him, the expensive nature of the European hotels, and he is impressed by Lord Onslow's twelve-year old son who "did all the paying".

Money concerns aside, Henare emerges from a reading of his story as a keen young idealist. He is caught up in the buoyant enthusiasm of the times, the pageantry, the royalist fervour, and the military success of Britain, the razzmatazz of the Empire. These were the days of jingoism at its peak. The peccadillos of the new king were generally kept out of the press. Only one newspaper dared to question his suitability to reign. Nor did the public as a whole question the morality of war in general or the Boer War in particular. Cynicism about the conduct and efficacy of war did not take hold until later, after the bitter experiences of World War I.

For Henare, it was not only that he was caught up in the public excitement of the moment. The ceremonial occasions he attended were master-minded to be stirring affairs, and like everyone else, he was moved by them, but his descriptions show that he was also thinking about them.

Queen Alexandra was universally regarded with great affection at the time of the coronation. Indeed, more recent histories written in less royalist times show her to be a fine character and deserving of our sympathy. Henare also came under her spell.

He tungou te mahi a tōna māhunga ki a mātou, me te mimingo kata anō. Kei hea te wahine i te Kuini, mō te pai, tae atu ki te mata te painga. Ka pai te wahine, ka aroha, ka whakahōnore, ka arohatia ka whakahōnoreta e te iwi. Te āta[aha]hua hoki o te kanohi, kātahi ka kino rawa atu te haere. He wahine pakeke te Kuini, inahoki rā kua whai mokopuna rawa, engari ia ko tōna āhua kei te taitamahine tonu. Tērā e pōhēhētia atu kāore anō kia whai tamariki, mokopuna hoki. [M 758-764]

She kept bowing her head to us, her face creased with smiling. Where is there a woman of such goodness with such kindness in her
face? She is good, and loving, and considerate, and is loved and respected by the people. What a beautiful face; how stunningly she looked! The Queen is an older woman in that she already has grandchildren, but she still looks a young girl. You would think that she had no children, let alone grandchildren. [E 779-784]

*Te Pīpīwharauroa* and the English language newspapers in New Zealand had kept a constant flow of Boer War news. Nine contingents of New Zealand troops had been engaged in action there. One of the early heroes of the war was Lord Roberts. Coming face to face with him, Henare was clearly puzzled by his age and stature. The fit young soldier, winner of two ship-deck races, almost six foot and weighing in at 13 stone 10, had had a different picture of a military hero in his mind.

Ko tōna āhua i tō mātou kitenga atu kua tino korohahe rawa, he kūreherehe te mata, wiriwiri katoa tōna tinana, he tangata iti noa iho nei ka pau tonu ki roto i te kanohi kotahi. Ko te kaumātua tēnei i hau mai nei ngā rongo i Awherika, ko te taniwha hoki o roto i ngā tini pakanga a te Ingarihi i roto i ngā tau ka hori nei. Ko tōna āhua ia i te tirohanga atu, he iti noa, kāore hoki i roa rawa. [M 710-715]

When we saw him, he appeared to be a very old man, for his face was lined, and his whole body was trembling; he was quite a small man, and you could take him in in a glance. This is the gentleman whom the news from Africa reported as a real demon in the many battles of England in earlier years. But this is how he appeared at the review, quite small, in no way a tall man. [E 731-736]

Kitchener much more closely approximated to his image of a hero:

Aroha ana ki te titiro atu, nā te kaha tonu o te mahi, nā te kore kāore e tau ngā whakaaro ki raro, nā te whai kia mutu te whawhai, nā te aroha pea i a ia ki te kite i te mano o te tāngata e hinga ana i tētahi taha, i tētahi taha ōna. Ko te tangata nui atu tēnei ināiane, kei te kake haere tonu tōna rongo. [M 792-796]

You experience a surge of feeling when you look at him because he is constantly strong in action and because he never allows his thoughts to rest, and because he was constantly striving to end the war, for he doubtless felt compassion for the vast number of people.
falling on his every side. He is a great man now, and his reputation continues to rise. [E 812-817]

This may indicate a rather innocent view of military values, but he was only 22 years old, and clearly seeking to find something noble to strive for in his soldier’s role.

When the Māori group received the king’s medals at Buckingham Palace he listened to the convalescent king’s speech with great attention:

Ka kī ia kātahi anō ia ka tino mōhio ki te nui o tōna mana, nā runga i te nui o ia tū iwi, o ia tū iwi, i haere mai kia kite-i tōna karaunatanga. Ka puta āna kupu mō te āwhinatanga a ngā koroni i te whenua matua i te wā o te pakanga. [M 887-890]

He said he was only just realising the extent of his domain, now that so many different peoples had come to see his coronation. He spoke about the way the colonies had helped the fatherland in time of war. [E 912-914]

This was a viewpoint Henare himself had earlier expressed. The first time that all the colonial troops were assembled in one place was when Lord Roberts reviewed them.

Ka huīhui katoa mātou ki tō mātou wāhi whakaūtū; kātahi anō hoki mātou ka mātakitaki ki a mātou anō. He rerekē tēnā iwi, tēnā iwi, he mā, he pango kerekere, ā, he rerekē noa atu ētahi. Nā te āhua o ngā tāngata, ka kite te kanohi i te nui whakaharahara o te mana o Kingi Eruera. [M 702-706]

We all assembled on our parade ground; this was the first time we had seen ourselves [all together]. Each race was different: white, very dark and others quite different again. The eye can discern, from these peoples, the enormous eminence of King Edward. [E 723-726]

The earnestness with which Henare set about carrying out his responsibilities is highlighted in his preparation and organisation of the haka. Here he could combine
his pride as a Māori rangatira, his pride in representing his country, and his anxiety to perform his military duties.

His first mention of a haka came when four haka were performed at the function held in Christchurch to farewell the soldiers. Work began more consistently after the boat left Sydney. On board they continued to practise parading, and on their first concert night some haka were performed including the one that Henare himself had adapted.

His description of this performance is a mixture of humour and pride. They managed to put together a collection of piupiu skirts and tried out a haka using taiaha. He mentions introducing weapons later at a charity concert in London. Because the audience were all of high birth it was thought appropriate and a good excuse to introduce weapons. [See M 939-940, E 964-965]

In the earlier rehearsals on board ship, it is tantalising to read that one man’s tongue protruded so far that he did himself a mischief and they had to stop. The reader wants to know what physical damage was done. The terror that the haka movements engendered among the Pākehā soldiers was a measure of success, and Henare was greatly encouraged by the praise of the officers. Appointed as co-organiser of the haka, he took his responsibility very seriously. Indeed the haka featured prominently wherever the Māori contingent went.

He was not prepared, however, for the crowds that he was to encounter. He must have been disappointed and frustrated at their first performance in England. After nine weeks at sea, they had spent the day, after disembarking, travelling to their camp at Alexandra Palace. It was nine o’clock at night when they arrived. They had not slept on land since leaving New Zealand. Nevertheless they were required to put
on their haka. A space was cleared for the performance, but the clamour to view meant that they were hemmed in without room to do the actions. With just the words, it must have seemed very tame to the performers.

By the time he reached Scotland it would appear that his band of haka exponents had been extended to include the New Zealand Pākehā. It is probably a tribute to his pleasant temperament and natural social skills that they co-operated so willingly.

Friends, if you could have seen the Māori party in action here, you would have been amazed. We would have alarmed you, with the moko and eyebrows we made; they were so black. And some of them were Pākehā! Most of them had never before done a haka, but because they knew it was part of the heritage they got going and practised it.

The repeated haka performances, with the changing out of military uniform and the painting on moko, emphasised the reason for which the Māori contingent had come to be present at the Coronation festivities. They were there because they were Māori.

There were many occasions on this journey where the differences they encountered between peoples, differences both in ethnicity and opportunity, must have led the participants to consider once again the differences they had observed in their own country.

Terei Ngatai’s comments on poverty in the East End of London have already
been noted. Henare Kohere does not often express a point of view but his selection of incidents is an indication of the issues about which he is thinking.

Here are some of the occasions where Henare refers to ethnic groups other than Māori of English:

In New South Wales he encountered the Fijian contingent,

I reira ka kite mātou i te iwi nei i te Whītī, ā, ka rerekē, kāore he hū, he rāpaki te tarau, kāore he pōtae, ko ngā makawe he roroa, engari he mea whakapoutihi ki runga, pania ai ki te hinu, ā, ka mau te wehi. E haere ana anō ki Ingarangi. [M 155-158]

There we saw these people, the Fijians, and they were unusual in that they wore no shoes, their trousers were replaced by wrap-round skirts, they had no hats, their hair was long but put up in an unkempt fashion and smeared with oil, and they were awesome. They were also going to England. [E 161-165]

When they reached Durban he encountered Zulus, Kaffirs, Basotho, and Indians. The Māori men, like most other tourists of the time, dashed off to take a ride to the centre of the city on the rickshaws drawn by the Kaffirs. Henare took delight in the experience and commented on the strong running and stamina of the pullers. His emotion seemed to be admiration rather than pity.

But he was disturbed when he found the way in which the indigenous people were living. His first response might now seem a little smug. To understand that reaction it is necessary to look at the economic and social circumstances he experienced in New Zealand, and also to be aware of the commonly held view-point of the times among Pākehā, who claimed that the Maori was the superior race of all indigenous races. With hindsight this probably meant that the Māori were the most able and flexible in adapting to Pākehā ways. What Henare observed seemed to confirm what he had already been taught.
And then we came back full of self-praise for ourselves as a race. We, the Māori People, live well, we live properly, but the black people from here are like animals, for they probably do not have knowledge. That led us to talk about the Urewera people, about how they wear leggings and no boots, for here all are like that. I saw an Indian woman here, her satin garment gleaming and her head-piece fluttering, really shining with gold, but when you got down to the feet, she had no boots at all, and her feet were all chapped and cracked.

Certainly he was able to note how laws of segregation operated.

There is a rule in this town that these black people are not allowed to travel on public roads. One thing I’ve seen here is that the labour on the steamer and in the shops, --- all these workers are Zulus.

Later, in England, Terei Ngatai also comments on the place the Māori people have in English thinking. He is a little more cynical than his older cousin, and is amused by English ignorance.

O ngā iwi Māori katoa i Rānana nei ko te Māori kei runga. Ko te whai a te Pākehā kia kite, kia kōrero ki te Māori, he kī nā te Pākehā, "Ko ngā Māori ngā mea pai atu i ērā atu katoa."

Ahakoa te whakamāhāro o Rānana, he kua re te tāngata hui atu ki ngā tāngata rangatira: kāore rātou e mōhio kei hea rānei tēnei whenua a Niu Tireni; ki te whakaaro a ētahi kei āwherika, kei
Poihākena, kei Merepana rānei. E puta ana he kōrero i roto i ngā nūpepa Pākehā mō ngā Māori ia rā, ia rā, haere kē ai te Pākehā ki te puni o ngā Whiti ka kī anō, "A, arā ngā Māori. I ētahi wā ka ui ki ngā Māori anō kia whakaaturia ki a rātou ngā Māori, he i te kinga atu a te Māori he Māori anō ia, ka ohorere.

Of all the indigenous peoples here in London, the Māori are most highly regarded. The Pākehā are eager to see and speak to the Māori; for the Pākehā says, "The Māori is better than all the others."

Although London is wonderful the people are ignorant, even the upper class; they do not know where this land of New Zealand is. Some believe that it is in Africa, or Sydney, or Melbourne. Everyday something is published in the Pākehā newspaper about the Māori people, but the Pākehā head off to the Fijian camp, and say, "Ah, there are the Māori!" Sometimes they ask the Māori themselves to point out the Māori people to them. And when a Māori tells them that he himself is a Māori, they are quite taken aback.

Army life, even when it was confined to ceremonial, no doubt was tiring and demanding, but for the two cousins it was full of exciting new experiences, not the least of which was being part of a great, well stage-managed imperial event. There were many factors, also, that reinforced their pride in themselves, in their iwi, and in their race.

Originally the English authorities had intended that they be accommodated along with other indigenous races in a separate location from the New Zealand Pākehā soldiers. At various times in British and in New Zealand history "liberal" thinking on racial policy has swung from one approach to another. At this time Seddon's policy was "integration" and in accordance with that ideology he insisted that the two New Zealand groups be together. Accordingly the Māori contingent found themselves the only indigenous group to be at Alexandra Palace. Whether or not "integration" today is regarded as a euphemism for "assimilation", at the time their position was a source of pride.
It is therefore not surprising that Henare got the impression that the Māori contingent was being specially pointed out to the dignitaries. [See M 686, E 722; M 728, E 763]

Occasionally Henare points out the way in which his preconceived or pre-taught ideas about racial characteristics or racial relationships have been overturned. These are valuable in indicating the popular beliefs of the time. In expressing his appreciation of English friendliness and hospitality he writes:

"Ka kite au i te aroha o te iwi nei, o te Pākehā, e kī nei tātou, "Kāore te Pākehā e mōhio ki te aroha." [M 697-698]

I discovered the good-heartedness of this Pākehā race, of whom we say, "The Pākehā does not know aroha." [E 718-719]

In both Documents Three and Six observations were made about women working in factories. While in Scotland Henare also observed women working - in this case, in the fields. His comments take a rather different angle:

"Hei reira ka kite mātou i te wāhine e mahi ana, -- hua atu hoki rā au ko tāua anake, ko te Māori o ngā iwi mōhio o te ao e whakamahi ana i ā tāua wāhine. Pēnei anō te ātu mahi a te wāhine me ngā mahi e mahi nei te wāhine Māori, e hauhake taewa ana, e whiu kāta ana, e parau ana i ngā māra. [M 978-982]

It was there that we saw women working --- and I thought that the Māori were the only people in the world known for making our women work. The sort of work of the women was just like the tasks Māori women perform, digging potatoes, driving carts, and ploughing fields. [E 1005-1009]

and a little further on he says he found the Scots people

... āhua rite tonu nei ki te Māori e haere kore hū ana ngā wāhine; whakawaha ana i ngā tamariki ki tuarā, whakaheke iho hoki te hōro ki
... just like the Māori people, for the women go about without shoes, they carry their children on their backs, by wrapping a shawl round under them. [E 1020-1022]

These comments suggest that the conventional wisdom of the times were "Pākehā have no warmth of feeling and generosity" and "Only Māori people make their women work," Both of which he believes he has disproved.

In relation to racial generalisations it is worthy of note that Sir James Carroll, in addressing the Māori men selected for this journey, exhorts them to behave as befits a Māori rangatira, and to avoid the undisciplined path of the Pākehā by abstaining from alcoholic drinks. On more than one occasion in the preceding document, the Māori members of the rugby team got into difficulties, perhaps because of their inexperience with champagne. In the description of this tour, the incidents of misbehaviour through drunkenness are all perpetrated by Pākehā soldiers.

Of the writers represented in these seven documents, Henare Kohere is the most "literary" in the sense that his accounts, particularly those published after his return, are "managed and organised" to suit the publication for which they are intended. There is a conscious attempt to shape the pieces and to draw to rounded-off conclusions at the end of sections.

Humour is introduced to lighten the narrative. He even prefaces the amusing account of Weteri's eaves-dropping [pp 160 seq, 215 seq] by specifically indicating that he has selected it as being particularly appropriate to his editor brother's needs.

That anecdote demonstrates Weteri's mischievous sense of humour, but Henare adds amusing touches of his own:
He iwi pai atu te Kötimana. He raweki te haere i roto i ō rātou kahu panekoti. Te tū o te iwi rangatira ana. [M 1055-1056]

The Scots are a very fine people. They look very good in their skirt clothing [kilts]. That's the characteristic of a rangatira people. [E 1086-1088]

Terei also displays humour mixed with pride in the following:

... e whakamanamana nei te Ingarihi ko Itana te wāhi i whawhaitia ai ngā pakanga nunui i hinga ai ērā atu iwi i te Ingarihi, i whakaakona hoki ō rātou tianara ki konei. Engari me tapiri atu pea ngā pukepuke o Niu Tireni ki Itana, i whakaakona hoki ngā hōia o Niu Tireni ki runga pukepuke.

... the English proudly claim that Eton is the place where the great battles were fought, where foreign nations were defeated by the English, for their generals were educated here. But to Eton we should perhaps add the hilly countryside of New Zealand, for the New Zealand soldiers were taught on hilly land.

For Māori travellers abroad the language had to be stretched to accommodate new experiences. Using transliterations, as we have seen, was one way to do this; but in letters home transliterations were only useful if the Pākehā word and what it referred to was already to the Māori reader. The word "raiona" could be used to name the animal in the Viennese zoo, or in this document, in London, because, as we are told, the Māori reader had already seen pictures of lions in school-books. But what about underground railways and elevators?

Terei Ngatai refers to an elevator as a box. Henare Kohere describes a train that went under the River Thames as follows:

Tētahi mea whakamiharo. Ėtahi terēina kei runga noa atu o ētahi o ngā whare e rere ana, pēnei te āhua o ngā terēina, me te ara tuatara, kiore e hou haere nei i te oneone. [M 623-626]
How amazing it was! Some trains rush along right up above some of the houses, and then, just like tuatara or rat paths they go under the ground. [E 645-647]

Kitchener’s face has the hardness of kahikatea wood. Some of the imagery was drawn from their Christian teaching:

I taua rā, te 19, ka pāngia tō mātou Kāpene e te mate, kātahi ka pā mai te pōuri ki a mātou, ka pēnei te āhua me te hipi kāore he hēpara. [M 518-519]

On that day, the 19th, our captain was taken sick. We were overcome with sadness, just like sheep without a shepherd. [E 534-535]

Overwhelmed by the effect of gold in buildings and ornaments, generous use is made of gleaming, shining words such as "rarama", "kanapa", and "uira"; but finding them inadequate to communicate the impact, Henare enlarges the idea as follows:

Hei ngā rūma rarama tonu, pēnei ana te whakaaro kāore pea e hiahiatia te rama i te pō, rarama a runga, rarama a raro. [M 932-934]

The rooms gleamed so, you could well believe that the lamp could not possibly be required at night, for they gleamed from top to bottom. [E 957-959]

Henare Kohere makes effective use of analogy, also.

The contrast between his childhood and the experiences on this journey is one of the most powerful impressions that this text provides. In his autobiography, Reweti Kohere describes how as a child he was set to the task of climbing hills early in the morning, barefoot and ill-clad, to catch horses and bring them in for their owner. His salary was one boiled sweet. Although not giving such precise details, Henare
suggests that his childhood also involved him in similar employment.

How the tables had turned! At Alexandra Park, as a mounted soldier on parade, he writes:

He Pākehā ki te mahi i ngā hōiho, ki te whakanohi i ngā tera, heoi anō tā mātou he eke ki runga ka haere. [M 604-605]

It was Pākehā men who had to work with the horses, and put on the saddles; all we had to do was to mount and away. [E 626-627]

The climax to the account comes when he and his cousin climb a hill, the site of an old Roman fortress in Homburg.

I reira mātou, ka hoki mai ā māua kōrero ki Waiapu, ki ngā wā o te tamarikitanga, e haere ai ki te kura, he hāte anake te kahu, e tonotona ai kia haere ki te hopu hōiho e ngā pakeke. Ka puta te kata i a māua. Kātahi anō ka kite i te rerekētanga o tērā wā, i tēnei wā. Kei Iuropi rawa ia e haere ana. E hika mā, kāore ianei e kata. He aha te tūtatatanga o ēnei mea e rua, te haere hāte anake ki te kura me takoto te tapuae i Iuropi. [M 1234-1239]

While we were there our conversation went back to Waiapu, to the days when we were children going to school, shirts our only clothing, and the grown-ups sending us to go and catch horses. We burst out laughing. It had just struck us what a contrast those days were with now. But, here we are at last, travelling in Europe. My friends, we stopped laughing. How incongruent these two situations are, going in only a shirt to school, and setting foot in Europe. [E 1279-1278]

They had shaken hands with royalty, performed for the gentry, stayed in the best hotels in Europe. After that, in a beautifully shaped analogy, on returning to London, "England seemed like Waiapu to us."

Transliterations:
**Henare’s Account**

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<th>Frequency</th>
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It was observed as early as Document One that writers sometimes used within one text, pairs of words, one of Māori origin and the other a transliteration, with apparently the same meaning. Examples of such pairs in this text are:
"whakawahinga" and "karaunatanga" meaning coronation, and "Hātarei" and "Rāhoroi" for Saturday.

Two words for potato have already been encountered in previous texts. Henare Kohere uses a third, "taewa". This word also means foreigner. There is a possibility that in origin it too is a transliteration coming from a man's name, Stivers, who was said to have visited the Bay of Islands before Cook.9 The word "kura" listed above comes from English "school" but as it is also the Māori word for traditional knowledge it takes on an extra significance.

Occasionally Henare quotes what a Pākehā says in English, as when the cook dives overboard calling out "Goodbye". And he, himself, slips a "Goodbye once more" into his first letter home, much as a Pākehā might interpolate an "Au revoir" or "Auf wiedersheen". Interesting, too, is his transliteration of a whole phrase, "eweri täima", [M 1139], [every time].

In this account transliterations of words, other than proper nouns, are used 812 times. There are 156 of these words which represents 4.8 % of the vocabulary used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terei's Account</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kara</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>karauna</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These words all derive from English except the word for "serpent". This was introduced into the language by the missionaries and comes from the Hebrew "nagash". Whereas Henare used "haki" for flag, coming from the word "Jack" in "Union Jack", Terei uses the more military "kara" derived from the word "colour".

Excluding proper nouns, borrowings amount to 72, appearing 180 times in all, which is 4.7% of the total words used.

It was noticed in Document Six that there were a number of English words used in addition to transliterations. Wiri Nehua was bilingual and this introduction of English words was attributed to that fact. Henare Kohere and Terei Ngatai were also bilingual, and yet, writing fourteen years later, they use English words to a much smaller degree. More comparable, however, is their presentation of names of places and peoples.

A list of these as used by the two cousins is given below. From it can be seen which words were chosen to transliterate, which to be given in English, and of New Zealand place names, which were written in the original Māori.

Names of places and peoples:

**Henare’s Text:**

Māori:

Heretaunga
Horoera
Moana-nui-a-Kiwa
Mokonui
Ōtaki
Ōtatauhi
Rotorua
Te Waipounamu
Waipapa
Whakatū

Transliterations:

Ahitereiria  Australia
Akaira  Argyll
Arani  Orange Colony
Arapani  Albany
Atingitana  Addington
Awherika  Africa
Erinipara  Edinburgh
Hirini  Sydney
Ingarangi  England
Ingarihi  English
Iuropi  Europe
Inia  India
Kānata  Canada
Karaitiati  Christchurch
Kari  Calais
Karihiko  Glasgow
Kēpa Koroni  Cape Colony
Kēpatāone  Capetown
Korona  Cologne
Kōtarana/ Kētarani  Scotland
Kōtūmana  Scotsman
Maina  Maitz
Mateira  Madeira
Maunga Tēpu  Table Mountain
Merepana  Melbourne
Nēpia  Napier
Niu Tirenī  New Zealand
Paniora  Spanish
Parahera  Brussels
Paranihi  Boulonnais
Parihi  Paris
Pei of Pihike  Bay of Biscay
Peretini  Belgium
Poa  Boer
Poihākena  Sydney (Port Jackson)
Pōneke  Wellington (Port Nicholson)
Poriki  Portuguese
Raina  Rhine
Rānana  London
Ririania  Lyttelton
Roto Romana: Lake Lomond
Tapane  Durban
Tiānarmac  Chinese
Tiamani  Germany
Tiapani  Japanese
Wehimina  Westminster
Weiri  Wales
Whit  Fiji
Winiha  Windsor
Wiwī  French
English

Alexandra Palace
Belgium
Brussels
Buckingham Palace
Calais
Canary Islands
Cologne
Crystal Palace
Dover
East London
English Channel
Europe
France
Frankfurt/Frankfort
Great Australian Bight
Homburg
Homburg
Indian Ocean
Mainz
Mossel Bay
New South Wales
Port Elizabeth
Port Natal
Rhone
Southampton
Spithead
Tower

Terei’s Text:

Māori:

Titirangi
Turanga

Transliterations:

Arehanara Parahe  Alexandra Palace
Awherika          Africa
Haiti Pāka        Hyde Park
Hakona            Saxon
Ingarangi         England
Ingarihi          English
Kānata            Canada
Kanatipere        Canterbury
Kīpatiʻone        Capetown
Konota            Connaught
Merepana          Melbourne
Niu Ioka          New York
Niu Tireni        New Zealand
In addition to the above terms, both writers chose a transliteration followed by an explanation in English to make sure that there would be no misunderstanding. The following is a list of these.

**Henare Kohere’s List:**

- Maina (Mainz)
- Parahera (Brussels)
- Raina (Rhone)
- Roto Romana (Lake Lomond)
- Tapane (Durban)
- Wehiminita Api (Westminster Abbey)
- Winiha Kahira (Windsor Castle)

**Terei Ngatai’s List:**

- Haiti Pika (Hyde Park)
- Itana (Eton)
Kirihara Parahe  (Crystal Palace)
Parahe  (Spanish Armada)
Porewa Porotaka  (Round Tower)
Pøtimaha  (Portsmouth)
Pourera o Ränana  (Tower of London)
Tiukaa o Akaira  (Argyll)
Winiha  (Windsor)

He also includes phrases like:

tētahi wahi of Ränana (Earl’s Court)
[a place in London (Earl’s Court)]

te Whare Whakakitekite (British Museum)
[the display building (British Museum)]

hōia tiaki i te kainga o te Kīngi (Life Guards)
[soldiers guarding the king’s place (Life Guards)]

Understandably, even within one person’s writing there is an inconsistency as to whether to use the transliteration, the English, or where it is available, the Māori word. Henare, for instance, uses both "Ōtautahi" and "Karaitiati" for Christchurch. He uses "Calais" in one place and "Kari (Calais)" in another. Similarly, he uses both "Cologne" and "Korona", and "Europe" and "Iuropi". In the earlier pieces he consistently uses "castle" but later he switches to "kahira".

Especially interesting are the "hybrid" names: Maunga Tēpu [Table Mountain], Bond Tiriti and Oxford Tiriti [Bond and Oxford Streets] and Roto Romana [Lake Lomond].

Excluding names of people and places transliterations comprise 4.79% of Henare Kohere’s text and 4.67% of Terei Ngatai’s text.
End-notes - Section Three, Document Seven


2. Te Aute College must have had a policy of having older boys at the school. Compare Wiri Nehua who at the age of 22 was selected for the New Zealand Native Rugby team while still at school at Te Aute. Reweti and probably many others were able to assist with teaching juniors.

3. This was Grade IV of his theology exams and entitled the Anglican minister who had achieved this grade to wear a black and purple hood.


5. In Document Seven he does refer to being a schoolboy in Waiapu. See M 1234, E 1273.


8. This is a reference to the saying that the Battle of Waterloo was won in the playing fields of Eton. This quotation was attributed to Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, by Montalembert, but a member of Wellington's family later refuted the attribution.

9. See Williams 1971, 357.
SECTION FOUR
THE NEXT DECADE

The documents studied in this Section all come from the journal, Te Pipiwharauroa. The aim here is to observe to what extent trends noted in the previous sixty years continue or are reversed in the first decade of the twentieth century. To this end each of the documents in this section is considered, where applicable, under the headings used in Section II.
(End-notes are placed at the end of the section.)

The Documents Studied are as follows:

Chapter 1   Document Eight
Divinity Students by horse, cycle, and foot from Gisborne to Ūawa.
1905

Chapter 2   Document Nine
Pine Tamahori travels from Gisborne to Rotorua via Ōpōtiki, by cycle.
1905-1906

Chapter 3   Document Ten
Reweti Kohere travels to the Chatham Islands.
1905-1906

Chapter 4   Document Eleven
Gisborne to Rotorua by cycle via Waikaremoana.
1907-1908

Chapter 5   Document Twelve
Te Arawa Concert Party to New York.
1909-1910

Chapter 6   Document Thirteen
Rev Poihipi Kohere goes on a mission to the New Hebrides.
1910

Chapter 7   Document Fourteen
Hone Mōrehu Nuku travels with the Te Arawa concert party to Australia.
1910-1911

Conclusion

478
CHAPTER 1 DOCUMENT EIGHT

This document, which appeared in Issue No 89, September 1905, ostensibly had joint authorship. It was written anonymously by students of Te Rau College and describes a journey they took from Gisborne to Te Ūawa. The party was composed of eight students and their tutor, the Reverend Chatterton. The purpose of the journey was to get practice in preaching and to provide services for the residents of Ūawa. It was signed, "nā ā koutou mōkai" which might be translated "from your young friends".

The narrative falls into two parts. The first part is an account of the amusing incidents that occurred on the fourteen hour journey; some set out on horseback, and some on bicycles. This is the first time in the accounts in this thesis that the latter mode of transport is used. In the end, the terrain proved too difficult and bicycles had to be abandoned. They finished the journey on foot.

The second part of the narrative gives a detailed account of each student's choice of biblical text and the sermon developed from it. On five consecutive nights two of their number preached. And on the Sunday evening they all preached.

Many aspects of travel narrative considered in Section II do not apply in this narrative, because the journey is of short duration and within one province of New Zealand.

However, the language and style of the narrative is worthy of note. It is easy to imagine that the piece was a set assignment serving a double purpose, for the editor of the journal was also a teacher at the college. The two most noteworthy aspects are the uses of imagery and humour.
In the opening section of the narrative several analogies are drawn. The first of these compares the education of a Māori youth of olden times with their own.

...he ture na te poti i te wā anō e ririki ana āna punua ka tīmata tāna whakatūtū i a rātou kia mōhio ai rātou ki te mau patu e mate ai he kai mā rātou. Waihoki he pēnei t<e>ō mātou āhua. Kei te whakatūtū mātou ināianei kia tae rawa ake ai ki te wā e puta atu ai i te kāinga nei kua taunga ki te mau patu.

...there was a boat law that at a time when the prey was young and small, he began demonstrating to them, so that they would know how to hold a club and kill food for themselves. Similarly, he showed them how to use a fish-hook. Now we are being instructed so that when we eventually reach the settlement we will have become familiar with holding a patu.

In other words, being sent out to preach, "throwing them in the deep-end" as an English idiom might put it, was the equivalent of a Māori youth's training in times gone by.

Of the documents in Section I and II the one which makes similar reference to Māori tradition is that written by Rapata Wahawaha [V] when at much greater length he draws on the "red kura" legend to drive home a point. The difference is that Wahawaha was using the legend as a forceful argument, just as he might in oratory, whereas the divinity student (or students) is using a literary device to put his story in perspective.

The second allusion was drawn from biblical sources:

He maha o ngātimāua mate i tō mātou haerenga atu. Puta whakamuri ana tērā ngā whakaaro ki ngā whakamātautauranga i pā ki ngā tamariki o Iharaira i te koraha.

Many of our party felt ill as a result of our journey. and later on it occurred to us to think about what we had been taught of the children of Israel in the desert.

480
Both these images indicate conscious attempts at shaping such as we have seen in Henare Koheres writing [VIIA]

The humour inherent in the mishaps they have on the journey is very well developed. It arises from the events themselves, but the telling is structured in such a way that it enhances the laughter. A comparison could be made with Rēnata's difficulty in crossing the Manawatū River [I]. There, we cannot tell if in retrospect Rēnata was amused or not. We need to hear his voice. In Document Eight we are left in no doubt. This is one indication of the degree to which the written language has evolved.

The first problem they encountered arose because the coach which had been contracted to take their luggage left two of the packs of clothes behind. As those on bicycles had the harder journey, it was left to the "fortunate" ones who were to ride horseback, to overtake the coach and put the luggage on. An argument ensued as the coach-driver apparently was unaware he was expected to take the packs. He threw two of them off and left without them.

The riders then had to ride loaded down with the packs until they could overtake the coach again. In the meantime a further accident occurred:

Ko tētahi o ngā pēke, i te taenga o te tangata i a ia taua pikanga ki tētahi kāinga ka whakatūngia ki te taha o te kēti. I te taha tonu o taua pēke kākahu tētahi manga wai. Ka mahue iho i te tangata rā taua pēke i reira ka haere ia ki te hopu hōiho mō ētahi tokorua o rātou. I a ia e ngaro atu ana ka haere mai tētahi hōiho i roto i te tāiapa. Te taenga ki te pēke ra e tū ana, ka pōhehē he pēke tiawhe (chaff). Ka mau ngā niho o te hōiho rā ki te pēke he hiki atu ki roto i te tāiapa. Te tārewa te pēke ra i te takiwā, kātahi ka makere i ngā niho o te hōiho ra. Te makeretanga atu tau tonu atu ki roto i te manga wai ra na, mākū katoa atu ngā kākahu o roto.

But when he came to that part of the settlement wher he had to climb up, he put one of the packs down by the gate. Just beside that pack of
clothes was a stream. He left the pack there when he went to catch horses for a couple of their group. While he was away a horse came along from inside the fence. When it came to the pack it stopped, thinking it was a bag of chaff. Its teeth took hold of the pack and lifted it up to bring it across to inside the fence. The pack was lifted up at that point, and then it dropped from the horse’s teeth. When it dropped it landed right in that stream there, and all the clothes inside got wet.

Then it was the four cyclists’ turn to experience difficulties. For thirteen miles (about 21 kilometres) before reaching Pouawa, they had to carry their bikes for they were sinking into the sea-soaked gravel. At Pauawa, one cycle was discarded and replaced by an additional horse. Of the other three cyclists Chatterton’s chain snapped, and another’s pedal fell off. The horsemen attempted to tow these two men:

Ka riro nā ngā mea i runga hōiho rāua i kume haere ki te taura i te one, ā, kāti, ka tipi ana te paihikara kāore e ārikarika takoto ana mai te tangata rāua ko tōna waka i rō kirikiri. Kīhāi rawa i takitaro i a ia tonu e whakarui nā te paihikara ka poharu tētahi o mātou ki rō paruparu. Pau katoa atu te paihikara ki rō paruparu, tae ana ki te hope o te rangatira te paruparu. Na he kume ake i te paihikara ka rewa haere ake tēnā ka poharu haere atu te rangatira. He mea mahi kaha ka puta ake ki te ao tū roa.

Well, the bicycles skidded along, and there was no way that man and bike could be prevented from lying in the gravel. It was not long at all before one of our number was thrown off by his bicycle and he sank into the mud. The bike was completely buried in the mud, and the mud came up to our leader’s waist. Well, when the bicycle was pulled up, it skimmed along on the surface and the leader sank down. It required hard work to bring him out to the daylight and have him standing up at his full height.

At Pakarae, they abandoned their bicycles and covered the remaining 17 miles (some 27 kilometres) on foot.
Transliterations

Below is a list of transliterations used, excluding names of people and places. There are 25 words used, with a total of 59 occurrences. They comprise 2.3% of the whole text:

- hiōra: hour (o’clock) [3]
- hapa: supper [1]
- Hatarci: Saturday [1]
- hōiho: horse [9]
- kareti: college [4]
- kēti: gate [1]
- kōti: coach [5]
- māero: mile [3]
- Mane: Monday [1]
- paihikara: bicycle [12]
- Paraire: Friday [1]
- poti: boat [1]
- pukapuka: book (epistle) [1]
- rēwera: devil [2]
- Taite: Thursday [1]
- tāraiwa: driver [3]
- tiawhe: chaff [1]
- tīma: team [1]
- tina: lunch [1]
- tīni: chain [1]
- tūre: law [1]
- Tūrci: Tuesday [1]
- Wenerei: Wednesday [1]
- whutupaoro: football [1]
- wini: win [1]

Only six place names are used, 33% being transliterations. These are both of Biblical origin.

Māori

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Name</th>
<th>Transliterations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakarae</td>
<td>Iharaira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pouawa</td>
<td>Kariri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Rau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

483
CHAPTER 2

DOCUMENT NINE

Document Nine is also an account of a cycle trip within New Zealand. It was published in Issue 96, January 1906.

Unusually for the journal *Te Pīwharauroa* there are many errors in the text. The editor at the time was absent in the Chatham Islands over the vacation. The January issue possibly suffered from not having his proof-reading supervision.

The author is Pine Tamahori, one of the cyclists in the Te Rau College party of Document Eight. He may well have been its principal writer. In 1913 Pine Tamahori became a minister in the Hikurangi Pastorate of Waiapu and served in that capacity until 1933. He has been proclaimed "the greatest of the priests" of that pastorate. He was very athletic and an enthusiastic cricketer.

It would appear that the misadventures of three months earlier had not deterred him from this even more exacting journey. On this occasion he travelled 191 miles (306 kilometres) in four and a half days. He and a companion put their cycles on board a train and travelled as far as Te Karaka by rail. From there, on the first day, a Monday, they cycled to Poututu which was a village some 19 kilometres distant from Te Karaka. They were travelling rather north of today’s main route from Gisborne to Ōpōtiki. They spent the next night at Mōtū which Tamahori explains was as far as a horse and buggy could go, the path after that being only wide enough for a horse. A further night was spent at a place intermediate between there and Ōpōtiki, and on Thursday they at last emerged at Ōmaranatu and travelled along the coast to Ōpōtiki. They stayed there for the night.

On Friday morning they moved on to Ōhiwa where the break in the coastline
forced them inland. The hilly terrain made the cycling hard work. Stopping at Whakatāne only for refreshments they reached Te Teko by nightfall. They completed their journey from Te Teko to Rotorua on the Saturday.

Considered under the headings of Section II, the piece is chiefly noteworthy for its use of language.

Whether or not it is the same bicycle as had caused mechanical problems in the previous text [VIII] is not known. However, within seven miles of their leaving the train, his pedal falls off. He continues on, letting one foot do all the work, but that night he regrets the decision, as the delay in repair has exacerbated the problem.

Next day the bicycle takes animated form, as though the contraption has a will and a purpose. Several times the author refers jocularly to it as if it were a horse:

Mutu rawa te parakuihi, i te 8, <ka> ka haere māua, ka piki tēnei i runga maunga, unuunurawa ngā koti, hōtiki atu ki runga, ka riro mā ō māua waka māua, e kawe ki raro; ā, he hanga rawe taua hōiho ki te heke i runga m[a]unga.

At length, after breakfast, at 8 o’clock, we set off, and we climbed up the mountain here, our coats unpacked and tied up on top, and then we set off on our bikes letting them carry us down; that steed is an excellent invention for getting down from on top of a mountain.

Two days later, he writes:

...ka kino ō māua hōiho i reira, ka piki, kei te ekenga ki runga, kātahi anō ka pai ō māua ka heke hoki.

...our horses behaved badly there, when we were going uphill, and then, when we reached the top, once again our mounts behaved well, and we came down again.

At one point in the text the published version has:
Ka haere māua, ā, tae rawa ake ki te ..... te kau mā tahi ka puta māua ki Omaramutu,

We set off and eventually, at the eleventh ..... we came out at Omaramutu,

My conjecture is that the gap was intended to be "hāora", - "at the eleventh hour" is an English idiom with which the type-setter may have been unfamiliar.

There are no other clearly identifiable English idioms in the text. There are, however, some traditionally Māori ones. It is a pleasing idea to think of the two men's arrival on bicycle in the following terms:

Pāhi rawa ake te waru o te ahiahi ka haruru ō māua tapuae ki Poututu.

It was already after eight in the evening when our footsteps could be heard at Poututu.

Transliterations

Below is a list of transliterations used, excluding names of people and places.

There are 27 words used, with a total of 57 occurrences. They comprise 4.6% of the whole text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hāwhe</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōīho</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapu</td>
<td>cup</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaka</td>
<td>clock</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koti</td>
<td>coat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māero</td>
<td>mile</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māhīta</td>
<td>master</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mane</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāhi</td>
<td>past (time)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paihikara/ paihika</td>
<td>bicycle/bike</td>
<td>7 + 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parakuihi</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paramu</td>
<td>plum</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rērewē</td>
<td>railway</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohi</td>
<td>loaf</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As far as can be ascertained, Document Nine represents the first journey in this collection which was undertaken under the writer’s initiative. Although the travellers in the first eight documents set off voluntarily, all those journeys were planned and organised by some one else.²
CHAPTER 3

DOCUMENT TEN

This is the account of a journey which took place in the same Christmas vacation as did Document Nine's journey. Its author is Reweti Kohere, writing under a pseudonym he often used, "Tipiwhenua" [Vagabond].

The journey took place between December 1905 and February 1906. Reweti first set off for Hicks Bay to attend a tangi. From Hicks Bay he travelled by horse to Gisborne, by steamer from Gisborne to Napier, by train from Napier to Wellington, by steamer from Wellington to Lyttelton, and by train to Christchurch. While there he visited the preparations and building construction for the Exhibition to be opened in 1906.

From Lyttelton he sailed on the Toroa, a small steamer, to Waitangi on Chatham Island. He stayed in the Chatham Islands for five weeks as a preacher, the people there having been without a minister for some considerable time.

His account of his journey is extensive and was published in Pipiwharauroa as a series of articles beginning is Issue No. 95, February 1906, continuing in Issues 96, 97, and 99, with a further piece in August, Issue No 101.3

Separation

Although the articles are systematic and documentary, they are not impersonal. All the sections were necessarily published after his return to Gisborne, but Pukapuka I was at least was written while he was on Chatham Island. In it he indicates his feelings of separation in specific references.
First he shares with the reader his apprehension on approaching the island. He tells us that he had little information about the inhabitants and did not know how "foreign" they would be to his way of life. He writes:

Ahakoa kua rongo anō au ki ngā tāngata o Wharekauri e kōrero ana mō tō rātou whenua, ahakoa i pānuitia anō e Te Pīpīwharauroa ngā kōrero a Hapuroma Pawa mō Wharekauri, kāhore i tino mārama taku ngākau ki te āhua o ngā tāngata. Ki te whakaaro a te tāngata he Moriori ngā tāngata o Wharekauri, ko te reo he Moriori anō. Ko tāku i whakaaro ai i rite te āhua o ngā tāngata me te reo ki a Ngāi Tahu, arā, he hāwhe Pākehā he hāwhe Māori. I whiriwhiri taku ngākau me pēhea rā he kōrero māku ki a rātou, me Pākehā rānei me Māori anō rānei. I ui anō tōku ngākau mehemea e mātou ana anō hoki ki ngā tikanga Māori. I pōhēhē ai au kua ngaro pea ngā tikanga Māori te tawhiti rawa o Wharekauri ki te moana, e 500 māero.

Although I had heard people of Chatham Island speaking about their country, although Pīpīwharauroa had published Hapuroma Pawa’s descriptions of Wharekauri, my mind did not have a clear understanding as to the nature of the people. It is believed that the people of Chatham Island are Moriori; the language is also Moriori. I used to think that the people and the language were like Ngāi Tahu, i.e. half Pākehā and half Māori. And so I was pondering whether I should speak to them in English or in Māori. Would they still be familiar with Māori customs, I asked myself? For I thought that probably the Māori customs would have been lost because of the great distance of Chatham Island across the sea, 500 miles.

The difference between this and expressions of separation in the earlier documents is that it deals with anxiety about what is to come rather than a sense of loss for what has been left.

He is not without nostalgic feelings, however. Again he is quite specific. Shortly before he left Gisborne, his wife gave birth to their first child. Pukapuka I closes with the following:

Ko te tinana noa kei konei ko te ngākau ia kei te pōtiki e awhi ana.

I am here in body, but as for my heart, it is cuddling my little child.
Omissions and Inclusions

Because Reweti Kohere set out to make a conscious study of the Chatham Islands, what was said under this heading in Section II might not seem to apply in this document. Perhaps more apposite was the way in which he drew inferences from what he observed. These were strongly influenced by the Anglican missionary stance of his newspaper and the college where he taught.

A perusal of his writing elsewhere indicates he was a strong advocate for Māori children to have Pākehā education including the teaching of English in addition to Māori, and for Māori youths to develop skills in trades and farming; he waged war on Māori superstition, and was opposed to variant forms of Christianity such as Mormonism, or preaching like that of Te Whiti or Te Rua.

Throughout these Pukapuka he digresses to make a point. Coming away from a tangi for a young Ngāti Porou boy who had been trained in saddle-making, he reflects on the problem the Māori face in not being able to establish trades in their home villages for want of capital.

This leads him on to the topic that "every one was talking about" as he travelled from Te Araroa to Gisborne, and that was:

... te Ture Muru Whenua4 a te Kāwanatanga. Ko te rite o Ngāti Porou ināianei me te mea nei kei runga i tētahi puia e noho ana, kāhore nei e mōhiotia te wā e pākaru ai. Kahore anō he ture i pēnei te āwanga wagonatanga e te iwi Māori.

I karangatia e Apirana Ngata he hui nui ki Wai-o-Matatini hei rapu tikanga hei karo i tēnei ture kei whakapangia ki ngā whenua o Ngāti Porou nō te mea ka nui te hihiko o Ngāti Porou ināianei ki te whakapai i ō rātou toenga whenua, heoi anō i kore ai e māmā te mahi he kore moni. Kei te whakamau katoa ngā kanohi o te āngata ināianei ki a Apirana hei pā tūwatawhata mō rātou, hei kaitohutohu, māna te kupu me pēnei, me pērā, me aha rānei, engari e tautoko ana au i te kōrero haere ki Ingarangi. He mea pai anō pea te kawe ki te ture, māna e titiro te tika te hē rānei o tēnei ture, inahoki e mārama ana e takahi ana tēnei i te Tiriti o Waitangi. Otirā he rōia a Apirana Ngata,
kei a ia te kupu. Ko tēnei tetahi take i hari ai tōku ngākau mō te tūnga o Apirana Ngata hei mema i tenei tau; ko ia te tangata tino tika.

... the Government’s Land Confiscation Law. It is now just as if Ngāti Porou were living on a volcano not knowing at what time it will erupt. There has never been any law like this for upsetting the Māori people with apprehension.

Apirana Ngata organised a great hui at Wai-o-Matatini to seek a way to get round this law which was imposed on the Ngāti Porou lands because there is a great urgency for the Ngāti Porou now to improve their remaining land, but indeed, the work is not easy for they have no money. All the people turn their attention now to Apirana, as a fortification for them, as a guide, no matter what he will say, whether it be this, that, or whatever, I will support the petition going to England. And turning to the law is undoubtedly a good thing too, for he will look at the right or the wrong of this law, in so far as this law is plain, and violates the Treaty of Waitangi. But Apirana is a lawyer, he is familiar with the terminology. This is one reason why my heart was overjoyed at his election as a member of parliament this year; he is certainly the right person.

In outlining the religious history of the Chatham Islands, Reweti tells us that the first missionaries were Germans, but that Christianity did not prosper until Bishop Selwyn established the Anglican church there. We are informed that the last Anglican preacher was Tapu. After he died there were no more Anglican Māori services conducted on the Chatham Islands. The last Wesleyan preacher was Te Kooti.

At the time when Reweti visited the island, the eight remaining full-blooded Moriori remained Christian, but the Māori, Te Ati Awa of Taranaki, adopted the teachings of Te Whiti. As a result, we gather, Reweti met some opposition. He writes:

I manaakitia au, ā, i karakia hoki au i ngā kāinga katoa. Tokorua rawa ngā tāngata kāhore i pai ki a au, me tāku i kauwhau ai; ko tētahi tonu o ngā tino kaumāuta rāua ko tāna tamaiti. Ka kite mai i a au ka tahuri kē, ka haere, kāhore e tangi mai e tungou noa mai rānei. Heoi anō, tāku hē i kinongia ai au he kauwhautanga nāku i te
I was the guest of and I preached in every village. There were in fact two people who did not accept me and what I preached; they were one of the high chiefs and his son. When they saw me they turned in another direction, and departed, not making a sound or even nodding to me. Well, it was my fault that I was disliked, for I was preaching in the name of Jesus Christ, that is to say, I was preaching that we should live in peace, that we should fear Jehovah, and that wrong and evil ways should be stamped out, and that children should be taught to do good deeds, think good thoughts, and not experience the pain and the sadness in this life and on to the life to come. Because of these messages I was disliked. Perhaps if I had been drunk, if I had been fractious, if I had seduced girls, I would have been made much of, I would not have been disliked. For I knew that the Gospel of Jesus Christ was the right one for the people to whom I was preaching.

Reweti also gives a quick history of Te Kooti’s capture of provision ships and escape to New Zealand. He makes a particular mention of Te Warihi’s death. Te Kooti had Te Warihi thrown overboard, ostensibly as an offering to the Gods to end the storms at sea. Others believed it was because Te Warihi did not support Te Kooti’s actions. Reweti writes:

He aroha rawa ngā kōrero o te <kōharutanga> [kōharutanga] o Te Warihi. I a ia tāna wahine me tāna tamaiti i roto i te kaipuke, kātahi ia ka tīkina ki runga, ka pangaa ki te moana i a ia anō e ora ana, ka mahue te wahine me te tamaiti kia tangi ana ki tō rāua mātua.

Ko te kōhuru tuatahi tēnei a Te Kooti. Rongo ai anō au ki etahi tāngata e whakatika ana i tenei kōhuru wēriweri. E mea ana ēhī tāngata tau ana a Te Warihi ki te wai marino ana te moana. E kīa ana ko te karakia a Te Kooti he karakia anō ki a Ihowa, engari ko tāku e mōhio ana ko ngā atua anake o nga tauiwī ko Moroko, te atua e pātua ana he tangata hei whakahere. Kāhore he mea hei whakatika mō te kōhuru i tēnei ao tae atu ki tērā ao. Ki te kōrero a ēhī tāngata kua
The story of Te Warihi’s murder is very moving. While his wife and his child were down below, he was taken up on deck and thrown into the sea still alive, and his wife and child were left crying for the father.

This was Te Kooti’s first murder, and I have heard of some people who have condoned this frightful murder. Some people say that when Te Warihi landed in the water the sea became calm. They say that Te Kooti’s incantation was indeed a prayer to Jehovah, but I know that Moroko was the only God of the strangers, the God for whom a man was killed as a sacrifice. Nothing will make amends for a murder in this world or in the next. Even if some people say that the sea grew calm when Te Warihi was thrown into the sea, the murder was a murder and remains a murder.

He had a special reason for emphasising this story; not only does it illustrate what he saw as the struggle between Christian faith and superstition, but Reweti’s wife, Kaikiri Kapua, was Te Warihi’s grand-daughter.

Self Awareness

Under this heading in Section II, changes in perception of ethnic identity were traced through the words of the authors.

Reweti Kohere’s perception was less likely to be altered by his travel than theirs, as the social changes that had been taking place, and which their writing reflected, had already influenced the outlook of Māori people. Moreover, he personally, came from an educational background that enabled him to view racial issues from a wider perspective. As an undergraduate at Canterbury University College, and as someone who combined an enthusiasm for Māori culture and history with a similar enthusiasm for English literature, he had taken the opportunity to read extensively and so to experience vicariously a range of matters outside the normal activity of a New Zealand citizen.
Even though the Chatham Islands were politically part of New Zealand, their history and their isolation from the mainland, made them in some ways seem like a foreign country. As we have already noted, Reweti Kohere was relieved to find the Māori people on the Chatham Islands retained the Māori customs with which he was familiar, but he found significant differences:

Ahakoa te maha o ngā iwi e noho ana i tenei moutere, ko tō rātou āhua ia he iwi kotahi; e noho ana, e kai ana, ngā Māori ki ngā whare o ngā Pākehā, ngā Pākehā ki ngā whare o ngā Māori. I rite rawa ētahi o ngā tikanga <o> [a] ngā Pakehā ki ngā tikanga a te Māori. He whenua tipuna a Wharekauri, i rere kē i Niu Tireni. Kāhore he mema o tēnei whenua, kāhore he reiti, kāhore he tāke, kāhore he waea, kāhore he nūpepa --- kāhore he reiti hipi, kāhore he tāke kurī.

In spite of the fact that there are many races living on this island, it is just as if there were a single race; Māori people stay and dine in houses belonging to Europeans, and Europeans in Māori houses. Some of the European customs are very like those of the Māori. Chatham Island is a strange country, quite different from New Zealand. It has no members of parliament, there are no rates, no taxes, no telephone, no newspaper, no sheep rates, no dog tax.

Further on, when discussing land ownership, and the effect Te Whiti had on land holdings,7 he writes:

Kua rite te noho a ngā Māori o Wharekauri ki tā Pākehā, arā kua noho marara; kei te noho i ia tangata, i ia tangata ki tōna wāhi.

The Māori people of Chatham Island live just like the Pākehā people, that is to say, their dwellings are dispersed; each man lives in his own place.

His missionary zeal as an Anglican minister aside, he seems to have approached his visit to the Chathams as a scholar; he distanced himself to take a dispassionate view.

He spent much time in listening to the eight remaining Moriori and recording
Moriori history and legends, and noting down something of their no longer used language.

In relating the defeat of the Moriori by the invading Māori iwi, he clearly does not identify with the actions of the victors:8

I ū ngā Māori i te kaipuke tuatahi ki Whangaroa; i te pūkanatanga anō o ngā kanohi, i te whāteroterotanga o te arero, i te tānga o te māhunga, it pikaritanga o te waewae, i te kapakapatanga o te patu, ka wehi te Moriori, ka rere, te tū rawa te ringa.

I murua te whenua i whakataurekarekata te tāngata. I kino rawa te tikanga a ngā Māori. Ki te kore e kaha ki te mahi ka patua, ki te hiahiatia te wahine ka patua te tāne. E kīia ana mō te take kore noa iho e 59 ngā Moriori i tona ki te hangi kotahi i Te Raki; mō te takahanga i te tapu ka whakamatea e Ngāti Tama ā rātou pononga Moriori, ngā tāne, ngā wāhine, ngā tamariki, ka whakararangitia ki te one i Waitangi.

The Māori landed the sailing vessel, first, at Whangaroa; because they screwed up their faces in a pukana, and poked out their tongues, and beat their heads, and shuffled their feet, and brandished their weapons, the Moriori took fright, and fled, with their hands up.

The land was plundered and the people taken captive. The Māori procedure was extremely cruel. If they [the Moriori] weren’t strong enough to work they were killed, if a woman was desired her husband was killed. It is said that for no reason at all 59 Moriori were cooked in one oven in the North; when tapu was violated the Ngāti Tama killed their Moriori slaves, men, women, and children and lined them up on the beach at Waitangi.

Just three years previously his young brother [VII], swept along with racial pride, and imperial euphoria, had recorded how well-received the Māori contingent had been in Britain. Now, it seemed, Reweti Kohere felt secure enough to write the above passage without feeling threatened. To be able to be historically critical of one’s people is an indication of strength. Māori self-esteem appeared to be restored.

Early in the first of the Pukapuka, as has been noted, he discusses the anxiety of the Ngāti Porou in the face of the Land Settlement Act, but he is equally capable
of appreciating the hopeless situation in which the Moriori find themselves:

Emotional Response

Although the thrust of his writing is factual, the reader is given glimpses of a range of emotions. The incidents include his sympathy for the Moriori, his yearning for his new-born baby, his anxiety before his arrival, and his bitter sarcasm in reaction to his snub by the Te Whiti follower. All of these have previously been mentioned.

Language

Despite the fact that Reweti’s series of articles on the Chatham Islands was expository in style and educational in intent, he still finds it helpful to employ some imagery in his descriptions. This was not so much to overcome the difficulties of applying the language to totally new experiences, but more to reach a precision of image, and because he cared about the images that words conjured up:

I rongo korero au, kāore i kite, e kīia ana kei tētahi wai iti e rere ana ki te Whanga, ko Waipapa te ingoa, hei ngā ahiahi pai kāore he hau, ka whakaea te tuna, ka ū te rara, pēnei me te kahawai e tuki nei ki te ākau.

I heard a story, which I did not myself observe; it was said that in a certain stream called Waipapa running into the Whanga Lagoon, on fine afternoons when there is no wind, the eels appear above the surface if they are so minded, and a persistent noise is heard; they pound against the bank just like kahawai

In the above passage he makes the comparison between eels and kahawai, not because his readers are unfamiliar with eels, but to stress the point that the eels are behaving in an unfamiliar way.
Further on in the same section he describes the way in which eels are struck with a hook. To stress how plentiful the eels are, and to convey the almost continuous movement of the hook, he draws an analogy with the movement of a needle in hand-sewing:

Ko te patu i te tuna ka pēnātia me te tui kākahu.

Catching eels is just like stitching a garment.

He is interested in language and comments on the similarities and differences between the Moriori language and the Māori. He believes the two languages come from the same parent language, and attributes the differences in vocabulary and pronunciation to the long period of time the two groups of Polynesian speakers were separated. In "Pitopito Kōrero" he gives some samples of the Moriori vocabulary.

Below is a list of transliterations. There are 59 words used, making up 136 occurrences. This is only 2% of the total number of words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Airihi</th>
<th>Irish</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āpotoro</td>
<td>apostle</td>
<td>[ 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āwhēkāihe</td>
<td>half-caste</td>
<td>[ 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eka</td>
<td>acre</td>
<td>[ 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāhi</td>
<td>church</td>
<td>[ 3]</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hainamana</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>[ 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāora</td>
<td>hour</td>
<td>[ 1]</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hātarei</td>
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<td>[ 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[ 6]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>kāpene</td>
<td>captain</td>
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<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>[ 2]</td>
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<tr>
<td>kāwanatanga</td>
<td>government</td>
<td>[ 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōti</td>
<td>court</td>
<td>[ 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōtimana</td>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>[ 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>[ 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māero</td>
<td>mile</td>
<td>[ 4]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following is a list of place names. Transliterations from English comprise 10% of the total:

**Polynesian words:**

- Aotearoa
- Araroa
- Awanui
- Awapatiki
- Hawaiki
- Heretaunga
- Hikurangi
- Tatimana
- Tera
- Terēina
- Tiamana
- Tima
- Tiriti
- Ture
- Türei
- Wae
- Wāna
- Wēteriana
- Wiki
- Wiwi
- Marikena
- Mema
- Mete
- Momona
- Nōwitiana
- Nüpepa
- Paipa
- Paraire
- Paralimete
- Parakipihi
- Poaka
- Poriki
- Poropiti
- Poti
- Pukapuka
- Putu
- Reiti
- Rewhētēneti
- Rihī
- Rikini
- Ripoata
- Rōia
- Tāke
- Tākuta
- Tāone
- Tāone
- Tatimana
- Tera
- Terēina
- Tiamana
- Tima
- Tiriti
- Ture
- Türei
- Wae
- Wāna
- Wēteriana
- Wiki
- Wiwi
Kaingaroa
Kairakau
Kunutoto (Lambton Quay)
Manukau
Matau-a-Maui
Matiu
Moana-nui-a-Kiwa
Motuhara
Nuka taurua
Okahu
Oropuke
Otautahi
Pana-a-Kahungua
Parihaka
Porirua
Rangitauria (Pitt Island)
Rangitukia
Rangitirahi
Raurimu (Thorndon)
Rekohu
Taranaki
Te Waipounamu
Te Aro
Te Whanga
Tikitiki
Timaru
Tiritangi
Tongaririro
Tuparoa
Turanga
Wai-o-Matatini
Waikato
Waipapa
Wairarapa
Wairau
Waitangi
Waitangi Tai Rāwhiti
Waitohi
Wauapu
Whanganui-a-Tara
Whangaroa
Wharekahika
Wharekauri

Transliterations
Ākarana
Ingarangi
Nēpia
Niu Tireni
Poneke
Riritana
In Issue 120, March 1908, there appeared an account of a further bicycle journey from Gisborne to Rotorua, this time via Lake Waikaremoana. It was published anonymously, but all the evidence points to its being written by the author of Document Ten, Reweti Kohere.

He gives as his reason for the journey a desire to see the lake and to learn something about the Tūhoe people and their land.

The journey took place over the Christmas holidays. It is interesting to note that one section of the journey, that from Ruatahuna to Rotorua, took place within days of the same path being followed by Katherine Mansfield on a camping trip.9

The author was travelling with his wife and for part of the journey they were accompanied by another couple, the Māori minister from Wairoa and his wife. They began by going through Te Reinga to Wairoa, and then they set off northwards to Rotorua.

As can be imagined, parts of the route presented many problems for a cyclist. Their first difficulty arose when soon after leaving Gisborne there was a rainstorm, and the white clay soil became saturated, difficult to walk on, let alone push a bicycle on it.

At Lake Waikaremoana they pitched tent on a hill slope. He writes:

I te ahi ahi ka wahawaihangia ngā paihikara ki te tihi o te maunga kia māmā ai te piki i te ata. He tino pou pou atu taua pikitanga, ma hōiho anake o te Urewera. I te rima mātou o te <atu> [ata] i piki ai, ā, i te waru o te pō ka moe ki runga i te hiwi. Mai i te <rema> [rima] o te ata ki te waru o te pō e rima tonu anō māero i haeretia, hei whakatū tēnei i te tino kino o te ara.
In the evening we carried our bicycles on our backs up to the top of the mountain so that it would be faster to climb there in the morning. That ascent was very steep; only the Urewera horses will climb it. We began the ascent at 5 in the morning, and at 8 o’clock at night we slept up on the ridge of the hill. From 5 in the morning until 8 in the evening we travelled just 5 miles, from which you can realise how bad the road was.

Not only did the young couple have to take their cycles up and down these very steep roads, but then they were obliged to ford rivers with their cycles on their shoulders.

Their purpose may have been to see the lake and the countryside, and in this fashion they certainly experienced the character of the terrain at close quarters; but the thrust of the document indicates that the main interest of the journey was a religious one. The Ringatū church had had strong support amongst the Tūhoe people, and currently the prophet, Te Rua, was attracting large groups of followers. Doubtless Reweti Kohere was both curious about and suspicious of this religious movement. However, he is guarded in his comments.

On Waikaremoana shore they stayed at a pā that had been built by the Ringatū church in former times. He and his companion preached there and earlier at Te Rēinga. They were well received, and he adds:

kore rawa ahau i kite haurangi.
I at no time found any drunkenness.

On the far side of the Haiatu range they met a party of Te Rua followers returning from a hui. He writes:

Tērā pea he maha ngā kupu whakamiharo i makere mai i te māngai o te poropiti, he nui atu hoki te tātaki o te tāngata, mō Te Rua anake ngā kōrero.
No doubt, many wondrous words dropped from the mouth of the prophet; the people recount many tales, and all the stories are about Te Rua.

They covered 200 miles (320 kilometres) on the journey.

As with most of the earlier records discussed in this thesis, emotions are not explicitly expressed. The problems of the journey are left to speak for themselves.

The language used is straightforward and factual, apart from an amusing little addition near the end. It reads like a private and gentle "dig" at a companion, presumably his wife:

He tika he uaua taua rori ināianei, i penei rawa hoki rā tētahi o mātou e mate ki te ara i te hemo kai, ā, e kitea ō mātou iwi e takoto ana i te taha o ngā paihika.

It is true that road is difficult at present, and one of our number thought that we would die of hunger on the road, and our bones would be found lying beside our bikes.

Below is a list of transliterations. There are 16 words used, making up 35 occurrences. This is 3.8% of the total number of words.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>word</th>
<th>transliteration</th>
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<td>hōiho</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kirimete</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōti</td>
<td>coach</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māero</td>
<td>mile</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minita</td>
<td>minister</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paihikara/ paihika</td>
<td>bicycle/ bike</td>
<td>5 + 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poropiti</td>
<td>prophet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putu</td>
<td>foot (measure)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rori</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēneti</td>
<td>tent</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>terapeke</td>
<td>saddlebag</td>
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<tr>
<td>terēina</td>
<td>train</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tima</td>
<td>steamer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūrihi</td>
<td>tourist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiki</td>
<td>week</td>
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</table>

English transliterations in the following place-names make up
16.6% of the total place-names.

Māori

Huiarau Maunga
Parianapa
Rotorua
Ruatahuna
Taumarunui
Taupō
Te Mīmi
Te Waiaiti
Te Waipounamu
Te Wairoa
Te Rēinga
Tūranga
Waikaremoana
Waiotapu
Whanganui

Transliterations

Ākarana
Niu Tireni
Pōneke
CHAPTER 5
DOCUMENT TWELVE

In the years 1909-1910 a series of articles appeared in Te Pipiwharauroa relating to a Te Arawa concert party that was contracted to perform in the United States in those years. Four of the articles were anonymously published, and one was a letter from H.M. Amohau.

According to the first of these reports, in Issue No 136, July 1909, the party of twenty men and twenty women left for America on July 5. It was stated that an American man-o’war had visited New Zealand in 1908 and some of its crew were impressed with what they saw of Rotorua Māori customs, haka, and songs. They promised to try to organise a contract for them. Apparently this was successful and someone was sent out to fetch the party.

The contract was for eleven months which included the two months that the sea journey going and returning would take, and their sea voyage, first class, was paid for.

Their send-off at the Rotorua station was said to be as enthusiastic as the crowd who assembled for the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall when they visited Rotorua eight years earlier.

With this journey to America the grieving and homesickness begin before they leave. This account, unlike any of the previous documents in this collection, also refers to the emotions of those left behind:

... he tangi te mahi na te <tieki> [tiaki] kāinga na te ope haere hoki. Ko ngā wāhine i mahue iho kua pau te wiki nuku atu rānei e tangi ana ki ā rātou tāne.
... the people who were staying at home, and the people who were going, were weeping. The wives who were left behind had spent a week or more weeping for their husbands.

The personal accounts of their experience begin in the third of the articles, the first two being merely reported at second hand.

On their first day they were taken to Coney Island, a giant amusement park. It had been the Te Arawa people who had been selected to provide the demonstrations of Māori arts at the Christchurch Exhibition in 1906. No doubt some of those same performers were among the men and women in New York, and so it is not surprising that comparisons were made. Coney Island was much larger:

Kāore he mea e rite ki tērā te nui i ngā wāhi katoa o te ao.

There is nothing to compare in size anywhere in the world.10

Some of their experiences drew reactions similar to those we have read in earlier journey accounts. Here is what H.M. Amohau says in relation to night illumination and traffic:

... ko te pō rāua ko te awatea: kāore e mōhiotia ko tēhea te pō ā ko tēhea te awatea i te mea ra he rite tonu te marama o ngā raiti ki te maramatanga o te awatea, ā, he mahi tonu te ao me te pō, ā, he rite tonu te kīkī o ngā tiriti i te tāngata, i ngā kā, motukā, paki hōiho, pahikara, wākena me ērē atu mea i te pō ki te kikītanga i te awatea, ā, he hoihoi te hanga i te pō.

... night and day, you could not tell which was night and which was day because the illumination from the lights was just like the brightness of daylight, and work continued day and night; similarly the streets were crowded at night with people, in cars, motorcars, horse buggies, on bicycles, wagons and other vehicles, as crowded as if it were daytime; and the activity of the night is deafening.
However, he goes on to make a further comment, that does not appear in earlier accounts of this thesis. He points out that in New Zealand, his people observe the Sabbath and work on only six days:

Ki tēnei iwi, ki te Amerikana, e whitu ngā rā e whitu ngā pō e mahi ana i ngā mahi, kāore <ha> [he] rā okioki hei whakanui i te rā o te Ariki.

With this people, the Americans, seven days and nights they work, with no days of rest to honour the Lord’s Day.

Apparently the Maori troupe were able to negotiate a contract that enabled them to rest on Sundays. The strict observance of Sunday that was an integral part of Rēnata’s journey [I] is still part of the New Zealand life patterns more than seventy years on.

He goes on to describe stunts at the Hippodrome, the theatre where they were employed, in the way that Wiri Nehu described the entertainment he attended.

Another experience the American party shared with earlier writers, [III and V] was a heavy snowfall. On Christmas Day, 1909, it began and by lunch time the depth was as much as 7 feet 9 inches (more than two metres).

In the last of the articles in this document, train travel is commented on. As in earlier pieces, the author is impressed with the speed:

E, ka mutu pea hoki. Ka rere mo te rau māero i te hāora, kāore he tū o te tereina ki te whakainu wai pēnei me ō konei tereina; heoi anō e tīheru11 ana i te wai ina tae ki aua wāhi i whakaritea hei whakainumanga, "no wēhi tāim."

Ah. It was just the very thing. We travelled at a hundred miles an hour, with no stopping of the train to fill up with water as our trains do; indeed, the water was piped in whenever we reached places where a fill-up was organised, "no time wasted."
But it was very hot and they had to keep applying lumps of ice to their heads, "and eating it too."

From the train they saw the indigenous peoples, referred to as "Kiri-whero" [Redskins] and noted that the women had moko on their chins, but none of the men did. 12

This writer also comments on the illuminations at Coney Island:

... kāore he pō ki tēnei moutere, he awatea anake,

... and on this island there is no night, only daylight,

He finishes is article with a description of Marconi Telegraphy "which conveys messages with no wires."

What excellent things the Pākehā can accomplish. And then we also saw the wire being struck and indeed it split, signals were being sent, and finally, writing was being achieved. And then, in addition, there was a Pākehā making a telegram, and when he had finished it, he sent it up to the sky, and he is now waiting for it to be answered. He says that when that wire reaches the sky, there will be no reply back down because the language down here is not the same as the language up there, but if the language is the same, an answer to that wire will come. Pākehā! Pākehā! 13

The latter expression is a common one of the times. It expresses a good-humoured amusement mixed with admiration at the complications and ingenuity of Pākehā contrivances.

The articles in this document are probably by several different writers. Apart
from stock responses, as this latter one, none of them suggest that the heading "Self Awareness" as used in Section II has any relevance to this later writing.

Exploitation

On their arrival at San Francisco the venture met problems. Reference is made to these in the September issue report and again in the following month. Apparently some seventeen of the party were refused entry because the wharf doctor diagnosed them as having an eye disease, unnamed in the Māori texts. As can be imagined this caused considerable consternation.

According to the September article the eyes had been checked and had passed examination by a Wellington doctor, a French doctor in Tahiti, and the ship's doctor. Two days after they had been turned down, a New Zealand doctor said their eyes were healthy, but they were still barred from entry. Despite further doctors being satisfied, the problem persisted.

Some of the party were deputed to stay behind with the "affected" performers, and the others continued on to New York. The problem was caused by a diagnosis of trachoma, which "was the cause of as many as half of the medical detentions in this period."14

What happened next is confusing. The September report says that much money had been lost by both the Company employing them, and by the Shipping Union because their ship had been delayed in its turn-around. and in the end they were declared not to have had the disease after all. The October report states:

Kua mutu ngā raru i pā ra ki a ētahi 17 ō rātou e whakahokia mai.
The troubles that befell them on their landing are over; because the
organisers were so powerful, some 17 of them did not have to be sent home.

The nature of the "kaha" is not spelled out. However, the writer of a more personal
account published in Issue No 146. August 1910, writes about the men’s detention:

... nā tētahi Pākehā nāna mātou i mahi i reira i hoatu he moni punga,
tere nei tō mātou haere.

... it was a Pākehā whom we worked for, donated a lump sum of
money and we quickly departed.

This sounds rather like a bribe.

But in the local newspaper, this is how it is reported:

Nineteen members of a party of Maoris from New Zealand,
who have been held up at quarantine at San Francisco by the
immigration authorities because they were found to be affected with
trachoma, were to-day refused admission into the country by order of
Assistant Secretary McHarg of the Department of Commerce and
Labor. The Maoris belonged to a tribe of savages in New Zealand and
were to have been used for exhibition purposes by a hippodrome
company in New York. This concern [company] made the department
an offer to bring the men through to New York for treatment on bond,
but the proposition was rejected.

All of this is very significant in considering the question of exploitation. The above
report is very brutal, sneering, biased, and shows little respect either for the
contracting entertainment company or the Arawa concert party who were contracted.

From the October report we learn that the party were transported around the
streets of New York. Their vehicle, presumably a dray, or brake, like those used by
the Rugby team in 1888 [VI], stopped at cross-roads or wherever people were
congregated, and they performed haka without dismounting.

This could perhaps be likened to the way a circus used to parade its animals
around a town in order to encourage people to come to the performances. If the Te Arawa people thought this, they did not say so. This is the way it was describes in the October issue.

... kāti, ka rawe ki te Pākehā. Ko ngā tiriti o tērā tāone kapi tonu i ngā tū āhua waka o te Pākehā, mai i te hōio kawekawe mīti a te pūtia tae noa ki ngā tū āhua katoa o te taramukā, o te motukā, o te tereina rēri i te tiriti, rere i runga whare, rere i raro o te whenua. Nā, ēnei tū <a> āhua waka katoa e tū ana i nga wāhi e haka ai ngā Māori. Hei aha ake ma te pūtia ngā tāngata e tatari ana mai ki ā rātou mīti, wareware ake i ngā kaiwhakahaere o nga taramukā me ngā tereina ā rātou mahi, pērā ana hoki ngā paki me ērā atu waka harihari tangata. Mahue ake i te wahine o te toa te tū i muri o tāna kaute, me te tamaiti e whakapai ana i ngā mea o te toa, mahue ake i a ia tāna mahi ka puta ki te mātakitaki i ngā Māori. He mea tino nui atu ki ngā Pākehā te haka.

... well, the Pākehā loved it. The streets of this city are very full of all types of Pākehā vehicles, from the butcher’s horse-drawn meat to all sorts of tram-cars, motor cars, and railway trains in the street running above the houses and under ground. Now, all these types of vehicles stopped wherever the Māoris were performing the haka. What did it matter to the butchers that the people were waiting for their meat, the drivers of the trams and the trains forgot their work, and it was the same with the buggies and other passenger vehicles. The women shop assistants gave up standing behind their counters, and the children who arrange the shop’s wares left their work and went out to look at the Māoris. The Pākehā especially enjoyed the haka.

In 1902, Henare Kohere [VII] had complained in England, that the crowd pressed in so closely they were unable to perform the hand-movements of the haka. Here in New York the author reports that only the voice could be heard, presumably because the crowds were too closely packed to see the action.

But they were excited about the contract, and impressed with the size of the audience at the Hippodrome, "the biggest in the world" they report, a building so large that it could house the total Māori population. They estimated 72,000 people
would see them each week; at which rate, in their nine months contract, they would have been seen by two and a half million people, the writer believed.

In H.M. Amohau’s letter, published in the February issue, 1910, the enthusiasm is sustained. The party has been offered contracts in England, and in America they have been offered a two and a half month extension to their contract to go on tour through America.

He describes a Christmas Eve celebration that indicates reciprocal affection between contractor and contracted, with precious Māori cloaks, piupiu skirts, and carved tiki being bestowed upon the "bosses".

They seem delighted with the terms of their employment, and with the many invitations they are receiving from people to perform in their private homes demonstrating their arts.

Back in New Zealand, however, there was a different viewpoint expressed in some quarters. In Issue No 142, February 1910, Te Pīpīwharauroa published a brief report, taken from Pākehā papers. It recorded that a haka party from Rangiuru, had been employed by a Pākehā business company. Apparently they had been abandoned in Dunedin, and having fallen ill, were left without sufficient money to get themselves home. A Pākehā of charitable disposition had organised a "haka night" so that they could raise sufficient money.

The report suggested that the newspaper was inaccurate and questioned whether Rangiuru could be said to be in Tauranga.

The following issue, in March, published a letter in response. It was from Rameka Naumia of Tauranga.

He disowns the haka party. Rangiuru is 13 miles away from Tauranga, he
says. Apparently his argument, using a quotation from Genesis 3, xix, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," is that the only honourable income is from agriculture. The Tauranga people sow pasture, keep cows, milk and send their product to the butter factory. They do not approve of poi dancing as an activity for profit. It is a lazy job.

Tauranga people travel only for war, he claims. By this he explains that he means football, a Tauranga team having gone to Australia to play. What makes this permissable is that making money is not involved.

Rameka Haumia’s line of reasoning might have been influenced by the long-standing enmity between Rotorua and Tauranga peoples, but doubtless it was a viewpoint shared by some other Māori people in other parts of New Zealand. With a very long established history in tourism Rotorua people had had opportunities in profiting from their cultural heritage, and had become inured to economic realities.

Language

The most interesting of the series of articles is the last, published anonymously in August, 1910.

This seems to be in reply to a request for news from the editor, Reweti Kohere, and contains some personal messages. The second half of the piece has a number of paragraphs each preceded by a question, presumably one that Kohere has posed as a prompt for information.

Like the earlier pieces it refers to the problems they had at the outset, when almost half their party was detained because of a trachoma diagnosis. It is described with a beautiful traditional image:
Engari ko te āhua o te iwi nei "he totara wāhi rua"

But this people is like "a totara, split in two"

Rapata Wahawaha [V] said that he had travelled to Sydney "he mātakitaki i te ao" [to see the world]. The writer from Rotorua finishes his account of the ship detention by saying:

A te whakamutunga, ko tō rātou kitenga i te ao me ngā mea whakamiharo o te ao, arā, i Merika.

In the end they will get to see the world and the wonderful things of the world, that is to say, America.

The world had extended in distance in the intervening 35 years.

The only mention of the sea voyage that took them to America comes in this last piece. Apparently some of the concert party became sea sick and in relation to this he tells a joke about himself:

I a mātou i runga tima he tokomaha ngā mea mate, ā, kāore ētahi, ka kī tētahi o mātou, te "tākuta", "Ko ahau anake te mea ora mo te haere tima, tēnā ko koutou he mate anake, ki te mate tētahi o koutou, karangatia mai ahau."

Kāore mātou i roa e rere ana kua hinga te tākuta". "E tākuta, kei hea koe?" Kua mate ahau.

While we were on the steamer there were many people who were sick and some were not; one of us, the "doctor," said, "I am the only one who does not get sick on steamer trips, and you all do, if one of you is sick, call me."

We had not been sailing long when the "doctor" was overcome; "Ah, doctor, where are you?" I had fallen sick.

It is interesting to note that, as in earlier documents, direct speech is used to give force to the anecdote. Moreover, the confusion with pronouns previously noted in connection with direct speech, is deliberately employed here, so that in the punch line
the third person, "the doctor", is revealed to be the narrator himself, and the joke is organised to be told at the teller’s expense - always the best kind of joke.

Apropos of humour, in the report of the concert party stranded in Dunedin, which was referred to above, there is the earliest example of a pun in Māori writing that I have encountered.

It is my guess that the author of the report is Reweti Kohere himself. It is very much in his style of writing:

Ko ngā whakaupoko o ngā nūpepa e mea ana, "He rōpū Māori kua pāea ki Otepoti." Ehara i te ingoa pai te "pāea", kia "utaina" mai ki runga i a taua.

The newspaper headlines said, "A Māori group has been stranded in Dunedin." That is not the right word "stranded"; it should be "loaded aboard" on that.15

For the transliteration lists and ratios I have used only the last three pieces in the series, as they are the only first hand records.

The following are the transliterations used in those three pieces, excluding names of people and places. There are 53 words and 96 occurrences, which represents 3.3% of the total word count. Of particular interest are the three words "no wēhi tāim" which doubtless reflect Māori amusement at the emphasis on time-saving and "busy efficiency" that they observe in European culture. "tāima" might have been expected rather than "tāim". It is impossible to tell whether the absence of the "a" is a misprint or whether it is there to emphasise the mimicry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ækuhata</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>[ 1]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekipihana</td>
<td>exhibition</td>
<td>[ 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētīta</td>
<td>editor</td>
<td>[ 1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāora</td>
<td>hour</td>
<td>[ 4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hātarei</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>[ 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāwhe</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>[ 3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōiho</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>[ 2]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following list of place names shows 56% of transliterations, 19% English names, and 4% Māori or Polynesian names.

Māori and Polynesian

Aotearoa
Otaitahi
Rotorua
Tahiti
Transliterations

Amerika/Merika
Hanewhiriko (San Francisco)
Ingarani
Koni Aerana (Coney Island)
Naiakara Rere (Niagara Falls)
Niu Tiren
Niu Ioka
Pöneke
Tionehana (Chinatown)

English

Coney Island
New York
San Francisco

It should be noted that the above three place names appear elsewhere in the articles in transliteration.
CHAPTER 6
DOCUMENT THIRTEEN

This document was published anonymously in Issue No 118, August, 1910. The author is almost certainly Poihipi Kohere, who was the editor's younger brother. 17

Poihipi Kohere served as a minister in the Waiapu Pastorate from 1906 until 1958, at that time a record for length of service in the one place. 18

The circumstances of the journey he describes were as follows: At the request of the Anglican church he and another unnamed minister, a Pākehā, travelled to a number of Pacific Islands. For the sea voyage their wives accompanied them, but when they reached their final destination, an island called Tikopia, the two ministers were left there on their own; they were deposited on the island until the trading vessel, Southern Cross, would come back for them eight weeks later.

The author first travelled to Auckland. There he boarded the steamer, leaving on the 8th of April, 1910. It took three nights to reach Norfolk Island. Here he was briefed by the Bishop on the nature of the mission in the outlying islands.

As in the other 20th century documents the heading using in Section II of "Self-awareness" is not relevant. The author's attention is directed more to the nature of the various peoples he is visiting. We must assume that in general those aspects he chooses to comment are ones he was not expecting, or that he believes his readers will find surprising.

In Norfolk Island he observes that the people are short in stature, (four to five feet, he says), that when they attend church the men and women enter the building
separately, and that they sing beautifully with organ accompaniment. He notes that their language is called Mota.

From Norfolk Island they returned to the steamer, this time with the Bishop of Melanesia who was introducing them to the various islands of the mission. On this section of the journey the steamer was carrying a large number of school children home to their islands for the school holidays.

It is difficult to plot their journey from this point, as many of the islands they visited have changed their names, sometimes more than once. It is clear, however, that it was to the Vanuatu group of islands that they went, (formerly New Hebrides).

The two observations he makes about the first stop are that the island has two governors, one French, one English, and also:

Ka kite anō ahau i konei i tētahi mea whakamiharo arā ko ngā pirihiimana o taua iwi he Mangumangu.

Here I saw an astonishing thing, and that was that the policemen of that people are Negro.

From there they travelled to the islands of Penticost, and Oba; both places had Pākehā missionaries stationed there and the people were described as "friendly". At the next island, Mera Lava, the ship took on a load of yams and taro, but because there was no suitable harbour they did not stop there.

When they reached the next few islands, the exigencies of trade meant that the time-table had to be fitted round the ship’s needs, and this took precedence over the ministers’ desires to meet and preach to the inhabitants.

Eventually they reached Tikopia. Here the people came out to meet the steamer in canoes:
pēnei tonu ai i tā te Māori nei hoe.
just like the ones the Māori paddle.

The ministers were taken by surprise when these people, apparently attracted by the
tobacco and matches that the ministers possessed, rushed on board. They were unable
to communicate because they did not know each others’ language. The islanders
scrambled everywhere:

I konei tonu e pikipiki ana te iwi nei ki ngā māhi o tō mātou tima
pēnei tonu i te tamariki pakupaku nei.

At this point they were even climbing up the masts of our steamer like
little children.

Soon, the Bishop and the ministers’ wives along with the luggage went ashore
on the ship’s boat, and the two ministers travelled in the islander’s canoes. Other men
carrying guns came running down the beach to meet them. He does not mention that
he was afraid, but the implication is there:

I huri ake ai ahau ki aku hoa e hikitia haeretia ana e taua iwi; rere mai
ai hoki ki au. I konei ka wehe tā mātou haere, i muri tata mai ka
huihui anō mātou, ...

I turned to my friends, who were being carried along by that people;
and then they came to me. At this point our paths divided, soon after
we met once more, ...

This was the island on which he and his companion were to establish a mission, to
carry the "Good News" for the next eight weeks.

A house was made available to them which was ten feet long and 6 feet high,
but they could not get to bed because the inhabitants crowded in, and would not go
away when asked. And so it was until at day-break the chief arrived and sent them
to bed.\textsuperscript{21}

As with so many of the documents that have been studied, little, or as in this piece, no emotion is overtly expressed. Feelings must be inferred from the selection of detail. The task facing these two men must have seemed daunting; the detail supplied is quite sufficient for the reader to identify with the position they were in.

**Language**

The language is plain and events are presented factually.

Following are the transliterations used, excluding names of people and places. They comprise 25 words, occurrences amounting to 69, which is 4.5\% of the total.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tr>
<td>Āperira</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāhi</td>
<td>church</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapa</td>
<td>communion (supper)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
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<td>harorei</td>
<td>holiday</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāpene</td>
<td>captain</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karai piture</td>
<td>scripture</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>karaka</td>
<td>clock</td>
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<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura</td>
<td>school</td>
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<td>bell</td>
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<td>pihopa</td>
<td>bishop</td>
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<td>pirihi mana</td>
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<tr>
<td>poti</td>
<td>boat</td>
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<tr>
<td>putu</td>
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<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
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<td>tāone</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>[1]</td>
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<tr>
<td>tima</td>
<td>steamer</td>
<td>[27]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupeka</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
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</table>

Of the place names, only one is Māori. Because most of the names are of relatively little known islands in the Pacific it is difficult to group the forms used in the same way as has been used in other documents. The second list is composed of
transliterations. The names followed by a version in brackets were printed in this form in the text. The place "Opa" is given as Oba in current atlases, and "Uruparapara" is printed as "Ureparapara". It is interesting to note that the transliteration "Raka" us first used with "(Raga/Pentecost)" beside it in explanation, but subsequently it is referred to as "Raga". Transliterations comprise 60% of the place names.

Māori
Turanga

Transliterations
Ākarana
Merenihia
Mererawa (Merelava)
Niu Tīereni
Nowhaka (Norfolk Island)
Opa
Raka (Raga/Pentecost)
Wīra (Vila/Sandwich)
Wurea (Vureas)

Other
Mota
Port Patteson
Raga
Tikopia
Uruparapara
The last of the documents to be considered here consists of three reports of a further Te Arawa concert party of forty men and women who travelled to Australia at the end of 1910 and worked there for some four months. The author is Hone Mōrehu Nuku who is described as the "Late Secretary and Treasurer of Y.M.P." 22

The arrival back in New Zealand of the troupe that went to America was not recorded in Te Pīpiwharaoa; the last of its reports was printed in August 10, so presumably written well before this date. The Australian party left on October 24. It was therefore possible that some of the personnel were the same. Both Document XII and Document XIV include lists of names, but as the earlier list in many cases gives only one name per person, it is difficult to compare the two lists. It is unlikely that there were more than two or three who went on both journeys.

When the Australian party left New Zealand, the plan was to spend five months in that country and then to journey on to England to celebrate the coronation of George V. After that their hopes were very ambitions. Through the enterprising endeavours of one of their number, Makareti Papakura, negotiations were entered into with a syndicate in order to perform:

... ngā mahi haka, patere, ruri, 23 poi, āpiti atu ki ngā mahi waiata Pākehā, me ērā atu āhuareka a te Māori -- ki mua i nga iwi o te ao.

... haka, patere, ruri, poi, in addition to Pākehā songs and other Māori entertainments - before the peoples of the world.

Their first contract was for performances in Melbourne, beginning October 29.
After that they went to Sydney. The last of the three reports is written from there, but mention is made that plans were finalised for them to travel to Adelaide for performances there, and then to England.

**Separation**

As with the earlier concert party they were seen off by a big crowd at the station. The grief at parting that was mentioned was the grief of those remaining.

**Inclusions and Omissions**

They travelled from Auckland to Sydney on the *Maheno*, and at the outset all were sea-sick because they ran into a storm on the first day. However, they rallied by the third day and were able to stage a charity concert raising £6 for those widowed or orphaned by steamer ship wrecks.

In each of his three reports Hone Nuku gives details of organisation. Every aspect of their activities seemed to have elected leaders, and various demarcations of status were made; sometimes, it might be thought, the author considers them unjust.

The elder who accompanied the group was Mita Taupopoki, who was then about 65 years of age. The organiser was Makareti Papakura, a former Rotorua guide who had been in a concert party that travelled to Australia the previous year.

Hone Nuku is meticulous in giving the details of class of travel. The party travelled by train in first class carriages as far as Auckland, but on board the steamer they were given second class accommodation:

... tae noa ki tō mātou kaumātua rangatira hoki ki a Mita Taupopoki. Ko ngā mea i te pāhi karaihe ko Makareti Papakura, Pera Papakura, Akenehi Tarati, Eva Skerrett, Rina Papakura.

even including our kaumātua chief, Mita Taupopoki. The people in the
saloon class were Makareti Papakura, Pera Papakura, Akenehi Tarati, Eva Skerrett, and Rina Papakura.

In Melbourne they lived in a pā built by Kereopa and Tiki at the Melbourne Exhibition. It was still under construction when they arrived. The performances were at the pā and people travelled to it to see the living quarters and the performances, as they had done at the Christchurch Exhibition in 1906.

On their second day in Melbourne some of the party attended the Melbourne Cup. Whether or not their absence from the pā led to the formation of a committee to regulate attendance is not stated, but immediately after the reference to the races Hone Nuku gives us the names of the committee and some of the rules, such as fines for lateness or absence at the set time daily of 2 p.m. and 7 p.m. when all must be in attendance. Haka were to be performed twice daily at 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. He measures the committee’s success as follows:

Ngā ture kua oti te whakamana e toru tekau ngā rarangi, ā, he nui te pai o tā mātau noho i raro i ēnei tikanga.

The rules have succeeded in ensuring a muster of 30, and there is considerable advantage in living under these rules.

In Melbourne they had receptions from the Prime Minister of the State Parliament and from the Missionary Society.

And then came pay day. £1.10 for women and £2 for men, and with extra amounts for various positions.

Despite the fact that some of them became sick with influenza, and one of their number, Hera Te Kamu, ended up in hospital, they managed to visit many of the tourist attractions of the city, including the zoo, the mint, the newspaper press,
a clothing factory, auction rooms, and parliament buildings.

They seemed very pleased with their time in Melbourne. Their performances were popular, and they received many invitations. Hone Nuku expresses his satisfaction as follows:

Nā, te pai tonu o tō mātou rongo, na te rongo hoki he hunga hāpai tonu tēnei i ngā mahi whakapono.

Indeed, our reputation remains very high; it is the reputation of people bringing works of faith.

On December 20, 1910 they sailed for Sydney. Again "class" was worthy of note.

... he karaihe toru tō mātou pāhihi, engari he hanga ātaahua ngā rūma i a mātou.

... our passage was third class, but our cabins were beautifully appointed.

The details about their stay in Sydney was much less euphoric. They were accommodated in a "pā" in the bush at Clontarf, on the banks of the Parramata River mouth. It was some distance from Sydney, it was January, and most people were spending their time swimming. Consequently the number of people attending their performances was disappointing. At one stage the Parramatta flooded. However, the troupe diversified their repertoire, and though some of the men previously could not read music, Tiki Papakura trained a brass band of ten players, and within seven weeks their performances were being appreciated by the public.

During their stay in Sydney they also developed a performance of the story of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai, which they performed in a hall at Manly.

Hone Nuku also shares with the reader the organisational arrangements for
meals at the Clontarf village. The group of forty was divided into six food-cooking teams, each team serving for three days, before the next team moved in. There were five people in a team, three men and two women. Apparently in Clontarf they had to do much more for themselves than in Melbourne. This included collecting the firewood.

A high-light of their time there was rowing race they held with the Australian champion, Harry Pearce and his team. A number of Māori teams had competed with each other and eventually two teams of four, one women, one men were selected to row against two Australian teams.

The men’s race was very exciting; it was a mile long and at half-way they were progressing equally. Near the end the Australians pulled away. According to Hone Nuku’s report, the Māori team was defeated by a half boat length. The newspaper report of the occasion set it at one and a half boat-lengths.

In congratulating the Māori on their effort, the Australians offered a rerace, for some onlookers thought it unfair that Pearce should be rowing in a proper racing craft, whereas the Māori had a mere practice boat. The Māori were proud enough of their effort and did not take up the offer. The Māori women’s crew beat their Australian opponents.

Although there was much rejoicing at the Māori achievements, the day ended in sadness; one of the women rowers, Hera Te Kamu, who had already had the misfortune to have a stay in hospital in Melbourne, received word that her husband had died back in New Zealand. The excitement of the canoe race was followed by a day of weeping.
Self-awareness

Once again, this heading no longer has the significance it bore in the previous century.

While expressing pride in the troupe’s performances, and satisfaction at the enthusiasm their audiences displayed, there was no need indicated for any self-discovery for the Te Arawa travellers.

However, as in many other earlier records, an interest was shown in the indigenous people of the country they were visiting. The author and Aporo Taiāwhio went to a settlement of Australian aborigines at a place then called La Perouse, about 22 kilometres from Sydney. He writes:

Ko taua iwi he kaha kē te pango, ā, ko ētahi kua āhua mā i te mārenatanga ki ngā tāngata kē. Kāore ā rātou na mahinga kai ko te nui o tō rātou pīhi e rima eka mo rātou e rua te kau tae atu ki ngā uri. Ka mutu ngā tāngata o taua iwi e noho atu nei i konei, ko te nuinga kua matemate, ā kua marara hoki. Ko te Kāwanatanga kei te āwhina i ēnei e noho atu nei.

That race is indeed very markedly black, but some are rather pale through marriage with other races. They cannot go about gathering food, their allocation of land is five acres for twenty of them and their children. The people of that race no longer live here, the majority have died and [the others] are scattered. The Government is giving assistance to these ones living here.

He seems to be interested especially in comparing the effects of intermarriage with Pākehā on the Māori as compared with that on the Aborigine, but without reaching any conclusion.

Exploitation

There is too little evidence in these reports to know whether exploitation was
involved in this tour. At the conclusion of the third article he reports that, thanks to Makareti Papakura’s efforts, the journey to England is now confirmed.

In *Te Pīpīwharauroa* there are no further first hand narratives of their tour, but two brief reports, one in October 1911, and one the following month indicate that all was not well. Like the party stranded in Dunedin, earlier referred to, for two months they went unpaid. Sufficient money was eventually put together, but some of the men decided to remain in England and form a professional Rugby League team. Its captain was none other that the former conductor and trainer of their brass band, Tiki Papakura.

In the second of the two reports, we are told that some of the party had returned home. Apparently they had all been advised by the New Zealand Commissioner in England, Sir William Hall-Jones, to return, but some had been "tricked", the report states, by the entrepreneur Rangiuwia:

... kia noho atu ki te māhi hereni mā rātou i roto i ngā kamupene waïata.

... into staying on to earn shillings for them in the song companies.

and in spite of the Commissioner’s advice:

... kua noho atu te hāwhe o te ope ki te kuhu i a rātou i roto i ngā huarahi moni a te Pākehā.

half of the group have stayed on to enter on the path of Pākehā commercialism.

Something of the early controversy was still alive.
Emotive Response

There is no statement expressing overt emotion in this document. We are told that the members experienced grief, satisfaction, elation, but the author's personal feelings can only be inferred from his selection of detail.

Language and Style

In addressing letters to Te Pipīwharauroa it was very common to make reference to the bird image of the title. One might begin "E manu!" ["O bird!"] or ask that "our bird" be sent with a message. Hone Nuku develops this even further.

He begins his first letter:

E hoa, tēnā koe, te noho mai na i tēnā taha o te ao, i Ao-tearoa, te tiaki na i tā tātou manu tangi pai, tohu raumati e tangi haere nei i ō tātou marae - "Kui, kui, whitiwhitiiora."25

E Manu, tēnei ngā pitopito kōrero hei hari haere māu ki tēnā marae, ki tēnā marae o te iwi Māori, kia mōhio ai a ia wahine, tangata, tamaiti rānei, tēnei tētahi turupa Māori kua rewa mai i Rotorua ki Ākarana i te Mane 24 o ngā rā o Oketopa nei.

Greetings, friend, living over there on your side of the world, in Ao-tearoa, the keeper of our bird that sings so sweetly, the harbinger of summer going about singing on our marae, "Kui, kui, whitiwhitiiora".

Bird, here are a few words for you to carry to each marae of the Māori people, so that every woman, man, and child might know that it is a Māori troupe that has left Rotorua for Auckland on Monday 24 of October.

The beginnings of his other letters employ similar rhetorical flourishes. In the second letter he carries this expansive mood on into the following paragraph, stating that the letter's purpose is to describe their tour:

... e kīia nei, "Te Arawa Māori Troupe Touring The World".

... which is called, "The Arawa Māori Troupe Touring the World."
The remainder of his text is matter-of-fact. The exception is the end of his last letter which is looking forward to their journey to England. Here again he calls on imagery, this time the traditional imagery of the canoe.

Ka tūmanako tonu anō hoki mātou kia pai tā mātou whakatere i tō tātou waka, i a Te Arawa. Tēnei mātou te karanga nei, "E Tau! E Tau! Kia kaha, kia māia!" Kia tutuki pai ai tō [tātou] waka ki tērā taha o te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa, kia eketia ai ngā ngaru nunui e pakipaki nei i tō mātou wiki.

We sincerely hope that we steer your and our canoe, Te Arawa, on a true course. Our call is "Ride the waves! Be brave, be strong!" May our canoe succeed in reaching the other side of the Pacific Ocean, and may the great waves slapping against the ripples of our boat be surmounted.

Transliterations

The following is a list of transliterations, excluding names of people and places. There are 79 words, with 174 occurrences, which constitutes 4.3% of the total number.

Two words are of particular interest. One is the word "māpu". Presumably it is a transliteration of "mob". It is used to refer to both the rowing crew and to the cooking team. The other is "whakararo" which literally means downwards, and was traditionally used in Māori to mean in a northerly direction, whereas in English north is thought of as upwards. Already we have seen in Document Seven that "whakararo" was sometimes used meaning north and sometimes meaning south. Hone Nuku uses it as "south". Clearly the usage was being altered by English influence.
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The following place-names occur in Document Twelve. 79% of them are transliterations.

Māori

Aotearoa
Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa
Rotorua

Transliterations

Ahitereiria
Ākarana
Atareta
Hirini
Ingarani
Koronatawhe
Manere
Merepana/Merepane
Niu Tireni
Paramata
Poihākena
CONCLUSION

There is never any magical change at the turn of a century. The sound of the change in date may affect people's perceptions and expectations, but most progression moves in small steps.

What we can say about this first decade is that Separation is still painful but expressed in less traditional ways. Emotions continue to be stirred by new experiences, but in general, throughout the eighty years represented here, there is little change in its expression; that is to say most emotional reactions have to be gleaned by the reader from what is included and what is omitted.

It is under the other three headings that have been used in this thesis, that the most significant changes by 1910 are demonstrated. The question of personal ethnicity (identity) is no longer a significant determinator in describing arrival in another place. Reweti and Poihipi, as preachers, not unexpectedly put their efforts into learning about the people of the islands they visited. It is more a matter of what the writers think about others than what they think about themselves as Māori people that they are concerned with in this next decade. Not that their interest is anything new. A keen interest in other ethnic groups has been shown by nearly all the overseas travellers included in this anthology.

Exploitation is a much more controversial field. A conclusion as to what degree Māori travellers were being exploited depends on the reader's viewpoint. In relation to the Te Arawa troupe, it is largely an issue of principle: whether or not the performance of traditional Māori customs for financial gain is acceptable.

In this latter decade, for the first time in the journeys selected, we find
travellers setting off under their own initiative. Why this should be - why the apparent earlier dependence - no doubt is very complex and the result of a number of factors. Put simply, however, if it is not just a matter of coincidence, it probably represents an adjustment to the existence of two peoples living side by side.

There is evidence that the writing style of the authors over the period has become more "shaped" to suit the written medium. Other changes can also be observed. Ways of recording the passage of time have altered, as has the use of direct speech. In addition to transliterations some Pākehā turns of phrase have been introduced.

In general, however, much of the traditional oral colour has been retained. The "literary" use of humour in the later pieces is a reintroduction of an oral past.

Transliterations

Transliterations continue to be introduced as before. Below is a bar-graph of this chapter's ratios:

Graph II

Graph II Transliterations 1905 - 1910

534
The remarkable thing is how few transliterations there are. (In this decade none as are as high as 5%) If we look at the line graph (Graph III) below for a picture of transliteration for all fourteen documents, it is very clear that the proportion used has nothing to do with the passage of time, or increased numbers of Pākehā in New Zealand.

Graph III:

Nor has it much to do with the educational or linguistic background of the writer. It is true that the writer of the document with the highest proportion of transliterations (VI) was bi-lingual, and an ex-pupil of Te Aute College. But most of the writers from 1902 onwards were bi-lingual, and many of them had attended also attended Te Aute College.

The conclusion we must reach is that it is the exigencies of the subject matter
that demand the transliterations.

* * * * *

Between when Rēnata set off paddling up the Waihou River in 1843 and the time when the Te Arawa Troupe steamed off to Melbourne in 1910, the comfort of travel had greatly improved. But they all set out to meet challenges, physical and emotional, as their accounts so vividly relate. Sometimes the challenges were of their own making. Bicycles could hardly be seen as an improvement on horses on the journeys the Gisborne writers undertook.

The narratives selected here all met another challenge -- a problem that writing in any language always has to overcome -- and that was finding a way of describing new experiences not previously encompassed by their existing vocabulary.

We must value their success. Their stories give us insight into how New Zealand life appeared to Māori eyes in seventy years of social upheaval.
End-notes - Section Four


2. A possible exception was Hone Rū, but the fact that he set out in the employment of a Pākehā sea captain, suggests that he belongs at least in part, to this category.

3. The series of articles are given the titles *Pukapuka I, II, III, IV*, literally Books I, II etc, but perhaps best translated as Chapter I, II etc, and *He Pitopito Korero* - [A Little Piece of Writing] which acts as a postscript.


5. See Natusch 1977 for a detailed account of the work of these two German missionaries.

6. Te Whiti-o-Rongomai III was a prophet who established a religious community at Parihaka. He died in 1907. See Danny Keenan in Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, II, 1993. Reweti Kohere devotes a section of his articles on the Chatham Islands to the way in which the Māori there organised supplies of produce to supply the Parihaka community with food, and the adventures and tragedies involved in its transportation.

7. Reweti made the point that, because Te Whiti insisted that his followers should refuse to attend land-court hearings, land distribution was uneven and some Māori were landless.

8. Reweti Kohere is from Ngāti Porou, and so this may have been because Ngāti Porou is not Ngāti Tama.


10. For some detailed and pictorial accounts of the Coney Island amusements of the time see Kasson.


12. The following information was sent to me by private letter from Brita Servaes-Aiad, Librarian at the New York Public Library. "Tattooing was traditionally practised by many different Native tribes throughout the American continent (*Marks of Civilization*, Los Angeles: University of California, 1988, pp 179-80), but it cannot be regarded as having been "general practice," since tribes varied widely in their customs, and many did not have tattooing. Again, it will be impossible to reconstruct what the Maori visitors saw. Chin tattoos for women were used in different tribes of different regions, and are described for the Tutcheone, a people of the Southern Yukon Territory in Canada (*Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 6, p. 499), and for three Yuman speaking groups of the Southwest, namely the Cocvopa (Colorado River Delta), and Mohave (Colorado River), and the Walapai (North West Arizona), all in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 6, pp 110, 57, 35.

13. Ibid. "According to Edo McCullough's *Good Old Coney Island* (p 191) there was a Marconi wireless station at Norton’s Point, which is on the westernmost tip of Coney Island....It seems that the Maoris might have been watching how messages from boats were received at the Norton’s Point wireless station.

14. Personal letter from John F. Kasson, Professor of History, the University of North Carolina.


16. An explanation for readers unfamiliar with Māori: The Māori name for Dunedin is Ōtepoti which is the same sound as "o te poti: meaning "on the boat". The author is saying you don’t get stranded onto a boat, you get loaded on.
17. One indication of his identity is that in the same issue the writer of one piece of the previous document [XII] from the United States, asks the editor how his younger brother was getting on in the Islands. He says that the troupe from Te Arawa travelled via Tahiti, which he says is like the Pacific Island that Poihipi is visiting.


19. Vanuatu has been independent since 1980, but as New Hebrides it was a condominium.

20. The word he uses is "rarata" which probably for him had the connotation of "civilised by Christian teaching".

21. His description of Tikopian behaviour is reminiscent of the records kept by Cook and other early navigators on their visits to New Zealand a century and a half earlier, when Māori canoes came out to greet the ship. The writer's experience as a missionary on his first night in Tikopia also calls to mind similar experiences described by many missionaries in New Zealand in the first half of the nineteenth century.

22. The Y.M.P. was the Young Māori Party. Originally it was an informal group of Māori young men, mostly ex-pupils of Te Aute College. It became noticed in the last decade of the 19th century, and formed itself into a political party in 1909, disbanding before World War I. Leading members included Maui Pomare, Te Rangi Hiroa, and Apirana Ngata.

23. "pātere" is a vaunting song and "ruri" is a ditty or song, often accompanied by gestures.

24. This was the same man who had offered a contract to the party in New York, to take them to England, which they apparently did not accept at the time.

25. "Kui, kui, whitiwhitiora" is the call of the plpwharauroa.

26. The "dependence" of the earlier travellers may well have been only "apparent". Two of them were employed as sailors [II, and IV]. The decision to enlist in this capacity was presumably voluntary, even if the destination of the ship was decided by others.
Attached as an appendix to this thesis is

Renata's Journey

Ko te Haerenga o Renata

translated, edited, and annotated by

Helen M. Hogan

Canterbury University Press, 1994
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540


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