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Hokopanopano Ka Toi Moriori (Reigniting Moriori Arts): Memory Work on Rēkohu (Chatham Islands)

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Abstract

Since European discovery of Rēkohu (Chatham Islands) in 1791, the pacifist Moriori population declined rapidly as a result of introduced diseases (to which they had no immunity) and killing and enslavement by Māori *iwi* (tribes) from the New Zealand 'mainland' following their invasion in 1835. When (full-blooded) Tame Horomona Rehe—described on his headstone as the 'last of the Morioris'—died in 1933, the Moriori were widely considered to be an extinct people.

In February 2016, Moriori *rangata mātua* (elders) and *rangatehi* (youth), artists and designers, archaeologists, a conservator and an arborist gathered at Kōpinga Marae on Rēkohu to participate in a *wānanga* organized by the Hokotehi Moriori Trust. Its purpose was to enlist the combined expertise and commitment of the participants to *hokopanopano ka toi Moriori* (reignite Moriori arts)—principally those associated with *rākau momori* ('carving' on living *kōpi* trees)—through discussion, information exchange, speculation, toolmaking and finally, tree carving. In addition to providing a brief cultural and historical background, this paper recounts some of the memory work of the *wānanga* from the perspective of one of the participants whose fascination for Moriori and the resilience of their culture developed from Michael King's 1989 book, *Moriori: A People Rediscovered*.

Keywords: Moriori, Rēkohu, Chatham Islands, *rākau momori*, dendroglyphs, *kōpi*

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Figure 1. *Moriori rākau momori,* J. M. Barker (Hapupu) National Historic Reserve, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

'They are gone and the place thereof shall know them no more. At the islands their dendroglyphs alone remain, mute reminders of the culture of this almost forgotten folk.'[1]

So wrote New Zealand anthropologist, Christina Jefferson (c.1891-1974), of the indigenous Moriori of Rēkohu (Chatham Islands) over 60 years ago. From 1947-1955 Jefferson made six trips to these islands—located approximately 800 kilometres east of New Zealand's South Island—to study and record the Moriori *rākau momori* or 'carvings' into living *kōpi* trees (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*).[2] Since European discovery of the islands in 1791, the pacifist Moriori population declined rapidly as a result of introduced diseases (to which they had no immunity) and killing and enslavement by Māori *iwi* (tribes) from the New Zealand 'mainland' following their invasion in 1835.

Figure 2. Grave of Tame Horomona Rehe, Manukau Point, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

When (full-blooded) Tame Horomona Rehe (commonly known as Tommy Solomon)—described on his headstone as the 'last of the Morioris'—died in 1933, the Moriori were widely considered, in what Ranginui Walker described as 'one of New Zealand's most enduring myths', to be an extinct people.[3] The demise of Moriori at the death of Horomona Rehe was the accepted popular history with which I—and many others—grew up. According to historian Michael King,

> for hundreds of thousands of New Zealand children, the version of Moriori history carried in [*T*]*he School Journal* and other publications that drew from that source, reinforced over 60-odd years by primary school teachers, was the one that lodged in the national imagination.[4]

A *School Journal* of 1916 erroneously informed its impressionable readership of the origins and nature of Moriori:

No one knows whence they came . . . . [T]hey were a race inferior to the stalwart Maoris, and . . . were of Melanesian, not Polynesian origin. . . . [Driven from New Zealand by] their more virile and more warlike [Māori] opponents. . . . they determined to migrate to the Chatham Islands. . . . [where t]he Moriori were as hopelessly isolated as Robinson Crusoe on his island. . . . In their new home they became peace-loving, timorous and lazy.[5]

Figure 3. 'Moriori in 1877'. Among these Moriori survivors of the 1835 Māori invasion. Hirawanu Tapu (second left, standing), Rohana (second left, sitting) and Tatua (second right, standing) were adolescents at the time, and endured over two decades of slavery. Descendants of survivors include Wari Tutaki (left), Teretiu Rehe (third left, standing), Rangitapua Horomona Rehe (father of Tame Horomona Rehe, fourth left, standing), Piripi (far right), Ngakikingi (middle, sitting) and Te Tene Rehe (next right). https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/1612/moriori-in-1877, Reference: 19XX.2.481, Permission of Canterbury Museum. Photo: Alfred Martin.

In the early 20th century, amateur ethnologists and founding members of the Polynesian Society, Stephenson Percy Smith (1840-1922) and Elsdon Best (1856-1931), were the major promoters of the idea that non-Polynesian 'Moriori' were the first people in New Zealand, later absorbed or driven out by the superior, Polynesian Māori arriving on a great fleet of canoes.[6] They fostered a picture of 'Melanesian' Moriori as inferior to the more 'Aryan-looking' Māori.[7] A result of prevailing social Darwinist ideas, these prejudices seemed to be confirmed by the rapid decline of Moriori in the face of European and Māori arrival in the Chathams. Although anthropologist and ethnologist Henry Skinner—and others—dispelled the Moriori mythologies from the 1920s, the story was too appealing—not least, maintains King—as it supported *Pākehā* (or European) displacement of Māori on mainland New Zealand.[8]

In the "Agreement in Principle to Settle Historical Claims" (2017) between Moriori and the Crown, the latter

> acknowledges its contribution, through the dissemination of school journals, to the stigmatisation of Moriori as a racially inferior people who became extinct, and acknowledges the suffering and hardship these myths have caused to generations of Moriori through to the present day; and . . . contributed to the diminution of Moriori *ihi* (authority) and *rangatiratanga* over their identity, and rejection or loss of knowledge of Moriori *hokopapa* (ancestry)…'.[9]

Moriori settlement

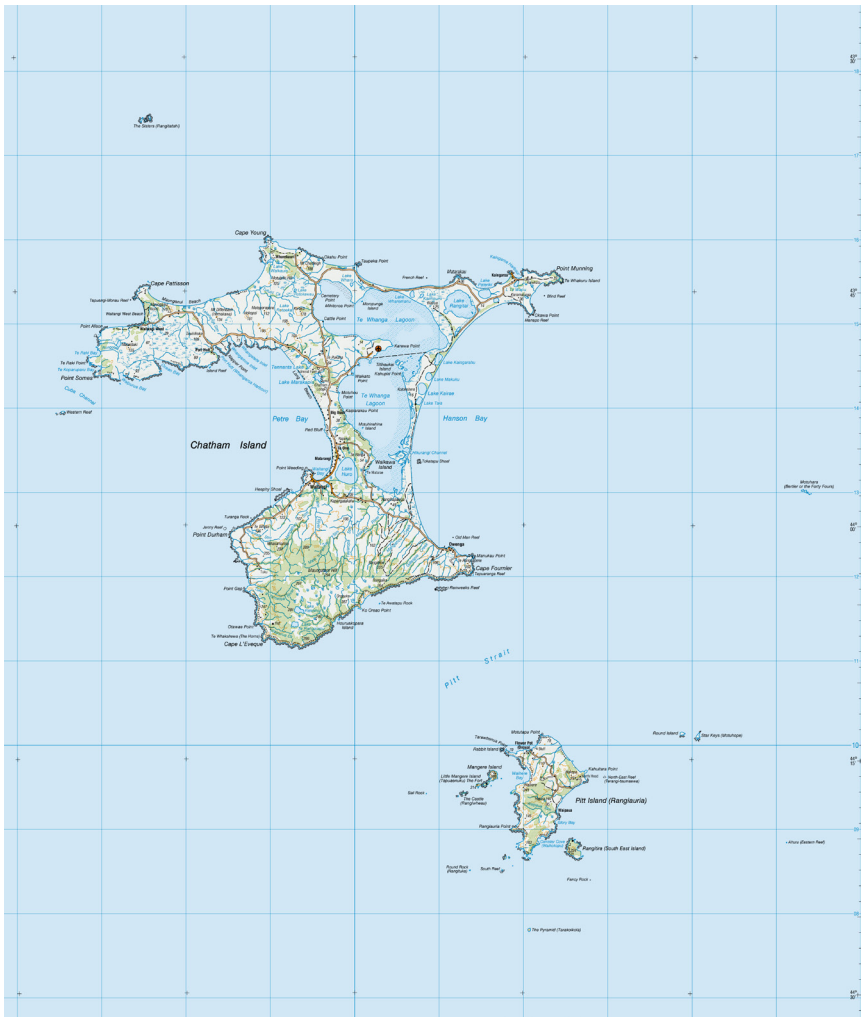

Figure 4. Map: Chatham and Pitt islands. Land Information New Zealand. https://www.linz.govt.nz/land/maps/linz-topographic-maps/map-chooser/map-31.

It is thought the Moriori people came to Rēkohu by canoe from Eastern Polynesia and New Zealand. While *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* states this arrival was between 1400 and 1500 BCE, Moriori traditional knowledge proposes a much earlier date for settlement of Rēkohu and Rangihaute based on recorded hokopapa (genealogy).[10] By the time New Zealand Māori and the indigenous people of Rēkohu came into contact with each other in the 19th century, neither apparently had surviving knowledge of the other. To distinguish themselves from the new arrivals, the latter began to refer to themselves as 'Moriori' (their dialectal version of 'Māori') meaning 'ordinary'.

By adapting to the local conditions of Rēkohu, the settlers developed a distinct culture, which was characterized by: a non-hierarchical society, their own version of Polynesian language, no horticulture (as the climate was unsuitable for root vegetables), and a material culture simpler than Māori.[11] A fundamental attribute of this distinct culture was the rejection of warfare. An early leader, Nunuku-whenua, organised a permanent truce and forbade human-killing and the eating of human flesh forever. Instead disputes were settled in hand-to-hand combat which halted

when blood was drawn.[12] These laws—strictly observed by all nine Moriori tribes—would have consequences that would radically change their destiny.

Figure 5. Paua collecting, Manukau reef, Rēkohu / Chatham Island, 2016. This reef has a customary *rāhui* or prohibition (in this case) placed on the area or resource as a conservation measure. Collecting shellfish is only permitted for certain purposes, and only with permission. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 6. Te Whanga Lagoon / Maungatere Hill (right), Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Moriori inhabited the two larger islands, Rēkohu (Chatham Island)—translated as 'mist before the sun'—and neighbouring Rangihaute (Pitt Island), living as hunter-gatherers. In a marine environment rich in fish and shellfish—as it is today—most food came from the sea. In addition to trapping eels and snaring birds, seals were hunted for both food and clothing. If they had brought root vegetables with them they did not survive as the main island was not suitable for their growth. In addition to low sunlight, 20% of the area of the larger Re¯kohu comprises Te Whanga Lagoon and a further 60% is covered in peat and peat-derived soils.

Moriori brought with them a New Zealand tree—known as *karaka* to Māori on the mainland—which they call *kōpi*.[13]

Figure 7. Kōpi trees, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Moriori employed aboriculture (the growing of trees for food) and agroforestry (the cultivation of trees) in which the forests were a very important part of everyday life used for food, shelter, and fuel. The *kōpi* forests, wind intolerant and requiring well-drained soil, were modified and managed by Moriori. The drupes or berries of this plant compensated for the lack of root vegetables. The outer flesh can be consumed when ripe but the kernel is highly toxic if eaten raw. When detoxified they can be preserved and provide an important source of carbohydrate. This food source, along with the prohibition on killing in warfare, might explain why the Moriori population thrived, reaching between 2,500 and 3,000 by the time of European arrival.[14]

Figure 8. 'X-ray' figure *rākau momori,* Rotorua, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

In addition to the *kōpi* providing a vital food source, Moriori made carvings on them. This practice of carving, incising or etching, and bruising into the bark of living *kōpi* trees created *rākau momori*. The *rākau momori* are among the few visible remaining signs of Moriori culture from pre-European contact. There has been much speculation as to why and how the Moriori carved the *rākau momori* and what they mean. According to the Hokotehi Moriori Trust,

> The carvings are complex and diverse portrayals of *karapuna* (ancestors) and possibly events. Many of them are memorials for departed loved ones. The belief was that by carving the image into the bark, the spirit of the departed would be infused into the tree, which then acted as a kind of portal to the spiritual homeland. These places [*kōpi* groves] are very *tapu* [sacred] to Moriori and are used for inspiration, communication, mediation and reflection.[15]

As categorized by Jefferson and the Hokotehi Moriori Trust, the *rākau momori* fall into roughly four groups:

1. Human figures
2. Zoomorphic representations (mostly birds and fish—both realistic and stylized—as well as seals, seaweed, and crayfish)
3. 'Trees' [Jefferson's quotation marks], and
4. Assorted other objects (some of which Jefferson identifies as 'weapons').[16]

The 'x-ray' human figure (named for its skeletal, particularly ribbed, appearance) is the most common motif. In a survey undertaken by Jefferson, in which she drew about 450 of the *rākau momori*, many of these figures were described as 'whakapahoho' by islanders, meaning they have 'a certain commemorative significance'.[17] According to two of Jefferson's informants on Rēkohu, '*Whakapahoho*', could be translated as 'statue', 'monument made of wood', or 'something in memory of a person'. Some, with certain physical attributes or related objects such as weapons, were considered to represent definite individuals.[18]

Anthropologist Henry Skinner (1886-1978) concluded the *rākau momori* are 'purely commemorative and . . . comparable with the carved ancestral figures in Māori guest houses'.[19] The only record of the making of a carving comes from Frederick Hunt (1818-1891), a settler on Rangihaute (Pitt Island). Hunt recounted the story of Mehenui, who, after the death of his wife and child was said to have carved two figures on a *kōpi* tree.[20] While this singular event appears to support Skinner's commemoration theory, Jefferson argues that the significant number of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms cannot all be attributed to this purpose.[21] Other suggestions as to the purpose of the carvings include that they are representations of certain individuals whose identity was indicated through the depiction of a 'foible or idiosyncrasy' or physical feature.[22]

Such speculations concerning customary Moriori culture, as well as recent initiatives to revive aspects of pre-contact practices, stem from cataclysmic events set in motion by the arrival of foreigners beginning in the late eighteenth century

Figure 9. *Rākau momori*, Hāpūpū. J.M. Barker National Historic Reserve, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

The outside world comes to Rēkohu

Anthropologist and historian Nicholas Thomas described the encounters between Europeans and Oceanic peoples thus: 'Knowing involves interaction and interaction has consequences'.[23] For Moriori, contact with the outside world beginning with the European discovery of Rēkohu on 29 November 1791, would have a profound impact on the future of Moriori. The brig, *Chatham*, commanded by Lieutenant William Broughton, sighted Rēkohu after being blown off course and proceeded to map the island and name its main features. Upon landing, the visitors claimed it for Britain's then monarch, King George III. During a barter with the island's inhabitants a dispute ensued and the *Chatham*'s crew killed a Moriori man, Tamakororo. The peaceful Moriori blamed themselves for the violent incident and agreed that future visitors would be greeted peacefully.[24] When the next European vessel—a sealer—arrived a decade later, its crew received an unarmed welcome.

Invasion

In November of that year, two Māori *iwi* from the mainland (Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga) commissioned a Sydney trading ship in Wellington Harbour and sailed to Rēkohu in two voyages. Forced from their ancestral homelands in intertribal warfare, they decided to resettle on the Chathams where they understood the inhabitants would not resist them and food was plentiful.[25] When the 900-strong Māori party of men, women, and children landed on Rēkohu armed with muskets and other weapons, the privations endured on the long and cramped sea journey meant they did not present an immediate threat to Moriori.

At Whangaroa or Port Hutt their recovery from the voyage was assisted by Moriori. Despite this and other benevolent gestures as well as the lack of aggression displayed by the indigenous inhabitants of Rēkohu, after a few weeks the Māori began to kill Moriori and eat some for food. In response to the actions of the invaders, 1,000 Moriori men met at Te Awapatiki and, following a three-day debate, decided to uphold their ancient covenant of peace and not kill the new arrivals. Moreover, despite the hostility they had experienced, they were prepared to share Rēkohu's resources with the Māori and live in peace with them. However, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama made their intentions clear; they had commenced to *takahi*, or 'walk' and claim the land, and initially killed around 226 Moriori (excluding 'a considerable number of children whose names have been forgotten').[26] The survivors—who had nowhere to escape on the island—were enslaved and forced to do hard labour. Subjugated and dispirited, their corporeal and spiritual existence defiled and demeaned, many Moriori died of what was described as *kongenge* or despair. Despite this catastrophic event, Moriori upheld Nunuku's law; no Māori were killed.

Under a section titled 'Enslavement' in the Waitangi Tribunal Report 2001 (concerned with Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga claims in the Chatham Islands) European accounts of the invasion period record that

> Moriori were treated appallingly by the Māori intruders of 1835. They were housed in inadequate whare, poorly fed, compelled to undertake extreme labour, brutalised, made to respond to everyone's bidding (including even Māori children), and, for a time, gratuitously killed at whim. They were forbidden to marry or to have children.[27]

However, as King states, 'the Moriori remnants were never reconciled to the events of 1835 and their aftermath'.[28] In 1862, a letter to New Zealand Governor George Grey signed by 33 Moriori elders sought the return of lands and an end to enslavement for the surviving Moriori population. By this time, killing by the invaders, the impact of introduced diseases to which the indigenous population had no immunity, and demoralisation caused the Moriori population to plummet to 101. Ngāti Mutunga claimed that 'they had "conquered" Moriori and that therefore the Chatham Islands belonged to them'.[29] This argument was upheld by the Native Land Court hearings on Rēkohu between 1868 and 1872, and as a

result, less than 3% of the islands' land area was returned to Moriori.[30]

However, Moriori customary law was different from that of Māori and in 2001 the Waitangi Tribunal found that Moriori had not engaged in combat, had not been defeated, and had not ceded customary title over the land to the invaders.[31]

Their *manawa whenua* (heart of the land) and *mana* (authority and spiritual power) in maintaining Nunuku's covenant, remained undiminished.[32]

In 1933, with the death of full-blooded Tame Horomona Rehe, the Moriori were considered to be extinct. However, in 1989, the publication of Michael King's book, *Moriori: A People Rediscovered* propelled Moriori back into the public consciousness. Critically, King revealed to the outside world that far from having died out, Moriori were reasserting their culture and their rights, as well as dispelling commonly-held myths of Rēkohu's indigenous population.[33]

In the 1990s the New Zealand government engaged in dialogue with Moriori and Māori about grievances dating from the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi (1840). The Crown recognised Moriori as well as Māori and stated that it would not settle any claims until both could be settled. In August 2017 Moriori and the Crown signed an "Agreement in Principle to Settle Historical Claims" which includes cultural, financial and commercial redress.[34]

Hokopanopano Ka Toi Moriori (reigniting Moriori Arts)

In February 2016, Moriori *rangata mātua* (elders) and *rangatehi* (youth), and invited artists and designers, archaeologists, a conservator and an arborist gathered at Kōpinga Marae on Rēkohu to participate in a *wānanga* organized by the Hokotehi Moriori Trust.[35] The purpose of the *wānanga* was to enlist the combined expertise and commitment of the participants to *hokopanopano ka toi Moriori* (or reignite Moriori arts)—principally those associated with *rākau momori*—through discussion, information exchange, speculation, toolmaking and finally, tree 'carving'.

The *wānanga*'s learning goals included:

1. To learn basic design techniques for carving living trees
2. To learn a range of techniques for carving living trees
3. To learn basics of stone tool making
4. To gain an appreciation of Moriori cultural landscapes and kōpi ecology
5. To learn more about Moriori history and culture
6. To support Kōpinga marae culture—manawa reka; rongo [songs] (learn at least 2 rongo); karakii [prayers]
7. To have fun[36]

After the participants were welcomed, Hokotehi Moriori Trust Executive Chair, Māui Solomon, a grandson of Tame Horomona Rehe, provided a background on Moriori history and culture and outlined the *wānanga*'s intention.

Figure 10. Māui Solomon, Hokotehi Moriori Trust Executive Chair (left), with wānanga participants, Hāpūpū (J. M. Barker National Historic Reserve), Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 11. Group discussion, Hokopanopano Ka Toi Moriori, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Along with this cultural framework, an understanding of the *kōpi* trees and how they might have been carved and with what, followed. Associate Professor Ian Barber and Dr. Justin Maxwell of University of Otago's Department of Anthropology & Archaeology—experts of the *kōpi* tree, its cultivation and use—along with arborist, Marc Higgie, discussed *kōpi* ecology and aboriculture (the cultivation, management, and study of individual trees) as well as current management of the *kōpi* plantations. The conservation of *rākau momori*, which have been removed from the forests and stored at the Kōpinga marae in controlled conditions, was presented by Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa conservationist, Nirmala Balram. Archaeologist, Dan Withers, a long-time exponent of stone toolmaking, demonstrated stone flaking techniques using locally collected basalt and limestone. Expert stone carvers, John Edgar and Owen Mapp, guided *wānanga* participants in the craft of stone carving. Customary Moriori tools from the collection of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa provided models. Designer, Turi Park, led a workshop in which original designs were used

as inspiration by participants trying to capture in watercolour the apparently gestural representations of Moriori *kōpi* carvers to assist in the translation of these drawings to carving the living *kōpi* trees.

Figure 12. Conservation of *rākau momori*, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 13. Archaeologist, Dan Withers demonstrating stone toolmaking to wānanga participants, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 14. Archaeologist, Dan Withers (detail), Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 15. Stone carvers, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 16. Customary Moriori tools, Collection: Hokotehi Moriori Trust, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 17. Customary Moriori tools, Collection: Hokotehi Moriori Trust, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 18. Turi Park drawings including *rākau momori* figures, Kōpinga Marae, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 19. *Kōpi* tree grove, Rotorua, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Participants visited a number of *kōpi* forests to see remaining carvings and to make comparisons between healthy and threatened plantations. The trees' habitat has been compromised by deforestation, livestock, wind damage, clearing, and disease. These visits provided key information as to how the *karapuna* might have carved the trees. Much speculation and debate followed on this subject and determined the forms and materials *wānanga* participants used to carve the trees.

Figure 20. Wānanga participants in the ethnobotanic reserve at Henga, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. The person engraving the kōpi tree is Tane Hirawanu Tapu Solomon, great grandson of Tame Horomona Rehe. Henga, Rēkohud / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

When the carving tools were completed the participants travelled to the ethnobotanic reserve at Henga, an area of *kōpi* forest owned by the Hokotehi Moriori Trust used for teaching purposes and selected for the carving experiments. After a ritual blessing, the younger Moriori of the party tentatively began carving. While Māori performer and visual artist, James Webster, played customary Māori instruments, and the participants carved, the event was recorded by video and still photography. The trees on which marks were made, their locations, size, the tools used and the carving techniques employed were recorded so those thought to best mirror ancient techniques could be reproduced in the future.

One of the Moriori *rangatehi*, Cassidy Solomon, agreed to use the stone tool I had made. In doing so she introduced an unexpected innovation for the maker. By turning the gauge cutting edge on its side, she used it to score the tree bark outlining the shape of the design and cutting into the material sufficiently to prevent it randomly pulling away from outside material, thus achieving a cleaner outer and inner edge to the removed material.

The carving tool was not a conventional shape—that is, one modelled from those thought to have been used by the *karapuna*—but it proved highly effective in carving into the bark. Its final form was determined to a certain extent by the size and shape of the available raw material. A ball-shaped handle, similar to that of an engraving burin, sat comfortably in the cup of the hand. From this extended

a short shaft sharpened and grooved at the end like a gauge chisel. Organically, it developed into the shape of a bird's head. Seeing the association, I requested John Edgar drill an 'eye' on each side of the chisel's ball (head).

Figure 21. Cassidy Solomon carving, Henga, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Figure 22. 'Manu' carving tool, Collection: Hokotehi Moriori Trust, Rēkohu / Chatham Islands, 2016. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

Later I discovered the great significance of birds in Moriori culture. Christina Jefferson speculated that the more pronounced nose of some *rākau momori* figures seemed to have been inspired by the beaks of local birds such as the mollymawk (*Thalassarche eremita*) and weka (*Gallirallus australis*).[37] Skinner recorded six different contexts in which bird representations were used: carvings on limestone shelters, house-fronts, and canoes; bird-shaped weapons and pendants; and the likenesses of birds carved on sticks used in burials.[38] Among the *rākau momori* appear many realistic and stylized bird forms. Other early accounts include constant reference to birds when speaking of the Moriori, including that they were 'like birds' and 'were always singing'.[39] When asked, Moriori sometimes referred to the human-like figures of the *rākau momori* as 'birds' and as possessing fingers that were like 'claws'.[40] A story related to Jefferson on several occasions, told of

a man named Moe who lived by the Whanga Lagoon. When he wanted to visit another other part of the lagoon's shore, Moe could fly there after taking on the appearance of a bird.[41]

In the language and perspective of her culture at the time, Jefferson speculated on the human-animal associations between Moriori and the wildlife of Rēkohu:

> Primitive peoples often identify themselves with species of wild life which they habitually kill for food, regarding those members still left living as their kinsmen. Desiring to preserve their kinsmen's goodwill, primitive men endow the wild things with human attributes and man with the form of the wild, not distinguishing sharply between man himself and members of the wild species. Sometimes species whose goodwill it is desired to retain are honoured in the person of a single individual.[42]

Figure 23. A Moriori group dressed partly in traditional costume, 1877. Moriori used flax and sealskin to make clothing. Te Rōpiha (left) is wearing a flax mat under a European shawl. His wife, Uaroa, is wearing a European blanket. Te Teira has a *kura*, a parakeet-feather head ornament, albatross down in his beard and a flax rain cape. Pūmipi wears a woven flax mat and has albatross tufts in his beard. https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/23616/moriori-clothing. Ref. 19XX.2.314. Canterbury Museum. Photo: Alfred Martin.

The *wānanga* had several outcomes, not least to gain an understanding of how the Moriori *karapuna* might have created images in the bark of the *kōpi* trees. The Moriori leaders and cultural experts and youth, artists, designers, craftspeople, anthropologists, archaeologists and a conservator gathered on the main island of Rēkohu to undertake collaborative memory work to not only uncover mysteries of past cultural practices but also to revive them. As trust chair, Māui Solomon observed, it was by going through these processes, reflecting on their own experiences, and trying to understand how the *karapuna* might have done things that *tikane* (custom, lore, protocol) could be developed by those Moriori alive today as well as future generations.

Figure 24. Descendants with a statue erected in memory of Tame Horomona Rehe at Manukau on the south eastern coast of Rēkohu, 2016. From left: Charles Solomon-Rehe, Cassidy Solomon, Tame Heurea (partially obscured), Hinemata Solomon, Tāne Solomon. Photo: Kingsley Baird.

In the morning of our departure, as the mist lifted, I reflected on the success of the wānanga and a resilient people who have defied the fate ordained for them. The meaning of the *hokotauki* (proverb or significant saying) we recited before departing conveyed an optimistic future:

Hokorongo	*Listen, take heed*
He turanga toa	*There is surely a strong future*
Kei mua ake	*For Moriori in our society*
Mo te imi	*We will take our rightful place*
Moriori e	*In this society*
Kei mua ake	
Mo te imi	
Moriori e	

Me rongo (with peace)

Endnotes

1. Christina Jefferson, "The Dendroglyphs of the Chatham Islands," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 64, no. 4 (1955): 418, http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document.php?wid = 2784&action = null.
2. In this article 'carving' describes a variety of possible techniques used by Moriori including incising and bruising into and through the *kōpi* tree bark. When Jefferson recorded Moriori *rākau momori* (which she refers to as 'dendroglyphs') there were about 1,000; today they number around 130. The decline is the result of a range of environmental factors discussed in this article. Jefferson's photos and drawings in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* attest to a remarkable variety of *rākau momori*, especially the 'x-ray' human figures. Also see *"Rākau momori (Moriori memorial trees) – Fact Sheet*". August 2014, accessed 15 June 2018, https://www.moriori.co.nz/_w/_w/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Rakau-Momori-fact-sheet-aug-2014-final.pdf.
3. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), 42.
4. Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), 46. *The School Journal*, a free quarterly publication containing information on history, geography, and civics, was the Department of Education's sole publication for children until 1939.
5. "The Passing of the Mouriuri", *The School Journal* 10, pt 3, no. 6 (July 1916): 184-87.
6. King, *Penguin History*, 56.
7. Ibid., 57.
8. Ibid., 57.
9. The "Moriori and the Crown: Agreement in Principle to Settle Historical Claims, 16 August 2017, accessed 28 June 2018. https://www.govt.nz/dmsdocument/7103.pdf. "Historical Account" lists, as one of the provisional topics to be addressed (4.2.7), "myths of racial inferiority and extinction". See "Provisional Crown Acknowledgements" 4.3.9 and 4.3.10, 7-8. Maui Solomon translates 'rangatiratanga' in a Moriori context as 'the weaving together of one's people and miheke (treasures)' (email message to author, 19 December 2018).
10. Maui Solomon (email message to author, 19 December 2018). Rhys Richards, "Chatham Islands," Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2, accessed 28 June 2018. https://teara.govt.nz/en/chatham-islands/print.
11. Richards, "Chatham Islands – from first settlement to 1860", Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 28 June 2018, https://teara.govt.nz/en/chatham-islands/page-3.
12. Denise Davis and Māui Solomon, "Moriori", Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2-3, accessed 28 June 2018, https://teara.govt.nz/en/moriori/print.
13. Richards, "Chatham Islands". I am grateful to Dr Justin Maxwell (Department of Anthropology, University of Otago) for the use of his extensive research in his doctoral thesis, Justin James Maxwell "*The Moriori. The Integration of*

Arboriculture and Agroforestry in an East Polynesian Society" (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2014). Justin was one of the experts who contributed to the *wānanga, Hokopanopano Ka Toi Moriori (Reigniting Moriori Arts)*.

14. Ibid., accessed 27 June 2018. The Moriori population number was provided by Susan Thorpe of the Hokotehi Moriori Trust (email message to author, 9 July 2018). That birth control—consisting of the castration of some male infants—was practised, suggests Rēkohu's resources might not have sustained a larger population. "Moriori life, social and spiritual values", Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 3, accessed 16 November 2018, https://teara.govt.nz/en/moriori/page-3.
15. "Rākau Momori (Moriori memorial trees) – Fact Sheet", August 2014, accessed 15 June 2018, https://www.moriori.co.nz/_w/_w/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Rākau-Momori-fact-sheet-aug-2014-final.pdf.
16. Jefferson, "Dendroglyphs", 384; and "Rākau Momori" 1, accessed 27 June 2018.
17. Ibid., Jefferson, "Dendroglyphs", 384.
18. Ibid., 408-409.
19. Ibid., 408, from Henry Devenish Skinner, "The Morioris of the Chatham Islands", *Memoir Bernice P. Bishop*, 9, no. 1 (1928): 71.
20. Ibid., 408, from Frederick Hunt, *Twenty-five Years' Experience in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands—An Autobiography*, ed. John Amery (Wellington: W. Lyon, 1866), 64.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).
24. Michael King, *Moriori: A People Rediscovered* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1989), 39-45.
25. For the events leading up to, during, and the impact of, the Māori invasion see King, *Moriori*, 53-76, from which much of the material in this "Invasion" section has been drawn.
26. A total of about 300 Moriori men, women, and children were killed at this time. The numbers of dead are derived from a catalogue compiled by Moriori elders in 1862 and sent to Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, documenting what had occurred on Rēkohu and appealing (to no avail) that he restore ownership to Moriori. See King, *Moriori*, 64.
27. "Rekohu: A Report on Moriori and Ngati Mutunga Claims in the Chatham Islands", WAI 64, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2001, Wellington: Legislation Direct, 4. The Waitangi Tribunal was established by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. It is a permanent commission of inquiry that makes recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to Crown actions which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi. Accessed 20 July 2018. https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz. It has been proposed that the Māori invaders' consideration of Moriori as inferior and therefore fit for enslavement (but not intermarriage) derived from the attitude of European sailors who regarded Moriori as the same as *Paraiwhara* or 'blackfellows' (as Aboriginals were sometimes called by Europeans in Australia). Māori, therefore, saw Moriori as reasonable targets for the same treatment meted

out by Europeans to *Paraiwhara* in Australia. See WAI 64, 1. The Māori practice of slavery had ended officially in 1858 but continued in practice into the 1860s.

28. King, *Moriori*, 75.

29. High Court of New Zealand CIV-2018-485-005, concerning Taia Historic Reserve case between Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri Iwi Trust (plaintiffs) and The Minister of Conservation and Hokotehi Moriori Trust (first and second defendants respectively), "Submissions for the Second Defendant", 2.

30. Richards, "Chatham Islands",

31. High Court, CIV-2018-485-005, Submissions for the Second Defendant, 2.

32. High Court, CIV-2018-485-005, Affidavit of Māui Ashley Solomon, 11. This definition of *mana* is greatly compressed for the purposes of this article and in no way captures the broad and nuanced meaning of the term in relation to Moriori. See "Mana," Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary, Accessed 22 July 2018.

33. Māui Solomon identifies the screening of the Television New Zealand documentary *Moriori* in 1980 as launching the Moriori renaissance and Michael King's book as giving significant impetus to the revival (Māui Solomon, email message to author, 11 July 2018). The documentary was written and produced by Bill Saunders, directed by Wayne Tourell and edited by Bill Henderson (1 hour 41 minutes). https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/moriori-1980.

34. "Moriori and the Crown: Agreement in Principle to Settle Historical Claims 16 August 2017." In 1868, almost all of the Māori *iwi* of Ngāti Tama returned to their ancestral homeland in Taranaki. The Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri Iwi Trust, which represents the collective interests of Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri (descendants of the other iwi who arrived in the Chatham Islands in 1835) are also in negotiation with the Crown over historical Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi claims. Problematically, both Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga o Wharekauri are acknowledged by the Crown as 'tchatat henu' (Moriori) and 'tangata whenua' (Māori)—or indigenous people—of Rēkohu (or Wharekauri as the Chatham Islands are known in Māori) and both have 'overlapping claims'.'

35. 'Hokotehi Moriori Trust is the organisation that represents the Moriori people—the descendants of Rongomaiwhenua and Rongomaitere on the islands of Rekohu and Rangiatea (Chatham Islands) in New Zealand and elsewhere', accessed 30 June 2018, https://www.moriori.co.nz/home/about-the-trust/.
The trust has produced a very full report of the *wānanga* titled, "Hokopanopano Ka Toi Moriori" (2016). It provides detailed information on *rākau momori, kōpi* tree growth and ecology, Moriori stone technology and wānanga findings. For much more comprehensive material than this article offers on the meaning of the *rākau momori* see "Rākau Momori—Archival Records of Recording", 13-19. This section is an extract from Susan Thorpe's chapter, "Archaeology, Identity and Development" in John Clammer and Ananta Kumar Giri, eds., *The Aesthetics of Development: Art, Culture and Social Transformation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 101-125. *Wānanga* has a number of definitions which apply to this project: 1. (verb) (hia,-tia) to meet and discuss, deliberate, consider; 2. (noun) seminar, conference, forum, educational seminar; 3. (noun) tribal knowledge, lore, learning—

important traditional cultural, religious, historical, genealogical and philosophical knowledge. "Wānanga," Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary, accessed 29.2.16.

36. "Hokopanopano ka toi Moriori' Wānanga Programme", 1.
37. Jefferson, "Dendroglyphs", 393.
38. Ibid., 410.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 411.
41. Ibid., 410.
42. Ibid., 411.

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Biographical Note

Kingsley Baird is a visual artist whose work represents a longstanding and continuous engagement with memory and remembrance, and loss and reconciliation through making artefacts and writing. Major examples of his work in this field are the New Zealand Memorial in Canberra (2001, with Studio of Pacific Architecture), the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior (2004, Wellington, New Zealand); the international Nagasaki Peace Park sculpture, *Te Korowai Rangimarie The Cloak of Peace* (2006); *Tomb* (2013) at France's Historial de la Grande Guerre; and *Stela* (2014) at the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Germany. Kingsley Baird is the board chair of WHAM (War History Heritage Art and Memory) Research Network; and is the General Editor of Memory Connection journal.

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