

# IPinCH CASE STUDY REPORT : MORIORI CULTURAL DATABASE



Hokotehi Moriori Trust

IPinCH Case Study

2014

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[www.sfu.ca/ipinch](http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch)

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*Tongia tenga rehu Tawake moetahuna  
Koi tenga mokopu o Rongomaiwhenua o Rongomaitere  
Koi tama wainuku  
Koi tama waiorangi  
Koi tama ruruhau o Pāpātuanuku*

*Tahia te iHINGA mai o te Ra  
Tahia koi tama Rehua-Tane  
Moe tahi koe i runga  
Tahia te nui Tahia te roa  
Werohia te ata*

The ritual Moriori *karakii* (prayer) above is describes the separation of Pāpātuanuku (earth mother) and *Ranginui* (sky father) and the creation of light and knowledge. It is carved on the post in the centre of Kōpinga *marae* as a dedication to the memory of Moriori ancestors and their enduring legacy of peace.

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Cover image: Front entrance to Kōpinga Marae, located on Rēkohu (Chatham Islands, New Zealand)  
Frontispiece: Carving of the Moriori founding ancestor Rongomaiwhenua, entrance to Kōpinga Marae.

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Thanks to those who have gone before us; to our Moriori *Rangata Mātua* (elders) who cloak the work we do with the lasting legacy of their commitment to peace and to sharing. Your standards have shaped the vision for this work and the way we have tried to honour it. We note in particular the work of Hirawanu Tapu,<sup>1</sup> a Moriori leader, petitioner and scribe who worked closely with interpreter Alexander Shand<sup>2</sup> to record and preserve for posterity Moriori traditions and history. It was Tapu who also wrote a petition to Sir George Grey in 1862, signed by all the Moriori elders alive at that time, seeking restoration of their lands and other rights on Rēkohu. He was a well educated man who spoke several languages and was the last full speaker of the Moriori *re* (language) when he died in 1898. We owe him a great deal.

Thank you to those who contributed creative works, intelligence, muscle and food for looking after visitors, field work, workshops and writing.

Thank you to the Boards of Trustees for Hokotehi Moriori Trust and Te Keke Tura Moriori Trust for your support and guidance. We are grateful too for the wisdom and encouragement from the Advisory Boards for the *rākau momori* (carved tree) project and the Me Rongo Congress, along with our collaborative research partnerships in New Zealand and abroad. Special mention must be made here of the bond we have forged with members of the Hopi Nation, particularly to Kīhpo (EJ Satala) and Wolf Gumerman; our Kanaka Maoli cousins in Hawaii—Ho’oipo Pa, Peter Jensen, Yuklin Aluli, Ipo and Kunani Nihipali; the TKRP team from Australia—Victor Steffensen, Uncle Ron and Danny; and Ahohiva Levi from Niue.

Finally, and most importantly, our greetings and thanks go to the IPinCH team, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, staff at Simon Fraser University and The University British Columbia, our fellow case study teams, and the IPinCH project managers—Kelly Fox and Brian Egan for helping to get us to Canada and back and everything in between. Thank you to Alexis Bunten (IPinCH Ethnographer) for visiting Rēkohu and seeing our work first-hand. We would like to especially thank Julie Hollowell, Catherine Bell and George Nicholas for your vision and hard work on this and many other related projects. George, your kind spirit and tireless support for ensuring we have been included in this important project will never be forgotten.

*Me rongo (in peace)*

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<sup>1</sup> 1824-1898

<sup>2</sup> 1840-1910

## NOTES ON STYLE

We are conscious that our case study is one of a few IPinCH case studies that are not based in Canada or the United States. We feel privileged to be included in the IPinCH project, but have noted during the course of the project that we do things differently. We work a bit differently, we speak and name things differently and we have different assumptions about defining concepts such as cultural heritage and intellectual property. We know we have more in common that we have that separates us but there are occasional disjuncts.



So we have set out a section about us to try to set the scene for what follows in the case study report and discussion. We have provided information on where we live, on Moriori culture and on our more recent history because they are vital for understanding the rationale for the case study research.

We have consistently used the first-person plural authorial voice in this report and in most of the work we do because the voices here are Moriori. We are writing about ourselves in a very personal, entirely subjective manner. It is refreshing and affirming to do this and ensures that our work remains robust, relevant and respectful. Although this report has been compiled largely by the two project co-developers—Maui Solomon and Susan Thorpe—it remains the work of the collective team through a process of regular collective review, reflection and addition.

Where possible we have used our own language terms for words that are better un-translated (see Appendix A). Often we have deliberately avoided having translations beside these words in the text because we want to keep the sense of meaning grounded in Moriori language (*re*). The intention is not to alienate readers. Instead, it is to use words that best capture the thought, and of course to try to foster a language that had nearly ceased to be spoken. We have provided a glossary of terms at the end. If we have left some out, it was unintentional—please contact us to help with explanations. Moriori and Māori names have different emphases over vowels to make short or long sounds. Often the stress on a vowel gives a word with a completely different meaning. We have used macrons to indicate a long vowel sound.

The use of the stylised *rākau momori*-type images drawn by Turi Park,<sup>3</sup> such as the one on this page, is to keep images evocative of ancestral carvings overlooking the words and headings. They are inspired by the ancient living tree carvings but not derived from them. This is an approach that Hokotehi is developing in association with Turi that enables the magic of these carvings to be shared without replicating the originals. It is an approach that we wish to take further with Turi in the development of recognisable symbols to be shared internationally. We believe that this approach to openly sharing may be one solution to problems caused by theft or mis-use of images, symbols and other cultural “property.” The idea has not been robustly tested but we believe that open sharing may reduce inappropriate use of theft. Sharing may also increase people’s capacity for understanding the need to respect our IP. This will be one of the future projects for life after IPinCH.

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<sup>3</sup>

[www.nativehome.com](http://www.nativehome.com); [www.turipark.com](http://www.turipark.com).

INTRODUCTION

Where is Rēkohu?

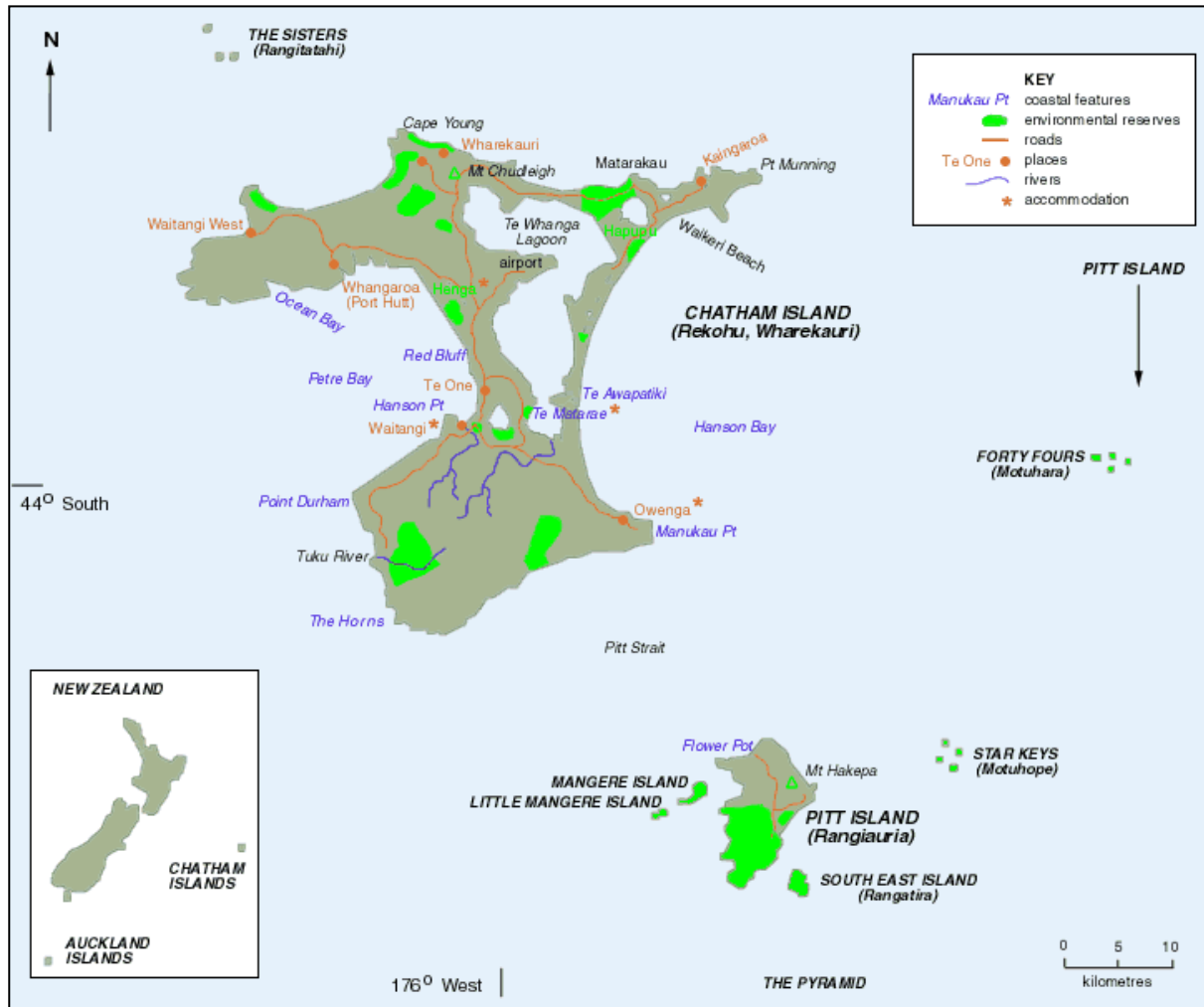


Figure 1. Location Map for Rēkohu.

The Pacific archipelago that comprises Rēkohu consists of two large islands (Rēkohu and Rangihaute) and eight smaller islands, volcanic stacks or rock formations in the Pacific Ocean, approximately 800 kilometres east of New Zealand on the 44° South latitude.

The largest of the islands (Rēkohu<sup>4</sup>) is ca. 90 km<sup>2</sup> and characterised by the large lagoon, Te Whānga, which occupies approximately a quarter of the island’s land mass. Rangihaute<sup>5</sup> (Pitt Island) is just over 6 km<sup>2</sup> in size and is located to the south east of the main island.

<sup>4</sup> Also called Chatham Island and Wharekauri. Like “Rēkohu,” the “Chatham Islands” is also the over-arching name for the island group.

<sup>5</sup> Rangihaute is also commonly known as Pitt Island, and also Rangiauria and Rangiaurii.



The other main island formations are<sup>6</sup>:

- Hokoreoreora (Rangatira or South East Island)
- Maung Re (Mangere)
- Tapuaenuku (Little Mangere or The Fort)
- Rangiwheoa (The Castle)
- Motuhope (Star Keys)
- Rangitutahi (The Sisters)
- Motuhara (The Forty Fours)
- Tcharako (Terekoekoe, Tarakoikoia or The Pyramid)



The islands are the most easterly and most remote part of occupied New Zealand territory and are home to about 600 permanent (human) residents. Their location in the rich Southern Ocean waters has made them well known for a wealth of marine and inland water resources to sustain human, marine mammal and migrating bird species.

The group is on what has been named the “Chatham Rise”—an area of continental rocks that were once part of the New Zealand land formation, but emerged above sea level comparatively recently in geological terms (within the last 4 million years). The Chatham Rise<sup>7</sup> and Sub Antarctic waters within the New Zealand EEZ contribute about 60% of the nation’s commercial fisheries. Compared with other parts of the Pacific Ocean around New Zealand, the Chatham Rise is relatively shallow, no more than 1,000 metres deep at any point. The Chatham Rise is known as New Zealand's most productive and important commercial fishery.

### Who are Moriori?

Moriori arrived in successive waves of migrations and voyages from the Pacific approximately 1,000 years ago, or possibly earlier. The founding ancestors on Rēkohu were Rongomaiwhenua and Rongomaitere, who came directly to Rēkohu from East Polynesia, though we also have an autochthonous tradition for these ancestors. When the ancestor Kāhu arrived on the island sometime after Rongomaiwhenua he asked, “where are you from?” The response was “ko ro whenua ake” (from this earth).

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<sup>6</sup> We have listed the Moriori name followed by the later Māori and/or English names (also see Appendix A).

<sup>7</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chatham\\_Rise](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chatham_Rise)

Rongomaiwhenua stayed and set up the first *pouwhenua* at Te Awapatiki while Rongomaitere sailed onto Aotea<sup>8</sup>. Later arrivals were Kāhu (who did not stay) and the canoes (Rangimata and Rangihoua) arriving on Rēkohu from Aotearoa (following directions left by Rongomaitere), and later the canoe Oropuke, captained by Moe. Though there was peace for a time, fighting broke out amongst the people, which was eventually settled by the leader Nunuku-Whenua, who reaffirmed the ancient covenant of peace first brought to the islands by Rongomaiwhenua, which remains unbroken to this day—a 600-year history of peace keeping.



### The Moriori Peace Covenant

The abandonment of warfare and killing was an ancient covenant handed down from the earliest Moriori ancestors. The covenant was reaffirmed in the times of Moriori *karāpuna*, Mu, Rongomaiwhenua, Pakehau and Nunuku. The covenant forbade killing: “It was passed down to Mu and Wheke, and from them and their descendants to Rongomaiwhenua, and from him to his descendants. You may continue to fight; the meaning of his word was, do not kill.”

By abandoning warfare and placing their weapons on the *tūahu*, Moriori entered into a *tohinga* or covenant with their gods. It was a unique declaration that proclaimed from henceforth only the gods, and not people, would have power over life and death. Fighting became ritualised—upon first blood being drawn, fighting was to cease. The law of Nunuku and his predecessors thus permitted an outlet for aggression and revenge but stopped short of inflicting the ultimate sanction of death.

From earliest childhood, male children were imbued with the significance of these laws. During the baptismal rites or *tohinga* of male children, the father or male elder would perform a ceremony by removing the old weapons from the *tūahu* and returning them once the ritual was complete. In this way, the covenant was renewed and passed on from one generation to the next. This was and is a very *tapu* covenant to Moriori. It reaffirms and acknowledges that *tuakana* status of the gods as the final arbiters of life and death over the *teina* status of human beings.

Moriori adapted to the island environment in a more egalitarian way than other Polynesian societies. Strong spiritual beliefs characterised a sense of harmony with the natural world. Resources were conserved by an intricate system of rules and rituals that were strictly adhered to. Moriori were later described even by their Māori tormentors as a “very *tapu* [reverential] people.”<sup>9</sup>

They were, as even the Māori said of them, a very *tapu* people... Those who survived, did so without the protection of their former Gods and chants. Consequently they lost their confidence

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<sup>8</sup> Thought to be Aotearoa/New Zealand.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/moriori/3>

and assertiveness... The pared-down simplicity of Moriori life was... an appropriate and efficient response... It provided physical and spiritual security in an otherwise harsh environment, in harmony with nature, and in harmony with themselves (King 2000 (1989):36-38).

## Invasion and Impact

Since 1791, Rēkohu and Moriori have been subject to a series of traumatic events, which have resulted in dramatic changes to the island ecology and indigenous relationship with the land and sea. In 1791 the British ship *Chatham* was blown off-course and landed on Rēkohu. Its Captain, Lt. Broughton, planted a British flag, claimed the island in the name of King George III, and named it Chatham Island. In a misunderstanding with the ship's crew, a Moriori named Tamakaroro was killed defending his fishing nets.

Ironically, the islands, now home to many threatened and endangered species, are also valued by conservation agencies as refuges for species recovery. The islands are frequently visited by researchers for this reason, and yet much of what was native to the soil and water is now lost or rapidly disappearing. Ecological change on the islands has been matched with losses in traditional knowledge and ways of living sustainably in an isolated community. Many newcomers to the islands (since 1791) have not cared for the land and its resources and the *taking from* has far out-weighed any reciprocal *giving back* to the land and sea.

After the arrival of Broughton and his men, the news of the islands' marine resources soon spread. Sealers and whalers arrived with disastrous results. The seal population on which Moriori depended was drastically reduced and the newcomers brought measles and influenza. In the intervening years the Moriori population dropped from ca. 2,500 to ca. 1,600.<sup>10</sup> Worse was to come. In 1835, two groups of Māori tribes arrived on the island on the brig *Rodney* and were welcomed, fed and nurtured by their Moriori hosts after their arduous voyage from New Zealand. This kindness was met with aggression and attempts to take Moriori land. Moriori men gathered at the outlet of Te Whānga, Te Awapatiki, to debate how they should respond. The gathering of about 1,000 men decided to stand strong to the sacred covenant of peace.

The consequences for Moriori were devastating. Hundreds of Moriori were slaughtered and hundreds more enslaved. It is known that 1,561 Moriori died between 1835 and 1863, when slavery officially ceased (almost a quarter of a century after it was abolished in New Zealand).

Men were separated from the women, parents from children, older children from younger children, and the strings of their hearts quivered...<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Pre-contact population estimates of about 2,500 are now thought to be on the low side. The islands may have been home to many more before the sealers and whalers arrived.

<sup>11</sup> Extract from petition to Governor Grey by Moriori elders.

By 1862, only 101 Moriori of full blood remained on the island. Some had been traded as slaves to New Zealand and yet others had fled on passing ships to escape the brutal conditions they were subjected to. Over two decades of slavery meant that a great deal of Moriori culture, traditions and language also suffered. Traditional practices, such as the engraving of living trees, were not able to be performed. Such was the effect of the traumatic change to Moriori culture that when Alexander Shand commenced documentation of Moriori traditions and language with the aid of Hirawanu Tapu, many *karakii* and words were already forgotten.<sup>12</sup> Like their traditions, Moriori too were dispersed to the winds. Many were taken to the Auckland Islands<sup>13</sup> and to different parts of New Zealand as slaves. Others escaped their island home and attempted new lives in New Zealand and possibly elsewhere, concealing their Moriori identity. For many Moriori descendants today our means of connecting with our ancestry has been through Michael King's book and the process of cultural revival processes initiated through the governing tribal bodies over the past 20 or so years.<sup>14</sup>



**Figure 2. A group of Moriori at Owenga, Rēkohu 1877. Second from the left at the rear is Hirawanu Tapu. Third from right at the rear is Tame Horomona-Rehe's father, Te Rangitapua. Alfred Martin Collection Canterbury Museum 19XX.2.481**

From the 1850s onwards, surviving Moriori petitioned the New Zealand Government for recognition of our status as original occupants and for a return of our lands. Finally in 1870, a Land Court was set up to hear claims for the islands, but 97.3% of the lands were awarded to the Māori invaders because they

<sup>12</sup> Shand started compiling his account between 1868 and 1910, when he died, tragically, in a house fire.

<sup>13</sup> The Auckland Islands are located in the Southern Ocean and are part of New Zealand.

<sup>14</sup> Te Iwi Moriori Trust Board, Tchakat Henu Association, and now, Hokotehi Moriori Trust.

argued they were occupying the lands in 1840 (the date of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi). However, the court failed to take account of the Moriori custom of long and peaceful occupation of the land during the 700 or so years prior to the 1835 Maori invasion. The court awarded land blocks to Ngāti Mutunga Māori that included all of the smaller islands and rock formations, even though no Māori had ever set foot on them. Of the ca. 60,000 hectares of islands only 1,640 hectares were awarded to Moriori. The only block of any size (2,000 acres) to remain in Moriori hands was Manukau on the south east coast of Rēkohu, which is said to be the first arrival point for Moriori on the larger island.

Friend, let no other peoples of the world ask why this people did not hold to their lands. It was because we were a people who did not know anger or how to fight....We were a people who dwelt in peace, who did not believe in killing and eating their own kind.<sup>15</sup>

### Recognition and Re-Building

The consequences of invasion and disconnection from traditional lands sparked fires of Moriori history re-writing and re-invention by outsider historians and researchers. Fallacies of Moriori origin included theories that Moriori were a separate ethnic group from other Polynesians; that they had Melanesian origins; that they had originally settled in New Zealand and been conquered by Māori and forced flee to Rēkohu; that they had no horticultural technology; and that they had died out completely.

These myths and mis-conceptions continue even today despite the obvious presence of Moriori and revival of cultural traditions. The erroneous views were spurred by the writings of early twentieth century ethnographers and further fueled by writings in NZ School Journals<sup>16</sup>. In the 1890s, Stephenson Percy Smith (Surveyor General for New Zealand) began to conduct research on Rēkohu.<sup>17</sup> Smith, a surveyor employed by New Zealand's colonial authorities, promoted a diffusionist theory of Polynesian migration and settlement. He worked with the ethnologist Elsdon Best to categorise Moriori as coming from an earlier Melanesian ('Maruiwi') migration forced out of Aotearoa/New Zealand, thus claiming a precedent for the colonisation of Rēkohu by Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama, and of Aotearoa/New Zealand by Europeans. Smith was co-editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* from 1892 to 1922, the periodical of an organisation formed principally in response to the *pākehā* notion that Māori, like Moriori, were a dying race (Byrnes 2010). H.D. Skinner (zoologist, curator at Otago University Museum and later Director of the Otago Museum) in his monograph *The Morioris of the Chatham Islands* (1923), opposed the Maruiwi theory and tried to discredit Best and Smith's version of Moriori origins, but without much success. A School Journal publication (sent to every classroom in New Zealand) in 1916 published a series of articles on "How the Maoris (sic) came to New Zealand." Students were told:

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<sup>15</sup> Extract from 1862 letter to Governor Grey signed by 30 Moriori elders.

<sup>16</sup> The *School Journal* was initiated in 1907 by New Zealand's Inspector-General of Schools to provide children with information on history, geography and civics. Free books were distributed to schoolchildren across New Zealand. (from New Zealand History Online <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/timeline/09/05>)

<sup>17</sup> Skinner 1919, 1923; Jefferson 1955; Simmons 1962, 1964, 1965; Richards 1962; Sutton 1977 and 1985; Park 1976; Houghton 1976; and McFadgen 1994.



...at a date that cannot be ascertained, a strange folk arrived on these shores. They were ocean waifs occupying three canoes that had been carried away by a storm...They had a habit of looking sideways out of the corners of their eyes, and were an indolent and chilly folk, fond of hugging the fireside...Once on the Chathamams “they became peace-loving, timorous, and lazy. They had no idea of cultivating the soil, and their food consisted principally of fish, birds, and fern-root... The invasion by Taranaki Maori in 1835 caused their eventual demise: they are now extinct as a race, not one pure-blooded Moriori being left.<sup>18</sup>

And so Moriori extinction was confirmed, in a school text and in the minds of every young New Zealander, including many Moriori. The articles went on to say that the descendants of these people later settled the Chatham Islands and became known as Moriori—again persisting with the Smith/Best Maruiwi fiction. The images accompanying the article showed a man most likely from Melanesia. Subsequent work by New Zealand historians from the 1950s onwards (Roger Duff, David Simmons, Bruce Biggs and Keith Sorrenson) attempted to undo some of this damage, but it was too late for the generations of young minds fed on the School Journal stories.

Without the dedication of leaders such as Hirawanu Tapu against great odds, little would have remained of Moriori culture. The light that he shined on his own culture and language remains a beacon for Moriori today and in the future. Despite the extreme hardships and harm wrought on Moriori, several leaders rose again to positions of prominence in the island community. In addition to leaders such as Tapu, Tame Horomona-Rehe (Tommy Solomon) became a very successful farmer and businessman, as well as benefactor to many on the island in the early 1900s. His statue (erected in 1986) at Manukau on the south-east coast of Rēkohu marks one of the early stages of modern Moriori consciousness-raising, along with a 1980 television documentary with two of Tame’s grandchildren<sup>19</sup> on the origins of Moriori. Other Moriori leaders in the community around this time included Riwai Te Ropiha, Hapurona Pawa and Tamehana Heta.

In 1983 a following a family reunion in Temuka, New Zealand, the Solomon family formed the Tommy Solomon Memorial Trust Foundation to raise funds for a statue of Tommy Solomon, which was unveiled on Rēkohu in December 1986 by then-Prime Minister, David Lange. The statue, sculpted by Marinus van Kooten, is a commemoration of Tommy and a celebration for all Moriori. It continues to be one of the most popular destinations for tourists on the island.



**Figure 3. Three generations of the Solomon family with the statue of their ancestor Tame Horomona-Rehe.**

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<sup>18</sup> From a NZ Primary School “School Journal” story, “The Passing of the Mouriuri,” published that same year (1916), pp. 187 and 190.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Solomon-Rehe and Margaret Hamilton (née Solomon).

In 1988 a claim was filed in the Waitangi Tribunal by Maui Solomon on behalf of all Moriori<sup>20</sup> for the fisheries around Rēkohu. This was later amended in 1991 to include land and all resources. After 15 years of legal and political struggles, Moriori eventually won entitlement to claim a share of our fishing resources around the islands from the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, although it still rankles Moriori that the largest share of the islands' fisheries resource remains with Māori tribes in New Zealand.

The hearing of the Moriori claims began in 1994. The Waitangi Tribunal report, released in 2001, upheld these claims and vindicated Moriori, recognising them as *tchakat henu tuturu*, or the true *tangata whenua* of Rēkohu. However, despite the lengthy reporting period and the lapse of time since its release, no progress has been made towards negotiation or settlement between the Crown and Moriori, and this remains one of the longest outstanding claims yet to be settled.

### Revival

Moriori attempts to re-write or unravel history have been arduous, but persistent. Following on from the 1980 documentary on Moriori mentioned above and the Solomon family reunion in 1983, Maui Solomon, in 1985, invited respected historian Michael King to write a book on Moriori in collaboration with Moriori. In 1989, King published *Moriori: A People Rediscovered*, which went on to win the New Zealand book award the following year. For many Moriori it has been the primary source of information about family and tribal origins and traditions.

In 1998, New Zealand's National Museum (Te Papa Tongarewa) opened, featuring a permanent exhibition on Moriori. The exhibition concept and design was carried out by Moriori in an effort to tell our stories, our way. It focused on cultural materials and traditions such as boat building, house construction and tool making. Yet when it was opened the exhibition met criticism from some in the museum world calling for Moriori to tell the story of the Māori invasion as well. One response, from an Australian historian, questioned the use of the first person in the museum texts and the lack of attention to the invasion:

The use of the first person in the text panels was confusing as it made me wonder whether the story was being told from the point of view of the Moriori (no longer extant as a discrete people) or modern Chatham Islanders. Worse was the utter failure of the exhibit to convey why the Moriori no longer exist – that is, the Maori massacre of 1835. Having worked much of the past 10 years with collecting institutions [...] I am familiar with the view that cultural sensitivity should at all times take precedence over facts that may be distasteful to visitors. I know that public history can be tricky.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This was the 64<sup>th</sup> claim to be filed with the Waitangi Tribunal and is thus known as the Wai 64 claim.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Bridget Brooklyn, *The Evening Post*, 30 January 1999, p. 4.

The public debate on the matter continued in the press for several years and included thoughtful responses from Moriori, as well as Te Papa staff:

[S]he worries at the use of the first person in the Moriori section as, she explains, “Moriori no longer exist” or, at the least, are “no longer extant as a discrete people.” It was in partnership with the Moriori that Te Papa developed this exhibition. Its theme, developed with the descendants of people who’ve survived great loss in their history, was that they were a people alive—existing, flourishing. Contentions of extinction are an historical untruth....<sup>22</sup> We are extremely proud of the exhibition and honoured to be a part of the success of Te Papa. It was also a welcome relief to work with enlightened and visionary people at Te Papa. The fact that there is no reference to the 1835 massacre reflects the fact that Moriori do not wish to dwell in the past but are looking towards the future and, in particular, the renewal of our ancient covenant of peace at the dawn of the new millennium. We are interested in focusing on the positive side of our culture. The killings did happen but we are still here, to celebrate the legacy of peace left to us by our ancestors. We are creating history of a different kind.<sup>23</sup>

In 2000, New Zealand film makers, Barry Barclay and Don Selwyn, produced a film, “The Feathers of Peace,” based on the Moriori story and the Ngāti Mutunga/Ngāti Tama invasion of the island.<sup>24</sup> In an article that followed the release of the film, journalist Bill Ralston wrote: “This century old hidden guilt is about to be exposed to the raw light of 21st century judgement...”<sup>25</sup> The assumption here is that the general public of New Zealand did not know who the Moriori were or what had happened to them. Ten years later the public reaction to the opening of a new exhibition<sup>26</sup> on Moriori was enthusiastic, but from comments left in the visitors book it was obvious that the general public still had a low level of knowledge or understanding about Moriori; our culture or history.



Figure 4. Entrance to Kōpinga Marae.

The imperative to foster Moriori identity and culture continued with the building of a Moriori *marae*. In

<sup>22</sup> K. Gorbey, “Te Papa Responds,” *The Evening Post*, 17 February 1999, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Maui Solomon, “Gross Irritation,” *The Evening Post*, 17 February 1999, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Feathers of Peace*, Director, B. Barclay, He Taonga Films, 2000.

<sup>25</sup> B. Ralston, “The Feathers of Peace,” *Metro*, July 2000, p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> Pataka Museum of Arts and Culture: Moriori – People of the Land (curated by Bob Maysmor in conjunction with Hokotehi). The exhibition later travelled to Canterbury Museum and is now temporarily on display at Otago Museum. Eventually it will travel home to Rēkohu.



1997 construction began on the first modern Moriori marae, *Kōpinga* (which means a grove of *kōpi* trees,<sup>27</sup> so named because they were places where the ancestors gathered). The marae was opened in January 2005 and has become the home base for Moriori to meet on the island, as well as a centre of teaching and learning for the wider community. It will also be the base for the establishment of an international Peace Centre on Rēkohu in the coming years.

Some of the subsequent achievements in the last decade are discussed in more detail in this report with regard to the Moriori Cultural Database Project. Events in the last decade have seen Hokotehi (and Moriori) develop relationships with Peace Trusts and also with the New Zealand National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Otago University, and the signing of a deed of gift from the Government for a fund to foster Moriori identity (called Te Keke Tura Moriori Identity Trust). Fostering Moriori identity has recently been enhanced by the development of a distinctive font for Hokotehi—based on the tree carvings and the release of a special edition set of School Journals published by the Ministry of Education and written in conjunction with Hokotehi that focus on correcting the past inaccuracies about Moriori in the New Zealand education curriculum. The Journals were blessed at *Kōpinga Marae* in March 2011.

Ways of telling our own stories also included the development of a Hokotehi Heritage Strategy (2006), the initiation of cultural database development through survey work, elder interviews and heritage management work, and development of collaborative research partnerships.

### The IPinCH Connection

As is often the way with projects like this, the process of becoming involved and becoming a case study has been evolutionary. As we have increasingly drawn on the threads of connection with IPinCH colleagues we have woven more of ourselves into the project.

In early 2007, project participants Maui Solomon and Susan Thorpe (previously Forbes) were invited to be individual research partners in the IPinCH project. Maui was a research partner in his capacity as a barrister specialising in indigenous rights and IP legislation; Susan was a research partner in her capacity as Senior Repatriation Researcher at the National Museum, Te Papa. Both Susan and Maui are also members of the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) and the International Society of Ethnobiologists (ISE)<sup>28</sup> whose memberships overlap with many in the IPinCH team. When the Moriori case study was first developed, Maui and Susan's roles in the wider project changed slightly. As a co-developer, Maui was made Adjunct Professor in the First Nations Programme at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver. Susan retired from Te Papa and took up a role as case study co-developer in her capacity as an independent archaeologist and also Special Projects Co-ordinator for Hokotehi. After the first year of the

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<sup>27</sup> *Kōpi* (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*) are vitally important to Moriori, used as a food source and for the *rākau momori* (dendroglyphs), incised into living trees.

<sup>28</sup> WAC: <http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/>; ISE: <http://ethnobiology.net/>

IPinCH programme (in November 2008), Hokotehi Moriori Trust<sup>29</sup> was approved as a case study participant. Our third key participant and co-developer is Tom Lanauze. Tom has provided the leadership for field work and traditional knowledge aspects of the project. His expertise and generous ability to share his knowledge, especially with our younger people and others, has been of vital importance to the project.

### **The Hokotehi Case Study Outline**

The IPinCH case studies (or community-based initiatives) examine intellectual property issues in cultural heritage in specific situations. The studies are intended to provide insights into diverse perspectives and responses for the overall IPinCH project. Final reports and study findings are also intended to be made available to IPinCH Working Groups for further analysis. We are aware that some studies have adopted the term “community-based initiative” (CBI) rather than “case study” but we prefer case study as we feel that the notion of “community initiative” is only part of our study. “Case study” also avoids confusion over which community we are referring to—whether it be the Moriori community or the island community (which includes people who are not Moriori).

Our case study has its own integrity and in this sense is a discrete project in itself but it is also connected to the overall IPinCH project, though the connections are not simply through funding and support. The broad IPinCH research goals and themes are right at the heart of the work we aspire to promoting for our community and sit within the Hokotehi values of peace, unity and sharing. Reflections on the fit with IPinCH themes and research goals are found in the final discussion section of this report.

Our case study focuses on the “Moriori Cultural Database” project.<sup>30</sup> This is a multi-layer database that ties together research on Moriori identity, cultural heritage protection, land-use and resource management in culturally sensitive ways. The project set out its aims as follows:

#### Case Study Objectives

- To establish a Moriori cultural knowledge database for the recording of traditional knowledge;
- To carry out survey work with elders in an indigenous methodological and ethical framework;
- To ensure that Moriori IP is protected through appropriate recording and access protocols;
- To develop the Hokotehi knowledge recording mentorship programme to assist with the expansion of the TKRP project in future years and to up-skill our members in recording technology;
- To develop indigenous archaeological recording methods that may work as models for other indigenous communities; and
- To explore options for land and resource management which protect cultural heritage.

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<sup>29</sup> See Case Study Participants section (p. 18).

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix B for a list of individual case study projects and participants.

### Case Study Partner and Co-Developers

The Moriori Case Study was proposed through the agency of the Hokotehi Moriori Trust's (HMT) culture and identity trust (Te Keke Tura Moriori). Hokotehi, which means "unity," is the overarching legal body for all Moriori wherever they may live and for the advancement of Moriori health, welfare and education. HMT's mission statement is to apply the wisdom and values of the past so as to ensure the physical and spiritual nourishment of present and future generations of Moriori, thus honouring the legacy of our *karāpuna*. The Trust endeavours to base its business and strategic planning around the core Moriori values of unity, sharing and listening. While these values may not always be achieved, they remain as important markers in the cultural landscape of Moriori.

Te Keke Tura Moriori is a trust launched in 2008 from a gift from the New Zealand Government to ensure that Moriori identity, as a separate and distinct indigenous culture of Aotearoa New Zealand, is not lost and that the covenant of peace that was observed by Moriori is honoured and preserved for future generations.

### Keke Tura Core Objectives:

1. Revitalisation of Moriori culture (promotion of and research into language, music, arts and traditions);
2. Research into *hokopapa* Moriori;
3. Raising awareness about Moriori (e.g., through development of and provision of educational resource material);
4. Affirming Moriori culture and identity through dispelling myths and inaccuracies about Moriori;
5. Research into or field work on cultural and physical heritage;
6. Promoting and fostering a better understanding of the Moriori legacy of peace; and
7. Protecting and recording traditional knowledge and practices using the Traditional Knowledge Revival Pathways (TKRP)<sup>31</sup> system.



**Figure 5. Some members of the first Traditional Knowledge Revival Pathways training session, December 2007, Rēkohu.**

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<sup>31</sup> TKRP originated in Northern Queensland with members of the Kuku Thypan indigenous community in response to a need to document indigenous resource management practices and traditional knowledge. We are indebted to the software designer Victor Steffensen for his vision and generosity in sharing this resource. <http://loveforlife.com.au/content/08/09/16/traditional-knowledge-revival-pathways-tkrp>

### Case Study Participants

In one sense the participants in this work were anyone that belonged to Hokotehi (along with their families) and engaged in the work being carried out in any of the case study activities. The participatory groups were thus fluid and changing; open to all. Consistent participants were the co-developers and elder Tom Lanauze. For the 2010 workshops they were joined by youth participants, including Jade Lomano (and her sons), Heidi Lanauze, Loretta Lanauze, Jasper Forbes, Marcus Fitzgerald, Ahenata King, and Kahu Solomon). Other participants are the many collaborative partners and associates, such as the TKRP team, Otago University, writer Tina Makereti, DNA researcher Robin Atherton, and those involved in the *rākau momori* project and Me Rongo Congress, as well as our Hopi, Niue, and Kanaka Maoli colleagues who presented at the annual congress of the International Society of Ethnobiology held in Tofino, British Columbia. Details on case study activities and participants are presented in Appendix B.

In the beginning stages of the Hokotehi Cultural Heritage Strategy work and engagement with Traditional Knowledge and Revival Pathways (TKRP) training session, there was debate about whether to keep certain information password protected. One participant was strongly against having his information available to any and all, so his data were coded appropriately, but all others have asked specifically for data to be openly shared. We have often reflected on this during the course of our work and reviewed the decision. The consensus has been that when a culture has been in crisis and when valuable knowledge is in the heads and hands of only a few, then the imperative to share is greater. This seems to us to be a vital point to stress in a project on intellectual property in cultural heritage. In times when culture is thriving, the knowledge holders can select those to hand it on, and when and how. In situations like the one we are in, where Moriori history, cultural practices and language have not been handed down since the 1830s except through archives and memories of those few whose grandparents and great grandparents kept the knowledge fires glimmering, then open sharing and active teaching is essential. We have seen similar imperatives with our Hopi friends who have initiated inspiring projects to teach their youth.<sup>32</sup>



Figure 6. Victor Steffenson and Uncle Ron, TKRP training in Hāpūpu.

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<http://www4.nau.edu/footprints/> and <http://natedigitalstorytelling.blogspot.co.nz/>

### Case Study Methodology

Our case study was an evolving project that aimed to develop a cultural heritage database. In this sense it did not start from a set of research questions. The work has been and is being done in an action research cycle of discovery, planning, analysis and reflection/refreshment/re-analysis. Recording work was trialed, then a strategy with research questions developed. The process works or proposes to work in an upward spiral of improving practice. In this project many theories and ideas were robustly tested—many resulting in the need to re-assess the basis for thought. Interviews with elders were particularly helpful in this reflective process. In many instances these interviews and the interviewees became agents of change for thinking about customary practices. The same started to evolve with our trusted research partners, such as post-graduate researchers Justin Maxwell (*in progress*), Robin Atherton (2014), and Tina Makereti (2013), all of whom have undertaken doctoral research connected with Moriori.

The use of the TKRP system is a core element in this case study. It shaped the way we carried out field work and interviews. TKRP was gifted to Moriori in late 2007 by its Aboriginal creators (Kuku Thaypan people of northern Australia) for use as a way of collecting and caring for indigenous elder knowledge. Its basic tenets are simple:

1. it must be carried out “in country” because being in the place that is being talked about stimulates memories and associative knowledge;
2. there needs to be an intergenerational component – using youth to work with elders and listen as they record; and
3. it must be centred on a premise of reciprocity (acknowledgement of exchange taking place).

These three tenets are the basis of the substantial discussion section in which our case study is analysed. The TKRP project started in Australia (2001) as a response to aspirations of Kuku Thaypan elders (Dr. George Musgrave, Sr., and Dr. Tommy George, Sr.) to put into practice their traditional fire management knowledge. TKRP was a response to urgency “*initiated from the heart.*”<sup>33</sup> The TKRP team gifted the software and training to us because “*a trusted relationship was there and we could see the database would be respected.*”<sup>34</sup>

TKRP uses digital recording and computer storage software to interview elders and store their knowledge. In this way the questions and answers can flow in a more relaxed style whilst maintaining the integrity of the information. Responses are filmed and film-clips are then processed using the TKRP software, which tags key words in the record so that data can be sorted, transcribed and translated. If in the description of a place the speaker talks about traditional fishing practices but then moves to other subjects (e.g., sacred landscapes), the film-clip can be cross-referenced to all subjects mentioned. The outcome is an on-site record that captures the immediacy and relevancy of the interviews. Often this is information that may not otherwise have been captured in a paper-based assessment. Following the recording are the transcribing and translating steps.

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<sup>33</sup> <http://loveforlife.com.au/content/08/09/16/traditional-knowledge-revival-pathways-tkrp>

<sup>34</sup> Victor Steffensen, September 2007, pers. comm.





**Figure 7. Maui and Uncle Ron, TKRP training, December 2007.**

In 2007 our field trial started by looking at the research problems such as lack of Moriori input and the bias towards evidential recording in localised areas. This shaped solutions for developing a recording model. This method works like a bi-cultural enquiry where the research design is constantly refreshed through the development of collective memory as more work and more research is carried out. Original names and traditional uses are, in this system, the first and most vital layer in the research fabric.

At times we have struggled with the technology. We were using an older digital video camera and Apple computer software (which is compatible with TKRP visual data). No one in the project had any camera use experience and data entry skills were also minimal. TKRP is very easy to use but data storage has been a limiting factor. We have now acquired a larger capacity laptop and are working on converting the film data. The introduction of the flip-cams as an IPinCH initiative facilitated by Julie Hollowell has been a breakthrough in simple field recording. For instance, the removal of the first set of tree carvings in 2011 was all filmed on flip cams. We now also use tablet technology.<sup>35</sup>

### Case Study Research Ethics

As a largely participant-driven project the ethics of data collection and use have been fairly straightforward. All interviewees have given their time and knowledge with the understanding that it will be used for this report and that it will be a publicly accessible document. The rights and dignity of our elders were paramount considerations in the way the interviews were conducted.

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<sup>35</sup> There is currently no cell phone access on the island, which means that the ubiquitous cell phones and handy cameras are seldom available here. This makes the use of flip cams and computer tablets more common.

In some senses it is hard to design a formal ethical checksheet for work like this. The model of signing consent forms can often be seen as condescending in participatory research. The lines between researcher/participant are merged and ethics becomes a kind of safe space for sharing ideas, rather than the handing over of knowledge. This has worked for this project because its purpose is to create a body of knowledge for Moriori, and by Moriori. When we were first approved as a case study project, the use of prior informed consent forms was mandatory – that is, it was required as a condition of the IPinCH process because of the research relationship with SFU. One of the aspects of this project that we struggled with was the IPinCH Steering Committee’s review of our proposal and the potential for misunderstanding our methodology, participant groups and the various connections amongst the research team. These small obstacles were overcome through discussion and explanation, resulting in our Case Study gaining IPinCH approval.

### **The Beginnings – Cultural Heritage Strategy and Field Work**

In 2006 Hokotehi was in the midst of Treaty of Waitangi negotiations with the Crown (New Zealand government). This process for any tribal entity is lengthy and arduous. Our claims had been heard in a Tribunal (1994) and reported on (2001) and, in theory, should have been relatively straightforward.

With hindsight, the Moriori claim deserved an early hearing in the Tribunal’s process, for it raised issues at the frontier of our modern government. A just conclusion to recent warfare was an issue squarely before Maori and the Governor when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, and the issue shed light on a major purpose of the Treaty: to ensure justice for all people.<sup>36</sup>

In order to have settlement negotiations it is important to be able to demonstrate affection for and knowledge of landscapes and traditions. If Crown land area was within known occupation places, for instance, then in theory it could be included in a settlement agreement. Hokotehi commenced the documentation of these landscapes with a heritage strategy (May 2006) that outlined steps needed for recording archaeological and traditional evidence. The strategy notes that work done prior to that time had not been research-based and so many of the assumptions about the way that Moriori lived on the islands would need to be reviewed.

Immediately following development of the strategy we started recording evidence in the landscapes. Much of the main island and about one third of the smaller island, Rangihau, was walked over and recorded. Recording was simply through photographs, GPS data and field notes. The recording team consisted of an archaeologist and several elders and, on Rangihau, the whole island community (see Appendix E). The methods were basic, not particularly robust but they were helping build a platform for work to come. In these months we were exploring other ways of enhancing our recording work. Discussions with other indigenous communities facing similar resource and heritage management problems led to the TKRP connection. Digital recording was a natural fit with the way we had been

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<sup>36</sup> Presiding Officer E. Durie (2001) *A Report on Moriori and Ngāti Mutunga Claims in the Chatham Islands*. Waitangi Tribunal.

evolving methodology and relatively easy to adapt (equipment failings notwithstanding). We also considered adapting the I-tracker system<sup>37</sup> used in Australia's northern territory for indigenous resource management purposes but found the TKRP system more suitable at that stage.

As field work progressed so too did our connection with IPinCH. The next stages that emerged after the case study was approved were the development of the youth training component. This was one of the core elements of TKRP and, obviously, a vital aspect of passing on this knowledge for Moriori. As the TKRP developer, Victor Steffensen, noted; *"when the young ones are behind the cameras recording elders they are listening and listening without interruption or distraction."*

IPinCH funding assisted with running youth workshops, in 2010, at Kōpinga Marae on museums accession and *taonga* recording, digital recording and preservation of images. Outcomes included the development of our own museum accession system, training in digital technology, a youth mentors database, and deeper connections with elders and with attendee ancestral homelands. Outcomes are discussed in more detail in the Discussion section.

## DISCUSSION

In the process of assessing our case study work and its outcomes, clusters of inter-connected themes became apparent. This section explores these themes in more detail and concludes with thoughts on how we have addressed the IPinCH goals and research themes.

### Defining Terms – Where We Stand on Words and Meanings

In the midst of the many discussions we have had on this project terms such as IP and cultural heritage are used frequently. We decided that we needed to reflect on what we mean by them – and, most importantly, to make sure that we had common understandings. Prompts to do this came from the IPinCH mid-project conference in Vancouver in 2011, where it was clear that there were many different views on terminology amongst the IPinCH Case Study and Working Group members.

One of the main themes in this case study has been naming as a shaper of cultural identity. It seems, to us, that a project that aims to explore intellectual property issues in cultural heritage should be explicit about what those words mean. We know that 'IP' has a precise legal definition, especially as it relates to trade-marks and patents etc. We are also aware that the IPinCH project has set out definitions as well:

**Intellectual Property** refers to both the tangible elements of culture such as artefacts, archaeological sites, and human remains as well as the intangible cultural components including songs, language and oral histories, religion, imagery, spirituality and connection to the landscape. In an archaeological context, intellectual property refers to the subsequent issues of

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<sup>37</sup> <http://nailsma.org.au/hub/programs/i-tracker>



ownership over the past and the rights to determine the way in which cultural knowledge is acquired, interpreted and shared.<sup>38</sup>

**Cultural Heritage** refers to both tangible and intangible aspects of culture that contribute to the formation of identity. As described by UNESCO, heritage is “our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations.”<sup>39</sup>

We like these definitions and our philosophy is similar. They connect with our approaches to work. During our IPinCH Mid-term Conference workshops in Vancouver in 2011 we were drawn to some of the expressions of culture that other case studies espoused. One expression that had particular resonance was the teaching embedded in the words of Bobtail, the trickster: “*Tradition means giving votes to the most obscure of all classes, our ancestors. It is the democracy of the dead. Tradition refuses to submit to the small and arrogant oligarchy of those who merely happen to be walking about.*”<sup>40</sup> What surprised some of us though, is that we changed some of our ideas about some terminology as the case study developed.

The philosophical stance that has not changed is the notion that nature and culture are intertwined in a non-binary fashion. There are dangers in defining notions of “culture” in a narrow or binary sense, i.e., as one dimension of a split between two realities: nature and culture. Moriori *tchakat henu* knowledge of how the land was and is lived in is very much based on the notion that culture and nature are inextricably woven together. “Culture” is not an outsider ideology. It is a word used to denote a way of living and knowing and is something we should all be able to relate to, or at least respect. Cultural heritage is also a notion that is not confined to the past. Cultural heritage protection is based on sustainable land management practices and affection for place.

Cultural heritage is your DNA, your inheritance, your gift to future generations but culture is also, simply, what you “do.” “Culture is a code of conduct—we need to be able to join the dots in all that we do to make sure it fits within the code.”<sup>41</sup> It has to be an expression of behaviour as well as beliefs. It is an expression of shared attitudes, values, goals, practices and philosophy (identity). Simply put, culture is a word that describes the imperatives of *tchiekitanga*, or notions of guardianship. Culture is an imperative for action, for “walking the talk.” It encompasses the ideas of continuity of cultural traditions and values, as well as a demonstration of human relationships with the environment that have been carefully forged over time. We are grateful for the wisdom of the Northwest Coast artist and carver Dempsey Bob<sup>42</sup> for this notion. His philosophy, shared on several occasions during art workshops in New Zealand and Hawaii over the last eight years or so, expresses what culture means so eloquently. Dempsey says: “identity is what you believe in; culture is what you do.” These thoughts were echoed by

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<sup>38</sup> [www.sfu.ca/ipinch/node/884](http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/node/884)

<sup>39</sup> [www.sfu.ca/ipinch/node/885](http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/node/885)

<sup>40</sup> See the account of Bobtail, the Monacan trickster in Napoleon (2009).

<sup>41</sup> Moriori Cultural Database Case study interviewee.

<sup>42</sup> From British Columbia, Canada, ofTahltan and Tlingit ancestry; see <http://www.dempseybob.com/>

our Hopi colleagues at the Me Rongo Congress. Hopi elder, EJ Satala, says that “there are two ways to be: Hopi and not Hopi (ka Hopi). To be Hopi you have to live up to what you are.”<sup>43</sup>

What has changed, however, are our thoughts on using the word “ownership.” In a project that is based on the open and generous sharing of knowledge it was a term that did not seem to “fit.” Initially it was a term we avoided using. But, if we believe that “intellectual property” is, like “cultural heritage”, something that can be inherited, possessed for a time, and passed on, then the ability to transmit this knowledge *is* “ownership”—in a collective sense. We think it is vital to stress that these are not individual rights. If you have had knowledge passed to you and you, in turn, have the ability and desire to pass it to others, then you have ownership.

We need to stress though that this notion is dependent on transmission with integrity and respect. The requirement to observe proper process is the same for Moriori as it is for others. In fact, we need to ensure our obligations as caretakers are fulfilled before we can obtain rights. Perhaps the term is also interchangeable with “control.” We have not used the word in the economic sense but in the context of *tchieki*—respect/responsibility/relationship. Because of difficulties caused in the process of translation, it is likely that neither ownership nor control are the right words. What we want to do is convey a sense that when talking about cultural heritage and traditional knowledge we have to have a more powerful sentiment than control—more a sense of **belonging**, attendant with **responsibility**. People belong to the knowledge, and knowledge belongs to the people. If you have knowledge handed to you, then it is also likely that it is because trust exists. The corollary of this is that some knowledge would not necessarily be available to all. Manifestation of traditional “ownership” of landscapes and knowledge of them is typically manifested through rights to be asked. But when rights have been taken away, what are the effects then on ownership, control and belonging? This notion can and should be extended to the ways that we live with the environment. In our thinking, people belong to the land and not the other way around. Our name for describing tribal identity, *tchakat henu*, literally means this. If you can call yourself *tchakat henu* then you belong to this land.

So, how does this fit in a project that is based on the sharing and recording of knowledge? We have found that the dynamics and protocols around knowledge transmission change when the holders of knowledge diminish in numbers and when cultural continuity is unable to be practiced with vigour. Moriori culture was in such a diminished state after 1836 that traditions as important as tree carving, and rituals involving *karakii* and *rongo* were only remembered by a few. Hirawanu Tapu worked with local resident Alexander Shand<sup>44</sup> to try to document language and traditions before they were lost: “to save the ancient thought from silence” (King 1989: 136). Since Tapu’s time, the inability to have control over lands, language, resources and stories nearly saw the destruction of Moriori culture and identity.

I especially wished to commune with Hirioana (sic) Tapu, the last chief of the tribe, and the only reliable source of information now accessible as he is getting old and no-one conversant with

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<sup>43</sup> EJ Satala. “Identity Presentation.” Me Rongo Congress, Nov 2011. *Congress Proceedings*, p. 33.

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Shand was an interpreter, local farmer and son of the island’s first magistrate, Archibald Shand.

the old songs, legends, etc. will be in existence when he has left us (Edward Tregear (1889), cited in King 1989: 141).

The imperative to share and share openly is as strong now (or perhaps even stronger) as it was when Tapu worked so hard to document his cultural traditions.

### **The Unconditional Gift – *Tāpae Iarohahu***

One of the core strands of the TKRP philosophy is that it is premised on the notion of a gift; the ethic of reciprocity. The software and training were gifted to us—the first indigenous community outside Australia to receive it—and the understanding was that we would in turn gift our experience and skills to other groups.

This idea of the “gift” has become an important strand in the case study work. Elders have generously gifted their time and wisdom. Collaborative partners and colleagues have become part of the Hokotehi family through the gifting of time and expertise. Gifts have come to us in surprising ways. Hokotehi has a connection to the Aotearoa New Zealand Peace and Conflict Trust and the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Otago University, through Maui Solomon.<sup>45</sup> In 2007, New Zealand artist and sculptor Kingsley Baird<sup>46</sup> contacted Maui to say that he wanted to give him a sculpture (in stele form) of Maui’s grandfather, Tame Horomona Rehe (Tommy Solomon). This generous gift was made all the more moving because of Baird’s interest in art works related to peace making. Maui, in turn, has given the sculpture, on loan, to the Peace Centre at Otago University and eventually it will be returned for permanent display on Rēkohu. This is important—not just for the gift of this work of art—but also for the sentiment entwined in the gift and loan. It is *iarohahu* in action.

We have observed too that this reciprocity is at the heart of collaborative research projects such as the three Ph.D. projects associated with Hokotehi and Rēkohu. The three researchers (Justin Maxwell, Tina Makereti and Robin Atherton) have become part of our wider family and constantly give back to us in ways not connected with their research. Whilst it is true we have helped them, the ways they have responded have been unconditional. Tina and Robin attended one of our 2010 workshops and also the Me Rongo Congress. Justin attended Me Rongo as the official photographer and IT fixer. Robin carried out short interviews with all attendees, using the flip-cam, giving us a valuable record of attendee responses. Tina attended as a presenter on the “Identity Panel,” and also to run a writer’s workshop. Justin is an on-call adviser for the design and construction of protective wind breaks and planting for the kōpi groves.

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<sup>45</sup> Maui Solomon is co-chair of the Aotearoa New Zealand Peace Trust, which supports financially and morally the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.kingsleybaird.com/>

The Me Rongo Peace Congress was inspiring and motivating. It provided a forum to discuss many important issues and share projects and perspectives, while also highlighting the unique heritage of Moriori and Rēkohu. We enjoyed the immense *manaakitanga*—welcome, nurturing and superior organisation—of the *tangata whenua* at Kōpinga *marae*. For me a highlight was to see people of all ages, particularly the local and visiting children, learning new things and making creative work through the workshops. Traveling on the island while Maui talked about particular sites was also a privilege. I would love to see this happen again on a regular basis, and I think it is important for our cultural heritage that Me Rongo was/is supported.<sup>47</sup>

The notion of reciprocity and gifting is a powerful force for social organisation in Polynesia. Events and ritual are based on exchange and *koha* (gifting) that was traditionally resource based. Pacific culture was and in many cases still is sustained by reciprocity. Food resources are managed and shared in complex systems of exchange. Gifting works because it has momentum unlike commercial market exchange, which has an essential equilibrium. Our relationship with the natural world is based on a cycle of gifts. When this is not maintained, we find that we are “unable to enter gracefully into nature, unable to draw community out of the mass, and, finally, unable to receive, contribute toward, and pass along the collective treasures we refer to as culture and tradition” (Hyde 1983: 39-40). In a sense this relates to the definitions we were working towards with IP and cultural heritage—in both is the essential idea of gifting.

In Moriori language the word that best expresses reciprocal gifting is *iarohahu* (other examples from the Pacific include *aroha*, *aloha*, *aropa*, and *’ofa*). It is an active principle, one that has to be exercised to be effective. In our research into other examples of reciprocity we came across many examples of gifting traditions, the most comprehensive being from the small Polynesian island of Anuta.<sup>48</sup> The tiny island is the most densely populated region on Earth and has adapted *aropa* as a means of survival and sustainable management. The practice of daily gifting and exchange ensures the island’s resources are equally divided. It is not just an exercise of dividing resources; instead, it is based on compassion and collaboration. In ideal situations living and thriving on remote islands and in small community groups is entirely dependent on a culture of gifting and respectful reciprocity. Another Polynesian example comes from the islands of Tokelau. Resource sharing of fish on Tokelau calls for compassion and equitable sharing. A complex social support system of dividing and determining share groups known as *inati*, ensures that there is always enough food for all, and especially for those who are unable to get their own (elders and children)<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> Tina Makereti, pers. comm. Dec. 2011.

<sup>48</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anuta> ; also see Hollan and Throop 2011.

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.pacifichealthdialog.org.fj/Volume%2015/v15no1/Discussion%20Papers/Te%20Vaka%20Atafaga%20A%20Tokelau%20assessment%20model.pdf>

Implicit in gifting is faith. Faith that the gift will be respected and faith that it will be reciprocated. We consider that the ability for us to participate in the IPinCH project has been a gift from the project developers and one that we will attempt to honour with ongoing engagement with other case studies and post-IPinCH initiatives. Gifting and reciprocity are evocative of a culture of balance rather than one that attempts to control and dominate environmental resources.

In the tribal areas in which they lived, they knew every geographical landmark and tree, the gods who lived in them and protected them. And the chants that would appease those gods, particularly when a resource was about to be exploited. Hence the first fish taken would be left for the fish gods Tangaroa and Pou, in both propitiation and thanksgiving (King 1989: 35).

In the context of a modern research project, we think that the idea of reciprocity is not a difficult one to extend to research and scholarship. Research “contributions” for publication are freely given in the recognition that ideas and critical thinking are gifts that sustain the scientific community.

### **Cultural Landscapes**

Archaeological and cultural landscape recording is a fundamental aspect of this case study, and indeed, all our research work. It is also one of the three core elements of the TKRP recording system. That is, that recording “in country” is vital. “Cultural landscapes” as a theme emerged frequently during interviews and field work. It is important because of its regular recurrence and also because this is the way we wish to work. The IPinCH case study has given us the opportunity to think more deeply about “place” and cultural identity. Our reflective thinking has also been a response to ways that recording was carried out in the past on our islands.

The term “landscape” is used to stress the importance of heritage recording and research in an inter-connected way that respects and connects physical features in a spatial and temporal sense. A landscape assessment approach that looks at relationships between areas of physical evidence is more valid than an attempt to understand isolated areas of evidence, especially when the isolated areas of evidence have been damaged. The idea of landscape expressed here means the way environment is perceived. The difference between reality and perception is created by the viewer’s responses, knowledge, experience, beliefs and biases about a place. Landscapes can be sources of assurance and pleasure—settings that show the affective bond between people and place. Heritage, or cultural, landscapes are places “where human relationships with the natural environment over time define their essential character.... the emphasis is on human history, continuity of cultural traditions, and social values and aspirations” (Mitchell & Buggiey 2000:35). Landscapes are culturally regulated spaces according to ritual, conduct, traditional practices—so are shaped by use, habit, function and belonging. They are not just places where physical acts are carried out (hunting, burials, cultivations, settlement). Landscapes are also shaped by cosmologies, stories and symbolism, as well as through life and living, contributing to a profound sense of place and space. A sense of place is a notion that means a place is

not merely the sum of its parts. It clearly implies that a greater quality comes out of the combined values.

Again, Tilley's work on the phenomenology of landscape follows the thread we have been weaving into our research:

Precisely because locales and their landscapes are drawn on in the day-to-day lives and encounters of individuals they possess powers. The spirit of a place may be held to reside in a landscape. Familiarity with the land, being able to read and decode its signs allows individuals to know "how to go on" at a practical level of consciousness or one that may be discursively formulated. People routinely draw on their stocks of knowledge of the landscape and the locales in which they act to give meaning, assurance and significance to their lives. The place acts dialectically so as to create the people who are of that place. These qualities of locales and landscapes give rise to a feeling of belonging and rootedness and a familiarity, which is not born just out of knowledge but of *concern* that provides ontological security. They give rise to the power to act and a power to relate that is both liberating and productive (Tilley 1994: 26)

The limitations of carrying out survey work that is separate from local indigenous knowledge became apparent in the Moriori cultural survey work started in 2006. Until this work was begun, archaeological work had been concentrated on the northern and eastern coasts of Rēkohu, probably a reflection of the interest in the easily identifiable and accessible coastal middens. In the 1960s and 1970s, archaeological field surveys under the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) Site Recording Scheme<sup>50</sup> recorded 738 sites on Rēkohu (Simmons 1964; Sutton 1977). An analysis of the records shows over three-quarters of them to be midden sites, along with burial places, petroglyph and dendroglyph sites, and places where artifacts were discovered. One of the main problems with this manner of recording is that the surviving physical evidence has directed the scientific priorities, without cognisance of the relationships amongst these places.

There was no sense, in this older work, of the links among heritage landscapes, and no thought given to the inclusion of Moriori voices or knowledge, leading to a restricted interpretation of physical evidence. Moriori were characterised as being transitory, highly mobile occupants with a dependence on harvest from the sea and coast and lack of any horticultural traditions. The Hokotehi cultural database work immediately raised questions about how our people had lived on the islands, most of which had not been answered in earlier archaeological work.

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<sup>50</sup> NZAA Site Recording Scheme is a record of places where archaeological evidence has been recorded. This is important because it is not a record of where evidence exists—only where work has been observed. It is a site-based database that contains over 55,000 records throughout New Zealand and approximately 800 in Rēkohu. The records are maintained on a voluntary basis with a central index (CINZAS) maintained through the NZAA.

The evidential bias in previous archaeological studies (i.e., the reliance on surface physical evidence) has had some detrimental effects for Moriori. Minimal evidence was used for an interpretation of settlement that painted a picture of minimal occupation, or worse, a lack of specialness or attachment to landscape. Middens characterised the occupation record. The evidential style of recording is structured around the archival record, by which we mean a convention of accumulating a paper record. The Hokotehi cultural database aims to build a record that is regularly refreshed and reflected upon—a cyclical process as opposed to a linear one.

Our case study field work was a form of archaeology without paternalism. Recording has been responsive to environmental indicators such as landscape change brought about by changes in ecology, vegetation and erosion. Recording was responsive to memory about previous landscape use and character as well as being responsive to memory of ancestral traditions and naming. This style of working proved to be illuminating in terms of quickly locating and recording evidence and refreshing knowledge of associative information—memories of past events, and uses of land and resources. Outputs from the landscape field work include the evolving cultural database, additional archaeological sites/landscapes and a report on customary fisheries, which was able to be generated partly from the TKRP interview data. Our case study aimed to define Moriori settlement in Moriori terms, which reflect the deep attachment to and affection for the islands. Hokotehi recording uses a method that prompts the description of a range of aspects of a heritage landscape:

- What can be physically observed;
- Recording conditions (weather, season, landscape use, landscape change);
- References to archival information about the place; and
- How accurate is the information above and how this may be tested. This is done by drawing out reflections from elders and land-users about traditional uses of and events associated with the area and accuracy of names.

A landscape approach is primarily about knowledge of the land and the ways it has been, and is being, cared for, understood and lived in. When recording has been carried out using all the available layers of knowledge in a landscape in a context that looks at connections and relationships amongst and between physical evidence, the ability to understand how the land was previously lived in is enhanced. This enables a heritage management system that moves beyond simply recording and protecting areas of surface evidence to managing, using and protecting all the values of a place. This shift in thinking, initiated by Hokotehi, means that management priorities are now decided by Moriori, and information about these places is retained on the island for the benefit of the local community, as well as for wider research opportunities. This shift is assertively Indigenous, and yet deeply respectful of the notion of a collective history on the islands and the need to have collective layers of knowledge about place.

In our case study work we feel we have only just touched the surface of how landscapes and the inhabitation of landscapes have evolved. The notion of “country” as landscapes is referred to by



Aboriginal tribes who see landscapes in the same way as a living relative. “Place” is a lived experience and is referred to, talked to and experienced as if it were a person. We have found in our interview work that, ancestral places of connection seem to be more important than places of birth or places of upbringing. It is common for modern Moriori to be raised away from traditional homelands on Rēkohu and yet it seems that for most that it is the ancestral connection that prevails.

We are attracted by the term “country” as a word for defining how we feel about landscapes. Deborah Bird Rose (1996) describes country as “nourishing terrains”—places that give and receive life. She also notes that country is also used as a proper noun—felt of and spoken of as a person. Our many interviewees also refer to its ability to provide spiritual nourishment.

Understanding about culture and people from an intellectual perspective gleaned mostly from books is one thing, but to experience and feel it first hand is quite another. It was not until I walked the land of my ancestors for the first time in 1984 and experienced a spiritual re-awakening, did I really begin to understand what it meant to be Moriori. Although the physical landscape of Manukau had changed dramatically since before the arrival of outsiders to Rēkohu, the land still spoke to me of its pain and longing. And of the collective memories of my ancestors, who had lived, loved, laughed and died on this land for centuries before. It was proof to me that the land retains a memory of sorts that can be transferred in some spiritually osmotic way to a sensitive listener. It is the only place where I feel truly at peace.<sup>51</sup>

A traditional example of referring to ways to respond to environment in a personal sense can be seen in the Moriori calendar—a unique and complex arrangement of 12 months in a 12-year cycle. The calendar is said to be based on an extinct plant (Arapuhi) with 12 branches that grew only in one place, at Hawaruwaru on Rēkohu. The months were referred to as people, always contesting for precedence to commence their season, which would be announced after certain seasonal and environmental signs were observed.

This sort of response—appreciating the phenomenology of landscape—was common amongst most people involved in our case study. It became evident too in our work that the most important places in landscape are not necessarily those where physical evidence is obvious. In this context, archaeologists need to be mindful of places where material evidence is not found. This is even more important in a Pacific Island context where the open space (*rae, marae*) is the most sacred and important part of any social unit. Space, as Tilley argues, is socially produced and constructed:

A centred and meaningful space involves specific sets of linkages between the physical space of the non-humanly created world, somatic states of the body, the mental space of cognition and representation and the space of movement, encounter and interaction between persons and between persons and the human and non-human environment (Tilley 1994: 10).

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<sup>51</sup> Moriori Cultural Database Case study interviewee.



Case study interviews affirm understanding landscape is a completely socialised notion. Again, the eloquence of Rose (1996: 13) is apt: “knowledge – local, detailed and tested through time is the basis for being in country.” As one case study interviewee noted: “when you can see certain islands it means that the wind will soon turn to the north and the sea will get murky for the next few days.” These sorts of observations are vital for living safely on remote islands surrounded by cold ocean. It may also seem an obvious connection but the point to stress is that these connections have not been drawn before in the archaeological work on Rēkohu.

Landscapes in our world also include sea, sky and star-scapes. These islands are not just isolated terrestrial landscapes. The ocean amongst and around the islands is lined with routes, sea journeys, gathering and fishing places, linked in one conceptual whole of resource use. This is seen in the reverence and ritual associated with the sea and its guardians. In a sense too, the sea tracks, tides and currents were also domesticated places—familiar and farmed.

In the early stages of field work we considered developing a predictive modelling<sup>52</sup> framework as a tool for environmental and heritage decision making. But we quickly found that there were constraints in the tool, mainly because of the way archaeology had been recorded here in the past. The TKRP approach quickly superseded this because of its flexibility and its responsiveness. However, we have been experimenting with mapping places using traditional knowledge as a possible tool for better resource and heritage management. Mapping practices are never value free. Often maps are powerful colonising tools, so why not make our own? Mapping from a Moriori view reclassifies the land and its values. Cultural mapping or counter-mapping<sup>53</sup> is highly participatory. It is also a great starting point for emerging environmental governance or stewardship (*tchiekitanga*) and indigenous identity building.

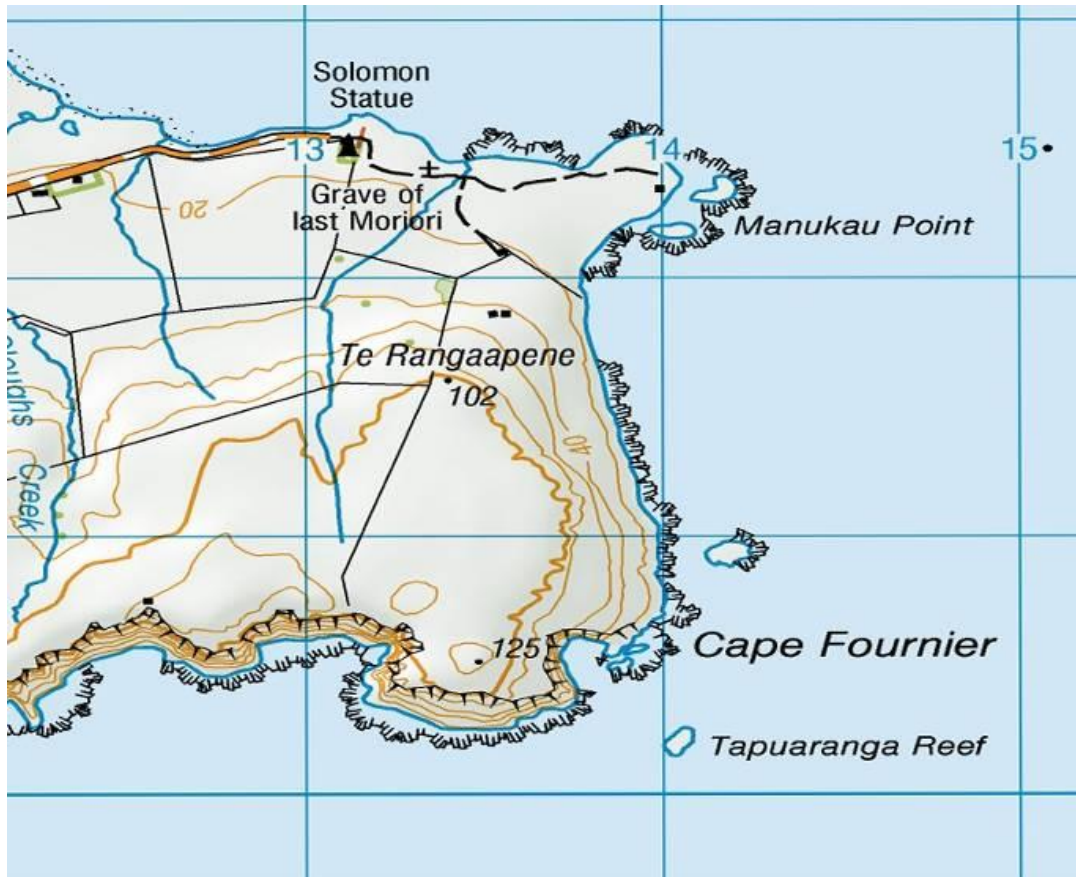
The two maps below are of an important sacred place for Moriori—Manukau Peninsula. *Manukau* means many birds and was undoubtedly a place rich in forest and sea resources.

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<sup>52</sup> Modelling distribution and density of archaeological evidence in a landscape, usually by correlating archaeological distribution with environmental variables (David and Thomas 2008: 557).

<sup>53</sup> The term “counter-mapping” was coined by Nancy Peluso in 1995 to describe the commissioning of maps by forest users in Kalimantan as a means of contesting state maps of forests that typically undermined indigenous interests.

**Map 1 (1981)** is the government map series topographic map. It shows several reefs, names the prominent Cape with a modern English name and shows modern farm boundaries. Its only references to Moriori are the name for a hill (spelt incorrectly) and the mark of Tame Horomona-Rehe's grave site — consigning, in those few words “grave of last Moriori,” a people to extinction. Moriori knowledge is subjugated, at best.





Kara o Taku Tama. The south-eastern points are Te Karaoa and Tupourangi (Cape Fournier). Along the crest of the Manukau hill on the edge of the 200 m high cliffs is a flat called Kakautawhara.”<sup>54</sup>

## Naming and Identity

In our work alongside other indigenous communities struggling to revive culture and identity (especially those that have few or no fluent speakers alive), we have recognised some common strands. These include:

1. The need to assert control over naming (particularly of landscapes and places) and autonomy in the manner in which research is carried out (through use of ethical principles and practice). These are the first steps in reclaiming history and heritage; and
2. The search for innovation in the way heritage is recorded, often resulting in pushing aside existing forms, templates and recording methodology in favour of a more pared down approach—one that involves story-telling as a connector of people to place; one that is intergenerational and one that is carried out in the landscape.

We have talked here about the comparative silence of Moriori voices in heritage records. In response to this, our recording work now is centred on the words, names and memories of our elders. Naming and knowledge of place is known to be strongly connected to retention of guardianship roles and duties—“a sense of place.” As the Manukau map examples above indicate, the re-naming of places or the deletion of names have effects on culture and identity. Place names are of vital significance because they transform the physical/geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced (Tilley 1994: 18). Names are signifiers and, obviously, locational devices but they also serve to mark out belonging and connections. Again, this theme was one of the most commonly discussed in the case study work—“place names tell a story. If you don’t stick to the original place names you don’t know the story.”<sup>55</sup>

We are finding an increasing diminishment of Moriori names on maps and signage and a corresponding lack of regard for values of certain places, signified by their naming. Even as early as the 1870, Land Court maps often used Māori names instead. It is a truism that when connections to land and land use are diminished or damaged there is often a corresponding degradation of ecological and sacred systems. One does not follow the other sequentially—they are inter-connected. Changes to the balance of Rēkohu and Moriori landscapes after the arrival of sealers and whalers (1790s), the later Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama invasion (1835), and the Māori Land Court decision (1870) have alienated Moriori access to sacred places, duty of care, and the practice of traditional knowledge.

If we accept that archaeology is about exploring the material expression of identity, then it is important to get it right for fear of causing future harm to identity data. In previous reports and presentations we

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<sup>54</sup> Hokotehi Cultural Database Literature Review, 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Moriori Cultural Database Case study interview



have referred to a notion of cultural or archaeological illiteracy. Because Moriori voices and views are virtually silent or missing in recording prior to the case study work, some places have been mis-read. If traditional knowledge has not informed interpretation or research, it is possible, or even probable, that signs of settlement may be invisible to the archaeological eye.

A further matter that often recurs in the case study work is the distress that we feel about the “state of our place” today. Sometimes it is hard to show visitors around the island because many of the landscapes are in distress. There are signs that those who have come after us have not loved or looked after this place, though they have taken and been made wealthy from its rich sea and soil. We feel that, in the context of this report, we need to be upfront about the scale and the speed of ecological degradation on the island. Moriori traditions have not been maintained, except perhaps by people like Tom Lanauze. There is a modern consciousness amongst some islanders to care for these lands, but mostly that is expressed in the way that the landscapes are seen today, which is very different to the way they were in the early 1800s and before. These islands are significantly changed by over-fishing, farming, exotic species introductions and neglect. What we have been attempting to do in this case study is to grow a new consciousness and new enthusiasm for caring for these islands. Recording traditional knowledge has been a major factor in this work.

In the past 30 years or so I have heard people say we were conquered; that we don’t exist—but despite this we have come back and are starting to build our cultural and economic footprint. I am motivated by the point of higher evolution that my ancestors reached in deciding to forego killing. That is something big to be inspired by.<sup>56</sup>



**Figure 8. Aerial view of Kōpinga shortly before the opening in 2005.**

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<sup>56</sup> Moriori Cultural Database Case study interview.

There is probably no stronger statement about Moriori revival and identity than our *marae*—Kōpinga.<sup>57</sup> The *marae* has been the main venue for all case study activities, including the workshops; museum accession development; hosting of guests and research partners; and the place for important events such as the blessing for the World March for Peace and Non-Violence (September 2009); launch of the School Journals (March 2010), and the Me Rongo Congress (November 2011).

Kōpinga embodies the standard set by our ancestors but because of our belief in inclusivity it strikes a chord inside all who enter. It is first of all to honour the ancestors but it is also intended to be a universal place of belonging.<sup>58</sup>

If we tell our own stories, problems with cultural illiteracy diminish. Moriori identity stories are not easily found. Like the gaps in our cultural lexicon, there are no stories by Moriori in libraries, apart from the petitions to the New Zealand government in the 1860s. The trend is slowly changing. When Moriori invited historian Michael King to write his award winning book, it was a major breakthrough in affirming (and even finding) cultural identity. The recent *School Journals* were also a profound step in reclaiming our own stories; telling Moriori stories with our own voices. Two of these stories contain very moving accounts of Moriori cultural identity. One, “Three Days at Te Awapatiki” by Kiwa Hammond,<sup>59</sup> is a moving account of the debate that our ancestors went through before reaching their decision affirming the peace covenant:

The talk continued for one more night, and by the next day, the elders had prevailed. It was agreed that our people would not attack the new arrivals. Instead, we would share our food and land with them. We were unsure of what was to come. Nevertheless, we were certain of one thing: we would remain true to the ancient law of peace.

The second story,<sup>60</sup> also by Hammond, tells of his ancestor’s flight from the island after the invasion and subsequent adoption by a Māori chief in New Zealand. This was the first time that the story of escape and survival was told outside the family.

We are now fortunate to have a new novel, *Where the Rēkohu Bone Sings*, published in 2013 by PhD student Tina Makereti, based on her search for Moriori identity. Tina herself notes the paucity of Moriori identity stories and that the erroneous stories on Moriori origins and allusions to the peace tradition as a sign of weakness persist. As recently as 1999, writer Jared Diamond described Moriori as “lacking in strong leadership or organisation.” His words, unchecked and unsubstantiated with references or truth, ensure that the mythology that justified colonisation persisted (Makereti Dahlberg 2013:12-13).

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<sup>57</sup> Kōpinga has been designed using modern technology inspired by traditional values and concepts. The aerial view of the *marae* shows the shape of the buildings which resemble the sacred symbols of both the *hopo* and a *rākau momori* carving.

<sup>58</sup> Moriori Cultural Database Case study interviewee.

<sup>59</sup> Hammond, K. 2010 *School Journal* part 4, No. 3 pp 12-19 .

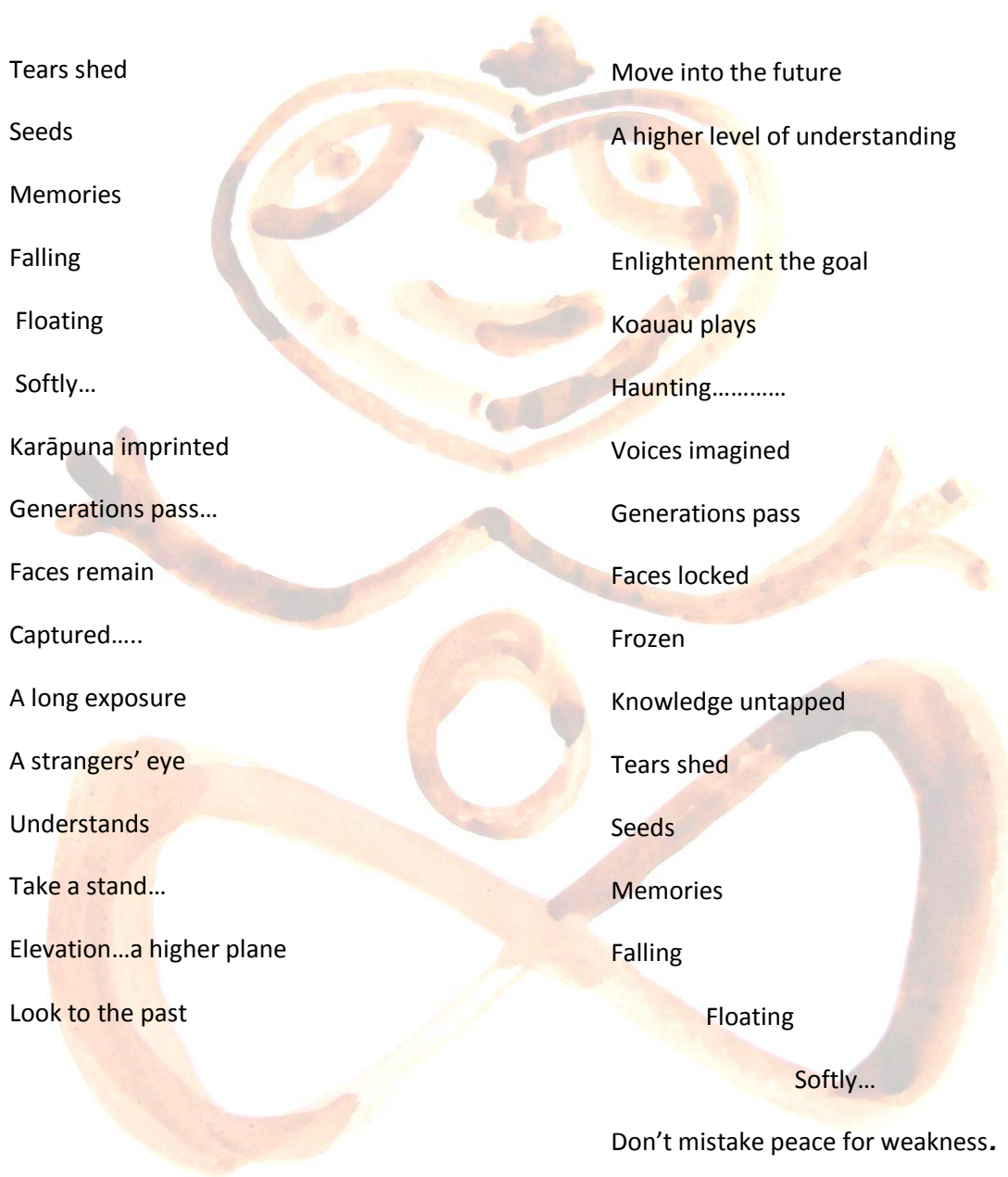
<sup>60</sup> Hammond, K. 2010 *School Journal* Part 3, No. 3 pp 18-25.

During one of the case study workshops, Gavin Reedy, a staff member from Te Papa who was there to support our digital imaging workshops, gave us a gift of a poem. He inscribed it: “I wrote this poem captured by what one visitor called the cathedral-like quality of the kōpi grove (Hāpūpu). It is hard to put into words sometimes how you feel or what goes through your mind when you encounter certain situations but I was lucky I was sent some words to describe the day.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Gavin Reedy, pers. comm. 18 November 2010

*Kōpi* by Gavin Reedy



Other responses that this case study has helped generate, with regard to being able to tell our own stories, include the Pataka exhibition “Moriōri – People of the Land.”<sup>62</sup> The Pataka exhibition includes contemporary story boards based on interviews with Moriōri tribal members and was an attempt to bring our stories, fresh and vital to a wider public. The responses have been moving. Many visitors to the exhibition asked “why haven’t we learned about this history” and “the world could learn from this story.”

<sup>62</sup> This exhibition, curated by Bob Maysmor in association with Hokotehi, opened in 2010 and has been travelling to museums in New Zealand since.



A more recent outcome from the case study is the emerging Moriori vocabulary project. We are attempting to make a basic Moriori dictionary with translations into Māori and English available to members by the end of 2015. The research for this was carried out by David Simmons based on his extensive research of archives from the 1800s. We are indebted to him for his diligence and *iarohahu*. Other vocabulary sources include comprehensive work by Moriori member Denise Davis.

The final word on this theme should possibly go to the first word. Moriori have an autochthonous tradition related to settlement of these islands. When later arrivals came to the island, they found the descendants of Rongomaiwhenua here and asked, “Where are you from?” The answer, “ko ro whenua ake,” said it all. We are of this place. Autochthony refers, literally, to “springing from the earth.” Settlement in the Pacific, and elsewhere<sup>63</sup> commonly starts with an autochthonous traditions followed by waves of settlement by “others.” The importance of this tradition ensures that there is a tradition that says “we have always been here.”

### Rākau Momori – Sacred Groves

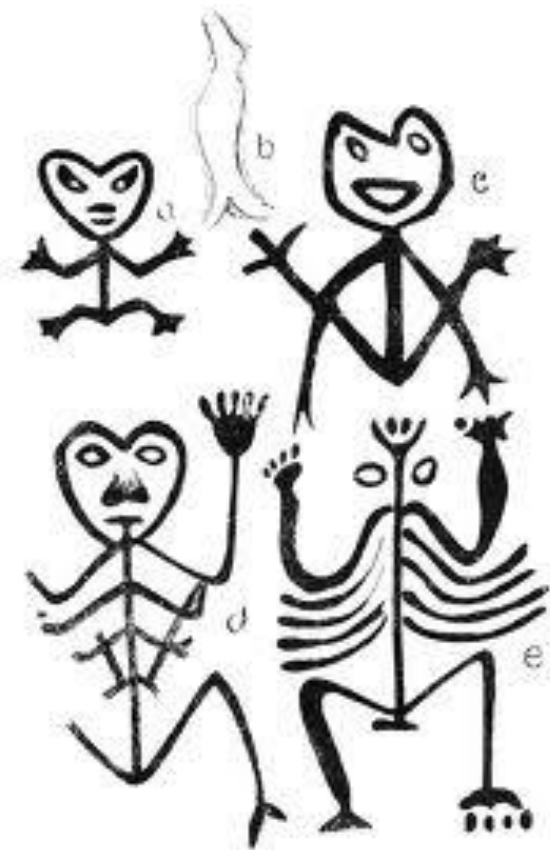


Figure 10. Sketch of *rākau momori*, 1901.

Landscapes on the island also have another dimension—the *rākau momori*<sup>64</sup> are both marked landscapes and makers of landscapes—places of reflection and also places where ancestral portraits are reflected back to the visitor.

*Rākau momori* is a modern Moriori term for ‘memorial trees’, the living tree carvings unique to Moriori and unique to our islands. At one time the tree carvings in the groves literally peopled the island. Now we have about 160 left and all are threatened by ecological decline. Saving the carvings and *kōpi* trees has also been a major theme in the case study work. It has now become a major project for Hokotehi and focal point for our cultural database work. They are the most sacred places for Moriori.

We are still not precisely certain just how these living tree carvings were done: how they were done so as to remain “legible” for the life of the tree without harming the tree; how to incise an image that grows with the tree, without undue

distortion. One early Pākehā visitor to the island assumed they were markers of territory and ownership—guarding the precious *kōpi* resources, surmising that the carvings had arisen “out of

<sup>63</sup> Such as our Hopi friends in Arizona, who know their origins are of the earth where they reside.

<sup>64</sup> The *rākau momori* in Figure 10 were collated by Dendy [NZ Inst. Transactions 34, 1901: Pl. V, cited in Jefferson 1955: Plate N].

conflicting claims to the possession of the valuable karaka-trees<sup>65</sup>, the fruit of which was a staple and much liked article of food...nearly all the older karaka-trees on the island are marked with devices indicating their special ownership—a fact of very great interest.”<sup>66</sup> Interesting yes, but factual no.

The carvings are complex and diverse portrayals of ancestors, valued natural resources and cultural events—many of them memorials for departed loved ones. We believe 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. *Kōpi*, a glossy leaved evergreen subtropical tree, evolved in the paleotropics and became native to our coasts in an early ice age dispersal. Given that it is also believed to have been brought to New Zealand and Rēkohu by early Polynesian settlers, the carvings become a literal as well as metaphorical connection to the ancient homelands. These places are very tapu and are used for inspiration, communication, meditation and reflection.



Figure 11. *Rākau momori* carving.

I hope that my ancestors found peace of mind in their time on these islands. If their art in the *rākau momori* is anything to go by then I think they did—it has such joy; such immediacy with the natural world.<sup>67</sup>

There are examples of tree marking in New Zealand and elsewhere. In the Hamilton paper (1903), there is a reference to an observation of Reverend R. Taylor<sup>68</sup> on the marking of sacred trees by

<sup>65</sup> Called *Kōpi* by Moriori and *karaka* by Māori (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*). In temperate conditions the trees survive only in coastal habitats through human intervention. The trees require wind and frost shelter and thrive only in cleared groves. Essentially they were cultivated as a tree crop. They can grow to about 12 m high and may be able to live for as long as 600 years. The berries are eaten raw and dried, and the kernel inside can be processed into a cashew-flavoured farinacious substance, but only after careful processing because they contain a powerful neurotoxin – karakin.

<sup>66</sup> Travers 1868.

<sup>67</sup> Moriori Cultural Database Case study interviewee.

Māori with red paint or being bound round with garments. In Australia, scarification of tree bark is practiced, as well as incision.<sup>69</sup> Scar trees exist when bark was carefully removed for making canoes or tools or markers of significant places (including burials)—“scarred trees are our history books, but are also a manual for sustainable use of resources suited to the present day.”<sup>70</sup> Whilst it is likely that many cultures practiced carving into living trees, evidence only survives for the life of the tree. There are recorded examples from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries of Basque shepherd carvings into trees in Nevada and California.<sup>71</sup> Most of these are carved into aspen trees and appear as dark scars. In these examples, it is the tree that does the carving (or the final art form), rather than the person making the incision. In British Columbia, Canada, the Gitksan peoples carve totem-like figures into living trees (Blackstock 2001), and in Estonia there are examples of sacred groves with marked trees (Kõvupuu 2008).

Despite the international significance of the *rākau momori*, very few historic studies have been carried out—and almost all of these without reference to Moriori traditions. Between 1947 and 1956, Christina Jefferson began a catalogue of the trees in association with the Canterbury Museum. In this time she described 450 carvings (though she had recorded over 1,000), the findings of which were published in her 1955 paper in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>72</sup>

After long days in the open, days all lovely with sunshine, shadow and living things; after much search, much trial and much tribulation; after being stirred again and again by the discovery of carvings ever more astonishing, more outlandish and wholly unexpected, I arrived back in New Zealand with some sixty photographs, over two hundred finished drawings of the glyphs and copious notes. This work is the result of my observations and a summary of my findings.

In this work she loosely grouped the *rākau momori* into four categories:

1. Human figures. These are the most common form and show a wide variety of artistic styles, many of which incorporate a heart-shaped head, often with *kura* (feather) adornments and frequently with extended arms;
2. Zoomorphic images. Most of these are of fish and birds, as well as seals, seaweed and crayfish;
3. Trees, and;
4. Weapons and other objects.

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<sup>68</sup> *Te Ika a Maui*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p 20, cited in Hamilton 1903: 12.

<sup>69</sup> [http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/et\\_heridge1.pdf](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/Resources/Divisions/Academic/Library/Cultural%20Collections/pdf/et_heridge1.pdf)

<sup>70</sup> Stuart McFarlane, Manager RMIT Ngarara Willim Indigenous Centre, Melbourne,  
<http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/land/aboriginal-scarred-trees>

<sup>71</sup> [http://www.euskosare.org/komunitateak/ikertzaileak/ehmg/5/txostenak/mugaz\\_gaindi\\_2008\\_joxe\\_mallea](http://www.euskosare.org/komunitateak/ikertzaileak/ehmg/5/txostenak/mugaz_gaindi_2008_joxe_mallea) ; also Crawford (2005), Mallea-Olaetxe (2000).

<sup>72</sup> [http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume\\_64\\_1955/Volume\\_64,\\_No.\\_4/The\\_Dendroglyphs\\_of\\_the\\_Chatham\\_Islands,\\_by\\_Christina\\_Jefferson,\\_p\\_367-441/p1](http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_64_1955/Volume_64,_No._4/The_Dendroglyphs_of_the_Chatham_Islands,_by_Christina_Jefferson,_p_367-441/p1)

The human figure or portrait style carvings are the most numerous. They usually show whole body portraits in a frontal view (reminiscent of Polynesian carvings in the flat) with a heart-shaped or oval face showing eyes and mouth and usually a nose. The bodies are commonly depicted cross legged or squatting with arms, semi flexed in a raised pose. Faces are clear of markings (Moriōri did not wear *moko*) and have no protruding tongues. Decorations are confined to top-knotted hair and feather adornments. There is regional variation in portraits with some showing vertebrae and/or ribs. There are some schools of thought that say that vertebrae are representative of *hokopapa*—the notched spine showing generational relationships. Other examples of Moriōri carving also feature serrations or notches.

Jefferson's theory on carving techniques is that several different methods were used. The most common method is incision, leaving the bark in between features untouched. She describes a second method of etching, where the bark is removed and the figure is etched at various depths to show shadow. A third method, which she terms the cameo method, involves removing the bark in an oval shape and then carving the bare trunk of the tree. Some carvings use a combination of these techniques.

Prior to Jefferson's comprehensive study, other observations were made by Travers (1868), Shand (1894) in letters to S.P. Smith in the late 1800s, Dendy (1901), Hamilton (1903), and Skinner (1928). Sadly, Hamilton also notes that even at the time of his writing, a large number of marked trees had been cut down for museum displays. Trees are now known to be in collections at the British Museum, Otago Museum, Te Papa, Canterbury Museum and the Okains Bay Museum, Banks Peninsula and probably elsewhere.

In the 1960s, David Simmons carried out further recording of *rākau momori* and used his own numbering system to identify trees, painting the numbers on the bark in red or white paint. His survey work (1963-1964) recorded 300 carvings in the general location of Hāpūpu, which was then and is now the grove with the largest surviving concentration of *rākau momori*. Rhys Richards (1962, 2007) has documented the carvings; Stuart Park (1976) carried out a study of tree and cave glyphs, and then in the late 1980s Department of Conservation (DOC) staff carried out a photogrammetric study of the *rākau momori*. The Hāpūpu grove is land managed by DOC as a national historic reserve (one of only two in New Zealand) and has its own conservation management plan (2000<sup>73</sup>) which provides for removal of trees if necessary. The declining health of the grove has now necessitated a temporary closure, or *rāhui*, for urgent remedial work to proceed.

In 2010, a new digital recording project commenced as part of our cultural database work. In a collaborative project involving Hokotehi, DOC, the University of Otago and the National School of Surveying (Otago University) the *rākau momori* carvings on the island were recorded using hand held digital laser scanning. The result is a spectacular record of all surviving carvings to a level of detail which shows the underside of the bark as well as the carved side. Hokotehi regards these digital records as *taonga*. They are exact replicas of *karāpuna* (ancestors) and are therefore treated with great reverence. The scans are permanent records of carvings and trees that will one day die and

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<sup>73</sup> J. M. Barker (Hapupu)

National Historic Reserve, Conservation Management Plan. Department of Conservation 2000  
<http://www.doc.govt.nz/Documents/conservation/land-and-freshwater/land/hapupu-management-plan.pdf>



disappear, but they are also teaching tools and will play a vital part in the revival of the tree carving tradition, unique to Moriori.



Figure 12. Laser scanning *rākau momori*.

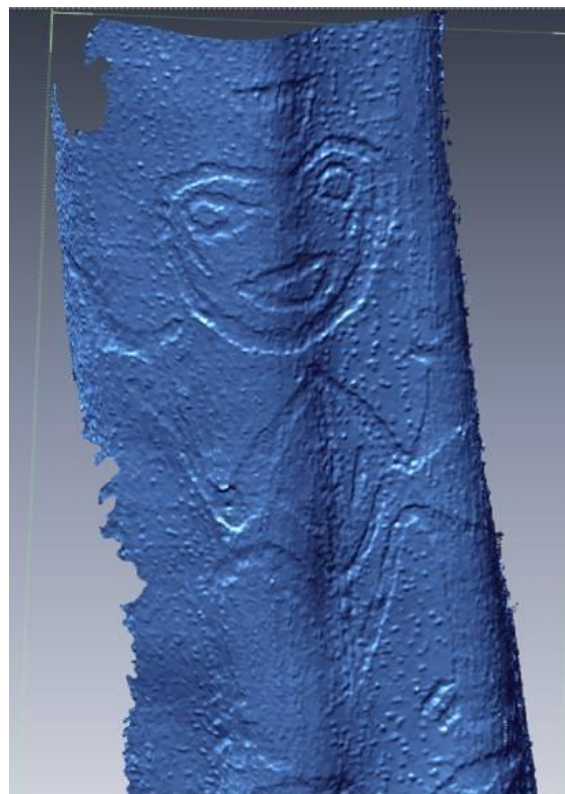


Figure 13. *Rākau momori* and laser scan (in blue).

The 2010 recording work showed that there were a significant number of dead and stressed trees with carvings. Maxwell noted that with the trend in decline at least half of these would be lost within the next five years. He also proposed that conservation methods had the potential to greatly improve the longevity of the remaining trees and carvings. The 2011 season of monitoring revealed that the optimism of the year before was unfounded, and more trees were dying or dead. Hokotehi removed one tree from Hāpūpu in 2010, and a further six, plus one from Pehenui, in May 2011 in order to preserve the remains of the carvings. IPinCH ethnographer, Alexis Buntun, was with us for the removal of the large Pehenui tree. Ten more trees were removed in February 2013 from Hāpūpu and another in August 2014. These 19 trees are being stored and treated at Kōpinga *marae* with assistance from conservators at the National Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa.



**Figure 14. Damaged *kōpi* tree.**

of the trees in the existing arbours and the area of forest that has been felled at dwelling-sites formerly used by the Moriori, the number of dendroglyphs...must have reached many thousands” (Jefferson 1956:51).

Soil and fungal samples were taken in November 2010 (at Hāpūpu) and analysed by pathologists at Landcare Research, Palmerston North. The results, released in May this year, show 100% presence of the pathogen *Phytophthora multivora/citricola*, which is a destructive pathogen responsible for

The comprehensive work on causes of loss done by Maxwell (2010) and Barber (2012) is worth citing extensively here:

The historical loss of mature *kōpi* and associated *rākau momori* is the result of several factors, including incidental and deliberate tree removal, the impacts of grazing and browsing animals, and wind exposure. In the first instance, land clearance for pastoral farming from the nineteenth century substantially reduced lowland *kōpi* forest cover on Rēkohu (Richards 1962). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cockayne (1904:278) referred to “those isolated groves of *Corynocarpus laevigata* which have been left in certain places when the remainder of the forest has been destroyed by human agency.” The impact of this process on carved trees was acknowledged over two decades later by Skinner and Baucke (1928: 345) who observed that “drawings [on trees] are rapidly being destroyed...by axe”. This pattern of destruction had become general by the mid-twentieth century as Jefferson observed: “Considering the decimation



tree die-back and blight and that happily attacks bark. In recent studies in Western Australia it was identified as the major cause of complex tree decline in eucalypt forests. It has also been implicated in New Zealand in *kawakawa* decline. Symptoms include crown die-back, bark disintegration and root rot. Basically the infection is permanent, so it is best treated by elimination, quarantine and good botanical hygiene.

Following damage to the canopy, foliage stress is manifest in dying branches, coppicing from base and damaged limbs, de-lamination of bark and fungal/pathogen invasion. When this occurs in trees where carvings are still in good condition, loss of bark and consequent loss of the carving is inevitable.



**Figure 15. Preparing tree for removal from the forest.**

Remedial work in the groves has become an emergency project for Hokotehi. In conjunction with the reserve land owners (the Department of Conservation), we are working on a range of remedial efforts including track re-routing, pruning and trial coppicing, and installation of viewing platforms. Next stages will include mulching and fertilising the forest floor. Sadly, some trees have had to be removed to save the carvings. This was a very hard decision to make. All of the remedial and removal work has been done in accordance with Moriori ritual and care. *Karakii* were said for each tree removed and a *hopo* feather and *kawakawa* leaf placed on the tree stump as a spiritual offering for each of the ancestors who had stood watch in the *kōpi* forest for the past few hundred years.

The sadness we feel is not just for the decline of the trees and loss of carvings but also in the knowledge that the survival of the trees was historically dependent on Moriori cultural continuity

and maintenance of the groves as gardens. They were dependent on protective shelter and regular care and maintenance. *Kōpi* gardening would have been an investment in land and forest productivity, as well as human survival. The carvings are celebrations of this.

The Moriori experience of life and landscape was objectified in living trees. They may also stabilise the memory of original homelands and cultural identity in the new lands as well as being lasting markers for sustaining relationships between people and landscapes. The carvings are like diary notes—markers of events in time.



**Figure 16. Rākau momori at Rotorua Reserve.**

In our research work we are beginning to explore the implications of the carvings as “signifiers.” In a sense the tree carvings have a totemic quality, by which we mean that there is a three-way relationship between viewer, landscape and carved image. Rose (1996:28) observes that a totemic relationship invariably requires that people take responsibility for their relationship with another species (in this case, the *kōpi* tree). One response we have experienced with regard to the decline of the groves and carvings is immense frustration concerning management of the forest and constraints put on us with regard to carrying out our remedial efforts, but another way is to match our observations from the last few years alongside elder observations from the last few decades and develop a management strategy that pushes through the resistance—one that all parties can live with, respectfully.

If we think of the carvings as signifiers and accept that archaeology is a study that gives meaning to material evidence, then we are

better informed if we understand those signifiers. We learn about culture through understanding its signifiers—the means by which we understand concepts. The signified (the carved image) is a stable element but the “thing” that is signified varies according to the viewer, the time and in context. If we are searching for an understanding of what the *rākau momori* mean, a good starting point is to accept that, as signifiers, they can have a ritual, sacred and practical meaning all at once. It may just depend on who is looking. It may also be, as Jefferson alluded, that they were also a source of fun and humour and had the ability to surprise and even astound the viewer.



## MEETING THE IPinCH GOALS AND THEMES – Reflective Thoughts

### Digital Information Systems and Training

Responses to problems caused by historic archaeological surveys on the islands initially resulted in the Hokotehi Heritage Strategy (May 2006), which proposed a bi-cultural approach blending archaeological field work with elder knowledge. Soon after this work started we were gifted the TKRP software and training, which then formed the basis of a digital approach to recording in the field. The use of digital technology has enabled us to overcome many of the barriers potentially found in remote isolated communities. It has also enabled us to share data, record, store and adapt without additional expense. We have found the use of the scans, the TKRP system and the use of flip cams to record field work to be a good contemporary solution that also enables high levels of participation. We can now make our own maps and planning documents by using the film clips, GPS data and key word TKRP software. Key ingredients in using this technology have been intergenerational, in control and inspirational. We have struggled at times to get all three happening at once but at least we can be confident that our records will be available for present and future generations.

The use of the flip cams and other recording methods have enabled us to get better access to Moriori material culture with greater practical understandings of what is required to be engaged in our own culture:



Figure 17. 2010 IPinCH workshop: scanning headstone at Manukau *urupā*.



Figure 18. Learning in the field: catching eels.

The case study work enabled us to run two cultural database workshops at Kōpinga Marae in 2010. The first was focused on documenting and caring for *taonga*. A large collection of *taonga* Moriori had been in storage at Te Papa for many years and was finally brought home by Te Papa collection managers and conservators. Our workshop designed an accession system and worked to record and conserve every artefact. Attendees built museum storage boxes and also set up a new museum display at the *marae*, selecting all items ourselves. During the workshop we were joined by other experts and researchers, including Todd O’Hagan (who had helped with the design and construction of aspects of the marae); Geoff Walls (ecologist), Otago University surveyors (carrying out laser scanning), and Robin Atherton (DNA researcher). Attendees at the workshop heard presentations from these people, assisted with laser scanning of *rākau momori* and headstones, and worked with Robin in the field sampling *kōpi* DNA.

During the workshop we saw our culture working and by the end we knew we had become *tchieki* of everything Moriori—supportive of each other in our *mahi*, preparing *kai* and other *marae*-based chores. It was a wonderful experience.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup>

Pers comm workshop attendee 2010



Figure 19. IPinCH workshop at Kōpinga Marae 2010: taonga recording with Te Papa staff.

The second workshop was based on preservation of images and digital records. Te Papa staff assisted with reproducing high resolution copies of images and with interview techniques. Many of the younger ones involved made their own short identity films. During this workshop we also had the repatriation of a *taonga* (an adze) from a museum in New Zealand. Putting *taonga* in museums can be beneficial (for the *taonga*) but can also result in disconnections in cultural continuity and knowledge. One of the emerging consequences of our work is that researchers no longer need to take our *taonga* away from the island to study them. Keeping the 19 trees we have removed from the forest on the island and learning how to treat them ourselves is an example of this.

One of the outcomes of the second IPinCH workshop in 2010 was the reproduction of approximately 500 images taken in the 1960s of the *rākau momori*. The images were on loan from David Simmons and are now part of a growing comparative collection of the trees, comprising Jefferson's sketches (1953), Simmons photographs (1960s), DOC photogrammetric images (1980s), laser scans (2010), Maxwell images (2010-13), and HMT records (2006—present).

At both workshops attendees learned, by doing, about *tikane* Moriori, caring for guests, performing welcome and farewell ceremonies, collecting and hunting for food, providing hospitality, and experiencing first-hand such traditional foods as *pāua*, *kina*, *koura*, *tuna* (eel) and other sea food. Those who worked on the TKRP recording project learned techniques for camera positioning; camera fade and zoom; outdoor sound recording; and interview techniques. The workshops concluded with the formation of an island youth council and the development of a youth mentor



group. This is one area where we really struggle on Rēkohu. There is no secondary schooling available on the island so once our young ones turn 13 they leave for years of schooling away from home. Opportunities for engagement with elders are, therefore, precious.



**Figure 20. Custom-made trolley for safe transport of *rākau momori*.**

A further element of the range of work we have been doing in the cultural database project is the need to be innovative. In a remote island community we do not have ready access to skilled technicians or materials. We have had to adapt tools and materials ourselves. Tom Lanauze proved to be particularly adept at this with the design and construction of a small trolley system attached by a strong branch to his quad bike for the transporting of trees through the forest. The hand-held laser scanners were an experimental idea, which produced spectacular results, and we are now in the process of adapting refrigeration containers for conservation laboratories.

### **Ethical Approaches to Community Based and Collaborative Research – Strategies for Protecting Cultural Heritage**

Island isolation has already been mentioned as a barrier we have had to overcome with our work. It has also been a primary motivator for building collaborative relationships. Simply put, we have to do it all by ourselves so working smarter has been a positive direction and one where the benefits seem to grow exponentially. The persistent interest from outsiders in studying aspects of Moriori history and culture or Rēkohu ecology and geology means we are frequently attempting to engage with



researchers, with varying degrees of success. When researchers have approached us, the results have been productive for all parties, with only one exception to date. We have formed productive research partnerships with IPinCH; Otago University (Ian Barber, Justin Maxwell, Marion Johnson); Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (through Marion Johnson’s research project on the use of *rongoa* in farm management); and Robin Atherton (with her DNA research on *kōpi*). We also have indigenous partnerships with Hopi, Kanaka Maoli (Hawaii), Niue, and Taiwan. We have also carried out our own collaborative research on the island in the development of a community management plan for Waipāua—a sacred place on the smaller island of Rangihau. <sup>75</sup> The entire island community (then 45 people) participated in 3 days of field work and planning, which resulted in the development of an agreed strategy for protection of the site. The rewards of collegial partnerships are many. We have received strength and inspiration from colleagues, most notably the other IPinCH case study groups. Our time spent in Vancouver in 2011 hearing about the progress of other case studies and community-based initiatives was heartening and inspiring.



**Figure 21. Community Management Planning, Rangihau 2007.**

We have found that we have to draw support and inspiration from external sources, as well as from our cultural database work. The inaugural Me Rongo Congress (November 2011) was a collaborative exercise that pulled together related strands—Peace, Sustainability and Respect for the Sacred. It was, in part, inspired by the 2007 PIKO gathering in Hawaii which drew together 115 artists from around the world for a week of cultural and artistic exchange, which included presentations on IP and artistic works. Before it, in 2009, Hokotehi held the blessing for the World March for Peace and

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<sup>75</sup>

See Appendix E.

Non-Violence and then attended the close of the March in Punta de Vacas, Argentina three months later. In 2010, Hokotehi facilitated a Congress session on Peace, Sustainability and Respect at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Society of Ethnobiologists Congress in Tofino,<sup>76</sup> Canada, where we were joined by presenters from the Hopi Nation and Kanaka Maoli from Hawai'i. The Tofino gathering was held in an indigenous centre and named Hishuk-ish tsa'walk after a Tla-o-qui-aht expression meaning "everything is one."



**Figure 22. Delegates at the 2011 Me Rongo Congress, planting kōpi at the Moriori Ethnobotanical Garden.**

The 2010 session (entitled "*Peace, Sustainability and Respect for the Sacred*") brought together elders and other experts from around the world who have traditions in peace keeping/making as an integral part of their philosophy. It focused on the importance of the preservation and transmission of inter-generational knowledge of "living in country," and the maintenance and promotion of retention of the local language(s) and cultural practices of the communities that sustain this knowledge. At its heart was an understanding of the importance of the sacred/spiritual/*wairua* traditions – as an expression of the thread that binds people together with their natural worlds, and which provides the basis for living in a mutually respectful and mutually enhancing relationship of humans, plants and animals.

In addition to providing a collective forum for learning about peace traditions and the importance of being able to practice cultural continuity, the session examined ways in which the modern world may come to a better understanding of how this sacred knowledge or knowledge of the sacred is

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<sup>76</sup> <http://ethnobiology.net/what-we-do/international-congresses/past-congresses/>



critical to humankind (re)learning how to live “in connection with” rather than increasingly “disconnected from” our planet and planetary systems.



**Figure23. Me Rongo Congress session, 2011.**

Me Rongo aimed to build on these special events and become a regular learning experience in the lead up to the creation of an international Peace Education Centre on the island. The vision for the Peace Congress was to create a meaningful and lasting practice of mindfulness amongst all who attended. We believe that when you have hope for future generations, peace prevails. The Moriori message of peace is something we are proud of and wish to share with the rest of the world, as a beacon of hope. In a world of increasing ecological strain and decreasing resilience, island communities are often the first to feel the effects. Dependency on imports for sustenance and exports for economic survival can contribute to community fragility. However, there is another way to confront environmental and community problems associated with ecological decline, violence and lack of respect. We believe that island communities can be effective models of transition communities for larger nations to follow. If Rēkohu can achieve this, then many other nation states can as well. The Congress consisted of a 3-day conference on peace traditions and conflict resolution and was embraced with two weeks of artist and writer workshops. These workshops were designed to create a spirit of trust and comfort for the central conference.

One of the main outcomes from the Congress was the “Me Rongo Declaration” (see Appendix D), which has now been tabled at the Indigenous Forum of the UN (February 2012). The Declaration was a collaborative exercise which lists a set of fundamental beliefs followed by a set of principles. At its heart was the explanation behind the three Congress themes:

We are further convinced that there is a deep connection amongst notions of peace, ecological resilience and reverence for human dignity, ritual practices and sacred places:

thus the connections at Me Rongo 2011 between “peace, sustainability and respect for the sacred.”

One of the techniques we have developed to support our research projects is the formation of informal Advisory Boards. Supporters and colleagues have offered their time and expertise for free on Boards for the Me Rongo Congress and Rākau Momori Project. This altruistic, generous response from Board members is energising for our team and also provides additional scientific rigour. We have not developed guidelines for collaborative research because we consider this to be a very subjective topic, but have a set of three simple questions that we apply to any work:

1. How does this benefit Moriori?
2. How does this benefit Rēkohu?
3. How will this benefit our future generations?



**Figure 24. Me Rongo Congress art workshop led by Wi Taepa.**

Prescriptive type approaches seldom work here but we have found a need to develop our own ethical protocols and research forms (See Appendices F and G). The forms have been deliberately designed in an open format so as to encourage critical thinking on the part of the researcher as to how to carry out beneficial research. They are starting points to formalities, which may evolve into trusting relationships. Trust works a lot better than rule making. We evaluate the intentions of the researcher partly on the basis of the enthusiasm and honesty in their responses to these forms and protocols. In one sense they are the first step in designing the terms of reference for working together in a better way. The protocols start with this simple sentiment: “Consideration of ethics should not be complicated or difficult. Ethical behaviour in research is about remembering your guiding value is integrity. If you communicate clearly and honestly and work in a sensitive manner,

ethical practice will be a natural outcome. These protocols seek to move past compliance into trust and engagement,” and the protocols follow:

**Respect.** Moriori value their collective memory and shared experience as a resource and inheritance. Researchers who fail to respect Moriori identity, knowledge and wisdom may misinterpret data or meaning, may create mistrust, otherwise limit quality or may overlook a potentially important benefit of research. Research also needs to involve and show respect for elders. Proposals need to show a connection amongst past, present and future with a consideration of collective or community impacts; not just individuals. A respectful relationship induces trust and co-operation.

**Reciprocity.** In the research context, reciprocity implies inclusion and means recognising partners’ contributions and ensuring that research outcomes include equitable benefits. Reciprocity requires the researcher to demonstrate a return (or benefit) to the community that is valued by the community and which contributes to cohesion and survival. It is important to remember that Moriori may place greater or lesser value on the various returns than researchers. Reciprocity involves exchange, although in the context of research there can be a risk of unequal power relationships. Moriori have the right to define the benefits according to their own values and priorities.

**Responsibility.** Central to Moriori culture is the notion of *kaitiakitanga* or reciprocal responsibility for all living systems. A key part of this is the avoidance of harm and management of risks. Ethical research occurs when harmony between the sets of responsibilities is established, participants are protected, trust is maintained and accountability is clear.

**Equality.** Ethical research processes treat all partners as equal notwithstanding that they may be different. In the absence of equal treatment, trust among research funders, researchers, host institutions, Moriori and other stakeholders is not possible. Without such trust, ethical research is undermined. The distribution of benefits stands as a fundamental test of equality. If the research process delivers benefit in greater proportion to one partner in the initiative than other partners, the distribution of benefit may be seen as unequal.

**Active Protection.** The pressures on indigenous cultures from effects of marginalisation and colonisation are often damaging. Finding ways to enhance collective identity helps actively protect cultural values. Moriori culture, in particular, has suffered from historic events and subsequent research carried out often without reference to or consultation with Moriori. Protection of the distinctiveness of Moriori culture and traditions is vitally important for Hokotehi. Barriers presented by previously inappropriate research mean that researchers today will need to make particular effort to deal with the perception of research as an exploitative exercise. They will need to demonstrate through ethical negotiation, conduct and dissemination of research that they are trustworthy and will not repeat the mistakes of the past. This can be easily addressed through active engagement with Hokotehi.

Ethical approaches to interviewing elders and others in our cultural database work has meant we have evaluated (and rejected) the use of consent forms. We have put more emphasis on respectful conduct and the need to develop trusting rapport with interviewees. In this vein we found that discussions with IPinCH colleague Michael Asch on consent practices to be helpful and illuminating. We try to get researchers who arrive on these shores to consider what their own reference points are for being in this place.

We have found that consent practices often create several problems. We have observed that when consent forms are introduced there is a perception (or sometimes more than this) that the researcher has a stronger authoritative voice than the interviewee. We have been consciously demolishing notions about archaeological knowledge as having some kind of greater authority than the so-called “lay” voice”—this is nonsense. There is no legitimacy in seeing the scientific or archaeologist as the sole producer of knowledge of the past. Our elders or wise people (not necessarily elder) are our authorities. They are researchers too, not just informants. After attending the IPinCH Project Mid-Term conference (September-October 2011), we read more on other case studies and have noted and like the term “life-long learners” referred to in McLay et al. 2008:1).. We have also encountered examples of “positivist” behaviour that is based in the exclusive validity of scientific knowledge. It is not a research philosophy that provides for any kind of ‘ethical space’ where conversations can take place, let alone for engagement to occur. As part of our efforts towards self development and training we have tried to acknowledge elders such as Tom Lanauze as a co-author and supported *rangata mātua* to give conference and workshop presentations.<sup>77</sup>

### Addressing the Challenges

The challenges in this case study work have been many and possibly the greatest has been trying to turn obstacles into opportunities. Positive, rapid responses from IPinCH team members has been greatly appreciated and has certainly been a key factor in a successful case study project. In general terms, we have found that working on aspects of our own cultural heritage engenders optimism and well-being. There are moments of course, such as the decline of the *kōpi* trees and *rākau momori*, when we struggle to remain positive.

Trying to make progress in years past with our Department of Conservation has been arduous at times. Past management of the groves at Hāpūpu has not been focused on protecting the *rākau momori*. Not seeing the groves as gardens and memorials to the ancestors means that they have been managed as an ecological remnant. It would be better (for the carvings) if the groves were managed as a cemetery, a living memorial to those who lived here long ago. Despite temptations to be more assertive, we have realised that the best approach is to do the right thing as *tchieki* (which certainly does not mean sitting back and watching the trees die), working without offence or alienating our management partner. Adherence to cultural values is our reference point for coping with oppression and other difficulties.

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For example, the ISE Congress, Tofino (2010) and the Me Rongo Congress (2011).



One of the biggest challenges is the fact that there is relatively little knowledge of Moriori heritage, cultural landscapes, language and so on in the modern generation of Moriori. Many members are engaged and interested, but for detailed knowledge of landscapes, names, history and events we rely on only a few. This makes the case study project and other work we are engaged in all the more important. Michael King's book and the earlier Moriori documentary were a revelation for most, so it is vital that we maintain the momentum for unravelling more of our past for current and future generations.

We are challenged too by the fact that Moriori cultural authority is not recognised or respected by some. For instance, Moriori names for landscapes are disappearing from maps or being distorted in pronunciation. Occasionally too our *taonga* are subject to cultural vandalism. *Rākau momori* have been shot at and attacked with knives; road signs with Moriori names have been defaced, and false claims made to *taonga* that have been handed to museums and government institutions. Over the past two years we are aware of *taonga* Moriori that have been collected from the landscape and taken away from the island. New Zealand heritage legislation<sup>78</sup> ensures that *taonga* removed from their archaeological contexts become property of the government unless a successful claim is made by *tangata whenua*. On the last two occasions when these "finds" have been advertised, counter-claims to them have been made by another tribal group that denies Moriori authority. Fortunately Court decisions have awarded the *taonga* to Hokotehi, thus providing precedents for asserting our cultural connections to these *taonga*. We have also faced challenges with the lack of legislative protection for natural resources such as fossils and geological formations. For Moriori, these are part of our cultural landscapes and therefore have the same status as other *taonga*. In recent years an overseas university has carried out research on basalt and volcanic formations around the island, which included drilling large holes into rock formations on areas of private land, with no consultation. As a result of these acts of vandalism, we have contacted all research centres in New Zealand to seek their support for applying the Hokotehi ethical protocols. Responses received have been positive and encouraging.

Cultural heritage legislation and legal instruments in New Zealand are not ideal but we have found that reliance on the law should be a last option. We have discussed already shortfalls of the archaeological recording scheme (NZAA) that is site based, rather than oriented towards protecting archaeology in landscapes. It is also strongly based on protecting tangible material evidence. The same is true for intellectual property (IP) legislation and instruments, which do little for protecting traditional knowledge. IP protection mechanisms (trade-marks, copyright, patents and contracts) are designed primarily for protecting individual economic and exclusive rights, rather than collective cultural values or knowledge. They are also constrained by having limited duration periods, which does not work in an intergenerational framework. It is unlikely that they were ever conceived of being used for commodification of intangible *taonga*. Nor does it embrace ideas of "relatedness," in understanding that *taonga*, such as traditional knowledge, are intertwined in a family or *hokopapa* of data. As Amiria Salmond notes in relation to the WAI 262 claim for flora and fauna: "the creativity of *taonga* does not derive simply from the minds of individual subjects, but from a fabric of relations peopled both by objects that appear as people, and by people that appear as things" (Salmond 2005).

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<sup>78</sup> New Zealand Historic Places Act 1993, Conservation Act 1987, Protected Objects Amendment Act 2006

We have found that the most useful and durable solutions for protecting our own IP are active engagement in revitalising culture and retention of control over what is shared and with whom. We have also found that, by being engaged in research as collaborative partners, we enhance opportunities for control.

The legacy of peace bequeathed to us by our ancestors is the most powerful cultural marker of Moriori identity. And yet, ironically, Moriori today constantly struggle to live up to this legacy. That in itself is not surprising and nor is it cause for alarm. Our ancestors had centuries of uninterrupted time to develop and evolve their peace keeping traditions—traditions that were passed from one generation to the next to become, over time, a defining code of conduct and law. Little wonder then that following the traumatic events of colonisation and generations of alienation from both land and culture, that at times present-day descendants of Moriori, many of whom have only relatively recently “re-discovered” their Moriori links, are grappling with what it means to *be* Moriori and to *conduct* oneself as Moriori. This does not invalidate the code of peace as a cultural marker of Moriori identity; rather it means that there is still much work to do to comprehend, to understand and to put into practice the values and mores of our ancestors within a modern day construct.

The *karāpuna* set high standards for human conduct and ways of living and being within the world in which they lived. Peace, both internally and externally, is perhaps one of humanity’s greatest and most elusive goals. It was achieved for over half a millennia by the ancestors on Rēkohu and Rangihau. The biggest internal challenge facing Moriori today is to re-learn and re-apply this code of conduct and in this way we truly honour our ancestor’s legacy of peace. It remains as an important aspirational goal, not just for Moriori but for humankind.

### **AFTER IPinCH—THE NEXT STEPS**

Our involvement in the IPinCH project as research partners and a case study has been rewarding and productive. The momentum created by the initial case study proposal means that this work will have a better chance of longevity.

Work on the cultural database and TKRP style recording will not cease. The aim is to keep this running as a perpetual project, whenever staff, time and resources allow it, as will collaborative work with our colleagues in the Hopi and Kanaka Maoli communities. As part of this vision, we are planning reciprocal exchanges with our TKRP colleagues in Australia and with Hopi in Arizona.

Our priority for the rest of 2014 and after is the preservation of *rākau momori* removed from the forest alongside emergency remedial efforts to protect the trees still in the forest. This work will include construction of artificial wind breaks and planting of a large shelter belt alongside vulnerable trees. The conservation work will involve adapting a used shipping container as a conservation laboratory for the trees, which will eventually be housed in a dedicated *whare taonga* (museum and research centre at Kōpinga). This centre is part of a long-term vision, and it is hoped that it will be part of a complex for a teaching and learning centre in peace traditions and conflict management. In the future we would like to see Moriori being able to carry out research on their culture, *hokopapa*,

stories and arts on Rēkohu. To this end we have been investigating a project based on the notion of “digital reciprocity”<sup>79</sup> where *taonga* in overseas museums will be documented in an online database. The idea is that Moriori researchers will be able to contribute curatorial and collection information and museum staff can contribute accession data in a curator/*tchieki* connection that reinforces cultural continuity. We dream of a time when our own members can have access to rare *taonga* removed from the island centuries ago at the touch of a button, and be able to use images and accession information for revival of traditions.

Reigniting the carving of living trees is also a priority project. Foundation work on this started with the Me Rongo Congress where artists assisted with advice on techniques for carvings. This will be revived in the near future.

We wish to work towards regular and routine assemblages of the “digital tattoo” that concerns Moriori. By this we mean the proliferation of open-source information that builds up without, currently, occasion to validate any of it. As part of this too we have been thinking about the open sharing of Moriori images and have been working with Turi Park, a prominent designer and artist, to liberate our symbols and imagery (in the spirit of the gift economy) from the constraints of conventional IP.

The next two years will also see joint applications with Te Papa to overseas museums for the return of Moriori human remains. Part of this will include joint research projects and opportunities for Moriori internships, connecting living people with museum material objects. We are aiming to connect the repatriation work with the digital reciprocity research and hope that this will include visits from museum staff to Rēkohu where they can engage, first hand, with the culture whose treasures they have cared for over centuries resides.

Finally, we want to take the discourse, as Darrell Posey (1996) put it “beyond IP.” The accumulative record of archaeological evidence, elder interviews, and reawakening of cultural connections will be essential ingredients for Treaty of Waitangi settlement negotiations, tribal policy documents and local instruments such as a resource management plan, which should bolster the legitimacy of customary resource practices such as birding and sustainable gathering of traditional foods.

### *Me Rongo*



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<sup>79</sup>

Our work with the IPinCH community has resulted in a connection with a similar project, the Reciprocal Research Network, led by Sue Rowley at the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

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<http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/pacific/radio/onairhighlights/moriori-culture-revival-in-new-zealands-chatham-islands/1039074> (interview with Maui Solomon on Moriori culture)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzgLMzEu6nI> (World March for Peace interview)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rp-7fUoYgOw> (Māori TV item – repatriation of human remains)

<http://loveforlife.com.au/content/08/09/16/traditional-knowledge-revival-pathways-tkrp>  
(traditional knowledge revival pathways)

[www.merongo.com](http://www.merongo.com) (Peace Festival Rekohu)

<http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/moriori-1980> (link to 1980 Moriori documentary)

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Moriori Words

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Hokohe</i>                   | Offering   |
| <i>Hokomementai</i>             | To be gathered together in peace   |
| <i>Hokopapa</i>                 | Genealogy (Māori: <i>whakapapa</i> )   |
| <i>Hokotehi</i>                 | To be unified  |
| <i>Hopo</i>                     | Albatross  |
| <i>Iarohu</i>                   | Love; compassion (elsewhere in the Pacific: <i>aloha, aroha, aropa, 'ofa</i> )     |
| <i>Imi</i>                      | People; bones (Māori: <i>iwi</i> )   |
| <i>Ka rāpuna</i>                | Ancestors  |
| <i>Kai</i>                      | Food; to eat   |
| <i>Karakii</i>                  | Prayer   |
| <i>Kawakawa</i>                 | Healing plant ( <i>Macropiper excelsum</i> )                                       |
| <i>Kia ora kotou</i>            | Greeting to many – meaning “wellness upon you”                                     |
| <i>Kina</i>                     | Sea urchin   |
| <i>Koha</i>                     | Gift   |
| <i>Kōpi</i>                     | Karaka tree ( <i>Corynocarpus laevigatus</i> )                                     |
| <i>Kōpinga</i>                  | A grove of kōpi trees. The name of the Moriori Marae on Rēkohu                     |
| <i>Koura</i>                    | crayfish   |
| <i>Mahi</i>                     | Work   |
| <i>Manaaki, manaakitanga</i>    | Hospitality  |
| <i>Marae</i>                    | Collective place for gathering; open space in ritual area                          |
| <i>Moriori</i>                  | Name for the tribal collective of Polynesian settlers indigenous to Rēkohu         |
| <i>Me Rongo</i>                 | In peace   |
| <i>Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga</i> | “Seat of Knowledge,” a Centre of Research Excellence hosted by Auckland University |

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Pākehā</i>               | European person   |
| <i>Pāua</i>                 | <i>Haliotis iris</i> , abalone  |
| <i>Pouwhenua</i>            | Ceremonial post   |
| <i>Rae</i>                  | Forehead  |
| <i>Rāhui</i>                | Covenant, temporary closure to protect a resource                                       |
| <i>Rākau Momori</i>         | Living tree carvings  |
| <i>Rangata Mātua</i>        | Elders (Māori: <i>kaumātua</i> )  |
| <i>Rangihaute</i>           | Pitt Island   |
| <i>Re</i>                   | Language (Māori: <i>reo</i> )   |
| <i>Rēkohu</i>               | The name of the islands – to see the sun through misty skies                            |
| <i>Rongo</i>                | Peace, to listen  |
| <i>Rongoa</i>               | Traditional herbal medicine   |
| <i>Taonga</i>               | Treasure ( <i>taonga tuku iho</i> – treasures from the ancestors; cultural aspirations) |
| <i>Tāpae</i>                | Give; gift  |
| <i>Tapu</i>                 | Sacred  |
| <i>Tchkat Henu (tuturu)</i> | People of the land (Māori: <i>Tangata whenua</i> )                                      |
| <i>Tchieki</i>              | Guardian, steward; guardianship (Māori: <i>Kaitiaki; Kaitiakitanga, Tchiekitanga</i> )  |
| <i>Te Tohinga Rongo</i>     | Peace Covenant  |
| <i>Teina</i>                | Younger sibling   |
| <i>Tikane</i>               | Customs and protocols (Māori: <i>Tikanga</i> )  |
| <i>Tūahu</i>                | Altar   |
| <i>Tuakana</i>              | Older sibling   |
| <i>Urupā</i>                | Cemetery  |
| <i>Wairua</i>               | Spirit  |
| <i>Whare taonga</i>         | Museum  |



## Appendix B: Case Study Projects and Outcomes

| Project   | Participants   | Outcomes  |
|---|--|---|
| HMT Heritage Strategy   | Elders and youth on the island (ongoing project)                 | HMT Internal Report   |
| Development of Cultural Database Concept and Heritage Landscape Approach  | Hokotehi staff and elders (ongoing project)                      | TKRP recorded footage of interviews and fieldwork   |
| TKRP initial recording work   | Hokotehi staff, elders and TKRP designers                        | TKRP recorded footage of interviews and fieldwork   |
| Rangihau Survey and Waipāua Community Management Plan   | Hokotehi staff and Rangihau island community                     | Waipāua Draft Management Plan (Appendix E)  |
| Blessing World March for Peace and Non-Violence   | Hokotehi staff, elders and base team for World March for Peace   |   |
| Development of ethical protocols and forms  | Hokotehi staff   | Appendix F and G  |
| Cultural Workshops  | Hokotehi staff, members, elders and youth plus research partners | May 2010 <i>Taonga</i> Care and Management<br>Oct 2010 Digital Recording and Paper Records conservation |
| Engagement with PhD researchers and collaborative projects with Otago University (Archaeology, Resource Management) | Hokotehi and external research partners                          | Ongoing research projects with Otago university   |
| Youth Mentors Group   | Hokotehi and youth mentors                                       | Youth Mentors database  |
| Hokotehi museum accession system and display  | Hokotehi staff and youth workshop attendees                      | HMT museum record and creation of museum storage system   |

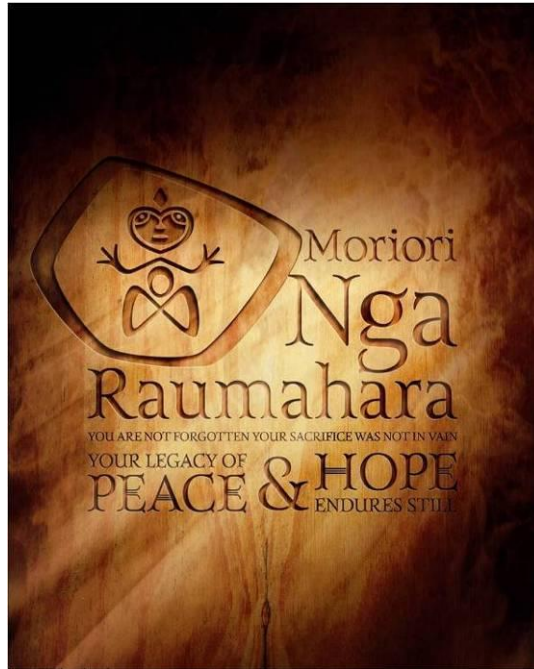
|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| Pataka Exhibition – Moriori People of the Land            | Hokotehi staff, elders, members and Pataka Museum, along with regional museums in NZ (Canterbury and Otago)                | Publication: Moriori People of the Land  |
| School Journal publications                               | Hokotehi staff, Rēkohu schools and Ministry of Education   | <a href="http://www.edgazette.govt.nz/articles/Article.aspx?ArticleId=8317">http://www.edgazette.govt.nz/articles/Article.aspx?ArticleId=8317</a>  |
| Customary Fisheries Research and interviews               | Hokotehi staff, island elders and Ministry of Fisheries  | HMT internal report  |
| Laser scanning of rākau momori                            | Hokotehi staff, Department of Conservation, Otago University and National Survey School                                    | Laser scans held by Hokotehi   |
| Me Rongo Congress   | Hokotehi staff and members, participating artists and congress attendees   | Me Rongo Declaration 2011  |
| Rākau momori removal and conservation work in the groves  | Hokotehi staff and elders, Department of Conservation, NZ Historic Places Trust, Te Papa National Museum, Otago University |  |
| Māori Land Court decision for return of taonga to Moriori | Hokotehi staff, Māori land Court, Ministry for Culture and Heritage  |  |
| Publications and conference and workshop presentations    | Hokotehi staff   | Solomon, Maui, and Susan Thorpe<br>2012 Taonga Moriori: Recording and Revival. <i>Journal of Material Culture</i> 17(3): 245-264.<br><br>Forbes, Susan, and Maui Solomon<br>2010 Indigenous Archaeology: A Moriori Case Study. In <i>Bridging the Divide – Indigenous Communities and Archaeology into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i> , |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
|   |   | <p>edited by C. Phillips and H. Allen, pp. 213-231. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek.</p> <p>Lanauze, Tom, Susan Forbes, and Maui Solomon<br/>2010 A Practical Approach to Traditional Knowledge and Indigenous Heritage Management: a Case Study of Moriori Heritage Management Practice. In <i>Traditional Knowledge in Policy and Practice: Approaches to Development and Human Well-Being</i>, edited by S. Subramanian and B. Pisupati, pp. 327-343. United Nations University Press, Tokyo.</p> <p>Solomon, Maui<br/>2013 Indigenous Rights and Cultural and Intellectual Property: Challenges Facing Maori and Moriori Today. IPinCH Speaker Series, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.</p> <p>Thorpe, Susan<br/>2013 Cultural landscape Recording – a talk by Susan Thorpe. IPinCH Speaker Series, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.</p> <p>Thorpe, Susan and Maui Solomon<br/>2013 Moriori Cultural database – an IPinCH Case Study. IPinCH Speaker Series, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby.</p> |
| Development of Moriori vocabulary list  | Hokotehi staff                              |   |
| Development of community links and networks with other heritage database projects, e.g., Hopi, TKRP | Hokotehi staff and elders, IPinCH community |   |

## Appendix C: Te Tohinga Rongo (Renewal of Peace Covenant)

11 November 2011

Kōpinga Marae



The abandonment of warfare and killing is an ancient covenant that has been handed down from the earliest Moriori ancestors to have settled on Rēkohu and Rangihaute. Our *karāpuna* (ancestors) tell us that the covenant was reaffirmed and passed from one generation to the next.

*It was passed down to Mu and Wheke, and from them and their descendants down to Rongomaiwhenua, and from him to his descendants Nunuku, Tapata and Torea. You may continue to fight; but the meaning of his words was, do not kill. (1894 transcript)*

By forbidding the taking of human life and placing their weapons of war upon the *Tūahu* (the sacred altar), Moriori entered into a tohinga or covenant with their gods. From that time forward, power over life and death was removed from the hands of man and placed into the hands of their gods. Fighting became ritualised and upon the first blood being drawn fighting was to cease. The leader, Nunuku Whenua reaffirmed the covenant of peace some 600 years ago. Moriori as a people have continued to honour that covenant to this day despite the greatest of provocations.

This covenant was reaffirmed at a large gathering of Moriori at Te Awapatiki in early 1836, to decide what response they would make to the invasion of their Island home in 1835. While the young men urged resistance, the elders, Tapata and Torea insisted that the people hold fast to the teachings of Nunuku. As they said, the covenant was a spiritual pact entered into with their gods. To break that covenant would represent a betrayal of their gods and a loss of *mana* for them as a people. Instead, they offered peace, friendship and sharing of the Island's resources, as was their custom.



Despite the great suffering and loss that Moriori endured as a consequence of this decision, their legacy of peace and hope lived on. For this generation of Moriori it has become the rallying point for our people. A beacon of light and inspiration that has guided us in reclaiming our culture and identity as a people, our identity as the first peoples of these islands. The covenant has been renewed at other auspicious occasions—the opening of Kōpinga (2005) and the blessing for the World March for Peace and Non-Violence (2009). It is an honour to renew the covenant again today (11 Nov 2011), coinciding with Armistice Day—when the world celebrates an end to fighting and war.

In renewing this ancient covenant of peace we are conscious that peace is as precious and much



needed today in the modern world as it was for our ancestors. The challenge left to us by our *karāpuna* is whether we can learn to live together peacefully and share what we have, respecting each other and the environment that we live in. The alternatives facing this world today do not bear too much contemplation. This ceremony today, while honouring the vision of our ancestors, is also a small but important contribution to the efforts being made by peoples and organisations the world over to make our planet a more peaceful and sustainable place on which to live.

Tradition informs us that the knowledge of the peace covenant was passed from father to son during a *tohinga* or baptismal ceremony. The old weapons which had been placed on the *Tūahu* were removed and handed to the child. An explanation was then given to the child that the weapons were once used for fighting and could kill another human being. It was explained that the power over life and death had been taken from the hand of man and placed into the hands of their gods. By replacing the weapon back on the *Tūahu*, the child was symbolically renewing the covenant for the next generation and completing the *tohinga* ceremony.

Today Moriori renew our commitment to live together on this Island in peace and to respect and share the resources of the land and the sea. We make this commitment knowing that there are many challenges still to be faced and many lessons still to be learned. But, if we can inspire the next generation to learn about and uphold the values and wisdom left to us by our ancestors, then we will have succeeded in honouring that legacy.

## Appendix D: Me Rongo 2011 Declaration

### PREAMBLE - MORIORI COVENANT OF PEACE

The abandonment of warfare and killing is an ancient covenant that has been handed down from the earliest Moriori ancestors to have settled on Rēkohu and Rangihau. Our *karāpuna* (ancestors) tell us that that the covenant was reaffirmed and passed from one generation to the next.

*It was passed down to Mu and Wheke, and from them and their descendants down to Rongomaiwhenua, and from him to his descendants Nunuku, Tapata and Torea. You may continue to fight; but the meaning of his words was, do not kill*<sup>80</sup>

By forbidding the taking of human life and placing their weapons of war upon the *Tūahu* (the sacred altar), Moriori entered into a *tohinga* or covenant with their gods. From that time forward, power over life and death was removed from the hands of man and placed into the hands of their gods. Fighting became ritualised and upon the first blood being drawn fighting was to cease. The leader, Nunuku Whenua reaffirmed the covenant of peace some 600 years ago. Moriori as a people have continued to honour that covenant to this day despite the greatest of provocations.

Tradition informs us that the knowledge of the peace covenant was passed from father to son during a ceremony of rites and responsibilities. The old weapons which had been placed on the *Tūahu* were removed and handed to the child. An explanation was then given to the child that the weapons were once used for fighting and could kill another human being. By replacing the weapon back on the *Tūahu*, the child was symbolically renewing the covenant for the next generation and completing the *tohinga* ceremony.

### AFFIRMATIONS OF THE COVENANT

This covenant was reaffirmed at a large gathering of Moriori at Te Awapatiki in early 1836, to decide what response they would make to the invasion of their Island home in 1835. While the young men urged resistance, the elders, Tapata and Torea, insisted that the people hold fast to the teachings of Nunuku. As they said, the covenant was a spiritual pact entered into with their gods. To break that covenant would represent a betrayal of their gods and a loss of *mana* for them as a people. Instead, they offered peace, friendship and sharing of the Island's resources, as was their custom.

Despite the great suffering and loss that Moriori endured as a consequence of this decision, their legacy of peace and hope lived on. For this current generation of Moriori it has become the rallying point for our people. A beacon of light and inspiration that has guided us in reclaiming our culture and identity as a people—our identity as the first peoples of these islands. The covenant has been renewed at subsequent auspicious occasions—the opening of Kōpinga Marae (2005), the blessing for the World March for Peace and Non-Violence (2009) and at the inaugural Me Rongo Congress for Peace, Sustainability and Respect for the Sacred (2011).

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<sup>80</sup>

Shand 1894

## ME RONGO CONGRESS

**Me Rongo** is a Moriori term meaning “in peace.” It is used as both a salutation and affirmation. The word “rongo” also embodies other vital ingredients for peaceful living, as *rongo* means “to listen.” Me Rongo implies that in order to be in peace, one must also listen, and listen deeply and respectfully. This listening is not just amongst people but also incorporates a deeper listening to the rhythms and sounds of the living systems of which we are a part.

In May 2010, a gathering was convened in Tofino, British Columbia, Canada, as part of the International Society of Ethnobiology’s 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress<sup>81</sup>. The Tofino gathering was conceived of as a stepping stone in the lead up to the Me Rongo Congress planned for November 2011. The Tofino gathering was held in an indigenous centre and named Hishuk-ish tsa’walk, after a Tla-o-qui-aht expression meaning “everything is one.”

The session (entitled “*Peace, Sustainability and Respect for the Sacred*”) brought together elders and other experts from around the world who have traditions in peace-keeping/making as an integral part of their philosophy. It focused on the importance of the preservation and transmission of inter-generational knowledge of “living in country,” as the Aboriginal peoples of Australia say, and the maintenance and promotion of retention of the local language(s) and cultural practices of the communities that sustain this knowledge. At its heart was an understanding of the importance of the sacred/spiritual/wairua traditions—as an expression of the thread that binds people together with their natural worlds, and which provides the basis for living in a mutually respectful and mutually enhancing relationship of humans, plants and animals.

In addition to providing a collective forum for learning about peace traditions and the importance of being able to practice cultural continuity, the session examined ways in which the modern world may come to a better understanding of how this sacred knowledge or knowledge of the sacred is critical to humankind (re)learning how to live “in connection with” rather than increasingly “disconnected from” our planet and planetary systems.

### Me Rongo November 2011

The Me Rongo Congress 2011 aimed to reunite people involved in the World March and the Tofino Peace gathering as well as others involved in peace-making or who have peace-making traditions, on Rēkohu in November 7-21, 2011.

At the opening of the Me Rongo 2011 Congress, the covenant was renewed and reaffirmed by all delegates. In renewing this ancient covenant of peace we are conscious that peace is as precious and much needed today in the modern world as it was for our ancestors. The challenge left to us by our *karāpuna* is whether we can learn to live together peacefully and share what we have, respecting each other and the environment that we live in. The alternatives facing this world today do not bear too much contemplation. This ceremony, while honouring the vision of our ancestors, is also a small

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<sup>81</sup> <http://www.tbgf.org/ice/home>

but important contribution to the efforts being made by peoples and organisations the world over to make our planet a more peaceful and sustainable place in which to live.

**On 13 November 2011, the delegates of the inaugural Me Rongo Congress ratified the following Declaration:**

### **ME RONGO DECLARATION**

***We believe*** that the creation of a meaningful and lasting, intergenerational practice of mindfulness is essential for establishing a culture of peace and non-violence. When you have hope for future generations, peace prevails.

***We are convinced*** that the Moriori message of peace is something to be proud of and is worthy of sharing with the rest of the world, as an unbroken commitment over countless generations to peace-keeping, and as a beacon of hope. Moriori history on Rēkohu demonstrates that it is possible to consciously and successfully change from a culture that accepted occasional warfare and killing to one of peace and the outlawing of killing.

***Our collective experience*** shows that in order for individuals, communities and states to recover from acts of violence or aggression, a process for meaningful reconciliation needs to occur. The destructive consequences otherwise are intergenerational. Work during Me Rongo highlighted the need to reconcile the sometimes competing values of peace, mercy, justice and truth(s) in order to eventually come to a place of reconciliation.

***Our experience also shows*** that adoption of and adherence to values of peace and non-violence is not simply an option—it is a necessity—in a world of increasingly fragility. This also acknowledges that peace is not simply absence of violence. Peace is contingent on the presence of justice, and the respect for and freedom of identity in our hearts, homes, communities, and across the Earth.

***We are further convinced*** that there is a deep connection amongst notions of peace, ecological resilience, and reverence for human dignity, ritual practices and sacred places: thus the connections at Me Rongo 2011 between “peace, sustainability and respect for the sacred”.

***We believe that*** creative people and cultures in our communities have the capacity to shine a light on truths and the potential for healing through the arts. Artists, poets, writers, musicians and those with the capacity of insight should be valued and respected accordingly. Me Rongo 2011 has recognised this by incorporating the work of artists and their teachings as a protective cloak for this Congress.

***We further believe that*** the year 2011 marks a time of great hope. Global awakenings, and demonstrations of civil societies have shown the hunger for lives of freedom, without fear, want and discrimination—a birthright for all citizens of this planet.

**We are aware** that this planet is in need of multiple, effective mechanisms for achieving peaceful, non-violent conflict resolution. Conflicts are inevitable in human society, and all cultures strive to evolve nonviolent ways of dealing with them. We affirm the importance of deepening these ways to healing as part of our commitment to non-violence.

**This declaration is based** on an awareness that the establishment of a culture of peace and non-violence is not an end in itself. Peace is a condition that needs to be constantly worked on. The values stated in this declaration are a step in the larger process of achieving a world without violence.

We, the delegates of Me Rongo 2011:

- i. Reaffirm our commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly, 10 December 1948 (which is now honoured as “Human Rights Day”) and the legally binding human rights instruments that have arisen from it;
- ii. Reaffirm our commitment to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by the General Assembly, 13 September 2007;
- iii. Reaffirm a commitment to the Charter for a World Without Violence approved by the 7<sup>th</sup> World Summit of Nobel Peace Laureates in December 2007;
- iv. Endorse the UNESCO Declaration and Programme of action on a Culture of Peace adopted on 13 September 1999;
- v. Endorse the Vancouver Declaration of 11 February 2011 on Law’s Imperative for the Urgent Achievement of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World;
- vi. Support the spirit of the draft Code of Crimes against Future Generations prepared by the World Future Council);
- vii. Support those seeking laws and governance to prevent the destruction of our planet by adding the crime of “ecocide” to the existing categories of “crimes against peace” (i.e., genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crimes of aggression).

We, the delegates of Me Rongo 2011 ask the global community of individuals, governments, nation states, educational and scientific communities and collectives such as the United Nations to adopt and endorse the following principles:

1. **Hokomenetai – unity.** Through the gathering together of collective will, knowledge and determination, steps towards achieving goals of peace and non-violence will be more easily achieved.
2. **Sharing.** Working as a collective is only successful if participants agree to openly and ethically share their knowledge, energy and experience. Adherence to this principle requires active listening (*rongo*) to the aspirations, concerns and needs of others.
3. **Active participation for non-violence.** We know that violence begets violence. The increasing normalisation of violence through the media, violent games, and through warfare and terrorism is unacceptable. To end this we need to ensure that individual human dignity



is respected, unconditionally. We must also acknowledge that the need to show respect is a requirement of all of us. Changing the passive acceptance of violence is an urgent task and precious gift for future generations

4. **Pluralism.** We live in a plural world where co-existence is an inherent responsibility of life as human beings. Pluralism embraces and energetically engages with diversity in all its expressions and is a powerful force in affirming all cultural and communal quests for peace and understanding. In this sense it moves past “tolerance” to actively seeking understandings across difference(s).
5. **Peace education.** Teaching about peace, non-violence and peaceful conflict resolution needs to be promoted for all ages in all levels of our education systems.
6. **Protecting and valuing natural resources.** We recognise that warfare and conflict are often a result of disputes over natural resources or a result of being deprived of adequate natural resources and lands. In order to have a peaceful relationship with our planet we must recognise that humans are part of an interconnected system, and demonstrate respect for all components of our global ecosystem.
7. **Freedom of identity.** We recognise that this freedom is essential for peace to flourish. Individuals, communities and nation states need to be able to practice and use their own languages, cultural practices and traditions. They also need the right to live, safely, on their home lands.
8. **Protect and respect our sacred spaces and places.** These places have the capacity to heal and restore the human spirit, as well as natural processes. In order to care for these places and values we must hold dear and safeguard traditional practices of reverence.
9. **Protect and respect for Indigenous rights, values and teachings.** Most indigenous communities have traditions of deep connection with the Earth and its rhythms and systems. Ensuring that these are valued alongside other knowledge systems is critical for the survival of Earth.
10. **Nurture and cherish artists, poets, writers, musicians, spiritual leaders and visionaries.** These people are treasures in our communities and through their skills have the capacity to reveal truths and deeper understandings. They also have the potential to enable healing as well as link people together through common interests, aspirations and enjoyment.
11. **Promote research and dialogue on conflict resolution.** The promotion of research and deep discussion on peace and conflict resolution should be supported financially and philosophically so as to enhance its place in our academic and vocational arenas. Our poets, philosophers, teachers, wise elders and artists in general should be encouraged to join us in this endeavour.

## **Appendix E: Rangihaute Survey Report and Community Management Plan**

**Rangihaute (Rangiauria), Chatham Islands**

**Heritage Management and Protection**

**An Archaeological Research Design**



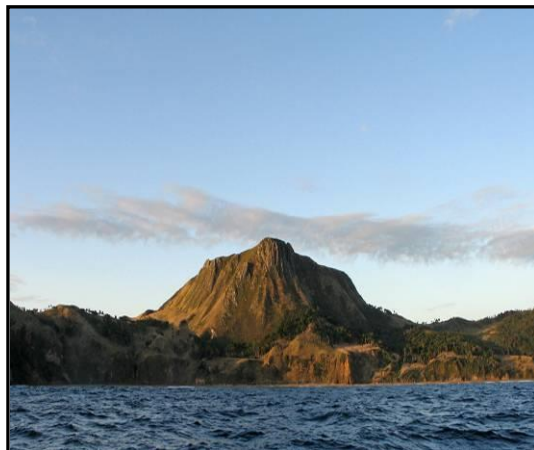
**Prepared for Hokotehi Moriori Trust**

**by Susan Thorpe**

**March 2008**

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  - Previous archaeological surveys and research
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4. First Stage Survey Work, Rangiauria – November 2007
5. Assessing Archaeological Value – Waipāua Case Study
6. Summary of Main Points



*Anei te mauri ārai i ngā tai karapotī, e tū pakari mai ra i te marangai.*

“Here stands the solid rock of the east that deflects the grasping tides.”

*Nā te kukune te pupuke*

*Nā te pupuke te hihiri*

*Nā te hihiri te mahara*

*Nā te mahara te manako*

*Nā te manako te wānanga*

*Nā te wānanga te mātau*

*Hui e e*

*Tāiki e e*

## Introduction

Rangihaute/Rangiauria<sup>82</sup> has immense importance as the first home on Rēkohu for Moriori and is the heart or reference point for settlement on the other islands. The early occupation is also reflected in the archaeological record, as Rangihaute is noted for having considerable areas that contain (or contained) *taonga*, many of an early design type.<sup>83</sup> Rangihaute is a place of local, national and even international heritage significance.

Through most of the lengthy occupation of Rangihaute by Moriori, the island remained in its dense forest cover, providing a range of habitats for the bird and coastal marine life that *hūnau* (families) needed to flourish. After 1842, parcels of land began to be cleared for farming use. Today, most of the island has been converted to pasture for cattle and sheep grazing, including areas in the south that have been lately managed by the Department of Conservation (DOC) and which were, until fairly recently, in revegetating emergent forest. Land clearance has caused and is causing serious threats to the archaeological and heritage values of the island through weather-related erosion and stock damage. In the past seven or so decades archaeological evidence has also been investigated and, often, removed from the island. None of this work has been done with the involvement of *tchakat henu* (original inhabitants = *tangata whenua*), or the local community. In most cases, research findings have not been offered back to the community. The consequences, for the research; for the heritage fabric of the island; and for future heritage management are half (or less) told stories.

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<sup>82</sup> Rangihaute and Rangiauria are Moriori names for this island, though Rangiaotea is also used. The island is commonly referred to as Pitt, though was first named “Pitt’s Island” in 1791 and later simplified. It is named after William Pitt, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Chatham. For simplicity I have used the name Rangihaute. Rēkohu is here used to refer to both the largest island of the Chathams and also for the collective Chatham Island group.

<sup>83</sup> Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2006, *Moriori Cultural Landscapes – A Literature Review* pg. 15

The archaeological work has been commissioned by Hokotehi Moriori Trust (HMT) as part of their ongoing discussions and relationship building with the Rangihauite Island community. This report follows a two-day gathering on Rangihauite with many from the island community and representatives from HMT in late November 2007. During the short time we had in the field we explored several wāhi tapu areas and discussed options for future use. We discussed and agreed on a research methodology that was inclusive and based on an action research method that adjusts the methods in response to changes in thinking and also to community priorities. The methodology (and all reporting) involves peer review and input from the island community and an independent peer review from the Senior Archaeologist at the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT). This report contains outcomes from that November work inside a research strategy framework. This draft has been returned to the island community<sup>84</sup> for peer review.

## Research Design

A research design or strategy is important to give structure and sense to a set of research questions that might want to be asked in order to achieve a specific goal or goals. The strategy also provides a rationale for others to be able to comment and add to the growing body of research knowledge, or the questions posed. It helps everyone understand the method, philosophy and any conclusions that may arise from the research.

Past archaeological work on the Chathams has not been research-driven, and the outcomes of the surveys and investigations have reflected this. Research questions are an attempt to make something more durable, more meaningful for future management.

If the goal is to have heritage management and protection by the *tchakat henu* and local community for the benefit of future generations, then the questions will be shaped in terms of how best to do this. The following four research questions or themes emerged from the November 2007 trip. They were defined during the field work, not prior to it. They also allow us to trace the history of research work on Rangihauite and show how a shift to a community-based landscape approach may make a difference to recording and also to future management. The four questions are set out briefly, below, and then explored in more detail under sub-headings.

1. **How have the actions of historic participants shaped records and events on Rangihauite?**  
The era of “collecting,” concentrated in the late 1800s, had a profound effect on island heritage. This period saw large amounts of *taonga*, including *kōimi* (human skeletal remains), leave the island for overseas institutions and private collections. These losses were also associated with a growing trend in the anthropological and related literature of the late 1800s and early 1900s that re-defined Moriori history without reference to Moriori themselves.
2. **What was the nature of previous archaeological recording on Rangihauite, and how has this work defined contemporary “scientific” theory about Moriori occupation?**  
Archaeological work on Rangihauite was concentrated in the 1970s but research was also

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<sup>84</sup> “Island community” is used in this report as an encompassing term for island residents, *tchakat henu* and families from Rangiauria who may live elsewhere.



carried out in the 1950s (Christina Jefferson) and 1960s (Rhys Richards). This work has tended to focus on coastal occupation, and use midden evidence for assessing occupation place, scale and density (Richards). No comprehensive studies of the whole island have been carried out by 'outsiders' and many well-known *wāhi tapu* areas have not been recorded. The archaeological picture of "dots on the map" is fragmented and incomplete.

- 3. How have the processes and rate of ecological change on the island affected the heritage resource, and how can the impact of this be brought into future land management?** Rangihaute, like much of Rēkohu and New Zealand, has suffered from rapid and comprehensive landscape change and use. Forest habitats that supported a variety of species (many of which were endemic to the islands) have been converted to pasture, supporting one or two species. Land clearance began in 1844 and grazing became the dominant land use by the 1920s. Changes as rapid as this have an impact on soil health and stability. Vulnerable coastal occupation areas have been damaged due to erosion and the movement of stock.
- 4. How can initiatives like the HMT Cultural Database survey and a landscape-based approach be used for future heritage protection and management?** Carrying out survey work with the people who live on the land often results in a more comprehensive idea of how the land has been, and is being, historically loved and lived in. Similar HMT work on Rēkohu has resulted in changes to the amount of archaeological evidence recorded, as well as how that evidence has been interpreted. Occupation places of a larger-scale than previously recorded have been documented in the recent cultural database work. Using Waipāua as a case study for Rangihaute, the HMT methodology looks at what would need to change in order for Waipāua, or any *wāhi tapu*, to be protected and for compatible uses to be determined.

### **Research Question 1 - Historic Participants and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Literature**

#### ***How have the actions of historic participants shaped records and events on Rangihaute?***

The written record of life on Rangihaute is a reflection of a comparatively short period of intense interest from outsiders. It was also a time when relatively few Moriori were in positions to counter written claims or add their own knowledge to the record. With the exception of Shand and Tapu's collaborative work and the exhaustive petitions to Governors Grey and Gore-Brown, the only Moriori records were their memories and oral traditions.

For these reasons we should be cautious about placing weight on historic written sources and possibly silencing Moriori historic voices. The archaeological work that followed did little to break this mould and, instead of debating and challenging settlement theories, partially reinforced them through absence of research-driven methodology.

When assessing any literature in a cultural landscape study it is vital to remember that interpretation of archaeological records, eye-witness accounts and other records is legitimately about familiarity, personal memories and local knowledge and associations—the social context of history, not just the physical evidence context. This was something that was obvious during the November 2007 field

work. The local knowledge and associations profoundly enhanced the recording work. To date, this has not been a feature of the literature associated with the islands.

The first *pākehā* collectors, observers and writers who travelled to Rangihaute included William Baucke (in 1848), William Travers (who visited the island to study botany, geology and birds in 1864 and 1871), and Alexander Shand (who arrived on Rēkohu in July 1855 to become first resident magistrate and collector of customs).

Observers like Baucke and Travers drew on contemporary Victorian social constructs and thinking in their writing, much of which focussed on attempts to categorise Moriori identity as Polynesians. The focus on Moriori identity was a strong aspect of Shand’s work as well, despite his productive collaboration with Hirawanu Tapu.

Desecration of Moriori burials and removal of *kōimi* began in the early 1870s when *kōimi* who had been taken from the islands became part of a research project of William Turner, scientist on the HMS Challenger (voyages 1873-1876) and continued with John H. Scott, the Otago anatomist who published in 1893 a study on *kōimi* Moriori, then the collecting and subsequent sale of *kōimi* from Rangihaute by Henry Hammersley (H. H.) Travers.



**Map prepared by Haast using Travers’ geological field notes and collected rock types.**

From 1863-1864, H. H. Travers was on Rangihaute carrying out research, mapping and collecting geological samples for Dr. Julius Von Haast of the Canterbury Museum. He refers to well known *tapu* sites at Waipāua and Tupurangi. He returned again from 1871-1872 to collect for the Colonial Museum and removed *kōimi* during both trips. Travers made Rangihaute his headquarters because he noted that it offered “greater advantages as a collecting ground.” (Travers 1868: 122).

During his first trip (October 1863 to April 1864), he stayed with Frederick Hunt on his farm at Onoua. He wrote to his father of his first trip, “although I found the remains of numerous skeletons in the woods on Pitt’s island, I was unable to get one in good condition; I have, however, brought several authentic skulls, which will probably be interesting for ethnographical purposes.” (Travers 1868: 122).

After his second trip, records of the Colonial Museum<sup>85</sup> show a number of *kōimi* and *taonga* purchased from H. H. Travers. The *kōiwi* removed included 25 Moriori skulls and 3 skeletons. Some of these *kōimi* were later given, by the Colonial Museum, to the Anatomy Museum, Edinburgh University, and have since been repatriated to New Zealand, awaiting their return to Rangaiauria.

In 1868, Stephenson Percy Smith undertook a survey of Rangihaute and was there for about a year. In his notes he describes a cave burial at Canister Cove, Waikokopu, which has not yet been recorded as an archaeological site.

We had a pleasant time at Pitt Island with generally fine weather and very beautiful scenery, especially on the S.E. coast. Lying off Glory (an old whaling station, named after a wrecked ship<sup>86</sup>) is South East Island or Haupa, one of the prettiest islands I ever saw, it contains about one square mile [of land]... Along the south coast of there, which strange to say the Hunts had never visited, the cliffs rise perpendicular to the sea to some 600-700 feet and form very beautiful scenery. In one place there we discovered the most charming little cove, circular in form, with a nice little white sandy beach on the shore side, and otherwise surrounded with high perpendicular cliffs, and opening on the seas by a narrow channel not more than 20 yards wide. The area of the cove is about one acre. Noticing some caves a little way up the cliffs we climbed up and there found an old Moriori burial place with bones &c and rotting matting, the fineness of which was equal to any of the valuable mats of the Samoans and much finer than any Maori work I ever saw.<sup>87</sup>



*Part of Chatham Islands map showing Rangihaute inset of Canister Cove by the surveyor S. Percy Smith, 1868, Compiled from Government and native surveys. Drawn by E.W.S, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1884. MapColl-os837cba-1868-Acc.7326*

<sup>85</sup> Seventh Annual Report of The Colonial Museum and laboratory. List of donations to the Colonial Museum from 21<sup>st</sup> August 1871 to July 1872, p. 10 No. 561.

<sup>86</sup> The brigantine *Glory* sank in 1827

<sup>87</sup> Smith 1868, pp 99-100. In January 1868 Smith went to the Chatham Islands to undertake the triangulation and subdivision of the group.

## **Research Question 2: Previous Archaeological Surveys and Research**

### ***What was the nature of previous archaeological recording on Rangihaute, and how has this work defined contemporary “scientific” theory about Moriori occupation?***

The next wave of research and writing came in the 1920s (H.D. Skinner), 1940s and 1950s (Christina Jefferson), and 1960s and 1970s with archaeological work<sup>88</sup> (Douglas Sutton and Phil Houghton), shipwreck recording (Johan Engst and John Campbell), dendroglyph (*rākau momori*) recording (Christina Jefferson and David Simmons), petroglyph recording (Stuart Park), bird research (NZ Wildlife Service), sealers and whaler research (Richards) and population studies (Rhys Richards). More recently comprehensive research has been carried out on geology (Hamish Campbell), dune sequences (Bruce McFadgen), flora and fauna (DOC and Te Papa), and now work for Waitangi Tribunal research and cultural database recording (Hokotehi Moriori Trust).

It is important to preface a discussion on earlier work with a cautionary note about the risks associated with being critical. Occasionally, the methodology and interpretation of earlier researchers is criticised because they often failed to take on *tchakat henu* and landowner/user perspectives. Instead of the temptation to draw attention to the negative aspects of earlier methodology it could be more helpful to gather all previous work and examine it in context, reflecting on how future work may be done differently. This reflective process could include drawing up codes of ethical practice that ensure:

- Research is carried out in a collaborative way;
- Research is focused on community-determined priorities, and;
- Research information is returned to and held with the island community

When assessing earlier research it is also important to consider that a “scientific” view is in itself “culture-bound,” and represents one perspective amongst many. Despite temptations to do otherwise, it is better for a research design to avoid binary comparisons of science versus culture or traditional versus western—they are all cultural constructs or world views that are personal, highly social and based on sets of structured beliefs. The next stage of research needs try to bring new, creative, multi-layered thinking to the mix.

Many of the researchers over the last 60 or so years have commented on Rangihaute being notable for the large numbers of areas that have (had) exposed *taonga*, including adzes, *patu*, necklaces, pendants, bone tools, and obsidian.

Sutton writes<sup>89</sup> of his Chathams survey work in general, extensive coastal surveys “*covering the coastline, lake and lagoon shores of Chatham Island*” were undertaken by six people in May 1974 over 400 sites.” Their recordings, with individual index cards, were at an inch to the mile on the map of Chatham, NZMS 240 (1st edition, 1969), which was deposited in the Department of Lands and Survey.

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<sup>88</sup> The 1973 Otago University study recorded 4 major settlement sites and 8 lithic sites on Rangiauria. Sutton identified one of the occupation sites as “Archaic” [i.e., pre 1500]; in December 1975, Sutton et al. carried out a coastal survey which recorded about 90 sites, 6 of which had burials; in 1983, Sutton carried out a survey on Pitt, South East Island and Mangere.

<sup>89</sup> Hokotehi Moriori Trust, 2006, *Moriori Cultural Landscapes: A Literature Review*, p. 15.

This was the best map available at the time. A grid system was superimposed on the map to facilitate site locations being recorded as 6 digit grid references. Those using the site location data should be aware that the scale of the NZMS 240 map was not sufficient... The twelve digit metric grid provided on the Trust's Site Index print-outs were calculated from the NZMS 240 approximate locations.

Some of these sites recorded at an inch to the mile, were subsequently "transferred" on to Map NZMS 290 (1983) "Existing Land Use and Archaeology." This shows ten "major Moriori settlement sites" on Chatham and four on Pitt, of which two on Chatham and one on Pitt are labelled as "Archaic sites (pre 1500 A.D. approx)." This transfer has caused some site location symbols to be inaccurately positioned.

The New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) scheme is a record of places where archaeological evidence has been recorded. It is a "site"-based record that tends to record physical evidence as separate "sites," rather than as landscapes. In part this is for expediency, and in part this is an aspect of archaeological method that has been practised in New Zealand (and internationally) for decades. It does not particularly suit anyone who is trying to understand relationships amongst areas of physical evidence; nor does it help protect heritage in a landscape context if the dots on the maps, rather than the spaces between, are seen as being the only places of archaeological value.

It is important to keep in mind that the NZAA database of recorded sites is just one layer in the mix of recording and interpreting heritage values. Other layers include:

- Oral histories and memory
- Local land user and land owner knowledge
- Associative knowledge about people, places and events
- Maps (archival and current)
- Kaitiaki knowledge
- Archaeological and other technical knowledge

An analysis of the 736 entries made in 1977—and now on the Chatham Islands section of the NZAA Site Recording Scheme—conveys a rather different picture: Of the 736, over three quarters of these are midden sites, and 51 burial sites are listed, along with 32 petroglyph sites, 3 dendroglyph sites, 6 lithic procurement (or tool making) places, 54 sites for miscellaneous extras (e.g., find-sites, fireplaces, caves, etc) and over 30 historical sites. One of the problems with this manner of recording is that the surviving physical evidence has directed the research priorities, without cognisance of relationships amongst these places.

During three weeks from December 1975, Sutton and others made a quick coastal survey of sites on the east coast of Pitt Island recording, on enlarged aerial photographs, about 90 sites, including 6 with human remains. Of these, Sutton<sup>90</sup> describes 8 as being "lithic procurement sites," located south of Glory Bay.

Christina Jefferson worked on Rangihau during six trips to Rēkohu from 1947-55. Over these years she dedicated one year and nine months in the field, and her work, regardless of queries about interpretations, is a valuable contribution. On Rangihau she recorded *rākau momori* in three areas:

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<sup>90</sup> Sutton 1984 p. 12.



Waihere, Tupurangi and Glory Bay. It is also known that she visited Waipāua and removed *taonga* and bird bones from the area.<sup>91</sup>

To date, archaeological work on Rangihauite has been, apparently, focused on coastal areas and the northern and eastern parts of the island. This is also true for Rēkohu and probably reflects a strong interest in studying the easily identifiable and accessible coastal middens. Researchers had limited time to carry out field studies and are likely to have selected places that would generate the most information. However, because the surveys have not been followed up with comprehensive work in the inland parts of the island, interpreting the archaeological (NZAA) data is problematic.

This also raises questions about the nature of occupation, such as whether settlement places were only on the coast and whether the eastern coast was more densely inhabited than other areas. Some places that were discussed during the November survey are not in the NZAA database (e.g., middens at Rangihauite Point) and other large occupation places are recorded as only a set of smaller middens and a burial (Waipāua). This is not unusual. The NZAA database over all of Rēkohu and New Zealand is littered with half surveyed places; surveys carried out in response to emergency situations; and survey work carried out without reference to landowner and *tchakat henu* knowledge (only exploring visible surface evidence). For this reason the NZAA database should be treated as just a guide; as just one layer in the pile of information systems we have available to try to

understand how Rangihauite was and is lived in.



### **Research Question 3: Landscape Change and Use**

***How have the processes and rate of ecological change on the island affected the heritage resource, and how can the impact of this be brought into future land management?***

“The whole of Pitts (sic) with but a trifling exception is covered with bush.”<sup>92</sup> These words from Travers during his first trip show the kind

of dramatic change the island has undergone.

Midden analysis has shown that the island habitat supported a big diversity of bird species. This was a significant feature of Waipāua middens, according to Richards (1982).

### ***Rangihauite, 19<sup>th</sup> century***

We know that the landscape change has had dramatic effects on the survival and integrity of archaeological sites and will continue to be a problem until some better protection mechanisms can be implemented and other, compatible uses for the land are explored. Erosion of archaeological sites by wind, rain, slope movement and animal actions is a frequent cause of degradation and damage. The rate of change and its effects on the archaeological resource was one of the dominant

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<sup>91</sup> Bo Lanauze, pers. comm. Nov 2007.

<sup>92</sup> Colonial Museum Report, 1868, p. 126 (no author cited).

themes of the 2007 field work. Many residents on the field trip noted the adverse changes in places like Waipāua and also on the walk across to Rangihaute Point.

One of the salient aspects of this research question is seeing how closely we can chart the correlation between environmental change, such as loss of forest habitat and erosion, alongside the absence of *tchakat henu*, *kaitiaki*, and local residents in the management of these same resources. Reconnection of people to these places is one of the key ingredients to arresting the rate of adverse change.

When landscapes have undergone, or are undergoing, changes that are causing damage to heritage and archaeological sites, it is critical to try to understand the processes causing this. Understanding the rates of change and mapping the way places used to be can provide a great deal of information without need for invasive research or investigation. On Rangihaute, erosion and stock damage is effecting change at a fairly fast rate. Carrying out survey work with landusers who visit these places regularly and/or who remembered them in decades past provides very helpful information about site size, integrity, and the nature of the evidence. This was particularly noticeable at Waipāua, which has undergone dramatic changes as a result of erosion and stock damage. Island residents were able to describe its former extent and provide information about archaeological evidence that conveyed a very different picture to the deflated, sparse midden and burial place that we visited in 2007. Their knowledge also contributed valuable information about the associative values of Waipāua (as an example and is discussed in more detail in the “First-Stage Survey” section [pg. 88]). Further examples occurred when locals assessed the changes in corridor in the Glory Block. Many noted the decline in forest cover and habitat.

#### **Research Question 4: Cultural Database Survey Work and Future Management**

##### ***How can initiatives like the HMT Cultural Database survey and a landscape-based approach be used for future heritage protection and management?***

The recent archaeological work carried out by HMT on Rēkohu (starting May 2006) tested a way of working that combined *rangata mātua* (elders) and landowner knowledge and experience, with archaeological field recording techniques. The survey style proved to be very effective in terms of quickly locating physical evidence, refreshing knowledge amongst the survey team of associative information, and exploring relationships amongst surviving evidence—even testing new hypotheses on occupation places.

Survey work on Rēkohu and briefly on Rangihaute in late 2007 showed the limitations of ever carrying out survey work that was separate from local knowledge. Surveying in an absence or reduction of surface physical evidence can lead to a restricted interpretation of evidence. It also reduces the chances of quickly locating well-known places and understanding (or even finding out about) associated information and values, such as changes in the site, memories, and connections to people and events.

The premise behind the cultural database work is that recording and research is centred on indigenous knowledge. Around this core knowledge other information is brought in, such as historical knowledge and records, landowner and user knowledge, and archaeological and other empirically- or physically-based knowledge. The vital element is the indigenous structure or frame that ensures knowledge is alive, respected and relevant. It is primarily knowledge of this land and the ways it has been and is being cared for, understood and lived in for centuries. The method also

has a core principle of finding a basis for respect. This involves detecting points of commonality and working on these. This is discussed in more detail in the section on Waipāua (Appendix E), with particular reference to techniques such as community mapping.

Just as recording depends on this knowledge, future management and protection also needs to stem from those who know the land and know the way the land has responded to change. Understanding environmental factors such as climate conditions, weather patterns, storm events and other processes that are causing change are fundamentally important for creating solutions to minimise damage.

When recording has been carried out using the layers of available knowledge and when the recording has been done in a landscape context that looks at the connections and relationships amongst and between physical evidence, the ability to understand how the land was previously lived in is enhanced. This enables us to move past simply protecting areas of surface evidence to managing, using, and protecting all the values of places that have *wāhi tapu*, heritage and/or archaeological values. In places where erosion is common, protection of visible surface evidence will never provide adequate protection of an archaeological “site”; it is a random approach to understanding site integrity.

A shift to a community-based approach to recording, research and management means that archaeological and *wāhi tapu* places will:

- Be less likely to be overlooked or misinterpreted in a survey;
- Have their management priorities decided by both the *tchakat henu* and those who live there; and
- Have information about these places retained on the island, for the benefit of the local community itself and as an aid to further research which may be undertaken.

During the survey work in November, there was a clear enunciation from the island community about their desire to use and develop parts of the coast from Waipāua to Canister. This needs to be considered in the management planning. There are *wāhi tapu* all along the Rangihau coast. How these are looked after and lived beside will depend on the quality of the management planning process and strength of the ongoing discussions between HMT and island residents. Because of the scale and nature of occupation sites along the whole coast (at least), it is necessary to ask about the implications for development and uses of these landscapes. There is no doubt that stock are causing irreversible damage. Decisions are needed for important areas that should involve fencing, covenants, monitoring and possibly also planting for long-term protection. All other heritage places on the island need recording and regular monitoring, as a minimum effort.

In summary:

- A large amount of *taonga* has been removed from the island;
- Caution needs to be applied in interpreting 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature about the Chathams;
- Significant collections of *taonga* are on the island in private hands;
- There are records of burials and middens, of Waipāua in particular, as well as at Canister and south of Glory Bay; and
- There are many places on the island whose full values and relationships with other archaeological evidence have not been assessed.

## Landscape Approach to Heritage Management

A landscape assessment approach that looks at relationships between areas of physical evidence is more valid than an attempt to understand isolated areas of evidence, especially when the isolated areas of evidence have been damaged.

*“Cultural heritage objects can only be understood, if the surrounding landscape is taken into consideration too. In certain cases the landscape even constitutes the cultural object itself.”<sup>93</sup>*

The idea of “landscape” here means the way environment is *perceived*. The difference between the reality and perception is created by the viewer’s responses, knowledge, experience, beliefs and biases about a place. Landscapes can be sources of assurance and pleasure - settings that show the affective bond between people and place. It’s not just the physical environment itself.

A heritage landscape can include the “natural resources of an area, visible evidence of occupation and use, features connected to historical or mythological happenings, and associations with ancestors.”<sup>94</sup> Cultural and heritage landscapes have been debated and defined by archaeologists for decades. More recently, they have been recognised through treaties, codes and declarations. Heritage landscapes are places “where human relationships with the natural environment over time define their essential character. The emphasis is on human history, continuity of cultural traditions, and social values and aspirations.”<sup>95</sup> A sense of place is a notion that means a place is not merely the sum of its parts. It clearly implies that a greater quality comes out of the combined values.

Good management and good kaitiaki practices should protect the character and spirit of a place with as much effort as they protect the physical aspects. This comprehensive approach contributes profoundly to a “sense of place” or *ūkaipō*<sup>96</sup> — vital for maintaining identity for those who enjoy the place now and those generations to come. Heritage landscapes give us a sense of place or belonging. “They reveal our relationship with land over time. Whether or not we are directly aware of their influence, landscapes have a profound effect on human life.”<sup>97</sup>

## First-Stage Survey Work, November 2007

As part of the ongoing discussions HMT is having with the Rangihau community, talk about the cultural database survey work started during the November 2007 field trip to Rangihau. Members of the island community hosted and guided me (Susan Thorpe) and HMT representatives around southern parts of the island. One of the main objectives for this first stage work was to meet the local community and hear about their heritage protection priorities and assess our collective research needs.

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<sup>94</sup> Boehler, W., Y. Scherer, M. Siebold, and G. Heinz . 2001. Topographic information in cultural and natural heritage visualization and animation. URL:

<http://www.gisdevelopment.net/application/archaeology/general/archg0006pf.htm>

<sup>94</sup> Janet Stephenson, date unknown.

<sup>95</sup> Mitchell and Buggey 2000

<sup>96</sup> A complex, poetical notion of “what gets you through the night,” place or space that has spiritually and emotionally sustaining properties.

<sup>97</sup> [www.nysenvirothon.org](http://www.nysenvirothon.org)

The notion of a collective history and how to record and value that needs to be discussed with Rangihaute residents in more detail. At the start of the survey work there was a sense that I should be telling them what was important. I also felt a sense of suspicion about my motives as an archaeologist—perhaps an (understandable) indication of how work has been done in the past and the breakdown of trust in “researchers.” Future work needs a shift in this thinking so that the island communities are the ones who say what is important and how places should be managed. This collective approach will benefit from archaeological knowledge for sure, but should not be directed by it.

During two days in the field we experienced great weather in very dry conditions and were able to walk and combine field survey with on site meetings and interviews about the way places had changed. A lot of our time was spent at Waipāua, checking exposed cliffs and the deflated, exposed midden as well as the wider landscape further up the stream and on the northern banks of the stream mouth. Management options for Waipāua are discussed below, but it is important to note that, although Waipāua was frequently visited by archaeologists and researchers in the past and is well known as a large settlement site, nothing at the stream mouth has ever been recorded in the NZAA system. Middens and a burial are recorded on the peninsula between Waipāua and Glory Bay, but not at the stream mouth.



After Waipāua the survey team walked to Waikuri, south of Glory Bay (Orokonga) and then on to Canister Cove (Waikokopu) and over to the west coast (part of this was in vehicles) to the Rangihaute Scenic Reserve and up on to Rangihaute Point. Middens were noted at the north end of this point; these have not yet been recorded. Only part of the area known as Glory Block was covered because of time constraints. At Glory Bay we checked the old woolshed foundations and the two cottages, which have recently had some dubious renovation work carried out. These structures are an important part of the heritage fabric of the island and should also be recorded and cared for.

During the evenings the field work was discussed with some of the older island residents who recalled lots of details about the nature of places like Waipāua and even the field work of Christina Jefferson, who visited Waipāua in the 1950s and removed adzes and bird bones from the middens.

Our field work did not record any previously unknown archaeological evidence, which was possibly disappointing for the wider team. The field work did not have a structured methodology at the outset. The decision was made to walk where access was reasonably safe for all (at one stage there were 18 on the walk, including children) and to concentrate on the coastal strip because we knew evidence had been recorded in the past. After initial discussions at the start of the trip, it was agreed that the most productive use of time would be to talk about field techniques and management practices whilst checking on the condition of existing archaeological evidence. More comprehensive field surveys could be carried out in future stages of heritage work on the island.

This is a different result from the field work on Rēkohu where the landscape-based, collective community approach resulted in recording larger-scale occupation places than previously recorded



and a greater variance amongst physical archaeological features. However, the community approach had the same beneficial results in terms of quickly locating known sites and assisting with interpretation, particularly where sites had been damaged.

### Assessing Archaeological Value – Waipāua Case Study

Waipāua is discussed in detail here as a management case study because:

- It is an important *wāhi tapu* for *tchakat henu* and the island community;
  - It is a priority area for the current HMT-Rangihau Island community discussions;
  - It is suffering from physical damage which needs urgent remedial attention; and;
- It provides a model for how other parts of the island may be cared for and managed.

Waipāua is an extensive settlement at the Waipāua stream mouth, at the southern end of a wide, shallow bay on the east coast of the island. The stream has areas of remnant forest right to the water but is currently grazed by cattle that walk to the stream and through the middens every day.

In the 1960s, Rhys Richards described Waipāua as being “huge densely packed middens containing predominantly bird bones.”<sup>98</sup> Bo Lanauze recalled swimming at Waipāua as a child and seeing “lots of middens, especially pāua in banks of crushed shells—these are all eroded away now.”<sup>99</sup> On the field trip, others noted, “Waipāua was always the place where people came to collect taonga—they got boxes full of artefacts, like adzes, and bones. The taonga were high quality here—it was rare to find any roughly finished stuff.” And, “you pulled the bidibidi back and retrieved adzes—that’s why the area was known as wāhi tapu.”

The banks on the southern side of the stream mouth are eroding rapidly. Most of those on the survey commented on the erosion and changes in the sites. The consensus was that several decades ago the banks were more stable and had grass cover over the sand. “Thirty years ago you could only walk along the river—the erosion is from the cattle.” On the top of the dune we noted burnt *hangi* stones, bird bones, and a rubbing stone. On the highest part of the dunes was a burial site that was eroding due to wind and stock action. In this same area a child’s skeleton had also recently been exposed and reburied.<sup>100</sup>

Waipāua clearly has strong significance and associations for those on the survey team. Some recalled how it was “*the picnic spot and place to swim where all the community came to camp. All the trees and ferns came right to the water.*” The bush upstream from the road bridge was where the community camped in summer but since the school pool was built it has not been regularly used (according to those on the survey team). The collective memories and associations with Waipāua were palpable and contributed strongly to the values connected with the site.

The erosion and damage from cattle is of concern and needs urgent remedial attention. Fencing the stream mouth, including the north bank should be a priority for protecting the archaeological values.

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<sup>98</sup> Richards, R. 2005 Report to HMT (internal report) Moriori Cultural Landscapes: A Literature Review, p. 46

<sup>99</sup> Pers. Comm Nov 2007

<sup>100</sup> Kelly Gregory-Hunt, pers. comm. Nov 2007

During the field trip we spent considerable time discussing where the fences should go. I recommended an approach that considered the wider heritage landscape. This would also provide a buffer around areas of visible surface evidence and thereby protect archaeological evidence that may not have been exposed when we were there. Waipāua would best be protected as a reserve with stock fences protecting the area upstream to the stands of forest and swamp and on both sides of the stream mouth. Putting a fence around the exposed midden *only* would not be adequate protection for the *wāhi tapu* or for other unrecorded archaeological evidence.

After fencing and in time, grasses and scrub would regenerate which would also aid in erosion control. However, an initial planting programme on the dunes could be considered to accelerate the protective cover. There are indigenous coastal plants that are suitable for planting on archaeological sites. A list of these has been given to the island community, along with a list of plants to avoid. Planning also needs to consider directing walkways and access *away* from places sensitive to erosion and damage. This is especially so of the cliff face where the burials have been exposed. A community management plan for Waipāua is recommended.

The plan should contain information about:

- planting;
- protection (and direction of threats away from sensitive areas);
- recording;
- monitoring (regular checks and photographic evidence of change);
- compatible uses for the site; and
- interpretive signs (if that was desired) and information that could be shared with visitors.

As part of the plan, site recording should be carried out so that information is also visible in the archaeological layer or level of knowledge. Planning work with the community could also consider protective instruments, such as registration of the *wāhi tapu* under the Historic Places Act or a *kawenata* (covenant) with an agency such as Ngā Whenua Rāhui<sup>101</sup>. NZHPT registration does not offer formal protection but will ensure that *wāhi tapu* are identified in Council planning instruments. Perhaps Waipāua as a case study could test whether that is useful or relevant on the Chatham.

In order for Waipāua to be adequately protected, stock would need to be removed immediately, fences would need to be erected in a wider buffer area, on both sides of the stream, and sensitive access would need to be managed. Longer term protection could include archaeological recording, a management plan, mapping, interpretive signs and, possibly, registration or a *kawenata*.

To start this work, a community mapping exercise could be carried out. This would record the associative memories and uses of Waipāua alongside its physical values, community needs, stakeholder interests and land tenure information. A community map is a visual representation of spatial data that tells the stories of what happened and what is happening in a place. Generally these maps are used for achieving goals associated with restoration or ecological integrity but they are also valuable for developing heritage management plans and interpretation guides. Mapping work can also often be usefully incorporated into education programmes at the local school to ensure that management input and appreciation of heritage values is inter-generational.

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<sup>101</sup>

<http://www.doc.govt.nz/templates/summary.aspx?id=43139>

As part of the management plan process some assessment of *heritage value* could be useful. Often the notion of assessing or attributing value is abhorrent, but some consideration of why a place is important is helpful when thinking about compatible uses, if there are any. In this context, values are simply names for the way we make sense of the world (place, events, features, names, spiritual qualities, intangible qualities, memories). It should be stressed that this assessment also needs to take into account what has been “lost” or removed. These are still factors in assessing value and importance. Table 1 is just a first start and it is hoped that, after more interviews with *tchakat henu* and other community members who know about this place and have regard for this place, more dimensions will be added. All the associations with Waipāua contribute to its sense of place and value.

**Table 1. Values Assessment**

| <b>Criteria for assessment</b>  | <b>Comment</b>   |
|---|--|
| <b>Age</b>  | <i>Unknown: no dates done. Likely to be a place continuously occupied in the history of settlement on Rangihau</i>   |
| <b>Rarity</b>   | <i>An extensive settlement place like this is relatively rare on Rangihau</i>  |
| <b>Informational (or scientific) value.</b> This also includes contribution to other science disciplines like paleo-environmental information, human ecology, etc | <i>This is likely to be high, though a great deal of the physical information has been removed from the main part of the site. Factor this in as well.</i> |
| <b>Aesthetic</b>  | <i>Strong values: heritage landscape</i>   |
| <b>Historic</b>   | <i>Strong: link to island community and historic associations</i>  |
| <b>Representativeness</b> (i.e., potential for providing information)   | <i>Likely to be highly representative of occupation places on this coast</i>   |
| <b>Documentation</b> (how much information do we have about this site or class of sites?)   | <i>Very limited: an under-represented area in terms of research</i>  |
| <b>Condition</b>  | <i>Parts of the site are seriously threatened from erosion and cattle damage</i>   |
| <b>Fragility</b>  | <i>Site is threatened from erosion and stock damage. Fencing and planting will have almost immediate remedial effects</i>                                  |
| <b>Diversity</b> (the extent to which a site is likely to contain features characteristic of the class of sites)  | <i>Evidence so far is based on middens and burials only; possible that other aspects of site remain intact as well</i>                                     |
| <b>Associative Values</b> (e.g., traditional, cultural,   | <i>Very strong associative values, particularly as a statement of occupation and tchakat</i>   |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| spiritual, social values)  | <i>henu presence as well as later regular use and association from island community</i>  |
| <b>Geographic significance.</b> Something nationally common can be locally rare or have special associative values that make it consequently more precious |  |
| <b>Group value</b> (association with sites of the same or other classes or as part of a relic landscape)   | <i>Associated with other occupation sites along this coast</i>   |
| <b>Amenity values.</b> This is the potential for becoming a visual, educational or recreational resource   | <i>Potential for ongoing use as picnic site (if sensitively managed in terms of burials) and possible for regenerating forest, including the possible use for education or for resources? Subject to consensual agreement?</i> |
| <b>Conservation value</b> (potential of archaeology to enhance area with other values through protection)  | <i>Potential for protection of natural character and ecology of dune and forest</i>  |
| <b>Commercial values</b> (e.g. potential for heritage tourism, education or interpretation)  | <i>Unknown</i>   |

### How to Manage Heritage on Other Parts of the Rangihau Coast

Similar management planning methods could easily be applied to other heritage places on Rangihau. But it needs to be stressed that applying a landscape-based approach is critical. Trying to protect isolated features will tear at the heritage fabric of the island and result in a physically fragmented heritage resource.

Planning and co-operative, inclusive management will assist with balancing heritage protection with economic development aspirations.

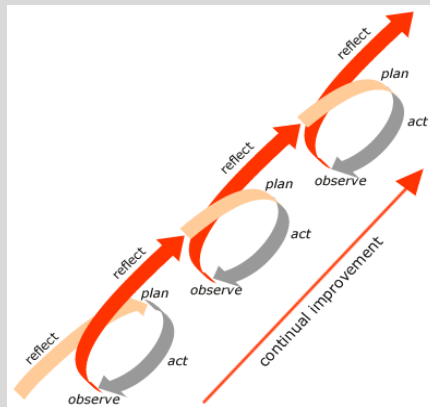
Making sense of the place as a whole is the important first step. Ways that this may be achieved include:

- Developing an overall Heritage Management Plan (define appropriate research questions);
- Using research and land-use protocols with *tchakat henu*. This could include developing draft principles for integrating heritage work with other priority areas for HMT and the island community ;
- Incorporating heritage management techniques (e.g., planting, fencing, recording, monitoring, HMT Cultural Database work);
- Directing inappropriate or destructive use (e.g. walking trails, 4-wheel drive access, cattle) away from sensitive areas;
- Developing and using a code of ethical practice for research on the island (draft in appendix);
- Carrying out ongoing survey work using the landscape approach;
- Recording features not currently in the NZAA database (including features now destroyed or damaged, such as the old woolshed).
- Regularly update existing NZAA records;
- Continue oral history recording (using the TKRP method and software?);
- Researching correct place names ;
- Providing infrastructural support (fencing, rates relief) for landowners who wish to use *kawenata* to protect resources;
- Developing a *kaitiaki* plan for ongoing regular and responsive checking of archaeological evidence, burials, *kōpi* trees, etc. Needs to check for damage, repair, changes; and
- Identifying local *kaitiaki* who have a passion for understanding and caring for heritage and offering professional development and training in this work.



Summary of Main Points

Methodology



1. The method is based on an action research model.<sup>102</sup> This kind of action research operates by having the process shaped by involving communities in the planning as well as action, and by the research being responsive to these participants. In essence, the action research model removes the gaps between deciders and doers. The method allows for the research design to be developed as the work is carried out.
2. Community and independent peer review of reporting
3. Landscape-based approach to interpreting heritage
4. Island community and *kaitiaki* involvement in all aspects of the research design, field work and reporting.

<sup>102</sup>

From <http://education.qld.gov.au/students/advocacy/equity/gender-sch/action/action-cycle.html>

### Actions of Historic Participants



1. Large amounts of *taonga* left the island for private and institutional collections. This includes *kōimi*.
2. Trends in 19<sup>th</sup>-century literature leave Moriori voices virtually silent in the historical records.
3. These actions defined Moriori history without reference to Moriori themselves.
4. Caution needs to be applied when using and interpreting historic records.
5. The social context of history—memories, associations, and local knowledge—is as important as the physical evidence context.
6. Local knowledge and associations profoundly enhanced the November 2007 field work.

### The Nature of Previous Archaeological Recording



1. The archaeological research work concentrated in the 1960s and 1970s did little to break the mold of anthropological theory established in the 1800s.
2. Previous archaeological work has tended to focus on coastal occupation and use midden evidence for assessing occupation place, scale and density, but Rangihaute is noted for its rich collections of *taonga* Moriori.
3. Three areas of *rākau momori* were recorded on Rangihaute by Jefferson (Waihere, Tupurangi, Glory Bay).
4. No comprehensive studies have been done in a landscape-based framework. This makes interpreting the NZAA records problematic.
5. Previous archaeological work has been carried out without the community of interest involvement.

### Landscape Change and Use



1. Rangihaute has suffered from rapid and comprehensive landscape change and use since the 1840s.
2. Vulnerable coastal occupation areas have been damaged due to erosion and movement of stock.
3. Midden analysis shows that the island once supported a big diversity of forest and coastal bird species.
4. The rate of landscape change and its effects on the archaeological resource was one of the dominant themes of the November 2007 field work, especially the damage noted at Waipāua.
5. Reconnection of people (*kaitiaki*) to *wāhi tapu* is one of the key ingredients to arresting rates of adverse change.

### Cultural Database Work and Future Management of Heritage



1. Carrying out survey work with the people who live on the land often results in a more comprehensive idea of how the land has been, and is being, loved and lived in.
2. The HMT cultural database methodology (on Rēkohu) has resulted in significant changes to the amount of archaeological evidence being recorded, as well as the ways it can be interpreted.
3. There are distinct limitations in carrying out field work in a way that is separate from local knowledge.
4. The cultural database work has, as a core principle, finding a basis for respect and commonality of views.
5. Future survey work and management planning needs to consider land uses that are compatible with heritage protection.
6. *Wāhi tapu* are all along the Rangihaute coast—what are the implications for heritage of use and development of the coastal zone?



### Waipāua – A Case Study



1. Waipāua is an important wāhi tapu for *tchakat henu* and the island community
2. It is a priority area for HMT/island community discussions
3. It is suffering from physical damage due to erosion and stock action, which needs urgent remedial attention
4. Examining management of Waipāua may provide a useful model for managing other heritage places on Rangihau
5. Waipāua is an extensive settlement with significant heritage values but has not been recorded as such in the NZAA database
6. A community management plan for Waipāua is recommended

**Appendix F:**

**Hokotehi Moriori Trust Ethical Protocols for Research**

**[February 2012]**



## Introduction

The purpose of these protocols are to inform and provide guidelines for prospective researchers on Moriori history and culture of the values and ethics that are important to Moriori, prior to any research being undertaken or even developed.

In a strong sense thinking about ethics is the same as thinking about values. What is valued here is the perpetuation of Moriori identity and culture. However, we do want to make sure that the way this is valued is ethical and safe. Consideration of ethics should not be complicated or difficult. Ethical behaviour in research is about remembering your guiding value is integrity. If you communicate clearly and honestly and work in a sensitive manner, ethical practice will be a natural outcome. These protocols seek to move past compliance into trust and engagement.

The protocols are accompanied by an ethical research form, which incorporates practical guidelines for applicants.

## Hokotehi Moriori Trust Research Objectives

One of Hokotehi's main objectives is to ensure that Moriori identity, as a separate and distinct indigenous culture of Rēkohu/Aotearoa New Zealand, is not lost and that the covenant of peace that was observed by Moriori is honoured and preserved for future generations. The Trust aims to apply wisdom and values of our karāpuna to ensure the physical and spiritual nourishment of present and future generations of Moriori.

### Other core objectives are:

1. Revitalisation of Moriori culture (promotion of and research into language, music, arts and traditions);
2. Research into *hokopapa* Moriori;
3. Raising awareness about Moriori (e.g., through development of and provision of educational resource material);
4. Affirming Moriori culture and identity through dispelling myths and inaccuracies about Moriori;
5. Research into or field work on cultural and physical heritage;
6. Promoting and fostering a better understanding of the Moriori legacy of peace; and
7. Protecting and recording traditional knowledge and practices using the Traditional Knowledge Revival Pathways (TKRP) system.

Please refer to the following Codes of Ethics and their guiding principles for further reference. These are endorsed by Hokotehi. However, in the event of dissent or divergence of opinion, the Hokotehi protocols take precedence:

**International Society of Ethnobiology Code of Ethics**

<http://ethnobiology.net/code-of-ethics/code-in-english/>

**World Archaeological Congress Code of Ethics**

[http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about\\_ethi.php](http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about_ethi.php)

**Values and Ethical Protocols to Abide by:**

The ethical protocols numbered below are based on a set of core values that must form a foundation for any and all research undertaken with Moriori<sup>103</sup>:

Ask yourself:

1. How will this benefit Moriori?
2. How will this benefit Rēkohu?
3. How will this benefit future generations?

**Respect.** Moriori value their collective memory and shared experience as a resource and inheritance. Researchers who fail to respect Moriori identity, knowledge and wisdom may misinterpret data or meaning, may create mistrust, otherwise limit quality or may overlook a potentially important benefit of research. Research also needs to involve and show respect for elders. Proposals need to show a connection amongst past, present and future with a consideration of collective or community impacts; not just individuals. A respectful relationship induces trust and co-operation.

**Reciprocity.** In the research context, reciprocity implies inclusion and means recognising partners' contributions, and ensuring that research outcomes include equitable benefits. Reciprocity requires the researcher to demonstrate a return (or benefit) to the community that is valued by the community and which contributes to cohesion and survival. It is important to remember that Moriori may place greater or lesser value on the various returns than researchers. Reciprocity involves exchange, although in the context of research there can be a risk of unequal power relationships. Moriori have the right to define the benefits according to their own values and priorities.

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<sup>103</sup>

We acknowledge and appreciate the extensive work in a document from the Australian National Health and Medical Research Council for carrying out health research in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island communities and the AIATSIS 2011 ethical guidelines. Much of the thinking in the values statements below is drawn from these works.

[http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/files\\_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e52.pdf](http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e52.pdf) and <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/docs/ethics.pdf>

**Responsibility.** Central to Moriori culture is the notion of *kaitiakitanga* or reciprocal responsibility for all living systems. A key part of this is the avoidance of harm and management of risks. Ethical research occurs when harmony between the sets of responsibilities is established, participants are protected, trust is maintained and accountability is clear.

**Equality.** Ethical research processes treat all partners as equal, notwithstanding that they may be different. In the absence of equal treatment, trust among research funders, researchers, host institutions, Moriori and other stakeholders is not possible. Without such trust ethical research is undermined. The distribution of benefits stands as a fundamental test of equality. If the research process delivers benefit in greater proportion to one partner in the initiative than other partners, the distribution of benefit may be seen as unequal.

**Active Protection.** The pressures on indigenous cultures from effects of marginalisation and colonisation are often damaging. Finding ways to enhance collective identity helps actively protect cultural values. Moriori culture, in particular, has suffered from historic events and subsequent research carried out often without reference to or consultation with Moriori. Protection of the distinctiveness of Moriori culture and traditions is vitally important for Hokotehi. Barriers presented by previously inappropriate research mean that researchers today will need to make particular effort to deal with the perception of research as an exploitative exercise. They will need to demonstrate through ethical negotiation, conduct and dissemination of research that they are trustworthy and will not repeat the mistakes of the past. This can be easily addressed through active engagement with Hokotehi.

The following protocols must be actively addressed in research proposals and outputs associated with Moriori.

1. Prior to undertaking any research activities (including the development of proposals) the importance of culture, identity, sense of place, language and *taonga* must be acknowledged as being crucial for the survival and well-being of Moriori; the traditional and absolute guardians of *ngā taonga tuku iho ki Rēkohu*. In addition to respecting Moriori culture and identity, work needs to be respectful of Rēkohu and its natural resources, including the maintenance of harmony and balance in natural as well as spiritual dimensions.
2. Respect for *tikane* Moriori on all aspects of your research must be demonstrated. This includes acknowledgment of Moriori methodologies in interpreting, curating, managing and protecting our heritage and *taonga*. If research results in the discovery of *kōimi* Moriori appropriate *karakii* will be required before decisions are made on how to best respect these remains, preferably by leaving them to rest in situ. Likewise, *taonga* must not be removed without express approval from Hokotehi. Storage of and access to some information may need restrictions. This should be agreed by all parties at the outset.
3. Research must avoid harm and actively seek to provide benefits to Moriori, Rēkohu and to future Moriori generations. Research proposals and practice must also manage risks and



seek appropriate remedial action if necessary. If at any stage of the research it is determined that the practices or any actual and/or potential outcomes of the research may be harmful, a resolution process must be entered into that addresses the harm.

4. Researchers must actively engage with Moriori, through its governing body Hokotehi Moriori Trust in all aspects of the research—from proposal and planning through to completion and dissemination, including funding applications, which (where possible) should seek remuneration for Moriori participants. Full prior and informed consent is required for all proposals that may affect Moriori and their *taonga tuku iho*.
5. Maintain full disclosure and clear communication and open, honest sharing of all aspects of research, including changes to research questions and objectives, during all stages of the investigation. Research relationships are also influenced by what is not said: *“Problems [emerge] if we do not recognise that values operate in the everyday world from undeclared evaluations and judgments about other people, their behaviours and practices.”*<sup>104</sup> Working with difference in a research context takes time, care, patience and the building of robust relationships.
6. All outputs of the research, whether they are published or otherwise, must acknowledge Hokotehi and identify that the information and any use thereof is protected as intellectual and cultural property of Hokotehi for Moriori. This includes appropriate attribution, crediting, authorship, co-authorship and due acknowledgement for all contributions.
7. One of the main purposes of Hokotehi is for the future well-being of Moriori. We wish to encourage proposals that have an in-built element of training or up-skilling for project participants or others who may learn from your work. This may include sharing of skills and information learned during your project or it may involve learning from experienced or knowledgeable project advisers. Research must demonstrate returns/benefits to Moriori that are valued and/or needed by the community and which contribute to Moriori cohesion, survival and well-being.
8. If research will, or is likely to, result in commercial development and reward, the nature of the reward and means by which the benefits will accrue to Moriori (e.g. product development, primary research and development, film and visual outputs, literature, text, etc) must be clearly set out.
9. If necessary, mutually agreed terms and conditions of the research shall be set out in an MOU that addresses and adheres to the protocols listed above.

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<sup>104</sup> Cameron H, *Values Education for a Pluralist Society*, Australian Association for Professional and Applied Ethics, 8th Annual Conference, Adelaide, 2001.

## **Appendix G: Hokotehi Moriori Trust**

### **Ethical Protocols Form for External Research Projects**

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this form is to inform prospective researchers on Moriori history and culture of the values and ethics that are important to Moriori prior to any research being undertaken. It is also to obtain feedback from prospective researchers on the methodology, plan and objectives of the research and how this will involve and benefit Moriori (and the wider public interest) for the duration of the research.

Please read the protocols (Feb 2012) first.

We thus invite you to read on and complete and return this form to Hokotehi for approval.

#### **Hokotehi Moriori Trust Research Objectives**

One of the main objectives of the Trust is to ensure that Moriori identity, as a separate and distinct indigenous culture of Aotearoa New Zealand, is not lost and that the covenant of peace that was observed by Moriori is honoured and preserved for future generations. The Trust aims to apply wisdom and values of our karapuna to ensure the physical and spiritual nourishment of present and future generations of Moriori.

#### Other core objectives are:

1. Revitalisation of Moriori culture (promotion of and research into language, music, arts and traditions);
2. Research into *hokopapa* Moriori;
3. Raising awareness about Moriori (e.g., through development of and provision of educational resource material);
4. Affirming Moriori culture and identity through dispelling myths and inaccuracies about Moriori;
5. Research into or field work on cultural and physical heritage;
6. Promoting and fostering a better understanding of the Moriori legacy of peace; and
7. Protecting and recording traditional knowledge and practices using the Traditional Knowledge Revival Pathways (TKRP) system.

Please refer to other Codes of Ethics and their guiding principles for further reference. The following are endorsed by Hokotehi:

**ISE Code of Ethics**

<http://ethnobiology.net/code-of-ethics/code-in-english/>

**WAC Code of Ethics**

[http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about\\_ethi.php](http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/about_ethi.php)

Please fill in the form electronically and take as much space as you require to answer the prompts. One unstapled copy of the application form must be posted or emailed to the following address. If you are unsure about any sections of this form and need some assistance or would like to send a draft for preliminary feedback you are welcome to contact us without prejudice to consideration of your final application. Our goal is to ensure beneficial proposals are considered carefully.

When your form is received it will be forwarded to all Hokotehi Trustees and await a regular business meeting for discussion. Feedback will be provided in writing.

**Please post or email to:**

Hokotehi Moriori Trust  
 c/o P.O. Box 188  
 Rekohu  
 Chatham Islands  
 office@kopinga.co.nz

**External Research Project Ethical Protocols Form**

**Date of Application:**

**Date Received** (*HMT office use only*):

**Research Project Contacts:**

| Contact details    | PRIMARY CONTACT | SECOND CONTACT |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Name:              |                 |                |
| Mailing address:   |                 |                |
| Telephone numbers: |                 |                |
| Fax number:        |                 |                |
| Email address:     |                 |                |

Please use as much space as you require for providing information. The spaces between headings on this form are not intended as guides for the amount of information needed.

**Proposal Members:**

1. In addition to the two contacts above, please list all others involved in this project. This information should include names and roles in the project, as well as their relative experience for this work. CVs of all the main project members are required. If members are not Moriori please identify them as such.

**Proposal Timeframe:**

2. Outline your timeframes. This should include the planned start and completion times as well as key milestone timings in the project (if relevant). Please identify any risks to the project's success if timeframes cannot be met (*for example, if you are part of a collaborative project that has other timeframes or if this work is a matter of urgency*). One of the most important aspects of your timeframe is showing how you will report back to Hokotehi in a timely manner on the progress and conclusion of your project. If the proposal involves work covering more than one year we would like to see bi-annual status reports.

**Proposal Outline:**

3. Please provide a brief outline of the purpose of your project or research. As well as setting out exactly what you plan to do and how you plan to do it, this will also need to include information about:
  - i. how the proposal will meet one or more of the objectives outlined on the first page of this form;
  - ii. what the research questions you are aiming to address are, and;
  - iii. what specific outcomes will this work result in (e.g. works of art, research papers, films or digital recordings, field work, music, educational resources etc).

**Future Benefits from your Proposal:**

4. In the research context, reciprocity implies inclusion and requires the researcher to demonstrate a return (or benefit) to the community that is valued by the community and which contributes to cohesion and survival.
5. One of the main purposes of Hokotehi is for the future well-being of Moriori. We wish to encourage proposals that have an in-built element of training or up-skilling for project participants or others who may learn from your work. This may include sharing of skills and information learned during your project or it may involve learning from experienced or knowledgeable project advisers.
6. How does your proposal provide opportunities for Moriori to better advocate for and actively enjoy our culture and identity?

**Ethical and Safe Practice:**

Support is likely to be given to proposals which demonstrate benefits for Moriori in a way that respects and demonstrates *tikane* Moriori.

7. There have been past examples of unethical research practice involving Moriori traditional knowledge, images, art and wāhi tapu etc. We are striving to ensure that the harm caused by these actions is not repeated again, and nor do we wish to see others benefit from Moriori knowledge without regard to Moriori themselves.
8. Research always involves groupings of people in a collaborative exercise. The soundness of trust among its participants and beneficiaries is essential to a successful and ethical outcome. Trust has to function at all levels of the research enterprise. Where trust persists, research can be sustained. Primarily, trust emerges from engagement. The guidelines in this form have been written on the understanding that your proposal is essentially by and for Moriori. When research is being carried out by people outside our community different guidelines may be applied that require demonstration of Moriori involvement in all stages of research, e.g. conceptualisation/dreaming and planning; analysis; development and approval; data collection; report writing or production of outcomes; and dissemination/feedback. Please outline how you will involve Moriori in these stages of your research?
9. We are reluctant to set out a list of questions on ethics for Hokotehi. Consideration of this matter is expected to be at the heart of your proposal – not a separate section on a form. In a strong sense thinking about ethics is the same as thinking about values. What is valued here is the perpetuation of Moriori identity and culture. However, we do want to make sure that the way this is valued is ethical and safe. Consideration of ethics should not be complicated or difficult. Ethical behaviour in research is about remembering your guiding value is integrity. If you communicate clearly and honestly and work in a sensitive manner, ethical practice will be a natural outcome. To assist you we have a set of prompts below.
10. Please provide information that shows how your proposal will be respectful and ethical. This section is a guide rather than a set of limits as to what may be considered. In checking your proposal against this guide, please think again about the research questions you set out in your proposal outline (section 3) above. Do those questions still look relevant?
11. As a guide, we would like to see information about:
  - i. Involvement of and respect for elders (it is important that your proposal shows a connection amongst past, present and future). This prompt also requires consideration of collective or community impacts; not just individuals.
  - ii. How you will ensure that you work is respectful of Rekohu and its natural resources, including the maintenance of harmony and balance in natural and spiritual dimensions
  - iii. How your proposal seeks to benefit Moriori and avoid harm to anyone
  - iv. How does it reflect and protect the cultural distinctiveness and identity of Moriori
  - v. How it has involved Moriori in all aspects of the research process (see above)
  - vi. How participants will be informed about all aspects of the proposal
  - vii. How participants' wellbeing will be safeguarded during the course of your work
  - viii. How participants will be acknowledged
  - ix. Where information and/or outcomes generated from this proposal will be housed
  - x. How any confidential or tapu information will be cared for
  - xi. How the intellectual and cultural property of Moriori (individually and collectively) will be respected and protected.



12. If your proposal involves publication (in hard or electronic copies) a final draft must be sent to the Hokotehi administrator for final approval before being released publicly, regardless of whether you have already received ethical approval from HMT.
13. All outputs of your research, whether they are published or otherwise, must acknowledge Hokotehi and identify that the information and any use thereof is protected as intellectual and cultural property of Hokotehi for Moriori.
14. If your research will, or is likely to, result in commercial development and reward, please describe the nature of the reward and explain how you will ensure benefits are also accrued to Moriori (e.g. product development, primary research and development, film and visual outputs, literature, text).

Thank you, *me rongō*