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E HAERE MAI RĀ TAKU TANIWHA, E MOE, E OKI, E HAERE ATU RĀ TRANSITIONING INTERGENERATIONAL KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER FOR TANIWHA AND KAITIAKI NARRATIVES WITHIN HOROMAKA HAPŪ OF KĀI TAHU, KĀTI MĀMOE ME WAITAHA HOKI

Matiu Payne

INTRODUCTION

Intergenerational knowledge and practices associated with kaitiaki (guardians) and taniwha (consecrated guardians) in the taiao (natural world) of Horomaka (Banks Peninsula) have relied upon customary knowledge systems for transmission between generations. Horomaka hapū[1] knowledge keepers have relied upon whānau selection and training at each successive generation. The training of knowledge keepers included systems of formal and informal whare wānaka (houses of learning). Akoako (pupils) in these institutions were initiated through customary religious ceremonies such as tūā and tohi.

In 2019 and 2020, two taniwha from within Te Wao nui a Takaroa (the ocean), died and revealed themselves when washed ashore. Physical and spiritual attributes associated with these taniwha enabled their identification by the current generations of indigenous knowledge keepers.

On 20 March 2019, it was reported online that a 200 kg leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) had washed ashore in a remote area of Horomaka.[2] Later, in October 2020, another taniwha from customary tradition washed ashore in proximity to the first locality. This second taniwha was a 20 metre, white, fin whale (*Balaenoptera physalus*). Both of these localities were proximal to urupā (cemeteries) and whare wānaka (customary learning areas) for Horomaka hapū. As such, great cultural significance was associated with their discoveries.

Cultural significances included the revelation of customary knowledge which had previously been kept as muna mātauraka (confidential knowledge) amongst Horomaka hapū. Their discovery then, highlighted a lack of general knowledge and understanding about these taniwha amongst newer generations of hapū members.

This paper has been written to explore the customary knowledge framework within which these taniwha and kaitiaki were integral. This paper also seeks to assist Horomaka hapū members to engage the customary knowledge frameworks more fully, and with greater understanding.

ŌTOHUKAORAOTEAO

One of the formal knowledge transfer systems utilised by Horomaka hapū in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (from around 1700 to 1870) were formal whare kura or whare wānaka (schools of learning). One particular wānaka locality on Horomaka is known as Ōtohukaoraoteao. Ōtohukaoraoteao comprised whare kura (karakia and general instruction), and whare kōkōraki (star knowledge). The descriptions of the different whare within this system of learning are akin, but distinct, to Western university faculties. Each whare wānaka was replete with their own professors, lecturers, researchers, and administrators.

Ōtohukaoraoteao is a te reo Māori (Māori language) compound word. Its composite terminology, when separated, can be read as Ō-tohuka-ora-o-te-ao. Translated into English, Ōtohukaoraoteao means "the place of the learned sages of light", or more colloquially, "the place where the tohuka of light practiced and taught their knowledge to akoako (pupils)."[3]

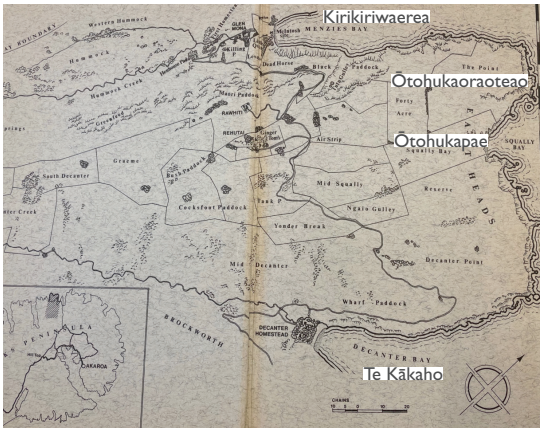

Figure 1. Surveyed map of Menzies Bay and Squally Bay area. Sourced from I.H. Menzies (1970). Inside front cover: Horomaka hapū customary names have been applied to the map.

The purpose of this particular location then, was for enlightened forms of knowledge to be imparted to the akoako. Other forms, and perhaps more "darker" knowledge, associated with whare pū rākau (warfare) makutu (sorcery), and other areas were taught elsewhere.

Ōtohukaoraoteao has been truncated on some historical maps to Ōtohuao or Ōtūtahuao and invariably mislocated or misinterpreted on the same maps. Another historical place of significance to Horomaka hapū is called Ōtūtohuao/Ōtūtahuao and this place is situated at Hickory Bay on Horomaka. Ōtohukaoraoteao is a specific locality on a headland between Ōtohukapae and Kirikiriwaerea (see Figure 1. above).

Ōtohukapae (Ō-tohuka-pae or "the place where the tohuka would sit, think and debate") is another compound word. Its tino (precise locality) is up a small valley immediately above Squally Bay, which sits to the right-hand side of Ōtohukaoraoteao when looking out to sea.

To the left-hand side of Ōtohukaoraoteao is Kirikiriwaerea or Menzies Bay. Kirikiriwaerea as a locality has a well-documented history of archaeological interest and some early European settlers also have recorded their observations upon first entering the area in the mid-late nineteenth century.[4]

Kirikiriwaerea, in Horomaka hapū traditions correctly refers to the tohi name of a local ancestress. She was a tohuka in her own right, who possessed the abilities of matakite (seership), karakia (invocations), and tohukataka (expertise) associated with the entire takiwā of Horomaka. So strong was her mana (spiritual authority) that oral traditions record her ability to manifest her wairua in kaitiaki forms ranging from sea creatures to birds of the forest, as well as in spiritual forms seen by other matakite (seers). Her name was applied to the locality now known as Menzies Bay owing to her tuition of female akoako there.[5]

A local settler family who moved to the vicinity of Kirikiriwaerea in 1870 noted that European settlers had been in the area since 1857.[6] John Henry Menzies established his family there in 1870 and kept a diary, a portion of which was published in 1970 by his grandson which reads:

> …it is said that at one time there were at least four hundred Māoris living in a more-or-less fortified village or pah [sic] just where the cemetery now is. The hollows where these whares [sic] were built are to be seen still, also long lines of stones on the gentle slope of the hill just above the place where the village stood are still there. These stones were removed by the Māoris [sic] when cultivating the ground. There was also near the beach a large plantation of karaka tress at one time that were, I was told, cut down to feed the dairy cows. Cattle are very fond of this shrub and eat its large leaves greedily. But I also was told that the Māoris claimed the right to come and collect the fruit of these trees, of which they were very fond, so old McIntosh cut all the karaka trees down except two or three, because the Māoris were more-or-less rival claimants to the Bay on this account.[7]

Further in his diary Menzies recalls that:

> A force of Māoris came down from the North Island….and conquered and nearly exterminated the Māoris of Banks Peninsula. There are some rocks just above my house called the Māori Rocks. When the Māoris from the North landed in the bay the Māoris living there, all the men at least, went up and stationed themselves on the top of this hill where these rocks are, and wait for their enemies, hoping that the climb up the very steep hull would weaken them, but the bay Māoris were all killed in the battle that followed. They were also eaten there and their bones were thrown down in the crevasses of these so-called Māori rocks, and even now you can find small pieces of their bones….There were a few Māoris still left living somewhere near the Bay when the McIntoshes arrived for they put up the first hut or whare for Sandy McIntosh, the first white man that lived in this place.[8]

At Ōtohukaoraoteao and Kirikiriwaerea, instruction of akoako occurred as summer schools of learning. A large wharerau (round house) complex stood at Ōtohukaoraoteao. Today, indentations in the earth remain as evidence of their existence. Winter schools of learning also occurred however these were held in alternative locations.[9]

Kirikiriwaerea is known to have been inhabited when Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa arrived in the locality in 1832 as they engaged the second round of attacks on Kāi Tahu after the fall of Kaiapoi pā, and later Ōnawe pā in Akaroa harbour. It was through these conflicts that the wharerau structures were destroyed. The taoka (treasures and implements) associated with instruction in the whare wānaka system were removed and hidden ahead of Ngāti Toa's arrival, fearing their misappropriation and defilement by the invading forces.[10]

When Kirikiriwaerea, Ōtohukaoraoteao and Ōtohukapae were invaded, up to 600 people were killed, many of whom were left where they fell. Others were put into the puna wai (water sources) to pollute the water and prevent, through the institution of tapu, the permanent return of the people to the place.[11] Menzies records in his diary entry above of bones still to be found at "Māori Rocks" at Kirikiriwaerea as further evidence of this conflict.[2]

By the time the coerced land transaction known as the Port Levy Purchase of 1849 was instituted by Walter Mantell at Koukourarata, Kirikiriwaerea, Ōtohukaoraoteao and Ōtohukapae were legally transferred to the Crown who surveyed and on sold the land to settlers such as Sandy McIntosh and John Henry Menzies mentioned in accounts above.

Despite the transfer of title, Horomaka hapū still frequented these localities for spiritual and mahika kai reasons (for example, harvesting karaka berries), and also to work for the new farmers who took up the local land titles.

The last pupil commonly known to have been instructed at Ōtohukaoraoteao, was Hone Taare Tikao. He was sent by his father to learn from two local tohuka, Koroko and Tūauau, at Ōtohukaorateao and other localities. Having been born in approximately 1850, Tikao estimated he was about eight years old when he was taken under their instruction.[13] Tikao recalled that he was meant to have learned most of all they would teach by the time he was sixteen (in 1866).[14] He further mentioned that the two old men died "long before that time". Tūauau however, is recorded as being alive in 1861. By this stage Tikao would have been 11 to 12 years old.[15] In the same period of time and instruction, an undergraduate student today can graduate with their degree.

Figure 2. A painting by J.Gibb 1889 of Kirikiriwaerea [Kiri Kiri Whare]
sourced from I.H. Menzies (1970) p.48 (facing page).
Notice the rendition of the pā to the left-hand side of the painting.
Two waka are also present on the ocean.

Koroko, on the other hand, is more elusive in documentary and archival records. It is likely that Koroko died prematurely as Tikao himself had noted, as he did not appear in archival records as Tūauau had. With the passing of Koroko, and later Tūauau, the regular use of Ōtohukaoraoteao and Kirikiriwaerea as regular places of instruction and ceremony also halted. It is known through whakapapa (genealogical) records that both Koroko and Tūauau were closely related and part of the Horomaka hapū (see whakapapa below). A key oral tradition associated with Koroko is that upon his death, his wairua (spiritual essence) was dedicated, through karakia, to reside with a large white whale, which subsequently also became known as Koroko.[16]

Hone Taare Tikao, passed on the traditions associated with Ōtohukaoraoteao to his descendants in particularly his eldest daughter Rahera Tainui who acted as his scribe alongside her sisters Mary and Raukura. Tikao also shared his information with compatriot tohuka of his generation. Mokopuna (descendants) of Hone Taare Tikao also recall their Poua (grandfather), teaching them whakapapa (genealogies), karakia (incantations) and tauparapara (formal oratory) underneath the large walnut tree that grew next to his homestead in Rapaki in his later years.[17]

Tikao is known to have worked closely with Paora Tāki (c.1805 – 1897)[18] of Kāi Te Rakiāmoa and Kāi Te Rakitāmau, Hipa Te Maiharoa of Kāti Matamata (c.1840 – 1886)[19], Mananui Manawatūterā of Rangitāne (1856 – 1942)[20] who was also Tikao's brother-in-law, and Te Muru of Kāi Te Rakitāmau (c1774 – 1874).[21] Tikao's eldest daughter, Rahera Tainui, and youngest daughter, Raukura Gillies (or Taua Fan as she was affectionately known) inherited knowledge from their father and became influential in its transmission to current generations of Horomaka hapū.

As a mokopuna of Hāteatea, a well-known Kāi Tahu tohuka, Tikao possessed the genealogical lineage, which assisted in pre-ordaining his entry to customary learning. Tikao could map the pathway of Hāteatea's knowledge transfer through successive generations of his mokopuna.[22] Tikao shared descent from another Kāi Tahu tohuka, Tūteahuka, whose daughter, Te Kahukura became the mother of the Kāi Te Kahukura hapū that intermarried with Kāti Huikai, and took primary kaitiakitaka of Ōtohukaoaoteao.

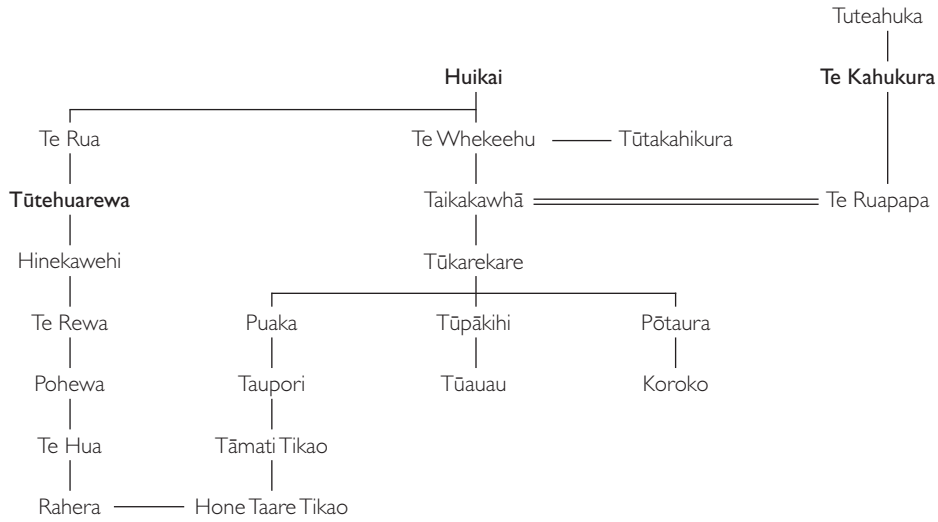

Figure 3. Whakapapa (genealogy) table showing the connections between Kāti Huikai, Kāi Tūtehuarewa and Kāi Te Kahukura. The relationship between Koroko, Tūauau and Hone Tāre Tikao is shown. Source: Whakapapa records in author's collection.

SPIRITUAL PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

The introduction of Christianity to Horomaka hapū in the 1840s drastically impacted and reduced customary practices associated with the taiao. Horomaka hapū quickly converted to the new Christian religion as its imposition was accompanied by significant population declines from diseases in the 1820s brought by whalers and also dispossession caused by colonisation itself. Their population, already decimated through Ngāti Toa's influence contributed to significantly hasten Christianity's acceptance.

In 1838, predating the introduction of Christianity to Horomaka, a formal peace arrangement was agreed to with Ngāti Toa, through Christian influences that occurred on Kapiti Island.[23] Later in 1844, Te Rauparaha's son, Tamihana, a Christian convert and lay reader travelled to Te Waipounamu and Koukourarata to preach the gospel.[24]

The cumulative impact and rapid transition from customary religious practices to new Christian practices included a conscious abandonment of old (pre-Christian) practices. Those who continued to observe customary (pre-Christian) practices were forced into a subservient position and knowledge holders were encouraged to accept the new faith in tandem with their old beliefs. One of the last of the old tohuka to have accepted Christianity was Te Muru, mentioned above.[25]

Tohi and Tūā ceremonies and practices

Tohuka in the hapū would officiate over consecration ceremonies known as tohi and tūā. Tohi and tūā ceremonies draw similarities with Christian practices of baptism and confirmation, although the customary ceremonies are distinct and not interchangeable with those Christian practices.

Tūā ceremonies were reported by Basil Keane:

> Babies were named after the tāngaengae (navel cord) was severed. The tūā rite was performed in the place where the child was born. It removed the tapu from both the mother and child, and ensured health for the child.[26]

Within the Horomaka hapū, the tūā ceremonies were also used for consecration purposes beyond the birth of a child. One particular karakia passed down orally from generation to generation continues to be used for this purpose today.[27]

Reverend Maurice Manawaroa Gray, a mokopuna of Tikao, was entrusted with the knowledge associated with Ōtohukaoraoteao by Raukura Gillies (Tikao's daughter), Hine Manawatū (his grandmother and Rahera Tainui's daughter), and Mahuri Manawatū (his grandfather) amongst others. Gray considers that for Horomaka hapū the explanations for religious ceremonies were more varied.[28]

For example, waituhi or tuhi were the places and ceremonies where the post-natal consecrations occurred. A tohi tūā was undertaken for persons initiated into the whare wānaka system of learning. The tūā properly was an extension to the tohi ceremony that went beyond the natural world and engaged the spiritual world in its process. Tohi, then derived from "tō hihiri" or "your energy or essence" that was invoked through karakia, and recognised through the application of an ikoa tohi (a tohi name) to act as a spiritual kaitiaki (guardian) for the endeavours for which you were to be initiated with the tohi ceremony.[29]

Tohi ceremonies were closely aligned to the tūā ceremonies, and were more specific in their application for initiation rites and activities, particularly in relation to knowledge acquisition. Initiation practices such as tohi and tūā find their roots in archetypical legends and narratives associated with Tāne.

Peter Te Rangihīroa Buck notes that:

> When Tāne ascended to the heavens in order to obtain the three baskets of knowledge, he was compelled to twice undergo the tohi ceremony in tapu water ere he could be admitted to the divine presence.[30]

Gray concurs with Buck's statement above and explains that Tāne's journey to access the divine knowledge later encapsulated through the 'three baskets of knowledge' was by way of the pathway known as Te Ara Tapu nui o Tāne (the sacred pathway of Tāne), and on this journey he was passed through tohi ceremonies by Ohomairaki and Puhaoraki, two kaitiaki of that realm.[31]

Keane describes tohi ceremonies as:

> The tohi ceremony followed the tūā rite. It was performed at a sacred stream. Children were dedicated to particular gods at the tohi ceremony. Boys were often dedicated to Tūmatauenga, the god of war, and girls to the goddess Hineteiwaiwa.[32]

Horomaka hapū almost certainly utilised tohi ceremonies as Keane describes although their purpose had wider application as Gray has explained. In generalised explanations, it is simple to overlook the more intricate purposes and applications of customary religious ceremonies such tohi, tūā, tohi tūā, and tuhi. This is what makes understanding their framework of application, inclusive of taniwha, all the more important to hapū members today. For example, wai or water resources were of extreme importance to the hapū, not only for their life-giving properties, but also their sacred application through religious ceremonies.

Customary ceremonies could occur at birth, as a teenager, a young adult, a parent, a grandparent, and at Kaumātua stages of life. Their purpose was to recognise an individual's strengths and affirm them with karakia. Another further purpose was to invoke the wairua of an ancestor whose name would be applied to the initiate as their "tohi name". This wairua was believed to be the initiates assigned kaitiaki for that particular purpose or stage of life.

In the observance of karakia, an initiate would come into contact with wai either through standing in it, or through the tohuka applying water to them with a branch. Particular water bodies were associated with these practices and at times could be considered sacred. These same customary frameworks also provided for "confirmations" from the taiao. A confirmation in this sense would be the revelation or appearance of a taniwha or kaitiaki during or at

the conclusion of the ceremony. Tohuka taught and skilled in administering the correct practices would observe the taiao for such confirmations. These confirmation practices associated with customary ceremonies are central to the understanding of the taniwha and kaitiaki, and in particular the honu (turtle) and the tohora mā (white whale) from Kirikiriwaerea and Ōtohukaoraoteao.

At Kirikiriwaerea, the honu would appear as a confirmation for tohi initiates who were consecrated at sea side. In confirming the correct application of karakia to the initiates, the honu would surface from beneath the sea where tradition maintains its ana (cave) was situated, she would then lie on her back, before turning over again to continue on her way.[33]

Similarly, at Ōtohukaoraoteao, the tohora mā, had been assigned the wairua of Koroko after his death. This particular tohorā acted in his confirmation role by blowing visible water spouts as confirmation for tohi initiates at the conclusion of the ceremonies.[34]

A TANIWHA OR A KAITIAKI?

Taniwha and kaitiaki are terms often heard, and also analysed from academic perspectives. At times, these customary concepts and realities are relegated to fables or myths associated with fictional stories described in mātauraka Māori terms as pakiwaitara. Indeed, there are circumstances where taniwha and kaitiaki serve fictional purposes in the education of people generally.

Equally there are times and realities where taniwha and kaitiaki serve a non-fictional role within mātauraka Māori frameworks of understanding. It is in this realm where the honu and tohorā mā reside. From this perspective the oral traditions associated with them are regarded as pūrākau (oral legends).

The questions inevitably arise: what is a taniwha and what is a kaitiaki?

Kaitiaki has a base term associated with it called tiaki. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal describes tiaki as:

> The word tiaki is the basis of the longer word kaitiakitanga. Tiaki means to guard. It also means to preserve, foster, protect and shelter. So, notions of care and protection are at the heart of kaitiakitanga, and give it its conservation ethic.[35]

Royal explains further that:

> The prefix kai means someone who carries out an action. A kaitiaki is a person, group or being that acts as a carer, guardian, protector and conserver. The gods of the natural world were considered to be the original kaitiaki – for instance, Tāne, god of the forest, was the kaitiaki of the forest. All other kaitiaki emulate those original ones.[36]

In 1895, Tamati Ranapiri of Ngāti Raukawa explained that kaitiaki could take forms that were not in human form:

> Manu taupunga is a name for the bird that stands guard while others are eating from a tree. It is also called the 'sentry bird'. This bird would guard the tree, and when other birds came to eat the fruit, it fended off the intruders, ensuring their departure.[37]

In the creation of the Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1998 (and later 1999), one Kaumātua for Kāi Tahu insisted on the changing of the wording of a Tangata Kaitiaki (human guardian) to a Tangata Tiaki (human that looks after) in the wording of the legislation due to the spiritual connotations of the word 'Kaitiaki' from a customary perspective. This distinction, however, did not endure to the North Island version of the same regulations.[38]

For the hapū of Horomaka, there exists a network of kaitiaki, some of whom have been consecrated through karakia further to become taniwha.

Taniwha can be regarded as supernatural creatures. Some taniwha are described as hiding in water bodies such as the ocean, rivers, or lakes. They could also dwell within cave systems. This is certainly true of the honu and the tohorā mā.

Basil Keane describes taniwha:

> Some were like giant lizards, sometimes with wings. Others were reptile-like sea creatures. Or they took the shape of sharks or whales, or even logs of wood in the river. Some could change their shape.[39]

Examples of taniwha exist across a number of iwi and geographical areas. Kupe the legendary explorer is recalled to have had a guardian taniwha named Tuhirangi that came in dolphin form.[40] Another taniwha Tūtaeporoporo began life as a shark, and later changed into a bird-like creature.[41]

Within the Horomaka hapū there are examples of kaitiaki taking the form of kukupā (exceptionally large Kererū or wood pigeons), whekekura (red octopus), tohora mā (white whales), waikura (red sea water), rūrū mā (white moreporks), piwaiwaka (fantails), koiro (conger eels), tūora (orange eels), mairehe (yellow eels), and other examples.

Figure 4. Honu and Dr. Matiu Payne on the Koukourarata pā site, 12 December 2020. Source: Matiu Payne's records.

The similarities between kaitiaki and taniwha are numerous and often the term is used interchangeably to describe these natural phenomena. Distinctions can be drawn between kaitiaki and taniwha in the assignment of an ancestral name. Karakia can be performed to assign the wairua (spiritual essence) of an ancestor to a kaitiaki to enable them to continue their tiaki responsibilities for an environmental and/or spiritual reason. Such examples of taniwha exist on Horomaka with Te Wahine Marukore, and her husband Te Rakihorahna.[42]

Prior to their deaths, the honu had not been seen since about 1983 by a group of Kaumātua at Ōnuku (near Akaroa) as they gathered there to collect a rock from the beach known as Te Mauri o Te Tiriti o Waitaki.[43] Generations of hapū members since that time had relied upon the pūrākau to inform themselves of its existence and purpose. Similarly, the tohorā mā, had been seen only sparingly, with no fixed date in the collective hapū memory banks. Discussion of their existence was limited to discrete gatherings of hapū members and the customary knowledge keepers have become fewer through the years owing to natural attrition and reduced successional knowledge transfer.

REPATRIATION OF TŪPĀPAKU AND KŌIWI

In March 2019, dialogue and media publications were initiated to seek repatriation of the tūpāpaku (corpse) of the honu from Te Papa Tongarewa (the National Museum of New Zealand), who had assisted the Department of Conservation to transport it to Wellington for scientific study and ultimately skeletonization and display. Because of its size, and taxomonic species it was considered extremely rare in this part of the world.[44]

With significant dialogue occurring within the hapū and with Government representatives an agreement was reached to repatriate honu for burial on Horomaka Island in an ana (cave). The physical return of the honu brought back the tūpāpaku and mana associated with her place as a taniwha in our customary practices. Honu was buried on Horomaka Island on 12 December 2020.

The tūpāpaku (corpse) of the tohorā mā was acknowledged and the kōiwi (bones) retrieved with assistance from the Department of Conservation and the landowner where the 20 tonne taniwha had beached itself. A representative group of whānau from within the Horomaka hapū, over three visits to the remote location, were able to retrieve the kōiwi (bones) from the taniwha to be returned for safekeeping. This act of repatriation, as it was with honu, customarily retrieved the mana taniwha (taniwha's authority) back to the people and places with which they were associated. Its beached locality was subsequently named as Ōkoroko (the place of Koroko).

Figure 5. tohorā mā (Koroko), 10 October 2020 at the locality now known as Ōkoroko (the place of Koroko) on Horomaka (Banks Peninsula). Source: Matiu Payne's records.

Within the whare wānaka frameworks, there is an understanding of muna matauraka (confidential lore and knowledge).[45] This knowledge was reserved for the Tohuka and their akoako, having been confirmed through initiation rites such as tohi and tūā to learn the knowledge and become customary knowledge keepers. The honu and the tohorā mā were once considered to be part of that confidential framework. Their appearance and revelation through their deaths, necessitated discussion about their existence and purpose. It has also created new conversations about who and what will now be looked upon as confirmations for customary ceremonies such as those discussed in this article. The knowledge of these two taniwha are no longer considered muna or confidential. Although, an enduring reverence is accorded to these taniwha and information about them.

In concluding this exploration of customary knowledge frameworks associated with Horomaka hapū, their customary religious activities, taniwha and kaitiaki, this paper creates a proverbial time marker for current and future generations of hapū members to build upon and to reflect with, in time.

The customary religious practices continue today, as recently as regular events such as the annual Te Pā o Rākaihautū customary graduation ceremonies at Ōnuku marae each December. This kura mana Motuhake (special character school) utilises tohi ceremonies for their graduands. The practical application of customary knowledge will ensure its enduring continuity in the transmission of customary knowledge for Horomaka hapū.

Dr. Matiu Payne (Kāti Huikai, Kāi Tūtehuarewa, Kāi Te Kahukura, Kāti Irakehu)

1 For the purposes of this paper, the descriptor Horomaka hapū relates to the hapū known as Kāti Huikai, Kāi Tūtehuarewa, Kāi Te Kahukura and Kāti Irakehu all of whom have mana whenua mana moana on Horomaka (Banks Peninsula).

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8 Ibid., 62.

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12 Menzies, *The Story of Menzies Bay*.

13 Herries Beattie, "Introduces the Narrator" in *Tikao Talks* (<location>: A.H. & A.W. Reed Ltd, 1939).

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