Whakaeke 'Entry'

Introduction

In New Zealand, Māori culture is a strong and dynamic force, a powerful and constant symbol of identity. The language is taught in schools in New Zealand; the Waitangi Tribunal, established in the 1980s, has initiated financial reparation and the return of lands wrongfully confiscated by the New Zealand government since the 1840s; in 1998, the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival, held biennially, was granted over $NZ1 million in government funding; Māori *haka* ('dance') is instantly recognisable all over the world, and the *haka* is performed whenever the All Blacks rugby team compete internationally. But there are many Māori who have not benefited from these (recent) changes in New Zealand government policy towards the Māori and their culture. Many Māori have migrated overseas to seek better opportunities for work and education, opportunities that were not necessarily available to them before the 1980s. How do these Māori maintain their identity and preserve their culture in diaspora? They 'reconstruct' themselves and their culture, building on their memories and experiences in New Zealand, adapting it to suit their new lives as migrants and a minority community in a larger, multicultural society. The focus of this reinvention is their participation in 'culture'. Scholars have engaged in numerous discussions of the meaning of 'culture'. When Māori refer to culture, they mean that part of their lives that is distinctly Māori and involves participating in those activities that they view as being part of their Māori heritage – language, music and dance, wearing club uniforms and colours, learning about their origins and the associated visual images such as tattoos and carvings.

Dance has become a significant focus for these migrant Māori as it incorporates many of the elements of what they perceive as 'culture', including language, clothing, tattoos, dance and song. To date, there have been two attempts to document and examine the presence of the Māori and their culture in Melbourne. The first of these is an historical study by a Māori resident in Melbourne. This (unpublished) paper attempts to document the early settlement in Melbourne by Māori during the mid-nineteenth century. The second study is a survey of a culture club from the northern suburbs examining the role of dance in perceptions of their identity. But to date, no major study has examined the position of the Māori community in Melbourne with respect to performance and culture. It is the intent of this thesis to document the place of *kapa haka* (Māori music-dance performance) in the Māori community of Melbourne and its importance as a mechanism for the creation of a new 'home' whereby the Māori living in Melbourne can not only retain their uniqueness and sense of identity as Māori, but share this sense of identity with their children and the wider, non-Māori community. *Kapa haka* is the name used to describe the formal 'traditional' dance programme performed by a *rōpū*, a 'team' of dancers who stand in rows to perform. Traditionally the women stand at the front and the men at the back. These positions are reversed only in the performance of the men's *haka*. The term *kapa haka* is a composite of the word *kapa*, meaning a row, and the word *haka*, meaning both a dance in general, and a song to accompany a dance, and this is the term that will be used to identify this performance medium throughout this thesis.

Each chapter of this thesis deals with a key element in the creation of *kapa haka* and its role in the Māori community in Melbourne. One of the most significant developments with respect to *kapa haka* in recent years has been the establishment of a series of formal competitions in which *rōpū* compete against each other. These

competitions, or cultural festivals as they are better known, provide a mechanism not only for the preservation of traditional Māori *kapa haka*, but also for the creation of new dances and the perpetuation of the tradition. The format for each performance is the same – *whakaeke*, an entry, *mōteatea*, a recited lament, *waiata*, a chanted song, *waiata tira*, a choral song with harmony, *waiata-a-ringa*, an action song, *haka poi*, a *poi* dance, *whaikōrero*, an oratory, in which the orator seeks to persuade the audience with his fluency and use of symbolic language, *haka*, a men's dance, and a *whakawātea*, an exit. With this program in mind, and as an acknowledgement of the cultural festivals, which provide so much motivation for the Māori culture clubs in Melbourne, I have named each section of this thesis after each section of the festival program, starting with the *Whakaeke*, the Introduction.

The first chapter of this thesis, *Mōteatea*, examines the history of the Māori presence in Melbourne, which established the foundations for the Māori presence today. This chapter explores the contributions made by these early Māori migrants to the development of the early colony of New South Wales, the background to the *Treaty of Waitangi* and the Māori Wars, events that determined the situation of the modern Māori both in New Zealand and Australia. This chapter will also examine the unpublished document written about the history of the Māori presence collected from numerous sources by a Māori writer.

The second chapter, *Waiata*, places the Māori community in its present context, as a minority migrant community in Melbourne. This chapter examines the development of the 'culture club', based on a New Zealand model, as a mechanism for creating a sense of 'home' through social, sporting and cultural interaction with other Māori, and discusses the already existing study of a culture club in Melbourne in which the author examined dance performance as a means of establishing a sense of identity. Chapter Two also examines the role of the culture club in the

perpetuation of a re-invented Māori culture for Māori children born in Australia, focusing on the work and the individuals of *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, a culture club based in the Dandenong area, southeast of Melbourne.

Chapter Three, *Waiata Tira*, is a brief survey of Māori music, its genres and performance practices, the older styles and instruments that have been replaced, and the contemporary styles that make up modern *kapa haka*. This chapter describes the genres and performance features of *haka* and *waiata*, and documents changes that have occurred as a result of European influences on traditional and newer Māori musical forms. This chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of all Māori music as this has been done elsewhere.

Chapter Four, *Waiata-a-Ringa*, examines the role of the tutor both as a cultural inventor and an educator. This chapter examines the work of three tutors, all of whom worked with *Ngā Hapu Katoa* during the time of the study. Their teaching styles are documented, as well as performance material used and created to perpetuate the performance of *kapa haka* by both adults and children. Issues relating to authenticity and innovation in the work of the tutors and the pressures faced by them such as commitment to the club and to their families, respect and work are also discussed.

Chapter Five, *Haka Poi*, discusses the development of the cultural festival, originally developed as a mechanism to preserve and promote traditional Māori performing arts within a competitive framework. Using the Aotearoa Festival in New Zealand for purposes of comparison, this chapter examines the structure of the Victorian Regional Festival and documents the preparations made by *Ngā Hapu Katoa* for participation in the 1999 Festival. This chapter includes an overview of the day's activities and discusses the controversies that surrounded this particular Festival and issues of bias within the Festival committee.

The sixth chapter, *Whaikōrero*, discusses the issues of musical change and cultural reconstruction in the context of the Māori community in Melbourne. This chapter documents examples of innovation and change in *kapa haka* in Melbourne, exploring ways in which the recontextualisation of the performance changes the meaning of the performance and aids in the invention of a 'new' tradition. Relevant literature dealing with issues of musical change and cultural invention is examined, and these ideas and theories are placed in the context of the Māori experience in Melbourne. Much of the literature surveyed discusses issues relating to cultural invention, construction, musical change and the music of migrants. These issues are of increasing importance as more people join the global diaspora, whether as displaced persons or through migration in search of work. By examining the relevant literature at the end of the thesis rather than the start, the issues facing the Māori community can be addressed initially at a local level before examining issues affecting Māori culture at a global level and the recontextualisation of Māori in Melbourne.

Chapter Seven, *Haka*, focuses on issues of globalisation of identity and home, and ownership of that identity, with respect to the most famous *haka*, *Ka Mate*. Working with issues relevant to Māori both in New Zealand and Australia, this chapter examines three cases involving misuse of *Ka Mate* in recent years, then moves on to discuss issues of globalisation and traditional ownership.

The Conclusion, *Whakawātea*, sums up the findings presented in preceding chapters, and suggests that through the recontextualisation of all aspects of Māori culture – language, performance and even identity, the meaning of that culture has changed, not just for the Māori, but for their children and for the audience for whom they perform. Rather than re-creating 'home', the Māori have invented a new

'home' built on the memories brought with them, not based on the reality of contemporary Māori society in New Zealand.

Current Research

In examining the role of *kapa haka* as both an identity marker and a vehicle for establishing a sense of place and belonging, this thesis will examine key concepts from ethnomusicology, anthropology and sociology, and will include a good deal of ethnographic data collected throughout a five year period. The methodology employed in such research is invariably qualitative, and a large part of this thesis is descriptive as the author was not merely an observer but also a participant in much of the research, as an assistant to the tutors who approached the author to play guitar, to teach singing to the children, to contribute to the composition of new material and to perform with the adult's *rōpū*. As a result the material collected was frequently anecdotal and largely descriptive, as the participants themselves generally drew on their own perceptions of *kapa haka* in their discussions with the author and they danced for enjoyment as much as for the cultural experience. Data was collected for this thesis using a variety of methods including observer participation, surveys and interviews, casual conversations, and audio and video documentation of rehearsals, performances and competitions.[1] The author was closely connected with people in the community in Melbourne and not only participated in performances but was involved in the creation of an action song for the children of the club. In spite of this, the general thesis-writing convention of not acknowledging these connections has been adopted for this thesis, although references to the author and her experiences have been noted in the footnotes where necessary.

Key terminology used throughout the thesis draws on concepts used across several disciplines of the human sciences and is not limited to musicological research. The challenge has been to link these concepts and find similarities in meaning and use. Many of the concepts explored in this thesis have been subject to debate in different disciplines and, while a number of these debates will be examined in later chapters, the terminology, as it will be used in this thesis, needs to be defined. Issues of identity, migration and diaspora, globalisation, ethnicity, authenticity, construction and invention, acculturation, synctretism and hybridity tend to be emotive, and assigning terms and, in turn, definitions to them can be both difficult and controversial, and several of these debates in current literature are ongoing. While this thesis is not attempting to be a definitive study of these concepts, it is an attempt to contribute another perspective to these important issues.

Tradition and cultural invention/construction are two of the issues that this thesis will be addressing in detail in Chapter Six. Both these concepts have been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion and, though distinct issues, have been linked through several studies and scholarly publications, most notably in the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), as well as in the writings of Geertz (1973), Wagner (1981), Nettl (1985), Hanson (1989) Keesing (1989), Linnekin (1992) Stokes (1994), Blacking (1995), Gow (1998) and McDonald (2000), among others. Though each of these writers place their writings in the context of specific social, cultural and musical experiences, the role of construction in the development and perpetuation of tradition lies at the crux of these discussions. Certain assumptions may be made at the outset with respect to the definitions of the terminology used, but the need for the author to be specific about his or her intention is vital if this is to be clear to all readers and not just the scholarly audience. The need for absolute clarity of meaning is all too clearly illustrated in the controversy in New Zealand

over the partial publication of Hanson's paper, and is disussed in considerable detail in Chapter Six.

In this study the terms invention and construction are discussed, but each is examined as a distinct style of creation when applied to cultural change. While each is the deliberate or intentional development of a new cultural idea, invention has been identified with implying falsehood (Jolly and Thomas 1992). It can also convey the idea of an active creative event, as in the adage 'necessity is the mother of invention'. Invention implies the creation of something new where previously something did not exist, unlike the process of construction, which suggests building upon a previously existing cultural experience, although both processes are based upon the framework of existing traditions, practices and genres. The decision has been made to use the term 'construction', partly because it is perceived in the literature to be a less controversial term, but also because the term implies an active process of creation based upon existing concepts, and this thesis asserts that the Māori in Melbourne, though working in relative isolation from the Māori in New Zealand and in different circumstances, are constructing a musical and cultural tradition for their children, modelled on their existing shared experiences of culture and identity in New Zealand.

Identity has become a key issue in many scholarly writings, all the more so as a result of significant migratory patterns in the second half of the twentieth century. Both refugees and migrants belong to this diasporic experience, and the issue of identity, of belonging to a particular cultural group and retaining a link with the culture and language of one's place of origin, has become more significant. Even the term 'diaspora' has been a recent invention to describe the displacement of large numbers of people and their relocation to other places in the world. Alongside this

concept is ethnicity, a more specific term than identity, suggesting a particular geo-cultural origin from which identity can be constructed.

Inextricably linked with the concept of identity is the concept of tradition, linked because identity needs tradition to exist. Without 'tradition', defined here as an established and shared social or cultural experience and the actions and activities that define that experience, identity does not have anything to latch onto, and thus becomes irrelevant or trite. People, particularly those isolated from their past shared experiences with others by being part of the diaspora, need to identify with something – a language, a music, particular culinary tastes, and so migrants seek each other out and certain traditions are re-created away from the land of origin. This can be observed in the suburban clusters of particular migrant groups in Melbourne –Italians in Carlton, Greeks in Templestowe and Doncaster, Vietnamese in Springvale and Richmond, Lebanese in Broadmeadows, to name a few.

Alongside tradition is the concept of 'custom', although the issue of custom never arose *per se* during the course of the research for this thesis. The general definition of custom relates to established and accepted codes of behaviour within the group. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) stress that tradition and custom are distinct and describe tradition as being synonymous with invariance, as an unchangeable part of the society, while custom is the behavior associated with those traditions and does not preclude innovation. The Māori in Melbourne use the term 'protocol' to describe such behavioural conventions. Protocol, meaning the accepted and correct manner of doing things, was a significant issue, particularly in formal situations such as *hui* and *pōwhiri*, and great importance was attached to the education of the young people of the community in these conventions. Issues relating to custom, however, remain a significant issue in scholarly discourse in the Pacific and may or may not relate to tradition and protocol as applied here. The definitions of 'tradition'

and 'custom' applied in this thesis have been partially modelled on the definitions put forward by Hobsbawm and Ranger, but have been modified to adequately reflect the Māori experience of these concepts. A detailed discussion of the literature and terminology can be found in Chapter Six.

For the Māori of Melbourne, the need to assert their identity as Māori is more necessary than in New Zealand; the need to identify with their culture through performance, socialising with other Māori, and the wearing of Māori decorations such as bone carvings, greenstone and *paua* shell jewellery, and 'branded' clothing from New Zealand bearing Māori themes, such as 'Maui' sportswear, rugby tops featuring motifs representing the All-Blacks or the Auckland Warriors or caps and T-shirts bearing New Zealand brands such as Lion Red beer, is more fundamental for their sense of identity as Māori than it would be in New Zealand. Isolated from their families and heritage, they need to re-create these institutions in order to create a sense of place and belonging, a place to call 'home'. For the Māori living in Melbourne, 'home' can be found in their membership of culture clubs and their participation in 'culture'. Dunphy (1994) described "cultural dance" as a key element in the creation of Māori identity for her respondents. This thesis asserts that *kapa haka*, Dunphy's "cultural dance", is not just a key element in the creation of a Māori identity, but that the recontextualisation of its performance is leading to the creation of a different Māori culture and identity, one that is both Māori and Australian, similar to but different from the Māori identity that the Māori of Melbourne have brought with them from New Zealand. It could even be argued that the Māori are, in fact, creating a second home in the process of creating a 'new' home. Melbourne is the site of the physical 'home', but New Zealand is the site of the 'remembered home' or cultural 'home'.

Chapter 1

Mōteatea 'Lament'

Leaving Home

Introduction

The history of Australia is one of successive waves of migration over tens of thousands of years, increasing from the late eighteenth century with European colonisation. From this time, the numbers of migrants and the diversity of their ancestry became considerably larger than previously, and newspapers and articles from this time onward document this diversity of people coming to Australia from elsewhere in the world. This chapter will examine the history of the Māori presence in Melbourne, focusing on those events in New Zealand that have shaped contemporary Māori society and culture in New Zealand and established the foundations for the Māori in Melbourne today. The chapter will explore the contributions made by these early Māori migrants to the development of the early colony of New South Wales (and Victoria after 1851). It establishes the background to the *Treaty of Waitangi* and the Māori Wars, events that determined the situation of the modern Māori, and explores the differences, culturally and historically, between the early Māori settlers, as documented by Marumaru (1984), and their contemporary successors in Melbourne, which will be documented in this thesis.

Following the founding of Port Jackson and the colony of New South Wales on the east coast of Australia, forays were made across the Tasman Sea to the islands of New Zealand and from the 1790s a regular passage of trade was established.

Whalers and sealers had been based around the Bay of Islands for decades, and now trading posts were established there. Sydney was used as a staging post for the British colonisation of New Zealand, and the early political history of British New Zealand is closely linked to the colony of New South Wales. The *Legislation of the Colony of New South Wales* was extended to include New Zealand in 1817 and, in 1823, moves were made to establish local jurisdiction in the Bay of Islands area. This region had long been a centre of sealing, whaling and general trade between the British and the Māori. Samuel Marsden, known in New South Wales as the 'flogging parson' for his zeal in meting out the law to convicts in his time as a magistrate, decided to become a missionary in New Zealand. His decision was influenced by his dealings with Māori visitors to Sydney. Documents from this time refer to the presence of Māori in Port Jackson, as visiting dignitaries, members of shipping crews or, in the case of two unfortunate Māori men, as detainees. From this time, on the Māori presence in Australia is documented over a number of geographic regions and as participating in a variety of roles, although very little was recorded about their communities at the time. The fact remains, though, that their presence as migrants, albeit transient at the time, has set an historical precedent for the presence of the considerably larger and more permanent Māori communities in Australia today.

There is little evidence to suggest, however, that the Māori living in Australia today are related in any way to those who resided here over a century ago. Rather, the evidence suggests that, unlike many Māori today, the Māori of the nineteenth century viewed their presence in Australia as temporary, and they moved on when they no longer needed to stay in a particular location. As a result, there is little physical evidence of their presence in Melbourne prior to the twentieth century. The only evidence may be found in street names around the suburbs and the presence of a hotel in South Melbourne (formerly Emerald Hill) named the Māori Chief Hotel. Although

there is little likelihood of an unbroken Māori presence in Melbourne, the motives for the Māori presence would appear to be the same. They have come to Australia to seek paid work, bringing with them their families and traditions, although these traditions are quite different from those of their predecessors. The modern Māori frequently only speaks English and is from a country with a similar political and historical background to Australia. As a result of the *Treaty of Waitangi*, the Māori in New Zealand suffered the loss of traditional lands and culture. It is only in recent decades that Māori culture has enjoyed a renewed interest and, as a result of decisions made by the Waitangi Tribunal to repair damages done by the New Zealand government, Māori have been able to reclaim their culture and language. The situation for Māori migrants, however, remains unchanged. This thesis, at its broadest, is a study of the Māori community in Melbourne in the late 1990s. It is also a study of the role of the individual in reinventing the group identity through the performance of *kapa haka*, and the invention of a 'new' Māori tradition.

The Early Māori Presence in Melbourne

The Māori presence in Australia has been documented since the 1790s, with newspaper reports referring to Māori in Sydney and other parts of the then colony of New South Wales. *The Sydney Gazette* regularly ran articles about Māori. Many of these visitors were received as official guests.

> On their arrival here, Tip-pa-he [sic] was introduced by Capt. Houston to his Excellency and the Officers at Government House, where he will continue to reside during his stay in the Colony. (extract from *The Sydney Gazette* Dec. 1 1805, in Marumaru, 1984:30)

From this time on Sydney became a regular port of call for Māori, either as a destination, or a stopover on the journey to England. Many of these Māori are documented as 'chiefs'. A number of these chiefs stayed with the Governor, and

many were acqainted with the Reverend Samuel Marsden, a significant figure in the settlement of New Zealand and the introduction of Christianity to the Māori. Among the chiefs to visit Sydney was Hongi Hika (Hone Heke), who visited in 1814 and again in 1821, when he returned from England[1]. Māori men worked as sealers and on whaling ships. From 1819, several young Māori men attended Marsden's seminary in Sydney. In 1846, five Māori prisoners were transported to Tasmania where one, Hohepa Te Umuroa, later died on Maria Island[2], and from the 1850s, there are many reports documenting presence of Māori on the gold fields of Victoria and New South Wales. Other documents report the presence of Māori communities in small settlements around Port Phillip, making a living as fishermen. While the presence of visiting Māori dignitaries declined after the start of the Māori Wars in 1860 (see below), as late as June 1874, four years after the end of the Māori Wars, a Major Ropata, of the *Ngāti Porou*, visited Melbourne. Described by the (unnamed) reporter as "one of our allies in the last New Zealand war", Major Ropata wrote a letter from Wellington, dated August 4 1874, describing his impression of Melbourne, and this letter was published in full in one of the papers of the day. During his stay in Melbourne Major Ropata dined with the Governor and visited the Mint. He departed for New Zealand four weeks later on the steamer *Otago*. From his descriptions it can be assumed that steamers regularly crossed the Tasman from Auckland to Sydney and Melbourne[3].

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[1] Hone Hiki waged a 5-year war and later led the Māori uprising following the signing of the *Treaty of Waitangi* using 300 muskets and ammunition purchased in Sydney in 1821.

[2]. The five Māori men were later pardoned but Te Umuroa had died of tuberculosis in 1847. The remaining four were returned to New Zealand on March 12 1848. In August 1988, after protracted legal proceedings, Te Umuroa's remains were exhumed and returned to Wanganui in the North Island (*The Age*, 5 August 1988).

[3] From this description, it must be assumed that Major Ropata sided with the British during the Māori Wars. The last Māori Wars were waged against the 'king movement' of the Tainui tribe from the Waikato area. Major Ropata was *Ngāti Porou*, and not all Māori tribes accepted the Tainui 'king' as sovereign, prefering to keep their own chiefs as representatives.

The Māori presence in the early history of the colony of New South Wales can be explained by the geographic proximity of New Zealand. Two thousand kilometres southeast of Australia, New Zealand proved to be an excellent source of timber, produce and labour for the growing colony of New South Wales and the Māori in New Zealand were soon exporting natural resources not just to Australia but also to other parts of the Pacific region. By 1839, the Māori owned more than 80 percent of the export market to New South Wales. They also owned their own ships, thus bypassing the export tariffs levelled on all British registered ships. Māori provided most of the supply of kauri and labour used in the construction of buildings in the newly established town of Melbourne (Marumaru 1984:4). In addition to their domination of the export industry in New Zealand, the Māori provided a work force at each of the overseas docks to unload the produce and materials from their ships. One such Māori labour force worked on the docks situated on the southern banks of the Yarra River. But this group, led by Hone Waitai, also expanded their business activities to felling and treating timber from further east and supplying timber for the construction of the first bridges crossing the Yarra River, and sub-contracting on the construction of the railway lines to St Kilda and Port Melbourne. The land south of Melbourne, known as Emerald Hill, was swampy and proved to be ideal conditions for the cultivation of flax. Hone Waitai's group was granted the lease on several paddocks adjacent to the swamp and, over time, a small Māori settlement was built. Families, including women and children, farmed the land and grew flax in the swamp. A fresh water well on the site provided drinking water (Marumaru 1984). It is likely that the women and children would have stayed within the boundaries of the settlement as English may not have been understood by many Māori in those days and it is probable that only a few of the men would have spoken English.

The Māori settlement, known as *Te Arepa*, was located in an area known at the time as the Railway Paddocks. A description by a surveyor at that time describes the settlement as:

> Consisting of one particularly substantial building of some significant nature [the *marae*], plus twelve lesser dwellings as well as stables and equipment sheds. Ten riding hacks, sixteen working horses, twenty two oxen and many dogs of questionable heritage, a number of hens, geese, turkey and ducks. Some three or so acres of cultivation includes sweet potatoes, maize, pumpkin, marrow as well as potatoes, peas, tomatoes and green peas as well as other green vegetables of unfamiliar varieties. A fresh-water supply is provided from a fresh water-well fenced off and covered over by an umbrella-like structure without walls. The water is cool and sweet, quite unlike the tainted water supplies the populace has to suffer with. Some local concern appears to be apparent over the loss of two eels the Maori People use to maintain cleanliness of the water-well, the two eels said to have been cooked in a Settler's boiler for his family dinner.
>
> (In Marumaru 1984: 8)

The community played host to visiting Māori including the Māori 'king'[4] Tawhio, and, in addition to a *marae*, a public house with nine bedrooms was built to accommodate guests and to provide the Māori families with a venue for drinking and socialising, as it was not appropriate for women and children to be seen in a public house. In 1861, a licence was provided for the inn, now called the *Māori Warrior Chief Inn*. The licensee, John Reidy, named the tavern after the Māori Warrior Chief Theatre Group, a dance troupe that had stayed there. This inn was later renamed the *Māori Chief Hotel* and is the only surviving remnant of the Māori settlement in what is now South Melbourne (see Map 1). In addition to Hone Waitai's group, two other groups of Māori became associated over time with the Emerald Hill settlement. The first was a group of about twenty seamen, including John Reidy, who were paid off from their ship and travelled to the goldfields, north of Melbourne. The second was a detachment from the Auckland Māori

Constabulary, led by Paora Pareora, which was deployed on the goldfields of Victoria during the goldrush. Neither of these latter groups returned to New Zealand following the end of the goldrush. Rather, they returned to Melbourne where they joined the community of *Te Arepa*.

During the 1850s Melbourne became more than the southernmost town of the colony of New South Wales. The discovery of gold in what is now central Victoria ensured that Melbourne would become a major port of call for Europeans of many nationalities, Americans, Chinese and Polynesians, particularly Māori, seeking their fortunes on the gold fields around Bendigo and Ballarat. Not everyone who visited the gold fields came to look for gold. Enterprising merchants, including Hone Waitai, established businesses supplying provisions, liquor and entertainment to the 'diggers'. Such entertainment generally included visiting troupes of actors, dancers and singers. Music hall, burlesque, minstrel shows and plays were the staple fare on the gold fields (Whiteoak 1998), with the occasional opera. In 1862, the Māori Warrior Chief dance troupe was engaged to perform on the gold fields. The *Te Arepa* community hosted the troupe before it travelled to Sydney, and advertisements for its show at the Royal Princess's Theatre appeared in the *Herald* on 16 September, and on the following day in the *Age* and the *Argus*. The performance is descibed as " ... a new drama 'Whakeau' or 'The Pakeha Maori' by R.P. Whitworth." A play with a European cast was listed on the same billing. From 27 September a new play, *The Maori Queen*, also by Whitworth, is advertised. The reviews were not favourable, and the season closed on 29 September. The *Sydney Morning Herald* also carried an advertisement for the Māori Warrior Chiefs shows at the Royal Lyceum Theatre on 15 July. An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*

[4] While each Māori tribe had a chief, there was no one paramount chief or 'king'. The position of Māori 'king' was invented in the 1860s as a means of treating with the British governor in New Zealand.

on 2 August details an extension to the season by only two shows " ... as they leave for Melbourne by Tuesday's steamer." The same edition carried a review of *Rangatira Maori* (*The Maori Queen*). At about the same time there is a record of another Māori dance troupe, The Māori Players, which was on the gold fields for a while. No mention is made of the content of the program.

> In consequence of some misinderstanding between the Maori performers and Mr. King, the agent and interpreter, the entertainment at the Mechanics Institute, on Saturday evening, was not so successful as might have been expected. It appears that Mr. King discovered in the afternoon of that day that six of the principal male performers had been supplied with liquor to too great an extent, and on expostulating with them they demanded an advance on their salaries, which became due on the 12th of next month. Mr. King refused to give them the money, and hence the disappointment. About half a dozen of the Maories [sic] volunteered to go through the promised entertainment before the audience that was assembled, but Mr. King refused to make any charge, and those who had paid for admission had their money returned to them. (*Ballarat Tribune*, October 27, in the *Argus*, October 29, 1862)

A group of Māori is recorded as living in Rosebud at around the same time. This group is believed to have been a group of performers brought to Victoria to work on the goldfields. The company had subsequently disbanded due to financial difficulties. This group made a living as fishermen for two years until relatives in New Zealand sent them enough money for their passage home (Massola 1969). It is unclear whether this group was the Māori Players, the performers recorded in Ballarat in 1862, or another group.

By 1860, several of the Māori seamen including John Reidy, and Paora Pareora, from the Auckland Māori Constabulary, had settled at Emerald Hill (Marumaru 1984). On Pareora's recommendation, the Māori of *Te Arepa* applied to purchase the crown land on which their settlement was built, but the application was rejected because land title ownership could not be granted to a communal application. Pooling their resources, the community supported John Reidy's

application for the entire allotment of land. In 1871 he was granted ownership of three allotments, which amounted to one quarter of his original application. Meanwhile volunteers from Australia had been recruited to fight with British troops against the Māori in the Māori Land Wars in New Zealand. Members of the *Te Arepa* community had found increasing animosity towards them from the wider Melbourne community throughout the preceding decade and, by 1872, a number of families had returned home to New Zealand. After John Reidy's death in 1873, the licence passed to his widow, Johanna. Over the next few years the remaining Māori left Emerald Hill, and it appears that those that did not return to New Zealand may have gone to Port Fairy, on Victoria's southwest coast, with Samuel Marsden Knight, nephew of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. Records from the time indicate a Māori presence around the Geelong area, in Frankston and Portsea, and in Portland and Port Fairy in western Victora. Other records suggest that a group of Māori lived on the foreshore at what is now the suburb of Beaumaris during the 1890s. The area they occupied stretched between McGregor and Surf Avenues and had a fresh water well (see Map 2).

> There were about 20 of them – men, women and children. The men wore trousers cut short below the knees, and the women skirts almost down to the ankles. Above the waists the men and women seldom wore anything. (Massola 1959)

There is no record of how they came to be living in Beaumaris or what became of them, but it appears that they, too, made a living as fishermen. The well, known to the locals as 'Māori' well, has since vanished, and it is possible, but unclear, that the Māori may have married into the local community (Bayside Historical Society).

The New Zealand that the original *Te Arepa* Māori returned to would have been very different from the one they had left. In the thirty-five or so years since

their departure from New Zealand, the *Treaty of Waitangi* had been signed, the first Māori War had been fought and lost, the Waikato tribes had established the King Movement and the subsequent war had raged the length of the North Island for more than a decade, leading to the confiscation of much of their tribal land.

Developments in New Zealand

i. **The *Treaty of Waitangi***

The *Treaty of Waitangi*, signed in 1840, was intended as a means of establishing British sovereignty and giving the Crown a mechanism to transfer land title to settlers. The Crown could have allowed native title law to come under its own supervision, allowing the Māori, as the owners of New Zealand, to sell their land to whomsoever they wished, but the Colonial Office believed that this would lead to unrest as the settlers could not be trusted to honour their agreements with the Māori. Based on the model of the *Treaty of Lagos*, the *Treaty of Waitangi* consisted of three articles. *Article One* acknowledged and guaranteed Māori ownership of New Zealand. *Article Two* made provision for tribal chiefs to sell all or part of their property title, but only to the Crown, and guaranteed tribal sovereignty over any land that the tribe did not sell. *Article Three* instituted the English Rule of Law for every resident of New Zealand and made everyone subject to that law (see Appendix 1). Many chiefs signed the *Treaty* because they believed, from the Māori version that had been read to them, that they would retain control of their decisions. Trouble began almost immediately as British settlers, impatient to buy land, tried to make purchases, without permission from the Crown, directly from the Māori chiefs. Hone Heke, a *Ngā Puhi* chief vented his anger about the Treaty in 1845 by chopping down the flagpole at the governor's house in Russell. This defiance, which saw him repeat the crime several more times, eventually led to his arrest and hanging by the

newly appointed governor, Sir George Grey, in 1846. Hone Heke's death marked the start of the Māori Wars (also known as the 'Land Wars'). The end result was the systematic confiscation, without reparation, of Māori land over the next decade. Grey soon suppressed the Māori uprising and, with peace established, was transferred to South Africa.

ii. The Māori Wars

In 1858, several Māori tribes in the Waikato region united under a single chief, Te Wherowhero, whom they 'elected' as king. The decision to make a single chief the spokesperson of the Māori was intended to reduce the unwieldiness of a council made up of many chiefs. In this way, the 'king', representing the Māori people, could address the *kawanatanga* ('governor') as a representative of the Queen and of the British people. The Colonial Office, however, viewed the 'King Movement' as treason and a direct threat to the authority of the Crown, and British troops were sent into the Waikato in 1860. War broke out again and spread throughout the North Island. The war continued sporadically until 1872 when Te Kooti, a successor to Te Wherowhero, withdrew to a remote area and the British abandoned the pursuit. The New Zealand government used the war as an excuse to confiscate even more Māori land. By the time the Waitangi Tribunal was established in the 1980s, the New Zealand government had appropriated 95% of Māori tribal land.

In the decades following the Māori Wars the British government, and later the New Zealand government, worked hard to integrate the Māori into the wider community. Māori workers were encouraged to relocate to urban centres and seek employment. A cycle of second-class citizenship, poor health and poverty began that continues today. Māori children were provided with a limited education and were

only taught English in schools. Likewise, English was the only language of trade and commerce. For the next hundred years the assimilation of the Māori into an urban society and lifestyle would see their language and culture decline until only remnants of Māori tradition remained. It was in the rural areas, where families had never left the *marae*, that an unbroken tradition could be found.

iii. The Waitangi Legacy

By the 1960s, there was a movement by Māori to re-assert their culture and re-claim their identity. In 1964, the 'Māori Purposes Board' recommended that a national Māori cultural competition be established (see Chapter Five). In 1975, MP Matiu Rata pressured the New Zealand government to recognize claims made under the *Treaty of Waitangi*. The result was the *The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*. Under this Act, the Waitangi Tribunal was established. This Tribunal has two functions: firstly to consider claims against government actions that are contrary to the principles of *Treaty of Waitangi* and secondly to make recommendations on new legislation.

In the twenty-five years since the passing of the Act and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, there have been many changes for the Māori in New Zealand. Their language, *te reo Māori*, has been formally recognised and is now taught in schools. Many schools offer curricula taught exclusively in *te re Māori*, with English as a second language. The recommendations of the Māori Purposes Board for a national cultural competition led to the establishment of the biennial Aotearoa Festival and a series of smaller annual regional competitions. This has led to a renewed interest in *kapa haka*. Many tribes have successfully made claims against the government and have had damages awarded to them for the loss of their lands during and after the Māori Wars. The Māori in New Zealand now have a high

international profile, in contrast to the Māori who have chosen to migrate to other parts of the world. One of the most popular destinations for Māori is Australia. As for the nineteenth century Māori, Australia offers an opportunity to find work, but with the added benefit of being just a three-hour flight from 'home'.

Māori have been making their way to Australia for reasons of employment or as performers since as early as the late 1830s (Marumaru 1984). A hundred and sixty years later, Māori still come here seeking work (Bureau of Immigration and Population Research 1994). Historically, Australia has been a destination for Māori seeking out work since the first British settlers began to arrive in New Zealand. The decision to leave New Zealand is not an easy one, but is necessitated by the lure of a greater chance of getting work, better wages, and a perceived higher standard of living. Australia is a natural choice by virtue of its proximity to New Zealand, its common language and perceived similarities in culture and history, its larger population and bigger market economy and, until July 2000, its tax system. Many seek out family and friends already residing here, and so find a support network from which to seek out work and accommodation and establish new relationships. Many bring their families with them; others marry and have their children after they arrive. At times they may venture interstate from Melbourne looking for work. In leaving New Zealand to seek work in Australia, Māori are not simply moving away from their families back home; to varying degrees they are also leaving behind a tribal network featuring extended family, links to a particular place, and a distinctive language and cultural background.

The Māori in Aotearoa

Different parts of New Zealand are associated with particular tribes, although with urbanisation and the development of big cities, tribal links have

weakened somewhat. Even so, local tribes tend to dominate big cities in their regions. This link with a particular place can be identified through song and dance, and has been used successfully by a number of tribes involved in land-rights claims against the New Zealand government. The Waitangi Tribunal accepts these references to places in song lyrics as evidence of traditional ownership by that tribe. One recent claim involved the *Ngāti Turangitukua* sub-tribe from the Lake Taupo district. The Waitangi Tribunal, established during the 1970s to settle grievances by Māori over government confiscation of land since 1840, ordered the government to return the land, worth over $A4.89 million, and to pay compensation of over $A800, 000 (*The Age*, 9 July 1998). This follows a formal apology and compensation of $A155 million made by then Prime Minister Jim Bolger in 1995 to the *Tainui* tribe from the Waikato district. This reparation was for 500,000 hectares of land confiscated in 1865 after an insurrection during which the Tainui appointed their own 'king' (*The Age*, 23 May 1995).

While many Māori have strong ties with a particular place or to their tribe, the increasing urbanisation of New Zealand and the resulting urban drift to big cities, particularly to Auckland, has led to the alienation of Māori from many aspects of their culture (Maaka 1994). New Zealand film producer Lee Tamahori explored this alienation in his feature film *Once Were Warriors*. Based on a novel of the same name by Alan Duff, *Once Were Warriors* highlights the dilemma faced by many urban Māori, removed from the *marae*, and thus dislocated from their past and traditions. Lacking a channel for the anger and frustration that the situation breeds for a people whose identity is descended from a warrior culture, one male protagonist resorts to violence; another joins a gang, *Toa* ('warriors') *Aotearoa*, which exploits traditional Māori symbols such as *moko* ('facial tattoos'). A third learns his culture from a social worker who sees learning and performing the *haka*

as the means to the Māori rediscovering their pride, thus keeping out of trouble and staying out of jail. For the female protagonist, the *marae* and the old ways represent all that is good about the Māori. She chooses to return to the *marae* and the past, taking her children with her following the rape and subsequent suicide of her daughter. Taken at face value, Tamahori appears to be suggesting that the Māori belong on the *marae*, and that they should return there and turn their backs on the evils of suburbia. But Tamahori's inference is more symbolic than literal. The *marae* and its associated institutions of *whānau* ('family') and *iwi* ('tribe') were central to Māori life and culture for many centuries. In suburbia, away from the support of the extended family and with the pressures of maintaining a job and paying one's way, Māori lead empty, hollow lives. Many Māori get into trouble with the police. Tamahori is suggesting that the Māori need to reclaim their proud past. The female protagonist declares that her ancestors "... once were warriors". She seizes that idea and takes control, and in doing so she (re) discovers her *mana* ('power'). In returning to the *marae* she is not running away; she is reclaiming her past, and therefore her identity as a Māori.

Reclaiming this identity, of being Māori, has became an active issue since the 1960s as the Māori in New Zealand have systematically taken ownership of issues of importance such as land rights and education. This pro-active approach to their future coincided with a change in the political climate in New Zealand and the emergence of a political party dedicated to Māori rights. Since the 1980s, the Waitangi Tribunal has returned land and ordered the payment of compensation to a number of Māori tribes for damages caused by the confiscation of lands in breach of the *Treaty of Waitangi*, signed in 1840 (see Appendix 1). Māori culture and language have enjoyed a resurgence and, with increased funding, have had their futures secured by successive New Zealand governments. And it is through the

performing arts, whether for cultural purposes or for tourism, that many Māori find this identity, a sense of what it is to be Māori. The notion that the 'culture' and its many features, language, performing arts, family values, a sense of belonging and social cohesion, are a panacea for the ills of the modern Māori, is not a new idea, and continues to be at the core of what many Māori perceive as the answer to their problems (Mehana, G. Pers. comm. 4 January 1999).

Māori in Melbourne in the 1990s

As with other migrant groups, the Māori population is concentrated in several suburban areas, with the highest concentrations around Dandenong and Frankston in the southeast, Altona in the west and Broadmeadows in the north. The 1991 Cencus documents 823 "usual residents" in the Māori population of Victoria, with 705 being the total number registered as residing in the Melbourne area. However, most Māori in Melbourne would agree that the unofficial number of Māori living in and around Melbourne is considerably higher. One estimate was up to 30,000 (Te Kaahu, M. Pers. comm. 2 November 1998), but this number very likely includes spouses and children born here but considered to be part of the Māori community. The results of the 1996 Census revealed different information, as there was no question concerning ancestry.

Table 1.1: 1991 Census population distributions for Māori residing in Melbourne

Suburb - area	**Number**
Dandenong/Oakleigh area – Middle and outer southeast	280
Broadmeadows – Inner and outer north and northwest	115
Altona and area – Inner west and southwest	96
Caulfield area – Central southeast	88
Melbourne and inner south and east	72
Frankston area – Southeast bayside	27
Nunawading area – Outer east	27
Total Māori residents in Melbourne area	**705**

Table 1.2: Results of 1996 Census.

Speak Māori at home	615
From New Zealand	17595
Member of Ratana Church	457
Mother from New Zealand	20582
Father from New Zealand	21316

The Māori are one of many minority communities in Melbourne, and many of the issues they face are not unique to themselves. Issues of ethnicity, identity, language and cultural heritage are common across all migrant groups of non-British backgrounds. Since the 1950s many migrants have established social clubs, sporting clubs and culture groups to provide opportunities for members of their communities to interact with each other, to support each other, and to instruct their children in the language and customs. The biggest are the Italian social clubs such as Freccia Azzurra, The Calabria Club and the Veneto Club. Although these clubs target members from particular regions of Italy they are not exclusive. They offer their

members a range of entertainment including dinner dances, nightclubs and on-site gambling through poker machines. Other migrant groups such as the Slovenians and Lemnians (Greek Islands), Vietnamese and Turks have established dedicated community centres with buildings and grounds for the exclusive use of members. Sporting clubs tend to be Euro-centric soccer clubs such as South Melbourne Hellas (Greek) and Chelsea Hajduk (Serbian), though these are by no means exclusive either. Language schools are run by members of each community and generally operate at weekends. Such schools may also receive some funding to assist them with the running of their programs.

While many migrant groups have established facilities for the use of their respective communities, the Māori community has yet to build its own facility and to date has concentrated on culture clubs. The culture club dominates the social, sporting and cultural life of the Melbourne Māori. Serving as an umbrella group, the culture club's primary role is to bring Māori together and to provide an opportunity for families to mix with other Māori and to participate in 'culture' through performance, social events and classes in *te reo Māori*. *Kohanga reo* ('language nest') provides opportunities for young children to be exposed to the language and culture.

The situation of the Melbourne Māori community is quite distinct from that of their *whānau* and friends back home in New Zealand. In Melbourne the Māori are immigrants seeking work and a better lifestyle for their children. For many, returning home to live is unlikely, and many grandparents have followed their families out to be near their grandchildren. This geographic relocation has removed these Māori from the educational changes that have taken place in New Zealand schools with respect to Māori language and culture. For many of the adult Māori living in Melbourne, *te reo Māori* was never a part of their school education in New

Zealand. The few who do speak *te reo Māori* were either the product of a *marae* upbringing or were brought up by parents or grandparents who themselves grew up in a regional or rural area in New Zealand. Those children who grew up in the cities and were educated in mainstream schools prior to the 1980s did not learn to *kōrero Māori* in the classroom.

Aside from the structural changes being implemented by the Education Department in New Zealand (a number of which were adopted by the Victorian government during the 1990s[5]) the most significant change has been the shift in emphasis on the value of all things Māori. Māori students have access to colleges and universities that offer courses in Māori Studies and language. Secondary schools have been established which offer a fully Māori education, with all instruction undertaken in *te reo Māori*. The New Zealand government has singled out the performing arts as a significant part of the process of keeping the culture alive and has allocated over $NZ 1 million in funding for the Aotearoa Festival over three years from 1998 to 2000. None of these changes will directly flow on to the children of those Māori who have migrated overseas seeking work and are not residing in New Zealand, except by returning to New Zealand to live permanently. The only way that Māori in Australia may benefit is by participating in the Aotearoa Festival (see Chapter Five), but in order to achieve this they will need to raise funds themselves, as they do at present, as financial support is not available to non-New Zealand residents, even if they have retained their citizenship. These are issues that

[5] Following its election in October 1992, the Victorian Liberal Government implemented reforms throughout the education system. This included Voluntary Redundancy Packages to reduce the number of teachers, larger class sizes and self-governing schools. This new scheme, Schools of the Future, was designed to increase the autonomy of schools which would be run by the School Council rather than the State Government, thereby reducing the amount of funding required from the State budget. This system was modeled on a system trialed in New Zealand during the early 1980s.

most likely affect members of other migrant communities in Australia as well as the Māori.

Of the many minority communities that call Melbourne 'home', the Māori community is one of the lesser known and, as such, very little attention has been paid to their performing arts and their socio-cultural needs. Collectively grouped as either 'Polynesian' or 'Kiwi', they are a novelty often wheeled out at the Bledisloe Cup for a bit of 'authentic' *haka*, or at *Siva Pacifica* at the annual Moomba Festival, where they fulfil the expectations of mainstream society as "colourfully costumed ethnics" (Ryan 1988:14). The Māori have been subject to much stereotyping by mainstream society. Whether the image is that of the fierce warrior on stage, the drunken wife-beater on film, or a dole bludger, the Māori have been misrepresented and misunderstood by the mainstream. Even researchers have found it difficult to reconcile the differences between the on-stage persona and the off-stage person with their own expectations:

> It struck me that these men and women, from the working-class suburb of Broadmeadows, seemed to have tremendous self-confidence and positive body projection. This confidence was especially striking when one considers that they are migrants to Australia or have come from migrant families, live in a working class area, and are likely to have low levels of educational achievement and a high rate of unemployment. (Dunphy 1996:54)

Melbourne in the late 1990s is a multicultural city. 'Multiculturalism' was the buzzword of the late 1980s when the Federal government of the day embraced the concept of a multicultural Australia, where cultural diversity is seen as a positive and enriching social phenomenon, although Australia has been multicultural for considerably longer. The process began in 1788 with the arrival of the Irish and the British, and continued with the Europeans and Chinese during the 1850s, the Europeans during 1950s, with the Indo-Chinese refugees during the 1970s and

1980s, and most recently with migrants from the Balkans and Middle East. Through these successive waves of migration the character of Australian society has changed and developed. Many migrants have kept their unique cultures and rituals alive within their communities in Melbourne. Occasionally these rituals and events extend beyond their immediate sphere of influence and include 'mainstream' society, the predominantly English-speaking majority of Anglo-Celtic descent born in Australia. The influence of these cultures upon each other and upon the mainstream can be observed through the performing arts, and has been documented both within Australia and in other parts of the world. 'Musical syncretism' (Kartomi, Blacking, Nettl) has been observed in many situations where two or more music traditions impinge on each other and elements from each tradition are brought together, either in a conscious or unconscious act by the composer or musician, to create an entirely new musical genre. Many of these cases have been documented and published. Add to this the increasing globalisation of the music industry and the development of music technology and the World Wide Web, musical and extra-musical influences continue to influence minority groups, including the Māori. These extra-musical influences will be examined in more detail in later chapters.

Many of the Māori who have migrated to Australia since the 1970s and do not *korero Māori* are urban, from one of the larger towns or cities in New Zealand. They may know a few Māori words that have made their way into New Zealand vernacular, but most of them cannot hold a conversation in any language other than English. Most of them know the so-called 'Rugby *haka*', but may never have performed traditional *kapa haka*. In New Zealand today, Māori culture is pervasive. It can be found in Māori language newspapers, on the *iwi* ('tribal') radio stations and television channels. Māori *kapa haka* can be seen in every region, performed by the numerous 'culture' groups. It is a lure for visitors to Rotorua where Māori crafts and

performance are staple fare for tourists. Māori art and crafts are on show in public buildings and hotels all over the country. By its very obvious presence, it is invisible. It is accepted as the norm and so does not attract the attention of Māori in New Zealand. Wagner writes that culture is invisible, that we do not see it until we step outside of our own culture and into another, and only then does it become visible by its very absence.

> ... it is only through "invention" ... that the abstract significance of culture can be grasped, and only through the experienced contrast that his own culture becomes fully "visible". In the act of inventing his own culture, the anthropologist invents his own, and in fact he reinvents the notion of culture itself. (1981:8-9)

This invisibility of culture is the reason it is not noticed until it is no longer there. For Māori migrants in Australia, the need to seek out other Māori and engage in their culture is a direct result of the sudden visibility of their culture. It is visible only by its absence and needs to be recreated in their new setting, as migrants, to recreate a sense of 'home'. Recreating home is a necessary part of developing a sense of identity and a place within the wider community. The Māori are not the first migrant community to do this. The work of other migrant groups to recreate home can be observed in Chinatown in Little Bourke Street in central Melbourne, in the many churches, temples and mosques around the suburbs, and in the community centres established to cater for particular migrant groups.

The Māori in Melbourne do not have a physical space that they can identify as 'Māori'. This lack of a tangible place that can be identified as their own means that, instead, this notion of a 'recreated home' is found in other aspects of their lives, in social interactions, and in sport and in 'culture', a term frequently used by Māori to describe *kapa haka*. The Māori in Melbourne rely on the outward manifestation of this internalised recreation of home. They have established social networks,

sporting teams and community-based clubs to fulfil their need to be reminded of home and, in recontextualising home, they have essentially re-invented themselves and their culture. These Māori and their children do not have access to Māori culture on a daily basis, on radio and television, in newspapers and in school, as they do in New Zealand, so the manifestation of culture through performance is effectively part-time, and restricted to weekends and evenings, when it is possible to get together with other Māori at a social, sporting or cultural event. For these Māori, culture has become a 'hobby', a weekend activity removed from daily life by the need to engage in paid employment in the wider community. This does not devalue culture. On the contrary, culture, and the participation in that culture, is made more important for the Māori by its relative isolation from the rest of their lives. Likewise, the external expression of that culture is essential in the manifestation of the Māori identity. In daily life, most Māori wear some kind of ornamentation around the neck, usually in the form of a bone or greenstone carving in a traditional design. These external trappings are an important association with 'home' and an identity as Māori. Participation in culture is only possible by associating with other Māori, and many Māori join 'culture clubs', formal groups whose sole purpose is to provide opportunities for members to perform *kapa haka*.

Culture clubs have become central to the re-creation of home for Māori in Melbourne, and it is through involvement in these clubs, particularly in the performance of *kapa haka*, that many in the Māori community have found 'home'. But the re-creation of a performance genre from another country is essentially a form of cultural invention. The essential meaning of the performance has changed. It is no longer merely a manifestation of Māori culture. The meaning has been altered by the very Māori who perform it because it is not performed in New Zealand, on the tribal lands where the song was created, or because it belongs to a different tribe

from those who perform it, or because the performers are not fluent in the language and do not understand the nuances of the lyrics, or the performers are not New Zealanders, but are Australians by birth. In this context, 'home' is a memory of another country and this memory does not belong to the new generation. It is not possible for the young people to 'remember' home or to know what it is to be Māori in the same way as other Māori. The meaning has been altered by this recontextualisation to encompass the expression of a 'new' home. So the performance expresses elements of both the 'old' and the 'new', blending two homes and two traditions, one that is tangible and in the present, and one that belongs in the memory, and is recreated through performance.

The 'old' tradition and home of the Māori can be found in New Zealand, but also aspects of the 'new'. Following the settlement of New Zealand by Europeans during the middle of the nineteenth century, significant changes occurred within Māori society. Urbanisation, British institutions, infrastructure, industry and trade all impacted on tribal ways of life, and many old traditions were lost and replaced by new ones. Alongside the changes to language, education and customs were changes to performance practice in traditional *kapa haka*, changes that parallel (though less dramatically), the changes in Melbourne. In some ways, Māori culture has also been 're-invented' in New Zealand, just as it has in Melbourne.

The next chapter will examine the Māori in Melbourne in the 1990s, and the development of the 'culture club', including a study undertaken in the mid-1990s of a club in Melbourne. This chapter will also introduce the culture club, *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, which is the focus of this study.

Plate 1

The *Treaty of Waitangi* was not, as legend has it, signed on February 6 in 1840. Rather, it was signed over several days as chiefs arrived at Waitangi for the ceremony. The effects of the *Treaty* are still felt today in New Zealand. The original Māori to settle in Melbourne in the 1840s were not affected by the Treaty. In contrast, many of the Māori who have migrated to Australia have come as native English speakers and know little about Māori culture.

Hone Waitai, a Maori businessman, led the group of Maori that established the Maori village known as *Te Arepa*. This group arrived sometime between 1838 and 1842. They leased three paddocks in a swampy area south of the Yarra River. A wagon track, now called Moray Street, connected the paddocks to the river. All that remains of this village today is the Maori Chief Hotel.

Plate 2

Te Arepa was supplied with fresh water from a well that the Maori kept clean with a pair of eels. As recently as 1926 this well was still accessible. There are a number of sites around Melbourne that have been used as wells by Maori, but all of these have since been lost.

Emerald Hill was renamed South Melbourne and the site of *Te Arepa* is now an industrial area, just off Kings Way.

Plate 3

The Māori Chief Hotel was established as a venue for Māori families to socialise. Originally a single-storey, nine room wooden building, it was called the Māori Warrior Chief Tavern, named after a troupe of Māori dancers which stayed there in the 1850s. The licence remained in the family of the original owner, John Reidy, until 1932.

The hotel is the only building remaining on the site of the Māori settlement *Te Arepa*. The present building was established in 1867.

Plate 4

The Māori King, Tawhio, visited Melbourne and, according to stories from that time, stayed at *Te Arepa*, the Māori village south of Melbourne. Local Māori legend says that he buried a *patu*, a small club, on the site of the Māori Chief Hotel and that he drew a line across Melbourne with his *taiaha* and declared that war would never come to this land. Some claim that he pointed to the mountains to the east and that this should be the site of a new *marae* (Smith, B. Pers. comm. 22 July 1997); others claim he pointed to the northwest towards Mt. Macedon (Hallett, G. Pers. comm. 9 March 1999).

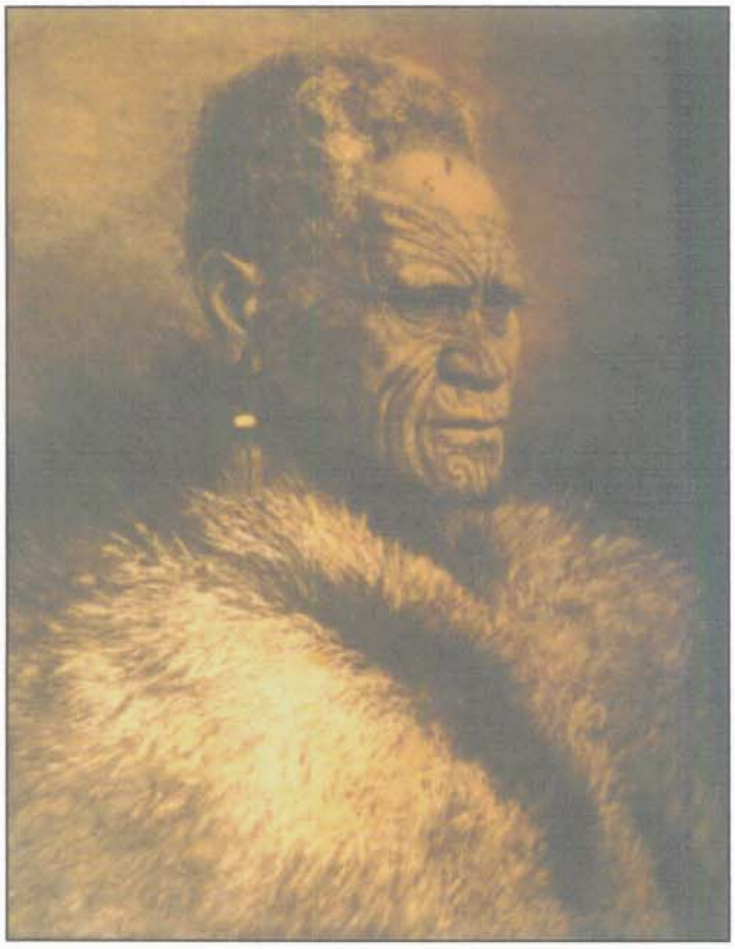

Plate 1: Treaty House, Waitangi New Zealand. Moray St, South Melbourne. Plate 2: Site of *Te Arepa* well. York St, South Melbourne. Plate 3: Māori Chief Hotel. Plate 4: Portait of King Tawhio.