

specific detail about neighbours, relatives and friends, which we hope will provide detailed evidence concerning the strength and dimensions of community bonds. The latter may suggest that the idea of community was stronger than the reality, or it may not. Certainly we hope to be able to see how the idea, or myth, of community came to be constructed and why it has such significance in the

This, indeed, is the experience and cultural it is possible to understand meaning to their life happened is surely as im- of probability, concl- predicated upon person- past, and these are just a accounts based upon co are, both collectively and memories. It is essential that we understand how those memories are constructed in making meaning out of our past.

I would like to thank Jeanine Graham for comments made upon an earlier draft of this article.

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By Word Of Mouth ... The past from the paepae.

DANNY KEENAN

In recent years, historical studies have undergone significant change, in New Zealand as elsewhere. Increasing emphasis has been directed at subject areas and methods once considered to be peripheral to the received frameworks of history. Many such areas are now 'woven into the centrality of historical enquiry and historical research.'¹

In this context, the value of oral testimony as method and source of history has been much debated, if less so these days than a decade or so ago. Some historians still consider oral testimony to be a flawed source of history. Others regard such testimony as exciting narrative readily located in context and time, with memory, cognition and history having many interconnections.²

This latter view is certainly the case for most Maori historians for whom the oral record provides both source of narrative and framework of interpretation. The purpose of this brief article is to suggest how Maori approaches to such sources and methods of history might be distinguished from those choices exercised by others working within the mainstream of New Zealand history. For Maori people, the past substantially converges into the present. Time, context and cognition easily connect within the active memory of kaumatua who recall and mediate the past into important tribal and hapu histories. Within such processes of historical construction, the value of oral history is not an issue of consequence. Nor does it feature in wider Maori

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considerations of appropriate methodology when Maori are seeking to tap into their past.

This is because oral testimony, in its broadest sense, is accepted as a Maori reality, and has always been so. As a consequence, all important components of a tribal past, like the waka traditions for example, are readily acknowledged as valid history because such traditions are constantly maintained within vigorous oral forms like tauparapara, whaikorero and waiata.

Each of these components feature as integral to the total connected account of tribal history and mana. Such accounts are mediated from vast storehouses of tribal knowledge through the oral process by kaumatua who are in command of tribal processes of historical construction. Such histories are ultimately presented to serve best the ends of the tribe or hapu. As a consequence, Maori purposes in history are not always served by questions of methodology which from time to time preoccupy mainstream historians, like validity of process, or veracity of tradition.

Of most concern, in the end, is and was the mana of the tribe or hapu. It is here that the significance of Maori oral history can best be appreciated; not in the veracity of tradition delivered nor in the validity of method utilised but in the purposes for which the histories are being recalled, by whom, and for whose ends those histories will serve. Such purposes can be detected when differing tribal uses of waka traditions are examined.

Most tribes place special significance on their waka descent traditions. While the recorded narratives of Tainui, for example,

date from the earliest occupation of Hawaiki, it is from the Tainui waka that primary descent histories are sourced. According to Kelly's published history of the Tainui confederation, 'the people of Tainui, in common with other tribes, take great pride in tracing their ancestry from those who came hither in their tribal canoe; [they] trace back to the most important personage on board, Hoturoa.'³

The Te Arawa tribes claim primary descent from Tamatekapua, once a 'lad of spirit [who] in time was regarded as a chief of no ordinary importance.' Tamatekapua is said to have sparked 'the last trouble of a long and bitter series which finally caused a group of Ngati Ohomairangi to leave their homeland of Hawaiki and travel to the land discovered by Kupe - Aotearoa.'⁴ This was a journey made aboard the Te Arawa waka. Interestingly, the story is told by Maihi Te Kapua Te Hinaki of the two great ancestors, Hoturoa and Tamatekapua, once coming to blows 'due to the unwelcome attentions of Tamatekapua to Hoturoa's senior wife, Whakaotirangi ... Tamatekapua was worsted in the contest ... then the people intervened and stopped the duel, for they were all close relatives.'⁵

Primary descent histories do not always place such emphasis on the Great Fleet waka, however. The origin stories of Takitimu illustrate this. The Takitimu people claim descent from the Takitimu canoe but of course take their tribal name from Kahungunu, the son of Tamatea who sailed aboard the Takitimu.⁶ Other theories as to the origins of Kahungunu have been advanced. Greenwood's extensive survey of Ngati Kahungunu whakapapa argued that Kahungunu was in fact a later ancestor, separated from Tamatea by some two hundred years. The issue turned on two ancestors named Tamatea: Tamatea-Uruhaea of the Takitimu waka and Tu Tamatea Kai Ariki, supposedly Kahungunu's real father.⁷

While the sources of Taranaki waka traditions attract less controversy, the origin accounts as perceived by local tribes are also utilised differently. The tribes of Taranaki draw their descent principally from one of three waka, Kurahaupo, Aotea or Tokomaru. Descent from these waka is frequently expressed in oratory, whakatauki and waiata of often ancient origin.

In reality, however, Taranaki histories of origin are rather more complex. More often than not, these waka are located in extended tribal narratives of descent which in fact originate well before the believed arrival dates of these canoes.

For example, some Taranaki tribes like Nga Rauru and Taranaki iwi place a greater store on pre-Great Fleet narratives when constructing their tribal histories. One Nga Rauru account which begins 'Matua te Kore, Te Kore Nui, Te Kore Roa (the absolute void, the great void, the long void)', exceeds two hundred lines when written down. Only when concluding does it refer to Toi te Huatahi, believed to have arrived at the time of the Nga Rauru waka, Aotea.⁸

The traditions of Taranaki iwi, further north, also largely pre-date their waka, Kurahaupo. This is achieved by an extended reaching back to narratives from 'I noho a io roto i te aha o te aao (the development of life and knowledge through the interplay of past and present).' These narratives in fact further pre-date the arrival of the mountain, Taranaki. They contain references to Rua Tawhito, Rua Tipua and Rua Taranaki, ancient ancestors also claimed as tupuna by some of the Taranaki tribes further to the north. Rua Taranaki is the believed ancestor from whom Taranaki the mountain took its final name. It was formerly called Puke O Naki, according to Taranaki iwi traditions.

Much later in the Taranaki iwi descent traditions, reference is made to the canoe arrivals. 'The Kurahaupo people arrived in

the fourteenth century and lived among Kahui Maunga ... in time they defined themselves as the Taranaki tribe ... the captain of the Kurahaupo was Te Hatauiria.'⁹

The descent history of Ngai Tahu is more complex than most. It incorporates later large scale migrations from the Takitimu area merging with the various peoples occupying Te Waipounamu, the South Island.¹⁰ Some strong local debate has attached to traditions of Ngai Tahu descent, as Tipene O'Regan has recently indicated:

Ngai Tahu are the people that claim traditional manawhenua over the vast majority of Te Waipounamu ... there are three main streams of descent which flow together in [our] histories ... these streams are Waitaha, Mamoe and Tahu. The traditional ways in which Maori have managed their history have identifiable characteristics, which are different from those normally manipulated by the academic historian ... it could be said that ... Maori customary authentication and the Maori perception of post-Treaty history are savaged by ... the professional historian.¹¹

It is not uncommon for divisions to appear over time between component descent groups within confederations, given the pressures exerted by competing claims to mana whenua on the use of validating ancient narratives. Their consequent mediation into seemingly unequivocal tribal histories and traditions can result in hitherto unknown areas of contest appearing between component kinship groups.

This is a situation not confined of course to any one tribal area. It is especially so where history and culture are seen no longer to constitute recreational or scholarly pursuits, where 'the evidence of the conventional historian ... and the whakapapa of the Maori are presented for one purpose, that of a substantial result, achieved or denied, in terms of money, resources or property.'¹²

Thus the uses to which longstanding waka narratives were put over time varied considerably, as tribes mediated their knowledge of the past for different purposes. Such processes of mediation were important to Maori people when organising knowledge of their past, and, as O'Regan has suggested, most recorded traditions should be seen as having been recorded within a particular frame for a particular purpose. 'Very few things stand alone and unsullied without any direction or preceding shape ... the mode of presentation of evidence is always driven by a purpose.'¹³

In the end, such descent narratives were recalled by tribes within a context of their histories of mana. Waka knowledge was especially valued, not only for its own sake but for its contribution to a total tribal account of past and present.

The scholarship and debate on this subject is of course extensive. Much subsequent reference to waka histories is transfixed on issues of veracity and validity of tribal traditions and processes. Such references invariably misread the complexity of such descent traditions or misinterpret their importance as a source of mana to tribes. Frequent reference to the best known waka has also elevated the importance of those waka when cited outside of their proper customary tribal descent narratives which frequently extended much further into the distant past.

I.L.G. Sutherland once reflected on the importance of waka traditions to Maori when observing a hui held at Ngaruawahia to celebrate the believed six-hundredth anniversary of the Great Fleet migration to New Zealand:

at the gathering, for hour after hour, night after night, kaumatua from various tribes tried to agree on the whakapapa ... tracing descent from those who came in the traditional canoes of the migration.¹⁴

Peter Buck and Apirana Ngata, who assisted in arranging the anniversary, often discussed the 'necessity of getting standard whakapapa for the various canoes' - an interesting idea, perhaps suggesting a certain view of whakapapa as more or less fixed in time and function. In their correspondence, numerous possibilities and alternatives were mooted.¹⁵

Pei Te Hurinui was also involved in the hui's inception, having suggested to the late Princess Te Puea the idea of celebrating the believed anniversary of the distant arrival of the Fleet. As he later wrote, 'in fixing the year 1950 for the celebration at Ngaruawahia, we first examined several lines of descent of King Koroki back to Hoturoa and other leaders of the Fleet Migration.' Hurinui's study of whakapapa had extended, he wrote, over a period of more than forty years. Over that time variations and mutations in tribal whakapapa had always been checked and rechecked with his elders of Tainui. 'As a result of persistent questioning and careful study of our whakapapa, I [was] convinced that ... our lines from the Fleet [were] authentic.'¹⁶

Accordingly, the waka traditions, though perceived differently by different tribes, were important in that they featured as authoritative tribal narratives from which individual histories could be drawn. Such narratives remained in the tribal memory over time, and were likely to be cited as constituting a basis for important knowledge of the tribal past. Pei Te Hurinui demonstrated this in searching Tainui whakapapa for verification of the waka celebrations.

Such verifications drew heavily on tribal processes of recall and organising knowledge. These processes encompassed more than detail of common and overlapping descent narratives, with lateral and vertical connections established across the centuries. It also incorporated *how* tribal histories were in fact recalled and constructed.

This was a recall based primarily on a common oral process with innumerable points of expression and reference. One such point of reference was the ancient landscape, where 'names in the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place, recording some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe.'¹⁷ Other points of reference were more difficult to manifest, embedded within varying Maori cultural forms like whakapapa itself, as Ngati Apa kaumatua Reuben Ashford has suggested:

that is why oratory is established when you arrived at the marae, you didn't know who they were but the oratory would open up with the normal greeting, saying who you are and where you peopled land, where your ancestors traversed, where they now lie in death, deceased, they all make the mana of you and your people.¹⁸

Such whakapapa and whaikorero incorporated aspects of intuitive oratory and delivery which implied an underlying sense of past and present. However, despite the essentially intuitive nature of Maori oral recall, selections of narrative were, on different levels, likely to be arranged carefully, where the specific recall of history and tradition was at issue. In this sense, whakapapa played a central role as an organising device. Such common intellectual organising processes and methods of delivery were inherently Maori cultural processes. The

communication of oral traditions in particular provided a primary conduit through which the mechanics of establishing collective representations of experience and reality, past and present, could be continued.¹⁹

Such oral processes incorporated narrative representations of the past. They also incorporated conceptual frameworks through which these narratives were to be, at the very least, contextualised, and rendered meaningful. Agathe Thornton considered the most important characteristic of such a process was its oral nature. It was extraordinary, she observed, that such a device as whakapapa was entirely oral, written down for the first time later only by those who wrote manuscripts. 'From conception and learning to performance (they were) either chanted or recited. How this is possible is not easy for us to conceive.'²⁰

Officials like Native Land Court Judges after 1865 in Taranaki were frequently similarly confounded. Fenton transcribed numerous pages of notes from Maori depositions in 1866 at Compensation Court Hearings in New Plymouth, attempting to decipher the intricacies of testimony and whakapapa.²¹

Maori oral depictions of the past tended to be, and are largely still, seemingly fragmentary and incomplete, not always as a consequence of the intuitive process however. Presentations of whakapapa and history were equally likely to be selectively attuned to the occasions for which they were presented. Of course some occasions within Maori protocols, such as powhiri and poroporoaki, provided constraints enough of their own.

The seemingly fragmentary presentations were rigidly structured by practices like whaikorero, as Buck has written:

the fixed etiquette of welcoming visitors with oratorical speeches (and) discussions of affairs of tribal or family interest, and orations connected with birth, marriage and death, all led to the development of high standards of speech and oratory ... [Participants] learned to memorize the higher forms of speech which contained references to mythology, traditions, and genealogies ... enriched with figures of speech and appropriate chants and songs.²²

Such 'high standards of speech and oratory' still issue forth from the paepae which continues to serve as controlling site for authoritative expositions of tribal whakapapa, traditions and history. Whilst these presentations might appear as wholly intuitive, astute listeners are aware, and are indeed appreciative, of the context and contest unfolding, of the exchange, for the most part benevolent but within vigorous constructions, facts merging with feint, all within given frameworks of historical construction as tribal validity and mana are, across the marae area, strongly asserted. As very appropriately quoted by Anne Salmond recently, kaumatua will declare when different versions of the past are contested, 'Kia tuutuu ai te puehu i runga i te marae' - 'Let the dust rise up on the marae'.²³

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The Role Of Women In English Society 1558-1660

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The brief given to teachers of the seventh-form syllabus is brief indeed. They are required to enlighten their students about economy and society under a number of topic headings, including 'the role of women', over a century; and then they are expected to move on to the nature of government and a chronology of political events. The manner in which teachers present their material within this basic framework must make a great difference to a student's perception of what history is about. Potted accounts of 'family life', 'marriage', 'the role of women', followed by a chronological narrative of events could lead to students thinking that there are basically two types of history - the easy anecdotal and the history of hard facts. From the point of view of ensuring that women are rendered visible in the past there is a danger in this. Exploring women's past can become a token gesture; women are there in anecdote and remain lost from the narrative. Worse still - women's history becomes the 'soft option'. This should never happen and this article will suggest some ways to avoid the problem while remaining within the brief of the syllabus.

I

One of the key objectives of the seventh-form syllabus is that, at the end of their study, students are supposed to have arrived at some understanding of the nature of a society in the past which differs from their own. With this in mind, an introduction to their course could contain the important observation that English society 1558-1660 can be described as 'patriarchal'. Patriarchy is a slightly tricky term, but it can be given a concise working definition for teaching purposes. One suggestion would be 'a society in which women are believed to be inferior or subordinate to men and in which men are effectively in control of all institutions involved with education and employment, the legislative process and the execution of government'. Any patriarchy is underpinned and perpetuated by a variety of ideas about women which render them subordinate. The most important in the case of England 1558-1660 were those Christian ideas, particularly those of the

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early church fathers, which informed Catholicism and Protestantism.

Having introduced the idea that society was patriarchal in nature partly because of prevalent religious ideas, it is possible to bring students back to this further on in the syllabus, when teaching them about 'religion, the church and popular beliefs'. In this way, the particular gender roles of both men and women can be explored as part of a wider topic. For example, the patriarchal nature of early modern society remains clearly in view if some space is devoted to the importance that was attached to the teaching of St Paul. The Pauline instruction (in his letters to the Corinthians and the Ephesians) that women should be silent in the church and should be subject to their husbands was one that not only came up time and again in sermons and advice manuals, but was written into the Elizabethan *Homily on Marriage*. It was a staple of early modern English Protestantism that women were to be 'chaste, silent and obedient'. It is useful to explain to students that religious ideas not only dictated the behaviour of women (and men towards them), but provided men and women with a *vision* of their own society that was patriarchal. Christ was viewed as the head of the body of the church and man was seen as the head over women within Christ's earthly commonwealth. The reason given for women's subordinate role was most commonly Eve's role in the Fall which provoked God's curse. These views had been set out in St Augustine's *City of God*, a work which had considerable and enduring influence throughout the period. It is only in understanding these *ideas* that religious practices of the period begin to make sense. Omission of women from the priesthood, segregation of the sexes in church, the direction that women should cover their heads in church and the practice of 'churching' after childbirth, are some of the more important rituals which gave women a sense of their role in wider society.¹

The above is just one example of the way in which the role of women in society can be examined not just as a discrete topic, but carried through the syllabus to provide a history which has a fuller gender balance to it. The same principle can be applied in other areas. When considering the government and politics of the period there is plenty of scope for considering the role of women. Women had a political role in society in