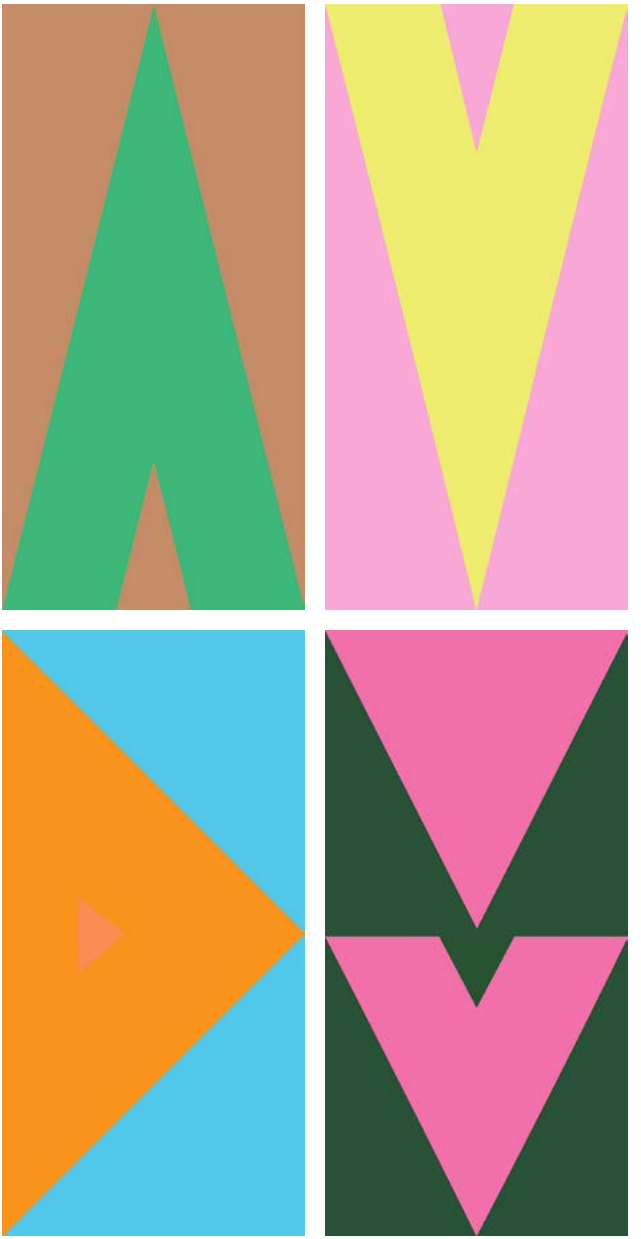


COVER:
Russ Flatt (b. 1971)
Destination Aroha, 2020
eight inkjet prints on polyester
2000mm x 4000mm each
installation dimensions variable
commissioned by Te Tuhi in association with
Auckland Arts Festival Te Ahurei Toi o Tāmaki
Makaurau & New Zealand Maritime Museum
Hui Te Ananui a Tangaroa

OVERLEAF:
Russ Flatt (b. 1971)
He Taonga Te Tamaiti, 2020
inkjet print on wallpaper
2590mm x 5035mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi,
Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

Parliamentary portrait of Peter Henry Buck, c. 1909
35mm-00094-e-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

A VERY DIFFERENT WORLD: WHAT WOULD TE RANGIHIROA SAY AND DO?

NGAHIRAKA MASON

Elliot Collins (b. 1983)
Tii Kouka, 2020
from the series *I Hope This Finds You*
pigment ink on card
148mm x 210mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

CONTENTS

Lisa Boivin (b. 1970)
Discovering Gratitude as the World Falls Around You, 2020
digital collage photograph
643mm x 795mm x 35mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

FOREWORD

HIRAANI HIMONA
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, TE TUHI

In early 2021 renowned Māori curator Ngahiraka Mason curated the exhibition *A Very Different World* at Te Tuhi. This timely exhibition acts as a platform for focusing on wellbeing—it is a much-needed glimmer of hope for the future. The 18 artists in *A Very Different World* include artists from Aotearoa, Tonga, Canada and Hawai'i who present works in photography, sculpture, textiles, ceramics, film and interactive installation. The work appears across Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland—at our Pakuranga gallery; at Papatūnga, an independent art space located on the platform at Parnell Station, curated by Te Tuhi's Curatorial Intern; and at the New Zealand Maritime Museum Hui Te Ananui a Tangaroa.

Te Tuhi commissioned Mason to produce an exhibition for the 2021 Auckland Art Fair/Auckland Arts Festival season just before the COVID-19 pandemic closed our borders to non-New Zealanders and managed isolation and quarantine requirements were implemented for New Zealand citizens returning to our shores. In fact, the deal was sealed at a meeting in March 2020 in Sydney during the Biennale of Sydney. The border closures were announced while we were there, and along with many others, we rapidly changed flights and arrangements in order to get to our home countries before the closures came into force. Mason flew back to Honolulu; I to Tāmaki Makaurau.

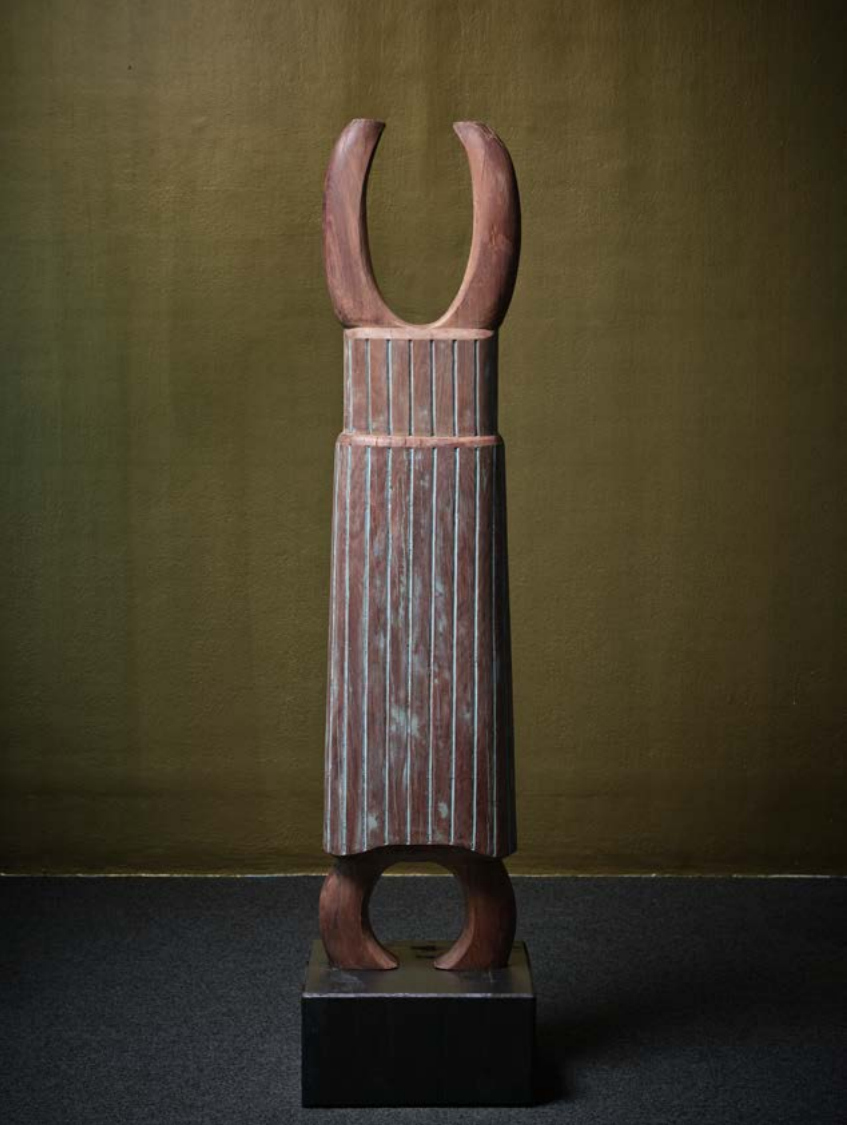
It was in this context that Mason started to develop *A Very Different World* and—initially unconnectedly—began writing an essay about the 1918 flu epidemic. As Mason says: experience changes everything. Humankind reaches across the globe, and in 2020 the term 'humanity' gathered new meaning due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

This essay offers strategies about how to use historical connections and contexts to think through contemporary issues and deepen our understanding of both. It became apparent that Mason's weighty piece of writing was extremely relevant for the *Very Different World* exhibition.

Te Tuhi fulfils a unique role within Aotearoa New Zealand's visual arts infrastructure. We are small enough to be flexible with our programme, to take risks and respond to artists' needs, but large enough to realise ambitious projects. We commit to providing artists and curators the space, opportunities, resources and support to present work of significant scope. With a primary focus on commissioning new work, the emphasis is on artistic process and practice, always placing the artist at the core of the programme. Taking risks and working collaboratively with artist and curator is a hallmark of Te Tuhi's success and has enabled the production and exhibition of work that speaks to time and place and which has initiated prescient conversations that examine our social condition.

From 2021 Te Tuhi is embarking on a strategy of working with independent curators to deliver our exhibition programme. Opening out our programme to a broader range of curatorial voices is an acknowledgement of the times we are in—that is, an era of global conversation, necessary social change and imperative rebalancings of institutions of power. Recognising the very real need for direct engagement with communities, we anticipate working with a series of curators who practise with and alongside communities of Aotearoa, and for whom social politics, historical narratives and contemporary art are integrally related. While this represents a change of approach in some ways, Te Tuhi's core kaupapa remains the same.

The independent curator commissions are in a sense one-off projects, but the intention is to build, sustain and extend our relationships. As the inaugural independent curator for this new phase at Te Tuhi, Ngahiraka Mason has delivered exactly what the strategy set out to achieve. Her mindful curation, ambitious exhibition and resonant essay capture the ethos of Te Tuhi and the experience of today, as does the work by the cadre of intergenerational artists she gathered for the show, whose creative ideas give life to Mason's belief in a second chance for humanity.



Kereama Hohua (b. 1977)
Hoki Whenua Mai, 2021 (installation view)
matai & kokowai
1675mm x 350mm x 155mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Sam Hartnett

A VERY DIFFERENT WORLD: WHAT WOULD TE RANGIHIROA SAY AND DO?

NGAHIRAKA MASON

PREFACE.

We follow the human tendency to develop cultures through language, heritage, relationality, community roles and creative practice. Knowing our places of origin, traditions, customs and continuity indicates we belong somewhere—to whānau, hapū, iwi, communities or cultural institutions. Simply put, societies operate with an understanding of belonging to the human family. If you recognise any of the above points, geography and culture shape your mental and personal existence, and you are involved in creating human heritage!

The year 2020 was set to be optimistic and intellectually energising. Life for this independent curator was sweet. I was travelling, writing and presenting at international events. I deepened my focus on projects I wanted to make, as a matter of choice rather than necessity.

Lisa Boivin (b. 1970)
Funeral for One, 2020
digital collage photograph
643mm x 795mm x 35mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

For the first time, I applied for a research and travel grant for an international project on Te Rangihiroa, the notable Māori museum director at Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai'i, with the title *A Homemade Anthropology*. The previous year, I had initiated the collaborative pilot programme *Wānanga Wānana* as a research residency at Bishop Museum, focusing on Te Rangihiroa's archives.

But then came a pandemic. COVID-19 is real. In 2020, Creative New Zealand rightly redirected funds to COVID-19 emergency funding. As the pandemic took hold of travel, opportunities and economies, my Te Rangihiroa project ceased to exist in the form I had imagined. Soon after, an international cultural contract I had could no longer proceed. As other plans in Aotearoa and Hawai'i were unravelling due to COVID-19 lockdown scenarios, a curating commission for Te Tuhi excitingly worked out, and the *A Very Different World* kaupapa was born. In the last quarter of 2020, my eldest brother died. I could not secure a flight to meet New Zealand managed isolation and quarantine requirements to attend the tangihanga.

A Very Different World: What Would Te Rangihiroa Say and Do? emerged slightly ahead of the *A Very Different World* exhibition, yet the essay and exhibition fit together with ease. The projects are vigorous reflections on the 1918 flu epidemic and the COVID-19 pandemic from a curator's and artists' perspectives. As a double act, the exhibition and this publication touch subjects and places that are sometimes difficult to discuss: love, life and death, cultural heritage and human habits. Today, we also face what has gone before through a global epidemic. An unbroken whakapapa (lineage) of the human family is a historical process. Prevailing cultures and dominant paradigms may influence history's disciplines. We may notice how slowly time can move. The main thing to remember is that humanity is still developing, and that creativeness manifests through the possibilities of discovering our humanness.

INTRODUCTION.

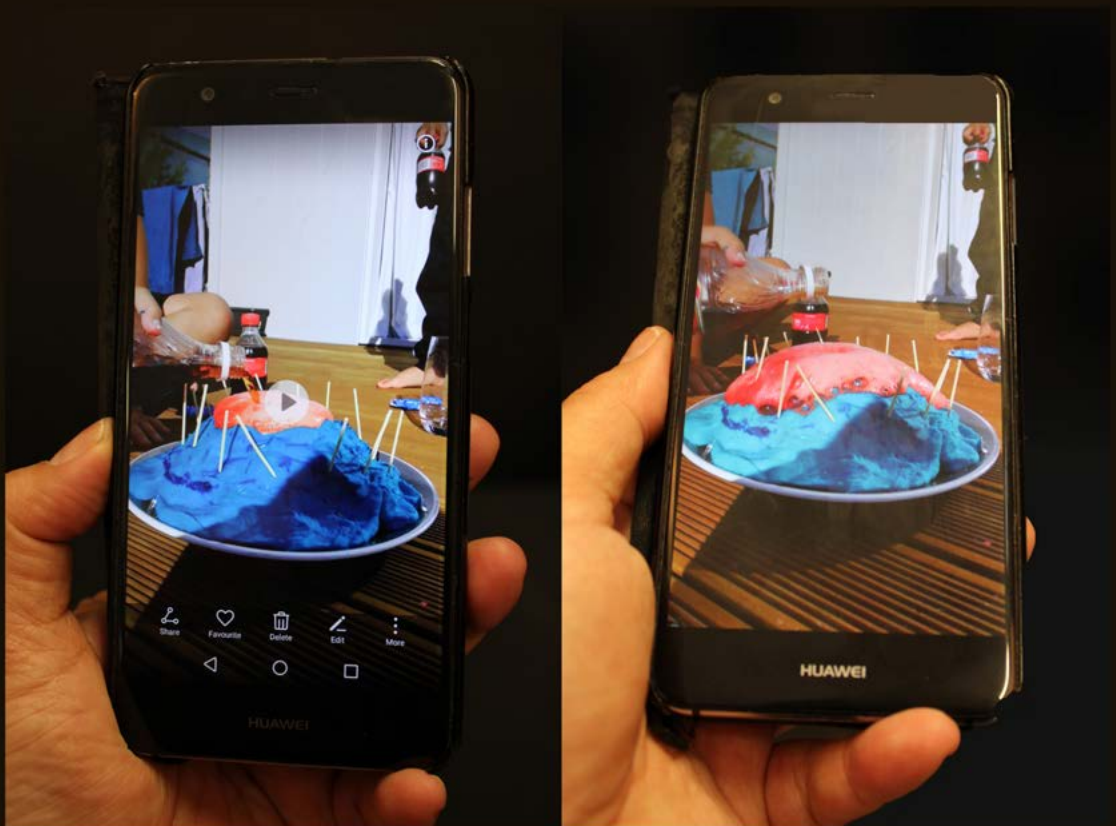
Aotearoa New Zealand is in a watershed moment. A pandemic recession has breached the horizon, and disruptions to everyday life are new conventions. Shared with the rest of humanity is this extended moment of uncertainty. The New Zealand government and its actionable pandemic plan appear exemplary. In forcing us to deal with unprecedented difficulties, a crisis such as the novel coronavirus can also shed new light on broader issues like health politics and Māori leadership. We can ask what was learned from the 1918 flu epidemic to assess how to live with a pandemic today. This essay will look at New Zealand health politics and politicised issues impacting tangata[1] Māori health and wellbeing.

New Zealand closed its border to non-New Zealanders on 19 March 2020. Since that time, we have found that political decisions may disrupt how we live with COVID-19. Aotearoa is in peacetime, but with a military presence at the border and at quarantine locations. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's government is the international poster child for COVID-19. The swift implementation of the New Zealand pandemic action plan was impressive. Six months on, murmurings are bubbling to the surface, suggesting excessive authority by the Crown. Lack of consultation and limited resources to address the wellness of Māori during lockdown are one thing. On the other hand, preventing cultural prerogatives is a breach of human rights.[2]

1. Tangata/tāngata means 'a human being'/'human beings'. It is not gender specific. I use the term throughout the essay.

2. Amelia Wade, 'COVID-19 Coronavirus: The most "significant impact on human rights in living memory"', *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 2020. This report discusses the human rights New Zealanders gave up during Levels 3 and 4.

Hiria Anderson (b. 1974)
Empty Seat, 2021
oil on canvas
235mm x 290mm x 55mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland



Maraea Timutimu (b. 1979)
Where the Ultimate Reality Can be Found, 2020 (detail)
three digital prints on vinyl
2400mm x 3000mm each
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

Technical preparedness plans create processes to follow, and best-laid methods can be imperfect in their delivery. The government's strategy for COVID-19 had been charted and detailed in *The New Zealand Influenza Pandemic Plan* published by the Ministry of Health in 2017.[3] Still, we can impart fresh viewpoints to see social, cultural and political unfoldings facing Aotearoa. We can also see these times are instructive for tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand.

BACKGROUND.

Notable 20th-century leader Sir Peter Henry Buck Te Rangihiroa[4] is placed at the centre of this kōrero.[5] Te Rangihiroa was a trained physician, soldier, politician and scholar. In 1920 he accepted the role of director of Māori hygiene, based in Auckland. Buck's public reports of the 1920s show the impacts on whānau[6] and hapū[7] of the health reforms prompted by the 1918 flu epidemic. Health and historical researchers' reflections validate that the New Zealand government health reforms appeared to be headed in the right direction.[8] Although not immediately felt,

3. *The New Zealand Influenza Pandemic Plan: A Framework for Action* (Ministry of Health, 2017) was followed closely by authorities since March 2020 (www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/publications/influenza-pandemic-plan-framework-action-2nd-edn-aug17.pdf).
4. In the 1946 King's Birthday Honours, Peter Buck was appointed a Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George for services to science and literature. I use Te Rangihiroa and Peter Buck interchangeably in this writing. The rendering 'Te Rangi Hiroa' is used where it appears in published text.
5. Kōrero means 'narrative, story, account or conversation' or 'to say, tell, orate, speak, report or address people'.
6. The term 'whānau' is a familial word for family. Whānau can be used to address a body of persons, extended company or a party of people.
7. A hapū is a sub-tribe of a larger tribe or iwi. For instance, my Tūhoe hapū is Hāmua who are a sub-tribe of the larger Tūhoe tribe.
8. Prime Minister William Massey of the Reform Party led New Zealand from 1912 to 1925.

and sometimes imperfectly delivered, the government raised positive outcomes for Māori. This article cannot delve deeply into public health history in New Zealand. It can however illustrate issues that impact tangata Māori and point to future responses to improve Māori health and wellbeing.

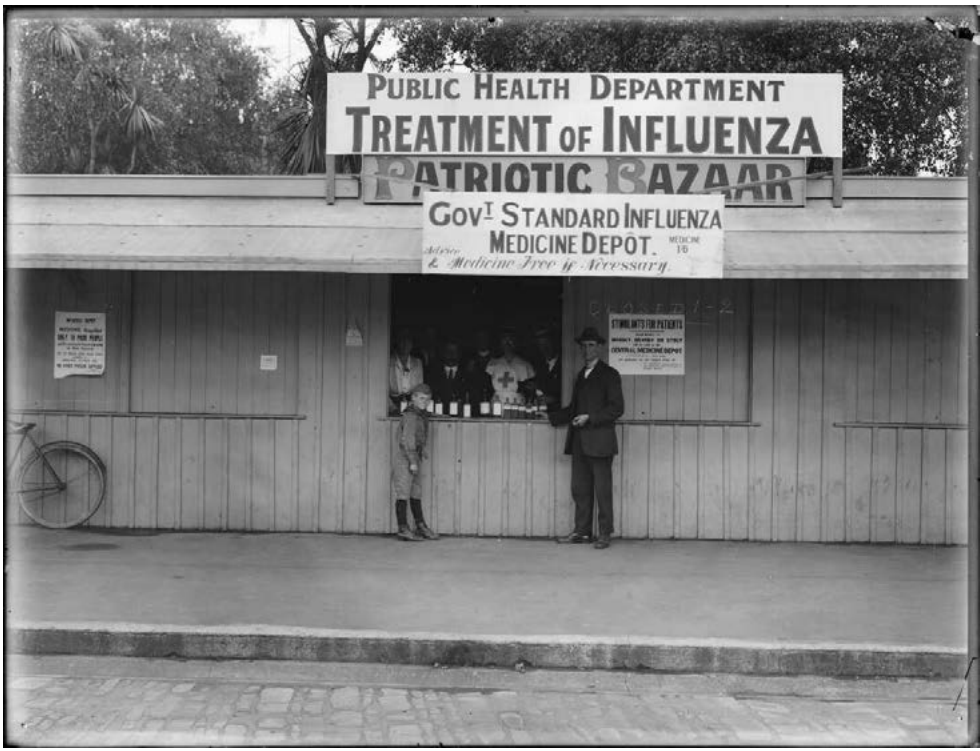
Today, we may expect better access to medicine and essential health services in the age of improved technologies and information flow. Free immunisations are readily available in Aotearoa from the ages of six weeks to 18 years. Why do health outcomes for Māori (thus far) in 2020 and 2021 echo issues faced by Māori in a pandemic more than 100 years ago? Poverty, overcrowded housing, lack of nutritional food, heart disease, diabetes, obesity, rheumatic fever and asthma are diseases common in whānau Māori and hapū. The contextual background provided in the final section of this article will address the underlying factors that can contribute to adverse health outcomes for Māori.

Imagine ministering general practitioner care today with medicine's barest tools, which Buck did from 1906 to 1909. Immunisation programmes in 19th-century Aotearoa did not exist. A smallpox vaccine, originally developed in 1796, was the only cure medicine available to physicians. Thus, tuberculosis, typhoid, scarlet fever, whooping cough, rheumatic fever, flu, and measles were among the diseases that claimed whānau Māori lives.[9] Turn-of-the-century colonisation conditions included many introduced diseases and animals such as chickens, goats, sheep and cattle. The quick-growing Irish potato had changed farming customs away from kūmara[10] to potato or taewa Māori.[11]

9. A general vaccine for typhoid was available at the end of 1944. (See http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH2Surg-pt2-c2.html.) However, soldiers headed to World War I were inoculated, either in New Zealand or on the transports going overseas, with a vaccine prepared against typhoid. T.D. Stout, 'War Surgery and Medicine', in *The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-1945*.

10. Kūmara is the Māori sweet potato. Kūmara is found throughout Polynesia. Hawaiians call the sweet potato 'uala' and 'uwala'; Samoans say 'umala'; and Tongans call sweet potato 'kumala'.

11. Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, Maori Purposes Board Wellington and Whitcombe & Tombs, 1958, pp. 110-12. Kūmara was a staple food superseded by the introduction of potato. Riwai or taewa is the generic name adopted for potato. Māori cultivated varieties of riwai that could grow year-long, rather than seasonally.



An influenza depot in
Christchurch, December 1918
photo by *The Press*
1/1-008542-G, Alexander Turnbull
Library, Wellington, New Zealand

A reflective passage from a letter Buck wrote to Sir Apirana Ngata[12] from Honolulu, Hawai'i, introduces the opening discussion in this essay. The quotation is drawn from one of the numerous conversations shared over 25 years between two leaders that are documented in *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend*, three volumes of correspondence between Buck and Ngata.[13]

> *When I look back and think of the things that we have discussed on the various maraes throughout NZ., I think Maori people have been served by its leaders in a wonderful way.*

How do Te Rangihiroa's spoken thoughts align with contemporary reflections about the state of Māori health leadership today? On the one hand, the marae[14] is where the continuum of discourse and oration endures and is ratified. Placing this writing within the purview of kōrero on the marae draws on Māori understandings to inform a broader public.[15] Discussions on the marae are open to interpretation. It has always been this way. Hallmarks of Peter Buck putting people first demonstrate that he is invested in the future and that leadership in Aotearoa is of consequence. We might ask, where are today's champions to offset government and business priorities for Māori health and wellbeing? Is a new paradigm for endorsing Māori leadership on the horizon?

12. Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874–1950) was a statesman, scholar, land reformist and a foremost Māori politician. He belonged to the Ngāti Porou tribe. For further reading see Ranginui Walker's (2001) biography on Ngata, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata*.
13. M.P.K. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend: The Correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck 1925-1950*, Vol. 1, 1925-29, pp. 51–56. Te Rangihiroa and Apirana Ngata shared a 25-year history of writing to each other.
14. 'Marae' is used today to mean the built house where people gather or the wider complex of buildings. The marae proper (atea) is the space in front of a meeting house. I use both interpretations in this writing.
15. Ironically, marae were closed and cultural gatherings forbidden during COVID-19. This has led to debate among Māori as to how this restriction of cultural practices set a potentially dangerous precedent.

The primary sources for this essay are *Na Tō Hoa Aroha*, edited by M.P.K. Sorrenson, and J.B. Condliffe's *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck*. We may remember events in history, but not always the full arc of someone's life. For this reason, a short biography is included for readers to gain access to Te Rangihiroa. Contextual thinking and actions are shared through published commentary on public health, political articles and Buck's writings. Associated publications on Māori health development and reforms clarify political change and issues from a tangata Pākehā[16] perspective.[17] The title of this essay, *A Very Different World: What Would Te Rangihiroa Say and Do?*, is a reflective probing for answers to difficult situations.

This writer is an independent curator, Māori art scholar, historian and critic based in Honolulu, Hawai'i. During the research process for this article, the reporting of Buck's 1949 visit to Rūātoki (my birthplace) produced an appreciative discovery.[18] My great-grandfather Wiremu William Trainor (Tereina) was one of the elders who welcomed Buck to Ōtenuku marae in Rūātoki.[19] Wiremu spoke these words: 'You

16. Pākehā means 'foreigner' or 'not a Māori', similar to the way that Hawaiians adopted the word 'haole' to mean foreigner and not Hawaiian.
17. Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920*, Auckland University Press, 1999; and Derek Dow, *Maori Health and Government Policy 1840-1940*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1999.
18. 'Tumultuous Welcome for Sir Peter Buck and Party of Scientists at Ruatoki' was the headline on the *Bay of Plenty Beacon*, Vol. 13, Issue 53, 14 February 1949.
19. William Wiremu Trainor (1880-1955) was born in Waikaremoana, Te Urewera. His parents were Te Popoki Hapimana from Waikaremoana and William Trainor from Ireland and resident of Auckland. William senior was part of the militia stationed in Waikaremoana after the Crown's failed attempt to capture Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki in Te Urewera. Te Popoki died soon after Wiremu's birth. It is not known when the elder William returned to Auckland. However, he kept in regular contact with Wiremu Trainor junior, who remained in Te Urewera. After my great-grandparents married, Wiremu took his new wife Pihitahi to Auckland to meet his father. According to the stories of Pihitahi's daughter (Kohineoha Trainor-McDougall), Pihitahi never left her in-laws' Parnell home except to eat. My great-grandmother Pihitahi Wharetuna (1882-1966) was a formidable leader of her Hāmua hapū. Ōtenuku marae is the papakāinga of paramount chief Tamarau Takurua.

have been away from New Zealand for a long time, and today we are privileged to welcome you home again.' Buck was remembered by the people of Rūātoki from an earlier visit to the region.[20] Again, the marae is a useful frame and does not impede the recognition, discovery and acknowledgement of people or events.

The historical context to 1927 Honolulu—Buck's island home for 25 years—is summarised in this essay to clarify the political conditions and circumstances of the native peoples of the Hawaiian Islands. This context allowed Buck to work as an independent scholar and a significant contributor to material culture research in Hawai'i and the Pacific. Buck's departure and absence from Aotearoa revealed political gaps in Māori leadership, which became a contention point between him and Apirana Ngata.[21] Buck's ngākau Māori[22] is also shared here to reflect his humanity.[23] At the core of this article is the valuing of connectivity between the past and the present. No definitive answers are presented. The aim is simply to ask relevant questions.

20. Peter Buck visited Rūātoki in March 1904 with Maui Pomare. The main purpose of the visit was a meeting to discuss health reforms led by Lord Ranfurly and Maui Pomare. The gathering included the principal chief of Tūhoe and took place at Tauarau marae (see Fig. 5). It is probable that Buck visited Tūhoe on other occasions, including the formations of Māori councils in the region and expeditions into Te Urewera with Elsdon Best. Precise dates for these events are not established at the time of this writing.
21. Ngata would bring up the subject of Te Rangihiroa's return in their letter-writing exchanges.
22. Ngākau literally means one's bowels. It is also used to refer to a person's affection, heart or deep regard for something.
23. I use the term 'ngākau Māori' to explain the seat of Buck's affection is in his heart rather than the mind.

Lord Ranfurly, governor of New Zealand from 1897 to 1904, attended a meeting at Rūātoki in March 1904 at which were present 'representatives of all the Maori Councils of New Zealand'. Maui Pomare is depicted in the front right and Peter Buck is standing in the back right, wearing a bowler hat
photo by the New Zealand Tourist Department.
PA1-q-634-44, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata in the Maori Court
at the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition in
Rongotai, Wellington, 1940
photo by Eileen Deste
1/2-018750-F, Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington, New Zealand

BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU.

The Kānaka name for Bishop Museum is Hale Hoikeike o Kamehameha—it was built to exhibit the taonga or treasures of the Kamehameha ali'i (royal) families.[24] Te Rangihiroa and his wife Margaret arrived in Honolulu in July 1927. Buck's first letter to Apirana Ngata from Hawai'i is dated 27 August 1927.[25] Bishop Museum was then considered the centre of Polynesian material culture research. In his letter, Buck cheerfully discussed anthropology topics and his research in the Cook Islands. Admiring the types of taonga held at Bishop Museum, Buck detects errors and gaps in recorded information and native knowledge, including losing traditional practices in the Pacific.

Turning his thoughts to Honolulu, Buck mentions he has met Hawaiian people (Kānaka Maoli) but has not visited a Hawaiian village.[26] An emerging political movement is noted by Buck, which is to restore Hawaiian land to her people.[27] A lunchtime speech to a Hawaiian

24. I am grateful to 'anakala Kimo Lai for pointing out the name preferred for Bishop Museum by some Kānaka Maoli. Bishop Museum is also known as the Hawaiian State Museum of Natural and Cultural History. Bishop Museum was founded in 1889 by Charles Reed Bishop in memory of his wife, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop.
25. Buck's leaving was celebrated by the Auckland Savage Club. He and wife Margaret left Auckland aboard the vessel *Aorangi* on 5 July 1927. *New Zealand Herald*, Vol. LXIV, Issue 19679, 4 July 1927.
26. Buck may have expected to see communual conditions similar to those of other Pacific Island peoples he visited in the South Pacific, where a 'village' is a defined space for whānau, community leaders and chief. This was not the case in Honolulu in 1927, but villages did exist in the interior parts of O'ahu and the neighbouring islands.
27. Buck's comment refers to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921. Two hundred thousand acres were set aside for 'homesteading'. Papakāinga housing would be the Māori equivalent today. Homesteading lands are now called Hawaiian homelands. This was a significant moment for Hawaiians and continues to be the main way that Kānaka Maoli can live on Hawaiian lands. It is estimated that over 10,000 Hawaiians live on Hawaiian homelands.

Civic Club in Waikīkī provides a highlight.[28] Buck quips he received a membership to the club because of his Hawaiian Māori blood.[29] He also deliberately mentions that educated Europeans in Honolulu know little of things outside of the United States. To this point, he slightly brags that the average Māori has more knowledge of the outside world than the European haole.[30]

Duke Kahanamoku, an Olympic medallist and Hawaiian icon, is praised in the letter for making Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) visible and Hawai'i well known. Moderating his compliment, Buck shares that Kahanamoku visited the continental mainland United States to perform swimming stunts. He said, 'I hope our young people will just hold their own as citizens of New Zealand by making a success of the various jobs they have before them whether on the land or in the office.'[31]

At a dinner party, Buck is told in direct terms he holds an honoured position at Bishop Museum—a position which has evaded Native Hawaiians. The kupuna imparts how fortunate he is to be working there.[32] Te Rangihiroa diverts the provocation, saying 'Don't you think

28. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole (1871–1922) married Kaua'i chiefess Elizabeth Kahanu Ka'auwai (1879-1932). Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole founded the Hawaiian Civic Club movement to mobilise Native Hawaiians who would dedicate themselves to promoting the social, economic, civic and intellectual status of Hawaiians, and become outstanding citizens and leaders in their communities (https://aohcc.org/our-organization/, retrieved 18 August 2020). Those involved in the formation of Hawaiian Civic Clubs were recorded after a meeting at Kūhiō's home in Waikīkī. These gentlemen met: three Republicans (John C. Lane; William Legros; and Alexander G.M. Robertson, the lawyer), three Democrats (William H. Heen; Noah Aluli; and Jesse Uluihi), and Kūhiō, also a Republican. The Hawaiian Civic Club was inaugurated in 1917 (www.hcchonolulu.org/welina-mai-kakou/club-history/, retrieved 18 August 2020).
29. Buck was probably making this statement based on genealogical relations between Māori and Hawaiians. Māori consider the Hawaiian people to be tuākana, or elder siblings. Māori are teina, or the younger sibling of the Hawaiian people.
30. Kama'āina is the Hawaiian word for non-Hawaiian people who live in Hawai'i, irrespective of race. Haole is the Hawaiian term for 'foreigner', similar to Pākehā.
31. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Vol. 1, p. 55. Buck's perspective suggests an Aotearoa place-based perspective towards the different social and political colonial condition in Hawai'i and the colonisation of kānaka by the United States.
32. 'Kupuna' is the term for a Hawaiian elder. During his tenure as director at Bishop Museum, Buck hired Mary Kawena Pukui as a paid translator of Hawaiian language and a Hawaiian history scholar. Previously, she was an unpaid volunteer.

Duke Kahanamoku (left), wearing items from the Bishop Museum collection, with Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) in the Bishop Museum courtyard, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1940
SH 19837, Bishop Museum Library & Archives

the Bishop Museum is lucky to have me?' In Polynesian style, further discussion of the subject is closed and shifts to poaka tao (kālua pork) and the dinner menu.[33]

Both colonial British and Māori terminologies are consistently used throughout Buck's correspondence with Ngata.[34] Letter writing keeps Te Rangihiroa connected to the state of New Zealand politics. Dispatches are opportunities for friendly banter. His professional understandings linked to his research are theoretical and scientific, and show culturally informed whakaaro or thinking. Carefully placed words and a dry sense of humour show up in his letters. Little is shared of his private life except for reporting on occasional non-museum activities and field trips that sometimes include his wife, Margaret.

HONOLULU, 1927.

Te Rangihiroa has a five-year contract with Bishop Museum and a lecturership in anthropology at Yale University. Not lost on Buck is the decelerated recovery of Kānaka Ōʻiwi from the trauma of the Hawaiian Kingdom's illegal overthrow on 17 January 1893. The reigning monarch at the time, before she was unlawfully removed, was Queen Liliʻuokalani.[35] The 'annexation' of Hawaiʻi to the United States five years later followed the removal of Liliʻuokalani. To these events, we can say that kānaka Hawaiian in 1927 were grieving loyalists, having lost their land, their independence and their kingdom to American occupiers. This must have provoked for Buck strong memories of the effects of the British colonisation of Māori.

33. Buck refers to the host as a Hawaiian 'princess'—possibly this was Prince Kūhiō's widow, Elizabeth Kahanu Kaʻauwai. A lūʻau dinner was served. Poaka tao is roast or hāngī pork. Kālua pork is roast or imu pork.
34. Buck's letter-writing style is mirrored in publications such as *Vikings of the Pacific*. His scientific articles are argumentative and impart a cultural worldview.
35. Queen Liliʻuokalani was the ruling monarch from 1891 to 1893. She was the sister of King David Kalākaua.

Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole (1871-1922) was the last royal prince of Hawai‘i. He died five years before Te Rangihiroa arrived in Honolulu. Kūhiō had a 19-year career as a politician and sponsored the first bill for statehood in 1919. The Māori newspaper *Toa Takitini* published Kūhiō's death notice and a eulogy in March 1922.[36] As a former politician, Buck would have appreciated that political influence was essential to steering the future of indigenous Hawaiians.

The situation for kānaka Hawaiian was unlike that of the Māori people. Since the late 19th century, Māori had a group of elected politicians and the Young Maori Party to advocate for social, cultural and political security.[37] And an earlier generation of Māori leadership (chief and chiefess) negotiated and agreed to British coexistence through the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, though this was immediately broken.[38] In the Native Hawaiian story, notable monarch King David Kalākaua, who reigned before Queen Lili‘uokalani—negotiated friendship, commerce and navigation treaties with over 20 countries. By US law, a legal annexation did not happen. The American Congress created this event unilaterally by passing a resolution saying so.[39] Annexation today is a living and unresolved contention point between kānaka, the state of Hawai‘i and the United States.

Isolated from his homeland, Buck's correspondence with Ngata and other colleagues became an emotional lifeline to Māori thought and social and political platforms. Two decades of Buck's early political story resides with Ngata; together they championed social, political and health reforms in Aotearoa and strategised about how to further their ambitions for Māori. Te Rangihiroa's life upon leaving Aotearoa, however, takes on a new direction. And this narrative is squarely Buck's legacy.

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36. *Toa Takitini*, Issue 8, 1 March 1922.
37. Peter Buck was a founding member of the Young Maori Party (YMP). The organisation originated from Te Aute College, having been started by former students in 1897. More of an associating group than a formal political party, the YMP was mainly concerned with issues of Māori health and welfare.
38. The Treaty of Waitangi is understood as New Zealand's founding document.
39 There is no simple way to discuss how Hawai‘i's annexation is written into American history. However, it is an important discussion that Hawaiian scholars are engaged in to address and put right an illegal event. Notwithstanding, the subject is outside the understanding of this writer at this time.

Verna Apio-Takashima (b. 1947)
Mauna Kea, 2020 (installation view)
wauke, natural dyes
2885mm x 2885mm
courtesy of the artist
photo by Sam Hartnett

To a large extent, New Zealand is committed to improving the health, welfare, social, cultural and political wellbeing of Māori. We can ask questions, including 'Are agencies performing well enough for Māori?' Perhaps not as well as expected. Can we cite committed individual political champions of tangata whenua health? Certainly. Whānau Ora was introduced in 2010, initiated by politician Tariana Turia.[40] Who are the organisations advocating for visionary cultural wellbeing and Māori health reforms? The New Zealand Māori Council, for instance, has a seat at the Crown's table.[41] If health and Māori welfare were complicated in the early 20th century, they are now hard to fathom.

FROM TE MATERORI TO SIR PETER BUCK.

Urenui in North Taranaki is where Peter Henry Buck was born. His parents were Irishman William Henry Buck and Ngarongo-ki-tua of Ngāti Mutunga.[42] Te Materori was Buck's birth name, given to commemorate the death of his mother's brother named Te Rangihiroa. Buck's naming story is compelling. The ancestor Te Rangihiroa was seriously ill and

40. Dame Tariana Turia had a political career of 18 years. She came to prominence over the Foreshore and Seabed controversy in 2004. Turia resigned from Parliament and the Labour Government, forcing a by-election over this social justice issue. Turia won her seat and went on to co-lead the Māori Party and champion issues impacting Māori, including the Whānau Ora movement (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tariana_Turia).
41. The New Zealand Māori Council is now an avenue for Māori representation to government on issues impacting Māori, including Māori autonomy (https://maoricouncil.com/about-us/our-history/).
42. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Vol. 1, p. 12. Marriage did not produce a biological child for Ngarongo and William Buck, and Ngarongo's cousin Kina was brought into their home to provide an heir. Kina died not long after Buck's birth, which went unregistered. Buck's biographer J.B. Condliffe notes in his 1971 biography of Te Rangihiroa that when Buck applied for admission to Te Aute College he gave his birthdate as 1878. Buck was registered at Urenui Primary School as being born in 1877. When Buck married in 1905, thought to be aged 26 years, this would have made his birthdate 1879. Buck also used 1880 as his birthdate; it is possible that Buck did not know his true birthdate.

lived at a distant kāinga.[43] He wanted to return to Urenui to live out his last days and died on the journey home. These are Buck's recollections:[44]

> *My mother was a full Maori of the Ngati Mutunga tribe of North Taranaki. She had the arresting name Ngarongo-ki-tua (Tidings-that-reach-afar). I hope for the sake of her memory that, by gathering tidings from afar, I may be worthy the honour of being her son. Her only brother was named Te Rangihiroa after an ancestor who lived two centuries earlier. I was given my first name of Te Mate-rori (death-on-the-road), a wretched name because 'rori' is the modern Maori form of road. I was greatly relieved on reaching my teens to be given my adult name of Te Rangi Hiroa in more classical memory of my uncle.*

In Buck's era, children's naming to commemorate events and people after death was as standard as strong bonds between grandchild and grandparents. A closeness developed with his maternal grandmother Kapuakore.[45] Matriarch Kapuakore wore a moko-kauae on her chin, and her lips were tattooed. She bore double spirals on the wings of her nostrils and short curved lines on her forehead. A warm account by Buck details the cultural markings worn by his grandmother:

> *My grandmother was a wonderful old lady. She had seen many of our tribe die, and she had mourned over them all. It used to be the custom when wailing over near kin to incise the skin with a flake of obsidian so that the flow of blood and tears might mingle to the fullest expression of grief. Sometimes charcoal was rubbed into the cuts and left indelible marks. My grandmother's breast was covered with such grief marks; and for her very dear ones, she had made the records on her cheeks.*

43. P.H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Vikings of the Pacific*, 1959; first published as *Vikings of the Sunrise*, 1927.
44. Peter H. Buck, *Vikings of the Pacific*, p. 267; J.B. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck*, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, 1971, p. 20.
45. Kapua-kore is translated as 'cloudless'.

An only child, Buck was doted on by his parents. Urenui was the name for the Pākehā settlement at Ngāti Mutunga. Buck grew up across the river in the Urenui village. He attended Urenui Primary School, one of few Māori enrolled in a state rather than a native school. Buck senior was part of the law enforcement labour that built roads and maintained a military presence at Urenui.[46] The New Zealand land wars at Taranaki were the historical context for a military presence. Buck senior removed Te Rangihiroa from Urenui School soon after his wife Ngarongo died, delaying leaving Urenui so that Buck could complete standard six in 1894. Father and son moved to Wellington and then to Wairarapa.[47] From Wairarapa, Buck entered Te Aute Maori Boys' College in 1896 as a boarding student. Te Rangihiroa would return to Urenui annually to visit his grandmother Kapuakore. Kuia Kapuakore lived until after Buck gained his medical degree from Otago University in 1904; she died in 1908.[48]

The two spellings of Buck's Māori names are of his making. J.B. Condliffe, Buck's friend and biographer, explains:

> *[Te Rangihiroa], a famous ancestor, had died on the road at the time of his birth. The elders of the tribe revived for him [Buck] the ancestral name. It had been spelt as Te Rangihiroa; but he derived it from Te Rangi Ihiroa, meaning 'the heavens streaked with the long rays of the sun'.*

46. Armed constabulary confiscated and occupied Ngāti Mutunga lands during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s.
47. According to Katharine Luomala, Buck's colleague from Bishop Museum, Buck's father William Henry Buck died in 1925. Buck senior lived for a time with Te Rangihiroa and Margaret in Parnell, Auckland. Beyond Buck's early childhood reminiscences, Buck senior does not have a public presence in Te Rangihiroa's life and publications. It is possible that Buck may have wanted to protect his father's privacy—or for that matter his own privacy and life with wife Margaret. Katharine Luomala, untitled review of J.B. Condliffe's *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck*, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 83, No. 4, 1974, pp. 467-78 (www.jstor.org/stable/20705030, accessed 18 September 2020).
48. 'History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast. Chapter VVI', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (65), 1908, pp. 1–47 (www.jstor.org/stable/20700833, accessed 1 September 2020).

Buck retained the split form of his name. His publications generally use 'Te Rangi Hiroa' with 'P.H. Buck' in parentheses. In public and private, he was Māori, Irish Pākehā and bilingual, believing his whakapapa (genealogy) Māori endowed him with an understanding of that culture. His Pākehā heritage helped him interpret cultural societies. In later life, he maintained that both identities shaped his contributions to all his professions.

In 1898 Te Rangihiroa was dux or the top academic student at Te Aute. He passed preliminary exams to register at Otago Medical School in 1899. As history bears out, Buck became the second Māori physician and the first Māori doctor to graduate from Otago University Medical School with an MB ChB, in 1904. *Medicine amongst the Maoris, in Ancient and Modern Times* was Buck's MD thesis, which he submitted in 1910. The first Māori medical doctor was Sir Maui Pomare, who obtained his MD degree in Chicago in 1889.[49] Te Rangihiroa and Pomare were Ngāti Mutunga kin and Taranaki whānau.

In 1905 Margaret Wilson from Otago married Peter Henry Buck. Born in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Margaret came to Aotearoa as a young girl with her widowed mother. Margaret took her mother's second husband's surname, Wilson. At the time of marriage, Margaret was 24 years, and Buck was 26 years old. Interracial marriage was not the norm for Māori men in 1905, and neither was it typical for an Irish woman. The coupling did not produce uri whakaheke (descendants), yet the partnership enabled Buck to pursue multiple careers—Margaret supported Te Rangihiroa's scholarship and read his manuscripts.[50]

49. Pomare studied at the Seventh-day Adventist Church medical college at Battle Creek in Michigan from 1895 to 1899 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ui_P%C5%8Dmare). When Pomare returned to Aotearoa in 1900, he took the position of director of Māori health.

50. Te Rangihiroa had several namesakes. Katharine Luomala notes that Buck's friend J.B. Condliffe named his son Peter for Te Rangihiroa. Margaret approached the Condliffes to adopt their son for her and Te Rangihiroa. They were refused. Friend Eric Ramsden also named a son for Te Rangihiroa: Peter Te Rangi Hiroa Ramsden. Luomala, untitled review of J.B. Condliffe's *Te Rangi Hiroa*, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

Visesio Siasau (b. 1970)
Mānava 'Ofa, Breath of Compassion, 2020 (detail)
wood, oil, polished Perspex
dimensions variable
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Sam Hartnett

Maui Wiremu Pomare in Rotorua, 1901
photo by William Andrews Collis
1/1-012109-G, Alexander Turnbull
Library, Wellington, New Zealand

The marriage union put Buck in front of tangata Pākehā and allowed Margaret to assist Buck's pursuits in people's service. Their life paths were complementary, as Margaret was a public health nurse and worked alongside Buck in the community.

Buck held native health officer positions in 1905 and 1906. He spent six months as a native medical officer for the 1906 International Exhibition village at Christchurch's Hagley Park.[51] In this role, he mingled with not only Māori but also representatives from the Cook Islands, Niue and Fiji. Buck accepted all opportunities for medical practice experience at home. Later, opportunities would come to travel to the Pacific as a relieving doctor in the Cook Islands and Niue. Maui Pomare strategically placed Buck in the field as a native medical officer in Taranaki and in the north among Ngāpuhi.

PHYSICIAN, POLITICIAN, SOLDIER, ANTHROPOLOGIST.

Buck had an unprecedented general medical practice in regions with high populations of whānau Māori. Maui Pomare and Buck worked hard to educate people and administer public health. Together they improved statistics for Māori health through advocating proper sanitation, good nutrition and adequate housing, and promoting vaccine programmes.[52] Buck was earnest about public health education, passing on advice to support Māori whānau.

In practice, Buck was trained in western medicine, but he also studied rongoā Māori (Māori medicine) and spiritual infirmities. Buck deepened his understanding of cultural remedies and Māori medicine in the field. His interest in the varying options of Māori health treatments

51. The 1906 exhibition was a highlight for Te Rangihiroa, and it is possible the experience prepared him for his later work as an anthropologist.

52. Te Rangihiroa was also concerned about the high level of infant deaths, which he attributed to the introduction of bottles to feed babies. Tuberculosis is an example of a disease of the time that Buck thought could be managed through better sanitation and hygienic ways of living. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, pp. 81-85.

was indisputable. As noted, Buck dedicated most of his MD thesis—*Medicine amongst the Maoris, in Ancient and Modern Times*—to the topic.[53] His study of mate Māori or physical and spiritual disorders were also topics outside the scope of Pākehā knowledge and treatment. Although Māori spiritual treatments went against Buck's western medical training, mate Māori was a real part of Māori communal life.

Buck ministered western medicine for known ailments and led public health initiatives among whānau Māori. Buck was convinced that some tuberculosis strains were pre-contact diseases and hereditary in some whānau Māori.[54] A belief that introduced diseases could be managed by more hygienic living and healthy eating ways drove some of his theories.[55] Whanaunga and mentor Maui Pomare wanted to pressure Māori into modernisation, believing that the future would be brighter. His approach was to propel whānau and hapū into the 20th century. Tohunga practices—including physical and spiritual healing treatments—would become a casualty of a Māori way of life through the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907.[56]

The Tohunga Suppression Act complicated Buck's interest in spiritual ailments and rongoā Māori. The Act was was mobilised by James Carroll—member of the House of Representatives for Eastern Maori and member of the Liberal Party—to replace traditional healers, and the legislation made it a criminal offence to perform spiritual practices as traditional Māori medicine.[57] For his part, Buck didn't discriminate against patients who sought treatment from tohunga. He worked with the beliefs of the people. He had personal experiences and was witness

53. Te Rangi Hiroa, *Medicine amongst the Maoris, in Ancient and Modern Times*, unpublished MD thesis, University of Otago, c. 1910 (http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BucMedi.html, accessed 30 August 2020).
54. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, pp. 80-83.
55. AJHR, 1908, H31, p. 129; Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, p. 81.
56. The 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act. Tohunga were also the holders of knowledge about plant and insect medicines. They performed karakia (chants). Some were also seers, wānanga experts and holders of whakapapa knowledge.
57. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, p. 85.

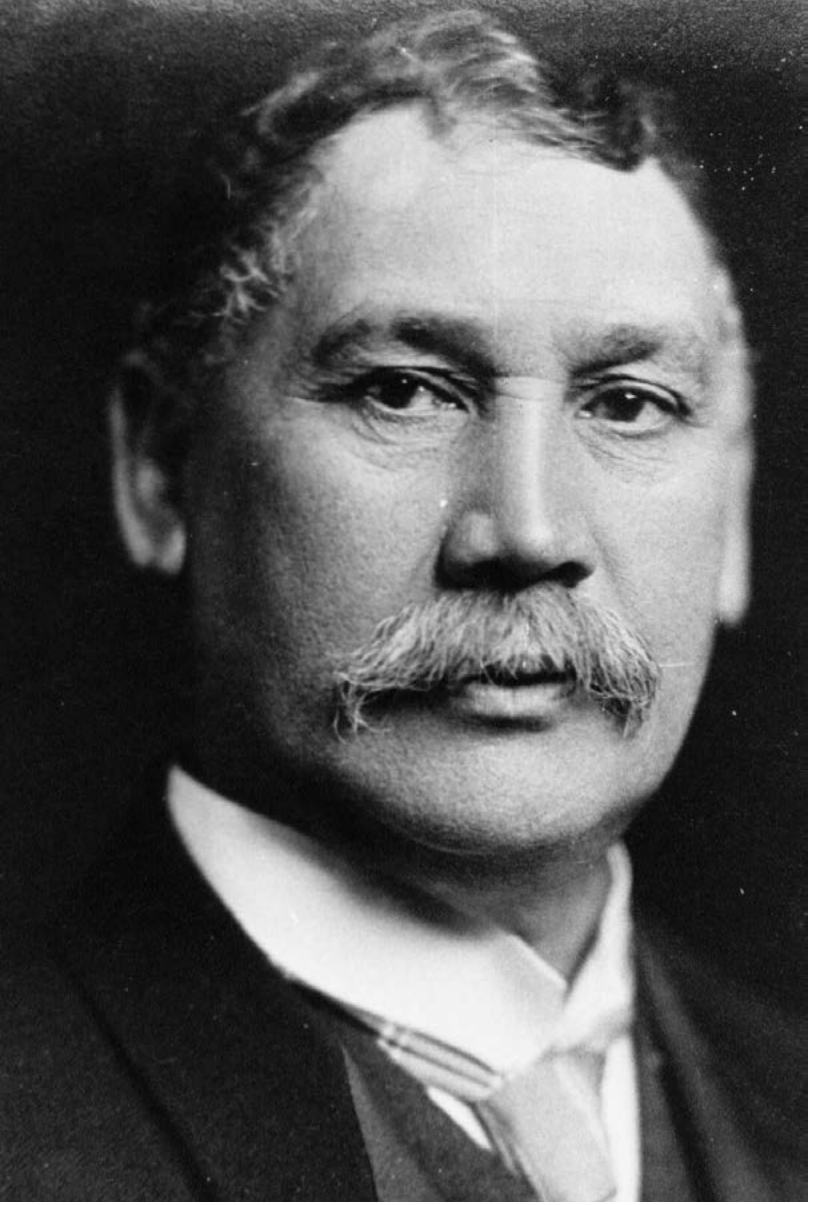
to mate Māori stories from his childhood. Urenui Māori often sought tohunga treatments within the Urenui community. [58]

James Carroll, the Māori politician who proposed the Tohunga Suppression Act, was supported by Maui Pomare, Apirana Ngata and Hone Heke Ngapua of the Young Maori Party. Undermined by politics, Māori medicine and spiritual treatments were supposedly replaced with western medicine and Pākehā wellbeing approaches. In effect, though, the cultural practices didn't stop—they went underground.

In the years leading up to World War I, Te Rangihiroa entered politics, winning the Northern Maori seat after Hone Heke Ngapua's death in 1909.[59] Buck served as a member of Parliament from 1909 to 1914 and as a Cabinet minister from 1912 to 1914.[60] During a government recess in 1910, he took a medical officer posting to the Cook Islands. In 1912–13, again during a government recess, he served as a medical officer to Niue. These excursions inspired Buck to write articles. The Dominion Museum published Te Rangihiroa's first articles about the material culture of the Polynesian islands.[61]

Buck's political years as member of Parliament for Northern Maori were of consequence for the way he managed tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand politicking. His political opponents openly criticised him for some actions, including attending Mormon gatherings in Taranaki

58. Te Rangi Hiroa, *Medicine amongst the Maoris*. It is likely that Buck struggled more with the politics of mate Māori rather than the living practices among Māori people.
59. Hone Heke Ngapua died from tuberculosis, or consumption as it was then called. The Māori background to Buck winning the northern seat after the death of Hone Heke is documented in the biography by Condliffe and by Sorrenson in *Na To Hoa Aroha*.
60. Māori constituents at the time had four permanent seats in Parliament legalised through the 1867 Maori Representation Act. The seats were organised by region: Te Taitokerau (Northern Maori), Te Tai Hauauru (Western Maori), Te Tonga (Southern Maori) and Te Tairawhiti (Eastern Maori). From 1891 to 1912 New Zealand was led by one political party, the Liberal Party. In 1909 (when Buck entered Parliament) the Reform Party was established. The four Māori politicians were members of the Liberal Party.
61. The Dominion Museum is now Te Papa Tongarewa The Museum of New Zealand. Buck had met the then director of the Dominion Museum, James Hector, while he was a student at Otago University.



Parliamentary portrait of James Carroll, c. 1887
35mm-00136-d-F, Alexander Turnbull Library,
Wellington, New Zealand

as a minister or Cabinet member. Te Rangihiroa had a way of eloquently replying to such reprimands.[62] Buck was also renowned for his debating prowess. He was loved by the Māori people, who encouraged and admired his physician practice among them.[63] Too, his personal story was of interest to tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand. As reported in the *Taranaki Daily News* in 1912, Buck returned to his birthplace and first school (Urenui School) in 1912 to address students, sharing his upbringing and story.[64] Buck had opinions on the Crown's land consolidation policies driven by Ngata and land settlement (farming)—which he supported. Buck's perspectives sometimes showed blind spots, yet he advocated for seeing Māori as valued contributors to Aotearoa's future.[65]

In 1913, with his wife Margaret, Buck took a six-week break from politics by volunteering to go to the Ngāpuhi rohe (region) to help with a smallpox epidemic. As their member of Parliament, he had a relationship with this community. Indeed, Buck's relational role was crucial in educating the people of the north about this highly infectious sickness.[66]

It must have been taxing on Buck to manage his leadership roles in health and politics alongside his personal life. Te Rangihiroa's outreach as a physician extended to the peoples of Ngāpuhi, Taranaki, Te Arawa and Tūwharetoa. He was foremost a medical expert and unprecedented advocate whose public health perspectives were desperately needed. Despite limited drugs and crude hospital conditions, he attended to the sick and infirmed. Elders welcomed him to their kāinga and marae; he saved lives; and the people trusted him.[67] In this way, his contribution to Māori communities at a grassroots level was an unspoken covenant with the people.

62. *Feilding Star*, Vol. VI, Issue 1764, 11 April 1912, p. 2 (https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/FS19120411.2.9.7).
63. *Matuhi*, Vol. I, Issue 25, 2 March 1904, p. 3 (https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MATUH19040302.2.5\).
64. *Taranaki Daily News*, Vol. LIV, Issue 252, 24 April 1912, p. 4 (https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TDN19120424.2.19).
65. *Waikato Argus*, Vol. XXXI, Issue 4774, 7 August 1911, p. 4 (https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIGUS19110807.2.27).
66. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Vol. 1, pp. 20-22. In Condliffe's biography he notes that Margaret joined Buck. Her assistance would have been critical as she was a trained and decorated nurse.
67. The types of diseases Buck treated were typhoid, measles, tuberculosis, scarlet fever, rheumatic fever, whooping cough, flu, smallpox and syphilis.

Buck was through with politics by 1914. He volunteered for World War I, serving firstly as a medical officer for the first Maori Contingent, which later became the Pioneer Battalion.[68] The Maori Contingent left Aotearoa for Egypt in February 1915 and landed at Anzac Cove, Gallipoli. Buck was awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) after Gallipoli for his service.[69] When the Māori battalion was sent to the Somme in 1916, Buck faced combat as second in command of the battalion. Te Rangihiroa met his Australian biographer J.B. Condliffe in the trenches in Flanders.[70] He returned to medical duties at the end of 1917 with the fourth Field Ambulance unit.

Wife Margaret joined Buck in Somerset on 2 December 1918; she practised as a nurse during World War I and was awarded an MBE for her efforts. While in England, Te Rangihiroa met British academic and president of the Royal Anthropological Institute Arthur Keith. He also met eugenicist Karl Pearson, who was interested in Buck's physical anthropology.[71] Te Rangihiroa carried out anthropometric studies on Māori soldiers for Pearson, which he later disavowed. The Polynesian Society published his anthropometric studies in 1922–23.[72] Buck's war years offered him connections to his future career as an anthropologist; his cultural background served his investigative material culture studies.[73] Te Rangihiroa's cenotaph records at Auckland War Memorial Museum show he was a decorated soldier with lieutenant-colonel rank at discharge.[74]

After four years of war service, an exhausted Buck returned to Aotearoa. He was immediately hired as the native medical officer, by April 1919, and he would take up the administrative position of director

68. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*.
69. Buck's citation: 'For distinguished service in the field [in France & Flanders]'. 'Peter Rangihiroa Buck', Cenotaph record, Auckland War Memorial Museum (www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph/record/C34322, retrieved 18 August 2020).
70. Luomala, untitled review of J.B. Condliffe's *Te Rangi Hiroa, The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Condliffe later became a renowned economist in New Zealand and Australia.
71. Ibid.
72. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Vol. 1, pp. 28-29.
73. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*.
74. 'Peter Rangihiroa Buck', Cenotaph record, Auckland War Memorial Museum.

of Māori hygiene in 1920. Buck was in Great Britain during the most acute part of the 1918 New Zealand flu epidemic. The epidemic struck Aotearoa from late October through December 1918. The situation was dire. At the most critical point, tangata Māori were buried in mass graves. Recorded were 9000 New Zealand lives claimed by the flu; of these, 2500 were Māori. In Auckland city and suburbs, 1200 people died of influenza.

When the Health Department started recruiting for the director of Māori hygiene position, they identified Te Rangihiroa as exceptionally qualified. Before Buck's political years and war service, he and Maui Pomare had overseen Māori public health, so he was well placed to step into post-1918 epidemic responsibilities, which he did.[75] In a 1920 report to the Health Department, Buck called the epidemic 'the severest setback, the [Māori] race has received, since the fighting days of Hongi Hika'.[76] No other event had or has ever killed as many New Zealanders in three months, including fatalities from World War I.

During the flu epidemic, as in other outbreaks of disease, holding tangihanga was discouraged. The government's position was to cremate deceased persons instead of burying them. Māori communities took it upon themselves to care for ailing whānau and hapū. They practised rongoā Māori; tohunga recited karakia and performed blessings for grieving whānau, the sick and dying. The Health Department produced flyers for Māori communities, spelling out what and how to cope with a flu outbreak.[77]

Māori took advantage of these hygiene warnings and followed directions from authorities. Notwithstanding that, the government feared a recurrence of the epidemic. Te Rangihiroa noted in a 1920 report that

75. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, p. 142.
76. This quote refers to Hongi Hika, a famed Ngāpuhi ancestor, well-known for his invasions into Tāmaki, Waikato, the Coromandel and the Bay of Plenty. Linda Bryder, '"Lessons" of the 1918 Flu Epidemic in Auckland', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1982 (www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1982/NZJH_16_2_01.pdf, retrieved 18 August 2020).
77. The director of Māori hygiene had a separate government office within the Department of Health.

Members of the Pioneer Battalion performing a haka for ministers William Ferguson Massey and Joseph George Ward, Bois de Warnimont, France, June 2018
photo by Henry Armytage Sanders
1/2-013284-G, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

Pou whakamaumahara memorial carved by Tene Waitere in memory of those who died in the influenza epidemic, at Te Kōura Marae in 1920
photo by Albert Percy Godber
APG-0786-1/2-G, A.P. Godber Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

'as a result of the heavy mortality of 1918 [flu epidemic], the Maoris were much more ready to take precautions'.[78] He is reflective about what the deadly results brought about. Buck was caught in the middle of a challenging decade, reliant on his optimism with little relief in sight.

Even after Buck left his ministerial position in Parliament, he still influenced opinion in favour of Māori. He supported Ngata to persuade whānau Māori and hapū to develop and consolidate lands for settlement. Ngata and the Young Maori Party also instigated large meeting house construction.[79] They planned to rejuvenate, expand and revive Māori arts and crafts.[80] Buck was associated with all these activities.

However, Te Rangihiroa's focus and interests were broadening. His change of direction may also have coincided with insights from his medical officer appointments to Rarotonga and Niue, increasing his interest in the wider Pacific region. Buck expressed concern for indigenous knowledge and traditions in the Pacific which were being lost quickly if not entirely; material culture was close to disappearing.

In an indication of Buck's growing scholarship and international reputation, the Rockefeller Foundation contacted Buck. He had already published articles on anthropology and material culture in the Pacific. Soon after, Bishop Museum made him an offer to move to Honolulu. Buck left Aotearoa as an independent scholar in 1927.[81] He joined Bishop Museum as an ethnologist and became part of a five-year Polynesian research programme made possible by a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Bishop Museum and Yale were associate

78. Bryder, '"Lessons" of the 1918 Flu Epidemic in Auckland'.
79. Carved meeting houses built under Ngata's advocacy include: Te Whare Rūnanga, Waitangi House, in the Bay of Islands; Te Ikaroa-a-Māui meeting house at Manukorihi Pā, Waitara; and Te Poho-o-Rāwiri, Kaitī, Gisborne.
80. A Māori Arts and Craft centre at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, was an outcome of Ngata's effort. The centre is now called the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute Ngā Kete Tuku Iho at Te Puia.
81. Sorrenson (ed.), *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Vol. 1, p. 29.

Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck), third director of Bishop Museum (1936–1951), also served as a trustee and president of the Board of Trustees of the museum
PP68-8-027, Hawai‘i State Archives

institutions.[82] During 1932–33, Buck also held a visiting lecturer position at Yale University, and in 1936 he became director of the Bishop Museum and Professor of Anthropology at Yale, positions he held until his death in 1951.

Buck's investigative research on iwi taketake or indigenous material culture in the Pacific and Hawai'i is a record of his life in Polynesia's service. Letters exchanged between Ngata and Buck from 1925 to 1950 verify Te Rangihiroa's leadership and affection for the native peoples of Te Moananui-a-kiwa. Sir Peter Buck Te Rangihiroa was awarded a knighthood in 1946 and made a Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George. He returned to Aotearoa, New Zealand, in 1949 to formally receive his knighthood, i mua i te iwi, in front of the people.

PROSPECTING FOR ANSWERS.

This section discusses the 1918 flu epidemic and COVID-19 in 2020–21 as historical moments that are politically inseparable. The advantage of reflecting on the relational history between tangata Māori and the Crown is to identify stress points. Tangata New Zealand scholars have written and published accounts on tangata New Zealand attitudinal shifts. They are restated in this writing to shed light on the 1900s to the 2000s legislative system governing Māori.[83] On the other hand, tangata Māori have agency through voting in politicians to negotiate and transact reforms on behalf of Māori.

82. John S. Allen, 'Te Rangi Hiroa's Physical Anthropology', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 103, No. 1, 1994 (www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document//Volume_103_1994/Volume_103%2C_No._1/Te_Rangi_Hiroa%26apos%3Bs_physical_anthropology%2C_by_John_S._Allen%2C_p_11-28/p1).

83. Historians Michael King, Ranginui Walker, Judith Binney, James Belich and others have contributed to unpacking historical narratives between Māori and Pākehā. They also look at relational histories between tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand to recent times.

We can ask: how is Aotearoa proceeding health-wise in the 2020s? Is the present government performing in delivering positive Māori health outcomes? A 2006 report highlighted socioeconomic factors, lifestyle, access to health care and discrimination as the top health disparity issues in New Zealand.[84] This information is weighty—but merely publishing disparities does not improve Māori health outcomes.

Tangata Māori are digital natives, and health information is a tap away. It is hard to see ourselves as resilient by looking at screen data. Relying on health knowledge from devices may also give the impression that we have no self-efficacy—moreover, that Māori have turned away from whānau and hapū understandings of health and wellbeing.

Transactional systems with physicians and bureaucratic organisations to meet basic health needs have also become a way of life for tangata Māori. Whānau and hapū are high users of prescribed pharmaceuticals. Poor health among indigenous people in any colonised country is a symptom of larger societal problems, including the loss of relationship to the land, poor housing, unemployment, fast-food diets, institutional racism and indifferent political attitudes. All of these things damage Māori wellbeing.

While working for the Health Department, Te Rangihiroa identified disparities and discrimination against Māori and offered solutions 100 years ago. He had a way of communicating with Māori about the causes of sickness and disease. Buck wrote reo Māori articles for the *Toa Takitini* Māori newspaper, explaining mate urutā (epidemics), such as mate kohi (tuberculosis),[85] and mate kiore (plague).[86] A key impetus behind his work was the tragic fact that the death rate of Māori during the 1918 flu epidemic was five times more than that of tangata New Zealand.

84. L. Ellison-Loschmann and N. Pearce, 'Improving access to health care among New Zealand's Māori population', *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 96, No. 4, 2006, pp. 612-17 (https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2005.070680).
85. Peter Buck, 'Nga Mate Uruta: Mate Kohi', *Toa Takitini*, 1 July 1922.
86. Ibid.

Taking the optimistic view, compassion is a strong pillar in whānau Māori. By his actions, Buck showed tangata New Zealand that culturally informed Māori health values and holistic wellbeing could complement western medicine. In his reaching out to Māori, Buck described what to expect from western health science and how to address long-term hygiene and wellness. In this way, his guiding principles built Māori bridges between whānau and hapū. They strengthened public health platforms for future generations.

Witnessing Māori suffering from malnutrition and overwhelmed by disease and sickness must have been heartbreaking. From Buck's perspective, Māori being denied hospital treatment was typical and expected; moreover, the English language was a barrier for Māori access to public health.[87] There was not enough western medicine to save Māori lives, and drugs did not work because they arrived too late to make a difference.

The Health Department's continued modernisation is a central proposition in improving health and medical services to tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand in all eras. In the 1900s, the other site of urgency for the Crown was housing, not as a fundamental human right to shelter, but as an economic solution for building a stable workforce who were healthy.[88]

Medical historian Linda Bryder, in her 1982 article '"Lessons" of the 1918 Flu Epidemic in Auckland', notes the efforts of Maui Pomare and Peter Buck. They significantly boosted morale and improved Māori health. The general opinion held by tangata New Zealand health administrators in 1918 was that Māori living conditions lacked cleanliness, and Māori didn't practice proper sanitation.[89] Buck and Pomare sent out flyers advising Māori how to deal with the flu outbreak in Auckland and rural districts. Bryder points out a lack of compassionate

87. An recent example of racism in health is the Oranga Tamariki controversy, in which a Royal Commission of Inquiry was instigated into human rights abuse and racism directed at whānau Māori (https://yournz.org/2020/08/07/ombudsman-report-significant-breaches-by-oranga-tamariki-uplifting-babies/).
88. Bryder, '"Lessons" of the 1918 Flu Epidemic in Auckland'.
89. This widely held sentiment stops short of saying 'dirty Maoris'.

care for Māori from a government more concerned about the physical welfare and health of tangata New Zealand. There was a Pākehā bias against close-living Māori accommodations (communal living), and tangata New Zealand blamed these conditions for allowing the disease to reach epidemic proportions.[90]

According to Bryder, the Crown Health Department, formed in 1900, took a new direction in making health a priority. The course of action was arcing positively before the Crown reduced and then stopped funding. The department was understaffed, and workers lost enthusiasm for maintaining health reforms. Health Department staff in Wellington were overstressed, with too many portfolios to manage and no immunity to the 1918 flu virus when it struck.

The Auckland Health Officer died in the flu epidemic. Complicating the situation were closed public services, including banks and hotels. Quarantining the population was challenging, and Māori continued to travel Aotearoa to care for whānau and hapū, spreading the virus. In her article, Bryder shares this heartfelt recollection from 1918:

> *There was nobody but Miss Maclean, a cadet officer and myself, with the whole country in flames. I never want to go through such a time again. From every corner, and village came cries for help; people dying; the doctors and nurses down …*[91]

Under Te Rangihiroa's watch, positive health outcomes for Māori people increased exponentially. But Te Rangihiroa left the Health Department in 1927, and the government disestablished the director of Māori hygiene role in 1930.

As a public figure until 1927, Buck's decades of service to Māori hit several poignant notes. Friend Hone Heke Ngapua and whanaunga Maui Pomare both died from tuberculosis. Sustained periods of Māori death through general sickness, war and epidemics took a personal toll on Buck's health and mental wellbeing. The Crown's withholding of funding

90. Linda Bryder, *The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in Auckland*, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1980.

91. Cited in Bryder, '"Lessons" of the 1918 Flu Epidemic in Auckland'.

Aaron Scythe (b. 1971)
3 to 碗-0, 2020 (installation view)
porcelain & stoneware clays, clear kizeto & kuro oribe glazes, on-glaze enamels & titanium lustre, red lacquer
195mm x 300mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Sam Hartnett

obstructed Te Rangihiroa's efforts and those of the Young Maori Party to improve Māori public health. William Henry Buck senior passed away in 1925. New Zealand politics is exceptionally complicated, convoluted and deculturalising for Māori, and there are no strong motives for Te Rangihiroa and Margaret to remain in Aotearoa. He leaves for Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai'i.

A MĀORI WORLDVIEW.

Te Rangihiroa modelled and expressed distinct worldviews that uplifted tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand to become Sir Peter Buck. Buck's political career was short-lived but active from 1909 to 1914, perhaps earning him a reluctant politician's reputation. Significant politicians mentored Buck, including Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Maui Pomare and Sir James Carroll. Te Rangihiroa observed how they articulated worldview positions as whānau, hapū and iwi members. We don't know all the pressures for engaging political outcomes on behalf of tangata Māori. We do know they operated as a close team.

Te Rangihiroa made a clarifying point for understanding Māori unity in his maiden speech in Parliament. He described his predecessor, Hone Heke Ngapua, as the foremost leader of Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua. Supplementing his eulogy to Ngapua, Buck's kauhau (speech) takes on a Māori worldview:

> *I have not the honour of belonging to any of these tribes. But at the moment of Heke's death, the people sank all their differences, and because they thought I might be able to represent them, although an outside tribesman, their representative. This is the spirit of the Kotahitanga (Maori unity) movement, which is to bring together the Maori people regardless of tribal qualifications.*

In this speech, Te Rangihiroa confirms he has replaced Hone Heke Ngapua, essentially thanking Ngāpuhi whānau and hapū. Winning the Northern Maori seat set a new benchmark in Māori politics; Ngāpuhi appealed to Māori leadership to have Buck represent Northern Maori.

His win was decisive. By platforming kotahitanga in his speech, Buck imparts Māori political thinking to his parliamentary colleagues.

As a unification movement, Te Kotahitanga was and is a lasting testament to the expression of whānau and hapū standpoints. Ngāpuhi raised Te Kotahitanga as a political movement in Northland in the late nineteenth century. Another political institution, Te Kiingitanga, was founded in 1858 by Waikato Tainui leadership to retain authority over lands, stop the progress of land confiscation and reduce conflicts with settlers and the Crown. The key priorities of whānau and hapū were any advantages that favoured Māori, which were eventually circumvented by government politics. Not long after the rise of Te Kotahitanga, Buck was ushered in as the new generation of Māori leadership. His mentors' politics burdened Buck, who was placed at the nexus of change and moving issues forward to benefit Māori.

The Maori Councils Act had been passed in 1900 to support the self-government of Māori. In 1902-03, Māori politicians and whānau and hapū Māori collaborated to set up Māori councils to replace some of the bodies of the Kotahitanga movement. Ngata became the chief architect and shaped the form of the councils, called Te Kotahitanga Hou. Used interchangeably with Māori councils were Māori health councils. In his time as native health officer under Pomare in 1905–07 and later as director of Māori hygiene, Buck worked with iwi leadership to implement the health and hygiene reforms of the Māori councils. As historian Richard S. Hill has observed:

> *Reform went much further in 1920 when the Department of Public Health was restructured. Te Rangihiroa was appointed director of the specialist Division of Maori Hygiene. In specified Maori Health Districts the Councils were to be defined as Maori Health Councils. The Councils' main official function became raising the health and well-being of Maori, given that they were no longer seen as a dying race.*[92]

92. For further reading see Richard S. Hill, S*tate Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/ Aotearoa 1900-1950*, Victoria University Press, 2004.

Dion Hitchens (b. 1973)
Te Haa, the Breath, 2020 (installation view)
installation with mild steel, stainless steel & electronic components
dimensions variable
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Sam Hartnett

In practice, the first two decades of establishing the Māori councils were obstructed by politics and insufficient funding. Hapū and iwi could not implement nor self-fund all the government health reforms. Regional Māori council successes were due to whānau making improvements for their people, under the organisational schema of Māori councils.

MĀORIDOM.

Accordingly, Māori councils joined the four Māori parliamentary seats in replacing whānau, hapū and iwi forms of self-representation. During this period, the term 'Māoridom' became part of tangata New Zealand politics. The Crown comprehended Māori politicians could be used as a political means to enable outcomes the government was seeking—starting with land consolidation. There is no one clear answer as to who invented the term 'Māoridom'. Nonetheless, it was an expression in circulation from the 1860s and was understood by British settlers, journalists and commentators writing on the activities of hapū and iwi leadership, wars and land confiscations on their own terms. The phrase was also used in parliamentary reporting on hapū, at iwi gatherings, in Crown and tangata Māori politics and Māori thought leadership. It may have carried some appeal as a Victorian-inspired compliment, yet manifestly weakened the effectiveness and mana of chiefs and hapū leaders. In the colonial paradigm, dealing with 'a collective' was more politically efficient for tangata New Zealand than addressing diverse whānau and hapū views and voices of dissent. National Māori politicians, however, could not claim to speak for the collective of Māori people, and examples of historic hapū and iwi leadership endured in the people's memory.

One bright reflection on the broadbrush term 'Māoridom' is that it offered a framework for practical actions, delivered through the Māori councils and the new health programmes, to improve Māori wellbeing. But the downside of those Māori councils and Māori public health reforms is that whānau, hapū and iwi lost political efficacy. The health benefits to Māori were, in practice, short-term.

The Crown and Māori politicians still use the term 'Māoridom' today, yet to minimal and beneficial effect for Māori people—especially in health. Tangata Māori politicians, like their tangata New Zealand counterparts, compete and campaign across all issues. Māori politicians are also situational rather than hereditary leaders, and elected to positions from outside whānau and hapū tribal boundaries. It raises the question: are national Māori politicians obligated to be led by whānau, hapū and iwi? What are those politicians' worldviews and values? We should know the answer, as these same politicians hold the traditional seats set aside for Māori representation in Parliament.

The construct of 'Māoridom' in the political arena at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century affected how political leadership evolved in the rest of the century. The values and principles of compassion, self-governance and self-determination struggled under changing worldviews and modernity. However, whānau and hapū leadership outside of government did continue through the determined actions of Māori women in particular—women such as Te Puea Herangi, Whina Cooper and Eva Rickard. Political activists and radical politicians are their own stories. They understood the issues hurting the Māori people and inspired public attention on specific issues that created problems for the Māori collective. Their efforts were also predicated on an unspoken mandate to politically unify the people, protect Māori land, language and culture, and preserve rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. Women's leadership styles took back the ability to determine a different and brighter outlook for future generations.

The group of five men from an earlier time, Ngata, Heke, Carroll, Pomare and Buck, broke new ground for Māori and transcended political and tribal differences and borders. They survived accusations of corruption and tangata New Zealand attempts to abolish the Māori seats in Parliament.[93] How to transition Māori into the 20th century was a hot topic among them—they understood that tangata Māori traditions would change and evolve with time and elders' passing.

93. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, p. 120.

Despite the politics surrounding public health for Māori, Te Rangihiroa's results are abiding. Is the same true today? Even with the gains made from the infusion of women's leadership styles and non-establishment voices, social and economic equity and Māori health remain a dominant and contentious issue in New Zealand politics. Against this backdrop, there is much at stake for whānau and hapū Māori in the 2020s.

MĀORI COUNCILS.

Making Māori public health reforms in the political environment of the early 20th century was, in some ways, a perfect problem for tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand. An impetus for change—with both appropriate actions and leadership—was in place through Māori politicians and leadership structures. Leaders talked to each other and consulted constituents. Solutions to Māori health and wellbeing are a recurring contention in New Zealand politics; they run the spectrum of success and failure.

The current watershed moment of COVID-19 is also ripe for radical change and continued momentum. To tackle overwhelming health crises, Māori councils could actively face head-on the COVID-19 challenges and the wellbeing of Māori people. Today's Māori Council Te Kaunihera Māori o Aotearoa has a proven record of raising Māori development, language, health and education. Alongside this mandate to respond to the above four 'big issues', the Council is also charged to speak to the social, moral and spiritual wellbeing of Māori people. Calls to action on COVID-19, however, are being taken up by individual hapū and iwi; the Council appears to be following the Crown rather than leading the people. Iwi and hapū collaboration with tangata New Zealand, including the Crown, is one way to create a visionary forward movement for the next generation to live with the long-term effects of COVID-19 and cultural impacts on whānau and hapū. Alliances between tangata Māori hapū and the Māori Council is another pathway.

Kent Monkman (b. 1965)
Casualties of Modernity, 2015 (still)
colour film, English
14 mins 20 secs
courtesy of the artist

Russ Flatt (b. 1971)
Blessed, 2019
inkjet photograph on Ilford rag
1158mm x 778mm x 45mm
courtesy Tim Melville Gallery & the artist

Buck and Pomare faced challenges from Taranaki whānau, hapū and iwi in their time. In the early years of the 20th century, with Taranaki's morale and confidence in the Crown at a low point after the wars and land confiscations of the 1860s and 1880s, the people refused to comply with the Māori council model of organising themselves. Buck and Pomare believed that while Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi lived, the people would not disavow hapū leaders,[94] and that Taranaki whānau and hapū would not go along with reforms channelled through a council. In actuality, Taranaki did form a council, but as predicted it wasn't well supported. Despite these setbacks, Buck and Pomare, with Taranaki leaders, implemented hygiene reforms. Te Rangihiroa gives frank insights into the views and beliefs about Māori health and wellbeing among his people, reporting:

> *The trauma of influenza and the general sense of disillusion, especially among the returned servicemen, led many Maori at this time to put their faith, not in the established leaders of the Young Maori Party, but in Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, the faith healer who had been performing miraculous cures at his farm near Wanganui.*[95]

Even after the deaths of Te Whiti and Tohu, in 1907, scepticism by Taranaki hapū about the Māori councils was ongoing. Buck and Pomare saw councils as ways that whānau and iwi could recover hapū governance and self-determination, but Taranaki hapū were hard to win over. Eventually, government native sanitary inspectors anticipated the best results for their people. Inspectors watched out for infectious diseases and worked with Buck during other epidemic outbreaks. The successes and failures of the Māori council movement reflect the Crown's priorities in their commitment to Māori health. Perhaps in the end we can say that common sense prevailed, with the people and politicians working together, despite holding opposing political views.

94. For more in-depth reading, see Lange, *May the People Live*.

95. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*.

A VACCINE.

A global feature of the novel coronavirus is finding a vaccine. This prospect is globally challenging, creating new stresses on public health access for whānau. An aggressive social media environment and political campaigning for health equity are overwhelming. Who and what do we trust? We are far along enough into the pandemic to remark on breaches of rights, without using a period of crisis or our ignorance of COVID-19 as an excuse. Tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand citizens are both empowered to question the use of authority over people. And tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand do sometimes unite over issues, including human rights breaches (such as in the Tūhoe raids and the lockdown), apartheid in sport (rugby), the return of land to rightful owners (the Raglan golf course) and other petitions for land rights through epic land marches or hīkoi to Parliament.

Even with fast-tracked vaccine trials and testing, there is no certainty of a vaccine for COVID-19 that will work, especially when the virus mutates or if the vaccine rollout is slow and piecemeal. New Zealand's border remains open to citizens (to which I am grateful) and permanent residents. As is to be expected, the global economy is in a steep decline, and we have adjusted to living with physical separation. We are holding our breath that our families do not succumb to COVID-19. The facts of the spread of the coronavirus and the next strand deserve respect.

LEARNINGS.

The nexus of the 1918 flu epidemic and COVID-19 is beautifully complex. A step forward is to recognise that the life that existed before COVID-19 is no longer—a realisation that survivors of the 1918 epidemic also had to make. Another challenging reality is that humanity has yet to imagine a new 'everyday life' to replace the old.

Arielle Walker (b. 1993)
Distance unravelled and rewoven between / to hold a web of stories, a tapestry of pūtahi, 2020–21 (detail)
hmong hemp, cotton & silk thread
dimensions variable
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Sam Hartnett

In 2020, COVID-19 discussions fell in the mix of an intense discourse about race, health inequalities, human rights, the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and election campaigns in both New Zealand and the United States. Fear is still fuelling entrenched biases in both countries. In Aotearoa, Māori people are over-represented in below-the-poverty-line statistics and are high health system users with little relief in sight.

Often used in the same sentence in New Zealand politics are the terms 'Māori' and 'Pacific' who are subsumed into the same category. Presumably they face identical health and wellbeing issues. Who benefits from lumping Māori in with Pacific people? The last time I looked, Māori do not have a treaty partnership with the Pacific. The paired terms are also routinely invoked in adverse reporting on Māori, rather than in positive narratives.

Māori and people of Pacific descent from islands like Hawai'i, Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau are distinct groups of Polynesian people from Te Moana-nui-a-kiwa. Iwi taketake Māori are indigenous to Aotearoa and they are the Crown's Treaty partner through New Zealand's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. New Zealand-born and immigrant tangata Pacific in Aotearoa are a diasporic Pacific whānau with whom Māori share relational ties. As an example, I am tangata Māori based in Hawai'i. I enjoy relational recognition by Kānaka Maoli in the Hawaiian Islands. This Polynesian relationality does not entitle me to engage the deep economic, political and social narratives of Hawai'i, Tonga, Samoa, Rarotonga or any other island nation. My social and political history is appropriate in Aotearoa, New Zealand.

Some of the issues that came to the fore throughout 2020 and the pandemic were made better and worse by the digital age and social media. Information is now available on demand, and it's not easy to come to terms with issues that sit slightly out of the grasp of everyday whānau and hapū. The Level 4 lockdown of March 2020 triggered leadership in some iwi Māori to take matters into their own hands and close tribal borders to protect community members. Responses to COVID-19 produced care in the community and generated aroha and whanaungatanga. Still, whānau have limited freedoms and are living in forced separation.

Is Aotearoa, is New Zealand's reputation as a safe, clean and green place to raise a family trustworthy? It must feel that way for the thousands of expatriates to have returned home in the past six months. But physical distance from the rest of the world does not provide immunity against the novel coronavirus. An uneasiness still circulates among the New Zealand and global populations.

Former Prime Minister Helen Clark stated in August 2020 that New Zealand was one human error away from another wave of COVID-19. The handling of New Zealand's border closures, improving government quarantine and isolation measures, and stabilising the economy were continually rethought over 2020 as New Zealand responded to a changing COVID-19 situation. Clark made this observation:

> *There had been six global declarations of a public health emergency of international concern since 2000. None of those got away. This is the first that's got away since the great flu of 1918.*[96]

Just days after Clark made that statement, and as this essay was being written, another wave of COVID-19 in New Zealand eventuated, in August and September 2020. At the time of writing, 25 tangata New Zealand had died from COVID-19. Leaders' impetus to communicate care and concern was also notable as the November 2020 election approached and a scathing report out of the Oranga Tamariki inquiry pointed to living prejudices against Māori.[97] As this essay is being prepared for press, in February 2021, the situation is still tense. With new

96. Tim Murphy, 'Clark wants full inquiry into NZ COVID-19 response', *Newsroom*, 6 August 2020 (www.newsroom.co.nz). Helen Clark was Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1999 to 2008. Clark is the co-chair of an independent panel reviewing the World Health Organization's COVID-19 response.

97. The recent Ombudsman report into Oranga Tamariki practices, published in August 2020, is a two-year investigation into the treatment of Māori whānau and children. Peter Boshier, Chief Ombudsman, *He Take Kōhukuhuki: A Matter of Urgency: Investigation Report into policies, practices and procedures for the removal of newborn pēpi by Oranga Tamariki, Ministry for Children*, August 2020 (www.ombudsman.parliament.nz/resources/he-take-kohukihuki-matter-urgency).

incidents of community transmission in New Zealand in November 2020 and February 2021 and highly contagious variants sweeping the globe, concerns remain high that the virus could again slip through the border.

WAKING UP TO OURSELVES.

In this article, I have shared ideas Te Rangihiroa put across as actions, disclosures and statements to uplift Māori people in times of uncertainty. Buck's humanness, philosophies, thinking, conceptions and knowledge were timeless and grounded in cultural beliefs and drawn from direct experience. Te Rangihiroa exemplified aroha tētahi ki tētahi; this was an avenue to sharing his humanity. Buck rigorously worked out this value and other guiding principles in public and professional contexts. The pātai 'what would Te Rangihiroa say and do?' at this intersection has become redundant. Nonetheless, the motivation for this article is continuous self-reflection and self-understanding.

I have tried to balance perspectives through dialogue that surface, circulate, recur and push against populist viewpoints. Based on O'ahu Island, I look back to New Zealand from a nakau-nui position. Aotearoa is my homeland; I am tangata Ngāi Tūhoe, Te Arawa and Ngāti Pango. Triggering my reflections is this historical 2020–21 moment. It is a profound privilege to reflect on the public health contributions of Sir Peter Buck. The 25 years he gave to the Hawaiian Islands is a future essay on Te Rangihiroa's homemade anthropology efficacy.

I get it. Lessons from history are engaged differently inside of Aotearoa New Zealand than they are outside it. Living in another part of the world has awoken me to this idea. Physical separation aside, I now experience closer relations with whānau, hapū and friends in Aotearoa because of COVID-19. Too, I have a new appreciation for my island home, the 50th state of the United States of America. From my vantage point, humanity is floundering with outmoded ideologies, imploding economies and Trumpian politics. Actively practising optimism, making firm decisions towards more loving and kinder life paths is a way to live that is firmly stated in accounts by elders and ancestors.

Poor health and food insecurity of tangata Māori living under, on or just above the poverty line are serious subjects and require action. Ruptures in the New Zealand social systems are evident—as are the public calling-out of institutional 'safeguards' as embedded racism to which solutions have been outside the grasp of tangata New Zealand's understanding. Merely changing the name of an institution does not change institutional behaviour and can undermine a will to strengthen our society.[98] A significant priority for Māori is political and economic efficacy, closely followed by efficient discussions about impacts by whānau and hapū. Māori health reforms require consultation with Māori.

Currently, many whānau and hapū are at least four generations removed from food security. My baby-boomer peers may have growing up in a food-secure community as a memory. Acres of whānau gardens and orchards are firmly in my childhood recollections. Ocean and freshwater knowledge were educative basics, and this knowledge shaped my experiences and creativity.

An idyllic childhood beside a river and near a food forest is no longer a typical upbringing. Neither is living in harmony with the natural world. Like other relatives in the Rūātoki valley, my parents were farmers, among many other contributions they made to our community. They grew food, companion-planted, used organic fertilisers and saved seeds like their forebears. Gathering wild foods, fishing, hunting, preserving and drying foods for the following seasons were whānau and hapū excursions. Sharing fellowship through eating together is a joyous memory. At the centre of food security was passing food knowledge down the generations. Today, food insecurity is a reality in the Rūātoki valley. Many people

98. The department of Child, Youth and Family (CYF) was renamed Oranga Tamariki, the Ministry for Children, in 2017. Under the new department there was a marked increase in the removal of Māori children from their whānau. Māori professionals objected to the co-opting of the Māori language to stand in for a service that did not exemplify caring for children.

Hiria Anderson (b. 1974)
Reka Deals, 2021 (installation view)
Tasty Super Savers, 2021 (installation view)
Sonny's Takeaways, 2021 (installation view)
acrylic on plyboard
1535mm x 1237mm x 55mm each
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Sam Hartnett

are two generations away from eating kai Māori and enjoying a healthy relationship with the land.

A global indigenous food sovereignty movement, serving indigenous people, is growing in native communities worldwide. In Hawai'i, the 'no panic go organic' and the farm-to-fork movements are commendable. Ma'o Organic Farms in Wai'anae is a not-for-profit, social enterprise farm that connects West O'ahu native Hawaiian youth and land through farming fruits and vegetables. Wai'anae and Nānākuli have the highest population of native Hawaiians on O'ahu island. Ma'o Organic Farms is a Hawaiian and tangata New Zealand-owned farm.[99]

In the last decade, tangata Māori including this writer have become regular visitors to Ma'o Farms. Exchanges between Ma'o Organic Farms and tangata Māori organisations started in 2012 and are ongoing. Te Waka Kai Ora, the National Māori Organics Authority, which certifies Māori organic gardening using the Hua Parakore framework, has become a colleague organisation and visited Ma'o Farms in 2014.[100] The largest Māori education provider, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, hosted Ma'o Organic Farms in Auckland at a food sovereignty conference in 2012.[101] Ma'o Organic Farms reciprocated and hosted a cultural exchange with tangata Māori during the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education (WIPCE) in May 2014, at Wai'anae in West O'ahu.[102] Māori filmmaker Taika Waititi has weeded Ma'o Organic Farms gardens.

The Ma'o farm work programme is challenging mahi, starting at 5 am. Still, it raises the spirit of the community workers and the results of their learnings are tangible—it shows on their faces! A connection to the land is significant; the land is nurtured and cultivated, and so are the interns. Eating organic produce has become fundamental to physical, spiritual and mental wellbeing.

Māori food items shared with Ma'o interns include kānga-wai sourced from Te Waka Kai Ora, a Ngāpuhi initiative. I facilitated the

99. Ma'o Organic Farms website (www.maoorganicfarms.org/).
100. Te Waka Kai Ora blog (https://tewakakaiora.wordpress.com/).
101. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (www.twoa.ac.nz/te-whare/nga-uara?sc_lang=en).
102. WIPCE 2021 (http://wipce2021.net/background/).

interns to prepare, cook and eat kānga-wai (fermented corn). Teaching jam-making and demonstrating how to preserve food is personally rewarding. A recently introduced tangata Māori food to Ma'o Organic Farms staff and interns is wai-kōhua soup, a wild-greens tonic. The variety of pūhā that grows well on the farm is prickly tiotio. Tohetaka or wild dandelion also grows in abundance. Through friendships, Māori food tastes are today experienced in West O'ahu. Wellbeing and food initiatives are right in front of us and are a real pathway to improved health and wellness. I would like to think that Te Rangihiroa would have approved this interchange between Polynesian cousins putting health and wellbeing at the centre while resetting the relationship to land and people.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION.

The COVID-19 return home is changed. Prioritising family and friends is not an option. The return of expatriate citizens to New Zealand from global locations may provide a broadened perspective on this moment. Priorities and tikanga practices have changed significantly since Te Rangihiroa's time. They have been tracking this way for 100 years. Tangata New Zealand and tangata Māori live by rules, but also change them—not always to better the culture. Moreover, manaakitanga, as a substantial value, cannot be practised as intended; the welcoming mihi on returning home from international destinations today is given as part of the orientation to quarantine. Still, significant changes, including isolation through COVID-19, can be healing.

Characterised in this article are the growing pains of tangata Māori and tangata New Zealand. COVID-19 is a critical marker for Aotearoa New Zealand. Genuine care and understanding of people are also fundamental, and blame and guilt cannot be part of thinking through this moment. Through COVID-19, a rapid and forced change on the New Zealand population in 2020 was more instantaneous than colonisation by the British in the 19th century. The impacts of coronavirus are global and will be borne out over a long period, possibly a generation.

Despite COVID-19, the opportunity to reorganise the way we write, exhibit and engage history is something to consider. Sitting in

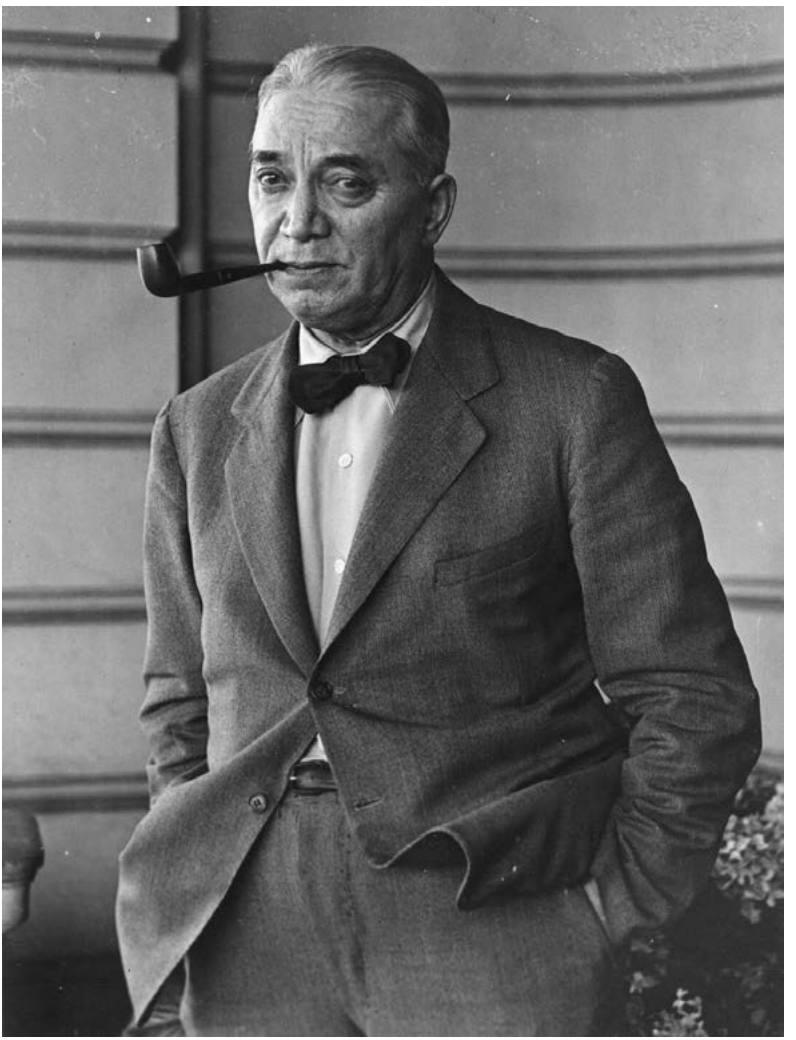
the Bishop Museum Library & Archives reading Te Rangihiroa's manuscripts, annotated writings, publications and letters has expanded my heart. I have been brought to tears reading Buck's World War I diary. My two granduncles Tahae and Ihaia Trainor died during World War II: Tahae from wounds received at Takrouna, North Africa; and Ihaia, an airman, killed in action in France. My father and my mother's two brothers survived World War II. After the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, my father signed on with the British Commonwealth Occupation Force, who led the Jayforce contingent stationed at Yamaguchi, Japan. Jayforce soldiers were infantry volunteers, and my father joined with a childhood friend and my mother's brother. It's hard to imagine what they experienced. My tuakana served in the front line from 1968 to 1969 in Vietnam, experiencing war's futility. Te Rangihiroa's World War I diary entries transported me to the war stories circulating within my whānau and hapū.

Conversations with researchers, whānau and native Hawaiians who are not aware of Buck's life before moving to Honolulu in 1927 offer discoveries. Here in the Hawaiian Islands, Te Rangihiroa is beloved as a scholar who wrote about Hawaiian material cultural practices through his studies and publications. Knowing about Buck's background in Aotearoa and his Hawaiian work, I have come to recognise that Te Rangihiroa profoundly influences my critical reflections—and not just for the obvious reasons, such as a life similarly dedicated to museum and indigenous curatorial practice, as a researcher, critic and historian.

I have encountered an inner truth about engaging and discerning and presenting realities from history. Most impressed upon me is Buck's profound optimism in the face of harsh realities. When faced with trauma, Te Rangihiroa showed resilience. There are other ways than lonely despair of organising living and future histories, including writing about this watershed moment that we share with humanity. Although we live in a very different world, we are not alone. I am not alone. I now understand that optimism and resilience are choices.

Reuben Paterson (b. 1973)
St. Francis of Assisi, 2021
glitter on resin
317mm x 145mm x 145mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Andrew Kennedy

Reuben Paterson (b. 1973)
Quan Yin, 2021
glitter on resin
317mm x 110mm x 110mm
commissioned by Te Tuhi, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland
photo by Andrew Kennedy



Portrait of Sir Peter Buck, c. 1949
1/2-023071-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

ARTIST BIOGRAPHIES

AARON SCYTHE (B. 1971)

AOTEAROA NZ

Tāmaki Makaurau-born Aaron Scythe spent 16 years studying ceramic traditions and making in Japan. Scythe's practice is influenced by the Momoyama (1568–1715) period of ceramic-making. Tea ceremony bowl wares have form and function and also offer aesthetic points for enjoyment and contemplation. Artworks purposed with symbolism, text and modernist imagery also affirm the technical and philosophical thinking of master practitioners and Japanese avant-garde ceramic artists. Scythe returned to Aotearoa in 2011 following the Fukushima disaster.

ARIELLE WALKER (B. 1993)

AOTEAROA NZ

Arielle Walker (Taranaki, Ngāruahine, Ngāpuhi, Pākehā) stitches coloured thread on textiles to portray ideas of identity and cultural belonging. Her embroidered botanicals and stitch samplers are tactile stories that show where tradition and contemporary history narratives intersect. Textile traditions passed down through generations help Walker build familiarity and knowledge of a matriarchal lineal tradition. Walker is based in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland and obtained her Master of Visual Arts from Auckland University of Technology.

DION HITCHENS (B. 1973)

AOTEAROA NZ

Dion Hitchens is Tūhoe and Ngāti Porou, Chinese and European. Commitment to a spiritual meditation practice is a daily routine and a pathway to realise human and mental oneness. Hitchens' art practice is patterned after the Buddhist discipline of slow breathing to calm the mind and focus on nothingness. Sculptural installation can be a medium to communicate mindfulness. The rhythms of land, ocean, human breathing and the natural world are places to maintain nonbeing. Learning is a lifetime goal.

ELLIOT COLLINS (B. 1983)

AOTEAROA NZ

Elliot Collins has an interdisciplinary praxis. Interventions in art museums and the community are a means to place thoughts and images that navigate and journey through history and memory, which can circle back to the present moment. Collins' art references poetry and language, real and imagined boundaries, and access to human knowledge. Stories that share wisdom and teach how to live a better life are how the artist addresses vulnerability and informed replies to social conditioning. Collins lives and works in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

HIRIA ANDERSON (B. 1974)

AOTEAROA NZ

Hiria Anderson (Rereahu, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Apakura) was raised in her grandparents' home in Ōtorohanga, where she lives. Geography, politics and familial histories are central to the artist's practice and thinking. Big narratives on small paintings portray the certainty of change and the spectacle of cultural continuity, with representations signifying the mundane ideas of home and belonging in the 21st century. Commonplace in her paintings are community politics seen through the lens of first-hand experience and a place-based worldview.

KENT MONKMAN (B. 1965)

CANADA

Kent Monkman is an interdisciplinary Cree visual artist. A member of Fisher River Cree Nation in Treaty 5 territory (Manitoba), he lives and works in Dish With One Spoon territory (Toronto, Canada). Known for his provocative interventions into Western European and American art history, Monkman explores themes of colonisation, sexuality, loss and resilience—the complexities of historical and contemporary Indigenous experiences—across painting, film/video, performance and installation. Monkman's short film and video works are collaboratively made with Gisèle Gordon.

KEREAMA HOHUA (B. 1977)

AOTEAROA NZ

Kereama Hohua's carving practice is dedicated to Tūhoe culture, identity and social change. An apprenticeship with and mentoring by master carver Te Hau o te Rangi Tutua and historian and academic Sir Hirini Moko Mead led to Hohua working with a team of experts to restore the Ngāti Awa ancestral house Mataatua, located at Whakatāne. Hohua's art practice balances customary and contemporary carving, housebuilding, sculpture and body adornment. He lives and works in Rūātoki.

LISA BOIVIN (B. 1970)

CANADA

Lisa Boivin is a member of the Deninu Kue First Nation in Northwest Territories, Canada. She is a bioethicist and a doctoral candidate at the University of Toronto Faculty of Medicine. Boivin uses digital collage as a pedagogical tool to confront colonial barriers that Indigenous patients navigate in the healthcare system and offers Indigenous teachings to resolve them. To help humanise clinical medicine, the artist situates her arts-based practice in the Indigenous continuum of passing knowledge through images.

MARAEA TIMUTIMU (B. 1979)

AOTEAROA NZ

Maraea Timutimu (Tūhoe, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāiterangi) is a multidisciplinary artist who locates her art practice in pattern-making and meaning-making in the digital era. Rāranga, tukutuku and tāniko are the leitmotif of Māori designs found in cultural meeting houses. The repetitive placements of line, colour and texture also convey symbolic understandings of the natural world. Repetition is part of Timutimu's teaching philosophy and photography practice, used to produce a medley of visual references.

REUBEN PATERSON (B. 1973)

AOTEAROA NZ

Reuben Paterson (Ngāti Rangitihi, Ngāi Tūhoe, Tūhourangi, Scottish) is renowned for glitter and diamond dust paintings. Paterson combines formal approaches to painting abstract and geometric lines and ornate detailing of patterns to stimulate curiosity and joy. Paterson's use of Māori-inspired motifs links to recent and ancient memories that are visceral and ethereal. A third-generation contemporary Māori artist, he redefines and explores the complexities of social and familial relationships.

RUSS FLATT (B. 1971)

AOTEAROA NZ

Russ Flatt (Ngāti Kahungunu) makes staged photographs to create an environment to express and communicate an awareness of contemporary issues. Flatt's careful and specific choice to work with models is a way to address identity and contemplate Aotearoa's political realities, social constructs and ethnic diversity. The artist's approach is situated in Victorian photography in the use of striking scenic backdrops, portraiture and photomontages and the examination of political themes. Flatt lives and works in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

VERNA APIO-TAKASHIMA (B. 1947)

HAWAIʻI

Oʻahu-based cultural practitioner Verna Apio-Takashima is a fifth-generation lineal descendant of 19th-century Hawaiian kapa (barkcloth) experts. Apio-Takashima embarked on kapa-making in 2005, creating barkcloth in the Hawaiian tradition. Beaten, fermented and watermarked cloths are stamped and painted with natural dyes. Demonstrations are a hallmark of the artist's practice, most notably at Bishop Museum, the National Museum of the American Museum in Washington DC, and at the 2016 PAA International Symposium at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum, Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

VISESIO SIASAU (B. 1970)

AOTEAROA NZ/TONGA

Hereditary tūfunga Visesio Poasi Siasau is a carver, painter and community collaborator. Siasau's art practice can surface as patterning; his narrative works are political and social commentaries that convey his Tongan worldview on mind, body and spirit. Modernity and Christianity's impact in Tonga and Tongan philosophy are features of the artist's praxis. Sio's art practice is positioned to perpetuate Tongan thinking and relationality between place and people. Siasau is a doctoral candidate at EA Hawaiʻi, Oʻahu.

CONTRIBUTOR BIOGRAPHIES

NGAHIRAKA MASON

Ngahiraka Mason (Tūhoe, Te Arawa, Ngāti Pango) is an independent curator, critic and visual historian with research and curatorial interests in the material culture and histories of Polynesian peoples and community relationships with museums and collections. Mason is the former Indigenous Curator, Māori Art at Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Aotearoa New Zealand. Her exhibitions and publications focus on historical, modern and contemporary art. Recent projects include *Wānanga | Wānana* (2019) at Bishop Museum, Honolulu; *Honolulu Biennial: Middle of Now/Here*, the inaugural Honolulu Biennial (2017); and the international touring exhibition *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand* (2014-16). She has published in *American Quarterly* (2020) and presented at the International Committee for Museums and Collections of Modern Art (CIMAM) conference (2019) and at NIRIN, the 22nd Biennale of Sydney (2020). Mason is a founding trustee of the Wairau Māori Art Gallery Charitable Trust, Whangārei, and a former trustee on the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust. Mason lives and works in Honolulu, Hawai'i.

HIRAANI HIMONA

Hiraani Himona (Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti, Ngāti Rangiwhakāewa, Ngāti Hikarara) has been Executive Director of Te Tuhi since 2015 and was previously Deputy Director of the South London Gallery. She has a background in arts administration with a history of providing opportunities for diverse communities, including working in Māori development (Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga), disability (Mental Health Media), gender and sexuality (York Lesbian Arts Festival, Women Like Us) and youth at risk (Hi8us South). She has a Bachelor of Science from Massey University Te Kunenga Ki Pūrehuroa.

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I dedicate this writing to my brother Korotau, Peho Tait Meihana Tamiana.

Ngahiraka Mason

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Finally, thanks to all the artists, and in particular to those who created new works for *A Very Different World*.

Hiraani Himona

TeTuhi

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