

*Temepara, Ratana*

## Buildings of the Morehu: Te Ao Hou

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**Morehu** : "... remainders. Those who have survived. But they are also the chosen; they are the leaders."<sup>1</sup> By now Morehu has come to denote members of the Ratana Church, but in the second half of the Nineteenth Century it was a name that had already been adopted by Te Ua, Te Whiti and Te Kooti for Maori rejecting or having lost the primacy of traditional affiliations and leadership, turning to new beliefs and ideas. It is not an all-enveloping term for a particular period of Maori history or culture, but it is a term used frequently by the Maori movements whose buildings are the subject of this project.

**Te Ao Hou** : the new world.

This paper introduces the buildings of the Morehu, to redress the neglect of certain buildings in the architectural history of this country. It is not our intention to lump these buildings together in any way other than inclusion in a survey of New Zealand architecture, but they



do have in common exclusion from mainstream histories of this country's buildings<sup>2</sup>. For this reason alone one could argue they figure a hidden and alternative architecture, not authorised by Pakeha, and represent an extraordinary period in the long history of this land's habitation. In this paper we must use a broad brush, for it is a big picture. We cannot dwell at length on individual buildings, but will try to prove a lineage of buildings that reflect the most radical hopes and beliefs of their time, constituting a rich and original architecture of this land, which we can call the "secret garden in the forest"<sup>3</sup>.

Discussing Te Kooti, Michael Linzey makes the point that modernity holds itself apart from what it sees as an unchanging tradition<sup>4</sup>. So a modernist reading of New Zealand architectural history might give the impression that 'traditional' Maori buildings have been adequately covered, and Pakeha buildings, vernacular colonial and modern, are featured in the 'story' of New Zealand architecture. The buildings of the Morehu have been considered the work of eccentric fringe groups, and neglected or consigned to the realm of 'folk art'<sup>5</sup>.

### **A New Land**

By the late nineteenth century these islands now called New Zealand had been made over in the image of a Europe left behind; Pakeha had quickly made the country their own, as had the Maori before them. The land was "shaped to European convenience"<sup>6</sup>; forests mowed down for grass, new animals introduced supplanting the indigenous, and roads and railways driven through hills, a new law and institutions established even before Pakeha had outnumbered Maori. Pakeha buildings were simply European transplants or hybrids, the land altered to accommodate their 'rooting'. In 1899 Hurst Seager wrote of New Zealand architecture in the Royal Institute of British Architect's Journal:

"In responding to the invitation of the Editor of the journal to write an article upon the development of our art in this Colony I can only regret that it is impossible for me truly to entitle it the Architectural Art of New Zealand, and bring before you examples showing the gradual process of development lead-

ing to distinctive forms of expression. Unfortunately there has been no true development; we have no style, no distinctive forms of art.

... [T]he story is told in the forms of art developed in England, Italy, America, and elsewhere. Nor are there any interesting solutions of the problems in the science of building to record; all our methods are those of the Old World; our materials and our conditions of life are not sufficiently distinctive to lead to any special mode being adopted. That our cities are chiefly made up of architectural quotations ... is perhaps to be expected."<sup>7</sup>

It was the Maori who found themselves in a new land, who had a new world thrust upon them and had to make a way to live in it. It is to their response, their buildings that we should look to find the real architecture of the new world; theirs is the architecture of the New Land, New Zealand.

### **The Buildings**

Many of the Morehu structures are not isolated examples but parts of programmes of building, usually religious in purpose or the communal/public buildings of new movements and social groups; new buildings for new needs, the architecture of rapidly changing circumstance, staking claims in a changing land. Their claim: to redress a drifting society and culture and to reconstruct a political shapelessness. These buildings have in common a blending of Maori and Pakeha influences, with new materials, new forms, shapes, symbols and motifs. But surveying the movements and groups producing these buildings reveals not an assimilation of cultures, but rather a selective appropriation by Morehu of Pakeha methods, forms, and symbolism for their own ends, the same innovative, aggressive adaptability already proven in Maori culture.

*Te Miringa te Kakara, Tiroa.*

One should not dismiss these buildings as formally similar, merely derivative of European building. Firstly Morehu architecture must be considered in the light of the religious and political motivation of its builders, its role in social organisation, and the way architecture

is used in the community. Secondly, contrary to Pakeha techniques, here symbolism and imagery are inseparable from the building, as a meeting house's carvings are essential to it, as Christian imagery is not merely embellishment of a church. The forms of these buildings are only the mute bones. The skin of paint fleshes out the structure with symbol, image and meaning. This animating imagery, the resonance of narrative, the communication of concepts, making ideas visible: this is what gives Morehu architecture its coherence and resonance. It speaks—but a language not yet learned and understood by Pakeha.

### **The Morehu**

Judith Binney writes:

“There are two remembered histories since 1840. That of the colonisers and that of the colonised. Their visions and goals were different creating memories which have been patterned by varying hopes and experiences.”<sup>8</sup>

Maori architecture is rooted in genealogy. Maori oral narrative depends on the speaker's ability to express the present through the past, utilising specific architectural repositories such as the marae or temple. The culture of the past is not fixed, and indeed survives by being interpreted in different ways shaped by the pressure of change.

Pakeha culture is evidential. Authenticity is established by the standards of each generation, although current thought also recognises that:

“... writing always transforms ... there will be no correct stories of the past that are not themselves a product of a politics of truth.”<sup>9</sup>

According to Sissons<sup>10</sup>, the work of Elsdon Best is typical of the way Pakeha objectified, authenticated and removed from its narrative and genealogical context the knowledge of Maori in an attempt to 'preserve' a 'traditional' frozen state of the colonised, in the wider history of New Zealand, before they, the colonised, finally succumbed to the superiority or

the ailments of the coloniser.

Of far greater importance to Maori than the Pakeha view of them however was the appropriation of the Bible, in particular the Old Testament. The parallels between Hebrew and Maori were recognised as early as 1845 when the role of the tohunga was adapted to the new situation, as were original beliefs; Binney<sup>11</sup> recorded (a Ringatu tohunga) Eria Raukura's narrative concerning Te Kooti's explanation of this:

"The lineage ... started as deriving from the spiritual encounter of the ancestors with Io, when they arrived at Aotearoa. These were 'things of the past', 'nga mea a muri nei', which were joined with 'the first things', 'nga mea tuatahi', or the prophetic sayings from Abraham until Christ. 'Te hononga', Eria called it, or the marriage of two predictive views of history, and of two perceptions of the present as a cyclic renewal of the past."

Prophetic movements of the Morehu challenged both cultures as they sought to establish what could and could not be appropriated from each. It follows that the architecture and symbolism emerging from them is a highly political statement of changing times and circumstances.

### **Pai Marire**

Pai Marire originated from the land conflict in Taranaki, its leader Te Ua Haumene to whom, in 1862, the Angel Gabriel declared that Maori were God's people and their land 'Israel'. Te Ua distrusted symbolism of the cross (like many facets of the New Testament which Maori found culturally distasteful), which he believed symbolised the crucifixion of the Tiu by their colonisers. Following Gabriel's instructions, he erected a 'niu' pole (the term niu, Binney<sup>12</sup> believes, comes from the 'news' it delivered, and may be an adaptation of the tohunga's divinatory sticks) as the agent for the word of God. A four metre high post with a yard-arm, it has been likened to a ship's mast and possibly derives from that of the *Lord Worsley* whose wreck inspired the prophet's visions. A drawing in a follower's notebook<sup>13</sup> has been inter-

preted as equating the niu with David's temple, transcending heaven and earth. Angels carried the word of God and the knowledge of the Pakeha through the ropes by hau, the wind, to worshippers who touched them.

The niu was also an important instrument of protest against Pakeha land encroachment, a fear expressed in Pai Marire chants:

*"... they spoke with the voices of soldiers, surveyors and celebrants, and descendants of Shem, and all these symbols signified the mana of the niu pole transmitted to them :*

*Kill, one two three four—Attention!*

*River, big river, long river, big stone—Attention!*

*Road, big road, long road, bush, big bush—Attention!*

*Long bush, long stone, hill, big hill, long hill—Attention!*

*Mountain big, mountain long, mountain big, niu long, niu—Attention!*

*North, north-by-east, nor'-nor' east, nor' east-by-north, north-east-colony—Attention!*

*Come to tea, all the men, round the niu pole—Attention!*

*Shem, rule the wind, too much wind, come to tea—Attention!"<sup>14</sup>*

## **Parihaka**

Te Ua's attempts to spread the word and hold on to the land, were misconstrued as an invitation to war. Fighting in 1865 sparked a seven year war; that resulted in many Pai Marire adherents becoming followers of Te Kooti while imprisoned on the Chatham Islands.

Te Ua had seen his nephew Te Whiti and Te Whiti's brother-in-law Tohu as successors to his prophetic mantle. Te Whiti was himself the mouthpiece of God, and sought to establish Israel at Parihaka, below Mt. Taranaki, in 1867. This was confiscated land, and their occupation questioned the validity of confiscation by peaceful protest; the Government responded in 1881 by arresting Te Whiti and Tohu, evicting the other residents and destroying Parihaka. Released two years later, the prophets rebuilt Parihaka which remained a centre for non-violent resistance until their deaths in 1907.

## **Te Kooti**

Ringatu was a prophetic movement descending from Pai Marire but rejecting its teachings. Sent to Wharekauri in the Chatham Islands under suspicion of being a potential threat after land confiscations in 1866, Te Kooti inherited spiritual power from prophetic ancestors<sup>15</sup> and escaped with two hundred followers. In 1873 he constructed the first of several distinctive meeting houses which have survived to this day, Tokanganui a Noho. His architectural doctrine combined the strict usages for chiefs houses and the tabernacles of the Jews, and his meeting houses formed the basis for modern marae protocol. Te Kooti's process of empowering Morehu to hold onto the land by building meeting houses was continued by the King Movement, in particular Te Puea, and by Apirana Ngata. In prophecies Te Kooti outlined the future of the Morehu, predicting the rise of new leaders for the Morehu, such as Rua Kenana, Apirana Ngata, T. W. Ratana, and even anticipating the conflicts between them.

## **Rua Kenana**

Partially fulfilling a prophecy of Te Kooti, Rua Kenana erected the tabernacle of David at Maungapohatu in 1907, under the sacred mountain where he had received a vision of Gabriel. Hiona (Zion), the meeting hall and council house and 'throne of mercy' was modelled on the Dome of the Rock (this Jerusalem mosque was often called the Temple of Solomon in Nineteenth Century Biblical literature)<sup>16</sup>. Hiona used symbols of Pakeha origin to explain Rua's mission. The exterior walls featured painted symbols from playing cards which, in Maori oral convention, have been open to a number of interpretations depending on the needs of the people. One version holds that the heart represents that of Jesus while the club is the Trinity and the diamond is the Holy Ghost. Other iconic symbols, particularly on flags, included the Union Jack, and the crescent moon and stars also used by Te Kooti and the King Movement at Gate Pa. Written texts from the Bible were inscribed inside the council





*Hiona, Rua's meeting hall and council house at Maungapohatu, 1908 (Geo Bourne photograph, Auckland Institute and Museum C6221)*

house, recounting narratives of David and Goliath and Egyptian bondage. The interior was also painted with rafter and Taniko panels presenting narratives in a pre-European style.

Hiruharama Hou (New Jerusalem) was Rua's residence at Maungapohatu, built to follow the description of Solomon's house. The two gables represented Nga Tuhoe and Ngati Whakatohea<sup>17</sup>.

A sacred section of the settlement called Wahi Tapu enclosed both of these buildings, plus a bank, shop, and sleeping houses, while the kitchens (food being a profane element in Maori culture) and other houses stood outside this area. Entrance to the settlement was through a gateway marked 'Mihaia' (Messiah). Influenced by the imagery of Te Kooti's Rongopai meeting-house<sup>18</sup>, the gateway depicted two stars: Hare Kometi (Halley's Comet), symbolising Christ's return, and Kopu (Venus), representing Rua's leadership as foretold in Te Kooti's 'Star in the East' prophecy. Rua's followers believed that both Christ and their leader were the sons of God.

Rua maintained that Maungapohatu would be rebuilt by each generation, like Parihaka, to renew the Covenant with God. In 1916 the Government reacted to Rua's mission by imprisoning him, and after his release in 1918 Hiona was demolished and the material reused elsewhere, while the prophet lived apart from his people to test their strength.



## Ratana

Te Kooti made several predictions about the future leadership of the Morehu. At Matamata in 1880 he declared:

“there will come a time when a particular man will stand upon this plain and erect upon it his standard. In him will be the salvation of the Maori people”<sup>19</sup>.

Te Kooti prophesied the rising of western and eastern stars; the western would receive his power and vision and set upright the capsized canoe of Maori, the eastern would be a leader of Ngati Porou.

In 1912 at Parewhanui, twenty-six years after Te Kooti’s prophecy, Mere Rikiriki, a Maori evangelist and leader of the Holy Ghost Mission spoke of:

“a time... when the child or chosen man will take action directly and strongly and with a great mission without favouritism, he will be more than a man in his attributes”<sup>20</sup>.

Mere Rikiriki had lived at Parihaka and her followers believed she had inherited the prophetic agency of Te Whiti and Tohu. An Anglican, she taught against the influence of Maori spirituality and in 1912 she opened the Raetihi Marae and an auxiliary Christian church for the Ngati Uenuku on a site where tohungaism was said to have been preached. When Mere’s nephew Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana brought his new-born twin sons to her for blessing she refused to touch them, explaining that they emanated a strong spiritual power. She named Ratana’s two sons Arepa (Alpha) and Omeka (Omega). While camping with Arepa and Omeka on Whangaehu Beach in 1918, Ratana witnessed the stranding of two whales; one was killed instantly, the other writhed for some time before it bled to death. For Ratana the image of the distressed whale foretold a personal conflict that would become apparent in the future. Suffering from influenza during an epidemic that same year, he underwent a time of spiritual testing, whakamatautauranga, culminating in the famous vision of a cloud ap-

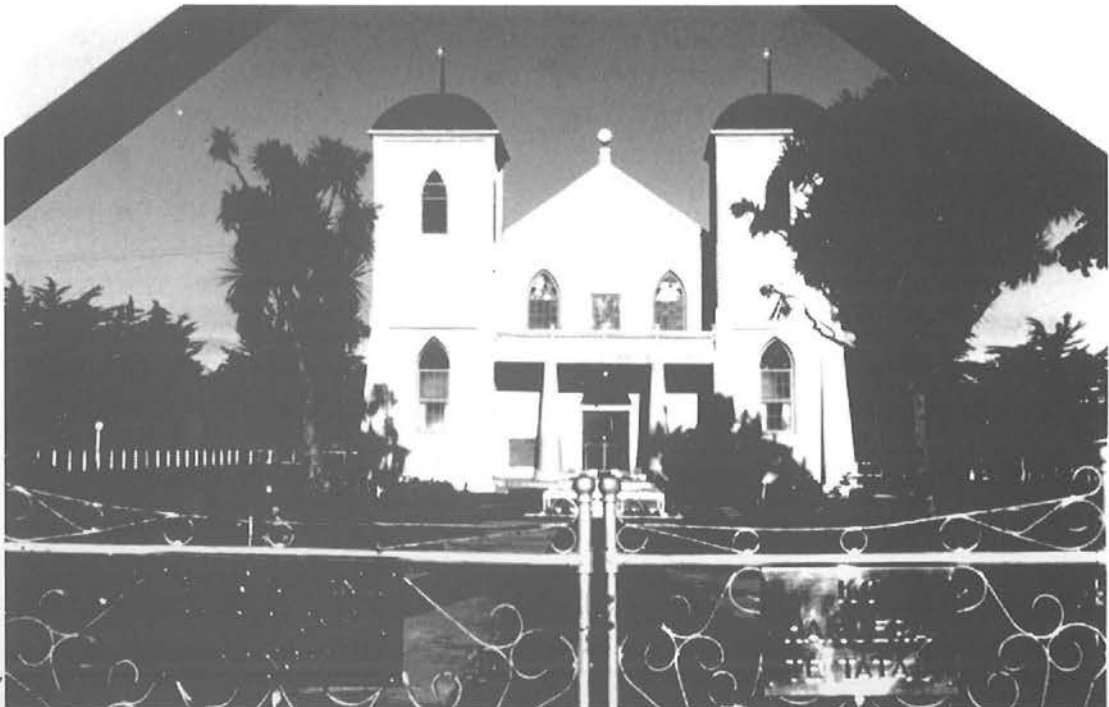
pearing from under a blue sky, out of a shining sea, and a voice calling itself the Holy Ghost speaking to him in Maori:

“... I have come to Aotearoa, to you the Maori people. Repent; cleanse yourselves and your families, heal them of their infirmities, Ratana, I will call you Mangai (Mouthpiece), and those who follow you will be called Morehu.”<sup>21</sup>

With personal funds Ratana built on his land a small, nondenominational church called Piki te Ora (Seek the Light), which was opened on Christmas Day 1920, a small, single gabled building with an entrance porch at the front, a small bell tower above and a lean-to porch at the back.

### The Ratana Church

One thousand people from Te Kumi, near Te Kuiti, travelled to Ratana to experience his faith-healing. Impressed by his beliefs they erected the first Ratana Church in their own



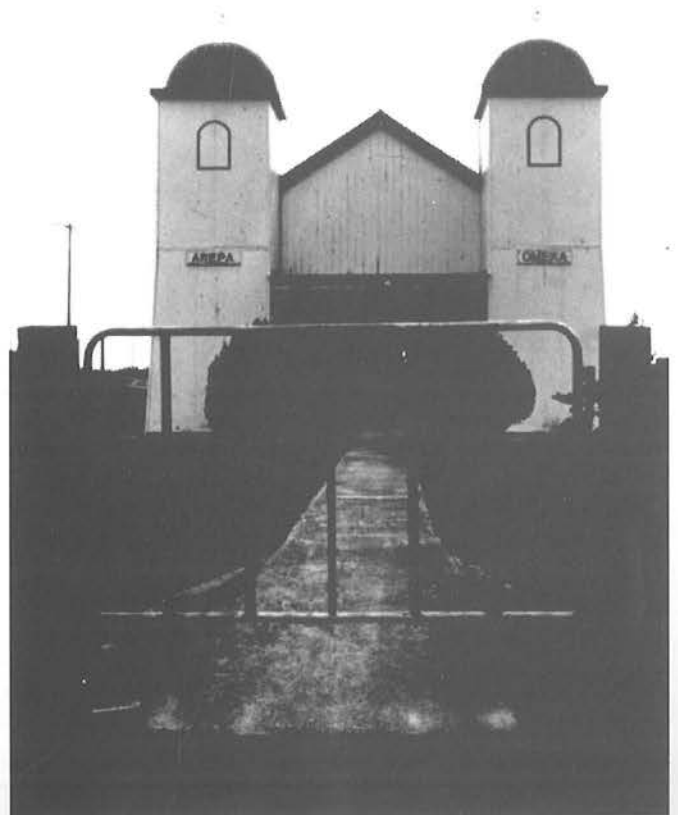
Temepara,  
Ratana

district using Piki te Ora as a model<sup>22</sup>. By 1921 Ratana could draw on 19,000 followers among the Morehu, and a small eponymous township had grown up on the land around his farm-house.

Faith-healing was performed at Ratana in the Whare Maori, a small meeting house which became a repository for the crutches, spectacles, medicine bottles, walking sticks, wheel-chairs and other articles from successful faith-healing sessions. It also held what Ratana described as objects of superstition: portraits, photographs, clothing, sticks, tiki, and ornaments. This latter reasoning formed the basis behind the inclusion of tapu carvings on this building; consumed by Ratana's mana they could do no harm<sup>23</sup>.

In Te Kao followers of Ratana were shut out of their Anglican church and forced to worship in the meeting house of a converted family. The frustration of this split manifested itself when the meeting house was literally chopped in half to symbolise the 'division between the black and white sheep.' Ratana followers in other districts appropriated the local mainstream church buildings that lay on their tribal land, at Raetihi for example.

Ratana began investigating Morehu land claims. Increasingly his new role was as a political leader, symbolised in illustration by his descent from an aeroplane in the



*Ratana church at Te Kao*



spiritual domain to an automobile in the human domain. Repeating a prophecy made by Taoni before his birth he said:

“In one of my hands is the Bible, in the other is the Treaty of Waitangi. If the spiritual side is attended to, all will be well on the physical side.”<sup>24</sup>

The Morehu in general do not acknowledge a difference between the ‘ture tangata’ and ‘ture wairua’, the secular and spiritual causes<sup>25</sup>. In 1924 Ratana set out ‘to take the Treaty of Waitangi to its home,’<sup>26</sup> travelling to England via South Africa and Japan. A petition to the King signed by 30,000 Maori demanded the recognition of the Treaty as a constitutional document.

On his return Ratana embarked on the construction of a temple, based it is said on an idea he brought back from Japan (perhaps from the Christian churches in Nagasaki). Clifton Hood, a Wanganui architect, was commissioned by the church to produce sketch plans for the project. These were returned (without payment) with the message that the temple would be built “with Maori plans and Maori labour”<sup>27</sup>; Hood responded by taking legal action and successfully alleged that parts of the plans were copied and used in the final design. On January 25th, 1928, Ratana’s birthday, the Temepara was opened. Standing on the platform over the front doors, he announced that his spiritual work was now completed and he would concentrate henceforth on material work:

“The spirit of the Mangai is all about you. The Temple is your Mangai and your teacher. Learn from it.”<sup>28</sup>

Shortly after, Arepa, the metaphorical still beached whale of the spiritual mission, contracted a lingering terminal illness and died at 12.00 p.m. December 31st, 1930. The speaker’s platform was only ever used on this occasion. It is accessed through the towers, not through the door behind which opens into space. This door may be an indication that a mezzanine was intended. But a mezzanine would have disturbed the symbolic spiritual hierarchy of the

main body of the church. The church accommodates 1000 Morehu. Apostles face the Awhina and Morehu from the tiered seating to the left of the pulpit. On the right side the Ratana brass band face the choir in the front pews. Above sit the Ratana politicians and at the top of the dais sit Ratana's family and the President of the church, silhouetted by a single rear window. From here the spiritual whakapapa continues upwards and around the walls in a painted chain of Whetu Marama symbols labelled 'Mangai' (gold), 'Faithful Angels' (purple), 'Holy Ghost' (red), 'Son' (white) and 'Father' (blue). Small pot plants and a timber dado running around the walls of the church represent the garden on earth, while large pot plants above them on the white walls represent the garden in heaven. The metaphorical paradise garden within the temple is in symbolic contrast with the state of the land without. A barrel vaulted ceiling is believed by some to represent the vault of heaven, and by others the body of a ship, canoe or ark. The symmetrical arrangement of the Temepara indicates the adoption of a Christian convention, challenging the subtle asymmetry of the meeting house and its distinction between groups. Above the main door the painted chains meet in a pattern of concentric circles which is said to be the Eye of God. All the windows bear a stained glass Whetu Marama. There are four side doors, two of which are used by sections of the congregation during services. A gateway in front of the church (similar in shape to the front of a meeting house) marks the change from the earthly domain to the sacred precinct of the Temepara. Some of the older Morehu leave material belongings such as watches and handbags at the gate before they enter the church, to emphasise this difference.

The lore of the Ratana Church is known as Maramatanga. Ratana rejected the cross<sup>29</sup>, as did most other prophetic movements. He experimented with several other emblems (rosette, club/clover) before adopting the Whetu Marama. The



*Interior of Te Kao church*

Whetu Marama (star moon), is a crescent moon and a five-pointed star, each point a different colour, representing the quinity of Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Faithful Angels and the Mangai himself. The inspiration according to some followers was a star/moon conjunction which was seen on the voyage to England<sup>30</sup>. The star can also refer to Te Kooti's prophecy of the metaphorical 'star in the west'. The waxing moon and star together connote a beacon, a new era heralded, heavenly light out of darkness.

Branch churches have been built at Ahipara, Te Kao, Te Hapua, and Mangamuka in Northland. At Raetihi two bell towers were added to the church to achieve a likeness to the main temple. The Ratana church at Te Kumi burned down in 1949 and the Morehu adapted Te Piringa, a meeting house originally built in 1880, at Te Kanawa Pa. To create a resemblance to the Temepara, smaller gable structures were added to each side of the meeting-house, rather than towers. The house is no longer used today. It has been left to decay with dignity.

Omeka Pa was built as a secular centre for the political movement and for land agitation<sup>31</sup> fulfilling Te Kooti's prophecy that his successor would erect his standard on the Matamata plains. A second centre for the material works was the Manuao, built in the by now large township of Ratana in 1938. An inspiration for the Manuao (Man-o-war) may have come from Ratana's wife Te Whaea who dreamed of a great flood:

"A ship (the Church) came to save the Morehu whose faith was strong whilst the unfaithful (who were weak) were drowned.

The ship's guns (the Four Quarters) were firing and the shells represented the ideas of the people concerning the Treaty of Waitangi."<sup>32</sup>



Ratana drew the plan for the Manuao in the dust of the township, and it was copied by the builders. It contains four halls: 'Rangimarie' (peace), 'Whare Marama' (the house of light), 'Piki te Kaha' (seek truth/faith), and 'Ki Kopu' (fill the stomach). Arranged around the

complex are the kitchens, Church office ('Te Aroha'), Ratana police office and newspaper office ('Whetu Marama'). The exterior facade features electrically illuminated portraits of Ratana, his wife Te Whaea, Arepa and Omeka, and the names of the Trinity, Faithful Angels and Mangai. Along the front of the building stand models of seven migratory canoes, and Tasman's *Heemskerck* and Cook's *Endeavour*. These acknowledge the 'setting upright of the canoe' in Te Kooti's prophecy quoted above, and the equal standing of all tribes of the land coming together at Ratana.

### Buildings of the Morehu

Ratana died in 1939—his mission spanned what Pakeha called the peace between two World Wars, the Modern period:

"... all Gods dead, all Wars fought and all faith in men shaken."<sup>33</sup>

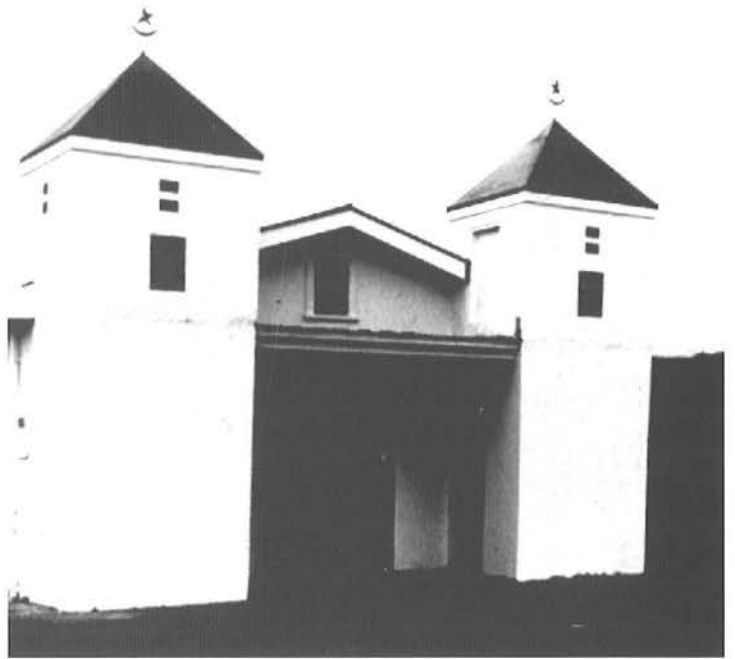
While it might appear that Ratana rejected Maori forms and motifs in his programme of



Manuao, Ratana



building, in no way was his architectural statement a surrender to Pakeha culture or a rejection of things Maori. On the contrary, Morehu took on Pakeha establishments and institutions on their own terms, like a counter-colonisation of New Zealand. Ratana called at an early stage for the restoration of Maori lands, rights and mana. By 1935 there were two Ratana Members of Parliament. The four Ratana MPs provided the Labour governments with their majorities in the parliaments of the 1940s and 1950s. There can be no doubt that the political tenor of these movements contributed in part to marginalise their architecture in terms of mainstream architectural history. The apparently more progressive Young Maori Movement of Buck, Pomare and Ngata with its emphasis on assimilation with Pakeha culture in the modern world while preserving 'traditional' arts and values on the marae, features more prominently in 'the New Zealand story.'



But Morehu buildings cannot be detached from their motivating ideology - they are the powerful projection of identity and image. The 'profound' quality of their message requires a different way of reading compared to Pakeha buildings. Some examples: many architects still believe that architecture in New Zealand is a response to the land, that climate and materials are the prime determinants of architecture. Morehu architecture does not partake of this romantic-expressive tradition.

*Ratana church at Ahipara*

Neither does it aspire to ideals of timelessness. There is a 'flatness' to Ratana branch churches that some Pakeha may read as a thin mimicry or poor copying of the Temepara at Ratana. But their economy of material and sometimes crude construction also indicates these buildings are built for now, not for a hundred years, to be altered and rebuilt by each generation (the act of building itself signifies differently as a result.) This flatness actually indicates a simplification and concentration of intention. Image takes precedence over form, and the architecture is more signal than sculptural. The bell towers at Te Kao for example are abstracted to the point where a single finger of paint traces out the arc of windows. The Manuao and Omeka present facades of signs with no hint of the hall shape behind, similar to Victorian shop-front architecture, as the meeting house also emphasises frontality and volume rather than overall form. The churches and meeting houses give a vivid sense that God (and his prophets) are present among his people; his hand, his signs visible, vibrant



*Omeka Pa, standing upon the Plains of Matamata*

through the land.

To pakeha eyes the buildings of the Morehu can sometimes seem like strange visitations on the land, from out of the blue: commanding, proprietary, iconic, bold, awkward, engaging and charged. They seem to hold no intimate relation with the land (contradicting the usual Pakeha ascription to things Maori) but like Pakeha buildings compete to command the landscape, to voice a challenge, to stake a claim. Morehu selectively rejected Maori forms and appropriated Pakeha imagery, but even the symbols of Christianity were found tired and inappropriate. Ratana had to invent a new iconography to represent new spiritual and political concepts and a set of symbols and images to convey his vision (this had practical application in the 'pictorial histories'—a series of large illustrations communicating the history, events, signs, stories, myths, visions and beliefs of Ratana used for the instruction of semi-literate followers and children). Ratana's church differs, for instance, from other Christian churches in its addition of the Angels and Ratana himself (the Mangai or mouthpiece of God) to the Trinity. This obviously requires a change in liturgical symbol and imagery, but one can also see Ratana trying to make his movement's images more vivid and illuminating to regain direct impact, to avoid obscurity and to make his church relevant, set in the here and now.

## Now

In this country the buildings of the Morehu do not represent traditional signifiers of Maori occupation but as Prescilla Pitts<sup>34</sup> writes of the continuing contest over the land, do 'reoccupy and redefine the locale, writing the landscape once again in and on Maori terms.' It is not just in Pakeha culture that generations work to define themselves, to absorb lessons and struggle to find a place in the world. Because the world is always turning, the land shifting and slipping, but building continues ... In the growth of this country the architecture described here is inevitable. It is time for architects to acknowledge this. Time to look, time to

listen. Time to learn a second language.

Te Ao Hou  
te ao huri ai ki tona tauranga:  
te ao rapu;  
ko te huripoki e huri nei  
i runga i te taumata o te kaha.

The New World  
is a world revolving:  
a world that moves forward  
to the place it comes from;  
a wheel that turns  
on an axle of strength<sup>35</sup>.

**Notes:**

- 1 Maka Jones, quoted in Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplain, *Nga Morehu, The Survivors*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, (1986).
- 2 Peter Shaw's *New Zealand Architecture from Polynesian Beginnings to 1990* (Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1991), is the first to include these buildings.
- 3 Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven* (Tauranga, Moana Press, 1989), p. 210. Translation of Waerenga A Kakara more commonly called Te Miringa Te Kakara, a cruciform building in the King Country over 100 years old, with many stories attached to it. This building was deliberately destroyed by its caretakers in 1983 after talk of restoration, but survives in one way as the inspiration for John Scott's Futuna Chapel, Wellington, 1960 (Personal correspondence with McKay, 1990).

- 4 Michael Linzey, 'Te Kooti—Architect', *Architecture New Zealand*, September/October 1989, p. 90.
- 5 Odd, as the Ratana Temepara was found in a 1927 court case to be partly the work of Pakeha architect Clifton Hood.
- 6 Francis Pound, *Frames on the Land* (Auckland, Collins, 1984), p. 44.
- 7 S. Hurst Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand', *RIBA Journal* Vol VII, No 19-21, September 1900, p. 481.
- 8 Judith Binney, 'Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts' in *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 21. No.1, 1987, p. 16.
- 9 Christopher Tilley, 'Interpreting Material Culture', in I. Hodder (Ed.), *The Meaning of Things*, (London, Unwyn Hyman, 1989), p. 192.
- 10 Jeffrey Sissons, *Te Waimana - The Spring of Mana*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, (1991), p. 21.
- 11 Binney, 1987, p. 23.
- 12 Judith Binney, 'Ancestral Voices - Maori Prophet Leaders', in Keith Sinclair (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 159.
- 13 Eric Schwimmer, *The World of the Maori* (Wellington, Reed, 1966), p. 118.
- 14 Schwimmer, p. 119-120.
- 15 Binney, 1990, p. 169.
- 16 Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin and Craig Wallace, *Mihaia—The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu* (Wellington, Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 46-49.
- 17 Sissons, p. 200.
- 18 Alan Taylor, *Maori Folk Art* (Auckland, Century Hutchinson, 1988), p. 32.
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