





COMMON GROUND

A CREATIVE EXPLORATION OF NARRATIVES
OF CONNECTION BETWEEN PEOPLE AND LAND IN
SCOTLAND AND AOTEAROA / NEW ZEALAND

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Shirley-
Anne Hardy, author and activist, from
Pitlochry, Perthshire, Scotland for the
knowledge, wisdom and good grace that
she devotes to the benefit of others.

1 Broughman, Reed & Kāretu (1987, p. 56) record the lamenting request being made by a Māori chief taken in battle, removed from his land and condemned to slavery.

2 J. Hunter, personal communication, June 3, 2014.

TUKUA MAI HE KAPUNGA ONEONE KI A AU HAI TANGI

(Send me a handful of soil that I may weep over it).¹

CUIR DO MHUINGHINN ANNS AN TALAMH.
CHA DH' FHAG E FALAMH RIAMH THU

(Put your trust in the earth. It never left you empty).²

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO
AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT

This creative thesis considers peoples' stories. It reflects upon the lived experiences of certain New Zealand Māori and Scottish Highlanders and interprets their unique relationships with land. Conceptually, the thesis considers landscape as a palimpsest, or a site that contains layered evidence of human histories (Bender, 1998). In the project I search for traces of the past to 'see' the present more deeply. McIlwraith states, "The cultural landscape... is the product of innumerable, often anonymous stage hands, toiling over... centuries and creating the sets for a slow, powerful drama... Despite its apparent openness, however, the land only reluctantly answers our questions" (1997, pp. 1-5). Using interviews I recorded in New Zealand and Scotland, I interpret stories as short filmic portraits that seek to communicate the concept of layers of connection. I research the potential of this by building panoramic video strata, explore the use of sound, modes of projection and the creative potentials of the newly developed PanOptica software.

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May I also acknowledge those who have hitherto championed the indigenous voice, creating a place in the academy for diverse human stories to be heard, valued and woven into our understanding of human ecology.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge our Mother Earth who gives tirelessly and endlessly to us, her children.

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly indicated), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

MAIRI GUNN _____

10th February 2015

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY DECLARATION

I retain copyright over all works generated by me as the artist. All other works are used with permission of the respective contributors or removed from this edition of the exegesis.

Figure 8: Errol Morris demonstrating the Interrotron.

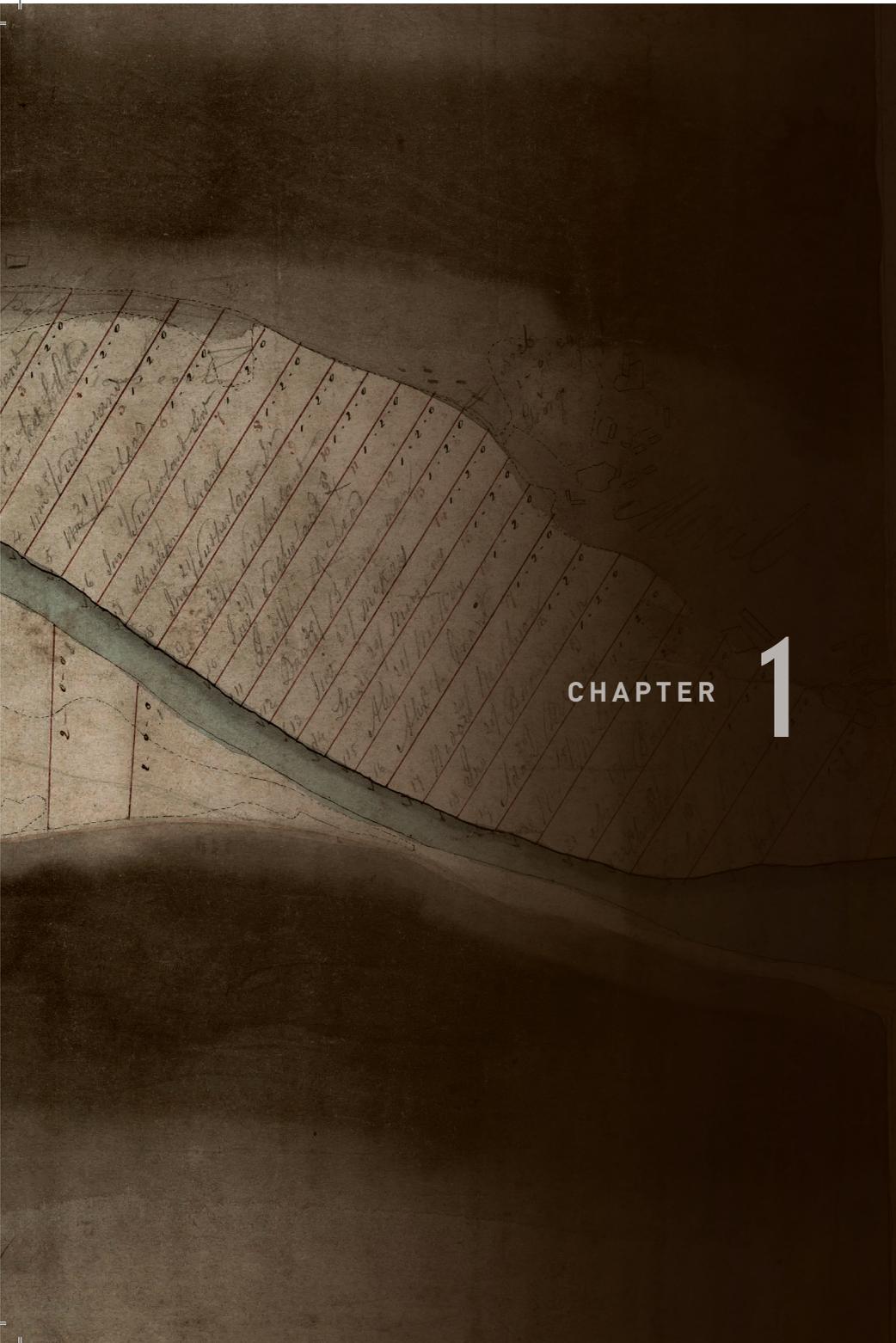
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ETHICS APPROVAL AND CONSENTS

This research received approval from the AUT University Ethics Committee (AUTEK) on the 7th of August 2013, for a period of three years until the 5th of August 2016.

Ethics Approval Number: 13/138

All research was conducted in keeping with the regulations and guidelines of the approval.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
& OVERVIEW

3 In Art and Design research the terms practice-led and practice-based research signify slightly different emphases. Candy (n.d.) says that “practice based research is an original investigation undertaken in order to gain new knowledge partly by means of practice and the outcomes of that practice, whereas practice-led research is concerned with the nature of practice and leads to new knowledge that has operational significance for that practice” (para. 1-2). Because the research in this thesis involves a process of interviewing, recording, and creative synthesis, where the final outcome is unknown and shaped by the development of the research, rather than an application of practice and its outcomes to ‘acquire’ knowledge, I defined it as ‘practice-led’.

4 George Gunn: Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland; Sandra Train: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland; Neil MacLeod: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland; Reva Mendes: Rawene, South Hokianga, Te Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa / New Zealand; Irihapeti Morgan: Utakura Valley, Te Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa / New Zealand; Nopera Pikari: Rawene, South Hokianga, Te Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa / New Zealand.

5 I use the Māori term *tāngata whenua* to describe both groups of people. William Williams defines *tāngata whenua* as “people belonging to any particular place, natives”. He defines *whenua* as meaning both ‘ground’ and ‘placenta’ (1971, p. 494). In Gaelic thought, the land is regarded as *Muime*, a nursemaid (Newton, 2009, p. 293).

1

INTRODUCTION & OVERVIEW

I:I Practice-led inquiry

This practice-led,³ subjective inquiry considers stories of connection between people and land. In so doing, it draws upon two physical locations, the Highlands of Scotland and Aotearoa / New Zealand. The research involves six participants⁴, whose stories of connection are recorded and synthesised with filmic studies of the land they occupy. In this thesis I frame both groups of people as *tāngata whenua*.⁵ In the project they offer narrations drawn from lived experience, genealogical histories and a relationship to place.

With my camera, I have approached both the landscape and stories as a palimpsest. Although, the term is most commonly associated with layered script on ancient parchment manuscripts whose surfaces are then scratched back to reveal the text more clearly, I employ the word as a conceptual frame for understanding and expressing erasure and reclamation of identity. By this I mean, I consider the way connections between people and land may be eroded by time yet maintained through narrative and a sense of generational belonging. In this idea I allude to the thinking of Pasifika scholars like Hūfanga 'Okustino Māhina who suggests that time may be understood as an "arrangement of the past, present and future. Herein, people are thought to walk forward into the past and walk backward into the future, both taking place in the present, where the past and future are constantly mediated in the ever-transforming present" (Māhina, 2010, p. 170).

Thus, in my work, I conceive the past, present and future occurring simultaneously on filmic palimpsestic parchments, the PanOptica landscapes, of recollection and erasure. The land and stories hold

6 Also called an instantaneous field of vision (IFOV) the term describes the extent of the observable world that is seen by a human being at any given moment. In traditional photography, the field of view is that part of the world that is visible through the camera at a particular position and orientation in space. This is shorter than the 180-degree range normally associated with human vision. Objects outside the FOV when a camera image is captured are not recorded.

7 Soft Optics [UK] are developing new software to process video footage, including standard tripod-based and hand held pans, into high definition panoramic moving images. This thesis is one of the first practical applications of the emerging technology. Two conventional approaches to creating a panoramic image are to crop a single frame or to align a series of individual shots that are then stitched together. However, PanOptica software reads each individual frame in a panning shot and digitally reassembles them, analyzing and correcting camera distortions and building a single seamless moving image that retains the original resolution.

references to what has existed while synchronously describing current experience. In this dynamic we are exposed to a unique reconsideration of time and space expressed through filmic and spatial relationships.

In the work, filmed interviews are projected onto screens so the viewer experiences an encounter with the storytellers in life-size dimensions. Behind these images, the land these people discuss unfurls as filmic parchments, the horizontal PanOptica landscapes that are dimensionally related to the normal 'field of view.'⁶ Using the newly developed PanOptica software,⁷ these projections form immersive contexts for the individual narratives. In their relationality they suggest a visceral connection between the storytellers, their place, and the viewer.

I:2 Structure

This exegesis is designed to contextualise the project. It contains five chapters and an appendix.

Chapter one provides an introduction to the thesis. This is followed by chapter two that positions the researcher by placing the present inquiry in the context of her previous work. This chapter also positions the research in relation to existing creative work in the field.

Chapter three offers a review of knowledge impacting on the inquiry, then chapter four describes and unpacks the research design employed in the explication of the project. The final chapter maps a critical discussion of ideas explored in the project onto a commentary on the work itself. In this regard the chapter draws into concord theory and practice.

Finally, the thesis' appendix contains a glossary of significant terms, some early experiments and transcripts of interviews used in the creative component of the research.



A photograph of a row of trees in a field under a cloudy sky. The trees are dark and silhouetted against a lighter, overcast sky. The foreground is a green field.

CHAPTER **2**

POSITIONING THE
RESEARCHER & THE RESEARCH

8 The rhythmical rubbing of a bolt of cloth on a table surrounded by a circle of seated, singing women. The cloth has been urinated on to fix the lichen dyes. The practice died out in the 1950s.

2

POSITIONING THE RESEARCHER & THE RESEARCH



FIGURE 1

My Mother and me with Box Brownie Ruapehu (1967).

PROPERTY OF THE AUTHOR.

2:1 Positioning the researcher

HERITAGE

In our family album, there is a photograph of my Mother and me walking through the New Zealand bush when I was about ten years old. I have a Box Brownie camera in my hand (Figure1). There are also several square photographs I took with an Instamatic when I made my first visit to Scotland with my parents in 1970. Here, my Mother stood on the doorstep of a farmhouse once belonging to her Mother's ancestors. The house and the people were long gone. Only the stone step remained.

I am a Pākehā New Zealander with Scottish ancestry on both sides. My Father was born in Scotland and immigrated to New Zealand with his Mother in 1939 just before World War II. My maternal Grandmother sailed to New Zealand in 1884 with her Father. She later married a man who was descended from those Otago settlers who emigrated from Scotland through the New Zealand Company in 1842. In New Zealand, they were sheep farmers and vegetable gardeners.

In 1979 I moved to London to photograph the Punk scene with my 35mm SLR Olympus OM 1. From there, in 1981, I returned to Scotland where I photographed my relatives standing in front of their solid homes. I visited Methil, Fife, the small mining town where my father was born and is now buried, and Dundee, the city where he studied to become a pharmacist. Then, in 1982, in the London squat where I was living, a friend played me an ethnographic recording of old women singing waulking⁸ songs in Scots Gaelic. I'd never heard such a sound.

WOMAN WITH A MOVIE CAMERA

After working in the cutting room in Covent Garden and Soho, I shot a number of Super 8 shorts then returned to New Zealand where I moved into the camera department of the film and television industry. Here I honed my craft on drama, television commercials, music videos and documentaries. In the mainstream, I did a ten-year apprenticeship to finally, in 1995, assume the role of cinematographer. However, in parallel to this, I shot a number of independent, low budget projects, including scenes for *The Shooting of Dominick Kaiwhata* (1993).⁹ This experience built upon an early introduction to Māori and their relationships with land when in 1978, I was a photojournalist for the University of Auckland weekly student newspaper *Craccum*. During this time I covered the evictions at Bastion Point [Takaparawhau] (Figure 2). The sense of injustice and grief I experienced behind the camera was to have a profound effect on the trajectory my involvement with filmmaking would take.

In 2005, this focus was deepened when I co-produced and shot the award-winning documentary *Restoring the Mauri of Lake Omapere*,¹⁰ a feature-length work commissioned by Māori Television. In this project I filmed stories told by people whose connection with their homeland in the far north of New Zealand went back hundreds of years. These people taught me about working from the ground up, about speaking from a connection to place and about working at a human pace, rather than being dictated to by the economic imperatives of equipment hire.

As a consequence of this life-changing experience, I initiated the *Slow Film Movement*.¹¹

⁹ During this project, the Māori activist and film director, Merata Mita, took me into the Ureweras, to Maungapōhātu. In so doing, she gave me the confidence to accept subsequent invitations to step into Te Ao Māori.

¹⁰ See <http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/restoring-the-mauri-of-lake-omapere-2007>

¹¹ This is an informal group of professional filmmakers who share a desire to make work using a process that sits more comfortably with everyday life, where the work / life balance is achievable. More information can be accessed at: https://www.facebook.com/pages/Slow-Film-Movement/296725017038947?ref_type=bookmark



FIGURE 3

Still of kaumatua leaving Bastion Point during the evictions. (1978). PHOTOGRAPH BY THE ARTIST.

Working so closely with Māori showed me that there was an alternative worldview. With an altered mindset, I returned to academic study to research indigeneity in tandem with a reconsideration of my own genealogy.

On my return to NZ in 1983, I became absorbed in my film work and domestic duties. Family research sat in files and old leather suitcases. It wasn't until I returned to university in 2008 to complete an honours degree in Art & Design at AUT University, that I could give this family history some attention. Even so, there were seemingly impenetrable voids. While engaged in my honours degree project, I discovered that my own people (the Gunns) were a Highland clan whose culture and language had been suppressed leading up to and during the ancestral land clearances of the late 18th and early 19th century. While researching these events, I encountered texts disparaging the Gaels that echoed the disdain with which Māori have sometimes been described. I sensed a resonance between two worlds.

The resulting short film *Glory Box* was a lyrical consideration of cultural amnesia and encounter between people of different skin colour. Illustrated through a reflection on jewelry, horn spoons, embroidered samplers and an ancestor's pocketknife, I used the narrative metaphor of a journey to connect with the makers and users of these traditional objects and then, with *tāngata whenua* (Figure 3).

In order to deepen this research, I travelled to Scotland in 2012 where I visited the empty glens once populated by my forebears (figure 4). I wondered how, with the people evicted, I might consider what such disconnection means? I hoped to understand the reason for the years my Great, Great Grandfather spent making shirts in the St Cuthbert's



FIGURE 3

Frame grabs from *Glory Box* (2008).

PROPERTY OF THE ARTIST.

Poorhouse in Edinburgh. I took my father's ashes with me to Scotland to be interred with the remains his father, retaining a small parcel that I took to the Highlands, then to Kildonan kirkyard where the minister blessed our informal ritual of tossing the ashes to the wind. I hoped it would serve as a symbolic reseeded of the empty glens with people.

Revitalisation of the Gaelic culture is a major focus in contemporary Scotland. Older women learn the language that they can then sing as they demonstrate waulking for people who visit Highland Folk Museums. While I was in Scotland one of the women told me of her studies at the University of the Highlands and Islands where they read literature from Aotearoa/New Zealand on colonisation.

I sensed a connection.

With a digital SLR, I filmed the ladies' hands working the cloth and recorded their singing ... and they invited me to join the circle.

¹² Rāhiri, 2010, para. 29 (cited in Huygens, Murphy & Healy, 2012, p. 50).

IMPACT

The sadness I felt about the expropriation of Māori homeland was coupled with my newfound knowledge about the experiences of my own forbears. I sought to understand the root causes of such tragedies. In terms of my own people, I was already aware, that the British government, after signing the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People in 2007, had announced that there were no indigenous people in the United Kingdom. I realised that the Highland Clearances had in fact been a parallel activity to the colonisation the British were implementing throughout the globe. I began to sense that there might be common ground between peoples who had suffered forced eviction from land that had been in their families for hundreds of years. In this regard I was reminded of Rāhiri's observation that:

We have much to offer and learn from one another ... They had knowledge our tūpuna wanted, and we had much to share to make that happen. The hope was that the philosophy of "awhi mai, awhi atu" would continue to bear fruit for generations to come.¹²

¹² Szlachcic is a graphic designer and electronic music producer also known as Odaibe. The film can be viewed at: <http://vimeo.com/26470246>.

2:2 Positioning the research in relation to current practice

Common Ground may be located in the context of a number of contemporary filmic works. These texts are significant because of their thematic concerns with palimpsest, their technical or stylistic approach, or the manner in which they are exhibited.

PALIMPSEST IN SHORT FILM

The palimpsestic has featured in three recent short films either as a direct theme or in distinctive approaches to layering information. *Memory Palimpsest* | *Palimpsest Panięci* (2011) by Bartek Szlachcic¹³ uses Japanese, Polish and German texts, that discuss palimpsest in a wideframe aspect ratio (Figure 5). The work opens as a delicate typographical interfacing of written languages, then moves into reflections upon the built and natural environment. Significantly, it is formatted as a panoramic text that echoes Phil Dadson's 3 in 1 approach to narrative.

Memory Palimpsest involved cropping a Canon 7D captured frame that was later heavily post-produced and tiered. Sometimes Szlachcic's layers are composited in After Effects and sometimes he has filmed mist as it passes across the landscape. He used peeling paint and post-production visual effects to signify the passing of time. The present/past relationship and what is lost or retained are central to how he discusses the concept of palimpsest.

By extension the stop-frame animated drawings of William Kentridge are 'physically' palimpsests (Figure 6). By this I mean Kentridge uses



FIGURE 4

Strath of Kildonan, Sutherland,
former home of Clan Gunn (2012).

PHOTOGRAPH BY ARTIST.

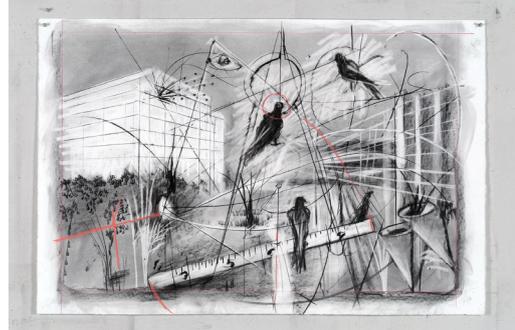


FIGURE 6

William Kentridge, frame grab
from *On Johannesburg* (2010).
Here we see Kentridge's
distinctive use of erasure and
pencil drawing that works
cumulatively to discuss
tensions inherent in South
African apartheid.

*(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION
OF THE ARTIST).*

FIGURE 5

Bartek Szlachcic's frame grab from *Memory Palimpsest* (2011). The widescreen format allows him
to frame cityscapes that he then overlays with text. *(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).*



14 See clip in "William Kentridge: Anything Is Possible" (2010) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DpamsEdCbX8>

15 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VaTnchoukdY>

16 See <http://vimeo.com/25276820>

17 The camera, positioned directly behind the half-mirrored screen is then able to record the direct gaze of the subject.

18 Accessed from <http://see productionservices.com/teleprompters/>. Numerous efforts were made to seek permission for the use of this image. However, no potential source acknowledged the work as theirs.

physical erasure and redrawing on a single surface to create emotive, narrated texts that are often political in nature and suggest accumulation and loss. Indicative of these are, *Johannesburg 2nd Greatest City After Paris* (1989)¹⁴ and *Felix in Exile* (1994)¹⁵. In both works a sense of pathos and temporality are communicated through drawings that concurrently accumulate and erase narrative information.

Finally, Pia Borg, in 2008, directed a distinctive ten-minute film called *Palimpsest*¹⁶ that depicted the protean lives of the interior of a house over three centuries (Figure 7). The work used a highly textured soundscape over a combination of time-lapse, real-time, and stop-frame photography. Borg used projection and a fixed camera to produce a palimpsest of fragmented episodes from the house's occupants' lives. These were produced from reconstituted elements taken from seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings and excerpts from early twentieth century cinema. The film positioned place as central and the people who occupied it as temporal, discordant and enigmatic. Her film discussed palimpsest as a form of domestic erasure where memory was an unstable residue.

TECHNICAL AND STYLISTIC APPROACHES TO IMAGE CAPTURE BY CONTEMPORARY FILMMAKERS

In addition to films about palimpsest my thesis is also contextualized by technical and stylistic approaches to film design.

Errol Morris has developed unique ways of interviewing and depicting people in his films. In much of his work, specifically in his television series *First Person* (2000, 2001), he used a device called the Interrotron, in order to encourage the storytellers to look straight at the lens (thus adopting the position of direct address) (See figure 8). He did this by adapting an auto-cue system where the interviewees were able to address him as an image that appeared on the half-mirrored screen directly in front of them.¹⁷ His technology-heavy work, included impressive cinematic lighting and fast cuts that elevated the vernacular to the cinematic. By this I mean he used lighting setups that resulted in production values more akin to dramatic feature films than standard documentary.

Although stylistically and technologically we work in very different ways, as filmmakers, we are both concerned with translating human stories into projected environments where the quality of the human narrative reaches high levels of clarity and filmic resonance.

Peter Watkins' docudrama *Culloden* (1964) is designed in such a manner that the audience encounters Jacobites and members of the British army as though they have met in the field. Although there is a newsreel-style voiceover, we hear the Gaelic speaking voices of the Highlanders; a device that draws significant attention to the indigeneity of the people depicted. I took this film to Don Selwyn's Māori film school in the late 1980s, and Barry Barclay later referenced it in *Feathers of Peace* (2000).



FIGURE 7
Pia Borg, frame grab
from Palimpsest (2008).
Borg used a built room to
house her layered images,
properties and projections.

*(IMAGE USED BY
PERMISSION OF THE
ARTIST)*



FIGURE 8
Errol Morris
demonstrates the
Interrotron that allows
a camera to film
through an image of the
interviewer.¹⁸



FIGURE 9
Wim Wenders. 'Meteorite
Crater, West Australia', 1988
© Wim Wenders, Berlin

*(IMAGE USED BY
PERMISSION OF THE
ARTIST)*

In terms of screen proportion, director Godfrey Reggio and cinematographer Ron Fricke's work, *Koyaanisqatsi: Life Out of Balance* (1982) used 35mm landscapes, time-lapse photography and music to communicate the contrast between modern man's technology-based society and the wild world. The 1:1.85 aspect ratio they adopted was wider than the conventional 16:9 (1:1.777), video format, but it nevertheless appears very narrow. My final landscapes will be projected, with an aspect ratio of 47:9 (5760 x 1080 pixels), which is three times as wide as the conventional framing and proportionately a development of the work they produced. This takes *Common Ground* out of the television or cinema screen realities of *First Person* and *Koyaanisqatsi* and into a gallery environment where I can structure an installation using substantially more expansive parameters.

Another filmmaker working with screen proportion is Wim Wenders, who has a parallel interest in still photography. Wenders often photographs landscapes that are devoid of people (Figure 9). He says, 'For me, it's a matter of seeing these places and trying to read their story ... You have this one moment and it tells you something about the past – very often a lot about the past, the people who passed through, who lived there, who dreamed there.' (Brown, 2011, para. 9). Indicative of this treatment of land and absence was an exhibition of panoramic still photographs he brought to the City Gallery in Wellington in 2004. His photographs in *Pictures from the Surface of the Earth*, speak with almost sublime reverence about place and traces of humanity that have either shaped them or passed across their surface. In these works land carries many stories but it is simultaneously enigmatic and weighted with the unknown.

Wenders' movies, like *Wings of Desire* (1987), use sweeping panning shots to allude to the expansiveness evident in his photography. However, it is his panoramic stills that are influential to the manner in which I conceive *Common Ground*. However, I am able to use software to reconstitute the kinds of pan he uses in his films, so the sweeps of landscape are able to play out as very expansive studies. It is against these that the interviewee's narratives of identity are positioned.



FIGURE 10

Marian Weger positions a webcam in a plastic bottle housing through which she films a mirrored bulb. The spherical nature of the light bulb produces a 360 degree image that she then unwraps with Extended View software. 2012 (IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).



FIGURE 11

An example of a spherical image captured by Weger, using the apparatus. 2012 (IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).

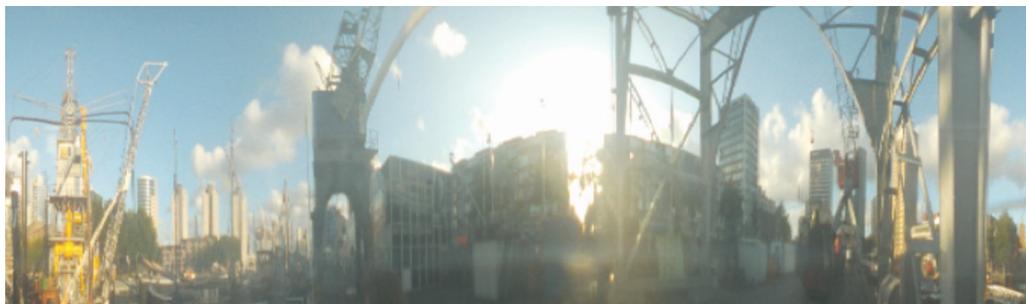


FIGURE 12

Extended View. Software unwraps the spherical image and produces a 360 degree panoramic photograph. 2012 (IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).

STITCHING TOGETHER MULTI-CAMERA IMAGES

Like Wenders, video and audio artist, Marian Weger also builds panoramic images. Having abandoned the use of multi-camera setups because of synchronization and parallax problems, she chose to work with lower resolution studies using an adaptation of the Sony Bloggie and a hand-made rig. This system involved the use of a standard webcam and filming into a mirrored lightbulb (Figures 10 & 11). Weger uses the computer software to unwrap her footage (Figures 12 & 13) in *Extended View* (2012). She uses the images her bespoke apparatus produces as a sub-strata for overlays of additional information, (like her visualisation of satellite activity). These panoramic constructs then become a backdrop for her audio performances.



FIGURE 13

Marian Weger, *Extended View*. A panoramic projection onto a multi-paneled screen of the unwrapped image, 2012

(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).

THE CROPPED FRAME

The ultrawide panoramas Wenders and Weger produce have traditionally been achieved in filmmaking by employing masking techniques. These alter a standard aspect ratio by cropping out material. Unfortunately, this technique results in a substantial loss of resolution due to the diminished frame size. The approach has a significant history in music video dating back to 1981 and Russell Mulcahy's filming of Ultravox's Vienna.¹⁹ A year later the technique was used in the *Koyaanisqatsi: Life Out of Balance* to produce its cropped widescreen format.

Because I aim to project images of the highest possible quality, cropping my digital images has been rejected in favour of the potentials of PanOptica software. By using this, I can achieve a much higher level of image resolution.

¹⁹ Filmed primarily in Covent Garden and the Kilburn Gaumont Theatre, the video alternates between standard ratio televisual frames as cropped footage that was masked (with tape) in camera to suggest the proportions of cinemascope.

20 Video Jockeys. The term is derived from 'disc jockey' and describes artists who experiment with multi-media crowd participation.

21 In recent years, projection has been supplemented with banks of electronic screens and LED video walls where budgets permit. Sporting events and corporate launches provide an opportunity to create spectacular pairings of lighting and moving image on a substantial scale. Indicative of this are the multi-story walls of Time Square and the Aotea Square display for Samsung (Figure 16).

TECHNOLOGICAL APPROACHES
TO WIDESCREEN PRESENTATION

Beyond filming and compositing, a number of significant approaches to projection and display have resulted in highly panoramic moving image installations. One of these is the use of aligned, simultaneous screening. This involves setting up monitors side by side to give the impression of an ultra-wide screen

The technique was used significantly by Phil Dadson in *The fate of things to come – a conversation with stones* (2013) and *Bodytok - the human instrument archive* (2006). For these works he used what he calls the 3 in 1 format, where he screened side by side three cloned and three distinct films that were shot 16:9. This produced an ultrawide video wall united by a shared audio track.

The pairing of multi-screen video with live music performances developed in popular culture in the 1990s at clubs and dance parties when VJs²⁰ mixed real time manipulation of projected video imagery. A significant practitioner in this area is Michael Hodgson of *Dub Module*, who began experimenting with audio as Tinnitus in the late 1980's. He became a VJ in the 1990s and has since been involved with substantial events, some involving the creation of images with aspect ratios as large as 5,000 by 600 pixels (Figures 14 & 15). The significance of his work is that it's scale renegotiates space so that the architectural construct of the wall is dissolved and people experience a form of immersion in a unique and constantly changing space where proportion and relativity are no longer constant.²¹



FIGURE 14

Mike Hodgson's Tiger Beer Banquet, Auckland, February 2006
(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST)



FIGURE 15

Mike Hodgson's Dewar Whiskey Launch Sydney, Australia, May 2008
(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).



FIGURE 16

Samsung smartphone line in
Aotea Square, Auckland, 2012.

(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION OF
THE PHOTOGRAPHER).²²

²² Accessed from [http://oceanialed.co.nz/rent/innovations-and-solutions/Samsung-S4-launch 'The smartphone line'](http://oceanialed.co.nz/rent/innovations-and-solutions/Samsung-S4-launch-The-smartphone-line/).

²³ This exhibition was developed in collaboration with Shaun Harris.

²⁴ See <http://vimeo.com/7154870>

²⁵ Indicative of this is his 2008 documentary work Derek about the filmmaker Derek Jarman.

TREATMENT OF SPACE

As the dimensions of the projected image alters, so too does our concept of space. A New Zealand artist who deals with this interplay between scale and relationship is Alex Monteith. Monteith shoots videos that can be projected on a large scale onto gallery walls. In *Looping Manoeuvre* (2008)²³ she constructed the exhibit's footage using compact cameras that were rigged on a motorbike, filming simultaneously from the front and back of the fast moving vehicle. The work, a two-channel video installation, was non-narrative and looped.²⁴

In her *Need for Speed* exhibition in St Pauls Gallery in 2008, she created a four-channel video *Looping Manoeuvre with Four Motorcyclists for four-channel video installation* (2008), thus extending the idea and moved it onto a grander scale (Figure 17).

Another artist whose work negotiates the internal space of the gallery is Isaac Julien. Julien produces still images, film,²⁵ and moving image installations that use cinematic processes and filmic language. His work considers issues of identity and cultural displacement. In New Zealand in 2009 he shot a series of landscapes, *Te Tonga Tuturu/True South*, that was a counterpart to a previous work *True North* that he completed in 2004. This had used a triple screen projection, positioned side by side in widescreen formation. Although Julien sometimes uses actors in dramatic reconstructions of historic events and depictions of myths, I feel an artistic kinship with him because he also draws his experience of working with film into his installations. The substantial budgets he is able to access give his work high levels of impact and refined production values.

26 The marae is an area of land and a collection of buildings that belong to the hapū, or group of families and people belonging to that geographical area. They use a Wharenuī (meeting house) as a communal place to welcome and accommodate guests, to discuss ideas, to hold communal events such as tangi (funerals) and to sleep side by side.

27 Pōwhiri is a Māori welcome ceremony (Barlow, 1994, p. 99).

28 Whaikōrero is formal speechmaking and oratory, generally by men, who in turn acknowledge the Gods, the deceased, the ancestral house, Mother Earth and the living. (Barlow, pp. 167-8).

29 Wharenuī or Whare Whakairo is the carved ancestral house or (meeting house) which is built to represent the primeval parents, where the earthen floor is the representative of the Earth Mother (Barlow, 1994, p. 179).

30 Tau utuutu is also known as tū mai, tū atu, whakawhiti or tauhokohoko. The terms refer to a formal conversation with alternating speakers. According to Basil Keane in Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, "A speaker from the tāngata whenua side speaks first and is then followed by a speaker from the manuhiri. The tāngata whenua speaker is the final speaker (para.5). The guest (manuhiri) and people of that land, the hosts (tāngata whenua), speakers alternate. That is, it is the host who speaks first, then the visitors and so on until the speaker for the people at home end the exchange.

In *Ten Thousand Waves* (2010), he used nine suspended screens, and related a story by giving his audience a multi-dimensional montage of shots that used diverse filmic devices. These included flash backs, points of view, and various shot sizes and angles. These images were screened independently and in sequence across multi-channeled projections (Figure 18).

Two works by contemporary Māori artists are also of significance in contextualizing the use of installation space this thesis projects. The first is Lisa Reihana who, in *Digital Marae* (2007) constructed large, still photographic representations of ancestral figures that she used as architectural structures. These referenced panels found on the interior walls of a Maori *wharenuī* (meetinghouse). Reihana, uses the spatio-cultural construct of the marae as a place where people might be brought together on common ground.²⁶

Conversely, Moana Nepia's 2012 work *Whero*, used video projected onto white tent-shaped canvases. These structures were installed in a performative space and were crisscrossed by dancers whose movements he had choreographed. The audience was able to move about the perimeter of a stage that had been constructed inside a large warehouse. *Whero* was a linear work, (although it was not strictly chronological). Within it, projected images occupied and supplemented an activated narrative space where filmed sequences offered concurrent reflections on location and memory.

The installation work of these artists is important in contextualizing Common Ground, because the exhibition draws inspiration from the *pōwhiri*.²⁷ This cultural construct offers a mode of introduction, encounter and exchange that references the way one might experience *whaikōrero*²⁸ in a *wharenuī*²⁹ where tau *utuutu*³⁰ proscribes order and etiquette.

FIGURE 17

Looping manoeuvre
with four motorcyclists for
four-channel video.

(2008) (IMAGE USED BY
PERMISSION OF THE ARTIST).



FIGURE 18

Isaac Julien's nine-channel
installation *Ten Thousand
Waves* (2010) at MOMA
(2014) The screens fill the
entire exhibition space.

(IMAGE USED BY PERMISSION
OF THE ARTIST).



CONCLUSION

In positioning the thesis *Common Ground* I have considered both my existing practice as an artist and the work of other practitioners whose technical and artistic research serves to contextualize the project.

Although there is not a substantial corpus of film-based material that has consciously explored the palimpsestic, Szlachcic (2011), Kentridge (1989, 1994) and Borg (2008) have produced work that uses the phenomenon as both a social metaphor and physical/digital construct.

Also of significance to the thesis is creative research related to technical and stylistic approaches to ratio or multi-frame image capture. In this regard the work of Morris (2000), Reggio and Fricke (1982), Wenders (1987, 2004), Weger (2011), and Mulchay (1981), serve to contextualize ongoing concerns with ratio and how this might impact upon how we create mediated experiences in public spaces.

As an extension of this, (and building upon Fricke's work through the 1980s and 1990s), Dadson (2006, 2013), Monteith (2008), and Julien (2009) have all developed work in Aotearoa New Zealand that has experimented with projection using multi-screen video installations.

Finally my thesis project is also influenced by the work of two contemporary Māori artists (Reihana 2007, and Nepia 2012), who have considered culturally determined installation space for their work on identity.

Having now considered creative practice impacting on the thesis, it is useful to examine other forms of knowledge (including scholarly literature) that helps to position both the work and the contribution it makes to knowledge and understanding.





CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF
CONTEXTUAL KNOWLEDGE

3

REVIEW OF CONTEXTUAL KNOWLEDGE

A wide body of knowledge contextualises and contributes to this thesis. Because some of this information is written literature and some is hitherto unrecorded indigenous knowledge, this chapter is called a Review of Knowledge rather than a Literature Review. It's aim is summarize key points of relevance in three realms of discourse:

- *Palimpsest*
- *Indigenous Māori people's relationships with land*
- *Indigenous Scottish people's relationships with land*

PALIMPSEST

The thesis is informed by a corpus theory relating to palimpsest. Young Koo (2009) defines palimpsest as “a condition where the layers of complex meaning are involved within an entity and where the layers keep being rediscovered and reinterpreted” (p. 830).

Sarah Dillon (2007), considers the use of the term in literature subsequent to the early use of parchments (seventh to fifteenth century) in the monastic environment. She notes that palimpsest was first used figuratively in the first century A.D. by Plutarch in his *Moralia* that the “history of the palimpsest is best defined by its own nature and structure – it is a complex network of superimposed and otherwise unrelated texts in which various usages and definitions of the palimpsest have been inscribed, erased and reinscribed, and persist” (p. 30).

The anthropologist Barbara Bender (1998), used the concept of palimpsest to consider Stonehenge as both a historical site and one of social and political present day interaction. The concept of palimpsest

was also used by William Hoskins in 1955.³¹ He viewed the English landscape as a palimpsest of historic activity. However, unlike Bender, he used the concept to support a romantic view of pre-industrial Britain. Interestingly, a social anthropologist and supervisee of Bender, Paul Basu, wrote a Masters thesis (1997) that was “a study of the embodiment of social and personal memory of the landscape”. In this, he looked at monuments and remains in the County of Sutherland in Scotland, considered the writing of local author Neil Gunn and spoke to members of the Clan Gunn Society of Great Britain.

Palimpsest has become increasingly associated with the landscape, and has been employed by geographers and geomorphologists (Sven Lukas, 2005; Jasper Knight & Stephan Harrison, 2013) and most famously by the architectural historian André Corboz in his seminal text *The Land as Palimpsest* (1983).

31 Cited in Bender, 1998.

32 Mana whenua “is the power associated with the possession of lands; it is also the power associated with the ability of the land to produce the bounties of nature... when the world was created, the gods implanted this procreative power within the womb of the Earth Mother (Papatūānuku) (Barlow, 1994, p. 61).

33 Translates into Māori as Ngā ahi kā (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2010, p. 3)

34 The Treaty of Waitangi was signed at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 by over 40 Rangatira (chiefs) representing their respective hapū (nations, tribes) and Captain Hobson representing Queen Victoria of England (Huygens, Murphy, Takawai; & Healy, 2012, p.144).

INDIGENOUS MĀORI PEOPLE'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH LAND

In his *The Woven Universe* (2003), the Reverend Māori Marsden provides a useful analysis of the Māori creation story and the relationship between *Rangi-nui*, the Sky Father, and *Papa-tū-ā-nuku*, the Earth Mother. The latter he defines as “the personified form of *whenua*, the natural earth” (p. 44). Marsden presents a detailed cosmological context for the creation of the Earth, her creatures and role in imparting to people power via a connection to the unseen realms where creation is initiated. This power, or *mana*, he defines as *mana whenua*.³²

Williams (1971, p. 379) notes that Māori define themselves as *tāngata whenua*, a term superseding the use of “native” for the indigenous people of *Aotearoa*/New Zealand. He observes that *tāngata* means people and *whenua* can mean land and placenta (ibid, p. 494). This dual meaning of the word relates to ideas of land and its nourishment of mankind. Patu Hohepa (1970), Ranginui Walker (1987), Rose Rangimarie Pere (1997) and Mason Durie (1998) all discuss the land for Māori, as a nurturer and provider of sustenance. Catherine Magallanes (2011) has examined the contemporary use of the terms *tāngata whenua* and *mana whenua*, noting various conflicting opinions about their usefulness and the implications of their recent adoption by government organisations and in legislation such as the 1991 Resource Management Act.

Anne Salmond (1985, p. 2) notes that identity for Māori is communicated during formal introductions by naming one's tribal group, *iwi*, sub-tribe, *hapū*, extended family, *whānau*, one's *marae* (see previous chapter) and a territory “bounded by rivers and mountains.” For all members of the owner group, the *marae* is their “place to stand” or *tūrangawaewae* (ibid.,

p. 31). Hirini Moko Mead (2003, p. 43) describes one's *tūrangawaewae* as “a place where one belongs by right of birth”. He says that being able to stand on one's customary or ancestral land supports mental health and wellbeing. Shiloh Groot, Darrin Hodgetts, Linda Nikora, & Mihi Rua (2010), when considering the lives of homeless Māori, discuss how *tūrangawaewae* must be sustained by the maintenance of relationships and the ‘stoking of the home fires’.³³ Without these two factors, they suggest, there is a collapse into a homeless state.

These Māori terms are commonly used in discussions about efforts by Māori to regain their lands and their *mana* that they saw wrested from them after signing the treaty with the British Crown in 1840³⁴. Walker's *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātau Struggle Without End* (1990) is a seminal text that outlines the history of human habitation of *Aotearoa* / New Zealand, including the problematic drafting and translation of *Te Tiriti O Waitangi*. Donna Awatere's (1984) famous Broadsheet publication, *Māori Sovereignty*, looks at this struggle alongside the Womens' Movement and the Union Movement. The independent report commissioned by Ngāpuhi Kaumatua, *Ngāpuhi Speaks* (Ingrid Huygens, Takawai Murphy & Susan Healy, 2012), records detailed testimonies from historians, academics, genealogists and tribal elders addressing Waitangi Tribunal hearings. This archived material is intended to educate the public and provide previously unpublished evidence in support of an indigenous worldview that includes quotations from oral submissions. Major consideration in this work is given to *mana* derived from connection to ancestral land. For example, “... their connection to the land was not like a rope that can be cut, but it is like the connections of the umbilical cord to the land” (Sadler cited in Huygens, et al., 2012, p. 29).

Buck Korewha is quoted in the report speaking about the connection with the ancestors in one's own place giving power or authority. After considering problems derived from incorrect process (according to Māori lore), the report delivers a set of recommendations to the Crown, to Ngāpuhi, to the people of Aotearoa, to the media, and to Queen Elizabeth II.

INDIGENOUS SCOTTISH
PEOPLE'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH LAND

James Hunter's work (1999, 2010, 2014) has had significant influence on my research. In *On the Other Side of Sorrow* (2014), he traces the historical relationship between the Highlanders and their physical environment across almost two thousand years. His work culminates in a consideration of present day environmental issues. Hunter has written extensively on early Gaelic poetry that describes natural phenomena in biological detail. In addition he has researched Bardic songs, which take the form of lists of place names and significant Highland landmarks. Michael Newton (2009), suggests that this form of song and poetry is also a way of connecting the living with the dead. Jackson, (1980) notes that these bodies of knowledge (Bardic songs and poetry) were already ancient when Gaelic began to be written down in the seventh

³⁵ According to the New Zealand Ministry of Justice, "the Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims brought by Māori, relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi" (NZ Government, para.1).

³⁶ "An archetypal female figure associated with the landscape, wild nature, elemental forces and geotectonic powers" (Newton, 2009 p. 227).

century, and they spoke distinctively of a close observation of, and love for, nature. Although this was not mystical literature, Newton notes that water sources, including springs and rivers were considered sacred and guarded by a goddess, *Cailleach*³⁶ also known as Sovereignty, who the king of the locality was expected to please.

Newton (2009) also notes that land at this time was described as a wet-nurse, *muime*, and her features were named after body parts, such as shoulders and breasts. John MacInnes (2006), in his essay *The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry*, notes that there is no direct translation of the word landscape into Gaelic. Traditionally, there was no separation between geography and history, but what existed was “a formal order of experience in which these were all merged” (p. 279). The term landscape, he says, only came into use when industrialisation resulted in the increasing removal of people from their homelands. He suggests that in this linguistic shift, nature became something more distant and romanticised. Newton (2009) notes that the word landscape comes from the Dutch ‘*landskip*’ and formed part of an emerging fashion in visual art at the time, where land increasingly became reconceptualised as “ ‘picturesque’ ” (p. 288). In this process people and nature drew apart. This is the ontological schism mentioned by Makere Stewart-Harawira in *Radical Human Ecology: Intercultural and Indigenous Approaches* (2012, p. 76) when populations begin to see the notion of wilderness as a place devoid of people. Hunter (2014) suggests that environmentalists must revisit the notion that the empty glens are a wilderness in need of protection by excluding people. He argues that the natural order of things includes the close relationship between human activity and the land.

DÙTHCHAS

As in Maoridom, the understanding of land as the generational birthright of those with a connection to a certain place, is also found in Scotland. In Scottish Gaelic, the word *Dùthchas* translates as “ancestral or family land... family tradition... and hereditary qualities of an individual” (Newton, 2009, p. 279). This idea draws into combination belonging to a physical place and being shaped by it. In concord with this idea, Newton suggests that traditionally, “inheritance, entitlement and duty” meant personal responsibilities. Alastair McIntosh (2004) says that *dùthchas* was traditionally acknowledged by a verbal agreement and Menzies (2014) describes how these traditional ties became denigrated and dubbed a “legal nonsense” when the Norman concept of land ownership was being promulgated by those insistent on destroying the idea of lands held in common (p. 48). This replacement paradigm emphasised notions of boundaries and individual land ownership (*feu*, as in *feudal*). This change in how land was conceptualised, became the way by which legislation was able to remove people whose ancestors had lived in the Highlands of Scotland for millennia.

37 Dòmhnall Iain Dòmhnallach (2014) tells us that the Highland Clearances (Scottish Gaelic: *Fuadach nan Gàidheal*, the “expulsion of the Gael”) were the forced eviction of Highland Scots from their ancestral lands which took place during the 18th and 19th centuries.

38 *The Grey Coast* (1926), *The Butcher’s Broom* (1934), *Highland River* (1937), *The Silver Darlings* (1941), *The Drinking Well* (1947)

39 Henry George (1839-97) was an American economic philosopher who believed that the natural world should be accessed equally by all and that people can only own what they themselves create. His most significant work was *Progress and Poverty* (1879).

40 Modern liberation theology was pioneered in the 1960s by the Peruvian Roman Catholic priest, Gustavo Gutierrez who spoke of “liberation from oppression and personal transformation” (McIntosh, 2004, p. 166).

41 Human Ecology describes an interdisciplinary or trans-disciplinary study concerned with the triune of community, environment and the numinous. Its focus is on “enquiries into the patterns and process of interaction of humans with their environments” (McDonnell, & Pickett 1990, p. 1233). As a scholarly phenomenon its roots can be traced to geography and sociobiology departments in the late 19th century.

42 McIntosh was involved in the community buy back of the Scottish island of Eigg in 1997. The process is chronicled in *Soil and Soul* (2004).

43 This monograph summarises the “contents of over 50 major policy reports by scores of authors on everything from tax and banking to arts and food to industry and work to democracy and land” in order to facilitate a reimagining of a new post-independence Scotland (McAlpine, 2014, p. 4).

THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES³⁷

A considerable corpus of historical material exists that examines the land clearances in Scotland, and the subsequent rise of dispossession (John Prebble, 1963; Ian Grimble, 1999, and Tom Devine, 1994). In contrast to the social analysis adopted by these writers, Eric Richards (2000) argues that the Clearances were the inevitable result of progress and that in the end Scotland was better off for the reforms. Although Neil Gunn has contributed to this debate through a number of novels about his ancestral land in Caithness³⁸ he has also written essays that record the mechanisms by which the Gael’s language and culture became devalued (eventually even by themselves) (2009).

Hunter (2104), Shirley-Anne Hardy (2009 & 2011), McIntosh (2001) and Andy Wightman (1999 & 2010) all address the need for land reform in Scotland and contextualize this by describing examples of land loss in other parts of the world. Wightman (1999) notes that land grievances are closely aligned to land ownership patterns. He says,

In the Highlands and Islands, fully half of the private land... is owned by fewer than a hundred landowners. This manifest inequity in how land has been divided - its value pocketed, its use ill judged, its ownership carefully protected and defended, and its inhabitants harshly treated over the centuries - lies at the heart of the land question and it’s potency as a political issue (pp. 29-30).

Hardy maintains that access to land in Scotland was the original cause of inequality between rich and poor. She says, “Those born into such a society with no birthright in land, are in debt before life’s journey starts” (2011, p.48). She bases much of her discourse on the writings of Henry George³⁹ whose name is lent to the Georgist movement for Land Value Taxation that is still seen by many as a solution to spiraling contemporary problems. In the late 1800s, he identified passages from the bible that had been misused to support decisions that resulted in imparity and unnecessary suffering. A truer understanding, he believes, would lead to the acceptance by all that we must “acknowledge the equal and inalienable rights which inhere in man by endowment of the Creator, and make land common property” (George, 1996, p. 203).

Spiritual considerations are also strongly voiced in contemporary discussions around disconnection from land by McIntosh (2004). His book, *Soil and Soul* is described by Monbiot as “a radical politics of place... radical liberation theology”⁴⁰ (2004, p. xiv). McIntosh discusses a ‘genealogy’ of thinking that has made the destruction of nature and nature-connected peoples possible. He says,

The Hellenic way of looking at reality, in the footsteps of Plato and Aristotle, is broadly rational and empirical. The Hebraic way... is mythic and poetic. It works by elaborating story... to portray poetic truth. The bard’s... poetry... amounted to a set of cultural norms that expressed principles of right relationship. It encoded a traditional psychology that deeply interlocked people, place and divinity - the Celtic triumvirate of community, nature and God (ibid., pp.68, 207).

McIntosh, raised in the Hebridean Isle of Lewis, positions himself as a radical human ecologist⁴¹ and describes himself as “growing up with one foot in an apparently dying indigenous world” (2004, p.3). Reacting against Post-Modernism he defines himself as Pre-Modern, that is, holding an “ancient/indigenous holistic worldview” (2012, p. 41). As a fellow and former director of the Centre for Human Ecology in Glasgow he has recently collaborated with other human ecologists, two of whom are Scots Māori (Lewis Williams and Makere Stewart-Harawira), to produce a collection of papers that communicate their recent research findings.⁴²

In Scotland, discussions regarding inequality came to the fore at a time when the Scots were moving towards the 2014 referendum on independence (from Britain). Interestingly, the Land Reform Review Group Final Report - *The Land of Scotland and the Common Good* which was published in May 2014 stated, as part of its remit, that... “The relationship between the land and the people of Scotland is fundamental to the wellbeing, economic success, environmental sustainability and social justice of the country” (Scottish Government, 2014, p. 5). The build up to the Scottish referendum for independence in September 2014 saw a proliferation of material produced to stimulate interest and to inform the voting public. Even though the final vote fell 55/45 in favour of remaining part of the United Kingdom, the question of land reform was clearly positioned in such documents as *The Common Weal: All of us first* (McAlpine, 2014).⁴³ This outlined features of a proposed ‘future Scotland’ including land reform measures and the Land Value Taxation concepts originally proposed by Henry George.

CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews three arenas of knowledge.

The first is writing related to the palimpsestic as a condition where layers of knowledge are revealed and erased in an entity (Bender 1999; Dillon 2007; Hoskins 1955; and Koo 2009). Palimpsest as a way of understanding the landscape have been central to the work of geographers and geomorphologists like Coboz 1983; Lukas 2005; and Knight & Harrison 2013.

The second area of knowledge of significance to this thesis project is indigenous Māori people's relationships with land.

Marsden (2003) introduces Papa-tū-ā-nuku, the archetypal Earth Mother in her cosmological context. Metge (1976) and Williams (1971) provided a translation and definitions of *tāngata whenua* (as people of the land). Durie (1998), Hohepa (1970), Pere (1997), and Walker (1987) outlined another aspect of *whenua*, the nurturing placenta. Land as a place to stand, or *Tūrangawaewae*, supports the mental health of those belonging to a place.

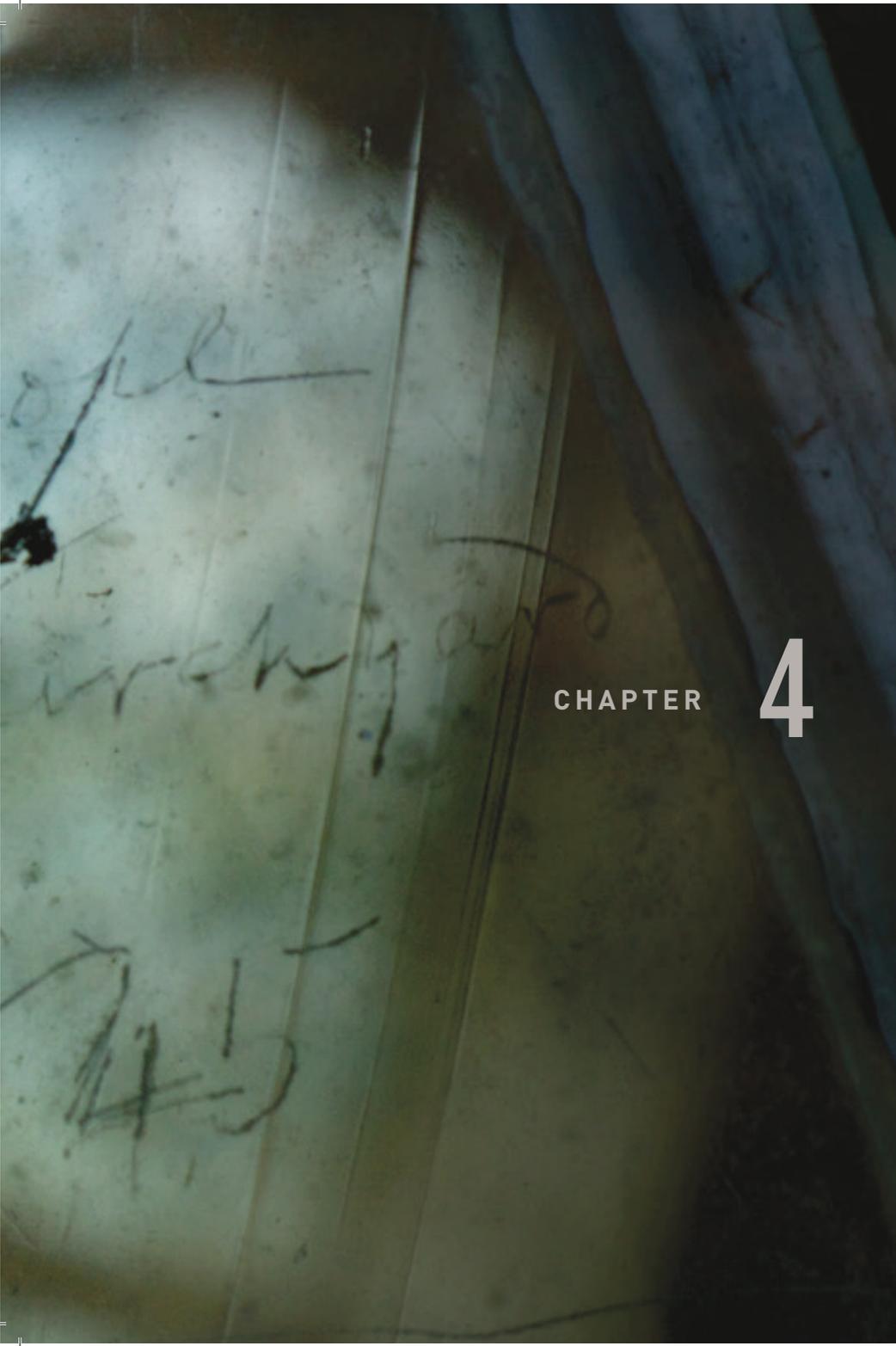
This concept is communicated in work by Groot et al. (2010), Mead (2003), and Salmond (1985). Barlow (1994) describes the concept of *manawhenua* in the context of Māori culture whereas Magallanes (2011) looks at that term within the body of government legislation. On the other hand, Awatere (1984), Huygens et al. (2012), and Walker (1990) are concerned with the loss of mana due to a mis-match of approaches to the Treaty of Waitangi and the efforts to regain manawhenua for the Māori people.

With regards to the connection between the Highland Scots and land, Hunter has written extensively on the subject (1999, 2010 and 2014). For this, he draws on the work of Newton (2009) who is an expert on Highland culture, Jackson's (1980) collection of Celtic literature and MacInnes (2006) whose collected essays speak of the heritage or *Dùthchas* of the Highlanders, a concept mentioned in the writings of Menzies (2014) and McIntosh (2004) who, with Stewart-Harawira in McIntosh et al. (2012), explored the history of culture and the environment from the point of view of radical human ecological thinking.

The novelist and essayist Gunn (1926, 1934, 1937, 1941, 1947 and 2009), wrote about his homeland in the far North covering the time of the Vikings until after the Highland Clearances. Other Scottish historians looking at the Clearances were Prebble (1963), Grimble (1993), Devine (1994) and Richards (2000). Then, in response to the Clearances and with the desire to redress the imbalance of land ownership patterns, we find the work of George (1879 & 1996), Hardy (1999 & 2011) and Wightman (1999 & 2010). Most recently, the Scottish government has released *The Land of Scotland and the Common Good*, a report which stands as a foundation for thought leading up to and ensuing from the referendum for Scottish independence.

Having now considered written knowledge impacting on the inquiry, it is useful to unpack the methodological framework and methods that have been integral to the development of my practice.

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CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH
DESIGN

4

RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter considers the research paradigm, methodology and methods underpinning the project.

RESEARCH PARADIGM

A research paradigm may be understood as an over-arching philosophy or the “the philosophical intent or underlying theoretical framework and motivation of the researcher with regard to the research” (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, para 17). Huitt (2011, p.1) suggests, “this construct provides a frame of reference that guides one’s understanding of reality and provides the foundation by which one gives meaning to experiences and thoughts.”

Broadly the research paradigm underpinning this thesis project may be defined as qualitative, in that I seek to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, motivations and meanings of a phenomenon through recorded experience rather than through the application of quantitative methods. Within this approach the research may be framed as a practice-led,⁴⁴ creative production.

Creative production theses are described by Stephen Scrivener (2000) in his seminal paper on art and design research projects. In this, he notes that such research produces an artefact that “can be described as a response to a set of on-going issues, concerns and interests... usually rooted in the cultural context” and they “contribute to human experience. This being the case, the creative production... is more important than any knowledge embodied in it” (p. 5).

With regards to this project, the inquiry is located within and between two indigenous cultures. My intention is less concerned with the

⁴⁴ Candy (n.d.) states, “practice-led research is concerned with the nature of practice and leads to new knowledge that has operational significance for that practice” (para. 1-2). In other words, in this thesis I am led by practice to discovery and my emerging practice influences subsequent practice.

generation of new knowledge and more with contributing to an understanding of human experience. The creative artist within the inquiry is, “self-conscious, systematic and reflectively creative” (ibid. p. 5). As such, I consider that the stories communicated by the participants and their re-design as installed filmic narratives, constitute the “issues, concerns and interests” (ibid. p. 5) of the thesis.

Although the narratives I record are not my own, the thesis artefacts may be understood as original because they are a creative synthesis of narrated material, reconstituted as an installed space. This space is designed to elicit a sense of encounter and to cause the viewer to consider the issues, concerns and interests that have motivated and been the substance of the inquiry.

⁴⁵ Because I was dealing with a palimpsestic approach to participants’ narratives of identity, the thesis required ethics approval. This was awarded before I entered the field and all research was conducted inside the prescribed guidelines. Participants were given information sheets that outlined the concerns and use of their stories and they knew that they were able to withdraw from the research at anytime. They also signed consent forms for the use of their narratives. Working with Māori, I have been guided by the principles of Kaupapa Māori Research (Henry, 2012). This has provided a valuable basis for discussion with Scottish participants regarding their desires for safe work practices.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Rajasekar, Philominathan & Chinnathambi (2006) assert that a research methodology “is a systematic way to solve a problem. It is a science of studying how research is to be carried out (p. 5). Methodologies, Herrman (2009) suggests, “enable us to see the world through new spectacles” (p. 5).

The research methodology employed in the explication of this research project may be broadly considered as palimpsestuous. Although palimpsest normally alludes to practices that create and reveal the layered remnants of human endeavour, I posit that the construct may also be used as a way of approaching an inquiry such as this. Thus, I suggest a correlation between the subject of the thesis (palimpsest) and the methodology I adopt to creatively consider and process information within it.

I accept that the stories that are told to me are layered and edited before and during narration; they reveal and hide experience and offer only glimpses into greater identity narratives that are partially erased by time and memory.

In my artistic process I create new layers by recording these stories, then selecting, highlighting, sifting, scratching back, erasing and revealing findings. These findings add to, and subtract from, the existing strata of recorded knowledge (interviews, that are already the palimpsestic, storied lives of the storytellers).⁴⁵

RESEARCH METHODS

Kinash (2006) suggests that “methods are the techniques or processes we use to conduct our research” (p. 3). In this project, I employed a series of practices for gathering and processing data. These include:

- *Reviews of recorded and non-recorded knowledge*
- *Interviewing*
- *Filming*
- *Transcription*
- *Editing and composition*
- *Spatial configuration*

⁴⁶ Connelly and Clandinin indicate the importance of place to a narrative because it is “where the action occurs, where characters are formed and live out their stories and where cultural and social context play constraining and enabling roles” (1990, p. 8).

⁴⁷ Homelessness Resource Center (2007) clarifies open ended questioning and reflective interviewing.

⁴⁸ By reflective interviewing I mean that I allowed myself to be led by the storytellers rather than confronting them with a set of predetermined questions that might have disturbed a thread that may have been developing in their mind. By using their statement as a basis for the next prompt, I was able to support the storyteller’s ‘train of thought’ and give them confidence because they knew they were being heard. The practice of reflective interviewing emphasizes an interest in what the person has to say and respect for their narration.

REVIEWS OF RECORDED AND NON-RECORDED KNOWLEDGE

I gathered existing secondary data from books, journals, photographs and films. Concurrently I talked and listened to people. These conversations helped me not only to identify potential participants but also to focus my understanding of the thesis’ issues and contexts. Pre-empting my entry into the field I listened to and observed interactions at social gatherings, such as the Clan Gunn Society Gathering in the Orkney Islands and Caithness in 2012, and approached potential storytellers. I contacted directly or by email others who might have stories to tell in person.

INTERVIEWING

Having identified and gained the consent of participants I worked with them to identify suitable locations for telling their stories,⁴⁶ and I recorded their narratives. Present at the location was a minimal crew of Sound Recordist Mike McCree and me. Apart from the ability to respond spontaneously to unexpected change or opportunity, I believed that having a small number of people present supported the idea of an actual encounter. This partially relieved pressure to ‘perform’ storytelling because there was no passive audience present.

In conducting the interviews my questioning mode was open ended.⁴⁷ Thus, I did not carry a list of interview questions with me, instead I interviewed reflectively.⁴⁸ This form of interviewing enables one to elicit a conversation that includes stories from the layered lives and histories of the participant by asking an interviewee to “Tell me about...”, rather than a question that can be answered by a finite “yes” or “no”. Reflective questioning allows a person to narrate in a flow of memory where they

⁴⁹ I used a Canon 60D because it has a large sensor (22.3 × 14.9 mm) that produces a high-resolution image. It shoots High Definition (1080p) and has an articulating LCD screen that allowed me to shoot at ground level without major discomfort. For a DOP trained in film, the Canon 60D, although it is primarily a stills camera, has become very popular because it is an affordable option that still allows you to use interchangeable, high quality lenses.

⁵⁰ Had I chosen to use a dedicated video camera with professional XLR audio inputs, I could have shot 'single system'. That is, I could have recorded the image and the accompanying audio on a single SD (Secure Digital) memory card. However, this not being the case, I needed a separate audio recording device with its own XLR inputs, to accept the cable from the professional microphones. The Zoom is reliable and compact and uses the same cards as the Canon camera. It also has built in stereo microphones that are ideal for recording music, such as the Gaelic choir.

can highlight and erase at will. What they choose to present from the parchment of their experience is not interfered with. I simply asked a few, broad focusing questions about their relationship with the place where they were standing and their sense of connection with it. They introduced me to a palimpsest of memory and belief that surrounded them.

FILMING

During the filming of the interviews and landscapes, I used a Canon 60D digital single-lens reflex (DSLR) camera with a wide zoom (17-55mm) and a tight, or telephoto zoom (55-250mm)⁴⁹, a Zacuto viewfinder that enhances my ability to focus and frame correctly, and a Zoom H4n digital audio recorder⁵⁰ to capture an interview that was immersed in a location relevant to the stories and significant to the participant. Filming may be seen as a form of subjective data gathering that involved framing, focusing, sifting, including, excluding, drawing near or distancing. I recorded what seemed interesting, relevant to the project, beautiful or meaningful. My head, heart and hand worked together to determine the rhythm and pace, the shape and the angle of the image. As such, I used a form of erasure. The recordings selected only certain details to create a new layer of information that concurrently rendered invisible other features of what I encountered.

TRANSCRIPTION

When I returned from location work I had to wrestle with an enormous amount of audio and video data. To help me find emphases and themes, I initially transcribed the participants' stories to create a written version. Then I selected and highlighted the passages that I believed might most powerfully communicate, not only the lives, experiences and stories, but also my own reaction to what I saw and heard.

From this data, I was able to strategically erase a great deal of material. Concurrently, I was able to elevate the strength and potency of certain aspects of the interview that I felt eloquently communicated what I believe reflects the participant's essence.

51 The PanOptica landscapes are ultra-wide locked off moving image vistas generated in the computer using the PanOptica software, that uses data collected from a panning shot. These pans captured data from 90 to 180 degree rotations in the field.

52 The filmic portraits are the human stories intercut with supporting imagery and music. They are designed to illustrate the internal world of the subjects and therefore include hand held shots and intimate encounters with aspects of the participants' environment.

53 Permission to use *Is Moch An Diugh A Rinn Mi Gluasad* from the album *Waulking Songs from Barra*, was given by Ian Green of Greentrax Recordings Limited.

54 Gaelic psalms at Back Free Church, Isle Of Lewis
Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k3MzZgPBL3Q&list=RDk3MzZgPBL3Q#t=112>

EDITING AND COMPOSITION

When composing my own narratives of the stories I had recorded, I engaged in a complex form of synthesis. In other words, I erased and highlighted, connected and discarded material in an effort to achieve a certain kind of text that amplified aspects of the stories.

The original footage was stored (as full copies of the original Master SD card recordings) on two portable external USB hard drives, using a laptop computer to duplicate the files as soon as possible after wrap. One drive was stored in a data safe. A third copy was created for the sturdy external firewire drive that carried all of the working files for the edit. For editing I used the Macintosh based Adobe Final Cut Pro software.

Every shot was watched, filed and labeled according to content and quality. During this process I identified imagery for use in the computer generated PanOptica landscapes⁵¹ and in the filmic portraits.⁵²

I initially created a bed of the audio of the stories selected from the transcripts and their accompanying synchronised video. Then I experimented with the placement of shots that I believed helped to communicate mood or visual information about the past and present. Sometimes I altered the speed of the shot to help with the flow. Timing was important. This involved a process of inclusion and exclusion, of polishing and finessing, using very short dissolves. The audio editing process was quite similar, although many more layers (audio tracks) were used in very subtle ways. These tracks included recordings of the audio atmosphere from the locations, music I found in my personal collection then sought permission to use,⁵³ audio material I sourced online,⁵⁴ or music that was recorded during the location shoot periods,

such as the Gaelic male voice choir Coillich a Chinn a' Tuath (*Cocks o' the North*)'s performance of *An Eala Bhàn* (The White Swan) and waiata sung by Nopera Pikari and Reva Mendes.

Altering the colour rendition, or grading, was the final stage in the process. The range of options possible today far exceeds what was achievable using film negative before the development of the digital intermediate process. Working digitally, the latitude for pushing or pulling (increasing or decreasing the exposure) is now considerable. In addition to greater control over luminance, by adjusting the chroma, I am able to create a unified look where every shot is subtly coloured so it fits cohesively into the palette range with which I am working.

Once panning shots were selected, I used the PanOptica software to analyse footage according to lens geometry, and to piece each frame together to create seamless panoramic video images. In this process the computer brought into existence a second-generation layer of information.

SPATIAL CONFIGURING

Once the respective portraits and the their PanOptic backgrounds were nearing completion, I took them as layered constructions into a gallery that had been stripped of its features by using darkness and black curtaining. This produced an aurally and visually neutral space in which I was able to experiment with relationships. Spatial configuring enabled me to elevate or diminish focus, space, light, time and sound so the texts began to work in harmonious discourse with each other. The aim was that we might see and hear the human narratives situated in relation to the panoramic landscapes as a layered presentation.

55 This palimpsestic research project is also arguably a self-study. Bullough and Pinnegar note that "Self-study researchers stand at the intersection of biography and history" (2001, p.15). However, Fenstermacher warns of a danger of narcissism in such research "Unless one grasps his or her narrative within larger social, economic and political environment" (1997, p. 122). Thus I must constantly weigh up the nature and value of the subjective and be aware of how it impacts upon the narrated experiences of others.

56 However, all recorded material is provided unaltered in the appendices accompanying this thesis.

ADVANTAGES OF THE METHODOLOGY

This palimpsestic methodology allows for critical decision-making through inclusion and exclusion of data using various criteria including durability, continuity and narrative sense.

The methodology connects the subject matter of the thesis to its explication. In so doing it enables a very deep consideration of the implications and nature of palimpsest.

Because the palimpsestic understands that knowledge and narrative are not fixed and stable it is able to embrace variables and emphasis in flexible ways. It does not assume that deleted knowledge is a deficit but conceives meaning as ephemeral and incomplete. It engages the tacit as well as the explicit, it acknowledges that all stories are subjective and all are edited information. It can bring the concrete or conscious into discourse with the embodied and experiential.

Thus a palimpsestic methodology allows the researcher to understand the layered and subjective nature of research.

DISADVANTAGES OF THE METHODOLOGY

However, the methodology does have some limitations that need to be consciously considered.

First, encouraging participants to talk about broad ideas like identity and connection to place, without the imposition of fixed interview questions resulted in huge bodies of data. This posed challenges to both storage and the volume of material that required sifting through and

editing. I had to store large volumes of annotated data on a series of hard drives. I named every clip and filed them, using external drives that were backed up and stored in a data safe.

Second, such a large volume of data presented challenges when as an artist/storyteller I tried to find homologies, concurrences and relationships between diverse people's narratives. Using a palimpsestic methodology was predicated on a belief that commonalities of experience rather than structured interviewing that poses identical questions to diverse participants would result in correlations. Fortunately, this worked but it was a very drawn out process to locate useful correlations.

Third, all the research is subjective⁵⁵ and I must bear responsibility for the narratives of other people's stories that I have created. This means that the thesis must operate between worlds and meet the expectations of diverse groups who may have conflicting priorities. So on one level the work must address the academy and on another it must feel authentic and respectful to the participants. On a third level it must stand up to the critical scrutiny of my professional colleagues in the film industry. With palimpsestic research, where data is excluded on a subjective basis one cannot argue from behind the protection of objectivity. Even though the meaning of each text will shift and change over time, at the moment of exhibition, what will be on display is not only what I elevated into consideration, but also what I left off the parchment. What I leave off I am aware, is part of the substance of people's lives.⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

Common Ground may be considered paradigmatically as creative production, practice-led research. In Scrivener's view "art making is concerned with providing ways of seeing and ways of being in relation to what is, was or might be" (2002, p. 12). This means that such research can approach levels of understanding and creativity with both what exists and what has not yet been drawn into tangibility. It is within this continuum that this thesis is positioned.

Methodologically it may have, arguably, been easier to adapt an action research model or apply a form of narrative inquiry that could be adjusted to the research, but in proposing palimpsest as a form of inquiry I have tried to examine and action a deeper continuity between subject and process. While the methodology poses some distinct problems, it also offers a framework that has enabled me to approach the research with an overarching metaphor that has brought principles of subjectivity, editing, erasure, emphasis, notions of time and storytelling into unique and productive relationality.





CHAPTER 5

CRITICAL
COMMENTARY

5

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

This chapter offers a critical commentary on the artefacts in the exhibition, influential ideas and the installation design. This includes guiding principles that have impacted on the design and development of the work.

THE SUBJECTIVE FILMMAKER

After a working life spent endeavouring to please the producers and directors for whom I was shooting film and video, I am now able to set my own course freed from the constraints of what John Wood (2004) calls the "...modern concept of the 'freelance' designer or consultant who is expected to deny his/her own views, ideologies and immediate well-being in the quest for his/her client's cause or satisfaction" (p. 5).

To shoehorn this freedom into an objective analysis that has arguably been the traditional ideal of the academy (Wood, 2004), seems to me not only disingenuous, but also a call to diminish the scope and effectiveness of my work as a creative practitioner operating inside a university. Certainly, as artists and designers, to ignore one's subjectivity and human response to what one encounters can severely limit the potential for a thesis to contribute to understanding (Scrivener 2000 & 2002). This project cannot be objective because it is I who films, edits, constructs, devises and subjectively experiences the project. Morwenna Griffiths supports this view when she says "the self is inescapable, because the person creating, responding to, working on, developing or evaluating performances, artifacts and practices is central to those activities" (2010, p.185).

Wood (2004, p. 5) notes, "In the academic context the idea of 'rigour' stands for logical accuracy and exactitude, and derives from the Latin work 'rigere' – to be stiff. As such it has come to signify not only the strict enforcement of rules but also great harshness or austerity, thereby emphasising its significance within Judo-Christian Puritanism. Importantly, such associations reflect a Christian mistrust of the sensual body, and it is no accident that we use the term 'rigor' to describe the stiffness of dead bodies. We should not underestimate this association because skepticism exemplifies a denial of immediate sensory experience."

In my work, I seek a visceral connection between the people who tell their stories and those who encounter them in the gallery. Therefore, my physical body and the camera operate as intermediaries between these parties. Whilst filming, I stand on the ground, my body to the elements, my breath steadying and counting, my hands clutching and choreographing the camera. My heart is open to what I perceive and receive. In this process, I am guided by an internal compass. This is my awareness of, and connection to, my own emotional states. This idea resonates with McIntosh's description of his writing style for *Soil and Soul* when he states "It aims to restore the feeling 'heart' alongside the thinking 'head' and the doing 'hand'" (2004, p. 3).

Hunter critiques the habit historians have of removing human emotion, including suffering and grief, from their analysis of Scottish history. He says, "I have never grasped why some historians... see virtue in thus declining to empathise with the people whose lives they survey" (2010, p. 5). In examining the notion of objectivity and its association with the elevation of the 'expert', he unpacks a traditional power hierarchy,

that causes the researcher to separate themselves from those who are studied. Such researchers do not seek common ground.⁵⁷

In this subjective inquiry, I am affected by the search for ancestral land where my Scottish forebears lived prior to the Highland Clearances and the knowledge that, on my Father's side, my people, after being deprived of their homeland, were plunged into poverty. Griffiths urges us, in practice-led enquiries to take into account "...the political and social dimensions of individuals' values systems," and to understand that "...knowledge gets its meaning from the political position of the knowers, as well as from other value systems" (Griffiths, 1998, p. 46). As such, the storytellers, the filmmaker and each individual viewer will all have their own subjective response to the stories and imagery that constitute *Common Ground*. Within this dynamic lies the value of this ephemeral bringing together of people in one place.

THE PHYSICAL INSTALLATION

Common Ground comprises two forms of projection.

The first, playing on two screens, are six, alternating, PanOptica landscapes. In front of each of these play, six, 3-5 minute long filmic portraits. Each portrait 'speaks from' the land that plays behind it (figure 19).

The projections play in a dark, rectangular black, curtain lined gallery that ensures the only luminance is that of the projections. This means that the projected imagery retains maximum saturation and clarity.



57 Menzies (2014, p.123) notes, "Historically, the word common included both the common lands that had often originally been people's traditional homelands and the people who inhabited and used them. Together, land and people were an indivisible unit, an ongoing set of relationships..."

FIGURE 19

Simulated installation to showing the spatial relationship between a filmic portrait and a PanOptica landscape.

PRINCIPLES UNDERPINNING THE INSTALLATION DESIGN

In this installation the filmic portraits and the PanOptica landscapes, in tandem and collectively, address questions relating to individuals and their connection to land. Most of the filmed landscapes are devoid of people. This alludes to the erasure of people from their traditional homelands. By placing the filmic portraits in front of the panoramic landscapes, I suggest that the rift between humanity and nature might be replaced by a renewed relationship based on the restoration of connection between people and the land. In some cases I propose a connection where it is currently only a desire,⁵⁸ in others the storyteller speaks from land where they are currently living,⁵⁹ and in others the speaker has only recently reconnected to the world we see unfurling behind them.⁶⁰ However, all of the speakers tell of a similar connection. They suggest that one's association with land is not simply physical, it is emotional and spiritual and the wounds of disconnection reach beyond the political into visceral levels of the personal and cultural. It is this connection and disconnection that the separate screens suggest. Each person speaks to land and connection but is physically disconnected because their narration occurs on a screen that is different to the world about which they are speaking.

The narratives of Scotland and Aotearoa/New Zealand unfurl opposite each other in the space, but each is designed so it waits for the previous speaker to finish. This may be related to the Maori concept of *tau utuutu*.⁶¹ However, because the stories are so similar and the voices are projected non-directionally, we encounter these narratives as part of a single idea. As an audience we stand on common ground, the place between two sets of cultural narratives. In this space we begin to feel

58 For example George Gunn and Nopera Pikari are filmed in front of their land but they do not live there.

59 Sandra Train, Neil Gunn and Irihapeti Morgan.

60 Reva Mendes

61 See Footnote 30. The two ultra-wide screens face each other and beam PanOptica landscapes from opposite ends of the earth. These provide contexts for the two smaller screens that carry the filmic portraits of their inhabitants. We encounter each story as one might encounter speakers on the marae where voices of one community alternate with voices from the other. Standing on the common ground between the screens, viewers are able to face each speaker in turn, moderating the intensity of their engagement by approaching or moving away from the storyteller as they speak.

62 Two high definition projectors are required to span each panorama.

63 These screens accommodate the 45:9 aspect ratio of the panoramic landscape projections.

64 This said, the proportion is not accurately approach the almost 180° scope of human being's field of vision. Nor does it contain the reduced focus one experiences peripherally.

connection, both with each speaker's relationship with their land and also with the greater idea of belonging and identity that the installation suggests reaches beyond national borders.

THE PANOPTICA LANDSCAPES

The six-channel video PanOptica landscapes are projected onto two white, 9 metre x 1.8 metre screens positioned opposite to each other. These screens are suspended from a ceiling grid.⁶³ On one side of the room we encounter sequentially the three PanOptica landscapes of the Scottish Highlands and opposite these, we encounter the three landscapes from Aotearoa / New Zealand. These landscapes are constructed from a panning shot. Normally these introduce us to an expanded landscape devoid of other human beings. This is because these landscapes are designed as a context for the speaker. These landscapes are graded so they operate in harmony with the portrait of their respective storyteller.

The PanOptica landscapes provide a living, contemporary context for the human stories. The images document each speaker's world. In these we see modern structures such as windmills, fences and roads, alongside ancient landforms and the vestiges of historical structures. These landscapes were filmed from a human standpoint; thus we encounter them as if we were embodied within them (figure 20). There is no drive-by footage nor aerial photography. The landscapes are presented to us as silent sentinels that move in real time. Proportionately, their panoramic scale suggests a human way of seeing. By this I mean the proportion is not that of the standard photographic image but closer to what we see with the naked eye.⁶⁴



FIGURE 20:1

Frame grab from Nopera's PanOptica landscape in Ohaeawai, Te Tai Tokerau.



FIGURE 20:2

Frame grab from Irihapeti's PanOptica landscape in Utakura Valley, Te Tai Tokerau.



FIGURE 20:3

Frame grab from George's PanOptica landscape in Caithness, Scottish Highlands.



FIGURE 20:4

Frame grab from Reva's PanOptica landscape in the Hokianga, Te Tai Tokerau.

THE FILMIC PORTRAITS

The 3-5 minute filmic portraits are projected onto two 3 metre x 1.8 metre screens. The storytellers stand at ninety degrees to the Panoptic landscapes (see figure 21) and are just a little bigger than life-size. They speak to us from just above eyelevel.⁶⁵ The three Scottish stories alternate with the three Māori stories. There is an interlude of darkness between each.

Each filmic portrait begins with a personal introduction that expands out into genealogy and a description of the physical location in which we find the storyteller. Normally a portrait is accompanied by a song, chant or prayer that 'talks' of the cultural origin of the speaker. This is inspired by the Māori custom of singing after speaking. In Scotland this material is not performed by the storyteller. With Māori it is performed either by the storyteller or a member of their extended family. This accompaniment may be at the opening and/or at the close of the portrait. From the original interviews I have selected one or sometimes two stories that demonstrate an emotional and physical connection to land.⁶⁶ My aim has been to touch the heart of this connection not as a documentary maker but as one who tells stories through the essence of what she hears. These stories are very simple but highly 'present' and profound.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEXTS

As each of the six stories surfaces, the Panoptic landscape associated with it begins to unfurl behind it. This positioning of people telling personal stories of connection to place, against the panoramic landscapes of their worlds proposes a palimpsestuous configuration where narratives

⁶⁵ I set the camera below eyelevel because I have found that this helps to support a visceral connection between the subject and the viewer that avoids objectification. To replicate this relationship in the gallery, I have slightly elevated the subject.

⁶⁶ Most interviews are between forty-five and sixty minutes in duration (see Appendix 2)



FIGURE 21:1
George Gunn on
the summit of Ben
Freiceadain, Caithness,
Scotland.



FIGURE 21:2
Sandra Train at her home
in Dalhalvaig, Strath
Halladale, Sutherland,
Scotland.



FIGURE 21:3
Neil Macleod at his farm
Guidevist, Caithness,
Scotland.



FIGURE 21:4
Reva Mendes at
Motukaraka, North
Hokianga, Te Tai
Tokerau, Aotearoa /
New Zealand.



FIGURE 21:5
Irihapeti Morgan at her
place in the Utakura
Valley, Te Tai Tokerau,
Aotearoa /
New Zealand.



FIGURE 21:6
Nopera Pikari in front of
Pukenui at Ohaeawai, Te
Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa /
New Zealand.



FIGURE 22

This whare in the bush is typical of the palette of browns and greens used in the film grade. Frame grab from *Common Ground* (2014).

⁶⁷ I have used Final Cut Pro to subtly alter the colour palette, brightness and the exposure of the imagery. This was done to give continuity to the edited images.

⁶⁸ (Retrieved from Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary, 3rd October 2014)

of connection are sometimes explicit and sometimes tenuous. The storytellers never appear in the PanOptic landscapes but the images of land often intersect with elements of each storyteller's narrative.

SOUND AND COLOUR

Beneath each storyteller's narrative we hear sounds of the world they inhabit. The audio is relayed through speakers in such a way that it appears to fill the gallery space. For this, I am using four 8" speakers controlled by a four-channel mixer.

The worlds (both the PanOptica landscapes and the filmic portraits) have been subtly graded.⁶⁷ The predominant colour palette includes the browns of earth, stone, branch and lichen and the green of moss, grass and forest (figure 22).

Each story has its own hue. To keep each storyteller's world intact and therefore distinct from the others, I have unified the colouration, brightness and contrast. In instances where cloud and therefore light levels come and go, such as during George Gunn's narrative, I have had to alter the exposure in order to match the shots (Figure 23).

EMOTION

Behind each narrative we witness layers of emotion. At the close of George Gunn's recording session he jokingly commented that we had best call a halt before he acted on the anger he was experiencing. Nopera's sadness at his years of ignorance about his sacred mountain was subtly displayed on camera. Neil stands stoically while speaking of 200 years of disruption. Irihapeti, on the other hand, does not hold back.



FIGURE 23:1
Frame grab of ungraded shot.



FIGURE 23:2
Frame grab of shot graded in Adobe Final Cut Pro.

Hers is a mixture of sadness and anger. Reva chooses a more optimistic approach, despite the fact that her Mother passed away during the filming period.

It is interesting to note that normally, while telling stories about the distant past, the storytellers remained calm. However, as soon as they were directly involved in the events they were discussing, they seemed to come alive; to embody their narrative. Instead of talking *about* land it was as if they became *in* the land or *in* their own story. They were relieved of self-consciousness and a higher level of authentic connection surfaced because they became so expressive. This visceral connection was what I sought to capture in the project.

PALIMPSEST

The human stories in this thesis are palimpsestic. This is partly because they are constructed through a process of forgetting and retrieving lived experience, but they may also be seen as layered narratives and genealogies. The Māori translation of 'genealogy' is *whakapapa*. The word has myriad meanings, including "to place in layers, lay one upon another".⁶⁸ As a filmmaker I experience layers of human genealogy mirrored in the sedimented strata of land. As such, both land and human experience become part of a palimpsest.

In the installation we see layers alluded to, not just in the stories told but also in the way I record and edit the land. In this process I look at the land to discern, retrieve and highlight the layered remains of human endeavour. These images are then constructed in a manner that includes further erasure, retention and elevation as I interpret what I have recorded. In turn, the screens layer the storytellers over their respective

landscape in a kind of intersection. The horizontal landscapes and the vertical portraits resemble the lines of writing on the Archimedes Palimpsest, which are at right angles to each other (figure 24).

In some stories (like George's and Reva's) we see traces of background imagery from the portrait appearing in the Panoptic landscape.

Further layers are added in the form of the audio tracks. In the work, the number of tracks may vary. We may encounter two dialogue tracks, music and effects tracks and additional atmospheric tracks. These may be playing simultaneously, or, fading up as another fades down.

Common Ground, as installation, brings the viewer, the landscapes and the storytellers together in one place for an ephemeral moment. The storytellers draw on events from the present day back into prehistory. Their tellings, recorded in full, lasted for up to two hours. These were edited into narratives of between three and five minutes duration, which were then projected in tandem with the landscapes to suggest both the immediate and the timeless. The projections converge in one place at one time. Thus, time is compressed. Thousands of years appear on these screens where, stories, landscapes and people find a *common ground* where the distant past, the more recent past and the seeds of the future are composed as an ephemeral slice of the eternal present.



FIGURE 24

Pseudo-color images of the Archimedes Palimpsest developed at the Rochester Institute of Technology reveal writing on different axes. Image accessed from Creative Commons (3.0 Unported Access Rights). *USED BY PERMISSION.*





CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF THE EXEGESIS

This thesis proposes a common ground. In contextualizing my practice the exegesis has been divided into five chapters.

In chapter one, I introduced the central concern of the project; the relationship between Scottish and Māori people and their land. I also discussed the concept of *palimpsest* as a framework for considering relationships between land and the lived stories of those whose connection may be traced back across generations.

Chapter two offered a positioning of myself as a subjective researcher. Initially I outlined my family history, my relationship with Māori and my professional work that lead up to the development of the thesis.

I then positioned my project in relation to contemporary and emerging practice in the field. This review included a consideration of recent uses of palimpsest as an artistic framework in filmic texts. I also reviewed how land is treated panoramically by certain contemporary artists. As an extension of this I discussed technical devices recently used to develop panoramic recording and projection ratios. Finally, I discussed the work of video installation artists, both here and in the United Kingdom, who work with panoramic projection in space.

Chapter three offered a review of written knowledge impacting on the thesis. Firstly I considered the work of researchers who have used the term *palimpsest* in their writing. These included writers from the fields of architecture, literature, anthropology and geomorphology. I then overviewed the work of certain Māori writers who discuss issues relating to land and identity. Within this I considered the concepts

of *tūrangawaewae* and *mana whenua*. This review was followed by a discussion of written material concerning relationships between Scottish Highlanders and their connection to land. This included early songs and poetry, discourse surrounding the objectification of land and the Gaelic term *Dùthchas* as it relates to birthright or inherited lands. The chapter concluded with a consideration of current discourse in Scotland surrounding the reform of land ownership patterns.

Chapter four outlined the design of the thesis project. The research was defined as a qualitative, practice-led inquiry that engaged in creative production. Such inquiries according to Scrivener (2000) result in the production of cultural and personal artefacts. In this thesis, these artefacts make up an installation of moving image works including filmic portraits and PanOptica landscapes.

The concept of *palimpsest* was then discussed as a methodology. In applying this approach to the research I unpacked certain methods used in the explication of the project. These included reviews of recorded and non-recorded knowledge, interviewing, filming, transcribing, editing, the composition of narratives and the construction of the final installation. I then discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the palimpsestic methodology and considered how potential weaknesses in the approach were addressed.

Chapter five offered a critical commentary that discussed the reasoning behind the form and spatial treatment of the installation. Here I considered the disconnection and reconnection of people with land, the layered nature of the stories and the concept of common ground as a site where people might be brought together in a shared space that is

an ephemeral slice of the eternal present. I described how the human stories had been designed to be experienced in the context of filmic portraits and PanOptica landscapes. I also discussed specific design issues like colour grading audio design, proportion and composition.

69 Although Common Ground is formatted in a specific manner for its Auckland installation, I am aware that small communities often do not have black out installation facilities, and I am prepared to adapt the installation in the pursuit of wider dissemination of the thinking in the thesis.

70 Cove Park Visual Art Residency

71 clangunn.weebly.com/

72 This evidence contradicts the romantic notion that the Gunns are descended from the jarls of Orkney rather than Gaelic speaking natives of the Highlands of Scotland.

73 Three of these are worthy of note: The Doctoral Education in Design Conference: Practice, Knowledge, Vision, (22-25 May 2011, Hong Kong), and two Australian conferences: The OLT funded Effective Supervision of Creative Arts Research Degrees (7th – 18th February 2013, Brisbane), and the upcoming DDCA sponsored forum The Outstanding Field: Artistic Research Emerging from the Academy (20-21st March, 2015, Melbourne).

FURTHER RESEARCH

Projects like *Common Ground* are not designed as discrete inquiries. Because they involve people on such intimate levels, they have lives beyond examination and lodgment in university libraries. My intention is to take this exhibition to Māori communities, especially those in the Far North (*Te Tai Tokerau*) and to museums with a special interest in telling the stories of Scottish immigrants (including the Waipu Museum and Toitū Otago Settlers Museum).⁶⁹ I also wish to share my work with those academic institutions that have an interest in Scottish studies, such as Victoria and Otago Universities. I will also take the work back to those academics who have helped me with the realisation of the thesis. These include Māori lecturers at the University of Auckland, the University of Alberta and the University of Southern Queensland. Such dissemination may be achieved personally or through conference presentations and exhibitions.

I am also currently applying for an artist in residence position in Scotland,⁷⁰ so I can take the work back to the community where I recorded the Caithness and Sutherland stories. Again, to do this I will need to reconfigure the installation so the Panoptica landscapes and filmic portraits can be shown on eight monitors instead of projections through the four HD and two standard definition projectors I have used for my exhibition at AUT.

It is hoped that while in Scotland I might extend my contact with Alastair Gunn, a controversial researcher about Clan Gunn history.⁷¹ He claims to have found evidence that “the origins of the Gunns were as the original Gaelic inhabitants (and, by implication Picts at an earlier stage),

[he suggests]... that the Gunns had been a branch of the aborigines of the north and “are much better viewed as Picto-Celtic inhabitants of northern Scotland” (n.d., para. 6, 17 & 19).⁷²

I also hope that the design of this exegesis as something more expressive than a spiral bound series of Times Roman set, A4 pages may contribute to an emerging discourse in the field surrounding the nature of the exegesis in academic writing (Hamilton, 2011; Hamilton & Jaaniste, 2010; Ings, 2014; Paltridge, Starfield, Ravelli, & Nicholason, 2011). While the exegesis (as a pdf) will be available online from Scholarly Commons, as a printed and artistically designed book it may be useful in conferences similar to those in the last two years that have examined examples of how artists, designers and filmmakers find distinctive solutions to communicating both the ethos and content of their theses.⁷³

It is also my intention to develop this research into a practice-led PhD. I hope to enroll in this in 2016 following a period where I can reflect upon and receive feedback relating to this body of work.

IN CONCLUDING...

Working on *Common Ground* away from the constraints of commercial production has given me permission to seek my own voice while engaging with the voices of others. In so doing I have found common ground with my own whakapapa, with Māori and with other researchers who share my interests.

I have had the opportunity to visit the Isle of Arran where I found my forebear's grave and to search for the place where my father's people lived prior to the Highland Clearances (Figure 25).

A thesis like *Common Ground* is both an academic and a personal undertaking. The challenge it has posed has been to enable me to authentically bring into harmony the personal, the artistic, and the scholarly. This is a difficult thing to balance. It has resulted in countless hours of writing, rewriting, editing, reediting and searching for a compass that might navigate the project through an uncharted landscape. In undertaking such a journey, I have been driven by a single idea... that we might, as inhabitants of land, find meeting places where commonalities are recognised, where gaps may exist and fragments of meaning be accepted, not as deficiencies, but as part of a complex, palimpsestic layering of information and storied experience...

... Such a place may be described as *Common Ground*.

Mairi Gunn November 2014

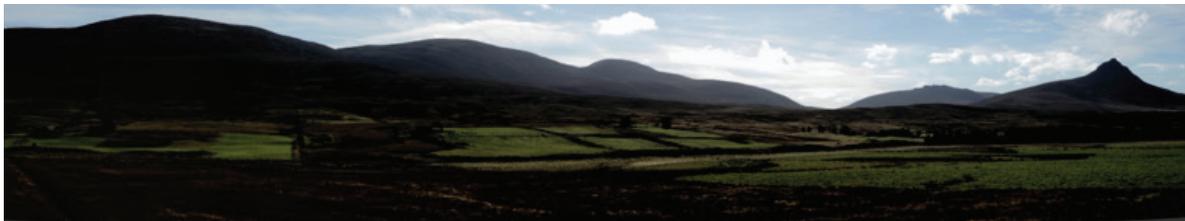


FIGURE 25

Frame grab from PanOptica landscape of my Father's people's land in Braemore, Caithness, Scotland, (2014).





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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

GLOSSARY OF SIGNIFICANT TERMS

Definitions of Māori terms are drawn from Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary. Definitions of European terms are from The Concise Oxford Dictionary (6th Edition) edited by J.B Sykes (1976).

AADOBE AFTER EFFECTS - software used for treating, layering and creating moving image.

AHI KĀ - burning fires of occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time. The group is able, through the use of whakapapa, to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. They held influence over the land through their military strength and defended successfully against challenges, thereby keeping their fires burning

AOTEAROA - the Māori name for New Zealand

AROHA - affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy

ASPECT RATIO - the ratio between the width and the height of a movie or a still frame

ATUA - ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god' and now also used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning

AWA - river, stream, creek

AWHI – help, assist

AWHI MAI, AWHI ATU means “to be embraced and to embrace”

BAIRN – child

BAN MHORAIR CHATAIBH - the Countess of Sutherland had a great deal of land and married a wealthy Englishman, who had money, but no land. They built Dunrobin Castle

BORG OR BROCH – ancient hollow-walled drystone towers found in the North of Scotland

BREAC À LINNE, SLAT À COILLE IS FIADH À FÌREACH – MÈIRLE ÀS NACH DO GHABH GÀIDHEAL RIAMH NÀIRE - A fish from the river, a rod from the woods and a stag from the mountain, thefts ne'er a Gael was ashamed. Accessed from <http://wmflyrodco.com/welcome-to-my-new-site/>

BRONZE AGE – time when weapons and tools were usually made of bronze (Sykes, 1976, p. 125) circa 2500 and 800 BC

BRYTHONIC – of the Celts of Britain (Sykes, 1976, p.127)

CAITHNESS AND SUTHERLAND - counties in the very North of mainland Scotland

CEILIDH – a social gathering involving singing, dancing and storytelling

CLEAVE – stick fast, adhere (Sykes, 1976, p. 186)

CROFTING – small scale farming and food production

CROP - to slice off part of an image

CURAM – care, responsibility

DOCUDRAMA - a dramatic filmic reconstruction of an actual event

DOMINIE – a clergyman

DRAM – a glass of whisky

DROCH SHUIL – the evil eye. A gaze that brings misfortune

DÙTHAICH MHICAOIDH – the ancestral land of the Mackays

DÙTHCHAS – expresses a sense of belonging to a certain area of land, of being rooted by ancient lineage to a particular place that was communally held by all the people of the clan. This idea of holding the land communally was never written down as was the custom of the time, it was simply an idea that was accepted by all as being the natural order of things⁷⁴

DYKE – dry stone wall

ESTATE – a large parcel of land that can include villages and farms inhabited by tenants who must pay money to the estate owner

FEAR AN TIGHE – man of the house

FRAME GRAB – a still frame taken from a moving image work

GAELIC – the language of the Gaels

GAIDHEAL – Gael

GEOMORPHOLOGY – the study of the physical features of the earth's surface and their relation to its geological structures (Sykes, 1976, p. 444)

HALLSTADT – relating to the civilisation of a phase of the early Iron Age (in Upper Austria) (Sykes, 1976, p. 485)

HÀHI – church, sect, religion

HAPŪ – kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe. A number of related hapū usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (iwi)

HE AHA TE KAI A TE RANGATIRA? HE KORERO - What is the food of the leader? It is discussion

HIKOI – step, stride, march, walk

HOKIANGA – Harbour on the West coast of Te Tai Tokerau (the Far North) of Aotearoa

HUI - gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference

INGOA - name

INTERROTRON - "a two way optical device for conducting filmed interviews Devised by Errol Morris. The name is made up from "interview" and "Terror"⁷⁵

IRON AGE – era of iron implements and weapons (Sykes, 1976, p. 571) circa 700 BC – 50 AD

IWI – extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor

JACOBITE – a supporter of the Catholic Stuart King James and his descendants, including (Bonnie) Prince Charles Edward Stuart who led the clans to defeat at Culloden in 1746

⁷⁴ Accessed from <http://www.clanjames.com/duthchas.htm> on 1st November 2014.

⁷⁵ Accessed from http://www.whiterabbitdesigncompany.com/uploads/1/4/1/3/14130356/interrotron_w_render2a.pdf on 1st November 2014

KAI – food, eat

KAI MOANA – sea food

KAIKŌRERO – formal speech maker

KĀRANGA - formal call, ceremonial call - a ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri

KAREHU – bubu, mud flat snail (sea food)

KATORIKA - Catholic

KAUMĀTUA - adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the whānau

KIA ORA - hello! cheers! good luck! best wishes! may you be well

KIST – wooden chest

KŌHANGA REO – language nest. Māori language preschool

KŌRERO - speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse

KŌRERO MAI KI AU O NGĀ HITORI MO TE KĀINGA NEI – tell me about the history of this home

KUIA - elderly woman, grandmother, female elder

KUPE - an early visitor to Aotearoa/New Zealand who returned to Hawaiki.

KURA - school

LAIRD – a member of the Scottish gentry.

LED – light emitting diodes

MAHINGA KAI - garden, cultivation, food-gathering places

MAI TAMAKI KI TE RERENGA WAIRUA – from Auckland to Spirits Bay

MANA - prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object

MANA ATUA - sacred spiritual power from the atua

MANA WHENUA - territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory - power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land.

MANĀKI - to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for - show respect, generosity and care for others

MĀORITANGA - Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māoriness, Māori way of life

MARAE - the courtyard - the open area in front of the whareniui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae

MATAHOURUA - canoe that brought Kupe from Hawaiki

MAUNGA - mountain

MEDIEVAL TIME – Middle ages. 5th-15th century (Sykes, 1976, p. 679)

MESOLITHIC – of Stone Age between palaeolithic and neolithic (Sykes, 1976, p. 684) circa 10,000 – 4,500 BC

MIHI - speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute

MOANA - sea, ocean, large lake

MOIDORE - Portuguese gold coin

MOKOPUNA - grandchild - child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece

MUIIME - Scottish Gaelic for “nursemaid” (Newton, 2009, p. 293)

NEOLITHIC – of the later Stone Age, when ground or polished stone weapons and implements prevailed (Sykes, 1976, p. 731) circa 4,500 – 2,300 BC

NGAHERE – bush, forest

NGĀ-TOKI-MATA-WHAO-RUA - refashioned Mātā-hou-rua canoe that returned to Hokianga from Hawaiki

PĀ - fortified village, fort, stockade

PAKANGA - battle, strife, hostility, war, engagement, conflict

PĀKEHĀ - a New Zealander of European descent

PALIMPSEST – Writing-material or manuscript on which the original writing has been effaced to make room for a second writing (Sykes 1976, p. 793)

PALISADE – a fence made with wooden stakes or posts

PANEGYRIC – laudatory (Sykes, 1976, p.795)

PANOPTICA is software developed by Soft Optics (UK) Ltd to generate ultra-widescreen moving image

PAPA KĀINGA - original home, home base, village. Often communally owned or in trust

PAPA-TŪ-Ā-NUKU - Earth, Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui - all living things originate from them

PARU - dirty, muddy, soiled

PICT – ancient people of Northern Britain (from paint, tattoo) (Sykes, 1976, p. 833)

PĪPĪWHARAUROA - shining cuckoo

PONO - truth

PŌWHIRI - rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae

PŪHĀ - perennial sowthistle

RANGATIRA - chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess

RANGI-NUI - atua of the sky and husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, from which union originate all living things (Where atua translates as ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as ‘god’ and now also used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning)

RĒWANA BREAD - bread made with potato yeast, leaven, yeast - a substance added to dough to make it ferment and rise.

SECOND SIGHT - AN DA SHEALLADH – the ability of seer to see distant or future events

SELLAR – Patrick Sellar implemented the removal of people from Sutherland to create big sheep farms. He was tried for murder, but was not convicted

SITH AGUS BEANNACHD LEIBH - Peace and blessings with you

STOP FRAME animation builds a film one or two frames at a time

STRATH – broad mountain valley (Sykes, 1976, p. 1139)

TĀNGATA WHENUA - indigenous people of the land

TANGI - rites for the dead, funeral - shortened form of tangihanga

TAONGA - treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques

TĀTAI - lineage, line of ancestry, genealogy

TĀTOU - us

TAU UTUUTU - speaking procedure where local and visiting speakers alternate

TAUIWI - foreigner, European, non-Māori

TAUTOKO - support, backing

TE AO MĀORI - the Māori world

THIN RED LINE - 93rd Regiment of Foot were Sutherland Highlanders who fought at Balaclava in Crimea

TILLEY LAMP – kerosene lamp

TŌHUNGA - skilled person, chosen expert, priest - a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation

NGĀ-TOKI-MATA-WHAO-RUA - refashioned Mātā-hou-rua canoe that returned to Hokianga from Hawaiki.

TŪPUNA - ancestors

TŪRANGAWAEWAE - domicile, place where one has the right to stand - place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship

TŪTAE - dung, excrement, shit, faeces, poo, droppings, stools

TŪTURU - fixed, permanent, real, true, actual, authentic

TWO-CHANNEL - uses two projectors

URUPĀ - burial ground, cemetery, graveyard

WĀHI TAPU - sacred place - a place subject to long-term ritual restrictions on access or use, e.g. a burial ground, a battle site or a place where sacred objects were placed

WAI - water

WAIATA - song, chant, psalm

WAKA - canoe, vehicle, conveyance

WAULKING - a finishing process that is applied to woven wool tweed. In Gaelic language, the process of waulking is called luadh (“loo-ugh”) and the songs of waulking are known as orain luaidh (“or-ine loo-ie”). There were four parts to the waulking process. The first, similar to the fulling process, entails shrinking the fabric so it thickens to give a degree of wind and waterproofing. Then cleansing the cloth, folding the cloth, the process of giving it tension, after which came a rite of consecration. Waulking was a daylong project and once begun it had to be finished in one session.

When cloth had been woven and removed from the loom, a session was planned. The waulking women assembled at the house of the owner of the cloth after breakfast. The tweed, up to 70 yards long, was sewn together at the ends to make a continuous loop and then it was soaked in human urine, fualor graith, which was saved in each house for this sole purpose. The ammonia served to deepen and intensify the dye colors but also to remove residual oils used to dress the wool.

Waulking of cloth was done by pounding the material against a board. Women would sit around the waulking board and the cloth would be

pulled towards you and beaten on the board then passed slightly to your left before pushing it back, moving it in a four-time clockwise direction. Cloth would be inches narrower when the process was complete in addition to being softer, thicker, and more tightly woven.

By Louise Butler⁷⁶

WHAEA - mother, aunt, aunty

WHAIKŌRERO - oration, formal speech-making

WHAKAPAPA - genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent or to place in layers, lay one upon another, stack flat

WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA - process of establishing relationships, relating well to others

WHĀNAU - extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society

WHANAUNGA - relative, relation, kin, blood relation

WHARENUI - meeting house, large house - main building of a marae where guests are accommodated

WHENUA - land, placenta

WHARE - house, building, residence, dwelling, shed, hut, habitation

WHARE KARAKIA - church (building), synagogue, house of prayer

WHARE TŪPUNA - ancestral house, meeting house

⁷⁶ Accessed from <http://barnhills.tumblr.com/post/4946173015/waulking-the-tweed-waulking-is-a-finishing> on November 1st 2014

Appendix 2

DIORAMIC EXPERIMENTS

The construction of ultra widescreen video projections can be achieved by using a number of techniques.

To simulate the scope of the panoramas, I exported still frames from the video pans and assembled them as a panoramic still in order to gauge the potential aspect ratio. (SEE FIGURE 1:1)

Another way to construct a panorama is to align three 16:9 HD frames.

This would give an aspect ratio of 5700 x 1080 pixels, allowing for minimal overlap.

Using three of the same shot was less successful when the jagged horizon broke the illusion of smooth panoramic imagery and the seams and interference patterning that arose between lens and features in the landscape was too distracting to adequately support the storyteller's narratives. (SEE FIGURE 1:2)

Even with the exclusion of the horizon, the introduction of strong foreground elements becomes a focus as the audience tries to anticipate patterning outcomes. (SEE FIGURE 1:3)

Excluding the horizon and using minimal depth-of-field created a more pleasing panoramic image and gave me something to work with because the joins were in the soft area. (SEE FIGURE 1:4)



FIGURE 1:1

Braemore with Maiden's Pap. Three frames from one panning shot joined.



FIGURE 1:2

Hand held track past cultivated fields. Three identical 16:9 shots crudely joined.



FIGURE 1:3

Fence triptych. Less obvious joins were problematic as the dance of wires and posts became distracting.

This image might be improved by further blurring of the overlapping edges of frame using Adobe After Effects.

Another configuration sees the story teller flanked by two identical shots of slate. Disparity in the colour balance can be overcome with grading and masking in Adobe After Effects, but the jarring juxtaposition of a static, tripod mounted camera and the hand held shot of the slate roof might consign this configuration to the trash. (SEE FIGURE 1:5)

Some landscapes were shot in more than one way to give more options for treatment during post production. The wind farm at sunset was captured in a lengthy pan and as a wide static shot. The latter is suitable for cropping or masking. (SEE FIGURE 1:6)

The panning shot at this location can be converted to a widescreen panorama by using PanOptica software.

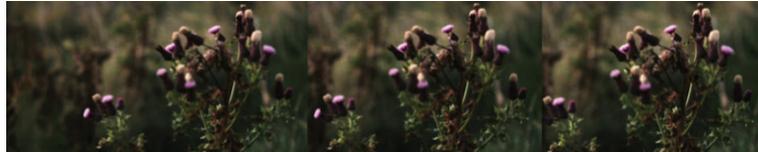


FIGURE 1:4

Hand held close up of thistles.
Three identical 16:9 shots joined
in Final Cut Pro.



FIGURE 1:5

Neil MacLeod speaks to camera on his
croft Guidevest, in Caithness, Scotland.



FIGURE 1:6

16:9 HD wide shot of
windmills at sunset in
Caithness.

Appendix 3

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

The interviews were conducted using SD cards. The Canon 60D camera shoots with a 12 minute / 4GB file limitation per shot. Accordingly, interviews, while time coded, are broken into discrete sections. They were recorded onto SD cards in camera and as audio files. I used both for transcription purposes.

3:I Scottish Stories

3:1.1 GEORGE GUNN

Title: Introduction

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 9.20am – 9.21am

Location: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 21:17:48:06 - 21:18:56:24

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

21:17:48:06 Mairi: Please introduce yourself

21:17:49:00 George: Well, my name's George Gunn. I am a poet and

playwright. I was born in Thurso in 1956 and I still live there. I went away as all the people of my generation had to do to earn a living and I came back to form the Grey Coast Theatre Company in the early 90s and I've lived here ever since. So, the work I do is very community orientated. We used to do school plays, community plays, but we also tour Scotland with new plays, not always by me, but I was the cheapest so that's what I do. But the company no longer exists because of financial cutbacks in arts funding and a realignment of arts funding in Scotland, so that's more or less what I do.

21:18:56:24 End

Title: George and the Gunns

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 9.21 – 9.28am

Place: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 21:19:50:00 - 21:9:44:05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

21:19:50:00 Mairi: Tell us about your ancestry

21:19:56:00 George: My full name is George Mackay Gunn, so that places me exactly where we're standing. Where we're standing is on the top of Ben Freiceadain on the North coast of Caithness on the

border with Sutherland and we're standing on a burial mound which is early Neolithic, so that'll make it 5 ½ thousand years that people were here. But there were people here before that in the Mesolithic Age, just post the glacial retreat.

If you stood here 10,000 years ago, you would be standing at the bottom of a mile of ice. But when the ice retreated, the people advanced and they came here in three ways, they reckon. One was on a land bridge that existed from Orkney over there behind me, to Shetland, up to what is now Norway, then there was another land bridge of what they call Doggerland, which joined Denmark to the East of Scotland and England, and then a lot of them came from Ireland. And the Mesolithics, as you are probably aware, were hunter-gatherers and they would have put these sites, Ben Freiceadain, which means the hill or "mountain of watching" – these sites are well chosen. And from here you can see 360 degrees in any direction and the Neolithic people were farmers.

21:21:44:12 George: Agriculture didn't really change from Neolithic times through the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, through the medieval times. The radical change in agricultural practice here in Caithness came around 1770 with the land enclosures. And if you see all the rectangular fields... that's the direct result of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster's Rationalisation of Agriculture, which meant that a lot of the people who had lived here in human continuity from 5 ½ - 6,000 years were moved off their traditional land. And history calls that the Highland Clearances. Now, where my people come in, my clan were the Gunns... and the Gunns are an indigenous people. They were Pictish and they were a blend of they melded with the Norse settlers that came here... but, basically the Gunns have been here since time immemorial.

21:22:56:07 George: The Gunn's traditional clan lands were everywhere around here extending down to Kildonan, down to the East Coast and as the Normanisation of Gaelic society took place, whereby the Sinclairs to the East established their powerbases at Freswick, Ackergill and all these places. You had the Gordons who took over the Earldom of Sutherland. The Gunns were pressured from the Sutherland direction and from the Eastern side. So they ended up perched in no man's land at the top of Kildonan but I just like to think that we've always been here. And if you go along the North coast here, you'll see lots of crofts from where I'm standing right to the tip of Cape Wrath, 70 miles to the West.

And the people were emptied out and basically what they're doing is physically hanging onto Scotland with their fingers and that's a constant struggle and that has to do with land use and land ownership.

21:24:16:16 George: Traditionally, in the Celtic world that the Gunns are part of, wealth was measured in people and cattle. The amount of cattle you had gave you status and also the chief of course had how many men he could raise for battle when that was necessary. So, the introduction of alien concepts like money and actually owning land, radically altered the relationship people had with the land, in as much as in the 19th century they were all emptied out. That was obviously part of the industrialisation of Britain which was the manufacturer of the British Empire.

21:25:07:01 George: If you take for example one of our bards, Rob Donn Mackay from Strathnaver to the West. He was born at the beginning of the 18th century and he died in 1777 and for every year of his life, Britain was at war. In many ways history has broken over the North of Scotland in waves. I could go back through the Mesolithic, the

Neolithic, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, Medieval times... and right up to 1746 was a big change here because it was after 1746 that the British Empire started to formulate and militarise itself. And of course, one of the uses for the young men here emptied out of the interior Straths of Kildonan and Strathnaver was the British army.

21:26:02:17 George: What happened then, after that, there was... when the Napoleonic Wars finished, there was a big upsurge in finding industries to occupy the residual population and that's when the herring boom of the 19th century came in and that's where my mother's people come from. They were Wickers. Their people used to gut herring and fish for herring. And that was quite a big industry here up until the first world war. And it's interesting to think that you may not think that the Russian Revolution has much to do with where we are in the North of Scotland, but 95% of the trade from herring from the North of Scotland was directly or indirectly to St Petersburg and when the Russian Revolution happened, the British state put what we would now call sanctions on the Soviet government and that killed off the herring trade almost at a stroke. But then again, there was a great depopulation after the first world war and that's when lots of people went to Canada and New Zealand and Australia and places like that.

21:27:09:12 George: And then of course, the second world war came and there was a huge militarisation of the North of Scotland, as in the first world war, the British fleet was stationed at Scapa Flow. This was the front line in 1939, 1940 there would be gun emplacements all around the place. So then, after the second world war finished, there was a great how-to-do about "What are we going to do with the people? We can't have another de-population", so then we were sold the idea of having a nuclear reactor, which is Dounreay over there. And that's employed quite a lot of people in the West of Caithness for

the last 60 years, in fact almost all my life. But now it's coming to it's end and of course that's another wave of history breaking over the top. That's being de-commissioned. And then what's going to happen next? You know everybody's waiting for the miracle to come. And the next miracle is all these things that you can see up here which are wind farms, which is renewable energy. But they have a... the relationship with the land there is that somebody owns that land and the benefit is between the land owner and the power utility company. So the local people don't really get much benefit off it. So all of this is what I suppose William Blake would call "a terrible symmetry".

21:28:36:07 George: So that's basically where you are standing. But, if you look historically, this is the Province of the Cat. This is the Pictish land of Catta Ness here, the point of cat - Cate meaning cat, Ness is Norse for point, and Caithness is a promontory, it sticks out into the North Sea, so it's name is half Gaelic, half Norse.

Out there is Strathnaver to the West, which is the heartland of the Duthaic Mhic Aoidh, the clan Mackay and to the East is Sutherland and the name of Sutherland is Sutherlanda of the Earldom of Orkney. So all of this land is part of the Province of the Cat. And the difference between Caithness and Sutherland is what Angus Mackay, the great historian of the 19th century called... ah, they were "radically identical". So, it's that continuity I think's important here.

21:9:44:05 End

Title: People of Caithness and land use

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 9.28 – 9.37am

Place: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 21:31:35:00 - 21:40:05:22

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

21:31:35:00 Mairi: Tell us stories about the people and places here.

21:31:53:21 George: As far as the movement of people, there's a theory that the Celts for example, that there were two waves of Celtic civilisation. You know, the first one came out of Switzerland and they moved west and north and that's the Brythonic, you know, where the Pictish people come from. Then there was the second wave from Hallstadt, you know, that's your Gaels. The language that traditionally was spoken in Sutherland is Gaelic. But my view is that it's not so much people that migrated, it culture that migrated and my feeling is that my ancestors, the clan Gunn, are the result of people essentially coming out of the ground. The people have always been here, you know, that's why we're standing on a burial mound, you know. It's that continuity of human existence that interests me. And the radical shift was 5 ½ thousand, 6 thousand years ago when these people who made these mounds here were farming around this area of North Caithness. Their modes of farming were very practical and quite efficient and they didn't... and the farming practices didn't change for literally thousands of years and they were subsistence farming but, agricultural land in Caithness is on the Eastern seaboard and the North coast. The thing you have to remember about Caithness is that it's 75% bog, you know. But when these people built these mounds here, there would have

been forests here, you know, pine forests, birch forests, hazel, perhaps a bit of yew, perhaps a bit of oak. So the landscape would have looked totally different and as time went on, the forests were removed and gradually the economy became very much a sort of animal husbandry economy, very much about cattle and taking cattle to market. And that's where my Great Great Grandfather came in 'cause that's what he was into, was cattle, as everyone else was. And they originally were in Kildonan, which is to the South-East of us and they moved basically out of sheer economic necessity, out of Sutherland, into Caithness in order to make a living. And Thurso, the town I live in... The name Thurso linguistically is very interesting because the languages of the North are a cleaving into the people. Effectively, Caithness has always been a tri-lingual place whereby the people like my father and mother spoke Caithness Scots and that, Caithness Scots is not a dialect of English, Caithness Scots is a dialect of Scots. To say that it's a dialect of English is a bit like saying that English is a dialect of Danish, which, if you follow the linguistic route, I suppose it is. But my grandfather and grandmother, my father's father and mother, they were Gaelic speakers. And a lot of people in Caithness and the West of Caithness and the South of Caithness and also all over Sutherland were Gaelic speakers up until very recently. Angus Mackey who wrote and "The Province of the Cat" which was published in Wick 1914, after he died in 1911, he was a minister at Westerdale, which is just across the hill there, well inside the Caithness boundary and his entire population were Gaelic speakers, because he was a Gaelic speaker himself, because he was from Farr.

21:36:27:13 George: So the English language was the third language, but it was the least spoken, so that duality, that linguistic tradition is the key to the people. In the 1770s when agriculture changed, when the

nature of land and the people's relationship with land changed, that's when the huge de-population happened and that's when economically it got very difficult to sustain a population because the business of looking from your castle and owning everything that you see, whether you name's Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster or whether you're the Countess of Sutherland, that huge change in cultural perspective and the economics that went along with it, decimated the cultural life and the economic life of the majority of the people and resulted in them emigrating to Cape Bretton in Nova Scotia and latterly to Australia and New Zealand. What these empty straths that you'll see out in the West, represent is poverty. It's a poverty of imagination, it's a poverty of land use, it's a wasting, literally, a wasting asset where the land produces nothing. It's just a playground for extremely rich people to go hunting red stags and salmon and it produces nothing for the people at all.

And if these straths were re-populated, if Strathnaver was repopulated, if Kildonan was re-populated, if Halladale was re-populated, the economy of the North would flourish because – that's what I'm saying about the continuity of human habitation here is that these people have always thrived when they had the power over their own lives. And what they haven't got at the moment is political and economic control over their destiny and until they get that, de-population will continue. When that nuclear reactor gets broken up into things the size of my notebook and thrown in a hole in the ground, then young men and women, the actual economic lifeforce of our society will leave, because the likes of these windfarms benefit nobody and that's the problem.

So, we have to get back to the acoustic, the human acoustic that was here prior to the 1770s. We have to get back to where people live on the land, have to get back to working the land and we have to get back to husbanding the sea in a way that's sustainable, otherwise nobody is

going to live here. We don't have a future if that doesn't happen and that's just a truth. It's not the truth, it's just a truth.

There has to be a radical realignment of control, power and wealth otherwise this society has got a rocky future.

21:40:05:22 End

Title: George's poem "The Great Edge"

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 9.39 – 9.41am

Place: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 21:46:53:00 - 21:49:01:06

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

21:46:53:00 George: This poem is called "The Great Edge" and this, where we're standing, is the North coast of Scotland, it's the end of the Scottish mainland. Behind us is Orkney, and in Orkney, they talk about going over to Scotland. So this, effectively, is where Scotland stops and starts. And in the poem, I use the word "terminus" and that refers to the Latin God of Boundaries, because we're here in Caithness and across from us is Sutherland. But "boundary", "terminus" also means starting point, so it refers to that as well and again, I refer to the wave of history that has passed over this place.

“THE GREAT EDGE”

This is Ben Freiceadain, The Watcher’s Mountain

Here we can listen to the music of silence

We can see the pattern in nothing

Feel the warmth beyond heat. smell the colour of sunrise
and be curious about the arrangement of the stones dropped
by the Angel of History and fashioned by a human hand.

So, now at least we know that between the croft park and
the End of Everything

Here at The Great Edge, death is the terminus for beauty
That Information is not Knowledge,

Knowing is not Truth and the sea is a series of waves

Look Avalach, somewhere out there, between Dounreay
and Brims Ness

In the broad Atlantic, where another wave is forming,

It needs no priests or plutonium. It is us coming back
into our own country.

21:49:01:06 End

Title: Commentary on 360 degree pan

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 9.41 – 9.52am

Place: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 21:54:30:00 - 22:04:28:07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

21:54:30:00 Mairi: Tell us what we’re looking at here, George.

21:54:37:00 George: The hill that you’re looking at there, that’s Ben Dorerey and, when the Norse started to come here in the late 8th, 9th century, there would be a watch tower on there with a beacon on it and if there were lots of sails on the horizon, the beacon would get lit and there would be a relay of beacons around the coast to alert them to impending danger, you know what I mean. As I say, this hill we’re on is Ben Frechedin, is the Hill of Watching as well, so these hills have got a strategic use, but to the South of Ben Dorary, you’ve got the Scarabens they’re the mountains on the East coast and that’s the boundary between Caithness and Sutherland, Sootherlander and that’s the Ord of Caithness as we call it. On the other side of that hill is Helmsdale and that’s where the Kildonan River meets the sea and that’s the South-Eastern boundary of Caithness and Sutherland and the hills next to it is Smeem and the Maiden’s Pap and the one with the two cones on the top, that’s Morven, that’s the highest hill in Caithness, that’s over 2 ½ thousand feet, which for us is a mountain.

In the rest of Scotland, it’s just a little hill. So, travelling West, out there is the flow country and that’s just blanket bog. It’s one of the biggest bogs in Europe. It’s quite an amazing ecological thing. It’s a very delicate ecosystem. It’s quite a fascinating place and it’s a bit of a dream landscape, I always think. You can walk in there for days and never see a living soul. But to the West of that, the mountain you can see is Ben Graham Mohr and Ben Graham Beck and they’re at the fulcrum of the height of Kildonan and the beginning of Halladale at

Kinbrace and Forsinard. It's right in the middle of the flow country bog. And if we go West further still, you'll see... the landscape comes down into Reay which is just below us there.

And behind Reay in the distance is the mountain of Ben Loyal which is in West of Sutherland in Strathnaver right out the back of the Kyle of Tongue and it's named after the old Celtic God Lugh, a God of the Sun and it's known as the Queen of Scottish mountains. It's an old volcano, basically, and to the West of that, behind that, is the big lumping lurck of Ben Hope, that you can't quite see, and it's over 3,000 feet, it's a Munro. It's a very deceptive mountain because it's gentle on one side and it's got a 3,000 ft drop on the West side. A way up behind that you'll see Cape Wrath, a way up to the West. And that's the North-West extremity of Sutherland, that's Cape Wrath and of course beyond that is the Hebrides.

21:59:09:06 George: And then coming back a little bit East, you'll see Whiten Head and then just with the lighthouse there in the foreground, that's Strathy Point and that represents, at the back of Strathy there is Melvich and that again is the boundary between Strathnaver, Duthaic Mhic Aoidh, the land of the Mackays in Sutherland and Caithness. And the little bay there is Sandside.

And then panning around there to the East, we see the glory of HMS Vulcan where they service and replace the nuclear reactors for submarines. And then there's the big grey box with a chimney on it, the PFR, which is the Prototype Fast Reactor and then of course there's the classic Dounreay dome, which is the same age as myself, I've got more hair than it, just about, and that's the Prototype Fast Reactor and then other chemical labs, and then the little thing that looks like an icecream cone, the little pimple thing, that's the double test reactor.

So you've got a whole series of different reactors there. But in 10-15 years time that will all be gone. It'll all be cut up, decommissioned and buried in a hole in the ground at Baldubh, which is just along there.

22:00:38:19 George: And as we pan East, we're looking now into the farmland of North-West Caithness and that, where those windmills are, that's Forss. There used to be an American Navy base there and this is the beginning of the

reorganisation of land that I talked about before in the 1770s where all these square fields are in relative time quite recent inventions and that stretches right off the hill of Forss there, right down to Achscrabster, right into Thurso, which is over the hill.

And the island you see over the Pentland Firth there, that's Hoy and those cliffs, the big cliffs...

22:02:00:20 Mairi: I'm rolling again and coming onto the windfarm.

22:02:05:02 George: That windfarm is on the site of an old American base that was there up until about 10 years ago- more like 15 years ago now actually, and it was part of the American's defense system for the Atlantic. And that's Forss and Forss in both Norse and Gaelic means waterfall. And there's a river that goes down there. And right next to it is Brims Ness, which is an old Christian site, the St Mary's chapel down there and Irish monks would have been there for centuries in their little beehive huts. And in the distance there, on the other side of that chambered cairn, which is a Neolithic burial mound, is my gg grandfather's old stomping ground of Skiall. It's now a beautiful 19th century steading and in the back of that, beyond is the Pentland Firth and the Island of Hoy with Ratwick, which is that cut in that landscape there. And those cliffs that you see on the other side to the North, that's St John's Head and they are the highest cliffs in Britain - they're over

1,000 feet high and that's all old, red, sandstone, which is some of the oldest rocks in the world. And this is the beginning of the agricultural land here, these rectangular fields are a feature of Caithness. These are the result of the 1770 land enclosures that I mentioned. And this ground goes right over the top of Achscrabster Hill there into Thurso, which is... Thurso's name derives from the Norse Thorsá, which is Tors River, or it could mean Bulls Crossing. But Thurso was always a cattle town, a market town.

And of course then we've got the new great white hope of the wind farm there on Baillie - that's Baillie Farm there, the Hill of Shebster.

And that in one sweep is basically 6 ½ thousand years of history.

22:04:28:07 End

Title: Tax Dodge

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 10.00 – 10.01am

Place: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 22:30:40:00 - 22:04:28:07

Zoom 12:23:23:15 – 12:25:03:18

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

22:30:40:00 Mairi: Off you go, George.

22:40:43:07 George: See these forests here... What those forests represent is 1980s tax dodges by TV personalities an' footballers an' snooker players whereby they would put money into private forestry in order to get a tax allowance from the Exchequer in London. And what these trees are environmentally is bad news because these aren't indigenous species, these are a sort of Canadian Lodge Pole Pines and Spruce and all the rest of it. And what they do is, they suck water out of the bog. And that, for a bog, is really bad news because the flow country, the bog is a very delicate, interconnected balance between rivers, burns, sphagnum moss and peat and if the water gets taken out of the bog and put into the carbon in (Picture ends 22:31:52:23. Audio continues on zoom SD card) the trees, effectively, what you're creating over a period of time, is a desert... which is another example of bad land use.

And that is just another graphic physical evidence of greed and stupidity.

Audio 12:25:03:18 End

Title: Sausage story

Storyteller: George Gunn

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 10.03 – 10.04am

Place: Summit of Ben Freiceadain, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Zoom only Timecode: 11:59:54:22 - 12:01:25:18

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

11:59:54:22 George: The problem with the wind farms is that the majority of the people don't benefit from them, directly or indirectly. I mean, those are on a farmers land and it is a relationship he has, a financial relationship he has with Scottish and Sutherland Electricity or whatever the utility provider is. But all that electricity is going South down the national grid, so it's not being used locally. And the Scottish government have got to get a grip on their policy on renewable energy because it's all very well for the first minister to talk about Caithness and the North of Scotland being the Saudi Arabia for renewable energy. If we're not actually benefitting in any legislative form, then we're not benefitting at all. And I mind when I was a bairn, every winter we'd have a power cut when we were in Dunnet, in the house. My mother had just bought a deep freeze. So, we were moving up the social ladder you know, becoming middle class with a deep freeze, and of course, every winter we'd have a power cut. And there she was trying to rescue her sausages and we were sitting round a peat fire wi' a Tilley lamp and a candle and she said to me "Why are we sitting in the dark? ", she said "8 miles away there's two nuclear reactors!" And there we were sitting in the dark. So, it didn't work then and it certainly doesn't work now.

12:01:25:18 End

3:1.2 Sandra Train

Title: Sandra's introduction

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.09 – 2.12pm

Place: Dispolly, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 01:05:31:00 - 01:08:31:15

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by Sandra Train

01:05:31:00 Mairi: Please introduce yourself.

01:05:36:24 Sandra: I'm Sandra, I was Sandra MacDonald, born and raised in Strath Halladale. Born in 1939. On my mother's side, my mother was a Fraser, but there were Gunns and MacKays, going back several generations. And on my father's side, who was MacDonald, there were MacDonald again, Mackays and also Gunns. And the two sets of Gunns were not connected, interestingly enough. My mother's Gunns were from this particular area where we are just now and slightly South of here. My father's Gunns were a fair bit further south near Forsinain. Now, we were told, or I was told by both sets of grand parents that the Gunns were not really Caithness Gunns, but Sutherland Gunns from the Strath of Kildonan.

01:06:38:07 Sandra: When the evictions began in Kildonan, word got

round quickly that things were happening and they found their way here into Strath Halladale. Be that as it may, that may not be the whole story. Gunn is particularly a Caithness name, but we do know that there was a seat of Clan Gunn in Kildonan Strath.

01:07:03:04 Sandra: And this area we are in is just South of Golval and Akron, these are Norse names, and we are in a place here called Dispollly. Over there behind us is Kirkton or Baile an h-eaglais, the "township of the church", where there was a medieval church which supplied money for the crusades in 1294, would you credit it?

01:07:31:09 Sandra: So here we have the ruins of the houses of the people who were moved from this area in the 1830s. Mackay of Big House sold his estate to the Countess of Sutherland and the sheep farms which were made at that time were one large sheep farm on this side, Golval, one large sheep farm on the other side of the Halladale River, Kirkton. And so the people were moved and yet there must have been a large enough population here at one time to have a meetinghouse, the outline of which you can see there behind us. This was a meetinghouse which was for religious activity and for secular activity otherwise, dancing and ceilidhing and so on. So there must have been enough people to have a need for such a building.

01:08:31:15 END

Title: Movement and diet of Sandra's forbears

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.13 – 2.15pm

Place: Conigil, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 01:28:26:00 - 01:30:50:10

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

01:28:26:00 Sandra: Mother's Grandmother, whose name was Minnie Gunn, my Mother was Minnie Anne Fraser, so she was called for her Grandmother... My Great Grandmother was Minnie Gunn and her people were in this area here called Conigil and her Father was Donald Gunn and he had a fairly large family of whom Minnie was one. She married Magnus Fraser, whose people were in Golval and at the time of the removal of people, when these two areas were made into sheep farms, the Gunns and the Frasers were moved up into the central area of Halladale, which we'll see in a little while.

01:29:16:17 Sandra: And this conical shape here, my father used to tell me, is where the tenants had their potato pits, after the potato harvest, they put them in there to keep them dry over the winter. They were very close to the river, as you can see, and very close to the hill, so... there is no doubt that they did not go hungry. There are three things we say in Gaelic that a Highlander need never be ashamed of taking.

The first is wood, firewood from the wood, or the forest. Slat a coille, is the Gaelic for that – firewood from the wood or from the forest - fiadh a doire, breac a linne. - Salmon from the pool or from the river and a deer from the hill. And there is no doubt that they would have supplemented their diet with those last two items, salmon and deer and grouse in season. And of course, rabbits and hares as well. So they'd do rather well.

01:30:34:20 Mairi: Can they do that now?

01:30:36:10 Sandra: It has been known, shall we say. You can ask Raymond about that later.

01:30:50:10 End

Title: The mill

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.15 – 2.18pm

Place: Smigel Burn, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 01:42:46:00 - 01:45:08:05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

01:42:46:00 Mairi: Sandra, what can you tell us about this place?

01:42:49:21 Sandra: This is called Smigel Burn and the burn fed the mill. The mill was built in the 1850s by public subscription. The people of Halladale didn't want any longer to have to take their grain to Melvich or further afield into Caithness. They wanted their own mill. So the Sutherland Estate allowed them to have what is a useless piece of ground – you must confess – there's nothing could grow there – and so they built it with their own money. However, the Countess said "Yes, you can have a mill and you can have a miller, whom you will pay, but the proceeds from the mill, I will take a cut of it because it's on my land.

01:43:47:04 Sandra: Around the same time, in 1843 was the disruption of the Church of Scotland, when the Free Church of Scotland was formed. So in the 1850's the Free Church, which we'll see in a little while, was built again by the people of Halladale. And that's the church that Raymond and I were married in 1961 and my parents and many, many others in Halladale – my parents in 1935. So this is a particularly hallowed spot, if you like, for the people of Halladale. The church here was the first consecrated church on Halladale after the meetinghouse ceased to be used.

Until it was built, people would meet for services in barns and in the mill here and for dances and so on and marriages also in people's barns – imagine.

01:45:08:05 End

Title: Ceilidh and Gaelic

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.18 – 2.23pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:32:37:00 - 03:39:06:01

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

03:32:37:00 Sandra: I'm Sandra, I was Sandra MacDonald, born here in 1939 in this house. This is where my father's people have been for generations. Behind us here is what is now the byre, or an outhouse and it was the old home until some date around the mid 1870s. It was a thatched building, and that's where my great grandfather, John Grant MacDonald was born and brought up. He was the youngest of a family of nine. The Gunn connection with this household, although we were MacDonalds, began further South from here in a place called Breacru. And, there was a William MacDonald, evicted from Breacru, probably around 1830s and his wife was Janet Gunn. And they were evicted from Breacru, which was about 3 miles South of here to Nharr, which is just opposite us across the river. They had a son, Alexander. The people who were in this area were MacKays and they had a daughter Ann MacKay. Ann and Alec married. So, Alec Macdonald crossed the river, married Ann Mackay, and hence, the MacDonalds. But the linking was Gunn, MacKay, MacDonald... So this is how we are here. And this house has been the family home since all those generations.

03:34:40:06 Mairi: And the land here?

03:34:42:10 Sandra: The land, the croft runs from the road, there would be about 5,6,7 acres of land to the river and was worked, obviously, by my grandfather and his people before him and my father as a viable croft with sheep and cattle. North Country Cheviots and a variety of cattle. My mother kept hens and so on and that was how they lived. Twice a year my father got a cheque when he sold his lambs and his cattle and his sheep and they got subsidies and that was their income. No other income really, so they had to be careful.

03:35:27:21 Sandra: My sister and I were sent to secondary school in Golspie. We got bursaries to help us do that, as all the young people around here did. And my sister went to nurse and I went to university.

03:35:43:13 Mairi: Can you tell me about the social gatherings you had here?

03:35:46:21 Sandra: Yes. Very frequently in the summer time, and in the winter, but perhaps more in the winter, we had a dance on a Friday night, preceded by a little concert or ceilidh, in the hall down the road, but also in each other's houses we would meet to sing. Some of the lads could play the piano accordion, the box, as we called it, and the mouth organ and Jew's harp, tell stories, gossip, pass on the daily news and so on. And, if it was in one house, that would be the ceilidh house for that night. The men usually brought a bottle with them - just one dram for the man of the house - and the ladies would get tea and so on... And that's how we learned stories, we learned songs and we learned to dance. Our mothers, and particularly my mother was a lovely dancer, she showed us how to dance. My father sang, we learned songs and that was how it was. There was no radio, as such, and there was certainly no television.

03:36:58:17 Mairi: Can you tell us why you managed to hold on to your Gaelic?

03:37:07:00 Sandra: I think it's just because that's my nature. I saw it was something to be valued. I was interested in language and... Gaelic isn't just a language, it is the backbone of a culture and if you pull out the roots, then the whole culture will die, if you think of it as a plant. If I was to pull that bunch of grass out by the roots, it would die. So, if I take Gaelic from the culture, the culture will die. There would be no singing, there would be no psalm singing, putting out the line, there would be no poetry, there would be no history and there would be no communication. And the thought processes of Gaelic are important to me. When I am worried, there is a curam on me. And I can say that to you in English. There's a curam on me, meaning there's a care on me, there's an anxiety on me, there's fear on me, but I have love... right? And you are with me, you see. That the difference, it's a difference in thought process. And I think it's vey important to hold onto that.

I was asked recently by somebody who was, perhaps, being a bit snide about Gaelic. I had been saying how I was speaking to young people in Bettyhill, in the swimming pool there. They were talking to me in Gaelic and I was delighted. And I said to this lady on radio one day that we were actually in the Jacuzzi together. And she said "Oh and, what's the Gaelic for Jacuzzi then Sandra? And I said "Well, if you can tell me the English for Jacuzzi, I'll tell you the Gaelic for Jacuzzi". So, that's how I find it important.

03:39:06:01 End

Title: Welcome

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.23 – 2.25pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:39:32:00 - 03:41:12:22

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:39:32:00 Sandra: Failte gu Dalshealbhaig That's "Welcome to Dalhalvaig". Dalhalvaig is Gaelic for "the meadow of Wood Sorrel", of which this area abounds at certain times of the year.

Sith agus beannachd leibh Peace and Blessings with you. When people came to the houses here, they didn't knock at the door, they just opened the door and said "Peace to all in this house. Sith dhan a h-uile duine as an dachaigh seo neo taigh. Peace to all in this house." And that meant that they were coming... not as enemies, but as friends. So, there was no need to be anxious. All was well, in other words. A very, very important part of our lives here, as a family, and it was in all the other houses, was the taking of family worship. It was known as "taking the books". Because there were two books – the Bible and the Scottish Psalter. And the man of the house, fear an tìghe, the Grandfather would, in the morning, after we'd eaten our breakfast,

gather everybody in to take the books and he would read a portion of scripture, we would sing a psalm and say the Lord's prayer together. And that continued... and again in the evening once everyone was in after a day's work and so on.

03:41:12:22 End

Title: Wedding customs

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.25 – 2.27pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:42:34:19 - 03:44:13:03

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:42:34:19 Mairi: Tell us about the customs

03:42:38:06 Sandra: It was the custom in Halladale, that the night before the wedding foregathered in the bride's home, with much fun and frolics. You know, there'd be singing and playing musical instruments and telling tales and drams going round and so on and then, just before everyone left, a tub would be brought with cold water and soot from the back of the fire spread on the girls and the lads legs and then dumped into the water together – much fun... and when they

were done, then all the unmarried young people of a certain age would get their feet dipped in the water as well. This was to ensure that they would be married.

03:43:25:16 Mairi: Tell us about the wedding arrangements

03:43:32:00 Sandra: There was a strong belief that the fairy folk were jealous of humans. For instance, a bride wouldn't wear green, any green about her on her wedding day. That is their colour and you don't wear green on your wedding day. And in the bride's reel... every so often the bride's place with the bridegroom would be taken by one of her bride's maids or another young woman, in case the fairies planned to steal away the bride.

03:44:13:03 End

Title: Eviction

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.27 – 2.29pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:44:50:00 - 03:47:39:01

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:44:50:00 Mairi: Can I ask about stories you heard about the Clearances

and your reaction to them when you were young?

03:45:04:22 Sandra: We never heard the word “clearance”, we heard “eviction”, which has a stronger sound to it in a way, but... and my Grandfather would have cronies coming in and they would sing the Gaelic song of Strathnaver Mo mholachd aig na caoraich mor - “My curses on the Great White Sheep”. And that would be part of what we were hearing. We would ask about how, why this happened, to whom did it happen and so on, and the name of Sellar was known to us from a very early age, and Loch and Atkinson and Marshall and so on and the Ban Mhorair Chataibh, the great lady of Sutherland, of course. And then it might be explained to us that our strath was slightly different from Kildonan and Strathnaver in that we were not systematically cleared but, if you like, squashed into the central area, the part we’re in now. We saw Golval and Kirkton and so on and the people were moved from the North end to make way for the big sheep runs there, and when you go South in Halladale – Forsinain and Forsinard were also cleared. But, there were movements of people before that obviously. People went away to fight, people went away to better themselves in the 16th, 17th, 18th centuries. They went, perhaps for economic reasons, but they went of their own volition. What happened in the 19th century was not of their own volition. No. The Border shepherds who came with the sheep, they were innocent in all of this. They came because there was work and they were told to come. And the first generation they didn’t mingle with the people, by the 2nd and 3rd generation they were intermingling and intermarrying and many of their descendants of Border and Highland or Sutherland families are still around today and many of them are still in shepherding which is wonderful.

03:47:39:01 End

Title: Indigenous culture – second sight

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 27 September 2013

Time: 4.04 – 4.09pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:46:51:22 - 03:53:32:10

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:46:51:22 Mairi: You used to have the meetinghouse, now you have the hall. What do you use that for?

03:46:59:00 Sandra: On Sunday, we’ll have a service at 11 o’clock, a community service, Church of Scotland and another Sunday, it might be the Free Church and so on. There’s dances and parties and whisk drives and coffee mornings and birthday parties... all these events are in the hall. So, it’s good. “And our Golden Wedding “ [Raymond, off camera] And our Golden Wedding two years ago, yes.

03:47:36:12 Mairi: What’s your response to the announcement by the UK government, after their signing the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, that there are no indigenous people in the UK?

03:47:36:12 Sandra: I would say, yes, there must be indigenous peoples. I mean, we carry the genes generation down the generations, don't we? So I am part of all that has gone before til today, til I am now. So yes, I would say that there must be rights for indigenous peoples. Anyone who has Pictish genes or are descended from Picts, such as the people here... then, yes, we must still be around.

03:48:43:24 Mairi: What do you call yourself?

03:48:48:15 Sandra: I'm a Highlander, I just think of myself as a Gael. Is mise Gaidheal. I am a Gael. That's how I think of myself. Before I think of myself as a Scot, I think of myself as a Gael. Because of where I am and the people I'm of and... so on. And we were told as children "Remember the people from whom you have come". And that didn't mean your Mum and Dad or your Grand Parents, it meant all the generations back.

03:49:28:04 Mairi: You can't be native unless you have somewhere to be native to. Does it have to do with place?

03:49:33:02 Sandra: Yes, it is a sense of place, there's no doubt, there is a sense of place and that can be fortified by the culture that you have grown up with and that has grown up around you. And, if you hook into that culture, it supports that.

And you were asking me about things like the Second Sight, for instance, that is part of our culture. It's not something you wish for. It happens to you, if you... I don't have it all the time obviously, that wouldn't be good, but I had two instances of it and therefore I know that it is there. Others in this area of a previous generation would admit to it too. And we would always say it was not something we had particularly wished for. It was not something that one would want. But in 1972, we were here, Easter time, and where we were yesterday at the

Free Church, you know, near the mill, Raymond and I went for a walk that evening, one evening up the Smigel Burn. And on the way back I said to him "Oh, I'm going to go and look inside the church". Now, I went round the back of the church and I went up like that on a ledge of stone and I looked in. And I closed my eyes because the church was full of people in dark clothes. Now, that wasn't, that wasn't... And I came away and I said nothing to you did I? But you said "What's wrong?" He knew there was something wrong and so, when we came home, I didn't say anything to my parents, but then I told my father and he said "Oh well, OK, aha, yes... there's an explanation for that". Now, his only sister, my Aunt whom I used to visit in Edinburgh as a student, lived very close to us, we had a lot in common... was killed in a car accident about 3 weeks later. And the next time we were all together as a family was for her funeral in church and all in dark clothes. And that's what I'd seen. I know now, that's what I had seen. And the other occasion was when my father died, he was dying, we knew he was dying and we came up here – he was in Wick hospital – and we had to go back. We knew we wouldn't see him again. So, when the news came a day or two later that he had passed away, we made preparations quickly to come back. And, as we were doing that, there was a small cupboard off our kitchen, and I just went into it for something... and... I saw my father. And, then I didn't see him, I heard his voice. And he said "It's true what they say, Sandy", he called me Sandy... and it's a verse from Revelation... "Behold I make all things new". So, I was at ease.

But other stories from round here, you know, people getting knocks on the door and going and seeing somebody who they thought was alive and then hearing later that they were not. So that's all part of a culture.

03:53:32:10 End

Title: Talking house.

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.29 – 2.30pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:47:51:24 - 03:49:13:01

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:47:51:24 Mairi: How do you feel about being here?

03:48:05:21 Sandra: Blessed, I think, is the word I'm looking for. It's a strange thing, but we just got back here yesterday, having been away 4 to 5 weeks and it's the same every time, no matter what the period of year it is – Summer, Winter, Autumn, Spring – I'm in first because I have the key. And the house goes quiet because the house has been "talking" in my absence, if you see... Can you see? And it's as if the house is saying "Och they're back. We don't have to say anything. They'll be speaking now".

So the house just rests now and we're alive. And all the things are there and all the things I touch are the things that other people touched over the years. We still have the old kists – the old chests, you know – upstairs, with all the documents and so on. And the walls are the same,

the fireplace and all the important things are the same. Obviously there are changes, there have to be.

03:49:13:01 End

Title: The Strath can sustain people.

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 25 September 2013

Time: 2.30 – 2.32pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:49:24:00 - 03:52:05:01

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:49:24:00 Mairi: What do you think this valley could provide for the urban poor?

03:49:58:18 Sandra: It could provide so much, it could. There does not seem to be any great urgency. The Crofting Commission would make land available, but it's a hard life. And the younger people who are crofting on Halladale and making a go of it, always have, in virtually every case, have another job. A job where it's a cash economy and they're here every day and every night after work, working on the land and raising their sheep and perhaps they've a Dad or an uncle who's

helping them at the same time. So, it is a difficult one. That's not to say... there is a scheme for new entrants into crofting and good luck to them. But, be prepared, it is a hard life. There are good grants available for housing and so on. But it is a hard life.

I mean my father worked very hard to sustain this here.

03:51:14:17 Mairi: What's happening to the population?

03:51:18:22 Sandra: It's stable and there are quite a number of young families and young children. But they won't stay. They are being educated as we speak. They go to the local school in Bettyhill or Thurso and they will go for apprenticeships or to universities and colleges. They won't stay. That's how it will be. So, who can say what the future will be? It's an ageing population. It's my vintage. Some are older, some are younger, but, on the whole, it is an ageing population.

03:52:05:01 End

Title: Military and manure

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 27 September 2013

Time: 2.33 - 2.37pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:52:34:00 - 03:57:38:24

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Translated by: Sandra Train

03:52:34:00 Mairi: What signs are there in the landscape of military?

03:52:40:23 Sandra: Well, when we go South just now and, in fact, when we go up to the gate there, there're some signs, let's go back perhaps 1500 years or thereabouts when the Picts were here and they built these what we call Borge, Brochs, towers and no doubt that was where the people congregated for safety in times of war or threat of invasion from Vikings and so on. Just opposite us here is the hill which we call Cnoc Fhreachadain, the Watchtower Hill, where they lit fires to warn the area of perhaps what they were seeing coming in from the North. So, we do know that there was some "warfare" in inverted commas, on a small scale in this area. There were trenches dug down in the wood where we saw the church there, where the local people dug trenches to stop invaders coming. And eh, no doubt these were skirmishes as well as full-scale battles.

Coming into more recent historical times, probably 15th, 16th, 17th century, the MacKays held this territory and they were a fairly strong clan. They had the odd skirmish with Gunns and Keiths and Sutherlands and so on. But on the whole, there was a fairly settled community. One of our Bards from further West, Rob Donn MacKay, lived in the early to middle or late 18th century and it was a peaceful community. People were educated at home by ministers and catechists and so on. There were travelling dominies who went round and helped the children who showed an ability. So there was a certain, I would say, probably a fairly peaceful period. And then early 18th century there was the risings, the Jacobite risings. This was a Presbyterian area, so not out with the Jacobites, not out with Prince Charles, for instance. Mackay of Big House put a picket on Drumholistan just to the East of us here to stop any possible invaders. And across at Tongue, a Jacobite

sloop went under with some gold moidores which were coming for the Prince... So, there were always soldiers going from this area to fight and you heard about the thin red line raised in Strathnaver. And when they were fighting for King and Queen and Country, Strathnaver was being burnt. Same in Kildonan.

03:56:02:18 Sandra: Peaceful up to a point. But no place can be absolutely distinct from the history that's going on round about it. Even with Dounreay, you know. When it came in the 50s, we were aware then, you know... why was Dounreay chosen? Because it was away... somewhere... in the North... But it did good for this area. Young people got a trade, learned apprenticeships, it brought money, Thurso expanded. You saw Thurso as it is now, and so on. So, there was some good there. We were encouraged to go away and get our education and so on.

As a young student coming back here one Easter time, my father... the midden, the dung heaps were down there and had to be spread on the land. My father had some lads coming to help him to spread the dung and fertilise the ground. My mother said "Go and tell your father that the meal is ready for the men" and I did and he came in and I said "Oh Dad, what a stink" and he said "You remember this, it's that stink that's sending you to university".

03:57:38:24 End

Title: Second Sight

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 27 September 2013

Time: 4.09 – 4.11pm

Place: Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:53:44:00 - 03:56:05:05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

03:53:44:00 Mairi: Is the second sight a helpful gift?

03:53:52:05 Sandra: I wouldn't encourage it, if that's the right word. As I say, it's not something that one would wish for particularly. I know that I was shaken when I saw that in the church, I was, it disturbed me. But then when it did happen, when the event did happen... You see, the day of her accident, all her family were scattered and we were the ones who sort of put it all in place. In fact, I was the one who had to go to the hospital and accept that that lady lying there was not going to live. And, once they took the tubes away, that was it and I had to say "Yes", so that's why I saw it. So it did connect, let's put it that way. And I had to phone and tell my father and mmmmm... Difficult.

03:54:56:18 Mairi: Do you think the culture of the Gaels is in jeopardy?

03:55:02:23 Sandra: No, I have a strong belief that it is not. I think it is called the "travelling stream". It's a stream of consciousness and I pass

it, I pass it as often as I can to you, to whomsoever, to whoever will listen. And there will be Gaels who don't want to listen. But there will be non-Gaels who will listen. And, that's good. That will continue.

03:55:23:24 Mairi : Do you think the Gaelic culture is to do with bloodlines or to do with culture?

03:55:39:09 Sandra: I think there are the two strands there. I would accept there are the two strands. Just as you will find people who are interested in history and those who are not. Some are interested in language, some are not. Some are interested in the cultural things like art and music and dancing and so on. And religion, of course, comes into it as well.

03:56:05:05 End

Title: Rowan tree and stane dykes

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 27 September 2013

Time: 2.37 – 2.38pm

Place: Front garden, Dalhalvaig, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 04:00:36:03 - 04:02:27:21

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

04:00:36:03 Sandra: Round the house here and round many other houses in the Highlands and in Halladale, there are Rowan trees. Usually one at each point.

A Rowan has a special place in Highland mythology. It keeps away anything bad.

Droch shuil, the evil eye, any witchcraft and so on. They are a good thing to have and of course, you know the song Rowan Tree, Thou't aye be dear tae me,

Entwined thou art wi' mony ties o' hame and infancy". We used to swing on this one here.

04:01:20:19 Mairi: Did you do anything with the berries?

04:01:22:21 Sandra: They used to make Rowan Jelly for with the venison. This time of year in fact would be the time for the Rowan... and beautiful white blossoms earlier, in the summer.

04:01:40:02 Mairi: What's the story with all these rocks here?

04:01:43:01 Sandra: These were just the dykes for keeping the animals in one place really. They've kind of fallen down now... Big heavy stones. In fact, when this house was built, this field behind me here is known as the trenching – it was trenched by hand, can you imagine? And the big heavy stones were taken for the founds of that house and for the making of the walls, or the dykes, as we call them. A lot of hard work.

04:02:27:21 End

Title: The Pictish Borg

Storyteller: Sandra Train

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 27 September 2013

Time: 2.39 – 2.41pm

Place: Broch, Strath Halladale, Sutherland, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 04:25:10:00 - 04:27:45:12

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

04:25:10:00 Sandra: When we were children, on a Sunday, obviously we found Sundays a long day, we would have been at church, that would take a couple of hours... but then there was the whole afternoon, perhaps. So, we were allowed to go for a walk. And we were told "You can go as far as the cemetery at Bunahoun". But, what did we do? We came a little bit further and came to the borg, because that was exciting beyond words and we could play at being Picts and Vikings. I mean, our history was nowhere, but some of us were Picts and some of us were Vikings. And we would eventually tell our parents where we'd been. And my father would point out to us, say, "Did you see the big stone across the river?". "Oh, yes". "Well, an old Pict was building his wall one day and this stone wouldn't quite fit, so he just hurled it across the river". He was annoyed.

But this Borg, or Broch, here is in direct line with the one at the cemetery and it is in direct line with the one above our house in

Dalhalvaig, the Carn Liath, the grey stones, in other words, and it again is in line with one at the further end of the strath. They think that possibly there were links, eh... underground links between the two, but we couldn't be sure of that. But, if you visit this again, you will see, round about it, edges of stonewalls where... they wouldn't all live in the tower, in the broch, they would live round about it. And they would come inside in time of danger. And then across..., if you look down the strath just now, you can see Cnoc Fhreacadain, which is the Watchtower Hill. Fhreacadain is the watch. As in Am Freiceadan Dubh, the Black Watch. So, a fire lit there would warn the people of something happening. People are coming and so on.

04:27:27:17 Mairi: Do you feel connected to the Pictish people?

04:27:30:05 Sandra: Yes, when I put my lipstick on I do. And paint my nails and do other things. I think that we must accept that there will be traces of that DNA here.

04:27:45:12 End

3:1.3 NEIL MACLEOD

Title: Neil's intro and crofting

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 2.17 – 2.39pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:00:08:09 - 00:05:52:17

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:00:08:09 Mairi: Please introduce yourself

00:00:13:02 Neil: Well, my name's Neil Macleod and this is Guidevist where I live in Caithness.

00:00:20:12 Mairi: Is this where your family were from originally?

00:00:29:00 Neil: My Grandad got his croft in 1938, so he'd come from a couple of miles North of here, so it's more or less in the area. My Granny came from a mile or so to the West. So it's as near as, I suppose, but not this particular place.

00:00:54:05 Mairi: Do you feel local to here?

00:00:57:09 Neil: Yes. Definitely.

00:01:01:18 Mairi: How do you define your nationality?

00:01:05:06 Neil: I'm Scottish, so that's as far as I define it, yep.

00:01:13:19 Mairi: Can you explain "crofting" to us?

00:01:23:04 Neil: It's a very big subject. Well, it's a type of tenancy where the house and the land together made the croft. Both would be rented from the estate that the individual croft was on. A lot of people today they sort of say a croft when they mean the house, but it's the whole thing – the land and the house is rented and, of course, it's a protected tenancy in that you can't be evicted and you can pass the tenancy on to whoever you want and if you leave, you get compensation for improvements you've made. Although that's changed of course more recently because there's a right to buy crofts now so a lot of people have actually bought their crofts and own them themselves.

00:02:17:00 Mairi: What are you doing about that?

00:02:20:17 Neil: It's not a priority, in many ways. Although I suppose that depends on the landowner. If you have a benign landowner versus an antagonistic one it would make a difference, but here we've had very benign landowners for a long time.

00:02:42:16 Mairi: Who established the crofts, back in the day?

00:02:48:03 Neil: It would have been the owner of the estate, Latheronwheel Estate, whenever they started to rearrange the land into individual tenancies and built the bigger farms. Well, on here that would be Latheronwheel Mains, which is just through the gate there with the big fields so... whenever that would be. This house has a stone on it that says 1829 so that would be probably around that sort of time.

00:03:26:04 Mairi: Was there a relationship between the crofts and the Clearances?

00:03:30:13 Neil: Well, the Clearances in some ways was all related to the reorganisation of the estates to put them on a financial footing where they would make money for the owners. So, where they didn't clear, they created crofts from the former system, which was the farms of multiple tenancy where you would have a group of people and their families and their houses and then surrounded by the land that they worked – in a more communal style.

00:04:07:06 Mairi: Was it a good thing that they were doing? Did they do it well?

00:04:10:24 Neil: They did it to make more money for the landowners and anything else was not particularly relevant beyond that. So, I don't know... It depends how it was done and suchlike. But it was just a change that was forced onto an older long established system.

00:04:36:01 Mairi: What do you think about the system that you are in in Scotland now?

00:04:43:20 Neil: As far as the crofting goes that's fine as in the legal protection and setup of crofts. It does seem nowadays that there is less governmental interest in crofting than there has been in previous decades. So there'd be less subsidies and grants available just now it seems to have been a lower priority.

When my Dad took over this croft 40 years ago, there was a scheme where they could pay for the retirement of older crofters, that's my Grandad, and then to let a new generation start. So that was obviously... a lot more behind it. But nowadays there doesn't seem to be the interest and the subsidies now or, I think, bias towards larger operations. More land, or more livestock.

00:05:52:17 End

Title: Land use and loss of community

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 2.41 – 2.53pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:10:25:12 - 00:13:39:20

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:10:25:12 Mairi: How could the land in the Strath of Kildonan that is now used for sporting estates be used differently?

00:10:44:01 Neil: Starting from here, or starting from the 19th century?

00:10:52:13 Mairi: Let's start with the 19th century.

00:10:56:04 Neil: Well, as I see it, there will be no reason why the Strath of Kildonan couldn't be like this, with a selection of farms or crofts which are essentially like hill farms now that they've been running several crofts together to make a larger, more viable holding. So, I mean, there's no reason why it couldn't have been like that, which is probably how it would have ended up because there would have inevitably have been a drift to the cities over the decades. That's probably how it would have ended up if there hadn't been the wholesale Clearance and reorganization of the land.

00:11:45:11 Mairi: I've been told about the difference personalities of the fishers and the crofters. Is that fanciful or real?

00:11:54:24 Neil: I recall a neighbor who used to live just across the strath there and when he was young, his parents went down to live at the coast but he always came back to see his uncle at the weekends because he liked it up here more, because there was a more communal way of doing things, whereas the crofter/fishermen down there, he said, they just did their own thing. So, yeah that's possibly the difference, but I mean, they were connected together. As my Dad says, when there were more fishermen and people looking for work at harvest time, you would be able get, or for threshing, you would get a fisherman to come up and help then with extra labour on the crofts.

00:12:46:20 Mairi: Is there still a communal way of living now?

00:12:49:06 Neil: No. I wouldn't say there was, no.

00:12:56:04 Mairi: How does that feel?

00:12:56:10 Neil: It's the way things have gone, so I think generally, it's just viewed as part of the progress and the change. It would be more the older generation than me that have really seen it, so it would be a sense of regret perhaps, but not overwhelming or anything, just a feeling that, you know, there's not the people going around at New Year, when they used to go around every house in the whole strath and anyone else further afield. So, it used to be a great thing, but now, it's mainly just family that people visit.

00:13:39:20 End

Title: Farming the Strath of Kildonan

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 2.53 – 3.08pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:13:44:20 - 00:17:26:18

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:13:44:20 Mairi: What brought about the change?

00:13:48:05 Neil: I think it's just ongoing change across society. There's less people, so the families would be scattered around and people would be going off to see them rather than stopping in their immediate neighbourhood and less people around and ... aye, so that's probably ... And latterly of course drink/driving laws because people used to drive round latterly. But now that's not viable at all, but that's what they used to do.

00:14:24:12 Mairi: Thinking again about the Strath of Kildonan... what change needs to happen there?

00:14:43:13 Neil: As far as I can see, a more concerted attempt at what they've done before with the Crofter's Commission and suchlike, when they were, 100 years ago, when they were buying farms, or parts of farms and dividing them among crofters or making new crofts – which does still happen to a degree. There have been a few new crofts made, apparently. So, yeah, crofts or farms. Well, it needs more government

backing and an interest in this part of the world and the hill farms and the crofts.

It's the only thing that really has kept people in these areas where many other industries have come and gone and never really managed to employ a lot of people.

Sporting estates employed a lot of people, but that was before the first world war. Forestry hardly employs anybody nowadays and the fishing industry has declined a lot. So, however few people there might be in agriculture now, that's still the only thing that's really keeping people in these areas otherwise it would be much like the Strath of Kildonan. You'd just have one big farm on the good ground and nothing much at all happening on the hills.

00:16:22:03 Mairi: What would happen if 100 people got together and bought the Suisgill Estate?

00:16:31:03 Neil: There's a right to do that anyway – the community buyout with government support, which is basically the sort of schemes that's viable – if you have a community. So, a community way of doing it is one way and ah... a sort of top down way with a sort a encouragement from government support or more government support. So, either of those ways, depending on the area. And certainly in parts like Sutherland where they've been completely cleared and there is no effective community, I suppose you would need to... if the government bought land and made farms, I mean, that would surely... I think that would be the way forward.

00:17:26:18 End

Title: Land reform and indigeneity

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 2.55 – 2.58pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:17:30:21 - 00:20:34:15

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:17:30:21 Mairi: What 's the impetus behind the Land Reform movement in Scotland at the moment?

00:17:42:16 Neil: I'm not directly connected with it, but basically, it's an attempt to right the wrongs of the past and things that are still current. I mean, the whole place, the whole country is still under the shadow really of what happened 200 years ago, 150 years ago. So that's never really been reformed. So, they've started and they've done some things, but there's still a lot of ground to make up.

00:18:26:02 Mairi: Has the issue been addressed? Has there been any restoration or apology?

00:18:33:03 Neil: Not in that sense. I don't think that's how people would expect or want it to happen. I mean, apologies, no... Who would apologise, in many cases? Not in that sense, no, I don't think that's what anybody's thinking or looking for.

00:18:58:10 Mairi: With the Declaration of Rights of Indigenous People, when the British government said that the UK doesn't have any indigenous people, what do you think about that?

00:19:12:18 Neil: I've not heard that specifically, but I don't think anybody in Scotland would particularly consider themselves indigenous. We might consider it a bit patronizing to be viewed as indigenous because I mean, we're a modern people of the modern world. You might have a different view of that in New Zealand, but certainly, historically I think in the 18th and the 19th century, with the exerted control over the Highlands in the 18th century after the Jacobite uprising, and then, as the lairds were clearing it, I mean, those people did think of the people as indigenous savages, basically of little value. So the idea that the people now would be called indigenous, would probably be looked on in the same viewpoints – as kind of patronizing or arrogant. So that's partly coloured by the specific history of what's happened in Scotland.

00:20:34:15 End

Title: Self sufficiency on small farms

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 3.09 – 3.14pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:21:34:01 - 00:26:20:21

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:21:34:01 Mairi: Is it possible to feed yourself from your croft?

00:21:41:06 Neil: Theoretically, but nobody does now. It used to be, if I can remember, used to grow tatties, every croft would have it's tatties, it's potatoes, but that's, well I mean... my Dad kept it on longer than most, but that's 20 years... So, I think it became difficult to do when you weren't growing other crops. All we grow now is grass for hay and that's the crofts and hill farms, they only have hay or silage. Usually silage. So obviously, once you've cut that, you're wanting to put livestock in the fields – sort of July or August. So, if you have your little patch of tatties, they end up with your sheep all through it or you have to put in a fence. Whereas, in earlier decades when they were growing oats or barley or turnips in the field, the stock would be out anyway until the tatties were lifted. And they used to have the gardens where they would grow food as well, but that's long since passed and it's not the ideal climate or the best soil for such things anyway. And

my Dad reckons, well, they stopped grants for growing crops in the 60s and he thinks that's what got rid of the... stopped the crops then because people just didn't bother because it wasn't affordable, wasn't viable.

So we get... buy grain from one of the big farms out near Reay, which is what most places do. So, you'll have seen how Caithness has the areas of the big farms with the big fields and crops and then the rest of it in sort of hill and croft land.

00:23:41:19 Mairi: Do you think crofting is a model for how other people might live in the future?

00:24:09:16 Neil: Maybe, I suppose. Might be less so in Caithness because mostly what you find is crofts that've been added to and added to. What we have now there were... when my Grandad came here in the '30s there were one, two, three, four, five separate tenants on the ground that we have now and 15 years earlier there would have been six. It's all come together to make what is effectively now a small farm.

00:24:42:10 Mairi: How did that come about?

00:24:44:00 Neil: It's just people leaving. A natural process. The younger generation would have left to earn more money elsewhere. And as their parents were too old, they would leave the croft and the neighbor would take over the tenancy.

00:25:02:03 Mairi: You can do that?

00:25:03:15 Yes, you can take over a tenancy. You can pass it on or sell. Well, not sell but, pass the tenancy on to whoever you want. As long as most crofts were still tenanted rather than owned, that was a fairly simple thing to do. But yes, what we have here in Caithness is not any

different from any other area where you have small to medium-sized farms. You might consider out in the Western Isles where they have the small crofts in the large rural or semi-rural communities would be more of a different model for living.

00:25:48:07 Mairi: It seems to very much depend on the government, doesn't it?

00:25:52:07 Neil: It's only the government that has the power to make the big reforms. The right for communities to buy and things like that has to come through government legislation. Although, the Assynt crofters managed it themselves the first time, but that's not something that would be easy for every community to do.

00:26:20:21 End

Title: Disconnection

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 3.29 – 3.32pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:26:40:04 - 00:30:00:05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:26:40:04 Neil: They say a croft is an area of land surrounded by red tape because there are many regulations. I mean there are new

things about absentee crofters, or people who have inherited a croft, but they never do anything with it. It's in their family, but they don't work it which is, in its way, unfair because they don't apply that to the landowners who can take an estate and do nothing at all. Whereas somebody who has 10 or 20 acres that they're not doing anything with for whatever reason, there is legislation about that.

It's not something I've particularly looked into but... it's somewhat imbalanced. Not that it's a bad thing in itself, but they would really need to apply it to anybody who owns land.

00:27:50:18 Mairi: That would be part of the Land Reforms?

00:27:53:14 Neil: I would say, yes.

00:27:55:04 Mairi: It seems to me that the people who were of the land, should be regarded as having some status?

00:28:35:02 Neil: It's the way people have moved around - not just from the Clearances, but that was particularly, obviously the main thing. I mean, people came here from elsewhere and moved around crofts and back and forth within a mile or two or within 10, 20 miles, people came about. So, in that sense, it's not a long, permanently settled community that's been here since hundreds of years. So, that's partly perhaps the disconnection from what happened in the 19th century. And now I mean of course, people don't look at it like that - like I said before - they're more like everybody else, but they work the land, if you see what I mean - working in agriculture, not indigenous people as such

And the widespread knowledge of course that there were so many people from different places came to Scotland over 100s or 1,000s of years. It's not one race, or one people that came.

00:30:00:05 End

Title: Famine

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 4.20 - 4.21pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:34:48:04 - 00:36:13:18

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:34:48:04 Mairi: It would have been very difficult for people to feed themselves if there was a famine?

00:34:56:11 Neil: It was yes. And, that's only something I've read in the various books about the time. But people did suffer famine - less in Caithness because of the better farmland. But certainly there were famines right through. What was the date for the last famine in the Highlands? Quite late in the 19th century. But by that stage... well, even by the mid 19th century, the Victorian philanthropy, when people did provide relief from that time onwards then... the people would be provided with relief fund and food in a way that they wouldn't have in earlier times. And there were the famine roads, as they were called, where people were paid, or maybe just fed for doing work because they didn't want people to get money for nothing. So, they were building roads in the Highlands. But again that was something that was less of a problem in Caithness because it's a drier climate with a lot of areas that are better farmland as well.

00:36:13:18 End

Title: Wells

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 4.28 – 4.29pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00:36:40:12 - 00:37:1:00

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00:36:40:12 Mairi: And the water... were there springs in the hills?

00:36:43:00 Neil: There were, yes. There were always wells, as they were called, for all the crofts. We were fairly well served here with the hills, compared to the flatter parts of the county.

00:36:58:13 Mairi: Sacred wells?

00:37:00:10 Neil: That would all have been lost after the Reformation and the strict Presbyterianism there would be absolutely no time for anything as Popish as that, I think. That is really a forgotten part of the... But obviously there would have been because in any Catholic country such things were widespread.

00:37:1:00 End

Title: Kilts, castles and bumps in the ground

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 4.39 – 4.43pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 01:46:59:05 - 01:50:53:18

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

01:46:59:05 Mairi: Are there any traces around here of an older way of life?

01:46:04:08 Neil: Just across there, below our neighbour's house is probably the remains of the original farm of Guidevist, the farm with the multiple tenancy. So there's a whole lot of bumps and old foundations and stones in the ground. So, it would seem likely that's where they lived and then when they started to change the land occupation pattern, they would have built a croft here, to be one of the crofts because the neighbour's house is actually younger than this one. So that would have been built slightly later, I would imagine that whoever had the next croft then was still living in the old, some of the buildings of the old farm before they built their current house and steading there.

01:47:55:04 Mairi: Do you think this way of life will continue?

01:48:00:00 Neil: This current...? Yes, I think it will. I mean, it's changing and it depends on the future policies of whatever

governments might come in and how they look at it. I know there's a tendency now for small farms in Scotland, crofts and hill farms, to be thought of as sort of behind the times and not the way forward. In other countries in Europe, there are a lot of smaller farms. Even in Ireland. And apparently they get higher subsidies than we do in this country. So the current downturn is not necessarily a terminal thing. And with the ongoing interest in crofting, and the amount of people... I mean, obviously, what we have in this part of Scotland is large crofts compared with what you'd find out on the West coast or in the Western Isles. But, yeah, there's a big demand for crofts. So it will continue and it's part of the Scottish culture now, the idea that the North of Scotland is full of crofters.

01:49:21:01 Mairi: Is that a romantic view?

01:49:23:07 Neil: Not especially. Certainly, people who live in the cities and don't come up here probably have a slightly romanticised view of it but not in itself, I don't think it's especially romanticised, it's more the tourists from abroad who have the romanticised view of the castles and glens and tartanry and suchlike.

01:49:51:22 Mairi: What does that represent to you?

01:49:54:24 Neil: The past. Though, 'cos kilts are always worn at weddings now, which they didn't used to be. I mean back in the 70s, any wedding photo and the groom was just wearing a suit. But nowadays, every single wedding the groom is in the Highland dress. But that's a fairly recent phenomenon. But, apart from that, it's not that important to me. I don't have a kilt. And as far as the castles go, they are a historical thing. A lot of people are interested, but mainly tourists. They are interesting from a historical or archaeological viewpoint but they don't reflect Scotland nowadays.

01:50:53:18 End

Title: Lairds and rabbits

Storyteller: Neil MacLeod

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 28 September 2013

Time: 4.45 – 4.49pm

Place: Guidevist, Caithness, Scotland

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 03:11:54:08 - 03:14:15:08

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

03:11:54:08 Neil: The culture perhaps would be expressed in stories about people.

03:12:00:18 Mairi: Well, you could tell us a story?

03:12:03:01 Neil: I could, yeah. I could say something, then about the power that the lairds had in the past, which is perhaps how people look to them now. Well, certainly in my Dad's generation the laird would be Mr Palmer, which stands out because that's not how people talk – not part of the culture here to call anybody Mr This or Mr That. Even as a child it would be perfectly normal for me to refer to the neighbours of whatever age, you know, they would be – by their name, or by their first name and their surname if there was more than one person. So, it would be, whatever – Johnny Forbes, who would be, I don't know how much older than me - 60 odd years older, but – probably less – but... So, referring to the laird as Mr Palmer is a

hangover from the time when you had to be polite, because, if you weren't polite to the laird or the factor, they would be able to make a lot of trouble for you.

And there was a story my Dad heard from his Grandfather, so... my Great Grandfather, that... if you got a rabbit, you had to keep it a secret because the rabbits belonged to the estate. So even though... where ever you might have got it on your croft, it was still the estate's rabbit and you didn't want them to find out that you'd done it and, having read the Napier Report from this area, they were talking about the same problem just up a mile or so North of here. The rabbits would come into their crops and the people would be scared to do anything or be seen to be chasing them off, never mind killing them. So they had some arrangement, apparently, old pans and a rope to rattle when they came near.

Another story I heard – down that way is what we call a policy planting, which was land taken by the estate to plant trees, when the estate was being rearranged in the...

03:14:15:08 picture ends

audio only ...1860s or '70s, probably, but this was a story from the 1920s and the game keeper was speaking to the crofter. And, at that stage, the fences around the trees were getting done... but they were speaking to the crofter and saying he wanted him to keep his cows out of the planting and the crofter said well, he'd keep his cattle out of the planting when the gamekeeper could keep the rabbits in, because they would be coming in and into the fields. I can remember them doing that and all round the edge they'd be eating the crop.

Audio ends.

3:2 Māori Stories

3:2.1 REVA MENDES

Title: Ngahuia's rock and road - Mihi

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 9.38 – 9.40am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.18

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Could you introduce yourself?

00.07 Reva:

Ko Motukaraka tenei whenua,	Motukaraka is this land
ko Ngai Tūpoto,, Ngati Here nga hapū.	Ngati Tūpoto, Ngati Here are the sub-tribes
Ko Remana, ko Matai, ko Taringaroa nga wahi tapu ,	Remana, Matai and Taringiroa are the sacred sites
ko Rakautapu te Maunga,	Rakautapu is the mountain
ko Tapuwae te Awa,	Tapuwae is the river
ko Ngahuia te whare tūpuna,	Ngahuia is our ancestress
ko Ngai Tūpoto te marae,	Ngai Tupoto is the marae
ko Hokianga-nui-o-Kupe te moana e rere nei.	Hokianga-nui-o-Kupe is the sea that flows
No reira...	Therefore,
E tū ana au	I stand before you
ko Reva Mendes	Reva Mendes
e mihi atu nei i tenei rā.	I greet you on this day

00.45 Mairi: Where did you grow up, Reva?

00.50 Reva: I grew up in the city, right in the city, central, Mt Albert. All my life, my childhood life and really came back to where I'm from, here in the Hokianga mostly for tangi when people passed away in our family.

00.15 Mairi: Where were you born?

00.17 Reva: I was actually born in Waikato and that was due to my father working in Tokoroa at the time... in the railways. And we spent a few years down there, but I was only a year old when we moved to Auckland.

01.35 Mairi: Why did you come back here?

01.40 Reva: Ah, yes... being back in the Hokianga for me is about... it's quite healing. It's about the spiritual connection that I have with the whenua. It's where I gain my sustenance. It's my nurturing. It fills my soul and my spirit.

There's nothing more special than being a part of a bigger picture and knowing how you're connected there, especially to the land. And I love the whole environment and it's a great lifestyle to live.

End: 02.18

Title: Place dedicated to Ngahuia

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 00.47

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi : Can you talk a little bit about your ancestral land?

00.04 Reva: Yes. This place especially is dedicated to my great, great, great, great grandmother Ngahuia. She was a princess of the time, back in the 1800's and this place is dedicated especially to her, as she is the direct descendent to this whenua and she also married Christopher Harris, who was a... non-Māori and they had their children in this whenua whom thousands descend from, coming down off the Harris line.

00.47 End.

Title: McDonnell

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.37 – 11.41am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 03.05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Can you tell us a little bit about the land... about McDonnell?

00.20 Reva: Yeah, Captain Thomas McDonnell, he was here in the 1800s also, and came over from England and he was doing a lot of trade in timber and also in land. And this was an ideal space for him, ideal land, block that he was determined to take over and buy at any cost. And so, he was actually doing deals with other rangatira in the area, who didn't necessarily live here at the time, but worked his way into the people and used that as a way in to disguise him wanting to take over the land. And so... it's really hard to talk about it. I'm losing my words. The sneaky way he went about his land dealings. Like, a lot of non-Māori that were coming into the country at the time, you know, in terms of colonisation... taking over the land, and really disrespecting the tāngata whenua that lived on the land. Yes.

01.45 Mairi: And how do you feel when you think about that?

01.50 Reva: Now I feel grateful and I'm really grateful and lucky to have this still in our land, in our family, our whānau. It's the injustice of what he was doing and why he was doing it and trying to get others to support him, you know... It was deceptive and it wasn't a good way to be. And so, my GGG Grandfather, Ngahuaia's son, he was a great spokesperson for our hapū at the time. And he was a great speaker in the Land Courts, the Māori Land Courts in terms of making sure that our land was not going to be taken from underneath us. And so, there were a lot of court hearings at the time. And we had to stand up as a hapū and against a lot of other hapū as well at the time and also against McDonnell for his deception in trying to take over the land that was not his. He really desired it. 03.05 End

Title: Christopher Harris

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.41 – 11.44am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.48

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Did McDonnell get his comeuppance?

00.15 Reva: Eventually he was ousted away from this place by Christopher Harris, Ngahuaia's husband as he's already been doing... they'd actually already met during trade, my tupuna Christopher Harris kind of knew that he had to do something about it, about the deception and how McDonnell was trying to do the takeovers here. And so he actually put in a bid for the land to buy it back so that he could maintain the land under his children's kind of blood descendants, yes. But I'm not sure exactly what happened to McDonnell after that, but it was quite confronting to be able to deal with keeping this block. It was a big contentious issue at the time and caused a lot of strife, caused a lot of strife.

01.30 Mairi: What happened in the end?

01.33 Reva: And in the end, we were so grateful to be able to keep this block. Even though it was coming back through my tupuna Pākehā,

Christopher Harris... To me I still feel grateful that we have this place and that we look after this place and honour this place. It's full of memories, full of history – good and bad. And I was just grateful to be a part of it being here. Especially as I was here when we put this and erected this memorial stone for Ngahuia. To me, at that time, when this was erected in early 2000, around that time, I was actually living here on the point with my children and I was very proud that I could be here, living here, to honour our tupuna whaea Ngahuia. And this is just a memorial stone as she... it was a hidden place where she was buried due to her lineage and her bloodlines, to keep her safe.

02.48 End

Title: Ngahuia's line

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.43 – 11.45am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 01.52

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunna

00.00 Mairi: What was the thinking behind this stone?

00.20 Reva: The thinking behind this stone mainly was to acknowledge our tupuna whaea from this land and her being a direct descendant of this land through her father and through his father and through his

father and surrounding areas within the Hokianga too because Ngai Tūpoto covers both sides of the Hokianga. And then through time, we settled here as Ngai Tūpoto along with Ngati Here, which is another line of history going back through Ngahuia's father's side and has a lot of significance for us from Te Rarawa as well as Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu, the wider iwi.

01.20 Mairi: Does Ngahuia's lineage go right back to Kupe?

01.25 Reva: Yes. So, our hapū is Ngai Tūpoto, Tūpoto was a direct descendant down from Rāhiri, Rāhiri was another direct descendant down from Kupe and this is a few generations in between and that is how her manawhenua status is here today through that lineage.

01.52 End

Title: Manawhenua

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.44 – 11.45am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 00.52

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: What is mana whenua?

00.05 Reva: Mana whenua to me is a power, a source that has come

from the source. It's an energy of power and creation that is passed down through our spirituality, through mana Atua. So we have our Atua which is "beyond", so the energies that is of beyond passed down to the whenua, so it's the energies that's within the whenua, it's from creation and so it also gets passed on to us mana tangata, the person. So, it comes from a spiritual aspect, down to the whenua to the physical, which is us here today. And that's my understanding of it.

00.52 End

Title: Knowing who you are

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 00.37

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: What's the effect of knowing who you are and where you've come from?

00.10 Reva: The effect for me is that I can stand proud and I can pass on to my children and give them stories and history and traditions that came from the past to how we got to be here today and hopefully take on all the good so we can pass it on to the future. Yeah, that's how I can see it.

00.37 End

Title: Ngahuia's unveiling

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Tell us about the day.

00.15 Reva: So, when our stone was unveiled, it was a beautiful morning, I remember it was similar to this morning actually, with a bit of mist and then the sun came through. And my children were with me, and a few older uncles and aunties, kuia and kaumātua... and we had a pōwhiri and it started from the gate... and my Mum and my Aunty were here and they did the kāranga welcoming us up to the stone before we unveiled her to give her honour, to give her acknowledgement of being from here and us as descendants, the many thousands who come from her. To be unveiled and to be a place of remembrance. It's a special place just for her. I love that. And then we had some mihi and waiata and there was actually some pīpīwharauroa that was flying around talking. It was a great day.

01.25 Mairi: Why did that need to happen?

01.32 Reva: At the time and, I suppose, because I'd just moved back

here too, and I was beginning to get involved with our marae and our hapū, there were a lot of questions on how we actually acknowledge Christopher Harris a lot more than Ngahuia and so we decided that she deserved to have a memorial stone put up for her to give her that acknowledgement of being our main matriarchal ancestor.

02.07 End

Title: Ngahuia's determined look.

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.53 – 11.57am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Why a stone?

00.10 Reva: I think it was more about being organic, being of the land. You know, it's a natural resource. We didn't want to make it flash or, you know, contemporary. We just wanted to try and keep a natural form and just have the plaque put on the front so everybody knew who came up here this was acknowledgement of Ngahuia and a place of remembrance for her especially as nobody really knows where she was buried. It was a tapu, sacred thing at the time and it was to keep her safe, to keep everybody else safe.

00.46 Mairi: What do we know about her?

00.57 Reva: I've heard some conflicting stories where people say she was a heathen and didn't believe in Christianity because that's what was more important at the time and then she married into Christopher Harris and they were Catholic, Katorika in their faith, in their religion. And then I also heard other stories that she was a tōhunga in her own right. But, I would say that the hāhi, the religion had more influence over her once she was married and had children. And having half-caste children, living a different life with her husband even though she was still living on the land. And a lot of changes that were going on at that time... with trade and the sale of a lot of land and resources at the time.

01.55 Mairi: What does she mean to you?

02.00 Reva: I've seen photos of her, especially on the marae. She's got this very strong, solemn look and a determined look, which I love. I love that. And I can actually see that in my tūpuna as well. I come off two lines of Christopher and Ngahuia. I come off the eldest daughter Rihi and I also come off Nui, Nui Hare who was the son that stood up and fought against everybody else trying to take this whenua. And so, I have a lot of respect for them both. And I'm grateful to be here on this land and to be from here even though I wasn't brought up here, but I used to come up a lot when I was young and stay with my uncle and aunty just further down there. They only had sons and I was like their adopted daughter. And I used to come up in the holidays and I think that's where I started to have more of a connection to the land and I really appreciated the natural environment around me. My uncle was always fishing and gardening and my aunty was always cooking and looking after the family, you know, keeping the fires burning and I just loved it. I loved the fresh natural way of living. Yes!

03.38 End

Title: Nga Ahi Kā

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.55 – 11.57am

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 01.36

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Tell us about nga ahi kā

00.10 Reva: Ahi kā, for me, is about definitely being on the land, living on the land, working the land, looking after the land... Ah, manāki tāngata, looking after all the visitors that come here... being able to share your history, you know, being able to whakawhanaungatanga – connect to others that come to our whenua... share stories – good and bad. You talk about the wars that have happened here. There's been countless number of pakanga that went on all around here. And that's just how it was at that time. It was about, you know... the strong survived. And it's a beautiful thing too. Ahi kā's all about... it shows in how you look after your whenua, it shows in how you look after people and your love for the people and love for the land.

01.20 Mairi: Can you tell us what the direct translation is?

01.25 Reva: Ahi kā - it's to keep the fires burning, so, you're more or less keeping your whenua warm and inviting for visitors who come.

01.36 End

Title: Connections to places

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11.59am – 12.02 pm

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.02.43

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Could you tell us about parts of the Hokianga where you have connections?

00.10 Yes, I connect both sides of the Hokianga on my mother and father's side. This is where my father's from. Ngai Tūpoto - on this side Te Rarawa. My mother's also Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri from Mitimiti - whanau Hotere. I can connect to a lot of the places – Rangī Point through my GGG Grandmother who married Nui Hare. I can connect to Te Hikūtū on the South side to my Great Grandmother who's buried there. Pawarenga, I've got another Great Grandmother over there. All the way over to Taumarere, Bay of Islands on my mother's side, Waimate North. Kaikohe whanau, Wihongi... I was actually brought up learning from my grandfather on the Hotere side and he always said that we can connect from anywhere between Ngati Whatua, all the way up to Rerenga Wairua. Mai Tamaki ki te Rerenga Wairua, so, that's a huge area to cover in terms of our links and whakapapa. And he also was a specialist in whanau genealogy, he

was taught from an early age out on the coast. And my grandfather, actually, his first kaikōrero, mihi was at the age of 5. He lived through the depression, also was in the second world war, the Maori Battalion and he survived. He was also a prisoner of war. And, at the time when he was captured, my Mother was born, my Mother was the eldest. And I think it was a couple of months later, they found out that my Grandfather was still alive. And, hence the name that my mother was given, Joy, because it was a joy to the world to know that my Grandfather was still living. And, yeah, just heaps of history here, heaps of history here, embedded in both sides – my Mother and my Father. And I love it. I'm so grateful.

02.43 End

Title: Tāngata Whenua

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 12.02 – 12.05pm

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.37

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

Mairi: What does tāngata whenua mean?

00.10 Reva: I was actually brought up and went to a girls Catholic

school, so my upbringing was more about not being Māori, which deep down really, it was torturous really, because all I wanted to do was be Māori. I didn't even know how to speak my reo until later on. I was always around the reo, in terms of being at tāngi and being with whanau and being in different hui, but, I guess it wasn't until my adult life that I started learning more about tāngata whenua – Māori, from this country. And then realising that we travelled from further on and ended up here, that we actually knew that we were going to come here as a people. And this was the land that we knew we were going to find, because it was the land of plenty. I believe that this land is like the Garden of Eden, if you could look at it in that way. We have fresh air, fresh water. The land is plentiful, we have great resources and I believe that my tūpuna at the time travelling and coming over from the Pacific, to Aotearoa here, they had a plan, they had a bigger picture, they were guided by the stars, they were guided by their spirits within them. They knew that they were on the right track and they just came to the land of plenty.

So, tāngata whenua, to me, is that connection of knowing mana atua, knowing that you are connected to a higher power, knowing that the whenua is going to sustain us, energise us and nurture us and look after us and it just automatically comes to us as a people. And that's what we hold dear. We keep that through our oral history, we keep that in our arts, it's still alive today. It's nothing that's beyond us, or... We don't need a scientific breakdown on it, it's just as it is, that's how it is.

02.37 End

Title: To urupā

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 12.29 – 12.31 pm

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 01.39

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Could you tell us where we are?

00.15 Reva: Well, we're situated here just behind the whare karakia, here on the point and we're looking towards this road that takes us to our wāhi tapu Taringaroa, where Christopher Harris is buried and this road has a special significance as a lot of my tūpuna had kept this road and maintained this road by using handtools, without power. So, a lot of sweat and a lot of time and energy went into making sure that our road was taken care of especially since a lot of our whanau coming back from the cities and from the towns bringing their passed ones, needed to have access to our urupā. And so we were always grateful that we could get from a to b without having to go around the point by water, which was another way of using the pathways, before there was actually roads here. To actually get here to the point was always through use on the water on the waterways.

01.39 End

Title: Walking highways

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 11am – 1.30 pm

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 01.05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: How did your people get to and fro, before there were roads?

00.05 Reva: Well, the obvious transport here is our beautiful Hokianga Harbour through use of waka. That was our main mode of transport at the time on the water, before there were roads.

00.25 Mairi: How did transport on the land happen before there were roads?

00.30 Reva: Mostly there were tracks that were used on the beach coming along the beachfront. And also the ridges, they stuck to the ridges of the maunga – all their high points. And they were used more or less as traffic bypasses. In a way, I have heard that they were used that well, it was like a human motorway of walking.

01.05 End

Title: Uncle working on the road

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 12.34 – 12.37pm

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.46

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Did you see your uncle working on the road?

00.10 Reva: Yes, I can recall many times, especially with my two babies, at the time, and I'd always walk these roads with them, and I'd go and visit other whanau. No matter what weather it was, he was working day in and day out, my uncle Rick Pēti. God, he was such a role model, especially to my brothers who... I have got 4 older brothers. He showed them a lot and how to work on the land, live on the land. And he put a lot of sweat and tears. He loved the land, he died on the land. He also was an avid fisherman. He loved being out on the water and he really took advantage of the seasons and what would be good for different seasons, you know, the growing, the harvesting. And I loved that he... he didn't like using power tools, he never liked using power tools, everything was done by hand, because you had to do it by hand to be a tough fulla. And he loved challenging my brothers and they loved it too. They loved that challenging spirit that he had. And at the end of the day, it was always good to see the results and be proud of looking after our whenua.

01.35 Mairi: What would his work involve?

01.40 Reva: He was always having to fill in potholes, I remember there used to be always a lot of big potholes going up the hill, and, you know, the fencing... He looked after our urupā here especially, keeping the grass down, making sure the cars weren't gonna get stuck in winter, making sure that the transport was gonna be accessible and he kept things ticking, you know, like a caretaker would, you know, a true caretaker, although he didn't really get payment from it, it was more about his aroha to the whenua and to the people.

02.18 Mairi: What motivated him?

Reva: I can say this, because my father has a similar work ethic. You know, you work hard and then you play hard. In a way, I mean, he worked hard and he loved showing, especially the younger ones, how to do it.

02.46 End

Title: Tupuna whare

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 1 May 2014

Time: 12.38 – 12.41pm

Place: Motukaraka, North Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 03.13

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Reva: So, I lived here in my tūpuna whare, my GGG Grandparent's whare here in Waipuna on our papa kāinga. I lived there from the end of 1999 to 2002 when my children were still under 5 and I was so privileged to live in our tūpuna whare. And, I just remember one time, which was really funny - my daughter... We returned back here, I think it might have been for a tangi or something, later on, after I'd left and we were walking out of the whare karakia here and we looked towards the whare down there and my daughter said to me "Mum. Why did we have to sell the whare?" I just laughed "Cos I'm thinking " Oh, she thought we sold the whare, and left the whare because we sold it to go to Auckland. I had to explain to her that it was a whanau papa kāinga and we don't sell our papa kāinga or our whare, and that it's always gonna be in our family and it's still within our whanau. It took her a while to understand. Eventually she got it. I just thought it was interesting how she thought we owned it while we lived there. But, we had great experiences... great time living by the water, especially. You know, we'd used to get out on the water and hoe our waka. They remember, they remember little snippets of it.

01.40 Mairi: Did you ever discover anything from the old days?

01.50 Reva: Yes, actually, I used to go along the beachways and pick up a lot of broken glass, a lot of ceramics, that I'd heard were washed up from the Chinese boat that sunk out on the coast, on the West coast, back in the early 1800s as well. And that was what I'd do with my children. We used to have our little times when I'd have a tin and we'd just go along and pick up all the glass, you know, clean up along the beachfronts.

02.26 Mairi: Did you find any old boats?

02.30 Reva: No

02.35 Mairi: Is there anything around that talks about times of war?

02.45 Reva: I know of a lot of stories that happened all around on both sides of this point. It actually happened everywhere around here, to tell you the truth. There was a lot of war parties and trying to invade all over the place back in the days.

03.13 End

Title: Bare footed walk pick-up 1

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 19th October 2014

Time: 10.28 – 10.31 am

Place: Rawene, South Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: If you imagine walking along the road and telling people what's going through your mind.

00.10 Reva: So, at the time of my Mum's tangi, it was very wet, it was raining, it was quite heavy... a lot of people had arrived to be there to show their sympathy for everybody and for my Mum and I just knew that I had to be grounded at this time I was so emotional and there

was a lot of emotions going on with my whanau. A lot of crying, a lot of hurt, a lot of pain. And the best way i knew was to take my shoes off and wear no shoes. So, I ended up walking without my shoes on and everyone was telling me that... "You've got no shoes on. It's raining, it's wet and its muddy" And I said, "This is the way I need to be. I need to be grounded and I need to be close to Papa-tū-a-nuku". I could feel that strength and energy helping me through that time and throughout the hikoi. I felt quite strong and determined to carry on. And I was grateful to have that tautoko. And it wasn't til after the tangi that everyone kept saying to me... especially my eldest brother, he kept saying to me... both my eldest brothers actually "Reve, you reminded us of Mum when my brother died, 26 years ago, at his tangi, Mum wore bare feet". And so, there was a similarity there with my Mama. And, again, I didn't even realise that's a part of her teaching... me.

00.02.07 End

Title: Bare footed walk pick-up 2

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 19th October 2014

Time: 10.35 – 10.40am

Place: Rawene, South Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 04.07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Did you know that your Mum had gone with bare feet down that road?

00.21 Reva: At the time I didn't. I just did what was making me feel better. I just knew that if I took my shoes off that I'd feel better. Instantly. Like I had a connection. There was more energy giving me strength to pull through all the sadness and grief. A lot of emotions, especially within my whanau. Highly emotional, highly agitated and the sad loss is so huge. I just knew i had to be strong for my Dad as well, so a part of why I didn't have my shoes on was just really to help me get through and be strong.

01.10 Mairi: So, we're filming in front of the church again, but something's happened in between times that we don't know about. So, could you tell us what's happened.

01.40 Reva: Standing outside the church, looking towards the road and my Mum's final journey before we say goodbye to her. The sadness and grief that we were all feeling and the emptiness within my heart was so huge, I've never felt it before. I needed to have that extra help to help me through and I just knew that every footstep that I made and contact on the whenua was helping me pull through and to keep moving and to keep going. It's an analogy for my life, really. You know, to stay grounded, to keep moving. Life goes on, you can do it. You can do it Reva, you can do this.

00.45 Mairi: Can you describe the time?

00.50 Reva: Of course, the heavens were falling. Another kōrero my Mum used to tell me "When somebody passes away and the rains are opening up and it's like the heavens are opening and it's our tūpuna. They happy, they are happy for us because "you're coming home to where you started". And I believe that. I believe that it was a happy

time. It was a moment of respect for my mum and acknowledgement from our tūpuna that they were happy to have my Mum come back.

03.30 Mairi: So, what did you do then?

03.35 Reva: I had my shoes off. Just the feeling of being connected to the whenua giving me the support I needed so that I could carry on and not be overly emotional even though it is a time of such loss, it also gave me the strength that I needed to carry on.

04.07 End

Title: Bare-footed walk pick-up 3

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 19th October 2014

Time: 10.28 – 10.31 am

Place: Rawene, South Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 02.07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: If you imagine walking along the road and telling people what's going through your mind.

00.10 Reva: So, at the time of my Mum's tangi, it was very wet, it was raining, it was quite heavy... a lot of people had arrived to be there to show their sympathy for everybody and for my Mum and I just knew

that I had to be grounded at this time I was so emotional and there was a lot of emotions going on with my whanau. A lot of crying, a lot of hurt, a lot of pain. And the best way I knew was to take my shoes off and wear no shoes. So, I ended up walking without my shoes on and everyone was telling me that... "You've got no shoes on. It's raining, it's wet and it's muddy" And I said, "This is the way I need to be. I need to be grounded and I need to be close to Papa-tū-a-nuku". I could feel that strength and energy helping me through that time and throughout the hikoi. I felt quite strong and determined to carry on. And I was grateful to have that tautoko. And it wasn't til after the tangi that everyone kept saying to me... especially my eldest brother, he kept saying to me... both my eldest brothers actually "Reve, you reminded us of Mum when my brother died, 26 years ago, at his tangi, Mum wore bare feet". And so, there was a similarity there with my Mama. And, again, I didn't even realise that's a part of her teaching... me.

00.02.07 End

Title: Bare footed walk pick-up 4

Storyteller: Reva Mendes

Talking with: Mairi Gunn

Date: 19th October 2014

Time: 10.35 – 10.40 am

Place: Rawene, South Hokianga

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00 – 04.07

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Mairi: Did you know that your Mum had gone with bare feet down that road?

00.21 Reva: At the time I didn't. I just did what was making me feel better. I just knew that if I took my shoes off that I'd feel better. Instantly. Like I had a connection. There was more energy giving me strength to pull through all the sadness and grief. A lot of emotions, especially within my whanau. Highly emotional, highly agitated and the sad loss is so huge. I just knew I had to be strong for my Dad as well, so a part of why I didn't have my shoes on was just really to help me get through and be strong.

01.10 Mairi: So, we're filming in front of the church again, but something's happened in between times that we don't know about. So, could you tell us what's happened.

01.40 Reva: Standing outside the church, looking towards the road and my Mum's final journey before we say goodbye to her. The sadness and grief that we were all feeling and the emptiness within my heart was so huge, I've never felt it before. I needed to have that extra help to help me through and I just knew that every footstep that I made and contact on the whenua was helping me pull through and to keep moving and to keep going. It's an analogy for my life, really. You know, to stay grounded, to keep moving. Life goes on, you can do it. You can do it Reva, you can do this.

00.45 Mairi: Can you describe the time?

00.50 Reva: Of course, the heavens were falling. Another kōrero my Mum used to tell me "When somebody passes away and the rains are opening up and it's like the heavens are opening and it's our tūpuna.

They happy, they are happy for us because "you're coming home to where you started". And I believe that. I believe that it was a happy time. It was a moment of respect for my mum and acknowledgement from our tūpuna that they were happy to have my Mum come back.

03.30 Mairi: So, what did you do then?

03.35 Reva: I had my shoes off. Just the feeling of being connected to the whenua giving me the support I needed so that I could carry on and not be overly emotional even though it is a time of such loss, it also gave me the strength that I needed to carry on.

04.07 End

3:2.2 IRIHAPETI MORGAN

Title: Pepeha and Whakapapa

Storyteller: Irihapeti Morgan

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 2.58 – 3.00pm

**Location: Irihapeti's home,
Utakura Valley, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand**

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.01.55

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.00 Mairi: Please introduce yourself

00.00.20 Irihapeti: Kia Ora. My name is Irihapeti Morgan. It's all relative to where you are standing, eh. So, Iri is what I'm called. But, where I'm standing is the land... I see my Mother coming. This is the land that came through from the chief of our line – Te Taonui. Makoare Taonui. We are in Utakura and our hapū is Te Popoto. And behind me, I'd like to introduce Whakarongorua. And... you can't see it from here, but see the line of the willows? That's our awa – Utakura. That's it. That's my introduction.

00.01.55 End

Title: Her place

Storyteller: Irihapeti Morgan

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 3.35 – 3.52 pm

Location: Irihapeti's home, Utakura Valley, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.17.05

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.00 Mairi: Can you tell us what that mountain means to you people here?

00.00.35 Irihapeti: Well, you know, when you belong to a place, the

maunga is always the first one you acknowledge. And Whakarongorua is it for us here. What does it mean to belong here? It's just stuff you spit out, eh. Like, you go into robot mode and you say all this stuff. But it's different when it's part of your life. When it's part of your life - every day life. Like, my Mum gets up and she comes out on her verandah every morning and says "Good morning". I'm not quite that honest with how I feel about it. But maybe when I'm 85, I will be. But in my heart, I say the same thing. Without it, you wouldn't have any way to relate yourself to an area. It's name means it listens to the seas on both sides of the country. That's its name. And you know they're all intended to evoke that sense of being able to do that, so... It means that I can listen to the two tides. It means that I've got something in common with my Mum. It means that she's succeeded in passing on some of those values that I didn't and wouldn't acknowledge that I had received from her; from my parents; from my grandparents. So, yeah... that's what it means.

00.04.03 Mairi: Do you know stories about before it was taken?

00.04.10 Irihapeti: No. I'm a nosey little cop, so I went out and found out some of the background because it doesn't belong to us. It belongs to Pākehās. But when I did the research, I found out that it was confiscated. Whakarongorua was confiscated along with the land in the background there at Okaka, and given to General Cameron, who was the guy who put down Taranaki. You know you have ways of checking on some of the background. My mother went to school with some of the Camerons. So, you know, it looks like that's what really happened and of course, it's been in Pākehā ownership ever since. So, that's a disassociation of us with a landmark – with something that's... But, with our environmental work, we get to have a tactile association with our maunga. When we're monitoring the water quality and the

tuna and all of that stuff round the back of the maunga, then we get to touch it and it means something, it means something. I saw my mother cry the first time when we went round and she touched her maunga since she was a child. I'd never had. It's very different to talk about one of your icons. It just rolls off your tongue, it's so easy. But it's different when you don't touch it. And it's like it hugs you. It's like... I always say I belong to this, I belong to the awa, I belong to the maunga, I belong to everybody I am related to. I belong to an area – Hokianga. But it's not until you touch something and it tells you "Yes" and you feel it. You feel it saying "Yes... You belong to me". Yeah, it's a bit different when that happens, ay. So, you know, it's not all crap. But sometimes I wish that everybody would have the chance to have the real experience instead of just letting it trip off your bloody tongue. You know. Get in touch with all these things you say. "Whakarongorua te maunga, Utakura te awa..." So, it just makes you, when you actually say a thing that you know what the Hell you are talking about and you feel it.

00.08.16 Mairi: Can you tell us how Cameron was given your maunga?

00.08. 50 Irihapeti: The last fights with the English were up here. Up the hill here. And another one of our chiefs from up here, Tāmati Waka Nene, he was fighting with those English soldiers. Our chief, Makoare Taonui, had his troops and he pulled them out of that last fight up there. And everybody will interpret the documentation, the historical documentation, the way they do and I have my own version after reading it all. Waka Nene had a Pā here. He awhied the Cameron "Have this, have this whenua" . And, for me, it was about Te Popoto not participating in that fight against Hone Heke that we lost our maunga and that it was confiscated. So, that's my version. That's how I've interpreted what I've read and I'll stick to it. I haven't had my ass

kicked yet. And I'm living here, right in front of this taonga of ours. So... for me. My Mother said to me "You do not choose the land, the land chooses you". And I've been here 20 years so... That's my version anyway, and I'm still here.

00.11.20 Mairi: Tell us about the land where we are standing now.

00.11.43 Irihapeti: This is an 18 acre block and was solely owned by my Mum's Grandpa Titari [Anderson] Anihana. His brothers have got blocks around here. My Mum's Grandfather, my Great Great Grandfather was one of the chiefs of this area. He was a paramount chief. He was a chief all around the place, not just Utakura. He must have been a bit of a bulldog, but he was greatly respected.

Nika Anihana. But this is the only block he owns in his own name and it descended to my Granddad, my Mum's father and I had a wonderful 20 years here.

00.13.27 Mairi: Did you always know it was yours?

00.13.30 Irihapeti: No. No, I didn't. I only found out when I was about 45. It was after my Grand Aunty died. I was told that... You get a bit pissed off, ay. 'Cos if I'd have known, I probably would have been here a lot longer ago. I would have come. But, it's just this tradition they've got. Have to wait for the older generation to die out before they tell the next. But, I think we should bloody reverse that one so you don't have to go to someone else's country and work. You could have just stayed in your own.

00.14.29 Mairi: Why did they do that?

00.14.32 Irihapeti: I don't know how they bloody think. I'm sure that Grandpa Nigger didn't think like that. I think it's my um... Well, my Grandfather didn't even tell me. I'll bloody kick him! I haven't

regretted it. I've been growing up beside the sea for God's sake and here I am in a dust bowl in summer and a fuckn mud hole in winter. Who'd want to fuckn live here? But, it's been good to me, this place and my Mother loves it here. So, I'm bloody stuck here. My boat's sitting up there. I haven't been fishing for fuckn... ah well ever since when the harbour went fuckn paru. But that's just an excuse. The tuna are good in the river.

00.15.30 Mairi: So, does this feel like your place?

00.15.40 Irihapeti: oh yeah, connected, but not my place. 'Cos like I said, I like being by the fuckn water, by the sea. But it's my Mother's place and it's about how much you love sometimes... That's what she says, you know, "You don't choose the land, the land chooses you" and all that blah. But it's true. I don't have anywhere pulling me anywhere fuckn else? She's the most important taonga we have and it's all about her. And she's precious and she's 80 something, 85 and as long as she says "Jump!". I'll get to be about 70 before she drops dead. But it's about a bigger love than just yours. It's about what they love and what they loved. Yeah. That's what it's about.

00.17.05 End

Title: Mum

Storyteller: Irihapeti Morgan

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 3.45 – 3.55 pm

**Location: Irihapeti's home, Utakura Valley,
Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand**

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.10.20

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.00 Mairi: Can you tell us about your Dad?

00. 00.10 Irihapeti : My Mum had been retarded by my Dad, in her growth as a person. Absolutely under the thumb, mate. When he died, she didn't even know what colours she liked. She wasn't allowed to. He picked her clothes. He picked the colours she liked. I grew up thinking she liked blue and white. She hated it! And then to watch this 71 year old woman become a pastel flower. I watched my Mother go through what I went through, what we all go through, as teenagers. Learning what foods that we like. So, that woman that came down to talk to yous. She's her own person now. I mean. we don't like each other particularly well, but we do love each other and I do now respect her. I couldn't stand her.

00.01.25 Mairi: Do you think any of her recent growth is to do with being back?

00.01.28 Irihapeti: She always wanted to come here. This is her medicine. This is her medicine chest. This is where her memories are stored, with her Grandparents. She never had a Mum. This is where her essence is here. It is where I was brought when I was 3 months old. This is her heart. This is every wonderful thing that she is. And, there's not much of her that's not wonderful. You know, now I've got to know her. Yeah. And I'm so very proud to be her daughter. She got the chance to grow into herself and her finishing school is here. She wants to die here and she's infused us with her want for that. It's been a bloody awesome journey with that woman. For me to have the privilege of knowing her and the things she loves and that I love too now.

00.03.10 Mairi: Does your whanau land make you feel fortunate?

00.03.38 Irihapeti: There's so many of my family who are disenfranchised. My immediate... the ones close to me and those further away from me. But, I didn't even know I belonged to this bloody place. I didn't even know I belonged to Lake Omapere. But, if your stories put you or yours there... It doesn't matter how far away in time it is... Feel it! No one, no one can tell you do not belong to a thing. Confiscated maunga. Do I belong to that? Yes! If your association with a place or an event places you there in the form of your Great great whatever, then that's you. And, if you don't take your own authority into your own hands and believe it, then, you do not deserve it. You don't deserve it. And, get out o' town. Just do it, or don't. Don't winge. Don't winge.

00.05.37 Mairi:

00.05.50 Irihapeti: I think everybody does. Even I do. But there are just the levels. And it's all relative to how you handle. There's a lot of born agains right now. So, they've all found out about the confiscations

and about the... You know, where the hell were you going to school? I don't know. And it's good. I'm not one of those ones in protest mode or survival mode or whatever mode. I just deal with the way things are. It's always good to have one of your olds... Someone that you... You mightn't even like them. But, if you respect them, you might learn to. All the disenfranchised, the ones who feel hard done by because their Grandparents or their whatever sold off their whenua... It is all in your head, at the end of the day, because a land can't get up and walk away from you. It's going to be there no matter who's living on it or got a piece of paper to say they own it so... it shouldn't stop you. If you belong to it. It's when you reverse it. It's when you fuckn think it belongs to you that you're getting things a bit fucked up, you know. So, think about it the right way. I belong to that. This doesn't belong to me. It belongs to the ones in the future. I'm just the fuckn pitbull who happens to be here to look after it right now.

00.08.13 Mairi: What is your role????

00.08.30 Irihapeti: It's all good stuff and it keeps you busy. I don't know. I'd just prefer to get rid of humans. They're the fuckn problem, you know. That's one species. I can't wait til they go extinct! So, you've gotta play the game and get out there and it's all good stuff... riparian bla bla and... But the fact is, you know, Councils and that, they don't give a shit about Nature. They just care about export bucks and the businesses that it upholds and all that kind of fuckn washing machine and all that goes on. That's the frustrating... Well, for me. So, I console myself with, you know, that things will get better. That things will change. I don't know, I reckon its gonna. I reckon we're gonna have people that grow with their environment and not fuckn against it. So, I know it's gonna happen. That's my hope. I just do my little bit over here. We just do our little bit here, that's all. To help that come about, yeah.

00.10.20 End

Title: Papa Kāinga

Storyteller: Irihapeti Morgan

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 3.53 – 4.01 pm

**Location: Irihapeti's home,
Utakura Valley, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand**

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.07.29

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00 Irihapeti: Before incorporation, they were all separate blocks. They were all rated and they paid rates, or didn't pay rates, or whatever. But some of the... a lot of the blocks... I don't know. It's just another form of taking land. The threat was to start taking blocks that fell behind in their rates. So this brilliant idea of incorporation came up and so, they convinced our people here to put the lands... combine them under one title and in an incorporation and then you became a shareholder. It's quite a lot of land. I can't remember how many acres in the incorporation here in the Utakura 7 Incorporation, but, in a way, it was a good thing. At least, well, I could come here and park my ass up and live here in, not my papa kāinga, but my Mother's... But in another way, because they're a business entity and tiny little shareholders and a few big shareholders, and of course they get into contracts with forestry companies and stuff and then totally rip off the incorporation in terms of returns to the shareholders, which has never

happened and they have like leases that can't be broken and nothing – no dividend. It's very disheartening. But, I'm a realist, I just deal with what happens and we manage. As far as I'm concerned, my rent here, even though this is my Mother's papa kāinga, my rent is that we manage this block on behalf of the incorporation. We don't do anything detrimental to the good management of the place. We have the chance to transfer values and skills like mahinga kai to the mokopuna about the ngahere with our environmental work that happens, so we have the chance to be at home that has never been in anybody's hands but our own whānau and that's something that's pretty uplifting so... Yes... there's no lose, there's no lose in that kind of situation, ay.

00.03.36 Mairi: Why is it uplifting?

00.03.38 Irihapeti: Because... you belong to it. I mean, I can't go down to Rotorua and stand around saying I belong there. But I don't. Cause I don't. This is where I belong. I belong to this whenua, so it gives you a kind of self-confidence that you wouldn't otherwise have. Nothing can beat it. [laughs]

00.04.08 Mairi: So no money changes hands?

00.04.12 Irihapeti: No one's gonna argue that we don't have a right to be here. Despite all the best plan... Hey, it's gonna rain. Even though they have business plans in place and they allot... allocate... you can only build so many houses on a certain place, or whatever. I mean, that's not reality for Māori. If you need somewhere to live, then put you up a whare.

It used to. That's just the deal I made. Other people have been here and had leases. They lease their own land. I refuse to fuckn do that. What I put into this place is my rent, if you want to call it that, or my lease. My word is my pono. If that's not a lease, a good enough lease... I'm

not going to sign documents. This is my Mother’s papa kāinga. I have a responsibility to look after it. They did a terrible job of looking after it. We’re doing a wonderful job! We run our environmental group from here. What more do you need, but good tenants?

00.05.44 Mairi: Is there any kind of ownership model that approximates what Māori had before colonisation?

00.05.50 Irihapeti: They kind of had clubs and things. I guess that’s about it, you know. It was the real deal. If you’re in my area and I didn’t know who you were and you couldn’t tell me how you whakapapa to that ground you’re bloody standing on, I’m gonna kill you. Nothing in this country approximates that kind of stand up but it is a form that I have in my agreement with the incorporation and that’s the precedent that I used when I came.

00.07.29 End

3:2.3 NOPERA PIKARI

Title: Whakapapa to Pukenui and Karahina whānau

Storyteller: Nopera Pikari

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 13 September 2014

Time: 1.34-1.56pm

Location: Pukenui, Ohaeawai, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.21.51

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.01.00 Mairi: Please introduce yourself

00.01.10 Nopera:

Ae,	Yes,
Kia ora tātou,	Greetings
ko Pukenui,	Pukenui
ko Rawhitiroa,	Rawhitiroa
ko Parawhenua te maunga, e tu mai na kei muri au.	Parawhenua is the mountain that stands behind me
Ko Omapere te awa, te moana ko raua	Omapere is both the river and the sea
ko Uri o Uri o Taniwha taku hapu,	Uri o Taniwha is my sub-tribe
ko Rawhitiroa te marae,	Rawhitiroa is the marae
ko Ngā-toki-mata-whao-rua ko Mataatua āku waka,	Ngatokimatawhaorua and Mataatua are my canoes
ko Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu ahau,	I am from Ngapuhi nui tonu
ko Nopera Pikari toku ingoa.	Nopera Pikari is my name
Kia ora tātou katoa.	Greetings to you all

00.01.55 Mairi: Tell us about the mountain

00.02.00 Nopera: I first became aware of this place just before my mother died back in, ah, just before the nineties. Prior to that, I just used to drive past this mountain behind me. This is my sacred mountain, I've come to learn. One of them. But, as I was saying, I used to just drive past this place and back to the Hokianga because I always thought I was from the Hokianga because that's where my Mother's from and her mother's from there. But apparently we tātai back to this mountain behind us through our great grandmother and her mother, Reneti Tetata, who lived on the land on the other side of that mountain there. And my great great grandmother Reneti Tetata married someone from a place called Wharengaere, Ngāti Torehina out at the Purerua Peninsula way back in the 1800s and that's where she's buried. She married a person called Hemi Tarore and from that marriage, they had a daughter... well, they had four children and one of them happened to be my great grandmother. Her name was Te Paea Karahina. She married my Great Great Grandfather Hone Karahina Pikari and then his name became Hone Pikari. But when he was born, his name was Pikari Karahina. And when he married my great grandmother, Te Paea, at Whangaroa in the Anglican Church in the 1800s, his name all of a sudden became Hone Pikari, so hence, my name today is Pikari. It's actually Nopera Pikari Karahina. That's my real name. And that's after my tupuna who tātais to Pūtahi, another mountain in this district and he's from Te Uri o Hua and Ngati Rua hapu. Ah, Ngati Rua ki Ngati Kahu and Te Uri o Hua ki Ngāpuhi from Kaikohe and through the district out towards Ngāwhā - around that area.

Like I was saying, I became aware of this place back in the... just before my mother died. It was funny, because she was just about to pass away, but apparently, she passed away a few years later

than that and she had this concern that she needed to send me on this journey to all these places. So she gave me all these names of different places around the area and I didn't know anything about these places. But for her telling me these places, I actually went on a journey with my partner at that time – 1983, I think it was, yeah. And we travelled around up here. At that time, I was living in Kaitaia. And we travelled, and the first place we travelled to was a place over called Wharengaere. It's a horseshoe bay and its got a little village down there. So I met one of my whanaunga who was a fellow called Sid Rihani. And it was through that meeting... And I asked him, and I said "My tupuna's from here" and he said, "Well, just go up the hill". So, I went up the hill and looked around and there's no Pikaris up there. All I could see was all these rocks and I came back down and I said to him "They're not up there" and he said "Yes they are, they are underneath those rocks. Did you read those rocks?" See, they've got no names and that's the way they used to do it in their time. They never put a name on the rock. They just put the tūpunas underneath. Then he proceeded to tell me all my mother's and my aunties names and he said "We all used to work together". And this was my whanaunga. So, through that meeting, I was able to find these places as well. But, I lived with a great grand aunty in Auckland, when I was a young fulla in Glen Innes and I used to go down to this place in Point England, and pick karehu. That's what we used to have karehu and rēwana bread. That's what we lived on. And she lived in Glen Innes at the time. And she talked about this place. And I was still none the wiser at the time, but then one day I came to it. And what I do know about it is that they had part of the land wars up here. And behind this mountain here, our tupuna Hone Heke, when they fought against the British for the land rights up here... what I do know, is that it was never taken by the British, it was taken by another Māori from Hokianga and they did

actually have a war amongst themselves. Anyway, my tūpunas lie at the base of that mountain. There's my great grand mother, Te Paea, my grand uncle Hake Pikari and I've got a few other great grand aunts – they're buried around that mountain as well, so there's a whole contingent of the Pikari family. But the real name is Karahina. That's who we really are. And you know, what I believe... My grandmother was from Parawhenua. Her name was Raumati Tuhapo. And I believe she's still got a bit of whenua around this area. Our family came back to this place. It might have been way back in the 1900s, the early 1900s. They were actually gum diggers. They left from the Hokianga with a tupuna called Hohaia Patuone. And they all became gumdiggers through that and they stayed there, then they came back over to this area. A place called Rawhiti, Rawhitiroa and that's where our great great grandmother Reneti Tetata had some whenua there – Whatatiri B, I think it was. But she had already passed by this time. So when they came back, they came back with our great grandmother Te Paea, and they settled on the whenua here. And I think they... after Te Paea died, which was about 1951, she was 105 when she passed, I think at that time, our family were so poor, they couldn't afford the rates or anything. They just walked off and they ended up in Auckland. So, what happened is we lost a whole generation of our whanau, you know. So, we were actually a lost whanau. So we really didn't know where we were from and even though we were brought up in all those other areas... but that's our kāinga tuturu there and Wharengaere and Hokianga on my mother's side. My mother was from Piki Te Aroha Marae in Rāhiri and she's Ngāti Toro on that side for her grandmother and that's another hapu of mine. That's a Hokianga hapu I belong to. Ngāti Toro. And Ngāti Torehina over in Wharengaere is the other hapu. But the Mataatua and Ngā-toki-mata-whao-rua are the wakas that we come off. And we come down through from Rāhiri to Uenuku

to Kareariki and down through to Maikuku. We come down from that tupuna. There was a marriage between them and they had all these children and one of them was Maikuku and Uewhati was another one. I think there was about 5 children there. And that's our line of descent that comes down through that side to where we are now, through our grandfather. A lot of this we found out when we were doing our book – our Aunts were doing the book, back in 2000 and something. But we had a book launch over here in Parawhenua in 2008 and some of that information they found out through Ron Wihongi because the whakapapa was there, so we knew that was it. He had it in his book. That's when my Aunt went to go and visit him. And I think it was in 2007, sorry, excuse me. And then we had the reunion over here and they launched the book Te Whānau which gave us a really good look at where we come from, you know. But prior to that, I sort of knew a lot of the history because I've sat on the marae and listened to the old people kōrero mai ki au o ngā hitori mo te kāinga nei. So, having had that history, you know, you sort of sit down and listen and you'll get the message. And that's how I learned a lot of that history, by listening to the old people. Most of those people, they're no longer here with us now. It's like, you're in this place now and you look at that mountain and you go "O jingers, that's where I'm from" but, you know I don't have much to do with it. Only now and again when my relations die, I go over to Rāwhitiroa. And so, my family, my particular family, the Pikari family, when our grand uncle walked off here back in the '50s, everything was gone, you know. That whole thing about tatau whakapapa had been lost because our whole family became scattered. We ended up all around the country. All around the world actually. I've got whanaunga all over the place. And then, they started getting together as whānau and started recreating our whakapapa and coming together. And that was one of the hui we had here in 2008 and

Parawhenua's bringing the Pikari family back, by using the book and unveiling all of our tūpuna's headstones here at Taitoko Urupā, that's at the base of that mountain. Taku maunga, ay. So, yeah, I can stand here and say that is my mountain, because that's where I'm from.

00.11.30 Mairi: Why does your mountain look like that?

00.12.00 Nopera: It's still my mountain, but you know, I think with years of colonisation and different people owning that particular whenua, it looks like that now. I guess in the old days... well, it was a pā site so I'm not too sure whether it would have had bush on it or not. Because pā sites, as you know, if you know the make up of a pā site, there would have been people living on that place at that time. So it would have been made up of palisades and whare and stuff like that. And we're talking about back going back... when was the Land Wars... back in the 1860s? Oh, 1845... going back to the 1840s in our particular thing. We were the first to be colonised up here. When you talk about colonisation, our people were the first to be colonised. Even in terms of Christianity, they came in 1814. My tupuna Ruatara brought him over here – Marsden. He was the first fulla and he did those church services in December 1814. That was the first thing of Christianity. That place. So there's a lot of history here. And I could go on talking all day about it. But, when I look at that mountain now and I see how bare it is and I think that we could have been living on top of that mountain. I do know that some of our tūpunas used to live and were buried up there and I remember when that old Rangi Marsh and them were alive – that's that old kuia Aunty Rewa, when she was alive, she used to tell us the stories about that place. About how the tūpunas were buried up there and they brought them down at one time. And she was married to an esteemed kaumatua who passed away in the '80s, ah Rangi Marsh. I remember those old people. They are no longer

here, but they were people of knowledge. And that's where I got all my knowledge from, from listening to those old kaumatuas in their time. I guess today, it's a little bit different. We actually go to the university and we learn about it that way. Some of us are privileged enough to sit at the feet of our tūpuna – our kaumatuas and kuia and get that knowledge. A lot of us go to the university to find it as well, which is okay, because you have to find it somewhere, you know. And I guess in some ways I'm a bit like that because in these last couple of years, I've started researching. It's only through my nieces and nephews coming up here all the time and saying "Oh, Uncle... What do you know about this and what about that?" So, you get on the... what do they call it today, the internet. You jump on that and you go "Is that how you do it, boy?". So, they've shown me a lot how to get this information. So... And that's what I've done lately in the last couple of years. Been getting on and finding out – jingers Christ! All this stuff about my ancestors. And they lived in this area back in the 1800s. They were here and it's been recorded in the books and in the church records in the Anglican church. Oh, my tupuna was a such and such person, you know. One of them was a judge. Yeah, that's Hone Karahina. And that's about as much as I know about those tūpuna, but I know they were here. And I think it's sad when, all those years later... There is a sense of sadness, because you find out about this stuff years later and you know "Oh Hell". So, you know, when we were being brought up, we never knew about this stuff because they never said nothing. My Mother never said nothing. They spoke fluent Māori in the house so you didn't understand what they were saying. I'd actually learned it by listening to them - just picking up bits and pieces – to my Mother, my Father and my Aunties 'cause they always used to sit at the table, you know, and they've all been talking about these things. Like I said, it wasn't until my Mother had almost passed that I found out about

a lot of it. And that's been my journey ever since. But I've been on a journey like that for me all my life. I'm interested in the history of our people. It's one of my passions, you know. I love it. That's my kai. He aha te kai a te rangatira? He korero. I just love listening to those stories. 'Cause it makes you understand who you are. And where you know from. So I know where I'm from.

00.16.09 Mairi: The land looks different now.

00.16.15 Nopera: Once there would have been forest all through here. When you look at it now... This is 2000 and what – 14? And it's just inundated with paddocks and with cows and cattle. It's hard to imagine, but I remember back when we used to do these things called Dynamics of Whanaungatanga and we used to do this exercise. And one of the exercises was to draw something and imagine what it looked like 200 years ago. So we'd draw some pictures of pā sites and beautiful stuff and then this fulla would come 'round and say "Put all your pictures down here - all these beautiful pictures in front of us" and he'd come around and rip them up. And then these old people would get angry and said "That's what happened" – ay? See what it looked like then? Imagine what it looked like then? Look at that. And this is the result of colonisation. Looking round you to those times. So, I am reminded of that, you know. And that, today we continue to fight, you know, to get that land back. I'd dearly love to see that mountain come back to our people. I know Pouerua just at the back of us on the other side of us came back. We went up there and protested with Ngāti Rāhiri in those times and it came back to the people. I can remember going up there and having a church service and everyone was protesting and stuff like that. Even up this mountain here, I can remember going up with that old kuia. She took us up there one time and it was beautiful. It was like... How would you imagine it? I

mean sitting up on top of those hills is like being in Heaven. Because, you know, the stars are so close. We were up there at night time. And you're lying down there and you see all those shooting stars. You know how you see shooting stars? Well, these ones were big. You know, they weren't small. We was like "Mate!" We were just so close. So, our people, they were onto it, you know. They knew why they were sitting on that maunga for. They were very intelligent, our people. And today they're still intelligent. And we're still standing up and fighting for our rights. Fighting for our land. Fighting for our... you know. For whatever. We're still here and we won't go away. We'll never go away. We'll never die. For, as long as there's fight in your heart, you'll keep going.

00.18.40 Mairi: What would you say to people?

00.19.00 Nopera: I would say to people this. If you believe in something strong enough, then get up and stand up and fight for your rights because it's what we're doing and we'll continue to do it until our last breath. And hopefully, our mokopunas will do the same thing – to fight for the rights of our people. But, hopefully in their time, it will be a better world. There is actually... there are some things today that are a lot better than what it was when I was a young fulla like Kōhanga Reo, for instance. Retaining the language and all that sort of thing. See, we never had those when we went into school. You go into most kura today and there are a lot of things Māori, you know. Those things are good for us today. They are actually starting to recognise who we are, which is good. As when I was a young fella going to school, there was nothing of that. We had nothing. All we had was the Treaty of Waitangi and this is what happened. See, so even that was wrong. But today the stories come out and they can no longer deny it, even though they are trying to push it to the side, which they never will. All those sorts of things. Yeah.

00.20.00 Mairi: How about those people who try to convince you that colonisation was a good thing because they brought schools and roads?

00.20.15 Nopera: If you look at today's world, even though I'm saying some things have gone better for us, some things haven't because colonisation have done this to us.

Cars and cows (audio)

00.21.51 End

Title: Improvement

Storyteller: Nopera Pikari

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 13 September 2014

Time: 2.17- 2.32pm

Location: Pukenui, Ohaeawai, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.14.36

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.00 Mairi: Thinking about "improvement"

00.00.20 Nopera: Yeah, no, I guess that, because we are in the day and age that we are in, you know, if Māori people have got land like this, then you've got to utilise it, ay. My brother, my oldest brother does that. He's a farmer. He actually utilises the farm, you see, in terms of how it's going today. I mean, you get a lot of corporations, Māori

corporations, doing the same things today. They use farming as to the betterment of their people. You know, big corporations. And so, at the end of the day, even though we have been colonised, we need to utilise our land in the way that the tauwiwi does. For the betterment of the people. That's my thoughts, you know, 'cos I've just seen the stock going around and around.

00.01.15 Mairi: So, is it better than it used to be?

00.01.25 Nopera: It's not better off than what it used to be. It's actually a lot worse.

(Car)

00.01.50 Mairi: Talk a bit about improvement.

00.02.15 Nopera: Yes and no. Our people are going through the schools and they're not as well educated as other people. And up here, we have a lot of problems with our young teenagers going through the kura. Lately we've been getting these reports that Māori children don't perform as well as other people. So, for people to say something like that is not quite kosher, you know, because our people are still struggling in terms of education. You know there's the few that get through. Like, my son is one. He's very intelligent. He's gonna be a doctor and it's only because we sit there and support him. A lot of families do up here, but there is also a lot of poor families, you know, and so trying to support their kids through school is hard, you know. And that's sad, you know. It's not of their own doing, it's just the way the economy is at this time, you know, because of the successive government, you know. If anything it got worse in terms of that stuff. You look at our people up here. Colonisation hasn't made it better for a lot of us. It's one of the poorest places in the country up here, especially in the Hokianga where I live and where I'm from, you know.

The economy for our people is just bad. It's not good. We still gotta feed our kids. You know our kids still go to school hungry, some of them. So you try and create these things. You hear the politicians say "Feed our kids" well, how? When? It only just happens up here and we've had whānau who've tried their best. But it's good I guess, if the government does come and give them some money to feed our kids, that's good. Because we can't always do it. Because most of us are... there's no work. We're all on the dole and so, that's what colonisation has done. In terms of people saying that colonisation is good for us... No it's not. Our people are still at the bottom of the heap in terms of economic growth. A few of us get there, but not all of us.

00.04.35 Mairi: How has colonisation created poverty?

00.04.40 Nopera: I got this explained to me yesterday. They come in and they grow these towns, you know, and they put people in the towns. So, what happened with our people, they came off the pā sites and they went into the towns. And the other thing they did, they created shops, so you had to go to the shop and buy something, and then they created jobs and next minute, those jobs were no longer there. So, at the beginning it was okay, but what they've actually created is a capitalist system that we cannot compete against. Our people, especially up here, You know, because we're used to living on the land, growing the gardens. Now, when I was being brought up, we used to have gardens, you know. We used to have kai. But now today, you've gotta to the shop and buy your kai. That sort of thing, you know. Like, 20 or 30 years ago when there were big gardens even around these areas, our people used to go.. Some of our people still are able to grow those gardens, but not all of us. So the majority of our people go to the Four Square or the Countdown, or what we have up here... the New World. And that's where you see them – Dole day,

they're there getting their kai. Whereas, in the old days, the gardens were there. But see... that's gone. So, for anyone to say it's getting better for us – no. It's getting worse.

00.05.50 Mairi: Can you describe the gardens?

00.05.55 Nopera: I'm talking about 10 acre gardens. There would have been good gardens and there are some places back in Omanaia there, they're starting to build that back again, because what we're starting to realise up here - we can't rely on the shops. We have to go home and grow our own kai. That's what a lot of people are doing. I do it myself. I grow my own kai. And it just gives you, you don't have to buy vegetables 'cos vegetables are quite dear at this moment.

Living standards for us as Māori are not that good. Look at the statistics. They tell you it's not. For anyone to say "Oh, they're okay", it's not quite true. Especially when you see all the whānau going to town. Like, you go to Kaikohe, for instance, Friday, Thursday, it's packed. On three Dole days, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, it's pretty packed. Come Friday, it's dead because everyone's done their shopping and gone home. And that's all they do now. In the old days, it used to be pretty vibrant in town, ay. We used to come into town and we used to buy some nice clothes. But now they've got no clothes shops and all you've got is blinkin' Warehouse. I can remember in Kaikohe back in the day, they used to have a few clothes shops and you could go and get clothes. But, now it's just gone into those big conglomerate companies. Whether they are doing any good for our people or not, I don't know. I wouldn't like to comment about that. It just doesn't look good.

00.07.27 Mairi: Tell me about the people up there in that Pā site.

00.07.30 Nopera: Well, they would have had gardens and stuff like

that, you know, I am sure. They would have had kai moana and stuff like that. You know, in those times, you get the people inland here. They would have had pigs and pigeons. They would have traded them with the people out on the coast. And that's what they did. You see, the people from here used to go out and live on the coast, get the kai and come back in. And that's what it's like in the inland areas. If you ask any Māori community that's what it used to be like in those times. But, you know, I wasn't alive then. But that's what happened in those times. Because history has told us that's what happened. The people used to go out. It's like a barter system, you know. The stories I've heard and that's what it would have been. They would have gone out there and they would have traded their kai for the kai moana and then come back and vice versa. Or formed a relationship with the people in those certain areas and they would have had the rights to go and fish and do all that stuff there. Likewise with those people come and do the same thing. But see that's all gone. We no longer have that system anymore.

00.08.36 Mairi: I can't see any people around here.

00.08.39 Nopera: They're all in their farms hiding away.

00.08.44 Mairi: Wouldn't there have been people around here in all the gardens...

00.08.47 Nopera: There would have been, but they would have been living on places like those and in different Pā sites. That's another story in itself. What I do know is about the Pā site behind me, of which I learned a lot when we did the occupation behind me, is that they used to have gardens right at the top. So, if they got attacked... well, we won't go there, eh... Because tauiwi never attacked us when it was our own. That place in Pouerua at the back had gardens all around the

top. And you'd think "Well, how did you get water there?". But they had water. They had systems there. The old people used to tell us their stories when we were up there and it was amazing to listen to their stories. Amazing. "Is that how they got the water?" "Yeah" "You mean the gardens were right up there? We thought they'd have houses there?" "No, gardens were right at the top". "And that's what we were told. So, all their cultivation was at the top and so they were able to feed their people.

00.09.41 Mairi: How did they get their water up there?

00.09.47 Nopera: I don't know. But when I was up there, there was a thing that... there was a crater up there. But, at the back of that place there's a couple of lakes Whareiti they call them. There's two of them. They're quite deep. And it's like a tunnel system. Comes right out this way right out to Taumāre, to her and right down to Moerewa, right out to Hokianga, these tunnel systems, yeah.

00.10.12 Mairi: How's the water in those lakes?

00.10.15 Nopera: Lake Omapere's not that bad. Slowly coming back now that the water's not that good. I don't think... It's going to take years and years if they want to have nice water in that lake. But, ever since they dropped the lake way back in the early 1900s... But lately we just had this storm, you know... it seems like the lake's come back to where it is and that's really great. It's really great that the water's back up there because it's back to where it was in the 1920s, I believe. I've noticed that a lot of our people are smiling. I am, that's for sure. Because that's where it should have been in the first place. I have heard talk that they wanted to drain it out again. But that only pollutes the lake and that's what happened, you know. The pollution of the lake took place when they kept dropping it. They took the eels out of there,

the tuna. That was a kai place, you know? Omapere. People used to go there and camp on the sides there, just for a little while, get their kai and then move on. Yeah, that's way back in the day and I think there's a couple of kuia over there who still remember those times too. I thought she was passed but she's still here, that old kuia. And in their stories they talk about that ay, people parking down beside the lake and getting the kai moana. But that's before it really got polluted, you know, when they started blocking off down the Utakura River there and all that and that's when it really started to happen because you noticed all that stuff going down the Utakura Creek. But, even now, they are cleaning that place out and they seem to be doing a good job, but it's going to take years to really clean the waterways and that's one thing, ay... water. Water is the most important commodity that we have, that we need. And a lot of it's actually polluted. You go through the Hokianga it's polluted. One of the things they have done in the last couple of years with the Council, they've allowed a 25 year thing of the thing... of allowing the tūtae to go into our harbour for the next 25 years, but they've also got this thing called "Wai...", it's a group and they've actually work in conjunction with the Council to combat tūtae going in. But, at the end of the day... 25 years is another 25 years of our awa over there in the Hokianga being polluted. So, water is a very important thing and water is also a healing thing. You look at water as healing because that's what it is... it's the life force eh.... water... especially if you got good clean water. So, that's the main issue up here at the moment is water. With the recent flooding we've had here, that's impacted on the waterways a lot. Because I know, that happened in July, it's now September... and we're still getting... where I stay in Rawene, when I turn the tap on, the blinking thing comes out grey, you know brown, the water. So they haven't sussed it yet. So, water's important.

00.13.07 Mairi: What's caused the pollution?

00.13.10 Nopera: The floods. Stuff getting into the water and stuff like that. Especially when it came down through the lake. I think when we had a lot of flooding in Hokianga it was, what caused it was coming down through the lake. A lot of it's caused by [they've gone] cattle. You know all that nitrogen that they tūtae on the water sides, yeah. That's the main thing. 'Cos the farms and... and educating them is pretty hard but some of them are coming to the party slowly but surely. I mean, if you work at it, it works for you. That's my belief. Trying to convince them that, hey... "Put a fence on that part of the water and then the water will come back to its pure state. And that's what it used to be like. The water was pure. But now it's not pure because they put all sorts of crap in it. I don't actually drink the water out of the town myself. I actually use a distiller to distil all my water. I do that day and night. So, that's what I do.

00.14.36 End

Title: Story of the three prophetesses

Storyteller: Nopera Pikari

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 9.46 – 9.53 am

Location: Courthouse, Rawene, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.06.32

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.50 Mairi: Please tell us about this place.

00.00.55 Nopera: What we have behind us is the old Rawene Courthouse, which was built back in the 1800s and also behind me we have two, um, what they call the old gaol, or two little cells at the back there as well. The event that I want to talk about this morning is an event that took place in the 1800s, about the disassociation of land, I reckon, I believe. The event that happened was back in the 1880s, about 1886, 1887. They had a, um, they a sect further up the river, where my Mother was from, in Rāhiri, in the Waihou Valley. And there were three women prophets that were involved in a sect. I guess it was a dissatisfaction at the tauiwi government at the time, and so they took it upon themselves to form their own alliance, in terms of a religious sect. It was a mixture of Māori mythology and religion, and the Bible. But, having said that, they, um, they formed their own alliance; they had their own little sect there in a place called Orira. The three women, they were prophets, they were, and at that time and all they were trying to do was retain their own, well I guess... when I read the history of it, their own Māoritanga. One of these women who was Ani Kāro, I believe she was the last prophet. There was another one before her, Maria Pangari, she was one and there was another one, I've forgotten the name, but, anyway, I think the last prophet was a woman called Ani Kāro and her father was Hohaia Patuone and my cousin in town here, she is a direct descendant of this person, yeah. Anyway... through having that sect, they were um, their enclosure, or village, was sacked by the constabulary around here. Prior to them going into... There was a few things that happened, like they reckoned there was... Some of the people were upset about what was going on in the sect. They reckoned they had a little child that, who'd been laying there for

days and they had burned it in the fire and they ate the flesh and all this sort of stuff. But anyway, it ended up with the constabulary went in with some of our own people, with some of our own kaumātuas and one of them was my cousin's Great Great Grandfather from down Whangarei area – I'm not going to name any names. One of them was mine as well. My Great Grandfather. He was part of the korero that went on at that time as to what they were gonna do with these people. But anyway, they ended up going into this place. And there was a court case that took place in this courthouse just behind us here, round about 1887, about that time. And one of our tupunas that came here, he was the father of Ani Kāro. And he came to this courthouse and, this was after the event had happened, and he was given an ultimatum. "You can go to the gumfields, or you can go to the gaol". He chose the latter. He took his people and he went to the gumfields in the Far North. And amongst that group was my tupuna as well. So, what happened, they left Hokianga, they went to work in the gumfields and in the 1900s, they made their way home. At this time, my Grandmother from the Waihou Valley had married my Grandfather who was from Ngāti Rua, Te Uri o Hua and Te Uri o Taniwha. And in that group also was another Grandfather of mine who was the Father of my Father, and they ended up in a place called Rāwhitiroa, where my Great Grandfather's wife's mother was from. And they went down there where they were. But anyway, that's the story I needed to tell, because what happened is this. It actually alienated us from our land. That's what it did to us as a people. So, once again you have the severing of the umbilical cord of our people. And the system had taken us right away from our people. So those people were actually living on their land, and so they came to this courthouse and they were ordered to do these things, you see. And today we still feel the pain of that. This story's not told much, but the story needs to be told, I believe. You

know after, like, over 100 years now since this event happened and it's still fresh in my mind today. Every time I... I actually live in this town now and every time I look at that courthouse, it reminds me of that event. You know, this event is actually recorded in history that they was actually ordered to the gumfelds way back in those times. And that's what they did, just to keep the peace, I guess. Because, his Father was a peacemaker and so was his Uncle, Tāmati Waka Nene and Patuone. They were peacemakers. And they, I believe, they did have something to do with this event at the time too but they were wanting to keep the peace, rather than... because it was his son and also was his niece that they were going against. So, you can see what was happening in those times. It's sad, but it happened. It's been recorded in history

00.06.32 End

Title: Gaol in Auckland Town Hall

Storyteller: Nopera Pikari

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 9.58 – 9.59 am

Location: Courthouse, Rawene, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.00.34

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.22 Mairi: Clarify about the gaol please.

00.00.23 Nopera: Mt Eden at that time was in the front of the Auckland Townhouse, if you go to the Town House. You know the Town Hall. There's a thing like that and that was the original gaol and they built that place to lock our people.

00.00.34 End

Title: Loss of land

Storyteller: Nopera Pikari

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 9.58 – 9.59 am

Location: Courthouse, Rawene, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.01.02

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.20 Mairi: Tell us why the story connects to loss of land.

00.00.22 Nopera: Well it is because that's what was happening at the time. They were dissatisfied with what was happening, so they formed their own alliance. Not many people in Hokianga know about this ay. People say "What are you talking about?" and I say "Well, just up there... Have you heard that story?" "No" ...and they've lived there all their lives.

00.01.02 End

Title: Retelling courthouse story

Storyteller: Nopera Pikari

Interviewer: Mairi Gunn

Date: 14 September 2014

Time: 9.58 – 9.59 am

Location: Courthouse, Rawene, Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

Recording device: Zoom H4

Timecode: 00.00.00 – 00.01.02

Transcribed by: Mairi Gunn

00.00.00 Mairi: Okay, Nopera.

00.00.07 Nopera: Anyway, going back to the Waihou Valley and at that time they had a um... there were 3 women prophets and they sort of formed this... Well, there was actually one and her name was Maria Remana Pangari. She was the first prophet. Yeah... it was a bit of an alliance of... see, at that time a lot of land was getting lost so they actually formed their own religion. It was a mixture of Māori mythology and the Bible. I think one of the reasons it was formed, because the land was getting lost and so they decided they'd try and get their own people together, you know. And they even did things like, um... they went into Kaikohe and they were saying that the end of the world was coming, you see. So, you see, the people, because they followed this first woman, Maria, and they all went down to Kaikohe and she was depicting that the end of the world would come, but it didn't come, so the people went home back to Rāhiri up in to the Waihou Valley there. And then they travelled down to Te Whiti

down in Taranaki because he was the prophet at that time. So, it was a mixture of his religion as well. So they went there, and on the way, and I think that the first woman prophet, she died and so, from that event, Ani Kāro took over and brought the people back. So, when they came back, they came back with the teachings of Te Whiti. So, that's what they were using to... you know. And, it was like a whole thing of land. The thing was about land loss because at that time, the government was just... you know, we're talking about 1886, 1887 at this time. So, a lot of land was getting lost at that time and our people were just... you know, they were dying, they were dying and that was the other thing you know... through land loss and then there was... our culture was being taken away from us. So this was a way of turning around and saying "No, we don't want that". This is what I believe, you know, when I've read the history of the people at that time. But, at that time we had the government saying it was like witchcraft and all that because of the way they used to practice their sect. You see, one thing that happened at that time is that they had a... This was... I don't know whether it's true or not, but they say that they had this child that had died and they actually ended up burning it, you know, on the fire. And I don't know whether that's true, I just know... A lot of people were upset. Even our own people, so they asked people to go and do something about this sect. What you've gotta remember is that a lot of people were related to the people in the district at that time. So, they were all families. So, one of the things that I've seen and I've read about is that one of my tupuna was actually there. You know, they were discussing how they were going to counteract the people. But, they decided just let them be. But anyway, what happened was that the um constabulary at that time went in to the village and they sort of sacked it, you know, and took the people away from there. But, some of the people just scattered, 'cause they got let go. And through

that event, one of the tupuna who was the father of whaea Ani Kāro, Patuone, Hohaia Patuone was his name. Then, if you look behind me, he was... he came to this court. And in this court, the judge at that time ordered him... well, he gave him two choices. You can go to the gumfields and work, or you can go to the gaol in Auckland, the prison in Auckland, which was Mt Eden at that time. And the prison in Auckland at that time, I believe, was on the front of the Town Hall. If you go to the Auckland Town Hall, you see a little diamond shaped thing. That's where the original gaol used to be, right there. And, anyway... they chose to go North. And that group that went North with Hohaia Patuone was my tūpuna. They went too. And so... years later, when trade was falling out, they came home. My Grandmother came back with my Grandfather and they settled in a place called Huatau and that's where they settled on her land. And, my other Grandfather, who is my father's father, he ended up in a place called Rāwhitiroa. So, what it's done is, it's actually severed the umbilical cord of our people. All these events that I am talking about, that's what it's done, it's taken away the whole thing. Our people are people of the land, you know. And this event that happened in this courthouse to the tūpuna at that time, it did that. That's what I believe. It took away their right to live on their own land. So, they were sent into another foreign country, really. Because, it's another tribal area. But, they ended up working in the gumfields. So, that's about 1887 and my whānau didn't come back down here until about the early 1900s and settled back in the Hokianga. So, I guess, that's the story I wanted to tell about how we lost our land. Well, we didn't, we came back to it and it was still there. But, you know, after all those years of living in the gumfields. And this is something that I never grew up with because I never knew about it until I was, like, an adult. And then I get told by my Great Grand Aunty "We used to work in the gumfields" "What?" "Yeah" and so,

she told me all these stories about the gumfields, you know. And how they used to work up there and how they were so poor, that when my Grandfather died, for instance, they had to bring him on a boat from a place called Kaimaumau and bring him down into the sea to a place called Taupo Bay. That's where they buried him, my Great Grandfather, Hone Pikari from Ngāti Rua. And so, it's all those sort of things that reminds me today. When I come to this courthouse and I look at this courthouse, and it reminds me of those events and how the system tried to take our land away from us. They did, in a sense. But our people came back to it after some time. So, that's alienation from the land. Being sent into another foreign area which is not our tribal area.

00.06.06 Mairi: How did you feel when you first heard about it?

00.06.10 Nopera: I felt a sense of anger. Really angry, because I was getting told this by my Great Grand Aunty who I was looking after at the time. She would have been in her early 80s at the time and I was only a young fulla then when she used to tell me these stories. And at that time, the Māori land march was on, so I marched in Auckland with them. 1975, when she was telling me this story, and I was that angry so I went down town and I marched through Queen Street for them. But, I didn't go all the way to Wellington, I just marched that part of it, 'cause I was looking after her at that time. And we used to live on rēwana bread that she used to make and I used to go and get these things called karahu. They call them bubus in Auckland. Up here we call them karahu. That's what we lived on. I used to go to the beach every day at low tide and get them for us and we used to get puha and watercress and that's how we lived 'cos we were that poor and we lived in a little place called at that time Glen Innes 'cos she was one of them that left the land, my Great Grand Aunty. She left from Rāwhitiroa. They just walked off. I was talking about that at another

time, where they just walked off, yeah. She was part of that.

00.07.15 Mairi: Can you tell us why she walked off?

00.07.20 Nopera: Okay, she walked off... The reason why they walked off the land, I found out years later, is that they couldn't afford the rates and they were that poor, they couldn't afford to feed the family. You know, this was after my Great Grandmother Te Paea, she was the matriarch... She was the one that kept the family together. But, after she passed away in 1952, there was nothing there for them, so they walked off. The first one actually to walk off was my Grandfather and he ended up in Paeroa running after the gold digging. And this was the 1950s, when they walked off the land so round about 1953, I think, and it was just before I was born.

00.07.57 Mairi: What are rates?

00.08.00 Nopera: Well, rates are something they ask you to pay each year, the Council. That's local government. You have to pay a certain amount of rates on your land. Yeah. I think that's what rates are. They tell you to pay for your own land, you know. You can't even go to the bank and get a blinkn loan. I find it really disgusting, actually, that they can actually do that to us. I think they're trying to turn that around today but I'm not too sure. I haven't been to any of those meetings. I don't like rates. I think that, as Māori people, we shouldn't be paying rates on our own land, our ancestral land. Yeah, it's not kosher. It doesn't feel right to me that we actually have to pay rates on our own land. It's like being a slave in your own country. Really.

00.08.51 End

