Moemoeā

MEGAN PŌTIKI

Rāniera Ellison, a "half caste" of Taranaki Māori lineage, was born at Korohiwa, near Porirua, in 1839 and died at Ōtākou in May 1920. Rāniera was also known as Dan Ellison or Rāniera Erihana.[1] He wrote numerous diaries in te reo Māori that included whakapapa, waiata, discussions and prophecies, letters between his family, economic transactions and farming instructions, and so forth. In nearly all of the diaries he also wrote about his moemoeā. He noted what makes a dream good or safe, as well as those that give signs of something bad to come. He described many dreams including several about the prominent Taranaki leaders from the nineteenth century; Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Rāniera's accounts illustrate that dreams provide significant insights and that recording them descriptively was important to him. This article seeks to explain the importance of dreams to the Māori world of the past, using three examples from Rāniera's own writings. It will show that moemoeā and reflecting on their meaning were simply part of the Māori world view at the time. They helped synthesise people's thoughts at the time, and perhaps in modern times we need to recognise dreams as not mere figments of our imagination, they help us try and make sense of the world around us. Dreams were an important part of the history of the old Māori world. They have been recounted in narratives of the past as signposts for events or as an ominous warning and in the nineteenth century dreams were sometimes written in personal manuscripts. These past recordings of moemoeā provide an insight into deeply personal narratives from particular tupuna of the times of old. But sometimes the moemoeā assist in understanding the social or political contexts of a particular era. With a particular focus on Rāniera Ellison and his writings on moemoea, they were first and foremost written for his many descendants alive today and for them to consider or take heed of them. But the secondary effect is that they have resonance for New Zealanders today. We should not be dismissive of our dreams. They are important psychological phenomena embedded with our essence of being human beings and they are there to help us make sense of our physical and emotional worlds. For Māori, we have generally phrased these dreams moemoeā.

Dreaming

Recently some western scholars have turned their attention once again to examining indigenous perspectives of dreams and visions.[2] Moss states when referring to indigenous people and dreaming that:

> For many ancient and indigenous cultures the dream world is real – even more real – than everyday waking life….For most human cultures, across most of history, dreams are of vital importance for two key reasons: they offer a place of encounter between humans and the more-than-human, and they may be prophetic, revealing future events.[3]

This sentiment is supported by Hirt who mentioned that "dreams and dreaming have manifold social uses in Indigenous societies. They are mobilized to direct collective action, in healing, to facilitate communication between the living and the dead or the spirits, and in predicting events."[4]

There are many examples of indigenous people referring to their dreams as prophetic messages, communicating visions that are good, bad or otherwise.[5] Dreams were taken seriously in an indigenous worldview and provided a spiritual connection to tīpuna, a prophecy, a message,

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sign or instruction. Rose Roberts writes about the power of dreams within her own indigenous tribe of the Woodland Cree, in which an elder, Oothapachikew, received all of his medicinal knowledge from his dreams.[6] However, she also notes that her people's fear today of such dreams, and their potential loss of power through the uptake of Christianity:

> Perhaps it was the fear of powerful medicine people that was a reason for the knowledge being so easily lost. During interview, when I brought up the topic of Poowamowin [dreaming], the Elders were hesitant to discuss it, maintaining that it was evil knowledge….My mother told me that Oothapachikew lost his spirit helpers and his power when he got baptized.[7]

I would argue that my hapū (Kāi Te Ruahikihiki) today have largely lost knowledge and appreciation of the prophetic value of moemoeā. I have spent my lifetime in my traditional village of Otākou amongst my Ngāi Tahu people and yet do not recall an elder or a relation mention their dreams as visions or prophecies. The impact of Christianity and modernity, and the loss of te reo Māori in my village undoubtedly impacted on the practice of collating and interpreting dreams. However, moemoeā are an important part of our history and should be understood and acknowledged as part of that history as well.

There was not just one specific term or expression for moemoeā, there were a variety of names for them, and this adds to the richness of our history. These were:[8]

- Whakarehu – to see a dream, to dream
- Moepapa – nightmare
- Maruapō – to dream
- Moemoeā – to dream
- Moehewa – to dream
- Tūruapō – to dream or have a vision, middle of the night
- Kuti – bad dream/nightmare
- Rekanga kanohi – vision, pleasant dream.

In 1898, the ethnographer Elsdon Best published "Omens and Superstitious beliefs of the Maori" in which he listed a number of various dreams with a more specific focus, that were either lucky or an aituā (a cause of misfortune)[9]. These include:

- Moe tamāhine – to dream about embracing a woman (a good omen)
- Moe whakairo – to dream of carved posts or slabs in a house. (An aituā for the house's owner.
- Moe tahakura – dream of being in the presence of a friend who is dead, or one's late wife.
- Moe taharangi – dream that a person is with an absent person; or to also dream that a person sees a calabash of preserved birds (an aituā).
- Moe whakatiki – dream of going into a house where people are having a meal, but not being invited to partake (an aituā for the people).
- Moe tuhonohono – when sleeping in a Māori whare, when another person sleeps at the dreamer's feet (an aituā).

Best furthermore discussed omens that are derived from dreams, stating that:

> The Maori places great importance upon dreams. This fact probably arose from the universal belief that the spirit (*wairua*) of man has the power to leave the body during sleep, and that when a person dreams, it is his *wairua* roaming round which sees and hears all that one dreams of. Hence it is an *aitua* (symbol of disaster) to suddenly

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> awaken a sleeping person; you must not shake him for instance, but call to him, and thus give his absent *wairua* time to pass back into the body. [10]

In 1904 another early New Zealand scholar, Edward Tregear also noted an extensive list of dreams, and he divided them into what was considered a good or bad dream in the Māori world.[11]

Some good dreams included:

- One's spirit is flying along with another pursuing it, but escapes
- Embracing a woman
- See a calabash of preserved birds

He included a number of evil dreams, termed "kotiri", including:

- One's spirit is flying along with another pursuing it, but is captured
- Spilling tutu juice (from the native shrub, tūpākihi).
- Being in a house with two doorways.

While there are a variety of terms and instances of moemoeā, some specific examples of moemoeā appear in the general historical record. One example is written by Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke, a famous Ngāti Rangiwēwehi chief in the Bay of Plenty, on August 27th, 1850, and subsequently translated by Margaret Orbell over a century later.[12] A skilled orator with profound knowledge of te ao Māori, Te Rangikāheke is mainly remembered as a writer and especially a recorder of Māori traditions, having written over five-hundred pages of manuscript for Sir George Grey while he worked for him in the Native Office in Auckland. Te Rangikāheke recorded his dream in writing, with a concluding waiata. His dream, described by Orbell as an expression of fear,[13] concerns a battle; as Te Rangikāheke was threatened and people were attempting to kill him, he in turn killed a number of people including some Pākehā and a dog. In his diary he commented on the dream as a vision and suggested that the fighting between Pākehā and Māori could come to fruition. He was clearly concerned with the upcoming conflict and tension between Pākehā and Māori. He concluded with this statement, "Tēnei anō te takoto mai nei kei mua: mea ake pea ka rite tēnei moemoeā". Orbell translated this as "This is what lies ahead. Soon this dream may become a reality".[14]

Another example of a dream recorded in the historical record is that by Hoani Tapiha Te Wanikau in 1891. His dream is discussed within a twenty-thousand-word manuscript that was written by Thomas Green, concerning the Kāi Tahu tribal migration to the South Island from the North Island several centuries earlier.[15] Te Wanikau recalls a dream, not his own, but that of one of the original migrants of Kāti Kurī/Kāi Tahu, namely Te Rākaitauheke. Te Wanikau was Kāi Tahu from Kaikōura and he was steeped in Māori knowledge and Kāi Tahu history and whakapapa. [16] The dream referred to by Te Wanikau was that of Te Rakitauneke, who dreamt of a battle that was yet to happen and his engagement with a people called Haumakariri.

> "Te waa e noho Ngati Kurii ki Tuhiraki ka moea e Rakaitauheke tona moe. E unu a ia i te wai o i puta mai i roto i te kohatu. Ko Haumakariri ki nga tangata. Ka ki nei ratau "Kei whea tenei wahi o Haumakariri?" Kahore ano ratou kia mohio ki tera wahi."
>
> "When Ngāti Kurī were living at Tuhiraki, Te Rakitauheke dreamt. He was drinking the water that came out of a rock. Haumakariri was the name to the people. They said, "where is the place of Haumakariri ?" They did not yet know where it was."[17]

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Eventually there was a battle of Haumakariri that was fought at Waiau-Toa (Clarence River, near Kaikōura) between Kāti Kurī and Kāti Māmoe. Te Rakitauneke's dream had come to fruition.

Yet another example from Kai Tahu is from Taare Tīkao of Rāpaki in Canterbury, who was the key Māori informant on the Canterbury District for Herries Beattie's *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*.[18] Tīkao relayed to James Herries Beattie that he had had a vision of his son who died overseas in World War One, and who came to visit him in the night. This could be a variety of moemoeā termed moe tahakura noted by Elsden Best above. Tīkao's son spoke to him, revealing that he had died and was now in a pain-free and beautiful place. He then took his father on a journey to a place that had all of the appearances of heaven. Tīkao's account provided detail of the place, including the food eaten there, and that there was no farming undertaken there. In the dream, his son pointed out the canoe 'Te Waka-a-Tamarereti' (a canoe made of stars) and how fast it could travel. According to Rangi Mataamua, the canoe of Tamarereti is the resting place for chiefs.[19] The dream therefore acknowledges that Tīkao's son is in the resting place for chiefs. Tīkao explained:

> In dreams…you see what you will do when awake in some cases. In other dreams (moemoea) your mind is enlightened about things you are wondering over. Some dreams can be proved. One kind of moemoea is for the tohunga class; the other kind is for the general public.[20]

Dreams were simply part of Tīkao's reality, just as they were for Te Rakitauneke when he had a dream about the people of Haumakariri, and also when Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke had his dream of a fearful battle. This was very much the case for Rāniera Ellison in that moemoeā were a part of his reality, and we are fortunate to have had them recorded.

Rāniera the man

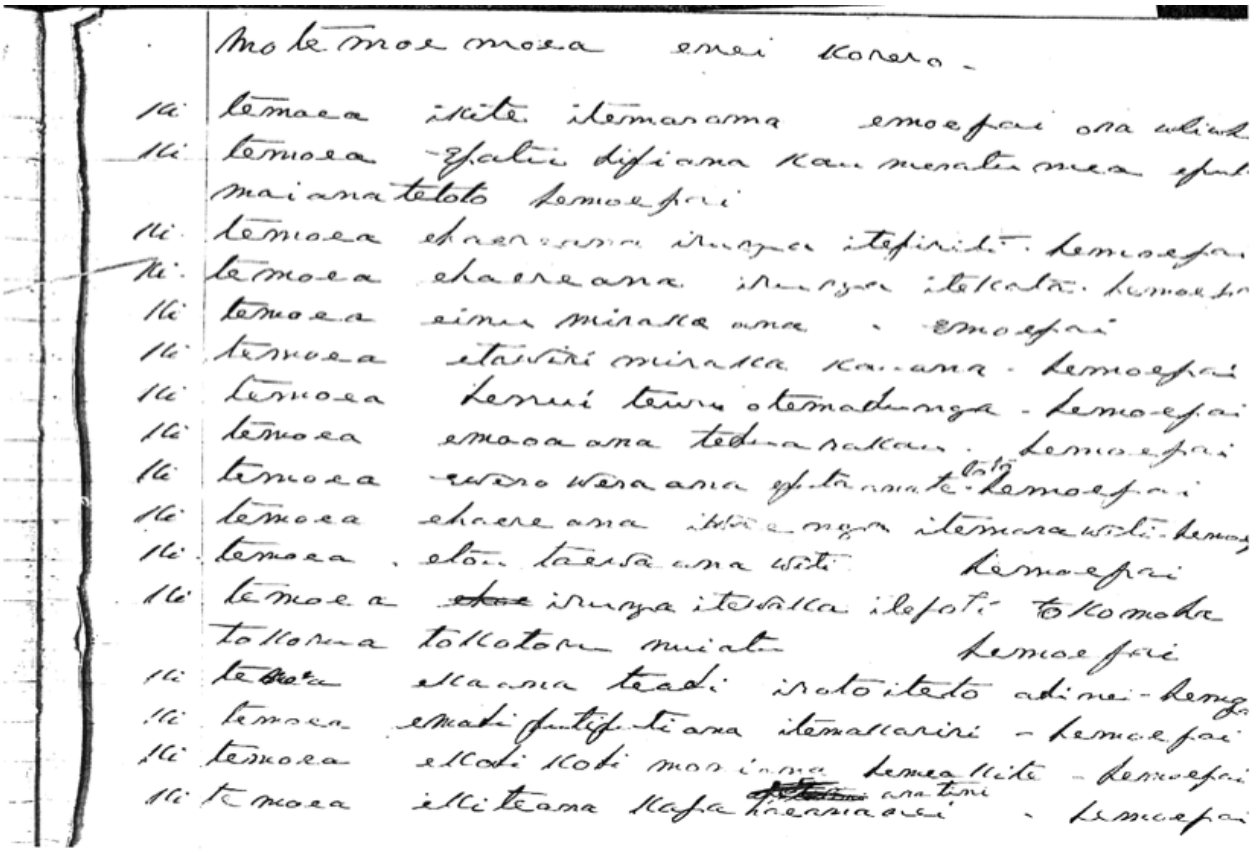
In 1861 when Rāniera was twenty-one he decided to make his way from his home in Wellington to the southern South Island. Rāniera initially worked as a crew member on pilot boats in the Otago Harbour near Dunedin, spending some of his time in the Māori village of Ōtākou.[21] There he met his future wife. According to whānau stories Rāniera fell in love with Nāni Weller (also known as Hana Nikuru) , the grand-daughter of chief Te Matenga Taiaroa of Ōtākou. Taiaroa's daughter, and Nāni's mother, Nikuru married Edward Weller, a prominent European whaler and businessman. Weller operated the whaling station from Ōtākou and would spend time between Ōtākou and his home in New South Wales. Nikuru died in childbirth with Nāni and Te Matenga Taiaroa raised her. Taiaroa was unhappy with the relationship between Nāni and Rāniera, (possibly for reasons related to tribal affiliations and marital choices made for Nāni) which lead to the couple eloping and marrying in Dunedin city. Rāniera, after Taiaroa's death, eventually discovered gold in 1863, finding 300 ounces on the Shotover River in Central Otago. His dog had fallen in to the river and when he surfaced his coat revealed gold dust.[22] By night fall Rāniera and his friend Hakaraia Haeroa uncovered 25 pounds (weight) of gold. Consequently Māori Point in the Shotover River was named after this event.[23]

In an environment that was rapidly changing for Māori in New Zealand, the gold-find allowed Rāniera to forge a path of success for himself and his family. It enabled steady income, well maintained and productive lands, good housing, great education and social mobility. All of this opportunity was far reaching and inter-generational.[24] Rāniera and Nāni had 12 children[25] and their descendants are now well over one thousand. They sent their children to boarding schools

to be educated; many became very successful in their chosen pathways, including a lawyer, doctor, farmer, accomplished rugby player and so forth.
Rāniera's travels, political involvement, business, and other commentary are well recorded in the Māori newspapers.[26] In the time that Rāniera lived at Ōtākou he also travelled extensively throughout the country, actively supporting the South Island tribal rights of his wife through the Ngāi Tahu claim. But he campaigned politically for his own Taranaki people, as well. According to my father, Edward Ellison, the local Pākehā in the small town of Portobello (the one next to Ōtākou) would see Rāniera passing through and ask him "Where are you off to now Danny?" and he would reply "I am off to fight the Pākehā!"[27]

Rāniera recorded many events in numerous diaries written in Māori and English as well as commentaries on a range of diverse topics. He avidly followed and believed in the religious and spiritual messages of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi, the spiritual and political mentors of Parihaka in Taranaki, and leaders of the passive resistance movement against land confiscation in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Te Whiti and Tohu were distant kin to Rāniera through his iwi Te Ati Awa. Their words are written throughout Rāniera's diary, in which he sometimes included white feathers,[28] the movement's symbol, between the pages. Rāniera spent much time in Parihaka and many of his recorded dreams involved Te Whiti and Tohu. His writings also includes a list of what he defines as good dreams and other observations about his moemoeā.

Rāniera and his moemoeā
The image below provides Rāniera's list of examples of 'Good Dreams'. There is no date on this piece; however, his diaries were written between the years of 1890 to 1910. I have written out his words below and added in modern orthographic Māori language conventions including macrons, with translations for each line.



Mō te moemoeā ēnei kōrero

Ki te moea i kite i te marama e moe pai ōna whiwhi

- *If a moon is seen in the dream, the dream denotes prosperity*

Ki te moea e patu hipi ana kau me ērā atu mea e puta mai ana te toto, he moe pai

- *If the slaughter of a sheep or cow with the spilling of blood is seen in the dream, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e haere ana i runga i te piriti, he moe pai

- *If it is dreamt that you are on a bridge, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e haere ana i runga i te kāta, he moe pai

- *If it is dreamt that you are on a cart, that is good dream*

Ki te moea e inu miraka ana, e moe pai

- *If it is dreamt that you are drinking milk, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e tawiri miraka kau ana, e moe pai

- *If it is dreamt that you are milking a cow, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea he nui te uru o te mahunga – he moe pai

- *If it is dreamt that the person has a full head of hair, that is a good dream*

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Ki te moea e maoa ana te hua rakau, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that a fruit of a tree has ripened, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e werowero ana e puta ana te toto, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that blood is spilling, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e haere ana i waenga i te māra witi, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that you are in the middle of a wheat field, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea i runga i te waka, i te pōti tokomaha, tokorua, tokotoru nui atu, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that you are on a boat, that there are many boats, two, three or more, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e kā ana te ahi i roto i te tō ahi nei, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that a fire has been started on a stove, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e mahi putiputi ana i te makariri, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that you are gardening flowers in the cold, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e kohikohi moni ana he mea kite, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that you are collecting money and it can be seen, that is a good dream*

Ki te moea e kite ana pa haeana nei tini nei, he moe pai
- *If it is dreamt that the iron or the tin is being struck , that is a good dream*

The sixteen different types of good dreams offer a very descriptive and definitive list much wider than Elsdon Best or Edward Tregear's observations mentioned earlier.

Rāniera had noted seriously the signs of what consists of a good dream. Although he does not elaborate any further details on what constitutes "bad" dreams, his diaries continually reference other cryptic dreams, two of which are discussed below. The first one dated July 1901 is brief but significant as it highlights his relationship and devout faith to his people of Taranaki and their leader, Te Whiti o Rongomai, and is marked in the diary with a white feather. The second is earlier and dated October 1894.

Ōtākou Hurae 22-1901

Moe, I kite au kua mokoa a Te Whiti. Kapi katoa i te moko te kanohi.
Me tahi tangata kapi katoa hoki i te moko ngā kanohi.

This is a translation of the excerpt about his dream,[29]

Ōtākou July 22-1901

Dream. I saw that Te Whiti had received a facial tattoo. His face was fully covered with the tattoo. Some other people also bore full facial tattoos.

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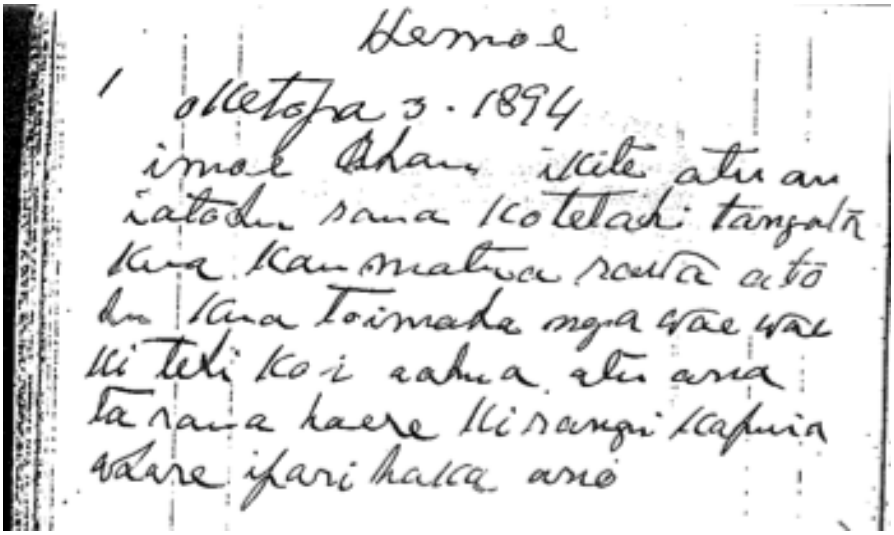

Oketopa 3. 1894
I moe ahau. I kite atu au i a Tohu rāua ko tētahi tangata. Kua kaumatua rawa a Tohu. Kua toimaha ngā waewae ki te hikoi atu, ā, tū ana tā rāua haere ki Rangikapuia whare i Parihaka anō.

This is the translation below,

October 3. 1894
I slept. I saw Tohu and one other person. Tohu was very elderly. His legs were heavy when walking and they stopped and stood at the house of Rangikapuia in Parihaka.

These two short accounts dated July 1901 and October 1894 reflected the familial and close relationship that Rāniera had with Te Whiti and Tohu and their teachings. The prophets' community at Parihaka traditionally held meetings on the 17th (and later the 18th) of every month to discuss scriptural promises and the confiscated lands of Taranaki.[30] Rāniera sometimes attended those meetings and so the July 1901 and October 1894 dreams highlight Rāniera's attempts of making sense of events that he had already attended and those people who he had encountered.

Observations
Dreams by their very nature are open to various interpretations and have been studied and analysed by well-known neurologists and psychologists such as Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. Dreams can be interpreted as the unconscious thoughts and desires of an individual or merely reflections of day-to-day life. This particular article recognises the importance of dreams in the context of Māori life. Moemoeā were important to Māori and in the case of Rāniera they were of such significance that he recorded them in personal diaries.

Writing them down in a permanent record that exists today not only draws attention to Rāniera's personal experiences, but also provides a window into the old Māori world view of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. From Rāniera's consistent recordings of not only the two dreams discussed above, but also other dreams, we can see that they were

important symbols to him that provide insight into his Māori world. In another sense they are tohu for his children and grandchildren as wayfinders in te ao wairua (spiritual world). Rāniera was deeply connected to spirituality and being from an older generation he would likely have known and learnt from his own kaumātua and have been guided by their innate spiritual guidance and understanding. Therefore, these dreams were a way of passing his experience and guidance to his own children.

Rāniera's commitment to the religious and political movement of Te Whiti and Tohu clearly weighed heavily on him as the two prophets regularly appeared in his dreams and there is no doubt that he highly regarded and deeply valued both men. The effect of these moemoeā further validates the influence that Te Whiti and Tohu had further afield in other areas of New Zealand. Furthermore, there is a strong possibility that Rāniera is encouraging his descendants to follow the teaching of Te Whiti and Tohu, as he was an avid follower and supporter. He also was a strong religious man and his faith guided him in his world. Rāniera wrote a letter to his sons at Te Aute Boarding School on the 10 November 1892 that illustrates his religious faith and his intent that his children should also be guided by religion and faith. He states:

> Kaua e whaia e koe ko te tao nga engari ko te tika tau e whai ai. Kaua e pouri ki enei kupu ma te marie a te atua e whaia atu nei e tatou e homai he maramatanga ki roto i a koe.[31]
>
> Don't follow that which may merely be fanciful, but it is what is morally right that you should pursue. Don't be woeful of these words to you. God's serenity that we all search for will give you the clarity of vision.

As Rāniera's descendants we can assume that he has left his writings for us to consider and understand. Despite the contrast between the past and present we can attempt to take some lessons from the dreams including, what a good dream consists of. The list Rāniera provides is concise and could provide a framework with which to gain a stronger understanding of moemoeā today. Furthermore, this list could indeed provide solace to those who are troubled by dreams. The 2022 podcast named "Taringa," from the Māori tertiary education provider, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the hosts of the show who are steeped in mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) advise Māori to seek counsel from other tohunga about moemoeā. This is especially if the dreams are troubling.[32] However, this particular podcast touches on many aspects of moemoeā from a Māori world view and provides a thought-provoking platform with which we consider the meaning and effect of moemoeā, for example; reoccurring moemoeā suggest that dreams may be providing a particular sign; moemoeā are connected to te ao wairua and are a conduit for messages to come through to te ao kikokiko; moemoeā about someone dying appear to be about something new or new life. Furthermore this podcast suggested that tūpuna would have discussed amongst themselves the meaning of their dreams. They were not passed off as worthless phenomena. This is in line with the diary entries from Rāniera and it is likely that he discussed his moemoeā with others.

A lesson for wider New Zealand society is that in a turbulent world faced with new technology, social media, war, poverty and devasting consequences from various viruses, following Rāniera's methodology of writing his dreams is possibly a useful outlet for our emotions. Therefore writing about dreams and making sense of them is a valuable tool for people particularly if they are recurrent and troubling and Rāniera has indeed listed his understanding of what are defined as good dreams, which is comforting.

In New Zealand, we know that the prevalence of mental health problems affects nearly one in three Māori compared to one in five of the total population,[33] and Māori struggle to navigate the tension between understanding their identity, tikanga and te reo with their connection to te ao wairua. The method of writing down dreams is a potential pathway to help navigate and guide Māori who are struggling with mental health and the realm of te ao wairua. Culturally these two domains are not mutually exclusive in te ao Māori but are connected. Therefore, Rāniera's recordings of dreams could provide a resonance for a wider New Zealand audience in terms of also navigating spiritual matters (a subject that is beyond the scope of this current article). This approach of recording dreams could provide a logic in which to interpret stress in the modern world and help unlock other anxieties that weigh on our community.

In conclusion, the moemoeā of the past were an intrinsic part of te ao Māori and deeply valued by our tupuna. They considered them as very real omens and prophecies, some good and some bad. Rāniera himself wrote in his diaries and noted specifically that his writings were for his descendants. This would indeed include his dreams as signs for his children and so forth to consider or take heed of. However, they should be considered an important contribution to understanding the Māori world of the past, with lessons for the present and into the future that all New Zealanders could utilise. By recording our experiences and observations about our moemoeā or dreams they could help us make sense of the ever complex world we New Zealanders find ourselves in.

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[1] I am the great, great grandchild of Rāniera Ellison. He was a half caste of Taranaki Māori lineage. He was born 1839, possibly in the Wellington area and died at Ōtākou in May 1920. He was one of three children from a European whaling father and a Māori mother. His parents were living in the Queens Charlotte Sounds in Marlborough in the Upper South Island and had to flee to the North Island at the time of the raids from Southern Māori to the area. They crossed over the Cook Strait and his father set up a whaling station at Korohiwa in the Wellington area. Rāniera was nine months old when his father drowned while taking a whaling boat through the rough surf at Titahi Bay. He was raised by his mother and aunts in a Māori village called Te Aro in Wellington.

[2] There are many authors who have more recently commented or written about dreams from an indigenous perspective or indigneous dreams; Barbara Tetlock, "The New Anthropology of Dreaming", in *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*. ed. Kelly Bulkeley (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 249-64; Lee Irwin, "Sending a Voice, Seeking a Place: Visionary Traditions among Native Women of the Plains," in *Dreams: A Reader on Religious, Cultural and Psychological Dimensions of Dreaming*. ed. Kelly Bulkeley (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 93-110; Robert Moss, *The Three "Only" Things: Tapping the Power of Dreams, Coincidence & Imagination* (Novato, California: New World Library, 2007); Hélène Wallaert, "Beads and a Vision: Waking Dreams and Induced Dreams as a Source of Knowledge for Beadwork Making: An Ethnographic Account from Sioux Country", *Plains Anthropologist* 51, no.196 (2006): 3-15; Waud Kracke, "To Dream, Perchance to Cure: Dreaming and Shaminism in a Brazilian Indigenous Society", *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural practice* 50, (2006): 106-120; Jean-Guy A. Goulet, "Dreams and Vision on Indigenous Lifeworlds: An Experiential Approach", *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 13, (1993): 171-98; Lewis Williams, "The Human Ecologist as Alchemist: An Inquiry into Ngāi Te Rangi Cosmology, Human Agency, and Well-Being in a Time of Ecological Peril," in *Radical Human Ecology, Intercultural and Indigenous Approaches*, eds. Lewis Williams, Rose Roberts and Alastair Mcintosh (London: Routledge, 2012); Rose Roberts, "Living in Respect: Traditional Knowledge of the Woodland Cree in Northern Saskatchewan," in *Radical Human Ecology, Intercultural and Indigenous Approaches*, ed. Lewis Williams, Rose Roberts (London: Routledge,

2012); Iréne Hirt, "Mapping Dreams/Dreaming Maps: Bridging Indigenous and Western Geographical knowledge", *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 2, (2012): 105-120.
[3] Moss, *The Three "Only" Things*, 29.
[4] Hirt, "Mapping Dreams/Dreaming Maps", 108.
[5] I have purposely avoided discussions about Australian Aboriginal examples related to dreams because I do not wish to confuse the reader with the now general Australian popular culture term 'the Dreaming' which is a different concept altogether for the Aboriginal people. The Dreaming or Dreamtime is a world view and has complexities beyond the focus of this article. See: Langaliki Robin, Kuntjupai Robin, Ettore Camerlenghi, Luke Ireland, and Ellen Ryan-Colton, "How Dreaming and Indigenous Ancestral Stories are Central to Nature Conservation: Perspectives from Walalkara Indigenous Protected Area, Australia", *Ecological Management & Restoration* 23 (2022): 43-52.
[6] Roberts, "Living in Respect", 257.
[7] ibid, 258.
[8] John C. Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, 3rd edition (Rosedale: Longman/Pearson Education, 2011).
[9] Elsdon Best, "Omens and superstitious beliefs of the Maori, Part 1," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 7, no. 3 (1898): 126-27.
[10] ibid, 125.
[11] Edward Tregear, *The Maori Race* (Wanganui: Archibald Dudingston Willis, 1904), 208-218.
[12] Margaret Orbell, "Two manuscripts of Te Rangikaheke," *Te Ao Hou* 62 (1968): 8-11.
[13] ibid, 8.
[14] ibid, 11.
[15] Hoani Tapiha Te Wanikau, in the *Thomas Green Manuscript*, 1891 (Ngāi Tahu Archives, Christchurch, New Zealand).
[16] "More or less personal", *Marlborough Express*, 17 May 1905, 3.
[17] This was translated by the late Tahu Pōtiki of Ngāi Tahu in 2003.
[18] James Herries Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of Southerm Maori*, ed. Atholl Anderson (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2009).
[19] Rangi Mataamua, "Part 1 of 2 Tūhoe legends surrounding the creation of star constellations," *Waka Huia*, TVNZ, 31 July 2011.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bN5Wo0_E9j4 (Accessed 10 September 2022)
[20] Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways*, 410.
[21] The geographic location of Ōtākou is on the eastern side of the Otago Harbour, approximately twenty-five kilometres from the city of Dunedin. Ōtākou is a long-standing Māori community that has remained strong for hundreds of years.
[22] Edward Ellison, Personal communication, 1 February 2019.
[23] Vincent Pyke, "Report on the Gold Fields of Otago", *Otago Daily Times*, 17 October 1863 (Supplement), 10.
[24] Rob Tipa, "Fortune favours the brave", *Te Karaka* 78, (2015): 28-29.
[25] Rāniera and Nani Ellison had 12 children; listed from oldest to youngest they are: 1. Johnny Matapura Ellison 2. Matenga Ellison 3. Thomas Rangiwahia Ellison 4. Daniel Taheke Ellison (Rāniera Jnr) 5. Mary Hinewhareua Ellison 6. Hana Annie Nikuru Ellison (known as Maku) 7. Ratimira Miller Ellison 8. George Ellison 9. David Te Iwi Herehere Ellison 10. Catherine Ellison 11. Edward Pohau Ellison 12. Te Awe Ellison.
[26] "Answers and Notices to Correspondents", *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirini*, 11 August 1874, 193; "Notices and Answers to Correspondents", *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirini*, 8 September 1874, 220; *New Zealand Mail*, 19 September 1874, 218.
[27] Edward Ellison, Personal communication, 1 February, 2019.
[28] The feathers that are scattered throughout the diary pages were a symbol of peace and indicate Rāniera's unwavering faith he had in Te Whiti's prophecies and peaceful protest.

[29] Translation by Megan Pōtiki for the purpose of this article.
[30] Judith Binney, "Māori prophetic movements – ngā poropiti. 4: Te Whiti and Tohu – Parihaka," in *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-prophetic-movements-nga-poropiti (accessed 20 December 2022).
[31] Rāniera Erihana. Unpublished Manuscripts. Circa 1880-1910. Private Ellison Collection. Ōtākou.
[32] Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, "Taringa – Ep 238 – Tikanga – Moemoea", *Taringa Podcast*, 6 May 2022. https://www.taringapodcast.com/e/taringa-ep-238-tikanga-101-moemoea/ (accessed 20 December 2022).
[33] "Māori have highest rate of mental illness and addiction- new research", in *Radio New Zealand*, 11 December 2019. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/405278/maori-have-highest-rate-of-mental-illness-and-addiction-new-research (accessed 20 December 2022).