

korihi te manu, tino awatea, tino awatea' (. . . morning dawns, birds chorus, it is the very light of day, the very light of day).²⁰

In *Te Pipiwharauroa* the Māori editor solicited and acknowledged donations and subscriptions diplomatically by use of the oblique subtitle: 'Supplejack berries for our bird'; he sent greetings from the bird's new nest or location and advised the benefits of it being invited to *marae* or tribal centres.²¹ He cited the shining cuckoo's call—rendered as 'Kui, kui. Whiti, whiti, ora' (No food, no food. It changes, it changes, there's life), signal of summer's plenty after the scarcity of winter—to conclude editorials and articles.²² Te Kākātārau of Hine-ki-Waiapū, began his letter, which reported on events in his East Coast locality, by greeting the bird and asking it to broadcast his few words to other *marae*, and finished off with: 'Kati nei, e Te Pipi, nga korero mo tenei tuhinga atu. Kia ora koe, me o matua. Kia kaha to tangi, kia u, kia marama, hei whakaoho, hei arahi, hei tohutohu i te iwi Maori. Heoi, ka huri' (Enough now, Te Pipi, of words in this letter to you. Bless you and your elders. Let your cry be strong, resolute, and clear, to rouse, guide and advise the Māori people. And so, I conclude).²³

The bird could be found indirectly too. *Huia tangata kotahi* (1893-95; see Figure 2), a paper of the *Kotahitanga* or Māori Parliament movement, promoted its cause in the title, 'Unify the people'. But there was play on the word *huia* (meaning 'unite'), for it also refers to a bird (*Heteralocha acutirostris*) prized for its precious feathers, which were drawn on the masthead. In the first issue, not missing the chance for metaphors, the editor, Ihāia Hūtana, asked readers to call the *manuhiri* or guest to stop off at their *marae* and to load the bird with knowledge for it to 'carry to the four winds, from one end of the world right around to the other'.²⁴ Replies echoed him: Hutu Te Hiaro of Ngāwāpuruā, expressed his gratitude for the guest who came to their *marae*; instructions were given to the bird, such as 'It is for you, O bird, to carry these words to the two islands', and promises made to send it berries.²⁵

It was also a bird to show the way. One article, referring to wisdom received from the ancestors concerning signals which birds on land and at sea give humans, compared this with other knowledge of birds by reference to the biblical dove which brought the olive branch to Noah in the ark to signal the abating of the floodwaters.²⁶ But the bird's primary metaphoric resonance was political, in the chorus of protest about government and call for unity. An editorial reporting on Bills presented to the Māori parliament concluded by reminding readers that their bird called attention to the decision they themselves had to make as to whether or not to give allegiance to Māori unified under the Treaty of Waitangi.²⁷ Writers supported that unity by reiterating the instruction to the bird to 'E tangi i to tangi, "Huia! Huia! Huia kia kotahi!"' (Sing your song, 'Gather, gather, gather together as one').²⁸

The image of the bird appears on numerous occasions in the newspapers. It is engaging because it is charming, because it shows the generative possibilities of the oral tradition in answer to another medium and other knowledge, and because it is