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# **TE KANI-A-TAKIRAU**

## **ARIKI**

A thesis as part fulfilment of the requirements for a M.A. degree.

Massey University

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Uia mai koia whakahuatia ake  
 Ko wai ra? Ko wai ra?  
 Ko wai ra te tangata hau taua e hau mai nei?  
 E, ko Te Kani-a-Takirau.  
 Ko te mana nui hei tautoko ra,  
 Ka tu te ihiihi! ka tu te wanawana!  
 Rere ana te matakū e, ko koe ra, ko koe ra,  
 Tihei Mauriora!

He tokomaha te hunga na ratou nei i tautoko tenei tuhituhinga kia whakapukapukatia i penei rawa te hanga. Ki taku matua ki a Tokorua Te Kani-a-Takirau, nana hoki i 'ae mai' te kaupapa nei, mou tenei e koro. Ka tuku whakamihi atu ki a Meihana Durie me Monty Soutar me nga kaihautu o Te Putahi a Toi ki Te Whare Wananga o Manawatu e kaha nei te whakaoreore tenei kia whakatutuki totika ai te mahi nei.

I tautokohia hoki e Wayne Ngata me Derek Lardelli o Te Mareikura kei Te Kuratini o Te Tairawhiti.

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## Preface

Tihei mauriora! Ko Te Kani-a-Takirau te tihi o te karaka, ko Ngati Kahukuranui nga peka.

Ka tuku whakamihi atu ki te hunga kua memene ki tawhiti, ki nga kura wananga o te po. Otira, ki nga kaihautu kua whakarerea te kakau o te hoe, manaakitia. He mihi kau atu ana tenei kia koutou kia tahuri mai o koutou mata ki te iwi e manokohia tonutia nga mahi kaingakau, nga kaupapa whakapakari te noho ki te ao nei. He takoha, hei whakamana te rangatiratanga o te tangata enei kupu ruarua nei. E te matua, Te Kani-a-Takirau, tuku mai o manaakitanga ki o iwi e rapa ana, e kimi huarahi ana hei whakatutuki i ohau wawata i a koe e takatu haere nei te whenua. Ko te mana, ko to iwi, kia hiwa ra, maranga mai ki runga ki te hautu i o waka. Mihi mai, maioha mai.

This thesis has been prepared to contribute another perspective to the interesting and constantly evolving study of Maori leadership. In August 1992, the Sir Apirana Ngata Memorial Committee<sup>1</sup> devoted a section of their wananga programme, held in Uawa<sup>2</sup>, to the history of Te Kani-a-Takirau. The author of this thesis along with Wayne Ngata, and at the request of the committee and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti<sup>3</sup>, made a presentation which outlined in broad perspective some of the highlights of the life of Te Kani-a-Takirau and his

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<sup>1</sup> This committee was set up in 1982 to continue the Rauru-nui-a-Toi lecture series format compiled and presented by Sir Apirana in 1944.

<sup>2</sup> Tolaga Bay, a small township situated 56 kilometres from Gisborne.

<sup>3</sup> The descendants of Hauiti. The tribal group of the Uawa area.

contributions to the situation of his people. Subsequently, it was recommended that an attempt be made to organise and document the presentation so that the history pertaining to Te Kani-a-Takirau could be made in greater detail and in a way more readily available to Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou. Hence this thesis, which I hope will go some way to achieving that aim.

From the viewpoint of the Uawa wananga, it was important that the history be written, because whenever the name of Te Kani-a-Takirau is mentioned, be it in whaikorero, on the marae, in a lecture, or dissertation or informal discussion, more often than not it is in the context of leadership and authority. For the people of the East Coast, he was the converging point of some of the most illustrious descent lines of Ngati Porou and neighbouring tribes. And, apart from being a descendant of renowned East Coast ancestors, in his lifetime he was not only a significant figure in the political environment of Maoridom but was also a repository for tribal knowledge and information. This is reflected in oral traditions and waiata that were composed for and about him and his tipuna. His name synonymous, with tribal identity, continues to be linked to waiata compositions, tribal reports, historical reviews and submissions to the crown.

In carrying out research for this thesis, I found that there was widespread acknowledgment of his status in both oral and written form. Interestingly, in many of the whakapapa manuscripts<sup>4</sup>, the authors had invariably traced a relationship between themselves and

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<sup>4</sup> Manuscripts of East Coast tribal whakapapa.

Te Kani-a-Takirau, reaffirming his importance at least for those occasions. For his people, he continues to personify tribal identity, authority and unity. This thesis explores the origins of his chiefly status, and offers a framework within which the legacy and vision of the man can be better understood.

One of the difficulties in writing about a man of such status, however, is maintaining a level of objectivity. Not only is he a tipuna, but in the author's own associations his name has always been spoken with reverence and respect. His life has held a special fascination and this thesis was to be a starting point for writing his story.

It is perhaps timely, then, as Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou approach a new century, that the history of Te Kani-a-Takirau is written not only to satisfy the academic requirements for a thesis in Maori Studies but also to ensure that his people have access to his history, ancestry and vision.

## INTRODUCTION

The leadership of Te Kani-a-Takirau, paramount chief of Ngati Porou, spanned the period of transition in the early 19th century from a society based on traditional leadership to one shaped by attitudes towards Pakeha colonisation.

Born into a time of fractionalised tribal warfare and burgeoning settler presence, Te Kani-a-Takirau stood between a traditional tribal society and a competitive market-driven world. He achieved eminence in both, and this thesis explores the relative contributions made by the man, his heritage, his style and most importantly his capacity to encourage his people to adapt to the technologies and theologies introduced by the new settlers. He exercised considerable influence on his own tribes, Ngati Porou and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, and resided, for a great part of his life, with the latter at Uawa<sup>1</sup>.

Te Kani-a-Takirau appears in a number of historical accounts from D'Urville (1827)<sup>2</sup> and Polack's (1835)<sup>3</sup> to those of the present day. His name and those of his maatua (parents) and tipuna (grandparents) are heard in the waiata moteatea (song poetry) of Te Arawa<sup>4</sup>, the Tuhoë people<sup>5</sup>, Ngati Tuwharetoa<sup>6</sup>, Te Whanau-a-Apanui<sup>7</sup> and his own Ngati Porou<sup>8</sup> and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Wahawaha cited in Smith, S.P. (1965:147) *Wars of the Northern against the Southern tribes of New Zealand in the 19th Century*. Journal Polynesian Society vol.9.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, O. (1950) *New Zealand 1826-1827 From the French of Dumont D'Urville*, Wingfield Press.

<sup>3</sup> Polack, J.S. (1839) *New Zealand: Being a narrative of travels and adventures*. Richard Bentley, 1839.

<sup>4</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Nga Moteatea*, song number 131.

<sup>5</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Nga Moteatea*, song number 243 & 309

<sup>6</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Nga Moteatea*, song number 379

<sup>7</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Nga Moteatea*, song number 316

<sup>8</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Nga Moteatea*, song number 16, 33 & 225

<sup>9</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Nga Moteatea*, song number 11, 130, 257A & 314

His contemporaries such as Te Heuheu Iwikau of Ngati Tuwharetoa<sup>10</sup>, and Temuera Te Amohau of Te Arawa<sup>11</sup>, recognised his *mana whakapapa* - authority through seniority of birth in the discussions surrounding the selection of the **Maori King**. He was offered the mantle of Maori king which he refused with the now oft quoted tribal proverb,

'Ehara taku maunga a Hikurangi i te maunga nekeneke'

'My mountain Hikurangi is a mountain that does not move.'<sup>12</sup>

In Uawa, the principal chiefs and land claimants of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti in the latter part of the 1800s, who included Karauria Pahura<sup>13</sup>, Arapeta Rangiuia<sup>14</sup>, Rutene Te Eke<sup>15</sup>, Raniera Turoa<sup>16</sup> Patara Rangi<sup>17</sup> and Heremia Taurewa<sup>18</sup> also acknowledged the seniority of his lineage, and further stated that he had *mana tangata* - authority over the people, and *mana whenua* - authority over the land. The mana of Te Kani-a-Takirau was in existence and full force when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Cowan, J. (1922: vol.1: 446) The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period. Government Printer Wellington N.Z.

MacKay, J.A. (1949:211) Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast Whitcoulls Ltd. Christchurch. He quotes Cowan who informed him " that, when Tamihana Kuta and Matene Te Whiwhi began their crusade in 1852 in support of the appointment of a Maori King, Te Kani was, he understood, the first great chief to whom the kingship was offered." According to another version MacKay states " that the envoys were Tamihana and Matene and another that Te Heuheu himself visited Uawa."

Mitchell, J.H. (1944:149) writes " that Te Heuheu (the paramount chief of Ngai Tuwharetoa), of Taupo, who had a strong objection against the sovereignty of a Pakeha Queen, proceeded to ask Te Kani-a-Takirau to be the Maori king."

<sup>11</sup> Cowan, J. (1922: vol 1:151) The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period. Government Printer Wellington New Zealand. He records Temuera as instructing Waikato " that if they wished to set up a Maori king they should apply to the highest chief in New Zealand, Te Kani-a-Takirau, of the East Cape."

<sup>12</sup> Mitchell, J.A. (1944:149) and Awatere, P. (date unknown) Waiata 'Ka hoki nei au ki te Tairawhiti'

<sup>13</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:281

<sup>14</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 8A:9 Kourateuwhi no.1

<sup>15</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 4 folio's 255-263. 28/5/1879 Waimata East

<sup>16</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:65 Wairoro no.2

<sup>17</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:283 Paratenohonoa or Wairoro

<sup>18</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:295

<sup>19</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 8A:24

He was associated with at least four houses: Te Ruakaka<sup>20</sup>, Hawaikinui<sup>21</sup>, Pakaroa<sup>22</sup> and one named after himself, which stood at Uawa. There are also a number of pa attributed to him including 'Hinuoपुरua' and 'Te Pourewa'<sup>23</sup>, an island fortress that had previously belonged to his maternal grandmother Hinematiaro. Te Kani-a-Takirau did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, but a hui to discuss the treaty was held in his house, 'Te Kani.'

His pakeha acquaintances of the 1830s onwards, such as Richard Taylor (1838) and Charles Baker who resided in Uawa from 1843 to 1851, had favourable comments to make about him. In fact their pen portraits of Te Kani-a-Takirau provide a detailed sketch of not only his aristocratic countenance but also the standing he had amongst his people. Despite a close relationship with these early missionaries he never converted to Christianity.

He is mentioned in the manuscripts of Te Whatahoro (1865) and Tarakawa (1899,1900). The status of Te Kani-a-Takirau moved Smith (1899-1904), supported by Wahawaha, to compare him with the *ariki* - paramount chiefs, found more commonly in the South Pacific.

Today, regard for Te Kani-a-Takirau remains strong. He is remembered for brokering peace between the warring factions in the battle of Toka-a-Kuku<sup>24</sup>, the last confrontation between the Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Porou tribes. He was instrumental in

<sup>20</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:292, Ani Rakena

<sup>21</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:62 Kingi Hori. Wairoro no.2

<sup>22</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 8A:Rawiri Karaha, Puatai

<sup>23</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 6:284 Raniera Turoa

<sup>24</sup> MacKay, J.A. (1949:93) quotes Wi Pere who said " that Te Kani-a-Takirau withdrew the attackers because he felt that adequate utu (satisfaction) had been gained."

establishing a thriving flax rope industry in Uawa, consequently uniting sections of his own tribe who had previously been sworn enemies.

In April 1844, he bought a European craft, a 20 ton cutter, from an Auckland resident, the first Maori to do so. The cutter was subsequently used for trading. In June of the same year, the Reverend Charles Baker sowed wheat for Te Kani-a-Takirau. The harvest furnished seventeen bushels. There were approximately 200 people working together to produce the yield.

This evidence of continuing regard raises interesting questions.

What was the basis for Te Kani-a-Takirau's authority among his people ? Was he born a leader or did circumstances make an leader of him ?

Why was he considered an ariki ? Did his qualities and endowments make possible the achievements for which he is remembered ? How can such qualities be appraised ?

These questions form the substrate for this chapter.

Qualities of leadership have been discussed in some depth by Best, Keesing (1928), Firth (1929, 1959), Buck (1950), Winiata (1956), Hopa (1966) and Mahuika (1972). From these works it is possible to construct a model of chieftainship and the status of ariki. Mahuika in particular provides a framework for leadership based on the concepts of;

- (1) Mana atua or mana whakapapa
- (2) Mana tangata and
- (3) Mana whenua.

These were also primary criteria for establishing land tenure in the Maori Land Courts of the late 1800s in the Turanga (Gisborne), Uawa (Tolaga Bay) and Waiapu areas. Accordingly, any framework that

attempts to measure chieftainship or ariki status should include these concepts.

**Chapter One Arikitanga** concludes that mana whakapapa, mana tangata and mana whenua, in combination and at a level acceptable to the people contributed to the status of *Mana ariki* or paramount chief. Just as importantly, tribal whakapapa, korero tahito and waiata moteatea commemorated the rise and work of the ariki and, in turn, contributed to the tribal memories of the leader.

While the leader possessed influence stemming from rank and mana, authority and status nevertheless depended on the support or otherwise of the tribe for the title of ariki was conveyed recognition of exceptional rank and support from the people.

**Chapter Two Mana Whakapapa**, investigates the source of the mana whakapapa of Te Kani-a-Takirau. Whakapapa, korero tahito and waiata moteatea assist in this respect. Together these are traditional forms of leadership identification and recognition. The theme is consistent with Walker<sup>25</sup> who urges the development of indigenous models of validation and methodology, and an extension and reinforcement of the traditional knowledge base - whakapapa, korero tahito (oral history) and waiata as pertinent cultural imperatives for research in or about kaupapa Maori. In this thesis, this will augment the framework for explaining the characteristics and significance of ariki, thereby allowing some insight into the sphere of influence of Te Kani-a-Takirau. The whakapapa tables also serve as a chronology to identify the status of antecedents. But for the most part a descriptive style has been chosen to relate key events and relationships.

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<sup>25</sup> Walker cited in Te Awakotuku 1991:14

**Chapter Three Mana Tangata**, provides evidence of the mana tangata of Te Kani-a-Takirau, and recounts his adult years and main accomplishments. It concludes that by drawing together the mana that was exclusively his by virtue of his birthright and the theologies of peace promulgated by early missionaries, he became the advocate of peaceful intervention and unarmed mediation. In many respects this method of intervention was a turning point for a people already growing weary of war as a means of securing peace. Moreover, his approach was fruitful in terms of enterpenureal economic alliances and the trading activities already alluded to. It would be wrong to assume that he was driven by a capitalist yearning for power and fortune, but equally it would be simplistic to search for altruism and higher order in all that he did.

**Chapter Four Mana Whenua**, traces the authority that Te Kani-a-Takirau had over the lands of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. This section draws heavily on the evidence given by a number of the key claimants in the Maori Land Court sittings of the late 1800s. Even some years after his death, many kaikorero qualified their claims to the land through a geneological relationship with him.

Securing land for future generations is seen as a key outcome of his endeavours.

Te Kani-a-Takirau provided a style of leadership that is not without meaning to a tribe more than a century later. His legacy paved the way for entry into the 20th and 21st centuries.

**Chapter five Mana Ariki**, addresses the style of leadership that will be needed to take Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou to and beyond the year 2000. It does not seek to identify possible leaders nor does it advance absolute qualities for leadership. Instead it reaches the conclusion that leadership potential can only be realised

if it has a context appropriate to the people, their traditions and examples.

The chapter concludes by linking contemporary times and challenges with the historical evolution of leadership and reaffirming the central role of Te Kani-a-Takirau as a leader with mana and vision; a product of a former era but not constrained by the norms of his times. In this sense, the essence of his leadership was the capacity to embrace the new and remould it to his own framework.

## Chapter One

### Arikitanga

*“ When Te Kani-a-Takirau was proclaimed ariki, to succeed his grandmother Hinematiaro, a new handle was carved for the tapu adze, Kapuhiraroko. The figure is Rangikotama, a god of rain, and therefore concerned with the giving and taking of life. ... a visible proclamation of the holder as the ariki of the tribe.”<sup>1</sup>*

The term ariki embraces the notions of seniority of birth and primogeniture.<sup>2</sup> Whakapapa<sup>3</sup> or hereditary entitlement held some advantage in deciding the leadership within tribal society.

#### **Mana Whakapapa**

This thesis is about the life and times of Te Kani-a-Takirau and the role he played among his people last century. But it is also about the characteristics of an ariki. In the chapters that follow, two main points will be made. The first is that although the differences are not always clear, there is a distinction between ariki and rangatira. The second is simply that Te Kani-a-Takirau was an ariki who exemplified the hallmarks of *arikitanga* in birth, life, and eventually death. The Ariki framework discussed in this chapter highlights four sources of authority - mana whakapapa, mana tangata, mana whenua and mana ariki.

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<sup>1</sup> Simmons, D.R. (1995:48) *Whakairo. Maori Tribal Art*. Oxford University Press Christchurch N.Z.

<sup>2</sup> Hongi, Hare. (1909:84) *On Ariki and incidentally Tohunga*. Journal Polynesian Society. Vol 18.

<sup>3</sup> Mead, H.M. (1992:2) *The Mandate of Leadership and the Decision - Making Process*. Te Puni Kokiri Wellington

Mana whakapapa for the purposes of this thesis means personal power or prestige<sup>4</sup> that is gained through descent. It is the whakapapa conferred by birth and is inherited from ones' antecedents. Mahuika<sup>5</sup> defines mana whakapapa as mana which is subject to the rights of promogeniture - the more senior a person in society, the greater his or her ascribed mana or mana whakapapa. It also conveys the notion of a spiritual - geneological connection passed down from ancestors to the individual, and of course, it cannot be separated from genetic transmission.

Broughton agrees,

“ He tokopae tonu raa ngaa Atua i puta mai i a Rangi raaua ko Papa. Ko te mea nui he maumahara, ko ngaa Atua kaore hoki i rite ki taa te Paakeha maatakitaki atu. He tuupuna tonu ngaa Atua nei noo te Maaori.”<sup>6</sup>

*“ There were many gods who appeared from the union of Rangi and Papa. It is important to remember, that these gods are not the same as viewed by the Paakeha. The gods are in fact ancestors of the Maori.”*

Seniority in Maori society was discussed and more often than not determined by how close a relationship could be traced to the children of Rangi and Papa. Usually it wasn't necessary to connect as far back as these primary ancestors to make the decision. Descent from the founding ancestor of the tribe sufficed as a starting point for selecting leadership based on whakapapa. Within this selection process, attention was focused on the

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<sup>4</sup> Buck,P. (1962):346. *The Coming of the Maori*. Maori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington

<sup>5</sup> Mahuika,A.T. :43 *Te Ao Hurihuri*

<sup>6</sup> Broughton, R. (1993:207). *Nгаа Mahi Whakaari a Tiitokowaru*. Victoria University of Wellington

senior families and the individual amongst them, appropriate and acceptable to lead. In ideal cases, the focus settled on the first born or most senior individual within the senior families. The person selected was no surprise because his or her whakapapa entitlement and status in society was known since conception. The framework used to guide the selection process were the generic terms; tuakana, taina and mataamua.

The terms " mataamua ", " tuakana " and " teina" recognise order of birth for males and females respectively. Te Kani-a-Takirau was Ngati Porou, and from this tribal point of view<sup>7</sup> distinctions were not gender biased.

**Mataamua**, for example is the term given to the first born male or female, of the family. This meant that within Ngati Porou at least, the title of ariki could be conferred on both male and female<sup>8</sup>.

**Tuakana**: the Williams' dictionary<sup>9</sup> defines tuakana as follows,

- (a) Elder brother of a male
- (b) Elder sister of a female
- (c) Cousin of the same sex and of the same generation, but

an elder branch of the family.

According to Mahuika<sup>10</sup> in Ngati Porou the term is applied to all those who are geneologically senior, male and female, regardless of generation.

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<sup>7</sup> Mahuika,A.T. ibid:43

<sup>8</sup> Mahuika,A.T. ibid:46

<sup>9</sup> Williams 1971:343

<sup>10</sup> Mahuika,A.T. ibid:25

**Teina/Taina**<sup>11</sup>: this is defined in a similar way to tuakana.

(a) Younger brother of a male

(b) Younger sister of a female

(c) Cousin of the same sex and is applied to all those all are geneologically junior regardless of generation.

The following whakapapa of parents and offspring, will help illustrate these points.



In the above whakapapa table Hinetera was:

(1) Mataamua, being the first born.

(2) Tuakana to all her sisters and her issue will always be senior to those of her brothers and sisters.

<sup>11</sup> Taina, Ngati Porou dialect

Mataamua and tuakana signified hereditary seniority in society and were prerequisites for deciding who was going to be ariki. The corollary being that it also provided a pool from which the leadership could be drawn. In the above case, it was actually Kahukuranui who succeeded to the mana of his father, Hauiti. Whilst the mana to lead the people rested with him, Hinetera would always be his senior and tuakana, consistent with the Ngati Porou definition. In later generations the blood of both Hinetera and Kahukuranui combined to flow in the veins of Te Kani-a-Takirau. The position of ariki was therefore closely linked to birth order though not solely determined by it.

Writers such as Best<sup>12</sup>, Buck<sup>13</sup>, Firth<sup>14</sup>, Winiata<sup>15</sup> and Mahuika<sup>16</sup> have discussed the strata of Maori society in some depth. There is general agreement that the position of ariki was born out of and transcended the parameters of the traditional tribal groupings of Iwi, Hapu and Whanau. There is unanimous accord that ariki were the supreme ruling class in traditional Maori society. Winiata<sup>17</sup> writes,

“ The iwi was a collection of several hapu (subtribes). All of the hapu recognised one of their number as paramount chief or ariki. The ariki was one who was born out of a senior descent line.”

He is supported by Mahuika<sup>18</sup> who observes,

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<sup>12</sup> Best, E. (1924) *The Maori as he was*, Government Printer Wellington.

<sup>13</sup> Buck, P. (1962) *The Coming of the Maori*. Maori Purposes Fund Board Wellington

<sup>14</sup> Firth, R. (1959) *Economics of the Maori*. R.E.Owen, Government Printers Wellington

<sup>15</sup> Winiata, M. (1967), *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society*, Blackwood and Janet Paul, Auckland.

<sup>16</sup> Mahuika, A.T. (1977) *Nga Wahine Kaihautu o Ngati Porou* Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Sydney

<sup>17</sup> Winiata, M.

<sup>18</sup> Mahuika, A.T. *ibid*

“ The aristocracy in Maori society was the rangatira. The most senior member of this aristocracy, i.e. the first born of the most senior family in society, was called the ariki.”

Latterly, writers such as Walker<sup>19</sup>, Mead<sup>20</sup>, Puketapu <sup>21</sup> and others have entered the debate and added to or supported these descriptions. Suffice to say, ariki were the supreme ruling class of traditional Maori society. As pointed out earlier, this did not necessarily mean that an individual automatically became ariki but rather had the necessary hereditary entitlement as a pre-requisite. Certainly it meant a headstart in the leadership stakes. Seniority of birth also carried with it the concepts of mana and tapu. Mana as already explained implied spiritual authority, power and prestige<sup>22</sup>. Tapu was a form of personal sanctity.<sup>23</sup> Both mana and tapu were defined by the people for a specific purpose.<sup>24</sup> Mana and tapu gave an understanding as to the order of things in society. Leadership and the status of ariki were part of this order. The ariki was seen and known to have the closest geneological connection to the most senior ancestors and one who could trace a descent through as many first born antecedents from the founding ancestor of tribe. No ancestor was so tapu or sacred in person as he or she who was the first born through three, four or five generations.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Walker, R. (1992)

<sup>20</sup> Mead, H.M. (1992)

<sup>21</sup> Puketapu, B. (1995)

<sup>22</sup> Marsden, M. (1992:118) *God, Man and Universe: a Maori View* in King, M. (ed) *Te Ao Hurihuri*. Reed New Zealand.

<sup>23</sup> Buck, P :ibid

<sup>24</sup> Mahuika, A.T. (1977)

<sup>25</sup> Hongi, H. (1907)

An example of this type of power is when a Turanga tribe tampered with a burial ground in Uawa, Te Kani-a-Takirau decreed the roads between these two towns tapu and that they be closed.<sup>26</sup> No one dared challenge his command and the roads remained closed until he lifted the state of tapu. In some cases if the tapu of an ariki was sufficiently great, simply sitting in a particular place, automatically made the place tapu. Violation by anyone else meant certain death.<sup>27</sup> Hinematiaro, the maternal grandmother of Te Kani-a-Takirau, was one such woman. Ngata writes

*"Hinematiaro, whose fame extended throughout the two islands, and who was so tapu that she was carried about in a litter for fear of complications following if she touched mother earth."*<sup>28</sup>

Mana whakapapa as a determinant of leadership became the fundamental mechanism through which authority and control could be exercised. It in fact was the single most important determinant of the right to rule.

However, whakapapa, while being a key component, was not the only quality for recognition as an ariki<sup>29</sup>. Of equal importance were personal qualities such as knowledge, intelligence, an ability to entertain and the capability to guide the tribe.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> MacKay, J.A. (1982) *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast*, N.I.,N.Z. Whitcoulls Ltd Christchurch

<sup>27</sup> Mahuika, A.T. (1992):4

<sup>28</sup> Ngata, A.T. (date unknown) *The Geneological Method as applied to the early History of New Zealand*. An address given to the Wellington Branch of the Historical Association.

<sup>29</sup> Firth, R. (1959:132) *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. Wellington Government Printer.

<sup>30</sup> Whatahoro, H.T. (1909:92) *Ko te tikanga o tenei kupu, o ariki*. Journal of the Polynesian Society. Vol 18.

## Mana Tangata

Mahuika<sup>31</sup> defines this concept in the following way,

*“The mana of the chief gave him the authority to control and direct the activities of the tribe or subtribe. This power to direct human activity was called mana tangata.”*

Tikitu and Te Rangikaheke<sup>32</sup>, have recorded their considered opinion with regard to the attributes of the leader. Mead<sup>33</sup> calls these ' Nga Pumanawa o te Rangatira - The talents of a leader. Tikitus' list of desirable attributes was compiled after the major land wars and during the time of the Maori Land Court sittings of the 1800's.<sup>34</sup> This was shortly after the period of Te Kani-a-Takirau but nevertheless contains, some interesting characteristics that can be attributed to him. Te Rangikaheke's list was compiled in 1850.<sup>35</sup> There are major commonalities and the emphasis is on a leadership style that is intergrated with the realities of the people. Both lists are summarised here as being the criteria for measuring one's mana-tangata and as a guide to considering the mana tangata of Te Kani-a-Takirau. An asterisk in the Te Kani-a-Takirau column indicates that this characteristic can be applied to Te Kani-a-Takirau.

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<sup>31</sup> Mahuika, A.T. *ibid*

<sup>32</sup> Grove, Neil. (1985: 6-7) *Te Whatanui: Traditional Maori Leader* M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington.

<sup>33</sup> Mead, H.M. (1992:4) *ibid*

<sup>34</sup> The sittings of the Maori Land Court began on the East Coast in 1868.

<sup>35</sup> Mead, H.M. (1992:5-6)

Te Rangikaheke                      Himiona Tikitu                      Te Kani-a-Takirau

•Food Activities	Food Activities	*
•Courage/Tactics	Mediation	*
•Construction	Courage/Tactics	*
•Hospitality	The Arts	*
•Kindness/Liberality	Hospitality/Kindness	*
•Industry	Construction	*

Both authors write about the characteristics that make good leadership. What isn't differentiated so much is whether these were the characteristics of ariki or rangatira or both. The assumption that can be drawn is that the ariki was the rangatira or leader who was capable, above all others, of exhibiting the widest range at the highest level relative to the time and circumstance in protecting and enhancing the situation of their people. Buck<sup>36</sup> suggests this approach,

" a new ariki could acquire additional mana by the wise administration of his tribe at home and by the successful conduct of military campaigns abroad ... the mana of a chief was intergrated with the strength of the tribe."

The concept of mana tangata was very much performance orientated, the level of which was commensurate with the ability of the ariki to actively protect the land and the people from all comers and develop the interests and integrity of their tribe : politically, spiritually, economically and culturally.

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<sup>36</sup> Buck.P. *ibid*:346

### **Mana Whenua**

A third characteristic of the authority of an ariki is mana whenua. Mana whenua is used to convey not only authority over land but also residence. In sum, it was an indication of the geographical spread of influence of the tribe, hapu or whanau. The position of the people on the land was enhanced with strong leadership, necessary to ward off invasion and threats from other tribes. A leader capable of protecting the land and able to develop the resources for the benefit of the people contributed to consolidating the mana whenua. There were no clear individual titles in tribal conceptions of land occupation. The land was held communally and therefore the mana whenua was a tribal responsibility with the chief performing an overall administrative function.

There were a number of 'take' or issues that gave meaning to residence. Examples are *whakapapa*, which gave a geneological link with ancestors who commenced settlement on the land, *kite*, *tuku*, *raupatu* ; which described the means by which the land tenure began, *ahikaa*; how long people had remained on the land, the *mana* of ancestors and living descendants; their ability to repulse invaders to physical symbols such as *paa*, *waahi tapu* including the names of people buried there, where a birth had happened, where a marriage had taken place, *rahui* and who had set these up, *mahinga*, *maara* and *hinaki*. Land features were commemorated in song and chant, *whakatauaki* and *pepeha*, with

associated fishing grounds and natural formations named after ancestor or deed.

Thus mana whenua was a multi faceted and dynamic concept. It provided a sense of belonging which was manifest in 'turangawaewae' or a sense of security and a geographical anchor. Seniority of birth, wise administration and an ability to provide and protect the mana whenua of the people contributed to the realisation of the status of ariki in an individual.

### **Mana ariki**

Once it was determined that an individual was competent and capable to lead and carried acceptable birth credentials, the hapu leaders as members of the family made decisions as to whether there were sufficient attributes to assume the mantle of ariki.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately it was the people who validated the decision and once accepted and conferred, the mandate of ariki and leadership was complete<sup>38</sup>. Upon conferment, the ariki was able to participate in the duties befitting his or her<sup>39</sup> office with the total support of the people at least until the support was withdrawn. Ariki were expected to perform across the board. Their obligations included the political, administrative, ritualistic, social and economic activities which had direct impact on the well-being and destiny of the people.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Mead, H.M. (1992:7)ibid

<sup>38</sup> Whatahoro, H.T. ibid

<sup>39</sup> Mahuika, A.T. (1977:28) *Nga Wahine Kaihautu o Ngati Porou*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Sydney.

<sup>40</sup> Winiata, M. (1956:77) *Leadership in Pre-European Maori Society*.

Wise administration elevated the ariki in the eyes and minds of the people and enhanced their position<sup>41</sup>. But poor performance had the opposite effect, the authority being vested in someone else.<sup>42</sup> Just as the people rendered the position of ariki effective so too were they able to withdraw the privilege. Firth agrees<sup>43</sup>

" *Birth alone did not suffice for chieftainship. Personality and executive capacity were also required to maintain rank and authority. An incapable ariki...would be set aside in practical affairs, and only called upon to perform certain religious rites*"

Thus, only if the the most senior in society had the necessary personal qualities to command the respect and confidence of the people would he or she be given the mandate to lead them. Ariki as an institution, is concerned with mana or authority. It is an authority that is dependent on whakapapa as well as the ability to lead - mana tangata, administering the lands of the people - mana whenua, for their mutual benefit.

Mana ariki is used to convey a type of authority to lead and guide which is recognised, accepted and bestowed by the people. It is the mana which comes from the support of the people and requires their active cooperation.

Meads' view<sup>44</sup> is that after the people had considered the whakapapa and the talents of the leader and seen some evidence of expertise, the appointment to lead would be made. In this

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<sup>41</sup> Buck.P. (1962 :346) *The Coming of the Maori*

<sup>42</sup> Mahuika, A.T. (1992:44)*Leadership Inherited and Achieved in Te Ao Hurihuri*. King,M.(ed) Reed Publishing Group, New Zealand.

<sup>43</sup> Firth,R. (1959: 132) *ibid*

<sup>44</sup> Mead,H.M. *ibid*: 2

sense, Walker<sup>45</sup> is accurate when he says that it was the hapu leaders who decided who the ariki was going to be. The appointment, however simply reflected the views and opinions of the people and the support they gave to the appointee. The ariki would have invariably gathered this support from their actions and no doubt from the actions of their antecedents before them. A very supportive and often very influential immediate family structure helped. This was part of the legacy Te Kani-a-Takirau inherited from his ancestors.

Acceptance by the people was more certain if one's antecedents displayed quality leadership. The chances of descendants being imbued with the same qualities was anticipated and if evident, the ariki had the mandate of the people and as such played a pivotal role in their destiny. But poor leadership lowered the prestige of the tribe and the leader was replaced. An ariki who showed expertise became the focus and the catalyst for major decision making. The ariki, were part of all the effort to bring to fruition the expectations of the people. They acted as a reference point for decision making and consultation. Mead<sup>46</sup> sums it up pertinently when he says,

*"Acceptance and support depend on a process of continuing validation by being with the people not only in their moments of great triumph but also being with them to share in their dissappointments, failures and grief... The chief speaks for the people, is of the people, looks after their survival and development, and is a symbol of the people."*

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<sup>45</sup> Walker, R, *ibid*:?

<sup>46</sup> Mead, H.M. (1992:12-13) *The Mandate of Leadership and the Decision - Making Process*. Te Puni Kokiri Wellington.

### An Arikitanga Framework

The framework that will be used to understand arikitanga, and in particular the arikitanga of Te Kani-a-Takirau is based on three interacting variables - mana whakapapa, mana tangata, mana whenua. It is proposed that all are necessary prerequisites for an ariki and that the distinction is essentially based on the level at which they are manifest. An important consideration is also the extent of acknowledgement. A rangatira is a chief among his own people. In addition, an ariki is a chief abroad.

	<u>Mana Whakapapa</u>	<u>Mana Tangata</u>	<u>Mana Whenua</u>
<i>Source of authority</i>	Based on geneology Hereditary title	Wise leadership and recognition as important for tribal economic, social and political well-being	Trustee over tribal lands
<i>Rangatira.</i>	Senior lines of descent from tribal ancestors.	A leader among hapu, especially within a local context. Wise stewardship.	Authority over hapu lands.
<i>Ariki.</i>	Senior lines of descent and lateral connections with other chiefly lines.	A leader at home and a warrior abroad. Political astuteness and wise alliances.	Authority over iwi lands.

## Summary

This chapter proposes a framework within which the attributes of the traditional Maori ariki can be considered. The framework is intended to clarify the position of ariki and provide a detailed audit which summarises Te Kani-a-Takirau's attributes alongside the three interacting concepts : mana whakapapa, mana tangata and mana whenua. The definitions provide a focus that the individual had evidence of whakapapa and skills and the iwi recognition and support required to lead.

The potential value of the framework lies in its use alongside other frameworks to ensure that the key issues relating to traditional Maori leadership and the status of ariki can be considered in relationship to each other. Essentially the framework is intended to clarify the attributes of ariki in traditional Maori society.

## Chapter Two

### Mana Whakapapa

Ko toku mana no Tuawhakarere "

Te Kani-a-Takirau inherited a number of descent lines of great importance to tribes on the East Coast. Ngata <sup>1</sup> goes as far to say, "*Te Kani-a-Takirau was the most renowned chief of the Tairawhiti of his generation*"

Wahawaha<sup>2</sup>, believed that the reason he was so powerful was that all the lines of aristocratic descent converged on him.

There were a number of significant ancestors from whom he could claim descent and who were responsible for the settlement of the East Coast<sup>3</sup> areas. While it is invidious to select a few, it would be impossible to select all, given the confines of this study. The decision for inclusion has been made by the tribal groupings as they are represented today. The descent of Te Kani-a-Takirau is traced to and from these eponymous ancestors as they have been recorded in the whakapapa, korero tahito and waiata of the tribes to whom they gave birth. All that is intended is to record and illuminate the breadth of the mana whakapapa inherited by Te Kani-a-Takirau.

According to Smith<sup>4</sup> the authority of Te Kani-a-Takirau extended from Whangaparaoa in the Bay of Plenty to Nukutaurua on the Mahia Peninsula. Maui-Potiki, Toikairakau, Paikea, Kahutiaterangi, Ruatapu and Ruakapanga, have all been mentioned at one time or another as

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<sup>1</sup> Ngata, A.T. (1974:56) *Nga Moteatea* 1 Polynesian Society.

<sup>2</sup> Wahawaha ; in Smith, S.P. *Maori Wars of the 19th Century*

<sup>3</sup> The East Coast of the North Island

<sup>4</sup> Smith, S.P. (1900:145) *Wars of the Northern against the Southern tribes of N.Z. in the 19th century* in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol.9.

important foundation ancestors of the East Coast tribes<sup>5</sup>;so have the captains, tohunga and crews of the many waka that came to these shores from Hawaiki, the ancient homeland of the Maori<sup>6</sup>. Important to this study are *Horouta* under the commands of Pawa and Kiwa; Te Whironui, his daughter Huturangi and their waka *Nukutere*; Rongomaituaho, the son of Paikea who voyaged here aboard *Tereanini*; Tamatea-Ariki-nui and the waka *Takitimu*; Maia, on board *Te Ikanui-a-Rauru*; and Popoto of the *Kurahaupo* waka. These ancestors brought with them some of the best bloodlines to be found in Polynesia.<sup>7</sup> Their contribution to the make up of the tribes of the East Coast is a matter of pride and source of identity for their descendants.

### Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga

Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga, as an ancestor, has been deified to super human proportions and powers. He is credited with a number of fantastic feats which have assured him a place almost unparalleled in the pantheon of Maori ancestry and heraldry. He is said to have fished the North Island up from the sea, which is recorded in the following waiata;

" U tonu taua e hika ki te ika hi a to  
tipuna a Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga e!" 8

" *Verily let us hold fast to the fish caught by  
your ancestor Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga!*"

<sup>5</sup> Drummond,R.J.H. (1937:10-11) *The Origins and Early History of Ngati Porou* Unpublished M.A.Thesis Victoria University

Gudgeon, W.E. (1894-97:18) *The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand* Victoria University

Ngata,A.T. (1989:4-5) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*

<sup>6</sup> Ngata,A.T.( 1989:3) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*

<sup>7</sup> Ngata.A.T.(1989:4) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*.

<sup>8</sup> He waiata na Te Wi o Ngati Kahungunu

His waka, Nukutaimemeha, lies petrified in stone <sup>9</sup> on Mount Hikurangi <sup>10</sup>, the sacred mountain of the Ngati Porou people.

The following fragment of waiata bears this out.

" Ko Araiteuru, ko Nukutaimemeha;  
Ko te waka i hiia ai te whenua nui nei." <sup>11</sup>  
" *Araiteuru, and Nukutaimemeha ;*  
*The canoe which fished up this widespread*  
*land."*

### Toi Te Huatahi

Maui-Potiki was the ancestor of Toikairakau or Toi Te Huatahi. According to various traditions there were a number of ancestors who bore the name Toi.<sup>12</sup> What is certain is that this ancestor, whether of Aotearoa or Hawaiki,<sup>13</sup> is distinguished as a very important ancestor in the settlement and spread of the East Coast peoples. His whakapapa is able to unite the great majority of modern tribal groups. The whakapapa from Maui to Toi is as follows,

Maui-Potiki  
|  
Hihiri-o-Tu  
|  
Wai-nga-Rongo  
|  
Taharaoa  
|  
Heke-ponga  
|  
Toi  
|  
Rauru <sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Mahuika, A.T. *Unpublished notes on Ngati Porou & Ngata*, A.T. (1961:6) *Nga Moteatea Part Two*. A.H.&A.W.Reed

<sup>10</sup> Inland of Ruatoria

<sup>11</sup> Ngata, A.T. *ibid*

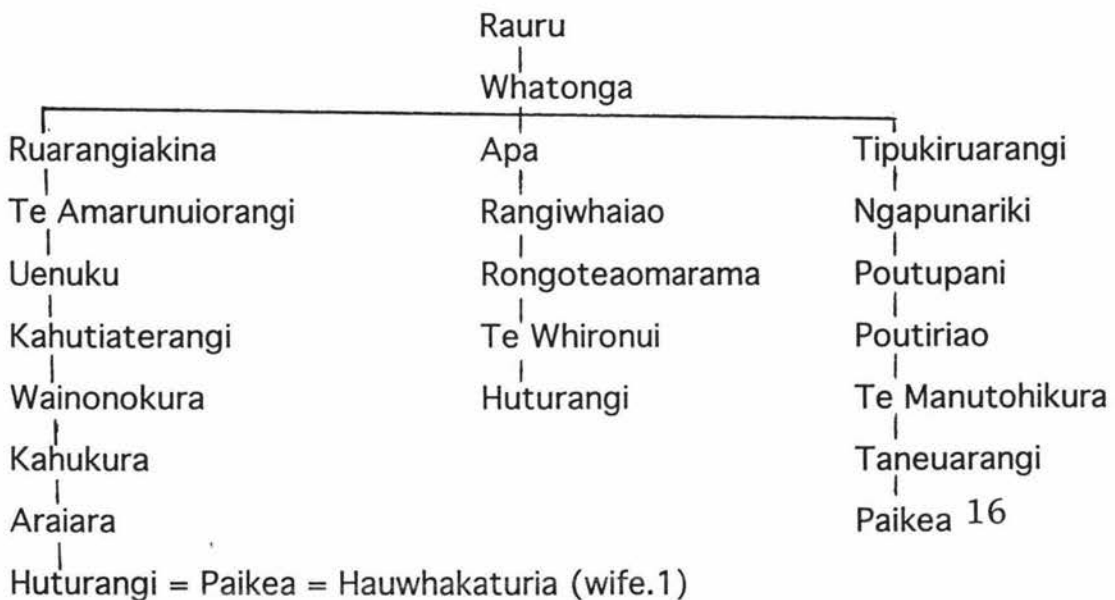
<sup>12</sup> Halbert, R. (1961)

<sup>13</sup> Traditions differ as to whether Toi was born in Aotearoa or came from Hawaiki. In the waiata by Rangiuia there is the suggestion that Toi was of the land, that is from Aotearoa.

<sup>14</sup> Gudgeon, W. (1895:18) Vol 4 *Journal Polnesian Society*. Stated by Sir Apirana Ngata to be from the Rawheoro school of Learning.

Rauru or Raurukitahi is said to have come from the East Coast<sup>15</sup> before migrating to Heretaunga in the Hawkes Bay and settling on the West Coast of the North Island. The tribe Nga Rauru of this area are named after him.

### Paikea



Paikea is another ancestor whose descendants are numerous and can be found the length and breadth of Aotearoa. His geneology and parentage, whilst the subject of keen debate, is not disputed as being from the leading families of Hawaiki.

The debate centres around whether Paikea and Kahutiaterangi were one and the same person or two different individuals. At a wananga of all the learned men of the East Coast held at Nukutaurua, Mahia just before

<sup>15</sup> Broughton, R. (1979:17)

<sup>16</sup> Ngata, W. (1993:61) has recorded the following, " Ki ta Ngati Porou korero, he tangata kotahi a Paikea, a Kahutiaterangi. Ko ta te Rawheoro, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, he tangata ke tetahi, he tangata ke tetahi. Other versions of the whakapapa are recorded in Dewes, K. (1972:28) and are follows.

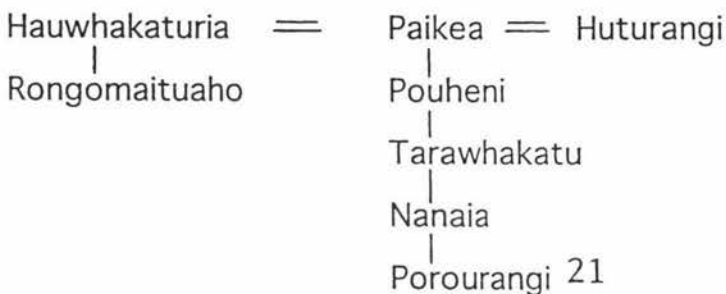
Uenuku = Rangatoro  
Kahutiaterangi

Uenuku = Rongomaitahanui  
Paikea

the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, it was concluded that they were in fact two separate people.<sup>17</sup> Paikea was the sole survivor of the maritime disaster known as the 'Huripureiata', when his brother Ruatapu tried to do away with the first born of the land, and came to these shores via somewhat supernatural means.<sup>18</sup> On arrival in Aotearoa he married a number of prominent women including Hutorangi, the daughter of Te Whironui, captain of the Nukutere waka. <sup>19</sup>

Paikea was followed here by Rongomaituaho, his son by his first wife, Hauwhakaturia in Hawaiki, in the waka Tereanini.<sup>20</sup> Together they settled at Whangara-mai-tawhiti, named after him because it resembled the home from where he had come. The descendants of Paikea consolidated their position in Whangara; so much so that some five generations later the mana ariki rested with Porourangi, who was to become the eponymous ancestor of the modern Ngati Porou tribe.

### Porourangi



<sup>17</sup> Ngata, A.T. (1972:22) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*.

<sup>18</sup> Leach, R. *Address to the Tairāwhiti Association*  
 Taumaunu, M. (1970) in Dewes, T.K. (1972:22-35) *Maori Literature. He Haka taparahi: Men's Ceremonial Dance Poetry*, Victoria University of Wellington.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Drummond, R.J.H. (1958:36)

<sup>21</sup> TauTau, I.W. Whakapapa manuscript  
 Ngata, A.T. *Te Tangi a Rangiuia*  
 Reedy, A. (1993:146-147) *Nga Korero a Mohi Ruatapu* Canterbury

His title in full was Porouariki Te matata-a-whare, Te-Tuhi-mareikura-o-Rauru. The first born of a tapu line. 22

The descent from Rauru to Paikea, given on the previous page shows his relationship to Kahutiaterangi and marriage to Huturangi. The descent from Paikea to Porourangi is also shown.

From all accounts, the tribal name Ngati Porou is a recent appellation<sup>23</sup> used to group the various hapu between Tokomaru Bay in the south and Wharekahika to Potaka in the north. 24

The selection of Porourangi as founding ancestor of the tribe was a strategic one and the divergence of his lines allows his descendants to claim a relationship with a wide range of kindred tribes. Porourangi was born, lived and died at Whangara.<sup>25</sup> He also resided at Te Raroa, which was one of his main pa in Uawa. His last remains are said to be interred along with those of his ancestor, Paikea, in 'te ana o Paikea'. 26

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University Press

Potango, T. (1886)

<sup>22</sup> Ngata, A. T. (1989:5-6) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures* Victoria University of Wellington

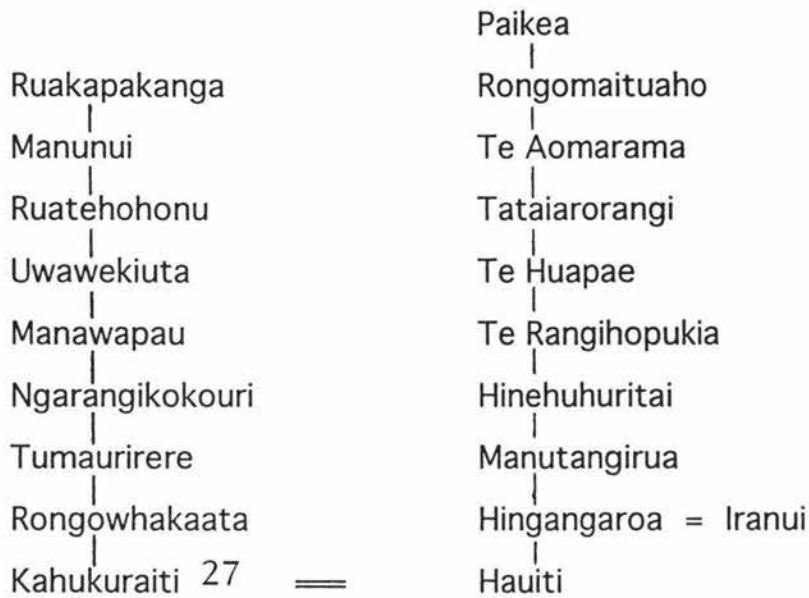
<sup>23</sup> Drummond, R. J. H. (1937:10) *The Origins and Early History of Ngati Porou*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis Victoria University. He quotes Sir Apirana Ngata as saying that the name 'Ngati Porou', as comprehending the present tribe, did not come into fashion and general use until the eighteenth century, when it was used simply for the sake of convenience, especially by invading war parties, to designate those hapu which had a certain geographical unity.

<sup>24</sup> Gudgeon, W. E. (1894-97:18) *The Maori tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand* Department of Anthropology Victoria University of Wellington

<sup>25</sup> Ngata, A. T. (1989:6) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*

<sup>26</sup> Translated as 'the cave of Paikea' found on a small island at Whangara.

## Ruakapanga



Ruakapanga was also from Hawaiki. His were the two great birds Tuingarangi and Harongarangi, who, assisted by Pourangahua, brought the kumara to the East Coast.<sup>28</sup> Pourangahua was later to abuse the birds, giving Ruakapanga just cause to send pests to destroy Pou's crops. Ruakapanga the ancestor is commemorated as the name for the meeting house on Hauti Marae in Uawa.

Just as significantly, the whakapapa of this ancestor draws a strong link between Te Aitanga-a-Hauti and Rongowhakaata. The lament by Rangiuia shows the descent from Rongomaituaho to Hauti and descent from Ruakapanga to Rongowhakaata.

<sup>27</sup> Ngata, A.T. *ibid*

<sup>28</sup> Taiapa, P. (1958:13-15) *How the kumara came to New Zealand* in Dewes, T.K. (1968) *Maori Literature* Department of Anthropology Victoria University of Wellington.

## Hingangaroa and Te Rawheoro

Porourangi  
 |  
 Hau = Takotowaimua  
 |  
 Kehutikoparae <sup>29</sup>  
 |  
 Hingangaroa = Iranui

Hingangaroa was a celebrated craftsman of his era. He was a great artist, carver and builder.<sup>30</sup> He was the founder of Te Rawheoro school of learning<sup>31</sup> that stood at Mangakuku<sup>32</sup> in Uawa. Ngata<sup>33</sup> has recorded the following as testimony to the status of Te Rawheoro,

" Ko te whare wananga whaimana tenei o te pito whakararo o Te Tai Rawhiti, a, ki te titiro iho ki nga korero a nga tohunga o Wairarapa, kua tuhia nei a ratou e Te Whatahoro, ko te whare whaimana tera o Te Tairawhiti katoa. "

*" This was the most prestigious school of learning at the northern end of the East Coast, and, if you consider the accounts of the experts from the Wairarapa, they being scribed by Te Whatahoro, this was in fact the most pretigious school on the entire eastern seaboard."*

Hingangaroa's fame attracted experts from all parts of the East Coast including Te Kaha.<sup>34</sup> This point is mentioned in the following waiata that was composed by Rangiuiia, the last tohunga of this famous school.

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<sup>29</sup> According to Mahuika ' there is one line that will be senior to all others, namely, the line which comes through the eldest grandchild of Porourangi, Kehutikoparae, the child of Hau and his first wife, Takotowaimua.'

<sup>30</sup> Ngata, A.T. (1989:10) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures* Victoria. University of Wellington.

<sup>31</sup> Ngata, A.T. *ibid*:11

<sup>32</sup> Brown, Milton and Tuhiwai, T. Personal Communications January 1989.

<sup>33</sup> Ngata, A.T.(1930:25) *He Maramara korero mo nga Whakamaramatanga mo te Tangi a Rangiuiia* in Te Wananga, Journal of the Polynesian Society.

<sup>34</sup> Ngata, A.T.(1972:11) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*.

Rangiuiua was a contemporary of Te Kani-a-Takirau and was considered to one of the most learned tohunga of his time 35.

"Me ko Manutangirua, ko Hingangaroa.  
 Ka tu tona whare, Te Rawheoro, e  
 Ka tipu te whaihanga, e hika, ki Uawa  
 Ka riro te whakautu, te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga  
 Ka riro te manaia, ka riro te taowaru;  
 Ka taka i raro na, i a Apanui, e;

*"Who had Manutangirua, who had Hingangaroa.  
 He it was who established the house, Te  
 Rawheoro  
 And Arts and Crafts flourished at Uawa  
 There came in payment Te Ngaio-tu-ki-  
 Rarotonga  
 And was exchanged for the manaia and taowaru  
 Passing round to the north, to Apanui"* 36

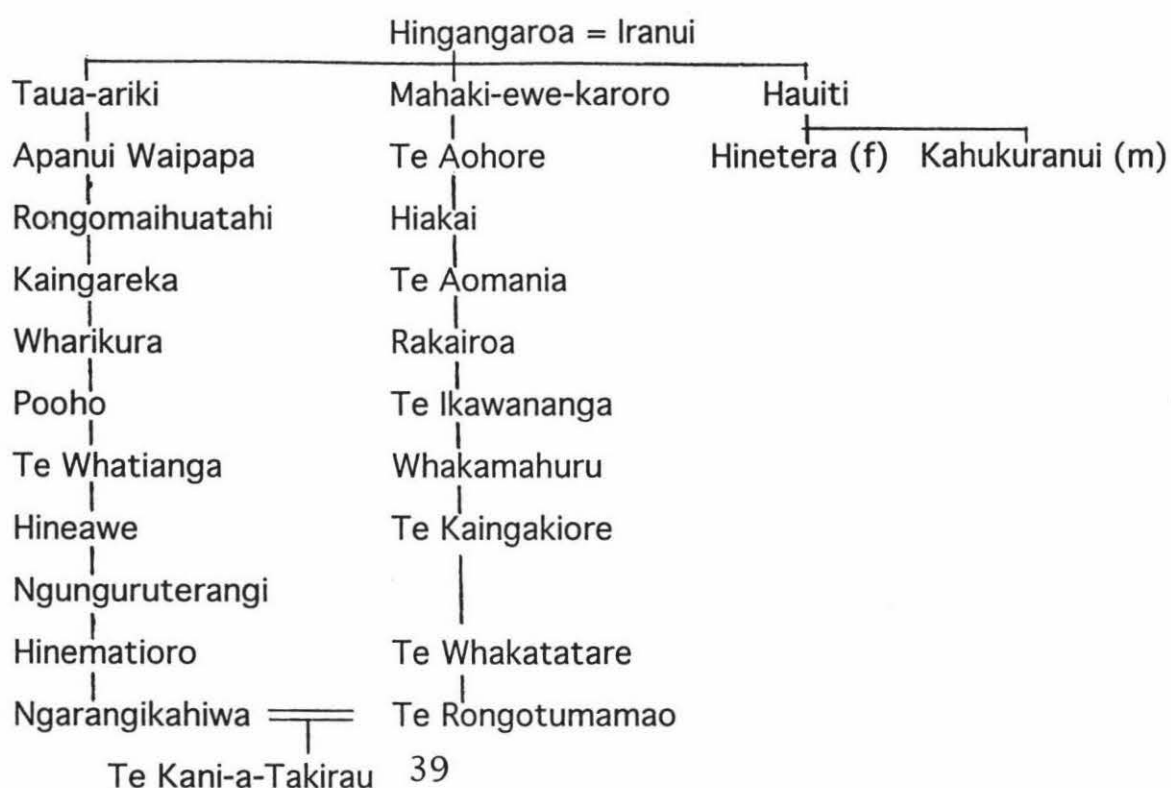
Hingangaroa married Iranui who was a daughter of Tamatea and Iwipupu and the sister of the famous ancestor Kahungunu.<sup>37</sup> Her name is immortalised in 'Te Ihu o Iranui'<sup>38</sup> a prominent geographical feature on the north - west seaward side of the Uawa township. Together they had three sons, **Taua, Mahaki-ewe-karoro and Hauti.**

35 Te Matorohanga, M. in Ngata, A.T. *Te Tangi a Rangiuiua*

36 Ngata, W. (1995:45) *Te Waiata Tangi a Rangiuiua* Unpublished M.A. Thesis Massey University.

37 Mitchell, J.H. (1943: appendix v) *Takitimu, a History of the Ngati Kahungunu People*. Southern Reprints.

38 Brown, Miritene. Personal Communications 1990



It is not intended to recount their life and times in detail, suffice to say the period in which they lived was one of turmoil, a constant struggle for resources, power and control. Haititi, after a number of clashes with his tuakana, expelled them from the Uawa area.<sup>40</sup> Haititi chose his son, Kahukuranui, to succeed him<sup>41</sup> and he basically took up where his father left off. Kahukuranui was also to quarrel with and subsequently drive out the people of Apanui Waipapa, the son of Taua, and his people, Te Wahineiti. The older brothers migrated, ending up as far north as the Bay of Plenty.<sup>42</sup> The descendants of Taua and Mahaki-ewe-karoro were to make up elements of the Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Porou tribes respectively.<sup>43</sup> Kahukuranui was also responsible for

<sup>39</sup> Rapata Wahawaha manuscript

<sup>40</sup> Mokai, H. Waiapu Minute Book 8A:267

<sup>41</sup> Ngata, A.T. (1989: lecture 5:12) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*.

<sup>42</sup> Ngata, A.T. (1989: lecture 5:2) *Rauru-nui-a-Toi Lectures*.

<sup>43</sup> Ngata, A.T. (1989: lecture 4:12) *ibid*

the expulsion of the tribe called Ngati Ira from the area.<sup>44</sup> He married Tawhipare who was an aunty of the great fighting chief Tuwakairiora.

### Materoa, Tawhipare and Te Ataakura



There remains little doubt that Tuwhakairiora was responsible for the formation of the modern day Ngati Porou tribe. Of equal importance is the role that his mother Te Ataakura and her two older sisters Materoa and Tawhipare had in the history and subsequent proliferation of this tribe. The story is a long one and has been documented in some depth. While it need not be repeated here, an overview is warranted, given their collective contribution. The three sisters were the daughters of Poroumata and Whaene who were descended from some of the most

<sup>44</sup> Ruatapu, M. in Laurie, J. (1992:21) *Uawa, The History of Tolaga Bay*

<sup>45</sup> Whakapapa book of Wi Pere and others courtesy of Jim Holdsworth

aristocratic lines of Porourangi. The parents lived between Whareponga and Uawa. During this time, Poroumata established himself as the leading rangatira of the tribal groupings who were known as Ngati Ruanuku and Te Wahineiti. The couple also had a number of sons who, unbeknown to their parents, lorded it over the people and generally abused their status in society: taking advantage of the women whilst their menfolk were out fishing and plundering the food stocks which they had not helped replenish. The people grew weary of this behaviour and plotted to kill Poroumata and his erring sons. This they did and the fishing grounds where Poroumata and his sons were slain bears the name 'Te Whetu Kamokamo' -the knowing glances used to indicate when the killing was to take place. Materoa, Tawhipare and Te Ataakura left the area and it appears that they sought refuge with their relations in Uawa.

Tawhipare = Kahukuranui

It was at Uawa that Tawhipare married Kahukuranui, the son of Hauti. It was to this son that the chief was to leave his mana and effectively give the responsibility for looking after the people. Kahukuranui, as already mentioned, expelled Te Wahineiti from the Uawa area.

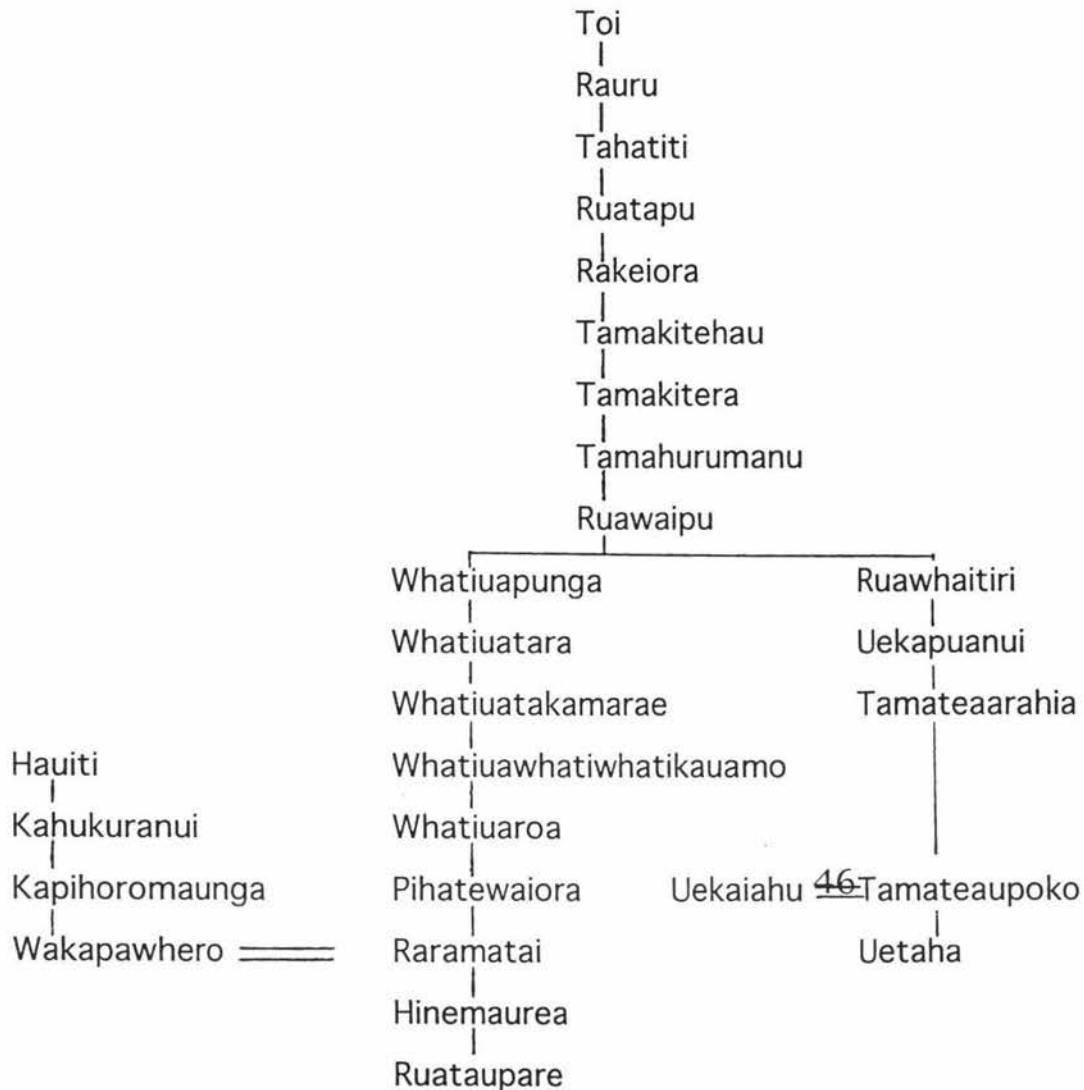
Te Ataakura married Ngati Hau and it was while they were staying in the Opotiki area that a son Tuwhakairiora was born, dedicated from conception to avenging the death of his grandfather, Poroumata.

Tuwhakairiora arrived on the coast and married Ruataupare a woman of very high birth. She was the daughter of Te Aotaki and Hinemaurea who could claim descent from Ira, Porourangi, Ruawaipu and Hauti.

Tuwhakairiora was an extraordinary warrior and once he had settled amongst his wife's people he set about avenging the death of his

grandfather. In a series of battles using military strategies of the highest order he extinguished the mana of the Ngati Ruanuku and Wahineiti tribes. Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare are two of the prominent hapu of Ngati Porou who reside in the Wharekahika, Te Araroa, Tuparoa and Tokomaru Bay areas.

### Ruawaipu and Tamateaupoko



<sup>46</sup> Uekaiahu is a descendant of Tuere after whom the Ngai Tuere are named.

Porourangi  
Hau  
Tuere  
Rongomaikarairae  
Whatiuaroa  
Uekaiahu

Around the same time, or at least in the time of Hinemaurea, a great a migration happened, involving the descendants of Ruawaipu, a contemporary of Porourangi. Years earlier, their homeland had been invaded by the Ngai Oho,<sup>47</sup> descendants of Toi.<sup>48</sup> Ruawaipu was also a descendant of Toi as the whakapapa above outlines. These people were amongst the earliest inhabitants of the northern Waiapu reaches. In the generation of Tamateaupoko the invasion came from the north and she led her people south to Whangara. They stayed awhile with the Ngai Tuere tribe who were relations. Tamateaupoko married Uekaiahu at Whangara.<sup>49</sup> Tamateaupoko, however, never gave up hope of one day returning to her papatipu or homeland. She taught her sons how to fight and prepared them for battle. When the sons were of age they returned to the home of their mother and vanquished the former conquerors. It is not known if Tamateaupoko returned with her sons, but they did prove true to her dearly held dream to settle again on the lands of Ruawaipu. Hinemaurea and another famous ancestress, Hinerupe, were also part of the migration and settled Te Araroa north. Te Whanau-a-Hinerupe are a major hapu in the Te Araroa district; Hinemaurea married Te Aotaki and bore the great Ruataupare .

Both Hinemaurea and her daughter, Ruataupare, were also descendants of Hauiti.

Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti claim their ancestral tribal boundaries from the south side of Tokomaru Bay - Te Mawhai,<sup>50</sup> to the southern banks of the Turanganui-a-Kiwa river. This has remained undisturbed from the time of Hauiti to the present day.

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<sup>47</sup> Ngata, A.T. *Rauru nui a Toi Lectures*

<sup>48</sup> Hamiora Pio of Ngati Awa related to Best that Ngaoho came to Aotearoa on board Te Arawa waka.

<sup>49</sup> Mahuika, A.T. *Ngaoho* January 1996

<sup>50</sup> Kerekere-Smiler, K. Personal Communications 1996

Haiti married Kahukuraiti. Kahukuraiti was the daughter of Rongowhakaata, after whom the tribal group is named.

### **Rongowhakaata**

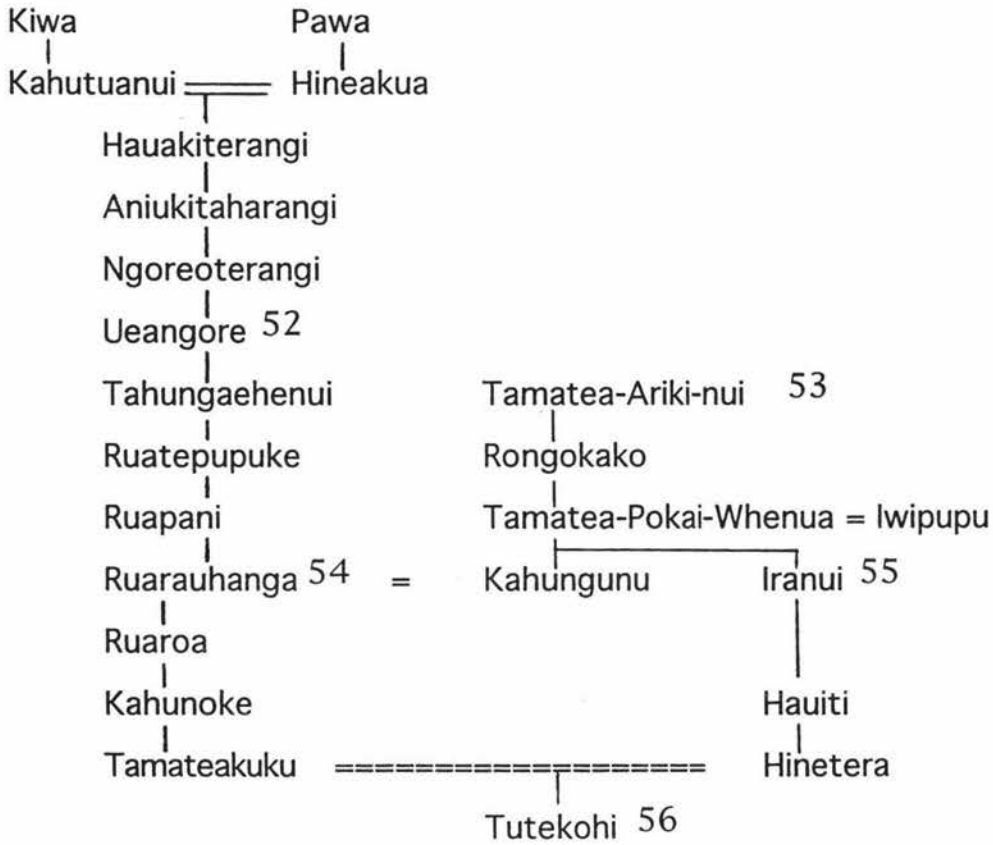
Rongowhakaata was from Te Puia Pa near Patutahi<sup>51</sup>, and established his people in the Manutuke district. The eldest child or mataamua by the union of Haiti and Kahukuraiti was Hinetera.

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<sup>51</sup> Halbert, Rongowhakaata in Fowler, L. *Te Mana Ki Turanga*

Hinetera married Tamateakuku, the son of Kahunoke who was a descendant of the great Turanga chief, Ruapani.

### Ruapani



Ruapani had inherited the mana whakapapa of Pawa and Kiwa who migrated from Hawaiki to these shores on board the waka Horouta, and in his lifetime there was no greater chief in Turanga. The marriage of Hinetera to Tamateakuku brought the traditions of the waka and the whakapapa of these ancestors closer together. It also consolidated the whakapapa of these ancestors with that of Paieka.

52 Ruru and Halbert have 'Ueroa' here.

53 Mitchell, J.H. (1943) *Takitimu. A History of the Ngati Kahungunu People*. Southern Prints.

54 Ruru, H. & Halbert, R. (1930) *Nga Korero me nga whakapapa o Turanga*

55 Holdsworth, J. Whakapapa manuscript of Wi Pere & 14 others

56 Te Ua, H.T.K. Letter to J.A. MacKay Gisborne Museum

## Kahungunu

Kahungunu, after whom the Ngati Kahungunu people of the Hawkes Bay and elsewhere take their name, is one of the most famous of ancestors. His contribution to the geneologies and the settlement of the East Coast and related tribes cannot be done justice here. However, what is recorded are the links he provides between the different ancestors that subsequently had implications for the lines of aristocracy that Te Kani-a-Takirau inherited. He cohabitated with Ruarauhanga,<sup>61</sup> the daughter of Ruapani, and in an almost bewildering set of liaisons, Ruapani married a daughter of Kahungunu, Rongomaipapa, in later life. Upon the death of Ruapani, Rongomaipapa married Tuhourangi son of Rangitihi, the progenitor of Ngati Rangitihi of the Te Arawa confederation of tribes.

Ruapani = Wairau (1st wife)  
 |  
 Ruarauhanga = Kahungunu  
 |  
 Ruaroa

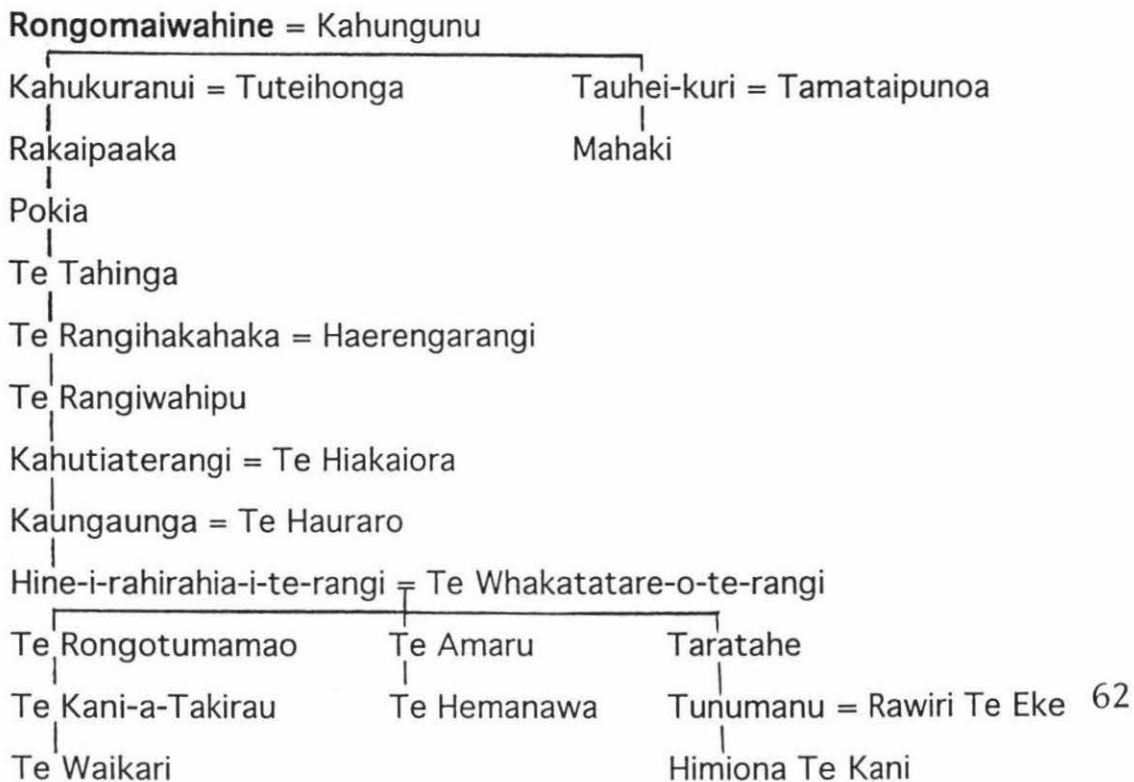
Kahungunu  
 |  
 Rongomaipapa = Ruapani

Rangitihi  
 |  
 Rongomaipapa = Tuhourangi

Ruapani		Tuhoropunga
Ruarauhanga = Kahungunu = Rongomaiwahine		Ruatapuwahine
	└─┬─┘	
	Tauheikuri Kahukuranui =	

<sup>61</sup> Some authorities say her name was Ruareretai

Kahungunu also married Rongomaiwahine, ariki of Nukutaurua, Te Mahia. Rongomaiwahine was a descendant of Popoto, leader of the Kurahaupo waka expedition, and in time was the converging point of the whakapapa of these people. Hence her status and the tribe Rongomaiwahine who today are named after her .



The children of Rongomaiwahine and Kahungunu migrated north and lived in Turanga. One event which pre-empted this movement was an attack on their pa 'Maunga-a-Kaahia' by Te Whakatohea of Opotiki under their generals Tutamure and Tamataipunoa. The story is quite well known. As a peace offering, Tauheikuri was given over to the rangatira of the attacking party, Tutamure. However, in what is now quite a legendary tale, the young woman chose his younger brother, Tamataipunoa. This union was to give birth to a son called Mahaki the

62 Whakapapa book of Ihaia Wirihana Karakia (TauTau)

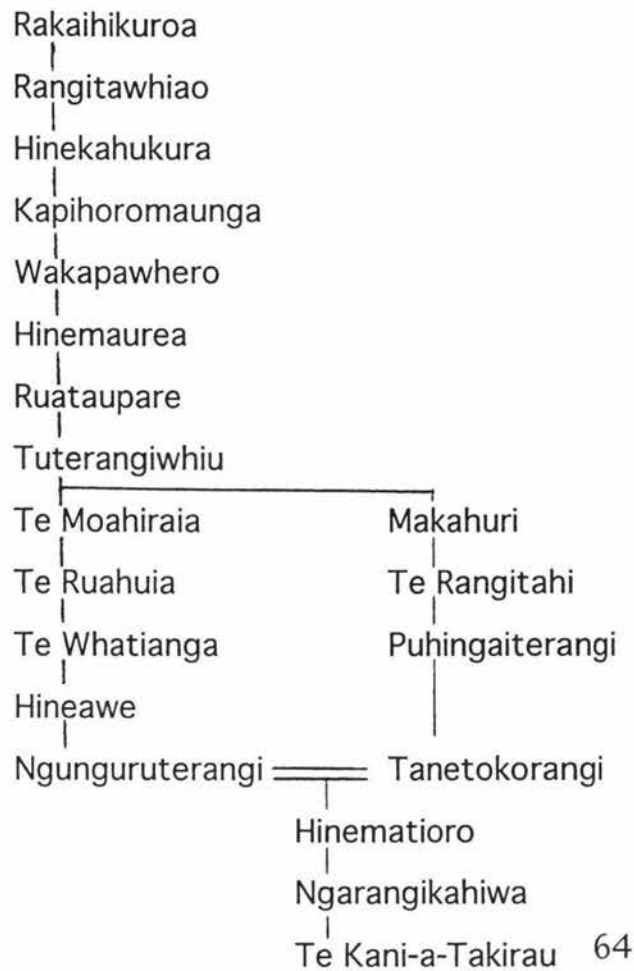
eponymous ancestor of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki tribe of the Turanga hinterland. His pa at Waikohu inland from Gisborne, was called Pauerawera.

This was a time of great schisms between the offspring of Rongomaiwahine, Kahungunu, Iranui and Ruapani. It was quite clearly a struggle for power and was a period of treachery, murder and much bloodshed.<sup>63</sup> Ultimately, it was to result in an exodus of peoples from the Turanga area and the consolidation of others interests. Despite considerable intermarriage and the apparent closeness of blood-ties, a yawning chasm of self-interest and animosity existed between them. The following whakapapa shows the relationship between and identifies the main players. The marriages and subsequent descendants of Kahungunu are a feature of the whakapapa. Te Kani-a-Takirau inherited this many-storied past as well as the whakapapa.



The event that was to set this historical chapter in motion was the killing of the twins, Tara-ki-uta and Tara-ki-tai, who belonged to Kahutapere. As a sequel to the slaying of the twins at the instigation of Rakaihikuroa and, in turn, of the slaying of Tupurupuru, a section of the Turanga people left, or was expelled from the district and settled in Heretaunga or Hawke's Bay.

<sup>63</sup> Personal Communications Peta Tupara 1994 Rongopai Marae



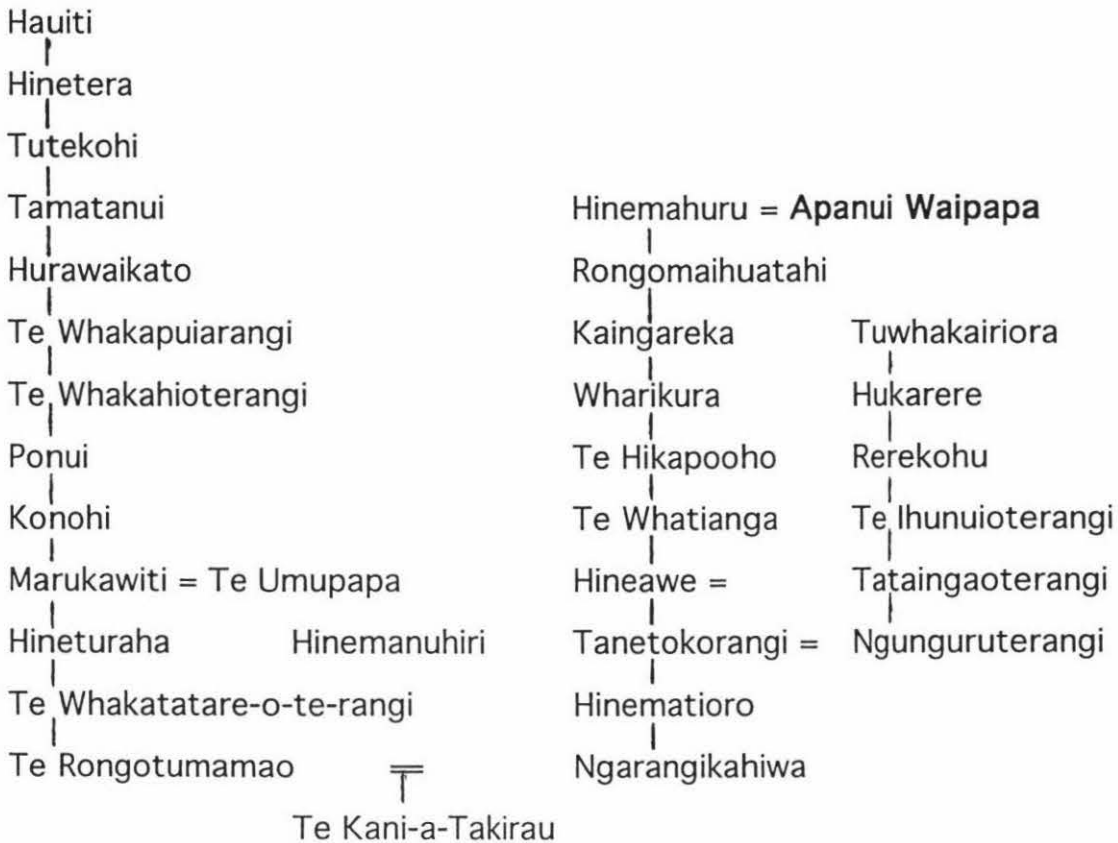
Rakaihikuroa was the senior chief of the district at this time. Noticing that the twins were being viewed more favourably by the people than his own son Tupurupuru, he along with his son, planned to murder the twins, a plan which they subsequently carried out. Kahutapere, suitably aggrieved, sought the help of tohunga who divined through the use of magical kites, that foul play was at work and that Rakaihikuroa and Tupurupuru were the cause of the twins' murder. In a series of battles their deaths were avenged, with Tupurupuru being killed by Whakarau the son of the great chief Mahaki. Rakaihikuroa and his people left the district soon after.

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64 Rapata Wahawaha manuscript

The second event that was to be a catalyst for further movement was the killing of a dog belonging to Tutekohi the son of Hinetera and Tamateakuku. Rakaipaaka was the second child of Kahukuranui and Tu Teihonga and as such was rangatira of some influence amongst his people. The quarrel was a result of Rakaipaaka visiting his relation Tutekohi who lived about the Turanga area. During this visit, the host Tutekohi actually treated his dog *Kauerehuanui* better than his guests by giving his dog the choicest pieces of food first. What made matters worse was that the dog was able to sit with them at the table. Under cover of darkness the dog was taken, killed and eaten. In revenge, Tutekohi allied with the peoples of Mahaki who also had a grievance against Rakaipaaka, and attacked and defeated them. Rakaipaaka and his sister Hinemanuhiri, left the area and settled at Mahia, Nuhaka and the Morere valley, site of the powerful Rakaipaaka fortress, Moumoukai. Hinemanuhiri settled inland of Wairoa and Turanga at a place called Te Mania in the Marumaru district. Mahaki and Tutekohi became two of the most powerful ancestors of the Turanga and Whangara area and, their names continue to be represented by tribal groups nowadays.

The whakapapa line that Te Kani-a-Takirau can trace from Tutekohi is a significant one. It brings into focus a descent to Konohi, the most powerful ancestor of the Uawa and Whangara area of his period.



Konohi was the converging point for the some of the finest lines of East Coast aristocracy. His island fortress, Taha-tu-o-te-rangi, stood unchallenged from invaders, which included the famous Whanau-a-Apanui warrior, Tamahae. Tamahae had come to the East Coast to avenge the death of his grandmother. He challenged a number of the notable warriors and accounts differ as to his encounter with Konohi. The common view is that they were equal and agreed to a peace pact. However, the slaying of Hinetapora, an ariki living in Waiapu area, was to render the pact ineffective, and Konohi, a very close relation of hers, was obliged to respond and seek utu or redress for her death.

On their way to Te Whanau-a-Apanui, to meet Tamahae, the war party of Konohi had to pass through the territory of the chief Rerekohu. His tribal domain was the Te Araroa area. Rerekohu was a grandchild of the great fighting chief Tuwhakairiora and his ariki wife, Ruataupare.

Upon hearing of the advance of the war party, Rerekohu, whose boundaries bordered those of the Apanui, refused the war party right of passage. Konohi went inland and after a successful campaign returned to visit Rerekohu. Rerekohu promptly offered two of his mokopuna to assuage the intentions of Konohi. Ngunguruterangi was one and she married a mokopuna of Konohi called Tanetokorangi. This union brought together some of the finest lines of Te Whanau-a-Apanui, the northern descendants of Porourangi and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti including Konohi, with those of Ruapani and the major ancestors of Turanga and south. This was the line that was to give birth to the famous Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi and Hinematiaro, grandparents of Te Kani-a-Takirau.

### **Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi**

Sir Apirana Ngata records the following which he was supplied by his father Paratene.

‘ Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi was one of the highest ranking chiefs of the tribe of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, and of the East Coast. He was one of the grandfathers of Te Kani-a-Takirau; and his home was at Uawa.’ 65

He is mentioned in the waiata by Uri-kore,

‘Rukuruku ana mai te rae ki Whitianga,  
Pounga waihoe mai no Te Whakatatare;’ 66

*‘ As if diving up and down appears the headland at  
Whitianga,*

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65 Ngata, A.T. Nga Moteatea 225

66 Ibid:114

*From whence came the paddle strokes of Te  
Whakatatare;'*

Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi was the paramount chief of Uawa and surrounding districts when Captain James Cook landed in 1769. Cook or at least one of his crew gave some gunpowder to the chief who had it planted. When the expected results were not forthcoming a portion of the powder and soil was thrown into a fire whereupon it exploded. Causing the chief and his followers to exclaim,

‘He Atua no te Pakeha’ <sup>67</sup> ‘a creation of the Pakeha’

Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi was also the eastern *pou* or pole of *Te kupenga-a-Te Huki*, the net of Te Huki.

Kahungunu  
|  
Kahukuranui  
|  
Rakai-paaka  
|  
Kaukohea  
|  
Tu Te Kanao  
|  
Tureia  
|  
Te Huki <sup>68</sup> = Te Rangitohumare  
|  
Puruaute

It was formed by the famous Ngati Kahungunu ancestor Te Huki of the Wairoa district who married a number of powerful women in different localities along the East Coast. The children of these marriages made up what became known as *Te Kupenga a Te Huki*. By his first wife, Te Rangitohumare, he settled his first son, Purua-aute in the Wairoa district.

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<sup>67</sup> J.S.Pollack in Tolaga Bay 1835

<sup>68</sup> Mitchell, J. *Takitimu*

Te Huki = Te Mata-kainga-i-te-tihi  
|  
Mataitai

Te Huki then married Te Mata-kainga-i-te-tihi. A son was born from this union called Mataitai and he was placed at Te Mahia.

Te Huki  
|  
Hineraru = Hopara  
|  
Te Urupu  
|  
Ngarangiwhakaupoko  
|  
Hinewhakarata  
|  
Hoani Matua  
|  
Henare Matua<sup>69</sup>

Te Huki also had a daughter called Hineraru and she was taken by him and married to a young chief from Porangahau called Hopara. Te Huki established his grandson, Ngarangiwhakaupoko, at Poroporo near Porangahau.<sup>70</sup>

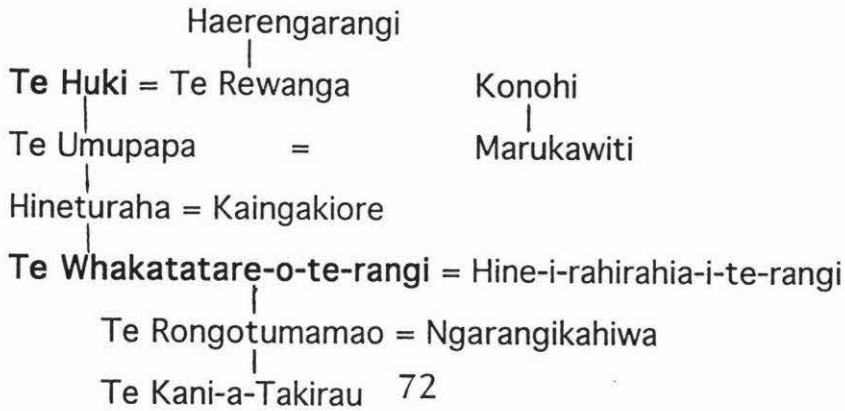
Te Huki = Te Ropuhina  
┌───────────┴──────────┐  
Te Rakato                                    Tureia                                    Te Rehu

Te Huki married Te Ropuhina from Nuhaka and together they had three sons. The eldest, Te Rakato was settled at Te Mahia, Tureia at Nuhaka and Te Rehu also at Nuhaka.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Whakapapa book of Heni Te Kauru Smith Nuhaka Wairoa

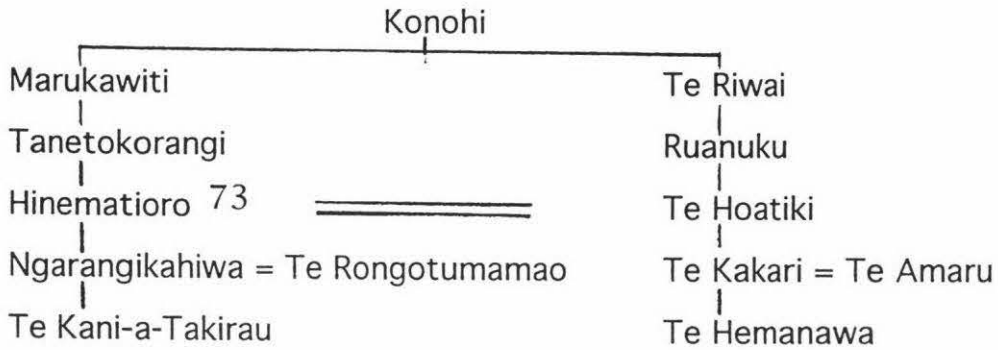
<sup>70</sup> Mitchell, J. *Takitimu*: 144

<sup>71</sup> Mitchell, J. *Takitimu*: 145



Whilst in the Turanga area Te Huki married Te Rewanga. Their daughter Te Umupapa married Marukawiti, the son of Konohi of Whangara. Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi became the eastern post of *Te Kupenga a Te Huki*. Te Kani-a-Takirau inherited the authority of this alliance from his grandfather.

### Hinematiore



Hinematiore was without peer in her life time and administered kindly to her people. Her influence went beyond her immediate tribal boundaries and was well known the length and breadth of both islands. She was considered by the early European settlers to be the 'queen of

<sup>72</sup> Whakapapa book of Heni Te Kauru Smith

<sup>73</sup> Mihikore Te Kani has recorded the following;

Hinematiore = Te Hoatiki

Te Kekenga                      Te Kakari      Ngarangikahiwa                      Arataua

the Coast' and evidently was a young woman of great beauty, when James Cook on board the *Endeavour* visited Uawa in 1769. Her status of ariki was also recognised throughout the land. The following Ngati Rangiwewehi, Te Arawa, waiata bears this out.

' Ko te puke tapu ki Paepae-aotea.

Kia taroia te moana a Kupe ki Whangara, ko

Matioro.' 74

*' Out there at the sacred hill of Paepae-aotea.*

*Thence to cross the sea of Kupe to Whangara, to Matioro.'*

And this snippet from the following Tuhoe waiata,

' *Nou te kaha ki te ika tere*

*Ka pae kai a Matioro,' 75*

*' Thou didst emulate the migrant fish*

*Thus to become stranded in the presence of Matioro.'*

Both Hinematiaro and Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi are mentioned in this waiata by Manomano of Ngati Tuwharetoa,

' *E, ki Hangahanga, ki a Te Whatanui.*

*Ko wai te pai kia tarere au ko'Tatare;*

*Kei Te -Urunga -o -te -ra ko Hinematiaro.'* 76

She married Te Hoatiki a grandson of Konohi, and together they were to establish kainga as far north as Te Kaha. There is a proverb which refers to the fame of her 'maara' or gardens which she cultivated in this area.

74 Ngata,A.T.Nga Moteatea 131

75 Ngata,A.T. Nga Moteatea Waiata 243

76 Ngata,A.T. Nga Moteatea 379

'He uri a te Hoatiki no te Ehutu  
 He tane a Te Hoatiki na Hinematiōro  
 Ko Te Kaha to raua Kainga  
 Te Kainga tuturu o Whangara  
 Ko Te Maara-a-Te Atua kei Te Kaha  
 Ka haere te rongō o te kai o te maara a Hinematiōro.' 77

*'Te Hoatiki is a descendant of Te Ehutu  
 Te Hoatiki was the husband of Hinematiōro  
 Their home was in Te Kaha  
 The place of long term residence at Whangara  
 The Maara-a-Te Atua 78 was at Te Kaha  
 The fame of the gardens of Hinematiōro was well  
 known.'*

Her island fortress was Pourewa, an islet just off the coast on the south-eastern side of the Uawa township. Hinematiōro, like all ariki had the ability to raise war parties which happened in a quarrel she had with her cousin Pake. 79

Ngati Porou tradition makes much out of a visit by Hinematiōro to her relations in the Waiapu area. Apparently during this visit Hinematiōro asked,

'Ko wai te puhi o te Karaka a Tu?'  
 (Who is the plume of the karaka tree of Tu?)

---

77 Whakapapa books belonging to Heni Te Kauru Smith of Nuhaka, Wairoa.

78 The name of Hinematiōro's garden in Te Kaha

79 Rawiri Karaha Whangara

Expecting the answer to be,

'Ko koe'

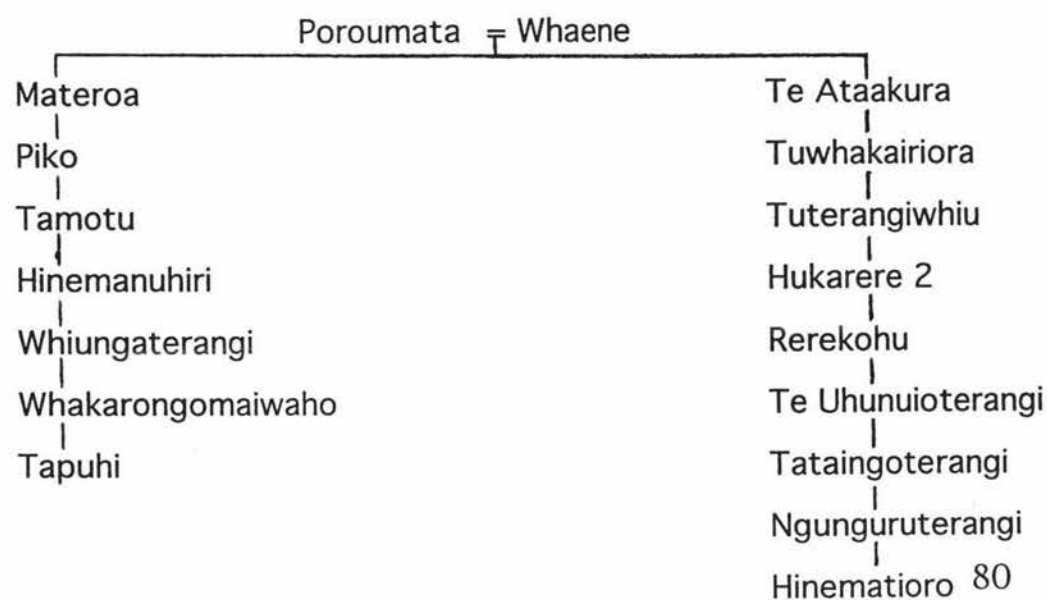
'You are'

Her relation Tapuhi answered,

'Ko au'

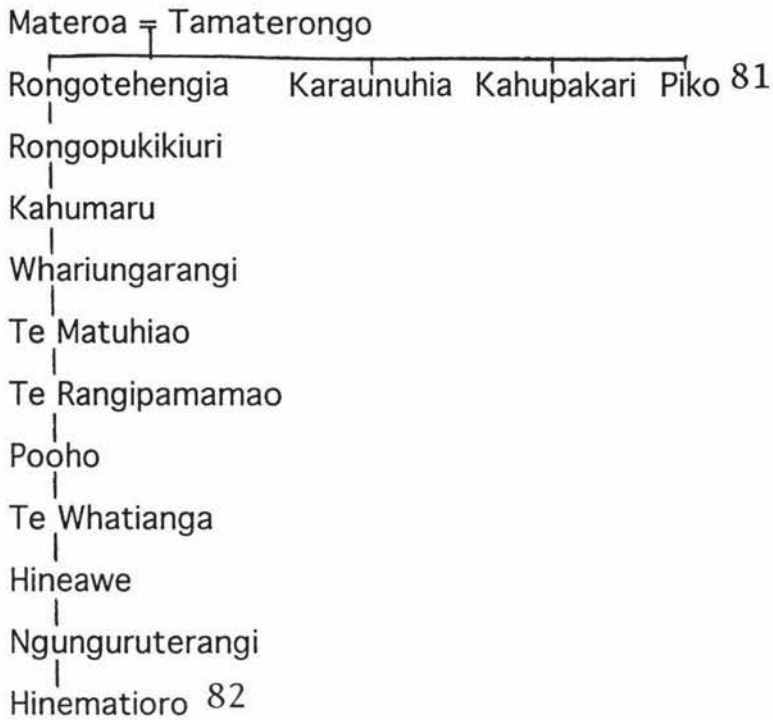
'I am'

Tapuhi based her claim on the following whakapapa.

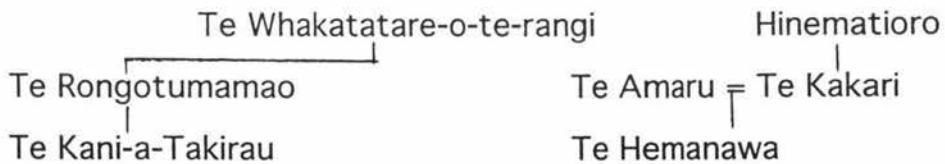


However, Hinematiore was a descendant of Materoa and is in fact from a senior line to that from which Tapuhi descends. The following whakapapa bears this out.

<sup>80</sup> Mahuika, A.T. 1991 *He Pitopito korero mo Hikurangi Maunga*, Unpublished.



In her latter years the fortress, Pourewa, was attacked by a Ngati Porou war party and she lost her life in an attempt to escape. Te Rongotumamao, the father of Te Kani-a-Takirau also lost his life in this episode. His nephew, Te Kakari who had fled the island with Hinematiaro, was washed ashore and his life spared by the attacking forces.



Te Hemanawa was the son of Te Amaru, a great but unscrupulous warrior of Te Aitanga-a-Hauti, feared by all in his lifetime, principally because of his predelection for human flesh. He was unconcerned about

81 Wi Pewhairangi Reedy Manuscript :83

82 Rapata Wahawaha Manuscript

the source, which invariably happened to be members of his own tribe. His role in the life of Te Kani-a-Takirau was as his protector, and he was certainly a dreaded warrior not to be trifled with.

Te Kani-a-Takirau succeeded to the mana whakapapa of the most significant and senior antecedents who had settled the East Coast. He was the repository of much korero tawhito that helped shape opinions and attitudes toward him. In many ways, his destiny was preordained: mana tangata or the authority to lead was his birthright.

## Chapter Three Mana Tangata

'Ko nga wahaki, nga hautu o te waka'  
'The orators, the leaders of our canoe'

### Taiohitanga

#### *Childhood*

Te Kani-a-Takirau was born towards the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> According to D'Urville, the commander of the French vessel *L'Astrobe* which visited Tolaga Bay in 1827, Te Kani-a-Takirau, 'was hardly 30 years old, and became known to the voyagers as 'Shaki'.

His place of birth is said to be Whangara.<sup>2</sup> Whilst he lived most of his life with his people, Te Aitanga-a-Hauti, at Uawa,<sup>3</sup> he resided at a number of other localities in and around the area, including Waitotara and Puatai<sup>4</sup> at Whangara. At a very early age, he was made aware of his connections and kainga as far north as Te Kaha. He was taken there by his grandmother Hinematiaro and formally presented to the people. Hinematiaro composed a waiata especially for her mokopuna to commemorate the event.<sup>5</sup>

'Nei ka noho i te urunga o te ra  
Ka haramai Tama-nui-te-ra  
Ka maene ki te kiri awhi kahurangi nou, e whatukura  
Kua ruia nei ki runga i o iwi e pae noa atu ra e

<sup>1</sup> Oliver, S. (1990:458) *The Dictionary of Maori Biographies*, Vol 1, Department of Internal Affairs and Allen Unwin New Zealand

<sup>2</sup> Leach, R (Dick). Miscellaneous notes Box 4 Gisborne Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Wahawaha, R. in Smith, S.P. (1965:172) *Maori Wars of the 19th Century*

<sup>4</sup> Karaha, R. Waiapu Minute Book 8A:42. 6/2/89 *Puatai Case equitable Owners*.

<sup>5</sup> Collected by Elsdon Best

He reo pa mai ki te taringa oho rawa e roto i au  
 Ko ariki rangi koe e mihi mai nei  
 Hoki mai ki au kia awhi atu au  
 He makau koe na nga rau o Matariki e hora i runga ra e i

Tangi tirarau ai te tangi a te wharauoa  
 He tohu no te whitu, no te waru  
 Tenei ka tata mai ki au  
 Ka haramai te aroha ka konaki ki roto ra  
 He tohu pea nou, e rangi, ki au e noho whakawairuru nei e i

Haramai e roto haere i te kare moana  
 Kia mihi atu ki te kahurangi e ngaro nei i au  
 Hoki whakamuri te aroha ki te whenua tipu  
 Ki te iwi o Porourangi, o Kahungunu  
 Nga raukura o te moana e i

Tahuri mai ki muri e tama  
 Kia uhia koe ki te kahu waniwani  
 Kia heia koe ki te heitiki, tangi te wiwini  
 Kia titia koe ki te raukura amorangi  
 Kia mau to ringa ki to patu, tangi te wawana e"

For the greater part of his childhood Te Kani-a-Takirau was protected and if the locality where he was living was in threat of

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danger, he was taken out of harm's way.<sup>6</sup> When he was captured, he was invariably treated with respect due to his rank, his person being held inviolably tapu by all including his enemies.<sup>7</sup>

Wahawaha writes,

" ... mehemea ka haoa te pa o ratou, ko tona iwi e te ope ka waiho tetahi nuinga ki te whawhai ki te ope, ka haere tetahi nuinga ki te kawhaki haere i a ia (Te Kani) ki te ngahere. Pera tonu te mahi i tona tamarikitanga, pakeke noa. Taianoatia ki te moko pera tonu a taea noatia te takiwa Pakeha"<sup>8</sup>

*" In the event of the pa in which Te Kani lived being besieged, one portion of the defenders would be specially told to defend the place, whilst another party would be detailed to convey Te Kani away to the forest or somewhere safe. Such was the custom from his childhood even unto his old age, and down to the time of the Pakehas."*

On one occasion, when quite young, he and his followers were pursued by an enemy intent on taking their lives.<sup>9</sup> The small party were soon overtaken and at the mercy of their pursuers. However, the joy of having captured the fleeing band turned to surprise as Te Kani-a-Takirau brazenly stepped forward to quell any malevolent thoughts the enemy may have had. Trusting in his rank and displaying

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<sup>6</sup> *Te Karere Maori* 1855-1861)

<sup>7</sup> *Te Karere Maori* 1856

<sup>8</sup> Wahawaha, R. Manuscript

<sup>9</sup> *Te Karere Maori* 1856

the frank courage that was to be a feature of his later life, he boldly confronted the would-be capturers, who immediately recognised him.<sup>10</sup> None of them dared to hurl his spear, or strike the captive chieftain; but closing around him, they escorted him to their leaders who speedily set him free.<sup>11</sup> Not all encounters, however, were as fortunate as this.

### Te huru pango

#### *Early adulthood*

In 1820<sup>12</sup> Te Kani-a-Takirau took part in a battle fought on the banks of the Waipaoa river. Smith<sup>13</sup> alleges that it was during this battle that Ngapuhi under their leaders, Pomare and Te Wera Hauraki, and war parties of Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto under the command of Tukorehe<sup>14</sup>, crushed Rongowhakaata and their allies. These generals and their armies had crossed the country by way of the Bay of Islands and the East Coast<sup>15</sup> into the territories of Rongowhakaata.<sup>16</sup> Rongowhakaata, reinforced by Ngati Kahungunu,

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup> Smith in *Maori Wars* (pg 171-172) gives the dates 1820-1821 as the possible time of this engagement.

<sup>13</sup> ibid

<sup>14</sup> *Te Karere Maori* 1856

<sup>15</sup> William Williams notes that 'this... expedition started from the Bay of Islands under two chiefs named Te Wera, or Hauraki, and Pomare. Landing first at Te Kawakawa, at the mouth of the river Awatere, between Hicks Bay and the East Cape, they took the strongly fortified pa on Te Whetu-matarau. From thence they proceeded to Waiapu and to various places along the coast as far as Nukutaurua, near Table Cape. On their return they carried off forty prisoners, including Te Whareumu, a chief of Nukutaurua, and Te Rangipaia, a woman of rank from Tokomaru, whom Pomare took to wife.'

<sup>16</sup> *Te Karere Maori* 1856

met the squadrons of Ngapuhi and Waikato on the banks of the Waipaoa river.<sup>17</sup>

The bloody conflict resulted in total defeat for the Rongowhakaata, Taraao, Tamaitipoki, and Tamaitohatohaia and three very close relations of Te Kani-a-Takirau, lost their lives in the fighting. <sup>18</sup> Te Kani-a-Takirau himself narrowly escaped death by commanding a waka and paddling to safety.<sup>19</sup> Paiaka, the son of Tukorehu, also lost his life and a mere claimed by the captors was named Paiaka in memory of him.<sup>20</sup>

### **Strategic Alliances:**

#### *Pomare and Te Wera Hauraki*

Despite the outcome of this altercation, Te Kani-a-Takirau became very good friends with Te Wera Hauraki and was a 'companion in arms' with Pomare, the Ngapuhi fighting chief, who, according to D'Urville, had travelled as far south as Hawke's Bay. After this initial conflict, Pomare and Te Wera Hauraki returned to the East Coast area for a second time but on this occasion it was to return Te Rangipaia to her people, the Ngati Porou.<sup>21</sup> Te Rangipaia had been taken by Pomare at the fall of Te Whetumatarau, a Pa belonging to Te Whanau-a-Tuwhakairiora of the Te Araroa area in an earlier incursion into the area.<sup>22</sup> Te Rangipaia was a close relative to Te

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid; says that the battle took place on the banks of the Turanga river.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Mc Connell, B.(1993: 110) *Te Araroa An East Coast Community A History*, The Gisborne Herald Company Ltd

<sup>22</sup> Ibid:102

Kani-a-Takirau and other leading chiefs of Ngati Porou in their time, Te Iharaira Houkamau and Henare Potae.

Te Kani-a-Takirau's friendship with Te Wera Hauraki was as a result of the death of Te Kani-a-Takirau's grandmother Hinematiaro. These were troubled times in and about Uawa, Turanga and the confederacy of Ngati Porou, and the death of Hinematiaro was a part of a cycle of revenge in which many were to lose their lives. Throughout it was a struggle for power and 'mana' or authority; alliances were forged as a means to an end. Te Kani-a-Takirau and his uncle Te Amaru used such measures to maintain the balance of tribal control and power. The relationship with Te Wera Hauraki was one such strategy. Te Wera Hauraki had parted company with Pomare at Waiapu, near the East Cape and it was while he was on his way to Te Mahia to return Te Whareumu<sup>23</sup> to his people that Te Kani-a-Takirau approached him to help in a dispute between Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou.<sup>24</sup>

### **Te haoatanga o Te Pourewa**

#### *The siege of Te Pourewa*

Ngati Porou or hapu thereof were laying seige to Pourewa Island, a fortress belonging to Hinematiaro. The reason for the fighting, according to Kohere, was because Hinematiaro had made some insulting remarks towards the attackers<sup>25</sup>. MacKay<sup>26</sup> suggests that it was as a result of a quarrel between Wakarara, who

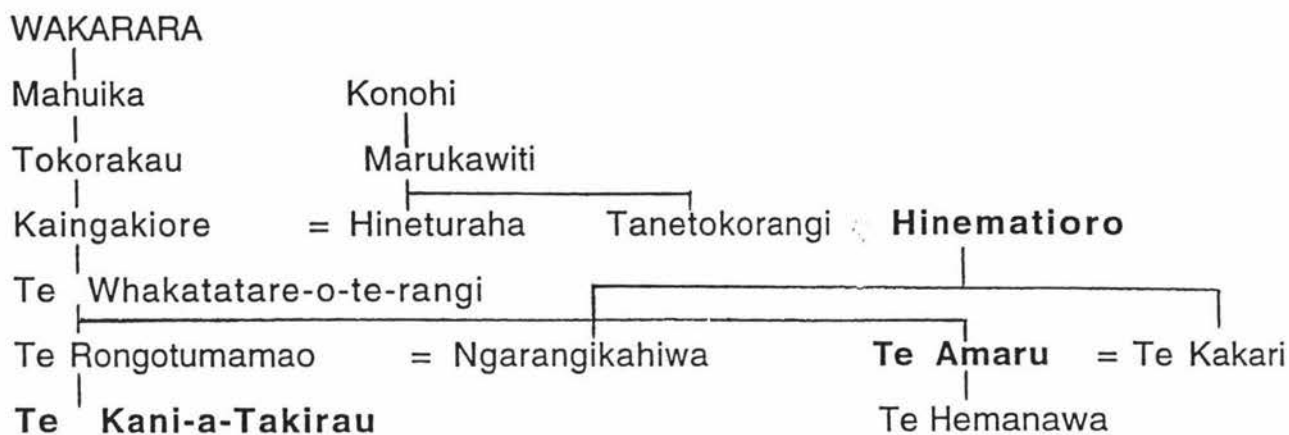
<sup>23</sup> Te Whareumu was also a prisoner being returned to his homeland.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, S.P. *Wars of the Northern against the Southern tribes of New Zealand in the 19th century.*

<sup>25</sup> Kohere. R.T. (19..) *The story of a Maori chief*:68

<sup>26</sup> MacKay (1948:462)

lived at Marahea, in the Anaura Bay area, and Pakira, the chief of the army when Te Pourewa was attacked. However, this cannot be correct as both these ancestors lived sometime before Hinematiaro and Te Kani-a-Takirau, as the following whakapapa table shows.



Whatever the cause, the fight was more as a consequence of incidents concerning Te Amaru, an uncle of Te Kani-a-Takirau's, than anything else. The earliest reference to Hinematiaro being involved in a dispute is when as a young girl she was visiting Mapouriki pa at Kaiteratahi when it was attacked by Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki and Rongowhakaata under the command of the chief Te Whiwhi. Hinematiaro, however, was recognised and taken back to Whangara.<sup>27</sup> The animosity between these people continued, and in due course a combined force of Ngapuhi, Ngariki and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti quarreled with the Ngai Tamatea of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki at Waingaromea, and Te Whiwhi was killed. Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki rose up to avenge this death and subsequently defeated Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. In the course of this fighting, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki allied

<sup>27</sup> Fowler, Leo:23

with hapu of the Northern Ngati Porou attacked sections of te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and killed the wives of Te Amaru.<sup>28</sup>

### Te Amaru Kaitangata

Te Amaru's revenge was swift. His armies met Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Rautaupare at Tataraiia. Converging from inland and by sea, Te Amaru was victorious.<sup>29</sup> Te Whanau-a-Rautaupare attacked Pohatu-a-Tiki pa on the Kaiaua Block, which was the principal residence of Te Amaru.<sup>30</sup> While Te Rangiatahua and Ngatao (Ngaukiore) were killed,<sup>31</sup> Te Amaru was not in the pa at the time.<sup>32</sup> It seems that he was at Te Pourewa with his allies Ngai Tarore.<sup>33</sup> Subsequently, Te Amaru regained Pohatu-a-Tiki and avenged the death of Te Rangiatahua.<sup>34</sup>

Ngati Porou retaliated. They laid seige to Te Pourewa Island.<sup>35</sup> When tidings of this invasion reached Te Kani-a-Takirau, he sought assistance from Te Wera Hauraki, fearful for the lives of his father, Te Rongotumamao, and grandmother, Hinematiore, who were in the

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<sup>28</sup> Ilse, M.(1981:164) *A Maori History of Tokomaru Bay, East Coast North Island* MA Thesis University of Auckland.

Kataraina Mana Waiapu Minute Book 2:76 says two of Te Amarus wives were killed by Ngati Porou.

<sup>29</sup> Mana, Kataraina. Waiapu Minute Book 2:76

Heremia Taurewa (Waiapu Minute Book 6:164) states that Te Rangiatahua and Ngatao (Ngaukiore) were killed in Pohatu-a-Tiki pa.

<sup>30</sup> Himiona Te Kani. Waiapu Minute 6:164

<sup>31</sup> Heremia Taurewa Waiapu Minute Book 6:179

<sup>32</sup> Hone Paerata. Waiapu Minute Book 6:203 Paerata also suggests that Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare attacked Pohatu-a-Tiki on account of a valuable mat that Te Amaru had taken from Aihu.

<sup>33</sup> Heremia Taurewa Waiapu Minute Book 8:188

<sup>34</sup> Heremia Taurewa Waiapu Minute Book 6:179

<sup>35</sup> Fowler, Leo. *The Road to Whangara*:23 writes that ' Ngati Porou laid siege to Pourewa. Those inside the pa included Hinematiore, Rongotumamao, Hapu Matua and some Rongowhakaata.'

Hapu Matua being a hapu named after the ancestor Hapu matua.

pa.<sup>36</sup> Te Kani had hoped that an alliance with Ngapuhi would dissuade Ngati Porou from beseiging Te Pourewa. <sup>37</sup>

### Te matenga o Hinematioro me Te Rongotumamao

#### *The death of Hinematioro and te Rongotumamao*

However, this was not to be and Te Pourewa fell to the armies of Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare. Te Rongotumamao died in the fighting and Hinematioro according to one account was drowned trying to flee the pa with her grandchild, Te Hemanawa.<sup>38</sup> Te Hemanawa was the only child of Te Amaru and Te Kakari, who was Ngarangikahiwa's sister and the daughter of Hinematioro. The following lines of the lament for Taneuarangi records the death of Te Rongotumamao, also known as Kahuroa, and the fall of Te Pourewa pa.

" Kia kai mai Pahura  
I a Korua, e,  
Mo Kuhukuhu,  
Mo Kahuroa,  
Te whakamaranga i Te Pourewa,"<sup>39</sup>

*"So that Pahura might eat,*

<sup>36</sup> Illes, M. :165

<sup>37</sup> Tarakawa:55

<sup>38</sup> Ngata, A.T. NM2:33 writes " on the fall of the pa Hinematioro and her grandson Te Hemanawa were taken by canoe which capsized and the grandmother was drowned. Te Hemanawa was washed up on shore and was placed upon a fernroot platform. The chiefs Kiwara and others rushed forward to prevent him from being roasted. The rank and file amongst the war party observed ' why so when a dainty morsal is found on the beach?'. Te Hemanawa was not roasted because of fear of Kiwara."

<sup>39</sup> Ngata, A.T.:NM1 waiata number 33

*You both were killed  
 To avenge Kuhukuhu  
 To avenge Kahuroa  
 Who fled from besieged Pourewa,"*

During the siege of Te Pourewa, Te Kani-a-Takirau was in Turanga. He met with Te Wera and expressed his concern for the wellbeing of his relations. Te Wera agreed to help and together they arranged to return to Uawa after Te Wera had settled Te Whareumu at Te Mahia.<sup>40</sup>

Te Kani-a-Takirau returned to Uawa and built a house called 'Hawaikinui' on the Wairoro Block.<sup>41</sup>

Two hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Ngati Kuranui and Ngaitewhare, were living in Okaraka pa at Mangatuna and were running pigs on Wharekaka. Te Kani-a-Takirau made an attempt to consolidate the Uawa hapu, particularly since the tragedy of Te Pourewa which was still fresh in the memory of all those in the area. A whale was killed and given to Te Kani-a-Takirau who suggested it be given to Ngati Kuranui and Ngaitewhare. The whale was given by these two hapu to Ngati Ira. The gesture by Te Kani-a-Takirau worked and in return Ngati Ira gave some 'huahua manu', preserved birds. to Ngati Kuranui and Ngaitewhare. Te Pohuhu one of the elders of these two hapu, said,

" Carry one of these huahua to Te Kani-a-Takirau." One Taikuhu (Taikehu) disagreed replying " I won't consent that our huahuas

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<sup>40</sup> Tarakawa : JPS9:55

<sup>41</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 7A:380

should go to him lest it should be said that we are tributaries to Te Kani-a-Takirau."

When Te Kani-a-Takirau was made aware of these sentiments he ordered his people to kill all the pigs belonging to Ngati Kuranui and Ngaitewhare. Some 200 pigs were slaughtered and eaten. From this particular event the hapu of Te Kani-a-Takirau was called 'Te Aitou'. When Te Kani-a-Takirau heard of this name he declared war on Ngati Kuranui, Ngaitewhare and Ngati Arahei, a hapu of Ngati Ira, and sent his soldiers to Wharekaka.

Uawa was fraught with tension for at least three years and during this time, in 1827, D'Urville, the French explorer arrived. He met initially with Rangiuia who acknowledged that Te Kani-a-Takirau was 'a great chief'.<sup>42</sup> On meeting Te Kani-a-Takirau, D'Urville commented that he 'seemed scarcely thirty years of age and was at least five feet eight inches tall with an athletic figure.'<sup>43</sup> D'Urville traded freely with the people of Uawa but was very conscious of dealing with those of highest rank so as not to draw their displeasure. He also noted that Te Kani-a-Takirau was paid the deference of a supreme chief. However, on one occasion the Frenchman was visited by a group of visitors who caused even Te Kani-a-Takirau, who was on board the *L'Astrobe* at the time, some concern. It may well have been his uncle, Te Amaru, who at this time was probably the most feared person in this area. D'Urville describes him thus,

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<sup>42</sup> D'Urville in Tolaga Bay 1827

<sup>43</sup> D'Urville in Tolaga Bay 1827

'At last the two chiefs decided to come on board and I carefully studied their faces, which were tatoored all over, and their fierce warlike manner. I had never observed in any New Zealander these two characteristics to such a pronounced degree, not even in the terrible Hihi of Waimate.'<sup>44</sup>

Some two years after D'Urville's visit, word arrived that the canoes of Ngati Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata, NgaiTahupo and Ngapuhi were afloat and on their way to avenge the deaths of Hinematiro and Ngaukiore<sup>45</sup>, who had been killed at Pohatu-a-Tiki<sup>46</sup>, Te Wera had kept his word.

Just before the arrival of the armada, Pahurakai, war chief of Te Hapu Matua and uncle of Te Kani-a-Takirau, led a delegation to see him about curtailing the war with Ngati Kuranui and the other hapu. Pahurakai feared that when the armies arrived in Uawa, Te Kani-a-Takirau would have the force to destroy these hapu totally.

Pahurakai also went to see those chiefs who acceded to his wishes for peace. Pahurakai went to Ngati Kuranui who were living at Otuhere pa and asked them to help build a pa in Uawa on Paratenohonoa which they did. When the armies of Te Wera and the

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<sup>44</sup> D'Urville in Tolaga Bay 1827

<sup>45</sup> Karauria Pahura Waiapu Minute Book 6:63

<sup>46</sup> Hone Ngatoto records that 'Ngaukiore' was killed at Hautanoa in Tokomaru Bay. He writes ' I haramai tetahi tangata no Rongowhakaata, no Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, ka noho ki Hautanoa, ko Ngaukiore te ingoa, ka noho ki a Te Whakapakeke. I reira a Te Rerehorua, ke korerotia kia patua taua tangata, a ka patua, ka mauria atu tona tinana ki Tuatini ki a Te Rerehorua, ka kainga e ia.'

' A man by the name of Ngaukiore from Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti came here and lived at Te Hautanoa and lived with Te Whakapakeke. Rerehorua was there and said for that man to be killed, he (Ngaukiore) was killed and his body was taken to Te Rerehorua at Tuatini whereupon it was eaten by him.'

others arrived, Te Kani-a-Takirau and numerous hapu had taken up residence in the pa.<sup>47</sup>

At around about the same time, Te Amaru also quarrelled with sections of Ngati Kuranui and Ngai Te Whare and their leaders; Rangiuia, Porokekeno and Teinapuku.<sup>48</sup> The reasons for the disputes were land and the killing of Porokekeno.<sup>49</sup> Te Amaru disputed the ownership of Paratenohonoa pa with Rangiuia. Porokekeno was killed because he had gone to an urupa at Taharangi, removed the remains of Te Amaru's mother and a skull and a taiaha.<sup>50</sup>

### **Te horonga o Tuatini Pa**

#### *The fall of Tuatini Pa.*

When Te Wera finally arrived to help Te Kani-a-Takirau, a decision was quickly reached to march on Tuatini pa in Tokomaru Bay. Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare had gathered there, as had sections of Ngati Kuranui and Ngaitewhare, including their leaders, Rangiuia, Teinapuku and Raniera Turoa who had gone to Tokomaru Bay to fetch a gun called 'Katarangi' as protection against Te Amaru.<sup>51</sup> A good many people sought protection at Tuatini, including Ngati Konohi of Whangara in an attempt to destroy Te Amaru.

In December 1829,<sup>52</sup> Te Amaru, with allies from Rongowhakaata, Te Wera and Ngapuhi, Houtaketake of Ngati Awhea hapu of Ngati Ira,

<sup>47</sup> Karauria Pahura Waiapu Minute Book 6:63 and Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 7A:380

<sup>48</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book:8A:41 says that 'Te Amaru and Teinapuku quarrelled about Wharekaka.'

Ngati Kahungunu had come from the south under the leadership of Porokekeno and had attached themselves to Teinapuku at Te Karaka.

<sup>49</sup> Himiona Te Kani Waiapu Minute Book 7:384

<sup>50</sup> Wi Kingi Hori 8A:41.

<sup>51</sup> Himiona Te Kani Waiapu Minute Book 6:432

<sup>52</sup> Iles,M.:168

Pahurakai the general of the Hauiti armies and his son Karauria, attacked and sacked Tuatini pa. The inhabitants of the pa fled and were pursued north. Te Amaru and his soldiers then marched on Kahuitara pa where Rangiuia and many others had retreated. However before they arrived they met a detachment from the pa, and a skirmish took place. Te Amaru was again victorious. When Te Amaru and his party reached the pa some of the defenders were killed before peace was made. During the fighting, the Ngati Porou chiefs Mahuika - also known as Kahawai, and Te Rerehorua were pursued and killed at Waitahaia.<sup>53</sup> Te Rerehorua, a great and dreaded warrior,<sup>54</sup> had been the commander of the Ngati Porou <sup>55</sup>, and was killed by Wheke.<sup>56</sup> Portions of their bodies were returned to Te Kani-a-Takirau in Uawa who commented on the 'toughness' of the men from Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare.<sup>57</sup> Hone Ngatoto says, ' ka taona raua katahi ka mauria nga tinana ki a Te Kani-a-Takirau ki Uawa. (i Te Upoko o te ika e noho ana). Ka tae nei ki a Te Kani. Ka whakatauki iho, " Te tupuhi tangata koe e te Rerehorua, te momona noa i nga kai o tona iwi a Ngai Tawera.'<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ngata,A.T.:NM2:139

<sup>54</sup> Henare Potae Gisborne Minute Book 2:131 says that Rerehorua was ' the last of the principal chiefs and a man of great passionate nature who would kill a man anywhere. He had killed so many that a number of persons joined together and killed him.'

<sup>55</sup> Tarakawa: JPS 9:60

<sup>56</sup> Wi Te Rure GMB 4:118 claims ' Rerehorua was killed by my ancestor Wheke in revenge at Waitahaia. His was the first spear to strike Rerehorua and Horomona jumped on him and took his gun.'

<sup>57</sup> Ngata,A.T. NM2:139

<sup>58</sup> Hone Ngatoto in *Miscellaneous notes on Ngati Porou* by Sir Apirana Ngata.

The deaths of these two noted Ngati Porou chiefs are recorded in the following lines of a lament composed by Te Kani-a-Takirau for his son, Te Waikari, who died in 1844.

Kia mate koe, e Wai e,  
 Mo Mahuika, mo Te Rerehorua,  
 Mo taku ahi manawa  
 Ki roto o Tokomaru;<sup>59</sup>

*Would that you had died, O Wai,  
 For Mahuika and Te Rerehorua,  
 For my heart-offering ritual fire  
 Within the vale of Tokomaru;*

After the fall of Kahuitara, Ngati Kuranui were placed at Te Karaka in Uawa. Teinapuku and another chief, Taaro, were captured and taken to Turanga.<sup>60</sup> The refugees from Kahuitara, including Ngati Porou and their Uawa allies, regrouped and gathered at Waipare just north of Mangatuna.

A chief of the army called Wawatai sent a delegation which included Rangiuia<sup>61</sup> to Turanga to Te Rangawakataihia requesting the assistance of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, who joined them at Waipare.<sup>62</sup> The massed forces marched on Rangahu pa at Anaura where Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and their Rongowhakaata allies were defeated.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Ngata, A.T.NM2:134&135

<sup>60</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 8:44

<sup>61</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 4:305

<sup>62</sup> Wi Mahuika Waiapu Minute Book 4:11

<sup>63</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 8:41

Ngati Porou and their allies who now included Whakatohea, Te Whanau-a-Apanui, and sections of Ngati Ira, defeated Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti in two further battles. The first at Pukehore

at Waihau Bay where Tunumanu a close relation of Te Kani-a-Takirau was taken prisoner<sup>64</sup> and the second at Maea-te-ahu<sup>65</sup>, which was not a strong pa<sup>66</sup> in the Mangaheia valley. Te Amaru and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti sustained heavy losses in both these battles, <sup>67</sup> though Te Amaru himself was not present at Maea-te-ahu.<sup>68</sup>

Fighting between Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti became so intense that Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare migrated to Wharekahika under the protection of Te Houkamau<sup>69</sup>, and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti to their relations in Turanga.<sup>70</sup> Te Kani-a-Takirau went to Turanga and returned with his allies to Uawa. <sup>71</sup> Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare stayed some time in Wharekahika but were mistreated by Houkamau. Their chief, Tamati Waaka Tamaki Whakanehu, left with three canoe of people for Te Kaha to find a place for the survivors of Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare. He met with Te Uarangi at Te Kaha who encouraged him to return and make peace with Te Kani-a-Takirau.

### He maungarongo ki te whenua

<sup>64</sup> Heremia Taurewa Waiapu Minute Book 8A:172

<sup>65</sup> Wi Mahuika Waiapu Minute Book 4:211

<sup>66</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 8:44

<sup>67</sup> Hepeta matai Gisborne Minute Book 6:414

<sup>68</sup> Perenara Waharoa Waiapu Minute Book 5:401

<sup>69</sup> Hone Ngatoto in *Waiapu 1a Miscellaneous notes on Ngati Porou compiled* by Apirana Ngata writes 'Ka heke mai a Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare i Tokomaru ka heke ki Wharekahika, ka noho tahanga a Uawa me Tokomaru.'

<sup>70</sup> Ngata, A.T. NM 3:255

<sup>71</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu minute Book 5:401

*Peace throughout the land.*

Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare returned to the Waiapu where Riro and Te Rangimatike went to Turanga to make peace with Te Kani-a-Takirau who was planning reconciliation as well. Rangimatike addressed Ngati Maru and Rongowhakaata at an assembly of the leading chiefs of Turanga including Motuterangi, Paratene Turangi and Te Waaka Perohuka, stating their intentions,

'He maungarongo tenei, he haramai ki a Te Kani-a-Takirau kia hoki ki te kainga'

*'This is a covenant of peace, a journey to Te Kani-a-Takirau to view favourably a return home'*

The invitation was accepted and peace was restored. On the way back to Tokomaru Bay Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare met Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti at Te Umukapua near Te Arai and both tribes returned to their respective lands in peace; a peace that endured to the arrival of the missionaries.<sup>72</sup> When some time later Te Rangimatike died, Te Kani-a-Takirau addressed Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti thus;

'E haere ana ahau ki te tangi ki a Te Rangimatike, ki te tangata i whiti ai te ra ki runga ki tenei tangata. "Ko Ihu Karaiti ki runga te rangi, ko Te Rangimatike ki raro ki te whenua"

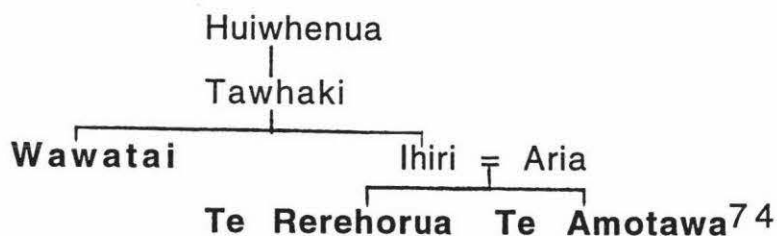
*'I am going to pay respects to Te Rangimatike, to the person upon whom the sun shone. "As Jesus Christ is in heaven Te Rangimatike is below on the land".'*

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<sup>72</sup> Hone Ngatoto in *Waiapu 1a Miscellaneous notes on Ngati Porou* compiled by Sir Apirana Ngata

Testimony to the peace-making prowess of Rangimatike, and also to the idea that the tribes were willing to look at peaceful alternatives and at reconciliation.

In an attempt to unite his people further after these series of battles, Te Kani-a-Takirau married Hine-i-tieri-i-te-rangi, who was a sister of Rangiuia. She became his senior wife and gave birth to a son Te Waikari. He also married Te Amotawa who had previously been married to Barnett Burns, a trader stationed in Uawa about 1832, and together they had a son Hori Waiti, who became known as George White.<sup>73</sup> Te Amotawa was the sister of Te Rerehorua and by marrying her Te Kani-a-Takirau went some way to uniting Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti.



Meanwhile, Te Amaru had accompanied Te Wera Hauraki and their Ngati Kahungunu allies back to Te Mahia.<sup>75</sup> It was to be Te Amaru's final journey. Unbeknown to them, Te Potaeaute, one of the chiefs of

<sup>73</sup> MacKay, J.A. *Historic Poverty Bay*. Te Kani-a-Takirau was not pleased with Amotawa's relationship with Burns. There is an indication that Te Kani-a-Takirau thought she had 'lowered' herself by marrying a Pakeha. In any case, the chief and Barnett Burns were not friends and the latter left Uawa prudently after Te Amotawa married Te Kani-a-Takirau. Te Amotawa lived very happily with Te Kani-a-Takirau and became one of his three wives. (Box 4 Te Kani papers Gisborne Museum.

<sup>74</sup> Illes, M. *A Maori history of Tokomaru Bay* Pages 172 and 182

<sup>75</sup> Tarakawa :60

Tokomaru Bay, Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare and Ngati Porou, was campaigning for revenge. The deaths of Te Rerehorua and others still required redress and he journeyed to Waikato and visited Paiaka who offered assistance. Together they went to see Te Heuheu of Ngati Tuwharetoa at Taupo, Te Whatanui of Ngati Raukawa and Peehi Turoa. These chiefs all agreed to combine against Te Wera, Te Amaru and Paraihe of Ngati Kahungunu<sup>76</sup> all now resident in Okurarenga pa on the Mahia Peninsula.

### **Okurarenga Pa**

In 1828 <sup>77</sup> one of the largest tribal war expeditions left Waikato, Hauraki, and the areas of Te Arawa, Whanganui and Horowhenua for Te Mahia. Te Heuheu commanded the forces of Tuwharetoa and the sub-tribes with the generals being Mokonuiarangi, who led the regiments of Te Arawa, and Paiaka, who was in charge of the Waikato section.

The armies attacked and laid siege to Okurarenga pa at Te Mahia for several months. Te Kani-a-Takirau and a force from Turanga attempted to assist the defenders but to no avail. His nephew, Hirini Tuahine<sup>78</sup>, the son of Rawiri Te Eketuoterangi was captured in the skirmish and was later ransomed by his father <sup>79</sup> for a greenstone mere named Pahikura <sup>80</sup> and a toki poutangata called Te Heketua.<sup>81</sup> When Te Heuheu felt that enough utu or retribution had been exacted he lifted the seige and Tuwharetoa left Te Mahia followed soon after

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<sup>76</sup> Grace 'Tuwharetoa'

<sup>77</sup> Some sources indicate 1834 as the actual date

<sup>78</sup> His mother Riria Taheke was also captured

<sup>79</sup> *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies* volume 1:457

<sup>80</sup> Grace's account differs, see 'Tuwharetoa':327-332

<sup>81</sup> *Te Karere Maori*.

by Te Arawa and the allies.<sup>82</sup> The defenders of the pa were relieved: the siege had lasted for months and they had resorted to eating the clay beneath the pa. Hence the name 'Kaiuku' or 'to eat clay' by which the area is known in recent times.<sup>83</sup>

Te Amaru died in the fighting at Okurarenga,<sup>84</sup> and so ended the life of one of the leading warrior chiefs of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou. Te Amaru had inspired fear and dread in his friends and opponents alike. His warlike manner during his lifetime moved Maori Land Court Judge Barton in the Kourateuwhi case, to draw the following conclusions:

' We now come to the claim of the Hapu Matua who in this contest have based their rights entirely upon their mana over both the people and the land; they found no claim upon residence or cultivation but only upon the mana of their ancestors and particularly upon the mana of Te Amaru, a chief who died within recent times and who was alive within the memories of persons now living - the mana of Te Amaru and of Te Kani-a-Takirau was in existence and full force when the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed to every Maori his rights in his lands as then existing.' Barton goes on to say,

' The evidence of the witnesses for all three hapu <sup>85</sup> showed us that this mana of Te Amaru's was very strong ... Te Amaru was represented to us as a great and dreaded warrior and leader but also a cruel and unscrupulous man. His cruelties provoked part of his own tribe to revolt against him and they took advantage of the guns at

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<sup>82</sup> Grace '*Tuwharetoa*'

<sup>83</sup> Grace '*Tuwharetoa*'

<sup>84</sup> Prenara Waharoa Waiapu Minute Book 5:401

<sup>85</sup> The other two hapu were Te Whanau-a-Te Rangipureora and Ngati Kuranui

Tokomaru to join the chiefs of that District in a combined attempt to destroy him. The hapu that possessed this block were amongst those who revolted and joined the confederacy. But Te Amaru aided by his Hapu Matua and other hapus that remained faithful to him, defeated those confederates in fight after fight. He captured their guns and dispersed them as fugitives. ... But Te Amaru instead of giving away the land to others, allowed the rebels whom he had defeated to return and live under his mana.<sup>86</sup>

In many respects Te Amaru consolidated the position of Te Kani-a-Takirau in and about Uawa. His manner and war-like tendencies dissuaded other members of the tribe from deliberately upsetting Te Kani-a-Takirau lest they encouraged his wrath.

The death of Te Amaru was avenged at 'Kekeparaoa pa', which sources say stood in the Puha area where the Waihuka and Waipaoa rivers meet. The date is given as about 1832.<sup>87</sup>

Te Whakatohea had come inland from their coastal territories and, together with Nga-Potiki who lived about the Mangatu area, were involved in dressing flax. They were caught in a dispute with Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki and were subsequently ejected from the Muhunga Block (near Ormond). They moved from Tapatahi to Kekeparaoa pa on the Puhatikotiko Block. Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, assisted by allies from Rongowhakaata, Ngati Kahungunu, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Te Wera and Ngapuhi laid siege to the pa. The pa was poorly provisioned and before long the defenders were called out.<sup>88</sup> Evidently, Te Awariki a chief belonging to Te Whakatohea and Nga Potiki was killed but a

<sup>86</sup> Judge Barton Judgement in Kourateuwhi 4/2/1889 Waiapu Minute Book 8A:22-25

<sup>87</sup> Laurie, J. A. *Tolaga Bay a history of the Uawa District* 1991:35

<sup>88</sup> MacKay, J.A. (1949:89-90) *Historic Poverty Bay*

wholesale slaughter did not take place.<sup>89</sup> Wi Pere records that after the battle,

" A head of one our enemies which were defeated was chopped off and preserved. Houtaketake asked for it and it was given to him, the reason being, he was the killer of Te Amaru."<sup>90</sup>

Te Wera escorted Te Whakatohea back to their tribal area and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki returned with Nga Potiki.<sup>91</sup>

### **He pukenga wai he nohonga tangata**

*Where there is sustenance, people will gather.*

The death of Te Amaru brought about a new era for Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou: 1830 was to signal the beginning of more than a decade of prosperity. Uawa, Turanga and the rest of Ngati Porou became part of a national tribal trend towards developing innovative trade ventures and maintaining and protecting these economic interests. It could not be said, however, that the motives were entirely altruistic, in many cases the profits were used to buy guns.

Apart from one gathering of the tribes for war, the Eastern tribes generally got on with the business of re-organising and adapting to the regimes of a new trading protocol and adapted very successfully Milled grain, Maori grown potatoes and the flax industry became the major focus of economic activity. The industry was so well developed that by 1830, 28 ships (averaging 110 tonnes) made 56

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup> Wi Pere Minute Book 4:216

<sup>91</sup> MacKay, J.A. (1949:89-90) *Historic Poverty Bay*

voyages between Sydney and New Zealand.<sup>92</sup> According to William Williams, 1831 was the boom year for the flax trade with 1062 tons exported to Sydney. The Navy Board had contracted to buy 800 tons at 41 pounds 15 shillings (\$43.50) per ton.<sup>93</sup>

Dressed flax was also an industry in which many of the Eastern tribes became involved. Sometimes, however, this was fitted between the odd skirmish or full-scale war.

The last major battle on the East Coast took place in 1834. This was the siege of Toka-a-Kuku pa at Te Kaha.<sup>94</sup> According to MacKay, the attack upon Toka-a-Kuku was arranged by Ngati Porou allied by Te Wera Hauraki.<sup>95</sup> Both parties had grievances with the inhabitants of the pa, Te Whanau-a-Te Uhutu and Te Whanau-a-Apanui. In 1823, in a previous encounter at Te Kaha, Te Wera had lost his nephew Marino.<sup>96</sup> About 1829-31<sup>97</sup>, Te Whanau-a-Ehutu and Te Whanau-a-Apanui had joined with Ngati Awa in attacking Ngati Porou at Omaru-iti. After the fight, Te Whanau-a-Te Uhutu and Te Whanau-a-Apanui went to Whangaparaoa to obtain flax to sell to a European trader for guns. However, when they heard that Ngati Porou were preparing to attack them, they returned home and built a pa at Wharekura. In 1831-32, Ngati Porou, with help from some Whakatohea, launched their attack, but were driven off, losing a great chief, Te Pori-o-te-Rangi, one of Hatiwira

<sup>92</sup> Gardiner, W. (1994:67) *Marae to Global Village 100 years of Maori Development* in Kia Pumau Tonu Proceedings of the Hui Whakapumau Maori Development Conference Maori Studies Massey University

<sup>93</sup> Ilse ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Dates vary, Smith, *Maori Wars* :469 gives 1836 but at page 420 gives 1834. Wi Pere and William Williams give 1834 as well.

<sup>95</sup> MacKay, J.A. (1949:89-93) *Historic Poverty Bay*.

<sup>96</sup> Kohere in *Maori Chief*:25 says Marino died at Toka-a-Kuku. However if this was so Te Wera may not have felt the need to be present there.

<sup>97</sup> Percy Smith's and William Williams' dates respectively. Kohere, R. (1949:23) *The Story of a Maori Chief*, gives 1829 as the date of the battle.

Houkaumau's tipuna (grandparents) and the uncle of Te Kani-a-Takirau. Pakura another chief and father of Kakatarau, also died in the fight<sup>98</sup>. Kakatarau, according to Kohere was one of the leaders in the Toka-a-Kuku expedition.<sup>99</sup>

Te Whanau-a-Ehutu were victorious and not long after went to Whakatane to dress flax <sup>100</sup> just before the seige of Toka-a-Kuku.

### **Toka-a-Kuku**

Piripi Taumata-a-Kura was present at Toka-a-Kuku. He was the first Christian evangelist of Ngati Porou and went so far as to determine rules for the battle consistant with those adopted by Christian nations.<sup>101</sup>

According to Wahawaha, heavy losses were inflicted upon Te Whanau-a-Ehutu, Te Whanau-a-Apanui and their allies, Ngai Tai <sup>102</sup> and also on Ngati Porou and their allies.

Wahawaha also says that the pa did not fall. During the fighting and the inevitable taking of prisoners, one of the Whanau-a-Apanui chiefs, Tuteranginoti was taken captive. Knowing that he was not going to be spared he approached Te Kani-a-Takirau in an attempt to escape death. Te Kani-a-Takirau, however, remembered an incident in which Tuteranginoti had not been particularly charitable,duley replying,

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<sup>98</sup> Kohere,R.Ibid:23

<sup>99</sup>Kohere,R.:24-25

<sup>100</sup> MacKay, J.A. (1949:89-93) *Historic Poverty Bay*.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

<sup>102</sup> Ibid

'E kore koe e ora i a au. Kaore o koha ki to taua hoa ki a Te Waipauhu nau i mate ai. Haere ki to taua papa ki a Kakatarau. Ko au kaore.'<sup>103</sup>

*' You will not be saved by me. You had no thought of mercy for our friend Te Waipauhu who you killed. Go to our uncle Kakatarau. For me,no.'*

Suffice to say, Tuteranginoti died at the hands of Kakatarau and the Ngati Porou party.

According to Wi Pere, Te Kani-a-Takirau lifted the siege when he felt that enough utu or satisfaction had been taken.<sup>104</sup>

This accords somewhat with the scene that Polack witnessed in 1835:

" In 1835 within a week or so before our arrival at Uawa a canoe had arrived at the village containing six bodies of enemies slain. To present an imposing effect, the headless trunks (already eviserated) were carefully placed over the gunwhales of the canoe on either side, and the six hearts of the murdered people were thrust on the heads of spears (hanis), placed upright in the centre of the canoe. These mortal remnants were expressly reserved as presents for the Kai Rangatira, then about six years of age"<sup>105</sup>

The Kai Rangatira referred to was Te Kani-a-Takirau's heir, Te Waikari.

### **Te Pa harakeke**

#### *The flax trade*

<sup>103</sup> Turei Mohi (1996:103) *Ana Tuhinga i Roto i Te Reo Maori* Kaa, W. & Kaa, T.O. (eds) University of Victoria

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> J.S. Polack *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*

Polack was in Uawa at the height of the flax industry and trade. Te Kani-a-Takirau had seen the the opportunity and the benefits accrued and realised that if any economic ventures were to be successful, the co-operation of the people was paramount. Moreover, they had to benefit from the profits of any undertaking. Trade and industry at this level was not possible in a climate of war and mistrust. Te Kani-a-Takirau, first by marrying the sisters of Rangiuia and Te Rerehorua, had restored an enviroment of understanding and peace between the people of Tokomaru Bay and Uawa. He had a house at a place called Tamata o Kaakuru in Tokomaru Bay. 106

He used the cessation in hostilities as an opportunity to have the two peoples working together for their mutual benefit. Quite a feat considering their previous intentions towards each other! According to Karauria Pahura,

'Pahura<sup>107</sup> and Te Kani sent for Ngati Porou, Whanau-a-Rua(taupare), to come to clean flax. Te Kani and my father asked the advice of Pohuhu, the father of Ihipera, and other old people, about bringing these people. We went to Tokomaru to bring them.'<sup>108</sup>

According to Karauria Pahura,<sup>109</sup> Te Whanau-a-Pakoko, a hapu of Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare stayed in Uawa for four years working at the flax.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Apiata Te Hame Waiapu Minute Book 6:335

<sup>107</sup> Also known as Pahurakai, the father of Karauria Pahura

<sup>108</sup> Karauria Pahura Waiapu Minute Book 6:302

<sup>109</sup> Ibid

<sup>110</sup> Henare Potae GMB2:200 the Tokomaru people lived at Uawa for 2 years dressing flax

It was a time of vigorous trading on the East Coast, and traders had also arrived in other areas including Espie and Burns in Tokomaru Bay. Harris set up a trading station in Turanga in 1831.<sup>111</sup>

Te Kani-a-Takirau located Te Whanau-a-Ruatuapare, Ngati Kuranui and Ngaitewhare on the northern reaches of the Uawa river where they lived in Paratenohonoa pa which had been built just before the Tuatini pa episode. His principal hapu, Ngati Kahukuranui, lived on the southern side in a pa called Hinuopuraa.<sup>112</sup> A number of houses were built within Paratenohonoa pa, including Tawhiti a Koroua, which belonged to Te Pohuhu and Ngati Kuranui.<sup>113</sup> Te Poho o Tumutu belonged to Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare while they were in Uawa and when they returned to Tokomaru Bay the house belonged to Pahurakai, the father of Karauria. Te Ahi-a-Te-Mahoihoi belonged to Ngaitewhare, and Rangiuia also had a house there called Ruapekapeka. Ngangungu belonged to Ngati Hau, the hapu of Karauria Pahura.

Ruakaka was the largest house that stood in the pa, and was a whare wananga or school of learning of some note in the area.

At this time, the chiefs under Te Kani-a-Takirau were Rangiuia, Rahuruhi Hapupoia, Karauri Pahura and

Tamaiwhakatangiaterangi.<sup>114</sup> Despite earlier differences, Te Kani-a-Takirau ensured there was one 'tikanga' or code of conduct for everybody<sup>115</sup> on either side of the river. This among other

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<sup>111</sup> Oliver, W. (1971:16), *Challenge and Response* The East Coast Development Research Association

<sup>112</sup> Raniera Turoa Waiapu Minute Book 6:284

<sup>113</sup> Karauria Pahura Waiapu Minute Book 663

<sup>114</sup> Karauria Pahura Waiapu Minute Book 6:62, Raniera Turoa WMB6:65, Arapeta Rangiuia WMB8A:9

<sup>115</sup> Karauria Pahura *ibid*

things, according to Polack was to deter feelings of 'jealousy' between the trading neighbours. This tikanga was not always as successful as Te Kani-a-Takirau had hoped. A morning's trading turned to violence and mayhem when on one occasion Polack was caught in the middle of the two very competitive tribes vying for his wares. Rangiuia who was residing with the Whanau-a-Ruataupare had been trading with Polack, a fact taken exception to by those on the south bank. A shot was fired, Rangiuia left Polack's trader, and upon arriving on shore showed his extreme displeasure at those on the south bank. Both sides of the river erupted in wacry, song and indiscriminate shooting before some semblance of order and peace was restored. Polack, like D'Urville, quickly realised that trade had to be done with the principal chief or Te Kani-a-Takirau. If this was not possible, he made certain to detain Te Waikari on board as protection from the fiery elements of competition he had experienced. The institution of chieftainship and social rank determined tribal trading relationships. Despite this temporary lull in relationships, Te Kani-a-Takirau and his trade and industry strategy, coupled with the co-operation of the people was to propel Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou into a decade of unprecedented economic adaption and organisation.

Te Kani-a-Takirau's intentions are summed up by Polack, who also gives a pen portrait of the chief and a description of Uawa at the time he visited.

*'that those on the south side of the river were the proprietors of the adjacent lands in every direction, and had as a patronymic, the*

*euphonious sounding names of Te tonga au witi ( Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti); that they were under the subjection of a chief renowned for his own warlike actions and those of his ancestors, and who could boast of an ancient geneology inferior to none perhaps in this island. The name of this dignified hero was Te Kani o Tekki rau ( Te Kani-a-Takirau); that he had invited the natives occupying the north village whose tribe ... had resided at the bay called Tokomaru, thirty miles to the northward ... to prepare the manufacture of flax.'*

Polack records meeting Te Kani-a-Takirau:

*' A few days subsequently to the occurrences above narrated, we were apprised of the Chief Kani, and his retinue of warriors, by a loud report of musketry in the southern village. The usual tangi commenced, and for nearly an hour we were anything but regaled with the inharmonious concert. By the time our chief came on board all had resumed their usual gaiety and cheerfulness. **He approached the vessel in a small canoe, undistinguished from his people, either in dress or style; his person was noble, in height somewhat above six feet, and by his dignified walk, commonly assumed by superior men in rank, he shone pre-eminent above his companions; his age was about thirty six years, his countenance handsome, but little marked with the moko, and garnished with a large dark bushy beard which gave him the appearance of an arab of Mocha.**'<sup>116</sup>*

**Kia u ki te rongopai**

*Peace is maintained*

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<sup>116</sup> Polack in Tolaga Bay, 1835

When Polack arrived in Uawa, Te Kani-a-Takirau had been in Turanga brokering a peace between some of the minor chiefs of Turanga and those under his chieftainship. He had managed to 'obtain a league of friendship with the opposite party, and had been fortunate in his endeavours to allay the animosity' that had existed in Turanga for some time.<sup>117</sup> He told Polack that he had seen no benefit arise from the continued wars that had been carried on among his relations and friends from his childhood, in which he himself had suffered both in person and property.<sup>118</sup> Te Kani-a-Takirau impressed upon Polack that he had determined on an opposite conduct and hence his invitation to his relations from Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare, for the korari (flax) could not be found in Tokomaru Bay. This would be beneficial to both them and his tribe and they could furnish the muka (dressed flax) which grew plentiful in Uawa and which they could sell to the Europeans. There were two flax traders in Uawa at the time, and Te Kani-a-Takirau had 'given' one of them to the Tokomaru Bay tribe and had settled one amongst his own people so that each tribe would not become 'jealous ' of the other tribe having something that they did not.<sup>119</sup> Te Kani-a-Takirau had more than enough military examples of what happened when these types of measures were not put in place.

When Polack offered Te Kani-a-Takirau gifts for his hospitality, they were always recieved by an attendant, as his priest (tohunga) had made him tapu on his arrival to the village, and he was not

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid

<sup>118</sup> Ibid

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

permitted to touch anything.<sup>120</sup> Wherever and whenever he travelled, he travelled with a certain amount of ritual which made his person tapu or sacred.<sup>121</sup>

Te Kani-a-Takirau allowed Polack to trade in and about Uawa and often accompanied him on his travels showing him the area as well as relating various historical anecdotes about it . On one particular journey they were accompanied by Rangiuia, the Tohunganui (chief priest), and now Te Kani-a-Takirau's brother-in-law.

### **Ka tipu te whaihanga me te matauranga i Uawa**

*The arts and education flourish in Uawa.*

Polack was not only impressed by the landscape and the sea-formed rock formations, but also with the work ethic, skill and creativity of the Uawa people, especially the artists and their art work, 'the wakiro' (whakairo-carving) which was immeasurably more skillfully made and intricate than anything he had seen north of Uawa. Polack's narratives indicate an air of optimism and confidence existing in the Uawa district. These were relatively peaceful and happy times for Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou in these areas. Te Kani-a-Takirau had conceived a new order based on peace and economic productivity, and both were flourishing.

An example of this was also the organisation of the 'wananga' or learning sessions now being run on a regular basis at the whare wananga's (Universities) 'Te Rawheoro' and 'Te Ruakaka'

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid

<sup>121</sup> Te Karere Maori 1856

Te Rawheoro was one of the more established schools of learning on the East Coast and had been set up some generations earlier by Hingangaroa.

Rangiuiua is acknowledged as being one of the foremost tohunga of his generation on the East Coast in his lifetime.<sup>122</sup> He, along with Mohi Ruatapu, were among the last priests of this school.<sup>123</sup> In the time of Rangiuiua, Te Rawheoro stood at Mangakuku on the Mangaheia Block, northwest of Uawa.<sup>124</sup>

Ngata has this to say about Te Rawheoro:

*' Ko te whare wananga whaimana tenei o te pito whakararo o Te Tairawhiti,*

*a ki te titiro ki nga korero a nga tohunga o Waiararapa, kua tuhia nei a ratou korero e Te Whatahoro, ko te whare whaimana tera o Te Tairawhiti katoa. Kei muri ake nei nga kupu o aua tohunga. Kei te whiti tuaono o te tangi a Rangiuiua te kupu poto mo Te Rawheoro, ara:-*

### **Te Rawheoro**

*Ko Tatai-arorangi, ko Te Huapae ra,  
Ko Te Rangi-hopukia, ko Hinehuhuritai  
Me ko Manutangirua, ko Hingangaroa;  
Ka tu tona whare Te Rawheoro,e,  
Ka tipu te whaihanga, e hika, ki Uawa.<sup>125</sup>*

<sup>122</sup> Ngata,A.T. *Te Tangi a Rangiuiua mo tana tamaiti a Tuterangiwhaitiri*

<sup>123</sup> Gudgeon,W. JPS 5:2

<sup>124</sup> Ngata,Wayne (1993:25) *Te Waiata Tangi a Rangiuiua*, Unpublished M.A Thesis Massey University

<sup>125</sup> Ngata,A.T. *Te Tangi a Rangiuiua mo tana tamaiti mo Tuterangiwhaitiri.*

*This school of learning was the most prestigious of the northern end of the East Coast, and if consideration is given to the writings of the experts of Te Wairarapa, which have been scribed by Te Whatahoro, then this was the most prestigious school of the entire Eastern Seaboard . The words of these experts follow. The sixth verse of the lament by Rangiuiua contains a brief description about Te Rawheoro.*<sup>126</sup>

*Tatai-arorangi had Te Huapae  
Te Rangi-hopukia had Hinehuhuritai  
Who had Manutangirua, who had Hingangaroa  
He it was who established the house, Te Rawheoro  
And Arts and Crafts flourished, my son, at Uawa.*<sup>127</sup>

One of the Tohunga from Wairarapa that Ngata alludes to was Moihi Te Matorohanga. Te Matorohanga had travelled with the Ngati Kahungunu contingent to Toka-a-Kuku and returned to Uawa to attend a number of the whare wananga sessions held by Rangiuiua and others. The following is an account of one such session:

*' Ko Uawa te kainga kei te rawhiti, ko Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti te iwi, ko Ngati Kuranui, Ko Te Kani-a-Takirau te rangatira, ko Te Rawheoro te whare wananga; ko Rangiuiua, ko Tokipuanga, ko Mohi Ruatapu nga tohunga tokotu o te whare wananga ... No Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, no Rongowhakaata, no NgaiTahupo, no Ngati Ruapani, no Ngati Rakaipaka, no Ngati Ira, no Ngati Ruataupare, no Ngati Rakaiora, no Ngati Porou katoa tae noa ki Wharekahika.*

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<sup>126</sup> Translation by author

<sup>127</sup> Translation by Wayne Ngata

*Ko Rangiuia te kaiwhakatakoto i te tatai; ko Tokipuanga te kai-turuki; ko Mohi Ruatapu te kai-wewete, me era atu tohunga.*<sup>128</sup>

The translation is by Orbell,<sup>129</sup>

*' Uawa is the settlement on the East Coast, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Kuranui are the tribes, Te Kani-a-Takirau is the chief, and Te Rawheoro is the school of learning; Rangiuia, Tokipuanga and Mohi Ruatapu are the most important tohunga there... The Tohunga in this house in this house Te Rawheoro come from Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, NgaiTahupo, Ngati Ruapani, Ngati Rakaipaka, Ngati Ira, Ngati Ruataupare and Ngati Rakaiaora; they come from all of Ngati Porou right up to Wharekahika (Hicks Bay). There is Rangiuia who recites the geneologies (that is, establishes the framework of the teachings), Tokipuanga who supplements them, and Mohi Ruatapu who explains the detail, together with other tohunga.'*

Tribes who had previously been quite in opposition to each other were now not only working in industry together but also engaged in the philosophy and practice of teaching and learning, and in the application of analyses to various conceptual and historical theories.<sup>130</sup> This knowledge and information was to be shared and debated further afield by other tohunga.<sup>131</sup>

Te Kani-a-Takirau's influence was such that Te Rawheoro was not the only educational institution in Uawa in this period. *Te Ruakaka* already mentioned, was another *whare wananga* which stood at

<sup>128</sup> Ngata,A.T. *Te Tangi a Rangiuia mo tana tamaiti mo Tuterangiwhaitiri*

<sup>129</sup> Orbell,M.:111-112

<sup>130</sup> Matorohanga manuscript page 44, 65-66,110 and *Wananga* vol 1:141 cited in Ngata,A.T. *Te Tangi a Rangiuia*

<sup>131</sup> Okawhare manuscript :29

Wairoro. The old teachings were taught there and it was one of the houses that belonged to Pohuhu and Ihipera Teinapuku <sup>132</sup>, as well as to Te Kani-a-Takirau and his cousin Pahurakai.<sup>133</sup>

Te Kani-a-Takirau, by stabilising immediate tribal relationships and initiating and developing an economic climate, provided housing and education for Te Aitanga-a-Hauti, Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare and Ngati Porou as well other tribes including Ngati Kahungunu.

### **He huawhenua**

#### *Produce from the land*

The relative well being of Uawa and the surrounding area is evident in the writings of the Reverend Richard Taylor who visited Uawa in 1839. Making his way to see Te Kani-a-Takirau he observed large plantations of kumara, taro, potatoes, pumpkins and maize. He also noted an excellent trading arrangement between Uawa and Turanga (Poverty Bay). The seemingly tranquil state was probably the reason he came across Te Kani-a-Takirau in a relaxed mood. The chief was residing in his house 'Te Kani' at the time and Taylor provides another pen-portrait of Te Kani-a-Takirau:

*' We went to the chief's house. We found him sitting in front wrapped up in a cloak made of strips of white and black dogskin. We were received with the usual welcome, haeremai, haeremai, (come, come), the chief keeping his seat. We went up and shook hands with him. **He is a noble looking fellow with beautiful long hair and a very intelligent expression of countenance. His house, of which I took a sketch, is the loftiest and largest of any***

<sup>132</sup> Karauria Pahura Waiapu Minute Book 6:301

<sup>133</sup> Ani Rakena Waiapu Minute Book 6:292 and Raniera Turoa Waiapu Minute Book 6:284

*I have yet seen, the ridge pole being 8 or 9 feet high ...This had a large verandah, 5 feet deep, and the side boards had their ends beautifully carved. The sides of the verandah were neatly woven with flax died black,red, and yellow. Here I saw some very large canoes, having their heads and sterns beautifully and curiously carved.'*<sup>134</sup>

### Te Tiriti o Waitangi

*The Treaty of Waitangi.*

The years 1838 to 1840 saw the rapid conversion of East Coast Maori to Christianity. In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the chiefs of New Zealand. A hui or gathering to discuss the Treaty and the signing took place in Te Kani-a-Takirau's house, 'Te Kani'. The significance of the signing taking place in his house supports the widely held Ngati Porou view that at this time, Te Kani-a-Takirau held the mana for the East Coast.<sup>135</sup> With regards to the Treaty, while being very supportive, Te Kani-a-Takirau did not sign. The non-signing may have a measure to avoid total commitment - by withholding his signature, but encouraging others to sign he opened the doors for discussion but without absolute commitment. The other notable omission from Ngati Porou was Te Houkamau. The reasons are not apparent but quite in accordance with their rank it could have been an affront to their mana to sign.<sup>136</sup> It was in order, however, for those 'rangatira' under their chieftainship to do so. Similarly, Potatatau Te Wherowhero of Waikato and Te Heuheu of

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<sup>134</sup> Reverend Richard Taylor 1839

<sup>135</sup> Dallimore,Gail.H. (1983:37&42) *The Land Court in Matakaoa* Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Auckland.

<sup>136</sup> Illes:197

Tuwharetoa did not sign. Rangiuia, Te Eketuoterangi and Henare Potae were some notable signatories from the Uawa, Turanga and Tokomaru Bay areas respectively.

The Treaty of Waitangi expressed Maoridom's need to protect and maintain their resources particularly from a growing settler presence but also to take advantage of new technologies and new international alliances. Te Kani-a-Takirau also introduced a set of laws and by-laws or 'nga take o te tangata.'

It would seem that this was an attempt to guide a society having to adapt quickly to the covenants of a new religion and to an influx of settlers, <sup>137</sup> both of which were encouraged by him. The laws covered all manner of things from land matters to personal property, as well as appropriate conduct and behaviour.

In 1843 there were still two major pa in Uawa. Paratenohonoa contained some 500 inhabitants with the pa at Paremata being equally as large. Te Kani-a-Takirau spent some time in 'Te Kararoa' an isolated pa above Te Upoko o te ika.<sup>138</sup>

Despite becoming known as a supporter of missionaries, in particular Charles Baker who arrived in Uawa in 1843, Te Kani-a-Takirau never converted to the new religion. The missionary had already heard about Te Kani-a-Takirau before he arrived in Uawa as 'reputed to be one of the greatest chiefs in all Maoridom.' Rangiuia on the other hand, was openly hostile to Baker and made no secret of his dislike of the missionary. Baker was to describe Rangiuia as

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<sup>137</sup> National Library Wellington- Kiki Smiler

<sup>138</sup> Latterly known as Cooks Cove.

'becoming more anti Christian and more to the old ways' and on one occasion as 'my most bitter enemy.' Rangiuia was a tohunga and as such was a keeper of a lore passed down through the whare wananga to him. He could see no relevance in the new doctrine for his people. In 1844 Uawa was visited by the Reverend James Stack and his son. The meeting had a profound effect on the young Stack who recalled quite vividly a meeting with Te Kani-a-Takirau who he described as, *'an extremely handsome man with very regular features every part of his face being beautifully tatoed. His voice was pleasant and the whole appearance of the man was so singularly dignified that our interview made an indelible impression on my mind. He was clad in native garments and remained seated during our short visit. There was nothing about our surroundings to impress one ; ... But the man himself was quite different from anyone else I had ever seen. He possessed such an indescribable air of distinction that I felt quite awestruck in his presence.'*<sup>139</sup>

This description is similar to that given by Joseph G. Baker in 1901, and J.E.Espie, who in 1931 claimed to be the only Pakeha alive who had seen Te Kani-a-Takirau. Baker records that Te Kani-a-Takirau, *'was a man of princely appearance, tall, fair and handsome with curly auburn hair and possessing all the qualities of of one of natures gentleman. Being a man of extra high birth he was looked upon as sacred by his people who he could sway in any direction by a word or wave of his hand. He did not associate generally with the ordinary people but*

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<sup>139</sup> Stack,J.W.(Canon) *Early Maoriland Adventures* in Box 4 Te Kani papers Gisborne Museum

*lived almost entirely by himself simply tolerating two or three people of high rank to wait upon him. But when on a journey always had a strong guard of honour following at a distance*'.<sup>140</sup>

Espie described him as being tall and straight, handsome and dignified.

Te Kani-a-Takirau spread a protective hand over Baker and the Mission Station and all the settler families while they were in Uawa and averted harm befalling the missionary and his family on more than one occasion. A threat to attack the Bakers was made by an up river chief who had coveted one of their foals. Baker complained to Te Kani-a-Takirau, who turned up at the time fixed for the raid. As he had no men with him Baker was quite alarmed. Te Kani-a-Takirau told him ' I don't need any men' and when the raiders appeared he reprimanded them and sent them away.<sup>141</sup> This did not prevent Te Kani-a-Takirau from reproaching the priest and the native teachers for interfering in tribal affairs when he felt Baker was being meddlesome. Te Kani-a-Takirau had taken the wife of a young man called Patara Rangī. The young woman's mother made a threat suggesting that that the nose of his canoe be broken as a reprisal. When Te Kani-a-Takirau heard about the threat, he ordered all his people not to cross the river but to prepare for war and went away to Puatai to gather a force. When Te Kani-a-Takirau returned from Puatai those in Paratenohonoa pa went off to Waikirikiri.<sup>142</sup> He

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<sup>140</sup> Box 4 Te Kani papers Gisborne Museum

<sup>141</sup> Baker's Journal

<sup>142</sup> Baker's Journal

told Baker to keep the native teachers in line<sup>143</sup> and that they had been playing a double role, praying to the god of war as well as to the god of peace. The chief had determined that the native teachers were doing more than the task assigned to them and actually inciting their converts against his authority.

According to Paki Te Amaru, when Te Kani-a-Takirau went to organise an ope taua he returned with 50 Ngati Harahei to avenge the insult. Three tribes built a pa to defend themselves on the Ihunui block.<sup>144</sup> The grandchild of Te Whatu had compassion on the people in the pa and he sent his teinas over the river to leave the pa just before the pa was taken. The people went to Kourateuwhi at Waikirikiri. Rangiuia set up a rahui when the pa fell.<sup>145</sup> The feud lasted two months before those who had gone off to Waikirikiri returned home.<sup>146</sup>

### **He kaupakihi he mahorahora**

*A generous Businessman.*

The feud did not stop Te Kani-a-Takirau from continuing to organise the tribe's business dealings and in April 1844 purchased a 20 ton cutter from an Auckland resident. Te Kani-a-Takirau had purchased the boat through the sale of pigs.<sup>147</sup> Two months later in June, Te Kani-a-Takirau instructed Baker to help in the sowing of wheat. It was a huge undertaking with some 200 participants involved in the

<sup>143</sup> There were about five in Uawa at the time.

<sup>144</sup> Paki Te Amaru Waiapu Minute Book 10A:72

<sup>145</sup> Ibid

<sup>146</sup> Baker's Journals. Paki Te Amaru says it was Rangiuia who who sent for them to return.

<sup>147</sup> Baker's Journal. Baker says ' What was probably the first European craft to be purchased by the Uawa natives was the subject of a letter from Mr Clarke (Protector of Aborigines) to Mr Baker in April,1844. It seems that an Auckland resident had sold a cutter (20 tons) to Te Kani, payment to be made in pigs. When half the payment had been made, the owner of the vessel had given a bill of sale for sixty pounds over it.'

planting. The crop furnished seventeen bushels of wheat for disposal by the chief for the tribe.<sup>148</sup> Te Kani-a-Takirau's goodwill and caring disposition were well known. Henare Potae stated in the Huiarua case that Te Kani-a-Takirau gave a greenstone when presented with a calabash of birds as he did not allow anyone who brought him a present to go away empty handed.<sup>149</sup> Tukerau confirmed his generous spirit saying that 'Te Kani-a-Takirau, a Poverty Bay and Uawa chief distributed at one feast 300 kaitaka mats, each of which was to him as valuable as a cashmere shawl to an English lady.'<sup>150</sup> Conversely, according to Wi Pere in the Tauwhareparae case, ' If in Te Kani's day food had been taken to anyone else but himself the person so doing would have lost his head!'<sup>151</sup>

### **Te Waikari kairangatira**

*Te Waikari: the heir to Te Kani-a-Takirau.*

In a further attempt to unify Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti with the northern reaches of Ngati Porou, some years earlier Te Kani-a-Takirau had arranged for his son Te Waikari to marry Tapatapa-aitu. This young woman was the daughter of his cousin, Te Houkamau, the chief of Wharekahika. According to Ngata, the couple spent some time living with the parents of Tapatapa-aitu but before the marriage ceremony could take place the young woman died. Te Waikari returned to Tokomaru Bay then to Uawa and a short time later, he too died. According to some versions he died of a broken heart, according to

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<sup>148</sup> Baker's Journal

<sup>149</sup> Waiapu Minute Book 5 Huiarua Case.

<sup>150</sup> Thompson *Story of New Zealand* volume 1:190

<sup>151</sup> Wi Pere *Tauwhareparae case* Waiapu Minute Book 4:?

others, witchcraft had caused his death.<sup>152</sup> Baker was in Uawa at the time of Te Waikari's death and records that in the evening of the 20th of October 1844, the only child and the hier of Te Kani-a-Takirau passed away.<sup>153</sup> Immediately before Te Waikari's death his uncle, Matamata, took his own life so that he would accompany his nephew in the after life. Te Aitanga-a-Hauti and Ngati Porou and the tribes of Turanga mourned the loss of 'Te Kairangatira'. Te Kani-a-Takirau was devastated and totally consumed with grief, and on a number of occasions tried to take his own life. He believed that Te Waikari had been destroyed by 'cursing' or witchcraft. The presence of his cousin 'Rawiri' Te Eketuoterangi, the Christian chief from Turanga consoled him to some degree.<sup>154</sup> However, Te Kani-a-Takirau never really recovered from the death of his son, and melancholy, was a constant friend for the remaining years of his life. Alcohol became a painkiller to suppress his feelings of anguish and sorrow.

In 1845, Te Kani-a-Takirau held an enormous 'Kaiaukai' (Kaihaukai) a series of feasts and celebrations. It was also a poignant reminder of those who had passed on, especially for his son. All the hapu of Uawa were represented and there were delegations from Ngati Porou and the Turanga tribes. The preparations had taken months and all manner of produce had been gathered and stored for the occasion. There were enormous quantities of pork, cooked and preserved in calabashes of fat, koura-crayfish, kumara and potatoes, flour, guns, spades, hoes, hatchets, axes and garments. At the last feast there

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<sup>152</sup> Ngata, A.T. NM number 139

<sup>153</sup> Baker's Journal

<sup>154</sup> Ibid

were approximately six hundred people present, and in a show of generosity and wealth Te Kani-a-Takirau and the Ngati Porou tribes gave a koha or gifted their manuhiri (visitors) with an extraordinary amount of food and wares, including 30 tons of potatoes, 10 tons of kumara, more than two hundred pigs cooked and preserved in calabashes in their own fat, guns, blankets and calico. The guests returned the compliment with a large quantity of potatoes and kumara also, cooked pork, lobsters and gurnard and enough foodstuffs to make a balance. Each hapu then departed with a portion of the quantities allotted to them.<sup>155</sup> These were prosperous times for Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti Ngati Porou and the tribes of Turanga.<sup>156</sup> Threats of war, continued to a lesser extent between the different groups, and some minor squabbles but generally the leadership of Te Kani-a-Takirau and other chiefs, maintained a sense of balance and peace. From 1845 to 1852, Uawa enjoyed a period of affluence and industry with there being no major disruptions to unsettle the tribes in and around the area.

It was not to last.

### **He tauhou he mauui he raruraru**

*Strangers, disease and disturbances.*

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid

<sup>156</sup> In so far as Tokomaru Bay is concerned, Ilse (1981:202) writes ' In the early 1840's trade and Christianity encouraged the preference to live on the coast, but because there was now relative peace people could spread along the coast'.

The 1850s were a decade of unparalleled population decline. In 1845 the population of Uawa was said to be 1315. This was to decrease by almost half by the mid-1850s.<sup>157</sup> British settlers began to pour into New Zealand at a rate that not even Te Kani-a-Takirau could have foreseen. By 1860, the number of settlers outnumbered the declining Maori population in this country.<sup>158</sup>

In 1852, members of some Whangara and Turanga tribes removed a post belonging to an old burial ground. Te Kani-a-Takirau ordered them to replace it which they did. Not satisfied, Te Kani-a-Takirau made the road between Uawa and Turanga 'tapu' or restricted, stopped intercourse between the two districts and declared war.<sup>159</sup> A group of influential Turanga chiefs went to see him and Te Kani-a-Takirau relented and opened the roads again.<sup>160</sup> The enduring aspect of the authority that he held even now in later life renders untrue the claim made by Baker that in 1848 'Te Kani came into the fold (Christianity) because people were scorning him'.<sup>161</sup> This authority was apparent again in 1853 when a tohunga from Anaura Bay was accused of causing the death of a woman in Turanga. An avenging party, 150 strong, set off from Turanga to Anaura. On the fifth day of the march, Te Kani-a-Takirau who was living at Puatai was asked to intervene, which he did, and a peaceful settlement was reached.<sup>162</sup> There was no question regarding his status and

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<sup>157</sup> Laurie, J. (1988:75) *Tolaga Bay a History of the Uawa District*.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid

<sup>159</sup> Uawa is 56 kilometres from Turanga

<sup>160</sup> Reverend R.T.Grace *A Pioneer Missionary Among The Maoris*

<sup>161</sup> Baker Journals

<sup>162</sup> Reverend R.T.Grace *A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris*.

authority and the support that he had from his people from Turanga through to Ngati Porou.

**He maunga kore e neke**

*The Kingitanga.*

It is small wonder then, that in 1884, he was approached to be the first Maori King. There are a number of versions as to why and when the 'Kingitanga' movement was actualised and who the main proponents of its inception were.<sup>163</sup> Suffice to say, the movement had been discussed as early as 1824 as a focus for Maori nationalism and was finally given expression in 1858-9 with the investiture of Potatau Te Wherowhero as first Maori King.<sup>164</sup> In 1852, Matene Te Whiwhi of Ngati Raukawa and Tamihana Te Rauparaha visited various iwi to explain the notion of Kingitanga.<sup>165</sup> Taranaki, Whanganui, Taupo nui a Tia, Heretaunga, Te Tairawhiti, Rotorua and the Waikato all received them and the proposition. The visit to Te Tairawhiti was to see Te Kani-a-Takirau. Ngati Porou traditions state that Potatau Te Wherowhero had said,

' Ka hanatu au ki taku tuakana ki a Te Kani hai kingi', '

*I will go to my elder to Te Kani for him to be the king'.<sup>166</sup>*

According to the whakapapa given by Stirling this was the case.

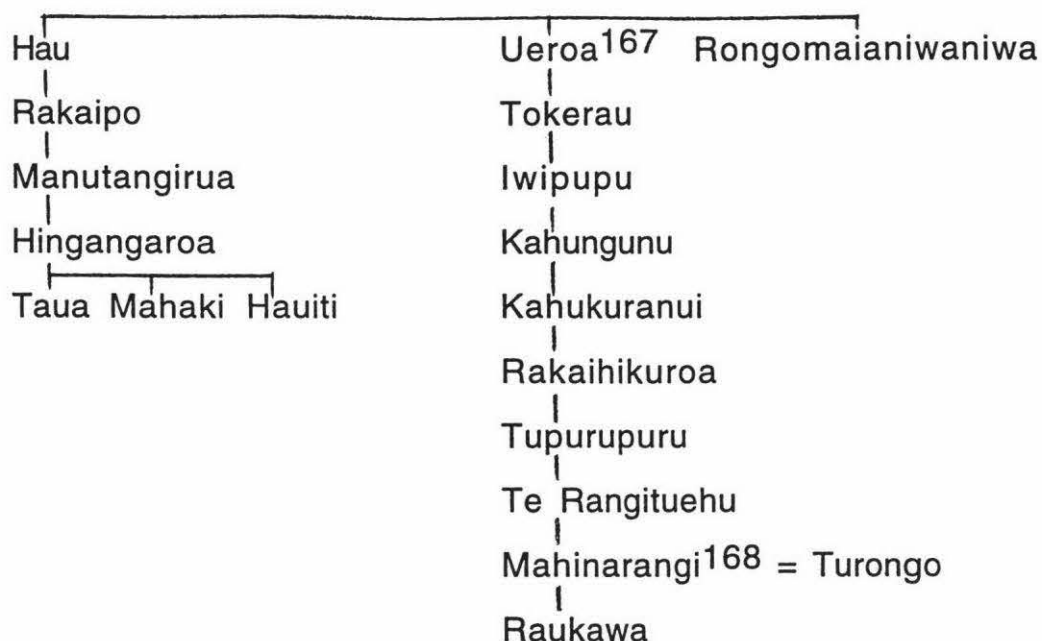
Porourangi

<sup>163</sup> See Cox,L.(1992 : 53-67) *Kotahitanga The Search for Maori Political Unity*

<sup>164</sup> Cox,L. Ibid 62-63

<sup>165</sup> Mackay,J.(1949:211) *Historic Poverty Bay*

<sup>166</sup> Eruera Stirling, Arnold Reedy and Matiu Te Hau a recorded conversation by Ata Pederson in *Eruera The Teachings of a Maori Elder* by Anne Salmond



In 1854 the hui to discuss the notion of the kingitanga was held in the house "Te Kani". Te Heuheu led the delegation of chiefs who had unanimously agreed that Te Kani-a-Takirau was the most suitable candidate for the position. It is probably important at this stage to record Eruera Stirling and Arnold Reedy, two leading authorities of Ngati Porou history in their time, who discuss the lead up to the delegation arriving in Uawa:

'naa Tuuwharetoa te koorero tuatahi, "Ee, me hoki taatau ki a Te Kani-aa-Takirau, kia noho koia hai Kiingi mo taatau" i runga tonu i nga taatai nei.

Naa, ka haere atu te korero ki a Te Arawa, ee, te koorero teenei a Te Arawa, "Me hoki taatau ki a Te Kani-aa-Takirau, ki Te Tairawhiti,aa,hai mau i te tuunga mo te tuunga Kiingi o te motu."

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. According to Stirling, Ueroa was the youngest, this differs in other whakapapa

<sup>168</sup> Ibid: 272 It must be pointed out that this is only one whakapapa line that draws a relationship between Ngati Porou and Waikato. Whakapapa can also be found in JPS

Koiraa anoo taa Ngati Kahungunu... '169

*'It was Tuwharetoa who first said," yes, let us return to Te Kani-aa-Takirau, so that he can be as a King for all of us" as decreed by the descent lines.*

*The discussions went to Te Arawa, yes, and this is what Te Arawa said,*

*" We should return to Te Kani-aa-Takirau, to the East Coast, to take the position of King of the Island,"*

*Ngati Kahungunu said the same...'*

Te Kani-a-Takirau thanked the delegation for the invitation but declined to accept. He said,

*' Ee, Kai te pai too haramai. Engari haramai,e hoki. E ko taku maunga ko Hikurangi, engari inaa raa, ko toku kingitanga i heke iho noo ooku tipuna, he lhu-too-mai no te poo. Ko taku maunga ko Hikurangi, he maunga tu. Ehara i te maunga haere'.<sup>170</sup>*

*'It is well that you have come. However welcome and return. My mountain Hikurangi, that is my chieftainship descends from my ancestors, the prow of my lineage comes from the night. My mountain Hikurangi stands fast, it is not a mountain that wanders.'*

Te Kani-a-Takirau was not interested in a foreign title. His ancestry provided all the prestige and honour that was important to him.

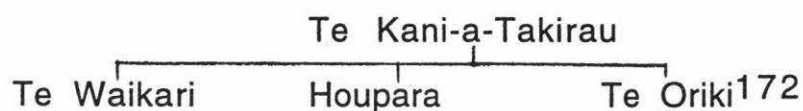
By declining the offer, Te Kani-a-Takirau set a number of tribal precedents for Ngati Porou. First, he made it quite clear that his

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid:273

<sup>170</sup> Ibid: 273 'It is well that you have come. Welcome, but you must take your leave. My mountain Hikurangi, that is my kingship, descended to me from my ancestors, it comes from the very beginning of time. My mountain Hikurangi is a mountain that stands firm. It is not a mountain that moves'

authority and power came from his ancestors. By supporting but declining to be involved in yet another national movement he stressed that responsibility for his own people was to him essential. In stating that his mountain Hikurangi did not move, he knew of the ancient explanations concerning mountains that did move. This indicates that while it is important to concentrate on affairs at home, one must be mindful of the knowledge and opportunities that exist elsewhere. He proved this in the trading ventures. Towards the end of his life, Te Kani-a-Takirau remained in the company of his wives, Amotawa, Mariko and Hine-teiri-i-te-rangi.<sup>171</sup> He had three children but none survived.



It was during this time that Te Kani-a-Takirau took as a 'whangai' or adopted according to Maori custom, his nephew, Hirini Tuahine, the son of Rawiri Te Eketuoterangi. Hirini changed his name to Hirini Te Kani-a-Takirau and inherited the mana of Te Kani-a-Takirau. He became the paramount chief of Turanga and Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti in his lifetime.

Just before his death Te Kani-a-Takirau called Te Amotawa to his side and gave her instructions to never remarry, saying to her, 'My land is now a husband to you.'

<sup>171</sup> Ra Mackey said he spent some time with Te Kani-a-Takirau in Whangara who was living there with his wives. Te Amotawa being especially kind to him. (Box 4 Te Kani papers Gisborne Museum)

<sup>172</sup> Whakapapa book of Te Ihaia TauTau

## He ariki he tipua

### *The death of an ariki*

Te Kani-a-Takirau died in 1856 in Uawa.<sup>173</sup> His body was taken back to Whangara in stages where he is, according to Whangara tradition, buried in the Tere-anini urupa or cemetery with his ancestor Marukawiti. His place of burial was marked by a pou called ' Te Matatarehe.'<sup>174</sup>

Ranguia composed the following lament for Te Kani-a-Takirau.<sup>175</sup> In it he expresses a sadness for a leadership and a type of knowledge that was now lost forever with the passing of Te Kani-a-Takirau.

A tatau korero hoki ra, e,	<i>Ah me, the speeches we made</i>
I nui o rangi ra,	<i>In those memorable days of yore,</i>
He mea kia mahue, e.	<i>Nows comes it I am all alone.</i>
Ka kitea rikiriki,	<i>Looking about me in vain,</i>
Ka ngaro hoki ra, e,	<i>Gone forever are the</i>
Nga waha ki, nga hautu o te waka,	<i>Orators, and the fuggle-men of the canoe,</i>
I hoea ai te moana;	<i>Who voyaged across the ocean;</i>
Hei whakapuru atu ra, e,	<i>Ye who did plug securely against</i>
Mo nga tai kino, mo nga	<i>The flood tides of stormy</i>
tai marangai,	<i>weather,</i>
Ka puta ki waho ra.	<i>When they threatened from without.</i>

<sup>173</sup> Te Amotawa never remarried and was about 60-70 yers old when she died. She too was buried at Whangara.

<sup>174</sup> Hapi Hinaki Whangara case

<sup>175</sup> Ngata,A.T. Nga Moteatea Part Two:130

Haere mai ra tatau, e,

Ki tau nei ki a Marewa-i-te-ata,

I maunu atu ai, e,

Te taniwha i tona rua, i.

*Let us now all foregather (and)*

*Chant the lay of Marewa-i-te-ata,*

*Which was the accompaniment of the exit*

*Of the dreaded dragon from its lair.*

## Chapter Four

### Mana Whenua.

A Trustee for land

*"...E hika! E kuika nei,  
Matua ia ra e tahuri mai?  
Wai te mea ka rukupopo,  
Ka whakamate ki tona whenua,i." <sup>1</sup>*

*"...Oh friend! In this great longing.  
Is there no one who will share it?  
For is there no one more mealcholy  
Than he who yearns for his native land."*

Te Kani-a-Takirau spent the greater part of his life in and about the Uawa, Whangara and Turanga areas. His mana whenua was derived principally from these areas. It was an authority that extended over the lands that belonged to the hapu in these localities, more specifically the hapu groupings of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. The mana whenua of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti was vested in Te Kani-a-Takirau, a role which saw Te Kani-a-Takirau as the 'paramount trustee' of the lands of the various hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. Mana whenua meant that from the hapu point of view, the hapu had authority or rights over defined territories. These rights extended to hunting, horticulture and settlement. Moreover, the land and its resources

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<sup>1</sup> Ngata,A.T. Nga Moteatea Part 1:182-3

were the property of the hapu and no one individual. This is in agreeance with Firth who says,

*'The hapu... system of community co-operation in cultivation and sharing the natural resources of their territory inhibited any trend towards individualism and the individual ownership of land. The land belonged to the hapu and the iwi.'*<sup>2</sup>

The overall hapu territories of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti were framed by the natural boundaries of the river, Turanga-nui-a-Kiwa in the south to the coastal prominence of Te Mawhai in the north. The initial boundary had been laid down in the time of Hauiti. He placed his children strategically about the lands in an attempt to stave off possible aggressors intent on retribution.<sup>3</sup> He placed Kahukuranui on the northern most boundaries in the event of reprisals from the children of Taua and Mahaki whom Hauiti had earlier vanquished and driven out. Hinetera was placed to the south and her marriage to Tamatekuku provided a strong defence in this region. From the time of Hauiti to that of Te Kani-a-Takirau, the boundaries of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti have stayed intact. Internal conquests and dispute amongst the descendants of Hauiti have reshaped the original hapu divisions but generally the overall boundaries have withstood the test of time. Within these boundaries, original and reshaped, the various hapu signatored the land through kainga (dwellings), mahinga kai (cultivations), pataka kai, rua and hinaki (foodstores and eel weirs),

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<sup>2</sup> Firth 1929:376

<sup>3</sup> See map, appendix 1.

kai, rua and hinaki (foodstores and eel weirs), wahi tapu and rahui (sacred grounds and restricted areas), to show occupation.

In the Maori Land Court sittings on the East Coast, of the mid to late 1800s, concerning the lands between Tokomaru Bay and Kaiti, much attention was paid by the claimants to their whakapapa or ancestral ties to the land from the founding ancestor Hauri and as hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauri. Just as important was the detail given of boundaries, important landmarks and signs of occupation and residency. Quite clearly the records are testimony to the fact that land was seen as a political focal point and source of spiritual, social and economic cohesion for the whanau and hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauri.

*' The Maori, once the process of investigating the traditions and history supporting his title began, could not stop with an award that named a tribe without specifying its components and their respective spheres within the tribe. He knew that these were defined in traditions transmitted by the tribal elders and historians, evidenced by oft repeated genealogical tables and references in songs and proverbs. These moreover assigned named cultivations, habitations, fortified places, places where fish and game were caught and where the bones of noted ancestors were deposited.'*<sup>3</sup>

The claimants provided historical detail which when validated against other sources told the story of the land. A rich tapestry of ancestral pride, of love and passion, war and revenge, tragedy, drama

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<sup>3</sup> Ngata, A.T. in Sutherland, I.L.G. 1935 *The Maori situation*. Wellington Harry H Tombs Ltd

and the eternal quest to hold the mana of the land. Land was a reason to live and a reason to die.

*He whenua, he wahine, i ngaro ai te tangata  
For land and women alone men are lost.*

Not all cases heard in the Maori Land Court ran smoothly or were settled amicably. Invariably evidence was challenged and more often than not alliances were formed to support and substantiate a groups claim to the land. Witnesses were cross-examined by other claimants usually the chiefs or representatives from the other contesting hapu.

Pepeha<sup>4</sup> , whakatauaki<sup>5</sup> and tauparapara<sup>6</sup> highlighted the landmarks and natural features significant to the hapu. The landmarks were known to the rangatira and tohunga and used to differentiate boundaries between areas of land. The following is an example of a chant used to distinguish the *taunga-ika* or fishing grounds belonging to three hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, namely; Ngati Kuranui, Te Whanau-a-Te Rangipureora and Te Hapu Matua. <sup>7</sup> The fishing grounds are in italics.

' Ka tuku titiro whakararo atu ki *Paerau*, ki te one e toha ana  
ki te wai e tika ana ko *Ureanga*.

Ki *Waikirikiri*, ki *Te Waitapu* ki *Te Karaka*.

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<sup>4</sup> Tribal sayings

<sup>5</sup> Proverbs

<sup>6</sup> Chants

<sup>7</sup> Personal Communications with Milton Brown 1990.

Ka hura te kanohi ki runga i te pou ki *Te Umutaoroa*  
 Ka whakawhiti atu ki Motueka te rua tawhara,  
 Ki *Tatara*, te wahi i hi ika ai a Taua raua ko Mahaki nga  
 tuakana,  
 Ka hoki ano ki runga i te pou ki *Te Wha*.  
 Ki *Taumata-Kahawai*, ki *Te Waiwhero* ki *Tatarahake*,  
 Ki te one e toha ana ki te ngutu awa.  
 Ko *Hinekura* ko *Hine-ki-Uawa*,  
 Ka piki ki te taumata,  
 Ko Titirangi te maunga  
 Ko Uawa te awa  
 Ko Te Aitanga-a-Hauti te iwi.

In sum an ancestral tie to land, occupation residence or 'ahika'<sup>8</sup>, and an ability to hold the land, knowledge of landmarks and boundaries, a knowledge of korero or history pertaining to the land, pepeha, whakatauki and tauparapara, all contribute to the hapu being able to claim authority over the land or mana whenua.

Although the mana whenua was vested in the most senior chief or ariki when dealing in land matters it was generally accepted that a chief would not act without first obtaining an expression of opinion from subordinate chiefs and others of rank. The chief and hapu members often referred to the tribal lands as 'their' lands and this meant that this is the portion of land over which they had a right as a member of the hapu to use. This right provides the use of the land

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<sup>8</sup> The concept of keeping the fires burning on the land to show residence and land rights.

for the individual, but does not allow him or her any greater privileges, such as personal sale of the land, without reference to the opinion of the hapu. Firth adds,

*'...correlated with his other functions was the habit and duty of a head chief to act as trustee and administrator of tribal property.'*<sup>9</sup>  
*Land features high in the priorities of tribal property.*

Recognition that land had been vested in the chief was expressed in the practice of carrying the fruits of the land to the main chief. It meant that the hapu or groups of hapu recognised the chief as leader, protector and benefactor. Reflecting thus who held the balance of power and control among the hapu leadership. In some cases the 'hari huahua' or carrying of preserved foods was a token of respect and goodwill. If the leadership of a senior family was well established, the food could be carried to this family over a number of generations.

### **Waimata West**

According to Himiona Te Kani<sup>10</sup> this was the case with Te Kani-a-Takirau. He claims the land through a descent from Tamanuwhiri to Te Kani-a-Takirau.

*Tamanuwhiri*  
 |  
*Te Whetukuatepau*  
 |  
*Hinekino*

---

<sup>9</sup> Firth;1929;134

<sup>10</sup> Also known as Hirini Te Kani the heir to Te Kani-a-Takirau

Te Apitu  
 |  
 Tanetokorangi  
 |  
 Hinematioro  
 |  
 Ngarangikahiwa  
 |  
 Te Kani-a-Takirau  
 |  
 Himiona Te Kani

'I belong to Ngaitahurua hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti tribe and live at Uawa... My grandfather Rongotumamao lived permanently upon this land in the centre of this block. Whilst he lived on this land the fruits of it was taken to him and was also taken to Te Kani-a-Takirau on account of his chieftainship.'<sup>12</sup>

Once vested, the responsibility of managing and maintaining the land fell to the ariki or senior rangatira. From this point onwards the mana whenua of the hapu or in extraordinary cases the iwi or tribe was imbued in the ariki. It was a responsibility that could not be taken lightly. A snapshot of the court hearings of this period concerning the lands of the various hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti bears this point out and shows to some extent the mana whenua of Te Kani-a-Takirau upon these lands. A number of the land blocks have been included to show the spread of his influence upon the lands of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti.

### **Pourewa**

<sup>12</sup> Himiona or Hirini Te Kani *Waimata West* 28/6/1879

In the Pourewa case, Paora Hura gave the following whakapapa and evidence based on an event which occurred around the early 1800s,

*Hekeoterangi*  
|  
*Rorohea*  
|  
*Hinekoao*  
|  
*Wahanui*  
|  
*Paora Hura*

'Hekeoterangi and his people had a pa on the island and occupied one on the main land. The First fight about the island was the death of Hinematiaro and her grandchildren. The pa was taken then by Ngati Porou, it was avenged at Ahititi. Kani a Takirau then resumed possession of the pa. Amaru drove out Ngati Porou. Karauria and his children occupied it after Te Kani who was Ngati Whakahemo and Manawatawhaoa.'<sup>12</sup>

### Waimata East

In 1879 in the court sitting for the Waimata East land Block, Rutene Te Eke gave the following whakapapa and evidence,

*Wahooterangi*  
|  
*Te Unuoterangi*  
|  
*Hinemare*  
|  
*Te Hapu (matua)*  
|  
*Tamaihikitiaterangi*  
|  
*Haronga*

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<sup>12</sup> Paora Hura Waiapu Minute Book *Pourewa* 1881 Page 101

*Te Eketuoterangi*  
|  
*Rutene Te Eke*

' This land belonged to Wahooterangi who was a chief, and the people under him were very numerous and called Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti. He had all authority over this land; when he died the authority descended to Hinematiaro: the land and the people; when she died it descended to Te Kani-a-Takirau.<sup>13</sup> This evidence is supported by Te Hapi Hinaki who says,

'I belong to Ngati Konohi, hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti tribe, and reside at Whangara.

*Konohi*  
|  
*Te Riwai*  
|  
*Tamaroki*  
|  
*Te Rakauotawhiti*  
|  
*Parone Hinaki*  
|  
*Te Hapi*

'When Te Kani went away, my father was chief in authority'<sup>14</sup> and in response to a question by Kerehona Piwaka replied ' Te Kani has a place at Whangara and has asserted authority over us both.' The evidence of Hapi Hinaki shows that there was tension between his father and Te Kani-a-Takirau. He makes reference to this in the same case.

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<sup>13</sup> Giborne Minute Book 4:255-263

<sup>14</sup> Ibid:

### **Paratenohonoa or Wairoro 3**

Te Kani-a-Takirau chieftainship was over this block of land as well. Patara Rangi confirms this saying

'Te Kani-a-Takirau had mana over this land.'<sup>15</sup> He is supported by Heremia Taurewa who states,

' All Patara has said is correct, Kani and Karauria with their people had mana over this piece.'<sup>16</sup>

### **Tokomaru**

According to Rawiri Karaha the mana whenua of Te Kani-a-Takirau extended as far north as Tokomaru Bay. He gave the following evidence in the Tokomaru case.

'I know the N.W. boundary. I have heard that a small piece containing whinau trees was given to Whakatatare; Kani-a-Takirau is a descendant of Ngaro-ki-te-po: The centre of this block did belong to Tutepawarangi: Kani-a-Takirau descends from him also.'<sup>17</sup>

### **Kaiaua**

South of Tokomaru lies Kaiaua where there was some dispute about the mana whenua of Te Kani-a-Takirau in this region. Hemi Tapeka says,

' Hetekia Hamaiwaho was the chief then; and Te Kani-a-Takirau had mana over this land.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Patara Rangi Waiapu Minute Book 6:283

<sup>16</sup> Heremia Taurewa Waiapu Minute 6:295

<sup>17</sup> Rawiri Karaha Waiapu Minute book 6:343

<sup>18</sup> Hemi Tapeka for Epiniha Whaikaho Waiapu Minute Book 6:195

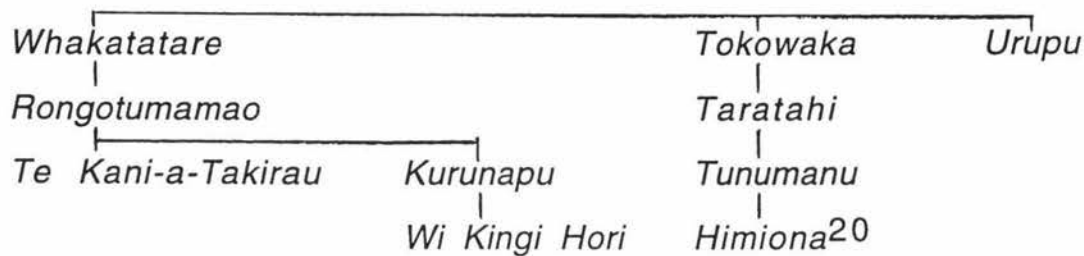
Heremia Taurewa disagrees,

'Te Kani-a-Takirau son of Amaru had mana over all lands but not on this alone; his mana went over the people not over the land; Te Kani went to see D Mclean at Turanga but would not sell him the land but gave him a horse called Tokorakau, but would not sell the lands at Turanga, he had mana over the Turanga lands but not over these.'<sup>19</sup>

Whatever the case, the name Te Kani-a-Takirau is still associated with the Kaiaua lands.

### Wharekaka

In this case Himiona Te Kani traces a descent from Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi to himself as the son of Tunumanu the wife of Rawiri Te Eketuoterangi and shows the relationship to Te Kani-a-Takirau.



Himiona goes on to say,

'Te Kani-a-Takirau was the chief of this land and held the mana of the land.'

Arapera Pahura the widow of Karauria Pahura agrees,

'I know that Te Kani-a-Takirau had the principal mana over this and adjoining blocks.'<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Heremia Tuarewa Waiapu Minute Book 6:179

<sup>20</sup> Himiona Te Kani *Wharekaka* 1; 9/10/1894

<sup>21</sup> Arapera Pahura *Wharekaka* 1;ibid

### Kourateuwhi

'Te Amaru and his brother Pahura had the great mana of that time and lead the war party(ies); Te Kani had mana over the land and the people as did Paora Tutu their mana extended from *Paremata*, *Pourewa*; to *Marau* near *Kaiaua*.'<sup>22</sup>

Heremia's sister Raiha agreed, 'Amaru and Te Kani had their mana on the land on their side; but Heremia had mana of his own from Rangipureora, his Heremias mana rested on the land alone not on the people: I know for a fact that Amaru and Te Kani-a-Takirau had mana over this and the adjoining lands and over the people also;'<sup>23</sup>

Himiona Te Kani also gives supporting evidence,

'Whakatatareoterangi lived in many places; he lived at Karaka and many other places; Rongotumamao lived in the same places; Te Kani lived at all those places; he died at Hoturangi on *Paremata* block; those chiefs had principal places of residence but they went onto this block as a King would visit his colony.'<sup>24</sup>

According to Himiona Te Kani his mana or chieftainship derived from Te Kani-a-Takirau meant that he did not need to prove a right based on occupation or residence. In the same case he claims,

'I have cultivated here; in my own time, not in my mothers time; my chieftainship gives me a right larger or greater claim on this land than cultivations on the ground; I should be able to claim this block

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<sup>22</sup> Heremia Taurewa Waiapu Minute Book 7A:358

<sup>23</sup> Raiha Taurewa Waiapu Minute Book 7A:363

<sup>24</sup> Himiona Te Kani Waiapu Minute Book 7A:378

through my mana alone without proving my occupation; according to Maori custom; if Te Kani-a-Takirau were alive no one person would be above him in rank over both land and people.'<sup>25</sup>

Wi Kingi Hori has this to say,

'I have planted along the sea coast; the eel wiers claimed by Raniera belonged to Te Kani-a-Takirau; Rukumoana belonged to Te Kani; but after the death of Te Kani; Raharuhi was allowed to go and catch eels there; I know a place called 'Tuara' on Wharekaka it was an eel wier of Te Kani's; I have seen food from Wharekaka brought to Te Kani.'<sup>26</sup>

Another responsibility of the ariki included the setting aside of 'wahi tapu' or burial reserves which were placed under his or her protection or that of the tohunga.

### **Whangara**

Hapi Hinaki in giving evidence in the Whangara case, states that the protection of wahi tapu was a responsibility taken seriously by Te Kani-a-Takirau and was the cause of a feud between his father and Te Kani-a-Takirau. He says,

'The reason of Te Kani's quarrel with us was in consequence of N'Konohi (Ngati Konohi) taking some timber from a tapu (*area*) on the beach called Tereanini. When Te Kani heard they were getting this timber to build a church he thought he would go and fight N'Konohi...

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<sup>25</sup> Himiona Te Kani Waiapu Minute Book 7A:365

<sup>26</sup> Wi Kingi Hori Waiapu Minute Book 7A:383

My people N'Konohi were urged by a preacher, who converted them, to leave Whangara for peace sake; so they came to live at Te Turehau. Two years later they returned to Whangara. Te Kani's people made no attempt to drive them away.'<sup>27</sup>

Rawiri Karaha has this to say about the same incident,

' Trouble came on about Whangara...It was about taking totara logs from a wahi tapu called Tereanini. Te Kani-a-Takirau gave orders they were to stop taking timber from that place.'<sup>28</sup>

Just as it seemed war would ensue Rawiri Te Eketuoterangi intervened and peace was established.<sup>29</sup>

A chief was sometimes ceded land on his or her own responsibility and initiative and without consulting the wishes of their people, but the validity of such a decision depended on the ratification of the act by the hapu or tribal opinion, which the chief had gauged beforehand. Whenever the chief was away a close relative would be left in charge of hapu affairs and the responsibility of maintaining the land would be left to him or her. They would be accountable for keeping the 'ahika' or the fires of their relations alight on the land. Rawiri Karaha highlights this point in the Puatai case.

### **Puatai**

'Our Maori custom is for one brother to live on the land and another to go away: those staying on the land protected the rights of those who went away: if it were not so, how would the people living at

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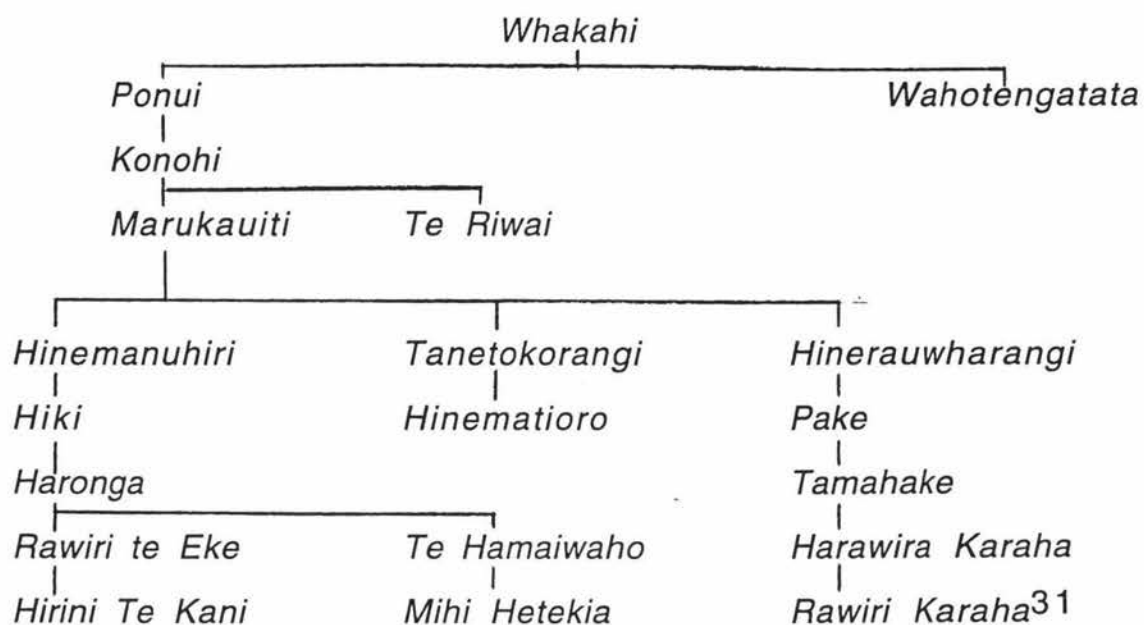
<sup>27</sup> Hapi Hinaki *Whangara Case* 1896:5

<sup>28</sup> Ibid:45

<sup>29</sup> Ibid: Rawiri Karaha;5

Uawa have a claim on lands at Turanga; nor would owners at Whangara be entitled to lands here if that were not the case. '30

Karaha traces a connection with Te Kani-a-Takirau and others,



Karaha then goes on to say,

'Pakaroa was the name of the place and the house of Te Kani-a-Takirau and Hirini Te Kani and others at Waitotara... Te Kani used to consult Haronga, Hiki's descendants and vice versa. Haronga was then living at Turanga and Te Kani at Paremata... Haronga was alive at the time Te Kani-a-Takirau and Rawiri Te Eke lived at Waitotara. Te Kani and Haronga had not deserted this land by living at Paremata and at Turanga, as they were chiefs, but the tribes lived on the lands the chiefs in those days had to travel about to protect their tribes. '32

<sup>30</sup> Rawiri Karaha Waiapu Minute Book 8A:36

<sup>31</sup> Rawiri Karaha Waiapu Minute Book 8A:33

<sup>32</sup> Rawiri Karaha Waiapu Minute Book 8A:41

Te Kani-a-Takirau had a consultative approach when dealing with land matters. Though he had his own opinion, he sought the counsel of tribal elders such as Te Pohuhu, Haronga and others before he considered land utilisation and strategies for land development. However, despite the mana whenua accorded Te Kani-a-Takirau, he was not awarded any precedent rights or claims over land that exceeded the rights of anyone else in the tribe. But none-the-less it gave him great influence in preventing the tribe from parting with or managing the land in any way detrimental to the welfare of the tribe as a whole. And the tribe appeared to accept the fact that,

'...the land was vested in the chief to hold in trust for them.'<sup>33</sup>

As each member of the hapu is seen to be a trustee of the hapu's lands and they in turn vested their claims in Te Kani-a-Takirau who as ariki of the tribe was the 'paramount trustee.' However despite his philosophy of not selling, a substantial amount of land belonging to the various hapu of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti was alienated in the years following his death. His influence and his philosophy as it pertained to land was less forceful after he died.

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<sup>33</sup> Firth;1929:376

## Chapter Five Mana Ariki

He ariki, he tipua, he tangata

This thesis has argued firstly that Mana Ariki-the status of ariki is dependent on three inter-related and yet distinct types of mana; Mana Whakapapa, Mana Tangata and Mana Whenua.

A framework has also been proposed to assist the identification of the source of the authority of ariki. In summary the characteristics shown in the table below have been considered and it is postulated that they form the foundation from which an ariki derives status.

### A Summary of the Critical Characteristics of an Ariki

MANA	ARIKI CHARACTERISTICS
Mana Whakapapa	Senior lines of descent and lateral connections with other chiefly lines throughout Aotearoa.
Mana Tangata	Political Leadership A Warrior The embodiment of the collective
Mana Tangata	Wise management of Tribal Holdings Land Retention Close Identity with the land

According to the framework, and which was to be expected, the East Coast and Ngati Porou chief Te Kani-a-Takirau fits the description and criteria of ariki conclusively. That is not to say that he was not without failing, land loss and a faltering system of hapu within Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, are proof of that. However, in his lifetime he was without peer among his people, in particular Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti of Uawa and Turanganui. A fact recognised not only in the hapu territories that were to become the modern day Ngati Porou but also throughout Aotearoa. Recognition of ariki status internally is important but additionally the status of Te Kani-a-Takirau was also recognised nationally.

### **TE KANI-A-TAKIRAU** **Mana Whakapapa**

In tracing the antecedents and the life and times of Te Kani-a-Takirau it is clear that representing him as an ariki is a justified description. He was a leader whose ancestral past befitted him elevated status and in his lifetime he fulfilled the legacy of his birthright. Other rangatira could trace a superior whakapapa to Te Kani-a-Takirau on selected lines but generally few could match the quantity and quality of the lines that converged on him. He was descended from ancestors who possessed the key leadership qualities of seniority of birth and achievement. In this sense, he could demonstrate both vertical and horizontal connections and could claim to be the embodiment of a rich genetic and spiritual legacy.

In this sense he could lay some claim to national recognition. His connections with Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa, Te Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati Kahungunu were acknowledged and respected by these tribes added weight to the perception of him as an ariki.

In his youth he was protected or moved to safe haven when danger threatened. Quite simply this meant that from a very early age he was set apart from others. Such privilege he owed to his grandparents Hinematiaro and Te Whakatatare-o-te-rangi who in their lifetimes were recognised as rangatira far beyond the reaches of the East Coast. They also set a leadership pattern based on having the collective support of the people gained by providing for and protecting them. There is no doubt that his uncle Te Amaru played a major role in consolidating the status of Te Kani-a-Takirau. In many ways Te Kani-a-Takirau was the antithesis of Te Amaru. Where Te Amaru was famed for his war-like manner and aggressiveness, Te Kani-a-Takirau is remembered for his kindness and generosity. Yet his determined nature suggests something of his uncles manner. From his grandmother, Hinematiaro he inherited a capacity for agriculture and horticulture, working the land to benefit the people.

### **Mana Tangata**

Just as compelling as a prestigious whakapapa was his synthesis of the customary role of leadership within a rapidly changing economical, social and spiritual environment.

There were certainly challenges to his leadership and rivalry from those who envied his mana. However qualities such as adaptability and a willingness to be innovative were traits that strengthened his

leadership even in the most trying of times and situations. But most importantly his leadership was recognised by the people. That is, the hapu was personified within him.

He united hapu in common military and economic causes but they maintained when they needed, their special and separate existences. Te Kani-a-Takirau effectively unified the people despite their divisions, content to modify the relationship they had with each other but not their identity. In doing this he promoted hapu autonomy within an overall tribal economy and responsibility. He recognised that the most effective form of responding to the various initiatives was at the hapu level of organisation.

He befriended trader and missionary alike, but in a purposeful and deliberate manner. He unashamedly and shrewdly manipulated early groups of settlers to bring both peace and prosperity to his own people through cooperation and trade. In doing so he managed the people resources and the land resources to best advantage.

### **Mana Whenua**

Te Kani-a-Takirau reinforced the traditional and customary tenets of land ownership and occupation by focussing on the nature of guardianship and the needs of future generations; utilisation was appropriate for economic necessity. He set an example for 'pupuri whenua' or holding on to the land. Apart from the people, land continues to be the major resource for Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou. Land was utilised by the hapu groupings in the time of Te Kani-a-Takirau. There was lively competition and beneficial trading arrangements. His role was that of a paramount trustee

ensuring that the land remained in hapu possession and that it was managed wisely for the benefit of the people.

Leadership in Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Ngati Porou is relative to the time and space in which the people find themselves. There have been a number of outstanding leaders since the time of Te Kani-a-Takirau. However, the levels of trade, industry and unity particularly in the Hauiti area have not paralled standards set in the Te Kani-a-Takirau era. The qualities inherent and displayed by Te Kani-a-Takirau continue to have meaning to his people more than a hundred years later.

Leadership which is divorced from the lives and aspirations of the people amounts to little. The people give the mandate for leadership but do not themselves relinquish decision making entirely. Thus the authority to represent others can be withdrawn, regardless of whakapapa and land interests.

Te Kani-a-Takirau was both a rangatira and an ariki. His rangatira status reflected his worldly accomplishments and his capacity to advance the interests of his people. His ariki status was endorsed by his prowess as a rangatira, and confirmed by his geneology. Though dead for 140 years, his life continues to inspire Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and guide Ngati Porou in its modern development.

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Mere Kingi Rangiua

Wi Pewhairangi Reedy

Rongowhakaata Halbert & Henare Ruru

Watarawi Rangi

Hohepa Tuhiwai

Paratene Te Okawhare

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX ONE

