Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: te poutokomanawa o Ngāti Ruingārangi

Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: the central support post of his hapū Ngāti Ruingārangi

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of

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Ngāti Ruingārangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Atihaunui-ā-Pāpārangi, Te Arawa, Tainui, Ngāti Raukawa

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Te Uru Maraurau

School of Māori, Bicultural & Multicultural Education

Massey University, Palmerston North

New Zealand

2014

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the leadership of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi of Ngāti Ruingārangi from the northern shores of Lake Taupō in the mid to late nineteenth century. Drawing on Native Land Court minutes and other historical sources, the study broadens the focus of Ngāti Tūwharetoa history to include Te Poihipi's contribution to leadership during a period of considerable change in the *rohe*.

The study shows Te Poihipi on his own terms and illustrates how he dealt with various challenges by taking the initiative, in seeking to acquire a mission in the district, in charting a path between Te Kīngitanga, conflict, and cooperation with the government, in choosing carefully who to support during armed conflicts, in encouraging Pākehā involvement in the district, and in selling land and supporting tourism. Te Poihipi provides an *excellent* example of a chief, in consultation with his people, adjusting leadership roles to benefit the *hapū*.

The study seeks to show how at least one Ngāti Tūwharetoa *tūpuna* and one Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū* have been misrepresented in an historical context by exploring the ways they used a variety of strategies, including so called "loyalism", to maintain their *mana* and their autonomy, and to utilise Pākehā to retain their *rangatiratanga*.

The study has wider ramifications beyond Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, because the approach adopted in this thesis may be taken up by Māori scholars whose *tūpuna* have been labelled as "*kūpapa*" or "loyalists" or pro-Pākehā, and can, using this study as a starting point, to look at the complexities of how their *tūpuna* made decisions and alliances to maintain their own *mana* and *rangatiratanga*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Piki mai taku manu, kake mai taku manu
Ki te taha o te wainui, ki te taha o te wairoa,
Ka tū te rupe ki tai
Ka whakakikī, ka whakakakā
A, nāu mai taku manu, tau mai.

Me mihi ki te Atua Kaha rawa, ko te kaha me te kororia ki tōna ingoa tapu. E mihi ana ki tō tātau nei mate, kua riro ki te pō uriuri ki te pō kerekere ki te pō tangotango e au e te tangata i te pō. He mihi aroha ki ngā tūpuna, ki ngā whānau maha a Te Poihipi me Ngāti Ruingārangi hoki. He mihi nunui rawa atu hoki ki te hunga ora o Ngāti Ruingārangi me ēra atu hapū o Te Poihipi. Ahakoa he iti he pounamu. Anei tōku koha iti nei mō koutou. Ko te whakawhetai nui ki te Atua, nāna te mahi nei i tautoko, i manaaki. Korōria ki tōna ingoa.

Rose Stebbing, Ngāti Ruingārangi's "unofficial" *hapū* historian. Stebbing was one of the main reasons why I decided to do this thesis. She was passionate about Ngāti Ruingārangi, and our *tūpuna,* and our history, that she started her research in the 1970s correlating what was said in Taupō Native Land Court minute books with *kaumātua* and *kuia* and *whanaunga tata* still alive at the time. Where Te Poihipi is considered *poutokomanawa* for Ngāti Ruingārangi in this thesis, she has been that for me. *Ka nui rawa atu tōku nei aroha mōna mō tōna tautoko ia wā, ia wā.*

A very special thank you to my supervisors, Associate Professor Huia Tomlins-Jahnke and Dr Nathan Matthews, who have been mentors over the years providing wisdom, guidance, and support, during the course of this thesis. *Kāore e mutu te mihi ki a kōrua.*

Dr Peter Gibbons, retired historian from Waikato University, Hamilton, '*He tipua kē koe.*" "You are the man." Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story would not be the story it is today without Peter's priceless input. *Ka mau te wehi te tangata koi rawa atu, te tangata hūmarie hoki.*

In no particular order of importance, I would like to acknowlege the following people for their inspiration, support, guidance, and contribution in some way to me completing this thesis:

Parāone Wiki, Taka Loughlin, Morvan Simon, Juby Pitiroi, Rangi Parker, the late Edwin Aubrey, Ranginui Aubrey, Bill Aubrey, Rewa Dundas, the late Nepia Williams, Dr Nepia Mahuika, James Rickard, Bruce Stirling, Clive Granger, Dion Prime, Wai Roberts, Mātauranga Te Rauna, Matthew Harrison, Dr Hēnare (Hauiti) Hākopa, Dr Peter Wensor, Dr Moana Jackson, Dr Helen Sword, Dr Susan Carter, Dr Barbara Grant, Professor Alison Jones, Professor Mason Durie, Dr Monty Soutar, Rowley Habib, Eddie Hall, Perry Fletcher, Mutu Samuels, Tūranga (Micky) Karauria, Francis White, Maria Chan, Huia Winiata, Georgina Te Heuheu, Malcolm Mulholland, Dr Philip Parkinson, Dr Linda Smith, Dr Nin Tomas, Tara Papa, Chris Woods, Professor Tony Vitalis.

And also to Professor Les Williams, Director of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, and the 120 plus Māori doctoral candidates who attended the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga sponsored Doctoral writing retreats (2007-2010), at the Tainui Endowed College, Hopuhopu, near Ngāruawāhia, Hamilton. Thank you for your example, and in many cases, valued advice and guidance. *Kei roto i ōku karu, kei roto i tōku ao, he toa rangatira koutou katoa.*

Education Grants

I also owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the following *iwi* or *hapū* based Trust Boards and Massey University who helped fund my thesis:

Tainui Trust Board; Tūwharetoa Māori Trust Board; Pūrehuroa Education Scholarship (Massey University); Lake Taupo Charitable Trust; Lake Taupō Forset Trust, Ōpepe Farm Trust; Tahorakurī No. 2 Trust; Rotoiti 15 Trust; Rangatira E Trust. Without your financial assistance, this thesis would not have been possible. *Kei runga noa atu ki a koutou katoa. Ko ēnei poari te korowai o te iwi Māori.*

Te Wānanga o Raukawa

For presenting me with the priceless opportunity, in 2002, of researching my *hapū* histroy, as part of the compulsory "*Hapū* Studies" module taught and coordinated by my Ngāti Raukawa *whanaunga* Huia Winiata. Never did I ever think that that course would lead to this thesis. *He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea.*

Institutions

A very special thanks also to the staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington); Archives New Zealand (Wellington); National Library of New Zealand (Wellington); HistoryWorks (Wellington); Taupō Library; Taupō Museum; Hocken Library (Dunedin); Auckland Library. *Mā whero mā pango ka oti ai te mahi.*

In loving memory of my koro and kui, Tū and Merehapi Williams

Koro's response still resonates with me today, when as an 11 or 12 year old, I proudly announced to him that I had just completed reading Grace's book *Tūwharetoa*, cover to cover, for the first time. Expecting acolades and praise for my mammoth 535 page effort, all I got was "why did you waste your time doing that for?" Bearing in mind that I was at least reading, and reading a book that was possibly thicker than my thighs were ever likely to be anyway. I was stunned. As I reflected on his response, I realised he was right. The book, afterall, did not talk about Te Poihipi, and Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Hohepa Tamamutu, and Taupō, and Ōruanui, and Puketarata and so on, but rather focused on southern Ngati Tūwharetoa history and not our northern end of the Lake history. Hopefully, *koro* and *kui* this thesis contributes in some small way to redressing that imbalance. *Moe mai i ō kōrua moenga roa. Ka kite kōrua i te Rangi Tūhāhā. Ka nui tōku nei aroha mō kōrua.*

To the two pieces of advice Professor Mason Durie gave me when I first talked about wanting to do a doctorate, "You need to be passionate about your topic, because you are the one driving it, no one else is going to do the work for you, and secondly, you need to have the support of your spouse." *He whakaaro rangatira, he tākoha ēnei mō ētahi o koutou e pīrangitia ana kia mahia tēnei tūmomo mahi.*

To my darling wife, Erica who epitomised the support needed for me to complete this thesis. She is an amazing person. I also wish to acknowledge the support and encouragement of my sons and daughters; Deon, Katarina, Chante, Tāmati, Daniel, Jordan, and Jacinta, and more so Jordan and Jacinta because they were still at home when I was completing most of the work. I dedicate this thesis to you and to my *kui* and *koro* who raised me on the farm.

Te mutunga kē mai o te pai mō ō koutou tautoko, ō koutou aroha, ō koutou akiaki mōku i runga i tēnei haerenga roa. Mā te Atua koutou katoa, e manaaki, e tiaki i ngā wā katoa. Kia tau ngā

manaakitanga a te runga rawa ki runga i a koutou katoa. Nā reira tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Tupu Williams
December 2013

Inā kei te mōhio koe ko wai koe, i anga mai i hea, kei te mōhio koe kei te anga atu ki hea.
If you know who you are and where you are from, then you will know where you are going.

Kia hangaia īnaianei mō ake tonu atu.
Prepare now for eternity.

CONTENTS

List of Figures

Abbreviations

AD	Army Department
AJHR	*Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*
ANZ	Archives New Zealand
APL	Auckland Public Library
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AU	University of Auckland
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CN	Correspondence of the Church Missionary Society, New Zealand
GBPP	*Great Britain Parliamentary Papers*
HBP	Hawkes Bay Province
Jnl	Journal
JPS	*Journal of the Polynesian Society*
Mico	Microfilm
MS	Manuscript
NZG	*New Zealand Gazette*
NZJH	*New Zealand Journal of History*
RM	Resident Magistrate
RNLC	*Rotorua Native Land Court*
TKM	*Te Karere Māori*
TNLC	*Taupō Native Land Court*

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi: Hei tīmatatanga kōrero me tōku whakapapa ki te rangahau

Chapter 1: Introduction and whakapapa to the research

Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: te poutokomanawa o Ngāti Ruingārangi is a *hapū*-focused study and since *hapū* are maintained through *rangatiratanga*, my thesis is an account of, and an analysis of, *hapū* leadership. It looks at people sometimes termed "friendlies" and "*kūpapa*" *(collaborator or ally - a term applied to Māori who sided with Pākehā imperial or colonial forces (the Government))* and "Queenites" and "*kāwanatanga* Māori" *(Māori who aligned with the Government – probably a less loaded term than the others),* often disregarded or denigrated in recent historical perspectives in a period of great change, through an investigation of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. The discussion will demonstrate that Te Poihipi provides an example of a chief, in consultation with his people, adjusting leadership roles to benefit the *hapū*.

Māori words and phrases in the text

When reading this thesis, please note that Māori words and phrases in Māori will appear *italicised* in the text. The first time a Māori word or phrase appears in the thesis, the definition or meaning will be translated in brackets immediately following it e.g. *whānau (family), rangatira ki te rangatira (face to face meeting between chiefs).* Every other time, the word or phrase will be *italicised* but will not be followed by a bracketed definition or meaning e.g. *whānau*, *rangatira ki te rangatira*. If readers need translations for Māori words or phrases, either look back to when the word or phrase first appeared in the text or simply refer to the glossary at the end of the thesis.

Meaning of words *tupuna, tūpuna* and *Māori* in the thesis

Although the word *tupuna* means ancestor, and *tūpuna* ancestors, I use the word *tūpuna* in this thesis to refer to my Ngāti Ruingārangi or wider Ngāti Tūwharetoa ancestors. At times, the word is used to refer to both. The word *tūpuna* may be used in the text to refer to the *tūpuna* of others but it will be preceded by the possessive pronoun their ie their *tūpuna*. The word Māori is used in the thesis to include all other indigenous *iwi, hapū, whānau*, men, women, and children of Aotearoa.

A study of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi and Ngāti Ruingārangi from a *kaupapa* Māori perspective will contribute to new knowledge and make a significant contribution to scholarship by Māori, for Māori, on leadership, on *te ao hurihuri (the changing world)* of the nineteenth century, on the

history of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, on the Taupō *rohe*, and empower Ngāti Ruingārangi. The study offers new knowledge by bringing together these perspectives in the one history.

The study will show Te Poihipi on his own terms rather than as a "Māori" who sides with the "Pākehā." Each *rangatira* should be judged for his efforts in supporting his people, not whether he was on this side or that. In addition, this study contributes to new knowledge in the sense that it provides part of the history of Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi Tūkairangi in written form for the first time.

Few *tūpuna* and *hapū* histories have yet been the subject of doctoral dissertations. More Māori history needs to be recounted by Māori, from a Māori world-view perspective, and not from a western paradigm. The study will help redress the imbalance. Te Poihipi was a notable Ngāti Ruingārangi *rangatira* and his *tino rangatiratanga* or contribution to Ngāti Ruingārangi and to Taupō heritage was significant and needs to be understood and appreciated from this perspective. The study will help broaden the focus of Ngāti Tūwharetoa history from the southern end of the Lake and the paramount family who have featured so strongly in previously published material and supplement the Tūtemohuta study, also about the "north" (Wall, Stirling, & Johns, 2009).

The topic is significant for Māori scholars, as an example of *kaupapa* Māori or Māori focused research for others to follow, or to modify as circumstances suit. The research is significant for Pākehā historians, too, for they have often taken a limited view of Māori roles in nineteenth century conflicts.

What each chapter in the thesis will cover

Chapter 1 has five objectives. The first is to establish how certain Māori words and phrases are used in the thesis. The second is to outline what each chapter will cover. The third is to establish Ngāti Ruingārangi's traditional links to the central North Island region, welcome you onto Tapuaeharuru marae and into Te Rangiita, and introduce you to Te Poihipi Tūkairangi the *poutokomanawa* and man. The fourth is to highlight the significance of *whakapapa* in Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world. And the fifth objective is to establish my *pepeha (a saying specific to the hapū)* and *whakapapa (genealogy)* connections to the research topic.

Chapter 2 will discuss what *kaupapa* Māori research is as a research methodology; provide a critical review of the literature on the Taupō *rohe*, of literature on Ngāti Tūwharetoa and on Māori and

Pākehā relations in the nineteenth century and identify the sources used. In Chapter 3, the focus will be on the natural world of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, a world they called *tūrangawaewae;* a world that connected them to the land, its waterways, and the forest through Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother, and their seven *atua* son's Tangaroa *(atua of the lakes, rivers, streams and all the creatures that inhabit them),* Tāne-māhuta *(atua of the forest and the all the creatures that live in them),* Rongo-mā-Tāne *(atua of Peace, the kumara and cultivated food),* Haumia-tiketike *(atua of fernroot and uncultivated food),* Tāwhiri-mātea *(atua of the winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and storms),* Tūmatauenga *(atua of humankind and war)* and Whiro *(atua of things associated with evil, darkness and death).* Chapter 3 examines Te Poihipi's "upbringing" in the traditional world that his *tūpuna* knew.

Chapter 4 will deal with the new or non-traditional world of Te Poihipi and examine the events leading up to his presence at the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi, and its impact on the very young man who was to be the future leader of Ngāti Ruingārangi. In Chapter 5, the emphasis will be on the growth of Christian practices in Tūwharetoa from 1841 to 1856, and Te Poihipi's efforts, despite strong opposition from southern *rangatira* to secure the services of a resident missionary at the Ngāti Ruingārangi end of the lake. This chapter discusses the radical changes made by Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to accommodate *te ao Karaitiana (the world of Christianity),* a completely new world, and one that was so far removed from *te ao tawhito* and familiar world their *tūpuna* had brought them up in.

In Chapter 6 the emphasis will be on the first meetings held for the kingship round Taupō *moana,* to the end of fighting against Te Kīngitanga in Waikato and Bay of Plenty (Gate Pā and Te Ranga). Material relating to the responses of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to the "Hauhau" or Pai Mārire movement, and to Te Kooti and his followers from mid-1864 through to 1869/70 in the Taupō *rohe* will be analysed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 8 describes how, in the 1870s, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were committed to taking road making and other government related public works contracts, selling or leasing land, and developing tourism to encourage Pākehā involvement in the *rohe*. Chapter 9 will discuss how tourism promoter, Robert Graham, a Pākehā, manipulated the Land Court system and used his past influence in politics to strip Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and many other local *tūpuna* of their traditional *ahi ka* rights in the Wairākei *rohe*. Chapter 10 will summarise why Te Poihipi provided

an example of a chief, in consultation with his people, adjusting leadership roles to benefit Ngāti Ruingārangi.

Ngāti Ruingārangi's traditional links to the central North Island

Mt Tauhara, the ancestral *maunga (mountain)* of Ngāti Ruingārangi stands as a sentinel over Lake Taupō, the Waikato River, low-lying country-side, including Te Rangiita[1] the *wharepuni (meeting house)* and Tapuaeharuru the *marae-ātea* (*open space in front of meeting house to welcome visitors)* at Nukuhau. According to local tradition, Mt Tauhara relocated from the southern end of the Lake to its current location; the *maunga* has guarded and nurtured northern Lake Taupō *hapū (sub-tribes).* Northern Lake Taupō *hapū* are part of Ngāti Tūwharetoa who are *uri (descendants)* of the eponymous *tūpuna* Tūwharetoa and Ngatoroirangi and Tia who arrived in Aotearoa *(New Zealand)* from Hawaiki on the Te Arawa canoe. Ngatoroirangi, the high priest and navigator on board Te Arawa commenced his journey from Te-Awa-o-Te-Atua (The River of the God) in the eastern Bay of Plenty to Te Manawa-o-Te-Ika a Māui (The heart of the great fish of Māui) in the Central North Island (J. T. Grace, 1959).

Figure 1: Watercolour painted by William Fox in 1864 or 1874? of Te Poihipi's pā, with Mt Tauhara in the background - WC-043, ATL, Wellington.

Ahi kā (the burning fires of occupation) rights to the land, the lake and the river constitute what Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi considered important in the world they knew because these

[1] Te Rangiita, the *wharepuni*, was opened in 1914-15.

geographical features and others represented and defined them as to who they were, as much as *whakapapa* consolidated that place through descent.

Kaumātua of Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa recount when Ngatoroirangi arrived in the *rohe* he sought land for his *uri* and ascended Mt Tauhara.[2] Upon reaching the summit, he thrust his *tokotoko (walking stick)* into the earth and from the furrow flowed a freshwater spring, 'Te Karetu-ā-Ngatoroirangi', which still flows atop Mt Tauhara today. Ngatoroirangi then snatched a *totara* tree from the earth and threw it as far as he could. The tree eventually landed at Wharewaka, branches piercing the earth and roots high in the air. He descended Mt Tauhara and headed towards the newly formed lake and as he reached Wharewaka he uttered "*He wai tēnei mō āku mokopuna* (this is drinking water for my grandchildren)." He then ripped a feather from his cloak and lobbed it into the water, and when it touched the surface it transformed into an eel which did not survive. Undeterred, Ngatoroirangi tore another feather from his cloak and flicked that into the lake and as it touched the water, the *kōaro (a breed of whitebait)* appeared and remains as the traditional fishery of the lake today.

While on top of Mt Tauhara, Ngatoroirangi noticed an impressive *maunga* to the south. He knew he needed to climb it so he continued south from Wharewaka to Hamaria before the setting sun disappeared. He turned to his *tira (travelling party)* and remarked, "*Kua tau te pō, me noho mai tātou i kōnei*" – "The night has settled, let us stop here" and so the *rohe* derived its name, Taupō (*Tau* to settle and *pō* – night). When dawn broke the rested *tira* continued their journey south and after several stops reached the foot of Tongariro. As the *tira* ascended the *maunga* they were challenged at every step none the least when Tāwhiri-mātea the God of winds created a tumultuous blizzard of snow and ice as they neared the summit. Chilled to the bone the semiconscious Ngatoroirangi called on his sisters Kuiwai and Hangaroa in Hawaiki for assistance. "*Kuiwai e!*

[2] In 2009, *kaumātua* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, local master carver Delani Brown, and representatives from Contact Energy, Taupō RSA and the District Council met to discuss the possibility of Contact Energy commissioning a suitable carving that they could gift to the people of Taupō to commemorate 50 years of power generation at Wairākei. The 9 metre high carving 'Ngatoroirangi Toa Matarau' was the result of those discussions and is the *waharoa* that now stands as a gateway to the Taupō War Memorial Cenotaph on Tongariro Street. *Kaumātua* worked closely with Delani Brown to ensure that he received an accurate history of how the region came to be named, and the arrival of geothermal energy to the *rohe*. What you read to the end of the section, is the history *kaumātua* of Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa related to Delani Brown in telling the story of Ngatoroirangi.

Haungaroa e! Ka riro atu au i te Tonga. Tukuna mai te ahi! – Oh Kuiwai, Oh Haungaroa, I have been captured by the southern winds. Send me fire!"

Figure 2: A view of Tapuaeharuru *marae* in the foreground and, Te Rangiita, the *wharepuni*, in the background - Photograph taken by Bill Aubrey in 2002.

When Kuiwai and Haungaroa heard Ngatoroirangi's impassioned plea they filled baskets with live embers, the *tamariki* of Rūaumoko *(the children of the atua of earthquakes, volcanoes and subterranean activity).* The sisters called on the supernatural beings Te Hoata and Pūpū to deliver the embers to Ngatoroirangi. Te Hoata and Pūpū dived deep into Papa-tū-ā-nuku and journeyed to their brother in Aotearoa. As the pair travelled towards Tongariro they surfaced at many places including Whakaari (White Island), Motutohorā (Whale Island), Rotoiti, Rotorua, Tarawera, Waiotapu, Reporoa, Ōhakī, Ōrakei Kōrako, Wairākei, Waipāhīhī, Tokaanu and eventually Ketetahi at Tongariro. Embers were left at each place visited and only one basket of fire was retained for Ngatoroirangi. *See Figure 3, p.22*. Ngatoroirangi was livid and wondered how he would survive such dire conditions with one basket (*Kete*, basket and *tahi*, one) of fire? Enraged he stamped his feet twice to shake the earth which caused Ruapehu (*Rua*, two and *pehu*, vent) to rise up out of Papa-tū-ā-nuku to become a *maunga*. Ngatoroirangi then thrust his paddle deep into the earth (*Ko te ngaurutanga*, the shaft of the paddle and hoe, paddle) to cause Ngauruhoe *maunga* to rise up from the bowels of mother-earth. Complimenting Ngatoroirangi's violent response, the basket of embers exploded into life generated by the might and power of Rūaumoko. With the added warmth, Ngatoroirangi regained consciousness and survived.

The route taken by Te Hoata and Pūpū from Whakaari to Tongariro is a direct line. Each site where they surfaced on their rescue mission south marks the location of a distinctive geothermal feature that exists today. The embers of Rūaumoko still provide for Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa and many others today.

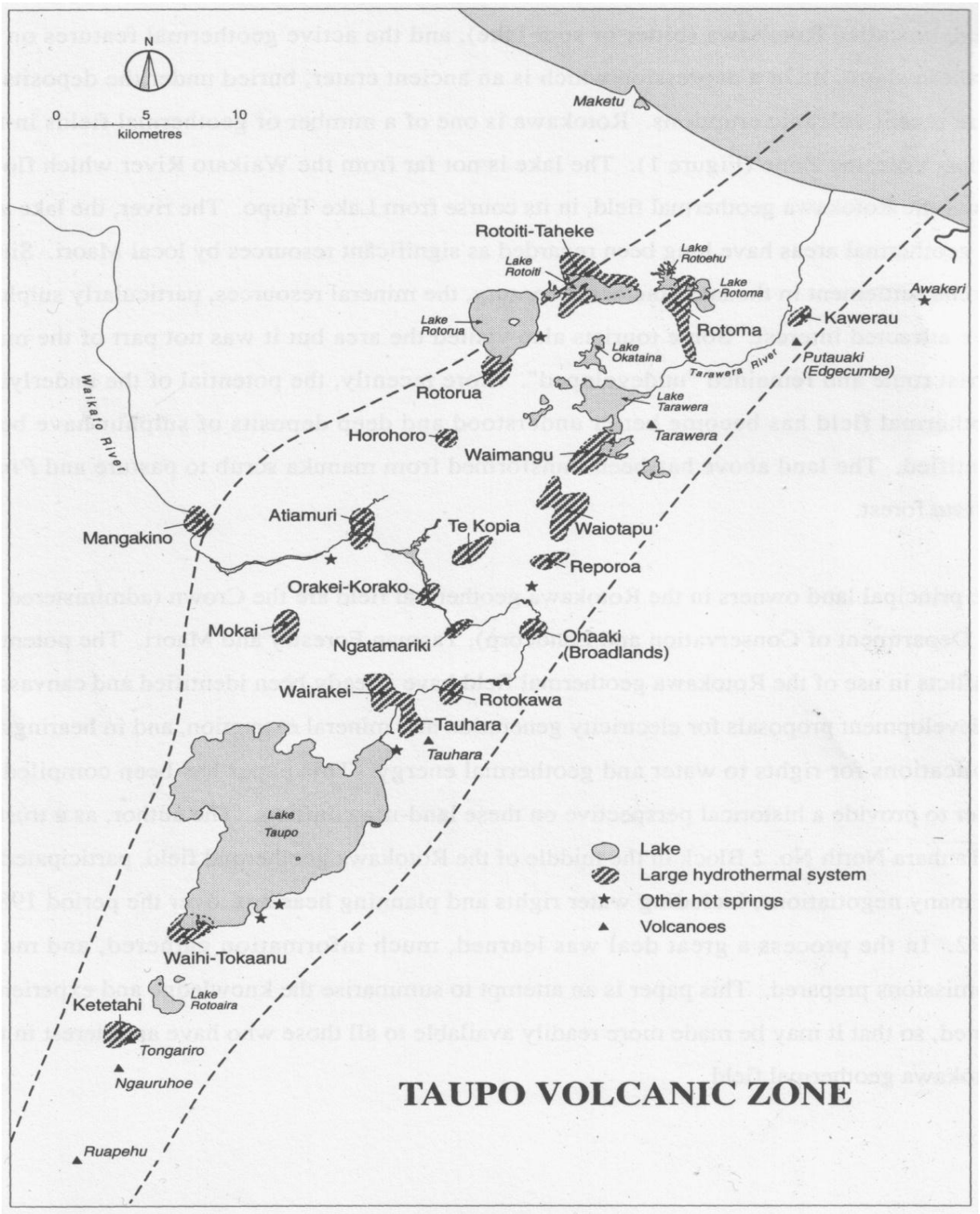

Figure 3: Places where Te Hoata and Pūpū dived into Papa-tū-ā-nuku as they journeyed into the centre of the North Island to save Ngatoroirangi from the bitterly cold conditions on Mt Tongariro (E Stokes, 1991).

From the marae-ātea, Tapuaeharuru, at Te Rangiita

From Tapuaeharuru *marae,* you can see Mt Tauhara, the Waikato River, and Lake Taupō. Te Rangiita, the *wharepuni* and the *tūpuna* represented in the carvings are all key elements in the world in which Te Poihipi operated, the world in which he was brought up, the world in which he acquired his *mātauranga* Ngāti Ruingārangi, his *mātauranga* Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and his *mātauranga* Te Arawa. Inside the *wharepuni* is the *poutokomanawa* of Te Poihipi, and there are good reasons why he is honoured in this way. His world was a world of change, but it was still *te ao* Māori (*the world of the* Māori*),* and *te reo (the* Māori *language)* was the language through which he knew the world, and which ordered relationships.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were hospitable people. They prided themselves on their ability to *pōwhiri (a welcoming ceremony (usually) onto a marae) manuhiri (visitors)* onto their various *marae* in the same way as Ngāti Ruingārangi and I welcome you here today onto Tapuaeharuru *marae*. We *pōwhiri* you onto the *marae* and into the *wharepuni* to *manaaki (to support, take care of)* you and introduce you to the traditional world of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi.

Welcome onto Tapuaeharuru *marae*

Haere mai te ihi; haere mai te wehi; haere mai te mana; haere mai te tapu.
Draw near o excellent ones; draw near o awesome ones; draw near o charismatic ones; draw near o sacred ones.

Nau mai piki mai ki runga i te marae o Tapuaeharuru. Te Rangiita is located at the southern end of Pitiroi Street in Nukuhau, on the northern bank of the Waikato River, opposite Taupō's main shopping centre.

Ko Te Rangiita te tangata
Ko Tapuaeharuru te marae-ātea (marae)
Ko Te Rangiita te wharepuni
Ko Tauhara te maunga
Ko Waikato te awa
Ko Taupō te moana.

Te Rangiita is the eponymous ancestor

Tapuaeharuru is the grassed area in front of the meeting house for ceremonial welcomes
Te Rangiita is the ancestral meeting house
Tauhara is the ancestral mountain
Waikato is the river
Taupō is the lake.

The *karanga (a traditional call of welcome given by elderly women on the marae in a formal welcoming ceremony)* from the *kuia (a respected female elder of the sub-tribe)* signals to all present that your *pōwhiri* onto Tapuaeharuru marae has started.

Haere mai rā e ngā manuhiri tūārangi ki Te Rangiita, nā tāku pōtiki koe i tiki atu i te tahatū o te rangi kukume mai rā, haere mai, haere mai, haere mai.

Karanga is symbolic of the cry a woman would make during labour while giving birth to her newly born infant. The *karanga* celebrates the birth of new life into *te ao mārama (the world of the light or world of the living).* This is how you are viewed as you are formally called onto Tapuaeharuru *marae* as its newest arrival. The *karanga* penetrates beyond the confines of the physical world, on into the realm of *te ao wairua (the realm of the spirit world),* invoking their presence at the *hui (coming together of people to talk)*. Women, particularly elderly women, are so highly regarded by local men that a women's voice will always be heard first on Tapuaeharuru. You reverently move towards the *marae* having waited at the gate in anticipation of the *karanga*. Heads are bowed and tears flow as a mark of respect for *tūpuna* who have passed beyond the veil. As you walk, a *kuia* from your side recites her *karanga* to weave the spiritual rope to allow us to symbolically pull you and your *waka (canoe)* onto the *marae* (Barlow, 1991, pp. 38-39).

Kuia from *tangata whenua (person or people of the land)* and *manuhiri* share the wailing as they echo the sorrow that is expressed as the dead are remembered. As you near the *marae*, locals perform the *haka pōwhiri* or ancient canoe-hauling chant *Toia mai te waka* to symbolically pull your ancestral *waka* on to the *marae*. This act is a similitude of when *tūpuna* in the past assisted visiting paddlers to safely beach their *waka* on to the shores of Lake Taupō or on to the banks of the Waikato River. The voices of the *haka pōwhiri* symbolically represent the rope by which you and your *waka* are pulled on to the *marae*. Following *Toia mai te waka* locals perform the famous *haka* "*Ka mate*" composed by Te Rauparaha, the infamous Ngāti Toa war leader of the 1840s (Collins, 2010).

At the conclusion of *Ka mate,* you walk to the *whakaruru (shelter)* to your left in preparation for the *whaikōrero (formal speech-making part of the ceremony). Whai kōrero* literally means one speech followed by another and that is exactly what happens at this point in the ceremony. *Tikanga o* Ngāti Ruingārangi states that only men are permitted to *whaikōrero* on Tapuaeharuru in the same way as only women perform *karanga*. I speak first on behalf of the *tangata whenua* to welcome you on to the *marae*. My speech is reciprocated by a male speaker from your side. Once your speaker has concluded his remarks another speaker from the *tangata whenua* speaks and so on. This speech making format where speakers alternate from *tangata whenua* to *manuhiri* is called *tau-utuutu* or *ka tū atu, ka tū mai*. To add *kīnaki (relish, garnish)* to *whaikōrero,* each *whaikōrero* is complemented with a *waiata* that captures or reinforces the general mood or theme of the speech. *Kuia* and other *tangata whenua* are positioned near the *paepae (orators' bench where the speakers of the tangata whenua sit)* where the *kaikōrero (speaker)* speak from so that they can assist with *waiata* when needed. Your final orator concludes his remarks by laying down a *koha (present, gift)* on the *marae*. I come forward to accept the *koha* and respond with an appropriate expression of gratitude.

Whaikōrero complete you come forward to greet us with *harirū (to shake hands)* and *hongi* as we touch noses once as 'the *hā'* or breath of life is exchanged between us. Through this exchange of greetings you are now considered *whakatangata whenua (to become an honorary tangata whenua or local during the time of your visit to the marae)* and are invited inside Te Rangiita, the *papa tongarewa* or physical repository of Ngāti Ruingārangi's history. Te Rangiita is not a component part of present day Pākehā *(European)* Taupō but rather a living connection to *whakapapa*, to *tūpuna*, to *tikanga*, to *tūrangawaewae (an individuals ancestral marae; literally a 'place to stand')*, its significance a whole other world apart from the Pākehā world outside.

Te Rangiita, the *wharepuni*, is symbolically designed to represent the body of Te Rangiita (the *rangatira or chief or leader of the hapū)* himself and so when you physically go inside the *wharepuni* you are figuratively going into Te Rangiita's *puku (stomach).* The *tekoteko* or carved figure placed outside on the top front of the bargeboards represents Te Rangiita's head. The *maihi* or large barge boards that slope downwards from the *tekoteko* represents Te Rangiita's outstretched arms, held out as a welcome to visitors. The *tāhuhu* or solid beam of wood at the apex of the roof which runs down the centre of the *wharepuni* from front to back represents Te Rangiita's spine. The rafters represent his ribs. And half way down the inside of the *wharepuni*, the *poutokomanawa* or central support post runs up from the floor to prop up the *tāhuhu* (Barlow, 1991, pp. 176-181).

Te poutokomanawa

Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: Te poutokomanawa o Ngāti Ruingārangi, o Te Rangiita.
Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: the central support post of his hapū Ngāti Ruingārangi and wharepuni Te Rangiita.

As you enter Te Rangiita, you are greeted centre floor by the carved figure of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi attached to the *poutokomanawa*. Te Poihipi led Ngāti Ruingārangi and other closely related *hapū* through the mid-to late 1800s. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi are primary subjects in this thesis and in particular Te Poihipi's *rangatiratanga* or leadership of Ngāti Ruingārangi will be analysed from a cultural and political perspective. These two perspectives will be assessed in relation to his involvement with *tūpuna*, traditions, and his relationship with Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and the changing world of the nineteenth century.

The new world in which Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi found themselves in challenged and altered their perceptions of *te ao tawhito* in significant ways including technology, trade, Treaty of Waitangi, Te Kīngitanga, Pākehā visitors, Pākehā soldiers, missionaries, and conflicts. Te Poihipi's story is interwoven with the history of Ngāti Ruingārangi and the histories of other prominent Ngāti Tūwharetoa *tūpuna*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story is told inside the *wharepuni* through the *poutokomanawa*.

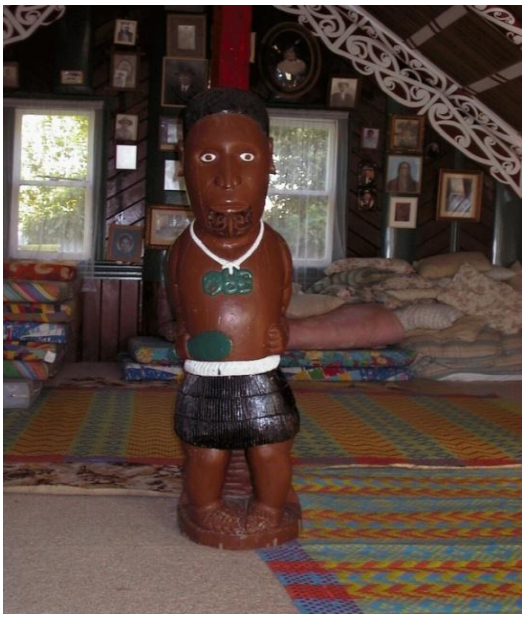

Figure 4: Te Poihipi, the *poutokomanawa* inside Te Rangiita - Photograph taken by Bill Aubrey.

Interior walls are not decorated with traditional carved *poupou (carved wall figures)* and weaved *tukutuku* panels like they are in other modern Ngāti Tūwharetoa *wharepuni* today but rather are bare. Photographs of *tūpuna* adorn the back inside walls. Painted maroon and white *kōwhaiwhai* patterns start at the *tāhuhu* and extend down to the floor.

Figure 5: The interior walls of Te Rangiita are not decorated with carved *poupou* or weaved *tukutuku* panels - Photograph taken by Bill Aubrey in 2002.

James Rickard, a Master Carver at Te Puia - New Zealand Māori Arts and Craft Institute, Rotorua, established that Te Rangiita was carved by *tohunga whakairo (Master carver)* Tene Waitere (1853/1854?–1931) of Ngāti Tarawhai who were kin to Ngāti Pikiao and Tūhourangi of Te Arawa in the Rotorua *rohe*. Waitere carved the two *amo (upright supports of the lower ends of the maihi of the front of a wharepuni)* and the *tekoteko.* Tene's signature trademark was the lizard, and knocked knees on his human figures. Northern Lake Taupō *wharepuni* are strongly influenced by the Ngāti Tarawhai carving style, whereas southern Lake Taupō *wharepuni* are influenced more by Ngāti Raukawa carvers. Pitiroi Mohi, the founder of the *marae* and a grandnephew of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi, employed Tene Waitere to carve the *wharepuni*, then at a later date in the 1930s, his wife Hiraina's uncle Wīhau, a master carver of Ngāti Pikiao and Uenukukōpako was employed to carve the figure at the base of the *pou (post)* that supports the *tekoteko*. Wīhau also carved the figure of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi, the flag pole, gate posts, and the existing *wharekai (dinning hall)*.[3] *Wharepuni* erected during the period 1905-1920 were similar to Te Rangiita. The lack of *whakairo*

[3] R. Stebbing (personal communication, 28 February 2012).

inside *wharepuni* was a stark reminder of the dire times *tūpuna* lived through during this period. *Tūpuna* were extremely poor and simply did not have the disposable cash to pay carvers to do the work, and only those *hapū* who had carvers in the family, carved their *wharepuni*. However, when Rickard inspected the *whakawae* or door jambs, he knew they had been carved by some other Te Arawa carver and not Waitere.[4]

Whakapapa and its importance in the world of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi

Rickard confirmed for me the significance of *whakapapa* as *whakapapa* is more encompassing, more overarching than *wharepuni*. *Wharepuni* were built by *tūpuna* out of necessity and when a *hapū* got large and unwieldy, or a dispute ensued, and remained unresolved, the *hapū* would split from the main group, form another *hapū*, and build a *wharepuni* as the centre of their new world. As *tūpuna* settled the *rohe*, over time, the various *wharepuni* dotted within the *rohe* represented the *whakapapa* of *tūpuna* back to Tūwharetoa.[5]

In a way, what Rickard is saying ties in with the need to frame the thesis in terms of the world of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, a rapidly-changing world, but one still based on *tikanga*, *tūpuna* and *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* is a means of carrying all the history and knowledge encompassed in the various *wharepuni* in the *rohe* in your head. In a similar way, *wharepuni* too can be considered a metaphor for *whakapapa*.[6] The *poutokomanawa (centre ridge pole of a meeting house)* is a part of the *wharepuni* in the same way as Te Poihipi is a part of his people, including his *tūpuna*, his contemporaries, and his *uri*. Te Poihipi was the "support post" of his people, his leadership ensuring their survival – a perspective that puts him in *te ao* Māori *(the world of the Māori),* instead of calling him a "loyalist" or "Queenite" which are very much Pākehā perceptions of the world.

Te Poihipi, the man

Te Poihipi Tūkairangi is my *tupuna* and he and I are both *uri* of Ngāti Ruingārangi (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.8*; Bates, 1860). He was born circ.1820 and died of pulmonary consumption or tuberculosis on 10 February 1882 in Taupō or Tapuaeharuru as it was known then (Bates, 1860). I was born exactly 75 years to the day after his death (*RNLC minute book 92, pp. 89-95.*; *Succession Order (Rotorua, 1940).*). Tapuaeharuru was the name Te Poihipi gave to his *pā (village, settlement)* and it literally

[4] J. Rickard (personal communication, 22 April, 2009).
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

meant “the place of resounding footsteps” (B. Cooper, 1989, pp. 7-8). When Tamatea-arikinui arrived at Taupō from Waihi he remarked that the ground underneath was hollow, for his footsteps resounded as he walked. That place was ever after known as Tapuaeharuru (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 66). Te Poihipi was about 62 years old when he died and had strong *whakapapa* connections to Ngāti Te Rangiita, Ngāti Rauhoto, and Ngāti Te Urunga among others.

Figure 6: Te Poihipi Tūkairangi in the 1870s - F-18590 ¼, - Burton Brothers Collection, ATL, Wellington.

Meade described Te Poihipi as an animated character with a rather portly though physically strong frame. Meade also recorded that Te Poihipi was “[a] bold navigator ….who ventures to cross the broad waters of Taupo in the crazy lake-canoe” (Meade, 1984, p. 3). Meade also comments about Te Poihipi’s size in relation to a horse he rode: “…[Te Poihipi] is noted for his preference for a little steed, on which his legs will nearly meet, and whence he has not far to fall…hard times though for the steed, for Poihipi is a jolly burly personage of some sixteen stone” (Meade, 1984, pp. 3-4). In 1864 when Meade estimated Te Poihipi’s weight, Te Poihipi would have been about 44-years old. In 1878, four years prior to his death, Thomas Tanner estimated Te Poihipi to weigh 23 stone. (Tanner, 1857, pp. 14-17) Meade and Tanner’s estimates were consistent with Te Poihipi’s obituary, in the Bay of Plenty Times, which described him as “a person of remarkably strong robust constitution, very corpulent, a few years back being almost a burden to himself.” The last comment about Te Poihipi being “very corpulent, a few years back” confirms that prior to him contracting pulmonary consumption, he was, in fact, grossly overweight and the excess weight would have

most definitely caused discomfort. Weight loss, a symptom of pulmonary consumption, explains why Te Poihipi shed the surplus poundage in the last years of his life ("Death of the Chief Te Poihipi Tukairangi," 1882, 22 February, p. 3)

Pulmonary consumption or pulmonary tuberculosis, as it is also known, is a highly infectious, communicable disease affecting the lungs. The disease is caused by the bacterium *mycobacterium tuberculosis* that is transmitted through inhalation and is characterized by cough, fever, shortness of breath, weight loss (as has already been mentioned) and the appearance of inflammatory substances and tubercles (small lesions usually found in the lungs but in various other parts of the body in acute stages, especially in people with weakened immune systems). *Tūpuna* dying from pulmonary consumption or pulmonary tuberculosis was very common during this period.

Figure 7: Photograph of Te Poihipi and his wife Harriot (Hāriata), taken in 1870s - F-91440-1/2, ATL, Wellington.

Te Poihipi's earliest *tūpuna* came to Aotearoa on the Te Arawa *waka* which landed on the North Island at Maketū in the eastern Bay of Plenty. *See Figure 3, p.22*. Tūwharetoa, the eponymous *tūpuna* of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa tribe was a direct descendent of the canoes captain Tama-te-kapua. Similarly, he could also directly *whakapapa* to its *tohunga (expert in traditional lore)* and chief

navigator Ngatoroirangi, and to the explorer Tia whose name is immortalised in place names within Ngāti Tūwharetoa tribal boundaries today eg A-*tia*-muri, Māroanui-a-*Tia,* Ōruanui-a-*Tia* and Ara-*tia-tia*. Over time and often as a result of *take raupatu (right of conquest)* to land Tūwharetoa and his people settled in the Lake Taupō *rohe* to work the land and other natural resources (Stebbing, 1983, p. 69).

Te ao hou or the new colonised world, into which Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi entered, intruded upon, challenged, and modified *te ao tawhito* or the traditional world they knew. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, for example, already had trading partners and networks established prior to Pākehā contact. Early on, Te Poihipi reasoned that if he wanted to maximise trading and other business related opportunities with Pākehā for the benefit of Ngāti Ruingārangi, he needed to nurture these strategic alliances (Petrie, 2006, p. 45). Te Poihipi embraced change and new technology in order to achieve his economic goals. He also considered sheep farming and flour-milling as viable business options. Later, he and Ngāti Ruingārangi contracted to deliver government mail from Auckland to Taupō and build roads through the *rohe (AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 75)*.

Missionary thinking often challenged *whakaaro* Māori *(Māori thinking)*. Missionary teachings forbade the traditional practice of leaders keeping *taurekareka (slaves)*, or living in polygamous relationships. *Rangatira* or *ariki (paramount chief of a tribe or iwi)* relied heavily on the availability of wives and slaves to strengthen their work force. *Ariki* Iwikau (Te Heuheu Tūkino III) for example, considered himself to be a practicing Christian, flatly refused to get baptised if it meant he had to give up his additional wives. He protested (to missionaries), "You have taken away all my slaves and now if I send away my wives I shall have no one to plant food for my visitors…. Now I am a slave" (S J Brittan & Grace, 1928, p. 109).

Author's whakapapa to the research

To Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Ruingārangi, *whakapapa* is the one universal, overarching, unchanging, and unwavering interrelationship that connects the people to one another and to all other things that exist in the world in the same way as Ngāti Tūwharetoa *wharepuni* are linked by *whakapapa*.[7] Each *wharepuni* symbolises the body of the *tūpuna* it represents on the various *marae* in the different *rohe*. *Whakairo (carvings), tukutuku (lattice-work of interior wall panels set*

[7] J. Rickard (personal communication, 22 April, 2009).

between the carved figures in a wharepuni), kōwhaiwhai (painted scroll ornamentation - commonly used on wharepuni rafters), poupou (carved figures), whakaahua (photographs) on and in the *wharepuni* are tangible reminders of the links between Ngāti Tūwharetoa *wharepuni*, the *tūpuna* the *wharepuni* is named after, and the *hapū* and *whānau (family)* associated with those *wharepuni*. In the same way as *whakapapa* links the *wharepuni* and the people to the *rohe* and the environment, I will, in this chapter, make my own *whakapapa* connections to the research, to Te Rangiita, to Te Poihipi, and to Ngāti Ruingārangi.

Whakapapa is the genealogical descent from the gods to all living things. The meaning of *whakapapa* is to lay one thing upon another as, for example, to lie one generation upon another. Everything in *te ao Māori*, including people, has a *whakapapa*: *manu (birds), ika (fish), kararehe (animals), rākau (trees)*, and every other thing including *ngāwhā (boiling springs), puia (volcano), kōhatu (stones, rocks), awa (ancestral river), ngahere (bush, forest), moana (large lake, sea, ocean),* and *maunga* (Barlow, 1991, p. 173). Through *whakapapa*, Māori are able to trace their *whakapapa* to the flora and fauna in the natural world. When, Tāne-māhuta created the first woman, he produced *rākau, manu, aitanga-ā-punga (insects and reptiles), mokomoko (lizard, skink, gecko),* and *kōhatu,* before creating Hineahuone and *te ira tangata (mortals)* (Buck, 1982, p. 450).

Whakapapa is the basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect to the creation and development of all things. Te Poihipi traced his *whakapapa* to his *tūpuna* Tia, Ngātoroirangi, Tūwharetoa, Tama-te-kapua: to his *whanaunga (relatives or relations)* Ngāti Ruingārangi, Ngāti Rauhoto, Ngāti Tamamutu, Ngāti Tahu, and Ngāti Tūwharetoa: to the *whenua (land)* and his *tūrangawaewae* and *marae* in Nukuhau, Hiruhārama, Ōmāunu, Rangatira, and on Mt Tauhara, and to the various *marae* dotted along the shores of the lake. He could also trace his *whakapapa* relationship to the *kōkopu (native fresh water trout)* and *īnanga (whitebait)* and *kōura* (fresh water crayfish) and *pārera (Grey Duck (the bird))* in and on the lake as well as the *tuna (eel)* in the river and the stars in the night sky. *Whakapapa* was all inclusive. *Whakapapa* includes cosmic genealogy which concerns the creation of the universe; the genealogy of the gods which discusses the creation of the gods of man and all organic life on the earth; the genealogy of man which began with Tānenuiarangi and Hineahuone; and the genealogy of the *waka* that brought Māori to Aotearoa from Hawaiki (Barlow, 1991, p. 173).

Whakapapa links me to the research and fuels my passion for the topic. I am the *mokopuna* of Mānuka Tūangaanga Wiremu (Tū Williams). He was a respected and loved Ngāti Ruingārangi

farmer, bushman, and businessman from Te Hunua. He raised me Ngāti Ruingārangi, and from an early age our family attended many *hui* together on Te Rangiita marae. Over the years we mourned the loss of many members of the *hapū* at Te Rangiita in Nukuhau. Later, as Tū's mokopuna, I was proffered research opportunities possibly closed to me under different circumstances. Stebbing, for example, may not have shared her manuscripts with me had it not been for the respect she had for Tū as she was growing up as a child at Puketarata and Ōruanui. Stebbing's research from Taupō Native Land Court minute books has been invaluable in piecing together Ngāti Ruingārangi's early history. Minutes provide rich sources of information.

Fluency in *te reo* too has been essential when interviewing *kaumātua* and reading archived material written in the language, since Māori treat oral records as their primary sources, and documents as secondary sources (Soutar, 1996, p. 48). Having an academic background has also had its advantages (Salmond, 1983, p. 323). So too has gender and age influenced access to *pū kōrero (esteemed orators)* and other research material. It is highly unlikely, for example, that anyone would take a *hapū* history seriously if it were written by a young person, independent of an elder's influence or guidance (Soutar, 1996, p. 45). *Mātauranga (knowledge)* in Ngāti Ruingārangi society has generally always been associated with maturity. This sentiment is encapsulated in the well-known *whakataukī (proverb, saying)*: *E tū huru mā, e noho huru pango* – Let the grey haired man speak, while the black cropped man remains seated. In this *whakatauki* the grey haired man is acknowledged for his age, experience, and wisdom over the younger less experienced, less worldly man. Another *kaupapa (matter for discussion)* for recipients not wanting to contribute too much information, is that this diminishes a person's own personal *mauri (or source of knowledge)* (Rangihau, 1975, p. 11). Being an older male from within the *hapū* has often helped elicit precious scraps of information from relatives otherwise indifferent towards research. Being able to *whakapapa* to the research has been one of my most valuable assets when researching this topic.

For me and for Ngāti Ruingārangi, our Ngāti Tūwharetoa *whakapapa* starts with Tūwharetoa i te Aupouri, the tribe's eponymous *tūpuna,* and then on to Hinemotu, who was one of Tūwharetoa's many wives. The layers to Ngāti Ruingārangi's earliest history are peeled back to reveal its first seven generations through to Kumu and Ngārongo.

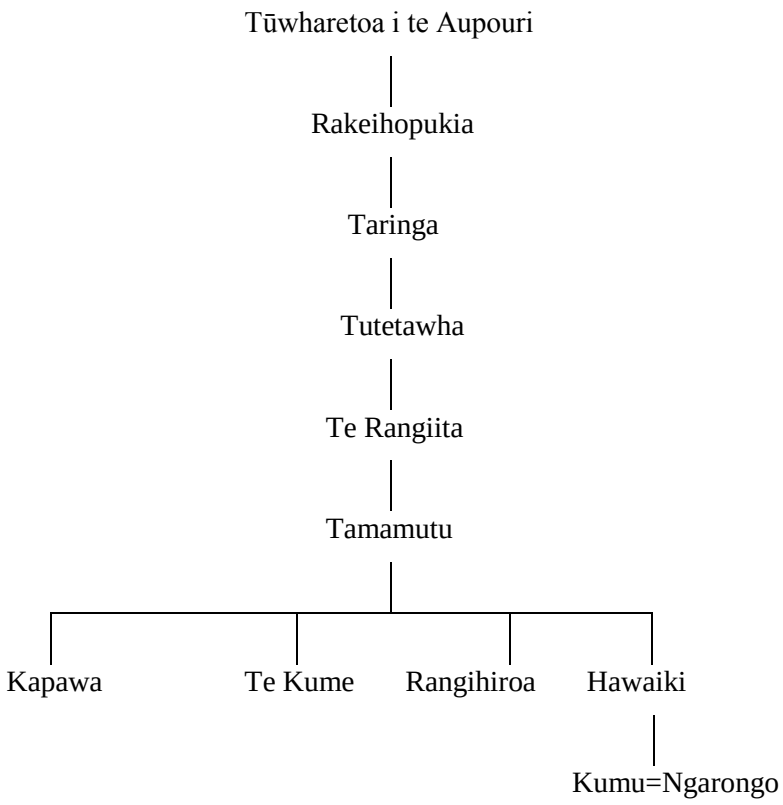

Figure 8: This *whakapapa* table was given by Hare Te Kume in TNLC minute book 4, p.204

Taupō Native Land Court minutes provide considerable contradictory evidence on Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa that made it difficult to be entirely certain of some matters. The Native Land Court took evidence in Taupō from the 1870s, and *tūpuna* became more and more aware of what they needed to say to court to demonstrate *ahi kā* status in land blocks. *Tūpuna* strove to present strong cases to the court which upheld their particular claims, and this in part explains why various *tūpuna* gave Land Court evidence about Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa which is at odds in certain details with evidence presented by other *tūpuna*.

Kumu and Ngārongo were succeeded by ninth generation *tūpuna,* Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa. The *whakapapa* is maintained and the narrative establishes my *whakapapa* to the research.

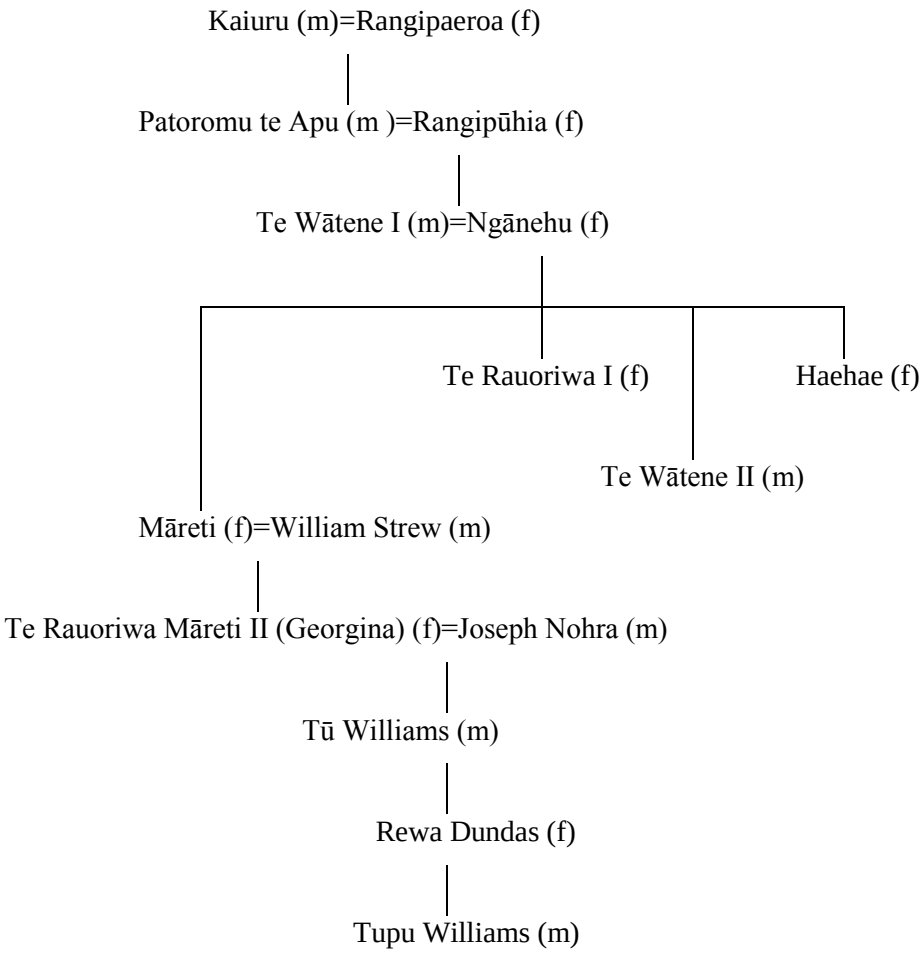

Figure 9: *Whakapapa* table compiled by Tupu Williams.

Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa

Kumu and Ngārongo had three children together. Waitara, the eldest, was a daughter, then Kaiuru, the first of their two sons, and then Te Pahi, the *pōtiki (youngest child)* of the family. Te Pahi was the father of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi.

Rangipaeroa was from Ōhaaki and was an *uri* of Ngāti Tahu. She was also a direct descendent of Parekawa who was the first born child and eldest daughter of Te Rangiita and Waitapu (Stebbing, 1983).

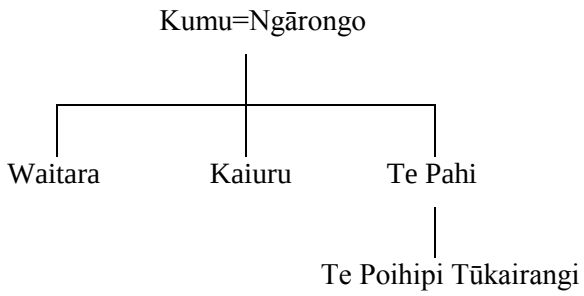

Figure 10: *Whakapapa* table was given by Hare Te Kume in TNLC minute book 4, p.204

To clarify matters, Rose Stebbing, a *kuia*, and respected historian of Ngāti Ruingārangi, decided to only accept Court evidence regarding Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa which had been submitted by Pitiroi Mohi and Poihipi Te Kume. She focused on what these two men had to say because they were Ngāti Ruingārangi too and they represented Ngāti Ruingārangi's voice in the story.[8]

When Stebbing compiled her manuscript papers in the 1980s, she interviewed *whanaunga* still alive at the time, and was able to confirm the reliability of evidence given by Mohi and Te Kume in the Court. From their evidence we learn that Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa lived at Rangatira and Te Houhou ki runga, and that Te Poihipi's father Te Pahi owned a *wharepuni* called Pohotiari at Te Houhou. Mohi, Kaiuru's grandson, recounted how when Kaiuru died at Wairākei, *whanaunga* removed his body for secret burial at Waiāwera, but his body sank into a deep hole in the river, to the bottom of which no-one could dive (Stebbing, 1983, p. 67). On the other hand Pitiroi, Mohi's son, recalls how he believed Kaiuru and Rangipaeroa died at Te Houhou and that Rangipaeroa was buried there. Nevertheless, *tūpuna* accounts in Court evidence are conclusive that Kaiuru built a *wharepuni* at Puketarata which he periodically occupied with his family (Buck, 1982; Stebbing, 1983, p. 128).

Patoromu and Rangipūhia

Rangipūhia was an impressive woman who had an equally impressive *whakapapa* that linked her southern Lake Taupō Ngāti Mananui *hapū* from Pūkawa to those at the northern end of the Lake. Rangipūhia's northern *hapū* connections included Ngāti Tūtetāwhā; Ngāti Te Rangīhiroa; Ngāti Te Urunga (Nukuhau); Ngāti Rauhoto-a-Tia (Nukuhau and Te Tatua); and Ngāti Tahu (Ōrākei Kōrako and Ohaaki). Very little else is known about Rangipūhia other than that, like Rangipaeroa, she too was buried at Te Houhou (Stebbing, 1983, p. 68).

[8] R. Stebbing (personal communication, 13 July, 2005).

Patoromu was born in the late 1790s or early 1800s and infamously spent a significant proportion of his early life in captivity. He was first named Te Ririapu and was affectionately called Te Apu by those who knew him well. With the introduction of Christianity into the *rohe*, he became known as Patoromu or Bartholomew. When just a child, he was first taken prisoner by Ngāti Hineuru and Ngāti Kahungunu at Te Karaka and Rangatira with his cousins Urutoa (Kairau), Paraoa (Ngore) and others. A prominent *hapū* leader, Tūkairangi, and Rangiwhiua, one of the wives of Te Pahi, were killed in this battle**.** Patoromu and his cousins were taken to Tarawera and raised there and at Heretaunga.[9] Later their uncle Te Pahi combined *taua (war party, army)* with Ngāti Tūhourangi *rangatira* Te Umurau to take *utu (revenge)* for the deaths. The *taua* successfully defeated Ngāti Hineuru and Patoromu was returned to Taupō.

Patoromu was taken captive a second time by a *taua* from Ngāti Raukawa at Te Waerenga-ā-Poka in Hūkui adjacent to Tahorakurī. Ngāti Raukawa took him to the Waikato *rohe* for a year or so before he escaped and returned to Te Hangihangi, just north of Ōruanui. While still at Te Hangihangi, the people received news one day that a *taua* from Ngāti Awa was approaching. They fled to Ngaawapurua on the Waikato River but were overtaken, captured, and unceremoniously dispatched to Matatā in the eastern Bay of Plenty. *See Figure 18, p.75.* Patoromu, captive again for the third time, remained there for the next four or five years. Finally, when Ngāti Pūkeko heard that he was there and that he was Te Pahi's nephew, they bartered for his release with flint-lock guns. When Te Umurau heard the good news, he left his Motutawa Island home in Lake Rotokākahi near Rotorua to collect Patoromu and once again return him to his people. Thus Patoromu was reunited with his uncle Te Pahi at Pouōrongo.

Patoromu composed music. When he lived at Pouōrongo, he was credited with having written a number of songs. A line from one of his songs reads, "*Me tuku tāku reta. Ki Tuhitara [kia] kirihoro*" which means: "I shall send my letter. To Kirihoro at Tuhitara (Stebbing, 1983, p. 68). Tuhitara was a place near Pouōrongo, and Kirihoro was a woman from one of the local *hapū*. During this time, Patoromu lived with his uncle Te Pahi either at Pouōrongo or at Rangatira or Te Tatua. In the late 1820s, Patoromu, Te Pahi and Ngāti Ruingārangi left Pouōrongo permanently to settle with Ngāti Rauhoto on ancestral land at Te Kōpua and Ōmāunu *pā*. *See Figure 18, p.75.* Local *hapū* had fully "upgraded" the original Ōmāunu *pā* to "fighting *pā*" status as a defence against threat of attack from Ngāti Kahungunu and other *taua* who often passed through the area.

[9] Heretaunga is the *rohe* in and around Napier and Hastings.

Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū*, because of their central North Island location, often felt vulnerable when *manuhiri* travelled through the region to pursue conflicts in and with other *rohe*, given the disparity in strength of arms. The situation was precarious because most *hapū* from elsewhere were now armed with guns, which was something local *hapū* did not yet have (Stebbing, 1983, p. 69).

Patoromu married Rangipūhia, and although the couple regarded Ōmāunu as a permanent residence, they had their children at Te Houhou. They lived with Te Pahi and his son, Te Poihipi Tūkairangi, and others. Te Pahi was the resident *rangatira* at Te Houhou and during this time Te Poihipi built himself a large house which he named Ākarana (Stebbing, 1983, p. 70). Te Houhou was in the Tatua *rohe*.[10]

Undeniably, Patoromu had strong *whakapapa* connections to *whenua* in northern Taupō and the upper Waikato River area. He had ancestral rights on Rangatira at Te Kōpua north of Whangaroa as well as *kōkopu* fishing rights around Motutāhae Island.[11]

Patoromu and Ngāti Tahu also tended *mahinga kai* at Ōtumuheke and Patuiwi. *See Figure 18, p.75*. They also used *waiariki* at Taranga, and fished for *kōkopu* in other places on the river, but rarely stayed for extended periods. Patoromu derived these ancestral rights through his *tūpuna* Ngārongo and Kumu. For a time, Patoromu, his wife, brother-in-law Hakaraia, and others cultivated *mahinga kai* at Paetiki on and around Mt Tauhara (*TNLC minute book 23, pp.325, 333-334*).[12]

During this time, Patoromu, Rangipūhia, and their four children were more permanently based in the *rohe*. Patoromu had built a family home above where the Control Gate Bridge now crosses the River into the township from the north (*TNLC minute book 21, p.279*). Pitiroi Mohi recounted how he would go with his grandfather to dig fern root (*aruhe*) at Te Rākau Whakamatuku.[13] Patoromu would sometimes use a *kāheru rākau* or sharpened stick to dig with (*TNLC minute book 21, p.56-57*). Pitiroi described the *aruhe* as "*kai pai rawa*" or "food that was absolutely delicious." Ngāti Ruingārangi also resided at Te Houhou for a time. Māreti remembered, "[w]e would come from Te Houhou to Hipapatua where there was a canoe, then along the river by canoe" (*TNLC minute book*

[10] The Tatua *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Tatua East Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.
[11] Whangaroa is the Māori name for Acacia Bay.
[12] The Mt Tauhara referred to here was later designated as Tauhara Middle Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.
[13] Te Rākau Whakamatuku is spelt Te Rakauwhakamatahu on some maps.

21, p.13). *Tūpuna* often had *waka* strategically placed along the river bank to make travel more convenient and easier for them. It is highly probable Rangipūhia died during this time, because she was buried in the *urupā (burial ground)* at Te Houhou (*TNLC minute book 27, p.204*).

Patoromu then married his second wife, Rangipakaru. The couple worked together in Taupō, but very little is known about her (*TNLC minute book 25, p.153*). Although the minutes do not record when she died, she was also buried at Te Houhou. Patoromu then married a third wife, Ngāwai. They established a *kāinga* on Motutāhae or Cherry Island and looked after their *mahinga kai* there (*TNLC minute book 21, p.74*).

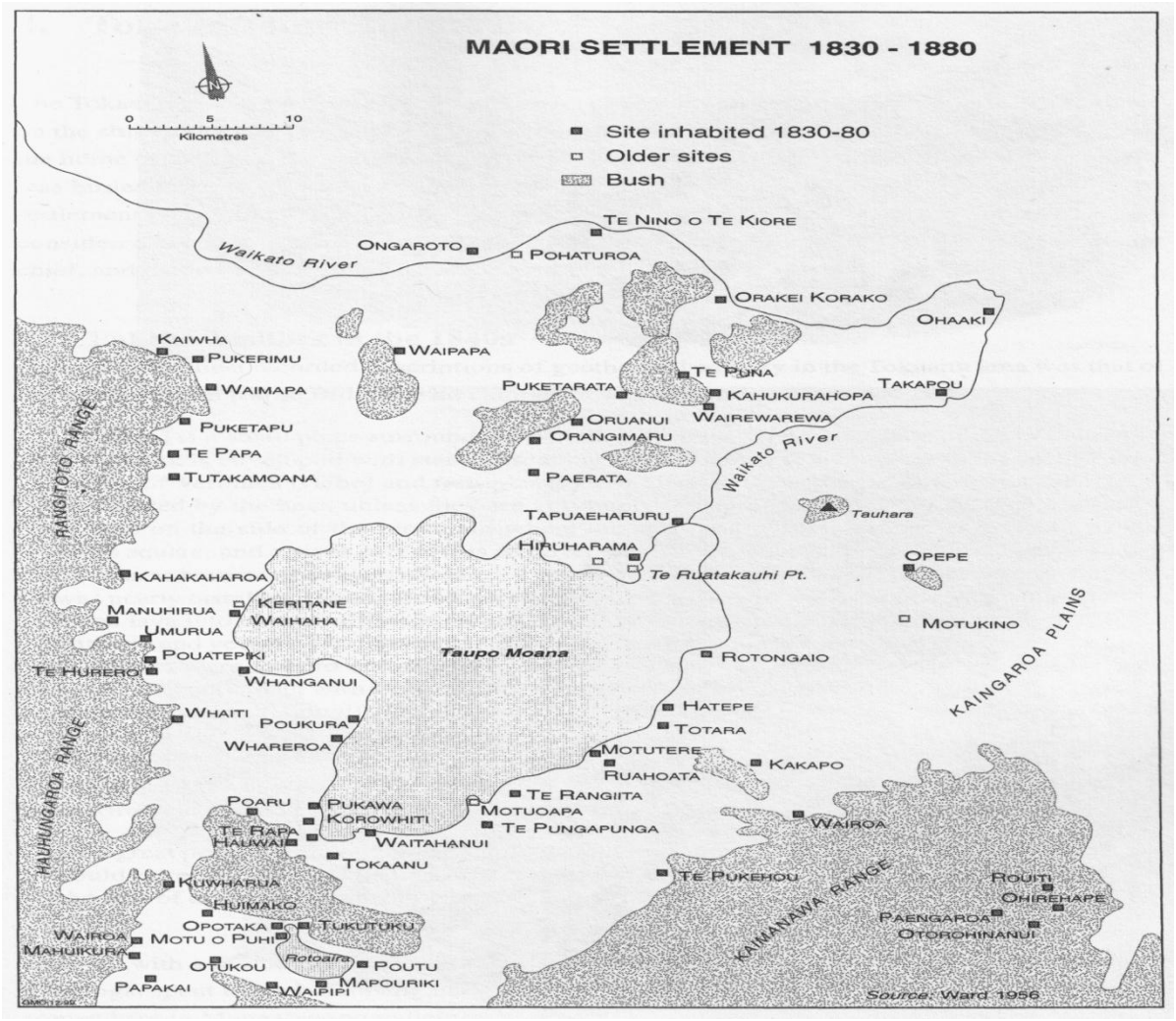

Figure 11: The map indicates the location of sixty-five settlements inhabited by *tūpuna* during the period 1830-1880. In virtually every case, settlements were located around the shores of the lake, on the Waikato River, or close to the edge of bush (Ward, 1956).

Patoromu lived on Motutāhae Island. He died in 1885, just upriver from Motutāhae Island, near one of the *waiariki* at Ōtaranga. He was first buried at Te-*Pā*-o-te-Rangitaukiwaho at Nukuhau next to his *whanaunga tata (very close relative)* Te Poihipi. Later, the bodies of both men were exhumed and reburied in the *rohe* of Rangatira at Ōmāunu (Stebbing, 1983, p. 73).[14]

Patoromu was specifically chosen by Stebbing to help establish the origin of Ngāti Ruingārangi because he lived with its parent *hapū.* He and the *hapū* lived at Pouōrongo, and then migrated north to settle at Rangatira, Puketarata, Motutāhae, and other places including Wairākei and around Mt Tauhara, to their final settlement at Nukuhau. Their *ahi kā* status to these places was through the intermarriages of the men with the local women.

Te Wātene and Ngānehu

A Te Kīngitanga celebration was instrumental in Te Wātene and Ngānehu meeting for the first time. They both attended the same *hui poukai (hui or gatherings held on marae where people who support the* Te Kīngitanga *demonstrate their loyalty)* at Ngāruawāhia to honour King Tāwhiao, the second Māori King. Ngānehu was a widow at the time, and Te Wātene was there as part of a strong Ngāti Tūwharetoa delegation. After festivities concluded, Ngānehu, as part of a Waikato convoy travelling south, and Te Wātene, as part of his contingent, met at the Karapiti blowhole in Taupō. As the two groups mingled, the couple met, fell in love, and Ngānehu returned with Te Wātene to his home.

Māreti and William Strew

William Strew was an Englishman who served in the Armed Constabulary in Taupō from 1874 to 1886. Strew and Robert Ross, also a member of this force, built the first theatre in Taupō in 1881. The theatre was used as a land court on occasions. Ross had carved an elaborate fireplace in the two large rooms behind the stage and Strew had painted scenery and proscenium in them with considerable ingenuity. The paints were obtained naturally from the different coloured clays found near the hot springs (B. Cooper, 1989, p. 29).

Strew was proprietor of an unlicensed hotel in Tokaanu. The Tongariro Hotel was built next to the courthouse and was described as having a spacious dining-room with many sitting-rooms. Some of

[14] The Rangatira referred to here was later designated as Rangatira 8B Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.

the bedrooms were arranged in a cottage formation to ensure privacy. The hotel stood on 1.2 hectares of ground and backed onto the Tokaanu River. Strew utilised the many *ngāwhā* in the river bank to supply the hot baths at his hotel (Allen, 1902, p. 57).

Māreti from Taupō and William Strew had a beautiful set of twin daughters together. They named them Te Rauoriwa and Rangiriri Māreti. When the pair grew up and guided tourists around the Whakarewarewa Thermal Resort in Rotorua for a living, tourists affectionately knew them respectively as Guide Georgina and Guide Eileen.

Figure 12: Guide Georgina (Rauoriwa) and Guide Eileen (Rangiriri) Māreti.

Te Rauoriwa Māreti and Joseph Nohra

Te Rauoriwa Māreti's first husband, a Lebanese man, was Joseph Nohra. Her second husband, Alfred Patchett Warbrick, had been Chief Guide at Tarawera, Waimangu. Te Rauoriwa and Joseph Nohra conceived my *koroua*, Mānuka Tūangaanga Wiremu, better known as Tū Williams. Although Te Rauoriwa and Joseph were Tū's biological parents, he was raised in Taupō by Marutuna Mohi and her husband Wiremu Tamehura. Tamehura was from Rangitikei and died about 1915 at Mōkai. They had two sons together, Arama Karaka Ururoa (Huru), who had no children himself, and Tuwhakahewa 1st. whose son Tuwhakahewa 2nd also took the name of Williams. Marutuna also fostered Kahu Reremoa, daughter of Rangiriri (Eilleen), Rauoriwa's twin sister, and Rehara Pitiroi. Tū's surname is Williams from the English language form of his grandfather's first name. Initially, when it became customary for *tūpuna* to have a first name and a family name, sons

and daughters pleased themselves whether they used their *tūpuna's* name as a first name or as a family name.

Figure 13: Marutuna Mohi adopted and raised Tū Williams from a very early age.

Joseph Nohra was born about 1886 and died on 26 November 1963. He was buried at the Waikumete cemetery in Auckland. It was not known when Te Rauoriwa was born, but she died on 25 August 1953.

Patoromu and Rangipūhia only had one other son beside Te Wātene I and his name was Mohi. Mohi married Hariata and they had nine children together. Their first born child was Marutuna Mohi. Marutuna Mohi's other brothers and sisters were (in order of birth) Pitiroi (who married Hiraina), Kahu o te Rangi, Tua Tangata I, Tukairangi, Hakaraia, Taranga, Pepe, and Aperehama Tauarua. These *tūpuna* constituted the Mohi side of the family. The Mohi family adopted the name Pitiroi.

Tū and Merehapi Williams

Tū Williams was born on 16 October 1912 in Nukuhau, Taupō. He was adopted and raised by Marutuna Mohi in Ōruanui, and the family lived together in a small one-room house. Every day he walked six miles to get to school, and when he was 10 years old left school to work in the forestry between Ōruanui and Atiamuri, cutting and splitting totara battens, posts, and strainers for his grand-uncle. When old enough, he was also responsible for trucking the fencing materials around the rapidly growing farming community. The posts, battens, and strainers were used to fence farms

on land which had now been stripped of native bush. Generally, bush and mill work was the only work available for Māori during the 1940s and 1950s in the *rohe*.

Tū continued his work in the bush for many years and at times employed teams of men to split for him. He also drove the local school bus. Rowley Habib described Tū's bus as "his long-decked truck with a canopy on the back for protection from the elements and benches under it for the kids to sit on."[15] The run took an hour in the morning and an hour in the afternoon, and he earned £2.10.0 a day for it (Paton, 1990). In 1944, he started Mōkai's first bus service which did the round trip to Rotorua once a week, and with help from post contractors and timber trucks, assisted to keep the village stocked with essential supplies.

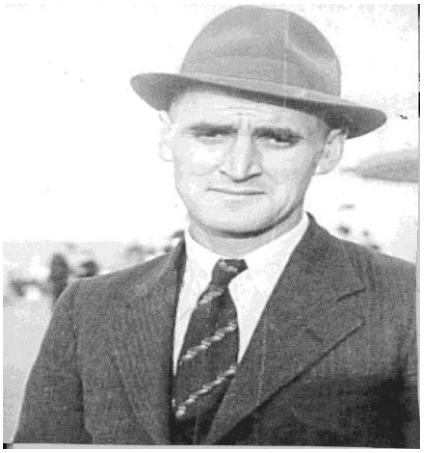

Figure 14: Tū Williams.

When Tū discontinued this service in 1946, New Zealand Railways Road Services took over ("Mokai - from 1920-1930," 1980, p. 36). Tū also worked a 210 hectare family farm at Te Hunua which was less than a kilometre north of Puketarata on State Highway One. He inherited the land through his *matua whāngai (foster parent)* Marutuna Mohi.[16] Te Hunua was one of the first pieces of land in the area to be cleared of native bush. Breaking in the land and clearing the farm was a very slow process, as Māori were unable to borrow money from the Government to develop Māori land. To make progress, Tū was left with little option but to use immediate profits from the farm to

[15] R. Habib (personal communication, 19 July, 2005). Rowley Habib is a playwright, poet, and fiction writer who had his first work published in New Zealand and overseas in the 1950s. Rowley was born in the Taupō *rohe* in 1933 and is of Lebanese and Ngāti Ruingārangi descent. Since the early 1950s he has published stories, poems and articles. He has written and produced plays for stage, television and radio, as well as documentaries.

[16] R. Dundas (personal communication, 15 January, 2007). Rewa Dundas is the author's birth-mother.

finance further redevelopment work (Paton, 1990). Often, this type of commitment placed considerable strain on family finances.

The nearby close-knit Ōruanui community were mainly Māori, and attracted people from as far away as North Auckland to work in the many local sawmills. Confident of sustainable future markets, the Taupō Totara Timber Company had arranged a fifty-year lease for a piece of land between Mōkai and Ōruanui to continue milling native timber. Tū was at school in 1922 when an earthquake hit Ōruanui, and he remembered how it caused the classroom chimney to topple over and the ground to open up. That night the community, fearing further aftershocks, slept in the *wharepuni* together (Paton, 1990).

During the Depression years of the early 1930s, jobs were scarce. Because of hard economic times, any money earned was generally spent on food. Long time local Ōruanui resident Eddy Hall recalls: "We were never really affected during the Depression or in those times when the rest of the country was experiencing extreme hardship. We had everything we needed here in Ōruanui. For example, our gardens provided fresh vegetables, our fruit trees, fresh fruit, and there were always plenty of pigs to hunt for fresh meat. Ōruanui was paradise during the Depression."[17] In its heyday, Ōruanui was a self-sustaining settlement with two thriving general stores, a post office, its own school, a church, and a *marae*, so trips to Taupō were rare. Ōruanui was essentially a timber milling settlement through the Depression years on into the early 1950s (R Habib, 1998, 22 January, p. 6).

Figure 15: Merehapi Williams.

[17] E. Hall (personal communication, 16 July, 2005). Eddy Hall lived his whole life at Ohinekahu in Ōruanui and was 93 years old when interviewed in 2005.

On 3 September 1933, Tū married Merehapi Leonard in the St Matthews Aglican Church in Ōruanui. Merehapi was Ngāti Rangiwēwehi from Awahou in Ngongotaha, Rotorua. They had five children together, three girls and their second and fourth children were boys. They were Marutuna (Maru), Nepia, Aorewa (Rewa), Tamehura (Jimmy), and Ranginui (Ginger), and they all grew up on the farm at Te Hunua. Rewa, as she was known, is my birth mother.

Te Hunua was considered very much a part of the Ōruanui community. Favourite summer pastimes included cherry picking and swimming excursions to Atahaka, and picnics at Whangaroa *(Acacia Bay).* Tū, because he owned the largest vehicle in the community, transported many to the various venues. The *marae* was the social hub of the community where people often gathered to practise *kapa haka (Māori cultural group)* during the week and attend dances on Saturday nights (R Habib, 1998, 9 January). Locals enjoyed billiards and gymkhanas and they also patronised the circuses and fairs that occasionally visited Ōruanui (Paton, 1990). Rowley Habib noted, "The gymkhanas only lasted two or three years and I am pretty sure Tū organised them. Nepia and Maru were very good riders and Tū was keen on show jumping too.[18] Tū's two concrete and tar-sealed tennis courts just below the main farmstead on his farm were hugely popular. Rugby was another very popular sport.

Dr John S. Armstrong was the only medical doctor in Taupō during this time. He visited Ōruanui regularly to ensure all essential and none essential health needs were met.

Ōruanui's population fell significantly in the early 1950s when local sawmills finally exhausted the last stands of native timber in the *rohe.* Māori braced themselves for change as the Government rapidly transformed the milled landscape into lush arable pasture. The remaining vegetation was crushed and burnt and the land was ploughed and cultivated and then sold to farmers. Bulldozers dragged great spiked cylinder drums behind them to flatten everything in sight, immediately followed by fires which seemingly took weeks or even months to burn themselves out. The air was constantly black with ash. Most mill workers committed to staying in Ōruanui either became farmers or simply learnt a new trade.

Most moved to live on ancestral land near Te Rangiita *marae* in Nukuhau. The Taupō-township was beginning to attract more and more industry and the lure of guaranteed work was irresistible. The Wairākei Geothermal Power project, the construction of the Aratiatia hydro-dam, installing

[18] R. Habib (personal communication, 19 July, 2005).

electricity in the township, or milling the *rohe's* mature pine forests provided Māori with employment choices (Paton, 1990). While this was happening, Tū continued to work the farm and supply the region's farmers with fencing materials milled from the last few stands of native timber in the district. However, cheaper, more accessible, easier to handle fencing supplies made from pine timber began to flood the market, particularly after a successful treatment had been formulated to preserve the wood.[19] Tū himself worked pine in the late 1960s, but eventually returned to native timber again in the early to mid-1970s. During this time, he folded the business, and retired after a final stint in the native bush just north of Tīhoi.

Tū died in Taupō on 31 July 1993, outliving Merehapi who had died twelve years earlier from double-pneumonia. He lay in state for three days and two nights on Te Rangiita marae while friends and relatives paid their respects. On the last day, while his body was being transported to Puketarata for final burial, he was taken to Ōruanui marae for an hour as a mark of respect for the family's involvement in the community and his *whakapapa* connections to the people and place.

I lived with Tū and Merehapi for most of my life and occasionally lived with my aunty and uncle, Ranginui and Eddie Aubrey, at Iwitahi, and later at Nukuhau. I often saw my mother Rewa when she visited us on the farm along with my three younger sisters, Janet, Jean, and Joe, and my brother William.

Chapter 1 had five objectives. The first objective was to establish how certain Māori words and phrases were used in the thesis. The second was to outline what each chapter covered. The third established Ngāti Ruingārangi's traditional links to the central North Island region, welcomed you onto Tapuaeharuru marae and into Te Rangiita, and introduce you to Te Poihipi Tūkairangi. The fourth and fifth objectives were to highlight the significance of *whakapapa* in Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world and to establish my *pepeha* and *whakapapa* connections to the research topic.

[19] N. Williams (personal communication, 10 February, 2005). Nepia Williams is the author's deceased uncle.

Te Wāhanga Tuarua: Te rangahau *kaupapa* Māori, me te tuhituhinga

Chapter 2: *Kaupapa* Māori research as a research methodology, and the literature

Chapter 2 will discuss what *kaupapa* Māori research is as a research methodology; provide a critical review of the literature on the Taupō *rohe*, of literature on Ngāti Tūwharetoa and on Māori and Pākehā relations in the nineteenth century; and explore the sources used.

Kaupapa Māori research as a research methodology

In relation to methodology, Māori researchers refer to "*kaupapa* Māori" or "Māori-centered" or "Māori-focused" research where Māori values, attitudes, and practices take centre stage in the research by contrast with other methodologies. And it is from this particular perspective that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story is told. What is the nature of *kaupapa* Māori research today that helps shape and define it in a contemporary context? Nature in this context means, what is the fundamental tendency or essential character inherent in recording *kaupapa* Māori research that makes it unique to how others record history.

A *kaupapa* Māori approach to research and recording the past (history) has been through oral and non-oral narratives such as *whakapapa*, *kōrero pūrākau (myth, ancient legend, story), waiata (chant, song), haka (men's ceremonial dance with actions), whaikōrero*, *mōteatea (lament, traditional chant), pātere (song of derision), oriori (lullaby):* and through visual forms such as *tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, whakairo (captured in the poupou), poutokomanawa*, *tekoteko*, *maihi*, *raparapa (the projecting carved ends of the maihi of a wharepuni), amo, tāhuhu, whakawae, pare* in and on the *wharepuni*, *moko (tattoo on face, arms, thighs, buttocks), iwi (tribe or social unit bound together by kinship and locality).*

Kaupapa Māori history is recorded in the cultural mores, customary laws, customary practices, and beliefs that governed the world in which Māori lived and chose to give order to the world they grew up in. The *world of* Māori included *tapu (be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection); noa (to be free from the extensions of tapu); utu*; the part, influence, role, that *atua (gods)* played in the everyday lives of Māori; customary practices in relation to birth, death and marriage, *marae* protocol which included *pōwhiri, karanga, tauparapara, pepeha, waiata; tūrangawaewae, ahi kā* and right of occupation to the land and in fact how they regarded

the land in general. *Kaupapa* Māori researchers need to know and understand the world of Māori in order to appreciate the general framework from which Māori made decisions, took initiatives, and accepted restrictions (Barlow, 1991, pp. 38-39). Understanding the plethora of customary mores, laws, practices, and beliefs and their significance in *te ao* Māori enables researchers to interpret findings from uniquely Māori perspectives.

Kaupapa Māori research should involve researchers from every *hapū* and *iwi* writing or recalling their own distinct and special history based on oral and visually recorded historical traditions. As Rickard (a Master Carver at Te Puia - New Zealand Māori Arts and Craft Institute, Rotorua) commented:

> The book *Te Arawa* by Don Stafford is the Ngāti Pikiao version of Te Arawa history. Te Arawa is written from a Ngāti Pikiao perspective. Books like this have to be read from the context in which they are written. Who gives a person the right to write someone else's history anyway? Every *hapū* or *iwi* should write their own history. In another example, *Tūwharetoa* is Te Herekiekie Grace's version of Ngāti Tūwharetoa history ie the Te Heuheu or southern end of Lake Taupō version of Ngāti Tūwharetoa history [because Grace was from that end of the lake]. Far too often tribal histories like *Tūwharetoa* are read as though they are the definitive history of an *iwi* when in most cases they are only one writer's view of a much wider, much broader picture.[20]

Stafford and Grace and other scholars in the past have tended to deal with *iwi* or elements of *iwi* as the whole "tribe." Despite the best interests of Stafford and Grace to remain impartial, biases exist in their *iwi* histories, favouring certain *hapū* over others. Maybe this presents an excellent case for *hapū* being the focus of histories when considering their relative autonomy.

Kaupapa Māori research is synonymous with the following terms, **'**Māori history', 'Māori epistemology', '*mātauranga* Māori', 'Māoritanga', '*taha* Māori', and '*tikanga* Māori' *(customary* Māori *practices).* However, all-inclusive, all-encompassing generic terms like 'Māoritanga', '*taha*

[20] J. Rickard (personal communication, 22 April, 2009).

Māori', and '*tikanga* Māori' for example undermine the identity, the uniqueness, the specialness of individual *hapū* and *iwi* in recalling their own stories, their own histories. Respected Ngāi Tūhoe *(tribal group of the Bay of Plenty in the Kutarere-Ruātoki-Waimana-Waikaremoana area) kaumātua* John Rangihau once remarked, "[m]y being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maori. And there are so many different aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others…I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history" (Rangihau, 1975, p. 190). In *te ao* Māori, terms like 'Ngāi Tūhoetanga', 'Ngāti Tūwharetoatanga' , and 'Ngāti Ruingārangitanga' are cemented in the vernacular (*te reo*) to acknowledge the distinctness of each *iwi* and each *hapū* history, epistemology, *mātauranga*, *tikanga*, and *kaupapa* from others.

An Igbo, Nigerian *whakataukī* translates, "Until lions have their own histories, tales of the hunt shall always glorify the hunter (A. Harris, 2009; Stanley, 2009)." Other versions exist around Africa but the lesson is clear that stories are not fully known until all sides are told. The *whakataukī* suggests that some sides of the story will never be told, or that they are unrecognisable or inadmissible unless they fit known and accepted story telling conventions (A. Harris, 2009, p. 85).

When Rāwiri Te Maire Tau wrote *Matauranga Maori as an epistemology*, he championed Māori history being based on *whakapapa* and *iwi* being the proper subject for any history, rather than Pākehā chronologies and understandings. Tau's advice was given at a time when Pākehā were becoming interested in writing Māori histories, but were still drawing them into western frameworks (Tau, 2001, pp. 61-73).

Māori have histories too, histories that need to be told to counterbalance, to offset, and to make up for the continuous reruns of the colonisers' story. Pākehā have a long history of research, and it continues today, but Māori are now more aware of the things Pākehā do to adapt, speculate, oversimplify, and simply fail to understand traditional materials – or turn stories which teach about origins or cultural norms into chronological accounts. The tide is turning and Pākehā historians like Judith Binney, for example, are commanding considerable respect for the way they have documented the Māori past. Binney wrote a major study on the story of how the people of the Urewera came to be parted from their lands. Ngai Tūhoe gave Binney rousing support when she launched her book *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera 1820-1921*.

Kaupapa Māori narratives, whether inferred or otherwise, must emphasise Māori initiatives and Māori perspectives. Whereas the Pākehā narrative is about untamed savages and their unbroken territories being taken over by the resourceful colonial, a Māori-centered narrative might focus upon Māori initiatives and how these were disrupted by the so-called settlers who were, really, "unsettlers", in the sense that they unsettled everything and everyone they came into contact with. Te Poihipi's story could have been told from a this "side" ("*kūpapa*", "Queenite") that "side" ("Te Kīngitanga", "Hauhau") scenario, rather than from the perspective of an intelligent entrepreneurial leader who sought to maintain and increase his *mana (authority)* and the *mana* of Ngāti Ruingārangi. Te Poihipi, in collaboration with Ngāti Ruingārangi, decided that the most effective way to achieve their goals was through committed cooperation with Pākehā instead of caution and conflict. Inviting Pākehā into the *rohe* was their way of managing the situation, increasing their resources, and taking their chances in *te ao hou*. Although *te ao hou* of the settlers provided *tūpuna* with an immense range of opportunities, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would never abandon *te ao tawhito* that grounded them with their *tūpuna* in *te ao* Māori.

Sometimes Māori have complained that they do not see themselves in the histories written about them, or at least in a form they can recognise. Greenfield's *From dust to ashes: a dynamic community: a history of the Taupo district* was written as if *tūpuna* never existed in the *rohe* and were never a part of the "dynamic community" that contributed to the "history" of Taupō (Greenfield, 1998). *Kaupapa* Māori research should focus on utilising *mātauranga* Māori to tell the story; locating *tūpuna* in *te ao* Māori to tell the story; involving Māori to collate the story; and giving priority to the testimonies of *tūpuna* over Pākehā narratives to tell the story.

One important way to embed *kaupapa* Māori research in its own cultural context is to use a metaphor or some other structural mechanism from within *te ao* Māori as the overall organising principle. *Pakeke (adults or grown ups), tamariki (children), mokopuna (grandson, granddaughter), kaumātua (elders of the tribe), kuia, koroua (a respected male elder), whānau, hapū*, and *iwi* can assist in deciding which framework best suits the research. However, when complete, the *mana whakapapa* of the people involved can advance the research beyond the reach of even Māori scholars. "*Kaupapa* Māori" research does not occupy the same epistemological universe as "western" historical discourse even if the two converge at times. Western models include things like "authority", "hierarchy", and "chieftainship" while cultural metaphors are drawn from *waiata, haka, tikanga, whakairo, mōteatea, pepeha*, or a story associated with a *tūpuna* to become an all-

embracing theme or concept that permeates through a study. “Te Poihipi is honoured as the *poutokomanawa* in Te Rangiita” is the metaphor used in this study. He was the “support post” for Ngāti Ruingārangi; his leadership ensuring their survival – a perspective that places him in *te ao* Māori and informs the whole of the study.

Kaupapa Māori research is regarded as a *taonga (treasure, something prized)* in *te ao* Māori. With all due respects intended, although examiners are always in the minds of writers’ writing higher degree theses, writers’ of *kaupapa* Māori research will always have a more important audience to write for *–uri, tūpuna, whānau, whanaunga, hapū, iwi, tūrangawaewae, whenua, marae, maunga, awa,* and *atua*. *Kaupapa* Māori research will always be a *taonga* for the people if *tikanga* Māori protocols are walked hand in hand, “*kairangahau ki te tangata (researcher to the individual or person),*” “*kairangahau ki ngā tāngata (researcher to the people),*” “*kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face meeting),”* “Māori ki te Māori (Māori to Māori).”

Many Māori academics have helped shape definitions of *mātauranga* Māori, or *kaupapa* Māori, or *tikanga* Māori over the past forty years or so. Ranginui Walker in *Ka whawhai tonu matou: struggle without end*, confirms this by saying, “[o]ver the past two decades the Māori renaissance or cultural revival, has engendered an environrnent in which Māori intellectuals have begun to challenge Western models of knowing and knowledge-construction. Out of the milieu has come the *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm” (R Walker, 1990, p. 9). This paradigm, rooted in the arguments of past Māori academics, is intellectual *whenua* I must stand on to form my own *whakaaro tūrangawaewae (thoughts in relation to where a person has rights of residence through whakapapa)* for this study. *Kaupapa* Māori research or *kaupapa* Māori history rests on, or is based on, *whakapapa* and *tikanga*. My project is in many ways part of a wider project where Māori produce the publications, by Māori, on Māori and for Māori.

One of the early proponents of change was Ngahuia Te Awekotuku who wrote a set of guidelines for Māori researchers doing research, on Māori, in a Māori context. Her work was based on New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists principles of professional and ethical standards which she adopted in 1987 and amended in 1990.

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
3. Titiro, whakarongo…kōrero (look, listen …speak).

4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
5. Kia tūpato (be cautious).
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the *mana* of people).
7. Kaua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge). (Te Awakotuku & Manatū Māori, 1991, pp. 14-15).

Te Awekotuku's culturally specific guidelines were written to protect the rights and interests of Māori who are being researched. Many of her ideas relate, in part, to what is now referred to as *kaupapa* Māori practices.

The commitment of Māori academics to have Māori scholarship recognised continues. In the early 1990s, Linda Smith and several others reaffirmed that *mātauranga* Māori was never universally available to all Māori anyway because it was considered *tapu.* Sanctions were imposed on *mātauranga* Māori to ensue that it was protected, and, when transmitted orally, was done so accurately (L. Smith, 1992, pp. 77-112). Kathie Irwin characterised *kaupapa* Māori research as "research which is 'culturally safe', which involves the 'mentorship' of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research, and which is undertaken by a Maori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Maori" (Irwin, 1994). Irwin and Tuakana Nepe, Graham Smith and other Māori academics involved in the debate after her acknowledge that her statement is made from a Māori worldview paradigm or perspective. Professor Mason Durie, Massey University, has commented that "Māori knowledge has an integrity of its own" (M H Durie, 1994, pp. 1-15). Durie is telling Māori, and the world, that "Māori knowledge" is valid and recognised: "Māori knowledge" is of age and legal and that it has every right to be a "main-player" in the "main-story."

Linda Smith comments that *kaupapa* Māori research "has provided a focus through which Māori people, as communities of the researched and as new communities of the researchers, have been able to engage in a dialogue about setting new directions for the priorities, polices, and practices of research for, by and with Māori" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 183). Irwin, Pihama, and Smith have all argued that being Māori or identifying as Māori as a Māori researcher is mandatory when doing *kaupapa* Māori research (L. T. Smith, 1995). Research can be liberating because Māori focused research provides a systematic way for Māori to understand Māori and determine what questions need to be asked and answered in order for Māori to make progress. Smith continues, "[w]hen indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is

transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 193). And this is exactly what needed to happen for Māori – Māori are no longer "passive participants" in the research process but rather "own" the research and are actively involved in every aspect of it.

In 1998, Moana Jackson delivered a paper titled *Research and the Colonisation of Māori Knowledge* at Te Ohu Rangahau Conference (Massey University) where he argued that the real problem for Māori retaining Māori knowledge lay with the colonial story-teller. He said that regardless of when the story is told, if the coloniser is always hogging the spotlight in the story, if the coloniser is always "starring" or "featuring" in the movie, why should the coloniser stop telling the same story? Colonial story-tellers glorify the deeds of the coloniser, and at best, denigrate or diminish or belittle the importance or contribution or relevance of "indigenous peoples" in that same story the world over. Jackson cleverly relates the Māori predicament to Hollywood, and movie-making and how modern-day scriptwriters commonly reiterate the colonisers' story.

> Today colonisation is a process of image-making where we're bombarded by Hollywood about what should be worthy in our lives, and today's scriptwriters, today's controllers of knowledge (and therefore research) are the descendents of the old scriptwriters of colonisation.
>
> From the moment that Christopher Columbus first drafted the ethic of contract between the world of western Europe and the indigenous world, those scriptwriters began to create a fantasy in which the colonisers were the heroes and Indigenous Peoples were either the villains, or irrelevant to the telling of the story. They created a series of adventures, a sort of die-hard set of explorations in indigenous lands where no white man had boldly gone before. They created a world in their image. People who opposed the creation of that image, or who questioned that image, were redefined or rewritten out of the script. So Indigenous Peoples were reduced, in the images of colonisation, to bit players in the march of progress and development.
>
> They became Tonto, the loyal servant following the Lone Ranger into battle against his people. They became Man Friday in the novel Robinson Crusoe where the first words the indigenous person was taught in the English

> language were master and obey. A whole process of image-making, of moviemaking if you like, became a staple of what I call the culture and thought patterns of colonisation. (Jackson, 1998, p. 70)

Jackson comments on two telling phrases that encapsulate the essence of the above quotation and the meaning of *Research and the Colonisation of Māori Knowledge*. Last century, he contends, Māori most commonly heard the phrase "you have to get civilised" which in laymen terms means Māori needed "to become like them." Late last century, he continued, the catch-phrase directed at Māori was to get "real" and funnily enough the colonisers' message to Māori had not changed despite the intervening years. And so it is too with "Research and the Colonisation of Māori Knowledge": how can Māori knowledge be considered Māori knowledge if it is not explained or defined or interpreted from a strictly Māori way of looking at things (Jackson, 1998, p. 70)?

Jackson would not have needed to look any further than Leonie Pihama's review of Jane Campion's *The Piano* to find the cinema graphic evidence needed to convict a New Zealand film maker for colonising Māori knowledge. Pihama says Campion portrayed Māori people in such a way that "no stereotyped stone" was left unturned. The film ensured the audience got the usual course of "happy go lucky native" and "sexualised Māori woman available at all times to service Pākehā men" (Pihama, 1994, p. 241). "The perception of Māori people given in *The Piano* is that our tipuna were naive, simpleminded, lacked reason, acted impulsively and spoke only in terms of sexual innuendo, with a particular obsession with male genitalia. For Māori people *The Piano* is dangerous. It is dangerous in its portrayal of Māori people linked solely to a colonial gaze that is uncritical and unchallenging of the stereotypes that have been paraded continuously as 'the way we were' (Pihama, 1994, p. 241). She acknowledges that the really sad part for Māori is that *The Piano,* as an award-winning internationally acclaimed movie, gets sold to the world as an authentic depiction of our people. Portrayals like these not only offend and humiliate Māori but perpetuate the long held beliefs of others of Māori and the place of Māori in New Zealand society (Pihama, 1994, p. 241).

Graham Smith, who has written extensively about *kaupapa* Māori initiatives, summarises these by saying that *kaupapa* Māori research:

1. is related to 'being Māori';
2. is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;

3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
4. is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being. (G. H. Smith, 1990)

Whānau input into *kaupapa* Māori research is important. Many Māori researchers agree that *whānau* is the glue that binds and links all other components of *kaupapa* Māori research together. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (1992) and Kathie Irwin (1994), for example, argue that *whānau* is a key supervisory and organisational mechanism for handling Māori focused-research. Irwin calls it a "*whānau* of supervisors." Identified by some as the core social unit in pre-colonial times, the *whānau* still endures today as the best way of organising and "making sense" of the social world of Māori. *Whānau* is pivotal to the research process and methodology that allows each part of the Māori community to have its say as to how the research is conducted. On the upside, the researched is able to debate ideas and issues which impact on the project. In the *kaupapa* Māori paradigm, the researcher shares control of the research "to maximise the participation and the interest of Māori." Often a project does not proceed if it first has not been discussed by *whānau* and its various communities (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 187).

Review of literature on the Taupō *rohe*, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and Māori and Pākehā relations in the mid-nineteenth century

Literature reviewed does not include contemporary nineteenth century accounts, only "secondary" accounts, whether "scholarly" or "popular" (books, booklets, newspaper articles). The literature surveyed does not deal with every individual item or even mention every item individually but rather provides a "map" of what is and what is not out there. Significant statements made by Māori about *Kaupapa Māori* scholarship and Māori history are discussed in more depth.

The literature is surveyed in the same categories and in chronological order. In some categories, very little material exists to review. However, one thing is clear from the survey, the literature insists on scholars of Māori, being Māori, and operating from Māori-centered, Māori-focused perspectives. This "frame of reference" is designed to empower and uplift Māori and tell the "Māori story" by placing Māori at the "core" and at the "heart" and in the "middle" of the research "looking out", not always being looked in at and commented upon.

Placing Māori in the "middle of the research is generally foreign to Pākehā historians recounting histories involving Māori. Pākehā historians retelling "Māori histories" fall into two distinct categories. The first write the popular chronicled histories where the historians have no real sense of *te ao* Māori and how Māori operated within that world. Barbara Cooper's (1989) *The Remotest Interior – a history of Taupō* is a case in point. The title to her book 'the remotest interior' for example, was taken from a phrase used by German geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829-1884) to describe the *rohe* in the late 1850s-60s. For Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, a description like this could not have been further from the truth. The 'remotest interior' referred to by Cooper was Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's *tūrangawaewae* earned through *take raupatu*, *ahi kā*, and *whakapapa*.

Barbara Cooper wrote, "the area on the western bank, where the modern town of Taupō now stands, was an unoccupied stretch of manuka and scrub" (B. Cooper, 1989, p. 8). "Unoccupied stretch of *manuka* and scrub" intimates it was land just waiting to be claimed. That "unoccupied" piece of "*manuka* and scrub" was included in the world of Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi; Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew that piece of "*manuka* and scrub" intimately as it sustained them, just as it had their *tūpuna* generations earlier. According to Park, "How we inhabit a place can be the most telling expression of how we sense its worth, our intention for it and our connection with it" (Park, 1995). John Greenfield's version of Taupō history, on the other hand, in *From dust to ashes: a dynamic community: a history of the Taupo district* gives no attention to Māori whatsoever. Māori were not considered significant enough to be a part of <u>that</u> "dynamic community" or <u>that</u> district's "history." Often popular chronicled histories need to be deconstructed and read with caution as they can be misleading. Historians writing this kind of history generally have "no real sense" of *te ao* Māori so that Māori participants are not interpreted from Māori perspectives.

The second category of Pākehā historians writing histories involving Māori writes the "conflict literature." Historians writing "conflict literature" rely *heavily* on Pākehā sources and Pākehā perceptions when recounting their histories. James Cowan,[21] James Belich,[22] and Michael King[23]

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[21] James Cowan (1983) for example wrote *The New Zealand wars: a history of the Maori campaigns and the pioneering period*. Wellington: Government Printer (Cowan, 1983a).

[22] James Belich (1986) for example wrote *The New Zealand wars and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict*. Auckland: Penguin (Belich, 1986).

[23] Michael King (2001) for example wrote *Ngā iwi o te motu -1000 years of Māori history*. Auckland: Reed Books (King, 2001).

are examples of Pākehā historians that write this kind of literature, which uses terms like, "friendly", "loyal", and "*kūpapa.*" Pākehā focused histories are problematic for Māori because they undermine the integrity of the history written. Māori sources and Māori perceptions are compromised by relegating them to the "periphery" or "edges" or "sides" of the history. The dearth of Māori-focused, Māori-interpreted histories have fuelled a debate amongst Māori academics as to what they considered minimum requirements were for Māori wanting to write *iwi* or *hapū* histories (Tau, 2001).

Prominent Māori author of children's books, Patricia Grace acknowledges the inherent dangers of books for indigenous readers. In a paper entitled, *Books are dangerous,* she argues that (1) they do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture, and identity; (2) when they tell us only about others they are saying that we do not exist; (3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and (4) they are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good (P. Grace, 1985, pp. 11-16). Although Grace is referring to school texts and journals, her comments are equally relevant to scholarly academic publications. Linda Smith recalls, "[w]hen I read texts, for example, I frequently have to orientate myself to a text world in which the centre of academic knowledge is either in Britain, the United States or Western Europe; in which words such as 'we', 'us', 'our' , 'I' actually exclude me. It is a text world in which I have learned that I belong *partly* in the Third World, *partly* in the 'Women of Colour' world, *partly* in the black or African world" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 35).

Māori record Māori history in ways regarded appropriate and relevant in *te ao* Māori and this tradition continues today. Take for example *kapa haka* performances for competition: a 25 minute bracket normally consists of the following 7 items; *waiata tira (songs sung as a choir without actions), whakaeke (entrance on to the stage), mōteatea, waiata-ā-ringa (song performed with actions to it), poi (a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment), haka,* and *whakawātea (exit song).* Regardless of the level competed at, often each item is new and is specifically written for the event. Composers may quote sections or names from *whakapapa*, make reference to deeds of Māori, and recall incidents in the history of local *hapū* and *iwi*. Each item is researched and authenticated and endorsed by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* repositories of this kind of knowledge. Often composers will be from the *rohe* historicised, but sometimes they will not be. Locals will share this kind of knowledge with "outsiders", if they know they can trust the person or people involved.

Like Monty Soutar, I am convinced the question over who should write perspectives of post-contact history should not be based on "race or literary tradition" but rather on the "individual" "who has access to the heart and soul of the people during the period being researched" (Soutar, 2000, p. viii). While Pere argues "writers of tribal history must have *whakapapa* connections to the history (J. Pere, 1991, p. 45)," and Soutar champions the "individual" with special qualities, I believe Soutar's list should include Māori-writers-not-of-the-*iwi* and Māori-writers-not-of-the-*hapū* too.

The scope of material currently in print on Ngāti Tūwharetoa is limited. There is, of course, John Te Herekiekie Grace's (1959) *Tūwharetoa* and a brief section in Ballara's (1998) *Iwi* on twentieth century intra-iwi Ngāti Tūwharetoa tensions. The Waitangi Tribunal has produced sizeable reports relating to Tūwharetoa, including the *Pouakani report* (1993) and, more recently, *He maunga rongo: the report on the central North Island claims, Stage 1* (2008), discussing generic issues affecting Taupō, Rotorua, and Kaingaroa Treaty claimants. Bruce Stirling and Angela Ballara have also written reports for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust along similar lines. Stirling wrote *Taupō-Kaingaroa Nineteenth Century Overview* Volumes 1 and 2 (2004) as well as his *Kingitanga to Te Kooti: Taupo in the 1860s* (2005) while Ballara (2004) wrote *Tribal landscape overview, c.1800-c.1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park inquiry districts*. Lyndsey Head makes the observation that Waitangi Tribunal reports and hearings over the years have softened the general attitudes of Pākehā towards settlement claims and cases. Māori claimants have welcomed this kind of support and encouragement from Pākehā in their attempts to seek compensation and redress for unfair and often unlawful activities by the government and its agencies (Head, 2001, pp. 97-121).

The historiography demonstrates how *hapū*, through a discussion of certain publications and groups of publications, have often been overlooked or underrated as a focus of study. Some tribal historians say that there is no such thing as "Māori history", only "tribal history" (Keenen, 1999, p. 30). However, Joseph Anaru Heketia Tekani Pere in an essay published in 1991 insists, "All Māori (or *iwi*) history is or should be *hapū* history and ought to be the proper focus or subject of history written by Māori." *Tūtemohuta*, the *hapū* history by Wall, Stirling and Johns (2009) is Ngāti Tūwharetoa's only example to date. The authors tell how Ngāti Tūtemohuta and their leadership gained customary right to manage the land in the vicinity of north east Taupō and the struggle that ensued to maintain those rights from the 1840s to the present day. *Ngāti Tūtemohuta": a Māori history of north east Taupō* is a combination of oral history, *whakapapa*, *waiata*, and academic scholarship with a broad range of research completed as part of the Waitangi Tribunal's inquiry into the Central North Island Treaty of Waitangi claims.

Limited literature exists on the development of *rangatiratanga* at the *hapū* level in circumstances of great change in the nineteenth century. The historiography establishes how in recent histories, *kāwanatanga* Māori *(Māori who aligned with the Government)* have received relatively little attention, even though there were far more of them when compared to the resistance heroes like Te Rauparaha, Te Kooti, and Rua Kēnana. These gaps or faults or questionable perspectives in scholarly work, will in some measure be addressed in this study.

Other reports relevant to Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi include Evelyn Stokes's (1991) *Wairākei geothermal area: some historical perspectives* and *Taupō sewerage disposal* which describes Te Poihipi's involvement in the sale of the Wairākei Block in the early 1880s. Perry Fletcher complements Stokes work with his two reports, *Historic Waikato River: Te Huka to Pohaturoa* (2001) and *Poihipi pa site at Taupo: site investigation March 2003* (2003), detailing other aspects of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world. There is a little on the alienation of the Wairākei Block and land purchases in Brian Bargh's study (Bargh, 1995, November). The section on the *rohe* in Alan Ward's (1997) *National Overview* is only a few pages in length. There are no published accounts of even moderate size on Te Poihipi, or Ngāti Ruingārangi for that matter, and Te Poihipi does not feature in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's "loyalism" for the government and Queen was not a simple-minded, unthinking, blind, kind of support, but rather a calculated, deliberate choice made in a "Māori context or a Māori framework." W.H. Oliver and J. Thomson in *Challenge and Response* argued that "loyalism" and "rebellion" were simply strategies used by *hapū* and *iwi* in the Poverty Bay-East Coast region to deal with change (Oliver & Thompson, 1971). And so too was the case for Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi on the Volcanic Plateau. What a refreshing position this must have been for Soutar to defend almost thirty years later in his doctoral thesis when considering the participation of Ngāti Porou in the wars in New Zealand during the 1860s. He "contends that far from being motivated solely by loyalty to the Crown, Ngāti Porou entered into an alliance with the Crown in order to protect and to advance tribal interests" (Oliver & Thompson, 1971; Soutar, 2000, p. ii).

Oliver and Thomson reasoned "loyalism" and "rebellion" maintained *iwi* and *hapū* unity and resolved or even exacerbated tensions. *Hapū* and *iwi* made decisions about "loyalty" or "rebellion" in their own best interests, for their own purposes, not to assist or resist the Pākehā government and

the law (Oliver & Thompson, 1971). This does not mean to say that their account is either correct or complete. They could have possibly considered the interrelationships between *hapū* and *iwi* through *whakapapa* connections, and traditional, and more contemporary historical conflicts over *whenua*, leadership, and resources.

Oliver and Thomson interrogates the myth that "loyalism" of Māori for Queen and Colony was an unquestioning type of support, suggesting instead that it was rather a conscious, premeditated, well-thought-out decision centered in *te ao Māori*. Oliver and Thomson's wider views have influenced Pākehā historians and Waitangi Tribunal researchers trying to make sense of what happened in Te Tai Rāwhiti and Ngāti Kahungunu *rohe*.

Myths and Legends

Myths and legends and traditions are significantly important in the retelling of the distant Māori past. Ngāi Tūhoe *kaumātua* John Rangihau rightly argued the term Māoritanga was too generic, too one-size-fits-all, to be of any use when it comes to capturing the unique distinct individual history of Ngāti Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? "Each tribe has its history" and each tribe deserves the dignity of telling that history how it chooses (Rangihau, 1975, p. 190). However, some *iwi* have allowed Māori from other *iwi* to write aspects of their tribal histories. Ranginui Walker is a case in point. Walker, of Whakatōhea descent and not of Ngāti Porou descent wrote *He Tipua the Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata.* This biography of Ngāti Porou leader Sir Apirana Ngata describes in detail the huge impact Ngata had on the social, cultural, economic and political landscape of New Zealand. Sir Apirana Ngata created a new path of reconciliation between Māori and Pākehā and helped build an enduring Māori recovery.

Pere asserts, each *iwi* and *hapū* and *whānau* operated as its own autonomous, independent, political, social and economic unit and as such warranted its own uniqueness regarding autocracy, *mana*, *whakapapa*, *tūrangawaewae* and history (J. Pere, 1991, p. 39). Walker concludes in his essay on the relevance of Māori myth and tradition, myths validate and reaffirm *kōrero pūrākau* and they also mirror Māori culture as the heroes and villains in the stories perform normal everyday acts of human behaviour in Māori settings (R Walker, 2001, pp. 170-182).

Rangatiratanga or Māori leadership

Parallels can be drawn between recent works discussing *rangatiratanga* or treating Māori leaders biographically and Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, the subject of this thesis. Soutar, for example,

in his unpublished thesis on Rāpata Wahawaha, comments that leaders like Te Kooti, Rua Kēnana, Te Whiti o Rongomai, Titokowaru and Te Rauparaha are no longer seen as "rebels" but rather leaders recognised for their foresight and vision (Soutar, 2000). Stokes concludes, after an analysis of Wiremu Tamihana's letters (among other source material), that "[t]hey provide a fascinating insight into turbulent times, and they put forth a vision still valid: that of a Māori society in control of its own destiny" (E Stokes, 2002). Joseph Anaru Te Kani Pere, and others writing about their *tūpuna* and Parliamentarian Wiremu Pere (1837-1915), conclude, that he "was proactive in seizing on the potential opportunities afforded through the coming of Pākehā settlers" (J. A. T. Pere & others, 2010). Collins (2010) writes, "Te Rauparaha and his nephew Te Rangihaeata welcomed Europeans in the 1820s and 1830s, for the trade and technology they brought. But they never gave up their *rangatiratanga* and *mana whenua*. They tried European justice through the courts and the Land Commission, but were soon frustrated by their ponderous processes and toothlessness. To retain independence and authority, Ngāti Toa eventually turned to military resistance" (Collins, 2010). Elements of each of these biographical summaries resonate in the telling of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story.

Biographical works such as Pei Te Hurunui's (2010) biography of King Pōtatau; Mikaere's (1988) of Te Maiharoa; Binney's (1995) of Te Kooti; Collin's (2010) of Te Rauparaha; and Haami's (2010) of Dr Golan Maaka; all commonly contain elements of oral historical and traditional genres in their methodologies. In Pei Te Hurunui's biography of King Pōtatau, Pei utilises the oral traditions of *whakapapa, kōrero pūrākau, pepeha, karakia (incantation), waiata, haka, ngeri (a type of short haka with no set movements and usually performed without weapons),* and *mōteatea* to tell Pōtatau's story. On the other hand, Mikaere's biography of Hipa Te Maiharoa, the Ngāi Tahu *(tribal group of much of the South Island)* prophet, is primarily based on oral narratives sourced from *kaumātua*. Binney, in her biography of Te Kooti, draws on oral histories and communal memories, but also uses modern photographic sources as an integral part of her historical discourse. In contrast, and due to the well-worked nature of the subject, Hēni Collins, in her biography of Te Rauparaha, reappraises original material which includes sources in *te reo*. Finally, Haami combines a comprehensive knowledge of *whakapapa*, and *tikinga* Māori to tell Dr Golan Maaka's biography from a *te ao* Māori perspective. Oral traditions and historical genre are significantly important when recounting the biographical pasts of Māori.

There are some very compelling arguments by Rāwiri Te Maire Tau in "Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology." Tau's chapter is rich in ideas, none more so than when he concludes, "The real and

present danger is perhaps rather that the Māori past is in danger – that it will be historicised and subverted into a form that our tohunga never intended" (Tau, 2001, p. 73). He says that if there is a Pākehā history ship and a Māori history ship, then judging by Angela Ballara's (1998) *Iwi: the dynamics of Maori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945* with the Western-style historicising of *mātauranga* Māori, the Māori ship is destined to eventually capsize. Tau reflects, "If the past is subject to the processes of current historical method, *mātauranga* Māori will be the ship to sink, to be replaced by western disciplines and perspectives" (Tau, 2001, p. 73). Tau makes a critical point and one I fully support. If the pasts and traditions are all going to be changed or transformed or metamorphosed into western-style history, then their power for the real owners (*tūpuna* and Māori and *uri*) will be lost, and Pākehā will have more scholarly plunder to carry away with them.

Also relevant to the present study is an essay by Lyndsey Head, "The Pursuit of Modernity in Maori Society." In the introduction, she talks about how those who are <u>not</u> "rebels" [like Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi] have been marginalised in modern historical publications when "[t]he majority of Maori either supported, or more likely, did not actively oppose, the European government of New Zealand" (Head, 2001, p. 98). She claims that more attention has been paid in recent years to those who resisted, rather than those who worked with, or for, or through the government. She adds, "Māori who resisted government by the British, to the point of going to war, are admired. Those who did not take up arms, or who fought as government allies, are occasionally demonised but more frequently ignored" (Head, 2001, p. 97). Such histories, she asserts, emphasise Māori resistance to Pākehā government as "non-patriotic", leaving the so-called "loyalists" or "*kāwanatanga* Māori", or "friendlies" outside the main story. In essence, she is critical of contemporary works that elevate the "rebels" to heroic status while diminishing the significance of "*kūpapa*" or "neutral" or "Queenite" or "*kāwanatanga*" Māori. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story will go some way to telling that "other" side.

Head also seems to be saying, Pākehā are now finally realising that those previously regarded as "rebels" or "fanatics" were only doing what any normal self-respecting *rangatira* and *hapū* or *ariki* and *iwi* would do under similar circumstances, and that is to defend themselves against Pākehā hostility and dispossession. It is what Māori did when they felt threatened.

Head uses Ngāti Kahungunu and Rēnata Kawepō to illustrate her point that disputes were not about keeping to the former ways or changing to the new, but rather how best to organise the new world in which all Māori found themselves. Theirs was a world in which new and old rivalries continued

to challenge them as much as religious beliefs and practises caused argument, division and sometimes conflict. Rēnata Kawepō and Ngāti Kahungunu's story is similar, in some respects to the story of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. I support Head's proposition that "loyalism" or support of the Queen was a way of proceeding which was just as "patriotic" as armed resistance. Head makes the point that "loyalists were Māori who found equilibrium between the old world and the new. For most it was a more comfortable position than 'joining' Te Kīngitanga, which was new in principle and aspiration, but old in terms of inability to govern" (Head, 2001, p. 118). Towards the end of her essay, she discusses Rēnata Kawepō's attitudes and actions as a specific example of how Pākehā chose not to listen to his advice despite his best efforts to work with them to influence their decisions and policies. Head raises the question as to whether Rēnata Kawepō should be criticised, just because, in the current Pākehā perspective, he cooperated with the government. Kawepō clearly did not compromise his integrity either to himself or to Ngāti Kahungunu, and he magnified his *tikanga* in that new world differently, but in the end became frustrated, and possibly even infuriated, with the government's response.

I believe Kawepō and Ngāti Kahungunu's support for the Queen was comparable to how Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi regarded their position with her and the government. Independently of one another, groups and their leaders made a conscious decision to "side" with "Queen and Te Kāwangatanga" as a way forward that best suited their respective long-term strategic goals. Head's argument supports the proposition forwarded by W. H. Oliver and Jane Thomson in *Challenge and Response* when discussing the Poverty Bay/East Coast situation. They maintained that "loyalism" and "rebellion" were simply strategies used by *hapū* and *iwi* in the Poverty Bay-East Coast region to deal with unparalleled change.

Danny Keenan's "The Past from the Paepae" argues that the *paepae* is the place where old traditions should be told, repeated, voiced, and heard. He maintains, in a modern context, the *paepae* is the most appropriate place for Māori to tell, to repeat, to voice and to hear a *hapū* history or an *iwi* history that is unique, distinct, and exclusive, in every sense of the word, to itself and its people. And sometimes, of course, it may be necessary to discuss or relate certain material inside the *whare* (Keenan, 2004, p. 82). Keenan is right. The *paepae* is one of the few remaining places today where old traditions should be told and repeated and voiced and heard first-hand from the mouths of *kaumātua,* the living repositories and history-makers of that past in its most genuine and authentic form.

Paul Monin's statement as to how Hauraki Māori received Pākehā into what is now known as the Thames Valley region is relevent to Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story and how they viewed the new arrivals in the Taupō *rohe*. Hauraki Māori "often welcomed the European presence, with an eye to securing material benefits, advantage over tribal rivals and participation in a wider world" (Monin, 2006, p. 2). Monin acknowledges the complex nature of New Zealand's past and argues that contact between Māori and Pākehā was not always about conflict and dispute but more often than not, the opposite, "where both races made strategic decisions on how to best advance their respective interests" (Monin, 2006, p. 3). Or as W. H. Oliver commented, "Maori and Europeans shared the initiative in developments and, by implication, responsibility for them (Oliver & Thompson, 1971). Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi operated in similar fashion. Every decision made would have been carefully calculated and carefully planned to give themselves the best strategic advantage possible over the new arrivals and neighboring *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had the "agency" to "choose" what they considered was "right" or "best" for them and they exercised their prerogative to its fullest extent. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, to a considerable extent, determined or controlled their own destiny.

If Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were not credited with having the "agency" or *mana* or "dignity" to decide what was best for them, then this study would have been told very differently. As Monin rightly asserts, if colonial history continues to be interpreted as it has been in the past, then it risks being reduced to a world of "binary opposites."

> Pakeha were villains, Maori were victims. Colonisation was bad; indigenous society was good. Pakeha were devious; Maori were honourable. Maori were destroyed; Pakeha flourished. By implication, Maori become passive and Pakeha active participants in the encounter situation. Maori 'agency' is acknowledged only in terms of political resistance, its exercise in economics ignored in the rush to blame the Crown for the material losses of Māori. (Monin, 2006, p. 3)

With the "binary opposite" offence in mind, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story is their story told exclusively from our perspective.

Professor Alison Jones (Auckland University) gave similar advice when discussing my thesis, saying "Don't lower yourself to re-tell the story of the Coloniser or the Colonial – that story has

already been told and retold and retold over and over and over again; flip assumptions around."[24] Commenting on research she had carried out on the first Native Māori School north of Kororāreka (Russell, Bay of Islands) she concludes, "Colonists were the students at that school because Māori had to teach them *te reo*." She adds, "Pākehā said the school was a failure but it wasn't for the Pākehā teacher who learnt how to speak Māori."[25] Jones's advice to "flip assumptions around" is equivalent to historians' of Māori history emphasising *tikanga* Māori, Māori experiences, and Māori perspectives so that the history is completely retold from a Māori, and not from a Pākehā focused "frame of reference."

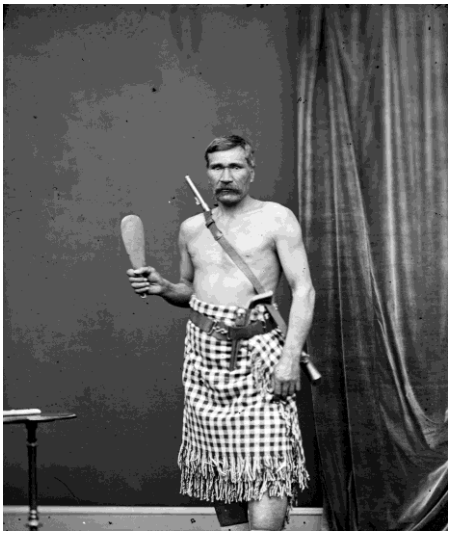

Figure 16: Carte de visite portrait of Ngāti Te Rangiita rangatira Hōhepa Tamamutu from Ōruanui (taken in 1870s) bearing a *patu*, a colt revolver and a rifle - G-22218-1/4, ATL, Wellington.

Mataara Wall, Bruce Stirling, and Lennie Johns, in *Ngāti Tūtemohuta":a Māori history of north east Taupo,* were critical of neighbours, including Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, who worked with the Crown. Wall, Stirling, and Johns make the point that "[t]he tensions were between the small minority around Nukuhau and Ōruanui," i.e., Hohepa Tamamutu and Ngāti Te Rangiita and for a time Paora Hapi and his immediate family on the eastern shores of the Lake, (Wall, et al., 2009, p. 68) who sought to engage with the Crown and its works, and the great majority around Taupō that supported Te Kīngitanga and adopted a cautious stance towards the Crown (Wall, et al., 2009, p. 67). They argue that those *rangatira* in the majority "were willing to accept those parts of *te ao hou* that could be of benefit to them (such as literacy, new crops, and new technology)" (Wall, et al., 2009, p. 50) but they were not prepared to compromise everything, especially the land, as the

[24] A. Jones, Professor (personal communication, 25 January, 2010).
[25] Ibid.

land represented their present and future prosperity (Wall, et al., 2009, p. 50). In short, Wall, Stirling, and Johns criticise Te Poihipi and one or two others for cooperating with the government. I do not believe Te Poihipi's story is as simple as that, as he aimed to sustain Ngāti Ruingārangi and their *tūrangawaewae* and *ahi kā* in the *rohe* and this is what my study will demonstrate.

Source material used

A range of major types of source material are utilised in this thesis. The list includes manuscripts (diaries, letters and reports), personal journals, interview transcripts, official unpublished sources (from Archives), official published sources (Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, British Parliamentary Papers, and other government publications), contemporary published materials (books, travellers' accounts, newspaper items, etc), graphic/visual materials/maps, and Native Land Court records as a special kind of source.

Most major types of source material were drawn from Archives New Zealand, Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland Public Library, Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Taupō Council, Taupō Library and Museum and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Visitors Centre in Hamilton.

Material collected from Archives New Zealand in Wellington included Army Department correspondence and letters to government officials in the Hawke's Bay. Letters were written between 1861-1872 by Te Poihipi and other local chiefs and covered topical issues impacting on their lives during this time. Topical issues included Te Kooti, compensation for military service, road construction, government purchase of land in the *rohe* for a township, the redoubt, the new Resident Magistrate, Taupō war medal recipients, and war claims.

Much of the source material came from the Alexander Turnbull Library collection in the National Library of New Zealand. The personal manuscripts of more than twenty travellers, missionaries, and government officials were accessed through personal journals or diary entries, and letters to reveal a plethora of information.

Letters, diary and journal entries from missionaries who travelled through or lived amongst Māori in the central North Island *rohe* during the mid-nineteenth century have provided a theological perspective. Missionaries whose material is used include: Henry Williams, Thomas S. Grace, Richard Taylor, A. N. Brown, and Seymour Mills, among others. Source material reveals that these

dedicated, committed men of the cloth generally maintained a good rapport with Māori. The material also reinforces the positive effects of their education programmes, their work for peace and their desire to protect women and *taurekareka*. However, what this source material does not reveal is the negative impact these reforms had on *tikanga* Māori. Records acknowledged how the early missionaries respected the *mana rangatira* had amongst their respective *hapū*. Missionaries knew they needed to first convert *rangatira,* if they wanted to work with *hapū,* and they achieved this in Te Poihipi's case. Te Poihipi was not only Ngāti Ruingārangi's temporal, but spiritual leader and leader of social transformation as far as the missionaries were concerned.

Figure 17: View of Hiruhārama (Jerusalem) from the Whanganui River in 1908 - PA1-f-179-14-3, ATL, Wellington.

Other missionary based material was sourced from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint's Visitors centre in Hamilton. These journals were written by American missionaries who had served their missions in New Zealand in the late 1890s and early 1900s. The journals were chosen because each of these missionaries had, at various times, served missions in and around Hiruhārama on the Whanganui River. Ngāti Ruingārangi was named after Ruingārangi, a woman who originally came from Hiruhārama. She had lived her early life on the River and Hiruhārama was her *tūrangawaewae* as she grew up.[26] Missionary journals, apart from commenting on the spirituality of *tūpuna* from

[26] In Taupō Native Land Court minute book 2, p.277, Mohi said, "Ruingarangi, from whom I start belonged in part to Whanganui, in part to Tuwharetoa. She had no claim herself (in reference to the Wairākei district) but her children had through intermarriage with Tamamutu. I have rights in Murimotu." Murimotu is located half way between Waiouru and Karioi.
.

Hiruhārama, gave private and personal accounts of their lives. Journals also described things like the physical location of the place, *pā* sites, hunting *kereru (native wood pigeon),* collecting firewood, and the River and its steamers.

Transcripts of interviews conducted by the Taupō Historical Society were sourced from the Taupō Municipal Library. Five of the six interviewees were Māori from the Taupō *rohe* while the sixth was a Pākehā judge. All five Māori interviewees were *uri* from alliances between local Māori women and men enlisted in the Armed Constabulary who first came to Taupō in 1869. None of the six interviewed are alive today. The interviews provided a very real context for this study. Recollections from some spanned more than two generations and recalled memories of Te Kooti and Tahu and what it was like being in Taupō when it was first colonised in the late 1860s. Transcripts exuded a *mana* that spoke from the pages.

Land Court minutes provide a precious source of raw material. The Taupō Native Land Court first sat in the district on 28 October 1867 where fourteen meetings were held over a 19 year period to 14 January 1886. Minutes were rich repositories of *whakapapa, tikanga, waiata, kōrero pūrākau, and mōteatea.* They revealed glimpses into the daily lives of Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi prior to the 1860s. These records were particularly useful because they had been critiqued and vetted by Stebbing, Ngāti Ruingārangi's resident *hapū* historian. Over the past twenty years or so, she debated contentious issues recorded in minutes with Ngāti Ruingārangi *kaumātua* and *kuia*, all of whom have now passed on. Stebbing's inquiries helped validate what was said by *tūpuna* in these records to hopefully provide a more reliable account of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's past. Based on these informal discussions, Stebbing's journals have also assisted to inform the research.

Stebbing's critique of Native Land Court minutes was significant because it resolved grey areas that could only ever be clarified by being challenged. However, minutes provided practical challenges too, which included legibility and the quality of the microfilm photography on them. Some records had passages in *te reo* recorded verbatim; however, most were accompanied with English translations. Interpreting or analysing the material is important with any research. It is worth remembering that *tūpuna* were the interested parties in Land Court hearings establishing claims to specific, often very large blocks of valuable land to the exclusion of others. Much was at stake and *tūpuna* were often committed to the sale of land even before blocks went to court. Māori often felt compelled to deliberately manipulate evidence given in court to increase the likelihood of winning cases. As far as the Court was concerned, if Māori could name *urupā, pā, kāinga (villages),*

mahinga kai, rat runs, eel weirs, birding trees and other local features, this helped prove *ahi kā* to the land and evidence of occupation (Ballara, 1998, pp. 43-45). Such evidence won cases and *tūpuna* often accused neighbouring *tūpuna* of having learnt names and locations at earlier court hearings where cases were discussed before they went to court. Identifying the challenges involved in working with Land Court minutes and placing them in this context helps to appreciate Stebbing's contribution to the quality of the material gathered.

All of the above material needs to be contextualised by relating them to traditional sources and applying Māori focused thinking to it. This process will aid our understanding of the context in which the material was first written. It is impossible to understand or appreciate the history, and experiences, and decisions of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi and Tūwharetoa, and other Māori without foregrounding *te ao tawhito* or the traditional world in which they lived. Contextualisation also includes *whakapapa* which manifests itself in *mōteatea, whakairo, ingoa wāhi (place names), kōrero pūrākau* and all the other oral and non-oral narratives that the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, for example, do not reveal in relation to the constraints and capacities of Māori. In short, British and New Zealand Parliamentary Papers, and other government publications, contemporary published materials (books, travellers' accounts, newspaper items and similar source material) have limitations, especially when derived from Eurocentric, Colonial, Pākehā perspectives.

Tūpuna interpretations of events at the time were much more complex, and, of course based on *te ao Māori* and the adjustments which they were making. Herbert Meade's material, for example, needs to be "read between the lines" or, as is so often described in historical circles "read against the grain." "Reading against the grain" means turning accounts like Meade's, and others, around and making them into Māori-centered narratives.

Te Poihipi and every other character in Meade's book are immediately framed as being either a "Kingite" or a "Queenite," since Meade was a soldier and Government agent (Meade, 1984, pp. 2-3). Grey and Pākehā members of the *tira* had conditioned Meade into categorising people into one of the two groups. One of Grey's confidantes had given Meade a quick lesson on *mana*, and although he put a slur on Te Poihipi's *mana* later (Meade, 1984, p. iv), someone no doubt explained the term in more detail when he returned to Auckland. Meade seems to have understood *whakapapa*, when he talks about Te Poihipi "being only two removes from being patriarch or senior chief of the whole of the Taupō or Lake Country" (Meade, 1984, p. 3). However, he seems even

less certain about *tuakana-teina (older brother (of a male) - (younger brother (of a male)* than he does about *mana*.

Meade understands the word "loyalty" better than he does the word *mana*. Meade writes: "Poihipi is the soul of loyalty" (Meade, 1984, p. 3). For Pākehā, "loyalty" is the number one quality – meaning of course, loyalty to Britain, born out of a pure and very calculating love for Queen and Empire. Meade's world as an officer in the British armed forces measured the worth of soldiers and settlers and particularly "natives" in terms of "loyalty." Officers in contrast took oaths of allegiance which no doubt included the words "loyal" or "loyalty" somewhere. Te Poihipi's brand of loyalty is criticised by Meade when he comments that being loyal serves both Te Poihipi's "interest and pride" (Meade, 1984, p. 3). Meade intimates that Te Poihipi's loyalty was a more contrived, calculated, and planned kind of loyalty; a loyalty possibly wrought with ulterior motives. However, Meade qualifies Te Poihipi's brand of loyalty when he says he "has rendered good service during the war" (Meade, 1984, p. 3).

Chapter 2 discussed what *kaupapa Māori* research was as a research methodology; provided a critical review of the literature on the Taupō *rohe*, of literature on Ngāti Tūwharetoa and on Māori and Pākehā relations in the nineteenth century; and explored the sources used.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru: Te ao mārama o Te Poihipi

Chapter 3: The natural world of Te Poihipi

Chapter 3 explores the natural world into which Te Poihipi was born. New things were grafted on to the customary ways which remained central, and necessary in their lives. The world into which Te Poihipi was born was not simply the pre-Treaty of Waitangi phase of his life, but the beliefs and practices which shaped his life and those of his *hapū* and their neighbours. In the world of Te Poihipi, *atua* were responsible for the creation of the universe, the planets, stars, the sun and everything on the earth. This chapter will examine the "upbringing" of Te Poihipi in the traditional world that his *tūpuna* knew. This goal is achieved by analysing the philosophical and ontological veiws of *te ao mārama* as Te Poihipi knew and understood them.

Approximately 700 years ago, when Māori first ventured into the *rohe*, Nukuhau was quite *koraha (open and barren land)* and, at first glance, poor in natural resources. As a future place to settle, Nukuhau should have deterred Māori when compared with the coastal regions of the North Island and all the advantages that living on the coast provided. Nukuhau's climate in contrast was often bitterly cold and access to food was limited. Earlier eruptions in the *rohe* meant the soil was naturally poor unlike the coast and Lake Taupō did not provide an abundance of fish.[27] Coupled with what *tūpuna* did take from the Lake, they hunted birds, ate edible plants and roots and produced vast *mahinga kai* (P T Fletcher, 2003). *Tūpuna* certainly had to work to discover local resources and then learn ways to exploit what was there to survive, but that was the case for all Māori in all *rohe*.

Papatūānuku – *te whenua*

In *te ao mārama* of Te Poihipi, Ranginui was the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother. Before Ranginui and Papatūānuku were separated by Tāne-māhuta *(their atua son)* so that the world could enjoy sunlight, and plants could grow, and people and animals and insects could live, Ranginui and Papatūānuku lay together, the sky on the earth. While together, these primal parents gave birth to numerous male gods, including Tāwhiri-mātea *(the god of winds),* Tangaroa *(the god of lakes and rivers and streams),* Tāne-māhuta *(the god of forests),* Rongo-mā-Tāne *(the god of*

[27] Taupō experienced its most violent volcanic eruptions about 2,000 years ago before which time full stands of forest covered the *rohe*. The sheer weight of the pumice showers accompanying these eruptions destroyed the natural forests rendering the land less naturally fruitful. After this time, dust storms swept through the *rohe.*

cultivated food and peace), Haumia-tiketike *(the god of fern root and uncultivated food), Tūmatauenga (the god of humankind and war)* and Whiro.[28] These *atua* lived together in complete darkness between their parents before Tāne-māhuta and several others decided to separte them.

Haumia-tiketike, Rongo-mā-Tāne, Tūmatauenga and Tangaroa all tried unsuccessfully to force their parents apart. Then Tāne-māhuta lay on his back and pushed with his arms and legs, while the others severed their parents' limbs, to break their final grasp to one another.

Each of Ranginui and Papatūānuku's sons was responsible for a designated part of the natural world of Te Poihipi, and he acknowledged this in his daily life through things like *karakia,* managing natural resources, and the observance of *tapu (sacred observances)*. Papatūānuku gave birth to Te Poihipi and provided him with the physical and spiritual foundation for life. She blessed his life with *pūngao puia (geothermal energy), mahinga kai (cultivations, gardens), kōkōwai (red ochre), poaka (wild pigs), harakeke (flax), pūtere (raupō root or bulrush root), rīwai (potato)* and *aruhe (edible fern root)* at places like Nukuhau, Ōrākei Kōrako, Wairākei, Rua Hoata, Puketarata, and Atahaka.

Nukuhau was an impressive example of a traditional communal *mahinga kai* site. The sites nearest Nukuhau were at Te Moengaourututu or Te Whanga o Moenga[29] and Hiruhārama or Jerusalem and these sites resembled those at Nukuhau. Ngāti Ruingārangi, Ngāti Te Rangiita, Ngāti Rauhoto, and Ngāti Te Urunga prepared and used the land for growing crops at all three sites at various times over many decades.

Forest, tussock, swamp, fern, scrub, rivers and lakes provided *tūpuna* with natural resources. *Pūngao puia* provided warmth in colder weather, boiling water for cooking and cleaning, and the therapeutic and medicinal healing properties from the mud and hot pools. The geothermal areas also provided *tūpuna* with a ready supply of *kōkōwai*. Generally, *tūpuna* established permanent settlements within easy access to forests, the Waikato River, Lake Taupō, cultivatable land and geothermal areas. *Tūpuna* mainly used the tussock and open scrub areas between the patches of bush as foraging grounds and never permanently settled in these areas. From more permanent settlements, *tūpuna* would travel each season to temporary dwellings for planting, fishing, birding and *kōkōwai* digging expeditions (E Stokes, 1991, p. 6). Te Poihipi gave the following evidence in a

[28] The wider areas of responsibility of each of these seven *atua* appear in the glossary.
[29] Te Whanga o Moenga was also known as Moenga Bay.

Taupō Native Land court hearing in 1881 for the Wairākei Block that highlights the extent to which *tūpuna* used *kōkōwai*, the land and its natural resources;

> I claim the land through ancestry, through Karetoto. I have houses on the land. Karetoto had a pa there; they lived on koura, kokopu and fern root. They got fern root at Poromango, Karapiti, Te Hereatengana, Kaiwaewae. They caught kokopu at Te Onepu, Te Karo, Te Waikau the mouth of Matarakutia, Ririwai and at Ngatokahuihui below the [Te] Huka Falls. Also at Otupo the mouth of Hineokiriwai [sic – Te Kiriohinekai] and Te Kuraomoehau…There is a post called Te Pahi on this land. It was named after an ancestor of mine….We got red ochre from Oruanui and burnt it on this land. We made reserves on this land to protect the fern root and timber. (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.223-224*)

Rat trapping and berry picking *haerenga (journeys)* also featured. The *pūngao puia* available in the Taupō *rohe* differentiated the *rohe* from most others in Aotearoa. This geothermal resource made the *rohe* an attractive and viable area for *tūpuna* to settle.

Ngāti Ruingārangi and other northern *hapū* were never challenged successfully for their *ahi kā* status to the land. Early *whakapapa* links between northern and southern Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū* existed through the eponymous *tūpuna* Tūwharetoa. Ngāti Ruingārangi *tūpuna* have given oral evidence including *whakapapa* that confirms their *ahi kā* to Nukuhau and other settlements (*TNLC minute book 2, p.268*). From 1867 when the Taupō Native Land Court first sat in Ōruanui, Te Poihipi and other local *rangatira* used the Court system to affirm their *mana whenua (traditional or legal rights to the land). Tūpuna* recounted oral history passed down through the generations by word of mouth binding them to the land through *take raupatu*, *take taunaha* or *take whenua kite hou (right of discovery to land), take tūpuna (right by ancestry to land)* or *take tuku (right to gift to land)* (E Stokes, 1991, p. 12). *Hapū* like Ngāti Ruingārangi, Ngāti Te Rangiita, Ngāti Tamamutu, Ngāti Rauhoto, and Ngāti Urunga had established their *tūrangawaewae* at Nukuhau and were very closely related and on occasions cultivated *mahinga kai* together. This inter-*hapū whanaungatanga (a relationship through shared experiences)* brought local *hapū* together for a common purpose, strengthening bonds often formed on previous occasions.

The right to the land and its resources by *take raupatu, take taunaha* or *take whenua kite hou, take tūpuna* or *take tuku* was complex for *hapū* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Firstly, *tūpuna* needed to occupy the land for a considerable length of time for any of these rights to be considered valid. The term *ahi kā* was used to describe this overarching arrangement and literally meant 'to keep the fires burning on the land.' Ngāti Ruingārangi *tūpuna* maintained their occupation rights by periodically or seasonally visiting and using the land and its resources. In other words, *ahi kā* meant *tūpuna* regularly visiting and using the land, as opposed to living on it permanently over an extended period of time.

Occasionally, *hapū* could expect challenges from other *hapū* for access rights, particularly if the land contained valuable resources like *kōkōwai* or *pūngao puia*. Defending *hapū*, to keep their *mana* intact as worthy *kaitiaki (guardians)* of the land, would often restore peace with a strategic marriage. The marriage would have been between high ranking *tūpuna* and the alliance would have benefited both *rōpū (group)* (E Stokes, 1991, p. 12).

Take tuku or having access rights to birding sites, fishing grounds, or resources such as *kōkōwai* were often given as a peace offering at a marriage ceremony. *Take tuku* were also given during other peacemaking or ceremonial occasions (E Stokes, 1991, p. 12). The inheritance rights of Māori to the land and its resources were complex and when understood against a backdrop of how they lived their nomadic-hunter-gatherer lifestyles made complete sense.

What also made absolute sense to Te Poihipi was that everything was known and had a name, through *whakapapa,* and this was a critical aspect of *te ao tawhito*, and the "education" he received. He knew the *rohe* intimately in the 1800s because it was his *tūrangawaewae*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi and other Māori prided themselves on knowing the names of every mountain and hill and valley and plain and river down to the smallest stream; each deriving its name from a characteristic or historical feature associated with it. Trees and plants and birds and insects too were aptly named to describe the appearance or habit of each and *tūpuna* considered the relationship very normal and very natural (Kerry-Nicholls, 1884, p. 323).

Apart from being conversant with the natural features of their landscape, *tūpuna* also had practical knowledge of the places where food, flax and other significant holdings were sourced.

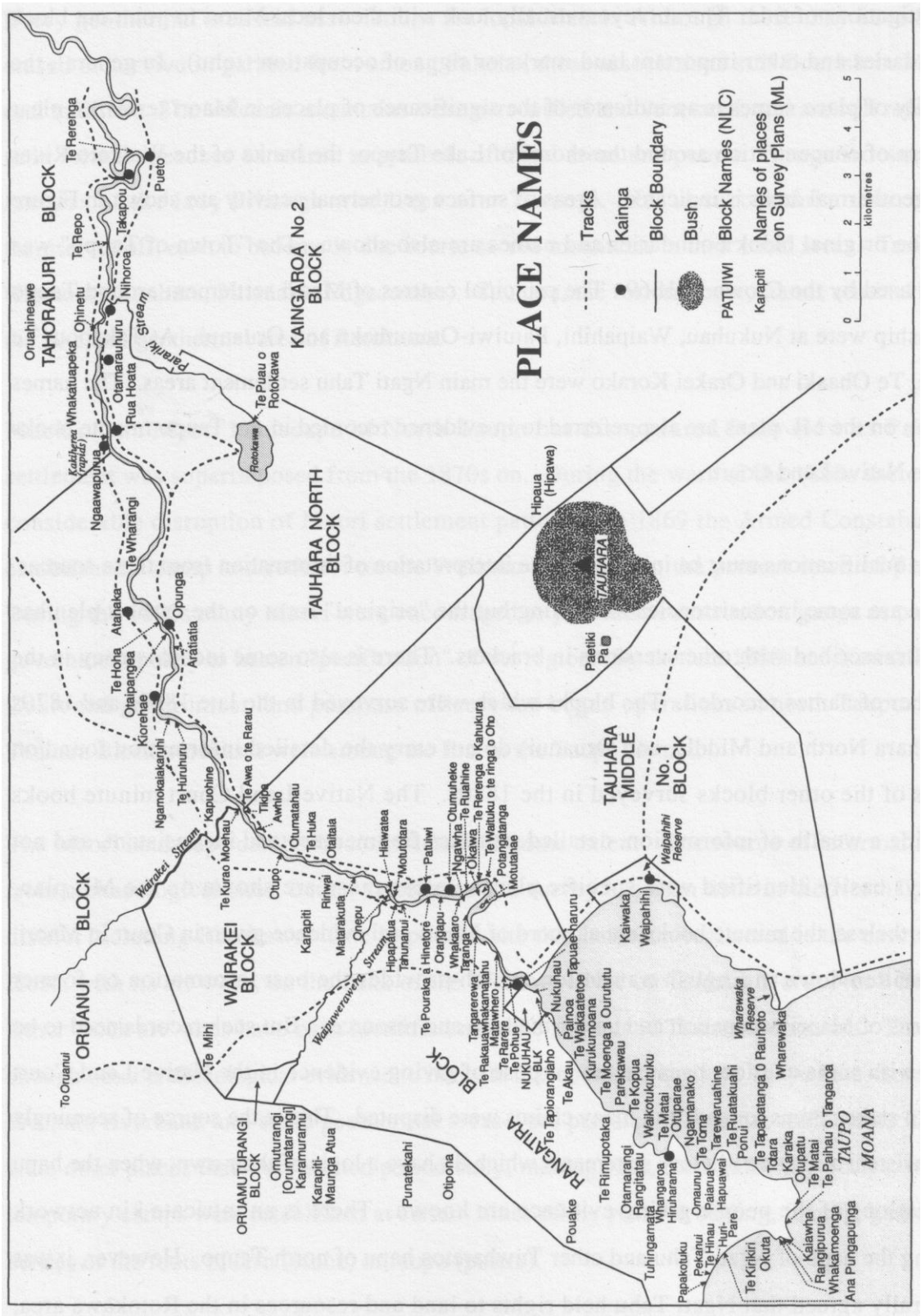

Figure 18: Tracks, *kāinga*, Land Block boundaries and names, *ngāhere* and place names in and around Nukuhau, along the western shores of Lake Taupō, and down the Waikato River - Plate 3 (E Stokes, 1991).

Wāhi tapu, like *urupā*, sites where past battles had been fought, or other notable events had occurred, had a *mauri* that was recognised and acknowledged. This *mauri* represented the essence of the place and the *hapū* itself and was infused into the rock-formation, tree, stone, or feature because of it (E Stokes, 1991, p. 8). *Mauri* gave life to inanimate objects. *Taniwha* which often dwelt in caves in the lake and river were credited with saving members of the *hapū* from danger (E Stokes, 1991, p. 8). The spiritual psyche of *tūpuna* or the way *tūpuna* thought and reasoned was something that was respected on the one hand and feared on the other. However, *wairua* and other aspects of the way *tūpuna* lived their lives, was being challenged and modified more and more, through increased contact with *Pākehā*.

In the period before 1840, *tūpuna* through travel (over to Whanganui and up to Bay of Plenty and Waikato) and trade had already acquired *taputapu (gear, equipment, goods, hardware)* Pākehā (some made from metal), and *kākahu* Pākehā, and so had already come across the occasional Pākehā with their often perplexing, often unusual ways (Petrie, 2006, p. 33). *Tūpuna* would have probably talked about Pākehā with their *taonga* (*taputapu* Pākehā, *pū (guns*), but Pākehā would have generally been ignorant of the practices and ramifications of *rangatiratanga*, *manaakitanga*, *whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships with others)* and *wairuatanga (spirituality),* and the significance and importance of *whakapapa*, *tapu*, *pōwhiri*, *kōkōwai*, *whaikōrero*, *hongi*, *koha*, and *hākari (sumptuous feast)* in *te ao tawhito,* and about what was considered normal and usual and *tika*.

Beliefs and practices that shaped Te Poihipi's early life and thinking

The upbringing of Te Poihipi in the traditional world of his *tūpuna* was the basis for his beliefs and practices. To understand some of the following *tikanga* is to better understand the world into which Te Poihipi was born and the upbringing he had that shaped and moulded his early thinking. *Tikanga* or cultural imperatives like *rangatiratanga, manaakitanga, tapu, pōwhiri, whaikōrero, hongi, koha, and hākari* (to the exclusion of others) are used in this chapter and subsequent chapters to explain, or at least describe, the world in which Te Poihipi was brought up. So the world into which Te Poihipi was born was not simply the first phase, the pre-Treaty of Waitangi, pre-Christian phase of his life, but rather, the period and circumstances in which his *whakaaro* took shape so that his "world" was firmly in place as the basis for his later life as a *rangatira*.

Rangatiratanga

To Te Poihipi growing up in the world of his father and *tūpuna*, *rangatiratanga* would have come to mean Te Pahi exercising his *mana* on behalf of, and for the benefit of Ngāti Ruingārangi. The *mana* of Te Pahi to exercise this right and responsibility was inherited through his father, who was *rangatira* of Ngāti Ruingārangi before him. In the case of Te Poihipi *whakapapa* links him to his father and to his predecesors back to Tūwharetoa, the eponymous *tūpuna* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. According to Maharaia Winiata, the responsibilites of *rangatira* ranged from faciliating *hui* to representing the *hapū* at the iwi level:

> At the village marae and whare runanga, the rangatira supervised the discussions of war and peace, alienation of land, internal disputes, visits abroard, marriage arrangements and so on, although individual kaumatua members of the subtribal council might introduce topics. He was also responsibible for welcoming visitors to the village, he supervised the mortuary rites, and he promoted and supervised the feasts. But he also represented the subtribe in the wider affairs of the tribe. (Winiata, 1967, p. 33)

Te Pahi, in all likelihood, consciously prepared Te Poihipi to take over the *mana* and mantle of *rangatira* of Ngāti Ruingārangi. As Te Pahi nurtured him through his teens on into early adulthood, it is highly probable that he demonstrated many of the leadership qualities that Te Poihipi would later exhibit himself as *rangatira*. The leadership of Te Pahi is a testimony of his *rangatiratanga* as *rangatira* of Ngāti Ruingārangi.

Manaakitanga

As Te Pahi raised Te Poihipi at Ōmāunu, it is probable that the essence of what he taught his son about *manaakitanga* was illustrated in the following *whakataukī*:

Nāu te rourou	Your food basket or your contribution
Nāku te rourou	And my food basket or my contribution
Ka mākona te manuhiri.	Will provide sufficient for all.

This *whakataukī* provided a constant reminder to Te Poihipi about the importance of food when hosting people, and his responsibility to *manuhiri* to express love, show compassion, kindness, charity, and hospitality to all those who visited his *marae*. In all likelihood *kuia* and *koroua*, in particular, would have taught Te Poihipi that the most important attribute for *tangata whenua* hosting *manuhiri* was to provide an abundance of *kai*, and a place to rest and to speak nicely of one another, so that peace prevailed during the *hui*.

Kaumātua would have taught the young Te Poihipi (as in the second line of the *whakataukī*) that regardless of the *hui* attended, he and whoever accompanied him from Ngāti Ruingārangi were responsible for providing enough food and provisions to sustain themsleves over the time of the *hui.* Hosting responsibilites did not rest entirely with *tangata whenua: manuhiri,* as responsible guests, had responsibilites too.

Tapu

To Te Poihipi, *tapu* was used to control how he and each individual member of the *hapū* behaved towards one another, and the environment. *Tapu* placed restrictions on every person to ensure that *tikanga* Ngāti Ruingārangi and *mātauranga* Ngāti Ruingārangi, as taught to them by *tūpuna*, was at the core of every decision they made, so that peace could be maintained and everyone benefited.

Tapu was a law of conscience. Te Poihipi knew that if he made good choices, he would feel comfortable knowing that he had appeased *atua*. However, if he made poor choices, he would feel awkward and uneasy about his decisions. Te Poihipi would have been taught that people like his father, and *tohunga,* could act as channels for *atua* in applying *tapu*. Te Poihipi knew not to violate a *tapu* for fear of sickness, or misfortune, or even disaster, as a result of angering *atua*.

People, places or things which were *tapu* were considered to have intrinsic *tapu*. The extension of this *tapu* were the restrictions that resulted from contact with the people, places, or things that were intrinsically *tapu*. Te Poihipi was taught that these restrictions could be removed with water, *kai*, or *karakia*. He knew that as his father's son, he possessed more *mana* and *tapu* than other relatives, particularly because he could trace his *whakapapa* through a senior line to Tūwharetoa and *atua.* This link warranted the special care and protection of *atua*. Early in the education of Te Poihipi, Te Pahi would have taught him to strengthen his personal *mana* and *tapu* with *atua* and to keep that bond as pure and undefiled as possible.

Kaumātua would have taught Te Poihipi that everyone was responsible for nurturing their own *tapu*, which included acknowledging the *tapu* of others. Te Poihipi would have grown up learning that members of the *hāpu* were more *tapu* under certain circumstances than others, including women giving birth, *toa (warriors)* travelling to battle, men carving (and their materials) and *tūpāpaku*. Te Poihipi would have most likely learnt that all natural resources originated from one of the *atua* and as such needed to be consecrated or blessed with *karakia* before and after harvesting. When *tapu* was removed from people, places, or things, they become *noa*.

Pōwhiri

Te Poihipi, as expressed in the following *whakatauki*, would have been taught *te tikanga o te marae-a-tea* by his father and *kaumātua* of Ngāti Ruingārangi, so that one day he would feel completely at home.

Tangata ako ana i te whare, te turanga ki te marae, tau ana.
A person, who is taught at home, will stand collected on the *marae-a-tea*.

To Te Poihipi, a *pōwhiri* was the ceremony Ngāti Ruingārangi performed when formally welcoming *manuhiri* onto their *marae*. He knew that when he accompanied members of his *whānau* to visit others, the same ceremony would be performed for them. *Pōwhiri* provided *tangata whenua* with the opportunity to determine whether *manuhiri* came in peace or war.

"Growing up" Te Poihipi would have observed that when *pōwhiri* were performed, and in keeping with the *wairuatanga* of *manaakitanga*, *manuhiri* were cordially welcomed, *whakapapa* recounted, connections renewed, history recalled, and the dead remembered and mourned of both sides. The *pōwhiri* helped unify and unite *manuhiri* and *tangata whenua*. At a latter age, Te Poihipi would have realised that each of these components was as important as the next, if *manuhiri* were to be welcomed onto Ōmāunu *marae* with the dignity and *mana* they deserved. Te Pahi would have ensured Te Poihipi knew that if he disregarded or mistreated *manuhiri* they would no longer visit his *pā*, a sentiment expressed in the following *whakatauki*:

Tangata takahi manuhiri, he marae puehu.
A person who mistreats his guest has a dusty marae.

The older and older Te Poihipi became the more and more he would have appreciated the importance of *manaakitanga* when caring for *manuhiri*.

Whaikōrero

To Te Poihipi, *whaikōrero* was the formal speech making part of the *pōwhiri* ceremony. From an early age and over a number of years, Te Poihipi, in all likelihood, would have gradually progressed from helping prepare food in the *whare kai*, to listening near the *paepae* to *whaikōrero* spoken on the *marae*, to sitting on the *paepae*, to eventually speaking from the *paepae*, in an understudy role to his father. He knew "men only" spoke on Ngāti Ruingārangi marae. He would have learnt that providing his father was still alive, he could never stand and *whaikōrero* on any *marae* ahead of him. Te Poihipi could only speak, if he was given his father's consent to do so.

Whaikōrero followed a particular pattern which Te Poihipi would have learnt growing up, as he listened to his father and other *kaumātua* delivering their speeches from the *paepae*. Te Pahi and others would have taught Te Poihipi *tauparapara,* to open his *whaikōrero* with, as well as how he needed to acknowledge those who had passed on, the *wharepuni*, Papatūānuku, the living, and how to discuss the purpose for each *hui*. Te Pahi, *kaumātua*, and others would have taught Te Poihipi a variety of *waiata,* as *kīnaki* to sing after his *whaikōrero,* to complement the plethora of topics that he was likely to discuss in his *whaikōrero*.

Hongi

To Te Poihipi, the *hongi* was the name given to the welcome when *tangata whenua* and *manuhiri* exchanged greetings by touching noses gently once. At the conclusion of *whaikōrero, tangata whenua* would form a line, off to the left hand side of the last speaker, who would waive the *manuhiri* over to his side of the *marae*. Starting with their speakers first, followed by the rest of the *manuhiri,* each person in the *manuhiri* line would move down the line of *tangata whenua* and greet each person as they went until everyone had exchanged *hongi*.

Te Poihipi learnt that the *hongi* was a sign of peace, as well as health and wellbeing. Before Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother were separated, they lay in blissful harmony with each other, Ranginui stretched out over Papatūānuku. In this state of peace and unity, Ranginui and Papatūānuku typified the desire of *tangata whenua* and *manuhiri* at *hui* when *hongi* were exchanged.

Te Poihipi came to appreciate, the *hongi* was a sign of life and immortality and symbolised the actions of *atua* breathing *te hā* or breath of life into humans. With the exchange of breath from *atua* to human, the *mauri* of the *hongi* is established as the spiritual and physical elements of both come together as one. Te Poihipi learnt that the *hongi* conveyed that all life originated from the various *atua*.

Koha

When Te Poihipi accompanied his father and members of Ngāti Ruingārangi to *hui*, they would take a *koha* with them in the form of *kai* or other gifts such as *kete* or *whāriki ((flax floor or sleeping mats).* When in season, and at their fattest, they would perhaps have taken *pārera*, *kōkopu*, *kōura*, *tuna*, *īnanga*, *kōaro*, *pukerora*, *toitoi*, or *kākahi. Koha,* in the off-season, would have most likely included *huahua manu (preserved birds)* - particularly *kererū (native wood pigeon)* and tūī. *Tangata whenua* receiving the highly prized *kōkōwai* would have considered them selves very fortunate. *Kai* like *pikopiko*, gathered from *ngahere* in the *rohe*, would have also figured as *koha*.

As a youngster, Te Poihipi would have noticed that when the final speaker of the *manuhiri* had concluded his *whaikōrero,* he would advance forward towards *tangata whenua* to place the *koha* on to the *marae* in front of the *wharepuni*. This gesture also indicated to *tangata whenua* that *manuhiri* had completed their *whaikōrero*.

Hākari

To Te Poihipi, the *hākari* was the name of the *kai* or feast that was prepared prior to the *pōwhiri,* and shared by *tangata whenua* with *manuhiri* at the conclusion of the *hongi. Manuhiri* were formally called into the *whare kai* by a member of the *tangata whenua*. The *pōwhiri* was considered a *tapu* ceremony and *kai* was regarded as *noa*, the antithesis of *tapu*. In effect, when *manuhiri* ate the *kai*, the *tapu* associated with their participation in the *pōwhiri* was removed.

Te Waonui-a-Tāne-māhuta – the forest

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's contact with Te Waonui-a-Tāne-māhuta and forests, scrub, *harakeke, rākau*, mosses, and bracken in the *rohe* was through Mt Tauhara. Tāne-māhuta, the *atua* of the forest, separated earth and sky, and let light into the world and created *mokomoko* and *manu* and other creatures. Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi depended on Tāne-māhuta's *rākau* and shrubs for *kai (food), rongoa (medicine),* building materials and clothing.

Mt Tauhara

Mt Tauhara was the ancestral *maunga* of *hapū* at the northern end of Lake Taupō and featured prominently in their daily lives. Several *hapū*, including Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Te Poihipi, utilised Tauhara for cultivation and catching *manu* and for defence but otherwise lived either near or around the *maunga*. The "deep wooded valleys and sheltered slopes on the western aspect were the best cultivation grounds anywhere near the north end of Lake Taupō. The soil was rich, and the forests which clothed Tauhara ....were alive with birds" (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, p. 178).Tāmati Te Kurupae noted, "It is the *one matua*, the good rich volcanic earth, and in it we used to grow our best crops. I have grown potatoes there in that old [Te] Mōrere *kāinga,* in the warm heart of Tauhara. It was a beautiful place for the cultivators of old – safe, sheltered, fertile, and the forests protected us" (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, p. 178).

Mt Tauhara provided *tūpuna* with a natural vantage point over the whole volcanic plateau while its many hilly outcrops were utilised for defensive *pā* sites. One *pā* was on Te Mōrere and another on Te Hue, a ferny hill which formed the north-western buttress of the mountain and below it on a square-topped hill was Tau-waenga (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, p. 178). Tāmati Te Kurupae explained how *tūpuna* had named the summit of the 3,600 foot mountain "Mātairangi" which means to 'gaze upon' or 'keep watch over.' This was what sentinels were expected to do, particularly during the era of inter-*iwi* [and inter-*hapū*] war. When *tūpuna* felt threatened, keen-eyed scouts were sent up to Mātairangi to keep a watchful-eye out for approaching *taua*. In daylight, it was impossible to cross the Kaingaroa Plain from the north or east, the most likely quarter *taua* approached from, without being spotted (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, p. 180).

Tāmati Te Kurupae recounts how the lake and fishing for *kōkopu* and *īnanga* occupied their time in summer. In winter, the focus was on Mt Tauhara and *tāhere manu (bird hunting)* for *kererū*, *tūī, (native parson bird)* and *kākā (native forest parrot). Tūpuna* considered the *maunga* their *matua (father or parent)* who supplied them with *huahua manu*. Snares were positioned above *wai tuhi (small water troughs)* and set in the driest parts of the bush so that *manu* were more likely to fly down and drink. Long wooden barbed spears were also used. *Kākā* which were in plentiful supply on Mt Tauhara were caught using *mutu kaka* or elbowed wooden snares, rigged with running flax-string tackle, set in the Rata tree which were their favourite food. *Tūpuna* camped on the *maunga* for many days at a time often experiencing considerable success in trapping the birds. *Manu* were cooked and preserved in its own *hinu (fat)* and stored in airtight vessels made of totara bark.

Tauhara also provided essential fresh water springs and streamlets, particularly at the mountain top, which was absolutely essential to sustain life on the *maunga* (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, p. 178).

Te Poihipi's whakapapa connections to Patoromu and Ngāti Tahu

All *hapū* in the Taupō *rohe* regarded the *pūngao puia* as *taonga*. These resources were inherited through *ahi kā* and *tūpuna* used this *taonga* to make life easier for them. Wairākei and Ōrākei Kōrako were two geothermal areas occupied by Ngāti Ruingārangi, Ngāti Tahu and other closely-related *hapū*.

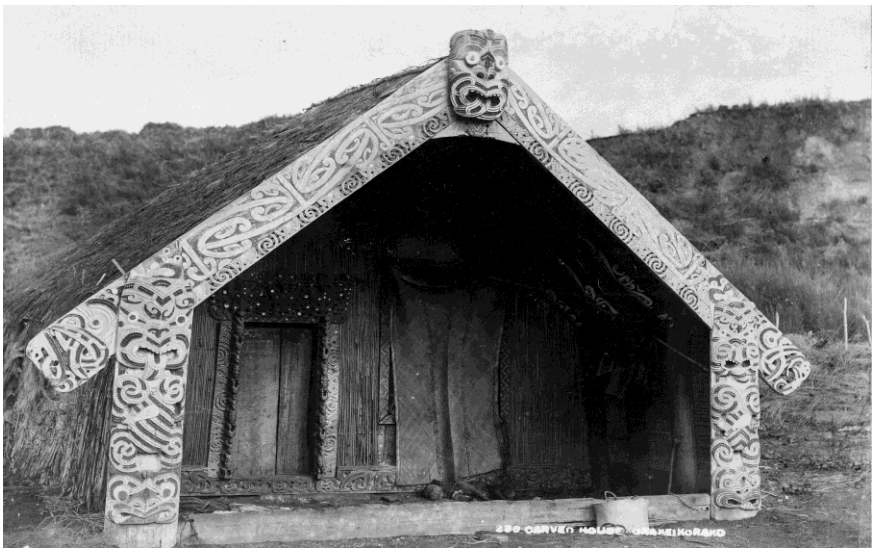

Figure 19: External front view of Rahurahu *wharepuni* in the village of Ōrākei Kōrako ca.1900 - F-12998 ½, ATL, Wellington.

The hot pools (*waiariki, puia,* and *ngāwhā*) provided *tūpuna* with the water needed to bathe, to wash clothes and to cook food in. Scarce wood supplies, time, and labour were alleviated when *hāngī (earth or thermally generated ovens)* were cooked like this.[30] The *pūngao puia* at Ōrākei Kōrako, Wairākei, Karapiti, Tapuaeharuru, Waipāhīhī and Waitahanui were assets to the *hapū* fortunate enough to have access to them through *ahi kā*.

Pūngao puia had other uses too such as a source of internal heating for *whare (houses).* For example, Rahurahu, the Ngāti Tahu *wharepuni* at Ōrākei Kōrako sat directly on the geothermal crust of the valley. The bare earth flooring of Rahurahu represented the traditional Māori version of

[30] N. Williams (personal communication, 4 April, 2005).

today's under-floor heating. It would have been the envy of neighbouring *hapū* who would have had to rely on an indoor open fire for warmth in similar circumstances.[31]

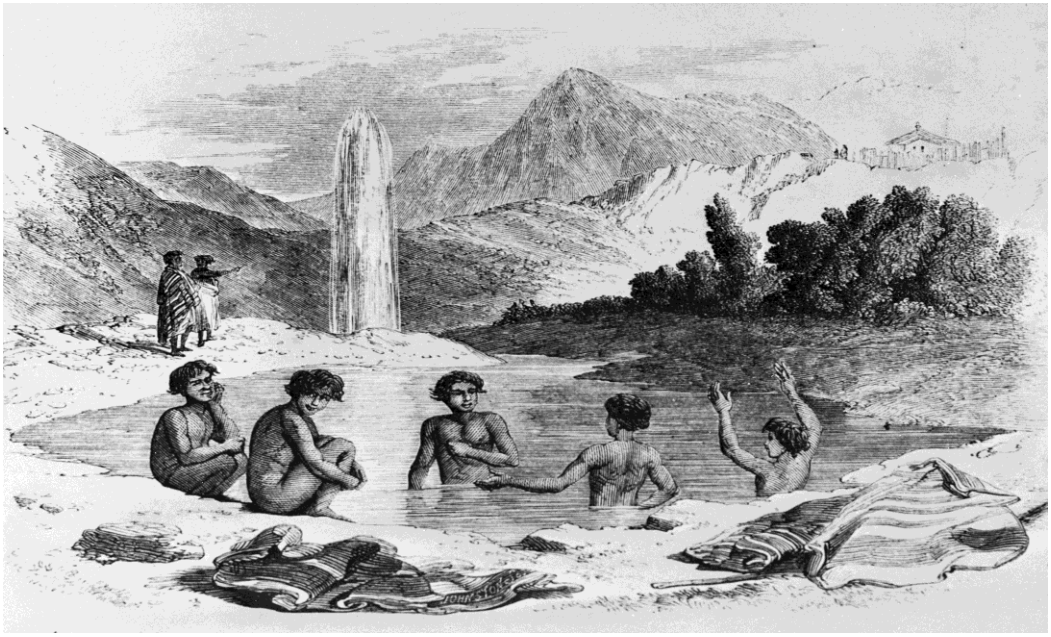

Figure 20: Engraving of children enjoying a hot spring at Ōrākei Kōrako on the Waikato River in 1867 – F-150201-1/2. ATL, Wellington.

The mud lining of some of the pools possessed medicinal healing properties, particularly in the treatment of *ngerengere (a type of skin infection)* which was prevalent amongst Māori in the area. Some pools were noted for their therapeutic properties in the treatment of *mate mārōrō (muscular disorders*) and *mate rūmātiki (rheumatic complaints)* and *mate kaikōiwi (arthritic complaints).* Certain pools were used by *tūpuna* to ritually cleanse their bodies after battle, while others were used to spiritually purify themselves after receiving the medicinal or therapeutic benefits of having bathed in them. Sometimes, *tohunga* who were closely associated with certain pools, were interred in them. The hot pools were the focal-point of the community and *tūpuna* would often wile away hours, socialising with one another, particularly if the weather did not lend itself to anything more productive, and *pātaka (food storehouse raised on posts)* were full.[32]

[31] N. Williams (personal communication, 4 April, 2005).
[32] Ibid.

Kōkōwai

Patoromu and Ngāti Tahu lived not far from Puketarata and they were related to Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, they therefore shared amenities and resources.[33] If Ngāti Ruingārangi migrated from Lake Rotokawa and Rua Hoata to Ōruanui, for example, they would often travel there to dig for and process *kōkōwai*.

It was customary for Ngāti Ruingārangi to paint exhumed bones of *tūpuna* with *kōkōwai* prior to laying them in their final resting place. *Tūpuna* often hid *tūpāpaku (the corpse, or the deceased person)* after *tangihanga (ceremony of mourning for the dead)* to reduce the likelihood of them being discovered by others and desecrated. A year or so after the death of a *tūpuna*, close relatives of the deceased retrieved the body, scraped the bones clean and then painted them with *kōkōwai* to complete the preservation process. Often, exhumed bones were interred in a different place to further lessen the chance of a grave being robbed and *tūpāpaku* desecrated. Ngāti Ruingārangi used *kōkōwai* to trade or barter with neighbouring *hapū* or *iwi*.

Tūpuna considered the soil in the Ōtānetiti *repo (swamp)* superior to that above the swamp line, because flooding in the past had deposited silt through the *rohe* which had improved the overall quality of the soil. Around this time, *mahinga kai* were enclosed by sodden walls which were later replaced by *mānuka* fences. These fences were eventually replaced with *pou tōtara*. Pitiroi did this to make the fences more secure from the domesticated pigs which often destroyed local *mahinga kai*. He was also responsible for procuring one of Ngāti Ruingārangi's first ploughs which was used to prepare the soil in *mahinga kai* before the seasons crops of *purapura (seeds, tubers)* were planted. Patoromu's whole family worked *mahinga kai* including his son Hēmi, Hēmi's aunty Marutuna and his uncles Tuatangata, Te Kahu, Taranga, and Tūkairangi. Te Wātene's children, Māreti, Te Rauōriwa and Hōera also worked these plots. Te Poihipi often worked adjacent *mahinga kai* with his nephews (*TNLC minute book 25, p.148*).

A Pākehā observed how *tūpuna* processed their *kōkōwai* on the bank of the Waikato River in 1839 by saying;

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[33] N. Williams (personal communication, 4 April, 2005).

> The natives are very fond of daubing their heads with a sort of red paint which they call 'cocoi' [*kōkōwai*]; I saw a large manufactory of it on the banks of the Waikato. A double circle of mat-work was formed round a large spring of rusty water, and the curdy carbonate of iron was by this means strained off. After this preparation, it is burnt and mixed with oil. (Bidwill, 1952, p. 61)

Harakeke

Harakeke was found in abundance in northern Taupō. In pre-*Pākehā* times, Māori depended on *harakeke* for a variety of everyday uses. Aptly named, the first part of the word '*hara'* was derived from the Polynesian names for Pandanus, and '*keke'* which means strong or stubborn.

Harakeke was scraped by hand often using seashells to remove the *muka (flax fibre)* from the leaf. Each leaf was scraped to soften it to make it more pliable. Scraping also removed excess moisture and encouraged the flax to dry to a better colour without too much rolling or shrinkage (Pendergrast, 1987, pp. 10-11). The *muka* was then used to make *korowai (cloaks ornamented with black twisted tags), whakatipu (shoulder/rain capes), tatua (belts),* and *taura (ropes)*. *Harakeke* was weaved to make *rourou (small flax weaved food baskets), pēre (buckets or pails)* to transport sand and soil to *mahinga kai* and *pā* fortifications, nets and fishing lines, and *whāriki.* Although not exhaustive, the list of uses also included lashings for *waka* and *whare*, snares for birds and rats, sails for *waka*, sandals, and even rattles for babies. Locals traded for shellfish with Māori from the coast in order to secure *anga* from mussels which were considered excellent for scraping *muka* (Stebbing, 1983, p. 90).

Rua Hoata was a cave formed by erosion to the pumice banks of the Waikato River at a time when it ran at a higher level. The semi-circular, wide-mouthed opening to the cave was about 6 m at its peak and then it tapered down to its back and sides. *Tūpuna* could more easily access the cave from *waka* on the river as the entrance was located part way down a steep rock face. *Tūpuna* used the cave to cook and shelter in and to prepare their hunting and food gathering implements ("Maori wall carvings," 1930, 12 February p. 1). Rua Hoata was important in Te Poihipi's early life growing up on the river as a young man and later too as Ngāti Ruingārangi's leader. Te Poihipi, Patoromu and their *hapū* dug for *pūtere* near the entrance of the cave and *aruhe* from the banks of the Parariki stream near Lake Rotokawa.

When in season, Te Poihipi and *tūpuna* lived on the shores of Lake Rotokawa and used the lake and Waikato River to snare *pārera*. *Pārera* were cooked in *hāngī* on the shores of the lake and then taken to Nihoroa. Nihoroa was another semi-permanent residence and *mahinga rīwai* cultivation for Ngāti Tahu where this edible favourite was added to the *hākari* to complement the *pārera*. After the seasonal *haerenga* to Lake Rotokawa, Ngāti Tahu and Patoromu would shift camp to Wairākei, Tutukau or Ōrākei Kōrako and on rare occasions lived at Takapau in the Tahorakūri *rohe*.[34] *See Figure 18, p.75.*

Patoromu, the rangatira of Ngāti Tahu and his *hapū*, during the 1830s and 1840s permanently occupied Ngaawapurua in the Tauhara *rohe* and considered this their *ahi kā* and *tūrangawaewae*.[35] Patoromu worked and lived with his people in and around the Rua Hoata cave situated below the Aratiatia rapids on the Waikato River.[36] Archaeologists discovered 54 incised canoe shapes, fragments of netting, and marine shellfish shells in this cave, indicating the extent to which the cave was used by *tūpuna* (Phillips, 1947, pp. 336-339; Trotter & McCulloch, 1971).

Tangaroa – the lakes and rivers

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have often considered the regions lakes and rivers and waterways, the source and foundation of life, because it was something they experienced, and had been taught by their *tūpuna*. Tangaroa was the *atua* of the lakes and rivers in the *rohe,* and Lakes Taupō and Rotokawa, and the Waikato River, provided Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi with seasonal supplies of fresh *pārera*, *kōkopu*, *kōura*, *tuna*, *īnanga*, *kōaro*, *pukerora*, *toitoi*, and *kākahi* of which they were grateful. The rivers and lakes also gave Te Poihipi an opportunity to hone his already considerable paddling skills.

Pārera

Pārera or the Grey Duck (Anas Superciliosa) was the species most often caught on Lake Rotokawa during moulting season. Other species also caught included the Black Teal (or Scaup), the Shoveller, and the White-winged Duck (Buller, 1888, p. 254).

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[34] The Tahorakurī *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Tahorakurī Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.
[35] The Tauhara *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Tauhara Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.
[36] Patoromu was Māori for Bartholomew. The name Bartholomew was derived from the Bible and because Christianity had such a profound impact on *te ao Māori* during this time. Māori often transliterated biblical names like this and adopted them as their own.

One of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's *whakapapa* connections to Ngāti Tahu and Patoromu, and subsequent *ahi kā* to Atahaka and *pārera* hunting rights at Lake Rotokawa was through Rangipaeroa, one of Kaiuru's wives (E Stokes, 2002). Ngāti Tahu and Ngāti Ruingārangi were closely related by *whakapapa* and often pooled their combined hunting talents to benefit both *hapū*. These *hapū* were neighbours and not only shared common geographical boundaries but resources too.

Figure 21: *Pārera* or Grey Duck was a very common species in the Taupō *rohe* in the 1860s unil it was overtaken in the 1950s by introduced mallards. The two species interbred, so few pure Grey Ducks remain. [Untitled photograph of a Grey Duck]. (n.d). Retrieved July 15, 2010 from http://www.teara.govt.nz/files/p14647odt.jpg

Once the *tapu* was lifted off Lake Rotokawa to open the moulting season in February-March, men, women and children commenced Duck-hunting.

> The men with dogs in short leashes keep within the belt of manuka scrub along the margin of the lake; the women and children proceed to the middle of the lake in canoes, then take to the water, and with great noise and splashing drive the frightened birds up into the bays or inlets, where they seek refuge in the scrub and sedges and are immediately pounced upon by the trained dogs which are still held in leash. The Duck-hunter snatches the bird away from the dog, kills it noiselessly by biting it in the head, and then throws it behind him to be collected by a party of women who follow on foot for that purpose…Those that escape the dogs are caught by snares set at night. The snares are placed along the margins of the lake and on the warm

> stones where the Ducks are accustomed to congregate after dark.[37] (Buller, 1888, p. 254)

Patoromu was Ngāti Tahu. He lived and worked amongst his *hapū* as they made the seasonal round of *haerenga* to various *kāinga* dotted either along or near the Waikato River. Ngaawapurua in the Tauhara *rohe* was one of these *kāinga*.[38] The *hapū* frequently lived in Rua Hoata, a naturally formed cave in an upper bank of the Waikato River and located a short distance north of Lake Rotokawa. There, Patoromu and Ngāti Tahu sheltered from the elements and prepared and cooked food. They procured *pūtere* nearby, and *aruhe* from the banks of the Parariki stream running into the eastern side of the Lake. *Pārera* were cooked in improvised *hāngī* in one of the many naturally occurring hot thermal vents near the lake. *Tūpuna* added *rīwai* for extra garnish and flavour. From here the food was normally transported the short distance to Nihoroa to be eaten. Ngāti Tahu cultivated *rīwai* at Nihoroa (Stebbing, 1983, p. 70).

After spending the February-March moulting season hunting *pārera* at Rua Hoata, Lake Rotokawa, and Nihoroa, Ngāti Tahu usually paddled down river to Waikari, Tutukau, and then on to Ōrākei Kōrako. When it was bird snaring season again, Ngāti Tahu made the usual *haerenga* back up the river to Rua Hoata and Lake Rotokawa. The lives of Ngāti Tahu revolved around seasonal resources which meant constant relocation to the different *kāinga*. Patoromu and Ngāti Tahu also lived and worked at Takapou in the Tahorakurī *rohe* (Stebbing, 1983, p. 70).[39]

Huka Falls and Aratiatia Rapids

The Huka Falls is the largest waterfall on the Waikato River and lies approximately 5 km down river from where Te Poihipi had his *pā* at the entrance to the river. The falls occur when the river, spanning 100 m in places, is bottlenecked to less than 30 m and then rifled through a 230 m channel before being jettisoned into a basin 11 m below. The volume of water flowing through the channel often reaches 220,000 litres per second. If *waka* were not moored securely up river, *tūpuna* were well aware of the consequences should they come loose. Tamamutu experienced this first hand (H. J. Fletcher & Te Hata, 1917).

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[37] This quote is based upon an account in 1867.
[38] The Tauhara *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Tauhara North Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.
[39] The Tahorakurī *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Tahorakurī Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.

Tia was responsible for naming Huka Falls. After Tia and his followers reached the Waikato River, he noticed how muddy the water was and concluded that someone had discoloured it on purpose to establish *ahi kā* rights. Although disappointed, Tia and his *rōpū* continued up river to a place where they eventually crossed. He named the spot Atiamuri which meant "Tia who follows behind" acknowledging he knew he was not the first person to discover the river. He continued on hoping to meet his predecessor. When he came to the Aratiatia rapids, he studied the way in which the water gushed down the falls and concluded that it must have come from an underground cavern somewhere near the top. He also noted how the rapids were formed into a series of steps. As he clambered up the right-hand bank of the river, he named the rapids Aratiatia or stairway of Tia after what he had seen. Tia and his followers discovered early, that they were no match for Ngāti Hotu who already had *ahi kā* rights to northern Taupō. Not wanting to confront them, Tia and his followers skirted around the eastern side of the lake to eventually settle at Titiraupenga (J. T. Grace, 1959, pp. 59-60). The Huka falls and the Aratiatia rapids are both in the Wairākei *rohe*.[40]

Tīwai on the lake and waka on the river

Te Poihipi and Ngati Ruingārangi's main mode of transport on the lakes and river was the *tīwai,* and the *waka*. The *tīwai* was a large canoe carved out of a single hollowed-out log of *tōtara* which did not have top sides attached to the main sides of the hull. In contrast, the *waka* was shaped in a similar way to the *tīwai* but was much smaller, and as Bidwell (1839) commented, these vessels were not used on the lake (Bidwill, 1952, p. 61).

Waka, because of there size and shape, were better suited to navigating and manoeuvring the trickier river currents, and depending on circumstances, *tūpuna* attached high sides to them for safety reasons. Bidwell commented that the *tīwai* that transported him across the lake from Tapuaeharuru Bay to Tokaanu at the southern end of the lake was the largest he had ever seen. It carried seventeen paddlers and about ten reserve paddlers who interchanged with the original paddlers as the *rōpū* crossed the lake. He also commented that there was plenty of room on board despite the *waka* already carrying his personal luggage and a huge quantity of potatoes (Bidwill, 1952, p. 61).

Tūpuna frequently used the *tīwai* when making *haerenga* across the lake. Early *Pākehā* ethnologists and visitors to the region like Bidwill (1839) and Dieffenbach (1841) reflected on this in their travel

[40] The Wairākei *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Wairākei Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.

diaries and later books. Dr Ernest Dieffenbach relates how in May 1841 he was taken round the western shores of the lake to Te Heuheu's village at Te Rapa in a very large *tīwai* full of men, women, children, dogs, and pigs (Dieffenbach, 1843, p. 336). These accounts also mentioned how when *tūpuna* crossed the lake they preferred to hug the shore line as they went, as opposed to the direct straight-line crossing. Erring on the side of caution, *tūpuna* knew from past experience, the lakes unforgiving reputation. The lake could transform from calm to raging torrent in an instant. This metamorphoses depended on the whim of Tāwhiri-mātea, whipping up a gale from the southern end of the lake. Te Poihipi was acknowledged as being either a fearless or a mad *kaihoe (paddler)* for making the direct crossing of the lake in a river-going *waka* (Meade, 1984, p. 3). Although, the Pākehā that made the observation did not physically see him paddle the lake, the reputation of Te Poihpi must have been such, that others were impressed to recount the story to him.

Kōkopu

Kōkopu weighed as much as 2.3 kg and were up to 50 cm long. Generally, the male *kōkopu* matured after only two years while the female took a further two years to reach full maturity. *Kōkopu* were known to live between five and ten years with some fish estimated to live more than 21 years old.

Figure 22: Banded *kōkopu* (above) was the *kōkopu* species found in Lake Taupō prior to its disappearance in the 1870s. [Untitiled photograph of a banded *kōkopu*]. (n.d). Retrieved July 15, 2013, from http://www.wildaboutnz.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/band2.jpg

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi fished for the many indigenous species found in the Waikato River, Lake Taupō and its contributing waterways. Of these, the *kōkopu* was the largest and most important fish available to *tūpuna* (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 259). It enjoyed this billing prior to the mid 1870s when it mysteriously disappeared from the lake. The *kōkopu* is a member of the whitebait family, and of the five members of this family the banded *kōkopu* (galaxias fasciatus) was the species that Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi harvested from the lake (McDowell, 1996).

Kōkopu, when at its fattest, was a very sumptuous fish to eat despite being very bony. It was often cooked in *hāngī* with potato and *kumara (sweet potato)*. *Kōkopu* was dried in the hot summer sun and preserved to bolster *hapū* larder in winter. A plaited flax rope was threaded through the gills of each fish and then suspended between two fixed objects so that the *kōkopu* could swing in the wind and sun to dry (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 511). When dry, they were stored in *pātaka*, safely away from predacious vermin.

Two different methods were used to catch *kōkopu* in the lake; the deep water, and the shallow water method. The deep water method required the use of *waka*, while *tūpuna* directed operations from shore. With the deep water and most commonly used method, a *pouraka* or kind of basket net made of fine mesh on a circular hoop of wood about 30 cm in diameter was used. A finely meshed net was then worked onto the circular hoop until it formed a bag about 45 cm in diameter. This section formed the bottom of the *pouraka*. The same procedure was followed to construct a top section for it. The net had its entrance in the top portion and like the bottom was completely made of flax. The bottom section was designed so that the sides could be drawn together and tied with a rope, and easily untied too, to empty the *kōkopu* into the bottom of *waka*. *Kōura* was tied inside the *pouraka* as bait and a three-ply plaited flax line about 30-60 m long was used to lower it into the lake. Two stone sinkers fastened inside the *pouraka* made lowering pots easier. A *pōito* made from *tōtara,* was fastened to pots and acted as both a reel and a float. It was about 0.5 m long and made to hold the line, with the middle part of each end cut away, leaving two horns around which the line was wound (R H Ward, 1952, 30 April).

Tūpuna identified landmarks on shore, for markers, as to where *pouraka* were set. Two *waka* were often utilised*;* one was used to transport *pouraka* and fishing gear, and later to retrieve *kōkopu,* while the other was used to transport *tūpuna*.[41] *Pouraka* were set in the evening and lines were fastened around the lower horns of the *pōito*. This meant that the upper horns floated upright in the water and acted like location markers. *Tūpuna* visited *pouraka* in the morning and as they hauled the nets closer to the surface, knew by the weight, how successful or otherwise they had been. The bottom of the net was untied and the catch emptied into *waka* which was then re-tied, re-baited with *kōura*, and reset for the following morning. *Tūpuna* utilised the deep water fishing method from November-March when *kōkopu* were about the length of a persons hand and very fat (R H Ward,

[41] P. Fletcher (personal communication, 16 January, 2007). Perry Fletcher has been an historian and archaeologist in the Taupō *rohe* since the 1950s, specialising in local Māori history.

1952, 30 April, 1962, 19 March)). *Tūpuna* preferred the deep water method but employed the shallow water method too, to bolster the daily catch.

The shallow water method involved *tūpuna* lowering *tau (bundles of intertwined, intermeshed fern)* into the water on plaited flax ropes. This method of fishing was used from April-September. *Rahurahu (bracken or fern)* was cut in February or March when the new fern was fully grown and then left to dry in the sun. While the fern was drying, *tūpuna* plaited strong flax ropes that were about 70-90 m long. Shorter lighter lengths of rope were also prepared. The long rope was attached on shore to a stake and run out into the lake and anchored at the other end with a heavy stone. The lighter ropes were attached at right angles to the main rope, and weighted bundles of fern were fastened to these. A *pōito* was placed where the first light rope came off the main rope. *Tūpuna* normally tied thirty or so *tau* to the main line. Each *tau* was lifted out of the water and checked daily. Great care was taken not to disturb *kōkopu* lodged in the fern. *Tau* was then shaken to dislodge the fish into *waka* (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 511). *Tūpuna* were also known to take *kōura* from the lake using the same method. (R H Ward, 1952, 30 April, p. 6; 1962, 19 March).

Kōura

Kōura was a very important food source for *tūpuna,* and thrived in the lake and streams that fed it. They grew to about 160 mm in length and lived for about three or four years. A largely nocturnal crustacean, it fed opportunistically on aquatic insects and vegetation. When Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi lived, *kōura* provided a significant food source for *kōkopu* as well as the waterfowl and *pārera* that inhabited the lakes and river. Unlike *tuna*, *kōura* was non-migratory and carried their eggs under their tails. Eventually, the eggs hatched and the young continued to develop and grow while still under the adult's tail.

Figure 23: *Kōura* or fresh water crayfish (above) thrived in Lake Taupō and the many streams and tributaries that fed it. [Untitled photograph of a *kōura*]. (n.d.). Retrieved July 15, 2013, from http://www.rimutakatrust.org.nz/photo_gallery/images/koura650.jpg

Tūpuna used *rau kōura* to catch *kōura* from the Lake. The frame for the mouth of the *rau* was made from white *mānuka* which attained a diameter of more than 20 cm. The straight piece at the bottom of the *rau* was between 1.8-2.4 m long and made from a heavier piece of wood. *Tūpuna* used fine strips of undressed flax to construct the net portion of the *rau*. The net normally extended 2.4-2.7 m and tapered from the mouth towards the back to about 1 m from the end. The last metre was straight and about 0.3 m in diameter. A heavy sinker was attached to the back middle of the *rau* to aid lowering the net right-way-up on the floor of the lake. *Tūpuna* travelled great distances off shore to set *rau*, and when set, they hauled them up again as they travelled back towards shore (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, pp. 262-263).

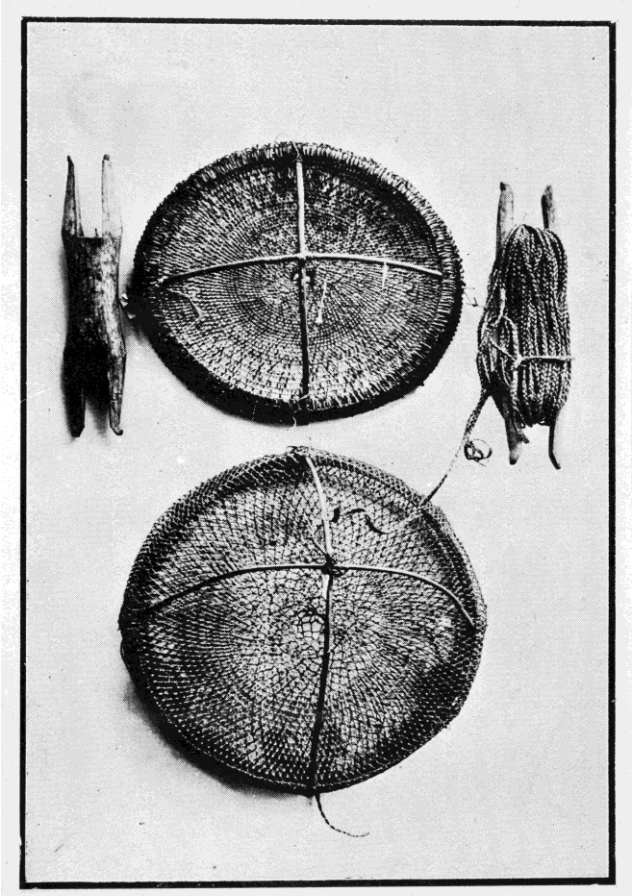

Fig. 57.—Nets for *koura*, Lake Taupo.

Figure 24: Nets used by *tūpuna* to catch *kōura* in Lake Taupō - S-L1008-55, ATL, Wellington.

Kōura were also caught using the "dry bunches of fern" method described in the previous section on *kōkopu*. As many *kōura* as *kōkopu* were sometimes shaken from the bundles of fern into *waka* (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, pp. 262-263).

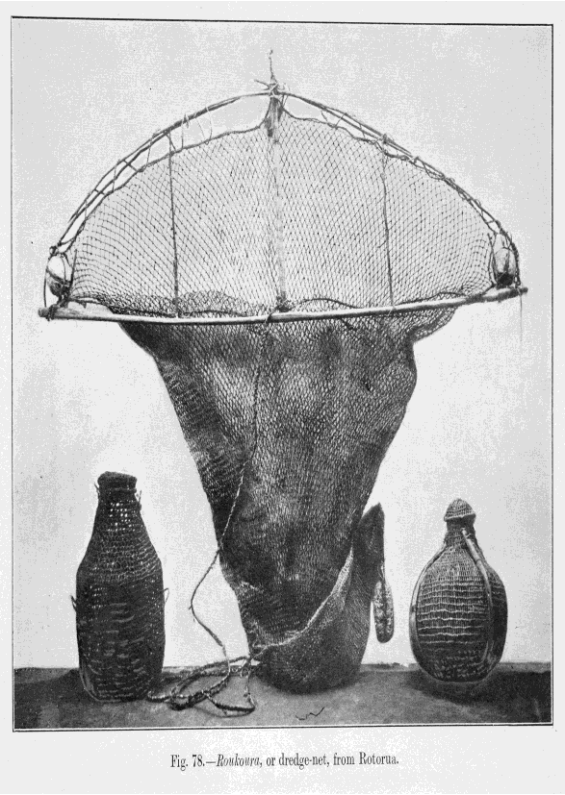

Figure 25: An example of a *rou kōura* or dredge net used by *tūpuna* of Te Arawa in Lake Rotorua - S-L1008-73, ATL, Wellington.

Tuna

For generations Māori regarded *tuna* from the Waikato River highly as a valuable food source and yet it never established itself in the lake ("Probable that eels will invade Lake," 1960 3 March p. 5). Despite repeated attempts by *tūpuna* to acclimatise them into the Lake, all attempts failed. Attempts were destined to fail because *tuna* migrate seasonally to the sea to spawn and natural barriers like the Aratiatia Rapids and Huka Falls marked the upper limits for *tuna* and made it impossible for them to get past these points ("Will Lake Taupo ever have an eel population?," 1963, 19 December, p. 3).

Adult *tuna* and elvers or young *tuna* have reportedly been seen attempting to wriggle up wet rock surfaces at the Huka Falls. In the past, exceptionally high river levels have also assisted the occasional *tuna* to pass through these barriers. However, the rapids and falls have not only prevented *tuna* but other fish such as mullet and *kahawai (an edible greenish-blue to silvery-white schooling coastal fish with dark markings and spots)* from making further progress up the river ("Will Lake Taupo ever have an eel population?," 1963, 19 December, p. 3).

Figure 26: A mature *tuna* or eel (above) reached lengths of up to 2 m and weights ranging between 30-40 kgs. [Untitled photograph of an eel]. (n.d). Retrieved July 15, 2013, from http://www.jungny.com/images.jungian.therapy.analysis/eel.360x360.jpg

Te Poihipi and Ngati Ruingārangi were resourceful fishermen and also caught *kōkopu* in the Waikato River with the use of a bob. This method was also used to catch *tuna* in other places and involved *tūpuna* threading worms onto a dressed piece of flax and tying the worms together at the end of a short thin rod. When *kōkopu* sunk their teeth into the worms and flax, *tūpuna* thrussed it out of the water and into *waka* or up onto the riverbank (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 511). Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had rights to fish for *kōkopu* around Motutāhae Island and Te Kōpua, at the northern end of Whangaroa through Patoromu (*TNLC minute book 23, pp.325, 333-334*).

Īnanga

Īnanga rarely exceeded 110 mm in length. Its silvery belly and forked tail distinguished it from other closely related species. They could also be found in the Waikato River and other rivers and streams that fed into the lake. They often swam in shoals and were very poor climber's that were accustomed to swimming up the Waikato River.

Figure 27: The silver bellied *īnanga* or whitebait (above) rarely grew any longer than 110 mm. [Untitled photograph of a silver bellied *īnanga*]. (n.d.) Retieved July 15, 2013, from http://contamsites.landcareresearch.co.nz/images/Inanga.jpg

Two different methods were used by *tūpuna* to catch *īnanga*. Firstly, they used *hīnaki* similar in shape but a lot smaller to the ones used to catch *tuna*. *Tūpuna* used a strong type of rush that grew amongst white *mānuka* in dry conditions to build *hīnaki īnanga* and the materials used differed markedly from those used for *hīnaki tuna*.

Tūpuna set *hīnaki īnanga* at suitable locations on the edge of streams and rivers. Great care was taken to select just the right spot to set *hīnaki*. When the most suitable location was found, *tūpuna* made a trap-picket-wall by driving wooden stakes into the stream or riverbed at a slight angle. Light material found on the bank was woven amongst the stakes to form a continuous barrier that herded *īnanga* towards the open mouth of the *hīnaki īnanga*. *Tūpuna* practiced this method of catching *īnanga* from the start of September through to the end of January each year.

Tūpuna used the *kupenga* as the second most preferred method of catching *īnanga*. *Kupenga īnanga* varied in length from approximately 45-90 m and were between 1.8-2.4 m deep. They were made from very fine strips of flax meshed into a net; the most central part was called the *kaka*. The *kaharunga* and *kahararo* were the ropes that respectively ran along the top and bottom of the net, while the *pōito* were the floats, and the *kārihi,* its accompanying sinkers.

Tūpuna used *kupenga* in two different ways – one from a *waka* fastened at its centre to a pole anchored in the shallow, and the other on shore. When used from a *waka*, another *waka* paddled out from the bow of the secured *waka* laying 180-450 metres of rope in the water as it went. When the rope was laid out, a *kupenga* was fed overboard at right angles to the line. When the *kupenga* was positioned, the *waka* returned to the stern of the moored *waka* laying an equivalent length of line as it went. *Tūpuna* then pulled the net towards the anchored *waka*. A similar procedure was used from

the shore except that both sets of ropes were coiled into the bow and stern of the *waka*. Two *tūpuna* waded each of the ropes ashore and commenced pulling together while the one in the *waka* had his hands free to scoop the net clear of *īnanga*. This method was used more on the eastern shores of the lake as opposed to the western side because the foreshore tended to be longer and shallower. Favourite places included Te Rimu, Ngā-Parenga-rua, Te Hōhonu, Karanga-wairua, Te Tii and Pūrākau (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 262).

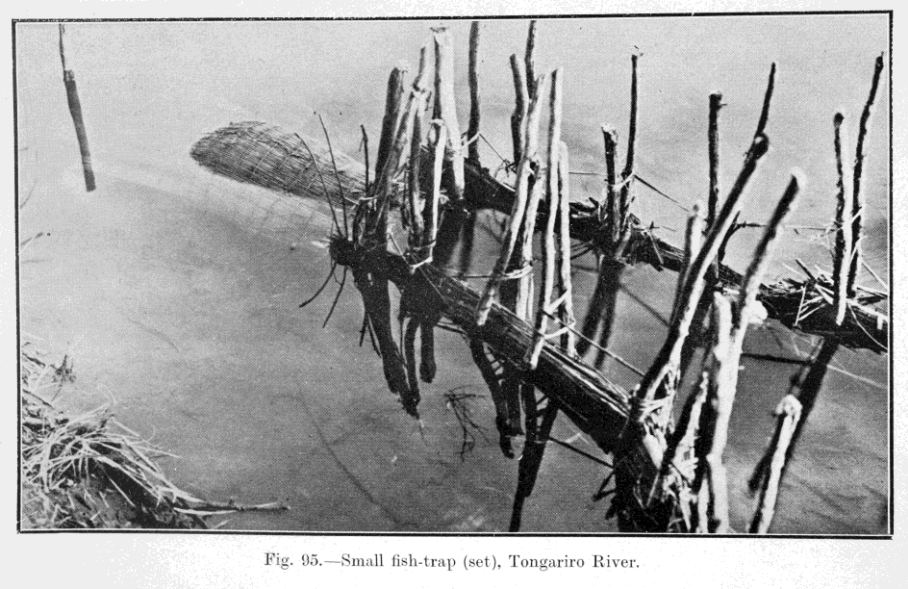

Fig. 95.—Small fish-trap (set), Tongariro River.

Figure 28: This photograph (taken on the Tongariro River, a river that feeds into the southern end of Lake Taupō) illustrates a typical example of *hīnaki* used by *tūpuna* to catch *īnanga* – S-L1008-56, ATL, Wellington.

Tūpuna were very protective of *taunga īnanga (the fishing grounds where tūpuna fished for īnanga)* and often placed *rāhui (refer to glossary for an explanation)* on areas to replenish depleted stocks for the future. The *īnanga* season spanned the warmer summery months from September through to March. They used *īnanga* as a type of *kīnaki* with mashed *kūmara (sweet potato)* or *rīwai* and they also dried it in the sun which was generally stored in *pātaka* for later use (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 262). Tāmati Te Kurupae noted how large quantities of *īnanga* were caught each day during summer using fine-meshed *kupenga* by those from every *kāinga* along the shoreline (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, p. 179).

Kōaro

The *kōaro* grew to a length of 150-270 mm and because of its shape was easy to confuse with other whitebait species.

Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi and generations before them harvested *kōaro* and other species of *īnanga* from the lake and river by the hundredweight using big seine nets. *Kōaro* swam in shoals and were relatively easy to catch from *waka* using long-handled dip or scoop nets. The following painting by artist George French Angus (1822-1886) beautifully depicts Māori fishing like this on Lake Taupō.

Figure 29: *Kōaro* (above) grew three times longer than *īnanga* but because of its shape was often confused for one. [Untitled photograph of a *kōaro*]. (n.d.). Retrieved July 15, 2013, from http://www.nhc.net.nz/index/fresh-water-fish-new-zealand/ryan-photography/galaxias-brevipinnis-koaro.jpg

The long-handled dip or scoop nets were used in the summer months from October through to March while wide-mouthed-up-stream nets spanning the width of streams were used in winter. During March, *kōaro* exited the lake making the seasonal pilgrimage up contributing streams to winter quarters to spawn. In the best condition and size of their lives, *kōaro* swam upstream and were caught in large nets set with the opening facing downstream (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 510). Another method was employed using a *poha* fastened to the mouth of *hīnaki* where the fish enter. The *hīnaki* were made from rushes and the *poha* from flax (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 264).

Figure 30: Painting by George French Angas in 1847 depicting *tūpuna* fishing with nets on Lake Taupō - PUBL-00-14-55-01, ATL, Wellington.

Hīnaki were pegged to the stream bed; with some facing upstream close to the source and others lying next to these facing downstream. Those *kōaro* caught as they exited the underground springs were a light colour, with spots on their backs, while those ascending streams were dark. *Kōaro* were at their best eating condition in March. When caught, *tūpuna* laid the fish out on stones to dry in the sun and when dry transferred them into *kete* for later use (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 264). Dried *kōaro* often found their way into soups (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 263).

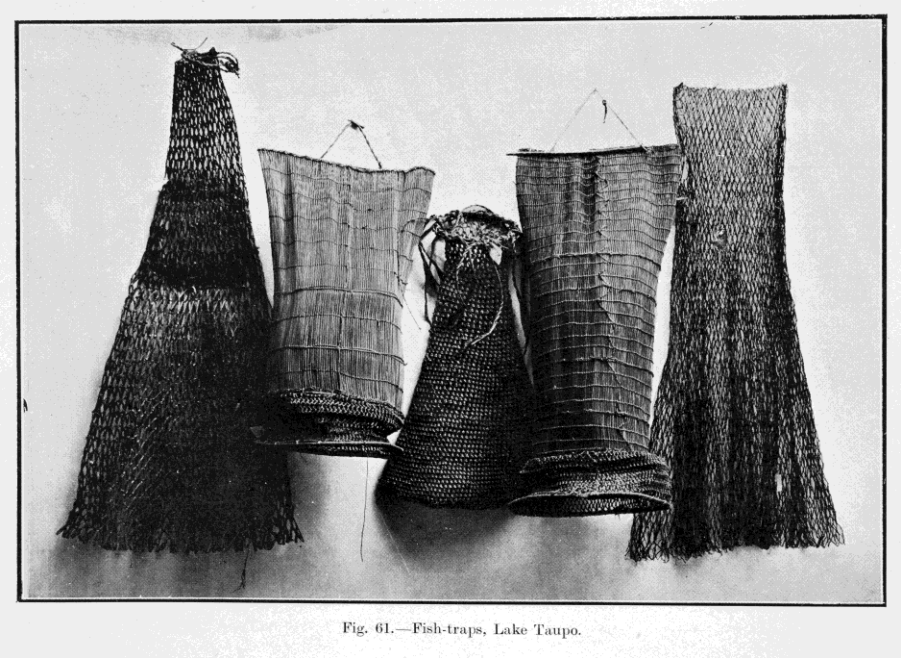

Figure 31: The second and fourth of these fish traps were used in Lake Taupo to catch *kōaro* – S-L1008-58, ATL, Wellington.

Kākahi

The *kākahi* was found in the lake and reached an average length of 60 mm. Because Lake Taupō was in pristine condition, *tūpuna* would have seen the *kākahi* making its characteristic furrow in the sand as it moved across the bottom of the lake.

Figure 32: *Kākahi* or freshwater mussel was less preferred by *tūpuna*. [Untitled photograph of a *kākahi*]. (n.d.). Retrieved July 15, 2013, from http://www.teara.govt.nz/files/p-8105-doc.jpg

Although *kākahi* were common, they were not in plentiful supply nor were they eagerly sought after like *kōkopu*, *īnanga*, and *kōura*. If *tūpuna* could reach *kākahi* by hand, in shallow water, they simply gathered them up and put them into *kete*. In deeper water, two men manned each *rou kākahi (dredge rakes for scraping the mussels from the bed of the lake)* to dredge for the shellfish.

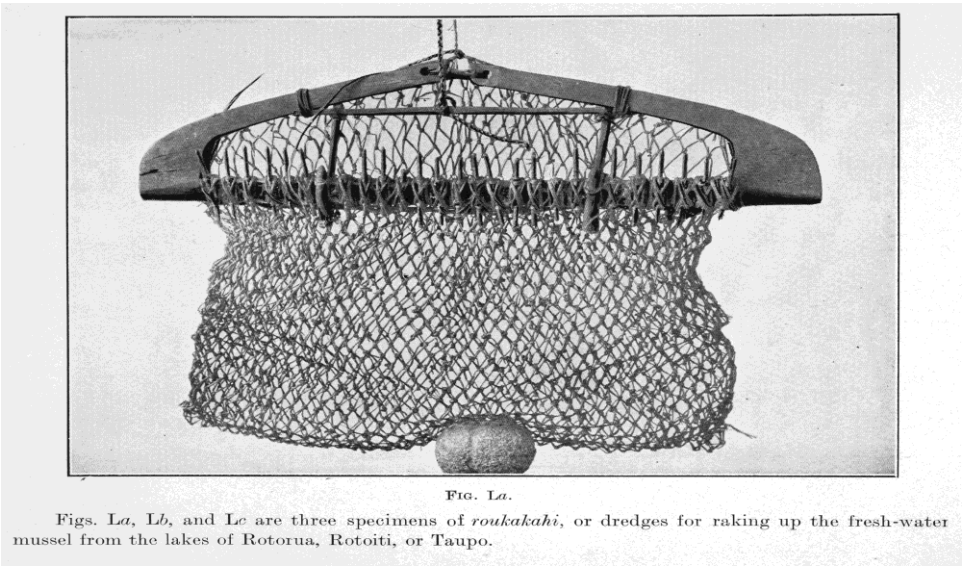

FIG. La.

Figs. La, Lb, and Lc are three specimens of *roukakahi*, or dredges for raking up the fresh-water mussel from the lakes of Rotorua, Rotoiti, or Taupo.

Figure 33: *Rau kākahi* or dredges (above) used by *tūpuna* for raking up the fresh-water mussel from Lakes Rotorua, Rotoiti and Taupō - S-L1007-62, ATL, Wellington.

To operate the *rou kākahi,* one man sat or stood in a *waka* and the other was on shore. The one in the *waka* maneuvered the *rou kākahi* on a long pole as far as he could touch the bottom, while the other stood on shore holding the bow-line to the *waka*. The *tūpuna* in the *waka* lightly pressed the teeth of the *rou kākahi* into the sand raking it backwards and forwards while the other slowly pulled the *waka* towards shore (Hamilton, 1908, p. 72). If *rou kākahi* were set well out in the water, nets were attached to them to collect *kākahi* as they were dredged off the lakebed: nets were not used closer in. *Tūpuna* removed the flesh from the shells and threaded them onto strips of flax and then left them to dry in the sun. Sun dried *kākahi* were small and dark to look at, and hard to chew (R. H. J. Fletcher, 1919, p. 263).

Chapter 3 focused on the natural world of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, a world they called *tūrangawaewae;* a world that connected them to the land, its waterways, and the forest through Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother, and their six *atua* son's Tangaroa, Tāne-māhuta, Rongo-mā-Tāne, Haumia-tiketike, Tāwhiri-mātea, and Tūmatauenga. *Ahi kā* to the land, lakes, river, and forest defined Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi as to who they were, and provided them with the resources they needed to survive and prosper in an often harsh central North Island climate. Chapter 3 examined the "upbringing" of Te Poihipi in the traditional world his *tūpuna* knew.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā: Te Poihipi me te Tiriti o Waitangi (1839-1840)

Chapter 4: Te Poihipi and the Treaty of Waitangi (1839-1840)

Chapter 4 will deal with the people and events leading up to the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi and its impact on Te Poihipi, the very young man and future leader of Ngāti Ruingārangi. Te Poihipi's "very young" *whakaaro* continued to be shaped, moulded and fashioned by what he saw, experienced, and learnt at Waitangi. He witnessed first-hand, the high regard *tūpuna* of Ngāpuhi, and the British Crown, had for the missionaries, and it was perhaps this experience that motivated him to want the same for Ngāti Ruingārangi in Taupō.

Whether or not Te Poihipi made his *tohu* at Waitangi on 6 February 1840, or at a later date, or somewhere else, there is no reason to doubt that he was at Waitangi when the main *hui* and signing was held. Confusion as to whether Te Poihipi was known as Te Korohiko, before he adopted the British Resident, Mr Busby's surname, as his own Christian name still exists (R H Ward, 1953, 4 February). Historical texts have recounted how Te Poihipi signed the Treaty on behalf of an aging father, who was physically unable to make the trip to Waitangi himself (R H Ward, 1953, 4 February). When Te Korohiko signed the Treaty, he identified himself as being Ngāti Te Rangiita. Te Poihipi was an *uri* of Ngāti Te Rangiita, or at least the Ngāti Te Rangiita from the Nukuhau and northern end of the lake.

If Te Poihipi signed the Treaty as Te Korohiko, he would have only just met Mr Busby for the first time. Te Korohiko signed the Treaty with his Tūwharetoa *whanaunga,* Iwikau, on the 9 February 1840 at Waitangi. Te Poihipi could not have signed the Treaty, as Te Poihipi Tūkairangi, but rather Te Korohiko, or some other name.[42] Te Poihipi, would not have identified himself as Te Poihipi, since he would not have added, that name to his name, until the *hui* at Waitangi, and probably not until afterwards.

Uncertainty over whether Te Poihipi was Te Korohiko was all it was: Te Poihipi Tūkairangi and Te Korohiko were two completely different people. Te Korohiko was Pāora Hapi's father and they were both influential Ngāti Tūtemohuta and Ngāti Te Rangiita leaders from the eastern side of the

[42] In part, the difficulties arose from the fact that Māori often had several names. For example, the son of Reretawhangawhanga (a great Atiawa rangatira in Taranaki) was called "E Whiti" as a boy; as an adult he took the name 'Te Rangitake'; when he converted to Christianity, he was baptised as "Wiremu Kingi" or William King. In contemporary accounts, he might be referred to by any of these names. Potatau II (King Tāwhiao), the second King of the King movement had a string of names.

lake (Wall, et al., 2009, pp. 35, 51). Being young and impressionable, Te Poihipi, was possibly inspired by what he saw of James Busby at Waitangi, that he adopted his surname (in its Māori form) as his Christian name. After all, Busby was a central figure at Waitangi – his uniform, his commanding manner, his house, his front lawn where everyone gathered to sign the Treaty; it was all there.

Busby arrived in Aotearoa in 1833, on board the frigate HMS Imogene, as the official British Resident. When the Northern Wars broke out in 1837, the frigate HMS Rattlesnake, under the command of Captain William Hobson, was dispatched to the North Island to oversee the war and protect British citizens. Hobson was later appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand, and assigned, by the British Government, to negotiate for sovereignty over Aotearoa. He arrived in the Bay of Islands on 30 January 1840, in the frigate HMS Herald, commanded by Captain Joseph Nias. After consulting Busby, and local missionaries, Hobson drafted the English version of a newly proposed treaty. James Busby, on the other hand, had been a Bay of Islands resident for the past five years. Te Poihipi's missionary friend, and travelling companion, Henry Williams (and a few others), then translated Hobson's treaty into *te reo* so it could be presented to *rangatira* for discussion at Waitangi on 5 February 1840 (Orange, 2011, pp. 46-47).

Colenso's (1890) eyewitness account of proceedings at Waitangi on 5-6 February 1840 would have strengthened Te Poihipi's resolve in Busby. The pomp and ceremony of the occasion was larger and grander than any Māori or Colonial settler, for that matter, had ever seen or experienced before. The day was fine and the scene nothing short of spectacular. *Waka* glided effortlessly across the harbour from all directions towards Waitangi, as *kaihoe* strained every muscle to gain ascendancy over rivalling *waka,* to out-paddle one another, and to keep tempo with the *kaituki (the warrior who stands in the middle of the canoe and determines the cadence at which the paddlers paddle).* Boats owned by local settlers and residents lined the shores of the bay, while the harbour was a veritable plethora of ships and vessels decorated in the flags of their respective countries (Colenso, 1890, p. 12). *Rangatira* dress ranged from Ngāti Rarawa chief Hikitara's finest *kaitaka* cloak *(a highly prized cloak made of flax fibre with a tāniko ornamental border)* through to the more traditional dog-skin cloak. New woollen cloaks manufactured overseas and gifted to Ngāpuhi *rangatira* by Bishop Pompallier significantly brightened the drab traditional colours with splashes of crimson, blue, brown and every other striking shade of colour (Colenso, 1890, p. 15).

Did Te Poihipi sign the Treaty? Unless a *tohu* can be identified, as made by him, then we cannot be certain he signed in a literal, physical sense. Some chiefs signed at Waitangi, and elsewhere, others refused (Te Arawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa), and others were never asked. Hobson was very pleased to get an unofficial count of 46 *tohu* from head chiefs, after a rushed signing ceremony on 6 February (*GBPP, IUP edition, vol. 3, p.46*). Simpson (1990) identified 47 signatures in total, which included Kawiti, Te Tirarau, and Pōmare who sneaked their signatures in over the top of Hone Heke's, who was recorded by eye witnesses as the first to sign. The 47 signatures appear on pages 2-12 of Simpson's book but another 31 signatures appear on pages 13-19. Of the 31 *rangatira* named, the Ngāti Tūwharetoa pair of Te Korohiko is listed 30th and Iwikau 31st and last to sign in that group. These *rangatira* may have signed that night (after the original 46 counted by Hobson), or possibly the next day, but it is not known who witnessed these signatures (Simpson, 1990, pp. 13-19).

Te Poihipi may have acquiesced to the signing, like a significant number of other *rangatira*, rather than physically sign the Treaty himself. Hobson said "46 head chiefs, in the presence of at least 500 of inferior degree" signed on 6 February (Simpson, 1990, pp. 13-19). Hobson assumed that the 'inferior" chiefs acquiesced to what the "head chiefs" had done. Those "head chiefs" signed on behalf of, and without objection from those "inferior" chiefs, even if they did not make their marks on the Treaty document. Hobson was particularly anxious to get as many *tohu* as possible from the thirty four *rangatira* who had signed the Declaration of Independence in 1835. Britain had recognised the independence of the chiefs, and now that sovereignty was being transferred to the British Crown, it was critical that the Declaration chiefs agree to the new arrangement. In short the Treaty of Waitangi exists to annul the Declaration of 1835, and had no further or on-going value. By Hobson's account, he had secured forty-six 'head chiefs', twenty six of whom had earlier signed the Declaration of Independence.[43] In Treaty settlements and similar occasions these days, those of rank sign, and others are included implicitly. They sign in their hearts and minds.

As *toa rangatira*, Iwikau and maybe Te Korohiko and possibly Te Poihipi too had travelled widely through neighbouring *rohe*, but none of them had been as far north as the Bay of Islands and Waitangi before. Williams remarked in his journal entry dated Monday 20 January 1840, "Introduced the Taupo Chiefs to the family at breakfast and several of the principal Chiefs in our

[43] P. Parkinson (personal communication, 9 April 2010). Dr Parkinson researched the Declaration of Independence of 1835, in his thesis titled 'Our infant state'; the Māori language, the mission presses, the British Crown and the Māori, 1814-1838', submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, School of Information Management, in 2003.

neighbourhood came to see the visitors who were greatly astonished at all they beheld having come from the interior of the island" (Rogers, 1961, p. 475). Williams's journal entry suggests that Te Poihipi, Iwikau, and Te Korohiko had not seen the sights up there, before he took them with him, in January-February 1840.

Te Poihipi would have been enthralled by meeting, talking, and listening to the others in Williams's party, as well as those along the way. If Te Poihipi was the "son" sent by the chief at Rangatira "to accompany me [Williams] to fetch a Testament and a few books and slates" then he would have had a very interesting time (Rogers, 1961, p. 472). He would have met people at Ōhinemutu, at Tauranga and on board the ship *Martha*, and then at *Pēwhairangi (Bay of Islands).* He would have seen the sights around Paihia, Kororāreka, Waitangi, Kerikeri, and possibly Waimate, along with all kinds of new tools and trade and cultivation practices. He would have observed Christian religious rituals, printed books and possibly a printing press for which he had been sent to procure "a Testament and a few books." He would have witnessed considerable numbers of *Pākehā* with their peculiar ways. Taupō chiefs "were greatly astonished at all they beheld having come from the interior of the Island", could not have been truer (Rogers, 1961, p. 475).

Taupō Māori, despite their location in the centre of the North Island, were not totally ignorant of the new world, and all that it had to offer for them. Travel between *rohe*, trade and giving *koha* and extending *manaakitanga*, and hosting and attending *hui* and copious *kōrero*: these had passed on news of changes, and provided weapons and tools made of metal, and the accumulated knowledge of what was going on elsewhere was extensive – the idea of isolation (a Pākehā notion) for Ngāti Tūwharetoa (or any other *rohe*) is easy to overestimate. Those in the northern part of the *rohe* had frequent and regular contact with people from the east (Kahungunu), from the north east (Ngāi Tūhoe), from the north (Te Arawa), and north west, and perhaps especially with Te Arawa, and goods and news came via these contacts. Probably the first printed materials and ideas of Christianity arrived via Māori preachers and teachers, as was the case in most areas. *Rangatira* from Taupō were no exception and knew exactly what was going on.

The earliest statement in the documentation that Te Poihipi signed the Treaty of Waitangi was when Rev. Thomas Grace says in a letter/report to the Church Missionary Society in London, dated 23 October 1860, that "Te Heuheu [Iwikau] and Te Poihipi signed that Treaty for the whole of Taupo" (S J Brittan, Grace, Grace, & Grace, 1928, p. 94; D. Grace, 2004). When this happened, according to Meade, Te Poihipi was still "a very young man" (Meade, 1984, p. 2). Impressions gathered in

1840, through mixing with Williams' party, walking, talking, seeing and experiencing the many things he did, provided him with a vision for what he would ensure Ngāti Ruingārangi would too enjoy. No wonder he wanted to sign the Treaty. As "a very young man," he would have possibly been more receptive to new ideas, than say, older chiefs, like Iwikau, Korohiko, and Mananui.

Mananui or Te Heuheu Tūkino II was the second of the Te Heuheu line to become *ariki* or paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. He succeeded his *tuakana* or older brother Herea (1790-1820) or Te Heuheu Tūkino I. Iwikau or Te Heuheu Tūkino III was his *teina* or younger brother (*Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume one: 1769-1869*, 1990, pp. 446-449). Mananui was a forceful character who was acknowledged by *kaumātua* and *rangatira* for his military capacity, and natural ability to rally and lead. He assumed leadership of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in the 1920s when the *iwi* was under considerable pressure from the northern tribes newly armed with muskets. "He took steps to acquire the new weapons: a large quantity of flax was gathered and taken to Maketu in the Bay of Plenty, where Mananui exchanged it for guns and ammunition with the trader Phillip Tapsell"(*Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume one: 1769-1869*, 1990, p. 447). The reputation of Mananui as a fighting leader, up until 1840, was enhanced through campaigns against Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Āti Awa in the Cook Strait area. He declined to join forces with Te Rauparaha in 1825, and after a similar request from him nearly 10 years later, Mananui led a *tira* of 800 men south to assist the Kāpiti *rangatira* settle his disputes with Te Āti Awa (*Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume one: 1769-1869*, 1990, pp. 447-448).

Unfazed by what the new world offered him, Te Poihipi did not jettison *te ao tawhito*. But rather, the traditional world his *tūpuna* grew up in, still remained the *poutokomanawa* for his *rangatiratanga*. Later, when letters he had written, appeared in newspapers, he signed them "Te Poihipi Tukairangi" and not just "Te Poihipi." Since there were several other Māori who were given, or took, the name Te Poihipi and derivatives like "Te Pūhipi," the "Tūkairangi" part of his name distinguished him, and anchored him to his *tūpuna,* and the *te ao tawhito* his *tūpuna* knew.

Evidence suggests that Te Poihipi did not physically sign the Treaty of Waitangi, despite Meade's report to the contrary (Meade, 1984, p. 2). On the second day of proceedings, 43 *rangatira* mostly from the Bay of Islands signed the Treaty on behalf of their respective Ngāpuhi *hapū* (Simpson, 1990, pp. 2-19). Meade (1984) described Te Poihipi as being "a very young man" when he signed the Treaty "on behalf of his father, who lay ill at Taupo." However, Meade's description is very vague. If Te Poihipi was born in 1822, he would have been 18 years old when he was at Waitangi.

Is this what Meade considered “very young”? Another estimate of Te Poihipi’s age appeared in his obituary published in the Bay of Plenty Times on 22 February 1882. “Europeans best acquainted with him [probably C.O.B. Davis in this instance?] believe him to have passed the [Biblical] three score years and ten, the allotted span of human life” ("Death of the Chief Te Poihipi Tukairangi," 1882, 22 February, p. 3) which would give him a birth year of, say, 1810-1812. If he was born that early, then he would have been about 28-30 years old, and “certainly” not Meade’s “very young,” when he was at Waitangi.

Taupō Native Land court minutes provide a vital clue as to Te Poihipi’s real age. Te Poihipi mentions in the minutes, among other matters, the conflicts discussed on pages 247-250 of Grace’s (1959) *Tuwharetoa: the history of the Maori people of the Taupo District*, and says, “This was before I was born” (Pomare & Cowan, 1987). That particular series of events is normally dated to about 1819/1820. If Te Poihipi was born after that, and he himself would know, then he was not 70 when he died, but probably nearer 60 or so. Te Poihipi, by his own account, was born sometime in the 1820s, so he would have most certainly been under 20, and possibly even in his mid-teens, and, yes, “a very young man” at Waitangi.

Ward (1953) recounts how Tūkairangi, Te Poihipi’s father (as he named him), had assigned Te Poihipi to represent neighbouring *hapū* at Waitangi and to sign the Treaty on their behalf. Ward referred to Te Poihipi’s father as Tūkairangi, which makes sense in terms of this being Te Poihipi’s surname and knowing how Māori adopted names (R H Ward, 1953, 4 February). However, to add to the confusion, *whakapapa* and Taupō Native Land Court minutes confirm that Te Poihipi’s fathers name was Te Pahi (Stebbing, 1983, p. 67; *TNLC minute book 5, p.149*).

Three Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira* signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. They were Te Korohiko, Iwikau, and Wiremu Eruera Te Tauri. Iwikau or Te Heuheu Tukino III was the younger brother of Mananui or Te Heuheu Tukino II, the paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in 1840. Iwikau was *ariki* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa from 1846 to 1862, so when he signed the treaty in 1840, he was not signing it on behalf of Mananui, and the *iwi*, but rather his own *hapū*, as Te Korohiko was for Ngāti Te Rangiita.

Wiremu Eruera Te Tauri was an acknowledged *rangatira* in Taupō (Simpson, 1990, p. 110). He also had chiefly connections to the Whanganui River. Te Tauri was just one of nine Whanganui chiefs to sign the Treaty in Whanganui on 23 May 1840. Missionaries Henry Williams and Octavius

Hadfield witnessed the event. Te Tauri was an early convert to Christianity, and in 1836 was one of the first Māori missionaries to introduce Christianity to the Whanganui-Waikanae *rohe*. He had preached the gospel to locals for three years, prior to the arrival of the first set of Pākehā missionaries to the *rohe*. When Richard Taylor of the Church Missionary Society was appointed to Whanganui in 1843, he enlisted Te Tauri as his head teacher, and the two often travelled together on missionary assignments. In May 1846, Te Tauri and Taylor conducted a burial service over the spot where Mananui's *pā* was located in the Te Rapa valley. The once fertile valley had been buried in mud more than twenty feet deep in places. A natural dam had burst its banks to cause a massive land slip which swept down the valley engulfing all in its path. Fifty six Māori lost their lives during the land slide, including Ngāti Tūwharetoa *ariki* Mananui Te Heuheu Tukino II (*Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume one: 1769-1869*, 1990, pp. 447-448).

Te Poihipi and Iwikau were sent to Waitangi for similar reasons. As in Te Poihipi's father's case, Te Pahi could not have sent Te Poihipi with Williams, Iwikau and Te Korohiko to Waitangi to sign a Treaty that no one at the time knew anything about. And if Te Poihipi was the "son" that was sent by the chief at Rangatira, then Te Pahi sent his son with Williams and his party "to fetch a Testament and a few books and slates" (Rogers, 1961, p. 472). On 31 December 1839, Iwikau volunteered to accompany Williams north, to the Bay of Islands, from Taupō, as he passed through Te Rapa. Williams was on his way home after completing church assignments in the south (Rogers, 1961, p. 471). Contrary to contemporary belief, Iwikau was not sent by his *tuakana (elder brother)* Mananui to Waitangi to ascertain the benefits of the Treaty for Ngāti Tūwharetoa. First, Mananui, like everyone else at that time, knew nothing about any Treaty, and second, he was not even around Waihi-Tokaanu when Williams arrived from the south at the end of December 1839. Mananui was on *iwi* business in the Te Arawa *rohe,* and met with Williams at Ōhinemutu in Rotorua regarding disputes at Maketū, so could not possibly have advised Iwikau before he left for Waitangi (Rogers, 1961, p. 474). Te Poihipi and Iwikau went to Waitangi for reasons other than a Treaty. Te Poihipi, to procure printed texts, slates, and bibles for his father, and Iwikau to possibly experience life beyond Ngāti Tūwharetoa boundaries in Paihia, somewhere he had never been before.

Williams and his *tira* were hosted in the *rohe* from Monday 30 December 1839 through to Saturday 4 January 1840. On 31 December William's *tira* was welcomed to Te Rapa with *whaikōrero* delivered by some of the *rangatira*. Many of William's Pākehā *tira* were invited to reciprocate. On 1 January 1840, the party moved on to Motutere by *waka*. Williams described Motutere as "small and dirty and very much crowded owing to their continued fears of attacks from Tribes of Waikato"

(Rogers, 1961, p. 471). Later the same day, Iwikau said he would not go to the Bay of Islands because he was afraid of Ngāpuhi, then changed his mind and said he would go after all. Iwikau was initially reserved about how he would be received up north. "Iwikau told me [Williams] he would not go with me owing to his fears of Nga Puhi (the Bay of Islanders) then after some time he concluded to go and run all risks" (Rogers, 1961, p. 472). Ngāti Tūwharetoa had never fought Ngāpuhi and/or their allies before, but possibly feared the northerners' reputation as uncompromising foe. On 2 January, Williams recorded they were "clear off" Motutere "by sunrise and in about 2 hours landed for breakfast at a dirty Pa." They did not get away from the place till nearly 3 p.m. and then "preceded to Rangatira a very confined place upon a point projecting into the Lake." Williams commented, "I was glad to find a chapel here and that all hailed for believers [Christians]." He received messages and some small luxury items from Rotorua, and then adds "The Chief sent his son to accompany me to fetch a Testament and a few books and slates" (Rogers, 1961, p. 472).

Direct *whakapapa* links between eastern Ngāti Te Rangiita and northern Ngāti Te Rangiita suggests it highly probable the "chief" and "son" referred to by Williams at Rangatira was Te Pahi and Te Poihipi. Williams had given the last of his books (most likely bibles) away at Pukeika on the upper reaches of the Whanganui River on 23 December and so had none left to give those at Rangatira. Most Māori were literate and printed material and scriptures were hard to come by, and as a result were highly sought after, wherever Williams visited. Since Iwikau and other Ngāti Tūwharetoa had accepted Williams's invitation to go all the way to Paihia, it could have been simple to add Te Poihipi to the party. Williams mentioned his "party consisted of 25 natives and 3 pigs" when they left Pukeika on 24 December 1839. He remarked the cross-country trip to Taupō would be a "very difficult" one and involve "nearly a week's march." On Christmas day 1839, he reflected, "Our road was so rough that our pig drivers had to lift their charges over the numerous trees that laid in our way" (Rogers, 1961, p. 468) So for Williams to include Te Poihipi, with Iwikau and Te Korohiko, and maybe a handful of other Ngāti Tūwharetoa, may have been as simple, as to just add him.

Williams's party trekked via Ōhinemutu to Tauranga where they went by boat to the Bay of Islands. At Ōhinemutu, Williams added to his party, like he did in Taupō, probably inviting *rangatira* first, and then possibly anyone else who wanted to go. Although Williams did not specify numbers, other than at Whanganui, he must have had at least thirty in his *tira* when he reflected, "my large party of natives from Cooks Strait and Taupo and Rotorua besides my own boys [from the north]" (Rogers, 1961, p. 474).

Why did Te Poihipi not simply borrow books at Ōhinemutu and/or Tauranga and then just return home? As Williams recorded in the Whanganui leg of his journal (14-24 December 1839), Māori requested printed material to read at almost every *kāinga* he stayed at, before he eventually ran out of books to give. Books were probably part of William's *koha* to locals for hosting him and his *tira*. Comments like "many applications for books", "young Chiefs came very solicitous for books", "had a great demand for books", and "Natives all opportune for books", were common (Rogers, 1961, pp. 465-467). Probably by 1840, Whanganui, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and any other *iwi* for that matter who got their hands on printed material were not lending books, particularly to Māori from other *rohe*. Māori teachers and preachers and missionaries like Williams, who had supplies to carry round with them, were the exception. To obtain anything substantial, Te Poihipi would need to visit Paihia where the printer, William Colenso, operated his press. But even Colenso, himself, struggled to keep up with the constant demand for printed material.

Although Simpson (1990) acknowledged Iwikau and Te Korohiko signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February 1840, subsequent accounts agree the pair signed it three days later. Ballara (2004), and Wall, Stirling, and Johns, (2009) argue Iwikau and Te Korohiko, signed the Treaty on 9 February at Waitangi.[44] Hone Heke was the first *rangatira* to sign the Treaty on 6 February 1840, and it was not until 17 February that Pōmare placed his *tohu* above that of Hone Heke's on the original Waitangi version. The first copy of the Treaty remained in Waitangi for a number of days after it was first signed. Copies of the original document were then dispatched, and *rangatira* were able to sign these in Waimate (9 Feb), Hokianga (12 Feb), Waimate and Hokianga (15 Feb) before they were sent to locations further south.

Māori were first informed of a Treaty when Governor Hobson announced it to a public gathering of *ariki*, *rangatira* and Colonial settlers assembled at Waitangi on 5 February 1840 (Colenso, 1890, p. 16). Although Hobson and his closest associates had only mooted the idea days earlier, Hobson knew that a Treaty between *tangata whenua* and the British Crown was inevitable, if his country and Queen wanted sovereignty over Aotearoa. The British Crown wanted to provide governance over British subjects, many of whom were lawless, which was becoming increasing detrimental to Māori welfare (Orange, 2011, p. 63). The threat of continued interest by France and United States to annex Aotearoa provided further impetus for the British Crown to act swiftly (Orange, 2011, p. 64).

[44] Treaty sheet of 9 February 1840 signed at Waitangi and witnessed by Captain Nias. Grace said Iwikau signed at Rotorua which in incorrect (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 437).

Te Poihipi, Iwikau, and Te Korohiko would have discussed the Treaty, and formed their own opinions as to how it would impact on their lives and the lives of their respective *hapū*. In amongst all the discussion, the majority of *rangatira* present at Waitangi on 5 February knew they did not want Hobson to remain in Aotearoa as Governor (Colenso, 1890, pp. 17-30). *Rangatira* expressed this sentiment in *whaikōrero* after *whaikōrero*. At one point, Johnson, an elderly Pākehā alcohol dealer from Kororāreka, protested Henry William's inaccurate translations of what *rangatira* were saying to Hobson. Although when Hobson invited Johnson to translate for him, Johnson refused. However, he did comment, that most of what was not translated focused on *rangatira* abhorrence to the indiscriminative alienation of *iwi* and *hapū* land by Pākehā, and the favourable influence of missionaries in the north (Colenso, 1890, p. 20).

Discontent amongst Ngāpuhi *hapū* with Hobson remaining in Aotearoa was universal in the north. Hikairo, the Ngāti Nanenane *rangatira*, typified Ngāpuhi feeling when he said the missionaries and Busby currently filled Hobson's proposed role, as far as they were concerned (Colenso, 1890, p. 24). The following morning about 400 people assembled at Waitangi to resume the second day of proceedings.[45] Māori huddled in informal *hapū* groupings near Busby's home and discussed the Treaty. Colenso could sense from what was being said that *rangatira* were still not clear about what the Treaty was about (Colenso, 1890, p. 30). William's poor translations, the previous day, had only added to the confusion.

Despite the general discontent amongst *rangatira*, Te Poihipi assented to the Treaty, and Te Korohiko and Iwikau signed it. Hobson, unfazed by a change in plans, resumed his seat in the tent where the Treaty was to be signed, adamant he was only there to receive signatures from assembled *rangatira*. He maintained that because the *hui* was not scheduled for the public, no discussion would be entered into (Colenso, 1890, p. 31). After all were seated and settled in the tent, *rangatira* were called forward as a body to sign the Treaty. Not one *rangatira* moved, nor had any intention of doing so, until Busby stood to call each one forward by name from his list. He called Ngāti Matarahurahu *rangatira* Hoani [Hone] Heke first. Busby knew Heke had *mana* amongst Ngāpuhi *hapū,* and that he had spoken with passion the day before in support of the Treaty. Prior to Heke

[45] Hobson made a public announcement at the end of proceedings on Wednesday 5 February that the next meeting would be held on Friday 7 February. However, Colonial officials feared that if the next meeting was not held the next day Māori would be 'dead from hunger' and leave. Māori came ill-prepared for the extended visit and local food supplies could not service such large numbers.

placing his *tohu* on the Treaty as its first signatory, Colenso interjected, questioning Hobson on the legality of such a Treaty, if *rangatira* did not fully comprehend what they were signing. Busby, Hobson, and Colenso agreed *rangatira* needed to trust the missionaries for advice on the matter in future. After two or three more *whaikōrero,* in opposition to the Treaty, and some coercion amongst *rangatira* to sign, most eventually did (Colenso, 1890, pp. 32-34). Because Te Poihipi, Te Korohiko and Iwikau were so closely associated with Williams, and Williams was pivotal in Treaty negotiations, it was not surprising Te Poihipi assented and Te Korohiko and Iwikau signed the Treaty.

In order to better manage the new environment, and control the activities of Pākehā in Aotearoa, over 500 *rangatira* signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. However, confusion surrounded the Treaty from the outset, because there was a Māori version and an English version. In the Māori version, Māori were guaranteed full ownership rights of their lands, forests, fisheries and other *taonga,* and they were also promised the rights and privileges' of British subjects, together with assurances of Crown protection. In the English version, Britain was ceded sovereignty of Aotearoa, and the Crown was given an exclusive right to pre-emption of lands Māori wished to sell. Most Māori signed the *te reo* version of the Treaty, but the text failed to communicate the full meaning of the English version, and the Treaty negotiations did not explain the difference. As a result, both parties left the signings with different expectations (Orange, 2011, p. 11).

The Treaty was a formal alliance with Queen Victoria, under which the British Crown would have *kāwanatanga* over Aotearoa, and Māori would retain their *rangatiratanga*. The word *kāwanatanga* did not have its equivalent in *te reo,* or *te ao Māori,* and Māori were somehow expected to conceptualise something that they knew nothing about or could relate to, something that was completely counter to how they had ever been expected to operate before. *Rangatira* understood the treaty arrangement to be one of partnership, reciprocal obligation, and mutual benefit, with a guarantee of the fundamental importance of trade and commercial protection (Petrie, 2006, pp. 72-73). Colenso confirmed this in his account of proceedings at Waitangi on 5 February 1840, in which he quoted the Ngāti Tāwake chief Wai's questions to Captain Hobson:

> To thee, O Governor! this. Will you remedy the selling, the exchanging, the cheating, the lying, the stealing of the whites?...The white gives us Natives a pound a pig; but he gives a white four pounds for such a pig. Is that straight? The white gives us a shilling for a basket of potatoes; but to a white he gives

> four shillings for a basket like that one of ours. Is that straight? ….Wilt thou make dealing straight? (Colenso, 1890, pp. 22-23)

Some stories surrounding why Te Poihipi, Te Korohiko and Iwikau went to Waitangi were not correct. Laurence Marshall Grace (1881) perpetuated the idea that Mananui had sent Iwikau to Waitangi to ascertain the benefits of a treaty for Ngāti Tūwharetoa (L. Grace, 1881). Due to the limited notice given by Captain Hobson regarding the Treaty, Te Pahi (Te Poihipi's father), Mananui and other Lake Taupō *rangatira* could not have possibly organised themselves to the extent suggested. It is hard to know where Buick (1914 and later editions), Grace (1959), and a similar version told by Walker (1990 and 2004 edition) in *Ka whawhai tonu matou* came from. They repeated the story about Iwikau, Te Korohiko and Henry Williams accompanying a retinue of *taurekareka* carrying flax for trade overland to the shores of Waitemata Harbour in Tāmaki-makau-rau. *Tūpuna* often traded bundles of *muka* for guns and powder and made the *haerenga* on occasions. Leading up to the 1840s, *tūpuna* also prepared large quantities of *muka* from the Wairākei and Ōruanui swamps at Tūhangahanga, west of Ngāniho, which was transported to Maketū, in the eastern Bay of Plenty, and bartered for weapons and ammunition with the Pākehā trader Phillip Tapsell (Stebbing, 1983, p. 70).

Maybe the "flax" story and the "Treaty" story became confused over time? While in Auckland, the party received an invitation from Captain William Hobson's messengers to go up to Waitangi. The story recounts how the doubtful Iwikau was persuaded by Te Korohiko to make the trip because the latter could not pass up the opportunity to acquire a stack of red blankets for doing so. To this end, the Taupō *tira* accepted Hobson's invitation and travelled north (Buick, 1936, pp. 222-229). However, we know from reading Henry William's journal written at the time, day by day, we get a very different story (Buick, 1936, pp. 469-476). Te Korohiko may have had a hankering for a red blanket or two, but when he, Te Poihipi, and Iwikau went with Williams to Waitangi, not one of them envisaged a Treaty. Mananui and Te Pahi, in Taupō, would have been even less prepared for what Hobson and company had planned at Waitangi.

In a letter written by Rev. Thomas S. Grace from Ōreti, Taupō, to Rev. Chapman on 28 May 1860, it states how Te Poihipi and Iwikau signed the Treaty for the whole of Taupō. Rev. Grace was a resident missionary based at Pūkawa at the southern end of Lake Taupō from 1855 to October 1863. Ward (1953) and Ballara (2004) possibly used this letter to inform their research findings.

Hapū operated as separate autonomous entities, so the thought of these two chiefs having the *mana* to sign the Treaty on behalf of 140 plus *rangatira* within the Ngāti Tūwharetoa confederation of *hapū* is ludicrous. According to Laurence Marshall Grace (1881), Mananui specifically sent his younger brother Iwikau to Waitangi to ascertain the implications of the Treaty for Ngāti Tūwharetoa (L. Grace, 1881). However, Buick (1936) portrays the antithesis of this view. He recalls how Mananui already knew he did not want to sign a Treaty that placed his *mana*, or the *mana* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, at the feet of Queen Victoria (Buick, 1936, p. 225).

Mananui and the Treaty

Mananui was very negative towards the Treaty of Waitangi. He not only rejected the Treaty but a complete Pākehā cultural incursion into the *rohe* which included religion and the impact this had on his *mana* and *tapu* (Ballara, 2004, p. 431). *Rangatira* were apprehensive their *mana* and *tapu* would be compromised by conversion, particularly when being baptised, as baptism involved contact with the head. Mananui was infuriated, when Iwikau informed him at Te Rapa, that he and Te Korohiko had signed the Treaty. Mananui was adamant he was not about to rescind his *mana* to Queen Victoria. Iwikau defended himself with his *tuakana* by assuring him he would get his opportunity to discuss the matter later with Queen's officials (Buick, 1936, p. 225).

Mananui received news the Treaty was being brought to the Ngāti Tūwharetoa-Te Arawa *rohe*. In March-April 1840, Parore, the Ngāpuhi *(tribal group of much of Northland) rangatira*, led a delegation of Queen's representatives to Rotorua to meet with, discuss, and entice local Māori leaders to sign. Mananui was compelled to attend the *hui* at Rotorua to voice his contempt for the Treaty, the Governor, and the Queen of England on behalf of Tūwharetoa. He reportedly told Jerningham Wakefield, he considered selling his land and signing the Treaty tantamount to 'selling his chieftainship.' Excerpts from the same translation are as follows:

> I am king here, as my fathers were before me,…I have not sold my chieftainship to the Governor, as all the chiefs around the sea-coast have done, nor have I sold my land. I will sell neither. A messenger was here from the Governor to buy the land the other day, and I refused: if you are on the same errand I refuse you too. You White people are numerous and strong; you can easily crush us if you choose, and take possession of that which we will not yield: but here is my right arm, and should thousands of you come, you must make me a slave or kill me before I will give up my authority or my

> land ….Let your people keep the sea-coast, and leave the interior to us, and our mountain, whose name is sacred to the bones of my fathers. Do not bring many White people into the interior, who may encroach on our possessions till we become their servants. (Wakefield, 1955, pp. 112-113)

Mananui was determined to assert Ngāti Tūwharetoa's *mana* in Rotorua by denouncing the Queen's Treaty. He and many other *rangatira*, possibly due to the *iwi's* inland location, had not fully realised Britain's peaceful intention for wanting a Treaty in the first place. Mananui, to usurp a possible backlash from Crown officials, ordered his men to arms to accompany him to the *hui*. Over the next few days, *tūpuna* flaunted their rusty rifles, as flintlocks snapped, and *toa* prepared for the worst. Once Mananui's *karere (constables)* had informed him, the missionaries had obtained a copy of the Treaty; he set off for Rotorua with five hundred hand-picked men (Buick, 1936, pp. 226-227).

At the conclusion of the *pōwhiri,* hosted at Papai-o-Uru *marae* in Ōhinemutu, the debate continued as to whether central North Island *rangatira* should sign the Treaty or not. Local Te Arawa *rangatira* Te Amohau and Te Haupapa addressed the throng, but were in two minds as to what to do. They preferred instead to let Mananui decide for them (Buick, 1936, p. 227). As Mananui rose to his feet, he recited 'Hiramai', a rarely heard *tauparapara.* Ears strained for an error in delivery, but Mananui repeated it word perfect, as anything less would have been ominous. Immediately the *tauparapara* was completed, Ngāti Tūwharetoa *toa* leapt to their feet, guns brandished to support Mananui and to *pūkana (to stare wildly, dilate the eyes - done by both genders when performing haka and waiata to emphasise particular words)* and *wero (the challenge performed at a pōwhiri)* Te Arawa, Crown officials, and the visiting missionaries John Morgan and Thomas Chapman. *Pōwhiri* complete, Mananui delivered his verdict on the Treaty for Te Arawa. He reiterated what he had always maintained, "*Hau wahine e hoki i te hau o Tawhaki* – I will never consent to the *mana* of a woman resting upon these islands" (Buick, 1936, p. 228). He went on to highlight his *mana* as an *ariki*, and then contend why traditional *ariki-rangatira* rule was ample to govern Aotearoa. He underscored the need for all *hapū* and *iwi* affiliated to Te Arawa *waka,* from Maketū on the Eastern Bay of Plenty coast to Tongariro in the south, to adopt his stance. Mananui demanded Pākehā leave Aotearoa and warned Te Arawa, if they signed, they would become *taurekareka* to Queen Victoria (Buick, 1936, p. 228).

Mananui's poignant remarks had united Te Arawa. Rotorua *rangatira,* Te Pukuatua, rose to deliver the final *whaikōrero* of the *hui* on behalf of Te Arawa. He concluded that Te Arawa had nothing further to add to what Mananui had said, and like Mananui and every other Te Arawa *rangatira* rejected the Queen's *mana,* and would never sign her Treaty. Te Pukuatua turned to Mananui and congratulated him for his honesty and leadership under such trying circumstances. Mananui seized the opportunity to return the red blankets presented to Iwikau, as a *koha,* at Waitangi. As he handed the blankets to missionaries Morgan and Chapman, he rebuked, "I am not willing that your blankets should be received as payment for my head and these islands" (Buick, 1936, p. 228). Because of Mananui's scathing indictment on Queen and Treaty, negotiators failed to secure a single Ngāti Tūwharetoa or Te Arawa signature outside the three people who had already signed at Waitangi on 9 February.

This chapter has demonstrated how Te Poihipi was most definitely at Waitangi on 6 February 1840. He may or may not have made his *tohu (signature)* on the Treaty but he assented to the signing. Te Poihipi was part of the whole occasion whether he was on Busby's lawn for the signing ceremony, or nearby, over the river at Te Tii *marae*; he was there.

"A very young" Te Poihipi could not have been more impressed by what he saw in and around the tent where the Treaty was to be signed in front of Busby's home. Williams had introduced Te Poihipi to Busby when they first arrived at Waitangi. Busby, possibly exemplified the future leader he perhaps wanted to be for Ngāti Ruingārangi. Busby's outward appearance, mannerisms, and qualities as a leader probably motivated Te Poihipi to want to adopt the British Resident's name, in its Māori form, as his own Christian name.

The whole *hīkoi* north and experience at Waitangi must have been an incredible eye-opener for "a very young" and impressionable Te Poihipi. To keep company with Henry Williams, Iwikau, Te Korohiko, and some from Rotorua and those "boys" who were from the north and had accompanied Williams on his six or seven week return journey to Cook Strait would have expanded his horizons beyond comprehension. Te Poihipi's view of the world, *te ao Pākehā*, and his vision for Ngāti Ruingārangi and kindred *hapū,* would forever be affected by what he had seen and learnt on this journey.

Over the next twenty years or so, the majority of *hapū* and *iwi* who had not signed the Treaty, referred to it as *te pukapuka,* which Ngāpuhi and others had signed for blankets. Many *rangatira*

and Pākehā alike reasoned that those who had *not* signed the Treaty were *not* bound by the 'covenant of Waitangi.' And surely too, a covenant signed 'in the dark' (ignorant of its consequences) was a covenant of the blind (Gorst, 1959, p. 25).

In the Taupō *rohe*, the Treaty did not feature prominently in the lives of local *tūpuna,* and unfortunately there was no one around to alert them to the dire, flow-on consequences of not paying attention. Reality set in several years later when Tūwharetoa realised the Pākehā Governor had somehow become their Governor too, whether they had signed the Treaty or not (Ballara, 2004, p. 404).

Te Poihipi's "very young" *whakaaro* continued to be shaped, moulded and fashioned by what he saw, experienced, and learnt at Waitangi. He witnessed first-hand, the high regard *tūpuna* of Ngāpuhi, and the British Crown, had for the missionaries, and it was perhaps this experience that motivated him to want the same for Ngāti Ruingārangi in Taupō.

Te Wāhanga Tuarima: Tikanga Karaitiana me Te Kāwana (1841-1856)

Chapter 5: Christian practices and the Governor (1841-1856)

Chapter 5 examines the growth of Christian practices in Tūwharetoa from 1841 to 1856 when Rev. Thomas Grace established his mission station at Pūkawa, at the southern end of Lake Taupō. The chapter discusses the outcome of the *hui* in 1850 between Te Poihipi, Governor Grey and others to decide which part of Taupō would get, Rev. Spencer, the promised resident missionary for the district. This chapter also discusses the radical changes made by Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to accommodate *te ao Karaitiana,* a completely new world, and one that was so far removed from *te ao tawhito* and familiar world their *tūpuna* had brought them up in.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi experienced rapid change in their lives with contact from missionaries like Spencer. Records are not clear as to whether Wesleyan and Roman Catholic priests got as far north as Taupō, or if they were concentrated more at the southern end of the Lake. Te Poihipi was hospitable to all missionaries around the *rohe*, because they were Pākehā, and Pākehā often did not pass through the *rohe,* and the prospect of a resident missionary excited him (Stebbing, 1983, p. 70).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had made contact with the other missionaries in Taupō prior to Spencer's visits. Archdeacon The Rev. A.N. Brown, for example, travelled down to Taupō occasionally from his mission station in Tauranga, to Rotorua, and to Te Kaha on the East Coast. Brown talks of travelling to Taupō in November 1845, calling at Wairewarewa [Rotorua], then on to Omanu [Ōmaunu], "a pa on the Western side of Taupō Lake, which I reached in time to hold a full evening service with 70 natives" (Brown, 1844-1846). His journal entry for 21 November talks about taking classes, presumably at the same place, with the comment: "The teacher, who is the principal Chief in the pa, and a young man of considerable energy …took us on [sic] in his canoe to Waihaha [Waihāhā] where I held evening service…We were obliged to land twice during the day from the roughness of the lake. 22nd. William Busby [Te Poihipi] went with us in his canoe to Wanganui, where we landed, skirting the lake to Wareroa, another pa on its margin" (Brown, 1844-1846). Brown visited Taupō again in 1849. Several missionaries had already passed through Taupō during the late 1830s, while in the 1840s, Elsdon Best, Ernst Dieffenbach, Bishop Selwyn, Thomas Chapman, and Richard Taylor visited. It was not until 1855 that Rev. Thomas Grace was stationed at Pūkawa by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to become Ngāti Tūwharetoa's first resident missionary.

Tūpuna contact with Pākehā settlers, and the missionaries, in particular, had its advantages. Despite the *rohe's* relative isolation, levels of English literacy amongst Ngāti Tūwharetoa *tūpuna* significantly improved in the 1840s. *Tūpuna* regarded knowing how to read and write English a major advantage when dealing with the steady influx of new settlers into the *rohe*. Māori were compelled to operate and manage their commercial enterprises differently during this period. However, this tended to impact negatively, more often than not, on the way Māori had traditionally done business in the past (Petrie, 2006, p. 11). The Rev. Brown while conducting a sacrament meeting on Sunday 28 November 1847 at Orana, just south of Waitahanui, commented:

> …The congregation consisted of about 100 Natives, many of whom had come from places 20 miles distant to partake of the Holy Communion and to have their children baptised. At morning service I baptised 11 adults, and afterwards administered the Lord's Supper to 28. In the afternoon, 65 assembled to school, of whom more than 40 could read in the New Testament. A class of 19 which I took, pleased me much in their ready reference to passages of Scripture confirmatory of the truths taught in the Church catechism. (Brown, 1847-1850)

During the 1840s, for the sake of keeping peace in the *rohe*, local *rangatira* tended to settle issues over land more amicably. However, 20-30 years earlier, bloodshed was the norm. Over the ensuing years, missionaries were generally responsible for the radical change in mind-shift by *rangatira* (Lineham, 2006). In 1847, for example, Te Poihipi was involved in a dispute with Nikorima or Nicodemus, as he was also known, over a small piece of cultivated land on the slopes of Mt Tauhara. Nikorima was *te reo* for Nicodemus and an example of a local *rangatira* adopting a biblical name as opposed to Te Poihipi with Busby. For a *rangatira* to adopt a name like Nicodemus, this clearly showed the impact missionary contact was now having on Māori at the northern end of Lake Taupō. One of Nikorima's generals had given Te Poihipi permission to work the land for the year. Te Poihipi knew that Nikorima could *whakapapa* to the land, and he also knew that other Tūwharetoa *rangatira* could do a similar thing on other parts of the mountain (Pomare & Cowan, 1987, pp. 178-180). However, out of mutual respect for Nikorima, Te Poihipi consented to resign the plot once he had harvested his season's crop (Brown, 1847-1850).

Māori literacy levels in 1840 were almost non-existent (Rice, 2000). This explains why they signed the Treaty of Waitangi with simple crosses or drawings of *moko* patterns. Te Poihipi in all likelihood regarded himself as Christian before he arrived in the Bay of Islands late 1839 early 1840. Henry Williams's journal suggests that most Māori in Taupō, particularly the young, claimed to be adherents even prior to missionary visits. Fancourt recounts Knight's story (a mission assistant), for example, in *The Advance of the Missionaries* (1939), about "two young natives from Taupo" who were in Rotorua in 1837, one of them having had contact with Rev. James Hamlin in the Waikato. Knight concludes his story by commenting neither of the men possessed books and had relied on memory to "instruct their neighbours" (Fancourt, 1939, p. 73).

Whether missionaries designated biblical names assumed by Māori or whether Māori chose names from the scriptures themselves is difficult to know. Since Henry Williams was possibly the first Pākehā missionary to visit Tapuaeharuru, if only for a few hours, *tangata whenua* lacked printed material. Whether Māori had already acquired a few printed items or had none at all prior to Williams's visit is also difficult to know. However, according to Williams's journal, the search for printed material was the reason why the *rangatira* sent his son to accompany Williams north. It is probable then that Te Poihipi may not have had a biblical name before travelling to the Bay of Islands. Taking the name Busby was a marker of his presence at the great occasion, and of a transformative event in Te Poihipi's life, as well, no doubt, a reminder to others of his attendance at the Waitangi event: Busby was, of course, a central figure in the Waitangi business, both in terms of preparation for the treaty, and as host at Waitangi.

Around this time, Christianity had begun to filter into the area from Ōtawhao near Te Awamutu. Under the *mana* of the Waikato chief Rewi Maniapoto, Rev. J. Morgan baptised Te Poihipi and made him one of his Native teachers, which meant he was qualified to preach the gospel to Ngāti Ruingārangi. To help him, Ngāti Ruingārangi shifted from Te Houhou ki runga to Te Houhou ki raro where they built a large *whare* and converted it into a church which they called Ākarana. During this time, the *hapū* worked *mahinga kai* in both places (Stebbing, 1983, pp. 133-134).

Te Poihipi often dealt with leadership challenges by taking the initiative, and early attempts to secure the services of a resident missionary in the district was no different. Along the way, he gained a strong ally in Hakiaha. Three letters written to Bishop Selwyn from Taupō, towards the end of the 1840s, highlighted the need of Te Poihipi and Hakiaha to secure a mission in the *rohe*. Hakiaha wrote two letters in succession on 4 December 1846 and 8 January 1847, while Te Poihipi

wrote his nearly two years later on 18 November 1848. Hakiaha was presumably a Christian heavily involved in church and mission work, who probably derived his name from the bible. The name Hakiaha is possibly *te reo* for the scriptural name Zaccheus or Zacheus or possibly even Zechariah (1909). Zacchaeus, as it was spelt in Luke, chapter 19, verse 8, was the tax gatherer in the King James Version of the bible, which was the authorised English Language version used by CMS missionaries (*Holy Bible: containing the old and new testaments: King James Version: translated out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised*, 1994, p. 1311).

Hakiaha would have almost certainly been the Hakiaha referred to in Te Poihipi's letter dated 18 November 1848. Te Poihipi refers to him as being part of a *komiti* with Iwikau and Te Paerata who were no doubt lobbying each other to have the proposed new minister reside under their protection. Te Paerata was possibly the "Pirata"/"Ze Pirate" referred to by Bidwell (1952) in his *Rambles in New Zealand*. Te Paerata hosted Bidwell in 1839, on the Western side of the lake, a week or two after the missionary Chapman visited him on his first journey to Taupō. Brown's 11 November 1848 journal entry reads; "In the afternoon the Natives held a committee [*komiti*] as to the best situation in which a Missionary could be placed for the general benefit of the tribes of Taupo, and it was determined that a deputation should be again sent to the Bishop urging him to place a Minister amongst them" (Brown, 1847-1850). Brown's journal entry must be referring to the same *komiti* Te Poihipi is referring to in his letter to Bishop Selwyn on 18 November 1848.

Hakiaha would have also been the Zaccheus that Brown alludes to in his journal for 22 September 1848, when he writes, "Zaccheus, a Taupo chief, called on me. He had been taking a long journey to Auckland in order to request the Bishop to supply his tribe with a Minister" (Brown, 1847-1850). Brown later writes a similar journal entry for 1 June 1849. He writes, "Long conversation with Zacheus of Taupo, who has just returned from another long journey to Auckland to secure a Missionary for his important tribe. He has been for years most earnest on the subject, and although deformed in person has walked many hundred miles in journeys to & from Auckland in order to obtain the object of his desire" (Brown, 1847-1850).

Hakiaha's first letter dated 4 December 1846 confirms that he is Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and indicates he had been working with Chapman in the Rotorua *rohe*. In the letter the term *pikopo* refers to the Catholic priest who had told him at a recent meeting to back-pedal on preaching to a congregation the priest considered his own. Catholic missionaries had been appointed to Chapman's *rohe* as

others were to various other locations in the eastern Bay of Plenty, and Chapman "was very concerned at the inroads being made" into his district (Stafford, 1967, pp. 285-286). In a recent biography on Chapman, *No fear of Rusting* by Phillip Andrews (2001), there is a reference to a Catholic priest stationed at Rotokākahi, for example (Andrews, 2001, p. 145). Ngāti Tūhourangi could also be included on the list. Hakiaha, probably at Chapman's request, had been proselytizing in one of these areas to counter the Catholic priest's success, and was now being told to leave. The letter indicates that Chapman advised him to return to Taupō to work amongst his own people. But where in Taupō – Hakiaha sent the first letter from Ōruanui, perhaps because he wrote it there, or was it his *tūrangawaewae*?

Hakiaha commanded considerable *mana* amongst his peers. While referring to the *tangihanga* for Mananui in May 1846, in his first letter, Hakiaha remarked how he commenced his *whaikōrero* immediately after Iwikau's which indicates he held an important place on the *paepae*. Hakiaha used the *hui* to promote his passion by saying, "*e kore e tupu he pai ki to taua kainga, engari me w[h]akaae koe, koutou katoa ki te minita ki Taupo*" - "prosperity will never fall on our home, unless all of you agree to the establishment of a mission in Taupo" (Poihipi, 1848, 18 November). All present supported Hakiaha's proposal. Towards the end of Hakiaha's letter, he reminds Selwyn that if he does not send a missionary to Taupō, "the Catholics will become highly favoured" (Poihipi, 1848, 18 November). Hakiaha meant that *tūpuna* would resort to becoming Catholic if that was what it took to secure a resident CMS missionary in the *rohe*. Bitter resentment existed between Catholic and Protestant missionaries, and because the Church of England and Wesleyans had neglected the *rohe*, Roman Catholic priests had established themselves in Taupō by 1850 (J. T. Grace, 1959, pp. 386-387).

Hakiaha's second letter to Selwyn, dated 8 January 1847, refers to further news a Catholic or perhaps Wesleyan (Methodist) priest or minister was going to arrive in the district as a resident missionary in June (Hakiaha, 1847). The letter from Te Poihipi to Selwyn from Hiruhārama, dated 18 November 1848, refers to Paraone, who was of course Rev. A. N. Brown who had just visited Taupō, a couple of days earlier. Leading *rangatira* like Te Poihipi, Iwikau, Hakiaha, and Te Paerata had just attended a *hui* at Hiruhārama on 11 November 1848. Te Poihipi had convinced them that Hiruhārama was the most suitable location, possibly because it was the most central. Te Poihipi, in all likelihood, initiated the *hui* and so earned the right to showcase Hiruhārama to the other three. In Te Poihipi's letter to Selwyn, he councils him not to be too overbearing or bossy with Iwikau, after all, being a member of the Church did not mean being a *taurekareka* (Poihipi, 1848, 18 November).

Missionaries emphasised, that with Christianity, in *te ao hou*, no one would be a *taurekareka.* They, somehow, mistakenly thought their stance on *taurekareka* would attract, not detract, converts.

Te Poihipi, *te whenua,* and the missionaries

Te Poihipi knew what it was like to have his own land sold to the New Zealand Company without his consent. He disclosed to Brown his intent to lodge a claim with the Native Land Court through his *whakapapa* connections to his *tūpuna* "Ruingārangi" of Te Āti Haunui-ā-Pāpārangi, and more particularly, Ngāti Hau, the *hapū* at Hiruhārama on the upper reaches of the Whanganui River. However, Brown advised Te Poihipi not to travel to Hiruhārama to live on the alienated land, in protest, but rather to take his case directly to the Governor in Auckland (Brown, 1847-1850, p. 10). During this time, the Colonial Government were under the impression all was well in the *rohe*. In stark contrast, Māori deplored the indiscriminate loss of land to Pākehā speculators. More often than not, these men employed the most unprincipled tactics to secure the untitled Māori land (Boast, 2008).

Part of Te Poihipi's early answer to the disreputable land dealings between Crown and Māori was to adopt the Pākehā model of land ownership. He was one of a small number of *rangatira* that apportioned each family within the *hapū* their own piece of land to occupy and work (Boast, 2008). Short term, he considered this a safer and easier option to more immediately guarantee *hapū* land stayed within the *hapū*. Te Poihipi knew individually allocated plots would encourage *tūpuna* to more permanently occupy *hapū* owned land and to have a greater sense of ownership for it. Plots of land allocated like this, clearly reshaped and challenged the way *tūpuna* had previously lived their nomadic and communally oriented lifestyles. Although the changes were not as obvious at Hiruhārama in the late 1840s and early 1850s, they were when *tūpuna* lived at Nukuhau, Puketarata, and Ōruanui.[46]

Te Poihipi was fully aware of the importance of the land to both Māori and Pākehā. The *whakataukī*, "*He wahine, he whenua, ngaro ai te tangata* - Men die for land and women" encapsulates *tūpuna* commitment to their women and to *Papatūānuku*. *Toa* would literally lay down their lives for either if need be. Te Poihipi knew only too well that this commitment to Papatūānuku and *te whenua* was often the root cause of contention amongst *tūpuna*, Māori, settler, and soldier alike. In November 1847, he observed, "If we quarrel amongst ourselves, it is for land – if we fall

[46] Taupō Native Land Court minute book entries at various times attest to this trend.

out with the settlers, it is for land – if we fight with the soldiers, it is for land" (Tūkairangi, 1847). Te Poihipi also confided in Brown, how he had already received an invitation to join his *whanaunga* in Whanganui to take up arms against 'Her Majesty's troops.' Te Poihipi swiftly responded to the Ngāti Hau invitation to inform them, [that] "[h]e was [now] a soldier of Jesus Christ and had another battle to fight" (Brown, 1847-1850). Te Poihipi took his call to serve as a CMS teacher seriously, despite the often blasé attitude of his *whanaunga*, friend, and southern ally Iwikau.

Iwikau lacked a testimony of missionary work. In November 1849, Iwikau was reported to have said to Brown, "When you are at Taupo, I am a Churchman. When the Wesleyan Missionary is here, I belong to his Church. When the R. C. Priest calls, I am a Papist, and when no European is here, I am a Heathen"(Brown, 1847-1850). Although Iwikau lacked faith in the missionary messages presented to him by the different denominational leaders, his view of Pākehā missionaries and Pākehā in general had not tempered with time. He regarded Pākehā in the same way he considered they judged him. Over the years, he had witnessed a scurrilous breed of Pākehā that made his skin crawl with contempt (Buddle, 1998, p. 11).

Grey's visit to Hiruhārama

Despite the political reality of the situation, Te Poihipi, Grey and others met together at Te Poihipi's *pā,* at Hiruhārama, in Taupō, on 2 January 1850, to decide where Rev. Spencer would be stationed. They talked amongst themselves and decided Spencer would base himself at the northern end of the Lake. Spencer made the occasional visit to Taupō but nothing more. He was an 'occasional missionary' in the sense that he never resided in the *rohe* like Chapman did at Te Ngae (Rotorua) or later Grace at Pūkawa. Although Te Poihipi and other influential Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira* would have tried to entice Spencer to live amongst them and set up a mission station, Spencer was committed to his own station at Tarawera. Spencer had been told by his CMS superiors to add Taupō to his duties and only visited the *rohe* a few times, staying a few days or so on each occasion.

Tangata whenua prepared for Governor Grey's visit to Taupō on 1 January 1850, to usher in the new-year and new decade. Grey had commissioned Iwikau to be one of his personal tour guides on a *haerenga* from Auckland to Taranaki via Rotorua, Taupō, and the West Coast of the North Island (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 1). Grey's *tira* also included Pirikawau, clerk and interpreter in the Native Secretary's Office; Lieutenant Symonds; artist Mr Cuthbert Clarke, secretary and scribe Mr G. S.

Cooper; and cook Peter Brady. The *haerenga*, undertaken during the summer of 1849-1850, was Grey's first ever to Taupō.

On new-year's day, the previous day, Grey's *tira* arrived on the outskirts of Taupō. As they approached Lake Taupō from the north eastern end, with Mount Tauhara in view, they tramped the well-walked track, normally reserved for local *tūpuna,* and the occasional Pākehā traveller through the *rohe*. At noon, they skirted Lake Rotokawa and made their way towards the base of Mt Tauhara. At 1.30 pm, the *tira* finally sighted Lake Taupō, and an hour later were at Waipāhīhī, on the Lake's edge, bathing with local *tūpuna* in a small thermally heated stream that flowed into the Lake (G. S. Cooper, 1999, pp. 254-256).

Te Poihipi's *pā* at Hiruhārama was the *tira's* final destination for the day. However, it was an engagement they were not going to keep. As his *pā* was on an opposite arm of the Lake, it meant the *tira* had to be rowed the final stretch of the *haerenga*. Paddlers had to negotiate the 45-50 metre wide mouth of the Waikato River as it exited the Lake. When the *tira's* baggage handlers finally arrived at 4 pm, a large fire was lit to signal to Te Poihipi that he needed to send *waka* from Hiruhārama to collect them. By the time the *waka* arrived at 6 pm, a stiff breeze had sprung up on the Lake. *Tūpuna* knowing the Lakes infamous reputation, refused to make the return *haerenga* that evening (G. S. Cooper, 1999, pp. 256-258).

Rev. Seymour Mills Spencer CMS was American. He was born on 27 March 1812 and died on 30 April 1898 in Tauranga, and was buried at Kariri (Galilee) Point, Lake Tarawera. His ancestors were amongst the first Pilgrim Fathers to land in New England c.1680. He was the eldest in a very large family. When still young, his parents joined migrants from Hartford, Connecticut, who travelled to Southern Illinois and founded the settlements of Mendon, and Payson. When Spencer was about 25 years old, Bishop Chase of Quincy, Illinois, lent him a book that was to change his life (Spencer, 1854-1932).

Written by Samuel Marsden, the book described Marsden's missionary experiences amongst Māori in the Bay of Islands. Spencer, with a letter of recommendation from Chase, and inspired by what he had read in Marsden's book, applied to the CMS to serve a mission in Aotearoa. Provisionally accepted, he studied for two years under Chase's tutelage, before leaving America, for England, in 1840, with his new bride Ellen Stanley Thompson (Spencer, 1854-1932). Spencer and his wife

docked in Auckland aboard the *Louisa Campbell* on 25 October 1842, after departing England, nine months earlier, on 17 January 1842.

Bishop Selwyn ordained Spencer a deacon on 24 September 1843, and later met him in Taupō at the start of November, to induct him into the *rohe* as its newest missionary (Simkin, 1925, pp. 55-60). Thomas Chapman also accompanied the pair, who stayed a night at Te Ngae in Rotorua, before walking "to Orona, Taupo, where, near a grove of karaka trees it was decided Spencer should live. However, Spencer did not reside there permanently, but returned with Chapman to Te Ngae. From there he travelled inland to Taupo on his rounds as Chapman had been doing for years, and also relied on a number of converts at Taupo to supplement his visits" (Stafford, 1986, p. 31). Orona was 8 or 9 km from Rotongaio near Waitahanui on the eastern side of the Lake. Māori at Orona lived in a relatively new *pā,* and had not, as yet, built their chapel (R. G. Ward & Ward, 2009, p. 49).

Spencer taught Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi the gospel and helped them to establish a church at Hiruhārama but never actively lived amongst them. Spencer had already established himself at Karari, on Lake Tarawera, and paid periodic visits to Taupō until Rev. Grace established his station at Pūkawa (Tapsell, 1972, p. 41).

Scobie (1988) relates another version of Spencer's induction to Taupō. When Selwyn first introduced Spencer to Māori, Rev. W. C. Cotton recalled how he "took out a bag of rye grass seed which he brought with him from Waimate and sowed the patch which he had prepared as a memorial to taking charge of the parish." Spencer gained a reputation for similar acts in other places. According to Scobie, "Spencer…decided to site his Taupo mission on the western shore at a spot he called Jerusalem (Hiruharawa) [Hiruhārama]" (Scobie, 1988, p. 12).

Grey's *tira* completed the previous day's destination, the following morning. They rose at 5 am after a restless night's sleep, caused by scant bedding and a howling gale that blew across the lake. Despite the chilly night, the morning was calm but cold. By 6 am the *waka* was packed and the *tira* left Waipāhīhī. An hour later, after a brisk paddle, the *waka* glided towards shore at Hiruhārama. Rev. Spencer was one of the first to greet the new arrivals. Bearing in mind the Governor's obvious status, the *pōwhiri* and *hongi* were dispensed with on the beach in preference for a simple handshake (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 258). *Tūpuna* were beginning to notice how unusual Pākehā practices like Spencer's welcome to Grey was starting to challenge the way they had done things in the past.

Tūpuna were often bewildered by what they saw in *te ao Pākehā* and a *pōwhiri* less a *hongi* reinforced this view. Best described a similar incident nearly ten years earlier in his journal when he and the missionary Mr Brown met at Motutere on 17 May 1841.

> Resuming our route we walked along the Eastern shore of the Lake crossing several small rivers and at ½ past three met Mr Brown the Missionary from Touronga [Tauranga] at a large Pah [pā] called Ko Matu Tere [Motutere]. Mr Brown and Mr Chapman the Missionary at Roto Rua had taken the opportunity of our being at Taupo to make a visit I suppose in hopes of making some more converts. The Pah where I met him is missionary on his approach they ranged themselves in a long line which his party (some 20 or 30) passed down *shaking hands* all the way in a most indifferent manner. The little man stalked at their head. I never saw a more truly ridiculous scene. Mr Chapman had been left behind [perhaps at Tapuaeharuru] with a bad headache. (N. M. Taylor, 1866, pp. 312-313)

Best revealed very positive attitudes towards Māori and an intense dislike for missionaries in his journal. Missionaries reciprocated Bests views, especially when he lived with a Māori woman in the Bay of Plenty. Best was an army officer with an eye for Māori women and on his visit in 1841 was infatuated with a young local woman, from around Tokaanu (N. M. Taylor, 1866, p. 307). Missionaries spurned such behaviour by Pākehā, and had tried to get army authorities in the Bay of Plenty to discipline him, but because the army was so small in New Zealand, were unsuccessful. So Best's attitude towards Brown at Motutere is not surprising. Best**,** as *waewae tapu* to Tūwharetoa, continued to enjoy the freedom, constant hospitality, and change in scenery, and was very accepting of Māori ways because they were the norm. Missionaries, on the other hand, sought to change these norms, seeing sinfulness everywhere – though attitudes varied from missionary to missionary. Henry Williams, for example, had been in the navy prior to becoming "a man of the cloth", and so had experienced a rough life, and had also heard his fair share of crude language.

Tikanga defined why Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Tūwharetoa had done things the way they had in the past, and now these norms were being challenged by *te ao Pākehā*. To understand *tikanga,* in relation to *pōwhiri*, *manaakitanga*, *rangatiratanga, mana*, *tapu, noa, ngā Atua, whakapapa, whaikōrero, mōteatea*, *waiata* and the myriad of other cultural practices helps us to

appreciate the general context within which decisions were made, initiatives taken and limitations imposed. Although *tikanga* was undergoing rapid change for *tūpuna*, *tikanga* for Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and Tūwharetoa was the norm whereas Pākehā were often unpredictable, changeable, volatile, temperamental, random, awkward, and arbitrary participants. Welcoming someone, less a *pōwhiri* and *hongi,* for example, was not only unthinkable but it left *tūpuna* feeling very uncomfortable.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi corrected the situation, just off the beach, with a rousing *pōwhiri* to formally welcome Grey and his *tira* to Hiruhārama *tikanga* Ngāti Ruingārangi style. *Tangata whenua* and *manuhiri* exchanged *hongi* and *harirū* before everyone climbed the hill to Te Poihipi's *pā.* Still under construction, it was obvious from its size; the *pā* would house around 30 to 40 occupants when complete (G. S. Cooper, 1999, pp. 258-260). It was highly probable that Te Poihipi, in consultation with *tūpuna* and Spencer, decided to relocate from Ōmaunu to this new *pā* site, to accommodate a changing world that now included Christianity. Spencer dispensing with the *pōwhiri* and *hongi* for Grey on the beach was an example of how Christianity and *te ao Pākehā* was impacting on the lives of *tūpuna.* Forgoing similar aspects of *tikanga* Ngāti Ruingārangi were part and parcel of a new world that challenged *tikanga*, previously practiced by *tūpuna* for generations?

Missionaries complained, in journals and letters, that their clothes were being ruined through close contact with *tūpuna,* who were covered in *kōkōwai*. *Tūpuna* wore the *kōkōwai* at *pōwhiri* to impress their Pākehā *manuhiri*, but unbeknown to them, were doing the complete opposite. Missionaries would have probably resented having to share their personal space too, which would have made them even more anxious and less likely to want to do the *hongi*. Missionaries discouraged *pōwhiri* and *hongi* and *mihi* and *tangi* (ing) because they did not understand the *tikanga* or reasoning or culture behind them. Missionaries would have viewed *tikanga* as a waste of time, and some would have preferred the handshake, to save the clothes, keep locals at a reasonable distance, and discourage the disconcerting wailing and embracing.

Tūpuna took some time to sort out which parts of Pākehā introduced *tikanga* they wanted to adopt, and which parts they wanted to disgard. *Tūpuna* were keen to go along with whatever, Pākehā told them around the 1840s and 1850s because Pākehā were a novelty to Taupō, and everything was new, and they did not want to scare them away. Often, as a compromise, *tūpuna* rationalised, if Pākehā want handshakes, then, "fine we'll give them handshakes." What Brown had Māori doing at Motutere in 1841 was probably what he had them doing at Tapuaeharuru, and Rangatira, and

whether other missionaries like Chapman, Grace, and Taylor encouraged the handshake, is difficult to know. However, what is certain is that about 10 years later, Spencer welcomed Grey to Hiruhārama in 1850 with a "simple handshake" probably in the hope that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would follow suit.

Settlements like Hiruhārama often became the catalyst for significant change in the way Māori had previously lived their lives. Missionary inspired imperatives during this time included the abandonment of *pā* fortifications, the dispersal of houses among orchards and *mahinga kai*, and the building of chapels and enlarged *wharepuni* (Ballara, 1998, pp. 250-251). After a time, and despite the barren soil, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had cultivated all the available land within the *pā*, and houses were randomly interspersed amongst the *mahinga kai* of *kūmara* and *rīwai* ("Overland route to Auckland: visit to Taupo, and meeting with native chiefs," 1857, 12 December, p. 3).

Under Hohepa Tamamutu's leadership, the settlement of Ōruanui developed along similar lines. Tamamutu was Te Poihipi's close friend and relative. Te Poihipi established other Christian based settlements at Puketarata, near Ōruanui, and at Atahaka on the Waikato River. Some Māori were profoundly affected by Christianity, and it could potentially split *hapū* into their Christian and heathen factions. It was highly likely that this was the catalyst for Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Spencer, deciding to establish Hiruhārama in the first place. Because Te Poihipi was a *kaiwhakaako (teacher),* and *rangatira*, it was only a matter of time before he led Ngāti Ruingārangi to establish Hiruhārama, and construct a new *pā*. Whole community shifts enabled *rangatira,* and missionaries, to focus on teaching the gospel to those who wanted to live gospel principles (Ballara, 1998, pp. 250-251).

New religious ideas caused "divisions" among those Māori who claimed to be Christians and those who decided they were not, and those who followed or affiliated with other denominations. Identifying common patterns or trends as to why divisions occurred seems unlikely. Communities traditionally grew, divided, moved, merged, divided again, and came together, and so on, for a plethora of reasons. Disagreement and conflict; rivalry between *rangatira* and *rangatira*, *rangatira* and *whānau*, *rangatira* and *hapū;* scarcity or otherwise of resources; climate change; were all reasons recounted in oral history and *whakapapa*. The impact of these changes occurred over several centuries. Religion was just one of the many *take* that Māori debated which often influenced the size, leadership and location of *kāinga*. Sometimes one side of the family became *Mihinare* (Anglican), and the other *Pikopo* (Catholic). Factors like friendships, or otherwise, with

missionaries, or when a missionary first arrived, or which mission supplied which goods, or which mission was least detrimental to traditional *tikanga*, often influenced the denomination Māori supported. Mananui, for example, would not be rushed into a decision, but his death in the 1846 landslide at Te Rapa took him before he decided (*Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume one: 1769-1869*, 1990, pp. 447-448).

Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and Tūwharetoa would have known a reasonable amount about the new religions before missionaries reached northern and southern Taupō, through Māori catechists. They were responsible for most of the early conversions, in many parts of Aotearoa. Chapman had reached the lake from the northern end in 1839, so it was highly likely news had already filtered through Taupō's regular Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Kahungunu channels. When Williams arrived in the *rohe*, at the start of 1840, it was highly probable Māori professed to be Christian, in order to obtain printed materials and other 'goodies' he had. Māori would have known, to decline being Christian, would mean to deny receiving lavish gifts reserved for those believers of the new religion.

Tohunga had every reason to feel slighted too, because missionaries demanded they be relinquished of their spiritual powers. By the 1840s, most places, and nearly every *kāinga* had drifted towards the new religion, or aspects of it, to a greater or lesser extent. New religion may well have even brought the worst out in Māori when debated in casual conversation; on *marae;* or in *wānanga (higher houses of learning).* Language used in such instances ranged from very basic to fighting talk, to bickering, to condemning. Contention, for example, was caused over simple things, like what the new religion did, and did not permit; or whether scripture followed the spirit or letter of doctrine; or marriage issues over multiple husbands or multiple wives. New religion presented a Pandora's Box of surprises for Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. On the one hand, it promised manna from heaven, and on the other, feuding, and dissension (Petrie, 2006, pp. 79-80).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have considered a number of options before settling at Hiruhārama. One is that, Ngāti Ruingārangi traditionally inhabited some places for their natural resources, during certain times of the year, and then other places during other times of the year. The ecology of the Puketarata-Ōruanui-Ōrākei Kōrako-Atahaka-Wairākei-Nukuhau-Tapuaeharuru-Rangatira *rohe*, with its particular resources, would have produced a specific pattern for *tūpuna,*

very different from other tribal *rohe*. However, what is certain is that *tūpuna* would have thoroughly investigated alternative sites of settlement, and cultivation, to suit their specific needs.

Spencer may have encouraged Te Poihipi to develop Hiruhārama without the fortifications, because Spencer would have regarded *pā*, out of date, and diametrically opposed to his own vision for the new community. With the arrival of peace, he would have seen a *pā* at Hiruhārama impractical for the new kinds of activities, he hoped to promote with agriculture and manufacturing. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi may have considered other factors more important because Rangatira-Tapuaeharuru was not rich in cultivable land, or in timber resources. Pre-Christian settlements like Ōmaunu were near *urupā,* and incorporated *wāhi tapu,* and Spencer probably associated these places with old "Heathen" practices and traditional "superstitions." Te Poihipi and *tūpuna*, in all likelihood, knew they needed to make the physical shift from Ōmaunu *pā* to Hiruhārama, so that they could more fully embrace Christianity, and other relevant aspects of *te ao Pākehā* (Stebbing, 1983, p. 70).

CMS missionaries assigned *kaiwhakaako* to each *kāinga* to help facilitate missionary work in their absence. Te Poihipi would have been Spencer's assistant at Hiruhārama, and probably would have conducted morning and evening services, each day, and three times on Sundays. He would have taught reading and writing, as well as saw to it that *tūpuna,* for baptism, and communion, learnt their catechism, among other things. Te Poihipi would have possibly been assigned *tūpuna* to teach, and then have to report back to Spencer on the spiritual progress made by these individuals. If Te Poihipi and *kaumātua,* as elders of the Church, and *hapū,* were not pleased with a members conduct, they had a limited form of Church discipline to censure transgressors (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 68).

Cooper recalled, how early in Grey's tour, they had encountered an example of *kaiwhakaako* justice, on a young man, who had committed a serious indiscretion against those in his *kāinga*. He was prohibited from attending church services, and was suspended from the settlement. He was ordered to stay outside the *pā* enclosure, with no shelter to speak of except for a blanket. Sympathisers provided him with raw meat through the fence. Cooper wrote, "The poor fellow looked so lonely and miserable sitting by the fire, and almost cut off from all communication with his fellow creatures, that Governor Grey took compassion on him, and after the service spoke to the teachers and elders begging them to mitigate his sentence" (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 70) Although Māori respected Grey's plea, they were unrepentant, and replied that if the case was less serious,

they would have complied with the Governor's wish. Being "sent to Coventry" was considered serious, and required a punishment that satisfied Church justice. Condemned to a fortnight's penitence, the young man was exposed to the extremes of the hot midday sun during the day and the cold wintry temperatures at night. Sometimes, he would lean over the fence to listen to what was going on inside the *pā*, all the time pining to rejoin *whanaunga* (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 70).

Grey had always planned to stay a short while at Hiruhārama, before moving on. While Grey had breakfast, he ordered the tents be brought up from *waka* and pitched inside the *pā*. Spencer set about preparing lunch after *manuhiri* had finished breakfast. Both hind quarters of a prime piece of pork, weighing at least 14 kilograms, was spit roasted over a fire for three or four hours on a *tīmata (supported at either end by forked sticks driven into the ground)* (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 260).

Lunch organised, Spencer needed to know where he should set up his new station in the *rohe*. He informed Grey he knew that each individual *rangatira* was certain it would be with them. Because missionaries were so highly sought after by *tūpuna*, the decision to have one live amongst them carried considerable *mana*. Te Poihpi may have even established Hiruhārama as part of a plan to attract a missionary into the *rohe*. Prior to Grey's visit to Taupō, for example, Te Poihipi and *tūpuna* (possibly in consultation with Spencer) changed the name of the settlement from Rauwhare (Stebbing, 1983, p. 72) to Hiruhārama or Jerusalem (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 256). *Tūpuna* regarded naming new *kāinga* important; however, it is difficult to know exactly when they began adopting biblical names from the scriptures, for their settlements. Te Poihipi was in the Whanganui *rohe* c.1846-47, and had passed *kāinga* on the River with names like Hiruhārama, Peterehema (Bethlehem), Karatia (Galatia), and so may have even brought the idea back to *tūpuna* in Taupō. Spencer found the decision as to where to locate his mission, easy to make, despite knowing there were many likely candidates. Involving Grey to decide where Spencer should establish his station may have averted a tricky situation. Spencer was aware that more of Ngāti Tūwharetoa's lived at Iwikau's end of the Lake, but he knew they were heathens too (G. S. Cooper, 1999, pp. 260-262).

Spencer received the answer he was after. He explained to Grey how he preferred to live amongst Te Poihipi's people because they were "all quiet, orderly Christians, for whom he had partly erected a chapel and commenced a school" (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 262). Spencer knew full well that Te Herekiekie, a close neighbour of Iwikau's, would try all within his powers to sway the decision in the south's favour. Mindful of the pressures, Te Poihipi, Grey, Spencer, and Iwikau met and decided that Te Poihipi would host Spencer at Hiruhārama. However, to ratify the decision, Te

Poihipi had to agree to rescind his opposition to Iwikau wanting to deposit the bones of his deceased brother Mananui in one of the craters on Mt Tongariro. According to Cooper; Te Poihipi opposed the burial, because he believed it flouted *tikanga tangihanga* to the core. He also believed it gave Iwikau and his *hapū* pseudo-proprietary rights, equivalent to *ahi kā* status on the *maunga*. Taylor, on the other hand, disputed that the burial would make Mt Tongariro even more *tapu*, and [like Te Poihipi] agreed it was a land claiming exercise on Iwikau's part. Taylor contested that in *tikanga* Māori terms such an action "would establish his right to that district", besides rendering the mountain so sacred that no-one could climb it (R. Taylor, 1849). Mt Tongariro, after all, was the *iwi's* ancestral *maunga*, not Iwikau's. Regardless of tribal politics, Spencer was relieved to hear the group decide in favour of Te Poihipi and Hiruhārama.

As Te Poihipi, Grey, Iwikau, and Spencer concluded their discussion by the fire, Te Poihipi and Spencer tended the pig-on-a-spit. As lunch time approached, the wind was getting up on the lake making it more and more unlikely Grey's planned trip south would precede. With this, he ordered the tents be moved nearer shelter. Following a sumptuous dinner, it began to rain, which confined *manuhiri* to tents. Members of Te Poihipi's *hapū* seized the opportunity to trade personal belongings with *manuhiri*. Cooper described the scene as follows:

> The scene had something the resemblance of a fair, the natives bringing us for sale curiosities of all descriptions, tarahas [taiaha *(long weapon of hard wood with a flat blade tapering to a round shaft ending with a sharp tongue)*], green-stone ornaments, ornamented kits, &c., &c., of which we purchased several. They tormented us as greatly with their begging, food, money, gunpowder, clothes, or in fact anything they happened to see was immediately asked for with an importunity that would have done credit to an Irish beggar, but most of all, tobacco and pipes, which were very rare articles amongst them, indeed the only kind of tobacco the poor people had, consisted of the dried leaves of some they had themselves grown. (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 226)

Tūpuna appreciated the rare opportunity to trade with *manuhiri*. Although Te Poihipi had more regular opportunities to trade with Pākehā, *tūpuna* generally had not. Sure they had been exposed to Pākehā food, money, gun powder and clothes second hand through Te Poihipi, but now the opportunity was theirs to trade in person, first hand. Ngāti Ruingārangi was no stranger to their own

mild form of tobacco, but the opportunity to trade for quality Pākehā tobacco and pipes was irresistible (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 266). No doubt Te Poihipi would have shared the spoils of past *haerenga* with Ngāti Ruingārangi, but for most, this was probably a brand new experience.

Cooper described members of Ngāti Ruingārangi, at the *pā,* as "underdressed" for the mild mid-summer conditions and very hungry looking. Food scarce, *tūpuna* subsisted on *aruhe* for extended periods and this showed on their emaciated faces. However, when *tūpuna* switched diet from *aruhe* to *rīwai*, the difference in overall health and wellbeing was marked (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 63). Cooper admitted how surprised he was with the honesty of *tūpuna*, despite them having found and eaten his last precious stow of biscuits. Rain in Thames had almost destroyed his last remaining supply of flour; however, he did have plenty of rice which proved a godsend in the end (G. S. Cooper, 1999, p. 266). Grace agreed with Cooper's comment about central North Island Māori being the poorest he had seen on his travels around the Island (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 88).

Early the following morning, Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Spencer, did a formal *poroporoaki (farewell)* for Governor Grey and his *tira.* It was Tuesday 3 January 1850, and Spencer woke everyone at 2 am for the three and a half hour *waka* trip around Lake Taupō's north-eastern shoreline past the Karangahape cliffs to Iwikau's *pā* at Pūkawa.[47] Few, if any, appreciated having to dress by candlelight in tents. However, most had had breakfast just after 3 am, but because of delays caused in getting *waka* and crew ready, the *tira* finally left Hiruhārama at 6 am. Although the straight line trip from Hiruhārama to Pūkawa was about 40 kilometres, *waka* manned by local *tūpuna* very rarely took the direct route south across the lake (G. S. Cooper, 1999, pp. 266-268).

Horomātangi, the local *taniwha* whose name the reef bears on the eastern side of Lake Taupō near the white cliffs south of Waitahanui, had bore blame for capsizing *waka,* and stranding crew in the past, when in fact, Tāwhiri-mātea was equally to blame. *Tūpuna* generally preferred the longer, safer, hug the shore-line option, as they had experienced the wrath of Horomātangi, and Tāwhiri-mātea, the son of Ranginui and Papatūāuku too often before. Tāwhiri-mātea warranted the respect of *tūpuna*; one minute the Lake was calm and placid, the next a raging torrent. Unlike the oversight in *tikanga* at Hiruhārama, Iwikau and his *hapū* welcomed Grey and his *tira* to Pūkawa with a traditional Ngāti Tūrumākina *pōwhiri* (G. S. Cooper, 1999, pp. 266-268).

[47] Pūkawa was where Iwikau lived on the southern shores of Lake Taupō.

Frame (2002) had a different take on Cooper's account of Grey's journey to Taupō in 1849-50. In his book *Grey & Iwikau: A Journey Into Custom/Kerei Raua Ko Iwikau: Te Haerenga Me Ngā Tikanga*, Frame uses Grey's journey to argue how Māori custom, as law, is as complex and sophisticated as English law. However, Frame does not deal with the whole journey in detail. Because Frame's focus was Te Iwikau, he missed the Tapuaeharuru, Te Poihipi, Spencer leg of the journey. Frame writes: "The party pushed on from the Rotorua region to Iwikau's homelands around Lake Taupō, crossing the lake by canoe to the southern end. Cooper reported the welcoming ceremony at Pūkawa for Iwikau and his guests on Thursday, 3 January" (Frame, 2002, p. 52).

Captain John Symonds accompanied Grey south to Taupō and also kept a journal of the trip. However, transcriptions of Symonds journal created by Dr Hocken exclude the dates from 8 December 1849 through to 8 January 1850. Dr Hocken's note explaining the omission reads:

> …A full account or journal of this expedition was published in 1851 entitled "Journal of an expedition overland from Auckland to Taranaki by way of Rotorua, Taupo & the West Coast, undertaken in the summer of 1849-1850 by his Excellency the Governor-In-Chief of New Zealand, Auckland. Printed by Williamson & Wilson 1851. 12 mo. pp.310 I have collated it with the account in Cap. Symond's journal & find it quite needless to transcribe the latter which is very much shorter & contains nothing additional. The printed journal however ends on Jany 8th as W Cooper tells me that the concluding portion of his manuscript was lost. I therefore take up Cap. Symonds journal from Jany 9th & thus complete the accounts.[48]

Symonds journal could have possibly added more to what Cooper had already recorded about Te Poihpi's *pā*, and Hiruhārama, and the *pōwhiri*, and events latter, but unfortunately, it was not to be.

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[48] Hocken Library (Dunedin), MS-0051. Dr Hocken's transcriptions are written in a large hard-bound notebook. However, there is no official title for the work and no date recorded on the volume when Dr Hocken began work on Symonds transcriptions. Dr Hocken wrote the following passage at the beginning of his transcriptions of Symonds journal that may be helpful. It reads: "Mrs Symonds of Onehunga, widow of Cap. John Jermyn Symonds entrusted to me this January 1889 the journal of her deceased husband. These were contained in five volumes – two oblong and three ordinary memorandum books. The first commences with Cap. William Cornwallis Symond's journal [John Jermyn's brother] (pp.195-134 of this volume) evidently copied by his brother. Then follows Cap. J.J. Symonds journal (pp.235-334 of this volume). I have carefully followed the Māori spelling of the original and other peculiarities. T. M. Hocken, May 16th, 1894."

Frame noted that as well as the three Pākehā records of contact between Grey and Tūwharetoa in 1849-1850; *tūpuna* had recorded a fourth version in *te reo* in the form of two *mōteatea*. Published in Grey's collection, the second of the two *mōteatea* also appeared in manuscript version. With all the contact Te Poihipi and Iwikau had over subsequent years, the two would have discussed Iwikau's relationship with the Crown on numerous occasions. Te Poihipi's views must have influenced Iwikau for him to compose and sing a *mōteatea* at the *pōwhiri* expressing his commitment to Government and Governor:

> Tenei ka noho ki te take o te Kara;
> Whakatu rawa iho taku noho ki raro ra;
> Whakamau te titiro te ao, ka riaki,
> Na runga ana mai te hiwi ki Takapuna,
> I raro ra Kawana, e aroha mai nei i au, e—
> Toro mai to ringa kia hari-ruia,
> Ka tikamauru te aroha i au, e—.

Grace gives the following translation:

> Today I pay allegiance to the Crown,
> And by the flagstaff I take my seat.
> O people everywhere lift up your eyes,
> Behold the colours fluttering o' erhead!
> From the hill at Takapuna, O Governor,
> Came your greetings and your friendship.
> So, extend your hand, my friend, that I may take it,
> For great indeed is my love for you. (J. T. Grace, 1959, pp. 438-439)

Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke, in Commentary of Grey's 'Ko Ngā Moteatea …,' ATL, Micro-MS 0253 gives a slightly different text and meaning for Iwikau's performance. Differences in variation have been italicised:

> Tenei ka noho ki te take o te Kara;
> *Whakatau* rawa iho taku noho ki raro ra;
> Whakamau te titiro te ao, ka riaki,

Na runga ana mai te hiwi ki Takapuna,
I raro *na* Kawana, e aroha mai nei i au, e—
E toro mai to ringa kia *haririutia*,
Kati, ka mauru te aroha i au, e—. (p.65)

Iwikau had a more tempered perspective on missionaries, religion, and Pākehā, than his deceased brother Mananui. Although Iwikau did not consider himself a Christian by any stretch of the imagination, when he took the reins of leadership, for Tūwharetoa in 1846, he seemed more tenable. For example, he had been so impressed with his visit to the Bay of Islands, and Waitangi, in 1840; he named his *wharepuni* at Waihī 'Tāpeka' after Tāpeka Point near Kororāreka (Ballara, 2004, p. 437). Like Te Poihipi, Iwikau travelled a good deal throughout the North Island and regularly hobnobbed with Grey and other government officials.

Iwikau lobbied Te Poihipi and other Taupō *rangatira* to support him in his quest to secure Spencer's services at Pūkawa. However, Spencer saw through Iwikau's guise. He knew that Iwikau lacked a testimony of the work of CMS missionaries. Although, Iwikau supported Grace's work later, he never became a Christian himself. Like his predecessor Mananui, he feared his *mana* and *tapu* would be compromised if he did (Hochstetter, 1867, p. 363). Three years after his *tuakana's* death, Iwikau did all within his power to prevent Pākehā intrusion into territory he considered came under his *mana*, even if it meant direct confrontation with other notable *rangatira*.

Despite opposition, Iwikau continued to assert his *mana* in the *rohe*. While Te Herekiekie[49] from Tokaanu opposed Iwikau's preoccupation by wanting to deposit his brother's bones on Mt Tongariro, Te Poihipi had to rescind his decision, if he wanted Spencer to reside with him and Ngāti Ruingārangi at Hiruhārama. Shortly after Te Poihipi agreed to do so, Mananui's bones were sneaked up the mountain, and placed on a projecting rock. For some time after, Te Herekiekie and Iwikau continued to harbour ill-feelings over the incident. Finally, Rev. Thomas Grace, while on a reconnaissance visit to the *rohe,* to set up a mission station, helped the two resolve their differences. However, Grace's decision to choose Pūkawa over Tokaanu, did not allay his own personal relationship with Te Herekiekie (Hochstetter, 1867, pp. 264-265).

[49] Te Herekiekie was also known as Tūhāhā.

Grace formally opened his mission station at Pūkawa on 19 April 1855. Te Poihipi assisted Grace with his missionary work at the station as a *kaiwhakaako*. Ngāti Ruingārangi, Te Rangiita, and Iwikau's own *hapū,* Ngāti Manunui, were amongst the mission's strongest supporters. Grace encouraged Ngāti Tūwharetoa *tūpuna* into sheep farming, opened a boarding school and an "industrial" day school. Grace provided supplies for the station from the East Coast, which helped undermine its viability in the end. In 1855, one round trip alone took 6 weeks (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 55). Problems associated with supplying food for the station, coupled with Grace's enterprising views of what should be done, sapped *tūpuna* energy and commitment.

Towards the end of 1855, Grace reported mixed success as he established his new mission station at Pūkawa. Initially, he was responsible for feeding and clothing 54 men women, and children, of whom four were unmarried men, twelve married couples, and the rest, children ranging in ages from infants through to 12 years old. In five months, they had built ten small cottages, each containing two rooms; a dormitory for the girls; and a communal dining hall. They had fenced and cleared 6 hectares of rough fern land, in preparation for wheat, and crops of *rīwai*. Work commenced on a large 13 m by 9 m building that doubled as the station's school and chapel (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 52). Sunday services were an integral part of mission station routines. On Sunday's, school was taught at 9 am, followed by a morning service for *tūpuna*, and then a private service for local Pākehā later. In the afternoon, another service was held for *tūpuna,* and in the evening, the Grace's once again taught school in their home. *Tūpuna* were taught Epistles, the Collect, and scriptures from the Gospel, and rote learnt these through the week (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 52).

Routine regulated the lives of *tūpuna* on the station. During the week, after the opening prayer was given each morning, Te Poihipi, Grace, and *kaiwhakaako*, taught the men English and Maths. Breakfast followed, and then the men worked around the station, while Mrs Grace taught the women and girls sewing. Everyone sung together on Monday and Wednesday evening. Grace previewed Sunday's lessons with *tūpuna* on Friday evening's, while Saturday evening's was devoted to missionary prayer meetings. When the large building was completed, the whole weekly schedule was revamped (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 53).

Grace noted that although *tūpuna* appreciated the company of him and his wife Agnes, they cared little for their missionary message. He discovered, much to his disappointment, that although *tūpuna* outwardly embraced Christianity, spirituality their minds were still focused on *ngā Atua*

Māori and *tohunga*. Grace was also frustrated by the number of young *kaiwhakaako* he had trained, and then lost to the towns. Young men found the lure of money labouring in the towns more attractive than life with Grace, teaching the gospel, at Pūkawa. Good labourers could earn as much as 5*'s* a day, and entire weekly classes ceased to be taught when *kaiwhakaako* left Pūkawa under these circumstances (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, pp. 53-54). Later, Grace was able to report that three *kaiwhakaako* and *rangatira*, in particular, had made considerable progress since the station first started (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 73). Te Poihipi was one of them, as was Hare Tauteka from Tokaanu, and the third was Matiaha Pāhewa from Ngāti Porou (McLintock, 1966).

Grace came to doubt the direction his learning programmes were taking *tūpuna,* despite improvements in some areas. He admitted his programmes had not transitioned *tūpuna* well enough for them to be of any real use to their *whanaunga* in the various *kāinga*. He conceded his programmes produced scholars, rather than men and women who could serve their local communities. Young men were especially affected. Grace came to realise that although they benefited by learning to read, write, and do arithmetic, in English, he had burdened them with a days hard labour, fencing, and planting crops around the station. Young men found it easy to decide between life attending formal classes, and intensive labour with Grace, or an easier, freer life with *whanaunga* in *kāinga*. What is more, by the late 1850s, most *tūpuna* were literate anyway (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 79).

Even the young women were no better off on Grace's station. In addition to the literacy-numeracy skills learnt after 4 or 5 years, they could draw, sing, knit, do geography, fine needle work, and net and crochet work. However, what use were these skills, if they were not needed in *kāinga*. Besides, as Grace noted, once young men and women returned home, they quickly reverted back to how they had done things prior to first attending the station. Grace concluded his school needed to teach industrial or practical skills, like planting crops, blacksmithing, carpentry, sawing timber, and sheep farming to be of more use to *tūpuna* in *kāinga*. How different Grace's story may have ended, had he provided this kind of instruction? (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, pp. 79-80).

Conclusion

During the 1840s and 1850s, Christianity had impacted on the way Te Poihipi and northern Lake Taupō *tūpuna* had previously done things before. Spencer greeting Governor Grey on the beach at Hiruhārama with a simple handshake as opposed to a full traditional *pōwhiri* and *hongi* dismayed those present. In *tikanga* Ngāti Ruingārangi terms, Grey's status, if nothing else, warranted both. It

was highly likely that Te Poihipi moved his *hapū* from Ōmaunu to Hiruhārama so that he and Spencer could establish a new community completely focused on living gospel principles. During this period of close contact with Christianity, Māori gradually abandoned *pā* fortifications, enlarged *wharepuni*, built chapels, and dispersed their houses among cultivations and orchards (Ballara, 1998, pp. 250-251). Hiruhārama and other Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi inspired communities like Puketarata and Atahaka reflected this trend.

Te Poihipi, Governor Grey, and Iwikau met on 2 January 1850 in Te Poihipi's *pā* at Hiruhārama to decide where Rev. Spencer would establish his new mission station. To have Spencer live amongst them represented a major coup for Te Poihipi and northern Lake Taupō *hapū.* Iwikau was equally intent on having the new missionary reside with him and his people at the southern end of the Lake. However, Spencer knew they were not "God fearing people", and that they just wanted him to live amongst them for the *mana* that this gave Iwikau. In contrast, Te Poihipi and Spencer had already taken the first steps to establish their New Jerusalem or Hiruhārama which included a partially completed *pā,* chapel, and school. Te Poihipi continued his ministry as a *kaiwhakaako* for the CMS with Rev. Grace, when he officially opened his mission station at Pūkawa on 19 April 1855.

Chapter 5 examined the growth of Christian practices in the *rohe* from 1841 through to 1856 and the impact this had on Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. The outcome of a *hui* in 1850 between Te Poihipi, Governor Grey and others to decide which part of Taupō would get Rev. Spencer, the promised resident missionary for the district was also discussed.

Te Wāhanga Tuaono: Te Kīngitanga ki Te Kāwanatanga (1856-mid 1864)

Chapter 6: Te Kīngitanga to Te Kāwanatanga (1856-mid 1864)

Chapter 6 focuses on the period of the first meetings about kingship held around Taupō *moana* in the early 1850s, to the end of the fighting against Te Kīngitanga in Waikato and Bay of Plenty (Gate Pā and Te Ranga) mid-1864.

Background to Te Kīngitanga

Te Kīngitanga developed in the 1850s culminating in Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, the *arikinui* of Tainui and Waikato, being anointed King on 2 June 1858 at Ngāruawāhia. There were two acclamation *hui*, and Te Poihipi was involved in the second of these at Rangiaowhia on 18-19 June 1858. But the elderly *arikinui* died two years later, to be succeeded by his son King Tāwhiao. The reason for establishing Te Kīngitanga was to stop any further land sales to colonists, to maintain law and order amongst Māori, and to promote traditional Māori values and culture (Jones, 1959, p. 36).

Two Ngāti Tūwharetoa *ariki* and members of the Te Heuheu *whānau,* Mananui and Iwikau were involved in the lead up to Te Kīngitanga and King Pōtatau's acclamation at Rangiaowhia in 1858. Although Iwikau made a significant contribution to the formation of Te Kīngitanga, particularly in the movement's latter stages, it was Mananui who shaped the early *whakaaro* of his *teina* Iwikau.

Te Poihipi, like other Te Kīngitanga supporters at the acclamation, envisaged the newly annointed King to be compatible with, and to complement, Queen Victoria (1860, 3 August). Supporters believed Pōtatau Te Wherowhero would operate at the same level as the Queen because he was her equal. Supporting Te Kīngitanga did not initially mean being opposed to the Queen, until armed conflict began in 1863. Some historians argue that if Pākehā could have understood the real intent of Te Kīngitanga from the outset, the "land wars" of the 1860s could have been avoided (Keenan, 2009; B Stirling, 2005; R Walker, 1990).

Te Kīngitanga wielded considerable *mana* in the Taupō *rohe* from the late 1850s through to the 1880s. Traditional *tikanga* no longer had hold over *tūpuna* like it once did. Even prior to 1840, the traditional *mana* and control once exercised by *rangatira* changed with the challenges presented by the arrival of colonial settlers, Christianity, and Crown land purchase agents sent to the *rohe*. Local

Māori knew it was imperative they stem the flow of *tūpuna* occupied land being sold and passed into Pākehā ownership. Central North Island *iwi* and *hapū* also knew they needed to unite if they wanted to achieve this goal.

Around this time, Iwikau maintained that all Tūwharetoa land would remain in Tūwharetoa ownership. The journal entry of Rēnata Kawepō in early November 1843 indicated Iwikau's caution about Pākehā (Hogan, 1994, p. 7). Cotton concurs with the comment of Kawepō about Iwikau;

> He was excited on all questions connected to the land, in consequence of the late disturbances at the south. He said there were enough Pakehas in the country, that no more shd [sic] come. That Taupo his rangatiratanga (kingdom) is the toenga (the remnant) of the whole country, and that keep it he would. This he illustrated in a most graphic manner. He picked up a stick and drew a circle on the ground, about six feet over and sundry other around it. In the middle of the large circle, which he intended to represent Taupo, he set up a fern stick, to stand for Tongariro, and a smaller one leaning against it for himself..….He stood for some minutes contemplating his work, and satisfying himself that it was all right. 'This' said he, 'is Port Nicholson kua riro ki te Pakeha' it has gone away to the Pakeha. This is Whanganui – kua riro ki te Pakaha. This is Auckland etc. 'This is the Waimate' etc. But this pointing to Taupo is mine & mine it shall remain. (Cotton, 1843-1844)

Iwikau knew exactly where he stood in relation to the land, the place of Pākehā settlers in Aotearoa, and his responsibility to ensure Ngāti Tūwharetoa land remained in ownership of the 140 plus *hapū*. The wrath of Mananui's scorn, directed at him, for signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, would have still been fresh in his mind. Even prior to becoming *ariki* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in 1846, Iwikau knew the extent to which *whenua* of other *iwi* and *hapū* had been alienated into Pākehā ownership. He was adamant the same would not happen for Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

The two key strategies adopted to deal with the developing crisis were halting the alienation of Māori occupied land into Pākehā ownership and to do so pan-tribally. *Kotahitanga* was a concept *hapū* of Taupō and other Māori nationally would repeatedly return to over the next fifty years. As early as 1853, Taranaki Māori had set up *hapū* and *iwi rūnanga (sub-tribal or tribal councils)* for a similar purpose. Māori, as far a field as Ōtaki, also supported the *tapu* on land deeds. These initial

"efforts at self-determination" spawned the notion of a King under which *all* Māori could potentially be united as one. When Tamihana Te Rauparaha first publicised the notion of a Māori King, he and his supporters toured many districts to not only seek suitable candidates but to drum up support for Te Kīngitanga (Ballara, 1996, pp. 1-10).

Hīnana hui, 1856

Suitable candidates for Te Kīngitanga's penultimate role were limited. William Thompson Tarapīpipi of Ngāti Hauā and Iwikau of Ngāti Tūwharetoa emerged as principle advocates for the newly proposed Te Kīngitanga (Buddle, 1998, pp. 8-9). Both men had the *mana* to lead, and the necessary *whakapapa* credentials to withstand challengers. Thompson was the son of Te Waharoa, a high ranking Waikato *ariki,* and Iwikau had succeeded his brother Mananui in 1846 as *ariki* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Iwikau volunteered to host the third in a series of planned *hui* by Te Kīngitanga promoters on Ngāti Tūwharetoa soil at Pūkawa in November 1856.

Hui organisers intended to promote the prospect of having a Māori King thereby putting an end to indiscriminate Crown purchase of Māori land. Organisers also envisaged the King as the future *māngai (spokesperson, delegate)* and to represent Te Kīngitanga's political views and concerns to the Crown. It was felt that questionable Māori-Crown relations in the past could be remedied by a King who could operate at the same level as the Crown and Queen. As *Arikinui* he was therefore an equal to the British Queen in status. Te Kīngitanga also intended to stop inter-tribal fighting and to place all tribal lands under the *mana* of the new King (R Walker, 1999, pp. 113-116). Some 1,600 tribal leaders attended the *hui at* Pūkawa focused on finding solutions to the threat of Māori survival (Gorst, 1959, pp. 54-55). The Pūkawa meeting became known as the Hīnana *hui* derived from the phrase '*Hīnana ki uta, hīnana ki tai*' which means 'Search the land, search the sea.' Essentially, the sentiment encapsulated the *hui's* quest to search the land and sea for a suitable King to lead and unite all *hapū* and *iwi* under the one leader (Jones, 1959, pp. 190-196). Ultimately, Te Kīngitanga supporters were at Pūkawa, not only to gauge support for the movement but also to seek the name of a high ranking *ariki* to fill this hugely significant role in *te ao Māori* (B Stirling, 2005, p. 10).

Many leaders present at the Hīnana *hui* in 1856 still remained sceptical despite the benefits. Concerns existed amongst *rangatira* and *ariki;* the position could cause undue demands on certain *hapū* and *iwi,* and as a result create problems in the future. If Pōtatau accepted, he cited Tainui's burden of having to provide large quantities of food to *manākitanga* the various *hui* that went with the position. When offered, other *ariki* knowing their *iwi* food reserves would be stretched declined

too (Jones, 1959, p. 197). Te Kani-ā-Takirau, the Ngāti Porou *ariki* on the other hand declined because he foresaw the position causing problems with the Government, and he knew he was too far from Taranaki and Waikato, the epicentre of trouble (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 445).

Leadership in *te ao Māori* never included "Kings" and so the notion of a King ran counter to what Māori were accustomed to. The proposed Te Kīngitanga was not based on customary structures and lines of authority, and the idea of a national leader, a King what is more, for all Māori, was completely foreign to *whakaaro* and *tikanga* Māori (M H Durie, 2006, p. 2). The power sought by such a leader was based on *mana*; hence the search for a leader with great *mana*.

Iwikau, as host, played a pivotal role at Pūkawa. He convened the Hīnana *hui* which was attended by *ariki* and *rangatira* from almost every part of the country (Cox, 1993, p. 3). Although Iwikau declined the offer to be King himself, he encouraged political unity amongst Māori and promoted Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, the Tainui *ariki* for the role as King. While Tainui were present at Pūkawa, Pōtatau was not. Humbled by support from Iwikau and others, Pōtatau declined the nomination. However, his decision not to attend the *hui* was possibly motivated by unresolved differences with Wiremu Tamihana, one of the key promoters of Te Kīngitanga (B Stirling, 2005, p. 11).

Iwikau understood how important the Pūkawa *hui* was for all Māori. He ordered a massive flagstaff be erected so the 'United Tribes of Independence' flag could be flown from it. First flown in 1834, in the late 1850s, this flag now represented the united tribes continued support for the Queen of England, similar to what Te Kīngitanga proposed.

Many fruitful outcomes emerged from the Hīnana *hui*. The *hui* resolved to terminate land sales to Pākehā and allow *rangatira* and *ariki* to recruit pastoralists to work the land and be answerable to them (A. Ward, 1978, pp. 96-97). Under this premise, *rangatira* would remain in control because the land Pākehā sought was the one thing that gave *rangatira* their *mana*. A chief's *mana* was seriously compromised when land was alienated. However, in 1846, the Crown had already made this form of land management illegal. Te Kīngitanga adherents did not want to rid the *rohe* of settlers' altogether but rather regulate the number, and behaviour, of those within its bounds. Some present even proposed the drastic action of driving Pākehā into the sea. Tarahawaiki of Ngāruawāhia responded to this assertion by walking around the *wharepuni*, "quietly putting out the candles" (Buddle, 1998, p. 9). The lesson was understood; the light represented the ministers,

teachers, and all Pākehā who had demonstrated goodwill and whose skills were regarded as useful. If all Pākehā vacated Aotearoa, benefits they currently might enjoy vanish leaving them in the dark (Ballara, 1996, p. 6).

Queen Victoria's *sovereignty* over Māori occupied land was also briefly discussed at Hīnana. However, because no one could explain the term sovereignty to the satisfaction of the *hui*, the matter was dropped. Although Māori remained puzzled as to what right the Queen had over their land, they responded more positively when the term *rangatiratanga* was used in its place. Rev. Richard Taylor, the long serving missionary in the Whanganui *rohe* reported that when the issue of the Queens sovereignty was raised:

> ….most refused to acknowledge it, some were silent, and a few agreed to it. The prevailing opinion was that if submitted to, the Queen would eventually take possession of their lands and the chiefs would lose all their dignity…Therefore it was better that each chief should be a Queen over his own land. (R. Taylor, 1856)

Te Poihipi agreed the Hīnana *hui* generally opposed the loss of any further land to Pākehā. He related his account to Cooper, McLean's land purchase agent, when Cooper visited Hiruhārama in January 1857 (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, Section Vlll, pp.3-5*; *GBPP, 1854-1860, p.440*). Te Poihipi went on to describe how the large *hui* broke up early due to provisions running low. Prior to the premature end of the *hui*, the idea of a parliament or *rūnanga* was discussed but was deferred to a later *hui (AJHR, 1862, E-9, Section Vlll, pp.3-5; GBPP, 1854-1860, p.440)*. According to Cooper, he thought Te Poihipi and Te Herekiekie were scheduled to host one of the next *hui* at "Pated" [sic] while another was planned for Rangiaowhia in the Waikato (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, Section Vlll, pp.3-5*; *GBPP, 1854-1860, p.440*)). Ngāti Kahungunu already declined to host one at Ahuriri (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, Section Vlll, pp.3-5*; *GBPP, 1854-1860, p.440*)).

Iwikau raised the issue of who would be *kaitiaki matua* of the land under the proposed Te Kīngitanga. In 1857, when Cooper gave his explanation, he made it sound like Iwikau would be given this jurisdiction as opposed to Te Kīngitanga. Attendees opposed the motion because it metaphorically trampled on each individual *rangatira's mana* to *kaitiaki* land under their care and protection. Letting land, as opposed to selling it, and a proposal to offer inducements to Pākehā to squat on the land also caused a stir. Although not discussed at any length because the *hui* ended,

Taupō *tūpuna* showed interest in the last idea (*TNLC minute book 2, p.239*). Despite it being illegal for *tūpuna* to lease land, locals were well aware that Ngāti Kahungunu was already doing a similar thing in the Hawke's Bay for sizable monetary returns (B Stirling, 2005, pp. 13-14).

Taylor gave a more detailed account than Cooper of what had happened at Hīnana. Taylor's informant recalled that the three hotly debated topics at the *hui* were, in order of priority, the land, the queen, and electing a suitable King. Although Māori opposed land alienation, they equally opposed building roads into the *rohe*. Roads, they felt would seriously undermine their control over the land (R. Taylor, 1856).

Tamihana Te Rauparaha approached many candidates in a quest to find a suitable *rangatira* to assume the role as leader of Te Kīngitanga. Initially, *rangatira* Tōpine Te Mamaku and Te Pehi from the upper Whanganui River, for example, were considered, but both declined (*The Wanganui River report*, 1999, p. 150).

In the early stages of the movement, Te Poihipi's pro-Government-pro-Pākehā philosophy and Te Kīngitanga were indistinguishable. This may explain why Te Poihipi was initially involved in the movement. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were not pro-Government in a total sense: but rather pro-their own cause and often support of the government on certain issues was appropriate according to their judgement. Te Kīngitanga, in the beginning, was evolving as a 'home rule' organisation – a way for Māori in the *rohe* to manage their affairs, in terms of retaining land, and setting up *rūnanga* and courts and so on. And since the discussions and quest for a leader extended over to the East Coast and down to Ngāti Tūwharetoa territory, Te Poihipi was bound to be aware of the discussions and to exercise his own *mana* in the big events of the day. Te Poihipi would have also kept a watchful eye on the decisions, and preferences of those at the southern end of Lake Taupō. For Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, supporting Te Kīngitanga did not mean being opposed to the Queen or Governor for several years until armed conflict began in 1863.

What fuelled *tūpuna* discontent with Pākehā?

At a critical Te Kīngitanga *hui* held at Paetai in May 1857, on the banks of the Waikato River a little south of Rangiriri, Iwikau had concerns about British rule. He spoke of the constant insults to which Māori were subjected to by Pākehā, the prostitution of its women, and the spread of drunkenness amongst the men. If this was not enough, he included the frequent indignities directed

at *rangatira* by Pākehā. To conclude, he said he resented the shackles imposed by British rule and ultimately sought that *all* Pākehā be expelled from the county (Buddle, 1998, p. 11).

Iwikau's feeling towards Pākehā was well founded. When Pākehā visited him, he observed their general disregard for *manaakitanga* and reciprocity. He reported to Gore Browne how, "a chief of the highest rank…was refused admittance, and neglected by all except the governor, and one or two of the officers of the government" (*AJHR, 1860, F-3, pp.111-112*). Furthermore, Pākehā who were allowed by Māori to live amongst them "were like a particularly obstreperous cuckoo taking over the nest (*AJHR, 1860, F-3, pp.111-112*).

> Englishmen living amongst them were often men of desperate character, that they got drunk and ill-treated both men and women, that their cattle trespassed on native lands, and that instead of compensation they received abuse in language which, by Maori custom, ought to be punished by death; and that for all this they could get no redress. (*AJHR, 1860, F-3, pp.111-112*)

Tūpuna could recall numerous instances of this kind of behaviour from Pākehā visiting Taupō. Thomas Tanner and his associates, for example, visited the *rohe* from Hawke's Bay in January 1857. They were fed, sheltered, and treated hospitably at every *kāinga* they visited, despite some *tūpuna* being opposed to Pākehā settlement. They eventually caught up with Te Poihipi and members of Ngāti Ruingārangi, who had also just returned from Hawke's Bay with the *kōiwi (bones)* of an old *rangatira.*[50] Tanner described Te Poihipi as a genial giant who treated them well and "seemed to consider us his guests and made his servants tend our horses" (Tanner, 1857, pp. 14-17). Notwithstanding the cold midsummer night, Te Poihipi also gave up his own tent and blankets for his *manuhiri* while he sat by the evening fire smoking his pipe and watching over them (Tanner, 1857, pp. 14-17).

Te Poihipi continued to *manaaki* his *manuhiri.* The following morning, his guests received freshly caught *tuna* and *kōura* for breakfast – "a very good repast."[51] Te Poihipi appreciated Tanner giving him a small quantity of tea and sugar from his [Tanner's] own personal supplies as well as a sip of alcohol from his little brandy flask. However, on 7 February 1857, Tanner was less impressed when

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[50] Te Poihipi and members of his hapū had possibly just attended a *hauhunga* ceremony in Hawke's Bay.
[51] Tanner was not particularly fond of the *kōkopu* fished from the upper Waikato river and given to him later. He found them "strong and unpleasant".

Te Poihipi declined to accompany him, because it was the Sabbath. Te Poihipi, taking his hosting role seriously, forbade his *manuhiri* from travelling the following day, as the weather had turned cold and stormy (Tanner, 1857, pp. 16-21). Te Poihipi's *manaaki* also extended to providing Tanner with Te Ngunu as a personal guide. Te Ngunu escorted the group from Wairākei to the Waikato and then onto Rotorua before returning to northern Lake Taupō again (Tanner, 1857, pp. 32-33).

Tanner's lack of genuine appreciation continued. At Ōruanui, he complained about having to endure the tedium of bargaining with locals for a pig. With complete disregard for *hapū* protocol, and the feelings of his hosts, he reverted to an old tactic of "kill the pig first and pay for it latter." (Tanner, 1857, p. 37). Around Easter, when Tanner and his troupe had completed their circuitous tour back to Taupō, he was at wit's end as to what to do with Te Ngunu. Te Ngunu described to a Rotorua missionary how Tanner had dismissed him with a kick. Upon leaving, Te Ngunu cautioned Tanner to watch his back on the roads near Taupō (Tanner, 1857, pp. 144-146).

In December 1857, the Hawke's Bay Herald chronicled how Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi welcomed a group of Pākehā to their *pā* at Hiruhārama ("Overland route to Auckland: visit to Taupo, and meeting with native chiefs," 1857, 12 December). The article described the *pōwhiri* and how *manuhiri* were tended to, but it does not allude to how *manuhiri* reciprocated *manaakitanga* extended to them by Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. From a traditional *te ao tawhito* perspective, early Pākehā visitors to Taupō underestimated the importance of reciprocating hospitality extended to them by *tangata whenua* with a *koha. Koha* of equal or greater value to the value of the hospitality extended ensured *manuhiri* kept their *mana* in tact with *tangata whenua*. *Koha* or how hospitality was reciprocated was not mentioned at the end of the article reflecting its lack of importance in *te ao Pākehā*;

> …we were greatly surprised to find a table spread out, with a clean new table cloth, polished knives and forks, plates, and drinking cups; and we did simple justice to savoury refection of white bait, (which abounds plentifully in the lake) pork, excellent potatoes, bread and tea…In the afternoon a pig was killed for our use, and other arrangements made tending to promote our ease and comfort; indeed during the whole of our stay at this place, we experienced nothing but kindness and a general desire to please. ("Overland route to Auckland: visit to Taupo, and meeting with native chiefs," 1857, 12 December)

Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi, and other Ngāti Tūwharetoa *tūpuna,* continued to be perplexed by Pākehā who did not reciprocate their *manaakitanga*. Iwikau, for example, iterated that even the lowest European to visit Ngāti Tūwharetoa territory was supplied the best possible food, shelter, and hospitality (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.239-240*). Many early accounts from travellers to the *rohe* attest to the *manakitanga* of *tūpuna*. However, as Pākehā repeatedly abused the custom by failing to understand their reciprocal obligation as guests, the good-will slowly but surely dried up. Hōhepa Tamamutu adapted aspects of *tikanga* Pākehā *(correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, in relation to Pākehā)* to resolve the problem. He charged his Pākehā patrons for his *manaakitanga*, where other *rangatira* still provided hospitality as a matter of custom. Tamamutu had built the equivalent of a hotel for Pākehā travellers in Ōruanui and supplied them with pork, flour, tea, sugar, and bran for their horses. Tamamutu charged moderate rates and guests appreciated the "very civil and attentive" service provided by him and members of his *hapū*. Other *rangatira* in the *rohe* offered to provide a similar amenity if government built the roads to bring the travellers (*AJHR, 1862, C-1, pp.326-329*). However, where government would have supported roads being built in the *rohe*, Te Kīngitanga opposed it.

Rev. Grace, the CMS missionary based at Pūkawa, although personally opposed to Te Kīngitanga, observed that it was far from the threat it had been portrayed by the government:

> I have not been able to discover anything hostile to British rule in the minds of the people who desire a Native King, but rather that by their making a King they will be imitating us. They appear to hope also that through the medium of a King to be able to check the present lawless state of things, and to promote peace. The idea of anything like rebellion, so far as I have seen, does not seem to have entered their minds, and they are not able to understand why such a step should give offence to us.
>
> I believe that many of the chiefs have a sincere desire to promote peace, but alas! As we continue our present policy in urging and tempting them to sell their lands, there is little hope of peace. We are at the bottom of all their quarrelling and fighting. (T. Grace, 1858, pp. 327-329)

Grace's reference to the 'lawless state of things', refers to the lack of any government judicial mechanisms to control the behaviour of disorderly Māori and Pākehā away from the main Pākehā settlements (*AJHR, 1860, F-3, pp.111-112*). In 1862, Grey sought to address this issue with his '*rūnanga*' initiative (*The Taranaki Report*, 1996, p. 88). Māori considered the Crown's conduct to land transactions and its general policies towards Māori as contributing to the lawless state of affairs. What Māori considered 'law and order' was different to what Pākehā understood law and order to mean? For example, Iwikau informed Gore Brown how offences such as "adultery, seduction, drunkenness, and swearing" needed to be addressed. To Māori, these cultural and religious offences either failed to register or barely registered at all on the Pākehā scale of criminality. Under Pākehā law, the aforementioned offences carried practically no penalty but to Māori they were serious (*AJHR, 1860, F-3, pp.111-112*). Grace was moved to comment:

> In this movement for a King one thing is most evident, namely, that the natives feel their absolute need of protection.
>
> The constitution which has been given to the country has placed the natives in a worse position than they were, seeing they have no share in any way in the representation. Here we have about four-fifths of the population, British subjects and Lords of the Soil, and paying the greatest portion of the revenue. And yet cut off from all share in the representation of the country, either in person or by proxy. Surely this is a strange state of things to exist. If a separate house was formed for Native representation there is no doubt that with a few official leaders appointed direct from home as protectors, the Native Chiefs would soon be found quite able to take full share in the representation.
>
> If we deny them the rights of British subjects, and thereby ourselves break the Treaty of Waitangi we ought not [to] be surprised if they seek protection for[52] themselves [emphasis in original]. (T. Grace, 1857-1862)

[52] The original reads "from" but "for" certainly seems what Grace intended to write.

Second acclamation *hui* at Ngāruawāhia

In 1858, Te Poihipi was an enthusiastic supporter of Te Kīngitanga. Although he was not at King Pōtatau I's first acclamation *hui* in Ngāruawāhia on 2 June 1858, he attended the second one at Rangiaowhia on 18-19 June.

Pōtatau I had been groomed for the great day. He had arrived at Ngāruawāhia on 1 June from his home in Māngere, having spent the previous few nights at Taupiri. On 2 June, the King's flag was hoisted at 8 am by a guard of honour, which consisted of members from resident Waikato *hapū,* Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Korokī, Ngāti Ruru, Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Maniapoto. The King's flag had a white background with a red border, and two red crosses on it to represent Christianity and the words "Potatau, King of New Zealand." As the flag was raised, half of the two thousand strong supporters at the *hui* declared Pōtatau I as their King, while the other half simply acknowledged him as *matua* (Gorst, 1959, p. 264).

As the guard of honour reached Pōtatau's tent, the men respectfully stood to present arms, while the women moved forward as a group, out to one side. Everyone remained on their feet, motionless, and in complete silence, while Tamihana solemnly stepped forward with a copy of the Old and New Testament, and Psalms, in his hand. He went into Pōtatau's tent and said to Pōtatau, "Peace be to this house, and to him who is within it." Tamihana then sat with Pōtatau and opened the Old Testament to Exodus and read from chapter 20, verses 1-17 regarding the Lord's commandments. After quoting four further scriptures Tamihana asked Pōtatau which title he preferred to be known by, "that of Chieftain or that of King"? He replied, "I prefer the title of King." [53] Tamihana then asked him to say who his protector was; to which Pōtatau replied Jehovah and Jesus Christ. Tamihana then took one final opportunity to read from the scriptures to remind Pōtatau of his pastoral responsibilities to God and to his new Te Kīngitanga flock as its soon-to-be ordained good shepherd. Following this the two knelt together and prayed to ask Heavenly Father to bless them both, and for the success of Te Kīngitanga (Gorst, 1959, p. 26).

Tamihana continued his role as master of ceremonies at Ngāruawāhia. After the prayer, he and Pōtatau went outside the tent to meet the men, women, and children gathered there. As Pōtatau appeared, all the people assembled raised their bowed heads, and uncovered their veiled faces to

[53] Tamihana also read to Pōtatau I from Psalms 13:5-6; New Testament, Matthew 11:28; John 14:15; and John 10:11.

reveal the sight of their new leader. At this point, Tamihana offered a *mihi* to the flag, and publicly announced that Pōtatau had consented to be King. Pāora Te Ahuru immediately bellowed to the people, "Are you willing that this man should be your King?" to which the people responded, "Yes." Te Awarahi (Te Katipa) and Ihaka did a eulogy, and following Te Awarahi's final stirring comments, the crowd erupted into loud cheer and applause. Rifles were fired into the air as a tribute and salute to King Pōtatau. When the din settled, Tamihana addressed the crowd once more, and as he spoke he referred to the scriptures. He highlighted the need for *rangatira* to think unilaterally, if they wanted to effectively protect and manage the land for the people. He also acknowledged that the land was the underlying cause of the problem and the war ("Native meeting at Ngaruawahia and Rangiaohia," 1858, 3 August, p. 3).

The *hui* resumed at 8am the following morning. Pōtatau was ceremoniously bequeathed *all* lands under Te Kīngitanga jurisdiction. Te Ahuru then spoke and like Tamihana relied heavily on the scriptures for inspiration. Te Ahuru counselled Pōtatau to rely on the Lord for guidance and direction in all things. The following day, Rēweti and one or two others presented Pōtatau with a *koha* for £13 14s.

At the conclusion of the Ngāruawāhia *hui*, supporters' feasted on a *hākari* fit for a King. Pōtatau's *whanaunga* supplied 20 tons potatoes; 7 tons flour; 85 pigs; and 7 head of cattle for the feast ("Native meeting at Ngaruawahia and Rangiaohia," 1858, 3 August, p. 3). The *hākari* exemplified why some *ariki* declined nomination to be King, because they believed *iwi* food reserves would not cope with the large scale catering needed to host Te Kīngitanga *hui*.

Hui at Rangiaowhia

On 18 June 1858, King Pōtatau attended his second acclamation *hui* at Rangiaowhia so supporters could once again pledge their loyalty to him and to Te Kīngitanga.[54] Te Poihipi and Iwikau were amongst the 1,000 plus people at the *hui*. The pair headed a delegation of a hundred or so Tūwharetoa to pay their respects to Pōtatau. Sixty of Te Poihipi's Ngāti Hau *whanaunga* from the upper Whanganui River attended with them. However, *hapū* and *iwi* directly related to Pōtatau, like

[54] The date of this *hui* is uncertain. Tamihana says 8-9 June, 1858; Buddle (p.14), states that it commenced on 17 June. A European eye-witness account, signed 'Curiosus' and dated 20 June (*Southern Cross*, 9 July, 1858), is somewhat obscure about the date. It appears likely, from a comparison of these accounts, that the dates given in Tamihana's letter were inaccurately copied by the translator (or misprinted) and should be 18-19 June, 1858.

Ngāti Hauā (267); Waikato (240); and Ngāti Maniapoto (200) provided the nearest number of supporters on the day ("Native meeting at Ngaruawahia and Rangiaohia," 1858, 3 August, p. 3).

Pōtatau and his entourage of 240 hand-picked *toa* informally met each group individually as they arrived. Ngāti Hauā was presented first followed closely by other local Waikato *hapū.* Following these groups, Te Poihipi and Iwikau then met Pōtatau and, like the rest, congratulated him on his new appointment and pledged their support for him and Te Kīngitanga and its future success. *Rōpū* from Ahuriri, Whanganui, Kāwhia and Mōkau concluded that part of the *pōwhiri*. Once Wi Karamoa's son, Keremete, read the proclamation on Māori nationalism to Pōtatau, hundreds of men fired their rifles into the air. The sound was deafening. *Rōpū* formed themselves into a procession with *tangata whenua* bearing the New Zealand flag first; followed by the King and his *hapū*; then other *iwi* and finally the women. When the procession arrived at the camp enclosure, the groups formed themselves into three rows on either side of the *marae*. Te Tapihana, the Ngāti Hikairo *rangatira* delivered a *whaikōrero* encouraging everyone to call King Pōtatau *Io*. Tapihana concluded by singing the 23rd Psalm. To end the days proceedings, Iwikau delivered the final *whaikōrero* on behalf of *manuhiri* ("Native meeting at Ngaruawahia and Rangiaohia," 1858, 3 August, p. 3).

Day two of Pōtatau's acclamation began in the same way as it had ended. A succession of *ariki* spoke as local *toa* kept the peace. *Kaikōrero* extolled Pōtatau's many virtues, but still took the opportunity to gently remind him of his responsibilities to Te Kīngitanga, and the injustices suffered by Māori in the past. *Kaikōrero* reminded him to honour his *tūpuna*; to remember the ill-treatment received under Pākehā rule; to remember how Māori had compromised its *tikanga*; and to remember the alienation of land into Pākehā ownership. Tuhikitia then arose to *mihi* to all the major *iwi* leaders including Te Mutumutu, Wi Pākau, Te Moananui, Iwikau, Te Poihipi, Pakake, Te Wētini Pahukohatu, Takarei Hikuroa, Waikawau, and Wiremu Te Ake. Supporters presented Pōtatau with a £73 16s 6d *koha* to assist with the cost of the *hākari*, and a further £100 *koha* to augment the cost of a proposed printing press for Te Kīngitanga. The following day, King Pōtatau's executive council was elected and included Te Wētini Taiporutu, Te Area, Epiha Hihipa, Rewi Maniapoto, and Te Manu Te Waitai. King Pōtatau would look to these men to assist him to make

informed decisions on behalf of Te Kīngitanga, and to act as his advocates to the people ("Native meeting at Ngaruawahia and Rangiaohia," 1858, 3 August, p. 3).[55]

How did Te Poihipi view Te Kīngitangi?

We can assume that Te Poihipi participated in the Hinana *hui* at Pūkawa in November 1856 where the topic of a Māori king for all Māori was first discussed. We also know that he, along with Iwikau, attended the second acclamation *hui* for Te Wherowhero at Rangiaowhia on 18-19 June 1858 and accepted him as the king.

In September 1861, Sir George Grey returned to take up his second term of office as New Zealand's Governor and prepare for a possible war (*The Taranaki Report*, 1996). For Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi and other local *rangatira*, this was the return of a respected leader and person who they all knew. There is a whole AJHR paper of printed welcoming remarks by Māori on Grey's return. It is difficult to know whether the remarks are sincere or not, especially when we consider oratory which praises people in the customary way. Among them is a letter from Te Poihipi which reveals that questions of authority between the Governor, and King Tāwhiao and Te Kīngitanga will fade as time passes (*AJHR, 1861, E-3, p.13*). What could this mean? Grey could have already made his opposition known to Tāwhiao and Te Kīngitanga, and Te Poihipi was only saying what he knew Grey would appreciate. Perhaps with the death of Pōtatau, and the arguments about Tāwhiao and his qualities when compared to those of his father made Te Poihipi think that Te Kīngitanga was already weakening. Te Poihipi, it would seem, had already formed an opinion of Te Kīngitanga and was perhaps moving to a more "neutral" attitude. Had he been more closely associated with the internal affairs of Te Kīngitanga, his perspective may have been different (*AJHR, 1861, E-3, p.13*).

However, Te Poihipi does not join the armed resistance to the Pākehā invasion of Waikato in 1863 but rather continues to co-operate with Grey and his colonial government on various matters. In doing so, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi are now identifiably Kāwanatanga as opposed to Kīngitanga. For Te Poihipi it was not so much an issue of choosing "sides" that mattered most to him but rather making decisions that were or seemed to be best for Ngāti Ruingārangi. Te Poihipi consulted with Ngāti Ruingārangi, so he represented their views.

[55] These Daily Southern Cross accounts were probably written by Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa of Ngāti Hauā – see notes in the edition A. Gorst edited by Keith Sinclair (1959) & E. Stokes's biography of Tamihana.

Iwikau tried to prevent Ngāti Tūwharetoa from joining the fighting for fear tribal land would be alienated (*Dictionary of New Zealand biography, volume one: 1769-1869*, 1990). He and Te Poihipi and other Tūwharetoa *rangatira* in all likelihood discussed this issue on many occasions and maybe even held *hui* on it. Iwikau, like Te Poihipi, preferred the "cautious" approach. Grace adds that when Iwikau "became a Christian he set his face against wars with the pakeha and restricted the sale of land in his territory to the Government" (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 440). Similar to Te Poihipi, Iwikau not only opposed the Taranaki war but was fond of Pākehā too (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 440).

The next significant development for Te Poihipi was to participate in the governments 'rūnanga system' or '*rūnanga*'. Proposed by Grey and William Fox, *rūnanga* were introduced to northern Taupō in February 1862. Grey's prime intention was to set about "promoting peace while still preparing for war" (*The Taranaki Report*, 1996, p. 88). His *rūnanga* sought to expand the existing Resident Magistrate and *whakawā* systems which already drew in local *rūnanga*. *Rūnanga* also undermined and challenged the Māori civil structures already put in place by Te Kīngitanga in other *rohe* (A. Ward, 1978, pp. 125-126). This possibly gives an insight into where Te Poihipi's thinking was in relation to Te Kīngitanga, because he was still keen to support Grey's system of local government administered by village *rūnanga* under the direction of a local Resident Magistrate. District *rūnanga* would make by-laws under Pākehā officers called Civil Commissioners. They would deal with anything from stock trespass, fencing, and sanitation issues to land claims. Once defined, a Crown grant could be issued to Māori allowing land to be either sold or alienated to them without contest. Grey hoped his *rūnanga* would successfully counter those structures already established by Te Kīngitanga, and restore Māori confidence in the government. *Rūnanga* was the Crown's attempt at decentralising or devolving administrative, legislative, and judicial authority to Māori in their respective *rohe* (A. Ward, 1978, p. 126).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, in all likelihood, were not necessarily opposed to Te Kīngitanga at this stage, but rather could see greater benefits for them with the government's *rūnanga*. In October 1861, for example, Te Poihipi wrote to the Superintendent of the Hawke's Bay Province to ask that James Grindall be sent to Nukuhau to "enlighten" him and his people on how the *rūnanga* would work (Tūkairangi, 1861). Compelled to write a second letter to the Superintendent, Te Poihipi requested the services of an official advisor to assist him to learn the law, and also consider he be appointed on the Māori judiciary, as an assessor.

On New Year's Day in 1862, Te Poihipi travelled north with Iwikau to Kihikihi to see Colonial Secretary Fox about the governments proposed plans for the future. At the *hui,* Iwikau delivered a two-hour *kōrero* which far from impressed Fox. To set the record straight, Te Poihipi and three other Taupō *rangatira* met discreetly with Fox, the next day, to disassociate themselves from Iwikau's comments (*AJHR, 1862, E-13*). According to Fox, Te Poihipi remarked, "that [now] he would not go to any of the meetings of the King party, but [rather] come to Auckland to see the Governor, and do some business about a mill he is building" (*AJHR, 1862, E-13*). The four *rangatira* endorsed the *rūnanga* from what they knew of them from a recent government circular (1861, 16 December). They permitted a Magistrate, George Law, to be sent to the district to which Te Poihipi said he would give him (or, rather, the government) "a piece of land to build a house on and to make paddocks" (*AJHR, 1862, E-13*). However, his *take tuku* was superseded by that of Hōhepa Tamamutu, when they learnt that Law had selected Ōruanui as his base, and not Nukuhau.

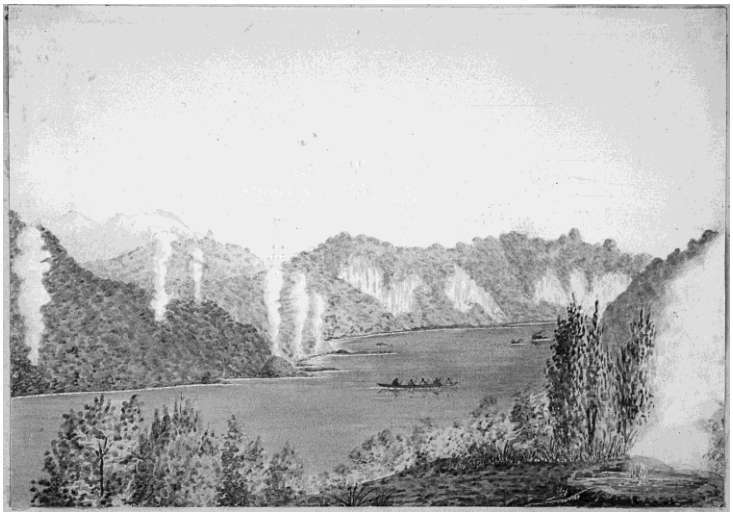

Figure 34: Photograph of a water colour painting by Henry Stratton Bates, 1836-1918. *Puia* or boiling springs on the Waikato River near Nukuhau, Taupō, March 16th 1860 - NON-ATL-P-0115, Painting and Print Collection, ATL, Wellington.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have felt contented with their decision to join the government's *rūnanga* and distance themselves from Te Kīngitanga. Appreciating Te Poihipi's personality, if Te Kīngitanga was important enough to him and Ngāti Ruingārangi, he would have made every effort to get involved at the decision-making-leadership level of the organisation. *Ariki*, *rangatira*, other Māori, Governors, government officials, soldiers or settlers had not deterred him, in the past, from getting what he thought was best for Ngāti Ruingārangi. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi chose to cooperate with the government and encourage Pākehā involvement in the *rohe*. As Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were at the crossroads of martial movement across the

central North Island, this placed them in a favourable position with the government, something Te Pohipi would have relished.

Shortly after the 'Iwikau incident', Fox travelled south to Ōruanui, dining with Tamamutu and using his forks, knives, and spoons on fine china plates, before moving on to Tapuaeharuru and Nukuhau to see Te Poihipi. Law later chose Te Poihipi to be one of his *kaiwhakawā (judges or assessors)* at a *hui* held at Ōruanui on 1 May 1862 (*AJHR, 1864, E-9 (Vlll), p. 8*) to go with his postal and other responsibilities. He was officially appointed to the position in July 1863 with an annual salary of £30 (*RNLC file 1124*). With *rūnanga*, Ngāti Ruingārangi would not only have had to agree to accept Te Poihipi as their *kaiwhakawā* but also accept the new law he would implement. *Kaitiaki* and *karere* were appointed from within Ngāti Ruingārangi to assist him with his duties. Law was eventually withdrawn by the government from Ōruanui, but Pākehā Magistrates like Law and John Gorst were not appreciated among core Te Kīngitanga supporters. So Te Poihipi being enthusiastic or at least supportive of a magistrate in Taupō would set him apart from Te Kīngitanga groups in *rohe* around Waikato.

While Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were implementing the colonial government's *rūnanga* in Taupō, Grey and the government were also applying added pressure on Te Kīngitanga. Grey's rather hostile comment about "digging around the King until he falls" epitomised his views (E Stokes, 2002, p. 325). Grey and the colonial government were successful in making the stronger supporters of the King into enemies. Then the building of the Great South Road, the establishment of Queens Redoubt, and the crossing of Mangatawhiri Stream by imperial troops caused armed conflict. There can be little doubt that ill feeling and controversy existed, and Te Kīngitanga said resentful and intimidating words, but it was Grey and the colonial government that forced the issue. Not all Te Kīngitanga supporters opposed Pākehā rule.

From 1856 to 1864 Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi was seen to support both Te Kīngitanga and Te Kāwanatanga. With Te Poihipi's continual interest in *te ao* Pākehā and all that this proffered *tūpuna*, he embraced the government's *rūnanga* to Taupō probably believing these changes would benefit Ngāti Ruingārangi. Rapid change from 1860 through to 1864 continued to provide Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi with many challenging and often very complex situations to resolve. However, Te Poihipi's key challenges during this period included how he interrelated with the Government and its officials, his relationship with Te Kīngitanga, and how he viewed the New

Zealand wars. This also impacted on his relationship with Tamamutu, Iwikau, and Horonuku, and many others in the *rohe*.

Te Poihipi's relationship with Iwikau during this time, for example, was strained. Although the pair accompanied one another to various *hui*, they were involved in an "internal politics of Tūwharetoa." Iwikau was jealous of Te Poihipi's relationship with the government and Te Poihipi's choice to try the Fox-Grey *rūnanga* irritated him (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, Section Vlll, pp.3-5*). In February 1862, when Law reported to Iwikau that he had been appointed as a Magistrate for Te Poihipi, Iwikau was less than impressed. Earlier at Kihikihi, Fox had rejected Iwikau's request for gunpowder, fearing that he would use it to fight with, rather than hunt with (*AJHR, 1862, E-13*). Law appointing Te Poihipi as one of his *kaiwhakawā* riled Iwikau even more (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.8*). Grey and his government relished the idea that they had caused a rift between the two. The governments 'divide and rule' tactic worked a treat, and Grey knew that all he had to do was to stay on side with Te Poihipi. Fox and Grey sought to set Taupō against Ngāti Maniapoto, and divide Taupō Māori against themselves, but also to divide Waikato and Ngāti Kahungunu (*AJHR, 1862, E-13*).

Te Poihipi's CMS background with Grace and Spencer and other missionaries in the 1850s, reinforced for him the need for *tūpuna* to have some form of authority over themselves and their land. He knew, from personal experience, that the right of *rangatiratanga* promised under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi would help resolve the problem. He observed how distanced some *rangatira* were from their *hapū* as they misinterpreted and mishandled the changes needed to cope in *te ao Pākehā*. Te Poihipi knew that if he wanted to keep his *mana* intact with Ngāti Ruingārangi and retain the traditional sanctions and systems of control, he needed to involve them in every decision he made. With the steady arrival of settlers, missionaries and Christianity, and unscrupulous government land purchase agents in the Taupō *rohe*, Te Poihipi was aware that a new approach was needed to remedy *tūpuna* woes. Grace referred to the "lawless state of things" meaning the lack of any government judicial apparatus in most districts away from the main Pākehā settlements (T. Grace, 1858). Grey sought to address the lawlessness, through his *rūnanga*.

Te Poihipi may not have agreed with every aspect of Grey's *rūnanga* but Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi could see advantages, even if the number one motive for them was maintaining their *mana* and *rangatiratanga*. Law reports the selection of Te Poihipi as *kaiwhakawā* for "Ngati Ruangarangi" [i.e., Ngāti Ruingārangi] at Ōruanui on 1 May 1862 along with Petaera [Wharerauhi] from Ngāti Tepake [?], Ihakara [Kahuao] from "Ngati Rawhito" [i.e., Ngāti Rauhoto] and

Paeraparata [i.e., Pāora Parata] from Ngāti Tahu (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.8*). Before Law accepted the nomination from each *hapū* he reported that he;

> required of each tribe a formal and public proof of their assent to, and willingness to abide by, the decision of their respective magistrate. The answer in each instance was given by a heart stirring, "Ae". which I will not readily forget. Te Poihipi then commenced a song [the customary *waiata*], and being joined in by the whole assemblage it produced a most stirring effect. (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.8*)

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew that if they showed enthusiasm for *rūnanga*, they were more likely to reap later benefits from the government. However, Te Poihipi may be forgiven for having early reservations. Te Poihipi, Iwikau, Te Paerata and other *rangatira*, for example, expected Grey to come to Taupō in person to introduce his new proposal. Local *rangatira* regarded a meeting *kanohi ki te kanohi* and *rangatira ki te rangatira (face to face meeting between chiefs)* with Grey commensurate with their own status as leaders of their respective *hapū*. As things transpired, all Law could promise *rangatira* was a visit by Colonial Secretary Fox, Grey's right hand man, which far from impressed Iwikau or the other two (*AJHR, 1862, E-13, p.11*).

There must have been times when Te Poihipi was disillusioned with Law's efforts to implement *rūnanga*. It was Te Poihipi after all that made the request to Grey to appoint Law as Civil Commissioner of Taupō (A. Ward, 1978, p. 130). Although Law realised he needed Te Poihipi as an ally, he often considered him a mixed blessing. At a meeting hosted by Tauranga-Taupō *tūpuna* in October 1862 Law found it necessary to reprimand Te Poihipi for pushing the sale of land to Pākehā:

> I told Poihipi he must refrain from forcing his favourite ideas upon those who differ from him, or else do so in a more conciliatory manner, and that this was not a suitable time to talk about land purchasing, etc…He is a paradox. At all our meetings he speaks out like a man; and yet he is a source of more anxiety to me than all my other Natives put together. He was the first man in Taupo to see the benefits of His Excellency's policy, and would like everyone to be made amenable to the law, excepting perhaps himself. There are men like him in every district who are very troublesome as friends, who

> must be conciliated, because if in opposition their influence for evil is so great that no work could be done. (*GBPP, 1862-1864 (467), pp.87-91*)

Law irked Te Poihipi as much as Law said Te Poihipi irritated him. Law was being very patronising, whereas Te Poihipi probably regarded him as a person of quite limited *mana* who needed to remember his minor status. He possibly saw advocating Tauranga-Taupō *tūpuna* selling their land to Pākehā as a way of appeasing Grey. For Te Poihipi, promoting the sale of land on the eastern shores of the lake possibly meant Pākehā would be less inclined to buy land at his end of the lake. If for no other reason, maybe Te Poihipi saw the *hui* as an opportunity to encourage future discussion amongst *tūpuna* about selling *hapū* land to Pākehā. Te Poihipi, after all, was a vociferous and unashamed advocate for Pākehā participation in the *rohe (GBPP, 1862-1864 (467), pp.87-91).*

Law continued his personal attack on Te Poihipi. Law reported how Te Poihipi was willing to turn "Pikopo" or Roman Catholic to procure gunpowder for Ngāti Ruingārangi. Law maintained that Te Poihipi and his *tira* went to Bishop Pompallier's residence in Auckland with his proposition and a request for Bishop to write to the French Emperor to send soldiers to protect them. Bishop Pompallier admitted to Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi that he had "no powder to give them but that if they became Roman Catholics…he would do his best to protect them". Te Poihipi declined Pompallier's offer, confessing he wanted "powder, not persecution" (1861, 16 December). What exacerbated the relationship between the pair as far as Te Poihipi was concerned was Law's lack of commitment to his Commissioner responsibilities in and around Taupō.

Law's half-hearted attempt at implementing Grey's *rūnanga* to Taupō and his condescending attitude towards *kaiwhakawā* would have no doubt tested Te Poihipi's patience. Law's tenure in Ōruanui was brief and spanned 1862 and part of 1863 before he left the *rohe* for some months, leaving Isaac Shepherd, his clerk and interpreter, in charge. This coupled with Law's scant regard for *hapū* along the southern and eastern borders of the lake meant *rūnanga* failed to gain traction in those areas (*GBPP, 1862-1864 (467), pp.87-91*). In April 1862, for example, sixteen Ngāti Te Rangiita (from the south-eastern side of the lake) assembled at Te Poihipi's *kainga* to determine the circumstances under which Law was able to occupy land in Ōruanui. They threatened to burn his house down if a suitable explanation was not given (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.7*). Te Poihipi and other *rūnanga kaiwhakawā* would have expected their appointments to increase their *mana* within *hapū,* but Law saw to it, the opposite occurred. Law observed:

> I have not organised my runanga, as I could not trust them in my absence. They are agitating for payment, and from what I have seen of the working of other runanga, and the encroaching spirit of the natives, where they are not watched and directed by a European head, I came to the above resolution, which I do not now regret. (*AJHR, 1862, E-9 (Vlll), p. 8*)

Shepherd complained about Law's continued and lengthy absences from Taupō, and his failure to pay salaries and other debts on time, particularly to him and *tūpuna* building a road in northern Taupō (Tūkairangi, 1862). In all likelihood the road-builders were Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. Shepherd tried on many occasions to retrieve the money owed to him by Law (Shepherd, 1862-1864).

During the early to mid 1860s, Te Poihipi could see many more opportunities for Ngāti Ruingārangi to develop and prosper by cooperating with Te Kāwanatanga as opposed to supporting Te Kīngitanga. He could see obvious benefits in trade and commerce which included developing and leasing land, education, and politics. Te Poihipi, for example, was trying to establish a flour mill at Te Parakiri with government funding.[56] He had advertised the tender to erect the iron work for the mill in April 1860 and had set the completion date at April 1862 (1860, 15 April). It was reported in *Te Karere* that Ngāti Ruingārangi had prepared the ground for the mill, and by May 1860 had dragged the more than a metre in diameter mill stones, from Matatā to Taupō. The government decided to assist Te Poihipi with the services of a millwright when they were satisfied he had already invested considerable time on the project (1860, 1 May).

Education for Ngāti Ruingārangi featured high on Te Poihipi's list of priorities with the government. He had benefited from a sound spiritual and temporal education through Grace and had taught others himself and so knew the value of education. Preceding Grace's arrival at Pūkawa in 1855, *tūpuna* at Ōruanui and Nukuhau travelled as far south as Kāpiti to seek education.[57] Around this time *tūpuna* were particularly interested in learning the skills and knowledge needed to be blacksmiths, carpenters, millers, and farmers (Greenfield, 1998, p. 14). With converts like Te Poihipi spreading the word north from Pūkawa, Tamamutu wrote to the government requesting they establish a school at Ōruanui to teach such skills as well as the English language (1862, 1 May).

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[56] Te Parakiri is the reserve where the current Taupō harbour master's office is, and the yacht club.
[57] Aperahama Te Kume of northern Taupō noted that he went to Kāpiti to be educated in 1853, returning to Taupō in 1856 (TNLC minute book 6, p.350).

Government stimulated the growth in agricultural ventures in the *rohe* and Te Poihipi eyed opportunities for Ngāti Ruingārangi there too. Although farming was not his *forte* other local *rangatira* had raised £500 over two years to buy sheep from Ahuriri, aiming to amass a flock of 2,000 sheep by 1860 (1860, 1 May). Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, on the other hand, were more interested in cropping. When they began commissioning for their own water-powered flour-mill with the government in 1860, new crops like wheat and oats, and peach trees were grown with the old staple favourites, *rīwai*, and *kūmara* (P T Fletcher, 2001, p. 17). Māori also grew *pūhā (small leafy plants with thistle-like leaves and milky juice, boiled and eaten as a green vegetable)*, turnips, melons, and pumpkin (Ballara, 2004, p. 424). Access to locally produced wheat was a great convenience for missionaries and other Pākehā residents too (Petrie, 2006, p. 82). However by 1857 the bottom had dropped out of the overseas market for wheat, flour and potatoes, just when Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were organising themselves into gardening crops (Monin, 2006, p. 157). It was highly probable Te Poihipi's passion for wheat growing and flourmill construction was stimulated by Pākehā advisers who refused to change their sales pitch after the market collapse (Petrie, 2006, p. 218). Māori financed this kind of venture by selling flax, pigs, and other products to local Pākehā, and doing contract work for the government (Merrill, 1954, p. 404).

Supporting Te Kāwanatanga as opposed to Te Kīngitanga, would soon or at least in the not too distant future, allow Te Poihipi to represent Ngāti Ruingārangi in Parliament. He had dealt with government officials for a considerable period at all levels, and knew that parliament represented the highest law-making, policy-making assembly in the land. Surely, prolonged support for the government and his *tūpuna's* century old *ahi kā* status in Taupō would be enough to qualify him for some form of representation in the Pākehā *rūnanga*? With this thought in mind, Te Poihipi wrote to the Member of Parliament James Fitzgerald urging him and his fellow politicians to:

> ….ki a whaka pua re ti a mai te tatau te pare mete o te whare korero nui o nuiti reni na te mea kotetahi whahi a no teneti ko matou o te whahanga o te whaka mine nga o nga hapu o tenei motu ki a ta poko a tu matou ki roto ki a whaka ha mumu ti a te ma ngai o te kuri maori whakore ki titi ro te kanohi ki te kanohi te niho kite niho o te maori o te Pakeha.
>
> ….open the door of the Parliament to us, the great talking house of Aotearoa for we are members of some of the tribes of this island, let us be helped in so

> that you may hear some of the growling of the native dogs without mouths, or, not, allowed to have a voice in public affairs, so the eye may come in contact with eye and tooth with tooth of both Maori and Pakeha. (Tūkairangi, 1864)

Showing support for the government ensured Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi received public works contracts. Te Poihipi had already been responsible for delivering the overland mail between Hawke's Bay and Auckland, as well as completing thirty miles of road for dray traffic to Taupō in 1857. Contract work was not just confined to northern *hapū* or local projects. In April 1862, for instance, Ngāti Te Rangiita from the south eastern side of the lake returned to Taupō after having completed a portion of road in Ahuriri (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.7*). The government awarded road contracts to *hapū* who had *ahi kā* rights to land over which roads were to be built (Ballara, 2004, p. 547).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi used the money generated from contract work to help finance the various projects they were working on. In the late 1850s and early 1860s establishing a flour-mill would have accounted for most of the money along with the purchase of seed, and ploughs to make *mahinga kai* far less labour intensive. Around 1864-65, the focus was on establishing a new *pā* at Nukuhau. Although inland location prevented them from embracing technology any quicker, they were keen to expand their economic base, and earning money through contract work enabled them to participate in the new colonial economy. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew that an improved roading network through the *rohe* would permit easier access and communication for everyone, including Pākehā, something they had wanted for some time.

Te Poihipi's continued cooperation and support for the government had unexpected benefits. Once, the government loaned him £20, despite their opposition to extend credit to Māori *(AJHR, 1863, E-8, p.2)*. As 1863 was "crunch time" for the government, the loan was probably considered more a good way to "buy" support. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had incurred debts while dealing with local Pākehā traders when they were road building. They were unable to plant the usual seasonal crops, and had to rely on goods bought on credit from traders, to survive. The government established a shop at Ōruanui to counter the unscrupulous traders (*AJHR, 1862, E-4, pp. 39-40*).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have endorsed the government's decision to open its general store in Ōruanui. Because there were only a few Pākehā traders in Taupō for a hundred

miles, they took advantage of the situation by charging *tūpuna* exorbitant prices. The government intended to employ a business-minded person like Hōhepa Tamamutu to manage the store for them. Te Poihipi must have appreciated the government's intervention to curb Māori indebtedness to traders. However, in the end, the sole motive for Te Kīngitanga supporters, not wanting *rūnanga,* was the fear that appointed magistrates, under this new system, would be compelled to retrieve debt incurred by Māori through credit (*AJHR, 1862, E-4, pp. 39-40*).

When the government opened their store in Ōruanui, one of the strict trading policies was that *tūpuna* were not to be offered credit under any circumstances. Despite the antics of Pākehā traders, the government still expected the store to make "a considerable profit" due to the "very high" cost of transporting supplies into the *rohe*, over poor roads (*AJHR, 1863, E-8, p.2*).

Figure 35: Photograph of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi (right), and an unidentified child (background) and Māori man (left foreground), and Lieutenant Henry Stratton Bates (left), taken in the early 1860s - PA2-2876, ATL, Wellington.

Weaknesses of *rūnanga* and Te Kīngitanga

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi endorsed the government's *rūnanga* in spite of mounting pressure from many other quarters to support Te Kīngitanga. Te Poihipi had received a *rūnanga* appointment, as did other north-eastern Lake Taupō *rangatira* but those to the south and west did not, indicating where they stood with the government. *Rangatira* and *hapū* preference over who to

support pitted *rangatira* against *rangatira*, *hapū* against *hapū*, *whanaunga* against *whanaunga*, and effectively divided Tūwharetoa.

Law's inaugural tour of the Lake District, including Pūkawa, at the start of 1862, confirmed what he had already suspected. He was aware that Iwikau supported Te Kīngitanga, but when he referred to Iwikau's old friend, Te Poihipi, he detected a hint of jealousy. Law had to assure Iwikau that although he was Te Poihipi's Magistrate in Taupō, he was Iwikau's too at Pūkawa, and that this did not necessarily mean he intended living with Te Poihipi in Taupō (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, Section Vlll, pp.3-5*).

Crown officials like Law seemed to judge everyone opposed to the government with the same scepticism. Iwikau's supposed contempt for Te Poihipi was probably not necessarily directed at him personally, but rather at what the government were doing in Taupō, including magistrates. Law went on to report that although Iwikau eventually approved of *rūnanga*, he still detected an air of cynicism about what the government was trying to acheive. Conversely Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have wanted Iwikau and southern *hapū* to see what they saw in *rūnanga,* or more significantly, the long term benefits of supporting Te Kāwanatanga.

Law continued to blame Iwikau for Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū* not accepting the *rūnanga* and for not promoting more support for the government. At Iwikau's *tangihanga* in October 1862, Law noted:

> The speeches were merely formal, yet there was a feeling of regret for the death of the old chief, mixed with satisfaction; regret, on account of his unbounded hospitality, absence of malice (mauahara) and other good qualities of the heart, on account of which his fits of passion, I may say frenzy, are charitably forgotten; satisfaction that a great source of contention is removed from among us. An intelligent Native told me the other day, that, "Te Heu Heu [Iwikau] had died that the tribes might live"; meaning, that as long as he lived there would be divisions among them, but that there was now a chance of their being one tribe under one system of laws. (*GBPP, 1862-1864 (467), pp.87-91*)

Law's definition of "intelligent Native" would have meant "*tupuna* already supporting the government" and his reference to "one system of laws" would have meant "the laws of the government" (*GBPP, 1862-1864 (467), pp.87-91*).

Threats

Iwikau's support for Te Kīngitanga through the early 1860s continued to strain relations between him and Te Poihipi. Although Te Poihipi had earlier supported Te Kīngitanga, he and Ngāti Ruingārangi had chosen to align themselves more with the government now the prospect of armed conflict in Taranaki and Waikato loomed. When Iwikau recited the King's *pepeha* at a Te Kīngitanga *hui* at Tokaanu in 1857, he maintained that support through to his death in October 1862:

> Ko Taupiri te maunga, Ko Waikato te awa, Ko Potatau te tangata, he piko, he taniwha, he piko, he taniwha.
>
> Taupiri is the mountain, Waikato is the river, Potatau is the man. At every bend of the river there is a dragon [*rangatira*]. (McKinnon, Bradley, & Kirkpatrick, 1997, p. 36)

It is highly probable Te Poihipi and Iwikau met on occasions to discuss their respective Te Kīngitanga-Te Kāwanatanga differences. Other hotly debated topics would have no doubt included Browne, Grey, the government's mishandling of Te Kīngitanga, the Crown's failure to address the real issues for Māori, the war, and the government's battle plans.

Both Te Poihipi and Iwikau had their reasons for feeling disillusioned with the government. Te Poihipi was frustrated with the government's lack of interest in what was happening in the central North Island, while Iwikau's grievances' were far more deep-seated. Towards the end of 1861, Iwikau complained to officials about not being able to buy gunpowder from the government. He maintained *tūpuna* needed the powder for hunting, but the government suspected he had future defence in mind. Fox had already rejected Iwikau's request:

> He was very emphatic in his demands for powder. I told him the Governor refused to let the natives have powder lest they should burn their fingers, at which there was a hearty and general laugh. From what I can hear and learn,

> their supplies are short and they are aware of it. They say they get it from Ahuriri. (*AJHR, 1862, E-9 (Vlll), p. 8*)

Fighting had already broken out in Taranaki and Ngāti Tūwharetoa was in a precarious and vulnerable position. Iwikau, Te Poihipi and others knew the war "could easily spread into peaceful districts such as Taupō, undefended by the Crown, forcing Ngāti Tūwharetoa to defend themselves" (B Stirling, 2005, p. 57).

Earlier in the month, Iwikau had written to Grey protesting the government's ban on selling powder to *tūpuna* and reaffirming his support for Te Kīngitanga:

> I have a word for you. You are my finest man. Don't forget your own goodness which I, and all the tribes, saw in the past. The goodness I saw in you was love, firstly in grace and secondly in your very many kindnesses and considerations, and in your steadfast view to the compassionate laws of God.
>
> Sir, don't think as your Paraone [Governor Gore Browne] thought. His love was grasping and his caring was grasping. Listen to us, our King will not fail.
>
> Friend, the wrong that I see is the ban on guns and powder. This wrong is treachery. However, God will see you fault. That ends this. (*APL, GNZ, MA 32*)

Fighting between Māori and Crown was inevitable because Gore Browne's government failed to address the real issues. Law reform regarding Māori, and the interaction of Māori with Pākehā, and settling contested land claims came to naught. As a result Te Poihipi's close missionary friend Grace predicted the inevitable war between Te Kāwanatanga and Te Kīngitanga. After the outbreak of hostilities at Waitara in 1860, he castigated the Crown in a letter to CMS:

> In my journey to and from Auckland amongst both friendly and hostile natives, I have found only one opinion, viz that the Governor had begun the war hastily without seeking the council of the Bishop or Missionaries, with the desire most clearly expressed that the Governor should return to England and that another should be sent out. It is doubtful whether confidence will

> ever again be restored. The great warlike preparations which the Europeans have made are producing their effects upon the neutral and friendly natives, many lessons respecting our policy are being taught them, which they will not soon forget. They find that when they quarrel and fight and kill one another about the sale of lands that they are allowed to do so as to their heart's content, and have been officially told that the Government have nothing to do with these matters, in short that they are not amenable to British Law, but as soon as a quarrel between themselves and the Europeans on the same subject occurs, they are immediately said to be British subjects and are denounced as rebels. This sort of dealing is not at all likely to command itself to natives.
>
> The real cause of the war is, without doubt, the constant coercion that the Maori have been subjected to in order to induce them to part with their lands. The Government professes not to buy lands, the ownership of which is in dispute, and yet nearly all the wars and quarrels that of late years have taken place, have been on this very subject. (T. Grace, 1857-1862)

According to one claim made by the government, sheep were the prime reason why southern *hapū*-Te Kīngitanga supporters stayed out of the war in Taranaki. By 1862 they had accumulated about 2,000 sheep and 500 lambs. Rumour had it that Te Kīngitanga feared the government would seize their stock, but really the conflict did not concern them. Despite speculation Grace believed that "It was clear that the Māori do not want to fight, but it is equally plain that they wish to keep their lands" (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 96). With land involved, nothing was more certain than Te Kīngitanga and Te Kāwanatanga coming into direct military conflict with one another. McLean remarked to Gore Browne that when he visited Taupō in 1845 Iwikau told him he was, "the king of the interior, and that the Tongariro mountain was his backbone", and that he would "neither alienate his land nor submit to British rule" (*GBPP, 1861 (2798), pp. 69-73*). Iwikau's sentiments far from echoed Te Poihpi's, but fuelled the plans of Grey and the government as they continued to prepare for war.

Although Māori may have felt they knew Grey, and that he championed their cause, he answered to no one; Grey was loyal only to himself. Unbeknown to Māori, including Te Poihipi, Grey posed a real threat. Grey, for example, rejected both of Gore Browne's ideas to establish a Native Council

and separate Māori into Native Districts. He claimed the extra Council would force Māori supporting the government to choose between it and the already established General Assembly. Te Poihipi would have been staggered to learn that Grey was behind quashing a dream he'd had of representing Ngāti Ruingārangi in parliament. Grey revealed his indifference towards Māori entering parliament when he complained it was impolitic to "call a number of semi-barbarous natives together to frame a constitution" (A. Ward, 1978, p. 126).

Grey's best offer was to allow Māori to participate in government at a local level with *rūnanga*, providing he and his government maintained the upper hand. As Ward commented, Grey's initiative represented the first time a significant proportion of legislative, judicial, and administrative authority was devolved to Māori in *rohe* (A. Ward, 1978, p. 126). In reality the *rūnanga* was a weaker version of what Waikato Te Kīngitanga had sought and established in their *rohe* years earlier. *Rūnanga* were new to the government but not new to Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi in Nukuhau. For generations they had conducted traditional *rūnanga* based on customary *tikanga* practices to define policy, manage resource allocations, and resolve disputes when they occurred. Te Poihipi would have thoroughly appreciated the government paying him a salary for doing what he had always done, and contact with Crown officials further strengthened his faith and confidence in the government.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi more than likely felt reassured by Grey's decision to establish the *rūnanga* at the northern end of the Lake. They probably regarded Grey's ruling recompense for previous unsuccessful attempts to entice him and other Crown officials to Taupō. Like the rivalry that existed years earlier between Iwikau and other *rangatira* over the placement of missionaries, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have appreciated the governments support as pressure mounted for them to join Te Kīngitanga. Grey knew his 'divide and rule' tactic would lever Te Kāwantanga and Te Kīngitanga *hapū* further apart causing the contention he sought within Ngāti Tūwharetoa ranks. While Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi foresaw Pākehā involvement in the *rohe* as an economic investment in their future and the future of the *rohe*, Grey viewed it slightly differently. He envisaged his *rūnanga* would assist government assimilate Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi into *te ao Pākehā* and free up northern *hapū* land for sale to an already land hungry government.

Conclusion

Te Poihipi took an active role in the second acclamation *hui* for Te Kīngitanga's first King at Rangiaowhia on 18-19 June 1858. Te Kīngitanga developed in the 1850s and culminated in Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, the Tainui and Waikato *ariki*, being acceded to King on 2 June 1858 at Ngāruawāhia. Te Kīngitanga was initially formed to end further land sales to Pākehā colonists, to maintain law and order amongst Māori, and to promote traditional Māori values and culture.

Although Te Poihipi was labelled an ardent 'Queenite' supporter, he also sided with Te Kīngitanga. He, like all other Te Kīngitanga supporters at the acclamation, envisaged the newly consecrated King to be compatible with, and to complement Queen Victoria (1860, 3 August). Supporters envisaged Pōtatau Te Wherowhero would operate at the same level as the Queen, to represent their concerns directly to her *kanohi ki te kanohi*. During this time and up until Pākehā invasion of Taranaki in 1863, Te Kīngitanga was not directly opposed to the Queen, or Governor. Te Kīngitanga evolved as a means by which Māori in the central north island could manage and retain their land and set up a pan-*hapū,* pan-*iwi rūnanga* or system of self-government based on *tikanga Māori*. Counter to Pākehā belief at the time, supporting Te Kīngitanga did not mean being opposed to the Queen for several years, until the armed conflict began in 1863. If Pākehā could have understood Te Kīngitanga's real intent from the outset, the wars of the 1860s may have been prevented.

Te Kīngitanga had a marked influence on the lives of *tūpuna* in the Taupō *rohe* from the late 1860s through to the 1880s. Prior to 1858, *tūpuna* desperately sought for some form of authority over them selves and their land similar to the right of *rangatiratanga* promised under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi (B Stirling, 2005, p. 9). Traditional *tikanga* no longer had hold over Māori like it previously had. Even before 1840, the traditional *mana* once exercised by *ariki* and *rangatira* was being challenged and watered down by the constant arrival of colonial settlers, Christianity, and Crown land purchase agents to the *rohe*. Local Māori knew it was imperative they halt the sale of *tūpuna* owned land into Pākehā ownership. Central North Island *iwi* and *hapū* also knew they needed to unite if they wanted to achieve their objective.

Te Kīngitanga provided the medium by which Te Poihipi and Taupō *tūpuna* could manage their affairs, retain the remaining unsold Māori land in Māori ownership, and do so under a duly elected Māori King. Te Poihipi was an astute leader who had the ability to adapt strategically to a

considerably different world his *tūpuna* knew. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi embraced *tikanga Pākehā* for all it was worth and thrived in the new environment. Pākehā travellers, settlers, missionaries, and government officials through Taupō provided him and his *hapū* with many opportunities, challenges and at times threats. Te Poihipi valued Pākehā contact and learnt from every experience, good and bad. Through the mid to late 1840s he embraced Christianity and taught for the CMS at Pūkawa. Through this period, he learnt how to read and write, and to trade with Pākehā. He also lost part of his Ngāti Hau land and inheritance to the New Zealand Company, at Hiruhārama, on the upper Whanganui River. Unlike Iwikau, at the southern end of Lake Taupō, who was more cautious when dealing with Pākehā, Te Poihipi was the opposite? He was more willing to learn, adapt, and change to accommodate the relatively new *manuhiri tūārangi* and their *ariki*.

By 1864, Patoromu (Te Poihipi's *koro*) had left Te Houhou and now occupied Puketarata with Te Poihipi and his many *hapū*. Patoromu and his people lived in or near the main *wharepuni*, Pokipokiwai (*TNLC minute book 21, p.279*). Te Poihipi, on the other hand, had built a large wooden house where he hosted his many Pākehā friends and acquaintances (Stebbing, 1983, p. 72).

For all intents and purposes, Te Poihipi never compromised his allegiance to Queen Victoria. He never had to, because up until King Pōtatau's acclamation in 1858, supporting Te Kīngitanga did not mean being opposed to the Queen. To Te Poihipi and *tūpuna* during this time, supporting the Queen and supporting Te Kīngitanga were synonymous. However, in the intervening years between King Pōtatau's ascension to the Māori throne in 1858, and 1863 when the wars broke out in Taranaki, Te Kīngitanga's focus changed and so did Te Poihipi's.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhitu: Hauhau ki Te Kooti (mid 1864-1869)

Chapter 7: Hauhau to Te Kooti (mid 1864-1869)

This chapter analyses the responses of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to the "Hauhau" or the Pai Mārire movement and to Te Kooti and his followers from mid-1864 through to 1869/70 in the Taupo *rohe*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, and *tūpuna* in general, continued to experience unprecedented change in a very unsettled and uncertain period in the *rohe*. Pai Mārire and later Te Kooti's campaigns were potentially threats, in Te Poihipi's perspective, to the stability and autonomy of Ngāti Ruingārangi and their neighbours, and challenges to Te Poihipi's *rangatiratanga*. In particular, the chapter focuses on the response of Te Poihipi and other northern Lake Taupō *rangatira* to Te Kooti's surprise attack at Ōpepe in 1868 and the steps taken by local leaders to ensure Taupō remained as defensively prepared as possible should Te Kooti return to the *rohe*. A brief overview of Te Kooti's final battle at Te Pōrere in early October 1869 and his departure from the Taupō *rohe* in the late 1860s is discussed.

Te Poihipi was commissioned by Governor Sir George Grey (now into his second term as New Zealand's Governor) to act as chief-guide for Herbert Meade and his *tira* from Auckland to Taupō in 1864-65. Meade was a 24 year old naval Lieutenant who was to die in tragic circumstances three years after his *tira* left Auckland. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had not seen government officials in Taupō since Taranaki, Waikato, and Bay of Plenty Māori started fighting Colonial troops in July 1863, as part of the New Zealand Wars. Te Poihipi and other local leaders interpreted the government's lack of contact with Taupō *tūpuna* to mean that the government no longer considered them important. Meade's visit to Taupō was Grey's answer to the Government's remiss for not paying enough attention to the *rohe* over the past year and a half or so.

Te Poihipi's *tira* included *rangatira* Wi Karamoa Takirau from Waikato and Perenara Tamahiki from Waihāhā on the western shores of the Lake. Eleven others were a part of the *tira* and as the group traveled to Taupō, numbers fluctuated depending on circumstances. Julius Benchley an American, who specialised in traveling the world to "off the beaten track" places, and William Mair, a past translator for the Defence Force, were the other Pākehā in the original *tira* to leave Auckland.

R. N. Meade released a book in 1870 that was an edited compilation of his younger brother Herbert's daily journal entries and letters written during his two year *haerenga* through Aotearoa

and the Pacific Islands. The book is entitled, *A ride through the disturbed districts of New Zealand: together with some account of the South Sea Islands.* Meade chronicled his day to day memoirs of the party's journey south to Taupō and provided valuable information of what was happening in and around the *rohe* during this time. Meade's entries help us understand different kinds of information. One kind gives clues to the relationships between the various groups in the Taupō district and beyond in late 1864-early 1865. Relationships include those with Horonuku, Pai Mārire, Te Kīngitanga supporters, "Queenites", attitudes across Kaingaroa and on towards Napier, Te Arawa, plus with Pākehā like Mair and Grace and his son, and, Grey in Auckland. Te Poihipi's confrontations in Matatā and Te Teko are included in Meade's account.

Meade, like many other Pākehā during the 1860s, failed to understand *te ao Māori* because the world in which they operated identified Māori as "savages" or "hostiles" or "rebels" or "loyalists" or "Queenites" or "Kingites". Labels like these incorporated him into a discourse that served Pākehā purposes, especially the purposes of Te Kāwanatanga in the 1860s and 1870s. However, what was significantly more unfortunate for Māori, as time crept on, was that later historians adopted the same discourse as to how they thought things were for Māori. In other words, as Soutar explained, terms like "savages" or "hostiles" or "rebels" or "loyalists" or "Queenites" or "Kingites" are very contrived, very Pākehā, and need to be deconstructed or unmasked to reveal the ideological perspectives they hide (Soutar, 1996, pp. 43-57).

Whakapapa transcended Pākehā "loyalty" in Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world. Te Poihipi recognised "loyalty" mattered but obviously not to the extent Meade expected in his world. The term loyalty comes back to what Monty Soutar was saying about Rapata Wahawaha and generalisations made about loyalists (Soutar, 2000), and Belich's use of the term *kūpapa* (Belich, 1986). Pākehā had misunderstood what mattered most to Māori and how they viewed the world. *Whakapapa* came first, and second, and third, and so on when making decisions about who to support and what to say when the *take* was being discussed. Customarily, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have had a *hui* or at least a *kōrero* to resolve such an important issue.

Ngāti Ruingārangi would never expect Te Poihipi to make such an important decision as "who to support" on his own. *Hui* would always ensure discussion, comment, vigorous debate and often argument, and on occasions conditional support. The question would be revisited over and over again, for as many times as was needed, for *tūpuna* to reach a consensus. *Whakapapa* and *tūpuna* would underpin these discussions, implicitly if not explicitly. Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi

would have considered principles which included *whakapapa* obligations towards those *tūpuna* who had helped them in the past before severe practicalities. In *te ao Māori,* obligations incurred by a *rangatira*, regardless of circumstances, was rendered in kind by the benefactor at some later stage. In *te ao Māori*, obligations were dutifully met. That does not mean to say that there was no element of what Pākehā call "realpolitik", but the outcome would have been weighted in favour of traditional perspectives and practices.[58]

Within Ngāti Ruingārangi and other Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū*, to understand the general structure within which decisions were made, initiatives taken, and limitations accepted, a considerable range of cultural practices needed to be understood. Understanding *rangatiratanga* and *mana* and *muru (refer to glossary for an explanation)* and *rāhui* and *manaaki* and *tikanga* and the significance of *whakapapa* and *whakataukī* and *waiata* and *mōteatea* and *whaikōrero* provide the answers as to why *tūpuna* thought and did the things the way they did.

Narratives in Meade's book involving Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi provide valuable insights into their trip south, and events in and around Taupō at a precarious time in the history of central North Island Māori and the government. Meade, for example, recounts his retreat from a Hauhau *tira* not far from Ōruanui and whether he was in as much danger as he imagined he was is a moot point (Meade, 1984, pp. 122-126). In another example, Meade describes Hauhau activity from Taupō through to the East Cape as being "one seething hot-bed of fanaticism" (Meade, 1984, p. 148).

Meade, in some instances, may have been guilty of reporting rumor and innuendo rather than reality. In his typically dramatic style, Meade writes an intriguing passage in the wake of the deaths by Hauhau of Volkner and then Falloon and the crew of the *Kate*. He writes, "The Government had avowed their inability to assist the plucky little band of loyal natives who yet remained at Taupō, and advised them to fall back to Rotorua, which they did with heavy hearts; and the Queen's flag floats no longer by the waters of the Great Lake" (Meade, 1984, p. 148). First, it is highly improbable the government would or even could commit its already stretched forces to protecting Ngāti Ruingārangi, as Meade suggests. Second, Meade forgets, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi

[58] Realpolitik was originally a German word (sometimes it is still printed in italic letters as a "foreign" word which indicates policies based on practical considerations or "realistic" perceptions rather than on principles or traditional friendships and so forth. American support of repressive regimes in Africa and the Middle East because those areas have oil reserves is an example of realpolitik.

would have probably almost completed their new *pā.* 'Rolling over' or joining Te Arawa cousins in Rotorua by completely abandoning *tūrangawaewae* in Taupō was not a decision they had to make because they were not in any danger. Te Poihipi would not have left Taupō or Ngāti Ruingārangi if he knew they were at risk. Te Poihipi was an excellent example of a *rangatira* in consultation with his people adjusted his leadership role to benefit the *hapū.* He, and possibly Tamamutu, was fighting with Colonial forces at Matatā, Rangitaiki, and Te Teko at the time so were not under threat from Hauhau in Taupō, and never needed to "fall back to Rotorua." Meade's highly sensationalised style meant he may have compromised the truth, on occasion, for the sake of telling a compelling story.

Meade's often sensationalised, often dramatic, and often exaggerated style can be distracting but to his credit, he still provides a great deal of useful information. Hauhau in the Taupō *rohe* provided new and interesting challenges for Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi and others which they needed to be clear how they would deal with in future. To this extent, the size and volatility of Te Poihipi's *tira* was significant as they had mixed feelings about Meade's motive for the journey. Meade's flight from Hauhau and the danger he perceived himself to be in was something Te Poihipi did not seem to know much about. However, when Meade tried to tell him, Te Poihipi either didn't understand him or refused to do so (Meade, 1984, p. 154). Te Poihipi eventually got some version of what happened, but it was not Meade's version.

Governor Grey

Grey and others would have given Meade a more positive perspective on Māori*;* however, as the Hauhau incident suggests, Meade remained suspicious and skeptical. Meade managed to get himself into trouble with Grey when Grey retrospectively criticised Meade: "I did not contemplate his separating himself from Poihipi" (Meade, 1984, p. iv). Te Poihipi would have explained at some stage how the silly Pākehā had ignored his warnings, and whatever transpired from him not listening, was not his fault. Meade indicates that Te Poihipi was annoyed, possibly furious with him, which was not surprising: Te Poihipi did not particularly want a black mark against his name for losing the Pākehā.

Climbing Mt Tauhara

Te Poihipi and Māori, in general were not used to climbing *maunga* just for the sake of having a good pointless climb - that was more a nineteenth-century Pākehā development. To do such a thing ran completely counter to the normal psyche of Māori. Te Poihipi probably took Meade and his *tira*

up Mt Tauhara as part of his tour-guiding responsibilities or possibly Meade and associates insisted he do so. Because Mt Tauhara was the ancestral *maunga* of northern Lake Taupō *hapū*, Te Poihipi was one of the few *rangatira* that had the *mana* to authorise such a climb by Pākehā. Te Poihipi had the added pressure of being a local *rangatira,* so he needed to indulge his *manuhiri* in their bizarre request, lest they be offended. He cooperated as best he could with the government and its officials to encourage Pākehā interest in the district. It is highly probable Te Poihipi was confident increased Pākehā involvement in the *rohe* would almost certainly assure Ngāti Ruingārangi a brighter more prosperous future.

William Mair and Te Poihipi's Ngāti Tūhourangi connection to Te Arawa

The Mr Mair referred to on page 2 in Meade's book must be Major William Mair and not his younger brother Captain Gilbert Mair because William was the one involved in the battle of Orākau in Waikato from July 1863 to April 1864. Meade described how William Mair had come close to possibly losing his life to Hauhau near Ōruanui when they recognised him and "believed it was he who had guided the [Colonial] troops to Orakau" (Meade, 1984, pp. 144-145).

Meade, in some instances, may have added extra information at a later date to his original diarised accounts. He reports how Mair had organised and led his Te Arawa *taua* from Rotorua in August 1865 and then proceeded up the Rangitaiki River capturing defended *pā* and associated sites at the siege of Te Teko in mid-to-late October 1865. He then refers to *haka* performed by each Te Arawa *hapū* to celebrate victory against the Hauhau with "dear old Poihipi and three or four other hoary old sinners giving the time" (Meade, 1984, pp. 148-151). If dates are reported correctly, Meade was arriving back in Sydney at the conclusion of his "South Sea Islands" adventure on 13 October 1865 (Meade, 1984, p. 296). What is more, Meade's trip to Tongatabu and Fiji, covered in the very next chapter, begins on 27 October 1866, slightly more than a year later (Meade, 1984, p. 297). Meade may have got his information from reports in a Sydney newspaper or copies of a New Zealand newspaper like the Auckland *Daily Southern Cross* circulating in Sydney, or via naval sources, or letters from people in New Zealand like Grey or William Mair. Or perhaps the ship Curacoa visited New Zealand again sometime between October 1865 and October 1866 and Meade called in at Kawau.

Further examples of Meade adding comments to originally diarised events appear in his book. Meade when referring to Te Poihipi's size and preference for riding very small horses records, "It [Te Poihipi] was mounted on some such little "nugget" that he, last year, distinguished himself at

Rotoiti, fighting against the Kingites, and galloping about between friends and foes, like the youngest A.D.C at a grand review" (Meade, 1984, pp. 3-4). Mair would have no doubt repeated stories to Meade regarding Te Poihipi's involvement at Rotoiti, and later the skirmishes at Maketū, because he was responsible for organising the defenses. Meade, most likely, added the extra detail to his daily journal just prior to sending it to family in England.

Te Poihipi's involvement at Rotoiti and Maketū had its sequel. Cowan (1983) writes, "Meanwhile some Taupō men had arrived under Rāwiri Kahia and Hohepa Tamamutu" and they joined Ngāti Whakaue at Ohinemutu to travel by *waka* across Lake Rotorua via Mourea to Rotoiti. Whether Te Poihipi was one of the men in the Taupō contingent and then borrowed a horse, or whether he rode in from another *rohe* is difficult to know. However, Te Poihipi's obvious bent for small horses, considering his size, did not warrant a mention from Hohapeta te Whanarere when recalling his memories of Rotoiti (Cowan, 1983a, pp. 419-420).

Some Ngāti Tūwharetoa was part of William Mair's four hundred plus Te Arawa *taua* in 1865. *Iwi* and *hapū* to join Ngāti Tūwharetoa at Rotorua to fight at Matatā and Te Teko included Ngāti Tūhourangi, Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Rangiwewehi, Ngāti Uenuku-kopako, Ngāti Rangiteaorere, Ngāti Tuarā, and some of the smaller Te Arawa *hapū* (Cowan, 1983b, p. 96). Mair had paired Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Tūhourangi together to dig one of the five saps, or trenches dug towards the *pā,* or stockade.[59] Saps provided cover for troops who would otherwise have to advance across open ground unconcealed. Diggers were often provided with cover-fire when they got closer to the defensive position, but at Te Teko, a final assault was not needed – Hauhau forces surrendered. "Each sap was allotted to a tribe or large hapu, and the rivalry thus engendered produced intense competition in the trench digging" (Cowan, 1983b, p. 100). Mair would have known the *whanaunga tata* relationship between Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Tūhourangi, or one of his generals would have known and advised him accordingly. At the conclusion of fighting, "The Taupo men, with the Tuhourangi" performed the *peruperu* "*Uhi mai e waero"* (Armstrong, 1964, p. 160), "in which they jumped in perfect time high off the ground, their legs doubled under them … with their guns gripped by the barrel, uplifted at arm's length" (Cowan, 1983b, p. 103). Everyone combined to return the compliment with one last tumultuous victory *haka* (Cowan, 1983b, p. 100).

[59] Saps of any length took time to construct. British troops constructed a sap that was over a mile long in Taranaki. After weeks of hard work, attackers asked the defenders if they would surrender, on the off chance they might, and to everyone's surprise they did. Saps could be elaborate with covered pits and earthworks, and some were zigzagged.

The following *whakapapa* table shows Ngāti Ruingārangi's links to Ngāti Tūhourangi and other significant Te Arawa *iwi* Ngāti Uenuku-kopako, Ngāti Whakaue, and Ngāti Rangiwewehi.

Te Poihipi is mentioned twice in relation to William Mair in J.C Andersen and G.C Petersen's, *The Mair Family* (1956). Mair makes a report at the conclusion of the siege at Te Teko and in it notes, "On the evening of that day [15 October 1865?] Te Poihipi started up the Rangitaiki [River] with a small party of Tūhourangi and captured Eria te Hakoro and Petera Moki…at a village called Pokopoko" (Andersen & Petersen, 1956, p. 137). Because Te Poihipi's *whakapapa* includes *whanaunga* from Puketarata and the Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whāoa-Ōrākei Kōrako-Atiamuri *rohe*, it is easy to see how Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūhourangi are so closely related. Ngāti Ruingārangi shares its eastern border with Ngāti Tūhourangi.

The Ngāti Tūhourangi *rohe* extends from Atiamuri, in the west, to Kawerau in the east, and includes Whakarewarewa in Rotorua, and Lake Tarawera.

Rangitihi

|

Tūhourangi

|

Uenuku-kopako

|

Whakauemaipapa

|

Tawākeheimoa

|

Rangiwewehi

|

Kereru

|

Pupuru

|

Rangikawatea

|

Te Aomarama

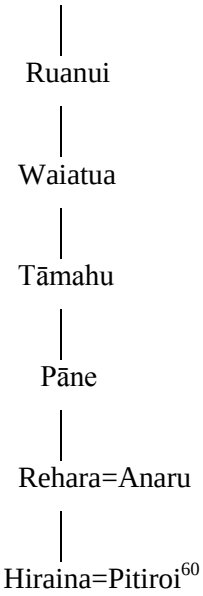

Figure 36: *Whakapapa* table shows Ngāti Ruingārangi's links to Ngāti Tūhourangi and other significant Te Arawa iwi Ngāti Uenuku-kopako, Ngāti Whakaue, and Ngāti Rangiwewehi.

Grey arrived from either Tauranga or possibly Maketū in March 1866 in the ship HMS *Eclipse* and traveled with Mair and others to Rotorua. Horonuku Te Heuheu was amongst those waiting for Grey to arrive at Ohinemutu. "The Governor proposed to go on to Taupo but later changed his mind….From Rotorua the Governor and his party went to Tauranga. There Grey had a talk with Te Poihipi, Kepa[61] and Arawa chiefs about the pursuit of Kereopa.[62] The chiefs wanted Mair to accompany them to Auckland and then on to Wellington (Andersen & Petersen, 1956, p. 142). Māori were well aware Wellington (in 1865), and not Auckland was the new capital of Aotearoa. The HMS *Eclipse* visited Kawau Island before rounding the North Cape and sailing down the west coast to Kāwhia, Raglan and Wellington. The *Wellington Independent* reported that Horonuku accompanied Grey from Kawau to Kāwhia ("Auckland: The Governor.," 1866, 22 April p. 5) so it was highly probable Te Poihipi, Kepa and *rangatira* from Te Arawa sailed with them the entire way to Wellington. Grey left the HMS *Eclipse* at Kāwhia, traveled inland to visit Wiremu Tamehana,

[60] Rose Stebbing provided the author with the above *whakapapa* on 31 July 2010.
[61] The 'Kepa' referred to is Te Kepa Rangipuawhe, a *rangatira* of Ngati Tūhourangi who lived at Te Wairoa near Lake Tarawera.
[62] Kereopa Te Rau murdered, hanged, and then decapitated the German missionary Carl Volkner on 2 March 1865. He then took Volkner's head and while preaching a sermon from the missionary's own pulpit gouged his eyes out of his head and ate them. The incident earned Kereopa the nickname *Kai whatu* or the *eye ball eater*. Eating Volkner's eyeballs like he did was entirely appropriate in a *te ao Māori* warring context and gained himself considerable *mana* amongst his peers. Kereopa joined Hauhau shortly after meeting the prophet Te Ua Haumene. He ministered amongst Hauhau from Ngāti Porou, Ōpōtiki, Waikato and finally Ngāi Tūhoe. Ngāi Tūhoe protected him from the government in the last five years of his life. However, Ngāi Tūhoe was forced to relinquish him to Ropata Wahawaha and he was tried and hanged by the Government for Volkner's murder on 5 January 1872.

and then rejoined the ship again at Raglan. Mair returned to Tauranga in the HMS *Ladybird* via the East Coast to news that the Native Minister, Thomas Russell, had offered Te Arawa £1500 for assisting the government fight against Hauhau forces at Maketū. Te Arawa was disgusted with Russell's offer which only equated to a paltry 7¾d per man per day (Andersen & Petersen, 1956, p. 147).

Grey's planned visit to Tapuaeharuru in late 1866-early 1867 ended differently for Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi when compared to Grey's earlier aborted visit in March 1866. Mair recounts how Grey visits Tauranga and Maketū and Rotorua and then Taupō in late 1866 early 1867. The *Colonist* for 18 January 1867 reports how Grey and his party, including, Ngāti Tūhourangi, sojourned at Tapureharuru [Tapuaeharuru] with Busby (so he is called) as host before moving on to Tokaanu ("The Governor's trip to Taupo," 1867, 18 January p. 3). Tūhourangi had accompanied Grey south from Wairoa and Rotokākahi. Te Poihipi was probably with Horonuku when greeting Grey and his *tira* up at Tauranga and Rotorua and then traveling south with the party to his *pā* at Nukuhau. When the governor arrived at Tokaanu, Horonuku's *hapū* hesitated about taking him further south in response to an interpretation of a dream Grey had reported having. He recalled;

> Last night in my sleep my spirit descended to the lower world, and behold I stood upon the shore of a great fresh-water sea, and I beheld a very tall man standing by me. Presently I saw him stoop down and look at a shellfish which kept opening and shutting its mouth. He picked it up and threw it back, but ere long the waves brought it ashore again, and the tall man picked it up and put it in his kit, but the shell, which was a kaikai-karoro, still kept gasping. Then my spirit came back to me and I awoke. Can you learned men foretell the meaning of my dream? (G Mair, 1923, p. 74)

After a lengthy pause Te Whetu Te Ngārara stood to offer his interpretation. He explained, "The Sea your spirit saw was Taupo *moana*. That shellfish is only found on the shores of Cook Strait. You are that fish and the tall man is Tūhourangi" (G Mair, 1923, p. 74). The instant Te Ngārara resumed his seat, Te Kepa Te Rangipuawhe leapt to his feet exhorting, "Tuhourangi e! Whitiki, whitiki! Mau e kawe te Kawanatanga! Tūhourangi, arise, gird on your arms! It is for you to take the Governor to the salt water of Raukawa – Cook Strait" (G Mair, 1923, p. 74). Within a short while Te Poihipi, Grey and Tūhourangi had started on their four day trek to Whanganui led by Te Kepa, and then on down to Wellington. After Wellington, Te Poihipi and Te Kepa accompanied Grey to

his reception in Dunedin. Te Poihipi's main motivation for travelling south with Grey was to ask him if he could station 1,000 soldiers in Taupō (Binney, 1997).

Te Poihipi was probably also aware that Horonuku and Pāora Mātenga had reported a rumour of a Waikato attack on Taupō to take *utu* for them allowing Grey to ascend Mt Tongariro. All the while, this was happening, the threat of Te Kooti's return to the *rohe* exacerbated tensions. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were in a precarious position and Grey stationing 1,000 soilders in the *rohe* would have helped alleviate pressure for them (Binney, 1997).

Stirling, with reference to Mair's original journal entries, provides another version of Governor Grey's visit to Rotorua from either Tauranga or Maketū in March 1866. Te Poihipi, Horonuku, and other Taupō *rangatira* had intended to travel to Tauranga to meet Grey and escort him south to Rotorua and then to Taupō. However, when they met him at Ohinemutu, he insisted on being accompanied to Taupō by an armed *taua* from Te Arawa. Horonuku slighted by Grey's decision not to trust him and Te Poihipi to make the *haerenga* unaided, shelved the visit altogether. Grey, although determined to secure Horonuku's "loyalty", was still not prepared to pander to his demands (B Stirling, 2004, p. 7).

Te Poihipi and Horonuku were then co-opted by Grey who "required" the pair travel north with him to Auckland and Kāwhia. Touring the coastal settlements, Grey's *tira* paraded the incarcerated Pai Mārire prophet Te Ua Haumene in front of his followers (W. Mair, 1862-1867). Te Poihipi and Horonuku must have felt "incredibly embarrassed" for Te Ua, as well as for themselves, and their part in Grey's traveling "road-show" and "circus."

As a follow-up to Grey's aborted visit to Taupō in March 1866, Te Poihipi, Horonuku and other local *rangatira* welcomed Grey onto Ngāti Tūwharetoa soil, for the second time, on 24 December 1866 ("The Governor's trip to Taupo," 1867, 18 January p. 3). In a letter written by Te Poihipi to Grey on 1 December 1866, Te Poihipi was making arrangements for Grey to be escorted to Taupō, after hearing Grey intended to visit Te Arawa. Te Poihipi, keen to preempt a repeat of the Grey-Horonuku incident in March, suggested Kepa and 100 Ngāti Tūhourangi *toa* escort Grey from Rotorua to Taupō. Te Poihipi wrote the letter from Te Awa-o-te-Atua and intended to meet up with Hohepa Tamamutu and travel with him to Taupō to await Grey's arrival. Te Poihipi appeared to be advising Grey about *tikanga* for the visit from Ngāti Ruingārangi's perspective (*APL, GNZ, MA 32*). Because of bad weather, Kepa hosted Grey's *tira* at Te Wairoa near Lake Tarawera for three or

four days before moving on to Ōrākei Kōrako. Christmas day, the following day, Tamamutu welcomed Grey to Ōruanui, and the day after, Te Poihipi welcomed him to Tapuaeharuru" ("The Governor's trip to Taupo," 1867, 18 January p. 3).

Te Poihipi, and other local *rangatira*, corresponded freely with Grey. Later in the month, Te Poihipi and twelve other *rangatira* sent a countersigned letter from Ōruanui to Grey dated 20 December 1866. *Rangatira* urged Grey "to be quick" as they had already waited five days for him. They feared the *hui* would disband if he did not arrive soon and Hohepa Tamamutu was really beginning to feel the added pressure of having to *manaaki manuhiri* for longer (T. Grace, 1857-1862). Two days later, most of the *rangatira,* with two or three extras, sent a further letter to Grey from Ōruanui requesting he repeal a decision to confiscate Ngāti Tūwharetoa land wrongfully taken at Kawerau (*GBPP, 1861 (2798), pp. 69-73*). Te Poihipi's signature appears first at the end of the letter, which suggests he may have either written the letter himself, or arranged for it to be written, and organised for someone else to collect the signatures. In a further letter written from Rotoaira, dated 29 December 1866, Te Poihipi heads a list of six *rangatira* wanting Grey to provide Taupō with a chief judge to assist *kaiwhakawā* settle local land grievances (1860, 3 August). Again it is intriguing that Te Poihipi heads the list of signitories, meaning that he took the initiative and either composed the letters himself, or organised others to write them for him. Horonuku was a signatory on all four letters which is equally intriguing. Government had possibly announced the appointment of Pākehā judges to the *rohe* and Te Poihipi was probably making sure Ngāti Ruingārangi were included in the latest development. He would have also savored the thought that Ngāti Ruingārangi land alienated by the government at Kawerau be returned to its rightful owner.

Travel patterns of *tūpuna*

Tūpuna probably journeyed much more often around Aotearoa than Pākehā missionaries, government officials, settlers, soldiers, sailors, and traders ever did. Pākehā historians have tended to portray the opposite view. Written accounts by Meade, Dieffenbach, Ensign Best, T.S. Grace, Gorst, and Kerry-Nicholls and others gives the impression Māori lived where they lived and Pākehā did all the traveling. Tracking historical accounts of the movements of *tūpuna* like Te Poihipi, Hohepa Tamamutu, Pāora Hapi, Iwikau, and Mananui, and others gives a definite feeling they traveled more extensively around the country than Pākehā historians credited them with. And why shouldn't *tūpuna* have travelled the way they did? They had the resources, and the experience, and the networks.

Te Poihipi was always on his way somewhere. At the extreme, he visited places in and around the Bay of Islands in the far north in 1840 but also accompanied Governor Grey to Dunedin in the far south of the South Island in 1867 ("The Governor's visit," 1867, 19 February, p. 2). He especially travelled to the east and more often than not went up to the Rotorua district, not to mention the occasional visit to southern Lake Taupō even when relations were rather strained from 1863 onwards. However, it is difficult to know, with any certainty, if Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi were frequent hosts to *manuhiri* during the mid 1860s. But what is known, is that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were very well placed in the centre of the island to maintain constant contact with other communities. Māori were probably better informed about what was going on elsewhere, and about the attitudes of other groups, than Pākehā were. Te Poihipi knew that if he wanted Ngāti Ruingārangi to make the best possible decisions, he needed to travel, and he also needed to keep abreast of the news and those making the news.

Te Poihipi and Ngati Ruingārangi monitored all that happened in and around the *rohe*. They kept a very close eye on developments, and events, and trends just up the road, so to speak. Te Poihipi, in particular, travelled widely and often picked up ideas and examples from all over (and not just when Māori and Pākehā visited his *rohe*). Most of Te Poihipi's frequent contacts would have been up towards Atiamuri and over to Tarawera, Rotorua, and Rangitaiki, and all places in between. Invariably, he would have met people from the Te Arawa *waka, hapū, and iwi,* and they would have exchanged their information and so on. Because of close *whakapapa* connections between Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Te Arawa, this would have facilitated not only regular but easy contact too. It is possible to imagine that there was almost "daily mail" from Te Arawa *rohe*, through his travels, and through the travels of the Rotorua people, with quick transmission of news from all the way out to Maketū. Te Poihipi would have made it his business to keep abreast of the latest news.

Te Poihipi prided himself on keeping informed about current events in and around the *rohe*. Even before the arrival of telegraph wires through the country and Morse code machines, *tūpuna* communicated with each other more easily, frequently, and reliably, than did Pākehā in different locations. From the late 1850s, when the regular postal service was routed through Taupō and the post carriers arrived with the mail, it was highly probable the letters may have communicated information that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had already heard before.

Te Poihipi and photography

Te Poihipi embraced photography. Exposure to photography for Māori dated from the 1850s, and early 1860s. Attitudes towards photography varied from Māori to Māori. Most respected the results of photography, while others revered or even feared what it could do. Māori "were well aware of its dramatic consequences: a person's image – his or her most intimate characteristic – could be captured at a given moment, frozen, reproduced, circulated and retained for posterity, even after the subject was dead" (King, 1983, p. 1).

Te Poihipi's photograph was one of an assortment of *taonga* presented to Brenchley in 1865 as a *koha* by Ngāti Ruingārangi at Tapuaeharuru prior to his *haerenga* to Napier. Accompanied by three *tūpuna* and two pack-horses, Brenchley and company intended to find out what had happened to Hohepa Tamamutu and his two men. They had originally been sent to buy much needed supplies for Te Poihipi's *tira* in Tapuaeharuru but had somehow got waylaid in Napier. Mair helped Brenchley select three items from the *taonga* offered; they picked a *taiaha* and a small greenstone ear pendant "together with a photograph of Poihipi which the worthy chief had sat for in Auckland" (Meade, 1984, pp. 139-140).

Te Pohipi had had his photograph taken in an Auckland studio and would have left the photographers with a large portrait that was probably about A4 size. He would have either bought, or was given, smaller images of himself carte de visite size either mounted on card or just left on photographic print paper.[63] Brenchley probably took the carte de visite visiting card version and not the full-sized portrait with him to Napier. In the 1840s, older Māori with *mana* tended to react negatively towards commissioned artists like George French Angas sketching, painting, or photographing them. By the 1860s, the attitude of Māori to being photographed had completely changed. Pākehā photographers set up studios in all the main towns, and *tūpuna* like Te Poihipi were proud to sit for the camera and to see the results. Te Poihipi would have used the powerful little images to portray himself to others as an innovative and technologically savvy *rangatira* in the new and rapidly changing world of business and commerce. He knew such a professional approach would impress others and make his message even more credible and marketable when negotiating business deals on behalf of Ngāti Ruingārangi.

[63] Carte de visite is French for visiting card and was about 90 mm x 60 mm in size and during the 1860s was very innovative in photography.

Te Kooti's incursion into the *rohe* posed a real threat

During the Land Wars of the 1860s, there was considerable disruption to inter-*hapū* relationships and settlement patterns at the northern end of the Lake. Although Pākehā settlement in the *rohe* was almost non existent up until 1869, this changed when Armed Constabulary troops moved in to build a redoubt.[64] Te Poihipi supported the initiative, and up until this time corresponded with government officials and in particular Governor Grey. On assignment to the Colonial government, the Armed Constabulary was in the process of building the last in a series of strategically placed redoubts and stockades stretching from Napier to Taupō. Most of these strongholds were established on main walking tracks close to accessible water, food, and timber supplies.

Despite northern Lake Taupō not meeting the criteria, the Armed Constabulary established a redoubt at the mouth of the Waikato River (Keys, 1973, 13 September, p. 2). The purpose of the redoubt was to protect locals from Te Kooti Rikirangi and his Hauhau followers. The Armed Constabulary was attempting to capture, or at least frustrate Te Kooti's movements between King Country and his Ngāi Tūhoe *ahi kā* and *tūrangawaewae* in the Urewera Mountains. This was one of the reasons why Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi welcomed the government's move to station troops in the *rohe*.

Figure 37: Watercolour painting by Lieutenant Herbert Meade (1842-1868) of Pai Mārire *karakia* (church service) held at Tataroa to determine the fate of prisoners, 25 January, 1865 - B-139-014, Painting and Print Collection, ATL, Wellington.

[64] A redoubt differed from a fort in that a fort is normally surrounded by a wooden stockade whereas a redoubt, as in this case, was ringed by a ditch and an inner wall of compacted earth and pumice. Early photographs clearly show that there was no real timber for miles around to enable the Armed Constabulary to build a fort let alone get the wood needed to keep their daily camp fires burning. It took them nearly an entire day to ride to Ōpepe and bring back sufficient wood to keep their fires burning.

Te Kooti was arrested in 1865 as a suspected spy while fighting for the government against the Hauhau. Initially Hauhau or Pai Mārire was a political movement designed to regain Māori land lost to Pākehā ownership. However, during this period, the focus was more on religion. Founded in Taranaki about 1863 by the prophet Te Ua Haumene, it thrived till about 1874. As a religion it incorporated aspects of the Bible, intermingled with Māori theology, and promised its followers *rangatiratanga* from *mana* and *tikanga* Pākehā. Pai Mārire generally rejected Christianity and the missionaries for their questionable involvement in land transactions. In the end the religion gained widespread support among North Island Māori and eventually became closely linked with Te Kīngitanga.

Te Kooti was never given a trial to prove otherwise. He was alleged to have supplied Hauhau with guns for the battle. Exiled to the Chatham Islands with Hauhau prisoners he'd fought against, he became a religious leader amongst them and developed his own *Ringatū* faith. In July 1868, Te Kooti commandeered the *Rifleman* to coordinate an escape back to Poverty Bay on the East coast of the North Island. Shunned by Te Kīngitanga, Ngāi Tūhoe, and government leaders, Te Kooti and his *whakarau (captives)* attacked and butchered occupants at Matawhero, a small township near Gisborne. Matawhero marked the start of government reprisals against Te Kooti that would finally end with him being pardoned in 1882. Te Kooti eventually cemented an allegiance with Ngāi Tūhoe which provided a safe retreat for him and his *whakarau* from Government troops should they need it. Te Kooti's many enemies systematically eliminated his Ngāi Tūhoe allies to negate the alliance. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew it would only be a matter of time before Te Kooti and his *whakarau* came into the *rohe*. However, nothing could have prepared them for the speed and stealth with which Te Kooti struck Ōpepe on 7 June 1869.

Te Kooti had ordered his men to ambush and kill a reconnaissance party (from Galatea) requisitioned by the Armed Constabulary. The fourteen Bay of Plenty Calvary under Cornet Smith was at Ōpepe to find a suitable site for a proposed redoubt to enable them to more effectively protect and police the central North Island region. Te Kooti and his *whakarau,* wielding the latest rifles, shot and killed nine of the fourteen soldiers. When Te Kooti caught Smith in the bush, as one of the five survivors, he ordered him to strip, tied him to a tree, and left him for dead. Smith endured three cold mid-wintry Taupō nights before he finally freed himself. In a weakened state, and badly wounded in the foot, he then staggered and crawled the 72 kilometers to the Galatea redoubt to raise the alarm ten days later ("The Governor's trip to Taupo," 1867, 18 January). When Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi received news of Te Kooti's Ōpepe ambush, they immediately

decided to evacuate Puketarata and make the 30 kilometer *haerenga* back to Nukuhau and the safety of their *pā* (Stebbing, 1983, p. 73).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, prior to the Ōpepe incident, had hosted an Armed Constabulary advance party at his *pā* on the western bank of the river when one night one of the soldiers became drunk and set fire to a *whare* almost destroying the *pā*. Had it not rained that night, the outcome may have been different (B. Cooper, 1989, p. 8). Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Armed Constabulary leaders decided the troops had outstayed their welcome and that setting up camp on the opposite side of the river was a safer option. The site chosen had unimpeded views of the river which meant river crossings could be monitored. Later, the spot became the main arterial route, used by most, to traverse the river. Te Poihipi knew the place well because he and Ngāti Ruingārangi had erected an overhead cable there, a decade or so earlier, that they used to ferry *waka* across. Te Poihipi used the cable to help get the mail across the river safely as part of his delivery contract service for the government between Napier and Auckland (Armstrong, 1964).

Despite the fire incident, Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and the Armed Constabulary would have appreciated one another's presence knowing Te Kooti's ominous reputation. Te Poihipi's *pā* was strategically placed so that he could scrutinise daily river crossings from his side too. His *pā* was located about 200 m south of where the river starts. The Armed Constabulary knew that Te Poihipi, Hōhepa Tamamutu, and Pāora Hapi opposed Te Kooti's views and wanted nothing to do with him. After the Armed Constabulary had built their redoubt in 1869, thirty troops remained in the district to man it (Andersen & Petersen, 1956).

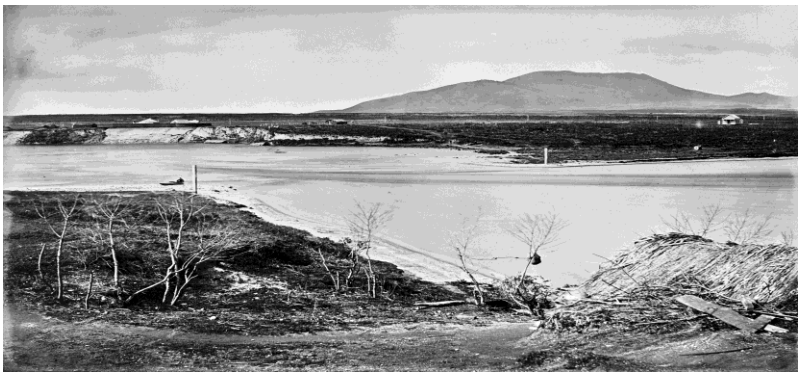

Figure 38: View (from the pā site of Te Poihipi) of the overhead cable (mid-photograph) erected by Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to help ferry waka safely across the fast current of the Waikato River from one bank to the other. Mt Tauhara is in the background - F-8086-1/2, ATL, Wellington.

The redoubt became the base for Pākehā government and military activities in the *rohe*. For many years, the Armed Constabulary adopted the name Tapuaeharuru for their redoubt and this was also what the district was known by on official government records in Napier (*The Pouakani report*, 1993, p. 56). Te Poihipi and the Armed Constabulary took comfort in knowing that support was just across the river should Te Kooti arrive unannounced.

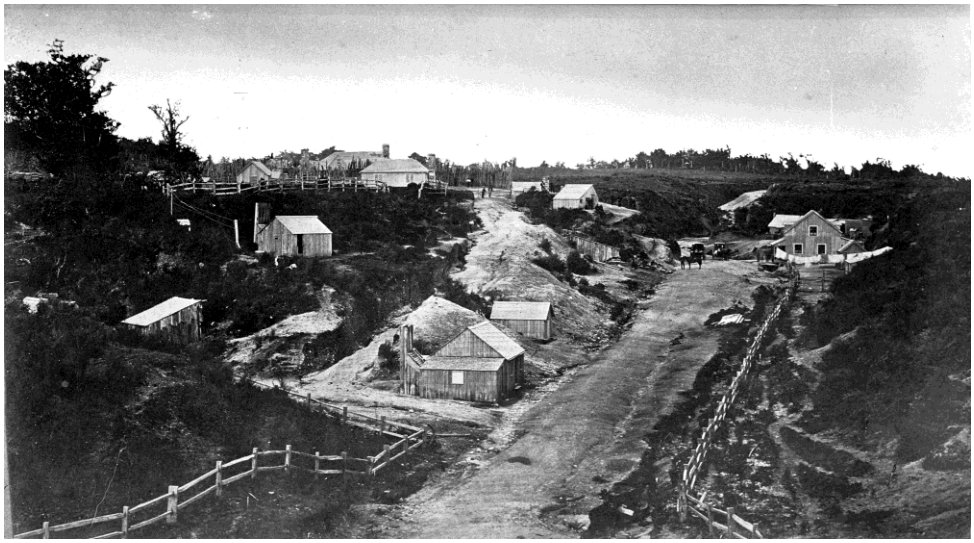

Figure 39: View of Ōpepe, with the stockades on the hill on left and wooden houses can be seen. It was here that a small detachment of Bay of Plenty cavalry were murdered on 8 June 1869 -Photograph taken c.1880 - PA7-31-24, ATL, Wellington.

When *Rifleman* arrived at Whareongaonga in Poverty Bay, Te Kooti asked Te Kīngitanga and Ngāi Tūhoe leaders for refuge, but was refused. Naturally Te Kooti's arrival sparked renewed military activity around Taupō, as did renewed rumours about the 'threat' of Hauhau in western and north-western Taupō. At this time, fighting had just recently reignited in southern Taranaki, leading to rekindled tensions in upper Whanganui and south-western Taupō. Hauhau enjoyed a significant presence in eastern Taupō (St George, 1864-1866). Te Kooti then requested an audience with government officials but was once again declined. To this, Te Kooti sent a terse response stating that if the government wanted war, he would oblige them in November. True to his word, Te Kooti and his *whakarau* attacked the township of Matawhero, on the outskirts of Gisborne, on 10 November 1868. 54 men, women, and children were massacred during the reprisal and among the dead were 22 local Māori and a number of Pākehā settlers. Matawhero earned Te Kooti a fearsome reputation amongst Māori and an implacable resolve by government to arrest him (Ballara, 2004, p. 495). To seek retribution, colonial troops and local *hapū* tracked Te Kooti to his community at Ngā Tapa, but to their dismay, he and his *whakarau* escaped (Binney, 1997, pp. 146-147).

Undeterred, the troupe chased Te Kooti to Te Pōrere. At Te Pōrere, Te Kooti and his men prepared a makeshift *pā* and for a time withstood the onslaught from British troops, and Māori troops, under Major Kepa's (Kemp) command. As the battle unfolded, the attackers eventually broke through into Te Kooti's *pā* and he was forced to retreat once again leaving many dead and wounded behind. As Te Kooti escaped, he was shot in the finger. From Te Pōrere, he and his men fled to Maunga Pōhatu and Te Urewera and this time made a successful alliance with Ngāi Tūhoe leaders (Binney, 1997, p. 198). Te Kooti's campaign gained momentum because his early victories attracted people to join him (Ballara, 2004, p. 494). At times, it was likely that whenever government dispatchers' used the term Hauhau in reports and correspondence with reference to Te Kooti, they were in fact mistakenly referring to Te Kooti's *whakarau*. After all, Te Kooti was Ringatū not Pai Mārire or Hauhau.

Te Poihipi knew he had prepared for this moment when he first built his *pā* at Nukuhau in 1865. He knew that if worse came to worse, he always had the safety of Tapuaeharuru *pā* to retreat to. Ever mindful of the lingering threat Te Kooti posed, Te Poihipi sent a letter to Donald McLean, Superintendent of Hawke's Bay Province and Member of Parliament for Napier, in Napier, on 24 September 1868. In the letter he requested that McLean send troop-reinforcements to the *rohe* (Tūkairangi, 1868). McLean responded, regretting he did not have the authority to grant Te Poihipi's request. Te Poihipi continued to correspond widely with whichever government official he felt could assist him to protect Ngāti Ruingārangi from Te Kooti.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi not only had to contend with a possible invasion from Te Kooti and his *whakarau* but from Hauhau too. Three months after Te Poihipi's request for Government troops through McLean, a concerned committee of local *rangatira* met at Hōhepa Tamamutu's *wharepuni* in Ōruanui on 12-13 December 1868 to discuss the issue. Fresh rumours were rife that it was highly probable Te Kooti would flee westward to Taupō especially when he learnt government had dispatched 1,000 troops to Tūranga (Gisborne). The 40 member committee included Paurini Karamu, Hare Tauteka, Hare Rēweti Te Kume, Kingi Herekiekie and featured a range of *rangatira* from Tokaanu, along the eastern shore, and a strong northern contingent of government supporters. The committee resolved to ask government to supply them with guns, powder, and tinder so that they could defend themselves against Te Kooti and Hauhau. *Tūpuna* also wanted government to supply them with troops to patrol the *rohe* for them, but not to fight the battle per se. Finally, they also requested a Pākehā judge be sent to Taupō to clarify the Queen's laws for them (St George, 1864-1866).

Tamamutu had listed the following five items to be discussed at the *hui* as follows:

- Blocking the Hauhau of Taupo so they do not assist the prisoners, and if they come to Taupo and persist, then the sword is to be drawn over them
- Preventing the prisoners being allowed in Taupo, and if they persist the sword to be drawn;
- Guns, powder etc. to be requested from the Government by the committee to guard the Queen's tribes from the Hauhau;
- Troops to be sent by the committee as arranged by Government to guard Taupo, but not to go into disputed lands, to remain on guard at Taupo;
- Requesting a Pakeha judge for Taupo to clarify the Queen's laws. (St George, 1864-1866)

Tamamutu, when taking the minutes, did not record the debate that ensued during the *hui* but rather summarised the overall gist of what each *rangatira* was saying. As a result, the minutes read more like resolutions appended with each *rangatira's* recommendations. In the *hui*, Hare Tauteka of Tokaanu agreed that if local Māori associated with *whakarau* (or *ngā herehere*, or the prisoners as they are referred to), then "swords would be drawn." Hare Rēweti Te Kume concurred with Tauteka, as did Hamuera Takurua, adding that if Hauhau joined the fight, they would have to contend with Taupō *hapū* that had aligned themselves with the government. Paurini Karamu affirmed *rangatira's* request for guns and powder for their own self protection. Later, this request, in particular, would become a contentious issue for southern Taupō *hapū*. Kingi Herekiekie, Hemopo Hikarahui, and Ihaia Te Rauhihi also consented to the recommendations made. Hikarahui then concluded with the comment that if the *whakarau* and local Hauhau fight, Taupō *hapū* would be well within their rights to reciprocate. "The [final] word of the committee" was that Hori (St George) present the recommendations of the *hui* to government (St George, 1864-1866). Notably, Te Poihipi, Horonuku, Pāora Hapi and other Pai Mārire *rangatira* from western and eastern Taupō were absent from the *hui* (St George, 1864-1866).

The results were not favourable. St George was in Auckland, a week later, to read the *komiti's* recommendations to Pollen who responded by saying, "he does not see his way clearly to arming the Taupō natives (St George, 1864-1866)." Despite St George's presence in Taupō as a military leader, government through lack of trust, continued to baulk at arming local *rangatira* (B Stirling, 2005, p. 206).

Two months later and the government had not changed its stance. Lambert was not convinced Te Poihipi, Tamamutu, Pāora Hapi and other local *rangatira* needed a military force stationed in Taupō. Locke, employed by the government to build military roads in the *rohe*, after having visited Nukuhau, Ōruanui, Hātepe, Tauranga-Taupō, and Tokaanu, estimated that Tūwharetoa could muster about 400 *toa*, 250 of whom supported the government, and about 150 Hauhau (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, pp. 34-35*). Te Poihipi and Horonuku were notably absent from the *hui* as were other *rangatira* (with possible Hauhau connections) from the western and eastern shores of the Lake. Tamamutu's December *hui* was not fully representative of those who supported the government and opposed Hauhau. However, like Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, all concurred they did not want Te Kooti in Taupō.

Te Kooti and Hauhau continued to pose a considerable threat to the *rohe*. In a letter from St George to the Native Minister, Hon. J. C. Richmond written on 16 February 1869, St George described his assignment to Rewi Maniapoto. Maniapoto had lived amongst *hapū* at Pūkawa for some time and had convinced them not to disturb Hauhau passing through southern Taupō. St George had also written to Te Poihipi and Tamamutu to request the same of northern and eastern Lake Taupō *hapū (AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 17).* Early in November 1868, while still in Napier, St George was instructed to act as "government agent" in Taupō and assist the Tauranga-based Civil Commissioner Mr H. T. Clarke to supervise road works in the area (St George, 1864-1866). In a letter written on 23 March 1869 St George informed Clarke he had written to Te Poihipi and Hōhepa and asked them to provide him with as many armed *toa* as possible. In his letter, he conceded, he had acted in haste because the cavalry had just returned to Tauranga. He had also "written to Taupo to have all canoes taken out of the way, which will delay him [Te Kooti] if he tries above the Niho-o-te-kiore." St George also noted how Taupō Māori had reported that Te Kooti intended to camp at "Tauranga-[Taupō]" but he doubted this would happen (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.8*).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were well aware of Te Kooti's links to Tauranga-Taupō and never once discounted him returning one day. After Te Kooti and his *whakarau* left Tūranga, he traveled west towards Waikato to challenge King Tāwhiao for the leadership of Te Kīngitanga (Binney, 1997, p. 92). If he achieved this goal, he would have fulfilled a prophetic vision he had while in captivity on Chatham Islands. Tauranga-Taupō featured in his prophecy. In vision, Te Kooti saw Tauranga-Taupō as his place of refuge on this journey to Waikato. It was highly probable Te Kooti perceived this vision because Tauranga-Taupō was the home of Te Rangi Tāhau, one of his most impressive *whakarau,* until he was captured at Omarunui in October 1866. Tāhau was a

formidable figure renowned as a ferocious *toa* (Binney, 1997, pp. 92-93). Te Kooti knew Taupō and its people. He knew Te Poihipi, Horonuku, and many other local *rangatira* because he lived amongst them years earlier when he was with Grace at his mission station in Pūkawa (J. T. Grace, 1959, p. 487). Te Kooti's Tūwharetoa connection made it even more believable he would use Tauranga-Taupō as a refuge similar to how he used Ngāi Tūhoe and later Te Kīngitanga.

Speculation as to when Te Kooti would attack was rife. On 17 March 1869, Ōruanui received the news that Te Kooti was rumoured to be in Kaingaroa which was uncomfortably close to Taupō. *Tūpuna* were attending a court hearing at the time and those not from Ōruanui decided to head for Tapuaeharuru, or for their homes, while locals assembled together to build a *pā* nearby. This was when the rumour about Te Poihipi's sympathy for Te Kooti first emerged, albeit briefly (B Stirling, 2005, p. 217).

All was not what it seemed. In a letter dated 26 March 1869 from St George to Clarke in Kaiteriria, St George informed him that Te Poihipi had already sent a letter to Te Kooti. In it, Te Poihipi advised Te Kooti "that the reason [why] he did not join him was that he was waiting to get as much ammunition as he could from the government" (Binney, 1997, p. 168). Arapeta Hapi, Pāora's son, wrote a similar letter to Te Kooti, indicating that he had communicated with Te Kooti and that he possibly supported him (St George, 1864-1866). However, in Te Poihipi's case, St George saw the rumour for what is was. He discovered the letter had been sent by Ihaia Te Waru, who was probably seeking to sow seeds of uncertainty in the minds of government officials. St George concluded that he doubted very much whether Te Poihipi did in fact write the letter despite one informant arguing "that Te Poihipi was a Hauhau at heart" (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 23*). Clarke replied, "I cannot credit" the report that Ihaia Te Waru should use Te Poihipi's name like he did. He advised St George that Te Waru, "ought to be narrowly watched," but at the same time gave the impression he was still not entirely convinced Te Poihipi was innocent either. Clarke concluded his remarks, "I hesitate to supply arms to the Taupo natives at present" (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 20*) .

Te Waru's contact, by association with Te Kooti, hamstrung his own *hapū* Ngāti Tahu (Ōrākei Kōrako) from securing guns and ammunition from the government. A sticking point was that they were not present at Hātepe when northern Taupō *hapū* and others including Horonuku and his 40 *toa* met at Pāora Hapi's *pā* to organise themselves. Once bolstered by about another 200 Ngāti Kahungunu *toa*, the *taua* intended to travel to Runanga to stifle Te Kooti's progress to the south west of Te Urewera.

Solutions varied as *tūpuna* and St George pondered their defence against Te Kooti should he come to Taupō. St George's answer required locals to form their own home-grown Taupō Native Contingent. While Te Kooti was holed up in Te Urewera, *tūpuna* from northern and eastern *hapū* worked with, and sometimes against, St George to establish the contingent (B Stirling, 2005, p. 222). Te Poihipi's solution, in consultation with other *rangatira*, was to establish an *aukati* from Rotoāira to Horohoro. They proposed the *aukati* would prevent contact between pro-government allies and Hauhau in Taupō (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 23*). St George and Locke supported the idea because it possibly meant that 300 soldiers would be dispatched to Taupō, who could build roads, which would improve communication and security in the area (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 17*). Road building would provide work opportunities for Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, something that would certainly encourage more Pākehā into the *rohe*. Tauranga Civil Commissioner Wilson visited northern Taupō and rejected the proposal reporting:

> I immediately removed the kati, reminding them of the frequently expressed wish of the Government that Taupo should remain undisturbed, and showing how a kati would operate against their own interests in and out of the Native Land Court. (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, pp. 13-14*)

Wilson confessed to St George that he sympathised with pro-government *hapū* and noted, "the secret of our allies' restlessness, in my opinion, is that they are tired of the state of uncertainty they are in (St George, 1864-1866)." Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had every reason to concur with Wilson's sentiment because "they got such conflicting orders from the authorities (St George, 1864-1866)."

Rangatira held a large *hui* of those *hapū* opposed Te Kooti, on 11 April 1869, to plan what they would do. Pāora Hapi of Ngāti Tūtemohuta brought 22 men with him, including Tūkorehu, from Tauranga-Taupō who up until recently was Hauhau himself. After the *haka*, Rēweti Te Kume spoke and recapped what it meant to him supporting the Queen. Tūkorehu explained:

> You Government natives have a very strong back, you have all the Pakeha, their guns, ammunition, etc,. where as we Hauhau of Taupo have only ourselves. No one to back us. You accuse us of inviting Te Kooti to come

> and live at Taupo, this is not so, …we wish to remain strictly neutral. (St George, 1864-1866)

Tūkorehu had a point but it appeared St George was growing tired of the repetitive rhetoric. However, he did write more of Tamamutu's response:

> listen Tūkorehu and all the hauhau, it is useless your fighting against the Pakeha. They are a wise people and a strong people, they have got guns now that will fire 100 rounds without stopping, in fact it will fire for ever without loading, by and bye[sic] (today) I will show you one (this is an allusion to Carr's Spencer that fires 8 shots without loading, slightly exaggerated by Master Hohepa). Besides the Government is a loving Government and a patient one, they had stood your ill doings for a long time but if you don't turn now you will be wiped out, give over your ill doings and do no[t] stick to the side of murdering tribes like Te Kooti's etc, etc. (St George, 1864-1866)

Tamamutu was not impressed with Tūkorehu thinking he could "remain strictly neutral." *Rangatira* and their *hapū* either supported the government or were categorised as dissenters, by default, as the quest to contain Te Kooti lingered on in more and more *rohe*.

Te Poihipi supported Tamamutu's comments and added that as Wirihana had now been killed, "We shall now draw a line from Opepe to Runanga and send out men to intercept any of Te Kooti's or other Hauhau messengers." St George was disappointed Te Poihipi had "let out everything that we ought to have kept secret (St George, 1864-1866)."

Ngāti Tahu joined the *hui* on 13 April 1869 and were "very indignant at being called Hauhau, and entirely deny having been whakahihi [*whakahīhī (to be conceited)*] in the matter of obeying my [St George] orders" (St George, 1864-1866). They accused Te Poihipi of being *whakahīhī* when he refused to go to Kaingaroa when asked to do so in an earlier letter sent by St George. Te Poihipi had planned to meet up with Taupō forces at Rerewhakaaitu more that a week earlier. At the *hui,* the following day, Te Poihipi and St George had a heated argument over the military pay Te Poihipi and his men would receive serving in the newly formed Native Contingent. St George refused to put them on full pay unless they were almost under attack. Te Poihipi wanted to select his own

commander but St George assured him that if he did, he would not get paid. Te Poihipi was infuriated so St George left the *hui*. Te Poihipi later apologised and explained why he felt so compromised by the government:

> Mr McLean wrote to them to say that Te Kooti was to be stopped. Clarke immediately after that said that McLean had nothing to do with Taupo, after that Hon. Mr Richmond wrote to say, let Te Kooti pass, then C.C. [Civil Commissioner] Wilson came up saying let Te Kooti pass, and last of all Mr Clarke and I [St George] said don't let him pass, with all these orders they did not know what to do. (St George, 1864-1866)

St George conceded that he appreciated Te Poihipi's honesty (St George, 1864-1866). Te Poihipi noticed how his relationship with St George and government officials had deteriorated since the start of the year. The contingent's first assignment was to march to Te Arawhata on the upper Rangitaiki River where they met with Sub-Inspector Richardson's Bay of Plenty Cavalry who then took command. The plan was to confine Te Kooti in Te Urewera until reinforcements arrived to "penetrate to Ahikereru" and flush him out using the "scorched earth" policy. Under this policy, advancing or retreating troops would devastate (more often burn) all land and buildings, leaving nothing salvageable for the enemy. Richardson's forces survived on what little Te Urewera Māori could provide till supplies arrived. The Taupō Contingent were reported to have subsisted on sheep and potatoes found in south-eastern Kaingaroa (St George, 1864-1866). Te Poihipi continued to be unimpressed with St George's treatment (St George, 1864-1866).

Hauhau or not, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi remained in a precarious position. In a letter from government surveyor, Mr H. W. Mitchell, in Maketū, on 17 June 1869, to Clarke, Mitchell acknowledged just how dire. He informed Clarke he had sent a message to the commanding officer at Fort Galatea and described Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's position in Tapuaeharuru as "perilous." He also noted how the previous morning, a dispatch notice was sent from Tapuaeharuru to Ohinemutu. It explained how Te Kooti was still in Tauranga, and how Te Poihipi was certain that "the 16th instant [16 June] was the day appointed by Te Kooti to attack Tapuaeharuru, and he urged the Arawa to push on to his relief." Ngāti Whakaue responded with fifty men and Ngāti Tū[hourangi] an unspecified number (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 75*).

Still reeling from Te Kooti's surprise attack at Ōpepe, local *rangatira* continued to canvass government for support. In a letter sent from the Civil Commissioners office in Tauranga on 20 June 1869, Clarke informed Mr G. S. Cooper that he had received another letter from Te Poihipi and Tamamutu "pressing for assistance in men and ammunition." Clarke informed Cooper that he had procured four kegs of rifle ammunition from Colonel Harrington and two pack horses to convey it as far as Kaiteroria for the two men. St George declared that Te Poihipi and Tamamutu had sufficient rifles but very little ammunition (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 75*). Three days earlier Clarke had also received a letter from Colonel St John at Fort Alfred to provide Taupō *tūpuna* with "arms and assistance." St John had added he was in no position to provide either (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 76*). During this trying time, *tūpuna* and government resources continued to be stretched.

Despite government not being in a better position to assist *rangatira* in the aftermath of Ōpepe and possible attack from Hauhau, they appreciated local support. McLean expressed this sentiment in a letter addressed to Te Poihipi, Pāora Hapi, Hōhepa Tamamutu, and Te Rewiti Te Kume on 30 June 1869. For personal protection and safety, he complimented their decision to temporarily reside together in the one *kainga*. He also encouraged them to keep a watchful eye out for a suitable site to establish a new fort in the area (St George, 1864-1866). Allies of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have welcomed the news.

Te Kooti's movements in and around the *rohe* continued to attract considerable attention. Four months after St George had written his letter to Richmond, Clarke reinforced the same sentiment regarding Te Kooti's movements to Cooper on 25 June 1869. He was adamant Maniapoto's advice to local *tūpuna* to "allow Te Kooti to go through their district unmolested" was sound advice considering his reputation. Te Kooti was flanked by committed men who believed he was "sent of God to declare His power to the world, and also to the men of sin (in which category every one possessed of white skin is included), and are ready to carry out their leaders behests to the letter" (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, p. 77*). Te Kooti was a formidable foe by any stretch of the imagination.

Te Poihipi was determined he wanted to set the record straight with St George and the government regarding his alleged involvement with Te Kooti. Te Poihipi knew that any involvement at all with Te Kooti would only compromise the relationship he had already established. Three months later, he was still troubled by what St George had written in his letter to Clarke on 28 March 1869 (*AJHR, 1869, A-10, pp. 23-24*). He had said that Te Poihipi had written to Te Kooti advising him that once he had procured as much ammunition as he could from the government, he would then join him. In

Te Poihipi's defence, St George himself admitted it highly unlikely such a letter even existed. Te Poihipi, still not convinced St George's doubts to Clarke would be enough to clear his name, wrote the following letter to St George:

> Tapuaeharuru, July [1869]
>
> To George, Administrator at Taupo, for Tuwharetoa
>
> This is my explanation to you of Te Kooti's letter. Don't be critical, it is my clarification for you, for you to explain to the Government and the colonels, so they know my character.
>
> On my first [experience] with the Pakeha, I was a traditional [?unsure about whakapo] priest at Taupo. Later there was the Treaty of Waitangi with the first Governor, and I was in agreement there. The second Governor I supported, the third Governor I also supported, and the fourth Governor I supported. [In the time of] this Governor, the Maori King was appointed. All the chiefs gathered and argued with me to turn to them. I said, 'I do not approve of the King.' From that time the people of Taupo withdrew from me and all my own tribe living here, and so it is to this time of my life, I quarrel with Te Kooti and all the Hauhau. A person is wrong [e hara?] who says to me that I should quarrel over Tapuaeharuru, no. My strength and endurance in staying you have seen, and the Governor has seen that as one I am steadfast. This is an explanation for you. That ends it.
>
> From Te Poihipi. (St George, 1864-1866)

Te Poihipi wanted to maintain a good relationship with St George, the government, and its military leaders for Ngāti Ruingārangi's sake. He wanted to reassure St George that he strongly opposed Te Kīngitangi, Te Kooti and Hauhau and that he supported the government and the military in all they did. In the letter, to highlight his commitment, he mentioned how his decision to renounce "the King", Te Kooti, and Hauhau had made him very unpopular amongst other Tūwharetoa *rangatira* and *hapū*.

Te Poihipi continued to keep government officials informed as to Te Kooti's movements. Te Poihipi wrote the following letter, to McLean in Wellington on 19 August 1869, advising him that Te Kooti had finally arrived in Taupō armed to fight, if necessary. Te Poihipi requested McLean hastily send as many reinforcements as possible to apprehend Te Kooti, to prevent him from retreating to Te Urewera.

Kia te Makarini Kiponeke

> Tapuaeharuru akuwhata 19-69
>
> Ki te kai tuku korero ki te waea – Ehoa tenakoe me tuku atu tamatau whakaatu ki Nepia ki Poneke kia te makirini kia mohio rātou kua tae mai te koti ki Taupo nei ko tona hiahia he whawhai kia matou – Engari kanui tomatou manawanui me tomatou māia me te kaha i roto i amatau ko tomatau hoa pakeha ko kapene hori ko tomatou whaka aro me tuku mai he pakeha ki te whai i a te koti ki Taupo nei kia mau ai keihip kia te Urewera – kia tere mai kaua e whakaroaia – kia kati amai a runanga kaua e haere i ti mai me te maori – Heoi ano – na ohoa e noho atu nei i Tapuaeharuru, nei Taupo –
>
> Na Te Poihipi
> Tukai rangi na
> Hohepa tamamutu
>
> To Mr. McLean, Wellington

Jane McRae's translation[65] for the above telegram is as follows:

> Tapuaeharuru, August 19/69
>
> To the telegraphist – O friend salutations. Send on statement to Napier, to Wellington, to Mr. McLean that they may know that Te Kooti has arrived at Taupo and his desire is to fight against us. But we are very stout hearted, we

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> have strength in us. Our European friend is Captain George. Our opinion is that Europeans should be sent here to Taupo to follow up Te Kooti that he may be caught and to prevent his turning towards the Urewera. Be quick, do not delay. Let Runanga be shut up [or. let there be a barrier there]. Do not let a few come but let many Europeans and Maoris come. Sufficient. From your friends who are now at Tapuaeharuru, Taupo.
>
> Te Poihipi Tukairangi
> Hohepa Tamamutu. (Tūkairangi & Tamamutu, 1869)

Te Poihipi's request came in the form of Lieut.-Colonel McDonnell, and true to predictions, Te Kooti, with his entire force of 250-300 *whakarau,* arrived in the *rohe* the following month. Exasperated by previous defeats, Te Kooti attacked McDonnell's large force (comprising men from the Taupō Native Contingent and Te Arawa) at Tokaanu on 25 September 1869 with the loss of six lives (*AJHR, 1870, A-1, p. 48*). Te Kooti retreated to Te Pōrere redoubt and when McDonnell finally reached his position on 4 October 1869, a brief battle ensued, leaving Te Kooti badly wounded and 37 of his men dead, of who 10-12 was Ngāti Tūwharetoa. McDonnell's 540 men out-numbered Te Kooti's forces by more than two-to-one (or more when the recalcitrant Ngāti Tūwharetoa men inside Te Pōrere are considered). The poorly designed redoubt was quickly surrounded and rendered indefensible, forcing Te Kooti to flee into the bush to resist arrest yet again (Belich, 1986, pp. 19-20). Te Kooti and his *toa* retreated to Te Rohe Pōtae *(King Country).*

Chapter 7 analysed the responses of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to the "Hauhau" or Pai Mārire movement, and to Te Kooti and his followers, from mid-1864 through to 1869/70 in the Taupō *rohe*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, and *tūpuna* in general, continued to experience unprecedented change in a very unsettled and uncertain period in the *rohe*. Pai Mārire and later Te Kooti's campaigns were threats, in Te Poihipi's perspective, to the stability and autonomy of Ngāti Ruingārangi and their neighbours, and challenges to Te Poihipi's *rangatiratanga*. Exiting a decade of unrivalled change and conflict, the next chapter examines the arrival of 19th century industrial colonial expansion and Te Poihipi's economic development efforts including road building, contracting, land leasing, and other business ventures to help advance Ngāti Ruingārangi interests.

Te Wāhanga Tuawaru: Te Poihipi me Ngāti Ruingārangi i ngā tekau tau 1870

Chapter 8: Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi in the 1870s

Chapter 8 discusses how Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were committed to taking road-making and other government related public works contracts, selling or leasing land, and developing tourism as the next logical step to stimulate Pākehā interest in the *rohe*.

"[Te] Poihipi has always been an advocate for opening up the interior of the country by roads &c., and expressed himself as being very desirous to have that part of the country settled by Europeans…I [Samuel Locke] explained to him the nature of the arrangements the Government proposed respecting the Kaimanawa Gold fields, with which he fully concurred, and in fact appeared to highly appreciate the advantages derived from a European occupancy of the district" (*AJHR,1870, A-17, p.43*). Te Poihipi agreed to lease his portion of the Kaimanawa Range Gold field to the government as local *rangatira* negotiated the lease of the remaining 300,000 acres (*AJHR,1870, A-17, p.43*). Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had always operated under the premise that it was far better to cooperate with the government than to do the reverse. Strategically, they rationalised early, the benefits of supporting the government far out weighted the disadvantages.

In the early 1870s, Te Poihipi and the 40 or so other men, women, and children of Ngāti Ruingārangi living at Nukuhau, Puketarata, and Ōruanui at the various times witnessed unprecedented change in and around Tapueharuru, and Te Poihipi provided the leadership needed to enable their future survival and prosperity. After trouble with Te Kooti had ended, those gathered at Tapuaeharuru *pā* in Nukuhau once again trekked back to Puketarata to settle. However, this time *tūpuna* generally did not occupy their old *kāinga* but rather opted instead to build near the newly constructed road linking Taupō to Atiamuri.[66] Indications are that *tūpuna* migration from Nukuhau back to Puketarata was gradual because the road was not completed until 1873. Anticipating the need for the latest technology Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi erected a saw-pit at Puketarata to cut telegraph poles for the proposed line from Tapuaeharuru to Rotorua via Ōrākei Kōrako.[67] Mail was first delivered to Taupō by horse in 1857 and then by road in 1874 when roads became fit for wheeled traffic. The Armed Constabulary established a redoubt in Taupō in 1870 and telegraph lines were erected from Napier to Taupō to Tauranga in the same year. A Post Office was opened in

[66] The Taupō to Atiamuri road referred to here is now part of Aotearoa's No. 1 Highway.
[67] R. Stebbing (personal communication, 13 July, 2005).

Taupō on 1 January 1871 and the *rohe's* first hotel was opened in April 1872 (B. Cooper, 1989, p. 78)**.** Roads were constructed from Napier to Taupō, and Atiamuri through to Cambridge, in the early to mid-1870s (B. Cooper, 1989, p. 52). Because Te Poihipi made it his business to keep abreast of the social, political, economic, and technological advances happening in *te ao Pākehā*, Ngāti Ruingārangi generally benefited.

Te Poihipi had a hand in facilitating many of the changes. Under government contract, he led a team of men to build a section of road from Rūnanga to Taupō. He and his people later worked on the road from Taupō to Ōruanui (Stebbing, 1983, p. 73). Government Officials knew that if *rangatira* accepted this kind of contract, it had readymade overseers and access to the land was guaranteed.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi eyed Government sponsored public works contracts to ensure their financial prosperity in the 1870s. Contracts were offered in road building, erecting telephone lines, and delivering mail which was all part of the government's plan to improve communication to and from the Central North Island. Additionally, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew that new roads would facilitate more Pākehā coming into the *rohe* which complemented their long term strategic goal. *Tūpuna* no longer had to rely on the Waikato, Rangitīkei, and Whanganui rivers, and the low passes north of the Ruahine Ranges and south of the Kaimanawa Range as traditional communication routes to Hawke's Bay (Reid, 1952, 20 February, p. 2). And as a precursor to road building in the 1870s Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had already completed 30 miles of road for dray traffic for £450 "over very easy country" from Rūnanga to Tapuaeharuru. Over the past year, the government had opened the districts communication channels even more with a central telegraph office stationed at Tapuaeharuru, and a line in progress to Tauranga (*AJHR, 1870, A-16, p. 35*). Regular contact with Armed Constabulary and other government officials in the early 1870s increased the likelihood of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi securing further work.

In 1870 the Armed Constabulary redoubt at Tapuaeharuru could hold 150 men in tents with 100 plus at Ōpepe and 40 or so at Rūnanga on route to Napier (*AJHR, 1870, D-7, p. 7*). The redoubt was named Tapuaeharuru after Te Poihipi's *pā* on the opposite bank of the River and was the headquarters for military and government activities in the *rohe*. Te Poihipi had commenced negotiations with the government to get a road started from Tapuaeharuru to Alexander (*AJHR, 1870, A-No.8A, pp. 8-9*). Roads promised unparalleled economic and trade opportunities and security for Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi (*The Pouakani report*, 1993, p. 56).

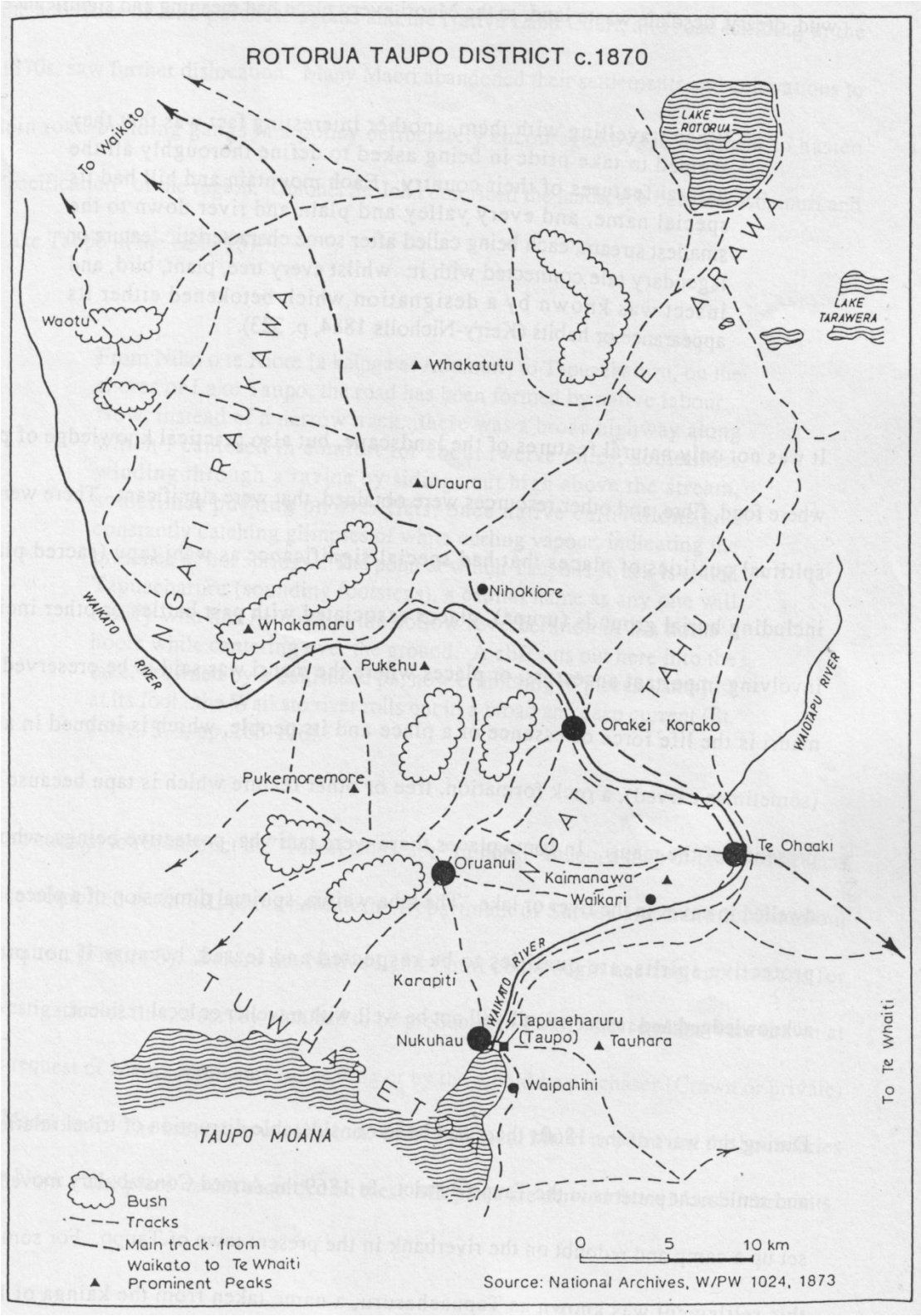

Figure 40: Rotorua-Taupō *rohe* and the *iwi-hapū* names and boundaries c.1870s - W/PW 1024, 1873, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's vision of working with, rather than against, the government often irked their peers. Te Poihipi, for example, complained to the Hon. J. D. Ormond how "all the chiefs of the island were against him" because of his pro-Pākehā stance on the wars and the treaty of Waitangi and road-making. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had "always assisted Pākehā even at considerable risk to themselves" ("Northern News," 1870, 17 June, p. 3). Chiefs asserted that if roads were made the island would be "*mate,"* in other words; roads would be of no strategic benefit to them. Government wanted a major road and telecommunications system through the middle of the island to provide easy access to main centres, and the coast on either side. Te Poihipi blamed the lack of adequate roads as the main reason why the war lasted as long as it did, and why it took so long to apprehend Te Kooti. Te Poihipi, in the following letter, as elsewhere, exaggerated his own role as the most loyal, friendly, valuable, progressive, and innovative leader, compared to others.

> The friendly natives would not listen [to me about road-making]; they allowed me to stand alone at that time. That is the reason that fighting was prolonged. Then the King was appointed to stop road-making and the sale of land. After this fighting took place at Waikato. Then the Government wished to make peace. I took their proposal to Waikato and all the other places. I did so, knowing that peace would not be accepted. I asked the Government to have the roads made, but it was not hastened. If it had been, by the time this evil had arisen the road would have been completed, and Europeans and natives have travelled quickly and caught Te Kooti, or fighting would have ceased, as they would be divided. The King natives could not have gone over to the Urewera, nor the Urewera to the King. This is a very old idea of mine. Secondly, I asked Governor Grey to send 1,000 soldiers to be stationed at Taupo. This is the reason I went to Otago. Thirdly, you have now come and have urged the road-work as Te Kooti has escaped…My wish is that the money be expended in road-making, as the Hauhau have expressed their determination to stop my road. (*AJHR,1870, A-17, p.49*)

Te Poihipi was either compassionate towards his fellow-men, or he was committed to fulfilling his road contract responsibilities. Hauhau, who had been captured by Te Poihipi for fighting in Tapuaeharuru, had resolved to stop him from completing a section of road but he employed them instead. They were Hītiri Te Paerata's Ngāti Tarakaiahi men from Waihāhā on the western side of

the lake and were anxious to work because they were without clothes and starving ("By electronic telegraph," 1870, 28 September, p. 2).

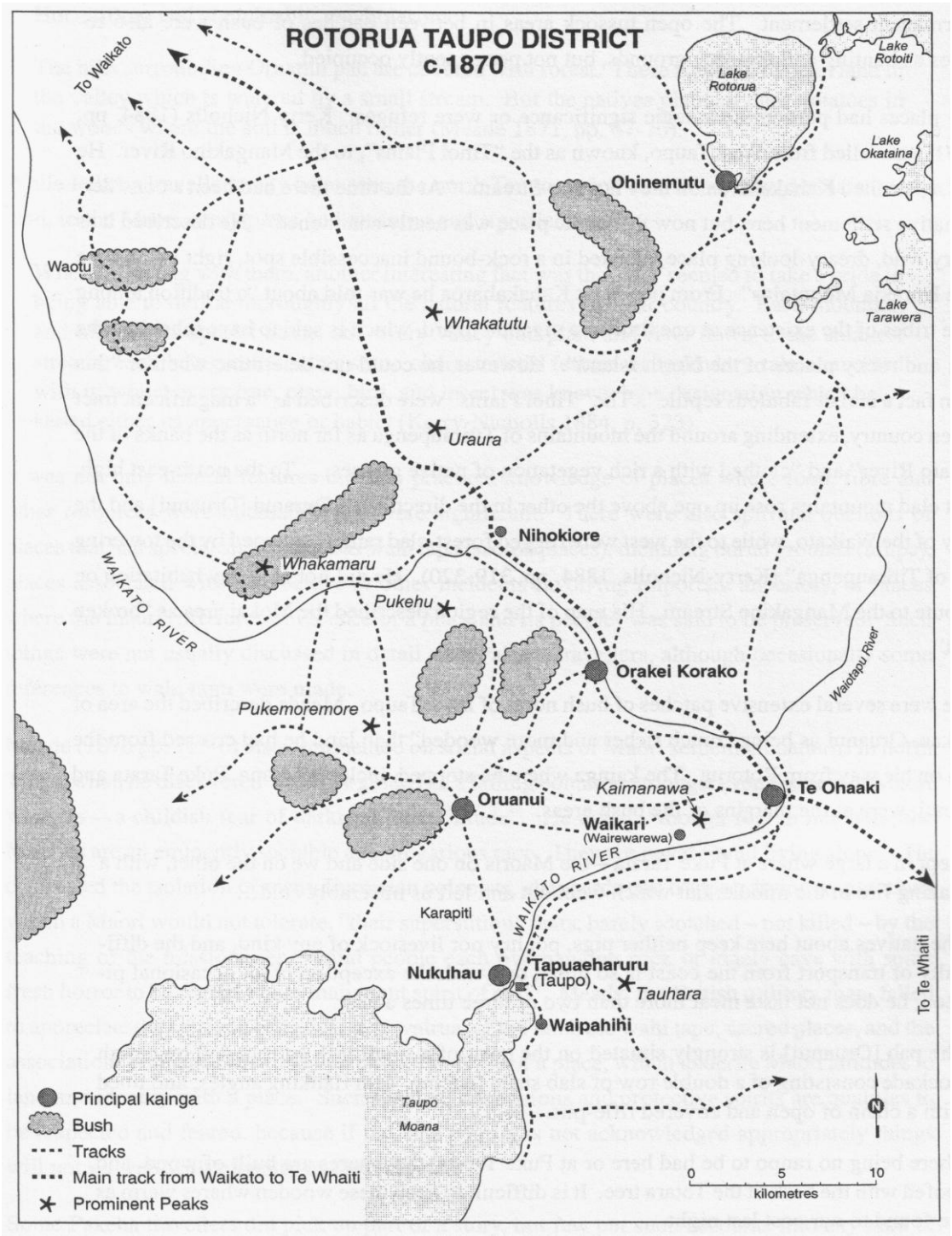

Figure 41: The principle *kāinga, ngahere*, tracks and prominent peaks in the Taupō-Rotorua rohe in c.1870 - W/PW 1024, 1873, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

Early in 1871, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's work on the roads continued to attract unwanted attention. A letter (printed in a newspaper), for example, from King Tawhiao's Executive, was sent to Ōrākei Kōrako stating that the new road being cut by Ngāti Ruingārangi to Te Niho-o-te-Kiore was not "allowed to proceed" ("Tauranga," 1871, 2 February, p. 3). No reason was given. However, around the same time, a similar letter appeared in the *Southern Daily Cross* from Hauhau leader Hone Te One. He clarified the Executive's decision confirming that those *hapū* "who assist in the work of the Europeans will be killed. The work spoken of is selling or leasing land, surveying land, making roads, or working in connection with the telegraph." According to the letter, Hauhau who assisted Pākehā were also condemned to the same fate. One hundred of Te Poihipi's men, and others, were employed on the road and telegraph line from Auckland to Napier and were considered the prime target of Te One's letter ("Meeting of Hauhau at Raglan," 1871, 6 February, p. 7).

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi may have been flattered by the attention but knew exactly what they needed to do to complete the Tapuaeharuru to Te-Niho-o-te-Kiore (thirty miles from Cambridge) section of road. Unrepentant, Rewi Maniapoto, in a brief letter to Te Poihipi, stated road making must "cease, cease, cease!" In a lengthy letter sent from Puketarata on 10 January 1871, Te Poihipi reiterated, "the work would not stop." Te Poihipi also reminded Rewi that he did not possess the *mana* to make decisions for Ngāti Ruingārangi, or for any other *rangatira* in Taupō for that matter ("Native Intelligence," 1871, 7 February, p. 2). Te Poihipi writes:

> We are not willing to stop the road work of the Queen in Taupo, extending on to all the towns...Do not interfere in any way within the Taupo boundaries, but do as you like in your own boundaries…Our word to you is, to attend to the affairs of your own place, Waikato, as you have no claim whatever in Taupo here. ("Native Intelligence," 1871, 7 February, p. 2)

Te Poihipi's letter represented the views of five other prominent Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira*. Te Poihipi's name appears first on the list of signatories' that also included (in order) Hohepa Tamamutu; Rēwiti Te Kume; Paurini Te Rangimonehunehu; Heuheu Tukino; and Hare Tauteka ("Native Intelligence," 1871, 7 February, p. 2). Te Poihipi was known for his letter writing so it is highly likely he initiated and penned this one and then got the others to either sign or agree to have their names added. Rewi responded this time by travelling unaccompanied to Taupō in a final attempt to dissuade Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi from their road and telegraph work for the government ("Native Matters," 1871, 22 February, p. 3).

To further encourage Pākehā involvement in Tapuaeharuru, Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and other likeminded *rangatira* and *hapū* 'offered' a block of land to the government to establish a township. The *koha* extended at the conclusion of a *hui*, held at Tapuaeharuru *pā*, would have no doubt delighted government officials. The block was located near hot springs, just off the opposite bank of the River. Te Poihipi had sanctioned the *hui* so that *tangata whenua* could hear, first hand, government plans for public works in the *rohe* and to generate interest in the projects. Te Poihipi and a small number of Ngāti Ruingārangi would have to extol the benefits of road making, and erecting telephone lines, and delivering mail for the future development of all Māori and Pākehā around the Lake.

> At the meeting lately held at Poihipi's pah, Tapuaeharuru,…[and] attended by representatives from all the surrounding districts, a great desire was expressed to proceed with the roads and other improvements; and at the conclusion of the meeting a block of land for a township at Tapuaeharuru, in the neighbourhood of the hot springs, the site chosen by Sir G. Grey for the location of a regiment of Imperial troops, and now the central telegraph station, was offered to, and accepted by, the Government, and which no doubt will in due course be laid out and offered to the public. ("Taupo," 1870, 9 July, p. 17)

Ancestral rights of *tūpuna* to land and resources was often complex. However, through the eyes of *tūpuna*, in the case of the Tapuaeharuru block, the land 'offered' was *take tuku* or the governments now as of 'right by gift'. Locke reported on the 25 June 1870 that the land had been transferred into government ownership. He also commented how Grey acknowledged the 'block' was "the most central position for the purposes of keeping up communications with all parts of the interior (*AJHR, 1870, A-16, p. 35*). Like Grey, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were well aware the governments planned network of roads and telegraph system would revolutionise transport and communication to and from Tapuaeharuru. The proposed developments were astounding.

Te Pohipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had always aligned themselves with the government and *te ao Pākehā* and had rationalised this gave them the best strategic advantage they needed to achieve their long-term. Whether Te Poihipi's listeners were receptive to his message or not, he qualified his position to anyone. For example, towards the end of 1870, he hosted a large *hui* at his *pā* for

rangatira from Ngāti Raukawa and other Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū* who had previously steered clear of the government. *Rangatira* listened to Te Poihipi, Ormond, Locke, and the other Crown officials highlight the advantages of cooperating with the government ("Native intelligence," 1870, 21 October, p. 2). At the *hui*, *rangatira* admitted they supported road-making in the district which probably explains the shift in thinking. *Hapū* realised that being amenable to the government guaranteed them contract work although for those awarded contracts, it was to prove more a curse than a blessing in the end ("Native Intelligence: Great meeting at Taupo," 1871, 11 April ; B Stirling, 2004, p. 89). Te Poihipi would have no doubt defended the government's position and the advantages new roads would bring the *rohe* as a whole.

Further examples of the *hui* at Tapuaeharuru demonstrated that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were no strangers to promotional, or even mediation work for the government. Te Poihipi and Locke teamed up again in February 1871 to facilitate Ngāti Raukawa *rangatira*, Maihi te Ngaru, Hori Ngāw[h]are and about 70 of their *toa* "tender their submission to the government." Based at Ōrākei Kōrako, the *hapū* was Hauhau and had been associated with Te Kīngitanga and Te Kooti in the past but now wanted to reconcile its differences with the government. Hauhau, Te Kīngitanga, and Te Kooti had all experienced waning support by the end of the 1860s, as Te Poihipi prepared himself to canvass support from local *hapū*, for the government, and their roading and communication plans for the *rohe*. At the time, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were based at Puketarata and were working on a section of road at Otuparahaki about two miles further north. Up until the *hui*, Ngāti Raukawa could only speculate on how the government would react to them. However, Locke was confident Te Poihipi had the skills and *mana* needed to assist both the Crown and Ngāti Raukawa resolve the dilemma ("Napier to Taupo," 1871, 21 February, p. 2).

On the morning of the *hui*, Ngāti Ruingārangi boiled potatoes and baked bread and did all they needed to do to prepare the *hākari*. As a symbolic ensign of acquiescence Ngāti Raukawa arrived at 11 am led by a *toa* toting a flag staff with the 'Union Jack' flying from it. Then *manuhiri* received a *pōwhiri* to welcome them to Otuparahaki. Because Te Poihipi facilitated the *hui*, he spoke a second time, just prior to Locke giving his final comments. Locke wanted to make certain Ngāti Raukawa were changing allegiance for the right reason and that they appreciated the difference roads would make for women and children and trade ("Napier to Taupo," 1871, 21 February, p. 2). He remarked:

> Roads are now being made, of which people see the benefit, for, by using drays, and ploughs, the women will be saved from carrying heavy loads and

> working like beasts, killing themselves and their children. They will be able to grow more food, and to take the spare produce to the coast towns or to the settlers in the district, and by that means purchase clothing and other goods cheaper, and the whole of the land will be enhanced in value. ("Napier to Taupo," 1871, 21 February, p. 2)

Te Poihipi and Locke concluded the Otuparahaki *hui* with the *hapū* present promising the government that "there will be no more hindrance to road making" ("Napier to Taupo," 1871, 21 February, p. 2). Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were confident that assisting the government facilitate their *hui*, would, in the long term, maintain or even increase their *mana* with them so that Te Pohipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi could perhaps recall the favour at some later date. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had always believed aligning with the government was the best possible course of action for them, so convincing others, particularly other local *rangatira*, who also happened to be *whanaunga*, must have given them the greatest satisfaction.

The *hui* at Te Poihipi's *pā* and the one at Otuparahaki highlighted a trend that was occurring amongst Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū* in the early 1870s. The more the government gained a foothold in the *rohe* the less Māori initiatives like Hauhau and Te Kīngitanga and *rangatira* like Te Kooti exerted their influence. The issue came to a head after *hapū* based at Tuhua (about 30 miles west of Lake Taupō) met with Hare Tauteka of Tokaanu to discuss their affiliation with Te Kīngitanga. The *hapū* decided, for reasons of safety, to leave Tuhua and live with *whanaunga* closer to the south-western shores of the Lake. The decision of the Tuhua *hapū* 'to renounce' Te Kīngitanga forced others to question their position with the movement. With this in mind, it was decided that Hare Tauteka would host a general *hui* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa *hapū* at Tokaanu on the 8 May 1871 to resolve the issue for all *hapū*.

> A general hui to settle the matter finally is fixed to take place at Tokano [Tokaanu], on the 8th instant. All the Taupo natives, including, Te Heuheu, [Kingi] Herekekie [Herekiekie], Hare Tauteka, and their followers from Tokano, and Poihipi, Hohepa, and their followers from Tapuaeharuru as well as others from greater distances, will be present at it. ("Native Intelligence: Great meeting at Taupo," 1871, 11 April p. 2)

Although Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew the emphasis for them was on the government, and not Te Kīngitanga, they were committed to the *hui* and what they considered was best for other *hapū*. Te Poihipi was assured supporting the government was the way forward for him and Ngāti Ruingārangi and he wanted to clearly articulate this message to the *hui*. Judging from speeches made a year later to welcome Governor Sir George Bowen to Taupō; it would seem the impact of the *hui*, and discussion since, more Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira* advocated for the government ("The Governor's journey overland," 1872, 30 April p. 3).

Governor Bowen, in a dispatch from Taupō on 9 April 1872, noticed the change in 'loyalty' from 'Māori King' to the 'Colonial Government'amongst Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira* and *hapū*. As part of the observation, Bowen bracketed "(with the single exception of the loyal chief Poihipi Tukairangi and his followers)". Bowen also recalled:

> In the speeches addressed to me this day by the Maori chiefs of Taupo, they assured me that they are entirely satisfied with the policy pursued towards them by myself and by the Colonial Government; and that they are now fully convinced that their true interest is to live in peace and friendship with the Colonists. They are desirous to sell and lease large portions of their lands to the settlers, whom they are inviting to live amongst them, so that they like their countrymen at Hawke's Bay and elsewhere, may live in comfort on the rents and purchase money. They further expressed their anxiety to have English schools established in their villages, so that their children may learn our language, and enjoy the same advantages of education with the children of the Maoris resident in the settled districts. Moreover, they made it a special request that a township should be founded on the shores of their lake, and called after my name. Above all, perhaps, they are eager to be employed in working on the roads, which are gradually but surely creeping up from the coast into their mountain fastnesses, and which will ere long render future wars and rebellions impossible. Several of the local chiefs have already contracted with the Government to make, by the labour of their clansmen, the road, ninety miles in length, which is to connect the seaport of Napier with the Lake of Taupo, and which is to cost about eight thousand pounds (£8,000). Nearly half of this road is already finished, and (strange and almost incredible as such a statement would have seemed, if made only two years

> ago,) a coach subsidised by the Government will then run regularly upon it, carrying mails and passengers into the heart of the recently hostile country. (*AJHR,1872, A-1, p.75*)

Te Poihipi continued to do all he could to massage and manipulate and manoeuvre the government and its officials in order to benefit Ngāti Ruingārangi. Governor Bowen's visit to Tapuaeharuru in April 1872 was just another opportunity for him to strengthen and consolidate his *mana* with the government. It was Te Poihipi who suggested *tangata whenua* name the new town after Bowen to commemorate his arrival amongst them. Te Poihipi had written a letter of welcome to Bowen when he first arrived in New Zealand four years earlier and Bowen acknowledged the letter in his opening remarks at Tapuaeharuru. Bowen reminisced how the letter was sent to England and published along with other letters and documents about New Zealand, and read by the Queens Ministers, so his name was known in Britain (*AJHR,1872, A-1, p.86*). Te Poihipi played the political game well and knew what he needed to say and do to gain leverage with the Governor and government. At Bowen's *poroporoaki* from Tapuaeharuru on 12 April 1872, he commented how he had always wanted Pākehā settled in Taupō. He admitted he had seen five Governors come and go and it was only now that his hopes were being realised. Although Te Poihipi's vision and aspirations for Ngāti Ruingārangi were congruous with the government, Te Poihipi was a skilled task-master at managing and controlling situations to profit Ngāti Ruingārangi.

As a result of Te Poihipi's past contact with government officials, and leading statesmen, he had established a credible relationship with the Crown. Bowen continued to refer to Te Poihipi in his speech at Tapuaeharuru noting that he was the first *rangatira* to join the Government in making roads at a time when there were few Pākehā in the *rohe*. Furthermore, Bowen probably believed Te Poihipi had the same enthusiasm for establishing government schools in the *rohe*. Te Poihipi, from past experience, knew that whenever *hapū* committed to make roads, the government assisted them with tools and money to do so, and protection to do the work in safety. In short, Te Poihipi was well aware the government was not interested in making roads or telegraph lines or mills or other public works with *hapū* who were not pro-government. Bowen when summarising the benefits of roads and a telegraph line to Tapuaeharuru remarked;

> A horse does not cost so much to feed as a man, yet it is eight times as strong. When you have got roads, one man with a horse and cart can carry as much corn and potatoes as eight men could carry…

> …The telegraph is also a great use to the Maoris. Formerly if a Maori wanted a bag of flour from Napier or Tauranga he had to send a messenger for it, and to incur much delay and expense. Now, he can send for it by the wire, and it comes up by the coach at once. (*AJHR, 1872, A-1, pp. 89-90*)

If Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were not involved in the politics surrounding government works projects, they assisted other *rangatira* around the *rohe* to solve their political problems at the local level. While they were building the road between Tapuaeharuru and Niho-o-te-kiore in mid-1872, for example, Te Poihipi and Hohepa Tamamutu and about 40 other Tapuaeharuru *toa* travelled to Napier to attend a large *hui* at Pokowhai. Many tribes were represented to discuss questions relating to the land on the East Coast and to instruct Karaitiana as to what they needed him to do as their representative on the Assembly ("Hawke's Bay," 1872, 6 July, p. 4). Nearly a year later, Te Poihipi and Tamamutu travelled to a *hui* in Tokaanu, involving 700 *toa,* to seek election with Horonuku and Topia onto a committee to manage the leasing and sale of land ("Hawke's Bay," 1873, 9 April, p. 2).

Te Poihipi continued to play the political game. He knew that most *rangatira* were disenchanted with war, Hauhauism and Te Kīngitanga, and like neighbouring friends, Locke, and McLean, took advantage of the situation when promoting government initiatives to *tūpuna*. Te Poihipi was probably well aware of how important he was to the government. He knew that if he facilitated *hui* for the government, he was promoting the government's policies, but roads and telegraph lines and the prospect of land to settle on encouraged Pākehā into the *rohe* which translated into work and opportunity and economic development for Ngāti Ruingārangi, which was something he wanted. From the government's perspective, McLean's policy of diplomacy and public works was effective in reducing the chances of further war, something Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi also wanted. They knew that once one *hapū* joined, others would follow, which promoted friendly relations with Government and settlers, another of their goals. Between 1870-1873 most of the leading "rebels" outside Ngāti Maniapoto territory had made peace (A. Ward, 1978, p. 230). Te Poihipi appreciated that staying close to and on good terms with the government guaranteed that he and Ngāti Ruingārangi had a receptive ear when needed.

Local politics always took a back-seat to something as significant as the Governor's visit to Tapuaeharuru. Mid-March 1874 saw Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and other northern and southern

Lake Taupō *rangatira* and *hapū* welcoming New Zealand's Governor to Tapuaeharuru ("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April p. 3). The Governor's visit presented Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi with an opportunity to gauge progress made since Governor Bowen's visit two years earlier. Long before Governor and Lady Fergusson and party had arrived at their hotel on the evening of 17 March 1874, Ngāti Ruingārangi, led by Te Poihipi, entertained the locals with *haka* and *waiata*. The *pōwhiri* did not conclude until His Excellency's party had left their carriage. Te Poihipi, in consultation with the Governor, decided that because it was late a more formal *pōwhiri* would take place the following morning across the river at Tapuaeharuru *pā*. Te Poihipi had arranged for two whaleboats to collect the Official party to ferry them across to his *pā* ("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April p. 3).

Celebrations continued. Governor and Lady Ferguson stepped ashore at Nukuhau to a rousing *haka-pōwhiri* performed by about 50 Ngāti Ruingārangi men and women and others who had rushed down from the *pā* to greet them ("The Governor's Visit to Taupo," 1874, 25 April, p. 3). After the brief welcome at the river's edge, Te Poihipi was once again introduced to the couple and then he escorted everyone back up the hill to his *pā*. Upon entering the *pā*, he showed *manuhiri* to their seats in a large tent facing the river, made from calico stretched on poles ("The Governor's Visit to Taupo," 1874, 25 April, p. 3). Hōhepa Tamamutu spoke first, reading his address in *te reo,* and he was followed by Te Poihipi. "[Te] Poihipi made a long speech, welcoming his Excellency, detailing his constant loyalty, and the number of Governors he had seen" ("The Governor's Visit to Taupo," 1874, 25 April, p. 3). Horonuku, Kingi Kiekie, Wiripō Hataraka, Aperehama Whitu, Aperehama Were Were, Tāhau, Eru Poihipi, Rāwiri Kāhia, Pāora Te Rauhīhī, Hōhepa Parāone Te Paki, Hītiri Te Paerata, and Hauraki also spoke ("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April p. 3).

Governor Fergusson reciprocated the warm welcome. In his *whaikōrero,* he recognised Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi for their continued support over the years and acknowledged those who had once fought against the government but had now changed allegiances. He then appealed for peace and unity amongst the people. He acknowledged how government wanted land for settlements and how Māori asked to have towns established. Ferguson recognised it was *tūpuna* who decided whether they sold, retained, or leased the land, but advised them to keep some for *uri*. He warned that not all Pākehā could be trusted when dealing with land was concerned. He also warned against the ills of alcohol, advocating that *tūpuna* "keep from it: make an agreement with each other to keep sober, and have order and all that is good in each settlement." Finally, he recommended that *tangata*

whenua consider establishing Pākehā schools in the *rohe* so that *tamariki* could receive the same education as Pākehā children ("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April p. 3).

With Ferguson's *whaikōrero* concluded, the smells of the *hākari* beckoned. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi provided His Excellency and party with *pārera* or Grey Duck, *īnanga*, *kōkopu*, potatoes, tea, scones, and biscuits ("The Governor's Visit to Taupo," 1874, 25 April, p. 3). The Governor was so impressed with the way *pārera* were cooked, he sent his chef to get the recipe, so that he could dine on *pārera* prepared the same way that evening ("The Governor's Visit to Taupo," 1874, 25 April, p. 3). After Ferguson had congratulated *ringa wera (cooks – literally translated the phrase means 'hot hands')* for the *hākari*, Te Poihipi presented him with a *mere (short weapon of whalebone, greenstone or heavy wood)* commenting that as we are "all at peace there is no further use for weapons of war." Ferguson thanked Te Poihipi for the *koha* and presented him with his own field glass. Ngāti Ruingārangi, as the host *hapū*, and the other *hapū* assembled, concluded the Governor's visit to Tapuaeharuru *pā* with one last galvanising *haka* ("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April p. 3).

Te Poihipi was very much in control throughout the *pōwhiri* because he knew and supported the government, and he knew they supported him. He also knew Ngāti Ruingārangi backed him, as did an increasing number of Ngāti Tūwharetoa *rangatira* and *hapū*. Te Poihipi had 'hosting rights' to convene *pōwhiri* for all other northern Lake Taupō *hapū*. He directed proceedings from start to finish, and he commanded the *paepae*. Towards the end of the *pōwhiri*, for example, sensing the Governor had heard enough *whaikōrero,* insisted *rangatira* stop ("The Governor's Visit to Taupo," 1874, 25 April, p. 3). There can be little doubt; Te Poihipi enjoyed the big occasions.

The outcomes of the Governor's visit to Tapuaeharuru were positive. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have appreciated the Governor's praise, and the fact that he visited them on their own *tūrangawaewae,* at Tapuaeharuru *pā,* in Nukuhau. Like Bowen's visit in 1872, Ferguson's visit confirmed to them just how important they were in the governments plan to populate and settle the *rohe*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi knew they controlled the situation when Governors' visited them. They had facilitated another successful *hui* highlighting the government's initiatives for the *rohe*, and *tangata whenua*, including Hauhau, admitted, "that they will no more go astray, but adhere to the Queen's laws" ("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April p. 3).

Te Poihipi was motivated by what he needed to do to ensure Ngāti Ruingārangi continued to thrive and prosper through the 1870s. He probably viewed this goal from many angles. Often this meant keeping an open mind and taking opportunities when they presented themselves, even if he was never certain where this would lead. For example, early in 1875, he hosted Mr Julian Salomans, the Attorney-General of New South Wales ("Interprovincial Items," 1875, 6 February, p. 17). No doubt government officials would have recommended Te Poihipi for the assignment. He recognised *tūpuna's* traditional 'law of reciprocity' had its equivalent in *te ao Pākehā* with the 'law of good will.' The law recognises that first, you can not put a price on goodwill, and second, one good deed generates a favour in return. He knew hosting Salomans gave him leverage with the government: accumulated deeds compound favours. In another example, Te Poihipi endorsed the Government's Savings Bank which opened in Taupō. *Tūpuna* were able to deposit their earnings from growing corn, maize, wheat, sawing timber, or building houses for Pākehā. Te Poihipi could foresee the benefits of such a bank for himself and his people, and predicted the advantages would impact on industry as far afield as Hawke's Bay and Waikato ("Taupo," 1875, 8 June, p. 2).

Accumulated goodwill with government officials amassed over decades of contact ensured Te Poihipi held sway when dignitaries' proposed visiting the *rohe*.

> A great meeting of Taupo Natives will take place at Tapuaeharuru on the nineteenth [19 March, 1877] to receive the Hon. Dr Pollen [Native Minister]. Captain Mair, and the chief Poihipi are making the necessary arrangements. Te Heuheu and other chiefs from the upper part of the lake will attend. The Tokana [Tokaanu] Natives were anxious to have the meeting there but this was overruled by Poihipi. ("Taupo," 1877, 15 March, p. 2)

Te Poihipi was guarded when it came to relinquishing any part of his *mana* to southern *rangatira*. Overturning the decision to host the meeting at Tokaanu was reminiscent of when Te Poihipi and southern Lake Taupō *rangatira* wrangled over where the region's first resident missionary would settle in the 1850s. Twenty four years on and the situation had not changed: there was *mana* in hosting a Native Minister of the Crown and Te Poihipi was not about to abdicate that responsibility to someone else. Tapuaeharuru *pā* was the hub of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world and in the mid to late 1870s; they were confident the government thought the same, in relation to them dealing with *rangatira* from Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

The *hui* held on 19 March 1877 regarding the Totara Block resolved Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Poihipi's concerns. Determined to honour their part of the agreement, local and Pātetere Māori wanted the Block to be surveyed, as they had leased it to the government for 21 years. Te Poihipi and his wife objected to some grantees named in the Block and so it was decided *tūpuna* would settle the disagreement in a separate 'out of court' meeting. *Tūpuna* protested that back rents on Blocks leased to the government four years earlier were still unpaid as were balance payments for the Mohaka Block. Pollen agreed to do all he could to rectify the situation. He assigned Capt. Mair to assist *tūpuna* register the title with the Land Court, and H. Mitchell, the Land Purchase Agent, other miscellaneous matters including surveys. Those at the *hui* appreciating Pollen's *kanohi ki te kanohi* approach to their case, cheered him when he left ("Native meeting at Taupo," 1877, 28 March, p. 2). In a way Pollen's actions mirrored his feelings about the hospitality extended to him by those at Tapuaeharuru *pā,* and their *mana* in the *rohe*, and their *mana* in government circles.

Te Poihipi had always strategically monitored the alliances other *hapū* were making in the *rohe* so that he could defend the integrity of the government for the sake of Ngāti Ruingārangi achieving its goals. He rationalised that failing to do so, could, in the end, undo all the good work he and Ngāti Ruingārangi had already achieved with the government. So amidst all the cheer of the 1878 Christmas Day celebrations in the Armed Constabulary mess-room in Tapuaeharuru, Te Poihipi contemplated what he would say to a *hui* of locals who were about to visit Waitara in Taranaki. He felt they needed to understand his position so that when they were in the *rohe* in March 1879, they would not get involved in arguments that opposed government policy or more importantly Ngāti Ruingārangi interests ("Taupo," 1879, 8 January, p. 2). Alerting *tūpuna* allowed him time to remedy the situation, if need be.

The government policy of employing *tūpuna* on road construction encouraged them to divert their activities to earning wages. Traditional life styles, which included food production, were interrupted. Because of disruptions from Native Land Court hearings and public works, many *kainga* were short of food. Able-bodied men were diverted to the construction of the Taupō-Napier road and the route north of Taupō to Atiamuri. Ōruanui was almost deserted; "most of them were working on the road between this and the Lake" (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, pp. 219-230). T. S. Grace commented on the drunkenness among Taupō *tūpuna.* He also commented how they "complain that the Government work is very hard and that all the money is consumed in food" procured at high prices from Pākehā-owned stores (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, pp. 230-231).

Chapter 8 described how Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were committed to taking road making and other government related public works contracts, selling or leasing land, and developing tourism as the next logical step, not only to ensure their future but the future involvemt of Pākehā in the *rohe*. "[Te] Poihipi has always been an advocate for opening up the interior of the country by roads &c., and expressed himself [to the Government of many occasions] as being very desirous to have that part of the country settled by Europeans"(*AJHR,1870, A-17, p.43*) . Te Poihipi, in consultation with the 15-20 men under his command, had strategized that working for the government to build roads in the *rohe* facilitated their goal of encouraging Pākehā to want to settle, which, over time, promised economic and trade advantages never before seen by them (*The Pouakani report*, 1993). Through the early part of the 1870s, Te Poihipi hosted *hui* (on behalf of the government) with other *rangatira* to promote the benefits of building roads and taking road making contracts with the government. Te Poihipi was aware that *rangatira* had become disillusioned with war, Hauhau, and Te Kīngitanga, and as the decade unfolded, more and more opted to build roads and support other government initiatives. Te Poihipi knew how important he was to the government's plan to curtail the chances of further war and to open up the central North Island, but he also knew that he needed strengthen the relationship with the government so that he and Ngāti Ruingārangi could realise their long term strategic goals.

Te Wāhanga Tuaiwa: Te "*take tuku"* o Te Poihipi? (1880-1882)

Chapter 9: The right of Te Poihipi to "gift" Wairākei? (1880-1882)

Chapter 9 will discuss how Robert Graham, manipulated the Court system to strip Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and many other local *tūpuna* of their traditional *ahi ka* rights to what was later known as Wairākei Block in Native Land Court minutes. *See Figure 42, p. 220.*

Te Poihipi supported the early development of the tourism industry in Tapuaeharuru. The *rohe's* natural scenic tourist attractions included Aotearoa's largest lake, Mt Tauhara, Ōrākei Kōrako, the volcanic landscape, the Waikato River and Huka Falls. The Wairākei *rohe* was a *taonga* in Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world, as it was for *tūpuna*, because it included the *ngāwhā*, *puia*, and *waiariki*, and the Waikato River and the Huka Falls. The Wairākei *rohe* represented *whenua* that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had *take tūpuna* to, an area that Te Poihipi could see the tourism potential in, to attract Pākehā to the *rohe*, to help secure the future development and prosperity of Ngāti Ruingārangi.

Some histories have alleged that Te Poihipi gifted the Wairākei *rohe* to Robert Graham (Cruickshank, 1940; McLintock, 1966; "Obituary," 1885, 27 May; E Stokes, 1991). Since first arrival, *tūpuna* occupied and worked the land and river for survival. *Tūpuna* appreciated the captivating beauty of Wairākei and utilised its many geothermal features to procure *kōkōwai*, and pools to cook and bathe in. The Waikato River, like the adjacent land, provided *tūpuna* with food. Robert Graham, Auckland entrepreneur and businessman, appreciated the natural features of the *rohe* but more particularly from an economic perspective. Graham specialised in developing geothermal areas, like Wairākei, as lucrative business ventures. He intended to harness Wairākei's geysers and therapeutic thermal springs to create a profitable world class sanatorium, hotel, and tourist attraction. Robert Graham exploited Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and other Tapuaeharuru *tūpuna*, the Native Land Court system, Government officials, and the intentions of the Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881, to secure the Wairākei *rohe* (E Stokes, 1991).

Conflict of interests and 'out of court' settlements compromised the integrity of both hearings to decide the fate of the *rohe* in the Taupō Native Land Court. High ranking Ministers and Land Court Judges had the opportunity to rein Graham in by enforcing the Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881. Ministers and Judges of the Crown neglected legal responsibilities by allowing Graham to register the Wairākei Block title with the Supreme Court. The Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881 was

designed to ensure private dealers like Graham were not able to purchase geothermal areas like the Wairākei Block. However, Government officials still sanctioned the Block's transaction and registration.

Wairākei *rohe*

Wairākei *rohe* was named after a female *tupuna* whose name was Wairākei and she had previously lived in the *rohe*. Her name was perpetuated in the naming of Geyser Valley, the largest geyser in the Valley. The Valley and other adjacent land first came to prominence in the Taupō Native Land Court on 28 March 1872 under two distinct and separate descriptions, Te Huka and Karapiti. Because both land claims had not been surveyed at that time, both cases were adjourned (*AJHR, 1862, E-13, p.11*; *TNLC minute book 1, pp.232-233*). Te Huka appeared before the Court again on 20 August 1877 but because claimants to the case were not present, the case was once again adjourned. Karapiti also came before the Court during the same session but was "struck out by application (*AJHR, 1862, E-9, p.7*)." Te Huka made a further appearance on 2 December 1880 but this time because the land was not accompanied with a site map the case was once again adjourned (*AJHR, 1862, E-9 (Vlll), p. 8*).

Te Huka and Karapiti land claims were somehow amalgamated and known from that point forward as the Wairākei Block. Te Poihipi appeared before Judges Symonds and O'Brien in the Taupō Native Land Court on 4 December 1880 to ask if the application for investigation into the Wairākei Block he had submitted be withdrawn. Classified a 'new claim' Te Poihipi explained that when the survey for the block was complete, he would once again reapply to the court (*AJHR, 1863, E-8, p.2*).

On 1 February 1881, a *pānui (public notice)* was issued informing claimants that Wairākei Block was listed to be heard in the next sitting of the Taupō Native Land Court in March. And although Te Poihipi had issued separate applications for Karapiti and Wairākei, when compared the boundaries represented the same piece of land ("AJHR, 1862, E-4, p.39-40,"). Henry Mitchell had overall responsibility for the *rohe* being surveyed and certified the map (ML5167) and forwarded it on to the Chief Surveyor in Auckland for final approval on 7 May 1881. Mohi te Apu and Hēnare Poihipi were on hand to assist Mitchell and his team to survey the correct boundaries. Once complete, no objections were lodged (*AJHR,1872, A-1, p.75*). Wairākei block was bordered by the Ōruanui Block to the west, and natural features like the Wairākei stream to the north, Waikato River to the east, and Waipūwerawera stream to the south. According to judge's notes in the margins of map

ML5167, the map was only produced twice during the hearing; once on 4 June 1881 and once again at the rehearing for the Block on 24 January 1882 (E Stokes, 1991, p. 27).

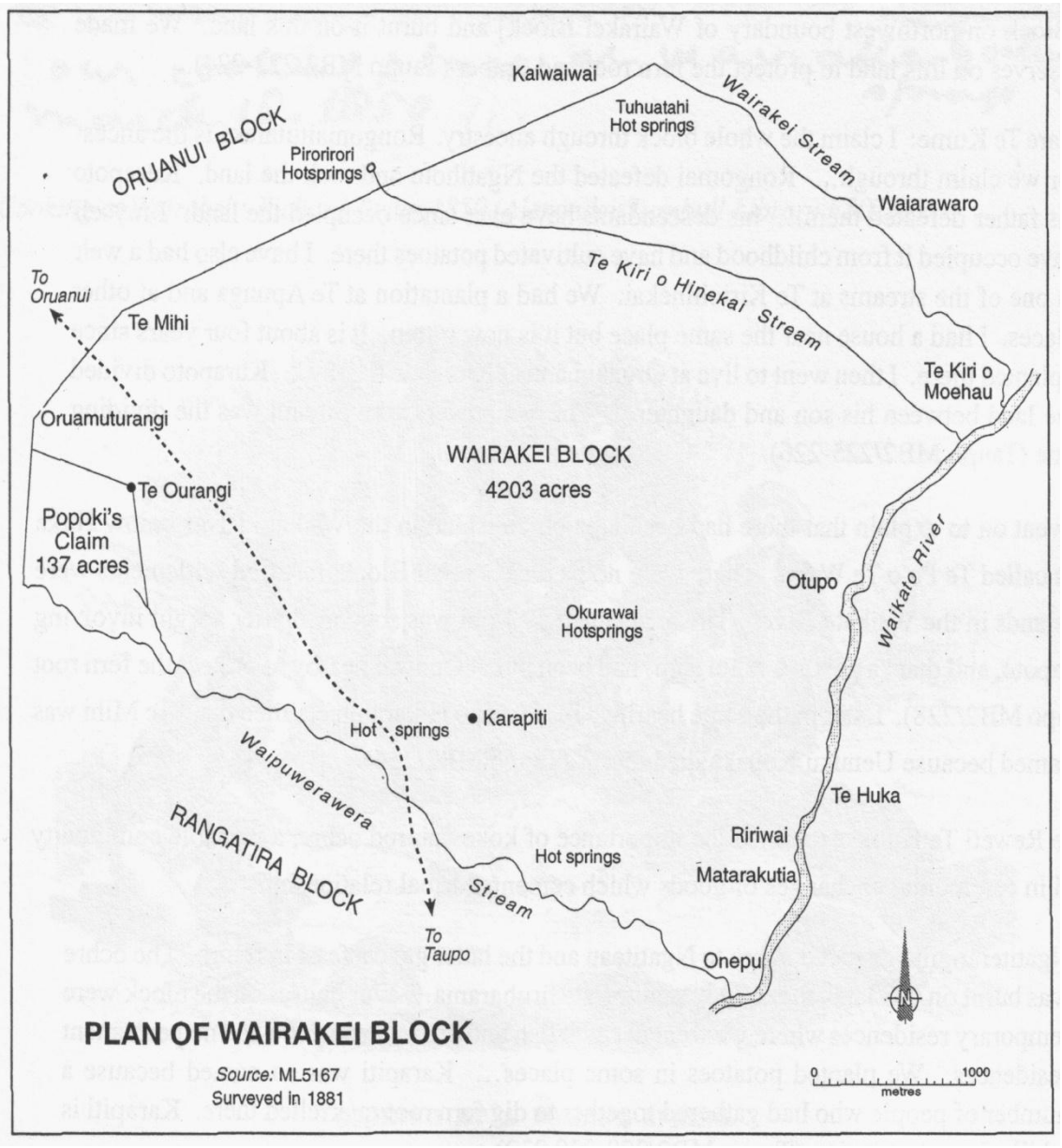

Figure 42: Plan of Wairākei Block - ML5167 (Stokes, 1991, p. 28).

Robert Graham

Robert Graham was an astute Auckland based merchant, farmer, landowner, politician, provincial superintendent and tourism operator with a proven track record in hotel and thermal spa-health resort management. He specialised in the development of thermal areas and helped pioneer this

facet of tourism in New Zealand. Prior to his interest in the Wairākei *rohe* in 1879, he already owned the Rotomahana Hotel in Tarawera (adjacent to the famous Pink and White terraces), the Lake House Hotel at Ohinemutu in Rotorua and several hotels in Auckland. His first venture of this nature had started thirty four years earlier, in 1844, when he purchased the Hot Springs property at Waiwera, north of Auckland, where he established a sanatorium and hotel (*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1902, p. 41). Graham also operated the Terrace Hotel at Te Wairoa, which was destroyed in the eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886.

Robert Graham was aware of the tourist potential that the 1,700 hectare Wairākei *rohe* proffered him when he negotiated for its purchase through the Native Land Court in 1881. Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and other closely related *hapū* and *tūpuna* valued the *rohe* for its many natural resources and the therapeutic and recreational properties of its thermal pools. Graham also valued the *rohe* for its temperate climate and spectacular natural scenery.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Graham was politically active. He was elected to the Southern Division (containing Waikato, Coromandel, Bay of Plenty, and East Cape) in the second New Zealand Parliament from 1855 to 1860, and he went on to represent the Franklin electorate in the third and fourth Parliaments from 1861 to 1868, when he resigned. Graham's involvement in politics meant he had allies within parliament (Graham, 1990, pp. 156-157).

Past kindred allies of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would be no match for Graham's past political allies in the future when securing the Wairākei *rohe* through the Native Land Court in 1881. During this time, Graham was engineering a similar contentious deal in Rotorua. Despite Government passing the Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881 specifically designed to stop the transfer of geothermal resources in places like Wairākei and Rotorua into private ownership, Graham persisted. From December 1879 until 1882, he was involved in a case to obtain control of the Ohinemutu (later Lake House) Hotel in Rotorua (Stafford, 1967, pp. 82-83, 149-151, 202-203, 219-220).

The notion that Te Poihipi *gifted* the Wairākei *rohe* to Graham had its genesis in Maketū in June 1878. Graham, a fluent speaker of *te reo*, mediated in a conflict between Te Pokiha Taranui and Petera Te Pukeatua of Te Arawa. Rotorua Māori reputedly offered him land at Te Koutu in Rotorua, and Te Poihipi's land in Wairākei for his assistance. In January 1879, Graham occupied the land at Te Koutu. However, in May of the same year, Graham was prosecuted for unlawful possession, and

after litigation and a petition to Parliament, he was permitted to purchase four hectare within Te Koutu (Stafford, 1967, pp. 82-83, 149-151, 202-203, 219-220).

Although Graham's land dealings in Rotorua are not the focus of this dissertation, this case and the Wairākei case highlight his disregard for traditional customary land law. Graham chose not to accept that his tenure on the land was temporary. *Tūpuna* had always interpreted *tuku whenua* to mean 'occupancy rights only.' At different times and under different circumstances *tūpuna* may have considered their-own rights to certain tracts of land tenuous. *Tūpuna* recognised that the *mana* to land stayed with the *rangatira*. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi would have openly discussed and debated and agreed to anything to do with land. Te Poihipi probably offered Graham a site in the *rohe* to build a hotel seeing the development of tourism as a future revenue earner for Ngāti Ruingārangi (E Stokes, 1991, p. 24). If this were the case, Te Poihipi's gesture could not be misconstrued as gifting the entire Wairākei *rohe* to Graham. Te Poihipi did not *take tuku* a small portion of the Wairākei *rohe* to Graham for his part in settling a dispute between two rivalling Māori in Rotorua. If such a gift were made, the case would have featured in Native Land Court minutes. Te Poihipi gifting the Wairākei *rohe* to Graham is not mentioned at all.

If Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi did offer Graham Land it would have probably been to entice him to reside in the *rohe*. Rotorua had a thriving tourism industry based on its thermal areas and they would have wanted the same for Wairākei. When reflecting on comments made by Graham in Cruickshank's (1940) biography, it would seem that Graham himself was the one that promulgated the idea of the *take tuku*. Reference is made to dray loads of supplies being made in payment for land which latter writers have omitted to report (Cruickshank, 1940, pp. 136-137). Other inaccuracies existed in Cruickshank's account that did not correspond with Native Land Court records. Government records on private purchases for Māori Land reports that Graham paid £750 for 4,203 acres (three shillings and sixpence per acre) for the Wairākei *rohe* on 4 June 1881("The Governor in the North," 1874, 9 April).

Te Poihipi and tuberculosis

The rush of settlers into Aotearoa after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 exposed Māori to new diseases often leading to severe epidemics. The loss of Māori land to settlers meant that many Māori were reduced to poverty. Māori lived in cramped, unhygienic conditions, which made disease more likely to spread. Introduced illnesses such as measles, mumps, and whooping cough, and respiratory diseases like bronchitis and tuberculosis took a terrible toll on Māori in the 19th century.

Te Poihipi, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, died from tuberculosis and lived longer than the normal life expectancy for *tūpuna* during this time probably because he lived in his own home and had enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle. At the time of the Wairākei case, the aging Te Poihipi would have already experienced rapid weight loss from when he first contracted the disease in 1879-80. The disease, in its advanced stages, and the worry of the court case playing on his mind, the continual coughing (with blood in the mucus), chest pains, fatigue, swollen glands, decrease in appetite, fever and night sweats would have challenged him.

So despite Te Poihipi knowing exactly what he was doing in his political machinations with Te Kīngitanga, Te Kāwanatanga, and the Church; being an extremely literate man writing letters to Crown officials on a regular basis since the 1860s; knowing the effects of Pākehā on Māori society; knowing his land had been sold to the New Zealand Company in Whanganui; and knowing about the individualisation of land titles (a Pākehā model of land ownership he wanted to adopt for Ngāti Ruingārangi), his contribution to the Wairākei Block court case was limited due to him being in the later stages of this serious disease.

Even in the 1870s, Te Poihipi had been involved in Pākehā institutions and practices such as *rūnanga* and road making contracts with the Government and had also sold tracts of land to the Crown (Turton, 1887), however, all of this experience came to nought in court as the Wairākei Block case was heard and reheard in 1881-82. Being in the final stages of a disease that was to take his life a little over two weeks after the Wairākei Block rehearing had ended; Te Poihipi was hamstrung to help Ngāti Ruingārangi to the extent he knew was needed to make a difference. For example, Court minutes reveal that *tūpuna,* other than Te Poihipi, wrote to the Crown in protests subsequent to the Wairākei Block hearing about the land being sold to Mr Graham. Ordinarily, Te Poihipi, had he been well, would have initiated such a response himself. In short, Te Poihipi had very little to do with the Wairākei Block case and this is reflected in the Taupō Native Land Court minutes and supporting documentation that follows.

Taupō Native Land Court Hearing, March 1881

The Wairākei *rohe* hearing got off to a slow start. The first sitting of the Taupō Native Land Court for 1881 was scheduled for 21 March but it was not until 30 March that the case was heard. However, Eru Oho applied for an immediate adjournment for the case to be heard later on in proceedings, which was granted, but no explanation was given in court minutes as to why the

request was made (*TNLC minute book 2, p.54*). Wairākei *rohe* was not mentioned again at the sitting.

At the next sitting of Court on Monday 23 May, counter claimant to the case Hare Reweti [Te Kume] asked that the Wairākei case be heard that day. Request denied, the case was adjourned to the next day but because it was the Queen's Birthday, the Court did not sit and the case was adjourned a further day (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.203, 206*). When court resumed, the hearing was adjourned to Thursday 26 May and then to Friday 27 May because the Rangipō case was still being heard and Te Poihipi was involved in the case. As a result, only a few *hapū* representatives in the Wairākei case were able to make brief appearances at this sitting (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.207, 212*). Court resumed the following morning and then again on Monday 30 May, but the Rangipō case still dominated proceedings. Wairākei was not heard again until Tuesday 31 May at 10 am (*TNLC minute book 2, p.223*).

Judge MacDonald presided over the investigation into the Wairākei *Rohe* title while other court officials included: John Gage, assessor; J.C. Young, interpreter; and H.F. Edger as clerk. Claimants on the application dated 13 December 1880 were listed as follows.

Name	**Address**
[Te] Poihipi Tūkairangi	Tapuaeharuru, Taupo
Wiremu te Whareaitu	Parekarangi
Mohi te Apu	Tapuaeharuru, Taupo
Hoani Hope	Parekarangi
Eru Oho	Tapuaeharuru, Taupo
Titia Ngawhika	Parekarangi
Henare Hoepo	Tapuaeharuru, Taupo
Paora Tahurewakanui	Parekarangi
Wenetia te Amo	Tarawera
Areti Poihipi	Atiamuri

Each claimant identified Ngāti Rauhoto as their *hapū* of decent (*RNLC file 1124/1*). Rauhoto has also been spelt Rauhotu on some court files and minute book entries. Locals recognise Rauhoto as the preferred spelling, but to preserve the integrity of original documents, documented spelling will be used here. Te Poihipi signalled to Judge MacDonald early in the May 31 hearing that he wanted

Pirimi representing him. Counter claimants to Te Poihipi et al., as listed in minute book entries, were as follows.

Name	***Hapū***
Panapa Nihotahi	Ngati Rauhoto
Hare Reweti [Te] Kume	Ngati Te Rangiita
Renata Ngahana	Ngati Tuapani
Enoka te Aramoana	Ngati Ranghiroa
Te Waka te Mairere	Ngati Ranghiroa
[Horonuku] Te Heuheu	Ngati Ranghiroa
Te Popoki	Ngati Te Urunga
Werewere	Ngati Tuwharetoa

James Mackay Jnr represented all counterclaimants except Horonuku who was represented by his close relative L. M. Grace.[68] The case proceeded in the normal fashion with claimants' first laying claim to the whole *rohe* based on *ahi kā*. Te Poihipi gave evidence based on his decent from his *tūpuna* Karetoto and Karetoto's occupation and use of the land and how he had agreed to the *rohe* being surveyed. Te Poihipi stressed his descent from Ngāti Karetoto and Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Rauhotu and not Ngāti Te Rangiita whose claim lay south of Waipūwerawera stream. *See Figure 42, p.220*. After Te Poihipi had presented his case, the Court adjourned at 11.30 am for half an hour to enable counterclaimants and Mackay to consider what they had just heard. When court resumed, Mackay reported that his clients opposed Te Poihipi's claim and requested that Te Urunga and Tūwharetoa be entitled to a small portion of the *rohe (TNLC minute book 2, p.224)* . When court began again after lunch, Popoki presented his case on behalf of Ngāti Te Urunga. Pirimi accepted the claim and the Court awarded him and his *hapū* a section in the south-west corner of the *rohe* labelled 'Popoki's Claim' 137 acres on ML5167. *See Figure 42, p.220*.

Second counterclaimant Hare Te Kume presented his case on behalf of Ngāti Te Rangiita to commence the afternoon sitting of court on Tuesday 31 May. The following morning, Te Kume was still being cross-examined and Mackay informed the court, that in consultation with Werewere, it was decided to combine the Ngāti Te Rangiita and Ngāti Tūwharetoa claims together.

[68] Horonuku Te Heuheu was paramount chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa during this time.

At 2 pm the following afternoon, the Wairākei *rohe* once again took a back seat to another case, this time the Government's claim on the Pokuru *rohe*. Mr Gill, the Chief Government Land Purchase Officer, presented the case on behalf of the Crown, and an order for 252 acres was made in favour of the Government. This case involved a number of Māori who were also involved with Wairākei and focused on how many acres Erueti Tarakainga should forgo for the £126 he received from the Crown. Hemopo objected to the Government's offer of 7/6 per acre before agreeing to 10/- per acre for 240 acres. Renata Ngahana objected to any part being sold to the Crown to which Gill responded that Ngahana could not complain he did not receive anything, because the Government paid for the *rohe* to be surveyed (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.239-240*). *Tūpuna* were expected to cover survey costs before an application to claim tribal lands could be registered with the Native Land Court. They were often aided by private and government purchasers to do so (*The Pouakani report*, 1993, p. 63). Although the Pokura and Wairākei *rohe* had nothing to do with one another, what transpired must have fuelled *tūpuna* discontent for a Court system that had already been operating six year's. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi must have been concerned about the variation in price offered by Graham and the Government. Private and Crown land purchase agents were entering into deals before land titles were properly investigated in the Native Land Court (E Stokes, 1991, p. 32).

On Wednesday 1 June, Hare Te Kume continued to be cross-examined during the afternoon-sitting of court till its adjournment at 4.30 pm. The following day Te Hemopo Te Hikarahui gave evidence on behalf of Ngāti Te Rangiita in support of Te Kume and cross-examination continued into the early afternoon. Hōhepa Tamamutu then gave evidence and was cross-examined. Prior to court being adjourned at 4 pm, Wairākei was once again deferred. Mr Gill was able to make application on behalf of the Crown for the exclusion of two small reserves from the Ōruanui South Block. Approval was granted.

Tūpuna debated *ahi kā* status of various *hapū* in the Wairākei *rohe* outside the courtroom. Inside the courtroom, fewer instances of this happening were recorded in Land Court minutes. Before the hearing Graham had been negotiating with Te Poihipi. Te Hikarāhui commented on behalf of Ngāti Te Rangiita in his evidence;

> It was not Poihipi who caused the survey of the block. It was we who allowed it, because we wished to settle our dispute in Court. Poihipi built a

> house for Mr Graham's man. I did not destroy it because I was kindly disposed towards him. (*TNLC minute book 2, p.235*)

Te Hikarāhui could have been referring to either the surveyor, George William Brigham, or an employee of Graham's sent to organise the proposed hotel (E Stokes, 1991, p. 33). Hōhepa Tamamutu also referred to Graham in his evidence, suggesting that he had stayed in the *rohe* before the title was investigated (*TNLC minute book 2, p.238*).

Towards the end of 2 June sitting of court, Mr Gill appealed that no order be made for Wairākei Block because the Government wanted the land to be made inalienable (*TNLC minute book 2, p.238*). The following morning, court was adjourned from 10 am to 2 pm for government officials to consult with those affected by his request. Minutes were not recorded, so it was unclear what transpired. The remainder of the minutes for 3-4 June read as follows:

> Mr McKay objected to the action that Mr Sheehan had been taking outside the Court in trying to get restrictions placed on Wairakei block on behalf of the Government.
>
> After each party had expressed opinion as to the present state of the case Court replied.
>
> As to Government interference that had nothing to do with the present difficulties. When Rangipo [Block investigation of title] was finished, I said my time was limited and subsequently obtained an extension in consequence of being assured that the remaining cases could be brought to a speedy determination. Relying upon that, I stopped another Judge who was coming to relieve me. Now I find that I have been deceived and am unable either to stay myself or to secure a successor. I can only remain one more day. I will therefore adjourn the case of Wairakei and also Pahikoruru until tomorrow in the hope that they may be settled without opposition. (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.238-239*)

Minutes for Sunday 4 June 1881 commenced as follows:

> Mr Sheehan said there was a prospect of settlement for Wairakei. It had been arranged that he should withdraw any application on behalf of the Crown. Also as to Poihipi's party, that himself and Hira te Rangimatini should be put in the Order, and, as to Mr Mackay's clients that three names which he would mention should be admitted into the Order. I appear for the outsiders, that is for Panapa and party; they do not intend to prosecute their case any further. I therefore apply for the Order to be made in accordance with the arrangements I have mentioned.
> (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.238-239*)

Sheehan's role in the case was not clear as he was not listed at the beginning of the hearing as representing either claimants or counter-claimants. It was as if he appeared part way through the case to represent Panapa Nihotahi's counter-claimant. John Sheehan was a lawyer who had been a notable politician in Grey's Government which had lost power in 1879. He had provided counsel in the Rangipō hearing and other cases in the Ōruanui-Tapuaeharuru *rohe*. It was common knowledge that he was associated with Auckland based land-buying syndicates. To Mackay's disgust, Sheehan had a prominent role in the case. Sheehan had tried to get Government restrictions placed on Wairākei and had convinced all concerned to withdraw any applications to the Crown. Land Court minutes failed to resolve where Mr Gill was or who he was receiving instructions from while Sheehan was conducting his business. Land Court Minutes did not reveal when Panapa and his fellow counter-claimants employed Sheehan nor do they disclose what private arrangements were entered into to entice them to withdraw claims? (E Stokes, 1991, p. 34). Renata Ngahana had reservations about Sheehan representing him on the case (*TNLC minute book 1, pp.232-233*). Sheehan had his detractors and a motive for wanting to be involved in the case.

Ngāti Tuapani representative Erueti Tarakainga presented his case and was cross-examined before court, for the remainder of the morning, until court was adjourned at 1 pm. He acknowledged Te Poihipi's claim in Wairākei but objected to Ngāti Te Rangiita being included in the claim. Enoka Te Aramoana, Te Waka Te Maire and Tukorehu representing Ngāti Rangihiroa did the opposite by opposing Ngāti Tuapani's claim and supporting Ngāti Te Ranigiita's. Ward's remark gleaned from a letter written by Gilbert Mair to the Native Minister, the Hon. W. Rolleston, was confirmed in Land Court records. Minutes intimated how Judge McDonald's departure disadvantaged the final two groups because they were compelled to rush through their cases (A. Ward, 1978, p. 256).

The Court resumed at 2 pm on Saturday 4 June and the following judgement was delivered.

> In this case the claimants Poihipi Tukairangi and others, represented by Pirimi, were met by a host of counter claimants who ultimately resolved themselves into the following parties.
>
> 1. Panapa Nihotahi for Ngatirauhotu
> 2. Hare Reweti [Te Kume] for Ngatiterangiita
> 3. Renata Ngahana for Ngatituapani
> 4. Enoka te Aramoana for Ngatirangihiroa
>
> The claims on all sides were that of possessory title evidenced by occupation. Dealing first with the case of Ngatituapani. The validity of this claim was denied on all sides; some of the facts evidenced by them in support of their case were said to be false by witnesses in whom the Court said it placed the utmost reliance. The Court therefore finds they have not substantiated any claim of title to Wairakei.
>
> The Ngatiuapani claim being thus disposed of and the title of the claimant being admitted, the Court decides in favour of the claimant [Te Poihipi Tūkairangi] to go in the Certificate putting it on record that as against Ngatiterangiita and Ngatituwharetoa for whom Mr Mackay appears the admission by them is for the purpose of this case only and is not to be quoted against them in any future questions before the Court.
>
> Then the title of Ngatiterangiita and of Ngatituwharetoa, represented by Mr Mackay, being admitted without reserve by all parties except the Ngatituapani, who have [been] decided to have no voice in the matter, it only remains for the Court to declare the right of the Ngatiterangiita and Ngatituwharetoa to go into the Order. (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.224-226*)

Minutes do not record the names of those included in the Order and read to the court.

> Mr Sheehan action on behalf of Poihipi gave in the list of names in accordance with the previous arrangement. Mr Mackay gave in a list of three names.
>
> Objectors challenged. None appeared.
> Order in favour of Poihipi Tukairangi, Hira te Rangimatini, Hare Te Kume, Te Hemopo Hikarahui and Poihipi Te Kume for the Wairakei Block as shown on the plan after excluding that portion in the south west corner lying outside the left bank of the Waipuwerawera Stream. Fees charged were:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Hearing | £5.00 |
> | Certificate | £1.00 |
> | | £6.00 |
>
> The Court asked whether the natives had plenty of other land and Pirimi said they had and asked that no restrictions be placed upon it. Request granted.
> (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.246-247*)

Pirimi was listed as acting on behalf of Te Poihipi, and nine other co-claimants, at the start of the case, and then Court Minutes record him being replaced by Sheehan. Sheehan was not there to support Te Poihipi and company, but rather to represent Robert Graham, who, according to Cruickshank, had already paid Te Poihipi a considerable amount in goods and supplies. (Cruickshank, 1940, p. 136)

Sheehan submitted Te Poihipi and Hira te Rangimatini's names to be included on the Order for the Block but the names were not approved. This was probably because Hira te Rangimatini was not one of the original claimants neither did he give evidence during the hearing. Ngāti Te Rangiita representatives' Hare Te Kume, Te Hemopo Hikarahui, and Poihipi Te Kume were the names submitted by Mackay. As key players in the case, all five were listed on the Order of the Court for Wairākei Block which was signed by Judge MacDonald on 4 June 1881 (*RNLC file 1124/1*). Gilbert Mair was unsatisfied with the way Judge MacDonald conducted the hearing and penned his frustrations in a letter to the Native Minister.

In a private letter written on 6 August 1881, Mair wrote to the Native Minister, Hon. W. Rolleston documenting his version of what happened at the hearing. Mair probably wrote the letter to assist *tūpuna* secure a rehearing.

> Hearing that certain Taupo chiefs had applied for a rehearing of the Wairakei Block at Taupo, I feel it my duty to place before you a few facts connected with the passing of that Block through the Native Land Court in June last.
>
> In 1878 Government advanced £10 to a native named Hemopo on account of this land and it was proclaimed under the name of Te Huka. Last year Mr Robt. Grahame [sic] of Ohinemutu treated with the same, and other natives for Te Huka and adjoining lands; he caused a survey to be made and the block was brought on for hearing about the 1st June last. Mr Gill instructed Mr Sheehan to appear in Court and protect the Crown's interests. The title to the land was much disputed and five days were occupied entirely with the case of one, out of the four sets of counter-claimants. The Judge gave out that he must leave for Auckland the next day, and the other counterclaimants were so worried and hurried with their cases that they could not put them properly before the Court. The interpreter, who had previously been fee'd by Mr Grahame, used undue pressure against the Native claimants who opposed Mr Grahame, by telling them if they did not "speak within one minute the case should be given against them. To make haste and state their cases, that the Court might as quickly see their defeat." One claimant then stood up, but was told to "sit down or he would be sent to jail."
>
> A list of five names had been handed into court the day before, and the Court then gave judgement as follows. "A Certificate will issue in favour of the five persons whose names appear in the list handed into Court yesterday." All the Natives in court loudly demanded that the list be read out, as customary, but Mr Sheehan asked the Court not to read the list, as there would be trouble if it was known who the five people were. So the court refused amidst great disorder and cries from a dozen natives that it was a "Kooti tahae" [i.e. the Court is a thief]. A native named Eru Oho then asked if his name was included. When the interpreter replied "Mehemea ko [Waimarire] to ingoa,

ae" (If your name is good luck, yes it is included). He asked again, "Does the name Eru Oho appear amongst the five?" The Interpreter replied, "Mehemea ko kamakama koe, ae kei roto to ingoa." (If your name is energy and perseverance, yes it is included). It was in consequence of these evasive answers that the natives became very angry and rushed out of the building uttering most uncomplimentary remarks about the Court.

I may state that Eru Oho had a large claim in the Wairakei Block, being a son of Poihipi's eldest sister and holding prior rights to Poihipi himself, who was one of the five grantees.

I may say without fear of contradiction that Eru and numbers of Natives were kept out of the certificate by unfair means. In the adjoining block one of 141 acres 35 names were put into the certificate, but in the Wairakei, a block of over 4,000 acres, and covered with the most useful hot springs and geysers in the Taupo District, only five names were allowed in the Certificate. Judgement was given at 4 pm and the Natives were worried into signing the Deed of Sale and Purchase the same night for about 2/6 per acre. Grahame telegraphed to the papers a few days afterwards that he had secured 5,000 acres of fine land and many valuable springs.

When I remonstrated privately with the interpreter, he told me he was working for Mr Grahame, and the latter, besides giving him a fee, afterwards paid his Hotel bill.

I felt a delicacy about making an official report of this matter, as I have stepped into the shoes, as it were of the Interpreter, who I may as well state was Mr J. C. Young.

I feel sir, that a great wrong has been done the natives, and trust they may be successful in obtaining a rehearing.

It must be stated that the Judge (Mr McDonald) does not understand a word of Maori therefore he was quite in the hands of the Interpreter.

> I trust you will excuse my troubling you with this long letter. (G Mair, 1881)

Mair wrote his letter to alert the Minister to the injustice that had occurred to *tūpuna* at the Taupō hearing. Mair highlighted how Young had bullied *tūpuna* into submitting their rights to a fair and equitable trail and how Young had worked for Graham. Young had also worked as a Land Purchase Officer for the Crown but had been dismissed a year and half earlier for fraudulent land deals in Tauranga (G Mair, 1881).

Conflict of interests compromised the integrity of the Wairākei hearing. Land purchase officers and native agents were able to work for private or government interests but not concurrently. Young breached policy because he was acting as the official Court Interpreter at the same time as he was representing Graham. Mair noted how Gill had asked Sheehan to protect Government interests in the block to which Sheehan opted to withdraw altogether. Informal arrangements made outside the courtroom were never recorded in Court minutes. Judge MacDonald did not understand *te reo* and because he needed to leave Taupō hastily, relied on Young to ensure *tūpuna* were fairly represented. Young did not, reverting back to what he knew best, satisfying his own personal greed.

Appeals against the Wairākei Block judgement

Within a week of the Wairākei Block verdict on 4 June 1881, Chief Judge Fenton of the Native Land Court received the first of three petitions requesting a rehearing. Dated 5 June 1881, Pauro Tahuriwakanui and 54 other *tūpuna* signed the petition.

> Friend, salutation to you.
> This is an application of ours, that is of these two hapus Ngatiruingarangi [Ngāti Ruingārangi] and Ngatikaretoto, for the hearing of Wairakei because we are not clear about the judgement of the Court. Our reasons for applying for the rehearing of this block are given here under:
>
> The survey and the application for hearing were made by these two hapus.
> Ngatiruingarangi and Ngatikaretoto were not allowed to give evidence with respect in their claim to this block.
> Judgement was given by the Court in favour of Poihipi Tukairangi and Hira under the impression that we were consenting parties. Another thing is that

> judgement was given by the Court in favour of those people alone who were indebted to Mr Robert Graham.
> Judgement was given for the Wairakei Block in favour of certain persons who had no claim to it.
> We do not know on what ground judgement was given in this way, that is that the land should be given to the people who were indebted for goods.
> Our just claims to that block were utterly ignored, viz. our ancestors, our Pas, our cultivations, our houses, our permanent residences, and the proofs of our ancestors' (ownership) of this block. We are therefore very strong in praying you to order a rehearing for this land Wairakei, that we may have an opportunity of plainly stating our claims which we have now brought before you. (*RNLC closed file series 227*)

Dated the 8 June 1881, Horonuku Te Heuheu, Enoka Te Aramoana and 18 other *tūpuna* signed this second petition.

> Salutations to you. This is an application of ours to you for the rehearing of the Wairakei Block. This block is situated at Taupo, and was advertised to be heard before the Court which sat at Tapuaeharuru on the 21st of March 1881 and we the Ngatiterangihiroa appeared as opponents to the claim. This block is being sold to Mr Graham. The purchase was commenced by him last year, and money given to Poihipi and Hare Te Kume, that is to the people on their side. When this claim was called by the Court, five objecting parties appeared, viz. first we the Ngatirangihiroa, secondly, Ngatirauhoto, third Te Rangiita, four Werewere Rangipumaomao, fifth Hare Te Kume and his friends.
>
> These are the grounds on which we apply for a rehearing of this block:
>
> 1. In our opinion and according to our knowledge the mode of procedures adopted by the Crown in the hearing of this block was utterly wrong, and the judgement was not right.

> 2. The cases on behalf of the four opponents was [sic] not listened to by the Court, and the evidence therefore in favour of their sides was not given before the Court.
> 3. The only opposition case that was listened to by the Court was that of Hare Te Kume. His claim was altogether different from ours, and others of the opponents.
> 4. Since the Court did not listen to the claims of four sides, but only to those of two, how could it give a clear judgement?
> 5. We have heard that the Interpreter of the Court was in Mr Graham's employ, hence his leaning towards Mr Graham, and his intimidation of us in Court. (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*)

Native Minister, Hon. W. Rolleston received a similarly worded petition which was referred on to the Chief Judge. Erueti Te Poko, Renata Ngahana Te Hemahema and 89 other Ngāti Tuapani representatives signed the third petition on 10 June 1881 (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*).

Letters withdrawing *tūpuna* support for a rehearing were also received. In a letter written to Judge Fenton dated 12 July 1881, Eru Poihipi wanted his petition retracted because he was able to reconcile the Court's decision. Fenton denied the request citing the petition was signed by many people so he could not justify one person's signature as sufficient proof. Henare Hoepo of Ngāti Karetoto claimed in a letter dated 23 July 1881 that his and other names were forged onto a petition and requested that Wairākei not be reheard (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*). However, for most *tūpuna,* the thought of Graham securing Wairākei unchallenged was incomprehensible.

As well as making application for a rehearing, Renata Te Hemahema and 92 other Ngāti Tuapani petitioned the Governor in a letter dated 10 June 1881. The petition was referred to the Chief Judge.

> Sir, we have heard that if we have any causes of complaint we should appeal to you, therefore it is that we pray you to be pleased to grant us a re-hearing in respect of our land Wairakei in which a wrong decision was given by the Native Land Court; there were perhaps over a hundred men, women and children having a [sic] interest in that land whose claim was ignored through the wily artifices of the lawyers and the Europeans whereby five people alone were admitted into the Certificate.

These then are the grounds on which we appeal to you to grant a rehearing:

I. The wrongful proceedings of the Lawyers and the Pakeha Maoris.

II. The reprehensible conduct of the Interpreter who was biased in Mr Graham's favour and endeavoured to intimidate us in the Court.

III. Our witnesses were not all allowed to give evidence but it was cut short.

IV. The names for insertion in the certificate were not called over in Court for public information.

V. The claimants did not set forth the grounds of his [sic] claim in the Court.

VI. When the titles to the small pieces of land outside of this block were investigated our names were all admitted but in the case of this large and important block, five names alone were admitted into the certificate.

Mr Graham has now bought four thousand acres of that land for two shillings an acre, all the Europeans were in his employ and that is how we were overreached, and five persons names were inserted in the certificate in order that he might the more readily get possession of the land. (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*)

Assessor, John Gage's letter to Judge MacDonald, dated 20 July, is filed with the above document.

The Wairakei Case the list of names was given to J.C. Young, Interpreter, he called out the names to the natives and asked them if that was correct, one to Hare Te Kume's people called out it is correct. Henare Poihipi came in Court asked if his name is in list. The Interpreter said his Father was in, Poihipi Tukairangi. (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*)

Gage's letter, written six weeks after Gilbert Mair's report, is difficult to reconcile when compared with Mair's report, which corroborates *tūpuna* complaints about names not being read in Court. Court Minutes signalled the hearing was rushed and the Judge had deadlines. With other cases adjourned during the Wairākei hearing, this case probably needed to be adjourned too? Undue pressure was being added to end the case quickly. Judge MacDonald admitted he did not understand *te reo* so it would have been impossible for him to monitor Young's translations to *tūpuna* or the mood of the hearing.

Why were only five names written on the Land title when legislation governing the Court required all names to be included? The Native Land Court Act 1880 which the Order for Wairākei Block was heard is specific; everyone with an interest in the land *must* have their name on the Order as a registered owner. Ten Ngāti Rauhoto *tūpuna* applied to have the Wairākei Block title investigated and counter-claimants from various other *hapū* defended their interests. Court Minutes reinforced that the five *tūpuna* named on the title acted independently of one another.

The Native Land Court Act 1880 also considered informal 'out of court,' 'voluntary' arrangements. What were considered 'voluntary' arrangements and when did coercion become voluntary? Claimants who objected to Wairākei being sold compromised their chance of being named in the title. What is more, *tūpuna* were expected to pay survey costs before Blocks were investigated, and shop keepers and traders commonly loaded debts onto the land. Graham had paid some *tūpuna* money and goods for provisions or services rendered; however, it is difficult to determine, from Land Court Minutes, why *tūpuna* objected to the sale of Wairākei. Certain *tūpuna* feared losing *mana* by not being named on the title, and forgoing a share in proceeds, or was it an honest desire to retain Wairākei in *tūpuna* ownership (E Stokes, 1991, p. 47).

Lawyers conduct inside and outside the courtroom caused angst amongst *tūpuna*. Pouro Tahuriwakanui, in a letter dated 20 October 1881 to Chief Judge Fenton, communicates his solution to the problem.

> This is an application from me to you that lawyers be not permitted to appear in the rehearing of the Wairakei Block. Rather let us natives be opposed only by natives like ourselves. It was by means of the lawyer that my hand was made wrong; that is by the work of Mr Graham. (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*)

Fenton annotated the above letter on 29 October in preparation for his response. He questioned why *tūpuna* even bothered getting lawyers, if that was how they felt about them. However, his solution avoided the 'conflict of interests' issue but failed to address how the problem could be remedied. He mused that if *tūpuna* opted for lawyer representation then this, surely, should be better than not having one. However, recent bitter experience illustrated that lawyers' did not always guarantee success (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*). The Wairākei Block investigation of title was complicated by 'wheeling and dealing', indebtedness and the obligations of a few individuals to Graham. Sadly, the actions of a few *tūpuna* prejudiced the legitimate *ahi kā* claims of others to Wairākei (E Stokes, 1991, p. 48).

The *pānui* published in *Kahiti,* dated 19 October 1881, reported the rehearing for the Wairākei Block would begin in Taupō on 21 January 1882. Meantime, Graham was already living on the Block without a legal title.

Rehearing of Wairākei Block, January 1882

The Wairākei Block rehearing, like the hearing, started slowly. Judges O'Brien and Williams presided at the rehearing and because the case was called at 4.15 pm on Friday 21 January 1882, no one turned up, so it was deferred to Monday 23 January (*TNLC minute book 2, p.254*). Enoka Te Aramoana, an applicant in the rehearing, compromised the Monday start because he was required at another Court sitting in Napier. *Tūpuna* debated why the case was adjourned (*TNLC minute book 2, p.255*). Telegrams were received from Ohinemutu requesting court be postponed for a further three or four days, but no reason was given.

The rehearing lasted three days. Evidence was first heard on 24 January 1882 and concluded on 26 January with some counter-claimants withdrawing claims for reasons unrecorded in the minutes (*TNLC minute book 2, p.262-284*; *TNLC minute book 3, pp.1-10*). Aperehama Te Kume, *teina* of Hare Te Kume acknowledged Popoki's ownership in Oruamuturangi and challenged Mitchell's survey map. Aperehama confirmed existing boundaries and noted that land on the east bank of the Waipūwerawera Stream had been excluded. *See Figure 42, p.220.*

> I claim by decent from Kurapoto. I can not say on what right Te Poihipi and Hira were admitted only through our friendship and goodwill (aroha) to them…Te Poihipi set out his claim as from Karetoto because he wanted to set

> up a right in that line which we denied altogether; we however admitted him as of the line of Kurapoto. (*TNLC minute book 2, p.54*)

Enoka Te Aramoana and Te Waka Te Maire, listed as counterclaimants, laid claim to Wairākei through their *tūpuna* Kurapoto and Tūwharetoa. Similarly, Erueti Te Poko claimed *ahi kā* through Ohomairangi and Te Aokarere while Mohi Mokoro through his *tūpuna* Ruingārangi and Rauhoto. Te Waka Te Maire represented Horonuku under Tūwharetoa and Kurapoto, and Initia Te Amo for Pauro Tahuriwakanui under Te Aoho and Rauhoto.

Enoka Te Aramoana, Horonuku, and Te Waka Te Maire combined claims. Enoka commented the rehearing provided him with the opportunity to be heard this time. He asserted;

> I was present in the former Court, but did not finish my Evidence on that occasion. I gave Evidence before the Court for half an hour, but I was interrupted by the lawyer, the Interpreter and the Court itself; they suggested that the case should be settled outside. The interruption by the Court was that I was told to cut my evidence short, that the Case might be finished. It was Mr Sheehan who wanted the Case settled outside. I refused, and desired that it should go into Court, and when it came on I was stopped in my evidence and told to cut it short. This was my reason for asking for a rehearing, so that I might be enabled to state my case fully. (*TNLC minute book 2, pp.207, 212*)

For the remainder of the first day, Enoka and Te Waka Te Maire presented evidence and were cross-examined. As Court opened the following morning;

> Enoka Te Aramoana announced that he had withdrawn the claims of himself, of Te Heuheu Tukino and Te Waka Te Maire. A letter from Erueti to [sic] Poko to the same effect as regarded his own claim was put into Court and read.
>
> Mohi Mokoro elected to proceed with his claim; as also did John Chase for Pauro.
> (*TNLC minute book 2, p.223*; *TNLC minute book 2, p.276*)

What ‘out of court deals’ contributed to Te Aramoana’s overnight mind-shift? Erueti’s letter, (written in *te reo*) quoted above, is the only documented evidence, from the four, on Rotorua Native Land Court files. Te Aramoana gave no reason for the withdrawal (*TNLC minute book 2, p.224*). One can only speculate on the possible arrangements made between Te Aramoana, Graham and their colleagues.

Moko Mokoro, Werahiko Tahere and Patoromu Te Apu representing Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Rauhoto took the latter part of the morning, on the second day of the hearing, to give evidence and be cross-examined. That afternoon, the Court heard Initia Te Amo give evidence on Pauro Tahuriwakanui’s behalf and then Tahere retook the stand and a debate ensued over which Rauhoto was being referred to. Later Renata Ngahana Te Hemahema appeared in court after just having attended his brother’s *tangi* in Rotorua.

Graham and his associates enticed *tūpuna* into relinquishing their ties to Wairākei with more ‘out of court’ settlements. Court resumes at 10 am on Thursday 26 January, the last day of the rehearing, to the following revelation;

> Aperahama Te Kume said that the Crown had been a good while delayed by the reopening of the Wairakei case, and that now he had been told that the whole claim had been withdrawn; he considered that it had been an unjustifiable attempt to upset his rights.
>
> A letter was then put into Court and read in Maori and English by the Interpreter, from the various counter claimants, viz.
> Pauro Tahuriwakanui
> Ihaka te Puke
> Wenetia te Amo (or Initia)
> Mohi Mokoro
> John Chase
>
> This letter absolutely withdrew the claims of the several parties signing it, and prayed a confirmation of the original Order of 4 June 1881.

> The several parties were called and personally or by their respective representatives, acknowledged their signatures and confirmed their request.
> (*TNLC minute book 2, p.238*)

Graham was in Court for the final day of the hearing. Court officials required further information on Block boundaries and Graham requested that no variations be made to the original Order. Officials affirmed the original five grantees but excluded Popoki's Claim of 137 acres in the southwest corner of Wairākei (*TNLC minute book 2, p.10*; *TNLC minute book 2, p.238*). The Court then deliberated on the Order for the Block.

> In respect of the date from which the Order was to have effect the Court announced that it would take time to consider the question especially in connection with the operation of the Thermal Springs District Act and it would therefore adjourn the case till 2.00 pm for the purpose of deliberation…
> The Presiding Judge said that an application had been made that the Order for Certificate should bear the date fixed in the original Order viz. the 4th June 1881; and if there was no opposition the Court would accede to it and fix that date.
> No objections being offered, it was ordered.
> That the Certificate of Title for Wairakei take effect from the 4th day of June 1881.
> (*TNLC minute book 2, p.10*)

Graham knew that backdating the Certificate of Title for the Block would undermine the Thermal Springs District Act passed on 24 September 1881. This Act was tailored to prevent private dealers like Graham from purchasing geothermal areas in Taupō and Rotorua. The Act reserved all rights of the Government to ensure these areas remained accessible to everyone. Wairākei was incorporated into the Taupō *rohe* under the Act on 24 October 1881 (*NZ Gazette, p.1376* 1881). Graham insisted the Order for the Block be backdated to 4 June 1881 to circumvent an Act that was designed to prevent this situation.

Evidence confirming the Government consulted *tūpuna* in the *rohe* before the Act was introduced into Taupō is non-existent and chances are it never happened. From the evidence in the Wairākei

Block rehearing, Graham sidestepped the Acts intent and the Government allowed him to do so (E Stokes, 1991, p. 63).

Graham wielded considerable influence during the Wairākei Block hearings. He manipulated its pace, knowing that if he could get the case rushed through, it would be to his advantage which it was. He manipulated and bribed government officials to achieve a sale. Documented evidence in minute book records and files of the Native Land Court, demonstrate how Graham thwarted the provisions of the Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881.

Official leads documenting the Graham v Fenton case dry up. Land Court files in the Supreme Court, after 26 September, do not exist anymore nor do case reviews in law journals. Auckland Supreme Court files and other official archived material were destroyed in Wellington in the Hope Gibbons Fire of 1949. Why didn't the Government implement the provisions of the Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881 in the Taupō District? Without official documentation, the answer is open to conjecture.

Tūpuna resented how Graham acquired the Wairākei Block and the loss of access to its geothermal areas. How can anyone reconcile losing land on this scale and its loss affected *tūpuna* on many different levels? An inquiry to the Registrar of the Rotorua Māori Land Court in 1914 noted that a portion of the Wairākei Block was excluded from sale to Graham. *Tūpuna* knew this reserve contained the hot spring Matarakutia. *Tūpuna* considered Matarakutia, located just above the Huka Falls, a *wāhi tapu* known for its healing properties (*TNLC minute book 3, p.10*). Cruickshank intimated that *tūpuna* believed they would get unrestricted access to the area (Cruickshank, 1940, p. 137). However, a 1914 Inquiry ruled that the Land Transfer Title was issued to Graham for the whole Block (*RNLC file 1124*). After applications for succession of interest in Matarakutia were lodged *tūpuna* had no redress for the alienation of land and resources because the Block was sold and the title registered with the Courts. The Wairākei Block was gone. If the Crown had implemented the Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881, private dealers like Graham would not have been able to purchase the Block and its geothermal areas. Crown Officials failed to perform basic duties with integrity, and the best intents of *tūpuna,* and Māori and Pākehā of Aotearoa were compromised.

Chapter 9 covered the Taupō Native Land Court hearing and rehearing for Wairākei Block. The chapter recounts how tourism operator, Robert Graham, manipulated the Court system and used his

past influence and experience in politics at the highest level to strip Te Poihipi, Ngāti Ruingārangi and many other local *tūpuna* of their traditional *ahi kā* rights to the Block.

Te Poihipi was powerless to help retain the Wairākei Block in *tūpuna* ownership, despite his extensive knowledge and experience on many fronts to do with land, people, and politics, because he was in the final stages of tuberculosis, the disease that was to take his life less than a month after the Wairākei Block case was reheard in the Taupō Native Land court.

Te Wāhanga Tekau: Te whakareretanga o te kaiārahitanga o Te Poihipi

Chapter 10: The legacy of Te Poihipi's leadership

This chapter summarises why Te Poihipi (not "Queenite" or *kāwanatanga* Māori) provided an example of a chief, in consultation with his people, adjusting leadership roles to benefit the *hapū*.

This study analyses, from a cultural and political perspective, Te Poihipi's leadership of Ngāti Ruingārangi during the mid to late nineteenth century. These two perspectives are assessed in relation to the involvement of Te Poihipi with *tūpuna*, traditions, and his relationship with Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and *te ao hou* or the new colonised and rapidly changing world of the nineteenth century.

Te poutokomanawa is the main central support post inside the meeting house which props up the *tāhuhu* or ridge pole extending the length, from front to back, of the *wharepuni*. Te Poihipi has metaphorically speaking been *te poutokomanawa* for Te Rangiita, the meeting house, and Ngāti Ruingārangi, the *hapū*.

Te poutokomanawa is a part of the *wharepuni* in the same way as Te Poihipi is a part of his people, including his *tūpuna*, his contemporaries, and his *uri*. Te Poihipi's leadership and contribution to Ngāti Ruingārangi history warrants his place inside Te Rangiita – a perspective that places him in *te ao o Ngāti Ruingārangi* and informs the whole of the present study instead of calling him a "friendly", a "loyalist", a "*kūpapa*", a "Queenite", or a "*Kāwanatanga* Māori" which are very much Pākehā perceptions of the world.

The topic is significant for Māori scholars, as an example of *kaupapa* Māori or Māori focused research for others to follow, or to modify as circumstances suit. The research is significant for Pākehā historians too who have often taken a limited view of Māori roles in nineteenth century conflicts. What western researchers call methodology, Māori researchers prefer the term "*kaupapa* Māori" or "Māori-centered" or "Māori-focused" research where Māori values, attitudes, and practices take centre stage in the research by contrast with other methodologies. And it is from this particular perspective that Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story is told.

In Aotearoa, Māori enthusiastically accepted *te ao Pākehā* and everything in it as fast as they possibly could, not for novelty, but for development. From Te Taonui, Te Waka Nene, and

Patuone's *hapū* up in Hokianga to Tuhawaiki and Taiaroa's *whanaunga* down in Moeraki, and more or less everywhere and everyone in between, *whānau*, and *hapū* seized opportunities not just to trade but to create thriving local economies based on technological innovation (e.g. roofed storage pits) and commercial endeavours focused on wheat growing, flour production and coastal shipping (Petrie, 2006, pp. 117-118). Local economies included the introduction of new implements (e.g. axes, ploughs), new crops (e.g. potato, wheat, corn), farm produce, livestock (e.g. horses, cattle, pigs, sheep), expanded markets (e.g. the sale of pigs, prepared flax, processed timber) and overseas markets and so on. When colonists arrived in increasing numbers, they were uneasy about all this, and violently or through the legal and judicial systems eventually stripped *tūpuna* of their resources and denied them access to capital.

Chapter 1 had five objectives. The first was to establish how certain Māori words and phrases were used in the thesis. The second was to outline what each chapter covered. The third was to establish Ngāti Ruingārangi's traditional links to the central North Island region, welcome you onto Tapuaeharuru marae and into Te Rangiita, and to introduce you to Te Poihipi Tūkairangi. The fourth and fifth objectives were to highlight the significance of *whakapapa* in Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's world and to establish my *pepeha* and *whakapapa* connections to the research topic.

Chapter 2 discussed what *kaupapa Māori* research was as a research methodology; provided a critical review of the literature on the Taupō *rohe*, of literature on Ngāti Tūwharetoa and on Māori and Pākehā relations in the nineteenth century; and explored the sources used.

In Chapter 3, evidence was presented on the natural world of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, exploring the world they called *tūrangawaewae;* a world that connected them to the land, its waterways, and the forest through Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth mother, and their six *atua* son's Tangaroa, Tāne-māhuta, Rongo-mā-Tāne, Haumia-tiketike, Tāwhiri-mātea, and Tūmatauenga. This chapter examined the "upbringing" of Te Poihipi in the traditional world that his *tūpuna* knew.

Chapter 4 dealt with the new or non-traditional world of Te Poihipi and examined the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi and its impact on him as a "very young man" and future leader of Ngāti Ruingārangi.

In Chapter 5, the emphasis was upon the growth of Christian practices in Tūwharetoa from 1841 to 1856, illustrating how Te Poihipi's efforts, despite strong opposition from southern *rangatira* to secure the services of a resident missionary at their end of the lake, were realised. This chapter discussed the radical changes made by Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to accommodate *te ao Karaitiana,* a completely new world, and one that was so far removed from *te ao tawhito* and familiar world their *tūpuna* had brought them up in.

In Chapter 6, the focus was on the first meetings held for the kingship round Taupō *moana*, to the end of fighting against Te Kīngitanga in Waikato and Bay of Plenty (Gate Pā and Te Ranga), showing that during this time supporting the Queen and supporting Te Kīngitanga were synonymous for Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. However, in the intervening years between King Pōtatau's ascension to the Māori throne in 1858, and 1863 when the wars broke out in Taranaki, Te Kīngitanga's focus changed and so did Te Poihipi's.

In Chapter 7, materials relating to the responses of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi to the "Hauhau" or the Pai Mārire movement and to Te Kooti and his followers from mid-1864 through to 1869/70 in the Taupō rohe were analysed. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi, and *tūpuna* in general, continued to experience unprecedented change in a very unsettled and uncertain period in the *rohe*. Pai Mārire and later Te Kooti's campaigns were potentially threats, in Te Poihipi's perspective, to the stability and autonomy of Ngāti Ruingārangi and their neighbours, and challenges to Te Poihipi's *rangatiratanga*.

Chapter 8 described how Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi were committed to taking road making and other government related public works contracts, selling or leasing land, and developing tourism to encourage Pākehā involvement in the *rohe*. "[Te] Poihipi has always been an advocate for opening up the interior of the country by roads &c., and expressed himself [to the Government on many occasions] as being very desirous to have that part of the country settled by Europeans"(*AJHR,1870, A-17, p.43*) . Te Poihipi, in consultation with the 15-20 men under his command, had strategized that working for the government to build roads in the *rohe* facilitated their goal of encouraging Pākehā to want to settle, which, over time, promised economic and trade advantages never before seen by them (*The Pouakani report*, 1993). Through the early part of the 1870s, Te Poihipi hosted *hui* (on behalf of the government) with other *rangatira* to promote the benefits of building roads and taking road making contracts with the government. Te Poihipi was aware that *rangatira* had become disillusioned with war, Hauhau, and Te Kīngitanga, and as the

decade unfolded, more and more opted to build roads and support other government initiatives. Te Poihipi knew how important he was to the government's plan to curtail the chances of further war and to open up the central North Island, but he also knew that he needed to stabalise the relationship with the government so that he and Ngāti Ruingārangi could realise their own long term strategic goals.

In Chapter 9, evidence was presented and analysed from the Taupō Native Land Court hearing and rehearing for Wairākei *rohe,* and Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's loss of this *whenua* to tourist operator Robert Graham.[69] Te Poihipi was powerless to assist *tūpuna* retain the Wairākei *rohe* despite his prior knowledge and experience with the land, politics and people because he was in the last stages of having contracted pulmonary consumption or tuberculosis, the disease that claimed his life weeks after the Wairākei *rohe* case was reheard in the Taupō Native Land court.

Chapter 10 summarises why Te Poihipi (not "Queenite" or *kāwanatanga* Māori) provided an example of a chief, in consultation with his people, adjusting leadership roles to benefit the *hapū*. *Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: Te poutokomanawa o Ngāti Ruingārangi,* in a wider sense, is a further important contribution to the recent historical research which explores the ways that Māori used a variety of strategies, including so called "loyalism", to maintain their *mana* and their autonomy, and to utilise Pākehā to retain their *rangatiratanga*.

Although some of the ideas of Head (2001), and Soutar (2000) have been used to an extent, my *mātauranga* is not their *mātauranga* because mine derives from Ngāti Ruingārangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Head (2001), for example, uses Ngāti Kahungunu and Rēnata Kawepō to illustrate her point that disputes were not about keeping to the former ways or changing to the new, but rather how best to organise the new world in which all Māori found themselves. Theirs was a world in which new and old rivalries continued to challenge them as much as religious beliefs and practises caused argument, division and sometimes conflict. Rēnata Kawepō and Ngāti Kahungunu's story is similar, in some respects to the story of Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi's story has gone some way to telling that "other" side.

Te Poihipi's paramount aim, as *rangatira*, above all else, was to maintain or increase his *mana*, and the *mana* of Ngāti Ruingārangi, through his, more often than not, positive relationships with

[69] The Wairākei *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Wairākei Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.

Pākehā. Te Poihipi wanted to cement these relationships so that Ngāti Ruingārangi could take advantage of *te ao hou,* to increase their resources and assets. Positive relationships translated into increased opportunities for Ngāti Ruingārangi, and Te Poihipi inviting Pākehā to Taupō was his way of managing the situation. However, as he and Ngāti Ruingārangi had learnt from past experience, Pākehā behaved in odd, curious and unpredictable ways, and it was not always possible for them to control these recently arrived *manuhiri,* who often caused considerable embarrassment. Te Poihipi, in a sense, could be considered a founder of Taupō, because he encouraged Pākehā participation in the *rohe,* but I doubt that in his enthusiasm for *te ao hou,* he ever gave up, or gave away *te ao tawhito*.

Te Poihipi was an "entrepreneur" and supported Te Kāwanatanga for a number of reasons: he was very friendly with different Pākehā, he liked to take an alternative perspective to his *whanaunga* and rivals at the southern end of the Lake, and he had signed up (in an assenting sense) in 1840, which included adopting Busby's name, a key player in the signing at Waitangi. However, the one reason probably underpinning the rest is that Te Poihipi intended to use his links with Pākehā government and other Pākehā to advance the wealth and therefore influence of Ngāti Ruingārangi. Tapuaeharuru was not rich in human or natural resources, and economic development was an optimum goal for *hapū*. The assistance and support of Pākehā would significantly accelerate development. Considering the relatively small number of Pākehā in the neighbourhood of Nukuhau up until the time of Te Poihipi's death, Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi had no real reason to bemoan the new settlers, as they were far from outnumbering local Māori.

Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingāranga progressively dwelt closer and closer to where the Waikato River exited the Lake the longer they maintained *ahi kā* and *mana whenua* in the *rohe*. From Rangatira they dwelt at Ōmaunu for a time before Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi established a new *pā* at Hiruhārama in 1850.[70] At the beginning of 1865, Meade (1984) described Hiruhārama, in his journal entry dated 6 January, as "a small almost entirely deserted *kainga*" (Meade, 1984, p. 74). Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi saw considerable change over the next twenty years or so. Harris (1878) wrote;

> …. the track passes Rangatira Bay, and a headland known as Jerusalem, where there is a Maori burial place, overrun with prickly acacia. Further on,

[70] The Rangatira *rohe* referred to here was later designated as Rangatira Block in Taupō Native Land Court minutes.

> Te Poihipi's pah, named Te Rangitaukiwaha [Te Pā-o-te-Rangitaukiwaho], is passed, and 400 yards beyond that the Waikato river, running from the lake, is come to. (C. Harris, 1878, p. 25)

Te Poihipi died at mid-day on 10 February 1882 ("Telegraphic ", 1882, 13 February, p. 3) in Nukuhau.[71] He received a funeral befitting his *rangatira* status. *Tūpuna* taught that when a person dies, up until the time of burial, they can comprehend what is being said about them at their *tangihanga,* as if they were still alive. Te Poihipi, in this state of awareness, would have appreciated the efforts of Ngāti Ruingārangi, other kindred *hapū,* and his many Pākehā friends and acquaintances that came to his *tangihanga* to celebrate his life, and farewell him. Similar to how Te Poihipi lived his life, he would have appreciated the company of others, and mourners eulogising his life's achievements, interspersed with outbursts of laughter. However, counter to his persona in real life, Te Poihipi would neither initiate nor exercise the right of reply this time.

Te Poihipi lay in state at his *tangihanga* in full Good Templar regalia "which he was always proud to wear on special occasions ("Personal ", 1882, 4 March, p. 390). Good Templars were (and still are today) a temperance organisation who believed in total abstinence from alcohol and they were active in Europe and North America in the nineteenth century as people sought to reform negative social behaviours. Land agent and interpreter for Sir George Grey, Mr C.O.B. Davis of Auckland, introduced Good Templarism to Te Poihipi and *tūpuna* in Taupō. Te Poihipi joined the organisation when Davis presented him with "a very handsome and expensive suit of regalia and clothing" ("Death of the Chief Te Poihipi Tukairangi," 1882, 22 February, p. 3). Te Poihipi had concerns about the effects of alcohol on *tūpuna*, Ngāti Ruingārangi and even himself (S J Brittan, et al., 1928, p. 224). He probably fancied 'a good dress up' in support of a worthy cause too. He may have even seen Templarism as another way to network and promote himself, Ngāti Ruingārangi and his ideas and projects to Pākehā business people. Te Poihipi was first buried at Te Pā-o-te-Rangitaukiwaho then later taken for reburial to the Ōmaunu *urupā* (Stebbing, 1983, p. 140).

Shortly after Te Poihipi's *tangihanga*, Prime Minister Sir John Hall visited Tapuaeharuru and Ngāti Ruingārangi asked him if he would assist them in erecting a monument over Te Poihipi's grave in recognition of his support for Te Kāwanatanga over the years. Hall never granted Ngāti Ruingārangi their request ("The Premier at Taupo," 1882, 3 March, p. 2).

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[71] R. Stebbing (personal communication, 28 February 2012).

Too few *tūpuna* and *hapū* histories are analysed at the doctoral dissertation level. More Māori history needs to be recounted by Māori, from a Māori world-view perspective, and not from a western paradigm. Te Poihipi was a notable Ngāti Ruingārangi *rangatira* and his *mana* and *tino rangatiratanga* or contribution to Ngāti Ruingārangi and to colonial Taupō heritage was significant and needs to be understood and appreciated from this perspective. The study has helped broaden the focus of Ngāti Tūwharetoa history from the southern end of the Lake and the paramount family who have featured in published material.

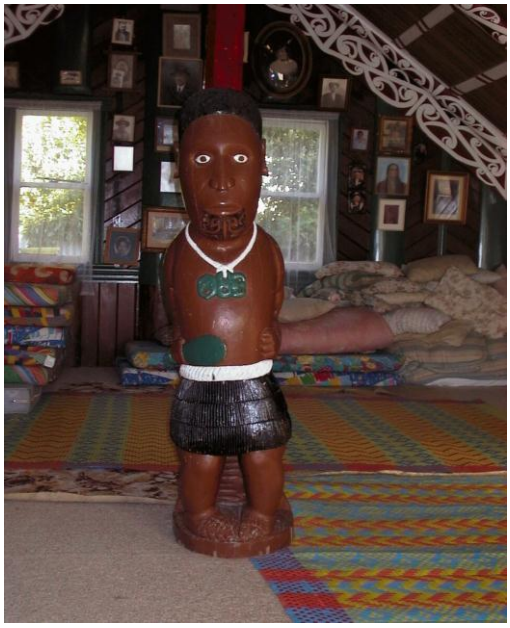

Figure 43: Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: Te poutokomanawa o Ngāti Ruingārangi me Te Rangiita, te wharepuni - *Te Poihipi Tūkairangi: The central support post of his hapū Ngāti Ruingārangi and Te Rangiita, the meeting house* - Photograph taken by Bill Aubrey in 2002.

Te Poihipi Tūkairangi is the central support post that props up Te Rangiita today, symbolic of his role, and recognition for his *rangatiratanga* of Ngāti Ruingārangi. Such a perspective is, much better than the "friendlies" v. "rebels" one, or the "friends of the Pākehā" angle which makes Te Poihipi and Ngāti Ruingārangi into puppets manipulated by Pākehā and *te ao hou*, or into fools who did not understand what was in their best interests.

Te Poihipi, the carved figure at the base of the *poutokomanawa*, was originally kept in a customised wooden box in a small *whare* next to Te Rangiita. Te Poihipi was brought out of the *whare* on special occasions and placed in front of the flag pole. At the end of each *hui*, he was returned to the *whare*.

In 1992-1993, when the *whare* was shifted to make way for a new *wharemoe (house where people sleep)*, Te Poihipi was placed at the base of the *poutokomanawa* which had been, up until that time, bare. Te Poihipi looked comfortable, in his new location, and over time this has been regarded as normal and there he has remained ever since.

What shaped the research topic for me

As a youngster, I was brought up by my koro and kui in the Te Hunua- Puketarata-Ōruanui-Wairākei -Taupō-Rotorua *rohe* so I knew the people, places, and history I wrote about in the thesis. As mentioned in the acknowledgements, getting castigated by my koro for wasting time reading J. T. Graces, *Tuwharetoa the history of the Maori people of the Taupo District* was further motivation for me to want to write a history of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi and Ngāti Ruingārangi from their perspective? As a student at Taupō-nui-ā-Tia College, I read biographies written on Te Kooti, Te Rauparaha, Rua Kēnana and others and they were all portrayed as rebels in histories written by Pākehā because they had all opposed the government. At the time, it seemed to me that you had to oppose the government, to have your biography written. My first teaching position at Whāngārei Boys' High School in Whāngārei prepared me well to write *Chapter 4: Te Poihipi and the Treaty of Waitangi (1839-1840)*. Living in the North and knowing Te Tai Tokerau and the Bay of Islands, and more particularly Waitangi, and the association of my *tūpuna* with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi motivated me to complete the work. Finally, when I took a sabbatical from teaching in 2002, at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki, 'Hapū and Iwi studies' was a key component of each course offered. Doing this course was the catalyst for me meeting Rose Stebbing again and it was she who provided me with the earlier material for the thesis including some biographical notes on Te Poihipi Tūkairangi.

Aims of the thesis

The first aim of the research was to acknowledge and make known the *mana* of Te Poihipi Tūkairangi and Ngāti Ruingārangi. Second, I wanted to highlight the significance of the *marae*, and the *poutokomanawa* of the *wharepuni*. Third, I realised that there were many ways of adjusting to changed conditions in the period when Pākehā intruded, and Te Poihipi Tūkairangi and Ngāti Ruingārangi illustrated some of the responses and how they maintained their identity and integrity. And finally, descendants or *uri* may learn from their *tūpuna* as they face challenges today.

What I learnt from completing the thesis

First, the importance of *mātauranga* handed down by *hapū* and *whānau,* for example, the contribution of Rose Stebbing in this case. Second, the need to place accounts of the past in a Māori, specifically Te Poihipi Tūkairangi and Ngāti Ruingārangi **c**ontext. Third, the significance of te reo Māori for research and understanding, and fourth, the importance of listening to the *whakaaro* of elders. Fifth, the approach adopted in this thesis may be taken up by Māori scholars whose *tūpuna* have been labelled as "*kūpapa*" or "loyalists" or pro-Pākehā, and can, using this study as a starting point, to look at the complexities of how their *tūpuna* made decisions and alliances to maintain their own *mana* and *rangatiratanga*. And fifth, this thesis is just a small portion for the *kete*, much more needs to be done; other contributions need to be made to help fill the *kete*.

The legacy of Te Poihipi's leadership

A legacy of Te Poihipi's leadership of Ngāti Ruingārangi through the 1840s on in to the early 1880s is the survival of the *hapū* today. Without Te Poihipi's inspired leadership, in consultation with the people, and his ability to adapt, and to adopt roles and responsibilities to benefit the strategic goals of the *hapū*, Ngāti Ruingārangi would not be what it is today. Te Poihipi's legacy provided the impetus for his *uri* to build Te Rangiita, the *wharepuni* on Tapuaeharuru marae in 1912-1914, and also to construct Ruingārangi, the *wharemoe*, in 1993.

Te Poihipi's legacy today provides Ngāti Ruingārangi with a rich Pre and Post-Colonial past. The Pre-Colonial past links his *uri* to the traditional world his *tūpuna* knew. His Post-Colonial past, on the other hand, links his *uri* to events surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; the growth of Christian practices in Tūwharetoa in the 1840s and 1850s; the formation of Te Kīngitanga, responses to the Pai Mārire movement and to Te Kooti in the mid to late 1860s; taking road making and other government related public works contracts, selling or leasing land, and developing tourism to encourage Pākehā involvement in Taupō in the 1870s; and in the late 1870s-early 1880s, involvement in the Wairākei *rohe* Land Court case.

Kupu Māori

Glossary

The Māori words listed below are used in this thesis. All of the following words are in Williams, H. W. (1975). *A dictionary of the Maori Language* (7th ed.). Wellington, NZ: A. R. Shearer, Government Printer.

ahi kā	The burning fires of occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time. The group is able, through the use of *whakapapa*, to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. They held influence over the land through their military strength and defended successfully against challenges, thereby keeping their fires burning
amo	upright supports of the lower ends of the *maihi* of the front of a *wharepuni*
anga	shells
Aotearoa	New Zealand
ariki	paramount chief of a tribe or *iwi*, high chief, leader, aristocrat, firstborn in a high ranking family
arikinui	a term adopted by followers of Te Kīngitanga (the Māori king movement) for the Māori King – the term literally means to paramount chief of all paramount chiefs
aruhe	edible fern root
atua	god
Atua Māori	Māori Gods; supernatural beings or creatures that reveal the spirit world
awa	ancestral river
hā	breath of life
haerenga	journey
haka	men's ceremonial dance with actions
hākari	sumptuous meal, feast
hāngī	earth or thermally generated oven
hapū	literally; to have conceived; subdivision of a tribe, sub-tribe

harakeke	flax
harirū	to shake hands
Haumia-tiketike	*atua* of fernroot and uncultivated food
Hawaiki	the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa
hongi	to greet by pressing noses
huahua manu	preserved birds
hui	coming together of people to talk and to socialise
hui poukai	King Movement gathering - *hui* or gatherings held on *marae* where people who support the Te Kīngitanga demonstrate their loyalty, contribute to funds and discuss movement affairs
īnanga	whitebait - a small silvery-white native fish
Io	the supreme being - some tribes have a tradition of a supreme being, which may be a response to Christianity. However, Io occurs in a number of traditions from Polynesian islands, including Hawai‘i, the Society Islands and the Cook Islands
iwi	tribe or social unit bound together by kinship and locality; tribe traces descent from a common ancestor or ancestors
kai	food or meal
kaihoe	paddlers
kaikōrero	speaker, orator
kāinga	settlement, home, village, communities
kairangahau	researcher
kaitiaki	guardian, wardens, sergeants
kaiwhakaako	Native teacher for the Church Missionary Society
kaiwhakawā	judge or assessor
kākā	large native forest parrot with olive-brown and dull green upperparts and crimson under-parts
kākahi	fresh water mussel
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face meeting
kapa haka	concert party, *haka* group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group
karakia	incantation, charm, spell, ancient rites; Christian prayers
karanga	a traditional call of welcome given by elderly women on the marae in a formal welcoming ceremony

karere	constables
kaumātua	elder of the tribe, or, of the extended family
kaupapa	topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme
kaupapa Māori	a Māori perspective
kawa	*marae* protocol - customs of the marae and *wharepuni* or *wharenui* particularly those related to formal activities such as *pōwhiri*, speeches and *mihimihi*
kāwana	governor
kāwanatanga	governance: administration and law
kāwanatanga Māori	Māori who aligned with the Government
kererū	native wood pigeon
kete	basket, kit
kīnaki	relish, garnish
kōaro	species of whitebait
kōrero pūrākau	myth, ancient legend, story
koha	present, gift
kōhatu	stones, rocks
kōkopu	Native fresh water trout - small, blunt-nosed, slender, lack scales and carry a dorsal fin set far to the rear. The juvenile form is called whitebait
kōkōwai	red ochre
koro/koroua	a respected male elder of the family, tribe or sub-tribe
Kororāreka	Russell in the Bay of Islands
kōura	fresh water crayfish
kōwhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation - commonly used on *wharepuni* rafters
kui/kuia	a respected female elder of the family, tribe or sub-tribe
kūmara	sweet potato
kūpapa	collaborator or ally - a term applied to Māori who sided with Pākehā imperial or colonial forces (the Government)
kupenga	seine or drag net
mahinga kai	cultivations, gardens, food gathering
maihi	the facing boards on the gable of a *wharepuni*

mana	authority, prestige, power, psychic force
manaaki	(verb) to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for
manaakitanga	(noun) hospitality, kindness
mana whenua	traditional or legal rights to the land
manu	bird
manuhiri	visitor, guest
mānuka	tea-tree - a common native scrub bush with aromatic, prickly leaves and many small, white, pink or red flowers
marae(-ā-tea)	enclosed open space or courtyard in a village where people gather in front of the meeting house to welcome visitors; forum of social life
mātauranga	knowledge
matua	father or parent
matua whāngai	foster parent
maunga	ancestral mountain
mauri	life principle, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions
mere	short weapon of whalebone, greenstone or heavy wood
moana	large lake, sea, ocean
moko	tattoo on face, arms, thighs, buttocks
mokomoko	lizard, skink, gecko
mokopuna	grandson, granddaughter
mōteatea	lament, traditional chant
muka	prepared flax fibre
muru	an effective form of social control, restorative justice and redistribution of wealth among relatives. The process involved taking all or some of the offending party's goods. The party that had the *muru* performed on them did not respond by seeking *utu*. The reasons for a *muru* included threats to the institution of marriage, accidents that threatened life (e.g. parents' negligence), trampling on *tapu*, and defeat in war. It could be instituted for intentional or unintentional offences. It only occurred among groups of people who were linked by *whakapapa* or marriage and

	linked neighboring villages in a collective response in the delivery of punishment
ngā	*te* means ‘the’ and *ngā* is the plural of *te*
ngahere	bush, forest
Ngāi Tahu	tribal group of much of the South Island, sometimes called Kāi Tahu by the southern tribes
Ngāi Tūhoe	tribal group of the Bay of Plenty in the Kutarere-Ruātoki-Waimana-Waikaremoana area
Ngāpuhi	tribal group of much of Northland
ngāwhā	boiling springs
noa	be free from the extensions of *tapu*
pā	village, settlement, fortified place of a tribe or sub-tribe
paepae	orators' bench where the speakers of the *tangata whenua* sit
Pākehā	European traders, settlers, missionaries, officials, soldiers etc
pānui	public notice
Papatūānuku	Earth mother
pārera	Grey Duck (Anas Superciliosa)
pātaka	food storehouse raised on posts
pepeha	tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe)
poi	a light ball on a string twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment
poroporoaki	to formally farewell
pōtiki	youngest child
pou	post, upright, support, pole, pillar
poupou	upright slabs forming the framework of the walls of a *wharepuni*, carved wall figures
poutokomanawa	centre ridge pole of a meeting house
pōwhiri	a welcome ceremony (usually) onto a *marae*
pū	gun, musket, firearm
pūhā	small leafy plants with thistle-like leaves and milky juice, boiled and eaten as a green vegetable
puia	a puia is a volcano such as Whakaari or White Island in the Eastern Bay of Plenty or the hot springs in Rotorua
pūngao puia	geothermal energy

pūtere	*raupō* root or bulrush root
rāhui	prohibition; the setting aside of a place or thing for a specified time; permanent reservation of land for a specific purpose
rahurahu	bracken or fern
rākau	tree
rangatira	chief, leader of a *hapū* rather than an *iwi*
rangatira ki te rangatira	face to face meeting between chiefs
rangatiratanga	rights and responsibilities of a rangatira
repo	swamp
rīwai	potato
rōpū	group, party of people, entourage
rohe	physical tribal or sub-tribal boundary
rohe Pōtae, Te	King Country
Rongo-mā-Tāne	*atua* of Peace, the kumara and cultivated food
rou kākahi	dredge rakes for scraping the mussels from the bed of the lake
rourou	small flax weaved food basket
Rūaumoko	*atua* of earthquakes, volcanoes and subterranean activity
rūnanga	sub-tribal or tribal council
tāhuhu	ridge pole of a *wharepuni*
taiaha	long weapon of hard wood with a flat blade tapering to a round shaft ending with a sharp tongue
take raupatu	right of conquest to land
take taunaha	right of discovery to land
take tuku	right to gift to land
take tūpuna	right by ancestry to land
take whenua kite hou	right of discovery to land
tamariki	children
Tāne-māhuta	*atua* of the forest and the all the creatures that live in them
Tangaroa	*atua* of the lakes, rivers, streams and all the creatures that inhabit them
tangata	person, human being
tāngata	people, human beings
tangata whenua	literally: person or people of the land; people belonging to a tribal region; hosts as distinct from visitors

tangihanga	ceremony of mourning for the dead
tāniko	border for cloaks, made by finger weaving
taniwha	monster
taonga	treasure, something prized
tapu	be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection
Tapuaeharuru	Taupō township was known as Tapuaeharuru prior to the 1870s when AC troops and the Colonial government established itself in the area - Colonials adopted Tapuaeharuru from the name Te Poihipi had given his *pā* at Nukuhau
taputapu	gear, equipment, goods, property, apparatus, utensil, hardware, gadget
tatua	belt
taua	war party, army
tau	bundles of intertwined, intermeshed fern
taunga īnanga	the fishing grounds where tūpuna fished for īnanga
tauparapara	a formulaic chant to start a speech; in general terms the chant describes aspects of naturally occurring phenomena in the environment and relates them to human behaviour and characteristics; some chants are for hosts and others for guests
taura	rope
taurekareka	captive taken in war, slave, scoundrel, idiot, rascal, rogue
Tāwhiri-mātea	*atua* of the winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and storms
te	the
te ao hou	the new / colonial / Western world
te ao hurihuri	the changing world
te ao Karaitiana	the world of Christianity, Christianity
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao mārama	the world of the light or world of the living
te ao Pākehā	the western / European world
te ao tawhito	the old world or the way things were done prior to European contact
te ao wairua	the realm of the spirit world
teina	younger brother (of a male), younger sister (of a female), cousin

	(of the same gender) of a junior line, junior relative
te ira tangata	mortals, human life
Te Kīngitanga	King Movement - a movement which developed in the 1850s, culminating in the anointing of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as King. Established to stop the loss of land to the colonists, to maintain law and order, and to promote traditional values and culture
tekoteko	carved figure on the gable of a meeting house
te Pō-kerekere	the intense night
te Pō-tangotango	the intensely dark night
te Pō-uriuri	the deep night
te reo	the Māori language
te reo Pākehā	the English language
Tihei mauri-ora	there is life
tika	be correct
tikanga	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, reason, plan, practice, convention
tikanga Māori	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, reason, plan, practice, convention in relation to Māori
tikanga Pākehā	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, convention in relation to Pākehā
tīmata	short spear for throwing
tira	travelling party
toa	warrior, champion, expert, brave man
tohu	signature
tohunga	healer, high priest; expert in traditional lore; person skilled in a specific activity e.g. tohunga whakairo – expert carver
tohunga whakairo	Master carver
toitoi	common bully or coca bully
tokotoko	walking stick
tōtara	a native wood or timber of Aotearoa
tuakana	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender), of a senior line, senior relative
tūī	parson bird, a songbird that imitates other birds' calls and has

	glossy-black plumage and two white tufts at the throat
tukutuku	lattice-work of interior wall panels set between the carved figures in a *wharepuni*
Tūmatauenga	*atua* of humankind and war
tuna	eel
tupuna	ancestor
tūpuna	ancestors, but please note: 1. The author uses the word tūpuna in the thesis to refer to either his Ngāti Ruingārangi or wider Ngāti Tūwharetoa ancestors. At times, the word is used to refer to both. 2. The word tūpuna may be used in the text to refer to the tūpuna of others but it will be preceded by the word their ie their tūpuna. 3. The word Māori is used in the thesis to include all other indigenous iwi, hapū, whānau, men, women, and children of Aotearoa.
tūrangawaewae	an individuals ancestral home or marae; literally a 'place to stand'
tūpāpaku	corpse, deceased
uri	descendants, offspring, issue
utu	revenge, recompense, reward, price, payment, repayment in goods; retribution in battle to the death
urupā/wāhi tapu	burial ground, cemetery, grave
waharoa	entrance to a *pā*, marae, gateway, main entranceway
wāhi tapu	sacred / protected places
waiariki	hot spring, thermal pool (suitable for bathing)
waiata	chant, song; to chant, to sing
waiata-a-ringa	song performed with actions to it
waiata tira	choral song - songs sung as a choir without actions
wairuatanga	spirituality
wai tuhi	a small trough shaped like a canoe and filled with water
waka	canoe, ancestral canoe
wānanga	higher house of learning
wero	challenge at a *pōwhiri*
whaikōrero	to make a formal speech

whakaahua	photograph
whakaaro Māori	Māori thinking
whakaaro tūrangawaewae	*thoughts in relation to where a person has rights of residence through whakapapa*
whakaeke	entrance on to the stage
whakahīhī	to be vain, conceited, proud, arrogant
whakairo	carving
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatipu	shoulder/rain cape
whakarau	captives
whakataukī	proverb, saying
whakatangata whenua	to become an honorary tangata whenua or local during the time of a visit to the marae – this alleviates strain on locals to do everything
whānau	family
whanaunga	relative or relation
whanaungatanga	a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging
whanaunga tata	very close relative, very close relation
Whangaroa	Acacia Bay
whare	house, dwelling
whare kai	dining hall
wharepuni/whare	meeting house
whāriki	flax floor or sleeping mats
whenua	literally; afterbirth; land, ground, earth, a country
whenua raupatu	confiscated land - land taken by force
Whiro	*atua* of things associated with evil, darkness and death.

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