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Mātauranga Tūhoe:
The Centrality of Mātauranga-a-īwi to Māori Education.
Mātauranga Tūhoe:
The Centrality of mātauranga-a-iwi to Māori Education.

By

William Doherty

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education University of Auckland, New Zealand

August 2009
Abstract

The general aim of this thesis is to improve understanding about the place of mātauranga-a-iwi in the education system. In the modern education system, the linked terms mātauranga-a-iwi, mātauranga Māori, and kaupapa Māori theory are used to define Māori identity and Māori knowledge. But this thesis argues that these concepts must be grounded in a ‘real’, environmentally-located knowledge within tribal lands. It follows that mātauranga Māori, and kaupapa Māori theory, with their roots in mātauranga-a-iwi, must ultimately be understood as a relationship between the tribal environment and its people.

The tribal environment, or rohe, of Tūhoe is the illustrative site of matauranga-a-iwi for this thesis. The rohe for Tūhoe is Te Urewera. The relationship that exists between Tūhoe and this landscape is outlined mapping this intimate relationship (chapter 2). The thesis does the work of explaining what matauranga-a-Tūhoe is, and how it has developed through a series of historical engagements. These things were learned by me at the feet of my grandmother (chapter 1). The engagements include: iwi interactions (chapter 6), Pakeha and Crown engagements (chapter 7), with more recent economic realities (chapter 4), and education (chapter 5).

The key concepts of mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori theory, and mātauranga-a-iwi, as well as being grounded in a ‘real’, environmentally-located base, must be viewed as inseparable strands working collectively to enhance the understanding of the other. The indivisible strands are presented in a diagrammatic form (chapter 3).

By mapping the complexities of what is mātauranga Tūhoe (chapter 8) this thesis illustrates the level of detailed understanding that needs to be included in the education system in order for mātauranga-a-iwi and kaupapa Māori theory to be properly understood and engaged for Māori educational success.
Acknowledgements

This thesis is a culmination of a life’s work to date. In time more work will be added to this story. This thesis captures thoughts, trends and shifts that are relevant and important to me. As life continues, exposure to other notions will occur which will result in additions to this body of knowledge.

As with major achievements; they are not achieved without the support and dedication of people who have believed in me; my ability and my story.

The genesis of this thesis has two main components to it; first; after completing undergraduate programmes at the University of Waikato, I completed an honors year which enabled me to spend a great deal of time with my cousin the late Dr Hirini Melbourne. Hirini helped to shape my thoughts and ideas and at that time encouraged me to consider enrolling in a Masters of Philosophy. During this time a great deal of thinking and shaping occurred in the exploration of potential topics that touched on notions of Tuhoe identity. These early discussions with Hirini are interwoven and taken further in this thesis.

Thank you Hirini, you helped to start it all.

The second occurrence emerged out of a meeting with husband and wife Professors Linda and Graham Smith while I was involved as a Senior Manager of a Maori Boarding School, St. Stephens School – Tipene, which was going through a very public closure. These two inspirational Maori academics continued the work that Hirini had begun introducing me to the concept of engaging in doctoral study.
Acknowledgement

The support and guidance offered to me by the Smith family in preparing and writing this thesis has been remarkable; enabling me to travel to conferences; supporting and providing accommodation while Graham was at the University of British Colombia; offering support and guidance - shaping an idea; a dream, a passion. The support remained ever constant and consistent.

In addition to their support, I have been introduced to their colleagues and have formed relationships with an indigenous network of academics that span the world.

Graham and Linda, so much of this thesis is owed to both your support, dedication and belief in me, thank you. Much will continue to be written about the contribution made by you both in supporting and bringing people together who have a passion in growing and adding to the Maori academic body of knowledge.

My arrival at the University of Auckland coincided with an initiative by Graham and Linda to support Maori and Indigenous students into and through a PhD program known as MAI. I became an active member and participated in the monthly meetings shaped around conversations over Saturday morning lunch. Never before had I been a part of an organisation of so many talented people, who regardless of the topic could constructively contribute, challenge and help me to flesh out many ideas.

In acknowledging all of the MAI participants I also acknowledge Dr Adreane Ormond as the convenor of the project; that I would later succeed as the MAI convenor. Thank you to the wider University of Auckland staff who all openly gave of their time to come and speak to the MAI participants; this provided a huge insight into University academic career pathways. In thanking the staff who attended, thanks must be given to fellow MAI participants over the years who have added to the vibrancy of study and research; these initial connections have developed into genuine friendships.
Acknowledgement

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Professor Alison Jones, thank you for the time and energy spent in the final stages of getting this document ready for examination. Your expert guidance and direction over the final months of this thesis was significant, thank you. Without you and Peter’s support this thesis would not have been completed.

Before I move on from acknowledging University of Auckland staff I need to pay particular attention in acknowledging the support of Dr Te Tuhi robust. Tuhi along with the Smiths put the human touch to Auckland University. Te Tuhi your support in the enrolment process; and while I was convener of the MAI programme is very much appreciated. Many thanks to you Tuhi and Rosalind for the support and care taken to ensure I did complete this thesis, I look forward to the many discussions and work that you and I will continue ‘Mete’.

To my secondary supervisor Professor Taiarahia Black; thank you Tai for your time, clarity and direction; after each of our sessions I always left inspired and clear on what the next section required. I’m excited about the potential of possibility that lingers in the work and discussion yet to be had.

To my past colleagues from Manukau Institute of Technology, Te Tari Mātauranga Māori Staff, Danny Hona who took over the acting Head of Department Māori while I was on leave, thank you for the support and steady voice of reason. To my fellow members of the Executive thank you for the support and understanding afforded in order that I complete this thesis. To my executive assistant Arlene Juventin; thank you for the time spent in collating this document into its final format.

During the final stages of this thesis I had shifted jobs moving from Manukau Institute of Technology to take up a head of School position at Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiārangi. To
my new work colleagues thank you for affording me the time to complete this thesis. To my acting Head of School, Darren Toy, who always freely stepped in to do the things that required a Head of Schools attention. Your support and dedication will not be forgotten, thank you Darren. Eneta Mason my personal assistant thank you for your time and energy in helping me to get this document ready, thank you for printing and binding this document. To the Chief Executive, Distinguished Professor Graham Smith, thank you for allowing me the time away from work to complete this thesis. I started this thesis under you as a student, and complete this thesis as a work colleague, as a part of your senior management team at Te Whare Wananga.

Turning now to focus on the numerous family members who at different times have helped and supported me through this journey, I take this time to pause and acknowledge the support you have all given me.

John and Jean Ashby, my wife’s parents who took the brave step and supported their youngest son Hoani through Kohanga and Kura Kaupapa schooling at Hoani Waititi Marae, who I view as role models in supporting Kura Kaupapa. Thank you for the support and understanding my absences from family gatherings.

To my family thank you for the support and the excitement shared in completing this thesis. Thank you for understanding my absence from family functions, towards the end of this thesis there never appeared to be enough hours in the day. To my older sister Hinerau Doherty thank you for the discussions in the final stages of this document. Thank you for the time you freely gave reading and checking content. You are as always a mountain of support, thank you “e Rau”. To my mother Hirani; even though the decision to leave me from three weeks of age to be raised in Ngaputahi Te Urewera, may have been difficult, thank you. The hills and valleys of Te Urewera have and continue to be my muse, solace and inspiration.

My grandmother *Mum* Te Kahui, thank you for giving me Māori as a first language, and the drive to continue in education, you often leave me in awe as you engage with this modern world so different from where you were born in Te Hanehane, in the upper reaches of the Whakatane River, where today no signs of occupation are visible under the mature Tawa, Matai and Miro.
To my girls Te Amorangi, and Te Hirea, whom I hope, least I do is instil a love and passion to learn and engage with education.

To my wife Tania, my true friend, thank you for the hours spent proof reading between the many school reports you were always doing, thank you for believing in me and for giving me the confidence to carry on whenever I would question my ability to undertake doctoral studies.

To my wife and my girls thank you.
Whakarongo, Whakarongo, whakarongo
Whakarongo rā te taringa, Ki te hau taua e hau mai nei,
kai te tai, kai te uru,
Hurihia ki muri ki to tuarā,
Tikina taku ika, kei waho ki te moana nui, e takoto mai nei,
He korōngo, He koronga nōku kia tae au,
Ki nga uru kahika,
Ki Ohui, Ki Ouama,
Kia tangi noa mai,
Te kīhīkhitara, Kōtipatipa
e kikihi pounamu,
E tangi ana ki tōna whenua ake,
Ka tupuria nei e te maheuheu,
Tangi kau ana te mapu e i e i e.

Ngā waha kākā tarahae, ngā pikinga kotuku kua whati,
te hunga e tawēwē ana i te takiwā koinei te kupu
whakamau i a koutou;

Ngā herenga e piri nei i a tatou e whāia nei i tō tauira
Pirita me to tamaiti a kareao hai here i a tatou
ki a hou te rangi ki te whenua e pupurihia nei e Houhi.

He kohinga kōrero enei
mai i ngā puna matau o te takiwa,
koutuutuhia nōaiho wētahi, rukutonu atu etahi,
hēoi āno, ahakoa te taumaha,
kōre rānei, te mea nui i whakawāteahia ngā huarahi
ki kore e uruuruhia te huarahi ki ēnei huinga mātauranga.
Enei whakaeminga kōrero hai whakanui i a koutou.
Mihi

Kua whakaarahia Te Urewera me āna uri i roto i enei kōrero, ngā uri i whakatakoto kupu hai whakaaro; te Koroua Te Huriwaka Wharekotua Pahiri Te Waewae tēnā koe mō te hoki mai ki Ngāputahi; taku māmā i whakahokia au ki Ngāputahi Te Urewera tipu ai; anei ra!
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Introduction

The introduction to this thesis is written in two sections. The first section provides a summary overview of each chapter. The second outlines key questions that have shaped and informed my thinking.

Chapter one, *Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents*, is written from the perspective of someone who learned the knowledge of Tūhoe (mātauranga-a-Tūhoe) at the feet of my grandmother, granduncles and wider Tūhoe elders. It is a personal reflection, covering the early years of my upbringing from the late 1960s through to the mid 1980s, illustrating how components of Tūhoe knowledge were learned. The chapter provides a personal viewpoint on a period when the wider socio-political issues (including the development of mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory) were evolving.

Chapter two, *Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District*, introduces and describes the people of Tūhoe and the region they occupy, Te Urewera. Te Urewera is a large stand of native forest in the centre of the North Island. The history of Te Urewera as it relates to Tūhoe shows the long inter-connected history Tūhoe have to this district.

Chapter three, *Ranga Framework – He Rāranga Kaupapa*, is a theoretical chapter identifying a series of key concepts that set the parameters for discussion of the relationships between mātauranga-a-iwi, mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory. The chapter charts these relationships in a diagrammatic form, in what I have termed the Ranga Framework. I argue that mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori theory and mātauranga-a-iwi are distinct but inseparable. The Ranga Framework proposes the working relationship between these elements that form an underlying thread in this thesis.

The Tūhoe landscape has changed considerably since contact with Pakeha. Chapter four, *Te Urewera a Cognitive Shift, 1970s-1990*, maps the socio political shifts that changed the Tūhoe landscape in the 1970s, producing a physical and cognitive shift away from the rohe. This shift created a struggle to maintain identity, as articulated in the Ranga Framework. This is a period before the articulation of Kaupapa Māori theory.
Chapter five, *New Zealand Mainstream Education*, provides a brief description of the development of the 1877 Education Act, which brought all Māori children into a state-run schooling system, to the establishment of Kura Kaupapa schools in the late 1980s. Absent in the education system were notions of identity and self-determination, which Kura Kaupapa attempted to address. This chapter helps to show the context in which Kura Kaupapa schools were established, and indicates the significance of the space opened in education by kaupapa Māori theory to reconnect Māori to their matauranga-a-iwi identity.

Chapter six, *Tūhoe: Tribal Struggle*, maps the tribal relationships that have informed mātauranga-a-iwi as it relates to Tūhoe. Each period of contact with neighboring iwi has had a lasting influence on Tūhoe and the landscape, and each has informed and influenced mātauranga-a-iwi as it relates to Tūhoe. Through incidents of conflict, haka, whakatauki and waiata moteatea, elements of mātauranga Tūhoe were created to capture the sentiments of that particular time. This chapter provides the background required to understand the functions of mātauranga Tūhoe.

Chapter seven, *Tūhoe: Crown contact*, discusses the contact between the Crown and the people of Tūhoe that has also produced mātauranga Tūhoe. Within this chapter the contact with Pākeha and the Crown is mapped showing how each of these events changed the environment influencing mātauranga Tūhoe.

A description of mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe is provided in chapter eight: *Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe*. It shows examples of matauranga-a-iwi connecting the people of Tūhoe to their landscape of Te Urewera. This chapter shows how the relationship with the environment and people build and map the knowledge base for mātauranga Tūhoe. This is followed by chapter nine: *Hai konei noho ake ai; Conclusion* providing the conclusion to this thesis.

**Key Questions to consider**

This thesis acknowledges that culture and knowledge are not static. They are dynamic entities, constantly undergoing change. I argue in this thesis that traditional Māori knowledge forms (mātauranga Māori) are indeed still relevant (they are still the basis of current cultural practice) but such knowledge needs to be carefully nurtured in relation to kaupapa Māori.
theory and mātauranga-a-iwi in order to be included meaningfully within contemporary education and schooling in New Zealand.

The position of mātauranga Māori as central in Māori education is predicated on the assumption of the relevance of traditional Māori language knowledge and culture (mātauranga Māori) and is supported by Pita Sharples (1989), Graham Smith (1997), Russell Bishop (1991), Wally Penetito (1988), Taina Pohatu (1996), Linda Mead (1997), Leonie Pihama (1993), Taiarahia Black (2000) and Rose Pere (1984), who are all acknowledged authorities and contributors to the knowledge bank for Māori language and its contribution to traditional Māori forms of knowledge.

I endeavour to understand, build on, and expand the ideas of ‘mātauranga Māori’ and ‘kaupapa Māori theory’ (see Mead, 1997; Smith, G., 1997; Pihama, 1993; Pohatu, 1996) to consider the intervention capacity of a strong, authentic emphasis on Māori language, knowledge, and culture in the curriculum. In particular, this thesis focuses on the key issue of mātauranga Māori as a distinct entity in its own right, acknowledging that it is not the same concept as kaupapa Māori theory, and introducing the new approach of mātauranga-a-iwi. There is a need to situate mātauranga Māori within a deeper and clearer understanding of the critical transformative elements embedded in the generic concept of kaupapa Māori theory, first articulated by Graham Smith in 1989. Mātauranga Māori, and mātauranga-a-iwi, I argue, when provided for adequately, have the potential to transform the lives of Māori individuals – within their schooling experience (to increase success) and within their societal positioning (to increase social inclusion). A significant point here is that kaupapa Māori theory, both as theory and practice, is often confused and misinterpreted by many commentators as synonymous with mātauranga Māori. This is not the case, and the previously listed key writers on kaupapa Māori theory endorse this position. There are three key points that need to be interrogated and expanded in this debate.

The first point is the need to clarify the distinction between kaupapa Māori theory and mātauranga Māori more clearly and succinctly. Second, there is a need to reinforce the political and transformative potential of kaupapa Māori theory. Third, there is a need to describe how and why it is important to struggle for ‘space’ in the ongoing development of a mātauranga Māori curriculum that includes mātauranga-a-iwi.
Introduction to thesis

This thesis seeks to continue to extend the work undertaken by kaupapa Māori theory writers in critically examining what should count as relevant and important Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori) that could be included within the contemporary school curriculum (mātauranga Māori for Māori schools and where appropriate mātauranga Māori for mainstream schooling curriculum).

The work on kaupapa Māori theory and intervention strategies that have emanated from the School of Education at the University of Auckland provide an innovative methodological and theoretical base by which to examine traditional Māori knowledge and its relevance in contemporary settings. A kaupapa Māori theory approach builds on the success elements of the Te Kohanga Reo1 education model. Kaupapa Māori theory commands wide support from Māori writers given its fundamental premise of supporting the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge (Mead, 1997; Smith, G., 1997; Sharples, 1989). Kaupapa Māori theory makes ‘political space’ for Māori knowledge/mātauranga Māori. It does not interrogate what should count as Māori knowledge or the quality of Māori knowledge. Kaupapa Māori theory simply makes ‘space’ for the practice and validation of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing, and Māori ways of doing things. There is still work to be done to identify and build those elements of mātauranga Māori which in turn will contribute to the revitalisation of Māori language, knowledge, culture and identity.

In thinking about mātauranga Māori as a potential curriculum initiative I was inspired by Michael Young’s (1971) critical questions about school knowledge:

What counts as knowledge?
How is knowledge produced?
Do different groups in the community value different forms of knowledge?
If so, are these fairly represented in the school curriculum?
How is such knowledge transmitted in the classroom?
Who has access to this knowledge and who controls this access?
Whose interests does this knowledge serve?

Young argues that knowledge is socially constructed to reproduce the needs of dominant interest groups. Similarly, Geoff Whitty (1985) states that teachers do not teach knowledge, but in fact teach preferred discourses, which are inscribed within institutes and every day

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1 Te Kohanga Reo is a total immersion preschool
practices (Whitty, 1985). An important aim of this thesis is to work within the parameters of these observations about knowledge. It will argue that Māori need to position their own knowledge in anticipation of the politics observed by Young to develop new strategies which capture the Whitty ideas related to preferred discourses. This study will necessarily canvas the history of Māori and Pākeha relations through schooling. I will highlight schooling’s negative impact on mātauranga Māori. Schools, churches, and state structures have been particular sites which have asserted a predominantly monocultural perspective, generally highlighting and reifying Pākeha knowledge frameworks at the expense of Māori ones by reducing mātauranga Māori to the realm of ‘myths and legends’. The result has been a very powerful marginalisation of Māori people and their language, knowledge and culture. This writing/righting of history will focus on the struggle between Māori and Pākeha to control knowledge within, through and as an outcome of schooling.

It is important to identify critical areas where mātauranga Māori has impacted on schooling and learning and how and where mātauranga-a-iwi can impact on mātauranga Māori. The following questions assist in mapping the curriculum shifts within New Zealand schooling. While Māori forms of knowledge have tended to be regarded as negative features, increasingly, Māori language, knowledge and culture are being viewed as a positive feature with emancipatory potential. Some of the key questions include:

1. Does ‘Māori knowledge’ count as knowledge?
2. Is Māori knowledge-focussed schooling relevant?
3. Is tribal Māori knowledge-focussed schooling relevant?
4. For whom and to what purpose?
5. How can we tell that mātauranga Māori/mātauranga-a-iwi is being successfully learned?
6. Are Māori learners usefully applying it?
7. How might mātauranga Māori/mātauranga-a-iwi be more effectively taught/learned?
Methodological Comment

This thesis is written from within my own tribal base, which is the place I’m viewing the world from. I speak from my marae, from my comfort zone as Tūhoe and all this encompasses. In metaphorically speaking from my marae, I invoke the values that surround the paepae [formal speaking platform], one of the sites for engaging in the verification and contestation of Tūhoe knowledge forms:

a) This is my testimony. I stand to speak. The principle of whaikōrero [formal speech] follows a structured framework.
   • Whaikōrero must open with a tauparapara. This is a protection chant that identifies the speaker with a particular iwi. In the mihi section of this thesis is an example of a Tūhoe tauparapara.
   • Mihi ki te mate [acknowledging the ancestors], mihi ki te ora [acknowledging the living]. See the Mihi
   • Kaupapa is the content of the speech that must be linked to the purpose of the gathering.

b) Participating in whaikōrero is an investment in the collective wisdom for the iwi. There are gaps and this is a selected view of the world; other speakers will add to the collective input through whaikōrero. There is an expectation other Tūhoe will contribute to this linked – whai, korero – story.

c) The powhiri ceremony is a formal process dictated by traditions embedded in iwi. It is within this arena that issues are challenged – wero. The wero is a critical engagement, where challenges can take the form of kauhau [engagement], where the respondents are fully entitled to disagree, challenge or support. This is praxis in action: the story is laid out and people add and delete components of the story.

The Tūhoe tradition of formal speaking states that what I am presenting is my truth; people are entitled to stand and give their version, and add to the story. However, they are not entitled to belittle previous speakers when they respond. This is my truth from lived experience, expressed through the kawa [procedures of Tūhoe].

This tradition was learnt by listening to the many conversations between Mum and my uncle Boogie, and the Tūhoe holders of knowledge in this generation: Tio Takuta, John Tahuri, Kimoro Pupepuke, Wiremu McCauley, Hieke Tupe, Taua Pouwhare, Te Marunui Pouwhare,
Pita Iraia, Maruiwi Iraia, Timi Rawiri, Whitu Waiaraki, Himiona Nuku, Taima Rangitaua, Topi Hall, and Joe Te Are. Access to this generation was made possible by my being raised by my grandmother. This was Mum’s generation and access for me was made through whangai links between the generations.
Chapter One

Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents
I ngā rekereke whakarongo ai

Ka rere arorangi aku kamo; ka tau ki runga Te Maro;
Tē mau ra te Turuki; Kia topa iho taku aro;
e ko te hunga ara ko Ngāpūtahi.2

This thesis is written from the perspective of someone who learned the knowledge of Tūhoe (mātauranga Tūhoe) at the feet of my grandmother, great-uncles and wider Tūhoe elders. Chapter one is a personal reflection, covering the early years of my upbringing from the late 1960s through to the mid 1980s, illustrating how components of Tūhoe knowledge were acquired. The chapter provides a personal viewpoint on a period when the wider socio-political issues (including the development of mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory) discussed in later chapters were evolving.

This chapter is an account of my personal experiences as a student and teacher, based on mātauranga Tūhoe. These experiences have led to a postgraduate journey that has culminated in this doctoral thesis. Growing up in a whānau steeped in Tūhoetanga coloured my whole life, affecting my perceptions and my view of the world around me. This chapter is a

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2 Each chapter is introduced with a paragraph from a pātere; I have composed this pātere to describe the key land marks of Ngāpūtahi and the surrounding area.
Chapter One: Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents

narrative about my Tūhoe journeys and experiences, indicating the places and processes involved in my education. It forms a background to the entire thesis.

I have followed the narrative approach used by the late Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe who reflected on his own upbringing in an article he wrote titled “When Pākeha were Māori”:

… My old people were concerned with maintaining family relationships so that everyone understood their place. They told the history of who you were and where you came from…They gave the genealogical aspects of one’s relationships, not only within the extended family but across inter-tribal boundaries, which was important, because you became part of a wider and bigger society…I was never brought up just by my mother and father. I was brought up by my aunts and cousins and grandparents too. These were the parameters within which Māori society was upheld. (Vercoe, 2000: 162)

Using a narrative form I will illustrate my connection to Te Urewera and Tūhoe. I am Tūhoe, from the ancestor Tūhoe Pōtiki. I am Ngā Pōtiki from the union between Maungapōhatu and Hinepukorangi. The original inhabitants of Te Urewera descended from Maungapōhatu and Hinepūkohurangi. The ancestor Tūhoe, from whom Tūhoe take their current iwi name, comes much later in the genealogy (the explanation of this is given in chapter two). The following whakapapa/genealogy connects me to each of these key ancestors.
Chapter One: Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents

Whakapapa 1 Maunga - Hinepukohurangi

The Whakapapa for Tāwhaki is given further in the thesis.

These are the older siblings who are whāngai. We were raised as brothers and sisters with the youngest children of our grandmother, i.e. Joseph and Hinerau.
Chapter One: Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents

This first chapter maps my education, both informal and formal. I begin with my pre-school years, which grounded me in Tūhoe-centred language, knowledge and culture. Then I will go on to my primary and secondary years. The schools I attended, although situated within Tūhoe boundaries, did not teach elements of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi. My tertiary study provided me with an insight into a new academic culture that was non-Tūhoe and allowed me to examine mātauranga Tūhoe ‘from the outside’.

Childhood reflections: Ngāpūtahi te nōhanga o taku pito

My first learning emerged from my tūrangawaewae – place of standing or comfort zone that is Te Urewera – in the heart of Tūhoe.

Living conditions within Te Urewera in the 1960s when I was born, were simple. Electricity had not yet reached Te Urewera, and Tūhoe still largely lived off produce that could be grown on the land or caught from the bush. Cooking was mainly by wood range or open fire. During the evenings, lighting was from kerosene wall lamps, candles and Coleman lamps. There being no refrigeration, meat was stored using the traditional process of partially cooking it and keeping it in fat termed mīti tahu:

… pulling the blanket up around my shoulders to stop the cool freezing air getting into the bed I hear a distant rumbling, the sound of the hot water cylinder boiling, so distant and yet so familiar. Turning struggling and pulling the blankets, this time focussing on the sound that is familiar in a pleasant warm safe way, it means the water is hot! This means the fire has been going; warmth, the kitchen will be warm! I prepare myself to leap from the bed, for the room is freezing cold, my clothes will feel wet and clammy, being so cold! I lurch from my bed half asleep, to be jolted wide awake landing on the bare cold floorboards. I quickly dress.

Opening the door into the kitchen, I am greeted by a warm glow from the kerosene wall lamp alight on the table, and the soft warmth from the coal range. At the table is mum. Mum is in her late 40s, shoulder-length hair streaked with grey, her face soft, despite bearing 10 children of her own, and raising numerous others for short periods of time. Lifting her hooded eyes from the task at the table “A kua oho koe, haere ki te horoi” – “Ah (finally) you’re awake, go and wash”. Entering the bathroom which is off a veranda I see outside the day is turning to grey, just before daylight. Despite the lack of light it is bright outside with thick white glistening frost blanketing everything. At least the water has not frozen this morning; the water is that cold my hands turn numb, while cupping enough water to splash my face with. Upon returning to the kitchen mum has completed the last of the lunches for the older siblings before they leave for school. “Nā anei to ti, kia tūpato kai te wera” – “here is your tea, be careful it’s hot”. No English is spoken. As I fold my still numb hands around my enamel
mug, sensation begins to return to my fingers; soon my older siblings will rise and make their way to school.

I was raised by my maternal grandmother, Te Kāhui, whom I have always called māmā; Mum, along with my brother and sister who are also whāngai. Whāngai is a form of adoption, whereby relatives within the tribe raise children of their relatives. It ensured the whakapapa [genealogical connections] within the tribe are not lost by the families growing apart from each other, and apart from the landscape. I’ve always known my birth mother; there is not a time I cannot remember not knowing.

Whāngai adoption was a common practice where cousins, aunts, uncles, or grandparents would raise their nephew or niece or grandchild. Having grandparents raise grandchildren strengthened the intergenerational connections within the family. Having uncles and aunties raising nephews and nieces strengthened the connections between first, second and third cousins to ensure there was interconnection between the wider, extended family. This demonstrates in part why there is no actual word in te reo Māori for cousin – aunts and uncles were considered secondary māmā and pāpā, and cousins were like brothers and sisters.

The concept of family or whānau in Māori society is very broad, as there is no real distinction between a first cousin and a distantly related cousin. The crucial component was that you knew who the person was. Knowing each other strengthened the whānau. Whānau connections build opportunities for good health, including quality child care, higher standards of living, secure identity, intergenerational transfers of knowledge and experience, and the enhanced transmission of cultural heritage (Durie, 2003a: 188). All of these are key components of whānau.

Being raised by Te Kāhui ensured the intergenerational transfer of knowledge was made from her generation to mine, heavily influencing my connections and experiences of Ngāpūtahi. We (I and two other whāngai siblings) were raised with Mum’s two youngest children, who we considered as older siblings to us. We were raised at Ngāpūtahi which is located within Te Urewera. I am the youngest of the 13 children raised by our Mum, Te Kāhui. The nearest settlement to Ngāpūtahi was 12km away: Te Whāiti where I attended primary school. Home was very isolated from the outside world, and largely still is. The only people I had regular contact with were older siblings, my grandmother and an older brother to my grandmother who worked as a roadman on state highway 38:
… the four older siblings have gone off to school, leaving mum and me alone at home. Mum is washing the last of the breakfast dishes. As I stoke the fire to keep the water hot and kitchen warm from the cold, Mum says, “Matua ūmara i te ahi nā – do not be too frivolous with the wood in that fire, kai te heke tāua ki te kāinga i raro” – we are going down to the house down the road.” As Mum puts the last of the breakfast dishes away, she turns from the kitchen sink to tell me that we will be heading down to check her parent’s place to make sure all is well with the now empty and lonely homestead. I take every opportunity to warm myself by the fire before we head outside into the cold. If only I could put some of the warmth into my pockets. No matter. It is only the first part of the walk that will be cold; once walking you soon became warm.

I can still clearly remember the days my grandmother and I would walk down to check her parents’ vacant homestead. This house was a mile-and-a-half walk, partly through bush. The house we lived in was built by my grandmother and grandfather on a hill. As we would descend through the bush I would recognise the different trees. I would note the kōkōmuka, and recoil in remembering the vile taste it left in the mouth as it was prepared as a medicinal plant when suffering from an upset stomach. I would recognise the perfect patetē and houhi that were ideal to construct a pakoko, a pop gun. The patetē was used because it has a pithy hollow through its centre. I would see the ideal section where the required straight piece of branch met the main trunk of the tree. This was important as it ensured that one end of the pithy hollow was larger than the other end, leading to a narrowing end. Very similar to the barrel of a rifle, the pithy section would be removed by poking a wire through the core section of the branch. You would use the houhi to make a rammer to fit into the hollow made in the patetē. The houhi was used because it was reasonably flexible and wouldn’t break. To use the pakoko, wet paper or berries that could fit into the hollowed out part of the patetē were forced through using the houhi as a rammer. When rammed the gun made a popping sound as the paper or berries were forced from the patetē. The pakoko could fire up to 30 metres.

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3 Also known as koromiko, is noted in Dawson and Lucas (2005: 106) as Hebe corrigani growing in the higher altitude forests of the North Island.

4 Noted by Dawson. J, as Pate, (schefflera digitata) Pate is widespread throughout the country in lowland to mountain forests. A small tree up to 8 m tall, its leaves have stalks up to 3cm long. The leaflets are thin in texture and up to 20cm long X 8cm wide with many small marginal teeth (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 78)

5 Noted by Dawson as Lacebark, Hoheria populnea var. populnea, lacebark is found in coastal lowlands forests in the North Island south to the Bay of Plenty. It is a small tree up to 10m or more tall with smooth bark (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 110)
Chapter One: Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents

I would quietly memorise the position of the tree, to return later before it was discovered by older siblings. Mum and I would make our way down through the pathway that was used by older siblings as they went to and from school. The pathway was well used and mainly passed through the smaller trees of the bush, largely tawa\(^6\), with the odd toromiro\(^7\). As we reached the small stream Manawāhiwi, (that we would eventually cross), we passed through a grove of kahikatea\(^8\) that were laden with fruit. The fruit were small, bright-orange, circular berries with purple tails attached to the ends. Because the kahika were in fruit, the time of year must have been around May or June as this is when the kahika fruit. I also subconsciously noted that where kahika grew, it was always damp or wet, thinking kahika must like to have wet feet all the time. I would note and recognise plants, not quite remembering how I knew what the plants were called or their use as a food, medicine or toy – but the location of the plants was remembered just as you would identify items located within your home.

Crossing the Manawāhiwi stream we would emerge out onto State Highway 38, a dusty gravel road, where we would walk and eventually make our way to the home where Mum’s parents lived. They had died long before my time, but through the many stories that were continually retold about them I felt as though I knew them; they were as real to me as though they were still present. There were physical reminders seen every day around Ngāpūtahi. Each of these sites held rich stories that detailed the people and activities. The track we walked on for these particular trips was retold by one of these stories, telling how it was made by my great grandparents. Remnants of tōtara\(^9\) that they split for posts could still be seen. The place my grandfather died in the bush while splitting posts lay undisturbed, the half-cut log untouched. These people were still very much alive in the valleys around Ngāpūtahi.

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\(^{6}\) Noted by Dawson as Beilschmiedia tawa, is a dominant canopy tree in lowland forests through most of the North Island and northeast of the South Island. Tawa grows up to 30 m or more tall with a trunk up to 1.2 m in diameter, the bark is smooth. The smooth-margined mostly opposite leaves are narrow, pointed, willow-like, whitish below, 4-7.5 cm long X 10-15 mm wide (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 101). The Tawa berry pokere, is oblong and approximately 2-3cm long by a 1 cm wide, was collected as a food source, the purple berry has a large hard cornel.

\(^{7}\) Noted in Dawson as Miro, prumnopitys ferruginea, a note here for Tūhoe toromiro is the name given to the tree, with Miro being given to describe the berry. Dawson continues to note that Miro grow up to 25 m tall with a trunk up to a 1 m in diameter (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 59).

\(^{8}\) White pine Dacrycarpus dacrydioides Podocarpaceae, is widespread in lowland, particular swampy forests throughout New Zealand, tree reaches 50 m tall, sometimes more with a trunk up to 1.5 m diameter. The bark is grey, in mature trees separating in rounded flakes (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 63).

\(^{9}\) Totara, Podocarpus totara is found throughout the country, mostly on lowland forest on fertile alluvial well-drained soils. Tree is up to 30 m tall with a trunk up to 2 m in diameter. The bark is thick and stringy, adult leaves are 1.5 – 3cm long X 3-4 mm wide, sharply pointed (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 60).
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As we made our way on the last leg of the journey up to the homestead, Mum would become quiet and reflective. She would point out where the original homestead had stood, note places where as a young girl she had helped her mother in the daily tasks of running the household. (Mum was the third child of her parents, and the eldest daughter).

We would pass by the kōuka\textsuperscript{10} [cabbage tree] growing on the pathway as we made our way up the last leg of the journey to the house that was built on top of a small hill, above the Ōkahu and Manawāhiwi streams. Here, Mum would stop and pause more times than was required. Looking back on these events they must have been extremely difficult for her. Above the house, on a small knoll was the family urupa [graveyard], where her Mum, Dad, and husband, were interred. All had died within a period of three years. Compounding this was the knowledge that her older brother Heke was lying in a graveyard in North Africa. She would often say he was her closest brother. These are Mum’s experiences and memories before my time.

**Visiting the homestead**

On entering the house Mum would become more distant and silent. The house had an unusual air about it. It was still fully furnished, it was as if my great grandparents had just stepped out briefly and were going to return at any moment. This would have been difficult for Mum because each item in the house held a memory of her parents when they were alive: pots, cutlery, the fireplace, the furniture all were physical reminders of her parents. I would make my way into the sitting room where the photos hanging on the walls would stare back at me. They were all strange faces to me, with the exception of the photo of Mum’s mother, grandmother, and Mum’s older brother Heke, who was killed in El Alamein in North Africa during the Second World War. This photo always intrigued me. Heke was dressed in his uniform with his hat cocked to one side, with him leaning at an awkward angle. I was later told by my great-uncle (Mum and Heke’s eldest brother) who also served time in North Africa that the photo was taken after Heke had been killed. He was dressed in full uniform, and photographed while serving in the 28\textsuperscript{th} Māori Battalion, apparently because there were no pictures to send home to the family. This picture intrigued me because it was said when a close family member died a distinctive knock (of such force that should have smashed the glass) could be heard from this picture.

\textsuperscript{10} Forest Cabbage Tree, Cordyline banksii species found throughout the North Island at lower altitudes, mostly at forest margins. It is a shrub or a small tree up to 4 m tall with slender often dropping stems 10 – 15 cm in diameter (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 75). Kouka is also used as a food whereby the crown of the young shoots are boiled and cooked as one would a potato.
Studying these photos in the lounge where the faint smell of wood smoke hung in the air I wondered what it was like for them to leave Te Urewera to go to war in a foreign country.

Mum had two brothers and many cousins who served in North Africa in the 28th Māori Battalion. Sitting with many of these uncles as a young man, I found that they very rarely spoke of the harsh conditions and inhumane actions they were called upon to do. Instead we were regaled with tales of raids to get food, or firing enemy weapons that they would find discarded on the battlefield. Apparently this was not a wise thing to do as the enemy would often booby-trap these weapons to explode when touched. A poem written by Rowley Habib11 best describes the character of these young men of that time:

The Raw Men: For the Māori Battalion.

From where did they come then, these men? This fine unit. I was under the impression that anything fine in the Māori had died with the advent of the White Man – an Englishmen not long in New Zealand.

This is where they came from, the brown men.
The dark-lipped, thick-black-haired raw men, the slope-shouldered solid men.
Neat in khaki, born for the uniform.
Praised in the deserts of Tobruk, hailed in the hearts of Mersa Matruh, gloried in Greece.
We salute you, sons of New Zealand, Māori Battalion.
Kia ora tatou. Kia ora Ngā tamariki o Aotearoa.

Yes this is where they came from, the raw men.
The fearless marauders of the Middle East, the hard doers with hearts of lions,
Collecting medals like stones on Hill 209 Tebaga Gap, Tunisia.

… Yes, this is where they came from, the Māori Battalion.
From the timber mill villages, deep bushed.
From the back-block settlement fringing an isolated road
That makes passers by ask, “Don’t you ever get lonely here?”
And children with bare feet walking to school in the mornings …
(Habib, 1986: 69)

11 Was born, in 1933, Oruanui, 12 miles north of Taupo on the old north-south road, was a timber-milling place; his father owned the only shop there at the time. It was a post office as well as a general store, and for a while his father ran a taxi service as well. The general store was the hub of the little settlement. His father was from Syria, and had come out to live in New Zealand with his parents when he was a young man. Rowley's mother, a Māori, belonged to the Pitiroi family at Nukuhau, Taupo Rowley was the youngest son in a family of seven (“Rowley Habib: A New Voice in New Zealand Writing,” 1964).
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The image that Habib describes of the men in the 28th Māori Battalion resonated very well with the character and environment Tūhoe men came from to enlist.

We did not hear stories of the actual battles that Mum’s brothers and first cousins were involved in. It was not until later that we discovered where they had seen action, such as the battle for point 209 in March 1943. Mum’s brother Heke was involved in this incident. Sadly he would be killed seven months later on the outskirts of Cairo. One of Mum’s older sons named his daughter Cairo to remember Heke.

Māori history provides a rich record of the many battles and excursions that have created and shaped the epistemology unique to each tribe in Māori society. Many battles and times of tension were experienced by these young men and in connection with this history of warfare points and places were given Māori names. For example the battle to secure Point 209 where a strategic position that was located next to point 209 was named Hikurangi – after the ancestral mountain of the descendants of Ngāti Porou (Awatere, 2003: 169).

There are many detailed accounts in the biography of Awatere, A Soldier’s Story, of the many escapades these young men found themselves in while overseas. However what becomes poignant are the reasons that these young men at that time made the decision to leave and enlist. None could be truer of what I knew of my uncles than the comment made by Awatere: “the pull of going to fight alongside his brother and their cousins, let alone the tribe, was too strong …” (Awatere, 2003: 147)

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12 Peter Awatere gives another account of the 28th Maori battalion describing a battle that took many Māori lives to secure a point named 209. Where Moananui Ngarimu was later posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross for his valour in this battle. Awatere draws the analogy of Ngarimu’s actions during this battle to those of his ancestors. Kia mate ururoa interpreted: Die fighting like the tiger shark, and that he did. Strangely he died as his ancestors did before him, ngaa kuurii paaka aa Uetuhiao (Awatere writing in the double vowel form), translated as the brown dogs of Uetuhiao that is warrior sons of Uetuhiao. They met their death while fighting on the underfeatures of another point 209: Te Maaniaroa heights which separate Te Whaanau aa Apanui from Ngāti Porou (Awatere, 2003: 173).

13 Araptea Marikitipua Pitapitanuiaarangi Awatere was born on 25th March 1910 at Tuupaaroa (Awatere double vowel style of writing). Awatere passed the interpreters first-grade examination in Māori in 1925. After leaving school he joined the Native Department in 1928 and was stationed in Rotorua, Wellington and from 1933 was stationed at Gisborne. In 1928 joined the New Zealand Territorial Forces, November 1939 enlists and was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in March 1940.Posted to the 28th New Zealand Māori Battalion after campaigns in Greece and Crete serving as an intelligence officer with the 6th New Zealand Infantry Brigade. With rank of Captain he commanded C Company of Māori Battalion in Tebaga Gap 1943 (Awatere, 2003: 2-5).
Interestingly as the pictures in the lounge captured images from the the First and Second World Wars, it also captured pictures of Mum’s parents. Looking at their faces, I reflected on what they must have thought of their children fighting for the Crown when they had fought against the Crown. My uncles’ grandparents were locked in combat with the Armed Militia of the New Zealand Government in the 1880s. My uncles who served in the World Wars were raised by people who had lived through some of the most harrowing atrocities committed in New Zealand history. Some are described in the evidence that was given by Dr Peter Webster at the Waitangi Tribunal hearing held in Maungapōhatu 22 December 2004:

Furthermore, there were people still alive in 1905 when (Te) Rua\textsuperscript{14} gained his first success, who remembered the Ureweras before the devastation of the wars of the sixties(1860s). There were many, too, who had fought and suffered during the scorched earth and starvation tactics of the military expeditions of the Colonial Army in 1869-72. Impressionable children then were adults in their prime at the turn of the century. They could recall vividly the hunger and pain, the smell of smoke from the burning kaingas, the thud of muskets and the cries of the wounded. Most of them knew what it was like to be helpless as an invading army incinerated their homes and destroyed their crops; they had experienced what it was like to be persecuted. (Webster, 2004: p2)

The decisions that led to young Tūhoe enlisting into the 28\textsuperscript{th} Māori Battalion had created another rich and intricate history that has now become a part of the Tūhoe epistemology. The names were brought back and used to name children and grandchildren of this generation: Ripia, a Māori transliteration of Libya, Kiriti [Crete], Ihīpa [Egypt] and El Alamein were beginning to appear in the whakapapa tables of Tūhoe and many other tribes. On reflection, it must have been very difficult for my uncles who left backblock settlements as Habib describes for the hustle and bustle of Italy and North Africa and then to returned to the quiet world of Te Urewera, after witnessing and perhaps executing some of life’s most truly horrific atrocities. I can only look on in awe and respect of these men who saw their whānau fall in battle and had to leave them in foreign soil, knowing the fallen would never physically

\textsuperscript{14} Te Rua was a inspirational Tūhoe leader who established a community in the remote Maungapōhatu Valley in Te Urewera, that challenged the Government rule in New Zealand.
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return to Aotearoa to fulfil final ritual in honouring the deceased through *tangihanga*\(^{15}\). Mum’s parents’ old homestead was a physical reminder of these times.

**Pē Huriwaka: The eldest brother**

During these visits I stayed away from Mum, to give her the space to be with her parents and people that she knew before my time. I would play in many places and explore in the house, and after a few hours Mum would call out, “E Wire me hoki haere taua [Wire (Wiremu), we had better start making our way home].” Closing the door to the house always seemed sad. In some strange way I felt the house was happy to see Mum and me on these trips, and that it was sad to see us leave. On our return along the road we would meet Mum’s older brother whom I’m partly named after. Wiremu Keremeta, (as is the case with many Māori we are known by numerous names) was widely known as Pē, and affectionately called Boogie among the family. Each of the names Boogie collected highlighted a particular phase in his life: Keremeta was the name of an uncle he had spent time with; Pē was shortened for Pēpi [baby]; and Boogie was a name that was only used by people who lived with us.

We would meet Boogie returning from completing the 10-mile section of the road he was charged with inspecting by foot daily. Boogie would come walking down the road with a bow-legged gait was caused by a shrapnel wound he received in North Africa. He would have his shovel balanced over his left shoulder, the blade out behind him, holding the tip of the handle in his outstretched left hand. He wore ankle-high boots that were still neatly polished, overalls tidily tucked into the boots showing the carefully folded tops of his woollen socks. Slung over his back was a home-made rucksack called a pīkau pēke, made from a discarded potato sack. In each bottom corner, a stone or potato would be placed to stop the knotted string slipping off. Both ends of the string were tied to the two bottom corresponding corners. The string was looped to form a slip knot in the middle, this was where the top of the bag was passed through and pulled tight, and the strings would form the shoulder straps to the pīkau pēke. He would greet Mum and I with a knowing expression and this usually was followed by an authoritative “Ahh”. Without saying any more Boogie, Mum and I would choose a spot on the side of the gravel winding road and sit in the sun to while away the last rays of sunshine next to the Manawāhiwi stream as it murmured past.

\(^{15}\) This is the process where the body is laid in state on the tribal marae for three to four days, giving people the last opportunity to physically see, speak to and about the deceased before they are forever buried in the tribal lands alongside the ancestors who have passed on.
It is here I have one of my clearest and enduring memories of Boogie and my childhood. I would sprawl out between Mum and Boogie, head in Mum’s lap and feet positioned comfortably in Boogie’s lap. There I would drift off into sleep, warm from the sun, and absolutely safe. I would drift in and out of sleep to the soft and slow sound of them speaking. Boogie had a heavy timbre to his voice, and was very slow and deliberate in his speech. They spoke entirely in Māori (Tūhoe dialect), and the topic varied but usually touched on times of their parents and their childhood. Boogie was a whāngai as I was, to a number of different people within Tūhoe. Most notable was Paitini Wi Tapeka and his partner Te Waiohine reported in Elsdon Best’s book on Tūhoe as Makurata. Paitini was one of Best’s key informants in his writing of the book Tūhoe, and features widely in many of his writings. Boogie would tell to Mum about the many experiences and challenges he faced as a young man with Paitini and others who had raised him. During these times Mum’s parents and the history of Ngāpūtahi came to life. I would hear time and time again how headstrong Mum’s mother Moetū was, where she took a backward step to no one; or how Mum’s Dad, Te Huriwaka, known to us as Te Poura was a big strong man, who became blind in his 40s, but was able to walk the mile and half from the old homestead up to our present home to visit his eldest daughter unaided. Boogie never married, but he adopted a nephew, a cousin of mine. It was at these times that I would catch glimpses of the special relationship that existed between Mum and her older brother. The conversation would inevitably come back to a younger brother, Te Rōku, who, like Boogie, was a bachelor. If there were escapades to be had, Te Rōku was never far away.

As the sun drifted below the ridge tops and cast shadows into the valleys, the cool dampness would remind us this was winter and time was getting on. Here again as we prepared to make our way back up on to the road, Boogie would say, “Nā kua werea te autaiane ki te moe [Oh dear, the little ‘rat-bag’ has fallen asleep].” Just as when we were leaving the house, I could see and sense the sadness as we would leave Boogie. Boogie’s face was slightly rounded, with a notable half-moon scar on his nose, and a broad grin. I would sit and wonder how and where the scars that were visible on his face had come from. Mum and Boogie would say goodbye and I’d watch him with his bow-legged gait make his way back to his roadman’s hut. The feelings of childhood security and safety I experienced on these days I have never been able to recapture. The richness of these stories and accounts have both added to my understanding of Ngāpūtahi and the history of the area. The imagery drawn from history expressed through these relationships with nature and from personal attributes are derived
from personifying natural forces. These became part of the Tūhoe language, describing and bringing to life a world that connected its descendants with its landscape and history.

The ancestors, the stars, the sea, the land, the whole inanimate world seemed to gain human quality and meaning from accumulated centuries of human association, so that a certain peak or place held significance (Mitcalfe, 1974: 9). The spots where Boogie, Mum and I would sit and meet hold a special part in my life, as does other parts of Te Urewera. Each spot has a name that has resulted in some episode occurring between the people and the environment adding and building to the epistemology of Tūhoe and Te Urewera.

**Primary School: Te Whāiti**

It was around this time I began primary school. The day would start with a mile-and-a-half walk, leaving home at 7am to catch a small school bus that would take us the seven miles to Te Whāiti School. I could never understand the rationale that we had to walk a mile and a half before we were allowed a bus to shuttle us to school. The bus would drive out from Te Whāiti in the morning stop a mile and a half away from our home to wait for us. Similarly on the return home in the afternoons the bus would drop us a mile and a half from home, on hot and dusty days, at age five I would make the journey home by foot with my older siblings, to arrive back at home at 4.45pm. However at the time we were mindful the older members of the family had to make the entire journey to Te Whāiti by foot. They would leave home in the dark and return home in the dark, a return journey of approximately 15 miles. I cannot comprehend sending my daughter at age five out at 7am every morning rain, hail or shine to walk a mile and a half to school.

Native schooling ended in 1969, but the signage remained at Te Whāiti. Books were marked ‘Te Whāiti Native School’, the main signage that was surrounded with Māori motif designs was painted ‘Te Whāiti Native School’. What was evident in these early years of my time at Te Whāiti was the successful implementation of the Native Schools system, in that every component of the curriculum was Pākeha, content was Pākeha, language of instruction was Pākeha, and teachers were largely Pākeha.

The Native School notion has its history embedded into the settler period of New Zealand as far back as 1867 to teach Māori Pākeha. To convert Māori to Pākeha was a cheaper and more humanitarian process than by physical conquest. The main thrust of the early settlers and
educators in this period were to Europeanise, Christianise, and civilise Māori. When the previous education structure of the mission schooling system collapsed in the 1860s (this period is covered in more detail in Chapter Five), it was replaced with the native schools in 1867, running through into 1969. The primary purpose of the Native Schools system was to assimilate Māori (Simon & Smith, 2001: ix).

One of the enduring memories I had of Te Whāiti was that we seemed to have two new teachers per year. We would lose the official full-time teacher, and then would be supplied with a relieving teacher for a term while a permanent replacement was found. Despite the school being only seven miles from home, the environment was totally different; English was commonly used in the homes in the Te Whāiti valley. None of my school peers could speak Māori, with the exception of my older brother, who was a senior in my first year of school. Because no one else could speak Māori, he and I seemed to hide the fact that we could, so as to not stand out from our peers.

Primary school was difficult to comprehend. There were strange rules we had to conform to. We had to line up single-file, junior boys in one line, junior girls in another, senior boys in one line, and senior girls in another. We would have to say in unison “Good morning, Mr and Mrs Highfords”, hands and fingernails were checked for cleanliness and handkerchiefs were produced. This is where the inside lining of the short woollen pants we had to wear came in handy. If you pulled the inside of the pocket out and kept a hold of it, it appeared as though you were in the possession of a handkerchief. We had to read books with characters who were commonly called Janet and John or Mr and Mrs, never Hemi or Haneta, or Pāpā or Māmā. They were always about a life that was as foreign to Te Whāiti as one could possibly get, and most definitely foreign to Ngāpūtahi.

Our house did not have electricity let alone a car that would announce the return home of Dad from work. Because we never had an individual person being “Dad” at home, it made the stories and lessons that much more difficult to comprehend let alone relate to. School and home were quickly becoming two different worlds. The learning experiences we had at Ngāpūtahi were not widely known by education commentators: at this time the comment was made “Schoolchildren scarcely knew the name rimu and could not recognise one if they saw one” (Chavasse & Johns, 1975: 121). Where I would look outside the classroom and see
kōwhai\textsuperscript{16}, remembering the bark being used as a hot poultice in the healing of Mum’s brother Te Roku’s broken leg. Growing next to the kōwhai was a houhi\textsuperscript{17} where I knew the bark was peeled away and dried to make poi. Opposite the kōwhai was a tarata\textsuperscript{18} that had leaves placed around the hinau\textsuperscript{19} bread when cooking resulting in the sweet lemon scent entering the bread. The names and uses of these trees were never included in lessons at school, instead we were told what radiata pine trees were and what poplar trees (that ringed the school) were, distancing further the life and teachings of home from what we were being taught in school.

This time was quite confusing. The school buildings were foreign, and the teachers were different. I longed for the days sitting between Boogie and Mum alongside the Manawāhiwi stream many a time during those first years of school. Fortunately before long, friendships were forged, and this soon became the main focus of attending school to share in the fun and games we would have in the scheduled breaks between lessons.

It was during my primary school years that progress eventually arrived at Ngāpūtahi in the form of electricity. This changed things significantly at home. We could now store and freeze food, and milk, we could for the first time buy fresh milk, which did not need to be mixed with water. We had lights that were bright in the evening that did not make the laboured breathing sound of the Coleman Tilly lamps and the house no longer smelled of kerosene fumes. We did not have to worry about kerosene and methylated spirits running out.

Prior to the electricity being connected to our house, two of my older siblings left home to attend university in Auckland and Hamilton. This took some adjusting to, as the tasks that were done by the older siblings were now falling to my older brother and I. Our other whāngai sister was also taken back by her father and had moved to the South Island, where we were never to see her again as a child; the next time we would meet she had completed secondary school and was enlisting into the military.

\textsuperscript{16} Kowhai, \textit{Sophora microphylla Papilionaceae} has seeds that have hard yellow waxy coats. Grows to about 10m tall with a trunk up to 60cm in diameter. Its bark is smooth but becomes somewhat rough and fissured on old trees (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 88)

\textsuperscript{17} Houhi, Lacebark \textit{Hoheria populnea var. populnea} is found in coastal and lowland forests in the North Island south to the Bay of Plenty. It is a small tree up to 10m or more in height with smooth bark. Leaves are 7-14 cm long X 4-6 cm wide and are coarsely toothed (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 110)

\textsuperscript{18} Tarata, Lemonwood \textit{Pittosporum eugenioides} found in lowland to lower mountain forest, up to 12 m tall with a trunk up to 60 cm in diameter. Yellowish green leaves are 5-10 cm long x 2.5-4 cm wide, strong lemon scent when crushed (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 142)

\textsuperscript{19} Hinau, \textit{Elaeocarpus dentatus Elaeocarpaceae}, grows as a canopy component in lowland forest. It is a tree up to 20 m or more in height with a trunk up to a metre in diameter, bark is rough with narrow longitudinal fissures, leaves are 5 – 12 cm long X 2-3cm wide often with two sides strongly rolled over (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 118).
Throughout this time activities were spent attending school and hunting and gathering food from the bush that completely surrounded the homestead. At a very early age I would follow along behind my older brothers and my brother-in-law on excursions into the bush to retrieve deer or hunt. When the trip was to retrieve animals my job was to light a fire and make ready the tea and whatever food we had. This was done quite frequently for when my older siblings would go out hunting, most of the times animals were shot in the afternoons, heading into dusk, and the animal was left for the following day to be carried out. This usually took a day depending on the size and weight of the animal. Similar trips were made with Mum to collect pikopiko native asparagus. It was at these times upon entering the bush that trees, plants and animals were identified and their relevance memorised and referenced. To go and collect pikopiko, you knew it grew in damp places or very near to water. Pigs were either around rarauhe [bracken fern], where they ate the aruhe [bracken fern root], or near the hinau tree whose berries were also a source of food for the pigs. You knew where the toro miro trees grew, as this is where the kererū [native wood pigeon] would gorge itself on the berries. Simple logistics really, a source of food for one became a source of food for another.

By identifying and classifying plant life you were able to determine exactly where you needed to go depending on the purpose of your trip to the bush. Seasonal changes and growth cycles of trees and plant life such as when the māuku fern, where the new shoot of the pikopiko [the new fronds of the māuku] were ready for harvest, and when trees like the hīnau were in berry, added to knowledge of where to gather food.

It was at this stage I began to see my Uncle Boogie and older brothers (they are by birth, uncles, older brothers to my birth mum) in a different light. I began to realise the extent of knowledge they each held of Te Urewera. There is not a plant or bug that moves within Te Urewera that they cannot identify or classify. My Uncle Boogie could tell you at a glance what the tree was, the gender of the tree, by simply looking at a leaf, a new shoot or the bark. He could name it and then explain the terrain it could be found growing in. Whether it was on the ridge tops, gullies, or part way up the side of a ridge, describe the surrounding plant life and describe what the immediate area would look like. Boogie in his younger years had guided the Government surveyors through parts of the Urewera at different times and was quite adept in this field.

20 Pikopiko is the new shoot that grows and matures into the mauku leave, Asplenium Bulbiferum – hen and chicken fern, is found throughout the country in lowland to lower mountain forest. Stems are short and erect with soft fronds, the frond blades measure 12-120cm long X 5-50 cm wide, have 2 – 3 orders of leaflets (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 232)
Chapter One: Tūhoe Story: At the feet of my grandparents

Secondary Schooling: Preparing for Tertiary

As we began to explore the wider parts of Te Urewera, we would sit with Boogie and talk about the route we were travelling or the district we were heading into, where Boogie would describe the low saddles that we needed to be mindful of and the tricky turning points to be cautious about. An incident that remains with me is when my brother-in-law and I went from Maungapōhatu to Gisborne. We sought advice from Boogie on which would be the best route to take. Boogie had described the track and turning points that well, we were able to tick off the land marks he had provided, guiding us directly out onto the sheep stations behind Gisborne. His knowledge of the landscape was remarkable, it would have been close to 30 years when he was last in that particular section of Te Urewera.

My high school years quickly followed my time at Te Whāiti. This was an additional 20 miles on from Te Whāiti to Murupara, where I attended the local secondary school, Rangitahi College. This was a fusion of sport and learning. At Rangitahi I began to rationalise my two worlds, the world that was Māori (Tūhoe) and the world that was Pākeha. My time spent at home before attending school was clearly based on knowledge that was required to function and survive in the bush as a Tūhoe person, and the world outside of home, which initially began in my school years, was a Pākeha world. I was successful in having my University Entrance qualification accredited to me at the completion of my second year in the 6th form. However, despite qualifying to enter tertiary study, I returned to high school for a final year, taking a year longer than usual to complete secondary school. Time at secondary school followed a curriculum framework that presented a non-Māori view of New Zealand. As I progressed through schooling less and less of my peers in classes were Māori, despite attending a high school that had a high Māori roll. The majority of Māori were held in the fifth form, to progress onto the next class national external exams, School Certificate, had to be passed, if you failed you remained until the national exams were passed. However in the sporting area this scenario was reversed, where the majority of team mates were Māori.

During the late 1970s and mid-1980s 62% of Māori were leaving secondary school without passing one subject in School Certificate21, as compared to 28% of non-Māori. With regard

21 School Certificate was a national exam every student sat in the fifth form, usual age 15, or the third year of secondary school, where students who did not pass the required three subjects that had to include English could progress, the students either left school, or returned as a second-year student in the fifth form.
to University Entrance\textsuperscript{22} and higher qualifications 9.5\% was being achieved by Māori compared to 34\% achieved by non Māori (Department of Social Welfare, 1988: 15).

The year that followed the completion of secondary school saw me remain within Ngāpūtahi. I had enrolled in a Bachelor of Science extramurally with Massey University, while working on different projects around Ngāpūtahi, cleaning old urupā or hunting venison and trapping opossum for fur skins. It was during this time that I became familiar with my uncles as an adult; I was no longer treated as a child, and was able to form adult relationships with them as I was getting older. It was here I first began to realise my uncle Boogie was not only a master of the bush, but was also a repository of genealogy. Different people would drop by to chat with him and ask for clarity of their genealogical connections.

This information in the last years of his life he tried to pass on to as many of us as he could, never passing up a moment to pass a series of names with connections here and there. He would name his cat, dog, rooster, his brother’s cars; nothing was spared, relaying to us what the connection of that particular person was, with their peculiar traits each in an attempt to help us put a face and character to the many names that are in the genealogical lines that make up the wider family.

**Leaving Ngāpūtahi: Tertiary**

I left Ngāpūtahi the following year without realising that when I would return it would not be the same. I returned home as often as possible, almost every weekend. When I left I naively believed I was going away to attend University and would return home during every break. When I returned, I had in fact returned home a slightly different person. I had become more aware of the issues first encountered when beginning school at Te Whāiti. Simple things like completing an application form. I now had, for the first time, a full address. So now when I completed an application form I had an answer for every section, a street name, mailbox number, and a phone number. While I could experience satisfaction in completing all sections of an address form, I still felt the yearning and loneliness for the life I had back in Te Urewera.

\textsuperscript{22} University Entrance was a national exam that was held in the sixth form, where only those students who had past the school certificate exam a year early could qualify to sit for this entrance exam for University, here again students who failed this exam could leave school, or return as a second year student in the sixth form, as I did to re-sit the exam.
Each time I returned home, the feelings I experienced must have been similar to those felt by Mum as we would arrive and leave to clean the old homestead all those years ago. The very distant quietness that I would see happen to Mum when we went to her parent’s house, I was now experiencing. I would see the spot where Mum, Boogie and I would while away the day next to the Manawāhiwi stream, now overgrown with blackberry. Were it not for my memory, who would have known such treasured times were spent there? I would come across similar sites in the bush, miles from nowhere, where as a child I sat and listened to my older siblings reflecting back on their times at Rangitahi College with their friends and the fun times they had had. Here again I would sit, comfortable, and go through similar feelings as experienced with Mum and Boogie next to the Manawāhiwi stream. When I came across those spots in the bush, if I closed my eyes, as I often did, I could hear the laughter, the voices, feel the excitement, as can only be experienced with youth from those times. This period was leaving behind the years of secondary school and First Fifteen rugby to begin the next stage of life, tertiary study.

During my first year at Waikato University, Boogie died. This was shattering, because not since the time of his parents had anyone from Ngāpuhi died. As it is with human nature it is not until someone is lost to you that you fully realise their magnitude. The family had not quite realised how much we had relied on Boogie for genealogical advice and help for heading into the bush. After his death, when exploring new parts of Te Urewera it took some time to get used not having the certainty of landmarks described by Boogie. However every now and then when walking through Te Urewera, I would find the wide ‘WH’ carved into trees marking a key turning point to be mindful of. ‘WH’ were Boogie’s initials, William Huriwaka.

This is how my tertiary journey began. I’m thankful for my initial undergraduate studies in that it gave me the opportunity to start to reflect on the earlier parts of my childhood. I was able to begin the process of critical review and analysis of how I had learnt things. Having to teach, I had to learn how to dissect knowledge into palatable portions so it could be easily digested by those beginning their steps into learning. By doing this, I was able to work out how I had in fact learnt things. What was astonishing was how well prepared I was. The concepts, tools, and processes of learning or becoming familiar with the forest, flora and fauna I realised were applicable in my later studies of secondary school and tertiary. In
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particular, a great deal of discipline and self motivation was required. In Te Urewera, if you became tired you rested, but to reach your destination you had to get up and continue. Arriving at the final destination or campsite was not the end. You still had to set camp, prepare a fire, prepare a space and place to sleep.

This faith in an ability to visualise an incremental plan has kept me in good faith over the years and into tertiary study. It built within me a belief in my ability. It helped to develop resilience in continuing, regardless of how despondent I would get at times. During these times I would rest, and scan my surroundings as I would when in Te Urewera looking for familiar landmarks, to recollect my thoughts, to reposition myself, that would ultimately lead to my destination. Once I had rested I would continue. Postgraduate study introduced me to European theories and theorists; critical theory, Hegel, Habermas, Kant, Horkheimer, and Heidegger. It gave me the tools to reflect and, through praxis, amend what has worked for me.

As stated in the introduction I have been in education for most of my life, a school student from age 5-18, and from age 19 to the present as a tertiary student. After completion of my undergraduate degrees, I began teaching in state mainstream schools where the curriculum is Pākeha. I then taught in a Māori boys’ boarding school, St Stephen’s School, from where I made the transition from teacher to principal of the first established Māori immersion school Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae, to where I am at present, Te Amorangi – Executive Director Māori at Manukau Institute of Technology. I am a Māori person engaging in education, and I bring, and write into this thesis, my educational experiences as school student, tertiary student, teacher, and lecturer. I privilege the role and place of education in this thesis.
Chapter Two

Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District

Tūhoe te Iwi: Te Urewera te Rohe

Ka topa atu au tau rawa ki te nohohanga o te manu; e ko te Hiwera hana o ngā taringa e whaia nei ki Putauaki.

This chapter introduces the people of Tūhoe and the region they occupy, Te Urewera. It describes who Tūhoe are and where they are located. Tūhoe are located in Te Urewera, this is a large stand of native forest centrally located in the North Island. The history of Te Urewera as it relates to Tūhoe is proved showing the long interconnected history Tūhoe have to this district.

To provide a basis for talking about mātauranga-a-iwi – in this case, mātauranga-a-Tūhoe – this chapter will describe who the people of Tūhoe are. It will illustrate their connection to the territory they occupy: Te Urewera.

The people of Tūhoe are a tribe that belongs to the Māori people. The name Māori is the term used to describe an indigenous person of New Zealand, which prior to European contact was not widely used. Instead, Māori identified themselves in tribal clans, similar to the Scottish clans, occupying territorial lands referred to as rohe. The Tūhoe rohe is Te Urewera.
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The relationship Tūhoe has with its rohe Te Urewera is a significant part of this thesis, and its exploration of the significance of mātauranga-a-iwi to the education of Māori. To better understand this relationship, and the notion of mātauranga-a-iwi, Tūhoe the people, and Te Urewera the landscape, are described here.

The detailed accounts that follow have been retold to me through the many discussions held with elders of Tūhoe. Tūhoe elders Tio Tākuta, Mum, and Boogie feature widely in these early histories of Tūhoe. Tio Tākuta was one of the last holders of the wider whakapapa links for Tūhoe. He was able to link the many hapū together within the iwi, and also the wider links to bordering iwi. An incident occurred where he met my then partner before we married, who has links to the Hauraki, was able to connect her and I together with whakapapa links from Tūhoe Pōtiki and his elder brother Tāne Moeahi who my wife’s family come from. I was also fortunate to have their guidance in using the material of Esldon Best, where particularly with the whakapapa links Best recorded, Tio and Boogie were able to highlight the inaccuracies noted in the whakapapa tables, and the historical accounts that were incorrect. The content that I have used in this thesis that refers to Best are the accounts that the Tūhoe elders I have had access to agree as being correct.

Tūhoe te iwi
Tūhoe are the earliest inhabitants in the Bay of Plenty. There are three sections to their/our history: the early ancestor Toi who travelled to New Zealand around 1150AD (Buck, 1952: 13); the arrival of the Mataatua waka [canoe] reported to have landed in Whakatāne around 1350AD (Best, 1972: 7) and the tribe Ngā Pōtiki – the first people.

Toi: Te tini o toi
Toi-te-hua-tahi was an ancestor who lived in Hawaiki and is believed to have arrived in New Zealand around 1150AD. Toi travelled to New Zealand in search of his two grandsons Whātonga and Turahei who had not returned from a waka race in Hawaiki. Arriving in New Zealand, Toi settled in Whakatāne, establishing the pa [settlement], Kaputerangi. The descendants of Toi were the first to settle around the Whakatāne district becoming known as

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23 Hawaiki is termed as the original home of Māori. This is the original location the migrations that took place around 925AD left from. Its exact location is unknown, however what is known is there are a series of places called Hawaiki.
Chapter Two: Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District

Te Tini o Toi [the multitudes of Toi], and later Te Hapuoneone. This change in name occurred when the descendants of Te Tini o Toi intermarried with descendants of Ngā Pōtiki. The history of Ngā Pōtiki follows in this account of the original inhabitants of Te Urewera and surrounding districts (see Whakapapa 2, Te Tini o Toi, Te Hapuoneone, Ngā Pōtiki and Mataatua).

Ngā Pōtiki: The first
Ngā Pōtiki were the first people to occupy the Te Urewera region (T. Tākuta, personal communication, May 27, 1994). Ngā Pōtiki traces its ancestry back to the marriage of Hinepūkohurangi to Maunga. Hinepūkohurangi resided in Ranginui-a-tamaku.

This early story of the people who occupied Te Urewera goes deep into the spiritual history of Ngā Pōtiki. The place Hinepūkohurangi lived, Ranginui-a-tamaku is not of this realm. Hinepūkohurangi is a celestial being recognised in Ngā Pōtiki and Tūhoe as the creator of mist; she is acknowledged as the maiden of mist.

Departing from Ranginui-a-tamaku, Hinepūkohurangi would descend to meet with Maunga, and they bore a son, Pōtiki. From this union all descendants of Ngā Pōtiki trace their genealogy (noted in Whakapapa 2 as Pōtiki I). As Hinepūkohurangi was a celestial being, she informed Maunga not to reveal she was the mother of their child, but unfortunately Maunga could not contain this secret. In her despair at being revealed, Hinepūkohurangi left Maunga, returning to Ranginui-a-tamaku. Maunga immortalised in his grief was transformed into the mountain Maungapōhatu. It is rare to see this mountain not shrouded in mist.

Ngā Pōtiki lived within the region now known as Te Urewera, although this name would come later. At this time the place was known simply river by river, valley by valley. There was not a name given to describe the region.

The people of Te Tini o Toi and Ngā Pōtiki over time intermingled to produce the tribe Te Hapuoneone. This link occurred with the union between Rakeiora (eight generations from Toi) and Te Rangitiriao (four generations from Maunga).

There are seven generations between Pōtiki I and Tongaraunui who established the first direct link between Ngā Pōtiki and the descendants from the Mataatua, by bearing a son to Awatope. Awatope is a descendant from the people on the Mataatua (see Whakapapa 3).
The direct link between Te Tini o Toi and Mataatua descendants was through Paewhiti. There are nine generations from her to Toi. Paewhiti entered into a relationship with Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi, a descendant from the Mataatua (see Whakapapa 2). They bore four children, Ueimua, Tāne Moeahi, Tūhoe Pōtiki, and Uenuku Rauriri. From this ancestor Tūhoe Pōtiki, the tribe Tūhoe derive their name. Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi is the son of Wairaka, daughter of Toroa the chief of the Mataatua waka (see Whakapapa 3).

The following whakapapa in (Whakapapa 2) shows the key links between Te Tini o Toi, and Ngā Pōtiki that produced the tribe Te Hapuoneone:
Whakapapa 2 Te Tini o toi; Te Hapuoneone; Nga Potiki

Key

Te Tini o Toi.

Te Hapuoneone

Mataatua

Ngā Pōtiki

To use this whakapapa the shaded boxes indicate what that particular grouping of people were identified as.

Toi

Rauru

Tahauri

Tahatiti

Rakiau

Rakeiora

Tamaki-hikurangi

Tamaki-hikurangi

Rakeiora

Rakeiora

Te Rangitiriao

Te Ao-tawhena

Mataatu

Te ripoi

Paewhiti

Tamatea-ki-te huatahi

To use this whakapapa the shaded boxes indicate what that particular grouping of people were identified as.

Te Maunga

Hinepōkohurangi

Pōtiki I

Tuhouhi

Tāne-te-kohu-rangi

Te Ao-tawhena

Puhou

Pou-te-aniwaniwa

Teatea

Tama-urupā

Rangimonoa

Tongaraunui

Awatope


Chapter Two: Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District

**Picture 1 Maungapōhatu**

Maungapōhatu, picture taken from base (picture W. Doherty 1989)

**Mataatua waka**

The Mataatua waka is believed to have arrived in Whakatāne around 1350 AD as a series of migrations were conducted throughout the Pacific using double-hulled canoes (Best, 1972: 12). The grandmother of Tūhoe Pōtiki, Wairaka, arrived on this waka. The Mataatua was captained by her father, Toroa. Also from this waka the ancestors of Awatope are located.

When the Mataatua arrived in Whakatāne, the key person for Ngā Pōtiki was Te Rangimonoa, occupying Karioi pā, situated on the lower Whakatāne River. Te Rangimonoa and his sister Tongaraunui are direct descendants of Pōtiki, child of Hinepūkohurangi and Maungapōhatu.

At this time Te Hapuoneone were occupying lands in Whakatāne from the now situated town of Whakatāne south toward Opōtiki (Best, 1972: 12-14). The Mataatua waka was captained by Toroa, whose grandson Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi entered into a relationship with Paewhiti, a person from Te Tini o Toi tribe (see whakapapa 2 for this full whakapapa). Most notable of their four children was Tūhoe Pōtiki. In the years that followed Ngā Pōtiki and Te
Hapuoneone would be known as Tūhoe. This occurred by the fact Tūhoe Pōtiki travelled, and became a relatively well known figure in his time. He is interred in a cave in Kawhia harbour in Waikato Tainui district. The following whakatauki [proverbial saying] best captures the relationships between Te Tini o Toi, Ngā Pōtiki and descendants from Mataatua:

Na Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua, na Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga (The land is from Toi and Pōtiki, the prestige is from Tūhoe). (Best, 1972: 13)

**Whakapapa 3 Tūhoe Potiki**

*Toroa is the Captain of the Mataatua Waka.*

**Tūhoe Pōtiki is who the tribe Tūhoe take their name from.*
A fuller historical account of Tūhoe history can be sourced in the book *Tūhoe* by Elsdon Best. The summarised accounts provided in this chapter are to provide a clear picture of Tūhoe the people and their environment Te Urewera.

**Te Urewera te rohe**

Te Urewera is a large area of native forest in the north eastern section of the North Island. The northern boundary is near state highway 2 from the Whakatāne Township on its way through to Opōtiki in the eastern Bay of Plenty. The southern boundary is found slightly north of state highway 5 that connects Taupo to Napier. The Galatea plain that has the
Rangitāiki River flowing through it forms the western boundary, with the south-eastern boundary bounded by Lake Waikaremoana.

Map 2 Te Urewera Native Reserve

(Webster, 1979: 75)

Map 3 Te Urewera Region

Te Urewera is the largest tract of native bush in the North Island, and is the home to Tūhoe. There are numerous valleys and gullies named by Tūhoe. These names map the Tūhoe interaction with this landscape. Each name has a history that links Tūhoe the people to this
Chapter Two: Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District

landscape. Within the meanings of the names are the detailed accounts of what occurred, resulting in the naming of particular sites. The name now given to describe the region Te Urewera was created by this interaction with Tūhoe.

During one of the many conversations I had with Boogie while clearing old urupā, I learned about the unfortunate outcomes of promiscuity, as the story of Te Urewera was told. Tūhoe Pōtiki had two sons, Murakareke and Kare-te-he. Murakareke travelled a lot; he was renowned for his skill and tactics in war, leaving his wife behind with his brother Kare-te-he. During these prolonged absences, Kare-te-he and his sister in law began an affair. Murakareke became suspicious because while he was home his wife asked when he would be leaving again. Murakareke, hiding his suspicion, feigned some battle that needed his urgent help, and immediately left. Once out of sight from his wife and brother, Murakareke doubled back to secretly sit and watch why his wife was so eager to be rid of him. There he witnessed his wife’s affair with his brother Kare-te-he. Enraged, Murakareke waited until his brother left the pa on his own, followed him and killed him by removing his brother’s penis. Several days later Murakareke arrives back to the pa to hear his grief stricken wife tell him someone had murdered his brother. Hiding his involvement, Murakareke went along with his wife in preparation to attend the tangi for Kare-te-he, by offering to fix her hair. Having fixed her hair and convincing her not to touch it because it looked just fine, he and his wife made their way onto the marae to attend the tangi. As they made their way onto the marae Murakareke’s wife became conscious of the murmurings and puzzled looks people were giving her, raised her hand to touch her hair and felt the remains of Kare-te-he’s penis tied to her hair. Murakareke removed the penis, cooked it and forced his wife to eat it, while commenting: this is what you wanted, now eat it. This was a rather dramatic response to promiscuity; however from the action of cooking the penis the term ure [penis], wera [hot] was created.

There is a different version of the naming of Te Urewera which states Murakareke slept too close to the fire where a hot ember landed in his crotch burning his penis, giving the name Urewera [burnt penis]. When I quizzed Boogie24 on this version he responded by saying Te Peehi (the Māori name given to Best) was told a less gruesome version because Te Peehi’s informants were not too sure how Te Peehi would reacted to the brutality of the original story.

24 Boogie was raised by Paitini, a key informant for Elsdon Best while writing the book Tūhoe.
So it was through the actions of Murakareke the district draws its name Te Urewera. The name is linked to the people of Tūhoe, and the people of Tūhoe are linked to the place Te Urewera. This has added to the rich historical connection between Tūhoe and its earlier ancestors of Te Hapuoneone, and Ngā Pōtiki to the district termed rohe.

Each tribe has a rohe that contain the stories that define their relationship to that particular region, providing a land base for the tribe to build its identity. The name Tūhoe and Te Urewera are synonymous with each other, each is implied in the other. Tūhoe implies Te Urewera, Te Urewera implies Tūhoe.

The nature of the rohe environment is often recorded in the meaning of the names that are used. An example of this is captured in the Tauratukutuku [rope ladder]. This name was given to a section of trail leaving Ngāpūtahi. During construction of State Highway 38, the workers had to lower themselves down with flax ropes tied around themselves to prevent them from toppling down into the Ōkahu stream many metres below. Prior to this, this place was called Ngā wāhine kai awatea.

The connection to the rohe is further reinforced through the practice of returning the afterbirth to the tribal lands to be buried within the rohe. The term used to describe land and placenta is whenua. This doubled naming captures the function of the placenta in providing food, sustenance connecting the mother to the unborn child, in the same way the land provides sustenance, food and a connection to the people.

Within Tūhoe, the whenua [placenta] is buried within the rohe as its function and purpose is no longer required. It has served its purpose through the mother providing sustenance and food to the unborn child. A widely held view in Tūhoe and amongst Māori more generally describes the land, Papatuanuku, as the provider and mother of us all, therefore returning the placenta to her completes the cycle. The function of the whenua/placenta is now replaced by the responsibility of the whenua/Papatuanuku. The placenta must be buried within the tribal lands where it physically connects the descendant of Tūhoe to its land base, Te Urewera. The process of burying the whenua/placenta is done by placing a hangi stone²⁵ firmly on top of the placenta, then both are buried and stamped securely into the ground. The hangi stone is placed on top to annul the sacredness of the afterbirth, and the firm stamping of the earth is to

²⁵ Hangi is the traditional way in which Māori cooked food, a pile of wood is stacked with stones placed on top, the pile is fired to heat stones, once required temperature is reached, ashes are cleared with food being placed onto hot stones doused with water to create steam. The food is then covered with wet coverings and buried to cook.
ensure the person will never lose the love, or connection to the land base, and fellow
members of the tribe. The process is complete when the dried umbilical cord on the belly
button called pito falls away from the baby. The pito is also taken away and placed into a
crevice of a tree.

Ngā Kāinga: Ngāpūtahi
My pito has been placed, along with that of others from the family, into a hīnau tree in
Ngāpūtahi. The Ngāpūtahi settlement is situated on what used to be State Highway 38,
approximately 30 kilometres from Murupara. It is marked where the Manawāhiwi stream
joins the Ōkahu stream. The Ōkahu stream flows north east, from the base of two prominent
peaks Turiōhau, and Māpouriki (see Map 5). The settlement is at the base of the Ika Whenua
range that flows from Maungataniwa through to the Taneātua valley (see Map 5). This range
is one of the main divides that run through Te Urewera, all the streams on the Ngāpūtahi side
of Ika Whenua ultimately flow into the Rangitāiki, the Ōkahu flows into the Whirinaki at Te
Whāiti, and the Whirinaki joins the Rangitāiki in the Galatea plains:
Chapter Two: Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District

Map 4 Ngāpūtahi

- Great grandparents homestead
- State Highway 38 approx 90 kilometres to Rotorua
- Route travelled by foot to attended school approx 1.3 miles
- Family Urupa
- Homestead
- Ika Whenua range flowing into Taneātua
- Hemi Te Waaka killed in ambush 1869
- State Highway 38 approx 80 kilometres to Wairoa, Hawkes Bay

Note: The map illustrates the geographical layout and significant locations relevant to the history and geography of the Te Urewera region.
Chapter Two: Tūhoe the People: Te Urewera the District

Map 5 Te Urewera: Pathways out of Ngāpūtahi

- State Highway 38 to Rotorua
- Whirinaki river flowing out to Murupara
- Ōkahu stream joins Whirinaki river – these streams flow into to Galatea plains
- To Whakatāne
- Ngāpūtahi
- To Taupo
- Ikawhenua Range
- State highway 38 to Wairoa and Ruatahuna
- Turiohau and Mapouriki – source Ōkahu stream

Map of Urewera National Park NZMS 170 Urewera National Park 3rd Edition
My family has always occupied the homestead of Ngāpūtahi. My great-great-grandmother Mōtoi was imprisoned for removing Elsdon Best’s survey pegs there in the 1890s as the Crown tried to push through the state highway from Te Whāiti. Ngāpūtahi is a crossroads for the ancient trails in and out of the Te Urewera. Illustrated on Map 5 are the routes taken from Ngāpūtahi to Whakatāne and Rotorua, then out to Waikato, Napier, Taupo, and Waikaremoana. From Ngāpūtahi, heading south-west upstream following the Ōkahu stream, is the route out to Taupo (Map 5). Following the Ōkahu downstream would lead out to the Galatea plains. Heading east from Ngāpūtahi would lead into the Whakatāne river, and the homestead is situated along the river as it flows out in the Whakatāne harbor. Southeast from Ngāpūtahi, heading upstream following the Manawāhiwi, would lead into the Ruatāhuna valley. This is how Ngāpūtahi was named ngāpūtahitanga o ngā awa which means the junction of the streams, as tracks often followed the course of streams.

The tribal structure of Tūhoe is made up of a series of smaller sub-tribes called hapū. My hapū is Ngāti Tāwhaki that has always occupied Ngāpūtahi. Ngāti Tāwhaki was one of the three principal fighting hapū of Tūhoe, strategically located to guard an entry point into Te Urewera. The Ngāpūtahi entry point was by following the Whirinaki stream on the Galatea plains, until it was joined by the Ōkahu in Te Whāiti. From here the Ōkahu was followed until it met the Manawāhiwi at Ngāpūtahi. Then the Manawāhiwi was followed, taking the left fork where it is met by the Whakatau, following now the Ōhaoko stream to its source deep into the Pūkiore hills that led into Ruatāhuna.

The other two fighting hapū (as well as Ngāti Tāwhaki) were Tamakaimoana and Ngāti Rongo (Best, 1972: 215). These hapū occupied the other obvious entry points into Te Urewera. Tamakaimoana occupied the Tauranga river area that led into Maungapōhatu. Ngāti Rongo was situated on the Whakatāne River, between the township of Whakatāne and Ruatāhuna. Each of these rivers, along with the Whirinaki and Ōkahu, provided the only open pathways that could be readily followed into Ruatāhuna Te puku o te wheke [the stomach of the octopus]. The stomach of the octopus is a poetic name given to describe the reprieve from the churning mass of ridges and hills Ruatāhuna offers. The surrounding masses of ridges and valleys of Ruatāhuna are described as ngā waewae o te wheke [the legs of the wheke].

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26 Personal informant to author Te Kahui Doherty Tūhoe elder and grandmother.
Ngāpūtahi saw a lot of activity as the first military campaigns were launched into Te Urewera by Gilbert Mair and Colonel Whitmore in their pursuit of Te Kooti. In 1869, Mair and Whitmore believed Te Kooti was residing in Ruatāhuna. Leaving the Galatea plains they followed the Whirinaki, Ōkahu and Manawāhiwi streams to arrive at Ngāpūtahi with the armed militia on route to Ruatāhuna (Cowan, 1983b: 343).

Accompanying Mair and Whitmore was a scout, Hemi Te Waka, a crown loyalist from Te Arawa. He was killed in an ambush in the Manawāhiwi stream (Cowan, 1983b: 343). This battle took place where our present gateway is located leading up to our homestead (see picture 11).

Ngā Kāinga: Te Whāiti Nui a Toi

Situated on the north western edge of Te Urewera is the community of Te Whāiti Nui a Toi [The great narrowing canyon of Toi]. Commonly shortened to Te Whāiti, this place was named after Toi, the founder of Te Tini o Toi. While he was in the Te Whāiti valley his daughter Hineruarangi (see whakapapa 2) slipped and died falling into a canyon in the upper reaches of the Whirinaki River. She then took on the role of guardian for the people in the Te Whāiti valley, coming back in the form of a white-breasted shag that appears to warn people of the area of foreboding events.

The settlement of Te Whāiti is contentious for Tūhoe and Ngāti Tāwhaki. Other tribes attempted to settle this area and were repeatedly removed by Ngāti Tāwhaki. To establish peace, marriages were arranged between Ngāti Tāwhaki and the later arrivals who were crown loyalists. When the crown eventually sat to hear the claims of this area, Ngāti Tāwhaki and Tūhoe lost this land despite the readily visible claims Ngāti Tāwhaki and Tūhoe had.

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27 Te Kooti Rikirangi was of Rongowhakaata tribe of the east coast, he initially fought with the crown as guide, where he was imprisoned on the Catham Islands without trial for spying. A more detailed description is given in the section headed Te Kooti and Tūhoe
The preceding maps are included to show the location and detail of the terrain within Te Urewera, and the valleys that surround Ngāpūtahi. It was in this landscape that my older siblings and I learned our moral truths as Tūhoe.

In summary: the Tūhoe experiences with Te Urewera have a set of interpretations that link and define the relationship between the people and the environment. This relationship has produced mātauranga Tūhoe, knowledge specific to Tūhoe. It maps the relationship that has occurred as the people and environment live together.
Chapter Three

Ranga Framework – He Rāranga Kaupapa

Ka titiro iho au i runga i te tihi tapu o Tarapounamu e koe te nohohanga o te tipua. Ka huri taku aro ki te aitanga o Ngāti Tāwhaki i te maru o Whakaipu.

This theoretical chapter identifies a series of key concepts that set the parameters for a discussion of the relationships between mātauranga-a-iwi, mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory. The chapter charts these relationships in a diagrammatic form, in what I have termed the Ranga Framework. I argue that mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori theory and mātauranga-a-iwi are distinct entities but inseparable. The Ranga Framework proposes the working relationship between these elements that forms an underlying thread in this thesis.

In modern educational discourse, the terms mātauranga-a-iwi, mātauranga Māori, and kaupapa Māori theory are used to define Māori identity and Māori knowledge. However, these ideas are often confused with each other, or are considered as distinct and separate concepts. Often, the relationship between them is not well understood. This chapter offers a framework to look at the relationship between these ideas. The framework outlines the role each plays in the definition of the other. Each concept is interdependent, and each is ‘equal’; that is, we cannot privilege one over the other. The framework also explains the relationships that exist between these three concepts and ‘generic’ knowledge, the term I have used for
knowledge that does not belong to mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori theory, and mātauranga-a-iwi.

Although there has been a lot of writing about mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory, few have made clear the relationship between mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory and iwi. According to Professor Graham Smith, kaupapa Māori theory is a political strategy to make ‘space’ within theoretical work for mātauranga Māori. In turn, Smith states that “the business of iwi is to show and model mātauranga Māori” (personal communication, November 2003). This thesis will pick up the challenges put forward by Smith to show what an iwi-based knowledge system is, and illustrate the core functions that are used to locate and identify tribal forms of knowledge in relation to kaupapa Māori theory and mātauranga Māori.

The recent authors who have written in the kaupapa Māori theory have made a significant contribution to mātauranga Māori field. This thesis is a continuation of the recent work on kaupapa Māori theory. The authors in kaupapa Māori theory to date include Professor Graham Smith (1997) who discusses kaupapa Māori theory with a clear focus on transformative practices. Professor Linda Smith’s kaupapa Māori research has culminated in her book Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (1999) in which Smith draws attention to issues that arise when non-indigenous researchers are conducting research on indigenous peoples and cultures. Dr Leonie Pihama (2001) has added a more targeted focus on reo [language] and tikanga [culture], with an emphasis on mana wahine [position of women]. Professor Russell Bishop, working in mainstream schools, has been able to show the results of not having a kaupapa Māori theory approach. Dr Cheryl Smith (1994), focused on iwi development, written from a community perspective illustrating how kaupapa Māori theory has been implemented to be meaningful to the communities she has researched. Dr Paul Reynolds’ (2004), research in science used kaupapa Māori theory in his research on the use of gene modification and the implications this has on Māori. Professor Taiarahia Black (2000) extended the notion of kaupapa Māori theory further, in that Black’s thesis is the first PhD written in Māori, modeling Tūhoe mātauranga. Dr Te Tuhi Robust (2006) researched the development of indigenous structures within a university context. His research involved a case study at the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia which draws on traditional structures and uses of processes set up to address indigenous presence and the academic success of indigenous students at both institutions.
An analysis of this area of interest is provided here to show why it is important to distinguish between mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori theory, something that has not been answered in this existing literature. This literature places an accent on mātauranga Māori to explain kaupapa Māori theory, where the explicit link to iwi identity was not strongly made.

Recent writers on Māori describe Māori knowledge, language and culture, where earlier writers viewed Māori accounts as mythology and legend:

... This is a very singular state of things to find in connection with a Māori tribe, and needs some explanation inasmuch as we know the Māori to be most accomplished and conservative genealogist. The origin usually ascribed to Pōtiki I. is entirely mythical, and, although believed by his descendants, is absurd to us... (Best, 1972: 19)

Elsdon Best described a Māori way of life as a mythological and quaint folklore not to be placed seriously in the same category of western historical accounts of history (Best, 1972: 1). Best recorded ‘Māori’ historical accounts, narratives, myths and legends, through interviewing Tūhoe elders, an activity which proved to be both positive and negative. His recording was positive for the fact that material was written down and recorded and is able to be referenced.

From a negative perspective, for Māori other than Tūhoe, the ‘Māori’ material is inaccurate because it is from only one tribal point of view. A Tūhoe elder’s version of a story, for instance, would be correct to the iwi it was intended for. An early advocate of recognising tribal identity rather than Māori identity, John Rangihau, stated that it was his Tūhoe history and practices that made him Māori. Because he was Tūhoe he conducted himself in a particular way. He would not expect other Māori who were not of Tūhoe to act in that particular way, as other Māori have their own tribal identity that would determine their own actions (Rangihau, 1975).

Early recordings of Māori knowledge taken from tribal districts were later confused when sections of differing tribal accounts were combined, altering what was once a true tribal component of knowledge. This resulted in a series of muddled stories which became termed ‘myths and legends of the Māori’. These versions had lost their true tribal context; they had become de-contextualised. The explicit link to a particular territory of people occupying the
sites these accounts were based on became obscure and confused; they were removed from the people and landscape they were intended for. This ‘de-contextual’ knowledge has significantly contributed to what is now often termed mātauranga Māori.

When properly located within their environment, historical accounts form the basis of mātauranga-a-iwi. This is knowledge that is described within its own context and is a lived reality. It has not been confused by unknowingly drawing from other tribal knowledge.

For all the problems of de-contextualisation, having Māori historical accounts recognised as a body of knowledge worthy of academic examination is a large step. But Māori knowledge and processes could not be simply explained using the bald scientific methods of observation, experimentation and calculation. Māori knowledge had plural creators. Unlike a Christian approach to knowledge, Māori knowledge was not premised on one origin. Tāne is the creator of the forests and all associated with it, Tangaroa is the creator of the sea and all associated with it, and so on: various ancestors are attributed with creating sections of the Māori world. And these ancestors underlie both mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi.

This thesis positions both mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi as Māori epistemologies. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a context and space for Māori knowledge forms to exist and survive within, as I will explain.

**Ranga Framework**

I have designed this framework in an attempt to show that mātauranga Māori, mātauranga-a-iwi and kaupapa Māori theory are distinct but inseparable entities, each of which is required to ensure the survival of Māori language, knowledge and culture. The framework proposes a working relationship in the deliberate placing of these concepts. In doing so, the framework introduces a new term, ‘generic knowledge’. Generic knowledge is used to describe knowledge that does not come from Māori. Located within this strand are Pākehā28 epistemologies and concepts. This thesis proposes each strand (generic knowledge, mātauranga Māori, mātauranga-a-iwi and kaupapa Māori theory) has a knowledge base that has its own set of values and principles.

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28 Pākehā: Māori term for a person or concept that is not Māori. A common translation of this term is in reference to define a person is of European decent.
Chapter Three: Ranga Framework

The Ranga Framework illustrates the interconnection of the strands. Mātauranga Māori is a horizontal strand that moves from left to right. Situated above mātauranga Māori is the strand generic knowledge. Between mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge is Kaupapa Māori theory. Moving vertically is the strand mātauranga-a-iwi, intersecting kaupapa Māori theory as it meets mātauranga Māori.

Diagram 1 Ranga Framework

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<tr>
<th>Multi-centric</th>
<th>Generic Knowledge: non Māori knowledge: principles and values</th>
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<td>Kaupapa Māori theory</td>
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<td>Māori-centric</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kaupapa Māori theory</td>
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</table>

In this chapter, the terms mātauranga Māori, mātauranga-a-iwi and kaupapa Māori theory are explained and defined. Following the definitions is an explanation of the function that each of these entities plays in the deliberate location they occupy on the Ranga Framework.
Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori is defined as ‘Māori knowledge’. It is a term that places importance on Māori histories, knowledge and language; it refers to the Māori way of thinking, doing, and acting (Mead, 1997; Smith, G., 1997). Mātauranga Māori bridges both traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge curriculum, pedagogy and philosophy. It is through mātauranga Māori that histories and knowledge within Māori education are uncompromisingly told.

Educational structures that have developed and evolved under the aegis of mātauranga Māori are the kura kaupapa schools (total immersion schools), te kohanga reo (total immersion preschools), and wānanga (universities) that are based on Māori epistemologies. These are sites of learning that hold Māori tradition, customs and language as the core curriculum validating Māori knowledge. The basis of the Māori curriculum is informed by mātauranga Māori. The curriculum within these Māori educational settings places importance on Māori histories, knowledge and language; it enables Māori processes of learning, and teaching: ako. This term describes both teaching and learning, recognising the fact that in teaching one is still learning. Teaching mātauranga Māori removed Māori histories from being labelled merely ‘myth and legend’, repositioning Māori knowledge onto a legitimate epistemological base.

Mātauranga Māori hosts the core values and principles that apply to all Māori. While the core values and principles are located here, their application is not. The application of these values and principles are filtered through mātauranga-a-iwi. Each iwi has their own specific sense and use of these core values and principles that link them with their particular environment. This tribal application cannot be applied to another tribe, as they will have their own application that links them to their environment and iwi. Because the applications cannot be located in the broader term mātauranga Māori, it is presented in the Ranga Framework as de-contextual knowledge.

Mātauranga Māori and the Ranga Framework

The deliberate placing of mātauranga Māori on a horizontal plane is to show this knowledge is de-contextual. It is disconnected from its context. While it can host and express the values that are critical for a notion of Māori knowledge, language and culture, it cannot express the differences that occur from district to district. There is a danger that an assumption may be
drawn from mātauranga Māori that Māori are a homogenous body, and Māori knowledge is one set of ideas and practices. Mātauranga Māori provides Māori with a platform to speak generically. As the deep esoteric explanations of concepts reside with tribal knowledge, mātauranga Māori needs mātauranga-a-iwi. Access to the deeper interpretations is made through kaupapa Māori theory that connects mātauranga Māori to mātauranga-a-iwi. Kaupapa Māori theory provides the bridge to allow a different set of applications for the principles and values in mātauranga Māori to occur in mātauranga-a-iwi.

Kaupapa Māori theory
Kaupapa Māori theory is a political instrument which takes account of the unequal power relations that exist between Māori and Pākeha. It critically responds to the processes of colonisation, which have been embedded in ‘taken for granted’ practices and ideas within the schooling and education system. Kaupapa Māori theory attempts to provide a space outside assimilation, acculturation, exploitation, domination of Māori by Pākeha, and Pākehā knowledge hegemony.

Kaupapa Māori theory describes the transformational shifts that are required to respond to unequal power relations. The transformational shifts required and explored under the concept of kaupapa Māori theory are taken from the tradition of critical theory, using Māori and non-Māori theoretical tools (Smith, G., 1997). Critical theory underpins kaupapa Māori theory because it focuses on emancipatory outcomes, and provides an approach to a range of challenges facing Māori including neo-liberal economics, reification of science over culture, the rise of technological rationality, the pressure to develop a structural analysis rather than only a culturalist one and the need for social transformation.

In explaining the need for kaupapa Māori theory, Smith uses the analogy of “shadow paintings” of tools on the garage wall. While in the University/academic environment we have lots of western tools hanging on the wall at our disposal. From time to time, when we are working on specific Māori issues, the available tools do not quite fit and therefore he argues the need to add some quite specific “Māori theoretical tools” to the wall – the best tools to get the job done (Smith, G., 1997).
By using specific Māori theoretical tools, kaupapa Māori theory allows the assertion of the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge, language, culture, and practice as ‘taken for granted’ givens. In this sense, kaupapa Māori theory, both in its theoretical and practical dimensions, is about making legitimate space for mātauranga Māori (Smith, G., 1997). Kaupapa Māori theory has enabled the creation of total immersion schools using Māori language and culture to emerge onto the New Zealand educational landscape. This introduced the concept of ‘mainstream’ schooling to distinguish schools different from total immersion schooling.

Taking the mainstream concept wider, Māori were outside mainstream and Pākeha were mainstream. Historical accounts in New Zealand have tended to view Māori history from this mainstream perspective. Historical accounts have tried to understand Māori through Pākeha perspectives or lenses. From this position, Māori are viewed from a non-Māori perspective in an attempt to comprehend the Māori world.

Best found it difficult to rationalise Tūhoe history from his perspective. During the early stages of his writing he was relying on the Pākeha lenses to understand elements of Tūhoe epistemology and, because he was unable to comprehend it, he marginalised it, diminishing it as an absurdity.

Marie Battiste and James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson (2003: 36) highlight the dilemma of having a non-indigenous theoretical base explaining what is indigenous knowledge, being difficult for non-European to comprehend because Eurocentric thought has created a mysticism around indigenous knowledge that distances the outsider from indigenous peoples and what they know.

Kaupapa Māori theory made it possible to create a series of Māori lenses to view and describe Māori. This perspective clarified and intensified the focus, highlighting that Māori are not a homogeneous group. Māori are an eclectic grouping of tribes that have unique stories and histories. Mātauranga Māori is a summary of tribal knowledge that has been collectively called Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory provided the space to build the lenses required to see mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi. Mātauranga-a-iwi has always been
there, and kaupapa Māori theory created the space to allow the transformational shifts that need to occur when moving between these knowledge forms.

Applying the lenses created in kaupapa Māori theory enabled a sharper focus so that mātauranga Māori could ‘see’ mātauranga-a-iwi. Kaupapa Māori theory enabled a Māori understanding of the term Māori. For Māori, the term ‘Māori’ does not always imply a homogeneous approach; instead, whichever iwi occupies the district you are in is taken as ‘Māori’. Māori operate in a world of diverse realities, and what is taken as Māori differs from iwi to iwi (Rangihau, 1975: 232).

Kaupapa Māori theory has made it possible to describe Māori without leaving a Māori context that was not readily applicable from a non-Māori world view. These Māori contexts are described by the terms mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi (this is explained in the next section).

**Use of the term ‘theory’**

The use of ‘theory’ is deliberate in the concept kaupapa Māori theory. Graham Smith (1997) argues that the term has been a taken for granted element defined by universities. Theory in the university setting was what non-Māori chose to say was theory. The universities captured this concept by choosing what counted. Kaupapa Māori theory was to contest this, by simply applying another theory that was relevant to Māori.

While kaupapa Māori theory challenges what can be counted as a theory, it is important to note kaupapa Māori theory is not created to simply antagonise colonial ideologies (Smith, L., 1999: 188). A false perception can be given that all kaupapa Māori theory research is an attack on the existing crown initiatives, or Pākehā research, creating an unwanted potential for tension between kaupapa Māori theory and other theoretical frameworks.

What is required is a kaupapa Māori theory approach that provides Māori with the platform to describe and explain what the differing Māori positions and ideologies are on the many issues that confront Māori, from a Māori perspective. Kaupapa Māori theory-based research is not about disproving other theories. It is about building transformative outcomes for Māori.
through mātauranga Māori. Using the lens created by kaupapa Māori theory, mātauranga Māori becomes visible and accessible. Kaupapa Māori theory creates the space to allow a new set of lenses to view Māori knowledge forms.

**Ranga Framework: Kaupapa Māori Theory, Generic Knowledge Strand and Mātauranga Māori Strand**

Kaupapa Māori theory is located horizontally. It deliberately separates the strand generic knowledge, from the strand mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a political buffer zone between these strands to ensure that mātauranga Māori is not subsumed by generic knowledge. This ensures the values and principles located in generic knowledge are not merged or transported across to define mātauranga Māori. Placed in this position, kaupapa Māori theory creates a buffer to ensure the principles and values of generic knowledge are not used when engaging with mātauranga Māori. By doing this, kaupapa Māori theory provides the space to begin building an awareness of a new set of principles and values (whakapapa, manaaki, aroha, whaikōrero, karanga) to be used when engaging with mātauranga Māori. Simply transporting the values and principles used in generic knowledge and applying these to mātauranga Māori will not work, as these values and principles do not fit with mātauranga Māori. To engage with the principles and values of mātauranga Māori require a new set of lenses to view them.

The political space that kaupapa Māori theory creates allows for re-conscientisation to occur when moving from one set of paradigms to another. Re-conscientisation occurs by creating a new lens to see the principles and values required to successfully engage with mātauranga Māori. Creating a new lens reduces the risk of Māori being viewed through a lens created for generic knowledge, where assumptions or judgments are made about Māori that deny or overlook Māori concepts and realities.
Ranga Framework: Kaupapa Māori theory, Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-a-iwi

Kaupapa Māori theory as it applies to mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi is to ensure the application of the principles and values in mātauranga Māori are not homogeneously applied to iwi. While the principles and values of what is called mātauranga Māori are largely consistent across Māori groups, the application is not. To ensure this point is not overlooked, kaupapa Māori theory provides a buffer to ensure these principles and values are not applied commonly across iwi. As people develop their knowledge from the level of mātauranga Māori into mātauranga-a-iwi, the lens that was required in mātauranga Māori are given a sharper focus to examine the application of the mātauranga Māori principles and values in their specific environmental context.

When considering the relationship between mātauranga-a-iwi and mātauranga Māori, the design of the Ranga Framework centers kaupapa Māori theory as a buffer to ensure the application of principles and values from a tribal perspective are not applied to another tribal context. The engagement through kaupapa Māori theory is to reduce the possibility of a hegemonic approach that makes a certain iwi-centred understanding a ‘Māori’ understanding. In order to engage with mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi, it is critical that each is understood as a lens to view the other.

Simply applying a lens that is used in generic knowledge to view mātauranga Māori will not work because each of these two strands has a distinctive set of values and principles that are used when interpreting the knowledge that is found in the respective strands. Again, as a space-maker, kaupapa Māori theory creates the space between mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge in order for these lenses to be accessed prior to engaging with mātauranga Māori, allowing a transition between mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge.
Chapter Three: Ranga Framework

Diagram 2 Ranga Framework, mātauranga Māori, mātauranga-a-iwi and generic knowledge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multi-centric</th>
<th>Generic Knowledge; non Māori knowledge; principles and values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māori-centric</td>
<td>Mātauranga Māori; Māori principles and values; whakapapa, manaaki, kaitiaki, waiata, powhiri,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mātauranga-a-iwi

Mātauranga-a-iwi is tribal knowledge. Tribal knowledge is defined as the relationship between the tribe and its land base. Mātauranga-a-iwi is knowledge specific to an iwi and its rohe. It is the exchange between the rohe and the iwi that provides the context for mātauranga-a-iwi. As the iwi engages with and describes its environment, the basis for mātauranga-a-iwi is established. The application of the principles and values in mātauranga Māori occurs, though each iwi has its own particular process that links their particular rohe and people together.
Chapter Three: Ranga Framework

Each tribe has their own versions of knowledge that define the application of the values and principles in mātauranga Māori. An in-depth study of mātauranga Māori produces mātauranga-a-iwi. This is not to replace or undermine mātauranga Māori; rather it is to provide the depth and wider explanation of mātauranga Māori. Mātauranga Māori is premised on mātauranga-a-iwi; this is where the deeper explanations, meanings and signposts are found to the many questions raised within mātauranga Māori. The interaction the tribe has with its environment, expressed using its language, shapes and forms the epistemology of that particular tribe. The link that is created here establishes the context for mātauranga-a-iwi to exist.

By connecting the iwi and their landscape, mātauranga-a-iwi produces contextual knowledge. This is different from mātauranga Māori which, as an amalgam of numerous tribes with their numerous land bases, makes it difficult to link with a particular land base. Such a generic approach, in mātauranga Māori existing outside its tribal context, produces de-contextual knowledge. Proper explanations of Māori processes cannot be given in mātauranga Māori; these are located within mātauranga-a-iwi. An example of this is the formal welcoming principle pōwhiri. All Māori use this principle of action; however the application of this principle differs markedly from iwi to iwi. The variance cannot be understood within the framework of mātauranga Māori. What is required is an iwi explanation to provide the rationale as to why a particular process was used. Explaining the application of pōwhiri within an iwi context will provide a rationale linked to that iwi and its region. My own iwi, Tūhoe, does not allow pōwhiri to take place after nightfall; other iwi do. This deviation occurred early in Tūhoe history when the tribe was still known as Ngā Pōtiki29. A Ngā Pōtiki marae was expecting the return of a food-gathering party, but unbeknown to the expectant marae people, the group had been killed. The marauders knew the marae would be expecting the slain group’s return, and waited until night fall to enter the marae. The marae was attacked and destroyed. As a result, Tūhoe do not allow pōwhiri to occur at night. The relationship with the environment and the people of Tūhoe has shaped and adapted the principle of pōwhiri.

29 See whakapapa 2 in chapter One; Ngā Pōtiki this event took place around the arrival of the Mataatua canoe into Whakatāne.
Chapter Three: Ranga Framework

Whakapapa

The connection between the people and the tribal environment [rohe] is managed through the term whakapapa [genealogy]. Te Urewera is the territory that Tūhoe occupies and through whakapapa Tūhoe genealogically connects to Te Urewera. Te Urewera is the land base that builds the identity for Tūhoe. It is the interaction Tūhoe has with its land base that established Tūhoe as a distinct grouping of people, different from other tribes. It is the connection to the land base that provides the platform for Tūhoe to build its identity; this is the tūrangawaewae [place of standing], this is the Tūhoe comfort zone. It is within the space, place and environment of Te Urewera that Tūhoe gains its identity that is unique to Tūhoe. This is the context for mātauranga-a-iwi.

To illustrate this on the Ranga Framework, mātauranga-a-iwi is shown as a vertical strand. The base is situated in the tribal lands that the tribe occupies, emerging from here until it connects with kaupapa Māori theory.

The rationale behind the application of the principles and values expressed in mātauranga Māori are found here. The rationale is expressed in the relationship that the tribe has with its tribal environment. The applications of the principles and values have their context defined by the rohe. The purpose and the reason for the values and principles is defined here as knowledge. Within the context of the tribal lands, this knowledge strand is contextual knowledge; it is expressed within its own environment, as opposed to mātauranga Māori that is de-contextual, operating outside of its context. Within this strand a more authentic understanding of Māori is reached, it defines Māori as a tribal grouping with sub sets of hapū [sub-tribes], and whānau [families].

The mātauranga-a-iwi strand is carefully placed vertically with the base located into the tribal landscape, emerging exclusively to intersect with mātauranga Māori through the kaupapa Māori theory strand. Within my Ranga Framework diagram 1, space has been created for other vertical strands to be added that emerge from their particular tribal rohe. Only one is shown here to represent mātauranga-a-Tūhoe, which this thesis describes.
The term whakapapa is commonly used to describe genealogical connections between people. However my argument from a mātauranga-a-iwi base is that whakapapa maps epistemologies (including tribal concepts, principle, ideas and related practices) and locates them within a particular context. Whakapapa will map the inception of a concept, identifying the reason and purpose for the idea and track its changes that have occurred to date. Whakapapa links people and the landscape together within and through concepts or ideas.

To more fully understand the impact of whakapapa, the relationship of past to present is important. To describe the past is to state i ngā ra o mua (the days that hang in front of [me]). Māori are walking backwards into the future, the days that have passed hang in front, and the future is behind. When analysing a particular concept by reference to whakapapa, the
sequential order of events that have occurred to form that concept or meaning are laid out ‘in
front of you’ to provide the historical context showing the purpose and reason the concept or
idea or principle exists, and how this relates to the iwi and rohe.

To link a particular practice or concept to an iwi or rohe requires an intimate understanding of
the people and land they occupy. If concepts cannot be linked to the iwi and or rohe it is
likely the practice or concept is not indigenous to the area, but imported.

When the concept of whakapapa is applied to knowledge it creates the connection to the
tribal lands [rohe], and to the individual. Whakapapa indicates the rationale behind the
different tribal practices, by showing the sequential order of events required for tribal
knowledge. Within this sequential order of events, why the practice was created and how it
was established will be shown.

Whakapapa establishes the sequential order of events for mātauranga-a-iwi from inception
through to the current agreed practice for the iwi. Mātauranga-a-iwi must have a whakapapa
that links it to the rohe and the iwi for it to be termed mātauranga-a-iwi. This link not only
provides the evidence to support iwi ownership of a particular practice it also places the
learner and knowledge into context. Through whakapapa, three important elements – people,
land and knowledge – are linked together, providing the context for each to exist. This is
mātauranga-a-iwi. It is contextual knowledge.

**Identity and tūrangawaewae**

The final component to be explained using the Ranga Framework is identity. I have located
identity at the base of the Ranga Framework, under iwi. Identity is deliberately placed here to
illustrate that when environment, people and knowledge are drawn or linked together, identity
is fully understood.

Underpinning the Ranga Framework is identity. As whakapapa defines a working
relationship to enable links between people, environment and knowledge, identity provides a
structure to locate and connect mātauranga-a-iwi to its people and environment. These
elements must work together to build the understanding required for identity. By doing so, the foundational base for the Ranga Framework, tūrangawaewae is created.

The literal translation of tūrangawaewae is a person’s ‘place of standing’. Through tracing your genealogical whakapapa links, connection is made to your rohe that forms the basis of tūrangawaewae. The term tūrangawaewae has a physical and cognitive element to it. It defines the physical connection to a space and place illustrated as a place of standing. The cognitive position is best described as a ‘comfort zone’, or a person’s point of view. This is also the place one cognitively and/or physically returns to when challenged or feeling uncomfortable in order to re-gather their thoughts. In this sense, tūrangawaewae establishes the base to enable the whakapapa connections to occur and the links to appropriate knowledge or mātauranga-a-iwi.

Turangawaewae is achieved when a person is able to define their identity by linking themselves to the wider people of the tribe, their environment and the tribal knowledge base.
Summary so far

In summary, the Ranga Framework is a diagrammatic representation of relationships. It enables me to explain the conceptual connections between various ideas, and therefore their meanings. I have placed mātauranga Māori, and generic knowledge forms horizontally, both as decontextual knowledge. Separating each of these strands is kaupapa Māori theory providing a buffer zone to ensure the values and principles from generic knowledge forms are not hegemonically applied to mātauranga Māori. Mātauranga-a-iwi operates vertically. It has its base firmly situated within its rohe that provides its context: this is contextual knowledge. As mātauranga-a-iwi operates vertically, it eventually connects to the mātauranga Māori strand, where again the kaupapa Māori theory strand has been deliberately placed to ensure
tribally held practices and processes are not hegemonically applied to other iwi as a Māori practice. Nestled within the rohe are the hapū and whānau.

Mātauranga Māori explains and expresses Māori histories, Māori ways of knowing, and Māori processes. Mātauranga Māori is the Māori way of thinking acting and achieving. Mātauranga Māori enables explanations of perspectives from within a Māori environment. Māori processes can be expressed within a Māori context, without having to leave the Māori conventions and stepping into a Pākeha context and therefore expressing generic knowledge strands to explain what Māori were expressing. Mātauranga Māori moved Māori processes away from being marginalised as generic myth and legend.

In this thesis, mātauranga Māori is expressed as horizontally running left to right, encompassing different tribal groupings of Māori. This body of knowledge constitutes the exoteric versions of Māori processes and ideologies. This body of knowledge is de-contextual, because as I have already explained, it operates outside of the tribal context of Māori.

Running vertically is mātauranga-a-iwi, tribal knowledge. This operates with its basis situated in the tribal context, and intersects with the horizontal field of mātauranga Māori. This knowledge form is contextual, it is premised on the tribal knowledge forms that are unique to the differing tribal identities. Within this field, the answers to questions that mātauranga Māori poses are able to be answered. It is here the different versions of Māori protocol and processes are rationalised, explained and located to the tribal entities. It is by full engagement and participation within the tribe that informs the tribal knowledge forms, producing an environment where elements are lived as opposed to learned. There is no substitute for people being full participants in the world and generating meaning.

The work of Lave and Wenger on ‘situated learning’ fits nicely with mātauranga Tūhoe. Both researchers state that conventional processes of learning have mistakenly come from the perspective that learning is based on the assumption that individuals learn exclusive of others, and that learning has a beginning and an ending that works best when separated from our day-to-day aspects of living (Wenger, 1998: 3). Positioning mātauranga Tūhoe in the context
of the environment, and the interaction the iwi has with itself and its environment, resonates with the ideas of Lave and Wenger. They assert that learning is a social interaction with people and place of learning; it is the social experience of participating in the day-to-day living that forms and shapes the basis for learning.

### Historical Context

Historically, Māori have emerged from a foundation formed through mātauranga-a-iwi, thus ensuring each member has a clear understanding of what it means to be a part of the tribe. Identity is developed by knowing your relationship to members of the iwi, the environment and the knowledge base that operates here. People in this position are very clear in their
practice, application and understanding of iwi. This builds a firm base – tūrangawaewae – for learning to take place and for knowledge to be retained and recalled.

Notable leaders such as Ta Rangihīroa Buck, Tā Turi Caroll, Tā Apirana Ngata, and Tā Maui Pōmare\(^{30}\) were sure of their identity as Māori in the context of their respective iwi. They were buoyed by their tūrangawaewae making it clear to them they required knowledge to engage with non-Māori from the education system. Each clear on their identity, their space and place within the iwi which formed their place and space within Māori.

Māori from this background engaged with the formal education system, they were clear on what it is was for them to be Māori. What they required from the education system at that time were the skills required to engage with non Māori.

This generation of Māori had the luxury of being steeped in their ‘tribalness’ and used this as a platform to access and filter new forms of knowledge that they were interacting with to address the ever-changing issues that were evolving and may well have been foreign to the generation of their parents. In later years, through the 1970s, Professor Timoti Kāretu (1979) describes how John Rangihau\(^{31}\) showed him without difficulty that his Māori side could co-exist with his Pākeha (European) side, where they could co-exist without one detracting from the other.

What Rangihau, and the young Māori Leaders Party showed by praxis, is that mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge forms can co-exist. They were sufficiently skilled to engage with Pākeha, and were clear in what it was to be Māori. Mātauranga Māori for them was clearly established from an Iwi perspective, there was no danger of them compromising Māori issues from a point of ignorance. Kawagley describes this as those who have the knowledge use it everyday, these personal cognitive maps are created by humour, humility, tolerance, observation, experience, social interaction, listening to the conversations and interrogations of the natural and spiritual worlds (Kawagley, 1993: 18).

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\(^{30}\) These were four of the first Māori members to enter Parliament as Ministers of the Crown, they created the Young Māori Leaders party.

\(^{31}\) An inspirational Tūhoe leader who played a key part in the development of New Zealand’s social policies
Chapter Three: Ranga Framework

What was becoming clear as the distinct strands identified in the framework clarified their positions was that new issues were beginning to emerge. Just as the young Māori Leaders Party had issues that were new and foreign to them, the issues now are around the level of Māori understanding of knowledge, language and culture. It is within this new environment, where Māori and non-Māori views come into contact, that Māori ways and practices are most at risk of being marginalised and abused. It is crucial that the Māori participants who engage in this area have an intimate base of cultural knowledge and political literacy to ensure people understand what is happening. They need to be able to identify the new and ever-changing forms of colonisation that will emerge and develop here. This interface is occupied by the kaupapa Māori theory strand that ensures there is space between generic knowledge and mātauranga-a-iwi to safeguard each from assimilating the other.

Diagram 6 Ranga Framework, Historical Context

As the interchange and fusing together of Māori and Pākehā occurs in the horizontal de-contextualised field of Māori, there will be a development of what is Māori and what is not Māori. The problem here is there are no parameters for this development to grow and build from – how in fact do we know what emerges from the union of these two bodies of
knowledge is Māori or Pākeha? Within the horizontal interaction it is crucial that mātauranga Māori principles are not lost sight of nor compromised. There exists a need for perimeters that explicitly show what a Māori view or position looks and sounds like. As the Māori view is developed in the horizontal field, it will largely be premised on the individuals’ understanding and interpretation of what is Māori. While this may be fine for the individual in their personal and private use, it becomes problematic when this view is taken and used as an informed Māori perspective to be implemented and used.

In addition to the personal interpretation of what constitutes a Māori position is the issue of compromise and merging of principles from generic knowledge constructs to inform and explain a Māori perspective. This was beginning to emerge as a modern threat to what was regarded as Māori. As people moved further away from the more authentic understandings reached in mātauranga-a-iwi, constructs were becoming mystified and reified. As more people developed an understanding of Māori entirely premised on mātauranga Māori, issues began to emerge when questioned for the rationale of a particular practice in that the questions could not be answered here. Leading to the mystification and reification stating the content was far too sacred for you to fully understand, resulting in an entirely constructed and compromised view of Māori. The product of what was once Māori now becomes not too different from what is Pākeha, creating a false view of Māori which was far more palatable for non-Māori, as at times supposed experts have given advice and descriptions entirely premised on a non-Māori understanding of Māori. Politically, Māori who hold to these views tend to be portrayed widely throughout media as rangatira and are used to debunk Māori who are holding to the principles and values that are inherit in mātauranga-a-iwi.

A danger here for Māori is to maintain a position that is fixed and located in mātauranga-a-iwi that provides a clear indication of the criteria that must be present in order for a practice to be considered Māori. As the contact increases with non-Māori, there is a growing pressure for Māori to compromise in order to include people who are not familiar with the processes and practices that operate within the parameters of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi. Should compromise occur, it needs to be clearly indicated to ensure the compromised position does become adopted later as a Māori position that is compromised yet again to the point where the core values and principles of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi are
entirely lost. It is critical a connection is maintained with mātauranga-a-iwi outlining the context that defines this kind of knowledge.

An example of this type of compromise occurring was displayed when Prime Minister Helen Clark attempted to change the structure of pōwhiri to allow female on the paepae [formal sitting place for leaders to engage in whaikorero [formal speeches]].

Helen Clark used the situation to declare a new edict – women would be able to sit in the front row during pōwhiri run by state agencies or institutions (Berry, 2006).

The issue arose when National Member of Parliament Judith Collins walked out of scheduled pōwhiri after her insistence to be seated on the paepae. Both Collins and the Prime Minister are guilty of imposing their non-Māori interpretations to pressure Māori to allow these changes and shifts to make them feel more comfortable. Should this be allowed to continue, the essence and function of the pōwhiri process will become lost as it operated within a de-contextual field.

The modern context of accessing mātauranga-a-iwi is becoming more common through the two horizontal strands of generic knowledge forms and mātauranga Māori. There continues to be a growing number of Tūhoe growing up outside of the tribal region who are removed from the tribal context. While the full impact of this shift away from the region may not be felt by the generation who were raised within the rohe, it is the generations thereafter who do. These generations of Māori are becoming more familiar with operating in the generic knowledge strand. The issue here is students have to be reconscientised, removing the values and principles they have learned from non-Māori forms of knowledge to be able to comprehend mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi. Students may develop a perverse view on what it means to be Māori which is premised on negative media images, stereotyping and reinforcement by other Māori who are unable to comprehend mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi.

The process of reconscientisation occurs within kaupapa Māori theory. Students are introduced to new lenses to filter and view mātauranga Māori. This is to ensure the values and principles within mātauranga Māori are not tainted by applying those values and principles that are used within generic knowledge.
Chapter Three: Ranga Framework

Diagram 7 Ranga Framework, Modern Context

Contemporary, and future engagement with Māori is from this perspective, from a Multi-centric, through to Māori-centric then Iwi-centric. There is a growing number of young Māori who are engaging with mātauranga Māori from this perspective, a dislocated view of mātauranga-a-iwi.

The issue for mātauranga-a-iwi arises when students who are removed from the tribal context are unable to move from a mātauranga Māori base. When this occurs, the authentic meanings that are situated within mātauranga-a-iwi are in danger of becoming lost, or reified to the realms of esoteric knowledge.

There are a growing number of Māori students who are operating from the generic knowledge strand; this is their point of engagement into learning. Ironically, formal schooling maybe the only place these students can begin to re-connect with their Māori world.
Whānuitanga, Hōhonutanga me te Māramatanga: Professor Mead

Professor Mead is a leading academic in New Zealand who is respected academically both by Māori and Pākeha. Professor Mead (personal communication, October 2006) is able to engage and debate with aspects from mātauranga-a-iwi, mātauranga Māori, and western constructs of knowledge represented with the generic knowledge strand.

Professor Mead established a structure to engage with mātauranga Māori. This structure was built around three key concepts, whānuitanga [width], hōhonutanga [depth], māramatanga
[understanding]. each of these concepts when applied to the Ranga Framework is consistent with the intent Professor Mead intended for them.

Whānuitanga – a broad holistic approach to the subject is required to fully comprehend the extent of what it is you are doing. This is represented horizontally in the mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge forms strands where a broad approach is required in building the foundation of what it is you are about to study in-depth.

Similarly the concept of whānuitanga has been applied to the mātauranga-a-iwi strand. Where the application of this concept is consistent, in that a wide understanding is required to build a fuller comprehension of mātauranga-a-iwi. A broad approach is required in understanding the different subsets of knowledge that exists within the different hapū and whānau, and when combined creates mātauranga-a-iwi.

Diagram 9 Ranga Framework, Whānuitanga; Hōhonutanga

Hōhonutanga – after establishing the depth of what it is that is explored, an in-depth analysis of this data is required. To fully comprehend this data a deep critical analysis is required
which is expressed as hōhonutanga. By exploring the depth and width of data an understanding will begin to emerge. Hōhonutanga is illustrated vertically in the same manner as mātauranga-a-iwi.

Diagram 10 Ranga Framework, Māramatanga

Māramatanga – By exploring the width and depth of knowledge analyzing its content to rationalise the relationships between the differing notions can a clear understanding begin to
emerge. This is māramatanga – it has become clear. Within the Ranga Framework, māramatanga is situated in the same place as Identity. The clarity – māramatanga – that is achieved in understanding mātauranga-a-iwi, is also required in establishing identity, which is why both of these elements are situated together.

Diagram 11 Ranga Framework, Mead application

Explanation of Ranga Framework

The abstract framework is purposely constructed showing the strands interlinking, where mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi intersect with each other. Careful selection of the
strands was to align with the terms used to describe the cognitive developmental stages in Māori. The term ranga is the Māori name for strand that appears consistently through the following terms:

- **Rangatahi**  Youth
- **Rangahau**  Research
- **Mātauranga**  Knowledge
- **Rangatira**  Chief / Leader

**Ranga**

The term ranga [strand] is intentionally selected to describe the fusion of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi, kaupapa Māori theory and generic knowledge forms. As is shown above the term ranga appears consistently when describing youth, knowledge, research and leadership, where inherent within Māori knowledge was the requirement of a special kind of leadership.

An explanation of these terms is provided to show the correlation to the framework. It also illustrates that by knowing the language, it is easier to translate the deeper, more authentic processes that are embedded in Māori terms.

**Rangatahi**

The term rangatahi has two parts to it: the first ranga translation for strand; the second part tahi is the term for one or singular, therefore extrapolating the meaning of a singular strand. When applied to youth it encapsulates the early developmental stages of egocentrism. The ideas that are informing you are developed by the influences that surround you. This becomes your truth, and understanding of the world. Any ideologies that deviate from these set of truths and understandings are incorrect. Parents may reflect on this when their children begin
school, in that the teacher becomes the all-providing oracle of all matters, the possessor of all knowledge – “But my teacher said …” as they begin the process of learning material from a different home environment.

What is inherent in rangatahi is the development of a sound base to build wider understandings that will occur later in life. The term has been used to describe youth, however, the deeper interpretation of the term is the description of a person’s engagement with a new concept. The learning that occurs here is what is referred to as rangatahi, in that it is not isolated to a particular age, as people learn and engage with new ideologies on a daily basis, they will move in and out of a state of rangatahi.

**Rangahau**

As a person becomes comfortable in what it is they have learned, they begin exploring wider a field, where initially, aspects that did not fit with what they perceive to be correct are not as quickly dismissed as being incorrect. They begin to explore and examine new ideologies. The term rangahau is a translation of this. The term ranga [strand] remains consistent with the addition of hau being the concept of new space, or enter, and wind, in that there is space where wind occurs. To further explain this abstract term, if there is “space” then there is room to view ideas more openly.

Drawing out of the term rangahau is the creation of new strands, when applied to rangatahi it infers a movement from the singular strand that is inherent in rangatahi. The term rangahau is used to describe the notions of research. The exploration and analysis of data are displayed here. However, it is critical that the foundation and understandings acquired in rangatahi is secure to provide the basis for comparison and analysis. One cannot progress from rangatahi if a sound understanding has not been established building the maturity that is required to explore and analyze ideologies that may at times challenge what it is you have considered being true. Only when this occurs does the person begin to engage with rangahau where again it is not limited to a particular age rather it is a state of being that people will continually move in and out of.
Mātauranga

As the person continues in their cognitive development moving in and out of both rangatahi and rangahau, a wider appreciation begins to develop, culminating in a state of clarity that is reached by knowing and understanding. This process is captured in the term mātauranga where the term ranga this time is prefaced with mātau simply translated as know, or ‘knowing’ that is reached by a clarity of understanding.

Applying mātauranga to the previous stages of rangatahi and rangahau the developmental stages become clear. Moving from the singular thought, through exposure to other ideologies leads to an understanding reached in knowing, being clear an informed state of being. As the person develops and becomes aware, and is able to examine, analyse and accept other ideologies, awareness and understanding is reached described as mātauranga [knowledge]. To be matau on a particular issue is to be clear in your understanding. This level of clarity is achieved when there is a sound foundation established and clarified through the processes of rangatahi and rangahau. Central to this foundation is identity; in order to build and develop one must know intimately their position and place described in Māori as tūrangawaewae (place of standing), both physical and cognitive, as the two are extricably linked, this term is explored further on in this chapter. A person can be mātauranga and rangatahi at the same time: the process is not a linear pathway that one progress through; rather it is a state of praxis that involves reflexivity and reflection, supporting the notion made by Graham Smith (1997: 65-67) of simultaneous engagement occurring.

The majority of people operate and engage within these three stages, moving freely between rangatahi, rangahau and mātauranga, where each informs and builds the understanding that ultimately produces mātauranga. When each of these processes is applied, clarity of thought and understanding is achieved. As the development occurs in the exposure to new strands (rangahau), viewed through the understandings achieved in the singular strand of rangatahi an understanding through praxis is achieved termed as mātauranga – knowing, understanding the strands.
**Rangatira**

Emerging out of this process is the term used to describe and refer to leadership – rangatira. A point raised earlier in this section alluded to knowledge informing a particular kind of leadership expressed in the meaning of the term rangatira. Again the term ranga remains consistent, this time used in conjunction with tira the Māori term to describe a union of people. A leader is a person who must be able to connect and unite the differing strands (ranga) that are inherit in a grouping of people they are leading. Tribal leaders must be able to connect the various sections of knowledge located and held by the various families that constitute hapū, who collectively are termed iwi.

In order for the person to organise and command a grouping of people, there must be an ability to weave together the many strands [ranga], that each individual has. The rangatira has to be able to weave together the varied forms of people’s understandings, to unite under a common thread, the weaving together of ideologies comes to form an epistemology.

Diagram 12 illustrates a model of Māori epistemology in action. This is a key element to development and provides fluid movements between each of the stages as new ideologies are experienced. There is not a prescribed set of time that must be spent in each stage; this process maps the cognitive pathway that one takes to understand.
The diagram further outlines the whakapapa of learning from rangatahi through to rangatira where there is continual movement between all of these stages. At times, the rangatira is back at the point of engagement rangatahi. Depending on the forum or situation this will dictate who takes the leading role as teacher or student. This relationship is interchangeable in Māori. Located in the centre of the diagram is the term tohunga an expert in their particular field. Tohu means instruct, or give direction. When the passive ‘ngā’ is applied to tohu – tohunga means ‘to instruct’. The expectation can be surmised, that to be able to provide guidance or instruction, that particular person needs an intimate/in-depth knowledge base that
may not be easily matched by others. Tohunga is the term given to people who are highly skilled and respected in their particular field of practice and expertise.

When applying this concept to schooling, both teacher and student begin at rangatahi, until the process of rangahau has occurred which enables an understanding of the other’s perspective. Ultimately, the teacher and the class need to reach an understanding where the teacher is viewed as rangatira that will ensure students can fully benefit from teaching and learning. A critical component required to enable this to occur is an understanding the Rangatahi position students come from, and understanding of their tūrangawaewae must be fully understood by them and teacher.

The decision to discuss the creation of a series of strands to represent the development that is occurring in mātauranga Māori, and mātauranga-a-iwi, was deliberate to capture the meanings embedded in the terms used to express cognitive development. The strands are located horizontally and vertically to represent development and growth. Tribally informed people move and engage with people emerging out of the generic knowledge strands, through rangahau an exposure to new and foreign principles and values is achieved, that initially were viewed from within a rangatahi perspective. In the application and rigorous testing of this framework it was found to be similar to a framework constructed by a First Nations PhD student, Dawn Marsden, studying out of the University of British Columbia (UBC) located in Vancouver, Canada. While conducting research in the wider indigenous field, I travelled to Vancouver under the direction and guidance of Professor Graham Smith who was at the time a tenured Professor at UBC.

Professor Smith established a forum where First Nations PhD students where able to share and invite discussion on their research. A part of this forum was spent discussing methodologies, where Marsden and I discovered quite by accident the similarities between the methodological frameworks we had developed. Both had a vertical and horizontal structure. This indeed was a moving experience as both she and I had anguished long and hard to build a model to illustrate how traditional and contemporary contenders could be included in the future development and growth. We did not want to privilege a sector, by prescribing a set core of assets that must be present before a person was able to identify with
the culture. What I describe as the Ranga Framework Marsden describes as the Wampum model (this is based on the Wampum belt – see diagram 13). The centre strand of the beads are community-influenced processes, the top strand of beads as influence of academia, the bottom strand of beads as the processes and influences from within the researcher, in Marsden’s case this is as a member of the Ojibi band. When the Wampum model is looked at vertically it has the researcher connecting to the community and finally to academia, illustrating that for indigenous knowledge to exist in academia it must be prefaced from an indigenous base, it must stem from a contextual base.

Each of the vertical strands represents researchers in their particular field engaging in research. When applied to First Nations, it needs to be prefaced within their particular environment to establish the core values and principles that are located there. The Marsden framework illustrates their traditional beading belt termed Wampum belt. The decoration of clothing and other materials with beads is to represent stories, relationships, vision, or identity, being a tradition that predates colonisation. Wampum is beading used for communication in the northeastern woodlands to represent important events, dates, relationships, agreements treaties and public accounts (Marsden, 2004).

Marsden is Ojibi, a First Nations PhD student enrolled at the University of British Columbia, with a research topic in “Expanding Knowledge Relationships through Dreaming, Wampum and Visual Arts”. The incorporation of strands to represent the intermingling and intertwining of thought in Māori is also illustrated by Professor Linda Smith in part of the title of her 1997 PhD thesis Ngā aho o te kakahu mātauranga: the multiple strands of knowledge woven into a cloak. The cloak is carefully constructed using the strands that combine to create the

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32 Thesis submitted under maiden name Mead.
embodiment of mātauranga Māori used to provide protection and warmth for the recipient and people associated to them, where abstractly applied education continues this theme.

To conclude, the Ranga Framework provides a structure to clarify the relationship that must exist between the four entities of generic knowledge, mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori theory, and mātauranga-a-iwi. It models a working relationship that does not privilege one over the other.
Chapter Four


Te Urewera he ao rerekē

Ka māwhiti tuku haere rere, ki te pūpū kiore o te Pākiore. Tu ai te Te Rata herehere tangata kai taha rua. Ka taka atu tuku harere ki te tahuahana ahi o nehera ki Te Arohana ki ngawhakahiwa

The Tūhoe landscape has changed considerably since contact with Pākeha. This chapter maps the socio-political shifts changing the Tūhoe landscape in the 1970s that produced a physical and cognitive shift away from the rohe. This shift away from the tribal environment that was so crucial to mātauranga-a-iwi created a problem for Tūhoe identity maintenance. The 1970s to the 1990s was a period prior to the articulation of kaupapa Māori theory.

Tūhoe were seduced away from the rohe by gainful employment in the 1970s and in the two decades following. The knowledge required to gain employment did not rely solely on a knowledge base that linked people to the environment. A cognitive shift was occurring as Tūhoe came into contact with employment which required new knowledge and skills to be learned. This new knowledge had no connection to the landscape, unlike previous knowledge had was required to survive within Te Urewera. At a premium during this period was a skill set that did not care what your heritage or background was; it was only interested in your ability to complete the task you were employed to do.
Increased involvement in employment outside the rohe had the effect of masking the importance of the identity that linked Māori to their tribal heritage. As the first wave of Tūhoe engaged in external employment was confident in their mātauranga-a-iwi, identity was taken for granted, and it did not require teaching or learning. However, it would become apparent in the generations that followed that Māori were becoming displaced from the iwi foundation enshrined in mātauranga-a-iwi.

I focus on the 1970s-1990s as a time period I personally witnessed as a young man. Tūhoe involvement in outside paid employment had started earlier, in the 1950s but by the late 1960s Tūhoe were beginning to shift more permanently away from Te Urewera.

Before the 1970s, the people in isolated rural areas such as Te Urewera were largely still living off the land as their ancestors had. The overriding policies of Te Urewera were based on the old concepts of te ohu – where the community banded together to help each other, from the planting or weeding of potato plots through to sheep-shearing. The community members contributed, safe in the knowledge that their help would be reciprocated when they required it. This concept is still practised when a person lies in state on a marae. People arrive and collectively complete the multitude of chores that are required to host the grieving family and their guests. The communities of workers conduct their tasks safe in the knowledge that their helping will be reciprocated in kind when a relative of theirs is lying in state. The purpose of this is to allow the immediate family and guests to grieve for their loved one without the clutter of day-to-day activities.

Up to this point, Tūhoe could survive without contact from the outside world, Native timber mills were operating, posts and battens could be split and sold to acquire an income should any require it. But in the main, life was simple and operated using concepts of te ohu to complete labour-intensive tasks. Food was acquired from the land, and there was sufficient money to buy basic necessities. In the early 1970s, the urban shift that had started in the early 1960s was intensifying with a wider uptake of employment in towns. This was going to challenge the Tūhoe dependency on its rohe.

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33 Tamahou, Parakaraka and Hamuti poti are some of the commonly grown potato in the area. Ruatahuna and surrounding valleys is one of the few places that can grow potato free from blight.
Employment: Ministry of Works

The Ministry of Works (MOW), forestry and timber mills were the main source of employment in Te Urewera in the early 1970s. For many years, the Public Works Department undertook most of the major construction work in New Zealand, including roads and power stations\(^{34}\). Within Te Urewera and neighbouring areas, Tūhoe took most of the manual labouring positions in the MOW, working on the roads as roadmen and machine operators. For Tūhoe, this work largely consisted of the maintenance of state highway 38 that traverses the Urewera from the township of Murupara on the eastern edge through to Tūai on the eastern boundary bordering the Hawkes Bay township of Wairoa. Strategically placed along state highway 38\(^{35}\) were roadmen’s paddocks and huts. The paddocks were to feed the teams of horses and bullocks that were used in the upkeep of the road, and the huts were accommodation for the workers. The hut Boogie lived in was the roadman’s hut for Ngāpūtahi. The main headquarters for Ngāpūtahi was located in Murupara. The roadmen’s camps were located in Te Whāiti, Ngāpūtahi, Ngā Muriwai and Ruatahuna; each camp housed designated roadmen charged to walk a section of the road daily. The location of the camp in Ngāpūtahi enabled Boogie and another great-uncle to live and work without leaving Te Urewera. My late grandfather, Āperahama, was also a roadman, working alongside Boogie until he was forced to retire. In spite of losing his job, he was a resourceful man, and took up a contract splitting battens for fence posts. In his spare time he trapped possums and sold the skins. I didn’t know Āperahama, as he died two years before I was born, but my whānau ensured my connection by relating stories about him during my upbringing and his place in my whakapapa.

Employment: Forestry

As well as MOW there was the forestry industry. This work generally fell into three categories: planting, felling exotic pine, and work in the Kawerau Pulp and Paper Mill. The mill is situated near the township of Kawerau just north of Whakatāne. The mill was in full

\(^{34}\) Later renamed the Ministry of Works and Development. After the reform of the state sector, beginning in 1984, the ministry disappeared and its remnants now have to compete for government work (Wilson, 2009).

\(^{35}\) Since this thesis has been written this road has had an official title and status change. It is now known as Main Road Ruatahuna, and is categorised as a special purposes road.
production during the 1970s, providing employment for Tūhoe who were living in the south-east of Te Urewera.

Kawerau was one of New Zealand’s greatest industrial enterprises at the time. It was built in a small valley near the Tarawera rivermouth costing £15 million. To ensure a steady supply of timber was available to feed the mill a concentrated effort to plant 260,000 acres of pine trees was begun. The Kawerau mill’s story really begins in 1925 on the Kāingaroa plains, a 350,000 acre pumice plateau which, in 1925 appeared like a desert sparsely covered with tussock. An English visitor, William Adamson, suggested that if New Zealand only had the courage to plant the whole of these plains with pine trees, it could sustain not only sawmills but a pulp and paper industry big enough to compete in world markets (Schwimmer, 1955: 11).

During the great depression, a great deal of the Kāingaroa forest was planted by government initiative creating work for the unemployed. Not many of these early forestry workers were local Māori. However what they had initially planted definitely enabled the employment of local Tūhoe 30 years later as these first trees were ready for logging and replanting to ensure there was a sustainable crop of pines:

The idea [of planting the plains in exotic pines] was taken up by Mr Alex Entrican, then departmental engineer in Forest Products and the then Director of Forestry, Mr L. M. Ellis. Most of the stands totalling 260,000 acres were planted between 1927 and 1931—the period of the slump. At present, the Kāingaroa plains boast a greater concentration of wood growth than there is in any other similar area in the world. There may be other forests as dense, but none so quick-growing. It can produce a constant yearly output of 23 million cubic feet. (Schwimmer, 1955: 11)

Planting of pine forests was followed by a long period of study, where the Forestry Service discovered that New Zealand pine could make pulp and newsprint as good as that from Canada or Scandinavia; it was – not quite as white, but it made up for this in greater strength. In 1951, the government was ready with its plans and preparations and offered the timber output of Kāingaroa for sale to a private company by tender. The only tenderer was the Fletcher organisation. In June, 1952, the Tasman Pulp and Paper Company was registered with a capital of £6 million and the right to issue debentures. At this stage, the only shareholders were the government and the Fletcher organisation, although others came in later years (Schwimmer, 1955: 11).
To guarantee services were accessible to the mill, a secondary wave of infrastructure was needed and began with building railroads, houses, a harbour, establishing a power and geothermal steam supply and other facilities to feed and power the mill (Schwimmer, 1955: 9).

In this initiative, Tūhoe were able to secure employment opportunities without leaving Te Urewera. Tūhoe were providing the bulk of the labour force for the timber and road work crews. As the demand for work increased in the logging industry, townships were created on the edges of Te Urewera: Murupara, Minginui, Kāingaroa and Kawerau. These thriving logging towns were situated close to the Tūhoe tribal boundary and quickly became areas of settlement for Tūhoe while still maintaining a connection to the tribal communities of Ruatahuna and Ruātoki. These logging towns were a mixture of Pākeha New Zealanders, Māori from other tribes and Canadians. Locals provided the initial labour force and were used to train the immigrants who would eventually be their superiors in the logging industry. Even though the local Māori in communities such as Murupara, Kāingaroa, and Kawerau possessed the knowledge required to operate efficiently in the forestry industry, very few in these early years were considered for management. This observation is taken from the first-hand accounts of local community members employed into the forestry industry.

All this occurred around the late 1950s and early 1960s and there appeared to be a view that New Zealand still could not produce home-grown leadership. The voices of the television and radio announcers of the time showed that we as a nation were still trying to mimic England. The public media speakers’ pronunciation had New Zealanders sounding more English than the English. The idea that ‘English was best’ was imbued in the logging industry as well. There appeared to be little trust in the idea that New Zealand could itself produce leadership from within local ranks. The neighbouring logging towns developed, reaching their heyday in the late 1980s. Urbanisation had arrived on the fringes of Te Urewera. While it is hard to conceive of these small timber towns on the same scale as urban cities, their impact on the isolated communities within Te Urewera was significant. These townships provided shops, banks, doctors and other services that promised a life of ease and pleasure using the latest technologies.

Tūhoe, along with others, appeared to be quickly seduced by this new lifestyle, and were enticed by carefully marketed consumer products. These products were eagerly adopted by
Tūhoe. Electricity had just reached Ruatāhuna, dramatically changing the living conditions. And people now had to pay for these services. Money was quickly becoming a necessary commodity within Te Urewera.

The isolation of Tūhoe had begun to be eroded; no longer was the rohe an isolated community where there was no knowledge at all of ‘progress’. With the shifting of the geographical isolation it was becoming apparent money was required to live. In order to acquire money, employment was needed; to acquire employment, specific skills were required that were not readily accessible by living and interacting within Te Urewera. Thus began the physical and cognitive movement of Tūhoe from the district to secure the skills that were required to gain employment. Labouring work in the 1970s was reasonably easy to get, however as the demand outweighed the availability of work a greater emphasis was placed on a competitive market for skills and qualifications. Through this, an explicit link between employment and schooling was established. Tūhoe were slowly becoming aware of the value the teaching profession was placing on their skills in living a Tūhoe-informed life.

**Employment: Teaching**

Tūhoe were becoming more aware of the ‘Māori’ practices discussed by other Māori, and because they still practised their more traditional culture day to day within Te Urewera, they became valuable assets in schools. In Ruatoki, the first initiatives in teaching the educational curriculum in Māori began in 1978. This was made possible because a number of teachers in the school were fluent in Māori language and were of Tūhoe. The Māori-language curriculum was developed not as the result of a wider political decision to teach bilingual education, but simply to ensure that the students were able to fully comprehend the lessons they were being taught, as Māori was the first language of the student body.

In the early 1970s, parents were beginning to ask questions partly driven by the new sociology of education: “Where was the place for Māori in schools within New Zealand?” Someone somewhere was making decisions as to what would be taught, how it would be taught, and how it would be assessed. This raised the question “Does that person making those decisions have an intimate knowledge of Māori?” It was at this time that Māori was taught as a ‘language subject’ with no real emphasis on its core concepts. It would be almost
two decades later before kura kaupapa schools [where all subjects are taught in te reo Māori] were to be created and formed.

Schools within Tūhoe were considered to be among the remotest in New Zealand. Teachers were bonded to spend a set period of time in these rural areas, but often left as soon as the bond period had been served. From my first year as a pupil at Te Whāiti School until my last year in Form 2 (seven years), I encountered a total of nine new teachers to the school. This transience of teachers at primary school added to the limited iwi content in the school curriculum at Te Whāiti. Teachers would just become familiar and comfortable, and then would leave, having us go through this whole period of awkwardness again with strangers. Because the school roll fluctuated from 15 to 30 students, we only qualified under the government staffing system for two teachers. At times this went down to a sole teacher, meaning that any staffing change affected every aspect of the school. Having an entire new staff meant the deep relationships created by getting to know the community was not able to occur, making it difficult for iwi knowledge to be included in the classroom.

Schooling was also providing an avenue for non-Tūhoe to secure employment in Te Urewera as teachers came into the area to staff the schools. The impact of teachers moving into Te Urewera cannot be understated in the role they played in the rapid encroachment of the urbanization that would impact on Tūhoe. In retrospect I can see that the new ideas that teachers introduced to the communities they taught and lived in, along with the new skills demanded by employment, set the scene for a cognitive and knowledge shift within Te Urewera. This was apparent by the number of Tūhoe from within Te Urewera who were re-training as teachers: for all of them this was their first experience of Pākehā tertiary education. My Māori-language teacher at secondary school was one of these, as were a number of other whānau members who became aware that their reo and iwi knowledge was actually useful for employment purposes. This older generation of Tūhoe, often from previous labouring jobs, completed a one-year course of teacher training to equip them as Māori language teachers in mainstream secondary schools.
Employment: Urban Drift

As the demand for employment outgrew the supply of work, more and more emphasis was being placed on formal education to guarantee employment. In addition, should Tūhoe wish to move into management levels, as opposed to remaining in labouring positions, a targeted focus on higher education was going to be required. The first Tūhoe person to graduate from tertiary studies was John Rangihau who gained a diploma in Social Science from Victoria University in 1959. He set the example for future Tūhoe to continue on into tertiary studies\textsuperscript{36}.

Two threads of change were beginning to emerge. First, Tūhoe were going to be absent in greater numbers for greater periods of time from Te Urewera. Second, employment was beginning to require new notions of leadership; it elevated people who excelled in the new skills into influential positions – positions of authority that were formerly occupied by tribal holders of mātauranga-a-iwi.

The movement away from the region and the shift to what was considered important for Tūhoe leadership was the backdrop for the development by John Rangihau in the 1970s of the modern wānanga [ancient schools of learning]. In these early years, Rangihau was concerned that the movement of Tūhoe out of Te Urewera would weaken tribal identity. The language, knowledge and culture that were taken for granted among Tūhoe could become threatened by movement away from the tribal base. In response to this, Rangihau began an initiative to ensure Tūhoe residing outside the district could continue to access their knowledge through Tūhoe language. Rangihau encouraged a discussion on tribalism as opposed to ‘Māoridom’, critiquing the fact that Tūhoe residing outside the tribal rohe were simply classified as Māori. The position put by Rangihau was that for him to be Māori was purely based on his Tūhoe history. He stressed that there was no such thing as Māoritanga [Māori-ness], as this was an all-inclusive term which embraced all Māori (a problematic, homogenising category), with no regard to the unique aspects, and points of view of tribes (Rangihau, 1975: 232).

It was clear that Tūhoe were going to be spending more time away from their environment and people. This was going to have an effect on the way the people learned core elements of

\textsuperscript{36} Arguably the first recorded person of Tūhoe descent graduating from a university was Maharaia Winiata, who was born at Ngahina in Ruatoki in 1912. Later graduated from Edinburgh University in 1952 with a PhD
Tūhoe knowledge, language and culture. No longer could it be assumed that key elements were learned through living together, engaged in collective practice and customs as a lived part of a Tūhoe lifestyle.

In an intervention to minimalise the impact of time away from Te Urewera, Rangihau established the first contemporary Tūhoe wānanga. This initiative established a mechanism for those Tūhoe who had moved away from Te Urewera to maintain their Tūhoe knowledge, language and culture. The aim was to ensure the Tūhoe body of knowledge and identity was kept intact by Tūhoe making their way to the cities. The wānanga was an intervention to slow and reduce the impacts of having Tūhoe residing outside the district. As a result:

Tūhoe, as a people, have … ensured that traditional knowledge and values continue to be passed on to those whose economic circumstances cause them to live away from Te Urewera. (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003: 51)

A successful outcome from the wānanga in 1972 was the Hui Ahurei – Tūhoe Festival established by Rangihau. The first Tūhoe festival took place at Mataatua Marae Rotorua on Queen’s Birthday weekend in 1972. It was hosted by Mataatua again the following year, before the event was returned to Te Urewera, where it continues to be held every second Easter weekend (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003: 52). Tūhoe teams that live in the cities and towns around New Zealand form kapa haka [performing] groups to take part in the four-day event with other Tūhoe teams from other parts of the country, and to engage and participate with groups from the home area.

**Hui Ahurei**

The Hui Ahurei is held in the Tūhoe district. In each kapa haka bracket the groups learn a compulsory haka (war dance), *Ko te Puru*, and a compulsory mōteatea (traditional formal song) is selected for each team to learn. This compulsory mōteatea changes from festival to festival, enabling participants to learn more than one over time. Participating in the festival with a kapa haka group gives those of Tūhoe who are residing outside the district (who are not able to attend functions on the marae where these types of songs and haka are regularly used) an avenue to learn Tūhoe mōteatea and haka, the crucial elements in mātauranga.
Tūhoe. To support the kapa haka performances are debates, sporting events and, in recent times, fashion shows. Each of these areas provides an opportunity for young Tūhoe to re-engage with Tūhoe or build on existing relationships. This helps to re-establish connections with the home environment, and to celebrate Tūhoetanga [Tūhoeness].

The Hui Ahurei has become a key point of engagement for young Tūhoe who have lost contact with distant relatives in the area. It is relatively easy to return as a part of a team to compete. The performing group becomes a support network, and provides an identity for attending the festival. When the competitions end there are the ‘after-functions’ which tend to go late into the night, and often feature Tūhoe musical talent.

The makeup of the four-day event encourages involvement of young Tūhoe (who may not be as comfortable in the language) because, as part of a team, they are able to learn the many traditional and contemporary components of kapa haka, and have involvement in the sporting fixtures that are as central to the event as the cultural performances. It allows for the inclusion of all Tūhoe in some area whether as a performer, supporter, organiser, competitor, adjudicator, referee, entertainer, refreshment provider or entrepreneur. Hui Ahurei incorporates local and national agencies to promote education, employment training, health and safety knowledge and other relevant opportunities to the wider Tūhoe community. The festival is a pivotal means of getting information out into the community via a Tūhoe kanohi ki te kanohi [face to face interaction].

**Domestic Violence**

As more and more Tūhoe secured employment, the financial wealth of Tūhoe increased. This new wealth allowed for an easier lifestyle by being able to purchase produce rather than having to grow and maintain gardens. But involvement in employment brought with it a new set of difficulties. As families were becoming accustomed to a steady income, access to alcohol increased and, with it, incidents of domestic violence.

The willingness with which Tūhoe and Māori took to alcohol can be linked to the returned servicemen from World War II. When the Tūhoe men came home, a significant increase in the consumption of alcohol occurred. The assumption could be drawn that this was an
attempt to dull the war experiences of the returned servicemen. Tradition had stated that no alcohol was to be consumed on marae complexes. However, this was contradicted by the returned servicemen as I witnessed first hand alcohol being used on the marae.

The traditional approach to domestic violence relied heavily on tribal social order. People were clear who had the authority and mandate to address issues. When domestic violence occurred, it was discussed and resolved within the tribal structures. Because my great-grandfather arranged a particular marriage that suffered from domestic violence, it was his responsibility to resolve it. This was achieved by using the ancient code of ma te pounamu hai utu [it is only with greenstone (heirloom)] can this be resolved. The husband’s family had to secure an heirloom to give to the wife’s family as a token of identifying and making reparations for what he had done. This practice provided an audience to allow the perpetrator an opportunity publicly to own his actions, and commit to addressing his behaviour.

Having the WWII generation of Tūhoe consuming alcohol through the postwar years started a dreadful trend. The following generation (mine) watched and mimicked the generation before us, and behaved in like manner. Power drinking and violence now became embedded in the community, so to drink anything less than whisky was not to measure up as a man! The support systems available to returned servicemen were non-existent during this time. One simply coped, and not to cope was somehow seen as a flaw in your masculinity. These practices quickly gained traction within Te Urewera. The negative side-effects were addressed as best they could using the traditional values and openness of living where domestic violence was dealt with by the community. It was not ideal, as people were suffering from the negative aspects of alcoholism, by providing an open forum where issues were addressed and resolution sought. It was an intervention to try and reduce the effects of abuse, and the increase in death rates which were related to alcohol and smoking-induced ailments.

**Permanent Shift from Te Urewera**

As well as Forestry and MOW, the military was another popular employment choice for Tūhoe during the 1970s and 1980s. The military influence perhaps could be attributed to the
involvement of older siblings as members of the 28th Māori Battalion in WWII. The impact of military employment was immediately felt, as it required Tūhoe members to be absent from Tūhoe for long periods of time.

After experiencing work in the relative proximity to Te Urewera, Tūhoe men and women began moving further afield as the lure of employment outweighed the need to remain within the rohe. By acquiring skills in these industries, Tūhoe had a readily transportable set of skills that could enable them to secure similar employment further afield from Te Urewera. The generations making the first permanent move away perhaps listened to the returned servicemen’s descriptions of the places travelled and seen. Therefore moving out of the rohe was not entirely foreign – it was exciting. And some who married partners from outside rarely returned to Te Urewera.

This was a generation of Tūhoe who took with them the environmental knowledge and activities passed on to them by their parents. The knowledge of how to survive within Te Urewera were now topics for recreational use. The different skills involved in eeling were now recreational rather than necessary for food. Traditional hunting areas were rarely visited, if at all, further distancing the person and their family from the environment. As such knowledge was no longer required for survival, logging and military forms of knowledge were now the important forms of knowledge that needed to be learnt, consolidating a cognitive movement away from Te Urewera and mātauranga Tūhoe. Tūhoe knowledge and culture now had to include aspects that did not have a traditional whakapapa to the historical period of Tūhoe, or its landscape; modern society had arrived in Te Urewera. The people leaving the district and new forms of knowledge encroaching on it had increasingly little cultural significance to Te Urewera. These new forms of knowledge had no use for elements of identity.

**Marae: A point of contact**

With Tūhoe leaving Te Urewera for employment, the wānanga, the Hui Ahurei, and local marae became key sites of engagement. Support for the Wānanga and Hui Ahurei was given when these initiatives occurred, however the marae saw regular activity that displayed the elements of mātauranga Tūhoe. Marae were instrumental in ensuring that the knowledge and
culture of Tūhoe was seen to be accepted publicly by Tūhoe as being correct. Also, more importantly, marae were slowly becoming the focal point for Tūhoe outside the district to return and ensure their Tūhoe-held beliefs were still true and indeed correct. The marae became the touchstone for Tūhoe that continued to move outside the region. Marae were places where the practice was uncompromised. Each marae within Ruatahuna still hold meetings called Ngā Taraipara [Tribals]. These meetings are for issues pertinent to the hapū, from health through to process and practice on the marae.

The marae is an institution to support and maintain public order in the community. It is also a deeply educational site, where the theory is put into practice, where knowledge among hapū within the iwi is contested. It is where the leadership roles that are held by both men and women are facilitated, contested and supported. The marae provides an opportunity for short term work in the different employment schemes that governments have implemented over the years. This sort of work did not include the voluntary work that many Tūhoe have done on marae – in the restoration of whakairo [carving], and to ensuring the facilities are always ready for the next influx of visitors. The marae is where all age groups meet and mingle, engaging with the practice of Tūhoe tradition and its processes. This allows a role-modelling of the correct and appropriate procedures, in that the younger generations were able to witness where theory is put into practice. Not only does this environment show how the practice is to be conducted, it also shows the younger generations of Tūhoe what it is for them to be Tūhoe.

The marae became a microcosm of a Tūhoe ‘lived’ reality in solidifying the elements of mātauranga Tūhoe for those Tūhoe who had shifted away from Te Urewera. The younger generations of Tūhoe revel in marae events. Through these events, they are able to be involved in very real and complex issues that pertain to the social interactions that occur when a people live in very close proximity to each other. Concepts of hosting and receiving guests, resolving disputes within families, are all issues that the younger generations become equipped to deal with in the marae setting.

**Tūhoe tertiary education pioneers**

Although marae events were (and are) educationally effective, a relative enigma was beginning to occur. This generation of Tūhoe children were not coping with the curriculum
and its content delivered in schools. In contrast, the same children were finding no difficulty in learning and comprehending sophisticated concepts in mātauranga Tūhoe manifested on the marae. Young Tūhoe were memorising large sections of text belonging to the Ringatū\(^{37}\) religion derived from the Old Testament of the Bible. They could learn mōteatea that were from three minutes to 20 minutes in length, but were finding it difficult to commit to memory sufficient curriculum content to succeed in schooling.

The following mōteatea\(^{38}\) is an example of the complex concepts and language structures young Tūhoe were engaging and performing in the formal activities located in the various Tūhoe marae. This material was (and is) committed to memory from a very young age. This particular mōteatea was written in 1887 by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, to commemorate the opening of the house Rongopai, which is situated in Manutuke on the east coast of New Zealand. When performed, the song takes from seven to nine minutes to complete:

\[
\text{Pinepine te kura, hau te kura, whanake te kura i raro i Awarua,} \\
\text{Ko te kura nui, ko te kura roa, ko te kura nā Tūhoe-pō,} \\
\text{Tēnei te tira hou, tēnei haramai nei,} \\
\text{Nā te Rongopai, nā te Rangimarie,} \\
\text{Naumai! Ka haere tāua ki roto ō Tūranga,} \\
\text{Kia whakangungua koe ki te mīnī,} \\
\text{Kī te hōari, ki te pū hurihuri;} \\
\text{Ngā rākau kōhuru a te Pākehā e takoto nei!} \\
\text{Piki ake, kake ake i te toi huarewa;} \\
\text{Te arā ō Ėnoka i piki ai ki runga,} \\
\text{I rokohinga atu rā Maikuku-Makākā,} \\
\text{Hapainga te aroha, he waha i pā mai,} \\
\text{Taku wahine pūrotū, tako Pōtiki pūrotū,} \\
\text{Kōrua ko te tau e!} \\
\text{Whakakake e te ture i te kīnga tō waha,} \\
\text{Nō runga rawa koe, nō te mana o Kūini e tū nei,} \\
\text{Nā Rangi-tū koe, nā te Kotahitanga, nā Pōtiki rawa koe, nā Pūre-tawhiti,} \\
\text{Nā kaunati hikahika, te kaunati o tō ōpuna ō Rāwiri,} \\
\text{I haere ai i te rei nui ao, kā hika i tana ahi,}
\]

\(^{37}\) Māori faith known as Ringatū, up raised hand. Is the oldest surviving, indigenous, scripturally based religion in Aotearoa, the means by which Māori analysed their colonial situation in the 19th century. The religion was born out of time of conflict between Māori and Pākeha (Binney, 1995). The Ringatū religion is still practiced in the Tūhoe region.

\(^{38}\) Moteatea are traditional songs that are sung in formal occasions, each moteatea contains a particular focus on history, where an event is composed in song that is sung by the tribe at appropriate times. The knowledge and skill in the composition of these songs requires an intermit knowledge of the tribe. As events occur and are captured in moteatea the intent and events are maintained for future generations as the moteatea is learnt and sung.
Kimihia e te iwi te arā ē te tikanga, 
I pai ai te noho i te ao nei! 
Kai Tūranga-nui he mata pū, he patu i te tangata kia mate, 
Mate maungarongo hoki rā i haere a i te arā, 
Ko koutou anake e titikaha mai nā! 
E kai ē koutou mata i te kohu e tatao, 
I waho i te moana o Toka-āhuru, 
Ko te kopae o te whare, te arā tōtara, 
Te hua wai parae, e koia te korari, 
Tēnei, e te iwi te wā ki to koutou whanaunga, 
Te wā ua mai nei ki te hua i te kai, 
E kai ē koutou mata ki runga o Paparatū, 
Karokaro i te tai turi ē koutou taringa kia areare ai; 
Me te whakarongo mai ki ngā kī atu 
Kaua ahau e patua, 
Mōku anake te āra i Tūranga, 
Te matenga o Māhaki i mau ai te rongo patipati, 
I mātakitakina ai, koia hika mātakitaki, 
Whiti kē mai koe i rainahi nei! 
Te ai ē mahara ka mate au i Waerenga-ā-hika, 
Te kī mai koe me whakawā marire, 
Hopu ana koe i ahau, kawe ana ki Wharekauri, 
Ka manene mai au i rō te wai, 
Ka ū ana ko Whareongaonga, 
Ka pā ko te wha o te kāwana, 
Ē hika mā, e! Inā ia te kai, 
Tōia ki uta rā haehaetia ai, 
Tunu ai i te manawa, ka kāinga, 
Ka pau mō Koro-timutimu, mō Tauranga koāu 
Koia te rīrī pokanoa, kā kai ki te waipiro 
Ka kai ki te whakamā, ki te mauāhara 
Me whakarere atu ēnā mahi kino, 
Ē hika mā e! 
(Black, 2000: 321-322)
determination. The song *Pinepine Te Kura* refers to Te Kooti’s emancipation, and reminds Tūhoe of the atrocities that occurred during 1868-1872 period. These were highlighted and reinforced by the visible oppressive sites located within Te Urewera. From the exile through to Te Kooti’s escape, Tūhoe have been heavily engaged in a fine balancing act of maintaining self-determination for the direction and wishes of Tūhoe – lessons learned by children chanting this moteatea.

The young Tūhoe students attending the local schools had to rationalise the knowledge that was being lived and practised every day on the marae with a prescribed way of life that was described and driven through the school curriculum. Inherent in this system was that if you applied yourself to schooling, and gained generic knowledge, you would be successful at engaging in New Zealand society. However, embedded within the school curriculum were systems that ensured that the power and structural relationships that exist in society were maintained (Berk & Burbules, 1999: 9). Tūhoe remained unable to break through this system.

**Māori knowledge**

From the 1970s Māori and Tūhoe were becoming more and more aware of their complex relationship with schools. Early attempts to address such issues as the appropriateness and relevance of the curriculum to Tūhoe led to teaching components in Māori. But what was becoming increasingly clear was that Tūhoe needed to manage its own approach to education.

The Māori voice of discontent with the state education system became louder through the 1970s. A petition, collecting thousands of signatures, was circulated to include Māori language in the education system. This had a flow-on effect in teacher training and the targeting of native speakers of Māori as teachers (Walker, 2004: 210-211). Because Tūhoe had maintained their language, knowledge and culture they became sought after as teachers. However, students taught by Tūhoe would have a language that was Tūhoe, not Māori. Because these teachers had to serve a range of Māori communities, their mātauranga Tūhoe had to be modified. Māori parents requesting their own tribal knowledge, language and culture be taught in schools were to be provided with ‘Māori’ language, where any person
who could speak Māori was selected with little regard to iwi connections and placed into schools to teach Māori. This content is captured in the Ranga Framework as the Mātauranga Māori strand, a form of knowledge and language that tended to gloss lightly over Māori society, carefully skirting specific tribal historical struggles that emerged when Māori and Pākeha encountered each other. Schooling became the site of mātauranga Māori, and mātauranga-a-iwi was submerged.

This is an educational period where Māori reference to ‘Māori’ differed from a non-Māori reference to ‘Māori’. When Māori referred to Māori they referred to a tribal history that applied to that tribe alone; other tribes would have their own histories. However, when Pākeha referred to ‘Māori’, it was under an assumption that Māori were homogeneous.

The assumption of homogeneity becomes problematic for iwi when conclusions drawn from the collective are used to inform government policy for education, ignoring the iwi. The definition of Māori (as initiated by Rangihau) as being just an eclectic grouping of people, began to emerge, as iwi began asserting themselves more explicitly as members of a tribe rather than solely as Māori. The Māori land movement of 1975 was driven by iwi becoming disillusioned with the alienation of Māori land; the galvanising point to this was a Rating Act 1967, giving the Crown powers to sell Māori land to recover rates (Walker, 1990: 212-213). Collectively Māori voiced their iwi resentment to the Crown.

The notion of the collective as it applied to education was to be debated by kaupapa Māori theory intervention. What had occurred in the schooling structures of New Zealand was that Māori were being defined by a collectivist view of Māori, and non-Māori did not take ‘the Māori perspective’ too seriously. Non-Māori often ask the questions “What is the Māori position?”, or “Why is it that Māori do this?” reducing all Māori to any one person who is Māori, as though any Māori person is able to provide the rationale for every other person who is Māori.

At this stage, in the 1970s, Tūhoe engagement in education was largely as students, attending the locally-placed schools where a small number of Tūhoe were beginning careers as teachers. What was evident at this early stage was a gap in focusing on identity. A foundational building block of Tūhoe as a member of the tribe and as people was missing in education with a focus on ‘Māori’. Unfortunately, this gap and the poor performance of
Tūhoe in education would not be connected at this particular time, and Tūhoe were not having a positive experience with education.

As their lack of trust in the education system within Te Urewera became more entrenched within Tūhoe, so too were the wider Māori communities losing faith in the schools. It was not only Tūhoe who were not faring well in the school system, but Māori in general across New Zealand. This comment was made by Māori to John Rangihau when he led a series of discussions in the mid-1980s reviewing the then Department of Social Welfare:

We have youngsters coming into our schools who have the full range of potentials and abilities and they’ve learnt only one thing from the Education Department out in community schools, and that is they are failures. (Department of Social Welfare, 1988: 35)

While discontent was beginning to gain momentum, a new phenomenon was developing within Te Urewera. A transient younger generation who were comfortable coming and going from the Tūhoe territories ventured out of Te Urewera to participate in New Zealand’s wider political and educational issues. This period of the mid 1970s through to the 1980s had a major impact in Te Urewera, as scholars such as Hirini Melbourne, Wharehuia Milroy, Timoti Kāretu, Taiarahia Black and John Rangihau began their university and tertiary studies. These were and are expert orators in both Māori and Pākehā who were able to explain the new concepts and ideologies in the Tūhoe language to the wider body of Tūhoe.

The impact these early academic Tūhoe had within Te Urewera was remarkable because as they continued their academic careers in the various tertiary institutes they maintained a presence in Te Urewera. This set the example for younger Tūhoe to live both as Tūhoe citizens and global citizens engaging in the wider socio-political issues that were relevant to New Zealand. The most important thing was that these scholars were living and engaging in both worlds without having to choose one over the other. They had achieved a mutual balance between being a Tūhoe citizen and a global citizen. They had successfully found the balance of maintaining the link to the people and environment of Te Urewera. Their presence was sufficient to inspire and encourage young Tūhoe – including myself – to continue on in tertiary study. In applying the traditional concepts of observing the actions of the generation before and then mimicking their efforts, Tūhoe began attending Universities and pursuing tertiary studies.
This position was enhanced when these early Tūhoe academics began bringing their academic peers back into Te Urewera. Historians Michael King (who has written extensively on Māori and Pākeha histories), Peter Webster, and Judith Binney (who have both written widely on Rua Kenana, exposing this early Tūhoe leader to a wider mainstream New Zealand audience), were able to gain a unique insight into the communities located within Te Urewera. This group of historians (who were largely Pākeha) established links and friendships with families in Te Urewera thereby building a mutual trust which developed over many years. The level of trust Tūhoe had of these early historians enabled them to gain access to material that previously would never have been offered to non-Tūhoe, let alone Pākeha. The detailed accounts given to both Binney and Webster researching the book on Rua is evidence of this trust. During the Waitangi Tribunal hearing in Maungapōhatu February 2005, these two historians were invited to give evidence supporting the Tūhoe claim against the Crown.

The development of this mutual trust and respect, for the first time enabled Tūhoe and non-Tūhoe to give balanced views in describing and explaining the activities of the Tūhoe communities. This was not an Elsdon Best or a Raymond Firth type study where Tūhoe were no longer needed after the informant had extracted the material that was being sought.

The influence and shared experience brought about by contact with these people in Te Urewera can in part be measured by the large number of Tūhoe who began to attend universities. Tūhoe were beginning to comprehend how unique Tūhoe actually were in their knowledge and cultural abilities. Many Tūhoe continued teaching in all the forms of state schooling, through to tertiary institutes. A wider impact of Tūhoe attending New Zealand tertiary institutes is still felt today. John Rangihau played a key role, acting as a role model, showing how university studies could be successfully attained by Tūhoe.

A large number of my family have continued on in New Zealand education as teachers in pre-school, kohanga reo, primary, secondary school and tertiary. The first language commissioner was one of the first Tūhoe educationalists who began the movement in the early 70s: Timoti Kāretu. Tūhoe were beginning to recognise themselves as the repositories of language and culture.
Tūhoe began to realise that the limited contact with the world outside of Te Urewera meant the cultural practices, and native fluency in language had been protected. There were very few other districts that could state they had an entire population in the 1970s truly fluent in its knowledge, language and culture. The irony of this is the very thing Tūhoe were chided about (hailing from the backblocks) was the very thing that protected and maintained the culture. Tūhoe lands were not desirable tracts of land for agriculture or horticulture and therefore were largely left to their own devices for a good many years.

As more Tūhoe made the transition to universities, they were exposed to the protest movements of the 1970s. Tame Iti, a Māori sovereignty rights supporter, from the Te Māhurehure sub-tribe of Tūhoe; Dr Hirini Melbourne, a composer who resurrected traditional Māori music instruments; and Professor Wharehuia Milroy, a tribal scholar, all highlighted the lack of equity and the unwillingness of the state system to be supportive of things Tūhoe and, on a wider scale, of Māori.

With this younger generation of Tūhoe engaging with the world outside of Te Urewera, tension between the Crown and Tūhoe were never far from the surface. Tūhoe wished to live as Tūhoe, and were also beginning to engage more with the world outside – engaging more openly with Pākeha, but being clear that it was not to be through forsaking what it was to be Tūhoe.

It was clear that the new generations of Tūhoe were going to be more involved in the Pākeha world than their parents and grandparents. Tūhoe wanted to be able to live and be effective in the Pākeha world, and to do this there needed to be more interaction with Pākeha. Timoti Kāretu captured this dilemma in an early article he wrote in the 1970s expressing his admiration of John Rangihau:

He [John Rangihau], to me, exemplifies what I would like my taha [side] Māori to be. It is he who showed me that without any difficulty my taha Māori is compatible with my taha Pākeha and that both can be lived without one detracting from the other. He lives his way in a Māori way and makes no apology for it … (Kāretu, 1979: 30)

What was becoming apparent is that Tūhoe could live as Tūhoe as long as it did not detract too far from what the Crown rules stipulated. Flash points occurred over land. A personal experience occurred when my great-uncle Wiremu Mataamua took a stance over the
ownership of Lake Waikaremoana when the electricity boards wished to utilise the lake water to generate electricity. Yes, they argued, Tūhoe may indeed own the lake bed, but the water in the lake belonged to the Crown. To this, my dear great-uncle Wiremu Mataamua replied: “Fine, then you the Crown take your water out of my lake bed!”

This Tūhoe desire to remain and live as Tūhoe was again highlighted in the recent Waitangi Tribunal hearings held in Maungapōhatu, February 2005. There, leading Tūhoe carver Tāmati Kruger described Maungapōhatu as a smouldering fire that had had its embers buried in a small hollow. To re-ignite the fire, the ash covering the ambers is cleared away and tinder applied. Kruger drew the analogy of a fire signifying a lifestyle to live by. Your fire is to live a Tūhoe-informed life. The comparison of the smouldering fire is expressing the desire of Tūhoe to remain as Tūhoe. The challenge as expressed by Kruger is if your fire is different from the fire of the Crown, it will not be supported by the Crown.

Land struggles

The 1970s for Tūhoe were also the initial beginnings of the modern-day struggle over Te Urewera. In the times up until the late 1960s, land issues generally revolved around surveyed boundaries, their locations, and timber that could be milled or logged. Struggles began in the 1970s regarding deer recovery, which had become financially viable to the extent that New Zealand was purchasing more helicopters than other parts of the world! This had the Hughes Aircraft Corporation in the United States of America wondering what was happening in New Zealand. Helicopters were a vital tool in the capture and slaughter of deer in rough country (Forrester, 1988: 42). Tūhoe came into conflict with the wider Green movement of New Zealand that saw the introduced red deer as pests which, despite the deer-culling initiatives of earlier years, were and are still plentiful. The Green movement wanted the helicopter culls. Where the dilemma lay was that the red deer quickly became a valuable food source and a means of generating an income for Tūhoe. But the lone Tūhoe hunter on foot could not compete with helicopters. The helicopter could cover a week’s worth of tramping in a half day of flying, and paid very little heed to the boundaries between Tūhoe land and National Park land. Where Tūhoe saw the red deer as a supplement to the larder and a supplement to

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40 This process is termed tamau te ahi where the hot embers are buried in the cooler ash of the fire, where in the morning the cooler ash is brushed away exposing the smouldering embers placing dry kindling would reignite the fire. The process best works with Manukau, where it is referred to as Mahurehure.
their income, the Pākehā envisaged mass numbers to generate massive profits. This example demonstrates one of the inherent differences between the two. The former holds a world view in keeping with retaining a balance with the environment, but the latter disregards the impact of massive cullings on the community and environment. The latter view is more prone to abuse and more likely to create negative imbalances.

Deer recovery and historical land claims were soon to be addressed by the Treaty of Waitangi Act established in 1975 to hear claims and breaches against the Treaty that had been signed between representatives of Māori and the Crown in 1860. Eventually there would be a repatriation of land and resources to Tūhoe that were lost through the scorched earth policy of the late 1800s, confiscation of land, and acquiring of land through the Public Works Act and survey liens, where land was taken for survey costs. Tūhoe were the last to continue to resist the encroachment of the Crown into Te Urewera, there being a general consensus amongst Tūhoe not to sell land. The people of Te Urewera created a council which was called Te Whitu Tekau [The Seventy], who were a council of elected leaders to represent Tūhoe in Crown dealings. They had a very clear edict that Te Urewera was not for sale.

Eventually, Tūhoe grievances would be given an audience. However, from the 1970s this was still 30 years away. One positive element that has arisen from the more recent Waitangi Tribunal exploration of past events and grievances has been the revitalisation of Tūhoe history. The hearings that occur with the Tribunal are public affairs, so that Tūhoe who have not grown up being informed of the struggles, are able to see and hear about them in great detail. Tūhoe has numerous hapū [sub-tribes] and so are also able to become informed of the happenings in different communities within the tribe. The negative side of this process is that it is quite divisive; valleys have pursued their own interests, contesting other valleys. One thing that I have learned from formal study of struggle is that it ultimately builds and strengthens resolve (Douglass, 1999). While it is a difficult period for Tūhoe, undoubtedly Tūhoe will work through these experiences and understandings, and thereby strengthen Tūhoe.

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41 This is covered fully in Chapter Eight.
42 The Whitu Te Kau is covered fully in Chapter Eight.
43 Frederick Douglass born into slavery in Maryland and escaped into Massachusetts becoming educated where he became an ardent abolitionist and campaigner for womens rights (Douglass, 1999).
Emerging out of this period, the 1970s to 1990, a key link was made between employment and education. To secure employment required an education. The early Tūhoe academics proved that tertiary study was an achievable goal for Tūhoe. Tūhoe began building the expectation for the younger generation currently in the local schools to continue on into tertiary education. To gain matriculation through school into tertiary education posed and poses major challenges. If financial support was secure, mature students could attend university relatively free of barriers. However, gaining university entrance qualifications through schools was different. It required high levels of achievement to be obtained consistently throughout formal schooling. The realisation emerged that to achieve in a Pākeha world, Tūhoe would have to adapt to Pākeha ways of thinking and of knowing in order to succeed in this environment.

The momentous period of the late twentieth century saw Tūhoe identity – although relatively strong – come under challenge in the school system with the take-up of mātauranga Māori and Māori language. The element of identity as described in the Ranga Framework was (with some notable and highly significant exceptions) generally missing in the education and employment of Tūhoe. The impact of this would not be fully seen until two generations later, into the early twenty-first century, as more descendants of Tūhoe were physically and cognitively detached from what it was to be Tūhoe.
Chapter Five

New Zealand Mainstream Education

Te Hanga Marau Mātauranga mo Aotearoa

Kā tiepa tuku piki ki runga o te Pākiore, topa iho ki roto o te tauhanga awa, ki roto o te manawa o ngā hiwi e mau nei i te ngutu ko te Manawāhiwi.

This chapter provides a brief description of the development of the 1877 Education Act, which brought all Māori children into a state-run schooling system, through to the establishment of Kura Kaupapa schools in the late 1980s. Absent in the education system were notions of identity and self-determination, which Kura Kaupapa attempted to address. This chapter helps to show the context in which Kura Kaupapa schools were established, and indicates the significance of the space to be opened in education by kaupapa Māori theory to reconnect Māori to their mātauranga-a-iwi identity.

Mainstream education in New Zealand evolved out of the colonial contact period between Māori and Pākeha. This early period saw armed conflict between Māori and Pākeha, and tribal conflict between Māori. A wider view of this early settler period is presented by Durie as a time of ‘colonial transitions’ for Māori:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitional Challenge</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Adaptive task</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacific transitions</td>
<td>500-1000AD</td>
<td>Pacific voyaging, navigation and migratory planning</td>
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<td>Indigenous transitions</td>
<td>1000-1300AD</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
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<tr>
<td>Colonial transitions</td>
<td>1820-1900AD</td>
<td>Negotiations of arrangements for power sharing, survival against infectious diseases, warfare, oppression, alienation of resources</td>
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<td>Institutional transitions</td>
<td>1858-1900AD</td>
<td>Formation of new organisations to facilitate Māori transitions</td>
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<td>Urban transitions</td>
<td>1945-1975AD</td>
<td>Relocation to towns and cities, changes in social systems and cultural values</td>
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<td>Global transitions</td>
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<td>Multinational and international threats and alliances retention of cultural identity and intellectual property</td>
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(Durie, 2005: 3)

The time period covered in this chapter in the establishment of the education system Durie (2005: 3) refers to as the colonial transitions, institutional transitions and urban transitions.

The earliest period of western education development for Māori was a period of colonial thinking that believed the assimilation of Māori into the dominant European forms of language, knowledge and culture would be the best way forward for Māori. It would be best for Māori to give up their own language, knowledge and culture for the superior ways of the Pākehā. European colonists in New Zealand believed themselves to be of a superior race, and that assimilation would help Māori to overcome their savage ways (Simon, 2000). Buller (an interpreter and lawyer) in 1884 stated “just as the Norwegian rat had displaced the Māori rat, as introduced plants have displaced native plants, so the white man will replace the Māori” (Durie, 1998: 30). In the colonial period it was believed that Māori tribes were not going to survive, as echoed in the sentiments of Featherston44: “The Māori are dying out, and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good, compassionate colonists is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with” (Miller, 1958: 104).

From the 1840s onwards, European migrants were leaving an oppressive class-based society (mostly) in the United Kingdom and sailing to New Zealand in search of a better life. It was

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44 Isaac Featherston, was surgeon and Member of Parliament in 1856.
to be a successful life which would come as a result of hard work. This was the back drop that created the New Zealand education system into which Māori children were to be integrated and assimilated.

This chapter will highlight that even though Māori were eager to pursue the necessary skills to read and write, the decision-making in the developing education system was largely by Pākehā.

Establishing the 1877 Education Act to the Secondary Schools Act

Mātauranga Tūhoe and mātauranga–a–iwi were operating and functional when Pākehā established the first school in New Zealand. The first schools were run by missionaries and were non-secular. The first mission school in New Zealand stood at Rangihoua, Bay of Islands, in 1816, although the school closed two years later due to a lack of support by the Māori community (Simon, 2000: 36).

A shift was occurring during the colonial transitions period, 1820-1830 period between Māori and Pākehā. Māori were becoming interested in reading and writing. It was during this period, in 1827, that the first translated Bible was made available in Māori. The Bible along with any other text became sought-after items for Māori. Simon states that:

… enthusiasm for gaining these new skills and knowledge arose from Māori’s own perception of them as of relevance and value to their lives. They sought these skills in order to enhance their traditional way of life. (Simon, 2000: 41).

Māori could see the benefits of the tools and technologies that the colonists were introducing. Māori wanted access to this knowledge. To access this knowledge they needed to be literate. This spurred their interest in schooling.

Throughout the following decade (1840-1853), schooling began to spread. Schools during this period were mainly run by churches. It was the view of the missionaries and the government that schooling would be an effective way to assimilate Māori (Simon, 2000: 39).
In 1840 New Zealand was declared a British colony, arguably starting the formal Crown response to education. The British Government made itself responsible for the education of its Māori subjects (UNESCO, 1972: 60). An approach the early British Government implemented was to grant land and money to churches to establish mission schools (UNESCO, 1972: 60). The missionaries from these churches modeled these first schools on the English and Scottish systems (UNESCO, 1972: 10). A number of the mission schools, however, had been established by endowments of land and money from Māori (Simon, 2000).

The first recorded school in Auckland opened in 1843. This school was managed by the Catholic Church, but was accessible to students from all religious denominations (Simon, 2000). Four years later, the Grey Government in 1847 drafted legislation to set aside revenue for the sole purpose of schooling, establishing the Measured Entitled Ordinance to promote the education of youth in New Zealand:

It was a simple document. It gave the government and executive council the power to expand yearly a sum not in excess of 1 twentieth part of the estimated revenue of that year for the erection and support of schooling for both Māori and Pākeha. (Simpkin, 1951: 145-149)

The Government through the Measured Entitled Ordinance of 1847 began to subsidise missionary schools administered by Māori to help spread the teachings of the church. The financial support from the Grey Government saw an increase in schooling that had a key focus to assimilate Māori away from their practice and beliefs (Simon, 2000). Māori who had access to missionaries and books eagerly learned to read and write (UNESCO, 1972: 10). The vigour and enthusiasm Māori displayed in grasping these skills was not lost on the local immigrant settler community. The settler community generally held to the notion that they were better than the Māori people who were uncivilised and who should not have learned to read and write so easily. Contrasts were beginning to be made:

When 1849 Alfred Domett declared that it would be disgraceful if British settlers grew up in New Zealand unable to read or write, he went on to say, “And a peculiar degradation will attach to a person of European extraction,
deficient in these simple accomplishments, in a country the aboriginal and uncivilized inhabitants of which almost universally possess them.” The reference is to the progress of education among Māori people. (UNESCO, 1972: 10)

In 1850 New Zealand was developing into a country with a small core of recognised land owners and merchants. These men were to have a great influence in the direction of the country in matters of the state and education (Simpson, 1984: 19-27). To be recognised as a landowner, one’s land had to be surveyed and registered by the Government. Māori-owned land did not qualify. It was to the small sector of land owners in New Zealand’s early history that the Government communicated about educational and governmental policies (Simpson, 1984: 19-27).

In 1852 The New Zealand Constitution Act was passed, ending direct government input from Great Britain, thus beginning the self-government of New Zealand. Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi45, New Zealand governmental decisions had been made from England (McGeorge & Snook, 1981: 28). Now that the decision-making was to occur in New Zealand, the government established six provinces. Each province had a provincial council to make local decisions. This helped to streamline the management of the country. As church schools were struggling to be resourced, the provincial councils gradually took on this responsibility (McGeorge & Snook, 1981: 28). Māori at this time had become disillusioned with missionary schooling and began to remove their children from missionary schools (Simon, 2000: 43). Māori children were not receiving education in English which was the very knowledge base that their parents wanted them to receive. Māori parents, it seemed, wanted their children to become bilingual, not for the English language to replace Māori language or for Māori to be the only language for instruction.

The six provinces, Nelson, Auckland, Wellington, Otago, New Plymouth and Canterbury, were formed under the Constitution Act of 1852 (UNESCO, 1972: 10). These provinces became responsible for education. It was to be the first central approach for education. Despite the provinces being centrally-controlled by the government, education delivery was

45 Treaty of Waitangi is the official settlement treaty that was signed between Māori hapū and the representatives from Great Britain, constituting New Zealand as a British Colony.
diverse as needs varied widely from province to province. The Nelson province seemed to have the most favourable answer to the problem of providing education with limited financial resources (Campbell, 1941: 29-33). They developed the plan of charging a tax on local businesses to help offset the cost of education. This income was given as a grant to offset the operating costs of locally-run schools and kept fees to an absolute minimum (Campbell, 1941: 29-33). By reducing the fees, the Nelson province had widened access for local students to attend school. Now having eliminated the barrier of cost for students, Nelson was quickly confronted with the issue of including religious instruction. The Nelson response was to have the content taught at an appropriate time – should parents wish to remove their students during religious instruction, this would be possible (Campbell, 1941: 29-33). In 1869 the Act was passed to provide secular schooling for New Zealand children, severing the debate on secularism in New Zealand schools (Simon, 2000).

While much educational debate at this time focused on whether to provide secular or non-secular instruction, another debate, about universal schooling, was gaining momentum in England. English newspapers brought to New Zealand by immigrants covered these arguments. Immigrants were able to add their first-hand accounts of the universal schooling debate they had witnessed and experienced in England (Simon, 2000). The issue of contention was the use of universal schooling as a form of social control to develop the moral character of a person thus creating an egalitarian form of education (Simon, 2000). While the debate to use schools as a platform for social control and social improvement was going on, the Native Schools Bill was being discussed – eventually it would become an Act of Parliament.

In 1867 the Native Schools Act was passed, formalising the Native Schools into a state-administered school system (Simon & Smith, 2001: 9). As explained by James Pope, the first Native Schools inspector, the role of the Native Schools was:

… to bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilization and by placing in Māori settlements European school buildings and European families to serve as teachers, especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life. (AJHR, E-2: 16)

Native schools (mostly situated in rural areas) would function as a separate system aligned with mainstream Public Schools until 1969.
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During the institutional transitions period of 1870, New Zealand had just over 50 years of education by missionaries in the six provinces and was beginning to explore the notion that education should be available to all children in New Zealand, irrespective of background (Simon, 2000). Up until this time, attendance at school was voluntary. However in 1870 the attendance records of students began to be collated, highlighting the fact that less than half the population of New Zealand children aged between 5 and 15 years went to school (Simon, 2000).

The 1870s were a busy period in the history of education in New Zealand. The progress of schooling in the North Island was very slow in comparison to the South Island. The North Island provincial governments were financially strapped (Campbell, 1941: 4), due to the financial resources going to fund the colonial troops fighting Māori over land. This left the running and managing of the schools in the North Island again in the hands of the church. Due to the financial problems and lack of support from the provincial council a large number of students did not receive formal education from 1869-1872 (Mackey, 1967: 101-107). Schools in Wellington were still run by the churches who charged high fees for attendance. The Wellington Provincial Council did not provide funding for its church schools, tending to fund its public schools which were secular.

A series of events in 1870 would put an end to the Provinces. Colonial treasurer Vogel proposed a policy to double the public debt to approximately 8 million pounds on the London market. The money gained would largely be spent on roading and railways to open up the country internally. However to ensure central economic stability remained, the provinces were asked to relinquish a percentage of their forests and waste lands to bankroll the deal. The Provincial Councils refused to surrender land to secure the loan. As a consequence the Government successfully appealed to abolish the provincial system in New Zealand (Simpkin, 1951: 145-9). In 1876 the Provinces were abolished, clearing the way for the 1877 Education Act which was to lay the foundation for New Zealand’s national state-run primary school system (Simon, 2000: 26).

Discussions that took place in the lead-up to the establishment of the Act focused on four key areas: social control, production of a discerning electorate, enhancement of productivity, and individual rights to education (Harker, 1985: 57-60). Schools had to produce people who
could live together, supporting the province by contributing to the local economy. This could only be achieved if all children attended school. To achieve this, issues of access had to be addressed: for some it was financial, for others it was geographical isolation. The Government responded to these issues by establishing a central Department of Education under the Education Act.

The Department of Education centralised the control of education. However, as the provinces had been responsible for education for the last 50 years, they needed to provide the Department with a clear view of what was required now. This meant that the provinces still maintained a great deal of control. Not long after the Act was passed, the government established local education boards and school committees. Grants were given to these boards based on the number of students each school had, abolishing the need for school fees (Simon, 2000). An outcome of this universal and centralised approach to education revealed a lack of qualified teachers to teach in schools. To address this shortage, unqualified teachers were allowed to teach, the majority of whom taught in the rural schools (UNESCO, 1972: 53).

The Pākeha population of New Zealand in 1877 was 410,000, of which 40% resided within a borough or a town, each having approximately 500, to 2000 residents. The remaining 60% were scattered throughout the rural parts of New Zealand which had no roads or bridges (UNESCO, 1972: 53). At this time large populations of students were in the rural areas (Mackey, 1967: 180-181). While the exact Māori population is not known for this period, we do know there were 57 Native Schools operating in 1879, delivering a different curriculum to the public schools (Simon & Smith, 2001: 9-10).

The Act of 1877 ensured a basic curriculum for primary schools. Fees were not applicable at primary school level, although these were applied at high school level. If a student did particularly well in exams at primary school they were eligible for a scholarship. Scholarship exams were introduced in an 1878 amendment to the Act. The exam was supervised by an inspector: it focused on reading, spelling, dictation, writing, composition, arithmetic, and a Standard VI level of geography and drawing. Some parents who could afford the tuition sent their children on to secondary school regardless of the primary grades achieved (Simon, 2000). When the test was introduced nationwide it created the basis for a regulated national
syllabus. Its purpose was to ensure all students had access to the same education (McKenzie, 1975: 94).

From 1877-1890 there was a rapid increase in the number of primary schools of which 80% had only one or two teachers (UNESCO, 1972: 52). By 1903, the Seddon Government introduced the Secondary Schools Act. It offered free places to students who passed the primary school exams and graduated with a certificate of proficiency. Matriculation from primary school to secondary school would later lead to tertiary studies.

Initially, Māori participation in secondary was very low: those who did progress attended special Māori secondary schools maintained by churches. Participation did not increase until 1941, where twelve Native primary schools were extended to include secondary schools, forming the Māori district high schools (UNESCO, 1972: 66-67). The inclusion of the secondary schools into the Native school system was to produce Māori elite who would return back into the Māori communities to spread the gospel of assimilation (Simon & Smith, 2001: 10).

Two forms of secondary education were originally provided – high schools, for students with academic tendencies and, in 1905, technical high schools, for students interested in manual types of employment (Simon, 2000).

Who was making the decision for students to opt for either of these schools that would ultimately determine their career options? This key question led to the debate on meritocracy:

‘meritocracy myth’, this ideology can be represented by the equation ‘Ability + Effort = Merit’. (Codd, 1985: 39-52)

A meritocracy was ideally supposed to allow all students, on the fair basis of ability and effort (not wealth or power), to move into the levels of secondary education best suited to them. As a philosophy of egalitarianism was applied in the establishment of primary education, it was assumed the same would continue in high school. Critics viewed the
selectivity process as a means to filter high school students into academic and manual labour groupings on the basis not of merit but of social class (hence the ‘meritocracy myth’).

The ideal function for high schools was that educational qualifications would be distributed through a system of credentialling that would be accepted as fair to all sectors of society (Codd, 1985: 43-44). But it became evident that decisions to place students into technical high schools were not entirely made on the students’ academic potential. Children from poorer families ended up in the technical curriculum (and this included most Māori), while the academic curriculum at the secondary school was largely delivered to those from the developing professional and wealthy classes:

The ideology of meritocracy, in this context, was to assume an important role: that of concealing the contradictions embodied in a selective education system that was offering to expand opportunities and rewards across social boundaries in order to produce a more egalitarian society. The central goal of education under meritocracy was to make the curriculum and its associated credentials available to all, in such a way that differences in achievement and reward be perceived as the outcomes of difference in abilities and efforts of individuals. (Simon, 2000: 36)

By 1910, technical colleges were established by law in every main centre in New Zealand (Simon, 2000). An educational contradiction was beginning to emerge here. The basis of primary school was egalitarianism, where secondary school was clouded with selection processes. The intention of the meritocratic equation was equal opportunity. However students who had the financial means continued onto the academic pathways in high school, regardless of academic merit.

By 1944 the need to change the face of New Zealand education came to pass with the delivery and recommendations of the Thomas Report. This instituted a common core curriculum that would remain in place for 50 years, introducing School Certificate and University Entrance, putting an end to matriculation. The curriculum was a combination of practical and academic strands to cater for a wide range of students, who were required to
attend until form 4. Schools opposed the new curriculum by streaming students into three
different classes taken from their intelligent quotient scores (McLaren, 1974). The Thomas
report was delivered at the beginning of the urban transitions period, were Māori would begin
relocating to towns.

During the early developmental stages of the education system, Māori were eagerly taking to
the art of writing, and were very aware of the power of the written word (Jones, R. J., 2004).
In spite of this willingness by Māori to become literate there was no inclusion of Māori
knowledge, language and culture into the formal structures of education in New Zealand as
the universal curriculum was developed – for the mainstream schools or the Native Schools.
In the development of ‘schooling for all’, Māori were not included at the higher levels of
decision-making. What was considered valuable knowledge did not include Māori
epistemologies which by now were considered specialist, outdated, and not part of a modern
universal curriculum. Instead, the values, and principles of Pākeha society were reproduced
as the official norms that ‘society’ (which now included and subsumed Māori) was to adopt
and live within. This reinforced and gave strength to an unequal power relation between
Pākeha and Māori culture whereby the system credentialled Pākehā (European) knowledge
and culture. This led to the alienation of Māori living in their own country. This was clearly
evident in the fact that the attainment levels of Māori students in New Zealand schools were
declining.

In 2001, 39.3% of Māori males and 31.8% of Māori females left school with no formal
qualification. In the case of suspensions and expulsions from school, for every 1000 students
expelled 85.7 were Māori males and 37.9 were Māori females (Ministry of Education,
2002b). In 2002 there were 748,084 secondary school students enrolled, of this number
152,556 were identified as Māori. The statistics for that year show that for every 1000
students that were stood down, or suspended, 64.5 were Māori, 42.3 were Pasifika46 and 23.7
were non-Māori (Ministry of Education, 2002b). The figures are consistent over a number of
years, (Ministry of Education, 2002b). Viewing these statistics one cannot help reflecting on
comments Professor Michael Apple makes in reference to the hidden curriculum. He argues
that schools take students and process them to maintain an unequal and highly stratified work
force, and that a key function of teaching is to ensure there is an ideological consciousness

46 Name given to refer to students of Pacific Island descent.
that means people accept the unequal division of wealth and work in a society (Apple, 1982: 20).

In the 1970s, the Benton Report showed that the Māori language was quickly dying out (Benton, 1979). This research had the effect of initiating a programme for the revitalisation of Māori by Māori, with establishment of Kura Kaupapa schools which made Māori language and culture central. The Kura Kaupapa initiative emerged when Māori communities began to critically analyse schooling with respect to the inclusion and delivery of Māori content. This level of scrutiny uncovered the underlying functions of the schooling system as based in the critical traits and skills that Pākehā required to engage and live in a world that revolved around aspects that are valued and desired by them. Māori argued that:

… Pākehā institutions have blended a number of elements in the Pākehā ethos which have combined to serve Pākehā culture well but which, although sometimes well-meaning, have been destructive of the culture fabric of Māori. (Department of Social Welfare, 1988: 57)

The changes in social systems in the relocation to towns, from the urban transitions, were settling in 1974 (Durie, 2005). This is where Māori started to make decisions for Māori. These decisions were informed and motivated by the lack of Māori content in schools and the poor achievement of Māori students. Māori began to tell their own story of schooling: Māori showed from the early 19th century an avid interest to learn and accumulate Pākehā knowledge as a means to further themselves without the threat of forsaking and losing their own traditional culture. As a result of this perseverance and determination, literacy levels were high. However by the beginning of the 20th century, frustration and despondency surfaced when Māori realised that their access to knowledge would be prescribed with the view to assimilating and civilising them. Māori were viewed as only being a source of manual labour and hence the need for them to only learn skills that would promote this. This negligent and self-serving position by Pākehā further contributed to the demise and disconsolate state of Māori in the years that were to follow. Māori were a confident people, secure in their knowledge of who they were – their mātauranga-a-iwi. This self-assurance enabled swift progress in learning. When this self-belief waned due to the assimilation policy so too did their achievement and success in education.
With this understanding in place, new schools were developed addressing Māori needs and interests.

**Kura Kaupapa**

Kura Kaupapa are primary and secondary schools that use the syllabus taught in mainstream schools, but the language of delivery is Māori, the teaching pedagogy is Māori and Māori perspectives are used to reinforce curriculum content.

Missing from the mainstream education system was the space to develop the relationships described in *rangatahi, rangahau, mātauranga, and rangatira* structure. Student and teacher were forced into a false relationship that did not suit Māori students. Russell Bishop’s research out of the University of Waikato is the most comprehensive research to date on Māori achievement in mainstream schools, called Te Kotahitanga. The Kotahitanga initiative focuses on developing trust through establishing meaningful relationships with Māori students and Māori communities. Collectively a shared vision for raising Māori student achievement is established (Ministry of Education, 2006: 89). The Bishop research highlighted the relationship between the teacher and student being a key contributing factor for Māori to achieve success in school (Ministry of Education, 2006: 89). The basic pronunciation of Māori is still an issue in schools: students who have Māori names still have teachers who continually mispronounce them, flippantly remarking “I’m too old to learn”, or “It is always how I’ve said it”. I have personally witnessed on a number of occasions students in a positive respectful manner correct the teacher, with an explanation of their name, to have the teacher in the very next sentence continue to mispronounce the student’s name. How is this going to build a meaningful relationship of trust and respect with the student? What value does the teacher place on the student and how are these actions viewed by the student?

Kura Kaupapa schools offered a classroom environment that addressed these problems of the mainstream. Time was taken to learn about each student’s background at the beginning of the year. Each participant shared as much of their background as they felt comfortable with. This could range from being very brief, name, tribe and area, through to being very detailed and lengthy. Critical to any class being successful in Māori was to ensure that relationships were

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47 Professor Russell Bishop Waikato University is leading the Kotahitanga programme of research and professional development.
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forged at the outset. Inherent in Māori introductions is to seek a mutual person, or place as a foundation to build mutual trust and respect. Building this foundation ensured teacher and student could be respected as rangatira. Once the dynamics of establishing this relationship were complete then and only then could learning truly begin.

The Kura Kaupapa movement has ensured that the cultural aspects of Māori are incorporated into the delivery of the curriculum. This has produced an increase in Māori student achievement In 2001, 31 percent of Māori students who were in wharekura [total immersion secondary schools] passed bursary or scholarship, where in the mainstream schools of that same year 60 percent of students passed bursary or scholarship. The exact breakdown of the ethnicity of these students is not known but we know nationally in 2001, four percent of Māori received a bursary or scholarship, which would equate to the majority of students from Wharekura making up this figure (Ministry of Education, 2002a).

In 2007 Māori students enrolled in a kura kaupapa school (including wharekura) were more likely to achieve NCEA\(^{48}\) qualification than Māori students in mainstream schools (Ministry of Education, 2009: 84).

In 2001 there were 491 recognised Māori medium providers registered to teach students from age 0 through to 19. Since the inception of the kura kaupapa schools in the 1970s there were now 74 total immersion schools, 81 bilingual schools, 48 schools offering Māori immersion classes, 136 offering bilingual classes, 11 total immersion secondary schools [wharekura], 5 bilingual secondary schools, and 5 secondary schools providing immersion classes (Ministry of Education, 2002a: 91).

The kura opened spaces for Māori to begin to regain what it meant to be Māori This meant rebuilding a platform to reconnect to the iwi and the land base these students belonged to. By teaching the language, knowledge and culture, students became aware of who they were accountable to, and what it meant to belong to a particular iwi and hapū; they were beginning to rebuild their true identity. This created the foundation for them to positively engage with education.

\(^{48}\) National Certificate of Educational Achievement
The revitalisation of Māori language emerged in multiple sites, beginning in the mid 1970s, where in pockets around New Zealand strong communities of fluent and native speakers of Māori could be found. Tūhoe was seen as one of these strong bastions of Māori language and culture, where in 1976 the Ruatoki State School, located on the eastern border of Tūhoe, was the first bilingual school in New Zealand, where teaching and curriculum were taught in English and Māori. Also, curriculum content where possible was aligned to fit and resonate with Māori knowledge and culture. Bilingual schools were the precursor to the total immersion schools that first emerged in 1985 with the opening of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae (Education Review Office, 1995). An emphasis placed on locating example and content to Māori specific notions embedded into Māori epistemologies was beginning to occur. By drawing parallels to Māori content, a plan was developing to address the high failure rate of Māori in mainstream. Students were now able to relate the content taught to issues and practices that were familiar to them which greatly increased the chances of students learning.

However it was not until the late 1970s that Kara Puketapu, (a revolutionary manager of the then Māori Affairs while working through a re-structure of the Māori Affairs department) convened a meeting in 1979 (Puketapu, 1982) that any real development in total immersion teaching began. The meeting was called Hui Whakatauira, a forum for elders, who were knowledgeable in the culture, knowledge and language to meet to discuss how these critical aspects of Māori could be used to provide the catalyst to empower Māori.

The first meeting in 1979 identified that the retention of the language was a critical component that needed urgent attention to ensure the language, knowledge and culture was not lost (Tawhiwhirangi, Irwin, Renwick, & Sutton, 1988). The Hui Whakatauira was convened again the following year in 1980, where again the focus of language retention was highlighted, however this time the focus was more urgent in that an intervention by Māori was required. What emerged was an intervention based on Māori principles and values, resulting in the development of the Tū Tangata programme that had a simple philosophy of Stand Tall (Puketapu, 1982). The Tū Tangata programme identified the following four broad objectives:

1. To improve educational attainment
2. To provide opportunities for self-fulfilment within the community
3. To raise the socio-economic status of the Māori people

The Tū Tangata programme focused on the traditional cultural components of Māori. For some, this was a simple issue of re-connecting with a familiar but forgotten past; for others it was a rebuilding process to a key part of their identity. This reconnection or rebuilding provided a philosophical base for Māori engagement, initiating transformation of Māori through Māori content, moving Māori epistemological aspects away from the confinement of the Marae or traditional classified Māori space by non-Māori, ultimately building and developing the parameters of the mātauranga Māori strand. It held a view that for Māori to be active positive participants in society they needed to have an intimate understanding of Māori language, knowledge and culture. It was from within this paradigm that Te Kōhanga Reo was born (Tawhiwhirangi, Irwin, Renwick, & Sutton, 1988). The intervention that occurred in the lead up to Tū Tangata and ultimately Te Kōhanga Reo was achieved by Māori as a collective working together to ensure the language would continue to be accessible to the next generations of children in the early 1980s. This was the creation of Te Kōhanga Reo [Language Nest], a programme based on placing children from birth to age five in a situation where Māori language and the values of Māori would be practised. Parents were also required to participate in reo classes, so in a sense the whole family were being educated.

As development occurred here with Māori reclaiming their past and histories, the key function of Te Kōhanga Reo was to replicate the traditional modes of learning that occurred in mātauranga-a-iwi. Elders, koroua and kuia who were knowledgeable in mātauranga-a-iwi were specifically placed into environments where they could influence the children on the principles and values of Māori knowledge, language and culture. At the time Kōhanga Reo began in the 1980s native speakers of the language was in the main a small portion of the population that were over 50 years of age. There were exceptions to this in small isolated areas. This age bracket also contained the majority of people able to locate the knowledge, language and culture back to the mātauranga-a-iwi strand. To ensure this knowledge base and language were not lost, a key initiative was launched ensuring preschool children were placed in environments where they could be exposed to the language in its context of knowledge. This was Te Kōhanga Reo; the key lay in the mokopuna [grandchildren]. They were the investment for the future of the language. Te Kōhanga Reo provided the environment
exposing pre-school children from birth to native speakers of the language to enable these children to develop their first language of instruction in Māori, and ultimately a fluency in the language. A large portion of parents remained in the Kōhanga offering voluntary services where they were also able to learn the language along with their children, both parent and child rebuilding and strengthening their connection back to the Māori, and ultimately tribal worlds (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2003).

In 1982 a national trust was established to ensure the underlying philosophy of the trust remained intact, and secondly the trust was to manage the relationships that emerged from contact and ultimately working with the various government departments. The trust took the name Kōhanga Reo National Trust with five key areas:

1. To promote, support and encourage the use and retention of Te Reo Māori;
2. To promote and encourage the establishment and maintenance of Te Kōhanga Reo centres;
3. To provide financial, advisory, and administrative assistance for centres;
4. To provide support and the means of obtaining support to people involved in the Te Kōhanga Reo Centres;
5. To liaise with government departments and other relevant bodies on aspects of pre-school tuition in Māori language and the administration of Te Kōhanga Reo programme. (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2003)

Initially the Kōhanga Reo was placed under the then Department of Māori Affairs, where it remained until 1990 until it was eventually seen as an educational initiative that needed to be located in the Ministry of Education where it remains today. The Department of Māori Affairs provided support for Te Kōhanga Reo, as proposed at the Hui Whakatauira in 1981. The first Kōhanga reo was opened at Pukeatua Marae, Wainuiomata on 13 April 1982.49

In the later part of the 1970s many bilingual units appeared in communities that had a high Māori concentration as parents became aware that bilingual units were an option they could
use. The teaching in the units held Māori values and traditions as key core components incorporated into classroom sessions, usually beginning and ending with karakia [prayers]. Where possible, the curriculum was aligned to the local knowledge and culture to enable students to readily identify and connect with the concepts that were being taught, and if teachers where available with skills in Māori language the teaching would be in Māori. While the bilingual units were providing Māori students and parents with successful outcomes in schools, it still was not quite addressing the placement of students that were leaving Kōhanga Reo who were fluent in Māori, with an extremely limited understanding of English. There needed to be state schools that could cater for students who were fluent in Māori.

Mainstream schools in New Zealand did not have the capacity to cater for students fluent in Māori with limited English. Māori yet again took up the challenge to create space for the graduates of Te Kōhanga Reo to continue their learning in Māori, Kura Kaupapa was born (Sharples, 2004). Kura Kaupapa are schools that have the curriculum taught in Māori. The parents from these first schools were ostracised by the mainstream public in New Zealand accusing them of creating a separatist system in New Zealand that would ruin the relationship between Māori and non-Māori. How would students graduating from primary school only speaking and writing Māori be able to secure employment, was the general thrust of concern levelled at this pioneering group of students and parents. The lack of support for the Kura Kaupapa Schools not only came from the public, the government through the Ministry of Education initially were resistant to Kura Kaupapa schools; outlined in the comments made by the then head of Education Review Office Judith Aitken in the New Zealand Herald article titled “Which Failed – The System or Kids?”

Less enamoured with the kura kaupapa Māori is the head of the Education Review Office head, Judith Aitken, who has “a conspicuous number of concerns” about the level of professional and managerial training among the people running them.

“We have expectations of them,” she says, “because they deal with New Zealand children like anyone else”. (“Which Failed – The System or Kids?”, 1998).

This first group of parents stepped out of the mainstream concept of teaching in New Zealand and challenged what was considered normal teaching practice. When the first students were ready to graduate from Kura Kaupapa to the next level in formal education, secondary school,
a similar reception was given to the parents and teachers given eight years previous when making the transition from Kōhanga to primary school. No secondary school was willing to continue to support the education of these students in Māori (Sharples, 2004). Therefore, for the third time the pioneering parents and students who had become accustomed to working against the prevailing views created wharekura, secondary schools which taught through the medium of Māori. This last development in the compulsory education of students in New Zealand continued to the howls of discontent from ill-informed people who believed the students graduating from Wharekura would not be employable, or could not engage in tertiary education if they could not read or write proficiently in English. Here again taking an article written in the *New Zealand Herald* as a graduate from Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae completed her first year at medical school;

As the first graduate from Kura Kaupapa Māori to go to med [medical] school, she felt she has something to prove to others. People always have this perception [of the value of Māori education]. When I started going to [Kura Kaupapa at West Auckland's] Hoani Waititi Marae, friends from when I was younger, from primary school, would ask why I was there and say, “Oh, my God, she's just going to ruin her whole future.” (Dixon, 1999)

This student’s story is included in *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga – Annual Report on Māori Education 2007/08*. She has now graduated working as a general practitioner in Dunedin (Ministry of Education, 2009).

There initially were similar issues experienced with the Ministry of Education with the Kura Kaupapa in the creation of the Wharekura. However this was short-circuited with the students that had graduated from Kura Kaupapa beginning to reverse the negative trend of Māori in education. Kōhanga Reo, and Kura Kaupapa were indeed working, and later figures would show so too was Wharekura while the Māori participation in the mainstream schools were failing at an alarming rate:

Current data shows that Māori were more likely to leave school before completing senior schooling or without qualification. The data shows that Māori were suspended, stood down, truant or excluded from school, and were participating in alternative
education programmes at higher rates than non-Māori. (Ministry of Education, 2004: 52)

Mainstream schools delivered a curriculum decided by graduates of the schooling system, in that only those who excelled through this kind of schooling would continue into careers that could effect change; these schools had not changed a great deal over time. In a personal discussion with the current Secretary of Education, Karen Sewell, I note that she has a picture of a desk and chair in her office reported to have been William Shakespeare’s. Aside from being interesting, what is alarming is the desk and chair concept is still largely used in classrooms of today; very little indeed has changed here. The curriculum and content delivered in mainstream schools treated Māori concepts very poorly, largely labelling them as myth and legend. This lack of respect for Māori was and is reinforced by the value the teaching staff displays toward Māori, as they attempt to tackle students’ names and place names that are Māori. Māori students historically and currently are not achieving as well as Pākeha students in mainstream schools. Where there is an emerging gap between what is working well and what is not, Māori students are falling further behind their Pākeha and Asian peers in education, and are leaving school before completing formal qualifications. In contrast to this lack of success and retention in mainstream is the achievement that Wharekura and Kura Kaupapa are having with Māori students, in retention and successful completion of school qualifications (Education Review Office, 2002). The significant point of difference of mainstream schools to that of Wharekura and Kura Kaupapa is in the delivery of the curriculum that is delivered pedagogically and hermeneutically from a Māori position. The mode of delivery is cognisant of Māori values, knowledge, beliefs and language.

The foundation base of Kura Kaupapa schools is situated on Māori values and principles that were captured in a document *Te Aho Matua* written by parents involved in Kura Kaupapa. *Te Aho Matua* is a philosophical document that has six sections that describe the principles and operations for teaching in Kura Kaupapa. A key component within *Te Aho Matua* is the whānau [family] that must be central to the learning of the students. For the child to succeed in the school environment a partnership is necessary between the school and the whānau:

1. Te Ira Tangata
The whānau practises a holistic approach to children’s development based on Māori cultural and spiritual values and beliefs.

The whānau honours all people and respects the uniqueness of the individual (criteria include modelling love, tolerance and care of others).

2. Te Reo
The whānau ensures the language will be, for the most part, exclusively Māori.
The whānau achieves full competency in Māori and English.
The whānau respects all languages.

3. Ngā Iwi
The whānau nurtures children to be secure in the knowledge of themselves and their own people.
The whānau ensures that children acknowledge and learn about others and their society.
The whānau ensures all members play an integral part in the children’s learning and in the learning of the wider whānau.
The whānau affirms collective ownership and responsibility for the kura.

4. Te Ao
The whānau ensures that children will be secure in their knowledge about the Māori world and enable them to participate in the wider world.
The whānau ensures that children will explore the physical and the natural world while maintaining their links to ancestral knowledge.

5. Ahuatanga Ako
The whānau operates a warm, loving and intellectually stimulating learning environment.
The whānau ensures that the importance of the learning environment will be emphasised.
The whānau includes strong educational leadership and capable teachers.

6. Ngā Tino Uaratanga
The whānau ensures that each child’s abilities are successfully nurtured including their academic skills, bilingualism, natural talents, creativity, enthusiasm for learning and life, ability to retain knowledge, leadership qualities, independence, joy, spirituality balanced with physical pursuits, their links to ancestral domains and their pride of place within their Iwi.

(The Te Aho Matua, cited in Education Review Office, 2002)

The writing and positioning of the Te Aho Matua was very much a political position of Māori values and principles as a recognised teaching approach. The then Minister for Māori Affairs, Tau Henare, tabled the document as a Bill that was legislated by Parliament. The bill was reported in the New Zealand Herald of December 17th 1998:

A bill introduced to Parliament this week will validate Māori teaching and learning styles, says the Minister of Māori Affairs, Tau Henare. The Education (Te Aho Matua) Amendment Bill incorporates the philosophy that governed the guiding principles of Kura Kaupapa Māori. If passed, it would be the first time a Government had legislated a philosophy and enshrined it in law. Mr Henare said: “It’s a way to
ensure that schools which set up Kura Kaupapa Māori live and breathe te reo Māori, Māori culture and values.” (“Bill ‘Validates’ Māori Teaching,” 1998)

The Bill passed, moving Te Aho Matua into legislation. Interestingly, the writing and tabling of this document highlighted the point that Māori were not a homogeneous grouping as some Māori publicly opposed the document:

But not everyone agreed with the bill. The principal of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Bernard Fergusson, Iria Whiu, said that while she honoured and believed in the philosophy, questions needed to be answered. “Kei a wai te mana? Who owns the concept and the philosophy? Māori should determine its own direction. What has the Government done in terms of Māori education?” The concept of kura kaupapa Māori and kohanga reo were Māori initiatives, and iwi driven, not a Government establishment. (“Bill ‘Validates’ Māori Teaching,” 1998)

Te Aho Matua was drafted to fit within the mātauranga Māori strand, opposition to the document came from Māori operating in the mātauranga-a-iwi strand, giving Māori the luxury of debating which of the Māori values systems would be adopted by the kura.

The government support towards Kura Kaupapa in the early years was described by Dr Pita Sharples, a key figure in the development of the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa O Hoani Waititi, in a presentation he delivered to staff of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae while I was principal. He said when the schools (Kura Kaupapa) were established there were seven schools, the seven schools were called to Wellington and told by the Ministry of Education “Congratulations, we will fund six of your schools”. Sharples’ concept of colonisation is the biscuit scenario, whereby if there are seven people the Ministry of Education will give six biscuits and leave you to decide who will miss out on the biscuit. “Thankfully, Māori philosophy prevailed and each school gave a portion of their funding to fund the seventh school. It is inclusive not exclusive” (my notes from Sharples, 2004).

Kura Kaupapa schools are schools developed on the principles and values drawn from Māori perspectives and understandings that are proving to be successful in engaging Māori positively into education. These schools were established to address the failure rate of Māori in mainstream schools by connecting to Māori beliefs and values, through the process of
ensuring Māori language and culture be maintained. Content delivered here varied from general principles of Māori through to the background the staff brought, in that if the person were of Tainui descent the content and language would be of that area. I myself of Tūhoe have never taught within Tūhoe; my teaching has been in the Waikato and Ngāti Whatua tribal land areas (Hamilton and Auckland districts). Kura Kaupapa perspectives were largely drawn from the expertise that was available in the school, however as students successfully emerged from Kura Kaupapa attention was being drawn to specific mātauranga-a-iwi content. Establishing the next stage of evolution in Kura Kaupapa, creating Kura Motuhake, schools that drew content specifically from the tribal area the school occupied, these schools under section 156 of the Ministry of Education were able to stipulate that only the language and custom of the tribal area could be taught within the school:

…kaupapa mātauranga Māori provision refers to total immersion education based on mātauranga and tikanga Māori pedagogies and philosophies, including kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori through to education that is set in bilingual immersion classes in mainstream schools. Total immersion schools such as Kura Kaupapa Māori are either section 156 schools or section 155 Kura. Section 155 schools are affiliated to a governing body, Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori, and abide by Te Aho Matua. Section 156 Kura are designated character schools and are usually iwi or hapū based. (Ministry of Education, 2004: 22)

This created the link back to the tribal identity expressed in the mātauranga-a-iwi strand, in that Kura Kaupapa prepares students well in the general principles of the mātauranga Māori strand. The advent of Kura Motuhake will ensure the development and growth of the tribal knowledge constructs continue as it is taught to the up-and-coming generations. The knowledge construct here is located in the epistemology of the local area, whereby the local tribal body of knowledge will be taught and built on. Students who are in the Tūhoe district are taught what is relevant for Tūhoe; students within Ngāti Manawa will be taught what is relevant for Ngāti Manawa. This approach focuses on the heart of the vertical field of Māori; it is rebuilding, restrengthening and supporting the development of tribal knowledge that must continue to grow. Kura Motuhake has clarified the positioning of Kura Kaupapa. Te Aho Matua was a document that provided a philosophical approach to be adopted by Kura. As with the approach from Kura Motuhake some Kura Kaupapa arguably have been working in this field of tribal knowledge from the beginning. Initially Kura Kaupapa content was largely drawn from the mātauranga Māori strand, as this developed and clarified for
communities it became evident, a more specific approach to tribal nuances of language and culture was what parents sought.

Moving forward, parents are now able to contribute to discussions on tribal specific content, building and engaging the mātauranga-a-iwi strand, or remain within the schools that provide a wider approach to content that is located in the mātauranga Māori strand. What is positive here is that there is a choice that supports both the vertical mātauranga-a-iwi and horizontal mātauranga Māori strands that will strengthen as each of these areas develops through the engagement of Kura. The next challenge for Kura Kaupapa is to engage with the wider issue of the development of the language, where it is shown Kura Motuhake will develop the tribal language, Kura Kaupapa will continue to evolve and develop a more generic language comprising differing tribal sayings, and language constructs. Kura Kaupapa Māori and Te Kōhanga Reo have been major Māori initiatives that have led to the development of Māori across New Zealand; it has brought the language initiatives to the forefront in New Zealand society. Central to the development of Kura Kaupapa was the language with an enormous focus ensuring fluent speakers of the language were present in schools.

The last section of this chapter focuses on the Tūhoe Education Authority. Where Kura Kaupapa has been a response from Māori, Tūhoe Education Authority has been a response by Tūhoe for Tūhoe. The Tūhoe Education Authority attempts to make the education framework accountable for the delivery of a meaningful education for Tūhoe children, as well as critically and positively engaging with non-Tūhoe ideologies.

**Tūhoe Education Authority**

A decentralising policy known as Tomorrow’s Schools in the early 1990s placed responsibility for schools’ financial and strategic direction with the local community. This policy promised to deliver effective change to improve the education of Māori (Wylie, 1990: 1). Despite this, Tūhoe schools within the Te Urewera region continued to struggle. Additional demands on the community to produce the personnel to govern as well as acquire resources for day-to-day teaching placed further pressure onto an already stretched
community. Tūhoe emerged from this period taking the approach that there had to be something better for Tūhoe students struggling with the national curriculum.

In 1993 Te Rūnanga Mātuaranga o Tūhoe was established, facilitating a series of meetings concerning the low level of achievement of Tūhoe students. Tūhoe parents and teachers were unanimous in their support that an investigation needed to be conducted to identify the reasons Tūhoe children were underachieving in the local schools. Gould (1996) did some research that showed the cultural and language aspirations of Tūhoe were not being met even when the education offered delivered Tūhoe elements instead of generic Māori forms of education. Gould further stated that his comparison of baseline data between schools in different tribal areas placed Tūhoe at the bottom (15th out of 16 tribes were involved in the baseline data). Ngāti Awa, a neighboring tribe of Tūhoe was ranked at sixth.

Following Gould’s research in 1996, Dr Peter Cleave and Tūhoe educator Tamati Cairns were contracted by the Ministry of Education to establish some baseline data on Tūhoe schools. Findings from the report that the Te Rūnanga Mātuaranga o Tūhoe had submitted to the Ministry of Education identified concerns about the underachievement of Tūhoe children in the local schools (Te Manatū Mātuaranga o Tūhoe, 2007). Cairns being of Tūhoe was able to enter into direct discussions with the school communities within Te Urewera to establish a clear picture of what the communities wanted of their schools. This report was completed in February 1997, however the Ministry of Education commissioned eminent Tūhoe carver Tamati Kruger in March of 1997 one month later to verify the findings that the Cleave and Cairns report had identified. Kruger re-visited the schools within Te Urewera and in June 1997 produced a report that supported the findings of Cleave and Cairns (I have been unable to locate these reports for reference, I read and took notes from a personal source who has since lost their copies).

Some intervention had to occur to assist the schools within Te Urewera in achieving high quality education from the local schools. In October of 1997 a working party was established to explore avenues to support and address the concerns that were identified in the Cleave / Cairns and later Kruger reports. The reports that were submitted by Te Rūnanga Mātuaranga o Tūhoe, Cleave and Cairns, and Kruger, ultimately led to the establishment of the Tūhoe Education Authority (TEA). It developed a comprehensive maintenance strategy for Tūhoe.
The strategy was developed around social wellbeing, health and employment. All initiatives and outcomes had to address the concerns raised within Te Urewera. This development strategy was submitted to the Ministry of Education, highlighting the initiatives in the Tūhoe region were consistent with national trends – the underachievement of Māori students.

The TEA emerged from the findings that were outlined in the three reports to the Ministry of Education. Here the constant request was made for some intervention in the education of Tūhoe children attending local schools. What was alarming was the low ranking of Tūhoe schools’ success by Gould. If schools on the fringe of Te Urewera were perceived as doing relatively well, what was wrong with schools within Te Urewera?

The approach that TEA adopted was a Tūhoe approach, looking at the structure. A working party was created in January 1998 to facilitate the election process from the 15 schools who expressed an interest in participating in the project. Four clusters of schools were established:

- **Cluster 1**
  Kutarerere Primary School, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Matahi, Valley Primary School, Waimana Primary School.

- **Cluster 2**
  Taneatua Primary School, Te Wharekura a Rohe o Ruatoki, Tawera Primary school, Te Kura Māori a Rohe o Waiōhau, Kūhāwae (Galatea) Primary School, Te Mahoe School.

- **Cluster 3**
  Te Whāitū Primary School, Minginui Forest Primary School.

- **Cluster 4**
  Kokako Primary School and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Huiaírau. (Te Manatū Mātauranga o Tūhoe, 2007).

By the end of June 1998, the foundation board for TEA had been confirmed, establishing themselves as the Tūhoe Education Authority Charitable Trust, to advocate on behalf of the registered schools under the Trust. A memorandum of understanding was established, forming a partnership between Tūhoe Education Authority and the Ministry of Education in February 1997, with the official signing taking place at Waimako Marae, Waikaremōana, in April 1999. The signing of the Memorandum was a significant event. As expressed on the
TEA website, kuia and koroua who attended the occasion perceived the event as a signing of a kawenata [covenant] between Tūhoe and the crown (Te Manatū Mātauranga o Tūhoe, 2007).

The basis of the research conducted by Te Rūnanga Mātauranga o Tūhoe led to an iwi partnership between Tūhoe and the Ministry of Education. Iwi partnerships are formalised relationships between the Ministry and iwi-based education organisations to help improve educational outcomes.

**Iwi Partnerships**

The establishment of the Tūhoe Education Authority confirmed that the Ministry of Education on its own was unable to address the underachievement of Tūhoe students within Te Urewera. The Ministry of Education went on to establish partnerships with 20 iwi and Māori organisations focusing on collaboration between families and communities to lift the achievement of students:

> Working together gives iwi, Māori organisations, and the Ministry the opportunity to design and implement solutions that focus on strengthening the role of whānau in education. (Ministry of Education, 2006: 28)

Tūhoe Education Authority could see that from a wider context, Māori were under the threat of multinational and international globalisation, where Māori were not immune to the impacts of western culture and fashion (Durie, 2005: 24). Young Tūhoe where adopting the themes located in hip-hop music, at times to the detriment of Tūhoe knowledge, language and culture. As Durie states in his framework of transitions, Māori are currently under threat of losing cultural identity (Durie, 2005: 3). But the battle for Tūhoe to maintain its cultural identity is not new. It predates the arrival and intervention of Pākeha. Like many other Māori tribes, Tūhoe fiercely contested and patrolled its borders against neighbours – and with the arrival of Pākeha the patrol had to be adapted from watching the physical landscape to the virtual borders of the mind. New required vigilant structures are required to ensure Tūhoe are not cognitively removed from the physical or cognitive territory of identity.
The guarding and patrolling of the borders is an integral part of the Tūhoe relationship that exists with its environment. The knowledge forms the Tūhoe Education Authority aligned to the national framework were shaped and informed through this relationship of the environment to Te Urewera. These activities shaped and informed the Tūhoe identity and culture that is implicit within mātauranga Tūhoe.

Mātauranga Tūhoe is represented on the Ranga framework structure as mātauranga-a-iwi, where it has its base fixed into the environment creating a contextual body of knowledge that is molded and shaped by experiences occurring within and on the environment. And it is the environment of Te Urewera that shaped the TEA’s approach to education.

The Tūhoe Education Authority’s specific aim was to improve student achievement, strengthen school performance, and strengthen the relationship between schools and communities within Te Urewera. To achieve this, the Tūhoe Education Authority created and launched five strategic plans with commonly agreed to priorities from the participating schools. The strategic areas are; Tūhoetanga, Whakahaere Kura [Governance and Leadership], Kaiako [staffing], Rauemi [resourcing], and Marautanga me te Aromatawai [Curriculum and Assessment]. Each of the five strategic areas looked at how mātauranga Tūhoe could be used and integrated into the school framework. The key to this was the language of Tūhoe. Teachers needed to be proficient in Te Reo o Tūhoe; to be aware of the cultural aspects occurring within the communities. What the Tūhoe Education Authority had succeeded in doing was aligning the national curriculum with a Tūhoe curriculum. It repositioned Tūhoe knowledge back into the school system. An explanation of concepts was now drawn from the local body of knowledge, and exemplars to clarify content were localised to Te Urewera. Specialists and experts were sourced and drawn from the community creating the space for the repositories of Tūhoe knowledge to engage and interact with students in the school time and structure. This engaged the elders of the community who felt the knowledge they held was now important enough to be taught within school time, delivering a strong message to the students who were seeing their elders not only as cultural repositories of knowledge, but also academic repositories. Mātauranga Tūhoe was now being taught and used along with the exploits of Shakespeare, and the theorems of Pythagoras.
Inherent in the creation and development of the Tūhoe Education Authority is Tūhoe forming and creating its own future through education, a future that not only meets the need of Tūhoe generations that are alive and present today, but will also be relevant for the future generations yet to arrive.

Tūhoe have historically held education and learning to be extremely important. The ancient houses of learning, whare wānanga, followed strict conditions of learning that were laid down in the cosmogony of Tūhoe. Illustrated and highlighted in the Tūhoe creation of the world is the historical account of how knowledge was acquired through the ascent of Tāne Mahuta, to the Te Toi-o-Ngā-rangi, to acquire the baskets of knowledge: te kete tua uri, te kete tuatea, and te kete aronui, as well as the two stones of knowledge, Rehutai and Hukitai:

The kete tua uri; (2) the kete tuatea; (3) the kete aronui. These are the baskets [receptacles] of the wānanga given to Tāne wānanga. The kete tua uri is the basket of ritual chants pertaining to the conduct of all matters connected with Rangi-nui and Papa-tuanuku, as also of the control of all things desired to be performed by the offspring of Papa-tuanuku. The kete tuatea is the basket of evil, of all things evil, no matter what it be. All evil things are found in this basket. The kete aronui is the basket of love, sympathy, compassion, of peace making, of the conditions known as permanent peace. (Best, 1995: 103)

Packaged within the three baskets of knowledge are the skills and knowledge that was used by the creator of the universe – Io Matua Kore. This knowledge was passed on to Tāne to bring back to Te Aoturoa [world of standing tall]. This knowledge acquired by Tāne was placed in the whare wānanga, ready for the appropriate candidates to begin their scholarly journeys of learning. Through this school of learning, ‘I will attempt’ or ‘I will try’ were foreign and unknown concepts. When you undertook your studies you did it to learn, it was

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50 Tāne Mahuta, or Tāne is a Māori God, whose realm is knowledge, and the Forests
51 There are 12 levels of consciousness of Māori, the highest is Te Toi-o-Ngā-rangi where the creator of all things resides.
52 Three baskets of knowledge, each kit held a different form of knowledge, also known as Uruuru-matua, Uruuru-Rangi, and Uruuru-Tawhito.
53 These were two stones that were used to compound the knowledge that was learnt by the Māori, they were bitten to ensure things that were learnt were not forgotten.
not a matter of trying in the hope you may succeed, it was determining at the outset that you would achieve. Tūhoe do not have a word for ‘try’. You either do it, or you don’t.

Mairerangi is a well known ancient school of learning of Ngāti Tāwhaki of Tūhoe. When the school of learning was in session, people who were not participants of the school were forbidden to enter or contact scholars of the school. An indicator to people that the school was in session was the lighting of the fire, *taku ahi te kā*, that would not be extinguished until the students graduated from the school. This varied from five to seven years of in-depth scholarly learning. *Taku ahi te ka* is the term given to the base of the fire that is used in the wānanga: three stones are placed to form a base for the fire; the placing of the stones are arranged in a square fashion with the fourth side missing where the fire is fed from (P. Temara, personal communication, January 2003).

*Picture 3 Mairerangi ancient Ngāti Tāwhaki Wānanga*  

(Picture W. Doherty 2003)
Tūhoe practiced a wānanga system of learning for hundreds of years before contact with Pākeha, where the selection to and graduation from these schools of learning were extremely formal parts of the esoteric culture of mātauranga Tūhoe.

Māori have shown an interest in learning from 1867 with the Native Schools and now with the more recent development of Kura kaupapa. What is consistent of Māori involvement in education is it has been one of debate and contention. From the early Mission schools to Native Schools, Māori questioned the content delivered in the curriculum. This era produced a people who engaged in learning from a mātauranga-a-ikiwi position. They knew who they were, identity was in place, they wished to learn mātauranga Pākehā to coexist with their mātauranga-a-ikiwi, not to replace it.

Moving forward to the urban and global transitions of the 1970s and 1980s, Māori were under threat of multinational and international threats to retain cultural identity (Durie, 2005: 3). This produced an era where true tribal identity was becoming threatened, an assumption drawn from the fact early Māori participants in education did voice the need to include Māori content to counteract a monocultural perspective of education that was failing Māori.

Unlike earlier Māori engaging in education, this generation did not have the mātauranga-a-ikiwi grounding. They were engaging in learning from the generic knowledge strand, from a de-contextual base trying to build a foundation to plant the seeds of learning. There was no base, through kaupapa Māori theory. Kura kaupapa emerged to re-establish the connections to mātauranga-a-ikiwi, where the seeds of learning would find a base to grow from.
Chapter Six

Tūhoe: Tribal Struggle
Tūhoe: He ekenga iwi

Ka kau haere atu au ki te huīngā maungarongo kohatu, te katinga o te tatau pounamu e ko te Whakatau. E rere nei te ki te nohonga o te papawhenua whakairoiro o Ōkahu.

This chapter maps the tribal relationships that have informed mātauranga-a-iwi as it relates to Tūhoe. Each period of contact with neighboring iwi has had a lasting influence on Tūhoe and the landscape, and each has informed and influenced mātauranga-a-iwi as it relates to Tūhoe. Through incidents of conflict, haka, whakataukī and waiata moteatea were created to capture the sentiments of that particular time. The chapter gives a background required to understand the functions of mātauranga Tūhoe.

The landscape covered in this section is the territory occupied by the hapū Ngāti Tāwhaki – a sub-tribe of Tūhoe. This territory is situated in the Ngāpūtahi valley through to Te Whāiti and out into the Murupara district. The two settlements of Te Whāiti and Murupara are in the areas in which tribal conflict occurred. This was not the only area of contention; rather it is the area that has relevance to the account I give below.

Tension and struggle can be found on each border as differing tribal groups challenged and sought to exert their authority over the area, which was occupied by the people of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. These iwi were eventually allowed to resettle their respective areas after Tūhoe had cleared the area of other invading parties. Tūhoe arranged a careful
resettlement, marrying into Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa, to guarantee a Tūhoe presence and authority over the district (Miles, 1999: 219).

Ngā Hapu o Tūhoe

The following is an account of Tūhoe’s revenge against Ngāti Māhanga, a sub-tribe of Ngāti Whare. This particular series of battles occurred in the mid-1700s when the wife of Maro, Pareuia, and their child Te Puru-o-te-rangi, were murdered. The battles that ensued very nearly led to Tūhoe exterminating the entire sub-tribe of Ngāti Māhanga. Pareuia belonged to the sub-tribe Ngāti Apa, which is linked to Ngāti Manawa, and Te Arawa 54. Ancestors of the tribe Ngāti Apa travelled to New Zealand on the Te Arawa canoe during the migration period (Best, 1972: 151). Marriage between Maro and Pareuia had been created to bring the outer lying tribes of Ngāti Manawa closer to Tūhoe and in order to stabilise the relationships with Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. Maro was of Tūhoe descent and at the time was residing at Ruatāhuna.

Pareuia and Te Puru-o-te-rangi where murdered as they were making their way back to Ngāti Apa, where Pareuia and Maro decided it would be beneficial for Te Puru-o-te-rangi to become familiar with his relatives on his mother’s side. The two were safely hosted by Ngāti Whare in Te Whāiti. Shortly after leaving Te Whāiti, as they were making their approach to Matangi-a-hewa (where Ngāti Apa were residing at the time), they were ambushed and killed by Ngāti Māhanga. A while later, Maro traveled to his wife’s people to discover they had not arrived. He knew they had left Te Whāiti safely, therefore they must have been attacked between Te Whāiti and Matangi-a-hewa. The only clue he had to follow was that whoever had killed his wife and child would be in possession of the cloak [toi] that she had been wearing at the time.

The journey of revenge had a long fatal trail from this particular toi. Whoever had the cloak would be held responsible for killing Pareuia. Initially Ngai Tawha possessed the garment and hence they were attacked. By the time the survivors of Ngai Tawha were able to inform

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54 Māori tribal histories link back to a migration period where ancestors travelled at differing times to the different parts of the Polynesia, for the tribe Te Arawa, the waka -canoe holding the same name.
Tūhoe that the cloak was given to them by Ngāti Māhanga, the pā site, Ōpūtara, had already been destroyed. The pā was located on the site presently known as the Galatea plains, slightly south east of the current Murupara Township. Ngai Tawha is a sub-tribe of Ngāti Manawa and are distant relatives to the tribe Ngāti Apa. When Ngai Tawha were able to convince Tūhoe the cloak had in fact been given to them by Ngāti Māhanga, Tūhoe then began preparing to attack them. Tūhoe swore to strike and drive Ngāti Māhanga out of Te Whāiti where they were currently residing, or exterminate them entirely (Best, 1972: 421). By launching an attack on Ngāti Māhanga, Tūhoe were attacking Ngāti Whare, of whom Ngāti Māhanga are a sub-tribe. Ngāti Māhanga are also closely related to the tribe Ngāti Manawa. It is important to note that tribes and sub-tribes often intermarried so as to strengthen ties between them. However, this was not a guaranteed solution for infractions that were committed.

With the destruction of Oputara pa and assured that Ngati Mahanga were the perpetrators, Tūhoe marched for Te Haumingi, a settlement situated by the Okahu stream – a tributary to the Whirinaki river. Ngati Mahanga had a series of fortified pa alongside the stream; including Hapuawai and Papouri which were located at the Te Haumingi settlement. The Papouri pa was built taking full advantage of the natural defences; the southern edge was not accessible blocked by sheer cliffs dropping into the Okahu stream. And moving in a northerly direction on the western side was a trench purposely dug to hinder access from the west. The pa itself was located on a small knoll with the trenches encircling the pa site (see Map 6 below). The Haumingi site was a relatively open site as opposed to Papouri. It was flanked by the Okahu stream on the western and southern borders. On the eastern border a trench was dug blocking the natural entry into the pa (see Map 7). Opposite these was another fortified pā, Matuatahi. Situated below the fortified pā of Matuatahi was another settlement Ngātahuna. These settlements and fortified pā were occupied by Ngāti Māhanga and their related sub-tribes who were all descendants of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare.

55 The New Zealand Archaeological Association maps show detailed plans documented from the late 1960s through to the mid 1970s by archaeologists employed by the New Zealand Forest service and Te Urewera National Park.
Tūhoe attacked the settlements of Te Haumingi and Ngātāhuna, totally destroying them and very nearly annihilating the Ngāti Manawa occupants. The following account was recorded by Best:

Thus these Te Whāiti peoples of Ngāti-Manawa and Ngāti-Whare were crushed by this foray. Those who escaped from the clutches of Tūhoe fled to Whare-oneone and Tara-wera, where they sought shelter among Ngāti-Hine-uru of that district. Many of these refugees were, for some time, wandering about the broken forest country at the head of the Whiri-naki River, in mortal fear of their savage enemies of Tūhoe and, it is said, ‘camping upon their footsteps’, ever on the move, lest they be discovered and slain. (Best, 1972: 423)

Tūhoe took the remaining descendants of Ngāti Whare as captives back to Ruatāhuna. After a period of time, a series of intermarriages occurred between the captives and Tūhoe. In time, the survivors of Ngāti Māhanga returned with their Tūhoe spouses to Te Whāiti to reside. The majority of these Ngāti Māhanga survivors from this point forward referred to themselves as Ngāti Whare, refusing to take the name of Ngāti Māhanga (Best, 1972: 424).
After the survivors of Ngāti Māhanga returned to Te Whāiti to live, only a few Tūhoe people continued to reside within Te Whāiti. Accounts by Best and accounts used in the Native Land Court state that Tūhoe did not maintain a presence over the Ngāti Whare lands after the avenging of Pareuia and Te Puru-o-te-rangi. This resulted in Tūhoe failing to build a case for ownership that the Native Land Court would recognise. In fact, the land was granted to Ngāti Whare, making Ngāti Whare the legal land owners of the Te Whāiti valley.

It is clear in the accounts documented by Best (1972) in the book Tūhoe that Tūhoe via conquest had subdued Ngāti Whare on more than one occasion. This was not refuted by the Native Land Court, who agreed that Tūhoe had in fact defeated Ngāti Whare. However where the dispute lies is in the interpretation that Tūhoe did not maintain a presence over the land to
guarantee Tūhoe ownership. This argument is hard to hold to, when Tūhoe on more than one occasion routed Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa from the outlying fringes of Tūhoe territory. Following the bloody revenge that was meted out for the killing of Pareuia and Te Puru-o-te-rangi were a series of battles that initially involved Ngāti Pūkeko and were concluded with the involvement of Ngāti Tāwhaki. These battles were over territory in the Te Whāiti valley and surrounding district.

Ngāti Pūkeko

Ngāti Pūkeko is a tribe primarily located in the coastal district where the Rangitāiki flows into the Pacific Ocean, just north of the Whakatāne township, largely occupying the area where the current township of Te Teko is situated. It is located on State Highway 30 that connects Whakatāne to Kawerau and Rotorua. Following the battles with Ngāti Māhanga and Ngai Tawha, Ngāti Tāwhaki engaged in a series of battles with Ngāti Pūkeko who had taken up residency in the Te Whāiti valley, after expelling Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa. Ngāti Pūkeko were eventually evicted by Ngāti Tāwhaki, ultimately enabling Ngāti Whare to return once again to the Te Whāiti valley. The tribe Ngāti Pūkeko came up the Rangitāiki and Whirinaki rivers as far as Te Whāiti and Ngāpūtahi. When they entered the Te Whāiti valley they found Ngāti Whare offered very little resistance, and consequently overran and alienated them. Once again, Ngāti Whare was left to roam the fringes of Kahungunu territory, located on the south western fringe of Te Urewera, and the head waters of the Whirinaki River that abounds the now present Napier Taupo highway (Best, 1972: 431).

The events that introduced Ngāti Pūkeko into Te Whāiti began shortly after the Ngāti Māhanga battles where two women of Tūhoe, Whakia, and Te Korua, were killed by Ngāti Haka, a sub-tribe of Tūhoe, living in Waiōhau. The Waiōhau community is between the coastal township of Whakatāne and the present township of Murupara, located on the banks of the Rangitāiki River. When the wider Tūhoe community of Ruatāhuna became aware of the murder of these two women, a war party was raised immediately marching for Waiōhau. The war party followed the ancient warpath departing Ruatāhuna for Ngāpūtahi, the junction point, where the party turned following the Ōpāheru upstream then dropping into the headwaters of the Horomanga stream that flowed out onto the Kuhāwaea plains (Galatea plains).
Travelling as a war party meant that strict rituals needed to be adhered to. One of these rituals was to kill the first person they encountered regardless of who that person was (Best, 1972: 431-437). This act was to ensure that no bad luck would befall the war party in its imminent battle. Once decided, the war party travelled solely to engage in a battle with an already decided enemy. The war party was not just a random group that accidentally formed, then as an afterthought, decided to go and attack whomever was convenient. A war party was convened after considerable deliberation. When a consensus was reached to attack, or seek retribution the travelling party would then form and become termed a tauā [war party]. It is during this stage that the tauā must follow the lore of warfare that is rooted in the physical and mental psyche. Traditions must be kept to ensure that the tauā would be supported by the ancestors. Rituals that were established by the ancestors must be adhered to, leading to a deep-seated belief that the forces of nature would be favourable as you entered battle. Tūhoe believed to spare the life of the first person encountered by a tauā was considered a bad omen (Best, 1972: 425).

Unfortunately the first person encountered by the travelling tauā as it emerged out of the Horomanga valley (as it meets the Kuhāwaea plains) was Tamahi, and for this reason he was killed. After he was killed he was identified as being affiliated to the Ngāti Pūkeko tribe. Now Tūhoe had no current desire to do battle with Ngāti Pūkeko so did not defile his body (which usually followed this kind of killing). Instead he was respectfully covered with a cape and left to lie where he had fallen. Respectfully, because he had become a part of the war tauā rituals.

At some point shortly after Tamahi was killed, he was discovered by Ngāti Manawa, who in turn did defile his body. They engaged in a cannibalistic ritual to further insult Tamahi’s descendants. It was an insult because the deceased would become human excrement. This is the ultimate belittling of an enemy. Ngāti Manawa’s actions reached Ngāti Pūkeko who understandably attacked Ngāti Manawa, defeating them at Rautawhiri, a settlement on the northern edge of the Kuhāwaea plains which the Rangitāiki River flows through. The Ngāti Manawa survivors of this battle fled to another settlement, Parakākariki, (see archaeological maps below) further inland from Kuhāwaea plains heading towards the Te Whāiti valley. Again they were attacked and defeated (Best, 1972: 425). Ngāti Pūkeko continued the
relentless attack upon Ngāti Manawa because having a fellow tribal member eaten was an irreparable insult that demanded an equally measured level of retribution.

The settlement of Parakākāriki, was a step pā, and it also fell to Ngāti Pūkeko. It was built on a ridge with purposely dug trenches encircling the pa. The only natural entry to this pa site was from the north, coming along the ridge (see Map 8). The remaining Ngāti Manawa survivors retreated further into the interior, as far as Te Whāiti. Because of these events the Ngāti Manawa survivors had brought an angry Ngāti Pūkeko into Ngāti Whare territory who were also attacked and suffered a similar fate to their kin, Ngāti Manawa. Ngāti Pūkeko had now gained a real sense of the weaknesses and strengths of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. They were able to gain an insight to the terrain, ultimately as a result of Ngāti Tāwhaki killing Tamahi, months earlier.
Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa would shortly feel the full brunt of Ngāti Pūkeko as the weight of this fierce fighting tribe was brought to bear. An error in judgment by a Ngāti Pūkeko chief was the final catalyst that prompted Ngāti Pūkeko to fully invade the tribes of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. This misjudgment occurred when the chief of Ngāti Pūkeko, Tautari, sent a small party of warriors to kill a well known Ngāti Manawa chief, Tarewa-a-rua to honor the name of his recently born child.

Killing an important person was a common practice to honour an event as important as the naming of a chief’s child. This process removed the sacredness that surrounded newborn children or newly created objects:

Kia patua a Te Kiato hai whakanoa i te tapikitanga o tona korowai – To kill Te Kiato to remove the sacredness of the new cloak. (Williams, 1971: 384)

Tua rites were usually performed as a part of the naming ceremony. These rites were used to strengthen connections to the spiritual world. It ensured the child and the mother were going to be well both physically and spiritually:

The two most important charms recited over the child in the Tua rite were known as the Tua of Tu and Tua of Rongo. The former was connected with the art of war…. The performance of the Tua lifted much of the tapu from the infant. (Best, 1941: 22)

When Tautari’s son was born, a party of warriors were gathered to pursue and kill Tarewa-a-rua of Ngāti Manawa as a part of the tua rite. However, Tautari miscalculated the resolve of Tarewa-a-rua. Ngāti Manawa defeated the assassins sent by Tautari and among those who were killed were some leading figures of Ngāti Pūkeko. This raised the ire of Ngāti Pūkeko and resulted in a full scale attack against Ngāti Manawa. Ngāti Pūkeko now marched in force for Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare (Best, 1972: 426). Ngāti Pūkeko expelled Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa from the Te Whāti district setting up settlements occupying the valley. According to Best this occurred around 1832. There is some confusion as to whether Ngāti Pūkeko created the pā site Umurākau, a large settlement situated on a strategic high point above the Whirinaki River. If this pā site was in fact created by Ngāti Pūkeko, it confirms there must have been a considerable number of Ngāti Pūkeko present, over a long period of time. Umurākau was a large settlement that would have required a great deal of people to
construct the pā site. The site contained approximately 13 whare for accommodation and many more storage facilities, this was a large settlement (see map 9).

Map 9 Te Umurākau

The Ngāti Pūkeko occupation of the Te Whāiti valley extended as far as Ngāpūtahi, where they inhabited the pā Oromaitake. This is situated where the Ōpāheru stream meets the Ōkahu River. While Ngāti Pūkeko were located in Te Whāiti they responded to a request for help from Ngāti Raukawa (a tribe that was situated in the Waikato area), to help in their battles with other Waikato tribes. Ngāti Pūkeko answered the call, weakening their defences by splitting their numbers. The majority of those who remained in Te Whāiti were the non-combatants, the elderly and children.
Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa observed this and seized the moment by launching a successful attack on the remaining Ngāti Pūkeko. The attack was lead by Tarewa-a-rua, the original target of Ngāti Pūkeko. The elderly and young stood no chance against Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. The attack occurred under the cover of darkness with devastating results for Ngāti Pūkeko. The survivors fled, with most making their way through to Ngāpūtahi to seek sanctuary in their pā Oromaitake. However, a survivor from this invasion, Kihi, fled to inform Ngāti Pūkeko who had earlier departed for the Waikato. According to Best, Kihi encountered the war party on the Kāingaroa plains returning to Te Whāiti after a successful campaign in the Waikato. Best’s accounts report that Kihi very nearly lost his life, after informing his warrior relatives of the devastating attack that had occurred. If it were not for his skill in battle which would be sorely needed in the imminent battles of revenge, Kihi would have been slaughtered there and then for allowing such a calamity to befall the people he was charged with protecting.

As the returning party was descending the Te Apu hill (see picture 10) into Te Whāiti they saw Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa ascending the opposite hill Rangiahua, heading for Ngāpūtahi to attack the remaining survivors of Ngāti Pūkeko. Seeing this, the returning war party interceded against Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa before they arrived at Oromaitake. When the full force of Ngāti Pūkeko caught up with Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa they interrupted their original target and Tarewa-a-rua performed an ancient ritual, ahi ta whakataumata. This ritual when complete would weaken the resolve and nerve of the enemy, rendering them useless. Unfortunately Tarewa-a-rua never completed the ritual and was killed. Upon his death Ngāti Pūkeko removed his heart and cooked it, resulting in that place being named Te Ahimanawa [The Fire cooking heart] (Best, 1972: 428-9).

At this juncture of events Ngāti Pūkeko were supported by Ngāti Tāwhaki in the continued persecution of Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa. This occurred when a descendant of both Ngāti Pūkeko and Tūhoe was killed, when Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa attacked the noncombatants of Ngāti Pūkeko who remained in the Te Whāiti valley. The combined forces of Ngāti Pūkeko and Tūhoe pursued the remnants of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare, quickly clearing them from the district. This particular series of battles was explained by
Tūtakangahau\textsuperscript{56} as Ka kāinga rikirikitia a Ngāti Manawa i konei [Ngāti Manawa were pulverised, tenderised and eaten] (cited in Best, 1972: 429). Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa fled to the Ōkarea pā, a settlement in the Wai-a-tiu stream that follows into the upper reaches of the Whirinaki River.

The Tūhoe contingent was led by Te Hiko-o-te-rangi with Mōkai leading the Ngāti Pūkeko contingent, to attack Ōkarea. The pā site was well chosen, as there was only one approachable side to launch an attack. The pā was situated with three of the four sides inaccessible by three cliffs forming a natural barrier, leaving only one face to launch an attack from. The bulldozer trench shown on archaeological map is where Tūhoe launched their frontal attack (map 10).

\textbf{Map10 Ōkarea}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map10.png}
\caption{New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Record Form (NZMS1). NZMS1 map number N95. NZMS 1 map name Te Whāiti 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition 1970. NZAA NZMS 1 Site Number N95/26. Date visited 4/9/78. Site Type Pa. Site Name Ōkarea.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{56} Tūtakangahau was one of the key informants Best used in many of his books published as monographs. Tūtakangahau was a Tūhoe scholar, knowledgeable in the esoteric practises of Tūhoe.
Chapter Six: Tūhoe: Tribal Struggle

The siege on Ōkarea failed on the first day. Strategically the pā site was easy to defend, having only one approach accessible by foot. This was the site where the major attack took place, by thrusting spears and throwing darts and stones between the palisades. One of the Tūhoe descendants wounded here was Te Ahuru who was hit with a spear that was launched by a whip. Te Ahuru was the son of a leading Tūhoe chief Te Pūrewa who was wounded during this attack. While the attack was occurring Kōhuru of Ngāti Manawa was levelling insults at the leader of the Tūhoe contingent, Te Hiko-o-te-rangi. The siege of Ōkarea concentrated around the palisaded entrance to the pā. At the conclusion of the first day Tūhoe and Ngāti Pūkeko could not breach the defenses to the pā and were to find the pā abandoned the following day. Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare had retreated and were well on their way to Tarawera to seek sanctuary with Ngāti Hineuru.

![Picture 4 Ōkarea Palisades](image_url)

After Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare fled Ōkarea, they eventually settled on the southernmost boundary of Te Urewera on the southern slopes of Maungataniwha (see map 11). This mountain marks the southern boundary of Te Urewera and meets the tribal lands of Ngāti Kahungunu and its sub-tribes. According to Best, these two tribes sought refuge here for
approximately two years before making their way back to Te Whāiti. The Ōkarea battle took place in 1818 with Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa not returning until Ngāti Pūkeko were dispatched from Te Whāiti by Ngāti Tāwhaki (Best, 1972: 431).

At this juncture, Ngāti Pūkeko was in possession of the Te Whāiti district, down through to the Galatea plains. This occupation may well have lasted if Ngāti Pūkeko had not turned to attack Ngāti Tāwhaki. The primary chief for Ngāti Pūkeko at this time was Kihi, who instigated the idea of launching an attack on Ngāti Tāwhaki. Then he departed, returning to their tribal lands back in Ngāti Awa, leaving his fellow tribal members to fight.

The two primary pā that Ngāti Pūkeko where occupying were Umurākau, situated where the Ōkahu stream meets with the Whirinaki River. This pā site offered natural geographic defenses, situated on a hill with steep to sheer cliffs as approaches. The second pā was Oromaitake located in the Ngāpūtahi valley opposite where the Ōpāheru stream meets the Ōkahu stream. This pā was located in Ngāti Tāwhaki territory where prior to the attack planned by Kihi, an alliance had formed between these two tribes. The first attack by Ngāti Pūkeko faltered. They failed to realise they had descendants among themselves that were
related to Ngāti Tāwhaki, and hence Ngāti Tāwhaki were successfully warned of the impending attack. Ngāti Pūkeko set forth from Ngāpūtahi, traveling over the Ika Whenua range, crossing it at Tarapounamu, then dropping down into the Mangapae valley. They followed this stream until arriving at the settlement of Papueru where they attacked the pā Te Hika. Ngāti Pūkeko failed to take the Ngāti Tāwhaki pā by surprise who had been warned by the Ngāti Tāwhaki descendants within the Ngāti Pūkeko war party, the attack failed. Ngāti Tāwhaki repelled Ngāti Pūkeko back to Umurākau (Best, 1972: 433).

Ngāti Pūkeko returned to Te Umurākau still smarting from the defeat at Te Hika pā. Word was sent to Kihi, the primary instigator of the invasion, who was back in Ngāti Awa, Kihi, upon hearing word of the defeat, returned at once with reinforcements and again launched an attack on Te Hika, and again failed to take Te Hika pā.

The Ngāti Tāwhaki response this time, having been attacked twice in their territory, was a lot more determined and driven. Ngāti Tāwhaki rallied themselves, marching over the Ika Whenua range descending into the Ngāpūtahi Valley by way of Pūkiore and sacking the Oromaitake pā of Ngāti Pūkeko. Ngāti Tāwhaki pursued the fleeing survivors of this fallen pā through to Te Whāiti where Ngāti Pūkeko took shelter in the Umurākau pā. This also crumbled under the attack of Ngāti Tāwhaki. The last stand by Ngāti Pūkeko was at Parakākāriki, where they fled to after the fall of Umurākau, this pā followed the same path of Oromaitake and Umurākau. Ngāti Tāwhaki successfully expelled Ngāti Pūkeko entirely from the Te Whāiti valley pursuing them all the way out on to the Galatea plains. Here Ngāti Pūkeko returned to their lands on the coast where the Rangitāiki River meets the Pacific Ocean (Best, 1972: 434).

Ngāti Tāwhaki, having now expelled Ngāti Pūkeko, settled and occupied the Te Whāiti district:

"Tūhoe found themselves the sole occupants of Te Whāiti and Whirinaki, They resolved to occupy the valley of Te Whāiti and so retain those lands. The Canyon of Toi now lay under the mana of the Child of Tamatea. (Best, 1972: 435)"

According to Best Ngāti Pūkeko arrived around 1812, establishing themselves at the Umurākau pā in Te Whāiti. They were eventually expelled from the district by Ngāti Tāwhaki around 1822, leaving the ownership of Te Whāiti in the possession of Ngāti
Tāwhaki. Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa eventually arrived back into the district from the areas they fled to when attacked by the combined force of Ngāti Pūkeko and Ngāti Tāwhaki. The return of these two tribes interestingly shows the ownership and authority of the district was clearly in the possession of Tūhoe. When Ngāti Whare returned to Te Whāiti they brought with them members of the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe who they lived among while they were exiled from Te Whāiti.

The newly returned party of Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Kahungunu took up residence at the pā site Ōheke, and settled south of the Hukitawa stream. Upon their return, Tūhoe marched and attacked Ōheke, overpowering the pā. One of the leading chiefs of Tūhoe at this battle was Te Pūrewa who took pity on the survivors, taking them back to Ruatāhuna. The survivors of Ōheke were intermarried with Tūhoe and eventually returned to live back in the Te Whāiti district. One of the high-profile descendants of Tūhoe that accompanied this party back to Te Whāiti was the widely sung composer Mihi-ki-te-kapua (Best, 1972: 457-8). The return of Ngāti Manawa was a little more contentious for Tūhoe because of the battle at Ōkarea, with the insults leveled at Tūhoe leader Te Hiko-o-te-rangi by Kōhuru of Ngāti Manawa. When Ngāti Manawa was attacked by Tūhoe and Ngāti Pūkeko they fled to Tarawera and Te Putere seeking sanctuary in the territory of another tribe. While residing there a Tūhoe chief, Pouri, took pity on Ngāti Manawa living in a hostile land, not having sought the approval of the tribal owner of that district.

Pouri marched to Te Putere and returned with Ngāti Manawa taking them back to Maungapōhatu to live. As can be expected, the wider Tūhoe people were not happy with this and called for the systematic execution of all of Ngāti Manawa. Te Pūrewa and other chiefs intervened and sent Ngāti Manawa to live at the settlement Te Hue, situated between the settlements of Maungapōhatu and Ohaua-o-te-rangi on the Whakatāne River. While Ngāti Manawa were there, Kōhuru was recognised by a cousin of Te Hiko-o-te-rangi. Rangietu. Kōhuru had insulted Te Hiko-o-te-rangi at the battle of Ōkarea several years earlier. Rangietu insisted Ngāti Manawa be made to live among the potato pits for the insults made to her cousin at the Ōkarea battle, where the name stuck to Ngāti Manawa as te pu taewa a Te Pūrewa [the potato heap of Te Pūrewa]. The wider meaning behind the statement is that it is because of the authority of Te Pūrewa that Ngāti Manawa survive, but being made to live
among the potato pits is a great insult. To be named or situated to live among food is to say you will ultimately become human excrement.

The following is a waiata that was composed as a result of Ngāti Manawa being forced to live in the potato pits, expressing the Tūhoe opinion of having Ngāti Manawa living back among them:

Whakarongo ra – e
Ngā Iwi e takoto nei
Kotahi tonu te tipuna o tenei iwi
Ko Wharepakau-kore whenua
E ki nei te tangata ka maunu te mana o Tūhoe
I Te Whāiti. E kore e maunu
Ka tītī tonu atu ki raro ki te whenua.
Katahi au ka hura i te rau o taku patu
E takoto nei i Te Whāiti-nui-a-Toi
Te patu mo Te Puru-o-te-rangi, e takoto nei,
Ka hurahia!
Ka rua ko te patu mo Para-haki
Ka toru ko te Pu Taewa a Te Pūrewa ki Te Whāiti
I whakaaorahia na hoki koe i te matenga i O-heke
I rere na hoki koe i te rau o taku patu ki Whare-oneone
Hai awhi mai ma ngā uri o Apa
Nana nei a Tapairu-o-te-ao, nana nei au
Hai utu tenei mo ou kēkē
Tuwhera noa i te awatea.
Ka hurahia. (Best, 1972: 461)

The song was composed by Kūoro, who was a descendant of Tamakaimoana from Maungapōhatu. Kūoro makes mention of the ancestor of Ngāti Whare, Wharepakau, in that he is described as Wharepakau kore whenua [Wharepakau of no land]. Kūoro continues in his description of Wharepakau, writing that Wharepakau states the authority of Tūhoe would eventually float away from Te Whāiti, to which Kūoro refutes in the next line of the song, reaffirming that the authority of Tūhoe would never depart from Te Whāiti, E kore e maunu. The song continues to explain the battles that took place from Te Puru-o-te-rangi, through to the battle at Ōheke, these actions performed in the song further strengthened the claim of Tūhoe over the Te Whāiti and Kūhāwaea districts in that the actions were performed to ensure the episodes that occurred were not forgotten. The final part of the song was to highlight the fact Te Pūrewa through his intervention resulted in Ngāti Hāmua and Ngāti Manawa surviving, albeit as a result of being forced to live in potato pits for a short time.
The use of song is a traditional way of recording events. As there was no written language, histories had to be committed to memory. Waiata made learning large sections of history a lot easier. Illustrated here in this waiata are the significant events surrounding the battle at Ōkarea, capturing the insults made by Kōhuru to Te Hiko-o-te-rangi.

Ngāti Manawa were relocated back to Ruatāhuna for a short while following the potato pit episode at Te Hue, but eventually returned to Ōkarea and Tutu-tarata settlements. Te Pūrewa and the other chiefs became aware that tension between Ngāti Manawa and Tūhoe was still fragile and could erupt at any time. Thus, marriages were arranged between the tribes to cement the bonds of peace. Some of these married couples returned to Ōkarea and Tututarata. Tūhoe were still eager to attack Ngāti Manawa but Te Pūrewa refused, saying there was no point as Tūhoe had already acquired the authority over the lands that were previously occupied by Ngāti Manawa, allowing them to live in peace under the authority of Tūhoe (Best, 1972: 461). Ngāti Manawa were eventually resettled in 1826 at Ōkarea and Tututarata, which is situated close to settlement Para-kākāriki, between the Mangawiri stream and the Rangitāiki River (Best, 1972: 459).

It was very clear to Tūhoe that the authority over the Te Whāiti and Kūhāwaea districts were under their control. Tūhoe had successfully removed Ngāti Pūkeko from the district, and then initiated the resettlement of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare by carefully arranging marriages to ensure there would be a lasting peace between the tribes. These events according to Best were in the 1820s but were challenged by Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa when the Māori Land Court was to arrive into the district. I personally feel that the Crown saw these iwi as crown sympathisers, and that this influenced the Native Land Court into legislating the land away from Tūhoe who were seen as rebellious to the crown.

Each battle that occurred formed a relationship – positive and negative. Each battle resulted in places being renamed, established scared sites where blood was shed, resulted in communities relocating, and added to the history and relationship of Tūhoe and Te Urewera. The stories that sit behind the naming of places, the actions that led to battles and relocation of settlements are all central aspects of mātauranga Tūhoe. When applying the principle of whakapapa, the sequential order of events explain and clarify the purpose and reason that
required the respective response. Each blow and parry was to ensure Tūhoe maintained a presence over their landscape. This remained until the arrival of the Māori Land Court.

The arrival of the Māori Land Court saw the beginnings of a particular set of struggles: Tūhoe-Pākehā struggles, where tribal groups and Pākehā combined to attack Tūhoe. The relationships that were established in the tribal conflicts between Tūhoe and the neighbouring tribes played a significant role with the arrival of Crown authority. A large section of the Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa survivors adopted a loyalist position, supporting the Crown in attacking Tūhoe. It is unclear whether this was done simply to seek revenge on an old foe that had meted out a number of humiliating defeats, or whether they in fact agreed with the long term vision of the Crown in settling New Zealand.

An important part of outlining the tribal events within the fringe lands of Te Urewera is to illustrate Tūhoe authority over these areas. In establishing this authority, Tūhoe was on an unfortunate but inevitable collision course with the Crown. Central to this struggle is the key point of Tūhoe steadfastness in maintaining its customs, laws, lore and knowledge – all traditions critical in shaping and defining the Tūhoe body of knowledge. Although the tribal struggles added to the mātauranga-a-iwi as it relates to Tūhoe knowledge, the impact was not as great as Tūhoe would experience through the Crown’s blanket approach of applying Crown authority. Tūhoe would be murdered, starved and persecuted in an attempt to dissuade them from living a Tūhoe-informed life.
Chapter Seven

Tūhoe: Crown contact

Tūhoe: Te Karuana

Ka titiro ake au e ko te tuhonohanga o awa huarahi ko Ngāpūtahi.
Tērā ko te pā matangi e karamatamata mai i te take e o ka
Orongomaitake, te parikarauna o Ngāti Tāwhaki.

This chapter continues the historical interactions that have produced mātauranga Tūhoe. Within this chapter the contact between Tūhoe, Pākeha and the Crown is mapped to show how each of these engagements changed the environment influencing mātauranga Tūhoe.

The initial impressions Tūhoe held of Pākeha were gleaned by Tūhoe interactions with the coastal Māori tribes who were dealing with Pākeha. These were primarily in the Gisborne and Whakatāne districts. From the mid 1800s, sporadic contact with Pākeha slowly became replaced by a relationship with the Pākehā Crown. The Tūhoe-Crown relationship deteriorated quickly into one of conflict as Tūhoe attempted to maintain its authority over its districts, opposing the Crown. This period of conflict is one that extends, arguably, to the present.
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

Relationships: Tūhoe and the Crown

Tūhoe resisted all Crown authority in Te Urewera, and used their knowledge of their mountainous ranges to offer and provide safe sanctuary to those who held similar resistant views.

This section is in eight parts, beginning with the first contact Tūhoe had with Pākeha which show the impact that new ideas and food had on Tūhoe. Then I discuss Crown and Tūhoe engagement through Resident Magistrates. Towards the end of the Resident Magistrates’ time in Te Urewera, the focus is shifted to Waikato where Tūhoe answer Waikato’s request to help repel the Crown invasion at Ōrākau. The next two parts revolve around key people, Te Ua Haumene, and Te Kooti, who were pursued for encouraging destructive behavior towards the Crown. This leads to the Whitu Te Kau, a Tūhoe structure of self-governance set up to counter the Crown’s constitutional claim to Te Urewera through the Native Land Court. The last conflict that occurred within Te Urewera discussed here was the arrest of Te Rua in Maungapōhatu, illustrating the heavy-handed approach that was adopted by the Crown.

To gain an understanding of the Tūhoe perspective for each of these events a chronology is provided to illustrate the tensions that arose when Tūhoe and Pākeha (and ultimately the Crown) first met. Each of these events and interactions has influenced Tūhoe and Te Urewera and contributes to mātauranga Tūhoe.

New Technologies and Missionaries

Best estimates that Tūhoe could have had its first contact with Pākeha as early as the 1820s when whalers began moving in and around the Whakatāne harbor (Best, 1972: 553). One of the first recorded Pākeha settling in the district was my great-great-grandfather, James Melbourne who was established as a trader in 1836. It is said that traders often married into local hapū and at the assurance of local rangatira on whom they relied for protection. It is also said that, for his part, it was a matter of enhanced prestige for a chief to sponsor a trader in his locality (Miles, 1999: 60).
From 1829 to 1830 Tūhoe were trading with Ngāti Maru, a tribe that resides in the Firth of Thames (quite some distance from Te Urewera) on the Hauraki Plains. It is hard to comprehend that Tūhoe would not have had any contact with Pākeha during this time. Tūhoe travelled at this time to acquire muskets. One musket was exchanged for 10 slaves and in the first of these trade transactions, Tūhoe secured 20 muskets. The first of these muskets was given the name Riaki (Best, 1972: 520). Māori often named objects to emphasise their importance and value.

The late 1820s saw Tūhoe beginning to become aware of Pākeha technology and readily incorporate its uses into the Tūhoe life style. By becoming familiar with muskets meant becoming aware of Pākeha and their skills and the technology used to produce such a weapon. Following the purchase of muskets, Tūhoe began adopting Pākeha agricultural practices. Te Ahuru (son of Te Pūrewa) planted the first peach tree in Ruatoki at Waikirikiri Marae. It is believed that Te Ahuru acquired this seedling from the CMS missionary S M Spencer who was stationed in Rotorua. Following the planting of the peach tree, Te Pūrewa is credited with bringing the Pākeha potato into Te Urewera (Melbourne, 1999: 486). The introduction of the potato changed the Tūhoe style of land use. Land was now starting to be cleared for planting Pākeha crops of potato, corn and wheat.

The first recorded sections of land being cleared in Te Urewera were at Ōpōuriao in Ruatoki. For the first time in Tūhoe history the planting of a food source not acquired from the local environment or carried from a historical place in Tūhoe history was occurring. This was a real change, occurring as a result of the contact and engagement with Pākeha. Arguably, the change was a positive one, as opposed to the introduction of muskets. Best noted here that “Tūhoe were beginning to benefit from having a dependable crop in potatoes and meat in pigs” (Best, 1972: 531). The introduction of potatoes and pork into Te Urewera resulted in significant change to the landscape. The potato is attributed to opening up Ruatāhuna. Access to a range of tools such as axes and spades enabled clearings to be considerably larger (Best, 1972: 531). As Tūhoe developed the urge to plant and secure potato, the tools that were required to clear and cultivate the land were eagerly acquired and put to use. Almost 100 years on, anthropologist Peter Webster echoes similar views to Best describing the impact and of the potato on Tūhoe:
What is clear is that the Tūhoe suddenly had a dependable crop which could with some confidence be relied upon to provide an adequate supply of food. This undoubtedly made the Tūhoe feel more independent in their mountain fastness, for a vital section of their economy had been changed for the better. In a sense, the advent of the potato into the Urewera and its significance to the Tūhoe was as important to them as the introduction of the kumara to the warmer parts of the North Island. (Webster, 1979: 89)

Between the 1820s and 1830s, Tūhoe began using Pākeha technologies. Tūhoe initially encountered Pākeha technology by trading with the neighboring coastal tribes who were having regular contact with Pākeha (Best, 1972: 556-561). The main mode of travel around New Zealand at this time was via seagoing vessels, hence the coastal tribes were more exposed to Pākeha than that of landlocked tribes such as Tūhoe. Primarily, these coastal tribes, for Tūhoe, were Ngāti Awa (based around the current township of Whakatāne) and East Coast tribes of Ngāti Porou. The impression Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou had formed of Pākeha and Pākeha technology would have influenced the Tūhoe view.

The later part of 1830 is when Tūhoe began engaging with Pākeha outside of Tūhoe. Prior to this there was James Melbourne settling in the Ruatoki area, and contact with the missionary Spencer based in Rotorua. In the later part of the 1830s Tūhoe had secured and successfully farmed pigs, and began driving mobs of pigs to Auckland to trade with Pākeha (Best, 1972: 556). It is suggested by Best these pigs were procured from Cape Kidnappers where Captain Cook is believed to have released several on his early expedition to New Zealand. As each component of non-Tūhoe technology was adopted, its presence changed the Tūhoe lifestyle. Muskets changed the battle techniques, just as introduced crops changed the food gathering processes. With each new piece of technology came a new piece of language, knowledge and skill that was adopted and translated into the Tūhoe vernacular. These practices became infused and widespread as they were built onto the Tūhoe epistemology.

The later part of the 1830s saw the missionary movement beginning to take hold in the Bay of Plenty. The missionary J A Wilson, who was stationed in Ōpōtiki, convened a meeting with Tūhoe living in the Waimana Valley to ask them for help to build a chapel in Ōpōtiki. A number of Tūhoe were eventually baptised leading to a chapel being built in Ruatoki in 1842 (Best, 1972: 562).
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

The 1840s had Tūhoe experiencing a period of peace with its neighbouring tribes of Ngāti Awa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Ngāti Awa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui had resolved their tensions, enabling Tūhoe to relocate deep into Ngāti Awa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui territory to trade with Pākehā flax merchants in the Ohiwa harbor. Tūhoe were by now cultivating flax, and trading with the early traders Scott and McLeod, who established themselves in the Ohiwa harbour as the first traders to the district in the early 1840s (Monro cited by Sissons, 1996: 2). During this particular time Māori were still very much tribal entities with very fluid relationships with neighbouring tribes. Occasionally this meant moving from being an ally to being an enemy and vice versa. Peaceful times were relatively short-lived as tribes fell into conflict once again.

Peace between Tūhoe and neighboring tribes was witnessed by the Reverend William Williams on his first visit to Ruatāhuna, believed to be around 1840. He noted in his journal upon arrival into Ruatāhuna a great many Tūhoe were absent in Ruatoki and Whakatāne, busy planting corn for sale (Porter, 1974: 139). During the same visit, Williams noted the tribe numbered about 600 men. As Tūhoe began engaging with Pākehā technology and Pākehā processes it was not long before the impact of religion was to occur. Missionary outposts and resident missionaries were settling in the surrounding districts of Te Urewera. In April 1840, Pompallier the Catholic Bishop, arrived in Whakatāne to celebrate mass and established an outpost in Whakatāne. In June of 1842, Pompallier instructed Fathers Comte and Reine to establish a parish headquarters in Whakatāne to begin engagement with Māori inland from Whakatāne through to Taupo.

In February of 1844, two years on from the original instruction given by Pompallier, Father Jean Lampila was able to penetrate Te Urewera, travelling from Poverty Bay, teaching and baptising Māori. The rapport Lampila built with Māori earned him the name Rapira, a Māori transliteration of his surname. Documented by Brosnahan (1993) are details of the baptisms Rapira conducted in Waikaremōana from 1845 to 1848.

Increased missionary interaction with Tūhoe can perhaps be best illustrated by the comments of CMS missionary Brown who complained bitterly that the Roman Catholic missionaries appeared to indulge Tūhoe by handing over far too many blankets (Miles, 1999: 66). The assumption could be made that a warmer body may have been more receptive to the religion of the bearer of the blanket!
Missionary activity in and out of Te Urewera continued during 1841 through to 1843 when William Colenso and Claude Baty, Catholic priests of the Marist order, travelled through Ruatāhuna on route to Waikaremōana (Bagnall & Peterson, 1948: 116). Te Pūrewa, a key leading figure involved in the engagement of Tūhoe with horticulture and religion, died in 1842. Te Pūrewa was the central figure who supported the building of the first chapel built within Te Urewera, erected in Ruātoki in 1839 (Melbourne, 1999: 484-86).

From 1841 to 1843, missionaries began to have increasing contact in the central parts of Te Urewera. The Waimana, Ruātoki, and Waikaremōana districts were already familiar with the work of the missionaries, but Ruatāhuna and Maungapōhatu were just beginning to have regular contact. On one return trip to Ruatāhuna and Maungapōhatu the missionary Colenso discovered a number of Tūhoe had been taught to read and write by a Catholic priest Reine (Best, 1972: 562-63), however according to Webster (1979: 90) it was probably the priest Baty who visited Ruatāhuna with Colenso in 1841.

In 1847, a Mission was built at Ahikereru, a small settlement in the Te Whāiti valley. The Ahikereru mission was built and run by James C Preece. It had a relatively short life and was abandoned in 1852. Preece emerges again, setting up in Waiōhau establishing a mission by the Waiōhau stream, about three miles inland from Pupuaruhe (Starnes, 1967: 36). Initially when the Ahikereru mission was built, missionaries could move relatively unhindered through Te Urewera, largely due to the relationship that had developed between missionaries and Tūhoe (Webster, 1979: 91). Simmering under the tentative relationship between Missionaries and Pākeha, and Tūhoe was Tūhoe suspicion. Even though Tūhoe adopted with relative ease components and technology of Pākeha life there was still an inherent mistrust of Pākeha (Webster, 1979: 91). When Ahikereru closed there was no mission established in Te Urewera until Sister Annie Henry arrived in 1917, 70 years later (Webster, 1979: 91).

**Resident Magistrates**

The first direct Crown contact with Tūhoe was via the Resident Magistrate, established under the 1846 Resident Magistrates Courts Ordinance Act. The preamble to the Act states the aims of the legislation were “the more simple and speedy administration of justice” and “the
adaptation of law to the circumstances of both races” (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001: 28-29). The Ordinance provided Resident Magistrates with summary jurisdiction over disputes between Māori and non-Māori. In disputes involving only Māori, the Resident Magistrate was to be assisted by two Māori chiefs appointed as Native Assessors. These cases were to be determined according to equity and good conscience without being constrained by “strictly legal evidence”. In addition, the decision in each case was to be made by the two assessors, with intervention by the Magistrate only in cases of disagreement. Moreover, no judgment was to be carried into effect unless all three members of the Court unanimously agreed (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001: 28-29). The Resident magistrates were key agents in the underlying thrust of the Native District Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Circuit Courts Act 1858 of implementing an assimilation policy:

The preamble to the former Act states that it was passed “in order to promote the civilisation of the Native race” and, in providing for the limited introduction of British law into what were termed “native districts”, the Act implicitly acknowledged that these districts operated under their own, customary, laws. (Miles, 1999: 73)

At this time Tūhoe were still living a lifestyle that was based on Tūhoe cultural lore and Tūhoe law. Beginning to take hold were the teachings of the missionaries who were moving in and out of the district. However, it was not until the Resident Magistrates’ visit that there was an explicit move to establish a non-Tūhoe law as an authority to abide by.

In order for the Resident Magistrates to gain real traction in the Māori communities, Māori leaders were appointed as Native Assessors to implement the law of the resident magistrate (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001). The appointment of the Native Assessors were to provide a link that only people of the community could provide. This enabled the Resident Magistrates to successfully insert government law into Māori communities:

Māori assessors were critical to the success of the system. Their working with the Resident Magistrate helped identify [the Magistrate] as part of the local community, particularly where [Magistrates] involved themselves sympathetically with the people and treated the assessors as responsible lieutenants. This measure reinforced group cohesion by not appearing to the Māori as an appeal outside. Moreover, Māori assessors also frequently heard cases on their own . . . The critical factors contributing to the success of the Resident Magistrates system were
adequate consultation with the people of a district about what laws would apply and what part the chiefs should play in their enforcement. (Joseph, 1998: 10)

The Native Assessors specifically targeted leaders to ensure the work of the Resident Magistrate was implemented from a recognised community level of authority. To support the Native Assessors and Resident Magistrates, the Grey Government appointed Civil Commissioners. They had to establish a system that would enable government polices to be implemented into the districts driven by Native Assessors and the Resident Magistrate.

The Grey government had acknowledged that Māori held a rūnanga, (an infrastructure of maintaining tribal law and traditions in check) whereby the rūnanga enforced tribal law. The key function of the Civil Commissioners was to establish a system based on the rūnanga structure to provide the infrastructure to enable the Resident Magistrate to conduct the business of spreading Crown law. The structure was to comprise the resident magistrate, Māori chiefs, police, assessors and messengers under the direction of the Civil Commissioner (Miles, 1999: 74).

Through the Civil Commissioners, Grey had been able to create a structure that gave the resident magistrate a brief insight into the political and power struggles within iwi. The structure was named the District Rūnanga or Māori Rūnanga: maintaining the name rūnanga was political, the word held currency with Māori as it was a known structure within iwi. According to T. H. Smith, the first resident magistrate for the Bay of Plenty based in Maketu from 1843-46 (it is clear from comments directed to him from Sewell, the Attorney-General), that the mooted runanga system had a political motive, in that the Māori of the Bay of Plenty were becoming unsettled, hanging between submission to the Queen’s authority and adherence to the King movement:

It is of importance that no time should be lost in tranquillizing their minds, and securing their allegiance to the Government. (AJHR, 1862, e-9, sec 4: 3)

The influence of the King Movement was becoming a growing concern:

Governor Grey who was becoming anxious that Māori in the Bay of Plenty could become entrenched into following the King movement that was gaining momentum began paying people who took tasks on the Rūnanga bodies. Calling this the “new institutions” scheme, which would pay salaries to Māori assessors, wardens, and messengers. Grey hoped that these salaries that were being paid to
high profile Māori within the community and the provision of schools, hospitals, and other infrastructures would encourage other leading tribal figures to persuade their hapū to accept Grey’s offer and, implicitly, the rule of British law. (Ward, 1974: 125-146)

The Civil Commissioners established the District Rūnanga to operate within locally run Māori Rūnanga. Resident Magistrates would rely on this system to operate effectively. The new Māori Rūnanga were largely involved in dispute resolution and maintenance of civil order (Miles, 1999: 73). According to the Resident Magistrate, Hunter Brown of Wairoa, there is some evidence that Tūhoe participated in these early Rūnanga versions where Brown writes of Himiona of the Waikare area, a young chief whom Tūhoe held, according to Hunter Brown, to be “the cleverest and most influential man of Whakatāne”, “spoke with great weariness of his work in the purely Native Rūnanga” (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 30).

However it was not until 1862 that the Resident Magistrate appointed by the Crown in 1846 eventually made his way into Te Urewera. In response to the King movement, George Grey began promoting a system of partial self government for Māori tribes. In 1862 the resident magistrate for Wairoa, Charles Hunter Brown accompanied by an interpreter Fulloon were dispatched from Wairoa for Te Urewera. They made their way to the Ōpōtiki region in the Bay of Plenty to sell this notion of partial self governance (Parham, 1990).

During Brown’s Te Urewera visit, he notes that Tūhoe are one of the most remote and isolated tribes from Pākeha. In spite of limited Pākeha contact, Tūhoe were already adopting a view on Pākeha. This position was keenly felt by Brown in the reproaches levelled at him. Tūhoe had the advantage of observing the Pākeha-Māori relationships that were developing with the coastal tribes in the Bay of Plenty, and the East Coast in the Gisborne district. As a result of negative experiences between these tribes and Pākeha, Tūhoe opinion began shifting. They started to resent the intrusions of Pākeha into Te Urewera – even at these early stages (Miles, 1999: 74). Tūhoe resented the inhospitality shown by Pākeha to Māori. They cited Grey’s prohibition on gunpowder, the prices paid by Pākeha for Māori land and the recent war in Taranaki as reasons for their displeasure (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28).
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

Kīngitanga

Tūhoe were also cautious of the Grey policies that were being promoted by Brown and were extremely anxious that their authority over Te Urewera not be put at risk. By reflecting on the experiences of neighboring tribes, they knew that to accept the Brown’s Rūnanga system was to recognise the authority of the Crown in Te Urewera over the people and the land:

You urge these things on us that we may come under the Queen! Then away goes our land, and we become slaves to the Queen! The Queen comes coaxing [whakapatipati] us with money that she may get the ‘mana’ of the land. (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 30)

At this time Tūhoe commitment to the Kīngitanga [King Movement] was growing. What was becoming apparent to Tūhoe was that the Kīngitanga was a mechanism to oppose the intrusion of Pākeha and the Crown. It offered a view for Māori to maintain their undisputed authority over their districts. During these visits Brown reports:

Herein are seen the strength of the [Tūhoe] opposition to us, and of their adherence to the [Māori] King; fear for their land, fear for their nationality, fear “lest they should be made slaves to the Queen.” (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28)

The Kīngitanga Movement emerged out of a meeting in Pukawa on the shores of Lake Taupo in 1857, present at this meeting were a large Tūhoe contingent, where 37 tribes gave their allegiance to the Kīngitanga. Tūhoe who were present were active in their support of the Kīngitanga. Many North Island tribes lay aside their parochial tribal positions in order to develop a growing tribal nationalism body that would protect and maintain tribal authority over its districts and people (Cowan, 1983b: 151). A year on from the meeting in Pukawa, Tūhoe pledge the sacred mountain Maungapōhatu as a symbolic allegiance by Tūhoe to the first appointed Māori King Potatau Te Wherowhero (Melbourne, 1987: 44). Despite this Brown was still optimistic that Tūhoe was not entirely supportive of the Kīngitanga and factions were in fact swaying in their support towards him:

In 1862, though, Hunter Brown reported Tūhoe “hesitation and doubt” as to the Māori King, but “in the minds of some a decided hankering to support him.” (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28)

Brown was clear that to support the Kīngitanga was to oppose the authority of the Crown. His policies and the Kīngitanga were entirely incompatible. Browns further states that Tūhoe were not unanimous in their support of the Kīngitanga going as far as to name Tūhoe people
who were ambivalent to the Kīngitanga offering their support to the Crown. According to Brown, Paerau of Īpūtao, Te Mānīhera of Tātāhoata, Himiona of Waikarēwhenua, Mohi of Maungapōhatu, and Anania Rakuraku of Waimana were cautious but offered him their qualified assent to explore the possibilities of adopting Grey’s Rūnanga proposals. They offered to take the new policies he was promoting to a wider hapū meeting to discuss with the view of adopting (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28).

What was made clear to Brown was that this was by no means a guarantee of Tūhoe support, rather it was a view not to decline the policies at this stage but to continue the discussion. Brown’s frustration at this moving nebulous body of decision makers emerges here in his comments referring to Himiona, (an ardent supporter) who expresses his support for the Rūnanga poetically as a seat that needed to be taken charge of. Himiona claimed he would take the seat and the legs of the chair upon which it was proposed to place him, lest he be capsized by Pākeha (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28). Brown knowing this would not guarantee him the Tūhoe control stated:

> I have thought since that if the Māoris are to have the seat and its legs, we Pakehas shall have the very floor on which the seat rests – money. Take away that and I fear that he and his chair too would very soon drop out of sight. (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 30)

Brown was beginning to understand he was delivering a message to Tūhoe who were just experiencing contact with the missionaries (pushing their particular order of authority) and the quickly emerging Kīngitanga Movement. So in actual fact, he was the deliverer of a third order of authority. It became eminently clearer was that Tūhoe were becoming confused with the message being delivered from the Crown and the message being delivered by missionaries. Not only did Tūhoe feel they had to choose between Kīngitanga and the Crown, they also felt they had to choose between the Crown and the missionaries, as is expressed here by Tūhoe:

> “Whom do you come from?” said he, “from the Governor? Ah! that is enough! Had you come from the Bishop, it would have been all right! Why did the missionaries tell us nothing of all this? Why did not they tell us of another law to follow? Why was not Mr Spencer (missionary at Tarawera) sent to preach this law to us? He is not far off.” (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28-9)
From the comment above it appears Tūhoe still maintained the position there could not be an authority other than theirs over Te Urewera. Brown held the view that the Catholic Marist priests who were stationed in Whakatāne and Te Waimana were responsible for the negative political influence reporting the following comment as typical of the remonstrations he received from Catholic Tūhoe:

In the beginning you brought me the faith [whakapono]. I received it blindly. I have since seen the wrong [he] of it; now you bring me another law, I am going to be more cautious. Yours is a land-taking man-destroying Church. The French are nice people; they don’t take land! You have deserted the faith, and set up the Queen as your God. (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 28)

Reference to French here can only have come from the contact with the French Marist order of Fathers Jean Lampila, Comte and Reignier (also spelt Reine) who were operating out of the outpost they established under Bishop Pompallier in 1842. Out of these comments by Brown was that Tūhoe were gaining an understanding of Brown’s central message – that Tūhoe were to live their lives by the way of the Crown, and this way of living was quite different to the lifestyle that was being asked of them to consider by the missionaries.

Unfortunately for Brown, the issues that were swirling around the early Pākeha traders were viewed by Tūhoe and Māori as reflecting the lifestyle Brown represented. These people were living under the rules and conditions of the Crown. Brown and his translator Fulloon were continually being asked to justify and explain the apparent general rule of the traders:

Let the Governor send us a trader to buy dear and sell cheap; then indeed for the first time will we believe in his love for us! (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 34)

The large percentage of resistance that Brown was experiencing by Tūhoe in taking up the offer of forming Rūnanga under the Crown structure had issues relating to trade. Tūhoe having the benefit of hindsight watching what was happening to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou Māori suffering from the traders interested in making a bargain were very wary:

Poor fellows – they can’t for the life of them understand how the Governor can stop [gun] powder and grog, and not cheapen trade. (AJHR, 1862, e-9: 32)

However despite this growing view among Tūhoe towards the Crown, Brown records in summary form the general consensus of Marae where meetings were held. Brown does note
there was great debate and discussion in each meeting where eventually a general consensus of support for the rūnanga was given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Comments from each settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taoroa:</td>
<td>Hesitation; avowed neutrality, accompanied by avowed expectation that their neutrality and watching will end in coming over to the Queen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahikereru:</td>
<td>Same; more professed adhesion to King. Hamiora, chief and teacher, thinks well of the ‘tikangas’ and evidently expected them to be carried out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ōpūtāo:</td>
<td>Consent and co-operation of Pairau [Paerau], the chief. Indifference of rest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatahoata:</td>
<td>Consent, but with reserve and distrust. Consent and cooperation of Te Manihera, chief and teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahora:</td>
<td>Same; approval of the chief Te Whenuanui, accompanied, I think, by some lingering distrust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuapuku:</td>
<td>Chief, Kawana. Intention to receive the new things, but with exceeding caution; ready to drop them at the first sign of treachery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikare-whenua:</td>
<td>Assent; co-operation of Himiona, chief and R Catholic teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruatoki:</td>
<td>Assent; Te Matenga, chief, decidedly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waimana:</td>
<td>Assent; chief Anania cordially so.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(AJHR, 1862, e-9: 34)

By analysing the marae visited by Brown, he was able to gain the initial support of the leaders from each of the above listed marae. The leaders by giving their initial support to Brown provided him an opportunity to present the governmental strategies to these communities.

To Tūhoe, the Government was committed to impose a new set of rules for Tūhoe to abide by. Central to Tūhoe apprehension of the Crown was the real threat of losing land, losing control of Tūhoe resources and losing the Tūhoe way of life. Tūhoe were watching the aggressive wave of Pākeha expansion that was threatening the Māori lifestyle in the 1860s and because of this a considerable number of Tūhoe began following the Kīngitanga.

Hunter Brown interprets this as not all Tūhoe were entirely committed to the Kīngitanga. The events in Taranaki acted as a catalyst to get Tūhoe to support the Kīngitanga, similarly it was also getting Tūhoe to support the Crown. Tūhoe could see how far the Crown was willing to
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

go to enforce its authority. Brown also notes that Tūhoe where unanimous in their condemnation of the Crown’s actions in Taranaki which is attributed to some Tūhoe not supporting the rūnanga system he was trying to implement (AJHR, 1862, e-9). Despite this turmoil of events and differing views towards the Crown, Brown still held to the view there was a cohort of Te Urewera leaders who were still willing to consider the Grey rūnanga system. This is with the proviso that Tūhoe retained a real authority in the process, a point made explicitly clear by Himiona, a key spokesman for the Ahikereru kāinga of Te Whāiti (AJHR, 1862, e-9).

In July 1863, Governor Grey invades the Waikato, sparking the bloody Waikato campaign. Tūhoe and Crown relations because of this are ratcheted to an all-time low with immense tension between Crown and Tūhoe. The impact this invasion has on Tūhoe goes back to 1858 in a meeting held in Pukawa located in the Tuwharetoa district where the Māori King, Potatau Te Wherowhero was appointed. Tūhoe were present at this meeting and Piripi Te Heuheu of Maungapōhatu pledged their commitment and allegiance to the Kīngitanga, by offering the Tūhoe sacred Mountain of Maungapōhatu as a symbol – a perpetual covenant of Tūhoe allegiance (Melbourne & Milroy, 1995: 100).

Ōrākau: Waikato Invasion

This section specifically deals with the contact that occurred as a result of the Grey government’s decision to attack Waikato. This decision was a response to the King Movement [Kīngitanga]. The attack was an attempt to destabilise this movement. The Grey invasion into the Waikato forced Tūhoe to decide if they would provide military assistance. Tūhoe were an eclectic grouping of sub-tribes [hapū] each with varying support for the Kīngitanga. Divergent views were also present in those hapū who were supportive of the Kīngitanga when it came to showing their commitment to provide military support.

By 1864, Tūhoe were still divided in their decision to provide military support to the Kīngitanga. There was, however, a section of Tūhoe who were keen. The decision reached by those who were determined to assist could be attributed to a visit late in 1863 by Rewi
Maniapoto\textsuperscript{57}, the central figure in holding the last battle in the Waikato that occurred at Ōrākau. Maniapoto’s visit through to the Rangitāiki district and Te Urewera was to muster military support for the battle that would ultimately take place in Ōrākau. However there is some discrepancy whether in fact Maniapoto himself visited or emissaries on his behalf. According to Cowan (1983b: 367-368), Maniapoto in person conducted this visit, travelling to Tauaroa, Ahikerereu, and Ruatāhuna, where Tūhoe retired to Ōpūtāo to consider his request. Temara (1993: 529) suggests that Maniapoto sent emissaries instead to secure support. Regardless of who attended it was clear by early 1864 a clear cohort of Tūhoe was ready to depart. The conservative position taken by other sections of Tūhoe who whilst united in their condemnation of the Government invasion of Waikato, were divided on the issue of travelling outside their rohe to confront Government forces (Miles, 1999: 98). The party that ultimately travelled through to the Waikato are direct ancestors of mine. We believe that Piripi Te Heuheu is my great-great-great-grandfather. My great, great grandmother’s brother Te Anewa travelled with this party, accompanied by their father Piripi Te Heuheu who was also known as Piripi Takotowhare. The confusion here is that Best writes that Te Anewa’s father died of old age in Ruatāhuna. What we know is that Te Anewa’s father Piripi was in fact killed at Ōrākau. Other key figures in the travelling party were Boogie’s adoptive parents, Paitini Wi Tapeka and his wife Te Waiohine (Makurata).

\textsuperscript{57} Manga, later called Rewi Maniapoto, was born in Waikato early in the 19th century. He was the direct descendant and namesake of his founding tribal ancestor, Maniapoto. Rewi was educated according to his rank and Ngāti Maniapoto custom. He became known by Māori and Pākeha for his oratory, political debate and leadership, knowledge of traditional customs and practices, and military skills. Rewi was greatly influenced by missionary teaching and the agricultural practices which the missionaries introduced. He became literate, acquired knowledge of Scripture and was an enthusiastic advocate of the new agriculture. In the 1850s Rewi began to emerge as a prominent supporter of the King movement. He raised the King’s flag at Ngaruawahia in 1858 when Te Wherowhero was installed as King. In November 1859 he was one of five signatories to an edict passed by the King's runanga prohibiting European magistrates and roads within their territory, and stating that no Māori should be imprisoned in the governor's gaol. Rewi returned from Taranaki convinced that the government intended to undermine Māori authority (te tino rangatiratanga) over their nationality and their land. Some of the King movement leaders believed that the Treaty of Waitangi confirmed that a relationship of equality would continue, allowing Māori a degree of autonomy. Rewi mobilised much support for his point of view among Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato. In March 1863, in response to what appeared to be provocative and suspicious acts by the government, Rewi organised a party which sacked John Gorst’s office at Otawhao and ousted the government magistrate from Waikato. Gorst was seen to be undermining the authority of the King. His expulsion marked Rewi's control over King Movement politics and was an indication of his determination to act while others procrastinated. Rewi's realistic outlook led him to conclude that the British intended to invade Waikato unless the King movement was abandoned. On 8 July 1863 Governor George Grey ordered Lieutenant General Duncan Cameron to begin an invasion of Waikato. Rewi responded to the invasion by leading Ngāti Maniapoto military forces in the ensuing war in Waikato. He fought with great energy throughout the campaign. Although he advised against making a stand at Ōrākau, near Kihikihi, in April 1864, he led by example against great odds (Henare, 1990).
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

Piripi Te Heuheu was the key Tūhoe influence that resulted in a party travelling through to the Waikato, upon hearing of the plight of the Kīngitanga stated in 1864:

I and my people will march to show sympathy for the island in trouble. Piripi Te Heuheu of Tūhoe. (Best, 1972: 567)

This period was a defining time for Tūhoe. Layered behind the debate to offer support to Maniapoto in the Waikato, would be the residual effect this would have on the Crown’s perspective of Tūhoe. The sub-tribes of Tūhoe in the Te Whāiti and Ruatāhuna areas were unwavering in their support, and ultimately constituted the majority of those who travelled to Waikato. On the other hand, the Tūhoe sections of Waimana and Ruatoki did not travel through to Waikato (Best, 1972: 566). Cowan (1983b) writes too, that it was the people of Ruatāhuna and Te Whāiti that answered the call from Maniapoto.

Perhaps the reason for the Ruatoki and Waimana hapū abstaining from engaging in the Waikato wars was that they were located in relatively accessible areas to the Crown. They may well have been concerned with the possible outcomes of attracting retaliatory actions to the region. Increased Pākeha access into these fringe settlements of Tūhoe may have provided an insight of the Crown’s determination which may not have been that visible to inland Tūhoe. And as such, land locked sub-tribes located in the Ruatāhuna and Te Whāiti districts quickly committed their support to Waikato Ruatāhuna whereas Ruatoki and Waimana did not.

Tūhoe gathered in the Ruatāhuna settlement of Ōpūtāo to debate the merits for and against supporting Waikato. The debates were lively and animated with a number of compositions sung and performed. They touched on the historical connections Tūhoe, the ancestor himself, had forged through his marriage to a Waikato woman from Ngāti Te Ata, through to his death in the Waikato settlement of Kawhia, where he is interred to this day in an underwater cavern (Best, 1972: 252). Further insight into the relationship that was forged between Tūhoe and Waikato by Dr Hirini Melbourne records the historical link that was established when Te Pūrewa of Tūhoe and Tukorehu of Waikato met in Te Whāiti. Tukorehu had travelled from Waikato to Te Whāiti for the sole reason of attacking Tūhoe (the reason for this is uncertain), however, as recorded by the late Dr Pei Jones when these two leaders met, neither warrior could defeat the other in battle, resulting in a reconciliation and peace being established between them.
Dr Pei Jones (1960: 94-95) offers this as a reason why sections of Tūhoe were so willing to support the call of Maniapoto. Melbourne also supports this notion of Jones in that the relationships that had been forged over time with Waikato were strong reasons for Tūhoe travelling through to the Waikato (Melbourne, 1987: 43).

In these debates at Ōpūtāo, Piripi Te Heuheu re-emphasised Tūhoe’s commitment to the Kīngitanga where the sacred mountain Maungapōhatu was offered as a symbol to represent this (Melbourne & Milroy, 1995: 100).

Piripi was a strong advocate in sending a war party through to Waikato before the Pākeha contingent found its way through to Te Urewera, however on the other hand, Te Ahoaho and Te Whenuanui other key Tūhoe leaders were adamant that some of the reasons Piripi offered to support Waikato were their very reasons not to support the Waikato campaign. They took the view that Tūhoe should confine their interests to Te Urewera, only resorting to armed resistance when Tūhoe’s tribal borders were threatened (Temara, 1993: 529). The discussions that took place at Ōpūtāo were largely divided between those who supported Te Whenuanui and Te Ahoaho and the minority who supported Piripi Te Heuheu. Piripi Te Heuheu was one of the last surviving graduates from the ancient Tūhoe schools of higher learning – Wharemaire (see picture 3) who was pushing that Tūhoe should march at once without delay to Waikato stating:

Listen to my word, o Tūhoe! The island is in anguish. I propose that Tūhoe here assembled do greet the land that the men may be in advance, while the land lies behind. (Best, 1972: 566-570)

To which chief Te Ahoaho rose with the counter-argument stating the following:

My idea is this – Give heed to it Tūhoe! Tawharautia a Mataatua – [Let Matatua be sheltered]. Leave it, secure from harm, in the shed. (Best, 1972: 566-570)

During this meeting historical and political connections were being drawn for and against supporting the campaigns in the Waikato. What was not lost on Tūhoe was the fact that should Tūhoe decide to attend there was a high chance a number of Tūhoe would not return, and also to a lesser extent was what the Crown’s view of Tūhoe would be. To support his position of supporting the campaign Piripi Te Heuheu composed and sang the following two
songs, each drawing on the historical and political reasons why Tūhoe needed to support the call to arms by Maniapoto:

Puhi kura, puhi kura, puhi kura  
Ka whakatautapa ki Kawhia  
Huakina! Huaki!  
Ka whakakopu ra Rua-rangi  
Hape, teina o Tupateka  
Huakina!  
Tahi ka riri, toru ka wha  
He matamata. Hopukia!  
Homai ra to whiri kaha, toro kaha kia wetewetea  
A-te ! A-ta! A-tau!  
Waikato i te muri e  
Whakarongo mai ra  
Ka whai au i te tonga o te ra  
Tukua ano ka haratau taku hoe  
Ka rere wharawhara te whenua kia manawa  
Aha ma tauā ta tauā nei mahi.  
Ka tohe au, ka tohe au, ka tohe au  
Ki Wai-kato ki tuku karaka  
I whakaura i te waru e tu nei Tiki  
Kia kutia-au! Au!  
Kia wheraia-au! Au!  
Kia rere atu te kekeno ki tawhiti  
Titiro mai ai  
A-e, A-e, a !  
Tenei ku-kutia, tenei ko-kopia  
I te tohe mai koe tena wherahia  
He aha he kai ma te neho kehokeho  
He keho ano, tu ana te kehokeho  
Ngaua ki o niho he mamec poto  
Kai pakoko, kai tua te ra Waikure tihe.  
E uhi tai, uhi tai !  
E uhi tai ana koa!  
Ngā haemanga kai Wai-kato  
Kai tutuki to wae wae i te poro o te paewai  
E uhi tai, uhi tai !  
Tukua mai ana te riri  
I raro i a Muri-whenua  
I a Te Mahaia ra  
E hara ra teke pakupaku e koe  
Kai te uru, kai te tonga  
E kai te rakau pakeke  
Kihi – aue !  
(The expression kekeno and paewai in the above are used to denote Europeans. Tiki is said to have been the name of the Māori king’s flag). (Best, 1972: 567-8)
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

The following is another puha war song sung by Piripi at the same Ōpūtao hui:

Uhi mai te waero ko roto ko taku puta
He puta aha te puta
He puta tohu te puta
E rua nei ko te puta – hu!
Ko ngā ngirangira te whitau
Ko ngā hotahota o te whitau tapahia – na –e ho
Ka awheawhe te rua tamariki – ka – e ho
Nau ano i whai mai ki aku nui – ka – e ho
I kite ai au –ka – e ho
I taku tau ropi – ka e ho
I te ra nui o te tara o te whitau tapahia hotu-ina –e ho.
(Best, 1972: 567-8)

Te Ahoaho at this point of the meeting continued to build his argument by stating the tribal boundaries of the Mataatua canoe that cover the tribal territory of Tūhoe needed to be sheltered. He maintained that Tūhoe should hold fast to their territory, not wishing for Tūhoe to venture out of the tribal lands, instead remaining to protect the tribal borders. This position was quickly supported by Te Whenuanui who stated:

I agree that Mataatua shall be sheltered, for the fighting is coming near to us.
(Best, 1972: 566-570)

Thus the bulk of the tribe agreed to remain at home and guard the tribal lands. Then Piripi Te Heuheu stood alone. He said:

I agree to your remaining here, but I and my people will march to show my sympathy for the island in trouble. (Best, 1972: 566-570)

Te Ahoaho and Te Whenuanui’s view was ultimately adopted by the majority of Tūhoe assembled at Ōpūtao. At the conclusion of the meeting a small party led by Piripi Te Heuheu numbering approximately 20 left for the Waikato. According to Cowan, the group led by Piripi assisted Ngāti Maniapoto in the lower Waikato (Best, 1972: 566).

Piripi Te Heuheu led his party of supporters from Ruatāhuna, leaving behind Te Whenuanui. Contemplating his decision to remain, Te Whenuanui was hit with the reality that Piripi had indeed left. Te Whenuanui quickly changed his mind and pursued Piripi, abandoning his decision to shelter Mataatua. Best gives an interesting and insightful account of the issues that resulted in this change of heart:
The reason why he changed his mind and followed the trail of war was that he feared that Piripi would jeer at him and make some taunting remark, such as: Some stayed at home as women, while others went as men to war. (Best, 1972: 567)

According to the accounts noted in Best, Te Whenuanui eventually caught up with Piripi at Aratiatia, near Maungatautari deep within the southern border of Waikato. It was here that Te Whenuanui and Piripi dispatched a messenger to make contact with Rewi Maniapoto. When approached, Rewi Maniapoto promptly returned with the messenger to meet with Tūhoe. At this point in time Maniapoto had been involved in a lengthy series of battles with the Crown and had experienced firsthand the tactics that the Crown militia used. With this insight into the type of fighting the militia employed Maniapoto tried in vain to dissuade Tūhoe from choosing the Ōrākau Pa site as their chosen battlefield (Best, 1972: 570).

The main reason Maniapoto was not comfortable in launching a further attack on the Crown was that he had received a vision warning of disaster should they remain and fight at Ōrākau whereupon he sang the following song:

Tokotokona na te hau tawaho koi toko atu  
I kite ai au i Remu-taka ra  
I kite ai au ma tuku kui ki Wai-mata –e  
Tohungia mai e te kokoreke ra  
Katahi nei hoki ka kitea te karoro tu-a-wai  
I tu awaa wa ra  
Ma te kahore anake e noho toku whenua  
Kai tua te ra e whiti ana  
E noho ana ko te koko koroki  
I ata kiki tau  
(Best, 1972: 570)

The following is the quote documented in Best that Maniapoto is said to have used to address the Tūhoe who were gathered at Aratiatia, before the above song was performed in an attempt to dissuade Tūhoe from attacking the Crown:

Listen to me, O Tūhoe! Give heed to my words. Waikato is destroyed. I alone am the survivor. Mark what I say, if we fight, as you propose, then I alone will survive. Observe the words of the song. I have seen the evil omens, the lone gull on the waters. Should I again fight the white man, then no one but kore [a negative] shall dwell on my lands. (Best, 1972: 570)
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Te Whenuanui and Piripi sought Maniapoto’s approval (as the authority over the lands that Ōrākau occupied) to give to them – Tūhoe – the pā site, so that Tūhoe could launch an attack on the Crown.

Te Whenuanui is said to have addressed Maniapoto as:

The reason of our sending for you is this, that you give us Ōrākau as a place for us to use our guns and ammunition. They are too heavy to carry all this way for nothing. (Best, 1972: 570)

This statement is further clarified by Best in that Tūhoe were not keen to return to Te Urewera without fighting after having travelled a considerable distance from Ruatāhuna through to Ōrākau. It was through Tūhoe’s persistence and determination to fight that eventually persuaded Maniapoto and his people to remain and entrench themselves alongside them at Ōrākau. Tūhoe were to get their wish (Best, 1972: 566-70).

The following is an account of the Ōrākau battle given to Best by Paitini Wi Tapeka. Writing this section of the chapter as mentioned has a very close personal connection to my family, Paitini Wi Tapeka and his wife Te Waiohine adopted Mum’s older brother Boogie who I’m partly named after. This part of Tūhoe history featured widely in many of the early conversations held with Boogie. After reading this account given to Best as recorded in the book Tūhoe, The Children of the Mist, it was felt rather than paraphrase or summarise, that the full account be provided here. My uncle, who was brought up by Paitini made the connection very real for me. Here I was sitting with a man who had lived with another man who had fought at Ōrākau. The thud and smell of cordite every musket fired is painfully felt and heard when reading this account:

Even so when Venus was seen flashing above the horizon, we marched to Ōrākau. All that night we toiled at building that fort, men and women working hard. We erected two lines of earthworks. At grey dawn we went and pulled down some fences, using the timber as palisades which we erected before the outer earthwork. There was no entrance way in the outer line of defence, but there was four such in the inner one. A low wall, a platform, was built inside the earthworks, on which we knelt when firing over the defences. We also built a small earthwork defence outside the main one, with which it was connected by means of an excavated way. Four men occupied the small defence throughout the fighting. We took no rest until these works were finished. Our numbers within Ōrākau amounted to about 400 once told, 200 brace of men.
We did not have time to finish that fort in a proper manner and provision it when the European soldiers surrounded us. We of Tūhoe had no food except pumpkins, which we ate raw, as we had no fuel. It was in the morning that we saw the hosts of the white soldiers advancing to attack O-rakau. They were very numerous. I then saw what a numberless people are the Pākeha. They covered the land.

Then arouse Hapurona Kohi, a famed fighting man of Tūhoe, a descendant of Maro who devastated Te Whāti. He had a gun in each hand, one a tupara [double-barrel shot gun], the other a hakimana [flintlock musket]. He said – O Tūhoe! Be stouthearted in the fray. Let the enemy approach close before you fire on him. When his hand is about to grasp you, then let the guns resound. But Rewi Maniapoto said; “Not so. If you allow the soldiers to come up to the defences, you will perish. They will not retire. Keep them at a distance. You would kill the first, but the others would still come on.”

Hapurona bounded onto the earthworks. The soldiers were now quite close. We were armed with double-barrelled fowling pieces and flintlock muskets. Each man had two bandolier cartridge belts and some wore three, full of cartridges. Just the Hapurona cried: Puhia [fire], and we fired upon the soldiers. Then we heard the cries of the soldiers chiefs to their men, and the applauding shouts of our women. Do not say it is wrong to allow women to accompany a war party, for they encourage us and urge us on in fine style. About this time Piki mounted the defences and five soldiers fell to him before he himself was killed. The soldiers were driven back. We fired as fast as we could load. Some men had two guns, and a person told of to load them. The cartridge makers worked in an underground chamber. They worked incessantly at making cartridges. When a man’s hamau [cartridge box] was empty, he ran to that place to refill it, or the women carried them to us.

We fought the soldiers all that day until night fell. Many Pākeha fell on that first day. The fighting continued for two days and a night. On the second day a great force of soldiers assaulted O-rakau. Hapurona proposed that we should leave the pā and charge the soldiers, but Rewi said: “Do not leave the pā. The soldiers have now sat firmly down. They will not retire. We cannot drive them off, but during the coming night [i.e. the third day], then it will be well to charge out of our fort.” And all the chiefs assented.

We slew many soldiers during the first few days. We had no food for two days and two nights. Fighting was our only food. What helped Tūhoe during the fighting was the way in which they tightly cinched their cartridge belts, so as to compress the stomach. This prevented the feeling of faintness caused by hunger. I tell you that fighting was our food, but we ate some raw pumpkins as a relish for that diet. Some of our young men stole out of the fort and proceeded to where some white pine trees were seen. They climbed up to the tops of those trees to gather koroi, the berries thereof. But the soldiers saw them up in the trees and there shot them.

During the second day of the fight was seen a Pākeha method of fighting. Bags were filled with earth and placed so as to protect the heads of the soldiers. Those soldiers had become cautious and kept at a distance while firing at us. They had
also separated more then they had on the first day. So the braves of Tūhoe pondered as to how this method of fighting might be met. Then Kauae-roa of Tūhoe said that he could accomplish it. The chiefs asked; “How will it be done by you?” He replied: “Wait until the dusk of evening comes.” It was agreed to. In the evening Kauae-roa sized his patiti [hatchet, tomahawk]. The soldiers were digging a ditch [sap] near the pā. Some were in front, throwing out the earth. Behind them were soldiers. Now Kauae-roa sprang from his position to the head of the sap. Four yards was the distance he leaped. With a blow of his tomahawk he killed the foremost man in that ditch, and shouted in triumph: “Kai i au te ika i te ati.” Then were heard the applauding cries of the garrison. When that leading man in the ditch was slain we thought the rest of those soldiers would retire, but they did not.

On the third day the end came. The Europeans assembled their multitude of soldiers, they had dug their ditch around the side of the fort until it was near our defences. It was filled with soldiers, and many more were collected in the hollow from which they had commenced the ditch. Then the bugles sounded and the soldiers assaulted O-rakau. The smaller outer defence was taken by them. Then we left, and so fell O-rakau. We were driven away from that fort just like a flock of sheep. The soldiers were behind us, and on both sides. They shot us and stabbed us continually with their bayonets. Friend! We were driven for miles. The only thing that enabled a few to escape was the swamp; that swamp was our salvation. It was the cause of the pursuit lagging. Thirty of Tūhoe were slain at O-rakau, about 20 of us escaped. Of the eight Tūhoe women who were in the pā three were killed. One of them was the wife of Tamarau Waia. Tamarau himself had a narrow escape. A bullet struck his patu [native weapon] which was stuck in his belt, and glance off it. My father was killed at O-rakau, but I shot three soldiers to square that account.

When we left the defences we did so in a body, chiefs, fighting men, women and young people. The soldiers almost surrounded us and many of our people were slain, and many wounded. I loaded my gun, a double-barrel, while running. An old man of Tūhoe was in front of me. He fell, shot through the hips. As I passed him, he said: “Son, this is the end. Be strenuous to save yourself”. The soldiers were firing into us all the time. A fence, overgrown with fern stood in front. As we scrambled over it, we saw more soldiers before us, a long double line of them. We rushed that line. They shot us and stabbed us with bayonets. We strove to break that line. As we reached it a soldier tried to bayonet me. I parried the point and shot that soldier. He fell against the next man who shook him off, as a man from the rear line stepped forward into the vacant space. I shot that man with my second barrel and darted through the line. I had not run far when I fell, shot through the thigh. I feared that the soldiers would bayonet me so I crawled away into cover, dragging my gun with me. I lay under cover and reloaded my gun. The soldiers rushed past me in pursuit of others, but the Māori were much more active, especially in the swamp. I kept under cover until night fell, then I crawled away into the swamp. I had to drag my wounded leg along, it had lost all power. I found some foul water in a hole and drank much of it. As I proceed I found muddy water in horse tracks, and that helped me. We few survivors of Tūhoe met together at Aotea-roa. Tapiki cut the bullet out of my leg. Then I got a stick and walked home to Rua-tahuna. There were many of us wounded. Te Whenuanui had been shot in the knee. Another was shot in the breast, the bullet passing through his body and
coming out near the shoulder. We returned to Rua-tahuna by way of Te Whāiti. We had one horse, also badly wounded, with us, and those most severely wounded took it in turn to ride it. That was how we returned home.

When we arrived at Rua-tahuna, we marched onto the plaza of the hamlet, where we were met by the widows of those who fell at O-rakau. They formed up in line to greet us with reproaches for having been defeated and losing so many slain. These woman had prepared for this function by donning ragged garments. They sung to us the following song, which had been composed for the occasion. These class of song is known as whakatea or manawa-wera;

I hoki mai koe, E Te Whenua-nui! For what reason, O Te Whenua-nui!
Ki te aha? Didst thou return?
Tē mate atu ai i te unuhanga o te Better hadst thou died. When fell the
pahi o Mātātua pride of Matatua
Ka mahora ki te riu ki Wai-kato Stretched out in Waikato valley
Ki te aroaro o Mania-poto In the sight of Mania-poto
I tangi ai te pu repo Twas there pealed forth the cannon
Ka tutu te puehu ki runga o te rangi That disturbed the very heavens
Ka turakina mai taku wao totara Prone lay my noble totara wood
E tu ki te awa ki Mahihi-rangi, ki Te That grew by Mahihi-rangi stream, by
Wai-reko Te Wai-riko
Ko ngā wai e rua ki Whakatāne, ki At both the two great rivers at
Rangi-taiki Whakatāne, at Rangi-taiki.
I tangi taukuri ai ngā pouaru Loudly wail the widows
Aue! Taku kuru pounamu ka riro –e Alas! My precious jewel, thou art gone

(Past, 1971: 570-76)

Piripi Te Heuheu and his wife Mere were among the casualties from Ōrākau, leaving Te Whenuanui to take the brunt of Tūhoe widows’ pain and anguish expressed through the composed manawa-wera noted above. Presumably Te Whenuanui was the target for derision in the chant as Piripi the Tūhoe leader who was unwavering in his commitment in travelling through to Ōrākau had been killed. Tūhoe lost thirty people at Ōrākau, and those who survived were badly wounded. Paitini gives the following shortened list killed at Ōrākau, where three of the six women who accompanied the war party were killed:

Piripi Te Heuheu and his wife Mere, Te Kaho, Rakuraku, Te Parahi, Wiremu Tapeka (Paitini’s father), Paiheke, Te Teira, Penehio, Kaperiere, Hoera, Reweti te Whakahuru and his wife Marata Kopakopa. (Cowan, 1983b: 403)
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It is difficult to ascertain whether the initial fears of Te Whenuanui and Te Ahoaho were founded in having the Crown launch an attack directly on Tūhoe as a result of their involvement at Ōrākau. What is to become evidently clear is this was not the last time Tūhoe would lose lives in settling their differences with the Crown. What Ōrākau gave Tūhoe was an insight into the determination and tactics employed by Pākeha and the Crown. This period, from the build up through to the return from Ōrākau was a defining point for Tūhoe; Tūhoe laid aside tribal differences, uniting in their resistance towards the overwhelming spread of the Crown through the tribal territories. Tūhoe positioned themselves alongside the growing number of Māori tribes that were opposing further Crown encroachment.

This concludes the Ōrākau discussion with Tūhoe returning to Te Urewera defeated and having felt the full might of the Crown’s determination to settle and apply their rule of authority over the land. The next key event to occur within Te Urewera would be the Paimārie movement.

Paimārie and Tribal Conflict

Te Ua Haumene was the founder and prophet of the Hauhau church, the first organised expression of an independent Māori Christianity. He was born into the Taranaki tribe at Waiaua, in South Taranaki, in the early 1820s. His career as a prophet spanned only the last four years of his life; during this period he discarded his baptismal name, Horopapera [Zerubbabel]. He used the names Tuwhakararo Tutawake in late 1862 and in 1864 took the spiritual name Haumene (Head, 2006). Te Ua aligned himself with leaders who were opposed to the selling of land, who supported the King Movement fighting against the Government and acted as a chaplain to the Māori soldiers. A growing discontent towards missionaries was emerging among Taranaki Māori as a result of land sales that were viewed by Taranaki Māori as breaching customary law. This became the central position of the religious teachings by Te Ua. The right to defend territorial boundaries remained a cornerstone of his teaching of the Hauhau faith (Head, 2006).

A government patrol was attacked by followers of the Hauhau faith at Ahuahu in Taranaki on 6th April 1864. The government soldiers that were killed were decapitated and their heads preserved in the Māori traditional manner. Te Ua was the guardian of these heads, which
were considered a sign of conquest over evil. The attention this act drew from both Māori and Pākeha defined Hauhau as a warlike religion-terming the phrase Hauhauism (Head, 2006).

In December 1864 Te Ua instructed two messengers, Patara Raukatauri and Kereopa Te Rau, to travel to the east coast to Gisborne. Disregarding the instructions or deciding not to take the direct route from Taranaki to Gisborne Patara and Kereopa travelled instead through Te Urewera and onto Ōpōtiki. Along the way they incited military action against the missionaries. Not long after they arrived in Ōpōtiki the Anglican missionary C.S. Völkner was killed on March 2, 1865 (Head, 2006). Unbeknown to Kereopa at this time he and Patara travelled into Te Urewera.

On their arrival to Te Urewera a meeting was held in Tauaroa in the Galatea plains in 1865 (Clark, 1975: 19) attended by Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. Patara and Kereopa used the recent defeat felt by Tūhoe at Ōrākau to incite people to resist government and missionaries (Clark, 1975: 204-205). The following is a description of that meeting written by Te Kepa Te Uruhi to the Civil Commissioner Smith on February 20, 1865:

**At the gathering at Tauaroa, the Urewera tribe, numbering 200, stood in two rows, for the purpose of being confirmed as believers in the God of Taranaki. The way in which this was done, the Pākeha head [the preserved head of Captain Lloyd] was used to scare each person. Terror, caused by the head, took possession of him, and he became insane, and sprang out of the row. This was repeated with each individual until all had been operated on. Kereopa then said to the Urewera, “You are now possessed of the Deity, and now let the widows of the men who fell at Ōrākau, approach and vent their pouri [grief] and anger on this head and on these living Pakehas”. The head was then placed in the middle, and the Pakehas, one on each side. (AJHR, 1865, e-5: 4)**

Te Whenuanui and Paerau, quickly accepted Paimārie convincing Tūhoe to become supporters (Cowan, 1983b: 404). Webster states the visit by Paimārie into Te Urewera helped inflame and revitalise the Tūhoe resistance towards Pākeha (Webster, 1979: 92). Belich further contributes another significant factor for this support was the creeping confiscation of lands within the Bay of Plenty district during this time. This combined with the emotions that were stirred by Paimārie, would have hardened Tūhoe resolve to resist any further Pākeha encroachment (Belich, 1986: 204).
Following the meeting in Tauaroa a second was held in Te Whāiti, at the conclusion of this meeting Patara and Kereopa departed for Ōpōtiki, upon arrival in Whakatāne they placed a ban [aukati] forbidding any Pākeha vessels to land there. However Kereopa would not reach Ōpōtiki on this trip; by now a warrant for his arrest was issued accusing him of murdering Völkner (AJHR, 1862, e-9).

Kereopa and his followers (now termed Hauhau) were being pursued and fled to Ruatāhuna where they were provided shelter within Te Urewera (Best, 1972: 582). While Kereopa was residing in Te Urewera, Cowan (1983a: 85) notes that he was preaching to all of Tūhoe who were residing in the Ruatāhuna area, and was intending on travelling through to the Waikato to continue spreading the teachings of Paimārie.

By the time Kereopa and his followers were ready to depart for Waikato, a small party had gathered to make ready for the departure. The group consisted of his fellow members who had accompanied him into Ruatāhuna from Taranaki, a small number of Whakatohea Māori (from Ōpōtiki), Ngāti Whare, and Ngai Tūhoe. The party had planned to cross the Kāingaroa plains where a contingent of Crown loyalists from Te Arawa and Ngāti Manawa gathered and blocked the way through at Te Tapiri58 (Cowan, 1983a: 85-86). It was here they were challenged and ordered to hand over Kereopa to stand trial for the killing of the missionary C. S. Völkner at Ōpōtiki.

On the 8th June 1865 Kereopa and his followers were confronted by Te Arawa and Ngāti Manawa at Te Tapiri. Eight days later the Te Arawa contingent was bolstered by a 70-strong contingent from Tuhourangi. Gilbert Mair was at Ohinemutu, Rotorua at this time and was unable to secure supplies to travel through and support the Te Arawa contingent who were outnumbered by Kereopa’s travelling party. On July 10, Crown loyalists from Te Arawa and Ngāti Manawa evacuated Te Tapiri pā, suffering five casualties. The contingent supporting Kereopa also suffered casualties with a number of Ngāti Whare, Patuheuheu and Ngāti Tāwhaki being killed. Mair estimated the losses at 25, and a similar number who were wounded.

58 Te Tapiri pā is located in the upper Rangitāiki river situated high on a ridge that divides the Whirinaki river on the north east, and the Rangitāiki on the north west.
Te Arawa and Ngāti Manawa achieved their purpose to block the travelling party of Kereopa supporters from crossing the Kāingaroa plains (Cowan, 1983a: 85-95). Tūhoe resisted defeating the crown loyalists here, insisting Kereopa be given safe passage through to Waikato to seek sanctuary within the aukati line (line where Pākeha were prohibited from entering). However Kereopa was later caught and hung for the murder of Missionary C.S. Völkner in Ōpōtiki in March 1865 (Cowan, 1983a: 84-89). It was not until many years later that the descendants of Kereopa would receive a pardon from the Crown discovering later Kereopa was innocent of these charges.

The months following the battle at Te Tapiri, Major William Mair visits Tūhoe in an attempt to dissuade Tūhoe from any further involvement with Kereopa. Cowan records the event as being overwhelmingly successful, Tūhoe were convinced to abandon their support of Kereopa (Cowan, 1983a: 94). While the battle was unfolding in Te Tapiri, a group of Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Rangihouhiri and the Taranaki prophet Horomana (who travelled with Kereopa) were meeting at Tauaroa to consider travelling through to Te Tapiri to support Tūhoe. In doing so a detailed aukati [boundary line] was discussed. It was agreed to cover the Whakatāne harbour heading inland all the way through to Taranaki. This was not to be crossed by Pākeha. The fighting at Te Tapiri had ceased by the time this meeting concluded (Miles, 1999: 103-4). Sadly the Crown agent, James Fulloon, who had accompanied Hunter Brown earlier on his trip through Te Urewera as a translator was one of several people killed for crossing this aukati line on 22 July 1865. Fulloon had been ordered to Whakatāne to gauge the Paimārie influence in the district. At this time Gilbert Mair was in the process of planning an attack on Te Whāiti where he suspected Kereopa was sheltering (Luiten, 1995: 29-30). However as a result of these killings Mair was instead directed by the Civil Commissioner Smith to travel up the coast from Whakatāne to Te Awa-o-te-atua, near present day Matata to pursue and arrest the people responsible for killing Fulloon. Smith had prepared warrants of arrest for 34 alleged people implicated in the killings (Luiten, 1995: 34). According to Cowan, a number of Tūhoe were among the 34 people named as responsible for the killings, as well as Tūhoe there were Ngāti Awa, and Rangihouhiri (Cowan, 1983a: 96).

Tūhoe involvement in the killing of Fulloon and support for Paimārie was to be another defining point in the Tūhoe and Crown relationship. Governor Grey on September 2 issues a pardon to those tribes that had taken up arms against the government, except those responsible for the murder of Völkner and Fulloon. The galvanising point for Tūhoe is that
Grey did not want to stir too much Crown discontent in the Ōpōtiki district, wishing instead for stability towards the Crown in order to secure a base for the militia to squash the Paimārie influence and launch an attack into Te Urewera (New Zealand Government Gazette, 1865: 267-268).

Governor Grey was able to establish a safe base from Ōpōtiki, building a series of redoubts in the area. He then began his targeted attack on Tūhoe in order to capture Kereopa and anyone who was deemed a follower of his, labeled Hauhau (Cowan, 1983a: 114). Melbourne states the targeted attacks on Tūhoe in search of Kereopa were an excuse to quash the Tūhoe resistance, as Tūhoe were seen as a potential threat to the stability of Pākeha settlement (Melbourne, 1987: 57).

According to Melbourne, it was as a result of the attacks by the government militia in search of Kereopa and Hauhau, quickly followed by the confiscation of land in Ruatoki, hardened and strengthened the Tūhoe resolve in resisting the Crown, rather than the influence from Paimārie. The attacks on Ōpōriaio and Waimana valley provoked Tūhoe to resist the armed forces that were entering Te Urewera in search of Kereopa, and according to Melbourne put Tūhoe communities into a difficult situation being pressured into supporting the colonial forces least they be labelled Hauhau supporters and be attacked (Melbourne, 1987: 57).

In October 1865, McDonnell an officer in the militia was convinced that Tūhoe were supporters of the Crown. McDonnell led a small party up the Waimana River with guides supplied by the Tūhoe chief Rakuraku, commented that the guides were ready to support the Crown being discouraged by the destruction they had seen as a result of Tūhoe aligning themselves with Kereopa (Gilling, 1994: 82). This view was also expressed by Commander Stapp who reported to the Colonial Defence Minister, that “the Tūhoe guides were well behaved, their conduct is spoken of in the highest terms by everyone in camp, the conduct of Rakuraku is beyond praise” (Stapp to Colonial Defence Minister, 27 October 1865, cited in Gilling, 1994: 83).


Tūhoe confiscation

The battles that occurred prior to 1866 were the prequel to the Crown confiscation of Tūhoe lands, of which this action is still a contentious issue among the tribe to this present day. Confiscation of Māori land served a dual purpose, primarily to punish Māori who had opposed the crown and secondly to help defray the cost of mounting military action to quell the rebellious actions (AJHR, 1863, a-8, a-8a). Confiscation made available lands that were occupied by rebellious Māori for settlers.

Prior to the Crown establishing the Confiscation Act, the Suppression of Rebellion Act was also passed in 1863, giving the Crown far sweeping powers that were used in the confiscation of Māori land. To support the Rebellion Suppression Act a Loans Act authorised an advance of £3 million to meet the costs incurred in suppressing rebels, largely used to establish military settlements around the country. It was intended for the loan to be repaid by the sale of these confiscated lands. The New Zealand Settlement Act 1863 provided the legislative framework to enable the confiscation of Māori land (Marr, 1991: 6-42).

The key principle of the Settlements Act was to ensure there were sufficient settlers in communities throughout the country to protect themselves against rebellious Māori and to establish peace. This saw military settlements emerging in areas where Māori were challenging the Crown. The Settlers Act provided the Governor in Council with the authority to confiscate lands if they felt that any member of a tribe had been involved in any rebellious activity since the 1st of January 1863. The Governor could alter district boundaries, acquire land without cost to establish settlements, and could compensate land owners who had land taken, provided they had not taken up arms against the crown (AJHR, 1863, a-8, a-8a). The Government on 17 January 1866 confiscated lands within the Bay of Plenty, for Tūhoe this meant land in Ruatoki and Waimana. The confiscation of Tūhoe land was the Government’s response to the killings of Völkner, Fulloon and the support shown by Tūhoe of the Paimaire movement. Governor Grey was adamant he would destroy the Paimaire, which was labeled a seditious cult (Miles, 1999: 110).

The land confiscation in Ruatoki and Waimana only deepened Tūhoe resolve to resist the Crown. If Tūhoe were undecided in their view of the Crown when Resident Magistrate
Brown travelled through Te Urewera in 1862, then their experiences clarified and confirmed their position of resistance. Emerging into this volatile atmosphere of Tūhoe anger and resentment of the crown was Te Kooti in 1869.

**Te Kooti and Tūhoe**

Te Kooti and fellow captives were imprisoned on the Chatham Islands from June 1866 through until July 1868. Te Kooti was imprisoned without trial for supposedly acting as a spy for Māori while being employed with the government militia as a guide. The schooner *Rifleman* arrives on the Chatham Islands on Friday July 3, 1868 to deliver wheat seed for planting. Te Kooti (after three months of careful planning) captures the schooner, and sails back to the North Island of New Zealand. The capture of the schooner was a well-orchestrated event, with one fatality. One of the four constables, Michael Hartnett, serving on the island was killed by Tamihana Tekateka, for supposedly interfering with his wife. This murder left Te Kooti furious as he had given strict instructions that no one was to be harmed (Binney, 1995: 80-82). The crew of the schooner (except the captain who was on shore at the time the *Rifleman* was captured) were kept on board as prisoners. In total 298 men, women and children escaped from the Chatham Islands with Te Kooti. The voyage back to New Zealand took four days, landing in Whareongaonga (a small bay just south of where Gisborne is today, on Thursday July 9, 1868 (Binney, 1995: 84-86).

After making landfall, Te Kooti released the crew who were taken captive from the Chatham Islands with a letter exonerating them from any involvement in the escape. The released crew sailed for Wellington, where on July 12 a government messenger arrives in Whareongaonga, sent by Reginald Biggs the Resident Magistrate. Biggs was an officer who Te Kooti served alongside in the battle of Waerenga-a-hika just prior to his incarceration on the Chatham Islands. The militia officer sent by Biggs to meet Te Kooti demanded that he and his followers surrender at once. No terms were offered; they were to await the decision of the government to decide their future (Binney, 1995: 87-90). Te Kooti left Whareongaonga and headed to Te Urewera although it was not a united Tūhoe that offered him support.

Even though differing sections of Tūhoe were not interested in following his teachings, Te Kooti was still offered sanctuary. Te Maikoha was an active antagonist to the Crown in the Waimana and Ruātoki districts at this time (as the confiscation of lands in Ōpūrūiao had not
long occurred). Despite Te Maikoha’s opposition to Te Kooti’s religious teachings, he still offered him safe passage and sanctuary in the Waimana Valley, through Tawhana and up into Maungapōhatu (Binney, 1995: 154).

It was at Tawhana where the relationship with Te Kooti was sealed. Tūhoe gave Te Kooti their loyalty and land in the Ruātoki and Waimana area and in turn, Te Kooti in turn swore an oath to Tūhoe:

Nau ahau i kukume mai i roto i te pouritanga. Kua tukua e koe te tangata i roto i te mura o te ahi, i roto i ngā whakamatautauranga, mai ano o te ringa mai e haere nei. Whakarongo, – ko te kupu tenei “Ka tango ahau i a koutou hei iwi mooku a, ko ahau hei Atua mo koutou, a ka mohio koutou ko Ihowa ahau.” Ko koe hoki te iwi o te kawenata.

You drew me out of darkness. You have sent the people into the flames of the fire, into the tests, since the landing [this] has gone on. Listen, this is what I have to say, “I take you as my people, and I will be your God; you will know that I am Jehovah.”

You are the people of the covenant. (Robert Biddle, Manuscript Book compiled from books of Hamiora Aparoa, Matiu Paeroa, Petera Te Rangihiroa, 1927, and miscellaneous manuscripts, Private Collection, cited in Binney 1995: 154).

A Tūhoe elder records the event at Tawhana as a covenant that had been entered into between Tūhoe and Te Kooti, resting on the chiefs of Kereru, Paerau, Te Pūrewa, Te Makariri Tamarau, Te Whenuanui, Te Ahikaiata, Tūtakangahau, Te Haunui and Te Puehu each entering into the sacred relationship with Te Kooti (Māori Land Court, 1897: 190). The named chiefs were the senior chiefs of Tūhoe of that time, who gave Te Kooti a clear mandate of support.

Te Kooti entered Te Urewera when Tūhoe were reeling from the effects of land confiscation. He offered moral support and spiritual leadership at a time when Tūhoe were unable to gain physical support from Waikato to resist the ever encroaching Crown (Miles, 1999: 191). Having Te Kooti located within Te Urewera at the request of Tūhoe provided the Crown an excuse to launch a full scale invasion into Te Urewera. It was not so long ago that Tūhoe were already labelled “Hauhau” supporters having aligned themselves with Kereopa and by association were implicated in the killings of Völkner and Fulloon. Tūhoe, clear in their wish to maintain control over Te Urewera, attracted like-minded Māori to the unrelenting terrain of
Te Urewera, an area with a myriad of valleys and gullies that will easily lose unfamiliar persons venturing into the area. This was a fortress of large proportions.

Unfortunately, the unwelcoming landscape was not to hold the Crown militia at bay. Under the command of Colonel George Whitmore, a three-pronged attack was launched into Te Urewera. The attack consisted of three columns that were marching into Te Urewera on May 3 or 4, 1869, almost 10 months to the day when Te Kooti met with Tūhoe in Tawhana.

Each column was to meet in Ruatāhuna. One was to enter from Waikaremōana under the command of Colonel Herrick, and Lieutenant-Colonel St John was to lead a column up the Whakatāne River, with Colonel Whitmore following the column under the command of Major Roberts entering from Te Whāiti (Crosby, 2004: 103-107).

The main focus was to attack Ruatāhuna from three directions. Whitmore perceived the support for Te Kooti emanated out of Ruatāhuna. Each of the columns were given specific instructions to destroy the settlements and crops that were discovered on route to Ruatāhuna:
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... I came to the conclusion that we could do nothing by awaiting Te Kooti outside the mountains, because to do so we must have divided our forces in several settlements and left him to choose the most favourable point of attack. True strategical policy demanded our entering the mountains by the best-known paths, and destroying all the food that might be growing or stored at the several native settlements. This course I thought must compel Te Kooti to leave the mountains, where he could with difficulty be attacked except at a disadvantage, and oblige him to come out towards the open country of the interior, where he could be more easily and satisfactorily dealt with. (Whitmore, 1902: 152)

This campaign by Whitmore was the Scorched Earth Policy; it was a ruthless campaign that did not discriminate between Tūhoe combatants, elderly and children. Houses, food stores, livestock and crops were systematically destroyed in an attempt to break the Tūhoe network supporting Te Kooti. Many Tūhoe starved and suffering from the lack of shelter. Many lived in caves during this period (AJHR, 1871, f-1: 43). There were 160 Tūhoe men lost in the various battles and many more Women and children starved to death during this campaign of Whitmore’s in his determined pursuit of Te Kooti (Temara, 1993).

To contextualise these actions: Tūhoe led a balanced life that was dependent on potato and kumara crops as the staple diet in addition to poultry and eels that were hunted or trapped. Destroying these crops was a master plan of military strategy as there were no food storage facilities. People simply starved.

Destruction of shelter further compounded this. Tūhoe has a harsh winter that sees frequent dumpings of snow and frequent frosts that at times lay unmelted for weeks. Lack of shelter combined with a lack of food had a devastating impact on Tūhoe. The three-pronged attack into Ruatāhuna failed, with the column from Waikaremōana unable to make the trip over the Huiarau range into Ruatāhuna. The columns travelling up the Whakatāne and Te Whāiti eventually arrived having been attacked along their respective routes. The difficulty Whitmore had was Te Urewera was still largely unmapped at that time, the scant information he had on the district was largely drawn from the notes made by Hunter Brown when he made his journey through Te Urewera (Cowan, 1983a: 337-339). Te Kooti continued to elude Whitmore.
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Two years on from the failed three-pronged attack on Ruatāhuna Major Ropata Wahawaha attacked Maungapōhatu in October 1871, in an attempt to demobilise the support that was afforded to Te Kooti (the sub-tribe of Tūhoe here is Tamakaimoana). Wahawaha establishes a fort here in Maungapōhatu, called Kohi-tau where he launches a series of attacks between Ruatāhuna and Maungapōhatu, eventually establishing a fort in Ruatāhuna called Kohi-marama (Cowan, 1983a: 453). At this point, Tūhoe chiefs Te Makarini and Te Pūrewa write to the Government complaining that Wahawaha is destroying food crops, homes and is needlessly killing people, all being permitted by the Government (AGG HB2/1, 1871).

Te Pūrewa continues his correspondence to the Government protesting the construction of a garrisoned fort in his territory of Maungapōhatu. In his correspondence he makes mention of the fact that Te Whenuanui and Paerau can manage the people in the Ruatāhuna district, with reference to the fort that was constructed there, stating that each hapū had the ultimate authority over its resources located within their tribal boundaries (AGG HB2/1, 1871). Te Whenuanui and Paerau eventually meet with McLean in Wellington, where McLean agrees to recognise that Tūhoe do have an authority over Te Urewera and acknowledges that each hapū has authority over their particular region (AGG HB1/3, 1871).

Two significant events happened for Tūhoe; one was the recognition by McLean that the authority over Te Urewera was for the different sub-tribes to manage and control as they saw fit. The second critical event was the pressure that was put on Tūhoe to give Te Kooti up; or aid in his capture before the Crown would acknowledge this level of authority of Tūhoe:

Ormond reported the deal as such to Porter: “The Chiefs given direction of affairs in their own districts on condition Te Kooti given up to the Law.” (AGG HB1/3, 1871)

There were strict conditions outlined to Tūhoe in order for the Crown to accept their authority over Te Urewera. These conditions would require Tūhoe abandoning the support that was given to Te Kooti and Kereopa, captured in the correspondence between Ormond and the respective chiefs located in the different hapū throughout Te Urewera:

59 Ropata Wahawaha is of Ngāti Porou descent and fought with the Crown against Te Kooti at Ngatapa and through Te Urewera campaigns.
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

This was expressly communicated to Tūhoe chiefs as well. On November 20, 1871, J D Ormond, agent for the general Government in Hawke’s Bay, wrote to Tamaikoha:

Friend I received your letter written from Waimana and hear that Te Kooti’s people are in your hands for safe keeping. That is well[.] it is to you that the Govt now look to prevent them from returning again to evil – Also it is to you the regulation of affairs within your boundaries will be entrusted, to Whenuanui and Paerau in their boundaries and to Purewa in his. As for Te Kooti, I have written to Whenuanui and Paerau he must be given up to the law as it is within their boundaries he is now hiding. Friend add your word that the evil caused by this man may be ended. (AGG HB4/8, 1871)

To Te Pūrewa, he wrote:

The Govt have considered your proposal to leave the management of your people in your hands[.] that is to look to you to keep evil out of your boundaries and hold your people together. This word of yours is accepted and it is to you the Government will look in future for the regulation of affairs at Maungapōhatu. What is wanted is that goodwill shall exist between your people and the Govt and that Te Kooti and other evil disposed [sic] people shall be given up. Porter will talk with you about the [employment?] of you and your people to carry mail so that communication between us may be complete. (AGG HB4/8, 1871)

To Te Makarini, he wrote:

Friend I have received your letters throught Major Cumming [?] and have been glad to find that your people have been kept together and out of evil. Capt Porter will give you what word there is of here and it will be for you to add your word to Whenuanui and Paerau that Te Kooti who is within their boundaries be given up to the law in accordance with their promise to me at [Wellington?]. Another word of mine is that you talk with your people about a road for Waikaramōana and Wairoa and from Waikaremōana to Ruatahuna so that the mail may go – write to me on this and the roadwork shall be given to your people that they may earn money as is done by the other tribes. (AGG HB4/8, 1871)

To Whenuanui and Paerau, Ormond wrote:

Friends, when you left here your agreement with me was you were to keep your boundaries clear of trouble and that if Te Kooti came within your boundaries he was to be given up by you. The Govt are well informed of what has happened since. Quite recently an offer was made by Wepiha that Te Kooti would be given up by you and he [cojointly?] to be tried by the law provided the Govt withdraw Ngatiporou from your boundaries. Wepiha is now employed on that business. It rests now with yourselves. Te Kooti is in your boundaries[.]; it is for you to fulfill your agreement and hand him over to the law – let that be done at once. You choose to whom [you] will give him either to Major Cumming at Waikaremōana or to Mr Clarke at Tauranga or to Major Ropata. Ngatiporou will then withdraw at
once and the management of your people will be left to be managed by yourselves. Porter will talk with you and arrange about the mail through which communication will be kept up between us. The Govt relies on your word being kept. (AGG HB4/8, 1871)

Despite the pressure placed on Tūhoe to give Te Kooti up he was not given over to the Crown. May 15, 1872 Te Kooti leaves Te Urewera crossing the Rangitāiki River into Kāingaroa, travelling through into Waikato where he would be eventually pardoned by the crown (Binney, 1995: 266). From 1871 through to 1872 Te Kooti travelled through Te Urewera, evading the attempts by the Crown to capture him. The actions of Tūhoe providing sanctuary for Te Kooti and Kereopa left Tūhoe reeling from the atrocities that were inflicted on Tūhoe young and old, male and female. The loss of food and shelter did not discriminate between combatants of Tūhoe and those going about their daily lives as best they could. The question here is: if Tūhoe knew this would be the outcome for hosting Te Kooti and Kereopa, would they still do it? I believe they would: Tūhoe resolve and resistance to the Crown is still present to this day. For Tūhoe, the war with Te Kooti and the Crown had ended (Miles, 1999: 190).

Te Whitu Tekau Council of Chiefs

The creation of Te Whitu Tekau followed the Crown invasion in pursuit of Te Kooti and Kereopa from 1869 -1872. Having Te Kooti located in Te Urewera provided the Crown with a ‘legitimate’ excuse to launch an invasion on Te Urewera and Tūhoe. Tūhoe experienced horrendous atrocities during this time period. The exact figures are unknown but many Tūhoe died in these years (Temara, 1993).

One of the many conclusions Tūhoe drew from this period of turmoil was that self-determination could not be won by physical battles alone. The battle front was quickly moving to a legal battlefield that required constitutional structures to be put in place to counter the newly evolving strategy of the Crown. For Tūhoe, this emerged out of the confiscation of lands, as a punishment for Tūhoe’s alleged involvement in the killings of Fulloon and Völkner. Interestingly, Tūhoe involvement was never proved. Land confiscation was difficult for Tūhoe and other Māori to comprehend. How could land ownership be
removed without battle? Simply signing a land deed or title of sale could place the ownership of the land into another’s possession. As a result of the land confiscation, Tūhoe were beginning to see the extent of the Crown’s authority and needed a similar structure to counter these advances.

Having knowledge of the Crown (gained through the horrific events of war and land confiscation during 1869-1872) Tūhoe leaders united and created Te Whitu Tekau – the [Council of] Seventy. This council would administer interest in Tūhoe land. Te Whitu Tekau outlined the Tūhoe district by locating and naming significant land marks and was explicit in how it wished to engage with the crown:

Te Whenuanui and others to the Government.
To the Government, – Kohimarama Ruatahuna, 9th June, 1872.

Salutations to you – this is our word to you. The meeting of Tūhoe (Urewera) has taken place at Ruatahuna on the 9th June. The first thing decided were the boundaries of the land. My district commences at Pukenui, to Pupirake, to Ahirau, to Huorangi, Tokitoki, Motuotu, Toretore, Haumiaroa, Taurukotare, Tipare, Kawakawa, Te Karaka, Ohine te Raraku, Kiwinui, Te Tirina, Omata-roa, Te Mapara, thence following the Rangi Taiki [Rangitāiki] River to Otipa, Whaka-ngutu-toroa, Tuku-toromiro, Te Hokowhitu, Te Whakamatau, Ōkahu, Oniwarima, Te Houhi, Te Taupaki, Te Rautahuri, Ngahuina, Te Arawata, Pohotea, Makihoi, Te Ahianatane, Ngatapa, Te Haraungamao, Kahotea, Tukurangi, Te Koarere, Te Ahu-o-te-atua, Arewa, Ruakiti, Puketomiro, Mokomirarangi, Maungatapere, Oterangi-pu, and onto Puke-nui-o-raho, where this ends.

2nd. Was the uniting of the tribe, that their words should be one and that they should have one canoe, Mataatua.

3rd. Was the appointment of chiefs among Tūhoe. There are this day seventy chiefs. Their work is to carry on the work of this bird of peace and quietness.

4th. The things that were rejected from these boundaries are roads, leasing, and selling land.

Te Whenuanui
Paerau
Haunui
Erueti Tamaikoha Tu
Hetaraka
Te Pukenui
Te Makarini
Ahikaiata
And all the tribe

(AJHR, 1872, f-3a: 29)
In 1872, Te Whenuanui was one of the chiefs instrumental in setting up Te Whitu Tekau at Ruatāhuna. This structure was established to prevent the Crown dealing with the various divisions of Tūhoe. It was only the Whitu Tekau that had the mandate to deal with the Crown. The mandate of this council was to prevent any application to the Native Land Court for a survey of Tūhoe land or investigation of titles. It forbade the building of roads or leasing of lands. It was also an arbitrator for internal tribal disputes, and aimed at preventing the intrusion of representatives of European law (Temara, 1993).

The creation of Te Whitu Tekau was a Tūhoe political response to the changing landscape in maintaining ownership of Tūhoe resources. Without land it was impossible to hold to a Tūhoe-informed lifestyle. Tūhoe struggle to maintain a lifestyle built on their way of thinking, acting and doing had now escalated to a wider political arena where Tūhoe were seen as a threat to the Crown’s authority over New Zealand.

The Whitu Tekau structure was put in place to unite the sub-tribes of Tūhoe, in readiness for the Crown’s relentless search, occurring simultaneously throughout Te Urewera, for people to sell or relinquish land. The Council would be a counter to the Native Land Court that arrived into the Bay of Plenty in 1872. Again Tūhoe resisted application to the Native Land Court, instead wishing to use Te Whitu Tekau to manage and administer its land interests.

**Native Māori Land Court**

The Native Land Court is the last constitutional Crown structure that will be looked at in this chapter. The Native Land Court was established to grant legal title to Māori-occupied land. It required that the land be surveyed and vested in a group of shareholders. As lands were surveyed, land was taken to pay the costs incurred, thus establishing Crown reserves. This meant that larger tracts of land were surveyed and again, taken to offset the costs of surveying the reserves. These were recorded in the land court as survey liens.

Despite the efforts of the Whitu Tekau challenging the land court structures, large tracts of Tūhoe land was alienated. The stance Tūhoe adopted in regard to the Native Land Court is captured in the preamble to the Urewera Lands Consolidation Scheme 1921:
… it may be said that the Queen’s writ did not run in the area which the legislation in that year defined as the Urewera District Native Reserve, the tribal lands were not surveyed, the Native Lands Act were inoperative, and the native customs and institutions were dominant (Urewera Lands Consolidation Scheme, 1921, G-7: 1).

The land remaining in Tūhoe ownership following the land confiscation largely consisted of an oval tract covering the western Ikawhenua range, Lake Waikaremōana to the south, and Huiairau range and Waioeka River to the east, resulting in the rohe potae [ring boundary of Tūhoe] being redefined (Miles, 1999: 193). This boundary differed from the boundary that Tūhoe had listed in the letter to the Crown in 1872, which Tūhoe thought was the lands that McLean had recognised as belonging to Tūhoe if they were to desist in the harboring of Te Kooti. Tūhoe became drawn into the Native Land Court when lands within the boundary that Tūhoe had assumed were recognised by McLean, were awarded to non-Tūhoe.

It was the claim to these lands outside the redefined boundary that pulled Tūhoe into the Native Land Court. Large tracts of land occupied by neighbouring tribes who were allowed to live on the land as guests of Tūhoe, were now being granted legal title and ownership. Tūhoe, via the ancient lore of conquest, had conquered the many surrounding settlements situated on the fringes of Te Urewera, occupying the districts of Waikaremōana, Te Papuni, Te Waimana, Ruatoki, and Te Whāiti (Best, 1972: 19).

Tūhoe claimed their ownership of lands within the Te Whāiti and Murupara regions to the Māori Land Court, stating that Tūhoe had orchestrated a resettling of Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa back into the district in the early nineteenth century (Best, 1972: 19) the Native Land Court failed to acknowledge this as establishing ownership.

The Native Land Court did not recognise Tūhoe as the owners of these lands, instead awarding ownership to Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa. The court failed to recognise the relationship Tūhoe claimed over the district despite Tūhoe clearly illustrating an ownership under traditional Māori law by conquest and occupation of the district:

From Tūhoe’s perspective, it was this relationship that the Crown and the Native Land Court would fail to recognise when Ngāti Manawa and some of Ngāti Whare took Rangitāiki valley lands to court and began leasing and selling them. (Miles, 1999: 219)
The impact of these early decisions are still felt today in the Te Whāiti district where it is impossible to exclusively express who a Ngāti Whare person is without a connection to Tūhoe. The argument by Tūhoe is this further proves the point that Ngāti Whare were married into Tūhoe to solidify the occupation of Te Whāiti. My grandmother and her parents were living for a time in the Ngāti Whare area in the late 1920s clearing land for settlement. It was clear to them they were there as a right of Tūhoe irrespective the land was legally vested in Ngāti Whare at that time. Interestingly, with the awarding of lands to Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa, one cannot help wondering what weight if any, was given to the notion that large sections of both these tribes turned loyalist, supporting the Crown very early on during the years of conflict, with Tūhoe remaining defiant refusing to succumb to the absolute authority of the Crown. Eventually a state highway would be constructed through Te Urewera, to ensure the physical isolation could be overcome, with a hope the political isolation would quickly follow. One of the last battles was held in Ngāpūtahi were Mōtoi Hara (see whakapapa 1) led a party blocking the surveying for the road (Urewera National Park Board, 1968). Unfortunately the Crown had not given up its efforts to destabilise the people of Te Urewera living a lifestyle based on their own epistemology.

**Te Rua**

Te Kooti’s departure from Te Urewera would not be the last time Tūhoe would suffer from the strong arm of the Crown. In April 1916, 55 police march and invade Maungapōhatu to capture Rua Kenana on charges of sedition that were later dismissed by a court jury. During the capture of Te Rua his son Toko and cousin Te Maipi were both killed (Webster, 1979: 243-250). Rua Kenana had established a community within Maungapōhatu and Waimana valley, stressing the communal ownership of material. Te Rua had a profound understanding of the biblical scriptures that he used to build and develop hope for Tūhoe who were still resisting the colonisation focus of the Crown (Binney, Chaplin, & Wallace, 1979: 9). Te Rua linked his prophecies and work to that of Te Kooti. While Te Kooti was travelling through Te Urewera he made a number of prophecies. One of these was that there would emerge a person within Te Urewera who would continue his work, Te Rua and his followers believed this was Te Rua (Webster, 1979: 27-28).

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60 My great-great-grandmother on my grandfather’s side of the family Motoi Hara (Kahui Doherty [Grandmother], personal communication).
Maungapōhatu was attacked 47 years on from the time Wahawaha built a fort in the pursuit of Te Kooti. The principal purpose for the heavy-handed attack on Te Rua was due to the fact that Tūhoe were still insisting and illustrating that Māori could live without influence and need of Pākeha. This is confirmed in the notes J.A. Tole, Crown Prosecutor wrote in confidence to the Minister of Justice following the trial:

… a conviction was essential because he [Rua] had held himself to be above the law, and also as a demonstration to his followers that he could not defy it. (Justice Department, 1917)

Having the settlement of Maungapōhatu invaded by Police effectively achieved its goal. Today the valley is occupied by a series of homes where the descendants return for holidays and to attend key functions that are held in Maungapōhatu. The marae are still fully functional, with a farm still managed by Tūhoe. However one cannot enter Maungapōhatu and not be touched by what had occurred in the ransacking of the community in order to arrest Te Rua. This journey through the contact period between Tūhoe and Pākeha that began in 1820 has had an enormous impact on Tūhoe, as it had on other tribes. Fortunately for Tūhoe, the majority of their lands were not easily settled or transferable into farmable land. Because of this Tūhoe were one of the last areas to come under the authority of the Crown, in doing so changing and amending Tūhoe practices. An example of this is when a person lies in state on the many marae situated throughout Te Urewera, flags with the Union Jack are flown. This is as a result of the promise Tūhoe made to Seddon on his first journey through Te Urewera. The challenge was put to Tūhoe “What will Tūhoe do to show their respect of the Crown’s authority?” To which Tūhoe replied the highest mark of respect that could be afforded is during the uhuna\textsuperscript{61} process the Union Jack would be flown\textsuperscript{62}. This has been maintained through to the present. In times of mourning Tūhoe adhere to the promise that was made to Seddon all those years ago.

\textsuperscript{61} More commonly called tangihanga, which is a description of one of the actions that occur during uhuna, traditional Māori process of mourning for the dead.

\textsuperscript{62} A widely known understanding of why flags are flown within Tūhoe, discussion with Tūhoe trust board chairman.
Chapter Seven: Tūhoe: Crown Contact

Conclusion

This account of Tūhoe history with neighbouring tribes and non-Māori over the past 200 years contributes to what is mātauranga Tūhoe. At each point of contact, the residual effects have been mapped through whakapapa. They are a part of Tūhoe history that must be known and understood for a person to develop in their Tūhoe identity.

The stories I have told above provide reasons Tūhoe have adopted certain practices. For instance Ringatū karakia are an integral part of Tūhoe kura kaupapa and wharekura now, symbolising our enduring belief in the values and principles embodied in Te Kooti’s resistance to crown authority and machinations. These karakia keep our koroua and kuia alive – the lives they lived and their struggles against adversity and oppression. In addition the karakia provide excellent exemplars of figurative te reo for our children to learn, implement and master. When events and memories are attached to a concept, value or principle, a person’s ability to recall that information is strengthened. This contributes to identity and identity builds confidence.

There is a common theme running through each of the historical stages discussed in this chapter – the enduring spirit of Tūhoe through all of the hardships over the years, the atrocities survived, the challenges faced, the hurdles overcome, the injustices and Crown-sanctioned attacks designed to undermine Tūhoe identity. Te Urewera can be an unforgiving environment even today, so the iwi that chose to live amongst its ridges and valleys acquired the characteristics synonymous with this land. Tūhoe became much like the land they inhabited – at times still and quiet, at other times wild and savage. Tūhoe tribal identity and mātauranga-ā-iwi have been shaped and honed through these periods of conflict, engagement, encounter and exchanges. As a Tūhoe person I can only speak with some level of authority about mātauranga Tūhoe, but all other iwi within Aotearoa have their own stories, their own whakapapa, their own histories, and their own mātauranga-ā-iwi.

It seems to me that the challenge for Māori today is to maintain a tribal identity that requires a more authentic understanding than one based in the idea of ‘Māori’ only. The identity ‘Māori’ is a colonial residue, it is a superficial view that discounts each iwi’s uniqueness within a group collective.
As Pākehā contact increased with Māori, Pākehā began to share these experiences with each other. Pākehā tended to see Māori as a group, and failed to understand the differences between tribal groups and their histories and alliances. As a result, tribal practices were becoming known as Māori practices. Prior to this, Tūhoe practices were simply that, and how Tūhoe thought and engaged with its community was of no concern or interest to other tribes. Other tribes had their own practices, which were appropriate for their circumstances. The work that was done by early Pākehā explorers, soldiers, and government officials, and educators began the process of identifying tribal practices as ‘Māori’. Thus began the misunderstanding and talking past each other that occurs between Māori and Pākeha, and continues to this day. When Māori are referred to as ‘Māori’, it is clear to them that their ‘Māoriness’ is informed by their ‘tribalness’, and that what is correct for them in their tradition will not necessarily be true for other Māori whose Māoriness is informed by their tribalness.

As the idea of Māori society grew in the minds and words and policies of Pākehā, the category Māori knowledge also grew, and expanded to become the major category it is today in education and elsewhere.

The Ranga Framework insists that mātauranga Māori is not separable from tribes, and nor is it confined to tribal boundaries and histories, but is located across the different tribal sections where the principles and values may be very similar, yet their application may differ.

Mātauranga Māori as it is today emerged out of the tribal struggles in maintaining tribal autonomy. The work that has been done by the various tribes in resisting European knowledge, language and culture has helped shape mātauranga Māori, and the tools that were used to maintain mātauranga Māori have helped inform what kaupapa Māori theory is.
Chapter Eight

Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

Te mātauranga a Tūhoe.

Ka tahuri taku haere ki te whatiwhatihanga o te tawai, e whaia nei nei te ko Otairi. Kei reira tiepa mai ki raro ngā karu ki te kaihanga manawa o te rāwaho.

This chapter describes mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe. It will show examples of mātauranga-a-iwi connecting the people of Tūhoe to their landscape of Te Urewera. This chapter shows how the relationship with the environment and people build and map the knowledge base for Tūhoe, mātauranga Tūhoe.

To understand the shape and format of mātauranga Tūhoe, attention needs to be drawn to the importance of connecting the land and people together. Within the framework the following key concepts will be explained: mauri, te reo o Tūhoe [the language of Tūhoe] and returning to the concept whakapapa, which are the key concepts that describe and define mātauranga Tūhoe.

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63 The term mauri is the life force of an object.
64 The term whakapapa means genealogy, or the development stages.
Mātauranga Tūhoe starts and ends with the tribe Tūhoe. The experiences that occur when the iwi interacts with the land base helps shape and form Tūhoe epistemology. The greatest influence on the iwi is the environment they reside within. It is the environment that shapes and influences the language; it is through the environment that examples of knowledge are witnessed, experienced, explained and conceptualised. Concepts and ideologies are explained using locally-known objects and ideas and spaces. For Tūhoe, this largely consists of the ngahere [forest], the maunga [mountains], the roto [lakes], and awa [rivers] of Te Urewera. Whakataukī/whakatauāki [proverbial sayings] that are used in public speeches make these references; the following is a commonly used introductory statement:

Ko Tūhoe te Iwi 
Ko Ngāti Tāwhaki te hapū 
Ko Maungapōhatu te Maunga 
Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa 
Ko Te Whāia-te-motu te marae 
Ko Ngāpūtahi te kāinga 

The Tribe is Tūhoe 
Ngāti Tāwhaki is the Sub-tribe 
Maungapōhatu is the mountain 
Ōhinemataroa is the river 
Te Whāia-te-motu is the marae 
Ngāpūtahi is the home 

This introductory statement is an example of Tūhoe language linking and connecting to the landscape. The name Maungapōhatu describes the mountain’s features, Maunga [mountain], pōhaturoa [long rock], illustrating how the environment shapes the use of language. The statement also illustrates the speaker’s connection to the land base of Te Urewera. Through this the speaker is able to draw connections between themselves and the local environment: “Maungapōhatu is my mountain”. Tracing the genealogical linkages back to Pōtiki, the speaker is able to prove and describe their connection to the land as a descendant, inextricably connecting themselves to it.

The connection between iwi and rohe is vital. Without the connection to the rohe the tribe would not exist. Without the rohe, there would not be an epistemology unique to that tribe. As the iwi must have a land base, so too must mātauranga-a-iwi. To have no land base is to have no common basis for the iwi to establish a foundation and starting point. Within Tūhoe, the land base is Te Urewera which forms a base for mātauranga Tūhoe. The esoteric knowledge for young Tūhoe is to ascertain the common flora and fauna located within Te
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

Urewera, have knowledge of prominent mountains, rivers, streams, taniwha [guardians], and mōteatea [traditional songs].

Mōteatea are formal songs performed on the marae atea which is the formal space outside of wharenui [ancestral-meeting house]. The key to the use of mōteatea can be extrapolated from an analysis of the term mōteatea, mō [for], te [the], atea [space in front of wharenui]. This illustrates how terms and concepts provide clues to their use and meaning. Within mōteatea are examples that reinforce and restate the occupation of the tribe to the land base, with continued reference to place names illustrating the influence of the environment on the language in the explanation of concepts and activities. The mōteatea below was written by Mihi-ki-te-kapua. Her exact birth date is unknown, however it appears to have been in the late 1700s, and she is believed to have died around 1872-80. Mihi-ki-te-kapua was born at Te Tahora pā in Ruatāhuna, and is buried in Te Whāiti in the northeastern section of Te Urewera:

Fortunate the titi,65 as it cries in its flight
It has the company of its mate;
As for me, my bird, I am like
the egg abandoned by the kiwi at the tawai roots
They spread and embrace it;
When the mother returns for the hatching,
The progeny is such as I.

It is my own forgetfulness
I did not join in the journey of Te Hirau, now disappearing
over the mountains at Huiarau
remain to pour out my tears like the waters that fall at Ngauemutu67

I alone am left here, alas!
Sentinel of the approaches to Te Matuahu
to just look out
To glimpse a sail spreading away / a canoe there disappearing

65 Titi is the muttonbird, this bird used to nest in the cliffs that surround Lake Waikaremōana.
66 Tawai is the birch tree, when it grows; the root structure creates a low ceiling over the ground creating a space where the kiwi lays it egg.
67 Ngauemutu is a waterfall
Whakatika rawa ake ki runga ra e,  Belated I raise to my feet
Ka momotu ki tawhiti But it has severed to the distance
Ma wai ia e whai atu Who can overtake it?

My genealogy to Mihi-ki-te-kapua is as follows:

Te Aihurangi

Hineatarau Mihi-ki-te-kapua = Hikawai
TeArahe
TeWhareti
Te Motuoruhi
Moetu
Kahui
Hirani
Wiremu Doherty
(T. Tākuta, personal communication, August 1996)

This mōteatea was written by Mihi-ki-te-kapua. As a widow she lived at Te Mātūahu at Waikaremōana, a lake on the southern boundary of Te Urewera. While here, the widow became separated from her family, who now were situated in the Whakatāne river valley. Access to them was obstructed by the Huiarau range. Within the mōteatea can be seen the use of language and description of nature to highlight activities, feelings and emotions experienced by Tūhoe. The song is still performed in the manner portrayed by Mihi-ki-te-kapua when she created it. The use of mōteatea and the skill in creating them are examples of mātauranga Tūhoe interacting with its environment. This union is remembered and taught through mōteatea, and whakataukī/whakatauākī used in public gatherings of Tūhoe in whaikōrero [formal speech], and karanga [the welcoming call] for visitors to enter the formal meeting space onto the Marae complex. The complex is made up of a wharenui [ancestral meeting house], an open outdoor area in front of wharenui called atea, and wharekai [dining room]. When the iwi meets formally or when welcoming visitors a formal welcome is conducted on the Marae governed by Tūhoe protocol termed pōwhiri. The visiting group enters slowly making their way to designated seating in front of wharenui during the karanga. Females solely conduct this task, when the group are seated in front of the wharenui, the formal speechmaking occurs. This is solely the role of the males, however each gender plays an equal role. Within the karanga and whaikōrero, are continual references to the tribal

68 See Whakapapa 4; for a full version of this whakapapa line.
69 A 3015-ft ridgeline that runs east to west through the southern edge of Te Urewera.
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boundaries of Tūhoe, the formal linkages that exist between different sections of the tribe, the linkages to the environment, and continual reference to the ancestors that have passed on.

The pōwhiri process is where mātauranga Tūhoe is discussed and debated. It is here that knowledge will either be endorsed or discredited. It is within this environment mātauranga Tūhoe will be contested and reaffirmed. To do this, the speaker must have an intimate knowledge of the concept they are putting out for public debate, there must be present linkages to whichever the visiting groups are, they must be relevant to the tenure of the gathering, and the speaker must have an intimate knowledge of the concept from inception to the present. It must reinforce with reference to appropriate mōteatea, and whakataukī. The connection of the Iwi to the land base is critical to identity, it is Te Urewera – Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe [the traditional boundary of Tūhoe], that gives the platform for Tūhoe, to establish itself as a viable grouping of people. The connections to the environment are fiercely contested amongst Tūhoe when a gathering occurs between the different sub-tribes of the tribe. This ensures that the held-to beliefs of Tūhoe are true and correct, whereby every person has the opportunity to contest, add to or support the ranging ideologies of Tūhoe. It is vital this exchange continues as the repositories of Tūhoe knowledge and culture are located widely within the tribe. Each person carries with them a part of the Tūhoe body of knowledge, when put together with the other sections of the Tūhoe way of knowing it creates the Tūhoe epistemology. The exchange that occurs on the marae and formal gatherings ensures that the tribe accepts the Tūhoe epistemology. This becomes crucial when Tūhoe interacts with other tribes of Māori, in that Tūhoe is able to describe its knowledge and culture with the one voice. Turning now to the key terms.

**Whakapapa**

Whakapapa maps the stages of development. It is derived from the term *raupapa* to lay out. When applying this concept to mātauranga Tūhoe it will map the developments that have occurred between the people of Tūhoe and the land base Te Urewera. There must be a connection to the land base of Tūhoe to locate and place the knowledge as a part of mātauranga Tūhoe. The connectedness expresses and explains the whakapapa connections. These whakapapa connections connect aspects to each other. It is the development of things from conception though to current times. Within mātauranga Tūhoe, everything has a
whakapapa that physically connects itself to everything within Tūhoe. The whakapapa locates and explains the developmental stages of aspects from conception to realisation in both physical and spiritual aspects in that it highlights the sequential order of events.

Ko te Kore  Nothing, chaos
Ko te Po  Darkness of unknown
Ko te Rapunga  Seeking
Ko te Whāia  Thought
Ko te Kukune  Growth
Ko te Pupuke  Increase, swelling
Ko te Hihiri  Desire, energy
Ko te Mahara  Thought
Ko te Hinengaro  Mind
Ko te Manako  Longing, desire
Ko te Ahua  Form
Ko te Atamai  Knowing, readiness
Ko te Whiwhia  Possession, acquisition
Ko te Rawea  Satisfaction at possession
Ko te Hauora  Welfare
Ko te Atea  Space
(Melbourne, 1994)

This patere [chant] explains the traditional stages of development that occur from an empty state of nothing through to the concept of thought and desire, highlighting the cognitive stages of development and growth. It is also through whakapapa that tribal connections to the land base are illustrated and expressed as highlighted earlier in the introductory whakataukī linking the speaker to the local environment.

It is through the connections described in whakapapa to the environment that connections are made to the wider cosmos of Tūhoe through Ranginui [Sky Father], and Papatuanuku [Earth Mother]. The creation of the world to Tūhoe stem from the union of Papatuanuku and Ranginui. Tūhoe knowledge and culture is created and influenced from the union of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, who ultimately stem the Universe [Te Ao Whānui]. Then down through the generations via Tāne Mahuta [God of the Forests], to a local rohe [tribal boundary], that is verified in waiata mōteatea, and whakataukī, recited when the need presents itself to re-illustrate, re-strengthen, and reaffirm one’s connection with the tribal land. Listed below are

70 Ranginui – Māori belief is that the Sky is Father of all things, and is called Ranginui.
71 Papatuanuku – Māori belief is that Papatuanuku is the mother of all things and is how land is viewed.
72 Tāne Mahuta is one of the 70 children born to Ranginui and Papatuanuku, he has many roles which will be explored later in this chapter, and however in this instance he is God of Forests – Creator of the Forests.
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

the genealogical steps that link the author to the tribal boundary of Tūhoe Pōtiki, then further on to Ranginui and Papatuanuku, which then link to the wider cosmos of the universe.

**Whakapapa 4 Ranginui rāua ko Papatuanuku**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranginui – Papatuanuku</th>
<th>Nu-ihō</th>
<th>TeArahe</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanetawaiora</td>
<td>Nu-ake</td>
<td>TeWhareti</td>
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<tr>
<td>TeUririwaho</td>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>Te Motuoruhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whaitiriirimatakataka</td>
<td>Weka-nui</td>
<td>Moetu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kohemaiterangi</td>
<td>Toroa</td>
<td>Kahui</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tawhakioterangi</td>
<td>Wairaka</td>
<td>Hirani</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arawhitiaoterangi</td>
<td>Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi</td>
<td>Wiremu (Me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahieroa</td>
<td>TūhoePōtiki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapuaiterangi</td>
<td>MurakareKE</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tapunui</td>
<td>Murakehu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tapuaroa</td>
<td>TeAnuanu</td>
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<td>TeArohana</td>
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<td>Tapuwhakaihi</td>
<td>Te Matau</td>
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<td>Whakaihinuku</td>
<td>Hineatarau</td>
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<td>Hau</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(T. Tākuta, personal communication, October 1994)

The above whakapapa not only shows the genealogical connections of the author to the Tūhoe cosmos, but shows the stages of development from the creation of time down through to the present. There is an ethical dilemma in writing and recording whakapapa embedded in the ethos of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Tūhoe. To know the entire whakapapa is to know someone intimately. Embedded in whakapapa are the traits that when culminated form and create the present. Simply put, if it were not for the ancestors we would not be present today. By knowing one’s whakapapa and traits of key people with this genealogy provides an intimate insight into the core and being of the person. In addition to the intimate insight provided by knowing the whakapapa of a person, is the fact that the names recorded and documented have physically passed from this world into the next world. Extreme caution must be taken when referring to the ancestors to ensure they are given the proper and due respect, to ensure the spiritual world remains in harmony. It is for these reasons the art of whakapapa is held esoterically by a selected few of the iwi. Many people within the iwi will
have an intimate knowledge of their whakapapa, with a select few able to connect the differing hapū and families to express the entire genealogy of the tribe.

Ethical dilemmas that surround whakapapa are protected by having strict conditions established around its learning to ensure those that do excel in this art are able to maintain the cultural safety components that must be adhered to. Understanding the construction of knowledge as has been expressed required a particular kind of leadership in that the presenter is able to make the appropriate whakapapa connections connecting the idea, the piece of knowledge to the land base of Tūhoe. In doing so, there is an ownership of the knowledge locating you through whakapapa to the concept creating a deeper and wider understanding. If this connection is not able to be made the aspects will not have the same impact as if it were able to have been linked to the land base of Te Urewera. As a result, the naming of children and people was no light thing. A great deal of thought went into the naming of individuals to locate them within their whakapapa, their hapū and their iwi – and of course the name had to be one that the individual could comfortably grow into, that would manifest their tuakiri. For example within my own immediate whānau my older ‘sister’ Hinerau was named for our links to Waikaremōna where one of our ancestors Hinerau was rescued from a chasm she had fallen into by a local rangatira. A small waterfall below the current Department of Conservation Visitor Centre is named ‘Te Tangi-ō-Hinerau’ to commemorate this event. She in turn named her eldest child ‘Hinewai’, not only to symbolise her Tūhoe whakapapa (Hinewai was the younger sister of Hinepūkohurangi) but to also maintain the Waikaremōana connection to another ancestor of that name who lived there. This ancestor took on another life form and is supposed to manifest as a huge white eel within the lake. Another small waterfall located above the south side of Hopurahine stream is called “Te Takapau o Hinewai” after this ancestor. My mother’s knowledge of the land and her whakapapa lines enabled her to come up with the right name for her child. In turn, the knowledge Hinerau acquired through the stories she learned from her whānau and her numerous treks through Te Urewera rohe enabled her to select the right name for her child. My own daughter is named after Mum’s great-aunt, Te Hirea. Along with her husband Te Kotahitanga fought alongside Te Kooti at the battle of Ngatapa pa in Gisborne. When the colonial troops laid siege to the pa, Te Kooti and his fellow inhabitants, having no escape

73 Tuakiri – personality or set of unique skills particular to an individual.
74 Ngatapa Pa battle took place in 1869, 2000 feet above sea level located behind the current settlement of Gisborne (Cowan, 1983a: 271-275).
from death via starvation or death by musket ball, decide to step of the sheer bluffs that blocked a rear attack on Ngatapa. In the dead of night Te Hirea and Te Kotahitanga holding their young baby, embrace in silence, then holding hands step of the bluff in sheer darkness crashing to the valley floor far below. During the fall Te Hirea loses grip of her husband’s free hand, and crashes to the valley in darkness. She cannot call out in pain or in search of her husband and child, as this would alert the colonial troops camped at the only exit pathway from the pa. After searching in silence she concedes her husband and child did not survive the fall, and in mourning slowly returns to Ohaua, taking some months to complete the week long journey. When she eventually arrives back to her settlement of Ohaua she is greeted by her husband and child very much alive. When Te Kotahitanga crashed to the valley floor that dreadful night he too searched in silence in the night, thinking his wife was killed during the fall, steeled himself to live for the sake of their child, made his way back to Ohaua to raise their child. My decisions to name my daughter after this ancestor is to ensure my great-great-great-aunt’s actions are known by this generation. I wanted to ensure her actions and experiences she experienced of the Te Urewera landbase were made available to my daughter’s generations.

Within mātauranga Tūhoe, we have the tribe presiding over a particular land mass that shapes and influences its epistemology with a major focus on identity. This needs to be illustrated showing the creation and development of all things that link back to the land base and ultimately to the individual who is a part of the sub tribe and tribe. This connection illustrated through whakapapa expresses the genealogical and developmental stages that exist in all things.

**Mauri**

The term whakapapa describing the sequential order of events, the component that links these events is mauri. Mauri is the component that creates the linkage that is described in whakapapa. Every single object within Tūhoe has a mauri. The clue to the meaning and understanding of the term mauri comes clear when analysing the word, ma [by], uri [relation], extrapolating the meaning to the relationships that occur between objects. Mauri describes the relationship that occurs between every object and aspect in mātauranga Tūhoe. If a connection is not made through whakapapa it is more than likely an imported idea from
another epistemology. It is through the linkages expressed in whakapapa and mauri that locate and identify knowledge to the Tūhoe landscape and ultimately to the people of Tūhoe. It is through mauri that whakapapa is realised, the stages of physical development and cognitive development, placing the individual physically and cognitively on a continuum in relation to the knowledge culture and discourse of Tūhoe. It is through mauri and whakapapa that connections to tribal lands and boundaries become visible; as mātauranga Tūhoe is inextricably connected back to the tribal lands. It is through this connection that identity is made to Tūhoe. Using the principles of whakapapa highlighting the sequential order of events provides a particular connection to the landscape, people and wider to the Tūhoe epistemology. The links expressed by mauri linking the stages of development described in whakapapa produce a Tūhoe holistic view. People, knowledge and the landscape must be linked, and mauri and whakapapa map this development.

While whakapapa locates the individual as a member of the tribe, particular attention to ensure a continued physical connection to the district and people needs to be maintained. The continued appearance and presence in the rohe is both to maintain currency on public discourse that takes place on the marae, and to ensure there is knowledge of peers and other members of the tribe. By doing this, Tūhoe are able to continue to draw the whakapapa links that illustrate and maintain a tribal connectivity. This is apparent in the previous example I used within my own whānau, regarding the naming of my older sister Hinerau and the subsequent name given by her to her eldest child. Their names identify their Tūhoe heritage, as well as the continued physical connection to the district and the local hapū. Names within our whānau are chosen to reinforce our connections to other hapū within Tūhoe, and the particular areas of Te Urewera that they occupied. In this way successive generations will have a form of whānau history to help tie them to each other and to the land.

As I do not reside within my tribal boundary, I must acknowledge those who have made the commitment to remain within Tūhoe to maintain the presence and occupation of tribal lands. If they were not there, the lands become open for occupation by other tribes, thus extinguishing my right, my claim to call myself Tūhoe, therefore extinguishing my tūrangawaewae [place of standing, or comfort zone]. Land is a vital component to Tūhoe; it resulted in wars between tribes, arranged marriages between couples, alliances and treaties formed and created all in order to maintain or gain access to land. Tūhoe like other tribes in Aotearoa has a full history around the protection and acquisition of land embedded in the
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-īwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

Tūhoe body of knowledge (illustrated in chapters 6 and 7). The occupation of land within Tūhoe abstractly described as te ahikā [the burning fires], describes the fires lit in the numerous Tūhoe settlements. The term describes the pre-European Tūhoe movement from settlement to settlement within the rohe of Tūhoe, governed by the weather or the availability of seasonal foods. The fire was initially started in the settlement at some point in time. When the tribe would depart an ember from the fire was taken and placed onto a dried fungus, that grows in the black [tawai] or white [towai] beech trees. This dried fungus, called te pukutawai, has a consistency similar to that of polystyrene. An ember would be placed onto the fungus slowly smouldering before burying. Burying the pukutawai would suffocate the smoldering fungus until the tribe returned the following season to unearth and re-expose to air where it would resume smoldering. From the smoldering fungus that was initially set alight by the previous year’s fire would re-ignite the fire for the new season, thus keeping the fire burning that was initially started in the settlement generations before.

Picture 5 Pukutawai

The continual burning of the fires in the settlements was one of the formal markings by the tribe to display their occupation over the rohe. Derived from the continual burning of the fire comes the term te ahikā [the burning fire], that is used to express one’s continual connection to the land base. In order to maintain the continual burning of the fire, a person is required to be present. If a person does not reside within the boundary and does not keep a presence amongst the tribe the ahikā is then termed mātao [cold]. To have an ahikā termed mātao means (for the person to engage and interact with the tribe), they have to serve a period very similar to that of an apprenticeship, regardless of the position held before the period of
absence. By serving the apprenticeship period, they have to be seen to be participating at gatherings, and by doing this they are re-exposing themselves to the ideologies, and current discourses of Tūhoe. When the time comes for them to re-engage into the discourse they are cognizant and up to date with the current issues. To ensure the ahikā does not become mātao there has to be an effort to interact and engage within the initiatives of the iwi. By ensuring one’s ahikā does not become extinguished a continued presence must be seen by the tribe, building a continued relationship between the tribe and the rohe. Therefore maintaining a physical and cognitive connection to the land described as tūrangawaewae. The interaction of the tribe to the land base is a unique relationship that is both physical and spiritual. For mātauranga Tūhoe to exist there has to be a connection to Te Urewera.

A physical and spiritual link to lands in Tūhoe creates and forms the base of mātauranga Tūhoe. Every component has a whakapapa inextricably linked through mauri to each other. Some examples of this can be seen in the deliberate naming of elements to reinforce these connections. By analysing the naming of the forest and trees examples of whakapapa and mauri can be seen.

The name for forest is ngahere, ngā [the], here [connections], the connections. By analysing the names of the following trees further strengthen and illustrate this: kauri\textsuperscript{75} – ka [particle] uri [relations] produces the statement to be related. The pirita\textsuperscript{76} supplejack vine describes ‘pulling together’, illustrating how it grows, it spreads itself across trees, tying and connecting them together, hence pirita – making connections as illustrated in whakapapa and mauri.

If no connection can be made to the tribal lands, the mātauranga has no base to hang from or position itself, no point of beginning, and it will have no whakapapa connections to the rohe. If the whakapapa connections are not drawn, there is no credibility in identifying it with mātauranga Tūhoe. If you are unable to connect through whakapapa to a tribal base, you have no tūrangawaewae. When challenged on aspects you will not have a comfort zone to revert, gather, and muster confidence and strength from. Captured in the naming of ngahere; and the trees located there reaffirm the connection to the environment in that each is a description of

\textsuperscript{75} Agathis australis, giant conifer (Dawson & Lucas, 2005: 52).
\textsuperscript{76} Incorrectedly named in Dawson and Lucas (2005: 169) as Kareao (this is name of berry) Ripogonum scandens.
the role each maintains as it completes its function and purpose described and expressed through mātauranga Tūhoe. In addition to the analysis drawn in naming of the trees, mātauranga Tūhoe through whakapapa places trees as ancestors. The trees whakapapa to Tāne child of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Tāne created the flora and fauna found within the ngahere, after he had completed the ngahere he created Hineahuone their union produced Hinetitama the first female born. Within mātauranga Tūhoe, Hineahuone was the first female created; she was shaped and formed out of earth by Tāne, as is indicated by her name, hine [female], ahu [derived from], one [earth]. All whakapapa in mātauranga Tūhoe connects back to Tāne, connecting the descendants of Tūhoe directly to Tāne. This establishes the link between the trees and people. Through whakapapa and mauri we have the physical connection to the trees that grow within our environment.

**Ko Te Reo O Tūhoe: The Tūhoe Language**

Mātauranga Tūhoe is also fixed to its environment and land base and realised through the Tūhoe dialect – ko te reo o Tūhoe. It is through language that interpretations and philosophies attached to this land base are clarified. It is through the language that the linkages and connections are explained, it is through terminology that signposts are given, outlining the deeper meaning, as in the terms whakapapa – the sequential ordering of events, mauri – the relationships and ngahere – the embodiment of connections. With an intimate knowledge of Tūhoe language the fuller understanding and meanings become clearer. The language of Tūhoe is essential to gain an insight and deeper understanding of the hermeneutics of mātauranga Tūhoe. Only with an intimate knowledge of the language will mātauranga Tūhoe become clearer. Connections are made linking ideologies from conception to contemporary times with an unlocking of the clues incorporated into the language and terminology. Thus developing key elements linking knowledge to the socio-political landscape and development beyond notions of mātauranga to notions of wisdom. Incorporated in wisdom are the meanings experiential and applied knowledge in the appropriate context and other things expanding the epistemological basis of the language.

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77 This is covered fully in the next section of this chapter in Ranginui and Papatuanuku.
78 Hineahuone is the first woman created, she was shaped and formed by Tāne, who later gave birth to their first child, Hinetitama.
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

The language outlines models, and constructs that collectively constitutes mātauranga Tūhoe. The central key aspect of mātauranga Tūhoe is the language of Tūhoe, it is through the language an intimate understanding and clarity of what is Tūhoe becomes clear. An analogy here is that language is the key to the door that allows you to enter a Tūhoe world. Without the key, (language), you are only able to peek and peer through the window. The language allows you to shift your position to view from within rather than from a distant or foreign position. This notion captured and reflected in the filters used in mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Tūhoe is required in order to gain a more authentic understanding of Tūhoe. This section of the thesis will unpack aspects through the language showing the significance in distinguishing Tūhoetanga.

**Formation of Tūhoetanga**

Tūhoetanga is all that is Tūhoe, it is the language, it is the people, it is the culture. Everything that Tūhoe people do can arguably be described as Tūhoetanga. Each tribal body of Māori have their own cultural aspects that are unique to them, while there may be similarities in the process of the culture it is the people and the environment that make it unique. As described earlier in this thesis, for Tūhoe it is the land base largely consistent of Te Urewera that forms and shapes Tūhoetanga. The relationship that Tūhoe people experience with their environment of Te Urewera shapes Tūhoetanga. This relationship with the environment has a strong influence on the language, whereby simile and metaphor include reference and comparisons with the environment, as is highlighted here in the statement about Tūhoe: Ngā tamariki o te kohu [children of the mist]. This statement is commonly used to refer to Tūhoe, where Tūhoe history states that a section of its genealogy is from a union of mist and an ancestor Maunga, who had a child beginning one of the older genealogical lines found in Tūhoe history, hence the reference to the children of the mist. However, an uncanny relationship still exists and can be found where it is very common to find areas of Te Urewera heavily shrouded in mists where neighbouring valleys enjoy blue skies.

The foundation of what is Tūhoe has been through an intimate relationship between the iwi, and the landscape. Tūhoetanga is inextricably linked to the boundary of Tūhoe, and the people of Tūhoe. As the need of Tūhoe changes, so too does the relationship with the landscape; that it changes is irrelevant; what is critical is that the linkage with people and
landscape is maintained. As the changes occur, they are mapped and recorded, adding to the rich history and epistemology of Tūhoe. This process of engaging with the environment continually adds and builds the body of what can loosely be translated as a Tūhoe epistemology. There are clear processes for recording and using these changes and amendments to this relationship with the environment; some changes have a set prescribed time as in rāhui.

**Notions of Rāhui**

Rāhui is a process of quarantine. Where a particular area has had a significant event occur a rāhui is placed. This is more generally around where a death has occurred, this area will have a rāhui placed over it. This is to ensure the correct formalities in acknowledging the deceased are adhered to. If the area where the death has occurred is one used for gathering food, the rāhui would take the form of restricting the gathering of food from that particular spot, for an agreed period of time. Rāhui is also a tool that is used to ensure resources are managed effectively; to ensure there is sustainability. From year to year a particular area may have a rāhui placed on it to ensure the resource has sufficient time to replenish. The placing and removal of rāhui requires a very close intimate connection with the environment to ensure a level of harmony is acquired. A simple example of this is in the gathering of pikopiko [native asparagus]. If the young pikopiko are not harvested, the young shoots turn into adult mauku [native fern], growing large and producing very few, very small pikopiko shoots, resulting in the fern eventually dying with no new shoots growing to replace the adult mauku leaves. However a well-managed harvesting of the pikopiko ensures there are healthy pikopiko left after harvesting and the ferns will continue to grow. Like in all other aspects of Tūhoetanga these processes have tikanga associated, contextualizing the knowledge that is required, along with other sections of tikanga constitutes a significant part of the Tūhoe epistemology. The term tikanga means to be correct; tikanga means mātauranga Tūhoe practice must be conducted correctly meeting, the rules identified in whakapapa.

This particular section of Tūhoe epistemology must be localised within the physical landscape of Tūhoe; outside of the landscape it becomes theoretical and de-contextual its context is only realized by the landscape, this is where it is relevant and engaged with. The process of rāhui insures principles of hygiene are followed, if in the event of a death, physical hygiene needs attending to as well as the notions of spiritual hygiene. Working through
processes of tikanga ensures the well being of the people are maintained in a safe and controlled process. The notion of spiritual hygiene illustrates the spiritual connection Tūhoe has with its environment; to ensure its maintenance, carefully developed procedures expressed as tikanga outline the set stages required for the appropriate function. With regard to spiritual hygiene, tikanga ensures the relationships with the spiritual components are acknowledged and respected. Places where death has occurred will have food-gathering restricted to ensure the physical signs of the tragedy have dissolved back into the environment, no longer infecting food secured from the area. As well as the physical impact, time is given to ensure the emotional impacts have time to heal before the area is opened to be used in the manner it was prior to the death occurring.

War and battles have resulted in people failing to uphold rāhui, as is expressed in the mōteatea “Taku Rakau”, written by Mihi-ki-te-kapua describing the death of her and Hikawai’s son Mahia, killed in the Papuni district in 1819. A rāhui was placed over the district at his death, however Hikawai’s people returned to the district before Mihi-ki-te-kapua had finished grieving for her son, requesting “taihoa e hoki koi kai koutou i ngā para o toku tamaiti [do not return yet, you may indeed eat the remains of my son]”. Reference here to the scene were the death occurred was still in the eyes of the mother infected with his killing (Black, 2000; 342-346).

Taku rakau e
Oh indeed my supporting comfort
(weapon stick)

Tau rawa ki te whare
Eventually reaches the house

Ka ngaro a Takahi e
That led to the loss of Takahi

Te Whare o te Kahikatoa
The house of kahikatoa [this was a house of war]

Hei ngau whakapae
To bite the pain, anguish

Hei whakapae Ururoa e hau mai ra
Be like the hammerhead shark

Kei waho kei te moana
Residing outside in the sea

Kaore aku mihi e
I have no residual thoughts

Aku tangi mo koutou
or tears to mourn for you

Mau puku ko te iwi e
Stoically the tribe remains sentinel

Ka mowai tonu te whenua
to the lonely remaining land

E takoto nei
that unfolds here

Hikawai and his people returned to Papuni despite the repeated requests from Mihi-ki-te-kapua to wait. Because the failed to acknowledge her requests to wait, she composed Taku Rakau as a song to incite Tūhoe to attack and destroy Hikawai and his people. The song had the desired effect as Tūhoe rallied and attacked the people of Hikawai, while this is an
extreme version of breaking notions of rāhui there were less serious issues nevertheless, that needed to be followed.

An example of this: when setting out to secure food one does not state one is going to collect kereru [native wood pigeon] as this is viewed as invoking pūhore where a close correlation is drawn from the saying of counting one’s chickens before they hatch. Rather the approach is one of going to look, prefaced by karakia to Tāne [creator of the forests and all associated with it]. The general approach of the karakia to Tāne is requesting his children for food, in that those that are given he maintains the mauri [life essence] to live on within the ngahere, whereby only the physical body is removed. It is critical that the spiritual connection to the landscape is acknowledge and maintained in harmony. In doing this, there needs to be an intimate understanding of the creation and connection of aspects through whakapapa that are interconnected with mauri to ensure a full understanding is reached when taking from the environment. In the case above it refers to kereru, where acknowledgement must be to Tāne, every practice that required a resource taken from the environment required full physical and spiritual understanding of the impact that would occur when removed. These processes are one component of Tūhoe tikanga; the practices that maintain Tūhoe harmony with its environment inform its cultural functions as unique practices to Tūhoe.

The key to unlocking the concepts of rāhui expressed through tikanga like other components of mātauranga Tūhoe is found in the language. By analysing terms the meanings become clearer. The language of Tūhoe describes its relationship from a Tūhoe perspective; it illustrates the spiritual and physical harmony achieved through Tūhoe cultural functions. As are other tribal groups around Aotearoa, Tūhoe is clear in what its cultural functions are that constitute Tūhoetanga, these processes, rituals and formalities clearly mark the boundaries and systems that Tūhoe operate by which are not readily changed. These boundaries delineated and maintained through tikanga, literally translated as the ‘Tūhoe’ truth or being correct in guiding and setting the processes that Tūhoe strictly adheres. Tūhoe tikanga permeates everything that occurs with the people and the landscape; this establishes the guidelines and boundaries that the iwi and the landscape operate by. Returning again to the kereru an example of this relationship is seen, which is only hunted in the months of May to August, to coincide with the toromiro [native pine] bearing fruit, as not to interfere with the nesting and mating of this bird that mates for life and produces only one egg a season. Tūhoe
interacting with its environment has achieved this relationship with the Toromiro and life cycle of the kereru. Establishing tikanga [rules] in the hunting of this resource to ensure it would continue to be a sustainable food source. Because gathering kereru occurred only during a set time, technology was created to preserve this bird to be enjoyed out of season. This technology similarly had tikanga attached to it, ensuring it followed clearly established principles and guidelines taught from one generation to the next, becoming another section of the Tūhoe epistemology that included notions of maintaining hygiene as this was a food source both physical and spiritual hygiene had to be followed.

Tikanga established a framework for Tūhoe to maintain a balanced relationship with its environment. Similarly as tikanga provides the framework when engaging with the environment it also provides the framework to be observed and followed when whānau, hapū and iwi interact with each other, how different sections, engage with each other is stipulated again by tikanga. Tikanga ensures Tūhoetanga is correct; tikanga is the Tūhoe truth and it is through tikanga that Tūhoetanga is promoted and embedded. As the relationship that Tūhoe enjoys with its landscape changes and evolves, so does its tikanga [truth]. Tikanga does need to evolve and change, the crucial component is when the tikanga changes, it is understood why it is changing and an intimate knowledge of what was the process in use prior to the change.

**Notions of Whakapapa**

As documented earlier in this thesis, whakapapa is a key element in tracking and recording the developmental changes that occur, as not only is the concept important; so too are the changes and developments that occur. It is crucial these changes are recorded and explained adding to the development of that particular concept; allowing the knowledge base to grow and expand, adopting to the new notions that occur with the interaction with the environment. Whakapapa is the sequential ordering of events that are relevant to the particular knowledge component that is being observed. Tūhoetanga is also mapped and manifested through tikanga; tikanga provides the rationale as to why a particular practice is performed; tikanga in conjunction with whakapapa will map the changes that that particular process has undergone; it will illustrate the development stages, noting where change has occurred and why; invariably tikanga will link the process with the iwi and the landscape. The promotion of Tūhoetanga is via tikanga, the ‘Tūhoe truth’, this ‘truth’, tikanga will only be relevant to
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

Tūhoe, it will not be pertinent or be a ‘truth’ for another iwi, their particular truth – tikanga will be located in their own land base, and their interaction with it.

Debate on Tūhoetanga and tikanga among different sections of the iwi ensures the systems are relevant, correct and understood by all. When Tūhoe meets formally and informally Tūhoetanga and tikanga is engaged, it is contested, and challenged ultimately ensuring its relevance to Tūhoe and Te Urewera – rohe, boundary of Tūhoe; ensuring Tūhoetanga is correct and seen and understood by all. As within the debates, accounts are retold of the processes and events that have occurred creating the tikanga that is currently practised. Tūhoetanga is promoted by tikanga; how this tikanga is engaged with is kawa. There are many aspects to kawa; it is a concept similar to tikanga of having many explanations that constitute its makeup. However, a personal albeit simplistic analogy I use is as follows; think of tikanga as a policy statement, and then kawa becomes the process followed to maintain the principle of the policy. An example of this is pōwhiri. Tikanga states that all manuhiri [visitors] are welcomed through the traditional rituals of pōwhiri, the process conducted through kawa, as different areas will have slight variations in the delivery. While within the confines of Tūhoe, the variations will be very subtle, unseen to the unknowing person, acknowledging the names and components that are relevant to the hapū where the pōwhiri is taking place. However when moving out of the boundary of Tūhoe, as pōwhiri is a ritual practised by all Māori, here marked differences in the performance of this tikanga is seen, in the order of speaking, seating and place of the pōwhiri, are but a few of the changes that will be seen. Tūhoetanga is further promoted and embedded by tikanga that is engaged through the process of kawa, ultimately embedding tikanga and kawa into Tūhoetanga – Tūhoe way of operating; thinking, feeling and being. Tūhoetanga practised through the processes of tikanga establishes the criteria of which notions of Tūhoetanga must follow. In following the criteria established by tikanga ensures the framework for conducting practices is set by the people of Tūhoe interacting with its landscape.

Tikanga or the ‘Tūhoe’ truth outlines the criteria and framework that Tūhoetanga follows. This framework establishes itself by the tribe of Tūhoe interacting with its land base, realised by experiences of the people and the land base interacting and engaging with each other. Where each component used in the developmental stage of this framework are significant parts that collectively are termed the Tūhoe epistemology. Alterations, additions and
developments to tikanga are recorded through the relevant whakapapa [developmental stages]; however, it is only through extreme situations are these steps done. Ultimately, the people of Tūhoe establish what Tūhoetanga is and what it means for them established on the principles of Tūhoe tikanga expressed through the language of Tūhoe.

Māori language differs from region to region, each tribe will have a particular tune in which the language is easily distinguishable. While there are differences in some terms, overall there is a consistency in the vocabulary used in the language between tribes. Differing tribes can understand each dialect very easily, using this to identify the speakers’ tribal connections, taking note of the metaphor and simile that will reflect the tribal relationship with their particular landscape. And finally the tune and intonation are the parts of the language that differ that also locate the speaker to their particular tribal connection. The influences on Tūhoe language are from the ngahere; examples of this are seen when viewing the traditional song composers from the 1700s with Mihi-ki-te-kapua drawing the imaginary from the forest to describe her loneliness in the traditional mōteatea, *Engari te Titi*, the full version of the song is found earlier in this chapter;

Kei te hua kiwi i mahue i te tawai  The egg abandoned by the kiwi at the tawai\(^{79}\) roots,  
Ka toro te rakau kai runga, ra e  They spread and embrace it;  
Ka hoki mai ki te pao,  When the mother returns for the hatching,  
Ka whai uri ki ahau  The progeny is such as I.

This influence continues when viewing the compositions of the late Dr Hirini Melbourne who wrote prolifically until his untimely passing in 2003. In this particular song *Ngā Tamariki o te Kohu*, imagery of the Te Urewera drenched in mist is described as it folds and encompasses valleys and ridge caps:

Hiki ake te kohe e…  The rising mist  
Ko Hinepūkohurangi..  Is Hinepūkohurangi  
Tapapa ana ki ngā koawa floating in the valleys  
Hei kakahu mo Papatuanuku… Clothing Papatuanuku  

Ka hura te moenga..  The bed (is exposed)  
O te tipua nei a te Maunga of the ancestor Te Maunga  
Ki runga o Onini e..  On Onini

\(^{79}\) Tawai is the beech tree, when it grows; the root structure creates a low ceiling over the ground creating a space where the kiwi lays it egg.
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-īwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

| Ka hono kia Hīnepūkohurangi | Embraces Hīnepukorangi |
| Huraina ngā rarauwhe          | Uncovering the fern (bracken) |
| Kia puta ko Ngā Pōtiki        | emerges Ngā Pōtiki |
| Ngā uri o te Maunga           | Descendants of Maunga |
| Ngā Tamariki o te kohu        | Children of the mist.... |

Tūhoetanga can only truly be experienced through the language of Tūhoe; metaphor, assonance, simile, onomatopoeia and other notions of the language will only be realised by knowing the language. The challenge is how to provide this level of understanding to the large numbers who are unfamiliar to the Tūhoe dialect of the language. It is crucial for the advancement of Tūhoe that all its descendants are able to meaningfully engage in the cultural components of Tūhoe. The 2001 Statistics New Zealand identified that 40.4% of Tūhoe were competent to hold a conversation in Māori.

A fine balance needs to be maintained here in that if too much of what constitutes Tūhoe knowledge is discussed and debated outside the environment of the Tūhoe language the true meaning of the culture will become lost, moving to a more de-contextual situation of having the culture described in the second person. By ensuring people are able to engage with the language at least gives them an insight and understanding of what the notions of truth for Tūhoetanga are founded on. This ensures that the people who are able to speak with an authority of what it is to be Tūhoe have a grounded understanding that is rooted into the land base. People who do not have a fluency of the language are still able to have input that describes a perspective that they have as individuals. As a descendant of Tūhoe they have this right. Nevertheless, this needs to be tempered and placed into context to the discussion of Tūhoe from the holders of the language who at times will remain silent, and very rarely engage in the audiences that non-speaking Tūhoe people do. Nelson Mandela, in Long Walk to Freedom recounts an episode he had with an audience with the Queen Regent of Basutoland in the importance of knowing one’s language, where in an address conducted in their language Sesotho, he was quickly and acutely made aware of his utter lack of knowledge in one of his languages at that particular time;

The queen took special notice of me and at one point addressed me directly, but spoke in Sesotho, a language in which I knew few words. Sesotho is the language of the Sotho people as well as the Tswana, a large number of whom live in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. She looked at me with incredulity, and then said in English, “What kind of lawyer and leader will you be who cannot speak the language
of your own people?” I had no response. The question embarrassed and sobered me; it made me realise my parochialism and just how unprepared I was for the task of serving my own people. I had unconsciously succumbed to the ethnic divisions fostered by the white government and I did not know how to speak to my own kith and kin. Without language, one cannot talk to people and understand them; one cannot share their hopes and aspirations, grasp their history, appreciated their poetry or savor their songs. (Mandela, 1997: 97)

As felt by Mandela, without the language, it becomes difficult to engage. If the notions of what constitutes Tūhoeetanga are from discussions outside of the Tūhoe language and environment it leads to a de-contextual situation. Tūhoe holds a unique position in that its culture is still largely intact with large sections of the Tūhoe tribe able to debate and discuss its culture within its language. Care needs to be taken to ensure these experts are not sidelined; silenced to allow the voice of people who are more comfortable in a non-Tūhoe environment to hold the ‘voice of authority’ over Tūhoe who largely do not have the language.

If the language of Tūhoe were to become lost, notions of Tūhoeetanga would become de-contextualised, further moving the culture away from being a lived culture to more of a theoretical notion of ‘the way we used to be’. Tūhoe knowledge and culture must be debated and engaged within the environment of the language; that 17,000 Tūhoe do not speak the language need to focus on learning the language rather than detracting from those who are fluent in the language. This largely manifests itself as forcing issues or topics of discussion around Tūhoe to be conducted in English in order to include people who do not speak the language. This view was highlighted at the Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga, mātauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference Indicators of Well-being: Perspectives, Practices, Solutions, held in Wellington in June 2006, where an aunt (Ani Hare80) and I presented a topic on notions of Tūhoe well-being that she has created in her school situated in Waiōhau.

My aunt was very clear in that she was discussing the criteria of what constituted Tūhoe indicators of Tūhoe wellness could not be discussed outside the language, where the address was given in the Tūhoe language, giving me the difficult task of attempting to explain concepts that do not have an equivalent in English. Every effort needs to be taken to support and encourage non-speakers of Tūhoe language and more generally the Māori language to learn. By allowing non-speakers to hold positions of authority of cultural matters of Tūhoe

80 Ani Hare is the Principal of Waiōhau Kura Kaupapa, which is located on the northern boundary of Te Urewera.
will weaken the position to encourage people to learn Māori and its many dialects; if the Tūhoe dialect is lost to Tūhoe it is lost to the world.

A sobering example of a limited understanding of the language is seen in the article written by Dr Te Maire Tau (2001), “The Death of Knowledge”, where Tau holds the view there is no such thing as mātauranga Māori. It is disappointing to note that a person would limit their own tribal body of knowledge to the state of a misguided truth that was proven to be incorrect at the arrival of the Pākehā. Perhaps it is the author that does not see or make the links that exist in mātauranga-a-iwi that inform the knowledge base of Ngai Tahu? Here is an example of how the loss of language leads to a de-contextual approach to Māori. As cited by Tau the tribe’s knowledge structure imploded at the contact with Pākehā (Tau, 2001: 131). Clearly Tau cannot speak for Tūhoe or any other tribe other than that of his own, Tūhoe knowledge, language and culture is still very alive today as are many other tribes. Unfortunately for Tau it appears that a colonised view has emerged here, because the author has limited access and understanding to Māori knowledge constructs therefore it must be non-existent.

The position adopted by Tau reaffirms the stance that people must have a true fluency in the language if they are to comment on tribal structures of knowledge. This position specifically relates to the mātauranga-a-iwi strand within the framework, in that people will need to have a fluency in the language to debate and engage with ideologies that reside here. The mātauranga Māori, and kaupapa Māori theory strands operate in a different environment to mātauranga-a-iwi, where people who do not have a fluency in the language are able to engage and use the principles that reside here. Through kaupapa Māori theory and mātauranga Māori, limited understandings provided ensure people can safely live and engage mātauranga Māori. While the deep authentic understanding of why particular practices will not be known, a sufficient understanding will be reached in using concepts and ideologies here. In this thesis, I was confronted very early by the question of which language I should use. A model of a PhD thesis in Māori is written by Professor of Research, Taiarahia Black of Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. However, during the early stages of developing the proposal, a clear audience was identified: non-Māori speaking people with a strong interest in Māori, to illustrate the critical importance of having a true fluency in Māori and

81 Māori tribe residing in the South Island of New Zealand.
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

English. Were it written in Māori it would not have been as easily accessible. Specifically, were the narratives and meanings of this written in the Tūhoe dialect of Māori it would have been lost to the audience. In recapping the framework for mātauranga Tūhoe, we have the tribe, interacting with the environment, using the experiences experienced through the environment to shape and create their language and epistemology. Each aspect within this framework is crucial to mātauranga Tūhoe, the tribe is connected to a land base, with a language to explain the interactions that occur, ultimately leading to the creation of an epistemology unique to the tribe and land.

![Diagram 14 Mātauranga Tūhoe](image)

The description expressed above is what occurs where mātauranga-a-iwi engages and evolves with its landscape, creating the context for the knowledge to exist and establish itself. This provides the critical context that grounds and connects mātauranga to the people and the landscape.

**Ranginui and Papatuanuku**

Within the epistemology of Tūhoe, Papatuanuku personified as Earth Mother, and Ranginui is as Sky Father, were entangled in an embrace and in the gaps and spaces between these two were their 70 children. Each of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatuanuku played a
significant part in creating the environment. Outlined below are the children with each key function played in the creation of the environment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uru-te-ngangana</td>
<td>Origin heavenly bodies</td>
<td>Rangaranga-ihi-matua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roiho</td>
<td>Mawakenui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roake</td>
<td>Te Arawaru</td>
<td>Origin of shellfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haemparate</td>
<td>Personifies clouds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haepuru</td>
<td>Tukapua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangaranga-ihi-matua</td>
<td>Personifies clouds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roake</td>
<td>Te Arawaru</td>
<td>Origin of shellfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiro-te-tipua</td>
<td>Personifies darkness, evil death</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tangarima</td>
<td>Tumata-tawera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangaroa</td>
<td>Origin of fish; controller with Rona the tides</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Whiro-te-tipua</td>
<td>Personifies darkness, evil death</td>
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<td>Tangarima</td>
<td>Tumata-tawera</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tangaroa</td>
<td>Origin of fish; controller with Rona the tides</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiwa</td>
<td>Tâne-te-uirora</td>
<td>Personifies lighting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Hhorangi</td>
<td>Personified form of rain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumatauenga</td>
<td>Departmental deity of war</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ikaroa</td>
<td>The milky way</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raka-mamao</td>
<td>Personifies the south</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongo-mararoa</td>
<td>Origin of personified form of kumara and of peace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongo-mararoa</td>
<td>Origin of personified form of kumara and of peace</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tawhiritori</td>
<td>Personifies winds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruataumata</td>
<td>Kewa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongo-mai-waho</td>
<td>Taka-urunga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiwhanui</td>
<td>Rongomai-tahanui</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punaweko</td>
<td>Origin and personification of land-birds</td>
<td>Takatua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mauhi</td>
<td>Paerangi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hurumana</td>
<td>Origin and personification of sea birds</td>
<td>Rongomai-whakateka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurumana</td>
<td>Origin and personification of sea birds</td>
<td>Rongomai-whakateka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaukau</td>
<td>Taiepa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Kiwatawai</td>
<td>Guardian of entrance to spirit world</td>
<td>Tuamatua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Takaaho</td>
<td>Uenuku-rangi</td>
<td>Personifies lightening</td>
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<td>Rongo-huakai</td>
<td>Nganangana-a-rangi</td>
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<td>Rongo-whakaata</td>
<td>Rongomai-taha-rangi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timutahi</td>
<td>Tumata-kaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uepoto</td>
<td>Turamarama-a-nuku</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peketua</td>
<td>Origin of reptiles and insects</td>
<td>Tumata-ruaiporo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangahua</td>
<td>Origin of stones, &amp;c</td>
<td>Rongomai-tu-waho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekerewai</td>
<td>Tumata-huki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaupeka</td>
<td>Tâne</td>
<td>The fertiliser; personified form of the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toro-i-waho</td>
<td>Tupai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Akaaka-matua</td>
<td>Ruauumoko</td>
<td>Or Whakaruaumoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Mamaru</td>
<td></td>
<td>origins of earthquakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawhaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Best, 1995: 75-76)
As the offspring grew, space was reduced between the two beings, thus starting the discussion to create more space. Tumatauenga pushed a view to kill their parents, with an opposing view held by Tawhirimatea to maintain the status quo whereby the parents remain together. Tāne settled the argument by reaching a compromise to have the parents separated, but remain in sight of each other. Each brother tried and failed, in the end it was Tāne who succeeded by lying on his back and pushing out with his feet, separating his parents, and creating the space for his siblings to grow and develop in, thus creating Te Aoturoa [The world of standing tall], where for the first time they could stand and walk tall. Upon completion of this, Tāne set about creating the forests and all associated with it, Tangaroa set about creating all aspects and origins of the sea and life associated with this. As each of the siblings solidified their positions and areas on Papatuanuku, Tawhirimatea choose to reside along with his father, Ranginui, in the sky, and here smarting from the separation of his parents, he launched an attack on his two siblings Tāne and Tangaroa. Tawhirimatea created the winds, to do his bidding, as a result became creator of the winds.

Watching this development was another of the siblings, Tumatauenga, because a lack of resistance was displayed by Tāne and Tangaroa in the attack by Tawhirimatea he turned and ate their offspring, being the highest insult one can do, resulting in the offspring becoming excrement. However, by Tumatauenga doing this he lay down the example to eat the food from the forest and the sea. Within the separation of the parents and development of the Aoturoa, a faction of sibling rivalry was solidifying between Whiro-te-tipua (Whiro) against Tāne. This rift driven by Whiro, took the view the elder of the siblings conduct anything major or significant, where Whiro was of this section and Tāne was of the younger section of the family.

This rift began when Tāne reached the compromise to part the parents, Whiro holding to his view; development had to be led by him and the eldest sibling Uru-te-ngana. Contributing to this rift was the success that Tāne achieved by separating their parents and the extreme cold that both Whiro and Uru experienced as they explored conditions outside the shelter provided by the parents. This became viewed as a failed attempt to secure an alternative living site.

The final act that compounded this rift occurred when the creator of the Universe Io Matua Kore [The Parentless One], residing in Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, dispatched a messenger to Te Aoturoa requesting an individual ascend to Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi to secure the knowledge used
by the creator in creating the Universe. Io Matua Kore otherwise known as Te Kaihanga [The Creator] is consistent through mātauranga Māori as the creator of the Māori Universe residing at the topmost level of consciousness, made of 12 levels. Unfortunately the 12 (some versions have 10) levels of consciousness have incorrectly been labelled 12 heavens drawing conflict of people’s understanding of the term heaven. Rather these levels are deeper levels of understanding and consciousness that one needs to comprehend when engaging with mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Tūhoe. The Kaihanga is located at the highest level of consciousness, Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, listed below are the 12 levels:

- Te Toi-O-Ngā-Rangi
- Tirititi-O-Matangi
- Rangi-Naono-Ariki
- Rangi-Te-Wawana
- Ranginui-Ka-Tika
- Rangi-Mataura
- Rangi-Tauru-nui
- Rangi-Matawai
- Rangi-Maire-Kura
- Rangi-Parauri
- Rangi-Tamaku

(Best, 1995: 73)

The arrival of the messenger from Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi defined the split occurring between the siblings, Whiro hearing the request began his ascent at once with support from those of the siblings that supported him, and unfortunately the pathway selected did not reach Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, Whiro failed in his haste. The remainder of the brethren stayed to discuss and appoint a person to fulfil this quest; eventually nominating Tāne to complete the task. In contrast to Whiro, when selected, Tāne carefully planned his approach; first task was to create a structure to hold the knowledge from the Kaihanga. To achieve this Tāne ascended to Rangi-Tamaku to secure plans and design of the house Wharekura [house of learning], as a model to construct on Te Aoturoa as a venue to hold the knowledge when secured from Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi:

… Tāne appeals to Tamakaka, Tupai, Rongo and Tawhirimatea to accompany him to Rangi-Tamaku [second heaven] in order to obtain a plan of Whare-kura, that such a place might be constructed on earth to serve as a place in which the wānanga, or esoteric knowledge of the twelve heavens, might be preserved.

(Best, 1995: 99)
Wharekura became the prototype for the traditional Wharenuī [meeting house] constructed on Te Aoturoa. The creation of a wharenuī on Te Aoturoa was deliberate by Tāne; it completed the link to the 12 levels of consciousness where each level contained a Wharenuī. In each wharenuī was a smoke hole to one side of the main ridge line tahuhu, called Pumotomoto. It was via this Tāne ascended, he entered the wharenuī on Te Aoturoa, climbing the centre pole [poutokomanawa] to climb through the pumotomoto emerging onto the next level, entered the wharenuī there, climbed through the pumotomoto emerging onto the next level and so forth until arriving at Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi.

Diagram 15 Pumotomoto

The pathway Tāne choose to ascend to Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi was via the pūmotomoto being the portal into the next level of consciousness, illustrated here entering the wharenuī on Te Aotūroa, climbing the poutokomanawa through the pūmotomoto emerging out into the next level Rangi-nui-A-Tamaku, where the process was repeated through the wharenuī located there.

On arrival at Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, Tāne met with Io Matua Kore who had packaged the knowledge that was used in the creation of the universe in three baskets [ngā kete o te
wānanga] and two stones, Rehutai and Hukitai. Each kete contained a particular section of knowledge.

- Kete-Uruuru Matua – Peace, goodness, and love
- Kete-Uruuru Rangi – Prayers, incantations and ritual
- Kete-Uruuru Tawhito – War, agriculture, wood work, stone work, earthwork. (Buck, 1952: 449)

Upon receipt of the knowledge from the creator, Tāne descended back to Te Aotūroa the same way he ascended, via the pūmotomoto (a fuller version to this section of Māori history is in Māori and Religion Mythology Part 1, by Elsdon Best, 1995). This is a very brief account of the creation of the universe to Māori and Tūhoe and there have been major components omitted. Provided here is a brief summary of key points to reinforce the sequential order of events that have established mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Tūhoe. Within the Tūhoe explanation of the creation of the world are the examples that set the template, a framework for mātauranga Tūhoe. Within this framework are key events that descendants of Tūhoe may encounter during their lifetimes, the choices we are confronted with have been mapped and negotiated in the past, whereby through following the whakapapa of events one can trace back and see what the outcomes would be by choosing or following a particular path.

Drawing from this example of the creation, Tāwhirimātea led a group of siblings to hold to the status quo, wanting the parents to remain together. Tūmatauenga held an opposing view – instead wishing to have their parents killed, with Tāne reaching the compromise of separating but remaining in view of each other. Captured here are the range of emotions encountered when preparing to leave home: some will follow Tāwhirimātea and remain at home, some will pursue the example set by Tūmatauenga leaving as soon as possible, while the majority will follow the path set by Tāne, not want to leave, but know to grow and mature one must. So when faced with the decision to leave home, drawing on these examples an informed decision is reached.

Embedded into Tūhoe and Māori referring to their past to provide insight into the directions that are about to occur is highlighted in the description of the past. Being described as i ngā ra o mua literal translation being ‘the days before me’, in that the past is viewed as being in front, with the future located behind you, in that Māori are back to the future. The Māori and Tūhoe outlook on the world ensures whakapapa connections are maintained when facing key
turning points in one’s journey through life: it is the past that informs the present. Identity is one of the key components that occurs through this process. One must be able to draw the sequential order of events that have occurred in their establishment, in doing this the individual is building and reinforcing their tūrangawaewae [comfort zone] as a launching pad of engagement.

In viewing the creation of the universe to Māori and Tūhoe examples are drawn as those identified in leaving home, issues surrounding sibling rivalry, through to examples in gathering food from the ocean and forest are captured here. The last key component highlighted here is the process and pathway selected by Tāne in achieving the baskets of knowledge. The pathway selected by Tāne in securing knowledge is significant; knowledge arrived in Te Aotūroa via the pūmotomoto as he made his descent from Te Toi-o-ngā-rangi. The significance captured in the deliberate naming of the smoke hole in the wharenui as pūmotomoto is uncovered also being the name given to describe the fontanelle cap on newborn babies. Similarly, the process of learning to Tūhoe is via the pūmotomoto, in that while the child is young it is through the pūmotomoto knowledge is absorbed, consistent with the approach taken by Tāne ascending with the baskets of knowledge. Hence, one of the reasons food is not mixed with the head or anything associated with food mixed with aspects related to the head, as knowledge is viewed as tapu82 and food is viewed as noa83.

Through the principles of whakapapa, Tūhoe are able to connect the development of mātauranga Tūhoe to the creation of the universe, as do all other tribes within Māori. For mātauranga Tūhoe the global position starts with Ranginui and Papatuanuku moving to a local level accessed through Tāne Māhuta through Toroa then to Tūhoe Pōtiki connecting back to the tribal boundary of Tūhoe. Every aspect within mātauranga Tūhoe must be able to illustrate this connection: not to do so positions that piece of knowledge in a questionable situation in which its validity comes into question. By connecting clearly to the land and supporting with whakataukī and waiata validates the shape and form of mātauranga Tūhoe.

82 Tapu in this sense is something of substance, of importance that needs a set of criteria to be learnt before access to it can be provided. An example of this, to drive a motor vehicle is tapu, one learns the road code and procedures then can drive a vehicle, the operation is still tapu, however once the rules and boundaries have been learnt one then understands the procedures to ensure safety is achieved.
83 Noa meaning in this case something of no consequence it does not required specialist knowledge to prepare and handle.
Chapter Eight: Mātauranga-a-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe.

Conclusion

Through an understanding of the language of Tūhoe, Tūhoe concepts become clearer. Young Tūhoe people access knowledge through the pūmotomoto establishing their own virtual framework upon which to build their individual pathways in their ascension to their ultimate level of consciousness to acquire their “baskets of knowledge” as rangatahi. As they mature they then begin exploring other concepts through rangahau, weaving together the winds of Tāwhirimātea or their own “hau” to help them, just like Tāwhiri aided Tāne. Interestingly it is generally accepted that breathing techniques aid in relaxing the mind, helping to build the pathway to higher levels of consciousness (meditation). Tūhoe reo and epistemology function as libraries for mātauranga-ā-Tūhoe, as it would do for other iwi and their mātauranga-ā-iwi.

Mātauranga-ā-iwi provide the tools with which to build each Tūhoe young person’s own pathway, modelled by Tāne, in the acquisition of knowledge. Each component experienced in this process occurs within the context of the Tūhoe environment, physically and cognitively linking the individual to their knowledge. The learning processes and the content become one of the indicators of identity, where learning and engaging with the environment are not separated, rather they are expressed holistically. Tūhoe stories about the creation and our environment are metaphors providing the means by which its people can discover their own individual answers. A deeper grounding in Tūhoe reo and epistemology provide a clearer map for the seeker of knowledge.
Diagram 16 Mātauranga-a-iwi

mātauranga-a-iwi
Terrain Gilbert Mair and Colonel Whitmore had to contend with in pursuit of Te Kooti. Picture taken facing Tarapounamu from Ngāpūtahi (picture W. Doherty 2006).

Te Urewera in Snow view from Maungapōhatu looking back towards Ruatāhuna (picture W. Doherty 2005).

Ōkahu stream facing north towards Te Whāiti, this is the route taken by Gilbert Mair and Whitmore.
during the three pronged attack on Te Urewera in search of Te Kooti 1869 (picture W. Doherty 2007).

Picture 10 Manawāhiwi Stream

Picture taken where Mum, Boogie and I would sit next to the Manawahi stream many years ago, now covered by willow trees. Road is what used to be State Highway 38, main access road through to Waikaremoana (picture W. Doherty 2007).

Picture 11 Te Apu

Te Apu facing north. Site while Ngāti Pukeko occupied Te Whāiti returned from a short excursion into Raukawa Waikato in 1832 to see Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa pursuing the fleeing Ngāti Pukeko survivors who remained in Te Whāiti up Rangiahua hill, that is located behind camera point of view (picture W. Doherty 2007).
Site where Hemi Te Waka lead scout for Colonel Whitmore and Gilbert Mair was killed in 1869 in pursuit of Te Kooti. To the left of the gate is the Manawahi stream (picture W. Doherty 2007).
Chapter Nine

Conclusion

Hai konei noho ake ai!

Ka huri mai taku aro e ko rāua ra, te turinga o te hau, ko Turiōhau, me te mapo o te riki, ko Māpouriki e te rehurehu mai ana i te kōmata o taniwha maunga. Ko te kōpiopotanga tēnei o Ngāti Tāwhaki, mokopuna o te uramairangi.

At the time of writing, New Zealand education endures political pressure to reduce and marginalise Māori content in mainstream curriculum. A recent review of the Curriculum Framework decided to remove reference to the Treaty of Waitangi and place Māori language on the same footing as other ‘foreign’ languages. Thankfully, sufficient pressure on the Secretary of Education resulted in an about-turn, to re-include the Treaty back into the curriculum. The move to decentralise Māori language, culture and history in schools occurred when, for a short period, the opposition party in New Zealand was led by the recently retired Governor of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, Dr Don Brash. Brash believed Māori were a privileged sector of New Zealand enjoying luxuries non-Māori New Zealanders were not. This was a point of view that gained popular approval. Furthermore, Brash questioned the validity of Māori as a people by wondering whether Māori were a distinct indigenous group because, he reminded, few if any “full-blooded” Māori remained (Berry, 2006). He objected to “biculturalism” and seemed to imply that “all New Zealanders” consider “aspects of Māori culture” important so that Māori culture “belongs to all of us”. This in turn means that no
attention needs to be paid to Māori culture: if people value it, it will “flourish” as part of a culture we all share; if not, too bad:

It is a simple statement of fact that Māori are the indigenous people of these islands. But in the 21st century it is nonsense to suggest that because Māori are the indigenous people, it somehow justifies race-based distinctions being built into our institutions and Acts of Parliament … Many aspects of Māori culture are important to all New Zealanders. But the part that Māori culture plays in the future as our society evolves will not be the result of social engineering – I think it is clear now that most New Zealanders are fed up with having bi-culturalism rammed down their throats and drilled into their children. Māori culture will flourish if people – both Māori and non-Māori – value it. Government can help at the margin with preservation but in the end these things have to stand on their own feet. (Brash, 2004)

This viewpoint gained a lot of publicity and support particularly from some groups of Pākehā, and created an unhealthy environment in New Zealand where underlying racism emerged in an attempt to remove the Treaty of Waitangi from legislation. In education, the draft curriculum document sidelined the Treaty as an important but not a compulsory subject in schools. Schools were encouraged to teach a second language and of these languages, Māori was merely an option. This was a direct attack on previous attempts by Māori and Pākehā to have Māori knowledge, language and culture as a feature of all New Zealand schools.

There will be other attacks and threats to the mainstreaming of Māori knowledge, language and culture into New Zealand society before it is achieved. Māori scholars have argued for a space of thinking and theorising, called ‘kaupapa Māori theory’, as both a place from which to engage and push political and educational spaces to include Māori content, as well as an idea that creates a buffer zone between Māori thinking and those notions that marginalise and restrict Māori content. To conclude this thesis I return to key questions posed in the introduction.

Key Questions

This thesis has shown the impact of Māori not having an opportunity to engage in the early discussions on shaping the preferred knowledge and discourses that were delivered in early schooling options in New Zealand. The consistent failure of Māori in mainstream schooling is evidence of this marginalisation.
I have suggested that mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-īwi must be included in the New Zealand educational curriculum for the benefit of Māori and Pākehā alike. An educational system that takes cognizance of the concepts, values and beliefs of īwi inherent in the definitions of mātauranga-ā-īwi and mātauranga Māori that I have discussed, develop Māori more grounded in their identity and therefore more likely to have higher self-esteem. Balanced individuals are able to interact in the give-and-take of society in a much more constructive manner, as they are secure in their own self-worth, yet at the same time understand that in order to get on with one another there has to be mutual respect for differences and similarities. In clarifying the relationship between mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-īwi, generic knowledge (that largely shaped preferred knowledge in current education), and kaupapa Māori theory, I have attempted to indicate an approach that can infuse the ‘mainstream’ education process with Māori notions of knowledge.

To address Māori relationship to schooling, and to return it to a positive relationship, the ultimate goal, in my view, is to make mātauranga Māori ‘mainstream’. While this move is progressively happening, there is still confusion about what Māori knowledge, language and culture might be. There are many claims to this content, and yet there is a lot of homogenization at the same time. When kaupapa Māori theory, mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-īwi are understood as specific entities, a clearer transition to including Māori content into the curriculum can be made. The distinction I have drawn between mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-īwi indicates the anomalies that have occurred when Māori knowledge is understood as a homogeneous entity. In distinguishing mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-īwi as separate but related, this thesis has shown that Māori have a sophisticated knowledge structure that must be taken into account in any debate about Māori language and culture in education.

Kura kaupapa have benefitted Māori re-generation and educational achievement. As kura motuhake continue to evolve and develop, a fuller understanding of te ao Māori will be achieved. The success of kura kaupapa has shown where the focus needs to be applied in preparation for the next stage of development in kura kaupapa. More of an accent needs to be given to the knowledge and culture, as the language has now become embedded into kura kaupapa. As students are emerging out of kura kaupapa, a new version of Māori language is evolving, which is expected if the language is to remain current and contemporary. However, generic Māori structures taught in kura kaupapa have produced a new kind of Māori
language. It is a language that does not have the authentic nuance and tune that native speakers of the language hold. As well as the tune that native speakers have, a limited understanding of the language is beginning to emerge. In my teaching role as a Māori language teacher, I found students would literally translate English into Māori, a common example of this is when students translate the term ‘lost’ (as in the losing of a game), as ‘misplaced’, an entirely different word.

A positive element for language development in kura has been the building of a critical mass of speakers who have a high fluency in the language and who are able to continue developing a more authentic use of the language. Some may argue that the level of fluency achieved is sufficient, in that the sole purpose of a language is to convey a message. While I do not disagree with this notion, there needs to be thought given to the deeper cultural knowledge and meaning embedded in the language. To express Māori knowledge and cultural components requires different language structure to English. An example of this is the statement “kōi pīti koe i a ia” – literal translation: “you may beat him”. However it is the reverse that is meant, “he may beat you”? Another example is the term ēhara – meaning “no”, where at times it means the opposite, “yes”.

A danger in learning a language as ‘vocabulary’, abstracted from its deeper cultural roots, is that terms become one-dimensional and inflexible – often restricted to one meaning. If this were the case, a large portion of the key philosophical bases for what made iwi; iwi would be confined to very narrow single dimensional concepts, ignoring the multi-faceted layers that are potentially present in tribal epistemologies accessed through the language. Māori language revitalisation is not enough, on its own, to enable true mātauranga Māori regeneration into all aspects of society. There is a need for accent on knowledge and culture along with language. This is not a criticism of kura kaupapa. It was through the advent of kura kaupapa and ultimately kaupapa Māori theory that discussions of this nature can now occur. This is just an ongoing development and evolution of the Māori schooling initiatives that will continue.

The challenge is to ensure that knowledge and culture are not lost or misinterpreted. A key component of knowledge and culture is the language, and it is by focussing on the language that multi-dimensional understanding of Māori can be achieved. Māori are fortunate that there are still communities producing native speakers of the language. The challenge for Māori is to ensure what is ultimately termed Māori is true and correct when assessed against
the tribal traditions and customs. The positive approach for Māori is that these holders of knowledge, language and culture continue to ensure what is taught is indeed true and correct when applied to the knowledge and culture. The challenge in teaching the language is to teach it within the parameters of Māori knowledge and culture. To remove it from this position, to treat it as a grammatical exercise will produce terms that are Māori; however, the expressions and construction will be non-Māori. In this approach to teaching, the language is fine for those who have a sound understanding of the grammatical constructs in English; very few will reach the level of fluency held by native speakers.

Conversely, a person can spend as little as six to 12 months immersed in the language, knowledge and culture, emerging very competent in speaking a deeper and wider language that is in tune with a natural authentic sound. Native speakers of the language have a tune, or a particular way of speaking, along with simile and metaphor that helps locate the speaker in the region they have come from. I have seen first-hand different people have become associated with my family having arrived with a very limited understanding of knowledge and within six months are able to hold a meaningful conversation.

The difference between classroom teaching of the language and living the language is the presence of knowledge and culture. Classroom teaching cannot replicate the knowledge and culture aspects if the language is taught as a grammatical exercise. Grammatical teaching is only appropriate where people already have a high fluency level and are interested in analysing components and construction of the language. To expect a person to speak in a perfect sentence from the absolute beginning of a new language is a hard, and a somewhat insurmountable hurdle that leaves a lot of potential students of Māori disheartened and disillusioned. When analysing what has occurred in my own family, the language is a secondary outcome. The focus has been on the knowledge and culture, and language becomes the vehicle of accessing and understanding the cultural and knowledge components. Language is a critical part of the process, but just that, a part of the process, and not the destination.

The challenge for kura kaupapa is to achieve a situation where the school environment is reflective of the tribal landscape, evolving the language further from one-dimensional “language revitalization” to a fuller and wider approach that kaupapa Māori theory opens.
The advent of the kura kaupapa movement where Māori wish to continue to live as Māori has flourished and continues to grow and be successful. There are now more speakers of Māori growing and developing as a result of better access and support to kura kaupapa in New Zealand. Opportunities to learn and speak Māori have largely resulted from having better access to kura kaupapa and bilingual classes; there were nearly one in five Māori students in Māori medium education in 1997, and most of these students were in environments of over 50 percent Māori immersion (Ministry of Education, 1998). Kura kaupapa has begun rebuilding and reconstructing the Māori components abandoned when families moved away from the tribal land bases to secure employment and education in the urban centres in New Zealand. Parents that left the tribal lands would have grown up as Māori steeped in their tribal identity, knowing what it meant to belong to the iwi. But their children were born out of the tribal land district. These children would have visited tribal lands with their parents and maintained contact with cousins and extended members of the iwi and hapū. It is however, the grandchildren of the parents who initially left the tribal lands, where problems begin to arise. These grandchildren may not be so connected to the tribal lands, and rarely return. In the event they do return, they may not be known by the peers of the hapū and iwi, becoming more disconnected from the people and the community. More than likely they may not have a positive experience and therefore will be less inclined to return for leisure activities with the wider iwi community. Therefore, the children of this generation will more than likely rarely return, as they may have witnessed first hand the disconnection experienced by their parents.

Te kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, and wharekura initiatives have been invaluable in rebuilding and reconnecting Māori dislocated from their Māori identity, and when a deeper level of understanding is achieved ultimately leading to an understanding of their tribal identity. By knowing the tribal identity for Māori is to have a comfort zone to operate from. Those who have begun rebuilding this stage in their lives will experience a comfort that can only come from truly knowing oneself. The successes families and students are experiencing are a new phenomenon for many young Māori. Sadly, for many Māori this will be the first time schooling has been seen as a positive experience. The interface and connection with schooling and Māori in New Zealand is in a changing and evolving state. Prior to the development of the kura, Māori could only attended schools to learn non-Māori history, methodologies, and non-Māori epistemologies. In earlier times, Māori attending school knew what it was to be Māori; they had a very clear understanding of what it was for them. The point needs to be drawn those Māori who did well in mainstream schooling had an intimate
knowledge of their tribal histories: well known examples are the young Māori leaders Buck (Member of Parliament 1912-1914, and medical doctor), Ngata (Member of Parliament 1905-1943), Corral (Member of Parliament 1887-1919), and Pomare (Member of Parliament 1911-1928).

Māori students of today arriving at school still wish to learn non-Māori curriculum. They still wish to engage in Pākeha ideologies, but not at the expense of denying their ‘Māoriness’. They still wish to be Māori. For a growing number of Māori students, schooling is the only area where they are able to rebuild the Māori identity that will lead to their tribal identity. Some ask is this a fair demand to place on the state education system in New Zealand? I would agree that this is a fair demand that needs addressing immediately if there is to be any real attempt to tackle the failure of Māori in the New Zealand schooling system.

While kaupapa Māori theory is primarily concerned to make space for mātauranga Māori, it is also concerned with creating the space and links into other theories – including Western theories. Perhaps most importantly, kaupapa Māori theory as developed by Graham Smith is a theory focused on transformative outcomes through praxis [critical reflection] (Smith, G. 1997). This thesis expands the ‘space’ created by critical theory by analyzing the unequal differences between Māori and Pākeha, with the intention of showing how inequality is both produced and reproduced through Pākeha schooling. Critical theory not only poses the questions that ought to be asked in relation to Māori, it also attempts to develop insights as to how education and schooling can be utilised to produce emancipatory practices and outcomes.

Jurgen Habermas (1976) acknowledges that a critical theory stance needs to acknowledge three stages of social crises that might arise in a political context of unequal power relations;

1. A Legitimation Crisis. Why accept authority if that authority is unable to resolve the struggles of conflicting interests?
2. A Motivation Crisis. Why bother to participate in work or education if you have no real opportunity to determine your future?
3. An Identity Crisis. The loss of a sense of collective identity, the cynicism and indifference bred from a sense of powerlessness and detachment. (Gibson, 1986: 34)
The questions posed in these three stages are relevant to understanding Māori educational and schooling crises. This is why the establishment of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa schools was so vital for the ‘regeneration’ (Hohepa, 1990) of Māori language, knowledge and culture. Even identity and political recognition have been important developments from these schooling initiatives. For Māori to be able to succeed in education there has to be an ownership of the knowledge being imparted. For many Māori, ‘relevant’ and ‘successful educational outcomes’ are to be measured in the extent to which the knowledge learned is linked back to reaffirming the place of the whānau, hapū and iwi. Māori people tend to be gregarious in that they are connected and intertwined into a holistic way of life, as in the proverb Kare te kahikat ea tipu takitahi, tipu uru ke [The kahikatea does not grow alone, it always grows in a group]. The meaning is that, as the root system of the kahikatea tree is only shallow, a single tree is vulnerable to the prevailing winds. However, when the trees are in a group the root systems intertwine, giving all the individuals strength.

Similarly, as kura kaupapa emerge and become mainstream in New Zealand schooling, just like the kahikatea a unity and support will ensure their continued survival and success.

Abstract Framework and Kaupapa Māori Theory

I have mapped out the Ranga Framework to help define and distinguish kaupapa Māori theory, mātauranga Māori, and mātauranga-a-iwi as separate strands. Each strand in the framework plays a critical role in the continued application and advancement of Māori knowledge, paying particular care not to privilege mātauranga Māori over mātauranga-a-iwi and kaupapa Māori theory. Each strand plays a critical supporting role to the others.

Kaupapa Māori theory will continue to build and create the mechanism for people who are moving from an ‘iwi-centric’ position to a ‘Māori-centric’, or indeed generic knowledge focus, to engage positively. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a set of filters to apply to generic forms of knowledge to bridge the gap that occurs between Māori and European thought-forms, values and principles. In education, the movement from the generic knowledge strand to engage mātauranga Māori needs to be through kaupapa Māori theory, utilising its ‘filters’, or as I have previously mentioned in Chapter 3, ‘lens’ (that is, its theoretical assumptions and assertions). The resulting reconscientisation enables the student to view the structures within mātauranga Māori free from the assumptions that can exist within the generic knowledge
strand. Kaupapa Māori theory empowers people from the generic strand of knowledge to begin exploring the realms of mātauranga Māori, in order to reach a deeper understanding of Māori knowledge structures.

There are different forms and formations of Māori knowledge: traditional knowledge we have inherited, and current knowledge. Kaupapa Māori theory mediates the social construction of contemporary Māori knowledge, insisting on an awareness of its social circumstances shaped by colonisation, unequal power and cultural relations. If we do not understand the need for kaupapa Māori theory filters as a key component in the politics of knowledge, then Māori learners are in danger of reproducing ‘mutant’ forms of language and knowledge disconnected from the iwi base. A prime example of this has been a recent case involving the mining of pounamu from the West Coast (“Saxtons ‘Had Right to Mine Greenstone’,” 2009). The case involved a father and son who were prosecuted by Ngai Tahu for illegally mining for greenstone in the back country, using helicopters to lift out large rocks of greenstone for sale to buyers. Ngai Tahu achieved a successful prosecution, but the family has since lodged an appeal on the basis that they had a right to mine for greenstone through “transferred customary rights”:

Morgan Saxton was sentenced to two years and six months jail and his father to an extra three months. They were also required to pay reparations of $300,000. They launched an appeal against the convictions and sentence last year.

However, Morgan Saxton was killed when his helicopter crashed in Lake Wanaka in November. He died without a will and his mother was granted control of his estate.

The Court of Appeal in March granted permission for her to continue the appeal, which began today in Wellington today. Today the defence told the court the pair had transferred customary rights to mine pounamu. Defence counsel Gerard McCoy, QC, said Morgan Saxton had been adopted through the Māori process of whangai at the age of two and lived with his father and his father’s wife, Debbie Cain. Miss Cain was the daughter of Cyril Cain, a direct descendant of Te Koeti Turanga, kaumatua of South Westland at the time of the 19th century census.

Dr McCoy argued the whangai process transferred Mr Cain’s customary rights to the pounamu to Morgan Saxton. Morgan Saxton mined for pounamu with Mr Cain from when he was a child and believed the right to take the stone had passed to him when he joined the family, Dr McCoy said.

During the trial, the jury was told the process of whangai did not include the transfer of rights. However, Dr McCoy said the rules for whangai varied between tribes, and in Ngai Tahu’s case, Morgan Saxton had inherited the rights to the pounamu.
Chapter Nine: Conclusion: Hai konei noho ake ai.

In the case of David Saxton, Dr McCoy said Mr Cain had taught him how to find pounamu, and to cut it, and later conferred his rights to take pounamu to him. Despite the Ngai Tahu Vesting Act 1997, which gave the tribe the rights to the pounamu, Dr McCoy said the individual descendants maintained the rights to mine for the stone.

“It had effectively found a collectivity to manage the assets, but the beneficiaries were still the individual descendants of Ngai Tahu tribe,” Dr McCoy said.

“The question is can you steal from yourself?” (“Saxtons ‘Had Right to Mine Greenstone’,” 2009)

In this particular case, the child concerned was a stepson to Mrs Saxton (who is of Ngai Tahu descent), her husband’s child whom she raised from the age of 2 years. The defence counsel purposely misuses the term ‘whangai’ here in order to justify the retrieval by young Mr Saxton of the pounamu. He has interpreted ‘whāngai’ as meaning ‘adopt’ but has missed the underlying concept of what ‘whangai’ is. The key point is that a ‘whangai’ is always, a blood relative of some sort, that helps to bring closer links in whakapapa. Here, Mr Saxton has no blood link to Mrs Saxton, although she raises him as her child. His blood link is to his own father, but his father is Pākehā and is not the actual descendant from a Ngai Tahu person. This is not in dispute. What is in dispute here is whether or not Mrs Saxton’s raising of him deems him a ‘whangai’ in the Ngai Tahu sense or the ‘Māori’ sense. It does not – it just means that she raised him as her son, but he cannot be classed as a ‘whangai’ in the iwi sense. The irony is that if she had indeed sought to raise him as a ‘whangai’ in the iwi sense, the chances are that he would never have been prosecuted because the iwi would have ‘known’ him and could have possibly granted him permission to do so. In this instance, the family has chosen to fit their ‘generic understanding’ to a concept from within mātauranga-ā-iwi in an effort to circumnavigate the law.

Such a case demonstrates the danger of a less authentic language, knowledge and cultural base. In the school system this may be useful in the short term (to get ‘Māori’ into the curriculum), but it will lack the epistemological rigour and social basis to be sustainable over the long term. This precarious short-sighted approach will also destabilise the societal structures of Māori community, resources and cultural practice, which in turn are dialectically related to the survival of language and knowledge. One cannot have the language without the culture and vice versa.
Should Mātauranga-a-iwi be compromised by the values and principles that are inherent in the generic knowledge strand, Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-a-iwi will be critically close to death.

Mātauranga-a-iwi

Mātauranga-a-iwi is contextual knowledge that provides rationale and meaning to the principles and values located in mātauranga Māori. This is not to replicate mātauranga Māori or kaupapa Māori theory. As with the dialectical relationship between language and culture, so too is the relationship between the three strands. Mātauranga-a-iwi through the principles of whakapapa clarifies the intent inherent in Māori practice. It is important kaupapa Māori theory is seen as separate from mātauranga-a-iwi in that this former strand creates a political safeguard for mātauranga-a-iwi. Notions of compromise and debate and critique can safely occur at the level of kaupapa Māori theory, while the intent and true practice remains intact securely located in mātauranga-a-iwi.

The challenge for Māori is to ensure that the dialectical relationship with mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi is not lost, and in so doing losing perspective about what is a true uncompromised position for the tribe, leaving mātauranga Māori vulnerable. This is what happened in the case of Te Maire Tau who stated that Ngai Tahu and Māori do not have knowledge, but rather a series of beliefs that imploded with the arrival of Pākeha (Tau, 2001) see chapter 8. Clearly evident here is that the author, unlike the tribe, has failed to make the connection to mātauranga-a-iwi to clarify what is a Ngai Tahu position. Ngai Tahu, as do other Māori, maintain a detailed knowledge structure. Many Māori are able to operate at differing layers within the structure, moving freely between the notions of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi.

The transition from acting as an iwi member to acting as a (collective) Māori is a seamless transition for all those who identify themselves as Māori. When Māori as a group engage with the Crown, the shift from a tribal to a national identity and a shared or unified set of practices is accomplished with relative ease. During 2005, Māori nationally combined and marched on Parliament, objecting to the Crown removing access for Māori to attest
ownership to the foreshore and seabed through the judicial system. In Wellington on that day along with approximately 100,000 united Māori organised into tribal district groupings we marched as a combined body of Māori. Similar organisational structures where Māori have combined to unite against ill-treatment by the Crown is seen when Māori claimed a share of the fisheries, and the airwaves in New Zealand. Once both of these issues were resolved Māori transitioned quickly back into a tribal mentality as recompense was begun. These are a few examples of Māori engaging with the Crown as Māori. There are also examples of Māori engaging with Māori as a collective. A recent example of Māori engaging with Māori as a collective was the tangihanga [funeral] for Dame te Atairangi Kaahu. The logistics involved in catering to all iwi that arrived to pay their respects over that period displayed on a grand scale the logistics commonly involved in normal tangihanga. Visiting iwi patiently wait until the prior ope [visiting group on the marae complex] have undergone the rituals of encounter, and it is their turn to whakaeke [formal welcoming ceremony] on to the mārae. On this occasion this often involved waits of six or seven hours. A similar type of engagement and organisation amongst Māori as a collective also happen at events like Te Matatini (the national kapa haka finals).

Kura kaupapa is a Māori-driven initiative for Māori, by Māori. This was also the case with the construction of urban and institutional marae. Traditionally, a major portion in the construction of the house was linked to ancestors of some significant part of the tribe’s history. In the case of urban and institutional marae, the buildings are/were not named and tribally linked. In the case of Manukau Institute of Technology, for instance, the complex is called Ngā Kete Wānanga [The Baskets of Knowledge secured by Tāne]. The decision about this naming and the building of the marae was taken by Māori collectively to ensure a culturally safe place to re-gather oneself, and perform the ritual functions of the marae – a good example of Māori collectively working together as Māori.

**Future Notions**

As notions of Māori society evolve within contemporary situations it is critical that the sequential order of events outlining the traditional functions are not lost. Traditional knowledge is not fixed or locked into a particular time period; rather the rationale and understanding of why the practice is used needs to be understood in order for the practice to
be adapted and still maintain its traditional function. What is ‘traditional’ is the rationale behind the practice. The application can change and needs to remain useful – however very rarely do you change the intent behind the practice. Traditionally, Māori have maintained a link to a physical land base, *rohe*, which contains the history and practice of the iwi, providing the context for tribal knowledge to exist and grow. The intent behind the tradition in maintaining a link to the land base was to ensure one was familiar with peers, and the relationship occurring with the land base. With the advent of technology, it could be proposed a rhetorical landscape for Tūhoe is created to provide access for those who are unable to return to the tribal lands or who now reside outside of New Zealand. Where the intent remains, however the function has now moved to engage with a set of values transferred from the physical landscape to the virtual.

This thesis has been about identity, that which forms the basis of knowing who you are. Identity fosters self-esteem, it enables people to engage with knowledge to become informed, it is the realization that ranga – rangatahi, rangahau, rangatira and mātauranga – are ever-evolving, ever-changing aspects of development. The confident and context-based identity that comes with self-knowledge, and the educational work of rangatahi, rangahau, rangatira and mātauranga, is what is required for Māori to reconnect with their authority and power and possibilities. At present, and in the absence of these things, Māori students are failing. The ramifications of this are clear: with little or no education, employment opportunities are few, without gainful employment one is less likely to contribute to the productivity of Aotearoa, and thus, dependency on the welfare of the state is more of a given. Māori aspirations for their children are no different from those of any other ethnic, religious, socio-economic, cultural group. Success, achievement and confidence to participate fully in society is a fledgling hope of all parents.

Hoki ki ngā Maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea

Writing these final lines and concluding what has been years of work, a distant but warmly familiar sound begins to form. Distant yet so familiar is the sound of the Manawahiwi stream as it gently flows to its meeting with the Ōkahu. Much has changed. With eyes closed, I can just make out the faint smell of diesel and kiwi
polish of Boogie’s overalls and boots. Linger ing on the fringe of reality, not quite formed, are the comforting sounds of his and Mum’s voice in contented discussion. The landscape has changed. Blackberries now cover where we once sat all those years ago. I too have changed. My touchstone will always be Te Urewera, and even though much has changed, much has remained.
Glossary

**Patere**

Introducing each chapter has been a verse from a patere I have composed mapping the significant landmarks describing Ngaputahi and the surrounding hills and valleys. Patere map the journeys made in the mind as one reflects on the places once travelled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patere</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ka rere arorangi aku kamo; ka tau ki runga Te Maro; Tē mau ra te Turuki; Kia topa iho tuku aro; e ko te hunga ara ko Ngāpūtahi</td>
<td>As I look, my eyes alight on the peak Te Maro; the scene of Te Kooti’s narrow escape, there I look down upon the meeting of ancient war paths Ngāpūtahi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka topa ki te nohohanga o te manu; e ko te Hiwera hana o nga taringa e whaia nei ki Putauaki. Ka titiro iho au i runga i te tihi tapu o Tarapounamu e koe te nohohanga o te tipua. Ka huri tuku aro ki te aitanga o Ngati Tawhaki i te maru o Whakaipu.</td>
<td>I glide down to the old settlement of Hiwera, an ancient birds snaring site. Resounding in my ears is the pursuit to mount Putauaki (Edgecumbe) [Tamatea kai tahara in the 1730, speared a pigeon at Te Hiwera where the greenstone point of the spear broke off in the birds genitals. The wounded bird flew to Putauaki were it was eventual killed by Tamatea. Creating the name Tarapounamu given to this high peak] I look down on this significant peak where the spiritual guardians of Tūhoe reside. There my eyes fall upon the residing place of Ngati Tawhaki in the shadow of Whakaipu [A high peak that also called Te Maro, mentioned in the previous verse].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka mawhiti taku haere rere, ki te pūpū kiore o te Pūkiore. Tu ai te Te Rata herehere tangata kai taha rua. Ka taka atu taku harere ki te tahuaha ahi o nehera ki Te Arohana ki ngawhakahiwa</td>
<td>Traveling on to the trapping site of the native rats, to Pukiore, where the rata tree stands that trespassers into Tūhoe territory were killed and tied to. As I descend I arrive at the home of Te Arohana [early ancestor of Ngati Tawhaki].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka tiepa taku piki ki runga o te Pukiore, topa iho ki roto o te tahuaha awa, ki roto o te manawa o nga hiwi e mau nei i te ngutu ko te Manawāhiwi.</td>
<td>I climb again to the top of Pukiore viewing the watershed of contributing streams that flow into the center of the valleys, now called Manawāhiwi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka kau ki te huinga maungarongo kohatu, te katinga o te tatau pounamu e ko te Whakatau. E rere nei te ki te nohonga o te papawhenua whakairoiro o Okahu.</td>
<td>I continue arriving at the site that saw the closing of the door of war, establishing the greenstone door of peace, Whakatau [this is the name given to the small stream that runs into Manawāhiwi]. This follows to the confluence of the Okahu river, where the strippy eel resides [local taniwha].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka titiro atu rae ki te karapukepuke ko Rangiahua tu amokapua i te waireporepo, te</td>
<td>Turning my forehead I see standing in the distant cloudy haze the point Rangiahua, above Waireporepo. The final resting place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of the carver of words that hang from the mouths of her descendants, Mihi ki te kapua.</td>
<td>takototanga o te kai tā kapua e tawewe ana i nga ngutu tipuranga ona kupu e ko te kuia nei Mihi ki nga kapua.</td>
<td>Travelling from here to the breaking tawa [name of old settlement Tawawhatiwhati], on route to Otairi. Gliding down to where the pulverised heart was eaten [Tarewa a rua of Ngati Whare was killed and heart eaten here].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka tahuri taku haere ki te whatiwhatihanga o te tawai, e whaia nei ko Otairi. Kei reira tiepa mai ki raro nga karu ki te Manawa kainga kainga rikirikitia.</td>
<td>Ka huri mai taku aro e ko rau ra, te turinga o te hau, ko Turiohau, me te mapo o te riki, ko Mapouriki rehurehu mai ana i te komata o taniwha maunga. Ko te kopiohotanga tenei o Ngati Tawhaki, mokopuna o te uiramairangi.</td>
<td>My gaze falls upon the standing peaks of Turiohau, and the eyes water looking up to the peak of Mapouriki [two high peaks standing side by side]. The residing place of the Ngati Tawhaki, descendant of lightening [Uiramairangi personification of lightening – ancestor of Tawhaki].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka titiro ake au e ko te tuhonohanga o nga awa huarahi ko Ngaputahi. Tērā ko te pā matangi e karamatamata mai i te take e o ka Orongomaitake, te parikarauna o Ngati Tawhaki.</td>
<td>Ka titiro ake au e ko te tuhonohanga o nga awa huarahi ko Ngaputahi. Tērā ko te pā matangi e karamatamata mai i te take e o ka Orongomaitake, te parikarauna o Ngati Tawhaki.</td>
<td>Behold I have returned to the merging points of the ancient trails, Ngaputahi. Found here are the two pa Orongomaitake, and Matangi guarding a burial ground of Ngati Tawhaki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahi ta Whakataumata</td>
<td>Name of chant to weaken the resolve of a pending opponent done prior to battle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahika</td>
<td>Burning fire, used to describe connection to tribal district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ako</td>
<td>Learn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aotearoa</td>
<td>Long White Cloud, Māori name for New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroha</td>
<td>Care / Love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aromatawai</td>
<td>Assessment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aruhe</td>
<td>Tuber root of the bracken fern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atea</td>
<td>Formal space in front of ancestral meeting place, or the space that is created by the female welcoming call - karanga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aukati</td>
<td>Boundary line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awai</td>
<td>River, stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hai konei noho ake ai</td>
<td>Remain here and contemplate - formal way of saying goodbye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haka</td>
<td>War dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapu</td>
<td>Sub-tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau</td>
<td>Space, wind, new</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hauhau</td>
<td>Religious movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heketau</td>
<td>Tūhoe learning process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinau</td>
<td>Elaeocarpus dentatus Elaeocarpaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hine</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hineahuone</td>
<td>First female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hohonutanga</td>
<td>Depth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houhi</td>
<td>lacebark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>Meeting, gathering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui Whakatauiria</td>
<td>Meeting forum for elders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I nga ra o mua</td>
<td>The past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Io Matua Kore</td>
<td>The creator of all things, sometimes called Te Kaihanga - the Creator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwi</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahau</td>
<td>delivery of speech, presentation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahikatea</td>
<td>white pine Dacrycarpus dacrydioides Podocarpaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiako</td>
<td>Teacher, teaching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanohi ki te kanohi</td>
<td>Face to face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakia</td>
<td>Chant, prayers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanga</td>
<td>Formal welcoming call conducted solely by female during the powhiri process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaupapa</td>
<td>Topic, point</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauri</td>
<td>Agathis australis, giant conifer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawa</td>
<td>Processes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawanata</td>
<td>Covenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kereru</td>
<td>Native Woodpigeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kete</td>
<td>Basket, used to refer to the baskets of knowledge acquired by Tane Mahuta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kete Aronui</td>
<td>Basket containing notions of peace and goodwill, otherwise known as Uruuru-tawhito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kete Tuataea</td>
<td>Basket that contains notions of evil, otherwise known as Uruuru-rangi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kete Tuauri</td>
<td>Basket that contains the ritual chants, otherwise called Uruuru-matua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingitanga</td>
<td>King Movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokomuka</td>
<td>Hebe corrigani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koromiko</td>
<td>Hebe corrigani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroua</td>
<td>Male Elder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouka</td>
<td>Forest cabbage tree cordyline banksii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowhai</td>
<td>Sophora microphylla papilionaceae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuia</td>
<td>Female elder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kura</td>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kura Kaupapa</td>
<td>Māori school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maire-Rangi</td>
<td>Tūhoe, Ngati Tawhaki house of learning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manawa-wera</td>
<td>Challenging chant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuhiri</td>
<td>Visitor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>Indigenous person of Aotearoa, New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marae</td>
<td>Building complex that has ancestral house [Wharenui], dining room [Wharekai], and ablution block [wharepaku]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māramatanga</td>
<td>Clarity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marautanga</td>
<td>Curriculum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataatua</td>
<td>Name of canoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matao</td>
<td>Cold, used to describe a person who has not maintained a connection to the tribal district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matau</td>
<td>Clear, understand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātauranga</td>
<td>Knowledge / understand the strands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātauranga Māori</td>
<td>Māori knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātauranga Tūhoe</td>
<td>Tūhoe knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mātauranga-a-iwi</td>
<td>Tribal knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauku</td>
<td>Asplenium Bulbiferum - Hen and chicken fern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maunga</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauri</td>
<td>Life essence, connectors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokopuna</td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōteatea</td>
<td>Traditional song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nga Taraipara</td>
<td>Tribal (Meetings that occur in Ruatahuna)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngahere</td>
<td>Forest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Manawa</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Pukeko</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Raukawa</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Tāwhaki</td>
<td>Sub-tribe of Tūhoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngati Whare</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noa</td>
<td>Opposite of tapu, aspects that are deemed spiritually safe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orakau</td>
<td>Battle between Crown and Māori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>Fortified settlement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paimarie</td>
<td>Religious Movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakoko / Pakoro</td>
<td>Popgun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papatuanuku</td>
<td>Earth Mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patete</td>
<td>Schefflera digitata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikau Peke</td>
<td>Home made ruck sack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikopiko</td>
<td>New shoot of the Mauku, Asplenium Bulbiferum – Hen and chicken fern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirita</td>
<td>Supplejack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poutokomanawa</td>
<td>Centre support pole in wharenui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powhiri</td>
<td>Formal welcome given to guest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukutawai</td>
<td>Fungus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumotomoto</td>
<td>Smoke hole in wharenui - pathway selected by Tane to acquire baskets of knowledge. Also name given to fontanel cap on newborn child.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāhui</td>
<td>Quarantine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranga</td>
<td>Strand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangahau</td>
<td>Research, new strands in thinking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangatahi</td>
<td>Youth, singular strand in thinking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangatira</td>
<td>Chief, leader, person who is able to combine the strands of a grouping (tira) of people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranginui</td>
<td>Sky father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary

Rarauhe  |  Bracken fern
Rauemi   |  Resource
Raupapa - Whakapapa  |  Laying in sequential order of events.
Reo      |  Language, voice
Ringatu  |  Religious movement
Rohe     |  District
Runanga  |  Council
Tahuhu   |  Ridge pole in wharenui
Taku Ahi te kā  |  Fire that denotes a house of learning (whare wananga) is in session.
Tane Mahuta |  Creator and guardian of the forest
Tangata Whenua |  Local - people of the land, host
Tangihanga |  Grieving process for the deceased
Taniwha  |  Guardian
Tapu     |  Sacred, task that requires specific tools to be learnt before engaging
Tarata   |  Lemonwood, Pittosporum eugenioides
Taua     |  War party
Tauparapara |  Formal chant embedded in formal speech - whaikorero
Tawa     |  Beilschmieda
Tawhirimatea |  Creator of winds
Te Aho Matua |  Philosophical document describing principles and operations for teaching in kura kaupapa
Te Aoturoa |  Description of this world, 'World of standing tall'
Te Arawa  |  Tribe, ancestral canoe
Te Kaikihanga |  Creator, see Io Matua Kore
Te Kohanga Reo |  Language Nest
Te Kura Māori a Rohe |  Māori Area School
Te Runanga Mātauranga o Tūhoe |  Tūhoe Educational Council
Te Toi-o-nga-rangi |  Uppermost level of consciousness
Te Whitu Tekau |  The Council of Seventy (council established by Tūhoe)
Tikanga |  Tradition, rules, being correct
Tira      |  Group, party of people
Tohunga   |  Master, spiritual leader
Toromiro |  Prumnopitys ferruginea
Totara   |  Podocarpus totara
Tūhoe Ahurei |  Tūhoe festival
Tūhoetanga |  Tūhoe processes
Tumatauenga |  Creator of conflict
Turangawaewae |  Place of standing, comfort zone
| **Uhuna** | Name for grieving process for dead |
| **Urewera** | Burnt penis |
| **Uruuru-matua** | See Kete Tuauri |
| **Uruuru-rangi** | See Kete Tuatea |
| **Uruuru-tawhito** | See Kete Aronui |
| **Waiata** | Song |
| **Wairua** | Spirit |
| **Waka** | Canoe |
| **Wero** | Challenge |
| **Whaikōrero** | Formal speech made during welcoming (powhiri) procedure |
| **Whakairo** | Carving, to carve. |
| **Whakapapa** | Genealogy – sequential order of events |
| **Whakatauki, Whakatauāki** | Tribal proverbial sayings |
| **Whanau** | Family, give birth |
| **Whanuitanga** | Width |
| **Whare Wananga** | Formal house of learning |
| **Wharekai** | Dinning room |
| **Wharekura** | Secondary Māori Schools |
| **Wharenui** | Large house - Ancestral house |
| **Wharepaku** | Ablution block |
| **Whiro-te-tipua** | Older brother of Tane Mahuta |
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Abbreviations

AJHR   Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
AGG HB Agent General Government Hawkes Bay Province
CMS   Church Missionary Society
NA   National Archives (Wellington)

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