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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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Ka Mate ko te Mate, Ka Ora Taku Toa

**Ko Ngā Matawhāura o te Rau Tau
Tekau mā Iwa**

A thesis
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of the requirements for the degree

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By

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Ariā

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He Mihi

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Manawa ora!

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Upoko 1: He Takinga Kōrero

1.1 He Wāhinga Kōrero

Kei te whakawhāitihia tēnei rangahau ki runga ki ngā mahi kai pakanga a te Māori i roto i te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa. Kei runga i ngā tikanga whānui a te Māori i a ia i ngā hautapu a Tū, i a ia rā i te ara taua. Ināhoki he pakanga, kei reira rawa anō te mate, he haere tahi ēnei e rua. Ka mutu, he kuhu hoki ki roto i ngā tikanga a te Māori mō te mate i te pae o te riri. Ko te tino wāhi e wānangatia ai e tēnei tuhinga rangahau, ko ngā rerekētanga, ko ngā panonitanga o aua tikanga rā i puia ake i te rau tau tekau mā iwa i ngā tini pakanga o taua rau tau rā.

1.1 Pātai

Ka mutu, ko te pātai matua ianā tēnei, he aha ngā rerekētanga ā tikanga pakanga, otiā, ā tikanga tūpāpaku i a te Māori i te tīmatanga o te rau tau nei me ērā i hua ake, i panoni anō i te Māori i te roatanga atu o te rau tau tekau mā iwa nei, ā, he aha anō ia ngā take matua i pā mai ai ki te Māori i panoni ai ana tikanga pakanga, tūpāpaku i te rau tau nei.

1.2 Whakapae Matua

Mai noa i te huringa o te rau tau tekau mā iwa e whakapae ana au ko ngā tikanga whānui a te Māori e pā ana ki te pakanga i āta panoni i roto i te roatanga atu o ngā pakanga o taua rau tau nei. E mea hoki ana au ko ētahi o ana tikanga mō te mate i āta panoni anō i roto anō i taua rau tau rā. Ko tā tēnei rangahau he kuhu ki roto i aua tikanga ki te tūhura haere i te āhua ki ngā panonitanga me te wherawhera i ngā tākunetanga i panoni ai, i rerekē ai aua tikanga rā i roto i te wā e tirohia ana.

1.3 Whakamahukitanga o te pakanga

Ka whakamahi ai au i te kupu pakanga nei, kei te kōrero au mō ngā pakanga a te Māori ki a ia anō mai i te huatakitanga o te rau tau tekau mā iwa, puta ana ki ērā i tapaina ai e tauwiwi ko ngā ‘Musket Wars’ me ngā pakanga o Aotearoa e kīa ana i roto i te ināianeitanga ko ‘The New Zealand Wars’. Tae atu rā hoki ki ngā pakanga i tapaina ai ko ngā pakanga Hauhau. Ko ngā pakanga ēnei i ngāoko ai te whenua i roto o Aotearoa i te rau tau nei. Ka kī ai au pakanga, e mea ana au mō te Matawhāura

a te Māori, arā, mō ngā putakari i heke ai te toto, i mate ai te tangata e taea hoki ai ērā tikanga o te mate te āta mātai atu.

1.4 Whakamahukitanga o te mate

Ko ngā kupu e whakamahi ai au mō te hunga i patua rā i ngā rīriri e kōrerotia ake ai ko Te Ika a Tiki, ko Te Ika a Tū me te hunga tapu ko ngā kōrero mō ngā tikanga i whakamahia rā e te Māori ka mate ana te tangata i te pakanga. Tērā ērā ka mate, mau tonu iho i tō rātou matua, i te taua i ngā taua rānei i haere ai rātou. Ko ngā tikanga mate anō tērā i te hunga i mate i te pakanga ā, riro tonu iho i te hoariri. Ko ngā tikanga anō hoki a ō tātou tūpuna ka riro ana i a rātou te tūpāpaku Pākehā, arā, i ahatia rā e rātou, he aha rā ia ētahi tikanga whānui i whāia. Tērā anō ka tirohia te tikanga o te waiho i te mano tūpāpaku taupaki ai i te rā, e kore mō te rawekehia e te ringaringa Māori. Ko te wāhi anō ki te tanu, ki te tahu, ki te kai tonu i te tūpāpaku. Heoi, e mōhiongia ana ehara i te mea he rite ā tēnā iwi, ā tēnā iwi tikanga, engari ko ngā tikanga whānui o te mate i te pakanga ka tirohia. Kāore hoki e noho motuhake te titiro ki ngā tikanga ki te hunga tapu, engari e ngātahi kē ai te titiro me te pakanga. Ka mutu, he tewhatewha ake i ērā tikanga.

1.5 Whakamahukitanga o te tikanga

Tuatahi rawa, inā kei ngā tikanga pakanga, tikanga ki te mate hoki tēnei rangahau me whakamahuki ake te āhua ki te tikanga, kia tīkina atu ko tā Temara (2011, p. 10) whakamārama,

Ko te tino o te tikanga ko te tika, arā, ko te mahi i ngā mahi, ahakoa he aha, i runga i te tika...Nā, kua kōrero iho atua tātau i konei. Koinei te pūtakenga mai o te tikanga a te Māori...Ko tēnei momo tikanga, ko te momo i hangaia i runga i ngā mātauranga o te Māori, i runga i ana kōrero ōnehe, i ana kōrero ōkawa, i ana kōrero ōwaiata, i ana kōrero ōkarakia tae atu ki ana kōrero ōatua.

Ka mutu, ko roto i tēnei tuhinga rangahau ka tuhi ai au i te tikanga i roto i te pakanga, i roto anō i te mate e mea ana au ko ngā tikanga ā whakarite, ā roto, ā muri hoki i te pakanga. Ko ngā tikanga kai pakanga ēnei. Ko ngā tikanga ‘iho matua’ anō ēnei. He aha anō rā hoki ngā tikanga ki te Te Ika a Tiki ka hinga i te pakanga. Ko

ngā mahi a te Māori ki te whakarite i a ia ki te whakaeketanga mai a te hoariri, ki te kōkiritanga rānei ki te tukituki i te hoariri. Ko ētahi hoki o ngā momo o te pakanga Māori ka matapakitia. Ko ngā atua, ko ngā karakia, ko ngā tohu, ko te āhua anō ki te tapu. Ka hinga ana te ika i te ati, ko te whāngai hau tēnā me te āhua ki tērā tikanga, ko ngā tohu hoki e kōrerotia me ngā tikanga o ētahi o aua tohu. Ko ngā tikanga ki te tau-mātaki-tahi, ki te whakapae arā, ki te pakipaki i te pā, ko ngā momo o te huaki, ko ngā momo anō o te kokoti moeroa, heoti, kei te rāhuingia ōna momo ki ngā pakanga kua kōwhiria ake mō tēnei rangahau. Ko ngā tikanga o muri i te pakanga, arā, ko ngā mate, ko te kaitangata tēnā, ko te tanu tēnā, ko te tahu tēnā me te tini noa atu. Nā reira, koinei te horopaki o te tikanga e rangahauhia ana.

1.6 Te Kaupapa

Ko te huarahi matua ka whāia ki te whakatutuki i te pātai, ko te whakaari atu i te tikanga mā roto i te whakawhāriki i ētahi pakanga o roto o te rau tau nei me te matapaki i ngā tikanga. Arā, ko ngā tikanga i whāia i te pakanga, ā, me ērā anō o te hunga i hinga. E rāhui anōtia ana tēnei rangahau ki ngā tuhinga kōrero, ki ngā pukapuka. Ka whā ngā aho o te taura here i te pātai ki ōna ara whakautu. Tuatahi ake, ka hoki rā anō ki ngā tātai kōrero a te Māori mō te oroko hanganga o te ao, i a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūanuku me ā rāua tamariki, ā, otirā, ā rāua uri. Heke mai ana ki roto i ngā kōrero atua, ki ngā kōrero tupua tae ana mai ki te putanga a te tangata ki te ao tūroa. Ka tirohia ai ko te pūtakenga mai o te tikanga pakanga, ērā anō o te mate i ngā tauiratanga a te atuātanga. Tuarua, ka whāia motuhaketia ko ngā pakanga o taua rau tau nei a te Māori ki te Māori, ka wānangatia te āhua ki ngā tikanga. Tuatoru, ko ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā, otia, Pākehā ki te Māori. Ka kōrerotia ai te āhua ki te tikanga, ki te āhua hoki i rerekē ai te tikanga o roto mai o te pakanga me te āhua anō ki te tikanga i te tūpāpaku Pākehā. Tērā anō te āhua o tā te Pākehā tikanga ki te tūpāpaku Māori. Ko te aho tuawhā, he wānanga i te āhua o te tikanga, i ōna panonitanga, i ōna neke i te āki a ngā whakapono Pākehā, Māori hoki me ērā anō i te aranga mai o te poropititanga. He huarahi motuhake ēnei ka whāia hei whakaeke i te urupounamu kua hora ki te aroaro. Hei roto anō i tēnā upoko, i tēnā upoko, ko te whakaatu i ngā panonitanga, ko te matapakitanga i ngā take, i ngā tākunetanga i pā ai ki te Māori i panoni ai ana tikanga ki te pakanga, ā, ki te tūpāpaku.

Me mātua kī ake anō e au, e kore rawa e taea e tēnei rangahau ngā pakanga katoa te tirohia, ngā tikanga katoa anō o ngā pakanga te tirohia. He pēnei tahi anō mō ngā tikanga mate, tūpāpaku. E taea noatia ana te matapaki i ērā ka kitea i ngā pakanga tonu kua kōwhiria, ā, ko ngā tikanga whānui, arā, he rite tonu te kitekite o aua tikanga i ngā tuhinga ka āta matapakitia. Ka mutu, ko tāku kē he tiki atu i ētahi taurira mai i roto i te rau tau rā, he tiki atu i ētahi o ngā pakanga kei reira nei he kōrero mō ngā tikanga i whāia rā, ka arua aua tikanga rā e āta taea ai e au ngā wāhanga o taku pātai te whakautu.

1.7 Tapu

Nā reira, he kōkuhu rā tēnei ki roto ki ngā tapu o te pakanga, o te mate, o ngā tikanga i pouherea ai te pakanga me ōna momo, otirā, ki ngā mate me ōna momo. Ehara kau hoki i te mea e taea katoatia, e kitea katoatia rānei, engari, kei roto tēnei tuhinga i tētahi tapu tiketike, tapu Māori ake, tapu taumaha anō. Tērā e tirohia ai ngā tapu nei me ngā panonitanga o aua tapu nei, otīa ngā tikanga nei i roto i te hikoi ki roto i ngā tau maha o ngā pakanga a te Māori ki a ia anō mai noa i te huringa o te rau tau, tae atu rā ki te moenga o ngā rākau tapu a Tūmatauenga i te paunga o ngā ono tekau, kuhu atu ana ki ngā tau hīmatanga o te whitu tekau.

Kua roherohea ngā pakanga e au ki ngā pakanga a te Māori ki a ia anō, ko ngā pakanga ērā a te Māori ki te Māori. Ka rua, ko ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā, tuatoru, ko ngā pānga ki te pakanga o ngā whakapono i mauria mai ai e te Pākehā. Ko ngā pakanga i ara i te poropititanga, a te hāhi Māori hoki tēnei. Hei konā, kua āta taea ngā tikanga ki tēnā rohenga motuhake te hahae, te whakarite, ā, kua taea anō te titiro ki ngā rerekē me ngā ōrite i roto i ngā tikanga i whakamahia i ngā pakanga katoa rā, i ngā tikanga tūpāpaku katoa anō rā.

1.8 Ngā take i kōwhiria ai ko tēnei rau tau

Ka toko anō te pātai he aha rawa rā te take i kōwhiria ai ko te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa, kaua ko mua iho, ko muri ake. Ināhoki te whakapae, ko ēnei tikanga a te Māori nō mai anō, nō mai i roto i ngā kāwainga kōrero i a Ranginui e tū nei, i a Papatūānuku e takoto ake nei tonu, nō te wā i ā rāua tamariki, heke iho, heke iho ki tēnei rau tau e matapakitia ake nei. Me kī ake, nō roto rawa i ngā pakanga i ara ake i te rau tau tekau mā iwa, ko te ihoiho o aua tikanga nei i rite ki tāku whakapae. Ko

te whakatinanatanga ake o aua tikanga nei e mea nei au i rerekē mai anō i roto i te haere a te wā. Ko te aronga ia o te pātai, i rerekē pēhea nei, ngā wāhi rā hoki e taea, kua rewa te pātai, he aha i rerekē ai, i paku kē rānei te rerekē a te tikanga, i tīni rawa rānei, arā, i hou kē rānei?

Ko te take matua hoki inā rā, kei te tirohia te tikanga, kei te āta mātaia hoki te wāhi i rerekē ai, i tīni rawa rānei ai, i paku panoni rānei ai, koianei, ko konei, ko tēnei rau tau nei e kitea ai ēnei āhuatanga. Ka haere te wā, ko te tikanga ka tīni, kāore ahau i te mea ake, ko ngā tikanga i ō tātou tūpuna i te taenga mai ki Aotearoa i kohatu tonu atu taea noatia mai te huringa ki te rau tau tekau mā iwa, kāore. Engari i te eketanga mai o tauwi ki runga i a tātou me ō rātou tikanga whakaaro, rawa, hangarau, ngā āki ki ō tātou whenua, tō rātou kīngitanga, te putanga o te tino rangatiratanga, te tiriti, te aha atu, te aha atu, ka tirohia ngā pānga o ērā katoa ki te tikanga, ā, ka whakawhāitihia iho ki ngā tikanga pakanga me ērā anō ki te mate.

Tā tēnei rangahau he whakamātau ki te whakatakoto i ngā tikanga tonu, he hari haere ki te wāhi i nui whakaharahara ai te rerekē o ētahi tikanga me te matapaki hoki i ngā take i tīni ai. Me mahara anō hoki, ka haere ana te wā, kua rerekē ētahi atua i nanaioretia atu, tērā ētahi i whakamoea, tērā hoki i ētahi wā i whawhai i raro i te atua i mauria mai ai e te Pākehā, ko te kimi i te ‘iho atua’ o te tikanga i tēnā pakanga, i tēnā pakanga. Me mātua kī ake hoki, tērā anō ngā tikanga o roto mai o te pakanga me te mate kīhai i tīni, i tīni rānei, ā, haere te wā, ka āta hokia ki ngā tikanga i a rātou mai noa i te huringa o te rau tau, hoki ake, ā, ēnei kōrero ka matapakitia ki roto i te wāhi i roherohea ai hei akoakotanga ake mā te tuhinga nei.

Ko te takiwā nui anō hoki ko te waipuketanga mai o tauhou, o tipua hou, o atua hou, o ahuarea hou ki runga i a Aotearoa anō nō Tamakurangi, nō Mahurangi rānei, nō hea kē hoki. Inā hoki, ko tauwi he pēnei i tētahi iwi wairua nei me te tahurangi, te patupaiarehe, te tūrehu, te ponaturi, te aha kē ake rānei. I mauria mai ai e tauwi tō rātou nā ao ka haupūtia ai ki runga ki te Māori, ki te whenua. Ka whakamātautia ai ki te whakaingarangi i a Aotearoa, i a Ngāi Māori. Ka pukeia mai ai, ka tōkia ai a tīni whakaaro hou, a tīni taonga hou, a tīni tikanga hou, a atua hou, ka whakapoapatia te Māori. Ka kitea e te Māori te mātāreka me te mātākawa. Nō konā, ka rere te ringa a te Māori ki te tiki atu i ngā mea i rata ai ki a ia, ki te

whakamāori mai, ā ka tomokia ai ki roto ki tō rātou nā ao, ki roto rawa i tō rātou ahurea. Kauga noa iho hoki ki te wāhi ki te pakanga, ki te mate rānei, engari, ki ngā wāhi huhua.

Ko te rautau kua whiriwhiria nei e au te rau tau i kakā ai te ahi o te pakanga puta katoa ēnei motu katoa, ōna moutere i noho ai te tangata tae atu rā hoki ki Rēkohu. Kāore kau he rautau pēnei mō te huhua o te pakanga mai anō i te Māori mō te nui o te tangata i mate, mō te nui anō o te pakanga. Mō te āhua anō o te pakanga a te Māori ki te Māori i roto rawa i ngā pakanga i tapaina rā ki ngā Musket Wars i ngarua ai te whenua ki te toto. Koinei hoki te āhua o te nuinga noa atu o ngā pakanga tae atu ana ki te hāinatanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Kei te huhua rā hoki ngā take i pēnei ai. Tā tēnei rangahau he titiro ki ērā take, ki ngā wāhi e kitea he hāngaitanga ki roto i te tikanga. Nā reira, ka tirohia whānuitia ngā take i ara ai ngā pakanga o te rau nei. Ka mātua arotakehia ngā take huhua o roto o te rau tau nei i pā ai ki te tikanga, i āki rā hoki i te tikanga, i whakamātau rā i a ia. Ka tirohia anōtia ko ngā takatūnga a te Māori ki aua ākinga rā i roto i te āhua o āna tikanga ki te takiwā o te pakanga oīa, ki ngā tikanga e pā mai ana ki te mate. Me kī anō, ko ngā pakanga ka mātāia iho e tēnei rangahau ka noho ai ki Te Ika a Māui, ahakoa, te huhua mārika o ngā pakanga i hua ake i Te Waipounamu, ā, ko ērā anō hoki i Rēkohu, ka mau kē ai ki tēnei motu ake.

1.9 Te Kaituhi

“E kore au e mate, kāore au e mate, ka mate ko te mate, ka ora taku toa, e kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaētea” (Broughton, 1993).

Ko te whakatauaākītanga kōrero tēnei i puta i a Riwha Titokowaru i tana whakapātāritaritanga ki ngā mana o te motu nei i te tau kotahi mano e waru rau e ono tekau mā waru. Ko ngā mana e kōrerongia ake nei ko ngā mana Māori, ko ngā mana Pākehā ko ngā mana anō ki Ingarangi puta ki te ao. Koinei ētahi kōrero i whakawhere i a au, i whakakaingākaunui i a au ki te kaupapa o te pakanga ka puta au i te kura tuarua i Puke Ariki, i Ngāmotu. Ko te whakatauaākī anō tēnei i tāraia ki te kohatu o tētahi o aku pāpā e kī ai au he pāpā whāngai nōku. Ko tētahi anō o ngā whakatauaākī a Titokowaru i kī ai, “Iti taku iti, ka tūria e au ngā maunga nunui o te

ao” (Broughton, 1993). Koinei ngā momo kōrero i tō i taku rekareka ki te kaupapa pakanga nei, koia anō nei ngā momo o te kōrero ka tupu Māori mai ai te tangata i roto o Taranaki.

Ka paku whai haere tonu i ngā kōrero mō Titokowaru i tūponotia rā e au ki roto i tā Cowan (1911). Ka kōrerotia ai ngā tikanga i whāia rā i te kōkiritanga i Turuturumōkai, i te autātanga a te hōia i Te Ngutu o te Manu me Moturoa, arā, ngā tikanga mō ngā tūpāpaku i tihakehakea rā i te riri i ēnei pakanga. Ka āta whakarārangitia mai aua tikanga rā. Koinei ētahi o ngā take i tupu ai taku pārekareka ki tēnei kaupapa.

Heoi rā, ka heke mai au i ngā kāwai o Mataatua waka, o Tainui waka, o Te Arawa waka. Tērā anō ngā piringa ki a Tākitimu waka. Ko Ngāti Manawa, ko Ngāti Ruapani ngā iwi matua. ko Ngāti Hui, ko Ngāti Hika, ko Ngāti Hinanga ngā hapū. Ko Tangiharuru, ko Tuwai ngā tāngata.

I whānau au ki Rotorua, ā, ka tīmata ai ki te kura ki Reporoa, ā, ki Murupara. Ka waru tōku pakeke ka hūnuku mātou ki roto o Ngāti Maniapoto, ā mutu ana te kura tuatahi, takawaenga hoki. Nō konā ka hikipapa atu ki roto o Taranaki mō ngā tau o te kura tuarua. Ka mutu ana te kura, ka puta au ki te Kura mata tini o Taranaki i te tau 1988. Ka huri ai te aro ki te aru haere i tōku Māoritanga.

Ka piri atu ai ki a Huirangi Waikerepuru ka ako ki ngā kōrero a Taranaki mō ngā āhuatanga ki ngā pakanga i pakaru ai ki ngā rohe katoa i raro mai i te maunga Titōhea. E ako anō ana i te reo Māori tae atu hoki ki ngā hitōria o reira. Ka ākona rā ki ngā waiata, ētahi rā o ngā mōteatea, ngā ngeri, ka hua ai ngā kōrero mō Te Matakātea Wiremu Kīngi, mō Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitaake, mō Te Ua Haumeene, mō Tītokowaru, mō Hapurona mō Te Whiti o Rongomai rāua ko Tohu Kākahi, tae atu ki a Rewi Maniapoto me ētahi. Mō ngā tau maha o te pakanga, mō te Hauhau. Ka whāngaia ai ki te papahorotanga o te hoia Pākehā, ka hihiko te ngākau. Nō konā, ka tahuri au ki te pānui i ngā pukapuka hei kīnaki i āku mahi ako i reira. Ko ētahi o aua pukapuka ko ā James Bellich, I shall not die, The New Zealand Wars, Go ask that Mountain, ka torona ngā pukapuka mō Te Rauparaha, mō Te Kooti, ā, ka āta tupu taku mātāreka ki ngā hitōria Māori me taku rekareka ki ngā kōrero mō

ngā pakanga i tupu i te Pākehā ki te Māori. Nā wai rā, ka tīmata au ki te whakaako i Te Kura mata tini i Taranaki, i Te Kōhanga Reo, ka kuhu ki te Kura Kaupapa Māori, ki te Reo Irirangi, ki ngā mahi kapahaka, ā, kua mārō taku noho ki roto i te ao Māori. Ka kuhu anō au ki Te Tiwhikete Māori a Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, nō konā ka āta kuhu ki roto i ngā kōrero tikanga Māori, hitōria Māori me ēnei āhuatanga Māori katoa. Nō te tau kotahi mano e iwa rau, tekau mā rima ka hūnuku mai au ki Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato ki te mahi ake i taku Tohu Paetahi. Ka tīmata ai au ki te tūranga kaiāwhina mō ngā pepa reo Māori a Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao.

Nō te tau rua mano, ka piki tūranga ahau ki te Senior Tutor, ā, ka tae ana ki te rua mano mā rua, ka whakawhiwhia ki te tūranga pūkenga i roto anō i Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao. Nōku i Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato ka haere tonu taku rangahau i ngā pakanga o Aotearoa, i ngā kōrero mō ngā rangatira o roto o aua pakanga rā. Ka tae rā ki te tau e rua mano tekau mā tahi ka kuhu au hei kairangahau matua i roto i ngā rangahau mō te tangihanga i karangatia rā ko te Aituā Research Project i mana rā i a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga me Te Apakura Research Project i mana rā i te Marsden fund. Nō konā, ka kuhu ahau ki te tākutatanga, ko taku kaupapa ko te rangahau i ngā tangihanga a ngā manukura te ingoa. Ko te horopaki ko ngā tangihanga o ngā rangatira o roto i te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa. Ko te horopaki whānui ko te titiro ki ngā tikanga o te tangihanga i roto i te wā o te pakanga, o te māuiui, o te maunawatanga me te tōnuitanga. Ka whakawhiwhia anōtia ahau ki te karahipi a Te Moananui Ngarimu. Heoi, ka āhua kite ahau i te kaha whānui rawa o te kaupapa, ā, ka mārari noa iho taku rangahau.

Ko te take hoki i ahei ai au ki te tonono mō te karahipi a Te Moananui Ngarimu ko tōku koroua ake arā, te matua o taku pāpā i kuhu ai ki te pakanga tuarua o te ao ki roto i Te Hokowhitu a Tū, ki roto i te kamupene B. Ko tōku tupuna koroua anō arā, te matua o tōku kuia i roto i te pakanga tuatahi o te ao. Ko te ūpoko ariki o tō mātou iwi a Ngāti Manawa ko Peraniko, nāna ko Hopaia. Nā, ka moe a Hopaia ki a Peita Kotuku o Te Patuheuheu me Ngāti Maniapoto. He toa a Peita i whakapiri atu ki a Te Atiawa i te muranga o te pakanga i roto o Waitara i te tau kotahi mano e waru rau e ono tekau. I Ōrākau anō ia i te tau kotahi mano e waru rau e ono tekau mā whā. Ka kuhu rā ia ki roto i ngā pakanga Hauhau i roto i ngā tau o te ono tekau mā

rima, mā ono. Ka whakaraua ia me Te Kooti mā ki Wharekauri i te ono tekau mā ono, ā, ka puta kōnihi mai ai rātou katoa i runga i te Raiwhara ka tau ki Whareongaonga i te ono tekau mā waru. Ka whawhai tahi a Peita mō Te Kooti ki te whitu tekau ka tūtaki atu ki tana hoa rangatira i te tau whitu tekau. Nō konā, ka whakarērea a Te Kooti ka piri ai ki a Hopaia, ā, ka whānau ko tōku tupuna kuia a Kiekie, nāna ko Tatiana, nāna ko tōku koroua i roto i Te Hokowhitu a Tū, ā, nāna ko taku pāpā, ā, ko au.

Koinei katoa rā ngā take i kaingākau nui ai au ki tēnei kaupapa, ko tōku tātai hoki, he tātai pakanga, nā reira, nō nā noa nei ka āta tatū taku whakaaro kia hanga mau tonu ki te āhua o te tangihanga, o te titiro ki ngā tikanga o te mate ki roto anake i te āhua o te pakanga. Ā, nā taku rekareka ki ngā hītōria pakanga o te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa, ka tōia mai ko ngā tikanga anō e pā ana ki te pakanga.

Me kōrero i konei ētahi hua e puta ai i tēnei rangahau āku. Ko te Māori ia ko tāna mahi he hoki whakatemuri i roto katoa, i te nuinga rānei o āna tikanga. Hei paku whakatauirā atu i tēnei. Ka tirohia ngā tikanga a te Māori o runga i te marae, ko te nuinga rā hoki i ahu mai i mua. Ka rongō ki te tū a te tangata i te marae, ko tāna rā mahi he hokihoki ake ki ngā kōrero a ōna mātua, a ōna tūpuna, ahakoa he aha te kaupapa o te rāmementanga. Ko tāna, he whakamaiaorere i ana whakapuakitanga ki te tauparapara, ngā whakataukī, ki ngā whakatauākī, ki ngā kōrero o nehe ka whakahāngaia ai ki runga i te kaupapa. Ka kīnakitia ai ko ana kōrero e tana matua ki te mōteatea, ki te waiata tangi, ki te ngeri, ki te pao aha atu, aha atu o tēnei momo i te nuinga rā hoki o te wā hei whakaū i āna rā i kōrero ai. He pērā tahi ngā kaikaranga me ngā karakia Māori, he pērā tahi nō mai anō.

Nō nā noa anō nei ka tīmata ai te putaputa o ngā tuhituhinga rangahau tākutatanga ki roto i te reo Māori, ko tētahi wāhanga anō tēnei o te ngana, o te āki a te Māori ki te tātā, ki te tūraki i ngā taiepa i poua ai e tauwiwi ki ngā wāhi mātauranga, ki ngā mahi, ki hea, ki hea anō hei aukati i te tupu a te Māori, i te whai a te Māori i tōna mana motuhake, i ōna rangatiratanga ki ngā wāhi me ngā rohe katoa e taea ai e ia. He whawhai tēnei e whawhaingia ana e te Māori ki te Pākehā, ki ōna mana, e wero ana i a ia kia ōrite te tū a te Māori ki te tū a te Pākehā i ngā roherohe katoa o tō tātau ao. Kua maninohea noa iho te taringa Māori ki ngā ture tauwiwi, otirā, ki te ringa

tohutohu a te Pākehā e kī ana me pēnei kē e hoa mā, kua hei pēnā. Nō tātou hoki a konei, arā ngā whare takiura, kua poua noatia atu te reo hei reo mana me te aroha me haere rawa ki te kōti e mana ai, heoti, kua mana, ā, ko tā tātou he whakakōkiri i tērā mananga ki ngā wāhi katoa, ki ngā wā katoa.

Ka tuhi ana te Māori ahakoa te kaupapa ki roto i tōna anō reo ka whānau he tirohanga kē ki ērā kua tuhia ki te reo Pākehā. Ka whānau he mātauranga kē, he mātauranga motuhake i te mea kei te ahu mai i te hinengaro Māori, i tōna titiro ki te aha ake, kei te Māori anō te tikanga o tāna e tuhi ai, ā mā te reo rawa tērā e taea. Ahakoa rawa kei konā anō ōna ture, āna tikanga, ōna mātātika me kī, engari, me tuhi te Māori, me mātua whakahoki tēnei takiwā i ōna taumata katoa. Me tuhi ki te reo Māori hei tauira mā ngā whakareanga kāore anō kia whānau mai ai. Ko tātou o ēnei reanga kei te whakatakoto i te huarahi whakamua ki roto i te āpōpō otirā, i te ake ake hei hīkoitanga mā ngā uri. Mā rātou hoki e whakairo ngā huarahi maha mō ngā reanga ka tupu ake hei ōna wā ki roto i tō tātou reo, i tō tātou ao. Ko tō tātou reo hoki kei te pae o ngaro ki tua, o ngaro ki Rarohenga, nā reira, ko tā tātou, he whawhai, he pakanga kia kore ai e tūpono te pērā, engari, kia ora, kia tipu, kia mātiririti, kia māhorahora, kia poupoua ki roto ki ngā toka o te whenua kia mārō hītarari te tū, kia tūhāhā te tū.

Ko ō tātou tūpuna, he iwi whawhai, he iwi pakanga, he pēnei tonu i te nuinga o ngā iwi katoa o te ao, arā, i roto i ngā hitōria, he wāhi i pakanga, he wāhi anō i rongomau ā, i pai ai mā ērā katoa e tuhi mō tērā hītori, e pai anō ai mā tātou e hahū ake ērā kōrero a tātou, ā, e tuhi anō. Ahakoa hoki he aha te mahi a te Māori he tikanga āna, he iho whakaaro hoki kei mua, kei muri i te tikanga. Kāore kau pea rānei he tikanga kāore kau ana he whakaaro kei muri, inā rānei he tikanga kāore ana rā tērā āhukatanga kua kore pea e roa kua tapuke, kua titaia atu, kua tukuna ki te anu mātao. Nā reira, he wānanga tēnei tuhinga i te tikanga i te ahunga mai o te tikanga, i te tikanga tonu o aua tikanga, ā, i te panonitanga o te tikanga i roto i te rau tau kua kōwhiria nei me ngā take o aua panonitanga.

Kei te āhua tawhiti haere pea ēnei kōrero i taku pātai ake arā mō ngā hua o te rangahau nei. Kei te huhua rā. Kia noho tonu ai tātou ki te pakanga, ko ngā iwi o te ao ka tū whakahīhī rātou mō ā rātou pakanga o mua, pēnei me tātou i ō tātou toa, i

Te Hokowhitu a Tū tonu e whakanuingia ana e te motu katoa, tae atu rā hoki ki ngā iwi o te Ao i whawhai mō te kīngi me te kanatari. Kei ia tau, kei ia tau, ko tātou tērā he hoki ake ki ō tātou hapū iwi ki te whakanui, ki te maumahara, ki te tangi mō ō tātou koroua i hinga i ērā pakanga, i tanumia i motu kē. Ki ērā anō i hoki mai, ā, nō roto i te wā ka hingahinga haere ake. He haere anō ki te whakaatu ki ngā hōia kei te mata tonu o te whenua i tō tātou marutuna, i tō tātou maruwehi ki a rātou.

He whakatairanga anō i ō tātou toa i pakanga ki te pakanga Boer, ki te pakanga i Korea, i Vietnam. Nō tēnei tau tonu i eke te kotahi rau rima tekau tau o ngā pakanga i Rangiriri, i Ōrākau, i Pukehinahina, i Te Ranga. I tae anō ai a tauiwī ki te whakamahara atu ki ēnei pakanga, he mea hou tēnei, i tino mate te Pākehā i te whakamā ki ērā pakanga, ināhoki i aukati i aua kōrero rā, i tāmia i roto i ā rātou kura katoa te take i kī ai au he whakamā, arā ko tāku whakapae tēnei. Tērā hoki te āhua ki te whakapākehā i a tātou, ā reo, ā ahurea, ā tikanga, ā hītori. Arā, me ako kē te tamariki, te taiohi i ngā pakanga, i ngā mahi i mahia rā i Ingarangi, i Wiwī, i hea ake, i hea ake.

Tērā anō tātou ka tino kite ai ināianei i ngā mahi kapa puta te motu, i a tamatāne, i a tuawahine e hāpai nei i ngā rākau a Tū, e tū nei i te tū a Tānerore i ngā rākau a ō tātou mātua tūpuna. E tū whakahīhi ake nei te Māori mō tōna ahurea pakanga, mō tōna ihi, tōna wehi, tōna whakamataku. Kei te tū a ngāi Māori i te atamira ki te whakaari ake i ngā neke a ōna mātua tūpuna, ōna hāpai anō i te pae o te riri, ā, ka kawea ake ērā kia mauri ora hoki ai i ō tātou marae maha. Me kī, e whakataua ana te Māori, kua hoki ki te whakaara taua, ki te whakarewa taua, kei te mārāma te kitea o tēnei āhuatanga a te Māori i roto i ēnei tau. E kitea ana hoki i ō tātou Kōhanga Reo, i ō tātou kura. Ko ngā kura a Tūmataunga kei te puta i te motu.

Nā reira, ko tā tēnei rangahau he whakaaraara i ngā tikanga i whāia ai, i whakatinanatia ai, i pono ai ō tātou mātua tūpuna, i tika ai ki a rātou i tikanga mai ai. Ka tae ana ki ngā matapakitanga mō ā tātou tikanga mate, tikanga tūpāpaku, mā wai kē e kōrero? Kua oti hoki i a tauiwī ēnei tikanga te tuhi, ā, e pai ana, engari, me wāhi anō ki a tātou, mā tātou hei wetewete ake he aha i pēnei ai, he aha i pēnā ai. Me reo Māori anō, me wetewete ngā take i pēnei ai, i pēnā ai ki roto anō i te reo ake o aua tikanga nei. Ka tae tātou ki ngā tikanga o te mate, o te tūpāpaku, kei te

huhua rā ngā kōrero. Te take rā hoki kua whakawhāitihia ai ki runga ki ngā mate i te pakanga, me pēhea rā hoki e kore ai? Inā rā he pakanga he mate, kāore rā hoki e taea te wehewehe.

Ka titiro ana tātou ki ngā tikanga mate, tūpāpaku o nāianeī, nō hea rā? Ahakoa rā, kei te mōhio tātou he tūkinō tā te ope taua i ngā mate a tōna hoariri, he tapu tonu, me matapaki ērā. Me kuhu rā ki tua atu i aua tūkinō ki te kimi ake i te tikanga. Ki te tuku anō i te pātai nō hea oti ēnei tikanga, ēnei ihoiho whakaaro. Ko tāku whakapae hoki ka kitea rawatia i ā tātou kōrero o nehe, o mua noa atu i te takatūnga o te tangata ki te mata o te whenua. O te wā i ngā tamariki a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku, ko tāku e whakapae ake nei, kei konā te tauira, kei roto anō hoki i ngā tātainga kōrero o muri mai. Ko tā tēnei rangahau he whakawhānui i ēnei whakaaro ōku, he whai haere i ēnei kōrero hei whakaariari i tēnei tū ōku.

He hua anō o ēnei kōrero mō tātou te Māori, inā rā te reanga ki ahau ake nei, ki ōku mātua, ki ēnei reanga o nāianeī tonu. Kihai rā tātou i whāngaia ki ēnei kōrero, ehara i te mea ko tātou katoa, engari ahau e kī nei ko te nuinga atu o tātou. I aukatia rā ēnei kōrero i te kura, me pēhea rā hoki te kore mōhio e whāngai iho i ēnei tū kōrero. Mō te hunga kei te mārama ki ēnei kōrero, he mamae, he mamae tonu te ngākau ki ngā tini pakanga o mua. E noho mai nei ēnei kōrero i ā tātou ngeri, i ā tātou haka, i ā tātou mōteatea, kaioraora. Kei te ngau tonu te mamae i te hunga mōhio ki ēnei kōrero, arā, mō ngā pakanga o te rau tau tekau mā iwa. Ehara kau hoki i te mea ka āta kōrerotia ērā, kāo, kei te takiwā kē o tikanga te ahu o ēnei kōrero.

Tērā anō e whai hua ai ēnei rangahau mā te Pākehā mā tauīwi, mā te hunga mātanga ki te tuhi hītori, ki te tuhi tikanga tangata, ki te tuhi pakanga, ki te tuhi mō te mate. He āta whai take anō mā ngā iwi taketake o te ao. Kei ngā iwi taketake ēnei kōrero, ā rātou nā tikanga ā pakanga, ā mate i roto i te kotahi rau tau neke atu o te ekenga mai o tauīwi ki runga i a rātou. Tērā hoki kei tō tātou reo tēnei e haere ana, ka kitea rā he hou tēnei āhuatanga. Kua taunga kē hoki ēnei mātanga ki te tuhi mai i tō rātou titiro tonu, i ō rātou pukenga ake. Ko tā rātou he kuhu i ngā kōrero i tuhia rā e tō rātou momo ake. Kei konei kua kitea he aronga kē, he tirohanga kē, he tikanga kē. Nā reira, he whaihua ēnei kōrero mā te tini makiu.

Tēnei tuinga hoki kei te kotahi hoki ki ngā nekeneke a ngā iwi taketake o te ao, kei te ngātahi te whakahoki i ō tātou mana motuhake ki ā tātou kōrero ake. Kua kī ake a ngāi iwi taketake, mā tātou ake anō ā tātou kōrero hei kōrero, ā tātou ake hītori, kōrero tuku iho hei kōrero, hei tuhi. Kua hanga hōhā noa iho tātou ki te tuhi a tauwiwi puta noa i ngā kōrero mō tātou mā tātou mā roto anō i tā rātou titiro, i tā rātou wāwāhi i ā tātou kaupapa. Tā tēnei rangahau kei te hāpai i tērā hīkoi a tātou puta te ao. Kua tae te wā e tuhi ai tātou i ā tātou ake kōrero, kua tae te wā kia wetewete tātou i ā tātou ake tikanga, ahakoa he aha te tikanga, mā tātou hei kōrero ki runga anō i te āhua tika ki a tātou. Ehara kau au i te tāunu i ā Ngāi Pākehā kaituhituhi, kairangahau, he taonga anō ērā, engari, nō tātou taketake ēnei kōrero, mā tātou hei kōrero, hei rangahau, hei tuhi, ā, hei whakaputa ki te ao katoa.

1.10 He Rangahau Atu Anō

Kei te huhua ngā kaupapa i ngā pāpāringa o te kaupapa nei i roto anō i ō te rangahau nei takiwā hei rangahau. Rā roto i te tikanga tonu o te pakanga ake me ērā anō ki te mate.

Kia tōaitia te kōrero, kei runga anake tēnei rangahau i ngā tikanga i whakatinanahia ai e ō tātou mātua tūpuna ki roto i te takiwā ake ki te pakanga, ā, ki āna anō tikanga mō te tūpāpaku i hinga i te pakanga me ngā pānga mai o te ao i noho ai rātou i te rau tau tekau mā iwa i panoni ai ētahi, katoa rānei aua tikanga. Kāore kau e āta puta ki waho atu i ēnei takiwā.

Ko te roherohenga o tēnei rangahau kei te whāiti, ināhoki te huhua o ngā rangahau ki tēnei takiwā. Ko ngā rangahau ki roto i ngā pakanga a tātou ake ki a tātou anō ki roto anō i ō tātou iwi, hapū, mā tēnā hapū, mā tēnā iwi anō āna kōrero ake e rangahau ā pakanga nei, ā mate nei. Ko ngā kōrero taketake o tēnei mea te pakanga, o tēnei mea te mate, te tūpāpaku, te tangihanga māna anō e rangahau ki āna anō tikanga rangahau. Mōku, kāore kau he āta mutunga o ēnei rangahau. Kei runga i tērā whakaaro ōku, kua āta whakawhāitihia, kua rapaina he huarahi ki tōku anō whakapae e taea ai te pātai te whai whakautu. Kāti, kei ngā mōteatea, ngā momo o te waiata Māori te huhua o ngā kōrero pakanga, kōrero mate, kei reira ngā kōrero whakanui i ngā kiri kawa, i ngā mumu o mua, kei roto anō i ērā te reo ake ki ēnei āhuatanga, kei ngā tūtū ngārahu, ngā peruperu arā, ko ngā makamaka whana kei

reira katoa te reo me ngā kōrero o tēnei mea te pakanga me ōna momo. Kei ngā pakiwaitara a tēnā hapū, a tēnā iwi, a tēnā waka ēnei kōrero. I roto i ngā tau nei o Te Taraipiunara o Waitangi te kaupukahu anō o te kōrero, kei ngā kōrero huhua o Te Kooti Whenua Māori anō. Nā reira, kua kore kē he āta mutunga o te āhei ki te rangahau i ngā tikanga nei. Ko tāku rangahau nei kei te kahu noa iho o te wai inā, e kapi kē ana ki roto i tētahi whitu tekau tau. Ka mutu, ki a au ake nei, kāore kē ōna mutunga ake.

Kāti, kua tae tēnei ki te wāhi e hora ai te rautaki ki tēnei rangahau, ki tāku whakaroherohe i te rangahau nei e whai whakautu ai te pātai matua ki ōku nei whakaaro, ā kāti, kia hoake tātou.

1.11 Ngā Upoko

Upoko 1: He Takinga Kōrero

Kua noho ko tēnei te ūpoko hei whakaariari i te pātai, e whawhaingia ai te take i whiriwhiria ai tēnei kaupapa otirā, tēnei pātai hei pātai mō tēnei rangahau. Ko tā tēnei upoko, he hora i te kaupapa whānui, he hora anō i ngā take o te kaupapa. He whakatū i te tāhuhu o tēnei whare kōrero. He kōrero i ngā take i whiriwhiri ai ahau i tēnei kaupapa hei kaupapa rangahau mōku. He whakawhāriki anō i ngā take i tīkina ai ko te wā kua whiria ai. He whakahua anō i ngā take i tīkina atu e hau tēnei kaupapa ake. He whakaatu hoki i ngā hua o te kaupapa, ā, he whakaatu hoki i ōna whāititanga e mārama ai te kaupānui ki te takiwā e noho ai ngā kōrero.

Upoko 2: Ngā Takenga o te Riri

Ko tā tēnei upoko he hoki atu ki ngā kāwainga kōrero ki ngā takenga kōrero o tēnei mea te riri, te pakanga, o tēnei mea anō te mate ki tā te Māori wānanga, ki tā te Māori tātai. He hoki haere ake ki a Ranginui e tū nei, ki a Papatūānuku e takoto nei. Ka hoki ai ki ā rāua tamariki ki a Rongo maraeroa, ki a Tāne Mahuta, ki a Tangaroa, ki a Haumia tiketike, ki a Tūmataua, ki a Tāwhirimātea, ki a Whiro mā. Ka hoake ai ngā kōrero ki reira inā rā ko te takenga mai rā tērā ki tōku whakapae, o te riri, o te pakanga otirā o te mate.

Ka mutu, ko te titiro tēnei ki te atuātanga o te pakanga, ki te aroha, ki te mamae, ki te pōuri i tupu ai te riri, te kōhuru me te pakanga. Ko roto iho i ērā, ko ngā atua o te pakanga, ko ngā atua kai tangata, ko te atua nei a Tūmatauenga, taea atu ki a Uenuku kai tangata, ki a Kahukura me te tini noa atu. Ka taea anō ki ngā atua kahukahu me te wāhi anō o ērā atua ki te pakanga Māori. Ko ngā rīriri a ngā atua, ko te pakarutanga mai o ngā pakanga a ngā atua, ko ngā atua kōhuru, ko te kai i ngā atua, arā, ko te kai rā kia noa ai ētahi atua. Ko te huanga mai o te tapu, o te mana, o te karakia, o ngā whakatauiratanga mai o te atuātanga i te rohe ki te Matawhāura, otirā, ki Te Ika a Tiki.

Upoko 3: Ngā pakanga a te Māori ki a ia anō

Kei te tapanga o te upoko nei tōna tikanga. Arā, he mātai ake i ngā tikanga ana whawhai ana te Māori ki a ia anō puta katoa tēnei rautau. Ināhoki te whakapae, tērā ētahi rerekētanga ā tikanga ana whawhai te Māori ki a ia anō, ko tā tēnei upoko he whakahora i ērā tikanga, he whakamātau anō ki te rapa i ngā wāhi o te tikanga e pā ana ki te pakanga me te mate i tīni, i panoni. Ka mutu, ko te wāhi ake ki tēnei upoko kei ngā pakanga mai anō i te huatakitanga ake o tēnei rau tau ahū atu ana ki roto ki ngā tau tīmatanga o te whā tekau. Ehara i te mea koinei noa ake ngā tau o ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki a ia anō. Engari, ka noho pū ai tēnei upoko ki runga ki ngā pakanga o ngā tau kua whakahuatia ake nei. Ka waiho ai ko ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki a ia anō i ngā tau e mātaia ai ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā, otiā, ngā pakanga a Te Hauhau, otirā, a Te Ringatū me te Kūpapa ki ngā upoko tūhura i ērā kōrero.

Nā reira, ka tīmata mai ai ngā kōrero o tēnei upoko ki te pakanga tuatahi me te pū, ko Mōremonui tēnā, ahakoa rā, kāore i te tapatahi te whakaae iho he pū i taua pakanga. Ko Te Kai a te Karoro anō tētahi o ōna ingoa, ko Te Haenga o te One hoki tētahi anō o ōna ingoa. Ko te take he pū i taua pakanga te take tuatahi i whiriwhirihia ai tēnei pakanga, ko te tuarua o ngā take, ko te whakaari ake i tēnei momo o te pakanga Māori, arā, o te kokoti moeroa. Ka whāia mai i tērā ka tirohia tētahi o ngā tino momo o te riri Māori, ko te tau-mātaki-tahi tērā. E toru ēnei, ko te tuatahi, kei Te Āmiowhenua tuarua o te tau 1821, ko te tau-mātaki-tahi a Tūkorehu rāua ko Te Pūrewa i Te Whāiti. Ko te tuarua, ko tērā i a Te Tupe o Tū rāua ko Tūkorehu i tū rā i te hokinga ake a Te Āmiowhenua nei mā Te Taihauauru, ka mau tuatahi rā ki Ngā-

Puke-tū-rua nei. Hiki ake a Te Āmiowhenua nei ka kuhuna te pā tūwatawata nei a Pukerangiora, ka tapaina ai te pakipakihanga nei ko Raihe-poaka. Rere mai a Waikato rāua ko Maniapoto ki te unu i te pakipakihanga nei ka hua ai ko te tau-mātaki-tahi a Pōtatau Te Wherowhero ki ētahi o ngā toa o Te Āti Awa i tū rā i Moturoa. Ko te whakamutunga o ngā pakanga ka tirohia ai e tēnei upoko ko te pakanga i Toka-a-Kuku i a Ngāti Porou me ngā taua o Te Tai Rāwhiti katoa ki a Te Whānau a Apanui me ōna whaitaua. Koia ia ngā pakanga o tēnei upoko.

Upoko 4: Ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā

Ko tāku whakaroherohe ake i tēnei upoko kei ngā pakanga i hua ake i te tau 1845, tae atu ana ki te tau 1864. Ehara i te mea i mutu ai te pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā i tēnei tau ake nei. Engari, ko ngā pakanga ki te Pākehā i muri atu i ēnei tau, ko ngā pakanga poropiti, koirā me kī tāku whakamārama ake i te āhua ki ērā pakanga. Tērā anō hoki e kite ai te whakamoe o ētahi tikanga mai i ngā pakanga a te Māori ki a ia anō. Kei konei hoki ahau e whakapae ana e kitea rā he panonitanga, otirā, he rerekētanga i roto i te tikanga i ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā, otirā i te wāhi ki ngā tikanga a te mate. Nā reira, tā tēnei upoko he āta titiro ki te āhua o te tikanga ka whawhai ana a Māori ki a Pākehā, ā, ki a tauwiwi. Ko ngā pakanga ka āta mātaia ai e tēnei upoko, ko te pakanga i Ohaeawai ki ngā hōia a te kuini o Ingārangi, tērā anō e kōrerotia ai te horonga o Kororāreka, pungarehutia ana. E kōrero anō ai a Puketutu, a Te Ahuahu me te pakanga whakamutunga i roto o Te Taitokerau arā, i a Ruapekapeka. Ka whāia mai i tērā ko te aranga o ngā pakanga i roto o Taranaki, ko te pakanga e āta mātaitia ana ko tērā i Puketakauere rāua ko Ōnuku-kaitara, heoi, tērā anō e whāwhāngia atu ai ko ngā kakari i Te Kōhia, o Waireka me tā Ngāti Haua rāua ko Ngāti Maniapoto, ko Mahoetahi. Nā, ka tatū rā ki te pakanga whakamutunga o tēnei upoko arā, ko tērā i Ōrākau. Tērā anō e kōrerotia ai te aranga o Te Kīngitanga me āna kaupapa. Ka whakahuatia ai ngā pakanga i tū rā i Te Koheroa, ki Meremere, ki Rangiriri, ki te pāhuatanga o Rangiaowhia, ki Hairini anō ka tatū ai ngā kōrero nei ki Ōrākau.

Upoko 5: Ngā Pakanga Poropiti

Tā tēnei upoko, he titiro ki ngā tātātanga a ngā momo whakapono ki ngā tikanga. Ko ngā whakapono a te Pākehā tāku e kōrero ake nei puta tonu ki tā te Māori whakamāori i aua whakapono nei. Ki tā te Māori raweke i aua whakapono rā kia

whānau ai he whakapono hou, kia whānau anō rā he atua hou me ōna whakahaere, āna anō tikanga pakanga, ā, otīa, o te mate.

Ko Te Pai Mārire rāua ko Te Ringatū tāku e kōrero nei, hoatu ai e tauīwi tōna ingoa ki runga ki ēnei pakanga ko ngā pakanga Hauhau. Ehara tēnei i te āta hāngai ki ngā pakanga katoa o te tahua ki ngā tau. Ko ngā tau hoki e mātaia ai e tēnei upoko ko te 1864 tae atu ki te 1869. Ahakoa rā, ko ngā pakanga a Te Ringatū i mutu tonu i te 1872.

Nā, ko ngā pakanga e mātaia ai e tēnei upoko, tuatahi ko Te Tāpiri rāua ko Ōkupu, he pakanga tērā i a Ngāti Manawa me tōna whaitaua a Ngāti Rangitīhi ki a Ngāi Tūhoe me ngā iwi Hauhau i tae rā ki roto i a rātou arā, a Kereopa Te Rau, a Pātara Raukatauri me tō rāua nei tira. Ko te horapatanga tēnei a te Hauhau ki roto ki Te Moana a Toi, otirā, ki roto o Ngāi Tūhoe, ā, kua tae anō ki roto o Te Tai Rāwhiti. Heoti, ka tīmata kē ai ngā kōrero ki te huakitanga mai o Te Pai Mārire i tōna tangata i a Te Ua Haumeene. Kātahi ko te huakitanga a te Hauhau ki ngā hōia ki Te Ahuahu, ka whāia mai i tēnei ko te parewhero i Te Mōrere. Whāia mai ana i tēnei ka kōrerotia rā te haerenga a Tāwhiao ki a Te Ua, ko te rironga tēnā o Te Pai Mārire i ngā iwi o Te Kīngitanga, arā, ko te Hauhautanga o te Kīngitanga me ōna iwi. Ka tatū ai ēnei kōrero ki te tāronatanga o Te Wākena, ā, ki te pakanga ake ki a Te Tāpiri me Ōkupu. Nā, ka tae rā ngā kōrero ki a Riwia Titokowaru ki te pakanga i tū rā i tōna pā kāinga ki Te Ngutu o te Manu. Tērā e kōrerotia ai tāna whakamātau ki te kawē i te take whenua ki roto i te rangimārie, ā, kihai rā tērā i eke, ka pakaru rā ko ana riri. Ko Turuturu-mōkai ka whakahuatia, ā, me Taurangaika, tana tatūnga anō ki roto o Ngāti Maru ki te pā pakanga i hangaia mai ai e ia ko Te Kawau. Ki konā, ka aru rā i te matua tangata i a Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki ki tōna whakarautanga i Rēkohu, ki tāna unuhanga i ngā whakarau i reira, ka ū rā ki Whareongaonga. Ko te āta hāngaitanga ake ko tana turaki i a Matawhero, heoti, tērā e kuhuna ai te pakipakihanga i Paparatu, ki te kakari i Te Kōneke, ki Ruakituri, ā, ka hua ai ko tērā i Matawhero. Whakahua kautia ai a Makaretu, a Te Karetu anō tōna ingoa me Ngātapa, ka waiho ake i a Te Kooti ki konā ki tana mararatanga ki roto o Te Wera. Koia tēnei ko ngā kōrero o tēnei upoko.

Upoko 6: He Whakakapinga

Hei kōpani ake i tēnei upoko, kua whakawhārikihia ake e au te huarahi ka takahia atu e au hei whakautu i taku pātai, hei whakaū i tāku whakapae. Ka whakahikoia mai rā koe ki roto i tēnā wāhanga, i tēnā wāhanga o te hanganga o taku whare kōrero. Ko tāku he whakatauirā atu i te āhua o te tikanga e pā mai ana ki te pakanga, ki te mate i te pae o te riri ki te āhua anō o ōna panonitanga. Tērā anō te kitea o ētahi tikanga i mamao atu te panoni, me ērā i paku kau, ā, tērā anō ērā i noho pū tonu tōna whakatinanatanga ake puta katoa te rau tau nei. He pērā tahi mō te mate, tērā hoki ētahi tikanga i hoki noa atu ki te ao kōhatu, tērā anō ērā i panoni.

Nā reira, koianeia ia, ko ngā take i whaitake ai tēnei rangahau, ko tōna pātai matua me ngā take ki taua pātai. Ko ōna roherohetanga, ko tōna mahere, ko tōna rautaki. Ko te horanga o ngā huarahi ka whāia hei whakautu i te pātai matua. Ko tōna hāngaitanga ki a tātou a Ngāi Māori, ki a ngāi iwi taketake tae atu rā hoki ki ngā mātanga hītori, tiro tāngata, ngā mātanga tikanga pakanga, tikanga mate. Ko ngā hua o tēnei rangahau kua kōrerotia, ko te wāhi anō ki a au ake me ngā take i ngākau nui ai au ki tēnei kaupapa.

1.12 He kupu ake mō te kaupapa whakaaro o tēnei rangahau

Nā, me whakahua i konei te āhua ki te rautaki o tēnei rangahau, ki taku tūranga anō hoki ki te takoto o ēnei kōrero. Kei te ao mātauranga te tohutohu ake me takoto he upoko ki te kaupapa whakaaro. Ka totoro i tā te ao mātauranga kōrero mō tēnei kaupapa me tōna hāngai anō ki te kaupapa e rangahauhia ana. Ko tāku tū, he wāwāhi ake i tēnei whakatauri ki runga i te whakapae, ko te tuhi a te Māori, tangata Māori taketake ahakoa o hea wāhi, o hea motu kei a ia anō tōna motuhaketanga, ōna mana ake ki roto i te ao mātauranga, kei a ia anō tōna ake kaupapa whakaaro. Ināhoki ehara nā wai ake tērā i mau mai ki te iwi taketake, engari takoto kē mai ana tērā i roto anō i a ia, ehara i te mea me āta totoro ki waho atu ki te kimi tūāpapa māna, mā tāna kaupapa. Ko hau, he Ngāti Manawa, he Ngāti Ruapani, he Tūhoe, he Kahungunu, ehara nā wai kē ake ēnā ingoa i hōmai ki a au, engari kē he ingoa ēnā i taka mai ai ki runga i a au i taku whānau noatanga ki te ao. Ko te pūtaketanga tēnei o tōku mana, kei ngā whakapapa, kei te orokohanga mai o te ao, heke iho ki roto i tēnā tātai, i tēnā kāwai, ki tēnā whakatupuranga, ki tēnā whakatupuranga, ka tatū mai ai ki tēnei whakatupuranga. Ko ō te tangata taketake mātauranga kei ōna anō

whare kōrero, ehara i te whare kōrero o iwi kē. Ka mutu, ko tāku tū, tā te tangata taketake tū, he wāwāhi tahā kia tū motuhake te tangata taketake ahakoa te noho iho ki roto i te whare kōrero a tauiwī.

Ka mutu, ko te whakapae, e mana ana te tuhi a te tangata ki tōna reo ake, ki te reo tonu e noho nei ngā kōrero e rangahauhia ana e ia. Kei roto anō i te reo tētahi aronga o te kaupapa whakaaro. Tuarua, karangangia ai i roto i ngā tau o nō nā noa nei ko te Kaupapa Māori Theory, ehara mā wai ake tērā e tohutohu mai, ko te Kaupapa Māori hoki inā koa tōna whānui, ko tā te tangata Māori, māna kē e whakawhāiti mai ki runga anō i tōna anō whakamāori ake i tērā kōrero, ki runga anō i tōna tūnga ki te ao, arā, ki runga i ōna maunga, i ōna awa, i ōna wāhi tapu, i runga anō i āna anō kōrero mōna anō. Nā rā hoki tēnei kaupapa kei runga i te tikanga, ngā tikanga i whakaaria mai ai e ō tātou tīpuna, i hāpaia mai ai e rātou, i panonihia e rātou i runga i tō rātou kite ake me panoni, me panoni inā e kitea ana he oranga i roto i aua panonitanga rā. Ko tā te panoni a tētahi iwi, ka panoni i runga i ngā āhuatanga i pā ki a ia, ko te panoni a te tikanga ki tētahi iwi, he rerekē pea ki te panoni a te tikanga a tētahi kē. Koia tēnei ko te rangatiratanga a te iwi ki runga i āna anō tikanga.

Ko roto iho o tēnei kaupapa ake nei, ahakoa ko te pakanga kei ngā iwi katoa, kei roto i ngā kōrero a tēnā iwi, a tēnā iwi, ko ētahi rā hoki kei roto tonu i te pakanga e haere ana, ko te whakapae, ko te kaupapa whakaaro kei roto i ngā kōrero taketake, arā, mō tēnei kaupapa ake, ko ana pātai mātāmua, nō hea ake te riri, nō hea ake te pakanga, nō hea ake te tikanga, nō hea ake te mate? He aha ia te whakatauiratanga mai? Kei roto iho i te whakautu ki ēnei pātai te kaupapa whakaaro, ko te kaupapa whakaaro hoki kei te hāngai rawa ki te kaupapa. Ka mutu, koinei tāku tū, he pana ki tahaki ake ngā kaupapa whakaaro o iwi kē. Ahakoa kei roto ahau i te whare mātauranga Pākehā, nā te Māori anō i tutetute kia kuhu a ia ki roto, nāna ka whakataka i tōna anō wāhi ki roto atu i taua whare mātauranga kia tū motuhake a ia me āna kōrero me āna kaupapa, koinei tōna whakawhirinakitanga. I kīa rā hoki i mua iho nei, he hikoi tēnei a te Māori, ko te tūmatanga o tēnei hikoi i roto rā hoki o te pakanga, o te mate, ko te nōhanga mai o tauiwī ka hē te noho a te Māori. Nā wai rā, nā te tū ki te pakanga, ko te urupare ko te riro o te whenua, ko te riro anō o te reo ake, ko te riro anō o te tuākiritanga Māori ki roto i ngā whakatupuranga whai muri iho mai ana i ngā pakanga, ā, i te riro anō o te whenua. Ka riro te whenua, ka

riro ko te tuākiritanga, i te mea hoki ko te tuākiritanga ka ahu mai i te whenua, ka ahu mai i te taiao i takea mai ai tēnā tuākiritanga, ko te mana tēnei, mana atua, mana whenua, mana tangata. Ka tapahia atu tērā, ka rorirori te haere, inā hoki te kōrero, ‘kei uta te pakanga kei tai te whiunga’. Ka mutu, ahakoa ngā pōauautanga i runga i ngā whakareanga o te wā i riro ai te whenua, ka taka mai ai ki runga i ngā whakatupuranga koinā te whiunga.

Nā reira, ko te pakanga o ngā reanga, o ngā whakatupuranga o muri mai i ngā pakangatanga, o muri mai o te riro o te whenua he tīmata anō, he āta hoki atu ki te kimi huarahi e oti mai ai he tuākiri, he tuākiri ki ngā raorao i panaia ai te Māori ki roto i te wāhi mokemoke. Nā rā ko te tūturu mutunga o ngā āhuetanga e kōrero ake nei ko te wehewehe, ko te noho wehewehe a te Māori, ko te whakataonetanga a te Māori, koinei te taunga o te whiu. Ko te noho wehewehe o te Māori i tōna reo, i āna tikanga, i āna ake anō kōrero. Nā reira, ko te whawhai hou tēnei, koinei te panonitanga o te tikanga, arā, koinei kē te āhua o te pakanga hou me āna tikanga hou. Kāore a tikanga panoni i mau noa ki roto i te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa, engari, kei konei e haere tonu nei.

Ka mutu, koia tēnei ko taku tū, ehara i te mea he takahi i ngā kaupapa whakaaro o mea iwi, o mea iwi, he whakanoho kē ki konei, ki te hunga nā rātou i whakaariki ki te pakanga mō te whenua, ki te pakanga mō te mana motuhake. Me pēhea hoki e wareware te hoariri, koia tonu te kaipupuri, te kainoho ki runga i te whenua i riro rā i te pakanga. Koia tonu te kaitāharahara i te taiao o ngā whenua i riro rā, koia tonu te kainoho o runga i ngā wāhi tapu, koia tonu anō te kaiaukati, te kaiwhakapūhoi i te oma a te Māori ki te hopu atu i tōna mana motuhake. Nā, he aha koia e tiki atu ai ko āna kaupapa whakaaro hei huarahi takahi mā te kairangahau Māori, kei te Māori anō āna tikanga, ko te hunga pērā, hei aha mā wai e kōrero, koinei te tikanga kei a au tāku, kei a koe tāu!

Upoko 2: Ngā Takenga o te Riri

2.1 He Wāhinga Kōrero

Ko te kaupapa ake o tēnei upoko, ko te whakawhāriki i ētahi kōrero mō te takenga mai o te riri, o te pakanga ki tā rā ngā kōrero a te Māori. Ko aua take mai rā kei ngā kōrero o tua whakarere, e hokia ana ki a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku me tā rāua hūnuku. Ko te kaupapa whānui tonu o te rangahau nei ko ngā pakanga o roto o te rau tau tekau mā iwa. Ko te huranga hoki o te rau tau nei ki roto atu i ōna toru tekau tau e tutū ana ngā makamaka whana puta noa, ko ngā pakanga ēnei a te Māori ki te Māori. Ka tatū rā ki tua paku atu o te hainatanga i Te Tiriti o Waitangi, kua kitea te nukarau o tērā kawenata. Ka ara ko ngā riri i a Hone Heke rāua ko Kāwiti ki te hōia a te kuini, ā, otirā ki a Tāmāti Wakanene mā, arā, mai i te tau 1844 ki te 1846. Ka tae ki te 1860 haere ake, haruru ana te whenua i te wawara taua, ā, otirā, i te wawara hōia, ā ki roto atu i ngā tau tīmatanga o ngā 70.

2.2 Te Riri Māori

Ka mutu, ka ara te pātai, nō hea ake te riri Māori, te pakanga a te Māori? Nō hea anō hoki āna tikanga? He aha ā ērā kōrero tauratanga mai ki te toa o te Māori ki te whawhai. Ka mutu, ko te wāhi uaua pea o ngā pātai nei, ko te āhua ki ngā kōrero a te Māori kāore nei i te tapatahi mō te oroko hīmatanga. Ahakoa rā, tērā ōna rite, ōna rerekē. Kua tuhia nuitia te kaupapa o te oroko tīmatanga mai o te ao e ngā momo o te kaituhi Pākehā, ā, tērā anō hoki ko ngā tuhinga a te Māori ake. Inā te rerekē o ngā kōrero mō te oroko hīmatanga mai o te ao, tērā noa ētahi kōrero kua tīkina hei mātautanga mō tēnei wāhanga o te upoko nei, inā anō tā te upoko nei kaupapa he whakaatu i te takenga mai o te riri, o te Matawhāura Māori.

Ko ngā kōrero mō te takenga mai o te riri kei roto kei ngā kōrero a te Māori mō te oroko hīmatanga mai o te ao. E hokia atu ana ki a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku me ā rāua tamariki. I whānau tahi rāua i te wā o ngā pō. I whānau mai ngā pō i te tātai heke o te kore. Kāti, ko te kōrero nui mō rāua kei tā Grey (1971, p. 1).

Kotahi ano te tupuna o te tangata maori, ko Rangi-nui e tu nei, ko Papa-tuanuku e takoto nei. Ki nga tangata maori, na Rangi raua ko Papa nga take o mua...¹

Nō rāua e pipiri ana ki a rāua ka whānau ā rāua tamariki ki roto anō i tā rāua piri. Inā e piri ana, e pōuri ana, nō konā, ka ara te take nei i ngā tamariki, arā, me pēhea e rātou te āhua ki ō rātou mātua i te āhua ki tō rātou noho. Nā, ka hia kē oti te roa o rātou e pēnei ana nei, ka hua te kōrero,

I a po, i te Po-tuatahi, tae noa ki te Po tua-ngahuru, ki te rau, ki te mano. Koia tenei kaore ano hoki i whai ao noa, e pouri tonu ana ano ki te Maori Grey (1971, p. 1).

Nō te kaha roa, kua huhua rā ngā uri, kia whāia atu tā Whatahoro (1915, p. 21),

Ka roa e noho ana i roto i tera ahua, ka kitea te maramatanga tuaiti nei, e purata ana i waho i o ratou matua. Ko taua maramatanga, ko te purata o te hinatore i te po nei. I konei ka takatu te whanau nei kia puta ratou ki waho i o ratou matua, ki te whai i te maramatanga ra. Ko etahi ka whakaae, ko etahi kaore i whakaae; ka waiho tenei hei mea tautohetohe ma ratou.

Taki tautohe ana rātou ko Whiro te tipua me ētahi kihai i whakaae, ko Tāne me ētahi i whakaae. Ko Uepoto ka hoatu ki te kaukau, ā, ka kitea te ara ki waho atu i ōna mātua (Whatahoro, 1915, p. 21),

Ka riro i runga i te au o te mimi o to ratou hakui, o Tuanuku; takoto ana i waho, ka puta mai te hau-mihi, kakara ana mai ki te ihu o Ue-poto. Katahi ka kite e, ko te wahi pai ia tenei kei waho nei. Katahi ka karanga atu ma nga keke o nga matua, “E Ta ma! Puta mai kei waho nei ki te puiaki i a tatou.”

Ko te mate nui i waho ake rā, ko te anu mātao, kīa ai ko te rohe rā tērā a Wero i te ninihi, a Wero i te wawana, ko Kunawiri, ko Maeke, ko Kotokoto, te

¹ Kāore i te tapatahi ngā kōrero a te Māori, tērā ētahi iwi ka mea ai ko Io te atua o runga i ngā atua katoa.

tuangahurutanga o ngā pō kua puta anō ko Uru te ngangana, ka rere te karanga ki a Whiro te tipua mā kia puta mai ki waho,

Ka puta whakatakariri mai a Whiro, ka taia e ia etahi o ratou ki te hore ki te tipuaki pakira, ki te rae-hewa, ki te kamo-horehore, ki te tukimata-hewa...Na, he nui te riri o Whiro-te-tipua ki a Tane ma mo te whakataritaringa mai i a ratou ki waho i a ratou matua, ngaua ai e Wero-i-te-ninihi, e Wero-i-te-wawana, e Wero-i-te-kokota-koia te take o tana riri (Whatahoro, 1915, p. 21).

Ko te take hoki o ā rāua tamariki ko te whai i te māramatanga kia puta ai ko te tangata, koia ka ara ai ngā matapaki a ngā tamariki nei me pēhea, pēhea? Ko te āta whakatau hoki a ngā tamariki, kia patua rānei, kia wehea rānei ngā mātua. Nā Tūmataua te whakaaro kia patua ngā mātua², nā Tāne kia wehea. Kia whāia atu tā Tāne ki tā (Grey, 1971, p. 1),

Ka mea atu a Tane-mahuta...engari me wehewehe raua, ki runga tetahi, ki raro tetahi, kia kotahi hei tangata ke ki a tatou, kia kotahi hei matua ki a tatou. Ka whakaae ratou tahi.

Ka hinga ngā tamariki ki tā Tāne. Ko Tāwhirimātea anake o ngā tamariki kihai rā i manako kia wehea, kia patua rānei, engari kē kia noho pipiri tonu ai rātou, kia tōpū ā whānau te noho³. Ka mutu, kua tau, ahakoa te pōuri, te aroha o Tāwhirimātea, ā, ka puta ai tāna kupu ki ōna tuākana, teina,

E kore rawa ahau e whakaae ki a koutou whakaaro! Ki te wehea e koutou o taatau maatua, ka waiho ahau hei hoariri mo koutou! Ko te riri a to taatau matua, maaku tana riri e haapai ki runga ki a koutou me oo koutou uri! (Mahupuku, n.d, p. 6).

² Tērā anō hoki te kōrero mō te take i hiahia ai a Tū kia patua ō rātou mātua, “Tuu ana a Tuu-ka-riri ki runga, ka mea ia ki oona tuaakana me oona taina, [ko] taku whakaaro mo [o] taatau maatua me patu raaua hei utu mo ta raaua kino ki a taatau me o taatau uri, ki te huna i te maaramatanga i a taatau” (Mahupuku, nd, p. 5).

³ Tērā te kōrero ko Whiro i te tipua kē kihai i pai Whatahoro, H. T. (1915).

Hei aha ake mā rātou, hoake tonu tā rātou whakarite. Ka whakatika ia o ngā tamariki nei ki te wehewehe i ngā mātua, whakamātau ana tētahi, kihai i māwehe, whakamātau anō tētahi, ā, ka pēnei, taea noatia te whakamātautanga a Tāne, kātahi ka māwehe ko Rangi ki runga, ko Papa ki raro. Nō konei ngā auē a Rangi rāua ko Papa e mahara nei ki tō rāua hara i kōhurutia ai tō rātou piri. Ko Tāwhirimātea ka piri ki tōna matua, ā, ko ōna tuākana ka noho ai ki tō rātou hākui. Ka noho a Tāwhirimātea ki te whakatupu ake i āna uri hei taua mōna ki te whiu i ōna tuākana. Nō te wehenga o ngā mātua, ā, nō Tāwhirimātea e whakatupu ana i āna uri,

Ka wehewehea o raaua uri. Ka whai eetahi i too raatou matua taane. Ka mahue eetahi ki roto i nga tengatenga o too raatou haakui. Ka haere eetahi ki roto i nga moana hoohonu. Ka haere eetahi ki Whiti-anaunau. Ko ngā uri o Rangi-nui raaua ko Papa-tuu-aa-nuku, i whai ki te maaramatanga, ko raatou nga kainoho o te whenua, aa, ka waiho raatou hei ariki mo nga mea ora katoa o te whenua e noho ana i runga i te takapuu nui o to raatou matua wahine (Mahupuku, n.d, p. 6).

Ā, nā wai, nā wai, ka nui. Ko te tauritanga tēnei a Tāwhirimātea ki te pakanga ki ōna tuākana. Nāna ka tonu i ana uri ki ngā tōpito e whā o Papatūānuku, ka huaki te ngau ki a Tāne Mahuta,

...tona hinganga ki raro me nga manga, ana, takoto ana ki te whenua; anana, ma te huhu, ma te popo, ma te hanehane. Tona whiunga ki te wai, anana, ko Tu-pari-maewaewa, ko Uru-tira, ka whati haere a Tangaroa ki te wai (Grey, 1971, p. 2).

Nō te whiunga o Tangaroa e Tāwhirimātea, ka wehewehe i konei ngā uri a Tangaroa, tā Tangaroa ko Punga, nā Punga ko Ika tere rāua ko Tu te wehiwehi, ko Ika tere ki te wai ko Tu te wehiwehi⁴ ki uta. Nō konei ka hua anō te pakanga a Tāne ki a Tangaroa, a Tangaroa ki a Tāne “mo te omanga o nga tamariki a Tangaroa ki uta” (Grey, 1971, p. 3). Ko Rongo rāua ko Haumia ka hunia e tō rāua hākui. Tahuri ana te whana a Tāwhirimātea i a Tū,

⁴ Ka rua ōna ingoa, ko Tū te wanawana anō tētahi.

...hoatu rawa ana riri; hoatu rawa te ngaueue, te aha; hei ahatanga ma Tu? Ana ko ia anake te tamaiti o taua hunga i whakawawa nei kia patua o ratou matua; ko ia anake i toa ki te whawhai, ko ona tuakana i papa noa i te ngaunga a Tawhiri ratou ko ana tama; whatiwhati rawa a Tane poropu; ko Tangaroa i oma, ki uta etahi, ki te wai etahi; Ko Rongo, ko Haumia-tiketike i oma ki te whenua; ko Tu-matauenga i tu tonu i te ateatenga o tona whaea, o Papa-tua-nuku. Na, ka mariri nei te ngakau o Rangi raua ko Tawhiri (Grey, 1971, p. 4).

Nā, i konei, i te reanga ki ngā atua i ēnei kakari nei a ngā tamariki kua whānau te mate ki ēnei reanga, te riri anō ā, kua ara anō ko te whawhai. Ko te aroha, ko te pōuri, ka hōhonu kē atu te mātai ko te pūāhae, ā, ko te utu anō kua whānau ki te ao. Kua kitea te māia o Tū, o Tāwhirimātea, o Tāne rātou ko Tangaroa. Ka whakatika a Tū ki te karawhiu i ōna tuākana, teina, kainga katoatia e ia,

a, pau ake te kai e ia hei utu mo ta ratou tukunga i a ia ki te whawhai ki a Tawhiri raua ko Rangi, a mate katoa, ko ia anake te tangata i toa ki te whawhai. Ka mate ona teina i a ia, katahi ka wehewehea ona ingoa, ko Tu-ka-riri, ko Tu-ka-nguha, ko Tu-kai-taua, ko Tu-whakaheke-tangata, ko Tu-mata-whaiti ko Tu-mata-uenga, i whakaritea tonutia ona ingoa ki a ratou ko ona tuakana; a tokowha ona hoa i kainga katoatia e ia, kotahi i tapu ko Tawhiri; ko tona whakapakanga i waiho tonu hei hoa whawhai mona, i rite ano ki tana riri ta tona teina riri (Grey, 1971, pp. 4-5).

Nō konei anō kua whānau ko te kai i te hoariri otirā, ko te kai anō i ērā i patua. Nā, ka kīa ko ētahi o ngā tamariki a Rangi rāua ko Papa kihai i pirangi atu ki te māramatanga kia whitikia ki a rātou me ō rātou uri, nā, ko ētahi i rere ki ngā ‘rehenga’ o tō rātou hākui, ko Tangaroa mā ki ngā hōhonutanga o te moana,

A Pepeke-rau me oona uri, a Tuna-i-te-wai me oona uri, hou ana ki roto ki a Reparuparu. A Pipi-tua, a Pipi-aro, hou ana ki roto ki nga tengatenga o to raatou hakui. A Ihu-puku, a Ihu-roa me o raaua uri, ka noho eenei o nga uri o Rangi-nui raaua ko Papa hei ahua mo nga atua kai tangata e kore nei e raataa mai ki a Taane (Mahupuku, n.d, p. 20).

Kīa ake ai e Mahupuku ko te atua kino katoa ko Ioio-whenua mō te kōhuru i ana teina, ka mea ai ko ia tonu te mataamua o ngā tamariki nei. Ka pana a ia ki Whiti-anaunau, rātou rā ko ana tamariki e Rangi, ka whāia atu ai e tana teina e Aituā, te tuarua o ngā tamariki a Rangi rāua ko Papa, ko ngā uri katoa a Ioio-whenua he atua kai tangata katoa.

Nā, kia hokia ake a Tū, inā i horo katoa rā ngā tuākana, teina i a Tū, kua noa kau rātou, tahi ka wāhia e Tū he karakia mā tēnā mā tēnā o rātou,

He karakia ano mo Tane-mahuta; mo Tangaroa ano tona; mo Rongo-matane ano tona; mo Haumia ano tona; ko te wahi i rapu ai ia i nga karakia nei kia whakahokia ana tuakana hei kai mana. He karakia ano hoki mo Tawhirimatea, he tua mo te rangi; he karakia ano mo Papa-tua-nuku, kia noa katoa i a ia ratou, no reira i rapua ai e ia he tikanga karakia mana; otira na te atua ano ia i whakaako i mohio ai (Grey, 1971, p. 5).

Nā, ka hokia ana ngā ririri i a Tāne mā ki a Whiro te tipua, a rāua rā ki a rāua, ka pakaru mai ngā kakari, ngā pakanga puta noa, he ingoa rā hoki mō tēnā mō tēnā pakanga. Ko te take hoki i nguha ai a Whiro te tipua ko te rironga i a Tāne ngā kete o te wānanga me ngā whatu e rua te tiki atu. Ka rere te whana a te taua a Whiro, engari, taiapo kētia ana te haere a Tāne. Ko te hunga hoki e ai rā ki a Grey (1971, p. 26) “ko Titi-parauri, ko Titi-matangi-nui, ko Titi-matakake, ko Titi-arurangi”. Ko te whānau tēnei a Tāwhirimātea⁵. Autāhia ana e Whiro te tipua, auare ake. Nō te hekenga o Tāne, haukuru anōtia ana e te taua a Whiro, ka horo a Whiro i te taua a Tāne, mate ana tana taua. Kua taruhae a Whiro i te mana nui i a Tāne mōna i riro ai ngā kete o te wānanga me ngā whatu nei. Nā, ko aua kete nei i tā Whatahoro (1915, p. 28),

1. Te kete uruuru-matua, o te rongomau, o te pai, o te aroha.
2. Te kete uruuru-rangi, o nga karakia katoa a te tangata.

⁵ I tā Kerei, ko tā Ngāti Kahungunu wānanga. I tērā wānanga ko Whiro te tipua kē i kore ai e pai ki te wehenga o Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku, ka mutu, kāore a Tāwhirimātea rāua ko Tāne i hoariri ki a rāua.

3. Te kete uruuru-tau (ara, uruuru-tawhito), o te pakanga ki te tangata, ki te mahi i te kai, o te patu i te rakau, i te kowhatu, i te oneone-o nga mea katoa hei whakahangai i te pai, i te ora, ahakoa he aha te mahi.

Na, ko nga whatu e rua nei, nga ingoa o aua whatu:-

1. Te Whatu-kura Huka-a-tai
2. Te Whatu-kura Rehu-tai

...He kowhatu tohu i nga hiahia o te tangata, ahakoa pai, kino ranei. He kowhatu tapu, e waiho ana hei whakaputanga i nga tangata e akona ana ...ka mutu nga karakia, ka whakapa nga waha ki te kowhatu nei, ka mutu katahi ka haere ki waho o te whare-wananga te tangata e whakaputaia ana.

Tonoa atu ana e Whiro ngā kete me ngā whatu, kihai rā i riro i a ia. Ko te kinonga tēnei a Whiro, ka hokia anō ki te taiapu i a Tāne, autāhia, horo ana, e hia kē ake nei ngā pakanga, i tukua te whana e Whiro ki te whenua, ki te wai, ki te rangi, ki te takiwā, tapaina ai ēnei pakanga ko Te Paerangi. Heoti, ko Whiro kē ka hinga i tā Whatahoro (1915, p. 31),

Ko te mutunga o tenei pakanga ko Whiro-te-tipua i hinga. Ko te take tena i heke ai ia ki Roro-henga- koia i kiia ai ko Taheke-roa taua matenga; ko te tino ingoa nui mo tena matenga ko Te Paerangi. Ka oti atu a Whiro ki te Muri-wai-hou, ki Raro-henga, ki Te Reinga e kiia ana.

Tērā anō tā Whatahoro mō te mutunga o te pakanga nei ko Te Paerangi (Whatahoro, 1915, p. 9),

Ka takapautia a Whiro i konei e Tane ratou ko nga tuakana, ki Te Muriwai-hou, ki Raro-henga, ki te kapunipuni o Hawaiki-nui o Hawaiki-roa, o Hawaiki-taketake, o Puhi-aitu, o Puhi-rakerake, ki Te Piere-nuku, ki Te Toi-o-te-reinga, angiangi-tu, angiangi-raro, ki Whaka-oti-nuku, a Hou-turu, a Hou-motu.

Koia ēnei ngā kōrero mō te pounga o te riri, o te pakanga ki te whenua, ki te tangata. Ko te tauratanga o ngā momo o te pakanga, o te kakari, o ngā riri, o te kaitangata

arā, o te kai i tō hoariri, o te whati horo i tō hoariri, o ngā atua o tēnā takiwā, o tēnā takiwā. Ko te taruhae anō tēnā, o te pōuri, o te aroha, o ngā karakia mō tēnā āhua, mō tēnā āhua. Kua oti a Rarohenga, ko tōna hunga, ko Whiro te tipua me ōna uri, ko Ruaimoko, ko Papatūānuku, kua huri ko te aro ki Rarohenga i ‘Te hurihanga o Mataaho’. Nā, ko te tatūnga ki te kimihanga i te uha.

Ka kitea ake te uha i Te One i Kurawaka i te aroaro o Papatūānuku i ahua ai e Tāne a Hine ahu one, a Hine hau one ki ētahi. Moea atu ana e Tāne, ko te putanga o tā rāua, ko Hine titama. Moea tonutia iho e Tāne. Te mōhiotanga ake o Hine titama ko Tāne anō tōna matua ko te māreretanga tēnā ōna ki Rarohenga, tā rāua taurangi,

Heikona, e Tane, hei kukume ake i a taua hua ki te Ao; kia haere au ki raro hei kukume iho i a taua hua ki te Po (Shortland, 1882, p. 23).

Ko Makea tutara ka moe nei i a Taranga kia puta ki waho ko tā rāua pōtiki ko Maui tikitiki a Taranga, nāna nei i kukume te mate ki te tangata i riro ai te tangata ki Tahekeroa ki Rarohenga, ki Te Muriwai hou oti atu. Ko te otinga tēnei o te hanganga o te tangata, o te rangi, o te whenua, o te atuātanga me ōna roherohenga. Ko te nuīnga rā hoki he uri tonu nā Rangi rāua ko Papa. Ko ngā atua pakanga, ko ngā atua kaitangata, ko ngā atua i whāngaia ki te manawa i ngā momo o te whāngai hau. Ko ngā atua ēnei me ō rātou tohu e kuhu rānei te Māori i a ia ki te pakanga e kore rānei e kuhu. Ko ngā kawa a ēnei atua, ko ngā tikanga tonu a te ara taua, arā, ko ngā mahi kai pakanga tonu a te Māori, ko ngā tikanga wetiweti ēnei o roto i te pakanga. Tae atu rā hoki ki te tapu, ki te mauri, ki te karakia ki tēnā āhua, ki tēnā mahi, ki tēnā mahi a te Māori. Kākahuria ana te rangi te whenua, ko te riri me ngā momo o te kare a roto kua toua ki te ngākau tangata, ko te mana atua, ko te mana whenua, oti anō, ko te mana tangata.

Nā reira, ko te atua nui o te pakanga puta noa ko Tū⁶ i whakahuatia rā i ngā kōrero nei, tērā anō ērā i kōrerotia rā i takapautia ki Rarohenga. Ko Uenuku-Kahukura anō

⁶ Rāua rā ko Rongo ki ētahi kōrero. “Tu and Rongomaraeroa were the leaders of the hosts of the war spirits which slew mankind... White, J. (2001b). Rebellion in heaven: Another reading - Nga-i-Tahu. *Ancient history of the Maori his mythology and traditions: Horo-uta or Taki-tumu migration*, 1, 44-45.

hoki ēnā. Nā, i kō ake i ēnei atua nei nā. He tūpuna anō hoki ka whakaatua pakangatia e te Māori. Ā, tērā anō hoki tētahi reanga atua anō hei whakahuahua e kitea ai i ōna wāhi i ngā upoko e whai ake nei. Ko ngā atua kahukahu ēnei. He atua pakanga ake ēnei a te hapū, i tupu mai rā i te tamaiti tahe, whakaatuatia ana, ā, ko tāna, tā te atua pakanga nei, he maru tonu i te iwi nōna ki te tika mai rā te kawē ki roto i ā te hapū, iwi kakari. Ka mutu, ko ngā tamariki a Rangi rāua ko Papa i whānau i a rāua rā, arā, i whānau i a Papatūānuku. Tērā hoki a Hine ahu one i ahua hua rā i Te One i Kurawaka, arā, i te rohe tonu o te aroaro o Papa. Ka mutu, i whānau i a Papa he atua, ka pēnei tahi rā ki te atua kahukahu, ka puta mai rā i te wahine, kei roto tonu i te kupu ake mō te ‘mate ā marama’ o te wahine e kīa ana, ko te ‘awa a te atua’.

Ka taua ana te Māori, ka aru rā i ōna kawa, i āna tikanga, ko tētahi rā ko te ngau i te paepae hamuti, ko te ‘whakangungu paepae’ (Buck, 1966), haere tonu ana tā Te Rangihiroa⁷, kāore kē oti he mahi kotahi e kore nei e taea e te toa i te ngaunga o te pae hamuti. Tērā anō te wai taua, ka uwhia te toa ki te wai,

The warriors received the war tapu and came under the protection of their tribal war god. The march was then continued, for one of the restrictions of the war tapu was that they could have no contact with their wives or sweethearts until the tapu was removed on their return (Buck, 1966, p. 393).

Ka mutu, ka whakarewa taua te Māori, ka huakina rānei ia,

"kia pa te karanga e tama ma; e, ka rere au ki te po." Te aranga o nga tohu, ka karanga nga rangatira, nga toa kia whakaruku ki te riri, kia whati te kaha o te hoa taua. Ko te rukunga te ra, ki te po; e tama ma, ko te karangatanga, E te whanau, E te iwi, e nga hapu, kia uaua, kia toa, kia kaha, kia whai wahi, kia whai ingoa, kia whai mataika; ko te ruku tenei ki te po (Grey & Jowett, 1849, p. 118).

⁷ Ko te ingoa Māori tēnei o Sir Peter Buck.

Ko te kōrero nei ‘Te aranga o ngā tohu’, kei te mea rā, he tohu ā ngā atua nei, he aria, ki te tika te tohu, “ka tūwhera te tāwaha o te riri,’ , ki te hē mai te tohu, kua taupua te taua kia ara mai ngā tohu tika, inā ki te kuhu ki te pakanga e hē mai ana ngā tohu, tūturu, e kore e kitea anō te ao mārama.

2.3 He Whakarāpopototanga

Ko te wāhi tuatahi ake o te whakarāpopoto ake i ngā kōrero o te upoko nei ko ngā kōrero o te orokohanga o te ao. Ko te mea hoki, ko te tohungatanga o te Māori ki te wānanga i te āhua ki tōna ao, ki ōna orokohanga mai, ko ōna tātai hekenga mai ki a ia anō, ki te tangata. Koia i kore ai e rite tahi ngā kōrero. Engari he tātai whakaheke tā tēnā waka, tā tēnā waka me āna anō kōrero mō tēnā āhua mō tēnā āhua o tōna atuatangā. Ko ngā atua nui o te ao Māori kei te puta noa, heoi, he atua atu anō, he kōrero atu anō. Ko te rangatiratanga tēnei a te Māori ki runga ki tēnā āhua, ki tēnā āhua o tōna anō ao. Kia tīkina atu tā Ruka,

Otiraa, e kitea ai te hohonutanga o taa te Maaori taatai i a ia anoo...ko te whakawhanaungatanga o te Maaori i a ia anoo ki te rangi, ki te whenua. Ahakoa he Atua, he whetuu, ko te marama, ko te raa, ko te tangata raanei ko ngaa mea katoa o te ao nei e taaea e te Maaori te tuuhonohono i a ia anoo, i te tangata ki eeraa mea katoa (Broughton, 1993, p. 62).

Nā, e kitea ana nō roto i ngā matapakī, taukaikai rānei a ngā tamariki a Rangi rāua ko Papa mō te wewehe i ō rātou mātua ko Tū i hiahia ki te patu i ōna mātua, kihai tērā i tika ki ōna tuākana, teina. Ko Tāwhiri i pōuri, i aroha. Kei ēnei kōrero te pitomata o te riri, o te whawhai ā, o te pakanga. Ā, nā wai, ka tupu ēnei rongotanga. Nō te wehenga, ko Rangi anō i riri mō te hara, tā Grey anō (1971, p. 2),

Na katahi ka mawehe a Rangi raua ko Papa, aue noa ana, “Hei aha i kohurutia ai, mō te aha tenei hara i patua ai maua, i wehea ai?”

Ā, tahuri a Rangi rāua ko Tāwhirimātea ki te ‘kōrero o te toa’ arā mō te whakarewa taua ki te huaki i ngā tuākana o Tāwhirimātea. Nō te pakaritanga a ngā uri, ko te whakaeke a te huaki a Tāwhirimātea ki runga ki ōna tuākana me tō tēnā, tō tēnā rohe,

‘whatiia porotia i waenganui, anana!...whatiia poro; tona hinganga ki raro me nga manga , takoto ana ki te whenua; anana, ma te huhu, ma te popo, ma te hanehane (Grey, 1971, p. 2).

Nō te pakarutanga o te riri, ka whānau ko te mate i te riri, ko ngā kupu hoki, ‘whati poro’ tērā anō hoki a ‘kia maroro katoa ai hoki te whenua a Tane i a ia.’ He kōrero, he whakatauirā i ngā āhuatanga o ngā ngau, o ngā whiu, o ngā whana e eke ai te hoa taua. Tuia mai iho, ko te riro mā te hūhū, mā te popo, mā te hanehane.

Ka mutu, he atua pakanga tō tēnā hapū tō tēnā hapū, tērā ētahi ka hāngai tika ki a Tū, he wā rānei i takua ai ngā karakia kai pakanga ki a Tū, māna he wā rānei e ahu ai ki atua kē, arā, ki a Uenuku kai tangata, ki a Kahukura, a Maru mā. Tērā anō te tiki atu i ngā atua kahukahu hei atua hāpai riri. Ko te mea kē kāore rawa te atuanga i tahakihia, he kotahi tonu rāua, ko ngā karakia ēnā, ko ngā niu ēnā, ko ngā wai taua ēnā, ko ngā maro kaitaua, ko te whitiki i te tātua kai pakanga, ko ngā tohu, ko te pōuto, ko te whāngai hau, ko te kaitangata. Tae atu hoki ki ngā momo o te whawhai tonu, ko ngā manu kāwhaki, ko ngā momo o te kokoti moeroa, ko te riri tūngutu, ko te tau-mātaki-tahi, ko ngā pakipakihanga, ko ngā momo hoki o te huaki.

Kāti, ki konei waiho atu ai ngā kōrero mō ngā pakanga o ēnei reanga a Rangi rāua ko Papa, o te reanga atua kia tīkina ai ko te āhua ki ngā tikanga i hāpaia rā, i panonitia rā, inā tāku whakapae, i roto i ngā pakanga o te rau tau tekau mā iwa ki ngā pakanga me ngā tikanga ki Te Ika a Tū.

Upoko 3: Ngā matawhāuratanga a te Māori ki te Māori

3.1 He Wāhinga Kōrero

Ko “Te umanga nui a neherā ko te whawhai”(Mead & Grove, 2001). He umanga nō mai anō te whawhai ki te Māori, nō roto taketake i tōna ahurea, i tōna tuakiritanga, nō mai anō hoki i ana tātairanga kōrero i tupu mai i ngā tamariki a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku, ā, i poupoua ai ki te ira tangata. Ko tōna atua nui ko Tūmataunga, ko Tū whakaheke tangata ki te pō, ā, tae atu rā ki āna uri. He mea whakatō tonu ki roto i a tama tāne mā roto i te “tohi a Tū” (Best, 1941) i tōna putanga mai ki te ao mārama. Ka para whakawaihia, ka tore kai huruhuruia, kua arero whero, ā, nāwai, kua toa horopu, kua ika a whiro. Ko roto katoa i te tapu, i te mana, i te tikanga.

Heoti, ko te whakapae a tēnei upoko e mea nei, nō te taenga mai a tauīwi me ōna utanga, me ōna ahurea, ōna hangarau ka tahuri te Māori ki te tiki atu i āna hangarau, i ētahi mahinga āna, i etahi o ōna anō whakaaro, i āna anō kōrero, ka whakamāorititia e ia, ka whakakuhu te Māori i ngā āhua i rata ki a ia ka tāpiri iho ki tōna anō ao, ki tōna anō ahurea. Ka whakatikangahia ētahi, ka whakarērea ētahi. Kāore kau noa tēnei i pēnei i te wā kotahi, engari, haere te wā, ka toro ana te noho a te Pākehā, kua oti kē rānei i te Māori te whakamāorihia, ā, kua rangiwhāwhā.

Kāti, ko te nōhanga o tēnei upoko kei runga i te āhua ki ngā tikanga i ngā pakanga a ngā iwi Māori mai i te kōkuhutanga atu ki te rau tau tekau mā iwa, ā, ahu atu ana ki te takiwā o te hainatanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi. He titiro anō hoki ki ētahi tikanga e pā ana ki te hunga i hinga, i mate i roto i ngā pakanga nei. Ko tāna pātai matua, he aha rā ētahi tikanga a te Māori ana whawhai a ia ki a ia anō, ā, he aha ētahi o ngā neke me ngā panonitanga ki te tikanga i ēnei tau nei?

Ka mutu, ko tā te upoko nei tino whāinga ko te whakamātau ki te whakaatu atu i te āhua o te noho a te tikanga, i te āhua anō o ōna neke, otiā, ōna panonitanga hoki i roto i ngā pakanga ā, i roto i ngā tikanga anō o te mate i roto i te haere o ngā whā tekau tau nei mā roto i te tiki atu i ētahi pakanga hei whakaaritanga ake i ēnei āhuatanga nei.

Ko tā te upoko nei tino aronga ko te āta hāngai o te titiro ki ētahi o ngā pakanga a ngā iwi e kitea ai ētahi o ngā panonitanga ki te āhua ki ngā whakaaro, ki ngā mahinga, ā, otiā, ki te tikanga tonu. I roto i te mātotorutanga o ngā pakanga ā iwi o ngā tau nei, tērā e wherawherahia ai ētahi o ngā pakanga nei hei whakaari ake, hei whakatauirā ake anō i ngā neke me ngā panonitanga ki te tikanga, arā, tikanga ā pakanga me ngā tikanga i hāpaia ki runga i te hunga i hinga i roto i ngā pakanga nei.

Hai roto anō hoki i ngā tauira nei ka whakaatutia tā te Māori whiriwhiri ake i te āhua ki ngā whakaaro hou i ahua mai i te ao hou i te whakaeke rā ki runga i a rātou. Hei konā ka kite anō ai i te pānga mai a te ao o tau iwi ki runga ki te tikanga Māori, ki runga anō hoki i te whakaaro Māori i roto i ōna whakapono me te āki hoki o ana hangarau tae atu ki ōna pānga ki te ōhanga a ngā iwi i aua tau nei.

Ko te mea hoki, i te Māori e whakamātautau ana i ngā whakaaro hou nei arā i ōna pai, otiā, i ōna pēhea ka hanga rerekē ai ētahi o ana tikanga ā iwi mō te āhua ki te pakanga me te āhua anō ki te hunga ka mate hoki i roto i te pakanga. Ka mutu, tērā te pānga mai o te ao Pākehā whakaaro, tōna ahurea, te āhua anō hoki ki tōna whakapono, ā, rāwekeweketia otiā, whakamātautautia ana e te Māori aua pānga mai rā i roto i te roatanga atu o ngā tau e tirohia nei.

Nā reira, ahakoa rā ko ngā pakanga e tirohia nei kāore nei, i te nuinga rā, te Pākehā i āta kuhu ā tinana mai ki roto i te pakanga ake, i konā tonu te āki nui a te ao Pākehā i te kitea haeretia i roto i ngā āhua whakahaere a te Māori i a ia anō i ngā tau ahu atu ki te hainatanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Nā, ko te pātai ianā, he aha oti ētahi o aua raweketanga, o aua whakamātautanga nei a te Māori i roto i āna tikanga, arā, e pā atu ana ki ngā momo o te pakanga, otiā o te mate? He pēhea ake te āhua o te neke, o te panoni hoki a te tikanga i roto i ngā tau e kōrerotia ake nei? He aha hoki ngā pānga mai a te ao Pākehā ki runga i te tikanga Māori?

Ko te take rā hoki i whakanōhia ai ko ngā tau kua whiriwhirihia ake nei mō tēnei upoko nei, koinei pū ngā tau i huripokitia ai te ao Māori. Koinei ngā tau i werohia ai te titiro a te Māori ki a ia anō, ki tōna anō ao, ki āna anō tikanga me ōna anō whakaaro. Koinei ngā tau i kōkuhu mai ai te pū me ōna momo, tae atu ki ngā momo

o te pūrepo, ngā tau anō hoki o te tauhokohoko, te whakapono o Te Rongopai me te huhua atu anō o ngā āhuatanga o aua tau nei. Tērā anō e kitea ake ētahi panonitanga ki ngā take i whawhai ai te Māori, he mea tāpiri ake rā ēnei ki ngā take nō mai anō.

Ehara rā i te mea koinei noa ake o roto iho i ngā tau whānui o ngā pakanga e tirohia ana e te tuhinga nei ngā wā i whawhai ai te Māori ki a ia anō. Engari rā, ko ngā wā o muri ake i te tahua o ngā tau e tirohia ana, e piri kē ana te Pākehā ki te Māori, te Māori rānei ki te Pākehā. Hāunga rā ia ngā riringa i a Hone Heke mā me Tāmāti Wakanene mā ka mātaingia ake ki te upoko tuawhā. Ko ngā pakanga anō hoki a te Hauhau, engari ērā ka noho kē ai ki te upoko tuarima, ki te upoko wetewete i te āhua ki te tikanga i roto i ngā pakanga i tū ai i raro i te poropititanga me ōna anō whakapono, ā, me āna whakahaere.

Nā rā hoki, nō ngā tau whakamutunga o te rau tau tekau mā waru, ā ki roto rawa iho i ngā tau o te rau tau tekau mā iwa, e hāmama ana te tāwaha o te riri puta Aotearoa i ngā hapū me ngā iwi. Koinei anō hoki tētahi o ngā take nui i tīkina ai ko ēnei tau hei mātautanga ake. Ko tētahi tino take nui anō hoki, ko te tatūnga mai o te pū, arā te musket, i tapaina ai e te Pākehā ngā pakanga nei ko ngā ‘musket wars’ (Crosby, 1999), tērā hoki ngā wewero ki tēnei ingoa, heoi rā nā te kaihiōri Pākehā i hoatu, hei aha rānei e mahara atu ai mā te Māori arā i tōna tika, i tōna pēhea rānei. Heoti, mā te tauhokohoko rawa e taea ai te pū, mā te āhei anō ki te Pākehā e taea ai te tauhokohoko.

Ko ētahi wāhi uaua katoa o tēnei upoko nei, ko te huhua tonu o ngā tau e tirohia ana me te kaipūkahu o ngā nekeneke o aua tau nei. Me āta kī ake i konei tonu, e kore e taea e tēnei upoko nei te whakakapi ake i ngā pakanga nui katoa i hua ake i ngā tau e tirohia ana e tēnei upoko nei, e kore hoki e taea ngā tikanga katoa te tirohia ināhoki rā he upoko noa iho tēnei, ehara koia hoki te aronga o tēnei upoko ake nei, otiā o tēnei tuhinga whānui nei. Ka mutu, ko tāku kē, ahakoa ngā pakanga kua kōwhiria nei e au hei mātautanga ake mō te upoko nei, tērā e kōpirihia ake ki ngā pakanga e taea, e kitea ana he ōrite hei whakaū tonu i te whakatauiratanga ake. Tērā rānei e kitea he ōrite tētahi wāhanga, engari ko roto iho i aua ritenga rā ka kitea rā he rerekē, he neke rānei nō te tikanga, he āta panoni rānei. Hei konā rā kua kitea ake ōna rite

me ōna rerekē, ka mutu, ōna ūtanga atu ki te tikanga, ōna paku kotiti rānei, ōna pēhea rānei.

Ko te wāhi tonu ki te tikanga ā tuhi Māori, arā, tikanga whakateroto nā rā, mō te tuhi mō ngā tūpuna ehara nō te kaituhi, ināhoki kīhai i totoro ki te uiui e mau kē ai ngā kōrero nei ki tā te tuhi i kī ai, ā, kāre e kore, tērā ōna tika, tērā anō hoki ōna hapa, tērā anō hoki ngā rerekē o te titiro a ngā taha o te putakari. Tērā anō hoki pea ngā hapa a te tuhinga ki ngā tino ihoiho o ētahi o ngā tikanga. Nā, koinei ētahi o ngā taimahatanga ki te tuhi kōrero pēnei.

Nā, kāhore tēnei tuhinga i te whakapae, kāore te tikanga i neke, i panoni, i āta rerekē hoki i ngā tau, rau tau nei i mua iho i te tatūnga mai o te Pākehā, koinei tonu te āhua o te tikanga. Hei whakatauiratanga ake mā te hoki ki tua noa atu, kia nanaoa atu ai a Te Tini o Toi, e ai rā ngā kōrero, karangatia ngā kārangarangatanga i a Toi, ko ‘Te Tini o Toi’, ēnei iwi i nōhia ai te whenua o ngā iwi o Mātaatua nei i mua noa atu i te tatūnga mai o ngā waka o ‘Te Hekenga Nui’. Ēnei iwi nei i whakahuatia ake e Best (Best, 2001, p. 258),

“It would appear that these original people of the Bay of Plenty district were by no means a warlike people, or at least were no match in battle for the warlike warriors of the later migration...it is stated that te Tini-o-Toi, an aboriginal tribe of Matahina, when attacked by the Hawaikian vikings, never ever even attempted to defend themselves, and so were slaughtered in great numbers at Te Ana-ruru and elsewhere”.

Ka haere ana ngā tau, ka rerekē te tikanga. Ka tae ana ki te rau tau e tirohia nei, kāore hoki i kotahi, arā, wā kotahi nei puta noa te āhua ki ngā neke me ngā panoni nei. Inā rā hoki, ka whai i te rere, i te maringi o ngā āhuatanga hou nei, te pā mai o ērā āhuatanga ki ngā iwi, hei konā, kua whai i te whakamāoritanga o aua āhuatanga a ētahi iwi, ka whakamāori kētia rānei ki tā te iwi i pāngia i pirangi ai.

Tokohia kē ake nei ngā ika a whiro i hau ai te rongo puta noa Aotearoa me ōna motu i ēnei whā tekau tau nei, ko Hongi Hika tērā, ko Te Rauparaha tērā, Ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero mā me te huhua noa atu. Ahakoa rā te matenga o Hongi i te tau

1828, kāore kau pea he iwi kotahi kāore i rongō mō tōna hautoa. Ka mutu, kua whiriwhirihia ētahi o ā rātou nei pūtakaritanga hei mātaītanga ake mō te tuhinga nei. Ko Te Kai-a-te-Karoro tēnā hei whakatauirā i tētahi āhua o te kokoti moeroa, ā, hei whakatauirā i te tuku mātātahi, tau-mātaki-tahi ki ētahi, ka whāia atu a Te Purewa rāua ko Tūkorehu, a te Purewa anō ki a Te Tupe-o-Tū, tae atu ki a Pōtatau i a ia ka rere ki te hiki i te awhitanga o Pukerangiora e mau mai nā tana hungawai a Tukorehu. Ka tiro anōtia te pakanga i tū ki Toka-a-kuku i a Te Whānau-a-Apanui rāua ko Ngāti Porou.

Ko te wāhi ake ki ngā mate e whāwhāngia atu ai e tēnei upoko me ngā āhua ka kōkuhutia, ko ngā tikanga me ngā take ki te tahu tūpāpaku, ki te kai tangata, ki ngā momo tūkinotanga ki te tinana o te tangata. Ko te patu i te hunga i tūākiritia i te pakanga, ko te whakarere motuhake i ngā pā i rere ai te toto, i ngā wāhi hoki i parekuratā arā, kāore e raweketia ngā tūpāpaku ka waiho kē ai kia taurakina e te rā, kia kainga rānei e ngā kīrehe o te rangi. Ko te pōuto, ko te hahu tūpāpaku a te hoariri. Ko ētahi o ngā tikanga ēnei i hāpaia ai i ngā tau o tēnei upoko.

Kāti, ko te huarahi ka whāia ai e te upoko nei hei whakatutuki i te pātai matua, kua kīa rā hoki mā rōto i te tiki mai i ētahi putakari o roto o ngā tau nei, ka tahi. Tuarua, he tiki atu kia whā ngā momo o te whawhai Māori, e pai ai te āta kōrero i ētahi o ngā momo o te whawhai Māori, ā, e taea anō ai te whakamātau atu mehemea rānei i āta neke rānei te tikanga, i āta panoni rānei te tikanga, nō muri kē rawa rānei, arā, nō roto i ngā whawhai o muri atu i ēnei tau i āta kitea aua neke nei, aua panoni hoki nei. Ka wānanga ana i tētahi, ka tūkina anō ko ētahi tauira o ētahi pakanga. Ka mutu, koia ēnei ngā momo ka kuhuna ai te titiro, ko te kokoti moeroa me ōna momo, arā, i te manukāwhaki, arā anō i te hunuhunu. Ko te tuarua o ngā momo, ko te riri tau-mātaki-tahi, ko te tuku mātātahi, ko te tuatoru ko te whakapae i te pā tūwatwata, arā, ko te pakipaki, ko te awhitia o te pā. Ko te tuawhā, ko te whawhai tonu i te māra o Tūmataunga, i te kauhanga riri, arā, ko te riri tūngutu. Heoti, “hoatu ki roto e! Hoatu ki roto” (Best, 2001, p. 116).

3.2 Mōremonui: Te Kai-a-te-Karoro, Te Haenga-o-te-One

Ko te tuatahi o ngā pakanga ka tirohia rā e te upoko nei ko te pakanga i tū i Mōremonui, e rua rā hoki ngā tuhinga o tēnei ingoa arā, ko Mōremonui, ko ngā

ingoa tonu ēnei o te manga i tū ai te pakanga nei, otīa te ingoa o te awaawa kei reira nei te manga e puta ana i te takutai o Ripiro, Rāpiro anō hoki ki ētahi tuhinga. Kei te takiwā ki te tonga o Maunganui tēnei wāhi. He kokoti-moeroa te momo i tōna tīmatatanga, ā, ka riri-tūngutu, ā, tōna mutunga iho, he parekura. Kei te whakapaea nō te takiwā o te tau 1807- 1808 tōna tūnga. Tapaina ai tēnei pakanga, ko Te Haenga-o-te One ka tahi, ā tuarua, ko Kai- a-te-Karoro.

I rongonuitia tēnei pakanga i te mea ko te pakanga tuatahi i hāpaia ai te pū, ā, nō tēnei pakanga tonu ka whakapaea ai e ētahi ko te huatakitanga o ngā pakanga i tapaina ai e te Pākehā ko ‘Musket Wars’ tā Wright rā hoki i mea ai,

The struggle that gave a narrative shape to the first surges of the musket wars unfolded during the first decade of the nineteenth century between Ngā Puhī and Ngāti Whātua (Wright, 2011, p. 80).

Ā, haere tonu ai ana kōrero mō te parekura nei, mō Te Kai-a-te-Karoro. Nā runga i te rongonuitanga o tēnei pakanga, arā i te kuhu a te pū, koia ia te take i tīkina ai ko te pakanga nei hei mātai tuatahitanga atu mā tēnei upoko. Ināhoki, kei te whakaatu atu i te tīmatanga mai o te kuhu a te pū ki roto i te riri Māori, nō konā kei te whakaatu atu i tētahi panonitanga whakahara ki te āhua o te riri Māori. E whakaatu ana anō i te tīmatanga o te āki i te tikanga Māori kia panoni i te kuhu mai a te atua hou nei. Ahakoa rā, kāore anō kia pā atu ki ngā iwi whakatetonga atu i Te Taitokerau i ēnei tau ake nei, ka taea atu ana ki roto ki ngā tau o muri paku iho, kua hīmata te totoro a te ahi tipua nei ki ngā iwi o te motu.

Me whakahua kau i konei, kāore i te kotahi te whakaae iho, he pū i te pakanga nei, kāore he whakahuanga i te puka a Cloher ā, i tā Kelly anō, (Kelly, 1938, p. 174) e kī ana a Kiritapu,⁸ kāore he pū i Mōremu-nui.⁹ Heoti, ko te whakapae ake a te nuinga o ngā kaituhi mō te pakanga nei he pū i a Ngā Puhī, ā, he huhua tonu anō ngā kōrero mō te pakanga ake me ngā kōrero mō te pū e āhua hinga pea ai ki te take he pū anō i reira.

⁸ E kitea rā ētahi o ngā kōrero a Kiritapu i roto iho i a (Kelly, 1938, p. 174).

⁹ Kiritapu i roto iho i a (Kelly, 1938, p. 174).

Nā, ko ngā hoa kakari, ki tā Smith (1910, p. 40), ko Ngā Puhi, ko ōna rangatira, ko Pokaia, karanga pāpā o Hone Heke, Ko Te Hōtete, pāpā o Hongi Hika, ko Hongi Hika tonu, ā, ko Te Morenga mā. Ko tērā taha, ki tā Cloher (Cloher, 2003) ko Te Rōroa i ōna rangatira i a Taoho, rātou ko Hukeumu, ko Te Maunga, ko Tuohu ā, ko Toko. Ko Ngāti Whātua i Kaipara i tōna rangatira i a Murupaenga, me ērā anō o Ōtakanini i tōna anō rangatira i a Te Wana-a-riri, ā, ko Te Uri-o-Hau.

Ko Ballara, (Ballara, 2003) tētahi i āta whakatakoto i ngā take, otia i ngā putakari taea atu ana ki tēnei e kōrerotia nei, ko tāna rā, kua hanga rima tekau tau ēnei iwi e tukituki ana ki a rātou, ā, kua toru whakareanga ngā iwi nei e whakataritari pakanga ana ki a rātou (Ballara, 2003).¹⁰ Hei tāpiri iho ki ngā take i whakahuahuatia iho e Ballara, tērā anō e rārangi mai ana ētahi o ngā take i tā White, anei te whakarāpopototanga iho,

Ko Kararu he wahine, ko te tuahine a Hongi-hika, ko te tamahine a Te-hotete te take i parekura a Nga-puhi ki a Nga-ti-whatua, a i tae ake ai ano hoki a Nga-tiwhatua e Hongi patu tangata ai, koinei te take a Kararu i he ai tana iwi. Ka aroha a Pokaia ki a Kararu a whaiwhai noa aia i a Kararu a kihai te wahine ra i tahuri ki aia, nei koa he matua a Pokaia ki a Hone Heke a he rangatira aia i nga tupuna iho ano. A ka moe a Ka-raru i a Tahere, he kaumatua a Tahere, ehara i te tai tamaiti pera me Pokaia, a ka pouri a Pokaia mo tana wahine ka riro i tangata ke, a he te taea atu a Tahere eia, i te wahi o te iwi, koia a Pokaia i tahuri ai ki te taua ki a Taoho ki a Nga-ti-whatua i Kaihu, a ka huakina a Taoho e Pokaia. a ka patua nga tangata o Taoho, a ka ora atu a Taoho, kotahi tekau topu o Nga-ti-whatua i mate i taua huaki a Pokaia. Roa kau iho ano ka noho pouri a Nga-ti-whatua, a ka huakina mai hoki e ratou a Taoho ma, ka patua nga tangata i mata-raua i Kai-kohe, a he pera ano te tini o ta ratou huaki i patu ai, me nga ika o te patu a Pokaia ma. A ka pouri nga whanaunga o enei ka patua i Mata-raua, a ka hui te taua o te iwi i Kai-kohe, a ka tu te taua, a ko Pokaia ano te tino tangata o taua ope ki te tiki, ki te patu ano i a Nga-ti-whatua, a ka tu, ka papatu aua iwi nei i te akau i te taha ki runga atu o Maunga-nui, a, he riri tenei i turia i te po, i te

¹⁰ Mō te roanga atu o ā Ballara, 2003, pp. 169-183.

wa e whiti ana te ata-rau, a he tini nga tangata i mate i a Nga-puhi, a ko etahi o nga tupapaku i kainga e te karoro. Koia te waiata kei a Hongi e mea nei, "Te kai a te karoro ra e" a ko Ripiro te ingoa i tapa ki taua parekura, i te mea i tu ki Ripiro. A na taua parekura nei i rangona ai te ingoa o Pokaia, no muri iho ano ka tu ano te tahi taua ano ana ki te patu i a Nga-ti-whatua,. a haere ake i tenei taua e rua ma rima topu, a ka tu aua hapu nei ka riri, a ka mate a Nga-puhi, he tini ki te takotoranga, ko nga rangatira o Nga-puhi i mate, ko Pokaia, ko Ti, ko Tu-karawa, ko Tohi, ko Hou-wawe, ko Hou-moka, a, ko Te wai-kari, a ka pouri a Nga-puhi... (White, 2011, p. 212).

I konei kitea ai ētahi o ngā tino take i whawhai ai te Māori mai anō mai anō e kōpakina nei i roto i te whakataukī nei, 'he wahine he whenua e ngaro ai te tangata' (Best, 2001, p. 3).¹¹ Tērā anō hoki tētahi tino take i kuhu ai a Ngā Puhi ki tēnei pakanga ake, arā, ko te kuhu a Pōkaia ki ngā take a Te Rōroa rāua ko Ngāti Whātua. Tā Cloher hoki, (2003) nā te mietetanga a te wahine a Te Pinaki, te tamaiti tonu a te rangatira o Te Rōroa a Te Toko i tētahi rangatira o Ngāti Whātua. Nō konei ka whakataka taua a Taoho, rangatira o Te Rōroa. Ka mate te tamaiti a Pokaia a Te Tao i a Te Uri-o-Hau. Ka whakataungia e Pōkaia rāua ko Taoho mā Te Rōroa te mate nei e ranga. Te hokitanga ake a Pōkaia mō te hahu i tāna tamaiti i te tau o muri mai, kitea ake ana kīhai rā i tinana. Ka pōuri iho a Pōkaia, ā, ko te whakaarikitanga tēnei hei whakaea i tana pōuri, ā, i tana riri, otiā i tēnei hara. Hei tāpiri iho, e kitea ana i roto i te kōrero nei ētahi pitonga kōrero mō te riri i tū i Maunga-nui, te ingoa rā hoki ko Ripiro i hinga ai a Ngāti Whātua i mahue ai ētahi tūpāpaku i tātahi hei kai anō mā te karoro.

Nā reira, koia ia ko ētahi o ngā take nui i ara ai te pakanga e kōrerotia ake nei. E kitea ana me āta take e whawhai ai te Māori, e ai rā ki āna tikanga ake, heoi ki tēnei wā nei. Ko ngā take hoki ki tēnei pakanga ake, otiā, ngā pakanga i whakahuatia rā i tā White, i tā Ballara, Cloher me ā Smith, kei roto i ngā take Māori tūturu nei, kāore nei hoki he pānga mai o waho ki tēnei wā ake.

¹¹ Tērā anō hoki ētahi anō take e kitea ai i tā Cloher, 2003 p. 55.

Kāti, kia hoake i konei ki ngā takatūnga a ngā iwi nei mō te pakanga nei. Nā, ko Te Toko nei, ko tōna ingoa ko Te Toko-o-te-Rangi, rangatira o Te Uri-o-Hau, nāna, e ai rā ki a Smith, i tana rongotanga ake ko te whakaeke anō mai a Ngā Puhi (Smith, 1910), ākene i tana rongo ake kei te whakaariki mai a Ngā Puhi me ana pū i totoro i tētahi tohunga wahine, ruahine nei i Kaikohe ki te tiki mai i tētahi atua mōna, nā kia whāia anō ai tā White (White, 2011, p. 222)¹²,

“...ka homai e te kuia ra ki a ia te tahi hei kaki, ko taua hei ra, he rau raukawa, a he mea takai ki te aute...” “Me pehea e au te mahi o te atua nei?” Ka mea mai te kuia ra. “E tae koe ki te kainga, whakahaua e koe to iwi kia hanga i te whare whakairo, hei whare nohoanga mo to atua, a ka whakahuatia e koe to atua, ara me hanga e koe i te tahi Tiki...”.

Haere tonu ai ngā tohutohu a te kuia rā ki a Te Toko mō ngā mahi e tika ai te noho a taua Tiki. Ka mea ai, “...hei muri iho ka mahi ai koutou i te whare whakairo, me mahi katoa to iwi i taua whare, te tane, te wahine me te tamariki...” (White, 2011, p. 223).

Ā, ka haere tonu ai ana tohutohu ki te āhua ki tērā whare, tae atu rā hoki ki ngā tohutohu ki te tohunga māna e tā te kawa, nā te kuia hoki i hoatu te āhua ki te karakia. Ka mutu, ka hoki ai a Te Toko ki tana iwi ka whakaringaringahia ngā mahi i tohua ai kia mahia kia ū ai ngā mahi a te atua i hoatu rā mōna hei atua pakanga mō tana iwi ki a Ngā Puhi.

Nā, ka tā te kawa, ka tae ki te hākari,

...a ko nga tohunga o te iwi ra i haerere i waenga i aua rarangi kai, a ka rangona atu e te iwi ra e tatau haere ana aua tohunga i a ratou mea i tatau ai, he mea hoki e kite ana aua tohunga i nga wairua o te iwi o Nga-Puhi o te hunga e mate i te patu a Nga-ti-whatua i muri iho o taua hakari (White, 2011, p. 226)¹³.

¹² Kia kitea te whānuitanga atu o ēnei kōrero me toro tā White, 2001, pp. 221-227.

¹³ Ko te ingoa o te karakia i hoatu e te kuia ki a Te Toko ko Whakatu, e kitea ai tēnei karakia i tā Smtih, 1910, pp. 34-35.

Ko Murupaenga, rangatira o Ngāti Rongo, o Ngāti Whātua i Waikato kē a ia, ko te moemoeā a Titahi, tohunga, ka mea ai ki a Murupaenga,

he imagined that a sand-storm was blowing on the sea-coast of Kaipara driving clouds of sand before it from Maunganui. This dream was interpreted as an impending attack by Ngapuhi on Kaipara and that only by the immediate return of Murupaenga might that attack be resisted (Kelly, 1938, p. 175).

Ko tā Murupaenga, e ai anō rā ki a Kelly (1938, p. 175)“Na wai i ki ka haere mai te riri ki roto te pae o Kaipara?”. Ko te hokitanga atu tērā o Murupaenga me tana taua ki Kaipara.

Kāti, kia kōrerotia ake ngā āhuatanga o te riri nei. Huihuitia ai a Ngā Puhi me tana taua e ai rā ngā kōrero ki tōna rima rau mō te whakaeke ki runga o Kaipara. Tā Smith (1910) anō, ka tau te ope taua ki Waikarā. Tāna anō i kī ai, te kitetanga atu a Taoho i te kōkuhutanga mai a te taua ki tōna rohe, ka ara ia, ka taki i te ngeri a Ngāti Whātua,¹⁴ tukuna ana ngā toro, hokia mai te kōrero mō te eke a te taua ki Mōremonui ā te atatū. Ka hiki a Taoho, a Murupaenga mā nei, tau atu ki Mōremonui ki reira whanga ai ki te tatūnga mai o Ngā Puhi. Ka whakataka i tōna kokoti moeroa (Smith, 1910, p. 40),

Here their enemies had collected in ambush, warned of the approach of the force from Pēwhairangi by the news of various killings they carried out on there way south down the coast...” (Ballara, 2003, p. 185).

Ka mutu, te haeretanga atu a Ngā Puhi, te hunga i tūponotia, patua iho, kainga iho, tana whakataukī, ko te “maroro kokoti ihu waka” (Mead & Grove, 2004, p. 96). He tikanga mai anō tēnei e kapia ana i roto i te whakataukī nei. Arā, te hunga i tūponotia e te taua ka patua iho, ā, i ōna wā, kainga anōtia atu, “Killing him was regarded a good omen for the success of the war party, whereas sparing him was thought to bode ill” (Vayda, 1960, p. 52). E kapi anō ana i roto i te whakataukī rite

¹⁴ Kei Smith, (1910) tēnei ngeri (p. 41)

tahi nei te tikanga, “ahakoa whanaunga, ahakoa tangata kē, ka mate” (Mead & Grove, 2004, p. 96). Kia whāia tonutia atu te whakamahuki, te ūnga mai o te taua, ka tuku ngā patu ki raro, ka pūkeia, ka tahuri ki te taka kai, ināhoki te tikanga kia āta noho te taua ka tawhi ana. Arā a Te Rōroa mā, a Ngāti Whātua mā kei te toetoe e huna ana, e tari ana kia pūkeia ngā pū, ngā patu, kātahi a Ngā Puhī ka huakina. Koia tēnei tētahi momo o te kokoti moeroa.

Nō te huakitanga, ka taupaepae a Ngā Puhī me tōna hoariri, ka riri aupaki, ka rere ngā matā,

it is recounted that Murupaenga rapidly observed the relative slowness of the flight of the musket ball, and the delay that occurred in the reloading. He is said to have instructed his men to hurl themselves down when they saw the flash of the musket and then to charge while the musket was being reloaded” (Crosby, 1999, p. 48).

Nō te patunga o Pōkaia e Taoho i te hāputa o te riri, e ai rā ki a Crosby, ka hē a Ngā Puhī, ka kino te patunga, ka marara. Nō konā, tā Smith (1910) ka whakahaua a Teke, rangatira o Te Uri-o-Hau, e Taoho kia arua atu a Ngā Puhī, ka haea ai te one, kia kua ngā taua nei a Ngāti Whātua rāua ko Te Rōroa e hipa, kia toe mai ai a Ngā Puhī, ā, haea iho e Teke. Tā Vayda hoki, (Vayda, 1960, p. 89) ...the blood relationship between the opposing parties is supposed to have induced Ngāti Whatua to stop short of final extermination of the beaten party.

Koinei rā i tapaina ai ko Te Haenga-o-te-One ki runga ki tēnei pakanga. Ko te hunga i tūākiritia, ka patua iho ki tā rā ngā tikanga a te Māori, ā, hākaritia iho ana ngā tūpāpaku, ngā tikanga anō tēnei a te Māori ki tana hoariri. He tokomaha nō Ngā Puhī i mate ko te hunga kīhai i kainga ka waiho kau ki runga o tātahi hei kai mā te karoro i tapaina anō ai te ingoa o tēnei parekura ko Te Kai-a-te-Karoro.

Tā Cloher, i te kitenga a Pōkaia i te hinganga o tana taua ka puta tana kupu ki a Hongi, “E hoki, E Hongi! Hei putanga tangata” (Cloher, 2003, p. 56). Tērā anō e kī ana, nā te tuahine kē a Hongi arā, nā Waitapu te kōrero, ā, ākina anōtia ana a Hongi e tana tuahine i tana hokitanga atu ki te aroaro o te hoariri kia puta ai a Hongi mā,

“E hoki ana ahau hei whāriki mō aku mātua” (Kelly, 1938). Ka haere tonu tā Kelly, tūkinotia ai a ia, hākiritia iho tana aroaro ki te one, ka taona oratia (Kelly, 1938). Tā te Māori hoki ki te hunga i patua, ka pōuto ngā kakī, ka titia ki ngā pou o te pā hei whakapehapeha, hei tāwaitanga mā te iwi.

Nā tēnei parekura i toua ai te ahikauri ki te ngākau o Hongi, he kite tonu nōna i te mate o ōna tuākana, tōna tuahine anō, otiā, te taua a Ngā Puhi, ka toka tana whakaaro ki te ranga i ana mate, inā, “deaths of chiefly persons required the sheeding of chiefly blood” (Ballara, 2003, p. 205).

Kia hoki ake ki tā (White, 2001a, p. 214),

koia a Hongi-hika i haere ai ki Ingarangi ki te tiki pu, hei takitaki i taua mate nei a Nga-puhi. Ano ka hoki mai a Hongi i Ingarangi, ka tu tana taua ka haere ki te patu i a Taoho o Nga-ti-pou, i te mea he hoa haumi a Taoho ki a Nga-ti-whatua, a i kai a Taoho i etahi o Nga-puhi i patua nei i te parekura i hinga ai a Pokaia ma, a, ka taea te pa a Taoho i Maire-rangi.

Ā, haere tonu ēnei kōrero mō Hongi me āna riri ki ēnei iwi taea noatia atu te tau 1825 ki te parekura a Te Ika a Ranganui i ea ai ngā mate nei a Ngā Puhi i a Te Rōroa, ā, otiā, i a Ngā Whātua.

Hei tāpiri kau ake, tērā i tā Smith (1910, p. 47) i manako a Taoho kia hauhau ai te rongo, ka whakatūtaki i a Hou-awe rāua ko Hau-moka, ka mea ki te hongki ki a rāua, nō konā ka hinga iho ai a Ngā Puhi ki runga i tana hoa ngangare. He mea whakakōkuhu rā tēnei kōrero e Smith ahakoa kāore rā ia i āta kite atu i te āheinga. Heoti, whakahua kautia ai e hau tēnei hei tāpiri iho ki te wāhi ki te hohou i te rongo taketake, arā ki tērā o Te Haenga-o-te-one e tū ai te āhei kia ū ai hei tōna wā te rongo maraeroa ki waenga i ēnei iwi. He āta tikanga rā hoki tēnei, arā, kia tuwhera he wāhi ki roto i te pakanga Māori ki te hohou rongo, tērā rānei tēnei tikanga ka whāia i mua iho, i roto iho rānei, i muri iho rānei i te pakanga. Nā rā hoki, ko te haenga o te one, i haea rā te one, tuatahi kia kore ai te taua e whakangaromia, tuarua, hei huarahi ki te rongo taketake hei tōna wā.

Nā, tēnei te whakahua ake i te parekura i tapaina rā ko Te Ika-a-Ranganui i tū rā i te tau 1825, te wā tēnei i ranga ai ngā mate a Hongi, otirā, Ngā Puhi i hinga rā i Te Kai-a-te-Karoro, tētahi o ngā tino take i haere ai a Hongi ki Ingarangi i te tau 1820 i whakahokia mai ai te pū i hinga ai a Ngāti Whātua i a Ngā Puhi. Tērā rā te kōrero,

Te take tuatahi a Hongi-hika i tu ai hei toa patu tangata, ko nga he o mua, ara ko nga poroporoaki era kua mate atu, a ka takina aua kupu e Hongi kia mana ai te ki a era o ana tupuna kua mate atu (White, 2001, p. 212).

Ko tā Murupaenga, i whakahau kia kokoti-moeroahia anōtia a Ngā Puhi, i tā Crosby anō, (Crosby, 1999) kia hoatu ki Mangāwhai ka whakatakoto i te kokoti-moeroa, kīhai tana iwi i manako. Tā Ngāti Whātua kē, ka huaki i a Ngā Puhi i te tūtakitanga o te manga o Waimako me Kaiwaka arā i te wāhi o Te Ika a Ranganui, tuku ana a Ngāti Whātua i ana kōkiri kia riri-tūngutuhia, engari, nā te kaha o te pū, auare ake, hinga ana a Ngāti Whātua, marara ana ki ngā maunga, ki roto anō i ngā mōrehu o Ngāti Paoa, ā, roto hoki o Waikato. Nō konei hoki i mate ai a Murupaenga, ka waiho kautia ai tōna tūpāpaku kia tere noa i te au o te awa.

3.3 Ngā Tikanga

Kāti, kia whakarāpopoto iho i ngā kaupapa nui, i ngā tikanga i ara ake i tēnei riri nei. Ko te mea tuatahi ake ko te momo o te whawhai arā, o te kokoti-moeroa, he mahinga tēnei nō mai anō, ehara i te mea koinei noa ake tōna momo, tōna anō ingoa. Tā Te Pēhi hoki, (Best, 2001, p. 120) ko te pūniho, te whakamoe kokoti, te whakanoho kokoti anō ētahi o ōna ingoa ki a Tūhoe, ā, ko te pehipehi, te haupapa, te whakatakoto me te kauae-roa ki ētahi atu iwi. Ehara i te mea he kotahi tōna āhua, engari, kei a ia anō ōna momo. Tērā anō te riri-tūngututanga i whāia mai ai i te kokoti-moeroa, arā, mō te huakitanga, ā, nō te whārōrōtanga iho a Te Rōroa mā, te hipanga mai o te matā, kua riri aupaki ngā iwi rā, ā, ka parekuratua a Ngā Puhi, i parekuratua ai i te tini ngerongerō o ngā rangatira i hinga, ka tahi, tuarua, he tē taea nō Ngā Puhi ōna anō tūpāpaku te tiki ake. Ka kitea hoki nō te hinganga a Pōkaia, ka marara a Ngā Puhi. Koinei ngā wā e tino hinga ai te taua Māori ahakoa wai te taua, arā, ka hinga ana te rangatira, ngā rangatira rānei, ngā pae o te taua, ka hē katoa, ā, hei konā, kua hauhauaitu, kua ekena te taua e Tūmatarehurehu, e Tūmatapōngia, ka hingahinga ai te tini o Ngā Puhi inā rā ko te tounga o te hinapō

ki te taua. Nō te kuhunga mai o te pū ki ngā riri Māori ka rite tonu te tūpono o tēnei patanga puta te motu. Inā rā, he puhi noa i ngā rangatira o te hoariri, ka hēmanawa, ka horo.

Tērā anō hoki te haenga o te one kia kore ai a Ngā Puhi e whakangaromia i kīa rā hoki, i pēneihia i runga anō i te ara whanaunga i waenganui i a rāua ka tahi. Tuarua, hei huarahi tonu ki te hauhau rongu. Ko te patu anō i te hunga i tūākiritia, tā Toenga Pou, i whārikihia rā i tā Vayda (1960) i kōrero ki a (Gudgeon, 1907, p. 33)

“You ask...if it is not better to save the life of a enemy, when you have rendered him helpless, than to kill him? No, its not better; neither is it wise. What is the use of getting a man down, if you are fighting with him during war time, or wounding him, unless you finish your work by killing him? Never, even, let him get up again; that would be wrong, and wasting all the advantage your strength and education had given to you, a wasteful expenditure of strength and *matauranga*...and a future source of trouble... For your enemy will not cease to remember that you once got him down (but refrained from killing him because it was not worth it) until he has either killed you; or somebody else, even if only remotely your relative. Then, as it will have been entirely your own fault, you will have to kill someone else in payment, and no end of trouble ensues...So always kill your enemy... .

Hei āpiti anō ki tēnei, tā te toa e ai rā te whakataukī, me mate ururoa, kaua i te mate a te wheke. Kāore rawa te Māori i hiahia kia taurekarekahia ia, he pai kē noa atu te mate. “The Maoris regarded slavery as worse than death” (Vayda, 1960, p. 108). Ko te taurekarekatanga tēnei, ko tāna, he whakarekareka i tana rangatira, he mahi pau te rā kia reka mai ai ko tana rangatira, kāore rā hoki he mana, he tapu. Ko ngā herehere i mea anō ai hei kai mā te taua. Ka mutu, koia tēnei te hinengaro titiro a te Māori mai anō ki te herehere, ki te tūtūā, arā, ki tēnei tikanga. Heoi, kia tae atu rā ki ngā toru tekau, he kōrero anō tērā hei tiki atu kia tatū ēnei kōrero ki ērā tau.

Ko te waiho anō i te hunga ki tātahi kia taurakina e te rā. Tērā anō ngā pakanga o te wā i waiho kau ai ngā tūpāpaku ki te wāhi tonu i hinga ai. Ka noho tapu ai ērā

wāhi. He whakaatu rā hoki i te parekura, inā ehara i te parekura, kua kāwhakina ērā i hinga e te taua nō rātou aua tūpāpaku rā. Inā he tē taea, kua pōutohia te kakī, ka tahu te tinana ki te ahi, ka kapokapowaihia te māhunga hei whakahoki ake kia tangihia ai. Tērā anō i pupuri kē ai ki ngā ringa, ka tahu kē te tinana, te upoko anō hoki. Ko te kaitangata anō tērā, tikanga pakanga mai anō hoki tēnei, kīa ai tēnei hunga, ko ngā Ika a Tū, heoti, hei matapaki ake tēnei mō muri.

Tērā anō te taha wairua, arā, te haere a Te Toko ki te tiki atua hei atua iho taua, e taea e ia tōna hoariri ahakoa pū, tokopae, ā aha atu rānei. I whāia rā ngā whakahau a te ruahine ki tōna tutukitanga. Ko te wāhi anō hoki ki ngā tohunga. Ko ngā tohu anō hoki i paku kōrerotia, arā, mō te moemoeā a Titahi, tohunga a Murupaenga. Kāti, ko tēnei mea te pakanga kei te kapi katoa i roto i te tapu, kei a ia anō ōna tohu, tōna atuātanga, heoi, waiho ki te roatanga atu o ēnei kōrero kia kōrero anōtia ētahi pakanga.

Nā, i kīa i mua iho nei, me āta take e whawhai ai te Māori. Tērā i whakahuatia te whakataukī, he wahine, he whenua e ngaro ai te tangata. Ka hanake ana ēnei tau nei, ka āhua panoni tēnei tikanga i ētahi o ngā tino pakanga i hua ake, arā, ka āta uaua haere ki te kite ake i te āta take i ētahi o ngā putakari nei, me kī, he take tonu, engari he hanga rerekē ake i ngā take o mua. Kei te pakanga e whai ake ana ka whakaaritia ai ētahi o ēnei take.

3.4 Tau-mātaki-tahi

Nā, kua kuhu ēnei kōrero ki roto ki ngā tau tīmatanga o te rua tekau. Ki te tau 1821, ā, kua tuku a Te Rauparaha i ōna whenua ki a Waikato, kāore hoki he ara kē atu i te tuwhera ki a ia. Kua eke ia me tōna iwi a Ngāti Toa, otirā, a Ngāti Rārua rāua ko Ngāti Koata ki runga i te heke i tapaina rā ko Te Heke Tahutahu Ahi, ka tau ki Ōkōki, ki roto iho i te rohe o Ngāti Mutunga. Ko te Āmiowhenua tuatahi i a Patuone mā nei, i a Te Rauparaha mā nei, kua hoki ake ki ō rātou whenua, ā, i ēnei kōrero nei kua tukuna Te Āmiowhenua tuarua. Ko te hāngai pūtanga o tēnei wāhanga ake nei ko te tau-mātaki-tahi. Kei roto anō i te ingoa tonu o te tau-mātaki-tahi te tikanga, tā Best, ...the single combat was a great institution...When two hostile forces met on the field of war it often occurred that a chief would step forward and challenge some noted toa...to single combat...In such affairs each warrior would be

accompanied by his piki...whose duty it was to guard his principle and often to assist or avenge him (Best, 2001, p. 148).

Ko te take i tīkina ai ko te tau-mātaki-tahi hei mātaītanga ake mō te tuaruatanga o ngā momo o te pakanga e tirohia ai, koinei tētahi o ngā tino āhua o te whawhai Māori, ā, koinei hoki tētahi momo o te whawhai Māori i monemone atu i te paunga haere o ngā tau e tirohia ana.

Kāti, e toru ēnei ka tūhuria ake, ko tērā i a Tūkorehu rāua ko Te Pūrewa i ara ake i Te Āmiowhenua o te tau 1821. I te hokitanga ake o Te Āmiowhenua mā te taihauāuru ka pakipakihia ia ki te rohe tonu o Te Ātiawa, tuatahi ki Ngā-puke-tū-rua, ā, tuarua, ki Pukerangiora. Nō rātou i Ngā-puke-tū-rua, ko Te Tupe-o-Tū rāua ko Tūkorehu. Nō rātou i Pukerangiora, ka rere te karere ki te tiki atu i a Waikato rāua ko Maniapoto hei unu i te pakipakitanga nei. Nō te tatūnga mai o te taua unu nei ka ara ai te tuatoru o ngā tau-mātaki-tahi nei ki Moturoa, ki tāwāhi atu o te pā o Ōkōki, te pā e nōhia nei e Te Rauparaha. Kātahi anō a Te Rauparaha me Ngāti Toa, a Ngāti Rārua rātou ko Ngāti Koata ka tae ki reira. He mea pana rātou i ō rātou whenua ake i te takiwā ki Kāwhia, whakarere ana ō rātou whenua, ko te ingoa o te heke a Te Rauparaha ki Ōkōki nei ko Te Heke Tahutahu Ahi. I tapaina ai ki tēnei ingoa i te whakataruna a Te Rauparaha i tētahi taua o Ngāti Maniapoto, ā, e piki ana i te ika, ā, e manako atu ana kia riro a Kapiti i a rātou. Nā, ko te tuatoru o ngā tau-mātaki-tahi nei i a Pōtatau Te Wherowhero me ngā toa o ētahi o ngā iwi o Te Āti Awa.

E rua rā hoki ngā Āmiowhenua, e noho ana i roto i te ingoa tonu o te Āmiowhenua nei te tikanga, arā, he āmio rā i te whenua. Ko te tuatahi o ēnei i tuku i te tau 1819, ko ōna rangatira ko Patuone rāua ko Wakanene o Ngā Puhi, ko Tūwhare o Ngāti Whātua, ā, me Te Rauparaha. Ko te Āmiowhenua e kōrerotia nei ko tērā i a Ngāti Whātua, ko Waikato rātou ko Ngāti Maniapoto. Nā, ehara i te mea ka āta whāia ngā tapuwae o te Āmiowhenua nei, engari kē he tiki atu i te tau-mātaki-tahi i a Te Pūrewa, te pakihwi kaha o Ngāi Tūhoe ki te ika a Whiro nei a Tūkorehu, rangatira nui o Ngāti Maniapoto, ā, tētahi rā o ngā rangatira o Te Āmiowhenua nei. Ka mutu, ko ōna rangatira, ko Āpihai Te Kawau o Te Taoū o Ngāti Whātua, ko Tūkorehu, ko Te Kanawa, ā, me ētahi.

Wehe ana a Te Āmiowhenua i Oneone-nui i Kaipara ki te tonga, ko Āpihai Te Kawau i tōna pae, i tōna ono rau toa. Ka wheta te ngutu awa o Waikato, ka piri ko Kukutai o Ngāti Tīpa me ōna toa, ā ka piri a Tūkorehu me tōna taua. Tērā anō ētahi i piri anō ki te taua nei. Te tatūnga o te taua nei ki te takiwā ki Te Whāiti o roto o Te Urewera ka tātatāngia atu te pā o Te Purewa. Whakaae iho a Tūkorehu ki te kupu a Te Purewa, arā, ki te toa a Tūkorehu, ka tukuna kia haere (Melbourne, 1990). Tā Wright, “the taua was ritually challenged by Te Purewa...avoiding bloodshed by proxying through the manhood of the leaders” (Wright, 2011, p. 93).

The two forces lined up to watch...then fought long and hard to gain the opportunity to strike a death blow... (Crosby, 1999, p. 91).

The duel ended when neither could defeat the other. Peace was made with an embrace and exchange of mere, and a declaration of undying friendship (Melbourne, 1990, p. 485).

Nō konei, ka hanake tonu atu te taua ki te āmio i te whenua. He āhuatanga nui tēnei o roto i ēnei tau ake, ko tāna, he kōhuru, he whakarau, ahakoa i ōna wāhi ōna anō take utu, ko tā Waikato, he kimi utu mō te pakanga nui whakahara o Hinga-kākā e kīa ana mō te hara a ngā iwi i haumi rā i a Pikau-te-rangi o Ngāti Toa, otīa, “The search for the missing sacred inscribed emblems of the Tainui sacred house of learning was also involved” (Jones, 2010, p. 92). Tā Wright kē, “This, then, was another predatory expedition” (Wright, 2011, p. 93). Te take rā i a Ngāti Whātua e ai ki a Smith, he tono nā Te Arawa, ahakoa rā kīhai a Te Arawa i piri ā taua nei (Smith, 1984b). Hoatu ana te taua nei ki Heretaunga, patu haere ana i te hunga kīhai i whakatemaunga, i whakatengahere, tae atu ki Te Roto-a-Tara, ā, whakarērea ana te pā nei. Heoti, waihongia ana a Te Āmiowhenua nei kia tae ki tana pakipakitanga ki Ngā-puke-tū-rua, ā, ki Pukerangiora i tana hokinga mai i Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Nā, ka tae ianei te Āmiowhenua ki Waitara, ka pakangatia ai te pā o Ngā-puke-tū-rua, ko ētahi o te hapū o Puketapu, whakarērea ana e rātou, ā, kuhuna ana e ngā taua o Te Āmiowhenua, ki konā pakipakingia ai. Ka kōkiri te taua ki waho kakari ai, ā, i konei anō tētahi tau-mātaki-tahi i a Te Tupe-o-Tū rāua ko Te Purewa,

They were both armed with Maori weapons alone- the former with a long-handled tomahawk, the latter with a *patu-kohatu*...They were so equally matched that neither could force the guard of the other, and finally both withdrew with their respective parties” (Smith, 1984a, p. 361).

Nō te pō, ka ārahina te taua nei e te hapū o Pukerangiora ki te pā whakahara nei o Pukerangiora, ki konā anō rātou ka pakipakingia ai mō te whitu mārāma te roa, heoti, kīhai i mate i te makuhea, he aroha nō te hapū nei. Tahuri ana ngā iwi o Taranaki ki te tonga nei. “The besieging Ati-Awa now set to work and built an outer palisading and earthworks around Puke-rangi-ora, and closely pressed the inmates, besides cutting of all communications and food supplies” (Smith, 1984a, p. 364).

Ka tapaina ai tēnei pakipakitanga ki te ingoa kia “‘Raihe-Poaka,’ or ‘the pigsty.’” (Smith, 1984a, p. 364). Tukuna ana e Tūkorehu ngā karere tokowhitu, tokoono i pōuto ka titia ngā upoko ki te pou ki mua tonu i a Puke-rangi-ora, kotahi i puta, ka tae ki a Pōtatau, hāpaia ana e ia te taua, ā, ka wheta nei ki kō iho o Ōkōki, arā, ki te puninga o Waikato ki Waitoetoe.

3.5 Motunui

Kua tōpū mai ngā iwi o Ngāti Toa rāua ko Te Ati-Awa ki te pā tūwatawata nei o Ōkōki, ka puta te kupu a Reretāwhangawhanga ki a Te Rauparaha, “*Ma taua nga whetu*” (Smith, 1984a, p. 367). Whakaaea iho ana e Te Rauparaha, ka riro mā Te Rangi-puahoaho te hunuhunu, ā, mā Rangiwāhia te matua. Tukuna ana te hunuhunu hei whakapoapoa mai i te taua a Pōtatau, otirā i tana matua i a Te Rauangaanga, whakatonu ana rāua i tō rāua matua, tā Te Rauangaanga, “*E pā mā, kaua e hīkaka ki te riri, āta noho koa kia mutu ngā karakia.*” (Jones, 2010, p. 95). Hoatu ana ki runga puke ki te karakia, kīhai a Te Hiakai rāua ko Māmā i aro atu, Tā Te Hiakai hoki, “*Mahia ngā mahi, karakiatia ngā karakia*” (Jones, 2010, p. 96). Ka puta te kōrero a te hunga i te taunaki i ngā whakatonu a Te Rauangaanga rāua ko Pōtatau, “*Haere ki te mate, haere ki te mate*”...puta anō te kupu a ētahi, “*Taria te whita! Taria te whita!*” tahi ka puta tā Te Hiakai, “*Hoea! Hoea te waka! Kia rangona ai he parekura, he pa horo*” (Smith, 1984a, p. 370). Kāti, ka manu kāwhakina a Waikato, arua atu ana te hunuhunu nei e ngā tini o Waikato taea atu ana te manga i Mangatiti i reira nei te matua o Rangiwāhia, te aranga o te matua a Rangiwāhia,

“ka maka i te whana” (Smith, 1984a, p. 371). “Beset on all sides, the Waikato and Maniapoto were soon in a most perilous position. The attack was fierce and the sadly disillusioned Tainui warriors had literally to fight every yard of their way out of that valley of death” (Jones, 2010, p. 96). Ki konei ake ka wehewehe te āhua ki ngā kōrero a Te Āti Awa rāua ko ērā a Waikato mō te putakari nei, heoti, e tahuti whakatemuri ana a Waikato, e horo ana, kua hinga a Te Hiakai, pōutohia ana, ā, puhia ana a Māmā kei te whakahemohemo, ka tūponohia atu e Pōtatau, tuohu ana a Pōtatau, meinga iho te mahunga o Māmā ki ngā papa o Pōtatau, ka tuku wairuatia. Nō konei, ka tau-mātaki-tahihia a Pōtatau ki tana kō, hohorohia ana te hunga i tau-mātaki-tahi ki a ia. Tā Waikato, “The single-handed duel against the many went on until fully fifty men- some accounts say more-lay prone on that historic testing ground” (Jones, 2010, p. 100). Nā, kāore i te āta pēnei tā Te Āti-Awa, engari, kāore hoki he āta tohe te nui o te toa, horopū tonu i hinga i te kō a Pōtatau. E ai rā ngā kōrero nō te takiwā o te poutūtanga o te rā tēnei riri i hīmata ai, ā, whanake ana te ahiahi, ahua te pō, ka tuku. Nō te ata, ka hikina te pakipakitanga o te Raihe-poaka i Puke-rangiora, ka hikipapa ki Waikato, te taetanga atu ki reira, ko te ekenga o Waikato e Hongi o Ngā Puhī ki Mātakitaki.

3.6 Ngā Tikanga

Tuatahi ake, ko te panoni nui i pā ki tēnei momo o te riri Māori, ko tōna korenga atu. I kore atu i te kaha o te pū me ōna momo. I mua hoki i te taenga mai o te pū, koinei te momo whawhai mana nui o ngā momo katoa o te riri Māori. Koinei ka tahi, tuarua, ehara i te mea mā wai noa iho, engari, he mahi nā te mumu tonu. E whakaatu hoki ana i te huri o te āhua ki ngā take, arā, o Te Āmiowhenua tuatahi, tuarua anō hoki. He kōhuru, he whakarau, tētahi take o te whakarau, he whāngai tonu i te taua, ināhoki, kua tata te tau e ngaro ana ēnei taua e rua i ō rātou kainga. Tuarua, ko te whakarau hei kaimahi mā tēnā taua, mā tēnā taua, ahakoa kāore i kōrerotia, ka pakipaki ana te taua, nā hoki kia pērā te roa, ka noho ko te whakarau hei whāngai tonu anō i ngā taua i pakipakihia rā. Nā, ki te take ake, kei te panoni haere, kua hanga tikanga hou.

Ko te āhua anō o Te Āmiowhenua, ko te Āmiowhenua tuarua tēnei, kua hanga tikanga hou anō tēnei, arā, te haere a te taua ki te āmio i te whenua ki te kōhuru, ki te whakarau. Nō mua atu me uaua ka pēnei, he kaha hoki nā te uaua. Me uaua ka

puta te taua ki waho atu i ōna anō rohe ki te pakanga mō te pēnei anō te roa. He momo whakataetae ā mana anō tēnei, e whakarite atu ana ki te Āmiowhenua tuatahi. Tērā anō ngā taua pēnei o roto iho i ngā tau o muri iho i te tau 1810.

Kei te whakaatu anō hoki i te whakarere a Ngāti Toa, a Ngāti Rārua, a Ngāti Koata i ō rātou whenua, kua riro rā hoki i ngā iwi o Waikato. Ko te āta tīmatanga tēnei o te hikipapa haere o ētahi iwi mō tō rātou oranga tonutanga, kāore kē hoki he ara kē atu. Inā i whāia atu ai ēnei kōrero ake, ka kitea, nā runga i te raihe poakahia o Ngāti Whātua, o Waikato, nā runga anō hoki i te kino o te patunga, he mōhio tonu, kei ā taihoa ekena anōtia ai a Ngāti Tama, a Ngāti Mutunga, a Te Āti-Awa me ō ēnei kārangarangatanga hapū katoa, ā, te heketanga a Te Rauparaha ki Kapiti, ka hiki anō ēnei iwi ka piri ki a ia.

Tērā anō te wāhi ki te hunga i patua rā, arā ake, ngā karere, ka titia ngā māhunga ki ngā pou hei mātākihanga mā ngā taua o Te Āmiowhenua, tērā e kitea ōna rite kia tae ki ngā kōrero mō Toka-a-kuku. Ko Te Hiakai hoki i pōutohia, tōna tinana i whakairi ki te rākau. Ka kawea tōna ūpoko hei ahi karae, hei māriunga i tā Te Rauparaha heke ki Kapiti i tapaina tōna ingoa ko Te Heke Tataramoa. Ko kō atu anō hoki ko te pānga mai o te aroha ki a Puketapu ki ngā iwi o Te Āmiowhenua nei, he mōhio tonu nō rātou, ki te mau tonu iho te taua nei ki Ngā puke-tū-rua, ka riro mā te hūhū, mā te popo, mā te hanehane. Ko te mea anō hoki nō Te Āmiowhenua tuatahi, ka piri rā ētahi o ēnei iwi hei taua kotahi tonu, koinei anō hoki tētahi take i whai aroha atu ai a Puketapu ki ngā iwi nei. Ko tētahi o ngā take pea anō tēnei i tukuna kia unuhia te raihe poaka, ā, kia hokia te kāinga. Ko kō atu i tēnei, ko te wāhi anō ki a Te Rauparaha, he karanga whanaunga rā hoki ērā o Waikato nōna. Kāti, koia tēnei ko ētahi kaupapa nui, tikanga rā hoki i ēnei putakari nei.

3.7 Toka-a-Kuku

He tātaku tēnei i ētahi kōrero mō te tuatoru o ngā pakanga e tirohia ai, arā, ko tērā i tū rā ki te takiwā ki Te Kaha, i kō paku atu o Waihirere ki roto i te rohe o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Ko Te Whānau-a-Apanui me ōna hoa haumi ki a Ngāti Porou me ōna. He awhi, he pakipaki te momo o te pakanga nei. He mea awhi te pā o Te Whānau-a-Apanui e Ngāti Porou mā. Ko te urutanga anō hoki tēnei ki roto i ngā tau o te toru tekau, ko te tau o tēnei pakanga ko te 1836. Ko te pā tūwatawata ko

Toka-a-kuku. Mōhiongia ai tēnei pakanga ko Toka-a-kuku tonu, ā, ko Whata Tangata, tā te Pākehā karanga ko “The siege of Toka a kuku and Te Wera’s Invasion of Te Kaha” (Mackay, 1949, p. 91).

E mātaia ai te pakanga nui nei, inā tēnei putakari i rongonui mō te kuhu a ētahi tikanga Karaitiana, ahakoa, ki te taha ki a Ngāti Porou anake, ā, “Ko te puta ki Toka-a-Kuku te riri whakamutunga i wae-nganui i a Ngati-Porou me te Whanau-a-Apanui, a ko te riri tuatahi hoki tenei o te Tai-ra-whiti ki te uru nga tikanga whakapono” (Kohere, 1930c, p. 2141). Ko Taumata-a-Kura te tangata nāna i uru ngā tikanga whakapono ki te pakanga nei.

He mea whakarau a Taumata-a-Kura i te hokinga mai a Pōmare rāua ko Te Wera o Ngā Puhi ki roto o Ngāti Porou i te tau 1823. I hoatu pērā rāua i muri iho i te hinganga o Te Arawa i Mokoia i a Ngā Puhi. Ka whati mai rāua me ō rāua taua i a Hongi. Tā Pōmare take he whakahoki ake i te wahine rangatira i whakaraua e ia, ā, i moea anōtia e ia i te pakipakitanga a Ngā Puhi i a Ngāti Porou i te tau 1820-21 o Te Whetū-Matarau, heoti, i mau rā i Kawakawa, arā, i a Rangi-i-paea (Crosby, 1999, p. 134). Te Take hoki i a Te Wera, he whakahoki ake i tana taokete i whakaraua anōtia e ia, arā i a Te Whareumu ki tōna iwi ki a Ngāti Kahungunu. He mea whakarau anō te tuahine a Te Whareumu ā, moea anōtia ai e Te Wera (Mackay, 1949).

Heoti, kia whāia tonutia atu tā Mackay, tā te ope nei tatūnga atu ki Te Araroa, he kore nō Ngāti Porou i mārāma ki te take a Pomare mā, ka whakatemaunga atu ki tō rātou pā whakamarumaruru ki Taitai. Tukuna ana e Pōmare ana toro kia puta mai ai a Ngāti Porou ki Te Araroa hei whakahohou i te rongo. Puta ana mai a Ngāti Porou, te roko kitenga i te tokoiti o te taua a Pōmare, tahuri ana ki te riri hei ranga i ngā mate o ngā whakaeke a Ngā Puhi i ngā tau o te 1820-21 (Wright, 2011). Horo ana a Ngāti Porou i te mahi a te pū, tahuti te hoki a Ngāti Porou ki Taitai. Haere tonu ai ngā whakapātari riri a ngā taua nei a Ngā Puhi, ka tae ki te takiwā ki Waiapu, tā Williams anō te wāhi i mau herehere ai a Taumata-a-kura (Williams, 1867). Ā, kāwhakina atu ana ki roto o Te Taitokerau. Nō te hokitanga ka tū anō a Pōmare ki Te Araroa, ka houhia a Ngāti Porou rāua ko Ngā Puhi ki te rongo taketake. Ka pēnei anō a Te Wera ki a Te Kani-a-Takirau.

Heoti, nō Taumata-a-kura e noho pāihi ana, e ai anō rā ki a Williams (1867) ka tukuna ki te kura i Waimate, ā, nō konā ka ākona ki te pānui, ki te tuhi. Waweruka anō a ia ki te hopu i ngā kōrero a Te Rongopai. Ka tae ianei ki ngā tau o ngā 1830 nei. “During the 1830s, thousands of prisoners were released to return to their homes-first by Nga Puhī, then by Waikato. They included the leading Maori theologians of the day” (Belich, 2007, p. 168). Tā Belich anō hoki, koinei tētahi huarahi o te hohou i te rongo i waenga i ngā iwi, arā, mā te tuku rawa i ngā whakarau (Belich, 2007). Ahakoa rā, i houhia ai a Ngāti Porou ki te rongo e Pōmare, he whakaū tēnei i taua rongo taketake. Nō roto iho i tēnei āhuatanga, tukuna ana a Taumata-a-kura kia hoki ki ōna pārangā. He mea whakahoki ia e Williams. Nō te tuawaru o Kohitātea, 1834 te tau, pōwhiringia ai tēnei hunga e ō rātou hapū, iwi. Ehara kau hoki a Taumata-a-kura i te tangata noa iho, engari nō ngā kāwai rangatira o Te Whānau-a-Tinatoka, Te Whānau-a-Haemata me te Whānau-a-te-Uruahi o roto katoa o Ngāti Porou (Mahuika & Oliver, 1990). Tā Williams anō, nā Taumata-a-kura i horapa te Rongopai ki roto i Te Tairāwhiti (Williams, 1867).

Kāti, kia hokia ake ngā taha e rua o tēnei pakanga, ka huri ai ki ngā take i ara ai tēnei riri i ēnei iwi. Koia ēnei ko ngā hoa haumi o Te Whānau a Apanui,

...ko nga hapu katoa o Te Whanau-a-apanui i waenganui o Haparapara awa me Tikirau: Ti-mata i Tikirau koianeī aua hapu: Te Whanau-a-pararaki. Te Whanau-a-Maruhaeremuri, Te Whanau-a-Kahurautao. Te Whanau-a-Kaiaio, Te Whanau-a-Te Ihutu, Te Whanau-a-Te Uuanga me Te Whanau-a-Hine-tekahu. I raro enei hapu i o ratou na rangatira...Ko Te Whanau-a-Apanui o Haparapara ki Hawaii, kaore i tae ki roto i te pa. Ko nga rangatira whakahaere i te iwi i taua wa ko Wharau (na Te Ngahue-o-Te Rangi) ko Whatau-karangahuaona...ko Tawatihitihi, ko Te Ao Pururangi, ko Tapaharakeke ko Te Kainui. ko Te Matenga, ko Te Paretiti. ko Tamatama-rangi. ko Te Mangokaitipua. ko Te Koha, ko Paratene Te Wharetatarakau, me etahi atu. Kaore a te Whanau-a-apanui o te taha hauuru o Haparapara awa. tae ki Hawaii i whakaae ki tenei kaupapa, ina ra ki te huihui mai ki roto i te pa (Wi Repa, 1930, p. 2108).

Ko ngā kārangarangatanga hapū ēnei a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Tērā atu anō ngā iwi i whirinaki ki a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, arā ko ngā iwi tonu mai noa i Whakatāne.

Ko ō Ngāti Porou ko ngā iwi katoa o Te Tairāwhiti i uru ki roto. Nā Kākātaraū,

I tukuna he karere ki nga iwi katoa mai i Whare-kahika ki Wairarapa kia whikiti. kia mau ki te patu, a, e ai te korero i tae tonu a Kakatarau ki Nukutaurua ki te whakataka ope ma- ana. Kaore he rangatira i ngaro o te Tai-ra-whiti, i haere katoa ki Toka-a-Kuku i te tau 1836 (Kohere, 1930c, p. 2141)

Ko ētahi o ōna rangatira, No Wairarapa ko Tu-te-pakihirangi. No Nuhaka ko Ihaka Whaanga ko Kaweka irangi ko Toroiwhiti ko Kai--a-te-kokopu Tamihana Taruke No Heretaunga ko Pareihe Te Mahia ko Te Kauru-o-te-rangi ko Te Hapuku ko Tungahaere ko Tiakitai ko Hone Maru ko Tareha ko Te Whareumu ko Waikopiro ko Aperahama No Te Wairoa ko Raihania No Ngapuhi ko Te Wera Hauraki ko Hamana Tiakiwai ko Tarapipipi ko Te Waru ko Peketahi ko Henare Apatari Mangungu No Mohaka ko Paora Rerepu Te Wainohu (Kohere, 1930a, p. 2161).

Koia ēnei ngā iwi me ngā upoko rangatira i kuhu ki te pakanga nei hei hoa haumi mō Ngāti Porou. E kitea nei te ingoa o Te Wera Hauraki, nāna nei a Te Whareumu i whakahoki mai ki roto i a Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Māhia i te tau 1823. He mea whakawhere anō a Te Wera kia noho ai a ia ki reira me tōna taua hei pou whirinaki mā Ngāti Kahungunu e tātāhia nei e te motu. Nō konā i whai pū ai a Ngāti Kahungunu hei āraitanga i ngā hauhautanga a ngā iwi nei i a rātou. He take anō ā Te Wera i tere ai ki te piri ki a Ngāti Porou ki te hahau i a Te Whānau a Apanui. Kāore hoki i te āta mōhiotia te tokopae o ngā taha e rua, engari, he kaipūkahu, nā koa, te kite i te huhua o ngā rangatira o ia taha, he taua ō ētahi, ka neke noa atu i te rua mano i ia taha.

Nā, ko ngā take i hua ai tēnei pakanga e kīa ana ko te pakanga whakamutunga a ēnei iwi. Tā Smith anō, "...the Whanau-a-Apanui and Ngati-Porou had been at

enmity for generations past” (Smith, 1984b, p. 475). Tā te Toa Takitini, (Kohere, 1930b, p. 2161),

He tika tonu he maha nga take o te haere a te Tai Rawhiti ki Toka-a-Kuku engari ko te tino take he ngaki i te mate o Pakura. Koina te take nui i haere ai a Kakatarau. Ahakoa kotahi ano te taahu whakapapa o Ngāti-Porou o te Whanau-a-Apanui he mahi tonu na raua te whawhai o mua iho a tatu iho ki Toka-a-Kuku.

Tēnei te whakahuatanga ake o tētahi o ngā take o te riri nei, arā, ko Pākura te matua o Kākātarau rāua ko Mokena Kohere. Ko Pākura tētahi o ngā rangatira o Ngāti Porou. Kia paku whāia atu tā Te Toa Takitini,

¹⁵ a Pakura e patua ana i Whare-kura ka karanga na ia, ka rongō a te Horua raua ko Kakatarau, te tama a Pakura, ka ki a te Horua, "Ka aroha te reo o to taua papa e karanga ra; haere taua kia mate tahi me ia. "Ka pupuri a Kakatarau i a te Horua ka mea atu. "E. kia ora ko taua hei ngaki i tona mate. "Ko te pikaunga tenei i utaina ki runga ki nga paki- hiwi o Kakatarau a i u tana whakawaha. I te hinganga ra o te Whanau-a-Apanui ki Rangitukia ka noho te whakaaro i a ia kua taka te wa e haere ai ia ki te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki ki te whakarite i tana oati mo te rangā i te mate o tona papa ("Toka-A-Kuku," 1930, p. 2044).

Tērā anō hoki ētahi anō take a Ngāti Porou ake, oīa, i ngā iwi i piri mai hei hoa haumi mō rātou. Tā Soutar i hoki ki te tau 1829 i te patunga o Te Ngarara e tētahi ope o Ngā Puhī i runga i te kaipuke o te New Zealander. Ko te ope nei, he manuhiri nā Uenuku, rangatira i roto o Waiapu. He mea puhī tonu a Te Ngarara Toihau, rangatira o Ngāti Awa e tētahi o Ngā Puhī e takitaki ana i te mate o tētahi o ōna ake i mate rā i a Te Ngarara. Inā i te kaipuke anō ētahi o Ngāti Porou, ka whakapaea e Ngāti Awa, nā Ngāti Porou tēnei kōhuru (Soutar, 2000).

¹⁵ He 'i' tēnei.

Nō konā, haere tonu ai ngā kōrero a Soutar, i huakina ai a Wharekahika, ko Te Whānau-a-Apanui rāua ko Te Whānau-a Te-Ehutu ngā hoa haumi o Ngāti Awa, ā, horo ana a Ngāti Porou i te pakanga i Omaruiti i te tau 1829. Ko te matenga tēnei o te tamaiti a Uenuku, a Tūtohiarangi. Nō muri, ko te kōkiritanga a Ngāti Porou rāua ko Te Whakatōhea, hinga anō ana, ā, ka riro ētahi rangatira nui anō o Ngāti Porou, ko te Pākura tēnā i kōrerotia ake, rāua rā ko Pori-o-te-rangi. Muringa iho te kuhutanga a Te Whānau-a-Apanui ki te nukarau i a Ngāti Porou i Rangitukia, te rongotanga ake a Ngāti Porou, ka ngaua kētia taua nukarau rā e Ngāti Porou, hinga ana a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, tukuna ana kia kohi a Te Whānau-a-Apanui i ōna tūpāpaku, pau te ao, te pō i te tahu i ō rātou nā tūpāpaku kia kore ai e tūkinotia (Crosby, 1999). Nā, kua tae ianei ki te tau 1833 (Mackay, 1949; Soutar, 2000). Ka tae ana mai ki tēnei wā, kua oti i a Ngāti Porou tōna whakaaro me rapu utu e ia, i a Te Whānau-a-Apanui (Soutar, 2000). Nō konei e kitea ana nō roto taketake nei ngā take o te pūtakari nei i te tikanga Māori.

Ka mutu, “in the Waiapu valley the greater part of 1834 and 1835 was spent preparing food for the expected army” (Soutar, 2000, p. 106). Ka whakatōpūhia ngā iwi haumi a Ngāti Porou ki Wharekāhika, “I na ra timatanga o Hanuere o te tau 1836 ka tae mai. He maha nga ra i whakamanuhiritia ai e Ngatiporou, o Whakawhitiira o Rangitukia” (Turei, 1930, p. 8). Koia tēnei te tūnga a Taumata-a-kura ki te whakawhāriki i ōna whakaaro ki te āhua ki te pakanga ki Toka-a-kuku. Ko tāna whakahau hoki ki ngā taua a Ngāti Porou me ōna hoa haumi i pēnei, i whakahau a Taumata-a-kura ki te ope. "Whaka- rerea rawatia atu nga atua maori, kia kotahi he Atua mo taua. E hinga te tangata i te kokiri, i te parekura ranei, kua rawa e taona, e kainga; kua rawa e tangohia, waiho atu maana e tiki mai ona tupapaku: he mea kanga na te Atua” (Kohere, 1930c, p. 2141).

Before Ngati-Porou and their allies set off for Toka-a-kuku, Taumata-a-kura (the first Ngati-Porou Christian evangelist) agreed to assist only on condition that the fighting should be conducted in accordance with principles adopted by Christian nations: His conditions were: that enemy wounded should not be slain ; that no enemy bodies should be eaten; that enemy canoes that were not required for homeward journey should not

wantonly be broken up; and that no enemy food should be wilfully destroyed. All these conditions were agreed to (Mackay, 1949, p. 92).

I konei ka whiti a Mackay ki tā Baker mō te roatanga atu o ngā kōrero a Tauma-a-kura, "Let me have control of this battle. My God is the God of Te Wiremu Karuwha...My God is Jehovah, a mighty God" (Mackay, 1949, p. 92) i roto iho i a (J. G. Baker). Kua mana nui a Taumata-a-kura i ōna iwi i tēnei wā i tōna mātau ki ngā karaipiture, otiā, ki te Rongopai arā, kua tohunga, kua matakite tōna tū i waenga i ōna iwi (Soutar, 2000).

Nō te Hui-tānguru o te tau 1836, e ai ki a Mohi Turei, i tāna i tuhi ai ki a Te Pipiwharauoa,

Ka manu teope he mea whakarite ano ki a rite Id na ra tika e haere ai na ope taua. "Kia mau tautiti o Rongouaroa," ara kia kainga te kumara, kia rokohanga ai e te ope i waenga o na maara. Te taenga o te ope ki Tokakuku, ka ma- takitaki ake i temoana ki te pa. Ano he whata e kore e taea e te kuri te rei ake. E matakitaki iho ana hoki te pa ki na waka o te taua e kukupa ana "ura" tonu ano he moana kahawai " Kohu- rawea." Ka u te ope ki na awa i te taha whakararo o Tokakuku, ki Waiopure, ki Tauranui. Ka takoto nga waka ki uta kei te hanga i te pa ki Oumu Kahu-kura. Ka oti na wharau. Ko te pa nei tata tonu ki Tokaakuaku. He wai iti nei kei waenganui, marama tonu te titiro a tetahi pa ki tetahi. Te otinga o na mahi. katahi ano te ope ka whakakite i a ia. Ka takoto he matua, he matua ki te wahi ngaro mai i te hoariri. Katahi ka werohia, ka puta Id te wahi marama ka tukua tewhana. Ka takoto tera matua, kai te ui na tanata o roto o Tokakuku ki a Tangitaheke " Ka kiia ko te iwi pea tera ko Porourangi?" ka kiia ehara. Ka kokiri tahi ona matua. Ka tangi te umere a Tokakuku; me te ki ano ki a Tangitaheke " Koi ara pea te iwi?" me te ki ano ia ehara. Ka ki ia " E kore e ngaro te tohu a Ngatiporou, he ra whangake i te rua." Ka poto katoa nga matua, i muri ta Ngatiporou. Ka karanga a Tangitaheke ki na mano i roto i Tokakuku; katahi ano "Porou," " Porou" a "Nanaia." Te ekenga ki runa ka tukua i runga i te poupou tahi. Te kitenga mai a Tangitaheke kai whakakapakapa i tona mere-mere mete" Haha." " Porou, Porou a nanaia ka mahi Tamamapua." (Ko na

kupu tera i rangona i muri nei me te kiinga ano, koia na kupu a Tangitaheke i makututia ai mo aua kupu whakapehapeha ana). Ka ara hoki na matua ra ki teperuperu; i muri rawa ko ta Ngatiporou. Te tuna ki runa. ana puare ana te waewae, Ka aue ano ko Whakatana, he rangatira i roto o Tokakuku. Ka karanga kia Te wharau he rangatira no te Whanau Apanui. "Te wharau e. ka ngaro te whenua ka ngaro te tanata i te waewae o Kakatarau, ihiihi ana whenua i Waiho." Ka takoto na matua e ono nei (Turei, 1930, p. 8).¹⁶

Ko te tūnga anō tēnei a Taumata-a-kura, kia whāia tonutia atu tā Mohi,

Ka tu a Taumata-a-kura ka tohu ki nga matua. Whakarongo e nga matua e takoto nei. me na rangatira me nga toa katoa o te ope. Whakarerea whakarerea rawatia atu na atua Maori. kia kotahi he Atua mo taua. Apopo koe timata ai ki te mahi i haeretia mai ai e koe. E hinga te tangata i to kokiri. i to parekura ranei. kua rawa e taonga e kainga, kua rawa e tangohia e koe tetahi mea a to tupapaku ahakoa he pu. He hamanu he kakahu, he patu. me etahi mea a te tupapaku o te parekura ranei: kua rawa e tangohia waiho atu mana e tiki mai ona tupapaku, he mea kana na te Atua. Ki te rite i a koe e te ope nei enei tohutohu tera pea ka pai te Atua. Ko tenei whawhaitanga hei tohu mo temaungaarongo o tenei pakanga o mua iho o na tipuna mai ra ano. Ki te takahia e koe tetahi o enei tare ko koe ano e te tanata e takahi ana i a te Atua i kanga ai, ka kanga ano hoki koe e te Atua (Turei, 1930, p. 8).

Ko te tatūnga tēnei o ngā ope taua nei ki te puta i Toka-a-kūkū. Tā Mohi mō te tatūnga o ngā ope ki te aroaro o te pā o Toka-a-kuku kei te whakaatu i tētahi āhua o te whakakite, te āhua ki ngā matua, arā, e wero ana, e kōkiri ana, e tukua ana ngā whana, tae anō ki ngā makamaka whana a tēnā matua, a tēnā matua. E whakaatu hoki ana i te hanga ohorere o Te Whānau-a-Apanui e ui ana ko wai rā te iwi e whakaeke mai nei. Tērā anō e kite ai ko ētahi o ngā karangatanga hapū o Te Whānau-a-Apanui tonu, otirā o ngā iwi mai i Whakatāne rawa, tae atu ki a Ngāi Tai

¹⁶ Kei te huhua rā ngā tarapatanga ā reo o tēnei korero, e kitea ai kei te ngaro ētahi o ngā ng, tae atu ki te noho a te d me ētahi anō hapa. Heoti, he mārama tonu te takoto. Tērā anō ētahi kupu, kōrero hoki o roto mehemea ehara i te kaipānui nō Ngāti Porou, ka uua pea te kitea o te māramatanga. Ko te whakamātau ki ngā wāhi e taea kia waiho ake mā te reo tonu o ngā kaumātua o aua takiwā ā rātou kōrero e kōrero.

mā nō muri kē i te huatakitanga o te pakanga nei ka tae ake ki te haumi i a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, ko te mea kē, nō te tatūnga o ngā ope taua a Ngāti Porou, kei te whiriwhiri tonu ētahi iwi ki te tono a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, ā, kīhai i roa, kua whakataka ngā taua kua hoatu ki Toka-a-kuku. Tērā anō hoki ētahi kupu kāore i te āta mārama ki a au. Ko te “Kohu-rawea”, ahakoa kei te kitea te ia o te kōrero, he kupu whakarite mō te mahi a te waka taua e whakarite ana ki te mahi a te kahawai ki tāku nā mātaki. Ko Tamamapua hoki, nā rānei, he kupu āhua, he ingoa tupuna rānei. Heoti, whēiro ana te takoto o ngā kōrero a Taumata-a-kura.

Nō muri iho, ka hoki ake ngā taua nei ki ngā wharau i hangaia mai ai e rātou,

“I te aonga, ka tau rawa te ra ka tikina e te ope ka pataritia, he tiki kai, he tiki wahie te whakataruna. Te kitenga mai o te Whanau Apanui ka pau te kokiri ki waho, kua whawhai. Ka hina te Whanau Apanui he nui te hinana” (Turei, 1930, p. 8).

Nō konei, he whānako tā Te Parata i te tupeka a tētahi tūpāpaku, kei te kīa ia kia marahatia ngā kupu a Taumata-a-kura, ā, kīhai noa i aro atu, tahi ka puta mai te kōkiri a Te Whānau-a-Apanui ki te kohi mai i ana tūpāpaku, rere ana ngā matā, tūākikotia ana taua Te Parata rā, nō te pikaunga ki te pā ka mate. Kua mahara ngā iwi katoa ki ngā whakahau a Taumata-a-kura. Ā, ka kino anōtia te tūpāpaku e Tamakihikurangi rāua ko Marino, ā, mate anō ko rāua. Heoi,

ahakoa kauwhau noa a taumata-a-kura, kei te “kuhu” tonu nga ihu o na tohunga i ona atua i ana “kite”, ara “matakite” i ona iho tana tanata ra hoki kua matotorutia ki ana mahi, kua ururuatia, kua patiotia (Turei, 1930, p. 8).

Heoti, nō Taumata-a-kura i te oru o te pakanga, kei tētahi ringa ko te paipera, kei tētahi ko te pū, āwhio ana te rere a te matā, kīhai rā ia i pāngia, ahakoa, taotū ana, hinga ana ngā hoa i ngā taha, ia kuhunga ōna ki te oru o te pakanga ka pēnei. Kātahi anō ka āta poua te mana o ngā kōrero a Taumata-a-kura nā koa, koia hoki tēnei te whakatinanatanga, ā, “Ngāti Porou’s acceptance of the new faith was largely due to his display of faith at the siege of Toka-ā-kūkū in 1836” (Soutar, 2000, p. 102).

Heoi, kei te hanga haere a Ngāti Porou i ōna pā hei awahi i a Toka-a-kuku (Smith, 1984b), ka tatū mai ko Ngāi Tai mā, te tatūnga, kua rere ngā kōkiri a Te Whānau-a Apanui hei huna i taua tatūnga mai, ā, ko te riri tēnei i te manga i Pu-remu-tahi, ka mau ngā iwi haumi a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, ka rere, ā, ka whāia haeretia atu ki Te Awa-nui, ko te kōkiri a Te Whānau-a-Apanui kihai hoki i tutuki (Smith, 1984b). Ka hangaia mai ai he whata hei whakairinga tūpāpaku, tā Smith i mea kē ai mā ngā whakarau.

A huge whata...is said to have been built by the attackers in front of the palisades...Those killed by the besiegers were displayed as a ‘whata tangata’...This was achieved by tying the bodies in pairs suspended by the feet, with one body on one side and the other hanging on the other... (Crosby, 1999, p. 291).

Kāore i te āta nui atu ngā kōrero mō te pakanga ake nei, arā, mō te pātaritanga o ia rā. Heoi rā, “Koiane te parekura o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Ko Te Apanui i roto i te pa kaore i rakuhia. Kaore i aha...I whakata-pua taua wahi i whakairia nei aua tangata a tae noa mai ki tenei ra...” (Wi Repa, 1930, p. 2109).

Kīhai rā a Toka-a-kuku i horo, he hanga ono marama te roa o te pakipakitanga, ka hiki ngā ope, ka hoki ki ō rātou nā takiwā. Ko ētahi taua i whati i mua kē iho, ko tā Te Kani-o-Takirau tētahi. Te take hoki kīhai rā i taea, ko te wāhi tonu i noho ai te pā, ka tahi, arā, i wātea te puta atu ki te moana, te kuhu hoki a ngā haumi ki roto iho i te pā i te moana i te pō. He wāhi nui anō o roto i te pā ki te whakatupu kai. Ko ngā iwi pakipaki kē i mate ai i te kai, koia hoki tētahi o ngā take i unu ai ngā taua. Take tuarua anō rā, he ono marama hoki te roa, ā, kua ea, kua takitakina ngā mate, ngā tūpuna i ara ai te riri nei. Tērā anō ngā āki o ngā whakahau a Taumata-a-kura ahakoa te whata tangata, kīhai te tangata i taona, i kainga, te hunga hoki i takahi i ā Taumata-a-kura whakahau i hinga. I eke tonu ngā kauwhau, ngā matakitenga a Taumata-a-kura, arā, “E kiia ana ko nga tangata o te ope i mate he takahanga i nga kupu a Taumata-a-kura. T tau te wehi ki te ope” (Kohere, 1930c, p. 2141).

3.8 Ngā Tikanga

Nā, kia whakarāpopotohia ake ngā kaupapa nui, ngā tikanga i ara ake i tēnei pakanga ake nei, otirā, ērā anō i puta ake i ngā tuhinga nei mō Toka-a-kuku. Tuatahi ake, ko te āhua tonu o tēnei pakanga he pakipaki, he awahi. Koinei hoki tētahi tino āhua pakanga a te Māori mai anō, ā, i kaha ake tēnei momo i te kōkūhūtanga mai a te pū inā, nā te pū i mātua ai ko te pā hei ārai i te pū. Māringanui tēnei pā i te wāhi i noho ai ia, i te āhei o te kuhu me te puta i te pā mā te moana, tuarua, ko ngā mārara kai o roto i kore ai te pā nei i hemo i te kai. Ka nui ngā pakipakihanga o ngā tau e tirohia ana i horo kē ai i te hemo kai, ka whakamātau kia rere, ka horo i konā, ka ekena rānei te pā. Tērā anō te riri tūngutu i ngā kōkiritanga mai i te pā, otīa, i te tatūnga mai o ngā taua haumi, ā, koinei noa iho te hunga i tūākikotia, i hinga rānei.

Ko te tapanga anō o te pakanga nei ki te Whata Tangata, i te whatanga o ngā tūpāpaku. Kāore i te mōhiotia atu inā he āta tikanga nō mua kē a Ngāti Porou, nā tētahi rānei, ētahi rānei o ngā taua haumi, engari ehara kau i te tikanga hou kia irihia, kia pōutohia rānei ngā kakī ka poua ai ki te wāhi tonu e kite mai ai te iwi e pakipakingia ana. Tērā a Pukerangiora i roto o Taranaki i pakipakingia ai a Te Āmiowhenua i te tau 1821, i whakairingia ai ngā karere ki mua tonu i te pā. Tērā anō i hua ake te tahu tūpāpaku a Te Whānau-a-Apanui i Rangitukia. Mātua pēnei hia ai ngā tūpāpaku kia kore e taona, e kainga, e matauhia rānei, e mea rānei mō te tahere manu, e āta tūkino rā. Tuia iho ki ēnei, tā Taumata-a-kura kia waihongia ai ngā tūpāpaku mā te hoariri e tiki atu, e mahara he tikanga kē nā te hoa haumi, nā ngā hoa haumi hoki. Ko te mea kē hoki, ahakoa piri atu ai ngā whaitaua ki te iwi nōna te take, ehara i te mea ka hinga ngā whaitaua ki ngā tikanga ake a te iwi nōna anō rā te take. Puta noa ēnei tau te kitea atu o tēnei āhuatanga.

Ko te nukarau anō i puta ake i ngā kōrero mō Rangitukia, arā, kia whakataruna a Te Whānau-a-Apanui kia kuhu ki te pā o Rangitukia me te mea nei mō te hohou i te rongou te take, he tikanga mai anō tēnei, ā, e huhua ana ngā tauiratanga o tēnei momo ake i kitea anōtia i ngā pitonga kōrero mō Te Āmiowhenua. Ko te Whetū-matarau tēnā, arā, ahakoa e hemo haere ana a Ngāti Porou i te kore kai. Ka ū tonu ki tō rātou pā, ā, nā te nukarau rawa i pokopoko ai a Ngāti Porou. Ko te whakarautanga anō hoki o Taumata-a-kura i kitea te titiro a te Māori i te wāhanga mō Mōremonui mō te āhua i pā ki te whakarau mō te hoki anō ki roto i tōna iwi.

Koinei hoki tētahi panonitanga inā i te mea, tuatahi, he rangatira ia, ā, i mātau rā ki te tuhi, ki te pānui, ā, i tere tonu te kitea te tohungatanga o tēnei tangata ki te Rongopai ki roto i āna kauhautanga ki te iwi.

Nō konā, ko te atuataka a Taumata-a-kura, nāna i here mai ko tōna atuataka ki roto ki te pakanga nei. He panoni nui tēnei, nō konā anō ko āna whakahau kia kaua te hunga i tūākiritia e patua, e taona rānei, kia kaua anō he whānako. Ko te hunga i raweke i te taotū, i te mate rānei, ko rātou tonu anō te utu. Koia tēnei ko te wāhi whakahara o te panoni o te tikanga i roto i tēnei pakanga. Ahakoa rā tā Wright, “These ideas shaped the behaviour of a Ngāti Porou taua deployed that year against Te Whānau-a-Apanui, although not by much” (Crosby, 1999, p. 195). Ko te mea anō hoki, ko te pakanga tēnei i mutu ai ēnei tikanga pakanga katoa a Ngāti Porou, ā, kāore kē oti e kore he pānga anō o tēnei āhua ki a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, otirā, ki ngā iwi i haumi ai i ngā taha e rua. Kīa ai e Wright nei, kīhai i nui te rerekē, ki te tikanga a te Māori he nui whakahara! Ehara hoki i te mea he tuatahitanga rawa tēnei, arā, he mea pakipaki a Kekeparaoa i te tau 1832, pā o Te Whakatōhea i tū i te takiwā ki Te Karaka ki te tūtakitanga o ngā awa o Waipaoa me Waihuka, pakipakingia ai e Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki me ōna hoa haumi arā, ko Rongowhakaata, a Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, a Kahungunu ki te raki, e Te Wera Hauraki me Ngā Puhi. Ka whakatuku a Te Whakatōhea i te hemo kai, te tukunga, “...no general slaughter of prisoners occurred”, ā, he mea arataki a Te Whakatōhea e Te Wera ki ō rātou whenua ake (Crosby, 1999). Nā reira, kei te kitea, kei te āta kuhu mai tēnei panonitanga i roto i ēnei tau ki ngā tikanga pakanga a ētahi iwi.

Ā, ko te wāhi ki ngā hoa haumi, he wā ōna e hoariri ana ēnei iwi ki a rātou, ā, i roto i ngā pakanga o ngā tau e tirohia ana kei te huhua ngā tauira o te tōpū mai o ngā iwi ki te haumi i tētahi iwi, nō nanahi noa iho, nō roto kē rānei i te tau, nō mua kē rānei, e hoariri nguha ana, heoti, “To the Māori mind it was quite acceptable to join an ally in war on one occasion and then oppose them at the next, if the two parties disagreed over the issue confronting them” (in Soutar, referenced as Pers. Comm., Keita Walker, 5 Jun 1999). Tērā anō ngā tikanga o te tono haumi kāore i hua ake i ēnei kōrero nei. Koia rā tēnei ko ētahi tikanga, otirā, kaupapa nui i puta ake i ēnei kōrero nei.

3.9 He Whakakapinga

Ko te take hoki i nanaoa ai ko ētahi o ēnei pūtakari he kite tonu i te neke, i te panoni rānei o te tikanga, ahakoa ētahi he paku, he whakatau tikanga i runga i ngā āhukatanga hou kua urutomo mai nei ki roto ki te ao Māori. Tērā ētahi kōrero he whakaatu kē i te mau tonu o te tikanga, he paku kau pea noa iho rānei te wāhi i rerekē. Ka torona ana te kōrero mō Pōtatau i a ia ka tau-mātaki-tahi ki ētahi o ō Taranaki toa, tērā a Te Rahaparaha i pana i te pū a tētahi o āna ake e anga ana ki a Pōtatau me te kī iho, kia kua te rangatira e mate kurī, e mate noa iho i te weriweri pū, engari me mate ururoa, arā, me mate i te patu Māori, ka tahi. Tuarua, he momo i kore anō i āta kitea i muri i te tahua o ngā tau o te upoko nei. Tā Toka-a-Kuku, he tino mārama te take i tīkina ai. A Mōremonui, ahakoa kāore te tikanga i āta neke, he kite tonu i tētahi huarahi hei karo i te mana o te pū. Tāna anō hoki, he whakaatu i ētahi momo o te whawhai Māori.

Ko te whāinga pū rawa o tēnei ūpoko he whakamātau ki te whakaatu i neke, i te panoni hoki o te tikanga i roto i ngā riri a te Māori ki te Māori i ngā tau o te 1800 ki te takiwā o te 1840. Tērā anō te wāhi ki ngā whakaaro me ngā whakamātautautanga a te Māori ki ngā āhukatanga hou i te eke rā ki runga i a rātou i ēnei tau nei. Me mātua kī ake, kāore kau i kotahi te pā atu o te panonitanga ki ngā iwi o te motu i te wā kotahi. Ināhoki, kua haupū katoa te Pākehā ki te Taitokerau ake, ā, ka roa, ka maringi mai ka horapa ki te motu. I tēnei kōrero ake āku, ko te whakapae, ko te āki a te ao Pākehā, a te ahurea Pākehā, a te tuakiri Pākehā i āki i te panoni a te tikanga Māori. Tuarua hoki, kāore tēnei upoko i whakapae ake, i te whakatau rānei, he kōhatu te tikanga Māori. Ko te wāhi hoki ki te panoni e whakapaea ana, he mea whakamāori nā te Māori ngā āhukatanga i te whakaeke ki runga ki a rātou. Hei whakatauiria iho, nā te Māori te pū i whakakuhu ki roto i āna tikanga, nā te Māori ō te ao Pākehā whakaaro, ā te ao Pākehā hangarau, tō te ao Pākehā whakapono i tāpiri mai ki roto i tōna anō ahurea, i tōna anō ao.

Ko tētahi wāhi nui i pā ai ki ngā tikanga whānui o tēnei mea te riri Māori i ngā tau e tirohia ana ko te pū. Ahakoa rā i a Mōremonui, kāore i tino kitea tōna mana. Engari, nō roto atu i te takiwā o te tekau tau, kei te rangona te kokoi o te niho i ngā iwi i tahanga. Nawaki atu ana ki te tīmatanga tonu o te rua tekau, kua noho whakatetipua ngā iwi i a rātou nā te pū, kua atua te pū. E mārō hītarari mai ana tāna

uru mai ki roto ki te āhua o te whawhai Māori, ahakoa anō, kāore anō kia puta noa i te motu, engari, nā wai, nā wai, ko te pū te oranga o te tangata whenuatanga a te Māori ki ōna anō whenua. Ka mutu, he pānga o tēnei āhuatanga ki te tikanga, me pēhea e kore ai. Ko te pū hoki mō ngā iwi i a rātou te pū, kua toka mai a ia ki roto tonu i ētahi tikanga huhua tonu a te Māori. Tapaina ana e te Māori ētahi o ana pū, tētahi rā hoki o ā Hongi i tapaina rā ki a Teke-tanumia, hei maumaharatanga ki tana tuahine i mate rā i Mōremonui. Tā Te Ātiawa, i te tatūnga o Te Āmiowhenua, ko Rukumoana, inā, he mea ruku taua pū rā. Ko ngā āhua ki te uhunga, ngā hahunga, ngā tū hui a te Māori, ki ngā tikanga o mua iho, o roto iho, o muri iho anō i ngā momo o te pakanga. Kua kuhu mai ia ki roto i te noho a te tikanga Māori. Ā, ka whanake ana te wā, ko te pēneitanga puta noa te ao Māori.

Nā te pū anō, nā te āhei ki te pū i pā atu anō ai ki te tikanga, tuatahi, ki ngā tikanga o te tauhokohoko, inā rā kei te tauhokohoko ki te Pākehā, me whai rā āna tikanga tauhokohoko. E riro ai te pū, me tana harakeke, me rākau, aha atu, aha atu. Ko te pānga tēnei ki ngā tikanga o te whakarau, arā, o te whakataurekareka hei kaimahi i aua tana rā, i aua matatiki e taea ai te pū te hoko. He pānga nui tēnei ki ngā tikanga o te pakanga. Inā rā, me pakanga e riro ai te whakarau e whiwhi ai ki te pū. Ka mutu, ko te paunga o ngā tau o te tekau, ki roto rawa iho i ngā tau o te rua tekau, puta tonu atu ki ngā tau huataki o te toru tekau kua whakahara te āhua ki te panoni o te tikanga ā pakanga, ā Māori tikanga whānui. Koinei tētahi o ngā āki nui a ngā taua nui pēnei me te Āmiowhenua nei. Ko te pānga rā tēnei ki ngā take tonu i whawhai ai te Māori, otiā, ngā tikanga i paihere i te āhua ki te whawhai Māori. Ka mutu, kei te rangiaho te kitea atu o te wāhi ki ngā take i whawhai ai te Māori i panoni i runga i ēnei āhuatanga, ā, i ētahi rā. Nā, he mea tāpiri kē ake ēnei pānga mai ki te tikanga, ehara i te mea, i kore noa iho atu ngā tikanga pū i whawhai ai te Māori, engari kē, koinei ia ētahi wāhi ki ngā take i piri mai ai.

Nā ēnei āhua katoa, kua mate ētahi iwi ki te hiki ki te kimi whenua hou mō rātou, ko konā anake te oranga tonutanga o ētahi hapū, iwi. He whakarere ake i ō rātou nā whenua kei reira nei te takenga mai o ō rātou mana motuhaketanga, ō rātou tapu, ō rātou wāhi tapu, tō rātou katoatanga. He nui ngā iwi i warea e te mate nei. Ko ētahi rā kīhai te tuinga i paku pā atu. Engari, ko Ngāti Toa tēnā, ko Ngāti Rārua, ko Ngāti Koata i piri rā ki a Ngāti Toa. Ko Raukawa anō tēnā. Ko ngā iwi o Taranaki

ki te tonga i hiki ka piri ai ki a Ngāti Toa ki Kāpiti, ā, nā wai rā, ka hiki a Ngāti Tama rāua ko Ngāti Mutunga ki Wharekauri, ā, me ētahi. Ehara i te mea i hiahia ki te hiki, engari me hiki mō te oranga tonutanga.

Ko te wāhi ki te atuātanga, otiā, te wairuatanga ka āta mārama te kitea atu i te panoni ki te tikanga ki roto rawa i ngā tau o te toru tekau, ahu atu ana ki roto i ngā whā tekau. Arā, i ngā tauratanga iho i te pakanga i a Toka-a-kuku, i tū ai te kaitangata, te patu i te hunga i tūākiritia i te riri, mutu, oti atu i tēnei iwi ā haere ake. Ahakoa, kāore i kōrerotia ētahi, kei te mārama te kitea atu i te kōkuhu nīnihi nei o te whakapono Pākehā ki roto i te whakahaere a te tikanga.

Ko te wāhi ki ngā momo o te whawhai, he pūrangiaho te kitea atu o te panoni, inā, ko te tau-mātaki-tahi, ko ngā pakanga i te kauhanga riri, arā o te riritūngutu kua memeha, ka mimiti ki roto tonu i ngā tau o ngā rua tekau, ā, ko ngā tikanga katoa o ēnei momo putakari kei te ngaro haere atu. Te kōkuhutanga atu ki roto ki ngā tau o te whawhai ki te Pākehā, kua tata te kore e kitea o ēnei tū whawhai a te Māori. Tae atu rā hoki ki ngā momo o te kokoti moeroa, o te manu kāwhaki ka tatū ana ki te waenganuitanga o ngā tau o te whā tekau, kua korekore haere anō tēnei tū whawhai me āna tikanga katoa.

Nā reira, ahakoa ngā whakapae a Ballara, ā, a wai atu anō hoki, tūturu, kua kaha te pā mai o tīni, o panoni ki te āhua tū whawhai a te Māori, ā, nā runga i tērā ko ngā tikanga i piri ki ēnā i memeha, tau tonu iho ki ngā pari o te rua. Ko te wāhi hoki ki te atuātanga, ki te wairuatanga, ka taea atu ana ki te waenganuitanga o ngā toru tekau kei te kuhu mai ngā whakaaro, tikanga hoki a te Karaitianatanga, otiā, a te ao Pākehā, ki roto i te ao Māori. Ehara kau i te mea ki runga rawa i te tikanga Māori, engari, e whakamāoringia ana, e tāpiringia ana ērā āhua ki roto ki te whakahaere Māori, ka mutu, kei te āki anō i te tikanga. Kāore rawa au i te kī ake, kua tīna toka ki ngā kokoru me ngā whāwhārua katoa o te ao Māori, inā rā, a Te Rauparaha mā nei, a Te Waharoa, a Te Heuheu, a Te Wherowhero mā nei kei te pupuri tonu ki te aka matua, ki te iho atua tonu o te tikanga.

Ko te wāhi anō ki ngā pā tūwatawata, kua rerekē noa atu, tuatahi, hei ārai i ngā matā o te pū, ā, nō muri, he ārai anō i te pūrepo. Nō konei anō he panoni nui. Ka tae ianei

ki te āhua ki te hunga i hinga i te pakanga, arā, ki ngā tikanga a te ika a Tū, ki te āhua ki te kaitangata, ki te āhua ki te tūkinu whakarau rangatira, tae atu rā hoki ki te pakipaki māhunga hei hoko. Ka whakapiri mai ana i ēnei tikanga nei ki ngā tau me Te Āmiowhenua nei. Ka kitea anōtia he rerekē, he āta panoni, tuatahi rawa ki te tokopae, tuarua, ki ngā take tonu i whawhai ai.

Ko tētahi wāhi nui anō o tēnei tewhatewhatanga, ko te ū kē a te Māori i roto i ēnei tau ki āna anō tikanga, ahakoa ngā āki mai a te ao i runga i a rātou, mārō tonu ana te pupuri a te Māori ki āna tikanga. Āe rā hoki, he wāhi, ngā wāhi kua whakahuatia ake nei i panoni, me pēhea rā e kore ai!

Tērā hoki ētahi āhuatanga o ēnei tau kāore i kōrerotia, i whakamātau rānei ki te whakautu. Ko tētahi, ko te āta tuhura i ngā take e pā nei ki te tatau pounamu, arā, ki ngā huarahi whakaū i te tahu māene, i te hohou rongu i waenga i ngā iwi. Tērā anō te ingoa i tapaina ai e te Pākehā ki runga ki ngā tau o mua paku iho i ngā rua tekau ki roto atu i ngā whā tekau arā, ki te *musket wars*. Kāore hoki e āta tirohia ngā take i mutu ai ngā kakari o ēnei tau hei whakaingoa kau i ētahi. Tērā pea he pai ake kia āta whakautua ēnei pātai, kia werohia te ingoa, nā Ballara hoki te kōrero, me pēhea e kīa ai ngā tau nei ko te musket wars menā ko te nuinga o ngā iwi kāore nei he pū puta katoa ngā tau o te rua tekau, tau atu ki ngā tau o ngā toru tekau (Ballara, 2003). Koia tēnei ētahi whakaututanga, whakapae anō hoki e ea ai ngā pātai nui i whakairihia ki ngā paetara o tēnei whare kōrero.

Upoko 4: Ngā Matawhāura ki te Hōia Pākehā

“Kaua tātou e tukua kia mate a whare, Engari kia mate ururoa”(Cloher, 2003, p. 297).

4.1 He Wāhinga Kōrero

Tā rā hoki te kaupapa ake o tēnei upoko nei he wānanga ake i te āhua ki te tikanga, ki tāna noho i roto i ngā tau o te Matawhāura ki te Pākehā. He titiro ki a ia, ki ōna tupu, ki ōna panoni, ki ōna ōrite ki te āhua ki ngā putakari o waenga mai o te hōia a te Kuini me te Māori, tae ana anō hoki ki ngā hoia a te manene. Oīa, ki te āhua anō o te tikanga ki te takiwā ki te ika a Tū, arā, ki runga ki te hunga i hinga i mate i te kauhanga riri a Tūmataunga.

Koia tēnei te aronga o tēnei upoko, ka iri ko tāna pātai matua me ōna teina, arā, he aha ia te āhua ki ngā tikanga ana whawhai te Māori ki te Pākehā, ā, he aha te āhua ki ōna neke, ki ōna noho, ki ōna panonitanga ki te āhua ki te riri otirā, ki te mate? He kimi ake anō i ētahi āhuatanga hou i te kuhu haere mai ki roto ki te wairuatanga, arā, ki te whakapono, ki ngā whakaaro, ki ngā whiriwhiringa, ki ngā whakamahinga anō o te tikanga i roto i ngā taritaringa riri o waenga mai o te Māori me te hoia Pākehā. Tērā anō hoki te whakahua ake i ngā tikanga o te āhua ki te pakanga me te āhua anō ki ngā mate i whakarērea, ā, i whakamoea e te Māori.

E toru rawa ngā putakari ka mātaitia iho, e hīmata ai i te Pēwhairangi i te tūrakitanga o te kara a te Kuini i tō mai ai te hōia Pākehā ki runga ki ngā one o Te Taitokerau ki te takahi, ki te tāmi anō i a Hone Heke Pōkai rāua ko Te Ruki Kawiti. Kātahi ka tahuri whakatetonga ki te takiwā e tū mai nei te maunga titōhea ki roto i tōna rohe ki a Te Āti Awa ki tētahi anō o ngā riri i tū rā i Puketakauere rāua ko Ōnukukaitara. Tēnā, ka aru haere i te hiki a te hōia ki roto o Tāmaki, ka piki ake ki Waikato ki te Kīngitanga ki a Tāwhiao ki te tukitukinga ki Ōrākau.

Ehara kau ake i te mea koinei noa ake ngā whawhai a te Māori ki te Pākehā, ā, hākoa, kua whiria ko ēnei, tērā ngā wā me ngā wāhi e toro ai ngā kōrero o waho ake o te pakanga e torohē ana inā kei reira nei pea te horopaki, ētahi pitonga kōrero rānei mō te āhua ki te tikanga, hei whakakī mai anō i ētahi o ngā whāwhārua o ngā

wā nei me ngā pakanga nei e tirohia ana nei. Tērā anō e whakamātau ki te whakatakoto i ngā take i hua ake ai ēnei pūtakari kia kitea inā ēnā i rite rawa ki ngā take i whawhai ai te Māori i mua, inā rānei ēnā i rerekē.

Ko te wāhi hoki i mutu ai ngā kōrero o te upoko tuatoru ehara i te tohu i te wāhi i mutu ai ngā whawhai a te Māori ki a ia anō. Engari, ko te kōkuhutanga atu ki roto i ngā tau o te whā tekau kei te haere tonu te āhua ki ngā whawhai a te Māori ki a ia anō.

The period between 1830 and 1850 must be the time of greatest change that the Maori of New Zealand have ever gone through. Many encountered Europeans for the first time , and all were subjected to great changes regarding culture, spiritual beliefs, health and wellbeing (Elsmore, 1999, p. 7).

Hei āpiti hoki ki ēnei kōrero, ko te taenga mai o ngā taua o Ingārangi ki te taritari pakanga ki te Māori, tērā tonu anō te Māori e pakanga ana ki a ia ake anō, arā, i ōna wā, kei te piri te taua Māori ki te hōia, ā, i ōna wā anō, kei te taki whawhai kē te Māori ki a ia motuhake anō. Ko tētahi o ngā tino tauira o tēnei āhuatanga kei te wāhi ki ngā pakanga a Hone Heke mā. Ko Tāmami Wakanene ka whakaariki i ōna hapū ki te tāmī i ngā taua a Hone rāua ko Kawiti, ā tērā ngā whawhai ko ēnei taua anake e rīriri ana, ā, tērā anō ngā whawhai i piri ai ēnei taua ki ngā hoia Pākehā. Taihoa ake te roatanga atu o ēnei kōrero ki tōna wāhanga ake. Nā reira, he tō mai anō i ētahi tikanga i tuhia e whakaaringia ana te tikanga i roto i ēnei momo puta.

Ko te kitea i ngā pakanga o ngā tau e tirohia ana, kotahi noa anō te tino take o ngā whawhai katoa nei, i whakahuatia ake i te upoko ki ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki a ia anō, e kapia ana i roto i te whakataukī, “he wahine, he whenua e ngaro ai te tangata”. Arā, ko te whenua, ahakoa ngā kōiriiri o tēnā pakanga, o tēnā pakanga, koia tēnei ko te take matua puta katoa ngā pakanga o ngā tau e tirohia nei (Keenan, 2009).

Ko te huarahi ka whāia ai e tēnei upoko, he hanga pēnei anō i te upoko o mua iho nei, arā, kua kīa rā hoki, he tiki atu kia toru ngā pakanga o roto i ngā tau nei hei āta

mātaītanga ake. Ka wānanga ana i tētahi, kua tīkina atu ko ngā kōrero i hua ai te pakanga rā, arā, ko ngā take ērā i hua ai ko te pakanga. Kātahi ka kuhuna ai te pakanga. Ka mutu ana te āta mātai i te pakanga tonu, ka kōrerotia ai ngā tikanga i ara ake mā te whakaaraara i aua tikanga nei me ngā panonitanga i pā rā ki te tikanga. Ka mutu iho ngā pakanga katoa, ka āta wānanga ngā panonitanga whakahara i pā ki te tikanga me ngā take anō i pā ai aua panonitanga nei ki aua tikanga.

Ko ngā wāhi uaua o tēnei upoko ake, tuatahi ko te uaua, ko te kore i kitea o te tuhinga reo Māori a te Māori, ka waiho ai ko te nuinga atu mā te whakapākehā kē i tā te Māori i kī ai hei kawē i te kōrero. Tērā hoki pea kei ōna wāhi, e tawhiti kē noa atu ana te whakapākehā, ā, ākene he whakarīroi kē rānei, he raweke kē rānei i te tika. He kore tonu nōku i kite ā kanohi i te reo Māori i whakapākehāngia ai. Tuarua, ahakoa kei te āhua nui tonu ngā pukapuka kōrero mō ngā pakanga, ko te nuinga noa atu e kōrero pū ana mō te pakanga ake, kāre nei he inati kōrero mō te āhua ki ngā tikanga, ruarua noa ana ngā pukapuka e whakahuahua tikanga ana, ā, he pēnei i tō runga nei, akene he horihori ētahi, he tika ētahi. Ko te nuinga noa atu hoki o ngā pukapuka, kei te aru kē i ngā nekeneke katoa a te taua Pākehā, ka tūpono ana ki te taua Māori, ki konā noa iho kōrerotia ai te taha Māori. Ko kō atu anō, he pupuru kē tā ngā tūpuna i ngā kōrero.

4.2 Ohaeawai

I tū rā te pakanga o Ōhaeawai i te tatūnga o ngā hoia a te kuini o Ingārangi ki Ōhaeawai i te 23 o Hūrae, 1845. Nō te ata o te 24 ka whakataka a Colonel Henry Despard, rangatira o ngā hoia i tana whakapae, ā, ka tuku i ana pūrepo (Cowan, 1955b), ka tangi te waiwaipū. Ahakoa kīa ai he whakapae, kihai te pā nei i karapotitia. Nō Pene Tau¹⁷ ake te pā nei. He mea awheawhe te pā nei e Heke rātou ko Kawiti ko Pene Tau ka oti. Nō te otinga o te pā nei ka karakiangia. Ko te pakanga tuarua tēnei ki te taua hoia nei, ā, ko te tuatoru o ngā pakanga o tēnei tau nei ki te hōia Pākehā. Ko te tuatahi rā hoki ko te horonga o te taone matua o Te Taitokerau, arā, ko Kororāreka i te topenga tuawhā o te kara a te Kuini o Ingārangi

¹⁷ Ko Peni Taua ki tā Wilson, Wilson, O. (1985). *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke: A quarter century of upheaval*. Dunedin, New Zealand: McIndoe.

e Heketene, arā, ki tā Tāwai Kawiti (1956, p. 39) ka poroporoa i nga ringa-ringa me nga waewae, arā o te pouhaki. Ka pungarehuhia te taone, hikipapa ana te hunga o te taone ki Tāmaki noho ai. Ko te whakarāpopototanga ake pea o te titiro o te Māori ki te haki i pāohotia i tā Belich hōtaka (Belich, Stephens, & McRae, 1986a) i tā Bill Wiremu i kī ai, “Mehemea kua rua ngā haki, kua pai, mehemea he kotahi, kua riro ngā whenua, kua riro ngā whenua”. Ko te take tonu tēnā i ū mai ai ngā hoia o Ingārangi ki ngā one o Te Taitokerau ki te whakapātari riri ki a Heke mā. Nō mua paku iho i tēnei ka noho haumi mai ai a Kawiti ki a Heke. Nō muri iho, nō te 8 o Mei ka huakina te pā tūwatawata o Hone Heke Pōkai arā, a Puketutu e Lieut-Colonel Hulme me tana taua, tā Heke ki tana matua, “Be not afraid of these soldiers, “all men are men” The soldiers are not gods; lead will kill them, and if we are beaten at last, we shall be beaten by a brave and noble people and need not be ashamed” (Maning, 1973, p. 224). Kihai te pā i hinga, he riri aupaki, arā, he rīriri i waho atu i te pā ake i te kauhanga riri, ko te wāhi pea hei whai atu, ko te otinga o te pā inā, kei konā kitea ai ētahi pitonga kōrero mō te āhua ki te tikanga,

Now, when this new fort of Heke’s was finished, the spirit of the *Ngakahi* entered into the Atua Wera, who is the greatest *tohunga* in all the country of the Ngapuhi. So the *Ngakahi* spoke in the night to Heke and his people, by the mouth of the Atua Wera, ‘Be brave and strong and patient. Fear not the soldiers ; they will not be able to take this fort – neither be afraid of all those different kinds of big guns you have heard so much talk of. I will turn aside the shot, and they shall do you no harm; but this pa and its defenders must be made sacred...You must particularly observe all the sacred rites and customs of your ansestors; if you neglect this in the smallest particular, evil will befall you, and I also shall desert you. You who pray to the god of the missionaries, continue to do so, and in your praying see you make no mistakes. Fight and pray. Touch not the spoils of the slain, abstain from human flesh, lest the European god should be angry, and be carefull not to offend the Maori gods. It is good to have more than one god to trust to... (Maning, 1973, p. 233).

Ko tōna whakarāpopototanga ake ka tiki atu ko tā Belich, (Belich, 1986, p. 44) “Puketutu involved the first and last major Anglo-Maori open combat in the

Northern War, and virtually the last in the New Zealand wars as a whole.” Nō konei, ka whakarērena te pā nei inā tā te tikanga Māori, “...the pa, in accordance of native custom, was abandoned, blood having being spilt there” (The New Zealand Journal (for August 3rd 1844).

Heoti, kia paku whāia atu te āhua o te tiwha a Hone Heke ki a Kawiti ki tā Buick (Buick, 2011, p. 46),

To Kawakawa Heke came to pay a ceremonial visit to his elder tribesman...with him he brought a small parcel carefully bound up in a covering of dressed flax. Handing the package to Kawiti, he invited him to unbound the cord with which it was tied. This Kawiti did amid the silence of the onlookers. When the folds of the covering had been unwound the contents were discovered to be a beautiful greenstone *mere*, one of the most precious possessions of the ancient Māori, smeared with human filth. No words were spoken, but to the alert mind of Kawiti the significance of the suggestion was at once apparent. The *mere* typified the Maori people, the filth the indignities that were being heaped upon them. He saw that this was Heke’s method of insinuating to him that the Europeans were defiling the dignity, the prestige, the *mana* of the Maori; that they were, indeed, depriving them of their heritage, and that unless the incursions of the white man into the land were checked the end must inevitably be the annihilation of their race. It was for Kawiti to say whether he would clean the *mere* or leave it soiled. Upon this issue so symbolically presented to him Kawiti pondered long and silently, and when at last he gave voice to his feelings he said to Heke: “You may return home. Your desire will be gratified. I will speak to my people as you desire.” From that moment the die was cast. His mind was made up, and he began the immediate mobilization of his forces.

Nō mua tonu iho tēnei i te tūraki whakamutunga o te pouhaki, otirā, o te horonga o Kororāreka. Hei āpiti ake ki tā Bill Wiremu, ko tā Heke, “took great pains to show them [ana iwi] that the British flag been hoisted on any territory was a sign that the land belonged to the Sovereign of Great Britain and that the people of that land would become slaves” (Buick, 2011, p. 61). Kāti, koia tēnei ko te titiro o Heke ki

te take nei o te kara o te kuini. Kei te kīa rā hoki, he rerekē te whai a Kawiti i tā Heke, “Kawiti was the sole chief in the north known to have consistently opposed land alienation, whether by sale to settlers or Government” (Wilson, 1985, p. 267). Ko tā Kawiti, “Kawiti’s objective was to drive the settlers out of place” (The New Zealand Journal), ā, he whawhai anō, he whakamātau anō i te hōia Pākehā (Belich et al., 1986a).

Ahakoā rā, tapaina ai ēnei pakanga katoa nei ki raro iho i te karangatanga, ‘Heke’s War’, kihai a Hone Heke i Ōhaeawai i te riri nei, ā, tae tōmuri kē hoki ki te pakanga whakamutunga ki ēnei taua i te pakanga i tapaina ai ko Ruapekapeka. I tūākikotia ia i te pakanga o mua iho, i Te Ahuahu, he pakanga Māori ake tēnei pakanga i a Hone Heke Pōkai me ōna hoa haumi rāua ko Tāmāti Wakanene me ōna. Nō Heke te pā nei, heoti, whakarērena ana e ia ki te whai kau i Ōhaeawai, nōna i reira, ka riro te pā nei i a Te Taonui, nō muri iho ka tatū a Wakanene mā (Maning, 1973). Nō konei, ka hua te pakanga i tūākikotia nei a Heke. Kia arua tonutia atu tā Manning inā he whakaari tikanga kei roto. Ka tukua rā tana ngākau ki ngā rangatira, ko Te Kahakaha o Kaikohe tētahi i tae ake hei hoa haumi mō Heke, he hoa haumi a ia nō Hongi i ōna wā. Nō te hinganga o Te Kahakaha, ka whākina a Heke, rere ana a Heke ki a Te Kahakaha kei riro ia i te hoariri,

Then Heke tore a cartridge box from the body of a dead man...Then ¹⁸Te Atua Wera said, ‘Give me a gun and some cartridges...Then Heke held out the cartridge box, and said, “Take a gun from one of the people” ...he began to buckle the cartridge round the waste of the priest. But Te Atua Wera perceived that there was blood on the cartridge box, so he started back and said, ‘Where did you get this’? Then Heke cried out, ‘Where should I get it’? ‘Is not this war’? So then the priest saw that Heke himself, the chief of the war had been the first himself to transgress the sacred rules, and had touched the bloody spoils of the slain. So he said to Heke, “The Maori atua

¹⁸ Ko Te Atua Wera tētahi o ngā tino tohunga o roto o te taitokerau i ōna wā. Ko tētahi o ōna ingoa ko Papahurihia, ā, ko Penetana anō hoki, he rangatira nō Rangihoua...Koia tonu ki tāna te kauwaka o te Nākahi, Te Nākahi...inspired him with whistled messages and gave him all manner of supernatural powers, including those of raising the dead, instant transportation of himself from place to place, invisibility, and giving protection from bullets to his followers in battle. Elsmore, B. (1999). *Mana from heaven*. Auckland, New Zealand: Read Books.

are arrayed against us, the spirits of the dead are now angry; we are lost; and you, Heke, are now no longer invulnerable. Go not to the front, or you will meet with misfortune” ...Then Heke roared out, ‘What care I for either men or spirits? I fear not. Let the fellow in heaven look to it. Have I not prayed to him for years? It is for him to look to me this day. I will carry of the old man alone’ (Maning, 1973, pp. 254-255).

Puhia ana te kūhā o Heke, ka hunaia ia,

So now Te Atua Wera saw it was time to do his part, so he called out, ‘Come, follow me to die for *Pokaia*’. Three men started forward at this call, they ran to where Heke was, and bore him off. In doing so they were more than once surrounded by the enemy, but the fern and brushwood were so thick that they got of unperceived. The fern and brushwood would not, however, have saved them had it not been for Te Atua Wera, who, by his continual *karakia*...rendered the bearers of Heke invisible to the enemy (Maning, 1973, p. 256).

Nō Hokianga te tokotoru nei, he muhu katoa, ko Te Pura, ko Hoao, ko Te Ngawe ō rātou ingoa (Maning, 1973). Haria ana a Heke ki Ōhaeawai, ka pūrua te moko, “When this fort was completely finished and provisioned, the priests...took according to ancient custom, the chips of the posts, and with them performed the usual ceremonies, and when they had done so they declared that this would be a fortunate fortress; so it was made sacred...as were all the men who were to defend it” (Maning, 1973, pp. 258-259). Kīa ai e Manning ko te ingoa o te putakari nei ko Te Whatuteri. Ka mutu, he mea kāwhaki a Hone ki Tautoro, i reira nei ia me te ono tekau me tana tohunga a Te Atua Wera (Buick, 2011).¹⁹ Nō konei, e ai rā ki a Tāwai, Kawiti (1956, p. 41), ka noa a Hone, Heke after this began to lose heart for the fight...he began seriously to think of peace. He even made an appeal to Kawiti, who replied in words that have become proverbial ‘I mea au i tu ai koe ki te riri kia taea teika o te kopua, kahore i te patihitihi nei ano, kua karanga koe kaati’. Kawiti was determined to continue the war.

¹⁹ Tā Tāwai, nō te putakari kē ki Ohāeawai a Heke i taotūhia.

Nā, ko ngā taua o roto iho o te pā nei o Ōhaeawai, ko ērā a Hone Heke Pōkai, ko ērā anō o Kawiti me ērā o te pā ake o Pene Tauī. Heoti, nō te whakaekenga, kei te kīa kotahi rau noa i te pā nei. “The Maori garrison of the *pa* was considerably outnumbered by the troops...The natives say that when Despard delivered his assaults on the first of July there were not more than a hundred men in the *pa*” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 55). Ko Hone Heke nō Ngā Puhi pū tonu, ko Kawiti nō Ngāti Hine, ko ngā hapū i haumi rā i a Kawiti, ko Te Roroa, ko Kapotai, ko Ngare Hauata, Ngāti Tu, ko Te Parawhau o Whangarei ko Ngāti Toki o Mangakahia me Ngāti Wai o Whangaruru (Buick, 2011). Haere tonu tāna mō Heke, “Heke’s people were Nga Puhi proper. The Rawhiti people were tino Nga Puhi-Nga Puhi of Nga Puhi”. Heoti, tā Tawai Kawiti (Kawiti, 1956). Nō Ngāti Tautahi o Kaikohe a Heke. Ā, ko Pene Tauī nō Ngāti Rangi. “Those chiefs who have become most notorious as supporters and advisers of Heke are Kawiti, Hira Te Pure, Hori Kingi and Haratua” (Buick, 1926, p. 145). Ko te hoariri, ko ngā hoia a te Kuini o Ingārangi, ko Tāmati Waka Nene, ngā hoa haumi i a ia ko Ngāti Pou, ko Te Taonui Makoare rātou rā ko Mohi Tāwhai o Te Māhurehure (Buick, 2011). Kia whāia tonutia atu tāna mō te āhua ki te noho wehewehe a ngā iwi nei,

In the division of the native people into rebels and loyalists that now took place the wars of Hongi took a prominent part. Owing to his close relationship with Hongi, those tribes who had been most intimately associated with the great conqueror naturally followed Heke, while those who had suffered at Hongi’s hands arrayed themselves at the side of the Government (Buick, 2011, p. 100).

Tūturu te whai wāhi mai a Hongi Hika ki roto i ēnei pakanga, ināhoki ko te pakanga tuatahi ki ngā hōia a te kuini i tū rā i Puketutu, te pā tūwatawata i hangaia ai e Heke i tātata ki te wāhi i puta ai te ōhākī a Hongi, ā, i mate ai. Ko te āhua hoki ki tana ōhākī i whakahau i ana iwi kia whawhaitia te hōia Pākehā, anei e whai iho nei ki tā Cloher (2003, p. 287),

‘E aku tamariki! E aku whanaunga! Ko ngā pākeha karakia, atawhaitia. He hunga aroha rātou ki ahau. Otirā, ki te haere mai ngā tāngata Māori ki te patu i a koutou i hea rānei, i hea rānei, inā ka riro ahau, kua koutou hei

mataku: Otirā, e āku hoa, āku tamariki, kia toa! Kia toa...According to Wi Hongi Te Ripi (conveyed by Ron Wihongi) he warned them to beware of the redcoates as they were dealers in war. He also counseled them to hold on to their independence and their land. They were not to be deminished by other Europeans yet to arrive”.

Tērā anō tā Maning (1973, p. 215),

...but if ever there should land on this shore a people who wear red garments, who do not work, who neither buy nor sell, and who always have arms in their hands, then be aware that these are people called soldiers, a dangerous people, whose only occupation is war. When you see them, make war against them. Then, O my children, be brave! Then, O friends be strong! Be brave, that you may not be enslaved, and that your country may not become the possession of the strangers!

Nā, he whakamārama ake, ko Hone Heke Pokai hei irāmutu mā Hongi Hika, ka tahi, tuarua, ka moe anō a Heke i a Hāriata, tamāhine a Hongi, ka mutu, hei pāpā a Hongi mā Heke, ā, ko tā te titiro he kotahi tonu rāua.

Ko te pakanga i Te Ahuahu i tūākikotia nei a Heke, he riri mānahanaha, he riri Māori ake nei i a Heke me tana taua, ki ā Tāmāti Waka Nene me ā Te Taonui. Ka mutu, he whakaaraara te pakanga nei i ngā pakanga o roto iho i ngā tau o mua, o te wā tonu i a Hongi Hika, he takitaki ake i ngā mate me kī, o mua, tā Heke tonu mō Waka Nene, “...it is to obtain plenty of powder for themselves that they adhere to you, that thus they may obtain satisfaction for their dead” (Wilson, 1985, p. 263). Tautokohia ai tā Heke e Kawiti, “Waka’s fighting is not for your dead. No, it is for those who were killed long ago-on account of Hao, of Tuahui, Tihi and Poaka” (Wilson, 1985, p. 263). Ahakoa rā ēnei kōrero, ko ngā tikanga i whakatauhia e ngā taha e rua mō te kawē i te riri nei, kia kaua he pakipakihanga, kia riri awatea anō, “By mutual arrangement no ambuscades were laid, and the fighting was only in daylight” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 38). Ka pēnei anō rā tā te tikanga a te Māori mō te whawhai ki ngā hōia.

Nā, nō te whiriwhirihanga i a Ohaeawai hei pā pakanga ki te Pākehā, kihai te ngākau o Pene Tauī nōna ake nei te pā i āta rata atu, tāna rā hoki, “He aha tenei e toia nei i runga i a au?” (Kawiti, 1956, p. 41). Heoi, nā wai, ka rata atu, ka whakapakanga pākehāhia mai te pā, ā, ka oti. “When finished, the pa and its garrison whose numbers varied from day to day were made sacred by the priests, who on the authority of their omens declared it would be a fortunate fortress” (Buick, 1926, p. 154). Nā, kua tae ianei ēnei kōrero ki te tūwheratanga mai o te tāwaha o te riri ki Ōhaeawai mā roto i te tangi a te waiwaipū, tatangi ana, tatangi ana, noho kau ai te taua ki ngā pihareinga i ngā wā e kaha ana te haruru a te pūrepo, ā, whakahokia ana te waipu e Kawiti mā, reia hoki ana i ōna wā, “On the 30th a force sallied from the pa and attacked the British outlying piquets” (Wright, 2006, p. 53), taea noatia te tahi o Hūrae. Kia whāia tā Rev. R. Burrows rāua ko Archdeacon Williams mō tā rāua tatūnga ki te pā i taua ata (Burrows, 1886, p. 39),

Archdeacon Williams and I rode out early to the camp. As we drew near we noticed great confusion...Going into the camp we saw that Waka’s hill was being attacked from the rear. At early dawn, or perhaps before,²⁰ a part from the enemy had left their pas and had gone by a circuitous route through the bush to the back of Waka’s hill and fallen upon those who were there...The soldier who was posted as sentry over the gun was shot at his post, and the flag captured...Within half-an-hour after the disappearance of Waka’s flag from the hill it was seen hoisted under Heke’s fighting flag in the pa.

“There it was hoisted, upside down, and half mast high, below the Maori flag. This was the cause of the disaster which ensued” (Hobbs Chambers, 1844, p. 110). Ko te whakapae hoki, he hopu i a Wakanene tētahi take o te kōkiri nei, inā ka huakina tana puninga, engari kihai ia i reira (Wright, 2006). Nō konei, ka pakaru te hamuti o Despard, ka whakahau i tana taua kia takatū ki te whakaeke i te pā o Ōhaeawai, koinei pū pea hoki te whāinga, he kaha nō te hongehongeā o te pakanga nei, arā paoa kautia ana te pā o Ōhaeawai. Heoti, nōhea rawa ana hoa haumi Māori e whakaae, tā Waka Nene, “when asked what part he would take in the attack, positively refused to take any, saying it would be sending men to certain death”

²⁰ Ko Mokaraka i te pae o te taua nei.

(Burrows, 1886, p. 40). Tāna anō hoki ki te whakahau a Despard mō te whakaeke i te pā o Ōhaeawai nei, ‘He tangata kuare tenei tangata’ (Wright, 2006, p. 53). Ka hinga ngā taua Māori a Waka Nene ki tāna i kī ai. Noho whakatewaho ana ki te mātakitaki i te parekura nei. Kitea ana te takatūnga nei e te Māori, kua tūtū ngā rangatira ki te whakahau i ā rātou ake, tā Haupokeha “...the parent who maintains us is the land. Die for the land ! Die for the land!” (Maning, 1973, pp. 267-268). Nō te takiwā o te toru karaka o taua ahiahi, ka takatū te akunga, ka tangi te tetere, rere ana te whana, “Not a single Maori could we see. They were all safely hidden in their trenches and pits, poking the muzzles of their guns under the foot of the outer palisade...” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 65). Ka tioro anō te reo a tētahi rangatira, “Stand everyman firm...and you will see the soldiers walk into the ovens” (Buick, 2011, p. 170). Nō konā anō, ka tuku a Kawiti i ana pūrepo, rere ana ngā matā, ā, kia hokia tā Cowan, “From the time we got the order to charge until we got back to the hollow again it was only five to seven minutes...There was probably not more than a hundred natives in the *pa* when the assault was delivered...In that five minutes nearly forty men had been killed and seventy wounded, some mortally...all the dead were left where they fell” (Cowan, 1955b, pp. 67-68). Tāna anō,

Now out upon the heels of the rescuers who are heroically bearing of the wounded there charge the victorious Maoris, naked, powder-grimmed, yelling, shaking their guns and their long-handled tomahawks. A white-headed tattooed warrior, astonishingly agile in spite of his age, dashes along the palisade front; he is seeking the body of the sailor-chief “Topi.” He bends over Phillipott’s body;²¹ with his tomahawk he cuts of a portion of the scalp, and bursts into a pagan chant. It is the incantation of the *whangai-hau*, offering the first of the battle trophies to the supreme war-god of the Maori, Tu-of-the-Angry-Face...the warriors throw themselves into the movements of the *tutu-ngarahu*...

E tama te uaua e,
 E tama te uaua e,
 E tama te maroro,

²¹ Ko Topi tēnei.

Inahoki ra te tohu a te uaua na,
Kei taku ringa e mau ana,
Te upoko o te kawau ²²tataki
Hi-he-ha!

Whai iho ana te mata,

Ka whawhai, ka whawhai!
E he!
Ka whawhai, ka whawhai
E ha!
Ka whawhai ki roto ki te awa
Puare katoa ake nei.
E ka whawhai, ka whawhai!
Kihai koe i mau atu ki te kainga ki Oropi,
²³E te ainga mai a Wharewhare (Cowan, 1955b, pp. 68-69).

“The foilage of the battlefield” was, according to the native account, taken to the great tohunga, Te Atua Wera, that he might perform the usual ceremonies and cause the people to be fortunate in war” (Buick, 1926, p. 187). Nā Te Atua Wera tonu tēnei mata i hī ake. And so Nga-Puhi war-runners ran through all the north, saying: “One wing of England is broken and hangs dangling on the ground” (Buick, 2011, p. 172). Heoti, nō muri iho, tukuna ana a Williams ki te tono i ngā tūpāpaku hoia, kihai i whakaaetia...at sundown Williams was asked to go to the *pa* to recover the bodies of those killed, but Heke²⁴ ordered him to go back. The next day he tried again, but once more without success...” (Rogers, 1973, p. 213). Nō te ahiahi tonu o te huakitanga a ngā hoia i tatū ai a Heke me tōna taua, ā, nō te pō, rāngona ana

²² Tā Manning, Maning, F. E. (1973). *Old New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Golden Press. Ko tatakiha.

²³ Kei te ngaro pea tētahi wāhanga o te mata nei, inā rā, tā te whakapākehā, “...On Jesus Christ, And the Book, I will turn my back, And I will empty my bowels upon them” Binney, J. (1990a). Papahurihia, Penetana. In W. H. Oliver (Ed.), *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One. 1769—1869* (Vol. 1, pp. 329-331). Wellington, New Zealand: Allen & Unwin, Department of Internal Affairs.

²⁴ Tā Wright, Wright, M. (2006). *Two peoples, one land: The New Zealand wars*. Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books. Nā Kawiti kē te kōrero. Tā Buick, Buick, T. L. (1926). *New Zealand's first war, or, the rebellion of Hone Heke*. Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer. Kihai a Kawiti rāua ko Heke i te pā.

ngā haka me te ūmere a te tohunga e pokea ana e te wairua (Buick, 1926, p. 174). Ki tāna anō mō ngā whakaaraara a ngā tūtei, “Come on soldiers; come on, and have your revenge. Your dead are with us. *Whai mai, whai mai*”... Nō te ata, hokia ana te pā e Te Wiremu rāua ko Burrows me te haki mā ki te tono anō i ngā tūpāpaku, ka mea a Te Hara, “...that the bodies could only be removed on the condition that the colonel withdrew his whole force to the Waimate...” (Burrows, 1886, p. 41). Heoti, whakaaetia ana ngā tūpāpaku te mātai, mātai noa iho nei, kihai te hunga tapu i whakaaetia kia whāwhātia, hanga rua tekau mā whā katoa ngā tūpāpaku i te pā, nō tā rāua putanga i te pā, karanga ai a Pene Tauī mai i te pā kia hoki mai ā te ata, ka whakaaetia kia kohia ngā tūpāpaku (Burrows, 1886). Nō te ata anō nei ka tū te whakahau a Despard kia hiki ki Waimate, ka mahue kau ngā mate ki te kauhanga riri, kihai tēnei i whakaaetia e te katoa (Cowan, 1955b), ā, kihai hoki i hāpaia. Nō taua ahiahi, hakahaka ana a roto i te pā, me ērā anō o Wakanene mā, ā, mutu kau iho, ka rere te waipū a Wakanene mā i runga atu o te pā (Buick, 2011).

Ka mutu, nō te ata o te tuatoru o Hūrae²⁵ ka tare te haki mā i te pā o Ōhaeawai hei tohu i te āhei ki te kohi mai i ngā tūpāpaku, ka riro mā tētahi ope o Ōhaeawai e wahā mai ngā tūpāpaku ki te waenganuitanga o te pā me te puninga o ngā hōia, ki reira waiho ai hei tiki mai mā ngā hoia, ā, ka tanu ngātahitia ngā hoia ki te ngahere tonu. Toru tekau mā rua ngā tūpāpaku i tanu ki tētahi rua, tokowaru ki tētahi (Cowan, 1955b). Nā Te Wiremu te karakia tanu i whakahaere. Ko tō Captain Grant tūpāpaku anake kihai i tukuna (Buick, 2011). Tā Manning mō Grant,

the body of one soldier was burned that night, for as the people were mending the fence by torchlight there was a dead soldier lying near, and they put a torch of *kauri* resin on the body to light their work, which burnt the body very much, and caused the report to be spread afterwards, when the body was found by the soldiers, that the man had been tortured; (Maning, 1973, p. 272).

Nō te hikitanga a ngā taua i te 11 o Hurae, ka kuhuna te pā o Ōhaeawai e te hoia, ā, ka kitea ake te tūpāpaku o Grant, he mea tanu tonu i te pā,

²⁵ Tā Gibson, nō te tuawaru kē Gibson, T. (1974). *The Maori wars: The British army in New Zealand, 1840-1872*. Wellington, New Zealand: Reed.

W. H. Free, who saw it unearthed, stated that portions of the posterior parts, and also the calves of the legs had been cut off by the Ngapuhi; presumably the flesh was eaten as a battlefield rite, with the double object of absorbing something of the dead officer's virtue of bravery, and of weakening-as the pagan Maori believed-the arms and *mana* of the white troops. Ceremonial cannibalism, of which this Ohaeawai incident was the solitary instance in Heke's war... (Cowan, 1955b, p. 71).²⁶

Kāti, nō te pō o te 10 o ngā rā o Hūrae, ka whakarērena a Ōhaeawai, he mea tīmata anō hoki te tangi a te waiwaipū, ā, e kitea ana e tanuku haere ana ētahi wāhi o te kiri tangata. Nō te kuhunga a ngā hoia ki roto ka tūponohia atu ngā tūpāpaku e rua, he whanaunga tahi nō Wakanene mā, mahue hoki ana tētahi kuia, he turi, kihai i rongo ake ki ngā whakahau, ki te whatinga rānei o ngā taua o te pā, whakarauhia ana e Wakanene, nāna i tuku ki a Despard, ā, taro kau ake ka tukuna, tahuna ana te pā nei e rātou (Burrows, 1886). Ka mutu, he awahi, he pakipaki te āhua o te pakanga nei, otirā, he riri awatea, he parekura! Ko te pakanga muri iho otirā mutunga mai ko Ruapekapeka o roto mai o Te Taitokerau, he awahi anō hoki te hari a te hōia, ahakoa anō kihai i taea te pā te karapoti. Tā te Kawana hou a Kawana Kerei i whakamātau ki te whakahohou i te rongo ki tā Whitiroi i mea ai,

He gave the insurgent leaders a final opportunity for acceptance...terms of peace, which stipulated that the Treaty of Waitangi should be binding, that the British flag should be respected, that plunder taken from the Europeans should be restored, and that certain lands should be given up to the Crown. Old Kawiti had already replied to Fitzroy...You shall not have my land-no, never... (Cowan, 1955b, p. 73).

Tā Heke, "Let the Governor and his soldiers return to England to the land that God has given them...and leave New Zealand to us, to whom God has given it. No; we will not give up our lands. If the white man wants our country he will have to fight

²⁶ ...was revived as a sequel to battle in the Hauhau wars of 1865-69; Titokowaru countenanced it in his Taranaki campaign as a means of fortifying the resolution of his followers and of terrifying his white enemies. Cowan, J. (1955b). *The New Zealand Wars: A history of the Maori campaigns and the pioneering period* (Vol. 1). Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer.

for it, for we will die upon our lands” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 72). Ka mutu, nō roto i te Tihema ka huataki ai tērā riri ki Ruapekapeka, ko Kawiti anō i tōna pae, me kī ake, “Mawhe [a Puketutu] was Heke’s fight, Ohaeawai, Pene Tauī’s, and Ruapekapeka, Kawiti’s” (Hobbs Chambers, 1844, p. 109). Kei a ia ake anō āna kōrero ake, heoti, i tōna mutunga iho “The reason assigned for Kawiti’s willingness for peace was, that one of his men who was slain in the engagement had been eaten by rats; a sign that if they fought again, they would all be killed...” (Hobbs Chambers, 1844, p. 126). Ā, nō te rua tekau mā ono o Hānuere 1846, ka houhia te rongo, ka whakapāhangia ngā taua a Heke rāua ko Kawiti, ā, kihai anō tētahi paku inati whenua i riro (Hobbs Chambers, 1844).

4.3 Ngā Tikanga

Nā, kia whakarāpopoto iho, ā, kia whakaarahia ake ko ngā wāhi ki te tikanga, ki te āhua anō hoki o tōna panonitanga, ki te wāhi ki te whakapono, ki ngā whakaaro me ngā mahinga, ā, otirā, ki te take ake o te pakanga nei. Tuatahi ake, ko te mea whēiro nei te kitea atu, ko te mau tonu a te Māori ki ana tikanga ake ki te āhua ki te pakanga. He rite tonu te kitea atu puta noa ngā kōrero nei, ahakoa tonu, tērā e kitea ētahi panonitanga, ētahi āhuatanga i kō kē noa atu i te panoni noa iho, engari, ko hou kē. Heoti, ko tētahi wāhi nui ki te mahinga, ā, ka mutu, ko tōna pānga anō ki te tikanga, ko te hanganga o te pā nei a Ōhaeawai. Ko te wāhi anō ki te tohunga nei ki a Te Atua Wera. Ko ngā tikanga whakahaere i te āhua ki te pakanga nei, ahakoa e piri ana rā tēnei ki te wāhi ki te whakapono. Ko te take, he tūturu Māori tonu. Tērā anō te noho a Wakanene mā, arā ētahi o ngā tino rangatira o Te Taitokerau hei hoa haumi mā te Kuini, oīa, mā te Karauna, ā, mā te hoia Pākehā. Kāti, kia wāhia iho ēnei hei kōrerotanga ake.

Tuatahi, ko te take, ko te wehi a Heke me ōna hoa haumi ka riro te whenua i a tauīwi. Koia, ki tōna titiro te tohu o te pouhaki i iri rā ngā kara a te Kuini o Ingārangi, ā, tuarua, kawa ana ia ki te raweke mai a te Kāwana i ngā take Māori, tā Belich (2007, p. 34), “...Heke’s main dispute was the government interference in Maori authority. This point was underlined by his target- the symbol of British sovereignty, fluttering from the flagstaff on Maiki hill above Kororareka, which Heke had given to the British”. Kihai hoki ia i āta hiahia ki te whawhai ki a wai ake, nō te kuhunga mai a Tāmati Wakanene, ka tukua e ia tana wahine, tamāhine a Hongi

Hika a Hāriata Rongo ki a Wakanene kia Rongo ā whare, kihai rā i manaakitia (Burrows, 1886). Nō konei, kua kore kē hoki he putanga, ka kuhu i a ia ki te pakanga. Ka mutu, koia ēnei ko ngā take i ara ai ngā pakanga nei.

Tuarua, Ko te wāhi ki te whakapono, ko te ingoa nui puta katoa ēnei kōrero ko Te Atua Wera²⁷ me tōna atua a Te Nākahi. Ko Papahurihia anō tētahi o ōna ingoa, he tohunga hau te rongō huri Ngā Puhī katoa. “The Prophet was to become the foremost religious tohunga of the northern area, acting as adviser to chief Hone Heke in his battles” (Elsmore, 1985, p. 96). Ko ngā wāhi o roto o ēnei kōrero i kitea ake, ko te ū tonu ōna ki ētahi tikanga a te tohunga pakanga, ko te hāpai anō i ētahi rā o ngā tikanga pakanga pēnei me te whāngai hau nei. Ko tāna anō hoki ki ērā e piri ana ki te mihinare kia hāpaia tonutia ēnā karakia me ēnā tikanga i roto i te pakanga, arā, kia kua e whāwhāhia ngā aha a te hunga i horo i te riri, kia kua hoki e kaitangata, kia ū ki ngā tikanga pakanga, ā, kia ū anō ki te karakia. Tā Elsmore (1999, p. 17),

The traditional religious concepts of the Maori were not static and the addition of new rituals and beliefs to the Maori views was quite natural...so it was not so much a matter of the Maori being converted to Christianity, as their choosing to add to their own beliefs those aspects of the other religion which suited them.

Hei āpiti iho ki ēnei kōrero ko te āhua ki te panonitanga i ngā tau tonu i hua ai ēnei pakanga, kia whāia tonutia tā Elsmore (1999, p. 7),

The period between 1830 and 1850 must be the time of greatest change that the Maori of New Zealand have ever gone through. Many encountered Europeans for the first time, and all were subjected to great change regarding culture, spiritual beliefs, health and well-being. In the area of religion it was a time of adjustment during which the people attempted to reconcile their traditional beliefs with those of the missionaries... .

²⁷ Arā noa atu ngā kōrero mō Te Atua Wera i ā Elsmore, Elsmore, B. (1985). *Like them that dream*. Tauranga, New Zealand: The Tauranga Moana Press. Elsmore, B. (1999). *Mana from heaven*. Auckland, New Zealand: Read Books.

Ko tā Te Atua Wera, ahakoa rā tāna whakahau i te hunga kua karaitianahia kia karakia tonuhia ā rātou nā karakia, e kitea ana i tana mata tana kawa ki te Karaitianatanga ahakoa rā, nāna tonu i tiki atu ko ngā wāhanga i rata ki a ia, ā, ka whakarērea ko ērā kihai i pai ki a ia. Ko te Nākahi nō roto iho i a Genesis 3:1, ā, tērā anō hoki te wāhanga o roto i ngā karaipiture, “And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness...”²⁸ (Elsmore, 1985, p. 97), ko tana rā tapu hoki ko te rāhoroi, ā, ka whakaritea atu te Māori e ia ki te Hurae (Binney, 1990a). Riro iho ana māna ngā whakahaere ōkawa, ōtohunga nei i ngā pakanga a Heke rāua rā ko Kawiti ki te Māori otirā, ki te Pākehā. Ahakoa anō tēnei, ko Heke ake, i aru i te karaitianatanga, i te tūturu Ngā Puhitanga, me tērā anō o Te Atua Wera, he pēnei tonu anō te nuinga inā rā, nō te Rātapu te rua tekau mā iwa o Hune, “The enemy did not fire a shot at us to-day, but we heard their bell ringing. These savages showed more respect for the Sabbath Day than did our soldiery” (Buick, 1926, pp. 159-160).

Ko te wāhi ki a Wakanene i hora rā ētahi whakapae mōna, mō Tāwhai mā nei arā, he ngaki rā i ngā mate o mua, o te wā rā i a Hongi. Kia whaia atu rā te whakapākehā o tāna tonu i kī ai,

‘I am determined to put a stop to the doings of that “hikaka” fellow...and you know that in the step I am taking I am only fulfilling my promise to the Governor...That man has turned a deaf ear to your warnings as missionaries, and to ours as chiefs of Ngapuhi. Who is John Heke that he should despise our councils, who are older men than he is? Does he pride himself on being the son-in-law of the late Hongi? We are also related to Hongi, and have in time passed fought his battles for him. He was a friend of the pakeha...moreover, I have pledged myself to uphold the law established among us, and I mean to do it.’ (Burrows, 1886, pp. 14-15).

Ehara noa hoki i ngā rangatira anake kua whakahuatia ake i ēnei tuhinga, engari, “the range of those who allied themselves with Nene or the Government side near

²⁸ “...Even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: That who soever believeth in him should not perish but have eternal life” (John 3: 14-15 in Elsmore, B. (1985). *Like them that dream*. Tauranga, New Zealand: The Tauranga Moana Press.

Waimate, or who at the very least criticised Heke, included other prominent rangatira from Hokianga and the Waimate area such [as] Te Taonui, Arama Karaka Pi, Wiremu Hau, Wi Repa, and Mohi Tawhai. To the east, Tamati Pukututu...” (Crosby, 2015, p. 38). Kāti, mō te wāhi ki te panoni, i ngā wā o mua, o te wā e Matawhāura ana te Māori ki te Māori i roto iho i te rau tau nei, ko te Pākehā kē hoki e whakapiri atu ana ki te Māori, ā, nō konei, kua hurirapa, kua haumi kē rā te Māori i te Pākehā, ā, ko te tīmatanga noa iho tēnei o te āhuatanga nei.

Nā, ko te āhua ki te whakapakari i te pā tūwatawata o Ōhaeawai mō ngā pūrepo, ngā pū tākirirangi, otiā mō te huaki mai a te hōia Pākehā. Tuatahi ake, he tuhinga āpiti kei tā Carleton (1874, p. 84) e mea ana, “Tapara, a native of the east Indies-taking a Maori wife. It was he who drew the lines of the fortified pass, the scientific tracing of which caused so much surprise”, āe rānei he tika, he pēhea kē rānei, heoi, kāore noa iho ki tā ngā pukapuka pakanga he paku whakahua i tēnei whakapae, ka waiho kau noa i tēnei te whakahua. Engari, nā Kawiti i whānau ko te anti-artillery-bunker, kia whāia atu,

The crucial point is that the main causes of the Ohaeawai disaster, including the factors which deceived Despard about the effect of his bombardment and the chances of successful assault, were measures taken by the Maoris. Among these application of methods used during the Musket Wars, such as good fire discipline. The improvement of traditional features of *pa* construction-modifications rather than radical changes-were equally important. But the Maori performance at Ohaeawai also included sufficient innovations in the construction of the *pa* to make it a new kind of fortification. In terms of construction, Ohaeawai was the model for all future Maori defensive systems-the prototype of we will call the modern *pa* (Belich, 1986, pp. 48-49).

“Ōhaeawai was therefore ‘an important place in world military history’ ...it was the place where trench warfare was invented” (Keenan, 2009, p. 150). Ā, “the 100 Ngapuhi warriors at Ohaeawai had demonstrated their capacity to resist a Imperial power by defeating the best soldiers in the world, and they knew it” (Belich, 1986, p. 54). Kei te huhua kē noa atu ngā kōrero mō te pā ake nei, mō ngā tangotango hou

i tāpiringia atu e Kawiti, ko tētahi anō rā ko te pekerangi, arā kē, ko te harakeke ka whakairi ai ki te pekerangi, hei huna i te āhua o te pekerangi, otirā, i te pēhea o ngā tūwatawata, hei hopu anō i te matā, i te pūrepo, hei whakataihoa hoki i te hoariri, “...substituting for barbed wire” (Belich, 2007, p. 210). Heoti, hei whakakapi ake i te wāhanga ki te pā ake,

Some characteristics of modern pa were apparent in Musket War pa; some were apparent in European sieges and field fortifications; but few, if any, cases were all these characteristics present before 1845, and nowhere did they form so intergrated a system...Someone had to invent modern trench warfare, why not Kawiti? (Belich, 2007, p. 211).

Nā reira, koia tēnei ētahi rā o ngā panonitanga i pā rā ki te tikanga. Ko ētahi rā he rahi kē noa atu i te panoni kau, engari kē he hou, ao hou rawa nei. Ahakoa te roa o ngā iwi o te raki e noho ana me te Pākehā, nō te taenga mai o ngā hoia i ētahi tōpito o te ao me te mau mai i ngā tikanga hou, mahinga hou, hangarau hou, kihai ngā kaiwhakapātari i a rātou i tuohu, i wehi rānei, i tahuri kē rānei i tā rātou i whakapono ai, kihai anō tētahi paku eka whenua i riro, ka mau rā a Heke, a Kawiti me te huhua ake kihai i ingoatia, ngā rangatira, ngā toa ki tō rātou mana motuhake, ā, e whawhai nei anō. Tērā anō ētahi wāhi kihai i āta rukuhia e te tuhinga nei, koia tērā ko te tūhura i ngā tukitukinga tikanga o roto i te takiwā whānui ki te pakanga, ko te pakanga anō ki Ruapekapeka, ā, heoi.

Nō te tau 1872, ka tukuna e te rangatira o te rohe ki Ohaeawai arā a Heta Te Haara tana tonu kia hahua mai ngā tūpāpaku hoia kia tanu ki te urupā o te whare karakia i hangaia ki runga tonu i te pā tūwatawata o Ōhaeawai, ka mutu, nō te tahi o Hūrae, 1872, ka pēneihia (Buick, 2011). Ā, nō muri i te matenga o Hone Heke Pōkai rāua ko Te Ruki Kawiti ka whakatūhia te pouhaki hou, he mea whakatū tonu e te tamaiti a Kawiti ka tapaina ko Te Whakakotahitanga (Moon, 2001).

Hei konei, whakarere ai i ngā iwi o te raki inā kua tau te puehu, kua tahu maene. Ka whakarere hoki i ngā tau o te whā tekau nei, ka hiki ai ki roto i te mana o Ngāti Awa, o Āti Awa arā, o Te Āti Awa, ki te takiwā ki Waitara ki raro i te maunga hauhunga, ka torohē ai i tētahi o ngā pakanga nui i reira i tū rā i te tau 1860 ki ngā

pā tūwatwata nei ki Puketakauere rāua ko Ōnukukaitara. Ko te take hoki, ko te whenua, ā, haere ake ki roto i ngā pakanga o roto Taranaki ko te whenua anō ia te take, puta noa atu ki roto ki ngā whakapātaritaritanga o ngā ono tekau, tatū atu ki ngā waru tekau ki a Te Whiti o Rongomai rāua ko Tohu Kākahi ki roto o Parihaka, ā, taea noatia mai tēnei wā e taututututetia ana te whenua.

4.3 Puketakauere me Ōnukukaitara

I tū rā te pakanga i Puketakauere me Ōnukukaitara i roto i te niho o takurua o te tau 1860 i te whakarēwai, i te māku taritari. Whati mai ana te hōia, arā, ngā hoia o te emepaea, ngā hōia anō ēnei o Ingārangi i te 27 o Pipiri i Pukeariki, arā, i Nū Pāremata ki te tūraki i ngā pā māhanga nei o Puketakauere me Ōnukukaitara. Ko tōna ito, ko Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitaake me Hapurona otiā, a Te Ātiawa me tētahi ngohi anō o Ngāti Maniapoto, he mea whakaae iho e te Kīngi e Pōtatau hei tiro i te take a Te Rangitaake. Tapaina ai te pakanga ko Te Wai Kōtero. Kua whakahuatia kētia i ngā upoko o mua iho i tēnei, ka rua rawa ngā tino take e whawhai ai te Māori, arā, ko te whenua, ko te wahine. Kei te whakapaea koinei anō te pūtake, te huatakitanga me kī, o te wāhiruatanga o Te Āti Awa ki tēnei take ake, kia kōrerotia ake,

As was often the case in native disputes, a quarell over a woman was one of the roots of dessionion. The following is a statement by a Kingite survivor of the wars:²⁹ Our troubles which led to war began when our people lived in their pa called Karaponia...on the left (west) side of the Waitara River, at the mouth. A woman, Hariata, was the cause. She was the wife of Ihaia te Kirikumara, and because of her unfaithfulness Ihaia had her seducer, Rimene killed. The mans body was burried in the *pa*. Because of the wrong done to him Ihaia sought for further revenge and sought compensation in land. The tribe would not agree to this, inasmuch as the offence had already been paid for sufficiently by the death of the man Rimene. Ihaia, however, would not listen to this agreement, and he joined with Teira, and sold some of the land of Te Rangitaake to the Government in order to obtain

²⁹ Ko ngā take whenua i roto o Taranaki e hoki noa atu ana ki roto i ngā whā tekau, ki roto anō hoki i ngā rima tekau, e tiro te Taranaki Report, Waitangi Tribunal. Tērā hoki tā Sinclair, Sinclair, K. (2013). *Origins of the Maori wars*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

compensation for the adultery of his wife. Hence this *haka* song of the Atiawa:-

“The Land was siezed upon because of the woman, At Karaponia it all began.

E Mau na wa!” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 157).

Heoi, ko ngā take ki te whenua nō mua kē noa atu, ināhoki ka mahara ki ngā kōrero mō te heke a Te Ātiawa ki te tonga me Te Rauparaha, me ngā heke anō o muri iho. Ki ērā anō hoki i whakaraua i ngā whakaeke a Waikato, Maniapoto. Tā Sinclair (2013, p. 125) anō, “In 1854 a Maori civil war³⁰ began over this question of land purchase, and continued intermittently until 1859. Then, when it was dying out, the Government intervened and this Maori quarel was merged in the Maori wars”.

Tā Belich (1986, p. 77), ko tētahi take anō i toko ake ai ēnei pakanga, “...the widespread desire for the imposition of British administration, law, and civilization on the Maoris was so important that it should rank with land-hunger as a cause of the war”.

Heoti, nō te Maehe, i te tau 1859, ka tū te hui nā te Kawana tonu i karanga ki roto o Taranaki ki te tonga ki ngā rangatira o Te Ātiawa,

Gore Browne [te Kawana] had emphasised that older chiefs would no longer be allowed to stand in the way of any individual Māori wishing to sell land. Te Teira immediately stood and offered to sell the block of land to the south of the Waitara River mouth on which both he and Wiremu Kingi’s people were living. After an initial rejection by Paora to Te Teira’s right to sell the land had been rebuffed by Te Teira, Mclean and the Governor conferred, then openly accepted Te Teira’s offer. Wiremu Kingi then leapt to his feet in fury at the proposed sale of the land he and his people were occupying, and had been occupying for over eleven years. He declared that he held

³⁰ Kīa ai tēnei riri tara whare ko te ‘Puketapu conflict’ Malley, V. (2016). *The great war for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*. Wellington, New Zealand Bridget Williams Books..

Waitara, and stormed away from the hui with his people (Crosby, 2015, p. 169).

Kia haere tonu i tā Crosby (2015) nō konā ka tonoa a Robert Parris³¹ ki te hari i te take nei ki te motutere o Arapawa ki te whakatakoto i te take hoko ki a Te Ātiawa i reira nei e noho ana. Tautokona ana e rātou. Ka mutu, nō te tīmatanga o te tau 1860, ka tau te take whenua nei ki tā te Kāwana, otiā te karauna titiro, ahakoa ngā whakahē a Kīngi (Cowan, 1955b).

Koia tērā te take a Ihaia, kei te kitea nāna i piri atu ki a Te Teira, ko te take rā a Te Teira, kia arua atu tā Holt (1962, p. 139) whakapae³²,

For Te Teira had a grudge against Kingi. A girl who had been betrothed in childhood to one of Teira's nephews had decided, on reaching years of discretion, that she did not wish to marry him, and she had gone to Kingi to be given protection against her suitor. Kingi had readily taken her in, and when Teira demanded compensation...Kingi made an offer which was contemptuously rejected.

Nō konā rawa i tupu ai te whakaaro, e ai anō rā ki a Holt (1962) kia hokona te whenua e nōhia ana e Te Rangitaake me tōna hapū. Nā, nō te tau o muri, e tohe tonutia ana te hoko o aua whenua³³.

Tukuna ana ngā kairūri ki Waitara, aukatingia ana rātou, tā Te Ātiawa,

declared that the step they had taken was in no hostility to the Queen of England, but was in defence of their own lands, which they maintain we were forcing unjustly from them in an unprecedented manner, in defiance of existing treaties (Carey, 2007, p. 14).

³¹ One of the Land Purchase Commissioners.

³² Tērā kē anō tētahi kōrero.

³³ Tā Dalton nō te tau 1840 i tīmata ai ēnei take whenua ki roto o Taranaki.

Ko te āhua hoki o te aukatitanga i ngā kairūri ki tā anō Holt (1962, p. 143),

When the two surveyors...went to the Waitara with a party of chainmen on February 20, they found their attempt to survey the land obstructed, not by armed warriors, but by Maori old woman who hugged the surveyor with the theodolite, took away the chain and generally made the work impossible.

Nō konei, ka mea a Lieut-Colonel Murray te rua tekau mā whā hāora mā Te Rangitaake, māna hei whakapāha mōna i aukati te rūritanga, heoti, auare ake (Cowan, 1955b). Heoi tā Te Rangitaake, “that he did not desire war, that he loved the white people very much, but that he intended to hold the land” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 159)

Tā (Maxwell, 2005, p. 24),

“Te Teira has accepted our offer,” the government agents declared. “Te Teira is not in a position to accept your offer,” Kingi replied. “Let the surveyors begin their work,” the agents demanded. “No” said Kingi.”...He reminded the colonel, Gore Browne himself had said he would not accept offers of land where the ownership was disputed.

Nō konā, nō te 25 o Hānuere, ka whakatūria te ‘Martial Law’, whakaopeti atu ana a tauwi kei te koraha e noho ana ki runga o ³⁴Pukeariki noho ai. E pēnei anō ana a Kīngi, e hūnukuhia ana ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki i Waitara ki ngā wāhi e haumaruhia ai rātou³⁵ (Sinclair, 2013).

Nō konei, nō te rima o Maehe, hiki ana te hoia ki kō paku atu o te puaha o Waitara ka whakatū i tōna pā Pākehā. Ka whakatū ai i tona puninga i tapaina ko Camp Waitara ki runga i te pā tawhito o Pukekohe (Pugsley, 1995b). Kihai a Kīngi i aha, “if there was to be bloodshed let its commencement be on their hands” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 171). Tukuna kētia atu te pā e hangahia ana e Te Rangitaake kia tahuna ki te ahi . Ka hīmataria anōtia te rūri, “...within two days Kingi had pulled up the surveyors pegs and hastily built another new *pa* on the disputed land” (Holt, 1962,

³⁴ New Plymouth

³⁵ In, DMA, New Plymouth Letter Book, Parris to McLean, 22 February 1860.

p. 144), ko Te Kohia te ingoa. A Te Kohia nei kihai i āta tawhiti atu i te pā Pākehā e hangahia ana e ngā hoia, e kitea ana e rātou te hanganga mai.

Although constructed quickly in only a matter of days, the little pa-110 feet in length and 33 feet wide, approximately the size of a tennis court was strongly entrenched and double pallisaded...garrisoned it with perhaps seventy or eighty exceedingly brave Te Atiawa men-raised a fighting flag above the walls, and outnumbered six to one-awaited the British onslaught (Maxwell, 2005, p. 171).

Tā Belich (1986), he mea hanga tonu i te pō kotahi. He whero te haki nei, ko tōna ingoa ko Waitaha³⁶, ki tā Cowan (1955b). Nō te pō ka taiparatia e ngā hōia, ā, ka whakarērena te pā, tērā tētahi tokorua hoia i kaiākikotia me tētahi anō i mate, ā, nō muri paku iho ka mate. Ko te take hoki he taiapu nō tētahi ngohi hoia ki te tikaro i te haki, nō te tātatanga ki te pekerangi o te pā ka taiparatia atu e Te Atiawa. “A native, who was in the pa during the attack, states that, of the seventy defenders, some few were wounded, but none killed; and that King and his people had retired farther up the Waitara river to Hapurona’s stronghold” (Grayling, 1862, p. 21).

Nō roto o te wiki o muri, e huaki ana ngā tiora a Te Atiawa ki te tahu i ngā whare o ngā pāmu i te koraha, tokoono i tārukehia ki te toki (Maxwell, 2005). Nō konei, ko ngā ngohi hoia kei te toro i Pukeariki ki te tonga, ka roko kitea atu he taua,

“One sortie returned with the news that almost 500 warriors of the combined Taranaki, Ruanui, and Rauru tribes – Wiremu Kingi’s southern allies – had assembled in a pa a little more than two miles further south – just six miles from New Plymouth” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 27).

Ko Kaipopo te ingoa o te pā i kitea. “The British move upon Waitara was quickly followed by the decision of Taranaki, Ngati Ruanui, and Nga-Rauru, the three principal tribes of the coast...from Ngamotu to the Waitotara, to come to Wiremu Kingi’s aid” (Cowan, 1955b).

³⁶ Pers.com. Rawiri Doorbar. He pitonga whenua kei te takiwā o te tauranga waka rererangi o Pukeariki, ko te pā o Puketapu.

Haere tonu ana tā (Cowan, 1955b, p. 171),

The natives who composed the fighting force...were chiefly Taranaki, composed of Ngamahanga, Patukai, Ngati-Haumia, Ngarangi and other *hapus*, under Kingi Parengarenga...Hori Kingi, the celebrated Wiremu Kingi te Matakaatea...and Arama Karaka. A war-party of Ngati-Ruanui, chiefly the Ngaruahine *hapu* of the Waimate plains, arrived just in time for the battle; their principal *rangatira* was Te Hanataua.

Tā te whaitaua nei he pāhua i ngā whare o ngā kaipāmu, ā, he tāruke anō (Belich, 1986). Nā ngā tārukenga nei i tukuna ai te ngohi hōia, inā rā, tērā anō ētahi whānau Pākehā kei aua takiwā me Rev. H. H. Brown,

The chiefs, however had made proclamation that Mr. Brown would be protected, and a notice in Maori was posted at Omata declaring that the road to his place and to his neighbours must not be trodden by war-parties. The minister was *tapu* because of his sacred office; as for the others enumerated, one settler was Portuguese and one French; the war was only with the British (Cowan, 1955b, p. 172).

Ka hua ko te whakapāpātanga e kīa nei ko Waireka, he whaitua a Waireka, te ingoa anō o te manga me te paemaunga. Kua whakahua anō te pā, ko Kaipopo, e toru rā ngā haki i tare, tā Cowan (1955b, p. 179) “One was a flag with the patriotic emblems of mount Egmont rising above the blue, the Sugarloaf Island (Ngamotu) and a bleeding heart”. Ko ngā kōrero mō te pakanga nei, he rerekē rawa tērā a te Māori ki ērā a te hōia, otīa, a ngā kainoho o roto mai o te rohe i tū rā hei hoia i te tūnga o te ‘martial law’, ko tā te Pākehā, e hia ake nei kōrero tūpāpaku e kāwhakina atu ana, heoi, he whakarāpopoto ake ki tā Atkinson,

“Parris...tells me that the two Ngapuhi boys lately sent home had a long conversation with him about the war. According to them *no men killed in the pa* at Waireka...Old Paora Kukutai was shot...running away from the *Pa*. (Belich, 1986, p. 87).

“The Waikato Maoris told a local missionary that the British victory claims for Waireka were ‘all fudge’...” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 88) ā, whakaae iho a Cowan. Heoi, tērā rā ētahi i hinga i ngā whakapāpāhanga i waho ake i te pā, he rangatira anō hoki i mate, ko Hanataua anō tētahi.

Nō te rua tekau o Aperira, ka tū te rangaaatea, he mōhio nō te Kāwana kei te aro mai te motu katoa ki ngā tutū puehu o roto mai o Taranaki. He wehi anō nōna ka whaitaua mai te Kīngitanga, ā, ka tū i a ia te hui ki Kohimarama (Crosby, 2015, p. 171) “...and it also enabled him to call a major rūnanga of supportive, or at least neutral, rangatira”. Ka tapā tēnei rūnanga ko Kohimarama. Heoi, nō mua iho i te tīmatanga o tēnei rūnanga ka pekehāwanihia te rangaaatea. Ināhoki nō te tūnga mai, tahuri ana a Te Rangitaake ki te kimi hoa haumi ki roto i te Kīngitanga, ā, tukuna ana tōna whakataka ki a Pōtatau. “Envoys of three Taranaki iwi engaged in the fighting declared their allegiance to Potatau, who decided to send his own envoys to Taranaki to enquire and report” (Crosby, 2015, p. 172). Ko te hanga nei ka tukuna te haki o te Kīngitanga ki te hunga nei. Ko tā Te Huia Raureti o Ngāti Maniapoto mō te take i kuhu ai a Ngāti Maniapoto ki roto ki ēnei take,

He said that when the news of the quarrel over the Waitara reached the upper Waikato the *runanga*...of Ngati-Maniapoto discussed the question of assisting Wiremu Kingi. This *runanga* consisted of Rewi Maniapoto (the *tumuaki*...), his cousins Te Winitana Tupotahi and Raureti Te Huia Paiaka, Epiha Tokohihi, Hopa Te Ranganini, Pahata Te Kiore, Matene Te Reoreo (the clerk), and several other chiefs. Kihikihi village was at that time the head-quarters of Ngati-Maniapoto, and the *runanga* meet in a large house which bore the famous old Hawaikian name “Hui-te-rangiora.”...The conclave of chiefs did not act hastily. Two delegates, Raureti Te Huia Paiaka...and Pahata Te Kiore, were despatched to Taranaki by the *runanga* to investigate the dispute and its causes (Cowan, 1955b, p. 184).

Ko te whakatau ake i te whakaoko atu ki te take, he tika tā Te Rangitaake, ā, tā Te Huia, “My father and Pahata...came to a decision adverse to Ihaia te Kirikumara, the Government adherent, because he had taken sufficient *utu* for his personal

wrongs...by killing the offender, and there was no just cause...for parting with tribal lands in order further to involve Wiremu Kingi's people (Cowan, 1955b, p. 184).

Ehara tēnei i te tuatahitanga o te kuhu mai a Waikato, otirā a Maniapoto ki roto i ngā take whenua a Te Ātiawa, ā, whakawhirinaki atu ana ngā Pākehā o Taranaki ki a rātou hei pā whakaruruhau mō rātou i ngā riri ā whare a Te Ātiawa (Malley, 2016, p. 106). Nō te tatūtanga o te whakatau nei ka whakahokia atu ki a Rewi, arā, ki te rūnanga o Ngāti Maniapoto, ka heria te take nei ki Ngāruawāhia ki a Kīngi Potatau (Malley, 2016). Ko tā te Kīngi i whakataukitia ai, *'Ngati-Maniapoto, haere hei kai ma nga manu o te rangi. Ko koe e Waikato, ko Pekehawani taku rohe, kua e takahia...* (Cowan, 1955b, p. 185). Kei te kitea i tēnei tū kōrero kāore te Kīngi i āta manako kia kuhu te Kīngitanga. Heoi, mau iho ana a Waikato rāua ko Ngāti Haua, ko Maniapoto ka whakaariki, ka whano ki roto o Waitara.

Kua tae ianei ēnei kōrero ki te hanganga mai o Puketakauere rāua ko Ōnukukaitara, e tātata ana ki te pā hōia i Waitara, i mua tonu i ō rātou aroaro. He pā tawhito tahi ēnei, nō te otinga, ka whakatarehia te haki, ka tukua te makamaka whana (Pugsley, 1995a). Nō te rua tekau mā toru o Hūne tukuna ana ā rātou toro, ka taiparatia atu, ko te pekehāwanitanga o te rangaaatea. Nō te rua tekau mā whitu, ka huaki ngā hoia i ngā pā nei, Belich (1986, p. 92),

The ensuring engagement, the Battle of Puketakauere, was the most important action of the Taranaki War, with profound strategic and political effects on its course. Despite the relatively small scale of the forces involved it was one of the three most clear-cut and disastrous defeats suffered by Imperial troops in New Zealand.

I wāhi kē a Te Rangitaake e ai anō ki a Belich (1986) ā, ko Hapurona tōna kaingārahu, ko Puketakauere i tū rā i tōna anō rohe ake (Maxwell, 2005). Ko waho atu me ngā taha o ngā pā nei he repo, he whenua tāpokopoko, he awaawa,

The tribes which confronted Nelson and his 40th, besides Te Atiawa and Taranaki, were Ngati-Maniapoto and Ngati-Raukawa, Nga-Rauru (Patea and Waitotara), and Whanganui. Waikato as a tribe did not come, but some

of their eager young men (such as Mahutu te Toko, a near relative of the Maori King) had joined Ngati Maniapoto” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 184).

Nō te whitu karaka i te ata ka tangi rā te waiwaipū, ngā pūrepo ki Ōnukukaitara,

The Maoris, however, did not wait to be attacked in their forts, but came out into the fern and manned their outlying trenches...Some survivors declared the fire encountered was hotter than anything in the great Indian battles or in the attack on the Redan in the Crimea (Cowan, 1955b, p. 187).

Huaki ana ngā hōia, “In effect, the British were ambushed during their advance on what they assumed to be the key to the Onukukaitara defences...” (Belich, 1986, p. 94). Ka mutu, he whana kokoti tā te Māori, ā, ngaua ana ngā hōia, parewherotia ana,

“We killed them in the swamp” says a Maori who fought there. “We used chiefly the tomahawk. Such was the slaughter of the soldiers in that swamp that it came to be called by us Te Wai-Kotero...this was because of the many corpses which lay there after the battle.”...The British casualties were thirty killed and thirty-four wounded...The Maori casualties were relatively much lighter. Among the killed were two chiefs of Ngati-Maniapoto, Pahata te Kiore...and Wereta. One of the leaders of this tribe’s war party was Epiha Tokohihi... (Cowan, 1955b, p. 188).

Nō te whakareretanga o ngā hōia ka mahue ērā i hinga me ērā anō i kaiākikotia ki runga i te tahua riringa,

The British left 32 men in the creekbed, all of whom were either dead or soon to be. The pakeha corpses were dragged up into the pa and laid out for inspection, then stripped of their uniforms and tossed back into the swamp to rot (Maxwell, 2005, p. 38).

Ko te reta e whai iho nei e whakaatu ana i te ohore o te Māori ki te hari a te hoia i ana whawhai,

September 27, 1860

Tamati Ngapora states that the natives engaged in the conflict at Puketakauere express their great astonishment at the mode of warfare adopted by the military, by which they continually expose themselves to great loss, though vastly superior in numbers to the natives. He says, why are not soldiers taught to fight after the native fashion? They cannot help being beaten if they continue to fight as if they were fighting Pakehas. The natives admire their personal courage, but say that it is this that causes their destruction, for they move so steadily and so close that one bullet kills two men. Tamati further states that the natives laugh at the idea of being taken by the soldiers, and feel fully assured that with the advantage of cover, and their knowledge of the country, they are more than a match for any number of soldiers, and if peace is brought about, the road to it will not be fighting (Carey, 2007, pp. 29-30).

Tērā tētahi kōrero mō Haowhenua, kairākau o Taranaki rāua ko Ngāti Ruanui mō te tuku i te whana kai tangata i te repo i tarawāhi ake o ngā pā tūwatawata nei, te wāhi i parewhero ai te ika tapu, e kōrero ana mō te matenga o Lieutenant Brooke, tētahi o te 40th Regiment,

“I have heard,” said Haowhenua, in telling the story of Puke-takauere... “that the white officer was treacherously slain...I killed him in fair and open fight. It was towards the end of the battle of Wai-kotero. We fought the soldiers in the swamp- it was like shooting pigeons! The troops drew of defeated, leaving their dead and wounded lying there-there are bones in that ground to this day. I saw a fine-looking young man, an officer by his uniform and arms, making his way through the marsh. I charged down to meet him with my *taiaha*...I said to him, ‘Come out, come out!’ “I pointed to his sword, and asked him to give it to me. Now, had he reversed it and handed it to me hilt first, holding it by the point, I would have taken it as a token of surrender; I would not have killed him but permitted him to make his escape. But he held it out to me point first, and that as you know means death...We fought there in the water and rushes...with many people looking

on...I struck him a blow on the cheek and he staggered, and I cried to him in Maori: ‘Go down on your knees and bid farewell to your God! This was to give him a chance to *poroporoaki*...he continued to fight with great determination...I slew him- he fell in the swamp...I felt sorrow for him. Yes, I wept tears for him...It was the way warriors should honour each other. And I cried farewell to him as he lay there in the swamp. ‘*Haere ki te Po, e hoa!*’ ...and I stooped and picked up his sword...If his spirit was to meet mine in the Reinga, we would greet each other as warriors.” (Cowan, 1935, pp. 59-61).

Kei te kīa nō muri, he mea whakarite kia tanu a Hapurona te ika tapu (Wright, 2006). Nō konei, ka rere ngā karere puta te motu, ka hoki anō a Maniapoto, ā, “On the return of the Maniapoto from Taranaki they boasted that killing *Pakeha*...was like *kato pūhā*... (Jones, 2010, p. 220).

Hei whakakakapi ake i ēnei kōrero mō te pakanga i tapaina nei ko Wai Kōtero,

Puketakauere was Hapurona’s victory. He picked the field of battle and it was his siting of the defences of Onukukaitara Pa and his tactics that lured an over-confident Nelson to defeat. Two days later, it was the Maori who buried the British dead, and until August the Te Atiawa flag “with a white ensign and black cross” flew from Onukukaitara, flaunting a Maori victory over the chastened occupants of Camp Waitara (Pugsley, 1995a, p. 40).

Nō te 25 o Hūne i mate ai te Kīngi a Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, ka tū ko tana tamaiti a Matutaera hei Kīngi. Kihai te Kīngi i manako kia uru te Kīngitanga ki roto i ngā kakaritanga i Taranaki, (Kirkwood, 2000) auare ake, pēnei tahi mai anō a Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, (Stokes, 2002) auare ake, whakaariki mai ana a Ngāti Haua, a Maniapoto ka whano ki roto o Waitara. Te taetanga atu o Ngāti Haua ki te takiwā ki Waitara ka kuhuna te pā tawhito o Mahoetahi, ko ōna rangatira ko Wētini Taipōrutu rāua ko Porokoru. Kihai te pā i whakahouhia, ka tukuna te wero ki a General Pratt, koia te kaingārahu o ngā hōia o te kuini kia kama mai rā ki te kekeri (Stokes, 2002). “...Wetini and his party were surrounded and almost all, including Wetini were killed” (Stokes, 2002, p. 195). Kihai a Ngāti Maniapoto rāua ko Te

Atiawa i roto i te pā. Toru tekau mā whitu katoa i mate i te parekura nei (Crosby, 2015, p. 183).

Ko te pakanga whakamutunga ko tērā i Te Ārei, heoi rā,

In the midst of this final engagement of the war in north Taranaki, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa arrived from the Waikato...He was now anxious to negotiate a truce and to end the war, fearful that, if allowed to continue, it would extend into the Waikato...Tamihana's efforts would prove to be successful" (Day, 2010, p. 33).

Nō te tekau mā waru o Āperira, te tau 1861, ka waitohua te rangaawatea, ka whakairihia te pakanga i roto o Taranaki mō te wā. Ko te mutunga iho, ka hokia mai ngā whenua i nōhia rā e te Pākehā i te koraha, ngā pāmu katoa nei, ngā whenua e whitu mano eka i te huakitanga mai o te riri i te Pākehā, ka nōhia anōtia e te Māori (Belich, Stephens, & McRae, 1986b).

4.4 Ngā Tikanga

Ki konei kōrero ai mō ētahi o ngā panonitanga ki te tikanga i hua ake i ngā kōrero nei. Tuatahi, ko te takenga mai o ēnei pakanga katoa ko te tikanga hou a te Kawana kia āhei te tangata kotahi ki te hoko whenua, kia tīkina atu ko te reta a Renata Kawepo ki te Kāwanatanga e mea nei,

Sir, who caused the pain? I take it to have been the Governor. Very different were the land purchasing arrangements of former days. There was to be an assemblage, and when they had all consented, then the land should pass. All the Maoris heard this from the Governor. But now they hear, Eh! This plan of buying has changed, and the land is now to be sold *by a single individual* [emphasis in original]. Sir, this is the way by which this pain, this trouble has come upon us; it was through double dealing that this trouble came. Had the old way continued, we should not have gone wrong; but since it has been abandoned, and attention has been paid to a single individual, difficulties have arisen (Caselberg, 1975, p. 91).

Ka mutu, koinei rā tētahi panoni nui whakahara ki ngā tikanga ki te whenua, inā, “Māori customary law made no provision for individuals to alienate land, such actions were without precedent” (Day, 2010, p. 21). Nā, ahakoa, he panonitanga nui tēnei, ko te urupare he tūturu Māori.

Tuarua rā, ko te tūnga o te Kīngi Māori, nō te tau 1858 ka wahia a Kīngi Pōtatau, me tōna whai wāhi mai ki roto ki ngā nekeneke nei. Nāna i whakaae iho kia whakataua mai a Maniapoto, ahakoa, he whakatonu rā i roto i tāna i kī ai, ā, i eke anō tāna i kī ai i te pakanga o Mahoetahi. Heoi, kua mārō hitarari te whakaaro o te Kīngitanga ki te aukati i te hoko o te whenua, kua ngātahi rā hoki tērā i roto o Te Ātiawa, te wāhanga rā me kī ki a Te Rangitaake. Ka hoki ana te titiro ki ngā tau ki muri i ngā putakari i a Taranaki whānui me Waikato, Maniapoto i ngā tini pakanga nō ngā tau nō mai anō o te toru tekau, ā, hoki whakatemuri. Ko te mana o te Kīngitanga kua piki ki runga atu i ērā āhuatanga. Ko te mea anō hoki, he mea whakarau tahi a Te Rangitaake rāua ko Hapurona i tō rāua ohinga i roto o Waikato. Ka mutu, he panoni anō tēnei, arā, te whawhai tahi me te hoariri, ahakoa, ehara i te hou nei, inā, i pēnei i roto anō i ngā pakanga o mua iho o te rau tau nei.

Ko te wāhi anō hoki ki ngā pā, ka tū ana he pā, autāhia ana e te hoia, ā, whakarere kautia ana e te Māori, ka hanga mai anō tētahi,

None of the positions taken up by the natives were of the slightest importance to them or to us...they were selected simply as spots the most inaccessible that could be found, from which retreat was secure. The abandonment of the *pahs* after they had answered their purpose, was part of their system of war. In the native mind victory remained with the side that lost fewest men, and not with the possession of the barren piece of ground on which the fight took place...The Maori knew that when they assembled we had no choice but to attack them...The mode of attack, however, was in our hands. Hitherto this had always been the same, *viz.* A rush on the place, which had at best resulted in its capture, with severe loss to us, and with little or none to the enemy. We had, in fact, played their game. After one of those attacks the Maori dispersed to his villages and boasted of the number of the Pakeha he had killed; while we, having hoisted

our flag on the captured *pah*, lunched, carried of our dead and wounded; pulled the flag down again; returned home to glorify ourselves on our gallant deeds, and bury our dead (Carey, 2007, pp. 59-60).

Koinei tētahi āhua o te whawhai Māori i roto o Taranaki. Tā Belich (1986, p. 98),

The Maori tactics and engineering techniques which were the real cause of the British defeat, used the basic attributes of the modern *pa*, apparent in the Northern War and at the L-pa [Te Kohia], but with a greater emphasis on deception and concealment...The Maoris were able to switch warriors to and fro from each focus of action. In short, the British were forced to fight two battles, while the Maoris fought one.

Kāti, ko te wāhi ki te atuataka, kei te kitea puta ēnei kōrero katoa kāore he paku kōrero mō te atuataka o Te Ātiawa, otirā, o Taranaki whānui. E kitea anōtia ana kāore i whāia ngā tikanga karaitiana nei mō te pakanga, pēnei i tērā i Ōhaeawai, ā, puta ngā pakanga o Te Taitokerau. Ko te wāhi noa iho i roto i ēnei kōrero, ko te noho tapu o ngā whare karakia, ko te noho tapu anō o te minita. Nā, ahakoa, kāore i te kīa, ko te āhua nei, inā kua kuhuna te pakanga, kua noho ko ērā tikanga Māori ake nei, arā, ko Maru i roto o Taranaki tētahi atua o ngā rīri, ā, i ahu ngā karakia ki a ia.³⁷ Ka mutu, he momo panoni anō tēnei, ahakoa pea, he panoni noa ki ngā pakanga i tū rā i Te Taitokerau.

Kei te mārama anō te kitea atu, kāore rā he taua Māori i whirinaki atu ki te hōia Pākehā, ahakoa rā, i noho ai a Ihaia Te Kirikūmara me ētahi hei kaiarataki i te hōia i te pakanga i Puketakauere, “There was no significant Māori involvement in the fighting on the British side in Taranaki” (Crosby, 2015, p. 170).

Ko te rūnanga i karangatia rā e te Kawana e Gore-Browne i tū rā ki Kohimarama, i huihuitia ai ngā rangatira o te motu i waho atu i te Kīngitanga ki te kimi tautoko mā te kāwanatanga,

³⁷ Pers.com. He mea kōrero mai anō tēnei e Rāwiri Doorbar.

Gore Brown had called two hundred prominent chiefs together at Kohimarama, near Auckland, to seek endorsement of his policy towards Wiremu Kingi. But instead, he had faced censure from chiefs concerned at the Crown's indifferent regard for the Treaty of Waitangi (Keenan, 2009, p. 205).

He panoni nui anō tēnei, ehara i te mea ko te huihui a te Māori ake inā i kitea rā tērā i ngā huihui whakatū kīngi, engari he rūnanga nā te kawana tonu i karanga, nāna i utu ētahi o ngā rangatira kia haere ki Kohimarama, ā, he kotahi marama anō te roa. Ehara i te panoni noa, engari he hou, ā, ahakoa te whakatau ake a ngā rangatira kia tau mai te hui nei. Hei whakakapi ake ko te pētihana a ngā rangatira i puta i taua hui,

All the chiefs of this conference, sitting at Kohimarama, near Auckland, have united in a request that this conference of the Maori Chiefs of the Island of New Zealand should be established and made permanent by you, as a means of clearing away evils affecting both Europeans and Natives... (Crosby, 2015, p. 178).

Kei te kitea anō kua toka te tuhi reta i ēnei tau nei mō te oati, mō ngā kōrero ōkawa. Āpiti anō ki tēnei kua toka te tare o te haki pakanga ki roto i ngā tikanga a te Māori. Kei te kitea anōtia te tīmatanga o te aukati i te rūri mā te kuia, mā roto anō i te tahu maene, i whāia anō ai e Titokowaru i ngā tau o te 67-68, ā, e Te Whiti rāua ko Tohu Kākahi i roto i ngā tau o te whitu tekau ahu atu ana ki ō rāua matenga.

4.5 Ōrākau

Ko Ōrākau te pakanga i hau ai te rongō o ngā pakanga katoa o te rau tau nei. Koia te pakanga whakamutunga a ngā hoia a te Kuini ki runga o Waikato rāua ko Ngāti Maniapoto, otiā, ki runga ki te Kīngitanga. I tū rā i Ōrākau tonu i te tau 1864, i te Maehe te 31 ki te 2 o Aperira. Ko tōna uho, ko te Kīngitanga. Ko tōna whaingā, ko te whenua. Nō te tau 1863 ka whakaeke mai ngā hoia o te emepaea ki runga o Waikato. E whakataritari ana ngā mana o te karauna ki te pakanga ki te Kīngitanga mai anō i te tau i mua iho i Tāmaki, engari rawa, mai anō i te tūwheratanga o te tāwaha o te riri ki Waitara. Heoi rā, kia kōrerotia ai te riri i Waikato, ki Ōrākau tonu,

me kōrero te aranga mai o te Kīngitanga, inā koia anō te tino take o ngā Matawhāura nei.

Ko te whakahuatanga o te Kīngitanga e hoki ana ki te haerenga a Hongi ki Ingārangi. Nō muri,

Ko Piri Kawau te kaumatua i puta te whakaaro ko ia hei kingi. No Te Atiawa, no Taranaki tenei kaumatua. Ka tae ia ki Ingārangi, ka kite i te ahua o nga whakahaere, te pai, te rite o nga mea katoa, nga hoia kotahi ano te whiu o te wae. Ka patai ia ki ona hoa Pakeha. ‘He aha ra i pera ai?’ Ka kiia mai, ‘He kingi to ratou, koira i pera ai.’ Ka tupu i kona te hiahia i a Piri Kawau me tu ia hei kingi mo te iwi Maori. Te taenga mai ki ona iwi i Taranaki ka korero ia i tana whakaaro. Heoi, kaore i manaakitia (Winiata, 1958).

Te haeretanga anō o Tāmihana Te Rauparaha ki Ingārangi, ka pērā tahi mai anō. Tērā anō tētahi kaumātua o Ngāti Hikairo i tae ki Poihākēna, ko Te Akerautangi te ingoa,

...ka tutaki atu ki te kawana o tera whenua, ki a Te Makoare. Ka patai mai te Pakeha ra, ‘He rangatira koe?’ Ka ki atu a Te Ake, ‘He toa ahau’ Ka mea te Kawana, ‘Me mutu ta koutou whawhai ki a koutou.’ Ka ki atu a Te Ake, ‘Me pewhea ra?’ Ko te Kawana, ‘Whakaturia kia kotahi te rangatira mo koutou, ko ia hei kingi, kia mutu ai ta koutou papatu. Tetehi, kia mau ki o koutou whenua’ (Winiata, 1958).

Ka hoki mai a ia, ka whakahui ake ko ana iwi, ka tukuna ana whakaaro kia tū he kīngi, ā, ka hinga te whakaminenga, te taihauāuru katoa me kī, me tū ko Potatau hei Kingi. Tā Pōtatau, ‘Rukea ki ngā iwi o waho i te tuatahi’, koia tēnā ko te rukenga o te kaupapa Kīngi ki ngā iwi o te motu. Riro atu ana mā Mātene Te Whiwhi te take nei hei heri haere ki ngā rangatira o tēnā iwi, o tēnā waka, ka hokia mai ai ki a Kīngi Pōtatau. Kei te kīā, “From 1850, the Chiefs of several tribes began to search the land, so that they might find a man befitting to be ordained a Maori King” (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 36). Nō te tau 1856, ka hua i a Iwikau Te Heuheu te kōrero, “Hinana ki uta, hinana ki tai, tirohia te wai i noho ai nga taniwha, tirohia te wahi i

noho ai nga rangatira, tukuna ki Waikato (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 36). Nō taua tau anō ka tū te hui ki Pūkawa, ki te takutai o Taupo moana i rāmemene atu ai te nuinga o ngā iwi o ngā motu nei o Aotearoa, ā, hinga ana te whakaminenga, ko Pōtatau hei Kīngi. Nō te 1858 ki Ngāruawāhia, ka wahia a Pōtatau hei Kīngi.

Ko ngā kaupapa ake a te Kīngitanga, he puru i te whenua, he puru i te toto, he puru i te tangata, (Winiata, 1958) arā, he aukati i te hoko i te whenua, kia āta mutu mārire te pakanga a te Māori ki a ia anō, kia whakakotahi anō i te tangata. Katoa ēnei i ngana ki te aukoti i te āki a te Pākehā kia noho wehewehe ai te Māori i roto i ōna hapū, i roto anō i ōna iwi kia māmā ai te riro i a ia ngā whenua. Ka mutu, he aukati anō i te hoko o te whenua. Kāore te Kīngitanga i whakatūhia hei āki i te pakanga.

Tā Hitiri Te Paerata mō te take i whāia ai ko te whakaaro kia tū he kīngi ki tāna tonu i kauhau ai i te Pāremata i Pōneke i te tau 1888,

For some years previously the Maori people had been getting more and more dissatisfied at the manner in which their ancestral lands, their one great possession, had been passing away, partly on account of the Government land purchases – the purchasing of land for fish-hooks, tobacco, and hatchets; then the chiefs were angry because their mana was not sufficiently recognised; also, the selling by chiefs of the lands belonging to the people. The Maoris then determined, on the advise of Tamihana Tarapipi, to set up a head whose mana was to overshadow the land and protect it. Te Wherowhero Potatau was accordingly made King, and many tribes gave the keeping of their bodies and their lands into his hands. As you all know, this led to the fighting, first at Taranaki, then in Waikato, the east Coast, and other places (Hitiri, 1888, pp. 3-4).

Ko ngā take e hoki ana ki te tīmatanga tonu o ngā pakanga o roto o Taranaki, “With the Taranaki war barely under way, serious consideration was been given to a military reckoning with the Māori King” (Keenan, 2009, p. 207). Ko tētahi anō rā o ngā take, ko te hāpai a te Kīngitanga i ngā pakanga i roto o Waitara, Taranaki, e ai rā tō ngā mana Pākehā whakaaro. Heoti, kāore noa iho te Kawana i hiahia ki te

turaki i te Kīngitanga, engari kē, ko te tino rangatiratanga ki runga i te Māori, ana whenua, te motu katoa me kī.

Nō te hokinga mai o Kerei hei Kawana ka āhuareka a Waikato i runga anō i te aroha o Waikato ki a ia, i te āhua anō o Kerei i tāna noho tuatahi hei Kawana. Ināhoki, nō te pakarutanga o te riri i roto i ngā tau o te whā tekau ki roto o Wairau, ki Te Ūpoko o te Ika, ki Whanganui, ā ki Te Taitokerau anō, ka whakawhirinaki atu ia ki a Te Wherowhero hei parepare mōna,

In consequence of the alarm caused however, by Heke's war and the war between Te Rangihaeata and the settlers in Wellington, Governor Grey determined to prevent any attack on Auckland, and knowing the powerful position of Waikato, made overtures to Te Wherowhero to place the town under his *mana*. Grey eventually induced Te Wherowhero and eighty families of his tribe, the Ngati Mahuta, to occupy a block of Government land at Mangere as an outer guard for the capital. On April 16th, 1849, an agreement was signed... (Kelly, 2002, p. 428).

Āpiti anō ki tēnei,

Te Wherowhero trusted Grey so much that when Ngapuhi urged Te Wherowhero to join them in an uprising against Auckland, the Ariki voiced his disapproval: Kia tupato ki te remu o taku kakahu...Of further relevance to this story, he made clear his implicit faith in British justice as administered at that time by Governor Grey" (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 33). "...[Heke] was dissuaded by the determination of Waikato and Ngati Whatua to fight him if he attacked their town. Te Wherowhero...informed Heke that between Nga Puhi and the Pakeha was his body- it must be disposed of first (Graham. G, 'Heke's intended attack on the Waitemata in 1847: copy of notes thereof obtained from Whatarangi of Aki-tai-ui; 1891, MSS, Auckland Public Library).

Arā anō ngā take i whakaaro nui ai a Te Wherowhero, otirā a Waikato ki a Kerei, kei te wā i noho ai a Te Wherowhero i Māngere ka raru a Matutaera, he whānako nōna i ngā moni a tana matua,

Matutaera had been back from the town a short while, when he saw his father emerge from his house with a taiaha. The young man instantly knew that the treasurer had betrayed him, and was for a moment rooted to the spot. His father then stripped for battle and was thoroughly roused...Matutaera quickly thought of a temporary sanctuary, which was the *kauta*...His father was so tapu, that he could not enter such a place...It was a big structure and it had two doorways. When Matutaera had gained this refuge, his incensed father appeared outside the front door uttering savage threats... (Kirkwood, 2000, pp. 34-35).

Rere atu ana a Matutaera ki a Kerei, ā, whakaae iho ana a Kerei rāua ko Te Wherowhero kia noho tonu atu a Matutaera ki a Kerei mō te ono marama. Nō te paunga o taua ono marama, hoki ana a Matutaera ki tana matua, ka mokoina (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 35).

Nō te Hepetema o te tau 1861 ka wheta mai a Kerei, e ai rā ki a Cowan (1955b) kua oti i a Manga mā te whakaaro kia huakina a Tāmaki, kia moanatia te Pākehā,

It was an exceedingly bold and hazardous scheme; nevertheless it would have been attempted had Governor Gore Browne remained in New Zealand. It was only the news that Sir George Grey was returning to the colony as its Governor that averted the general rising. The Maoris looked forward to his coming as the beginning of a different policy and a more friendly attitude towards their political aspirations (Cowan, 1955b, p. 240).

Nā reira te tūmeke a Waikato i te hokinga mai o Kerei hei Kawana. Inā, kihai i āta roa kua kitea ake e te iwi, anā kē ia e horihori ana ki a Taranaki, anā anō ia e whakaariki mai ana i Tāmaki, e whakaemiemi ana i ngā hangarau pakanga hou a te ao ki roto anō o Tāmaki. Anā anō ia e kari ana i tana rori ki Waikato, kua tatū nei ia ki Mangatāwhiri, ā, anā anō ia e hoko poti tīma ana mō te whakaeke i a Waikato

ki te tūraki i a ia, ahakoa tāna i taurangi ai ki te Kīngi, “I shall not fight against him with the sword, but I shall dig around him till he falls of his own accord” (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 51) Nā koa, pūrangiaho ana te whai a Kawana Browne,

Governor Browne took advantage of the presence of a few rebels of Waikato Maniapoto in Taranaki whom he held as ransom against the King. In the first year of the reign of King Matutaera, the Governor sent an intimidating Declaration to the King and his Council. It detailed many unfounded accusations against Waikato. In summary, amongst other issues, the Declaration was a threat of war if Waikato did not bend, and give up the Kingship (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 46).

Ka mutu, nō te tuaiwa o Hūrae, 1863, ka tukuna tana oati,

...the Government issued an order requiring all natives living in the Manukau district and on the Waikato frontier north of the Manga-tawhiri to take the oath of allegiance to the Queen and to give up their arms, and warning the Maoris that those refusing to range themselves on the side of the British must retire to the Waikato. Those not complying with this instruction were to be ejected from their settlements... (Cowan, 1955b, p. 251).

Whāia mai ana i tēnei ko te pānuitanga³⁸ ki ngā rangatira o Waikato e uta ana i ngā whakahaere pakanga a Taranaki ki runga motuhake i a rātou, ahakoa nā rātou, nā te hōia Pākehā kē i āki te pakanga, i maringi tuatahi ai te toto. Nō te taenga o ēnei oati ki a Waikato, kua kitea kāore he putanga ki waho. Nō te 12 o Hūrae, ka whakawhititia a Mangatāwhiri, te tohu tēnā o te tūwheratanga mai o te tāwaha o te riri, kua kore he tirohanga ki te ao mārama.

Nō ngā whakapātaritaritanga nei a te kāwanatanga, kei te waewaea mai, kei te wē moana mai te motu ki te hāpai i te Kīngitanga, kia kotahi tōna tū ki te aroaro o ngā hōia tini ngerongero nei kua tatū mai i ngā tōpito o te ao ki te tūraki i te Kīngitanga.

³⁸ Proclamation

Kāti, ko ngā iwi i haumi rā i a Waikato, otiā te Kīngitanga, ko ngā hapū o Waikato, Maniapoto, a Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Tūhoe, a Ngāti Tūwharetoa me Ngāti Raukawa, o Ōtaki me Taupō ki te raki, Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Te Rangi, a Te Whakatohea, Ngāti Maru me Taranaki, a Whanganui me ētahi hapū kotahi, e rua rānei o Te Arawa, ko Te Whānau a Apanui anō me Te Ati awa (Kirkwood, 2000).

Nō te rā o muri, ka whakawhititia a Mangatāwhiri, ā, ka tae ki te tekau mā whitu, ka huakina a Te Koheroa, pakangatia ana, whakarērena ana e Waikato. Nō muri iho, ko Meremere, whakarērena ana. Nō muri ko Rangiriri, pakangatia ana i konā, heoti, nō te ata, ka iri te haki mā a te Māori ki runga i tōna whakaaro, he tikanga rūnanga tēnei, arā, kia hui ai mō te ahu whakamua, whakarau kētia ana rātou ki te motu o Kawau.

Nō te haki mātanga o Rangiriri, ka rere te Kīngi ki Ngāruawāhia, ko tā te Kāwana tonu, (Belich, 1986, p. 158) me tuku rātou ki raro i te Kuini, “...and the surrender of all arms and all land except for reservations allocated at the government’s discretion”,

The depths of despair and the pain that gnawed within King Matutaera, added to the resentment as he remembered how his father had protected Auckland and outlying settlements from potential attack. The King felt an overpowering sense of personal betrayal at the hands of Grey (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 59).

A Tāmihana Te Waharoa, nāna nei te rangaaatea i roto o Taranaki, nāna anō nei i manawaroa kia tū ko te rangaaatea ki roto i ōna rohe, ki runga anō i te Kīngitanga i tana mōhio, ko te tuakina a Waikato ka mea ia ki a Wiremu Nera kua oti kē tā Wiremu tuku i a ia ki raro i te Kuini “If the Govenor follows me here, I shall fight. If not, I shall remain quite, but if the General goes to Waipa to attack the Ngāti Maniapoto, I shall be there” (Belich, 1986, p. 158).

Nō muri o Rangiriri, ka ekena a Ngāruawāhia, whakarere kautia e Waikato. Ko te pā i hangaia i muri i te horonga o Rangiriri, ko Pā te Rangi, he pēnei tonu anō i ngā

pā o mua iho, he puru, he pā puru i te whano a te hoia ki te manawa tonu o Waikato ki a Rangiaowhia,

The strength of the Paterangi Line directly reflected the value of the area it protected. It was the largest system of fortifications ever built. There was at least four large *pa* within five or six miles of each other, covering all the main routes to Rangiaowhia and sited to provide mutual support...This *pa*... had a protected water supply, two old canon ready for action, and a particularly large ‘shell proof *whare*’ which probably acted as a headquarters bunker for Rewi Maniapoto...The other three main *pa* – Pikopiko (or Puketoke), Rangiatea and Manga – pukatea were equally strong and almost as extensive (Belich, 1986, p. 160).

Te tatūnga o Cameron ki mua i a Pā te Rangī, kua kite ia e kore e horo i a ia, “...it would be the most fearful place to storm if well garrisoned, but I do not think the General has any attention of attacking it at all...” (Mair, 1843-1923). “By early January at least 2000 toa from 20 hapu were deployed in this pa alone” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 337). Ā, kihai a Pā te Rangī i autāhia, ka hoatu kē ai te hoia i te pō ki Rangiaowhia, ka pāhuatia, ka horo.

Nō konei ka tatū ai a Mataatua ki roto o Waikato, inā te haere a Rewi ki te marae o Tauaroa ki te takiwā ki Ngāti Manawa i ngā marama o mua iho i ngā kakari nei ki te tiwha i a Tūhoe.

About the end of 1863 Rewi had made a recruiting journey to the Rangitaiki country and to the Ngati-Whare and Tuhoe headquarters; there were old ties of friendship between his section of Ngati Maniapoto and the Warahoe people and some of the Urewera kinsmen. Rewi visited Tauaroa, Ahikereru, and Ruatahuna, accompanied by Te Winitana Tupotahi and Hapi te Hikonga-uira, and aroused the fighting blood of the mountain tribes by his appeal for assistance and his chanting of two thrilling war-songs. The first was the Taranaki patriotic chant beginning “*Kohea tera maunga e tu mai rara?*...The second was the song that begun “*Puhi kura, puhi kura, puhi kaka*”...Two casks of gunpowder were given to Rewi’s party. One of these-

presented by Harehare, Te Wiremu, and Timoti, of the Ngati Manawa, at Tauaroa-had been sent from Ohinemuri by the old cannibal Warrior Taraia Ngakuti of Ngati-Tamatera. The *tohungas* had recited charms over the cask of powder to render the contents doubly efficacious against the *pakeha* and it had been given the name, Hine-ia-Taraua” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 368).

Ka rūnangahia te take nei ki Ōpūtao,

Ko te kōrero nui i puta i taua hui kia, “*Tawharautia a Mātātua*...Te Whenua nui agreed...and remarked: “I agree that Mātātua shall be sheltered, for the fighting is coming near to us.’...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.’ Hereupon Tuhoe seperated into two parties, the majority remained, the few went forth to fight (Best, 1972b, pp. 566-567).

Taro kau iho, ka whāia atu ai e Te Whenuanui me ētahi. Tā Tutakangahau, “All Tuhoe met at O-putao to discuss the Wai-kato war. The Rua-toki and Wai-mana clans decided not to go. Those of Rua-tahuna, Te Whaiti and Wai-kare Moana decided to send a contingent. The majority said: ‘Let Mātātua be sheltered.’ The fire [of war] is burning on the island” (Best, 1972b, p. 567). Ka mutu, “A Tuhoe detachment of about fifty men was engaged in the fighting in the Waikato against the Europeans, taking part in the engagements at Rangiaohia, Hae-rini and the celebrated battle of Orakau” (“Battle of Orakau: A desperate retreat,” 1939, p. 2).

Ko tā Paitini Wī Tāpeka mō mua i te wehenga a Tūhoe,

“The tohunga of our force was Penetiti and his assistant was Tapiki”... “Penetiti was the human medium of the god Po-tuatini...Then Penetiti gave us some small bottles containing a medicine he had made from various herbs and the bark of trees. He told us that when going into battle, we must drink the mixture in the bottles, and then no weapons could harm us; the bullets of the enemy would be turned a side... (“The siege of Orakau Pa: Tuhoe warriors engaged: Aiding the Waikatos,” 1939, p. 3).

Nō muri i te pāhuatanga i Rangiaowhia,

Ka horoa a Hairini...ka heke ngā Māori o Kihikihi, ka tae ngā iwi ki Tokanui, ka tahuna e te Pākehā a “Hui-te-Rangiora” i Kihikihi. Heoi ko te mararatanga o ngā iwi katoa ki Maungatautari, ki Patetere, ki te Waotu, ki Arohena, ki Aotearoa, ki Kauwaeroa, ki Puniu, ki Wharepapa, ki Otewa, ki Ohinekura, ki Hangatiki. Ka noho wehewehe nei ngā iwi ki te whenua katoa. Ka panuitia te kupu a Rewi Manga ki ngā iwi katoa, ka tuku ano he karere ki ngā kainga e whakahuatia, ara, Kua takoto te kupu a Rewi Manga, ka whakatūria tana pa ki Rangataua, ara ki Orakau, no te mea koia te wahi kei roto i te rohe o te Kingitanga, a koia ano te wahi tata ki nga kai mi te pa, koia ano te wahi e whai taima ki te kerī parepare mō te pa. Heoi ko te whakaurunga o nga iwi katoa huihui ake ki te pa nei (Cowan, 1870-1943).

Kua tatū ēnei kōrero ki te pakipakihanga i Ōrākau, whawhai rongonui o roto i ngā whawhai o Aotearoa e ai te kōrero. Ko te mea whakamiharo o ngā kōrero nei ko te nui o ngā rangatira i Ōrākau i uia rānei, i kauhau rānei, i kōrero rānei mō te pakanga nei. Ka mutu, ka nui te whakawhirinaki atu ki ā rātou kōrero. Tērā hoki ētahi wāhi o ngā kōrero a tēnā a tēnā e ōrua ana, ā, heoi anō, ehara mā tēnei tuinga ngā tukitukinga nei e whakawā. Ko te hapū o Ōrākau ake ko Ngāti Koura, me tētahi hapū o Ngāti Raukawa (Cowan, 1955b). Kāti, ko ngā ngohi i roto o Ōrākau, ko “Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Te Kohera, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Maniapoto” (Joseph & Meredith, 2014) Ko ētahi o ngā rangatira o roto o Ōrākau e ai rā ki a Hītiri Te Paerātā o Ngāti Raukawa, (Hitiri, 1888, p. 4) “My own tribe was commanded by my father, Te Paerata; my brother, Hone Teri te Paerata; and my uncle, Rawiri te Hiraweā. The Urewera contingent was headed by Te Whenuanui and Hapurona Kohi; the East Coast Natives were led by Te Waru, Tamatea, and Raharuhi; and the Ngati Maniapoto by Rewi Manga Maniapoto”.

Ko tā Rewi mō te take i whiriwhirihia ai ko Ōrākau hei tūnga pā tūwatawata, ko tana tūtakitanga atu ki te taua a Mataatua ki Aratitaha,

When we got there we found that a 100 of the Urewera tribe were there. Their chiefs were Hapurona, Te Whenuanui, Te Heuheu, and others. Those chiefs proposed that we should build a pah at Orakau. I stood up and said that it would be better for us first to go and see Wiremu Tamehana...They said "No." Te Whenuanui then stated that their tohunga, or prophet, had prophesied that the Europeans would be destroyed...and he repeated a song that had been sung to them by their prophet, the substance of which was that the Europeans would be beaten, and the land go back again to the Maoris ("The battle of Orakau: A Maori version of a stubborn fight," 1888, p. 4).

Kihai a Rewi i pono ki tā te tohunga, whakahēngia ana e ia, haere tonu ana tāna,

If we persist in fighting in this locality (Orakau) my old relatives will be killed, and so will you all." Te Whenuanui proposed that a collection should be made and given to the prophet as a sacrifice, or in order that his prophecy might come true. I subscribed 10s, as I did not wish them to feel annoyed at I having made light of their prophet and as they were visitors...I stood up and sang a song, as a reply to the song of their prophet... ("The battle of Orakau: A Maori version of a stubborn fight," 1888, p. 4).

Hoki ana a Rewi ki tana kāinga i Waikēria, ka whākina ngā kōrero ki tana iwi, kātahi ka whakapuakina tana moemoeā,

I was standing outside the church at Orakau, and was flying a kite. It went upwards strongly and was hidden beyond the clouds. It then sailed downwards as if nothing were guiding it, and when it reached the ground it was all in pieces. Therefore I knew that we should be defeated at Orakau ("The battle of Orakau: A Maori version of a stubborn fight," 1888, p. 4).

Nō te rā o muri mai, hoatu ana te iwi ki Ōrākau ka tīmataria tōna hanganga mai. Kāore anō te pā o Ōrākau i āta oti noa, ka kitea e te akunga hōia, tā Winitana Tūpotahi o Ngāti Paretekawa,

One morning we were outside the pa, holding a religious service as was our custom, and singing hymns and repeating prayers from the Church of England ritual. One of our priests, who was a minister, was praying to Jesus Christ to guard and uphold us, and protect us from the anger of the Pakeha, and all of us were bowed with our hands over our eyes. I happened to look up and saw a Ngatiraukawa man, who was standing on an elevated position, beckoning to me and pointing with his hand. I looked and lo! There came the soldiers...When prayers ceased I gave the alarm and we quickly manned the trenches and parapets... ("The heroes of Orakau: Stirring narrative of a famous battle: A Maori warrior's story," 1904, p. 62).

“While the people were entrenching the position several men were sent, on the suggestion of the prophetess, to procure some *otaota*...from the scene of the bloodshed at Rangiaowhia. The *otaota* was to be used in ceremonies to propitiate the dieties and ensure the successful defence of the fort...the scouts did not reach Rangiaowhia...and the others returned without the material for the luck-bringing rite (Cowan, 1955b, p. 373).

Ko ngā taua o mea wāhi, o mea wāhi, i whawhai ā taua tonu nei, he mea hoatu e Manga he wāhi motuhake o te pā ki ia taua,

Ko nga whakanohonga tenei i nga iwi ki roto i tenei pa: Timata i te hauauru-ma-tonga, i a Ngati Te Urewera me Waikato. Timata i te hau-a-uru-ma-raki, i a Ngati Maniapoto me Parekaawaa Timata i te tuara ki marangai, i a Ngati Tuwharetoa me era tau hapu maha... (Joseph & Meredith, 2014, p. 36).

Nō te kitenga i te Pākehā e Aporo, ka karanga ia, “He pukeko kei te kawakawa, Kei te tumutumu te mea e tata ana” ("Orakau recalled: Sixty four years ago," 1928, p. 11). Te tatūnga mai o ngā hōia, he tere tonu te ponitaka o te pā. Ka whā reitanga a te Pākehā, kihai te pā i taea. Heoti,

“...i nga whakaeke nei ka hinga tetahi pakeha ki waho tonu atu i to matau pa ka mea e te Waro ki nga tamariki kia toia mai, kia tangohia te manawa kia kohuna ma UENUKU (te atua o te whawhai), Kaore a Rewi Maniapoto

me etahi o nga rangatira i whakaae” (“Last of the Orakaus: Death in King Country,” 1931).

Ko tā Rewi,

The Europeans now make a second rush up to the redoubt. One European was shot in getting over the fence. One of my people proposed that we should rush out over the fence and cut open that man’s body which was lying there and take out his heart in order to strike fear into the enemy, but I would not agree to it. Then this man said, “If we don’t do it we will be deserted by our Maori gods.” I said, “I don’t care anything about Maori gods. This fighting is being carried on during the time that Christianity is said to be in existence here.” This old tohunga who was arguing with me said, “We will come to grief if we don’t do this.” I said, “You yourself will come to grief; but do not lead me into a place where I will get into trouble.” At this time I was a Christian. I was not a minister, but I was a believer. That is why I would not agree to going out and mutilating the body...There was nobody in the pa to say a word but myself, though there were lots of elderly people in the pah. As soon as anybody opened his mouth to say anything I silenced him directly. I said, “You have nothing to say.” I was afraid that some might want to carry on the fighting by the rules of their ansestors (mutilating the wounded), but I did not want that. I said, “We are fighting in the time of religion.” (“The battle of Orakau: A Maori version of a stubborn fight,” 1888, p. 4).

Tā Cowan (1955b, p. 381), nā te tohunga tonu a Te Waro o Ngāti-Paea i tono kia pēnei “...that he might cut out the heart of the *whangai-hau*. The heart of the first man killed...must be offered in burnt sacrifice to Uenuku, the god of battle”.

Nō te pō ka kitea te rarama o te ahi i te pa tuna i Waha-oneone,

Ko taua ahi nā Ngati Haua, me te nuinga atu o ngā Iwi i pakaru ki Maungatautari, ki Patetere, ki Arohena, ki Whare-pu-hunga. Kati kaore i taea e ratou te whakauru mai i te mea kua karapotia te pa e te Pakeha (“The

heroes of Orakau: Stirring narrative of a famous battle: A Maori warrior's story," 1904, p. 62).

Noho whakatewaho ana ngā taua i tahuti rā ki te haumi i ngā taua o roto o Ōrākau, he ponitaka tonu nō te pā i te hoia. Rere ana ngā makamaka whana, “He kau ra, he kau ra! U-u, He kau kawana koe, Kai miti mai te raurekau, A he kau ra, he kau ra! U-u! (Cowan, 1955b, p. 382). Nō te pō, paoho ana ngā whakaaraara, “In the *pa* the sentinels...paraded the rampart, chanting their high songs and bidding the garrison be on alert. The first of these inspiring watchmen Aporo, of Ngati-Koura, was shot dead before night. The second was Te Kupenga, of Ngati-Raukawa; but he made a *whati*, or break, in one of his chants, which was unlucky; and his place was taken by Raureti Paiaka, of Ngati Pare-tekawa...who continued to chant sentinel songs and war-cries till the last day of the siege” (Cowan, 1955b, p. 384).

Nā, kia whāia atu rā tā Te Huia Raureti mō te rā tuarua (Joseph & Meredith, 2014; Te Huia, 1914-1915, p. 37),

Ao ake i te ra tuarua o te whawhaitanga he kohu kapi tonu te pa i te kohu, a, i te mea kua kite a Te Winitana Tupotahi kua kore he paura kua kore he mata, kua kore he wai kua kai mata nga Iwi i te kamokamo, i te kumara. Katahi a ia ka inoi ki te runanga kaumatua kia wahia te pa, kia ora ai nga Iwi, kati i whiriwhirinui te runanga i taua take, kati kaore i taea te ki me waahi te pa. Anei hoki te kupu a Manga:- “Whakarongo mai te runanga me nga Iwi. Ko te whawhai tenei, i whaia mai ai e tatou a i oma hoki hei aha ki toku mahara hoki me mate mate tatou ki te pakanga.”

He āpitianga tā Cowan ki te whakahau a Manga, “...ora tatou ora ki te marae o te pakanga” (1955b, p. 384). Nā wai, kua hīmata mai anō te riri, ā, e kōkiri ana mai ngā hoia, ka kōkiritia ngā taua,

“Every tribe took part in this *kokiri*...all four sides of the *pa* warriors leaped outside shooting at the soldiers. The Urewera, Ngati-Maniapoto, Waikato-all sallied out. My father Raureti, was on top of the parapet firing. Just before we rushed out many of us formed up on the east side of the works,

and there we leaped in the movements of the war-dance and we chanted the war-song of the Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Maniapoto:-

“Awhea to ure ka riri

Awhea to ure ka tora

A ko te tai ka wiwi

A ko te tai ka wawa-“ (Cowan, 1955b, p. 384).

Nō roto mai anō i te rā, kei te mate te pa i te kai, i te wai, i te korekore o te paura, o te matā. Kua haoa katoa te pā i te hoia. Kua mate anō ki te whakairo matā, “Our ammunition began to fail, and as we had very few bullets we cut up small bits of wood, branches of peach and apple trees, and put them in the cartridges to serve as bullets” (“The heroes of Orakau: Stirring narrative of a famous battle: A Maori warrior's story,” 1904, p. 62). Rere tonu ana i ōna wā ā mātou kōkiri. Tātata tonu mai ana te kari a te hoia. Nō te tatanga o te kari a te hoia, kua hākirihiā mai ngā rākete, whakahokia atu ana e ētahi ki roto i te kari, matemate atu ana ko te hoia. Whakapotongia ana e te hoia ngā wiki, ā, matemate ana ko roto i te pā. Rūnangahia ana kia wāhia pā, kihai anō i whakaaetia,

Nō konei, kua kitea atu te taua a Te Heuheu Horonuku, engari, kihai anō te pā i taea. Rūnangahia anōtia ana te wāhinga o te pā i te pō, kihai anō i whakaaetia, rūnanga anōtia ana i te pūaotanga mai o te rā. Nā wai rā, ka iri te haki mā a te hoia, kia whāia atu tā Mair,

‘E hoa ma, whakarongo! Ko te kupu tenei a te Tienara: Ka nui tona miharo ki to koutou maia, kati me mutu te riri, puta mai kia matou, kia ora o koutou tinana.’...“ ‘E hoa, ka whawhai tonu ahau ki a koe, ake, ake! Then I said, ‘E pai ana tena mo koutou tangata, engari kahore e tika kia mate nga wahine me nga tamariki. Tukuna mai era...Some one asked, ‘Na te aha koe i mohio he wahine kei konei?’...“I answered, ‘I rongu ahau ki te tangi tupapaku i te po’...“Ki te mate nga tane, me mate ano nga wahine me nga tamariki’...I knew it was over, for there was no disposition on the part of the Maoris to parley; so I said, ‘E pai ana, kua mutu te kupu’... (Cowan, 1955b, p. 391).

Tā Te Huia Raureti (Joseph & Meredith, 2014, p. 37),

Kati, i te mea ka tauhinga atu teraa ka tu mai te Pakeha (kua mariri hoki te pakuu o te puu). Ana kupu enei:- “Whauwhia ki te rongo kia ora ai nga koroheke, nga wahine me nga tamariki.” Ka whakautua e Raureti taua kupu:- “E pai ana engari me hoki koutou, me hoki matou.” Ka tuaruatia ano te kupu a te Pakeha nei:- “E hoa ma puta mai kia matou kia ora ai koutou.” Katahi a Rewi Maniapoto ka peke ki waho o te pa ka mea a ia:- “Kaore e mau te rongo, Ake, Ake, Ake.” Ko te rakau i a Manga i taua wa nei no Pakapaka-tai-oreore, he taiaha, me te patu paraoa i tana hope e titi ana, no tenei wa katahi ka utua e te Pakeha:- “E tika ana tena mo koutou mo nga tane...Ka whakautua e te pa katoa. “Kaore e mau te rongo ake, ake, ake.”

Tā Hitiri, (Joseph & Meredith, 2014, p. 24) “Then uprose my sister, Ahumai, amongst the women, and said, if our husbands and brothers are to die of what profit is it to us that we should live? Let us die with the men...”.

Ka hoki anō ki te riri, kei te matemate ngā Māori i ngā rāketē, “No te mea kua 100 o matou kua mate i te mahi a te rakete, no reira ka takoto te mahara i nga kaumatua kia wahia te paa tuarua, ka nui hoki te kaha mai a te purepo...i runga i te otinga o te whakaaro o te Iwi katoa katahi ka wahia te paa” (Joseph & Meredith, 2014, pp. 37-38).

Nō konei ka ngātahi te wāhitanga ake o te pā, kia hokia tā Rewi,

When I got outside the pah I prayed to God...“E Ihowa tohungia ahau, kua e whakaekea tenei hara ki runga i a au...Just then I stumbled and fell down, which made me very dark in my heart, as that was an evil omen. I got up and started on again, but had only got a short distance when I stumbled and fell again. When I got up the second time I commenced a Maori incantation as follows:- Wetea mai te whiwhi, Wetea mai te hara, Wetea mai te tawhito, Wetea kia mataratara, tawhito te rangi, te taea. Hereupon I slapped my thighs, and called out, Tupe runga, Tupe raro, Tupe haha, kei kona koe tu

mai ai, ki konei au rere ake ai... ("The battle of Orakau: A Maori version of a stubborn fight," 1888, p. 18).

Marara atu ana ngā mōrehu, ka whakawhiti i te awa o Puniu ki roto i te Nehenehenui, nō konā, ka riro ō Waikato whenua katoa, kāore ō Waikato hokinga ki ōna whenua, ka riro katoa i te Pākehā.

“The native loss at Ōrākau was very severe being about 50 per cent of the three to 400 engaged...” ("Battle of Orakau: A desperate retreat," 1939, p. 2). Ko tōna mutunga, ka whakatauhia kia noho a Waikato ki roto atu o Ngāti Maniapoto, ka kīa tērā ko te ‘Rohe Pōtae’, ā ko tā te Kāwanatanga, “Tawhiao, ko tēnei taha o Puniu, nga take katoa o tenei taha o Puniu, ko te Kawanatanga te rangatira. Na, kei tena taha o Puniu, nga take katoa kei tena taha o Puniu, ko koe, Tawhiao, tuturu te rangatira. Ko koe te rangatira” (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 72).

4.6 Ngā Tikanga

Kei te huhua rā ngā panonitanga ā tikanga o tēnei pakanga ake, ā panoni noa anō nei, otirā, o ngā pakanga o roto iho o Waikato, ko ngā hangarau tonu, pēnei me te poti tīma e kākahuria ana ki te maitai. Te mātau hoki o te Hōia kia kaua e pakangahia a Pā te Rangi, he mātau ko rātou kē ka horo. A Ōrākau tonu, ahakoa a Mahoetahi i roto o Taranaki i ngahoro ai a Ngāti Haua, ko Ōrākau te pā i āta whiriwhirihia ahakoa, he mōhio te Māori, he māmā noa mō te hōia te karapoti, he hou tēnei, ehara noa iho i te panoni kau. Kāore ana rā he wai, he wāhi haumaruru rānei hei tiki wai. He tātata rawa a Ōrākau ki te puninga a ngā hoia, me merekara e kore ai te hoia e roko i te pā rā i mua anō i tōna otinga. I ngā pakanga o mua ki te Pākehā, kāore te whenua katoa i riro, kāore hoki nei he paku whenua i riro i ngā pakanga o Te Taitokerau, ā, ko ngā whenua i Waitara i meia e te kawana kia whakahokia.

A Waikato nei, te horonga o Ōrākau, te mararatanga ki roto o Maniapoto, koia, kua riro, riro katoa te mono o te whenua, ōna mōmonatanga, ōna wāhi tapu, katoa atu ka riro. He pānga nui tēnei ki te tikanga. Inā kua aukati te āhei ki nga wāhi tapu ki te hāpai i ngā tikanga a te Māori, me ngā āhua katoa, tikanga mai, mahinga mai. Ka toko i konei te pātai, he aha i hangaia mai ai a Ōrākau ki te wāhi i hangaia ai?

Tērā ngā kōrero i whakahuatia ake, nā Tūhoe, nā tōna hikaka ki te riri i pēnei ai, engari, e kitea ana i roto i ēnei kōrero, i āta rūnangahia e ngā rangatira te wāhi hei tūnga whawhai, te mutunga iho, ka kotahi te whakaae ake ko Ōrākau. Ko te tūnga hoki o ngā pā tūwatawata o roto o Waikato, he puru katoa, he whakamātau ki te aukati i te whano a te taua ki te mono o te whenua.

Ko te aranga o te Kīngitanga, hei puru i te toto, hei puru i te whenua, hei puru anō i te tangata, he hou rā tēnei me ōna pānga mai anō ki te tikanga. Ko taka iho ngā iwi huhua ki raro i a ia, he tuku i ō rātou whenua, i ō rātou tinana tonu ki raro i tōna mana. Te aranga o ngā pakanga o roto o Waikato, kei te whakaariki mai te motu, ahakoa rā ehara i te motu katoa ake, engari, kua whakaariki mai ngā iwi o waho atu o Waikato, huri katoa te whenua nei. He pānga anō tēnei ki a Ōrākau i tōna ponitakatanga, kua aukati te kuhu mai o ngā taua. Kātahi anō tēnei āhuatanga ka kitea ake, kua kore e taea te puta, kua kore hoki e taea te kuhu.

Ka tirohia ana te āhua ki te whakapono, i Ōrākau kei te haere ngātahi te Karaitianatanga me tō te ao tawhito whakapono, ka mutu, ko ngā tikanga kei te ngātahi te haere. Ko ētahi o ōna āhuatanga, kei te ao tawhito pū, arā, ko ngā moemoeā hei tohu ki te āhua o te pakanga. Tērā e haere ngā whakamoemiti, tokorua rā hoki ngā minita hei tiaki i ērā tikanga a te ao hou. I reira anō hoki ngā tohunga hei tiaki i ngā tikanga ki te ao tawhito. He tohunga wahine, he tohunga tāne, kua kuhu mai hoki te kupu nei poropiti. I reira anō tēnei āhua i roto i ngā pakanga i te taitonga o Taranaki,

There were lay readers or *minita* of the Church of England in the garrison-Wi Karamona, of Waikato, was the principal *minita*-who led in the religious services, but the ancient Maori rite were not neglected. Most of the people, including Rewi himself, while adopting the faith of the missionaries, turned to the old religion in their extremity...There was as curious a mixture of Christian and pagan beliefs in the hearts of the Orakau defenders. The principle *tohunga Maori*...were Apiata and Tiniwata te Kohika; and the latter's wife, Ahuriri, was gifted with powers of *matakite*...There was also an old *tohunga* named Te Waro who had fought in the Taranaki Wars. Poupatate says that te Waro was the priest of the god Tu-kai-te-uru, whose *aria*,

or visible form, was a fiery glow on the horizon seen on certain occasions. (Cowan, 1955b, p. 376).

Ka kīa ko Rewi te upoko, i te pae me kī o te riri i Ōrākau, ko tāna i kī ai, koia! Ahakoa tēnei whakapae, tērā ia i rapa i te whakaae a te katoa o ngā rangatira. Heoti, ko te wāhi ki te panonitanga o tēnei āhua, ko ngā wā i whawhai ai te Māori ki a ia anō, ā, e huhua ana ngā hoa haumi, ngā iwi, hapū i autaua mai, kei tēnā taua, kei tēnā taua ōna anō rangatira hei whakahaere i ngā āhuetanga, otirā, tikanga ki ā rātou taua ake.

Ko tētahi panonitanga anō, ko te huhua tonu o te hunga i hinga i te pakanga nei, nuku atu ana i te haurua o te katoa. He pānga tō tēnei āhuetanga ki te tikanga, engari, e hoki anō ana ki te hanganga mai o te pā ki te wāhi i hangaia mai ai. E whakapae ana au, he panonitanga nui whakahara ēnei ki te tikanga e pā mai ana ki te pakanga.

4.7 He Whakakapinga

Koia ia tēnei te pātai a tēnei ūpoko, he aha ia te āhua ki ngā tikanga ana whawhai te Māori ki te Pākehā, ā, he aha te āhua ki ōna neke, ki ōna noho, ki ōna panonitanga ki te āhua ki te riri, otirā, ki te mate? Tae anō ki ngā āhua hou, rerekē nei, tae atu rā ki te āhua ki te wairuatanga ki te whakapono, ki ngā whakaaro, ki ngā whiriwhiringa, ki ngā whakamahinga anō a te Māori ki roto i ana whawhai ki te Pākehā, otīa, ki te hōia, ā, e tirohia anōtia ai ko ngā tikanga i whakarērea, i whakamoea rā hoki e te Māori.

Inā te nui o ngā panonitanga i whakaarohia i ngā pakanga e toru noa i tewhatewhahia e te upoko nei. Ko te wāhi tuatahi pea ko te pā pakanga hou, i Te Taitokerau, i Taranaki me Waikato, tērā i hangaia he pā kāore nei i taea e te hoia. Ko Ingārangi hoki kua turaki i ngā iwi i pakangatia e rātou puta te ao. Ka tae mai ki Aotearoa nei, ka raru, ka raru rā i ngā pakanga katoa i Te Taitokerau, ka raru anō ki Puketakauere rāua ko Ōnukukaitara, engari, ka tae ake ki Ōrākau, ka rerekē i konā. He whati hoki i ngā tikanga i whāia rā e te Māori mai anō i te huatakinga o ngā putakari ki te hōia Pākehā, arā, tuatahi, kāore he putanga, kua kore he putanga haumaruru, ka tahi inā, i taea te karapoti i a ia. Nā tēnei, ka aukati te āhei ki te wai. Ko te pā ake i maitai, inā

ngā autātanga a te hoia, kihai te pā i oreore. Nā reira, koianei tētahi panonitanga whakahara (Belich, 1986).

Ko te pupuru a te Māori ki ana tikanga pakanga anō i kitea, ahakoa, ana panonitanga. E mārama ana te kitea atu o te mau a te Māori ki ētahi rā o ana tikanga ka pakanga ana ia. Ko te āhua ki ngā panonitanga puta noa, ka kōrerotia te whakapono, i Te Taitokerau nei me Waikato, he nui te āki mai a te ao Karaitiana, arā, kua haere ngā whakamoemiti, ngā hīmene e haere ngātahi ana me ngā makamaka whana, ngā tūtū waewae me ēnei mahi huhua a te Māori o te ao tawhito. Kotahi noa anō te wā i tūkinotia te tūpāpaku hei whāngai hai, ahakoa anō te hiahia o ngā tohunga Māori ake ki te hāpai i ētahi rā o ngā tikanga o te ao tawhito i Ōrākau, ko te kupu a Rewi kei runga kē atu i ā te katoa. Ko te tūnga mai hoki o te poropiti i kitea rā i ngā pakanga katoa nei, arā, a Te Atua Wera i te Taitokerau, ko te poropiti wahine i whakahau rā kia haere tētahi whakataka ki te kohi i ngā otaota mai i Rangiaowhia te pakanga tērā i pāhuatia rā e te hoia. He tiki atu i te otaota kia rarahunia, kia toa ai ko te pā.

Kotahi tonu te take nui i whawhai ai te Māori mai i te huatakitanga ake o ngā pakanga ki te Pākehā, ko te whenua, he Māori tuturu rā tēnei. Tērā anō hoki ngā taua i noho hei hoa haumi mā te hoia, i kitea rawa rā i te Taitokerau. Tērā anō i Waikato, i noho rā ētahi iwi hei kaimahi mā te Pākehā, ahakoa kāore i āta kitea i roto i ēnei tuhinga. Ā, a Taranaki i a Te Teira mā nei, a Ihaia Te Kirikumara mā nei, he hanga pēnei i tō Waikato, i reira, engari, kāore i kitea a taua nei.

Heoti, koia ēnei ko ētahi āhuatanga i pā ake ai ki te tikanga i mau tonu ai a ia, i panoni mai anō a ia, ā, i tū mai anō ētahi rā tikanga hou, mea hou nei i runga i te āki mai a te ao hou. I tutuki rā te pātai ki te āhua ki tōna panoni. I whakaatuhia hoki ētahi panonitanga ki te āhua ki te whakaaro o te Māori, ki ana whiriwhiringa, ā, ki āna anō mahinga. Tēnei ka whakarere i ēnei pakanga ki konei, ēnei pakanga i tapaina ai ki te ingoa, ko ngā pakanga o Aotearoa e ētahi. Engari, ko te upoko e haere ake, kei runga pū tonu i te takenga mai o te pakanga ki tō te ao Māori whakaaro, arā, he pakanga rā mō te whenua. Ko te upoko e haere ake, kei te kuhu ki roto i ngā pakanga a te poropititanga, e mātaia ai ngā pakanga i hua ake i roto o Taranaki i a Te Ua Haumēne i tāna kaupapa i a Te Pai Mārire, i tupu i konā, kātahi

ka horapa haere ki roto o Whanganui, ka puta rere atu ki te Tairāwhiti. Ka hoki ai ki roto o Taranaki ki a Titokowaru, ā, ka hoki anō ki Te Tairāwhiti ki te ūnga mai o ngā whakarau o Rēkohu ki a Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki.

Upoko 5: Ngā Pakanga a te Tikanga Hou

5.1 He Wāhinga Kōrero

Ko tā tēnei upoko he mātai ake i te āhua ki te tikanga i roto i ngā tau mai i te 1864 ki roto atu i te tau 1869, ehara i te mea i āta mutu ngā kakari nei i tēnei tau ake, engari kē koia te tau o te pakanga whakamutunga e tūhuria ai. Ko ā Te Kooti i nawaki tonu atu ki te tau 1872, te tau tēnā i tau ai tāna noho ki roto i a Ngāti Maniapoto. He whakamātau ki te kimi i te āhua ki te panoni o te tikanga i roto i ngā whawhai a te Māori ki te Pākehā, ā, tāpiri mai ki tēnei ko ngā tikanga pakanga i hāpaia i ngā putakari ki te kūpapa, otirā, a te kūpapa. Ko te aronga nui, ko te hāngaitanga ake me kī, ko te aranga o ngā whakapono hou nei a Te Pai Mārire rāua ko Te Ringatū. Ko tōna pātai matua e pātaia nei, he aha rā ngā rerekētanga ā tikanga pakanga, oīa, ngā tikanga a te mate i roto i ngā tau nei o te ‘Poropititanga’, ko te poropititanga e kōrerotia nei ko Te Pai Mārire rāua ko Te Ringatū. Ka mutu, he tūhura i te āhua ki ngā tikanga kaipakanga i hāpaia mai ai, oīa, te āhua ki ngā tikanga a te ika a Tū. Me kī ake, ehara tēnei tuhinga i te rangahau ake i ngā whakapono hou nei, kahore, kei runga kē ai i te wāhi ki te pakanga ake, oīa, ki te wāhi ki ngā mate. Hei ahakoa, ka tirohia anōtia ai, ka kōrero anōtia ai ētahi āhuatanga o ērā whakapono e rua, ā, ka āta matapakihia ōna poropiti matua arā a Horopāpera Te Ua Haumeene Tūwhakararo, nāna nei Te Pai Mārire rāua ko te Kooti Te Turuki Arikirangi nāna nei Te Ringatū. Tērā anō e tirohia ai, e matapakihia ai te āhua ki ngā whakaaro, ki ngā mahinga anō o te Māori ka pakanga ana.

Kāti, e tiki atu ana tēnei upoko i te whiore o te upoko kātahi anō ka mutu atu. Mutu kau iho ngā kōrero o tērā upoko ki te pakanga i Ōrākau. Ā, e mumura tonu ana te ahi i roto o Taranaki, kihai rawa i poko. Ā, taihoa e kitea te pakaru o te riri ki ētahi anō wāhi, e kitea anō ai te huri a te tikanga ā pakanga, ā, ki te wāhi anō ki te ika a Tiki. Kei te whakapaea e tēnei upoko kōrero, nō roto iho i te tau o te 1864 ahu atu ki te tau 1872 ka āta panoni ngā tikanga pakanga me ngā tikanga a te ika a Tiki. Ko ōna panonitanga me ōna rerekētanga i whakaharahara i te huanga mai o te reanga poropiti ki a Te Pai Mārire, ā, ki te poropiti hoki a Te Ringatū. Ehara i te mea hou tēnei mea te poropititanga i roto i ngā pakanga o mua, mai anō rā i ngā pakanga o Te Taitokerau i a Te Atuwera i ngā tau o te whā tekau, ā, tērā anō tēnei āhuatanga

i reira i ngā kōrero mō Taranaki. Engari i Taranaki ki te tonga, ahakoa kihai i whakahuatia inā i waho kē atu i te wāhi i tirohia ai, ā, i āta kitea anō te panonitanga o te tikanga pakanga i a Te Atuwera. Tērā anō i kōrerotia rā i te pakanga ki Ōrākau.

Ko te marama tonu i mutu ai te upoko o mua iho nei, ko te Āperira o te tau 1864, kia tiki atu ko tā Maxwell (2005) whakarāpopoto i ngā ririri o tēnei marama ake nei (p. 82), inā rā, kei te kitea te huri o te tikanga pakanga i roto noa i tēnei marama tonu. Kei te āhua hokihoki haere ngā tikanga ki a Tū, otirā ki te ika a Tū ki ērā o mua iho i te pakanga ki te Pākehā, ki mua iho hoki i te kuhu a ētahi tikanga karaitiana ki roto ki ngā tikanga ki a Tū,

Orakau fell on Saturday 2 April 1864, south of New Plymouth members of a detachment of militia were ambushed and ritualistically decapitated. The following day, Thursday 7 April, a party of Arawa canoed the length of Lake Rotoiti to do battle with a contingent of East Coast warriors attempting to forge a passage through their territory. Three weeks later on the Bay of Plenty coast British gunboats shelled a war party making its way along the beach south of the Maketu headland. The following morning, 29 April, at Tauranga, a 1400 strong British force stormed Gate Pa. They were repulsed with huge losses, and within 24 hours of that on the other side of the Island, Maori raiders delivered a fanatical attack on a redoubt at Sentry Hill, located midway between Bell Block and Waitara (Maxwell, 2005, p. 84).

Nō te aranga mai o Te Pai Mārire i a Te Ua Horopāpera Haumeene, ka āta panoni ngā tikanga whawhai a te hunga nei, me kī ake, ko ētahi o ngā tikanga nō roto kē i te ao tawhito, ngā tikanga i hāpaia rā i ngā pakanga o te huringa o te rautau tae ake ki roto i ngā tau o te toru tekau. Engari, ko ētahi tikanga he hou rawa atu nei, kāore rawa i kitea i mua iho. Tērā pea rānei, kāore e kore, ko ētahi iwi, kihai i whakarērea e rātou ngā tikanga pakanga o mua, arā, ko ngā tikanga pakanga o ngā toru tekau tau tīmatanga o te rau tau tekau mā iwa. Inā he nui tonu ngā iwi i waho kē atu i te mātakitaki a te Pākehā, i ngā mahi tonu a ngā mihingare, arā hoki, i te tuhi a te pene. Tuia ki tēnei, ahakoa, i ōna wāhi, i hokia ai ngā tikanga o tua whakarere, tērā e kitea, i whakarērena hoki ētahi tikanga pakanga.

Tā Te Pai Mārire, he pono hoki e kore te matā e pā ki a rātou, ahakoa anō, kāore i āta roa ka kitea he horihori, heoi, ka whakaoho anō i a rātou ētahi tikanga kua roa i te moe. He pēnei tahi anō mō te aranga mai o te Ringatū i tōna matua tangata i a Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. I āta rerekē i a Te Turuki ētahi tikanga mō te whawhai, ētahi tikanga hoki a te hunga tapu, ahakoa, e kitea ai, tērā hoki ōna rite ki te ao pakanga Māori tūturu. Nā Titokowaru ngā atua a Tū, arā, a Uenuku kaitangata rāua ko Maru i whakaara, ka mutu, ka ara anō mai ngā tikanga a aua atua rā. Kua ara mai rā ngā taua i piri ki ngā hoia a te Karauna, i piri rānei ngā hoia a te karauna, otirā, a te Kāwanatanga ki ngā taua Māori nei, he tika hoki ngā kōrero e rua, ā, ka hōrapa te karangatanga mō rātou he Kūpapa, arā, ko te kūpapa tonu anō kei te kīa he Kūpapa rātou, tāna tikanga hoki i tētahi kōrero i puta i te wā e haere ana ngā pakanga i roto o Waikato, e kimi hoa haumi ana a Waikato i Te Tai Rāwhiti,

They call themselves always ‘Kupapa,’ as being partisans of neither side (Whitmore, 1864, p. 15).

Ehara rā hoki i te āta hou nei, nā hoki i kitea tēnei āhuetanga i ngā nguha i Te Taitokerau i ngā pakanga a Hone Heke mā nei, i a Kawiti mā nei me te kuhu a Tāmāti Wakanene mā. Engari kē, he āta tikanga i whakatakotohia e ngā taha e rua mō te āhua ki ngā putakari, arā, he riri awatea kē ērā, ka tahi, tuarua, nō roto pū hoki a Wakanene otirā ngā rangatira katoa i whawhai me ia i te take i whawhai ai, tuatoru, he motuhake kē te whawhai a Wakanene mā. Ko te wāhi rerekē nui a te hunga i kīa ai he kūpapa, ko te kuhu a te taua ki ngā ririri kāore nei ōna āta pānga atu ki aua riri, koinei hoki te tupunga o te karangatanga nei o te Kūpapa, ā, he moni anō hoki. Tā Broughton (1993, p. 78) hoki,

Ko te iwi o te Kuupapa, koiraa ngaa Maaori i whai i te Paakehaa aa, pakanga iho hoki ki te Maaori moo te Paakehaa te take.

Ko ētahi iwi hoki i mate ki tēnei karangatanga, ahakoa nō rātou tonu te take i whawhai ai, ā, ko ngā hoia i piri kē ai ki a rātou. Ka āta kitea tēnei āhuetanga i ngā putakari i Te Tairāwhiti. Kihai hoki i āta tawhiti atu i tēnei tau, arā, nō te paunga o te tau 1865 te tonu a Ingārangi kia hoki ake ana hoia ki reira, ka mahue iho ko ngā

hoia a te Kāwanatanga ake hei kōkiri i āna whawhai, ā, hei hoariri mā ngā iwi whakatutū puehu. Ka āpiti mai ki tēnei ko ngā taua kūpapa.

Ka tae hoki ana ki te tau 1864 kei te hanga *haumate* haere te tū a te Māori, ko te Kīngitanga tēnā, arā, ko Waikato mai anō i a Ōrākau tonu kua pana i ana whenua katoa, pana ana ki roto o Ngāti Maniapoto, riro iho ana te whenua i te raupatu. Ahakoa wepua ana ngā hoia i Pukehinahina, ko Te Ranga i whai ake i tēnā, ka kino te whiunga. Kei te ngāoko tonu rā hoki ngā kakari i roto o Taranaki. Nō roto iho i ēnei āhuatanga ka ara ko te āhua whawhai a ngā taua o Te Pai Mārire i karangatia ai rātou ko te Hauhau inā ā rātou kōrero ana whawhai rātou, ko ‘Hapa Pai Mārire’. Ka rere te auau a Pai Mārire, ko ‘Hau, hau! Ahakoa i tupu mai ai tēnei whakapono i roto o Taranaki, nāwai, ka horapa katoa Taranaki puta atu ana ki roto o Whanganui, whakawhiti atu ana ki roto o Ngāti Awa, ki Te Tairāwhiti katoa, ko Te Urewera, ki roto anō hoki i te Kīngitanga i a Waikato rāua ko Ngāti Maniapoto, kua toro anō hoki ki roto o Te Wairarapa. Ka pakaru ai te riri ki te nuinga o ēnei wāhi katoa. Tērā hoki te Ringatū, ka horapa ki te Tairāwhiti katoa, ki Te Urewera, Mataatua me kī, ā, puta anō ētahi wāhi.

Ka mutu, ka toru rawa ngā putakari ka āta tirohia ai e tēnei upoko, ā, tērā anō ētahi pakanga ka whakahuatia, ā, ka kōrerotia ai ki tēnā wāhanga, ki tēnā wāhanga o te upoko nei. Heoti, ka tīmata ake ki te huanga mai o Te Pai Mārire i roto o Taranaki i tōna poropiti i a Horopāpera Te Ua Haumeene Tūwhakararo, ka tewhaina rā ōna takenga mai me ngā take i huri ai a Te Pai Mārire hei whakapono riri. Ka kōrerotia te kokoti moeroa i huaki ake ai ngā pakanga a te Hauhau. Ka whāia mai i tēnei, ko te huaki a Te Hauhau i te pā pakanga³⁹ o te hōia o Sentry Hill, ki tā te Pākehā karanga, arā i a Te Mōrere, parekuratia ana te Hauhau. Muringa iho, ka kōrerotia ai te haere a Tāwhiao ki a Te Ua ki te tiki mai i Te Pai Mārire mō roto i a Waikato, Maniapoto, otirā, mō ngā iwi o te Kīngitanga. Kātahi ka aru haere ēnei kōrero i te tira heri i Te Pai Mārire ki roto o Te Whakatōhea, ki Te Tai Rāwhiti, ā, ki roto anō o Ngāi Tūhoe, ka tatū ai ki Te Tāpiri ki te aukatitanga a Ngāti Manawa i a Tūhoe, otirā, i a Kereopa Te Rau me ngā tira Hauhau, ka mātāia te pakipakihanga a Tūhoe mā i a Ngāti Manawa ki Te Tāpiri me Ōkupu. Ka whakarērena i konā te ara taua a

³⁹ Redoubt

te Hauhau⁴⁰ ka tiki mai anō ai i te hoatu o ēnei kōrero ki ngā pakanga a Titokowaru i roto anō o Taranaki, ki roto o Ngā Ruahine, ki a Ngāti Manuhiakai, ki tōna pā ake ki a Te Ngutu o te Manu. Kātahi ka whakawhiti anō ai ki Te Tairāwhiti ki te ūnga mai o ngā whakarau mai i Wharekauri i raro i tō rātou poropiti i a Te Turuki, arā, a Te Kooti Arikirangi. Ka whakarāpotohia te aranga mai o Te Ringatū, ka whakahuahua i ētahi o ana tikanga, kātahi ka kuhu ki roto i ana whawhai e toru tuatahi. Kātahi ka āta hāngaia ai ngā kōrero ki runga ki te pāhuatanga o Matawhero. Ka tatū rā ki te whakarāpopototanga ake o ngā pakanga i kōrerotia rā e tēnei upoko, ka whakaara i ngā tikanga ā pakanga otirā, ngā tikanga a te hunga tapu me te whakaari haere i ngā kōrero hei hāpai i tāku whakapae mō te āhua ki te panoni a te tikanga i roto i ngā tau e mātaitia ana e tēnei upoko.

5.2 Pai Mārire

Ka mutu, ka tīmata ēnei kōrero ake mā te hoki atu ki roto o Taranaki ki te huranga mai o te whakapono hou i ara i a Horopāpera Te Ua Haumeene Tūwhakararo arā a Te Pai Mārire. Nō te tau 1862 nei ka hua ai te whakapono nei. Nō roto o Taranaki ake a Te Ua, i whānau rā i roto i ngā tau o 1820 i Taranaki ki te tonga.

Heoti, he whakamahara ake, i hikaia rā te ahi i roto o Taranaki i te tau 1860, ā, ka toro te ahi ki roto o Waikato, ka riro te whenua, ka iri te raupatu. Koinei hoki te ia o ngā kōrero i roto o Taranaki, arā, ko te muru me te raupatu, ahakoa ko tōna whakatinanatanga i roa i ētahi wāhi. Ko te huringa o te whakapono nei ki roto atu i te pakanga i whakaohore rawa i a tauwiwi, ā, i ohore anō te motu,

“Less than a week after the fall of Orakau the colony was startled by the reports of a new phase of warfare in Taranaki, accompanied by a fanatic ferocity unknown in the previous campaigns. This hardening-up of the Maori fighting spirit in a kind of holy war imparted to the racial struggle a savagery and a bitter persistence that carried the war to the young “seventies” (Cowan, 1955a, p. 1).

⁴⁰ Ahakoa whakarērena ana e Titokowaru rāua ko Te Kooti tēnei karangatanga, ko te Hauhau tonu te karangatanga a te hōia, otirā a te Pākehā.

Koia tēnei ko te aranga mai o Te Pai Mārire i roto o Taranaki. Ko te tino aranga mai hoki o tētahi panoni nui whakahara ki te āhua ki te tikanga ana whawhai ana Te Pai Mārire, ā, nāwaki ake, ko te Ringatū. Nā reira rā hoki te whakapae o te panoni a te tikanga. Ko ngā tohu a Te Pai Mārire, ko te pou niu, arā, ko te pou karakia tēnā a te Hauhau, ko te karere a te atua ko ⁴¹Kapiera, ko ōna atua ake ko Rura rāua ko Riki kia whāia atu tā (Elsmore, 1999, p. 170),

Gabriel made more revelations to Te Ua, particularly instructing him to set up a niu, or tall pole fitted with a yard arm and ropes which trailed to the ground. The purpose of this niu was to act as an agent for the ‘aquirement of the languages of all racers upon earth’...Gabriel was referred to as Gabriel Rura – the biblical messenger being identified with the traditional atua Rura. It appears that the two archangels of Christianity were seen as Riki and Rura, representing atua of war and peace respectively.

Ko tōna taketakenga ko te huri a te Māori ki te tiki i ngā karaipiture i tōna kite atu i ōna ritenga ki tō te Māori noho i roto i ngā pakanga o roto mai o Taranaki, Waikato me ērā i Tauranga, ā, nāwai, ka horapa ki ētahi anō rohe o te motu nei. Kei te mātakitaki atu te motu katoa ki ēnei putakari me te mārāma anō ko te hiakai whenua a te Pākehā tōna pūtaka. Nō roto i ēnei āhuatanga ka whānau ko te whakatupuranga hou, arā, ko te Poropititanga hei huarahi atu ki te hokitanga mai o ngā whenua me te mana Māori motuhake.

Ko te whakapae hoki a Clark,

nā te koorero Karaipiture tonu, ka tino maatau te Maaori ki ngā koorero, ki ngā whakaaro hoki o eeraa koorero. Heoi anoo, ko toona mutunga, i riro katoa ngā whakaaro o te Maaori ki reira; ka mahue oona ake Atua, aana ake tikanga hoki. I roto i aa raatou mahi, i oo raatou mamaetanga hoki ka rite anoo ki te iwi o raawahi, ka puuea ake he whakatupuranga hoou, araa, ko te hunga poropiti...Ko too Taranaki tuatahi i rangona ki te motu, ko Te Ua Haumeene Tuuwhakararo, Clark i roto iho i a (Broughton, 1993, p. 88).

⁴¹ Gabriel

Me titiro tēnei whakapae, āe rā hoki he tikanga hou i whānau i ngā poropiti, engari, mā te mātaki ake i ēnei kōrero ka kitea he whēranutanga te poropititanga i te ao hou ki te ao tawhito i roto i te āhua ki te tikanga ki te takiwā ki te pakanga me te āhua anō ki ngā tikanga a te ika a Tiki. E whēranu hoki ana i te tikanga Māori ki ngā kōrero o roto o te paipera tawhito ki ngā tikanga a te Māori ake i roto i te āhua ki te pakanga me te ika a Tū. Ka paku ana te titiro atu ki ētahi o ngā take i hua ai ēnei whakapono mā te tiki atu i tā Cowan mō Te Pai Mārire (Cowan, 1955a, p. 2)

The confiscation of huge areas of Waikato and Taranaki territory enabled the government to reward its forces with land-grants, but the crude and unjust manner of the seizure...stiffened the martial fibre of the Maori. It debased a chivalrous kind of warfare into guerrilla campaigns of utter savagery...

Nā, ko ngā pakanga Hauhau nei i kāia rā i hua ake i te tau 1864, ā, haere atu ai ki te tau 1869, kia tiki atu ko tā (Belich, 1986, pp. 203-204) i tāna whakarāpopoto i ngā pakanga nei,

The fighting in this period consisted of a dozen distinct campaigns and major expeditions in as many districts, spanning the whole breadth of the North Island. Over seventy engagements were fought, most of them very small, and there were also scores of raids on farms and villages...There appear to have been two general causes of conflict: confiscation and Pai Marire...Little is known of the development of *Pai Marire* before April 1864, but from that date it spread rapidly across the country, with King Tawhiao becoming a convert in November 1864. The original form of *Pai Marire* may have died out as early as 1866, with the death of its founder, but related or similar cults developed around leaders such as Hakaraia⁴², Te Whiti o Rongomai, Titokowaru, Te Kooti and Tawhiao himself.

Kāti, “Ko Te Ua te tangata nāna i whakaara ngā pou te uea o te mana Hauhau”⁴³.
Kia whāia atu tā Ruka,

⁴² Nō roto ake tēnei tangata i a Taranaki tūturu pēnei me Te Ua.

⁴³ Waiata nō roto o Taranaki.

Ko Te Ua te maataamua o ngaa poropiti o roto o Taranaki, araa, o ngaa poropiti i aata raangona...Naa, ka kitea i roto o aana mahi, ko te totohe ki te Paakehaa e tango nei i te whenua. Heoi anoo, ka tiimata te pakanga o te Maaori hei pupuru i oona whenua. Kua kore hoki e taaea e te koorero noaiho nei naa, kotahi anake te patu i toe, ko te mau ki te puu! Koiraa ka mau te Hauhau ki ngaa puu ka tiimata ai ngaa mahi kai pakanga a te iwi o Te Ua (Broughton, 1993, p. 81).

Nō Ngāti Ruanui rāua ko Taranaki a ia. Haere tonu ana tā Ruka Broughton (1993, p. 89),

Ka eke teetehi maaramatanga ki runga i a ia. Koiraa te tiimatanga o taana whakahaere, o te Paimaarire. Kaatahi ka horapa taua tikanga raa aa, puta noa, puta noa ki runga ki ngaa iwi o te motu. ‘Hapa Pai maarire!’ Koiraa taa raatou karanga hei pei atu i ngaa mataa a te Paakehaa i te waa i pakanga ai a Taranaki ki te iwi raa.

Koinei ia tētahi o ngā tikanga i te huringa o Te Pai Mārire hei tikanga pakanga, nā, mō Te Ua ake,

Te Ua, a man of Taranaki and Te Ati Awa, evolved his creed between 1862 and 1864. Like previous prophetic movements, Paimarire amalgamated Maori and European beliefs with the innovations of its founder...Indeed, Te Ua can be seen as the founder of a great Maori movement of non-violent resistance of which the Maori King Tawhiao⁴⁴ or Matutaera, the prophet Te Whiti o Rongomai of Parihaka and Titokowaru himself became branches (Belich, 2010, p. 5).

Tāpiri ake ki tēnei,

Te Ua Haumene was the founding prophet of the Hauhau church, the first organised expression of an independant Maori Christianity. He was born

⁴⁴ Ko Te Pai Mārire me te Tariao.

into the Taranaki tribe at Waiaua, in South Taranaki, in the early 1820s. His father who died shortly after, was Tutawake, and his mother Paihaka (Head, 1990, p. 511).

Kāti, ko te ririri e huatakihia ai ēnei kōrero, ko te kakari kua whakahuatia ake nei i runga nei i te tuaono o Aperira tonu o te tau 1864 i Te Ahuahu whakatetonga atu i Puke Ariki⁴⁵, ki te kokoti moeroa i huaki rā ki runga i tētahi akunga hōia,

...a party under one Captain Lloyd was on a crop destruction mission⁴⁶ in the Kaitake area. They had scattered to loot Maori habitations when they were surprised by a war party and driven off with the loss of seven of their number, including Lloyd. The dead who could not be recovered, were decapitated. This was a common Maori practice in war being designed to profane the heads and to shame the family of the victim... (Simpson, 1986, p. 176).

Ko te rerenga whakamutunga o tēnei kōrero a Simpson, kei te tika mō te wāhi ki te whawhai a te Māori ki a ia anō, engari, kāore kau anō tēnei tikanga kia paku kitea i ngā Matawhāura ki te Pākehā, ā, ka mutu, mō te neke atu i te rua tekau tau, ā, kāore noa iho i āta kitea atu i ngā pakanga mai anō i ā Hone Heke rāua ko Kawiti. Heoti, he mea pakipaki anō te mähunga o lloyd, ka ahikaraehia, haria ana ki ngā pā o roto o Taranaki, ā, taro ake ki ētahi anō pā kāinga o te motu hei whakaaraara i a rātou ki Te Pai Māiretanga,

The heads of the slain soldiers, including Captain lloyd's were carried by the Pai-marire disciples to their prophets, and several of them were preserved by the ancient smoke-drying process, and were sent from tribe to tribe to enlist Hauhau recruits...The Maoris state that Lloyds head was taken by Kereopa across the Island as far as Opotiki...another head, said to have been Gallagher's, was carried by the prophet Patara Raukatauri to the tribes between Turanganui...and the East Cape (Cowan, 1955a, p. 17).

⁴⁵ Nū Pāremata – Ngāmotu.

⁴⁶ Tā te Pākehā kupu mō tēnei rautaki a rātou ko te 'Bush scoring'.

Nō konei, ka huri te āhua o Te Pai Mārire, nā hoki i mua, he whakapono rangimārie, tā Cowan (1955a, p. 18),

The Pai-marire worship now assumed a more ferocious phase than that which its founder had first given it. Te Ua professed to have received further inspiration from the angel Gabriel, who now commanded him to send the *pakeha* officers head from tribe to tribe through the Island...His principal priests or prophets were Hepanaia Kapewhiti, Matene Te Rangi-tauira, Patara Raukatauri, Kereopa Te Rau and Horomona.

Kia haere tonu i tā Cowan, (1955a, p. 18),

The decapitation of the slain soldiers at Te Ahuahu was the first instance of this mutilation of enemies bodies in the wars of the “sixties”. To decapitation the west coast Hauhau’s added cannibalism in 1868-69. Tamaikowha, of the Ngai Tama and Urewera, revived the practice of eating the hearts of his enemies⁴⁷.

Heoti, whāia atu ana i te kokoti moeroa i huaki ai ki runga ki ngā hōia i Te Ahuahu, ka hua ko te parekura i Te Mōrere, ko Te Mōrere hoki he pā pakanga Pākehā i whakatūria ki reira. Tā te Pākehā karanga mō Te Mōrere, ko Sentry Hill. Ko te pakanga nei i hua ake i te 30 o Āperira 1864,

Naa Tiitokowaru i kookiri te hohoro ki teeraa pakanga. Heoi anoo, ki taa te Paakehaa titiro ki taua whakahaere a Te Ua, he mahi naa te poorangi. Otiraa, ki te aata tirohia ngaa tikanga i aranga ai taua whakahaere, teeraa e kitea eehara tonu naa te poorangi i tiimata engari naa te tangata moohio tonu. Otiraa, ko te koorero nui moo ngaa ahi a te iwi Hauhau, he koorero haahani te nuinga... (Broughton, 1993, p. 81).

Nā Te Kahupūkoro tonu tēnei kōrero i tā Simpson mō te parekura nei (Simpson, 1986, p. 178).

⁴⁷ Tirohia tā Cowan, ka paku whakamārama noatia.

The only first-hand Maori account available comes from Te Kahupukoro, who took part in the attack as a boy of twelve. There was indeed a Pai marire priest with the attacking party, Hepanaia, but his plan was to make not a frontal attack but a surprise attack from the rear. This council was overruled. The other chiefs⁴⁸ thought that there was only a handful of defenders, and assisted that the traditional tactic of a frontal assault should be adopted. As the Maoris moved to their positions a musket was accidentally discharged, so warning the defenders, who held their fire until the attackers were almost on them and then discharged several volleys, killing about 50 and driving of the rest.

Nō Ngā Ruahine hapū o Ngāti Ruanui a Te Kahupūkoro. Kia tirohia anōtia atu tāna,

Two hundred warriors were banded together under the prophet Hepanaia Kapewhiti, one of Te Ua's apostles. They were members of the Taranaki, Atiawa, and Ngati-Ruanui Tribes, with some Nga-Rauru from Waitotara and a number of Wanganui men...From Te Kahu-pukoro⁴⁹ of Otakeho...The *ope* which assembled at the Manutahi *pa*...for the attack on the British redoubt at Te Morere was composed of the best warriors of the West Coast. Hepanaia...was at the head of the war party. He was our prophet. He taught us the Pai-marire *karakia*, and told us that if we repeated it as we went into battle the *pakeha* bullets would not strike us (Cowan, 1955a, p. 22).

Huihui ai ngā iwi nei me ō rātou rangatira i a Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake, a Te Whiti o Rongomai rātou ko Tohu Kākahi, tae atu ki a Kingi Parengarenga,

At Hepanaia's call, *Porini*⁵⁰, *hoia! Teihana*⁵¹! We all formed a ring around the *niu*, Hepanaia standing by its foot, and we marched round and round the mast, chanting the incantations which the prophet had taught us, the *karakia*

⁴⁸ Nā Hare te Hokai, rangatira o Te Atiawa i whakahē me te hinga mai a ngā rangatira ki tāna i kī ai (Cowan, 1955b).

⁴⁹ Nā Te Kahupūkoro ēnei kōrero ki a Cowan i te 30th August 1920.

⁵⁰ Fall in.

⁵¹ Attention

beginning, '*Piki rewa, rongo rewa, piki hira, rongo hira*⁵²'. ...we went into battle loudly chanting our Pai-marire service...*haere tu tonu*...their were two tiers of rifles blazing at us...Now we cried out the '*Hapa*'...incantation which Hepanaia had taught us, to cause the bullets to go harmlessly over us: '*Hapa, hapa, hapa! Hau, hau, hau! Pai-marire, rire, rire-hau!* As we did so we held our right hands uplifted, palms frontward, on a level with our heads...this we believed, would ward of the enemies bullets: it was the faith with which we all had been inspired by Te Ua and his apostles...The terrible slaughter of Hepanaia's deluded followers temporarily weakened the new confidence in Pai-marire, but Te Ua had a satisfying explanation – namely, that those who fell were to blame because they did not repose absolute faith in the *karakia*. (Cowan, 1955a, pp. 22-25).

Koia tēnei te 'mate rihariha' nei i Te Mōrere. Koia hoki nei te huatakitanga ake o ngā pakanga Hauhau. Nō konei hoki anō ka totoro haere ngā tikanga a te whakaponono Pai Mārire ki te motu, kei ngā pā maha te niu e huria ana e ōna whakaminenga, ko ngā ahi tonu a Te Pai Mārire kei te puta noa,

On the political / religious front the doctrine of Pai Marire, peaceful in origin but now suffused with violence, continued to expand until its influence stretched from one coast to the other. Niu poles were now to be found in villages as far distant as those of the Whakatohea tribe in the Opotiki/Taneatua region of the southern Bay of Plenty – in the villages of the northern Kahungunu at Wairoa, and among the Ngati Porou on the East Cape (Maxwell, 2005, p. 99).

Tērā anō Te Pai Mārire i roto o Ngāti Maniapoto, ko te kīngi tonu i haere ki a Te Ua ka iriirihia ia ki tōna ingoa a Tāwhiao. Ka mutu, kua Hauhau te Kīngitanga, ko ngā iwi anō hoki o runga mai o te awa o Whanganui anō kua Hauhau, te tatūnga hoki ki Whanganui ka pakaru te riri, heoi, ka tae anō ki ngā iwi o Tauranga moana. Kāti, kia kōrerotia rā te haeretanga ake o Matutaera ki a Te Ua. Nō te Noema o te

⁵² Big river, long river, big hill, long hill.

tau 1864 ka tae a Matutaera, te kīngi Māori tuarua ki a Te Ua i Ahipaipa, kia whāia atu tā Broughton (1993, pp. 89-91)

Nawhai, aa, ka tae te rongo o taana whakahaere [Te Ua] ki te Kiingi, ki a Matutaera [tā Henare Tūwhāngai kōrero ki a Ruka] i te rongonga o te Kiingi, ka hoki oona mahara ki ngaa tohutohu a toona matua, a Pootatau. Ko te koorero a Pootatau ki taana tamaiti...E Tama, ki te moe ooku kanohi, whakarongo! Teeraa teetehi manu kei roto i te hauhunga: ki te rongo koe, whaaia! I runga i ngaa moemoeaa...a Rewi Maniapoto ka tino akiakina te Kiingi kia haere raatou ki Taranaki...Heoi anoo, ka tae atu te Kiingi raatou ko toona tira ki Ahipaipa, i Okaiawa. Ka karanga tonu atu te Kiingi ki te poropiti (Te Whetu Marama 20 Tihema 1924: 3-4): E Ua, e toru ngaa taaonga i haere mai ai ahau ko te Weeteriana, ko Rooma, ko Pahia ko taau hoki ka whaa. Kaati, kotahi tonu taku ringa hei pupuri i eenei mea katoa. Ka whakahokia e Te Ua: Riree hau pai maarire! Taaria au e eke atu ki o kupu, kia oti raa anoo koe te tuhi ki te tuhi maareikura o te Matua, o te Tama, o te Wairua Tapu, kia kore ai oou hoariri e whai ki toou maatenga.

Nō konā ka hoatu rāua ki te niu,

...ka whakahaerea ngaa tikanga o te tuhi maareikura, araa he karakia ka hoatu te mana atua ki a Matutaera. Ka tapaina i reira toona ingoa araa a Taawhiao (Broughton, 1993, p. 92).

Koinei kua hinga mai Te Kiingitanga, a Waikato, Maniapoto ki roto i Te Pai Māriretanga. Nō konā, nō te paunga o te Hānuere 1865, tukuna ana e Te Ua tāna tira ki ngā iwi o Te Tai Rāwhiti ki a Hirini Te Kani a Takirau, he hari rā i te ahikarae, arā, i te upoko i pakipakihia rā, tō Captain Lloyd ki a Te Kani. Ko Kereopa Te Rau o Ngāti Rangiwewehi rāua ko Patara Raukatauri, rangatira o te iwi o Taranaki ki Oakura me Kaitake i te pae o tēnei tira. Tā Clark (1975, p. 19),

The prophet's instructions were explicit. 'The road extends direct from here [Matakaha, Taranaki] to Waitotara; there it proceeds in an inland course to

Pipiriki; thence direct to Taupo: thence direct to Te Urewera; thence direct to Ngatiporou until it reaches Hirini...

Nō mua iho i te tatūnga ki Ōpōtiki, ka tatū ki roto o Ngāti Manawa ki te pā o Tauaroa ki te whakahou i Te Pai Māiretanga ki roto ki ngā iwi o tērā takiwā, kia arua atu tā (Binney, 2009, p. 74),

The message to join the new faith was resisted by some: two chiefs of Te Whaiti, Nga Korowai and Te Wiremu, wrote immediately to the government saying that threats had been made on their lives if they did not join. They said that they spoke for ‘all the chiefs of our three tribes’ living at Te Whāiti (Ngāti Whare, Patuheuheu and Ngāti Manawa)⁵³. A separate account, written on 20 February, brought different information from Hohepa Ngamuka, who had also been at Tauaroa when Kereopa arrived. He described how the ‘Urewera’, some 200 people, had stood in two rows to be confirmed into the new movement, while the widows of men who had fallen at Orakau vented their grief and their anger in front of the two captured soldiers. Then the women bit the dried head (‘ngau-pakoko-noa-iho’) to make it harmless (Te Uruhi, 1865, p. 4). This was one of the functions of the rituals around European Military objects and men: to remove their power.

Heoi, kia arua atu tā (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 41),

After this ceremony was over, Kereopa said- “Now let the widows of those who fell at Orakau vent their grief and rage on the head, and the living Pakehas.” The two Europeans were then placed on either side of the head, and the infuriated women flourished spears and tomahawks, over the two men, and made pretended bites at the head. Kereopa meanwhile addressed the tribe, stating that he had been sent by the great prophet Te Ua to convert

⁵³ Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare and Patuheuheu held a hui at Whataroa early in 1865 to discuss strategies. According to several latter Ngāti Manawa spokesmen, including Hohepa Poia, they chose carefully to divide their allegiances, sending some men to support the government and others to join Pai Mārire. This was before the siege at Te Tāpiri in May 1865 (Binney, 2009, p. 74). He pēnei tahi anō a Ngāti Manawa mō te pakanga ki Ōrākau.

all the tribes, and that when he had finished, prophets would be appointed, and a general rising against the Pakeha would ensue.

Nō muri iho ka tatū ki Whakatāne, ā, nō te 25 o Pepuere te tatūnga ki Ōpōtiki. Pōwhiringia ana rātou,

Kereopa...was the first to speak. He informed his hearers that he came to make the place sacred to the new religion, and that they must forsake the old forms and ceremonies. He also ordered them to drive away the Pakehas living amongst them. The Whakatohea consented to receive the Hauhau faith, but refused to drive away men who had lived with them for years (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 43).

E mōhio whānuingia ana te patunga o Te Wākena⁵⁴ tāronahia a Te Wākena, ka pōutohia, ka kainga anōtia ōna whatu e Kereopa Te Rau.⁵⁵ Me kī i konei, nā Te Ua hoki i whakahau āna āpotoro kia mātua haere ki runga i te maunga ā rongo, ā, kei te kitea kihai noa iho tēnei i arongia. Ka pakipakihia te mähunga. Heoti, ka tōtara wāhiruatia te ope a Kereopa, ko Pātara i hoatu ki Tunapahore, engari, i tā Gudgeon anō, i mua iho i te wehenga o te ope a Pātara, nāna i tuhi atu ki a Te Wākena (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 42),

...the Church of England minister, warning him not to return, as the Maories would not have ministers of any religion among them for the future.

Ka whati a Patara, ā, nō te tahi o Maehe 1865, ka tatū te kaupuke o te Eclipse ki te ngutu awa, ko runga ko Messrs. Grace and Volkner, te tatūnga o Kereopa, ka tū anō,

I have to remind you that if you do not agree to my proposals you will be destroyed by my god. This is my word, fetch the Pakeha ministers, that I

⁵⁴ The local missionary Carl Sylvius Volkner.

⁵⁵ Gripping the head, he gouged out both eyes. He held up an eye in each hand between fingers and thumb. Listen, O tribe! This eye is the Parliament of England, and this one is the law of New Zealand (Cowan, 1955a, p.73).

may destroy them...After 2 p.m., on the second of March, twenty armed men under Heremita came to the prisoner's whare, and took Mr Volkner...He was first taken to the church, where his coat and waistcoat were taken off, his hands tied, and a rope placed round his neck; he was then led out to a willow-tree which had been selected as a gallows...Mr. Volkner was run up to the branch of the willow. After hanging a few moments, he was lowered and Kereopa shot him and threw the body... (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 44).

Koia tēnei te patunga o Te Wākena, nō muri atu hoki ka patua a Falcoon i ngā tohutohu a Horomona, poropiti a te Hauhau, he mea puhi tonu i a ia i te moe e Kirimangu, te hunga anō o runga i te kaupuke nei a te Kate,⁵⁶ka patua atu i tētahi tokorua tamariki (Gudgeon, 1986).

Ko Patara i hoatu rā ki Tunapahore i Te Tai Rāwhiti, ka tatū ki a Te Kani, kihai rā ia i pai, hei ahakoa, ka tōtara wāhirua a Ngāti Porou⁵⁷,

From the upper East Coast, where the proselytising of the new religion led quickly to civil war among Ngāti Porou, some of the men from Taranaki who had taken the coastal route – among them Patara - fled into the interior to Ruatahuna. It appears that the Tūhoe leaders there decided to escort them across their boundaries and take them home to Taranaki (Binney, 2009, p. 82).

Nā reira, kua pahū te riri ki roto o Ngāti Porou. Me kī, tērā e kīa ana i whāia atu e Kereopa a Pātara ki Te Tai Rāwhiti, kia arua atu tā Crosby (2015, p.241),

...he initially followed Patara to the Turanganui...area where he again received an enthusiastic response from local Māori...(The warmth of the welcome he received bewildered the long-standing Anglican missionary there, Bishop William Williams, who felt quite betrayed by the readiness

⁵⁶ Nō taua kōhuru nei ka whakarautia a Horomona rāua ko Kirimangu ka tāronahia (Gudgeon, 1986, p.47).

⁵⁷ Ko Waikato i toro ki roto o Ngāti Kahungunu i te tīmatanga mai o te 1865 ki te kauhau i Te Pai Mārire, ā, ka pēnei anōtia a Kahungunu, ka tōtara wāhirua, ka hua ko ngā pakanga a Kahungunu ki a ia anō.

with which every man of his own congregation embraced the Pai Mārire cult. The general air of hostility that soon developed towards him and the Church forced him to decide he had to move his family out of Gisbourne for their own safety).

Ā, ka mea, ka kuhu kē ai a Kereopa i konā ki roto o Ngāi Tūhoe, tērā tā Best (1972) rāua ko Cowan (1955) e whakapae ana i hoki kē a ia ki roto o Te Whakatōhea, ā, nō muri kē ka tatū ki roto o Te Urewera. Kāti, kia huri rā ēnei kōrero ki te huanga mai o te puta e āta arongia ai e tēnei wāhanga ake arā, koia tēnā ko te pakipakihanga o Ngāti Manawa ki Te Tāpiri me Ōkupu e Ngāi Tūhoe, ā rātou manuhiri a Taranaki, ā, taihoa, e Kereopa me tōna tira.

5.3 Te Tāpiri

Ko te take hoki i hua ai tēnei pakanga he hiahia nō Tūhoe ki te whakahoki ake i te ope o Taranaki i rere nei i Waiapu. Nō te Mei o te tau 1865 ka tatū a Tūhoe me te ope a Pātara ki te takiwā ki Te Tāpiri, ka kitea ake e aukatingia ana e Ngāti Manawa, kua tahuri ki te whakatūtū pā tūwatawata i te rongotanga kua tatū a Taranaki ki roto i a Tūhoe me te whakaaro kua tae anō a Kereopa ki roto anō i a rātou. Ko te pā i whakahouhia e Ngāti Manawa ko Te Tāpiri ki te tongi tonu o Ngāti Manawa me te rohe pōtae o Ngāi Tūhoe,

Ngāti Manawa had a bristly relationship with Ngāti Whare and Tūhoe...They had close interrelationships with both, and also over many years been engaged in inter-hapū warfare with them. But the constant was that they jealously guarded their own rohe in the upper Rangitaiki. As a consequence, they reacted strongly when they heard of Kereopa's plans to transgress across their territory... (Crosby, 2015, p. 241).

Nō te Hūne o te tau 1865 tēnei puta, ā, ki tā Best (1972), he hanga whā tekau te taua a Ngāti Manawa, ā, e whā tekau atu anō ōna wāhine, kōtiro. Heoti tā Cowan (1955a) he whā tekau katoa a Ngāti Manawa, ā, ko tōna haurua he wāhine. Heoi, haere tonu ana tā Best, e rua tekau ngā Hauhau o Taranaki e noho ana ki a Tūhoe, ko Te Marei rātou ko Raukatauri, ko Pu-totara ngā rangatira o taua ope o Taranaki, ā, he whā

tekau anō te tira a Tūhoe e whakahoki ana i a rātou, ko ngā rangatira o te ope a Tūhoe ko Paerau, ko Hapurona rātou ko Paora Whengu (Best, 1973).

Tukuna ana e Ngāti Manawa ana *karere* ki a Tūhoe rāua ko Ngāti Whare ki Te Whāiti. Ko Te Mauparaoa tā Ngāti Manawa, ā, ko te Hiko o te Rangi tā Te Arawa, kia hokia tā (Best, 1972a, p. 583),

They said: If Kereopa is with you deliver him to us and return to your homes... Their answer is not recorded, but it was doubtless a vigorous one.

Ka tahuri i konā a Tūhoe rāua ko Taranaki ki te kerikeri ki Pukehinahina, tukuna ana e Tūhoe a Te Whatanui rāua ko Hipirini ki Ruatāhuna ki te whāki i te kupu whakawhiu a Ngāti Manawa, otirā ki te whakarewa taua, ā, ka whanga. Ka pērā tahi anō a Ngāti Manawa, ka rere tāna ki a Arama Karaka Moko-nui-a-rangi, rangatira i Tarawera, o Ngāti Rangitahi, ā, nā wai rā, ka tae i Tapahoro i te rāwhiti o Tarawera (Cowan, 1923). Ko ngā rangatira o Ngāti Manawa ko Rawiri Tahawai rāua ko Peraniko Parakiri Tahawai. Ka tae te taua o Ruatāhuna ki te pā ki Ahi Kereru ki roto o Te Whāiti, ka tūpono atu ki tētahi o ngā rangatira o Ngāti Manawa arā a Harehare⁵⁸ me te hiahia o ētahi kia patua ia, engari nā Kereru Te Pukenui tōna kahu i hora ki runga i a Harehare kia maru ai ia, ā, ka tukuna a Harehare ki te whakatonu i a Ngāti Manawa kia hokia ō rātou kāinga. Kihai rā i whakarongo⁵⁹ (Best, 1972b).

Hoatu ana te taua o Ruatāhuna ki Pukehinahina, ko ō Tūhoe rangatira i te tatūnga o ngā haumi, ko Kereru Te Pukenui, ko Te Whenuanui me Rakuraku, tō Ngāti Whare ko Hapurona Kohi (Crosby, 2015). Ahakoa rā te taetanga atu o ngā hoa haumi a Tūhoe, e ai rā ki a Best (1972a, pp. 584-585) ka puta tonu te kupu a Paerau,

Kia rukuruku nga rohe a Tuhoe ki runga o Te Tapiri, katahi ka whawhai, kia mahinga iti ai. So it was agreed that the party wait for reinforcements... The defences at Pukehinahina were abandoned and three small redoubts were erected at various points round the Ngāti Manawa *pa*.

⁵⁸ Harehare Ahuriri, Atarea.

⁵⁹ He rerekē rā ngā kōrero a Cowan (1923, p.85) ka mea kē ai i Hinamoki anō a Harehare, ā ka rere i reira.

Two of these posts were at Hinamoki, and were held by Tuhoe. Another known as Te Waikai, or Te Pakipaki, was held by a Whakatohea contingent. Another, named Taumata, was occupied by the Patu-heuheu clan...They were reinforced in early June by parties of Te Whakatōhea, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Tāwhaki and Ngāti Awa; Kereopa arrived with the Whakatōhea contingent.

Ka haere tonu tā Best (1972a, p. 585) i tā Paitini i kōrero ai ki a ia,

Paitini says it was two Sundays after...that the main body of Tuhoe arrived, accompanied by Kereopa and twenty men of the Whakatohea tribe. No sooner had they encamped than the Patu-heuheu clan, under Mohi Koura and Tara-nui, arrived, also Ngati-Tawhaki under Te Whanoke. With the latter [Ngati-Tawhaki] was Maraea Tu-te-Maota (mother of Pou-whare Te Roau of Ruatoki), who was the *poropiti*...of this Tuhoean force and hence was an important personage at the time. She was the medium of the *atua*...known as Te Awa-nui. This Awa-nui was the war god of the party (in conjunction with Riki and Rura already mentioned) and was a caco-demon, the malignant spirit of a still-born child of Maraea).

Ka haere tonu tā (Best, 1972a) kāore i pakū tētahi pū kotahi i mua i te taetanga mai o Maraea. Heoi, he pēnei anō a Ngāti Manawa, tōna kuia matakite ko Hinekou,

Among the women of Ngati Manawa was a highly valuable auxiliary to the fighting force, a celebrated *kuia matakite*, or prophetess and sorceress, by name Hinekou. She was the mother of the two young warriors Te Mau-paraoa and Raharuhi...In her hands rested the direction of what may be called the religious or occult side of the operations. She was of the old cannibal age, and was a sorceress of reputedly terrible powers. She betook herself to her ancient gods, and continually recited *karakia Maori*, incantations of pagan days, read the *tohu* or signs of earth and sky, interpreted dreams, and performed dark ceremonies to confound and defeat the enemy. So wise a woman was a source of enormous strength in stiffening the morale of a war-party (Cowan, 1955a, p. 83).

Nō te taetanga atu o Mokonui a Rangi me tana taua, ka hanga mai anō he pā ki Ōkupu⁶⁰ ki te puke tonu i te taha o Te Tāpiri,

The forces were then rearranged so that some of each tribe garrisoned each *pa*.⁶¹ Te Tapiri was under the command of Rawiri Tahawai, and Okupu under Peraniko Parakiri Tahawai, both of Ngati Manawa, and each took in a section of Ngati-Rangitihi (Cowan, 1955a, p. 82).

Nō te tatūnga o Kereopa mā, ka huri rātou ki te whakahou i ngā pā e rua e tātata atu ana ki ō Ngāti Manawa, ko Te Huruhuru me Te Tuahu a te Atua (Crosby, 2015). Heoti, kua eke te tokopae o ngā taua a Ngāi Tūhoe ki te whā rau, ā, ka whakamārama a Cowan (1955a, p.84) te pā tūwatawata o Hinamoki,

Above the double palisade of Hinamoki were flown the Hauhau war flags...There was not room on the fortified knoll for the necessary *niu* flagpole, and a spar was planted on the little level space at the foot of the hill, on its northern side...Here stood the sacred mast of Pai-marire invocation and worship, surrounded by a low fence of stakes. Within this pale none but the priest could stand; and here Kereopa and his fellow-prophet Horomona...took up their posts, leading the chants as they stood with their hands on the flagg-staff, and slowly revolving about it while their disiples marched around it repeating the rhythmic service in loud chorus. On the stage at the foot of the mast was exhibited the smoke-dried head of a white soldier.

Ko te nōhanga o ngā pā kua whakatūhia nei e Tūhoe mā e pakipaki ana i te noho o Te Tāpiri me Ōkupu. Kia arua tonutia tā Cowan (1955a, p. 85),

Several skirmishes occurred between the opposing forces...Early in June 1865, a skirmish was fought in the open ground between the camps. The

⁶⁰ Opuku ki tā Best (1972).

⁶¹ Kei te whakarārangi a Cowan i ngā ingoa katoa o ngā wāhine me ngā tāne o te taua a Ngāti Manawa

enemy had cut off Ngati Manawa from their water-supply... The Queenites⁶² made a desperate attempt to recover their source of water and to drive of the enemy... Strong Hauhau reinforcements rushed out from the Huruhuru *pa*, and the enemy were led on by Kereopa... The prophet had assured his followers that his incantations and *mana* would render them bullet proof; nevertheless two of them fell dead... and several were wounded. The little band of Queenites fought their way back, losing five killed.

Haere tonu ana tā Cowan, tokotoru o tēnei hunga i pōutohia ka meatia ai ki te take o te niu, ka rere ā rātou karakia Pai Mārire, kia whāia atu tā (Crosby, 2015, p. 244),

In a repeat of his conduct at Opotiki, Kereopa swallowed the eyes of these men in view of their besieged comrades, cementing his name in Māoridom as ‘Kaiwhatu’... The next day, to intimidate the Ngāti Manawa even further, Kereopa advanced into the gully between Te Tāpiri and Te Huruhuru with a group of men and displayed the decapitated heads on turuturu... stuck into the ground, as he ritually derided them.

Ka rere ngā matā o Ngāti Manawa rāua ko Ngāti Rangitihi, ka tūākiritia a Meihana, kaipupuru i tētahi o ngā mähunga,

...the walls of Okupu were crowded with men and women in an extraordinary state of rage mingled with fear. Their prophetess Hinekou was there, marching up and down the parapet, reciting her spells to *whakaporangitia*... the enemy, and *karakia* to counteract those of Kereopa. While some of the musketeers, directed fire upon the prophet, others hurled

⁶² There does not appear to be any evidence of any significant history of close interaction with European traders or missionaries that would have led to the Ngāti Manawa decision to prevent Kereopa’s progress through their territory. Rather, their approach seems to be one of the more extreme examples of an iwi opting to become involved in fighting against a perceived enemy of the Crown predominantly for reasons of maintaining their own independence or rangatiratanga, rather than any economic or religious reason Crosby, R. (2015). *Kūpapa: The bitter legacy of Māori alliances with the Crown*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

curses at him, and some roled up little balls of dough in their hands and shouting, “See! I eat Kereopa’s eyes!” swallowed them (Cowan, 1955a, p. 86).

Kua hē katoa a Ngāti Manawa, aukatingia ana te ara ki te wai, kua pau anō ngā kai, ā, kua tata anō te pērā o te paura me ngā matā, kua tū anō i a Ngāi Tūhoe mā he pā anō kia kikī ai te pakipakihanga, ka tū te rūnanga, haere tonu ana tā Cowan (1955a, pp. 86-87),

Meanwhile Hinekou, the wise woman, waited for a *tohu*...The old seeress watched the heavenly bodies at night and presently announced that the propitious time had arrived. The *tohu* was a small star just above the moon. Hinekou announced dramatically that it represented the small war-party of the Kawanatanga...while the moon symbolised the large force of the Hauhaus...The *kokiri*...had already been selected by the prophetess. One by one she told off the men for the assault.

Whakatonuhia ana e ia ētahi kia mau tonu ki te pā, he whakaatu tonu nā tōna atua ka mate ērā ki te haere, kihai anō ētahi i aro atu, ā, mate atu. Ko Mau-paraoa Puritia rātou ko Rewi Rangiamio me Raharuhi i te pae o te kōkiri, tekau mā whitu katoa rātou. Nō te pō tonu ka hoatu ai, ka whātata atu ki te pā o Te Patuheuheu, arā, te pā e nōhia ana e te poropiti nei e Maraea. Haere tonu ana tā Cowan (1955a, p.87),

The *kokiri* lay there awaiting the rising of Kopu...which was to be the signal for the attack. The assault was to synchronize with a series of faint attacks made simultaneously from Te Tapiri and Okupu redoubts against the three positions held by the enemy...

Nō konā ka puta te tūtei, ka whātata atu ki a Rewi Rangiamio, te tātātanga, puhia ana e Rewi, tā Cowan (1923, p. 87) anō,

Leaping over the body, Rewi charged for the gateway, followed closely by several of his men. The other Queenites, posted at short intervals below the

stockade, rushed for the nearest parts of the *pa*, and soon were clambering over the palisade and parapet.

Kia whāia tā (Best, 1972a, p. 88),

Maraea at once sprang to the front of her small party of Patu-heuheu and called on them to fight hard, that the enemy were about to fly. She acted, according to the evidence of observers, like a demented person, and pretended to catch the bullets of the enemy in her hands, without harm to herself...After firing at each other for some little time, the hard-pressed little band of Patu-heuheu saw their comrades running toward them to take part in the fray.

Te kuhutanga o ētahi o te kōkiri ki te pā ka tau tonu atu ki runga i ngā whare, ka puhipuhia a roto i ngā whare, ā,

There was desperate hand-to-hand work around the *niu* pole which stood in the centre of the *pa*...The surprise was complete; all who remained in the *whares* of the *pa* were shot or tomahawked. Those who escaped engaged the gallant little band as they fought their way back to Te Tapiri...seven Hauhaus had been killed in the *pa*, but the loss inflicted on the enemy outside was much greater...The Queenites loss was five killed and ten wounded...The Queenites immediately on hearing the first shots from te Tuahu-a-te-Atua, delivered swift feint attacks on the Hauhau positions in order to hold the enemy's attention and prevent an effort to cut off Rewi and Raharuhi and their band. The parties told off for these operations took nearly all the man-power of the garrisons; only five men could be spared to defend the forts, besides a number of women. These women, however, were as brave as their husbands and brothers (Cowan, 1955a, p. 88).⁶³

Kia arua tonutia tā Cowan (1923, pp 88-89),

⁶³ He pēnei anō i ētahi wāhanga o tēnei upoko, ka mate au ki te hokihoki ki ā Cowan kōrero inā ko ia anake i āta kuhu ki ngā kōrero.

A courageous chieftainess named Maraea, a tower of strength to the Queenites by her vigour and her prowess with a gun, was detailed to defend the *waharoa*...of Te Tapiri *pa*. The attackers, assailed in their turn by hundreds of Hauhaus, were soon compelled to fall back on Te Tapiri, and a fierce fight was waged on the southern and eastern faces of that fort. Kereopa's men were beaten back from the walls after a strenuous attempt to storm. Maraea, the *wahine toa*, distinguished herself by shooting two men who had attempted to rush the gateway...When the twelve survivors...at last rejoined their friends in Te Tapiri a council was held to consider further operations. Elation at the successful surprise attack...was tempered with the thought that if relief did not arrive very soon the position on the range would be quite untenable. Nevertheless it was determined to hold the forts to the last possible moment.

Ko te mate rā hoki kua kore he wai, kua kore rā hoki he kai, kua tata pau anō ngā matā me te paura, ā, te hunga anō i tūākiritia. Tā Cowan anō (1955a) i te kaha pōuri o Te Patuheuheu, ka hiki, ka hoki, mahue ana ērā ki te pupuru i te pakipakihanga nei. Nō konā, kua tūwhera he putanga mā Ngāti Manawa rāua ko Ngāti Rangitihi, ka mutu, nō te pō, ka ninihi te puta, ka mahue ngā kurī e kakā tonu anō ana ngā ahi, kia noho pōhēhē te hoariri i konā tonu rātou, ā, ka ahu ki te Rangitāiki. Te kiteatanga ake, ka whāia e te Hauhau, engari, kua whiti kē a Te Rangitāiki, ko te wāhi hoki i whiti ai ko 'Te Arawhata a Noho-moke' ka riro mā Raharuhi hei kerī a raro o te arawhata nei kia horo iho ki te wai, ā, ka tatū pai atu rātou ki Te Kaingaroa,

The persistent advance-party of the Urewera, however, still followed them, and only drew off when near Pekepeke...Their retirement was prompted by the sight of a body of men crossing the plain to meet the retreating Queenites. This was the...relief party, the main body of the Arawa, under major William G. Mair...Mair took his force up into the range, the enemy retiring before him, and recovered the bodies of the slain friendless (Cowan, 1955a, pp. 89-90).

Ko te whakakapinga ake a Cowan (1955a, p. 90) e pēnei ana nei,

It was remarkable not only for the gallantry displayed by the small band of men and women...but for the observance of the ancient war-customs side by side with all the picturesque ritual of the Pai-marire.

Ko te whaingā hoki a Ngāti Manawa kia kaua a Kereopa otirā a Taranaki e whakawhiti i tō rātou nā rohe, ā, i tutuki rā. Ko te whakapae hoki, he hanga rua tekau mā rima o te taha ki ngā Hauhau i hinga, ā, ko tērā takiwā anō hoki te tokopae o te hunga i taotū, koinei hoki tā Tūhoe i kī ai i a Mair te ‘Royal Commissioner’ e tiro ana i ngā taitara whenua o Tūhoe i te tau 1907 (Cowan, 1955a). Ā, kāti, koia tērā ko te pakanga o Te Tāpiri.

5.4 Ngā Tikanga

He aha rā ngā panonitanga a ngā tikanga pakanga me ngā tikanga a te hunga tapu i roto i te huanga mai o te poropititanga? Koia tēnei te pātai ake a tēnei upoko, ā, ko tāku whakapae i whakatakotohia ake i te huatakitanga o tēnei upoko i mea nā, i āta panoni ngā tikanga i ngā poropiti tonu, ā, he whakaponohia ahu kua āta whakaatuhia ērā, kua whakaaritia i roto i ngā kōrero o tēnei wāhanga ake. Tā tēnei wāhanga nei nā he matapaki ake i aua panonitanga rā, i aua rerekētanga rā, ā, i ōna wāhi anō i ngā tikanga hou, tauhou nei i hua mai i roto ake i ngā tikanga i whānau i Te Pai Mārire, otirā, i te mana Hauhau.⁶⁴ Ko tāku whakapae anō hoki ahakoa rā i āta panoni ētahi tikanga a te pakanga me ētahi rā a te hunga tapu, ko ētahi tikanga anō i hāpaia e Te Pai Mārire, otīa, e Te Hauhau nō roto kē i ēnā i whakaaringia ake i te upoko tuatoru ki ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki te Māori. Ka mea tonu tāku whakapae, i moea tahitia ngā tikanga i hua ake i ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki te Māori ki ērā o te Hauhau, koia tērā ngā tikanga a te Hauhau mō te pakanga me ērā anō ki te hunga tapu.

Nā, ka hua rā te pātai, he aha rā i panoni ai, i rerekē ai, i hou anō ai, i hahū anō ai ngā tikanga nei? Ā, he pēhea? Ko te whakaatu nui a tēnei wāhanga ake, ko te āki a te Pākehā mō te whenua mā roto i āna whakahaere ā Kuini, ā Kāwanatanga, ā ture, ā pakanga anō hoki. Koia hoki i hua ai ngā pakanga ki te Pākehā puta noa ngā tau. Heoi, ko te āki a te mana Pākehā i roto i ngā tau o tēnei upoko ko te whenua anō

⁶⁴ Ko te take e whakahua ai au e taunaki ake rā au i roto i ēnei tuhi te karangatanga nei a Te Hauhau, arā, te kupu ake, koinei tā Taranaki, kei ā rātou waiata e whakanuia ana.

mā roto i te muru me te raupatu. Ko te wāhi hoki i tīmata ai tēnei upoko e haere tonu ana ēnā pakanga i roto o Taranaki me Waikato. I pakaru ai te Hauhautanga ki runga i tētahi akunga hōia i Kaitake, ka pōuto ngā upoko ka pakipakihia rā ngā upoko, ka hari haeretia hei ahikarae mō roto i ngā tira whakapoa pononga Hauhautanga te nuinga o ngā iwi hapū. Ka hua tēnei i te rā tonu i horo ai a Ōrākau i āta wānangahia rā i te upoko o mua iho nei. E wawe ana te kitea atu o tētahi panoni nui whakaharahara i ngā mahinga a te tikanga i roto noa i tērā huakitanga. Kāore anō ngā pakanga ki Tauranga a Pukehinahina me Te Ranga, ahakoa, kāore tahi ēnā pakanga i wānangahia rā i tērā upoko, ko Pukehinahina i whawhai ki runga anō i ngā tikanga i āta kōrerotia rā i tērā upoko, arā, he Karaitiana, engari, ko te pakanga i muri iho i Te Ranga, e kitea ana kei te huri hoki ngā tikanga pakanga a te Pākehā, i hanga kite anō i tērā i te horonga o te pā i Ōrākau arā, i te patunga o te hunga i tūākiritia, ā, i Rangiaowhia⁶⁵ anō i mua iho. Nā reira, ko Te Pai Mārire i whānau i roto i ēnei āhuatanga, i huri me kī mai i te whakapono ko te āhua o tāna whakahaere he rangimārie, ki ēnei e kōrerotia nei.

Kāti, ki tā Binney (2012, pp. 74-75),

The religion was Scriptural. It looked to a deliverance of the people from oppression (as they saw it), and the followers of the new faith prayed for the deliverance, communicating with the Holy Spirit through rituals constructed by Te Ua and conveyed by his missionaries.

Ko te mea kē hoki, kua kitea e te Māori, ngā iwi rā kei te mura o te ahi te hāhi me āna minita e piri ana ki ngā hōia, e karakia ana mā ngā hōia. Ka pāpōuri, ka kitea ake he pono kē atu aua minita rā ki ngā hōia ahakoa kua aua atu i ētahi wāhi aua minita rā e kauhau ana ki te Māori, e noho ana ki te Māori ka tupu i konā te rangirua, nā reira i horo ai tōna horapa,

Its power came from the fact that, for the very first time, Maori were wresting Christianity (or their own version of Christianity) out of the hands of Pakeha and, crucially, away from the hands of the Anglican Church,

⁶⁵ Ka huaki ngā hōia a te Kuini i te turitaku, arā, i te wāhine, i te tamariki, i te kaumātua. He kite nō ngā hōia o te Emepaea o Ingārangi e kore e horo a Pā te Rangi, ko rātou kē rā ka horo.

which had swiftly become over-identified with a war-making colonial government.

That is why Pai Marire spread so fast. It offered Maori autonomy, explanation, ritual and an end-vision of freedom which incorporated all the marvellous goods and benefits of European civilisation – without Pakeha Wells i roto iho i a (Crosby, 2015, p. 214).

Ka tae ana ngā kōrero ki te patunga o Te Wākena, ko te kitetanga ake, ehara noa iho i te mea kei te piri kē rā ngā minita nei ki te Pākehā, engari, kei te whākina anō hoki ngā mea pakanga whānui a te Māori,

Their [Pātara rāua ko Kereopa] main objective at Opotiki was to prevent the return from Auckland of Carl Volkner, the Anglican missionary...Volkner was known by his own congregation Te Whakatōhea, and by Ngāti Awa leaders...to be acting as a Government informant. Both groups considered that the passing of political information (and Volkner's predisposition to turn everything into a conspiracy) was incompatible with his role as an Anglican missionary...Volkner's role as a Government informant (a 'spy') was well known (Binney, 2012, p. 76).

Ko Te Pai Mārire te hāhi tuatahi a te Māori ake, ko te huanga o Te Pai Mārire te wāhi i whati rikiriki ai te piri a ngā Māori i hāpai rā i te ara pakanga a Te Hauhau i ngā hāhi a te Pākehā.

Ko ngā tikanga hoki a Te Pai Mārire nō te ao o mua kē, ko te wāhi ki ā rātou porotiti kei te tūnga o te tohunga. Ko te niu tawhito ngā rākau a ngā tohunga, kia whaia atu tā (Shirres, 1997, p. 67),

The ritual symbols referred to in the *karakia* are also traditional. The two most important symbols are that of the rod or rods...In the major rituals generally, there is first the ritual setting up of the rods which symbolize pathways between earth and heaven and abiding places for the *atua* and the ancestors which are then invoked to come down and abide in the rods...In

the *niu* rites before battle rods were also used. At the beginning of the rite rods were set up representing either particular people or particular tribes. During the rite some of the rods were knocked down, indicating those who were to be defeated, while others were left standing, indicating those who would be victorious. Then there is the loosing and binding, the loosing from what is destructive and the binding to what is life-giving. Sometimes the loosing is expressed by an immersion in or sprinkling with water, for the water to wash away anything that is destructive...The binding is also expressed in different ways...In the ritual for warfare there is the binding on of one's girdle and belt.

Ko te whakapono ka hipa te matā mā te whakahua i te 'hapa' kei a ia ōna rite ki ngā karakia a te tohunga pakanga, ko tētahi anō tauira o tēnei tikanga kei ngā takatūnga o te taua a Ngāi Tūhoe ki te haere ki Ōrākau, tō rātou nā tohunga ko Pene titi kua whakahua kētia atu rā i te upoko o mua i tēnei, kia whāia atu tā (Best, 1972a, p. 569),

Then Pene-titi gave us some small bottles containing a medicine...He told us that, when going into battle, we must drink of the mixture in the bottles, and then no weapon could harm us, the bullets of the enemy would be turned aside.

He tino mārama te kitea atu i ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te ika a Tiki, arā, ko te pōuto tēnā, ko te pakipaki māhunga anō tēnā, ko te pikau i ngā upoko i te poho tonu o te taua, ko te kohukohu anō i ngā upoko, ko te titi anō i ngā upoko ki ngā turuturu. Ko te kaiwhatu anō tēnā i kīa i te upoko ki ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki te Māori, he aukati tērā i te āhei a te mate kia whetūrangitia. Ko te inu anō i te toto, nō mua noa anō tēnā, kia paku whāia tā Cowan, "In the old Maori days the belief was that by the drinking of an enemy's blood his knowledge and *mana* were aquired by his slayers" (Cowan, 1955a, p. 74).

Ā ko tā Kereopa, e ai anō ki a Cowan (1955a, p. 74), "Kereopa impressed on the people that by tasting the blood of the missionary...the converts would aquire a knowledge of the English tongue, and would be able to work miracles." Nā reira te

whakapae, he wheranutanga Te Pai Mārire i te ao tawhito me te ao hou, he whēranu anō hoki i ngā karaipiture me ngā tikanga o tua whakarere. Ka mutu, ko te wāhi rerekē rawa, ko te wāhi tonu ki ngā kupu o ngā karakia, kua kitea rā he whakamāori i te kupu Pākehā ki runga tonu i te tangi a te kupu Pākehā. Hei kupu atu anō hoki, ko Te Ua he tangata noa, ehara kau i te rangatira, engari nā tāna tū hei poropiti ka pikitūranga rā ia i roto i te tūranga tangata Māori. He panoni nui tēnei a te reanga poropiti puta noa, ahakoa, kāore a ia ake i āta kuhu ki roto i ngā ririri i Te Ahuahu me Te Mōrere, ko Te Mōrere rawa i raro i ana tohutohu, ka mutu, he pānga anō rā ki te tikanga pakanga. Kāti mō konei te wāhi ki Te Pai Mārire, ā, taihoa anō ka hokia mai te kōrero.

Tērā hoki te wāhanga ki te Kūpapa, te kupu tonu rā a Cowan, ‘Queenites’. I tēnei pakanga ake nei i a Te Tāpiri, otirā, i tēnei wā ake nei, he āhua hou tonu. Tērā te whakahua i te tīmatanga o te upoko nei te aukati a Te Arawa i ngā taua o Te Tairāwhiti e ngana ana ki te whakawhiti mā roto i a Te Arawa ki roto o Waikato ki te haumi rā i Te Kīngitanga i ana pakanga. Ko te hōia kē i haere ki te hāpai i a Te Arawa. He pēnei tahi anō i te tatūnga o Te Pai Mārire ki roto o Ngāti Porou ka pakaru te riri ki waenga anō i a rātou, ā, nā wai, ka tautokona anō a Ngāti Porou e te hōia. Ko te take hoki i arua rā te Hauhau i whakahuatia rā ko te huaki i te akunga hōia i Te Ahuahu i roto o Taranaki me ngā pakanga o muri iho tae ake ki te tāronatanga o Te Wākena. Tērā anō i kīa a Ngāti Manawa he ‘Queenite’ e Cowan, ā, inā nā Cowan tēnā kupu, ka whāia ai e ngā tini kaituhi o muri iho. Engari, nō mai anō te tikanga o te tonono inā e hiahia ana tētahi iwi, taua, ope kē rānei ki te whakawhiti i te rohe o tētahi hapū iwi, ka kīa kia kaua, ā, koia. Tuia ki tēnei, ko te āta rautaki tonu a Ngāti Manawa kia tautokona ngā taha e rua inā hoki ko te pupuru ki te whenua tōmua, tōrunga anō hoki, ā, ka whai ngā iwi puta noa, mai anō, i ngā huarahi e mau ai te whenua, ka kore he whenua, ka kore anō he tangata. He puta noa tēnei tikanga tae noa atu anō ki ngā tau o muri e kitea anō ai ki ngā kōrero mō Te Kooti. Ka mutu, ko te hōia anō i haere ki a Ngāti Manawa rāua ko Ngāti Rangitahi ki te haumi i a rātou. Tērā i mahue atu ēnei kōrero i a Te Whakatōhea, ka whāia kē ai i te ara a Kereopa, engari, ka rerekē i konā te tū a ngā iwi kūpapa, ko rātou arā te kūpapa i tae ake ki roto o Te Whakatōhea hei hoa haumi kē mō te hōia. Ka mutu, i āta whānau tēnei mea te kūpapatanga i te horapatanga o Te Pai Mārire,

ā, ka ōkawatia e te Kāwanatanga tonu kia noho haumi te kūpapa i ā rātou hōia (Crosby, 2015). Koia nei tētahi panoni nui whakahara!

Nō te paunga hoki o te tau 1864,

Grey had recieved a formal Memorandum from the colonial Government ministers in support of their proposed policy of ‘self-reliance’, which included the formation of a new colonial force comprised of both Europeans and Māori (Crosby, 2015, p. 227).

Ā, hei whakakapi ake mō tēnei wāhanga ake nei te wāhi ki te kūpapa, ko tā Crosby anō, (2015) i tāna mō te piri a te taua Māori ki te akunga hōia i mua noa atu i te mutunga o ngā pakanga he panoni nui whakahara, e āta whakaatu ana i te panoni a te ao Māori i roto i ngā tikanga a te pakanga.

Kua tae i konei ēnei kōrero ki te pakanga ake o tēnei wāhanga arā ki a Te Tāpiri ki a Ngāti Manawa rāua ko tōna hoa haumi a Ngāti Rangitahi ki a Ngāi Tūhoe otirā, ki ngā apataki a Pātara Raukatauri rāua ko Kereopa Te Rau. Tuatahi pea, ko te wāhi ki ngā wāhine me ngā kōtiro i te taua. Ehara i te mea he āta panoni rā, engari, ko te tuatahitanga o tēnei āhua puta noa i tēnei tuhinga ki tēnei wā. Ka tatū rā ki te wāhanga ki a Titokowaru rāua ko Te Kooti ka kite anōtia. Ko te mea kē hoki ko te tokopae o te taua, otirā, o te iwi, i te paku o te iwi kua whirinaki mai ngā wāhine ki roto i ngā mahi kaupakanga a te iwi. Ka tuia mai ki tēnei ko ngā tohunga tahi he wāhine, kotahi noa anō te wā i tēnei rangahau whānui i kitea ai tēnei āhuatanga, arā, koia tērā i te pakanga ki Ōrākau. Ko te mea anō i ngā kōrero a Best nāna nei i ui ngā tino mātauranga o te iwi o Ngāi Tūhoe i kī, kāore he pakū kotahi o te pū kia tatū a Maraea.

Kia tōaitia rā te whakapae mō te āhua ki te panoni a te tikanga. Ko ngā wāhi i nui ai te panoni a te tikanga ko ngā wāhi i noho ai te Pākehā. Ko kō anō i tērā, ko ngā wāhi i tae ai ā rātou pānga. Ko ngā iwi nei o Ngāi Tūhoe rāua tahi ko Ngāti Manawa kāore anō kia āta nōhia e te Pākehā, āna mahi, āna take pakanga, āna aha ake rā. Ko te wā i tino tatū ai ētahi āhuatanga i pā ai ki ngā tikanga o te pakanga otirā o te ika a Tiki ki roto ki ēnei rohe e hoki ana ki ngā tau o te Matawhāura a te Māori ki a ia

anō, arā, i ngā taua nui o ngā tau rua tekau, ā, otirā, ngā toru tekau. Ko Ngāti Manawa rāua ko Ngāi Tūhoe kei te ao kohatu tonu e noho ana, kei te taki whawhai a Ngāti Manawa ki a ia anō i roto i āna anō hapū, ā, he pērā tahi mai a Ngāi Tūhoe, ko ngā tikanga e kawea ana ko ērā o mua. Ka mutu, ko te wāhi nui ki te panoni o te tikanga ko te wāhi ki te pū. Heoi, nā te kuhu a Te Hauhau ki roto o Ngāi Tūhoe, otirā o Kereopa ake, ka haupūhia mai ngā taua Pākehā mai Māori mai ki runga i a Tūhoe ā, ka rerekē rawa atu nei te noho a Tūhoe ā ake, ake. Nā te pērātanga atu ki a Tūhoe, ka pērā tahi mai anō ki a Ngāti Manawa, kāore rā hoki he hokinga ki muri. Ko te nuinga rā hoki o te panoni ki te tikanga kei te pā tonu rā i te huanga ake o tēnei pakanga nei. He hou tonu rā te kaupapa a te Hauhau me āna tikanga pakanga, arā ki te niu, otirā ki te momo o ngā karakia. Heoi rā, ko āna tikanga ki te mate ehara kau i te mea hou.

Ka mutu, ko te take hoki i tīkina ai ko te pakanga i a Ngāti Manawa rāua ko Tūhoe he whakaari ake i te whakapae o ngā iwi i noho mohoa, arā, i noho i waho atu i ngā pānga mai a te ao Pākehā. He whakaari ake i te āhua o te noho a te tikanga i ērā takiwā, kua noho Māori tūturu tonu rā. He nui tonu ēnei wāhi, engari, nā te taenga mai o te Hauhautanga ki roto i aua takiwā, koia te pānga mai o te panoni, nā rā hoki, nā te taenga mai o te Hauhautanga ko te taenga anō mai tēnā o te hōia, ā, taro kau ake, o te ao Pākehā me tāna hia horo i te whenua. Ka mutu, ko te kaitō mai i te ao Pākehā i ērā wā rā ki roto i ngā takiwā mohoa, ā, ehara i te mea nui i tēhea taha ngā iwi nei e tū ana, arā, ki taha Hauhau, ki taha Karauna, ko te hiakai whenua o te Pākehā e kore e taea te puru, ka riro te whenua, te mana me te rangatiratanga i te whenua, i te tangata.

Ko ngā kōrero ka nanaioretia atu i konei ko ngā kōrero mō Riwha Titokowaru rāua ko Te Kooti Arikiranga Te Turuki. Kei te takurua o te tau 1868 te aranga o tēnei tokorua, kia arua tā (Maxwell, 2005, p. 154),

In the winter of 1868 two forces stirred. Riwha Titokowaru, the prophet who had lost the sight of his eye in the battle at Sentry Hill, emerged from the forests of Mount Taranaki's southern slopes to become the leader of Maori resistance on the Hawera coast, and Te Kooti escaped from the Chatham islands.

Ka tīmata mai ēnei kōrero ki a Titokowaru ki te pakanga ki te Ngutu o te Manu, ā, ka whāia atu ai ko ā Te Kooti pakanga.

5.5 Te Ngutu o te Manu

“Iti taku iti ka tūria e au ngā iwi/maunga nunui o te ao, e kore au e mate, kahore ahau e mate, ka mate anō ko te mate, ka ora taku toa. E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruiruia mai i Rangiaātea.”

Ko te hāngaitanga ake o ēnei kōrero kei runga i te pakanga i tū rā i Te Ngutu o te Manu ki te rohe ake o Ngā Ruahine ki te pā kāinga o Riwaha Titokowaru i roto o Taranaki i te tau 1868. Nō roto ake a ia o Ngāti Ruanui, “ko toona hapuu o roto ake o Ngaati Ruanui, ko Ngaa Ruahine aa, kei roto ake o teeraa ko Ngaati Manuhiakai o Okaiawa” (Broughton, 1993, p. 43). He mōrehu a Titokowaru i ngā pakanga a te Hauhau i roto o Taranaki mai i te tau 1865. Nō te matenga o Te Ua Haumeene, ka noho ia hei hāpai i te tūranga poropiti i mahue nei i a Te Ua.

Te Ua’s career was influential but short. When he died in October 1866, it was Titokowaru who took up his mantle. Whether Titokowaru was simply the new priest of Paimārire is another matter. Maori religion did not work that way; each in a succession of prophets struck his own balance between old and new. Pai Marire was certainly an element in Titokowaru’s religion, but so was Christianity and an increased emphasis on selected traditional Maori beliefs...Like Te Ua’s before him and Te Whiti’s after him, Titokowaru’s religion was originally pacifist (Belich, 2010, pp. 5-7).

Ko te take hoki i ara ai tēnei pakanga ake nei me ngā pakanga a Titokowaru, ko te aukati i te riro o te whenua, inā tōna kōrero, ‘ko te tangata tōmua, ko te whenua tōmuri’ (Broughton, 1993, p. 73), nā koa tana whakamārama, e riro ai te whenua me mate te tangata. Heoti, ko te kaupapa whānui a Titokowaru ko te puru i te muru me te raupatu. Kua tīmata hoki te kuhu o te ngāngara nei ki roto i tōna anō rohe, i ngā rohe whānui tonu o Ngāti Ruanui mā roto i te rūri. Nā reira, ko te aranga tēnei o te Matawhāura a Titokowaru ki ngā mana a te Kāwanatanga, ka kīa te kōrero mō

Titokowaru nei, “Naana i ngaki te paiaka o te riri, ko te mana whenua te take, i ngaa mahi kaiaa me ngā mahi tinihanga a te Kaawanatanga” (Broughton, 1993, p. 11),

I runga i te hiahia tonu o te iwi kia kaua e riro te whenua i ngaa Paakehaa, i tiimata ngaa mahi kai pakanga a Titokowaru i raro i te mana o te tangata i rangona nuitia nei moo taana whakatakotoranga i te kaupapa o te mana Hauhau, araa a Te Ua Haumeene Tuuwhakararo (Broughton, 1993, p. 15).

Heoti, kia whakarāpopotohia iho ngā pakanga o roto iho o Taranaki kia tae rā ēnei kōrero ki te wāhi e kōrerohia ake nei inā i kīa ai i te wāhinga kōrero o tēnei upoko, kihai te ahi kaipakanga i poko i te mutunga iho o te rauna pakanga i Taranaki i kōrerotia rā i te upoko o mua iho,

...in 1865-66...the British mounted three campaigns against them [Ngāti Ruanui rāua ko Ngā Rauru]. In January-March 1865, an Imperial army under General Duncan Cameron invaded them from the south. With 3000 men to their 500, Cameron pushed through Nga Rauru, Pakakohe (the third Ngati Ruanui subtribe) and Tangahoe coastal territory, bypassing the strong modern pa of Weraroa, and tempting the tribes into brave but disastrous open battle at Nukumarū and Te Ngaio...In January-February 1866, the Imperial General, Trevor Chute mounted a lightning campaign further inland...Not all the pa stormed were hostile, not all the villaged burned were fortified and not all the Maori slain were armed...from August to November, colonial troops under Major Thomas McDonnell took over active operations...in a campaign sparked off by McDonnell’s treacherous attack on the village of Pokaikai...By the end of 1866, South Taranaki had been disembowelled. The surviving Ngati Ruanui and Nga Rauru had fled the coastal lowland for their ancient fastnesses in the mountainous inland forest (Belich, 2010, pp. 8-9).

Nā reira, e ai ki a Horsley i roto iho i a Broughton (1993, p. 18) “i te tau 1867 ka whakaaro a Titokowaru maa te tau o te rangimaarie ki a ia me toona iwi aa, maa teeraa pea e whakahokia mai ai e ngaa Paakehaa ngaa whenua i murua ai e raatou.

Koia, ka whakatakotoria e ia taana kaupapa whakatau i te rangimaarie i waenganui i a raatou i te Maaori me te Pakehaa.

Te Ngutu o te Manu was the scene of a series of tribal and intertribal meetings, the basis of Titokowaru's peace campaign held throughout 1867 and early 1868, 'The reason of our meeting is we wish to return to our former position and live in peace with the Pakehas.' Nga Ruahine would 'not molest anybody if nobody molested them' (Belich, 2010, p. 11).

Heoti te mate,

In 1865, Govenor George Grey had proclaimed the whole South Taranaki coast, from the Stony river to the Waitotara, a belt twenty miles broad, to be confiscated...On 20 March 1867, Nga Ruahine and Pakakohe faced this crisis at meetings at Te Ngutu and its Pakakohe equivalent, Whakamara. The decision for peace was unanimous, but the meetings also decided passively to resist the further extension of confiscation (Belich, 2010, p. 12).

Nā, ka whāia tēnei,

So in June 1867, he [Titokowaru] set of on a hikoi, a march of peace and reconciliation, accompanied by virtually his whole following- fifty or sixty men and eighty women and children. They came first to the colonist military base at Camp Waihi, when on 10 June a remarkable ceremony took place, of which Captain William Newland left this account: Titoko Waru...sent word...he wished to pay a compliment by marching around the position three times to show his great respect for the Queen... (Belich, 2010, p. 20).

Ka pēnei te haere, tatū tonu atu ki Whanganui, hoki mai. Ka haere tonu hoki ngā hui, ā, ka tae ki te hui i te Noema o te 1868 ki Te Ngutu o te Manu,

Titokowaru began the main speeches by firing a double-barrelled shotgun ...in the air, and throwing it at the feet of his visitors. He said that the evil weapon which had caused so much mischief and ill-will, and which had

been loaded with the blood of men was now thrown down and trodden underfoot... (Belich, 2010, p. 22).

I runga anō i te āhua o te wā, ka whakarērena anōtia e ia te mana o te Kīngitanga, he whakarata rā hoki i te āki a te Pākehā. Ahakoa rā ēnei mahi katoa a Titokowaru, kei te āki tonu mai te ngārara kai whenua nei, ka hui anō te iwi o Ngāti Ruanui, whakatauhia ana kia utua te kai whenua ki te muru, ā, whāia atu ana tēnei tikanga o mua ki runga ki ngā kainoho pāmu o te rohe.

Nā ka hē tēnei, e toru ngā wā i eke ai ngā Pākehā ki Te Ngutu o te Manu, ka whakarau anō i ētahi, ka mutu, kihai rā tēnei rautaki i eke, nō te tuaiwa o Hūne 1868, ka patua ētahi Pākehā tokotoru, ko te tauritanga tēnei a Titokowaru ki ngā hautapu a Tūmatauenga, ka tahakingia e ia te Karaitianatanga, “hei whakaara ake anoo i ngā tikanga wairua a oona tuupuna; ka ora mai anoo i a ia te kawa o Maru raaua ko Uenuku” (Broughton, 1993, p. 18).

Nō muri iho, nō te 12 o Hūne, ka patua anōtia tētahi Pākehā,

When his comrades came up, they found only the lower half of his body and had to identify it by ‘a peculiar lump on his toe’. His killers took his upper half to Te Ngutu, where two ancient ceremonies were performed on it. In the first, Whangai Hau, the heart was cut out and singed, the smoke an offering to Tu...And, in a ritual sometimes associated with Uenuku, parts of the flesh were cooked for eating...It was no item of diet, but a traditional religious ritual...And this cannibalism was intended to strike fear and rage into Pakeha (Belich, 2010, p. 60).

“Heoi anoo, ka kookiritia e Titokowaru taana wero ki te Paakehaa hei whakataritari, hei whakapoapoa i a raatou; kia whaaia e te Paakehaa raatou ki roto i te motu, ki Te Ngutu-o-te-manu,” e ai ngā whakamaarama a Hooone Wiremu (AJHR 1868: A-No.8 15) ki a Te Puutu, araa: “Ahakoa mano mano, ko Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu ano ia, ahakoa huri katoa te motu nei ki a ia ko Te Ngutu o te Manu ano ia e noho ai me ana wahine, me ana tamariki...”

Ka tukuna e Titoko tāna reta ki a Te Puano mā Te Puutu⁶⁶ mā,

Warekura, Hune 25, 1868.

Kia Te Puano ma,

He kupu mo koutou, kati te haere i nga rori me whakamutu rawa te haere i nga rori e anga atu ana ki Mangamanga, kei takoto koutou ki nga rori hei kai ma nga manu o te rangi, ma nga kirehe o te parae, maku ranei, no te mea kua kai ahau i te Pakeha, ano he kau e tunua ana ki te Pata, kai kau ana nga wahine, me nga tamariki. Kua timata taku kai i te Tangata, kua hamama tonu toku korokoro ki te kai i te Tangata.

E kore ahau e mate, kaore ahau e mate. Ka mate ano te mate, ka ora ano ahau.

Pena tonu te kupu mo koutou puta noa i Matangarara, he kupu marama tena naku kia koutou puta noa i o koutou rohe.

Kati,

Na Titoko. (Broughton, 1993, p. 110)

Ko te mate nui i pā rā ki a Titokowaru ko te tokopae o āna ake toa, “his only problem was nemic; for much of his war, he had no more than 60 or 70 toa” (Wright, 2006, p. 181). Nā reira, ko tāna rautaki, i kīa rā, he whakapoapoa, he whakawhere i te hōia kia pakanga ki te wāhi i hiahia ai ia, ā, i hua anō hoki te kōrero i runga nei, ‘ahakoa manomano te tangata, ki Te Ngutu o te Manu ia’, ka mutu, ka whakahau ia i tana tekau mā rua kia huakina te pā hoia o Turuturumōkai kia horo. Nā, kia whai kupu mō te āhua ki ngā tikanga o te tuku i tana taua,

Before despatching a war-party he invariably recited the customary spells ...to ensure their success, and the worship, or rather placation or invocation of Uenuku, the war-god, was resuscitated in every armed camp and on every battlefield (Cowan, 1911, p. 104).

⁶⁶ James Booth-the local resident magistrate

Ka haere tonu tā Cowan, (1911, p. 104),

“Even the winds of heaven are his,” said the Hauhaus. When the *whakarua*, the north-east breeze, blew, it was a fitting time for the war-parties to set out, for the *whakarua* was the breath of Uenuku, Titoko’s deity, and his familiar spirit, and it was a omen of success in battle...Titokowaru’s war-parties despatched on special missions usually numbered sixty men. Though consisting of this number they were termed the *tekau-ma-rua*, or “The Twelve”. This term, though applied to the whole war-party, really belonged to the first twelve men, the advance guard, who were usually the most daring and active warriors of all, but who had been selected in a peculiar manner...These twelve were *tapu*, and were all *тино toa*...They numbered twelve because of the mystic force or prestige supposed to attach to that number...one was there were twelve Apostles in the Bible; and another that there were the twelve sons of Jacob; then also there were twelve months in the year. Clearly to the native mind there was much virtue in twelve.

Ā, mō te āhua ake o tana whiriwhiri i tana tekau mā rua,

On the day before an armed expedition was to set forth from “The Beak of the Bird,” Titokowaru summoned the people by walking up and down his great *whare* chanting a song that began: *Tenei hoki au Ki te Ngutu o te manu*...Then the people would all file into the sacred house and seat themselves on the mat-covered floor, the fighting men of the *pa* in front. The war-chief took his seat cross-legged on his sacred mat that was spread on an elevated stage at the rear of the *Whare-kura*, with a short rail in front; the dais was *tapu* to him. The men all chanted together the wild *haka* song. And then sat silent as death, waiting the will of Titoko’s war-god and the divination-by-*taiaha*. The chief stood, grim and stern, facing his people, his sacred carved hardwood *taiaha* called “Te Porohanga,” in his hand. His wild eyes glittered as he recited in quick sharp tones his invocation of the war-god Uenuku and the battle-spirit breathed on the wings of the *whakarua* breeze. Then, balancing his long plumed weapon in a horizontal position on his thumb and forefinger, the tongue-shaped point directed at the warriors,

he stood stiff and motionless as in a trance. He was awaiting the message of his *atua*, the guiding breath of Uenuku. Suddenly, apparently of its own volition, and without any visible movement or effort on the part of the chief, the weapon would move. It would slowly, slowly turn-watched with intence, breathless earnestness by hundreds of fanatic eyes-until its tongue pointed so as to indicate some particular man. “Twas the breath of Uenuku, deity of blood and fire, that gave it its impulse; Titoko was but the medium of the gods! The warrior indicated would be questioned by the war-chief, and asked whether his “heart was strong” within him. If his answer was deemed satisfactory, he would be told off as one of the *Tekau-ma-rua*, the sanctified advance guard... (Cowan, 1911, pp. 111-115).

Muringa iho, ko te huaki a te ‘Tekau mā rua’ a Titokowaru i te pā Pākehā o Turuturumōkai, ā, horo ana, tokitokia ana ētahi o ngā hōia, ka tikarohia anō te manawa o te ika i te ati hei tuku i te whāngai hau. Nō tēnei kōrero ake nei, kei te kitea, he whai rā a Titokowaru i ngā tikanga o tua whakarere. Nō te huakitanga,

Pandemonium erupted. Ross woke in his whare and ran for the redoubt, clad in his shirt and armed only with his revolver. As he did so, the toa cut down the store keeper, Richard Lennon; and one of the priests slashed out his still-beating heart to perform whangai hau (Wright, 2006, p. 185).⁶⁷

“Ross rallied his men, then tried to hold the gate, blazing away with his revolver, until he fell and was ‘horribly tomahawked’ (Blake, 1868, p. 47).

“His heart too was torn out and later found lying next to his body” Von Tempsky i roto iho i a Wright (2006, p. 159).

Ka mutu, kua tutuki te rautaki a Titokowaru, kua oti te whakapoapoatanga arā, kia autāhia tana pā kainga ake a Te Ngutu o te Manu. Nō tēnei wā anō hoki a Titokowaru i tuku haere i ōna tiwha ki ngā hoa whawhai o mua,

⁶⁷ Kei te kīa i tā Wright, kei tā Cowan tēnei kōrero i te whārangi 183, kāore kau tēnei kōrero ake i konā.

In southern Taranaki in these weeks of July and early August...Titokowaru sought assistance from the leading tribes of the central North Island- for the coming battle with McDonnell...At meetings in the Waikato convened to debate the Ngaruahine leader's request Tamati Ngapora said; "Leave Titokowaru to be pecked by the seagulls.." Rewi Maniapoto said, let Titokowaru "...sink back through the world of spirits." (Maxwell, 2005, p. 183).

Nō konei, kua mōhio a Titokowaru, kāore ana rā he hoa haumi mōna, ko ia ake me tōna hapū me ētahi rā o roto o Taranaki, engari, ko tana taua kāore i eke ki tua o te 80 toa.

E rua kē rā ngā whananga a McDonnell i a Te Ngutu, kihai ērā i āta tutuki, ko te tuatorutanga ka kuhu ngā hoia ki roto atu i te waha o te raiona. Nō taua ata anō, whakahuihuitia ai e Titokowaru tana iwi ki runga i te marae, ka puta tana poropititanga,

"kaore e tu te ra, kaore e titaha te ra, ka tupono tatou ki to tatou whanaunga" ...That morning...Tutange was girded with the...maro taua. "My father's sister,"...called me to her, together with certain other young men who were of *rangatira* rank, and who had not yet fought the white man. She was a chieftainess, by name Tāngamoko...and being possessed of *mana-tapu*...she was a priestess among the people. She called us to her, and told us that she was about to make us *tamariki tapu*,...for the coming battle. She girded us each with a fine waist garment...they were the garments of war; she had *karakia*'d over them and charmed them so that the bullets of the enemy should not touch them (Cowan, 1911, p. 153).

Tā Broughton (1993, p. 117),

...karangatia ana e toona whaaene, araa e te tuahine o toona matua o Maruera Whakarewa Tauaa, e Taangamoko. Kaatahi ka rukurukua e te wahine raa raatou ki te Tapuwae, araa he karakia whakaputa i a Tuutangee maa ki te ara pakanga; ka komotia he maro me te korowai. Ko te putanga tuatahi

teeraa a Tuutangee naa, koinei te karakia a toona hapuu a Ngaati Hine Ramapiupiu i roto iho i a (Broughton, 1993) Te maro kei runga, te maro e Rangi...

Ko ngā atangarahu a Titokowaru ko Haowhenua, ko Toi Whakataka, ko Kokiri rātou ko Tauke Te Hapimana” (Belich, 2010). Ko tana whawhai kua whakaritea mō waho atu i tana pā kāinga, he kokoti moeroa. Ko tā Pou Whareumu mō ngā takatūnga o te pā i tā (Belich, 2010, p. 117),

The pa had a stockade, ditch, and low parapet. The ditch was outside the tall stockade of totara timber [10 or 12 feet high] and the parapet, just inside the fence, was formed with the earth thrown up by the diggers. The trench surrounded the greater part of the pa; it was not dug on the west side, where the Mangotahi stream, with its abrupt bank, closely approached the stockade.

Ā, i tā (Maxwell, 2005, pp. 196-197),

...he had [Titokowaru] narrow rifle pits dug among the trees at the clearings perimeter, their sites carefully selected to provide interlocking fields of fire...The Ngaruahine’s rifle trenches were concealed beneath ferns, native grasses, windfallen trees and clumps of supplejack...it is clear that the trenches were either connected or located in a manner that enabled the warriors to enter them or vacate them without been seen...Titokowaru’s well positioned rifle slits became, literally, the groundwork for a classic ambush.

Ā, hei tāpiri iho ki ēnei kōrero, ko tā (Belich, 2010, p. 121),

Though the published accounts miss this, subsequent visitors to the Te Ngutu clearing found ‘numerous underground passages’, some literally tunnels, other camouflaged pathways. These led to dozens of firing positions in the bush around the clearing, all carefully sited, constructed and concealed, covering every possible approach to the pa...Forgotten Pakeha eyewitnesses spoke of ‘the ground honeycombed with rifle pits’ ...The green,

innocent forest around Te Ngutu clearing was a carefully designed death trap.

E toru rau e ono tekau mā iwa katoa te hoariri, he Pākehā, he Māori o Whanganui i raro mai i a Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui me ētahi atu rangatira, oīa tētahi taua anō o Ngāti Apa. Kei te tohea te tokopae o te taua a Titokowaru i te ekenga mai a te hoariri, tā Whakawhiria, hanga whā tekau mā rima te taua (Cowan, 1911, p. 169).

Nō te tuaono o Hepetema 1868, ka puta te kupu a ⁶⁸McDonnell kia whati tana taua me te taua a Kēpa Te Rangihwinui mā⁶⁹ i haere rā ki te haumi i a McDonnell ki te kaipakanga atu ki a Titokowaru, nā, kia whāia atu tā Gudgeon (1986, p. 181),

...but on the night named the Tohungas...discovered that the moon and its attendant star stood in a most unfortunate position one towards the other, betokening nothing less than death to the attacking party. They were consequently very Pouri...and begged the colonel not to go, but he declined to listen to them...so the die was cast, and the Maories, after holding a meeting, decided to go, saying that as they had remonstrated against such impiety they would not suffer, but that the Pakeha would in all probability be annihilated, and serve him right for going in the face of such predictions.

Ka mutu, nō te ahiahi o te tuawhitu o Hepetema, 1868, ka tatū ngā hōia me ngā toa o Whanganui ki te takiwā ki Te Ngutu o te Manu. Tūponohia atu e rātou tētahi puninga i tarawāhi atu i te marae ake, puhia ana te hunga o roto,

...came suddenly upon a Maori tent in the middle of the track, and, worse still, a woman standing outside. For a moment she stood petrified by our sudden appearance, then ran screaming down the track pursued by the Maories; as our men passed the tent a man sprang out, and was immediately shot; as also two poor little children out of three who were found there... (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 183).

⁶⁸ Colonel McDonnell.

⁶⁹ Ko Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke anō tētahi o ngā rangatira.

Heoti tā Belich,

In accordance of the custom that isolated the ill, two sick children had remained in a small clearing between Ruaruru and Te Ngutu...One was a young girl, the other was the cripple nine year old son of Katene... (Belich, 2010, p. 120).

Nō konā, kua ohooho a Ngāti Manuhiakai, kua eke tā Titokowaru i poropiti ai, rere ana tana taua ki ngā rua raiwhara, wareware ana te kupu whakatonu a Katene, “All seemed to have forgotten Katene’s warning, that for the future the Hauhaus would fight in the bush, and not in their pah... (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 183). Inā, noho kau ai te pā hei aronga noa iho mā ngā hoia, anga atu ana te rautaki a te hoia kia whakaekea te pā, engari ko waho kē, kei rō rākau, kei ngā rua raiwhara i ngā tahataha o te mānia e anga ana ki te pā o Te Ngutu te taruke.

Nō te tātatanga atu o te hoariri, pakaru ana te kariri i ngā taha me muri. Kāore hoki te akunga hoia i te kite atu i tētahi hoariri kotahi hei puhipuhi mā rātou, ā, horohoro ana te māpu,

McDonnell now ordered Honi Papara and some of the kūpapa to take up the lead, with Von Tempsky’s Armed constabulary men immediately behind. Then after another 500 metres, as they crested a stream bank, they recieved a heavy volley that soon erupted into general firing. The fire seemed to be coming from concealed positions to their front and sides and, to McDonnell’s consternation, also from the rear (Crosby, 2015, p. 334).

Haere tonu tā (Maxwell, 2005, p. 198),

Despite the incoming fire from three sides McDonnell’s attention remained focussed on the village hundreds of yards distant across the clearing. His men had come to attack that village. It had yet to dawn on the Colonel that the village was not to be the site of the battle. The battle had already commenced and he was losing it. More men fell.

Pōauauhia ana te akunga hōia, “I roto a Titokowaru i te paa e karanga ana ‘Whakawiria! Whakawiria!’ (Broughton, 1993, p. 118). E pāoho anō ana kia patua, kia kāinga, kia kaua e ora te Pākehā!

The forest rang with sharp cracking of the rifles...and within the stockade the women that remained encouraged their warriors with shrill yells. “Kill them! Eat them!” they screamed, as they waved their shawls and mats. “Fight on, fight on! Let not one escape!” (Cowan, 1911, p. 164).

Hahauhia ana te ngau a Ngāti Manuhiakai, whakahauhia ana e McDonnell kia hokia,

Von Tamsky remained, angry and disgusted at being refused permission to storm the *pa*...Sword in hand, Von Tamsky moved restlessly to and fro, regardless of the bullets that hummed around him...angrily cutting at the undergrowth with his sword. And there he was when a Hauhau bullet found him...One of his fellow-soldiers, who was close by, ran to pick him up, and he too fell...Others ran out to rescue the fallen *pakehas*, and they were shot down...until soon there were nine white men lying dead or wounded around Manurau⁷⁰ (Cowan, 1911, pp. 165-167).

Kia arua tonutia tā Tutange Waionui i te whananga a Katene Tuwhakaruru,

When the Government forces had fallen back...I ran out to where Manu-rau was lying dying on the ground. He seemed to be still living when I reached him. I snatched out my tomahawk from my girdle and dealt him a cut with it on the temple, to make sure of him, and killed him instantly. Then I took from him his uniform cap, his revolver and sword, and a lever watch which he had in his pocket...“The sword, revolver, watch and cap...I carried into the *pa* and laid before our war-chief Titokowaru. That was one of the rules observed by Titokowaru’s war-parties; the spoils of war must be taken to

⁷⁰ Von Tamsky

the chief for division. I was given the revolver and used it afterwards during the war (Cowan, 1911, pp. 167-168).

E haere tonu ana ngā whakahau a Titokowaru,

All this time within the stockade in the bullet-swept clearing the war-chief Titokowaru remained walking up and down, *taiaha* in hand, reciting prayers to his Maori gods, and shouting to his soldiers. “*Patua, kainga!* He cried...And again and again he shouted in his far-carrying voice, “*Whakawhiria, whakawhiria!*” (Cowan, 1955a, p. 201).

Tā Cowan tonu mō te whāngai hau,

Soon after the battle began, the pagan rite of the *whangai-hau* was performed by two *tohungas*, Wairau and Tihirua, the priests of the burnt sacrifice...Wairau rushed to the body of the first white man killed, cut the chest open with his tomahawk, and tore out the heart, for the ceremony of the *whangai-hau*, or feeding the gods of battle, Tu and Uenuku. Wairau held up the bleeding heart, and Tihirua applied fire to it. The young man carried *pakeha* matches, and striking these, he held them to the flesh till it began to sizzle and sizzle and smoke. The smoke (*paoa*) that rose from it was regarded as a *tohu*...Wairau watched it intently to see the direction of its drift. The smoke rose and drifted out from the trees in the direction of the *pakeha* force. Had it been blown the other way, across or towards the stockade, it would have been a fatal omen for the Maoris, indicating the speedy fall of the place...But the breath of the *atua* directed it the other way, and Wairau knew then that the white soldiers would be the vanquished ones that day (Cowan, 1955a, pp. 201-202).

Ka mutu, kāore kē oti he ara kē atu mā ngā hoia i te hoki, i eke te whakatonu a Keepa me tā te kūpapa, arā, ko te horo te ito a Titokowaru, ā, horohoroa ana. Nō te whakahoki a ngā hoia ka rere te tūtū waewae me te ngau, “Kia kutia, Au-au! Kia wherahia-Au-au! A kia rere atu te Kawana ki tawhiti, Titiro mai ai! Ae-ae-au!” (Cowan, 1911, p. 172). Ka tukua i konā te ngau ki te akunga, mahue ana ngā ika ki

runga ki te kauwhanga riri, arua ana te akunga ki roto atu i te motu. Ka riro mā Katene tonu te ngau e arataki,

Titokowaru now switched most of his warriors to attack...Led by the eager Katene,⁷¹ Nga Ruahine closed in...Katene pressed McDonnell's rearguard even harder... (Belich, 2010, pp. 133-135).

Ā, nō taua pō tonu ka tatū ngā mōrehu hōia ki tō rātou pā hoia,⁷²

It is the day after the fight. The square in the centre of the forest stockade is an amazing scene of ferocious excitement. The men with blackened faces, and all but nude, are dancing *hakas* and yelling war-songs...On the ground lie the naked bodies of twenty white men, stripped by the Hauhaus, who had dragged them in from the forest where they had been left when the retreat began. Von Tamskey's body is there. The face has been hacked about with a tomahawk, the work of one of the Maori woman – the natives revenge themselves in such fashion upon the head for those of their relatives who fell in the battle... (Cowan, 1955a, pp. 208-209).

Te putanga ake o Titokowaru ki te marae, tuturi ana te minenga,

There they squatted, men, women and children, their faces smudged with charcoal or with red ochre, the paint of the war-path. They were seated on the ground in a great half-circle, facing the staring white corpses of the slain *pakehas* (Cowan, 1911, p. 182).

Nō konā, ka riro mā Tūnui-a-moa⁷³ a Von Tamskey hei whakaatu ki te iwi,

The other bodies were hacked about the head with tomahawks; this was the work of the Maori women, who delighted in mutilating the dead in revenge for those of their relatives which had fallen (Cowan, 1911, p. 183).

⁷¹ Ko tā Katene tamaiti tērā i patua i te puninga i mua paku iho i te huakitanga, koia te tamaiti haua.

⁷² Ki konei ka mau ai ki ngā kōrero a Cowan i ana pukapuka e rua, arā, a The Adventures of Kimble Bent, 1911 me The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period, 1923, inā, koia anake i tuhi mō ngā tikanga i whai muri i te pakanga nei.

⁷³ Kimble Bent

Te whakaatutanga ake a Tunui-a-moa, ka tonoa kia tapingia ia, kihai rā a Titokowaru i whakaae, ka huri ngā kōrero ki te hoari tapu a Manurau,

Manu-rau's famous sword, too, was set apart as a sacred gift to the gods; it was a *parakia*, or *taumahatanga*, a thank-offering for victory. It became a *tapu* relic, and was religiously preserved by the Hauhau...Presently the bodies of the slain...were ceremoniously apportioned amongst the several tribes represented in the village...One of the chiefs paced up and down the pile of dead, with a stick in his hand. Pointing to a soldier's corpse, he cried: "This is for Taranaki! Take it away!" Pointing to the others, he said: "This is for Ngati Ruanui-take it away! This is for Nga-Rauru-take it away" -and so until the whole of the dead men had been portioned out to the Hauhau clans to deal with as they deemed fit-subject always, however, to Titokowaru's approval (Cowan, 1911, p. 182).

Ko Ngā Rauru anake tāna i hari, tōia ake ana ki te ahi me ngā kōhatu, rorerorehia ana e rātou, kainga ana e rātou. Ka puta i konā te kupu a Titokowaru,

"E koro ma, e kui ma, tena ra koutou! Tanumia te hunga tapu, e takoto nei; e tahu ki te ahi. Kaore e pai kia takoto ki runga i te kino. Te mea pai me tahu ki te ahi!" (Cowan, 1911, pp. 186-187).

Tahuri ana te iwi rā ki te hanga mai i te ahi tahu tūpāpaku, meinga tuatahinga ana te tūpāpaku a te Manurau ki waenganui, ā, haupūngia ana ngā tūpāpaku ki runga atu i tōna, ka tukuna ai te poroporoaki a Titokowaru,

"Inga ra o mua i whawhai koe i tena wahi i tena wahi, i ki hoki koe ka puta koe ki te ao marama. Ka tae mai hoki koe ki au, moe ana o kanohi. Taea hokitia, nau i kimi mate mou naku. Ka moe koe." (Cowan, 1955a, p. 209).

Nō konā ka tahuna te ahi, ki tā Cowan anō (1955a, p. 209),

An old man, Titokowaru's *tohunga*...walked up to it with a long stick of green timber in his hand.

e karakia haere ana te tohunga nei me te tirourou haere i ngā tūpāpaku,

And as he did so he recited a pagan *karakia*, the chant of the *Iki*, anciently repeated over the bodies of warriors when they were being cremated on the battle-field, ...*Ka waere, ka waere, ka waere i runga ma keretu, ka waere i raro ma keretu, kei kai kutu ma keretu, ka kai riha ma keretu.*

Whakatahia te kukakuka, Whakarere te kukakuka, Te Roua atu, Te kapea mai. Roua ki whiti, Roua ki tonga, E tu te rou, Rouroua! Takataka te kape; Kapekapea! Ka eke i tua, ka eke i waho. Ka eke i te Maru-aitu, Te Ihi nei. Te mana nei, Nga toa nei. Ko tai ko ki, ko tai ko rea, Ko tai takoto ki raro. A peruperu! Ma whiwhi! Ma rawea! Haere ake ra te ihi o nga toa, Te mana o nga toa, Te whatu te ate-a-Nuku, Te whatu te ate-a-Rangi, Huri ana te po, Huri ana te ao, He rangi ka mahea; He whai ao, he ao marama!...Far above the trees...rose the thick black column of smoke...To the savage watchers it was verily the incense of the battle-field, rising to the war-gods nostrils (Cowan, 1911, pp. 190-191).

Koia tēnei ko te pakanga i tū rā i Te Ngutu o te Manu, he kokoti moeroa i a Ngā Ruahinerangi i tōna hapū i a Ngāti Manuhiakai i tōna poropiti, i tōna tohunga i a Riwha Titokowaru, nāna nei te hōia Pākehā i turaki i rere ai te pao a Te Wharemamaku, “Ko te Ngutu-o-te-Manu, Ko te ture i tae mai ee, Ka tuuraki whakawaho, I te motu raa ia” (Broughton, 1993, p. 119).

Kāore ngā putakari a Titokowaru i mutu ki konei, ka whāia ki te pakanga ki Moturoa i horo anō ai te hōia, nō muri, ko Taurangaika i whakarērena e Titokowaru. Ka arua a Titokowaru ki roto atu o Ngāti Maru⁷⁴, ka hanga i konā tana pā pakanga ki reira arā, i a Te Kawau, kihai rā i ākina e te hōia.

5.6 Ngā Tikanga

Nā, kia whakarāpopotohia rā ngā tikanga pakanga otiā, ngā tikanga ki te ika a Tū i hua ake i ngā kōrero mō te kokoti moeroa nei a Te Ngutu o te Manu. Ko te panonitanga nui whakaharahara ki ngā tikanga kaipakanga otirā ki ngā tikanga anō o te mate ko te kaitangata, arā, nā roto rawa i tāna whakaohoho i ngā atua o te ao

⁷⁴ Kei te raki mā rāwhiti o Taranaki.

tawhito ka hokia mai ko ngā tikanga o raro mai i aua atua rā. Ko Uenuku kai tangata rāua ko Maru ngā atua a te Māori mai anō i Hawaiki. Ko Maru tētahi o ngā atua nui o te waka nei o Aotea. Ko tā Titokowaru hāpai i ngā tikanga a te kaitangata i whakarere i ngā panonitanga i pā ki tērā tikanga i ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki te Māori, i hoki kē ai ki tōna tūturutanga, arā, i roto katoa anō i te tapu me ōna tikanga ka tahi. Tuarua, i noho rā taua tikanga hei whakawehiwehi i te ngākau Pākehā, hāpori mai, hōia mai, Aotearoa katoa mai.

Ko te panoni nui anō i piri rā ki te kaitangata ko te whāngai hau, koia tonu te māwe hei whakahere ki ōna atua pakanga. Ko te pōuto anō tēnā, ko te wāhi i te tūpāpaku hōia ka waiho kau ai ko te tikihope me ngā waewae hei tangihanga mā te Pākehā. Ko te patu hoki anō i te hunga taotū. Ko te whakahoki rā i ngā tini tikanga pakanga me ērā anō ki te tūpāpaku hoariri tae atu rā hoki ki te tahu tūpāpaku hoariri, kāore anō i kitea i roto i ngā tini pukapuka i tuhia mō ngā pakanga mai i ērā pakanga a Hone Heke taea noatia mai tēnei wā.

Tērā anō te rirohanga o te tūranga poropiti a Te Ua i a ia me tāna whakamātau anō ki te whakahoki ake i Te Pai Māriretanga kia Pai Mārire rā ki roto i te tahu māene, he whakamātau rā ki te tahi i te tahua ki te iwi Pākehā, ā, nō te paunga o te kaha, kotahi noa anō ki tā Broughton (1993) anō i kī ai i whakahuatia rā i ngā kōrero o mua iho nei, te patu i toe, arā, ko te hāpai i te pū. Nāna ka panoni anō Te Pai Māriretanga. I tōna pā hoki i Te Ngutu o te Manu kāore kau rā te niu, he pērā tahi i tōna pā i Moturoa me Taurangaika, kua whakarērena rā e ia te tohu nui a Te Pai Māriretanga, heoi rā hoki, kua pērā hoki puta noa inā,

As the cult of Paimarire continued its decline during the first half of 1868 the symbolism of the Niu poles lost its potency. Nius had been chopped down by the military in every Hauhau settlement attacked by Ropata on the East Cape, by Chute and McDonnell in Southern Taranaki, and by the Mair brothers in the Bay of Plenty. With few exceptions the poles were never replaced – as a belief system Paimarire had failed (Maxwell, 2005, p. 174).

Nā reira hoki ia i whakarere i ngā karakia i a Te Ua, i a Kereopa mā nā rātou nei i whakatou ki ngā wāhi katoa i piri rā ki tērā whakapono, ka hua ko tōna ake

whakahaere, ā ka uaua hoki te kite atu i tētahi rite kotahi, atu rā hoki i te mea, i te tangata, inā ko te iwi o Ngā Ruahinerangi, o Ngāti Ruanui, puta katoa Taranaki me kī i tōna wā kua Hauhau. Engari, iāianeī, kahore, kua tūturu Māori kē, te tūturutanga o te Māori i te huanga ake o te rau tau tonu nei.

Ko kō atu i ēnei ko tōna tino tohunga ki ngā tikanga tonu o te Matawhāura, o te rangamaro i kī rā e (Maxwell, 2005, p. 196),

Military genius is like no other, the simplest rearranging of factors to secure an advantage is regarded as cunning in the extreme – provided it works. Should the tactics work well, which Titokowaru’s did, then they become the stuff of legend (Maxwell, 2005, p. 196)

Heoi, ko te wāhi i horo ai a Titokowaru ko tana pā tūwatawata ko Taurangaika i whakarērena rā e ia, ahakoa kāore he taua i te ao katoa i tērā wā tērā pā te tahuri. Engari, ahakoa tērā, ka tū anō tōna pā ki te raki o Taranaki ki roto o Ngāti Maru, ka tū kē te ihu o te taua Pākehā, ka huri kē ai te tuarā. He pai kē noa atu kia waiho noatia ia hei tā rātou whakatau. Nā Titokowaru i āta whakahoki ake ngā tikanga kaipakanga ki te wā o ōna tūpuna, ki ngā kaimārō o ōna tūpuna i whāngaia iho ai ki a ia, ā, hiki ake ana te Pākehā hikipapa atu ana ki Whanganui, ā, ki Te Whanganui a Tara rā anō. Ka mutu, kua kore he Pākehā kotahi e noho ana i te whenua i te taihauāuru mai anō i Puniu i te aukati i Waikato Maniapoto, arā, Te Rohe Pōtae a te Kīngitanga, ki ngā tahataha tonu o Whanganui taone.

Kei te kitea anō hoki he rerekē rā te tū a ngā taua kūpapa i tēnei pakanga ake nei, ā, me i kuhuna te mātai o ēnei kōrero ki te pakanga i muri i tēnei ki Moturoa, he pērā tahi anō, i āhua noho whakatewaho atu te Kūpapa i te mātotorutanga o te riri. Heoi rā, ka tae ki te whakarerehanga a Titokowaru i a Taurangaika kātahi ka tino kino te whiunga. Ināhoki kei te utua ia toa kūpapa mō ia upoko ka pōutohia e ia e ngā mana o te Āmi.

Nā reira, he panoni rā e tino whakaaringia ana i ēnei kōrero nei mō Te Ngutu o te Manu, engari, ko aua panonitanga nei, he hahū kē, arā, e hahū ana i ngā tikanga o tua whakarere, ka whakatinanahia ai ki runga ki te hoariri.

Heoi, hei whakakapi ake i tēnei wāhanga ake kei tāna kōrero i muri iho hoki i ngā pakanga o roto o Taranaki,

Ka whawhai anō au mō aku whenua mō ake ake. E kore au e mate, ka mate ko te mate, he kākano au i ruiruia mai nō roto i Rangiatea (Belich, Stephens, & McRae, 1986c).

5.7 Te Kooti Arikirangi te Turuki

Ki konei ēnei kōrero tahuri ai ki te Matua Tangata ki a Te Kooti Te Turuki Arikirangi. Ko te hāngai pūtanga o ēnei kōrero kei runga i te pāhuatanga o Matawhero i te Noema o te tau 1868. Hei rāngai māna i ngā ture muru whenua, i tōna whakarautanga, otiā, o te whakarau katoa. Heoti, nō Rongowhakaata a Te Kooti, no roto mai i tōna hapū i a Ngāti Maru o te Pa-o-Kahu. E ai rā te kōrero nō te takiwā o te tau 1814 ia i whānau ai (Binney, 1990b). Kei te tohea te tau o tōna whānautanga, he tika hoki, inā rā, kei te kīa kei ngā tau o te toru tekau (Maxwell, 2005) a Te Kooti i a ia i Wharekauri, tā Belich (1986, p. 217) hoki, nō te tau 1830 kē a ia i whānau ai, heoi rā,

Arikirangi was the name under which his birth was predicted by Te Toiroa of Nukutaurua...His father was Hone Te Rangipatahi and his mother Turakau...In the traditions it is told how Te Kooti's father rejected him as a youth. He buried him alive in a kumara pit or well, but Te Kooti escaped and was adopted by Te Turuki. Te Toiroa then performed the naming ceremony over him. He dedicated Arikirangi to Tu-matauenga... (Binney, 1990b, p. 462).

He mea whakarau a Te Kooti ki te moutere o Wharekauri, ko te whakapae ia he pūrahōrua ia i te papatu i Waerenga a Hika. Ko te pakanga i Waerenga a Hika i hua ake i te tau 1865 inā te hōrapa o Te Pai Mārire ki ngā iwi o Te Tairāwhiti. Nāna ka tōtara wāhirua ngā iwi, ērā i hauhaungia me ērā kihai rā i Hauhau. Ko tā Te Kooti ake mō te take i whakarautia ia, he taruhae,

Te Kooti in a statement made after the war attributed his deportation to Wharekauri chiefly to the influence of Captain Read, then the principal

business man at Turanganui, who was jealous of him for taking native trading business away from his (Read's) concerns. There is no doubt that several Gisborne people thought that Te Kooti was a troublesome fellow who would be better out of the way, and the opportunity of sending him off to Wharekauri was too good to be missed (Cowan, 1955a, p.215).

Ka hereherengia a Te Kooti, kātahi ka tukuna, kātahi ka mau anō, whakarautia ana,

What exactly Te Kooti was accused of still remains uncertain. There are two distinct versions. One is derived from Tuta Nihoniho... Tuta stated that it was the cuckolded Rongowhakaata chief Hamiora Whakataka... [who] laid the 'concocted' charge to the European officers and the Kawanatanga chiefs that he had seen Te Kooti supplying gun-caps to the Hauhau at Waerenga-a-Hika (Binney, 2012, pp. 54-55).

Ko te tuarua o ngā whakapae kei tā Best,

...Best understood that Te Kooti's re-arrest had been because some former Pai Marire, held as prisoners, had given this information about him [Best] i roto iho i a (Binney, 2012, p. 55). But it was Paratene Pototi whom Te Kooti particularly remembered for the contempt with which he kicked him onto the boat and into exile... (Binney, 2012, p. 55).

Tahi ka tonoa ia ki Wharekauri ki ngā iwi Hauhau i mau rā i te pakanga a ngā Hauhau i Te Tairāwhiti, arā, i Waerenga-a-Hika nei, ā, nō te tau o muri iho ka piri atu ngā whakarau o te pakanga i Omarunui. Kāore kau rātou i whakawākia. Nōna i reira, ka kino te māuiui, ka ara i a ia Te Ringatū hei hāhi Māori mā te iwi Māori e toitū tonu nei i ēnei rā nei,

It was here in 1867 that, following a severe illness, Te Kooti went through a series of religious experiences in which he was spoken to by the spirit of God. This marked the beginning of the Ringatu religion (Elsmore, 1985).

Kia arua atu tā Te Wharekaihua Coates i uingia e (Belich, Stephens, & McRae, 1986d),

I reira ka puta mai tēnei whakapono. Nā te anahera tapu kē i hoatu ki a ia. Me kī, koia te huarahi mai, ā ki te iwi Māori, ki tana iwi. I reira te putanga mai o tēnei whakapono...engari he mea whakamāori e rātou, ka whakamāoringia, ka noho tēnei whakapono Māori tūturu.

E rua tau ngā whakarau e hereherengia ana i Wharekauri,

In exile on Wharekauri between 1866 and 1868, Te Kooti dreamed and preached. He dedicated himself to a thorough study of the scriptures – to a degree that generated passion...In time Te Kooti, who had not been born a chief, became the absolute leader of the exiled group both temporal and spiritual...Gradually the teachings of Pai Marire were phased out by him, to be replaced by new beliefs that would coalesce to become Ringatu, Wairua-Tapu, or Holy Spirit (Maxwell, 2005).

Nō konei ka mārō te aranga mai o Te Ringatū ki ngā whakarau, ā, ko Te Kooti tōna kauwaka otiā, tōna poropiti. Ka tae ianei ki te Hūrae o te tau 1868, ka kitea iho e rerekē ana te noho a ngā whakarau, e kauhau muna hoki ana a Te Kooti,

One place is remembered in the oral traditions from Wharekauri. Hidden in the sandhills of Petre Bay...there is a little valley where Te Kooti used to preach in the evenings. Here, it is recalled, he made his predictions that the ships would come (Binney, 2012)...Tom Ritchie recorded and underlined this prediction in his diary: Te Kooti Prophetsized “*that the Government in the month of July (1868) would send a vessel to take them to N.Z. & if not God would empower him Te Kooti to strike the Sea with a rod & they would be able to walk to N.Z. on dry land*” (Binney, 2012).

Ka mutu, nō te tuawhā o Hūrae, ka hereherengia ngā tautiaki,

Two parties of picked men were quietly told off, one to surprise the guard and capture the redoubt, the other to sieze the Government boat...There were more than two hundred of us on board – men, woman and children (Cowan, 1955a, p. 219-223).

Tā Gudgeon (1986, p. 207) mō te tuaiwa o Hūrae i te whakawhitinga mai o Te Raiwhara,

...when the vessel having been delayed for two days by a headwind, Te Kooti ordered all the greenstone ornaments on board to be collected and thrown overboard, as a propitiatory offering to Tangaroa (Neptune). This sacrifice was evidently not sufficient, for the wind continued on the same quater, so Te Kooti ordered his men to throw overboard an old man, a relation of his own...this old man⁷⁵ having warned the settlers of the proposed rising...

Ā,

It was a ‘test’, the prisoners believed; and with this human offering to the Old Testament God the exiles were granted their fair and swift wind. The next morning, said Peita Kotuku, they sighted land (Binney, 2012).

Nō konā, ka tere pai a Te Raiwhara, ā, nō te tekau o Hurae ka ū rā ki Whareongaonga. Ka tonoa e Te Kooti kia karapotia te pā i tarawāhi atu ka whakarau i te katoa,

Te Kooti also ordered that one fowl and one pig be taken and hung up until he landed; they were to be the sacrificial offerings made in thanks giving for a safe landing...And he first uttered the prediction ‘Enemeripi’ for...('Te kainga o te whitinga mai') Whareongaonga:

Nga mate mo tatau Ko te hoari

Ko te whakarau

Ko te mate Uruta

⁷⁵ Te Warihi

Ko te mate Kai (Binney, 2012)

Their hope was to be able to pass quickly through to the interior of the island, without conflict. If they failed in this objective, then all these forms of death would be the consequence. This kupu whakaari would be recalled and significantly expanded by Te Kooti at the terrible seige of Nga Tapa in December 1868 (Binney, 2012).

Nō konei, nō te taumahatanga o ngā kīrehe nei me ngā karakia ki te atua ka puta te kupu a Te Kooti,

Na, kaati ra te koropiko, engari whakaaratia te ringa, me toro te ringa me whakanui ki to tatou kaihanga.

It is from this occasion that the Ringatu date the practice of the upraised hand, whose textual origins lie...in the Lament of Jeremiah (Binney, 2012).

Nō te rongotanga ake i ngā rangi e rua i muri mai mō tō rātou ūnga ka whakaara taua a Captain Reginald Biggs⁷⁶ me te tuku anō i tētahi rangatira o Rongowhakaata arā i a Paora Kati (Cowan, 1955a, p. 227). Ka haere tonu tā Cowan mō tā Paora,

To demand that the escapees...should give up their arms and remain peaceably at Whareongaonga until the Government sent instructions regarding them. Te Kooti made reply refusing to surrender his arms. He declared that he only desired an open road to the interior of the island; he intended to go to Waikato and set up a new king of the Maoris.

Ka mutu, nō te tekau mā rima o Hūrae ka whati a Te Kooti me ngā whakarau i Whareongaonga, kua oti i a Biggs te whakaara taua hei aukati i te whakarau,

Major Biggs with fifty Europeans under Captains Westrupp and Wilson, and thirty Maories under Henare Kakapango, marched for Papatatu, and arrived there the following morning. Biggs had left orders for a reserve

⁷⁶ The resident magistrate and commanding militia officer

force, under Tamehana Ruatapu, to march two days after and bring up rations and ammunition (Gudgeon, 1986).

Nā reira, ko Biggs me āna e ahu atu ana ki Papatatu, ka whakatakoto kokoti moeroa ki reira, ka tae te rongo ki a Te Kooti mō te taua nei a Biggs, ka puta tana kupu, “A taniwha lies across our path we must kill it or ourselves be killed” (Maxwell, 2005). Wāhiruatia e Biggs tana taua, ka whanga, ka whā anō ngā rā, ka tatū a Te Kooti, kihai anō hoki i kitea,

What followed demonstrated Te Kooti’s mastery of ambush. He selected a battle site at the end of a long ridge near Papatatu and set some of his people to show themselves by way of diversion, pushing part of Westrup’s force back to a hill, where they were caught by another group of Te Kooti’s toa. Peka Makarini added to the confusion by blowing commands on his captured bugle.

Ka mutu, kua whakatakoto a Te Kooti i tāna kokoti moeroa hei hopu i te kokoti moeroa a Biggs mā me te aha ka horo te taua a Biggs, ka tae anō tētahi ope o Ngāti Maru ki te hāpai i a Biggs, tōna rangatira ko Tamihana Ruatapu, engari kihai rātou i kuhu, ā, ka riro ko te ‘baggage train’ arā, ngā hoiho, ngā kai, ngā pū, ngā matā, ā, aha atu, aha atu i a Te Kooti. Nō te horonga o te taua nei ka tae aua matatiki,

At this moment, just on dusk, the supply train from Gisbourne finally arrived...the men were Maori, not militia...they had heard the distant fire... Now the gunfight ranged downhill towards them...In the end the darkness saved them. That and the fact that Nikora and his men were preoccupied with their extraordinary windfall – the horses and equipment of an entire militia mounted column. Eighty animals, saddles, packsaddles, reins and bridles, 10 carbines, swords, axes, rope, leather pouches, canvas webbing, rifle scabbards, spare clothing – the newly arrived supplies of food and ammunition – bedding, medical kits, even rum (Maxwell, 2005).

Kia whāia atu tā Whitmore i roto iho i a (Wright, 2006, p. 199),

The battle of Papatatu was crucial on many levels. Whitmore reflected that much of the ‘extraordinary prestige’ which Te Kooti ‘afterwoods acquired’ followed the victory.

Tokorua ngā tūao i hinga, ā, tokotoru o ā Te Kooti, he mea huna hoki. Koinei te huatakitanga o te pakanga a Te Kooti, te kakātanga o te ahi i mumura mai anō i tēnei wā nei tae atu ki te tau 1872. Ko te Ringatu kua pēnei anō i Te Pai Mārire, kua huri hei whakapono e kawea ana i roto i ngā hautapu a Tū, otirā i te atua kaipakanga o Te Kooti, e ai rā ki a Eria⁷⁷, (Binney, 2012), ka wāhia ana toa kia rua ngā akunga kia haere ko ngā mea e tai ana mā runga hoiho, ā, kia tūtaki tahi rātou ki Te Ahi Manu ki kō atu o te maunga o Whakapunake, ka whai kupu anō a Te Kooti,

God has again helped us and cleared our path. But the taniwha is not killed. It is only the head we have maimed, and although we have deprived it of some teeth, yet the body is still alive, and will pursue us again. We must haste to where he cannot reach us (Binney, 2012, p. 97).

Hoatu ana a Te Kooti, kua piri anō mai ētahi o ngā iwi o ngā tahataha ā, ka tae ia ki Te Kōneke, ka tau. He rongo anō nōna e arua ana ia e ngā taua e ahu mai ana i Te Wairoa. Ka puta tana kupu ki tana iwi,

In front of us there is another tooth of the taniwha. In the morning, let the cooking ovens be ready early, that we may move on again, and be strong to meet our enemy. God once more will give us power and make our foes weak in the morrow’s battle (Binney, 2012).

He tika rā hoki tāna i rongo ai inā,

Four militia groups then...Whitmore’s and Fraser’s groups now, riding inland on Te Kooti’s trail...and the Wairoa men under Richardson and Preece moving to intercept the exiles in the region immediately north-east of the Ruakituri and Hangaroa rivers... (Maxwell, 2005).

⁷⁷ Eria Raukura.

Ā, āpiti ki ēnei ko te taua hōia e ahu mai ana i Ōpōtiki. E whakawhāiti katoa ana ki runga i a Te Kooti.

On the 24 July, Te Kooti and his band appeared at Te Koneke and attacked Richardson's force, inflicting one casualty, Apatu's contingent at once bolted. As the crown force was now smaller than Te Kooti's, it made a hasty retreat towards Te Reinga. Turning northward, Te Kooti crossed the Hangaroa river and proceeded leisurely up the Ruakituri valley (Mackay, 1949).

Mea ai a Cowan (1955a) ko te taua Māori nō roto o Ngāti Kahungunu, ō rātou rangatira ko Karaitiana Roto-a-tara rāua ko Ahitana. Haere tonu tāna,

The main body of the friendly natives from Wairoa had not appeared, and an expected force of Mahia Maoris, under the staunch old Ihaka Whanga did not arrive in time for the fight... (Cowan, 1955a, p.230).

He mea puhi anō a Te Kooti i tēnei rīri, tūākikotia tētahi o ana rekereke. Heoti, ko tā (Maxwell, 2005) mō te putakari nei,

Although each side suffered a number of wounded and two or three dead at Te Koneke, there is no disagreement that Te Kooti won the day...There are also suggestions that a number of the Wairoa Maori actually switched sides during the fight.

Hei whakarāpopoto ake i ēnei pitonga kōrero mō te putakari nei, ka tiki atu i tā (Whitmore, 1868),

...the enemy fought differently to any Natives I have yet seen engaged. He held a body of desperate men in reserve, to charge whenever he sounded the bugle. His fire was deliberate and never thrown away; every shot fell close to its mark if it did not reach it, and there was no wild volley discharge during the action. He began the fighting himself, and no opportunity was afforded me to summon him to surrender.

Ko te horonga tuarua tēnei a Te Kooti i ōna hoariri. Hoatu tonu ana ngā whakarau ka tae ki te tāwhārua o Ruakituri i te tuawaru o Akuhata, ka whakatakoto a Te Kooti i tōna kokoti moeroa, ā, ka whanga, tā Belich,

He [Te Kooti] was sighted by Whitmore's scouts and the colonists moved in to the attack...Suddenly, the *Ringatu* forces rushed the colonists van and drove it back with heavy loss...Then the Napier *kupapa*...led by their able young chief Henare Tomoana, at last managed to cross the river. Their fire soon forced Te Kooti to abandon the river island...Whitmore drew off, leaving five dead and carrying six wounded with him, three of whom died that night. Te Kooti continued his march, and reached Puketapu within a few days (Belich, 1986, pp. 223-224).

Nō konei, ka hoake tonu ngā whakarau, ka whakawhiti i te awa o Hangaroa, ā, ka tatū ki Whenuakura i tā (Binney, 2012),

...a Ngāti Kohatu village on the western side of the river, where they were welcomed by the chiefs...Rewi Tipuna and Watekina Tukaiuru. Almost at once they were joined by the outstanding leader of Ngāti Kohatu, Korohina Te Rakiroa and some 15 or 20 of his men (Binney, 2012).

Ka haere tonu tā (Binney, 2012),

From Whenuakura, Te Kooti wrote to the two senior chiefs of Whataroa village, Nama and Te Waru...Te Waru replied, sending the whakarau messenger, Paora Te Whakahoehoe, back to Te Kooti with a tiwha, a gift as a request for support in a conflict of his own...he [Paora] brought a famous greenstone mere named Tawatahi, and Te Waru's daughter Te Mauniko, to be Te Kooti's wife. In accepting these gifts, Te Kooti accepted the take.

Ko te take hoki a Te Waru, he kohuru nā Biggs i a Pita Tamaturi, he whāngai nā Raharuhi Rukupo, he mea whakarau e Ropata Wahawaha, kia whāia tonutia tā (Binney, 2012),

Biggs asked [Ropata] who the man was, and whether he was a chief. When Ropata affirmed...('ka whakamatea e te Piki taua tangata') (Gudgeon, 1986, pp.87-88)...With this tiwha, Bigg's death was Te Kooti's to exact.

Tērā atu anō ngā take, arā, ko te muru a te Pākehā i ngā whenua i ngā pakanga Hauhau, ki tā Binney anō "...the seizure of land on the East Coast, was to be...a significant factor in Te Kooti's revenge at Turanga in November 1868." (Binney, 2012, p. 98).

Ka mutu, ka hoatu tonu a Te Kooti ki Puketapu,

...where he rested and recruited his strength in a fortified camp, and gathered in many warriors from the surrounding tribes...some of the Rongo-whakaata people, and many Urewera...Now well supplied with food, arms and ammunition, and with between three and four hundred fighting-men at his command, he laid his plans for a surprise descent upon the plains and a raid of vengeance on his foes in the Poverty Bay settlements (Cowan, 1955a, p.233).

Nōna hoki anō ēnei whenua, ā, nōna i Puketapu, ka haere ētahi rangatira tokowhā o Ngāti Kahungunu ki Whataroa kia kite i a Nama rāua ko Te Waru, ko Karaitiana Te Roto a Tara i te pae o tēnei tira, kia arua atu tā (Crosby, 2015),

Their aim was to persuade the rangatira to gather news of Te Kooti's intentions. What they did not know, however, was that Te Waru and Nama had already exchanged messages with Te Kooti when he was at Whenuakura. When they arrived at Whataroa, Te Waru was absent, but his brother Reihana appeared to welcome them, but during the night the four visitors were killed – either tomahawked as they slept or shot when they awoke...Karaitiana's heart was cut out and his head cut off. When the four men failed to return, and rumours were heard of their killing, a major runanga was called at Wairoa. This took place on 27 October, with all the major Kahungunu rangatira present. Renata Kawepo, Tareha, Henare Tomoana, Ihaka Whanga and Paora Te Apatu...with many hundreds of their

followers. Also present were Ropata Wahawaha and Hotene Porourangi of Ngāti Porou and a party of 125 of their men who had been brought down to Te Wairoa to assist in the pursuit of Te Kooti.

Nā Reihana te manawa i heri ki Waikaremoana i tana haeretanga atu ki a Te Kooti, ka hoatu te manawa ki runga i te tuahu i te pā o Matuahu, (Binney, 2012, p. 102), ka haere tonu tā Binney,

When Te Kooti in turn visited Matuahu, he ordered the tuahu and the heart destroyed: this was not his religion, nor his form of sacrificial offering.

Heoti, ko te whakatau hoki kia haere ki te kimi i a rātou ki Whataroa, te taetanga atu ki reira, kua whakarērea, atu i tētahi kuia me tētahi koroua. Ka kitea i reira kua tūpāpaku ngā rangatira tokowhā rā,

When the news of the killing of these four prominent young men by members of another hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu was brought back to Wairoa, and spread further afield, it inflamed Ngāti Kahungunu anger. Their fury was directed at not only Te Waru, who was suspected of having ordered the killings, but also Te Kooti. This was to have direct consequences in utu for Te Kooti within a few weeks, and throughout the next four years – although Te Kooti was to demonstrate at Mohaka in early 1869 that utu was a double-edge sword (Crosby, 2015).

Nō konei, kua noho tūturu a Ngāti Kahungunu rāua ko Ngāti Porou hei hoariri mā Te Kooti ki roto i ngā tau ōna e pakanga ana inā rā,

At Whataroa were found the bodies of Karaitiana and his three companions; they had been buried in one hole, and were fearfully mutilated, their breasts cut open, and hearts taken out (Gudgeon, 1986).

Ka puta anō i te koroua i kohurutia rā i Whataroa ngā rautaki a Te Kooti ki te huaki i a Matawhero. Ahakoa tēnei whakatonu āna, ka pōhēhētia, ko te huakina kē a Te Wairoa,

Towards the close of October, the Government assembled a large native force at Wairoa. It comprised 120 Hawke's Bay friendlies under Renata, Tareha and Karauria; 170 Ngati Porou, under Ropata and Porourangi; and some hundreds of Nuhaka and Wairoa natives, under Ihaka Whaanga and other chiefs (Mackay, 1949).

Noho tonu ai a Te Kooti ki Puketapu mai i te tuawaru o Ākuhata ki te rua tekau mā waru o Oketopa,

...during which period he sent messengers all over the island...proclaiming himself the saviour of his peoples (Gudgeon, 1986).

Ā, ki tā (Binney, 2012),

He wrote to King Tawhiao, apparently seeking permission to enter the King Country. He also wrote to the Tuhoe chiefs. He sought their permission to enter the Urewera, he also urged them to give up their form of karakia. He wrote to Turanga asking his kin to remain 'outwardly loyal' to the government, but to try to gather arms for his support when he came down 'in the summer'.

Ka puta te kupu a te Kīngi,

The King has refused to assist the exprisoners in the slightest degree and declares his intentions of repelling them if they encroach upon his territory in the least – He is incensed with the exprisoners because they listen to and obey the dictates of their prophet in preference to his own (Binney, 2012, p. 102).

Kāore anō hoki a Tūhoe kia whakaae noa kia kuhu a Te Kooti ki ō rātou whenua (Binney, 2012).

Nō tēnei wā hoki, horo ana te hōia Pākehā i roto o Taranaki i a Titokowaru, nō konei ka tonoa ngā hōia i Te Tairāwhiti ki Taranaki,

The Government in the meantime, had turned its attention back to the west coast, where its forces under McDonnell had suffered a defeat that made the East Coast losses in July and August seem minor. The result was that Whitmore was moved to the west coast to assist.

Inā rā hoki, nō te ūnga o ngā whakarau ki Whareongaonga, arā, nō te rā tonu i oti ai te tango i ngā utanga o runga i Te Raiwhara te huakitanga a ngā toa o Titokowaru i te pā Pākehā o Turuturu Mokai, ā, horo tonu. Nō tēnei wā ake nei, huaki ana te whana a ngā hōia i te pā o Titokowaru i Te Ngutu o te Manu, ā, ka horo ngā hoia, ka whati, mahue ana te tini tūpāpaku ki te wāhi tonu i hinga ai. Nō te tatūnga o Whitmore me tōna akunga ki Taranaki, ka huakina te pā tūwatawata o Titokowaru o Moturoa, parekuratia ana a Whitmore.

By October 1868, Te Kooti was in actuality encircled. To go forward into the King Country invited certain conflict with Tawhiao. He had thrown down a challenge, and the King had picked it up. To go through the Urewera without the support of Tuhoe was to seek a war he did not want, he knew he could not enter the area of their mana without their concurrence. It was in this context that Te Kooti decided to seek to recover Turanga. He had nowhere else to go (Binney, 2012).

Nō tēnei wā anō ka whakarere a Te Kooti i tēnei ingoa ōna, e ai anō rā ki a Binney (2012), ka tiki kē ai i a Te Turuki, te ingoa o tana matua whāngai,

The significance of the act lay in his deliberate rejection of the missionary baptismal name, Te Kooti. The choice reclaimed his lineage among the Turanga chiefs; it was simultaneously a statement of a new spiritual birth. Thereafter, those who joined him, like the Tuhoe, would always call him Te Turuki.⁷⁸

Heoti, nō te tuawhiti o Oketopa ka puta te kōrero a te Kāwanatanga kia houhia a Te Kooti ki te rongu, kia tū rā he rangaaatea, heoi tā te whakarau he tuku i ā rātou

⁷⁸ I pēnei tahi anō a Tawhiao i tana tuhinga ki te tuhi māreikura, arā, ki Te Pai Mārire.

pū, i a rātou tonu anō, ā, ka whakawhiwhia anō rātou ki ētahi whenua ki te wāhi e kitea ai he whenua, ā, auare ake (Binney, 2012),

That Te Kooti should suspect the government's sincerity was understandable but, ironically, the peace offer was most certainly genuine...colonial fortunes on the West Coast had reached so low an ebb that peace and land for 300 escaped prisoners who had defeated government forces three times was an acceptable humiliation. Mistrust, the legacy of Te Kooti's unjust imprisonment, of broken promises on the Chathams, and of various events earlier in the New Zealand Wars, blocked a real chance of compromise peace on the East Coast, and sentenced hundreds of Maoris and Europeans to their deaths (Belich, 1986, p. 225).

Ka mutu, ka oti te whakatau a Te Kooti kia huakina a Matawhero,

Te Kooti announced his plans for an attack on Matawhero during a hui with principal local chiefs on 24 October (Wright, 2006).

Ko ngā hapū i haumi rā i a Te Kooti i tā (Belich, 1986, p. 226),

Te Kooti's main allies were the Upper Wairoa Ngati Kahungunu: fifteen Ngati Kowhatu, a small number of Ngati Mihi, and Te Waru and Nama with about fifty men...Te Kooti now had about 250 men.

Nā, kia paku kōrerotia te āhua o Matawhero, "...Tū ai a Matawhero i tarawāhi atu o Tūranganui, e rima maero whakateuta o Turanganui a Matawhero", ka haere tonu tā Cowan (1955a, p.256),

Most of the prominent settlers, including the military officers, lived at or near Matawhero, among these were several men against whom Te Kooti nursed an undying grudge for his deportation to Wharekauri. Te Kooti occupied the month of October, 1868, in gathering in his forces and perfecting his arrangements for a terrible blow at the Poverty Bay settlements.

Nā reira, kua oti ngā takatūnga mō te huaki i a Matawhero, kua whakahuatia hoki nōna ake anō, nō tōna hapū tonu ngā whenua rā i Matawhero, ko ngā take hoki o te hunga i haumi rā i a ia ko te muru anō o te whenua i muri iho i ngā pakanga Hauhau,

In Hawke's Bay, a large area on the north side of the Esk river and stretching across the upper Mohaka river to Tarawera, had been confiscated in reprisal for the fighting. It included Petane, where the major confrontation had occurred in 1866, and most of the lands of Ngati Hineuru, who had fought there and at Omarunui...(Binney, 2012).

Ki tāna anō, (Binney, 2012),

Now these lands were being reoccupied by those joining Te Kooti...⁷⁹ Te Kooti had owned land in Poverty Bay. Its importance to him can be seen in the way he became involved in two separate disputes about adjoining pieces of land there. They were both at Matawhero...it was there that the violation of his and his family's were most manifest. It is no accident that the only people to be killed in the November attack were those living on land at Matawhero which Te Kooti could properly consider his own.

Hei whakakapi ake i te take ki te whenua, ki tā (Binney, 2012),

Te Kooti's decision to attack Matawhero was far from random: it was a war to reclaim his land. This has been denied in previous discussions about the reasons for his attack on Matawhero. Such doubts derived, in part, from a failure to realise the extent of the suppression of ownership rights perpetuated through the processes imposed by the Poverty Bay Commission, with the consequence that most people remained ignorant of Te Kooti's close involvement with the land at Matawhero.

⁷⁹ Kei tā Binney te roatanga atu o ngā korero whenua, mō ngā ture i whakaarahia hei tango i te whenua, ko te East Coast Land Titles Investigation Act tēnā, p.105, ā, nō te Ōketopa, 1868, ka puta te East Coast Act p.106, nā tēnei ture i whenua koretia ai a Te Kooti me te huhua noa atu.

Tērā anō te take ki Te Hau ki Tūranga, whare tupuna i Orakai a Pu i Manutuke, he mea hanga tēnei whare i ngā tau 1842-43 e Raharuhi Rukupo hei whakamahara ki tōna tuakana ki a Te Waaka Mangere (Binney, 2012, p. 114),

Rukupo sent his second petition of 8 July 1867 to Parliament in protest:

Ko to matou taonga nui ko to matou whare whakairo kua mauria huhua koretia e te Kawanatanga, kihai matou i whakaae...i te taenga mai o te Ritimona, ka tono mai kia hoatu e au te whare, kahore au i whakaae...ko Kapene Piki i haere mai, ki te tiki mai i te whare...heoi ano, haere atu ana taua Pakeha ki te pakaru i te whare, mauria atu ana, heoi ra kahore aku kupu whakaae ki a ia.

Nō Te Kooti tonu tēnei whare, arā, nō Ngāti Kaipoho me Ngāti Maru (Binney, 2012).

Whakarāpopotohia ai ēnei take katoa mō te huaki i a Matawhero e (Binney, 2012),

Te Kooti had not merely been sent into exile without trial. He had also been deprived of the land where he had once lived and any chance to title in it. His former meeting house had been carted off to Wellington for ‘display’, despite the protests of the man who carved it and lived in it and who, it was admitted, represented the owners. Rukupo had protested not only against this, but against both the ‘propriety’ of sending the prisoners to Wharekauri and the forfeiture of any land at Poverty Bay. Rukupo’s anger was Te Kooti’s anger...At Puketapu he came to his resolution. He would turn back to Turanga and Matawhero. He would become Joshua, the warrior son of Israel, to whom the task had been given to bring the children of Israel into the land sworn unto them.

kia whāia atu tā (Belich, 1986),

In early November 1868, Te Kooti abandoned his base at Puketapu and with it his role as a hunted fugitive. Suddenly taking the initiative, he descended on the British and Maori settlements at Poverty Bay and destroyed them.

Tukuna ana e Te Kooti ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki ki Pukepuke, ā, i tōna rua rau toa i raro mai i a Nikora, rātou ko Nama, ko Tahau me ētahi i hoatu ki te pā o Patutahi, ka whakarau i te iwi o reira (Gudgeon, 1986),

After midnight, that is early in the morning of the 10th, the first kokiri entered the village and subdued its inhabitants by stealth. Three leading villagers, Wi Rangi Whaitiri, Paora Wharau, and Himiona Katipa, were manhandled, then killed...During the course of the three day raid their bodies lay crumpled near their homes in full view. Their families were not permitted access to them (Maxwell, 2005).

Ko tō Te Pīki⁸⁰ whare te tuatahi, ko Nikora rāua ko Te Rangitahau i te pae o tēnei kōkiri, kōhurutia ana a Biggs me tōna whānau, ka tahuna tōna whare ki te ahi, tōmuri, ko tō Wirihana⁸¹, ka tahuna tō rātou whare, te putanga mai, patua katoatia ana, haere tonu ana tā Cowan, (1955a, pp. 257-259),

After the slaughter of the Wilsons the scattered homesteads on the Matawhero were quickly attacked by the mounted raiders, and one family after the another was slaughtered. The friendly natives were simultaneously pounced upon, and many were dispatched with rifle, bayonet, tomahawk, or *patu*.

Mō te āhua ki te patunga o ētahi o ngā Māori,

“Katipa, and several others”...were taken prisoner. After dawn, having looted the Matawhero store, “Te Kooti rode over...he had a bottle of brandy in one hand and a stock whip in the other”...He divided the prisoners. Some he placed on the left hand, others on the right. He ordered all on the left hand

⁸⁰ Reginald Biggs.

⁸¹ Captain Wilson.

to be shot. “God has told me to kill women & children,” Te Kooti ordered-
“now fire on them” (Binney, 2012, p. 122).

Ka pēnei haeretia tae noatia te ata,

Daylight revealed the guttering ashes of a frontier dream, plumes of smoke rose above the plain, unburied bodies lay strewn throughout the settlements. By the second day the corpses had been reduced to the status of carrion, eviscerated by harrier hawks...They had achieved a stunning victory – they now commanded the heartland of the very territory from which they had once been exiled (Maxwell, 2005).

Toru tekau mā toru ngā Pākehā i patua, ā, toru tekau mā whitu ngā Māori i patua,

Te Kooti leisurely retired, taking with him a large number of native recruits and captives from the Turanganui *kaingas*, and a great quantity of plunder of all kinds...The various raiding-parties united at Patutahi after sweeping out all life from Matawhero, Makaraka, Repongaere, Makauri, and other settlements (Cowan, 1955a, p. 260).

Nō te hokitanga a Te Kooti, kei te whakaara taua te Pākehā me te Māori hei ranga i ngā tini mate nei,

The men who moved against Te Kooti in early December fought not for the government but for themselves-for revenge at the slaying of their kinsmen...The pursuit of the Ringatu...on or about the 25 November 1868-grew into a bitter, relentless, four year manhunt...Ropata, Porter, and later George Preece, pursued Te Kooti with a dedication beyond the call of duty (Maxwell, 2005).

Ka waihohia atu ngā kōrero mō ngā putakari a Te Kooti ki konei, me waiho hoki. Ko ngā kōhuru hoki i ngā rangatira o Ngāti Kahungunu⁸² rāua ko Ngāti Porou, otirā,

⁸² I a Nama.

ngā rangatira Pākehā i patua rā e ia i Matawhero me ngā hāpori o ngā tahataha i ara ai te motu ki te pakanga ki a ia me te whakarau. Ko te utu kē tā rātou whāinga. Ko tērā taonga i tukua iho rā mai anō i ngā mātua tūpuna. Nā hoki, koirā hoki tāna, he kimi utu mō ngā hara i utaina rā ki runga ki a ia, ki runga anō hoki i tōna iwi, i ōna karangatanga anō, i ōna anō whenua, engari, he taharua rā te taonga te utu, he taonga pai, he taonga kino. Ka mutu, ko te pakanga i whai muri iho i te pāhua i Matawhero ko Makaretu, ko Karetu anō hoki tētahi o ōna ingoa, horo ana te iwi a Te Kooti i konā, ahakoa rā, tāna kaupapa ake he whakataihoa rā i te hoariri kia oti ai tōna pā tūwatwata ki Ngātapa, he horo tonu. Tōmuri mai ko Ngātapa ka kino te whiunga, me kī, i āta eke tāna kupu whakaari i puta i a ia i a rātou i te ūnga ki Whareongaonga, a

Enemeripi' for...('Te kainga o te whitinga mai') Whareongaonga:

Nga mate mo tatau Ko te hoari

Ko te whakarau

Ko te mate Uruta

Ko te mate Kai (Binney, 2012, p. 88)

Koinei katoa ngā hoari i hahae i ngā mōrehu o te riri ki Ngātapa, kāore pea hoki rā ō Ngātapa rite mai anō i te huatakitanga ake o ngā pakanga ki te Pākehā. Heoti, he rā ki tua, ka haere tonu ngā huaki a Te Kooti, ngā kokoti moeroa anō a Te Kooti, ko ōna tino tohungatanga ēnei puta katoa ēnei tau, ka whawhai rā a Te Kooti tae noatia atu te tau 1872, koia i tōna kotahi e tutehu tonu ana mai i te tau 1870 ki te 1872. Kāore kē oti ōna rite, he pēnei i te kehua nei i a ia i te ara taua. Tāna kupu hoki e kore ia e pākia e te hoariri, he mate aitū kē ia e horo ai. Ka eke tāna i whakatauākītia ai. Nā reira, nō te tau 1872 ka kuhu a ia ki roto i te Rohe Pōtae o te Kīngitanga ki roto atu o Ngāti Maniapoto ki a Rewi, ki a Tawhiao, ki te wāhi e araingia ana ki te Pākehā. Ka noho ai ki reira ka whakatupu i te Ringatū, ā, nō te tau 1883 ia i whakapāhahia ai. Ka tīmata i konā tāna whakaū i te Ringatū ki ana iwi, arā, ki ngā iwi o Te Ringatū. Ko roto i ngā tau o muri ake i ēnei kōrero nei ka whakaaringia ake e Te Kooti ētahi tikanga pakanga, otirā, ētahi tikanga ki te mate nō te ao kōhatu tonu me ētahi tikanga nōna ake anō. Heoi anō, koia tēnei ko ētahi kōrero mō Te Kooti mai anō i tōna whakarautanga ki te turakitanga o Matawhero.

5.8 Ngā Tikanga

Kāti, me tahuri i konei ki te matapaki ake i te āhua ki te tikanga, i ōna panonitanga ki te pakanga me te ika a Tiki mō te wāhanga nei ki a Te Kooti. Heoi, ko te wāhi e mārama ana te kitea o te panoni ki te tikanga ko te wāhi ki ngā mate. Tuatahi rā, ko tētahi o ā Te Kooti tikanga, he whakarau i te pārenga i te tuatahi, ka whakamotuhake i te noho a ngā rangatira, kātahi ka patua tēnā, kātahi ka patua anō tēnā, ā, ka pērā. Nō te patunga, ka rāhuitia ngā tūpāpaku, kāore e whakaaetia kia whāwhāngia kia tanumia, engari me waiho kē mā ngā kīrehe o te pārae, otirā o te rangi hei kai. He panoni rā ēnei ki ngā tikanga o te mate, ahakoa rā he wā anō i kitea tēnei momo tikanga i roto i ngā pakanga o te wāhanga ki ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki te Māori. He nui kē hoki ngā pakanga o ērā wā nā te huhua kē hoki o te tūpāpaku i waiho kautia ai, ahakoa kāore i te rite rawa atu nei. Ā, i Ngātapa he pērā tahi anō a Rāpata Wahawaha, nāna i whakarārangi ētahi o ngā toa a Te Kooti ki te awa, ko ētahi o aua toa rā, he mea whakarau⁸³ kē e Te Kooti i tana huakitanga i a Matawhero me ngā hāpori anō o ngā tahataha, ka pūhia. Pērā tahi anō a Rāpata ki ētahi atu o ngā toa i hopukia e ia, ka whakahikoia atu ki runga o Ngātapa ka puhia, ā, ngaro atu ana ia o rātou ki te takiwā. Tērā pea hoki, e whai kē noa iho ana a Te Kooti i te tauira a te hoia pēnei i a Biggs nei. Tērā atu anō ētahi tikanga a Te Kooti mō runga i te ika a Tiki kihai rā i whakaatutia nā te mea nō muri kē i ngā pakanga i tirohia. Ko ngā ririri i kōrerotia e te wāhanga nei ki a ia, ko ngā mea fīmatanga tonu.

Kāore rawa atu a Te Kooti i whakaae iho ki te whāngai hau, ka kīa rā, ehara kau tērā i te tikanga a tōna atua. Ka mutu, kihai ia i whakaae atu ki tērā momo whakahere Māori, ahakoa tonu, whakahere tonu ai a ia, inā te kitea atu o tēnei tikanga nō te whakarau ka ū ki Wharekauri. Nā, ko te huakitanga i Matawhero he utu tonu, ā, he tūturu tikanga Māori tēnei, ā, nāna i whai te tikanga nei ki runga tonu i te tikanga Māori ake.

Katoa ēnei tikanga āna i ahu mai i tōna atuātanga ka tahi, tuarua, i ahu anō mai i ngā tikanga pakanga i tipu ai ia. Ko te wāhi tēnei ki ana poropititanga me āna kupu whakaari.

⁸³ E toru rau ngā Māori i whakaraua e Te Kooti.

Ko tōna tohungatanga ki te pakanga i te takiwā ki te huaki, ki ngā momo hoki o te kokoti moeroa. O ngā pakanga i kōrerotia e te wāhanga ki a Te Kooti, ko te pungarehutanga o Matawhero i utu i ngā tini pērātanga a te hōia ki te Māori, arā, tā (Crosby, 2015).

It needs to be said that while the European settlers expressed a deep sence of outrage at this slaughter of civilians in their own homes, this was no different in nature from McDonnell’s regular practice of launching ‘midnight’ raids on defenceless women and children in the Taranaki pa he attacked at night, or those whom Chute had attacked during his campaign. Yet the settler press and Government officials had always claimed those to be ‘brilliant’ military successes. (Crosby, 2015, p. 341).

Me tino whai i tēnei kōrero ko te pāhuatanga i Rangiaowhia kua whakahuatia ake i mua iho nei, kāti, kia whai hoki ko tā Belich (1986, p.226),

As for the great victory which established Te Kooti’s military reputation among the Maori, this was not Papatatu or Ruakituri, but a brilliant raid on Poverty Bay in November 1868. For Te Kooti had had enough of being the hunted.

Ko te hunga hoki i patua i Matawhero he mea āta tohu i runga i te tikanga tonu, arā, i tā Binney,

It is no accident that the only people to be killed in the November attack were those living on land at Matawhero which Te Kooti could properly consider his own (Binney, 2012, p. 106).

Kia whāia tonutia tā Binney (2012, p. 130),

The killings at Poverty Bay over the five days 10-14 November were not random massacres. They were...very specific. The European males who were killed died because of their previous military roles: all of them had served military roles: all of them had served in the militia forces. Some, most certainly Biggs, had been involved in the execution of prisoners. But

they and their families had been killed because they were living on land which had belonged to Te Kooti...The Maori who were killed were those who had fingered him as disloyal or who had dispossessed him...woman and children were killed as members of the family – usual in warfare. However, some Maori women were chosen for death...because of who they were and how they had acted in the issues.

Ā, hei kupu whakamutunga mō te wāhi ki āna pakanga e whakaatu ana i te mamae roa i roto iho i a ia mō ngā hē me ngā hara i whiua rā ia, ko tāna tonu e ai rā te kōrero,

A passage in Te Kooti's journal...I obtained at Ngatapa...It says: 'My wrath against the tribe which has destroyed my tribe is unchangeable. I will destroy them from the parents to the children. I will not cease forever' (Mackay, 1949, p. 243).

Ko te wāhanga hoki ki te Kūpapa ki tēnei wā ake nei arā i ēnei putakari katoa i wānangahia rā i te rerekē, he wehi ētahi, he pūrahorua anō ētahi. Ko ētahi kua tae kē rā ki te wāhi tonu o te pakanga engari rā mō te kuhu. Ko ētahi rā hoki ka tae ki te riri, ka whakawhiti tonu ki tō Te Kooti taha, tahurihuri haere ana ngā mana o te taua, kei hea a mea, a mea? Ā, kua haere ki te tiki wai, e tama, he whā tau kē rā te roa ki te tiki i tērā wai. Heoi rā, nō muri atu o Ngātapa, ka rerekē noa atu te āhua o te Kūpapa. Whakahokia ana e te Kūpapa ana tikanga kaipakanga ki te wā tonu o ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki te Māori me ngā tikanga o ērā wā.

Ko tā Te Kooti, i runga anō i te mea kei te whai a ia i ngā Karapiture ki te kupu tonu e mārama ana ko te panoni, ko te āta rerekē anō ngā tikanga i hāpaia ai e ia. He pēnei tahi anō a Te Kooti ki a Te Ua, arā, ehara nō te kāwai rangatira, engari nā te tūnga poropiti kē ia i pikitūranga ai i roto i te noho a te tangata i te ao Māori. Ko tētahi āhuatanga nui anō ki a Te Kooti, ko ngā haki pakanga, ehara rā hoki i te hou, inā he tere te tiki atu a te Māori i ngā haki inā,

Flagstaffs and flags were potent images for Maori, for the post (and the flag) claimed the land. (Binney, 2012, p. 41).

Koia ēnei ko ētahi o ngā tikanga i ara i ngā kōrero nei mō te Kooti, kia tahuri i konei ki te whakakapi ake i te upoko nei.

5.9 He Whakakapinga

Nā reira, kia hokia ake ko ngā kōrero nui e pā ana ki te panonitanga a te tikanga hei whakakapi i tēnei upoko nei. Ko tā te upoko nei i whakamātau rā, ko tāna kaupapa ake me kī, he whakamātau ki te whakautu i te pātai matua arā, he aha rā ngā panonitanga a ngā tikanga pakanga me ngā tikanga a te hunga tapu i roto i te huanga mai o te poropititanga?

Ko ngā kaupapa nui i rite tonu ai te puta i tēnei upoko, arā, o ngā tau mai i te 1864 ki te 1869 ko ngā tau nui ēnei o ngā Poropiti tokotoru rawa, a Horopāpera Te Ua Haumeene, a Riwha Titokowaru, ā, a Te Kooti Te Turuki Arikirangi. Nā rātou, ko te whakapae i panoni ai ngā tikanga a te Māori i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te pakanga, ā, otirā, o te mate. Ā, o te hunga i raro mai i ō rātou mana. Kāti, kia whāia tuatahi ko ngā kōrero nui i a Te Ua. Ko te wāhi nui o te panonitanga i pā rā ki te tikanga kaipakanga a Te Ua ake, ā, otirā a āna poropiti matua arā, ko te huringa o tōna kaupapa poropiti i Te Pai Mārire ki te Hauhautanga, nō konā i āta tupu ai te panonitanga ki te tikanga. Ko tōna whakaporopiti anō i ngā tāngata i tohua rā e ia. Ko te tangata nui ko Kereopa Te Rau. Ko tōna tohu nui ko te niu, otirā, ko āna karakia anō. Ka ara i a ia ētahi tikanga hou kua matapakitia rā, ko tāna whakaara anō hoki i te whakapono mā te whakahua i ngā kōrero o ana karakia e kore ai te matā e pā ki ana pononga. Ko te wāhi ki te hunga tapu, ko te nuinga rā hoki o ngā tikanga nō te ao kohatu, ko ngā tikanga tonu rā i te huringa o te rau tau tekau mā waru ki te tekau mā iwa.

Ko ā Titokowaru, ko te wāhi nui rawa, ko tāna whakaarara i ngā atua o te ao tawhito, nā te whakaara i ērā atua ka tinana mai ai ko ngā tikanga o aua atua rā. Ko te kaitangata tērā, ko te whāngai hau anō tērā, ko te tahu tūpāpaku tērā. Ko te wāhi anō ki tōna tohungatanga ki te whawhai.

Ko te wāhi anō ki a Te Kooti, ko te ū rawa ki ā te karaipiture i kī ai, koia rānei te kaitohutohu i a ia mō te āhua ki te whakamotuhaketanga o ngā pārurenga, ka patua, ka waiho hei kai mā ngā kīrehe o te pārae. Tērā anō te āhua ki ana kupu whakaari i

noho hei poropititanga māna, otirā, mā te whakarau, ā, ahakoa kīhai i āta kuhuna ngā kōrero mō Ngatapa, arā, a Enemeripi i hauhau i a rātou. Ko te whakaara anō i ētahi tikanga ahakoa he hou, he panoni nui rā, e kitea ana i ētahi o ōna rite ki ērā i te ao kohatu. Ko te wāhi rā ki te āhua o tana whawhai, ko te huaki i te hāpori, tērā noa iho i tirohia rā te ūpoko nei ko Matawhero. I whakahua rā i tana huaki i a Mohaka. Ka pērā anō ia ki Whakatāne, ā, ki roto anō o Ngāti Awa me ētahi anō wāhi. Ko kō atu i ērā, ko te whakatakoto i ngā momo o te kokoti moeroa. Mehemea he ngoikore ōna ko te hanga pā.

Nā, ko ngā pakanga a Te Kooti i te tau 1868-69 e haere ana i te wā tonu o ā Titokowaru i whakahuatia rā i te upoko nei. Nō te nōhanga o Titokowaru ki roto o Ngāti Maru ki tōna pā ki Te Kawau, ka whakapā atu ia ki a Te Kooti,

He was also in touch with Te Kooti, who was then operating to the south and east of Lake Taupo, close to upper Whanganui territory. “Ten of Te Kooti’s men came across from upper Whanganui to Ngati Maru with an invitation for Titokowaru to go and join them.” Titokowaru declined to go himself, and vetoed Toi and Haowhenua’s wish to do so, but he is said to have sent thirty men—the only known instance of co-operation between the two generals (Belich, 1986, p. 292).

Arā, anō tā Belich (1986, p. 292),

...a government minute referred to ‘the uncomfortable attitude of Titokowaru’, and from this time his people began drifting back to their homes around Te Ngutu o te Manu. A year later, Robert Parris wrote: ‘Titokowaru’s people...are now virtually in occupation of all their tribal territory from Waingongoro to Omutarangi.’

Kāti, kotahi tonu te kaupapa i here i tēnei reanga poropiti, arā, koia tērā ko te whenua. He pērā tahi anō ki te upoko o mua iho nei, arā, ko ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā, ko te pupuru ki te whenua. Koinei tētahi o ngā tino take i hua ai te Kīngitanga, ā, kua panaia te Kīngi me ōna ake iwi, a Waikato katoa i ō rātou whenua. Ko te whakaaro rā pea o te ao Māori kāore i te eke i te Kīngitanga ngā

whenua o ngā iwi i hinga rā ki te Kīngitanga te maru. Ko Taranaki hoki ahakoa kāore anō kia whakatinanahia, kei te poti o te ngutu o ngā rangatira o te motu te kōrero nei o te raupatu, o te muru. Koinei tonu te take i hua ai ko te reanga poropiti nei. Kua kite hoki te motu, kua mōhio pū hoki te ao Māori huri katoa, ko te pūtaka ia tērā o ngā pakanga a te Pākehā ki te Māori. Ko ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā ki ngā ture o te Karaitiana kāore i eke, kāore hoki i whāia e te hōia Pākehā tonu. Ka mutu, me pēhea rā? Ko te anga tēnei a te hunga nei ki ngā karaipiture ki ngā ōrite mai o ngā iwi o roto ki te noho a te Māori i runga i ōna whenua i Aotearoa nei. Ka mutu, kāore e eke i te anga noa iho, ko te āki a te ture Pākehā e whakataritari riri ana ki te Māori, ka tahuri tēnei reanga poropiti ki te ara taua mā konā anake pea e mau ai ki te whenua. Ko Titokowaru i mahara, mā te hoki kē ki ōna ake atua ka taea, ā, i tata anō rā i a rāua tonu ko Te Kooti. Heoi, kia kati ake ngā tatau o tēnei upoko kōrero ki konei, ka hoatu ai mā ngā kupu tonu a Ruka Broughton (1993, p. 64) hei whakakapi ake,

Ko te whenua te oranga o te tangata, e tupu ake ai ngā āhua kai katoa hei whaangai i a ia; ngā raakau hei waka moona, hei whare ranei. Eeraa mea katoa, kaaore e wareware i te Māori i roto i aana mihi, aana tangi raanei. Ko te whenua te waiuu, te uukaipoo o te tangata. Noo reira i kaha ai te Māori ki te pakanga kia purutia oona whenua aa, mate rawa (Broughton, 1993, p. 64).

Rire hau, Pai Mārire!

Upoko 6: He Whakakapinga

6.1 He Wāhinga Kōrero

Kua tatū rā ēnei kōrero, otirā, tēnei rangahau ki tōna mutunga, ā, ki tāku whakapae kua tutuki te kaupapa, otirā, te pātai i pātaia ai, koia tēnā, ko te kuhu ki roto i te rohe o ngā Matawhāura o te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa ki tōna pātai matua, he aha ngā rerekētanga ā tikanga pakanga, otīa, ā tikanga mate i a te Māori i te tīmatanga o te rau tau nei me ērā i hua ake, i panoni anō i te Māori i te roatanga atu o te rau tau tekau mā iwa, ā, he aha anō ia ngā take matua i pā mai ai ki te Māori i panoni ai ana tikanga pakanga, tūpāpaku hoki i te rau tau nei. Ko te huarahi i whāia kia whakaroherohea ngā pakanga a te Māori. Ko te upoko tonu i tīmata ai te tewhatewhatanga nei ko ngā takenga mai o te riri, otirā o te pakanga. Ka whakanōhia ai ko te wāhi hei whakatūwhera ake i ngā rangahau pakanga ake nei ki ngā Matawhāura a te Māori ki a ia anō. Ka whakanōhia ai ko ngā tau tīmatanga ahu atu ana ki te paunga o ngā tau o te toru tekau te tahua ki ngā tau o tērā upoko me ngā pakanga i tuhurahia. Ka whāia mai i tērā, ko te huanga mai o ngā pakanga a te Māori ki te Pākehā, ā, a te Pākehā ki te Māori, he tika hoki ngā kōrero e rua. Muringa iho, ka kīa e au ko ngā pakanga poropiti. Ā, tēnei ka tae nei ki tōna taupokitanga. Tērā hoki i kīa ko te tirohia anōtia te āhua ki ngā whakaaro, ki ngā mahinga anō hoki a te Māori, ki āna whakamātautanga i roto i ana mahi kai pakanga i roto i te roatanga atu o ngā tau.

Kāti, he whakamārama ake i te huarahi ka whāia ai kia tutuki ai tēnei upoko, me wāhi rā ngā kaupapa matua i hua mai ai i te tuhura me te matapaki i ngā pakanga o te rangahau nei. Ki roto i ia wāhinga ka matapakihia ko ngā panonitanga, ko ngā rerekētanga, ko ngā neke anō o te tikanga, tae atu rā hoki ki ngā tikanga hou anō. Kāti, ināhoki he pakanga, he mate te kaupapa o te rangahau nei, ko te wāhi tuatahi hei matapaki ko te atuataanga, inā anō, ko te pakanga me te mate kei te here katoa ki te atuataanga me ōna pānga. Ka whai mai i tēnei ko ngā take tonu i pakanga ai te Māori puta noa te tahua o ngā tau, o ngā wāhanga i tirohia. Kātahi ka whakahuatia ko ngā momo o ngā pakanga nei me ngā whakawhāitihanga ki ērā.

Ka mutu, i te huatakitanga o tēnei rangahau i whakamātau rā au ki te rapu ake i te āhua ki ngā panonitanga ki te takiwā ki te pakanga me ngā ika a Tiki i ngā pakanga i hua ake i te rau tau tekau mā iwa, koinei e whai ake nei te whakarāpopototanga ake o aku kitenga hei whakakapi ake i te rangahau nei.

6.2 Te Atuatanga

Koinei tētahi āhuatanga nui whakaharahara o ngā wāhi ki te pakanga otirā ki te mate. Koinei anō te wāhi i nui whakahara anō ai te panonitanga ki te tikanga. I āta kōrerongia ai te wāhi ki te atuatanga i te ūpoko tuarua, arā, mō te takenga mai o te riri, o te pakanga. I kīa rā hoki ko te atuatanga, arā, ko te wāhi tērā ki te tohunga, ki te matakite, ā, nā wai rā, ki te poropiti koia te huarahi atu ki te pakanga. Kāore kau tēnei i whakarērea, ahakoa, he atua kē i whakawhānauhia, i tīkina rānei, tērā anō i ōna wā, i ōna anō iwi i tīkina ko te atua pākehā, ā, ka tae rā ki te pito whakamutunga o ngā tau o te ono tekau i kitea rā te whakaohotanga mai o ngā atua o te ao tawhito.

Nā, ka hoki ake ki te huringa o te rau tau ki roto atu i ōna toru tekau tau i te upoko tuatoru ki ngā pakanga i āta mātaia ai e tēnei tuhinga, ko Mōremonui tēnā, ko ngā tau mātaki tahi anō ērā me te pakanga nei i Toka a Kuku. Ko te pakanga i nui rawa ai te kitea o te panonitanga i tēnei upoko ko tērā i Toka a Kuku i tapaina rā ko Whata Tangata, arā, i te tukuhanga o Taumata a Kura i te taurekarekatanga ōna e Pōmare mā o Ngā Puhī, tukuna ana ngā herehere hei huarahi atu ki te hohou i te rongō. Nōna anō i reira ka tukuna ia ki te kura, ka ākona ki te pānui ki te tuhi, me Te Rongopai. Nōna ka tae ki tōna iwi ki a Ngāti Porou kei te whakaara taua ki te huaki i a Te Whānau a Apanui. He rangatira hoki a Taumata a kura, ā, nā tōna mātau ki Te Rongopai, ka piki tōna mana. Whakaae iho ōna iwi hapū kia noho ia ki te pae o te taua a Ngāti Porou, ki ōna whakahau anō ki te āhua ki te pakanga nei o Toka a Kuku. Ko ana rā whakahau e pēnei ana nei, kia whakarērea ngā atua Māori, kia kaua e taona, e kainga te hunga taotū, otirā, te ika a Tiki. Kia waiho ngā tūpāpaku, kia kaua anō e whānako i te hunga tapu, kia kaua e tūkino ngā māra a te hoariri, ā, kia kaua e wāhi i ngā waka o te hoariri, whakaae iho ana ngā taua o Ngāti Porou. Ko te tūnga tonu tēnei o ēnei tikanga a Ngāti Porou puta katoa ngā tau kia tae atu rā ki a Rōpata Wahawaha i tāna aruaru i a Te Kooti me ngā whakarau. Heoti, kihai i hokia te kaitangata.

Ka ahu ana ki ngā pakanga a Hone Heke mā nei, ko tō rātou tohunga poropiti, ko Te Atua Wera me te hanga tapatahi anō o ētahi o āna whakahau ki ērā a Taumata a kura. Ko tāna hoki e taea e tōna atua wera ngā matā te pei atu ki te hāpai i ngā tikanga, otirā ngā karakia a te pakanga. Hāpaia ai e Te Atua Wera ngā taha e rua o te whakapono, arā, ka kīa, ko te hunga kua karaitianahia kia anga tonu ā rātou karakia ki te atua, me tāna he hua anō o ngā whakapono e rua. Ko te wāhi rerekē i tā Taumata a kura arā, ki tā Te Atua Wera, kia mau tonu ki ngā tikanga Māori, kia ū anō ki ngā karakia a te Māori mō te riri, engari, kia kaua e kai tangata, kia kaua anō e tango i ngā tāngaika a te hunga tapu kei riri mai te atua o te Pākehā. Ka tae rā ki ngā pakanga i roto o Taranaki arā, ki a Te Āti Awa o te 1860, kāore kau i ngā kōrero i rangahaua i paku kitea he kōrero kotahi mō te karaitianatanga. Heoti kē ko ngā tikanga i kitea ake i te riri tūngutu i waho ake i te repo i Puketakauere rāua ko Ōnukukaitara, patupatua ana te hunga i mau rā i te repo, otirā, te hunga anō i taotū, te take rā tērā i tapaina ai tērā pakanga ko Te Wai Kōtero. Ka mutu, kihai rā i hāpaia ngā tikanga a te karaitianatanga. Ka kīa kētia ai, ko Maru te atua o ngā mahi kai pakanga a te iwi rā.

Nō te hoatutanga ki ngā kōrero mō Ōrākau nei, ka kitea te wāhi ki te tūturu tohunga me āna tikanga kia whāia, ā, ka kitea anō te wāhi ki ngā minita. E haere ana ngā tikanga whakapono e rua i te wā kotahi. Tērā anō hoki te tohunga o Tūhoe i mea ai kia inumia te inu tupua rā, ā, māna mā te inu taua inu ka peia atu ai ngā matā a te hoariri.

Ko te hokitanga ake ki roto o Taranaki ki te aranga mai o Te Pai Mārire i tōna tangata i a Te Ua Haumeene tētahi wāhi nui o te panonitanga ki te atuanga i roto i ngā tikanga a te pakanga. Ko ana atua ko Riki rāua ko Rura, a Riki te atua pakanga, a Rura te atua o te rongomau. Ka āta rerekē anō i a ia te wāhi ki te karakia. Ā, he pēnei me Te Atua Wera nei, te tohunga rā hoki o Tūhoe, ka hipa te matā a te hoariri. Ko te huanga mai hoki i a Te Ua te pou niu, ka mea ai koia hei tuahu e tuku ai ngā karakia mā te huri i te pou rā. He whakanoho anō i ngā upoko ki te take o te pou, ki tōna momo tuahu. He tere kē noa atu hoki te horapa o ngā tikanga Pai Mārire nei i tērā o te karaitianatanga. He tere tonu hoki te whakarere a te Māori i te karaitianatanga i ngā wāhi i toro ai Te Pai Mārire, he kite tonu nō te Māori i te kaha o te whakawhirinaki a te mihingare ki te Pākehā, ki te hōia hoki. He kite hoki kāore

hoki te hōia i te hāpai i ngā tikanga a te karaitianatanga. Ko te mea kē hoki o Te Pai Mārire, ko te aranga anōtanga mai o ngā tikanga ki te hunga tapu. I ngā pakanga hoki ki te Pākehā o te upoko tuawhā, kotahi noa iho te wā i āta kitea ai ngā kōrero o te rangahau nei i te whāngai hau, arā, i te hokitanga ake o ngā hōia i te kauhanga riri i te pakipakihanga i Ōhaeawai. Heoti, ko Te Pai Mārire i kīa rā i whakaoho mai rā i te pakipaki māhunga, i te kawē i te upoko pakipaki ki te poho tonu o te whakataka, otirā, o te taua. Tērā anō hoki ngā momo tūkinō i ngā tūpāpaku ahakoa Pākehā, Māori rānei, he hoariri!

Kāti, ka haere tonu ngā tau ka tae rā ki te aranga mai o Titokowaru me āna pakanga. Nāna nei i whakarere mō te wāhi ōna ki te pakanga te karaitianatanga, otirā, ngā atua o Te Pai Mārire, ka whakaoho kē ai i a Maru rāua ko Uenuku, nō konā ka ara anō ai ko ngā tikanga i āheia ai i ērā atua. Ko te kaitangata tērā, ko te whāngai hau anō tērā, ko te pōuto, ko te tokitoki i te hunga tapu, ko te patu anō i te hunga tūākiri, ko te tahu tūpāpaku anō hoki. Ka tatū rā ēnei kōrero ki a Te Kooti. Nāna nei ka ara ko Te Ringatū, o ngā pakanga i tewhaina, ko tētahi o ngā tikanga ko te whakamotuhake i te hunga ka kōhurutia, ā, ka patua tēnā, kātahi ko tēnā, ā, ka pērā haere. Ka tūpāpaku ana, kāore i whakaaetia kia raweke aua tūpāpaku rā, engari, kia waiho hei kai mā ngā kīrehe o te pae, otirā, o te rangi. I kitea ko tōna atuātanga te kaitohutohu i ngā tikanga i hāpaia ai e ia i te ara taua. Kihai a Te Kooti i hāpai i ētahi tikanga pakanga Māori pēnei me te whāngai hau nei, pēnei anō i ngā tikanga tuahu, engari, e mārāma ana te kitea atu o tāna aru i ētahi. Ko tētahi āhūatanga anō i kitea i te poropititanga, nā te poropititanga ka ara ake ai ērā i poropiti hei tangata whai mana, ā, hei rangatira.

Koinei rā ngā panoni nui ki te wāhi ki te atuātanga, ki te tohungatanga, ki te whānautanga mai o te poropititanga, ka kitea anō i roto i ngā kōrero o te rangahau nei he wahine, he tāne anō hoki i ēnei tūranga nei. Ka kitea anō hoki i te pūmau tonu o te wāhi ki te atuātanga i roto i ngā mahi kai pakanga a te Māori puta noa ngā tau o ngā pakanga o te rau tau o te tekau mā iwa. Ā, hei whakakapi ake i tēnei wāhanga ake, ko tā te tohunga tērā ia i whāwhā atu ai i ngā āhūatanga o te whakapono Pākehā i rata ki a ia, ka kōkuhuna ki roto ki āna whakahaere, ko ngā āhūatanga kihai rā i rata ki a ia, ka whakarērea. Tā te poropiti he pērā tahi, ko tāna

anō he whakarite ake i te noho a te Māori me ngā take o runga i a ia ki ērā a te Hūrae ki tā ngā karaipiture.

6.3 Ngā Tikanga

Tērā i kīa, e rua ngā tino take e whawhai ai te Māori, arā, ko te wahine, ko te whenua. I kitea ake i ngā rangahau nei me mātua tāpiri ki tēnei kōrero, ko te mana, arā, ki te takahia te mana o te rangatira, he mate kei te haere. He utu me kī kei te haere. Tēnei mea anō te utu i mau pūmau puta katoa ngā pakanga i mātaia rā i te upoko tuatoru me tōna aranga mai anō hei tino take i te upoko tuarima. Mārama ana te kitea o ēnei tikanga, take hoki puta katoa ngā pakanga i wānangatia, tērā i ētahi ko ngā take katoa kua whakahuatia kei roto i te take i tutū ai te kakari, tērā anō ētahi he kotahi, e rua aha atu ngā take. Engari he take kē ake anō i āta puta mai i roto i ngā kitenga o te upoko tuatoru nei i ngā pakanga i tewhaina arā, ko te pakanga mō te kōhuru, mō te pāhua, mō te whakarau. Inā rā a Te Āmiowhenua, ahakoa i kōrero noatia tētahi, i ēnei e rua, i konā ēnei take, anā, ahakoa ehara ēnei e toru i te tikanga hou nei, ko te kaitā kē o te kōhuru, o te pāhua, o te whakarau, o te āmio tonu i te whenua, tuia ki ēnei ko te kaha roa hoki e ngaro ana i rerekē. Kāore kē hoki he wā mai anō o te Māori i Hawaiki tautau nei i rite mō ēnei take e whakahuatia nei mō te kaha o te kaitā. I āta kōrero anōtia rā ngā take ki te pū, ki ngā āhua ki tōna hoko i kaipukahu ai te mahi a te herehere kia pērā tahi anō ai te mahia o te mahi kia riro mai ai te pū. Tērā hoki te kitea atu i roto anō o te upoko nei te whakatipuahanga o te pū, tōna kuhu anō ki roto ki ngā tikanga whānui o ngā mahi kai pakanga, waihoki, he puta noa i ngā tikanga whānui tonu a te Māori. Ko te mutunga iho hoki, ko te pū te tohu kia hanga pūmau ai te tūrangawaewaetanga ki te whenua i kitea rā hoki i tēnei upoko ki te kore ā te iwi pū, ka mate rā ētahi ki te kimi whenua hou, ko te rere rānei ki ngā maunga, ki ngā raorao, ki reira kē noho ake ai. Tērā anō ngā take āhei a te Māori ki te Pākehā me te Mihingare kia tareka ai te tauhokohoko te tupunga mai o ētahi pakanga.

Ko ngā whakakitenga i te upoko tuawhā ko te take puta noa ngā pakanga i āta tūhuria, ko te whenua, ahakoa pea he hanga rehurehu tēnei i ngā pakanga i Te Taitokerau, ināhoki, ehara i te mea i piri rā ngā rangatira me ā rātou taua ki te hōia Pākehā ki te hāpai i te riro o te whenua, kahore. Engari, e whēiro ana te kitea atu i ngā kōrero tonu i hua ake, ko te whenua tētahi o ngā take nui a Kawiti rāua ko Hone

Heke, arā, ko te wehi rā kei riro, i kō atu anō i ēnei he hōhā rā ki te kuhu a te Pākehā ki roto i ngā take a te Māori. Ka ahua ana ki roto o Taranaki, ā, ki roto o Waikato, kotahi noa iho te whaingā ko te whenua tērā. Ko te take ake i roto o Taranaki ko tā te Kāwana tīni i te ture hoko whenua, arā, kia āhei te hoko whenua i te tangata kotahi, ā, ahakoa, kāore kau i taua kotahi rā te mana hei hoko. Ko te huanga mai o te mana kīngi, ka noho mai anō tērā hei take pakanga mā te hōia, engari, kotahi tonu anō te whaingā, ko te whenua, arā, tā te Kīngitanga hoki he aukati i te hoko o te whenua. Nō te pakarutanga mai o te riri ki roto o Waikato, whakarewa taua ana puta noa te motu ki te hāpai i te Kīngitanga. Ko te aranga rā hoki o te pakanga i roto o Taranaki kua rere mai a Maniapoto ki te hāpai, nā wai rā, ko Ngāti Haua anō, ā, ko Waikato. Ko te mea kē, ko ngā rangatira hāpai riri i roto o Te Āti Awa nōna anō nei te take, he mea whakarau e Waikato i ngā tau ki muri iho. Tā Taranaki hoki, he aukati i te rūri mā te turitaku, arā, mā roto i te rangimārie ki runga anō i te tūmanako mā konā pea ka tutuki, ā, auare ake.

Ko ngā kōrero hoki o roto o te upoko tuarima, arā, ko te aranga mai tērā o Te Pai Mārire, ko tāna, he whawhai tonu anō mō te whenua, mō te mana Māori motuhake ki runga i a ia me ōna whenua. Ko te taetanga hoki ki te pakanga ki Te Tāpiri, ka kitea te noho tonu a ngā iwi i waho atu i te āki a te Pākehā e hāpai ana i ngā tikanga tonu a ō rātou mātua tūpuna. Ko te take hoki o tērā riri, he Māori tūturu i ngā taha e rua, arā, he kore nō Ngāti Manawa i whakaae kia kuhuna ōna whenua, ā, ka noho koia hei take whawhai mā rāua, engari i kō atu i tērā ko te āhua ki ngā kōrero a Ngāti Manawa, ki tā Tūhoe, he takahi, he takahi mana. Hei ahakoa, ka kitea tonutia te pānga mai o te panoni i te noho atu a Te Hauhau, ā, tere tonu ana te hinga a Ngāi Tūhoe ki te hāpai i ngā tikanga o tērā whakahaere. Tērā rawa anō e kitea mā roto i te rere mai a Mair⁸⁴ i te pae o te taua haumi arā a Te Arawa. Nō konei anō i tēnei upoko i tēnei wā nei ko te aranga o ngā taua Māori i tapaina rā ko te kūpapa. Ko te Kūpapa i kitea rā i ētahi pakanga i wānangahia rā ka noho whakatewaho atu i ngā pakanga, kei reira, engari rā hoki mō te kuhu. Ka tae rā ki te tau o te 1868, kei te pēnei tonu, kei te takiwā o te riri, engari, kāore i te āta whakakuhu i a rātou. Heoti, te tatūnga ki te tau 1869 i te arunga i a Titokowaru rāua ko Te Kooti kua meinga e

⁸⁴ Gilbert.

ngā mana Pākehā he utu ki te upoko. Nō konei, kua hoki ake ngā taua kūpapa ki ngā tikanga pakanga i whakaaritia rā i te upoko tuatoru.

Ko ngā pakanga hoki a Titokowaru, kotahi tonu te take ko te whenua anō. Ko ā Te Kooti, i te pāhuatanga o Matawhero, he utu kē rā te take, he utu mō ngā hara a tauwiwi ki runga ki ngā whakarau katoa. He utu anō mō ngā whenua i riro, he rapa utu anō mō ngā Māori i tapoko ki roto ki ngā hara a te Pākehā, i hāpai kē rā i ā te Pākehā mō te whenua, mō te wāhi anō ki te whakarautanga a Te Kooti. Ka mutu, ko te take nui anō a Te Kooti ko te whenua. Kāti, koia ēnei ko ngā take matua i puta ake i te rangahau nei mō ngā take i hāpai riri ai te Māori, ā, ahakoa ōna titahatahatanga i ōna wāhi, ko te whenua tonu te āta pūtaka puta noa.

6.4 Ngā Momo Pakanga

Ko ngā momo o te pakanga i Māori tūturu i te upoko tuatoru, taea noatia te horanga o te pū, nō konā, ka whakarērena te tau mātaki tahi, te riri tūngutu i te kauhanga riri, ka uaua kē me kī, te kitea. Ko te momo kē o te pakanga ko te pakipaki pā, ngā momo o te kokoti moeroa. Ka pēnei haere tonu puta katoa ngā pakanga i wānangatia, haunga rā ētahi huakitanga i ētahi rā o ngā pakanga. Ko te take nui hoki o te noho ki te pā, ko tāna, he ārai i ngā momo o te pū. Nō roto anō i tēnei upoko ko te whakahounga o te pā tūwatawata Māori, ko te pekerangi hei huna i te kaha, i te ngoikore rānei o te pā ka tahi. Tuarua, hei hopu i te matā, i ngā momo anō o te pūrepo, tuatoru hei whakataihoua i te whakaeke a te hoa taua. Tērā anō i whakapūhia ngā pā, arā kia rere ai ngā matā ki te wāhi kotahi i ngā tapa e hia ake nei, i ngā paparanga e hia kē ake nei anō. Ko te ahunga atu ki roto i ngā pakanga o te upoko tuawhā, ko te hīnga mai o ngā pā pakanga ki te hōia Ingārangi me ngā hangarau pakanga hou katoa o te ao. Ko te urupare a te Māori ko te ‘trench warfare’ me te hīa mai anō o te ‘anti-artillery bunker’.⁸⁵ Te tuku a te hoia i te waiwaipū, kāore noa iho he aha, ināhoki i tuki ki te pā, hopu kautia ana e te pekerangi. Kuhu ana ngā matā a te pūrepo, a te takirirangi ki te pā, ko te iwi kē kei raro, kei ngā whare i raro iho i te whenua. Te kōkiritanga ake a te hōia, papahorongia ana. Ka noho ai ko te pā o Ōhaeawai te tauratanga mō ngā pā pakanga haere ake ki te nuinga o ngā pakanga ki te Pākehā i wānangahia, i whakahuatia hoki.

⁸⁵ Kihai rā i kitea ake he kupu.

Ko tētahi momo o te pakanga whānui a Te Āti Awa me ngā iwi o roto o Taranaki, Waikato me Ngāti Maniapoto i haumi rā i a ia ko te tahu i ngā pāmu, ko te kōhuru takitahi, takirua i te hunga i te koraha. Tā Te Āti Awa hoki, he whakatūtū pā ki roto atu i te motu, ki te wāhi tātata rānei ki te hōia, ka huakina, tā ngā iwi rā, he patu i tōna hoariri, kātahi ka whakarere noa i te pā kia hanga anō he pā kē kia pērā anōtia. Tā Waikato, ka whakatūtūhia ōna pā pakanga hei puru, hei ārai anō i te kuhunga mai o te hōia Pākehā, otirā, o te mana Pākehā. Heoti, te tatūnga ki Ōrākau, ko te whatinga tērā o ētahi o ngā tino tikanga o te pā whawhai ki te Pākehā, he whati rā i ngā tikanga whakanoho pā inā kāore he putanga, koia pea te panoni nui rawa, tuarua mai, kāore ana rā he wai, he ara ki te wai, tauia katoatia te pā, huri i a ia me te aha he parekura. Riro ana te whenua i te rau o te patu. Ka kuhuna te ūpoko tuarima, arā, ki roto anō o Taranaki, ko te huakitanga i a Te Mōrere, ka hē katoa i runga i te momo o te huaki i whiria, i runga anō o te ū ki tā Te Ua i poropiti ai, arā, i kīa rā i runga ake nei, mā te whakahua i ana ahi ka hipa, ka peia te matā, ka kitea, kihai rā tērā i eke. Ko te tino momo hoki o te pakanga a Titokowaru, ko te huaki arā, i Turuturumōkai rā me te kokoti moeroa i Te Ngutu o te Manu. Ko ngā momo o te pakanga a Te Kooti, ko te huaki, ko te pāhua, ko ngā momo anō hoki o te kokoti moeroa. Ko ngā pakanga i Makaretu me Ngātapa i whakahuatia rā, ko te āhua tonu ki aua pā rā i horo ai.

Kāti, koia tēnei ko ngā kitenga whāiti, ngā kite whānui anō hoki o tēnei rangahau, ko te upoko ia tēnei ki te tuitui ake ā, ki te whakakōpani ake i a ia. Nō te tatūnga ki tōna mutunga ka kitea te kaha huhua o ngā tikanga i wānangahia, te kaha nui anō o ngā neke, o ngā panonitanga, o ngā rerekētanga i pā rā ki te tikanga i ngā pakanga o te rau tau nei ki ngā pakanga ā, otirā, ki te ika a Tiki. Tērā anō te mārama ake ki te huhua anō o ngā tikanga pakanga me ērā anō ki te hunga tapu kihai rā i whai wāhi ki tēnei rangahau. Ko te take rā hoki, kāore noa iho i tūpono atu ki ētahi kōrero i ngā pakanga i whiria. E whakaaturia ana i te ruarua o ngā tuhinga mā te marea nā te Māori mō āna pakanga. Ko te nuinga rā o ngā tuhinga a te Māori ake mō te pakanga ka whakamārama noa ai i ngā nekeneke o te pakanga ake, kāore rā i āta kōrero whānuitia te āhua ki ngā tikanga. Ko te take hoki, he mea uiui te Māori i puta ai he kōrero. Ko te wāhi ki te ika a Tiki, kei te āhua whānui atu, i te mea he momo whakamiharo ā wehi nei ngā kaituhi Pākehā ki ētahi o ā tātou tikanga ki te mate. Engari, kāore rā i whānui, whāiti kē ai ki runga ki ngā wāhi i miharo ai ki a

rātou. Nā reira, koinei te pōuri, heoti, he wāhi rā hei rangahau māku, ā, mā ētahi. Koinei noa rā tētahi o ngā ngoikore me kī o te rangahau nei, ā, ko te tohutohu o roto pea, ko te āki i te Māori kia tuhi mō ana pakanga, mō ana tikanga ki te pakanga, ā, ki te mate. Ko te mea kē hoki i te takiwā ki ngā pakanga o tēnei rau tau ake nei ko te mātotorutanga o te kaituhi, o te kairangahau i arongia ai tēnei kaupapa he tauwiwi, ā, ko te nuinga noa atu o ngā pukapuka kāore e whakahua ana i ngā wāhi ki te tikanga, koia i tahanga ai ētahi wāhi o tēnei rangahau.

Ka mutu, ko ētahi wāhi i uaua mōku kāore au i ākona ki ngā mahi pakanga, ki te hāpai rākau rānei, i kuhu rānei ki Te Hokowhitu, engari kē ko ōku koroua. Ko te wāhi anō ki te tuhi ki te reo Māori i a ia ōna wero nui, arā, ā, ahakoa tēnei tuhinga āku, he ao ā reo anō tō ēnei takiwā hei aru tonu atu māku. Kihai rā hoki au i ākona ki ngā āhua o te karaitiana i āhua wero anō ai te tuhi mō Te Pai Mārire ā, mo Te Ringatū anō hoki. Ā, ākene i tararapa ahau i te kore e puta ki te uiui. Heoi, he take anō i pēnā ai taku whakaaro. I te huatakitanga o tēnei rangahau e mārāma ana ki a au tāku i manako ai ki te whai atu, arā, ko te āta kuhu ki te matapaki i ngā tikanga ake o te pakanga, otirā o te mate, ōna momo, he whakamātau ki te rapa atu i te āhua ki te panoni. Ki a au ake nei i āta eke tērā.

Ko te mōhio anō ki ngā rāhuinga o te tuhi reo Māori, me tuhi reo Māori, āe marika, engari te mate nui, ko te aukati i te āhei ki ngā iwi taketake o te ao, otirā, he aukati anō i te hunga he kore noa e kōrero Māori. Heoti, he āta kaupapa Māori tēnei, me noho anō ia ki roto i tōna anō reo, ahakoa ēnei āhuratanga.

Kāti, ki konei taupokina ai tēnei rangahau, ā, tēnei tuhinga, e noho ai ko te manako e whai hua ai tēnei rangahau mā te Māori o ēnei reanga nei nā me ngā whakareanga o muri. Ko ēnei kōrero katoa nei e whakaari ana i ngā mahi a te Māori e toitū tonu ai a ia ki te ao, e mau tonu i a ia ōna whenua hei oranga mō āna whakatupuranga. Koinei tā rātou, he aha ake tā tātou?

Manawa ora!

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