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KUA HIRI MAI TE RĀ  
A JOURNEY OF SELF IDENTIFICATION FOR THE DESCENDANTS  
OF NGĀTI RĀHIRI KI TARANAKI

A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements of the degree  
of  
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at  
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by  
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## Ariā / Abstract

Prior to the arrival of Pakehā to the shores of Aotearoa, Māori retained and transmitted their histories, genealogies and protocols orally through such mediums as song and chant. The intricacies of the information held was such that every aspect of the Māori culture had its assigned expert whose job was to both retain and pass on their area of expertise. The settlement of Pakehā saw a change in how information was stored and disseminated, with a number of ethnographers, surveyors and historians recording accounts given to them from various Māori sources in written form. The main motivation for this at the time was to secure the information and cultural practises of a people who were deemed to be a dying race.

The implication that Māori were close to extinction was in vain, as many resisted against the gradual assimilation of Aotearoa (New Zealand) by the new foreign immigrants. The subsequent annexation of Aotearoa under British colonial rule eventually led to war against Māori, as Māori attempted to protect and retain both their lands and their identity. The result of the war led to a great loss of Māori lands, lives, and most importantly – identity.

Within Taranaki the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū fought many generations for the right to stand unified as a people. Although they can be regarded as a small coastal hapū entity, they are at the forefront of maintaining and asserting their rangatiratanga status within today's society. At the centre of the proclamation of rights and entitlement within their ancestral lands, questions have been raised that, for a number of generations, had baffled the likes of Elsdon Best and S. Percy Smith, as many sought to find answers regarding the true origins of Ngāti Rāhiri.

The impetus in undertaking this research is to ascertain who this prominent ancestor Rāhiri is from both a Ngā Puhi and Taranaki perspective, and investigate how these combined histories assist in the assertion of self by the Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki people. By undertaking a critical review and analysis of literature, court minute records, hapū documents, proverbs, histories and knowledge from tribal elders pertaining to Rāhiri, this researcher will endeavour to provide and present relevant information and evidence, in a cohesive format, to show the close ancestral ties and affiliations between the two peoples. Furthermore, it is hoped that the research findings presented within this body of work may provide a

significant contribution to the descendants of the Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki Hapū, as they continue to assert their mana and rangatiratanga through the knowledge and understanding of self, when posed with the question - Ko wai a Ngāti Rāhiri?

## Tuku Mihimihi / Acknowledgements

Unuhia!

Unuhia!

Unuhia i te uru-tapu-nui

Kia wātea, kia māmā

Te ngākau, te tinana, te wairua i te ara takatū.

Koia rā e Rongo whakairihia ake ki runga

Kia wātea, kia wātea!

Ae rā, kua wātea!

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## **Te Whata o Ngā Kōrero / Contents**

Ariā / Abstract \_\_\_\_\_ i

Tuku Mihimihi / Acknowledgements \_\_\_\_\_ iii

Te Whata o Ngā Kōrero / Contents \_\_\_\_\_ iv

Rārangi Whakaaturanga / List of Illustrations, Photos, Maps \_\_\_\_\_ vi

Kōrero Whakataki / Introduction \_\_\_\_\_ vii

Upoko Tuatahi: Te Pūtake o te kaupapa rangahau

*Chapter One: The creation of a body of research and research questions*

Upoko Tuarua: Ko wai a Rāhiri ake?

*Chapter Two: Who is Rāhiri?*

- Puhikaiariki and Ngā Puhi \_\_\_\_\_ 4
- Kupe \_\_\_\_\_ 7
- Nukutawhiti \_\_\_\_\_ 10
- Awanuiārangi \_\_\_\_\_ 12
- Rāhiri \_\_\_\_\_ 17
  - o Rāhiri Origins \_\_\_\_\_ 17
  - o Rāhiri and Ngāti Awa \_\_\_\_\_ 19
  - o Rāhiri's Wives \_\_\_\_\_ 20
  - o Āhuaiti \_\_\_\_\_ 20
  - o Whakaruru \_\_\_\_\_ 22
  - o Moetonga and Paru \_\_\_\_\_ 22
  - o Ngā tamariki a Rāhiri / The Children of Rāhiri \_\_\_\_\_ 23
    - Uenuku \_\_\_\_\_ 23
    - Kaharau \_\_\_\_\_ 23
- Ngā Puhi and Rāhiri today \_\_\_\_\_ 25

## Upoko Tuatoru: Ko wai a Rāhiri, arā, Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki?

### *Chapter Three: Who is Rāhiri, namely, Ngāti Rāhiri of Taranaki?*

- Te Ika Roa a Māui	27
- Kupe and Waka origins	28
- Nukutawhiti	29
- Ruanui	29
- Ngāti Awa – Te Ātiawa	30
- Rongoueroa and Tamarauteheketangārangi	30
- Ngāti Awa	31
- Tokomaru Waka	33
- Rāhiri Pakarara	36
- Rāhiri	38
- Rāhiri migration to Taranaki	41

## Upoko Tuawhā: Te ara i mua i a Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki

### *Chapter Four: The road ahead for Ngāti Rāhiri of Taranaki*

- Ngāti Rāhiri o Te Ātiawa today	54
- Ngāti Rāhiri and the Pohokura journey	57
- The oil and gas industry and Ngāti Rāhiri	60
- Ngāti Rāhiri and the consultation process	61
- Ngāti Rāhiri and Puke Ariki	62
- Educating Ngāti Rāhiri and the wider community	64

## Upoko Tuarima: Kōrero Whakatepe me ngā momo ara rangahau i mua

### *Chapter Five: Conclusions and further research*

- Overview of research	67
- Limitations of research	69
- Research contribution	70

References	71
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Glossary	76
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Rārangi Whakaaturanga / List of Illustrations, Photos, Maps

- Figure 1: Rāhiri’s journey \_\_\_\_\_ 43
- Figure 2: Taranaki Claimant Boundaries \_\_\_\_\_ 51
- Figure 3: Ngā Rohe o Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū \_\_\_\_\_ 56

## Kōrero Whakataki / Introduction

In undergoing the process of self identification within a Māori context, it is vital to have an understanding of the individual's place within their whānau/hapū/iwi and the wider community.

In pre-European times, tribal whakapapa was protected with the utmost care and remained in the hands of the select few whose job was to learn, recite and pass on this knowledge to future generations. The arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa saw a dramatic shift in the retention of such information, as the Māori world was oppressed as a means to civilise what was considered, in the writings of Captain James Cook, to be a noble savage race. The recital of whakapapa by tohunga, and tohunga themselves were deemed unimportant by Pākehā who saw fit to abolish these institutions, one of the foremost cornerstones of Māori society. Such can be reflected in the region of Taranaki, where Māori experienced a number of difficulties as they strived to maintain their mana and rangatiratanga status. The arrival of Pākehā on Taranaki soil saw the diminishing of a people long steeped in a rich culture and heritage. The rise in conflict, and subsequent war, saw the dramatic decline of Taranaki tikanga and kawa as a large number of Māori perished at the hands of the Crown forces, both in the courtroom and on the battlefield. A highlighted example of this can be seen within the conflict of Parihaka, where a large number of men were sent to prisons around New Zealand without trial, merely for ploughing up land that was being surveyed for settlement by Pākehā immigrants. The rising conflict brought not only the loss of land and lives, but also the loss of the identity of a people, as their language and protocols were banished and withheld, and English society and tradition was brought into the fore as the norm.

This story is all too familiar with the people of Ngāti Rāhiri of Motunui, who have been at the forefront of this battle, and their history reading along the lines of a war diary. With the constant pressures from settlers and the Crown, a hapū that was once regarded outright as an iwi, became nothing more than a small group of hapū that banded together to reform and become the new Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū, struggling to maintain a sense of identity as their homes and livelihood around them was crushed and taken over by a foreign group. For those still wanting to maintain their culture and practise customary tikanga and kawa, they endured

constant battle within courts as even more of their homeland continued to be confiscated from beneath them. The loss of land meant a loss of a place to call home, the loss of tūrangawaewae, and a loss of culture. Although these battles are lamented in songs from days gone by, the tune is still the same in today's society.

Upoko Tuatahi: Te putake o te kaupapa rangahau / Chapter One: The creation of the research and research questions

For many Māori, knowing one's ancestry is of the utmost importance. This can be illustrated when walking into any marae, hui, wharekai or simply meeting on the side of the road. One of the first questions asked of you relates to who you are and where your family come from. This is because Māori place strong emphasis on connections – whether it is to another individual, people or to the land itself. This is due to the fact that to Māori, we are all interconnected through the rich woven fabric of whakapapa. Knowing how we fit into that picture with our own genealogical links helps give us relevance and our own place to stand, our own tūrangawaewae. This notion is supported by Hirini Moko Mead where he comments that:

Tūrangawaewae represents one spot, one locality on planet earth where an individual can say, “I belong here. I can stand here without challenge. My ancestors stood here before me. My children will stand tall here.” The place includes interests in the land, with the territory of the hapū and of the iwi. It is a place associated with the ancestors and is full of history (2003, p. 43).

By researching the topic of self within a Māori context, the desire to undertake a Masters level thesis moves beyond merely producing a body of work for the purposes of a qualification, rather, it provides the opportunity to delve into a knowledge base and present it so as to prompt discussion, debate and also alternative perspectives regarding the history and traditions of a people establishing a sense of identity. As expressed by Smith:

Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying (1999, p. 28).

The drive by Māori to reclaim their notion of self has been a journey that has crossed a number of generations and opinions. Following the colonisation of New

Zealand, the Māori voice was all but silenced and such comments as those by Isaac Featherston in 1856 were the norm where he stated that ‘the Māoris are dying out, and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good, compassionate colonists is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with’ (Featherston as cited in Simon, J.A. & Smith, L.T. 2001, p. 224). However, as argued by Smith:

The dominance of Western, British culture, and the history that underpins the relationship between indigenous Māori and non-indigenous Pākehā, have made it extremely difficult for Māori forms of knowledge and learning to be accepted as legitimate. By asserting the validity of Māori knowledge, Māori people have reclaimed greater control over the research which is being carried out in the Māori field (1999, pp. 174-175).

Such can be seen through the development of research around this researcher’s own people. The impact of colonization in Taranaki has had such a detrimental effect on its people that it is not until the present day an extensive investigation has been entered into, bringing with it the revitalization of histories and oral traditions once thought lost to the effects of the Land Wars.

For the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū, a wealth of traditional knowledge was all but lost. A number of people who knew and practised those traditions handed down through the generations lost their lives as a part of the war or were subsequently silenced through various laws and Acts of Parliament (such as the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907). The process of colonization as addressed by Smith explains that:

The whole process of colonization can be viewed as a stripping away of *mana* (our standing in our own eyes), and an undermining of *rangatiratanga* (our ability and right to determine our destinies). Research is an important part of the colonization process because it is concerned with defining legitimate knowledge (Smith, 1999, p. 173).

It is this principle, this definition of legitimate knowledge that has led to research such as this being undertaken. For a number of generations, the people of Ngāti Rāhiri of North Taranaki have stated their tribal pepeha as being:

Ko Taranaki te Maunga	<i>Taranaki is the Mountain</i>
Ko Waitara te Awa	<i>Waitara is the River</i>
Ko Tokomaru te Waka	<i>Tokomaru is the Canoe</i>
Ko Te Ātiawa te Iwi	<i>Te Ātiawa is the Tribe</i>
Ko Ngāti Rāhiri te Hapū	<i>Ngāti Rāhiri is the Sub-tribe</i>
Ko Rāhiri te Tangata	<i>Rāhiri is the Person</i>

It has been largely accepted by the people of Ngāti Rāhiri that they are descendants of the Tokomaru Waka that is said to have landed in North Taranaki. However, at the same time, Ngāti Rāhiri claims that they are descendants of the famous ancestor Rāhiri, by whom they take their name. Over the generations, questions have been raised as to how the tribe are able to have this tupuna as their prominent ancestor and acknowledge that he is from the Ngā Puhī region and at the same time claim tangata whenua status within the Taranaki rohe. Although a number of urban myths have been circulated as to who this Rāhiri is, the people of Ngāti Rāhiri remain largely unable to establish his true identity. The reason for this is that over the years a mass of information has been lost through such things as the Land Wars and the suppression of Māori within Taranaki.

From this, the questions developed for this body of research are to include (and are not restricted to):

- Who is Rāhiri from a Ngā Puhī perspective?
- How did Rāhiri become a person of such rank within Ngā Puhī?
- Who is Rāhiri from a Taranaki perspective?
- How did it come to be that such a prominent ancestor left his ancestral home and settled within another region?
- By understanding and knowing about this ancestor, what are the implications for the Ngāti Rāhiri o Taranaki people of today?

It is anticipated that through research into those texts pertaining to the histories of both Ngā Puhī and Taranaki that these questions can be addressed and possible answers can be elicited for further research and discussion.

## Upoko Tuarua: Ko wai a Rāhiri ake? / Chapter Two: Who is Rāhiri?

To understand Rāhiri within a Ngā Puhi context, we must look at a wider scope than just that of the ancestor himself. To establish such things as his status, his mana and his influence on his people, we must look at his origins and how they helped shape the world that he grew into. To do this, we must draw on those works of the Ngā Puhi people and also those writings undertaken by various individuals as they sought to bring about a Ngā Puhi picture of their settlements and their people.

### Puhikaiariki and Ngā Puhi

When looking at the origins of Rāhiri and his people, we must first look at the tribal name and how this marker of identification came about. Unlike the majority of iwi around the country, the iwi of Ngā Puhi does not follow the common trend of being named from a prominent ancestral figure. Māori named iwi after their tūpuna to acknowledge a particular talent, skill or trait that was of such significance and importance to the iwi that they be immortalised through the iwi adopting their ancestor's name as a means of identification of their tribal group. However, as articulated by Rāniera Tau in his writings on the history of Ngā Puhi, he states that 'The fact that we take our name from an event – rather than an ancestor, as is the case with most tribes – is highly unusual.' (Tau, 2007, para. 7).

Ballara describes that:

The primary meaning of all tribal designations is associated with descent. 'Ngāti' is an abbreviation of the words 'ngā āti' – the plural definite article and 'offspring' or 'descendants', or the 'clan', of a particular ancestor; 'Ngāti Tūwharetoa' means nothing more complicated than the descendants, or a group of descendants, of Tūwharetoa (1998, p. 173).

She goes on further to explain that 'other descent groups have dropped all these terms, simply referring to themselves by the name of their ancestor, such as Waitaha, Rangitāne or (sometimes) Tūhourangi or Tūwharetoa.' (Ballara, 1998, p. 273)

By knowing this, we then need to look at what has been written in terms of who Ngā Puhi originates from. Upon reference with the Dictionary of the Māori

language by H.W. Williams, we can see that *Ngā* is the plural form of the word ‘te’ meaning ‘the’, and *Puhi* meaning a woman who is a virgin and ‘certain young women of high rank were very strictly guarded in this respect’ (Williams, 1971, p. 304). From the words themselves, we can begin to draw that the naming of Ngā Puhi has possibly come into fruition around a group of puhi of that tribe and some possible significant and momentous feat they accomplished.

To Ngā Puhi though, this is not the case. To find the origin we can look back to the writings of Rāniera Tau where he states the naming of Ngā Puhi comes from when the time was approximately twenty generations before Kupe, the great Polynesian navigator who discovered Aotearoa – New Zealand, with another two or three generations before the great migration to these shores. The place was Hawaiki, which is sometimes described as a mythical place, although it most certainly existed even if we no longer know of its exact location. (2007, para. 2). The story centres on the chieftainess Kareroariki and her unusual cravings during the pregnancy of her child. Where most women craved a particular food or delicacy, Kareroariki’s cravings were for a human heart. The reader would think that such a request would be unable to be fulfilled by her people, but as Tau states: ‘As an Ariki, or chieftainess, she had the authority to demand her wish be granted and a highborn young maiden, of a similar rank, was sacrificed to satisfy this desire.’ (2007, para 4). As a result of this incident and the birth of her son, three names were bestowed upon the child. These were Puhikaiariki, Puhimoanariki and Puhitaniwharau.

When looking back to the Williams definition of ngā, we can see that together, these names help to denote the tribe’s name of Ngā Puhi – in recognition of the child of Kareroariki and her cravings whilst pregnant with her child and his subsequent naming following his birth. Although all of these names do not feature in the story of Kareroariki, it is important to note that Williams states Puhi-kai-ariki as being ‘the little carved figure, facing the bow, at the base of the taurapa or stern-post of a canoe (1971, p. 304) and that Puhimoana ariki being the ‘lower feather streamer’ on a war canoe (1971, p. 304). This is important as Tau also notes in his korero that some people have been confused by the name of Puhimoanariki and refer to him as being ‘of the Matātua waka, or canoe, as the

original ancestor of Ngāpuhi.’ (2007, para. 7), to which he reiterates that ‘there is however no kōrero, or oral tradition, to support this.’ (2007, para. 7).

However, Smith refers to an earlier story submitted by Elsdon Best following discussions with members of the Urewera and Ngāti Awa iwi that mentions a man by the name of Puhi. He then goes on to state that:

‘A well informed member of the Urewera tribe tells me that the Puhi above referred to, in consequence of this quarrel, in which he cursed his elder brother Toroa, received the name of Puhi-kai-ariki, and from him Ngapuhi take their name. On a future page the descent from the brother of this man to the present day will be shown: the brother's name was Puhi-moana-ariki.’ (Smith, 1896, p. 18x).

Although this factor in itself begins to raise the question as to who the Puhi Ngā Puhi take their name from, for the purposes of this research, the author acknowledges that every iwi/hapū/whānau grouping have their respective histories and accounts and as such, this research will follow that information given by the Ngā Puhi and Taranaki chronicles.

When looking at how Puhikaiariki fits into the lineage of Rāhiri, we can see in Ngā Pūriri o Taiamai by Hohepa, Sissons, and Wi Hongi (2001, p. 60), Puhikaiariki is stated as being the ‘eponymous ancestor of Ngā Puhi’ and referred to as Puhi-moana-ariki. They also state that ‘Puhi-moana-ariki, also known as Puhi-kai-ariki and Puhi-taniwha-rau, was in turn a descendant of Awa and his son Awanui, the founding ancestor of Ngāti Awa, an early northland tribe’(2001, p. 60) and that his daughter Hauangiangi, was the mother of Rāhiri whom of course Ngā Puhi trace their ancestry back to as their prominent ancestor. Coupled to this is the link to the Māmari waka and subsequently Kupe through Rāhiri’s father Tauramoko, thus making Rāhiri a person of immense stature within the northland people. To understand how this mana was bestowed upon Rāhiri and his people, we must look back to prominent Ngā Puhi ancestors Kupe, Nukutawhiti and Awanuiārangi.

## Kupe

Within every Māori group throughout Aotearoa, each have their own pūrākau when addressing the prominent ancestor Kupe. In terms of his whakapapa, there are varying degrees as to where he fits and who he descends from and who his subsequent descendants are. As can be understood from any research undertaken into whakapapa, particularly Māori whakapapa, it is almost impossible to assume that one definitive whakapapa will be reached and agreed upon by all Māori iwi, hapū or whānau. Because of this, a number of whakapapa will be offered to the reader to help ascertain a general idea of who Kupe is in relation to the available literature.

Kupe = Aparangi	Kupe	Kupe
	Matiu	
Haunui 1 = Hinetawatawa	Maea	Maea = Nuku-tawhiti
	Mahu	
Popoto = Nanaia	Nuku-tawhiti No. 1	Nuku
	Rangi-nui	Rangi-nui
Haunui 2 = Te Uruapuia	Papa-mauku	Papa-uenuku
	Mo-uriuri	Moe-reka
Uehangaia = Kahuariari	Mo-rekareka	Moe-raku
	Mo-rakitu	Moe-uri
Kahukuraepa = Tamatautahi		
	Whiro	Whiro-te-tupua and Hua
Tamangenge = Oneone		Tai-te-ariki
	Toi	(Hongi, in Smith, 1907 p.168 Table XVI)
Awhirau	Apa	
	Rauru	
Rapa = Moekaka	(Tawhai, in H.M. Smith, 1907, p. 68 TableXV)	
Rongomaiwahine = Kahungunu		
Kahukuranui = Ruatapuwhine		
Rakeihikuroa		
(Biltcliff, 1946 Table 41 p.71)		

From these various whakapapa above, we can begin to draw on the information to help ascertain a timeframe as to when Kupe lived. Smith bestows Kupe with the title of being one of the ‘South Sea rovers – the product of the age of navigation’ (1907, p. 155), which is generally regarded as being around the 1350 period. Supporting this are the writings of Himiona Kaamira where the beginnings of Kupe are traced back to Hawaiki where Kaamira states that he ‘was living at his home in Motu-tapu (Sacred Island), which [*sic*] place is right at the mouth by which the river called Awa-nui-a-rangi (Great river of heaven), in Hawaiki-rangi (Hawaiki of heaven), reaches the sea’ (1957, p. 239).

In terms of Kupe’s pūmanawa, Kaamira describes him as being:

Skilled at building carved houses, adzing out canoes, and other crafts of the land. He was also a skilled seaman who would cause fish to turn their path to the places where he wanted them, and he could also catch the bird called albatross. Kupe could seize and secure it (1957, p. 239).

This reinforces the notion that Kupe was a man who was able to use his talents to help his people and teach others as a means of being able to establish a profitable community and utilise their surroundings for survival.

It is from these talents that history dictates his subsequent departure from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. In Smith (1907) and also in Kaamira (1957) it states that Kupe, whilst still in Hawaiki, was asked by a man called Toto to be the master carver of two waka for each of his two daughters Kura-marotini and Rongorongo. To undertake such a feat, Kupe sought out a tree with twin trunks that were felled and preparations for carving began. Understanding that the task would be too much for one person, Toto called upon others to help with the task at hand. According to Kaamira, Toto sent for the two tohunga Turi-ua-nui and Kauika. Turi and Kauika were put to work on the waka for Rongorongo whilst Kupe completed the waka for Kuramarotini. Consequently, nearing the completion of the two waka, Kaamira states that ‘Toto spoke to his daughters, saying, “I have this to say to you. When your canoes are finished you had better marry so that your journey to Hawaiki-nui will be tapu.” (1957, p. 239). From this he states that Rongorongo chose Turi-ua-nui and Kuramarotini chose a man by the name of Hoturapa – a man that took part in the carving of her waka and was also a favoured choice of her father.

Following Kuramarotini’s decision to marry Hoturapa, Kupe devised a plan to be rid of Hoturapa so he would be able to have Kuramarotini as his own. Smith (1907) and Kaamira (1957) both describe Kupe’s actions to be rid of Hoturapa being undertaken through the ruse of a fishing trip. Whilst out on the water, Kupe asked Hoturapa to check on a line that appeared to be stuck and after Hoturapa dived underneath the water to retrieve it, he surfaced to find that Kupe and the fishing party had left without him, and had indeed left him to drown. It was upon reaching shore that Kupe reunited with Kuramarotini and took her as a wife and left Hawaiki for Aotearoa. Rawiri Waimako in Grey (1854 as cited in Smith,

1907) states that the waka being made for Toto's daughters grew in Hawaiki.

Furthermore:

Waiharakeke was the name of the river where 'Aotea' (as a tree) grew, and Toto had hewn it out. When the tree fell to the ground it split, and 'Mataatua' canoe was formed of one part, 'Aotea' of the other. Whilst 'Matahorua' canoe was given to Kura-marotini, 'Aotea' was given to Rongorongo (Turi's wife).

It is important here to note that differing versions and accounts exist regarding the history and construction of these ancient waka. From this account we see the journey of the Aotea and Mataatua waka to New Zealand and the beginning of the Kupe discourse shift from Hawaiki to Aotearoa.

When looking at Kupe's impact on the landscape of Aotearoa, we can tell that he was a man of great mana through the naming of a number of places attributed to him. On the West Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa alone, Smith (1907) names twenty-six places that can be accredited to Kupe and his mana. An example of this is Mātakitaki where Smith notes it is an area that has:

A large flat-rock on the east side of Palliser Bay, so called because it was here that Kupe first saw Tapuwae-uenuku mountain, inland of Kaikoura, standing out snow-covered, apparently in the sea. He stayed there some time looking at it (mātakitaki) hence the name of the place. His daughters remained at that place. Near the rock is a pool of water which is red in colour with streaks of the same tint running down to it from the rock. These are supposed to be the blood from the girls, which flowed down there when they cut themselves in mourning for Kupe when he left. (1907, pp. 155-156).

Such an event is pertinent as it helps weave the narrative into Kupe's curiosity which led to his extensive navigation around Aotearoa, and the impact that his return to Hawaiki had on those closest to him, as can be seen in the 'haehae' ritual of his daughters which is normally only undertaken during times of mourning. The great loss experienced by his daughters upon his departure can be seen in the

narratives. (Smith 1907, and also in Graham 1940) note Kupe gave instruction to Turi and Nukutawhiti on how to get to Aoteroa and that there was foretelling of his fate of never returning back to Aotearoa (and ironically the beginning of his disappearance in recorded history), and the handing of the mantle of leader onto his grandson Nukutawhiti and the Ngatokimatawhaorua waka.

### Nukutawhiti

According to recorded history surrounding Nukutawhiti, there are two main narratives as to how he migrated to Aotearoa from Hawaiki. The first is around the Ngatokimatawhaorua waka and the second is based on the Māmari waka. Although these are two very different distinct waka, literature shows that the two were closely related as suggested by Ngā Puhi narratives that ties them together.

The first can be shown through the words of Kaamira where he describes Nukutawhiti's desire to leave Hawaiki following the battle between the High Chief Uenuku against Tama Te Kapua for stealing his breadfruit. Feeling that this battle was ongoing and would not end any time soon, Kaamira states that Nukutawhiti is credited to having said 'Friends, I know that this work will not cease. If there is another land beyond this one it is my wish (to go there). It is better to go so that some may survive. But where can we go?' (Gudgeon, 1892, pp. 236-237). Kaamira then states that it was Nukutawhiti's grandfather Kupe who gave him his waka Matawhaorua to undertake the journey to Aotearoa. Before handing it over, Kupe states that he will re-adze the waka to be able to fit more people for the journey and with the help of Toka-akuaku, the waka was prepared for the voyage and renamed Ngatokimatawhaorua.

Before leaving, Kupe provided guidance for Nukutawhiti and his waka by stating 'If you go, make your way steadfastly to Hoki-anga, the sea inlet that has been mentioned before. There, lives my child Tuputupu-whenua. I myself left him as a *puhoro nuku mataapuna* for Hoki-anga' (Kaamira, 1957, p. 240). To further guide Nukutawhiti, Kupe enlisted the help of the elder Puhi-moana-ariki, who is stated as being a sea demon, to help guide the waka whilst at sea. The final advice given by Kupe to Nukutawhiti was that he took no food or provisions aboard the waka, as the weight will lead to them drowning at sea. To solve this problem, Nukutawhiti discussed with his relation Hou-o-te-rangi who in turn

spoke to his son Ruānui ‘because he was the person who owned a canoe’ (Kaamira, 1957, p. 241). Ruānui agreed to undertake the journey, so Kupe was brought forth and the plan was shared with him. It was then agreed that Ruānui and his waka Māmari be prepared with provisions to take in front of Nukutawhiti and his waka. When looking at the crew that went with Ruānui on his journey to Aotearoa, we can see the names listed when Kaamira discusses the day of launch of the waka:

So ended Kupe’s parting words, and he went away. They rested, and when day broke Kupe had returned together with Toto and his family, and Hou-taketake and his family, to watch the departure of Ruaa-nui-o-Taane (Ruaa-nui of Taane), Te Maru-o-te-huia, Pehi-riri, Rua-tapu, Whai-putuputu, Ngoingoi-ariki, Te Hou-o-te-rangi, Patari-kai-hau, Toka-tuu-tahi (Rock standing alone), Te Toko-o-te-rangi (The prop of heaven), Tuaahu, Te Ao-kai-tuu (a grandchild of Kupe), Haraki, Manawa-a-rangi (Breath of heaven), Kura-i-tei-whatu, Kura-pounamu (Jade treasure), Papa-a-rangi, Tama-a-rongo, Hou-mai-tawhiti (Hou from afar), Matiti ki te rangi (Matiti in the heavens), Tangaroa, Konuku-tau-rangi, Mou-hau, Tuu-te-wehi-wehi (Tuu the fearsome), Tuki-te-nganahau, daughter of Toko-o-te-rangi, Te Huri-nui (1957, p. 241).

Therefore the Māmari waka left for Aotearoa under the captaincy of Ruānui. Kaamira states that the chiefly priest of the waka was Hou-mai-tawhiti who was a ‘grandson of Kupe, a child of Toko-o-te-rangi’ (1957, p. 242).

Within the discussion of Mohi Tawhai’s manuscript, he notes that ‘I haere mai a Nukutawhiti i tawahi, raua ko tona taokete, ko Ruanui. Ko Mamari to raua waka. I haere mai ki tenei whenua ki te rapu i a Tuputupuwhenua.’ As translated by Graham (Tawhai as cited in Hohepa, et al., 2001 pp. 57-58), it states that ‘Nukutawhiti came hither from beyond, he and his brother-in-law Ruanui. The ‘Māmari’ was their canoe. They came hither to this land to seek for Tuputupuwhenua.’ (Graham 1940, as cited in Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 58). There is no mention of the Ngatokimatawhaorua waka and its journey to Aotearoa under the captainship of Nukutawhiti. However, Tawhai states that Nukutawhiti ‘met Kupe on the ocean beyond’ (Graham, 1940, as cited in Hohepa, et al., 2001 p. 58)

and told him where to look for Tuputupuwhenua. This can be taken literally to mean that they met on the water or in a metaphorical sense in that they met across the ocean through the transmission of ancient protocol and practises from one ancestor to another, which would align this narrative with the one mentioned above from Kaamira with the discussions taking place between Nukutawhiti and Kupe back in Hawaiki prior to departure. Smith (1907) also states that John White, in a series of lectures given in Auckland in 1861, described the Māmari waka being ‘spoken of by the Nga-Puhi natives as that in which their ancestors came from a distant country... the canoe came, it is stated, in search of a previous migrator. A man named Tuputupu-whenua had arrived in New Zealand, and a chief called Nuku-tawhiti came in the canoe Māmari in search of him’ (White as cited in Smith 1907, p. 164). Therefore the question remains as to the place of the Māmari and Ngatokimatawhaorua waka in Ngā Puhi discourse. This of course varies between tribal groups as each iwi/hapū/whānau has their own histories which bring to light both waka and give mana to them in their own right.

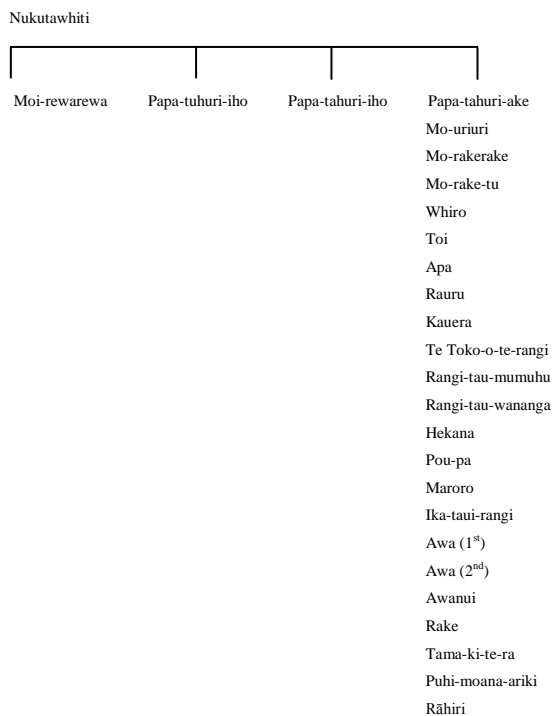
When looking at how Rāhiri fits into Nukutawhiti’s whakapapa, a number of accounts are given. Such can be seen in Hohepa, et al., (2001, p. 58) where a number of whakapapa are given to show lines of descent on Rāhiri’s mother Hauangiangi’s side and also his father Tauramoko’s side from Nukutawhiti.

Although there are slight differences in the whakapapa given, as stated by Wiremu Wi Hongi, ‘genealogy and narrative (tātai and wānanga) must always be regarded as interdependent parts of a single whole – each needs to be checked against the other’ (as cited in Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 59). Because of this, we can align the given whakapapa against each other and use these collectively to create a general picture of Rāhiri’s whakapapa and conclude the main ancestors associated with this rangatira. From this, we can see that through Rāhiri’s descent from the ancestors Kupe, Nukutawhiti, Awanui and Puhi-moana-ariki alone, his lineage can certainly be traced from a tātai of great mana and prestige.

### Awanuiārangi

Within the literature around the ancestor Awanuiārangi, commonly referred to as Awa, there appears to be more accounts relating to the Ngāti Awa tribe (accredited to being named after Awanuiārangi) as opposed to the man himself.

In the text *Ngā Pūriri o Taiamai*, it is stated that in the works of Tawhai, Stowell and Clendon, the various whakapapa given states Awanui as being the son of Awa, the ancestor of Puhi-moana-ariki and the founding ancestor of the Northland tribe Ngāti Awa. (Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 60). In terms of whakapapa, it can be seen in White's *Ancient History of the Māori* (n.d., pp. 5-6), he provides an effusive genealogy called *Popoa-rengarenga* (genealogy of the gods) in a lament for Nukutawhiti by his daughter *Moi-rewarewa* following his death. The whakapapa that can be drawn from his writings show the connection of Nukutawhiti to Awanui and subsequently to Rāhiri.



This whakapapa brings about a number of questions as to how Nukutawhiti and Awanui fit into the whakapapa of Rāhiri. As mentioned earlier in the *kōrero* about Kupe, it has been stated in the literature that Nukutawhiti was a descendant of Kupe, as can be shown by Nukutawhiti being referred to as his grandson in a number of narratives. From Nukutawhiti the line follows down through the generations to Toi, further down to Awanui and then to Puhi-moana-ariki, stated as being the father of Rāhiri. However, in Hohepa, et al. (2001, p. 58), the whakapapa given as a comparison between scholars on the topic of Ngā Puhi origins note that Nukutawhiti had met Kupe on his journey to Aotearoa on his *waka Māmari*. The genealogy goes on further to state Nukutawhiti being a

descendant of the Māmari waka and also of Kupe, and that from Nukutawhiti the whakapapa descends down to Rāhiri's father Tauramoko. It is stated by these scholars that Awanui does not in fact feature in Rāhiri's father's whakapapa but rather it is through his mother Hauangiangi's (also known as Te Hau) whakapapa. This whakapapa starts with Awa, to his son Awanui, down the generations to Puhi-moana-ariki and then finally to Hauangiangi and Rāhiri. (Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 58). Although this may cause confusion as to the definitive whakapapa of Rāhiri and his relationship to Kupe, Nukutawhiti and Awanuiārangi, we can draw a generalised whakapapa line and acknowledge without doubt or uncertainty that his whakapapa is such, that due to his lineage bringing the connection of a number of waka and ancestral lines, there will be variations throughout not only the literature on this subject but also with the knowledge of those learned elders as they pass the information onto subsequent generations. Although one direct line of whakapapa cannot be drawn for the requirements of this body of work, this does not mean that any one particular whakapapa has more mana or validity or is more accurate than another, moreover, it provides additional avenues for discussion not only within Ngā Puhi but within the wider Māori community.

To better understand Awanui and his placement within Ngāpuhi kōrero, we must look at those writings surrounding his people, the Ngāti Awa of Northland. Gudgeon states that 'Ngāti-awa assert that Awanui-a-rangi, the ancestor from whom they take their name, was a descendant of Wairaka' (1892, p. 225). He goes on further to state that he was under the belief that surrounding tribes of the Ngāti Awa tribe would disagree with this and that 'Awanui-a-rangi was in reality from the ancient people of the land, and that from him came the Tini-o-awa people, who migrated to Heretaunga, and many other ancient tribes, including perhaps Ngāti-hotu and Te Kareke' (Gudgeon, 1892, p. 225). To try and contend with this, he provides a number of whakapapa to which he notes differ between tribes and 'perhaps be cleared up by enquiry among the aforesaid Atiawa [of Taranaki]' (Gudgeon, 1892, p. 226). Although he has said that this needs to occur, nothing is mentioned after this article to show that he had undertaken this task at all, thus leaving his question to remain unanswered in his work. Amongst his writings a few years later, Gudgeon goes on to describe how the descendants of the crew of the Tokomaru intermarried with Ngāti Awa and 'for many generations they were the leading tribe of northern New Zealand, but in due

turn they were expelled and returned to Waitara, where their descendants may yet be found living under the same old tribal name' (Gudgeon, 1903, p. 51). He also states that there was another faction of the Ngāti Awa who were better known as the Aupouri tribe who 'held on to the extreme north until they in due turn were destroyed by the Nga-Puhi, who were themselves the offspring of one Rāhiri, who, some fifteen generations before, had left the Ngāti-Awa of Whaka-tāne and migrated northwards' (Gudgeon, 1903, p. 51). This is further supported by White where he states:

The Ngātiawa occupied the Ngāpuhi district for many generations till the time of Kahu-nunu and Kauri, but being so great a tribe the land was not sufficient whilst other tribes occupied some of it to keep them all, and for want of food and the constant wars between them and Ngāpuhi and Nga-ti-whatua hence this migration of Ngātikahu who at Taranaki became the Ngātiawa (1851, p. 52).

What this shows is that although there were common ancestries to these people, conflict did arise as the people of the tribe fought to find a suitable place to establish themselves and flourish successfully.

According to Best (1928, p. 194), the rangatira of Ngāti Awa were stated as being Kaharau, Rāhiri, Tapu-waeroa, Rangahiri, and unnamed others. Due to the topography of the area, Best states that the Ngāti Awa 'began to occupy lands down as far as Tamaki, now called Auckland, and inland as far as Manukau' (1928, p. 194).

This helps to support the notion that Ngāti Awa were a very mobile people who were constantly in search of suitable areas to live that would be able to sustain the iwi. This is further supported by White where he states that whilst in the Ngā Puhi region, the Ngāti Awa 'cultivated all arable spots and their rua kai (food pits) may be seen on nearly all the hill tops and forest hills in all that district' (White, 1851, p. 52). He also states that as well as rua kai being visible sites along the area, there were also areas of burial visible at the time of writing and that they were known to be 'the depository of the bones of the ancient occupants of that district, the Ngātiawa of Taranaki' (White, 1851, p. 53).

When looking at how the Ngāti Awa came to be in Taranaki, Te Matorohanga (1913, p. 201) states it is because of the men Pohokura (of Taranaki) and Toi (of Ngāti Awa) and the marriage of Pohokura's daughter Piopio to Toi's grandson Te Ata-kore. He also states that it is:

Also the cause why Ngāti-Awa increased so, because of their intermarriages with the local people who have been referred to above [Pohokura and Toi], and also to the fact that the boys of that people were taken to increase their numbers. It was from that time that the name of Te Tini-o-Awa [the many-of-Awa] was applied to Ngāti-Awa' (1913, pp. 201-202).

It is from the union of Piopio to Te Ata-kore that led to the settlement of a number of Ngāti Awa in Taranaki that were later referred to as Te Āti Awa. The settlement of Ngāti Awa in Taranaki is further supported by Best where he states that:

Those parts [Auckland], however, were not permanently occupied by the Ngāti-Awa, some of whom went off to Taranaki, and some to Hokianga, while yet others were scattered along the coast as far as Taranaki; some came through by way of inland Mokau, while others came in canoes from Manukau. On arriving at the southern side of Pari-nihi they settled at different places from there on as far as Waitara (1928, p. 194).

These two histories show that although the beginnings of the Ngāti Awa can be seen to be entrenched in the lands of the Far North, through the migration of the Ngāti Awa to Taranaki on a number of occasions and the consequent union between descendants of the Tokomaru waka and Ngāti Awa, the development and settlement of Te Ātiawa as a tribe of Taranaki is unique in that they are able to definitively identify themselves as Taranaki tūturu whilst at the same time have strong genealogical links to other iwi around the country, in particular, the Ngā Puhi iwi. To see how Ngā Puhi maintains their mana whenua today as they had in days gone by, we must now look at their prominent ancestor Rāhiri.

## Rāhiri

For generations, the ancestor Rāhiri has proved to be an elusive subject within research circles, difficult to draw a definitive picture as to who this ancestor was and why the tribes of the North, and subsequently the people of Taranaki, choose to align themselves with him as a person of notable quality to the extent that they named their people after him. This can be reflected within published literature with many ethnographer and researcher attempting to piece together the Rāhiri puzzle. However, they are left with more questions than. It can be argued that with the likes of Smith and Best, they were unable to attain information because it did not exist; or rather it was simply not available to them via their sources. However, this does not appear to be the case, as Ngā Puhi laments their rangatira through many stories and songs. It is through these histories that we can begin to explore the prowess of this man as a driving force to sustain and grow the mana of his people, whilst establishing himself and following generations of descendants not only within the Ngā Puhi region, but throughout Aotearoa.

Within the ethnographic literature, we begin to see mention of Rāhiri around the 1890's period through the Journal of the Polynesian Society publications. Rāhiri is shown in early editions of whakapapa and is seen as being the son of Ngā Puhi ancestor Puhi-moana-ariki of the Matātua waka. This supports the already given information stated earlier and as a result, can generally be described as the accepted version of the Rāhiri discourse.

## Rāhiri origins

When looking at the origins of Rāhiri we can find some answers within Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones' Ngā Mōteatea series. In Part Two of the series, in the lyrics of a lament for Ngā Puhi chief Te Tihi, reference is given to Rāhiri and his place of birth stated as being at the pā of Whiria. As to the whereabouts of Whiria, it is stated as being 'situated on the eastern side of Opononi' (Ngata and Jones, 1980, p. 94) and that Rāhiri was 'the principal ancestor of all the Ngapuhi people' (Ngata and Jones, 1980, p. 94). As asserted in Hohepa, et al., (2001) and further supported by Te Runanga a Iwi o Ngapuhi (2007), within Ngā Puhi whakapapa, it is 'widely agreed that Rāhiri was the son of Tauramoko and his wife Hauangiangi' (Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 57). As mentioned earlier, it is

through his father Tauramoko that Rāhiri's descent traces back to Nukutawhiti and Kupe, and through his mother Hauangiangi, Rāhiri is a descendant of Awanuiārangi and Puhi-moana-ariki. It can be seen that through the birth of Rāhiri, two very noble lineages were brought together, thus making Rāhiri a person of great mana.

When looking at the circumstances in which Rāhiri was given his name, we can look to an account given by Ngāpuhi elder Matua Erima Henare at a Hōpuapua Reo seminar in Taranaki during 2010. In his oration, he states the following:

E ai ki ngā tūpuna, te wā i wehe mai ai a Nukutawhiti i Hawaiki, i tū te rā ki te rangi. I tū te rā ki te rangi, mō te waru rā, kāre i pō, kāre i pō....  
Kotahi anō iwi kei tēnei ao, kua tuhia e rātou ngā kōrero mō ia rā, ia wiki, ia marama, ia tau. Ko te iwi nei, ko ngā iwi o Haina. Anā, kei roto i ngā kōrero i Haina, te kōrero i tū te rā mō te waru rā, ki te rangi. E ai ki a rātou, i pahū tētahi nova, constellation, ka paki katoa te ao mō te waru rā....  
Nā tērā kaupapa, i huaina e Nukutawhiti tana mokopuna a Rāhiri. I hiri te rā mō te waru.... rā.

*According to our ancestors, at the time Nukutawhiti left Hawaiki, the sun remained in the sky for eight days, without night....*

*There is another race of people in the world who documented events for every day, every week, every month, and every year. These people were the people of China. Within the records of the Chinese, they state that the sun remained in the sky for eight days. They claim a nova/constellation exploded and the entire world was illuminated for eight days....*

*It is from this occurrence that Nukutawhiti bestowed his grandson with the name Rāhiri in memoriam of the sun remaining in the sky for eight....days*  
(Henare, E., 2010)

It is from this narrative that we can see Rāhiri's naming came about as a means of recording an incident of the Ngāpuhi people's history at the time of their journey from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. This is fitting in that an ancestor of his status is given

the name of such a notable event in his people's history. By being given this name, it allowed the Ngāpuhi people another means to convey their history and also reinforce the importance of Rāhiri to his iwi.

There have been a number of researchers who have questioned the timeframe in which Rāhiri is believed to have lived. As understood by Florence Keene in *Tai Tokerau*, she says that 'according to the elders, Rāhiri lived in the years just before and after 1600 (Keene, 1975, p. 61). This is supported by Smith in his *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* where he states Rāhiri being of Ngāpuhi and 'flourished thirteen generations back from 1900' (Smith, 1908, p. 124) to make it around the 1500-1600 period. As to notable events within his lifetime, most attention is seen to be focused around the ongoing warfare with the Ngāti Awa tribe and the many wives of Rāhiri.

#### Rāhiri and Ngāti Awa

As previously stated, the Ngāti Awa tribe were seen to be the main tribe of the Far North with their main areas of settlement being around the Whakatāne and Aupouri regions. The tribe was of such magnitude that it was hard for them to increase in numbers successfully without the need for expansion of the lands they occupied. Consequently, Ngāti Awa was shown to have been a people constantly in search of favourable lands to increase their settlement. This movement ultimately caused a number of problems for the tribe and as maintained by Yarborough, the 'masters of all Hokianga and the north. . . by the efforts of one man, Rāhiri, they [Ngāti Awa] would seem to have become fugitives from Maunga-nui Bluff to Taheke, on the Upper Hokianga, in a very short space of time' (1906, p. 221). Within his work, Yarborough asserts that Ngāti Awa only maintained one pā within Pakanae, however in Ngā Pūriri o Taiamai Wiremu Wi Hongi states that during the time of Rāhiri 'Ngāti Awa built and occupied many pā within their territory, which extended east from Hokianga to Te Waimate, and north to Whangaroa' (Wi Hongi as cited in Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 60). Ngāti Awa's stay in this area was ultimately uplifted suffering defeat in battle against tribes of that area that included Ngāti Miru, Te Wahineiti and Ngāti Pou. By the time Rāhiri fought to have Ngāti Awa removed from Whiria, they had no other option but to move further north to the Aupouri region and southward to Taranaki, as will be shown later.

In terms of where the main settlement of Rāhiri was located, there appears to be several locations, as can be seen in the movement of Rāhiri throughout the Ngā Puhi region through his marriages to women from different parts of the district.

### Rāhiri's Wives

When addressing the theme of Rāhiri and his wives, literature brings about a number of variations. There is a general consensus that Rāhiri had two 'main' wives named Āhuaiti and Whakaruru. It is from these two women that the majority of Ngā Puhi traces back their ancestry through the sons Uenuku and Kaharau. However, there are other accounts of another wife belonging to Rāhiri within the Ngā Puhi region before the narratives shift to Taranaki where he is said to have taken a wife from one of the local tribes there. Information concerning the wives of Rāhiri suggests that he was a man of diplomacy and, what can only be described as, great tolerance and mana to be able to maintain dialogue with his many children whilst making ties throughout the Ngā Puhi and wider Aotearoa nation. Through the unions of Rāhiri to these women, it was only natural for the Ngā Puhi tribe's population to have grown so large, as is still evident today. Yarborough has expressed in his writings that Rāhiri was:

Evidently was a man of mark, who established such a record, either from his feats of arms in driving out the stronger race of Ngāti-Awa, or for some other marked characteristic, that all Nga-Puhi to Hokianga are satisfied to be able to trace their ancestral lines back to him, without going any further back, in laying claim to land (1906, p. 222).

These lineages being so strong in fact that as shown by the infamous whakataukī on the Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi (2007) 'Mehemea he Ngāpuhi koe, kihai koe i puta i a Rahiri, he hoiho ke koe' – If you claim to be Ngāpuhi and did not descend from Rāhiri, you are a horse.

### Āhuaiti

The first and possibly most well-known of Rāhiri's wives is a woman called Āhuaiti. According to Keene (1975, p. 61) and Hohepa, et al. (2001, pp. 66-67), Āhuaiti was of the Ngāi Tāhuhu tribe and Piripi (1962, p. 46) states that before her marriage to Rāhiri, she, along with Whakaruru and Moetonga (whom Piripi

states are cousins), lived at Mangakahia. At this time, Rāhiri was living at Pakiaka-O-Te-Riri at Whiria and because of his interest in these three women, he journeyed over to meet with them. This journey has been documented by Piripi (1962) and also Keene (1975) in which they state that Rāhiri can be credited with the naming of Te Iringa-O-Te-Kakahu-o-Rāhiri, Tautoro, Awarua, Te Whitinga-O-Rāhiri and Te Tarai-A-Tikitiki-O-Rāhiri as they are places of significance in relation to his travels to Mangakahia.

Upon arrival at Mangakahia, Rāhiri took Āhuaiti as a wife and it was not long until she was pregnant with child. Ngā Puhī history suggests that this union did not last long due to an incident with fern root. As can be seen in Piripi (1962), Keene (1975), Hohepa, et al., (2001) and Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngā Puhī (2007), Rāhiri was to leave Āhuaiti alone for a time while he went away for work. During this time he knew that her brothers Korakatea and Korakanui were going to be visiting. Because of this, Rāhiri left Āhuaiti with strict instruction that the best of the fern root they had be put aside for him for when he returned back home and the inferior or secondary fern be given to her brothers. With the arrival of her brothers into her home, Āhuaiti ignored Rāhiri's wishes and took it upon herself to make sure her brothers received the best fern root. Rāhiri returned home to find what had occurred and abandoned Āhuaiti and their unborn child. Piripi (1962) notes that in his rage Rāhiri said to Āhuaiti that it was the fern that caused her pregnancy. To explain the meaning of this, we can look to the account given in Hohepa, et al., (2001) where Wiremu Wi Hongi states that it is from this incident that the saying 'Ko ngā roi whakapopore ure a Ahuaiti' (The penis-courting fern root of Āhuaiti) and that in fact it was Rāhiri's brothers that were visiting in his absence and as can be deduced from this version, Rāhiri left Āhuaiti on account of her infidelity.

It can be noted with interest that Rāhiri is said to have lived at Pakiaka-O-Te-Riri prior to his union with Āhuaiti (Piripi, 1962, p. 46). Within the notes of the Lament for Te Tihi as found in Ngā Mōteatea, it describes the name to mean the 'Taproot of strife' (Ngata & Jones, 1980, p. 97). Perhaps it is a result of the episode between Rāhiri and Āhuaiti that lead to the naming of this place as opposed to it being already known by this name.

### Whakaruru

Following his split from Āhuaiti, Rāhiri took another wife called Whakaruru. From their union, she gave birth to their children Tawake-haunga, Tikitiki-ngahuhu and Kaha-rau (White, 1851, p. 7). Keene (1975, p. 61) states that it is from their child Tawake-haunga that the Kaikohe tribe Ngaitawake originate. Although three children have been identified as being the offspring of Rāhiri and Whakaruru, it is their son Kaharau that is the most recognised by the Ngā Puhi people, as we will see later on. In terms of who Whakaruru is, there is very little written about her other than her being a cousin to Āhuaiti and Moetonga, and the mother of Kaharau as previously stated.

### Moetonga and Paru

In terms of Rāhiri's third and fourth wives, there is little to be found within the available literature. As previously stated, Moetonga was described as being the cousin of Rāhiri's first wife Āhuaiti and a descendant of the Ngāti Manaia tribe (Piripi 1961, 1962). From this, the only reference that can be found in regards to Moetonga is within a whakapapa chart constructed by Hare Hongi to show Rāhiri's connections to the Oruru and Whangape[sic]-Ahipara regions (1909, Table IV). As for Paru, no substantial evidence could be found as to who she was, which tribe she belonged to, or the names of her (if any) children. She has however been named in a number of discussion forums and information websites pertaining to Rāhiri and Ngā Puhi. It is mentioned that she resided on the eastern coast of Ngā Puhi territory.

It is here that Ngā Puhi dialogue shifts from that of Rāhiri and his wives to that of his children (namely Uenuku and Kaharau) and subsequent generations. As a closing to the history of Rāhiri the man, Piripi (1962) states that during his various marriages, Rāhiri moved around the Ngā Puhi district and lived in Hokianga and in Whangarei. It is in Whangarei that Piripi states Rāhiri died, however there is no further evidence to suggest this from the literature in terms of his place of rest or at what date this occurred. The death of Rāhiri in Whangarei will be questioned in later chapters.

### Ngā tamariki a Rāhiri / The children of Rāhiri

When looking at the children of Rāhiri, it can be assumed that with the number of wives he had there must be a large number of children from his various marriages. However, literature focuses mainly on his two sons Uenuku, from his first marriage to wife Āhuaiti and Kaharau from his second marriage to Whakaruru. It is from these two siblings that we are able to see from where the majority of Ngā Puhi people trace their ancestry, and with this determine who their main tūpuna are, descending from Rāhiri.

#### Uenuku

Following Rāhiri's abandonment of his wife Āhuaiti she found, at the birth of her child, she was alone. As recounted in Hohepa, et al., (2001, p. 67) Āhuaiti's only companion was a rainbow called Āniwaniwa. It is from this that Āhuaiti chose the name Uenuku for her son – the Māori name for rainbow. As Uenuku was a child who did not have his father, he was bestowed with the name Uenuku-kūare. Kūare as described in Hohepa, et al., (2001, p. 67), Keene (1975, p. 61) and Piripi (1962) meaning foolish or ignorant as he grew up without a father to teach him karakia and the lore of his ancestors.

#### Kaharau

Wi Hongi in Hohepa, et al., describes Kaharau being given his name as a result of his birth. At the time of Kaharau's birth, Wi Hongi states that:

All the tohunga were used to induce birth but this did not occur.

Whakaruru then tightly grasped the strand of the kahakaha [*Collospermum hastatum*, an epiphyte plant] and only then was she able to give birth. By the time the male infant emerged he was close to dying. His voice indicated that the breath or heart was already straying, and so his name was given after the strand of kahakaha, that his, Kaharau-manawa-kotiti [Kaharau strand-heart-astray] (2001, p. 75).

Unlike Uenuku, Kaharau was able to grow up with his father Rāhiri present and as a result learnt the protocols and traditions of his people. As shown in Sissons (1988, pp. 199-200) Orbell, (1998, p. 112), Hohepa, et al. (2001, pp. 67-68), and Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi (2007) there came a day when Uenuku wanted to

know who his father was as he was of age to learn the rites of passage and history of his people. This led to his mother giving him directions to his father's pā and upon his arrival, Uenuku was finally able to meet his half brother Kaharau. As a means of settling the growing tension between the two brothers, Rāhiri used a manurere to establish an area from which he divided his land in two, with a half for each brother. This is articulated through the whakataukī:

Ka mimiti te puna i Taumārere, (When the fountain of Taumārere is empty)  
Ka toto te puna i Hokianga. (The fountain of Hokianga is full)  
Ka toto te puna i Taumārere (When the fountain of Taumārere is full)  
Ka mimiti te puna i Hokianga. (The fountain of Hokianga is empty)  
(Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2007)

As can be seen in the above whakataukī, Rāhiri used the two rivers Taumārere and Hokianga to provide boundaries for the brothers but also to explain that whilst both had their own areas, one affected the other as both functioned in unison to bring prosperity to the Ngā Puhi people. In present day these two areas are known and described by Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi (2007) as Tai Tama Wahine to the east, due to its tranquil harbours and bays and Tai Tama Tāne to the west that by contrast is considered to be rougher and more turbulent. This is paralleled with the notion in Hohepa, et al. that:

The two 'sides' of Ngā Puhi, genealogical and geographical, are established: the descendants of Kaharau in the Hokianga district, and the descendants of Uenuku in the inland Bay of Islands around Pouerua . . . Rāhiri and his warrior son lived at Hokianga; Āhuaiti and her non-fighting son lived at Pouerua (2001, p. 50).

With regard to the expansion of the wider Ngā Puhi region, Yarborough (1906, p. 222) credits this to Rāhiri's sons and later his grandsons as they themselves followed in their father's footsteps. Increased tension grew between them and Ngāti Awa, and this was evident with the development of numerous pā within the area. According to Yarborough 'it comes that no native in all the north-eastern portion of the Hokianga district has any occasion to trace his ancestors back

beyond Taura-tumano and Toma, grandsons of Rāhiri, who effectively occupied all that country, (1906, p. 222). Following the establishment of the Ngā Puhi region with Rāhiri's sons, it appears that Rāhiri then disappears from the literature. Hohepa, et al. (2001, p. 79) mentions that Rāhiri had gone on his travels and disappeared from the region and was found in the southern Ngā Puhi area. They go on further to state later on that 'after the hapū had been placed upon the landscape, Rāhiri and his son depart from the scene. Rāhiri went South; Kaharau went to the extreme East, to Whangaruru, south of Cape Brett' (2001, p. 83). It is through the union of Uenuku to Kareariki and Kaharau to his three wives (Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 79) that the Ngā Puhi iwi flourished to such a number that, even today, they are still of prominence within the Far North region.

#### Ngā Puhi and Rāhiri today

In present day, the Ngā Puhi iwi are widely recognised under Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi. From their website, they state that they were established to 'lead the spiritual, cultural, social and economic growth of Ngāpuhi' (Te Rūnanga ā Iwi o Ngāpuhi, 2007). It is through this website that the largest populated iwi with 122,211 members (and growing) are able to have access to scholarships and funding information, enter themselves and their family on the iwi register, read about Ngāpuhi history, news, reports from the Rūnanga, and also view the many photos, events and issues surrounding Ngā Puhi within their bimonthly magazine (entitled Ae Marika). Coupled with the Tūhoronuku website, members of Ngā Puhi are able to keep up to date and informed with the current journey being undertaken by Ngā Puhi to settle their Treaty grievances with the Crown. These two sites bare testament to the goal of the Ngā Puhi iwi to provide a means for all of their members to be informed and have access to information on their people, the people of Rāhiri.

#### Kōrero whakatepe

There are a number of works pertaining to the ancestor Rāhiri and his people of Ngā Puhi. Whilst some of these works serve to contradict others, it provides a range for us to delve into and begin to draw out those similarities between texts. For those inconsistencies with differing information, it does not necessarily lead to the researcher or person providing the information to be incorrect; rather, they

are giving their perspective and their own hapū's point of view in relation to the topic. Such is the case throughout all of Māoridom where there is a general accepted line of history, however it is through dialectal and hapū narratives that groups are able to portray and assert their own tribal mana and rangatiratanga. What becomes apparent through the inclusion of Rāhiri and his offspring featuring in all Ngā Puhi histories is that he was a man of status from both his ancestry and his own pūmanawa, from which the Ngā Puhi people draw from today. It can be argued that a large portion of information pertaining to Rāhiri and Ngā Puhi was derived from the Journal of the Polynesian Society, and that the information presented could have possible inaccuracies or was misinterpreted by the authors. It must be stressed however, that if it was not for the efforts of Smith, Best and others to undertake such research on the Māori people, then these histories as documented within the Journal would not exist in a form to be accessed and utilised by researchers, iwi/hapū/whānau as they move to learn more about their people. Information provided in the Journal was not just undertaken by Pākehā ethnographers and anthropologists. There were many Māori academics and tohunga of iwi and hapū who saw the benefits of publishing the histories of their people, so as to make the information accessible by not only their immediate members of their iwi but by all Māori throughout Aotearoa. It is by accessing these texts and including them in a forum such as this, that we are able to present the work collected by these individuals and hope that the discussion to arise from the research will provide information to either support or bring clarification to the topics presented.

## Upoko Tuatoru: Ko wai a Rāhiri ki Taranaki? / Chapter Three: Who is Rāhiri in Taranaki?

When looking at the literature surrounding Rāhiri and his connections to Taranaki, there is very little documented. After discussion with many kaumātua as to who or what they considered an acceptable source of information, the majority all pointed to one document, a text most widely referred to as ‘The Marae Book’. The creation of this record came about from a series of lectures given by Te Ātiawa kaumātua Taniwharau (Sonny) Waru in regards to the carvings housed at Owae Marae in Waitara. As explained by his son Mahou Waru, these lectures were scribed by people attending the hui and then their writings were combined and compiled into the book given the title Manukōrihi Marae Waitara. Unfortunately, the dates of these lectures were not maintained, nor were the names of those who helped contribute to the creation of the text. However, this document is regarded as the primary basis of information pertaining to the Taranaki pūrākau and whakapapa of Te Ao Māori. In recent years, Taranaki history has been recorded in a more concrete, modern format (above that of the traditional oral transmission of knowledge) with a number of episodes created for television programmes such as Waka Huia and Marae, and the inclusion of Māori voices in a number of publications. To understand the content found within the Manukōrihi Marae book, we must first look at Owae Marae and its wharenuī Te Ika Roa a Māui, and how it came into being.

### Te Ika Roa a Māui

The carved house Te Ika Roa a Māui was constructed following the death of prominent Te Ātiawa figure Sir Māui Pōmare. As explained by Wilson (1990, p. 51), following Pōmare’s death in the United States and return home via Rarotonga, Wellington, Waikanae, and Wanganui in accordance to Māori protocol of tangi, his ashes were interred at Manukōrihi Pā in Waitara in 1930. Between 1931 and 1934, Te Ātiawa saw fit to erect a statue of Pōmare to accompany him. This statue was constructed entirely of marble and carved in the likeness of Pōmare, where it still stands today erected above the vault in which his ashes lay. As described by Minchin (1967, p. 5) and Wilson (1990, p. 51), close friend of Māui Pōmare, Apirana Ngata was able to obtain the approval from Te Ātiawa and Pōmare’s family to have a carved house as a national memorial to accompany the

statue at Manukōrihi. To fund the project, Ngata was able to persuade the government to assist. As Wilson states the government 'was anxious to be seen to be honouring the findings of the 1926-27 Royal Commission' (1990, p. 51), where the Commission ruled that Taranaki Māori be compensated monetarily for injustices involving the confiscation of land and displacement of Māori.

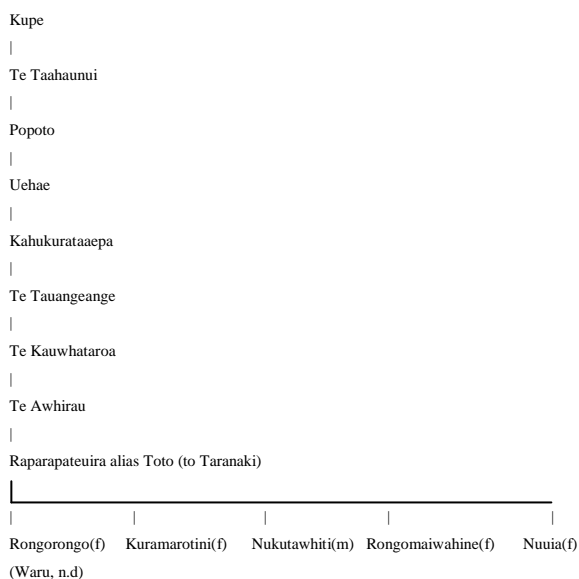
The carvings themselves were created by students of the Rotorua School of Māori Arts (O'Meagher 1970) and the carving was 'modelled on examples of the Northern School of Māori Carving typical of all North Island tribes' (Minchin 1967 p. 5). Ngata asked that because of Lady Pōmare being 'closely related to the carvers of the most famous school of carving on New Zealand's East Coast' (O'Meagher, 1970) that the Taranaki kaumātua set aside a number of panels 'to be modelled on East Coast types as a compliment to Lady Pōmare' (Minchin, 1967, p. 5) and her family ancestry.

At the completion of the whareniui in 1936, it was opened and bestowed with the name Te Ika Roa a Māui – The fish of Māui. The fish of Māui being the landmass of the North Island of New Zealand that Māori history dictates was fished up by the legendary ancestor Māui in ancient times. Under this name the house contained carved panels that represented all tribes within the North Island, and their placement within the house also being representative of their connections to one another. At the time of this research being undertaken, there appears to be no extensive written account pertaining to the contents of Te Ika Roa a Māui and its carvings to the extent as conveyed by the Manukōrihi Marae book taken from Sonny Waru's (Koroheke Taniwharau) lectures. In recent years however, there has been a development with the kaumātua of various hapū of Te Ātiawa joining together to record their histories to be passed on to their people and preserved for future generations. As a result, this document will be largely referred to in regards to Taranaki kōrero concerning Ngā Puhi and Rāhiri, with particular regard to Rāhiri's place within Taranaki.

#### Kupe and waka creations

When looking at who Kupe was from a Taranaki perspective, Koroheke Taniwharau Waru states that Kupe was an ancestor to Nukutawhiti and his siblings. Kupe is placed seven generations above their parents, thus meaning he

would not have been alive at the time of the migration from Hawaiki to Aotearoa as articulated in the Ngā Puhī kōrero (See whakapapa below).



Koroheke Taniwharau states that Kupe’s flagship ‘was Matawhaorua, and it has confused many people thinking Matawhaorua and Ngatokimatawhaorua are the same canoe (but they’re not). Matawhaorua was Kupe’s flagship (he had 5 of them)’ (Waru, n.d).

### Nukutawhiti

When looking at Nukutawhiti, it is said that he was the captain of the Ngatokimatawhaorua canoe, a twin canoe to the Taranaki canoe Aotea. The construction of these waka came about when Rongorongo asked her father Raparapateuira (also known as Toto) to build her a vessel as a means of transport for her husband Turi who had fallen into ill favour with the great Chief Uenuku. As a result, Raparapateuira agreed to fell his tree and upon it hitting the ground, it split in two. It was then decided that one half would be given to his eldest daughter Rongorongo and the waka would be named Aotea. The other half would be carved for his second eldest daughter Kuramarotini, captained by her brother Nukutawhiti, and be given the name Ngatokimatawhaorua.

### Ruanui

In terms of Ruanui and his part in the migration to Aotearoa, he is described as being the captain of the Māmari waka. His connection to the fleet is through

his relationship as brother-in-law to Nukutawhiti following his union to Nukutawhiti's sister Nuuia. Upon arrival to Aotearoa, it is said that:

Nukutawhiti on his canoe Ngatokimatawhaorua, Aotea's sister ship, landed on one side of the Hokianga Harbour, his brother in law Ruanui landed his canoe Maamari on the opposite side of the Hokianga Harbour. When one heard the other reciting an incantation to bring fish into the harbour, the other would recite an incantation to take the fish right back to sea again. Accordingly, the Hokianga Harbour received its name, 'Hokianga Whakapau Karakia' Hokianga where incantations were wasted. (Waru, n.d)

This whakataukī is supported by the Ngā Puhī narrative as shown in discussions from Pittman (2008) and Taonui (2009).

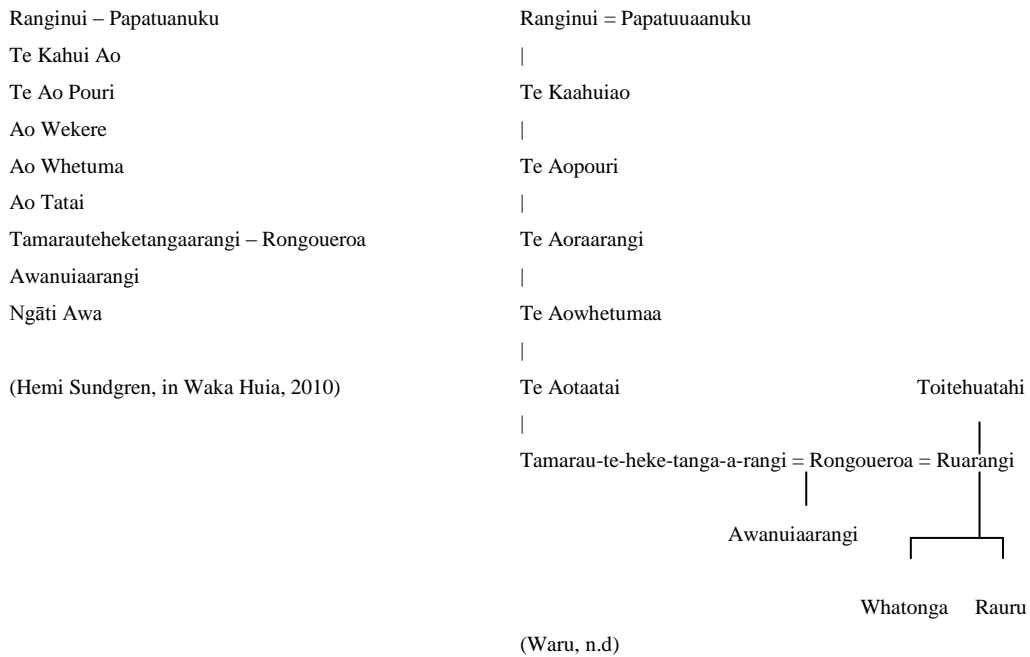
#### Ngāti Awa – Te Ātiawa

When looking at the origins of Te Ātiawa in Taranaki, as expressed by the Taranaki Research Centre, 'the origins of Te Ātiawa are said to come from the heavens themselves (2010, p. 22). The name Awa is taken from the Te Ātiawa ancestor Awanuiārangi, whose unique whakapapa is such that he is of both this world and from the heavens following his birth to his earthly mother Rongoueroa and celestial father Tamarauteheketangārangi (also known as Tamarau).

#### Rongoueroa and Tamarauteheketangārangi

Rongoueroa was first married to Ruarangi, son of Toitehuatahi (or Toikairākau as known by the people of Taranaki for his fondness of uncultivated food). This union brought forth their sons Whatonga and Rauru; Rauru being the ancestor that South Taranaki tribe Ngā Rauru derive their name from. As mentioned in earlier discussion, Te Ātiawa also have links to Toi through the marriage of Piopio to Te Ata-Kore.

According to Koroheke Taniwharau, Tamarau was the Whatukura of the Tenth Heaven. His celestial whakapapa is given by both Koroheke Taniwharau and later recited by Hemi Sundgren (Waka Huia, 2010) where it shows his descent from Ranginui and Papatūānuku down to Ao Taiti:



Tamarau descended to Earth and watched Rongoueroa as she bathed her baby Rauru, he then took the form of a man and approached Rongoueroa. They embraced and before his departure, Tamarau said to Rongoueroa ‘If our baby is a boy call him Awanuiaarangi, if it is a girl then call her Te Awanuiaapa’ (Waru, n.d.) and then returned to the Tenth Heaven. A slight variation is given by Hemi Sundgren in the Waka Huia episode about Taranaki where he states that Tamarau descended from the heavens whilst Rongoueroa was washing her para tapu in a river within Taranaki. Their union brought the birth of their son Awanuiārangi. It is from Awanuiārangi that Ngāti Awa of Whakatāne, Te Ātiawa of Taranaki, Waikanae, Wellington and Picton descend from.

From the celestial connection to Tamarau, Te Ātiawa have the whakataukī: *Te Āti Awa i te rangi, he toki e tangatanga te raa*, which translates to: Te Ati Awa descendant from heaven, who’s[sic] adze can remove the sun from its very axis. This is perpetuated within Te Ika Roa a Māui with a carving of Tamarau holding a greenstone adze in his hand – the adze that can remove the sun from its very axis. (Waru, n.d.)

### Ngāti Awa

It has already been established that the origins of Ngāti Awa can be found within the Ngā Puhi region, and it is from a number of skirmishes with other hapū groups that led to the migration of the Ngāti Awa to the Taranaki region. Although it has

been stated by Gudgeon (1903, p. 51) that the Ngāti Awa returned to the Ngā Puhi region several times from Taranaki only to be expelled again, there is nothing in Taranaki literature or kōrero to suggest that the Ngāti Awa ever left the Taranaki region after their initial settlement. This is supported by White where he describes being informed by the Ngā Puhi that:

When the Ngātiawa occupied the Ngapuhi district they cultivated all arable spots and their rua kai (food pits) may be seen on nearly all the hill tops and forest hills in all that district, also the burial places are pointed out by the Nga-puhi the bones in which are of the most ancient and now crumbling to dust (1851, p. 53).

This suggests that the Ngāti Awa had been out of the region for a number of years and that the sites that they did occupy were in fact from the early settlement period of the Ngā Puhi region. In terms of migration from the north, the southern drift is articulated in Best (1928, p. 194) where he states that Ngāti Awa had moved toward Tāmaki and Manukau and began to occupy land in this region and subsequently settled in Taranaki. To further cement their place within the region, there is literature that shows the Ngāti Awa intermarried with those descendants of the Tokomaru Waka which in turn helped to firmly establish the Ngāti Awa people as part of the tangata whenua of Taranaki, and not just visitors to the region.

An example of this is shown in the work of Gudgeon where he describes that upon landing at Tongaporutu, the Tokomaru crew ventured toward the Waitara area and settled for a time along the Waitara River. This settlement was short as Gudgeon notes:

For some unknown reason this migration did not remain long at the Waitara, for we next hear of them fighting their way up the coast past Kawhia and on to Whanga-rei, where they would seem to have intermarried with the descendants of Awa-nui-a-rangi, and became known as Ngāti-Awa (1903, p. 51).

Interestingly enough, Gudgeon mentions that Ngāti Awa ‘for many generations they were leading tribe of northern New Zealand, but in due turn they were expelled and returned to the Waitara, where their descendants may yet be found living under the same old tribal name’ (1903, p. 51). As previously stated, although Gudgeon posed open ended questions such as the one above and as seen in earlier chapters regarding the Ngāti Awa, there was nothing in future writings to show that he had indeed ventured into Taranaki to find if his assumptions were true or not. Of course we can understand today that the Ngāti Awa were definitely in Taranaki and were of a robust number. It does raise the question as to why Gudgeon never followed through on his research and answer his questions in regards to Ngāti Awa. Perhaps he thought the publication of his works within the Journal of the Polynesian Society was enough and anticipated that a member of the Ngāti Awa of Taranaki would submit material to answer his questions, and ultimately save him a lot of work.

Within Taranaki tradition, one of the strongest links between the tribe of Ngāti Awa and the people of the Tokomaru waka can be found in the union between Rāhiri and Taranaki pūhi Rākei of Ngāti Mutunga. To understand this, we must first look at the Tokomaru waka and its people.

#### Tokomaru Waka

In regards to the Tokomaru Waka and its people, Gudgeon (1892, p. 227) claims that it is only the Ātiawa of Waitara that claim ancestry to them. He states that there are only four notable people from that waka, and lists their names as Rakeiora, Manaia, Tu-urenui and Te Rangitata (1892, p. 227). He goes further to say that the Tokomaru (captained by Manaia) initially landed at Whangaparāoa then travelled around the North Cape and landed a second time at Tongaporutu whereupon encountering the tangata whenua at Te Rohutu, Manaia and his people ‘slew them in accordance with Māori custom in such cases’ (1903, p. 51).

In the writings of Te Matorohanga as published in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, (1914, pp. 1-15) he recounts that the Tokomaru waka belonged to Manaia and its journey to Aotearoa occurred following an incident where Manaia had killed the man Tomo-whare for being adulterous with his wife. Manaia then took the Tokomaru waka and fled Hawaiki before Tomo-whare’s elder brother

Nuku-tama caught up with him and killed him as a means of exacting revenge for the killing of his brother. This story is also addressed again by Smith (1907, pp. 209-212) when discussing the Tokomaru Waka and its reasons for leaving Hawaiki. To convey the story of the Tokomaru, he provides a translated version published in a work undertaken by Sir George Grey alongside work gathered by other researchers, however, he is unable to provide any new information to elaborate any further on the story of Manaia leaving Hawaiki, and there is no evidence or kōrero provided to give details as to the conditions of the journey to Aotearoa.

However, in relation to Manaia being a chief of the Te Ātiawa people, Best states that:

All I have to say on this subject is that I have hitherto failed to find any one amongst Ngāti- (or Ati-) Awa, who acknowledges this man as an ancestor any more than in a general kind of way; but it is possible the Ngāti-Tama tribe of Tonga-porutu can recite their genealogies back to him. At the same time Ati-Awa do allow that some of them descended from the crew of "Tokomaru," but so far as my enquiries go, they cannot recite any genealogies from them. This is very suspicious; and shows that probably but a very few people can claim "Tokomaru" as their ancestral vessel, and even then, probably through marriage connections with Ngāti-Tama (1907, p. 212).

The fact that Best draws suspicion from the fact that he cannot find a person that can recite genealogies brings about a number of questions. Throughout his work, Best fails to acknowledge in any detail as to who those people are that he notes as sources of knowledge on the people of Te Ātiawa or the Tokomaru waka. It is possible perhaps that he had been gathering his information from what he considered a trustworthy source, only to find later that the information was not reliable.

Another aspect is the tikanga in which Best collected the information. As explained by Mead:

The tikanga of research in a western sense requires that all information is subject to scrutiny and subject to analysis. This tikanga clashes with the traditional tikanga of the old school of learning. Thus there are sensitivities about research and about the information gained through research (2003, p. 318).

With this notion put forth by Mead, it is highly possible that the people Best was interviewing, as a means of gaining research for his *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, knew about the publication and the audience that had access to this, and as a result, withheld information. This would not have been uncommon for the Māori of Taranaki who were still reeling from the aftermath of the Land Wars in the 1860s, where a large amount of land was confiscated from them and a number of lives were lost at the hands of the Crown and Government forces. This displacement of Māori left them without a home and a tūrangawaewae to help them to assert who they were as tangata whenua, leaving them without a place to sustain themselves and enable their survival. Therefore, it is quite possible that as a means of protecting what little taonga they had left, rather than disclosing it to the likes of Best and others such as Smith and Yarborough they remained silent and held onto the information themselves. Much of what we know has been passed down orally by our ancestors, procured within waiata, pātere, mōteatea and kōrero whakahekeheke.

Kōrero from Koroheke Taniwharau gives clarity concerning the connections of the Tokomaru waka to Te Ātiawa. According to Koroheke Taniwharau (n.d.), at the time when a number of people were leaving Hawaiki for Aotearoa, four brothers decided that they wanted to send their own waka on the journey as well. Their tree was felled and the Tokomaru was created. As captains for this waka, each brother elected their eldest son to undertake the role. The reason for this was there was to be no seniority between the men and that they travelled to Aotearoa as equals. The men chosen were named Manaia, Awangaiariki, Whata and Nganaruru. Also on board the waka was a man named Raakeiora who was the grand high priest. He helped guide them and make sure the necessary protocols were adhered to. Upon arrival to Aotearoa, the people intermarried with the tangata whenua of Taranaki.

A whakapapa of note from the Tokomaru Waka is that of the captain Ngaranuru and his descendant Mutunga, of whom Ngāti Mutunga take their name (see below).

Nganaruru  
Kahukurarurukaha  
Tuuioi  
Tamaorangi  
Tamaowhare  
Ropa  
Te Aomatangi  
Koari  
Paakira  
Kaakahurukuruku  
Wekamoho  
Rāhiripootea  
Te Urupare  
Kahukura  
Mutunga

(Waru, n.d.)

This is important as Koroheke Taniwharau notes when talking about the carvings of Rāhiri and Apihai Te Kawau, he states that Rāhiri married Raakei, who was the Puhī of Ngāti Mutunga. If this is the case, then the link back to the Tokomaru Waka can be shown through Raakei down to Ngāti Mutunga. When looking at who Rāhiri was in Taranaki, the literature provides us with two narratives to follow. They are based around a man known as Rāhiri-Pakarara and Rāhiri of Ngā Puhī.

### Rāhiri Pakarara

Within his body of work on the Māori Migrations to New Zealand, specifically, the various waka that journeyed from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, Gudgeon stated that ‘of the Tokomaru canoe and its crew, I know but little, and only mention it in order to provoke discussion, and induce the members of this Society to supply the desired information’ (1892, p. 227). What information is given is a small whakapapa chart from Ngāti Rākei of Mōkau and suggests that it is possibly showing a connection between Te Ātiawa and Ngāti Maniapoto. What is interesting about this, is that it notes the union of a couple identified as Rakei II and Rāhiri-Pakarara.

Mataora = Muriwhakaroto

_____	
Rahautu	Hape
Hine-te whiringa	Kiwinui(f)
Karapinepine (f) =	Rakei (m)
_____	
Matairohia	Rangitaura
Atakapo	Rāhiri Haupapa
Rakei II =	Rāhiri Pakarara
_____	
Kapuatahi	
Mangatu	
Moetahuna	
Moerewarewa	
Rauru	
Tawapahaka	
Hine-tuahonga	
Rakei III	
Pourewa	
Waruheapoa	
Waimauku	
Te Puna	
Whanga	
Te Manu	
Te Ngongo	
Wiari	

(Gudgeon, 1892, p. 227)

Smith references this article by Gudgeon and comments further that Rāhiri-pakarara is ‘said to be the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti-Rāhiri of Waitara and Waihi [Motunui]’ (1907, p. 212), however he does not elaborate further on who Rāhiri-pakarara was. What he does comment on however is that in terms of the whakapapa given in regards to Rāhiri and Rakei, he states that ‘if this line is right it shows that Ngāti-Rāhiri have occupied their present homes, north of Waitara, from about seventy-five years after the arrival of the fleet in 1350’ (Smith, 1907, p. 213), establishing that the Ngāti Rāhiri have been situated within Motunui since the early 1400’s. As a result of this, Smith established that the hapū within Taranaki that descended from the Tokomaru Waka could be identified as ‘Puketapu, of Waitara, Manu-korihi of Waitara, and Ngāti-Rāhiri, of Waitara and Waihi. . . the latter people from Rāhiri-pakarara, who migrated long ago from Mohaka-tino (near Tonga-porutu) to their present homes (Smith, 1907, p. 212).

Within Gudgeon's whakapapa of Rāhiri-pakarara, he states that he was a descendant of Rangitaura and Rāhiri-Haupapa respectively. However there is no

information given as to where Rangitaura descends from to help establish the origins of Rāhiri-pakarara. There is also nothing that can be found as yet in any literature outside of Gudgeon and Smith's work as to the placement of Rāhiri-pakarara and who he was. There are two theories as to who Rāhiri-pakarara may be, the first being centred on the Ngā Puhi area. When identifying the main areas of hapū settlement in the Bay of Islands, Hohepa, et al. (2001, p. 37, Map 3) states the areas of Waitangi, Pouerua and Pākaraka being the main areas of occupation by Ngāti Rāhiri. It is possible then, that with the migration of Rāhiri to Taranaki, he was bestowed with the name of Rāhiri-Pākaraka in honour of his tribal roots, and from either dialectal variances at the time or possible misreporting by Gudgeon, his name was changed from Pākaraka to Pakarara?

The second theory comes from a discussion about Rāhiri during a Ngāti Rāhiri Hui Wāhine, where it was said Whaea Ivy Papakura had stated that he was asked by the Ngāti Awa to come down and 'make the people big and strong' which led to his settlement within Taranaki and his marriage to Rākei. This statement has not been formally recorded anywhere yet could be considered more of account from tribal elders to address an obscure period in Rāhiri's history. But upon further inspection of the Wiremu Dictionary, one of the definitions of Pakarara is seen to be the name of a very large species of eel. Perhaps the name Rāhiri-pakarara was a metaphorical reference to our tupuna and perhaps there is more truth to the story than first thought.

### Rāhiri

In researching who Rāhiri was in Taranaki, Smith states that there have been a number of theories as to who he was. To draw conclusions to the Rāhiri question, Smith comments that he prefers to take 'old Watene Taungatara as an authority before any other of the tribe I have questioned, and he [Watene Taungatara] he says Manaia, of "Tokomaru," built the house, and that Ngāti-Rāhiri's ancestors came in that canoe' (1907, p. 213).

As to whom Watene Taungatara was, it can be established when looking at the Compensation Court evidence as published in the Taranaki Herald on the 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1866. It states that on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 1866, evidence was given by Hoani Kitakita and in this he stated that he belonged to the Ngātimoeahu and

Ngātiwanaka hapū, and that the principal man of Ngātimoeahu was Watene Taungatara. Due to his status within Ngātimoeahu, it was only fitting that Smith use him as a point of reference. This is evident through the use of Taungatara within Smiths History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast, in his detailing the coming of the two whalers Barrett and Love to New Plymouth (1910, pp. 1-4) and him being referred to as the ‘chronicler of the doings of the Ati-Awa’ (Smith, 1909, p. 224). The only discrepancy that can be found in using Taungatara is that his people of Ngāti Moeahu were located towards the southern end of the North Taranaki region and as such, information in regards to the Ngāti Rāhiri people is limited.

For more clarity as to who Rāhiri is within Taranaki history, we can see the work of Tony Sole where he cites in the work of Simmons Great New Zealand Myth a manuscript by Hoani Timo in 1855 where it is said that Rāhiri is the key ancestor of the Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Puhī tribes. He goes on further to say that ‘whether these separate iwi are descended from the same Rāhiri remains open to conjecture’ (Sole, 2005, p. 75). He goes on further to make reference to a manuscript written by Henare Toka Ngātai where it states that Rāhiri ‘ultimately moved to Taranaki where he married Rākei of Ngāti Mutunga’ (Ngātai, n.d., p. 35 as cited in Sole, 2005, p. 75). Ngātai goes on further to state that it is from Rāhiri and Rākei that Ngāti Rāhiri of Motunui and Ngāti Rākei of Mōkau descends, and that they ‘built their pā at Te Motunui, naming it Te Patunga-taniwha-a-Rāhiri (Ngātai, n.d., p. 35 as cited in Sole, 2005, p. 75).

In coming back to the work of Koroheke Taniwharau, we are able to find more cohesion as to who Rāhiri is in relation to the Ngāti Rāhiri tribe of Te Ātiawa in Taranaki. Within his kōrero pertaining to the carving of Rāhiri in Te Ika Roa a Māui, Koroheke Taniwharau states that:

Rāhiri was a descendant of Rongorongo’s brother Nukutawhiti. Rāhiri begat Ngāti Rāhiri of Oromaahoe ki Waitangi, Taitokerau. For some reason he left his northern land, his northern home, he &[sic] his granddaughter Uewhati left north Auckland &[sic] for a time lived at Tauranga where Uewhati married and bore two children. They moved on to the East Coast proper, where she again married. Rāhiri finally moved to Taranaki

where he married Raakei, the Puhi of Ngāti Mutunga, they built their Paa Tuuwatawata on the sea coast at Te Motunui, they called it ‘Te Patunga-Taniwha-a-Rāhiri’, today the area is still named ‘Te Taniwha’. Rāhiri &[sic] Raakei begat Ngāti Rāhiri of Motunui &[sic] Ngāti Raakei of Mokau.

(Waru, n.d.).

This kōrero by Koroheke Taniwharau is further supported by Matua Erima Henare where he states:

Ko tērā ana o Te Taniwha kei Motunui, koinā, kei te huringa rā ki Epiha Road, anā, he urupā kei reira, kei te pari i raro iho. Ko te ana o, kei reira nei a Rāhiri e takoto ana, ko Te Taniwha.

*It is at Te Taniwha in Motunui, near the turn of Epiha Road, an urupā can be found, located at the bottom of the cliff. It is there in this area that Rāhiri rests at Te Taniwha.*

(Henare, E., 2010)

As can be seen from Matua Erima, his kōrero helps to reinforce the notion that although Rāhiri is seen to be an ancestor of Ngāpuhi, he in fact resides within the bounds of Taranaki with his resting place at Te Taniwha in Motunui. This therefore makes him a definite ancestor of Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki. The question, as raised by Matua Erima, how is it that such a man of mana and status be allowed to be buried within Taranaki whilst he is lamented with such grandeur in his ancestral land of Ngāpuhi.

The above kōrero can be seen to tie together the work of Hohepa, et al. and those questions raised by the likes of Best, Gudgeon and Yarborough pertaining to Rāhiri’s whakapapa and his subsequent arrival and settlement within Taranaki. An issue of concern is that there appears to be no recorded whakapapa given regarding those descendants of Rāhiri and Rākei within Taranaki.

### Rāhiri Migration to Taranaki

For a number of generations, there have been many questions posed as to whether Rāhiri in fact left the Ngā Puhi region and if he did, the question is raised as to where he went following his departure from his home. Some clues as to the migration of Rāhiri can be found within Hohepa, et al. where discussion that arose from the tribal history of Ngā Puhi given by Wiremu Wi Hongi brings the authors to comment that ‘after the hapū have been placed upon the landscape, Rāhiri and his son depart from the scene’ (Hohepa, et al., 2001, p. 83). This departure is not expressed as being due to the death of Rāhiri, rather that Wi Hongi states Rāhiri had actually left the area and travelled south, whilst his son Kaharau departed to Whangaruru, situated south of Cape Brett, to the extreme east of the Ngā Puhi region.

As to the places that Rāhiri settled at during his journey to Taranaki, William Martin’s manuscript by Shortland, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1855 (as cited in Simmons The Great New Zealand Myth, p. 218) provides the names to a number of areas that Rāhiri journeyed to. They are as follows:

Rāhiri went to Horoera, Wharekahika and Whaiapu. He went on there and stayed – went on to Tuparoa, to Tawhitiroa and turned aside to Tokomaru, to Uawa, Turanga, Te Wairoa, and Ahuriri then went right down to Te Whanganuiatara. I don’t know any further about their journey to Taranaki to the snow mountain – and died there – that is the origin of Ngāti Rāhiri who lived in Taranaki and of Ngāti Ruanui – descendants of Rāhiri.

To provide a better illustration of the movement of Rāhiri, we can draw upon the work undertaken by Rāwiri Taonui (2009) and the material presented in his body of work for The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand.

Within the article, Taonui states that Rāhiri’s journey took him several years and in this time he travelled from his home in Whiria Pā to the East Coast, on to Wellington and then back up the North Island via the West Coast. With this, he provides a map that shows the main areas visited by Rāhiri during his travels. It can be seen that the journey undertaken by Rāhiri was to such an extent that it virtually followed the coastline regions of the North Island. We can assume that

by the time Rāhiri had reached the Taranaki region, word had got out of his migrations around Aotearoa. By the time he had made his way to the fertile soils of Motunui, he found an area (and subsequently a wife) that saw fit to provide him with a new home and a new life away from his homeland of Ngā Puhī. It is from here that the people who once started out as a small group of families, flourished and grew into the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū that has come to be known in present times.



Figure 1. Rāhiri's Journey. From *Ngā Waewae Tapu – Māori Exploration* by R. Taonui, 2009.

Upoko Tuawhā: Te ara i mua i a Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki / Chapter Four: The future of Ngāti Rāhiri, Taranaki

Over the last one hundred and seventy years, the main issues of Ngāti Rāhiri have been entrenched and embroiled in the fight for their tūrangawaewae, their home – their land. The settlement of tangata whenua throughout Aotearoa was brought into upheaval with the arrival of the European and their word of God.

Missionaries flocked to New Zealand shores with the intent of providing the noble savage a way and means to live a civilised life as seen fit under the eyes of their God. Although Missionaries thought this work was being done with the best of intentions, they failed to acknowledge a people already steeped in their own history and custom that had existed successfully for generations.

Following the establishment of Mission Schools and the slow integration and eventual takeover of the English language and lifestyle throughout Māori communities, a new threat arrived to New Zealand – the British Government and settlers. In 1839, William Hobson was sent to New Zealand by the Colonial Office with strict orders to seek the free and intelligent consent of the indigenous tribes to establish the sovereignty of Great Britain over the country. This led to the still debated and contested Treaty of Waitangi / Te Tiriti o Waitangi being signed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1840, thus establishing the annexation of New Zealand by Colonial rule under the mantle of Queen Victoria and Great Britain. It was from this day that the battle started for Māori throughout Aotearoa, and the struggle for Ngāti Rāhiri to maintain their mana and rangatiratanga over their ancestral lands commenced.

As stated by Holswich, the loss of Ngāti Rāhiri land had begun when:

By proclamation of 5 September 1865, issued in the New Zealand Gazette (p. 266) showing “Lands Proclaimed As Eligible Sites For Colonisation” under Section 3 of the euphemistically called “The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863”, a total of 28,871 acres (11,683 ha) of Ngāti Rāhiri land were confiscated (1997, p. 5).

As to whether the land being confiscated was an ancestral burial site or a place of settlement by the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū was of no consequence or concern to the Crown. All they saw was land that was to be made available to them to establish infrastructure and provide a land base that could be sold off to settlers as a means of the Crown garnering a profit.

In addition a further 4021 acres (1627 ha) of land had been taken as a means of establishing a military settlement for Government forces, as shown on the Puke Ariki DVD Te Ahi Kā Roa, Te Ahi Katoro. In 1860, Māori owned 96% of the Taranaki landscape. . . In less than 50 years, Māori ownership had dropped to just 14%. . . By 1936 it was a meagre 1% (Puke Ariki, 2010).

The outbreak of the war in the 1860s found Māori not only being displaced from their homes but being punished either by being thrown in jail or by death for trying to maintain their Tino Rangatiratanga over their ancestral lands. As expressed by Te Miringa Hohaia when discussing the motivations behind the cause for the war, he states that:

We [Taranaki Māori] believe that the jealousy that led to the first war in Taranaki in 1860 came about as a result of their envy and greed for the Māori productivity that was so obvious all over the country (Puke Ariki, 2010).

Through the confiscation and military takeover of Māori land within Taranaki, the losses suffered by iwi were horrific. Sir Paul Reeves himself expressed that because of the Land Wars in Taranaki, the loss suffered by Māori was more than just land. He commented that ‘the things that we [Taranaki Māori] were deprived of: language, tikanga, culture, the tools in order to express what it meant to be Māori’ (Puke Ariki, 2010).

In terms of the confiscation of the land, Sir Paul states ‘land is not simply an economic commodity. Land is a glue that coheres you in a society of which you are a part, and that also seemed to disappear’ (Puke Ariki, 2010).

As a means to try and get the return of land back into Māori ownership, a number of Taranaki hapū took part in court hearings giving whakapapa and historical ties to the land in the hope of getting some form of compensation.

For Ngāti Rāhiri, the struggle for land was fraught with complications. As explained by Holswich, the confiscated land from the Tikorangi District in 1865 was declared by the Crown to be impossible to return. In July 1866, Ngāti Rāhiri tupuna Hama Kakati gave evidence in regards to her hapū connections to the Ngāti Rāhiri area, and explained how she was displaced from her land and it was not until later on in life that she worked on her ancestral land. This evidence, along with a number of the Te Ātiawa members was presented to the Compensation Court and by October 1866, an out of Court settlement was established between Ngāti Rāhiri and the Crown. This settlement allowed Ngāti Rāhiri to gain back a small portion of their land. Although this can be seen as a small success by the hapū, a large number of Ngāti Rāhiri were still dispossessed and not compensated for injustices from confiscation of their land.

Because of the lack of momentum from the Crown to return land back to the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū, the hapū went back to court seeking reparation for their losses suffered from the Land Wars. In 1873, a monetary compensation was offered by the Crown to Ngāti Rāhiri. The hapū refused and would not settle for anything less than the return of their ancestral land. In 1880, the West Coast Commission declared that Ngāti Rāhiri ‘must accept monetary compensation, not to the people themselves, but in the form of establishing fences alongside the roads the Crown had formed through Ngāti Rāhiri land (Holswich, 1997, p. 5). Once again, Ngāti Rāhiri refused.

As to who made up the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū during these turbulent years, Holswich states that the hapū comprised of ‘Ngātimoehau, Ngātirāhiri, Ngātiikaporo, Ngātihine, Ngātitamarongo, Ngātiwhiwhiao and Ngātiwairaka, along with the descendants of those Ngāti Rāhiri members whose names appear on the 1884 Crown Grants to the Ngāti Rāhiri land’ (1997, p. 4).

By 1885, Ngāti Rāhiri was still subjected to injustices at the hands of the Crown. Following in his mother Hama Kakati’s footsteps, Hori Takimana (George

Stockman) penned a letter to the Crown to express his dissatisfaction, and that of his people towards the Crown. This came at a time when the Government Agent was calling for tenders of fencing within Ngāti Rāhiri land. As expressed by Stockman:

The newspaper states that the expense is to come out of a sum of £4000 offered by Govt as compensation for land taken for military purposes at Tikorangi. I have to state for your information, that, I, on the part of myself & others concerned protested, and still protest, against accepting any such amount as we consider it very insufficient to compensate us all for the inquiry & loss we have suffered from the land taken from us, & the length of time we have been unjustly kept out our lands (Stockman as cited in Holswich, 1997, p. 6).

As further explained by Stockman, the people were enraged that their land had been confiscated from them to establish a military settlement to fight against those Māori labelled as rebels. This was pertinent as Ngāti Rāhiri aligned themselves as allies with the Government, but as George Stockman put it in his correspondence ‘as the most inveterate rebels to my own knowledge have been treated with every consideration. Whilst we are domineered over in a most tyrannical fashion’ (Stockman as cited in Holswich, 1997, p. 7).

These opinions were shared by the Waitangi Tribunal within their Taranaki Report in regards to the treatment of Taranaki Māori. According to the Tribunal:

All were affected, even non-combatants, because everyone’s land was taken, people were relocated, land tenure was changed, and a whole new social order was imposed. The losses were physical, cultural, and spiritual. In assessing the extent of consequential prejudice today, it cannot be assumed that past injuries have been forgotten over time. The dispossessed have cause for longer recall. For Māori, every nook and cranny of the land is redolent with meaning in histories passed down orally and a litany of landmarks serves as a daily reminder of their dispossession (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 13).

As shown previously through the comments by Sir Paul Reeves, the loss of land brought about a number of issues. Although the endless hearings undertaken by the people of Ngāti Rāhiri only seemed to bring about a lack of resolution, the hapū, nevertheless, continued to fight. To Ngāti Rāhiri, the return of their land held the key to the reestablishment and survival of their people. This is further reiterated by the Waitangi Tribunal where they commented that:

Taranaki Māori were dispossessed of their land, leadership, means of livelihood, personal freedom, and social structure and values. As Māori, they were denied their rights of autonomy, and as British subjects, their civil rights were removed. For decades, they were subjected to sustained attacks on their property and persons (Waitangi Tribunal 1996, p. 13).

It was during these years of dispossession that the Ngāti Rāhiri people lost those things most important and pertinent to their survival: their language, their histories, and most importantly their land, that Māori regard as being the primary connection to their divine earth mother Papatūānuku, the source of all life.

By 1961, the landscape of New Zealand was remarkably different to that of the 1800s. There had been a shift by Māori from the rural to the urban sector and from increasing pressure by Government and its policies and legislation; the once tight-knit communal Māori was reduced to pepper-potted groups throughout Taranaki. Although there had been considerable loss to Taranaki Māori identity, small victories could be found through the establishment of such organisations as the Taranaki Māori Trust Board in 1930 and the establishment of Owae Waitara Marae in Waitara 1936, following monetary support being given by the Government to Taranaki Māori as a gesture of goodwill to help repair the damage sustained in past injustices, at the hands of the Crown.

Following the Māori Affairs Act in 1953, the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū Trustees were established in 1961. They were dedicated with the task of being ‘the only authorised body representing the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū of the Te Atiawa Iwi of North Taranaki’ (Holswich, 1997, p. 3). During this time, the main focus was the management and maintenance of those lands under Ngāti Rāhiri ownership.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 1981, Ngāti Rāhiri joined with other hapū of Te Ātiawa under the leadership of Aila Taylor in the Motunui-Waitara Claim / Wai 6 Claim lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal. The claim put forth by Aila Taylor and Te Ātiawa brought into light that they were:

Prejudicially affected by the discharge of sewage and industrial waste onto or near certain traditional fishing grounds and reefs and that the pollution of the fishing grounds is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, p. 1).

Through evidence given by numerous kaumātua and other members of Te Ātiawa, the iwi were able to convey the physical and spiritual significance of the reefs within their tribal area and show that the outfall into the waterways was bringing about the desecration of their traditional food resource.

As well as being an area that held a food resource, it provided a number of cultural implications. Through the presentation of a number of histories, as shown by the Tribunal, they were able to see ‘evidence of the role which the reefs and sea-bed play as a means of recording and transmitting cultural values’ (1989, p. 11).

The Tribunal goes on further to note that:

The harvesting of seafood from the reefs was and is not only for the purposes of survival. Kaimoana also has an intrinsic cultural value manifested in manaaki (token of esteem) for manuhiri (visitors) (1989, p. 12).

For the people of Te Ātiawa, the ability to provide kaimoana for guests helped to enhance and maintain tribal mana. For Māori, the sharing of food between the host and guest is of such importance that it can be, and is, lamented in song and tribal histories. As understood by the Tribunal:

The hakari (feast) associated with the numerous Māori tangi and hui is an important part of Māori culture, and as we were witness for ourselves, it is

important that the supply should exceed the guest's needs. (The residue is not wasted but is divided amongst the host hapū). The cultural value of kaimoana is therefore important, not only because it satisfies the traditional palate and sustains the way of life of the individual, but because it maintains tribal mana and standings (1989, p. 11).

As a result of the Waitangi Tribunal hearings, the Tribunal found that the Crown had failed to meet guarantees made in the Treaty of Waitangi between the Crown and Māori. The recommendation was made to cease the development of any ocean outfall by the Synfuel Petrochemical Company on their site being developed at Motunui, at the time of the hearings. They also stated that current outfall and discharge into the area's waterways needed to be reassessed to ensure waterways and, subsequently, reefs were safe and that food gathered from these areas for consumption not be affected or threatened in any way, thus enabling the iwi of Te Ātiawa the ability to maintain their mana and manaakitanga of their people and to guests into their tribal area.

This claim was only the beginning for Ngāti Rāhiri as it moved forward to protect their land and their rangatiratanga.

The publication of the Taranaki Report in 1996 saw a culmination of not only a number of hours of hearings in front of the Waitangi Tribunal panel, but also a number of claims by Taranaki iwi seeking to gain some form of compensation for those afflictions suffered in the past by their ancestors that is still prevalent in the present day. The Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū came forward with their stories of hardship, maltreatment and violation, bringing to the fore the true face of the interactions between Māori and the Crown since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Through the hearings process, the voices of all hapū participating were the same, as they recounted how a people lost their identity and traditions, held and practised over a number of generations, and how in only a matter of years the Government forces strove to gain control of as much of Taranaki land as possible. When looking at those areas of land occupied by Māori and the subsequent confiscations (see map below), the infamous quote by Peter Morehu summed it up when he commented that 'When I look at a map of Taranaki and trace the

confiscation line, it is an arrow piercing the heart of my people' (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 107).

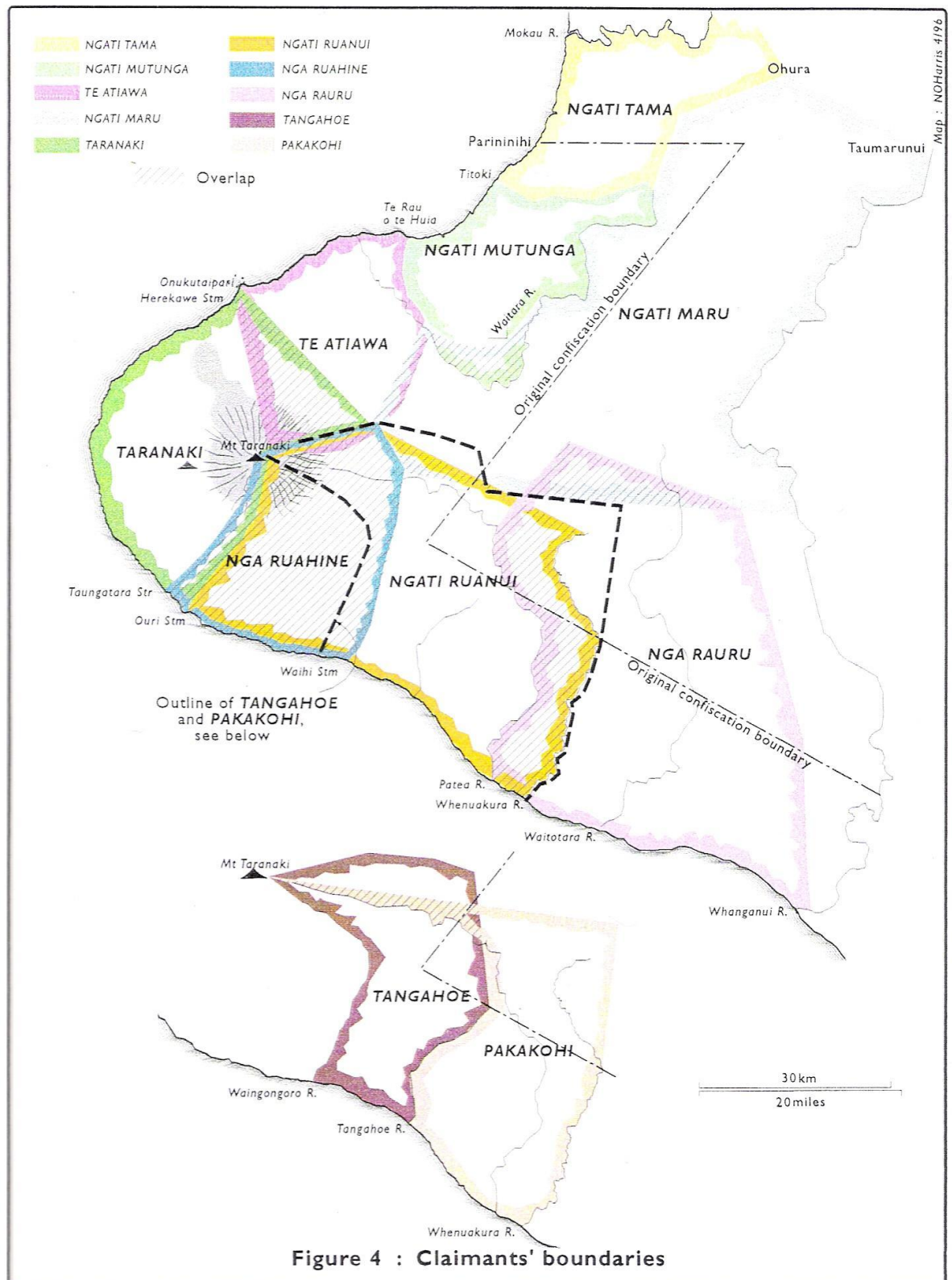


Figure 2. Taranaki Claimant Boundaries. From *The Taranaki Report – Kaupapa Tuatahi*, by The Waitangi Tribunal, 1996.

Although the publication of the Taranaki Report can be seen as a huge step forward for the people of Ngāti Rāhiri and Te Ātiawa in terms of a settlement between them and the Crown, it was far from over. It was not until 2010 that the claims gained significant momentum where formal negotiations commenced. For the people of Taranaki, this meant a shift from the giving of evidence as was undertaken prior to the writing of Kaupapa Tuatahi, and the beginning of the identification of those areas of significance. This in turn has led to the beginning of the compilation of a cultural redress document to present to the Crown and further negotiate the terms of settlement.

As a huge part of the settlement process, the question asked by members of Ngāti Rāhiri was simple: Who are we and how do we fit into this settlement? For a number of hapū and iwi throughout the country, answers to a question like this are easily sourced by referring to kaumātua with the knowledge to whakapapa and various histories of the landscape and its people. In other cases, historical information was able to be drawn upon following its recording by various elders and other people in a number of manuscripts, letters and other documents for easy access by future generations. For Ngāti Rāhiri, this was not the case. The Land Wars saw the loss of more than just their land – it saw the loss of the very essence of what it was to be Māori. Acts of Parliament were passed banning the customs as practised by tohunga to guide their people, Te Reo Māori was pushed aside to allow the English language to come forth. Ancestral areas had names changed to prominent English figure heads whose actions were monumental in bringing about the suppression of Māori, such as Von Tempsky and McLean.

For the Marsh whānau of Motunui, the losses of their culture were shown across the board. Prominent ancestor Hera Takimana Marsh followed in her mother Ema Kakati and brother Hori Takimana's footsteps and participated in the court hearings for Ngāti Rāhiri and its people. As documented by Roskruge, Hera was:

Called to the land court, usually in Taranaki but often in Wellington to do with Ngāti Rāhiri & Te Ātiawa matters or as a witness for people. Being capable of both reading and writing was a rarity for a woman of both her time and of her cultural background (1997, p. 9).

Hera was unique as she was one of few Māori who had the command of both the Māori and English language. Her position as a representative of the people brought forth her strong views for the sustainability of her iwi. Even today, her family and iwi revere her work, in particular an incident within the Court where she had the upper hand over the judge, and as a result, he threatened to confiscate 10 acres of her land if she continued to speak. When looking at a map of Lower Turangi Road (affectionately named in council documents of the 1900s as Marshtown), you can see a number of 10 acre blocks that stand to show that, although she was confronted by a judge, she would not back down from the fight for her people.

Throughout the whole court process, Hera Marsh did everything in her power to bring her Ngāti Rāhiritanga to the fore. Her participation within cases had her presenting whakapapa and explaining how her people, she represented, had ties to the land. She was a staunch supporter of the development of her people, which can be seen through her tireless efforts to attend hearings from Taranaki to Wellington. She carried out her work without complaint or question to represent her people, much to the dismay of the courts who would try and discourage Māori from appearing. Her actions help to show the resilience of the Ngāti Rāhiri people as they did everything in their power to maintain their identity and mana, no matter what the Crown tried to do to repress their culture and heritage.

The aftermath of the Land Wars and the expansion of British rule across Taranaki had a huge impact on tikanga Māori, with history and whakapapa being almost totally lost to the Marsh family. Following the death of Hera Marsh, only a small number of her children learnt and maintained aspects of their Māoritanga, but for the most part, the family became more immersed and knowledgeable in the English culture. Retention of their Māoritanga was further tarnished through the education system, where children were given the strap for communicating in the Māori language. A whole generation of children grew up knowing that their parents could and would speak Māori, but it was done away from the children and only spoken late at night when the children had gone to bed or in some cases, not at all.

What this has led to in the present day is the revival and revitalisation of Māoritanga within the Marsh whānau. A number of Hera's descendants have taken up study of Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga, the language and its customs, whilst some have delved into whakapapa research uncovering genealogies thought to have been lost. The participation of family members on a number of groups pertaining to Ngāti Rāhiri and Te Ātiawa has helped bring about the return of tribal knowledge and information back into the family.

With such examples as those that have been shown through the eyes of the Marsh family, it is easy to assume that from the obscure beginnings of Rāhiri within Taranaki through to the devastating Land Wars and Government confiscations, the people of Ngāti Rāhiri would have diminished to a degree. However, the strong resilience of Ngāti Rāhiri has prevailed.

#### Ngāti Rāhiri o Te Ātiawa today

Today, the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū is managed by two factions: the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū Trustees and the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū Management Committee. The hapū rohe boundaries begin at Te Rau o te Huia on the west side of Onaero, moving south to Whiorua, eastward to the Mangaone Stream, then north to Titirangi then back along the coast to the east to meet back at Te Rau o te Huia (see map below).

As mentioned in earlier discussions, the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū Trustees were established in July 1961. The representatives were registered with the Māori Land Court and they were the only authorised group to represent Ngāti Rāhiri in any matters pertaining to the hapū. At this time, the Ngāti Rāhiri Trustees are comprised of a mixture of hapū kaumātua and other members of the hapū. Their main focus is the management of beneficiary and other Ngāti Rāhiri lands.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1997, it was decided at a hapū meeting to formalise the group into an Incorporated Society (Holswich, 1997, p. 4) and that this new group take control of the hapū claim on behalf of all Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū members. This led to the development and establishment of the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū o Te Ātiawa (Taranaki) Society Incorporated in 1999. It was the belief of the hapū at the time that their main energies were to be focused around the development of their claim

and settlement alongside Te Ātiawa, but there were other projects to come into the Ngāti Rāhiri rohe that would prove to be not only a challenge but an opportunity to strengthen their ties to their land and ensure the protection of tribal taonga.

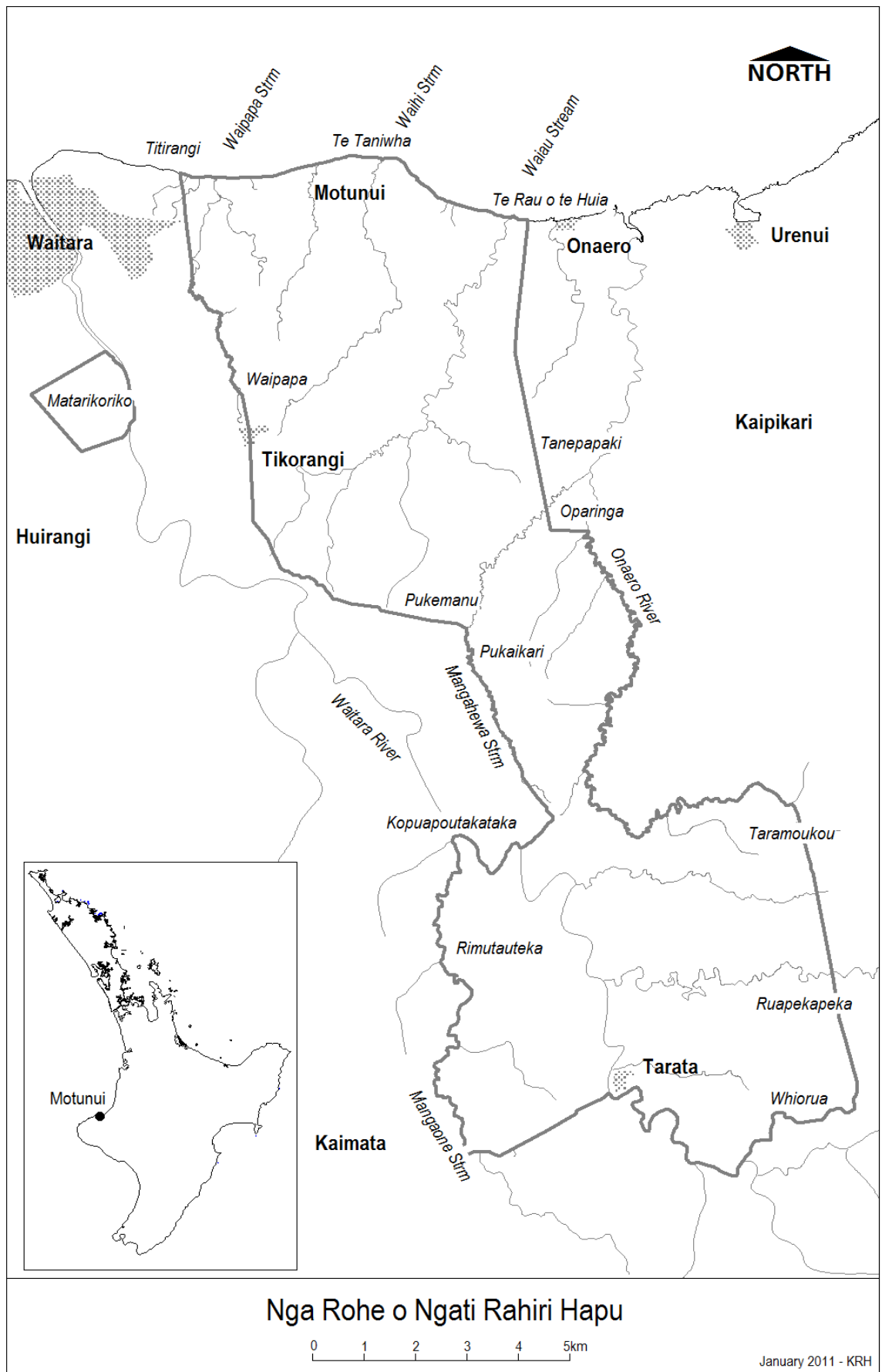


Figure 3. Ngā Rohe o Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. by Keith Holswich, 2011.

### Ngāti Rāhiri and the Pohokura journey

In 2000, a claim was lodged by the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū with the Waitangi Tribunal (WAI 871). Within this claim, the hapū stated that:

All petroleum resources, including natural gas and condensate (regardless of their state or form), minerals, and ngā taonga tuku iho located within the rohe of Ngāti Rāhiri are:

- a) taonga tuku iho of Ngāti Rāhiri and as such are protected by the Treaty of Waitangi for the benefit of Ngāti Rāhiri;
- b) subject to the customary rights of Ngāti Rāhiri in accordance with their customary laws and as a natural incident of their rangatiratanga and mana over the rohe; and
- c) subject to the native title of Ngāti Rāhiri in accordance with the doctrine of aboriginal title.

(Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū as cited in Holswich, 1997, Appendix 1).

This claim came at a time when Fletcher Challenge Energy (FCE) was wanting consent to develop an onshore exploration well on Ngāti Rāhiri land. The company met with the hapū at a number of hapū meetings to explain their interest in the area. Although it was explicitly expressed and explained by the hapū that they had no interest in allowing the development of such activity on their ancestral land, the claim proceeded with the consent of the New Plymouth District Council (NPDC). Tensions around this claim arose as the area of interest was located on an area known to the hapū as one of their ancient pā sites, near an ancient burial ground of the hapū. One solution provided by FCE was to bring a map of the area to a Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū meeting and ask the committee to show a more favourable place for the pipeline to proceed. The marker was given to the head kaumatua and chairman at that time Matua James Bailey, who promptly placed the marker on the back of the map with a smile.

Throughout the whole process it was evident to Ngāti Rāhiri that their viewpoint and tikanga were being largely ignored. To FCE, their interests were focused upon the development of a wellsite for the purpose of monetary gain. This gain was for FCE alone and there was little (and at times no) consideration of the cultural impact and implications for the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. The only form of

compensation was seen in the offers of double glazing for selected residents and the promise of a cash injection into local community projects to provide a good face for a company threatening to destroy Ngāti Rāhiri land. The hapū themselves were offered numerous cash amounts in an attempt to gain access into the site, but money would not be accepted to recompense the people for the desecration of their lands.

The lack of willingness by FCE to understand the concerns of the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū led to a number of court cases by the hapū. The first case was in 1998 when FCE were taken to the Environment Court with regard to the layout of a pipe planned for their proposed wellsite on Epiha Road in Motunui. Within their planning, the company proposed that because the pipeline ran through a known burial area of Ngāti Rāhiri ancestors, it was suggested they drill a number of metres beneath the area as opposed to through it, thus leaving what they considered an undisturbed burial site. The company failed to acknowledge the cultural implications of Ngāti Rāhiri in that if the area was of spiritual or cultural significance, it ran to the centre of the Earth, not just a few metres to provide adequate protection and respect for such an important area to the hapū. The case resulted in judgement being made in favour of the hapū, and FCE being made to deviate their pipe to neutral ground.

By 2003, FCE had sold the rights to their wellsite developments in Motunui to Shell Todd Oil Services (STOS). Following a verbal agreement made by FCE and Ngāti Rāhiri to guarantee that no development would be undertaken in regards to a Production Station on their Pohokura wellsite, STOS then disregarded these terms and moved forward on the expansion from an exploratory well to a full Production Station facility. This led to a second court case being embarked upon by the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. The judgement was once again made in the favour of the hapū. Within this ruling were a number of conditions in regards to such things as sound, light, discharge of water and smoke, accessibility, usage of water from nearby streams and other conditions of the like. The one main factor most sought after by the hapū was their involvement and participation in all earthworks undertaken on the wellsite to ensure the protection of all wāhi tapu and taonga that may be unearthed. This involvement by the hapū led to the third and, thus far, final court case to date involving Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū.

In 2006, Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū took part in a third Environment Court case against the NPDC. The case related to the granting of resource consents by the NPDC to STOS and the development of their on-shore production station. The focus of the hearing centred on the ‘scale of earthworks or excavations which Ngāti Rāhiri are entitled to have monitors’ (Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū o Te Ātiawa (Taranaki) Society Incorporated v. New Plymouth District Council, 2006). In this case the *de minimis non curat lex* principle was argued in that, throughout the undertaking of excavations on the Pohokura wellsite, STOS and NPDC were contesting the inclusion of Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū on all excavations, indicating that at times there were excavations deemed too small and too trivial to need the inclusion of a qualified archaeologist and hapū monitor. In his ruling, Judge D.F.G. Sheppard stated that:

I stated my understanding that whether an activity could be ignored under that principle depends on its significance for the purpose; and I stated my understanding of the purpose of the conditions. Later, I stated my understanding that the purpose is not amenable to limiting the role of tangata whenua, and that exclusion of monitoring of minor trenching and making holes for trees fences or other activities would undermine the purpose, by opening a risk that koiwi, artefacts, and other relics of past occupation that might be uncovered may not be correctly identified and dealt with according to the cultural traditions of tangata whenua (Sheppard as cited in Ngāti Rāhiri o Te Ātiawa (Taranaki) Society Incorporated v. New Plymouth District Council, 2006).

Following this, the main goal was to establish clarity of the principle that could be understood and agreed upon by all parties. This resulted in the Courts declaration in being:

That for the purpose of assisting the exercise of the consents serving the purpose of the Act by enabling the consent-holder, the consent authority and tangata whenua to recognise and provide for the cultural and traditional relationship of tangata whenua with their ancestral land, sites, waahi tapu and taonga on the site and facilitating the exercise by tangata whenua of kaitiakitanga in respect thereof, Ngāti Rāhiri are entitled at all

times as reasonably practicable during construction earthworks and excavation to have a representative monitor all construction earthworks and excavation without qualification or limits by reference to the extent of such earthworks or excavations nor whether in virgin or disturbed soil, except only where there is no risk of uncovering koiwi, artefacts, or other relics of past occupation, and the purpose of the condition stated above is fulfilled (Sheppard as cited in Ngāti Rāhiri o Te Ātiawa (Taranaki) Society Incorporated v. New Plymouth District Council, 2006).

As can be seen from the timeframe in which the three cases took place, it can be noted that it was an extremely lengthy and costly process for the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. Members of the hapū took part in all cases voluntarily and there was no question as to why their participation was undertaken, even at the risk of their jobs, their families and livelihoods. Following the loss in the battle to stop earthworks and developments of the Pohokura wellsite, all members of the hapū worked together to make sure that their ancestral lands be given the upmost respect and care. The conditions that were ruled for the development of the wellsite meant not only the protection and care of the land, it also provided restrictions on such things as sound and light which benefited not only the hapū but the wider community as well, especially those residents in the immediate vicinity of the wellsite area. Following the introduction of these new conditions, even the workers on the site commended the work of the hapū as they made not only a better wellsite for the community to have to live beside, but also improved the working conditions for those workers on site. Changes to their site would not have normally been considered otherwise.

#### The oil and gas industry and Ngāti Rāhiri

Currently, the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū maintains their working relationship with Shell Todd Oil Services and the Pohokura wellsite. The site now has a fully functional on-shore production station to coincide with their off-shore well near the coast of Motunui. There continues to be areas where the hapū are still involved, such as the integrity of the pipeline along the sea floor and ensuring that no damage occurs to the pipe, which would potentially pose a threat to both the shore and aquatic life that is gathered by hapū and wider community members as a food resource.

Alongside the work being undertaken at Pohokura, Ngāti Rāhiri has been working with Greymouth Petroleum in their development of their wellsite, pipeline and production station and also with Todd Energy as they develop their own pipeline and wellsite. Throughout this whole process Ngāti Rāhiri have had a voice to make sure all wāhi tapu are protected and anything found is dealt with in accordance to Ngāti Rāhiri tikanga and kawa. For a lot of these companies, this has been a huge learning curve as they have learnt Ngāti Rāhiri tikanga in an area of work that has largely been devoid of the Māori voice.

#### Ngāti Rāhiri and the consultation process

As a part of the process of being involved with various oil and gas projects throughout the Ngāti Rāhiri rohe, the hapū have had to liaise with such organisations as the New Plymouth District Council (NPDC), Taranaki Regional Council (TRC), Historic Places Trust, Archaeological Solutions and BTW Surveyors. It is through working alongside the NPDC and TRC that Ngāti Rāhiri have been able to monitor that the various oil companies adhere to the granted consents, and that those consents granted are done in consultation with the hapū, and that the interests of the hapū are not disregarded. In terms of the protection of the physical landscape of the sites, the hapū have been able to draw on the Resource Management Act and work with the TRC to maintain the natural integrity of all sites. The consultation process (although seen by companies at times to be a long and unnecessary process) has enabled Ngāti Rāhiri to have a forum in which to voice their concerns and reach amicable solutions for the protection of their taonga.

By working with such people as archaeologist Dr Hans-Dieter Bader, the hapū have had the opportunity to educate members involved in the monitoring of various sites allowing them to learn required skills for archaeological excavations. The discovery of artefacts and areas of significance (such as rua and fire pits) have provided the means for Ngāti Rāhiri to have concrete evidence of occupation to sit in conjunction with their oral histories handed down through the generations. These finds have also helped to educate organisations like the Historic Places Trust, who were previously of the opinion that sites such as the Pohokura wellsite held nothing in terms of artefacts and wāhi tapu, only to be shown a large number of cases to discredit this avenue of thought. Whilst

providing the opportunity for various organisations to learn the histories and protocols of the hapū, the hapū itself has been able to use these interactions and developments as an educational tool for their own people to help portray their history and give their members a hands-on experience of their culture. This hands-on experience can be extended further and shown in the interactions between Ngāti Rāhiri and the New Plymouth museum Puke Ariki.

#### Ngāti Rāhiri and Puke Ariki

The relationship between the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū and Puke Ariki has long been established with the housing of a number of Ngāti Rāhiri taonga within the museum. Some of these artefacts appeared in Kelvin Day's book *Māori Wood Carving of the Taranaki Region*. It is in this publication that Day has provided discussion around the carving styles of the various pieces, the dimensions and how the pieces came into the acquisition of the museum.

The carved panels that feature on the front cover of Day's publication are of particular significance to the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū as discussed below:

The following five epa were found in 1972 in a swamp at Motunui, east of Waitara, while a drain was being dug. They are unique in that together they make up a complete back wall of a pātaka and they were found together, while all other epa from Te Tai Hauāuru ki Taranaki have been isolated finds (Day, 2001, p. 39).

Following the finding of the epa, Day (2001, p. 39) states that the person who found them then sold them on to an English art dealer who then illegally smuggled them out of New Zealand, possibly within a shipment of furniture. From here, the panels were sold to Bolivian millionaire George Ortiz. Knowledge of the illegal smuggling of the panels was discovered by chance when a 1978 Southerby's auction catalogue listed the panels. The auction was broadcast on television and the then director of the museum, Ron Lambert, recognised the panels. Day then recounts that Lambert reported the taking of the panels out of the country and:

The New Zealand Government began legal proceedings to have the epa returned. . . Briefly, the first judgement went to New Zealand, the second to Ortiz, and the subsequent appeal from New Zealand also went to Ortiz. The present location of the epa is unknown (Day, 2001, p. 39).

The loss of these epa is significant to the hapū as it is incidents like these that are to the detriment of a people who are trying to maintain their culture, while at the same time individuals like Ortiz are only interested in monetary gain at an indigenous culture's expense. Needless to say, this battle to return the taonga to New Zealand to its rightful owners is not finished in the eyes of Ngāti Rāhiri.

With these epa aside, an extensive body of work has been undertaken between Ngāti Rāhiri and Puke Ariki. The first took place during excavations on the Pohokura wellsite, where a large number of artefacts were unearthed by archaeologists and hapū monitors. Following protocols to remove the items from the site, the museum was an integral part of the process which saw the artefacts taken into their care and subsequently transported to the University of Auckland to undergo the preservation process. Once this process has been concluded, discussions will be entered into by the hapū and Puke Ariki to ascertain the best methods of storage of the artefacts. Further to this, these artefacts can be included in the catalogue of taonga as documented by Puke Ariki and given to Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. Such documents help to demonstrate the strong working relationship the hapū has with Puke Ariki, and their joint effort to maintain the utmost care and protection of all taonga whilst adhering to Ngāti Rāhiri tikanga.

Currently, there are three main projects being carried out by Puke Ariki in consultation with Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. The first began in 2009 when a tohorā (sperm whale) body washed up on the shore at Motunui and the hapū worked in conjunction with the Department of Conservation (DOC) to remove it from the beach. The body was buried locally and the jawbones and teeth were taken into DOC's care to prevent any chances of theft. Following a process to clean the jawbones and teeth, a ceremony took place on the morning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July 2010 where DOC handed over the two jawbones and its 43 teeth back to a small delegation of Ngāti Rāhiri. After the ceremony, DOC assisted Ngāti Rāhiri in the transportation of the whale from their headquarters to Puke Ariki museum. A

formal welcome was given to both Ngāti Rāhiri and their tohorā (bestowed with the name Turangi Ki Tai by hapū kaumātua Mahou Waru), the hapū entrusted their tupuna into the care of Puke Ariki. This story was reported within the Taranaki Daily News the following day, where the hapū's wishes of the tohorā being used as an educational tool for the people of Taranaki were conveyed. As stated by Matt Rilkoff (2010, p. 3), the last sperm whale to wash ashore was more than 20 years ago, thus making this event a rare occurrence for Taranaki. However, in discussions with kaumātua on the day, it was commented how an event like this was seen in the Māori world as a tohu, or a sign. Kaumātua commented that at the time of the tohorā washing up at Motunui, it was also the same time that prominent Ngāti Rāhiri member Matua Lou McDonald passed away. As such, it was seen fit that such a taonga provide education for the people of Ngāti Rāhiri pertaining to the ocean and those creatures that are part of it to maintain Ngāti Rāhiri kawa and tikanga.

The second project is centred on the restoration of a Ngāti Rāhiri epa that has been under the guardianship of Puke Ariki for a number of years. Details of this epa can be found in the work of Day (2001, p. 46) where he states that it was found on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 1960 by Mr J. Kilpatrick while he was operating an excavator on Mr H.D. Pennington's leased property in Motunui. As a means of preserving the taonga following its excavation, Taranaki Museum undertook a process where the epa was saturated in a solution of linseed oil and kerosene on the front side of the panel, and PVA Glue was applied to its underside. With the passing of a number of years, the solution appeared to be seeping from the carving. The concern of Puke Ariki was such that if nothing was done, the epa was destined to crumble into pieces. This led to a small group of Ngāti Rāhiri members travelling with the epa in early 2010 to Auckland, where it was handed over to Dilys Johns of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Auckland to undergo tests to determine possible ways of protecting the epa from further degradation.

#### Educating Ngāti Rāhiri and the wider community

In 2005, Puke Ariki museum began a five year exhibition series under the title 'Common Ground'. The series was put forth in five main parts:

- Takapou Whāriki – exploring family history and identity
- Taranaki Whenua – looking at issues surrounding land
- Taranaki Culture – celebrating the regions creativity
- Taranaki Fortunes – dealing with matters of regional economy
- Taranaki War – revisiting all previous topics of family, land, culture and economy in the light of devastating effects of Taranaki War  
(Puke Ariki, 2008)

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 2010, Puke Ariki launched the book *Contested Ground: Te Whenua i Tohea – The Taranaki Wars 1860 – 1881* to coincide with the final part of the Common Ground series *Te Ahi Kā Roa, Te Ahi Katoro: Taranaki War 1860 – 2010, Our Legacy – Our Challenge*. The launching of these two events was pertinent as they occurred at the same time Taranaki Māori acknowledged one hundred and fifty years since the first shots were fired in the Taranaki Land Wars. The Contested Ground publication featured both a range of historians and Taranaki Māori voices, as they provided a picture into the landscape of war and its implications for both Māori and non-Māori of Taranaki.

Ngāti Rāhiri's contribution to the exhibition was seen with a small group of representatives meeting outside the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū urupā of Waipapa and kaumātua Mahou Waru and Whaene Mina Timutimu discussing the significance of the Waipapa Stream below to the people of Ngāti Rāhiri. As articulated by the two kaumātua, the stream held great significance, although it was small in size, it was used in such rites as the baptism of children and the removal of tapu from newly made harakeke kete before collecting seafood from the shore. With the Pohokura wellsite being visible from the area of filming, the kaumātua were able to express the concerns the site raised and recount how they were part of the fight to maintain the integrity and mana of their stream to allow it to be a resource for future generations.

Ngāti Rāhiri has also featured on a number of committees as they strive to maintain a voice in the local community. Such can be seen with the hapū representatives participating on the Wāhi Tapu Reference Group, Heritage Reference Group and the Iwi Liaison Sub-Committee under the mantle of the New Plymouth District Council. Through representation on these groups, Ngāti

Rāhiri are able to contribute their views pertaining to their areas of significance and interest and have a voice within the Council system.

Within Ngāti Rāhiri themselves, there are various forums outside of their monthly hapū meetings where members are able to come together and share histories, songs, stories and other kōrero. This can be seen through such avenues as their bi-annual Hapū Wānanga and the Ngāti Rāhiri Hui Wāhine (held in February 2009), where it provides a forum for Ngāti Rāhiri to come together to be Ngāti Rāhiri. These initiatives have proved to be extremely successful with hapū participation and numbers growing every year.

Currently, the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū is largely involved in the Cultural Redress process with Te Ātiawa and their up and coming settlement with the Crown. This process is poignant, as it brings about a time for the people of Ngāti Rāhiri to look back on its origins, its people, its history and trace through the ages what their tūpuna maintained and practised to ensure the survival of its people over the years and to provide a strong sustainable future for up and coming generations. As discussed by Te Ātiawa kuia Whaea Whero Bailey on Waka Huia (2010), a number of kaumātua that held the knowledge of the people of Te Ātiawa have passed away, and those histories held by them have been lost to future generations. It is through such things as the cultural redress process that Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū kaumātua are coming together to share their knowledge and what they deem important to their hapū and their people. It is acknowledged that what is deemed as 'important' now will not necessarily be articulated the same in future, much like what is practised today is not identical to days gone by. However, the fundamental principles are the same, the songs are still sung and histories are spoken about and conveyed at every available opportunity. For a culture that was deemed a dying race, Māori are very much alive and kicking as they bring about an amalgamation of tikanga of old and the world as we know it today. It is anticipated that through the participation of hapū members, Ngāti Rāhiri is able to build an extensive body of knowledge that moves beyond the cultural redress process and forward into the development of a Ngāti Rāhiri archive, inclusive of artefacts and other historical information that is accessible for future generations.

Upoko Tuarima: Kōrero whakatepe me ngā momo ara rangahau i mua / Chapter Five: Conclusions and future research avenues

Overview of Research

The overall aim of this research was to identify how the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū of Taranaki were able to affirm their rangatiratanga status within their ancestral lands, whilst at the same time identify themselves by such a prominent ancestor known and considered to be one of the leading chiefs of the Ngā Puhi region, and also throughout the nation of Aotearoa. In identifying who this individual Rāhiri was and his unique connections to Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki, it is hoped that the information gathered within this research will provide clarity for the descendants of Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki and also the wider Māori community. With respect to the research focus and initial questions posed at the beginning of this thesis, we are able determine how these issues have been addressed based on the research findings presented.

In Upoko Tuatahi, the questions posed for research aimed specifically at understanding who the ancestor Rāhiri was and how he is perceived through Ngā Puhi and Taranaki contexts. It is through this identification process that, both, the people of Ngā Puhi and the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū ki Taranaki are able affirm their rangatiratanga status from two different areas of Aotearoa. A critical literature review of selected texts has provided a clear picture as to who Rāhiri was within a Ngā Puhi context, as is addressed within Upoko Tuarua. By tracing the foundational kōrero of the Ngā Puhi people from their ancestral home of Hawaiki to Aotearoa, we have been able to find that through his strong ancestral links, by the time Rāhiri was born, he was of a high ranking lineage of navigators. Rāhiri himself, blessed with these explorer traits descending from his koroheke Nukutawhiti. In time, these qualities were imparted to his children Uenuku and Kaharau, as they settled in the new land of Aotearoa and flourished to become one of the most well known tribes in the country. Through their sheer numbers and a yearning to explore and expand to new areas outside of their homeland, these pioneers that first settled within Aotearoa grew to such a number that they were found to be not only a formidable adversary on the battlefield, but their interactions with the other tribes throughout the country led to strong whakapapa ties across the land. A large number of these occurrences have been attributed to

Rāhiri, on account of his numerous unions to many wives. His journey across the Ngā Puhī region strengthened and established new political and economic ties. By the time the Ngā Puhī narratives shifted to the period where Rāhiri had all but departed, he was replaced with his children and grandchildren, as they too came to the fore to further strengthen a prosperous and emergent people, known throughout Aotearoa in the present day.

Although Rāhiri had ceased to feature within the Ngā Puhī discourse, it is noted that he later began to emerge within Taranaki narratives, as he migrated from his homeland in the Far North to finally settle within the small community of Motunui on the North Taranaki coastline. It was here that the Ngāti Rāhiri people occupied their ancestral home of Te Taniwha. Even though at first it seemed peculiar for a people to welcome an outsider into their tribal lands, it can be seen that through the earlier settlement of the Ngāti Awa into the region and the associated whakapapa from Te Ātiawa ancestor Awanuiārangi, the settlement of Rāhiri into Taranaki saw the re-establishing of the link between the people of Ngā Puhī and Taranaki. While it can be considered that the tribes of the Ngā Puhī and Taranaki areas are distinctively different, the accounts of Te Ātiawa koroheke Taniwharau Waru and leading Ngā Puhī kaumātua Erima Henare illustrate the history held by both Ngāti Rāhiri of Taranaki and the Ngā Puhī people about their common ancestor Rāhiri, is noticeably the same.

After establishing who the eponymous ancestor Rāhiri was and his place within Taranaki history, the question was then raised as to how this information translated into the discourse between Māori maintaining their sense of identity, whilst at the same time having to come to terms with the settlement and subsequent war with the influx of English settlers and the New Zealand Government. It was through the courtroom and the battlefield that Ngāti Rāhiri were deprived control of their ancestral land, their possessions, and their identity as they were oppressed and their culture suppressed. It is not until the present day that there has been a shift in control of Ngāti Rāhiri's assets and through the Waitangi Tribunal process, the people of Taranaki have finally had light shed on the injustices of the past as they strive to forge ahead unified. Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū is able to give a voice to their histories, their ancestors and their taonga. It is from this voice that they are able to ensure the protection of all of their assets, from the

protection of their physical environment to the growth and development of intangible taonga such as language and tribal histories.

### Limitations of research

When looking at the limitations of this research, there are a number of avenues that were not included due to constraints within the research process. This included the omission of certain interviews with current Ngāti Rāhiri kaumātua and also further discussion with kaikōrero outside of Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki. It was the wish that this research looked specifically at information that had been documented across a number of avenues, and by bringing it together under one forum, that these many facets could provide a clearer more cohesive picture to the fragmented questions of the past.

Another limitation to this research can be found with the accessibility to the large volume of information held within such organisations as the Alexander Turnbull Library and National Archives of New Zealand. A wealth of information that is held there is relatively unknown to the people of the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū. It was from chance meetings and findings undertaken by this researcher, during brief visits to Wellington, that a large quantity of information housed in these buildings was revealed. It is hoped that in future this information will be made more accessible to the Ngāti Rāhiri people within Taranaki, so as to avoid the associated burdens of time and money one must incur when making the journey to Wellington for research purposes. It is within these various manuscripts and writings that information that was once deemed to be lost with the passing of knowledgeable elders, has now resurfaced to provide clarity to the many questions posed at various hui and meetings in the present day.

### Research contribution

Outlining what information is already available, and indicating possible avenues into future areas of research, it is hoped that this thesis provides a starting point for future investigations concerning the Ngāti Rāhiri people of Taranaki. Through various conversations with both members of the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū and members of the wider community, there are a large number of research avenues that can be considered in future. These include (and are certainly not restricted to):

- Other comparisons between the Ngāti Rāhiri of Taranaki and the Ngā Puhī through such areas as the naming of ancestral places, language patterns, kupu Māori, cultural practises such as gardening, carving, weaving, songs and tribal compositions.
- Comparisons between both the Ngāti Rāhiri of Taranaki and other areas of settlement by Rāhiri within Aotearoa (such as Te Tai Rāwhiti).
- Whakapapa research into the descendants of Rāhiri and Rākei. Aspects of the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū lineage and what connections there are between the present day members.
- Investigation into the archaeology of the Ngāti Rāhiri ki Taranaki historical sites to help establish a picture as to the settlement and settlement practises of the hapū.

Although a number of questions and research opportunities remain, through the telling of this story, the aim has been to provide some keys to open the past with the primary focus on researching the origins of the Ngāti Rāhiri hapū of Taranaki. This has also allowed the opportunity to educate the current and future descendants of the Ngāti Rāhiri Hapū to understand the implications of what it means to be a member of this tribe, and also to acknowledge those various connections with not only the people of the Ngā Puhī region but extended whanaunga throughout Aotearoa. Together, the descendants of Rāhiri can assert with confidence – ko wai rātou?

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## Glossary

Epa	<i>carved panel</i>
Haehae	<i>to lacerate the limbs and body with either flakes of obsidian or mussel shell at tangi, in particular, by the wife and close female relatives of the deceased</i>
Hapū	<i>subtribe, section of a large kinship group</i>
Harakeke Kete	<i>flax basket, kit</i>
Hui	<i>gathering</i>
Iwi	<i>extended kinship group, tribe</i>
Kaimoana	<i>seafood, shellfish</i>
Kaitiakitanga	<i>guardianship</i>
Kaumātua	<i>elder</i>
Kawa	<i>protocol</i>
Koiwi	<i>human remains</i>
Kōrero	<i>discussion</i>
Kōrero whakahekeheke	<i>recount</i>
Koroheke	<i>male elder</i>
Kuia	<i>female elder</i>
Mana	<i>prestige, authority, status, control, influence</i>
Māoritanga	<i>Māori culture, practises and beliefs</i>
Marae	<i>courtyard, the open area in front of the wharenuī, a complex of buildings around the marae</i>
Mōteatea	<i>lament, traditional chant</i>
Ngāti Rāhiritanga	<i>what it means to be Ngāti Rāhiri</i>
Pā	<i>fortified village</i>
Para tapu	<i>sacred utensils</i>
Pātere	<i>song of derision in response to slander</i>
Pepeha	<i>tribal saying, proverb</i>
Pūmanawa	<i>skills, talents</i>
Pūrākau	<i>ancient legend</i>
Rangatira	<i>chieftain</i>
Rangatiratanga	<i>sovereignty, chieftainship</i>
Rua	<i>hole, storage pit for provisions</i>
Tangata whenua	<i>indigenous people of the land</i>

Tangi	<i>cry, mourn, lament, funeral</i>
Taonga	<i>prized possessions, property</i>
Taonga tuku iho	<i>heritage, inheritance</i>
Tapu	<i>be sacred, prohibited, restricted</i>
Tātai	<i>line of ancestry, genealogy</i>
Te Reo Māori	<i>the Māori language</i>
Tikanga	<i>procedure, custom, lore</i>
Tohunga	<i>skilled person, expert, priest</i>
Tūpuna	<i>ancestors, grandparents</i>
Tūrangawaewae	<i>place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa</i>
Tūturu	<i>be fixed, permanent, true, actual</i>
Wāhi tapu	<i>area of cultural or spiritual significance</i>
Waka	<i>canoe</i>
Whānau	<i>extended family, family group</i>
Whakapapa	<i>genealogy, lineage, descent</i>
Whakataukī	<i>proverb, saying, aphorism</i>
Wharekai	<i>dining hall</i>
Wharenui	<i>meeting house</i>
Whatu kura	<i>celestial guardian, noble celestial being (male)</i>
Waiata	<i>song, chant</i>