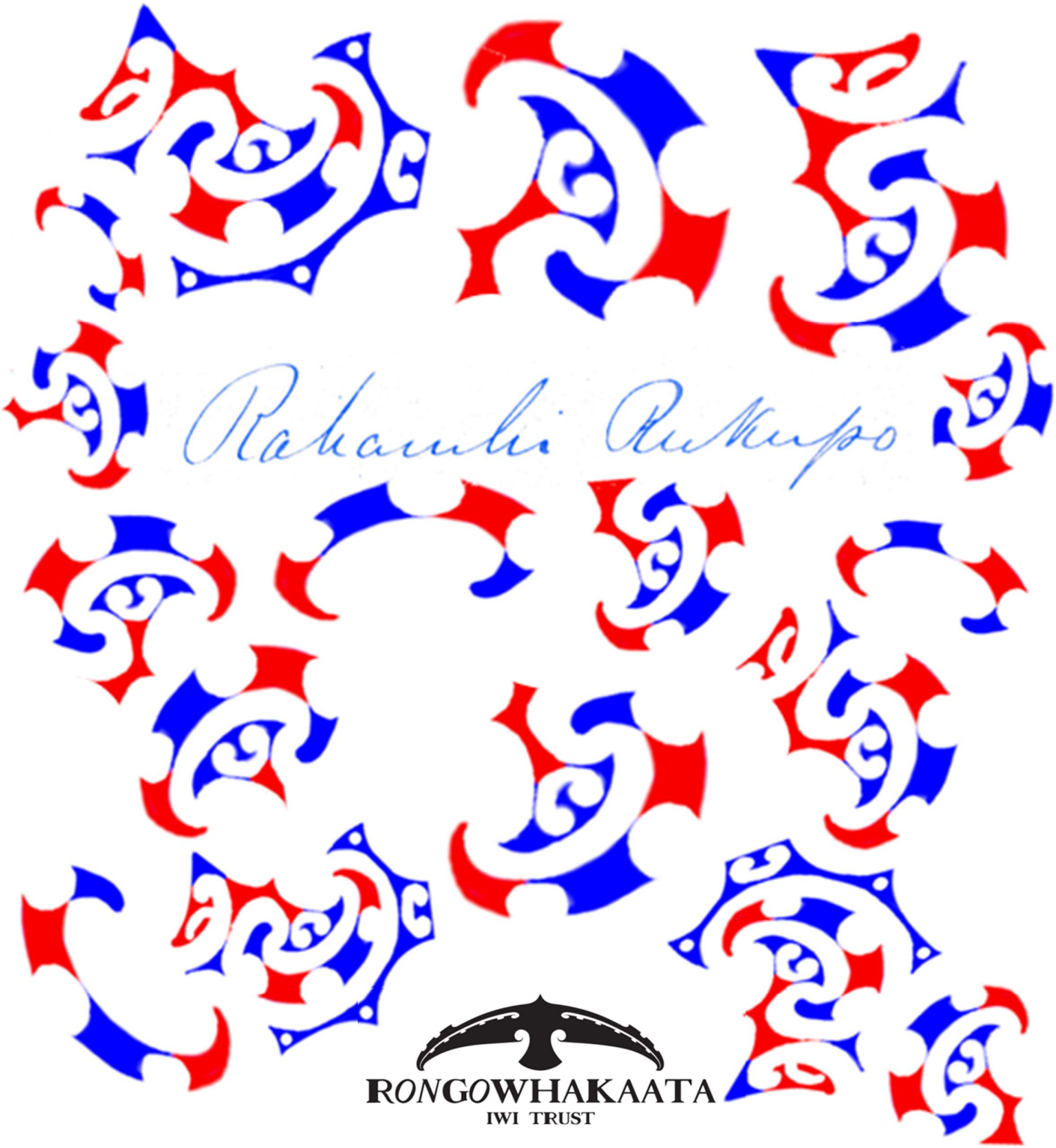
Tapuwae o Rukupō: Footsteps of a Cultural Guardian and Leader in a Time of Change.

Tanith Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi.



To be referenced as:

Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi, T., 2024. Tapuwae o Rukupō: Footsteps of a Cultural Guardian and Leader in a Time of Change. Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust.

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Te Kaituhi:

Ka rere Te Ārai te Uru, Ka rere Waipaoa ki Kōpututea ki Te Moana nui a Kiwa ko te ara tēnā o ngā waka i haere ai ki Nukunukuroa. Ko Tākitimu, Ko Nukutere, Ko Horouta, Ko Kurahaupō ngā waka tipua whakaihiihi, whakawehiwehi ka tau ki raro ngā ngaru whatiwhati, ka kumea atu ki te pō tiwhatiwha.

Ko Arowhana, Ko Maungahaumi, Ko Pōpōia, Ko Titirangi, Ko Manawarū, Ko Puketapu, Ko Ngā pari mā mai, koirā ko Te Kurī o Whata, ngā Taupae rawa o Tūranganui a Rua te matua, o Tūranga nui a Maru, o Tūranganui a Kiwa. Kua mauria mai ngā iwi katoa ki rō te kupenga o Te wairua pane o te ora.

Tanith Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi is a PhD candidate at Victoria University of Wellington (Te Herenga Waka) and holds a First-class Bachelor of Arts with honours in Maori studies, Bachelor of Arts with a double major in Political Science and Public Policy. Tanith has held a number of governance positions including Chair of the Pakowhai no2 Incorporation, and youngest ever trustee of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri Tutu Poroporo trust. Tanith has worked in central government with the Climate Change Commission and has undertaken a number of independent historical research projects with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust (CFRT), Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust (RIT), and Ngāti Ruapani Mai Waikaremoana (NRMW) and held an internship at the Waitangi Tribunal and contributed research to support the WAI1750 claim. Tanith's BA (Honours) project focused on researching the state-sanctioned executions at Ngātapa in 1869.

Prior to this Tanith held an internship with the Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor, Te Paepae o Te Rātū: He whāinga takahanga waewae nō tuawhakarere. The celebrated findings established the provenance of Rongowhakaata taonga traded with Cook in 1769, reconciling the dates of the collision with the maramataka. In addition to a professional academic background, Tanith has a strong passion for indigenous Māori artistic expressions, with a focus on waihanga toki (traditional stone tool making), ngā toi kōwhaiwhai (the arts of painting), and ngā toi whakairo (the arts of carving), Tanith primarily specialises in asymmetrical and disrupted symmetrical patterns from the Tūranga art traditions of Rongowhakaata. This dedication extends to the distinct iwi styles of Tūranga, Te Tairāwhiti, and Wairoa. In 2011, Tanith's journey into the world of traditional carving began under the guidance of Kiwa Mihaka and Simon Lardelli on 'Te whare o Tangaroa'. Before turning 17, Tanith had been an ardent pro bono volunteer for the preservation and restoration of Te Muriwai Marae (2012–2014). Since then, Tanith has expanded to support various restoration projects for nineteenth and twentieth-century taonga, including koruru and raparapa, minor works on the maihi of Te Poho o Rawiri in 2019, and the whare karakia, Eriopeta, at Rongopai Marae in 2024.

"Although raised by my grandparents, this journey began in 2005 when I saw Te Hiwirori Maynard's appearance on a program covering the 1968 Ringatū rau tau. He reflected on his regret for not listening more to the elders and being too eager to rush out and play with the other children — at that moment I decided to listen. Much later, when I was 14, I commenced research into the traditions I had learned and from that time to this I have never stopped."

He Kupu Arataki:

I te pākarukaru o te ao, ka ruku au i ngā ngaru whatiwhati o te pouriuri, o te potangotango, o te pō kerekere o te pō te kitea. Ka kitea ake nei ahau te tūāhu o te whare wānanga o Hine nui te pō. Kei reira ra ka maringi noa ngā roimata māturuturu o aku tīpuna hei tohi i au, hei whakapuretia i au. Nā rātou anake e ārahi au ki te tika, ki te pono, me mauria mai ō rātou hua ki te whei ao ki te ao Mārama.

Ruku mai i te ao, ruku mai i te ao.

Tihei Mauri ora.

In the wreckage of the world, I dive into the crashing waves of the darkest night, of the intensely dark night, the blackest night, into the darkness where nothing can be seen. I see the altar of the house of learning of the goddess of death. There the dripping tears of my ancestors flow freely, consecrating and purifying me. They alone guide me to righteousness and truth, and It is I that carry their fruits (memories) and return to break forth, unfolding into the world of light.

Delve into the light, delve into the light.

From my first breath, the essence of Io became my lifelong provision.

This biography of Raharuhi Rukupō was written in one week within the sacred walls of Te Hau ki Tūranga. It aims to do him justice and bring his memory back to life through his own words, wisdom, and elevating the recollections of our old people — those who came before us.

Until now, much of his story has been told through biased translations and perspectives derived largely from colonial sources. In this light, I have returned to the original sources and gathered together the words of Rukupō and bound them into a cohesive narrative to form this tukutuku kōrero. This biography seeks to answer the questions: Who was he? What qualities set him apart as a leader, and how did his actions and decisions shape the lives of those around him? As we delve into his legacy, it becomes clear who Rukupō truly was from his resistance to the dispossession of Tūranga lands and contribution to the cultural, spiritual and physical well-being of Rongowhakaata, and Tūranga people, both Pākehā and Māori.

Although we have been separated from his guidance for 151 years, the legacy of Raharuhi Rukupō endures through our survival, through the stories, and the words and works he left behind. His artistic leadership and works have inspired generations of artists. Even if his words have been forgotten, his leadership, and unwavering commitment to his people continue to resonate through our practices. I have transcribed the original Te Reo as faithfully as possible, adding punctuation for clarity, and have provided more precise translations to bring life back to the words of Rukupō. This biography serves not only as a tribute to his life but as a reminder of the path he walked —one that we must honour and uphold to ensure that his legacy remains a guiding light for future generations.

Ka tikina atu enei kupu whakaari ka uhia ki runga i a koutou i tēnei wā.

These words of revelation have been retrieved and are now bestowed upon you.

Pai Mārire

Tanith Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi

Te hau o te tini, te hau o te mano, te hau mai Tūranga.

"Raharuhi Rukupō – High chief – Carver – Opponent of the Government. No confiscation of lands. Defied Major Ropata Wahawaha for taking up arms and supporting the government – refused consultation with either but was induced by Mokena Kohere to submit to the demands of the Government."

Hetekia Te Kani Te Ua (1962a:02).

Raharuhi Rukupō was a tohunga whakairo rākau and ariki ihorei of Ngāti Kaipoho.[1] By birth he belonged to Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Te Aitanga a Māhaki. Rukupō was the second child of Hinehou[2] and Pītau Pohepohe. He is believed to have been born around 1800 CE (Nepe, 2023: 30; Halbert, 1999:287). He married a wahine named Marama (PBCMB: 08 – 09)[3]. There is no known photograph or portrait of Rukupō, nor description of his appearance. (Kernot, 1984:154).[4] His elder brother, Tamati Waaka Mangere,[5] served as the ariki of Ngāti Kaipoho and signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi in May 1840.

Upon Tamati Waaka Mangere's passing, Rukupō succeeded him, eventually commissioning the construction of Te Hau ki Tūranga at Ōrakaiapu in October 1842[6]. Including Rukupō this whare was carved and constructed by a team of the foremost master carvers of that era, the true all-stars of mahi whakairo rākau.[7] When completed, Rukupō dedicated the whare as a memorial to his older brother (PBH, 1936: 04; Mackay, 1982: 106; Ria,1987:76; Kernot, 1984, 151; Barrow, 1974: 05; Phillipps, 1954:255; Brown, 1996: 10; Nepe, 2023: 31).[8] During construction, Rukupō

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[1] Paratene Ngata described him as "The Paramount Chief of the Rongowhakaata Tribe" (Halbert, 1922:03).
[2] Also given as Hinekoua or Hinekawa in other places.
[3] During the 1869 Poverty Bay Commission case for Whenuakura, Otene Pitau mentioned that she had passed away, stating, "She is now dead." His exact words were likely "Kua mate ia." Her exact date of death remains unknown (PBCMB:09). Some refer to her as Miriama. I have instead used the name provided by Otene Pitau.
[4] Although it is said that the lower figure by the door of Te Hau Ki Tūranga is a self-portrait of Rukupō (Biggs, 1868:01; Dominion, 7 December 1935:15; Kernot, 1984:155). It is also believed to be a depiction of Tamati Waka Māngere to whom the whare was dedicated.
[5] Also known as Te Waka Mangere or Tamati Waaka Mangere, "Mangere" is misspelled as "Tuangaere" in some sources. This error arose because of Reginald Biggs (1868:01) sloppy handwriting. The letter 'M' looks almost like a 'TU.' Tamati Waaka Mangere was laid to rest at Te Kaupapa next to Ngāti Maru Te Tiriti signatory Te Kainga Kiore (GMB28:102). Ngāi Tāmanuhiri had formerly claimed that Te Kainga Kiore signed on their behalf. This situation arose from a case of mistaken identity and speculation regarding the Ngāi Te Rii and Ngāti Rangitauwhiwhia ancestor, Te Kioreoterangi, also referred to as Te Kiore. It has been suggested that he was also known as Te Kainga Kiore; however, there are no genealogical records from the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri adepts of the nineteenth or early twentieth century that support this.
[6] At the taonga tuku iho lectures held at Te Papa Tongarewa, Ngāti Porou tohunga whakairo rākau, Pakariki Harrison (1991: 2:07 – 3:20) believed that "… 'Hau' means a 'vital essence' or 'ethos'. The word 'hau' also means to carry messages afar – to far distant places. The word 'hau' means a proclamation – to proclaim. Indeed, the house Te Hau ki Tūranga was carved by Rukupō as a proclamation of his identity as a Māori, principally as a supreme artist of his craft – a supreme practitioner who knew not only the aspects of wielding the adze and manipulating the chisel but who also knew of its kōrero."
[7]Mahumahu, Hopa, Hakaraia Ngapatari, Rewiti Tauri Tuhura, Hāmiora Te Uarua, Matenga Tamaioria, Poparae Kemaka, Himiona Te Papaapiti, Hōne Tiatia, Matenga Te Hore, Natanahira Toromata, Hirawanu Tukuamiomio, Weretā Whakahira, Paora Rakaiora, Enoka Te Pakaru, Heta Meha, Pērā Tawhiti and Rawiri Hōkeke. These were only the names of those recorded by Biggs (1868:01), there were likely others who provided food and support for the carvers and others who helped to assist and construct the house. Te Kani Te Ua stated that carving is the '…prerogative of the aristocracy of chiefs of noble rank.' (Te Ua n.db:11). All of the builders named were rangatira.
[8] Karl Johnston has suggested that Mangere died in combat. There is no evidence to support this statement (Ferguson, 2018). Brown (1996) reiterates Kernot (1984) believed that it was only after Waka Mangere's death that the house became considered as a memorial.

suffered a severe accident when his adze slipped, cutting his foot and nearly severing his toe. Out of fear of tetanus, he sought medical aid and treatment from the missionary James Stack (Barrow, 1974:07; Stack,1935:142).[9] Later the house was said to have been "...dismantled, covered with rushes, and allowed to stand in disuse" (Fowler, 1974:08). However, by the 1860s, Te Hau ki Tūranga was again in use as a whare rūnanga (Hawke's Bay Herald, 4 November 1865: 3).[10]

Te Whānau a Kai, Te Aitanga a Māhaki, and Rongowhakaata, tohunga and Rangatira. Te Kani Te Ua, described Rukupō as "a terror for discipline"[11] (Te Ua, n.da: 09). Radio broadcaster Leo Fowler noted that he was "a chief of the old school... saturated in the traditions and ancient knowledge of his people. He was born in a generation which still recalled from personal association with the visit of Captain Cook" and "...was one of the chief custodians of its oral traditions and, in later times, one of its main protagonists in the resistance to the spread of Pākehā occupation and Pākehā influence" (Fowler, 1974: 06).

Raharuhi Rukupō was a kaitiaki of cultural treasures and a staunch protector of our rangatiratanga. In 1841, when the burial ground and resting place of the great ancestor Rongowhakaata at Pewhairangi pā was devastated by a severe flood, Rukupō and his younger brothers worked to divert the raging torrent to protect the site. When the flood broke through, the new river mouth was named Te Awa hou where it continues to flow to this day (Halbert, 1999:77; Fowler, 1974: 12; Smith, 1988:137). Mohi Turei Tangaroapeau described that:

"He rangatira kaha anō hoki ia ki te whāngai i ngā ope, ki te karanga i ngā huihuinga hei whakatupu i ngā mahi pai." (TWM, 1873: 179)	"He was a chief very generous and hospitable to travelling parties of strangers and always ready to convene meetings for the furtherance of any good object." (TWM, 1873: 179)

He was a "renowned political figure" (Hall, n.d.: 01). As a rangatira and ariki, Rukupō was a skilled diplomat and mediator who demonstrated resilience, adaptability, visionary leadership, and an unwavering dedication to the welfare of his community, along with a deep commitment to the preservation of culture and traditional practices and at all times exhibited the highest virtues of hospitality expected of a rangatira. According to Wi Pere, the role of a rangatira was ultimately to ensure the welfare of their people, resolve small disputes, and ensure peace. They "...would not fight unless on some great matter..." (GMB10: 172). As a result "...the people would be generally living in peace..." with occasional small disputes and small family quarrels (GMB10: 173).

Rukupō had intervened in a number of disputes to "prevent bloodshed" (PBCMB: 260). In one such incident — a dispute arose between Paratene Te Mate and Kahutia[12] concerning land at

[9] James West Stack, his father's namesake, recalled that his father "… bathed it carefully before plastering it up and securing it with bandages and splints. Many subsequent visits were paid to the patient, and many anxious days passed before all danger was at an end. During one of the visits, when I accompanied my father, we were taken into Raharuhi's carved house. It was his masterpiece… The chief's wife was sitting on the floor, not far from the doorway, making a Māori mat for herself. I watched her as she deftly knotted with a clicking noise the cross threads. The corners of the mat she was making were fastened to pegs driven into the clay floor. The down threads were separated with a curved instrument of whalebone ivory, like a huia's beak in size and shape. The lady was dressed in a new parawai mat, fastened at the neck. In one ear she wore a bunch of white heron} feathers, and in the other a greenstone pendant…" (Stack, 1935:142 – 144). It should be noted that Stack was born in 1835, and would have been young child at the time. It is hard to determine the identity of the wahine said to be "The chief's wife". Although Rukupō was a rangatira, it cannot automatically be assumed to be Marama, wahine of Rukupō as she is not explicitly referred to as his wife. It may be another.

[10] It was referred to as Rukupō's "Whare Whakairo" (Hawke's Bay Herald). Rawiri Karaha stated later that it was Te Hau Ki Tūranga (Poverty Bay Herald, 1913:02).

[11] Particularly within the Christian faith (Te Ua, n.da: 09).

[12] Father of Riperata Kahutia.

Matawhero. Riperata Kahutia said that the cause was because: “Paratene dug a hole for a mark at Te Tata, and cut a line thence to Te Karamu — Kahutia then filled up the hole” (PBCMB: 253). The hole was an umu rāhui. Rukupō stated during the Poverty Bay Commission hearing that:

> “... Each party collected several Hapu's as their support — Kahutia sat down on the boundary, and we inside the fence — There was talk of fighting; but that was stopped by Rawiri [Hōkeke] and myself...” (PBCMB:259 – 260).

Paora Matuakore explained that word had reached Rawiri Hōkeke at Pukerauaruhe that a fight was imminent. Rawiri in response:

> “...sent to collect guns, and all the Ngāti Kaipoho came with him to the meeting — When he arrived; Paratene had started with 40 of Aitanga a Māhaki and Ngāti Kaipoho, and 60 remained to look after Kahutia — The line was cut in daylight; it was not in the night; the sun was up — When we had finished cutting the line, we returned to Taumata Komiti — On our return, we found Kahutia's people drawn up right across the road — We were in a hollow near Major Biggs house...”[13]

In this moment of tension, the two parties met. “About 40 men came right through Kahutia's part...” and defected to join Paratene’s side. “...Paratene and Kahutia then ranged themselves with their parties in opposite lines...” approximately 8 metres[14] apart and prepared for combat:

> “...An old man; Nohi Hika got up, and cut down a bush — We were then eager to fight; but Raharuhi and Rawiri rose and prevented us — They bade us not fire at each other, and the quarrel ended — Kahutia and his party remained and had some food, and returned home...” (PBCMB: 261 – 262).

Mohi Turei Tangaroapeau described that Rukupō was always:

“He tangata whakaaro nui, ki ngā painga mō te iwi. Ko ētahi tēnei o ana mahi pai. E taea ana e ia ngā kete kūmara e 200 hei whakatō mō te māra I te tau, e taea ana hoki e ia ngā peeke witi[15] e 70 hei rui mō te paamu I te tau” (TWM, 1873: 179).	A person that was greatly considerate of the well-being of his people. These are some examples of his good works: He could plant 200 baskets of kumara for the garden in a year, and 70 bags of wheat for the farm in a year.[16]

According to foremost Ngāti Kaipoho oral historian, and researcher Jody Wyllie, Raharuhi Rukupō was an apprentice of the great rangatira and renowned carver, Te Waka Perohuka at the whare wananga Hāmokorau (Melbourne, 2009: 68).[17] As an artist Rukupō became a recognised ‘genius’

[13] This describes their approximate location as Biggs house did not exist at this time. Before 1865 Reginald Biggs managed 'Mingaroa' station in the Rangitikei district (Mackay, 1982).
[14] Paora Matuakore said: “about the breadth of this town apart (about 25 ft)” (PBCMB:262).
[15] According to Hapi Kiniha – Te Waaka Perohuka is said to have introduced wheat to Tūranga in January 1840 (Harris, 1897:09; Mackay, 1982:319). However, the spelling in the source material appears as “Pera Kouka”, a different rangatira – credited as the builder of the first Manutūkē Church – Te Kotahitanga (Harris, 1897:09; Poverty Bay Herald, 1913:02).
[16] My translation. The original text stated: “He was a man always anxious to promote the welfare of his people and encourage industry, He used to plant not, less than 200 baskets of kumaras each year, and 70 bags of wheat on his farm…” (TWM, 1873: 179)
[17] Rongowhakaata master carver Tiopira Rauna Jnr, citing Matene Kaipau Pohatu in a public lecture, noted that Rukupō was just eight years old when he was taken to Te Reinga and received the tohi rite from Te Kaitoera, Koauau and Te Waaka Perohuka (Rauna, 2020).

and renowned as one of the greatest tohunga whakairo of all time, quickly mastering the new tools introduced by the traders (Mead, 2007: 191; Kernot, 1984, 151 – 152). Rukupō's gifted mind and guided hands then lifted the arts of carving '… to a new level of perfection.' (Mead, 2007: 75). He is also credited with transforming the intricate Tūranga style from its traditional stone-tooled forms, into the powerful steel-tooled carving style that is still practised over one hundred and eighty years later (Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi, 2022: 51).[18] He is credited also as working on Te Toki a Tāpiri (Ria, 1987:76, 82; Ellis & Robertson, 2016:28), The first Manutūkē Church (Ria, 1987:84), and is believed to have worked on some of the panels incorporated into the wharenui, Te Mana o Tūranga located at Whakatō Marae (Fowler, 1974:10).[19]

Around the same period as the construction of Te Hau ki Tūranga, in approximately 1842, Te Toki a Tāpiri was constructed at Te Whakakī-Nui-A-Rua by Ngāi Tahu-Matawhaiti rangatira Te Waaka Tarakau, with chief builders Tamati Parangi and Paratene Te Pohoi adding the rauawa (top strakes)[20]. The waka was built from three logs. One for the riu (hull) and two logs for the rauawa—reportedly brought to Turamoe by a thousand people. [21] Measuring 25 metres in length, the waka was presented unadorned to Te Waaka Perohuka as payment for services in battle, in exchange for the legendary cloak, Karamaene. When the waka was brought to Tūranga, the carving work was completed at Te Angapārera on the left bank of the old Waipaoa River, near Ōrākaiapu pā. The principal tohunga who completed the decoration were Te Waaka Perohuka, Tīmoti Rangitotohikura, Wiremu Te Keteiwi, Patoromu Pakapaka, Natanahira Toromata[22], and Mahumahu (Whaanga, 2004: 219–224; Whaanga, 2003: 26; Halbert, 1999:90; Lambert, 1936: 161–162; *Evening Star*, 1923: 07).

In 1843, three waka taua set out in pursuit of a tohunga suspected of causing death with mahi whaiwhaiā. Paratene Tūrangi and Hori Karaka commanded Te Aomate; Te Waaka Perohuka and Raharuhi Rukupō led Te Toki a Tapiri; and Tamati Te Rangituawaru commanded Te Ahi a Tupari. Upon reaching Pūrēhua at Waipiro, the preacher Eruera Kawhia persuaded them to abandon their

[18] Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Konohi and Rongowhakaata Tohunga Ahorangi Sir Derek Lardelli has suggested that "Rukupō's adoption of steel chisels likely faced strong criticism and challenged ancestral traditions" (Nepe, 2023:31). This is highly unlikely as Rongowhakaata people had access to soft steel tools since 1769 (Barrow, 1974:17). Iron was so highly valued that even a decade before the construction of Te Hau ki Tūranga, when Rongowhakaata rangatira were reflecting on historical accounts that some of the nails received during the 1769 Endeavour collision had been thrown overboard that "Rakou, the son of the chief who had been wounded by Cook" commented that: "I wish I had been sufficiently old at the time; would I have thrown away an axe or a nail? try me!" (Polack, 1831: 19) These discussions were held with a number of rangatira including Manutai "grandson of Te Ratu" (Most likely treaty signatory Manutahi Te Kēmara) (Polack, 1831: 14).

[19] Rongowhakaata kaumatua, Darcy Ria noted that these carvings were "…worked on in Raharuhi Rukupō's lifetime either by him or under his supervision" (Ria,1987:82).

[20] Haenga Paretipua, grandson of Te Waaka Tarakau and a member of Te Whanau a Taupara and Ngāi Tahu Matawhāiti claimed that "It was Waaka Nene of Ngā Puhi who told Waaka Mahuika to build him a canoe. I don't know how many canoes were built but one was for Tukehu. My father [Wi Paretipua] helped with building. When one canoe [was] broken Waaka Mahuika sent word to Waaka Tarakau at Wairoa to build him a canoe. It was built. Called "Toki a Tapiri" at Auckland now… It used to take a year to build a canoe judging from what I have been told..." (GMB45:304)

[21] Haenga Paretipua stated that: "Toki a Tapiri [was] built at Tutuotekaha near Waiakai Stream" (GMB45:305). This river runs out near Te Kapu o taku ringa (Frasertown). The final dressing taking place at Te Whakakī-Nui-a-Rua (Te Awamutu Courier, 11 July 1949: 5).

[22] Toumata in some writings as a result of misreading Biggs (1868:01) sloppy writing.

pursuit. Paratene Tūrangi then composed a waiata and returned to Te Arai following a hakari (Halbert, 1999:87; Mackay 1982:197).[23]

"Kei te ako kē mātou i tā te atua ture..."

(Rukupō, 26 July 1861:01)

"Raharuhi Rukupō was an early convert to Christianity[24] and served as a lay-teacher at the Anglican mission station" (Brown, 1997:10).[25] In the beginning, many of the ancestors were more interested in the technological and medical advancements introduced by the missionaries, such as new medicines farming and literacy in reading and writing, than in their religious teachings (Stirling, 2001:26 – 29). Te Kani firmly believed "...that Raharuhi was a Christian in principle..." (Te Ua, n.da: 09). However, considering the benefits of literacy brought by missionary education, it is likely that the education of rangatira was prioritised in the early stages of Christianity's introduction.[26] This focus on leadership would have aligned with the desire to equip chiefs with the tools necessary for governance, communication, and negotiation in a rapidly changing social and political landscape along with increased prestige (Stirling, 2001:26). "...the tapu of the ministry was quite evident in the choosing of candidates from noble families and members of the Māori aristocracy" (Te Ua, n.da: 09). Eventually, the lines between Christianity, and the status of Rangatira would become intertwined. Te Kani Te Ua argued that for Rukupō abandoning Christianity was no longer an option. The adoption of new roles and leadership within the church had become a new source of mana, and essentially an extension of traditional societal power structures. Te Kani continued:

> "If Raharuhi had turned away from the Christian religion, then why are all the ministries held by chiefs [of the] aristocracy? He would not make the mistake of finding a cause to leave the church, because the tapu of 'Rangatiraism' would be destroyed" (Te Ua, n.da: 09 - 10).

There are at least two accounts of how Rukupō received the name Raharuhi (Lazarus). According to one version, upon learning of his elder brother Tāmati Wāka Māngere's death, Rukupō returned to Tūranga, he had been gone for so long that his reappearance was likened to him returning from the dead[27]. The second account suggests that Raharuhi was simply his baptismal name (Harrison

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[23] It is said that nearly a decade later Perohuka sent the waka to Tamati Waaka Nene and Patuone, and in return are said to have sent a piebald stallion that was then conveyed to Te Waaka Tarakau (Mackay 1982:373, Te Awamutu Courier, 11 July 1949: 5, Auckland Star, 13 August 1913:06).
Taika was said to have been transported by Te Wera Hauraki from Nuhaka and presented to Te Waaka Tarakau, and upon his arrival was likened to have had ridden a taniwha. (Lambert, 1936: 163). However, some of the oral histories comment that the stallion was not received and that the waka was intended for Kingi Tāwhiao Tūkāroto Matutaera Pōtatau Te Wherowhero for use in the Waikato war.

[24]Barrow's (1974: 10) argument that "There is no evidence that Rukupō became a Christian…" is thus false. Te Kani Te Ua commented that "… the Io cult was first and foremost in the district. That its last high priest was Tupai Kerekere … Raharuhi would have known both religions…" (Te Ua, n.da: 8 – 9).

[25] Tamati Waaka Māngere invited Reverend Leonard William Williams to live at the mission station established at Ōrakaiapu Pā.

[26] Stirling (2001: 17 – 18) commented that "The need to cultivate and hunt food, or to prepare flax, for trading rather than consumption led Rongowhakaata into the market economy."

[27] Rumours suggest that he may have helped Te Rangihaeata to build his famous whare Rūnanga Kaitāngata, participated in conflicts within the Taranaki region or that spent a period living in the Northern districts with Ngāti Wai (Harrison & Oliver, 2020; Nepe, 2023:30). It is perhaps more likely that Rukupō was in a remote part of the district with Te Waaka Perohuka such as Hangaroa or Te Reinga.

& Oliver, 2020)[28]. Te Kani te Ua commented that: "Raharuhi supported the new religion by his setting aside a building for church services proves it" (Te Ua, n.da: 09). When the Church of England sought land, Te Kani Te Ua recalled that he had:

> "...heard from the elders that Te Kani a Takirau had referred the church's request for land to Rukupō's tribe, because Rongowhakaata, through their own efforts, were already practising the Christian religion at Ōrakaiapu. This request to Rongowhakaata resulted in the establishment of the mission station" (Te Ua, 1962a: 02).

The Church Missionary society commented that:

> "At Poverty Bay, twelve months after the Mission had been established, the natives proceeded to erect a commodious building ; but before it was sufficiently secured, in December, 1842, it was blown down, two days before the Bishop[29] paid his first visit there."(Church Missionary Society, 1852: 47 – 48).

Between 1842 and 1863 church services were held at Te Waaka Perohuka's whare wananga – Hamokorau (Mackay, 1982:166).[30] The first Manutūkē Church, named Te Kotahitanga (The Unity), was celebrated as a "he temepara whakairo" (a carved temple) at its completion (Waka Māori, 10 December 1873: 179). The church was designed to be 90 feet long by 45 feet wide, making it the largest carved structure in the Southern Hemisphere.[31] Its construction began in July 1849, it was a remarkable unifying effort that brought the Tūranga and Wairoa iwi closer together. Overseen by Aperahama Matawhāiti, the expert carpenter[32], with leading carvers Raharuhi Rukupō, Te Waaka Kurei, and Te Waaka Perohuka at the forefront of the project. Timber for the church was transported to the site by the Ngāi Tawhiri, Ngāi te Aweawe, Ngāti Pakirehe, and Te Aitanga a Māhaki iwi. Paratene Tūrangi (Pōtoti) expertly adzed sixty slabs with his team (Ria, 1987: 84; Phillipps, 1944: 90; Pipiwharauroa, 1 April 1913: 16).

The building of Te Kotahitanga was situated in the context of what the church Missionary society considered to be: "Popish aggression" (Church Missionary Society, 1852: 47). In November 1849, Kahutia proposed holding debates to determine whether the Anglican Church or the Catholic Church was the true church (Nikora,2009:22). Around this period Kahutia converted to the Catholic faith. The key reason was that William Leonard Williams forbade Kahutia and others from practising the arts of Tā Moko[33] (Nikora,2009:23 -24).

As a result, Kahutia erected a pou whakarae called Te Mana ki Tūranga. The land became known as Pou o Tūranga and was intended to signify the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in the district. Despite pressure from other Rongowhakaata rangatira to remain loyal to the Church of England, Kahutia compromised, agreeing to be baptised Catholic while urging his family not to trample their relatives' wishes. The pou was uprooted and given to the rangatira, the Catholic Mission was abandoned, and the missionaries left for Wairoa, where Pitiera Koopu also denied

[28] However, even if this is true, ingoa tūturu can never be taken at face value and are never without a reason or story.
[29] Bishop George Augustus Selwyn.
[30] According to Wiremu Rangi: '... At the time of the introduction of Christianity the house was removed to Manutūkē for a church house. The site of the house is beside the Post Office at Manutūkē. The church house that was burnt down was erected from posts and timber from the whare wananga' (GMB51: 284).
[31] Approximately 27.45 metres long, by 13.72 metres wide, by 4.57 metres high (Kernot, 1984:154).
[32] He had learned carpentry at the Bay of Islands (Neich, 2011:82).
[33] This interpretation was justified by quoting mosaic law, Leviticus 19:28: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the LORD." (King James Version).

them. They eventually settled in Pakipaki, where they were accepted (Te Ua, n.dc: 1 – 2). The whakataukī associated with the incident was *"Ko Te Mana ki Tūranga waiho ko te hāhi o Ingarangi*." (Let the authority at Tūranga be the Anglican Church) (Te Ua, n.dc: 2).

Despite this loyalty to the Church of England, a disagreement arose between Archdeacon William Leonard Williams and the carvers regarding the use of human figures in the carvings (Church Missionary Society, 1852: 48). On 3 September 1849, a bible class was attended by 111 people, William Leonard Williams recorded that:

> "...It was proposed to go to the party engaged in carving the posts where much angry discussion took place. Ngāti Maru, with the exception of two chiefs, are willing to follow my advice...I told them plainly that I could not approve of that which is disallowed in our churches at home, and then left them to consider the subject at their leisure. Lazarus came in the evening and gives me reason to hope the difficulty will be got over quietly." (Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974:537).

Two days later on 5 September 1849, Te Waaka Perohuka approached Williams to discuss the church carvings, firmly stating, "I told him decidedly that I would not hold service in the church if carved according to their present plan..." (Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974:537). The following day Te Waaka Kurei with subdued frustration approached Williams who again asked that they "...adopt some other mode of carving." Te Waaka Kurei then went to consult with the other carvers, as a compromise he suggested using the Pītau a Manaia design.[34] (Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974:593). The Editor of the Church Missionary Society commented "On going to the workshop, the Archdeacon found a man chalking[35] out a new pattern upon a plain piece of timber, in which the character of native carving remained, without the devices to which he had objected" (Church Missionary Society, 1852: 48) [36]. However, enthusiasm waned, and the church was not built until 19 April 1863, and even when the church was finally opened, the carvings were never finished (Ria, 1987:83–85; Neich, 2011:82).

[34] William Leonard Williams said that Te Waaka Kurei "…gave way and recommended a new pattern which is quite non-descript exhibiting neither man beast or creeping thing but giving a very good specimen of native carving." This approach would have again been justified by quotation of Mosaic law: Exodus 20:4: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." and Deuteronomy 4:16 " Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female…" (King James Version).
[35] Brown (1996:11) proposed that stencils may have been used, on the assumption that the term "chalk" was not merely descriptive or that the chalk was imported rather than locally sourced from Te Kurī at Te Muriwai.
[36] Williams recorded that Te Waaka Kurei "… soon returned, requesting me to accompany him to the workshop. All the tools were at rest and one man was chalking out a new pattern upon a plain piece of timber. A little arrangement now settled the business, I was merely requested to give my approval to certain patterns and the men appeared to be quite satisfied to follow out the improved plan." (Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974:537).

“E tā, ko te tangata tahae, kei tukua mai koe ki tōu whare.”

(Raharuhi Rukupō, March, 1851:01)

Some writers have conveyed their understanding that “Raharuhi was opposed to the Pākehā from the first, it began as an obdurate conservatism[37] and an innate fear that association with the Pākehā could bring nothing but loss of mana and loss of land to his people” (Fowler, 1976: 06). Although it is true that: “He lived to see these fears take an all too tangible shape” (Fowler, 1976: 06). Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahu historian, Professor Deidre Brown (1996:13) correctly identified that “History suggests that as a leader he always followed the most favourable course for his people.” (Brown, 1996:13).[38] Whether this meant direct or passive opposition, or even support for a particular initiative – it was always with the best outcome in mind and the direction and consent of his people.[39]

At the arrival of Europeans in Tūranga, Rukupō likely had his reservations. In the 1850s it is said that he had directly opposed the establishment of a township (Fowler, 1974:09; Brown, 1996:13). However, as a rangatira, the needs of the people always take precedence. A rangatira’s primary responsibility is to advocate for and represent the collective will and aspirations of their community. In a letter to Donald McLean, dated March 24, 1851, the reasons for opposition are presented for practical reasons, and with the greatest consideration even for the settlers to come:

“I te kōrero au ki ngā tāngata o te kāinga nei, kia whakaae ki te taone. Kāore i pai. Tēnei tā rātou kupu: “kīhai Tūranganui, ka pai te tāone hai Whakawhitira, ka kino, he kore nohoanga mō ratou. Kāore he tipunga kai mā ratou.” Ko ētahi i mea e tika ana kia homai he taone, maumau te kāinga kia riro i te horo i te wai. Kaore, ki te riro hai taone, e pai ana, e riro tika ana. Ka mea tētahi kāhore nō te tāone ngā kaka e mau nei, me waiho tonu te kainga. Koia au i mea ai kia tuhia atu ki a koe, kei mea koe ka rite te whakaae, kāore he tokomaha, kāore i pai, he ruarua ngā tāngata i pai. Ko Rāwiri kai te pakeke tonu tana kupu, ko Te Kani kei te	I spoke to the people of this village about agreeing to the town. They did not agree. This is what they said: “Tūranganui would not be suitable for a town. Whakawhitira would be better, but not here, as there would be no places for them to stay and no land for growing crops.” Some said it would be appropriate to have a town, but the village would be wasted if it were taken by flooding. No, if it is to be taken for a town, it should be done properly. One said that the clothes we wear are not from the town, so the village should remain as it is. That is why I thought to write to you, so you do not think that the agreement is settled; there was not a majority

[37] Whether Rukupō was as conservative as Leo Fowler suggested is question of perspective. it is likely that his conservatism was limited primarily to matters of ritual observance. Barrow, (1974:10) argued that Rukupō “appears to have remained an ardent advocate of ancient ways and customs, and a persistent critic of European ideas and manners.” This is in stark contrast to his own words: “Ki ana mai rātou ki au, 'Hai aha ki a mātou a Te Makarini? He rangatira te Pākehā nou. Engari me waiho tonu i ngā ritenga Maori.' Ka mea atu ahau ki a ratou, 'Kaore e tika, kua pau nei hoki aua ritenga te kai e ngā ture a ngā Pakeha.'” (Rukupō, 13 June 1851:01a). (They said to me ‘What is McLean to us? He is your pakeha chief. We should keep following the Māori customs.’ I told them, ‘That’s not right, those customs have been exhausted and consumed by the Pākehā laws). Ballara (1998:48) asserted that people born at the turn of the nineteenth century were essentially children before the century changed. Even adults who lived through the early years of Pākehā settlement often struggled to distinguish between traditional customs and those that evolved during their lifetimes.

[38] The words that precede this that, Rukupō’s: “…changing allegiances were well documented…” are not a valid interpretation. Rukupō’s allegiances were always, first and foremost to the people of Ngāti Kaipoho, Ngāti Maru and Rongowhakaata. However, inflammatory articles in newspapers labelled him “Lazarus Rukupō, man of the double tongue" or "Arero rua." (Hawke's Bay Herald, 5 December 1865: 4). This perhaps is a dig at his earlier comments towards the governor (Rukupō, 26 July 1861:01)

[39] Essentially the same logic as the famous whakataukī of Tamamutu: “Ka mate kāinga tahi, Ka ora kāinga rua.”

pērā anō a rāua kupu, kia kore e tukua hai taone." (Rukupō, March 24, 1851:01.)	in favour, it was not liked, only a few people approved it. Rawiri (Te Eketūoterangi) remains firm in his word, and Te Kani (a Takirau) is the same in saying that it should not be given for a town.

Throughout the 1850s relations between Tūranga iwi and European settlers continuously deteriorated, partly due to advice from missionary Thomas Samuel Grace, who encouraged Māori to charge European settlers five shillings per head of cattle for grazing. Fees for providing water and food to visiting ships were also increased, and rangatira sought to impose charges on vessels entering the Waipaoa River (Harris, 12 June, 1851:01; Harris, 10 September, 1851:01 - 02; Mackay, 1982:210). Settlers were displeased by the higher prices for goods and services. Grievances and disputes over trade practices were significant factors contributing to the unrest. In response to the perceived unfair treatment, Rongowhakaata people retaliated by forcibly taking horses, livestock, and goods from European settlers[40] (Harris, 10 September, 1851:01 – 02). This was a direct response to what was viewed as an exploitation of their resources and a challenge to their authority over land and trade. On June 12, John William Harris reported to Donald McLean that Raharuhi Rukupō had urged the people to return the stolen items and informed him that Te Waaka Perohuka had advocated for the expulsion of all Europeans from the district, reportedly stockpiling ammunition and preparing for a confrontation. However, Rukupō intervened, using his influence on behalf of the European settlers to maintain peace in the region at that time (Harris, 12 June 1851:01-04; Mackay, 1982:209-210). Rukupō said in a letter to Governor George Grey the following day:

"E hoa, kia rongo mai rā koe, nā ngā tāngata Māori tētahi o ngā he, nā Pākehā tetahi. E ta, kātahi anō mātou ka tono utu mō ngā tarutaru. Ka nui ngā tau o rātou i noho ai i runga tō mātou kainga. E ta, he ki atu tā mātau kia homai kia rima ngā hereni ki tekau kotahi, ki ana mai kotahi te pene. E hoa, he pono ranei? Na, kia tika tau. (Rukupō, 13 June 1851a:01)	Friend, you will listen, the Māori people are responsible for one of the wrongs and the Pākehā for one. Sir, we have just asked for payment for the pasture. They have stayed on our land for many years. Sir, we say that they should give five to ten shillings for a year; they say one penny. Friend, is this correct? You say what's right.

In another letter dispatched to Donald McLean on the same day:

"E tā, ka nui te pōrangi o ngā tāngata o tēnei kāinga, ehara i te tamariki, i te kūware, ko te hunga pakeke, rangatira tonu nei. Kua mau kē rātou ki te hē... E hoa, kei te mahi pouri ahau i te kore kaiwhakamana mo taku ... Ka nui te kino, ka nui. Kia horo mai te utu mai, kia horo. (Rukupō, 13 June 1851b:01)	Sir, the people of this village are very foolish, it's not the children or the ignorant, but the adults, even the chiefs themselves. They have taken their fault... I am working unhappily as I have no one to support me ... The trouble is very bad, very bad. Be quick to respond, be quick.

By 1859, under the leadership of Raharuhi Rukupō, Te Rūnanga o Tūranga had developed into a movement that rejected all land sales. This repudiation movement continued into the early

[40] This is the practice of muru, a traditional custom allowing the seizure of property as a form of reparation or punishment. This practice involved taking possessions from individuals who caused death or significant loss through their actions. For example, if a canoe capsized and caused a death, the canoe could be taken and destroyed. Similarly, if someone caused harm or death through negligence, their possessions could be seized to restore balance and satisfy justice. The practice also functioned as a means of acquiring desired items without theft, by invoking the law as a form of legitimate recompense (Lamber, 1936: 65 – 66)

1860s, during which Tūranga rangatira actively sought to reclaim all land sold after 1840 (Waigth, 2009:19; Stirling 2001: 61 – 66; Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974:593).

Governor Gore-Browne arrived in Tūranga on January 11 1860 aboard the HMS Niger. During the welcoming speeches, Archdeacon William Leonard Williams commented that "Rukupō, was decidedly deficient in respect in the language which addressed to Her Majesty's representative" (Poverty Bay Herald, 17 September 1932, 14). It is said that on this occasion, Rukupō openly challenged the authority to fly the Queen's flag in Tūranga. He asserted that his people had not signed the Treaty of Waitangi[41], and thus were not subjects of either the Māori King or the British Crown. Raharuhi declared that his people were a free and independent nation, and as long as he had influence, they would maintain their autonomy (Fowler, 1974:09; Barrow, 1974:07; Brown, 1996: 13; Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974:593). Many of the various tertiary sources portray Rukupō as an obstinate and unyielding character.[42] However, Rukupō's actual words paint a slightly different picture of the context:

"E mea ana koe i te Rūnanga koutou, ngā Pākehā, kia puta ai te pai ki ō koutou teina Māori. He Rūnanga anō hoki tā mātou kia puta ai te pai ki ngā Pākehā, ki ngā Māori. E mea ana koe he pōuri a mātou kupu ki tāu titiro i tē rā ngahuru, he kawa a mātou kupu ki a mātou Pākehā. "Koi anō tēnā, he kawa taua kupu, he kawa hoki tēnei kupu. Ko te kawa tēnei, kāore mātou e pai kia tukua atu ngā kāinga kia koe. Engari me kī e koe ki ngā Pākehā kia whakahokia mai ō mātou kāinga, kia utua tikatia atu ngā mea i utua tikatia atu e mātou, ngā mea i hokona ai tā mātou whenua e ngā Pākehā. Nā, ko tā mātou reka tēnei, kia reka tēnei, kia reka hoki kia koe. "Ko ngā Pākehā me noho noa iho, ko te kāinga mō rātou he hoko miti, poaka, kau, aha noa, aha noa. Engari te mea manakohia mai e koe, kia rite ai tō kupu e kī nei koe e rapu ana koe i te pai mōu, teina Māori. (Rukupō, et al, 1861, 25 March: 1 - 2)	You say that in your council, you Pākehā will do good for your younger Māori siblings, and we too have a council that seeks to bring good to both Pākehā and Māori. You say that our words seemed bitter to you on the tenth,[43] that our words were bitter to our Pākehā. That's right, those words were bitter, and these words are also bitter. The bitterness is that we do not agree to give our lands to you. But you should tell the Pākehā to return to us our homes, and to fairly repay what we have paid for, the things that we fairly purchased with our land from the Pākehā. That is what would be sweet to us, and it would be sweet for you as well. The Pākehā should simply remain[44] in the villages as a home for them, trading meat, pigs, cattle, or whatever else. But what would be more acceptable to you is if your words were true when you say that you are seeking wellbeing for us, your younger Māori siblings.

[41] Tamati Waaka Mangere signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. R.D.Z Hall (1984:01) believed that William Leonard Williams "…wouldn't have dreamt of asking him…" to sign Te Tiriti at this time, as his brother was the ranking ariki.

[42] However, many alleged statements from Rukupō from the Treaty claims era from O'Malley's (2000: 140-143) supporting evidence were extracted from barely legible poor-quality photocopies of the original English translations without verifying their accuracy against the original Te Reo texts. Therefore, all quotations attributed to Rukupō that are present within the Waitangi Tribunal documents are invalid as they were not what he actually said – but in many cases colourful interpretations of what colonisers thought he had said.

[43] It could be the day of the tenth, but most likely the tenth month, falling within the autumn or crop-lifting season (I.e. Ngahuru tikotikoiere).

[44] This can also be read as "…live freely within the villages". The original 1861 English translation quoted by Stirling (2001: 78) was inflammatory, and said instead "Let the Europeans be merely squatters".

Rongowhakaata people were also accused of being arrogant or "saucy" towards the flag (Stirling, 2001:78). Rukupō's response to Francis Dillon Bell on behalf of Te Rūnanga o Tūranga[45] concerning the incident was that:

"... e mea ana koe he whakahīhī mātou ki te kara. Ākuinei, kāhore ō mātou whakahīhī, kāore hoki mātou ki te tikanga a tāu kara. Kāore hoki mātou e mātau ki te iwi mana e tango tēnei motu a Nui Tīreni.

"Ko mātou e mōhio nei, ko koe tonu hei tiaki, ko koe tonu hoki hei tango, ko koe tonu hei atawhai, ko koe tonu hei tukino, ko koe anō hei whāngai ki te kai ngawari, ko koe anō hei whāngai ki te kai pakeke. Nau anō hei whāngai ki te kai reka, ko koe anō hei whāngai ki te kai kawa. Engari ko tā mātou e hiahia nei, ko te reka anake, arā, ko te pai, nō te mea e whakahokia ana e te Atua kawenata te kawa, te reka i roto i te puna kotahi, Hēmi 3"11"12"13"14

"Kāore hoki mātou e mōhio ki tā mātou he ki a Kāwana. Ka mutu te kōrero, e mōhio ana ia mātou i te taenga mai o Kāwana, ko te kōrero anake mō ngā kāinga. I mahara hoki mātou i reira, ko Kāwana te tumuaki hei huinga mō ngā kōrero pai, me ngā kōrero kino. Nā reira mātou i kōrero atu ai ki ōna kanohi i te kupu tika, i te kupu he. Māna hoki e whakamārama mai, kīhai i puaki ngā kōrero omā atu ana ia.

"E hoa, he ture anō nā mātou, me kōrero kino o mua, muri iho he kōrero pai. Kāti, i pupuri atu mātou ki a ia kia noho iho, kia kōrero whakarite mātau ki a ia. Mō ngā kāinga hokoa e mātou kia hoki mai kia mātou, ko tēnei, kāhore a mātou kino ki a Kāwana, kei te pai tonu mātou ki a kōrua tikanga. Kua riro atu nei hoki ētahi o mātou ki tōu kāwanatanga. Kāti, ko tā mātou pai kia noho raruraru koe tatou i runga o te

... you say we are arrogant towards the colours[46], but we are not arrogant, we do not understand the tikanga of your colours.[47] We do not which people will seize this island of New Zealand.

But what we do know is that you protect, and you also take away, you are kind, but you also abusive[48], you feed with soft food, and you feed with hard food. You give sweet food, and you also give sour food. But our own desire is for the sweet alone, that is, the good, for the covenant God replaces bitterness with sweetness within one pool, James 3:11,12,13,14[49]

We do not understand what we have done wrong to the Governor, for we were aware when the Governor arrived that the only conversation was about the villages. We also thought that the Governor was the leader, who would bring good words and bad words. Therefore, we told him to his face, correct words and incorrect words. He would then explain, for there were no other conversations.

Friend, we also have a rule: speak ill first, then later speak well. So, we held back and remained quiet to make proper arrangements with him. For the villages we have sold to be returned to us, there is no evil intent toward the Governor; we are content with both arrangements. Some of us have already joined your governorship. We are well and live without trouble on the land, let us maintain

[45] Including himself and on behalf of: Paratene Pōtoti (Tūrangi), Te Waaka Perohuka, Anaru Matete, Paratene Titore, Wereta Kawenga, Tamati Te Rangituawaru, Paora Kate, Tamihana Ruatapu, Te Waaka Puakanga and Kahutia

[46] Military term for flag.

[47] The use of Tikanga implies that the Rangatira did not fully understand the significance or protocols associated with the British flag.

[48] Original English translation was "ready to fight" (Stirling, 2001:78).

[49] James: 3:11 – 14: Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?; Can the fig tree, my brethren, bear olive berries? either a vine, figs? so can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh. Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth. (King James Version).

whenua, kia pūmau ai te pai kia koutou, kia mātou. Arā, kia whakakotahitia tātou i runga i te hāhi a te Atua. (Rukupō, et al, 1861, 25 March: 2 - 3)	goodwill between you and us. And we shall become one within the church of God.

William Leonard Williams continued:

> "The official visit to the district was not, perhaps, a pleasant one for His Excellency; in justice to him, it may be said that his mind was probably much by-the position of affairs at Waitara, of which the people in Poverty Bay were ignorant. Martial law was proclaimed at Waitara in the following month." (Poverty Bay Herald, 17 September 1932, 14).

Although most Tūranga rangatira remained neutral during the conflicts in Taranaki in the early 1860s, Te Rūnanga o Tūranga firmly asserted the independence of their people (Binney, 1997:36–37). However, they could not ignore the mounting threats and signs of hostility as they observed the events outside of the district. While the governor preached peace, the fires of conflict were ablaze on the West Coast and Waikato, and the increasing presence of soldiers pointed to a preparation for war. The tension between the governor's assurances and the reality of escalating militarisation signalled to the people of Tūranga that conflict was imminent. Rukupō was astute enough to see through the Crown's deception during this period of unrest. William Leonard Williams commented that towards the end of 1861 both Rukupō and Hirini Te Kani[50] reportedly "...pledged themselves never to have anything to do with the Government." (Poverty Bay Herald, 17 September 1932, 14). In a letter to the Superintendent, dated 26 July 1861, he questioned the Governor's claim that there was no intention to engage in conflict, despite the increasing military presence. He wrote:

"Kia haere mai ngā hōia ki Nēpia me ā rātou pū me ā rātou paura, hei aha rā ena, hei aha rā ena? hei aha rā tana kupu i kī ai 'kāore āna whakaaro ki te riri'? Hei aha rā ngā pū ngā paura e kore hoki e tika tāu ki te ture anō nō koutou nō mua iho. He whakaako mō ngā riri oho tata he teka tōna kī. Ina hoki he ture anō tō mātou o mua o mātou tipuna; kīhai mātou i hoki atu ki tō mātou ture. Kei te ako kē mātou i tā te Atua ture, I mua ai a te karaiti me tupu ngā whakarite o te ture tawhito, mutu ai Ihowa kia pērā hoki te mutunga o te Kāwana me tā ihowa kia mutu te riri ki Taranaki; ki Waikato arā ki nga wahi katoa o te motu nei.	If the soldiers are to come to Napier with their guns and their powder, what are they for? What is the use of his saying he has 'no intention to fight'? What is the purpose of the guns and powder. It is not correct to say this is your law from the distant past. His statement, claiming that this is for teaching about sudden or surprise attacks, is false. For we have laws passed down from our ancestors, but did not return to our laws. We are learning Gods law, before Christ, the requirements of the old law had to be fulfilled, the was stopped by the lord. Likewise, the Governor's law should end, and the lord shall end the fighting at Taranaki; at Waikato, and all places across the land.
"He pai kia pono te kī o Kawana, 'kāore āna whakaaro ki te riri.'Ki tā mātou mōhio he teka ko [w]ai, ko [w]ai ka tohu tēnei tō mātou tīpuna, ko te Whatu-arero-rua,[51] ki roto ki waho ki te kī koutou he pono tonu tēnei anō tō	The word of the Governor would then be good, and true that he 'has no thoughts of war.' To our knowledge, this is a lie. Who can tell whether our ancestor, Te Whatu-Arero-Rua, is inside and outside of your words. It is true that

[50] Also known by his birth name Hirini Tuaheni and later Hirini Te Kaniatakirau.

[51] Whatu-arero-rua. According to Fletcher (1922: 31) an ancestor from Heretaunga district that "contradicted in the morning, what he said at night." In the original translation there was a note that referred to Whatu arero rua as "a head or eye with two tongues alluding to sometimes telling the truth and other times telling a lie." Rukupō, 16 July 1861:04)

mātou kainga, ko Ōpou he kāinga whanga mō te tangata. A, i te tika mō ngā mea katoa ki ngā mahi o taua kainga, he whanga he tiaki I ngā kupu tika i ngā kupu he tōna whakataukī: 'E kore e haere i a koe e ra, e haere i te piapia.'

this is still our home, and Opou is a place of refuge for people. In all matters concerning this place, it is a refuge and a guardian of the right words and the wrong ones. Its proverb is: 'It will not go with you smoothly; it will go reluctantly.'

"Kei te mōhio atu mātou ki te ahau i ou kōrero e rua taha ki tā mātou mōhio hoki, e kore e pono te kī o Kāwana 'kāore āna whakaaro ki te riri' nō te mea kei a mātou ngā kāinga e i aungia ana e te mōmona puta mai ngā mea i roto i te mōmonatanga o tō mātou whenua. Ko ngā mea kua whiwhi nei koutou ki te moni, koi ana he putanga whawhai mā kāwana ki a mātou. Mehemea ka hoki noa mai o mātou kāinga i riri poka noa ko ngā kāinga i riro i runga i te kāwanatanga e waiho ki a ia kātahi ka mōhio ia mātou he pono kāhore he whakaaro whawhai ia kawana. heoi rā ka mutu. (Rukupō, 26 July 1861:01 – 02)

We understand the nature of your words, that they have two sides. And to our knowledge, the Governor's statement, that he has 'no intention to fight', is not true, for we possess the lands that are fertile[52] we have gained riches from the abundance of our land. These are the things for which you have received money, and it is this wealth that will give the Governor a reason to fight us. if our villages, that were taken illegally, are returned, and only the lands that were properly sold to the government should be retained, then we will know that the Governor truly has no intention of fighting. That is all.[53]

"E kore e pono te kī o Kāwana 'kāore āna whakaaro ki te riri"

(Rukupō, 26 July 1861:02)

In the 1830's Rukupō adopted Ōtene Pītau, a son of Thomas Halbert and Pirihira Konekone. Te Kani explained that this was because "Rukupō's younger brother took to wife a pregnant woman of the Ngāpōtiki tribe [hapū of Te Aitanga a Māhaki][54] and Rukupō adopted the child…" (Te Ua, 1962b: 01).[55] Around 1859 he moved to Te Pūkaki with Otene Pītau, and cultivated the lands there for six years "…and left it when the Hauhau's first came…"[56] (PBCMB:37). Rukupō also built a flour mill near Taruheru. Rukupō's younger brother Paora Kate said that "Raharuhi bought the mill stones, but Aitanga a Māhaki helped to build it." (PBCMB:37). This flour mill was shared by both Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga a Māhaki people (PBCMB:37; GMB01:247).[57]

[52] Momona in a literal sense refers to fatness, or prime condition.
[53] My Translation.
[54] "Subtribe of Māhaki" in original text.
[55] Stirling (2001: 20) incorrectly records that she left Halbert for Rukupō. It was in fact Pera Tawhiti. This is confirmed by his half-sister Kate Wyllie (Gannon) who stated Otene Pitau was adopted by Pera Tawhiti (his stepfather) (GMB, 05:263). He was then later adopted by Rukupō, although it is likely that the role was shared between Rukupō and all of his brothers. Paora Kate and Otene were also "…like father and son and always lived at the same place up to the death of Paora." Otene also became "his heir" (GMB05:243).
[56] This would have been approximately 1865. This would partially explain why Te Hau ki Tūranga was in a state of disrepair.
[57] Riperata Kahutia commented during the Kaiti Title Investigation on 25 November 1873 that it: "…is true that Rawiri sold Papawhariki to Harris; My father and he were friendly and my father let him do so; He did not object; Read came after this; Hirini [Te Kani] and his brother Rutene placed him on this land; Kahutia was alive at the time; Kahutia was spoken to about it and he agreed to it; Hirini and Rutene leased Kaiti to Read; They took the second years rent to Kahutia; And Raharuhi spent the money in a flour mill; Kahutia received no other money; He didn't care as he was on friendly terms with Rawiri; After Kahutia died Manahi a relation of ours went to Hirini's party to demand a share of the rent but it was refused and we have not been able to get any since…" (GMB01:245).

Throughout the 1860s Raharuhi Rukupō saw many tragedies and showed remarkable patience and leadership in troubled times. Leo Fowler remarked that Rukupō had "…suffered personal losses of so great a magnitude that they could leave behind them only hatred and disillusion…." (Fowler, 1976: 06). Rukupō is said to have had at least one biological son named Te Waaka Rongotū[58] who was caught and executed at Pākairomiromi in August 1865 at point-blank range alongside other Ngāti Porou prisoners, on Rapata Wahawaha's orders (Gudgeon, 1879: 84; Porter, 1897:8; Kohere, 1951: 56). Te Kani Te Ua (n.d:02) recalled that Te Waaka Rongotū:

> "…was not a follower of the Pai mārire religion. He and his people were visiting the Ngāti Porou people – and while stopping at Pukemaire — the government forces attacked the inhabitants. The host tribe implored the friendly Māori to allow Rongowhakaata to depart. This was not given by the Pākehā officers and Raharuhi's son killed."

At the ensuing battle of Hungahunga-toroa on 11 October 1865, Wahawaha captured Rukupō's apprentice and protégé Pita Tamaturi as an unarmed prisoner of war. Tamaturi was declared as being 'objectionable to the Government' and accused of bringing trouble to the East Coast. Major Reginald Biggs executed him at point-blank range. For his actions, Biggs was promoted to Captain (Gudgeon, 1879: 87 – 88; Te Ua, 1942:37). Te Kani Te Ua commented that:

> "Raharuhi Rukupō mourned the killing of his son. The distrust for the Pākehā way of life – the indiscriminate killing of friend and foe, especially that of his son was a sufficient cause for becoming a rebel to English rule – but Raharuhi remained loyal and neutral"[59] (Te Ua, n.dc, 02).

However, Rukupō's patience had been wearing thin for some time, in April 1865, Samuel Williams submitted in a letter suggesting that Rukupō "…sided with the Hauhau at the Waerenga a hika Rūnanga…" and threatened that if "… the Governor should decline to make peace, all the neutral tribes should take up arms and join the hostile ranks…" (Hawke's Bay Herald, 6 May 1865, 3). Three weeks later, on October 28th, 1865, Hape Commented:

"Heoti anō te tangata e kaha ana tana kupu pēhi kia kawa he riri ki konei ko Raharuhi Rukupō—he kaha rawa o ana kupu i roto i ana rūnanga Hau Hau." (Waka Māori, 18 November 1865: 51)	The only person who has the strength to suppress war here is Raharuhi Rukupō—his words are powerful within the Hau hau assemblies.

In August 1865, Ngāti Kaipoho rangatira, Anaru Matete had already given his reassurance that the people of Tūranga had joined the Pai Mārire faith for purely political and religious reasons, not for the anti-government reasons that had been adopted by followers elsewhere:

> "… we think by doing so we shall save our land and the remnant of our people. We have no quarrel with the settlers. We are not bringing trouble on you All our Chiefs, with Lazarus, (Rukupō) say the settlers shall and will be protected. If trouble comes, let it be

[58] During the Ruaotaua Investigation on 27 July 1875, Wi Pere confirmed that Te Waaka Rongotu was Raharuhi Rukupō's son and was sent as his father's messenger to Wi Pere to come and act as a mediator and prevent war in a dispute between two rangatira, Wi Rangiwhaitiri and Hori Te Hiko (GMB03:24). Te Waaka Rongotū was also listed with the other deported political prisoners to Wharekauri, but is likely a different person with the same name.

[59] Te Kani continued that: "Te Waru under the circumstances did not take the tiwha to Raharuhi Rukupō but instead took it [directly] to Te Kooti" (Te Ua, n.dc, 02).

> through the Governor… Why are the Pākehā so suspicious? … We don't intend committing murder. We have never yet hurt any Pākehā" (Harris 1865:05).

In November 1865, war was brought to Tūranga by Donald McLean and encouraged by settler politicians such as his close friend John Davies "J.D." Ormond. One week before the siege of Waerenga a Hikairirangi, Ormond enthusiastically wrote to Donald McLean: "I expect to hear from you that war has broken out at Poverty Bay & I do hope so too – for we ought to give them a lesson whilst we have the force at hand to do it" (Ormond: 1865:02). Tūranga iwi leaders made desperate attempts to maintain peace, although no rebellion had taken place, they would be condemned as guilty by association.

Donald McLean arrived in Tūranga aboard the HMS Brisk refusing to negotiate or discuss any terms and demanded that all Māori must take an oath of allegiance. All people who fought against the government must be surrendered, and any that did not belong to the region must be expelled (Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi, 2023: 11 – 14; Binney, 1997: 48). He issued an ultimatum[60], declaring:

> 'What you are doing… is trying to drive the Europeans from the district, and is just the step to have your entire region over-run . . . Now I warn you that you will lose your lands — you will lose everything, and the Europeans will settle upon them, and I give you this note of warning that this is the result of your action' (Porter, 1897: 06).

At this time Rukupō desperately urged patience, a letter in his name bearing the name of 19 signatories was dispatched to McLean:

Puritia mai tērā o te riri kia kitea te hēnga kātahi ka tuku mai ai ki te pai koe ki [te] haere mai kia tere mai ka huri ngā kōrero.[61] (Rukupō, et.al, 1865: 02)	Hold on to that anger until the fault is clearly seen, then you can release it when you are willing to come so the discussions can turn swiftly.

However, McLean refused to meet with the rangatira or hold any further discussion. In response, Rukupō approached McLean to plead his case, but to no avail. On 16 November, McLean left it to the field commander to commence the attack (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004:39). Between 17 – 22 November, a bitter siege took place at Te Waerenga-a-Hikairirangi. The pā held approximately 800 people and was attacked by Ngāti Porou and government forces. Tūranga iwi had never intended to fight and did not desire conflict. In less than a week, approximately 71 people were killed (O'Malley, 2019:184).[62]

In 1866, Rukupō became increasingly disillusioned with the Crown's actions. John Williams Harris remarked in a letter to Donald McLean, dated 22 November 1866: "…old Lazarus is again showing his teeth. Openly impugns the propriety of sending the people to Whare Kauri and says he will not give up one inch of his land. It would be a good deed to send the old sinner on a visit to his Chatham friends" (Harris, 1866,02). Following the murders of Te Waaka Rongotū and Pita Tamaturi, and the betrayal at Te Waeranga a Hikairirangi in 1865 came the theft of Te Hau ki Tūranga in 1867 – Ngāti Kaipoho's most prized taonga.[63] This was orchestrated by J.C. Richmond,

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[60] Rapata Wahawaha (1865 – 1881:17) recorded these words as '…ki te kore koutou e huri mai ki te taha Kāwanatanga, ka patua koutou ka tangohia hoki tōu koutou kāinga.'

[61] Original translation: "Let any conflict be withheld until it is established where the fault lies, [and it is proven] only then may fighting be justified." (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004:39).

[62] Hoani Ruru noted that during the fighting in 1865, the people were "divided and scattered. We then built a pā at Ōweta and lived there until the fighting ended." (GMB28:102).

[63] Rawiri Karaha had claimed that some of the Manutūkē church panels were also taken around the same period (Poverty Bay Herald, 8 March 1913:04).

the Minister for Native Affairs. Richmond initially approached Rukupō with an offer to purchase the whare, which Rukupō firmly declined. However, Mōkena Kōhere, a Ngāti Porou rangatira, falsely claimed ownership of the house and gave consent for its removal (NZPD, 1888: 338; Wyllie, 2018; Binney, 1997: 114). On Richmond's orders, Te Hau ki Tūranga was forcibly taken in 1867 by Biggs and Captain John Fairchild, who removed it '…with the tomahawk,' despite Ngāti Kaipoho's objections to each plank being stolen (Binney, 1997: 114). On July 8, 1867, Rukupō had petitioned the Government:

"…ko tō mātou taonga nui ko tō mātou whare whakairo kua mauria huhua koretia, e te Kawanatanga, kīhai mātou i whakaae; ko ngā kōrero pono ēnei o te mauranga o taua whare, ara; i te taenga mai o te Ritimona, ka tono mai kia hoatu e au te whare, kāhore au i whakaae, mea atu ana ahau ki a ia, kahore, kei te iwi katoa te ritenga, ka mea mai ia ki au nā rātou rānei te whare? mea atu ana ahau, kāhore nāku anō te whare erangi ko te mahi nā mātou tahi. "	"…our great treasure, our carved house, has been taken away against our will by the Government. We did not consent. These are the true facts of how the house was taken: When Richmond arrived, he asked me to give him the house. I did not agree and told him no, as the decision belonged to the whole iwi. He then asked me if the house really belonged to them. I replied that it was not mine alone, but the work of us all."
"Ko te whakahokinga mai a te Ritimona heoi anō ra, ka mutu taku tohe atu ki a koe: ka haere atu te tīma me taua Pakeha, e hia rānei ngā rā e ngaro atu ana taua tīma ka hoki mai anō ki te tiki mai i te whare, ko Kāpene Piki i haere mai, ki te tiki mai i te whare, ka mea mai ia ki au kia hoatu te whare mō te Kāwana ki Poneke. Ka mea atu au ki a ia, kāhore au e pai… haere atu ana taua Pākehā ki te pakaru i te whare, mauria atu ana, heoi rā kāhore aku kupu whakaae ki a ia …" (NZHR1867:12)	"Richmond's only response was that, and after I made my stance clear to him, he left. A few days later, the ship and that man returned to take the house. Captain Biggs came to collect the house, saying that it was for the Governor in Wellington. I told him I did not agree… But that man went ahead, broke up the house, and took it away, without any word of consent to him…"

Following the battle of Te Waerenga a Hikairirangi, Biggs had deported the whakarau and personally profited from their removal. With their absence, Biggs began to coerce hapū, such as Ngāti Maru to sell their land under threat of confiscation. The MP Hugh Carleton explained this tactic as:

> '… 'begging with a bludgeon. He holds the Confiscation Act over the heads of the natives, and says, 'If you do not cede the land to us, we will take it'…"(NZPD, 1868: 158).

Based on recollections from Rongowhakaata kaumātua, Leo Fowler characterised Biggs as "an arrogant dictatorial Pākehā who was obviously determined to get their land and sell it" (Fowler, 1968: 06). Biggs was preparing to implement a confiscation programme aimed at seizing lands from 'non-rebels' by consolidating all East Coast and Tūranga lands into a single block, and bulk seizing all land from Whakatiri in the north to the upper Wairoa area in the south. This land would be forfeited to the Crown, with the intention of rewarding those deemed 'loyal' while dispossessing alleged 'rebels' of their properties (Binney, 1997: 105–106).

The neutrality of the Rongowhakaata people was still maintained—at least outwardly. But inwardly, tensions simmered beneath the surface, fuelled by great loss and a desire for justice.

These executions and collective killings would lead to a collective object of vengeance. A tiwha[64] was taken to Te Kooti Rikirangi Te Turuki[65] upon his return from Wharekauri in 1868, and was said to have been a veiled request by Raharuhi Rukupō to avenge his son's murder. Te Waru Tamatea, a rangatira of Ngāti Tamaterangi, sent his daughter Mauniko Te Waru, along with a meremere pounamu named 'Tawatahi' to Whareongaonga under the escort of Paora Te Whakahoehoe. Te Kani Te Ua explained that the purpose of these gifts "... was to ask Te Kooti to seek revenge" (Te Ua, 1941:37). As Judith Binney said: "Rukupō's anger was Te Kooti's anger. He had been truly dispossessed of all a man could value" (Binney, 1997:115). The tiwha was accepted and although Te Kooti had his own motivations, the result was the infamous slayings at Matawhero, Reginald Biggs, his family and others that were slayed at Matawhero[66] (Te Ua, 1941:37; Te Ua, 1959:01; Fowler, 1968:06; Hall, 1987:02; Soutar, 2000:290; O'Malley: 2019:180). The events at Matawhero were used to justify the confiscation of land and to sanction the Crown's indiscriminate atrocities and war crimes against unarmed prisoners at Ngātapa (Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi, 2023:22 – 38).

Te Kooti then went to Ōweta pā in Manutūkē and took approximately 300 prisoners and provisions. Nepia Tokitahi slew Paratene Tūrangi (Pototi) on Te Kooti's orders (Mackay, 1984:270). Several other rangatira were killed[67] including those that were held responsible for dispossessing his whanau and hapū of lands, or who were intent on cooperating with the government for the sales of land (Binney, 1997: 126 – 130). Rukupō was at Ōweta pā and permitted to leave by Te Kooti (Binney, 1997:126).[68] Wiremu Kingi Paiaterangi Te Apaapa added that when Raharuhi left:

> "... Ōweta, and took or led away Paora [Toki] and Te [Rangi]whaitiri to Te Kooti. The latter came down to my pā and killed all our pigs as an offering to his god. His people then held a service and fed, after which he led us away to a place near Kōhanga kārearea." [69]

Wiremu Kingi also mentioned that Rukupō had threatened to join Te Kooti (Kingi, 1870:26). However, Rukupō ultimately remained neutral. It is said that Te Kooti initially presented him with a silver watch taken from Wharekauri. Later, when Te Kooti requested that the rangatira send him

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[64] Gift to request assistance in combat. it was accepted by Te Kooti under the condition he assassinated the colonisers that were responsible for the murders.
[65] Is said to have trained as a carver under Rukupō (Ellis & Robertson, 2016:62).
[66] R.D.Z Hall (1987:01) noted firstly that Te Kani had named Biggs as the killer, and secondly that Te Kani's account this is consistent with others: "death at the hands of Frasers force to be avenged on the Gisborne settlements."
[67] Ihimaera Hokopu, Iraia Riki and Hira Te Kai were killed immediately (Binney, 1997:126).
[68] Rukupō said later: "… I remember the arrival of Te Kooti at Ōweta — I slept there the night previous, and in the morning he came — I saw Hoera [Kapuaroa] there — He came with Te Kooti's followers — He was apart from the soldiers — He had no weapon in his hand; neither firearms nor other weapon — I am quite certain that he had no sword in his hand — The Ōweta people were taken away as prisoners, and I fled." (PBCMB: 44).
[69] Aperahama Kouka commented: "When Te Kooti's party came I was beside Paratene attending on him — The evening previous, I tried to persuade Paratene to leave in company with me — In the morning Te Kooti came down on us — He appeared before our Pa, and held prayers — After prayers he entered the Pa and sat down — When he entered, I saw Hoera enter along with Te Kooti's band – Hoera and Tamihana Ruatapu's son had each a sword — We cooked food for those who had come, and the band partook of it … I did not see him again till I saw him at Kōhanga kārearea… I considered ourselves as prisoners … Then we were taken to Pukepuke; Hoera with us — He and the rest drove us as their captives, but I saw no weapon in his hand after leaving Ōweta — Then we were taken by several stages to Karetu — There were "whare's" there where we passed the night — In the morning we were attacked by the Government Forces — I did not see Hoera with any weapons — I believe that he had none — I repeat that I did not see him with any weapon after the affair at Ōweta — The reason I saw nothing of him was that Te Kooti kept me inside; that he might teach me the letters (rudiments) of his religion — I and others stopped a little below Ngātapa — I did not see Hoera after the fight at Karetu until he was brought in by Rapata [Wahawaha] — I had escaped the day of the fight at Karetu." (PBCMB:18)

their swords as a sign of their support, Rukupō returned the watch at Pukepuke (Fort St. John), deeming it a whakapatipati (deceptive gift).[70] Te Kooti subsequently returned the watch to Rukupō, along with a sword, and released him (Binney, 1997: 27). Rongowhakaata kaumatua, Heni Sunderland said that in the aftermath of Te Kooti's assault on Ōweta pā that: "Rukupō ... got away and went to Muriwai" (Binney, 1984, 21:45). In July 1869 Rukupō was present as a witness during the Poverty Bay Commission investigations (PBCMB: 44-45, 50-52, 60-81, 134-140, 191-207, 157-169, 257-290). Following the loss of his wife, his son, his apprentice, along with the theft of Te Hau Ki Tūranga. the last five years of Rukupō's life were marked by political turmoil (Kernot, 1984:154). He struggled with illness and declining health, but:

"...I tūrorotia ai tōna tinana kīhai tōna ngākau i turorotia, kaha tonu tōna māngai ki te whakapuaki I ngā painga mō te iwi." (TWM, 1873: 179).	"...although his body was afflicted, his nobility of soul was untouched, and his mouth ever gave utterance lo words for the benefit of the people" (TWM, 1873: 179)

From 1868 to the 1930s, Te Hau ki Tūranga was displayed in the Colonial Museum in Wellington, located on Bowen Street behind the parliamentary building. Rukupō would never see the whare again, as J.C. Richmond, who ordered its dismantling, was also responsible for endorsing the slaughter of unarmed civilians at Ngātapa (Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi, 2023:35). On September 21, Raharuhi Rukupō received the Lord's Supper. He passed away on the 29th of September 1873, and was laid to rest on October 2nd, beside the Manutūkē Church. Mohi Turei Tangaroapeau remarked, "i mate ia i roto ia te Karaiti" (He died in Christ) (TWM, 1873:179).

One of the Ōhākī, and final directions of Rukupō were:

"Kia hanga te whare karakia, kia ora, kia huihui anō hoki ngā tāngata ki te taha o te whare karakia, kia whakamutua te nama, me te hoko whenua." (TWM, 1873: 179).	"Build the church, so that the people may be well and again gather by the church, Cease all debt and the selling of land."[71]

Thus passed one of the greatest rangatira of Tūranga. Following his death, Te Kani Te Ua commented that "The Mana of Raharuhi Rukupō ultimately descended To [Otene] Pītau..." and that:

> "... Pītau proved to be a worthy upholder of Rukupō's prestige and was known throughout Māoridom as a chief of the Rongowhakaata tribe and of the Gisborne Area. He was indeed one of our leading kaumatua's – Kind, helpful and hospitable" (Te Ua, 1962b: 01).

Otene Pītau had no biological children with his wife, Mere Whati Hoone (Jones). However, he adopted Mere Tahatu Pere, the daughter of Wi Pere (Gisborne Herald, 5 July 1972). Following her death in 1883, he also adopted Heta Te Kani, son of Hirini Te Kani.

Five years after Rukupō's death, just as he had built Te Hau ki Tūranga for Tāmati Waaka Māngere, Pera Tāwhiti constructed Te Poho o Rukupō as a memorial to his older brother (Halbert, 1999:88;

[70]This implies that Rukupō believed the gift was deceptive. Wiremu Kingi's version states that the rangatira—Rukupō, Paratene Tūrangi, Petera Honotapu, Whakapuaka, Manutahi Te Kēmara, Wiremu Rangiwhaitiri, and Iraia Riki: "…wrote to [Te Kooti], in reply to which he directed them to send him all their swords. Their answer was giving him £10 and a watch as a whakapatipati." This suggests that it was the of the rangatira that was deceptive (Kingi, 1870: 26).

[71] My translation. The original text stated that: "He exhorted them to repair the church, and to locate themselves in its vicinity: and he charged them to keep clear of debts, and to hold their lands—not to sell" (TWM, 1873: 179).

Gisborne Herald, 5 July 1972).[72]At the same time, Wi Pere, Keita Wyllie, Paora Kate, and Otene Pītau petitioned for the return of Te Hau Ki Tūranga and were unsuccessful (NAC, 1878:29). It would not be for over one hundred years that another attempt would be made.

Te Kani Te Ua concluded his discussions on Rukupō by citing lines from Thomas Babington Macaulay's poem 'Horatius,' featured in Lays of Ancient Rome:

“To every man upon this earth Death cometh soon or late. And how can man die better Then facing fearful odds, For the ashes of his fathers And the temples of his Gods”[73] (Macaulay, 1846:58)	Ki ngā tāngata katoa i runga i te mata o Te Whatupapa, Ka tae mai te mate a muri ake, a mua ake nei. A, me pēhea e taea ai e te tangata te mate pai ake i te aro ki ngā āhuatanga whakawehi, mō ngā ngārahu tapu o ōna matua tipuna, me ngā temepara whakairo tapu a ōna Atua.[74]

Te Kani stated that: “Rukupō did this by opposing the government” (Te Ua,1962a:02). Throughout his life, Rukupō's actions were driven by a commitment to protecting the interests of Tūranga iwi while navigating the shifting dynamics of colonial power. His legacy remains one of resilience, adaptation, and unwavering dedication to his people and their place in the world.

He Waiata kīnaki:

A tātou kōrero hoki rā eee auē I nui o rangi rā He mea kia mahue ē-- auē i Kā kitea rikiriki e Kā ngaro hoki rā e--- auē Ngā waha ki ngā hautū o te waka I hoea ai te moana Hei whakapuru atu rā e--- auē i Mō ngā tai kino, mō ngā tai marangai Ka puta ki waho rā Haere mai rā tātou e---auē i Kī tau nei kia marewa i te ata I maunu atu ai e---auē i Te taniwha i tōna rua---a i	Of the speeches that were made in greater times, I have been abandoned, watching as everything is shattered to pieces. Gone are the orators, the great leaders of the waka who paddled the ocean, And faced the fierce storms, the tempestuous seas, emerging beyond. Gather together, let us chant ‘marewa i te ata’ and escape the taniwha within its pit.

The ending of the words is Pai Mārire.

[72]Tiopira Rauna Sr noted that Te Teira Ringahanene, a carver who likely worked with Rukupō on the Manutūkē church, built the Poho o Hiraina wharenui at Pakowhai Marae (Neich, 1975). Heni Sunderland credits Te Teira with working on Te Mana o Tūranga (Fowler, 1974:10), and he also built the wharenui Tāwhirimatea (Phillipps, 1944:97–98). Based on his work on Te Poho o Hiraina, it is probable that he also contributed to Te Poho o Rukupō at Manutūkē Marae and Te Poho o Taharakau at Pahou Marae.

[73] Te Kani’s original quotation was from memory: “For how can man die better than facing fearful odds for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods.” (Te Ua,1962a:02).

[74] My translation from the English.

Whakarongo ake ai ki te hīrea waha o Rukupō:

In the absence of whakatauakī Rukupō would have laid down, waiata he might have composed, or even songs he might have sung as was expected of a rangatira, these words of wisdom have been selected from his writings to breath life into his words and honour his memory.

"[Na] te mea kāore he kaitahu ahi i roto i te ware, [kā]ore e tomo atu te tangata haere ki roto i te [wh]are, ka haere tou i waho…" Raharuhi Rukupō and Paora, Kate, 1847:02	Because there is no firelighter to light fires within the house. The people will not enter the house and will instead go outside.
"Āe, e tama, e noho koe ki konei, ki Tūranga, 'kauwautia te kupu, tohea i ngā taima pai, i ngā taima kino.'"[75] Raharuhi Rukupō and Paora, Kate, 1847:02	Yes Child, remain in Tūranga, 'preach[76] the word; be insistent in good times and bad times.'
"Kaore, ki te riro hai taone, e pai ana, e riro tika ana."[77] Raharuhi Rukupō, March, 1851:01.	No, if it is taken as a town, that's all good, but do it properly.
"E ta, ko te tangata tahae, kei tukua mai koe ki tōu whare." Raharuhi Rukupō, March, 1851:01.	Sir, do not let thieves inside of your house.
"Kaore e utua taku kainga. E ta, ka pai rānei ki au. Na, ko taku, me pana atu ki te moana." [78] Raharuhi Rukupō, May 1851:01.	My home will not be sold. Sir, if you agree with me, to me, push them into the sea.

[75] Quoting Timothy 4:2: "Kauwhautia te kupu; tohea i nga wa pai, i nga wa kino…"
[76] Kauwautia implies recitation – but in this context refers to preaching.
[77] Speaking on the building of the Gisborne Town. Original translation: "So, no, if it is to be taken for a town, fine, but do it properly."
[78] Original Translation: "My land will not be bought. Sir, if you agree with me, then my idea is to drive them into the sea."

“Ka ki mai rātou ki au, kia waiho tonu te ritenga i ngā kaumātua o mua. Ka mea atu ahau ki a rātou e kore rawa ahau e mau ki ēnā ritenga, kua pau nā ēnā ritenga i ngā ritenga a te Pākehā.”[79] Raharuhi Rukupō, June 1851:01.	They said to me, keep the customs of our kaumatua of the past. Then I said I certainly will not. These customs have been exhausted by the customs of the Europeans
Ka nui ngā tau o rātou i noho ai i runga tō mātou kainga. E ta, he ki atu tā mātau kia homai kia rima ngā hereni ki tekau kotahi, ki ana mai kotahi te pene”[80] Raharuhi Rukupō, 13 June 1851a:01.	They have stayed on our home for many years. Sir, we say they should give five to ten shillings, they say, one penny only.
“E hoa, tēnei anō te kupu a ngā tāngata o Tūranga ki au, kia whakarerea e ahau te ture Pākehā, kia tango tahi mātou ki ngā ture a ngā pakeke. Ka mea atu ahau ki a ratou, 'E kore ahau e pai,” [81] Raharuhi Rukupō, 10 November 1851:01	Friend, this is again the word of the people of Tūranga to me. Forsake the laws of the Pākehā, let all of us as one the laws of the elders. I said to them. I do not approve.
“Me kōrero kino o mua, muri iho he kōrero pai.” Rukupō, et al, 1861, 25 March: 3	speak ill first, then later speak well
E kore e haere i a koe e ra, e haere i te piapia.’ (Rukupō, 26 July 1861:01 – 02)	‘It will not go with you in a smooth manner; it will go reluctantly.’
“Ko au tēnei ko te kaiwhakaoti o te ki.” Raharuhi Rukupō, 08 April 1865 (Waka Māori, 6 May 1865:08)	It is I that concludes these remarks.[82]

[79] Original Translation: “They said to me to let the customs of the elders of old remain. And I said to them that I would certainly not maintain those customs, that they had been superseded by Pakeha ways.” Additional commentary from Te Kani Te Ua (n.da:09) notes “There would not be many taurekareka’s to make him desire to revert to that of his ancestors because the new order accepted freedom to all. Raharuhi would be fair minded, any chiefs if remanded for some fault, Raharuhi would support the punishment in light of the new religion.”
[80] Original translation: On demanding payment from Europeans for pasture. Original translation: “They have stayed on our land for many years. Sir, we say that they should give five shillings for a year; they say one penny.”
[81] Original translation: Friend, this is what the people of Tūranga said to me, that I should give up the Pakeha laws, and that we should take up the laws of the elders. I said to them, 'I do not approve of that'.
[82] In other words, “I am the final speaker”, “I that conclude these speeches” or “I have the final say.”

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