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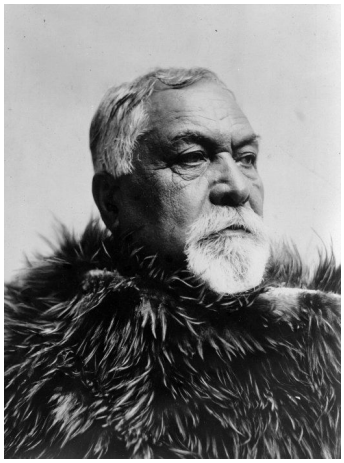
Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury



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Jury, Hoani Te Whatahoro 1841 – 1923 Ngāti Kahungunu scholar, recorder, interpreter

Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury, also known as John Alfred Jury, John Alfred Te Whatahoro Jury, Te Whatahoro Jury, and Hoani Turi Te Whatahoro, was born on 4 February 1841 at Rakaukaka, Poverty Bay. He was the eldest son of Te Aitu-o-te-rangi and her husband, John Milsome Jury, who was working as a carpenter for the missionary William Williams. In March 1842 Hoani and his parents moved to the Wairarapa region with Pehi Tu-te-pakihi-rangi and some 400 Wairarapa people who had been living temporarily at Nukutaurua, on the Mahia peninsula. The Jury family initially settled with the other Wairarapa people at Te Kopi-a-Uenuku, Palliser Bay. Some time in 1845, soon after European settlers had taken up leases for sheep stations in Wairarapa, the family sailed over the open bar of Lake Onoke into Lake Wairarapa and up the Ruamahanga River.

Hoani's parents built their first home on land which Te Aitu claimed as her own. The land, called Waka-a-paua, was on the Ruamahanga River, some three miles north-east of Martinborough. There, and in the district north-east of Lake Wairarapa, Hoani spent his early years with his mother's people, Ngāti Moe, a hapu of Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu. He learnt of the traditional fishing places on the shores of Lake Wairarapa, and Te Aitu showed Hoani, or Tiaki as he was known as a boy, all the boundaries and the special places of their ancestral land. Later he worked as a stockman for Angus McMaster at Tuhitarata, Lake Wairarapa.

Hoani, with his sister Annie and brother Charles, was initially taught to read and write by his father, who later sent him to Wellington to be tutored by a Mr Crawford (Kerewhata). Te Aitu did not agree to her son living with a man whom she did not know. After a month one of his mother's relatives fetched Hoani back. His further education was at mission schools and, according to family tradition, was paid for by Governor George Grey.

In 1854, when Hoani Te Whatahoro was 13, his mother died. He and his father then quarrelled over some horses and they went their separate ways. His father, some time later, moved to Glendower, a block of land at Ponatahi, south of Carterton. He took with him the two younger children, eight-year-old Annie and four-year-old Charles. In October 1868, in the Native Land Court at Greytown, Hoani, supported by his

father, successfully established his own right, and that of his brother and sister, to Te Aitu's land. The court awarded Jury's Island, an area of 55 acres, to Charles and Annie Eliza Jury, and Wharehanga, a peninsula of about 400 acres to the south, to Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury.

Hoani Te Whatahoro became a prolific writer on Māori traditions and customs. He usually acted as a scribe or recorder. He began this work in the late 1850s, when a large gathering of Wairarapa Māori came together to discuss land and political questions. It was suggested that the tohunga present should explain some of the tribal traditions to the assembled people. Three tohunga consented to teach: Te Matorohanga (also known as Moihi Torohanga) was appointed to lecture, and the other two (both unnamed) were to assist by recalling any matters that Te Matorohanga might omit. The Wairarapa people also decided that these lectures should be written down by Hoani Te Whatahoro and Aporo Te Kumeroa. At Papawai, near Greytown, in 1865, Hoani recorded traditions given by Te Matorohanga, with Paratene Te Okawhare and Nepia Pohuhu assisting. He continued to record information from the teachings of Nepia Pohuhu and Te Matorohanga until their deaths in the 1880s.

From about 1870 to 1877 Hoani Te Whatahoro seems to have lived at Putiki, Wanganui, where he was at various times a recorder and an interpreter. In 1868 he was acting as an advocate in the Native Land Court. His duties took him to Horowhenua, Wellington, Wairarapa, Hastings, Gisborne and Tolaga Bay, as well as other parts of the North Island. From 1878 to the mid 1880s he was in Gisborne and the Tolaga Bay area. He moved to Wanganui about 1902 and later farmed at Ohotu, south of Taihape, until about 1909. While living at Wanganui, he continued his interest in tribal traditions and copied Ngāti Tuwharetoa manuscripts and information from Te Umukura and Whaiti-nga-rere-waka. For over 40 years he also returned often to Papawai for short periods.

In 1883 missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints began work among the Māori at Te Ore Ore, near Masterton. Several people, including Hoani Te Whatahoro, were attracted to this faith. From 1886 to 1888 he was one of those who assisted Mormon elders in translating the Book of Mormon into Māori. On 26 June 1900 he was baptised into the Mormon church and at the same time confirmed, at the Papawai branch of the church.

In the 1890s Hoani Te Whatahoro was involved with Te Kotahitanga. This movement advocated self-government for the Māori people through a Parliament, and claimed this as a right based on the Treaty of Waitangi. The Māori parliament wanted Native Land Court work to stop, all Māori assessors to resign and the sale of Māori land to be placed under Māori control. In June 1892 Hoani was elected chairman of the parliament held at Waipatu, near Hastings.

Hoani Te Whatahoro was also a member of the Tane-nui-a-rangi committee, to which the most learned men of Ngāti Kahungunu belonged. In February 1899, at Papawai, Tamahau Mahupuku made a plea for the recording of Māori learning from elders with great knowledge. He suggested setting up groups to encourage this, and an appeal was made for old manuscript books. The Tane-nui-a-rangi committee met from 1905 to 1910 to consider the books which they had gathered. Once a manuscript was approved by the committee each page was stamped with the committee's seal. Some were given to the Dominion Museum where they were copied, but the original manuscripts have vanished.

In February 1907 Hoani Te Whatahoro was elected a corresponding member of the Polynesian Society; he retained this membership until his death. In 1907 'An ancient Māori poem' by Tuhoto-ariki was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* with a translation by George H. Davies and extensive notes by Hoani Te Whatahoro. In 1909 Hoani Te Whatahoro had published in the society's journal an article 'Ko te tikanga o tenei kupu, o Ariki'.

Although Hoani Te Whatahoro made important collections of Māori traditions and nineteenth century literature, much of this material was passed on to several European scholars. Elsdon Best, T. W. Downes, S. Percy Smith and John White all wrote articles which incorporated information supplied by Hoani Te

Whatahoro, but made little or no acknowledgement. One of the more important of these articles is Downes's 'History of the Ngāti Kahu-ngunu', published in sections in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* between 1914 and 1916. Percy Smith, president of the Polynesian Society, used other writings of Hoani Te Whatahoro. He translated and published, under the title *The lore of the whare-wananga* , the teachings of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu that had been written down by Hoani 48 years earlier. The first part of these teachings was printed as volume three of the Polynesian Society's *Memoirs* in 1913, the second part was first printed as chapters in the *Journal* in 1913 and 1914, and then reprinted in 1915 as volume four of the *Memoirs.* In these publications the ideas, opinions and interpretations of Smith dominate the English translation. Important manuscripts of Hoani Te Whatahoro are now held by the University of Auckland, the Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Museum.

Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury had seven wives and fifteen children. His first wife was Pane Ihaka Te Moe Whatarau, with whom he had Te Aitu-o-te-rangi Wikitoria (also known as Sue Materoa) and Muretu William; his second wife was Hera Ihaka Te Moe Whatarau (a sister of his first wife), with whom he had Meri Kiriwera, Te Waikuini and Te Hiwa. Huhana Apiata was Hoani's third wife, with whom he had Tiweka Rangihikitia. His fourth wife was Keriana Te Potae-aute, and they had nine children: Tepora, Te Uranga, Puhinga-i-te-rangi Margaret, Renata Te Manga, Takotoroa, Makaretu, Te Rina, Manapouri Te Rina Huitau and Hamuera Porourangi. His fifth wife was Mata Pohoua (also called Mata Te Rautahi); his sixth, Hera Erena Rongo; and his last, Hera Ferris; they had no issue by him, although they did bring up some of his grandchildren.

Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury died on 26 September 1923, at the Greytown home of his eldest daughter, Te Aitu-o-te-Rangi. He is buried in the Papawai cemetery. A man of great knowledge, he is said to have completed six of the seven grades of the whare wānanga. He is represented in the painted panels of the porch of the meeting house, Hikurangi, at Papawai.

M. J. PARSONS

N.Z. Native Land Court. Minute books: Wairarapa, 1866--1900. Micro MS Coll. 6. WTU

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Tahi : Kaiārahi			
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Niniwa i te Rangi

1854 – 1929 Ngāti Kahungunu woman of mana, editor

Niniwa-i-te-rangi, often known as Niniwa Heremaia, was born at Oroi, on the east coast of Wairarapa; the date of her birth is said to have been 6 April 1854. She was the eldest surviving daughter of Heremaia Tamaihotua, also known as Ngapuruki, the leading chief of Ngāti Hikawera of Ngāti Kahungunu. Her mother, Ani Kanara, was one of Heremaia's three wives.

Niniwa may have been taught to read and write by Hirini Taraawauhi, a schoolmaster. Her eldest cousin, Wi Hikawera Mahupuku, himself a teacher, may also have had a hand in her education. As a girl Niniwa lived at Whatamanga in Wairarapa. Hikawera was recognised as the most talented of the rising generation and was deputed by his elders to conduct the affairs of the hapū. Niniwa grew up during the time he was developing Waikoukou as the sheep station of Ngāti Hikawera and taking an increasing role in the management of the hapū's other affairs.

In the 1860s Niniwa's father took her and her younger sister to live on their mother's lands at Akura, to establish their claim there. In the early 1870s Niniwa became the wife of a European, whose name is not recorded. In 1874 the couple moved to Kehemane (Tablelands), built a house and enclosed 30 acres of land. Shortly afterwards Niniwa abandoned her husband and ran off with Kawana Ropiha (also known as Kawana Hunia) of Muaupoko and Ngāti Apa. Hikawera followed them as far as Wellington, remonstrating that Niniwa had been stolen, but she spent the next 10 years in the Rangitikei district with Ropiha. She returned with him about 1885 to Kehemane. There she found her cousin Tamahau Mahupuku occupying her property, quarrelled with him, and drove him out.

Niniwa was temporarily reconciled with her cousins during the years 1885 to 1888. Hikawera recognised Niniwa as the leading woman of her hapū, and entrusted the hapū's treasures, two greenstone mere, to her care. But in the years of her absence her father had become blind and bed-ridden. Niniwa later alleged that he was drinking heavily, and that Hikawera was

paying his bills to keep him dependent.

Out of this situation developed the bitter family and hapū disputes over Te Poraka-nui-o-nga-waka-a-Kupe, a huge block of land consisting of some 62,700 acres between Greytown and the east coast, usually called Ngā-waka-a-Kupe. It was first adjudicated in the Native Land Court in 1890. Ngāti Hikawera, whose case was conducted for them by Paratene Ngata, were awarded the major shares in Nga-waka-a-Kupe, and also Parororangi, Hau-o-koeko, Tahuroa, Wainuioru and part of Rangataua.

While this was a great victory for Ngāti Hikawera, Niniwa was not satisfied. She had asked Hikawera and Judge Alexander Mackay to set aside 500 acres for her at Kehemane. When they refused she co-ordinated protest against Hikawera's subdivision of the land, and successfully applied for a rehearing, held on 26 January 1891. This rehearing was one of the most bitter battles ever fought in a Wairarapa land court. Niniwa alleged that Hikawera had failed to distinguish between his own and hapū property, and had mismanaged both sheep and funds. She tried to drive a wedge between her two cousins by bringing up past quarrels, alleged that Hikawera had influenced Heremaia against her and robbed him of his mana, and revived an ancient feud between their respective grandparents. In return Tamahau successfully showed that Niniwa had savagely quarrelled with her father. In the judgement, given on 13 April 1892, Niniwa's behaviour was severely censured, but she benefited materially. She was awarded a 25-acre share of Uwhiroa, and was included among the owners of a 1,053-acre Ngāti Hikawera reserve created at Kehemane. She also received a 1,000-acre share of Ngā-waka-a-Kupe. Altogether she was awarded one-eighth of her father's share.

Niniwa's land court battles did her no harm in the eyes of Tamahau, however. It was evident that her abilities as a speaker, her knowledge of genealogy and tradition, her force of character and forthright outspokenness qualified her for a leading position in Wairarapa. By 1894 there was peace between them, and as Tamahau continued to expand the role of Papawai as a political centre, he turned to Niniwa for help. At Christmas that year he successfully proposed the setting up of women's committees in Wairarapa. Niniwa was a member of the first of these, Te Komiti Wahine a Hinehauone (or Hinehauore). This and three other committees were responsible for much of the huge preparations begun in September 1896 to host the Māori parliaments of the Kotahitanga movement at Papawai in 1897 and 1898.

Niniwa set up and was one of two treasurers of a committee to support the Māori language newspapers, *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* and *Te Tiupiri.* Her husband, Kawana Ropiha, was chairman and her mother was a member. Niniwa was the editor for women's affairs, and also decided which items of foreign news from English-language newspapers should be translated and included. In numerous letters printed in the two papers she solicited financial support for them, announced meetings at Papawai and elsewhere hosted by herself, and discussed topical issues.

After Tamahau Mahupuku's death in 1904, *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* was published under the authority of a group headed by Niniwa as owner. That year, in a total reversal of her attitude in 1891, Niniwa published a long tribute to her cousin. She interpreted the Māori Councils Act 1900 as the resolution of the struggle for Māori sovereignty which had guided his career. She also gave him credit for the resolution of the Wairarapa lakes dispute, which she regarded as the cause of 30 years of tension between Māori and Pakeha.

In November 1904 Niniwa sponsored the production of the *Māori Record,* an English-language newspaper devoted to the advancement of the Māori people, edited by R. S. Thompson. It

reviewed Māori land and other grievances in the light of government policy. Niniwa's involvement was brief, however, possibly because she disapproved of the paper's anti-government tone.

From the late 1890s Niniwa-i-te-rangi carved out a unique position for herself. She was considered a leader of Māori affairs alongside such figures as Wi Pere, Henare Tomoana, Paratene Ngata and Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino. She was the only woman whose views were sought when the Native Affairs Committee inquired into the Native Lands Settlement and Administration Bill of 1898. She regularly spoke on the marae in a district in which this was not a common practice. She became known around the country, beginning in the days when Tamahau sent her out as Papawai's ambassador to solicit attendance at the Māori parliaments. Her knowledge of whakapapa and tradition was extensive and contributed to the work of the Tane-nui-a-rangi committee, set up by Tamahau to record Māori tradition and genealogy. Niniwa was involved with the work of this committee, but was not a member.

Probably about the turn of the century, after the death of Kawana Ropiha, Niniwa married Tamaihotua Aporo. This marriage, like her others, remained childless, although Niniwa adopted her husband's daughter. Throughout her adult life she adopted at birth a number of children, whose descendants regard her as their ancestor.

In the twentieth century Niniwa continued the Mahupuku tradition of horse-racing, and developed an interest in motor cars. Her influence expanded from Wairarapa; she was known in Hawke's Bay and the Bay of Plenty, and lived for a time at Lyall Bay in Wellington. In old age she was cared for by her niece, Martha Hirini, the only person permitted to enter her bedroom or give her water. Niniwa's finances became very complex, and at her death her estate was large but encumbered with debt. She died of heart failure on 23 March 1929 at Greytown, and was buried at Hikawera.

ANGELA BALLARA

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Kaiārahi

Tahi : Kaiārahi			
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Nireaha Tamaki

Nireaha Tamaki was born at Te Pakawau on the Manawatu River probably between 1835 and 1837. His father was Matiu Tamaki, a descendant of high rank of Rangitāne and Hāmua; Nireaha was sometimes known as Nireaha Matiu. His mother, Maraea Te Hungatai, also known as Reikura, was a woman of rank descended from both Kahungunu and Rangitāne. Nireaha's principal hapū were Hāmua and Ngāti Mutuahi, and he was also kin to Ngāti Kapakapa, Ngāti Te Wananga, Ngāti Matangiuru and Ngāti Mawhai.

As a small child Nireaha was brought up for a time by Reihana Takawa, who gave him the name Te Morehu. When he was older the Rangitāne chief of Puehutai on the upper Manawatu River, Te Hirawanu Kaimokopuna, took an interest in him, ensuring that he learnt about the mana of his ancestors. When Te Hirawanu died Nireaha was regarded as his heir, with responsibilities towards his many hapū. The elders arranged Nireaha's marriage to a high-ranking woman of Hāmua and Muaupoko; this was Rihipeti. Their children were Matewai and Pirihira. Nireaha had several other marriages or liaisons and a large family. At different times in his life he lived at Palmerston North, Tahoraiti (near Dannevirke), Masterton, Ngawapurua (near Woodville) and Te Hawera (Hāmua).

Nireaha Tamaki began his life's work as the protector of his people's land interests in 1871, despite being initially disadvantaged by his relative youth and junior rank. He participated in the sale of the so-called Forty Mile Bush (the Wairarapa end of the Seventy Mile Bush), but aimed to retain substantial reserves for his various hapū at Pahiatua, Ngawapurua, Te Hawera and Tutaekara. In spite of being among the sellers of the 62,000-acre Mangatainoka or Manawatu–Wairarapa No 3 block in Forty Mile Bush in 1873, Nireaha retained interests in several of its subdivisions and reserves, and after a lifetime of land dealings he still owned an estimated 5,000 acres.

In the 1870s Nireaha began a series of court battles with the western chiefs of Rangitāne; he was often allied with Huru Te Hiaro of Te Hawera, nephew of Te Hirawanu Kaimokopuna. In 1872 his claim to be registered as a grantee of the Mangatainoka No 2A or Tutaekara block was dismissed. In 1875 he tried again to have his name inserted as a grantee, saying that he had not agreed to Hoani Meihana Te

Rangiotu's allocation of subdivisions of the block to various hapū. His application was denied by the court. Later, he applied on behalf of himself and his party for a separate grant of the southern portion of the block, since his cultivations and the burial places of his ancestors were there. Te Rangiotu and Te Peeti Te Aweawe objected, and again the application was denied.

After the estimated 66,390 acres of Mangatainoka had passed through the court, the Crown offered to purchase the land. For a whole day Nireaha, on behalf of Ngāti Mutuahi, disputed rights to the block with Te Rangiotu, who was forced to postpone negotiations to sell. In June 1875 Nireaha wrote to Donald McLean, then native minister, demanding a rehearing of his claim. He wrote again in July, threatening to resort to arms if a rehearing was not granted. McLean seems to have succeeded in resolving the issue at a meeting with Nireaha shortly afterwards.

Nireaha was amenable to European settlement despite his battles to retain land. Europeans knew him by the nickname 'Bulls-tail'. With Huru Te Hiaro he ran the ferry over the Manawatu River east of the gorge. In August 1877 he reached an agreement with the Crown that permitted the river to be bridged, and in recognition of his services he was paid a subsidy of £25 per annum. In 1885 he was painted by Gottfried Lindauer, dressed in a thrummed cloak, carrying a mere, with a huia feather in his hair.

By the early 1880s Nireaha's fights were against the government. After it put a pre-emptive restriction on the Mangatainoka blocks for the purposes of railway construction, in January 1884 Nireaha wrote demanding that the restriction be removed, and that compensation be paid for his improvements. He wanted the government to provide three stations for the Forty Mile Bush area, called Hawera, Pahiatua and Ngawapurua.

Government land purchase agents did all they could to buy individual grantees' shares of the various Mangatainoka blocks, disregarding the wish of the chiefs to retain them as a tribal estate. By January 1884 the government had succeeded in purchasing 41,430 acres. The principal chiefs, including Nireaha, insisted that further substantial reserves be made, amounting to five or six per cent of the total, or between 3,000 and 4,000 acres.

In January 1885 Nireaha was visited by Hori Ropiha, who had returned from a visit to England determined to convince the Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa Māori to cease land selling and to boycott the Native Land Court. As a counter-measure to Ropiha's influence the government's agent, Thomas McDonnell, attempted to bribe the non-sellers of the Mangatainoka block, including Nireaha, with a higher price per acre.

In April 1885 the government, wishing to sell the portion of its share of the block not needed for the railway, called the case before the Native Land Court. Nireaha's withdrawal from the court forced it to adjourn to Otaki in late May. In May 1887 Nireaha still retained his shares in Tutaekara, and was making matters difficult for Waata Tohu and other land sellers. In March 1888 he wrote to the minister for native affairs, Edwin Mitchelson, complaining about errors in the surveyor's plan of Te Hawera, and asking for a rehearing. He was in danger of losing all his cultivations and improvements to the Crown, and the survey line had been approved in the Land Court during his absence at a funeral.

In 1890 Nireaha succeeded in getting the Crown proclamation removed from his various blocks so that he could lease them. But his victory was tempered by the Crown's demand that the owners pay for the survey. Nireaha pointed out that the surveys, hearings and purchases were all government initiatives. The Crown's agents decided that it was only fair that non-sellers should pay costs on the land they retained: they thought that some European prospective purchaser was trying to avoid paying the costs of survey, and were reluctant to believe that Nireaha genuinely wanted to retain his land.

Nireaha's difficulties with the Crown and its surveys reached their height in 1893 over the Mangatainoka subdivisions. No survey had been made at the time of the original grants, thus invalidating the grantees' certificate of title. The frequently cited legal case, *Nireaha Tamaki* v. *Baker*, was heard before the Court of Appeal in 1894. Nireaha claimed an area of 5,184 acres, either as part of the block granted to himself and

others in September 1871, or, if that title was invalid, as land which had never passed the Native Land Court, and was therefore held under customary Māori title.

The court decided that Nireaha's title, if any, was based on customary tenure, and that by a precedent set in 1877 in *Wi Parata* v. *The bishop of Wellington & the attorney-general*, the Crown's transactions with Māori for land held under customary tenure were acts of state, and could not be reviewed by any court, including the Court of Appeal. Moreover, there did not exist any body of customary law known as 'the Ancient Custom and Usage of the Māori People' even though that phrase had been used in the Native Rights Act 1865. Nireaha was ordered to pay the costs of the hearing.

Nireaha's defeat was discussed in the Kotahitanga newspaper, *Huia Tangata Kotahi.* It was claimed that the Court of Appeal had refused to make a decision in his case because if it did, other sales to the government could be questioned on the same grounds. The attention of Māori was focused on Nireaha, especially after he decided to appeal to the Privy Council. The appeal was heard in May 1900, and judgement handed down in May 1901. The decision was reversed, the Court of Appeal being adjudged to have jurisdiction over the question of whether the land in dispute had been ceded to the Crown. The respondent, Surveyor General John Holland Baker, was ordered to pay the costs of the 1894 hearing.

In the long run, Nireaha's victory established several important principles which affected many subsequent cases: the courts would take cognisance of Māori custom, although no customary right could be enforced until confirmed by statute; Māori customary title was not inconsistent with the fact that the fee simple of the whole territory of New Zealand was vested in the Crown; and, most importantly, a system of customary Māori land tenure did exist and should be recognised in court decisions. In response to the Privy Council's decision, the government passed legislation which limited Māori rights to scrutinise the Crown's land-purchasing procedure through the courts. Nevertheless, the theoretical considerations at least remained on record, and this in itself made the decision of lasting importance.

Nireaha's success in land matters ensured him a position in Māori leadership. He had played a minor role in the early years of the Kotahitanga movement, and a more prominent one later at the parliament held at Papawai, and in the Māori councils. He became advisory counsellor of the Rongokako Māori Council in 1906. In the early 1900s he built a meeting house, Te Poari, at Hāmua for its meetings. He was a haka leader in Ngāti Kahungunu performances at Rotorua during the welcome to the duke and duchess of Cornwall and of York in 1901. The same year, he accompanied Tamahau Mahupuku to the Sydney pageant celebrating the inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia. Nireaha succeeded in getting the name Hāmua given to the post office at Te Hawera, which effectively changed the town's name and commemorated his major hapū. The township of Nireaha, first established in 1886 on land he had sold, was called after him. In 1907 he was elected a member of the Komiti o Tupai of the Tane-nui-a-rangi committee, responsible for the collection and vetting of Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu genealogy and tradition.

Nireaha had been an Anglican in early life, but became a convert to Catholicism in the 1890s. In 1896 he donated land at Hāmua for a hall, and later gave more for a church. He died on 3 July 1911 at Hāmua. When the day for his burial arrived, he was carried from his house, Te Mihi-ki-a-te-Kuini, to the cemetery. The Catholic bishop of Wellington performed the ceremonies and the sermon was preached by an Anglican minister, Hekiera Te Raro. The funeral was attended by 3,000 Māori and Pakeha. A monument in his memory was erected by his daughters, Meri Ngawhiro and Pirihira Tatere.

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Kaiārahi

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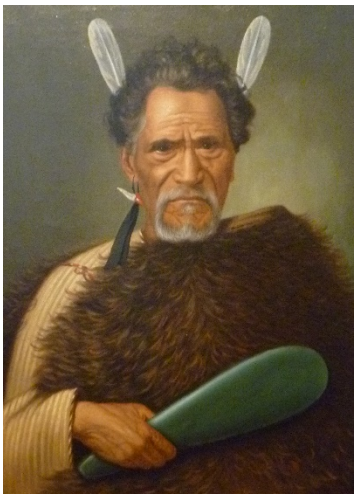
Retimana Te Korou



Te Korou was born in the later eighteenth century. Through his father, Te Raku, he was a descendant of Rangitāne, from Hauiti, the younger sibling of Hāmua, ancestor of his principal hapū. His mother was Te Kai, and through her he was descended from Te Awariki, the youngest of the three brothers descended from Rangitāne. He was, by 1840, married to Hine-whaka-aea. She was descended from Te Hina-ariki, ancestor of Ngāti Te Hina, and was connected with Wairarapa Ngai Tahu. Te Korou and his family were also connected with Ngāti Wheke, Te Matehau, Ngāti Te Hauaitu, Ngāti Te Tohinga, Ngāti Te Umu and Ngāti Te Aomatauru. Through extensive intermarriage the family was related to Ngāti Kahungunu, but their chief kinship was with Rangitāne.

Te Korou and his family were among those who about 1834 were forced to flee from Wairarapa to Nukutaurua on the Mahia peninsula by the invasion of northern tribes. Te Korou was captured by Te Ati Awa, but he escaped near Orongorongo after tricking one of his captors, Te Wera of Ngāti Mutunga. When no one else was near, Te Korou offered to rearrange Te Wera's load, seized his long-handled tomahawk, gashed Te Wera's hands which he had put up to protect himself, killed him, and escaped into the bush. When peace was arranged between the Wairarapa people and the invaders Te Korou was among the negotiators. Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne and other tribes returned from the north from 1841 on, and Te Korou, already past middle age, re-established his position as one of the principal leaders in Northern Wairarapa. His interests and influence extended from present day Masterton to Eketahuna, and from the Tararua range eastwards to the coast.

In the 1840s Te Korou and his family were drawn towards Christianity. By the time he had

been forced to go north, he had three children: a daughter, Erihapeti (Elizabeth); a son, Te Tua-o-te-rangi (or Te Turuki, later known by his baptismal name, Karaitiana or Christian); and a third, probably another son. When the missionary William Colenso visited Te Korou at Kaikokirikiri, near present day Masterton, he found Erihapeti about to be married to Ihaia Whakamairu. Since 1845 the whole community at Kaikokirikiri had been under the influence of a Christian teacher, Campbell Hawea, and in 1848 Colenso was happy to baptise all four Te Korou generations: Te Korou himself, who took the name Te Retimana (Richmond); his aged mother Te Kai who took the name Roihi (Lois); his wife Hine-whaka-aewa, who became Hoana (Joan/Joanna); his daughter, Erihapeti, and her husband, Ihaia Whakamairu; his four sons (two of them still boys); and two grandsons. Colenso noted that Karaitiana was a 'fine youth' and a fluent reader of the Bible in Māori.

Colenso recorded that Te Korou was determined to preserve his lands for his children, and to prevent his family from being demoralised by contact with Pakeha. But he was unable to live up to this hope. Already, in 1844, he had tried to lease land in the Whareama valley to the runholders Charles Clifford, Frederick Weld and William Vavasour, and had been annoyed when they decided to seek drier pasturage further north. In 1848 Te Korou was among those who discussed with Francis Dillon Bell, the New Zealand Company agent, the possible sale of Wairarapa land for the proposed 'Canterbury settlement', later sited in the South Island. Te Korou took part in other transactions; his willingness to do so probably arose from the fact that others were leasing lands in which he had an interest, without consulting him. There was argument in Kaikokirikiri over the leasing of the Manaia block to W. B. Rhodes and W. H. Donald. Later Te Korou proved to be one of the most co-operative in land negotiations with Henry Tacy Kemp.

As Pakeha settlement penetrated Wairarapa, tensions grew between younger men wishing to sell land, and their leading elders, who at first preferred to lease. However, to preserve something for themselves from the maelstrom of land-selling the older chiefs, whose mana would earlier have gone unchallenged, became sellers themselves. It is likely that on the one hand Te Korou, and on the other his son Karaitiana and his son-in-law Ihaia Whakamairu, were caught up in this kind of rivalry.

The pressure which Te Korou had to face came from the Small Farm Association, a body seeking to settle farmers on small land-holdings. The association sent Joseph Masters (after whom Masterton was to be named) and H. H. Jackson to Kaikokirikiri, at Governor George Grey's suggestion. Their arguments were persuasive; Ihaia Whakamairu returned with them to Wellington to complete the sale. There is no record that Te Korou objected to the sale, but the sellers included some of the younger members of his family. In the various transactions which transferred the site of Masterton to the Crown, the names of Karaitiana, Erihapeti and Ihaia Whakamairu are prominent. Te Korou was directly involved in a number of sales, mainly to the south and east of Masterton, in the Maungaraki, Wainuioru and Whareama districts. He also signed the Castlepoint deed. Both he and Karaitiana sold parts of the same blocks together, but for the most part they did business separately.

From the 1860s on Karaitiana appears to have taken over from his father; at the 1860 Kohimarama conference he represented Kaikokirikiri. From the beginning of Native Land Court sittings in the Wairarapa in 1866 Karaitiana and Erihapeti represented the interests of the family. Te Korou did not appear often; in 1868 he was described as 'an old man of Ngāti Wheke'. Both father and son are described in government documents as supporters of the King movement in 1862. But they, with other Wairarapa leaders, were adherents more because of dissatisfaction over land sales and payments than because of any special

attachment to the King.

Te Retimana Te Korou was said to be over 100 when he died at Manaia in early January 1882. Ihaia Whakamairu invited all his European friends to join in the mourning. Several leading settlers joined in a procession of 300 people to the Masterton cemetery.

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fl. 1820 – 1834 Ngāti Kahungunu leader

Nuku, said to have been called Nuku-Pewapewa because his moko was in the style called pewapewa, was born probably in the late eighteenth century, in Wairarapa. He was descended from the ancestors Kahungunu, Rangitāne, Te Aomatarahi and Ira. His principal hapū was Ngāti Kahukura-awhitia. Some genealogies suggest that Nuku-tumaroro was his father. It is more likely that he was the son of Te Ono, Nuku-tumaroro's second son, and his wife, Parahako. Earlier biographies have attributed to him the warlike exploits of an ancestor, also called Nuku, who lived five generations before. Both men exhibited ingenuity and skill in war; this could have helped to cause the confusion.

Nuku-Pewapewa was a prominent leader in the period of disturbance between 1820 and 1839, when wars and migrations caused upheaval among the peoples of both islands. About 1820 a war expedition from the north, led by Tuwhare, Patuone, Nene and others, reached Wairarapa. The war party possessed muskets, a new weapon to which the old name, pu, a traditional war trumpet, had been given. When Nuku-Pewapewa learned that Tuwhare and his allies were coming armed with pū, he is said to have replied: 'Let them come, let them blow their pū; my men can also blow pū.' Many war trumpets were sounded as the enemy approached, but their pū were muskets and many of Nuku-Pewapewa's people were shot.

The next day he set up an ambush and captured three muskets and some of the marauding party. He tried to get the prisoners to show him how to use the new weapons, but they tricked him by loading them incorrectly. When the muskets would not fire, the prisoners explained that they were tapu and would only fire when aimed to kill. Nuku-Pewapewa then tried them out against Rangitāne of the Moawhango district, but they still would not work. He abandoned them, and won a victory using traditional weapons.

Tuwhare's expedition went to Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington Harbour) and then to Porirua. There Nuku-pewapewa attacked them, and regained his mana by capturing Te Ata-o-te-Rangi, Taunuha, Korewa and six others. This victory enhanced his reputation, and he was invited to Heretaunga (Hawke's Bay) by Te Pareihe, the war leader of Ngāti Te Whatu-i-apiti, to help 'extinguish the fires' kindled at Te Roto-a-Tara by an invading force led by Mananui Te Heuheu Tukino II of Ngāti Tuwharetoa.

At this time Te Pareihe wanted the Heretaunga people to withdraw to Nukutaurua, on the Mahia peninsula, because his tohunga, Ngoi, had predicted massive invasions of Hawke's Bay. But many refused to go. While the departure was being discussed by the people of Heretaunga, collected together in the pa Tane-nui-a-Rangi, Nuku-Pewapewa and the Wairarapa refugees arrived at Waimarama. There they built the pa Te Putiki. The Heretaunga leaders Te Moananui and Te Hapuku wished to attack them, but the Waimarama elder Tuaha rebuked his relatives: 'When will it be the time for compassion?'

Nuku-Pewapewa withdrew with Te Pareihe to Nukutaurua. There they lived for some years, in partnership with Te Wera Hauraki and his Nga Puhi people. They built up their supplies of muskets by trading with American whalers, and became involved in the East Coast wars of the 1820s. Nuku-Pewapewa, with Te Pareihe, helped Te Kani-a-Takirau of Ngāti Porou take vengeance against Te Whakatohea and Ngai Tai for the killing of a Rongowhakaata man. In spite of receiving valuable gifts (including a fine war canoe) from Te Kani-a-Takirau, Te Pareihe was doubtful about going to his aid. When asked for his opinion, Nuku-Pewapewa replied in words which have become famous: 'Never turn back when the voice of war is sounding in your ears.'

Nuku-Pewapewa accompanied Te Wera Hauraki and Te Pareihe in a major punitive raid against Mananui Te Heuheu. The expedition consisted of 1,600 warriors; it overthrew the pa at Omakukura, on the west side of Taupo, killing at least 400 people. Peace was arranged by Te Rohu, the daughter of Mananui. While Te Pareihe and Nuku-pewapewa were involved in war on the east coast, news arrived that Te Momo-a-Irawaru of Ngāti Te Kohera, a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, had occupied Te Roto-a-Tara. Te Pareihe, Te Wera Hauraki and Nuku-pewapewa led a force which succeeded in taking Te Roto-a-Tara by storm. Te Momo was killed nearby at Kahotea, and his attempt to occupy southern Hawke's Bay thus failed. Later, news came to Nukutaurua that Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa, with Rangitāne allies, had invaded Hawke's Bay through the Manawatu Gorge, killing several chiefs, in order to avenge the death of Te Momo-a-Irawaru. Nuku-pewapewa and Te Pareihe led a war party to punish Ngāti Raukawa and Rangitāne. A battle took place at Te Ruru, near present day Dannevirke; the eastern sections of Rangitāne were the main victims.

While Nuku-Pewapewa was away from Wairarapa, the district was invaded again, this time by the Taranaki peoples Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga. After the defeat of the Wairarapa people at Pehikatea about 1833, the majority went north to Nukutaurua. Although the accounts which have been preserved are conflicting, it is most likely that Nuku-pewapewa heard of the fresh invasion from refugees arriving at Nukutaurua, and began to plan to expel the invaders.

Although he was warned not to go, Nuku-Pewapewa led a Wairarapa force of 200 to Maungaraki, a range south-east of present day Masterton. He was accompanied by Te Hapuku, leading a force of 400 Heretaunga men. The leaders climbed a hill at night and saw the innumerable fires of their enemies. Except for a few, led by Hoeroa of Ngāti Te Upokoiri, the Heretaunga forces withdrew. In spite of this defection, Nuku-pewapewa took by surprise the pa at Tauwhare-rata (near present day Featherston), where Te Wharepouri, the leader of

Te Ati Awa, was living.

Te Uamairangi and Te Kakapi, the wife and the adoptive stepdaughter of Te Wharepouri, were captured, with 25 others. Nuku-Pewapewa spared the lives of the captives, and sent Te Uamairangi to her husband, in an effort to make peace. In response Te Uamairangi presented Te Kakapi to Nuku-pewapewa. This laid the basis for the peace that was later concluded. Nuku-pewapewa returned, with Te Kakapi, to the north.

After these battles Te Wharepouri went north to negotiate the return of his niece and adopted daughter. The price was to be the restoration of Wairarapa to its dispossessed people. However, Nuku-pewapewa was not there to arrange the peace. He had been travelling south as Te Wharepouri sailed north. At Tahaenui, between Nuhaka and Whakaki, near Wairoa, his canoe overturned in the mouth of the river; a wave lifted the canoe above him and it struck him on the head, killing him.

Peace with Te Wharepouri was made by Pehi Tu-te-pakihi-rangi, and beginning in 1841 the Wairarapa people returned to their homes. Through the efforts, valour and wisdom of Nuku-pewapewa the mana of the Wairarapa people was preserved. His canoe was carved and erected as a monument at Whakaki. A carved figure representing him was built into the palisade at the Papawai marae near Greytown.

ANGELA BALLARA

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Paora Potangaroa

Please note: The above image is from a video produced by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The video identified the man in the photograph as Paora Potangaroa

Paora Te Potangaroa was the son of Ngaehe, of Ngāti Kerei and Ngāti Te Whatu-i-apiti, and Wiremu Te Potangaroa, a leader in the Mataikona area of Wairarapa, of Te Ika-a-Papauma, a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu. Through his father's mother, Nau, Paora was related to the Hāmua people, a section of Rangitāne.

In 1853 Paora signed the deed of sale of the Castlepoint block, a huge area stretching from the Whareama River inland to the Puketoi range, and north to the Mataikona River. It was the first major purchase made by the chief land purchase commissioner, Donald McLean, in Wairarapa. Paora later signed away the Tautane block, in the Porangahau area, and the Waihora block, but of all the Wairarapa chiefs he was to be the most resistant to the lure of land-selling.

Paora's position as a prophet and leader in Wairarapa was recognised from the early 1860s; he was asked to accept nomination as Māori King but refused. In 1878 he inspired the many hapū of the upper Wairarapa valley to build a large carved house at Te Kaitekateka, later called Te Ore Ore, near Masterton. This area was under the mana of Wi Waaka, a staunch supporter of the runanga movement and the King movement, and a protector of the emissaries of Pai Marire. During construction animosity developed between Paora and Te Kere, a master carver and prophet from Wanganui. Te Kere and Wi Waaka began to resent Paora's growing influence, which tended to undermine their positions. Te Kere was particularly incensed at the size of the planned house, 96 by 30 feet. Having prophesied that it would take eight years to finish the house, he departed to build a rival house for Ngāti Rangiwhaka-aewa at Tahoraiti.

In spite of Te Kere's prediction, the house was finished by 1881. Paora bestowed on it, in derision of Te Kere's powers as a prophet, the name Nga Tau e Waru (The Eight Years). The house incorporated many unusual features. The carvers Tamati Aorere of Ngāti Kahungunu and Taepa of Te Arawa made use of unique double 'S' patterns, swastika-like motifs, and unusual rafter and panel paintings. Inside the house Paora had erected a stone believed to be a medium of communication with the world of gods and spirits. In addition, at Paora's behest, Te Kere had carved into the ridgepole above the door, in a position where it could not easily be seen, a representation of male and female genitalia in the act of coitus. The intention was to remove the tapu of chiefs entering the door beneath it. When Wi Waaka entered the house he collapsed, semi-paralysed, and had to be helped outside. With hindsight, this collapse was attributed to

the effect of the carving, designed to protect the tapu of Paora himself.

When the house was being carved Paora was at the height of his influence and popularity. He was preaching Christianity expressed in Māori concepts and when he appeared in public, people gathered round him for instruction; between these appearances he spent much time in meditation. Associated with the completion of Nga Tau e Waru were a number of his prophecies which predicted that a new and great power was to come to the people from the direction of the rising sun. Various interpretations were made: it was believed to herald the arrival of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as interpreted by the Mormons; and it was believed that missionaries would come from the east and set in place a new church. In 1928, when the religious leader T. W. Ratana visited Te Ore Ore at the request of the people, he removed the stone set up by Paora inside Nga Tau e Waru, repositioning it outside. The move silenced the medium. The coming of the Ratana faith is now widely believed to be the fulfilment of Paora's prophecy.

In 1881 Paora announced that he had experienced a prophetic dream; he called his people together to interpret his vision. His mana was so great that the crowd at Te Ore Ore in March 1881 was variously estimated at between 1,000 and 3,000. Huge preparations had been made for their arrival, including the preparation of a great feast – a pyramid of food 150 feet long, 10 feet wide and 4 feet high. Many Pakeha visitors attended the gathering, some out of curiosity and scepticism. On 16 March 1881 the gathering awaited Paora's prophetic utterance. About 1 p.m. he emerged from Wi Waaka's house and presented his revelation in the form of a flag divided into sections, each bordered in black. Within each section were stars and other mystical symbols. It was raised to half-mast on the flagpole in front of the meeting house. Paora unsuccessfully asked his people to interpret its message. In spite of the scepticism and anger of those anxious for an immediate miracle, he refused to explain his meaning. The next day he appeared again and told the crowd: 'Look at the flag. Tell me what it means.' He made no further explanations. The gathering ended in disorder and heavy drinking.

Several weeks later Paora emerged from seclusion to make a declaration to his followers: in future they should neither sell nor lease land, should incur no further debts and refuse to honour debts already incurred. The meaning of at least part of his flag now became apparent. The black-bordered sections of the flag represented the huge blocks of land already alienated. The stars and other symbols represented the inadequate and scattered reserves, the sole remainder of a once great patrimony. Paora had been moved to prophecy by the failure of his people to understand the process by which they were dispossessing themselves.

Three months later Paora Te Potangaroa died. Pakeha authorities greeted his death with relief; they had feared the 'fanaticism' his movement had caused. The tangi was held at Te Ore Ore and the body carried by hearse to the settlement at Mataikona. As Paora lay dying, he had presented his son Kingi with a box of silver, the money taken at the Te Ore Ore gathering in fines for drinking. This treasure paid for his funeral.

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