BYRON RANGIWAI

Taurua's whare

"Mr Taurua Nātana—chief of the Tūhoe, but particularly of that sub-tribe which comes from Waiōhau"¹

Introduction

This paper will discuss Taurua's whare: a whare built to memorialise Taurua Nātana, his mokopuna, and others and to shelter manuhiri engaged in the pōhiri process at Waiōhau marae. Taurua's whare is part of the Waiōhau marae complex. The complex includes the wharenui, Tama-ki-Hikurangi—a whare built for the nineteenth-century prophet, Te Kooti (Rangiwai, 2021); a wharemate; a shelter for the paepae; a wharekai named after Te Kooti's

⁻

¹ At the reception for Governor General Sir Bernard Fergusson in 1965, Taurua Nātana is introduced in the following way: "Your Excellencies, the last speaker is Mr Taurua Nātana—chief of the Tūhoe, but particularly of that sub-tribe which comes from Waiōhau" (Reception for Governor General, 1965, n.p.).

prophecy, Te Umutaoroa;² a memorial flagpole, along with three other granite memorials; and a large ablution block. The focal point of the marae complex is the wharenui.



Figure 1. Taurua's whare

In order to contextualise this discussion about Taurua's whare, this paper will first outline the history of Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenui. The paper will then briefly discuss, very broadly, memorials in an Aotearoa New Zealand context. Next, this paper

Te Kaharoa, vol. 14, 2021, ISSN 1178-6035

² For more about the meaning of the name Te Umutaoroa see Rangiwai (2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d, 2018e, 2018f, 2019)

will briefly touch on what is currently known about Taurua Nātana and his memorial shelter. Finally, this paper will describe how other memorial plaques came to be added to the whare's interior beginning in the late 1980s. This paper is accompanied by a sound recording of a 1965 speech given by Taurua Nātana at the reception of the Governor General Sir Bernard Fergusson (Reception for Governor General, 1965). The purpose of including this recording is to preserve a part of history for future research.

Tama-ki-Hikurangi—Te Kooti's whare

For the supporters of the renowned nineteenth-century prophet Te Kooti in Waiōhau, Tama-ki-Hikurangi is an essential part of their whakapapa, history, and theology (Rangiwai, 2021d). Te Kooti's religion, the Ringatū faith, is integral to Patuheuheu identity (Rangiwai, 2021d). The whare, Tama-ki-Hikurangi, endures as a central part of Patuheuheu's historical connection to Te Kooti and his religion (Rangiwai, 2021d).



Figure 2. Tama-ki-Hikurangi (Mead, 1970, PID530310)

Patuheuheu

The hapū identities of Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka were once considered separate identities but in contemporary times these identities are often conflated (Rangiwai, 2021d). However, as Taurua Nātana was Patuheuheu, this paper is written from a Patuheuheu perspective (Rangiwai, 2021c).

Best (1925) maintained that Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka originated from the Ngāti Rākei hapū, which once lived at Ōhāua-te-rangi in the Ruatāhuna area, before moving to Horomanga, Te Houhi, Waiōhau and other areas. According to Best (1925):

...Patu-heuheu are to a large extent Ngati-Rongo. These people lived at O-haua-te-rangi as Ngati-Rakei of Nga Potiki, and were afterwards known as Ngati-Haka... By inter-marriage they became practically one people with Ngati-Rongo. About three generations ago some of these people were slain by Ngati-Awa at Wai-pokaia, in an *uru heuheu* or thicket, hence the clan name was changed to Patu-heuheu (thicket slaying) (p. 221).

Above, Best (1925) claims that Ngāti Haka became one people with Ngāti Rongo through intermarriage. Best (1925) also argues that after an attack by Ngāti Awa, the hapū name was changed to Patuheuheu, meaning 'thicket slaying'. However, in his following account, Ngāti Haka is absent from the story:

[Ngāti Awa]... attacked some Ngati-Rongo who were living on the Wai-pokaia stream... Ngati-Rongo were surprised and attacked at a place covered with scrub or brushwood, hence, as we have seen, some of them assumed the clan name of Patu-heuheu" (Best, 1925, p. 362).

Best's explanations of the roots of Patuheuheu are contradictory (Rangiwai, 2018b). This incongruity lines up with the view that some of Best's information was inaccurate (Rangiwai, 2018b). While Best's work continues to influence our understandings of traditional Māori society, his role as an amateur ethnographer who interpreted Māori information through a European gaze must be acknowledged (Holman, 2010).

Best's claims of the origins of Patuheuheu are incorrect (Rangiwai, 2018b). Patuheuheu did not come from Ngāti Haka, but is a branch of Ngāti Rongo (Rangiwai, 2018b). Instead, Patuheuheu emerged due to a battle between Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Awa (Rangiwai, 2018b). In this battle, a mokopuna of my ancestor Koura (see Figure 2) was killed; and in memory of this tragedy, a section of Ngāti Rongo renamed themselves, Patuheuheu (Rangiwai, 2018b).

Koura was a Ngāti Rongo and Patuheuheu chief, who lived at Horomanga in the 1830s and closely associated with Ngāti Manawa (Mead & Phillis, 1982; Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). Local history upholds that Koura was responsible for asserting and maintaining the mana of Tuhoe in the Te Whaiti, Murupara, Horomanga, Te Houhi and Waiōhau areas (Rangiwai, 2018b). In addition, deeply involved in the political Koura was negotiations concerning the tatau pounamu enduring peace agreement-between Tuhoe and Ngāti Awa that transpired between the early 1830s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002) and 1835 (Binney, 2009). Regarding the tatau pounamu, Mead and Phillis (1982) maintain: "Koura ...is remembered by Ngati Awa and Patuheuheu of Waiohau and Ngati Manawa of Murupara as the principal man on the Tuhoe side" (p. 241). Indeed, Te Kooti's renowned waiata tohutohu, Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa, reminds Tuhoe and Ngāti Awa of that very

agreement: "He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa" ("A peace made with Ngāti Awa") (Binney, 2009, p. 269). This agreement was of enormous importance as it brought 200 years of inter-tribal struggle to an end (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). The bush symbolised that conflict at Ōhui (Mead & Phillis, 1982). Mead and Phillis (1982) contend:

...the peace treaty is remembered by the people of the Mataatua region as being between Koura and Hatua (p. 243).

Lesser men could not have cemented the tatau pounamu. ... Koura and Hatua did not fail and as a result their names live on in the memories of the people...

Koura of Ngati Rongo and Patuheuheu representing the Tuhoe side of the bush at Ohui, and Hatua of Ngati Pahipoto representing the Ngati Awa side of the bush. One is symbolised forever by Tawhiuau which can be seen clearly at Galatea and Murupara and the other is symbolised by Putauaki which dominates the land around Kawerau, Te Teko and Whakatane (p. 245).

At the foot of Tāwhiuau maunga, Mead (cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2002) opines that Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka lived under Koura's leadership. Koura is an esteemed and inspiring figure, and in the Maki Nātana whānau in particular, those who display strength and resilience are said to have 'shoulders like Koura' (Rangiwai, 2018b).

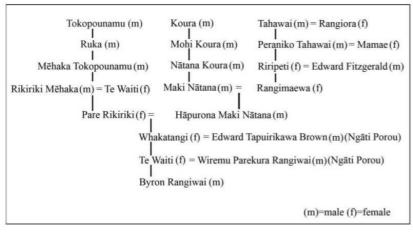


Figure 3. Whakapapa showing my descent from Koura (Rangiwai, 2015, p. 2).

My great-grandfather, Hāpurona Maki Nātana (Koro Ted), inculcated within my whānau the uncompromising view—based on direct whakapapa to Koura—that we are authentically and exclusively Patuheuheu.



Figure 4. Koro Hāpurona (Ted) Maki Nātana & Nanny Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki (private collection)

The following statement from the Patuheuheu leader, Koro Wiremu McCauley, a cousin to Koro Ted, further supports a Patuheuheu perspective:

Sometimes we refer to ourselves as Ngati Patuheuheu and sometimes as Tuhoe. The difference is we are Patuheuheu when our lands, river and mana is at stake. We are Tuhoe when the kawa and tikanga and the larger identity of being one of the many iwi of Tuhoe, are at issue (Rose, 2003, p. 12).

Tama-ki-Hikurangi: A symbol of the Ringatū Faith and land loss

In the nineteenth century, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare lived in the Te Houhi, Waiōhau and Horomanga areas (Binney, 2009). Patuheuheu were followers of Te Kooti, who was considered a rebel by the Crown (Binney, 1995). Because of this affiliation, the government forced the hapū to flee its home in the Rangitaiki Valley, and its members were imprisoned at Te Pūtere, near Matatā, in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Binney, 2009, 2010; Paul, 1995).

Patuheuheu was freed in 1872 and returned to their lands at Te Houhi, which became their main kāinga (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2009, 2010; Paul, 1995). According to most accounts, Tama-ki-Hikurangi was commissioned and built as "...a meeting-house built for Te Kooti at Te Houhi (near Galatea) by the Patuheuheu people, a Tuhoe hapu" (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2; see also Neich, 1993). According to Arapere (2002), the whare was built in the late 1870s and transported to Te Houhi. Binney (1995, 2010) and Neich (1993), on the other hand, disagree with the idea of a pre-1900s construction, claiming that the whare was built in 1904. According to Cresswell (1977) and Binney (2001, 2010), Tama-ki-Hikurangi was built under the supervision of Tuhoe carver, Te Wharekotua, "...to memorialise their history and their identity linked to Te Kooti" (Binney, 2001, p. 152).

Patuheuheu experienced a period of uncertainty in the 1880s, 1890s, and early twentieth century. During this time, colonial maps delineating land boundaries were redrawn. A heinous deception was on the horizon, putting Patuheuheu's home and way of life in jeopardy once more. In the mid-1880s, Harry Burt, a licenced Native Land Court interpreter and alleged friend of the prophet Kooti. orchestrated treacherous Те transactions that eventually led to the eviction of Patuheuheu from their land at Te Houhi in 1907. (Binney, 1995, 2001, 2009, 2010; Boast, 2008). Harry Burt, or Hare Paati as he was known to the hapū, was not Māori (Auckland Star, June 8, 1905, p. 5), but he spoke te reo Māori and was employed as an interpreter for the Native Land Court (Binney, 1995, 2001, 2009, 2010; Boast, 2008). Burt deceitfully obtained the land through the Native Land Court system (Binney, 1995, 2001, 2009, 2010; Boast, 2008). This event is known as the Waiōhau Fraud (Boast, 2002). Wharehuia Milroy asserted:

Harry Burt was a Pākehā who got involved in some fraudulent dealings with land in and around Te Houhi. He sold the land interests of the Waiōhau Māori for his own gain through fraudulent dealings, where he acquired land interests from people who did not have the authority to sell the land. I don't think those people would have really realised the gravity and danger of engaging with Harry Burt. He stole the land, that's about the best way to describe

it; he stole the land from the people at Te Houhi (Rangiwai, 2015, p. 95).

According to Binney (2001), Burt belonged to a "... 'sub-culture': a visible group of early settled Pakeha men who lived with Maori women" (p. 162) and spoke te reo Māori. Harry Burt was a swindler who hid behind the guise of colonial hybridity (Binney, 1995, 2001, 2010). Burt "claimed friendship and more-kinship-with Maori... He was a manipulator, who created a mood and experience of confidence and trust. He was a swindler who outmanoeuvred a prophet" (Binney, 2001, p. 148). In 1878, the Native Land Court referred to the Te Houhi block of land as Wajohau 1. (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; Paul, 1995). In January 1886, a committee of twelve Tuhoe men, joined by Te Kooti, met with Burt to negotiate; they asked Burt to accept 1,000 acres of land to meet his land requirements (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010). However, Waiohau 1 was illegally brought before the Court for partition by Hare Rauparaha, one of Burt's pseudonyms (Waiariki Māori Land Court, 1886, February 16). Burt took advantage of his position as an interpreter in the Native Land Court to create a new identity by misappropriating whakapapa and mana from the name of the famous Ngāti Toa chief, Te Rauparaha (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; "Waiohau 1B inquiry", 1889, October 31). Burt's partition was to establish

half of the block, 7,000 acres, as Waiohau 1B in the name of two Ngāti Manawa owners, Pani Te Hura, also known as Peraniko Ahuriri and Hira Te Mumuhu (Binney 2001, 2009, 2010; Stokes et al., 1986). Burt's manipulated men immediately sold the newly established Waiohau 1B in the Court foyer, witnessed by Judge H. T. Clarke and Harry Burt (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010).

Burt's dishonest acts were examined by a judicial inquiry in 1889. established through Parliamentary recommendation in response to a petition from my third-great-grandfather, Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; "Native Affairs Committee response to the petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (Petition 257)", 1889, August 21; Paul, 1995). The petition claimed that Harry Burt had dishonestly obtained Waiohau 1B ownership by compelling people to sell their shares to him (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; Paul, 1995). Te Kooti renamed Te Houhi, Te Umutaoroa; he told Mēhaka and the other petitioners that Burt's money would be like a pit of rotting potatoes and that he would never gain possession of the land ("Burt, signed statement", 1887, December 10; Burt, 1889; "Statement made by Burt on 29 October 1889", 1889, October 29). However, this particular prediction was not to come true. Burt's actions included using the signatures of minors, acquiring shares from those who did not own them, purchasing without witnesses, buying

the shares of deceased persons, using intoxication and manipulation to coerce people to sign over shares, and finally by giving guns and gun powder (Paul, 1995).

The judicial inquiry found that the Native Land Court's partition order was based on proof given by Māori whom Burt manipulated (Binney, 2001, 2010; "Petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (No. 257)", 1889; Paul, 1995). The inquiry was then referred to Judge Wilson, who in 1889, after a long-lasting investigation, found that "Burt behaved fairly toward the natives in the matter of this purchase until they turned against him and placed themselves under the guidance of Te Kooti" (Paul, 1995, p. 29).

Patuheuheu were disadvantaged and impoverished by the court disputes relating to Te Houhi. However, the courts recognised that the people of Te Houhi had been viciously wronged but were unwilling to help (Binney, 2001). The judge stated:

I regret the hardship to the defendants. That they have suffered a grievous wrong is, in my opinion, plain. It is doubly hard that this wrong should have resulted from a miscarriage, which certainly ought to have been avoided, in the very Court which was specially charged with the duty of protecting them in such matters. The plaintiff is, of course, blameless in the matter (cited in Binney, 2001, p. 151).

The land on which Te Houhi was built eventually came into the hands of James Grant, thanks in part to his own deception (Binney, 2001, 2010). Howorth, the people's lawyer, had advised them in 1890 that peaceful and continuous occupation of their land would be sufficient to ensure ownership; the people would only leave if forced (Binney, 2009). However, when Grant took official ownership of the land in February 1907, he made it difficult for the people to stay by destroying their crops; he eventually evicted the people in the winter of 1907, with the help of the police (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; Boast, 2002; Wylie, 1908, cited in Wouden, 1980). Some local accounts insist that Patuheuheu were evicted at gunpoint. Boast (2002) stated:

The mean-spirited and vindictive James Grant, a local landholder who was apparently driving the entire process, ensured that the eviction process was as complete and demeaning as possible, even preventing them from taking their school house and wharenui from the land (p. 156).

Patuheuheu were forced to leave behind their whare, a church and schoolhouse, and the sacred bones of their dead (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010). Some reports argue that the government later purchased the whare from Grant, who used it as a haybarn, for £140 in 1908 (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; Boast, 2002; Paul, 1995). Notwithstanding the various accounts, it is clear that the people

removed and relocated the whare piece by piece, refusing all assistance, except for a £40 grant from the government to purchase food for those without (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010). According to Binney (2001, 2009, 2010), the whare would have been moved by wagon. Nevertheless, local oral accounts claim that the whare was transported in parts via the Rangitaiki River. Tama-ki-Hikurangi was reopened at Waiōhau on 28 July 1909 (Binney, 2001, 2009, 2010; Paul, 1995).

Memorials in Aotearoa New Zealand

The purpose of memorials is to communicate public memory (Bruggeman, 2020). There were few memorials built in Aotearoa New Zealand in the nineteenth century (Phillips, 2012). Māori had a tradition of memorialising great ancestors with carved pou (Phillips, 2012). However, the European practise of stone monuments was rapidly adopted by Māori, and in the late nineteenth century, there existed more memorials to important Māori than to Pākehā (Phillips, 2012). However, in 2021 a national survey revealed that statue monument subjects in Aotearoa New Zealand were 87% male, 93% Pākehā/European, 6% Māori, 1% Asian and 1% Pacific (Wilson et al., 2021).

Memorials and the New Zealand wars In the 1860s, just three monuments were erected during or immediately after the New Zealand wars (Phillips, 2012). In the twentieth century, though, memorials became more popular (Phillips, 2012). Monuments were erected to memorialise the battles of the New Zealand wars; however, almost all of these were built to remember those fighting on the side of the Crown and so ignored Māori efforts to defend land (Phillips, 2012).

Memorials and the South African War

In order to commemorate the 1899–1902 South African War, approximately 50 memorials were erected; and the Ranfurly War Veterans' Home in Auckland was designated as a national memorial (Phillips, 2012).

Memorials and the First World War

More than 500 memorials to those who died in the First World War were erected (Phillips, 2012). These memorials were built to celebrate Aotearoa New Zealand's war accomplishments and to memorialise the many who died (Phillips, 2012). Furthermore, a carillon—a tower containing a set of bells—was built in Wellington as a national memorial (Phillips, 2012).

Memorialising civilians

Many civilian memorials were built in the first half of the twentieth century, including those to Queen Victoria; political leaders; European explorers; prominent Māori leaders; European pioneers in Aotearoa New Zealand; and disastrous events such as shipwrecks and the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake (Phillips, 2012).

Memorials, the Centennial, and the Second World War

To commemorate Aotearoa New Zealand's centennial—100 years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi—the government sponsored the erection of functional memorials such as parks, community halls, and swimming pools (Phillips, 2012). In addition, following the Second World War, the government supported constructing memorial halls, sports fields, and a hall of memories—as part of a national war memorial (Phillips, 2012).

Other memorials

In 1978 the army museum in Waiōuru was opened as a memorial to all who died in the wars (Phillips, 2012). In 2004, the national war memorial included the tomb of an unknown soldier (Phillips, 2012). Monuments were also erected for those who died in the Tangiwai rail crash of 1953 and the Mt. Erebus air crash of 1979 (Phillips, 2012).

Māori and memorials

While monuments aim to express public memory and "reflect the particularities of time and place" (Bruggeman, 2020, p. 468) in the context of marae, monuments communicate hapū memory.

Memorials are always political, Bruggeman (2020) argued, in the sense that they are "products of choices made about how to remember, and what to remember" (p. 469). In the case of Taurua Nātana's whare, choices would have been made by the hapū to principally honour his memory, the memory of his mokopuna, as well as the memories of the many others named on the memorial stone (see below).



Figure 5. Memorial plaque in Taurua's whare

Taurua Nātana's memorial

At the reception for Governor General Sir Bernard Fergusson in 1965, Taurua Nātana is introduced thusly: "Your Excellencies, the last speaker is Mr Taurua Nātana—chief of the Tūhoe, but particularly of that sub-tribe which comes from Waiōhau" (Reception for Governor General, 1965, n.p.). Taurua's descent from Koura is as follows:

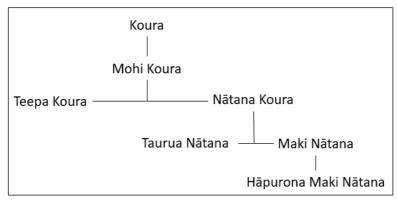


Figure 6. Taurua's whakapapa



Taurua's parents were Nātana Koura and Riripeti.

Figure 7. Koro Taurua's parents, Riripeti and Nātana Koura

While very little is now known about Taurua's life, some small fragments can be found online. Koro Taurua's name appears a number of times in Parliamentary Papers pertaining to a number of Tūhoe land blocks (see Parliamentary Papers, n.d.; see also Cleaver, 1999, p. 118). Arthur Coates remembered Taurua as being part of the history of rugby in Te Teko. Referring to men who played in the Te Teko rugby scene as physically "big men", Arthur Coates stated: "What held this club together, is the mana. I look back at our koroua a hundred years ago and when you look at the 1920's team, you've got Eruera Manuera, Paora Tene, Taurua Natana" (Pū Kaea, 2015, p. 31). According to a

response to a Facebook post about the death of Bill Kerrison (renowned for his work around tuna), Rachel Haumate recalled that Taurua Nātana was renowned for providing tuna for tangihanga at Waiōhau (Haumate, 2020).

Rachel Haumate

Hoki whakamuri nga mahara I nga tau rima tekau, e tamariki tonu ana, taku kitenga i nga tuna pena rawa te nui, te roa hoki. Ara atu te nui o etahi e iri ana. Ko Taurua Natana o ngati Haka Patuheuheu, te tangata mahi kai tuku hīnaki i te Rangitaiki, mo nga tangihanga o Waiohau.

Figure 8 (Haumate, 2020)

In a discussion with esteemed Tūhoe academic the late Dr Te Whare Milroy in 2012 in the lobby of the Crown Plaza Hotel in Times Square, New York City, he commented that my great-great-granduncle had a particular way of delivering whaikōrero. Dr Milroy informed me that when Taurua spoke he used very subtle gestures to punctuate his whaikōrero.

Remaining kõrero about Taurua remains with whānau and those surviving kaumātua who knew him. In 1969 Taurua Nātana and his mokopuna were killed in a fire and a visitor's shelter was later erected to memorialise Taurua and his mokopuna,

along with a number of others who had passed away. Memorials may be built to remember tragedies and disasters (Bailey, 2020; Wilson et al., 2019). The memorial plaque in the visitor's shelter describes Taurua's death as mate kino – a bad death, and mate taurekareka – a terrible death (see figure 5).



Figure 9. Taurua Nātana

In 1986 my Uncle Joseph Arthur Brown died of heart complications at 18 years of age (Rangiwai, 2021c). My great-grandfather, Koro Ted (Taurua's nephew), was very close to his grandson, Joseph or Joe. As a result of this closeness, when Uncle Joe's headstone was unveiled two years following his death, Koro Ted requested that a plaque be made and added to the interior of Taurua's whare. From this point onward, other members of Koro Ted's family have added plaques.



Figure 10.

This paper has pulled together what is currently known about Taurua's whare. This paper is

intended to be a resource for future research. The way in which we, as Māori, memorialise the dead will certainly evolve. From carvings of ancestors, to stone memorials, the digital age could mean a shift to the digitalisation of memorials in the future.

Bibliography

- Arapere, B. (2002). A history of the Waiohau blocks: A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 894 #A26). Waitangi Tribunal.
- Bailey, L. (2020). Are memorials just for remembering?

 A study of natural disaster memorials in New
 Zealand and Japan [Unpublished master's thesis,
 Lincoln University].

 https://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/handle/10182/13171
- Barker, D. (1970). *Maori sectarianism: Ringatu and Ratana: Towards a theology of culture*. The Presbytery of South Auckland.
- Best, E. (1925). Tuhoe: Children of the mist. Reed.
- Binney, J. (1995). Redemption songs: A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. University Press & Bridget Williams Books.
- Binney, J. (2001). Te Umutaoroa: The earth oven of long cooking. In A. Sharp & P. McHugh (Eds.), *Histories, power and loss: Uses of the past a New Zealand commentary* (pp. 146-64). Bridget Williams Books.
- Binney, J. (2009). Encircled lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921. Bridget Williams Books.
- Binney, J. (2010). Stories without end: Essays 1975-2010. Bridget Williams Books.
- Binney, J. & Chaplin, G. (1996). *Ngā mōrehu the survivors: The life histories of eight Maori women*. Oxford University Press & Bridget Williams Books.

- Boast, R. P. (2002). The Crown and Te Urewera in the 20th century a study of government policy. Waitangi Tribunal.
- Boast, R. (2008). Buying the land, selling the land. Victoria University Press.
- Brown, D. (2009). *Māori architecture: From fale to wharenui and beyond*. Penguin.
- Bruggeman, S. C. (2020). Memorials and monuments. Parks Stewardship Forum, 36(3), 465-470. https://doi.org/10.5070/P536349856
- "Burt, signed statement" (1887, December 10). Maori Affairs (MS 1/1920/218/1). Archives New Zealand.
- Cleaver, P. (1999). Matahina Block: A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for Wai 36/386, Wai 46, Wai 212, and Wai 726. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_93527598/Wai%20894%2C%20A063.pdf
- Cresswell, J. C. M. (1977). *Maori meeting houses of the North Island*. PCS Publications.
- Davidson, A. K. (2004). *Christianity in Aotearoa: A history of church and society in New Zealand*. The New Zealand Education for Ministry Board.
- Haumate, R. (2020, January). Hoki whakamuri nga mahara I nga tau rima tekau, e tamariki tonu ana, taku kitenga i nga tuna pena rawa te nui, te roa hoki [Facebook update].

https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1229977 727392385&set=pcb.2887879281276460

- Holman, J. F. (2010). Best of both worlds: The story of Elsdon Best and Tutakangahau. Penguin.
- "Native Affairs Committee response to the petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (Petition 257)" (1889, August 21). Maori Affairs (MS 1/1920/218/1). Archives New Zealand.
- Mead, H. M. & Phillis, O. E. (1982). The abundant earth

 Te one matua: The centennial of Ruataupare at

 Kokohinau marae. Te Komiti Maori o Kokohinau.
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Door lintel*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374214).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Exterior carvings*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374258).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Interior carving*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374216).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Interior carvings*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374222).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Interior wall*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374248).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Interior wall*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374250).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Rafters*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374252).

- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Rafters*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID374224).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Tama-ki-Hikurangi*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID530310).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Tama-ki-Hikurangi*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID530314).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Tama-ki-Hikurangi*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID530316).
- Mead, S. M. (1970). *Tama-ki-Hikurangi*. Anthropology Photographic Archive, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland (PID530320).
- Neich, R. (1993). Painted histories: Early Maori figurative painting. Auckland University Press.
- Paama-Pengelly, J. (2010). *Māori art and design:* Weaving, painting, carving and architecture. New Holland.
- Parliamentary Papers. (n.d.). Search for "Taurua Natana".
 - https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary?it ems_per_page=100&snippet=true&query=%22taur ua+natana%22
- "Petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (No. 257)" (1889). Native Affairs Committee. Victoria University of Wellington. http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-

Nat1889Repo-t1-g1-g1-t14-g1-t1.html

- "Petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 63 others, of Galatea, Bay of Plenty District (No. 388)" (1906). Victoria University of Wellington. http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Nat1906Repo-t1-g1-t10.html
- Phillips, J. (2012). Memorials and monuments. *Te Ara The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

 https://teara.govt.nz/en/memorials-and-monuments
- Pū Kaea. (2015, December). 125 years for Te Teko Rugby Club: Remembering the good old days. http://tumekefm.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/PUKAEA-DEC20155.pdf
- Reception for Governor General. (1965). 43207—
 Reception for Governor General Sir Bernard
 Fergusson. Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision.
 https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=227096
- Rangiwai, B. (2011a). 'Race' and the Politics of Land Loss: Colonising Discourses for Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka. *Te Kaharoa*, 4(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v4i1.112
- Rangiwai, B. (2011b). Te Umutaoroa, Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka: Towards a Prophetic Model for Unity and Transformation. *Te Kaharoa*, 4(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v4i1.110
- Rangiwai, B. (2012). The potential of prophecy: Māori prophetism and the community development. *Te*

- *Kaharoa*, *5*(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v5i1.96
- Rangiwai, B. (2015). *Ko au ko Te Umutaoroa, ko Te Umutaorao ko au: Toward a Patuheuheu hapū development model* [Unpublished doctoral thesis, Auckland University of Technology]. https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/handle/10292/8851
- Rangiwai, B. (2017a). Maori Prophetic Movements as Sites of Political Resistance: A Critical Analysis. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 10(1).
 - https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v10i1.16
- Rangiwai, B. (2017b). Te Umutaoroa A Patuheuheu Research Model. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 11(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.169
- Rangiwai, B. (2017c). Te Umutaoroa The Slow-Cooking Earth Oven: A Case Study of Intergenerational Transference. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 10(1). https://www.tekaharoa.com/index.php/tekaharoa/article/view/168
- Rangiwai, B. (2018a). My Emerging Theology. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 11(1).
 - https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.231
- Rangiwai, B. (2018b). Hereditary entanglement the significance of whakapapa and genealogical locatedness in Māori research: A researcher's

- personal experience. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 11(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.177
- Rangiwai, B. (2018c). Ka Mua, Ka Muri: A New Transformative Leadership Theory Based on a Prophecy by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 11(1).

https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.239

- Rangiwai, B. (2018d). Rangahau and Transformative Leadership. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific*Issues, 11(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.243
- Rangiwai, B. (2018e). Te Umutaoroa: A model for Patuheuheu hapū development. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 11(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.176
- Rangiwai, B. (2018f). Te Kooti's Slow-Cooking Earth Oven Prophecy: A Patuheuheu account and a new transformative leadership theory. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 11(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v11i1.240
- Rangiwai, B. (2019). My Syncretistic Faith-World Perspective. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific*Issues, 12(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v12i1.279
- Rangiwai, B. (2021a). Edward Fitzgerald—pioneer, coach driver, shepherd, and rabitter: A very brief reflection. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous*

- Pacific Issues, 17(1). https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v17i1.338
- Rangiwai, B. (2021b). Māori theology and syncretism. *Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*.
 - https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801211038247
- Rangiwai, B. (2021c). Nan's stories. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 17(1), 1-22. https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v17i1.347
- Rangiwai, B. (2021d). Tama-ki-Hikurangi: A whare built for Te Kooti. *Te Kaharoa: The eJournal on Indigenous Pacific Issues*, 17(1), 1-25. https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v17i1.340
- Rose, K. (2003). A people dispossessed: Ngati Haka Patuheuheu and the Crown, 1864-1960. Crown Forest Rental Trust.
- Sissons, J. (1998). The traditionalisation of the Maori meeting house. *Oceania*, 69(1), 36-46.
- "Statement made by Burt on 29 October 1889" (1889, October 29). Maori Affairs (MS 1/1920/218/2, pp. 57-58). Archives New Zealand.
- Stokes, E., Milroy, W. J., & Melbourne, H. (1986). *People, land and forests of Te Urewera*. University of Waikato.
- Waiariki Māori Land Court (1886, February 16). *Hare Rauparaha*. Closed file Waiohau 304, Rotorua, New Zealand.
- "Waiohau 1B inquiry" (1889, October 31). Maori Affairs (MS 1/1920/218/1, p. 86). Archives New Zealand.

- Waitangi Tribunal (2002). *The Ngāti Awa settlement cross-claims report.* Author.
- Williams, H. (1999). Te Kooti te tangata. In W. Curnow & L. Davis (Eds.), *Te Tangi a te Matuhi* (pp. 75-82). Jack Books.
- Wilson, N., Jones, A. C., Teng, A., & Thomson, G. (2021). Epidemiology of attacks on statues: New Zealand as a case study. *PLoS One*, *16*(6), 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0252567
- Wilson, N., Jones, A. C., Rice, G., & Thomson, G. (2019). Epidemiology of major disasters in New Zealand as revealed by disaster memorials. The New Zealand Medical Journal, 132(1507), 104-107.
- Wouden, A. (1980). Te Houhi, the land, the people and the school. *Historical review: Journal of the Whakatane and District Historical Society*, 28(1), 2-16.