

The stories we tell: How do we link our stories to others’?

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We are the stories we tell; we are the stories others tell of us. How do teachers of history deconstruct and engage in a reconstruction of the ‘other’? I use Place-Based Education to detail two stories of the Waikato. This storying theory “is distinguishable by the fact that it actively challenges conventional notions of education by requiring teachers and children to ask seemingly ‘simple’ questions like ‘Where am I?’ ‘What is the nature of this place?’ ‘What sustains this community?’” (Manning, 2016, p. 59). The simplicity of the questioning supports a delving into the history, geography, and local landmarks. It supports more than one narrative, which when presented side by side, allows elements of power, of dominant discourse to be deconstructed. The New Zealand pedagogical theory evolved from anti-racist theories, not unlike Margaret Somerville’s (2008) feminist theories. What David A. Gruenewald calls the “critical pedagogy of place,” where reading the world becomes narrating ‘political texts’ (2002, p. 5). Those students who do not relate to such hegemonic tales, can offer alternatives to their classmates. The role of the teacher becomes that of skilful navigator. How much do the teachers know of their students’ history, tikanga and worldview – and how is this reflected in the classroom curriculum and environment? (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 1). The five *Tātaiako* competencies for teachers challenge us to be more than passive, but active in our support of students.

Rural Waikato is one of the earliest settled areas of the country — by Māori first, and in the 19th Century, by British. Stories of land use and of land restitution; of Māori in this place; of Tauīwi in the same space, will conflict. Place-based education as a strategy supports telling both stories. It also, as Wally Penetito (2009) (Ngāti Hauā) suggests introduces a sense of complexity, of wonder, of magical thinking. New colours, differing patterns, new ways of seeing, presenting as a kaleidoscope does. Making new patterns of vision interrupt the ordinary, so we can see anew. “Multi-generational” perspectives can align with “geology, ecology, sociology, politics” (Penetito, 2009, p. 7) in differing dynamics. My stories offer many of these elements. I suggest that Place-Based Education, always has a subject with clear links to a place. Using dual narratives of Wiremu Tamihana and Joshia Firth, can help teachers like me in the Waikato engage more honestly and productively with contested colonial history. I live in Waikato, as Pākehā, alongside mana whenua Ngāti Hauā. Histories such as mine, are what Somerville (2010, p. 329) calls “post-colonial and reflexive contemporaneity”.

Ngāti Hauā kaitiaki of their rohe

Mana Whenua success stories need telling. There are significant pā sites along the Waikato River, with pou and story-boards. The water quality, damaged by dairy runoff is improved as sediment has been slowed, as kaitiaki is recognised in their Deed of Settlement. Contemporary stories about successful Iwi and Hapū projects underpin Place-Based Education. Gathering meaning, knowing the layers of history in a place, moves teachers and students to engage with these peoples. Fonterra dairy processing factories have Ngāti Hauā names for the land: Te Rapa; Waitoa, Hautapu. As Penetito learned of the significance of Waharoa, so teachers need to share community stories of these placenames and history. More than sites of capitalist production, they are Mana Whenua names.

Restoration of their kai gathering areas, allows the Iwi to provide manaaki, aroha and wairua as their tupuna did. The Waikato Regional Council worked with “landowners to retire wetlands and seeps, riparian margins and erodible hill country for plantings to reduce the sediment and nutrient loading to streams and increase and enhance local fish habitat” (Gifford, 2023, para 5). They are kaitiaki of their rohe. For example

Ngāti Hauā Mahi Trust and Waikato Regional Council have marked the end of a joint project to restore the Karāpiro and Mangaonua catchments by planting a totara to honour the late tumuaki, Anaru Thompson. The kingmaker, who was one of the trust’s founders, died in June last year. The tree was one of the last of the 100,000 planted during the three-year project (Gifford, 2023).

The Ngāti Hauā rohe spans from “Te Aroha, south along the Kaimai Range to Te Weraiti, from Te Weraiti west to Maungatautari then northwest to Te Rapa, from Te Rapa eastward to Magateparu (sic) and then to Te Aroha”(LINZ, 2023). The Waikato lands were held together in the 19th Century, by strategies of alliances and warning forays



FNgāti Hauā rohe (LINZ)

into other rohe. Te Waharoa, of Matamata was a Rangatira who fostered alliances with Ngai te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui to the East, with Hauraki to the North, and Maniapoto to the South. However, he took nothing for granted —mana motuhake required constant vigilance. Ngāti Hauā settled along the Waikato River, from Horotiu, South, including the basin formed by the Waihou, Waitoa and Piako rivers.

Ngāti Hauā held sway over these lands in the early 19th Century; yet by the end of the century were largely landless. This is their story, and the tale of their leader Wiremu Tamihana and that of an influential Matamata settler. Bishop Selwyn recorded in December 1842 that he “walked several miles through native cultivations and wheat fields of very considerable extent” (Clark, &

Tairi, 2022, para 1). The account of Governor Grey's 1850 visit saw less crop cultivations but noted that "[a]pple, peaches, plums, cherries, and raspberries, grew in every direction in a state of nature, ungrafted, unpruned" (Cooper, 1850, p.62). By "1857 Whareturere, one of the principal kainga, had a stock yard for cattle, a chapel, a mill house, plough, carts and immense wheat plantations" (Clark & Tairi, para 1). It was fertile land that provided for large numbers, such as the 1830s week-long feast (Wilson, 1866, p.114) or the two-week feast described in 1847 (*New Zealander*, p. 2). Three thousand guests were offered "one thousand pigs, and fifty thousand eels ... on the principal day" with, a row of kete of cooked potatoes and kūmara "two hundred yards' long, five feet high, and the same in breadth."

Joshia Clifton Firth visited Waihou in 1856 and described the Ngāti Hauā settlement which fed large numbers of inhabitants as well as passing guests. Peria had numerous houses, each with its "little plantations of wheat, maize, kumaras and potatoes ... and grove[s] of peach trees (Firth, 1890, p. 35). Below I tell the interconnected tales of Tamihana and Firth.

Land lost: land gained (Māori Land Court) dealings.

Today the name Peria is of a local Matamata road. The village has gone, replaced by rural lands. Landowners like Firth were enthusiastic members of acclimatisation societies, introducing ova for aquatic farming, breeding stock for increased wool and milk production, and exotic trees for timber. This is the story of the changing landscapes, shifting ownerships. "It needs to be remembered that the dairy farms of the Waikato were either once confiscated land" Richard Boast wrote (2017, p.18.)." This may be an uncomfortable reality, but there is nothing to be gained by pretending otherwise ", he cautioned. Uncomfortable tales are not avoided but set out as histories of the differing communities.

A member of Ngāti Hauā, Wally Penetito (2009), tells of the shame his mid-20th Century generation felt. They attended the local school named after Te Waharoa yet knew little of him or Ngāti Hauā's history. They had internalised the oft quoted ideas of 'native inferiority.' Wally Penetito and many of his classmates are descendants from such villages as Peria yet learned nothing of its richness. The Iwi held oral histories of loss of mana, which created feelings of whakamā, not lessened by their lack of formal schooling. "You don't know. You didn't go to school" the Waharoa children chided when their parents contradicted a teacher-told tale (Penetito, p. 8).

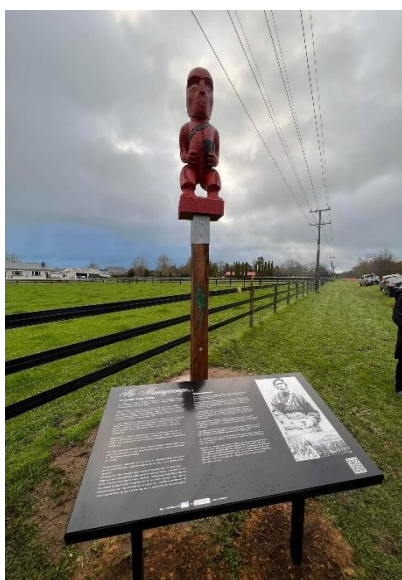
We fail to value teachers' knowledge of location, of community, of ecology and history, yet it is through teachers' deep love of their place that they engage their pupils, through anecdotes, daily stories, and unusual tales. Penetito (2009) suggests we need to know about the soil beneath our feet and the social history that surrounds us. How we inhabit a place tells us how we value, determine it's worth. He asserts that the spatial universe supports our emotional ties to "rivers, lakes, streams, and beaches." Yet these are more than metaphors to Māori; they are spatial realities" (p. 11).

We first take our natural environment for granted, and second fail to observe changes over time, yet these spaces are most vulnerable to human destruction. We often lack institutional memories of violent changes. During the 2023 East Coast floods, few remembered it was not the first inundation; knew of the Esk Valley 1938 floods, of the slips on Maoau. Tales such as these are retrievable with Place-Based Education. Lynley Tulloch (2023, p. 89) and colleagues assert such events can destabilise the priorities that *Te Whāriki*, the Early Childhood Education curriculum's emphasis on "people places and things". Climate events can threaten "children's experiences of security, place and stability". Security supports vulnerability when dealing with difficult subjects. Teachers have ethical responsibilities to teach about their students' connection to place and its history.

Narrative one: Wiremu Tamihana

Wiremu Tamihana was a son of Te Waharoa, of Ngāti Hauā, born at Tamahere, Waikato at the turn of the 19th Century. The place name of Wiremu's birth, Tamahere relates to Waikato matriarch, Mahinārangi swimming the Waikato River with her infant son (*tama*), Raukawa, bound (*here*) to her back. This story is also genealogical: as the Waikato and Eastern tribes are bound through her marriage to Turongo, so are Raukawa and Waikato tribes bound as community.

Today teachers and students can find his pou at Bruntwood, mere kilometres from where he was born. Pou are markers of territory, that identify the Iwi's physical rohe. They also link to ancestral spaces where noteworthy events happened. Lineage is set out visibly, spiritually, territorially. Unveiled at a ceremony in August 2022, by Ngāti Hauā, the Tamihana pou and plate tell his story, tied with Ngāti Hauā's spatial realities.



Tamihana Pou unveiling 2022 (Ngāti Hauā)

Ngāti Hauā (2022) said,

“Te Maungarongo - He Pou Whakairo

On 27 May 1865 Wiremu Tamihana laid down his taiaha before [General] Carey at Tamahere as 'te maungārongo' (the covenant of peace)

Among Pākehā this act was described as a surrender, and among our people misinterpreted as a relenquishing (sic) of the taonga tuku iho it represents.

... Papa Anaru established the design concept and the importance of it being strong and yet humble. Representing the revitalisation of our taonga and history with humility. Our carvers were Renata Te Wiata, Shaun Chase and their crew.

The pou and sign were unveiled by our Tumuaki Hone Tamihana and the blessing was performed by Archbishop Rawiri Moxon.”

The dawn ceremony captured the magic of pepeha and of the links to earth and sky; from generations past, to those to come. This is an example of “a conscious union of mind and spirit” (Penetito, 2009, p.20).

Hone Tamihana is a direct descendant of Wiremu. David Moxon is the religious ‘son’ of the Church Mission Society — Alfred Nesbit Brown and CMS colleagues. Brown and colleagues established a mission at Matamata in 1835. It was they who taught Tarapīpipi [Wiremu Tamihana] literary skills which were invaluable in his later role as mediator. Tarapīpipi and five others were baptised on 23 June 1839, and Tarapīpipi took the name William Thompson. This, after months of reading and questioning Brown about catechism. Tamihana built a school at Peria, and ploughed fields to plant wheat to feed the students. This school was the first built by Ngāti Hauā, with others at Maungatautari and Tamahere. Peria became a significant site: a meeting place for both Pākehā and Māori.

Increasing numbers of land-seeking immigrants made Iwi across the motu uneasy. In the years 1858 Tamihana approached tribes with a proposal for a Māori King, in part to counter land-sales. To illustrate the relationship, he famously used a three-stick illustration of the proposed Kingitanga: ‘One is the Māori King; the other is the Governor’ he said. He laid a third stick on top of the other two. ‘This is the law of God and the Queen’. He then traced in the ground a circle around the sticks. ‘That circle is the Queen, the fence to protect all’” (Howe, 2010).

Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was acclaimed as King at Pukawa in 1859. It was here that an enduring act of tikanga began, when Tamihana himself enthroned Pōtatau by ceremonially holding a bible above his head. This has been the role of Thompson descendants in the crowning of subsequent Kings and Queens, and deep involvement in the Kingitanga affairs. “Tumuakitanga is a hereditary role” recognised in their Treaty Settlement with the Crown (Ngāti Hauā Treaty Settlement).

Recently returned Governor Grey, encouraged by the likes of the Direct Purchase Association, prepared for war as a tool to confiscate land. I use Evelyn Stokes’ (2002) compilation of original letters and despatches in the following paragraphs. She clothes the ordinary with Ngāti Hauā tales of rising tensions about land in the 1850s.

Her chapter ‘Rumours of War’ discusses Tamihana’s unease at the Dury road construction, noting such roads eased the transport of heavy guns. Construction of a line of redoubts along the rivers, one of which, Queen’s Redoubt, could house 1000 men, added to his concerns. Tamihana wrote to warn other Iwi, and to parley with the government over its intentions. Stokes (2002, p. 288) cited a hui-a-Iwi at Peria, where in 1862, assembled Iwi talked of their unease about the confiscations in Taranaki and of impending settler hostilities. She foregrounds sites that shorn of meaning in contemporary tales.

Bishop Selwyn, who was present, chided the hui saying “O Matutaera, Chief of Waikato. This is [my view], let there be one law, the Queen’s, let there be one mana, God’s. Do not

have two laws or there will be confusion” (p. 297). Stokes’s chapter sets out the storying of Iwi, noting their sense of officials’ injustice and complicity, suggesting that “the land is to be adjudicated according to law”(p. 311). She tells the story of war in ‘The Invasion of Waikato’ where General Duncan Cameron crosses the Mangatawhiri river on 12 July 1863. Using narratives from J.E. Gorst and letters from Tamihana to she shows the shifting fortunes of Waikato peoples (p. 338 -368). Tamihana commiserated with those taken prisoner, and notes “the enemy [is] constantly driving us from place to place. We are quite out of breath” (p. 364).

In her ‘The Assault on Rangiaowhia’ Stokes tells of the sacking of the village which was the subject of dispute until very recently. Among Waikato the Anglican Church became known as the ‘church that burnt us’: British troops burned a whare karakia, offered as a place of sanctuary by Bishop Selwyn. Selwyn’s act in accompanying the British troops, was seen as partisan. Stokes’ citations show selective editing by British officials of 1864 despatches to the Colonial Office, which elide this scorching. Tamihana was deeply affected by the deaths, and Selwyn’s complicity, and referred to it many times. Like the Somerville (2013) pieces Stokes’ work is placed in a textual zone of contestation.

In her penultimate chapter, Stokes brings Joshia Firth face to face with Tamihana in the Land Court hearings in Hamilton. From peace came settlers' acquisition of land, curtailing the Iwi’s traditional connection to its rohe. Tamihana lamented “[w]e have stood on Maungakawa, we have looked down on Horotiu and shed tears, and now the pain is simply gnawing at our hearts” (AJHR 1865, E14, p.2). He continued unsuccessfully to petition Governor Grey and the House of Representatives about injustices to Māori. Unable to regain a role as kaitiaki of his ancestral lands, he died the following year, leaving the fight to the next generation. During his lifetime, the power relations between settler and Māori; Māori and the Crown, had shifted. With the Tamahere Pou unveiling, the story of Tamihana’s covenant of peace can be set against the victors’ tale of ‘surrender’.

Narrative two: J C Firth

Russell Stone (2013, p. 8) noted Auckland’s economic pride of place, which suffered in the 1856-61 slump. Kingitanga efforts to thwart land sales, coincided with a rise in South Island fortunes; wool prices rose and gold was discovered. Auckland investors looked to recently returned Governor Grey to support their ambitions. A generous Wartime Grant of £900,000 to Auckland Province spurred contracts to build militia bases, while banks loaned freely for over short periods. Settlers like J C Firth believed “Maori (sic) must be subdued” to enable “land to come more freely into European hands” (p. 9).

An 1888 investigation into the Bank of New Zealand found the Loan and Mercantile Agency Company had preferentially treated, with over valuations allowing for greater mortgages against the assets.

No less than three of the six directors of the Loan Company were also directors of the Bank of New Zealand and a fourth, D. L. Murdoch, also acted as general manager for the bank. Thomas Russell, of Whitaker and Russell, was both an English Director of the Loan Company and solicitor to the Bank of New Zealand. There is no doubt that this limited circle saved the Loan Company by over valuing estates such as Matamata (Waterson, 1969, p. 34).

Firth arrived from Clifton in the 1850s with a vision. He soon became involved in the Auckland money matters: the Loan and Mercantile Agency Company and the Direct Purchase Association, a group keen to challenge the Crown's monopoly of land purchase. He was among a number who coveted the Ngāti Hauā lands as a means to 'build a nation.' The Matamata Estate was his vision of an English country plantation, where his wheat farm supplying his mills could send flour to feed Auckland.

Firth (1890) had seen the fertility of Matamata land when had visited in 1856. He described the storage of food: besides pātaka, there were silos of kūmara and potatoes. He tells of potatoes being kept all the year round in rua, "each holding about a ton, and with a well-fitted trap door". He continued "Some idea may be formed of the number of inhabitants in Peria at that time, from the circumstance, that fifteen years later, when the settlement was deserted, I had nine hundred of these Ruas filled up" (1890, p. 35).

Firth wrote of releasing ova into rivers across the country (1890, p. 225); later, of "five canoes laden with my grass and clover seed", to support pastoral grazing. Such activities changed the landscape as plough, scarifier and dredge attacked and altered soils and waters. The pastoralists also overwrote the story of the land and its people.

It was in the Land Courts that loss of land was enacted - a conscious act of breaking Ngāti Hauā's connection with the whenua. There are tales in the *Daily Southern Cross* of rulings being put aside because land had not been surveyed and Wiremu Tamihana, as holder of Iwi land-knowledge was too ill to appear (e.g. 8 Nov. 1865, p. 5). An August 1867 press report noted concerns about Iwi leasing land to Europeans. Firth had received a telegram noting Wiremu's son Tana was being pressured by the Kingitanga to ask for redress and challenging his title to the land. Firth called a hui at Peria and presented an obelisk he had commissioned with salutation in both Māori and English, including the lines "Haere atu ra, e te hoa ... William Thompson Te Waharoa died here on the 27th day of December 1866. This was his last sentence: -"Tell Mr Firth, if he is willing to reside here continually, I am agreeable." (Daily Southern Cross Aug 1867). Sentences like these illustrated Firth's ability to self-publicise his 'friendship' where he was able to benefit considerably. Did residence differ from ownership; uses of land differ from expropriation of land?

Duncan Waterson is sceptical.

Firth, although he professed friendship with Tamehana (sic) and the amenable sections of the Maori people, was just as concerned as were his more cynical Auckland colleagues to acquire huge Waikato properties ... [H]is chicanery at the Cambridge hearings of the Native Land Court testify to Firth's overriding determination to destroy Maori land

ownership and to reduce the tribes to acquiescent beggars on the fringes of the estate.(1969, p.33).

Firth was Director of the Bank of New Zealand, built the Thames Valley-Rotorua Railway, established the New Zealand Frozen Meat company, and erected a dairy company. His was the largest flour mill in Auckland. Today he is remembered for the Firth Tower in Matamata and Firth Concrete, a well-known local firm (RNZ). Like many 21st Century firms, they had origins in the purchases and confiscation of Māori land.

Firth in 1866 had leased 60,000 acres from Ngāti Hauā at £500 a year as he began to set out a yeoman's estate. It was the largest of the South Auckland Estates. William Williams Firth's brother-in-law represented the family in the Māori Land Court. In the hearings, and in his subsequent autobiography *Nation Building* (1890) Firth continued to claim friendship with Tamihana as justification for his expropriation of land.

Waterson gives precise detail of Firth's pretensions, until he fell afoul of his mortgage-holders and was bankrupted in 1887. But before debtors called in his loan, he had established the village of Waharoa, named after his 'friend's' father. It was in this village, a century later, that Wally Penetito was schooled, unaware of the links to his own whakapapa. Firth, in acts of erasure, not only filled in storage holes, but dredged the Waihou River to make it navigable. He attempted a gold-mining venture in te Waiorongomai, with rail into the Kaimai ranges, and along the boundary of the estate. When wheat (planted over the rua), failed, he tried pastoral farming, also unsuccessfully.

Firth embellished accounts of his efforts in Matamata in *Nation Making: A story of New Zealand- Savagism v Civilization*, with a query 'Are aboriginal races always to disappear at the inroads of white man?' He sets his attempts at farming in a genealogy running from Rome to Matamata (1890, p. 30-31). An 'old chief' tells of dastardly deeds past, epitomising this 'savagery'. Firth is assisted in his narrative by 'actors': such icons of civilization as a magistrate, a surveyor, an interpreter, and a station manager, all who attest to the nation's 'progress'.

His story turns to changing the land: chapters entitled 'Salmon Introduction'; 'On the River'; 'Clearing the River', and 'The Land for the People' where tales of acclimatising ova to the local rivers, of dredging the Waihou, using dynamite are elaborated.

"Hundreds of snags (water-logged trees) were blown up. One of these, lay right across the river" (p. 229).

Firth details the savage changing of the landscapes, and of Ngāti Hauā's strong reactions. In 1867, after Tana Tamihana challenging Firth to return Ngāti Hauā land, he tells of taking "horses, ploughs, picks and shovels" to begin roadmaking: "my sidings were ploughed, cuttings made, and swamps bridged for a length of seven miles, where the road descended to the Waikato plains" (p. 226).

The intention of the 1862 Land Act, which became the 1865 Native Lands Act was to "greatly promote the peaceful settlement of the colony and the advancement and

civilisation of the natives" (Boast 2016, p. 80). Moreover, it would support the nation if the native rights to land were "assimilated as nearly as possible to the ownership of land according to British law"(p.80). Titles to land were individualised as required by law; no longer collectively owned by Iwi, the land passed into the possession of 10 named as titleholders. Until 1873 these ten individuals were free to trade land irrespective of collective interests. The subsequent changes merely clogged the civil courts with complex legal matters.

The original Estate of 42,738 acres was valued at £195,178.11.4 in 1896 (land £147,233, livestock and implements £38,731) and supported 35,000 sheep, 3,500 cattle, a herd of cows and several bulls. 20,000 acres were in pasture. However, it was subsequently settled by small selectors under the lease-in-perpetuity tenure introduced by the Land Act of 1892. Matamata is a local picture of national rural mortgage indebtedness and ongoing sales in the 20th Century. There are many examples of what Penetito (2009, p.14) calls "the power of veto" where in cases of disparate views, that of the dominant group prevails. Place-Based Education can make this one-sidedness stutter.

Waterson noted that not only was there a close association between Firth and his Mortgage Holder, the Loan and Mercantile Agency Company, but that the mortgage was subsequently transferred to the Bank of New Zealand. "The practice of overvaluation by the Bank continued into the 1890s and the shareholders were paid substantial dividends at a time when every year saw a further deterioration in the true financial position of the bank" (1969, p. 35). It was fortuitous that refrigeration, rising prices for dairy commodities and the use of fertilizers made smaller units viable. The Government took over the Bank's assets in 1902 when the estate was broken into 117 farms.

Waterson (p. 41) examines the self-storying of these settlers, such as , R. T. Abbot, who was of the opinion that any increased value of the land was "entirely the result of the exertions of the settlers", as the new landed elite voted for the party of rural support, and employed local labour to fence and maintain the agricultural holdings. The Reform Party of W. F. Massey supported the practices of subdivision as profitable and practicable. Such policies countered the establishment frontier stories of brawny farmers breaking the soil: the 'myth of the pioneer'. There were many keen to buy. Barely twenty per cent of the original families remained on their selections in 1921, Waterson tells us, and by 1955 the figure had fallen to eight per cent. On the one hand there are stories of technological advances, supported by the rural research colleges, who advised on pasture grasses and selected fertilizers, by the local stock and station agents who could assist farmers in improved stocking rates. But on the other, as Waterson, a local himself knew, "Matamata farmers were reluctant to acknowledge the sources of their wealth" (p. 47).

The realtors assessed the climate, as Waterson illustrated (p. 4.) "J. W. Finnerty purchased, mortgaged and sold fourteen farms in the Matamata Estate alone between 1915 and 1929". After purchasing a farm, he then obtained the freehold to on-sell with a double mortgage. Using his access as, a Matamata land agent, J. C. Clothier bought six

farms between 1917 and 1922 which he worked for a short period and then sold. Firth's was merely an early example of crony capitalism in the Waikato. "Matamata to many of them was usually no more than a place of work and profit. It is significant that Firth, the only authentic folk-hero of the region, neither lived at Matamata nor succeeded in realising his big-man's dream" (p. 50).



Firth Tower (Firthtower.co.nz website)

Waterson concludes his tale of the rural idyll in Matamata with a political analysis of the myths of settlers-as-pioneers across the country. Idealised beliefs in 'hard work' brought a smug self-satisfaction that was still evident in the 1960s. This, despite the fact that many retired to town, leaving the daily manual work to the descendants of Tamihana and of unsuccessful pastoralists. These myths have supported the Pākehā to this day, where local children are taught of Firth and his Tower is venerated for its nostalgic link to the past, to a 'frontier' that never really existed, except in Firth's fears.

The 21st Century has seen most of the 117 small holdings amalgamated by businessmen farmers. When the shock Waterson wrote of, the guaranteed British market for dairy products dried, the entrepreneurial dairy boards also eventually amalgamated. The New Zealand Dairy Board formed by farmer-shareholders when Britain joined the European Common Market and cut off the established market. In 2001 the Board merged with two smaller cooperatives, the New Zealand Cooperative Dairy Company and Kiwi Cooperative Dairies (Muirhead, n.d.). No longer a district with small processing factories at every corner, the behemoth Fonterra emerged in the 21st Century, taking advantage of World Trade Organisation's free-trade protocols. As dairy herds became much larger, runoff from fertilisers into the waterways increased significantly since Fonterra was created (Joy, 2021). Vested interests blocked government intentions to address dairy intensification and its resultant harm, as "more nutrients, pathogens, herbicides, pesticides and hormones escape into the environment" (2021, p.51). Fonterra's marketing also depended on myth, of the 'clean green, grass-fed product' that can feed the babies of the world.

With Place-Based Education, substantial unpacking is involved to make the Waharoa of the 19th Century visible. It is the necessity to recover "the Ministry of Education's (2011) *Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori Learners* and the principles underpinning *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), this country's early childhood curriculum" as Manning (2016, p. 58) argued. We as teachers need to be aware of the sensitivities of local whānau to ensure Penetito's experiences do not become those of 21st Century tamariki.

Divergent views: Will the settlers finally settle?

Short stories, spatial metaphors, pepēha are themes Penetito (2009) suggests should be central to Place-Based Education, as teachers bring metaphysical, and geographical elements of Māori knowledge alive. As he explained, Maungakawa, Waitoa River are both geographical features and boundaries of his identity. It is especially that mainstream schooling has dealt harshly with Māori students that Penetito offered Place Based Education. It is because of these unhappy experiences that Teaching Council developed *Tātaiako* for teachers of Māori students.

Tātaiako suggests teachers have meaningful conversations with learners and communities to support Māori achievement. It could involve examples of the Ngāti Hauā entrepreneurial activities prior to 1863, while links with present day mana whenua will make their tales come alive. Creating learning environments where their identity, language, and culture are valued can support students see their Tūpuna affirmed and their stories esteemed.

Will the settlers finally settle? Is a query that can open up discussions of power, and stories of embeddedness in the land and soil of this country. Cambridge today is a “highly respectable and faintly English-looking ...{yet it] had a more interesting and certainly less reputable history than its present appearance might indicate” (Boast, 2017, p. 27). Boast traces the networks of privilege that firstly deprived Ngāti Hauā of their land and transferred it to comfortable yeoman settlers. Cambridge Native Land Court sittings had a unique quality. “It is at Cambridge that the intersection between tenurial change and frontier capitalism can be seen most starkly” (2017, p. 26). It was a frontier town in two senses, both militarily and economically. Cambridge was centre of an “entire commercial system that had grown up around title investigations and partitions in the Court. [These included] “a network of lawyers, Māori agents, land agents, conductors (*kaiwhakahaere*), and tavern-keepers and storekeepers”. Not, he continued, to mention land colonisation companies (2017, p. 28). More than one thousand natives attended Land Court hearings, as well as potential purchasers, including some of Auckland businessmen named by Waterson. Whitaker, E.B. Walker, Williams, Dilworth, Buller, Howard, Grace and Campbell were seen in the Cambridge court from time to time (Boast p. 34) concludes that those “Auckland businessmen sitting in the back of the Cambridge Native Court hearings in the 1880s need to be placed centre stage” as pivotal vested interests who reach, perhaps, continues to today“. In introducing his thesis about vested interests and the circulation of money, Boast suggests that the influence of capitalism is an issue

It needs to be remembered that the dairy farms of the Waikato were either once confiscated land, or land which was at one time investigated by the Native Land Court. This may be an uncomfortable reality, but there is nothing to be gained by pretending otherwise ... compared to the outpouring of historical writing on the role of the colonial state, the literature on the private sector and private land buying looks very thin by comparison (2017, pp. 37-38).

The story of assimilation needs to be told. As Boast listed the names of influential lawyers, Mike Joy, in the 21st century, tells a remarkably similar story of hearings where small environmental groups appear before “extremely well-heeled, expensive lawyers and consultants with stacks of files” (Joy, 2021, p. 52).

Today Ngāti Hauā regains some control over land and waterways. They offer this to the wider community as spaces to be enjoyed —as a public good.

Kaitiakitanga, wairua, manaaki

Ngāti Hauā have regained mana with the Deed of Settlement (Te Tari Whakataua, 2013) which provided for a Conservation Relationship and for “a positive, collaborative and enduring relationship between the Ngāti Hauā and the Department of Conservation” (Deed of Settlement 2013. p. 3).

How teachers cover the stories from differing perspective is always challenging. Like any ant-racist, and post-colonial telling, they disrupt the accepted narrative. Manning (2016) has suggested that teachers become active in our communities when using Place Based Education. It can enhance the richness of our teaching, support deep learning in our students.

{To begin a}... “re-storying process”, whereby kaiako enable tamariki to “respond creatively to [the sometimes conflicting] stories of their home ground so that, in time, they are able to position themselves, imaginatively and actually within the continuum of nature and culture particular in that place” (p. 59).

As Penetito learned of the significance of Waharoa, so teachers need to share community stories of these placenames and history. More than sites of capitalist production, they are mana whenua names. Gathering meaning, knowing the levels of history in a place, moves beyond passive searches, and engaging with these peoples. Iwi have always demonstrated manākitanga to those who show interest. They share the wairua of their significant spaces. I have argued that Place-Based Education is a successful way for teachers of Māori students to meet the ethical requirements of *Tātaiako*. As Ngāti Hauā whakatauki affirm, they are a noble and self-sustaining people; from days past; today and evermore (Ngāti Hauā). They remain kaitiaki of their rohe; tellers of their histories.

Declaration

Conflict of Interest

Author has no conflict of interest

Notes

Spelling of Tamihana's name: I have used the spelling used by Evelyn Stokes in her 2002 book on Wiremu Tamihana. She notes her close relationship and liaison with the hapū so I am accepting this expertise. Other sources such as the article she wrote for the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* uses the macron ('Te Waharoa, Wiremu Tāmihana Tarapīpī'), and the Ngāti Hauā plaque with the Bruntwood Road pou uses Tamehana

Māori words

Kaitiaki/Kaitiakitanga (noun) trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward.

Mana.(noun)prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma -*mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place, or object.

Mana whenua (noun)territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory 'power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land.

Manaaki/ manākitanga.(noun) hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.

Rua (noun) storage pit.

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