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**Citation:** Meihana, P. 2022. Navigating the Politics of Remembering. *Public History Review*, 29, 44–53. <https://doi.org/10.5130/phrj.v29i0.8231>

ISSN 1833-4989 | Published by UTS ePRESS | <https://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/journals/index.php/phrj>

ARTICLES (PEER REVIEWED)

## Navigating the Politics of Remembering

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Rangitāne, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa, Ngāi Tahu

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**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5130/phrj.v29i0.8231>

**Article History:** Received 09/06/2022; Accepted 15/08/2022; Published 06/12/2022

This article is based on the Te Rangikāheke Memorial Lecture presented in November 2021 at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference. Te Rangikāheke was one of Aotearoa's first 'public historians'. He was born around 1815 into the Ngāti Kereru hapū (clan/tribal subdivision) of Ngāti Rangiwewehi. In 1835, he attended the Church of England Mission in Rotorua where, under the tutelage of Thomas Chapman, he was baptised, taking the name William Marsh. It was here that he acquired the skills of reading and writing. Te Rangikāheke would go on to become one of the most prolific Māori writers of the nineteenth century, producing 21 manuscripts, comprising 670 pages. One hundred pages from a further 17 manuscripts have been attributed to Te Rangikāheke. These manuscripts, along with letters and public addresses, amount to over 800 pages. They are now held in the Sir George Grey Collection in the Auckland Central Library.<sup>1</sup>

Te Rangikāheke and Governor George Grey had a working relationship. Grey's governorship of South Australia led him to believe that a sound knowledge of the Māori world was essential to governing Māori and extending British authority. In the preface of his *Polynesian Mythology*, Grey wrote that he 'could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose languages, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted'.<sup>2</sup> Te Rangikāheke was Grey's most important informant.

Grey was not the only British official to collect Māori oral tradition. Surveyor and Protector of Aborigines Edward Shortland collated the traditions of South Island Māori.<sup>3</sup> John White, another official, collected many traditions from across the North Island.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between these collectors and their Māori informants was not a case of the former simply extracting information from the latter. It is fair to say that the Māori informants were driven by their own objectives. Many informants were paid for their services. In the case of Te Rangikāheke, he lived with Grey and his wife, during which time Grey gathered much of the material for his own publications.<sup>5</sup>

**DECLARATION OF CONFLICTING INTEREST** The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article. **FUNDING** The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Te Rangikāheke was unique in terms of output, but there were many others who narrated the traditions of their iwi (tribe) and hapū communities. The Ngāti Kahungunu scribe Te Whatahoro set down in writing the traditions dictated to him by Te Matorohanga and other tohunga (experts).<sup>6</sup> In the Manawatū, Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu, of Ngāti Rangitepaia, convened a hui of 60 leaders in 1852 to discuss tribal history and whakapapa – some of this whakapapa was published in John White's *The Ancient History of Māori*.<sup>7</sup> In Te Waipounamu (South Island), there were Matiaha Tiramōrehu, Teone Tikao and others.<sup>8</sup>

This article considers the legacies of informants and intermediaries, and, with reference to recent historical commemorations in Te Taihū o te Waka a Māui (northern South Island), how they can help shape future understandings of history. The article discusses the work of nineteenth century scribes from iwi to whom I belong – Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa. These tūpuna (ancestors) invested much time and effort into recording whakapapa and tradition. Successive generations have looked back to this work to guide them in the present. The building of a whare tūpuna (carved meeting house), Treaty of Waitangi claims and settlements, the carving of pou whenua (carved posts), and participation in commemorative events are all built on past actions, but repurposed and shaped to meet current concerns.

In the post-Treaty era, literacy became an essential requirement when engaging with Crown processes. Having learnt to read and write from Methodist missionaries, Meihana Kereopa, a survivor of the 'musket wars', travelled throughout Te Taihū attending gatherings with elders.<sup>9</sup> With the assistance of his son, Tahuaraki, he recorded genealogies in preparation for Native Land Court hearings and Commissions of Inquiry.<sup>10</sup> One of Meihana's key informants was Ihaia Kaikōura. Kaikōura inherited the mantle of Rangitāne leadership following the death of his father and uncle during the musket wars. Despite this setback, he went on to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on 17 June 1840.<sup>11</sup> Another musket war survivor was Eruera Wirihana Pakauwera of Ngāti Kuia. Eruera and his father escaped the Ngāti Toa Rangatira led invasion of the Pelorus Sound, which saw his grandfather die.<sup>12</sup> As an old man, Eruera was interviewed by Polynesian Society ethnographers Elsdon Best and Stephenson Percy Smith. The result of his interviews with Percy Smith was a manuscript comprising waiata (songs), moteatea (chants) and karakia (incantations).<sup>13</sup> More than 100 years later, the Meihana and Pakauwera manuscripts would provide valuable information for the Kurahaupō iwi during their respective Treaty of Waitangi claims.<sup>14</sup>

From the middle of the twentieth century, Māori began to move from their rural homelands to urban centres. In Te Taihū, many families moved from native reserves to towns like Blenheim and Nelson. It should be noted that these so-called urban migrants were not moving to unknown places, they were in fact returning to areas that had long been occupied by Māori. Just outside Blenheim, for instance, is one of Aotearoa's most important archaeological sites. At Te Pokohiwi o Kupe (the Wairau Bar), in around 1280AD, Polynesian ancestors established one of Aotearoa's first settlements. These first peoples were no doubt attracted by the area's resources – argillite to make stone tools, protein in the form of moa and marine mammals, and a climate conducive to growing kumara.<sup>15</sup>

Public and scholarly interest in Te Pokohiwi has grown since 2009, when 42 kōiwi tangata (ancestral remains) were repatriated back to their original resting place. The repatriation occurred at a time when Rangitāne was in treaty settlement negotiations with the Crown. As part of Rangitāne's treaty settlement, the area in which the kōiwi tangata were reinterred was returned to the iwi in fee simple title.<sup>16</sup>

As part of the repatriation, the University of Otago undertook a series of research projects which have added greatly to our knowledge of these ancestors. Some of the research was presented at the 2016 New Zealand Archaeological Association Conference held at Ukaipō, Rangitāne's cultural centre.<sup>17</sup> As part of the conference programme, participants visited Te Pokohiwi where members of the Rangitāne community shared some of the traditional knowledge of the site. Iwi members also had the opportunity to have their DNA sequenced as part of a project titled 'The Longest Journey: From Africa to Aotearoa'. Led by Professor Lisa Matisoo-Smith, the aim of the project was to trace migration histories of New Zealanders.

Many whanau were interested to know if they were connected genetically to the Wairau Bar ancestors. As it transpired, many were.<sup>18</sup>

The repatriation also presented an opportunity for Rangitāne to present their side of the story. During the 1940s, excavations led primarily by Canterbury Museum's Roger Duff saw kōiwi tangata and artefacts taken to Christchurch. Tribal elder Hohua Peter MacDonald, the grandson of Meihana Kereopa, protested, but failed in his attempts to stop the excavations. Duff argued that the Rangitāne community was in no way connected to the human remains at Te Pokohiwi, asserting that the remains belonged to an earlier, unrelated people. Furthermore, the removal of kōiwi tangata continued even after Rangitāne had been reassured that only artefacts such as adzes would be taken. The return of kōiwi tangata back to Te Pokohiwi was a high point for Rangitāne, but there remains some unfinished business: the return of taonga still held by Canterbury Museum.<sup>19</sup>

The Māori history of the northern South Island is recorded in carved meeting houses. The first such house to be built was opened in 1985 at Omaka marae in Blenheim. Named Te Aroha o te Waipounamu, the poupou (carvings), tukutuku (woven panels) and kowhaiwhai (traditional motifs) that adorn the walls and ceiling reflect the area's geographic location. The Wairau was traditionally a thoroughfare, a place of coming and going. Since its opening, Te Aroha o te Waipounamu has hosted many nationally significant hui. The 'Fiscal Envelope', the government policy that looked to impose a cap of \$1 billion on all treaty settlements, was discussed at Omaka. It was at Omaka, too, that the iwi of Te Taihū voiced their opposition to the Crown's proposal to vest the foreshore and seabed in public ownership.<sup>20</sup> And in 2010, Rangitāne signed its Treaty of Waitangi settlement with the Crown at Omaka.<sup>21</sup>

A unique feature of Te Aroha o te Waipounamu is the portrait that runs the length of the eastern wall. Painted by Brian Baxter, the portrait depicts Māori life from the arrival of Polynesian ancestors up until the arrival of James Cook. Unlike Te Pokohiwi, which has only recently acquired national significance, Cook has been well memorialised in the northern South Island. In 1896, 2,000 acres of land at Meretoto (Ship Cove) was reserved 'in memory of its occupation by Captain Cook'. In 1906, following discussions initiated at a large picnic hosted at Meretoto by the local rifle company, plans were put in place to build a Cook memorial. Seven years later, a large memorial was unveiled at the site by Governor General Lord Liverpool. It was the second such memorial erected in Aotearoa, the first being the obelisk at Gisborne in 1906.<sup>22</sup>

The monument at Meretoto comprises a truncated concrete pyramid surmounted with a ship's anchor. Positioned at the front are a cannon and two cast iron guns that were added to the monument in 1928. The monument also includes several plaques. On the northern and eastern sides are inscriptions dedicated to Cook. On the western side is an inscription paying tribute to those who contributed to the construction of the monument. The monument is not completely devoid of a Māori presence. On the southern side is a short welcome in te reo Māori (the Māori language).<sup>23</sup> Māori have also been involved in re-enactments, first in 1970 for the bicentenary celebrations, and again in 1996 involving a replica of the HMS *Endeavour* and *Awatea Hou*, a waka built for the 1990 Treaty of Waitangi commemorations.<sup>24</sup>

In 2006, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne and Te Ātiawa worked alongside the Department of Conservation to redevelop the site. A bridge was built crossing the small stream that divides the reserve. On the southern side of the bridge stand two pou whenua. The pou on the seaward side represents the Kurahaupō iwi (Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa) while the other pou represents Te Ātiawa. A larger pou depicting the Polynesian ancestor Kupe now stands near the entrance to the reserve. Meretoto, then, at least in terms of its spatial configuration, is now bicultural.<sup>25</sup>

Increasing numbers of the Kurahaupō community are visiting Meretoto, in part due to the Tuia-Encounters 250. The Tuia commemorations marked '250 years since the first onshore encounters between Māori and Pākehā in 1769'.<sup>26</sup> Like other Māori communities across the country, the Kurahaupō approached the event with trepidation; a 'Cookfest' was something we were not willing to participate in. However,

enthusiasm grew when the decision was made to pivot to a commemorative event that acknowledged Polynesian navigation and the Tahitian rangatira Tupaia, who joined Cook's first expedition when it reached Tahiti, where Cook was tasked with observing the transit of Venus.<sup>27</sup> Co-chair of the Tuia Encounters 250 national committee Hoturoa Barclay-Kerr stated that 'the commemorations captured the first encounter between Pacific people and the land, later encounters between Pacific people and those in New Zealand, and Captain Cook's landing'.<sup>28</sup>

The national committee was responsible for organising commemorations at four Cook landing sites: Gisborne, Coromandel Peninsula, Bay of Islands and Meretoto (Tōtaranui). At a local level, the Tōtaranui 250 Trust, which comprised iwi representatives, received funding and coordinated key Events. The first on the calendar was a pohiri at Meretoto to welcome a flotilla that included a replica of the HMS *Endeavour*, two waka hourua (voyaging canoe), including the Tahitian *Fa'afaita*, as well as the *Spirit of New Zealand*. Waka tangata (single hulled canoe) crewed by Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa and Te Ātiawa met the flotilla as it entered the bay. From Meretoto the flotilla made its way to Picton, where it was welcomed by 7,000 people. Events were also hosted by Rangitāne in Wairau (Blenheim), including a visit to Te Pokohiwi.<sup>29</sup>



Kupe and Tuia 250 Trust members. From left, Raymond Smith, John Hellstrom, and Peter Jerram. (Photograph by Keelan Walker, Loud Noise Media)

In contrast to commemorations in other areas, there was very little, if any, protest during Tuia Tōtaranui 250. In Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, the past was very much part of the present. In 1769, Cook and his crew killed nine men and boys, including the Ngāti Oneone rangatira Te Maro. That atrocity has not been forgotten by their descendants in 2019; indeed, Tuia 250 brought to the surface the wounds inflicted by colonisation. The protests at Gisborne and elsewhere took place eight months after a white nationalist killed 51 people in Christchurch.<sup>30</sup> Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern declared 'this is not who we are'. But as Moana Jackson



reminds us, Christchurch ‘was, sadly, only one of many dark days in this country’s history’ and ‘A failure to recognise that fact is not just to misremember history but to erase and silence it.’<sup>31</sup>

While protest was not a feature of Tuia Tōtaranui 250, the past certainly shaped and influenced the Māori response, and in particular the response of the Kurahaupō iwi: Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kuia and Rangitāne. Over the last two decades, the settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims has pre-occupied the iwi of the northern South Island. The claims-settlement process provided a forum for Te Taihū iwi to present their claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, an independent commission of inquiry. The tribunal is primarily concerned with the acts and omissions of the Crown in relation to its treaty obligations; however, it also addressed aspects of custom. It found that the Kurahaupō iwi had, despite the raupatu (conquest) of the 1830s, retained rights in areas they now shared with others. Moreover, rights continued to evolve after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.<sup>32</sup>

The Kurahaupō iwi have a long association with the Tōtaranui. According to tribal tradition, the Kurahaupō waka landed at Nukutaurua on the Mahia Peninsula in the fourteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Over generations, the descendants of Whātonga, the captain of Kurahaupō, migrated south to the lower North Island. From the sixteenth century, Ngāi Tara, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāti Tumatakokiri began to traverse Raukawakawa moana (Cook Strait), stopping at Tōtaranui and Arapaōa Island before moving west and south.<sup>34</sup> Ngāti Tumatakokiri eventually occupied the area from Rangitoto (D’Urville Island) to Mohua (Golden Bay) and it was they who met Abel Tasman in 1642.<sup>35</sup> Further migrations of Kurahaupō peoples followed. Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne pushed their relatives west and south and, while conflict arose, strategic marriages insured peace was quickly established. When Cook arrived in January 1770, he met a Kurahaupō community.<sup>36</sup>

Te Ātiawa also have an association with Tōtaranui. Originally from Taranaki, the iwi migrated to the lower North Island in late 1820s. During the 1830s, having acquired muskets, Te Ātiawa and other iwi invaded and settled in the northern South Island. The arrival of nga iwi hou (the new people) led to a change in the geo-politics of the area. For the Kurahaupō iwi, the impact of the invasion was amplified in the decades after 1840. Crown purchases and the decisions of the Native Land Court reflected the Crown’s view of the relative status of Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne. Deemed to be a ‘conquered’ people, they were denied title to lands they had traditionally owned. Although such grievances were thoroughly dealt with by the Waitangi Tribunal, which posited a model of overlapping rights and interests, Te Ātiawa maintain that their rights through raupatu are exclusive.<sup>37</sup>

This, then, was the context that framed the Kurahaupō response to Tuia 250. It presented an opportunity for the Kurahaupō iwi to reposition their histories. The killing of Tobias Furneaux’s ten men during Cook’s second expedition stands out in the historical record. Having separated from Cook and the *Resolution*, Furneaux headed for Tōtaranui in the *Adventure*. Once there, Furneaux ordered ten of his crew to collect scurvy grass from Wharehunga Bay. It was at this time that the ten crewmen were killed and purportedly eaten.<sup>38</sup> Kahura, the chief held responsible for the killing, has been remembered in tribal whakapapa (genealogy). However, little detail of the event has been retained by the Kurahaupō community. What has been retained is the memory of Tupaia, and it was this connection that was foremost in the minds of the Kurahaupō peoples involved in Tuia Tōtaranui 250.

There is little in the European sources that indicates what discussions took place between our ancestors and the Tahitian navigator. It is clear, though, that Tupaia left a lasting impression. When Cook returned to Tōtaranui in 1773, news of Tupaia’s death was met with great sadness, and, as was customary, a waiata tangi (lament) was composed. Eruera Wirihana Pakauwera dictated the waiata tangi to Stephenson Percy Smith 120 years later. During the pohiri (customary welcome) to welcome the crew of the *Fa’afaita*, the descendants of those people who wept for Tupaia once again remembered him through song.<sup>39</sup>

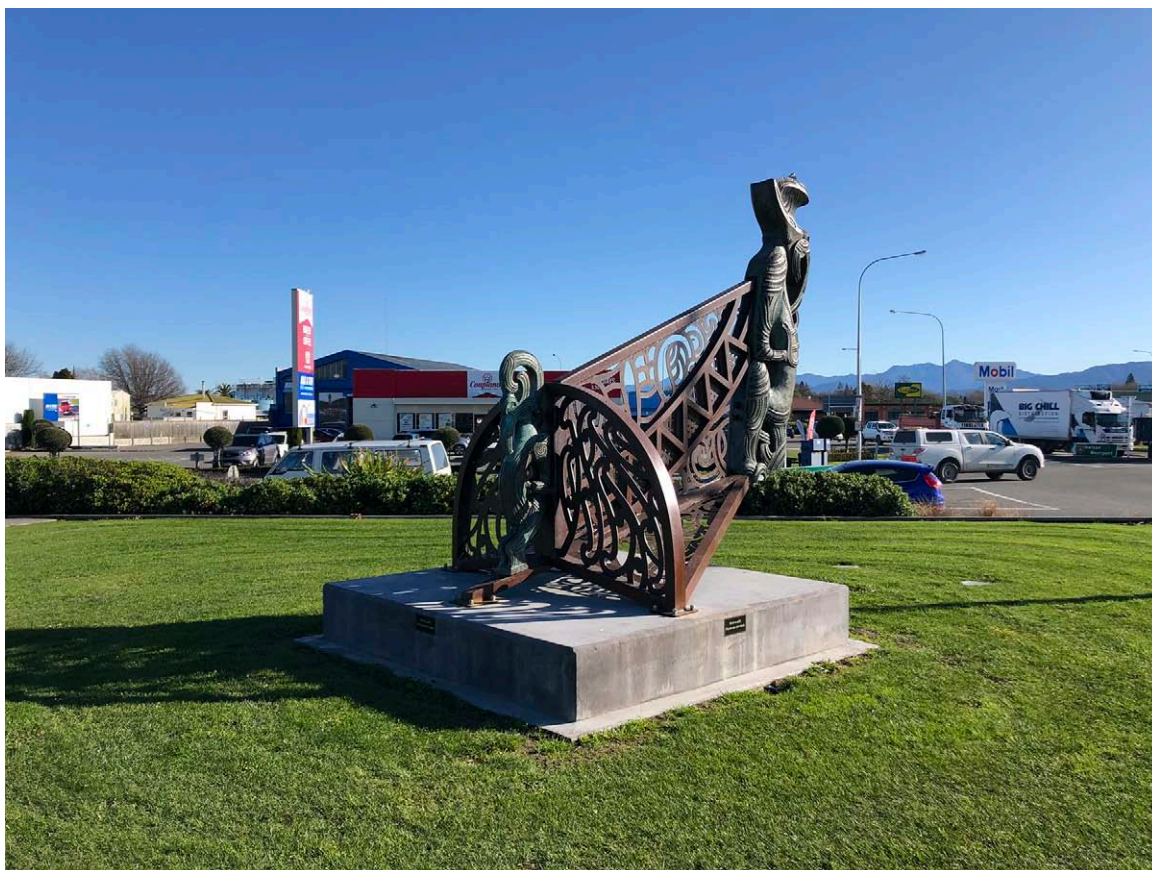
The lament begins by asking what has become of Tupaia, this ‘taonga nui rawa’ (great treasure)?<sup>40</sup> Reference is then made to ‘Houmea’, a well-known figure in Polynesian mythology as a person with an insatiable appetite. Houmea’s husband, Uta, was a fisherman and she continually devoured his catch while laying the blame on others. On his return from a fishing expedition, Uta finds Houmea with severe stomach pains. After reciting the usual karakia to relieve her discomfort, Uta discovers that his wife has in fact swallowed their children. Uta is able to recover the children and decides to send Houmea on an errand, giving them a chance to escape. When Houmea returns she pursues the fleeing party, eventually catching up with them. She demands that the children feed her, which they do; but soon all the food onboard is eaten, including the fish they had just cooked. With little hope of satisfying Houmea, the children decide to kill her by throwing hot charcoal from the fire into her mouth. The story of Houmea is a comment on evil, greed and thievish behaviour.<sup>41</sup> The shag is often considered to be a manifestation of Houmea, however, according to Eruera Pakauwera, from whom the waiata is derived, Houmea took the form of an ocean whirlpool.<sup>42</sup>

Next, the lament mentions ‘Paoa-here’ and ‘Te Kura a Awarua’. This part of the lament speaks to the political and religious situation in East Polynesia prior to the migration of peoples to Aotearoa. Paoa-here was a Rarotonga high priest who helped transport a drum known as ‘Tangimoana’ to Rai’atea, where it was to be presented to the god ‘Oro’ at the sacred marae of Taputapuātea. Up until this time, the islands of East Polynesia lived under a peace alliance made up of two broad groupings of islands centred on Rai’atea. ‘Te Ao Uri’ comprised those islands to the east and south east, and included Tahiti. ‘Te Ao tea’ took in those islands in the west, beginning with Taha’a and Porapora, and extending to Rarotonga and the Cook Islands. Over several generations, aristocratic pilgrims travelled to Taputapuātea to discuss religious matters. These great meetings ended abruptly when Paoa-here was killed by a priest from Te Ao Uri. Paoa-here’s kin retaliated and then made a sudden departure. They did not, however, leave via ‘Te Avamo’a’, the sacred pass in the reef through which they arrived, and through which they should have departed. Rather, they made haste through ‘Te Avarua’ pass, breaching protocols.<sup>43</sup>

Lastly, mention is made of Tupaia’s relationship to ‘te whanau o Putea’. This part of the lament accounts for Tupaia’s recent past. In the years leading up to Cook’s arrival, Tupaia’s fortunes had fluctuated. He was part of the Rai’atean elite who trained as a priest specialising in star navigation. When Raiatea was invaded by warriors from Borabora, he was forced to leave for Tahiti where he found refuge with the family of a local chief, Amo, and his wife Putea (Putea). In time he became Putea’s lover and one of Amo’s key advisers. This position of privilege was shaken by the arrival of the British frigate *Dolphin* in 1767. Relations between the British and Tahitians were at first cordial, but the British overstayed their welcome and were attacked by the locals. The British responded with cannon fire forcing Amo to retreat. Tupaia took this as an opportunity to negotiate with Captain Samuel Wallis. Following Wallis’s departure, rival Tahitian forces attacked Amo and Putea, once more placing Tupaia in an uncertain situation. But again, Tupaia managed to find himself an advisory role in the new ascendancy, which, although not as prestigious as his former station, placed him in a useful position when Cook arrived in 1769.<sup>44</sup>

Tupaia’s lament, brought to life 250 years after its composition, suggests that our ancestors and Tupaia were engaging in wananga (knowledge exchange). Reference to Houmea, Paoa-here, Awarua and Putea shows that connections were being made through recourse to a common history. Indeed, this was as much the case in 2019 as it was in 1770.

Using pou whenua and other cultural icons, sculptures and art pieces has been useful in promoting and embedding histories and matauranga (knowledge) in our local community. As part of Tuia 250, Rangitāne led a publicly funded project to install a large steel and bronze canoe prow.<sup>45</sup> ‘Te Tauihu o te Waka a Māui’ was wrought by master carver Heemi Te Peeti (Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa) and was erected in Blenheim on land returned to the iwi as part of its treaty settlement. At one end of Te Tauihu stands Māui, the Polynesian hero figure who fished up islands, slowed down the sun and acquired fire for human use.<sup>46</sup> Māui also embodies our navigational heritage. At the other end stands Tūkauāe, a descendant of Whātonga,



'Te Taihu o te Waka a Māui'. (Photograph the author)

who through his three marriages consolidated the relationships between the Kurahaupō iwi of Te Taihu. These marriages are represented in the main body of Te Taihu, which also includes representations of the mountains and rivers that dominate the landscape.<sup>47</sup>

There are many benefits that flow from projects like Te Taihu and pou whenua. They bring together cultural practitioners to help give physical shape and form to our narratives. Iwi artists are given the opportunity to practice their craft. Thought needs to be given to the narrative that helps inform the artist; this is where iwi historians can play a role. The various ceremonies that take place throughout the duration of the project allows our tohunga (cultural experts) to impart their knowledge and ensure that cultural standards are met. These kinds of projects allow us to reflect on the past, as well as set a platform for future interpretations. For instance, as new kaupapa appear, such as the introduction of new history curriculum in 2023, the idea that 'Māori history is the foundational and continuous history of Aotearoa New Zealand' can be firmly grounded in the local.<sup>48</sup>

Publicly funded projects can also have some unexpected outcomes. The construction of a new bridge at the northern entrance to Blenheim presented iwi with another opportunity to retell their history. In this instance, Waka Kotahi, the New Zealand Transport Agency, worked with local iwi Ngāti Toa Rangitira, Ngāti Rarua and Rangitāne, who commissioned the carving of a pou whenua named 'Kei puta te Wairau' to mark the entrance to the town.<sup>49</sup> Significantly, this was the first project of its type where iwi worked collaboratively. The decision to erect a pou was a relatively easy one, the more difficult question was what the pou should depict or represent. Following robust discussion, the three iwi decided that it should tell the story of the Wairau Valley. The lower section speaks to the forces of nature that have shaped the land. The upper section represents the many peoples that have arrived since 1840 and will continue to arrive.



The middle section of the pou is dedicated to the Treaty of Waitangi and each iwi chose a treaty signatory who would be carved into the pou.<sup>50</sup> Rangitāne chose Ihaia Kaikōura, who was in fact the only Rangitāne signatory. Ngāti Toa Rangatira chose Te Kanae and Ngāti Rārua chose Te Tana Pukekohatu.

The second question, and the more difficult one, was where on the pou should each signatory be placed? The decision made by the iwi working group was, I believe anyway, the appropriate one. It averted the perennial debate about which iwi held the greatest rights by having Te Kanae look to the north, towards Kāpiti Island and Kawhia beyond. This allowed for the retelling of the traditions related to the hekenga (migrations) that Ngāti Toa Rangatira led in the 1820s. Te Tana Pukekohatu looks to the west towards Motueka, where his people resided before settling in Wairau. Ihaia looks south towards the ancestral mountains, Tapuaeouenuku and Te Hau, and further south to the Waiautoa river, the southern-most limit of Rangitāne's customary rights.



'Kei Puta Te Wairau'. (Photograph the author)

Ihaia was a remarkable person, and not unlike Tupaia and Te Rangikāheke. His people were impacted by the musket wars, but his status in the new order quickly grew. With the advent of shore whaling in the 1830s, he moved to Port Underwood where Rangitāne and Ngāti Toa Rangatira supplied food and traded with whalers. By the time Major Thomas Bunbury arrived with the Treaty of Waitangi in June 1840, he had become a leader of the mixed port community. Three years later, Ihaia and Rangitāne stood alongside Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Rarua to confront the New Zealand Company at Tua Marino. The fight that ensued was the only armed conflict of the New Zealand wars fought in the South Island. Ihaia was an important source of information for Kurahaupō scribes during the mid-nineteenth century. And, while he has no living descendants, the pou whenua 'Kei puta te Wairau' ensures his legacy will not be forgotten.

In the nineteenth century, Kurahaupō tūpuna made the decision to commit their whakapapa to the written word. At that time land claims were utmost in their minds. They also saw the benefit in imparting



their traditions to ethnographers. In more recent decades, particularly in the context of settling treaty claims, these accounts have been revisited. Although the claims have now been concluded, the traditions and whakapapa that underpinned them continue to inspire and guide. Events such as the repatriation created space in which narratives, hitherto silenced or pushed to the margins, can be recentred. Moreover, these narratives are now finding expression in materials such as steel and bronze. And, as Tuia 250 demonstrated, the priorities of the Kurahaupō community were not constrained or overshadowed by James Cook. Tuia 250 will not be remembered because of Cook, it will be remembered because of a relationship that was rekindled through song.

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