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The Collision Narrative

Author:

OPMCSA - Intern - Tanith Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi

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Te Paepae o Te Rātū: He whāinga takahanga waewae nō tuawhakarere.

The threshold of Te Rātū: a pursuit of footprints from the distant past.

The Collision Narrative

Na Tanith Wirihana Te Waitohioterangi

Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Rongomaiwāhine, Ngāti Oneone.

TĀMANUHIRI

NEW ZEALAND

RONGOWHAKAATA IWI TRUST

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Tohi

He puna kōrero tēnei:

‘…hai māramatanga tonu, hai mohiotanga mō a tātou tamariki, mō te reanga piki ake nei, ko te mea mō rātou kai te piki ake ki te here i te āhuatanga, o ētahi o ngā kōrero ōu tātou mātua, ōu tātou tīpuna otirā o te iwi kua ngaro.’[2]	… to continue the understanding, and knowledge of our children, for the growing generation, that it is for them to grow up and hold the form of the stories of our parents, our ancestors and especially the people that have been lost.

Rev. Tawehi Wirihana (Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Rongowhakaata), 1968.

Summary

Te Paepae o Te Rātū: He whāinga takahanga waewae nō tuawhakarere aims to retrace the footsteps of Rongowhakaata ancestors through the Cook collision in 1769. This internship project does not aim to retell the story of Lt. James Cook from the deck of the Endeavour, but from the people of the land. The arrival of Lt. James Cook and the crew of the HMS Bark Endeavour is not an event that signifies the 'discovery' of Aotearoa, but rather a portent warning foreshadowing the dark times to come. Cook brought murder, theft, child abduction and mistrust. This was the beginning of a legacy of pain inflicted upon the people of Rongowhakaata. During three days in Tūranga, the 'meteor flag of mighty England' would fly as triumphantly in 1769 as it did in 1869 following state-sanctioned war crimes committed at Ngātapa when Rongowhakaata ancestors were 'shot like dogs, shot in cold blood.'[3]

On the second day of the collision, Cook met with Rongowhakaata leaders and after shooting at the Rongowhakaata people, intercepted two waka tētē returning from a fishing trip. Crewed primarily by children and adolescents armed with sticks, stones, paddles and fish, Cook shot at them leaving approximately four dead, and had three cousins dragged on board – Hikirangi, Haurangi and Marukawiti. These children were rangātira from Ngāti Kaipoho, a hapū renowned for their master artists, artisans and architects. After several days of murder, Cook decided to let the cousins go. When the Endeavour left Tūranga, a waka pursued them to Whareongaonga by the rangātira who met Cook on the second day, who credited the release of the cousins as prompting their journey. It is likely that the release of Hikirangi, Haurangi and Marukawiti incurred the need to present gifts of great mana to restore equilibrium to the relationship with Cook, and to whakamau ai te rongo (make peace). Some of their children would go on to carve the great wharenui Te Hau ki Tūranga completed by 1842, and seized by government forces in 1867.

Abstract

The primary focus of this internship project has been to establish the provenance of Rongowhakaata taonga collected by Lt. James Cook and the crew of the HMS Bark Endeavour during its journey of discovery from 1768 – 1771.

This internship project presents evidence to support Rongowhakaata's claims to taonga, in particular, a set of hoe kōwhaiwhai (painted paddles), which were presented to Cook and the Endeavour crew. There has been a significant miscarriage of due diligence and failure to consult or engage with Rongowhakaata. The descendants of Rongowhakaata have been completely ignored and overlooked by researchers and historians, who have instead chosen to exclude Rongowhakaata from the conversation and instead privilege or encourage other iwi's stories and claims. This has resulted in the creation of not only an exclusionary orthodox perspective but a false narrative. Because the knowledge and substance of these stories belong to their hapū, Rongowhakaata oral historians have refrained from providing an iwi perspective to date. However, to resist the colonisation by the pen and being written out of our own story, this internship project establishes Rongowhakaata's narrative and the extent to which the iwi was involved during the arrival of Cook. It reveals that significant aspects of the Cook collision have been misrepresented by scholars who believed it was unnecessary to consult with Rongowhakaata.

Determining the provenance of taonga, in particular the hoe kowhaiwhai, has required a close examination of the context, and events of the collision with Cook. This has included textual analysis and comparison of primary, secondary, and tertiary literary sources. Locating Rongowhakaata ancestors who were present during the collision has involved reconciliation with whakapapa, and carvings in wharenui. This also includes the whakapapa of the Tūranga artistic styles practised and distributed from the Hāmokorau whare wānanga by the Ngāti Kaipoho hapū. To locate the artistic styles the taonga belong to has involved a comparison between present wharenui built by Rongowhakaata during the nineteenth century, which illustrates the similarity, and degree of change between the artistic eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

To date, no attempt has been made in the decolonisation of time for the events of the Cook collision. This internship project locates the events of the Cook collision within the maramataka lunar calendar; utilising months recorded by Tairāwhiti tohunga for 1769. To determine the specific lunar phase for the dates of the collision provided by the Endeavour crew, these dates have been reconciled with algorithmic data from the United States Naval Observatory and NASA to determine the precise lunar phase.

Introduction

‘Na wai a Niu Tirini i toro?’	Who discovered New Zealand?
‘Na Kāpene Kuki.’[4]	Captain Cook.

My grandmother Hiraina Riria Pere said that our ancient ancestors left living legacies, parables, and words of wisdom so that we as descendants would be able to carry on the journey. She told me that Kapene Kuki’s coming was predicted and that everything changed after his arrival.

Nō te tau 1769, tēnā te rā i ū mai te pākehā ki roto o Tūranga nei e kīia nei, ko te ingoa o tēnei pākehā, anā ko Kāpene Kuki.[5]	In the year 1769, that was the time the pākehā arrived in Tūranga, the name of that pākehā was Captain Cook.

My grandmother spoke bitterly of Tupaia, perhaps a fragment of a forgotten memory whispered across generations from the wider traditions of Tūranga. Unlike Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti’s experience, Rongowhakaata has no present recollection of Tupaia’s role in our story. His brief experiences with us and the nature of our ancestors’ discussions were forgotten, remaining only with those that spoke to him. On Ariroa (08 October 1769), Cook arrived on the HMS Bark Endeavour and came to shore with a musket in one hand and the Doctrine of Discovery in the other. The word ‘endeavour’ can be used to describe ‘trying hard to do something’. The antonyms of this word are … to ‘conceal’, to ‘forget’, to ‘neglect’ and to ‘overlook’. Perhaps these words are closer to the truth of te ūnga mai, the arrival of the Pākerewhā, the dark times and the response by Arikirangi.

Cook and the Endeavor crew came with alien philosophies and world views from a completely separate context. They were out of sync with our environment. As their calendar aligned with the sun, ours aligned with the moon. As they lived above the earth, we lived with it. Aotearoa was at this time a realm where the literal and metaphorical were indistinguishable; where the physical and material

worlds were inseparable from the spiritual and metaphysical, and this way of life was informed solely by Mātauranga Māori. History became legend, and legend became abstracted into myth until only the story remained. The ancestors that once followed the blazing stars of inspiration to discover new islands across the vast expanse of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, then become those stars and acted as celestial beacons for their descendants to retrace their voyages across the ocean.[6]

The Cook collision was a lightning flash in a brewing storm. Three days in Tūranga provided an ominous abstract for the next 250 years: summary executions, enforcement of arbitrary and retributive justice; racial profiling; seizing the land in the name of the English regent; theft; abduction of Māori children and supplying them with alcohol; underpinned by the unwavering assumption of their own superiority. By most accounts, including crew members of his voyages, Cook was punitive, tyrannical and violent, and the personification of the worst excesses of colonisation.[7] Leo Fowler commented that Cook and the Endeavour crew '… appear to have been determined to seize what they could, and it was this aggressiveness that led to bloodshed.'[8] The first act of colonial and ecological imperialism was to plaster the name of 'Poverty Bay' over 'Tūranganui.'[9] This phrasing served to influence the consequent mismanagement of cultural ecology, and plundering of Tūranganui through extractive colonial systems of land use, administration and resource management.[10]

To tell the story of the collision with Lt. James Cook is to follow a trail of blood in pursuit of Venus. In 1869, state-sanctioned war crimes were committed at Ngātapa. John Patrick Ward boasted that Rongowhakaata people were '…shot like dogs… beneath the meteor flag of Mighty England.'[11] This statement was just as accurate ninety-nine years earlier when the Pākerewhā arrived from England. Te Maro was the first to be subjected to summary execution without conviction, trial, or rights to appeal by the British Empire, but over the next three days, Te iwi o Rongowhakaata would suffer the greatest loss of life.

This narrative is not an attempt at historical revisionism, nor is its purpose to foreshadow the stories of others or to retell the story of Cook through the lens of colonial spyglasses looking out to shore from the deck of the Endeavour, but instead to retrace the footsteps of Rongowhakaata ancestors across the land so that they may act as a guide through the darkness. This is the preservation of our Ahi-kaa-roa and the fires of our great traditions; to tell the story about our Taonga Tuku Iho – the treasured gifts of our great ancestors, which were collected, curated and distributed in a foreign context. However, because the premise of Te Paepae o Te Rātū is steeped within a Rongowhakaata worldview, it provides an alternative perspective and position to some of the leading western scholars such as Dame Anne Salmond in writings such as *Two Worlds, First Meetings Between Māori and Europeans 1642 – 1772*.[12] In some areas it will be complimentary, in others openly combative; in either case, it draws as stark of a contrast as there was between the arrival of Cook in Tūranganui, and consequent arrival in Uawa-nui-a-Rua.

Conceptions of Time

Mātauranga Māori is not mysticism, its sources of knowledge are situated within a way of life, in which practical wisdom and knowledge are held within practices and careful observation of both terrestrial and celestial phenomena.[13] Mātauranga Māori is the accumulation of lifetimes of scholarship, passed down for millennia. Māori scientific knowledge is encoded within conceptual devices such as kōrero pūrākau narratives and whakapapa of the environment itself.[14] Māori, like all indigenous people, also possessed a different conception and understanding of time.

Social activities are organised around time. Western observers were often horrified by how indigenous people allocated time, often characterising indigenous people as being 'lazy or indolent.'[15] Despite Joseph Banks' observations of daily social activities such as tattooing, gardening, house building, and net making throughout the voyage, he was unable to get a 'compleat idea' of how indigenous people divided time.[16] Banks noted that the months were calculated through lunar observations and that 'on longer voyages they steer in the day by the Sun and in the night by the Stars.'[17] The stars were

not simply a means of navigation across the remote islands within the vast expanses of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa; the stars also provided a means of navigating across time. Māori astronomers were aware of the links between the movement of celestial bodies and seasonal patterns.[18] The heliacal rising of stars marks the beginning of the seasons, the position of the sun and celestial bodies marked the division of time into seasons and months associated with certain periods of fishing and planting.[19]

In pre-European times, all life was structured around the cycles of the moon, which acted as the regulating body over the ocean and fishing cycles.[20] Heni Sunderland said that when she was growing up at Piiti Taone near the Wherowhero lagoon '…we knew the phases of the moon. We fished by the moon, and we planted by the moon.'[21] During the increase of the moon, positive work and karakia with relation to the maintenance of the fertility of the land were performed. During its decrease, works related to divination and delving into hidden things were performed, including works related to healing and rongoā; illnesses were said to depart with the fading light of the moon.[22] Mysteries and origins are often explained by parables and allegories.[23] Atua were generally considered to impede and blunten the full force of the elements.[24] Tohunga taught that each of the nights came under the influence and authority of a particular atua. This acted as a means of determining the distribution of labour, dedicated to the success of performing a particular task.[25] It is inferred that these practices to placate atua were not simply religious, nor entirely superstitious. They were both a means to ensure the success of a task without injury, and ensure adherence to certain procedures, restrictions, duties and responsibilities dedicated to particular atua were carried out.

The best days for cultivation, fishing and even the specific times of the month, were determined by the phases of the moon or the rise of certain stars. These signs were also subject to the interpretation of the tohunga and collective community hui or wānanga to consider other influences such as the appearance of birds, flowering trees and other aspects of the season.[26] The cyclical nature of the environment, the appearance of migratory birds, the growth, development,

blossoming, fruiting and death of certain trees, alongside the appearance of stars were utilised to determine time.[27] Following the arrival of the Horouta waka, Heni Sunderland said that Hinehakiriangi was informed of the correct time to plant when the riroriro (grey warbler) began to sing its shrill song: 'tanu kai, tanu kai' (plant food, plant food).[28]

Lt. James Cook, Joseph Banks and other members of the Endeavour crew kept detailed journals and diaries from their journey of discovery. Banks' Endeavour journal offers an insight into his life during the voyage, and also documents his reflections, observation of the weather, and people that they encountered.[29] The Royal Society that funded the journey of the HMS Bark Endeavour oversaw the Greenwich observatory, which would eventually provide the standard measurement of time.[30] These lineal observations of time were fused with ideas of progress, which is measured with ideas of 'technological advancement.'[31] To date, no Cook scholar has attempted to decolonise the concepts of time utilised to interpret the collision. The Gregorian solar calendar is based on a 365-day year, whereas the lunar year comprises a 354-day year. Depending on the region and iwi, the nights of the maramataka could vary between twenty-eight and thirty-two nights.[32]

The first month of the year was determined by either the rise of the star cluster Mataariki or Puanga. In terms of the western solar calendar, this usually falls between the months of June and July and is subjective to the interpretation of environmental markers or other tohu.The dates and months of the maramataka were interpreted not only by the lunar phase but by a complex range of factors based upon indicators within both the moana and taiao, including the physical visibility of the star [33] For these reasons, it is highly likely that iwi living within different regions would have begun the year at different times based on these phenomena.

This also highlights the difficulties and fundamentally flawed attempts to synchronise the Gregorian solar calendar with the maramataka as a lunar calendar through the projection of a present understanding alone. Another

difficulty concerns Cook's recorded dates being rendered in 'ship's time' from noon to noon in his journal, whereas Joseph Banks utilised shore reckoning[34] alongside variations recorded by other crew members. Both Banks and Cook failing to adjust their times after passing over the 180th meridian (now commonly known as 'The International Date Line') generates further complexities in calculating the dates.[35]

John Hawkesworth, the official editor of the voyage, also converted 'ship's time' to 'civil time' without accounting for crossing the meridian before reaching Tūranga.[36] The British naval officer Sir William Wharton's reconciliation of dates is also likely to be inaccurate for the anchorage of the Endeavour in Tūranga. Although Wharton accounts for the meridian, he fails to undertake a close reading of the text, does not reconcile the dates with events occurring on these days, and does not remove any unnecessary dates to clarify the journal texts.[37] For instance the manuscript Cook's Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour records that during second day in Tūranga as Monday 9th, and begins the passage in PM, referring to the afternoon as Monday 10th PM.[38] This contrasts also with J.C. Beaglehole's revised dates, which were interpreted as 'Monday 9th PM' and 'Tuesday 10th PM'.[39] Joseph Banks recorded the date as '09 October' and began the date for the 10th from midnight.[40] Like Banks, Midshipman John Bootie also refers to the events of the second day as Tuesday 10.[41] The historian Anne Salmond does not deviate from the original dates recorded by the Endeavour crew. [42]

It is difficult to exactly determine the dates of Cook's arrival, even when his own dates and those of Banks are used. It is also difficult to reconcile these dates with the maramataka several hundred years later, let alone attempt to determine how the months and days would have been interpreted by the tipuna during the time of the Endeavour's arrival. A presentist understanding should not be applied. It cannot be assumed that 'Whiringa-a-Nuku' was the month when Cook arrived, even though it is now understood to be October in our contemporary times. It also cannot be assumed that these were names used by the iwi and hapū of Tūranga. The 19th century tohunga Ēria Tūtara-Kauika Raukura recorded the

Tairāwhiti oral traditions for the period of collision with Cook, including the predictions of Te Toiroa Ikariki, and the names of the months from 1767 to 1769.[43]

The dates used in this document describe key events during the Cook collision. They are presented as the maramataka. To calculate them I first took the dates recorded by Endeavour crew members and examined events, that occurred on each day. In turn, I reconciled the dates for the collision with their corresponding lunar phases calculated by Time and Date AS.[44] These were generated utilising algorithms and data from the United States Naval Observatory (USNO) and NASA, which have been optimised to efficiently calculate sun and moon times. These lunar dates and their associated phases have then been reconciled with information derived from the maramataka scholar Wiremu Tawhai.[45] I then reconciled Cook's journals with the maramataka lunar months retained in East Coast traditions. I drew on the information recorded by tohunga Ēria Raukura for the collision. Tohunga had different methods of interpreting the maramataka, from night to night, or in a similar manner to ship's time from dusk to dusk.[46] Based on these calculations, I am confident that the lunar dates provided are accurate; even if there are variances by Cook, Banks or members of the Endeavour crew and their failure to adjust to the 180th meridian.

Te taenga mai o te Pākerewhā, he whakamarama:

Over one hundred years after the collision with Cook, the colonial interpreter Michael Joseph Gannon sought an explanation for the meaning of the term 'pakeha' and met with an old rangātira of Rongowhakaata 'who wore with ancestral pride, as an heirloom of his family, a bead suspended from his ear … said to have been obtained by his father from Captain Cook's ship.'[47] This rangātira explained the approach of the Endeavour and expressed beckoningly 'he mea pakewhakewha' signifying something cast up, or 'a thing wafted from the ocean to the shore.'[48] Pākerewhā has a very similar meaning. It is comprised of the words 'pa' (touch or contact);[49] 'kere' (drifting or floating);[50] and 'whā' (to get abroad, or to spread over a wide area). [51] Pākerewhā, therefore, refers to the contact from sea debris cast broadly across the land. The historian Judith Binney offered another interpretation of 'rewha' and suggests that it was a means

of alluding to the diseases and pestilence that they had bought with them.[52] Another name later bestowed upon the Pākerewhā by the people of Taranaki was 'Tere-atu-paengaroa'. This means 'sailors of the horizon.'[53] Another interpretation is 'fast-moving, long walled', derived from the phrase 'tere atu' (fast-moving), and 'paengaroa' (long walled, or place where things are heaped up).

Te Paepae o Te Rātū

When Cook arrived in 1769, hapū were the dominant social unit, and Rongowhakaata as a name would not be widely used until the 1860s during the wars for sovereignty.[54] The missionary William Williams observed that the hapū of Rongowhakaata in the nineteenth century were seen as independent tribes.[55] During the twentieth century, Dr Tutere Wi Repa noted:

'E Toru ngā iwi Motuhake o Tūranga. Ko Rongowhakaata, Ko Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Ko Te-Aitanga-a-Māhaki. He rohe Motuhake o ēnei iwi. Kia Rongowhakaata tūturu e piri ana a Ngāti Maru me Ngāi Tāwhiri … Ko Rongowhakaata tūturu. Arā ko Ngāti Kaipoho.'[56]	There are three independent iwi within Tūranga. Rongowhakaata, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki. Their areas are separate. Rongowhakaata proper is close to Ngāti Maru and Ngāi Tawhiri… Rongowhakaata proper, that is Ngāti Kaipoho.

Te Rātū was the child of Hineuru and Te Ikawhaingatā, ariki of Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Kaipoho. He lived near Ōrākaiapu at Tauranga-koau. Seventy-one years later, this would become the place where Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed by the hapū of Rongowhakaata[57]. At Whakatō Marae, inside the wharenui Te Mana-o-Tūranga-i-tangohia-i-a-Rua, there are two crossed fish: Atirere and Tihakona. This mnemonic device recalls when Te Rātū went fishing and caught only a Tihakona, where Poumatara caught many fish including an Atirere. Te Rātū demanded that Poumatara share the catch but was told 'He pewa i hīia ki te aho, he waka i hauamatia' (Fish roe drawn on the line, is like the outrigger of a waka).[58] Te Rātū was infuriated and this triggered the battle of te marama-tō

(the setting moon), in which Te Rātū seized mana over the sea from Puhi Kaiiti across Te Oneroa to Te Kurī.[59]

As an ariki, Te Rātū had duties to ensure the welfare of Rongowhakaata. Te Rātū crossed over the Paepae of his whare puni once more to find that the world we had known quickly changed. Two worldviews would collide and set into motion the interwoven thread of cause, effect and consequence that led to the present moment we occupy. Long ago it was suggested that 'people should erect a monument to his memory if only to remind the residents it was Te Rātū who refused to accommodate Cook.'[60] This narrative forms a piece of that enduring monument dedicated to the memory of Te Rātū and the beginning of Rongowhakaata's resistance against colonial oppression.

Dr Joe Pere noted 'Each tribe has its own ancient repositories, repositories of history, the oral traditions of our people, the battles they were involved with, the relationships in terms of ancestral ties and descent lines.'[61] Dominant narratives have always focused solely on the voyage of Cook through a Eurocentric worldview or lens, which abstracts cultural values and reduces Polynesian people to the subordinate role of curiosities.[62] Many of the oral accounts and knowledge relating directly to the collision were not directly transmitted or passed down to us. Fragments of narratives obtained from our tipuna were recorded by European commentators such as missionaries like William Williams, or settlers such as Thomas Uren, Joel Polack, Michael Joseph Gannon, and John Milsome Jury. These recollections were not eyewitness accounts, and in some cases they are skewed or distorted due to language barriers, and failures to understand the intricacies of cultural practices.[63] Different worldviews and understanding through the lens of the foreign gaze can skew or distort the recollections of tipuna.

The truth is often what we make of it, and knowledge is perhaps more closely related to belief than is appreciated. The impression of scientifically provable knowledge only applies to a fragment of western knowledge.[64] We perceive what we wish to perceive and believe what we want to believe, which is again

skewed by the lenses applied to analysing the universe and its phenomenon. There is no single truth, there are only various shades and interpretations of a highly dynamic and living history. Each fragment of the truth and understanding provides a reference point to understand the dynamic nature of narratives and the different consensus within their own hapū and rohe.

The next section will establish the provenance of the taonga collected by Cook and weave together the understanding and recollections of the people of Rongowhakaata and Tūranga regarding the collision with Cook and his crew.

‘Tēnei kupu nō Hawaiki, koinei te mauri o Hawaiki, kei te Māori e mau ana, nā reira ka tīkina atu tērā kupu ka utaina ki runga i a koe i tēnei rā.’[65]	This word is of Hawaiki, it is the life force of Hawaiki, retained by our people, Therefore, these words will be retrieved and bestowed upon you today.
‘Ehara i muri nei nō tuawhakarere nō aku kaumātua.’[66]	It is not of recent origin but from the distant past from my elders.

Matahi o te tau (1767)

Ko Poututerangi te matahi o te tau, Te Putunga o te hinu e tama![67]	Poututerangi brings forth the first fruits of the year and the calabashes overflow with game-fat O child!

Poututerangi is the star that marks the autumn and Matahi o te tau was the first month of the year and the period where Mataariki was observed rising in the east.[68] Mataariki is described as a homeless star with the whakatauki ‘Mataariki kainga kore’. During the Tangaroa of the twelfth month, Mataariki disappears and during this period, its disappearance is measured in seven-day increments as Mataariki moves across beneath the horizon to Mau-ka-hau, Tararauatea, Papawhakatangitangi and Titore-mohutu to reappear during the first month at Te Hiku o Te Mangoroa (The Milky Way).[69] The proverbial words associated with the month are 'Ngā kai a Matariki nana i ao ake ki runga’ [70] (The food of Mataariki, which is drawn up above). This is a period of

abundance when the fruits of the land and ocean are drawn up, and when the hinu (Game fat) is cooked.[71]

Ko Matariki te whetu o te tau tawhito kei te arahi mai i a Puangarua te whetu o te tau hou.[72]	Mataariki is the star of the old year leading Puangarua, the star of the new year.[73]

Some iwi believed that Puanga is the star of the new year, and guided Mataariki across the heavens.[74] This is because the Puanga rises earlier, and shines much brighter than Mataariki.[75]

Whangaia mai Puanga-nui-a-Tonga I te ata, kia kai mai te Rangi-tapu He rangi aitu—e— Ko Puanga, ko te matahi takurua[76]	Nourish Puanga-nui-a-Tonga, so that in the morning, Te Rangi-tapu may be fed, a heaven of Misfortune —e— Puanga, the first month of winter.

Puanga and Mataariki strive against each other, like the meeting and collision of the oceans Te Tai-o-Rehua and Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa at Te Rerenga Wairua. Mataariki brings its koha of abundance and new growth like the tides drawing the old year and the frail into the abyss, captured within the net of Taramainuku, as the constellation Te Waka o Te Rangi makes its celestial journey across the heavens.[77]

He mahia wāhi e rongona…. An indistinct sound in the distance[78]

At Nukutaurua there lived a tohunga named Te Toiroa Ikariki, a seer who possessed great mana because of his skill in divination and proficiency in healing. His atua were Hine-whērangi (an atua of healing), and Hakikino (an atua of harming).[79] He was said to have had the ability to command the elements, summon the thunder at dawn, and control the storms, but soon the immaterial and incorporeal would become immaterial as the world of the abstract was slowly shackled to a colonial reality.

Ko Matariki te kaito i te hunga pakeke ki te po.[80]	Matariki draws the frail into the endless night.[81]

In the month of Te Mātahi-o-te-tau, Te Toiroa foretold the arrival of a new tribe bearing a new atua three years before the collision. Portent words of warning heralded the coming of the dark times and the Pākerewhā:

Tiwhatiwha te pō.	The night is gloomily dark.
Ko te Pākerewhā.	There is the Pākerewhā.
Ko Arikirangi tēnei rā te haere nei.	And Arikirangi is yet to come.[82]

With the words of Te Toiroa's waiata, coming events were foreshadowed. It is said that Te Toiroa then went to Tūranga to prepare the people for the coming of the Pākerewhā, however, the people did not understand Te Toiroa's cryptic riddles.[83] When the people of Tūranga asked what the appearance of these people would be like, Te Toiroa likened their skin to the white cliffs of Te Kurī (the dog), also known as Ngā pari ma mai ra (white cliffs over there) and said 'Ko te kiri he mā, kei te pari mā te rite, kei te Tītipa te whero o ētahi, me ngā makawe hoki, ko te reo kihi, kei te reo tonu o ngā atua o koutou tīpuna te rite …' (Their skin will be like the white cliffs, some will be red like the Titipa, and their hair also. The language will be unintelligible like the language of your ancestors.)[84] The arrival of the Pākerewhā was imminent.

Omutu, Te Rima o Whiringa nuku (10 August 1768)

Closure is approaching.[85]

On the other side of the world, the Pākerewhā had their own matakite: James Douglas, the 14th Earl of Morton and president of the Royal Society, who had foreseen the landing of the Pākerewhā. He offered his words of advice to Cook, Banks, Solander and the Endeavour crew, outlining how they should conduct their behaviour during their voyage. Cook and the Endeavour crew were advised to: '… exercise the utmost patience and forbearance with the Natives of the several lands where the Ship may touch.' And to '… check the petulance of the sailors and restrain the wanton use of fire arms … shedding the blood of those

people is a crime of the highest nature:—They are human creatures, the work of the same omnipotent Author, equally under his care with the most polished European; perhaps being less offensive, more entitled to his favor.'

Cook and the Endeavour crew were reminded by the Earl of Morton that the indigenous people were the:

> '…natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit. No European Nation has a right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent. Conquest over such people can give no just title; because they could never be the Aggressors.'[86] The Earl of Morton also warned that acts of aggression may be repelled by force: 'They may naturally and justly attempt to repell intruders, whom they may apprehend are come to disturb them in the quiet possession of their country, whether that apprehension be well or ill founded.'

Cook was also advised to acknowledge indigenous sovereignty and was told that:

> '… should they in a hostile manner oppose a landing, and kill some men in the attempt, even this would hardly justify firing among them, till every other method has been tried. There are many ways to convince them of the superiority of the Europeans without slaying any of these poor people. — For Example — By shooting some of the Birds or other Animals that are near them — showing them that a Bird upon wing may be bought down by a shot. Such an appearance would strike them with amazement and awe. Firstly to drive a bullet thro' one of their huts, or knock down some conspicuous object with great shot, if any such are near the shore.'

An alternative course of action was advised:

> 'Amicable signs may be made by which they could not properly mistake… They should not at first be alarmed with report of guns, drums or even a trumpet. But if there are other instruments of music on board,

> they should be entertained near the shore with a soft air. If a landing can be effected whether with or without resistance, it might not be amiss to lay some few trinkets, particularly looking glass upon the shore: Then retire in their boats to a small distance from whence the behaviours of the natives be distinctly observed, before a second landing attempted… Upon the whole, there can be no doubt that the most savage and brutal nations are more easily gained by mild, than by rough treatment… From the reports handed about concerning some of the late expeditions, it should seem that upon one or two occasions, some of the natives had been wantonly killed without any just provocation…'[87]

In Hawaiki, Tūranganui and elsewhere, the Earl of Morton's words of guidance were ignored during Cook's voyages of discovery. Although inconsistent with the spirit of his instructions from the Royal Society, Cook ultimately believed in the supremacy of arms. When this supremacy was challenged — Cook deployed force, and his use of 'lethal force' proved that resistance was futile.[88] By default, the Royal Navy was essentially a 'disciplinary institution', which forced compliance and labour through the threat of violent bodily punishments.[89] It drew into its ranks, the poor, the destitute, and, at times, the criminal. Chronic alcoholism was encouraged and provided a means of placating the sailors.[90]

Diseases abounded in the Royal Navy. Seamen were confined for long periods in generally unsanitary and cramped conditions, their diet and nutrition was poor, their personal hygiene lacking, and they generally possessed a careless attitude towards health.[91] Sociopathy was also encouraged, if not an outright requirement for naval service. Through impressed service, the lowest societal classes were drawn upon to provide labour for the British Navy. The impoverished, rough, rowdy, malignant or cruel — there was no desire to keep these undesirables within Britain's borders, so they were press-ganged into the Royal Navy and sent out to conquer the world.[92] They were not simply the 'scum of the earth'[93] but a factor incorporated into the very structure of the Royal Navy.

Atua Whakahaehae, Te Rima o Whiringa nuku (26 August 1768)

The gods are in a fearsome mood.[94]

This was the day that the Pākerewhā left Ingarangi in pursuit of Kopu (Venus) and Hawaiki.

Mutuwhenua, Te Tahi o Pipiri (03 June 1769)

Everything on the land is coming to an end…[95]

Kurehu ai te titiro	**The view is clouded**[96]

On this day, the Pākerewhā observed the transit of Venus at Tahiti, but although the skies were clear they were unable to accurately observe the transit. Soon the Pākerewhā would proceed southwards to 'discover' Aotearoa, in particular, to identify the nature of its soil and to explore other exploitable resources and commodities that would be documented and later claimed by the Crown. [97]

Mutuwhenua, Aroaro Mahanahana (30 August 1769)

He Tohu: Te Auahituroa, (The great comet of 1769).

A great tohu in the form of a comet was present in the heavens for several months from August to early December.[98] The Endeavour crew observed it before the new moon on Mutuwhenua (30 August 1769).[99] Its influence would remain as the backdrop throughout the collision. This comet would have been considered a significant tohu by all of the Polynesian people both in Hawaiki and Aotearoa. Perhaps this comet may have been interpreted as a supernatural phenomenon such as Tunui-a-te-Ika, or 'Te kai arataki o Rongomai' a warning to the people of coming danger and a sign of death.[100] To divert the ominous sign, karakia were offered.[101] Tupaia, the Tahitian ari'i and navigator who had joined the voyagers, was concerned and interpreted the comet as an ill omen. Knowing the conventions, tohu and how they would be interpreted by his people, Tupaia knew that when it was seen by the people of Bolabola they would attack those of Ra'iatea.[102]

Tamatea Aio, Te Rima o Koopu (06 October 1769)

Tamatea is Unsettled.[103]

Tērā Kōpū hikitia i te pae	Behold Venus has risen o'er the horizon[104]

In the month Te Rima o Koopu, the Endeavour arrived in Aotearoa. Far away towards the horizon, the Pākerewhā remained at sea. Looking shoreward, this day marked the beginning of Aotearoa being subjected to the covetous gaze of the British Empire. From the sea Banks recorded that 'We came up with it very slowly; at sun set myself was at the masthead, land appeard much like an Island or Islands … a small shark was seen who had a very piked nose something like our dog fish in England.' Perhaps the shark was the manifestation of Tumoremore, a famed kaitieki who sensed trouble and crossed their path.[105] Te Rimu-o-Maru, which comprises the inland territory of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, was most likely the land sighted by the Endeavour before they came into the bay.[106] Over the next three months, Cook and the Endeavour crew would circumnavigate Aotearoa, parsing over the voyage of Kupe, in its exploration of the coastline of Aotearoa leaving a trail of blood in their wake.

Ariroa, Te Rima o Koopu (08 October 1769)

*A bad day and an unproductive time***.**[107]

Tirohia atu koia me ko Tawera. Whakakau ana mai ki uta	I look to see the star Tāwera (Venus) Swimming towards the shore.[108]

If you were a member of the British Empire, you had just made landfall and discovered New Zealand. It was a day of merriment, worthy of commemoration; but, if you were of the tangata whenua in Tūranga it was a day where you finally discovered that aliens existed and that you were not alone in the woven universe.

Wai te teretere, e rere i waho rā?	Whose is the company sailing by yonder?[109]

Dimly seen in the distant horizon, an unidentified object flew towards the shore. Maybe it was a wandering mountain of the plains, or a 'motu tere' drifting towards the shore.[110] Perhaps it could have been a large bird, like the one that

our tipuna Ruakapanga returned on from Hawaiki. [111] Reuben Riki one of the elders of Te Muriwai, remembered that two tipuna from Te Muriwai were out fishing beyond Te Kurī when the Endeavour arrived: '…they saw this big bird approaching…' [112] One exclaimed 'Titiro atu ki reira, he manu nui!' (look over there a big bird), and the other exclaimed 'Kao, he kapua!' (no it is a cloud!).[113] Reuben explained '…they paddled to get away from this bird and were overtaken, and it was Captain Cook.'[114] The Pākerewhā had arrived. From the shore, smaller unfledged birds were observed descending into the water. Onboard Lt. Cook set out from the Endeavour to land at the Tawararo channel near Parahamuti.[115]

Figure 1: An artistic reconstruction of Tūranga at the time of Cook's arrival. It was said to have been guided and informed by a group of elderly rangātira. However, Rongowhakaata Halbert was unable to identify any village in puhi-kai-iti that was occupied during the time in which Cook arrived.[116] 'Cook's Landing At The Mouth Of The Tūranganui River.' 1904, 25 October, Huddleston, Francis Fortescue Croft, 4073, Currently exhibited in Watersheds: Ngā Wai Pupū, Tairāwhiti Museum.

Nau mai, ka haere tāua ki roto o Tūranga, Kia whakangungua koe ki	Welcome, let us both make our way to Tūranga so you will be introduced … to the sword, to the gun … the

te… hoari, ki te pū... ngā rākau kōhuru a te pākehā e takoto nei. [117]	murderous weapons of the pakeha that lie here.

Although the pathway to Aotearoa was different, Cook, Banks and Solander arrived within the vicinity of the clustered landing places where the great ancestors once disembarked from the Polynesian voyaging waka Horouta and Takitimu. Where Cook landed near Tawararo is marked as the landing place of Te Ikaroa-a-Rauru, where the tohunga Maia made landing and established his house of learning Puhi-kai-iti. Maia is reputed to have brought the seeds of the hue, which were then grown near Mangamōteo.[118] Again, these landing sites would become the site of a new beginning.

Contact was made

E muri ahiahi ka totoko te aroha.	When the evening shadows fall, sorrow wells upwards[119]

The whakapapa of these strange people was unknown. Their arrival was unexplained except for the warning of Te Toiroa in the years before. The tangata whenua were uneasy and began to evacuate the area frightened, but the terror was about to begin as two worlds began to collide. Eyewitness accounts from other areas at consequent anchorages provide an idea as to how our tipuna would have perceived the first moment of arrival. Horeta Te Taniwha of Ngāti Whanaunga said:

‘I ngā rā o mua noa atu, i au e tino tai-tamaiti ana ka ū mai te kaipuke ki Whitianga… ka kite atu a mātou kaumata i taua kaipuke ka mea rātou he atua, ā he tupua ngā tāngata o taua kaipuke, ka tū te kaipuke a ka hoe mai ngā pōti ki uta, ka mea aua kaumātua, “Koia anō he tupua, he kanohi kei ngā -muri-kōkai, ina e hoe tuarā mai ana ki uta,” ka ū mai aua tupua ki uta ka mataku atu mātou ngā wāhine me ngā	In the days past, I was a small child when the boat arrived at Whitianga… Our kaumātua saw the vessel approaching and said that the people of that vessel were atua or tupua. The ship stood, and the boats came to shore. Our kaumātua said ‘they are tupua, with eyes in the back of their heads and rowing with their backs to the shore. When these tupua came to land, all of us, the wāhine and

tamariki a ka oma mātou ki te tahora…'[120]	tamariki became fearful, and we ran into the forest.

Cook and his gang made landfall and began trespassing in a nearby village at Pioi on the other side of the river. Te Maro and three others rushed out from the bushes towards the strange people who had been washed up from the shore. It is believed that Te Maro's group had come to perform a ritual challenge such as the wero.[121] Due to political tensions in the area, it is also likely that Te Maro was defensive and believed that these strange people cast upon the beach were hostile or unarmed and vulnerable to attack.[122]

The Pākerewhā bore weapons that were seen to harness the true power of the atua such as Whaitiri.[123] The approach of Te Maro was interpreted by the Pākerewhā as aggressive, and they did not exercise patience or restraint. A warning shot was fired into the air, but Te Maro and two others were not deterred and continued to approach. Te Maro was then the first to be shot and killed beneath the meteor flag of the flag of mighty England as it fluttered proudly from the pinnace, with the HMS Bark Endeavour in the distance. A sign foreshadowing times to come. After recovering from the shock, Te Maro's lifeless body was dragged off by his companions, a short distance, and then they fled.

Banks' description of Te Maro was that he was '… a middle sizd man tattowd in the face on one cheek only in spiral lines very regularly formd.'[124] Te Maro was the nephew of Tuapawa, a leading rangātira of Ngāti Rakai. His father Papakia was Tuapawa's younger brother, and built the Rarohau pa on the Waimatā riverbank where Te Maro is said to have lived.[125] Rongowhakaata Halbert claimed that Te Maro was a member of the Ngāti Rongokauae of Maraetaha and Whareongaonga.[126] Tokorua Te Kani held that his ancestor Rakaiataane was a direct descendant of of Tāwiri-o-te-rangi and an 'uri pūkaka' of Tāmanuhiri.[127] Ngāti Rakai's history is one of continuous exodus and displacement: a few decades before the arrival of Cook, Rakaiataane of Ngāi Tawiri had moved to Whareongaonga from Te Mahia-mai-tawhiti.[128] Following

a dispute with his cousin Tuheke, Rakaiataane's people were then expelled from Whareongaonga following the battle called Pikikautuku, and consequently made their settlement around Whāngārā-mai-tawhiti and Te Tatapouritanga.[129] During their time living in these places, they engaged in a number of conflicts with those living on these lands and it would not be until the time of Tuapawa's grandchild Tamaihikitia that peace would be restored.[130]

The shooting of Te Maro set the tone for the collision encounter in Tūranga.[131] The night was gloomily dark. The Pākerewhā had arrived. Te Maro's lifeless body lay cold on the ground, signalling that soon nothing would ever be the same again.

Huna, Te Rima-o-Koopu (09 October 1769)

*The lunar phase was Huna, a hostile period in, which all is hidden away***.**[132]

Ka mea e te muri, ka tū mai te takahe	There came a northerly breeze, followed by hurried footsteps[133]

The winds of Ingarangi bore the great bird of Kāpene Kuki from the north. Word was spread about the mysterious circumstances surrounding the death of Te Maro. In response, Te Rātū quickly dispatched an ope taua from Orakaiapu to oppose the landing of the Pākerewhā.[134] This strike force was led by Te Rākau; armed with taiaha, meremere, tokotoko and huata,[135] they were tasked to secure the Endeavour by their ariki Te Rātū.[136] Te Maro's body remained on the ground. Perhaps the rangātira and toa considered Te Maro unlucky — he was the first person to cross the path of a strange war party cast up by the sea and had become their mātāika. The Endeavor crew remained at a distance observing the people of the land investigating the mysterious death of Te Maro. Perhaps the Pākerewhā also revelled in the chaos and uncertainty. But like many murderers, they would soon return to the crime scene.[137]

The ope taua arrived and stood on the opposite side of the river. This had at one time been the site of a battle called Te Takoremu a Māhaki (The Closing Jaws of Māhaki). During this battle, Te Māhaki-a-Tauhei avenged the murder of his older brother Tāwhiwhi at the hands of Ngāti Ira. Mahaki implemented deceptive

combat tactics by conducting a fake battle on Te Oneroa beach and calling out to the inhabitants of Titirangi for help to lure them out of their pa. After the Ngati Ira people crossed the river, Māhaki's forces encircled and overwhelmed them.[138] Tāwhiwhi's grandchild Roro later become the rangātira of Titirangi, but due to issues threatening the delicate balance of peace in Tūranga, Te Ranginui-a-Ihu asked him to leave and both Te Ranginui-a-Ihu and his firstborn child Te Ranginaonaoariki took over residence of the pa. The Endeavour crew's observations would provide the earliest recorded eyewitness accounts of a Rongowhakaata taua preparing for war.[139]

Three boats were dispatched from the Endeavour led by Cook, accompanied by Tupaia, Banks, Solander and a number of marines. The marines were members of a well-armed and trained seagoing infantry; regular soldiers placed on ships under the control of the Admiralty to lead amphibious assaults.[140] They landed on the opposite side to the ope taua and left Tupaia in the boat. Cook called in vain to the ope taua. But their presence was not welcome, and the response by the ope taua was to break into the haka peruperu. Arapeta Awatere once explained the nature of the haka peruperu as:

> '…a true war dance which has the psychological purpose of demoralising the enemy by gestures, by posture, by controlled chanting, by conditioning to look ugly, furious to roll the fiery eye, to glare the light of battle therein, to spew the defiant tongue, to control, to distort, to snort, to fart the thunder of the war-god upon the enemy, to stamp furiously, to yell raucous, hideous, blood-curdling sounds, to carry the anger, the *peru*, of Tuumatauenga, the ugly-faced war-god, throughout the heat of battle.'[141]

Cook and the others panicked at the ferocity and intensity of the haka peruperu. Although he may not have been understood, our tipuna passed down the memory of Cook crying out the words: 'Me hoki tātou ki te kaipuke, kei mate tātou' (We must go back to the boat, lest we be killed).[142] The Pākerewhā fired a shot into the river to intimidate the ope taua, but they were not afraid.[143] Cook was in any case intimidated and retreated.[144] The marines were ordered to advance bearing the Union Jack before them.[145]

As they halted, Tupaia at this point appeared and attempted to establish diplomatic relations on behalf of the Pākerewhā. He stated that they would offer iron in exchange for fresh water and provisions, but both sides desired the other to meet them on their side of the river. [146] Tupaia encouraged one of the toa to meet Cook halfway on a rock called Te Toka a Taiao.[147] Eventually, one of the toa agreed and decided to meet them halfway and waited on the rock. Cook passed his musket to an attendant and then waded through the water to join the toa at Te Toka a Taiao. Despite both of them being unarmed, the toa was frightened by Cook's approach and went back into the water. Cook then offered some trinkets and was greeted hesitantly with the hongi.[148] Due to the nature of a taua, and the reasons they went to meet the Pākerewhā, these trinkets may have been taken as a form of taki. Te Toka a Taiao was a significant meeting place where long ago the ancestor Maia called out to a kotiro named Taiao to pick him up on her waka and take him to the other side of the river. When Taiao finally went over, Maia drowned her and she was said to have turned into the rock Te Toka a Taiao.[149]

At Tupaia's encouragement, Te Rākau swam across the river leading approximately twenty or thirty toa of the ope taua. However, sceptical at the pretences of peace, the toa came fully armed with their weapons.[150] The encounter become overwhelming for Cook and the Endeavour crew as the people of Rongowhakaata attempted to excitedly examine, barter and trade for the new curiosities, the likes of, which they had never seen before. William Monkhouse, the Endeavour's surgeon, utilised an abusive analogy to justify what they would do next 'every moment jumping from one foot to the other; and their eyes and hands as quick as those of the most accomplished pickpocket.'[151]

Joseph Banks noted that 'they were made to understand that we must kill them if they snatchd anything from us.'[152] Monkhouse was attempting to barter for what he believed at first was a 'paddle' but was most likely a pouwhenua.[153] At the same time, Te Rākau attempted to trade a meremere pounamu with Charles Green, the astronomer, in exchange for a short sword known as a hanger. After beckoning and attempting to gesture for it, Green turned away with disinterest, but Te Rākau then seized the hanger and ran. The ope taua began to return from

Te Toka a Taiao when suddenly Cook personally gave the orders to fire upon them. This then begs the question: was there actually ever a legitimate intent to trade?

Kai Tūranganui he matā pū, he patu i te tangata kia mate.[154]	At Tūranganui there were bullets that strike people dead.

Te Rākau was 'instantly punishd' and shot several times. [155] First by Banks with small-shot and then fatally wounded by Monkhouse with a musket ball.[156] Two of the toa rushed forward to retrieve the meremere pounamu and ran away quickly as Monkhouse charged at them with a bayonet.[157] While the ope taua attempted to cross the river to retrieve the body of Te Rākau, the shootings continued as Cook again gave the order to fire. Three or more people were wounded or killed. This was the first time that punitive English justice was dispensed in Aotearoa, and it would not be the last. Perhaps it did not occur to Cook or the others that there were different rules for trade or exchange than in European nations.[158]

Had Tupaia appeared earlier, and had the Pākerewhā heeded the instructions of the Royal Society, they might have received the abundance of Tūranga. But Cook could not afford to wait, the life of a savage was worth nothing compared to an officer's hanger. Disappointed with his failure to obtain a 'paddle', Monkhouse immediately started to pry the pouwhenua from Te Rākau's dying hands. Monkhouse notes although'…drawing his last breath, he would not part with without the greatest reluctance'.[159] Although the Pākerewhā zealously and jealously guarded their own possessions, they were blind to indigenous concepts of property ownership but felt free to help themselves to the spoils.[160] However, Cook had offenders from his own crew lashed when items were stolen from cultivations.[161]

As Te Rākau lay mortally wounded, like Te Maro before him, he became an object of research; a voiceless, and passive specimen without life force or humanity.[162] Monkhouse prodigiously noted every detail, observing that he had a 'human tooth' hanging from one of his ears, and 'a girdle of Matting about four inches broad' wrapping around his loins.'[163] As the contemporary historian Joan

Druett elegantly noted, Te Rākau died; 'his life lost for a common cutlass worth just eight shillings, for which he had been willing to exchange a possession beyond price.'[164] Taking the powhenua, the hanger and the other weapons of those who had just been shot dead, the Pākerewhā left the bodies where they lay.[165] There may have been a willingness to consent to barter, but the only deal struck was death. If Te Rākau was marked as a thief for snatching the hanger, what then was Monkhouse?

Riperata Kahutia was the daughter of the Ngāi Tawhiri and Te Whanau-a-Iwi rangātira named Kahutia. She stated that 'in the days of my grandfather Ruku he and his people were living on Kaiti (near Reads store) they were living all along the river side from where Mr Williams house now is to where the redoubt is.'[166] Riperata lived in a time of great change. During her time, the face of Tūranga had begun to change beyond recognition because of European settlement. The area that she described was the same area in which the collision with Cook occurred. Riperata said: 'The land has been in our possession from the time of our ancestors until now' [167] Read's store was located near Waikāhua directly above the area where both Te Maro and Te Rākau were shot. Riperata's father was told the story of Te Rākau's death by his parents Ruku and Turākau. Kahutia's parents told him that when Te Rākau was killed by Cook's orders, they remembered him shouting 'Fire!' The violence of Cook's instructions was ingrained into the memories of the people of Tūranga, and from that moment Cook was consequently remembered by the people of Rongowhakaata as 'Te Paia.'[168]

A young wāhine named Hine Kapu was an eyewitness to the violent collision. She lived long enough to tell her story to Donald McClean in 1852 and believed that she was around sixteen years old when she witnessed the murder of Te Rākau.[169] Hine Kapu noted that before Te Rākau's death, there was another killed who came from the pa at Te Tatapōuritanga called Pūkāingakākahu, which was inhabited by the Ngāti Rakai people and she remembered that 'Beads were left for earrings.'[170] When Te Maro was killed, nails and glass beads were left with his body.[171] This description aligns with Hine Kapu's recollections. If Te Maro had came from the Pukaingakākahu, it is likely that Te Maro and his people

were not living at Rarohau. This means that they may not have possessed mana whenua when Cook arrived, and this is likely the reason why his body was not recovered.

European nations projected their philosophy over Te Moana nui a Kiwa, and its inhabitants. By their reckoning, the commander of a naval vessel from a European state, which had 'discovered' an island, was entitled to go ashore and claim the island in the name of their monarch.[172] This 'discovery' and associated proclamations were illegitimate and quite contrary to the advice of Lord Morton that 'They are the natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit...'[173] The Endeavours artist Sydney Parkinson noted that in Tūranga the King's colours were raised, and the country was seized in the name of King George III.[174] However, this entitlement to discover land was contested by both Ngati Rakai and Rongowhakaata. The Pākerewhā were astonished at the courage of our people to stand up against their savagery, violence, and unstoppable abuse of killing power.[175]

The Historian J.A Mackay challenged the claim that the colours were raised in Tūranga with the intent to seize sovereignty, claiming that 'The marines did not honour the alleged ceremony by firing three volleys of small arms. A resounding answer did not come from the mouths of the ships great guns. No cheers then followed on the shore, and there were no loud hurrahs, in turn from the vessels shrouds.'[176] Perhaps the volley of shots from the summary execution of Te Maro and Te Rākau were sufficient enough for the purpose of a twenty-one-gun salute. Hine Kapu claimed that the HMS Bark Endeavour had fired its cannons at an ancestral rock named Hinehore, which was broken.[177] There is no mention of this incident in the Journals of the Endeavour crew. In any case, Tūranga was the first place where the British colours were displayed in Aotearoa.[178]

The intent was clear; whether by the ballot or by the bullet, Aotearoa would be seized and any who stood in opposition would die. The surf was too strong to land again. So instead they set out to 'surprise' and kidnap people on the water. What happened next definitely challenges the assumption of a 'peaceful landing.'[179]

Ka tahuri ki te Huripureiata, ka whakakau tama i a ia, whakarere iho ana te kakau o te hoe, Ko Manini-tua, Ko Manini-aro, ka tangi te kura, ka tangi wiwini, ka tangi te kura, ka tangi wawana…[180]	The Huripureiata was overturned, and the child swam away, casting aside the handles of the paddles Manini-tua, Manini-aro, and the treasured one, cried, cried in fear, and the treasured one cried, cried in terror…

In the distance, two waka tētē were returning from a fishing trip and paddling towards the mouth of the Kōpututea River.[181] Cook decided to prove beyond all reasonable doubt that the Endeavour crew came in peace by abducting them, dragging them onto the Endeavor and giving them trinkets.[182] Banks said that 'The boats were drawn up in such a manner that they could not well escape...'[183] At first, Cook asked Tupaia to lure the crews of the waka on board. When they did not respond to such 'friendly intentions', Cook had musket shots fired over their heads.[184] 'Fighting to the very last thing',[185] the crews of the waka tētē defended themselves furiously to resist being captured.[186] Rev. William Williams's narrative drew on his discussions with the people of Rongowhakaata, and explained that they began to '… attack so vigorously with their paddles, with stones, and with other weapons, that the order was given to fire upon them when four were … killed.'[187]

He pani au, e hika mā, kia kawea ki te wai ope ai, e.	Bereft am I, O my kinsmen, a fit object for a watery grave[188]

Joel Polack, the English-born colonial writer, was told that the four killed were rangātira,[189] and that what happened with the waka was a 'massacre.'[190] Cook knew his actions were wrong and remarked 'I can by no means justify my conduct in attacking and killing the people in this boat who had given me no just provocation and was wholy igernorant of my design…'[191] Two young rangātira were apprehended. One attempted to swim 'and made every effort in his power to prevent being taken into the boat'[192]

Cook incited the incident, despite the fact that he possessed both numerical and technological superiority. In a rather dazzling display of logic, Cook based his

argument upon his own anecdotal evidence as he attempted to excuse himself from any wrongdoing: '…had I had the least thought of their making any resistance I would not so much as have looked at them but when we was once a long side of them we must either have stud to be knockd on the head or else retire and let them gone off in triumph and this last they would of Course have attributed to thier own bravery…'[193] Their bravery was continuing to fight by throwing parcels of fish and any other projectile they could lay their hands on to prevent themselves from being captured as two others lay dead next to them.[194] The captured rangātira were two brothers: Hikirangi, Haurangi and their younger cousin Marukawiti, aged 18, 15 and 10.[195] These three scared cousins tried to escape by jumping into the water but were captured and brought onto the Endeavour. They expected 'instant death.'[196]

Cook felt threatened by a group of teenagers and scared children armed with paddles, stones and fish who were simply out fishing. But rather than suffer a significant blow to his ego by letting them go 'off in triumph', he committed acts of murder. The question posed by the contemporary indigenous activist Tina Ngata remains – 'was this normal behavior for Europeans? Did they kill each other with ease back in their homelands?'[197] Cook was curious as to the identity of the boys' leader, so Marukawiti was interrogated and asked 'Ko wai te rangātira o tenei whenua?' [198] Marukawiti responded 'Ko Te Rātū'.'[199] The cousins later revealed the names of three atua (Rongomai, Kahukura and Tawhiri),[200] and spent the night with Tupaia sharing waiata long into the night. Banks noted '... Thus ended the most disagreeable day my life has seen, black be the mark for it and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection.[201]

Mawharu, Te Rima o Koopu (October 10)

The lunar phase was at Mawharu, a day of abundance.[202]

Cook, Banks, Solander, Tupaia and the three cousins returned to the western bank of the Tūranganui river in the morning, along with the marines. The cousins were frightened of being captured by opposing hapū within the area. The Pākerewhā crossed the river to shoot ducks and the cousins went to hide in the bushes.

Another ope taua comprising two groups was observed on its way to Waikanae; one coming along Te Oneroa most likely from the direction of Pāokahu and the other from Kaiparo on the other side of the swamp.[203] The marines and the cousins retreated quickly to the boats and crossed the river to Parahamuti. As the Pākerewhā drew together, the ope taua cautiously slowed their approach. Some of the warriors separated from the main body of the ope taua. They split into clusters of two or three toa per group, and began their approach. The very earth began to tremble beneath the feet of the Pākerewhā as the main body approached.[204] Rapidly, they were met by a taua of approximately 100 – 150 toa.[205] The ope taua from Rongowhakaata were not afraid. Banks 'despaird making peace with men who were not to be frightened with our small arms'[206] The Pākerewhā became very anxious and desired to fall back. However, one of the cousins recognized the ope taua as friendly and conveyed their desire to speak to the Endeavour crew. The act of kindness by sparing these tamariki rangātira is perhaps what saved the Pākerewhā that day. Had they been killed, Cook may not have survived to die in Hawaii.

The bodies of Te Maro and Te Rākau still lay in state upon the beach. Recognising his uncle's body, Hikirangi removed the red serge coat he was given and placed it over Te Rākau.[207] This coat would become known as Te Makura or Te Hinu a Tuhura. It would later be worn by the great rangātira of Rongowhakaata in times of battle, and the brightness of its colour would be interpreted as a tohu of their success in battle.[208] After lengthy discussions, a single unarmed koroua approached the river, followed closely by his guard, who was signalled to remain.[209] He swam across the river, the koroua lowered himself to sit, and the three cousins went closer and were met and embraced.[210] Marukawiti wept; this koroua was the father of the youngest child Marukawiti, a rangātira named Tamarangi.[211] However, both Banks and Cook said he was an 'uncle' — it is very likely that Banks was confused by the term 'matua.'[212]

Tupaia was then presented with a taki, an emblem of peaceful intent. Gifts were presented and a ceremony took place. Te Rākau's body was placed on a pole and taken away.[213] The cousins returned to the Endeavour briefly and were returned to shore in the evening, after dinner. Hikirangi, Haurangi and Marukawiti

gestured for the Endeavour to leave and went to rejoin their people on the beach returning towards the direction of Orakaiapu.[214] Banks was disappointed that, during their final excursion to the shore, they were not able to collect more than three new plants, and had to be content with only forty species of plants.[215] Banks said that it '… is not to be wonderd at as we were so little ashore and always upon the same spot; the only time we wanderd about a mile from the boats was upon a swamp where not more than 3 species of Plants were found.'[216]

The Pākerewhā now drifted into the sphere of the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri people of the south, plastering the name of Young Nick's Head over Nga Pari ma mai (also known as Te Kurī) following the coast southwards. In the wake of the Endeavour was also a wake of tears, pain and sorrow, alongside a disparaging name and the thunderous death-dealing properties of the musket.[217] From the moment the HMS Bark Endeavour left Tūranga it was remembered as 'Te Puke o Te Paea' — with its sails set, it resembled the white cliffs of Hawaiki. Cooks' weapons were remembered as 'tahu whenua' on account of the flames and noise made by their muskets.[218] The abundance of Tūranga remained hidden. Cook believed that Tūranga was deficient in provisions, and he bestowed the name 'Kokorutanga kai-kore' (Bay without food: 'Poverty Bay').[219]

Ohua, Te Rima o Koopu (October 11)

The lunar phase is at Ohua, a nothing day, a time of silence and reflection.[220]

When the Pākerewhā reached Whareongaonga, the people of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri were apprehensive and kept their distance. The arrival of these strange people was quite unwelcome. Banks recorded that "…several Canoes put off from shore and came towards us within less than a quarter of a mile but could not be persuaded to come nearer, tho Tupia exerted himself very much shouting out and promising that they should not be hurt.[221] But the Ngāi Tāmanuhiri people did not come, they had no prior meeting or introduction with the Pākerewhā. There was no further reason to investigate, especially if the word had already reached them of the murders in Tūranga by a strange war party with a mauri that was said to cause people to fall ill even by looking at them; and bearing weapons that harnessed the power of thunder and lightning.[222]

‘In the afternoon as the Endeavor ‘lay becalmed’ several canoes came off to the ship, but kept at a distance until one, who appeared to come from a different part, came off and put alongside at once.’[223] Sydney Parkinson observed that the ‘their paddles were curiously stained with a red colour, disposed into various strange figures; and the whole together was no contemptible workmanship.[224] Monkhouse commented of the incident that the waka pulled up ‘without any ceremony. [225]

The people on board this waka came with little persuasion. As Midshipman John Bootie remarked, they were ‘treated very kindly’ and ‘bought [several] of their things off them.’ [226] Banks explicitly noted that this waka:

> ‘… was seen coming from Poverty-Bay or near it, she had only 4 people in her, one who I well rememberd to have seen at our first interview on the rock: they never stop’d to look at any thing but came at once alongside of the ship and with very little persuasion cam[e] on board…’

Banks was still concerned about the cousins they had abducted on the ‘most disagreeable’ day of his life, recording that the crew:

> ‘… were very anxious to know what was become of our poor boys, therefore as soon as the people began to lose their first impressions of fear that we saw at first disturbd them a good deal we askd after them. The man who first came on board immediately answerd that they were at home and unhurt and that the reason of his coming on board the ship with so little fear was the account they had given him of the usage they had met with among us.’[227]

Banks also noted that they had come unarmed except for two that brought weapons one of whom traded his patupatu of ‘grenn talk.’[228] Banks said that ‘…they had many presents given to them notwithstanding which they very quickly sold almost everything that they had with them, even the cloaths from their backs and paddles out of their boats.’[229]

Cook outlined that the waka that approached began to trade and noted that “they were all kindly treated and very soon enter'd into a traffick with our people for

George Island Cloth … giving in exchange their paddles (having little else to dispose of) and 'hardly left themselves a Sufficient number to paddle a shore, nay the People in one Canoe after disposing of the Paddles offer'd to sell the Canoe.'[230] It would appear that Cook homogenised the different groups together. It is most likely that Tupaia played a greater role in mediating the events of the day, as a number of people spent approximately two hours speaking to him.[231] Monkhouse noted that of the other waka that were present at Whareongaonga, only twenty came aboard and traded their 'cloathing, weapons and ornaments for the Otaheite cloth.'[232] There was no mention of paddles being traded. There may have been additional ceremonies conducted by Tupaia, who showed them tātau patterns on his thighs. [233]

Cook recorded that 'After a stay of about two hours they went away, but by some means or a nother three were left on board and not one boat would put back to them in and what was more surprising those on board did not seem attall uneasy with the situation.'[234] Sydney Parkinson wrote that '…after we had given them a variety of beads and other, trinkets, they set off in so great a hurry, that they left three of their people on board with us.'[235] Some of these glass beads were still worn long after by the people of Rongowhakaata.[236] It is said that Cook traded parareka and hua rākau whakatō (potatoes, and fruit trees).[237] Although, it is generally claimed that Cook gave the first potatoes to a rangātira at Te Whanganui-a-Hei (Mercury Bay).[238]

Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Ngāti Rakaipaaka traditions maintain that a rangātira named Meke met with the Pākerewhā. Eru Pohatu held that 'Captain Cook at this time brought potatoes and gave them to Meke.'[239] Meke's grandson, Ihaka Ngarangioue, was born in the years following the Cook collision. At the time of Ihaka's birth, his name 'Ngarangioue' was given to remember the time of plague.[240] Raharuhi Rukupō's grandfather was born in the generation after the Cook encounter. He was named 'Riwai'; and it is highly likely that he was named after the trade of potatoes given to Rongowhakaata ancestors at Whareongaonga.

At Uawa-nui-a-Ruamatua, local traditions held that Cook traded a number of objects including kaanga, and potatoes.[241] The varieties received from Cook were known as Parareka, Waeruru, Papake, and Wiri.[242] Riperata Kahutia stated

her people '…cultivated on the banks below Harurunui in Ruku's time they planted Potatoes and Taro's.'[243] Ruku was Riperata's grandfather, and her father Kahutia planted potatoes on Titirangi near Waikāhua, above the place where Te Maro was killed.[244] Riperata also said 'He planted potatoes at Mangamutu and at Harurunui, Te Umu-o-Tawhiwhi and at other places at Tauararo.'[245]

Horeta Te Taniwha said that the kaumātua of Ngāti Whanaunga at Whitianga had mistaken the potato for 'paraa-reka',[246] which is the rhizome of the king fern. The name of this potato cultivar consequently became known as Parareka and refers to the pink, and white varieties of potato,[247] and highlights the application of names for known-foods to introduced varieties, which were similar in appearance. It is also possible that the Waeruru potato variety received from Cook (alternately spelled 'Wairuru'), may have been named for its similar appearance to the kiore, one species was known as Wairuru.[248] It is difficult to determine when the potato was introduced to Tūranga. They could have been directly received by hapū and iwi from Cook, or received and traded during a later voyage, or traded amongst each other at a later date once the crops had been successfully cultivated in Aotearoa.

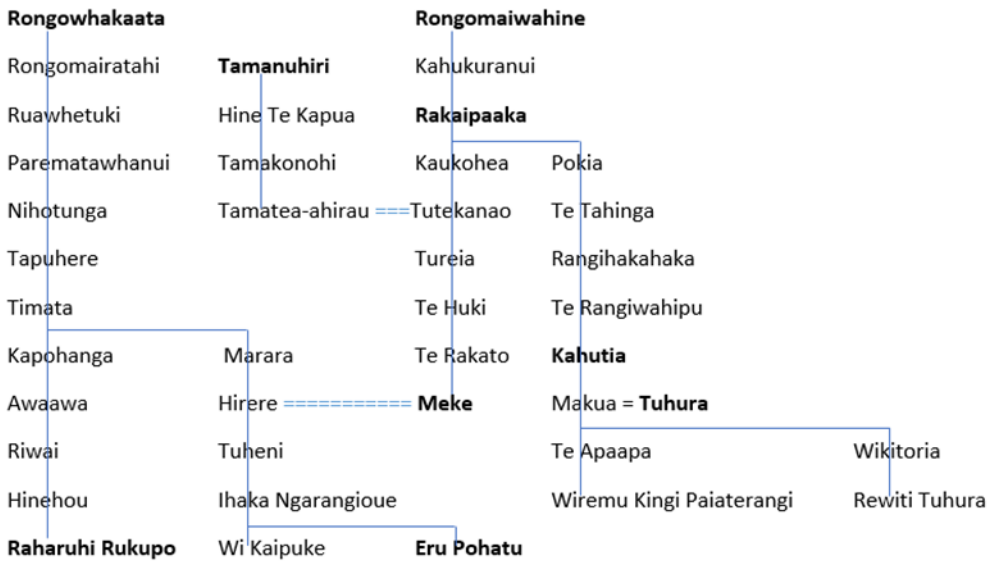

Figure 2: Whakapapa highlighting connections between Rukupō, Meke and Tuhura.[249]

Poverty of Plants

The botanists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander were overwhelmed, not only by the wealth of discoveries to be made, but because of the intensity of their

encounters in Tūranga.[250] They arrived and were instantly thrust into a new environment where virtually every plant was either completely new to them or they may have looked familiar, but followed an entirely unique evolutionary chain in isolation.[251] At the same time, they were caught in the middle of what they had considered to be a hostile situation and placed under intense pressure to collect samples. Like modern botanists, Banks and Solander went to shore with magnifying glasses, presses, knives, and notebooks, pressing and drying the first European collected botanic samples in proof copies of 'Milton's Paradise Lost.[252] Their samples in Tūranga were limited to those within close proximity of the coast. During their time in Tūranga, like the rest of their voyage, much of the botanising was undertaken during expeditions searching for food, water and wood, whilst also being accountable to the orders and direction of Lt. Cook.[253] Due to these factors and time constraints, their ability to access and take samples was severely restricted. During their first voyage around Aotearoa, they would only stop at eight different localities including Tūranganui, Anaura and Ūawa-nui-a-Ruamatua.

Banks was disappointed with their poverty of plants, not collecting 'above 40 species of plants.'[254] Thirty-six varieties were collected from Titirangi, three varieties from the vicinity of Waikanae and Te Wai-o-Hīhārore.[255] Although they may have been taken without the knowledge, consent, or permission of Rongowhakaata hapū, the collection is significant. These plant species provide the earliest recorded and observable physical record of plants present in Tūranga. They link us to the period when our ancestors were alive and offer a direct link to extracts of the earth mother Papatūānuku.

Figure 2 Image illustrating the environment, from which the botanical specimens were extracted. 'Poverty Bay. The first land discovered by Captain Cook in 1769'. PH-ALB-86-p3-1. Mundy, Daniel Louis, 1867 – 1869, Tāmaki Paenga Hira, Auckland War Memorial Museum.

The Endeavour remained in Aotearoa for another six months. Most of the first voyage was focused on charting the coastline as opposed to extracting botanic specimens. Although only a small sample of plants were taken from Tūranga, a vast array of specimens were taken from other places both in Te Ika a Maui and Te Waipounamu. Of all specimens taken, 182 would be engraved in copper plate.[256] The actual tally of taxa collected between Ariroa (08 October) and Ohua (11 October) were sixty-one species in fifty-three genera, which included:[257]

Ingoa Tūturu:	**Scientific name:**
Aruhe	Pteridium Esculentum
Kōkihi	Tetragonia Tetragonioides
Tūtae Kōau	Apium ProstRātūm Labill.
Koheriki	Scandia Rosifolia
Rangiora	Brachyglottis Repanda
Papataniwhaniwha	Lagenophera Pumila
Tauhinu	Ozothamnus Leptophyllus
Pukatea	Pseudognaphalium Luteoalbum
Pahokoraka Or Pekapeka	Senecio Quadridentatus
Panapana	Cardamine Debilis

Nau, Heketara	Lepidium Oleraceum Sparrm
Poniu, Hānea, Kōwhitiwhiti,	Rorippa Palustris
Ureure	Salicornia Australi
Pōhue	Calystegia Sepium Subsp. Roseate
Pōwhiwhi,	Calystegia Tuguriorum
Tutu	Coriaria Arborea
Karaka	Corynocarpus Laevigatus
Makaka, Tawau	Carmichaelia Australis
Kōwhai	Sophora Tetraptera
Te Auaunga	Geranium Retrorsum
Pukupuku	Geranium Pilosum
Kōpata	Pelargonium Inodorum
Taurepo, Matata, Kaikaiatua,Waiūatua	Rhabdothamnus Solandri,
Houhi	Plagianthus Divaricatus
Ngaio	Myoporum Laetum
Kahikātoa	Kunzea Aff. Ericoides
Mānuka	Leptospermum Scoparium
Pukatea	Cinereum
Kawakawa	Piper Excelsum
Pōhuehue	Muehlenbeckia Complexa Pōhue,
Pōānanga, Puawānanga	Clematis Forsteri
Tūmatakuru	Discaria Toumatou
Piripiri	Ancistrum Decumbens
Tātaraheke, Tarakupenga	Coprosma Acerosa
Karamu	Coprosma Robusta Raoul
Koromiko	Hebe Stricta
Poroporo	Solanum Aviculare
Remuroa, Raupeti, Pōporo, Poroporo	Solanum Nodiflorum
Pinātoro, Wharengārara	Pimelea Prostrata
Māhoe, Hinahina	Hinahina, Melicytus Ramiflorus
Rengarenga	Arthropodium CirRātūm
Tī Kōuka	Cordyline Australis
Māikaika	Microtis Unifolia
Whararikī	Phormium Cookianum
Harakeke	Phormium Tenax
Toetoe-Kākaho	Austroderia Toetoe
Pātītī	Dichelachne Crinite
Hinarepe	Poa Billardierei
Kōhangatara	Spinifex Sericeus
Oioi	Apodasmia Similis
Koheriki	Scandia Rosifolia
Pūhā	Sonchus oleraceus

No known Ingoa Tūturu Scientific name only:
Epilobium Billardierianum Subsp.
Drosera auriculata
Epilobium hirtigerum
Oxalis exilis
Oxalis rubens
Lachnagrostis billardiere
Lachnagrostis littoralis
Hydrocotyle heteromeria
Euchiton involucRātūs
Senecio glomeRātūs
Vittadinia australis
Trisetum arduanum

During the voyage across Hawaiki, Aotearoa and other places on their various journeys, Cook and his crew helped themselves freely to plants, fish, birds, and never regarded their actions as theft. When challenged, they resorted to lethal force.[258] The sea was transformed from an ancestor into a void without people, and under the concept of mare nullius it became a blank canvas awaiting colonisation.[259] Indigenous conceptions of space were then erased in favour of invisible lines and ridged national boundaries. These have been subjected to Eurocentric conceptions of space, as oceans were declared to be an 'international commons.'[260]

Within the jurisdiction of tikanga, the act of taking plants without permission, or the expressed permission of the community, was often considered to be an act of transgression. This could lead to *aitua* or acts of calamity. Before the Horouta left Āhuahu after its voyage from Hawaiki, the wāhine Kanawa stole aruhe without the appropriate karakia; and without the consent of the atua, or the people. The atua Rongomaraeroa became enraged and was said to have caused the Horouta to smash against the rocks. Kanawa was thrown into the ocean and drowned. That place was at Ohiwa and became known as Tukirae-o-Kanawa.[261] The direct theft of food could also result in severe consequences. When the eponymous ancestor Kaipoho returned from a fishing trip, he caught a shark, which was stolen by his brother Matawera. Kaipoho was so furious that he burned the waka they sailed out in, and the net that the shark was caught. Kaipoho then gave the land Okirau to his grandson Rongoteuruora, who in turn was furious at his grandfather's wasteful attitude by burning the net. When

Rongoteuruora's uncles returned, they challenged his right to the land in a fist fight and were knocked down by him and left the land.[262]

The mismanagement of resources has also led to conflict. The battle of Pikikautuku was caused by the depletion of kahawai and became a source of disagreement, which led to a full-scale war for mana whenua over Whareongaonga leading to the exodus of Rakaiataane's people to Te Tatapouritanga and Whangara-mai-tawhiti.[263] Approximately two decades before the arrival of the Pākerewhā, during a lean fishing season, Rakaiataane's people moved to Whareongaonga from Te Mahia-mai-tawhiti.[264] One day Tuheke and his people went fishing for kahawai at Wharekakaho. When they returned, Rakaiataane then set out with his people in their waka. Returning empty-handed and finding that he was unable to catch any fish, Rakaiataane was furious and started arguing with Tuheke about going out to sea without him. Tuheke took no notice of anything he had to say, so Rakaiataane attempted to implement a rāhui over the area by erecting a pou-rāhui, which was promptly thrown down by Tuheke as Rakaiataane did not have sufficient mana to enact a rāhui over that area.[265]

Rakaiataane then assembled an ope taua and returned to attack Papoto at Whareongaonga. The ope taua remained outside, as Rakaitaane challenged Tuheke to a duel. Rakaiataane and his second Mapere, verses Tuheke and his champion Takararoa. Rakaiataane made the first move and went to strike Tuheke. Avoiding the blow, Tuheke quickly used the opportunity to grab Rakaiataane, and they then threw him to Takararoa who constrained him. Tuheke then swiftly dispatched Mapere. Rakaiataane then managed to break free and fled back to Whareongaonga.[266] Mapere was consequently consigned to the ovens and Tuheke quickly set out to Nukutaurua on a mission to recruit Te Rakato by presenting him with Mapere's baked remains as payment for his assistance, but Te Rakato was elsewhere, and Te Rangiwahipu came instead.[267] Rakaiataane was then attacked and defeated by Tuheke and his ope-taua at a gully at Whareongaonga where the battle of Pikikautuku took place. Tuheke showed mercy and allowed Rakaiataane to leave.[268]

He Toki Maitai (an axe from the sea).

The colonial writer Joel Polack was informed by the people of Tūranga that an axe and a tomahawk were amongst the items received or traded with Cook.[269] One such item was known as the 'Wilson' axe.[270] The Pākerewhā proceeded southwards towards Te Mahia-mai-tawhiti. The story narrated by Tiemi Wirihana concerning its origins, takes place at Te Mahia-mai-tawhiti. This is near Waikawa, where three leading rangātira Te Powhero, Kahutia and Te Whenuariri met with the Endeavour crew. Te Powhero believed that Cook was the leader of a strange war party and wanted to instantly put him to death.[271] But Powhero was restrained by Kahutia and Te Whenuariri. In return, Cook gave both Te Whenuariri and Kahutia an axe, and a sack of cabbage seeds was given to Powhero despite his desire to kill Cook.[272]

Tiemi noted that the axe of Te Whenuariri was treated with 'great reverence and valued exceedingly' and 'not put to the common use of chopping wood.'[273] As this taonga was passed down, it gained significant mana and was used in a number of conflicts. It passed into the possession of Te Whenuariri's son Maihi Kaimoana and at that time was named Keha; Ihaka Whaanga also borrowed it for the battle of Kekeparaoa and used it to behead Te Awariki.[274] It passed to his nephew Tiemi Wirihana who was renowned for fighting at Pukehinahina – the battle at Gate Pa, and is said to have taken a '…prominent part in the Māori wars of the sixties.'[275] In Tiemi's time, the axe was known as Pairikiriki and passed to Wiremu Kaimoana his brother.[276] Although its current whereabouts are unknown, the last known person to possess the axe was his niece Mihingarangi Rewiti Wirihana.[277] During the anchorage of the HMS Bark Endeavour at at Uawa-nui-a-Ruamatua, another axe was traded with Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and named Takarita.[278]

Figure 3: Sir Joseph Banks, pictured wearing a Kaitaka (Pitt Rivers Museum 1886.21.20), and one of the Rongowhakaata paddles collected from Whareongaonga (Te Papa Tongarewa, ME014921. Smith, John, 'Mr Banks', Ink on Mezzotint, 1773, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, retrieved https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/703219

Te Hau ki Tūranga: Te Mauri o Hāmokorau.

Our traditions provide a vibrant pataka filled with an abundance of knowledge. The east coast region situated between Tauranga-moana and Tūranganui is renowned for the art of wood carving.[279] Sir Apirana Ngata once remarked that 'Gisborne carvings are world-famous, and the best examples of house carvings are those of the Tūranga house…' [280] There are many origins concerning ngā toi whakairo. Myth developed into legend and filtered down into the realm of tradition and history. Sydney Parkinson observed that 'The men have a particular, taste for carving: their boats, paddles, boards to put on their houses, tops of walking sticks, and even their boats valens, are carved in a variety of flourishes, turnings and windings, that are unbroken…'[281] Although these generalisations were made after leaving Tūranga, they were not highlighting tribal differences, but describing and summarising everything that they had seen so far.

The origin of the arts of carving began with the story of Rua-te-pupuke retrieving the poupou from Hui-te-ana-nui, the carved house of the great ancestor Tangaroa.[282] Mokena Romio, a rangātira of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti commented that Rua-te-pupuke kept the poupou, which were said to be used as templates for carvings in Hawaiki.[283] In a Tuhoe narrative, Rua-te-pupuke was credited with the invention of the arts of carving and is expressed within the whakatauki 'Nga mahi whakairo, nga mahi a Rua.'[284] Another Tuhoe narrative given by Te Whatu held that Te Tini o Hakuturi taught Ruatepupuke the arts of carving and that he obtained the decorative patterns from spiderwebs.[285] These carved arts were developed and refined by the eponymous ancestor Rauru, a child of Toi-taketake (Toi-kairākau) who is attributed with the invention of the distinctive forms of whakairo rākau as they were known in the eighteenth century[286], which Banks noted was '… like nothing but itself.'[287]

But how did the arts of carving arrive in Tūranga? The artistic forms of the Tūranga style are unique and distinct from other Tairāwhiti art styles and their methods of arranging the carved forms and whakarei.[288] Hetekia Te Kani Te Ua credits Maia with the introduction of carving to the Tūranga district.[289] However,

the Tūranga carving traditions as they are understood began when Te Ranginui found Tamatea-moa, and his artisans and kaitarai (adze workers) preparing slabs for a house they were building near the junction of the Papokeka stream and the Hangaroa river at Tūpāpakurau.[290] As Ranginui watched, he noticed their poor adzing technique. Without introducing himself, Ranginui criticised Tamatea-moa and the other experts for their ignorance and poor execution of the arts of carving. Furious with Ranginui's comments, Tamatea-moa was infuriated and said 'Nawai rawa koe kia tohutohu mai ki au? Tena! Haere mai e mau to ringa ki te toki nei' (Who to you think you are to lecture me? Here! Come here and pick up the adze with your own hand).[291] Tamatea-moa handed Ranginui the adze and stormed off. Feeling insulted, Tamatea-moa planned to murder Ranignui and ordered the ovens to be prepared. But as Tamatea-moa was away, Ranginui showed his superior technique and excellence with the adze by carving two rafters at once. When hearing of Tamatea-Moa preparing the ovens and desire to murder Ranginui, his people were annoyed and challenged the decision to kill a master adze worker.

Tamatea-moa returned to examine the work himself and saw that he was out-skilled.[292] Ranginui's skill was remarkable. 'Did you not see how he smoothed the rafters so that they fitted as closely as bark to a tree? Instead of killing him, let us keep him here to teach us his craft. Then we shall become famous for the quality of our work.'[293] Tamatea-moa asked 'Ko wai koe?' (who are you?), Ranginui responded 'He tangata haerere noa; ma te mate e kawe au i konei.' (I am a wanderer across the land, it was trouble that brought me here). He was then informed by one of Ranginui's companions that he was a grandchild of Tamatea-arikinui. The House called Hāmokorau was built and became a whare wānanga. This was the origin of the Tūranga forms of carving encountered by Cook and practised by the descendants of Ngāti Kaipoho in particular.

Te Rawheoro from a Tūranga perspective.

During Tupaia's time at Anaura, he would speak to the tohunga of Te Rawheoro.[294] This was a famous whare wānanga established by Hingangaroa, a renowned builder and carver who married Iranui the sister of Ranginui and

Kahungunu. According to one tradition, Iranui went to visit their brother Kahungunu at Kaimatai at Whakaki-nui-a-Rua.[295] She observed him finishing a waka and attaching the prow and stern pieces of the waka with straight joints. She demonstrated the new method of dovetailing by lying on the ground and placing her legs between his.[296] Te Mahia-mai-tawhiti already had its own carving traditions. Tamatakutai-o-te-rangi the first partner of Rongomaiwāhine was a renowned tohunga whakairo.[297] Following his death, when Kahungunu was accepted by Rongomaiwāhine, Kahungunu wanted to build her a house called Te Rangikahupapa. He invited his brother-in-law Hingangaroa to supervise its construction.[298]

At the conclusion of these events, Hingangaroa then returned to Uawa-nui-a-Ruamatua to establish the whare wānanga called Te Rawheoro. Tiemi Wirihana was renowned as one of the kaiwhakairo and builders of Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri.[299] Tiemi noted that the first house named Te Rawheoro was built by Iraroa following a dispute with Paikea. This house was passed down to his grandchild Te Rakaipo. Tiemi stated 'Na Hingangaroa i hanga, i whakairo Te Rawheoro tuarua, he mea whakairo, ka haramai nga iwi ki te hoko i te whare whakairo; ka riro i a Apanui, ka puta mai ki Tūranga.'[300] (Hingangaroa built and carved the second Te Rawheoro. It was a carved structure. With the knowledge of Hingangaroa to build houses, the iwi came to barter for the carvings, which were passed to Apanui and came to Tūranga). Within the traditions of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti highlighted by Mokena Romio, the poupou of Rua-te-pupuke were eventually shown to Hingangaroa who added the poupou into the whare wānanga.[301] As an institution of learning, Te Rawheoro was a central pillar of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti; maintaining mātauranga, whakapapa, kōrero pūrākau, the arts and reengaging relationships and alliances between iwi.[302]

In later times, Iwirākau and Tukaki were chosen as students and instructed at Te Rawheoro; in return, the cloak Te Ngāio-tu-ki-Rarotonga is believed to have been given as payment for their intensive tuition in the arts of carving. It was said to have been a cloak of exceptional quality.[303] In one tradition, the cloak is attributed to have been brought from Hawaiki. In another, it was believed to have

been a kākahu huruhuru of red feathers, which was named after the blooms of Hawaiki.[304] Perhaps all of the different traditions that concern the introduction and distribution of Te Toi whakairo are true. At different points in time, origin stories became intertwined. Knowledge-sharing, exchange, and trade and interaction between different hapū results in individual regional forms growing and developing independently. Apirana Ngata maintained that Iwirākau added to the existing carving traditions of the Waiapu region.[305]

Knowledge was brought in and woven into each hapū and area's fabric of understanding, or what Victor Mackay terms 'a circuit of innovative cultural design.'[306] This was was expounded by the famous lament Te Tangi o Rangiuia mo Tuterangiwhaitiri:

Ko Hingangaroa. Ka tū tōna whare, Te Rāwheoro, e; Ka tipu te whaihanga, e hika, ki Ūawa Ka riro te whakautu, te Ngāio-tū -ki-Rarotonga Ka riro te manaia, ka riro te taowaru; Ka taka i raro nā, i a Apanui, e; Ka puta ki Tūranga, ka hāngāi atu koe, Ki te ao o te tonga, i patua ai koe.	…Hingangaroa, He built the house, Te Rawheoro, and the great arts sprouted, E Hika to Uawa. The payment given was Te Ngāio-tu-ki-Rarotonga, and the manaia and taowaru were acquired. Passing to Apanui, appearing at Tūranga. Where you confront the clouds to the south, which caused your death.[307]

He toi whakairo, he mana tangata

The noted iwi leader of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Hetekia Te Kani Te Ua, explained that chieftainship was the prerogative of a family of an ariki. They were capable leaders with mana or authority and capable leaders who were influential in tribal affairs.[308] Ariki were distinct from fighting chiefs, and as expressed by Paora Temuera, ariki as a term would be considered equivalent to the rank of an English 'lord'.[309] Te Kani Te Ua described the authority of chieftainship under several headings 'a) *mana tangata* — where a chief has authority, influence, prestige and power over the people; (b) *mana whenua* — where a chief inherits vast territories by ancestral rights or by conquest (*ringa kaha*) rules over land

and people; and (c) *mana kōrero* — where a chief is capable of reciting the tribal lore and history and is a pacificator in settling tribal disputes.'[310] Te Kani Te Ua highlighted that the mana, prestige and authority of a particular chiefly ancestor was considered to be great if they had displayed bravery to retain the boundaries of their people; possessed the ability to house their people within the pa; exercised manaakitanga towards manuhiri; defended wāhine from the insults of other groups; displayed personal bravery if a relation of theirs was murdered, during internal quarrels or intertribal contests amongst their hapū; or if they were in a position to claim utu. But rangātira who were renowned as peacemakers were always kindly regarded, even by outside tribes.[311]

Te Kani Te Ua also noted that Ruapani, the ariki and great eponymous ancestor of the Tūranga people, was a carver and that these arts were a '…prerogative of the aristocracy of chiefs of noble rank.'[312] Both Tareha Te Moananui, and Te Kani Te Ua highlighted that the arts of carving are a distinction of the 'ruling class' of chiefs.[313] According to Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke, rangātira were expected to be proficient in the art of whaikōrero and able to show kindness and hospitality to manuhiri, and also to direct food production, cultivation and food harvesting. Alongside these skills and capabilities, rangātira were expected to be adept at architecture, building waka, and other structures such as pataka (food storage houses), and whare umu (cooking shed).[314]

Rangātira were also expected to possess knowledge of the arts, including whakairo and kōwhaiwhai. These values are consistent with Himiona Tikitu, who held that there were eight pūmanawa 'He kaha ki te mahi kai' (strength in the collection of food); 'He kaha i te whakahaere i ngā raruraru' (strong in managing conflict); 'he toa' (courageous); 'He kaha ki te whakakohore i te riri' (strong to end conflict); 'He mōhio ki te whakairo' (knowledgeable in carving); 'He atawhai tāngata' (kind to people); 'He hanga whare nunui, pā rānei, waka rānei' (able to build large houses, palisaded villages, and waka); 'He mōhio ki ngā rohe whenua' (knowledgeable in the geography and history of the land).[315] These pūmanawa were considered to be 'he mea hanga ki roto i te kōpū o tōna whaea' (things that were developed within the womb of their mother).

Nau mai, e tama, ki te taiao nei, Ki whakangungua koe ki te kahikātoa, ki te tūmatakuru, ki te taraongaonga; Ngā tairo rā nāhau, e Kupe, i waiho i te ao nei.	Welcome, o son to this world of life, you are to be ritually strengthened with the kahikatoa, with the tumatakuru, and the taraongaonga; These were the obstructions that you, O Kupe, Bequeathed unto this world.[316]

Hori Ropiha of Ngāti Kahungunu described three kinds of rākau (wood crafts) that were taught to develop the pūmanawa of children.[317] The first involved the handling and usage of weaponry; the taiaha, patu pounamu, patu parāoa, tokotoko, huata and tao wero manu. The second related to agricultural work. They were taught how to use the kāheru to weed the garden including knowledge relating to the production and cultivation of kūmara, aruhe, and taro. The third set of skills was both intensive and extensive and focused on fencing, architecture, and construction work: domestic fences for gardens and housing areas. They were taught to use various forms of adzes and instructed in using wedges to split and construct supports and structural beams for houses. They were taught how to design whare puni and houses with carved and painted decorations, fortifications, and storehouses, which would complete the education of those that were selected to learn these arts. They were then taught the arts of waka building and the methods of adzing waka kōpapa, waka tīwai, waka whakarei and all of the components and tools of seafaring waka.[318]

Tawehi Wirihana, a Ringatu tohunga of Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata, referred to knowledge as ‘he kete mātauranga.’ He articulated this as a fluid intergenerational basket of memories and knowledge, cast down to other members within the same family.[319] The education of rangātira and their immersion of mātauranga such as whakapapa or kōrero pūrākau was taught either by close or direct relatives.[320] However, the knowledge of the arts of carving were known only to certain families and handed down from one generation to the next.[321] Heni Sunderland held that because wāhine were usually the composers of the waiata oriori, that wāhine were the ‘first conveyors

of history.'[322] Pūmanawa such as the art of carving were along considered to be inborn and passed down.[323] The historian and anthropologist Hirini Moko Mead considered that it was whakapapa that '…determines the distribution of talents.'[324] For example, Tamati Taahu of Ngāti Uepōhatu, an east coast hapū renowned for its skilled carvers, stated that the knowledge and art of carving were hereditary within his own family.[325] Ngāti Tarāwhai of Te Arawa are another hapū renowned for producing excellent kaiwhakairo. As Neich noted, carving skills passed down through close family relationships produced an unbroken lineage of kai whakairo from pre-European times to the present-day.[326] Ngāti Kaipoho as a hapū of Kaiwhakairo were closely related to one another, and in the same manner as Ngāti Tarāwhai, aimed to reproduce the same set of skills and talents every generation.[327]

Nga Taputapu o Rukupō

Rongowhakaata's association with iron and steel tools began with the arrival of Cook,[328] but at that time the properties and uses of the new material were unknown. Parkinson recorded that preference in trade was shown for necklaces and bracelets, or other things '…they well knew the use of; but did not like our iron wares.'[329] Polack noted that large iron nails were gifted by the Endeavor crew but were cast into the sea.[330] It is likely that iron tools including some large nails survived and were used and incorporated into existing carving conventions from that time.[331] Hirini Moko Mead commented that the Tūranga style favours 'deep, clear, multi-levelled carving which is detailed and precise.'[332] The introduction of steel shipbuilding and carpentry tools brought by traders allowed deeper carving and even greater detail and freedom than would have been possible with stone tools.[333]

Raharuhi Rukupō was a recognised 'genius' and renowned as one of the greatest tohunga whakairo of all time, quickly mastering the new tools introduced by the traders.[334] Rukupō's gifted mind and guided hands then lifted the Tūranga style '… to a new level of perfection.'[335] He is also credited with transforming the Tūranga style from its traditional stone-tooled forms, into the powerful steel-tooled carving style that is still practised over one hundred and eighty years later. Rukupō was born into a generation that still recalled first-hand experiences with

the arrival of the Pākerewhā. Many of the victims of Cook's wanton violence were Rukupō's close relatives.[336] The whare runanga Te Hau ki Tūranga was built approximately 73 years after the Cook collision. Rongowhakaata's chief historian, Jody Wyllie, draws attention to the fact that the house is an 'encyclopaedia of our history, of our traditions and of our unique carving style',[337] Te Hau ki Tūranga was built as a memorial to Rukupō's older brother, Tamati Waka Mangere, who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and is considered to be the artistic 'zenith' of the Tūranga style.[338] Te Hau ki Tūranga has been continuously displayed to the public following its theft by the Crown in the late 1860s. It has also served as the template for hundreds of contemporary wharenui built around Aotearoa and provided inspiration for generations of contemporary kaiwhakairo and ringa toi.

Figure 4: Te Horo o te rangi, the father of Hikirangi and Haurangi. B.013048, William Raine, 1935, Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 5: Te Waaka Perohuka, the poutokomanawa carved by Timoti Totohirangi. Mead, Sidney M. Te Waukapenohuka [sic] (1969): Anthropology Photographic Archive [ANTHPD]. Web. Digitool: PID343919

Te Hau ki Tūranga also provides a more direct link to the Cook Collison, as the whare contains ancestors that were either alive or who were directly affected by the arrival of the Pākerewhā. Te Horo-o-Te-Rangi, positioned at the apex of the Poutuarongo, is the father of Hikirangi and Haurangi the brothers who were abducted by Cook. Their older brother is Te Kaitoera, who is positioned at the apex of the Poutāhū by the doorway. His son was Timoti Totohirangi, the tohunga whakairo renowned for carving a poutokomanawa of Te Waaka Perohuka, and Hikirangi's son Hone Tiatia was one of the eighteen Tohunga whakairo that worked on the wharenui under the supervision of Raharuhi Rukupō.

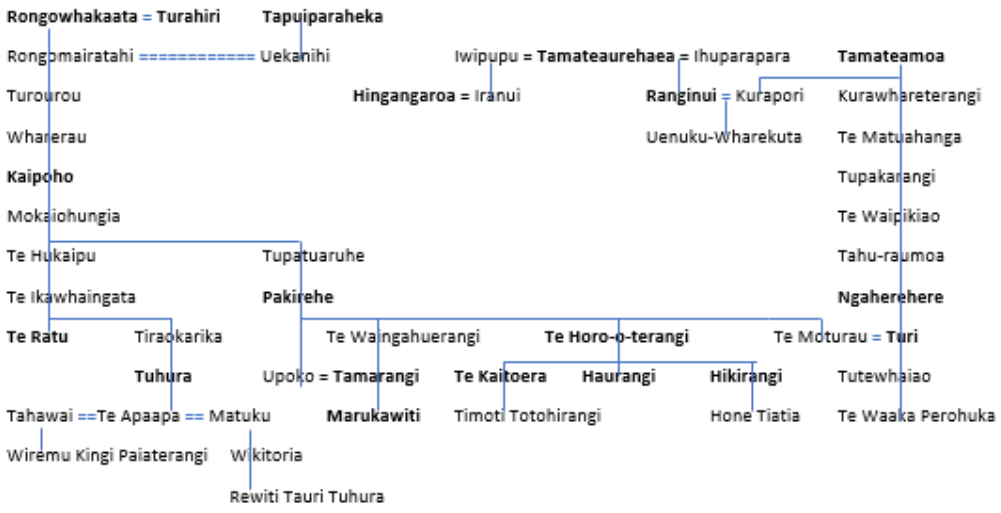

Figure 6: Whakapapa showing key people from the Cook collision, their relations and descendants.[339]

Nga Hoe kōwhaiwhai

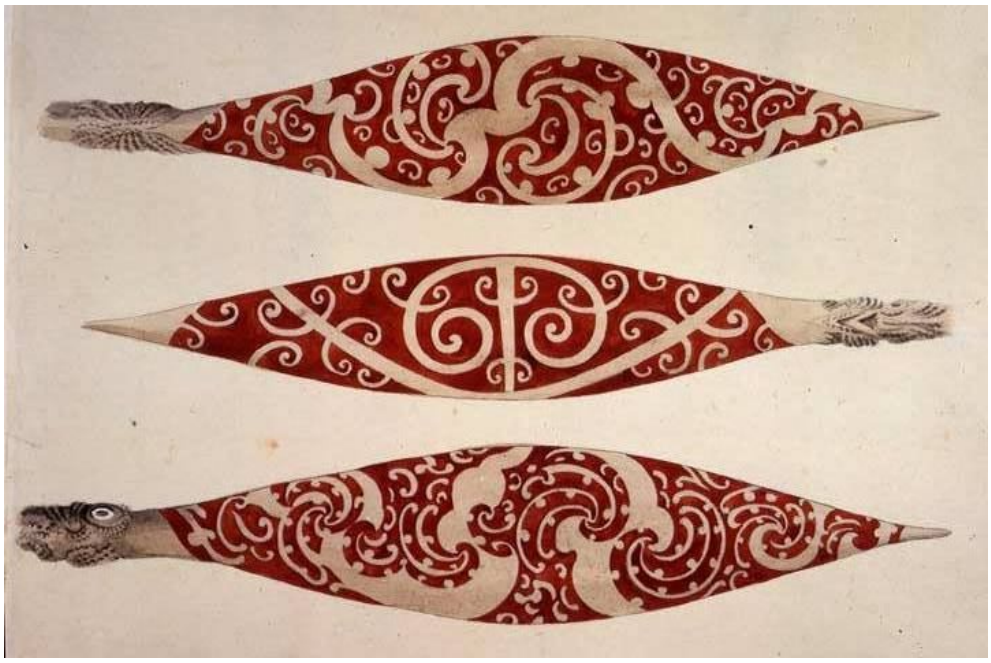

Figure 7: Three rapa hoe (paddle blades), illustrating kōwhaiwhai patterns collected by Cook, October 1769, Add. 23920, f.71 © British Library Board [340]

There has been considerable speculation concerning the origin of the paddles collected at Whareongaonga and that they may have been originally presented as gifts to welcome Tupaia.[341] Given that following Cook's arrival, there were skirmishes, unexplained murder, ambush and abduction of children, this 'gifting' narrative does not bear weight. It also does not account for the identities and events surrounding the safe return of the three young rangātira Hikirangi, Haurangi and Marukawiti.

The Ngāti Kaipoho hapū may have feared that the children may were enslaved or murdered. When the young rangātira were abducted, they were most likely presumed dead. The subsequent discovery that they were released alive and without harm was unexpected and surprising. This action may have been interpreted as an act of whakarauoratanga (returning alive), which prompted utu (reciprocity). There are many ways in which utu is practised to ensure that relationships are restored and rebalanced. An appropriate and immediate repayment would have been decided and made for restoring the mana of the cousins and returning them safely to their hapū.[342] One appropriate response could have been to present a gift as a contract to settle any perceived grievances and hostilities.

Simply because these hoe puta were collected at Whareongaonga does not mean they belonged to, or originated with, hapū living at Whareongaonga. The first-hand accounts of the Endeavour crew must be taken into account, as well as the various variations of kowhaiwahi that were practised by different iwi and hapū in Tūranga. The waka first encountered by Cook at Whareongaonga were apprehensive to approach the Endeavour as they had no prior contact with the Pākerewhā. As Cook sailed south of Tūranga, a waka pursued them, and during this encounter the hoe were presented to Cook.[343] The Rongowhakaata leader who met with Cook during the second day of the collision in Tūranga was present on the waka that sailed to Whareongaonga. He boarded the Endeavour unarmed and without hesitation. As noted by Banks, the kind treatment of the cousins Hikirangi, Haurangi and Marukawiti, along with their safe return to shore prompted this voyage to meet the Endeavour crew. This alone would strongly indicate that the people on the waka were Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Kaipoho.

The kōwhaiwhai designs painted onto the hoe puta with kōkōwai are the oldest surviving examples of the Tūranga expressions of kōwhaiwhai forms. They are also the first examples of their kind to be taken to Europe.[344] The hoe puta are carved in relief at the midpoint of the handle and the ends, with painting on the blades closely resembling rafter patterns[345] and are strongly comparable to the kōwhaiwhai painted on the heke of Te Hau ki Tūranga. The paddles are also much older than any known rafter patterns.[346] Tuta Nihoniho explained that paddle blades on the East Coast were adorned with kōwhaiwhai, but never carved, except for paddles used as ceremonial staves or batons.[347] The preferred wood used for paddles was *matai*, *manuka*, *maire*, heartwood of the *pukatea*, and sometimes *tawa*. Matai was the favoured wood because it was both lightweight and strong.[348] Matahi Whakataka-Brightwell a contemporary tohunga tarai-waka, describes three forms of hoe: a) Hoe Puta, ordinary paddles approximately 1.4 metres in length. b) Hoe Perperu, steering paddles are generally 2.7 metres long and used at the stern. c) Hoe Papa, leeboard steering paddles that act as a form of rudder to manipulate the direction of the waka causing it to turn or stop.[349]

Figure 8: Nga heke o Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri: Photo courtesy of the author, a trustee of Muriwai Marae.

Associate Professor Steve Gibbs noted that the the rangātira that met with Cook at Whareongaonga brought the paddles from Tūranga. [350] Recounting the encounter at Whareongaonga, Gibbs also noted that these patterns are found at both Te Muriwai and Manutūkē Marae.[351] There is sufficient evidence to discount this notion. The kōwhaiwhai painted on both the heke and poupou within the Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri house are simplistic and consist of bold repeating patterns. The kape and pītau forms present on the hoe puta resemble patterns from the first Manutūkē church, Te Poho o Rukupō, and the original kōwhaiwhai patterns of the wharenui Te Mana-o-Tūranga-i-tangohia-i-a-Rua. They bare little or no resemblance to the painted forms of Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri. The hoe puta and hoe peperu share more common characteristics of Rongowhakaata masterpieces, as opposed to that of Ngai Tāmanuhiri. The Tūranga kōwhaiwhai patterns are known for their complexity, minimal use of straight lines, a wide range of sinuous shapes, and full usage of the pītau and kape elements within their designs.[352]

Figure 9: Comparison between the hoe puta collected by Cook; and panels from the Manutūkē church. MU000522/001/0207; Kōwhaiwhai patterns from Manutūkē church, Poverty Bay; 1903-13.[353] *Hoe D 1914.66 & D1914.67 MAA Cambridge, Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022.*

The painted heke from the Manutūkē church contained 'disguised manaia figures'[354] that illustrated abstract sequences of kape and pītau kōwhaiwhai forms rendered in tatai hikuwaru (broken symmetry) known as pītau-a-manaia. It is, however, a more advanced and complex form than the hoe puta collected at Whareongaonga. Hirini Moko Mead commented that 'There is no doubt that the painted patterns portrayed on the paddles is similar to Te Hau ki Tūranga[355] The Pītau a Manaia form of figurative kōwhaiwhai as painted by Natanahira Te Keteiwi (or Toromata) on the first Te Poho o Rawiri wharenui dates to approximately 1849 and were painted around 80 years after the Cook collision.[356] These patterns were rendered heavily with the kape series of pattern. The later iteration as used on the Church between 1860 – 1863 was executed in a sophisticated arrangement of both kape and pītau designs.[357]

Figure 10: Photo of Te Hau ki Tūranga heke, post restoration. B.013051, William Raine, 1935, Te Papa Tongarewa.

Although the kōwhaiwhai patterns inside Te Hau ki Tūranga were restored in the earlier twentieth century, the original patterns were slightly softer and more organic than the restored works.[358] In either case, the patterns still bear strong similarities to the rafter patterns of Te Hau ki Tūranga.[359] These similarities are shared with the patterns, which were used on the first Manutūkē Church, the wharenui Te Poho o Rukupō at Manutūkē Marae, and the original patterns of Te Mana o Tūranga. When compared with the hoe puta and hoe peperu traded at

Whareongaonga by Rongowhakaata, they provide a unique insight into the dynamic post-contact changes of the Tūranga style over the next century resulting from the introduction of steel tools and European paints. The carved features also correlate with the Tūranga style, in particular the use of the Taratara-a-kae decoration, Mango Hokeka or Ngau pae notch, and the treatment of both the features and manaia forms.

Figure 11: Hoe 1886.1.1157 Pitt Rivers Museum. Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022

Figure 12: Hoe whakatere, 1886.1.1157 Pitt Rivers Museum D 1914.66 D1914.67 MAA Cambridge. Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022

Based on the attributes and pūmanawa expected of rangātira, it is possible that the cousins Hikirangi, Haurangi, or Marukawiti were being instructed in the arts of carving, as their descendants and other family members were. It is possible that the hoe puta from The Pitt Rivers Museum (1886.1.1157) may have been made by one of the cousins Hikirangi, Haurangi, or Marukawiti. It could potentially have been made by one of the other four taitamariki killed by Cook, and thrown at the HMS Bark Endeavour during the events of Huna — the second day of the collision. The tohunga Matahi Whakataka-Brightwell said that it was most likely a steering paddle or hoe peperu.[360] This hoe is distinct, not simply due to its lack of decoration, but due to its softer and less refined carved features that are not shared with the other more highly refined decorated paddles. The only common carved element it shares with any of the other paddles is the use of an idiosyncratic manaia figure above the blade on the whiti, which is mirrored unusually on a horizontal axis. This feature is only present on the hoe D1914.67 (Cambridge Museum of Anthropology).

Figure 13: Hoe puta, Carved wooden paddle with flat, pointed leaf-shaped blade. Two sections of carving, on the whiti (lower figure) and Reke (top). D 1914.67 MAA Cambridge Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022.

Although Te Muriwai is situated within the locality of Tūranga, the artistic traditions are separate, distinct and independent from the Tūranga style of carving as practiced by Ngāti Kaipoho.[361] Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri is also noted as being 'unlike most other houses of the coast.' [362]The only known Ngai Tāmanuhiri pou that exhibits the usage of the kape design is currently in the Tairāwhiti Museum. It is most likely one of the fragments of painting from the house Tahu Potiki built by Hemi Waaka and Taake Kerekere in 1891.[363] Even this pou bears little resemblance to painted artworks within Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri.[364] Examination of various stylistic attributes identifiers, and other elements on this pou would link this to the artistic traditions of Northern Ngati Kahungunu. This is evidenced by a linear figure, comprising primarily black lines against a white background.[365]

Associate Professor Steve Gibbs has noted that '… neighbouring iwi are also very interested in laying claim to ownership of these taonga tuku iho. This is expected and the most important thing is to be able to listen to the voices as part of learning about them.'[366] However, taonga have whakapapa just like the artists that created them. The specific nature of the style and characteristics of the carvings used to create these taonga also have stories associated with them. Their voice and dialect are as clear as the accounts given by Cook, and Banks. They recognised that a waka came from Tūranga, and that one of the rangātira had met with them previously, and boarded the Endeavour unarmed and with little persuasion. These hoe puta share strong characteristics, and stylistic identifiers, which are more commonly found on taonga of Rongowhakaata origin. Ngāti Kaipoho is a hapū famous for both its carvers and carvings. The whakapapa connections of Hikirangi, Haurangi and Marukawiti to Ngāti Kaipoho, and the

fact that their children were tohunga whakairo leaves little doubt that the hoe puta presented to Cook are of Rongowhakaata origin.

Figure 144: Great North Museum Hancock, C589 and the British Museum, Oc1896.1147, Oc, NZ 150, Oc.5370. 15. Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022.

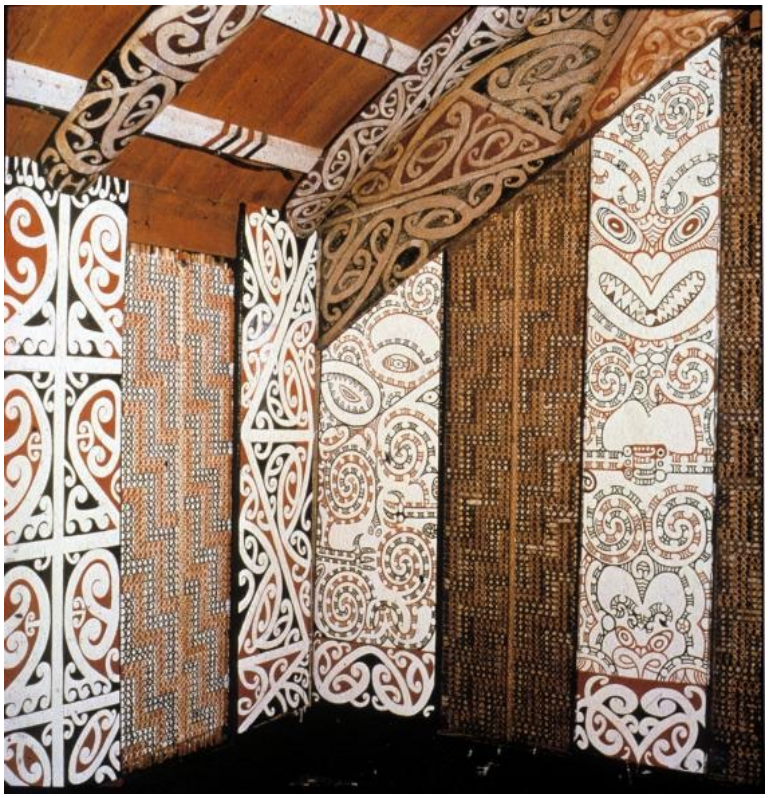

Figure 16 Unknown. Te Poho-o-Rukupō (Manutuke) (1887): Art History Image Database [AHID]. Web. Digitool: PID269546

Figure 16: Detail of poupou in the wharenui Te Hau ki Tūranga showing the Ngau pae, or Mango hokeka notch in Rauru spiral form. Te Hau ki Tūranga, Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 17: Illustrates the similarity and treatment of the Manaia form and tongue between (left) original Pane of the Te Hau ki Tūranga wharenui. (ME024089) Te Papa Tongarewa, and the whiti section of a Hoe (Oc.NZ.150). Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022.

Figure 18: Details of Whiti section of Hoe in Florence Museum showing usage of the ngao pae or mango hokeka notch decorating the eye of the Carving. Kaeppler, 1978, 89.

Figure 19: Whiti of Hoe illustrating the execution of the Taratara a Kae patter, ME014921, Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 18: Section of Poupou from the Manutuke Church 1849 - 63; illustrating usage of the Taratara a Kae pattern. Mead, Sidney. Anthropology Photographic Archive [ANTHPD], Digitool: PID377890. University of Auckland.

Figure 21: The only existing Ngai Tāmanuhiri Ngau pae, or Taratara a kae pattern. Photo courtesy of the author, a trustee of Muriwai Marae.

*Figure 19: Poupou highlighting usage of Taratara a Kae pattern, Te Mana o **Tūranga**, Whakato Marae, photographer and date unknown. 1/2-051454-G, Alexander Turnbull Library.*

Figure 21: Hoe puta in pitau form showing usage of the Mango tipi pattern. British Museum, Oc.5370. Exhibited in Tū te Whaihanga: A Recognition of Creative Genius exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 2019 – 2022.

Figure 204: Te Poho o Rukupō, illustrating usage of the Mango tipi pattern. There is no existing, or comparable Ngai Tāmanuhiri usage of this pattern.

Figure 25: section of Te Kuri a Tuatai showing usage of the pitau/kape pattern combinations and sinuous usage of sinuous negative space. W F Crawford. 18 Sep 1905. Te Kuri a Tuatai Marae. 272 Tairawhiti Museum.

Figure 26: original patterns on Te Mana o Tūranga, illustrating usage of pitau forms as embattling. Unknown, Te Mana o Tūranga, 1900 – 1909. 1691-084, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections

Figure 27: The only existing pou attributed to Ngai Tāmanuhiri usage which shows usage of the kape design. However, this pou is more closely related to the artistic traditions of Te Wairoa. 1976.59 [6725], Exhibited in Toi Tāmanuhiri exhibition, Tairāwhiti Museum 15 December 2013 – 31 March 2014.

Figure 28: Te poho-o-Manutai, Tahaenui, Wairoa region. F.215. Te Papa Tongarewa. Neich, Roger. Painted histories: Early Māori figurative painting. 2011. Auckland University Press, 285.

Figure 29: Te Kaha o Tureia, Whakapau Marae, 'Painting on poutuarongo (Ko Te Maha)' Wairoa.13 February 1976, Neich, Roger, Glyde, Jeremy. MA_CT.000564. Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 3022: Te Kaha o Tureia, Whakapau Marae, Wairoa.'Painting on poutuarongo (Ko Tapuae), Neich, Roger, Glyde, Jeremy. Wairoa. MA_CT.000563. Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 31: Manutūkē church carving attached to Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri. This illustrates the differences between the styles of Ngai Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata. Mead, Sidney Moko. Amo (1970). PID377850. Anthropology Photographic Archive. University of Auckland.

Figure 32:: In terms of their rounded heads, and squat squared bodies. Te Poho o Tāmanuhiri (left) exhibits more commonalities with the carved forms of Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Rakaipaaka. Amo from Manutai Marae, Tahaenui. Neich, Roger, Glyde, Jeremy; MA_CT.000237. Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 33:Manaia form on whiti of hoe kowhaiwhai. D 1914.66, Cambridge Museum of Anthropology.

Figure 34: Ngāi Tāmanuhiri manaia form which bears no resemblance to hoe kowhaiwhai. 'Poho o Tāmanuhiri, Muriwai', Carson-Parker, David, CT.015110. Te Papa Tongarewa.

Te Ara Tukutuku Pungawerewere

During the HMS Bark Endeavour's voyage of discovery, Cook prioritised collecting urgently-needed supplies such as food and water over collecting trinkets and curiosities. However, these rules were relaxed over later voyages.[367] The collections of items acquired by the Endeavour crew included taonga that were occasionally given freely, but also taken by force. Both the hoe kōwhaiwhai, and the botanic specimens are tipuna. My grandmother would tell me that what we put into Papatūānuku, she returns to us. It has only been in more recent times that I have understood the true implications of these words. The colours of the kōwhaiwhai stem from the very earth and iron oxide retrieved from our whenua. Both the plants and taonga formed from iron, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, calcium, and phosphorus, are the chemical building blocks of life, shared with the earth mother Papatūānuku.

The Pākerewhā did not arrive in a vacuum with neutral values. They came with the unstoppable force of a tidal wave and smashed against an immovable object. They brought their pride, prejudices and perspectives of the enlightenment era. These worldviews collided with the people of Tūranga. Each year with the blooming of the kowhai, we are reminded not only of our ancestress Hinehakirirangi and the planting of the kūmara at Manawaru and Araiteuru, but also of the coming of Lt. James Cook. [368] The stories of the collision with the Pākerewhā are now woven into the tukutuku panels of our great ancestors.

The Endeavour crew were constrained by both the preconceptions and limitations of their own society. This applied both to what they chose to observe, and how they represented it.[369] The people of the land looked different from the deck of the HMS Bark Endeavour. They were distorted by the imperialism, which tinted the lenses of their colonial looking-glasses. They saw poverty where there was plenty, and they saw aggression where there were legitimate attempts to communicate. As opposed to patience and understanding, the Endeavour crew displayed aggression, force and supremacy of arms. Any action they took was justified by their own worldviews and philosophies, and any action taken by tangata whenua was seen as recalcitrant, mischievous or underpinned

by maliciousness. When they left, they took away a view of what they believed were 'warlike' or dangerous people whose only occupation is war. [370] These experiences reveal the intersection between different cultural understandings and highlight sources of disquiet, from which Eurocentric racial stereotypes and characterisations emerged. Through repetition and corroboration amongst themselves, this has become a self-evident truth.[371]

Banks recorded that the crew were taunted across the water by a waka '*Haere mai, haere mai, haere ki uta hei patu-patu ake'* (Come here, come here, come on shore to be patu-patued)[372] Although this was not explicitly mentioned during their time in Tūranga, their perspective was formed by the experiences. This was later reimagined by Charles Darwin as something completely different:

> 'I should think a more warlike race of inhabitants could not be found in any part of the world than the New Zealanders. Their conduct on first seeing a ship, as described by Captain Cook, strongly illustrates this: the act of throwing volleys of stones at so great and novel an object, and their defiance of "Come on shore and we will kill and eat you all," shows uncommon boldness. This warlike spirit is evident in many of their customs, and even in their smallest actions.'[373]

These interpretations of Māori people were based upon spurious encounters, from unnamed individuals. These were distorted due to the fanciful imagination of observations by the Endeavour crew and were taken away, distorted, and distorted again.[374]

Captain James Cook has been called a 'barbarian, a racist, an invader, a white supremacist, a syphilitic destroyer of indigenous cultures[375] and the crew can also be examined through the same lens as their Captain being 'barely civilised, turbulent, 'murderous, thieving, kidnapping, diseased pirate[s].'[376] Cooks' behaviour in consequent voyages became even more savage. The historian Beaglehole, whose intense loyalty to his hero was so great that he never generally interpreted Cook's actions as biased, unfair, or wrong; questioned whether Cook should have been present on the third voyage at all.[377] As American writer Mark Twain once posited with regard to the death of Cook at

Kealakekua Bay: ‘Plain unvarnished history takes the romance out of Captain Cook's assassination and renders a deliberate verdict of justifiable homicide. Wherever he went among the islands, he was cordially received and welcomed by the inhabitants, and his ships lavishly supplied with all manner of food. He returned these kindnesses with insult and ill-treatment.’[378]

There are feelings of pain and grief shared across Te Ao Māori, and the other places of the world that also collided with Cook. It is clear that the actions of the rangātira of Rongowhakaata that departed to Hohou ai te Rongo (establish the peace of Rongo) acted to cease hostilities, with their gift of paddles and a tatau pounamu to bind the peace. In return, they received tapa cloth. However, there are tikanga associated with gifts. They are given with the understanding that they will bind relationships, and that one day they will be returned. These taonga became separated from their people and the loving hands of our ancestors that cherished them. These were not simply trinkets, they were a part of ourselves. These taonga became shrouded in darkness and their life-force was hidden in a state of mauri-noho. These were no longer our venerated ancestors; they were reduced to common material objects and curiosities. It was an extraordinary achievement to return the natural history and plant specimens to Ingarangi from Aotearoa, including priceless kākahu and other treasured ethnographic or botanic importance. But it must be impressed that militarism dominated the voyage of the HMS Bark Endeavour, and science was often a secondary occupation.

Regardless of the means of their acquisition, these collections still provide a treasure-trove of information forming a comprehensive accumulation of eighteenth-century artistic creations. These have, to some extent, provided an insurance policy, which has preserved small fragments of our pre-European artistic traditions and forms. To reiterate the words of Laura Clarke, the former British High Commissioner to New Zealand: ‘We cannot change the past, but we can learn from it and, equipped with that knowledge, begin to chart a way forward.’[379] Rongowhakaata are renowned as artistic innovators and a forward-focused people. We have the opportunity to promote cultural activities,

awareness and understanding. We can breathe life back into our taonga. We can share our unique stories, narratives and artistic practices of mahi raranga, ngā toi whakairo and waiata. We possess the ability to promote partnership and cultural tourism between Rongowhakaata as an indigenous nation and international institutions and museums; such as Britain, the United States of America, Italy, Germany, Sweden, and other places. These relationships have the capacity not only to activate and engage with our ancestral taonga, but to act as intercontinental bridges between the people of the world.

A tātou kōrero hoki rā e auē I E nui o rangi rā. He mea kia mahue ē auē i. Kā kitea rikiriki e. Kā ngaro hoki rā e auē. Ngā waha ki, ngā hautū o te waka i hoea ai te moana, hei whakapuru atu rā e auē i. Mō ngā tai kino, mō ngā tai marangāi, Ka puta ki waho rā. Haere mai rā tātou e auē I, Kī tau nei kia marewa i te ata. I maunu atu ai e auē I, Te taniwha i tōna rua, i. [380]	Of the Speeches made, in greater times, I am left bereft watching everything smashed to pieces. Gone forever are the orators, the leaders of the waka that once paddled the oceans and plugged up the tempestuous tides and escaped. Let us gather together to recite the lay of Marewa-i-te-ata. Which drew out the Taniwha from its pit.

PAI MĀRIRE.

Glossary

Ahi kaa roa	domestic fire, signifying continuous occupation
Āhua	form, appearance.
Ariki	a paramount chief, the eldest child of a senior family who performs the role of an ariki.
Ariki Tapairu	a paramount chief, the eldest daughter of a senior family who performs the role of an ariki.
Atua	supernatural or divine being, unknown phenomena
Hapū	clan, kinship group, small tribe, a social or political unit comprised of a number of whanau.
Haka	posture dance.
Haka peruperu	ritual war dance.
Iwi	a large tribe or group of people with claims to a common ancestor, or ancestors.
Kahawai	*Arripis trutta* - a fish
Kai	food, agent when used with a noun.
Kaitarai	an artisan or builder who uses an adze.
Kaiwhakairo	an artisan or builder who carves or sculpts.
Kākahu	garments, clothing, cloak.
Kākahu paepaeroa	a finely woven cloak, decorated with a taniko border on the bottom and two sides.
Kape	bulbous, curved kōwhaiwhai pattern with regular indentations.
Koru	a looped or coiled pattern in kōwhaiwhai.
Karakia	ritual incantation.
Kaumātua	the old people, elder, or elders.
Kōkōwai	paint which is made from iron oxide; generally mixed with shark oil.
Kōrero pūrākau	ancestral stories, legends.
Kōwhaiwhai	painted patterns.
Mana	authority, power, prestige.
Manaia	a carving design, rendered in profile.
Maramataka	the lunar calender.
Matakite	a seer, literally means to ‘see faces’.
Mātauranga	knowledge, learning.
Ope taua	armed force, war party.
Paepae	the horizontal threshold of a whare, speakers of tangata whenua during a pōhiri.
Pākati	a generic term for a carved notch, or the act of incising notches.
Pākeha	shortened version of pākehakeha.
Pākehakeha, Pākerewhā.	the Endeavour crew. European, or non-Maori, through analogy, refers to sea foam or driftwood cast from the sea onto the shore.
Pītau	term for koru as applied in kōwhaiwhai.
Pōhiri	invitation or ritual encounter/welcoming.
Rāhui	a temporary ritual prohibition placed on an area
Rangatira	a chief of junior status to an ariki.
Rongo	refers to peace, and also the atua of peace.

Tamariki	a child.
Tangata whenua	people of the land.
Taonga tuku iho	treasured objects which are passed down.
Toa	a warrior.
Tohu	signs, indicators.
Tohunga	priest, adept, expert.
Tipuna	ancestor, or ancestors.
Tukutuku	ornamental latticework, generally used inside wharenui.
Tūranga (carving style)	generally used for the art forms practised in Tūranga, but more specifically to the Hamokorau, or Raharuhi Rukupo styles of carving.
Tūranga	a shortened version of Tūranganui. Refers to all areas designated as Tūranga.
Tūranganui	great Tūranga, generally refers to the surrounding districts of Tūranga.
Tūranganui a Maru	the great standing place of Maru. This name applies to the areas which Pawa walked, from the watersheds to the sea. the name was given by the ancestor Pawa, who dedicated the area to the atua named Maru, to offset claims by Kiwa and Tamatea-arikinui.
Tūranganui a Kiwa	the great standing place of Kiwa. This name applies to the area in which the city of Gisborne is located. This name was given by the ancestor Kiwa, and refers to his time waiting for Pawa, and was given to offset claims by Pawa and Tamatea-arikinui.
Tūranganui a Rua	the great standing place of Ruamatua. generally applied to the Puhi Kaiiti side of the city of Gisborne. But was used by the people of Ngati Kahungunu and other places to refer to Tūranga. This name was given by the ancestor Tamatea-arikinui to offset the claims of Pawa and Kiwa.
Tūranganui a Toi	The great standing place of Toi. A name which was used by the Mataatua people for Tūranga. The ancestor Toi was an important ancestor for most iwi of Aotearoa.
Wāhine	woman, women, wife.
Waiata	song, sing.
Waiata mōteatea	laments.
Waka	canoe.
Waka tētē	fishing canoe.
Waka tīwai	dugout canoe without attached sides.
Whakairo	traditional arts of carving, or sculpting.
Whakapapa	genealogy.
Whare	house.
Wharenui	large house such as a whare tipuna.
Whare puni	a chief's house.
Whare wānanga	a house of learning.

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