JPS

The Journal
of the
Polynesian Society

VOLUME 128 No.2 JUNE 2019

THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY
THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

ŌHĀUA TE RANGI AND RECONCILIATION IN TE UREWERA, 1913–1983

STEVEN WEBSTER
University of Auckland

ABSTRACT: This essay is an ethnohistorical reconstruction of Tūhoe Māori cognatic descent groups (*hapū*) in their struggle to maintain control over ancestral lands centred around the community of Ōhāua te Rangi deep in the Urewera mountains of New Zealand. The famous social anthropologist Raymond Firth happened to visit this community when it was in the middle of these struggles in 1924, documenting one hapū and its settlement with photos. The wider context of his visit serves as a sequel illustrating the continuing interplay of Māori kinship and power in Te Urewera that was examined earlier in this journal, but in the midst of predatory rather than benevolent colonial policies. The earlier policy of 1894–1912 had established Te Urewera as a large statutory reserve under virtual Tūhoe home rule, but the Crown soon subverted the statute and attempted to obtain the entire reserve. While examination of the earlier era was guided by Eric Wolf's theory of kinship, Marshall Sahlins's quite different theory helps to explain an apparent paradox of tatau pounamu, the Tūhoe ideal of reconciliation between kin groups.

Keywords: Tūhoe Māori, kinship, settler colonies, political economy, ethnohistory, assimilation policies, New Zealand

---

I recently completed a detailed ethnohistory of how leaders of Tūhoe, a Māori *iwi* 'tribe' of New Zealand, established their traditional sanctuary as the very large Urewera District Native Reserve (UDNR) under Crown statute and their virtual home rule between 1894 and 1912 (Fig. 1) (Webster 2017, forthcoming; see Shore and Kawharu 2014 on the Crown). In my earlier report to the Waitangi Tribunal (Webster 2004, under contract), I had described how between 1915 and 1926 the Crown betrayed the intentions of the 1896 statute through a predatory purchase campaign and Urewera Consolidation Scheme (UCS) that took 70 percent of their spectacular and rugged reserve and relocated the Tūhoe *pupuri whenua* 'land withholders' to over 200 small blocks scattered throughout what by the 1950s was to become the Urewera National Park (Fig. 2).

These remnants of their sanctuary, a proud history buried in their ancestral lands, lay restlessly for nearly a century. Finally in 2014, confronted by similarly stubborn Tūhoe descendants and Waitangi Tribunal research revealing these and other treaty breaches since the 1860s, the Crown returned

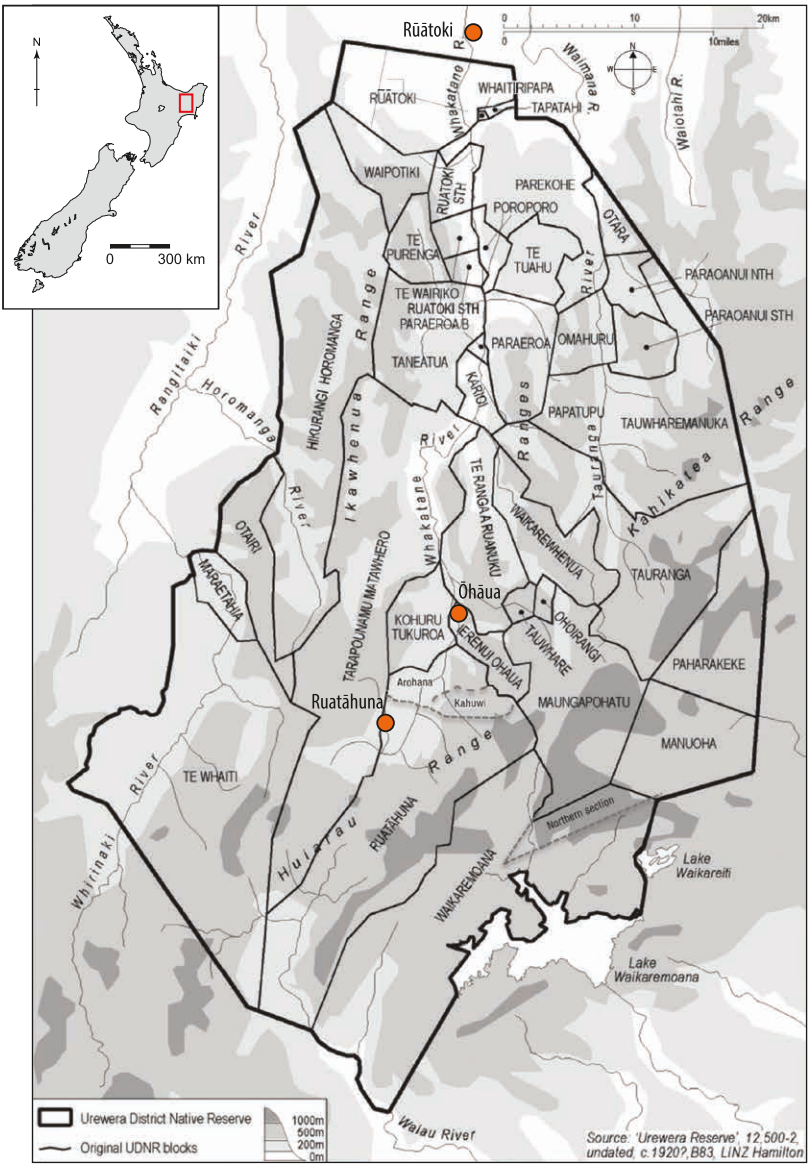

Figure 1. Urewera District Native Reserve showing topography and original blocks (1907). Adapted from "Urewera Reserve", 12,500-2, undated (c. 1920?), B83, held at LINZ, Hamilton, New Zealand.

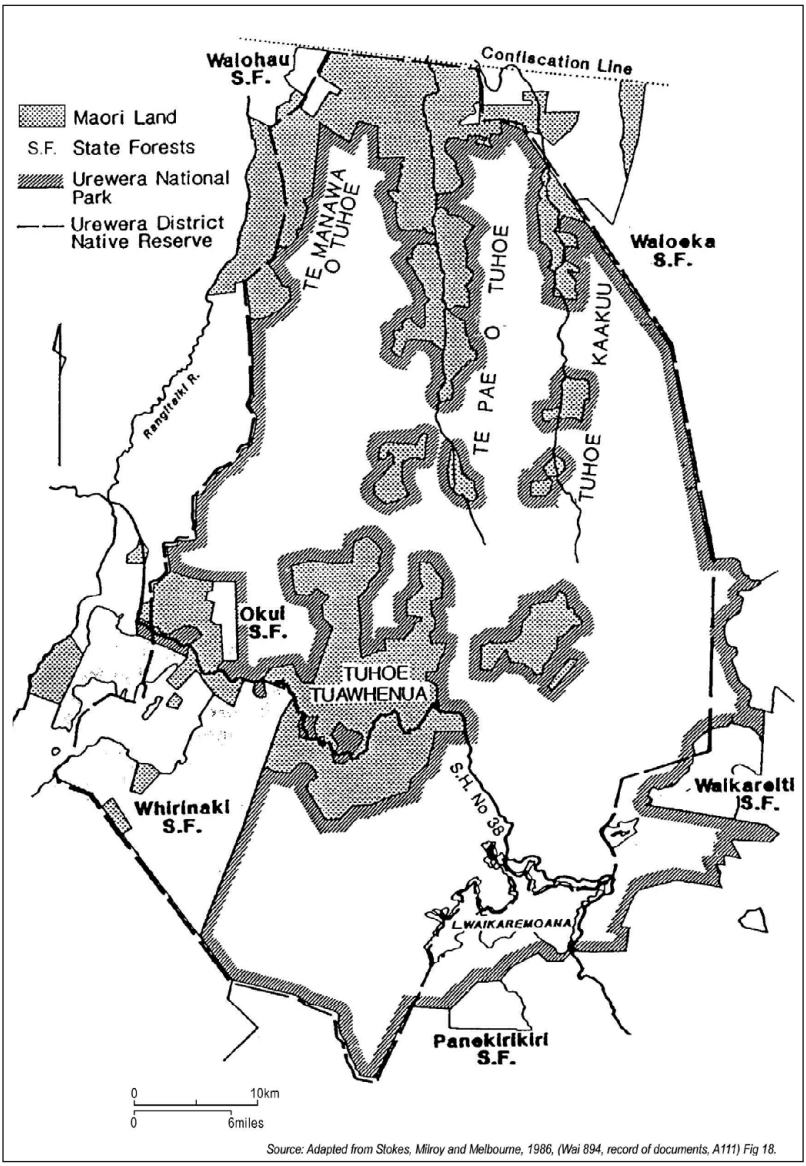

Figure 2. Tūhoe pupuri whenua land rights relocated in the new Crown "A" block under the Urewera Consolidation Scheme 1921–1926. Adapted from Stokes *et al.* (1986: Fig. 18).

control of their sanctuary to the Tūhoe with 50 specific acknowledgements and apologies. Setting a precedent for New Zealand, and even globally for indigenous claims to such a large tract of land, the parliamentary settlement was made under two statutes detailing the transfer of control and support of their future social and economic development (Te Urewera Act 2014; Tūhoe Claims Settlement Act 2014; see also Johnson 2016).

In my 2004 report to the Tribunal regarding the Crown's betrayal of the reserve, I had argued that contrary to the conclusions of other authoritative reports to the Tribunal (Binney 2002; Sissons 2002) the home-rule intentions of the 1896 Act had been followed sincerely by the investigative commission 1899–1903. Unlike the later appeals commission of 1906–7, it was comprised of a majority of influential Tūhoe *rangatira* 'leaders' (five of the seven members) and, for the first two years, chaired by the amateur ethnologist Percy Smith and assisted by another, Elsdon Best, who served as the commission secretary throughout its five years of work. The investigative commission's procedure deferred quite systematically to independent negotiations and decisions of the Tūhoe commissioners and other Tūhoe leaders outside its sessions, routinely reviewing and approving their conclusions and hearing for commission decisions only claims that the Tūhoe brought before them for adjudication. As well as in my 2004 report, I also argued my case for the relative control of the UDNR Commission by the Tūhoe themselves in my later publications (Webster 2010; 2017) and, in more detail, in my ethnohistory of the Tūhoe's establishment of their sanctuary as the UDNR 1894–1913 (Webster forthcoming). As recent histories documenting the continuous resistance of indigenous peoples in settler colonies have pointed out, persistent assumption of their assimilation (or passive victimisation) has often obscured these historical facts (Hill 2004, 2009; Johnson 2016).

However, by 1908 the relatively benevolent colonial policy that had established the UDNR under Tūhoe control began to be reversed, and by 1915 it had become systematically subversive of the 1896 Act (Webster 2004, under contract). Pursuing the thesis of my earlier article in this journal (Webster 2017) and Eric Wolf's kinship theory (Wolf 1982), this essay describes how Tūhoe leaders nevertheless continued to deploy the political-economic power of marriage alliances consolidating a cluster of several *hapū* 'cognatic descent groups' in an effort to stem this reversal of Crown policy. Whereas my earlier essay focused on a hapū cluster controlling the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana amalgamation proposed in 1902 at the southern end of the UDNR, this essay focuses on a hapū cluster controlling the four blocks immediately north of Ruatāhuna proposed in 1902 as the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation (Fig. 1; see also Fig. 8 below). As described in my earlier essay, between 1901 and 1912 leaders of the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster had deployed its kin-based power behind the scenes of the UDNR

Commission and Native Appellate Court to advance land claims against the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana hapū cluster. The present essay describes how and to what extent these two previously antagonistic hapū clusters were able to close ranks against the increasingly predatory strategies of the Crown in its attempt to gain control over their Urewera lands.

This confrontation between the kin-based power of Tūhoe leaders and the capitalist-based power of the Crown happened to coincide with the visit of Raymond Firth, later to become an internationally renowned New Zealand social anthropologist, to the settlement of Ōhāua in 1924, located at the northern end of the Ierenui-Ōhāua block (Fig. 1). There he documented and photographed the buildings and resident members of Ngāti Rongo hapū (Figs 3, 4 and 5). Firth's account of the economic organisation of the Māori, drawing importantly upon this visit, was apparently oblivious to this chaotic and even tragic historical context of Urewera land and the Tūhoe. This reveals his implicit support of the assimilationist assumptions of settler colonies that dominated social anthropology through the 1960s regardless of continuous resistance of indigenous landholders.

In our early years of visiting Te Urewera 1972–86, I and my family navigated in relative innocence the maze of kinship relations laid out in some detail here, simply trying to understand how the many individuals we were meeting were related to each other. My effort since then has been to recover the wider historical context that the Tūhoe have lived but of which many of us remain oblivious. This has led me to understand the particular confrontation described here in terms of *tatau pounamu*,[1] perhaps best translated in this case as the paradoxical but determined reconciliation between antagonistic hapū which, in the face of an overpowering force of colonisation, must repeatedly close ranks generation after generation in the watchful but compassionate shadow of their ancestors.

THE ŌHĀUA TE RANGI HAPŪ CLUSTER AND THE UDNR 1899–1907

The ancestral *kāinga* 'settlement' of Ōhāua was located deep in the heart of "Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe" or the Tūhoe sanctuary by the 1890s, low, old, heavily forested mountain ranges inland from the Bay of Plenty (Fig. 2). By 1908 the whole area had become the Urewera District Native Reserve and by the 1950s the Urewera National Park (Fig. 2), and since 2014 is officially known simply as "Te Urewera". In Figure 1, Ōhāua is located at the northern end of what was the Ierenui-Ōhāua block in 1907. In Figure 2, it is located at the north end of the eastern finger of the large Tuawhenua group of Tūhoe blocks surviving in Urewera National Park. As can be seen best in Figure 1, Ierenui-Ōhāua and surrounding blocks that were closely associated with it straddle the Whakatāne (traditionally, Ōhinemataroa) and Waikare Rivers halfway between the Tūhoe towns of Ruatāhuna and Rūātoki. Ruatāhuna is

in the low but steeply forested mountains of the interior of the old reserve and Rūātoki is at its north end where the river widens toward its coastal floodplains (Webster 2017: Fig. 1). As marked by the "confiscation line" in Figure 2, it is these more arable plains that were taken from the Tūhoe in punitive confiscations following the 1860s land wars, unjustly according to the 2014 Act.

The settlement of Ōhāua has been occasionally occupied by a few Tūhoe but usually deserted since the 1930s. Figures 3, 4 and 5, which will be examined later, show it as it was in 1924 when Firth visited there. After the Crown's relentless purchase campaign and chaotic Urewera Consolidation Scheme 1910–1926, the pupuri whenua, stigmatised by the Crown as "non-sellers", had often radically relocated their preferred ancestral land rights to other locations in order to vacate Crown preemptions or to be near the roads that the Crown promised to build along both the Whakatāne and Tauranga/Waimana rivers. Under Crown pressure to establish small "family farms" on the few lands still available to them, they usually gave up the traditional control of ancestral land by hapū consolidated in the UDNR and attempted to plan relatively small blocks for radically reduced descent groups. However, the roads were never built, and the over

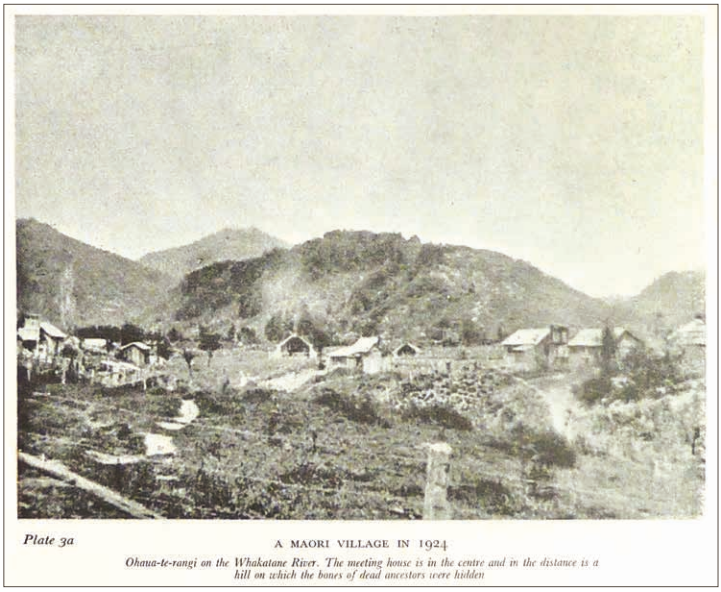

Figure 3. Settlement of Ōhāua in 1924, looking south up the Whakatāne/Ōhinemataroa valley. From Firth ([1929] 1959: facing p. 253).

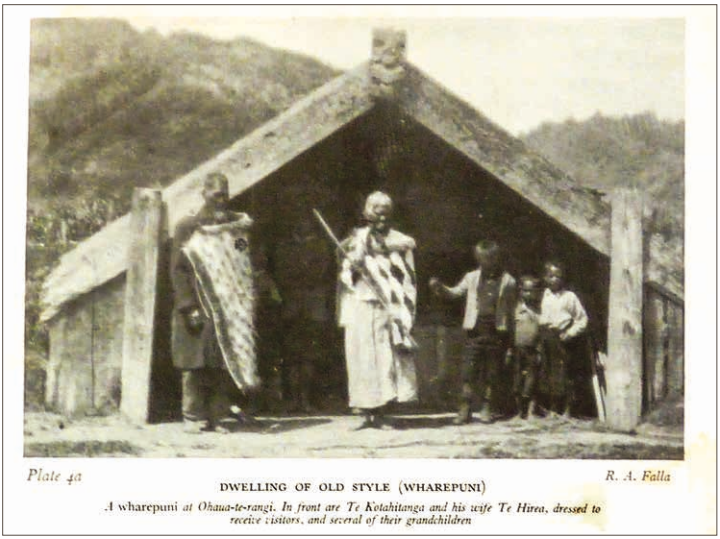

Figure 4. Waewae Te Roau and Te Hirea Pahiri at Ōhāua *wharepuni* 'sleeping house', 1924. From Firth ([1929] 1959: facing p. 284).

Figure 5. Waewae Te Roau with some of Ngāti Rongo hapū in front of Ōhāua *wharenui* 'meetinghouse' Te Poho o Pōtiki, 1924. From Firth ([1929] 1959: facing p. 253).

200 small and often isolated blocks were increasingly unable to support continued occupation without them. By 1930, in the wake of the UCS as well as Tūhoe participation and big losses in World War I, the flu epidemic and the depression, most of the hapū living at Ōhāua for generations had slowly moved out to Rūātoki or Ruatāhuna for schooling and employment.

My previous article described my exploration of hapū clusters as the likely basis of Tūhoe support of a proposed amalgamation of the 34 UDNR blocks into only 10 in 1902, and my reconstruction of an extensive marriage alliance between the hapū of two of the four clusters I examined, one of which I called the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana migrant marriage alliance (Webster 2017: Fig. 4). Following Wolf (1982), I presented these marriage alliances as examples of the deployment of kin-based power between hapū clusters extending their claims against other hapū clusters for control over certain blocks being established with the patronage of the Crown through the UDNR Commission, and argued that Tūhoe leaders themselves probably initiated the proposed amalgamations in order to control the intramural confrontations that establishment of their reserve had precipitated.

A review of the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana migrant marriage alliance is needed here because throughout the establishment of the UDNR it was threatened by Numia Kererū, a leader of Ngāti Rongo, the dominant hapū of the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation. The alliance had been developed since the early 1800s between the long-established Te Urewera hapū of Ruatāhuna led by Te Whenuanui I and migrants to and from the Lake Waikaremoana region resulting from what the Tūhoe call a "conquest" of lands formerly controlled by the Ngāti Kahungunu iwi southeast of Te Urewera (Webster 2017: 162, forthcoming: chap. 6). I argued that this conquest is better understood as an assimilation by intermarriage with friendly Ngāti Ruapani iwi or hapū loosely affiliated as a cluster of Ngāti Kahungunu. By 1898 the migrant marriage alliance was characterised by elaborate intermarriages between five descent groups that had gained through marriage only limited rights in the blocks of the UDNR outside Waikaremoana (probably due to the stigma of immigration or "conquest") but had major influence in Ruatāhuna due to their double marriage with two children of Te Whenuanui I. Judith Binney's correction of the common conflation between Te Whenuanui I, II and III (Binney 2002: 20–23) was indispensible to my untangling of the prolonged confrontation between Numia Kererū of Ngāti Rongo and Te Whenuanui II of Te Urewera hapū and the wider migrant marriage alliance.

It turned out that although Ngāti Rongo had little or no influence in either the Ruatāhuna or the Waikaremoana blocks in 1901, by 1906 Numia Kererū had insinuated his Tamakaimoana hapū allies in Maungapōhatu into the northern section of Waikaremoana, and by 1913 he had taken full control of the Kahuwī part of Manawarū at the coveted northern end of Ruatāhuna just south of Ōhāua te Rangi (Fig. 1) (Webster 2017: 171–74, forthcoming:

chaps. 6–8). Numia's strategy was persistent but ruthless, beginning in 1902 with tactful requests to Te Whenuanui II to recognise the Ngāti Rongo predecessor Kahuwī along with Arohana among the founding ancestors of Ruatāhuna. By 1906 he had subverted rising resistance from the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana migrant marriage alliance and Te Urewera hapū. By 1907 he had instigated a compliant successor to Te Whenuanui II following the latter's accidental death. Finally by 1913, he had entrenched his influence in Arohana as well as full Ngāti Rongo control of Kahuwī by supervising the partition of the entire Ruatāhuna block. In this strategy he had shamed the remnant opposition of the Taratoa cousins, a leading Te Urewera descent group of the migrant marriage alliance, before the Native Appellate Court, while gaining the public admiration of its chief judge.

Although Numia died in 1916, by the time of the Urewera Consolidation Scheme 1921–26 the formally recognised ancestral land rights of the Ōhāua te Rangi and Te Urewera hapū clusters in Kahuwī and Arohana, regardless of their earlier antagonism, had become closely cooperative in Manawarū. As will be described later, they also became the uncompromising centre of resistance to the UCS.

The 1901 survey plan of the four Ōhāua te Rangi blocks proposed for amalgamation in 1902 (Fig. 6) reveals several compromises and confrontations that were underway by that time, later resolved as shown in Figure 1. Below I will describe the hapū cluster that was found to hold dominant rights throughout the four Ōhāua te Rangi blocks by the time the investigative commission had settled these compromises and confrontations in 1903. The following section will then discuss the influence of this hapū cluster on the relocation of Ngāti Rongo and other hapū rights that survived the Crown purchase campaign and consolidation scheme in 1908–26. It will be shown that while the kin-based power of the Ōhāua te Rangi and Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana hapū clusters had been deployed primarily against each other in 1901–7, their closure of ranks thereafter often enabled them to defend the remnants of their lands against the Crown's subversive policies.

Identification of leading descent groups and their intermarriage in the case of the proposed Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster was less striking than in the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana hapū cluster, but nevertheless suggested a marriage alliance across several hapū that was being developed in its early stages by 1903 (Fig. 7). Ngāti Rongo tended to dominate several other hapū in this emerging cluster, and they in turn were allied with hapū dominating adjacent blocks. Although on first analysis these peripheral alliances did not appear to include Te Urewera hapū of the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana alliance, this hapū also turns out to have been implicated in several ways.

Figure 6 is an enlarged portion of the 1901 survey plan 6873 for the UDNR, the most detailed plan I have encountered. Superimposed upon this map (unfortunately obscuring many details) were the outlines of the

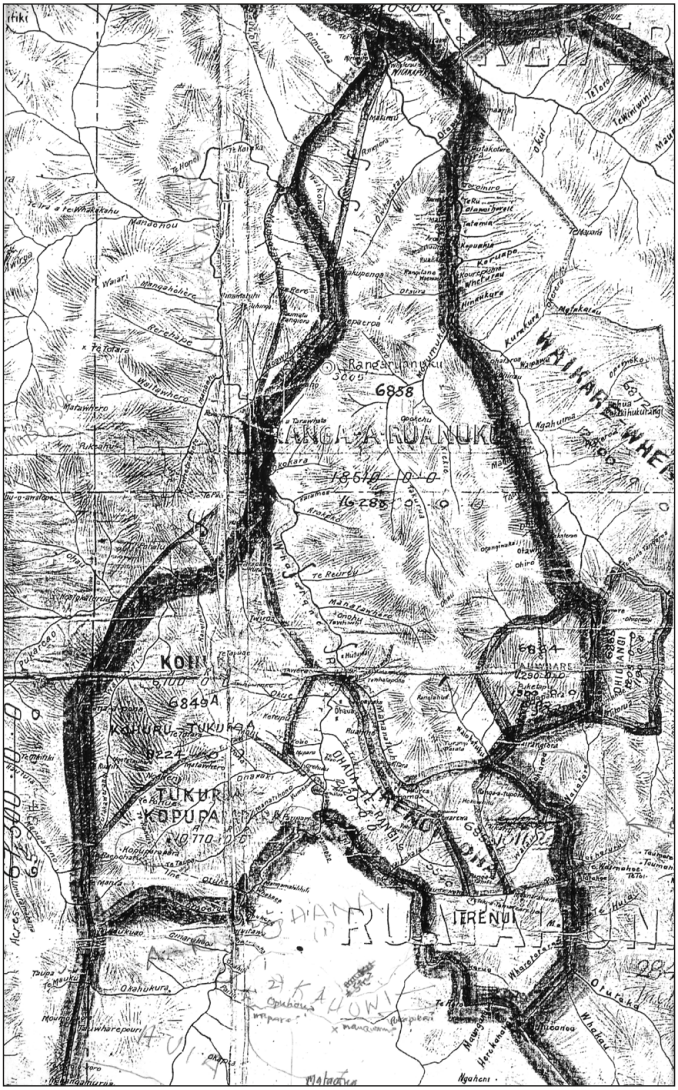

Figure 6. The four blocks of the proposed Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation, May–Oct. 1902 (enlargement of plan amalgamating all 34 UDNR blocks into 10 titles). Note that the village of Ōhāua is at the northern end of Ōhāua te Rangi block. From "Plan as set forth in the UDNR Act 1896", Plan no. 6873, August 1901 (as modified for the 1902 amalgamation proposal), held at LINZ, Hamilton, New Zealand.

amalgamations proposed in 1902. The amalgamation of the Ierenui-Ōhāua, Kohuru-Tukuroa, Te Ranga a Ruanuku and Tauwhare blocks was to be known as "Ōhāua te Rangi", the name by which Ōhāua was first claimed for Ngāti Rongo hapū by Numia Kererū Te Ruakariata before it was merged with Ierenui. Numia later gave evidence that Ōhāua was "named after Rākeinui['s] wife Haueiterangi" (NACMB 1, 1912: 25). The following October 1902, soon after the amalgamation proposal was cancelled, the Ierenui-Ōhāua block was confirmed by the commission in the name of Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Rākei hapū; the Kohuru-Tukuroa block was confirmed in the name of Ngāti Rongo, Ngāti Tamariwai and Ngāti Korokaipapa hapū; Te Ranga a Ruanuku, the largest block, was confirmed in the name of Ngāti Hā hapū, and Tauwhare, the smallest block, was confirmed in the name of Ngāti Mura hapū. On the face of it then, all these hapū together comprised the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster.

Although this official naming of hapū in 1902 reflected recognition of a priority of rights in each block, it also obscured a shifting overlap of rights that extended not only between the four blocks but also beyond their proposed amalgamation. The people of Ngāti Hā are nowadays known as Ngāti Rongo, Ngāti Tāwhaki and Tamakaimoana (Kruger 2004: 29). While neither Ngāti Tāwhaki nor Tamakaimoana hapū were named as holding rights in the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation in 1902, Ngāti Tāwhaki was recognised to hold dominant rights over the adjacent Tarapounamu-Matawhero block to the west, and Tamakaimoana was dominant or influential in all three of the adjacent blocks to the east (Maungapōhatu, Ohiorangi and Waikarewhenua). The latter two blocks were awarded in the name of Ngāi Tama hapū, but this was primarily part of Tamakaimoana hapū (Best [1925] 1973, Vol. I: 223). Indications of confrontations and compromises can be seen in Figure 6 along the western boundary of the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation, probably between Ngāti Rongo hapū and Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū, dominant in the adjacent Tarapounamu-Matawhero amalgamation. Similarly, details of Figure 6 shown along the eastern boundary of Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation reflected closely overlapped rights there, probably with Tamakaimoana hapū, dominant in the Maungapōhatu amalgamation. Although Te Urewera hapū of the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana alliance was nowhere named, as will be described below it was influential throughout the four blocks, albeit subordinate to the named hapū.

The procedure described in my previous article led to the identification of three descent groups with leading shares in at least three of the four blocks of the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation. Figure 7 is arranged to depict these three leading descent groups: from left to right in larger font, descendants of Rongokataia and his wife, Kiwaenga Tamahore; descendants of Ruakariata and his wife, Patu Rangiwhakahaerea; and descendants of Tamaro and his wife, Miriata. As indicated by the extent of their recent shared ancestry as well as their land rights by 1903, these three descent groups were the dominant deployers of kin-based power in the four Ōhāua te Rangi blocks.

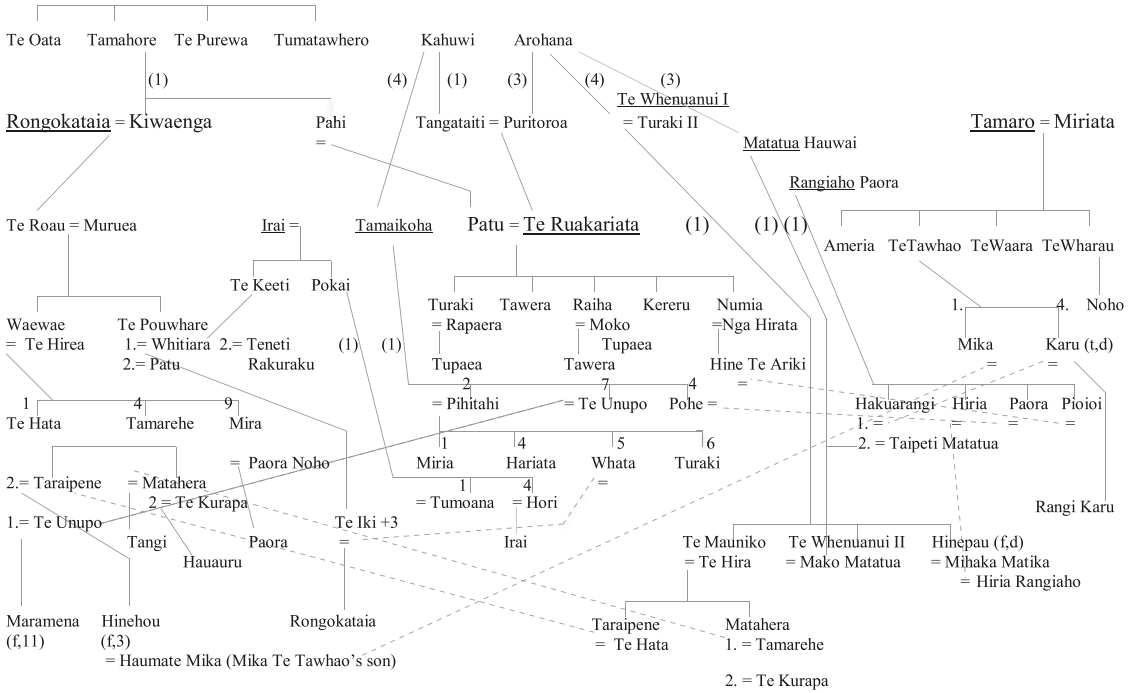

Figure 7. Intermarriage of descent groups of the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster.

1. descent groups identified by underlined elders or predecessors (those of three leading descent groups in larger font);
2. vertical lines denote filiation (parent to child) or descent (if numbered, this denotes the number of generations spanned);
3. horizontal lines connect siblings (only those important to intermarriages shown; numbered by birth order);
4. = denotes marriage to person above or adjacent (numbered by priority if more than one marriage);
5. dotted lines denote the same marriage or person connecting different descent groups;
6. if notable, (f,11) denotes female gender and age; (m,d) denotes male gender and deceased.

The Rongokataia and Ruakariata descent groups include the leading rangatira of Ngāti Rongo hapū at what by the 1930s were called its two "sister marae". These *marae* 'meeting areas with meetinghouses (*wharenui*)' are located at Ōhāua in the original Ōhāua te Rangi block and at Tauarau marae in Rūātoki further down the Whakatāne River at the northern end of the reserve. Both these branches of Ngāti Rongo traced their descent from the ancestor Rongokarae some 12 generations earlier, but through one or another of the four famous war-leader brothers at the top of Figure 7 (Best [1925] 1973, Vol. II, plate 8). These four brothers are memorialised in the four *pou* 'posts' at the entryway of the wharenui at Ōhāua, Te Poho o Pōtiki (Fig. 5). The wharenui at Tauarau in Rūātoki is named after Rongokarae, the founding ancestor common to both branches of Ngāti Rongo. The relative seniority between these two sister marae is apparently ambiguous and, as is the case with many forms of *tuakana* and *teina* 'senior and junior siblings, cousins or ancestors' ranking, jokes are made about it between the two hapū branches.

Searching for evidence of a wider a hapū cluster, I also inserted in Figure 7 the bare outlines of five other descent groups with whom the three leading descent groups had significant intermarriages, although none of these held leading rights in most blocks of this amalgamation and their subaltern or subordinate status relative to the three leading descent groups can be assumed. These five subordinate or minor descent groups are underlined from left to right as the Irai, Tamaikoha, Te Whenuanui I, Matatua and Rangiaho groups.

As well as depicting significant marriage alliances within the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster, my choice of the five subordinate or minor descent groups inserted in Figure 7 reflect overlap with the descendants of Arohana and Kahuwī as laid out by 1912 to support Numia Kererū's claim for Ngāti Rongo hapū against Te Urewera hapū for Manawarū at the northern end of Ruatāhuna block (Webster 2017: Fig. 5). Tamaikoha, Te Ruakariata, Te Whenuanui I and Matatua Hauwai (from left to right in Figure 7) appear in both genealogies. The comparison also revealed the significance of *two* double marriages in Te Whenuanui I's line. The first double marriage was between his children Te Haka and Hinepau and the migrant marriage alliance cousins Mako Matatua and Mihaka Matika, and the second was between his *mātāmua* 'first-born' daughter Te Mauniko's two daughters, Taraipene and Matahera, and Waewae Te Roau's two sons, Te Hata and Tamarehe.

While the first double marriage had consolidated the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana migrant marriage alliance with Te Urewera hapū, the second had apparently established an alliance between Te Urewera hapū and Ngāti Rongo hapū, which by 1902 was nevertheless confronting Te Whenuanui II, Te Urewera hapū and the migrant marriage alliance on both its Ruatāhuna and Waikaremoana fronts. As will be described later, marriages becoming

apparent in Figure 7 revealed still further unanticipated affiliations between Te Urewera hapū and its Ngāti Rongo antagonist, certainly by the 1950s but even in 1903 in the midst of these confrontations.

The double marriage between Waewae's two sons and Te Whenuanui I's two mātāmua granddaughters probably occurred in the 1890s. If this is seen as an alliance between the Rongokataia branch of Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū, the most significant alliance in Ngāti Rongo's Ruakariata descent group was the double marriage with the Tauranga-Waimana River branch of Te Urewera hapū led by the famous war leader Tamaikoha (Fig. 7) (Webster 2010, forthcoming: chap. 4). Including Te Unupo's first child by mātāmua Te Hata Waewae, these marriages produced 12 children.

The complex intermarriages of the Irai descent group can also be followed in Figure 7, marking closer alliance between the two branches of Ngāti Rongo hapū but apparently none with Te Urewera hapū. Marriage of Irai Paraheka's three grandchildren into the Ruakariata as well as the Rongokataia leading descent groups appears to have been quite a coup for his line. His son Pokai's wife Rakapa Mohi's strong shares in three blocks of the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation were the only source of his grandsons Tumoana and Hori's rights there. The Irai alliance can even be seen as a triple marriage alliance because Miria and Hariata Tupaea's younger sister Whata soon married Te Pouwhare and Whitiara's mātāmua son, Te Iki.

The other four descent groups depicted in Figure 7 because of significant marriages with the three leading descent groups (Tamaikoha, Te Whenuanui I, Matatua and Rangiaho) all turn out to be closely affiliated with Te Urewera hapū by 1903. The often double marriages between siblings or cousins of the Te Whenuanui and Tamaikoha branches of Te Urewera can be seen in terms of their role in allying the Rongokataia and Ruakariata branches of Ngāti Rongo hapū indirectly. Similarly, the line from Matatua Hauwai was affiliated with Te Urewera hapū of Ruatāhuna as one of the five closely intermarried descent groups of the Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana migrant marriage alliance, as well as by marriage of his daughter Mako to Te Whenuanui II (Fig. 7). Matatua's descent from Arohana was furthermore through his mother Hinepoto, the source of Te Urewera's leading rights in Ruatāhuna and also the mātāmua line from Arohana (Webster 2017: 159). It furthermore turns out that Rangiaho Paora and his children were leading descendants of Te Urewera hapū, and indeed were tuakana or senior, in ancestral birth order, to Te Whenuanui I's line if they choose to affiliate with that hapū (Best [1925] 1973, Vol. II, plate 8: 1–2). As can be seen in Figure 7, Rangiaho's four children appear to have been married strategically into every descent group of the Ōhāua te Rangi amalgamation except the Rongokataia branch of Ngāti Rongo. Most importantly as one of the marriages between Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo, Rangiaho's youngest son, Pioioi, was married to Hine te Ariki, the mātāmua daughter of Numia Kererū Te Ruakariata.

It can be concluded that by the time Tūhoe had established their sanctuary as the Urewera District Native Reserve in 1907, the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster was in the process of consolidation throughout its four blocks, and that regardless of Ngāti Rongo's rising confrontation with Te Urewera hapū in Ruatāhuna and Waikaremoana blocks immediately to the south, at least indirect alliances were being established between these same two hapū in the Ōhāua te Rangi blocks. What had become of these alliances by the time the Crown had dismantled the reserve in its purchase campaign and the Urewera Consolidation Scheme?

THE ŌHĀUA TE RANGI BLOCKS IN THE CROWN'S BETRAYAL OF THE UDNR 1908–1921

This is the chaotic era that I sought to clarify in my report to the Waitangi Tribunal (Webster 2004, under contract). My report also examined the preceding Crown purchase campaign that persisted from 1908 to 1921 and left both the Crown and Tūhoe in a predicament that was thought best resolved by the 1921–26 consolidation scheme. The whole era 1908–26 was, objectively, the Crown's betrayal or at least subversion of the UDNR, but the policies were more sympathetically seen by some of both parties of the time as intended to assist assimilation of so-called "primitive" Māori with the aim of effecting "modernity". In any case, the resulting chaos was compounded by the global crisis of war, flu epidemic and post-war euphoria. While the establishment of the UDNR exemplified Tūhoe deployment of kin-based power with the passive patronage of the Crown, its betrayal exemplified the Crown's power (and that of opportunist Tūhoe) "to break through the bounds of the kinship order" foreseen by Wolf (Webster 2017: 164–77). Nor can the subversion be stereotyped as Māori victims on the one hand and *Pākehā* 'European settler' oppressors on the other.

The UDNR started to come under threat in 1908, less than a year after it had finally been statutorily established. The previously benevolent assimilationist policy toward Māori became more forceful and, perhaps guided by the "enlightened" colonial policy of indirect rule (Crowder 1964), by 1910 Apirana Ngata was being used to facilitate the new Crown strategy. Seddon had died, his "half-caste" Native Minister "Timi" Carroll had been replaced by William Herries and Prime Minister Joseph Ward met with the Tūhoe prophet Rua Kenana to discuss the UDNR. Meanwhile, the UDNR Komiti Nui (General Committee) was elected by UDNR block committee representatives and, chaired by Numia Kererū, purged Rua's followers from among its members. Rua Kenana's determination to sell his followers' shares in the UDNR to develop his commune in Maungapōhatu had been recognised by the government as an opportunity to break down the Komiti Nui's effective use of its home-rule powers to resist land sales under the cover of short-term leases (Webster 1984–85). Apirana Ngata's rise to influence

in Parliament was bolstered in 1910 by his intervention in the Komiti Nui to force the inclusion of Rua Kenana's followers. Although I think I was the first to report Ngata's "breaking" of the Komiti Nui in 1910, Judith Binney's later account (2002: 442–45) of his subversive role in the Crown's purchase campaign supports my assessment.

Numia Kererū Te Ruakariata died in 1916, unable to stem the Crown's strategy, especially as it systematically circumvented the 1896 statute and the Komiti Nui by seeking out and dealing with individuals in vulnerable or tempting situations (Webster 2004: 143–212, under contract). After 1910 the Crown purchase campaign intensified by approaching individual Tūhoe and treating their shares, which had been intended by the 1896 Act to be electoral rights, as if they were shares of ownership in land instead, thereby purchasing in bad faith if not illegally under that act. A decade later, Apirana Ngata's political ambition was capped by his rapid organisation and supervision of the Urewera Consolidation Scheme in 1921, the repeal of the UDNR Act the following year, and the Crown's acquisition of 70 percent of the reserve that it had purchased piecemeal as individual shareholdings held in common throughout the previous decade, covering up possible illegalities with retrospective legislation.

The predatory purchase campaign that had been organised when sales by Rua's followers began to slow found itself confronted in 1918 by increasingly organised pupuri whenua preventing the Crown from acquiring all the shares in any one of the 34 blocks of the reserve. Petitions from Tūhoe requesting relief from the campaign in order to develop agricultural production in their reserve were ignored, and implicitly accusatory lists of "non-sellers" were published and circulated instead. However, the government was becoming aware of its predicament: the shares it had obtained, although often the majority in a block (especially in the Tauranga-Waimana valley, where Rua's followers predominated), were held in common with the pupuri whenua in "every part" of every block (according to the Solicitor General) and separable from them only by outright expropriation by Parliament or by laboriously pressing partition orders for each block through the distrusted Native Land Court. Alarmingly for the government, despite unusual losses in the war, the flu epidemic and poverty, through a higher birth rate than mortality rate the number of Tūhoe "non-sellers" had actually become greater than that of the original owners of the reserve.

Ngata's innovative consolidation plans were intended to gather together Māori land shares fragmented by successions and alienations through the Native Land Court so that they could be economically farmed (or sold) by their Māori owners. However, by 1921 this plan was mobilised by the government for the opposite purpose in the Urewera Consolidation Scheme: to consolidate *the Crown's* scattered purchases for its own goals of Pākehā

'European' settlement, mining, forestry, scenic conservation and moving the troublesome Tūhoe onto the labour market. Native Minister Coates confidentially reassured the Minister of Lands that the "underlying principle of consolidation of [Māori land] interests is the extinction of existing titles and the substitution of another form which knows no more of ancestral rights to particular portions of land" (Webster 2004: 223, citing O'Malley 1996: 100). Furthermore, Ngata himself was used to organise the scheme in a three-week *hui* 'meeting' gathering all pupuri whenua or their representatives at Tauarau marae in Rūātoki in August 1921. He apparently gained the confidence of most Tūhoe in closed negotiation sessions and agreements that were not recorded but later became controversial.

Ironically, the only accurate source regarding the size and relocation of pupuri whenua consolidated shares in the old UDNR is the survey plan of UCS blocks and detailed but chaotic accounting compiled near the end of the scheme in 1925–26 (UCMB 2A: 203–18; Webster 2004: 316–48, Map 10). Figure 8 is an expanded portion of Map 11 from Webster 2004 (p. 342), which overlays the new (UCS) blocks on the original (UDNR) blocks shown in Figure1. Along with repealing the 1896 Act, the 1921 scheme apparently intended to expunge all such records of the UDNR, supporting Coates's intention of a result that "knows no more of ancestral rights to particular portions of land".

The compilation of information on the new Urewera Consolidation Scheme blocks cited above (Table 1, Fig. 8) tabulated consolidated shares, gross area, value and equivalent area deducted for roading, cost and equivalent area deducted for survey, net area, survey plan number and date of final approval (usually unsigned) for each of 232 blocks (including some small *urupā* 'graveyards', school reserves and *papakāinga* 'homesteads'). The piecemeal deduction of an average of 40 percent of the gross area of each block was ambiguous and perhaps never made clear to most Tūhoe (Webster 2004: 263–67, under contract). These large deductions *in land* were taken from *each* block for roading (which was never built) and survey (which, if the predicament resolved by consolidation had been admitted by the Crown to be its own predicament rather than the Tūhoe's, would have been for the Crown to pay).

Throughout the UDNR the result of this often unanticipated reduction of each block obviously compromised the feasibility of the small-farming ideal. Moreover, especially in the upper Whakatāne River basin, overcrowding of the relocated pupuri whenua blocks was aggravated by two developments: refugees from the scheme's compulsory evacuation of Waikaremoana and most of Te Whaiti blocks, and the UCS commission's reaction to the rising influence of the Apitihana ('oppositionist') movement refusing cooperation with the scheme and centred in Manawarū (Webster 2004: 130–40, 290–316, 456–65, 554–96, under contract; O'Malley 1996). Many of the refugees from

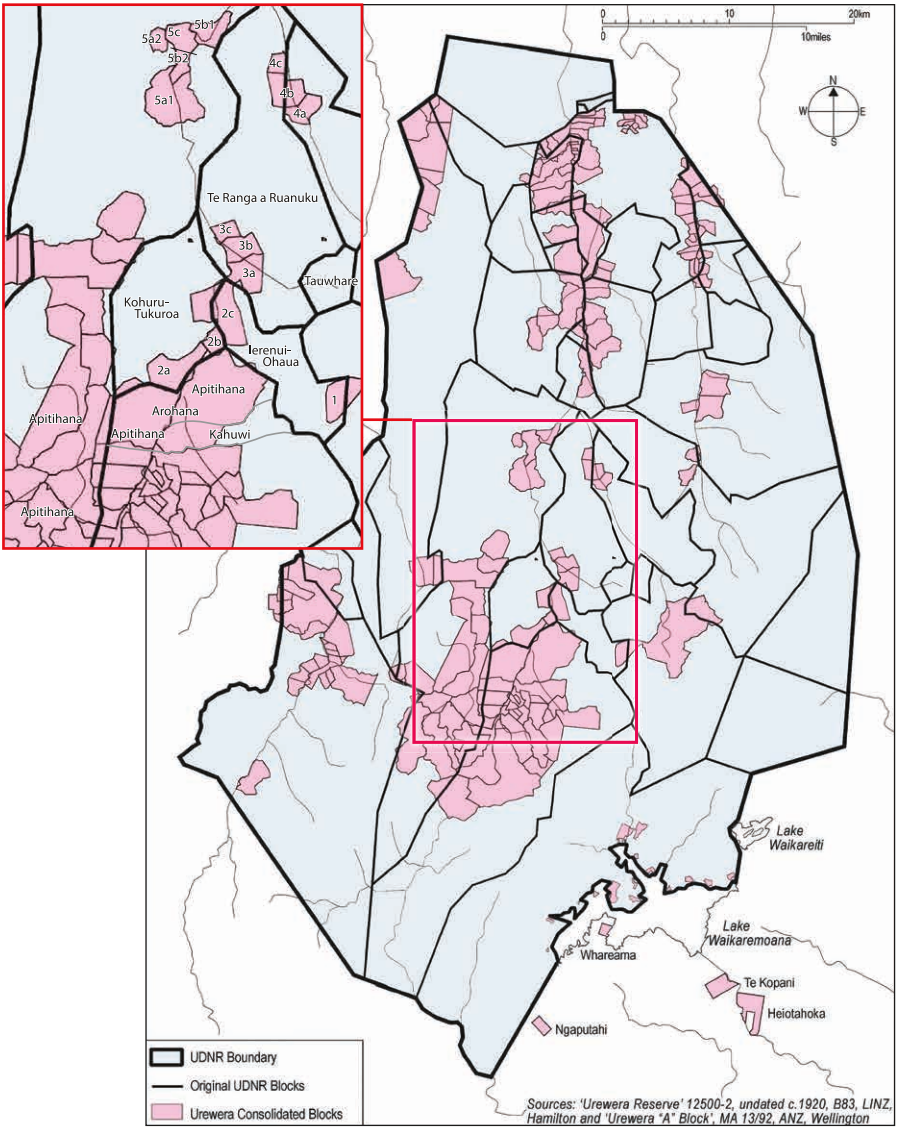

Figure 8. Pupuri whenua (UCS) blocks relocated in Ōhāua te Rangi and nearby UDNR blocks by 1926. All locations approximate, including Manawarū (Kahuwī and Arohana). Adapted from Webster (2004: Map 11, p. 342). See Table 1 as a key to the blocks.

Table 1. Key to UCS blocks in Figure 8.

1.	Kakewahine block: 1,007 acres reduced to 624; leading contributors Poniwahio, Wakaunua; Tamakaimoana or Ngāti Hā hapū.
2a.	Houhi block: 1,192 acres reduced to 715; leading contributor Te Amo Kokouri; Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo hapū.
2b.	Paripari block: 155 acres reduced to 100; leading contributors Waewae, Taratoa, Tangira; Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū.
2c.	Ruahine block: 2,138 acres reduced to 1,234; leading contributor Waewae; Ngāti Rongo, Ngāti Tāwhaki and Te Urewera hapū.
3a.	Raketihau block: 900 acres reduced to 615; leading contributors Te Wao, Pareihe; Te Urewera hapū.
3b.	Tutu block: 528 acres reduced to 326; leading contributors Wharekiri, Matahera; Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū.
3c.	Taumapou block: 296 acres reduced to 178; leading contributors Putiputi, Heurea; Ngāti Tāwhaki and Te Urewera hapū.
4a.	Totoramau block: 713 acres reduced to 443; leading contributors Taihakoa, Wirimu; Ngāti Tāwhaki, Te Urewera and Tamakaimoana hapū.
4b.	Pakihi block: 893 acres reduced to 548; leading contributors Putiputi, Hori, Tahuri; Ngāti Tāwhaki and Tamakaimoana hapū.
4c.	Korouanui block: 227 acres (including part of 90 from Ruahine) reduced to 153; contributors Wharekiri and son Hieke; Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū.
5a.	Te Honoi block: 2,975 acres reduced to 1,533; leading contributors Tangohau, Moihi; Ngāti Tāwhaki, Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo hapū.
5b.	Marumaru block: 1,263 acres reduced to 652; leading contributors Motoi, Matioro; probably Ngāti Tāwhaki and Te Urewera hapū.
5c.	Uruohapopo block: 718 acres reduced to 411; leading contributors Peka and Tame, perhaps Tangohau relatives; hapū affiliations unclear.

Te Whaiti as well as Waikaremoana had their shares relocated in the upper Whakatāne River valley, and many of them joined or actively supported the Apitihana (Webster under contract: chap. 9). Finding the Apitihana intransigent, UCS commissioners punished them by refusing access to purchase records that would facilitate their independent negotiation with other pupuri whenua groups cooperating with the commissioners as well as prioritise relative rights between different Apitihana groups. Especially in the upper Whakatāne River valley the divisive and confusing results of these two UCS policies continue to arouse antagonisms between contemporary Tūhoe.

The UCS commissioners furthermore attempted to weaken the Apitihana by splitting its loyalties. They recruited what they saw as supporters of the scheme "from Rūātoki" to confront them in the Ruatāhuna hearing of April 1923 (Webster 2004: 563–64, 568–79, 592–94, under contract: chap. 9). The Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster was probably often caught in the middle of these ambiguities. Among what the commissioners perhaps naively assumed to be UCS supporters were Te Hata Waewae, Te Pouwhare Waewae, Tawera Moko, Paora Noho, Taihakoa Poniwahio and Wiremu Motoi. The first three of these were leaders of Ngāti Rongo, and Paora was a Te Urewera hapū leader married to a Waewae sister (Fig. 7). Taihakoa Poniwahio was prominent in Tamakaimoana hapū and probably a key influence in relocation of the new blocks in the Te Ranga a Ruanuku–Waikare River area, and Wiremu Motoi was prominent in Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū and probably an important influence in relocation of the new blocks in the Hanamahihi-Uruohapopo area (Fig. 8, Table 1, UCS block groups 4 and 5, respectively). Some of these "supporters" ignored the commissioners' invitation and did not attend the confrontation with the Apitihana in Ruatāhuna, and others may have had the commissioners fooled or were "playing to both sides". Nevertheless, Te Hata's, Poniwahio's and Tawera's criticisms of the Apitihana were clearly hostile, probably putting some of their own descent groups in difficult positions and even splitting their own hapū. All were leaders of consolidation groups holding large shares that were finally strategically relocated in many of the new blocks. They themselves finally relocated their own shares to Kawekawe, Waikirikiri and Waiharuru blocks in the Rūātoki vicinity.

What were the results of these converging pressures on the Ōhāua te Rangi pupuri whenua's relocation of their surviving UDNR land rights? It is difficult to determine the proportion of shares retained by any group of pupuri whenua because the government's own reports were contradictory as well as misleading (Webster 2004: 247–71, Maps 5, 6, 7, 13, under contract). A rough estimate of shares retained by the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster by 1921 would be as follows: (i) 60 percent in Ierenui-Ōhāua block, (ii) 50 percent in Kohuru-Tukuroa block, (iii) 30 percent in Te Ranga a Ruanuku block, and (iv) 40 percent in Tauwhare block. In blocks surrounding the Ōhāua te Rangi blocks the rough proportion of shares still held by pupuri whenua was similar: to its east, about 50 percent was retained in Maungapōhatu and 30 percent in Ohiorangi and Waikarewhenua blocks; to its west, about 40 percent was retained in Tarapounamu-Matawhero block. To the south in Ruatāhuna's five partitions, the proportion of shares retained by pupuri whenua was much higher, averaging 75 percent primarily because purchasing had been delayed by the misplacement of the 1912–13 partition order (Webster 2004: 116–30, under contract: chap. 9).

However, fully 81 percent had been retained in the Arohana and Kahuwī partitions of Manawarū immediately south of the Ōhāua te Rangi blocks. This relatively high proportion was probably due to the leadership of Te Amo Kokouri, his son Wharepouri, Pineere (Pomare) Hori and Matamua Whakamoe, who by 1923 had emerged as leaders of the Apitihana movement steadfastly refusing cooperation with the consolidation scheme (Webster 2004: 130–40, under contract: chap. 9). It is also significant that although all four leaders were primarily affiliated with Te Urewera hapū, Te Amo was a key ally of Numia Kererū in his strategy to gain control of Kahuwī for Ngāti Rongo, and Pineere and Matamua were leading members of the migrant marriage alliance that had supported Te Whenuanui II's resistance against Numia (Webster under contract: chap. 9). This closing of ranks between the opposing sides of the confrontation over northern Ruatāhuna and northern Waikaremoana reveals the rising sense of urgency in the Apitihana resistance to the UCS.

Despite all these adverse circumstances, it turns out that the stronghold of Apitihana resistance to the UCS were the pupuri whenua of Arohana and Kahuwī, the partition of Manawarū finally achieved by Numia in 1913 (Fig. 8). Along with leaders of the migrant marriage alliance and refugees from the evacuation of Waikaremoana, it was Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera, the same two hapū that had fought each other for control of these areas 1902–13, who had most steadfastly closed their ranks against the consolidation scheme. Surprisingly (and perhaps only to avoid intervention by the Native Ministry), in 1925 the UCS commissioners finally deferred to these leaders in their decision that the Apitihana groups in Ruatāhuna 1 and 2 (Arohana and Kahuwī, respectively) would remain joined in their preferred area east of the Whakatāne River in Manawarū, including all of Arohana and most of Kahuwī. Their new block there would also be coextensive with the part to the west of the river, which was to stay with the Apitihana supporters of Ruatāhuna 3, Huiarau (Webster 2004: 569, under contract; UCMB 2A: 178–79).

The general results of these conflicting factors for the Ōhāua te Rangi hapū cluster can best be seen in Figure 8 and Table 1. The radical 40 percent deductions and anticipation of a road that was never built, aggravated by inclusion of refugees and the divisive strategy of the UCS commissioners against the Apitihana on the one hand and the loyalties of the Apitihana movement on the other, resulted in relatively small blocks widely scattered throughout and beyond the four blocks that had been entirely controlled by this hapū cluster in 1907. Considering the solidarity of some hapū of the cluster (and especially Ngāti Rongo) with the stronghold of the Apitihana movement in adjacent Manawarū, many of their shares probably ended up in ("thrown in with", to quote a contemporary leader) the catch-all Apitihana block lists rather than in the new blocks established in or near the four original Ōhāua te Rangi blocks.

TATAU POUNAMU: ENDURING PEACE?

Given the fraught historical background outlined above, what can be said of Firth's visit in 1924 to the settlements of Ōhāua and Mātaatua near the conclusion of the UCS? What more can be seen in his photos (Figs 3, 4, and 5)? What can be made of the apparent paradox that despite sustained confrontation between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū in this area at least until 1913, their solidarity there became the anchor of the Apitihana movement by 1923?

The settlement of Ōhāua was probably central to this paradox. Waewae Te Roau was the Ngāti Rongo rangatira who had hosted Firth (see Fig. 7). Figure 5 shows him standing with his wife, Te Hirea Pahiri (of Ngāti Tāwhaki hapū), and probably great-grandchildren in front of their Ōhāua *wharepuni* 'sleeping house'. Figure 6 shows him probably with some of the Rongokataia branch of Ngāti Rongo hapū in front of Te Poho o Pōtiki, the Ōhāua wharenui. (The frontispiece of Firth's classic work, not included here, also displays Waewae holding a birding spear in front of Te Poho o Pōtiki.) In Figure 4 I recognised, from our visits in the 1970–80s, the familiar landscape behind the old village of Ōhāua and noted that there was already no sign of most of the buildings that were there in 1924. However, beyond the array of *kāuta* 'cooking houses' in the middle ground of the photo, one can glimpse the old wharenui, Te Poho o Pōtiki, to the east and the old wharepuni to its west; by 1983, while the former had been restored, no sign of the latter was left. Another of Firth's photos not included here shows another view of the wharenui in the background, with food-storage gourds and implements (and an unidentified person, perhaps Firth himself) in the foreground ([1929] 1959: plate 9b, facing p. 349). Excitingly, over 50 years after Firth had published the photos in his classic work, I was able to correspond with the aging author in England and relay copies of some of his original field notes (mainly on "material culture") to the descendants of his hosts.

More recently I have also realised that the younger man in Figure 5 standing on the meetinghouse *pae* 'bench' behind Waewae, similarly tall and wearing a rangatira's feathered cape, was probably Waewae's mātāmua son, Te Hata Waewae, who married Te Whenuanui I's mātāmua granddaughter, Taraipene (Figs 7 and 9). On the other hand, if Te Hata had moved to live in Rūātoki, it might be Wharekiri Pakaratu, husband of Waewae's elder daughter, Hera, and father of his eldest grandson, Hieke. Third- or fourth-generation descendants of his cousins were recently able to identify the younger man third from the right in Figure 5 as Hieke (Pakitu) Wharekiri, the "Paki of Ōhāua" mentioned by Firth, who showed him how birds were hunted ([1929] 1959: 158, 342). By the following year (1925), Wharekiri and his son Pakitu were leading contributors to Ruahine, Tutu and Korouanui (Fig. 8, Table 1),

relocating some of their ancestral shares to these new blocks. Pakitu married Hikawera Te Kurapa's older sister Meriaira (also known as Hauauru, Fig. 9). Their daughter Rangiwhaitiri, later to become rangatira of Mātaatua marae in Ruatāhuna, was also identified as the little girl in the white dress at the opposite end of the group from her father, Pakitu, in Figure 5. Firth also visited Mātaatua marae in Manawarū in 1924, on the occasion of a gathering for the *tangi* 'funeral' of Te Pouwhare, Waewae's younger brother (Firth [1929] 1959: 100; plate 5a, facing p. 285). Te Pouwhare had probably been living in Rūātoki as a leader at Tauarau (the Ngāti Rongo marae there), so Firth's visit to Mātaatua marae at this sad time was especially significant.

By the 1980s my family and I had probably met some of the other young people in this photo, by then old men and women. Although Pakitu and Hauauru had died by 1972 when we first visited Mātaatua, their daughter Rangiwhaitiri (and only birth child, among many adopted) became our host. Months later, when Rangiwhaitiri sat me down in her kitchen to sketch out parts of her *whakapapa* 'genealogy', she had carefully noted "no issue" at the end of several descent lines. When she herself died unexpectedly in 1977 she passed her care of us on to her son (and only birth child, among many adopted), Tumoana Tumoana. He lived in Rūātoki, born of Rangiwhaitiri's first marriage to Kunare Tumoana, great-grandson of Numia Kererū's mātāmua sister, Turaki (Fig. 9). By 1980 we had vaguely realised that as *manuhiri* 'guests' or, rather, *whānau pani* 'orphans' from faraway "America", we had been passed from the care of Te Urewera hapū in Ruatāhuna to the care of Ngāti Rongo hapū in Rūātoki. But only now am I beginning to understand some of the implications of this gesture.

Only recently, furthermore, have I more fully realised that both of these marriages (C and D in Fig. 9) were extraordinary: as mentioned above in the discussion of Figure 7, each of them was a marriage between a young leader of Ngāti Rongo hapū and a young leader of Te Urewera hapū. As painstakingly printed out for me by their granddaughter Rangiwhaitiri in my notebook in about 1975, Te Hata Waewae's brother Tamarehe had, like him, married a granddaughter—the other one—of Te Whenuanui I, Matahera. When Rangiwhaitiri died, our new host in Rūātoki would be her son Tumoana Tumoana, the son of Te Whenuanui I's great-great-granddaughter *as well as* great-great-grandson of Numia's mātāmua sister, Turaki. Furthermore, Tumoana's wife, our hostess Ngā Hirata (Kui) Hohua, was a great-granddaughter of Numia Kererū himself. Of course, we were never told all this in so many grand words; the *mana* 'authority' of rangatira does not need to announce itself, least of all to innocent "Yankee" *kaupois* 'cowboys' lost in the Urewera.

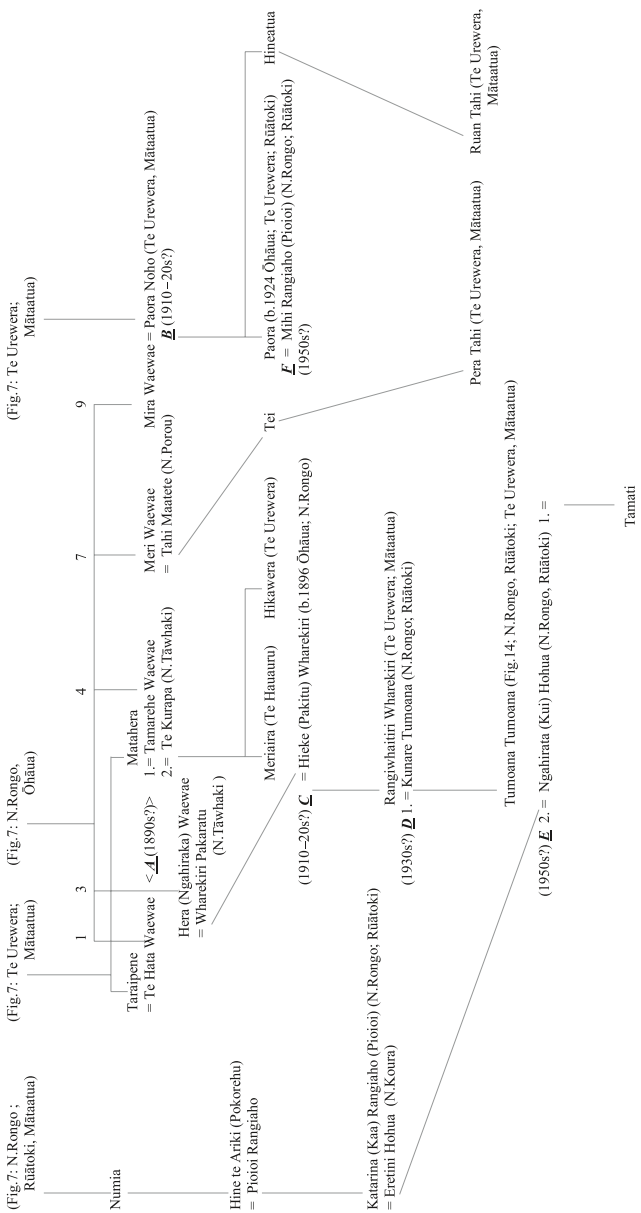

Figure 9. Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū intermarriages, 1890s–1950s (continuation of Fig. 7, with same genealogical symbols).

A more recent photo of Te Poho o Pōtiki meetinghouse that I had taken in 1983 (Fig. 10) now looks back at the photo Firth took of Waewae Te Roau and his people in front of the same meetinghouse in Ōhāua in 1924. Three generations had passed, but the two photos now gaze out at each other, just as old photos hung in Tūhoe meetinghouses always do. In 1983 we had been invited to join a reunion in Ōhāua of Waewae and Te Hirea's descendants to mark the redecoration and reopening of that meetinghouse with a Tekaumārua, a traditional Ringatū church ceremony. Without being aware yet, I had taken a photo of the reunion in front of Te Poho o Pōtiki that echoed the photo taken in 1924 by Firth.

My 1983 photo includes, among the descendants of Waewae and Te Hirea, Te Whenuanui I's great-grandson Hikawera himself (male, seated in the middle, leader of Te Urewera hapū in Ruatāhuna), Numia Kererū's great-granddaughter Kui Ngā Hirata Hohua (seated just to Hikawera's left, of Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Koura hapū in Rūātoki) and Paora Noho's son Paora Kruja of Te Urewera hapū in Rūātoki (standing behind and to the left of Kui).

Figure 10. Gathering after Tekaumārua and reopening ceremonies for Te Poho o Pōtiki, the carved meetinghouse (*whare whakairo*) at Ōhāua, February 1983. Photograph by author.

As mentioned above with regard to the Ruatāhuna partition in 1912, Paora's father, Paora Noho, was the Taratoa cousin who in 1912 had unsuccessfully opposed Numia's claim for Kahuwī in Manawarū, just south of Ōhāua. In 1983 it was Paora Noho's son Paora who, as our nanny had several years earlier in Mātaatua, sat me down by a shed in Ōhāua and carefully drew several whakapapa in my notebook, patiently explaining to me how some of the persons at the reunion were related to each other and to others that we had come to know. Of course, most of the implications of the momentous marriages in Figure 9 were still invisible to me.

It became apparent to me only recently (after examining my old field notes) that events at the 1983 reunion in Ōhāua resurrected, or continued, the old confrontation between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū of 1901–13. During evening discussion in Te Poho o Pōtiki, Pera Tahi stood to assert the rights of Te Urewera hapū to Ōhāua but was responded to by young Tamati, birth son of Kui (Hohua) Tumoana and restorer of the meetinghouse (Fig. 9), who asserted the prior rights of Ngāti Rongo hapū. Members of Te Urewera hapū, including Pera, had been contributing work toward the use and maintenance of Ōhāua since the 1970s, certainly strengthening their assumed rights to Ruahine block including the Ōhāua marae. In response to Tamati's contrary opinion, Pera asked Paora Kruja, as a respected *tohunga whakapapa* 'expert in genealogy', for clarification of the dominant rights to Ōhāua. Hikawera spoke up to say that from what he knew Ngāti Rongo had always held dominant rights to Ōhāua, but deferred to Paora's knowledge of the relevant whakapapa. Paora proceeded to recite the descent line from Rongokarae through Tamahore to Meri Waewae to her grandchildren, among whom was Pera (Figs 7 and 9). This confirmed that although descendants of Te Urewera hapū (such as Pera, and Paora himself) were included, Ngāti Rongo continued to hold dominant rights to Ōhāua. Thus both Hikawera and Paora, tohunga and rangatira both primarily affiliated with Te Urewera hapū at Rūātoki and Ruatāhuna, respectively (but secondarily with Ngāti Rongo as well), agreed that regardless of Te Urewera hapū activity in Ōhāua, Ngāti Rongo had maintained dominant rights there. Although Pera may have been disgruntled, he appeared to accept their decision.

Nevertheless, there are grounds to suspect that the 1983 confrontation, echoing that of several generations earlier, continues in the present. In 2018 I distributed earlier versions of this essay to several Tūhoe and friends who had also been visiting Ruatāhuna and Ōhāua in the 1970s–80s. I was surprised it aroused distraught reactions from two of these old friends (and consequently refusal by one of them to support publication of the essay), who concluded that my account of the confrontation was biased in support of Ngāti Rongo. In the 1980s one of them had married a close friend of ours in Te Urewera

hapū, settled there in Mātaatua and had children, and had worked ever since to develop business and environmental projects in support of the Tūhoe Tuawhenua blocks in that area (Fig. 2). In a subsequent version of this essay I characterised the history of reconciliations between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū, despite their history of confrontations, as a tatau pounumu, an enduring peace-making. I was again taken aback when a Ngāti Rongo leader strongly rejected this characterisation, emphasising that a tatau pounamu, unlike other traditional forms of reconciliation, was absolutely inviolable and marked by symbolic transactions between the two parties. This person asserted that, quite to the contrary, there had been no such reconciliation between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū, and that Ngāti Rongo continued to exercise their dominant rights over Ōhāua.

Although the paradox of confrontation and reconciliation between the two hapū had probably often lay unobtrusively before me and my family in the past, I had now finally come face-to-face with it. Like its previous forms since the early nineteenth century, the paradox took different shapes but continued to be, in Wolf's terms, a deployment of kin-based power variously supported, threatened or subverted by the capitalist power of the Crown, the settler state or its agencies. Indeed, the neoliberal state's patronage of iwi has often led to conflicts between them and hapū associated with them (Webster 2016).

Tatau pounamu or not, how far back into the history of the 1901–1913 confrontations between Numia Kererū of Ngāti Rongo hapū and Te Whenuanui II of Te Urewera hapū do the marriages between the two hapū go? By way of review, these marriages can be traced through Figure 9, which can be seen as a continuation of the wider Ngāti Rongo hapū genealogy in Figure 7. In Figure 9, these more recent marriages are marked A through F, in approximate chronological order:

A. Taraipene Te Hira and Te Hata Waewae; Matahera Te Hira and Tamarehe Waewae (1890s?);
B. Paora Noho and Meri Waewae (1910s?);
C. Meriaira (Hauauru) Te Kurapa and Hieke (Pakitu) Wharekiri (1920s?);
D. Rangiwhaitiri Wharekiri and Kunare Tumoana (1930s?);
E. Tumoana Tumoana and Kui Hohua (1940s?);
F. Paora (Paora) Kruja and Mihi Rangiaho (1950s?).

The more recent marriages may have occurred when the difference between these two hapū had begun to blur, partly as a result (or the intention) of these marriages. Working "backwards" through them: Paora Kruja and Mihi Rangiaho were probably affiliated primarily with Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo, respectively, and probably married sometime in the 1950s;

Tumoana Tumoana and Kui Hohua, who were probably married sometime in the 1940s, were probably both affiliated primarily with Ngāti Rongo, but Tumoana was also affiliated closely to Te Urewera through his mother (and Kui to Ngāti Koura hapū through her father). Rangiwhaitiri Wharekiri and Kunare Tumoana, who were probably married sometime in the 1930s, were probably primarily affiliated with Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo, respectively. Hauauru Te Kurapa and Pakitu Wharekiri, who were probably married sometime in the early 1920s, were primarily affiliated with Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo, respectively. Paora Noho and Meri Waewae, who were probably married by 1912, were primarily affiliated with Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo, respectively. The two sisters Taraipene and Matahera Te Hira and the two brothers Te Hata and Tamarehe Waewae, who (respectively) probably had their double marriage in the 1890s, were primarily affiliated with Te Urewera and Ngāti Rongo, respectively (Te Hata's other marriage was with Te Unupo, a daughter of Tamaikoha, also primarily affiliated with Te Urewera hapū).

I have emphasised that this early double marriage appears have been especially significant. It may have been importantly associated with the final settlement in 1900 by the UDNR Commission of the long-running confrontation over Whaitiripapa block between Tamaikoha for Te Urewera hapū and Numia Kererū for Ngāti Rongo hapū (see Whaitiripapa in Figure 1, between Rūātoki and Parekohe blocks). Apparently a still earlier *pākūhā* 'marriage gift' of a Ngāti Rongo woman to a Te Urewera man, marking a reciprocal gift of land, had been an issue in the confrontation over that block since the 1860s (Webster forthcoming: chap. 5). The double marriage in the 1890s may even have been another such pākūhā or tatau pounamu peace-making between Te Urewera hapū and Ngāti Rongo hapū, but momentarily more successful.

On the other hand, it apparently did not impede the confrontation between these two hapū breaking out again over Manawarū in the Ruatāhuna block by 1902 and seething for more than a decade. While the marriage of Pakitu and Hauauru in the 1920s may have reinforced the realliance of Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū in Manawarū and the Apitihana movement, the succession of at least three such signal marriages since then appears to have been needed "to keep the peace". The confrontation between them that emerged again at Ōhāua in 1983 may continue to simmer today, contrary to the opinion of some leaders that the two hapū have become indistinguishable. Perhaps the paradoxical charm of tatau pounamu is not that it is needed to hold the two hapū together but that it is needed to hold them apart. Insofar as this is so, it may be doubly ironic that in the 2014 Settlement Act the Crown characterised its reconciliation with Tūhoe with precisely these words (Tūhoe Claims Settlement Act 2014: 10(8), p. 24).

Marshall Sahlins's account of kinship offers an anthropological defence of my interpretation of this history in terms of tatau pounamu. Wolf's approach would probably lead me to view the Tūhoe concept and associated forms of reconciliation in terms of "mythological charters ... [that] allow groups to claim privileges on the basis of kinship ... [and] permit or deny people access to strategic resources" (Webster 2017: 153, 162–64). However, Sahlins's approach defines the essence of kinship as "mutuality of being: persons who are members of one another, who participate intrinsically in each other's existence", and goes on to consider "kinship solidarities and conflicts" at some length (Sahlins 2011a: 2; 2011b: 234–37). In this latter regard, he emphasises that the mutuality of being common to his anthropological examples regardless of their variability is often expressed in such paradoxical terms (even playfully noting the current teenager term "frienemies"). His examples range from "the Amazon, where enemies are generically known as potential affines" to "the New Guinea Highlands [where] 'we fight the people we marry'—or vice versa" (Sahlins 2011b: 233, 236]. "Relations of alliance are endemically ambivalent, sometimes notoriously so ... especially insofar as the alliance between kin groups rides on intermarriage" (p. 235); "Hence the 'inherent' powers of the affines: shared being still, for all its conflictual aspects" (p. 236); "Reflecting on the ambivalent relations of marriage, Maori say they would like to be like the stars, who effectively live alone and forever" (p. 236); his source for several Māori examples is Prytz-Johansen, who put it this way: "Death entered the world with woman, says the Maori; otherwise man would live unchangeably like the stars" (Prytz-Johansen [1954] 2012: 42).

As well as the definitions of tatau pounamu cited in Note 1, an array of ordinary Māori words as well *whakataukī* 'proverbs' or *pepeha* 'charm, witticism' reflect the paradoxical ambivalence of similar concepts. The word "enduring" in Kāretu's translation "enduring peace" can similarly be taken in the sense of remaining firm under adversity, patient or long-suffering, as well as permanent. Similar ordinary Māori expressions are loaded with irony or ambivalence: *hoa* 'friend, spouse, partner', but *hoariri* (lit.) 'angry friend', *hoawhawhai* (lit.) 'impatient friend' and *hoa-ngangare* (lit.) 'quarrelling friend' are bluntly translated as 'enemy', 'opponent', 'adversary' or 'foe' (Williams 1957: 54, 229; Ryan 1995: 54, 155). Already among early colonial British scholars, Māori were adulated for the subtle ironies of their marae orations and not merely as so-called "noble savages".

Sahlins's examples of kinship in conflict also overlap with Wolf's approach: "Precisely because of the equality, a certain measure of conflict—ranging from studied distance to violent rupture—is likely wherever the primary group holds offices, privileges, or objects of differential value"

(Sahlins 2011b: 235). Nevertheless, the absence of attention to the wider historical context, and confrontations of power in *that* context, that characterise Sahlins's ahistorical culturalist approach to kinship lead me to prefer Wolf's. In Wolf's (1982) ironic terms, Sahlins's approach to kinship as an ahistorical essence still treats other cultures like "people without history". In previous publications, I argued that even Sahlins's analyses of Pacific history are misled by structuralist enthusiasms regardless of his poststructuralist theorisation. Maurice Bloch's tactful critique of Sahlins's essay on kinship similarly insisted that "[h]umans are uniquely caught up in a unified evolutionary and historical process" (Bloch 2013: 253), and that "by getting caught up in the misleading chase for static essential pure kinship" (p. 257) we overlook its foundation in this process.

Firth's ahistorical assumption that the Māori were naturally being assimilated to capitalist "modernity" similarly led to his blindness to the predicament of his hosts in Ōhāua in 1924. As Richard Hill has documented, the assumption of assimilation dominated New Zealand state policy toward Māori indigeneity until the 1970s (Hill 2009) and continues to obtrude in subtle ways. Even 30 years later in one of the few revisions of his classic work, Firth dismissed the continuing confrontation between Māori deployment of kin-based power and capitalist colonisation which had lain unquietly before him in Ōhāua te Rangi: if "memories of their traditional ways of life ... assume a politically aggressive form they can be dangerous to the life of the wider community, of which the Maori now form an inextricable part" (Firth [1929] 1959: 481). The recent return of Te Urewera to Tūhoe control, and unforeseeable implications for Ōhāua te Rangi and other hapū clusters and their ancestral lands, dramatises the essential unpredictability of any lived history.

* * *

The reversal of the Crown's policy toward Tūhoe's Te Urewera sanctuary from benevolent (1896–1907) to predatory (1908–26) has been reviewed above in terms of two hapū clusters centred in the four Ōhāua te Rangi and two Ruatāhuna-Waikaremoana blocks, dominated by Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū, respectively. Although the evidence must often be read between the lines of the Crown's record, these hapū clusters tended to confront each other during the first era but reconcile their differences to mount a joint defence against the Crown during the second era. In each era, these hapū clusters deployed kin-based power developed in extensive marriage alliances, first in intramural confrontations backed by the passive patronage of the Crown, and later by closing their ranks against its threat. However, as early as the 1890s these marriage alliances began to be extended

between the two hapū clusters themselves. While these signal reconciliations were apparently overridden by mutual antagonism in the first era, they served the joint solidarity of the two hapū clusters against the Crown by the time of the UCS, even forming the stubborn stronghold of the Apitihana movement refusing cooperation with the scheme.

Nevertheless, while the reconciliation between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū withstood the Crown's divisive tactics in the Manawarū of northern Ruatāhuna, there is evidence that this alliance was more precarious in the Ōhāua te Rangi blocks. There, half the land was lost to the Crown, and relocated consolidation of pupuri whenua shares were scattered in 13 blocks sometimes relying on the surviving shares of other hapū controlling what was left of adjacent blocks. In Eric Wolf's terms, in this case it appears that kin-based power was indeed the Achilles heel exploited by the Crown to pursue its explicit intention to break down the solidarity of Tūhoe hapū. Yet this solidarity continued to be systematically built between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū by signal marriages between their leaders at least through the 1950s. If this resurgent reconciliation was the tatau pounamu perhaps originally intended in the 1860s, its disruption at the 1983 Tekaumārua reunion in Ōhāua—and later reverberations of it dividing my own and my family's loyalties—suggest that resurgent antagonism is the other side of its special dialectic. Perhaps this is why a "door of greenstone" is needed.

While Wolf's insistence on the recognition of a specific historical context enabled me to understand the interplay of Tūhoe and Crown power in the establishment of a Tūhoe sanctuary in the UDNR, its loss in the UCS and its recovery in the 2014 settlement, Marshall Sahlins's proposal of a transhistorical dialectics of kinship "being" enables me to better understand the Tūhoe conception of tatau pounamu. And while Firth's insight into the structure of hapū may have been blind to their tortured history in Te Urewera, his photos of the stolid occupants of Ōhāua in 1924, already representing the precarious reconciliation between Ngāti Rongo and Te Urewera hapū that I and my family must continue to straddle, gives me great comfort.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If my commentary has not already made it clear enough, I want here to thank our hosts in Mātaatua, Ruatāhuna, Ōhāua and Rūātoki for their hospitality and aroha 'compassion', extended from the dead as well as the living. I also want to thank Himaima Tumoana, Clementine Fraser and the staff of the Waitangi Tribunal for their research in support of my 2004 report, and the current Te Uru Taumatua of Tūhoe for their interest in my later research. I am also grateful to other scholarly interlocutors Judith Binney, Joan Metge, Jeff Sissons, Peter McBurney and Fiona McCormack, and to this journal's editorial-production team for their patient professionalism.

NOTE

1. Timotī (Sam) Kāretu, from Tūhoe and Ngāti Ruapani of Waikaremoana, translated tatau pounamu as "the door of greenstone", defining it as a "figurative expression for an enduring peace, which was often cemented by the exchange of valuable greenstone heirlooms" (Kāretu 1987: 106). He cites two *whakataukī* 'proverbs' as examples: "Me tatau pounamu, kia kore ai e pakaru, ake, ake" (Let us conclude a permanent treaty of peace, that may never be broken, for ever, for ever) and "He whakahou rongo wāhine he tatau pounamu" (Peace brought about by women is an enduring one), adding, "Normally, in times of crisis, high-born women, puhi, were married to the victors to cement the peace and to ensure there would be no more warfare." In response to a version of this essay, Robert Rapata Wiri (pers. comm.), also from Tūhoe and Ngāti Ruapani, translated tatau pounamu as "reconciliation" among Tūhoe. Hirini Mead of Ngāti Awa discusses peace agreements including tatau pounamu along with several other traditional accounts (Mead 2016).

REFERENCES

Best, Elsdon, [1925] 1973. *Tūhoe, Children of the Mist*. Vols I and II (genealogies). Second edition. Wellington, NZ: A.H. and A.W. Reed Ltd.

Binney, Judith, 2002. *Encircled Lands.* Part Two, *A History of the Urewera 1878–1912*. An Overview Report on the Urewera for the Waitangi Tribunal. WAI 894, A15. Wellington, NZ: Waitangi Tribunal.

Bloch, Maurice, 2013. What kind of "is" is Sahlins' "is"? *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (2): 253–57.

Crowder, Michael, 1964. Indirect rule—French and British style. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 34 (3): 197–205.

Firth, Raymond, [1929] 1959. *The Economics of the New Zealand Māori.* Second edition. Wellington, NZ: Government Printer.

Hill, Richard S., 2004. *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown–Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900–1950*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.

——2009. *Maori and the State: Crown–Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950–2000*. Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.

Johnson, Miranda, 2016. *The Land Is Our History: Indigeneity, Law, and the Settler State.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kāretu, Timotī, 1987. *The Reed Book of Māori Proverbs (Te Kohikohinga Whakataukī a Reed).* Second edition, revised by Timotī Kāretu. Auckland, NZ: Reed.

Kruger, Tāmati, 2004. Ngā Hapū ō Ngā Pōtiki. Appendix to Final Report *Rūātoki: Ngā Rauru ō Ngā Pōtiki.* Anamata College, Tāneatua, New Zealand. 10 January 2004. Urewera Enquiry WAI 894. Wellington, NZ: Waitangi Tribunal.

Mead, Hirini, 2016. *Tikanga Maori (Revised Edition): Living By Maori Values*. Wellington, NZ: Huia Press.

NACMB 1. Native Appellate Court minute book 1, Jackson Palmer, Rawson (13 Nov. 1912–Feb. 1913), index 9 pp., 386 pp. Archives New Zealand, Wellington: Waiariki, Urewera Appellate MB 1, CD 3518/2, 397 pp.; Archives New Zealand, Auckland: AREPRO 4711/1450.

O'Malley, Vincent, 1996. *The Crown's Acquisition of the Waikaremoana Block 1921–25.* A report for the Panekiri Tribal Trust Board, with Supporting Papers (S.P.). Vols I–III, May 1996. WAI 894 record of inquiry, doc A50. Wellington, NZ: Waitangi Tribunal.

Prytz-Johansen, Jørgen, [1954] 2012. *The Maori and His Religion in Its Non-Ritualistic Aspects.* London & Chicago: HAU Books.

Ryan, P.M., 1995. *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori.* Auckland: Reed.

Sahlins, Marshall, 2011a. What kinship is (part one). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (1): 2–19.

——2011b. What kinship is (part two). *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (2): 227–42.

Shore, Cris and M. Kawharu, 2014. The Crown in New Zealand: Anthropological perspectives on an imagined sovereign. *Sites* 11 (1): 17–38.

Sissons, Jeffrey, 2002. *Waimana Kaaku: A History of the Waimana Block*. A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, June 2002. Wellington, NZ: Waitangi Tribunal.

Stokes, Evelyn, Te Wharehuia Milroy and Hirini Melbourne, 1986. *Te Urewera: Nga Iwi, Te Whenua, Te Ngahere; People, Land and Forests of Te Urewera.* University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. WAI 894 record of inquiry, doc A11. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal.

Te Urewera Act 2014. Public Act 2014 No. 51. Date of assent 27 July 2014. New Zealand Parliament. http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0051/latest/whole.html

Tūhoe Claims Settlement Act 2014. Public Act 2014 No. 50. Date of assent 27 July 2014. New Zealand Parliament. http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0050/latest/whole.html

UCMB 2A. Urewera Consolidation minute book 2A, Carr, Knight (27 April 1923–18 December 1926), index 33 pp., 246 pp. Archives New Zealand, Wellington: Urewera MB 2A, MLC 13, W 3518, CD2, Vol. 2, 284 pp.; Archives New Zealand, Auckland: AREPRO 4711/1443.

Webster, Steven, 1984–85. Urewera Land 1895–1926: A Tentative Historical Survey of Government and Tūhoe Relations as Reflected in Official Records. Unpublished manuscript, 50 pp. Held in the University of Auckland Library, Auckland.

——2004. *The Urewera Consolidation Scheme: Confrontations between Tūhoe and the Crown, 1915–1925*. Vols I, II. Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal. WAI 894 #D8. Wellington, NZ: Waitangi Tribunal. (Also available from author.)

——2010. He kaawai hapuu Tuuhoe no te ao o mua: An ethnohistorical reconstruction of one *hapū* branch of Ngāi Tūhoe in the Urewera District Native Reserve 1899–1903. *Sites* 7 (1): 1–43.

——2016. Māori indigeneity and commodity fetishism. *Sites* 13 (2): 1–18.
——2017. Māori kinship and power: Ngāi Tūhoe 1894–1912. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 126 (2): 145–80.
——forthcoming. *Establishing the Tūhoe Sanctuary in New Zealand, 1894–1915*. Vol. 1 of *A Separate Authority (He Mana Motuhake)*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. (Earlier version of parts available from author.)
——under contract. *The Crown's Betrayal of the Tūhoe Sanctuary in New Zealand, 1915–1926.* Vol. 2 of *A Separate Authority (He Mana Motuhake).* New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. (Revision of Webster 2004.)
Williams, Herbert W., 1957. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language.* Sixth edition. Wellington, NZ: Government Printer.
Wolf, Eric R., 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Steven Webster, 12 Trinity Street, Ponsonby, Auckland 1011, New Zealand.
Email: swebster2@yahoo.com