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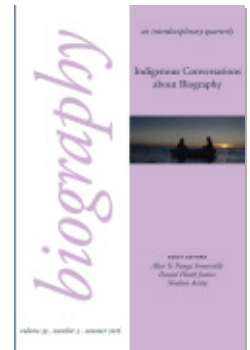
“Kei Wareware”: Remembering Te Rauparaha

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"KEI WAREWARE": REMEMBERING TE RAUPARAHĀ

ARINI LOADER

The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.

—Milan Kundera

Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Toa Rangatira) was a prominent nineteenth-century Māori leader, warrior, military strategist, and provider for his people, whose life and deeds have fueled the national imagination of Aotearoa New Zealand for the greater part of the last 170 years. Correspondingly, Te Rauparaha is well remembered in literature: in waiata, poetry, prose, and haka. He is mentioned, for example, in Ahumai's tangi for her Ngāti Tūwharetoa relative Te Momo,¹ and he is also remembered for his own compositions, including his lament for his tribal homelands at Kāwhia, "Tērā ia ngā tai o Honipaka," and the ngeri, "Te Hōkioi," to warn Taranaki iwi of impending danger in the form of Waikato under Pōtatau Te Wherowhero (Royal). Te Rauparaha has furthermore been immortalized by non-Māori in, for example, Thomas Bracken's late colonial period poem, "The March of Te Rauparaha" (1890), while closer to the present day, the unsettling specter of Te Rauparaha both haunts and inspires the Cook Island Māori and European poet Alistair Te Ariki Campbell in his 1963 sequence of poems, *Sanctuary of Spirits*. Even more recently, Te Rauparaha has featured in novels; in for instance, Tom O'Connor's *Tides of Kawhia* and Hamish Clayton's *Wulf*, based on the infamous brig *Elizabeth* incident in which the English captain and crew participated in the utu (payment, reciprocation) that Te Rauparaha exacted upon the Ngāi Tahu chief Tamaiharanui. The most famous composition with which Te Rauparaha is associated is the haka still performed today by the national rugby team, the "All Blacks," other sporting teams, community groups, and individuals, "Kīkiki Kākaka," better known by its last section beginning "Ka Mate Ka Mate."² This is probably the most well-known haka in the world today.

Additionally, Te Rauparaha leaves a firm textual imprint in Aotearoa New Zealand's sociopolitical history; a mass of material published in newspapers, shared via correspondence, and included in official communications, was generated by and around him. Much of this material, at least that which was written in the English language, is negative. As I have discussed elsewhere, in *Taua: 'Musket Wars,' 'Land Wars' or Tikanga?* Angela Ballara notes that one of the key reasons for the overwhelming condemnation Te Rauparaha received in print was due to many of the early visitors to the Kāpiti Coast-Cook Strait region being associates of the New Zealand Company. As the most powerful chief in the southern districts of Te Ika a Māui, the North Island, and extending over Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait) into Te Waipounamu, the South Island at that time, Te Rauparaha was viewed by the New Zealand Company as the biggest obstacle to their plans for large-scale, organized immigration to New Zealand. According to Ballara, the New Zealand Company

lost no chance to blacken his name in print and ascribe to him all the ills experienced by Company settlers. He was "cunning," capable of "unbound treachery," and demonstrated the "savage ferocity of the tiger" and the "destructive ambition of a selfish despot," fond of "slaughter" but at the same time "cringing" and "fawning." (*Taua* 34)

Te Rauparaha was regularly the subject of rumor that added fuel to the fire of Pākehā-Māori relationships more broadly, and had the effect of heightening already tense situations. Despite the patience he showed in the face of what can only be described as direct provocation—seen, for example, in his insistence on compliance with the Crown's own due processes at Wairau in 1843—settlers living in the township of Port Nicholson (Wellington) feared attack from Te Rauparaha and his people.³ This conflict erupted after the New Zealand Company sent surveyors to the unpurchased, rich, fertile Wairau Plains in Te Waipounamu, the South Island, in early 1843, ignoring Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa Rangatira chiefs' objections that these lands had not been included in the Company's 1839 "purchases" (Mitchell and Mitchell). Te Rauparaha maintained that the matter should be dealt with by William Spain, who had been appointed to investigate land purchases made prior to British annexation ("Wairau Incident"). The chiefs evicted the surveyors and burned their temporary shelters, Te Rauparaha reasoning that these were built from materials growing on his lands and therefore belonged to him to dispose of as he saw fit. On 17 June 1843 Arthur Wakefield, Police Magistrate Henry Thompson, and an armed posse of Europeans set out from Nelson to arrest Te Rauparaha and his nephew and second-in-command, Te Rangihaeata. Fighting broke out, and several people were killed on both

sides, including Te Rongo, one of Te Rangihaeata's wives. The Europeans were forced to surrender, and were killed by Te Rangihaeata as *utu* for Te Rongo's death. The Wairau Incident, at which twenty-two Europeans and at least four Māori were killed, was the first serious clash of arms between Māori and British settlers following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.⁴ Exaggerated accounts of the Wairau Incident and Te Rauparaha's part in it added grist to the New Zealand Company's propaganda machine and enlarged Te Rauparaha's expanding reputation.

Te Rauparaha's life and deeds were thus ripe for mythologizing and romanticizing, which is furthermore evidenced by his proving to be a popular subject of biography. The first book-length biography, based on a series of lectures given to the Wellington Philosophical Society in the same year, was written by W. T. L. Travers in 1872. This text was followed with the inclusion of a biography within John White's momentous *Ancient History of the Maori* (1890), and another book-length treatment by T. Lindsay Buick in 1911. Nearly seventy years later, Patricia Burns's award-winning revisionist biography, *Tē Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, was published in 1980, the same year Peter Butler's *Life and Times of Tē Rauparaha* was produced. The first biography of Te Rauparaha written by a descendant appeared in 2010: Hēni Collins's *Ka Mate Ka Ora: The Spirit of Tē Rauparaha*. Other biographical accounts include a number published in the colonial newspapers, including E. M. Dunlop's 1906 account, Ian H. Brewer's 1966 publication for schools, and Steven Oliver's entry on Te Rauparaha in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (DNZB).⁵

Within the space of life writing more broadly, early biographies of Māori by non-Māori include Rev. James W. Stack's *Koro*, published in 1909. There have, however, been relatively few Māori writers of biography (see Keane). Rēweti Kōhere published the first biography written by a Māori, *The Story of a Maori Chief*, a biography of his grandfather, Mōkena Kōhere, in 1949. Rēweti Kōhere followed this with his own autobiography in 1951. In addition to covering many aspects of daily life from a woman's perspective, things that her own biographer, June Northcroft-Grant, notes were generally ignored or treated superficially by male writers on Māori society, Makereti or "Maggie" Papakura's 1938 posthumously published anthropological thesis, *The Old-Time Maori*, incorporates a substantial biographical dimension. As Northcroft-Grant points out, Papakura's work "reflects the self-awareness of its author who was at all times conscious of her lineage and responsibility to her people."

Much of what we know about Te Rauparaha can, however, be traced to a manuscript that his son Tāmihana Te Rauparaha wrote not long after Te

Rauparaha's death.⁶ This text comprises 126 densely filled, finely handwritten, age-worn pages through which the life story of Te Rauparaha is told, remembered, and recorded. Six major biographic treatments of Te Rauparaha produced between 1872 and 2010 have relied extensively, indeed in some cases entirely, on this text.⁷ Yet to be published in its original te reo Māori format, the manuscript begins:

He pukapuka tatau tenei i nga mahi a te Rauparaha nui, o tona itinga kaumatua noa, na tana tamaiti tupu ake na Tamihana te Rauparaha i tuhituhi kei wareware.

(1)

After introducing the topic, “a deliberate account of the deeds of the renowned Te Rauparaha from his birth to old age,” and a statement confirming Tāmihana, “Te Rauparaha’s adult son,” as the author of the account, the author gives his reason for writing the manuscript: “kei wareware,” “lest it be forgotten.” Given the wealth of ways in which Te Rauparaha is remembered today, Tāmihana’s explanation seems rather ironic, but at the time of writing the survival of Māori was less than certain. In a recently published article examining the “historical amnesia” Aotearoa New Zealand tends to suffer in relation to the bloody nineteenth-century Land Wars between Māori and British Imperial forces, Vincent O’Malley draws our attention to the field of memory studies and its central tenet that “*what* a society or nation chooses to remember, and *how* it chooses to go about remembering, reveal much about its contemporary priorities” (80, my emphasis). Accordingly, I am interested in not only what Tāmihana “remembered” about his father but how he remembered his father across a range of formats: writing, oil portraiture, and statuary.⁸ I am also interested in what this can tell us about our nineteenth-century ancestors’ “contemporary priorities” and the world they inhabited. In the face of radical and tumultuous change, Tāmihana Te Rauparaha memorialized his father in a range of new and novel media, each of which can be understood as acts of resistance, persistence, and survival.

In 1855, six years after Te Rauparaha’s death, Tāmihana commissioned William Beetham, a professional portrait painter who had arrived only weeks earlier from England, to paint a portrait of his father based on sketches done when his father was still alive (*Te Rū*). The portrait, believed to have been lost in a fire,⁹ was described by Friedrich August Krull in 1859, who recalled

a wild, dark face, tattooed all over. His cloak was interwoven with albatross feathers, sharks’ teeth were hanging from his ears, and on his chest he was wearing the image of an idol. . . . He was holding a battle-axe in one hand and a greenstone club in the other. (Varnham 73, qtd. in *Te Rū* 13)

The portrait showed Te Rauparaha wearing a kahu toroa with mako in his ears and a hei tiki on his chest, a tewhatewha in one hand and a patu pounamu in the other, thereby presenting Te Rauparaha in clothing and items befitting a distinguished fighting rangatira. Contrarily, sketches and watercolors of Te Rauparaha produced when he was still alive by such artist-explorer-settler-missionary-surveyors as Charles Heaphy (Fig. 1), Richard Taylor (Fig. 2), John Gilfillan (Fig. 3), Isaac Coates (Fig. 4), and Edward Abbott (Fig. 5) portray Te Rauparaha in plain dress, in what appears to be a simple blanket, often with a feather in his hair, an earring or two, and with his facial moko clearly visible. In contrast to Krull's description of the Beetham portrait, Te Rauparaha's clothing is plain, his personal adornment is limited, and he appears without weapons—indeed, he appears without hands.

Two later sketches, which are probably among the last images of Te Rauparaha to be produced in his lifetime, show the rangatira in European clothing. An 1847 sketch by William Bambridge has Te Rauparaha wearing a naval uniform given to him after his unlawful arrest and detention in Auckland in 1846 by Governor George Grey (Fig. 6). Similarly, an 1848 watercolor by Richard Oliver again depicts Te Rauparaha in naval uniform (Fig. 7; in Bell 82). Te Rauparaha evidently experimented with European clothing, particularly in terms of military dress, and did not, at least in his later years and as his nephew and "lieutenant" Te Rangihaeata was known for, spurn imported clothing (Ballara, "Te Rangihaeata").¹⁰

These two sketches (Figs. 6 & 7) are among the last leading up to Te Rauparaha's death, and they contrast markedly to Krull's description of the Beetham portrait. While all images need to be read carefully, and none can lay claim to affinity with reality, one reading of the Beetham portrait—or at least a reading of a description of the portrait—is that it was designed to project a specific set of ideas and meanings driven by and anchored in the present. The Beetham portrait appears to have captured both Te Rauparaha's history and his meaning to history—his status, his influence, and prominence—all of which was key to Tāmihana's own claim to political leadership and influence in the greater Wellington-Kāpiti-Horowhenua region. In concert with the biographic manuscript, Tāmihana worked to capture particular social, political, and cultural meanings of the life of his father, meanings that were not, or not very, evident in other media and contexts.



Figure 1. Charles Heaphy 1820–1881, Te Rauparaha, N.Z. chief. [1839]. Ref: A-146-006. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.



Figure 2. Richard Taylor, 1805–1873: Te Rauparaha. [1840s]. Sketchbook. 1835–1860. Ref: E-296-q-075-2. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.



Figure 3. John Gilfillan, 1793–1864: Te Rauparaha. [1842]. Ref: A-114-023. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

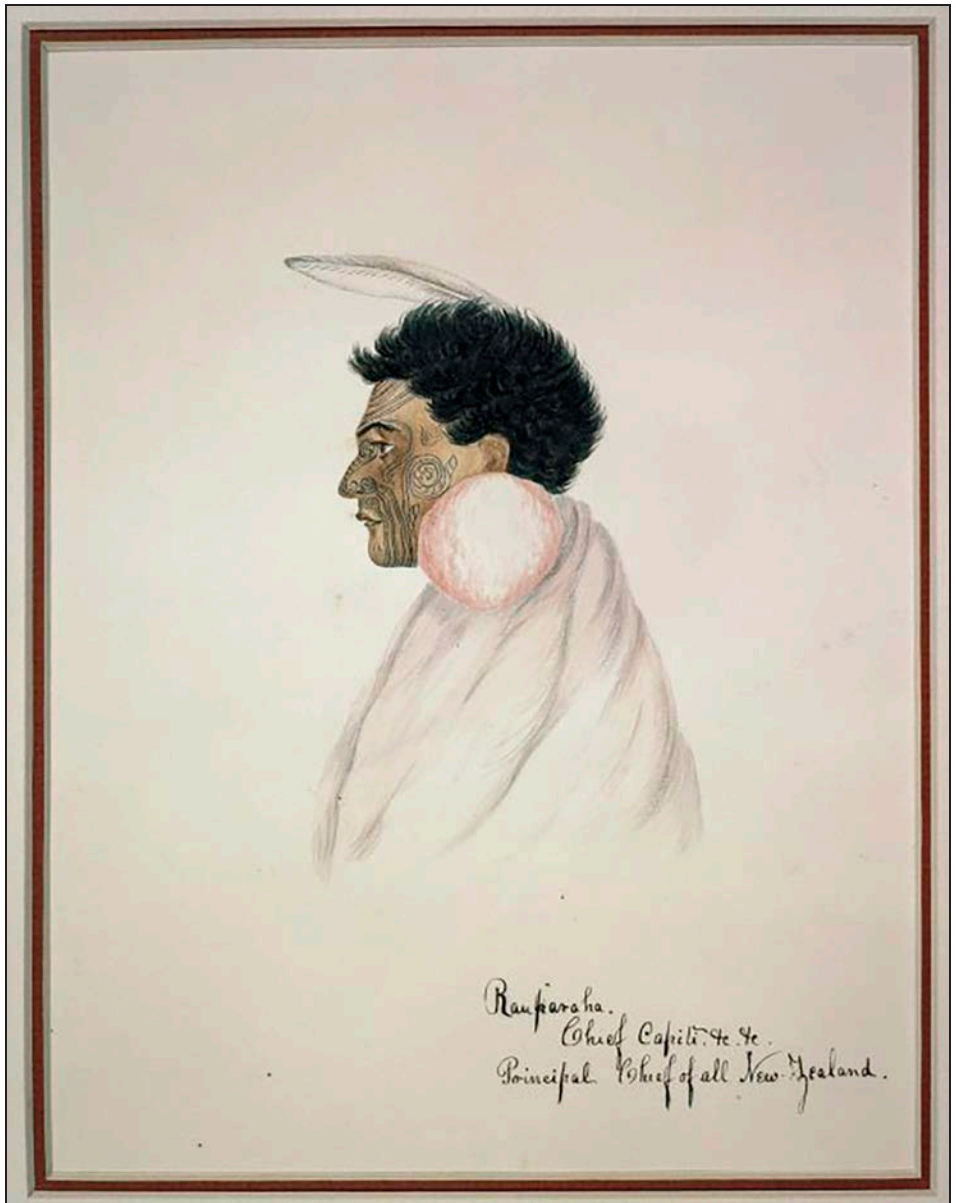


Figure 4. Isaac Coates, 1808–1878: Rauparaha. Chief Capiti. &c. &c. Principal chief of all New Zealand. [1843?]. Ref: A-286-021. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.



Figure 5. Edward Abbot, died 1849, *Te Rauparaha*, 1845, pencil on paper: 191x155mm, accession: 11,471, Hocken Collections, Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago.



Figure 6 (top). William Bambridge, Sketch of Te Rauparaha. Diary. Ref: QMS-0122-140A. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Figure 7 (bottom). Richard Aldworth Oliver, 1811–1889. Te Rauparaha wearing a cocked hat and tunic / R. A. Oliver. [18 Oct. 1848?]. Ref: A-255-016. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.





Figure 8. George French Angas, 1811–1889. Te Rauparaha and Ko Katu. [1844]. South Australian Museum, Adelaide, Australia.

The Beetham portrait of Te Rauparaha is furthermore patently at odds with other extant portraits produced by Beetham in the same era of Māori in the Wellington region. A portrait of Te Āti Awa rangatira Wi Tako Ngatata captures his striking facial tā moko, in contrast with his starched white collar and shirt underneath his black formal jacket and necktie, while a portrait of his daughter Merenia is brightly toned, with a lick of red ochre paint on her mako setting off her red silk dress. Merenia also holds a book, perhaps indicating that she was educated (*Te Rū* 17). Portraits of Tāmihana himself and his wife Ruta attributed to William Beetham in the same way show them in fashionable European dress. Ruta wears her hair up, set in a lacy snood, her black dress relieved by the white collar and brooch at her neck, while Tāmihana is shown in a rather plain black jacket over a white shirt.¹¹

In contrast to these portraits, which show the subjects in contemporary, upper-class New Zealand-European dress, Te Rauparaha wore kahu toroa



Figure 9. Thomas Edward Donne, 1860–1945. [George French Angas 1822–1886]. Te Rauparaha [1852]. Ref: C-114-001. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

augmented with mako and what appears to have been a hei tiki hanging from his neck. He held a tewhatewha and a mere pounamu in each hand, prized traditional Māori weapons signaling Te Rauparaha's status as a powerful warrior and leader. Unlike Wi Tako Ngatata, his daughter Merenia, Ruta Te Rauparaha, and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Te Rauparaha was depicted via a combination of dress and adornment as a Māori chief belonging to an earlier time and place, essentially to the past, or perhaps more accurately, a past constructed with a particular future in mind.

An episode involving two other images of Tāmihana further illustrates some of the complexities at play within the conventions of nineteenth-century image production of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. In 1844, George French Angas produced what may very well be the only extant image of Tāmihana and Te Rauparaha together (Fig. 8). Angas also painted Tāmihana again, though quite a bit later, in 1852 (Fig. 9).

As Catherine Falconer-Gray points out in her illuminating MA thesis, the two paintings can be read comparatively as “an example of the transformation towards a state of civilisation made manifest on the body” (65). In the first painting, Tāmihana is in a “Māori setting,” indicated by the whakairo at his feet and the palisades behind him. He is dressed in a korowai and holds a spear, and a caption on the left-hand side beneath the whakairo reads: “Ko Katu only son of Rauparaha, Otaki.” Contrastingly, the second painting aligns with how Angas described Tāmihana as a “Civilised and Christianised New Zealand Chief,” and as Leonard Bell observes, “conformed to standard Victorian portrait types—types which primarily represented social rank, status, and achievement before individual personality.” Bell notes “the authoritative full-standing, frontal pose, the formal dress, confident look, direct gaze,” complete with Tāmihana’s hand resting on an open book:

Perhaps a Bible, a sign of civilising Christianity, though books could connote such qualities as good works, learning, and enlightenment—apt given Tāmihana’s missionary work and his response at this stage to colonisation. Angas’s tailoring of Tāmihana to a particular portrait type in effect expressed his (Tāmihana’s) incorporation at this time into the colonial scheme. (26)

The same man has changed names from “Katu,” his older, pre-baptismal name, to his baptismal name “Tāmihana” (Thompson), which adds further weight to the notion of his having been fully incorporated into the colonial scheme.

Bell points out the stylistic conventions of the “Victorian portrait type” to which the second portrait aligns, yet the first portrait requires further interrogation. In his *Savage Life and Scenes*, Angas describes how Tāmihana wore “his native costume” for this portrait sitting, but that not half an hour afterward he had changed into an English dress suit, as he was off to dine with some (European) settlers (238). From this episode we can infer that Tāmihana had some idea about what kind of image Angas wanted and that he dressed accordingly; he effectively “played along.” When we read the painted and the written record alongside one another thus, a complex picture emerges that draws attention to the agency of the Indigenous subjects and away from the “traveler-settler-colonial” artists. Rather than a relatively stable move from one state or mode of being to another, what we see here is more akin to a to-and-fro or backward and forward movement across the notion of “transformation towards a state of civilisation made manifest on the body” (Falconer-Gray 65). The movement is not static nor is it only in one direction. This

is indicative of the messy, uneven nature of cultural encounter as it actually plays out on the ground.

A key difference between the work of such traveler-explorers as George French Angas and Richard Oliver and of settler Joseph Merrett concerns audience; a key difference with the Beetham portraits being that Māori themselves commissioned and owned the portraits. This is not to assert that the Beetham portraits are, as Bell reminds us, any less "constructs, rather than replications of the real, representations of Maori that need to be interpreted," but it does challenge Bell's blanket assertion that such representations were "made for the scrutiny, the 'reading' of Europeans" (3). As opposed to being objectified under the weight of a distinctly foreign gaze by the pens, pencils, and brushes of such artists-illustrators as Angas, Oliver, and Merrett, Māori exercised agency as subjects in the portraits by Beetham.

The portrait of Te Rauparaha, indeed, appears to have had a powerful impact on Māori. Beetham himself noted:

it was amazing with what awe and reverence and something like fear the many natives who came to see the picture, approached it, especially the women, some entering the room on their knees, others laying themselves flat upon the floor, turning up their faces in the most stealthy and abject manner, uttering a peculiar and distressing whine or wail.¹²

This reaction—*tangi*—from the people is not altogether surprising, considering that this would have been one of the first instances that local Māori encountered oil portraiture.¹³ As noted by Leonard Bell, oil paintings featuring or including Māori were rare in New Zealand in the 1840s and 1850s. By the 1850s, Māori would certainly have been fairly well accustomed to being sketched and drawn; indeed, Beetham's portrait of Te Rauparaha was itself based on sketches done when the old man was alive. Portrait painting in oils was also a radical departure from pencil sketch and watercolor. Moreover, Beetham's portraits are simply exquisite; he had after all been a professional painter in England and had exhibited at the Royal Academy (Bell 48–49). The rich, textured oils combined with the size and scale of the portraits make them larger and more life-like than other forms of visual representation with which Māori were by now familiar.

Approximately twenty years after Tāmihana commissioned the Beetham portraits and wrote his manuscript, Tāmihana took the memorialization of his father a further and ultimately more enduring step when in 1874, he commissioned a major sculptural monument from [Messrs] Marsh, Grout, and Co. of Melbourne, Australia. This monument, consisting of a marble obelisk standing on a bluestone base, "and surmounted by a portrait bust of

Te Rauparaha” “executed by Mr Gilbert,” included an inscription in te reo Māori, setting forth “the date of his birth and death” and “the fact that ‘he killed all the tribes at Kapiti, and then crossed over to Te Waipounamu, destroying all the people’.”¹⁴ The “lifesize” bust was reported to represent Te Rauparaha in his dog-skin cloak, with his tattooed face, greenstone earrings, and feathers, indicative of his rank and prowess, decorating his hair.¹⁵ It is crowned with an elegant European-style head of wavy hair in the manner of Sir Thomas Lawrence’s Regency portraits of King George IV (*Tē Rū* 14).

Prior to being erected at its present site, however, the bust lay for some years in an unopened crate on The Common, an open area of “undivided land” set aside for public use opposite Rangiātea Church.¹⁶ Additionally, a tōtara log originally intended for use as a “Hauhau flagstaff” remained on The Common alongside Te Rauparaha’s bust for, according to one report, as long as nineteen years.¹⁷ This apparent indecision over what the log was originally intended for, and its ultimate use, resonates with the mystery surrounding precisely where Te Rauparaha’s body was finally laid to rest, with some saying that he was reinterred and taken to Kāpiti, his island stronghold off the southwest coast of Te Ika a Māui, and others contending that he is in the urupā at Rangiātea (Collins 236–37). An article in the 18 February 1880 *Hawke’s Bay Herald* quoting “a letter from Napier to a gentleman in Wellington” adds further color to the picture by claiming that the flagstaff was intended to hoist Queen Victoria’s flag in opposition to the [Māori] King (2). And so it remains unclear whether the tōtara log at Ōtaki was intended to serve as a flagstaff to fly a Hauhau (pro-Kīngitanga) or Kuini (pro-British) flag. Opinion probably shifted and was divided. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha himself was closely involved in the establishment of the Kīngitanga after he traveled to England in 1851, saw British institutions, industry, and law and order in operation, and met Queen Victoria. He came to believe that a pan-tribal movement, unifying Māori under one sovereign equal to the Queen of England, could bring an end to intertribal conflict, keep Māori land in Māori hands, and provide an independent governing body for Māori. Subsequently, in 1853, Tāmihana and his close relative Mātene Te Whiwhi traveled around Te Ika a Māui promoting the idea of a Māori King (Papa and Meredith).

Yet despite being a key figure in its establishment, Tāmihana turned his back on the movement, which officially began when Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was installed as King in 1858. Tāmihana spoke out against the Kīngitanga at the Kohimarama Conference, a major hui called by Governor Thomas Gore Browne after fighting broke out between Māori and British troops in Taranaki in 1860. At Kohimarama, Browne hoped to convince Māori leaders to support his actions in Taranaki and reject the Kīngitanga. In a speech published in

Te Karere Maori—*The Maori Messenger*, a government-sponsored bilingual newspaper that reported extensively on the Kohimarama conference, Tāmihana advocated a model of a partnership with Pākehā under Queen Victoria, and used Ngāti Raukawa at Ōtaki as an example of what it was possible to achieve via this model. Tāmihana asserts that Ngāti Raukawa are an industrious people, and uses Rangiātea church, the inside “adorned with Māori carvings” with the outside clad in “Pākehā planks,” as an analogy to illustrate what he claimed was the successful fusion of Māori and Pākehā spiritual ideas, ideologies, and beliefs. At the very end of his speech, Tāmihana is reported to have urged the conference delegates:

Kaua e mea me wehe te kiri pango i te kiri ma, engari me apiti mai, kia ora tahi ai tatou [Lit. Do not advocate the separation of the blackskins from the whiteskins: but rather unite them, that both (races) may prosper].¹⁸

Tāmihana implies that the Kīngitanga is a separatist movement, and rather than support its aims and aspirations for the retention of Māori land and resources by Māori for Māori, Tāmihana advocates integration and shared governance under Queen Victoria. Tāmihana had his way when finally, a unanimous resolution was passed: “the Kohimarama covenant,” which both recognized the Crown’s sovereignty and confirmed chiefly rangatiratanga (Orange). The Crown, for its part, reneged on its promise to hold further conferences to discuss sharing power, leaving the chiefs’ expectations to play a greater part in decision-making sourly dashed.

The tōtara log that lay on The Common beside the bust of Te Rauparaha was ultimately never made into a flagstaff, so the question of whether to fly the Kīngitanga or the Queen’s flag became redundant. The log was instead “refashioned” under the guidance of the Reverend McWilliam into a towering obelisk forty feet in length and inscribed to commemorate, in 1880, the first forty years of Christianity in the district (Ramsden 188). The white pole was surmounted by a Greek cross and had the year 1840 cut into the bottom about half an inch deep and painted black on the west side. One foot higher up on the south side the year 1841 was cut in and painted, one foot higher on the east side 1842, and on the north 1843, and so on, so that the year 1844 was exactly four feet higher up on the front side (*Manawatu Herald*, 10 Feb. 1880: 6). The dates traveled round until the top was reached where the year 1880 was marked. Both the memorial pole, subsequently known as “the Jubilee Pole,” and the memorial to Te Rauparaha were erected on The Common and unveiled on 9 February 1880, the fortieth day of the year, at an event that reads as a veritable confluence of Māori-European ceremony, custom, theatrical aplomb, and religious belief. A large number of Māori, many dressed in

white, headed to the church in the morning, whereafter they assembled in the churchyard and those in white drew up in two lines, reaching from the gate nearly to the church door, between which the Bishop and clergy walked to the church. The usual morning service was held, after which the people walked across the road to the commemoration pole, where

A rough fence, forty feet square, had been run up round the two, and a few seats had been put inside the enclosure for the accommodation of the clergy present. . . . Outside the enclosure were arranged forty large stones, in four rows of 10 each. The years from 1840 to 1880 were also painted on these in large letters. On the arrival of the procession at the enclosure, the men marched round two deep to the stones, and when all had raised a stone in their hands, walked round and deposited their burdens at the foot of the pole. The stones were intended to signify the lasting nature of the commemoration, for while the wood may decay, the stones will never. (*Manawatu Herald* 6)

After the stones were piled up round the pole the women dressed in white marched into the enclosure, a hymn was sung, and psalms were read followed by the Lord's Prayer, the people at this point all kneeling. A short address was then given by "Kereopa," who on concluding, called for a genuine British "Hip, hip, hurrah," and after another chant and prayer, the ceremony was brought to a close, the cloth over the bust of Te Rauparaha was pulled aside, and a rush was made to the front to "have look" [*sic*].

Prior to this spectacular unveiling ceremony, the so-called "obnoxious part" of the inscription on the memorial to Te Rauparaha mentioning the destruction of the tribes at Kāpiti and Te Waipounamu was erased and substituted with "words of a less objectionable character," the reason ostensibly being so as not to cause offence to relatives of those killed by Te Rauparaha who were still living at Ōtaki.¹⁹ The altered inscription however only gives the barest facts:

Ko Te Rauparaha
He rangatira no Ngatitoa
I heke mai ia i Kawhia
I te tau 1819
I mate ia ki Ōtaki
I te 27 Noewa 1849.

[Te Rauparaha was a chief of Ngati Toa who migrated from Kawhia in 1819. He died at Ōtaki on the 27th November 1849.]

No hint is given as to why he was important, what he accomplished, or what his role was as an important leader among his people. While the original

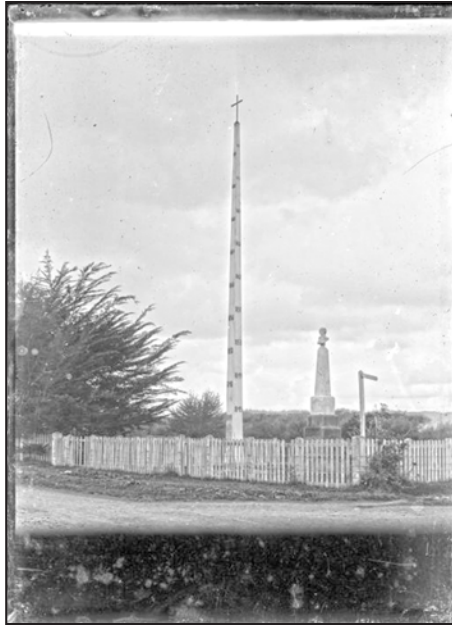


Figure 10. The Jubilee Pole and Te Rauparaha Monument, at Ōtaki. Albert Percy Godber, 1875–1949: Collection of albums, prints and negatives. Ref: APG-0102-1/2-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

inscription could be accused of being at the very least insensitive, the replacement “forgets” so much as to represent but the barest bones of usefulness.

Further, the spatial relationship between the Jubilee Pole and the monument to Te Rauparaha, in terms of their orientation in relation to each other, proximity to one another, and significant differences in their height, appears to have been a deliberate move. CMS missionary Rev. Octavius Hadfield, the first missionary to take up permanent residency on the Kāpiti Coast, noted that in addition to being “quite an interesting ornament to the village,” together Te Rauparaha’s bust and the Jubilee Pole “also represent the past and present state of the Natives. They have been transformed in forty years from savage, blood-thirsty cannibals to quiet, peaceful, and comparatively civilised Christians” (22). Hadfield incongruously labels Te Rauparaha, the man without whose support the church could not have been erected, a savage “blood-thirsty” cannibal, while in the same breath, credits Christianity with bringing peace. Interestingly, Tāmihana himself died in 1876 at his house on his sheep station, and so never lived to see the stone memorial to his father erected. He was not party to the reinscribing of the memorial nor to its being erected alongside the Jubilee Pole. In 1890, the fiftieth year of the founding of the

Mission, both the Pole and the bust were moved to the corner of The Common opposite the Rangiatea church gates.²⁴ In 1927 The Jubilee Pole finally succumbed to rot and was replaced by a shorter concrete obelisk—though one still towering over the bust of Te Rauparaha.

The history of Tāmihana’s memorial to his father, including the indecision over where to erect the memorial, the contention over its wording, and the relationship between the memorial to Te Rauparaha and the “re-purposed” Jubilee Pole, provides an apposite example alongside which to explore the complexities of the encounters and entanglements that feature so strongly in the history of Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand. The whole situation can be read as a metaphor for Te Rauparaha’s historical legacy and the history of Aotearoa New Zealand more broadly, where it would seem we often don’t know what to do with our own history. Tom Roa, Ngāti Apakura kaumātua and organizer of events commemorating the battles of the New Zealand Land Wars that happened on Waikato-Tainui soil, commented, “It’s becoming more and more clear how little New Zealanders as a whole—that includes Māori and other than Māori—know about these things that happened on our doorstep” (McCulloch).

And yet, I argue that Tāmihana Te Rauparaha worked hard to ensure that just such history—or rather, particular history or histories—was remembered, and that the world remembered his father in particular ways. In three instances employing three separate mediums—writing, oil portraiture, and marble sculpture—Tāmihana Te Rauparaha sought to have his father’s life remembered, and these undertakings represent a significant investment of time, energy, and money expended on Tāmihana’s part. The oil portrait, for example, cost £15, the marble bust monument cost £200, while the manuscript, with its 126 pages of neatly, carefully scripted words that spill over the brown, age-worn pages, is a feat of perseverance as much as it is one of deep knowledge of history, traditions, customs, belief, and ideology. Tāmihana’s manuscript doesn’t cost anything to hold, to view, and to read, and yet the issue of access remains. One has to have the time and monetary resources to go to Auckland, and be capable of navigating the conventions of the Special Collections at the research library. The manuscript is furthermore written entirely in te reo Māori, a language that many Māori, let alone anyone else, no longer speak. Regardless, I do believe that Tāmihana’s comment, “kei wareware”—lest it be forgotten—can, if not be completely dispelled, at least leveled by examples of all that Tāmihana Te Rauparaha did to have his father remembered. We now have Te Rauparaha Arena, a community sports complex named after Te Rauparaha, complete with a series of large carvings welcoming visitors into the main entrance. Ironically though, there are no plaques, signs, or literature



Figure 11. Monument to the advent of Christianity that replaced the Jubilee Pole in 1927, and Te Rauparaha Monument at Ōtaki. Albert Percy Godber, 1875–1949: Collection of albums, prints and negatives. Ref: APG-1795-1/2-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

available concerning who these figures are, their significance, or meaning. I'm fairly certain that the figure hidden in some trees out front and center is Te Rauparaha, but neither the staff at the Arena nor the nearby Pātaka Art Gallery and Porirua Public Library could tell me anything about it.

Much work remains to be done, even while the answers may lie hidden right in front of our eyes.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

haka: posture dance

hei tiki: greenstone pendant

hui: gathering, meeting

kahu toroa: albatross-feather cloak

kaumātua: elder

Kīngitanga: the Māori King Movement

korowai: cloak

mako: shark tooth earring

mātauranga: knowledge

mere pounamu: greenstone club

mōteatea: a general term for songs sung in traditional mode

ngeri: a short type of haka with no set movements and usually performed without
 weapons
 patu pounamu: greenstone club
 rangatira: chief
 rangatiratanga: sovereignty
 tā moko: tattoo
 tangi: to mourn, mourning song
 Te Ika a Māui: the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand
 te reo Māori: the Māori language
 tewhatewha: battle axe
 urupā: cemetery
 utu: revenge, reciprocation
 waiata: song, to sing
 whakairo: carving
 whakapapa: genealogy
 whare: house

NOTES

1. Ahumai married Matawaia, a son of Te Momo, and she composed this song on the death of Te Momo at Kahotea, near Roto-a-Tara, in the Hawkes Bay region, at a time when there was much warfare in the district. In her lament, Ahumai names Te Rauparaha and Tohepare (another name for Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa) as allies whom she charges with bringing their mutual enemies Te Wera Hauraki of Ngāpuhi and Pareihe of Ngāti Kahungunu to her to meet their grisly ends (Ngata, *Nga Moteatea I* 136–39). See also “He Waiata Aroha na Nekepapa” (“A Song of Longing by Nekepapa”) in Ngata, *Nga Moteatea II* 148–49.
2. Royal 82–85. See also Gardner.
3. See the 29 July 1843 *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* (2). Other contemporary articles and accounts that appear in the English-language press, including an extended piece in the *New Zealand Colonist* for 23 June 1843 that calls for calm and “the exercise of a reasonable degree of prudence and forbearance on the part of the English settlers,” are more circumspect in their assessment of the event (2).
4. It is difficult to access contemporary Māori political views.
5. The *DNZB* was first published in the 1990s and is now available online at <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies>.
6. The manuscript is undated. Auckland Public Library, which holds the manuscript in its Sir George Grey Special Collections, gives 1845 in its catalogue, but closer inspection of the manuscript reveals that this is the date Tāmihana indicates that he wrote down the whakapapa as given to him by Te Whakarauihi Nohorua, which appears at the end of the manuscript; “Na te Whakarauihi Nohorua enei whakapapa i whakahaere naku i tuhituhi i te 1845” (126). It is likely that George Grey collected the manuscript between Te Rauparaha’s death in 1849 and the end of Grey’s first governorship of New Zealand in 1853.

7. For example, see Travers; White; Buick; and more recently, Burns; Butler; and Collins.
8. Sir George Grey describes his *Ko Nga Moteatea Me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori* (1853), one of the earliest published collections of mōteatea (sung or chanted poetry), as a monument that he intended would "shew [*sic*] in some measure what that country was before its natives were converted to the Christian faith." According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "monument" has a strong literary dimension, having until at least the mid-nineteenth century been used to mean "A written document or record," and earlier, between 1555 and 1650, "A piece of information given in writing." More recently, from the mid 1900s to the present, "monument" is also understood to refer to "An important or classic work of literature especially an outstanding survival of an early literature." More recently, the word "biography" has also taken on extended meanings, including narratives in "any of various written, recorded, or visual media." The meanings of oth words have contracted with respect to its associations with text, although reference to an important or classic work of literature remains relatively stable. Hence there is precedent in the English language for Tāmihana Te Rauparaha's manuscript to be understood as a monument to his father, and both the Beetham oil portrait and marble bust to be understood as forms of biography.
9. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha bequeathed the portrait of his father along with his own and his wife's to his adopted son James Wallace. It is likely Te Rauparaha's portrait perished with his wife Pipi Kutia in the fire that destroyed both her and her whare in Ōtaki in 1891 (email conversation among Te Waari Carkeek, Piripi Walker et al., ctd. in *Tē Rū* 13).
10. Ballara, "Te Rangihaeata." Patuone, a Ngāpuhi contemporary of Te Rauparaha, is also said to have been observed walking around the city of Auckland in a naval uniform (Ballara, "Patuone").
11. *Tē Rū* 20. An obituary of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha published in *Tē Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* states that he "had a large portrait in oil of her [Ruta] (also one of his father) hanging up in his house, upon which he set great value" (7 Nov. 1876: 289). Tāmihana also returned from his trip to England (1850–52) with portraits of the Queen and the Prince Consort that they gave to him and which he is said to have "always valued greatly" (*Evening Post*, 24 Oct. 1876: 2). These portraits can be viewed at the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa.
12. Extract from an undated letter by William Beetham [1856?], qtd. in Yerex 37–38, ctd. in *Tē Rū* 13.
13. George French Angas records a similar reaction to a sketch in 1844. While at Hoputui he showed a portrait of Karaka (Clark), a rangatira of Waikato, to his sister, and "she at once commenced a most affectionate tangi before the sketch; waving her hands in the usual manner, and uttering successively low whining sounds, expressive of her joy" (47).
14. *Melbourne Argus*, 17 Apr. 1875: 7. The *Argus* article was reproduced in *Evening Journal* (Adelaide) (22 Apr. 1875: 2), *The Border Watch* (Mount Gambier) (28 Apr. 1875: 3), *The Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW) (21 Apr. 1875: 9), *The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* (NSW) (24 Apr. 1875: 7) and *The Wanganui Chronicle* (Wanganui) (2 July 1875: 2). The original inscription as reported in *Tē Waka Maori* read,

Ko Te Rauparaha
 He rangatira no Ngatitōa
 I heke mai ia i Kawhia
 I te tau 1819
 Patua iho e ia nga iwi katoa o Kapiti
 A i whiti ano hoki ia ki te Waipounamu
 Whakangaro ai i o reira tangata
 I mate ia ki Otaki
 I te 27 o Nowema, 1849

("It is / Te Rauparaha / A Chief of Ngatitōa / He came hither from Kawhia / In the year 1819 / He defeated all the tribes of Kapiti / He crossed over also to the Waipounamu / Destroying all the people there / He died at Otaki / On the 27th of November, 1849") (*Te Waka Maori*, 20 July 1875: 166).

15. According to Rev. James McWilliam, the bust was modeled in Sydney from Beetham's portrait (Ramsden 187).
16. Ramsden (187) cites "McWilliam, March 5, 1906," but provides no further information on his source. The Common was a core feature of the overall concept that underpinned the "model town" of Ōtaki, which was laid out with a regular pattern of streets populated with weather-board houses "in the European style," the whole of which were orientated around the Church. Rangiātea church and The Common being the center of the town makes sense, considering that Old Coach Road (when it was the Coach Road) used to run straight through Te Rauparaha Street to Rangiuru Road, all the way to the Ōtaki River and across the other side to Katihiku marae (Mahinaarangi Baker).
17. *Manawatu Herald*, 10 Feb. 1880: 6. According to Ramsden, "The totara was originally brought into Otaki during the Hauhau troubles, being intended by sympathizers to be used as a flagstaff. Hadfield, however, persuaded the majority of Maoris [*sic*] to remain neutral and make no untoward demonstration" (187). "Hauhau" traces its origins to one of the best-known nineteenth-century Māori prophets, who had been baptized Horopapera (Zerubbabel) in the Wesleyan faith, but changed his name to Te Ua Haumēne (lit. wind man) in 1864 because he communicated with god on the breath of wind (hau). His faith became known as Pai Mārire (good and peaceful) and his followers were referred to as "Hauhau" by Europeans who saw them as rebels against the British Crown. "Hauhau" came to be the name used for all those who rebelled against settler rule (Binney).
18. "Ka nui taku whakapai ki a Ngati Raukawa, he nui no ta ratou tango ki nga tikanga Pakeha . . . Ko to ratou whare karakia, nui atu te pai. Kahore he whare karakia i Niu Tireni hei rite. Na te Maori ano i hanga. He whakairo Maori a roto, he paraki Pakeha a waho" ("I highly admire the Ngāti Raukawa because they have adopted so many of the Pakeha customs. . . . Let industrious people have plenty of room for their fires [ahi kaa]; their church (at Ōtaki) is a noble building. There is no church in New Zealand to compare with it. It was built by Māoris. The interior is adorned with Maori carvings; the exterior is of planks") (*The "Maori Messenger" Extra; He Apiti no te "Karere Maori,"* 3 Aug. 1860: 24–25).
19. *Otago Daily Times*, 17 Feb. 1880: 2. This article appears to be based on an article published in the *Manawatu Herald*, as it includes the following note in round brackets:

"says the Foxton paper." The *Manawatu Herald* was founded by brothers George Warren Russell and John Ruffell Russell in 1878, following unsuccessful attempts in 1873 to establish a newspaper ("The Manawatu Herald"). I have been unsuccessful in locating the original article.

20. In the late nineteenth century there were more free-standing monuments to Māori than to Pākehā. Between 1872 and 1880 there were no memorials to Pākehā, but eight to Māori, and another five were erected in the early 1890s (Phillips).

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