

HE ITI NĀ MŌTAI

Volume 1.

Te Hono Ki Raukawa
Oral and Traditional History Report

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PREFACE

Mihi

RAU RANGATIRA MĀ, TĒNĀ KOUTOU KATOĀ.

UEA! UEA! WAEREA. WAEREA.

WAEREA I RUNGA! WAEREA I RARO!

WAEREA KI UTA! WAEREA KI TAI!

WAEREA KI TE ONE TAPU

KA HURA RA TANGATA A TAI

ME TURAKI ATU KI TANGATA A UTA

KA HURA RA TANGATA A UTA

ME TURAKI ATU KI TANGATA A TAI

PERA HOKI RA TE KOREPE NUI, TE KOREPE ROA,

TE WAAHI AWA, TE TOETOE AWA,

WHAKAMAU TAMA I TE ARA.

WHAKAMAU TAMA I TE ARA

KO TU, KO RONGO, KO TAMA I ARAIA TE ARA

KAURAKA TAMA I UHIA, KAURAKA TAMA I RAWEA,

TUKUA ATU TAMA, KIA PUTA KI WAHO I TE TAWHANGA-WHANGA

HE PUTANGA ARIKI NO RONGO I TE ARA,

TAUIRA MAI EA.

MAI EA MAI EA TE TUPUA

MAI EA MAI EA TE TAWHITO

I HARAMAI KOE I WHEA

I HARAMAI KOE I TU WHAKAOTINUKU

I HARAMAI KOE I TU WHAKAOTIRANGI

O KOUTOU MANAWA, KO O MATOU MANAWA

E TANE KA IRIHIA

WHANO! WHANO! HARAMAI TE TOKI

HAUMI E! HUI E! TAIKI E.

E KUI MA, E KORO MA I TE PO
E TU MARANGA MAI KI RUNGA
HE TANGI TENEI NA O KOUTOU MOKOPUNA
KI A KOUTOU O TE AO TAWHITO, KUA PAHEMO AKE NEI,
KIA HOKI A WAIRUA MAI
KI TE MANAAKI, KI TE WHAKAMANA MAI
I NGA KUPU, OTIRA NGA TAONGA WAIHOTANGAIHO
A NGA KOUTOU, HEI TAUIRA MA MATOU,
ME TENEI AO HOU, ME ENEI WHAKATUPURANGA,
E HAERE AKE NEI.

KO TE KARANGA TENEI
NAUMAI! E WAHA, KI TAKU TUA
KO KOUTOU RA TENEI, HEI WHAKATINANA ENEI
O MATOU WHAKAARO
KIA RERE TIKA TONU TE WAKA,
HEI KAWE I ENEI TAONGA TUKU IHO,
KIA KAUA E MONENEHU TE KURA.

TA MATOU, KIA PAIHEREA
NGA MAHI KATOA,
ME A MATOU WHAKAARO,
KI A IA KI TO TATOU KAIHANGA,
I RUNGA ANO I TE MOHIO
TERA TE WHAKATAUKI KA UHIA MAI NEI
E RANGITANE, OTIRA E PEETI TE AWEAWE

*“KO TE MANAWAROATANGA O NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE PUPURU I TE RANGIMARIE
ARA I TE WHAKAPONO”*

KO ENEI NGA TAUIRA
I WHAKATAUIRATIA MAI NEI
MAI IHO.

“NO REIRA KOUTOU TE HUNGA WAIRUA KI A KOUTOU”

TATOU NGA WAIHOTANGAIHO, KI A TATOU
I ROTO I TENEI AO HOU ME ENEI WHAKATUPURANGA
E HAERE AKE NEI.

TENEI RA TE MIHI ATU NEI
KI A KOUTOU E RAU RANGATIRA MA
KOUTOU O TE WHAKAMINENGA E KOREROTIA NEI
O TE TARAIPUNARA O WAITANGI.
E NOHO NEI KI TE WANANGA
I NGA TAKE O TE IWI MAORI
I ROTO I TENEI AO HOU, AO REREKE
TENEI RA TE REO O NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE TONGA,
E MIHI ATU NEI, E TANGI ATU NEI,
KI A KOUTOU.

MA KOUTOU ENEI O MATOU KUPU E TITIRO,
KA KI AKE AU A NGĀTI RAUKAWA
MO ENEI KORERO A MATOU.
E HARA NO INAIANEI, NO INANAHI TONU NEI,
ME KI NO TUAWHAKARERE, MAI RA ANO,
NA O MATOU TUPUNA TUKU IHO.

KIA WHAKAOTI ATU I RUNGA ANO
I TENEI WHAKAARO, ME TE TUMANAKO
MA TE ATUA KOUTOU, E MANAAKI E TIAKI,
I ROTO I ENEI MAHI NUI E PIKAUTIA NEI,
E KAWEA MAI NA E KOUTOU
TENA KOUTOU, TENA KOUTOU, TENA KOUTOU KATOA.¹

¹ Excerpt from WAI-113 Statement of Claim (WAI52, #1.4) lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal “on behalf of all descendants of the iwi and hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga” on 29 November 1989.

Acknowledgements

It is difficult to read the pages of this report without being reminded of those of our people who have been part of the Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga mission to hold the Crown accountable for its unacceptable behaviour over several generations. Amongst them are those who are no longer with us, including the original WAI113 claimants, Whatakaraka Davis, Ranfurly Maharani Jacob and Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson who carried the burden of the claim on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa for decades. Many others filed and have advanced claims on behalf of their whānau and hapū and they too have joined their tupuna i te po. In January 2019, Peter Richardson, Ngāti Parewahawaha kaumātua, Te Hono Council member, Purutanga Mauri and Koputara Trust claimant quietly passed away. We are grateful for the collective wisdom, guidance and fortitude of them all. *E ngā rangatira, e moe mai i te po.*

Similarly the contributions of the kuia and koroua who have supported the collective effort of the hapū engaged in this project are greatly appreciated. Dozens of iwi members were interviewed by researchers and writers. Their recollections and experiences have been given voice in the following pages and enrich the public record. We are thankful for their time and involvement in the process.

As part of the planning of the project, we welcomed the sound counsel of Ngā Mangai a group established by the Waitangi Tribunal to foster kotahitanga within the Ngāti Raukawa claims community. The members of Ngā Mangai included the kuia Gabrielle Rikihana alongside, Iwikatea Nicholson, Taihākurei Durie and Whatarangi Winiata.

A core group of iwi senior scholars known as Ngā Pūkenga volunteered their time and substantial intellect to help plan and monitor the project, read draft material and provide considered comment to our many authors. Numbers of other iwi members also participated in reviews and feedback to the teams. These contributions have enhanced the material immeasurably.

We are grateful to the marae who hosted our hui and wānanga over the last two years; Poutū Pā, Ngātokowaru Marae, Raukawa Marae, Tainui Marae, Taumata o Te Ra Marae, Parewahawaha Marae, Aorangi Marae and Huia Marae.

To assist in our preparations, Te Wānanga o Raukawa provided \$80,000 in scholarships for the completion of the Heke Puna Maumahara (National Certificate in Māori Information Management) programme. We were able to support 23 taura to enrol and complete the qualification. The majority of those graduates played lead roles in the preparation of the hapū chapters of the report. We also recognise the provision of venues, catering and support by the Wānanga for meetings of the project teams and training sessions with hapū researchers.

We acknowledge the support of Crown Forestry Rental Trust personnel who were accepting of our distinctive way of managing the project. Particularly Kathryn Rose and Nicola-Kiri Smith who have demonstrated their determination and enthusiasm for the project from its launch in May 2016. We are grateful for the cooperation of the Trust across a number of areas throughout the life of the project.

Te Hono is especially grateful for the research and writing of Dr. Whatarangi Winiata, Dr. Arini Loader, Rewa Morgan, Piripi Walker and Ani Mikaere in the production of their sections of the report thus providing the background for the hapū narratives. Similarly, we value the efforts of our project team who were determined to engage as many of the 25 hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the project as humanly possible and to support those hapū research efforts.

Finally, we are indebted to the 19 hapū who did seize the opportunity to participate in the project, producing the central account of our iwi experience. Through their efforts, the voices of our tūpuna will resonate into the future. We also take this opportunity to acknowledge the rangatiratanga of those hapū who chose to pursue their claims research through alternative channels.

Te Hono Ki Raukawa Claims Settlement Trust

Te Hono ki Raukawa Historic Claims Management and Settlement Trust was established on 6 May 2010 as a coalition of Ngāti Kauwhata, Te Reureu and Ngāti Raukawa. Current Council members are Dennis Emery and Tā Taihākurei Durie for Ngāti Kauwhata, Hare Arapere and Bruce Smith for Te Reureu with Mereana Selby and Whatarangi Winiata for Ngāti Raukawa. Rachael Selby and Peter Richardson were co-opted by the Council. Assisting Te Hono is a small project and communications team including Queenie Rikihana-Hyland, Pirihira Tukapua, Whare Akuhata and Daphne Luke (Project Manager).

The purpose of Te Hono is to progress the Treaty claims of Ngāti Kauwhata, Te Reureu and Ngāti Raukawa and their constituent iwi, hapū and whānau in a collaborative manner, recognising that a consistent, collaborative and regional approach will maximise the benefits for all engaged. In particular, the rōpū have established tikanga to coordinate and progress the interests of all iwi, hapū and whānau as beneficiaries of the claims in a mana enhancing manner that is equitable to all such beneficiaries whilst promoting the overall interests of Ngāti Raukawa, Te Reureu and Ngāti Kauwhata.

Te Hono seeks to ensure that the Treaty claims process is managed in a manner that is consistent with Raukawa² tikanga, the Treaty principle of rangatiratanga and the principles of collective rights, self determination and constitutional independence as set out in the United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). That is, that the whānau, hapū and iwi must take the lead role in determining how their claims will be prosecuted and present their claims as they see fit.

The following claims are affiliated with Te Hono ki Raukawa.

<i>Wai No.</i>	<i>Named Claimant/s</i>	<i>Claim Name</i>
WAI407	Turoa Kiniwe Royal and Robert Cooper	Parikawau-Ohau Lands
WAI437	Whatarangi Winiata	Koha Ora and Church Mission Society Land
WAI651	Turoa Karatea and Anthony Nopera Karatea	Te Reureu Lands

² “Raukawa” means the 25 hapū and Iwi identified in the Rules of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc and such other hapū and iwi as are subsequently admitted by the Rūnanga in its rules.

<i>Wai No.</i>	<i>Named Claimant/s</i>	<i>Claim Name</i>
WAI767	Te Awanuiarangi Black	Moutere Tahuna No 2 Block and other Otaki Lands
WAI1461	Dennis Emery	Ngāti Kauwhata & Rangitikei-Manawatū, Reureu blocks and Awahuri reserve lands
WAI1580	Whatarangi Winiata and Annabel Mikaere	Ngāti Raukawa (Winiata/Mikaere)
WAI1610	Piripi Walker	Walker Whānau
WAI1619	John Kereopa and John Rewiti	Ngāti Parewahawaha (Rewiti)
WAI1623	Turoa Karatea, Mason Durie, Danny Karatea-Goddard, Sue Herangi	Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitikei
WAI1625	Te Waari Carkeek and Enerata Carkeek	Descendants of Te Rangihaeata, Te Rangitopeora, Matene Te Whiwhi and Heeni Te Whiwhi Te Rei
WAI1626	Te Waari Carkeek	Descendants of Hoani Te Puni I Rangiriri Taipua
WAI1630	Heitia Raureti	Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti
WAI1638	Ipimia Arapata	Descendants of Ngahuia Anderson
WAI1660	Oriana Paewai	Ngāti Kauwhata ki te Tonga (Paewai)
WAI1729	Sara Poananga	Ngāti Kauwhata ki te Tonga Settlement
WAI1815	Kahu Stirling	Ngāti Kauwhata ki te tonga (Stirling)
WAI1872	Hare Arapere and Puruhe Smith	Ngāti Pikiahu
WAI1936	Maruhaeremuri Stirling	Ngāti Kauwhata ki te Tonga Public Works Takings (Stirling)
WAI2032	Lee Iranui Lee	Ngāti Kauwhata ki te Tonga Rating Policy
WAI2261	Kim Poananga	Ngāti Kauwhata ki te Tonga Soldier Resettlement Issues

HE ITI NĀ MŌTAI INTRODUCTION

He Iti Nā Mōtai is the oral and traditional history report submitted by Te Hono ki Raukawa on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

The report was produced to meet the dual purposes of:

- a) to serve the future generations, that they will know themselves; and
- b) to serve the current generation in their pursuit of tino rangatiratanga.

The four parts to this Ngāti Raukawa narrative look to describe the origins and experiences of our people over the last 180 years. The story begins with who we were at the time as a people; our whakapapa connections to each other and to other iwi around the country as well as our iwi structures and influence on the local and wider political landscape.

The report describes the trials and challenges our tūpuna faced as they migrated to the *promised* lands to the south. These challenges included starvation, vulnerability to weather and attacks from other iwi upon whose land we sought passage. Over three to four years, the main heke arrived in the southern lands where other iwi resided at the time and within which Ngāti Raukawa soon established their own mana whenua. While some hapū migrated from Maungatautari, others emerged in the new homeland. Some of whom have now faded from our lives and we retain only the barest memories of their existence. Amongst their legacy is 20 active and functioning marae dispersed between Rangitīkei and Ōtaki.

We see evidence of the sustained efforts of the Crown to assimilate Ngāti Raukawa into a foreign way of life at the cost of our own rich and unique Raukawa view of the world. The coloniser's tried and globally tested tactics of disconnecting the people from their lands and suspending our ties to each other. These interventions brought us to the precipice of extinction.

In disassociating us from our lands, the coloniser effectively eliminated our ability to sustain ourselves and changed the fundamental basis of our existence from a daily concern for the maintenance of mana a whānau, mana a hapū, mana a iwi to a new order of prioritising the creation of individual wealth over traditional established relationships of mutuality and reciprocity. The practise of severing our ties to each other through the colonising processes of

the introduction of Christianity, western notions of education, the Westminster political system, and urbanisation disconnected us from our mātauranga Māori and from the intergenerational transfer of that mātauranga.

A series of twenty hapū narratives illustrate that in the face of loss of hundreds of thousands of acres of land; in spite of the desecration of our many waterways, lakes, streams, rivers and aquifers; regardless of the almost irreversible destruction to our fisheries, flora and other fauna; the obliteration of our language and notwithstanding the wholesale destruction of our very way of life; despite all of this, we survived.

Throughout the 20th century, we see evidence that our people were adapting to their changing circumstances. New institutions and structures emerged that were designed to manage our resources, explore opportunities to work with others and/or to exert influence both in our communities and on the national scene. We imbued these examples of our determination to survive with our distinctive way of understanding and doing things, our own Raukawatanga. Whakatapuranga Rua Mano emerged for this purpose.

The central theme of our experience during the past two centuries has been the search for ever increasing opportunities to express our rangatiratanga. In contradiction the Crown has been relentless in its determination to express kāwanatanga over and above the ambition of its Māori partner represented, in this instance, by Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. There are literally hundreds of pages of the report that demonstrate the Crown's duplicity and the length the Crown's agents would go to have their way. Whatever the cost to our people.

This report has been written by Raukawa, for Raukawa, of Raukawa with support from some of our whanaunga living amongst us. The preparation of the material has been two years in the making and has received the attention of hundreds of our people, kaumatua, pakeke and rangatahi as researchers, writers, interviewers, interviewees, organisers of hui, ringawera, readers, reviewers, planners, and managers. They have all contributed to the content and presentation of this oral history. These are the kaitiaki of our mātauranga and they have served the iwi well.

1.0 Project Brief

Te Hono ki Raukawa, led by Professor Winiata and Tā Taihākurei shaped the project brief seeking submissions from a group of 19 senior Raukawa researchers and historians.

In 2014, an Oral and Traditional History Scoping Report was completed by Tracey Kingi, Whatarangi Winiata and Rachael Selby on behalf of Te Hono ki Raukawa. The project team consulted with the 25 hapū that affiliate to Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa. This took the form of hui held specifically for consultation purposes, attendance and presentation at Te Rūnanga Whāiti meetings and other events where our people gathered. The group held individual conversations with many people with an interest in the claims process. Members of Ngā Māngai (Iwikatea Nicholson, Whatarangi Winiata, Gabrielle Rikihana, Taihākurei Durie) met twice to discuss the project and to review the final proposal.

The purpose of the oral and traditional history project was to complete a research programme that would produce an accurate historical account for the whānau, hapū and iwi of Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa. Collectively, these groups constitute a significant natural grouping for claims settlement purposes including individual applicants to the Waitangi Tribunal. In this document “Ngāti Raukawa” refers to the collective unless the context otherwise requires.

The 2014 scoping report outlined a research approach that included the preparation of individual hapū narratives, one for each hapū, prepared by each hapū. The report anticipated support and resources would be available to establish research teams for the purposes of planning, interviewing and completing their own research.

The benefits of this model of engagement are numerous. Obviously, efficient and effective use of resources was a factor, but more importantly, the extension and expression of pūkengatanga, kotahitanga and rangatiratanga amongst the coalition of hapū affiliated with Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa provided benefits beyond the research and hearings phases. The benefits will extend to the mandating of negotiators in addition to the establishment and activities of our post settlement governance entity. Our preparations for negotiations with the Crown will benefit from being imbued with a commitment to unity of purpose across all whānau, hapū and iwi including the diversity of interests.

The approach provided whānau, hapū and iwi of Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa with the opportunity to participate and record their oral history and traditions in a way that is mana enhancing and that contributes not only to the claims hearing process, but to the mātauranga and wellbeing of future generations.

2.0 Project Purpose

The objectives of the project are to assert:

- the Ngāti Raukawa occupation of the greater part of the Inquiry District at 1840 in accordance with tikanga Māori as an independent people with rights based on ahikaatanga achieved by a combination of raupatu, political and marital alliances. This establishes our right to claim as well as indicating the strength of our claim;
- the distinctive Raukawa kaupapa of unity in diversity. The establishment of unity a) within a diverse group standing under the name of Ngāti Raukawa; b) with Ngāti Toa and Te Ātiawa and c) with the iwi taketake of Rangitāne and Muaūpoko;
- the continuation of that numerically ascendant occupation from Waitapu to Kukutauaki to the present (now represented by 20 functioning marae of the inquiry district);
- the distinctive kaupapa to ensure the survival of Ngāti Raukawa as a fully functioning independent iwi; and
- the distinctive kaupapa of having an iwi identity while recognising the hapū as the primary political unit.

3.0 Report themes

He Iti Nā Motai is comprised of four parts namely:

- Part I: *The Origins and Establishment of Ngāti Raukawa Te Au ki Te Tonga*, prepared by Dr. Arini Loader and Rewa Morgan
- Part II: *The Historical Experiences of the Hapū and Iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga* led by Dr. Wally Penetito with Dr Fiona Te Momo, Manurewa Devonshire and Lynne Raumati.

- Part III: *The Establishment of the Social and Cultural Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the 19th – 21st Centuries* written by Piripi Walker with a contribution by Sir Taihākurei Durie.
- Part IV: *Tino Rangatiratanga* with a chapter *Te Tino Rangatiratanga o Ngāti Raukawa 1840-2017* by Ani Mikaere with a second chapter *Kia Raukawa 3000* by Dr. Winiata.

3.1 Part I: The Origins and Establishment of Ngāti Raukawa

This part comments on the origins of the hapū of Ngāti Raukawa following the heke of various groups into the district. It encompasses their separate and combined activities in possessing and occupying the land and their joint activities. The following themes are addressed:

Whakapapa and Origins

- Key whakapapa lines of the hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa;
- Relationships of the hapū and iwi within Ngāti Raukawa, significant marriages, common ventures and expeditions;
- Ahikaa, origins and locations, peace pacts, relationships and intermarriage with Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne, Muaūpoko and Te Ātiawa;
- Understandings of common identity within the hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa; and
- Te ira tangata me to ira wāhine: the distinctive roles of men and women in establishing the mana of Ngāti Raukawa.

Heke, expeditions and settlement

- The origin and early history of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, the migrations to the district, the initial settlements, the constituent hapū and iwi, their separate and joint activities in possessing and maintaining occupation on the land, their joint ventures and expeditions and their subsequent aggregation, dispersal and relocation to different areas of the takiwā;
- The key historical events that impacted on right holding in the takiwā of the hapū and iwi;
- Intertribal warfare in the 1820s and 1830s and its effect on the balance of power between, and right-holding within, hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa and neighbouring groups;

- Intertribal marriages, discussions of tatau pounamu amongst hapū and iwi and the effect on stabilising iwi and whakapapa ties; and
- The role of wāhine rangatira and the retention of whakapapa lines.

3.2 Part II: The Historical Experiences of the Hapū and Iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga

The Hapū Oral Histories are a series of 20 hapū chapters that complement the other chapters to form the full oral and traditional history report.

The Hapū Oral Histories involve active participation from all the hapū and iwi. The Hapū Oral Histories project narrates and illustrates the cultural landscape by showing information relating to:

- the traditional takiwā of the hapū;
- important whakapapa lines, tūpuna and pepehā;
- sites of significance, wāhi tapū, locations of food gathering sites and natural resources (past and present);
- former and present locations of marae, kāinga, ara and populations;
- defining events, oral history and marae stories;
- biographies and photos of leaders and rangatira.

3.3 Part III: The Establishment of the Social and Cultural Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the 19th – 21st Centuries

This part focuses on the history of the Raukawa confederation and its capacity for kotahitanga in the past, present and future. This report explores the “hapū driven, marae based” approach of Te Hono ki Raukawa as it draws on the many examples of the tangata whenua in giving expression to kotahitanga.

Themes and topics for this paper include:

- The adoption of Christianity by Māori ahead of the arrival of missionaries to the area;
- The building of Rangiātea Church;
- The establishment of the Otaki Māori Racing Club, the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board and the Ōtaki Māori Boys College;

- Rebuilding of Marae, the establishment of the Raukawa Marae Trustees, the establishment of Raukawa Marae in 1936 as a marae for all the hapū and iwi of the Confederation of Te Āti Awa, Raukawa and Toa Rangatira;
- The Ngāti Raukawa contribution to the first and second world wars, retention of land during these wars, the establishment of the Māori Battalion Memorial Hall in Palmerston North, the contribution to sustain whānau during times of conflict and peace;
- The establishment of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc;
- The establishment of a new hapū of Ngāti Manomano;
- The establishment of the Raukawa mandated iwi organisation, the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga;
- Te Reo o Raukawa, the acquisition, maintenance and revival strategy, mātauranga Māori, radio spectrum, Te Reo Irirangi o Te Ūpoko o te Ika, Raukawa Radio/ReoFM; and
- Te Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

3.4 Part IV: Tino Rangatiratanga: The Confederation of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga

This part focuses and reflects on the overarching theme of the Te Hono oral and traditional history project, namely, Tino Rangatiratanga and what that means to Ngāti Raukawa. It brings together the findings of the other three parts, articulates a theory of tino rangatiratanga and presents a conclusion for the project.

Themes and topics for this paper include:

- The denial and maintenance of tino rangatiratanga in a constitutional context;
- The impact of European settlement and engagement with the Crown on the balance of power and right-holding in natural resources (including but not limited to spectrum, water and land)
- Common identity: the Confederation of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, its governance and leadership structures including the current Ngāti Raukawa ecosystem initiative;
- Ngāti Raukawa determination to survive as a people;

The overall theme that is the post-European history of Ngāti Raukawa is marked by the diminution of tino rangatiratanga, notwithstanding its protection in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the

ongoing endeavour to maintain tino rangatiratanga and the direction that Ngāti Raukawa has recently sought and will continue to seek to maintain it into the future.

4.0 The Research Teams

He Iti Nā Motai has been completed by Raukawa, for Raukawa, of Raukawa.

4.1 Project Supervisors

Te Hono ki Raukawa Council has maintained oversight of this project through the appointment of Dr. Whatarangi Winiata as the project supervisor.

Emeritus Professor Dr. Whatarangi Winiata, Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Huia)

Whatarangi has been a member of Te Hono Council since its establishment. Whatarangi led the initial scoping project for the oral and traditional history project working closely with author Tracey Kingi and Rachael Selby. He was the convenor of the Ngā Pūkenga forum, co-supervisor of the oral and traditional history project, author of the *Kia Raukawa 3000* chapter and was also part of the Ngāti Pareraukawa hapū histories team. Matua Whatarangi was interviewed for a number of the reports.

In 1957 Whatarangi graduated with a Bachelor of Commerce from Victoria University, and followed that with an MBA and PhD completed at the University of Michigan. Whatarangi is married to Francie Aratema (Ngāti Whakaue, Ngāti Awa) and the couple live surrounded by their children and grandchildren, in Ōtaki.

In 1975 the 25-year tribal developmental plan known as *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000* was launched by the Raukawa Marae Trustees. Matua Whatarangi is credited as the architect of that programme and drove the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa. He served as Tūmuaki for Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, a post he held for fourteen years concurrently with the position of Professor of Accounting at Victoria University of Wellington.

Matua Whatarangi was instrumental in progressing a number of key Treaty of Waitangi claims against the New Zealand Government including the Fisheries Claim, Radio Spectrum, Broadcasting and others. He was the inaugural President of the Māori Party.

Over the years Whatarangi has been active in a number of iwi organisations including Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, Raukawa Māori District Council, the Ōtaki & Porirua Trusts Board, Rangiātea Church, Raukawa Tauranga Ika Limited, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust, Te Wānanga o Raukawa and its Foundation. He is now the Ahorangi and a Purutanga Mauri at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

4.1 Researchers and Writers

Ani Mikaere, Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Pareraukawa) and Ngāti Porou

Ani was the researcher and author of the chapter *Te Tino Rangatiratanga o Ngāti Raukawa 1840-2017*. She currently holds the position of Kaihautū Whakatupu Mātauranga at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Ani Mikaere lectured in law at Auckland and Waikato Universities for fourteen years before taking up a position in 2001 at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Ani was responsible for the Ahunga Tikanga (Māori Laws and Philosophy) programme from 2003-2009 and, since 2010, she has been co-director of Te Kāhui Whakatupu Mātauranga. In this role she has the responsibility of promoting the recovery and expansion of the body of knowledge that has been bequeathed to Māori by earlier generations.

In 2016 she was awarded Te Kāurutanga, a degree conferred by the founding iwi of Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira). Her thesis, entitled *Like Moths to the Flame? A History of Ngāti Raukawa Resistance and Recovery* investigates the impact of colonisation on Ngāti Raukawa thought and was published in 2017. Other publications include *He Rukuruku Whakaaro: Colonising Myths, Māori Realities* (2011) and *The Balance Destroyed* (2017).

Dr. Arini Loader | Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Maiotaki), Ngāti Whakaue, Te Whānau-a-Apanui

Arini was the author of the first chapter of the report, the *Origins and Establishment of Ngāti Raukawa ki Re Au Te Tonga* which was completed in December 2016.

Arini holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in English Literature, a Post-Graduate Diploma in Te Reo Māori, a Master of Arts in Māori Studies and a PhD in Māori Studies all from Victoria University of Wellington.

Her Master's and PhD research reflect the same intersection of interests, with her Masters' thesis looking at the writings of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi rangatira Wiremu Māihi Te Rangikaheke who lived and worked with Governor George Grey. Te Rangikaheke authored or contributed to at least 800 pages of manuscript material on a vast array of topics and across different genre.

Arini's PhD thesis 'Tau Mai E Kapiti Te Whare Wananga o Ia, o te Nui, o te Wehi o te Toa: Reclaiming Early Raukawa-Toarangatira Writing from Ōtaki' (2013) explored several manuscripts written in the 19th century by two prominent Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira leaders of the time, Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha. Arini is a lecturer in History at Victoria University.

Dr. Fiona Te Momo / Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Whakare), Ngāti Kanohi

As a member of the Hapū Histories team, Fiona supported the shaping of project processes, design and delivery of research wānanga presentations, supported quality management and managed the complicated work of developing the bibliography for the full report. Ngāti Whakare were able to draw on the skills and experience of Fiona in the completion of their Hapū History.

Fiona completed her PhD at the University of Waikato where she also completed a Master of Māori and Pacific Development with Honours. A Senior Lecturer in the School of Māori Knowledge in Massey University on the Albany campus her research focuses on Māori social development. Although her discipline is in Development Studies, for over a decade she conducted research on whānau, hapū, and iwi development. Other research includes community development, social work, iwi resource management, Māori land, Māori voluntary work, and Māori perspectives of biotechnology.

Dr. Gary Raumatī Hook / Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Toa

Dr. Hook was the original Iwi Historian for the Hapū Histories project. Unfortunately, he was called to the United States and was unable to continue in the role. However, he continued to support the project as a regular participant in our Pūkenga group completing report reviews and providing feedback to our various authors.

Raumati Hook is a biochemist with a Masters' in Chemistry, a Ph.D. in Biochemistry, and a Doctorate in Science (Biochemistry) from Victoria University. He worked abroad for close to 35 years, with 31 years at the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences in the USA. His career has been spent as a scientist, editor, and educator. Dr. Hook has published over 150 research publications. His educational experiences are also extensive. He was the Chief Executive of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in Whakatane before relocating to the Kapiti Coast.

Piripi Walker / Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Kikopiri)

Piripi researched and authored the *Establishment of the Social and Cultural Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the 19th and 21st century* chapter of the report.

Piripi was trained as a Māori Language Producer, Radio New Zealand from 1982-1987, in the Continuing Education Unit. He was manager of Te Ūpoko o Te Ika Wellington Māori Language Radio station from 1987-1991 and remains Trustee and Deputy Chair of the Station's Trust Board in 2018. He was secretary of Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo (The Wellington Māori Language Board) for a number of Tribunal and Court cases relating to the Māori language.

Piripi was elected to the national Board of Maori Television (MTS) in 2012. He was appointed Deputy Chair of the MTS Board by Te Pūtahī Paho and the Minister of Māori Affairs in 2015, resigning after five years in 2017. He worked full-time as Director of Language Studies, and directed the Māori Laws and Philosophy Programme, at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki from 1992-1996. He has worked as a writer and translator for print, radio and television over the last twenty-two years.

Rewa Morgan / Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira

Rewa Morgan (Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa) grew up on the Kāpiti Coast and was educated at Victoria University of Wellington and Auckland University. She has worked for the Ministry for Culture and Heritage in the Heritage Operations Team and researched iwi and local history, contributing to a cultural impact assessment for whānau land owners. Rewa currently works as the Māori and Heritage Librarian at Waikanae Library. Rewa provided research support for Dr Arini Loader in the preparation of Part I, the *Origins and Establishment of Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Au ki Te Tonga*.

Dr. Walter (Wally) Takaha Te Ouru Penetito / Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngāti Raukawa

Wally joined the Hapū Histories team as Iwi Historian on the departure of Dr Gary Hook. Wally has directed the team's activities, participated in the reviews of hapū histories reports, supported wānanga and attended hapū meetings. His introduction to the Hapū Histories part of the report demonstrates a thorough understanding of the complexities of the project and of Māori society.

Wally was raised as the second eldest of a family of 11 in two small rural communities in central Waikato, namely, Waharoa and Hinuera. His maunga are Maungatautari and Maungākawa, Waikato is the awa, the hapū is Ngāti Te Oro, Ko Raungaiti te marae. Wally's professional career began in schools and then in associated institutions (Māori Advisory Service, Department of Education, Education Review Office) before settling into academic life at the universities of Massey, Waikato, and Victoria. While at Victoria he gained a PhD in the Sociology of Māori Education.

Wally is married to Sheena. The couple have a family of three with ten mokopuna and two mokopuna tuarua.

4.2 Project coordination, liaison and administration

To support the group of researchers and writers engaged in the production of the three chapters, a small support group was established.

Manurere Devonshire TTC, Dip.Bil.Tchg; TMM / Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Manomano), Ngāti Maniapoto

The Hapu Histories team were fortunate to have the support of Manurere Devonshire as hapū research coordinator. Manurere worked closely with hapū to establish their teams, design their research plans, communicate with the project teams, participate in feedback sessions with hapū material and she also contributed to the preparation of the Hapū Histories introduction with Wally.

Manurere was born in Winnipeg Canada and raised in Marton. Her Ngāti Raukawa hapū is Ngāti Manomano, her marae is Taumata o Te Ra in Halcombe and her parents were Te Uru o te Ao and Evelyn Kereama.

Manurere was educated at Rangitikei College, Palmerston North Teachers' College, Wellington Teachers' College of Education and Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Over a period of 43 years she taught in a variety of primary schools in the Manawatū, Horowhenua and Taranaki, Resource Teacher of Māori in Taranaki; Contracted by the Ministry of Education to work with staff of Māori schools. Kaihautū o Te Tari Whakaakoranga at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. She currently serves as a Trustee of Taumata o te Ra Marae; Hapū representative on Ngā Manu Taiko and Te Roopu Hokowhitu and is the Deputy Chairperson of Te Mana Whakahaere o Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Daphne Luke / Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu

The Oral & Traditional History project has been supported by the project manager for Te Hono ki Raukawa along with the communications team. The project manager managed all contracting arrangements and milestone reporting related to the *He Iti Nā Motai* report. Daphne provided project management and research support for the hapū histories project and for Part 4: Tino Rangatiratanga. Daphne was also the editor for the full oral and traditional history report.

Daphne was the founder and managing director of the Kapiti Horowhenua Māori economic development agency. She is a member of Te Mana Whakahaere o Te Wānanga o Raukawa and holds local and national governance roles. Daphne holds a Masters in Māori Management from Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Administration, communications and financial management. During the life of this project, Te Hono has had the support of five iwi members as follows:

- *Hiria Te Kauru-Green | Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Pareraukawa), Ngāti Porou.* Hiria provided administration, coordination and communications support as well as fulfilling the role of research assistant to her koro Whatarangi Winiata for chapter 4. As a consequence of relocating to Gisborne, Hiria resigned from the role but has continued to review draft research reports and provide feedback.
- *Lynne Raumati | Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Toa.* Lynne provided project and communications support for the Hapū Histories project team following the resignation of Hiria Te Kauru-Green, the original resource appointment.

- *Whare Akuhata* | *Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti), Patuwai*. Whare supported the project with communications, promotions.
- *Renee Whiley* | *Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Kikopiri), Muaūpoko*. Renee provided administration and communications support until her resignation.
- *Azriel Greenland* | *Ngāti Raukawa (Ngāti Manomano), Muaūpoko*. Azriel provides administration, communications and hui coordination support to the project.
- *Cassidy Pidduck* | *Te Āti Awa*. Cassidy has provided financial management and reporting support for this project.

4.3 Hapū research teams

Te Hono has insisted that the Raukawa claims be prosecuted through the customary institutions of whānau, hapū and iwi. The hapū is the primary political unit in Raukawa kaupapa and tikanga. The hapū have customary responsibilities to each other and to the iwi collective as a whole. They are represented collectively in the Iwi. Treaty claims belong not to individuals, but to the whānau, hapū and iwi, on whose behalf the claims are made, in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975³.

The Hapū Histories team supported 18 research teams established by hapū. The teams were populated by 108 researchers, interviewers and writers. Collectively, they conducted 101 interviews and held wānanga with 303 participants across the rohe. We have recorded participation by 512 iwi members, it is likely that there were more people engaged in discussions who did not sign an attendance sheet.

The hapū research teams and kaitautoko included:

Ngāti Kapu	Rawiri Rikihana, Terewai Rikihana, Jayme Bishop, Whare Akuhata, Ellen Anderson, Heitia Raureti, Roderick Gray, Akuhata Akuhata
Ngāti Maiotaki	Deanna Rudd, Donovan Joyce, Dr Arini Loader
Ngāti Koroki	Mishy Vieira, Queenie Rikihana Hyland, Mahia Vieira, Nellie Carkeek, Pareraukawa Carkeek, Gabrielle Rikihana
Ngāti Kikopiri	Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, Rob Kuiti, Puhi Campbell, Heeni Collins
Ngāti Pareraukawa	Dr. Whatarangi Winiata, Rachael Selby, Ani Mikaere, Rawiri Richmond, Pataka Moore, Heni Jacob

³ Te Hono ki Raukawa Strategic Plan 2011

Ngāti Whakatere Ngāti Ngarongo	Dr. Fiona Te Momo, Te Meera Hyde and Ani Rauhihi Te Kenehi Teira, Heeni Collins, Puihi Carlotta Campbell and the Kereru Marae Committee
Ngāti Takihiku Ngāti Te Au	Rangi Te Whiu Jury Ted Devonshire, Kararaina Oldridge, Rangamahora Wynyard, Hayley Bell, Pip Devonshire, Manurere Devonshire
Ngāti Rakau Paewai Ngāti Parewahawaha Ngāti Manomano	Milton Rauhihi Dr. Robyn Richardson, Pita Richardson, Oma Heitia Jerald Twomey, Dylan Kiriona, Manurere Devonshire, George Kereama, Awhina Twomey
Ngā Hapū ki Te Reureu (Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Pikiahu, Ngāti Waewae)	Lou Chase, Huatahi Nuku, Paula-Maree McKenzie, Rochelle Paranihi, Peter Reweti, Turoa Karatea, Hare Arapere, Aroha Paranihi
Ngāti Rangatahi Ngāti Kauwhata (Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Kauwhata ki Aorangi, Ngāti Turoa)	Tumanako Herangi, Sir Taihākurei Durie, Dennis Emery, Taihākurei Durie, Rarite Matike, Tiratahi Taipana, Meriti Taipana, Bridget Bell, Roimata Olsen, Dr. Ra Durie, John Cribb
Ngāti Tukorehe (incomplete) Ngāti Hikitanga (incomplete)	Yvonne Wehipeihana-Wilson, Quentin Parr, Larry Parr

Image 1: Research wānanga at Tainui Marae. Source: Te Hono



Queenie Rikihana, Mahia Vieira part of Ngāti Koroki research team attend a research wānanga at Tainui Marae, Convent Road, Ōtaki

5.0 Ngāti Raukawa Engaged

From the outset, project co-supervisor Professor Winiata identified that a crucial element of the project was to develop the capacity of the iwi in the areas of research, writing and associated scholarly pursuits. Accordingly, the team shaped its plans to maximise the engagement of iwi members at every level of the project.

5.1 Ngā Pūkenga and Kaiarotake - Quality assurance

When the Waitangi Tribunal confirmed the Inquiry research programme, Te Hono contacted over twenty Raukawa senior researchers and doctorate holders with the view to encouraging the establishment of Raukawa research teams and research proposals. The outcome of this was that 60% of the research commissioned included Ngāti Raukawa researchers, writers, managers and/or advisors.

Ngā Pūkenga, a group of our senior most scholars supported the planning and research policy of Te Hono ki Raukawa for the last three years in a voluntary capacity. The group met regularly to support the research teams engaged in preparing the four parts of the report. This support paid attention to the following:

- the development of research plans;
- mentoring, support and advice through monthly hui;
- supporting cohesion across the four parts;
- receiving and endorsement of progress reports;
- monitoring progress against agreed milestones;
- ensuring academic rigour to the material;
- review of draft material and testing for clarity of the content and consistency with known contributions of tūpuna; and
- ensuring that the tino rangatiratanga theme was present through the four parts of the report.

Forum members included:

Sir Taihākurei Durie
Dr. Selwyn Katene
Dr. Gary Raumati Hook
Dr. Wally Penetito

Dr. Huhana Smith
Dr. Arini Loader
Piripi Walker
Professor Whatarangi Winiata

Dr. Mereana Selby
Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal
Rachael Selby
Hiria Te Kauru-Green
Donna Hall

Dr. Fiona Te Momo
Ani Mikaere
Dr. Ra Durie
Lynne Raumati

The Inquiry research programme commissioned 19 reports between 200 pages and in some cases, over 800 pages. Te Hono committed to participate in the reading, review and feedback of each of these reports. Ngā Pūkenga supported this activity and a forum of Kaiarotake or iwi reviewers was also established by Whatarangi who developed a list of hapū and iwi members who were persuaded to read portions of the reports and provide feedback to the authors. The question posed to participating kaiarotake was "is this consistent with the understandings you and your whānau have on this topic?"

Image 2: Kaiārotake meet with Dr Joseph, Paul Meredith & Leah Gifford at Ōtaki in February 2016. Source: Te Hono



Participants in this process included:

Ana Winiata
Kimo Winiata
Pataka Moore
David Moore
Ani Mikaere
Mereti Taipana
Dennis Emery
Kim Savage

Beau Matakātea
Paula-Marie McKenzie
Rochelle Paranihi
Huatahi Nuku
Queenie Rikihana
Tiratahi Taipana
Bridget Bell
Deanna Rudd

Robert Ketu
Te Meera Hyde
Jerald Twomey
Manurere Devonshire
Caleb Royal
Whare Akuhata
Huatahi Nuku
David Moore
Jordan Hamel

Justin Tamihana
Robyn Richardson
Ted Devonshire
Lynne Raumati
Heni Wirihana Te Rei
Te Kenehi Teira
Aroha Paranihi
Paranihia Walker
Daniel Kleinsman

We are grateful to these 39 iwi members who volunteered their time and energy to this task. There is no doubt that the quality of comment and provision of additional content through the collective memory of Ngāti Raukawa, Te Reureu and Ngāti Kauwhata enriched the the 19 commissioned reports.

5.2 Wānanga and hui

Throughout the project, the teams developed opportunities to engage with whānau, hapū and iwi reporting to Te Hono hui a iwi, in social media and in the newsletter Kotuitui.

Each hapū research team held at least two wānanga with their hapū, the first to present a research plan and seek support to complete the research; and the second to present the completed narrative. Many held three or four wānanga with marae and hapū members to solicit contributions to their narratives.

We also paid special attention to engaging both kaumātua and rangatahi with wānanga and hui. Since the project began, the team organised, consulted with and reported to five Kaumātua hui:

- 17 June 2016 at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki with 71 attendees
- 23 November 2016 at Ngātokowaru Mare, Hokio with 62 attendees
- 29 May 2017 at Taumata o Te Ra Marae, Halcombe with 56 attendees
- 3 December 2017 at Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki with 30 attendees
- 1 July 2018 at Taumata o Te Ra Marae, Halcombe with 60 attendees

Image 3: Kaumātua Hui at Taumata o Te Ra Marae, Halcombe in June 2017. Source: Te Hono



Our attendance records identify 279 attendees however, some of these people attended more than one meeting. The unique attendances number 186 individuals. We are indebted to these rangatira who contributed their knowledge and support and who were crucial to encouraging their hapū and iwi to participate in the project.

The project team recognised the need to engage rangatahi in the claims discussion. They worked with six clusters of hapū to host a series of rangatahi wānanga that attracted 210 attendees across the rohe.

- 19 July 2017 – Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki with 15 attendees
- 26 August 2017 – Ngāti Parerauawa with 40 attendees
- 26 May 2018 – Ngāti Manomano with 30 attendees
- 2 June 2018 – Ngāti Parewahawaha with 55 attendees
- 24 June 2018 – Ngā Hapū o Te Reureu with 40 attendees
- 29 June 2018 – Ngā Hapū o Himatangi with 30 attendees

The focus of these hui was whakapapa, whanaungatanga and the environment. Hapū took the opportunity to engage the rangatahi in discussions on the natural resources of the hapū. These discussions helped to inform the research completed by these hapū and iwi.

The Te Hono oral and traditional history team held seven wānanga with the hapū research teams attracting 87 hapū-based researchers, interviewers and writers:

- 10 September 2016 with 12 participants at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki
- 29 October 2016 with 10 participants at the Presbyterian Church, Ōtaki
- 12 November 2016 with 10 participants at Palmerston North City Library
- 26 November 2016 with 23 participants at Huia Marae, Levin
- 14 May 2017 with 12 participants at Tainui Marae, Ōtaki
- 10 September 2017 with 14 participants at Te Tikanga Marae, Te Reureu
- 30 May 2018 with 6 participants at Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, Levin

Interviewees were informed of issues such as ownership, copyright, privacy matters and how their information will be used. Interviewers ensured that consent forms were completed for all interviews.

Interviews were conducted either one on one or in group situations and usually lasted 60-90 minutes. Individual kaumātua interviews were limited to 30 minute sessions. Interviews were recorded digitally. Interviewees were given the opportunity to check transcribed portions of their recorded interviews and a copy of the recorded interview was returned to each interviewee.

These tikanga had been developed by Te Wānanga o Raukawa to assist students to complete interviews as part of their studies. Piripi Walker provided a set of guidelines for the interviewing of kaumātua.

On the completion of Part 2, hapū research teams drew on transcripts of 101 interviews.

6.0 Research Methodology

The overall theme of the Te Hono ki Raukawa oral and traditional history project is that the post-European history of Ngāti Raukawa is marked by the diminution of its tino rangatiratanga. The methodology for researching and writing the Te Hono Oral and Traditional History Report was guided by the 2014 scoping report and the 2016 project brief which Professor Winiata took responsibility for implementation.

A team of thirteen researcher/writers and project support people were involved in gathering evidence, the preparation and coordination of the four parts of the report. Te Hono ki Raukawa contracted and managed all personnel directly through its project manager.

The researchers were contracted directly by Te Hono who monitored all project outcomes and reported on the achievement of milestones as agreed to in its own contracting arrangements with CFRT.

Members of the Ngā Pūkenga forum were invited to express their interest in completing one or more of the four sections of the report. As a result, Piripi Walker, Arini Loader, Ani Mikaere and Gary Hook, later replaced by Wally Penetito were appointed as lead providers for the four sections. Equipped with detailed project plans prepared by Te Hono, each established their own research and support arrangements and their projects got underway.

Image 4: Hapū Histories Project team at Poutu Marae, March 2017. Source: Te Hono



From left: Wally Penetito, Manurere Devonshire, Taihākurei Durie, Lynne Raumati with Whatarangi Winiata and Fiona Te Momo (seated)

The hapū histories project team spent some time refining their project plan, shaping processes, templates and promoting their project to hapū and iwi gatherings.

The agreed process included:

- a) The formation of hapū research teams by hapū leadership.
- b) The preparation of individual hapū research plans that identified the team members; the key themes of their narrative; their origins, survival and settlement; whakapapa; land acquisition and loss; hapū leadership; wellbeing and survival.
- c) Once the individual research plans were approved by hapū, Te Hono entered into an agreement with the hapū that identified the project timeframes and resourcing arrangements for administration, travel and the cost of interviews and wānanga.
- d) Te Hono's project team then hosted a series of wānanga for hapū research teams to provide training, templates and support for the implementation of their research plans.
- e) Teams also attended wānanga with the mapper and were supported to identify the elements to be included in their maps.
- f) The project team's hapū coordinator remained in constant contact with the hapū teams and reported on progress.
- g) When draft reports were completed, the project team read the drafts and provided feedback in writing and in person to the hapū research teams.
- h) Once hapū completed their final amendments and additions, they presented their reports to their hapū for approval.
- i) On approval, the Te Hono project team completed final formatting and submitted the reports to the funder.

The project team initially worked with eight hapū who were keen to get started. The second tranche followed and completed their narratives as programmed. Once issues of politics, finding suitably skilled and available team members, shaping approved plans and resourcing were finalised, the final tranche was able to get underway.

The team working on Part 4 was the final group to begin drawing on draft and final technical reports and hapū narratives. It was decided that two chapters would be prepared; one by Ani that focused on the diminution of tino rangatiratanga over the last 178 years and a second by Professor Whatarangi Winiata that focused on the survival of Ngāti Raukawa and future extensions of tino rangatiratanga.

The Te Hono project team prepared the full oral and traditional history report introductions, hapū profiles, conclusion and full bibliography. This was in addition to completing formatting, referencing and editing of all material.

6.1 Sources

The researchers and writers engaged across the four parts consulted a wide range of written and other sources for this project including:

- Manuscripts and letters;
- Thesis and research essays;
- Private Whānau Whakapapa records;
- Native/Māori Land Court Records;
- Newspapers and document banks;
- Crown and Private Purchases Records and Petitions document banks;
- Te Reo Sources document bank;
- GIS Historical block data;
- Transcripts of 2014 Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearings and Waitangi Tribunal hearings;
- Waitangi Tribunal reports and Court Cases; and
- CFRT and Waitangi Tribunal commissioned technical and generic reports including:
 - Historical Issues 1: Custom, colonisation and the Crown 1820-1900;
 - Historical Issues 2: Crown Action & Māori Response, Land & Politics 1840-1900;
 - Historical Issues 3: Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and the Issue of Reserves 1840-2000;
 - Historical Issues 4: Rangatiratanga vs. Kāwanatanga 1890-2000;
 - Rangitikei River Historical Report
 - Rangitikei River: Cultural Perspectives Report;
 - One Past, Many Histories: Porirua ki Manawatū District Overview 19th Century Tribal Land and Politics Report;
 - Block Research Narratives;
 - Local Government Issues;
 - Inland Waterways: Historical Report;
 - Inland Waterways: Cultural Perspectives;
 - Environmental and Natural Resources
 - Public Works Issues; and
 - Lake Horowhenua Report.

Hapū research teams also drew on:

- Oral recordings of interviews with kaumātua and hapū members;
- Student assignments completed in fulfilment of studies at Te Wānanga o Raukawa;
- Transcripts of kaumātua interviews conducted as part of academic studies at Te Wānanga o Raukawa;
- Kowhaiwhai, tukutuku and whakairo of whare tupuna; and
- Waiata, mōteatea and whakatauki compositions.

6.2 Interviews

Oral interviews and the use of oral sources for our project is significant because it allows for the voice of our people to be heard and for their kōrero to be prescribed due importance alongside complex technical research in Tribunal Inquiries and during settlement negotiations.

Over the last thirty years Te Wānanga o Raukawa has developed a set of kaupapa based standards for the preparation and completion of interviews and in particular, for the interviewing of kaumātua. All researchers were provided training and adhered to those tikanga.

6.3 Mapping

Geospatial maps were required for all parts of the Te Hono oral and traditional history project. The Hapū Histories and Map Book required a significantly greater proportion of budgeted mapping hours. Te Hono contracted the services of Stuart Halliday based in Manawatū.

Stuart has been providing geospatial and mapping services for 15 years through his company Geospatial Solutions Ltd. He specialises in the areas of Te Tiriti o Waitangi settlement and Takutai Moana (Marine and Coastal Area). Stuart provides expertise in the application of GIS (Geographic Information System) and related technologies to provide maximum gain from the collection, analysis and presentation of geospatial data. This includes creating, collating and presenting new and existing data for use within GIS systems, production of maps, and geospatial data analysis and reporting.

Stuart was born in Gore and lived in Waimate and Dunedin before the family settled in Dannevirke. Stuart completed a B.Sc. and M.Sc. at Massey University, Palmerston North,

followed by 5 years in the USA. Upon returning to New Zealand Stuart worked in Whakatane for 20 years before returning to Palmerston North six years ago.

Te Hono ki Raukawa developed an approach that saw the identification of elements for inclusion in the reports from the earliest stages of research planning, data gathering and in analysis. At this point, the mapper held wānanga with hapū research teams. During this session, the mapper facilitated the discussion to precisely identify the mapping needs of individual hapū research teams.

6.4 Format and delivery

Te reo Māori, te reo Pākehā

There has been a substantial debate within the team about whether the report should be written and presented to the Tribunal in te reo Māori. It is the preference for the group, however we are reminded that the teaching language of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was te reo Pākehā and have also drawn on comment by Bruce Biggs that all Māori should be guaranteed participation in their hapū regardless of whether they speak te reo Māori or not. Therefore, with the exception of the Ngāti Takihiku narrative all parts are written in te reo Pākehā, the Iwi will consider their translation into te reo at a later time.

There is a high level of te reo competency across the four project teams including a qualified translator in Piripi Walker. Piripi supported the other teams with translation needs that arose during the completion of their projects.

Writing conventions, interviewing techniques and training

Similarly, the Wānanga has developed its own conventions around the presentation of written material that all undergraduate and postgraduate students are required to use in the preparation of their written assignments during their studies at the Wānanga. Our people are familiar with these conventions and their adoption by hapū claims research groups and the researcher/writers occurred.

Te Hono held workshops on interviewing and writing conventions for all personnel engaged in the project.

Format and presentation

Iwi historians and hapū research groups provided a hard and electronic copy of draft and final narratives report to Te Hono. The researchers with the assistance of the project team and Ngā Pūkenga have proofed, edited and referenced the draft and final reports.

6.5 Ownership of report

The ownership of this oral and traditional history report resides in Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Kauwhata and Te Reureu. This is rangatiratanga. Te Hono has given undertakings to the hapū and iwi who participated in this project that individual hapū and iwi will retain ownership of their own material and that Te Hono will only use it for the purposes of this project.

6.6 Contracting

Te Hono ki Raukawa was contracted by CFRT to provide the Oral & Traditional History project research outputs. In turn, Te Hono contracted all required project personnel to produce the four O&TH reports. Te Hono reported quarterly to CFRT on its research outputs while managing research provider sub-contracts.

Te Hono was responsible for:

- Agreeing the project brief, shaping deliverables, milestones and reporting intervals;
- Full financial management for the project including resourcing hapū research teams, managing contracting arrangements and all reporting;
- Ensuring that hapū are given the opportunity to participate and in doing so, to express their rangatiratanga;
- Proactively identifying issues of risk with either the research contracts or the research project that require attention;
- Organising timely quality assurance on all draft research outputs and ensuring that all feedback is addressed by research providers in revised research outputs; and
- Organising and advertising all required project research hui and wānanga and arranging all venues and catering.

These functions were completed by the project manager with the guidance and direction of the project supervisors.

6.7 The contribution of Crown Forestry Rental Trust

Te Hono ki Raukawa worked with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust to shape arrangements for the production of a publication that would meet our respective needs. This required proactive and open lines of communication, including face to face meetings and a commitment to joint problem solving.

The Crown Forestry Rental Trust provided resourcing to support the preparation of the report. Over the life of the contract, Trust personnel including, Jasmine Cooper and Tina Mihaere-Rees both of whom have since left the Trust and our current advisers Kathryn Rose and Nicola-Kiri Smith have provided support for our teams.

The pre-publication version of the report will be filed with the Waitangi Tribunal by Te Hono in September 2018. The team have completed discussion with Te Tākupu, the publishing unit of Te Wānanga o Raukawa to prepare and publish a final version of the report that will be finished to a higher standard and distributed as an iwi taonga to the hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga in early 2019.

7.0 NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE TONGA

A brief introduction to each of the twenty marae affiliated with Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga is included in this section.

Each profile provides the name of the whare tupuna and whare kai, the marae address and a location map.

A brief pepeha identifying the affiliated maunga, awa, iwi and hapū is also included.

KATHIHIKU MARAE

Katihiku Marae is located 7km southwest of Ōtaki, off State Highway One close to the coast and the mouth of the Ōtaki river. The whare tupuna is Tamatehura and the whare kai is Te Rongorito.



195 Swamp Road, Te Horo



- Maunga: Hinetu
- Awa: Ōtaki
- Iwi: Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Katihiku, Tūwhakahewa

TE POU O TAINUI MARAE

Also referred to simply as Tainui, the Marae is located 3km northwest of the Ōtaki township towards Ōtaki Beach. The whare tupuna is named Kapumanawawhiti.



Convent Road, Ōtaki



- Te pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Ōtaki, Waitohu
- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Kapu

RAUKAWA MARAE

Raukawa Marae is located in the Ōtaki township, off State Highway 1. The whare tupuna is also named Raukawa.



90 Mill Road, Ōtaki



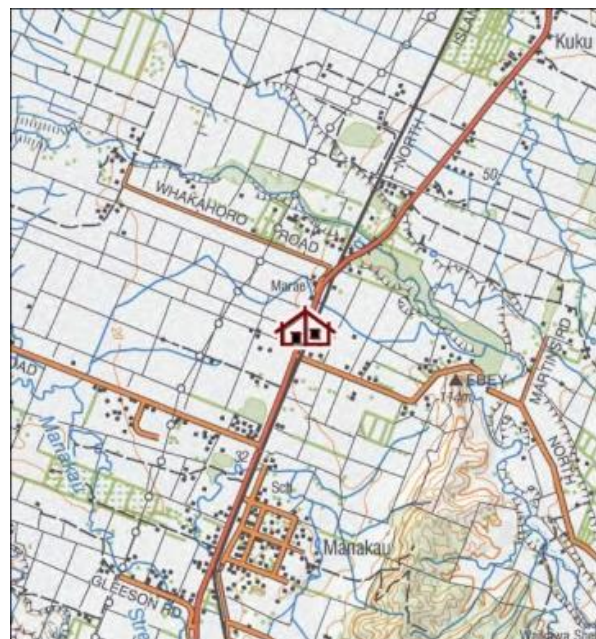
- Ngā pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Ōtaki
- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Korokī, Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Maiotaki

WEHIWEHI MARAE

Wehiwehi Marae is located about 11 km southwest of Levin, on State Highway 1. The whare tupuna is also named Wehiwehi, and the wharekai is Patiharuru.



944 State Highway 1, Manakau



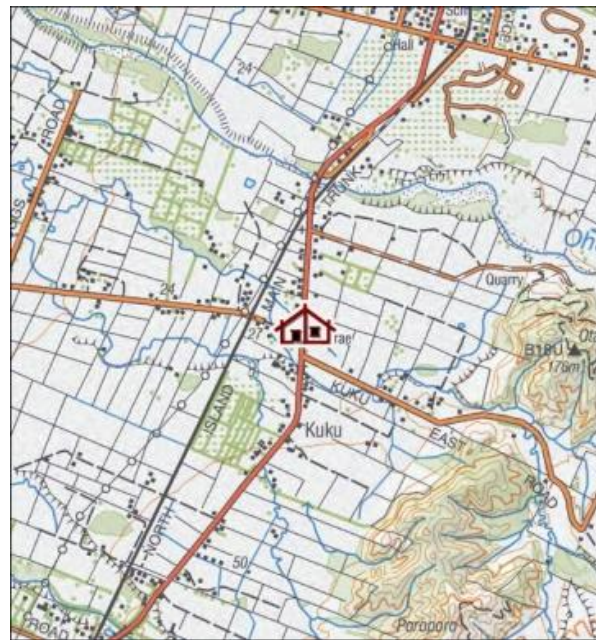
- Ngā pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Waikawa, Manakau
- Iwi: Te Kotahitanga o te Iwi o Ngāti Wehi Wehi, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Wehiwehi, Tamatatai, Rangitawhia, Pihaka

TUKOREHE MARAE

Tūkorehe Marae is located in Ōhau, about 8 km southwest of Levin, on State Highway 1. The whare tupuna is named Tūkorehe and the wharekai is Ngaparetaihinu.



615 State Highway 1, Manakau



- Ngā pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Ōhau,
- Iwi: Ngāti Tūkorehe, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Te Rangitāwhia, Te Mateawa, Ngāti Manu, Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti

KIKOPIRI MARAE

Kikopiri Marae is located near Lake Waiwiri, about 6 km southwest of Levin, just off State Highway 1. The whare tupuna is also called Kikopiri.



242 Muhunua West Road, Ōhau, Levin



- Ngā pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Ōhau
- Roto: Waiwiri
- Iwi: Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Hikitanga

NGĀTOKOWARU MARAE

Ngātokowaru Marae is nestled on the south bank of Hokino Stream, west of the Lake Horowhenua and about 8 km of Levin. The whare tūpuna, Ngātokowaru was opened by Ngāti Toa Rangatira in March 1978. The dining room Pareunuora has undergone several renovations since 1981, with the new kitchen being completed in 2012.



580 Hokino Beach Road, Hokino Beach



- Awa: Hokino
- Iwi: Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Pareraukawa

HUIA MARAE

Huia Marae is located on the northern outskirts of Levin on State Highway 1. The whare tupuna is also named Huia.



507 State Highway 1, Levin



- Ngā Pae Maunga: Tararua
- Te Maunga Tapu: Paeroa
- Iwi: Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhao

MATAU MARAE

Matau Marae is located on the northern outskirts of Levin on State Highway 1. The whare tupuna is also named Matau.



17 Clay Road, North Levin, Levin



- Iwi: Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Huia ki Matau

KERERU MARAE

Kerurū Marae is located just off State Highway 57, about 10 km northeast of Levin and about 45 km southwest of Palmerston North. The whare tupuna is named Mahinaarangi.



488 Koputaroa Road, Koputaroa



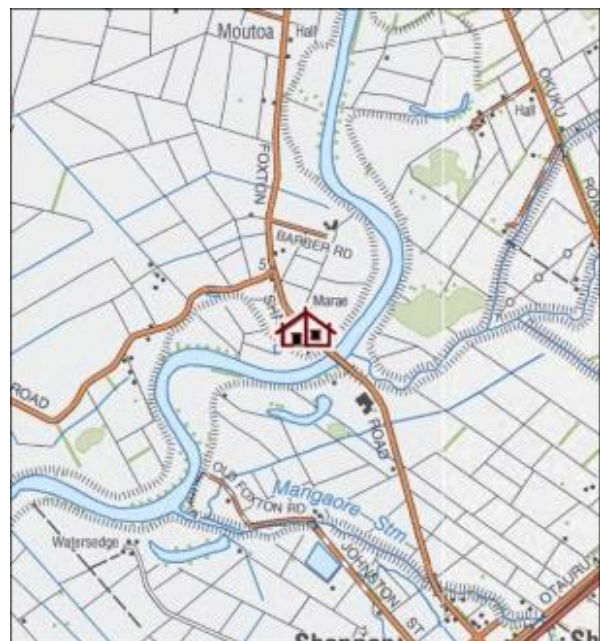
- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Ngārongo, Ngāti Takihikū

WHAKAWEHI MARAE

Whakawehi Marae is located northwest of Shannon on the Foxton Shannon Road, just off State Highway 57, about 35 km southwest of Palmerston North. The whare tupuna of Whakawehi are named Mahi Tamariki and Poutu, and the whare karakia is Turongo.



1281 Foxton-Shannon Road, Moutoa



- Ngā pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Manawatū
- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Whakaterere

PARANUI MARAE

Paranui Pā is situated on SH1 approximately 2.2km south of the Palmerston North, Himatangi turn off. The whare tupuna is named Tūranga. The wharekai is named Hinewaha and the wharepuni is named Te Kohera. The wider land around Paranui is known as Himatangi.



State Highway One, Himatangi



- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Tūranga, Ngāti Te Au



MOTUITI MARAE

Motuiti Marae is situated in Himatangi, on State Highway 1 about 4 km north of Foxton and 35 km southwest of Palmerston North. The whare tupuna is named Rakau-Paewai and the wharekai is named Kuia Kūpapa.



278 State Highway 1, Himatangi, Foxton



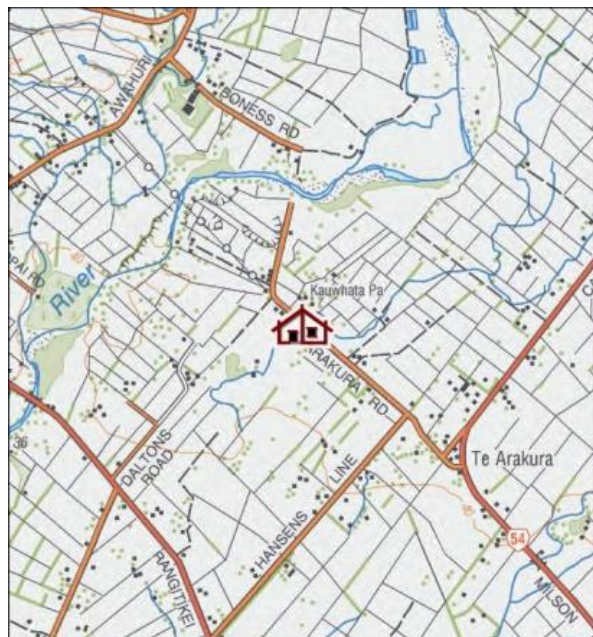
- Ngā pae maunga: Tararua
- Awa: Manawatū
- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Rākau

KAUWHATA MARAE

Kauwhata Marae also known as Kai Iwi Pā, is located just south of Feilding near the Ōroua River. The wharenui is also named Kauwhata, the whare kai is Moarikura and the whare mokopuna is Te Aroha o Ngā Mokopuna.



148A Te Arakura Road, Feilding



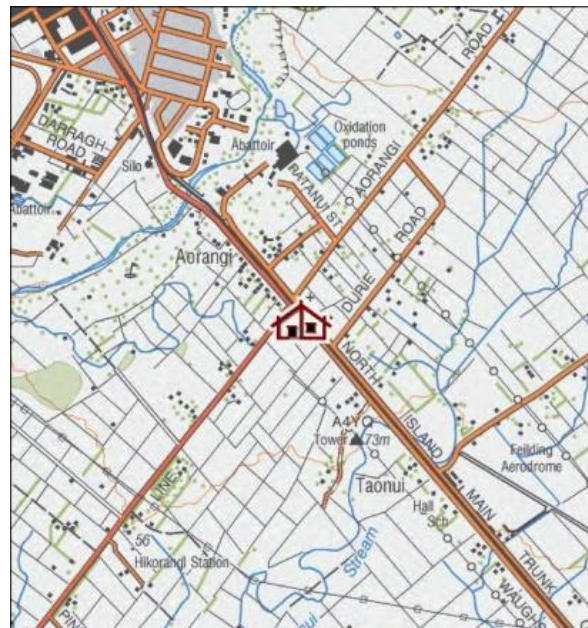
- Ngā pae maunga: Ruahine
- Awa: Ōroua, Manawatū
- Iwi: Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Hinepare

AORANGI MARAE

Aorangi Marae is located just south of Fielding. The whareniui is named Maniaihu. The whare is 65 feet long and 25 feet wide. The house had previously stood on the Awahuri side of the Ōroua River and was relocated to the present site near Taonui in circa 1890.



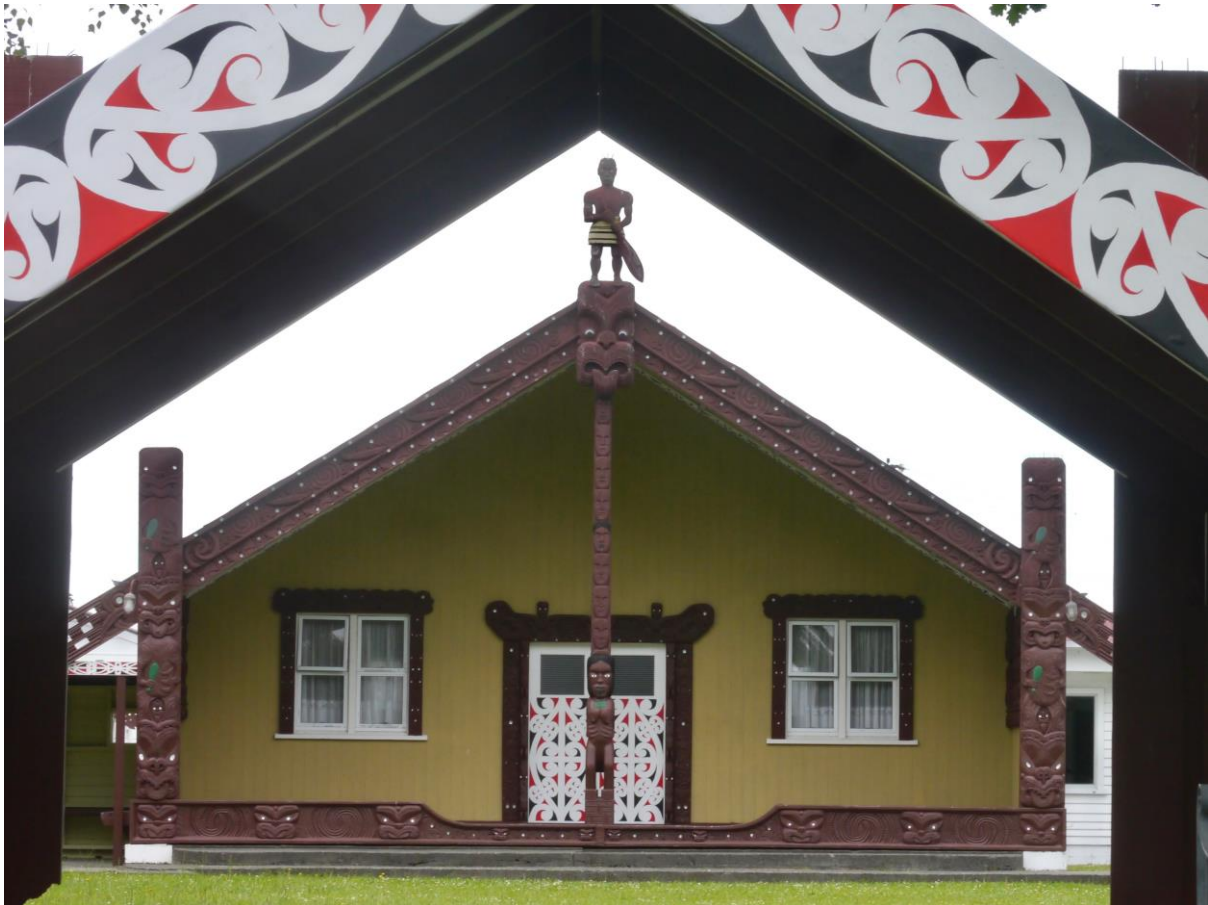
6 Waughs Road (Aorangi Road) Aorangi, Fielding



- Ngā pae maunga: Ruahine
- Awa: Ōroua, Manawatū
- Iwi: Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Kauwhata

PAREWAHAWAHA MARAE

Parewahawaha Marae is located in Bulls, Rangitikei and the land on which it sits is known as Ohinepuhiawe. The whareniui is named Parewahawaha and was opened by Dame Te Atairangikaahu on 15 April, 1967. Raungaiti is the name of the whare kai.



2 Domain Road, Bulls



- Awa: Rangitikei
- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Parewahawaha
- Whare: Parewahawaha

TAUMATA O TE RĀ MARAE

Taumata o Te Rā Marae is located in Halcombe, about 29 km north of Palmerston North. The whareniui is named Manomano.



60 Hastings Street, Halcombe



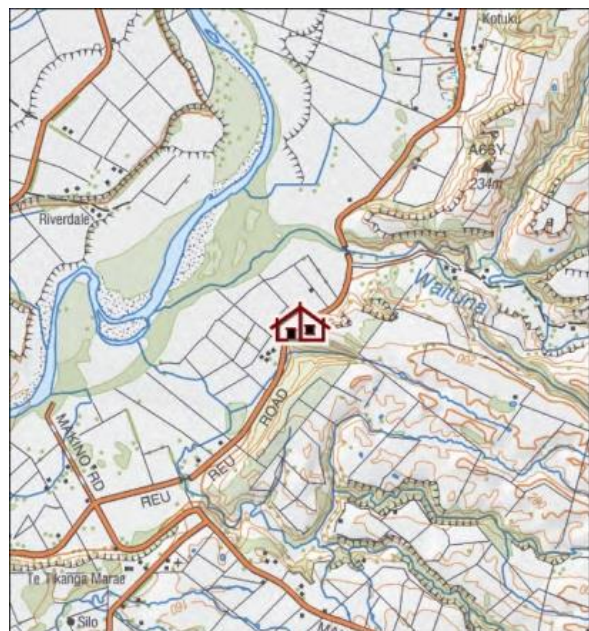
- Te pae maunga: Ruahine
- Awa: Rangitikei
- Iwi: Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa
- Hapū: Ngāti Manomano

POUPATATE MARAE

Poupatatē Marae is located just outside Halcombe, about 40 km north of Palmerston North. Poupatatē derives its name from the saying “Te Poupou o te Patate koia ai te motu” (the post of Patate will unite the land) said by King Tāwhiao. The whare, Poupatatē, was relocated from Kaungaroa in 1860, shifted to Onepuhi and finally settled at its present site in 1907.



199 Reu Reu Road, Tokorangi



- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa
- Hapū: Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae

TE TIKANGA MARAE

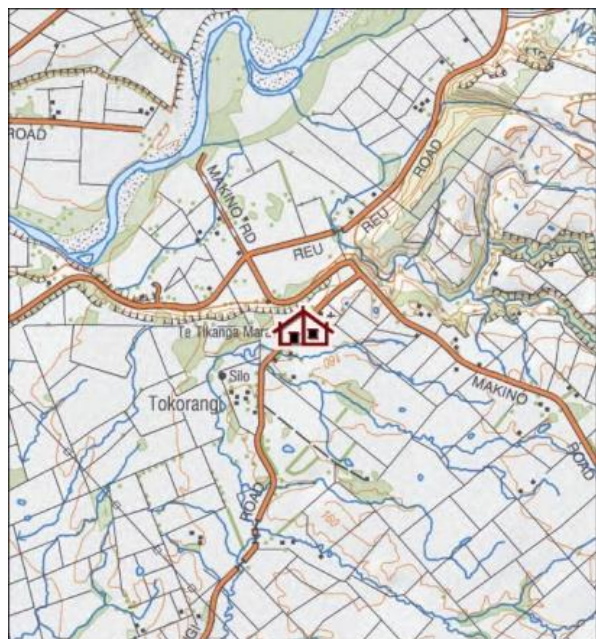
Te Tikanga Marae is located in Tokorangi, 60 km east of Whanganui. The marae was first built on the Te Reureu block about 1870 at Onepuehu, the junction of the Rangitikei river and the mouth of the Waituna Stream. The whare tupuna is named Te Tikanga. When Te Tikanga and Poupatatē stood together, they were known as Onepuehu Pā.



819 Tokorangi Road Tokorangi, Halcombe



- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa
- Hapū: Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae



TE HIIRI O MAHUTA MARAE

Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae is located in Kakariki, between Feilding and Marton. The marae was first built around 1907. The whareniui is named Te Hiiri; there is also a church on site named Hato Hohepa.



112 Pryce's Line, Halcombe



- Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto
- Hapū: Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore

PART I:
THE ORIGINS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF
NGĀTI RAUKAWA TE AU KI TE TONGA

DR. ARINI LOADER

December 2016

A Note on Orthography

Macrons to indicate long vowels have been added to te reo Māori words and phrases where they are generally well-established and accepted by modern day speakers of the language. The names of tupuna and historic places, events, landmarks and the like are, however, more difficult to ascertain without further research into the meanings and explanations surrounding each individual name. Where doubt exists, and contextual information has not been forthcoming macrons are not included. The orthographic conventions adopted by the authors, writers and publishers of direct quotes are maintained in order to preserve the integrity of the original.

INTRODUCTION

Report writer

Ko Arini Loader tōku ingoa. He uri ahau nō Te Kīngi Rāwiri Te Ahoaho Te Tāhiwi, nō Ngāti Maiotaki. Ko Te Kīngi, ka puta ko Te Kahurangi, ka puta ko Hera, ka puta ko ahau, ka puta ko Tāhiwi me taku pōtiki a Hineteāio. I hold a Bachelor of Arts degree in English Literature, a Post-Graduate Diploma in te reo Māori, a Master of Arts in Māori Studies and a PhD in Māori Studies all from Victoria University of Wellington.

My PhD thesis ‘Tau Mai E Kapiti Te Whare Wananga o Ia, o te Nui, o te Wehi o te Toa: Reclaiming Early Raukawa-Toarangatira Writing from Otaki’ (2013) explored several manuscripts written in the 19th century by two prominent Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira leaders of the time, Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha. These manuscripts (GNZMMSS 27 and GNZMMSS 46 currently held in the Sir George Grey Special Collections at Auckland Public Library) demonstrate the rich intellectual traditions of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira and are told through a complex tapestry of whakapapa, waiata and narrative.

I am a lecturer in History at Victoria University of Wellington.

The team

The compilation of this report has been made possible with the assistance of researcher Rewa Morgan. Rewa holds a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History from the University of Auckland and completed her Master of Arts in Māori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington in 2013. Rewa belongs to Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Rewa has brought invaluable research and writing skills to this report and has ably supported the Lead Researcher throughout. Rewa is a librarian at Kapiti Coast Libraries.

This report has been collated in close association with Te Hono ki Raukawa including Ngā Pūkenga, a group established by Te Hono to help provide guidance and steering on the research as it progresses. We note with appreciation the work of Daphne Luke and Hiria Te Kauru-Green for their administrative support and our supervisor Professor Whatarangī Winiata for his vision and sharp abilities of perception. Piripi Walker

deserves special mention for his unending enthusiasm for and engagement with the project and his generous, collaborative attitude to the broader research project. Piripi has acted a sounding board and has freely shared his knowledge and thoughts with us and has made a great contribution to this report. E mihi ana, e mihi ana.

The brief

This report presents an overview of the settlement of the Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata and Te Reureu peoples to the southern reaches of the North Island in the 19th century to be included in the Oral & Traditional History project for Te Reureu, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa. The project has been approved and funded by CFRT in favour of Te Hono ki Raukawa as part of the overall research programme to support the Porirua ki Manawatū inquiry.

Four parts will comprise Te Hono ki Raukawa Oral & Traditional History report:

- a) Origins and establishment of Ngāti Raukawa;
- b) Hapū narratives and map publication;
- c) Ngāti Raukawa institutions and ecosystem; and
- d) Tino Rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Three oral and traditional history reports will be produced by Ngāti Raukawa claims management groups including Te Hono ki Raukawa, Tū Te Manawaroa and Tūmatanui. This is the first draft of chapter 1, the origins and establishment of Ngāti Raukawa.

The need this project satisfies

The Waitangi Tribunal is hearing claims relating to Porirua ki Manawatū Wai 2200. Following the completion of hearings to capture kōrero tuku iho, it has been determined that the casebook for the inquiry should include Oral and Traditional History of iwi hence the commissioning of research.

Te Hono ki Raukawa felt that it was critical that Ngāti Raukawa researchers deliver research pertaining to Ngāti Raukawa.

Methodology

Due to unforeseen time constraints forced partly by changes within the structure of the research team, this report relies heavily on written records both published and unpublished. This is not an insurmountable issue in and of itself. Ngāti Raukawa tūpuna, for example, were highly engaged with ‘The Word’ in both the Christian sense and in terms of literacy from at least the 1830s. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi were both prolific writers as were a number of other Raukawa tūpuna.

Additionally, the distinction between the spoken and the written word is not as clearly delineated as is often popularly thought. Numerous waiata, for example, were originally sung, written down in the 19th century either by Māori or interested Pākehā, collected again by Māori and Pākehā alike, forgotten or put aside for a time, then revived based on surviving written texts, sung and transmitted orally once again. The reminiscences of Rod McDonald are another case in point whereby the author recalls conversations and other real-life interactions with Ngāti Raukawa tūpuna and recorded these memories in written form for posterity.

Indeed, the evidence overwhelmingly points to Ngāti Raukawa peoples having deep interest in new ideas, in other peoples and cultures, in cutting-edge technologies, techniques, practices and beliefs.

Emphasis has been placed on locating and prioritising Ngāti Raukawa voices. However, due again to time constraints and the amount of time such archival work entails, including for the purposes of this research report English-language translation, this has proven difficult to achieve. Ideally, public as well as private collections would be accessed, both of which require careful planning and certainly in the case of private collections extensive consultation and agreements concerning safekeeping and use guidelines. The timeframe imposed on this draft report has not permitted such in-depth research.

Fortunately a veritable mountain of easily accessible written material is available in the public domain which concerns, discusses or includes knowledge or information about Ngāti Raukawa including pre-existing research reports generated by the Treaty of

Waitangi claims process. The reliability of sources has been taken into careful consideration in the drafting of this report.

Finally, a note on language. Waiata, most especially waiata tawhito, take some time and much expertise to translate into English. Many terms are simply untranslatable and the translator is then faced with the task of approximating as best they can the tone, sense and style of the original. Where a published and therefore traceable English-language translation has not been forthcoming, waiata have been left untranslated. Available records of key events such as Land Court Minutes are variable in their quality. More often than not, tūpuna were clearly giving evidence in te reo Māori but their kōrero was recorded in English, by imperfect speakers of the Māori language. When giving evidence in the Land Court, for example, Nopera Te Ngiha is recorded in the minutes as saying, ‘Rauparaha was ‘koa’ that his ‘mate’ was ‘ea’’.⁴ Land Court minutes are heavily mediated by this inter-lingual dimension which obscures the nuances and subtleties of the original utterances. Evidence drawn from Land Court minutes should be read with this in mind.

1.0 THE TAINUI WORLD

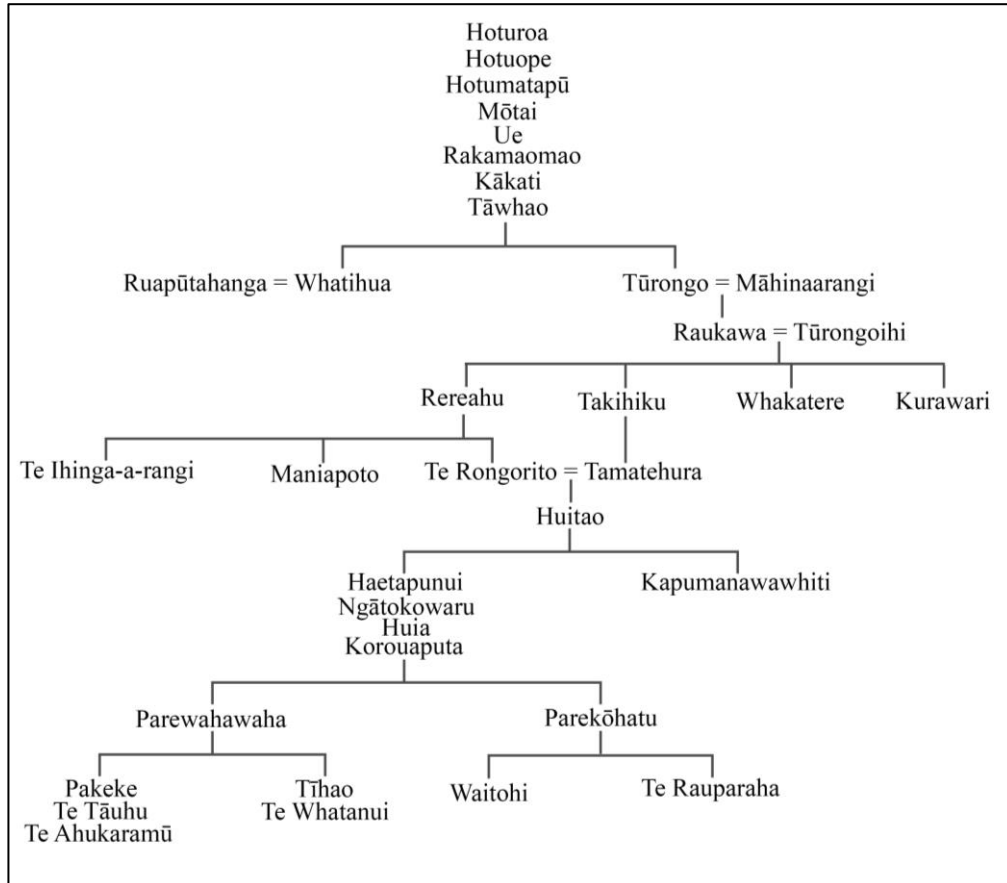
Ko Mōkau ki runga, ko Tāmaki ki raro
Mangatoatoa ki waenganui
Pare Waikato, Pare Hauraki
ki Te Kaokaoroa o Pātetere
Te Wairere, ki Horohoro
Pōhaturoa ki Nukuhau, ki Taupō-nui-a-Tia
Hurakia ki Hauhungaroa
Titiraupenga ki Te Whakamarumarū
Ko Te Pae o Raukawa
E piki ai ki runga o Maungatautari
Ki Wharepūhunga te wāhi e tu nei a Hoturoa!⁵

⁴ Nopera Te Ngiha, OLC, Book 1D, 30 March 1868, p. 393.

⁵ Personal Communication, Nigel Te Hiko, 20 May 2011. Cited in Tāmami Peni, ‘Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata: Raukawa Ake, Raukawa Iho’, MA thesis, University of Waikato, 2013, p. 18.

Ngāti Raukawa are a people who trace their descent from the Tainui waka. The tohunga of Tainui was Rakataura and the kaihautū, from whom all Tainui peoples trace descent, Hoturoa.⁶ Tainui traditions tell of the departure from Hawaiki, events along the way and subsequent arrival and landfall in Aotearoa at Whangaparāoa.

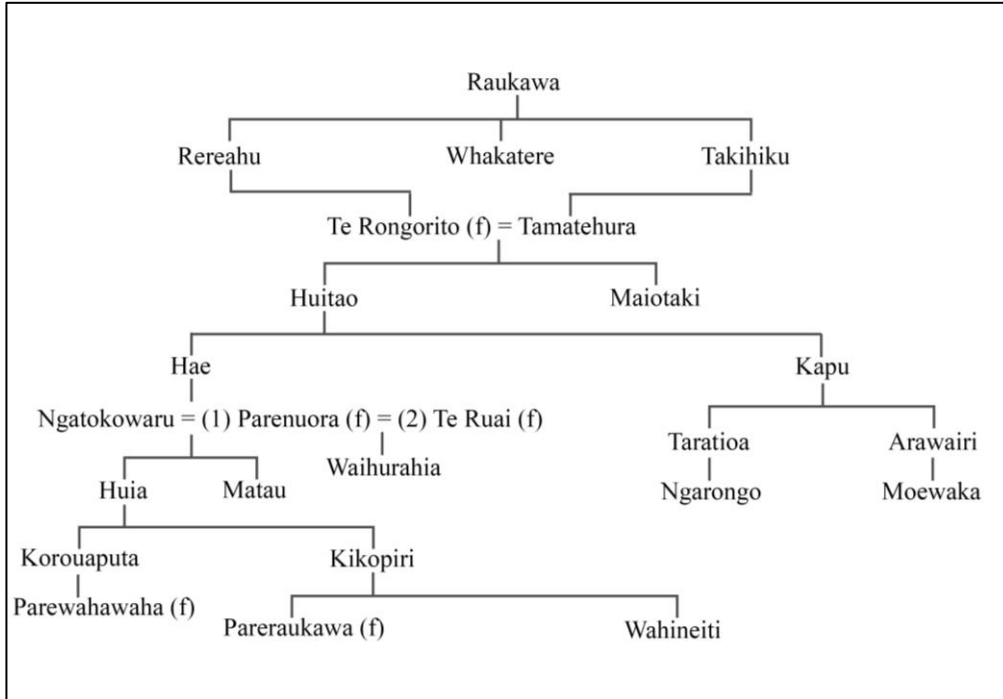
Whakapapa 1: Ngāti Raukawa (Te Ara, 2016)⁷



⁶ The close relationship Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga maintain with their Tainui kin is memorialised in the names of whare karakia, whare tupuna and other placenames, the names of people and landmarks. The third church built on the coast in Octavius Hadfield's time (c. 1864-65), for example is named Tūrongo after Raukawa's father. Additionally, Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga, of all the Tainui iwi, was selected to receive the model waka of Tainui in 1950, carved to commemorate 600 years since the arrival of great waka of te ao Māori (National Library of New Zealand and Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangiātea, *Rangiātea: Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora*, Wellington, 2003, pp. 13; 21).

⁷ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, 'Ngāti Raukawa - Early history', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whakapapa/224/raukawa-genealogy>.

Whakapapa 2: Ngāti Raukawa (Adkin, 1948)⁸



The histories of Tainui and Te Arawa peoples are deeply entwined. John Te H. Grace, for example, has it that Ngatoroirangi, having just completed the ceremonies in connection with the removal of the Tainui waka from the forest came forward and, according to Te Kapooterangi, recited this final hauling chant:

Tainui ano Tainui
Te Arawa ano Te Arawa
He rangi kia paku
He rangi kia pake
He pake rohutu
Rohutu ra i mau ai te tieke
Hei te tieke!
Hei te tieke!
Haramai te toki!
Haumi e! Hui e!
Taiki e-i!

⁸ G. Leslie Adkin, *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-Names & Their Topographic & Historical Background*, Wellington, 1948, p. 253.

*This is Tainui
That is Te Arawa
The sky thunders
And the heavens resound
There is a crashing sound in the forests
Where the saddleback bird is caught
The saddleback bird!
The saddleback bird!
Come hither the axe!
Ready, and now all together!
Haul!
Now, our work is done!⁹*

This historic association continued in Aotearoa. Wiremu Kiriwehi, for example, recounts the story of Kapu (Ngāti Raukawa) and Uenukukōpako (from Rotorua) telling of their interactions together, their friendship and each rangatira's capacity for providing food, a vital test of rangatiratanga.¹⁰

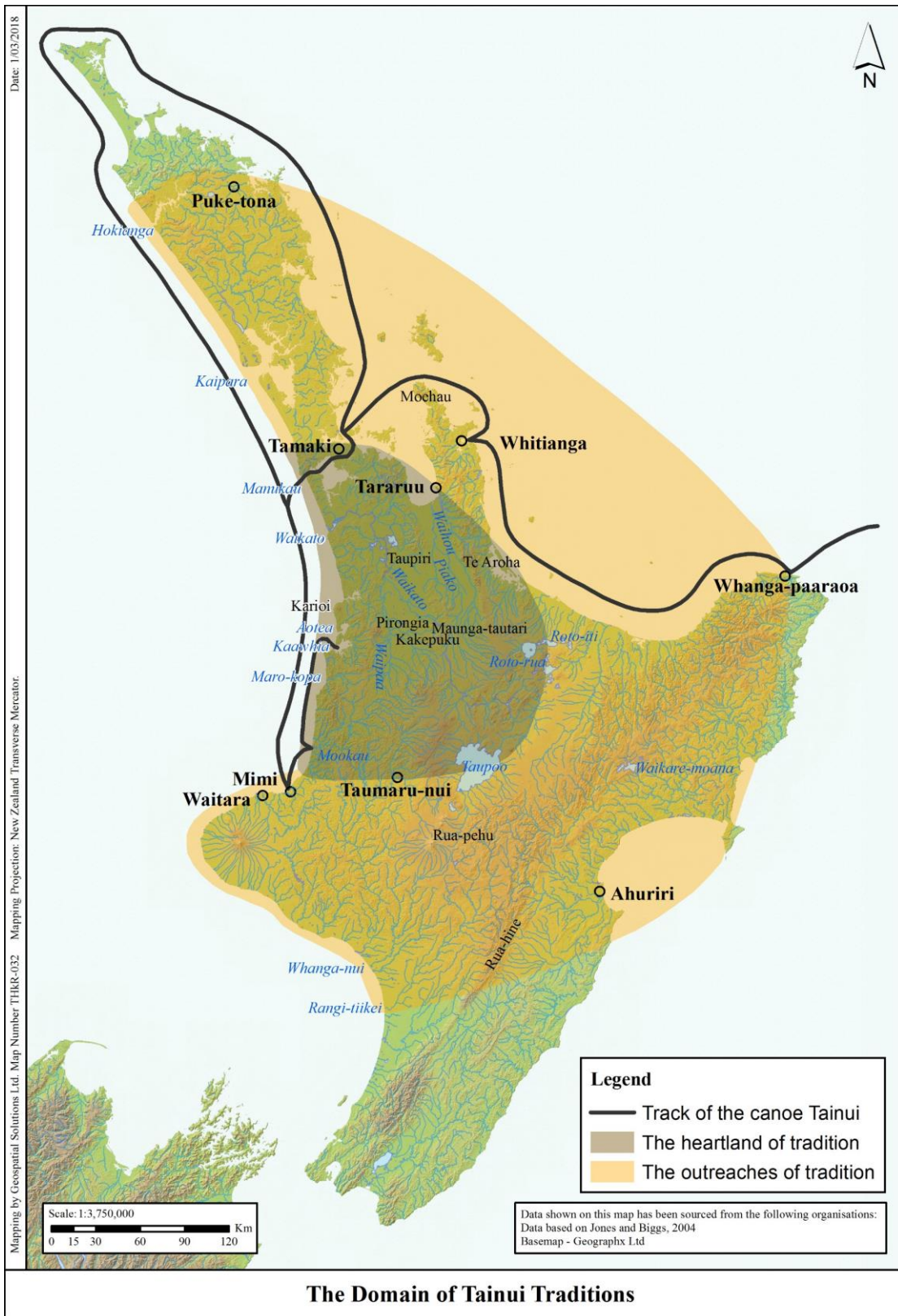
Notwithstanding this very close relationship between Tainui and Te Arawa, the peoples of each waka continued on as they had prior to arrival in Aotearoa, to forge their own independent pathways. From Whangaparāoa Tainui sailed along the coast to Tōrere, Tauranga, Hauraki, and Tāmaki-makau-rau. Departing out through the Manukau Heads into the western sea Tainui travelled south along the coast. Some of the crew disembarked near Whāingaroa and others at Kāwhia and Mōkau before Tainui was beached at Te Waiiti. Due to the waka being neglected a group from Kāwhia came overland and refloated Tainui and, after calling in to Mōkau where the anchor was left, continued on to Kāwhia. Tainui was drawn up into a grove of manuka below Te Ahurei where two upright pillars, Haniatewaewaeikimiātu and Punawhakatuputangata mark its final resting place.¹¹ The people of Tainui settled from Kāwhia on the west coast of Te Ika a Māui through Mangatoatoa extending over to Hauraki on the east. Tāmaki marks the northern boundary and Mōkau the southern. The rich, fertile Waikato lands and waterways provided Tainui people with essential foods, clothing and building materials and other life-sustaining resources.

⁹ John Te H. Grace, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*, Wellington, 1959, pp. 34-35.

¹⁰ Wiremu Kiriwehi, 1909, MS Papers 0407-14, Micro 0724-1, ATL.

¹¹ Rāwiri Taonui, 'Canoe traditions - Te Arawa and Tainui', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/canoe-traditions/page-5>.

Map 1: The domain of Tainui traditions



The Domain of Tainui Traditions

Map 2: The heartland of Tainui tradition



The Heartland of Tainui Tradition

Over a number of generations Tainui peoples flourished and spread out occupying territory, forming socio-political units, exploring, trading, fighting, loving, living. Hoturoa begat Hotuoape, who begat Hotumatapū, who in turn begat the famous Mōtai.¹² Four generations after Mōtai came Tāwhao the son of Kākati. Tāwhao is celebrated for his knowledge of rituals. He erected a whare wānanga named Rangiaātea at Manga-o-Rongo, Rangitoto.¹³ Tāwhao is also remembered for his successful romance of the beautiful Marutehiakina.

Tāwhao, who lived at Te Whaanga on the shores of the lagoon at the foot of the forest-clad Karioi Mountain, was married to Puniatēkore but he came to desire Puniatēkore's younger sister, Marutehiakina, as well. Tāwhao won Marutehiakina by his ātahu¹⁴ he had imparted on his kuru tangiwai.¹⁵ Tāwhao carried out his ritual on the water-worn boulders of the outer reef of the lagoon and sent a tiny raft with his kuru tangiwai as cargo out across Whāingaroa harbour. Scores of Horea maidens tried to capture the floating raft but it eluded them. Then Marutehiakina entered the water and the raft came floating into her arms. She recognised the kuru tangiwai, was enamoured by its charms and left Horea to join her elder sister Puniatēkore becoming the junior wife (wahine iti) of Tāwhao.¹⁶

1.1 Tūrongo and Māhinārangi

Tāwhao had two sons, one by each of his sister wives. Tūrongo was the first-born by Marutehiakina and Whatihua was the younger son by Puniatēkore.¹⁷ The circumstances

¹² Mōtai stands astride the whare tupuna Raukawa in Ōtaki township today. Hence also the whakataukī: 'Tēnā anō rā kei ngā tamariki toa nā Rakamamao/Kei te rangi e haere ana nā Mōtai-tangata-rau.' Wiremu Kiriwehi attributes two further whakataukī concerning Mōtai to Parekarau, the spouse of Tukemata (Ngāti Raukawa and Maniapoto): '1. Motai tangata rau, kei tahatuoterangi, 2. He iti na Motai, tena e haerea te one i Hakerekere' (1909, MS Papers 0407-14, Micro 0724-1, ATL).

¹³ National Library of New Zealand and Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangiaātea, p. 15.

¹⁴ A potent spell used to win the affections of someone.

¹⁵ Jones translates 'kuru tangiwai' as 'translucent ear-drop' (Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, The First Maori King*, Wellington, 2010, p. 26). A 'kuru' is a pendant worn either around the neck or hung from the ear. 'Tangiwai' is one of the four main types of pounamu ranging in colour from olive-green to bluish-green in colour and clear like glass. Tangiwai is the most ancient form of pounamu and is sourced from two isolated areas at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) (<http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions/pounamu/Default.aspx>). Jones and Biggs have Tāwhao's item of enchantment as his 'au-rei' which they translate into English as 'ivory cloak-pin' (*Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, 2004, pp. 62-63).

¹⁶ Jones, *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, The First Maori King*, p. 26.

¹⁷ In the version told to Pei Te Hurinui by Te Nguha Huirama of Ngāti Tamainupō in 1932, Marutehiakina had her son first and she had Whatihua and Puniatēkore had Tūrongo. Jones notes that according to Roore Erueti and many other elders, Whatihua was Puniatēkore's child and Tūrongo was

of their birth and respective status of their mothers brought about a life-long rivalry between the brothers which ultimately led to Tūrongo travelling to Taranaki and later, Heretaunga. Tūrongo composed the following waiata upon his leaving Kāwhia:

*Hei konā rā, e whare kikino, tū mai ai
Hei whakaahua mā te tangata
I te hikitanga o te pou pou, ka kopa i 'tehi tara
Ka hira kei runga.
Nō namata mai anō i ako mai te waihanga
Ko Rua-tāhuna, ko Tā-rekoreko
Rere mai te pua, ko te ua āhwā
Ko Moana-nui, ko Moana-tea
Ko Manini-kura, ko Manini-aro.
Tēnei rā ka tū kei te takutai
Ko te koha a Tūrongo.
Opa nā, koa nge¹⁸ au, ko te wahine nāna i hari mai te toki pounamu
Hei taratarai atu i te pou pou kia ngaongao ai.
Nā tō matua koe i whāngai ki te umu o te hotu
Mō te moe-tū, mō te moe-ara
Ō kupu kei roto, ō mahara i roto
Tō ngākau ki te mau toki
He matawaia ki te hanga e tū mai nei.
He aha koa te kōpae tū ki waenga te marae
He kahu makere, he ngongoro i roto
He moe ki raro, e-e.

Farewell, evil house, remain there
As a lesson for others.
When the pillars were raised and the sides enclosed
You stood imposingly.
In olden times the art of building was taught
By Ruataahuna, Taarekoreko.
Spray flew hither, gales of rain,
Great seas, whitecaps,
Maninikura and Maniniaro.
Now you stand there on the shore
The gift of Tuurongo.
I was rejected by the woman who brought the greenstone adze
To dress the pillars with ornamental adze marks.
Your father fed you from the oven of grief,*

Marutehiakina's. Jone's great-uncle, Te Hurinui Te Wano said the same (Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, Auckland, 2004, p. 62). Nineteenth-century Pākehā ethnologist John White gives Whatihua's mother as Pūtearomea (John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions*, Wellington, 1890, p. 193).

¹⁸ Apirana Ngata has *opane koanga au* (A. T. Ngata and P. Te Hurinui, *Nga Moteatea II*, Wellington, 1961, p. 298).

*For unsettled, wakeful sleep.
Your words contained, your thoughts withheld,
Intent on wielding the adze,
Skilful to build that which stands here.
Although the house still stands on the courtyard,
It is as a cloak that is cast off, and the inner garment too,
On lying down to sleep.¹⁹*

The intense rivalry between the two brothers ultimately lead to Tūrongo's meeting and falling in love with the exquisite daughter of Rangirangi, Māhinārangi of the east coast. As Pei Te Hurinui put it, 'the clinging fragrance of her raukawa perfume was sheer sorcery to the love-lorn heart of Tūrongo' and when a son, their first child, was born, they named him Raukawa.²⁰ When Tūrongo and Māhinārangi returned from the east coast they lived at Manga-o-Rongo, Rangitoto. Raukawa was born at the springs of Ōkoroire and grew up at his father's home of Rangiātea,²¹ near Ōtorohanga.²² Hence this place is considered to be the first home of the Ngāti Raukawa people. Located there also is Te Marae-o-Hine²³, the home of Te Rongorito, a granddaughter of Raukawa.²⁴

The romance of Tūrongo and Māhinārangi lives on in the hearts of Tainui people. It is woven into song, story, carving and design. The whare tupuna at the Kīngitanga marae Tūrangawaewae is named Māhinārangi; her companion, the wharekai, is Tūrongo.²⁵ The following well-known pātere composed by Ngoki of Kāwhia traces the composer's illustrious whakapapa from Tūrongo and Māhinārangi to Raukawa and beyond:

¹⁹ The text and explanations were contributed by Te Nguha Huirama who stated that it concerned the house built at Ahuriri by Tūrongo who was forced to leave because his affair with Māhinārangi was disapproved by her father Te Angiangi, but this was contradicted by elders speaking with Pei Te Hurinui who maintained that it concerned the house built at Kāwhia (Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, pp. 68-9).

²⁰ Jones, *King Pōtatau*, p. 26.

²¹ Or perhaps more accurately, Rangitoto. According to Charles Royal, when Tūrongo returned from the East Coast he lived at Manga-o-Rongo, Rangitoto, and Tāwhao established his whare wānanga and this place is considered as the first home of the Ngāti Raukawa people, as this was where Tūrongo and Mahinaarangi lived, and where their son Raukawa was raised (in National Library of New Zealand and Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangiātea, *Rangiātea: Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora*, 2003, p. 15).

²² Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, 'Ngāti Raukawa - Early history', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-raukawa/page-2>.

²³ The name 'Te Marae-o-Hine' is one of many brought from the Tainui world in the Waikato region to the south with the 19th century migrations. Te Marae-o-Hine is the name of the marae ātea at Pukekaraka, Ōtaki, and is also a name found in Te Papaioea (Palmerston North).

²⁴ National Library of New Zealand and Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangiātea, 2003, p. 15.

²⁵ Similarly, the whare tupuna at Kereru marae, Koputaroa, in the south, is Māhinārangi and the whare karakia at Poutū pā, Moutoa (Shannon) is Tūrongo.

*Taku ara rā, ko Tūrongo
 I wawaea ki te Tai-rāwhiti
 Ko Māhinārangi! I au e!
 Ko te rua rā i moe ai a Raukawa
 Nā Raukawa ko Rereahu
 Nā Rereahu ko Maniapoto
 He ara tau-tika mai ki ahau
 E tū, e Hine!
 Kia huri au ki aku ara
 Ki te tai-tuauru
 Ko Tuhianga, ko Potitama, ko Haumia!
 Nā Haumia ko Whakakai
 Nā Whakakai ko Wharerere
 Nā Wharerere ko Whaita
 He kāwei tau-toro nui ki te ao
 E kore rā e taea te whiriwhiri
 I te nui ra, i te tokomaha –
 Ka Whakatūria e au ko Huiao!
 Ko Tuirirangi, ko Paiariki!
 Me whakakotahi koutou e au
 Ki a Kinohaku! i aha hā!*

*My pathway is that of Tūrongo;
 He proceeded to the Land of the Sunrise,
 Where the tides ebb and flow,
 And the creeping ripples from the sea
 Sing a symphony of love
 All the day long –
 He sought for romance and found
 None other than Māhinārangi!
 And I applaud; I am ē!
 For from that exquisite abode,
 Came forth the great Raukawa!
 Raukawa begat Rereahu;
 Rereahu begat Maniapoto,
 And here, I boast of this my noble line.
 Stand thou there, O Lady!
 The whilst I proudly trace
 My lines of descent in the Land
 Where the West Winds blow,
 And where the Boisterous Seas
 Thunder and crash below the Beetling Cliffs!
 There, brave men have defied
 The Tempestuous Sea of Kupe.
 And here they are, Chieftains all!
 Tuhianga, Poutama and Haumia!*

*Haumia begat Whatakai;
 Whatakai begat Wharerere;
 And Wharerere begat Whaita.
 Their fame is great and known to all,
 Beyond the power of speech to tell.
 Let me now pronounce the name of Huiao!
 He begat Tuirirangi and Paiariki:
 And here I boast and say,
 All ye that stand around
 Do but trace to Kinohaku;
 One only of my several lines!
 There's my boast, and again
 I applaud, I aha hā!²⁶*

Early tribal history centres on the children of Raukawa – Rereahu, Takihiku, Whakatere and Kurawari. All except Kurawari are immortalised in the name of a distinct hapū or iwi. Many great leaders descended from these children of Raukawa including Maniapoto, son of Rereahu, and Maniapoto's younger sister, Te Rongorito. Te Rongorito's grandson Kapumanawawhiti became a famous warrior hence the whakataukī: 'Whāia i muri i ngā waewae o Kapu' (Follow behind in the footsteps of Kapu).²⁷ Kapumanawawhiti's nephew, Ngātokowaru, also became a famous warrior: 'Ko te tete o Ngātokowaru! Tēnā e rangona! Tēnā e rangona!' (The dagger of Ngātokowaru! It will be renown! It will be renown!)²⁸

Many great exploits and leaders are remembered in the history of the people. The descendants of Raukawa became numerous in the land and formed a fully functional body politic, an iwi which became known as Ngāti Raukawa.

1.2 Hapekitūārangi

A generation before the physical relocation of Ngāti Raukawa to the southern reaches of Te Ika a Māui their then paramount chief, Hapekitūārangi lead them into battle with Ngāti Maniapoto.²⁹ Leslie G. Kelly places this battle around 1804-5 and writes that a war-party consisting of 1,000 warriors of whom part were from Ngāti Whakaue of Rotorua, entered the King Country by way of Tuhua, and turning northwards up the

²⁶ Jones, *King Pōtatau*, 2010, pp. 27-29.

²⁷ Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna*, Wellington, 2003, p. 422.

²⁸ Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna*, Wellington, 2003, p. 380.

²⁹ Leslie G. Kelly, *Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants*, Wellington, 1949, p. 281.

Waimeha valley, crossed the range to the Mapara district where they attacked the pa Te Haupēhi, occupied by Ngāti Rereahu and Ngāti Matakore.³⁰

The war party of Hapekitūārangi, and his Te Arawa companions travelled along the Mōkau River and defeated several hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. Maniapoto did not retaliate immediately to these attacks, however these disputes continued with each iwi at times beating the other. Such invasions into each others territories continued and culminated in the battle of Hingakaka,³¹ the biggest battle fought on Tainui territory prior to the advent of guns.

1.3 Hingakaka

The cause of the Hingakaka conflict is said to rest with the earlier discrepancy to the mana of Pīkauterangi, a Ngāti Toa rangatira, at the annual kai-hākari hosted alternatively by Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Apakura.³² Whether directly in relation to the killing of Ngāti Apakura people at the feast or because of ulterior motives, not long after this incident, Waikato attacked Ngāti Kauwhata at Waipātito, killing Whatatūpari, the Ngāti Kauwhata rangatira, and many others.

Hingakaka was fought at Te Mangeo in Waikato territory between one confederation of Waikato iwi and what was essentially another comprised of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and their allies. Enforcements also came from Rotorua, Urewera and Taranaki. Whatever the initial reasoning was, it is clear that a division of the Tainui iwi was playing out.

The federation of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto assembled under their famous fighting chief, Te Rauangaanga, father of the young Te Wherowhero and defeated Pīkauterangi and the allied forces. Ngāti Raukawa and their allies were beaten in the ensuing battle. The scale of the defeat is represented in the numerous prized greenstone mere and other

³⁰ Kelly, p. 281.

³¹ See Jones and Biggs for comment on two different versions of the name of the battle, Hingakākā and Hīngakaka (*Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, 2004, p. 356).

³² Jones and Biggs note: 'A slightly different account is supplied by Roore Eruera who says that on the occasion of the division, Pīkauterangi appropriated all the large fish for himself, leaving only the small ones for his cousins and they, annoyed at this procedure, informed Te Mahutu, their uncle, who remarked, *ki te tae mai anō, me rumaki ki te wai* ("when he arrives duck him in the water") (*Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, 2004, p. 349, footnote 3).

weapons that fell to Waikato so much so that a proverb was coined: Waikato Horopounamu, Waikato, the swallower of greenstone.³³

The fighting between the Tainui iwi would ultimately result in hapū of Ngāti Raukawa travelling east into Heretaunga and eventually south. While Burns believed that the battle of Hingakaka was ‘not...an extraordinary incident’, it came at a time that the ‘enmity between different sections of the Tainui peoples was mounting in a crescendo of daring and unforgiveable exploits.’³⁴

At Hingakaka, the loss of so many Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Toa rangatira was a devastating blow to the security of these iwi and the already fragile balance of peace and order within the region. The skills and prowess of the rangatira of Tainui were used against each other in military strategy. The pressure to spend more resources on their defences because of on-going disputes within the Tainui region impacted the decision making of Ngāti Raukawa leaders. They turned to the possibilities of permanent migration.

2.0 MOVEMENTS AND MIGRATIONS

2.1 Te Whatanui

Te Whatanui was a prominent nineteenth-century leader of Ngāti Raukawa who belonged to Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Kikopiri and Ngāti Pareraukawa.³⁵ Other contemporary leaders of Ngāti Raukawa include Te Rauparaha, Nēpia Taratoa, Te Ahukaramū, Te Horohau (son of Hapekitūārangi), Ngārangiorēhua and Kiharoa, who, Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal notes, were all of Ngāti Huia.³⁶

³³ Patricia Burns, *Te Rauparaha A New Perspective*, Wellington, 1980, p. 28.

³⁴ Burns, p. 27.

³⁵ Charles Royal, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 18 November 2014, p. 171.

³⁶ Royal further notes that Ngāti Huia was the major Ngāti Raukawa hapū that came to the south and that in fact, the iwi was more commonly known as Ngāti Huia, or, Te Ngare-o-Huia. Royal (*Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 18).

Whakapapa 3: Te Whatanui and Hitau showing Hitau's descendants (Adkin, 1948)³⁷

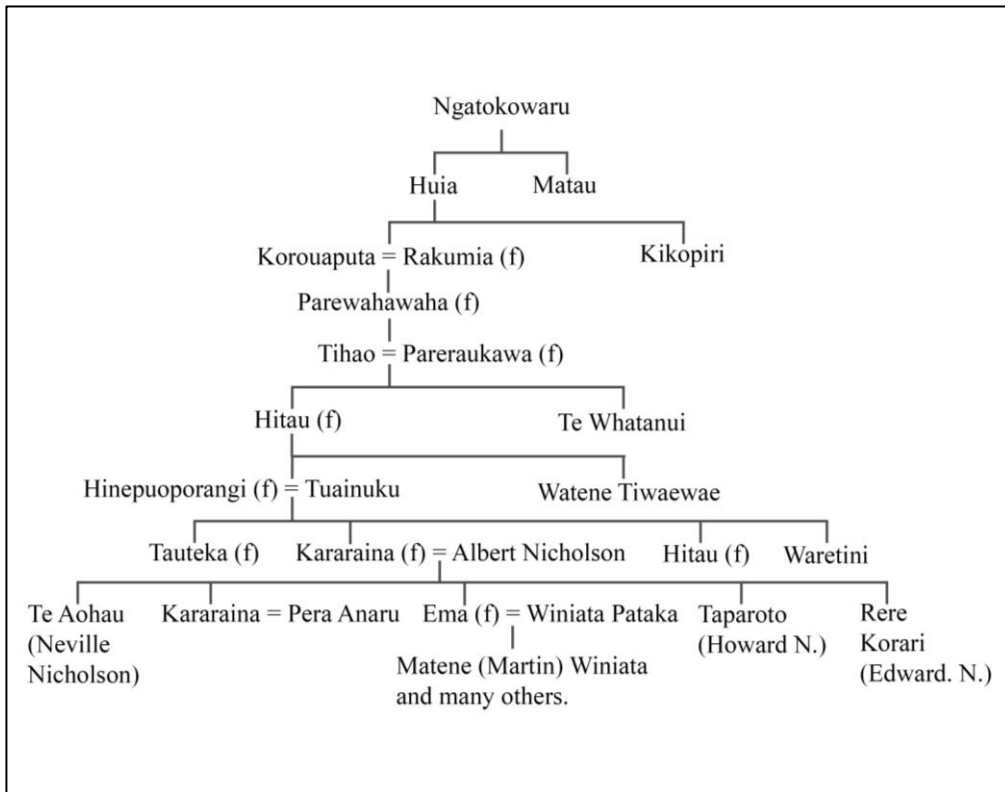
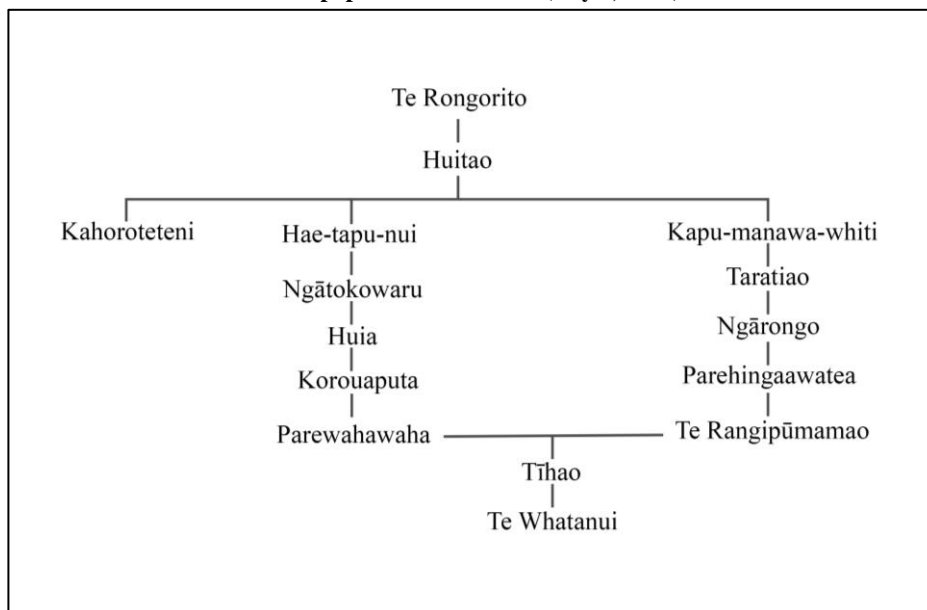


Image 5: Maungatautari

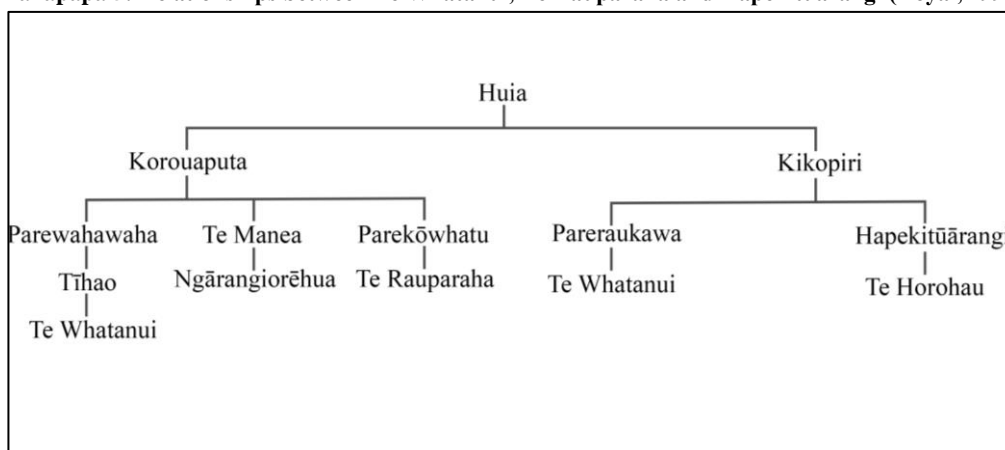


³⁷ Adkin, p. 252.

Whakapapa 4: Te Whatanui (Royal, 1994)³⁸



Whakapapa 5: Relationships between Te Whatanui, Te Rauparaha and Hapekitūārangi (Royal, 1994)³⁹



Following the deaths of his mother Pareraukawa's brothers, Wahineiti and Hapeitūārangi, Te Whatanui rose to prominence as a senior leader of Ngāti Raukawa. His accession to paramount leadership was marked out by his diplomatic prowess. With the deaths of his two uncles he became the ranking male descendant to Korouaputa and Kikopiri in what has been termed 'the Rangatira line of Ngāti Raukawa.'⁴⁰

³⁸ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 72.

³⁹ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ *Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1896, G-2, p. 315.

In the following oriori composed for his son, Te Tahuri, by Peou, said to have been a younger brother of Te Ahukaramū in which Te Whatanui's important tribal and intertribal lines are expressed:⁴¹

*Kaore te aroha i ahau ki taku potiki!
E tama tu kino, tē whai muna iho ki ahau,
Ka tu taua, ka whai i te tira
to tupuna, o Whatihua.
Kī mai Rameka, 'E hoki i kona,
Ka mate koe i te whainga mai
I taku hika tau kē.
Ka tu nga tai o Rekei-mata-taniwha!'
Hoki mai, e tama, i kona;
Korerotia mai nga hane
A te waewae i kimi atu.
I uia mai koe e nga whenua
Ki te kauhau whakapapa,
Nau i ki atu, 'Wareware ko au, he tamariki;
Wareware tonu au,' e.
Tenei ano ra te rangona ake nei;
Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua,
Kurahaupo, Tokomaru
Nga waka ena o o tupuna
I hoea ai te moana nui e takoto nei
Hoturoa, Ngatoro, Tamatekapua
Rongokako, Tamatea
Nga tangata o Te Arawa, e i,
I whakapiraratia ki nga whenua nei.
E tika ana ra nga whakahe mai
A to teina ma matua a Wiremu
Mo te pepa i tuhituhia i nga rangi ra.
E tika ana ra, na Wairangi korua,
Na Poutu koe ra, i.
Me rapu noa ake nga puna he rau o Tuamatua,
Kei reira, e tama, nga puna
E moe ai korua ko Wiremu
He Manawa whenua e kore nei e taea
I te ra o te waru.
Taoi, Kai-awhe-whare, na Kiritai koe ra, i
Na Waitapu, Hinerehua, ko Te Kahureremoa
Ka noho i ta Upokoiti tama
Ka puta ki waho ra, Waitapu.
I haere ra ia i te maunga-rongo*

⁴¹ Ngāti Raukawa has no record of a person named Peou and this raises some doubt as to whether this Peou was in fact a younger brother of Te Ahukaramū (Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 75).

*te ture a Whiro
Nana i ai atu Parekāwā, Tamautu,
Ko te Wakatōtōpipi.
Ka tu kei te riu o Whanganui, Turoa,
Ko Te Rangihopuata, ko tana tama:
Ka huihuia koutou ko o teina
Ma matua ki reira
E tama rongonui a tō matua ki ngā whenua
I te rangi rā ia kei ora ana, Whatanui
Te whetū mārama o te ata
Te puhi o Mōtai, e, tangata-rau, i.*

*How great is my love for my young one!
son, so restless, not a word to me (before you left).
We two might then have followed the trail
Of your ancestor, Whatihua.
Thus it was Rameka (the wit), said, 'Return hence,
Or you will surely perish in the pursuit
Of a loved one who yesteryear gave you joy.
Beware now the rising tides of Rakeimata – the dragon!'
Return, O son, from that place,
And tell me tales
Of your wandering footsteps.
(‘Tis said) you were asked in distant lands
To recite your lines of pedigree,
And you replied, ‘Forgetful am I and only a child;
Indeed, ever forgetful am I.’
Yet we oft do hear it said that
Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua,
Kurahaupo, and Tokomaru,
Were the canoes of your ancestors
Who voyaged across the great ocean that lies (before us);
Hoturoa, Ngatoro, Tamatekapua,
Rongokako and Tamatea,
Were the men of Te Arawa
Who went their many ways o’er these lands.
You are to accept the disclaimer
Of your junior cuzen-uncle, Wiremu,
About the paper written in days past.
‘Tis true (for him to say) you two are of Wairangi,
And that you are of Poutu,
Let me now, at random, explore Tuamatua’s hundred springwells;
For there we have, O son, the springwells
Where you and Wiremu may sleep side by side;
(They spring from) the heart of mother earth and fail not
Through the heat of summer.
From Taoi, Kai-awhe-whare, thou art of Kiritai,
By Waitapu, Hinerehua, to Te Kahureremoa,*

*She wedded Upokoiti's son
 And begat Waitapu.
 She it was who went by way of the peace-making
 To end the fiat of Whiro.
 From her begetting came Parekāwā and Tamamutu,
 And Te Wakatōtōpipi, too;
 Who 'stablished in the vales of Whanganui, Turoa,
 And Te Rangihopuata, his son:
 Thus united are you with your junior
 Cuzen-uncles at that place.
 son, renowned, because of your father's (fame) in many lands;
 Oh, for the days when there lived Te Whatanui,
 The bright morning star,
 The idol of all of Motai's hundred progeny!⁴²*

The following tangi for Taiawhio of Te Arawa refers to Te Whatanui's rangatira qualities:

*Takoto iho ki taku moenga,
 Me he ika ora au ki te iwi,
 Ki a koutou, e Here ma,
 E pukai mai ra i Mokoia.
 Nā Te Whatanui i hī te pakake
 Pae ana ko te waha kei uta
 He mangō ihu nui.*

*Homai nga roro no Tahakura,
 Hei kai ake ma Rewharewha.
 Haere wareware ko te hoa,
 Kihai i kai i a Te Waero.
 Engari ano te marana
 Eke penu tonu ki runga.
 Na Te Waru nga mahara,
 Puhaina mai ki a Te 'Paraha;
 Arahina mai i Tauranga
 Te huna i Rotorua.
 Tena ano te homai na
 Ki te Potiki na papawharanui,
 Ki a Te Mutukuri,
 Hei tua i a Te Pae,
 Hinga rawa ki raro ra.*

⁴² A. T. Ngata and P. Te Hurinui, *Nga Moteatea II*, 1961, pp. 262-271. See also the pātere by Manomano, Te Whatanui's elder sister (Hoeta Te Hata and H. J. Fletcher, 'The Ngati Tuwharetoa Occupation of Taupo-nui-a-Tia', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), 26, 1 (1917), p. 186). Te Whatanui's own compositions include a waiata aroha for his daughter, Rangingangana, who was married to Pomare Whetoi II, son of Pomare-nui's sister (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961, pp. 272-273), first published by George Grey (*Ko Nga Moteatea Me Nga Hakirara o Nga Maori*, Wellington, 1853, p. 236). A variant was also published by John McGregor (*Popular Maori Songs: Supplement 1*, Auckland, 1898, p. 28).

*As I lay me down upon my couch,
I would I were a live fish for the tribe,
For ye all, O Here,
Who are out yonder on Mokoia.
It was Te Whatanui who hauled in the whale
On to the shore with its mouth agape
A fearsome snouted shark indeed.*

*Now hand me the brains of Tahakura,
As food-offering to Rewharewha and his kin.
He was my mate who went without a token of regard,
And he did not eat of Te Waero.
Unheeding the moon doth
Rise full-orbed on high.
It was Te Waru's idea
Which he spat out to Te Paraha;
Guided along the way from Tauranga
Was the obliteration of Rotorua.
All this comes of the assignment
To the youngest child of Papawharanui,
To Te Mutukuri.
To cut down Te Pae,
When he was laid low over yonder.⁴³*

Aperahama Te Huruhuru said that Te Whatanui was ‘the ūpoko of all Ngāti Raukawa’⁴⁴ and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha referred to him as ‘te tino tangata.’⁴⁵

Te Whatanui was a singular leader whose rangatira attributes, skills and vision were widely known. In the pressure-cooker political climate that was building in Waikato at this period of Tainui history, Te Whatanui responded decisively. Ngāti Raukawa struck out eastwards into the Pātetere plateau.⁴⁶

About the same time, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, under the leadership of Te Rauparaha, were also exploring the option of permanent migration away from the Waikato homelands. Their eyes were firmly set on the southern reaches of Te Ika a Māui.

⁴³ Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1961, pp. 302-303.

⁴⁴ Otaki Land Court, (OLC), Book 1G, 5 February 1869, p. 47.

⁴⁵ Tamihana Te Rauparaha, He Pukapuka Tataku Tenei i Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui, o Tona Itinga Kaumatua Noa’, n. d., Grey New Zealand Maori Manuscripts (GNZMMSS) 27, Auckland Public Library (APL), p. 79.

⁴⁶ Some Raukawa peoples were also found at the northwest corner of Taupō, Te Pae-ki-Raukawa (The Frontiers of Raukawa) (Pei Te Hurinui, ‘He Maemae mo Wahineiti’, *Te Ao Hou*, 55, (1966), p. 20).

Prior to Ngāti Toa's stage of migration south known as Te Heke Tataramoa, Te Rauparaha travelled to Maungatautari to ask his Ngāti Raukawa whanaunga to whom he was related through his mother, Parekowhatu, to assist in the migration. According to Tāmihana Te Rauparaha's version of events, Te Horohau, son of Hapekitūārangi, ariki of Ngāti Raukawa, and his wife Te Ākau, delivered the response of Ngāti Raukawa to Te Rauparaha thus:

Kua mau i a au te whare korero a nga rangatira o Ngati Raukawa e ki ana e kore ratou e pai ki a koe he tutua, ki te mea ka haere mai ratou i te heke i a koe, ka riro te rangatiratanga i a koe. Erangi ko koe me haere i a ratou ki Ahuriri, ki Te Mahia ki te tango i tera kainga. Ko te hiahia o nga rangatira o Ngati Raukawa kei te haere ki te tango i Ahuriri hei kainga mo ratou.⁴⁷

I have the result of the deliberations of the chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa. They are not willing to be lowered in estimation beneath you, in that, should they agree to migrate with you, they would effectively be positioning themselves in deference to you. Rather, they are intent on moving into the Ahuriri [Heretaunga], Te Mahia region and settling there. The chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa are desirous of settling in Ahuriri.⁴⁸

Te Whatanui was intent on moving east into Heretaunga and so refused to travel south at this time.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, He Pukapuka Tataka Tenei i Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui, o Tona Itinga Kaumatua Noa', n. d., Grey New Zealand Maori Manuscripts (GNZMMSS) 27, Auckland Public Library (APL), p. 28.

⁴⁸ Author's working interpretation.

⁴⁹ Robyn Anderson and Keith Pickens, *Rangahaua Whanui District 12: Wellington District: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatū*, Working Paper: First Release, Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 8.

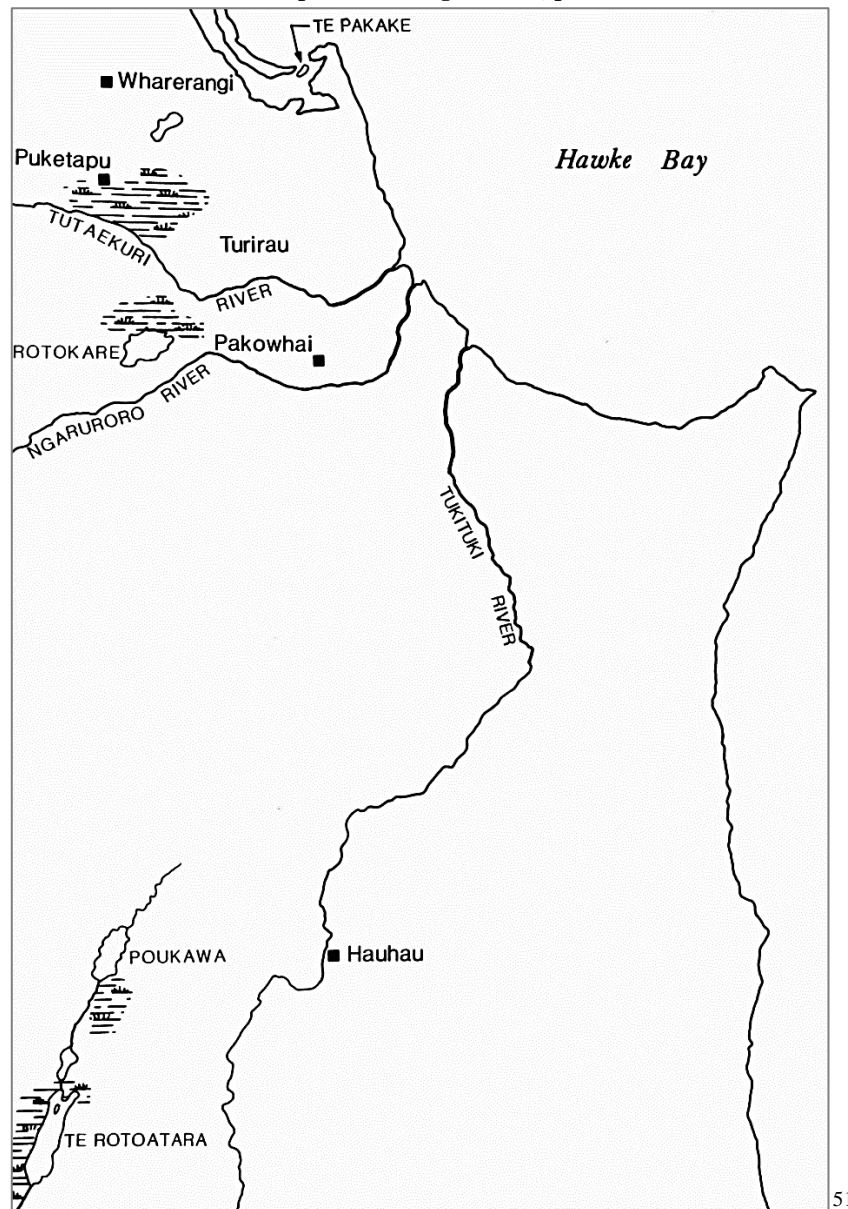
Map 3: Battles and migrations, c1820s



2.2 Heretaunga

Under Te Whatanui's leadership, Ngāti Raukawa travelled first to Taupō where they fought a series of battles against Te Āti Haunui-a-Paparangi of Upper Whanganui and Ngāti Te Ūpokoiri and Ngāti Hinemanu in the upper Rangitīkei. Te Whatanui joined Tūwharetoa under Te Heuheu in taking Te Roto-a-Tara pā and was then invited by Te Kaihou of Ngāti Whatu-i-apiti to assist her people against Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri.⁵⁰

Map 4: Heretaunga (Grove, p30)



⁵⁰ Anderson and Pickens, p. 13.

⁵¹ Grove, p. 30.

Ngāti Raukawa's struggle to carve out a secure foothold in Heretaunga 'may be seen [as] a strong and determined purpose guided by a strategy for tribal survival'.⁵² It is clear that Ngāti Raukawa were seeking a new permanent home; pā and kāinga were established extending as far north as Wharerangi and south 25km to Hauhau on the Tukituki river including the settlements Pakowhai and Te Rotokare, site of a pā tuna named Rahokato.⁵³ 'Another settlement named by Prentice was at Rotowhenua and there were still others at Te Kapua, Turirau and one at an unidentified site on the Tutaekurī River.'⁵⁴ Grove illustrates the prime site that Te Whatanui occupied in Heretaunga.

Ngāti Raukawa then suffered a grievous defeat and were driven out of Heretaunga but following the victory at Te Pakake their mana was re-established. Preparations were then made to move tribal essentials from their temporary settlements in the Taupō area to an occupation site in the south at Te Rotoatara. This is because Te Rotoatara and its companion lakes, Te Rotoakiwa and Poukawa, were known for their abundance of eels, ducks and shellfish.⁵⁵

At this critical time two prominent Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira, Tukorehu and Te Akanui, close relatives of Te Whatanui and other leading chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa, arranged a peace and proposed that Ngāti Raukawa return to their former home at Maungatautari. Ngāti Raukawa refused to accept because this would have involved subordination and a consequent loss of mana. As Gudgeon concluded his summary of the matter, 'they were a rangatira tribe and declined to live as vassals to any man'.⁵⁶

To return to the Waikato still meant a threat from neighbouring iwi. It would limit the control Ngāti Raukawa had over the eel and shellfish supplies from the marsh areas to the south of Maungatautari and from the productive Waikato terraces to the north. Heretaunga, being noted for its productivity, had offered the most attractive prospect. Te Whatanui gambled on the ability to keep the local people already in residence under

⁵² Grove, pp. 32-33.

⁵³ J. D. H. Buchanan, *The Maori History and Place Names of Hawke's Bay*, Ed. D. R. Simmons, Wellington, 1973, p. 173.

⁵⁴ Grove, pp. 29; 31.

⁵⁵ Grove, pp. 31-32.

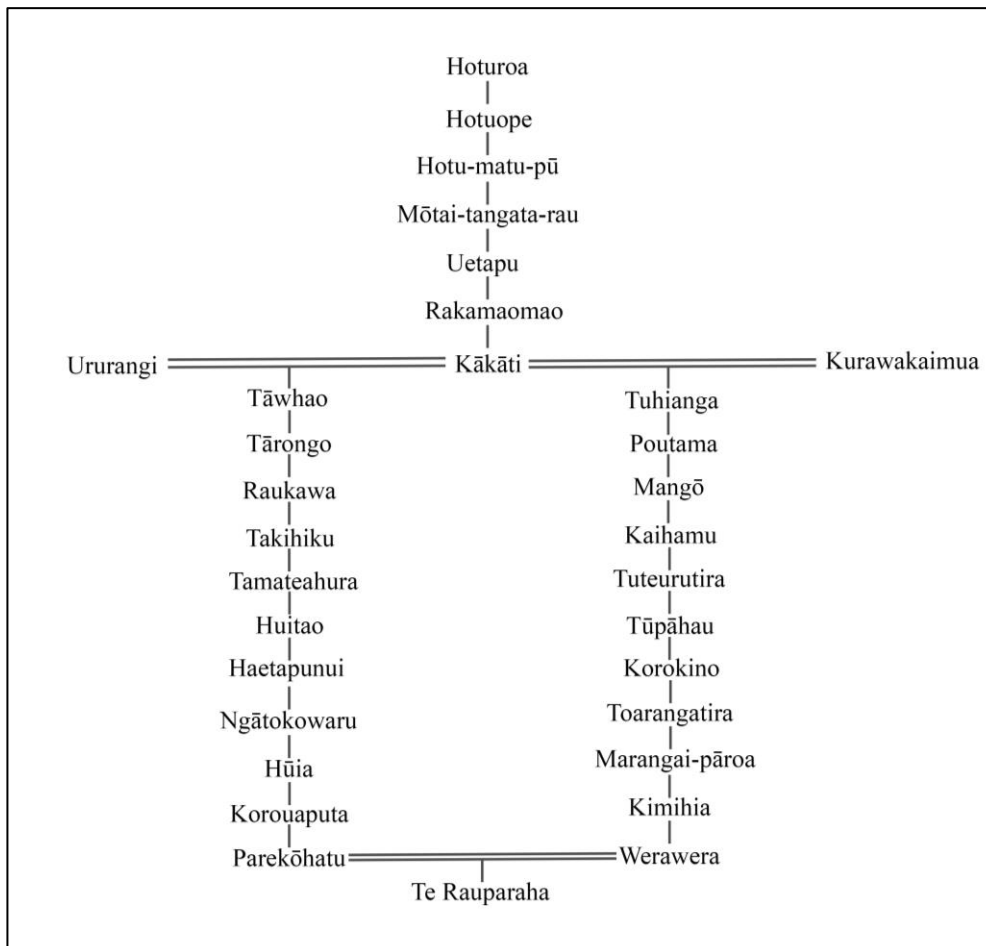
⁵⁶ W. E. Gudgeon, 'Wharepungu Judgement', *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), 18 May 1892, p. 3.

his domination but this plan ultimately failed. Ngāti Raukawa made two strong attempts to make a new permanent home in Heretaunga but after two severe setbacks, Te Whatanui and Ngāti Raukawa turned their attention to the south.

2.3 Te Rauparaha

Much has been written about the life and times of Te Rauparaha, one of the most powerful nineteenth-century rangatira. With strong whakapapa links to Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Tukorehe, Ngāti Whakaterere and Ngāti Wehiwehi through his mother Parekowhatu, Ngāti Raukawa claim him as one of their own.⁵⁷ Te Rauparaha is tightly woven into the Raukawa historical landscape through his actions and relationships.

Whakapapa 6: Te Rauparaha (Collins, 2010)⁵⁸

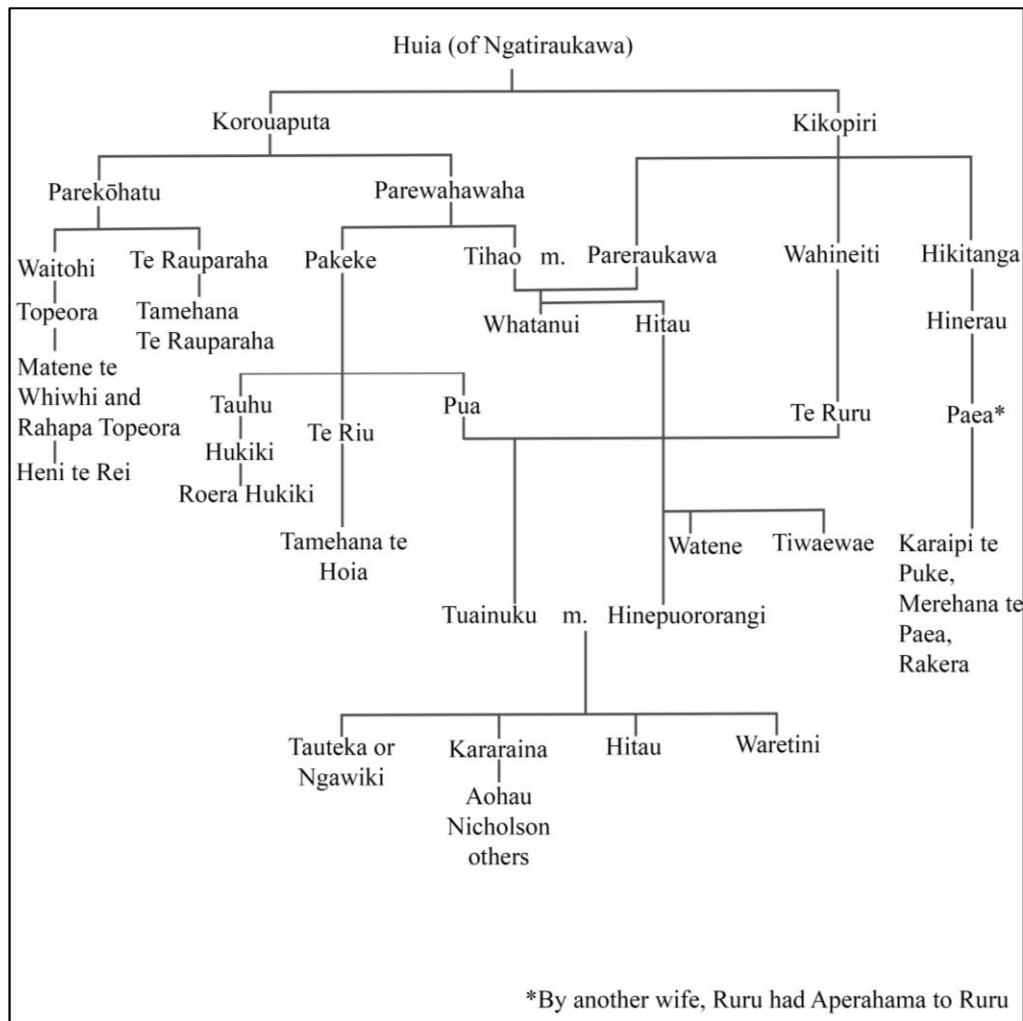


⁵⁷ Further, Te Rauparaha’s mother Parekowhatu, granddaughter of Huia, was the elder sister of Te Whatanui’s grandmother (*Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1896, G-2, p. 315).

⁵⁸ Hēni Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora!: The Spirit of Te Rauparaha*, Wellington, 2010, p. 242.

Whakapapa 7: Descendants of Ngāti Parekohatu, Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Hikitunga and the relationships between Te Rauparaha, Te Whatanui and the rangatira line of Ngāti Raukawa (AJHR, 1896)

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In one famous incident Te Rauparaha arrived at the pā of Hapekitūārangi, the then ariki of Ngāti Raukawa, as the chief was dying.⁶⁰ Hapekitūārangi called his people together to hear his ōhākī and to appoint his successor and speakers extolled Hapekitūārangi and reminded the assembly of past history and recent events and the need for a strong leader. The speeches ended and Hapekitūārangi asked the question to which all the ceremonial and talk had been leading, ‘Who among you can take my place and tread in my path when I am gone?’ It is said that no one amongst the rangatira gathered including

⁵⁹ *Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1896, G-2, p. 315.

⁶⁰ Te Rauparaha had been Hapekitūārangi’s weapons bearer (kaihāpai rākau) (Wiremu Neera Te Kanae, ‘He Korero Mo Te Hekenga Mai I Raro I Kawhia Ki Kapiti Nei Me Etehi Wahi Atu O Runga Nei, Ara, Nga Iwi E Toru a Ngati Toarangatira, a Ngati Awaorungaoterangi, a Ngati Raukawa’, Unpublished MS, 1888, p. 1, AWM).

Hapekitūārangi's sons, his senior advisors or his tohunga proposed himself.⁶¹ It was Te Rauparaha who broke the silence as he stepped forward uttering, 'E koro, haere koe ki te pō, whanga ai i ngā kōrero huhua mōku' (Sir, go into the night and wait for the many things that will be said about me).⁶²

The mana of Hapekitūārangi passed to Te Rauparaha and he became known as the kaiwhakakapi, the bearer of the mana of Hapekitūārangi.⁶³ In accordance with custom, Te Rauparaha married Hapekitūārangi's wife, Te Akau (Te Arawa), and she became his senior wife. The mere pounamu named Amokura was also given by Hapekitūārangi to Te Rauparaha as a signifier of the authority and exchange of mana passing from Hapekitūārangi to Te Rauparaha.⁶⁴ This event strengthened Te Rauparaha's influence and position within the leadership ranks of Ngāti Raukawa. The intricacies concerning the precise terms within which Māori understood such relationships have tended, however, to be treated superficially by non-Māori historians. In the case of Hapekitūārangi and Te Rauparaha, arguments have centered on the notion of 'paramount chieftainship' at the expense of examining the underlying meaning of the narrative account. The narrative reinforces both Te Rauparaha's claim to belong to Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Raukawa's expectation that Te Rauparaha will act as a rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa and serve the on-going interests of Ngāti Raukawa. These concerns would be most powerfully brought to the fore later, in the migrations to and settlement in the south.

In the meantime, Te Whatanui accompanied Te Rauparaha on a series of ceremonial visits to leading iwi. On Motutawa island they met important rangatira of Te Arawa,

⁶¹ Collins suggests that Hapekitūārangi's own sons, Te Horohau by his senior wife Te Ākau of Te Arawa (Tūhourangi and Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuarā), and Te Rangiataahua by Te Ākau's sister Kiriwera, may have been young, inexperienced and unwilling to take on the daunting responsibility (Hēni Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora!: The Spirit of Te Rauparaha*, Wellington, 2010, p. 29).

⁶² Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, pp. 19; 18.

⁶³ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 19.

⁶⁴ Te Waari Carkeek, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, p. 142.

Te Akau's people, and Te Waero of Ngāpuhi.⁶⁵ The Arawa and Ngāpuhi iwi were, at that time, among the most powerful in the country.⁶⁶

Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa are Tainui peoples who share an ancestor in Kakati, a seventh-generation tupuna from Hoturoa (Fig. 7). Te Rauparaha's claiming of the mantle of Hapekitūārangi upon his death is but one example of the complex interweaving between these two distinct yet closely connected iwi. The neat divisions, limits and boundaries within which Māori histories have tended to be written cannot account for this level of complexity and the Treaty Settlements process is itself not conducive to the multiplicity of identities, shifting perspectives, alliances, and generally dynamic nature of Māori society and culture as it was in the nineteenth century and earlier.

Image 6: 1845 sketch of Te Rauparaha (Edward Abbott)⁶⁷

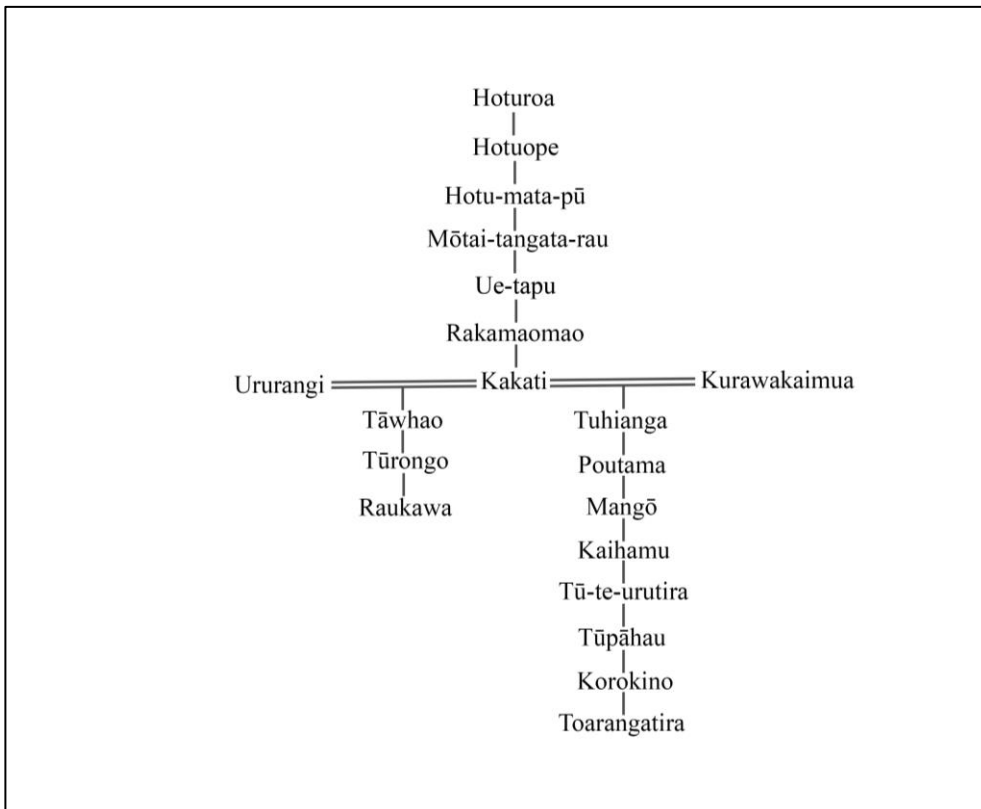


⁶⁵ John Te H. Grace, *Tuwharetoa*, p. 260.

⁶⁶ Burns, pp. 33-34. See also Te Rangikaheke's comments translated by George Graham ('Hape-ki-Tuarangi: An Account of his Ohaki (dying instructions) Before his Leaving this World', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*, 50, 199, (1941), pp. 114-119.

⁶⁷ Steven Oliver. 'Te Rauparaha', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t74/te-rauparaha> (accessed 28 January 2019)

Whakapapa 8: Raukawa and Toarangatira (Royal, 1994)⁶⁸



2.4 Heke I

From about 1818 Te Rauparaha made several journeys into Taranaki, and, with Ngāpuhi, in 1819-1820, further south to Kapiti: on that latter journey the taua fought a major engagement at Te Kerekeringa, and attacked Ngāti Apa at Purua, and Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne, and Ngāti Tumokai at Oroua before proceeding south along the coast to fight another major battle against Ngāti Ira at Pukerua. Some weeks later, after major engagements in the Wairarapa, the taua returned north. On their return, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, Te Rauparaha's nephew and close fighting comrade and leader in his own right,⁶⁹ landed at Te Pou-a-te-rehunga (north of the Rangitīkei river) at Te Awamate where the marriage of Te Pikinga and Te Rangihaeata was arranged and the return of Ngāti Toa to the region discussed.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 17.

⁶⁹ Te Rangihaeata was the son of Te Rauparaha's sister Waitohi, brother of Te Rangitopeora. He was another outstanding nineteenth-century leader who was skilled in the martial arts, composed waiata and was a carver. He also belonged to the Ngāti Huia section of Ngāti Raukawa.

⁷⁰ See Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation From c.1769 to c.1945*, Wellington, p. 81. See also Jane Luiten, *An Exploratory Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal on Early Crown Purchases: Whanganui ki Porirua*, Wellington, 1992, p. 4. Wi Parata described Te

The narrative, as published by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal continues:

“Ka haere mai i roto i te heke a Ngāti Toa, ka mahue a Kāwhia, ka heke ki Taranaki, i ērā rā katoa, e haere tonu ana i roto i ngā kumekumetanga, i ngā rarururutanga i waenganui i a Ngāti Toa me Waikato, e haere tonu ana a Te Rauparaha ki te rapu iwi āwhina i a ia. I haere ia ki tana rahinga ki Ngāti Raukawa ki Maungatautari. Kore rawa rātou i pirangi ki te āwhina i a Te Rauparaha. Ka haere ia ki roto o Tauranga Moana. Kihai ratou i hiahia hoki. Ka haere mai ki roto o Ngāti Whakaue, kōrero ana tana take, kihai a Ngāti Whakaue i whakaaro. I a ia i roto i a Te Arawa, ka rongō a ia, tēnei taima, kua hanga rikarika ia, kua kore e tautokongia tana take.

(Ngāti Toa left Kāwhia and moved into Taranaki. At this time of trouble between Ngāti Toa and Waikato, Te Rauparaha travelled great distances to seek support. He went to Ngāti Raukawa at Maungatautari; however, they were not keen to go in support of him. He went to Tauranga Moana and they too were not supportive of his proposals. Afterward he went to Ngāti Whakaue who were reluctant to support him as well).⁷¹

In 1822 Te Rauparaha led about 2,500 people of Ngāti Toa, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama south to Horowhenua expecting to find safety with Ngāti Apa and Muaūpoko.⁷² Muaūpoko instead launched a pre-emptive strike against the new-comers in which Te Rauparaha’s oldest son, Te Rangihoungariri, his daughter Te Uira, and other children were killed.⁷³ This action brought severe retribution upon the Horowhenua district as a whole.⁷⁴ Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Koata and some Te Āti Awa then took Kapiti Island and continued fighting with Muaūpoko, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Ngāti Ira.⁷⁵”

2.6 Waiorua

A decisive moment between the formerly established and incoming iwi played out at Waiorua in 1824 when members of Ngāti Ruanui, Whanganui, Ngāti Apa, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Kuia, estimated to number some 2000, attempted to regain their control of Kapiti. Despite being greatly outnumbered, the new occupants successfully defended the island.⁷⁶ The Battle of Waiorua was a defining moment in the success of Ngati Toa and it was said that ‘all the tribes were defeated from Patea to

Pikinga as ‘a woman of rank of Ngāti Apa...[who had been] made prisoner’ (OLC) Book 10, February 6 1890, p. 153. The marriage of Te Rangihaeata and Te Pikinga is a prime example of moenga rangatira which served its peace-making intentions, at least for a time.

⁷¹ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 83.

⁷² Atholl Anderson, Aroha Harris and Judith Binney, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, Wellington, 2015, p. 157.

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

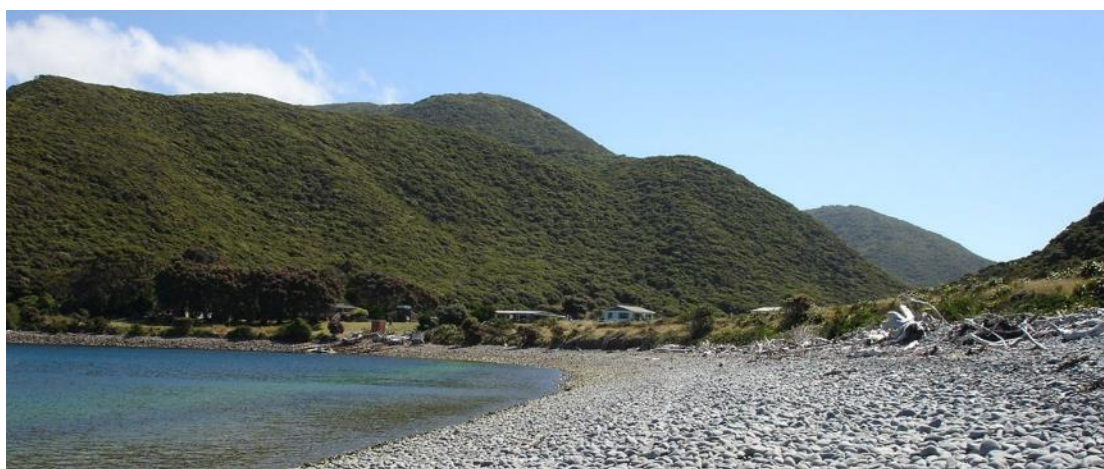
⁷⁶ Anderson and Pickens, p. 10. Some Ngāti Raukawa were present at Waiorua.

Wairarapa and from Te Tai Tapu to Kaikoura'.⁷⁷ Following this battle Ngāti Toa crossed to the mainland and asserted their authority over more territory.⁷⁸

Before news of the outcome of the battle reached Maungatauri, a travelling group known as Te Heke Karere, led by Ngārangiorehua, Te Horohau, Matenga Te Matia and Te Ahukaramū, was sent out in response to a message that a calamity had befallen Ngāti Toa. When the group arrived, however, they found Te Rauparaha at Rangiuuru pā. After hospitality had been extended to the visitors, Te Rauparaha rose and uttered:

“Kia Te Ahu Karamu, kia Ngarangiorehua, kia Te Horohau...e aku tuakana teina kua kite nei koutou kei te ora ahau, ara a Ngati-Toa. Ten[e]i taku kupu kia koutou. Haere e hoki ki te tiki ia Ngati Raukawa kia haere mai ke [sic] konei ke [sic] te noho i te whenua i taroroa e aku paihau ki taku rakau na e takoto nei haha te whenua. Harere [sic] mai! Harere [sic] mai!” (Te Ahu Karamu, Ngarangiorehua, Te Horohau...my elder brothers and my younger brothers: you see I am still alive, and with me Ngati Toa. This is my word to you: Go back and get Ngati Raukawa. Come down to settle on the land I have laid bare with my spear. Come! Come!)⁷⁹

Image 7: Waiorua Bay, Kāpiti Island (Wellington City Council)



The travellers returned to Maungatautari.⁸⁰ Te Rauparaha invited his Ngāti Raukawa whanaunga to settle in the south but they demurred. According to Tāmihana Te

⁷⁷ Angela Ballara, *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars', or tikanga?: Warfare in Māori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, 2003, p. 337, quoting Mātene Te Whiwhi.

⁷⁸ W. C. Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast: Maori History and Place Names*, Wellington, 1966, p. 20.

⁷⁹ Rod McDonald, *Te Hekenga: Early Days in Horowhenua, Being the Reminiscences of Mr Rod McDonald*, (Compiled and written by E.O'Donnell), Palmerston North, 1929, p. 15.

⁸⁰ Mātene Te Whiwhi said that Te Heuheu and Te Whatanui accompanied this heke, called Te Kariritahi heke (OLC, Book 1, 4 December 1872, p. 145).

Rauparaha, his father's invitation to join him had been rejected derisively (whakapehapeha) as having come from a low person, a taurekareka, a tūtūā.⁸¹ Grove, however, argues that given Te Rauparaha's Ngāti Raukawa connections, status and mana, a more likely explanation of the refusal of Ngāti Raukawa is found in their own objectives: immediate retribution for the defeat at Te Puketapu and the pursuit of the longer term aim to establish themselves in Heretaunga.

Grove asserts that the costly and repeated frustrations of the purpose in the Heretaunga region led Ngāti Raukawa to reconsider Te Rauparaha's invitation to join him at the Kapiti Coast. Waitohi, sister of Te Rauparaha and influential leader in her own right, 'a woman of great strength of character and indomitable resolution',⁸² was more explicit in her invitation: 'Ngati Raukawa, e hoki ki Maungatautari! Ma wai o koutou e mau mai aku werewere hei noho mai i runga i te whenua i haha nei?' ('Ngāti Raukawa, return to Maungatautari! Who of you will bring my people here to settle upon these lands that have been procured?').⁸³ Te Ahukaramū is said to have replied, 'Māku, mā te tuarā nui o Pakake' ('I will by the stong back of Pakake').⁸⁴ Ngāti Raukawa's decision to migrate south was made at the behest of Waitohi.⁸⁵

Ngāti Raukawa was a numerically superior iwi. Historian Patricia Burn's points to the size that the Ngāti Raukawa grew to whilst resident in the tribal homelands in Waikato and the breadth of their settlements in comparison to their Ngāti Toa relations and allies.⁸⁶ The sheer numbers of people affiliated to Ngāti Raukawa ensured a power base and gave strength to the body politic. It could be argued that Ngāti Toa needed Ngāti Raukawa's force of numbers in the south in a reciprocal arrangement in order to fully

⁸¹ Tamihana Te Rauparaha, *He Pukapuka Tataku Tenei i Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui, o Tona Itinga Kaumatua Noa*, n. d., Grey New Zealand Maori Manuscripts (GNZMMSS) 27, Auckland Public Library (APL), p. 27.

⁸² McDonald, p. 15.

⁸³ Waitohi, being a woman, leant towards or had more influence or sway with her mothers people, that is, her matrilineal lines. Te Rauparaha conversely leant more towards their patriarchal Ngāti Toa side. As explained by Iwikātea Nicholson, 'Taitamawahine whai i ana werewere, taitama tāne whai te ure tū' (The female side will cling to the side of the female pubic hair, the male will follow their side, the erect penis) (oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, p. 51).

⁸⁴ Te Ahukaramū is a descendant of Pakake. Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 19.

⁸⁵ W. K. Te Aweawe suggested that many of Te Rauparaha's strategic plans and successful conquests can be attributed to the genius of Waitohi. It is said that few major undertakings were entered into without her advice and counsel (Carkeek, 1966, p. 23).

⁸⁶ Burns, p. 17.

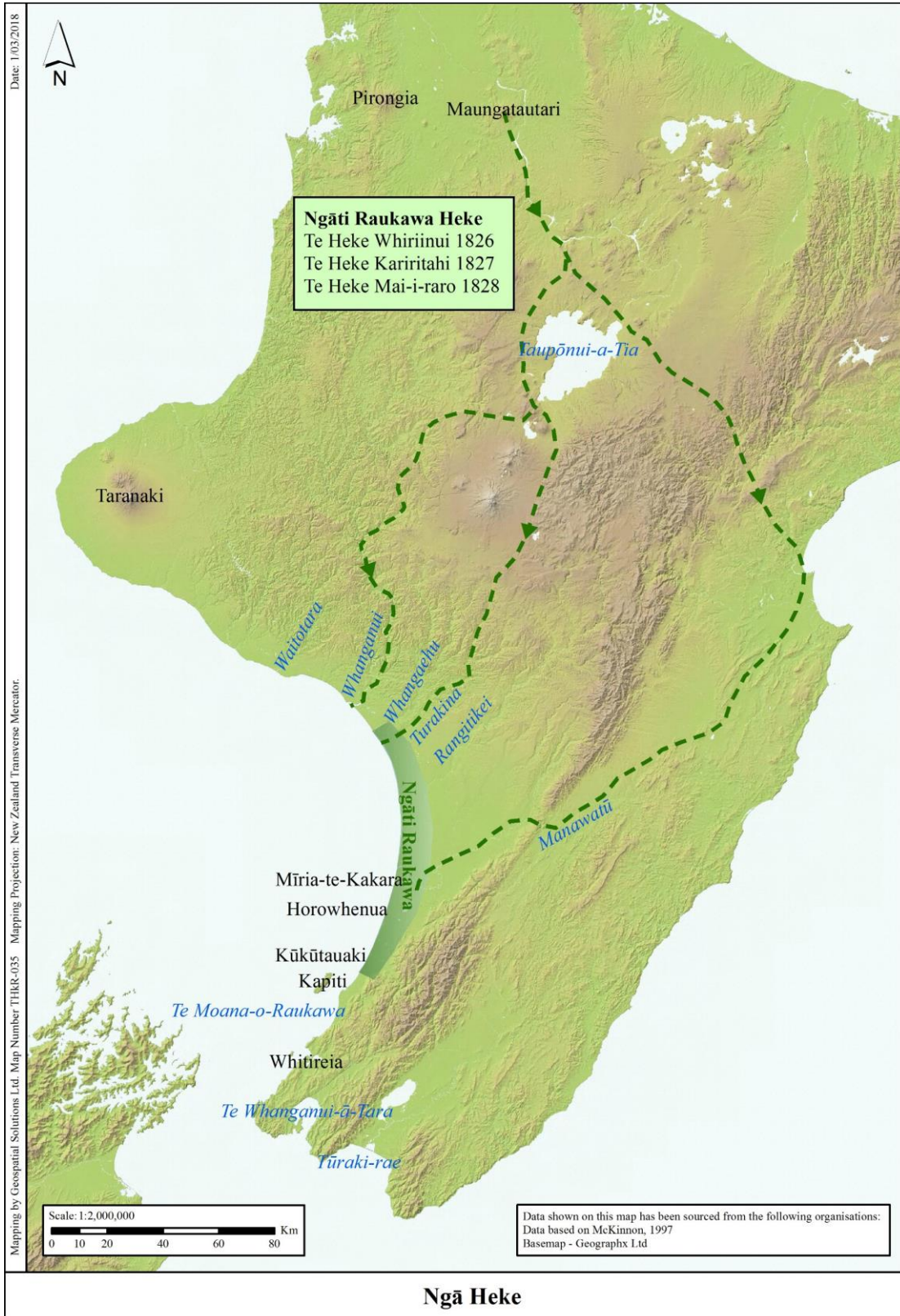
conquer or control the area and vast territory Ngāti Toa claimed or was seeking to claim. This numerical superiority is demonstrated today in the number of carved Ngāti Raukawa houses and of Ngāti Raukawa marae and pā still extant in the south, in the numbers of people who affiliate with Ngāti Raukawa and in the number, size and durability of the unique socio-political institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga.⁸⁷

Following the battle of Waiorua, an influx of Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Tama hapū arrived in the southern lands. According to Mātene Te Whiwhi, in the first migration the land was divided to Kukutauaki and ‘Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Whakatere, and Ngāti Hinetuhi came first on the land.’⁸⁸

⁸⁷ See Piripi Walker’s forthcoming report on the institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

⁸⁸ Mātene Te Whiwhi, MLC, Ngakaroro hearing, 1874. Cited in W. C. Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, 1966, p. 21.

Map 5: Major Ngāti Raukawa migrations south



2.7 Heke II

The major Ngāti Raukawa migrations to the Horowhenua and Kāpiti Coast are: Te Heke Whirinui,⁸⁹ the first major migration south led by Te Ahukaramū, Te Heke Kariritahi,⁹⁰ the second major migration south led by Nēpia Taratoa and Te Heke Mai-i-raro,⁹¹ the final migration south led by Te Whatanui. Less than 200 people are said to have arrived on Te Heke Whirinui, and the name suggests a reconnaissance by the leading chiefs of the powerful and aristocratic hapū that traced descent from Huia.⁹² Te Ahukaramū had been won over and was eager to begin the migration that would come to be known as Te Heke Whirinui but the main body of Ngāti Raukawa still hesitated. Te Ahukaramū burnt the peoples' houses thereby forcing a *fait accompli*. Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Te Whatanui accompanied the heke and visited Te Rauparaha on Kapiti. It may have been at this time that a peaceful settlement was agreed upon by Te Whatanui with the iwi already in occupation in the south. Te Rangiotu said the negotiations were carried out with Te Kekerengu, 'a great chief of these tribes' and also with Taiweherua.⁹³

Te Heke Kariritahi took place the next year, Te Whatanui again visiting Kapiti, this time coming down with 150 warriors. This heke is said to have been named from the fact that the toa had enlarged the touchholes of their muskets so that no priming was required and a more rapid fire might be maintained. Following this expedition Te Whatanui spoke to several hapū in the north, going so far as Pawaiti on the west edge of the Pātetere plateau and Maungatautari. He convinced them that the iwi should settle together on the Kapiti Coast.⁹⁴

The migration of the main body of Ngāti Raukawa some time after the first two heke was named Te Heke-Mai-i-Raro and was launched from Te Rapa, Te Heuheu's pā on

⁸⁹ This name refers to the unusually large weaving on the edges of their mats (Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 19).

⁹⁰ The people of this migration carried single-cartridge rifles (Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 19).

⁹¹ Lit. 'the migration from below', ie, from the north (Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 20).

⁹² Mātene Te Whiwhi, OLC, Book 1C, 11 March 1868, p. 197; Mātene Te Whiwhi, OLC, Book 1, 4 December 1872, pp. 145-146.

⁹³ Hoani Meihana (Te Rangiotu), OLC, Book 1, 18 November 1872, p. 20.

⁹⁴ Te Pouepa, OLC, Book 1C, 12 March 3 1868, p. 201.

the southwest shore of Taupō.⁹⁵ This group made the difficult and dangerous journey south during the cold and inclement weather of May to July.⁹⁶ When this body of Ngāti Raukawa first arrived they were taken to Kapiti where they lived for a year and a half.⁹⁷ Some months later they moved across to the area around the Ōtaki river mouth.⁹⁸ Ngāti Raukawa eventually settled throughout the Ōtaki, Manawatū, Horowhenua and Rangitīkei area.⁹⁹

Ngāti Raukawa settled along the coast under the mana of Te Whatanui. Ngāti Kauwhata under the leadership of Te Ahukaramū, came down the Rangitīkei river to enter the Awahuri district where they established their principal settlement at the confluence of the Mangaone and Oroua rivers. Allied peoples of Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto and others settled on what became known as Te Reureu block.¹⁰⁰

Some people remained at Taupō but were not abandoned or forgotten by Te Whatanui whose parting words to Te Heuheu are said to have been, ‘E Heu, kia kaha te manaaki i era ka ngahoro mai ki waho o taku kete!’ (‘O Heu, be kind to those who have fallen from my basket!’). About six years later, around 1835, Te Whatanui returned to Taupō to arrange their migration.¹⁰¹ The following year he brought these people south and settled them at Titirangi kāinga, along the southeast shore of Lake Horowhenua. Kouturoa and Tatepare became settlements as well.¹⁰² In the same year two pā were built, one at Raumatangi and the other to the west.¹⁰³ Another pā was built in the vicinity of Tauataruru on the west side of the lake. Te Tahuri built a pā called Te Reti and two years later, in about 1838, Te Whatanui built a pā on Waikiekie.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁵ John Te H., Grace, *Tuwharetoa: A History of the Maori People of the Taupo District*, Wellington, 1959, p. 346.

⁹⁶ Te Pouepa in Thomas C. Williams, *New Zealand: The Manawatū Purchase Completed; or, The Treaty of Waitangi Broken*, London, 1868, p. 9.

⁹⁷ Mātene Te Whiwhi, OLC, Book 1, 4 December 1872, p. 146.

⁹⁸ Grove, p. 35.

⁹⁹ Anderson and Pickens, p. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Robyn Anderson, *Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry: Historical Issues Scoping Report for Hapū and Iwi Broadly Associated with Ngāti Raukawa*, WAI 2200 # A128, 2014, p. 14.

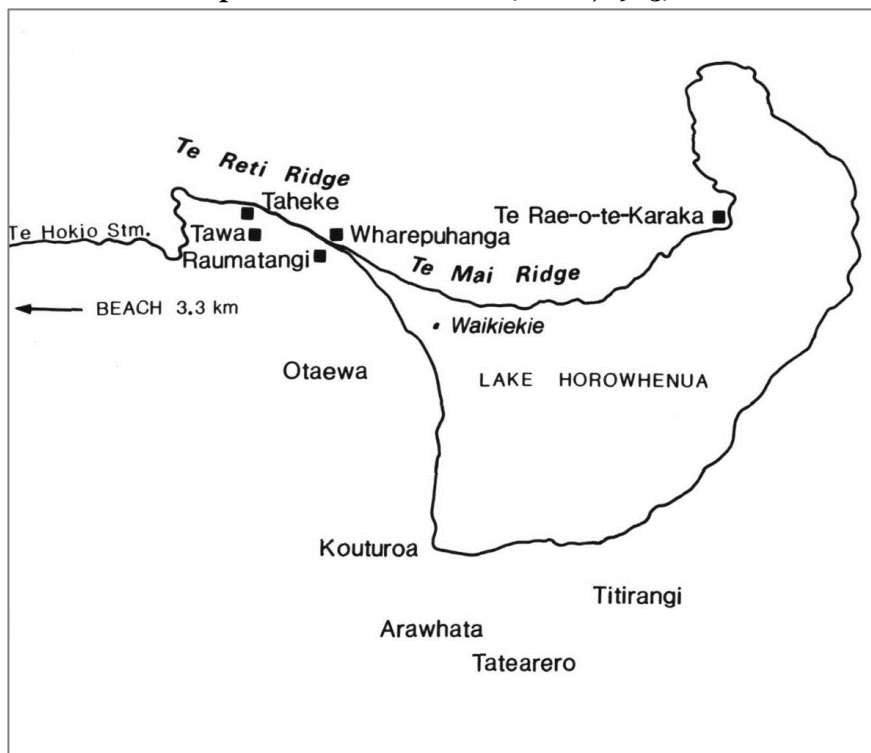
¹⁰¹ Hēnare Te Herekau, OLC, Book 2, April 1873, p. 34.

¹⁰² Grove, p. 87.

¹⁰³ Possibly Taheke.

¹⁰⁴ According to Adkin, Te Whatanui had his first house at Te Raumatangi (1948, p. 365).

Map 6: Lake Horowhenua (Grove, 1985)¹⁰⁵



For the whole of the heke from Taupō to the Kapiti Coast the people were vulnerable to hostile action. Covering the most hazardous portion of the route in July, the coldest month of the year, ensured that only the odd bird or rat-snaring party might be expected on the forest trails.¹⁰⁶ As to the route itself, the usual one, as followed by the first two heke, paralleled and skirted the north margin of the Rangitīkei valley.

The main groups of potentially hostile iwi were along or to the south of the same valley, Ngāti Apa on the north and Rangitāne on the south.¹⁰⁷ The main body of the heke came from Taupō to the upper Turakina and followed its torturous route out to the coast while a taua of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Huia under Te Aoturoa split off, 'ka wehewehea nga huarahi', to follow the usual route along the side of the Rangitīkei.¹⁰⁸ The mission of this taua was to create the impression of a large group using aggressive tactics to intimidate and demoralize the peoples already in occupation of this region.

¹⁰⁵ Grove, p. 88.

¹⁰⁶ Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, London, 1929, p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas C. Williams, *A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Being An Appeal on Behalf of the Ngatiraukawa Tribe*, Wellington, 1873, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Tapa Te Whata, OLC, Book 1E, 13 April 1868, p. 613.

A manuscript dictated to Himiona Te Hopu by Maunu, a kaumātua of Muaūpoko, gives an idea of the harassment undergone by groups already resident in the area: 10 Ngāti Apa were killed at Turakina, seven at Rangitīkei, then four more; at Manawatū 10 were killed, then 20 more.¹⁰⁹ The Ngāti Apa rangatira, Te Whareki, was among those killed by Ngāti Raukawa in skirmishes along the route.¹¹⁰ A direct result was the abandonment by Ngāti Apa of most of their usual pā to assemble in Otakapou, well removed from likely routes.

The migrations were arduous and were made more painful by the abandonment of ancestral land. They took only what they could carry, and arrived in the south in reduced circumstances. Old people and the very young had to be cared for, and much of the journey passed through hostile country.¹¹¹ In the following waiata, Pōnehu worries about what lies ahead:

*‘Rā te ao-uru ka tauhere,
Te hiwi ki Te Hikonga.
Hōmai kia mihia
I hara mai i ōku hoa ē.*

*Nāku rawa i huri atu
Ki te taiwhanga ki a Te Wherowhero
Nāna i ūnga mai
Ka noho au te puke ki Kamaru.
Nuinui Te ‘Paraha i te whenua,
He manu ka pīrere
Ka pūihi tonu atu ki te tai-uru,
Ki a Ta-mai-rangi, ē.
Tae a-wairua te motu huia
Tararua i runga,
Ki Wairarapa ē, ki Te Taitapu,
Ki a Te Ahuru, ē.
Kia noho taku iti
Ki te kei o te waka
Nōu nā, e Te Pehi ē!
Behold the clouds in the west that hang
O’er the hill at Te Hikonga.
Let me tender greetings
To them who come from my friends, ah me.*

¹⁰⁹ Pioho T. Maunu, ‘Miscellaneous Manuscripts in Maori, No. 2’, 1847, p. 13, APL.

¹¹⁰ Angela Ballara. ‘Te Whatanui’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t86/te-whatanui>, accessed 8 October 2016.

¹¹¹ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 20.

*It was I who gave
 The land to Te Wherowhero,
 He who urged me ever onward
 And now I abide on the hill of Kamaru.
 Greet the fame of Te 'Paraha in the land,
 But now only a bird in flight,
 Pursued along the shores of the western sea,
 To Ta-mai-rangi, ah me.
 A fugitive spirit in the huia forests
 Of Tararua in the south,
 On the move to Wairarapa, and on to Te Taitapu
 To the presence of Te Ahuru, ah me.
 There let me sit in humble state,
 At the stern of that canoe
 Of yours, O Te Pehi, ah me!¹¹²*

After members of one group of Ngāti Raukawa were killed in Whanganui, Matangi Hauroa composed the following waiata and sung it to Te Whatanui, urging him to go to Whanganui and avenge these deaths:

*Takoto rawa iho ki te pō,
 E huihui ana mai ō tātou wairua,
 Kua piri, kia tata mai ki taku taha.
 Matatū tonu ake, ka maranga kei runga,
 Whitirere ki te ao, tiro tiro kau au;
 Ā, me he wairua atu te tārehutanga iho.
 E te manawa i raro kapakapa tū kei runga!*

*Hōmai he matā kia haea ki taku kiri;
 Taku kiri tirohanga mai ne a āku tamariki nei.
 Mauria atu rā, e Whero,
 Aku toto, aku tahe, aku parapara tapu;
 Kia kite mai koutou ko ahau rā tēnā.
 E kimi ana i te ara,
 I haere ai tāku pōkai tara ki te tonga;
 Tēnā ka pāea ngā hiwi maunga ki a Ngati Hau.
 Ko te rongō pai tēnā i a koutou;
 He rongō toa mai, hau ana ki te tahatū o te rangi!
 Te puta tō rongō toa, ka pēhia mai e Whanganui;
 He toa e whaiātia ko te pōtiki nā Tuwhakairihau!
 Kia āta whakaputa;
 Tēnā anō rā ngā tamariki toa nā Rakamaomao
 Kei te rangi e haere ana; nā Motai-tangata-rau,*

¹¹² A. T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs Part III*, Auckland, 2006, pp. 556-559.

*Takahia atu rā ngā tuaone kei Matahiwi rā!
Ko tō tinana i noho atu;
Ko tō rongō i tuku mai,
I wani mai runga o ngā maunga;
Tae rawa mai ki ahau e noho atu nei i te kāinga
Kia whakataukī au i konei,
Auē! Taukiri, ē!*

*Composing myself for sleep in the night
Kindred spirits gathered all around,
Closely entwined, seeking to be near me.
The awakening was sudden, and I sat up,
Fully awake, I looked about in vain;
Like the spirit of a god the vision had vanished.
Thou sleeping heart, throbbing wildly within, arise!*

*Give me a sharpened obsidian to lacerate my skin.
The skin oft gazed upon by my children
Take away, O Whero,
My blood, my body's essence, my sacred remains;
So that you all may see 'tis indeed myself,
Seeking for the pathway,
Whereon my brave company passed to the south;
All now heaped up on the hills and heights of Ngati Hau.
It was splendid news we heard of you;
Tidings of bravery which resounded to the heavens!*

*Short-lived your triumph, subdued (were you) by Whanganui;
A warrior to pursue is that son of Tuwhakairihau!
Let him now beware;
For there are many brave sons of Rakamaomao
Moving swiftly in the heavens; those of Motai's hundred progeny,
Go forth, and stride upon the sands of Matahiwi afar!
Your bodies do lie there;
But your fame has come back,
Skimming swiftly o'er the mountain tops;
It reached me abiding here at home,
And thus I now speak in proverbs here,
Alas! Mournful am I!¹¹³*

¹¹³ A. T. Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs Part I*, Auckland, 2004, pp. 298-303. According to Te Waari Te Rei, Te Ria Haukōraki migrated, along with her husband, Te Puna-i-Rangiriri, from Wharepūhanga and Maungatautari in this group that encountered trouble in Whanganui. Included in this group were Te Puke, Kiharoa, Te Aotūtahanga and others. Ria herself was not hurt and continued southwards. Utu was later sought and gained from Whanganui and losses in Heretaunga.

Utu was exacted by a small taua led by Te Whatanui and the recovery of Ngāti Raukawa captives. Later, according to Parakaia Te Pouepa, Whanganui were defeated in two battles – one pā was taken (Putiki-wharanui).¹¹⁴ A combined force of Ngāti Raukawa, led by Te Whatanui, Ngāti Toa under Te Rauparaha, and Te Āti Awa (under their leaders) attacked Whanganui, the overall purpose, as given by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha was ‘ki te takitaki i te matenga o Ngāti Raukawa’ (To avenge the defeat of Ngāti Raukawa).¹¹⁵

The incoming whānau, hapū, iwi and individuals interacted with and, to a certain extent, displaced the peoples whom they had found living there. Hence:

Tau mai e Kapiti
te kāinga o te hunga kua wehe ki te iwi nui i te pō
Te marae i Wai-ō-rua tēnei te mihia
te wāhi i tanuku ai te whakaaro o te motu
kia patua ō tamariki i kopaina e koe
Hei tohu ki ngā uri whakaheke mai
i te mana o tuawhakarere iho
i te mana i te wehi o Io nui...i

Tau mai e Kapiti
Te Whare Wānanga o ia, o te nui, o te wehi, o te Toa.
Whakakaupapa i te nohotahi, a Awa, a Toa, a Raukawa.
I heke mai i Kāwhia ki te kawē tikanga
hei ora mō ngā uri o muri nei.
Tau mai e Kapiti te kāinga tupu
o te wehi, o te toa, o te whakamanawanui...i

Tau mai e Kapiti
Te kāinga o te kino, o te mau-ā-hara, o te kaitangata
e ai rā hoki ki ngā kupu whakapae o ngā iwi maha o te motu nei.
Ko Rangatira te marae tēnei te mihia,
tōna rite he marae paenga whakairo,
ki roto o Kaiweka, he marae rongonui
ki runga ki raro tāwhio noa...a

¹¹⁴ In a letter written by Parakaia Te Pouepa, a rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa, published in (T. C. Williams, *The Manawatū Purchase Completed*, 1868, p. 10).

¹¹⁵ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, *He Pukapuka Tataku Tenei i Nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui, o Tona Itinga Kaumatua Noa*, n. d., Grey New Zealand Maori Manuscripts (GNZMMSS) 27, Auckland Public Library (APL), p. 73. The success of the expedition is attested by the words of Rev. Richard Taylor who buried the many bones lying about, still untended by their Whanganui relatives (*Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants: Illustrating the Origin, Manners, Customs, Mythology, Religion, Rites, Songs, Proverbs, Fables, and Language of the Natives Together with the Geology, Natural History, Productions, and Climate of the Country, its State as Regards Christianity, Sketches of the Principal Chiefs, and their Present Position*, London, 1855, p. 326).

Tau mai e Kapiti
Whakataretare mai ki te rangatahi e hao nei.
Waikāhua, Waikātohu, e mau ki ngā mana i ngakia e koe.
Ūhia mai rā te manaakitanga e ngā tūpuna kua wehe ki te pō
hei mauri whakakaha i te hinengaro
Tama, o Hine e pae nei.

We salute you Kapiti,
The home of those who have passed into the night.
We pay homage to Waiōrua,
The place that answered the desires of the country
That your children should be sacrificed.
A symbol for the coming generations
Of the majestic authority of ancient times,
Of the power and awe of Io-nui.

We salute you Kapiti
The centre of learning devoted to the current of the great,
Of the awesome, of the warrior,
Created for the unity of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa,
Those who migrated from Kāwhia with a legacy
Nourishing and giving life to those generations to come.
Stand there Kapiti, the homeland
Of the awesome, of the warrior, of the sure and confident.

We salute you Kapiti,
The home of evil, of vengeance, of cannibalism,
According to the accusations of the many.
We salute Rangatira,
That which is likened to the gathering place of the great chiefs
At Kaiweka, a famous plaza
Known in the north, the south, at all points.

We salute you Kapiti
Gaze upon the youth that gather here.
Who shall say who will take hold of the authority vested in you?
Bestow the blessings of those ancestors who have passed on,
As an empowering life-force for the minds and imaginations
Of the children gathered here.¹¹⁶

Te Waari Te Rei explains,

Ko te kaupapa o te pātere nei he takitaki kōrero mō te tatūnga mai o ō tātou tūpuna ki ēnei whenua nei. Nō te taenga mai o Te Rauparaha mā, ka wehi a Muaūpoko me Rangitāne ki ngā mahi patu tangata o Ngāti Toa me ō rātou ope

¹¹⁶ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, pp. 88-93.

taua (This song discusses the arrival of our ancestors to the south. Muaūpoko and Rangitāne became distressed at the arrival of Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa and their plans of conquest).¹¹⁷

This pātere, composed in the 1930s by Kīngi Tāhiwi of the Ngāti Maiotaki hapū, translator, educationalist and composer, acknowledges the pain and ultimate sacrifice of the peoples who were in occupation of this area prior to the arrival of Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa and other allied Taranaki and Waikato groups taking possession of the territory by raupatu.

There was, at least for a time, much movement to and fro prior to and for some time after the major heke of the 1820s and 1830s. Hori Ngawhare, for example, arrived on the coast in about 1827 with the heke known as Te Heke Whirinui under Te Whatanui's leadership but returned north in 1829. He came south again, this time accompanied by his father Wairaka in Te Heke Mai-i-Raro and settled in the south.¹¹⁸

The Waikato homelands of Ngāti Raukawa had become dominated by Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hauā when, in 1840, Te Wherowhero journeyed to Ōtaki with Te Heuheu Tūkino II, life-long friend and ally of Te Whatanui, and other rangatira to invite Te Whatanui and his Ngāti Raukawa people to return to their ancestral lands at Maungatautari. Te Heuheu was deputed by Tukorehu and other Maniapoto chiefs to ask Te Whatanui to return with his people to Maungatautari.¹¹⁹ Grace suggests that Te Heuheu may have arranged the invitation¹²⁰ and Te Hurinui writes that Te Wherowhero accompanied Te Heuheu to the Kapiti Coast.¹²¹ Te Whatanui, however, decided to remain in the Manawatū, Horowhenua, Ōtaki region and his reply was given in song:

*Rongo kōrero au e ko Tūkino
Te tuku mai nei
E haramai ana pea
Ki te tiki mai Irawaru
Kia whakakurī au,
kia whakapai au
He kāewaewa, he rau harakeke*

¹¹⁷ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 90.

¹¹⁸ *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* (WM), 8 Hanuere 1873, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ Gudgeon, p. 4.

¹²⁰ Grace, p. 347.

¹²¹ Jones, *King Pōtatau*, p. 149.

*Te āhua o taku kōiwi.
Papaki rawa iho
Ki te tau o taku ate
He pōare tonu ana
Kei te tarawa putu
Kōkō, he ruru tōna kai
E rā i i.
Ko te kai rā tēnā
I hua ai te kitatanga
te Tarakihi, te Waru
He Haku kei te moana
Ka pāheke te ākau i i.
Tae rawa atu au
Ki Tūriura,
Ki runga riro rā
Ki te kāinga i paea ai
Te Kura-a-Tauninihi.
Koia rānei e Ngāti Raukawa
Me hoki au ki Maungatautari
Ki te kāinga hoki i whakarērea nei e te ngākau
Me hoki kōmuri au ki te whenua
Kia whakawaia mai au e te ruru
He ruru tōku ki te nohanga pahī.*

*I hear the talk
words from Tūkino;
Coming perhaps
to take Irawaru.
Will I be likened to the dog?
Will I be reinstated honourably?
Forced to become a wanderer,
to eventually wither like the flax leaves.
Is this the future for my body?
Beating within
the string of my heart.
Throbbing like the breast of the koko,
perched in the korari,
nuzzling his food with relish.
That food in abundance
heralded by the call of
the cicada announcing spring's arrival.
The abundance kingfish in sea,
drawn up on the shore.
I have been to Tiuiura
and beyond,
to the place where washed up
was the symbol of Tauninihi.
Therefore, should I Ngāti Raukawa*

*return to Maungatautari?
to the home abandoned from the heart.
Should I go back to the land?
to become an object of amusement
and insult for the Ruru.
I dread to be looked on as a visitor.¹²²*

This waiata demonstrates that Ngāti Raukawa, under Te Whatanui, had permanently settled in the south; going ‘home’ to Maungatautari was not an option.¹²³

Te Whatanui established a number of settlements, mainly at Ōtaki, Horowhenua and Manawatū.¹²⁴ Te Rua-o-Te-Whatanui, a boundary landmark not far south of present-day Levin, may be the same cultivation referred to as Te Rua by G. Leslie Adkin.¹²⁵ Further to the east, along the south bank of the Manawatū and upstream from the bridge at Wirokino, was a 3km strip under the ownership of Te Whatanui.

2.8 ‘Ka whakatupuria e Te Whatanui te tangata ki te ora’

Tensions in the south between the more recent migrants and earlier settlers continued to simmer and flare as communities were established, pā built, and resources claimed. One of the motivating factors for Te Rauparaha’s desire for the complete destruction of Muaūpoko was an incident at Ōhau whereby Te Rauparaha was invited by Toheriri, one of the Muaūpoko chiefs whom he had befriended, offered a gift of a waka to Te Rauparaha. Te Rauparaha is said to have gone carrying a return gift of a block of pounamu. ‘When they got there they were welcomed, treated as honoured guests and then put into their whare for the night, and it was during the night that the war party crept up on them and started to club his children’. He could hear Te Uira and his son

¹²² Translation by Ngārongo Iwikātea Nicholson (Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, 1994, pp. 36-42).

¹²³ In 1864 Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga registered their claim to Maungatautari in the Native Land Court but this song proved to be the undoing of their case. The claim was opposed by groups who were in occupation and the principal witness for the opponents to the claim, when giving his evidence, sang the opening lines in which the rest of his people joined. Te Whatanui declining to return at that time and giving his reply in song couched as it is in highly metaphoric language was totally in line with his status and skills. However, Te Whatanui could not have predicted the use of this waiata, a timely response to a timely invitation, within the context of a land court hearing. This action divorced the waiata from the context within which it was composed and applied it in a way in which it was never intended. Further, choosing not to return to Maungatautari at the time of composition in 1840, cannot seriously be equated to or interpreted as an abandonment of land and resource rights at Maungatautari.

¹²⁴ Te Aohau (Neville Nicholson), AJHR 1896, G-2, pp. 202; 214.

¹²⁵ Adkin, p. 347.

Te Rangihoungariri and the cries of Te Poa and some of the other rangatira who were with him, Taiko, being killed in their whare. He woke up suddenly and realised what was happening, pushed his way through the walls of the whare and escaped. When he got a safe distance he found his cousin Te Rākaherea with a spear sticking out of his back from the attack.¹²⁶ So from then on, ‘Ka pōuri te whakaaro o Te Rauparaha mō ērā tāngata o Muaūpoko.’¹²⁷

Te Whatanui’s leadership exemplifies ‘he whenua rangatira,’¹²⁸ the idea of ‘noble domain’ or ‘region rich in nobility’ has become synonymous with ‘a state of peace.’¹²⁹ According to Wiremu Kingi Te Aweawe, ‘Te Whatanui was a real diplomat and a good leader, and a favourite one with Hapekitūārangi. Pareraukawa who was Te Whatanui’s mother was Hapekitūārangi’s elder sister. Hapekitūārangi was his uncle, and so Te Whatanui was the senior as well. Hapekitūārangi’s own sons were very young.’¹³⁰

Te Whatanui and Te Rauparaha had an extraordinary relationship. This is seen, for example, in Te Whatanui being able to protect Muaūpoko against the vengeance called for by Te Rauparaha following the deaths of his children. The mana of the one did not usurp the other and each rangatira respected the mana of the other. This respect was maintained throughout their lives. The two men were closely connected via whakapapa, shared experience and status, both men having proven themselves as charismatic leaders and rangatira of the highest order. Their relationship endured from the time of their residence in Waikato to their joint and respective expeditions, journeys and migrations to the south. They were contemporaries in every sense of the word as demonstrated in the positions each occupies in Kikopiri meeting house (Fig. 10).¹³¹

¹²⁶ According to Royal, Te Rākaherea was married to Waitohi, sister of Te Rauparaha. Te Rākaherea was the son of Te Maunu. He was the father of Te Rangihaeata and Te Rangitopeora (*Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 106).

¹²⁷ Te Waari Carkeek, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, p. 171-118.

¹²⁸ George Grey, *Ko Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna Maori*, London, 1854, pp. 145; 193.

¹²⁹ Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, Wellington, 1971, p. 323.

¹³⁰ Wiremu Kingi Te Aweawe, Correspondence with June E. Mitchell, MS Papers 2022, 1967, ATL.

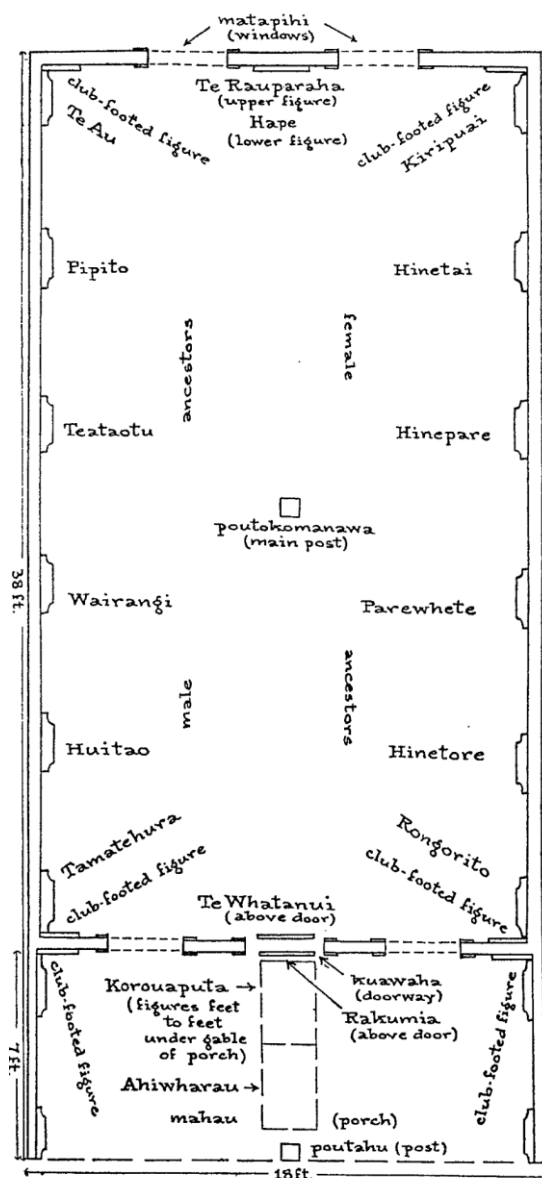
¹³¹ Similarly, both Te Rauparaha and Te Whatanui are carved into the poutokomanawa at Raukawa marae, Ōtaki, the marae matua of Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga.

Image 8: Kikopiri Marae, Ohau (Te Hono)



Facing each other in prominent, crucial positions in the house, Te Rauparaha above Hapekitūārangi, Te Whatanui above the kuwaha or doorway, their enduring alliance memorialised in the structure and design of the house.

Image 9: Plan of Kikopiri meeting house



The peoples in earlier occupation of the Kapiti Coast lived only ‘i runga i te atawhai o Whatanui’ (upon the mercy, grace or suffrance of Te Whatanui).¹³² This view was supported by at least one prominent leader of those people, Te Hakeke of Ngāti Apa. In response to Te Whatanui’s report of the peace he had made, Te Rauparaha is said to have uttered, ‘E pai ana, e Whata, ka pa he rakau kotahi, tena te rakau rua; whata ake he rakau, hapai ake he rakau. Kei te whai au ko te kaki tangata whenua kia mau i au. Katahi ano, katahi ano, e Whata’ (All right, Whata, when a weapon strikes, another

¹³² Te Herekau, OLC, Book 1C, 12 March 1868, p. 207. Ballara contends that although Muaūpoko and Rangitane continued to live at Horowhenua and Manawatū they were now considered a defeated people (‘Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Phases of Maori Occupation of Wellington Harbour c. 1800-1840’, in *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914*, D. Hamer and R. Nicholls (eds), Wellington, 1990, p. 18).

replies; when a weapon is poised another is lifted. I go for the human throat in order to seize the throat of the land. That way is best, Whata).¹³³

Moreover, although it is conceded that Ngāti Toa Rangatira who were ‘first on the land’ apportioned certain lands to Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Raukawa also claim land rights by take raupatu. As Henare Te Herekau put it, ‘Muaupoko, Rangitane and Ngati Apa were conquered by me and I took their land... These two tribes were ‘patu’ed’ first by Te Rauparaha and Ngati Awa, and after by Ngati Raukawa and after that they did not attempt to ‘whakahi’. The conquerers divided the land among themselves and the three tribes had nothing to say – ‘noho mokai’’.¹³⁴

Taueki, a Muaūpoko chief, appealed to Te Whatanui for protection and sought reassurance that he could actually shield them from the mighty Te Rauparaha. In the usual version of this exchange Taueki asks, ‘Are you going to be the rata tree that shields me?’ And Te Whatanui replies, ‘All that you see will be the stars that are shining above us; all that will descend on you will be the rain drops that fall from above.’¹³⁵ Te Whatahoro had another rendering which may possibly be closer to the original:

Taueki asked: ‘E ta Te Whatanui, akuanei pea ka hori atu koe ka mate au i o iwi e pae haere nei i te takutai nei.’

(O friend, Te Whatanui, perhaps presently you shall have passed by and I shall be struck down by your people who are collecting on this shore).’

To which Te Whatanui replied:

‘Whakarongo mai, ehara au i te rata mamore; he rata kouru nui au. Ko te ua i te rangi e kore e pata ki te whenua; ko te ringa tangata e kore e pa ki a koe. Noho noa iho i tou koutou kainga.’

(Hear me. I am not the branchless rata; I am the rata with a great crown. As the rain from the heavens will not drop on the earth so also the human hand will not strike you. Dwell in peace in your village).’¹³⁶

¹³³ H. T. Te Whatahoro, ‘Whakamaharatanga’, MS-Papers-189-B-55, n. d., p. 19, ATL.

¹³⁴ Te Herekau, OLC, Book 1C, 12 March 1868, pp. 206-207. As Hazel Petrie notes, ‘People defeated in battle were sometimes allowed to remain on their lands as subject tribes. They had been conquered but not enslaved’ (Hazel Petrie, *Outcasts of the Gods?: The Struggle Over Slavery in Māori New Zealand*, Auckland, 2015, p. 118).

¹³⁵ Meiha Keepa, *Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) 1896, G-2, p. 26.

¹³⁶ Te Whatahoro, ‘Whakamaharatanga’, MS-Papers-189-B-55, n. d., p. 18, ATL). The significance of the branchless tree is made clear by the following whakataukī: ‘He māmore rākau e taea te tōpeke ake’ (A branchless tree may be climbed with the rope loop) (Hirini Moko Mead and Neil Grove, *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna*, Wellington, 2003, pp. 93-94). Te Whatanui equates his chieftainship with the rata that towers over all the other trees and one that cannot be climbed, that is, his mana will not be trampled. The

By the time Te Heke-mai-i-Raro arrived on the Coast, Muaūpoko had been severely weakened, indeed, Grove states that Muaūpoko had been eliminated as an iwi entity.¹³⁷ Matene Te Whiwhi told how 20 Muaūpoko were taken to become kinaki (relish) for a Ngāti Toa hākari called Te Horeraumati.¹³⁸ Best recorded that Muaūpoko were living in the ranges when Te Whatanui sent a message to Taueki, ‘Cease to dwell upon the mountains: come out and occupy the places where men dwell.’¹³⁹

The peace made by Te Whatanui was referred to as, ‘Te Rongomau o Te Whatanui’ and is commemorated by the name of the church at Rangiotu, ‘Te Rangimārie’ (‘The peace of heaven’).¹⁴⁰ Sometime after the death of Te Whatanui the pact was referred to as, ‘Te Maungarongo o Ngāti Raukawa’ (‘The peace of Ngāti Raukawa’).¹⁴¹ There is also the whakataukī, ‘Te manawaroatanga o Ngāti Raukawa ki te pupuri i te rangimārie, arā i te whakapono’ (‘The steadfastness of Ngāti Raukawa in keeping the Heavenly Peace, that is, the Christian Faith’).¹⁴² Te Whatanui apportioned lands at Horowhenua (at Raia te Karaka?)¹⁴³ for Muaūpoko to reside upon and he and his people lived close alongside them.¹⁴⁴ Importantly, Adkin notes that the narrow strip of land ceded to

image would then be understood as ‘te rātā tū tahi, te whakamarumarū’ (the rātā standing without peer, the refuge), the same phrase sung by Hinewhe in her tangi for Te Rauparaha (George Grey, *Ko Nga Moteatea Me Nga Hakirara a Nga Maori*, Wellington, 1853, p. 12). The preceding explanation is supported by an anecdote relayed by Te Matia’s grandson, Kipa Te Whatanui who said that when Te Rauparaha renewed his efforts to annihilate Muaūpoko, Te Whatanui sent him this message: ‘No one must climb up my backbone’ (*Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR) 1896, G-2, p. 225).

¹³⁷ Grove, 1985, p. 73.

¹³⁸ Mātene Te Whiwhi, OLC, Book 1, 3 December 1872, p. 139.

¹³⁹ Elsdon Best, n. d., ‘Notes’, Polynesian Society MS Papers, 1187: 21, p. 74, ATL. The report on the Petition of Kipa Te Whatanui states, ‘Ahakoa kua tino mohiotia tuturutia e noho huna ana nga morehu o Muaupoko i nga maunga i te wa i nohoia ai a Horowhenua e Te Whatanui, a na tana kupu ki a ratou, ka atawhaitia ratou e ia, katahi ratou ka puta mai, ahakoa hoki i mohiotia ano, i runga i te korero a hunga ke kaore i pa atu ki reira, i tino mana te raupatutanga me te noho tuturu o Te Whatanui i runga i te whenua’ (Komiti no nga mea Maori (Native Affairs Committee), *Ripoata mo Runga mo te Pitihana a Kipa Te Whatanui*, Wellington, 1896).

¹⁴⁰ William J. Phillipps, *Carved Houses of Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1955, p. 58.

¹⁴¹ Phillipps, *Carved Houses of Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand*, p. 58.

¹⁴² Phillipps, *Carved Houses of Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand*, 1955, p. 58.

¹⁴³ McDonald, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ ‘No muri i tena ka tukuna e Te Whatanui tetahi taha o Horowhenua ki a Muaupoko hei whenua mo ratou, whakatakotoria ana e ia nga rohe i waenganui i a ia me Muaupoko. I noho tonu a Te Whatanui me tona iwi i Horowhenua mai i te tau 1830, tae noa ki te tau 1870, me te kore tangata whakararuru i a ia, riihitia ana e ia te taha watea katoa o te pito ki waho ki tetahi Pākehā i te tau 1858, a kaore i tautohetia taua riihi tae noa ki te tau 1870’ (‘After that Te Whatanui gave Muaupoko one side of Horowhenua to live upon. Te Whatanui defined the boundaries between himself (and his people) and Muaupoko. Te Whatanui and his people lived undisturbed at Horowhenua from 1830 to 1870. He leased an available portion to a Pākehā in (from) 1858 and this lease was unchallenged to the year 1870’) (Author’s English-

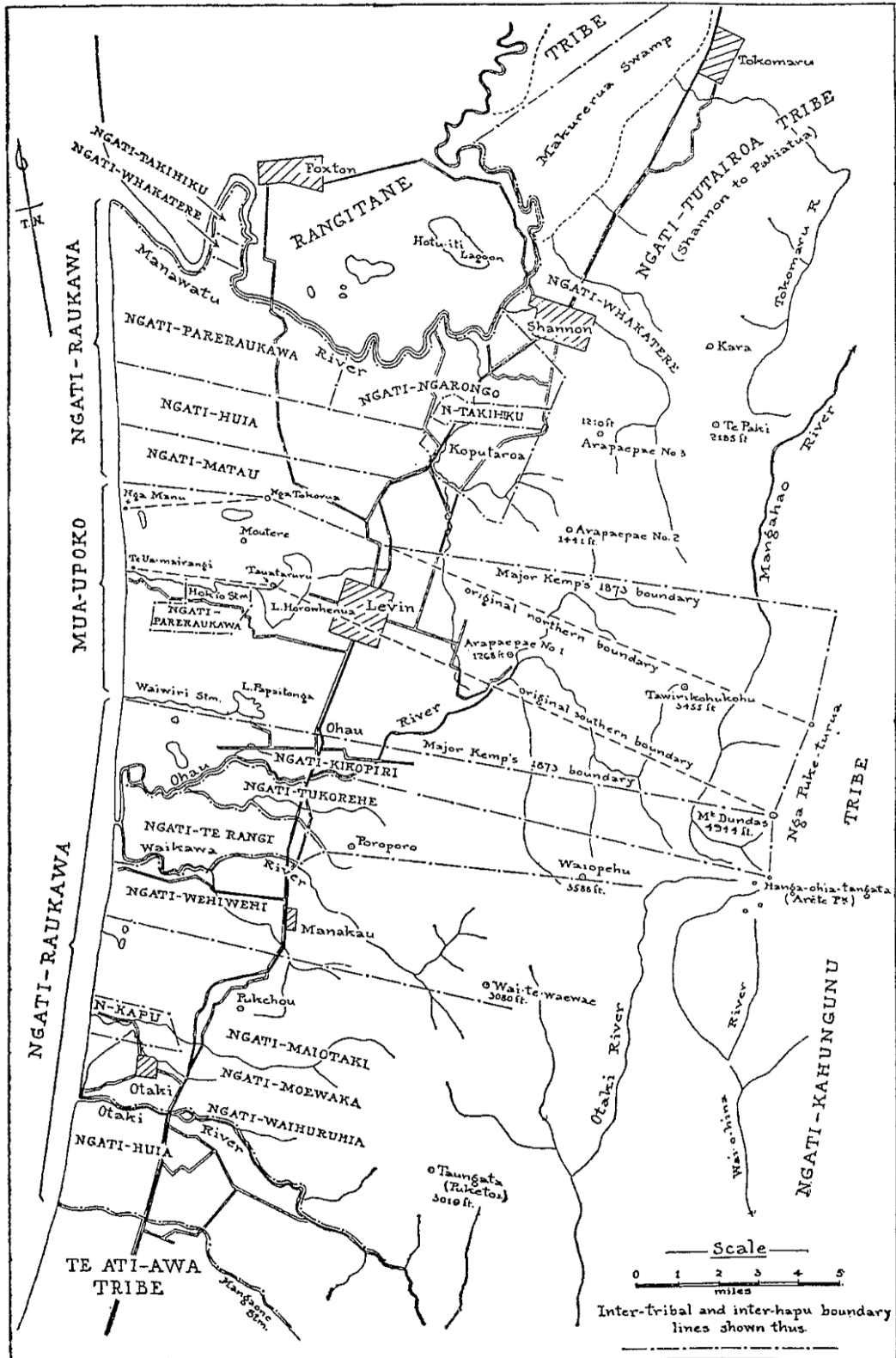
Muaūpoko as a place of sanctuary made the sole hiatus in the complete occupation of Horowhenua by Ngāti Raukawa. The dominance of Ngāti Raukawa in this area is clearly demonstrated in Adkin's map showing iwi and hapu settlement in the greater Kapiti Coast region (Map. 7).

Image 10: Te Rangimarie Church, Rangiotu. (Te Hono)



language interpretation) (Komiti no nga mea Maori (Native Affairs Committee), *Ripoata mo Runga mo te Pitihana a Kipa Te Whatanui*, Wellington, 1896).

Map 7: Dispersal and settlement (Adkin, 1948)¹⁴⁵



¹⁴⁵ Adkin, p. 128.

Later, when Te Rauparaha decided Muaūpoko were not sufficiently subdued he devised a plan to do away with them. This event later became known as the ‘pumpkin feast’ slaughter.¹⁴⁶ The following is Maunu’s description:

Ka tukua te tikanga e Te Rauparaha ki Ngāti Awa me mahi ki te kai hei kōhuru i Muaūpoko. Ka mahia e Ngāti Awa ki te kai, nā ka haere atu a Muaūpoko, ka tae atu ki Ōtaki. Ka mea a Te Whatanui kia hoki mai Muaūpoko kei mate. Tohe tonu ana ka tae ki Waikanae, ka kōhurutia ka mate. E rua rau ki te matenga o Muaūpoko, ngā rangatira, ko Mahuri, ko Taiweherua, ko Ati. Ko ngā rangatira ēnei i mate i taua kōhuru.

(Te Rauparaha sent his plan to the Te Āti Awa that they should provide food in order to slay the Muaūpoko through treachery. Te Āti Awa got the food prepared and the Muaūpoko had started out and arrived at Ōtaki. Te Whatanui told them to go back lest they be killed. They, however, pressed on to Waikanae and were slaughtered. Two hundred of the Muaūpoko were killed and the chiefs, Mahuri, Taiweherua and Ati. These were the chiefs that died in that treacherous slaying).¹⁴⁷

‘The Battle of the Pumpkins’ ended the harrying of Muaūpoko. The remnants gathered together at Horowhenua and here Te Whatanui marked off a block of land comprising about 20,000 acres. The boundaries of this land were defined by high carved posts the first on the top of Tenamairangi, just across the Hokio stream from the present Hokio township. The boundary line ran from there straight inland to Tauataruru, leaving in the Raukawa territory the whole of the Hokio stream and lower half of the lake. From Tarutaru the line ran directly to the snowline on the ranges with the next boundary marker on the other, or northern side of the block on an island named Ngatokorua in the middle of what is now known as the Poroutawhao swamp (Kopuapangopango). Another boundary post was set up on Oioao flat, the line running in a southwesterly direction from Ngatokorua to this point.¹⁴⁸

Rod McDonald stated:

Within these boundaries was the whole Muaūpoko world. Surrounded on both sides by the Raukawas, they were effectively cut off from contact with the outside world...That they had not actually been conquered by the Raukawas [*sic*] made no difference to the position, however, the Muaupokos might quibble on this fine point. And they did always strongly oppose any contention that the Ngati Raukawas were their conquerors...The Muaupokos occupied

¹⁴⁶ *Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1936, G-6B, p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ Pioho T. Maunu, ‘Miscellaneous Manuscripts in Maori, No. 2’, 1847, p. 14, APL.

¹⁴⁸ McDonald, p. 18.

their limited domain through the forbearance of Ngāti Raukawa; they had no rights, but only such privileges as were allowed them by the toleration of that tribe.¹⁴⁹

Later NLC decisions (particularly at Horowhenua) exaggerated the rights of original inhabitants who had remained on the land by the grace of the senior Ngāti Raukawa rangatira Te Whatanui, while completely ignoring the presence of, and on-going exercise of rights by a number of Ngāti Raukawa rangatira and their people. Peace had been made and Muaūpoko given protection under the mana of Te Whatanui, but as Angela Ballara commented, ‘later his generosity was to cost Ngāti Raukawa dearly when claims came before the NLC’.¹⁵⁰

3.0 OCCUPATION & SETTLEMENT

3.1 Ngā Tāngata Heke

The lands in the south were divided up amongst the various hapū of the tāngata heke including Ngāti Raukawa. Thus:

Kāti, ka huihuia ngā rangatira o ngā iwi nei ki te kōrero mō tō rātou nohoanga tahitanga. Otirā, ka wāwāhitia e rātou ngā whenua. Ka tū mai a Waitohi, tuahine o Te Rauparaha, ka tūmata ia ki te tuku i ngā whenua kua oti te wāwāhi ki ia hapū. Ka rāhuitia ngā whenua nei. Mō ngā hapū o Ngāti Raukawa te rohe mai i te awaiti o Kukutauaki i Te Horo puta atu ki Horowhenua, ki Manawatū, ki Rangitikei. Ngā whenua i Waikanae me Paraparaumu i tukuna ki a Te Āti Awa, otirā, mō Taranaki whānui. A Porirua me Kapiti ka purutia ērā ki a Ngāti Toa.

Subsequently, the various sub-tribes of these three tribes divided up the lands that had been conquered by Ngāti Toa. Waitohi was instrumental in this. Ngāti Raukawa were given the land from Kukutauaki at Te Horo, to Horowhenua, Manawatū and Rangitikei. Te Āti Awa, and Taranaki as a whole, were given Waikanae and Paraparaumu. Kapiti and Porirua remained with Ngāti Toa.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ McDonald, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁰ Angela Ballara. 'Te Whatanui', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012,

URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t86/te-whatanui>, accessed 8 October 2016. Not all of Ngāti Raukawa followed the peace pact. According to Te Waari Carkeek, for example, Ngāti Pare came south with Te Puoho of Ngāti Toa and joined with Te Rangihaeata in extinguishing ‘the fires of Muaūpoko’. ‘In particular they joined with Rangihaeata to go up to Pukehou up the valley here, Waitohu Valley and they chased the people around the back of Pukehou right up to the top until Ihaka from Muaūpoko jumped from the top down the side of Pukehou’ (Te Waari Carkeek, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, p. 117).

¹⁵¹ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 90.

In the upper Manawatū, Ngāti Kauwhata took up residence on the Oroua river below Mangawhata; Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Tūroa, and Ngāti Tahuriwakanui above Mangawhata; among Ngāti Taurira, Ngāti Whakaterere in the vicinity of Shannon; and Ngāti Wehiwehi among the Rangitāne peoples on both banks of the lower Manawatū.¹⁵²

Ngāti Raukawa began to exercise rights using resources, building of kāinga and pā, and by marrying some of the leading families of the peoples whom they found still in occupation.¹⁵³ Occupation of the hapū areas began with settlements near the river mouths and then with the passage of time they moved inland along the rivers.¹⁵⁴

There were frequent difficulties over the boundaries during the settling in period. Ngāti Huia, perhaps because of their size and importance, were involved in several disputes.¹⁵⁵ An example within a hapū illustrates the relative fluidity of boundaries over time: Tamihana Te Hoia told a story of an area north of Horowhenua, a place from which another hapū, Ngāti Wehiwehi, were driven away and the area then occupied by three hapū of Ngāti Huia. Te Hoia pointed out on a map the path used by Te Whatanui when he passed from Horowhenua into the area. Te Whatanui, he said, put up a boundary post. Later a chief of Ngāti Huia (not of the three hapū, he said) pulled it up. After Te Whatanui's death presumably, Te Whatanui II (Te Tahuri) replaced a post at a different point. Te Oti Te Hoia pulled that one up. Finally Te Whatanui III (Te Tutaki – actually the eldest but living elsewhere earlier) placed the post at still another point. All of this, Te Hoia said, was a matter within Ngāti Huia.¹⁵⁶

Katana Pipito provides a further example of boundary fixing and adjustment. He said that when he arrived with his group (Ngāti Tapapa?) Te Whatanui gave them land in Ringawhata in the Ngāti Maiōtaki hapū area. He added that Kingi Ahoaho and other

¹⁵² Anderson and Pickens, p. 14.

¹⁵³ Ngāti Raukawa ancestors named features in the landscape such as mountains and waterways for parts of their body and to commemorate important events. 'Te tuarā o Te Rangihaeata' (The backbone of Te Rangihaeata), another name for the Tararua Ranges, was so named in order to maintain peace with Ngāti Kahungunu. 'Te Mimi-o-Rakapa', a waterfall on Kapiti Island, memorialises a swim Rakapa Kahoki, the daughter of Te Rangitopeora and the Arawa rangatira Te Wehi-o-te-Rangi, made from this place to one of the small islands opposite (Carkeek, 1966, p. 162). Ngāti Raukawa also brought taniwha such as Pikitahi, a tribal entity known to occupy the Waipā and Puniu rivers, to the south (Te Kenehi Teira, site visits from Tūkorehe marae to surrounding areas, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho, 24 June 2014, p. 62).

¹⁵⁴ Adkin, 1948, p. 127f.

¹⁵⁵ Carkeek, 1966, p. 42.

¹⁵⁶ Tamihana Te Hoia, OLC, Book 4, 27 January 1880, pp. 241-244.

Ngāti Maiōtaki chiefs accepted the fact that Te Whatanui had equal mana there. Similarly Te Whatanui and Te Ahoaho laid off the boundary just north of the railway bridge [in 1985] at Kaingaraki for Ngāti Maiōtaki.¹⁵⁷

When asked in the land court whether after the settlement of Ngāti Raukawa Te Rauparaha retained authority over all the land, Pipi Kutia replied, ‘No. Part of it was Ngāti Raukawa’s but his authority extended over this particular block.’¹⁵⁸ She was referring to Wairarapa, a section on the south bank of the Ōtaki river.¹⁵⁹

Te Rauparaha, meanwhile, had designs on Te Waipounamu. When Te Rauparaha attacked Ngāti Tuteahuka and Ngāti Hikawaikura, hapū of Ngāi Tahu at Kaiapohia (Kaiapoi), Ngāti Raukawa were among the force of some 600 toa also drawn from Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Awa, Puketapu, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Maru.¹⁶⁰

3.2 Haowhenua

As a state of relative peace settled between the recent northern immigrants and the peoples who had previously been in occupation, tension developed between the allied forces of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa, now numerous in the territory. Up to the time of Haowhenua (1834) there had been no division of Ngāti Raukawa lands because the iwi was unsure of Te Āti Awa’s intentions.¹⁶¹ Warriors were also periodically absent on taua ngaki mate (revenge raids) against Whanganui and Heretaunga which would have left scattered settlements without the manpower required for security and labour.

Te Āti Awa and their allies had been ousted from the area north of the Ōtaki river in order to provide land for the expected arrival of hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. This action, directed by Waitohi, no doubt aroused resentment, against Ngāti Raukawa as well as

¹⁵⁷ Adkin, 1948, p. 170.

¹⁵⁸ Pipi Kutia, OLC, Book 2, 12 March 1874, unpaginated.

¹⁵⁹ Carkeek, 1966, p. 153.

¹⁶⁰ W. A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, Christchurch, 1952, p. 36.

¹⁶¹ Rawiri Te Wanui, OLC, Book 2, 7 April 1874, p. 367.

Ngāti Toa.¹⁶² Some time later, after the arrival and settlement of Ngāti Raukawa, newly arrived migrants from Taranaki trespassed on the same land.

Te Āti Awa eventually brought up a war party from Waikanae to Ōtaki and drove Ngāti Raukawa into their pā, probably Rangiuru on the northern bank of the river. Ngāti Ruanui joined the besieging forces but Te Rauparaha, who was living with his Ngāti Raukawa kin in Ōtaki, managed to send messengers to Te Wherowhero for reinforcements. Some ten messengers were captured and killed by a taua of Ngāti Ruanui but two succeeded in the mission going by way of the Whanganui river, Taupō and finally to Waikato.¹⁶³ Te Whatanui's ally Te Heuheu arrived as did 200 from Whanganui under Te Pehi Turoa and a similar taua from Ngāti Maniapoto. Warriors from Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne 'lent a hand'¹⁶⁴ and Muaūpoko also joined these allies.¹⁶⁵ As Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and Tūwharetoa arrived, Te Āti Awa withdrew a little north, to Pakakutu pā.

Bitter fighting was conducted over the next two days. Both sides suffered considerable losses, but eventually Te Āti Awa were forced to withdraw to Haowhenua, their large fortified pā south of the Ōtaki river, where they took up a defensive position. A number of local iwi joined the besieging force. These included a section of Ngāti Apa, a few Rangitāne rangatira, some 200 Whanganui led by Pehi Turoa, and 100 Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri from the upper Rangitīkei under Te Whaiukau.¹⁶⁶

Involved in the defence of Haowhenua were Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Kaitangata, Puketapu, Manukorihi, Otaraua, Ngāti Rahiri, and Ngāmotu. They were also joined by a large segment of Ngāti Toa. Te Hiko, who was closely

¹⁶² Carkeek, 1966, p. 24.

¹⁶³ Carkeek, 1966, pp. 35-36.

¹⁶⁴ Walter Buller, in H. Hanson Turton (ed), *An Epitome of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1883, p. 64.

¹⁶⁵ Ihakara Tukumarū, OLC, Book 1, 2 December 1872, pp. 128-129. In the context of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū land court hearings, Ngāti Apa cited their assistance at Haowhenua as indicating their status as allies of Ngāti Raukawa. However, such participation was expected of iwi who lived in a state of subjugation (see Hazel Petrie, *Outcasts of the Gods?: The Struggle Over Slavery in Māori New Zealand*, Auckland, 2015, p. 118). Further, Te Rauparaha often left people on their own land as vassals: 'When Rangitāne were heavily defeated in 1828, the year after the flax trade really took off...he left them on their lands to provide food and dressed flax he could trade for more muskets (Hazel Petrie, *Outcasts of the Gods?: The Struggle Over Slavery in Māori New Zealand*, Auckland, 2015, p. 131)

¹⁶⁶ H. H. Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1883, p. 64.

related to Te Āti Awa through his mother, crossed from Kapiti Island to the mainland to join those kin. The first attacks on Haowhenua were repulsed and the combined Ngāti Raukawa and northern forces turned their attention to Te Āti Awa's pā at Kenakena, Waikanae.¹⁶⁷

Opinion on where the final victory lay is divided. According to W. T. L. Travers, 'Ngāti Ruanui were defeated with serious loss, their chief Takerangi being killed and their pa taken'.¹⁶⁸ Walter Buller similarly claimed that prior to the arrival of reinforcements, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira had defeated the opposition in four successive fights known respectively as 'Maringiawai', 'Haowhenua', 'Te Reremanuka', and 'Paatehanataua'. Buller asserts that, 'three more battles were fought, the combined forces under Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, and the result was the utter defeat and rout of the enemy'.¹⁶⁹ Whichever the case a rearrangement of tribal boundaries took place immediately following the cessation of hostilities. While some sections of Ngāti Raukawa reoccupied their former settlements at Ōtaki, Ohau, and Horowhenua, others migrated to the area between the Manawatū and Rangitūkei rivers. Te Āti Awa also drew back from the battle area to south of the Kūkutauaki stream, which came to be accepted as the boundary between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa.¹⁷⁰ Several years passed (after first arriving on the coast) before Ngāti Raukawa could safely disperse to their assigned hapū areas after the Haowhenua conflict.¹⁷¹

After the Battle of Haowhenua a serious quarrel arose between Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Huia over land lying just south of the Ōtaki river and not far inland. In consequence Ngāti Pare moved about 3km inland, claiming there on the basis of a chief wounded during Haowhenua. Later, Ngāti Huia passed inland to look for suitable cultivation sites. At some point a kahikatea tree on Ngāti Pare land was climbed to obtain koroī (fruit of the white pine). When Ngāti Pare heard of this 200 warriors came to the Ngāti Huia settlement and took away a canoe. Next a section of land was seized from Ngāti

¹⁶⁷ Anderson and Pickens, p. 15.

¹⁶⁸ W. T. L. Travers, *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha*, Christchurch, 1906, p. 153.

¹⁶⁹ Walter Buller, *A Brief Sketch of the Migrations of the Ngāti Raukawa from Taupo to Cook Strait*, p. 64.

¹⁷⁰ Anderson and Pickens, p. 16.

¹⁷¹ Rawiri Te Wanui, OLC, Book 2, 2 April 1874, p. 367. Te Whatanui, however, had several cultivations in the vicinity of Lake Horowhenua prior to Haowhenua (Te Herekau, OLC, Book 2, 3 April 1873, pp. 34-37).

Huia. In reprisal Ngāti Huia killed one person and regained the land. Despite the extreme to which this matter was carried it was finally mediated and a settlement reached.¹⁷²

3.3 Te Kūititanga

Tensions between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa once again boiled over in 1839, this time at the tangi of Waitohi, sister of Te Rauparaha and leader in her own right. The tangi was held on Mana Island and all three of the main allied forces of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Te Āti Awa were present. Te Rangihaeata decided to kill a slave 'hei kīnaki mō te kai' ('as relish') and he chose a slave or servant from Te Āti Awa. Te Āti Awa were deeply offended and when Ngāti Raukawa passed back through Waikanae on their way north insults were hurled at them by Te Āti Awa. Ngākuku was amongst the Ngāti Raukawa party and he raised support from Ngāti Raukawa to return to Waikanae and seek utu. Ngāti Raukawa attacked Kenakena pā, a major Te Āti Awa pā at the Waikanae river mouth but were repelled and chased down the beach. Te Āti Awa gathered up the Raukawa who had surrendered, shot them dead and buried them. This series of events signalled the end of hostilities between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa.¹⁷³

Peace was negotiated and the southern boundary of Kukutauaki agreed upon. Metāpere Waipunahau of Te Āti Awa settled the dispute and agreed to the moenga rangatira between her son, Wī Parata Te Kākākura and Unaiki Whareangiangi (Ngāti Raukawa) of Ngāti Tūranga and Ngāti Kahoro.¹⁷⁴ Moenga rangatira were diplomatic marriages between men and women of rank which helped secure peace and cement alliances after prolonged or serious fighting.¹⁷⁵

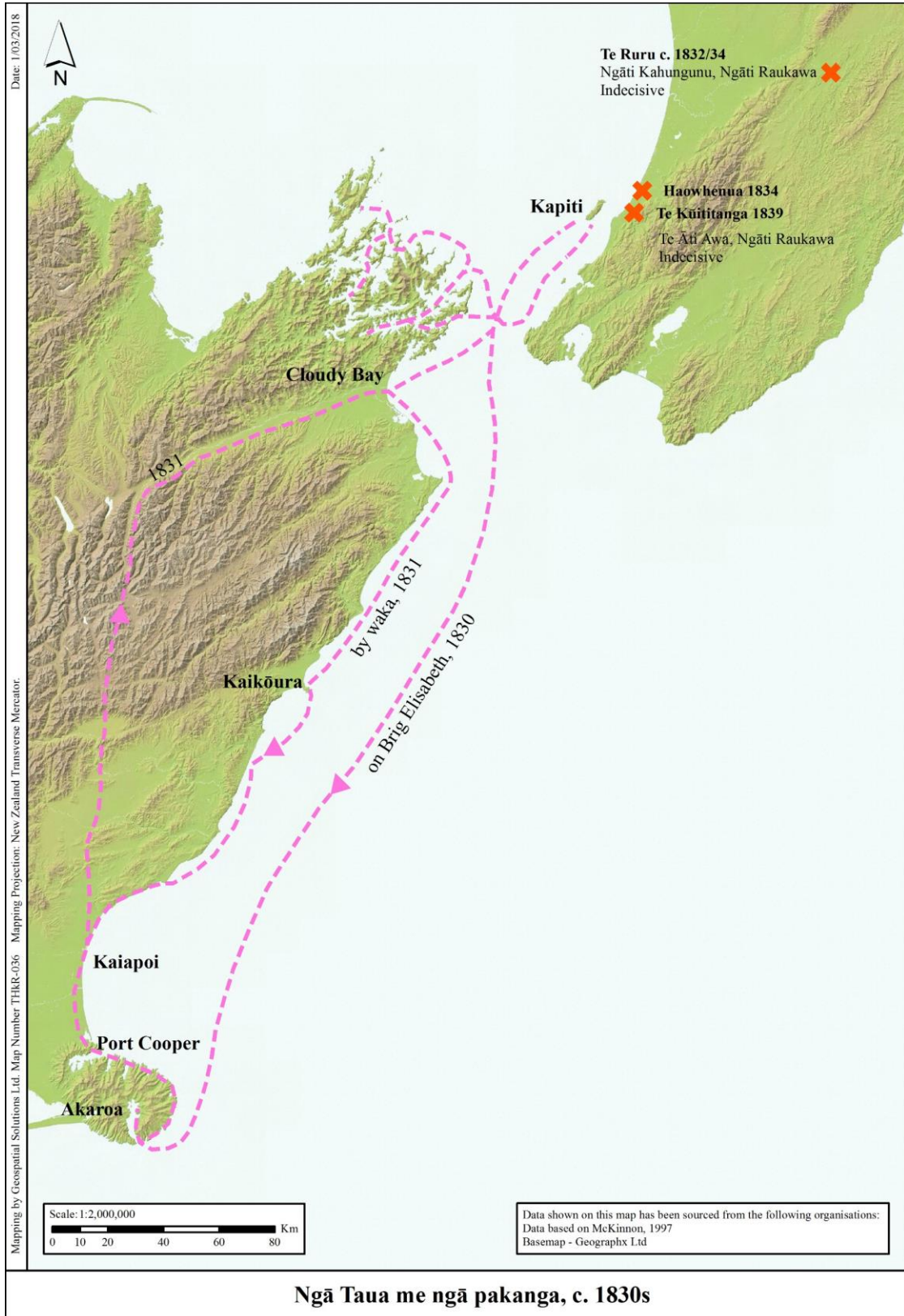
¹⁷² Carkeek, 1966, pp. 42-43.

¹⁷³ Te Waari Carkeek, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, pp. 136-137.

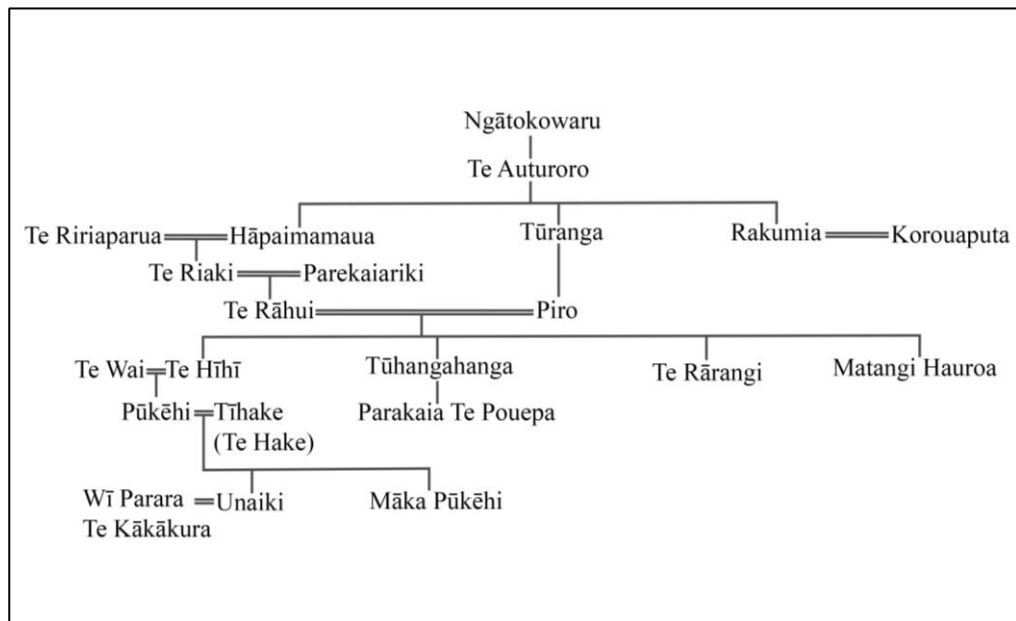
¹⁷⁴ Te Waari Carkeek, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, pp. 115.

¹⁷⁵ Berys N., Heuer, 'Maori Women in Traditional Family and Tribal Life', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, (JPS), 78, 4, 1969, p. 457.

Map 8: Ngā taua me ngā pakanga, c1830



Whakapapa 9: Unaiki Whareangiangi (Royal, 1994)¹⁷⁶



Te Matia’s daughter, Uira, was married to Te Tupe, grandson of Te Tupe-o-Tu, a warrior of Te Āti Awa killed during one of the battles of Haowhenua. This moenga rangatira further confirmed and solidified the peace between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa.

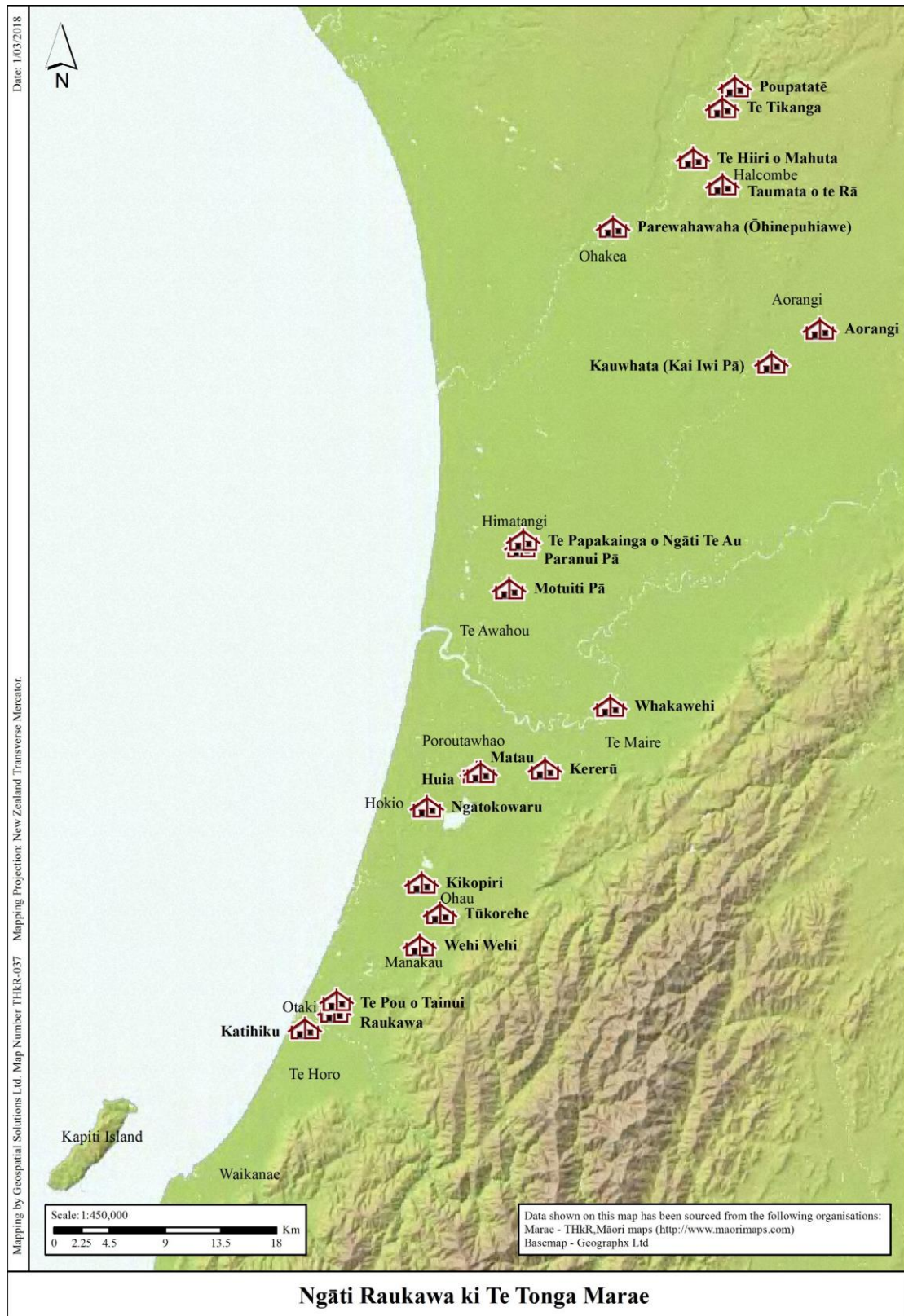
Other moenga rangatira were arranged between the recent immigrants and earlier occupants of the district. In addition to Te Rangihaeata’s marriage to Te Pikinga of Ngāti Apa, a marriage was arranged between Enerata of Ngāti Raukawa and Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotū, ‘He moenga rangatira, kia hohou te rongō’. The marriage of Kīngi Te Ahoaho (Ngāti Raukawa) and Rangiwāhia (Ngāti Toa) was also a tatau pounamu or moenga rangatira.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, p. 69.

¹⁷⁷ Rupene Waaka, oral Submission on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa, (Wai 2200), Kōrero Tuku Iho Transcript, Raukawa Marae, 17 November 2014, p. 93.

3.4 The Final Pattern of Occupation

Map 9: Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te Tonga marae



The earlier occupation of Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko was brought to an end by the invasion and conquest of the Rangitīkei-Horowhenua-Kapiti coast area by Te Rauparaha and his Ngāti Toa people, assisted in the later stages by various whanaunga and allies including Ngāti Raukawa. In the division of the conquered territory the mainland area was apportioned to Ngāti Raukawa and Taranaki allies although Te Rauparaha maintained some kind of overlordship over the whole, at least for a time, and sections of Ngāti Toa had right of temporary habitation at various places. The boundary line between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa was at the Kukutauaki stream, between Ōtaki and Waikanae. Ngāti Raukawa secured the northern area which included Horowhenua, the lower Manawatū and Rangitīkei. Te Āti Awa occupied the southern area from Kukutauaki to Waikanae, their principal settlements being at Waikanae and Heretaunga (the Hutt Valley). Additional to these major allotments was the reinstatement of Muaūpoko at Lake Horowhenua on a very small strip of their former wide domain.¹⁷⁸

Hapū of Ngāti Raukawa were not always restricted to an easily definable geographic territory, Ngāti Wehiwehi, for example having settlements at Mangapirau, Kauwhata, Ketemaringi and just north of Manakau.¹⁷⁹ Hapū continued to evolve and change, new hapū emerged and others were absorbed into pre-existing groups. Notwithstanding this dynamic historical picture, Ngāti Raukawa peoples were a strong, numerically and therefore territorially powerful body politic connected by whakapapa in the genealogical sense as well as by whakapapa of experience and shared intellectual heritage.

The territory that Ngāti Raukawa occupied in the south was clearly collectively understood between them and their allies, collaborators, and relations in the south. In response to Thomas C. Williams's inquiries in 1867 concerning land claims in the Manawatū, his brother, the Rev. Samuel Williams, who lived in Ōtaki (in the 1840s) recalled his surprise on observing, 'the great coolness which was manifested upon the subject by Ngatitōa, excepting only those who were living with Ngatiraukawa.'¹⁸⁰ On asking the reason for this reluctance to discuss the matter, he was told that, 'whatever

¹⁷⁸ Adkin, pp. 126-127.

¹⁷⁹ Adkin, pp. 127, 129.

¹⁸⁰ T. C. Williams, *The Manawatū Purchase Completed*, p. 41.

claim they had to the land in question had been given over to Ngatiraukawa'.¹⁸¹ Samuel Williams further noted:

Several members of the conquered tribes told me that they owed their lives to Ngatiraukawa – that Te Rauparaha would have killed them all had not Te Whatanui, one of the principle chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, befriended them. They always spoke of him as a father, and admitted that the Ngatiraukawa were the *kai kotikoti whenua* (the dividers of the land).¹⁸²

By 1840, Ngāti Raukawa were well-established in the Manawatū and Rangitīkei districts having pushed Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne inland and north to upper Rangitīkei and Whanganui.¹⁸³ Muaūpoko had been decimated, a remnant lived on a strip of land at Lake Horowhenua under the protection granted them by Te Whatanui.¹⁸⁴

4.0 SETTLEMENT TO 1860

4.1 Christianity & Literacy

Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga thrived in their newly acquired territory. Their rangatiratanga in the south unquestioned and understood by all who encountered their domain. Ngāti Raukawa were highly engaged in the world they inhabited and accordingly embraced opportunities for further development and full participation in the socio-political landscape of the day.

Christianity was first brought to the Kapiti Coast not by European missionaries but by Matahau Ripahau, a Ngāti Raukawa man taken captive by Ngāpuhi and subsequently released. Ripahau, later baptised Hohepa, returned to his people bringing 'The Word' in two senses: Christianity and literacy. At first, Ngāti Raukawa at Ōtaki were not receptive to these new ideas and Ripahau's teaching was more enthusiastically received by Te Āti Awa at Waikanae. But, after a time, Ngāti Raukawa, notably in the forms of such rangatira as Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Mātene Te Whiwhi and Hakaraia Kiharoa, responded to Ripahau's teaching, recognising certain advantages in both. Tāmihana Te

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Jane Luiten, *An Exploratory Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal on Early Crown Purchases Whanganui Ki Porirua*, 1992, p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi first learnt to read and write during an intense extended study session lasting some 6 months on Kapiti Island.¹⁸⁵

Indeed, it was these two rangatira who travelled to the Bay of Islands in 1839 to request that a missionary be permanently established on the Kapiti Coast. A young and sickly but determined CMS missionary, Octavius Hadfield, answered the call, returning with Tāmihana and Mātene to preach and teach the people.¹⁸⁶ A church was built at Kenakena pā, Waikanae with Te Rauparaha's support between 1841-43 but, with the return of Te Āti Awa under Wiremu Kingi to Taranaki in 1848, this church fell into disrepair and decline. By 1851, however, again with the crucial support of Te Rauparaha, Rangīātea church at Ōtaki had taken root as the centre of Christian activity on the Kapiti Coast.

Image 11: Rangīātea Church centenary celebrations, Ōtaki. (Adkin 1950)



Ngāti Raukawa were interested in new ideas as demonstrated in the time, effort and resources they devoted to exploring the possibilities that Christianity offered. The arrival and eventual embracing of Christianity, and with it, literacy, can be seen as

¹⁸⁵ *Church Missionary Gleaner* (September 1852, 9, 2, pp. 101-103; October 1852, 10, 2, pp. 136-138; November 1852, 11, 2, pp. 127-129; December 1852, 12, 2, pp. 118).

¹⁸⁶ Both Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi, accompanied by their respective wives, Ruta and Pipi, went on to study at Bishop Selwyn's St. John's Theological College in Auckland.

another example in a continuing arch of Ngāti Raukawa social and intellectual expansion and development.¹⁸⁷

4.2 Te Tiriti o Waitangi

A further, crucial example of the level of Ngāti Raukawa engagement with socio-political processes and opportunities of the day is their interest in and signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary Henry Williams sailed from the Bay of Islands on 2 April 1840 arriving in Port Nicholson in mid April, bearing a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi but for 10 days could not persuade rangatira in the region to sign. Williams had accompanied Octavius Hadfield on his journey from the Bay of Islands to take up the position of resident CMS missionary on the Kapiti Coast at the end of 1839. Williams was a fluent speaker of te reo Māori who, with Hadfield, went from pā to pā up and down the coast discussing grievances and exhorting the rangatira to make peace following the battle of Te Kūititanga.¹⁸⁸ Williams was therefore known to leading rangatira of the area and he, along with Hadfield, was welcomed among them. This familiarity and general acceptance of Williams combined with his sincere belief that only the Crown could protect Māori and assure them of their lands may have influenced rangatira to sign.

There were apparently no great difficulties, for Williams was later to write, ‘We crossed over to Kapiti, Waikanae and Otaki, the stations of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield. The treaty was explained at all these places and signed.’¹⁸⁹ A meeting was arranged on the schooner *Ariel* on 29 April, when 39 rangatira signed. Another 34 signed at Queen Charlotte Sound and Rangitoto ki te tonga (D’Urville Island). In May, Williams received the agreement of rangatira at Ōtaki, Waikanae, Manawatū, Whanganui and Motu Ngārara.

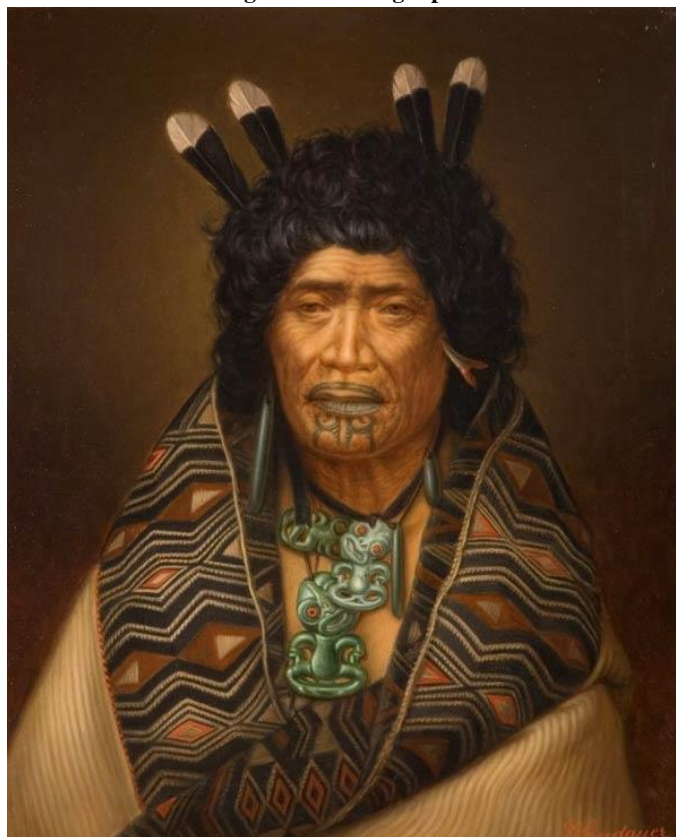
¹⁸⁷ See Piripi Walker’s forthcoming draft report on the institutions of Ngāti Raukawa for more detailed discussion of Ngāti Raukawa and Christianity.

¹⁸⁸ Burns, p. 214.

¹⁸⁹ Williams’s Journal, quoted H. Charleton, *The Life of Henry Williams* (Auckland, Vol. 1, 1874; Vol. 2, 1877), Vol. 2, p. 16. Cited in Burns, pp. 215-216.

Rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa who are known to have signed the Cook Strait (Henry Williams) Sheet of Te Tiriti are: Te Whetū (Ngāti Te Ihi Ihi), Mātene Te Whiwhi (Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Kikopiri), Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Āperahama Te Ruru (Ngāti Huia), Matia Matenga (Ngāti Pare), Te Moroati Kiharoa (Ngāti Pane, Ngāti Turanga), Kīngi Hōri Te Puke (Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Waihurihia), Horomona Toremi (Ngāti Raukawa, Rangitāne), Kīngi Te Ahoaho (Ngāti Maiotaki), Whitiopai, Hohepa Matahau, Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira) and Te Rangitopeora (Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira).¹⁹⁰

Image 12: Te Rangitopeora



Te Rangitopeora, who took the name Wikitōria after Queen Victoria upon her Christian baptism at Ōtaki on 2 May 1847, also known as Te Kuini Wikitōria and ‘Te Kuini’ or the Queen of the South, is one of only 13 women of the approximately 500 rangatira to sign the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁹¹ She was the daughter of Waitohi, sister of Te Rauparaha,

¹⁹⁰ 'Henry Williams treaty copy', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/henry-williams-treaty-copy>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 1-Jul-2016, accessed 12 December 2016.

¹⁹¹ Teremoana Sparks and W. H. Oliver. 'Topeora, Rangi Te Kuini', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t103/topeora-rangi-te-kuini> (accessed 28 January 2017).

and mother of Mātene Te Whiwhi and Rākapa Kahoki, and a notable composer like her mother.¹⁹² An influential leader in her own right with considerable control over property and land, Te Rangitopeora over-rode the opposition of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, her uncle and her brother respectively, and insisted on allowing a whaler, William Mayhew, to use a piece of land on Kapiti Island.¹⁹³ She was a talented and passionate woman who gives a striking self-portrait in one of her waiata:

*E hira hoki au
I aku tumanako
E kai nei te aroha, i.
A notorious one, indeed, am I
Because of my heart's desires,
And so utterly consumed with love.¹⁹⁴*

Williams's treaty sheet listed the signatures of approximately 132 rangatira and most rangatira in all the areas he visited appear to have consented to the treaty.¹⁹⁵

Major Thomas Bunbury left the Bay of Islands on HMS Herald on 28 April. After gaining signatures at Coromandel Harbour and when the ship was anchored off the Mercury Islands. Bunbury arrived in the South Island at Akaroa on 28 May where two rangatira signed. Bunbury went on to gather signatures at Ruapuke Island, Otakou and Karauripe (Cloudy Bay). Bunbury then sailed for Kapiti where he obtained Te Rangihaeata's signature on 19 June. Te Rauparaha was also present and despite assuring Bunbury that he had already given his assent to the treaty to Henry Williams, Bunbury asked for his adherence a second time – an indication of the significance attached to Te Rauparaha's agreement.¹⁹⁶

Te Rauparaha's agreement was crucial and had to be doubly assured. As Hobson stated, Henry Williams's 'principal object' in going south was to win his adherence, because this was thought to secure to the Crown the 'undisputed right of sovereignty over all

¹⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ A. T. Ngata, *Nga Moteatea: The Songs Part I*, Auckland, 2004, pp. 310-312.

¹⁹⁵ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 72.

¹⁹⁶ 'Herald Bunbury treaty copy ', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/herald-bunbury-treaty-copy>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 1-Jul-2016, accessed 12 December 2016. Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 81.

the southern districts.’ Williams told Hobson almost immediately after Te Rauparaha’s signing that he had succeeded to his ‘utmost satisfaction’ and expected to carry his task through to completion.¹⁹⁷

It is not clear what motivated Ngāti Raukawa rangatira to sign the Treaty although Crown protection of tribal rights against other Māori claimants may have been as significant as the protection offered to counter unjust Pākehā claims.¹⁹⁸ As Claudia Orange points out, most of the coast from Pōneke to Taranaki had been unsettled by Māori migrations and by continuing struggles among the iwi and hapū to adjust their rights.¹⁹⁹ By the end of 1839 New Zealand Company negotiations to purchase extensive tracts of land on both sides of Raukawa Moana and up the west coast of Te Ika a Māui were causing more tension.²⁰⁰ Henry Williams stressed the ability of the treaty to protect Māori land rights at the initial Waitangi meeting and at Putiki-Wharanui pā when he made a return visit there to persuade rangatira there to assent to the treaty.²⁰¹ Williams may have used similar arguments in order to persuade Ngāti Raukawa rangatira to sign which would certainly have resonated with the people at the time.

4.3 The Wairau Incident

Whalers and other non-Māori traders and settlers, including missionaries, were initially welcomed by Ngāti Raukawa into their territory. The security of numbers exercised by the iwi ensured that disputes were kept to a minimum and efforts were made to accommodate these new-comers, to work with them and to live alongside them. Trade and enterprise flowed both ways and these relationships were inflected with at least a degree of genuine mutual respect. A number of these new-comers married members of the iwi thus solidifying their mutual ties, particularly through children who might be born of such unions.

¹⁹⁷ Hobson to Bunbury, 25 April 1840, GBPP, 1841 (311), p. 18; H. Williams to Hobson, 15 May 1840, Official Correspondence relating to the...Treaty, q MS 1840, ATL, in Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 72.

¹⁹⁸ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 73.

¹⁹⁹ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 73.

²⁰⁰ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 73.

²⁰¹ Hugh Carleton, *The Life of Henry Williams*, Auckland, 1874, vol. 1, pp. 233, 239-40; *The Early Journals of Henry Williams*, 1826-40, ed. L. M. Rogers, Christchurch, 1961, pp. 465-6, 16 December 1839; H. Williams to Hobson, 11 June 1840, GBPP, 1841 (311), p. 105. Cited in Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, p. 73.

However, pressure applied by the New Zealand Company to Māori to sell or ‘give up’ land combined with the company’s clumsy, insulting and heavy-handed style of ‘negotiation’ with tangata whenua, eventually led to the outbreak of armed resistance. Settlers’ insistence on their rights to land they assumed had been purchased by the New Zealand Company added more tension to an already strained situation. These tensions came to a head at Wairau in 1843.

When the Company made a provocative attempt to survey land at Wairau to which it had no legal right, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata had the survey instruments moved off, burned the surveyor’s huts – their own property given that the huts were built using materials from their land, and tried to have the issue resolved by the Land Claims Commission or the Protectors.²⁰² Instead, on 17 June 1843, Arthur Wakefield, the Company agent at Nelson, brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, source of what was to become popular theory of colonisation, and the Nelson magistrate, A. H. Thompson, took an armed posse of policemen, Company officials and settlers to arrest Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata on a charge of arson. As Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, point out, however, ‘Their real purpose was to assert the Company claim to Wairau land and Crown authority over independent-minded Māori’.²⁰³

When the settlers advanced volleys of gunfire were exchanged and, and between four and ten Māori and ten settlers were killed, among them, Te Rangihaeata’s wife, Te Rongo. Twelve British captives were killed by Te Rangihaeata as utu for the death of his wife.

News of the events at Wairau spread like wildfire throughout the islands alarming settlers everywhere while Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and the remnant of their party returned to the north. The colonial rumour mill went into overdrive as settler newspapers expressed their outrage and demanded that Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata be brought to ‘justice’.

²⁰² Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, Wellington, 2015, p. 210.

²⁰³ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, Wellington, 2015, p. 210.

After the dust had settled, Governor Fitzroy, supported by the Colonial Office, placed the responsibility for the disaster on the New Zealand Company which served to further enrage the settlers. Despite calls from settlers for the immediate arrest of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, the Governor found no grounds for such a move. For Māori, and most certainly for Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa and their allies, the events at Wairau brought the whole concept of the rule of law – the basis of the Crown’s intervention in New Zealand – into disrepute.²⁰⁴ At Wairau, iwi were ultimately absolved by the Crown but the most powerful blow was yet to come.

4.4 Te Rauparaha’s Imprisonment

On 23 July 1846 Te Rauparaha was forcibly taken from his pā at Taupō (Plimmerton) and held without trial for 18 months the reason according to Governor George Grey ostensibly being that he posed a significant threat to colonial authority and was inciting violence against settlers and the colonial regime.²⁰⁵ Te Rauparaha was taken to Wellington and transferred to the sloop *Calliope* which was anchored for a time off Ōtaki so as to tangibly demonstrate Governor Grey’s hold over Te Rauparaha and his people.

Many rangatira including Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero of the Waikato tribes and Tāmāti Waka Nene and Kerei Mangōnui from the north (Taitokerau/Ngāpuhi) protested against Te Rauparaha’s imprisonment. They saw this act as a grievous affront to mana rangatira.

Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa were also active in their response and agitated for Te Rauparaha’s release. Te Rangihaeata, Te Whāwhārua and Te Tāwhiri sent the following letter to Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto:

“Te 4 o ngā rā o Tihema 1846

Haere rā e taku pukapuka ki raro ki tōku iwi ki a Ngāti Maniapoto ki Waikato
ki ngā iwi katoa. E hoa mā, e tama mā, tēnā rā koutou, hoa mā, e tama mā,

²⁰⁴ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, Wellington, 2015, p. 210.

²⁰⁵ Four other rangatira were captured with Te Rauparaha; Te Kanae and Tamaihengia and two others (Burns, 1980, p. 277).

haere mai ki te takitaki i te mate o Te Rauparaha tā te mea ko Te Rauparaha te karu o te whakapono o ngā tāngata katoa.

Ki a Waitara, ki a Ngātapa, ki a Te Pakaru, ki a Te Rangitūātea, ki a Pēhi, ki a Ngāmotu, ki a Te Waru, ki a Te Roto, ki a Te Kanawa, ki a Muriwhenua, ki a Te Awaitāia, ki a Kūkūtai, ki a Kaihau, ki a Pōtatau.

E tama mā, ko wai ka hua, ko wai ka tohu. E hoa mā, kia hohoro mai i ngā rā o Tihema.

(4 December 1846

Go north my letter to Ngati Maniapoto to Waikato, to all the tribes. Friends, sons, come and avenge the misfortune that has befallen Te Rauparaha as he is the eye of the faith of all peoples.

To Waitara, Ngatapa, Te Pakaru, Te Rangituatea, Pehi, Ngamotu, Te Waru, Te Roto, Te Kanawa, Muriwhenua, Te Aiaitaia, Kukutai, Kaihau and Potatau.

Sons, ‘who knows, who can tell?’ Friends, come quickly in the days of December).²⁰⁶

Many songs were composed about Te Rauparaha’s imprisonment. These waiata express the depth of feeling felt by his people at being so bereft at their forced separation from their leader. The following waiata was composed by Te Rangihaeata:

*Toea mai rā te ata i Kapiti
Engia ko te hoa ko taku whenua tupu
I kapakapa atu ai te tau o taku ate
Nā Tūmatapōngia, nā Tūmatawarea
Warea te ngākau i haere ai koe nā
Moe ana te huia
tangī ana te kōtuku
i runga o Tūtere
He au here toroa nā.*

*Kapiti’s shadow is left as a remnant.
Yes, my only friend is my homeland.
My heart palpitates.
By Tūmatapōngia, by Tūmatawarea,²⁰⁷*

²⁰⁶ Taken from a typescript of a copy of a letter. I have been unsuccessful in locating the original Māori language letter. Te Rangihaeata, Te Whawharua, Te Tawhiri, ‘Letter Between Chiefs’ (translation), MS-Papers-0032-0670B-11, ATL.

²⁰⁷ Tūmatapōngia and Tūmatawarea are karakia for invisibility and Te Rangihaeata berates Te Rauparaha for not using these incantations (National Library of New Zealand and Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangitāea, 2003, p. 17).

your heart was off its guard and you were captured.

The huia sleeps,

The kōtuku weeps,

up Tītere.

A current that holds the albatross.²⁰⁸

The following waiata is also attributed to Te Rangihaeata:

*Kaore te mamae ngau kino i ahau,
He maunga tu noa te tara kia Kapiti,
Ka ngaro ra, e, te kii o te whenua,
Moe moe e Koro i runga i te kaieke
Kia whakamau koe te ata o te moana;
tohu i waiho, e tu ai koe.*

*Ki te whakahau riri, whakahaerea ra,
Na runga i te kaipuke, kia piki atu koe,
Te tihi o Ingarangi.*

*Taku rata tutahi taku whakamarumarū;
Unuhia noatia i te matawhaura,
I te riri potae, i te ranga maro,
I te nui Ati-toa, kia pa te karanga,
E tama ma e, ka rere au ki te po,
Ma wai e whakahoki te waiora ki muri,
Tenei nga iwi te takoto tonu nei
Me he moe toitoi haere ra e Pa,
Hei maungarongo, ma nga iwi ki te tonga;
Ma Matene ra, ma Tamehana, e
Ma raua hoki i tiki ki te reinga,
I kitea mai ai, ko te ture pai,
Ko te ture kohuru i pareā mai nei,
Naku anake nga hara i raru ai koe, i.²⁰⁹*

Te Rangihaeata also composed the following waiata upon Te Rauparaha's imprisonment:

*Taku waka whakairo e
taku waka whakatere e
ki runga i te ngaru nā e
Tēnā ka pakaru e
Kei te Manuao e pūkai ana e
ngā maramara nā e.*

²⁰⁸ Submitted by Ngārongo Iwikātea Nicholson who received it from Te Ōuenuku Rene of Ngāti Toa (National Library of New Zealand and Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangīātea, 2003, p. 17).

²⁰⁹ A version of this waiata is published in John McGregor, *Ko Nga Waiata Maori*, Akarana, 1893, p. 108. An English-language translation of this waiata has not been located and it lies beyond the timeframe allocated to complete this draft report chapter for the author to provide such a translation. In summary, however, the waiata mourns Te Rauparaha's captivity and expresses grief at the forced separation of such a crucial leader from his people.

Haere rā, e Raha
i te aroaro o Tū-matauenga nā e
Te mana o te Kāwana e,
Te inati o Ngāti Raukawa nā e
Haere rā, e Raha e
i te aroaro o Ihu Karaiti
te mana o Kāwana e,
Te inati o Ngāti Toa ora e
Kī atu ana au 'E koro, haehae matariki nā, e?'
Tū mai ana a koe 'Waiho i Porirua
i te kāinga ururua,
Kia ngata ai tō puku, e hao nei koe, nā, e'
E kore au e tangi i ēnei ngā raro, nā, e
Tukua atu ki tua ki ngā rā o te waru, e
Ka koho au i āku tini mahara, nā, e.

My carved canoe,
My swift canoe
Upon the waves
Broken and shattered
Upon the ship, heaped
The pieces.
Go, Raha,
To the presence of Tū-matauenga.
The power of the Governor
Has divided Ngāti Raukawa.
Go, Raha,
To the presence of Jesus Christ.
The power of the Governor
Has divided Ngāti Toa.
I asked, 'Are we to be divided into little pieces?'
You replied, 'Stay at Porirua
The home of woods and bush,
There to attend to your needs.'
I will not weep during these events,
But later in times of scarcity,
And now I collect together my memories.²¹⁰

Te Rangihaeata likens Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira to a taonga, a beautiful carved canoe that has been smashed to pieces by the might of a European ship in the shape of Governor George Grey. Te Rangihaeata's waiata makes it clear that Te Rauparaha's imprisonment made a significant negative impact on Ngāti Raukawa and

²¹⁰ Royal, *Kāti Au I Konei: A Collection of Songs From Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa*, pp. 102-106.

Ngāti Toa. Both iwi suffered forced separation from one of their most instrumental leaders and indeed, one of the most prominent rangatira in the country at a time of significant change and its attendant challenges.

The following waiata, said to have been composed by Hinewhe, ‘a chieftainess of his tribe’,²¹¹ berating Te Āti Awa for welcoming him at the church at Waikanae three days after the kidnapping, was published by George Grey himself in his first published collection of Māori waiata, *Ko nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara o nga Maori* (1853):

*Takoto rawa iho ki te whare,
Turama tonu e te ngakau,
Ki te wahine, e tito mai ra,
Kaore koe i te mohio,
Rupeke te hoe waka,
To kai e Runanga,
Hara mai hoki koe ki konei,
Hei komekome ma te korokoro,
Ma wai e kai, o kiko tokoroa,
To kai na, ko te hokowhitu o Manukorihi;
Kaore koe i te koa mai,
Taku wai whakatahe, ki Horokiri,
Rutunga patu kei te puke i Remutaka ra,
Mei kore ake, te kanohi rua;
Taupoki ana mai taku kumete i runga i te tumuaki o Tako,
To kai ra e Putaitua,
Te angaanga hina o Ngatata;
No Rikitaua
Ko te ngarara
Ko te kai titiro i te huanui;
Rere mai Moturoa,
Ki roto i taku ipu, e tuwhera nei, e-i.²¹²*

Governor George Grey was an autocratic, driven, singular maverick whose bull-headed confidence in himself and his abilities overflowed in both directions, to the metropole and locally. He was a clever man who studied Māori language, customs, beliefs and literature as he perceived, ‘that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose language, manners, customs,

²¹¹ According to Burns, this waiata was composed by Te Rangitopeora (1980, p. 278).

²¹² George Grey, *Ko nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara o nga Maori*, Wellington, 1853, p. 282. An English-language translation of this waiata has not been located and it lies beyond the timeframe allocated to complete this draft report chapter for the author to provide such a translation.

religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted'.²¹³ Grey sought to understand Māori on Māori terms. He was well known to Te Rauparaha and, in fact, to all important rangatira of the day. Grey socialised with and entertained, travelled with, learnt from and forged and maintained relationships with rangatira all around the country. Whether through choice or via lack of other viable options, Grey met rangatira Māori as equals.

Accordingly, Grey did not subject Te Rauparaha to the degradation of actual imprisonment and he appears to have treated Te Rauparaha well enough during the period of his detention in a situation more akin to house arrest. Grey's act was a show of power and force, a demonstration of colonial might and the lengths to which the Crown was willing to go in order to force the hand of their Treaty partner as, when and how they so desired. The collective outrage expressed by rangatira around the country in reaction to this event attests to this being the deeper message both sent and received. The waiata composed, sung and passed down record the bitter taste left lingering in the mouths of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira by the actions of the British Queen's representative in Niu Tirani (New Zealand).

Worse was to come. In Te Rauparaha's absence, Grey had 'bought' extensive tracts of the combined iwi estate, some 608,000 acres (246,058 hectares), at Wairau and Kaparatehau, level land coveted by the New Zealand Company as well as the hills and mountains and adjacent territory, all for the sum of £3000.²¹⁴ In addition, Grey obtained land extending 161 kilometres to the south of Wairau, a total of about three million acres (1.2 million hectares).²¹⁵ Grey also obtained 25,000 acres (10,200 hectares) at Porirua for £2000. In a furious letter to Henry Williams, George Clarke wrote that Wairau had been 'wrung and wrested' from Ngāti Toa, when they were told that sale alone would obtain Te Rauparaha's release. Henry Kemp and Henry Clarke had been witnesses to this 'disreputable bargain'.²¹⁶

After careful grooming and numerous professions of goodwill, Governor Grey revealed his hand and with it his true intentions in a series of devastating blows. It was a taste of

²¹³ George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland, 1855, p. iii.

²¹⁴ Burns, p. 284.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*

²¹⁶ Cited in Burns, p. 284.

things to come and a hard lesson learnt for Ngāti Raukawa and their allies, and indeed, all Māori. Ngāti Raukawa responded to the challenges presented by the repressive colonial regime with originality and determination.

4.5 Ōtaki: The ‘Model’ Township

A radical, new vision for Ngāti Raukawa was envisioned by its leaders in the mid 1840s based on a bi-cultural economy incorporating new ideas, religious thought, technologies, and skills brought by sustained contact with Europeans. A ‘model town’ was espoused by such ‘younger’ leaders as Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi and is said to have been sanctioned by Te Rauparaha. According to Tāmihana Te Rauparaha’s own memories of the events which led up to the establishment of the town, he was inspired by reading about Peter the Great, ‘King of Russia’ while he was studying at Bishop Augustus Selwyn’s St John College in Auckland.²¹⁷ Subsequently Tāmihana said to the people, ‘It is the wish of my heart to make a town like the white man’s’.²¹⁸ The people are said to have doubted they would be able to achieve this to which Tāmihana replied, ‘The English only have two hands, and two feet, and one heart; not four hands, or four feet. We, also, have the same number. The only difference between us is, that their skin is white. Let us try.’²¹⁹

The new Ōtaki township was configured in the style of an English country town centered around the church and ‘the common’. Streets were laid out and English-style houses complete with ‘rooms and chimneys’ were constructed with one family to occupy each house. The pā at the beach were abandoned, encouraged in no uncertain terms by Tāmihana’s burning all the houses in the pā.²²⁰ Tāmihana built a three-bedroom house for himself and his wife Ruta just beyond the common, with a shingle roof, windows and four carved pou supporting the eave that forms a veranda.²²¹ Like Rangiātea Church which stood just across the way, both in architecture and design

²¹⁷ Most likely translated from Māori into English. There is no evidence to suggest that Tāmihana Te Rauparaha wrote in English and the way the excerpts from the text are written clearly suggest translation from a te reo Māori original.

²¹⁸ *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, 9, 2, September 1852, p. 101.

²¹⁹ *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, 9, 2, September 1852, p. 101.

²²⁰ According to Tāmihana, ‘It was a great fire. The flames rose up high: the people cried when they saw them, but I did not. I was very happy to burn all the old ways’ (*The Church Missionary Gleaner*, 9, 2, September 1852, p. 102).

²²¹ See Charles Emilius Gold’s painting, ‘Thompson’s Waree Otaki, New Zealand, 1849’, B-103-028, ATL and <http://rangiotea.natlib.govt.nz/OctaviusE.htm>.

Tāmihana and Ruta's house embodied a dynamic inter-cultural conversation as did the wider 'model town' itself.

Along with the 'model township' Ngāti Raukawa were not slow to take up new sports and other forms of leisure activities. Horse racing, 'the sport of kings', for example, was eagerly taken up. The entire community turned out for race days from at least as early as 1854 when races were held along the beach.²²²

Ngāti Raukawa were also at the cutting edge of new forms of economic activity and entrepreneurship. Flour mills began appearing in the district from the 1840s. One mill built by T. Dodds and his son Williams at Ōtaki about 1848-1850 was still working in 1861.²²³ Tāmihana Te Rauparaha became a successful sheep farmer and a man of considerable wealth; by 1866 he had a flock of 700 sheep.²²⁴ He owned land in the Ōtaki and Foxton districts.²²⁵

Not everyone, however, benefitted from these sweeping changes. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha is a singular example of a man who enjoyed some success through utilising imported economic and religious models. Ngāti Raukawa as a whole were confronted with numerous issues in these unsettled and unsettling times.

4.6 Political Movements

Far-reaching political movements driven by a combination of Māori dissatisfaction with their Treaty partner in the form of unfair land dealings, unfair and openly racist treatment more generally. These and other threats not to mention the issue of participation and representation in the political sphere loomed large for Ngāti Raukawa.

Ngāti Raukawa responded to the imposition of the Crown and its agents and a rapidly expanding white settler population in a range of ways not least of which was a highly

²²² McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p. 77. See Piripi Walker's forthcoming report on the Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga for more on the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club.

²²³

<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22397863?search%5Bi%5D%5Bcategory%5D=Images&search%5Bi%5D%5Bsubject%5D=Mills+and+mill-work&search%5Bpath%5D=items>

²²⁴ Steven Oliver. 'Te Rauparaha, Tamihana', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t75/te-rauparaha-tamihana> (accessed 29 January 2017).

²²⁵ *ibid.*

engaged, if frustratingly one-sided, dialogue. Ngāti Raukawa were a highly literate people who put the spoken, written and published word to maximum use in their pursuit of fairness and equality and the right to be heard. Petitions were written and names appended, letters written to government officials and for printing in the English-language and Māori-language press, private correspondence was sent, tupuna gave extensive evidence to commissions of inquiry and later, the Native and then Māori Land Court. Hui were held, agreements made, strategies developed over time.

Another Ngāti Raukawa response was instigated by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, who, inspired by what he had seen on his recent visit to England, returned to Niu Tirani in 1852 and sought to establish a Māori monarchy in order to unite the people beyond iwi bounds and to bring law and security to their land.²²⁶ Potatau Te Wherowhero of Ngāti Mahuta, a powerful Tainui relation, became King and was installed at Ngaruawahia in 1858.²²⁷ Tāmihana supported the King movement's attempt to halt the sale of Māori land and to put a limit on further European encroachment.²²⁸

In a move symptomatic of the changing times and the now numerous challenges facing Ngāti Raukawa, Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, however, ultimately turned his back on the Kīngitanga, and looked instead to a more conciliatory approach.

Despite repeated challenges to their mana and at times, their very existence, Ngāti Raukawa were not slow to agitate for their rights, to seek pathways via which to be heard and to think up and take up new ideas and methods in their quest for continuance and vitality.

²²⁶ Steven Oliver. 'Te Rauparaha, Tamihana', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t75/te-rauparaha-tamihana> (accessed 1 February 2017).

²²⁷ *ibid.*

²²⁸ *ibid.*

CONCLUSION

Ngāti Raukawa are Tainui people, descended from Hoturoa, kaihautū of the Tainui waka. They grew to become a numerous and powerful iwi within the bountiful Waikato region.

Following significant conflict amongst Tainui iwi Ngāti Raukawa explored the option of permanent migration. Attempts were made to move into the east coast but were ultimately repulsed by the people already in occupation of that area. The decision was made to join their relatives and allies Ngāti Toa Rangatira in the southern reaches of Te Ika a Māui.

Migration occurred in a wave of movements south. There were some movements to and fro and a process of settling including the division of lands occurred in the south. Initially, the path to settlement in the south was cleared by Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Ngāti Raukawa independently solidified their claim to their southern territory by take raupatu, by conquest in their own right.²²⁹

New challenges were thrown up by the arrival of and sustained contact with Pākehā. Ngāti Raukawa responded in a range of ways to these new challenges and opportunities brought by tauīwi. These responses sought to enhance the vitality of the people but were not always met with reason or fairness on the behalf of the Crown or the white settler populous. As the mid-nineteenth-century progressed Ngāti Raukawa were sorely tested by the attitudes and activities of both the Crown and settlers.

²²⁹ In line 6 of the mōteatea 'He tangi nā Turoa', Peehi Turoa mentions 'te kata a Raukawa' ('the joyful laughter of Raukawa') said in the notes to be in reference to the conquest by Ngāti Raukawa of the lands of Muaūpoko, Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa ('Mō te rironga i a Ngāti Raukawa o te whenua o Muaūpoko, o Rangitāne, o Ngāti Apa') (A. T. Ngata and P. Te Hurinui, *Nga Moteatea II*, 1961, pp. 248-249). Te Kata a Raukawa is the name of the wharekai at Raukawa marae, the marae matua of Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga.

PART II:
HAPŪ ORAL NARRATIVES REPORT

Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua

Mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki

**DR. WALLY PENETITO, DR. WHATARANGI WINIATA,
DR. FIONA TE MOMO, MANURERE DEVONSHIRE,
DAPHNE LUKE AND LYNNE RAUMATI**

12 September 2018

INTRODUCTION

Kaitiaki mo te ūkaipō

The Hapū Oral History chapter encapsulates the historical essence of the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga tribal estate. In a practical and everyday sense, the researchers and writers of the 20 hapū narratives recorded in this report are in every sense ‘kaitiaki mo te ūkaipō’. From everything that is remembered and/or recorded and passed on from one generation to the next, the notion of being ‘stewards of the land’ is most persistent. According to this history any weakening of that resolve in favour of some lesser identifier of what it might mean to be Ngāti Raukawa is perceived by the hapū as a retreat, a denial²³⁰, a diminishing of some central tenet of being a Ngāti Raukawa tangata.

As *kaitiaki mo te ūkaipō*, the hapū researchers and writers have taken responsibility to record the voices and to organise the stories of their respective whānau. Their role, according to a prominent iwi historian, helps to keep alive historical consciousness²³¹. In the recording of stories about themselves they have also revealed many of the beliefs and actions of those who seriously dispossessed, exploited, subjected and marginalised them over almost 200 years of political domination and cultural imperialism. These two components of all the narratives is a necessary requirement for the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Waitangi Tribunal Claims that is:

- a) what role did the ‘Crown’ play in bringing about the diminution of rangatiratanga in your hapū; and
- b) what evidence do you have to substantiate your claim?

In recording the answers to these two questions Te Hono ki Raukawa leaders and planners provided both written guidance and training sessions for all hapū engaged in the project. The oral history project was also seen as complementing two major background research papers on ‘The Establishment of the Social and Cultural Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the 19th and 21st Centuries’ and ‘Tino Rangatiratanga: The Confederation of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga’.

²³⁰ Michael Specter (2010) *Denialism*. Penguin Books. Specter speaks about denialism as “when an entire segment of society, often struggling with the trauma of change, turns away from reality in favor of a more comfortable lie”. (p. 3)

²³¹ Judith Binney. (2010). *Stories without end – Essays 1975-2010*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Ma tātou anō, tātou e kōrero

The genius of the Hapū Oral Histories project is that it involves the active participation of the majority of hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga (even though a small number of hapū were unable to complete their project within the time constraints). This, in itself, is a powerful statement of self-respect and self-determination of kindred spirits wanting to speak for themselves. In the brief history of Waitangi Tribunal Claims this exercise of kotahitanga or solidarity was certainly not original, but it was the first to be enacted on such a scale.

Te hapū me te whenua

Oral interviews and the use of oral sources for this report is significant because it allows for the voices of the claimants to be heard. It is an important source of information that may not be accessible to other researchers in a Waitangi Tribunal inquiry. These ‘voices’ are of the hapū but they are also the voices of the whenua. In examining the relationship between human culture and the physical landscape, the American scholar, Barry Lopez recognizes that, “While many things have changed, the evidence of continued intimacy with a local landscape – a practical knowledge of it, a sensitivity toward it, a supplication of it - is still clear”²³² (among those who are indigenous). He tells us that, “In contrast to the language of the [coloniser] who saw language as something man created in his mind and projected onto reality, something he imposed on the landscape, as though the land was a receptacle for his imagination”. Lopez maintained that there were problems with this thinking. “First, the landscape is not inert, and it is precisely because it is alive that it eventually contradicts the imposition of a reality that does not derive from it. Second, language is not something man imposes on the land. It evolves in conversation with the land.” As illustration of this point, more than a century and a half after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the Crown eventually came to an understanding with another iwi in close proximity to Raukawa when it reluctantly recognised the Whanganui River as a living entity with a legal personality and finally accepted it as ontologically coherent with the thinking of the Iwi of Whanganui. The tribe’s well-known aphorism: *I rere kau mai te awa nui, mai te*

²³² Barry Lopez, 1986, *Arctic dreams- Imagination and desire in a Northern landscape*. NY: Charles Scribner & Sons. (p. 265)

kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa. Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au, is an affirmation that states, *We bear the river in our being as the river bears us in its being.*

Methodology

No konei ahau, koina ka ora

The hapū oral narratives set out to capture the multitude of voices that constitute the history of each hapū within a context that is formed, transformed and shaped by the association of the people with the whenua. The philosophical stance of each speaker is, “No konei ahau, koina, ka ora”, “I belong; therefore, I have the right to speak.” The methodology for the oral and traditional history narratives must necessarily incorporate principles that derive from the people of the hapū and their capacity to determine their own futures in line with the strengthening of rangatiratanga. The first methodological principle, it could be argued, is that hapū belong as kaitiaki of the whenua so named; secondly, that they have rangatiratanga over that whenua; thirdly, that they are able to establish whakapapa connections to that whenua; and fourthly, that they can demonstrate how they have been disadvantaged by the deeds of the Crown, local European authorities, the actions of settlers, the Courts and similar repressive and/or ideological mechanisms.

Participating hapū

The participating hapū are listed as follows in no particular order:

Ngāti Matakore	Ngāti Rangatahi
Ngāti Pikiahu	Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhāo
Ngāti Parewahawaha	Ngāti Ngārongo
Ngāti Manomano	Ngāti Whakatere
Ngāti Koroki	Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti
Ngāti Te Au	Ngāti Pareraukawa
Ngāti Maiotaki	Ngāti Rākau Paewai
Ngāti Tūkorehe	Ngāti Kauwhata
Ngāti Hikitanga	Ngāti Waewae
Ngāti Kikopiri	Ngāti Turanga
Ngāti Takihiku	

Content guidelines

Each hapū has narrated and illustrated their cultural landscape by drawing on information in line with the following guidelines.

- (a) The origins of Ngāti Raukawa are described as various expeditions or heke from Maungatautari in the Waikato into the Porirua-Manawatū takiwa carried out mainly in the middle and late 1820s. Each of these heke had prominent leaders for example, the three most renown were Te Heke Whirinui led by Te Ahukaramū in 1826, Te Heke Kariritahi led by Nepia Taratoa in 1827 and Te Heke Mairaro led by Te Whatanui in 1828-29.
- (b) As each hapū settled they redefined their identities in line with the traditional takiwa of maunga, awa, and whare tupuna and so Ngāti Kikopiri for example expressed their pepehā as:

Ko Tararua te pae maunga
Ko Ohau te awa
Ko Waiwiri te roto
Ko Kikopiri te whare tupuna
Ko Ngāti Kikopiri te hapū.

- (c) The maintenance of whakapapa lines was critical for ensuring continuity of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. As an example we have ‘He kāwai i a Turongo ki a Parewahawaha’:

Tūrongo
Raukawa
Takhiku
Tamatehura
Huitao
Haetapanui
Ngātokowaru
Huia
Korouaputa
Parewahawaha.

Each hapū was charged with the responsibility of documenting the main lines of their whakapapa.

- (d) List sites of significance, wāhi tapū, locations of food gathering sites and natural resources; former and present locations of marae, kāinga, ara and populations. The Parewahawaha Report lists the following wāhi tapu within their takiwa: Ōhinepuhiawe Native Reserve, Hikungarara urupā, the original papakāinga Poutū-te-rangi and others;
- (e) Collate biographies and photos of community leaders and rangatira for example, in Ngā Hapū o Te Reureu by naming significant tūpuna such as Ngātoroirangi who ascended to the summit of Tongariro, tupuna kuia Waewae represents one of the strong connections between Tūwharetoa and Ngā Hapū o Te Reureu, and Paranihi Te Tau was the principal man of Ngāti Waewae during the Patoka battle at Waitotara in 1840;
- (f) Plus whatever else hapū members agreed would contribute to the veracity of their claim of breaches of the principles and substance of the Treaty of Waitangi with regard to their hapū.
- (g) Throughout the duration of the project hapū participants were consistently reminded that the objective of the Hapū Histories chapters were three-fold:
- to serve future generations - to know themselves; (What is my marae? How do I whakapapa to it? What is my pepeha? Who are my tūpuna? What are some of our kōrero tawhito?)
 - to serve current generations - provide evidence for claims affiliated to hapū lands and other taonga; (Who are our tribal neighbours? Where did most of our food supplies come from? Who are the long-serving whānau of our hapū?)
 - and to support the position that "Raukawa have never ceded sovereignty to the Crown" - to be made in the concluding chapter of the full Te Hono ki Raukawa Oral & Traditional report (Questions here relate to earliest stories about the emergence of Christianity; schooling; influence of settlers, public servants, politicians, the business community, lawyers).

- (h) Not forgetting that the Hapū Oral project was only one of five major elements of the oral and traditional history project, an imperative for all concerned (leaders, planners, organisers, researchers and writers) was the reminder from one of its leaders (Dr. Whatarangi Winiata, 27 May 2016):

“The overall theme of the Te Hono ki Raukawa Oral & Traditional History Project is that the post-European history of Ngāti Raukawa is marked by the loss of tino rangatiratanga”. This is the basic supposition of the ‘Raukawa position’ spelled out in the project plan. It is maintained

that the legitimacy of the Crown is, and always has been, contingent on its acknowledgement of tino rangatiratanga (emphasis in original) and therefore every time the Crown fails to properly acknowledge tino rangatiratanga, it denies its own legitimacy. Rangatira delegated kawanatanga to the Crown. The source of ultimate authority is tino rangatiratanga; kawanatanga is a delegated authority.

- (i) As the readers of these hapū narratives you will be the judges as to whether this report lives up to its expectations. Whether the stories they tell ring honest and true as accounts of the way things were before and after European settlement. Whether ‘tino rangatiratanga denied’ (Winiata, 28 February 2017) is a reasoned and reasonable analysis of the position of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga as a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840. And if the collective projects represent a case proven, then what?

Conclusion

In the introduction it was suggested that the retention of Ngāti Raukawa land was the single most important factor enabling the hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga to claim tino rangatiratanga over their territory. There would be no ‘hei kaitiakitanga’/stewardship) over their ‘ūkaipō’ (tūrangawaewae/homeland) without land. This is true but it is not the whole truth. The hapū narratives outlined in the oral history reports give substance to the depth and breadth of what ‘belonging to’ and ‘identifying with’ the whenua really means in fulfilling a hunger for both the spirit and the substance of what it means to be Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. There is no question

that the iwi of Ngāti Raukawa is currently a short distance away from being an exiled people, displaced and landless within its own sovereign territory. That is a telling contradiction. How it got to be that way and how that situation can be rectified is what this and the associated reports have addressed. Ani Mikaere²³³ puts it succinctly, “The simple act of telling our story, after all, is important. Not only does it prevent our colonists from hiding behind the versions of our shared history that they have long perpetrated in order to absolve themselves from any guilt; but it also empowers our own people by explaining how we have arrived at our present, colonised reality. Speaking our truth can only set us in good stead for a better future”.

Dr. Wally Penetito
Hapū Histories Team Leader
Te Hono ki Raukawa

27 August 2018

²³³ Ani Mikaere. (2016). Like moths to the flame? A History of Ngāti Raukawa Resistance and Recovery. A Te Kāurutanga thesis for Te Wānanga o Raukawa, p. 292.

NGĀTI KOROKI

ORAL HISTORY

Image 13: Wi Te Manewha as depicted by Lindauer in 1882



Queenie Rikihana Hyland and Mishy Vieira

September 2017

PREFACE

Ngāti Koroki Whakapapa

*Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Tararua te maunga
Ko Ōtaki te awa
Ko Ngāti Raukawa te iwi
Ko Ngāti Koroki te hapū
Ko Te Manewha te tupuna
Tihei Mauri Ora!*

Hapū Research Team

Queenie Rikihana Hyland – Chair of Ngāti Koroki hapū ten years. Trained journalist, writer of published books and was a journalism tutor. She was an original member of Mana Whakahaere o Te Wānanga of Raukawa 1987. Participated in Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga hui for 30 years and is a graduate of Matauranga Māori 2000. She is currently a kaikaranga at Raukawa.

Image 14: Queenie Rikihana with Mishy and Mahia Vieira.



Michelle Vieira – Daughter of Queenie, Mishy has a B.A. in Māori Studies and English Literature from Victoria University and a Journalism Diploma from Massey University. She has over 10 years' experience in the UK and in NZ working in Public Relations (PR) and as a journalist. Public relations positions in local government, Lancaster University, Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. Currently working as Senior Communications Adviser at the Commerce Commission and is Kaiārahi Māoritanga at Paekākāriki Playcentre while on maternity leave.

Baby Māhia – Mokopuna of Queenie, she came to all the Te Hono and hapū research related hui in last six months, now nine months old.

Methodology

We initially hoped to be a bigger research team of three to five people, but it ended up being just the two of us. Our draft plan was presented to our Ngāti Koroki hapū meeting in April 2017 where we got approval to continue. We identified land loss, Lake Waiorongomai and our tupuna Te Manewha as key focuses for our research. We began by looking through Ōtaki Minute Books for Koroki land history along Mill Road and then identified kaumātua in our hapū to interview. We also read draft technical research reports commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for the WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, our treasured Rikihana Reunion book and Māori history books to use parts which were relevant for our paper.

Our first interviewees were Aunties Nellie Carkeek, Pareraukawa (Polly) Carkeek, Gabrielle Rikihana and Jack Rikihana. A couple of people declined our request. We also used previous interviews Mum (Queenie) had done with Queenie Johnson and Paddy Rikihana. Following our draft paper being shared with hapū members and feedback from Matiu Rikihana we started stage two. This included interviews with Tony Manning about eeling, Rawiri Rikihana about the resurgence of te reo, Manu Carkeek on growing up in Ōtaki, and with Joseph Johnson (who is a member of the Bell whānau).

Once we had a picture of land we owned or lost, and Aunty Gabe Rikihana pointed out significant whānau homes on Mill Road Ōtaki, we had these mapped. We also utilised a map of Lake Waiorongomai which Uncle Miki (Mum's brother) had done. Photos were supplied by Rikihana and Carkeek whānau.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ngāti Koroki hapū is one of three hapū who hold the mana whenua at the marae matua of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga – Raukawa marae in Main Street, Ōtaki. The other two hapū are Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Maiōtaki. Ngāti Koroki originates from the central Waikato with the birth of a son named Koroki to Rauti and Tamaihohonginoa. It is an iwi based alongside the Waikato River and the Maungatautari maunga.

The tūpuna of our hapū are linked to Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Wehiwehi and Ngāti Kauwhata. Our tūpuna were living at Maungatautari when the migration south took

place. However, many journeys between Horowhenua and Waikato were undertaken in the decades following 1820. We believe our tupuna Te Manewha came to Ōtaki in around 1830 following the mana of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira chief Te Rauparaha.

Research into Ngāti Koroki reveals our tuturu (strong) Waikato / Kingitanga connections from the very early time of settlement in Ōtaki. This will form part of our Koroki hapū kōrero.

1.1 Objectives

To research the history of our hapū, Ngāti Koroki, from the hekenga to Ōtaki until today, we looked at the health and wellbeing of our hapū on our whenua from around 1830 onwards to discover how and why we lost our land over the years. We have *kōrero ngā taonga tuku iho*²³⁴ that our tupuna Te Manewha was gifted whenua by Te Rauparaha and Te Wano (and others) that encompassed the main body of what is today Ōtaki Township. We aim to demonstrate our rights to land in large pockets along Mill Road. As well as producing a useful research paper to assist with treaty claims, it was an honour to learn about the lives of our tūpuna and hapū. Our research will also provide a historical record for our whānau for years to come, which others may want to add to. In doing this our whakapapa and whānaungatanga is strengthened.

1.1.1 Outcomes

We explored how and why Ngāti Koroki lost land and demonstrates our long-standing and deep connection to our whenua and waterways.

We look at how gardening and fishing (kohikohi kai) was key to our hapū's survival and uncovered the deterioration of some important resources such as the mauri of Lake Waiorongomai, Te Pare o Matengae awa (The Creek) and Ōtaki River.

²³⁴ Rikihana, Q. *Nga kōrero tuku iho – Te Manewha's land gift*. Ōtaki Historical Journal, 2015.

1.2 Key Themes

1.2.1 History of our Hapū

When Ngāti Koroki arrived with the heke from our homeland in Maungatautiri we were one of the many hapū that settled on the shores around Lake Waiorongomai. There were originally ten dune lakes or lagoons including Lake Kopuherehere, Lake Waitawa and Lake Huritini. We look at the loss of the other lakes and the environmental deterioration of Lake Waiorongomai.

1.2.2 Whakapapa

Of significance to our story is that our tupuna Te Manewha came on the migration at the urging of Te Rauparaha. He was invited because he had become a warrior toa rangatira fighting beside Te Rauparaha. Te Manewha and Raita had one daughter Enereta who Te Manewha betrothed to Rikihana Te Tarure Wairoa. They had 13 children – some died in childhood but five married and had families. This Rikihana line is who our Ōtaki Koroki hapū members descend from. We look at this whakapapa.

1.2.3 Land acquisition and loss

We discuss the rate burden on whenua as a key reason we lost land over the years. We identify land we had along Mill Road Ōtaki, our long-standing connection to it and where two papakāinga still exist today.

1.2.4 Hapū/iwi leadership

We introduce some of the rangatira and key people in our hapū and give a snapshot of life in “Rikiville” and Te Ao Māori in Ōtaki generally.

1.2.5 Wellbeing and survival

Our kaumātua will talk about the loss of te reo Māori and how that affected them. Then we record interviewee stories on the work behind improving Raukawa Marae in the 70’s, the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano vision and te reo speakers today.

Image 15: Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki



2.0 ORIGINS, SURVIVAL, AND SETTLEMENT

Koroki is a small but significant hapū. Current estimates of our numbers is around 300 according to a database held by the iwi mandated authority, the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust. It is pleasing to see many have chosen to live in Ōtaki or are considering coming back. In the main, our families – Rikihana, Carkeek, Johnson, Bell – and others – chose to stay within the Ōtaki township. We will describe the prominent leaders and their important contributions to Ngāti Raukawa.

It would be hard to be definitive about numbers of Koroki hapū at the time of their nga hekenge/migration, but we believe it was only a small group of 6-7 initially. Our tupuna Wi Te Manewha was known for his fighting prowess and as one of Te Rauparaha's right hand men. He moved to Ōtaki under Te Whatanui in around 1834 to help Te Rauparaha in his efforts to win over the Wellington region and Kapiti/ Horowhenua district. Te Whatanui was

the chief in the final migration called Te Heke Mai i raro (migration from below).²³⁵ The kuia from the heke from Maungatautiri was Waihurihia Oranga (as featured in the third pou in Raukawa Marae). Beforehand, in 1831 Ngāti Koroki was living in Maungatautari by right of conquest alongside Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Kahukura.²³⁶

Our Koroki hapū is a part of Raukawa Marae and yet it wasn't in the early times when many of the family first established themselves at Waiorongomai and beside The Creek on Mill Road. The native timber homestead built by Pairoroku and Ngahoki was impressive for its time. It was the first home in Mill Road to have electric light and family would turn up at night just to sit beneath its glow.

Lake Waiorongomai is of huge significance to Ngāti Koroki and this is borne out by our hapū's access to the lake, still held to this day. Pairoroku for example held privileged status to collect kai from the lakes, particularly tuna - but also inanga and other ika.

Since that time until today Ngāti Koroki, ie the Rikihana whānau who are descendants of Te Manewha, have had access to fish the lakes at Waiorongomai. However, over the years we have lost this as an important food gathering taonga. The kai in the roto (lake) have diminished because of the farming around the lakes and the subsequent cow pollution has affected the water quality.

These are the main foci of our research as we discuss activities at Waiorongomai Lake and land along Mill Rd Ōtaki from Raukawa Marae to 'Rikiville'. Key places for our hapū:

- a) Sites of significance therefore include our tūpuna buried in the urupā of Rangiaētea Church, such as Rikihana Te Tarure Wairoa who died in 1895; Tainui Marae urupā and the Ōtaki Public Cemetery.
- b) There are papakāinga for Rikihana whānau all along Mill Road. 'Rikiville' where we grew up (218 Mill Road). Down the road (next to Ōtaki Primary School) are numerous Carkeek dwellings where they settled around the Mill Road homestead of Maraea and Charles Bell, Tiemi and Bridget, Rikihana and Pareraukawa Carkeek.

²³⁵ <https://teara.govt.nz/en/ngati-raukawa/page-3>

²³⁶ <http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/Māori-portraits/wi-te-manewha>

- c) Mahinga kai – was pivotal to survival of Rikihana/Carkeek families throughout the depression of the 1930s and the war years. The gardens of Pairoroku extended from Rikiville (seven houses) across the road (where the Ōtaki College now is through to Waerenga Road). He and his family fed others living along Mill Road.
- d) Mahi tunaheke - for the Koroki hapū and particularly the Rikihana whānau in Mill Road, much of our survival was dependent on fishing. The Carkeek and Rikihana and other whānau often worked alongside each other to gather tuna to feed Ōtaki whānau, to provide for hui or tangihanga at Raukawa or to prepare them to be smoked (hot or cold smoke) for eating later. It is a known fact that the Rikihana whānau held the *oranga of tuna* which is the right to fish at Lake Waiorongomai. Micky Rikihana held this right having acquired it from his grandfather Pairoroku and this was illustrated by the continued use of eel weir at the homestead.
- e) The 1952 State Housing policy was the saviour of whānau living in makeshift houses in Mill road. It enabled whānau to get a State Advances loan and pay it off over 40 years. I [Queenie] remember Dad (Mick Rikihana) and Uncle Paddy taking a bottle of whisky to their adjoining fence and toasting each other on finally owning their homes. In Rikiville, land ownership stayed secure within the families of Tarake and Rosie, Paddy and Theresa, Mick and Ra, Winnie and Bing and Queenie and Henry. Only in recent years have two families sold their land. It is a shame but a reality.

Image 16: Maraea Bell had a homestead next to where Ōtaki Primary School is today, one of the Koroki papakāinga on Mill Road.



Kia ora Raukawa – He waiata

Kia ora Raukawa, powhiri nei koe

I ngā iwi o te motu, e!

Nō reira ngā iwi, haere mai, haere mai

Ki runga i tēnei Marae.

Nau nei e Ngata i mahi ngā mahi,

Kia matakitaki atua ai.

Pohehe hoki ahau,

Tahi nei mahi kino, kssss...

He mahi pai tonu e!

We have included this waiata as it was written by esteemed song writer Kingi Tahiwī of Maiōtaki in tribute to Sir Apirana Ngata. Tahiwī and Ngata were at the opening of Raukawa Marae by King Koroki in 1936.

2.1 Ngāti Koroki had a papakāinga at Lake Waiorongomai

In 1988 Miki Rikihana (son of Mick) of Ngāti Koroki wrote about the ancestral landscape of Lake Waiorongomai which was included in the Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa ki Waikanae Fisheries Claim report.

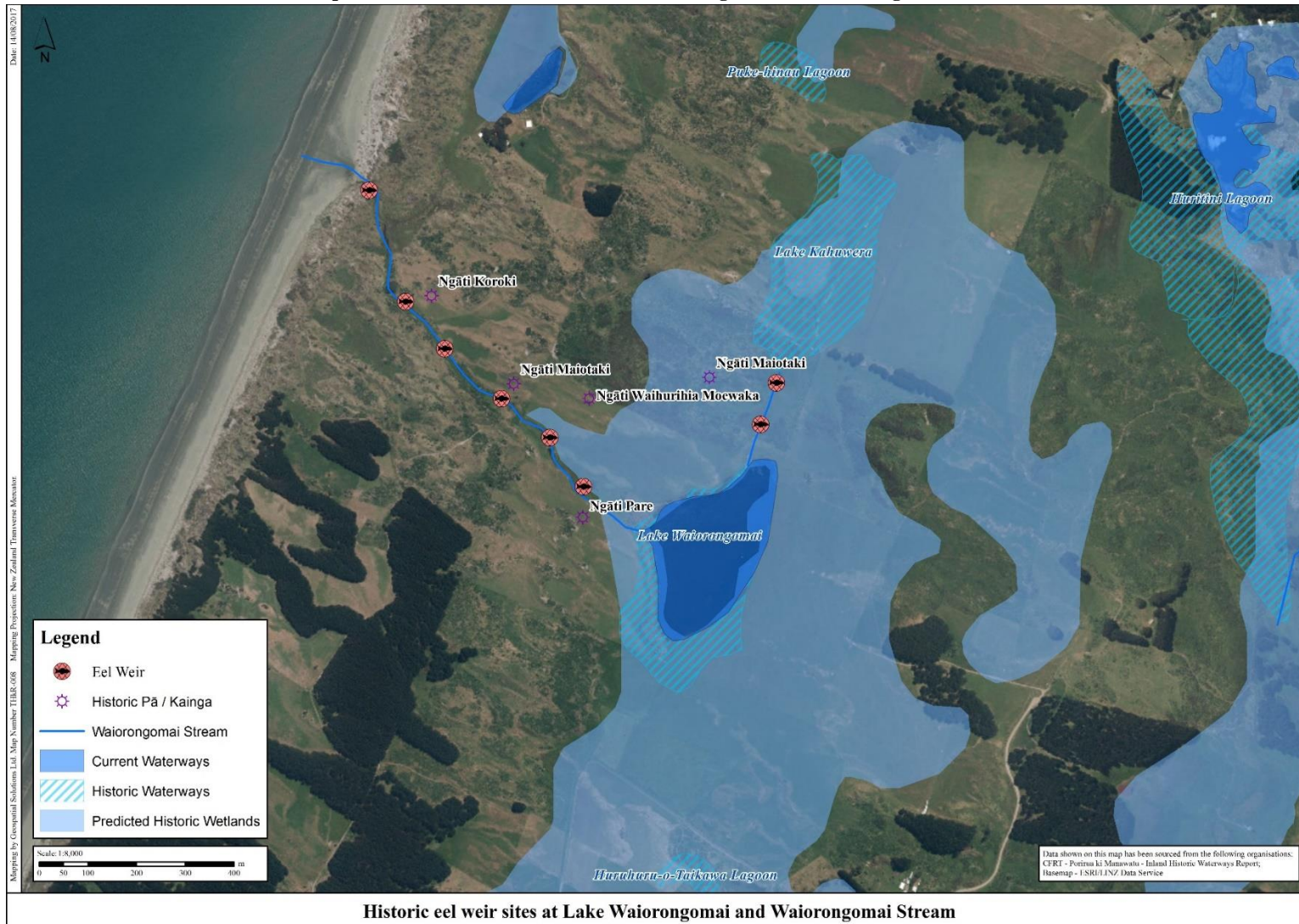
He identified the main hapū of Ngāti Raukawa who had fishing rights in the area of Lake Waiorongomai and Lake Kahuwera as well as the surrounding wetlands as Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Waihurihia, Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Koroki and Ngāti Moewaka. Miki provided the locations of pāpākainga for each hapū around these lakes, indicated by asterisks in the following map. He also described that these temporary papakāinga were used seasonally from November through to May and were operational up until the 1940s. Target species included tohemanga, pipi, tuna, fish (kahawai, kanae, tamure and shark) and were all cleaned, dried or smoked.

Uncle Miki said that the main living pā were either two kilometres inland at Ngātōtara (Forest Lakes area) or five kilometres south at Pākakutu (pā near the Ōtaki River mouth). As his whānau were avid fishers he also included the pā-tuna sites in the following map and described in detail the customary fishing practices of catching and holding eels at Lake Waiorongomai.

Although not specifically mentioned by Uncle Miki, kākahi were also a prominent food source at Lake Waiorongomai as evidenced by the large quantities of shells within the middens surrounding the lake.

Although Lake Waiorongomai and Lake Kahuwera were of similar size in the 1800s, this is no longer the case as shown in map. While Lake Waiorongomai has reduced in size, Lake Kahuwera has been removed from the landscape altogether as a result of leasing land to Pākehā farmers, the intensification of drainage for farming purposes and the change in ownership from hapū and iwi. The inquiry into inland waterways said this transformation of waterways to a farming landscape was common practice throughout the district.

Map 10: Historic eel weir sites at Lake Wairongomai and Wairongomai Stream



Historic eel weir sites at Lake Wairongomai and Wairongomai Stream

2.2 Land history at Lake Waiorongomai

We learned through the *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways report* that Roto Te Tahiwī of Ngāti Maiōtaki was successful in his claim for Lake Kahuwera in the Native Land Court in 1867. This was after a number of adjournments and counter claims. At the same time, he also started a claim for the Waiorongomai Block. The original block was an estimated 1,963 acres and included ten dune lakes or lagoons.

This block was eventually subdivided into ten blocks. Two blocks, Waiorongomai 1 and 10, were declared general reserves. Waiorongomai-1 was situated along the beachfront and Waiorongomai-10 surrounded Lake Waiorongomai and included the Waiorongomai Stream. These blocks were reserved by tūpuna for future generations as they were important for kai collecting and Lake Waiorongomai was also considered a wāhi tapu.²³⁷

Of the original lakes, there are still in existence: Lake Kopuherehere, Lake Waitawa and Lake Huritini. Sadly, the remaining lakes and lagoons no longer remain. On 5 December 1891 when the ten subdivisions were made around Lake Waiorongomai, the section Waiorongomai-5 (which was 115 acres) was owned by our tupuna Rikihana Te Tarure and Enereta Rikihana with Peni Te Kapupu.²³⁸ This again proves our long-standing connection to the lake. On the same day in 1891, Waiorongomai-1 ceased to be a reserve but Waiorongomai-10 continues to remain a reserve and is still 100 per cent in Māori ownership today.

Encouragingly, there are some people such as the Royal whānau of Ngāti Pare who are moving back to their whenua at Lake Waiorongomai. Although Waiorongomai as a fishing resource, is sadly no longer filled with plentiful fish and eels. The stream that used to run to the ocean, where you could literally pull eels out under the full moon, is now a small creek that dries out completely in the summer months. The eel in the lake are now tiny in size, although the streams around it are in a better state.

²³⁷ Smith H. *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways* CFRT commissioned technical report. 2017 p. 93.

²³⁸ Walzl T & Berghan P. *Block Research Narratives Vol. III Pt II – Block Data Ngakaroro to Wi (Draft)* 2017.

2.3 Waiorongomai eels a class above

Ngāti Koroki eeler Tony Manning has caught eels all his life, including for tangi at Raukawa. He first went eeling in the sixties with his Uncle Digger and cousin Uma when he was six. He says his Uncle Digger used to take a group of them out to Waiorongomai in his old truck.

“There would be heaps of us on the back; Bowler (Taipua), Tana and Miki. When we got there, they would be in the lake spearing using the matarau – the old pitch forks with the three pong. At that time eels were abundant, they were everywhere. The cousins used to spear them wherever they were and then throw the forks up on the bank. Uma and I’s job was to pick them up and get the eels off - smack them over the head if we needed to.”²³⁹

Tony says Uncle Digger was renowned for his eels and always had them for everyone. He says his son Uma is a great fisherman too and is very exact in his preparation.

“Uncle Digger and Uncle Micky were the originals though. Uncle Digger had a holding pen with eels in it. One day they got out and they stopped the traffic in front of the Fire Station on Mill Road trying to get to the creek on the other side.

Lake Waiorongomai is special and like another world when you are in there.

Back in the day our tūpuna used to go there and make them noa after battle. It is really spiritual, and you feel the mauri there. You leave everything at the fence and you are just there with those eels and you feel them around your legs. I got right into it - you need to connect to the wairua.”²⁴⁰

Tony says Lake Waiorongomai eels were the best of their time and you could identify them when you hung them up.

“I remember being at Raukawa and the Rangiātea Minister at the time, Pāora (Paul) Temuera, saw the eels and gave them a blessing in Māori. He knew they were the aristocratic eels, so a karakia for those eels. I thought that was amazing that he could just tell. But you can tell Waiorongomai ones – they’re goldy with a creamy belly and arrow head. They’re different from Waitohu ones or other places.

Uncle Micky taught the Raureka eel, when you wrap them in the leaf. It was the late seventies as I was courting my wife PPititi and I was shown by my in-laws.”

²³⁹ Manning T. personal conversation. Ōtaki 2017.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

Image 17: Henry Johnson with raureka eels c1960



“First you get the run eel and put it in a holding pen to clean it out (the puku) first. Get the leaves, Raureka, from Haruatai. Some people use wire, but I would use a fern stalk through the eel to cook it – 3 inches sticking out either side. Then light a fire and wait for the embers to be ready and lean corrugated iron up against the fire. You would turn the eel and keep turning, but not so the leaf went black. It took me ages to perfect the technique. Once the stalk just slivered out you knew it was cooked perfect.

I was talking to Aunty Kiripuai about Raureka eels. She said the tikanga was when you serve them at Raukawa you always serve them whole so that people could choose the part they wanted. The tail was always the best part, the hinu. That’s what you offer to the women.”²⁴¹

2.4 Eels for tangi

Tony (who has ten sons and one daughter) says it’s mainly his brother Mole and his boys that still get eels for whānau tangi at Raukawa, but he used to enjoy the preparation.

“When we had tangi at Raukawa I would take my young boys eeling that were into it, Henare and Hema, they loved it. Cooking the eels at Raukawa for me was getting the eels, preparing them, drying them, making the umu. The smoke symbolised the old smells. It wasn’t just the beautiful food of the Rangatira, but it was te ahi kaa of the olden days and I was carrying that on. It was about showing the younger ones how to do it too.”²⁴²

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

Cow pollution at Waiorongomai: It was in the late eighties to nineties Tony remembers the eels started to deteriorate in terms of numbers and condition because of farming and the cow pollution in the lake.

“I thought I would give it a rest when the farm stock was in there and there was cow tiko all in there. There weren’t the eels anymore, you could still get them, but you would have to wait for the run to catch them. You had to go to the pūaha and set your hinaki in there. I found other places to go - to me it was like we had to give them a break to come back. The eel tells you how good the water is, if there are no eels then the water’s no good.”²⁴³

Things are improving at Waiorongomai now the lake is fenced off and the cows are not there Tony says.

“The longfin eels are still around, and things are starting to come right. There used to be mullet too as I’ve caught them, same as Uma. In 15-20 years’, time the lake should be OK again. The eels used to look hungry before. It takes time - I’ve caught an eel that was 80 years old.”²⁴⁴

2.5 Drainage around Waiorongomai caused the loss of eel supply

In 1878 an early settler, W H Simcox started farming the area around Waiorongomai and what’s known as Forest Lakes today. He apparently had a good relationship with local Māori, but in 1919 he passed on his freehold and leasehold land to his sons.

In 1920 our tupuna Pairoroku Rikihana applied to the Native Land Court for an injunction because the leasee, Mr Selwyn Simcox had started drainage between Lake Kahuwera and Lake Waiorongomai. The drain connected the two lakes and had resulted in decreasing the size of Lake Kahuwera which was of grave concern to the local hapū.

“European is digging the drains – has no right on land – digging drains will empty the lake where we get eels. We have had a conference with Mr Simcox and Mr Simcox senior told us he would instruct his son not to drain it further. Then later I proceeded to fill up drains & I found Simcox still making drains – Mr Simcox has lease of lands near lake but only to within a chain of these lakes - & to ½ a chain of stream.”²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ōtaki Minute Book 55 1920, p. 213.

Image 18: Pairoroku Rikihana



The drainage practices continued into 1921 as did the court case. Pairoroku Rikihana provided evidence of Selwyn Simcox also instigating drainage around Lake Waiorongomai. In Rikihana's opinion, Simcox had significantly drained Lake Kahuwera. He highlighted to the judge that this had caused a major decrease in eel population and catches.

“...Simcox drained Kahuwera into Waiorongomai and as this caused the latter (lake) to rise he cut a drain to dry the Waiorongomai Lake as well. The result is that we were this last season deprived of our eel supply. Since the cutting of the drain from Waiorongomai to the beach the latter became almost dry. The drain reduced the height of the water by at least 18 inches. We desire to prevent Simcox from draining the lake...”²⁴⁶

Unfortunately for the Māori owners of Waiorongomai Block 10, the judgment was not in their favour and the case was dismissed. The judge told the Māori owners that Mr Simcox's actions of improving the land for grazing without creating waste were not in accordance with his lease agreement and therefore lawful. The ruling and Judge's perspective did not view the farmer's actions as detrimentally interfering with another block, even though this

²⁴⁶ Rikihana, P.

ruling was contrary to Māori customary rights and interests as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi.²⁴⁷

Aunty Gabrielle Rikihana also remembers her whānau heading to Lake Waiorongomai to get eels and told us this story.

“Ehae was the good fisherman, so we always had toheroa’s galore – I probably won’t have any more before I die. And there were eels galore from Lake Waiorongomai.

My mother and Aunty Mihi, they would go out to Lake Waiorongomai when my father said we are having a picnic. I think there must have been some shelters there. Aunty Rakete, Uncle Pairoruk’s wife was a great cook, a wonderful cook. So, she’d get things together.

When they got out there my mother told me they would see a little stake at the side with something tied to it, and Uncle Pairoroku would say to pull it up and it would be a glass jar with butter in it. Not melted of course with the heat of the sun as it would be cool from the water. They would have that with some lovely parāoa from Aunty Rakete and eels they would get from the lakes - more than one lake.”²⁴⁸

Image 19: Left to right - Pairoroku Rikihana, Tioriori, Raniera (Danny Boy) and Tiemi (Pukapakaru) Rikihana



²⁴⁷ Smith, H. *Inland Waterways Historical Report* commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District. 2017. pp. 102-103.

²⁴⁸ Rikihana, G. personal conversation. Waikanae 2017.

Te Waari Carkeek of Ngāti Koroki describes the Haunui-a-Nanaia journey naming Kāpiti waterways:

“Hau-nui-a-Nanaia being exhausted from his hasty journey took advantage of a passing comet and after the appropriate incantations caught the comet heading back up along the Kāpiti Coast. From the comet as he gazed down on the land and coastal waters he witnessed a lot of flotsam and jetsam at one location which is known as parapara to Māori and the coastline was in the shape of an umu – a cooking pot and thus he named the area Paraparaumu. Just after Ōtaki the tohunga’s cloak caught on fire from the comet so he jumped off throwing the cloak to the ground. The place where the cloak landed created Lake Kahuwera, named from the Kahu – a cloak being wera –hot. The comet landed at the spot which created Lake Waiorongomai.”

The cultural significance of this sacred site was ‘mahinga kai, tānga i te kawa, puna rongōā, pāpā kāinga, pā, tohu ahurea, wāhi whakawātea and wāhi whakarite.’ One historical example of the site being used for whakawātea is Te Rauparaha and his warriors – including those of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa – who visited Lake Waiorongomai after battle to cleanse themselves in the waters as they transitioned from a state of tapu back to noa.²⁴⁹

3.0 HAPŪ / IWI WHAKAPAPA

3.1 Identification of tūpuna

The Rikihana whānau whakapapa books are held by our whānaunga Matiu Rikihana. He lives on the whānau land which has been passed down for generations. It is also where the whenua of our tamariki has been buried and is the house our whānau grew up in.

3.2 Relationships and connections to other hapū

Many connections occurred within hapū of Raukawa, Toarangatira and Āti Awa. Rikihana whānau have intermarried with other hapū in Ōtaki/ Raukawa rohe. They have also married into pākehā families/whānau hence we have Carkeek, Bell and Johnson to name a few.

3.3 Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa tono marriage

One of the last tono marriages to take place in Ōtaki was Mick and Ra Rikihana. A carload of Raukawa elders (led by Matenga Baker) drove to Waikanae to visit our grandmother

²⁴⁹ Smith H. *Inland Waterways Historical Report* commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, 2017 p. 98.

Paioke Parata Eruini (Edwin) to ask for our mother's hand (Ra Awatea Eruini) in marriage to our father Raniera Hoani Pararahia (Daniel John Francis) 'Mick' Rikihana. She was a puhi of Te Āti Awa being the eldest great-granddaughter of Wi Parata Te Kākākura (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toarangatira).

Theirs was seen as a tonono marriage between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa. As Uncle Jack Rikihana explains;

“The Te Ati Awa mob and the Raukawa crowd, they were always having this hara. There was a huge battle between the two tribes from Kena Kena, which moved up the coast to Te Horo. They still had this hara (problem) between the two crowds so to stop all this they wanted two paramount whānau to come together from each iwi.”²⁵⁰

Image 20: Mick and Ra Rikihana



However, if we look at other significant partnerships in terms of creating connections to other whānau/hapū/ iwi, here are some examples in our hapū:

- Ben Bell & Aunty Toss- Pareraukawa connection
- Rake & Rosie Rikihana- Kapumanawawhiti
- Maraea & Ehae- Ropata whānau Whakarongotai

²⁵⁰ Rikihana J. personal conversation at Paekakariki 2017

- Mary & Walker whānau – Te Whānau Apanui
- Pareraukawa & Rikihana Carkeek - Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku, Ngāti Pare
- Here & Dolly Rikihana – another Whakarongotai connection
- Tipi & Roimata Bevan- Whakarongotai
- Matt & Tracey Rikihana- connection to Ngāti Takihiku & Ngāti Ngarongo
- Kiri Rikihana & Rito Tapuke- connection to Whakarongotai and Waitara
- Katera & Lance Tukerangi - connection to Raukawa ki uta (Waikato Raukawa)
- Tony & Pititi Manning- Waikato, Kingitanga on Pititi Cooper’s mother’s side.

3.4 Whakapapa of Koroki

3.4.1 Te whānau mai a Koroki

*Nā Raukawa ka moe ia Turongoihi nō Te Arawa waka
Ka puta ko Rereahu
Nā Rereahu ka moe ia Rangianewa tana wahine tuatahi.
Ko te Ihingarangi ka moe ia Ringaariari
Ko te kuri, Nā te kuri ka moe ia Whakamaungarangi.
Ko Hinemapuhia, Nā Hinemapuhia ka moe ia Ihuwera
Ko Rauti, Nā Rauti ka moe ai Tamaihonginoā
Ka puta ko Koroki, ka mutu tēnei.*

3.4.2 Koroki

This is our tūpuna from whom we take our karanga hapū name, *Ngāti Koroki*, he was the son of Rauti and Tamaihonginoā. A little before Koroki was to be born a party of hunters came upon a moa at Tapapa near Putaruru and gave chase. They chased the moa till they came to Maunga-a-rangi on the slopes of Pirongia mountain, it was here that the moa hard pressed sought to hide by putting its head into a cave, the hunters came upon it and exclaimed ‘Ha, ka Koroki hoki koe,’ it is from this remark that our ancestor gets his name.

The remark could be compared to an ostrich burying its head in the sand, though not to be taken seriously, or when the writer has been overtaken by the pori’s and bouts of stubbornness that afflicts his sense of reason. The uri of Koroki trace their lines from his marriage to two wives who were actually sisters, both the daughters of Wairere and Tukapua. (taken from 1988 Rikihana Reunion book).

Whakapapa 10: Ngāti Koroki



Rikihana Te Tarure Wairoa: Rikihana was the son of Kukura and Te Ahimate of Ngāti Koroki and Ngāti Raukawa tribes. He came to Ōtaki first as a child in one of the early Ngāti Raukawa hekena but at some date after 1842 returned to Waikato.

Enereta Te Whakarato, Rikihana’s wife, was the daughter of Wiremu Te Manewha, a leader of Ngāti Koroki and a great fighting chief of the tribe. Te Manewha’s image has been captured in a portrait by Lindauer.

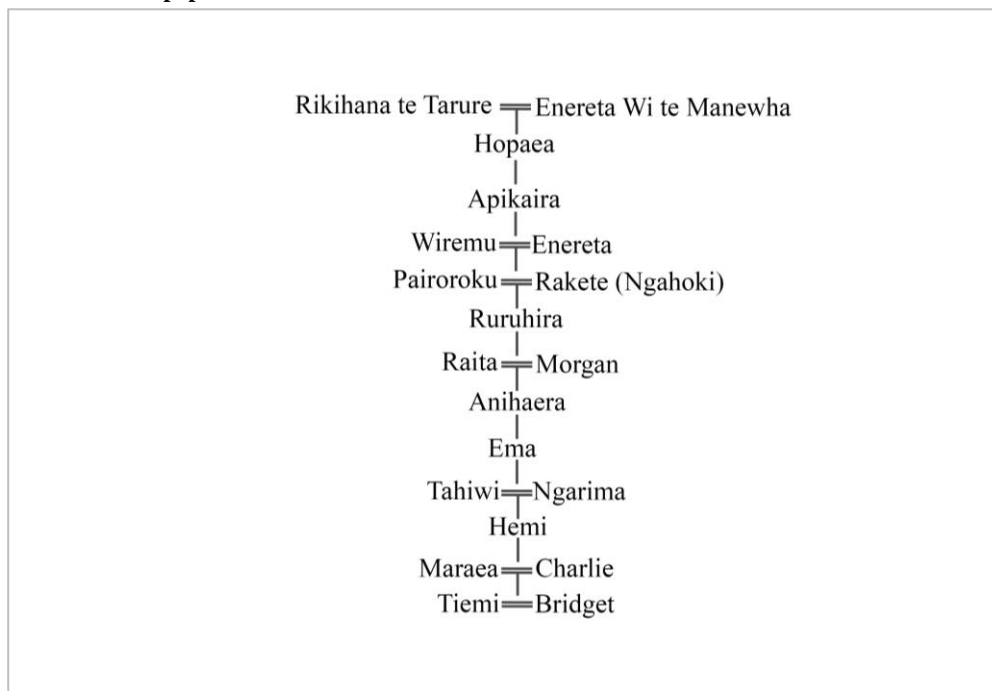
Rikihana and Enereta were first cousins for on one side they share the same grandmother Hikitia, this can be seen clearly in their whakapapa. They had about 13 children, some of them died while still in early childhood and of those who lived to adulthood, five married and had families.

The family lived on their land which was a large piece of land boarded approximately by what is now Waerenga Road, Dunstan Street and the Haru-atai stream and extended west to beyond the present primary school. The household had six slaves. There was also a woman called Anaherika who cared for the children from the moment of their birth.

Anaherika was brought back to Ōtaki by Te Manewha and given to Rikihana and Enereta. Rikihana was so pleased with the way she looked after their children that when Anaherika died she was taken back to Wairoa, and her people gave Rikihana the name Rikihana Te Tarure Wairoa. The daughter of Aunty Georgia Hapeta (nee Johnson) was also named after her.

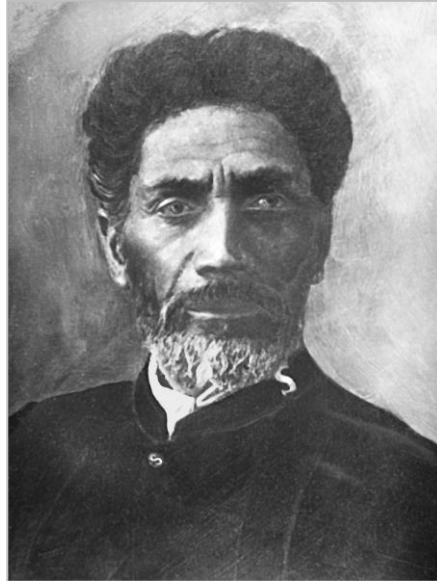
Rikihana was a farmer and the men all worked the land. It is most likely they grew wheat which would have been milled in the Mission Mill by Haru-atai stream adjacent to the land. Rikihana and his family were also among the first members of the Salvation Army in Ōtaki which was founded in 1891 and gained a large following up until the 1920s. The land on which the first barracks was built in 1893 was given by the Rikihana home and was situated opposite where Aunty Toss Bell lived on Mill Road or where Carkeek Drive is today. Later the Rikihana land was divided into the Haru-atai and Makuratawhiti blocks but the descendants of Enereta and Rikihana still lived on sections of the land.²⁵¹

Whakapapa 11: Descendants of Rikihana Te Tarure and Enereta Wi te Manewha

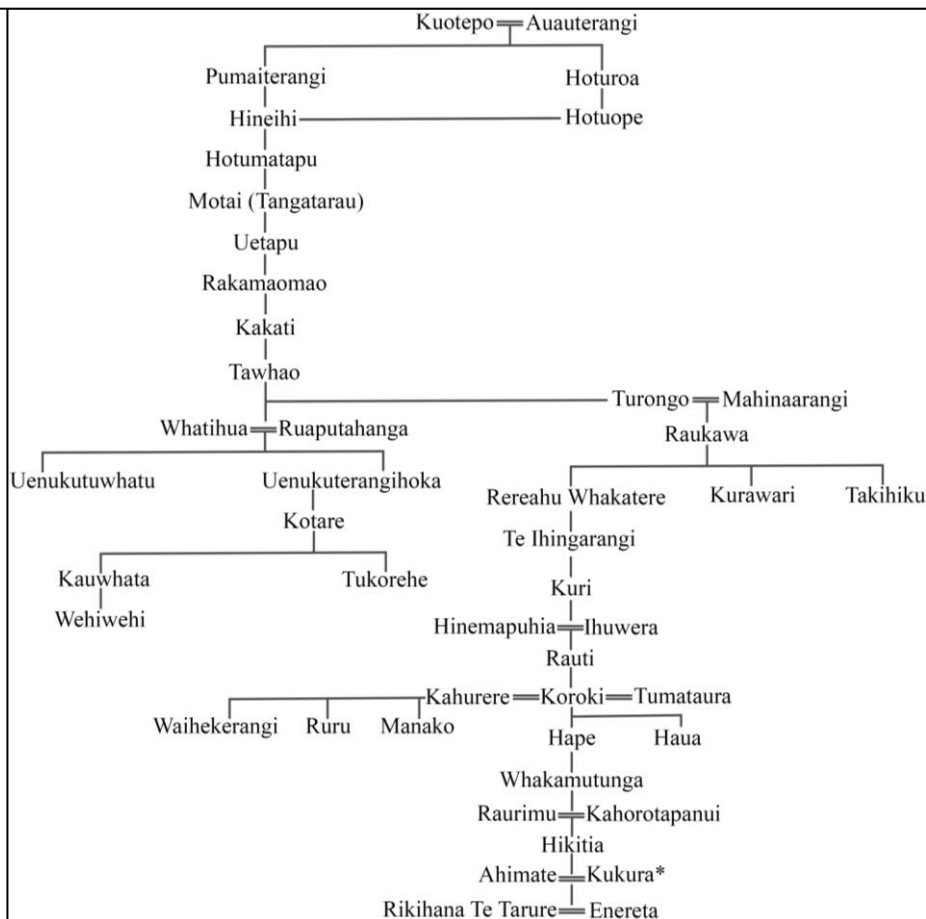


²⁵¹ Rikihana M & Carkeek TW. *Rikihana Reunion Book* Unpublished 1988

Image 21: Photo of Rikihana Te Tarure with his Salvation Army collar



Whakapapa of Rikihana Te Tarure



*Kukura lived on Mill Rd opposite Carkeek Drive (1840's). Kukura had multiple partners but only one son – Rikihana Te Tarure.

3.4.3 Makuratawhiti whenua and the Marae

A lot of Koroki whānau, such as interviewees Polly and nephew Manu Carkeek, grew up on the Makuratawhiti land blocks where Rikihana Te Tarure and Enereta once lived, just five minutes from Raukawa.

Manu says his Grandad used to call their driveway Burma Rd (where Carkeek Drive is today). This was because they made the road from scratch with just a pick and shovel just like the soldiers in the war.

Aunty Polly Carkeek remembers going to the Marae a lot with her Mum when she was little and being told to support her father's hapū Ngāti Koroki as her mother did.

“My mother used to work in the kitchen and she learnt how to make the puddings by Aunty Sis Hohipuha. They were world famous! And that was of course during the war, so they were very short of sugar and butter and things. So, you would have to use a shilling's worth of flour to do so many puddings and they had to use cold tea to give the colour of the pudding. As my mother got older she taught Aunty Mummy Hawea (real name Miriarai) how to do those puddings.”²⁵²

When Aunty Polly returned to Ōtaki in the seventies she recalls an important meeting being called between the three main Raukawa hapū; Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Koroki.

“We needed to maintain Raukawa, to keep the mana and keep it running well. At that time, it wasn't really, we had very little equipment for ourselves let alone to manaaki manuhiri. We were very lucky because people like Whatarangi and Francis came, and we decided to get the Marae on its feet.

So, we worked very hard during that time, we had a lot of hui, sometimes three times a week and sometimes four times. We would have government departments come to the marae to learn tikanga Māori and we had to learn how to run the kitchen. Eventually we got mattresses and then we decided we needed a new dining room.”²⁵³

Manu Carkeek says that the Marae and the creek were their playground when he was young.

“Every day after school we would go over there... the Gilberts, Wiremu Dawson, Reuben Waaka, Waikura Dawson, the Hohipua's - Kahu and Kabbie - they were my brother Mickey's mates.”²⁵⁴

²⁵² Carkeek, P. personal conversation, Ōtaki 2017

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

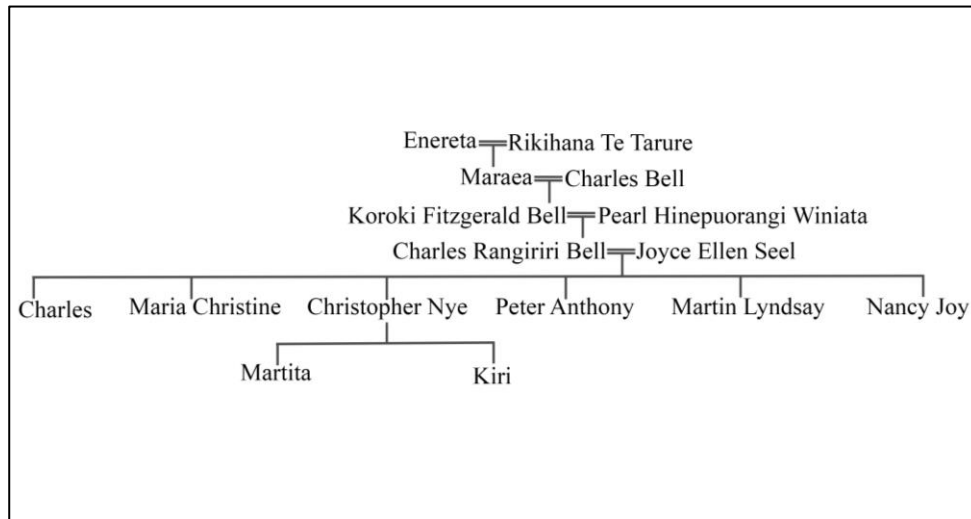
But when Aunty Rangi Te Hana was there we never played out the front when there was a hui or a tangi.

“She’d say go on go around the back and we would play rugby or go down the creek. We knew our place, when manuhiri was over there we had to go straight home.”²⁵⁵

The hard-working ringawera (kitchen hands) are also remembered by Manu Carkeek.

“Aunty Kiripuai, your mother (Ra Rikihana), Aunty Queenie (Johnson) and Aunty Lena... they were there from 5.30 am for two weeks – just cooking. And Aunty Kiri goo ai ... I mean Kiripuai would run outside to do her stuff (karanga) then come back in and put roly poly puddings or rori pori puddings – she called it - on the stove.”²⁵⁶

Whakapapa 12: Bell Whānau



We interviewed Joseph Albert Johnson who is the son of Merita above and is a descendent of Maraea and Charles Bell. He could recite all the whakapapa shown. Joe remembers a particular incident in his childhood which showed how his Nanny Bell used rongoa Māori to heal his brother Harry.

“My brother Harry (6) and I (8) were in Wellington and walking past where two workmen were putting hot tar onto a roof of the building in Taranaki Street and we must have given them cheek. One of them flicked some hot tar towards us and it landed on Harry’s neck. We ran back home, and Nanny Bell said quick take me to where there is some grass. We took her to the War Memorial and she dug out some plants with these broad leaves and brought them home. She put them on Harry. I believe one side was for drawing and one side for healing ... So when Harry grew up there was no sign of a scar at all.”²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Johnson, J. personal conversation. Levin 2017

Image 22: Hura kōhatu of Maraea and Charles Bell



3.4.4 Connection to Kingitanga

As descendants of the King Koroki line the Rikiville community always ‘looked after’ the Kingitanga and especially when there were Koroneihana celebrations. For example, my Dad Raniera (Mick) Rikihana would work for months beforehand gathering tuna from Lake Waorongomai and keeping them alive in his puna pens in the Creek and later in the huge ponds he held alongside our home. The tuna would be smoked (cold smoke) but he would have pawhara, raureka or fresh eel to send.

Also gathered were potatoes – sacks of them as well as sacks of puha and watercress. Whole pigs or sides of beef often went as well. The kai would travel to Ngaruawahia on the overnight train and be picked up by our Waikato relations – Aunty Ivy Te Wiata whānau or

Bill Poutama. At other times kai sent were corn, toheroa, pipi or if it was gifted from whānau on Kāpiti Island – kina and paua.

Given that this was the norm of our family we realise now others did not do it – so it shows how our Koroki hapū ties were always held and nurtured by Mick Rikihana and before him Pairoroku Rikihana. When our Dad Mick passed on November 4, 1976 – Waikato called for him and his hare mate was celebrated at Turangawaewae – with Te Arawa elder Hiko Hohepa and a bus load of Ngāti Raukawa whānau.

Whakapapa 13: Hohipuha whānau



The above whakapapa shows our ancestor Rikihana Te Tarure comes from Kukura and Ahimate. We are related to the Hohipuha whānau through our Koroki line from Maungatautari which stems from Pako and Taurerewa. Te Manewha himself returned to Maungatautari and chose Rikihana Te Tarure to marry his only daughter Enereta. The name Kukura also features in our Carkeek whānau.

One of our Hohipuha relatives is Aunty Katarina in Whakapapa 13 above. She recently turned 85 and still lives in the family home in Aotaki Street, Otaki. She talks of how it was

a shame they never learned te reo even though it was the only language her mother had. ‘We learnt nothing dear... not a lot of whakapapa was told to us either,’ she said. Nonetheless Aunty Katarina’s brother Tama was a fantastic fisherman and would often go to Uncle Paddy Rikihana’s to give him fish and get kamo kamo, riwai, beans and peas in return.

Image 23: Hura kōhatu of Rikihana Te Tarure and Enereta



4.0 LAND ACQUISITION AND LOSS

4.1 Whenua and the rate burden

We have found, both through our interviewees; through the Local Government Issues and Ngāti Raukawa Rangatiratanga and Kawanawatanga reports that rates were the main reason that Ngāti Koroki hapū lost large portions of its land.

The reports said that non-payment of rates was a serious and ongoing issue for all landowners in the Ōtaki borough. Decisions taken by the Council had led to a high level of indebtedness and the cost of servicing these debts was a substantial burden for ratepayers. This has certainly rung true from the kōrero we've heard.

As Uncle Jack Rikihana explains,

“I remember Mum crying over the rates bill. It was only about 60 pounds but that's like \$600 in today's terms. It would come twice a year and that time was for land owned by Raita and Pari and we were going to lose it by not paying the rates.

That's how they did it - they picked off the people that weren't local so the land would get taken.”²⁵⁸

We were told through hapū members that the large piece of land owned by Enereta and Rikihana once bordered approximately what is now Waerenga Road, Dunstan Street and the Haru-atai stream and extended to the present Ōtaki Primary School.

Over the years the land originally gifted to Te Manewha and handed down via his daughter Enereta ended up being just two main areas of land and papakāinga to different Koroki whānau. One was known as Haru-atai No. 5 in the Native Land Surveyor's maps. This was occupied by Rikihana's and Johnsons – and was later known as Rikiville. The other big block of land was called Makuratawhiti and encompassed where Ōtaki Primary School is today and was the papakainga of the Carkeek, Bell and Rikihana families.

These blocks were noted in the Māori Land Court amongst other blocks left to Enereta Rikihana that were passed on by her father Wi Te Manewha. Wi Te Manewha died August

²⁵⁸ Rikihana, J. 2017

13, 1891 left one daughter Enereta Rikihana. Left to her land with no objections: five-shilling charge per succession order.

- Parauuku no 1 A – succession 150
- Makuratawhiti no1 – succession 152
- Haruatai no 5 – succession 153
- Parauuku no 1 A – succession 160

Issue left to Te Rikihana Carkeek, two years, ordered in favour with Te Rikihana Te Tarure and Enereta Rikihana appointed trustees.

In October 1881 we found that one of these blocks, Haruatai No. 5 (at that stage 7 acres, 2 rods and 4 perch) was held by Rikihana Te Tarure, Enereta Rikihana, Wi Te Manewha, Raita Wiremu and Wiremu Te Taumaihi. In August 1907 this land was partitioned into six sections owned by Pairoroku Rikihana, Wiremu Rikihana, Wiremu Te Taumaihi, Anihaera Rikihana (f) and Rota Rikihana (m). At the stage the land was partitioned it was reduced to 4 acres, 9 rods and 108.16 perch, although we are unsure why it reduced in size.²⁵⁹

Uncle Jack Rikihana explains how we lost the Ōtaki College land:

“Rakete (Ngahoki) and Pairoroku my great grandparents they lived in the old house at the back of 218 Mill Road. He was the kaumatua I know of from our hapū so what he said went. Between Tungia Kaihau of Waikato and Pairoroku and Grandfather and Dad and great grandfather’s brothers, they looked after the land and I’m not sure how we lost all of it. Because of the non-rates and because of the councils of that day made it really hard.

The Chinese market gardens opposite 218 Mill Rd were given to the Chinese people by the Government for repatriation for working down the gold mines. They were cut up into little parcels of land, there was George, there was Daisy, and there was Skinny. They paid a lease to the Government right up to 1963, which was our land originally. These are the hurts that you just close your eyes and walk on by.

...what happened over here on this land (where Ōtaki College is) caused a lot of angst in our family, a lot of arguments, a lot of tears – and that was because we couldn’t pay the rates and the land was taken, confiscated. So, where Ōtaki College is now, that was done under that scheme.”²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Walzl T & Berghan P *Block Research Narratives Vol II Pt II Ahitangata to Muhunoa (Draft)* 2018 pp108-9

²⁶⁰ Rikihana, J. 2017

4.2 Land acquired by the Crown

In October 1928 the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1928 was passed. Under section 32 of that Act, Māori land within the Borough of Ōtaki that did not have rates paid within three months of the 31 March 1928 due date could be vested in the Ikaroa District Māori Land Board. The Governor General just needed to issue an order to vest the land.

Our tūpuna Pairoroku Rikihana and Tiemi (Pukupakaru) Rikihana were singled out in a list of 135 blocks of land that was lost because of unpaid rates even though they also had local government roles as the Town Board Commissioner and Councilor. As pointed out in the Local Government Issues Report;

“What is most revealing is that included in the list of 135 blocks vested in the Board because of unpaid rates were those owned by the ex-Town Board Commissioner P Rikihana (Taumanuka 2B9B) and the ex-Borough Councilors Tiemi Rikihana (Makuratawhiti 1B2A and Taumanuka 2B9B)

In addition to the ex-commissioners and councilors who had not paid rates and had their land vested in the Board, some of those who made up the Māori committee who were supposed to assist the council with getting rates paid in 1927, also owned land that was vested in the Board.”²⁶¹

The report went on to say;

“That just 1.63% (16 pounds) of the rates levied on Māori land in the Borough for the financial year 1928-29 was paid, suggests either that very few Māori could afford the rates levied and/or that this was a means to protest against the actions of the Ōtaki Borough Council. These actions had included the imposition of rating regardless of land use, quality, and ability to pay; ongoing and significant rates increases; pursuing Court judgments, charging orders and the sale of Māori land for non-payment of rates, ignoring requests of exemptions, and blaming Māori for Council debt (despite a large proportion of loan money being spent on a drainage scheme that didn't work). Māori had also not voted for the Borough to be established in the first place.”²⁶²

For the Crown, perhaps vesting the land in the Ikaroa Māori Land Board was a compromise between Māori continuing not to pay rates and taking the land compulsorily (as advocated by Ōtaki Borough Council). At different points over the next 30 years, applications were

²⁶¹ Woodley S. *Local Government Issues*. CFRT commissioned technical report. 2017, p. 292.

²⁶² Ibid.

made to have sections re-vested in the owners. The first request was in November 1930, a year later.

Of particular interest to Ngāti Koroki is a request in 1931 for land to be re-vested for Makuratawhiti 10A1 as rates had all been paid up to 31 March 1932 and all monies due to the Board had also been paid.²⁶³

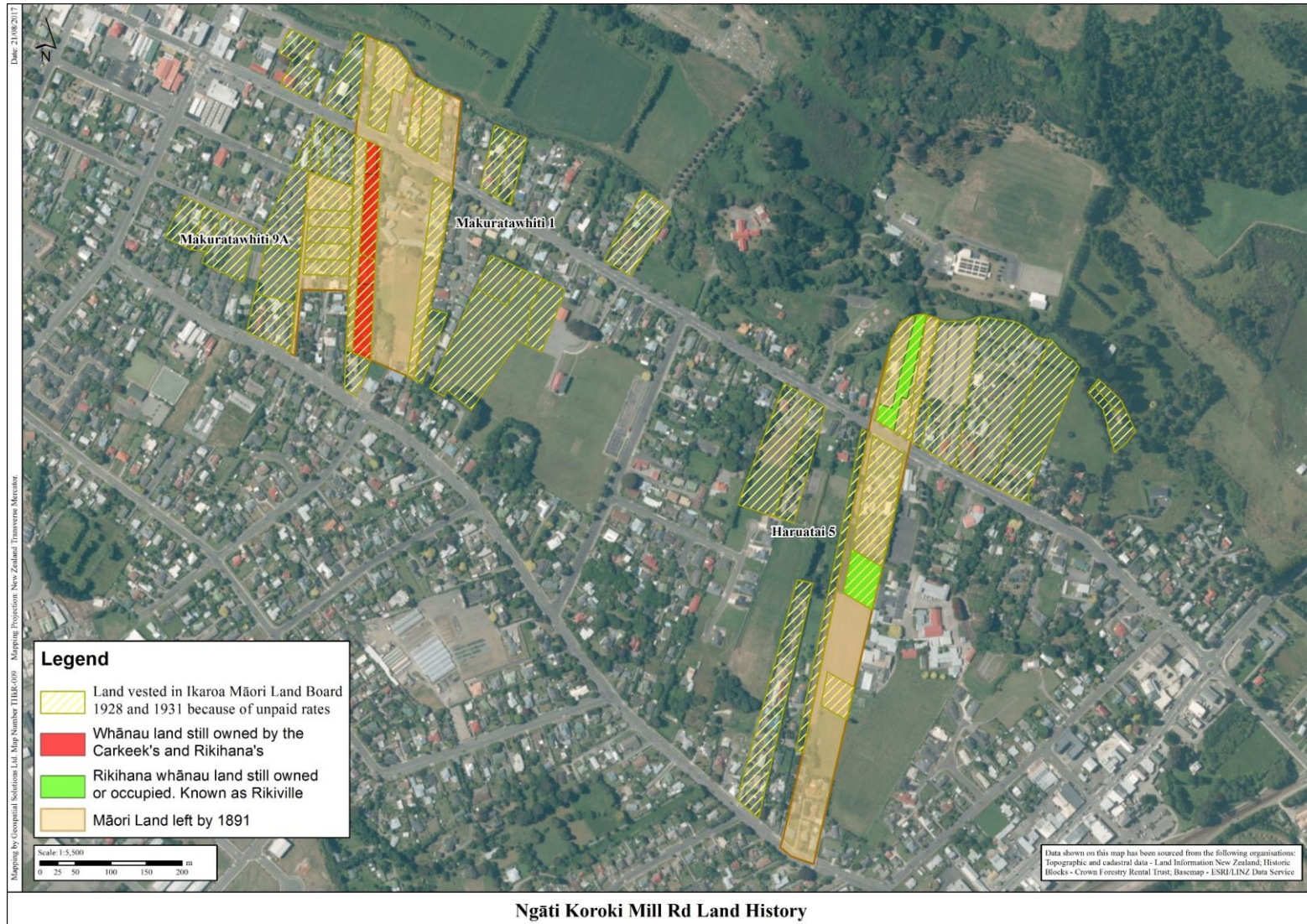
In March 1932 ex-councillor Tiemi Rikihana asked for Makuratawhiti 1B2A to be re-vested. The Registrar recorded that the rates had been paid and the Health Department was making certain requisitions for repairs to the house. The Judge and Native Minister agreed that the land was re-vested. This land is included in the blocks marked out on the following map.

We have concentrated on Makuratawhiti and Haruatai blocks as Ngāti Koroki settled on these. The following map shows some of the history of Koroki land from Rikiville to Raukawa on Mill Road, Ōtaki. This included the land vested in the Ikaroa District Māori Land Board because of non-payment of rates in 1928 and 1931.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ *Ōtaki Minute Book* 59, 3 November 1931. Woodley S. *Local Government Issues* Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry. 2017, p. 306.

²⁶⁴ Woodley S. p. 291.

Map 11: Ngāti Koroki Mill Road land history



4.3 Other Koroki land taken because of non-payment of rates

As pointed out in the Local Government Issues report, our tūpuna Pairoroku Rikihana and Tiemi Rikihana owned Taumanuka 2B9B, and we know today that none of the Taumanuka block at Ōtaki beach remains Māori freehold land. Nearly 100 acres in a number of parts of Taumanuka 2,3 and 4 were acquired by the Crown in the early 1930s from the Ikaroa District Māori Land Board and turned into the site of the Children's Health Camp. Another part was taken in the mid-1950s for soil conservation and river control purposes.²⁶⁵

On 23 March 1931 an 'informal' meeting was held with Māori owners of a number of Taumanuka blocks as the Minister of Health wanted to discuss buying their property. This is a huge block of land that today encompasses the Children's Health Camp, the Pine Forest and prime beach front blocks. As this land had been vested in the Ikaroa Māori Land Board because of unpaid rates, the Board could sell to the Crown without having to purchase through the individual interests of each owner. Included in the land being sold was Taumanuka 2B9A and 2B9B which was owned by Pairoroku and Tiemi Rikihana. Although in the summary of the Rikihana's decision to sell, interestingly it did not include the charging order for rates but its unknown if the reason is because rates had been paid or just had not been charged yet.

In short, the Crown purchased 11 blocks consisting of 46 acres and 3 rods 18.2 perches for 1,230 pounds. This included 90 pounds for Tiemi and Pairoroku's land. It looked like all the Māori owners apart from one agreed that the purchase money would be used to re-build the Raukawa Meeting House and several owners 'spoke feelingly in the matter.'²⁶⁶

What was unclear from reading this history is whether part of the reason Māori owners agreed to sell their land to repair Raukawa was because their land could have been sold without getting their individual approval anyway.

4.4 Working for the marae not money

As Auntie Gabe Rikihana pointed out in her interview, working for personal wealth was a foreign concept for Māori in the 1920s and when money was sought it was used communally

²⁶⁵ Young G. *Ngāti Raukawa Rangatiratanga and Kawanawatanga. Report* commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry 2018 p. 280

²⁶⁶ Woodley S. pp. 292 -300.

for things like the Marae and tangi costs. She said that there used to only be about six non-Māori houses on Mill Road at one stage. ‘There are still a few of the old homes that belonged to our whānau along Mill Road, but not owned by their proper owners anymore,’ she said.

‘I know they took Aunt Bell’s Orchard and paddock for the school.’ Pari’s house (who brought up Rake) was taken for the phone exchange and someone else’s house was taken for the fire brigade.

They lost their land from rates, always from rates. Because if that next generation like Pari and co, if they needed money they had to do things like go away and do shearing. We never had lots of sheep really in our area for that, we had a few, so they would need to go to Hawkes Bay or somewhere to shear sheep. So, it was a huge task earning money for that too.

It is alien, an alien idea when a person has got that land from their grandmother or great grandmother (in Pari’s case) why would you think for one minute that you would need to pay a gang, like Ōtaki Borough Council for that land. There’s no road, there’s no water on it. It hasn’t got anything there. It’s not just a history that happened by chance.’²⁶⁷

As pointed out, the generation before that used to be too busy working for their Marae to have any paid jobs. These are important contributing factors to how and why our people struggled to pay the rates to keep their land. Earning money for a long time was a foreign concept for our tangata whenua who were already self-sufficient - growing, fishing and hunting their own food.

‘All of our grandfather’s generation worked for Raukawa very hard, none of them worked for wages. They were too busy working for Raukawa. If they were desperate for some money, they all had some land that was leased. Ours was leased to Mr Taylor. If there was a tangi they got some money that way. I suppose for the undertaker perhaps, because normally it would be a wonderfully catered for tangi.’²⁶⁸

After 1930 the urbanisation of Ngāti Raukawa for a lot of people meant leaving their papakāinga and whānau communities and moving to nearby urban areas, such as Wellington or Palmerston North for work. A lot of our Ngāti Koroki members remained on their land where, in the example of Rikiville, they were able to build a house through the scheme ‘state advances’ if they could meet the capital and income requirements.

Whatungarongaro te tangata toitū te whenua – As man disappears from sight, the land remains.

²⁶⁷ Rikihana, G. 2017

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

Map 12: Ngāti Koroki significant whānau homes c1890-1980



4.5 The Town Board and Rates

We have found the rating of Māori land in Ōtaki by the Town Board was certainly an issue. A Magistrates Court judgment was first obtained against Māori owners of Ōtaki township land in 1914 for non-payment of rates. This was referred to in Board meeting and in Native Land Court minute books in 1926.

The European population of Ōtaki in 1901 was 272 and then increased to over 800 people by 1918. The Town Board ascertained that there were 276 Māori living in the Town Board area in 1918 which was just over 25% of the population of Ōtaki. In 1927, the Town Clerk said that Māori made up about 300 of the 1500 inhabitants of the town (20%) and that there were '94 Māori ratepayers out of a total of 481'.²⁶⁹

The issue of rates for Raukawa meeting house had also been raised by our ancestor Pairoroku Rikihana who was a member of the Town Board between 1918 and 1920. In July 1920 at a meeting between the Town Board and the Minister for Parliament for the district, Mr Field, Pairoroku asked him if Māori meeting houses could be exempted from rates. Mr Rikihana said that the Ōtaki Māori meeting house belonged to 'no one in particular – the natives as a whole – and was not used for pecuniary gain'. He did not think it should be subject to rates. The matter was discussed but 'left over until discussed by the Board'. It is not known whether the Board did consider this again (Mr Rikihana was not re-elected in September 1920) and it was not until 1924 that the Rating Act allowed Marae to be exempted from rates.²⁷⁰

4.6 Theft of whenua by others

It was not only rates that our hapū faced as threats to losing our whenua. As found in this Ōtaki Māori Land Court book in 1881, there were also claims by others as to who the land belonged to. In this case the ownership of the Haruatai No 5 block came into question, this is the land with sections that some whānau still own and live on today.

Haruatai No. 5 (page 171 Minute Book no 5) 12 Oct 1881: Claim by Wi Te Manewha and others.

²⁶⁹ *Evening Post*, Volume C, Issue 68, 17 September 1920, p. 10.

²⁷⁰ *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 16 September 1920, p.3; Cookson, p. 63. Technical report unidentified

“I live at Ōtaki and belong to Ngāti Koroki. I know that piece of land before the court. It belongs to me through my parents. Rangiwheaea gave it to me, the hapū cultivated it, it was not disturbed there. The hapū and Wiremu worked all, except the bush lands. I know the part claimed by Te Kepa. Wiremu Te Manewha, ‘My hapū are the only owners of this land and ask a certificate to be issued in favour of us three.’²⁷¹

In another Māori Land Court entry in 1873 we saw Pairoroku and Wiremu Rikihana ensuring that land was passed on to the right inheritors.

Image 24: Ōtaki Minute Book

occurred.
 Pairoroku Rikihana.
 I object - Marata Anihaera
 & Hemi were appointed successors
 to their father Rikihana te Tauru.
 because they were left out in the
 first place when land investigated
 in 1873. Because of aroha I am
 prepared to hand over to them
 all my share in my father's interest
 in this block.
 Wiremu Rikihana. I agree
 to what Pairoroku has said
 both as to his objection and
 as to what has been said about
 our father's interest.
 Rota Rikihana. I say the
 same. These three can take any
 interest of our fathers in No. 1 B.
 Raia
 Rikihana Kakiki
 Rimaara
 Keapu te Koeti
 Tehapahi te Koeti
 Te Rangī Akere
 order to be in favor
 of the following:

²⁷¹ Haruatai No. 5 Minute Book No. 5 p. 171. 12 October 1881

5.0 HAPŪ / IWI / LEADERSHIP

5.1 Rangatiratanga

Mention has already been made of our rangatira – tane and wāhine. But there are stories of feats happening in living memory which will be charted. A number of Koroki have stepped up to undertake manawāhine and rangatira roles which have improved the fortunes of our hapū. A significant hero of World War One was Rikihana Carkeek who is featured at the Te Papa museum war exhibition.

Koroki has many graduates today compared to the 1940s–60s. Our earliest would be Gabrielle Rikihana- schools inspector, educationist at teaching colleges and holder of a Bachelor's and a Master's in Education. She is also on the board of the Raukawa ki te Tonga Asset Holding company. She celebrated her 90th birthday in January 2017.

There is pride today in acknowledging those three women who signed the Treaty in 1840. We have the connection with Kahe te Rau o te Rangi who signed the Treaty in Wellington. Her whakapapa connection to us comes through our kuia Ngahoki (wife of Pairoroku) who is connected to Urenui Pa, Ngāti Potama of Mokau. We also acknowledge Rangi Topeora who the Carkeek whānau descend from on their Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku whakapapa. Waitohi who also signed is of course the sister of Te Rauparaha who our tupuna Te Manewha fought alongside of and who has filial connections through Raukawa and Toarangatira.

5.2 Etahi o ngā mana tāngata

There are three kinds of mana: mana whenua from the land; mana tūpuna from your whakapapa and mana tangata created from your actions as an individual.

Now when we look to our Ngāti Koroki tupuna Te Manewha it is clear that he held mana tūpuna, mana tangata and mana whenua. We are lucky to come from a hapū which has a lot of people with mana and with many talents including musicians, writers, sports stars, te reo speakers, lawyers, doctors, artists, teachers and other professions like a social worker, bank manager and TV producer. However, we have just concentrated on some of our leaders in the older generations.

Mana tangata examples:

- Wi Te Manewha – Chief and our paramount tupuna
- Pairoroku Rikihana – Raukawa and Koroki hapū leader/ councillor
- Ngāhoki or Raita Te Wahanga – Mana wahine, bought up many children
- Inia Te Wiata – Famous opera singer/ carver
- Rikihana Carkeek – First World War hero, writer
- Gabrielle Rikihana – Our first graduate, schools’ inspector
- Darcy Rikihana – New Zealand softball player, and
- Anihaera Rikihana – musician and colorful character

5.3 Te Manewha – Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Hinewai

Te Manewha took part in the transition of Māori warfare from rakau Māori to gunpowder and steel. He was the right-hand man of Te Rauparaha, the most famous musket era rangatira of Ngati Toarangatira and Ngati Huia.

Wiremu Te Manewha was born at Maungatautari, south of Cambridge. His mother was Hikitia of Ngāti Raukawa. He married Raita Te Wahanga of Ngāti Raukawa and they had one daughter Enereta Te Whakarato.

Te Manewha was also known as Wiremu (or Wi) Kingi Te Manewha and he moved to Ōtaki under Te Whatanui around 1834 to join Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa rangatira Te Rauparaha in his efforts to control Wellington and the coastline north of the district. It is hard to get much written material to show the military power of our hapū, but we know that at the time Te Rauparaha was arrested in 1846, his son Tamihana said there were ‘600 Ngāti Raukawa who had gathered at the Rangiuru Pa in Otaki’.²⁷² By the 1890s, Te Manewha was one of few rangatira who did not convert to Christianity. He died on 16 November 1891 at Ōtaki.

5.4 Ngā kōrero tuku iho – Te Manewha’s land gift - an oral story handed down to whānau

This is a kōrero Queenie told at the Waitangi Tribunal Kōrero Tuku Iho (stories pre-1880 handed down orally to whānau) held at Raukawa Marae early in 2015 and it has been

²⁷² Te Rauparaha, T. *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his son Tamihana Te Rauparaha* Alister Taylor Publishers, Martinborough. 1980 p. 79.

publicly set down as a recorded event. It is said that the Musket Wars had ended and families in Ōtaki were beginning the transition from the land blocks of Waihurihia near Lake Waiorongomai and were wishing to move towards the township. The great fighting determined that Te Manewha would take his wife, Raita, and daughter Enereta back home to Maungatautari. He was tired, and he had land waiting for him in Waikato. His rangatira, Te Rauparaha, learned of his plans and asked him to meet him on the brow of Haruatai Hill to discuss the matter. It was well known that Te Rauparaha was indebted to his second in command, Te Manewha, for standing alongside him during many skirmishes and battles.

Image 25: Wi Te Manewha at 82 years



He asked Te Manewha to tell him why he wanted to return home. Te Manewha was reputed to have replied: ‘I leave because I am hanging by my fingertips and my feet are not touching the ground.’ In other words, he had no land beneath his feet to call his own. Te Rauparaha replied to him, with a grand sweep of his arm: ‘You can have all the land as far as the eye can see!’ (It is a small family jest that it must have been a misty day because Kapiti Island was not included!) That is how the descendants of Te Manewha had, at that time, had ownership and control of all land bounded by Mill Road, Dunstan Street, Waerenga Road and Aotaki Street. Te Manewha had one child – a daughter called Enereta, who married a

husband chosen for her from Maungatautari – Rikihana Te Tarure. It is from them that the current Rikihana whānau descend. Today more than a dozen families who are his descendants continue to live on whānau land along Mill Road.

5.4.1 Private Rikihana Carkeek

Our Ngāti Koroki whānaunga Rikihana Carkeek, aka Bunny Carkeek, was born in Ōtaki in 1890. During the First World War he kept detailed diaries that provide an insight into the wartime life of our Māori soldiers, especially at Gallipoli. His writing has seen him feature prominently in national museum, Te Papa for the exhibition ‘Gallipoli.’

One of Rikihana’s daughters, Aunty Polly Carkeek said her Dad always kept diaries when he was a young boy living with his whānau. She said;

“All his life he kept diaries and they chose him to be part of the exhibition as his diaries were exactly what it felt like to join up with the army; to get their uniform, to board the ship – they all felt that.”²⁷³

Rikihana sailed to Egypt in February 1915 with the Native Contingent. They were not deployed until they were needed because of the depleted New Zealand brigades. He said,

“The rumours are to the effect that we’re going to the front. There’s quite an air of excitement and cheerfulness about the camp.”²⁷⁴

Eventually wounded at Chunuk Bair, Carkeek summoned all his courage and energy to try and save himself. Rikihana Carkeek went to France with the Pioneer Battalion of the New Zealand Division. After completing his military service, he returned home.

“Gallipoli has been a perfect hell on earth, but it’s a hard place to leave. I will never forget Gallipoli and its memory will ever be sacred to the gallant dead.”²⁷⁵

²⁷³ Rikihana, P. 2017

²⁷⁴ Rikihana Carkeek Diary. Extracts taken from <http://ngatapuwa.govt.nz/stories/private-rikihana-carkeek>

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

Image 26: Lifelike image of Rikihana Carkeek at Te Papa



Aunty Polly who visited the Gallipoli Exhibition, said

“It was amazing, anything that happened to him over in Gallipoli to him he had written, and they felt it was a good thing to commemorate that (at Te Papa). We had a wonderful opening of the exhibition with all the Rikihana whānau.”²⁷⁶

Rikihana Carkeek moved back to Ōtaki in about 1939 and had 11 children with his wife Pareraukawa. He had always wanted to build on his Rikihana land and was able to on Mill Road on their Makuratawhiti land blocks. He died in 1963, aged 72.

Image 1: Rikihana Carkeek on Mill Road, Ōtaki after returning to his Rikihana land from Rangiotu, Manawatū. c.1939



²⁷⁶ Carkeek, P. 2017

5.4.2 Ngahoki Rikihana (also known as Rakete)

There are a lot of mana wāhine in the Koroki hapū line and one of these is Ngahoki Rikihana (wife of Pairoroku). One incident which exemplifies the huge heart Ngahoki had was how she rescued her last mokopuna Rawinia (Winnie). The Rikihana grandparents were told the new baby was not likely to survive birth at Wellington Hospital.

Ngahoki caught the train and with just two pence in her pocket decided to walk to the hospital. Once there was told ‘the baby’ had not survived and was in a pile of dirty linen on the floor. Ngahoki looked and found the premature girl (6 weeks old) baby was still alive. She wrapped the baby in the cleanest linen she could find and travelled by tram to the Railway Station. She ordered a pot of tea and using her glove she made a mixture of sugar and water. This she fed the baby until the train arrived and she returned to Ōtaki.

Pairoroku and Ngahoki made a night bed in a shoe box for baby Rawinia and during the day she was carried in a waha (sling) by Ngahoki. She had her own cow for milk and would eventually live to have two children and two husbands. Ngahoki and Pairoroku also had to step in to gather up three of their other mokopuna Micky, Paddy and Queenie when the children’s English mother Elenora left for the United Kingdom. She would not return to New Zealand for 43 years. Later they would include a grand nephew of Ngahoki’s, Inia Te Wiata, to the children that ended up living with them.

5.4.3 Inia Te Wiata

Uncle Inia Te Wiata was born on June 10, 1915 in Otaki. He was the son of Watene Te Wiata (of Mokau) and Constance Boshier who was of Swedish descent. Sadly, his father died in the influenza epidemic when he was two and a half years old. He had an older brother Maurice (who died aged 14) and a younger brother Tau. Connie married Barnet Waaka when Inia was aged 7. Inia was later to be mistreated by his stepfather, so he was brought home to live with his Great Aunt Ngahoki and Pairoroku Rikihana, and their whānau in Mill Road, Otaki. Inia worked hard alongside his new family of Micky, Paddy, Winnie and Queenie. They planted the huge vegetable plots which would feed all of the Rikihana whānau households in Mill Road. Each morning they milked cows and tended the gardens. They grew violets and Ōtaki Pink carnations for the Wellington markets.

Image 27: Inia Te Wiata



Inia and his cousins attended the Ōtaki Native Māori Boys School with Bishop Manu Bennett and others. They went to church at Rangiātea on Sundays. His Aunty Mihi Rikihana - Pairoroku's daughter - was the first person to teach him how to sing and to practice playing the piano. She recognised his great talent. His first taste of carving was with Kohe Webster at Ōtaki Primary School when the woodwork master allowed them to do Māori carvings rather than the set work.²⁷⁷

When Inia turned 14 his voice dropped, and the family discovered he possessed a basso profundo voice. He would sing with his Uncle Dan and their troupe at venues from Wellington to Palmerston North. In 1932 – aged 17 – Inia joined the Methodist Māori Waiata mission choir with A.J. Seamer. They toured around NZ and Australia.

Pairoroku then arranged for Inia to join Piri (Bill) Poutama the master carver of Waikato's Turangawaewae marae. Princess Te Puea sanctioned his joining the Tainui carvers. In 1938 he was the main carver for the repair of the magnificent Te Winika canoe that was smashed during the Waikato wars in 1860s. Inia fell in love and married Ivy Friar – one of the 30 whangai children taken in and nurtured by Princess Te Puea at Turangawaewae Marae. They

²⁷⁷ Te Wiata B. *Most Happy Fella – Biography of Inia Te Wiata*. Reed Publishing, Wellington 1977 pp. 1-12.

had six children, Bill, Tussey, Ini, Sissy and Boy – Inia... Iwikau (Bill, Kirikowhai (Tussey), Hinemoana (Sissy)', Gloria (Ini), Budgie (who died as a toddler) and Inia (Boy) jnr.

In April 1947 Inia left his family behind to travel to England begin studying at the Trinity College of Music. He met Beryl McMillan in 1948 when he was training to be a bass baritone opera singer in London. He sang at Convent Garden and travelled the world singing and performing and making records. He was invited to tour to Russia and other venues in Europe.

After divorcing his first wife Ivy he married Beryl and they later had a daughter – Rima. In June 1963 he was asked to carve a pou for New Zealand House. A 600-year-old totara tree - (143 ft) came from Pureora Forest (Taupo). He began carving the massive pouihi in April 1964 and he laid down his tools due to illness in May 1971. In 1966 he was appointed an MBE for services to operatic singing in the New Year Honours. Inia was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer and died in London in June 1971. His sons Inia and Bill completed the prow of the pouihi and it was to be unveiled by Her Majesty the Queen mother on 1 June 1972.²⁷⁸

5.4.4 Anihaera Rikihana

Anihaera was a very colourful person in our family - she had a pet monkey from Worth Circus and was mad about the races. She was also very musical, like a lot of other people in our hapū (historical and currently) who can sing and read music.

Anihaera would sponsor any child that showed any interest in music. She bought a piano for the oldest daughter of one whānau member and another was Jimmy who was an exceptional classical violinist. Auntie Gabrielle Rikihana says that sadly none of these talented musicians at that time could follow their strength.

“They ended up playing for the silent movies which is terrible to think. Would you have Yehudi Menuhin playing for the silent movies? I think not. When sound came to the movies they played for dancers. It was such a degradation of their quality. This angers me because I think even today that waste is going on in Māoridom and only some of us get the breaks.”²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Te Wiata B. pp.13-32.

²⁷⁹ Rikihana, G. 2017.

**Image 28: Left to right, back row. Uncle Pairoroku's sister and Anihaerea.
Front, Tioriori and unknown child**



5.4.5 Gardening by the moon with Uncle Paddy Rikihana

The Rikihana household was a traditional one with activities focusing on karakia, planting by the moon, resting the land during Matariki and fishing by the tides. Paddy followed the traditions of his koroua – grandfather. He used no sprays, all heritage seeds (handed down) and legumes planted to feed the ground during the winter months. By such means he always had rich deep healthy soil for his kamo kamo, moemoe potatoes, sweet corn, beans, peas, potatoes and in later years rows of garlic.

He kai kei aku ringaringa

Food at my hands

His koroua and kuia used to fill the baskets of all whānau and friends when the crops were ready. Paddy would do the same for his whānau. There would not be many residents living in Ōtaki in the past 90 years who would not have heard of him or met him. He had a way of making friends with a variety of people in the Ōtaki community.

Paddy rode a bike after his driver's license expired at 80 years of age. He loved a beer at the RSA, the Family Hotel and the Nags Head. He once smoked and a favourite saying when having a beer was: 'I'm either drinking or eating – right now I'm drinking.' Paddy was a member of many organisations. Important to him was the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club where he was a long-time steward and life member, and the RSA.

He was one of the earliest members of the Ōtaki Golf Club. He told the story of going to the club tournament and knowing he and brother Micky might not have the strength to crank the Model T Ford over after the '19th' hole. The problem was solved by parking the vehicle on a nearby hill, Micky yelling 'chocks away' and leaving Paddy to chase after him in the dark. Mr Rikihana's wife Teresa grew up on the banks of the Whanganui River. Theirs was a wartime romance kindled by the social whirl happening at the Ngāti Poneke Concert Party.

Paddy worked for the Ministry of Works until his retirement. He outlived those in his immediate family, so he was the morehu of his Rikihana generation. Horticulturalists came knocking to ask about planting by the Matariki Māori calendar. He confessed to not knowing what 'Matariki' was all about, not knowing he had lived by its tenets all his life.

His spiritual well-being for all his life came from Rangiatea Church, the Anglican Māori cathedral built by Te Rauparaha in the 1850's. He was baptised married and confirmed in the church where he was bellringer for many years. At his tangi at Raukawa Marae many of his favourite songs were sung and stories told. It was especially moving to hear the offspring of Inia te Wiata sing his well-known waiata – E te Iwi E – Pakia Kia Rite.

6.0 WELLBEING AND SURVIVAL

6.1 Te Pare o Matengae aka called The Creek by Rikihana whānau – *Nā Queenie*.

Up until the early 1950s there was a pristine, icy cold, fast flowing stream – Te Pare o Matengae - that ran along the back boundaries’ of all our Rikihana properties in ‘Rikiville’ - Mill Road. We called that stream ‘The Creek’. It is such a humble name for a body of water which held the mauri (lifeforce) for all of the Rikihana whānau who lived alongside it. The Rikihana whānau followed the practice of Whakahaere ki Te Wai – Going to the mauri or the spiritual waters. It is also called Pai Marire and followed the spiritual practice of our forebears in Waikato. I remember dad telling me that all of the many puna – or natural springs in and around Ōtaki – ‘Come directly from beneath the Tararua ranges and the water is thousands of years old’ – those were his exact words. He mahi kai – Gathering and processing food: The Creek also fed the whānau with many, many eels, fresh water koura, the steeping of fermented kanga wai (corn) and an abundance of healthy watercress.

6.1.1 Eels/Tuna

For our family The Creek proved to be a perfect place to store the eels in hinaki (nets) until their puku (stomachs) became clean and we could take them when needed. Later dried or smoked eel was needed for food during winter months so Pairoroku devised a plan to accommodate his eels so that he could process them over time. It was in a bend of the Creek that our great-grandfather built a special eel weir. It jutted out from the bank and the big, fat tuna heke eels from Lake Waiorongomai would be kept in the weir until their puku had cleaned out and they would be ready for smoking, pawhara, tunutunu, raureka or for the hangi.²⁸⁰

Beside the old homestead was a strong wooden pataka or storehouse.²⁸¹ Inside the pataka were all the provisions needed to carry the families through the winter months. Together with the onions and potatoes stored in bracken shelves there was also dried pipi, dried shark, dried corncobs and salted dried eels. Surrounding the pataka was a huge orchard of apples,

²⁸⁰ Different processes of preparing eels. Raureka – wrapping the eels in raureka leaves and slowing grilling over fire embers.

²⁸¹ There is a memorable photograph of Uncle Inia taken by the Evening Post in the 1960s and showing him revisiting the homestead Pataka.

pears, plums and nectarines of all different varieties. Three large walnut trees sheltered the homestead. Livestock was vital for the family and the couple of milking cows provided them with cream and butter. Also, there were grazing sheep and laying hens.

6.1.2 He kanga wai

In order to make kanga wai (rotten or fermented corn) you need two things - fat ripe corn and pure, cold running water so that the sacks holding the corn allow it to be undisturbed for at least two months. The family was renowned for the high quality of the kanga wai (fermented corn) produced at the Rikihana homestead. There were many requests for it at hui and from family members near and far. It was also taken with great ceremony to Waikato for the Kingitanga Koroneihana tables. It was said the quality of the kanga wai was in direct connection between the quality of the water and the quality of the corn. Our family jealously grew and guarded the fat corn. It was hung and dried in the pataka ready to grow once again in the summer months. There was no mistaking the smell, but it is no different to the smells of other international foods such as – blue vein cheese, kimchi or sauerkraut. The end result was a porridge-like creamy dessert usually accompanied with cream and sometimes sugar. It was particularly a delicacy in winter.

When mum married dad, she was taught by Rakete (also known as Ngahoki), how to make the family recipe which turned fluffy balls of fermented corn into a creamy thick delicacy. Mum's kanga wai was hailed by many and one of her own acolytes was highly respected Te Arawa elder – Hiko Hohepa who would pay our mother the highest compliments on the quality of her kanga wai.

6.1.3 Our whānau lived off the land

Our family owned or controlled all of the land on both sides of Mill Road, e.g. where Ōtaki College is now. There were extensive vegetable and flower gardens and all of the many Rikihana/Carkeek/Bell and other families along Mill Road would come to get vegetables before winter and during summer.

Auntie Gabrielle Rikihana says

“He - Uncle Pairoroku - fed us all dear. Families would walk down Mill Road with large empty kete and return home with them bulging. We were all very, very lucky to survive some of those years.

Income for the family came from flowers that were sent to Wellington. The family was renowned for being the first to send sweet smelling Ōtaki Pinks and tiny purple violets for the Wellington cut flowers market.”²⁸²

As mentioned Pairoroku and Rakete’s house was one of the first homes in Ōtaki to get an electric light. They certainly were the first house in Mill Road to get one.

“I was told how many whānau came from the township to look at it and sit under it in the evening. It was pitched high up on a pole so that the light shone down to the forecourt at the front of the house. Thinking about it today it would have served a useful economic purpose enabling the whole family to pack the flowers and vegetables for market in early morning or in the evenings.”²⁸³

6.1.4 Water collection and bathing

I know the old house had a storage water tank because I remember it around the side of the house. But in those early times the water was collected directly from the creek. It was the boiled for drinking water and the copper served for hot water for washing clothes and bathing in the tin bath in front of the fire. Later when dad was six years old they brought a porcelain enameled iron bathtub with lion’s feet. I am happy to say I have that bath in my home today!

6.1.5 The demise of the Creek

Light industry arrived in Ōtaki in the 1950’s. My Uncle Newton Taylor (Mihi Rikihana’s husband) managed his own concrete post making factory along Mill Road beneath Te Pare. Sometimes the runoff would find its way into the Creek. But what affected the Creek most was the unpredictable events such as the milk spills and household rubbish.

6.1.6 Dad’s Solution

For a long time, Dad did not know what to do about the milk flowing into the Creek from the Ōtaki Rahui Milk factory upstream. Then one-day he came home and said to Mum, ‘I’ll fix those buggers I’ll put the eels in my own eel pits up near the house.’ And he did. As with everything dad built, he planned each stage through. He began stockpiling the old railway sleepers, picking up long metal beams from Uncle Henry’s factory and thick wooden planks

²⁸² Rikihana, G. 2017

²⁸³ Ibid.

for the sides, the bottom was lined with gravel stones from Ōtaki River. (I hope I am doing justice to his workmanship.)

Over the top of the two eel pits he placed thick metal covers. I remember the day the pits were filled – Dad watched to see how much runoff there was. It worked perfectly as all it required was the house hose to be running through the two pits to keep the eels alive and healthy. He had a system of coming and going. The eels in the first pit would come in from the hinaki nets he had set with my brothers or uncles at Lake Waiorongomai. Those nets were made of twisted thin metal rods with an inverted tunnel on the inside where the unsuspecting tuna would swim in to get the bait inside but were unable to escape back out once inside the net. Access to the eels was the other end with a round opening lid.

The result of all of the metal and mesh needed to make the large hinaki meant that even empty- they were very heavy. I can only imagine how much strength it must have taken to wade out to the deep of the lake to drop the net and come back to the shore with the rope. A few days or even a week later and they would return and retrieve the nets with 20 or so large and small tuna inside. Dad would select what he wanted and bring the tuna home on his truck. First, they would go into the first pit to clean their puku out and then three days later they would be transferred to the bigger pit. He would then go out to Lake and bring back the next catch. Often there would be over 100 eels in our pits at any one time.

All of the tuna went to whānau, hui and Dad's own idea of koha exchange. When he went to the pub he would give his fresh sea or river caught fish to his friends. In turn they would bring vegetables or other goods. When someone complained of not receiving kai– Dad told him he had three chances to reciprocate and that for him was the end of the story.

So, leaving aside all of those life-sustaining reasons the creek was paramount to our family there was also the fact we grew up on its banks and it held endless satisfaction for us. I learnt how to tickle an eel's belly and flick it up onto the bank. We used to catch freshwater koura or crawlies and roast them on the fire till they turned red or on the stove hot plate at home. I used to feed the chickens and Muscovy ducks we had in a pen by the Creek. When I was very young I remember picking watercress for home, but we had to go elsewhere when the families began to stop trusting the quality of the water.

6.1.7 Today

I remain hopeful that our waterways will once again flow clean. I now own the family home on Mill Road and I know our young whānau nieces and nephews have seen fully grown female breeding tuna in our Creek. Yay!

6.2 Hahi and Rangiātea

Ngāti Koroki whānau have embraced many hahi. There was first the Pai Mārire faith practiced by our paramount tupuna Pairoroku who was steeped in his faith in the sparkling waters of Waikato at a very young age.

6.2.1 Pai Mārire

Aunty Queenie Johnson talks of growing up in the old Rikihana homestead involving ‘buckets, buckets, buckets’. She said:

“You know we never got sick. Yes, we might have hake hake (sores) or chilblains but the old man always had a poultice or ointment for it. As for the buckets, well they were scrupulously clean people - that’s how come so many buckets. There was bucket for washing clothes, – one for dishes, one for getting water from the Creek, one for cleaning the kitchen/house, one for cleaning the bathroom and outhouse, one for washing our faces or bodies until the whānau got a new bath.”^{284, 285}

Pairoroku Rikihana was, with his wife Ngahoki (also referred to as Rakete), staunch followers of the Pai Mārire faith. Pairoroku was also a rongoa/ healer for the whānau. Aunty Gabrielle remembers him being the person all of the families living along Mill Road would go to see if there were illnesses – rheumatism, asthma, sores, rashes, sprains and coughs.

Our father was christened in Rangiātea Church as Raniera Hoani Paranaia – Daniel John Francis but was known as Mick Rikihana. He was brought up on Rikihana land by his grandparents Pairoroku and Ngahoki. Their grandson Mick was to be inducted into the faith and to know the karakia required for different occasions and reasons.

There were Māori karakia recited early in the morning, at meal times and also last thing at night. It involved at times being in a ritualistic cleansing or whaka watea process for long

²⁸⁴ Johnson, Q. personal conversation. Ōtaki 1984.

²⁸⁵ In 1922 when our dad Micky turned six years old the family got a new bath and he was the first to use it. We have it in our house now.

periods. Those tūpuna were very clean people so yes, the water to practice rongoa ki te wai - needed to be very, very clean.

6.2.3 Pai Mārire and Tāwhiao

After the death of Te Ua in 1866, Pai Mārire continued as the faith of the Kīngitanga. Matutaera, the second Māori king, had been rebaptised by Te Ua in August 1864 as Tāwhiao (bind the world). Tāwhiao took these teachings back to the King Country. In 1875 he named his religion Tarioa (the morning star), and from March 1885 he initiated the poukai, a three-yearly circuit of royal tours of the Kīngitanga derived from Deuteronomy 14: 28–29. An insignia was created in 1894 for Tāwhiao, just before his death. It is held at Te Hopuhopu, where the King’s parliament meets; it carries a carved image of Tāwhiao with a large cross placed on his head, while the seven stars of Matariki (the rising Pleiades) are set in pāua shell on his forehead. The names and emblems look to a new dawn, while the inscribed message reads ‘Ko te mana Motuhake’ (the separate authority of Māori).²⁸⁶

But the hahi which has remained significant to the Rikihana whānau has definitely been Rangiātea Church.

6.2.4 Rangiātea Church

If Raukawa is the ancestral tribal home of Ngāti Koroki then the beautiful Rangiātea Church is certainly our spiritual base. Rangiātea Church in Ōtaki is the oldest Māori Anglican church in the country, opening in 1851. Our whānau were deeply involved in the building of the Church in 1849-52 and would have been part of the teams of people needed to gather eels in Waiorongomai Lake to feed the workers. Over 2,000 people came and went during the construction.

In 1848, Te Rauparaha had just returned to Ōtaki and took the challenge of building the church to Paora Te Pohotīraha, a chief of Te Wehiwehi. The challenge was presented to Ngati Wehiwehi as they had brought south the sacred soil from Hawaiki. Rangiātea Church was then built under the direction of Te Rauparaha and English missionary Octavius Hadfield by the iwi of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa.

²⁸⁶ This excerpt from <https://teara.govt.nz/en/Māori-prophetic-movements-nga-poropiti/page-2> confirms how our Ngāti Koroki hapū members would follow the Pai Marire faith as that was the ‘religion’ of the Kingitanga in which our Rikihana family were staunch believers in

During the original construction, large tōtara tree logs were floated down rivers at nearby Ohau and Waikawa. The logs became the central poles of the church and totara was also used for the rafters and slabs. We've heard how our ancestors went to the bush above Ohau and cut down the Totara timber, floated them down the river and dragged them 2km inland to the Rangiātea site.

Rangiātea is one of several places in New Zealand that is named after a part of Hawaiki. Sacred soil from the altar of Rai'atea (Rangiātea) in Hawaiki, brought to New Zealand on the Tainui canoe centuries before, was buried under the altar of the church.²⁸⁷ As Charles Royal wrote in his book 'Kati au i konei' the intention of Te Rauparaha was to create a tribal altar (tūāhu), a place where ceremonies for people with mana whenua would take place. 'Hence, Rangiātea is a tribal altar over which a Christian church was built. Its main function is to perpetuate the mana of Ngāti Toa, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa.'²⁸⁸

Rangiātea Church was sadly burnt down by an arsonist in 1995 but by 2003 the Church had been completely rebuilt as a replica to the original.

Most of our Ngāti Koroki tūpuna are buried at Rangiātea and it still continues to be a focal point for our whānau, for tangi, christenings, weddings and for those of us who had our communion. It has been a celebration point for Ngāti Koroki for over 160 years.

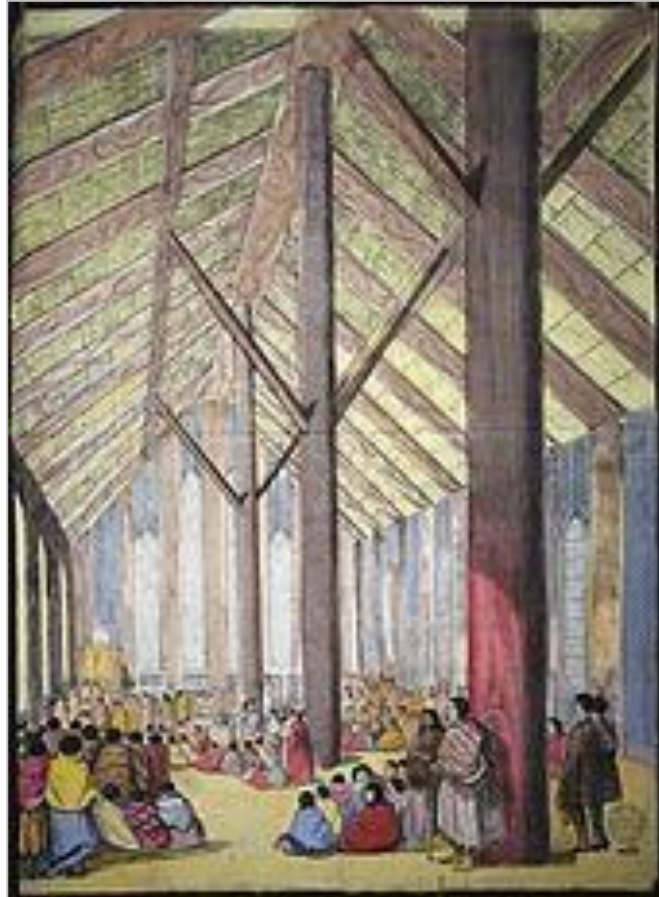
6.2.5 First Māori in Wellington takes up Salvation Army call

Interestingly Pairoroku Rikihana's own father Rikihana Te Tarure Wairoa switched to follow the calling of the Salvation Army and was reported to be the first Māori in the Wellington region to do so.

²⁸⁷ <https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/3820/Rangiātea-church-otaki-1945>

²⁸⁸ Royal T.A.C. *Kāti au i konei* Huia Publishing, Wellington. 2007, p. 97.

Image 29: Rangiātea Church interior c1851



As Aunty Gabe Rikihana tells the story,

“There was a long house (near Ōtaki Primary Mill Rd, Makutarawhiti blocks) and that’s where Granny (Enereta) brought the Salvation Army. She got in a temper because they put flowers on the altar in Rangiātea and she didn’t want to have flowers. Flowers are for Catholics, she didn’t want any Papist rubbish going on in Rangiātea.

So, she knocked them off with her stick. When it was discussed later, most of the people present had said they liked the flowers on the altar and she got the huff. So she invited the Salvation Army to come and they had this big place call the barracks to do with the army on the land across from us. But she got fed up with them and went back to Rangiātea. Although her husband remained with them and in most of his pictures he always had S.A on his collar as he’s dressed for the Salvation Army. The Bells’ who were grocers, they bought it later on.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ Rikihana, G. 2017.

Image 30: Enereta Rikihana



Aunty Polly Carkeek also recalls the barracks:

“Opposite where Aunty Maraea Bell lived there used to be a building which they used to call the barracks and that was the Salvation Army barracks and our tupuna Rikihana Te Tarure owned that. The Salvation Army used to go there for their musical soirees and that would have all been part of Rikihana land and that was sold.”²⁹⁰

Other Rikihana whānau – Rosina and Tarake Rikihana have been firm followers of the Catholic Church at Pukekaraka and St Mary’s. All 11 of their children went to St Peter Chanel School as well.

As Uncle Rawiri Rikihana said,

“Dad was Anglican, but he changed over (to Catholic) when he married Mum. So we all went to the convent school and our whānau were bought up at Kapumanawawhiti, on the old lady’s side.”²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Rikihana, P. 2017.

²⁹¹ Rikihana, R. 2017.

6.3 Hapū resources Ōtaki River and Mangapouri Stream

Although we have focused on the demise of Lake Waiorongomai and The Creek at Rikiville, we wanted to mention a couple of other waterways of interest to Koroki. The first is Ōtaki River which has always been a central place for Ngāti Koroki alongside our other Ōtaki hapū for fishing, whitebaiting along with wai ora, other mahinga kai and kaukau.

Ngāti Koroki is one of the five hapū of Ōtaki who hold the mana whenua in the Ōtaki area. Collectively, these five, Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku (south of the Ōtaki River), Ngāti Maiōtaki, Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Koroki and Ngāti Kapu are known as Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki.

Fishing and going to the awa have always been integral to Te Ao Māori and whānau from these hapū used to kohikohi kai together. As Uncle Jack Rikihana said;

“We used to fish with the Bishops, Raikas, Carkeeks, Waakas and all those families were together. We would get tuna, mullet, pipis and toheroa. It was given in a heap and shared amongst everyone else. First it went to kaumatua who couldn’t go out and get kai, give them a kite of kai, then to others... and what was left was yours.”²⁹²

Uncle Manu Carkeek also talks about whitebaiting at the river with a lot of kuia that helped bring him up.

“Aunty Rato ‘Kuikui’ would come into our house at all hours of the morning and come in and say ‘come, get up – the whitebait is going to run.’ Anyway, we’d go out there camping and pick up Aunty Haua. Aunty Rau would come along on her bike, sometimes we would walk out there. We’d have our camp out under the stars – thunder, lighting, rain there would always be a fire going... dad would keep it going.”²⁹³

Of concern to us after reading the ‘Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report’ is that our Ngāti Raukawa tūpuna gave consent to the Crown to utilise the gravel from Ōtaki River with conditions that haven’t been upheld. It said,

“Ngāti Raukawa was to be compensated for the extraction and was to stay in control of the extraction process. Unfortunately, since that time our resource has been continuously obtained, but our conditions of use have not necessarily been met.”²⁹⁴

²⁹² Rikihana, R. 2017.

²⁹³ Carkeek, M. 2017.

²⁹⁴ Smith H. *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report (draft)* commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District 2017.

Ōtaki River has been a key supply source for gravel and shingle for over 100 years. This includes for railway tracks in the late 1880's and the first ballast plant was opened on the Ōtaki River in 1942 and operated into the 1960's. The gravel extraction continued at an exponential rate which we learned was about 5,000,000 cubic metres of gravel from a 6.6 kilometre stretch of the Ōtaki River.²⁹⁵

Serious erosion occurred between 1991-2001 and work was done to realign the river. Ngāti Raukawa members have raised issues previously about the impact of realignment and associated gravel extraction. A number of companies used Ōtaki River for gravel extraction over the years and it's still being carried out by the Winstone-Firth Group today. The Inland Waterways Report estimated that the Greater Wellington Regional Council received around \$51,300 from the gravel from Ōtaki River in the 2015/16 financial year. The iwi currently receives no royalties or compensation from this. It seems there should be compensation paid to any of the hapū of Ōtaki for the gravel extracted over such a long period, since the original agreement with Ngāti Raukawa kaumātua has not been honoured.

6.3.1 Mangapouri Stream

Mangapouri Stream is another awa of concern. Uncle Rawiri Rikihana highlighted that this used to run around the back of Convent School and a lot of local hapū would fish in it - but it's no longer there. Uncle Rawiri said Kapumanawawhiti would eel in that stream in front of their Marae and there were lots of tuna.

“But now it's gone, and we know why. Koroki used to fish there too. The Mangapouri used to run out to the Rangiuru Rivermouth but it got diverted from its path. The land around there was turning into farmland and was all swampy and flooded so they diverted the stream back into Waitohu Stream. Because of that diversion it floods more and gets all the run-off from the farms.

I'll be talking to George Gray about it as he was the tohunga for the area and knows all the creeks. But it wasn't just Kapu that was affected by its loss; Koroki, Pare, Maiotaki they all used to fish there too. There used to be heaps of eels, some of the kanae – the mullet, lots of different species.”²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Smith H. pp. 183-198.

²⁹⁶ Rikihana, R. 2017.

6.3.2 Rate burden still a feature today - Nā Mishy.

As we learned of the rate burden that faced our whānau in keeping land it is interesting to have a present-day example of maintaining family whenua. Our nana Rawatea Rikihana left her land to her ten mokopuna when she died 21 years ago - it is a large block that borders the creek next to Haru-atai. It is part of the same Haruatai No. 5 block that Enereta Rikihana was gifted by her father Wi Te Manewha in August 1891. My mother, Queenie, has been the kaitiaki of that land, paying for the rates and water to keep it in our ownership.

As with any large group dealings it's been difficult to manage. Our lawyer, Jim Simpson, who was put on the land title as a temporary measure alongside Mum, tried to get all the cousins to agree and sign 1/10th ownership titles in the past. However, with some whānau overseas and others dispersed around the country, this didn't happen. Three of the cousins signed the necessary forms, one cousin, Inia, started paying towards the rates and the process fell over without someone to drive it forward to be completed.

Since my return, I've picked up the task of communicating with my cousins so that we can take control of our whenua and safeguard it for the future. It has been a long process and it took about six months to get a joint Rikihana whānau account set up and to get everyone to set up automatic payments to the account.

Three months after agreeing and receiving the amount needed for water, rates, bank fees and lawn mowing I received a letter from the council to say that the rates would be going up by an additional \$30 per month. This made me think about what it was like for our tupuna, being hit with rate increases for a piece of land that has been ours for generations and does not have a house or any running water.

We are in a more fortunate position as everyone is working but there are other complexities as to what we do with the land in future and the financial circumstances and interest in the land being different amongst the cousins.

We have encouragingly all agreed that setting up a Trust for our land to benefit all the descendents of Ra Awatea Rikihana is the way forward. We are lucky to have a lawyer amongst us, Kiri, who is working on a draft trust deed provided by Simpson & Co. We are

yet to make any decisions about what we do after that, but it is my hope that at some stage we can put a papakainga on the land that will always be there for future generations.

Knowing how our tūpuna tirelessly worked our whenua for over 100 years growing vegetables, catching tuna from the creek and building their first homes is certainly not lost on us. Neither is the fact that, unlike many other Māori families, we have been able to hold on to our land all these years. As Kiri pointed out, having that economic base must have helped with the optimistic outlook many of us inherited.

Image 31: Queenie Hyland, Gabrielle Rikihana and Mahia Vieira



6.4 The loss of Te Reo Māori – Nā Mishy.

The saddest thing I've heard about the impact of te reo being banned in schools was from my grandmother Ra. She said her cousin would get a hiding at school for speaking Māori and then a hiding at home if she spoke English as her parents couldn't understand her.

In the end that poor little girl stopped speaking all together. She became mute. Mum reckons Nana told her; 'She died in a puddle of tears in the corner of the room after getting a beating from the teacher'.

There was a running theme from interviewing our kaumātua of how they were discouraged to learn te reo Māori or even tikanga Māori.

Aunty Polly (Pareraukawa) Carkeek said;

“When we were young children we were not encouraged to go into the dining room (at Raukawa) to help. I like it now that Kohanga Reo and Kura come along to tangi, when I was growing up you never had that. I think it was very much colonisation which was the downfall in many ways of te reo. My parents and many like them felt that we needed to do well with English, and Māori wasn’t going to help us. I don’t blame them - they were in a different time and had come through things that I hadn’t experienced.

I remember them talking together about how they thought there would never be any tangi after they had gone. They thought it would die out and were really sad.”²⁹⁷

Her sister Aunty Nellie Carkeek, who recently celebrated her 80th, also reflects that Māoritanga wasn’t encouraged when she was growing up.

“Ōtaki kind of bought into the idea that Māori was going out. I think that was encouraged by Sir Peter Buck and Maui Pomare because we weren’t the only families.

None of the Māori kids that I went to school with spoke Māori and yet that was the first language of their parents, and their preferred language.’ ‘There was a lot of racism when I thought back, you know the teachers.’ We didn’t speak Māori though, it wasn’t thought of and none of us could. They never spoke to us (in Māori) and it was ingrained in us not to learn.”²⁹⁸

This dialogue is further backed up by my Uncle Jack Rikihana who asked his grandfather once to teach him to speak te reo. ‘Do you know his answer to me? ‘It won’t buy you a loaf of bread in a shop.’ So the answer was no,’ he said.

6.4.1 Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and the beginning of change

Aunty Polly Carkeek says it wasn’t until the late 1960s and early 1970s that she thought that her parents’ generation would like what was happening with Māoritanga in Ōtaki again.

“The Whakatupuranga Rua Mano concept came along and we did a lot of fundraising at Raukawa for that. We were very busy all the time. You would go home exhausted and the next day or two you would need to set up for another hui. The one thing that used to be quite annoying is I used to be in the kitchen all the time making sure we had enough kai, but we never got to hear what was going on in the meeting house. You would have wonderful speakers like John Rangihau coming down to teach Pākehā and I used to think, by crikey! We did manage to turn

²⁹⁷ Carkeek P. 2017.

²⁹⁸ Carkeek N. personal conversation. Ōtaki 2017.

that around a bit and have hui for ourselves, but you know we learnt a lot on the marae.

You learn more on the Marae than at the Wānanga. If you sit and listen to our elders, like Aunty Kiripuai who was always there with your grandmother Ra - and they were inspirational. I would see Aunty Kiripuai and Whatarangi Winiata, she would be doing a karanga and then afterwards she would rush inside to check her puddings. Then Whatarangi would have to run inside too to help lift the big black pots if we were still in the old kitchen, the old kauta, because it was too heavy for us ladies sometimes.”²⁹⁹

6.4.2 The paepae gap and the start of Te Rito

Rawiri Rikihana is a long-standing kaikōrero for Raukawa and Tainui Marae. However, he first stepped up for the role at Tainui as a teenager before he even learnt te reo because there was no one left for the paepae. This tellingly shows the knock-on effect from the years te reo Māori was almost wiped out.

He said;

“Richard Taratoa and I became the speakers at Tainui when I was about 16 or 17. You know my Aunty, our Kui, she used to write the speeches out for us and we would memorise them and then do the business. So, it was rote learned.

We went to the other extreme and then started learning the reo the other way around afterwards, we had to start again. We had no one for the paepae, or maybe one.”³⁰⁰

Image 32: Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki



²⁹⁹ Carkeek, P. 2017.

³⁰⁰ Rikihana, R. 2017.

Rawiri said his parents (Tarake Rikihana and Rosie Hakaraia) were never negative about learning te reo Māori but it wasn't spoken at home to their 11 children either.

“We didn't even know Dad could speak Māori until we were teenagers so there wasn't the language in the home. But what was there was a lot of waiata Māori, Mum knew heaps of waiata and that's what kept us in touch with our reo. When you look at it now we were quite pohara, but we were happy. We had a really neat whānau and a huge whānau.

When we were at Intermediate (St Peter Chanel School) the Nuns were never interested in our language and they were there to knock it out of us. Same with the Priests, it was all about discipline I suppose at the end of the day, especially the priests.”³⁰¹

6.4.3 The Māori language revival in Ōtaki

Being overseas and seeing other countries that had lost their language were what Uncle Rawiri said really made him want to revive Te Ao Māori. He helped set up Te Rito, the kura kaupapa Māori in Ōtaki, it's gone from strength to strength and celebrated its 25-year anniversary last year. He said Raukawa Kohanga Reo opened in about 1982 and was the first in Ōtaki and probably one of the first six in the country. Te Kakano (the kohanga for Te Rito) came along after Te Rito.

“There was something that was going to happen when we decided Te Ao Māori needed to come back into who we were. A group of us wanted our kids to learn Māori and we knew we needed a space to do it - it was only a small whānau of us.’ ‘You know all of us kids from our whānau went to the convent school, so it was hard not to send my four there. But they went to Te Rito from Te Kakano to the Wharekura.

We set up Te Kakano as we realised we needed a filter for Te Rito to keep going. The parents could still choose where their kids would go but by then a lot of the families had committed themselves to the reo. I say to my kids you know you were the guinea pigs, but they weren't really, they were part of what the next generation was going to be.”³⁰²

Ka pū te ruha ka hao te rangatahi

When the old net is cast aside the new net goes fishing.

Rawiri says that when they first started Te Rito they asked Hemi Te Peeti to come along.

“He tohu aia ki ngā whetu, he knew all about the stars, the moon and what was going on. He would do a Wānanga at night with the kids at the kura and on a clear night

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Rikihana, R. 2017.

they would sleep under the stars. Then the kids would wake up in the early hours of the morning and he would be there doing his thing.”³⁰³

After getting a picture of the first kohanga and kura kaupapa schools in the eighties it’s heartening that parents are now spoilt for kohanga and te reo Māori school options in Ōtaki.

Having enough kaikōrero for the paepae today.

As the number of te reo speakers in Ōtaki has increased dramatically over the last 30 years

I asked Uncle Rawiri whether we currently had enough men for the paepae.

“We’ve moved on heaps and we are comfortable but at the same time I also think we’ve become too comfortable. Just recently we had a tangi and there were two on at the same time, I was at one at Raukawa and my nephew was at another at Tainui. I just don’t know what happened to all those resources, but we were under the pump. I usually have 2-3 people that I can call on that will come down and help me, but they didn’t and same with my nephew.

After Iwikatea died we had a tonono and a karanga out for speakers. So, we are going to have a paepae Wānanga just to talk about these things and what’s going to happen. But there are a lot coming through who are doing the reo and can actually do the paepae who are younger than me.”³⁰⁴

Toi tū te kupu, toi tū te mana, toi tū te whenua
Hold fast to our language, spirit and land.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

Image 33: Koroki tupuna Wi Te Manewha



CONCLUSION

Being a member of Ngāti Koroki has meant we have come to the same conclusions as other hapū and iwi – what is of paramount importance is retention of the land. It's been hard to pinpoint exactly how our hapū lost a lot of its land although we know that rates played a big part. We saw examples of how our tūpuna Tiemi Rikihana and Pairoroku Rikihana had their blocks of land taken among the 135 blocks vested in the Ikaroa Māori Land Board in 1927 because of unpaid rates. This was despite them being an ex-Town Board Commissioner and Borough Councillor who were actually meant to help with rate collection. It is not known how many Māori people managed to get their land back, but it certainly was an extremely difficult situation for many to overcome as applications for owners to get their land back carried on for the next 30 years and more! We also know for many Māori in that time that working for money was a foreign concept.

As Aunty Gabe Rikihana rightly pointed out, it was an alien idea for Māori whānau to have to pay Ōtaki Borough Council for their whānau land when it had been theirs for generations.

'There's no road, there's no water on it. It hasn't got anything there. It's not just a history that happened by chance,' she said. At the point of writing the documentation – there is a challenge that after holding onto whenua since 1983 we are being challenged as to whether

we should part with it because a major development is taking place between Mill and Waeranga Road... these are typical of the challenges that have always faced our people.

Kaumātua told us it was predominantly Māori families that lived down Mill Road from Raukawa to Rikiville - and that's certainly not the case today. We feel lucky that our hapū still have two places with papakāinga on our original whenua.

Another conclusion from our report is of how self-sufficient our hapū were at living off the land, rivers, and ocean. We heard many stories of what amazing gardeners and fisherman our whānaunga were and read first-hand accounts from Pairoroku Rikihana of the impact of losing important resources like Lake Kahuwera and the impact of drainage on Waiorongomai for catching eels. Another example was the environmental damage to the creek from the milk factory run-off and how it affected our whānau who used it as a place to get crawlies, watercress, puha and eels.

Our kaumātua also spoke about the impact of not being taught te reo Māori or being encouraged to learn tikanga Māori at Raukawa Marae. A running theme was that Māori were led to believe that Māoritanga would not help them in the modern world. Sadly, the years that te reo Māori was not allowed to be spoken in schools really took its toll before a resurgence took place in the early seventies.

In the present day we are fortunate to have many te reo speakers in our Ngāti Koroki hapū, including Rawiri Rikihana, Te Waari Carkeek, Harry Rikihana and Matiu Rikihana who are kaikōrero for Raukawa. We also have kaikaranga such as Mum, Aunty Rangiwehea and Aunty Gaynor. Although as Mum pointed out there's a noticeable 25-year gap in available kaikaranga and it will probably need to be young kaikaranga and kaikōrero doing the roles in future. However, it's important to remember the hard-fought battle that happened to enable the te reo resurgence that happened under Whakatupuranga Rua Mano in Otaki. And alongside this all the mahi that took place to repair our marae, Raukawa, through our kaumātua working tirelessly to fundraise.

Although Ōtaki is now thriving in terms of kaupapa Māori educational opportunities from kōhanga through to Te Wānanga o Raukawa we need to acknowledge the years te reo Māori was almost extinguished. Our people still feel the effects today, particularly on the marae.

It is hard to put into words what the true impact of colonisation has been on Ngāti Raukawa and our culture. However, we believe the loss of te reo, along with the loss of whenua and the poor condition of our waterways absolutely needs redress.

He waiata whakamutunga – Pakia kia rite
(a song favoured by Inia Te Wiata)

*Pakia kia rite
Waewae takahia
Ringa ringa e torona
Kei waho hoki mai
Turi whatia
Hope whai ake
Hei Hei Hei Ha.*

**Image 34: Tangi of Inia Te Wiata at Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki 1971.
Front row, far right - Rangiera Hoani Paranhia (Mick) Rikihana**



NGĀTI MAIOTAKI

ORAL HISTORY



Maiotaki Research Committee
Deanna Rudd, Arini Loader, Donovan Joyce

March 2018

Ngā mihi

E mihi ana mātou ki Te Hono ki Raukawa, nā koutou mātou i poipoi, i tautoko mai i te tīmatanga o tēnei ara roa tae noa ki tōna mutunga. E rere ana ngā mihi ki a Matua Whatarangi, Matua Eddie, Matua Wally Penetito, Daphne me te whānau o Te Hono. Waihoki me mihi ka tika ki ō mātou whānau tata, ki ā mātou tamariki, ki ā mātou hoa e noho tata i runga anō i te whakaaro rangatira kia whai wā, kia tukua mātou hei mahi i tēnei mahi. E kore e mutu ngā mihi ki a katoa ngā uri whakaheke. Ahakoa ngā piki me ngā heke kei te ora tonu, kei te ora tonu. Hei whakakapi ka huri ki ngā kupu a tō mātou tupuna a Te Kīngi Rāwiri Te Ahoaho Tāhiwi:

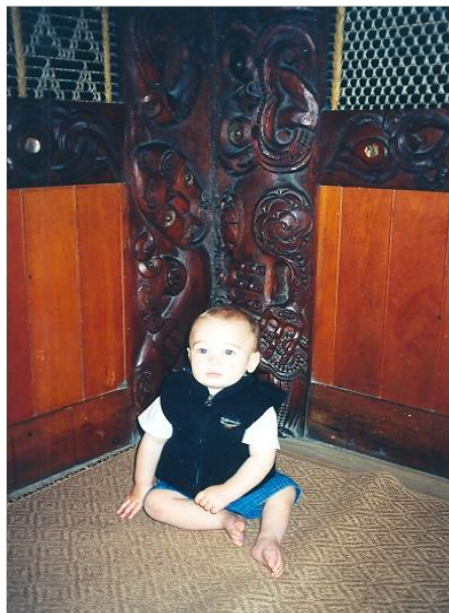
Ūhia mai rā te manaakitanga a ngā tūpuna kua wehe ki te pō
Hei mauri whakakaha i te hinengaro o Tama, o Hine e pae nei.

Tēnā koutou katoa.

The Team

This report was produced by Ngāti Maiotaki members Deanna Rudd, Donovan Joyce and Arini Loader, all three of whom are related via their Tahiwī whānau whakapapa as mokopuna (great-grandchildren) of Ria Nora Tāhiwi, Hinehou Rōiri (nee Tāhiwi) and Kīngi Tahiwī respectively. It is based on a paper submitted by Deanna Rudd to meet the requirements of ART 201, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, July 2015. We are grateful to Deanna for allowing us to base this report on her hard work. We came together as cousins, as whanaunga to support the claims of Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te Tonga, specifically to forward our grievances as Ngāti Maiotaki before the Waitangi Tribunal.

Image 35: Tahiwī Tuahinekore Loader in front of a whakairo of Maiotaki, Raukawa meeting house, Ōtaki. 3 September 2000. Source: Arini Loader



This report represents the best that we could pull together between the three of us in the tight time frame allowed. Much work remains to be done in order for this report to be of optimal use to Ngāti Maiotaki going forward; more in-depth study of the Māori Land Court minutes, other public archival repositories and private whānau collections are on our research horizon. More interviews of kaumātua, some of whom live some distance from the heartland of Ngāti Maiotaki would greatly enrich our understandings of ourselves and enhance the puna mātauranga we leave for our descendants.

The challenges inherent in undertaking this work are manifold, have been written of elsewhere and need not be repeated here suffice it to say that the Treaty of Waitangi claims process is divisive, and causes more immediate harm to claimants than good. Relationships between Ngāti Maiotaki whānau whanui have been tested as a result of the claims process but we hope that this report will ultimately be of use to Ngāti Maiotaki and Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga going forward.

1.0 Introduction

Researching and trying to uncover the history of Ngāti Maiotaki is challenging. Much of the history of Maiotaki hapū is unavailable in the public domain and many of our elders have passed on. Mātauranga of inestimable value passed with them due in no small part to this knowledge being degraded and denigrated by the colonisers and subsequently internalised and ‘normalised’ by our own in what we believe to be a survival mechanism.

Layer upon layer of issues and potential pitfalls concerning the use of published and other written sources abound; use of the Native (later Māori) Land Court minute books being exemplary in this regard. As Keith Pickens has noted, there are limitations to relying on evidence that was given in te reo Māori and taken down in English.

³⁰⁵ The accuracy of the minutes is questionable. Moreover, the minutes were collected by a court designed to strip Māori of their lands, estates, resources and economic base.³⁰⁶ The minutes were, furthermore, not recorded with future descendants or their research questions in mind. Notwithstanding these and other significant challenges to Ngāti Maiotaki rights, resources, identity and indeed, our very existence, Maiotaki persevere. Ngāti Maiotaki remain as a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga nearly two hundred years after the arrival of our tupuna, Kīngi Te Ahoaho, from our Waikato homelands. Ngāti Maiotaki along with Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Koroki maintain the ahi kā of Raukawa marae, the marae matua of Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga and the ART confederation combining Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

Reflecting on the significance of the marae for Ngāti Maiotaki, Miriona Johnson states:

“...that’s where we all belong...that’s home. That’s where our roots came from. If we didn’t have that, what have we got? Everything else gets taken away from us. Raukawa [marae] and Maiotaki are part of this community. You take that away, you take us all away and we haven’t got a community. I’m proud when we go past Raukawa.”³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵Pickens, K. Operation of the Native Land Court in the National Park [Waitangi Tribunal] Inquiry District, unpublished report commissioned by the Crown Law Office for the Waitangi Tribunal WAI 1130 National Park Inquiry, 2005 [WAI 1130, National Park Inquiry, Document No. A50], p4, cited in Richard P. Boast, *The Native Land Court and the Writing of New Zealand History*, Law & History, 2017, 4, 1, p. 149.

³⁰⁶ In his classic study of Māori land tenure, Sir Hugh Kawharu observed that the Native Land Act of 1865 was an ‘engine for destruction for any tribe’s tenure of land, anywhere’ (Hugh Kawharu, *Māori Land Tenure: Studies of a Changing Institution*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 15. Cited in Boast, 2017, p146.

³⁰⁷ Johnson, M. personal conversation. Ōtaki, May 2017.

Image 36: Raukawa Whare Rūnanga



Similarly, according to Marama Gilbert:

“The marae brings the past back. That’s why I love it...I just love it because when I go there I feel it, I feel them [the old ones that have passed on]. Going to the meeting house I feel them, I start visioning, start seeing them. Like I say there’s a lot of names that I’ve forgotten but I can see them, can see the faces, where they used to sit...Someone once said to me, ‘Why do you do this and that for the marae?’ I turn around and said, ‘Because it’s me. Because it’s me and all those that have gone before. I represent my grandfather. I represent my father. I represent myself.’”³⁰⁹

Ngāti Maiotaki continue their support of the activities of Rangiātea Church, of the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club, Te Wānanga o Raukawa and of schools, clubs and other community-driven initiatives in the region. Ngāti Maiotaki are active in issues of local politics and governance including environmental concerns and projects. The hapū takes part in planting days, for example, at Lake Waiorongomai and organising submissions to local council arguing against issues adding to Māori disadvantage, such as allowing more liquor outlets and arguing against the taking of more water and the extraction of gravel from the Ōtaki river.

³⁰⁸ Taken by George Leslie Adkin, 1 January 1936 (PA1-f-005-371, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa

³⁰⁹ Gilbert, M. personal conversation, Ōtaki, August 2018.

This research report presents a brief history of Ngāti Maiotaki within the context of claims of breaches against the Treaty of Waitangi by the British Crown, the New Zealand Government and their agents, associates and representatives.

1.1 Orthographic Conventions

Following Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori convention macrons have been added to long vowels in te reo Māori where known. The correct vowel lengths in people's and place names are more difficult to ascertain and have been added where we believe they occur. Maiotaki is a particularly pressing case in point and is one which we laboured on.³¹⁰ There are points of rupture including intergenerational rupture or ruptures suffered and continued in one form or other over time in our historical narrative and understanding of ourselves. We believe these ruptures to be a direct result of our particular experience of colonisation and its attendant racism, general discrimination and associated hardships. To this end we are not entirely certain of the moment in time according to the Gregorian or Julian calendar that we emerged as a body politic. We do know that by 1840 we existed and that we continue to come together to reinvigorate whānau ties, to discuss land, development issues and social issues, and to celebrate our collective identity.

2.0 Whakapapa

Ngāti Maiotaki belongs to Ngāti Raukawa, the oldest tribe of the Tainui waka confederacy.³¹¹ Raukawa and Turongoiti had three sons, Rereahu, Whakaterere, Takihiku, and a daughter, Kurawari. Rereahu's youngest child, a daughter, Te Rongorito, was a puhi, a sacred woman trained in the teachings of the aristocracy. Te Rongorito gave rise to a very powerful section of Ngāti Raukawa.³¹² Takihiku the younger brother of Rereahu grew up between Rangiatea at Mangaorongo, Rurunui, Kōrakonui, Panetapu and Tauranga-ā-kohu. His pā there is named Ruataikawa. Takihiku with his wife Maikukutara had four sons, Tamatehura, Wairangi, Upokoiti and Pipito. Te Rongorito became the wife of Tamatehura, the eldest child of Takihiku. They had four children, Parewhakarorouri, Huitao, Maiotaki

³¹⁰ Taking up advice proffered from Kaumātua of Ngāti Maiotaki and other hapū, we settled on no macronisation when referring to either our hapū Ngāti Maiotaki or our ancestor Maiotaki.

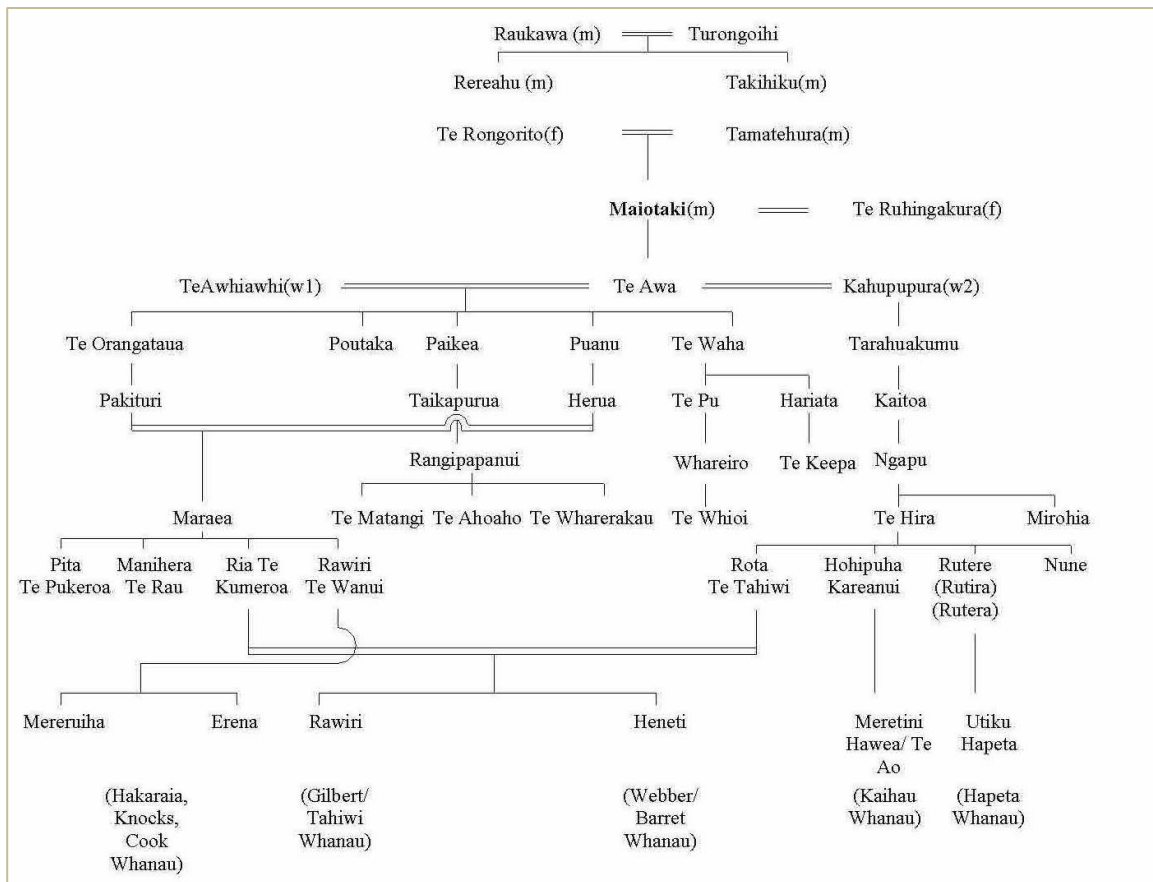
³¹¹ Belich J. 1996, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders*, Auckland, Penguin, p. 92.

³¹² Royal T.A.C. *Ngāti Raukawa - Early history*, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-raukawa/page-2> (accessed 4 April 2018).

and Marotaua³¹³. Maikukutara's sister Maikukutea was married to Whakatere, the other brother of Takihiku.

It has been told that on one occasion the four sons of Takihiku helped their cousin Whaita, the son of Kurawari (Whaita) avenge the death of his sister Koroukore. Wairangi was also responsible for composing the haka 'Ko te aea o ia rangi' which was performed by Wairangi and his brothers before they slayed the Ngāti Maru chief Tupateka and his iwi to avenge a slight made on Wairangi by Tupateka for sleeping with Wairangi's wife.

Whakapapa 14: Raukawa to Maiotaki Descendants



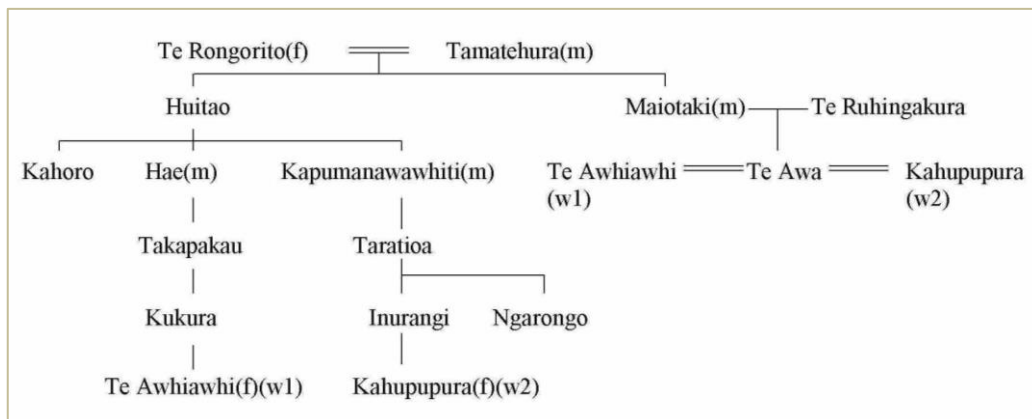
Maiotaki was said to have had a number of wives. His first wife was Te Ruhingakura, a daughter of Wairangi, his uncle.³¹⁴ Te Ruhingakura, Maiotaki had a son, Te Awa. Maiotaki's last wife was Te Maruhouke. Te Ruhingakura, Maiotaki had a son Te Awa. According to the Ngāti Maiotaki accounts it is from Te Awa, that the beginnings of Ngāti

³¹³ Whakapapa book of Rāwiri Rota Te Tahiwī, private whānau collection.

³¹⁴ Wairangi is a renowned ancestor of Ngāti Raukawa, a warrior, composer and performer of haka (see for example Leslie G. Kelly, 2002 (first published 1949), *Tainui: The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants*, pp127-132).

Maiotaki were formed. As a number of hapū had already surfaced within the iwi, Te Awa saw a need to sustain and nurture the whakapapa of his children, and so moved to form Ngāti Maiotaki in memory of his father. Maiotaki's son Te Awa had two wives, Te Awhiawhi and Kahupupura. Te Awa's first wife Te Awhiawhi was the great granddaughter of Haetapanui, and a descendant of Huitao, the elder brother of Maiotaki:³¹⁵ Te Awa's second wife Kahupupura was also a descendant of Huitao, through Haetapanui's brother Kapumanawawhiti. Kahupupura was the daughter of Inurangi, whose father was Kapumanawawhiti's son Taratioa.

Whakapapa 15: Tamatehura to Te Awhiawhi and Kahupupura (the wives of Te Awa - Maiotaki's son)



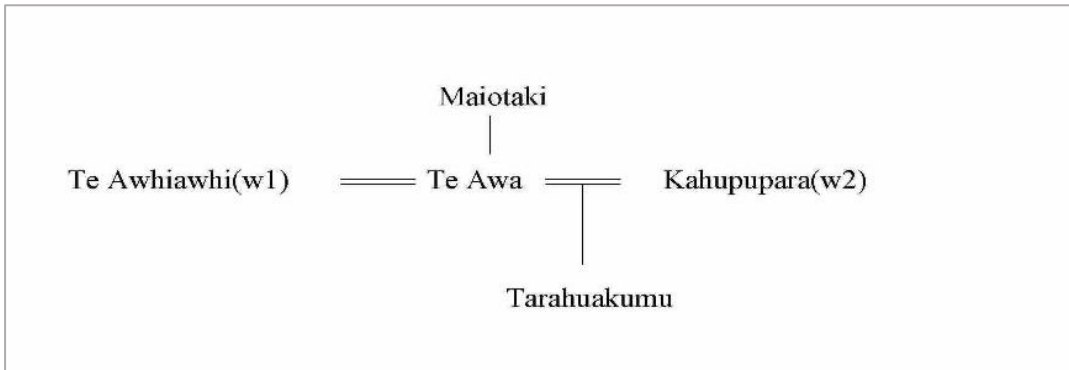
Te Awa had five children with Te Awhiawhi; Te Orangataua was the eldest followed by Poutaka, Paikea, Puanu and Te Waha. Te Ahoaho (later known as Te Kingi Te Ahoaho) and his older brother Te Matangi were the great-grandsons of Paikea, himself a grandson of Maiotaki.³¹⁶ The Baker whānau of Ōtaki were also descended from Maiotaki, through Te Awa's son Paikea. With his second wife Kahupupura, Te Awa had Tarahuakumu³¹⁷.

³¹⁵ Maiotaki hapū whakapapa note collection of Horiana Joyce, private whānau collection.

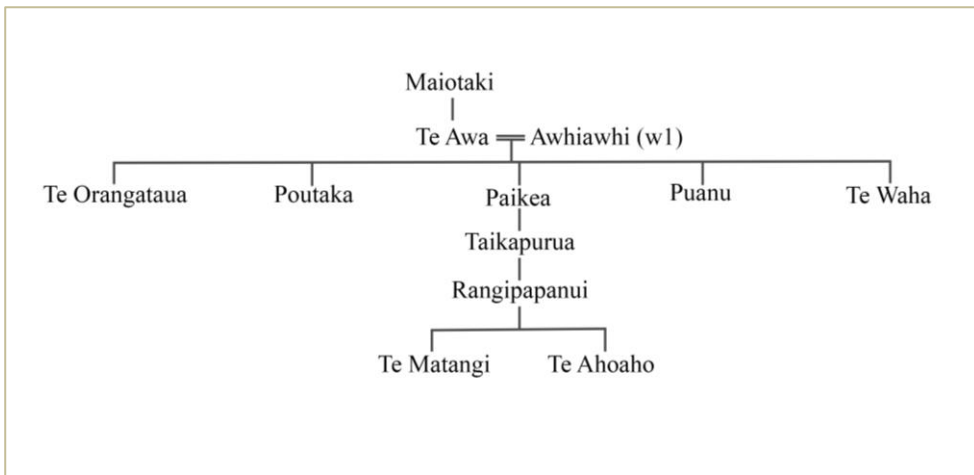
³¹⁶ Whakapapa book of Rāwiri Rota Te Tāhiwi, private whānau collection. The Pare-o-Matangi Block (or Awahohonu B), takes its name from this same Te Matangi, rangatira of Ngāti Maiotaki, who placed his huia feather in the bough of a tōtara tree. This is an example of 'taunaha whenua', that is, when a rangatira reserved land by naming it after a part of his or her body. Te Matangi was killed in 1834 at the battle of Haowhenua Carkeek TW. & Waaka R. *Ngā Hapū-o-Ōtaki Cultural Impact Assessment on NZTA Peka Peka to North Ōtaki Expressway Option* 2012, pp. 30-31. accessed 5 April 2018.

³¹⁷ Whakapapa book of Rāwiri Rota Te Tāhiwi, private whānau collection.

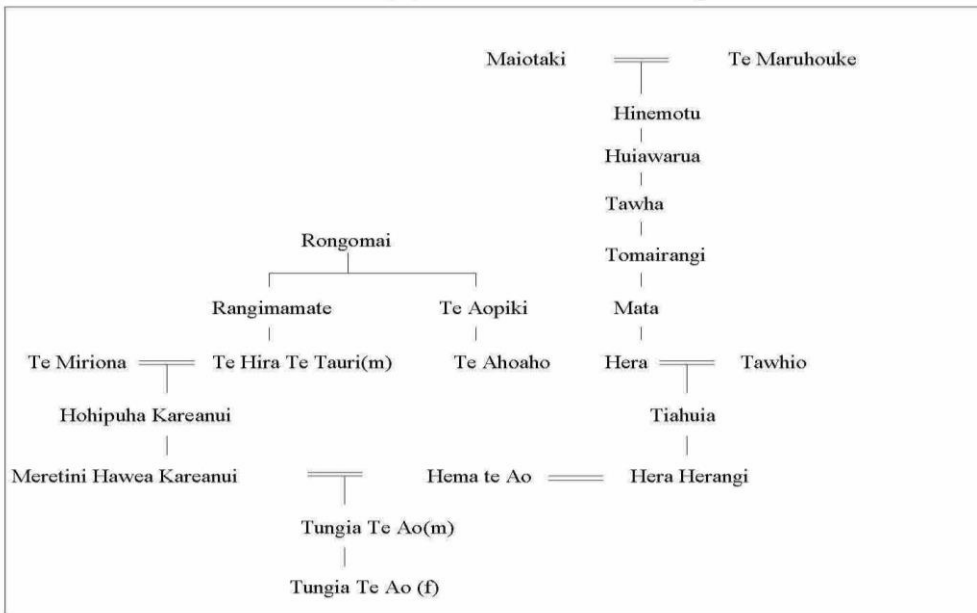
Whakapapa 16: Tarahuakumu



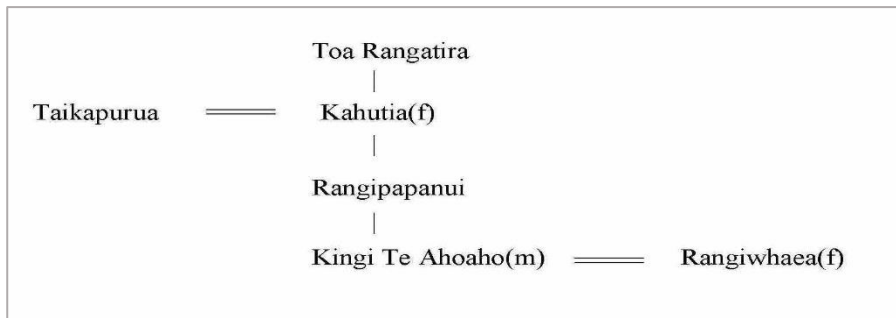
Whakapapa 17: Maiotaki to Te Matangi and Te Ahoaho



Whakapapa 18: Maiotaki to Hera Herangi



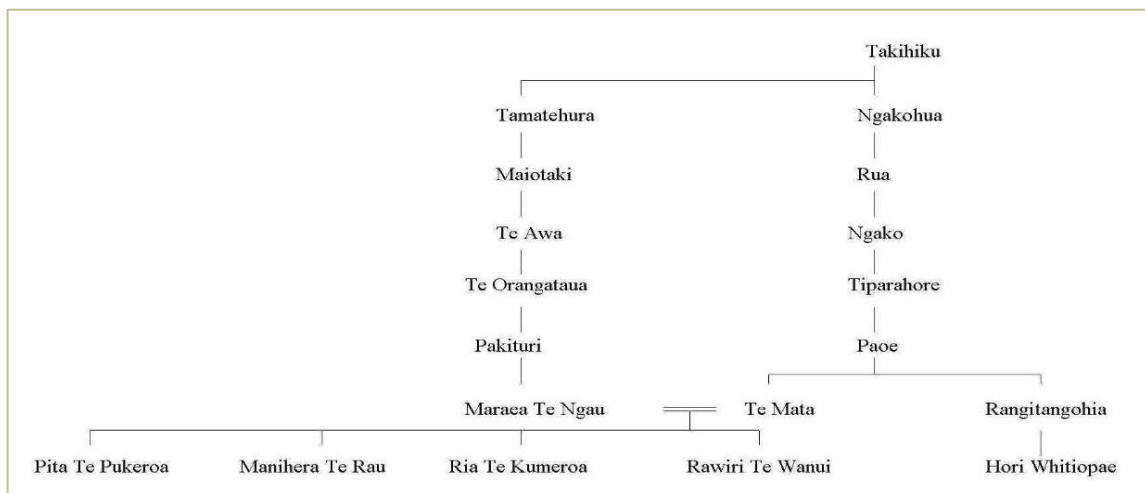
Whakapapa 19: Toa Rangatira to Kiingi Te Ahoaho



Hera Herangi, through her grandmother Hera, the wife of Kingi Tawhiao, was a descendant of Maiotaki through his marriage to Te Maruhouke. Hera Herangi married Hema Te Ao also known as Te Puke Te Ao, whose first wife Meretini Hawea Kareanui was the daughter of Hohipuha Kareanui of Ngāti Maiotaki. Hera Herangi later married her step-son Tungia Te Ao.

Te Ahoaho and Te Matangi were also great-grandsons of Toa Rangatira through a daughter, Kahutia, who was married to Paikea’s son Taikapurua.³¹⁸ Rangiwhaea, the wife of Kīngi Te Ahoaho, was also a descendant of Toa Rangatira.

Whakapapa 20: Takihiku to Rawiri Te Wanui



Although he did not sign Te Tiriti, Rāwiri Te Wānui is a prominent nineteenth century tupuna of Ngāti Maiotaki. Born at Maungatautari, he came to Ōtaki in the second Raukawa

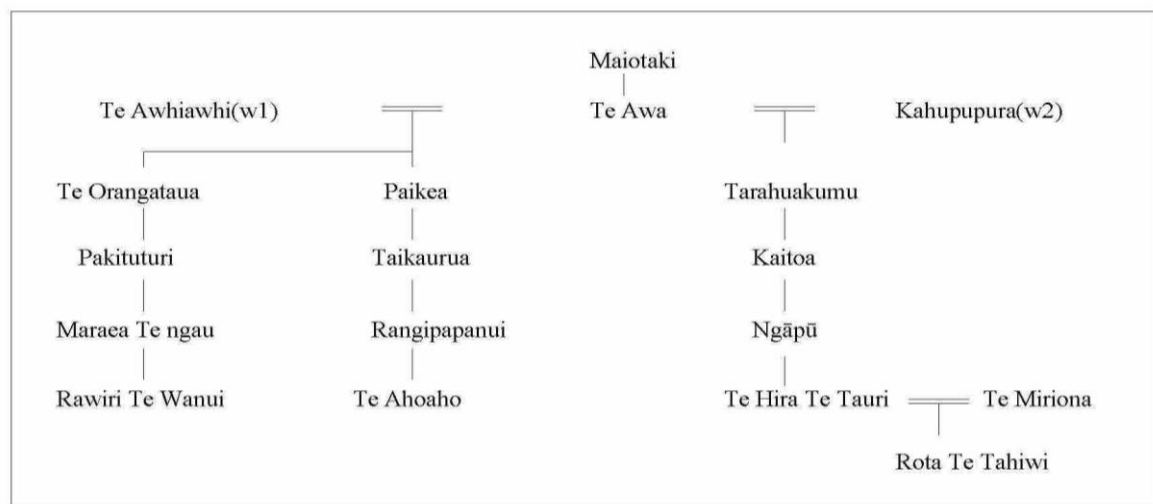
³¹⁸ *Wellington Independent*, 2 April 1868, p. 4. According to evidence given on 30 March 1868 in the Native Lands Court, Otaki, by Hohepa Tamaihengia as reported in the *Wellington Independent* (in English), ‘The Ngātitoa and Ngātiraukawa were connected with each other from time immemorial’. The closely interwoven relationships between Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira have deep historical roots.

heke.³¹⁹ Rāwiri Te Wānui and his three older siblings, his brothers Pita Te Pukeroa and Manihera Te Rau and their sister Ria Te Kumeroa were, like Te Ahoaho and Te Matangi also descended from Raukawa’s son Takihiku but through a daughter Ngakohua, down to their father Te Mata. Their mother Maraea Te Ngau was a descendant of Takihiku. Ngakohua’s brother Tamatehura was the father of Maiotaki. Maraea descended from two lines of Maiotaki’s son Te Awa and his first wife Te Awhiwhi; from their children, Te Orangataua and Puanu. Te Orangataua was the parent of Pakituri and Puanu the parent of Herua who were the parents of their mother Maraea Te Ngau. Ihakara Tukumarū of Ngāti Ngarongo had whakapapa links to Ngāti Maiotaki through Puanu.

Rawiri Te Wanui (sometimes spelt ‘Whānui’) was the brother-in-law of Rota Te Tahiwī through Rota’s marriage to Rāwiri Te Wānui’s sister Ria Te Kumeroa. Rawiri Te Wanui’s marriage to Mereana produced two girls Erena and Pirihiira. Erena married twice, first to Tamati Pahika Hakaraia, and then to Alfred Knocks. Pirihiira married Hohepa Te Hana. Their son Pirika Te Hana married Hopaea Tahiwī, the grand-daughter of Rota Te Tahiwī, who was the son of Te Hira Te Tauri, and Te Miriona.

Te Hira was the first cousin of Te Matangi and Te Ahoaho. Te Hira was also a descendant of Maiotaki through Kahupupura.

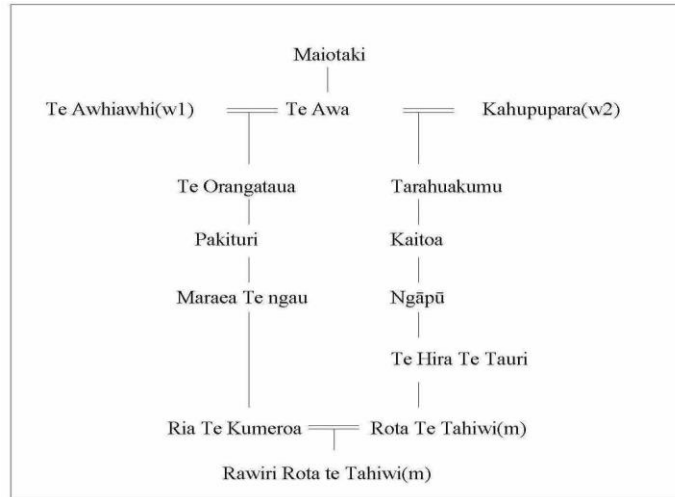
Whakapapa 21: Rawiri te Wanui and Rota Te Tahiwī



³¹⁹ Evidence of Rāwiri Te Wānui, Māori Land Court, Himatangi Hearing, 12 March 1868, p. 210.

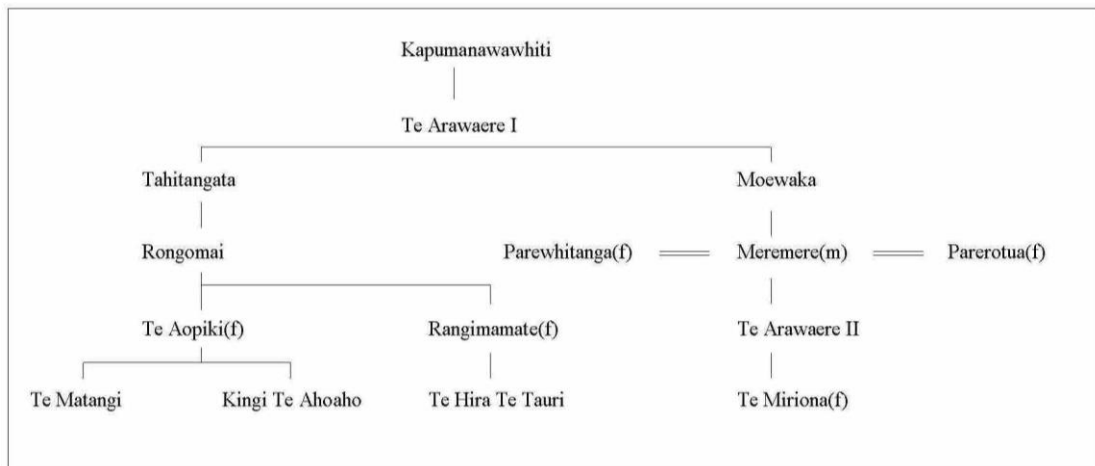
Through the marriage of Rota Te Tahiwī and Rawiri Te Wanui's sister Ria Te Kumeroa, the two lines of Maiotaki's son Te Awa were joined.

Whakapapa 22: Rawiri Rota Te Tahiwī



Te Hira Te Tauri, was the first cousin to Te Ahoaho and Te Matangi.³²⁰ Through their mothers, Te Aopiki and Rangimamate, Te Matangi, Te Ahoaho and Te Hira Te Tauri had strong whakapapa links to Kapumanawawhiti.

Whakapapa 23: Te Matangi, Kingi Te Ahoaho

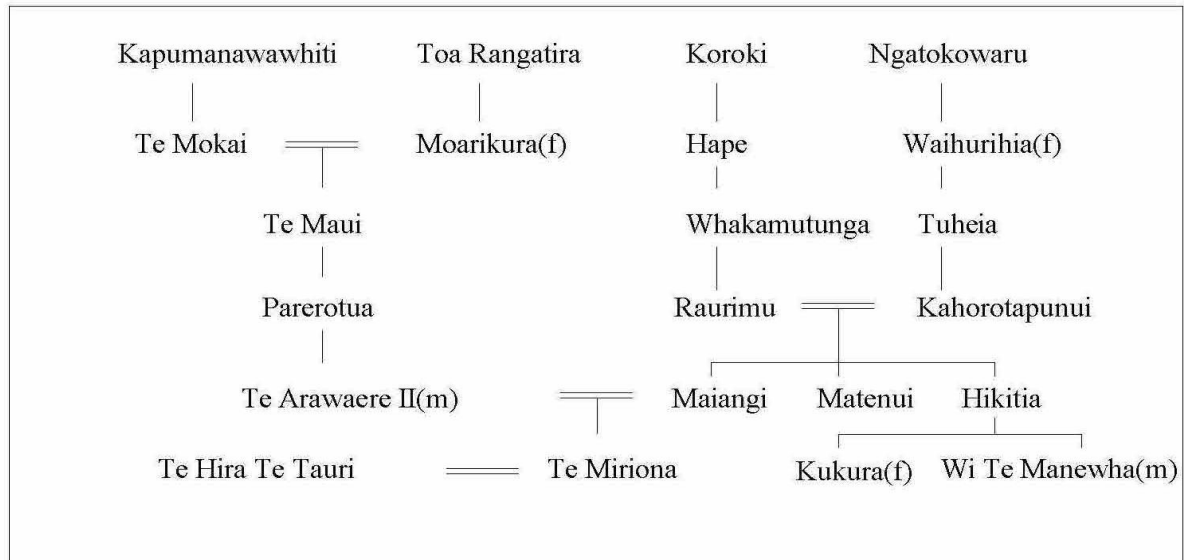


Te Hira's wife, Te Miriona, can trace her Ngāti Raukawa whakapapa from Kurawari and Rereahu. She has whakapapa to Kapumanawawhiti and Ngātokowaru, Waihurihia, Koroki and through Parerotua, Moewaka, as well as to Ngāti Toa Rangatira through Moarikura. Te

³²⁰ Whakapapa book of Rāwiri Rota Te Tāhiwi, private whānau collection.

Miriona was the first cousin of Kukura and Wi Te Manewha, tupuna of the Rikihana whānau of Ōtaki, through each of their parents, Maiangi and Hikitia.

Whakapapa 24: Te Miriona



After Kingi Te Ahoaho's death in November 1862, leaving no issue, the mantle of Maiotaki leadership passed to Te Hira Te Tauri, Rota Te Tahiwī, then to Rawiri Te Wanui, and Rawiri Rota Te Tahiwī.

Rota and Ria had two children Henete (Heneti) and Rāwiri Rota Te Tahiwī. Henete married William Webber. Their son Hona Webber married Utauta Parata, the daughter of Wiremu Te Kakakura Parata. Hona and Utauta farmed on Kapiti Island. John Barrett and his sister Amo Clarke are descendants of Hona and Utauta. John represents Ngāti Maiotaki as a Raukawa Trustee.

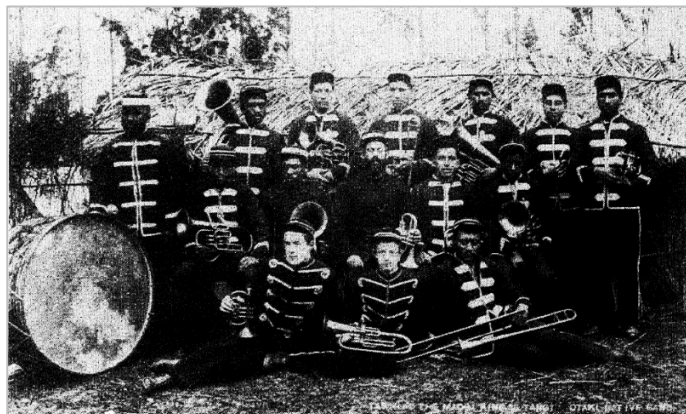
Rāwiri Rota Te Tahiwī had two whānau. His first wife was Maraea Hopihona of Ngāti Raukawa, who was also known as Maraea Wharewhiti. She was a descendant of Mohi Te Wharewhiti of Moewaka, who had arrived from Kapiti with Te Ahoaho. Mohi married Mirohia who was the sister of Te Hira Te Tauri.³²¹

From Maraea, Rāwiri Rota had one daughter, Purewa Emere Te Tahiwī, known as Purewa. Purewa married Wharehuru Gilbert of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, from whom the Gilbert whānau

³²¹ Whakapapa book of Rāwiri Rota Te Tahiwī, private whānau collection.

of Ōtaki descend. Whareahuru played the tuba with the Ōtaki Brass Band in 1894 for a number of years alongside his father-in-law Rawiri.

Image 37: Ōtaki Māori Brass Band, 1894. Source: Tania Kennedy



Ōtaki Māori Brass Band 1894

Back: RR Tahiwī (drum), -- Hapeta, Whare Gilbert, Patihona Cook, Papi Nikora, Whata Hakaraia, Uma Taipua

Centre: M. Te Waru, Utiku Hapeta (Dep Conductor), Salvatore Cimino (Bandmaster), Hona Webber, Waari Te Rei

Front: S. Cimino Jr., W Cimino, Riri Mahima

Purewa was born in 1875, at Katihiku. Her mother Maraea died in 1877 when Purewa was two years old. Rawiri Rota in a letter to Te Wānanga in 1877, described his wife as a dedicated Christian Woman. Purewa, their daughter was later described as an astute woman, and a matakite; she kept a lizard under the floorboards of her home in Rangatira Street, as told by a grandson Wene Bevan Snr. Heta Kareanui Gilbert, the youngest child of Purewa, married the great grand-daughter of Maika and Harata Takarore.³²²

Tania Gilbert-Kennedy, oldest daughter of Hemi Kareanui Gilbert, and mokopuna of Heta Gilbert, held various roles over the period 1986 to 1999 as a Maiotaki hapū delegate, and secretary for the Rangiātea parish vestry. She went on to establish Raukawa Marae Information and Support Services with Nellie Bevan in 1991 and the Tararua Māori Women's Welfare League with Ani Hawea in 1993. Tania is a trustee for Waiorongomai-10 (Lake).³²³

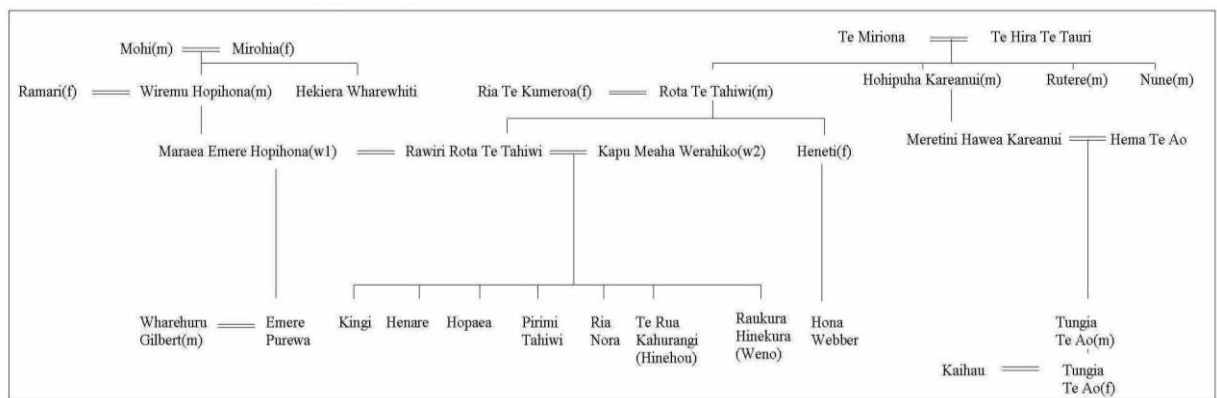
“Like my koro Heta, I enjoyed connecting with our whānau, hapū and iwi. There were times when I would just sit at his feet and learn of our whakapapa and history, and then there were times when I would just get up and go, organise that event, wash those dishes, write those minutes, attend that meeting, and gather the people.

³²² Private communication from Tania Kennedy 10 September 2018.

³²³ Ibid.

When I think of whanaungatanga, I think of the opportunities I had to sit with our kaumātua, many of who have now passed on. Vestry members that come to mind include Mere Kena, Queenie Johnson, Ra Rikihana, Kiripuai Te Aomarere, Netta Wilson, Mary Cook, Mere Hawea, Ngamiro Ropata, Hira Royal, Sylvia Rutherford, Margaret Davis, Raumoa Baker, Hohipuha Cook, Buster & Louise Carkeek, Douin & Georgia Hapeta, Wally & Marg Withell, Eric & Gin Wipiti, Muri & Doreen Winiata, and Whatarangi & Francis Winiata. Tararua MWWL also drew fond memories shared with the aunties Rangiwahaea Te Hana, Ria Nora Connor, Aroha Tulloch, Lena Roiri, Raumahora Broughton, Ereta Thomas, Ria Taratoa, Gabrielle Rikihana, Borgia Hakaraia, Rose Rikihana, Dinah Davis, Noelene Dawson, and Katarina Hohipuha.”³²⁴

Whakapapa 25: Mohi, Te Miriona



Kapumanawawhiti, a great warrior who was responsible for taking the name of Ngāti Raukawa far and wide, is the nephew of Maiotaki, son of Maiotaki’s brother, Huitao. After a series of successful battles in northern Taranaki, a cousin of Kapumanawawhiti, Parekarau, stated “He uri tamawahine, māna e takahi te one i Hākerekere.” The descendant of a woman (ie Te Rongorito), he shall traverse the shore at Hākerekere.²⁴

The second wife of Rawiri Rota was Kapu Meaha also known as Keita Koa. She was of Te Arawa; of Ngāti Whakauae, Ngāti Pūkaki, Ngāti Tahu and Ngāti Whaoa. Kapu Meaha also had whakapapa links to Raukawa through Rereahu's son Ihingaarangi.

As second generation converts to Church of England...

‘Individuals from the second family of Rawiri Rota Tahiwī, were educated at the Ōtaki Mission School and through their mothers means, then the boys were then sent to Te Aute College and the girls to Hukarere Girls’ College.’

³²⁴ Ibid.

Kīngi Rawiri Te Ahoaho Tahiwī became an interpreter in Parliament and was also one of the founders of Ngāti Poneke Young Māori Club in Wellington, a place for urban Māori to come together. A rugby enthusiast, Kingi refereed in the King Country, Bay of Plenty and Horowhenua and he managed the 1932, 1934, 1935 and 1936 Māori All Black teams. He was made an Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (OBE) in recognition of his contribution to the organisation of the Māori war effort.³²⁵

Pirimi Pererika Tahiwī served in both the first and second World Wars and, in 1915, was promoted to the level of captain in Te Hokowhitu a Tū, the Māori contingent of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. He is credited with the design of the first 28th Māori battalion flag, was a Māori All Black, a teacher and the housemaster at the Ōtaki Native School. He was also musical, and during World War I, a Māori contingent band formed under his direction. Corporal Henare Tahiwī, his brother, had been the contingent's bugler. Pirimi worked at Wellington Hospital's head office until his retirement in 1958. He was active in many community organisations including the Ngāti Poneke Tribal Committee, the Wellington Māori Anglican mission and he served as honorary Māori welfare officer. Pirimi also taught Māori language and customs and in November 1958 became chairman of the WEA's (Workers' Education Association) Māori Club.³²⁶

Hopaea (Sophie), the eldest sister, was a teacher and a gifted weaver and singer, piano player, also gifted at kapa haka. She was part of a group of Ngāti Raukawa weavers involved in the restoration of Te Hau ki Turanga Whareniui whilst it was still at the Wellington Dominion Museum; she worked on the tukutuku panels at Owae Marae in Waitara, and was involved in the weaving of the tukutuku panels within Raukawa whare tupuna. She worked tirelessly amongst the Māori community of the time, was a member of the Māori Women's Welfare League and was awarded the MBE in 1969 for services to Māori. Hopaea maintained the ahi kā in Ōtaki, as an active member of Rangiatea Church and Vestry, and upholding the tikanga at Raukawa Marae. Hopaea continued residing in the Tahiwī whānau home built by her father in Rangatira Street until her death in 1985 aged 97 years.

³²⁵ Waaka R. *Tahiwī, Kingi Te Ahoaho*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996, updated April, 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t1/tahiwī-kingi-te-ahoaho> (accessed 18 April 2018).

³²⁶ Waaka RMT. *Tahiwī, Pirimi Pererika*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4t1/tahiwī-pirimi-pererika> (accessed 18 April 2018).

Hinekura (Weno), the youngest sister was also a teacher at the Ōtaki Native Boys School, Te Waipounamu School for Girls and Rawene School in Northland. She was a member of concert parties travelling to England and Australia in the 1930s and 1940s. Along with her brother Henare (Henry) and sister Te Ruakahurangi (Hinehou), Weno travelled to Australia in the 1930s where they produced nine records. Henare Tāhiwi, as well as serving in World War II, was responsible for one of the petitions to Parliament for the safeguarding of Ngāti Raukawa lands earlier gifted to the Anglican Church Missionaries for the establishment of a school transferred by Crown Grant to the Church Mission, under the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board Act (1943). Te Ruakahurangi (Hinehou) talented musically like all of her siblings, lived with her husband, Maunga Roiri, on whānau lands at Waiorongomai where they farmed.

Ria Nora Tahiwī, a gifted singer, piano player, hockey and tennis player was believed to be the first Māori woman ever to be engaged by a legal firm, when she commenced employment with RC Kirk Barristers and Solicitors in Ōtaki. Ria Nora was the first wife of Matenga Baker. She died in 1923 aged 28, from tuberculosis.

Left to Right: Ria Tahiwī, Pareraukawa Atkinson, Tungia Te Ao, Susie Gilbert at Ōtaki Beach 1922



In 1936 the Raukawa Marae Trustees were formed. The original Maiotaki Trustees were Pirimi Tahiwī, Hona Webber and Utiku Hapeta. They are direct descendants of Te Hira Te Tauri and his wife Te Miriona. Utiku descends from Rutere, the only sister of Rota Te Tahiwī, who was the grandfather of Pirimi Tahiwī and Hona Webber.

In 2018 Ngāti Maiotaki is represented on the Raukawa Marae Trustees by Jean Albert and John Barrett. James Hapeta was the third trustee until his passing. His position remains vacant.

As other Iwi entities have been formed, Ngāti Maiotaki has remained represented with various members of the whānau providing representation on behalf of the wider whānau. Ngāti Maiotaki meet regularly as a hapū, under the Chairmanship of Donovan Joyce with Barbara Rudd as Secretary and Deanna Rudd as Treasurer. The hapū remains a rōpū tuku iho, not registered as a business or legal entity. Ngāti Maiotaki are represented at Te Rūnanga o Raukawa with Barbara Rudd, Donovan Joyce, Deanna Rudd and Apera Hakaraia as Whāiti members. Ngāti Maiotaki are represented at Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki and at Raukawa marae where, along with Ngāti Koroki and Ngāti Pare, they maintain the ahi kā.

The fortunes of women within Ngāti Raukawa have waxed and waned but woven within our history are narratives of great wāhine who have led us, composed our songs, sheltered, nurtured and sustained us. The story of Raukawa himself is of course one which cannot be told without mentioning both his parents, his Tainui father Tūrongo and the beautiful Mahinaarangi who hailed from the East Coast of Te Ika a Māui. Their union bound together important Tainui and East Coast families and their courtship is still recounted on and in marae today.³²⁷

Prominent tūpuna whaea amongst Ngāti Maiotaki include Te Rongorito and Te Miriona. An episode in 1846 occurred at the time of the storming of Taupo Pā and illegal confinement of Te Rauparaha by Governor George Grey. Maraea Hopihona was at Taupō Pā at the time, and fled with her mother Ramari, a niece of Te Hira Te Tauri and others to Kopureherehe and Waiorongomai. They took Te Mata-o-Toa, or Kiu, a matakite, a visionary and seer of Ngāti Toa, with them.

According to Maiotaki member Matahi Brightwell,

The plan of Governor Grey was to capture Te Rauparaha, kill Kiu and cause Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Maiotaki to ‘stumble in the dark’. At an earlier time at Te Horo, Te Karaka was killed defending Kiu. He had told Te Maanga, ‘Go, take them. I will delay the assassins (of Maniapoto, Rangitane, and Awa)’. Kiu, Maraea

³²⁷ The whare tupuna at Tūrangawaewae marae in Ngāruawahia the seat of the Kīngitanga, the Māori King Movement, for example, is named Mahinaarangi. Her companion, the wharekai Tūrongo, stands near by.

and her girls made it to the safety of Te Hira and Te Miriona at Waiorongomai after hiding at Kopureherehe.³²⁸

Maraea was later to become the first wife of Rāwiri Rota Te Tāhiwi, the grandson of Te Hira Te Tauri. She died in 1877.

In more recent times the strength and abilities of our hapū such as Heta Gilbert who served as a guide to a multitude of tourists that came to the marae and was known for his “tea making abilities. His son Hemi (Kare) was head cook for Raukawa in the 1960s and 70s and was often called on to cook at Katihiku and Tainui marae. Also, our women such as Hopaea (Sophie), Te Hana (nee Tahiwī), her daughter Rangiwāhea, and sister, Hinekura (Weno) Tahiwī have seen Ngāti Maiotaki survive to the present day. Marama Gilbert recalls what it was like growing up in Ōtaki in the late 1960s through the 1980s:

“I can remember the kuia with their scarves on up and down the Main Street and if they caught us playing up [they] wouldn’t hesitate walking across the street and get your ears and just give you a blast or telling off...the olds had a way about them that I wasn’t afraid of. I’d get cheeky to them but I wasn’t afraid of them because to me they were like, just beautiful. They’re our kuias. A light, they walked in the light, to me. They walked in the light.”³²⁹

Many of our own hapū believe that whakapapa is ‘men’s business’ however much of Ngāti Maiotaki’s whakapapa was held in safekeeping by women, some of which they choose to be held by Rangīātea Church. Those manuscripts were deemed ‘too heavy’, a ‘taumaha nunui’ and it was believed that modern generations could not fully comprehend the kōrero contained within its pages. Those who have allowed access to manuscripts and documents still held with our whānau, are in the main, women.

³²⁸ Personal communication to Deanna Rudd, undated.

³²⁹ Gilbert, M. Personal conversation, undated.

Image 38: Te Mata o te Toa Kiu Piripi Kohe 1917



2.1 Population Characteristics Of Maiotaki

Mohi, Te Miriona, Te Ahoaho, Matangi and Te Hira, as descendants of Raukawa all chose at some point to identify as Maiotaki. Others chose to align elsewhere. Both Te Ahoaho and Matangi died without issue. Some of Mohi's descendants more closely align with Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti, some with Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku, and others with Maiotaki. Some of the descendants of Te Miriona and Te Hira choose to maintain their Maiotakitanga while others choose over time to acknowledge and whakamana other whakapapa alliances within the Tainui confederation of iwi including Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Tūwharetoa, Waikato and Te Arawa. We know that of the children of Te Hira Te Tauri and Te Miriona, one son Rota Te Tahiwī and his wife Ria Te Kumeroa remained as Ngāti Maiotaki, whilst another son, Hohipuha Kareanui, upon adulthood, chose to maintain the Maiotaki Takihiku whakapapa alliances, living in the Manawatū. Two other sons died without issue, they were Nune and another son who died not long after arrival in the hekenga and who is buried at Wairongomai. A daughter Rutere married Hapeta Te Rangikatukua. Some of the Hapeta whānau align with Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhao, whilst others living in Ōtaki take care to maintain their Ngāti Maiotaki whakapapa alliances.

The primary active whānau of Ngāti Maiotaki today the Tahiwī whānau, Te Hira Te Tauri's descendants down through his son Rota Te Tahiwī to his son Rāwiri Rota Te Tahiwī and his two wives Maraea Hopihona and Kapu Meaha Te Werahiko down through their descendants which include the children and mokopuna of Purewa Gilbert, Kīngi Tahiwī, Pirimi Tahiwī,

³³⁰ Te Mata-o-te-Toa Kiu Piripi Kohe holding Kohe and Turoa Webster, 1917 Pātaka Museum collection, Porirua Library, p. 237.

Henare Tahiwī, Hopaea Te Hana, Te Rua Kahurangi Rōiri, Ria Nora Baker and Hinekura (Weno) Tahiwī.

In Easter 2015, 600 descendants of Purewa attended a reunion held at Raukawa marae. The estimation by their whānau of her descendants is close to 1500. Approximately 300 live locally.³³¹ The descendants of Kapu Meaha number around 400. Approximately 150³³² live locally. Not all are engaged at hapū level but remain engaged at whānau level. Despite the numbers living locally, there are few who give their aroha and time regularly to ensure that Maiotaki continue to uphold and maintain our rangatiratanga, as a functioning hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, for the benefit of whānau, our tamariki and our mokopuna.

3.0 Heke

In the early decades of the 19th century, our tupuna, Te Kīngi Te Ahoaho, migrated from our traditional homeland in the Waikato region, centred around Maungatautari maunga, our ancestral mountain, and settled in the South. Due to the increased intensity and frequency of disputes within Waikato and spurred on by the potential opportunities in the South, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, under the leadership of Te Rauparaha joined the Ngā Puhi expedition to the South. Te Matangi and Te Ahoaho were two of Ngāti Raukawa/Ngāti Toa Rangatira who also made the journey. They were later involved with others in the Amiowhenua expedition, and in other hekenga to the South. Upon their arrival in the South Ngāti Toa Rangatira established themselves at Waikawa at the invitation of Muaūpoko. Muaūpoko, however, were set on avenging the death of a woman named Waimai who had been killed earlier by Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

Te Ahoaho was part of the Ngāti Toa Rangatira-Ngāti Te Ra party of about twenty invited by Toheriri of Muaūpoko to his pa at Te Wī, near Papaitonga with the promise of a gift of waka and to partake in a hākari of tuna. Muaūpoko ultimately surrounded the whare and attacked their manuhiri while they were sleeping. Te Rauparaha's children Rangihoungariri, Te Uira and her husband Te Poa along with another daughter Poaka were killed, whilst

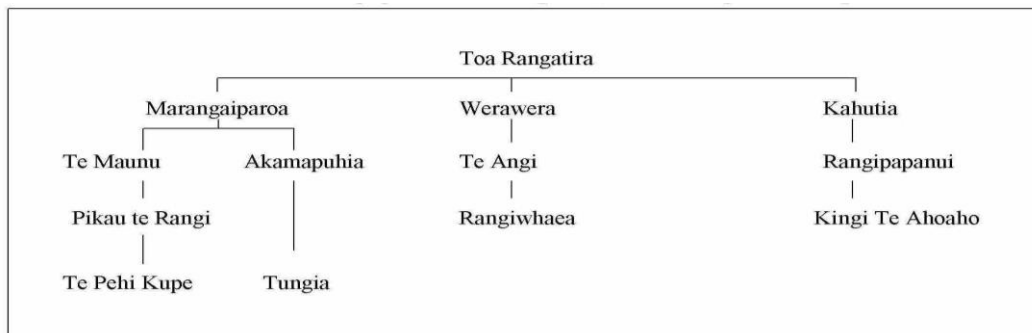
³³¹ Gilbert, J. Organising committee member, Gilbert whānau reunion, Personal communication, 2015.

³³² Based on Deanna Rudd's knowledge of whānau members.

another daughter, Te Hononga, was taken prisoner.³³³ Ngāti Toa Rangatira retaliated by attacking Muaūpoko at Horowhenua. Te Ahoaho remained engaged with his Ngāti Toa Rangatira whanaunga in securing the land when Kapiti was taken by Te Pehi Kupe of Ngāti Toa Rangatira.³³⁴ At some point, Te Matangi and Te Ahoaho returned to the Waikato, where they were also engaged in battles between Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto, including at Hangahanga.

At Kapiti, Te Ahoaho, dwelling amongst Tungia’s people³³⁵, was gifted the Ōtaki lands from the sea at Paremata to the mountains by Tungia and Te Hiko³³⁶, in acknowledgement of his support and assistance to his Ngāti Toa Rangatira relations in ‘clearing the land’.³³⁷ Te Ahoaho had a number of marriages including a marriage to Rangiwheaea of Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

Whakapapa 26: Toa Rangatira Te Pehi Kupe and Tungia



Tungia and Te Hiko (the son of Te Pehi Kupe) led separate sections of Ngāti Toa Rangatira from Te Rauparaha and their hereditary mana was recognised by Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

³³³ Smith, S.P. *History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast* in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 18, 3, 1909, pp. 127-138.

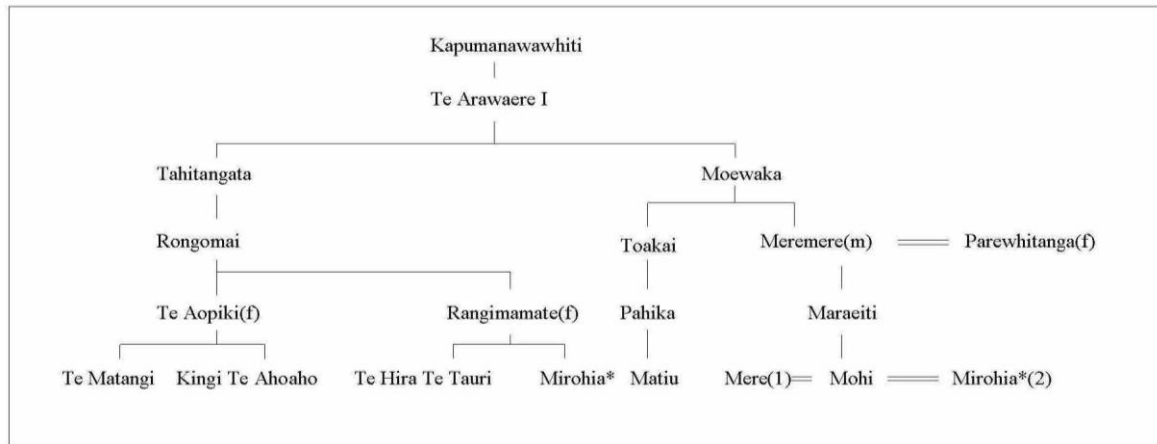
³³⁴ Rāwiri Te Wānui said that he had come in the second heke after Te Whatanui, in about 1833 (Otaki 1C, p. 210, evidence of Rāwiri Te Whanui, cited in Angela Ballara, 2003, pp. 344-345).

³³⁵ Wellington Native Land Court minute book 1, p. 82.

³³⁶ Evidence of Ropata Hurumutu given in the Ōtaki Lands Court, 30 March 1868 as reported (in English) in the *Wellington Independent*, 2 April 1868, p. 4.

³³⁷ Evidence of Hohipuha, Rikihana and Ngahuka Atanahu, Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minute Book, 11 April 1874, pp. 386-388. Evidence of Hoani Taipua, Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minute Book, 11 April 1874, p. 386.

Whakapapa 27: Kapumanawawhiti to Matiu, Mohi, Matangi, Kingi, Te Hira



* Denotes same individual

After the tuku whenua of the Ōtaki lands, Te Matangi, Kīngi Te Ahoaho and others including their Moewaka relations Mohi, Pahika and Matiu, along with Pehekinō and Te Hotoke also of Ngāti Maiotaki, went with Tungia and Te Hiko over to the mainland to Ōtaki from Kapiti, taking with them their mōkai. Once on the mainland, Ngāti Maiotaki and Tungia's section of Ngāti Toa Rangatira began, with the help of their mōkai, to build Pakakutu pā at Paremata and clear land at Waiariki for cultivations. Further north at Ngoungou and Wairongomai³⁷ they gathered harakeke and tuna with their mokai. Kīngi Te Ahoaho quickly sought to mark the Ōtaki lands as his. The land was marked by the felling of trees and the placing of feathers or other markers in the trees. The land was patrolled and defended, and the spilling of blood was frequent.

Prior to Haowhenua and with the Ōtaki lands in the control of Te Kīngi Te Ahoaho and Ngāti Maiotaki, Te Hotoke of Ngāti Maiotaki was said to have come across (Ihaka) Te Rangihouhia and a party of Muaūpoko warriors whilst he was pursuing one of his runaway slaves. Te Hotoke and his slave were captured and killed and cooked by Te Rangihouhia of Muaūpoko at Waiho-anga.³³⁸ It is said that Ngāti Maiotaki named Waihoanga after this event (see map). Te Ahoaho, Matangi and other men of Ngāti Maiotaki sought utu for Te Hotoke's death and attempted unsuccessfully to locate Te Rangihouhia in order to avenge Te Hotoke's death.³³⁹

³³⁸ Evidence of Ihakara Tukumarū, Ōtaki Māori Land Court, 9 April 1874, p. 381.

³³⁹ Evidence of Rāwiri Te Wānui, Ōtaki Māori Land Court, 9 April 1874, p. 381.

Te Hira Te Tauri and his wife Te Miriona along with their children arrived in Ōtaki as part of Te Whatanui's heke.³⁴⁰ According to Te Hira Te Tauri's grand-daughter Hopaea Te Hana, Rota Rāwiri Te Tahiwī was a young man when he undertook a long journey on foot from the North:

“When we were children visiting with our Kui Hopaea, sitting with her, she used to tell my cousins and me the story of her Grandfather coming to Ōtaki, crossing mountains, crossing streams. She told it often. She emphasised to us, that as a child “he walked the whole way without any shoes on his feet”. It is that part of her story I remember most vividly. It seemed like a grand adventure in the way she told it. I never understood the personal relevance of the story, nor its significance until many years later.”

They came with Te Hapūpu, Te Whakaahunga, Peni, Waitaia, and their Moewaka relations Matiu and Pahika to Pakakutu pā before being taken to Waiorongomai, where they were given land by Kīngi Te Ahoaho, due to their close relationships as first cousins through their mothers.³⁴¹

They were followed out to the Ngoungou (Ngaungau) and Waiorongomai by Matangi along with Pita (Te Pukeroa) and Te Hotoke also of Ngāti Maiotaki. At that time Ngāti Maiotaki included their whānau of Waihurihia, and Moewaka to whom they were closely related. Ramari Hirama, the wife of Mohi Wharewhiti and mother of Maraea Hopihona identified with Ngāti Moewaka.³⁴²

Pita and Te Matangi took control of Kahuera, driving off those of Ngāti Awa who had come on to Te Ahoaho's land, whilst Te Hira and Pahika with Matiu took control of Kopureherehe, Rotomokai and Kotariri. A small group of Ngāti Kura of Ngāti Awa living at Waikawa were quickly dispatched. With others pushing to gain control of the lands and lakes for their many Raukawa kin arriving from the North, Matiu was sent by Matangi to seek the assistance of Maiotaki whanaunga Ngāti Te Rā at Ohau and Waikawa. Maiotaki and their whanaunga, all seased toa, through their might, quickly asserted their claim to Ngoungou (Ngaungau) and Waiorongomai with Te Ahoaho and Matangi at Te Ngoungou and Te Hira at Waiorongomai.

³⁴⁰ Evidence of Rota Te Tāhiwi, Ōtaki Māori Land Court, 7 March 1868, p. 178. <http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/documents/show/1271-7-march-1868>.

³⁴¹ Whakapapa book of Rawiri Rota Te Tahiwī, private whānau collection.

³⁴² Ngāti Waihurihia and Ngāti Moewaka were eventually absorbed within Ngāti Maiotaki/Maiotaki.

By 1831, Ngāti Maiotaki was established at Waiorongomai. During their first years there, one of the children of Te Miriona and Te Hira died. He is buried at Waiorongomai, at the side of the Waiorongomai stream.³⁴³

3.1 Haowhenua (C. 1834-35), Te Kuititanga (1839)

In preparation for the battle of Haowhenua, Ngāti Maiotaki shifted back into the fortified pā at Pakakutu.³⁴⁴ A series of running battles took place when this major conflict erupted between Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa. Ngāti Raukawa were driven south to Ōtaki Pā, where they were held under siege for some time, until help from the North arrived. Matahi Brightwell, a kaumatua of Ngāti Maiotaki in correspondence states “the Taupo moana alliance matters to Ngāti Maiotaki. They and others saved Te Rauparaha and us from certain death.” At Haowhenua, some of Ngāti Toa Rangatira including Tungia and Te Hiko sided with Te Ātiawa alongside Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui and others whilst Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha sided with Ngāti Raukawa alongside others including sections of Waikato, Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa, Muaūpoko, Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa. The result was inconclusive and, “seems to have been a draw”.³⁴⁵ Matangi was one of the Ngāti Maiotaki killed at Haowhenua.

After Haowhenua, Te Ahoaho lead a taua including toa of Ngāti Kapu to Whanganui where they assisted Te Pehi Turoa to hold off Ngāti Ruanui. After that engagement, he returned to Ōtaki before heading North with Horomona Toremi, Nepia Taratoa, Nepia Taratoa Haerewharara (Haerewharaua, Haerewhararu), Aperehama Huruheru and others where they established themselves.³⁴⁶ Te Ahoaho lived peacefully at Pukepuke up to October 1839 (Te Kūititanga) and then returned to Ōtaki³⁴⁷ where he had left the Ōtaki lands in the control of Te Hira Te Tauri and others of Ngāti Maiotaki. Te Kūititanga was a major and bloody conflict predominantly fought, once again, between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa in 1839.

³⁴³ Whakapapa book of Rāwiri Rota Te Tāhiwi, private whānau collection.

³⁴⁴ Ballara, Angela, 2003, *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars', or Tikanga? Warfare in Māori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland, Penguin, pp. 348-349. Pakakutu was a pā of Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki, Haowhenua was a pā of Ngāti Awa and that Raukawa had Ōtaki pā and Rangiuu pā. She also says it was probably fought throughout the year 1834 as a number of skirmishes took place and that, 'The main protagonists were Ngāti Raukawa, supported by Te Rauparaha and his whānau...and Te Āti Awa, supported by Te Hiko and Nōpera Te Ngihā's section of Ngāti Toa.' She adds, 'But many other groups joined in for their own reasons.'

³⁴⁵ Boast R. Following Anderson and Pickens & Ward's, Brief of Evidence, WAI 785, 9 June 2003, p. 33.

³⁴⁶ *Wellington Independent*, 2 April 1868, p. 4. Evidence of Nopera Te Ngira, Hohepa Tamaihengia and Ropata Hurumutu as reported (in English).

³⁴⁷ Evidence of Ratana Ngahira, Ōtaki Māori Land Court, 8 April 1868, pp. 554-555.

During those early years, when conflict was ‘still thick on the ground’, Pita Te Pukeroa was involved in the capture of Hotuiti and Paiaki Pā in the Manawatū. Te Pukeroa captured Kōriri, the wife of Kaimaoa of Muaūpoko. Their daughter Pirihiara Arahura escaped the pā fleeing to Horowhenua, and raising the alarm. Following an ongoing series of battles in the Manawatū and Horowhenua, a peace between Muaūpoko, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa was finally made at Karekare. During the peacemaking, Pita Te Pukeroa agreed to exchange Kōriri for her daughter Pirihiara Arahura. Te Pukeroa was given control over her lands, and went to reside in Horowhenua on Arahura’s land. Te Whatanui went to Raumatangi and Ihakara Tukumarū at Hokio³⁴⁸.

When settled at Horowhenua, an ope taua of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, armed with guns, accompanied by some of Ngāti Raukawa, attempted to storm the pā at Horowhenua where Pita Te Pukeroa had taken residence. Upon sighting him, the Ngāti Toa Rangatira taua realised the pā was already under Ngāti Raukawa control, and they retreated. Pita Te Pukeroa eventually handed over his captive and her lands to his brother Manihera Te Rau. Manihera Te Rau went to reside amongst Muaūpoko, living in Horowhenua for over 50 years, running sheep, and sharing in the rents of land. Along with Pirihiara Arahura whom he eventually married, he became the whangai father of one of Ihaia Taueki’s daughters. When the Native Land Court awarded the Horowhenua Block to Muaūpoko, provision was made for Manihera Te Rau to have interest in their lands on account of his ‘ringakaha’, and also on account of his generosity towards the people he had lived among, and on account of their ‘aroha’ for him built up over many years³⁴⁹. However, unlike with Te Whatanui, the court did not see fit to make a separate award lands within the block to Manihera Te Rau, and as a consequence Manihera Te Rau’s interests to this day remain tied up with the dominant Muaūpoko land interests in Lake Horowhenua.

3.2 Te Tiriti O Waitangi

In 19 May 1840 at Ōtaki, following Te Kuititanga, Kīngi Te Ahoaho of Ngāti Maiotaki, alongside other rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa, signed the Henry Williams copy of Te Tiriti o Waitangi:

³⁴⁸ Evidence of Kereopa Tukumarū G-2a The Horowhenua Block: Minutes of the Proceedings and Evidence in the Native Appellate Court under the provisions of “The Horowhenua Block Act, 1896.”p 53

³⁴⁹ Evidence of Kawana Hunia G-2a The Horowhenua Block: Minutes of the Proceedings and Evidence in the Native Appellate Court under the provisions of “The Horowhenua Block Act, 1896

Image 39: Signature of Kiingi Te Ahoaho³⁵⁰



Rawiri Te Wanui and Ria Te Kumeroa's first cousin, Hori Whitiopai, signed Te Tiriti on 26 May 1840 at Tawhirihoe, Manawatū.

Image 40: Signature of Hori Whitiopai³⁵¹



The signings were witnessed by Octavius Hadfield and Henry Williams. At the time of the signing of the Treaty, some of Maiotaki were known to be actively cultivating at Takapu o Kaingangara, at Waiorongomai, at Paremata and Taumanuka..

4.0 Mana Whenua - Mana Kooti

Hawea Tahiwī in October 2018 recalled his kōi Hopaea Te Hana sharing from her home at 27 Rangatira Street, Ōtaki the story of Kingi Te Ahoaho's ceremonial taiaha to his eldest son Anthony Tahiwī and himself when his son was handed the kaitiakitanga of Kingi Te Ahoaho's taiaha. "This taiaha is not a fighting taiaha. It is a ceremonial taiaha. According to Kōi it was used by Kingi Te Ahoaho under customary law, to ceremonially divide the Ōtaki lands. Kingi Te Ahoaho lived at Haruatai at the time."³⁸ In 1842 Kīngi Te Ahoaho and Paora Turei, set down the first surveyed boundary line between Ngāti Te Ihiihi to the north and Maiotaki to the south running from Takapu o Kaingarara⁵¹ to Te Ahi a Hatana through Punaoro and Huritini Lakes and straight onto Puketuirau, bearing 276.5 degrees to the sea. Kahuera and Waiorongomai was the later boundary line earlier formally agreed upon between these two hapū, under customary title.

Rota Tahiwī in his evidence in the Native Land Court in 1874 described how he had travelled inland with his father to gather karakao and snare birds. From Waiorongomai, where they gathered flax and eels, they crossed to Kopureherehe, to Piritaha and across to Pukehou,

³⁵⁰ Image taken from Miria Simpson, 1990, *Nga Tohu o Te Tiriti: Making a Mark*, Wellington, National Library of New Zealand, p. 100.

³⁵¹ Image taken from Miria Simpson, 1990, *Nga Tohu o Te Tiriti: Making a Mark*, Wellington, National Library of New Zealand, p. 100.

where they would turn to Waitohu, or, coming from the sea, they would follow the Mangapouri and then the Haruatai Streams inland through Te Tokitoki towards the mountains where, at Pare-a-Matangi, they would turn towards Waitohu. They would follow the Waitohu up to Maramakopae⁶⁰ where Te Hira had marked a tutu tree and Te Ahoaho had marked a miro tree for catching birds.⁶¹ The trees were boundary markers, between Ngāti Maiotaki and Ngāti Kauwhata, who resided at Pukehou. Coming back to Te Rere, and going across to Ringawhati, Ngāti Maiotaki territory came down to Rahui before going over to Waihoanga and up the Ōtaki River to Waimenu, and Onehunga, right up to Apiti.

Rota was shown the boundaries of Ngāti Maiotaki land from the mountain to the sea by his father and uncle; all the land from the mountains between the Ōtaki river on one side, and from the mountains down to Pukehou and then out to Lake Waiorongomai and the sea, back across to the Ngaungau and to Paremata.

In the Native Land Court on 8 April 1874 as part of the Waihoanga hearing, Rota Rāwiri Te Tahiwī described being shown the boundaries of Ngāti Maiotaki territory at Waihoanga in 1855 by his uncle, Te Kīngi Te Ahoaho, and his father, Te Hira Te Tauri.³⁵² Te Kīngi pointed out the bird-catching trees and the water troughs and stated that Ngāti Maiotaki were the only hapū that had authority over these lands extending all the way to the mountains.³⁵³ In an extension of the customary practice of taunaha, Te Kīngi informed Rota Rāwiri that Puketoi was so named because he had brought a branch of toi tree from that place.³⁵⁴ Rāwiri Rota further stated that he had gone to Waihoanga in 1857 with his father and uncle to catch birds and that he was in fact taught to snare birds by Te Kīngi up to 1862.³⁵⁵

Rota's brother Hohipuha known variously as Hohipuha Kareanui, Hohipuha Te Tauri, and Hohipuha Tahiwī also testified before the Court. On 11 April 1874, Hohipuha in his evidence stated:

“I live at Manawatū, I am a Ngāti Maiotaki and Ngāti Moewaka. I have a claim to this land through Kīngi Te Ahoaho and Matangi; also through Te Hira – my father who is a younger brother of Kīngi and Matangi also through Mohi. Those are the persons who commenced to divide this land. When Tungia of Ngāti Toa Rangatira gave the land to Matangi and Kīngi - these old men were the first to make clearings

³⁵² *Ōtaki Māori Land Court, Book 2*, 8 April 1874, p. 378.

³⁵³ *Ōtaki Māori Land Court, Book 2*, 8 April 1874, p. 378.

³⁵⁴ *Ōtaki Māori Land Court, Book 2*, 8 April 1874, p. 378.

³⁵⁵ *Ōtaki Māori Land Court Book 2*, 8 April 1874, p. 379.

on this land. I went on this land when I had grown to manhood. My occupation is bird catching.

He goes on further to add:

“In 1862, Kīngi died. I did not hear that Kīngi had transferred his rights in this land to any body else. Hira and others were then on the land. In 1872, my father Hira died.”

The complexity of rights of customary Māori land and resource rights is illustrated in Rāwiri Rota’s concession that Te Kīngi had told him that he had consented to give Waihoanga stream to Ngāti Kikopiri and Ngāti Maiotaki for a mill.³⁵⁶ Rāwiri Te Wānui further stated that he and Te Kīngi Te Ahoaho, as the principle rangatira of Ngāti Maiotaki, gave land to Wi Hapi Te Whiti in 1837 as he was ‘a clever man’ of Ngāti Maiotaki. When Hapi later moved north in 1871 (according to his brother Natana Pipito), he publicly stated that he returned the land to Ngāti Maiotaki and no objection was then registered.³⁵⁷

In an ongoing rejection of customary land practice, and of Ngāti Maiōtaki’s customary authority, the native land court in 1874 determined the interests to the Waihoanga block, which was partitioned. 400ha of Waihoanga lands were granted in reserve to other interests, but none of those reserve lands were granted to Ngāti Maiōtaki for whom Waihoanga provided them with water, food and other resources. The reserve lands were quickly sold.

4.1 Tāone Ōtaki

In the early 1840’s after the arrival of Hadfield to Ōtaki, and the commencement of services at Pakakutu and Rangiuru Pā, the rūnanga of Chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa came together at Rangiuru Pā to consider the building of the church, and the gifting of lands for the church and mission and the laying out of the town. Those rangatira included Kīngi Te Ahoaho, Mohi (Te Whare Whiti), Kiwi Hori Te Puke, Nikora Te Ao, Kiharoa, Te Matenga, Te Motoi, Hanita Te Whare Makatea, Hone Te Tihi, Maka Kiri Kaura.³⁵⁸

It was this rūnanga who agreed to the gifting of Moutere and Taumanuka lands for the building of Rangiātea Church and for the Church Mission to advance the church and the education of the Iwi. With the gifting of the lands for the building of Rangiātea Church and

³⁵⁶ *Ōtaki Māori Land Court Book 2*, 8 April 1874, p. 379.

³⁵⁷ *Ōtaki Māori Land Court Book 2*, 8 April 1874, p. 379.

³⁵⁸ Evidence of Rāwiri Te Wānui, *Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minutebook*, 12 July 1867, p. 80.

for the creation of Ōtaki papakainga, which was laid out in 1846, Te Ahoaho, Te Hira, Te Matangi and others along with their relations moved alongside the Mangapouri and Haruatai streams to the location of the current Raukawa marae and further east to the lands including Haruatai, Te Awahohonu and Te Manuao. In 1847 Te Ahoaho was baptised Kingi Te Ahoaho at Rangiuru Pā. Ngāti Maiotaki have been associated with Rangiātea church and the Church Mission lands from their commencement. Rāwiri Te Wānui was minister at Rangiātea between 1872 and 1882.

Te Wānui was the second Māori and second person of the ART confederation to serve as minister at Rangiātea after Rīwai Te Ahu of Te Āti Awa (who served 1865-1866).³⁵⁹ In 1849, Hohipuha Kareanui, brother of Rota Rāwiri Te Tahiwī, lived with Samuel Williams who had by then replaced Octavius Hadfield.³⁶⁰ Hohipuha Kareanui was, like his brother-in-law Rāwiri Te Wānui, instructed in the teachings of the church and given a missionary education. He learned to read and write in Māori and English. In 1854, Hohipuha accompanied Rev. Williams to Napier where he lived for some years assisting in his church work before moving back to the Manawatū to live amongst Ngāti Tūranga.³⁶¹

An adze used in the construction of Rangiātea believed to be the only known remaining tool used in the Church's construction was gifted to the church by Hopaea Te Hana in the early 1980s. It used to sit in her home in Rangātira Street, central Ōtaki, next to the fireplace. It was a familiar object to whānau. It later went missing from the church and has never been found. An 1852 Barraud lithograph of Rangiātea Church remains in the care of Maiotaki whānau.

4.2 Whenua

Ngāti Maiōtaki leaders and taua, as early arrivals to the south as part of the taua of Ngāti Toa Rangātira, alongside other Ngāti Raukawa rangātira who came to assist Ngāti Toa Rangātira to clear the lands, ahead of the main Ngāti Raukawa migrations were given customary control of lands, both in the Rangītikei Manawatu, and in Ōtaki from the

³⁵⁹ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal and Matiu Baker, 2003, *Rangiātea: Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora*, Exhibition Booklet, Wellington, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa with Te Rōpu Whakahaere o Rangiātea, 2nd ed, p. 12; p. 20.

³⁶⁰ Evidence of Hohipuha Kareanui, Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minutebook, 11 April 1874, p. 387.

³⁶¹ Evidence of Hohipuha Kareanui, Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minutebook, 11 April 1874, p. 387.

mountain to the sea by Tungia of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, and on account of other close relationships they shared.

Barely ten years after the signing of Te Tiriti, Ngāti Maiōtaki attended the 1849 Te Awahou Hui, where Kingi Te Ahoaho appeared as one of the senior rangatira speakers, along with other prominent senior rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa including Taratoa, Te Puke, Te Ahukaramu, along with younger rangatira including Te Whiwhi, Te Whatanui, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Ihakara; Kingi Te Ahoaho exhorted Ngati Raukawa to hold fast to their lands, and to not give up any of the lands to the South of the Rangitīkei. He remained in staunch opposition towards land sales until his death in 1862, when Rawiri Te Wanui, and Rota Tahiwī took up the mantle, continuing to proclaim Ngāti Maiōtaki's mana over their customary lands, as well as their ongoing opposition to sales of lands. Ngāti Maiōtaki as non-sellers in the Manawatu Rangitīkei block, were left landless, and were excluded from any of the later awards of reserves in the Manawatu Rangitīkei to non-sellers, following the extinguishing of customary title. The story of our Manawatu lands being stolen by the Crown through deception is one which has been carried down through the generations of Ngāti Maiotaki whanau.

After Te Ahoaho's death in November 1862 what came to be the Native and later Māori Land Court and its attendant processes over time alienated Ngāti Maiotaki from their land. Those who had held the mana over the land now had to prove their right to the land via an imposed, foreign legal mechanism designed to remove land and other resources from Māori and transfer these lands and resources to Pākehā settlers. Ngāti Maiotaki were amongst a group of non-sellers of Ngāti Raukawa who lost all claim on their Manawatu Rangitīkei land interests as a result of those legal mechanisms.

In 1869 Ngāti Maiotaki had to appear before the Court to confirm their title over Kahuera. Rev. Rāwiri Te Wānui of Ngāti Maiotaki appeared before the court with Paora Pohotiraha of Ngāti Te Ihiihi to confirm the earlier boundary line agreed on by Te Ahoaho running from Takapu o Kaingarara to Te Ahi a Hatua (Hatana) through Punaioro and Huritini Lakes and straight onto Puketuirau.

Te Tokitoki (Titokitoki) is another area of land that Te Ahoaho of Maiotaki held mana over. Rata trees were the original markers of the land. Te Ahoaho gifted some of Titokitoki to Harata and Te Maika Takarore who had earlier been taken prisoners by Te Ahoaho. Harata had been taken as a wife of Te Ahoaho before marrying Te Maika Takarore. Te Ahoaho was generous in apportion of the Ōtaki lands he and Ngāti Maiotaki had cleared to all of his close relatives and others.

It was through the Native Land Court process that later Raukawa arrivals to Ōtaki from Waikato, made claims on Kīngi Te Ahoaho's land at Titokitoki and other places, including the lands previously apportioned to Harata and Te Maika. The Haruatai Block is part of the original Titokitoki block. Other areas of the Haruatai block were given to Harata and Maika by Kingi Te Ahoaho. Harata and Te Maika had three children Ketewhia Te Waita, Te Raika Takarore, and Hohipuha Takarore. Alice Rebecca (Girlie) Raika, a mokopuna of Te Raika Takarore married Heta Kareanui Gilbert, son of Purewa Te Tahiwī. She died in 1972.³⁶²

Both Matene Te Whiwī and Tamihana Te Rauparaha record Te Ahoaho and Ngāti Maiotaki as being responsible for the building of Pakakutu Pā, at Paremata. Maika died at Paremata (Ōtaki) after a fight developed over his defence of Maiotaki lands.

In another Court judgement, the Native Land Court decided to uphold the argument of counter claimants who pleaded that as former 'mokai' of Kīngi Te Ahoaho, Harata and Maika had no lasting claim over lands allocated to them. The Land Court awarded their lands to others alienating Harata and Te Maika from some of the lands at Haruatai and Titokitoki already gifted to them by Kīngi Te Ahoaho.

Rawiri Rota Te Tahiwī described in the Māori Land Court how his hapū had sourced the timber from Kaingarakī for the building of the first Raukawa whare tupuna, a meeting house for the whole tribe. In the Māori Land Court in 1878, Rawiri Rota Te Tahiwī also petitioned for the mill site at Haruatai to be partitioned off for the whole tribe. The site had previously been gifted by Kingi Te Ahoaho for the building of a flour mill to provide income for the iwi.

³⁶² Kennedy, T. Private communication, 10 September 2018.

Ngāti Maiotaki made concerted attempts through the Native Land Court processes to retain portions of tribal lands in tribal ownership, despite the Courts' own processes being designed to do otherwise.

Kopureherehe also remains a place of significance for Ngāti Maiotaki.³⁶³ Despite much of Maiotaki's lands having been sold as whānau struggled to pay the rates demanded on all their land holdings, as the land became subdivided a portion of land around Kopureherehe remains in the hands of Maiotaki. Handed down through descendants has been the knowledge that of one of our tupuna whaea – a rangatira - is buried in Kopureherehe along with a waka full of taonga.³⁶⁴ Kopureherehe from that time became off-limits for gathering kai. On one occasion someone in defiance of the rāhui went to gather tuna. The tuna gathered were two headed and when it was revealed where they had come from they were destroyed and karakia performed.

Despite most of the original Ōtaki lands having been alienated over time, Maiotaki have remained established at Waiorongomai and (Ko)pureherehe and on town sections upon the Makuratawhiti block (see map) up to the present time. Maiotaki members retain shares in the ownership of Lake Waiorongomai (see map) and in the Waiorongomai Stream blocks (see map). Waiorongomai remains a place of special significance for Ngāti Maiotaki. Marama Gilbert recalls spending time there as a child in the late 1960s, early 1970s.³⁶⁵ Ngāti Maiotaki also retain shares in one of the blocks surrounding Kopureherehe and in the Waitohu 10A block through Hohipuha Kareanui's uninterrupted interest. Whānau have lived on and worked the land at Waiorongomai up to the present day. They have retained their close association to Raukawa Marae ensuring Maiotaki retain their ahi kā roa.

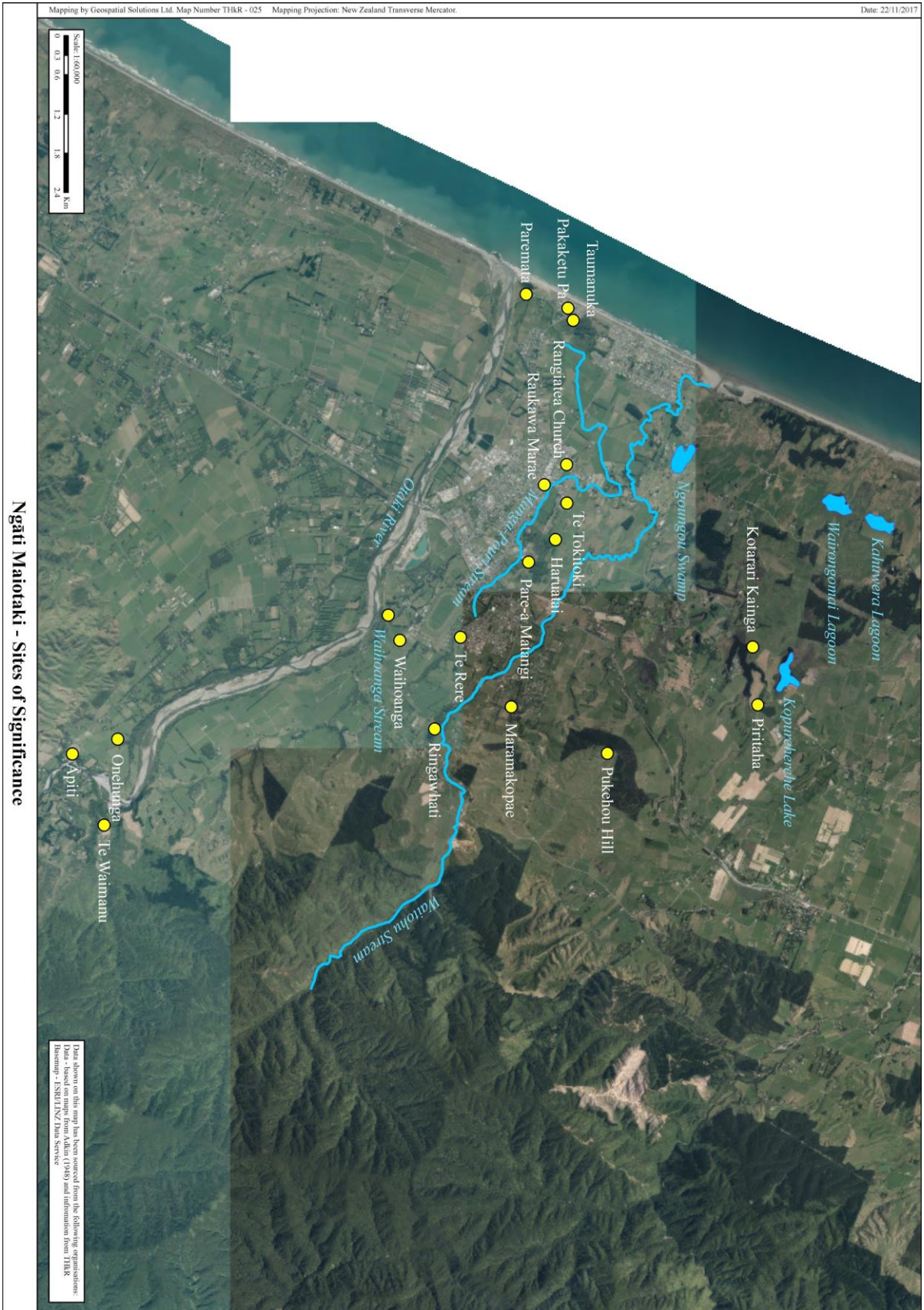
Ngāti Maiotaki also maintain their interest in Horowhenua, despite that interest being tied up with Muaūpoko.

³⁶³ Ibid.

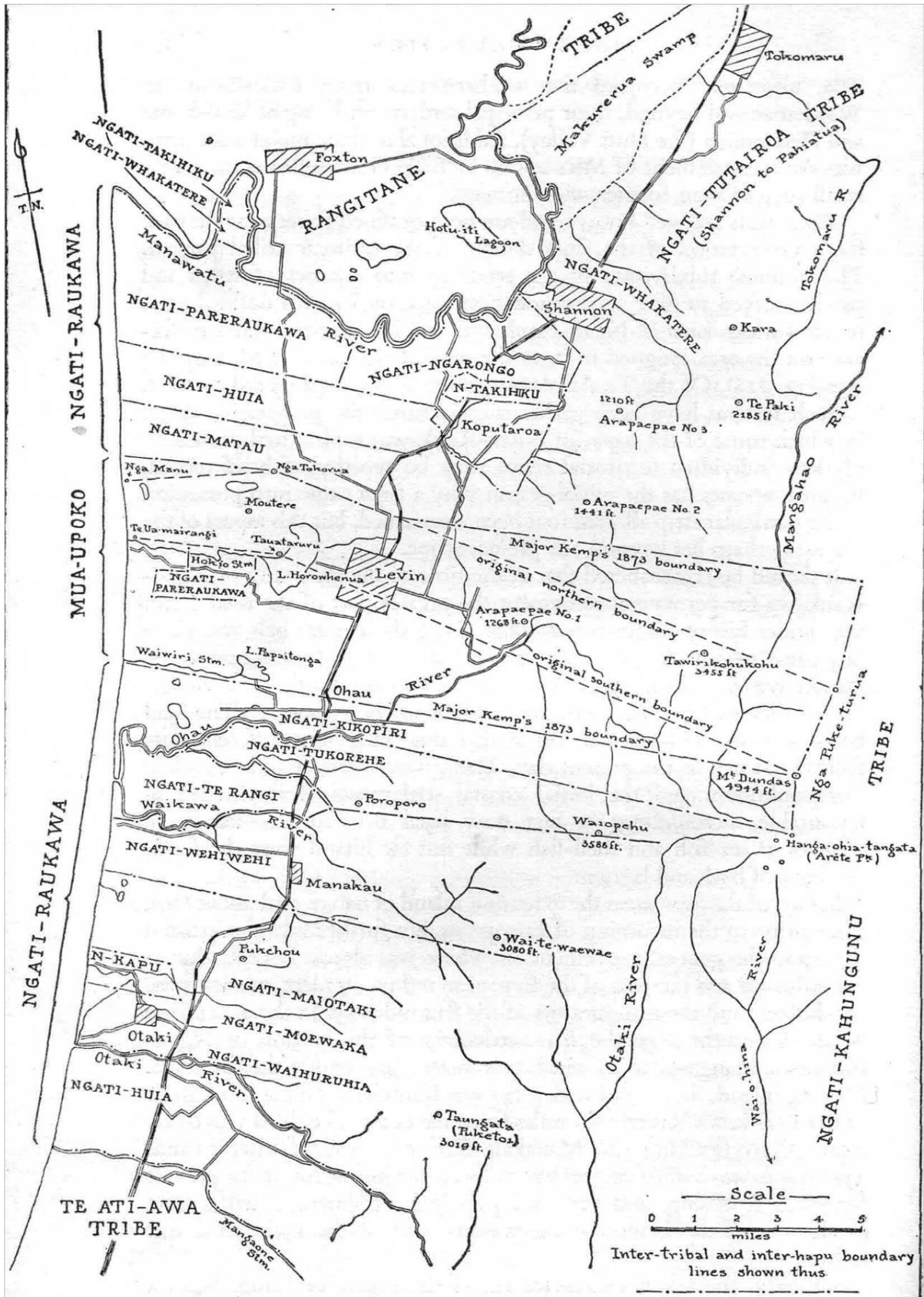
³⁶⁴ According to Maria Jane, who had lived at Waiorongomai with her grandmother Hinehou Roiri (nee Tāhiwi) and grandfather Maunga Roiri (Rangiheua whānau).

³⁶⁵ Gilbert, M. Personal conversation, 1 June 2017, Ōtaki.

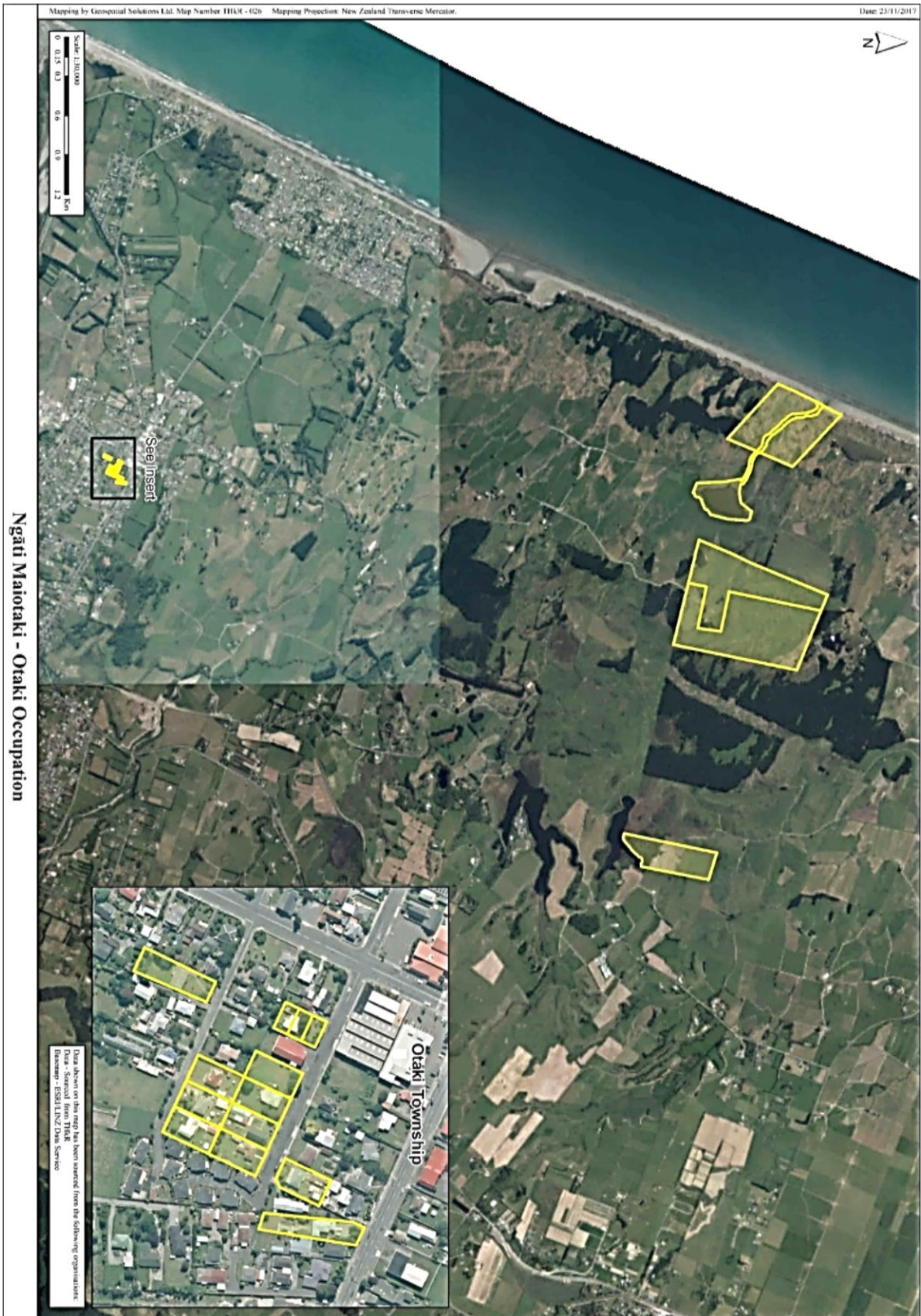
Map 13: Ngāti Maiotaki sites of significance



Map 14: Adkin, LG Horowhenua: Its Māori Place Names and their topographic and historical background. Wellington, Dept of Internal Affairs, 1948. p.128



Map 15: Ngāti Maiotaki - Ōtaki Occupation



5.0 Te Reo Māori

The degradation of Te Reo Māori of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga began early. This is perhaps a reflection of our close geographic proximity to Wellington the city capital since 1865 as a well-established trading centre since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Ngāti Maiotaki have been adversely affected by the unofficial banning of Te Reo Māori in schools up until recent decades. Marama Gilbert recalls:

“We were taught the basics [of te reo Māori] when we were kids, but I do recall this, mum talking about the past when she used to get hit, as many of them did back in the day at school...it was quite a hardcase going to school and speaking the reo at school on the first day, and not understanding why I was put outside the room or being spoken to by the teacher in such a way for me to be quiet, but I could talk Pākehā as well, and as the days grew I started to get hit...so I used to go home crying and tell Mum. She turned around and said, ‘No more! No more, don't speak no more like that.’ So I never did.”³⁶⁶

Ngāti Maiotaki people have suffered; as have Ngāti Raukawa; as indeed have te iwi Māori in terms of the deliberate repression of our reo, of our culture and our ways of being. Ngāti Maiotaki people have, however, tended not to dwell on the heartbreaking negatives and have found pathways of survival.

A theme that runs through this report and the kōrero tuku iho hearings (2014) is one of deliberate ‘forgetting’, or, perhaps more accurately, choosing to focus on the positive wheresoever it might be found. As kaumatua Hohepa Te Wiata put it:

“You only have to look at the kohanga reo...in my day there was nothing like that. You know sometimes I’m sitting in my little whare over there on my own and I’m just thinking...why didn’t we have that? Why didn’t we have that? It just comes back to what you said...you know...the powers that be put different things...priorities, you see.”³⁶⁷

Histories of loss and degradation marred by the ever-present spectre of racism grind against the minds, souls and bodies of indigenous peoples the world over. These are not histories that many of our tūpuna wanted to pass on to us. They sought to shield us from black holes of post and present colonial depression. Ngāti Raukawa are a proud people. Ngāti Raukawa

³⁶⁶ Gilbert, M. 2017.

³⁶⁷ Hohepa Te Wiata, oral interview, Ōtaki, 6 May 2017.

are a people whose history is marked by their attitude of ‘getting on with it’. As Hohepa (Joe) Te Wiata put it based on his experience at the marae:

“I wish I could have done more. I wish I could have understood more...I wish I had given more time to learn and understand things...Part of the problem, I feel, was my father not passing knowledge on.”³⁶⁸

Kīngi Rāwiri Te Ahoaho Tahiwī and his siblings, for example, were ‘go-getters’. They held firm to their belief and commitment to church, education, work and sport. They served their country in two world wars, they travelled, they married, they gave service to the church, to schools and to the marae. They were musicians and performers. They were practical people. They were not people who lived their lives focused on grievance. They lived full lives, not perfect, by any means, but full. They were fortunate to have retained their language, as they made their way in a new world, however the following generation were not. Kingi Tahiwī, working in Wellington, helped establish Ngāti Poneke Young Māori Club, as a cultural gathering place for Māori who lived and worked away from their tribal lands.

Most of the many waiata composed by Kīngi Tahiwī borrowed popular tunes of the day, of the 1920s-40s. Waiata like ‘Aue Ringaringa Pakia’, ‘E Te Iwi E’, and the popular, ‘He Puru Taitama’, were light-hearted entertainment. ‘Tau Mai E Kapiti’ stands out as his most serious composition and its words and sentiment have affected enough people for a writer’s residency on Kāpiti island to be named after it, for it to appear in full in the Ngāti Toa Rangatira Deed of Settlement,³⁶⁹ and for a PhD thesis to be named after it. ‘Tau Mai E Kapiti’ is still sung by the people on marae and at other tribal gatherings and representations. It tells the history of our coming to this region, of our binding together as the ART confederation and of our establishing ourselves in this rohe. ‘Tau Mai E Kapiti’ notwithstanding,

Kīngi choose to spend the greater portion of his time and compositional energy expressing his range of emotional responses to what was happening in his immediate life and in the lives of his people. He reminded us, ‘Ko Ngāti Raukawa Mātou’, we are Ngāti Raukawa and we share our musical abilities with our community and the wider world. Meanwhile, in

³⁶⁸ Te Wiata, H. Personal conversation, Ōtaki, 6 May 2017.

³⁶⁹ Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Toa Rangatira Trust and The Crown, ‘*Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims*’, 2012, pp. 10-11. Although the words and translation are reproduced in full the waiata is, rather disingenuously, unattributed.

Ōtaki his sister Hopaea, widowed early with six children, and pregnant with her seventh child, continued to maintain the ahi kā, living in the whanau home built by Rawiri Rota Tahiwī in Rangatira St, following his move from his raupo whare on the Raukawa pā. Having been born on Raukawa Marae, and as a former pupil of the Otaki Mission School, and as a former teacher, Hopaea was a devout Anglican who maintained her kaitiakitanga responsibilities to Raukawa marae, to Rangiatea Church, to her iwi and community throughout her lifetime. Despite her many personal losses, including the early loss of her husband, four of her daughters to tuberculosis, and one son as a casualty of World War II, and despite the many other challenges she faced throughout her lifetime, remained generous with her time and knowledge, to ensure the mana of Ngāti Maiotaki was upheld, until her death in 1985 aged 97 years.

6.0 Hei whakakapi

Wielding his taiaha and his gun, Kīngi Te Ahoaho made his way South from his traditional Waikato homelands, with Ngāti Toa Rangatira, and then with other Ngāti Raukawa leaders in the early nineteenth century to clear aside new lands for their iwi. Time and time again, Kingi Te Ahoaho fiercely stood his ground against those who would seek to challenge his mana or place. Te Ahoaho's ceremonial taiaha remains within our hapū, a symbol of strength, protection and longevity. Te Ahoaho's taiaha serves to remind us where and who we come from and who we are.

Fittingly, with the permission of its then kaitiaki, it was revealed in public for the first time in many many years inside Raukawa whare tupuna for the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui held as part of the Raukawa Treaty of Waitangi claims process. Against the odds, in the face of a hostile settler government, anti-Māori sentiment, racism, and prejudice Ngāti Maiotaki have maintained a presence in Ōtaki for nearly 200 years, establishing ourselves as ahi kā roa, holding mana whenua over the Ōtaki lands where our tūpuna once stood, alongside our relations of Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti, and Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku. Ever aware of our tūpuna and the gifts they have bestowed on us, we live in the present day, with a kete of our own skills and a kete of inherited mātauranga from which to draw on as we face the challenges in front of us.

NGĀTI KAPU

ORAL HISTORY



Produced for WAI 1630 Claim

By Rawiri Rikihana, Terewai Rikihana, Jayme Bishop,
Whare Akuhata and Ellen Andersen

April 2018

PREFACE

Ngā Mihi

Special mention should be made to the work carried out by Rupene Waaka. He is described as a committed iwi man and a vital link within our hapū. He is very knowledgeable in regard to local history. His expertise in research and whakapapa is a taonga. Others to be acknowledged include Heitia Raureti, Roderick Gray and the late August Ākuhata.

We also pay tribute to our kaumātua especially Whatarangi Winiata and also Te Hono ki Raukawa for providing the opportunity to tell this important part of the Ngāti Kapu story.

Introduction

For Ngāti Kapu this project is important in terms of seeking redress for breaches of the Treaty by the Crown. As set out in our claim we want to document the government failure to safeguard Ngāti Kapu assertion and maintenance of tino rangatiratanga.

More importantly it presents us with the opportunity to collect our own stories of who we are, where we came from and what is important to us. It enables us to pass on those stories to the present and future generations. It has a direct application to our future wellbeing.

1.0 Methodology

Researchers carried out an investigative research process by interviewing kaumātua and various people within the hapū. The process involved researching land court records, information held in various forms (audio, video and print) in libraries and archives in Ōtaki, Wellington and at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Reports produced through the Waitangi Tribunal's Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry were also referred to during research. We have engaged with rangatahi, an important facet. Ethical considerations included the use of consent forms and feedback throughout the process.

1.1 Hapū Research Team

- Rawiri Rikihana

Rawiri is a spokesperson (marae) in the Raukawa Te Au Ki Te Tonga rohe. He has worked extensively within a kaupapa Māori context. This involvement includes the establishment of Te Kura Kaupapa o Te Rito and Te Kōhanga Reo o Te Kākano. He is currently working with Raukawa Whānau Ora and a traditional Māori parenting programme - Tikanga Ririki. At governance level Rawiri was the Ngāti Kapu representative on Te Whāiti o Te Rūnanga o Raukawa. His past work has included working in tourism, both locally and nationally, as an operator and kaimahi (driver). This work has mainly been with indigenous groups (Hawaiian, Tahitian, First Nation and Kura Kaupapa Māori). He has held a number of positions with the Mid-Central Health Board including Māori advisor for the Mental Health Unit.

- Terewai Rikihana

He puawaitanga no te rito, mai i Te Kākano Kōhanga Reo, ki Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rito, tae atu ki Te Wharekura o Te Rito. Terewai gained a Bachelor of Social Work and a Postgraduate Diploma in Social Work through Massey University. She has provided pastoral care support for rangatahi Māori for over 10 years through various roles. She is currently working as the Kaitautoko-i-te-ora for Evolve Youth Service Wellington.

- Jayme Bishop

Jayme works at Raukawa Whānau Ora for Family Start. She has completed Tikanga Ririki training through Mana Ririki. This parenting programme draws on traditional Māori parenting sources. Jayme is active in a number of hapū and iwi initiatives.

- Whare Akuhata

Whare is a writer/photo journalist with a range of work experiences. He qualified and worked as a property valuer and has expertise in Māori communications, marketing and media. He is involved with various Māori initiatives both in the Mataatua and Raukawa rohe. Notably he was the co-founder and editor of the Māori publication Pū Kāea. At a

governance level he works with a number of Māori organisations. His experience also involves work in the corporate, private and government sectors.

- Ellen Andersen

Ellen is a specialist in the conservation of historic buildings, and she works for Heritage New Zealand as a Māori Built Heritage Advisor. In addition to her training in architecture, she has an Arts degree and is a member of PHANZA, the Professional Historians Association of New Zealand.

1.2 Wai 1630 Claim

The Wai 1630 claims sets the key themes of our report. Ngāti Kapu Marae chairman Heitia Raureti lodged this claim on 31 August 2008, as a member of his hapū Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti (traditionally and currently referred to as Ngāti Kapu) and his iwi Ngāti Raukawa.

He states the traditional estate and mana of the hapū included the area approximately three kilometres to the north of the Waitohu River and extended from the coast into the Tararua Ranges.

The hapū have been and continue to be prejudicially affected by policies, practices, legislation and omissions of the Crown including but not limited to:

- The Crown's acquisition of hapū and iwi land by the use of detrimental practices and policies; the imposition of a foreign and culturally inappropriate and offensive land tenure system; the enactment of legislation designed to alienate Māori from their ūkaipō.
- The Crown's failure to safeguard Ngāti Kapu and Ngāti Raukawa land from alienation.
- The adoption of policies, practices, and all forms of legislation that have marginalised Māori mātauranga, tikanga mātauranga, tikanga kaupapa and te reo in general, and of Ngāti Kapu and Ngāti Raukawa in particular;
- The failure to safeguard Ngāti Kapu taonga
- The failure to safeguard Ngāti Kapu assertion and maintenance of tino rangatiratanga in respect of but not limited to their political authority, lands,

fisheries, waterways and other taonga that reside above, below and within the kainga between Papatūānuku and Ranginui.

- The failure to exercise kāwanatanga appropriately, and in accordance with the spirit and articles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
- The claim also seeks the return of or redress in regard to Ngāti Kapumanawhiti and Ngāti Raukawa lands. It asks the Crown to recognise and assist in the facilitation of their tino rangatiratanga. Further land alienation research reports will need to be undertaken to fully document the extent of land loss.

1.3 Report Content

Section 1 : Ngāti Kapu, origins, early history and settlement of Ōtaki.

This section deals with the early history of Ngāti Kapu, our hapū/iwi whakapapa, origins, significant tūpuna, relationships and connections to other hapū; the hekenga and early settlement of Ōtaki.

Section 2 : Tino Rangatiratanga

The history of Ngāti Kapu is marked by the loss of its rangatiratanga. This section will look at our attempts to maintain rangatiratanga. It will analyse kāwanatanga and its application to Ngāti Kapu; the failure to safeguard our rangatiratanga in respect to the political authority, lands, fisheries, waterways and other taonga of the hapū; the failure to exercise kāwanatanga appropriately and in accordance with the spirit, purpose, and articles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Section 3 : Colonisation At Work

This section deals with the imposition of:

- a foreign, culturally inappropriate and an offensive land tenure system;
- the enactment of legislation designed to alienate Māori from their ūkaipō;
- the Crown's failure to safeguard Ngāti Kapu land from alienation;
- the adoption of policies, practices, and all forms of legislation that have marginalised Māori mātauranga, tikanga mātauranga, tikanga kaupapa and te reo in general and of Ngāti Kapu in particular, and
- the failure to safeguard Ngāti Kapu taonga.

Section 4 : Survival and Wellbeing

This will look at how Ngāti Kapu have survived as a people and our continuing struggle to maintain our rangatiratanga; discussed in terms of cultural aspects hapū engagement, hapū resource quantification, threats to our distinctiveness as a hapū; the wellbeing of its reo, marae institution, holistic health, financial wellbeing and other socio-economic factors.

2.0 Ngāti Kapu, origins, early history and Settlement of Ōtaki

2.1 Ngāti Kapu

*Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Tararua te pae maunga
Ko Ōtaki me Waitohu ngā awa
Ko Te Pou o Tainui te marae
Ko Kapumanawawhiti te whare tūpuna
Ko Ngāti Kapu te hapū*

Ngāti Kapu is a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa and is located at Ōtaki. The traditional boundaries of the hapū comprise an area near Ōtaki, north of the Mangapōuri Stream, east of the Pukeatua sand dunes and on both sides of the Waitohu River.³⁷⁰ The traditional area of occupation included up to approximately three kilometres to the north of the Waitohu River and extending from the coast into the Tararua Ranges.

Occasionally the hapū is known by its full name, Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti. However, it is more often referred to as Ngāti Kapu, with nineteenth century records often referring to the hapū as such. For consistency, the rest of this narrative account will refer to the hapū as the commonly used name ‘Ngāti Kapu’.

Located within this area is the Ngāti Kapu marae, Te Pou o Tainui. The wharenuī is named after the eponymous ancestor Kapumanawawhiti. Mukakai, the wharekai is named after a taniwha who accompanied the brothers Haetapunui and

³⁷⁰ Rikihana, R. personal conversation. Ōtaki 2017.

Kapumanawawhiti. He represents the mauri for Ngāti Kapu and references the important capacity to manaaki and feed our visitors.³⁷¹ The name was given to Ngāti Kapu by Pei Te Hurunui Jones who at the time was spokesman for the Kīngitanga and was King Koroki’s advisor.

Image 35: The whānau of Ngāti Kapu



2.2 Kapumanawawhiti

Kapumanawawhiti was the second son of Huitao and Hinetore. Kapumanawawhiti gained fame as a fighting chief. He was said to be courageous, very intelligent and quick-witted -hence his name.

The whakatauki, “Ko te uri o Kapumanawawhiti” celebrates this attribute. Another whakatauki confirms his fighting prowess; “He kotahi tangata no Motai, e haerea te one i Hakerekere”. A descendant of Motai will pass over the sands of Hakerekere.

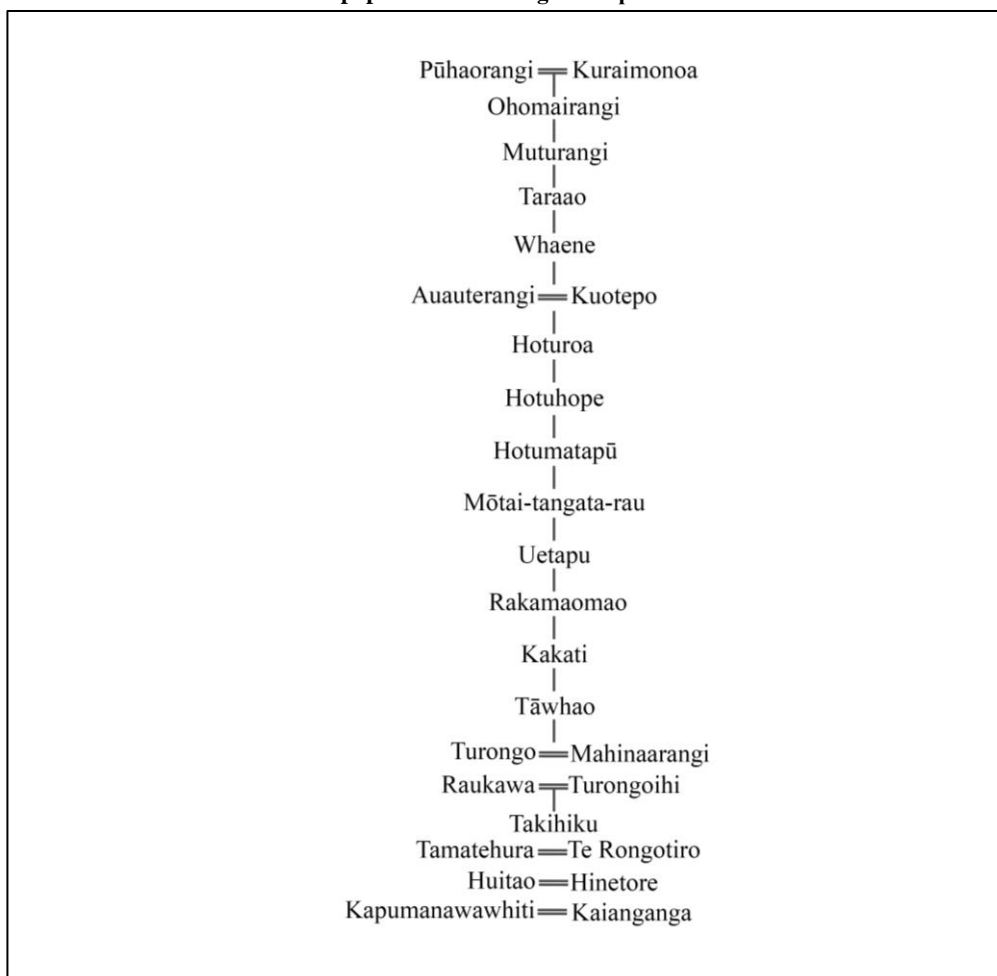
This refers to an account where Kapumanawawhiti’s mother, was enslaved by Te Āti Awa and was taunted by her master. She uttered the above and her son, Kapumanawawhiti, raised a war-party, which he led to Hakerekere and rescued his mother.³⁷²

³⁷¹ Ākuhata, A. and Gray, R. Personal conversation. Ōtaki 2017.

³⁷² *Te Pou o Tainui* Draft Booklet, Unpublished. August 2001

2.3 Whakapapa

Whakapapa 28: Pūhaorangi to Kapumanawhiti



2.3 Ngāti Kapu in the North

Ngāti Kapu was one of many tribes originally located at Maungatautari and Waotu, in an area known as Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere. This area stretches north from Lake Taupō to the Kaimai ranges west of Tauranga.

Comprehensive research about Ngāti Kapu's presence in Waikato has not yet been undertaken. What information is currently available has been derived from the writings of Pei Te Hurinui Jones and other historians. This loss of knowledge can, in part be attributed to the effects of colonisation. Key is the decisions of the Native Land Court in deciding those hapū who had left the Waikato had lost all rights to their land. This was covered extensively in newspapers of the 1880s in regard to Waotu in particular. The loss of mātauranga is further explored later in this report.

Many families have, however, retained connections with their northern relations. This has been through inter-marriage and whāngai raised in both areas. For Ngāti Kapu the connection with Tauranga Moana is particularly important and goes back to at least the time of Raukawa who is said to have spent time on Matakana Island.³⁷³ A key marriage was Arekatera Te Rawaraki of Ngāti Kapu to Marita Ani Gray from Tauranga Moana. Gray was the daughter of Meremaihi Taratoa, whose brother Henare Wiremu Taratoa also lived in Ōtaki in the 1850s and married Rahapa Te Kāka of Ōtaki. A large number of whānau descend from these unions³⁷⁴. The Taratoa whānau still retain a close connection to Tauranga and Matakana Island. The move to Ōtaki of the late kaumatua August Ākuhata was crucial in terms of te reo, tikanga and cultural renaissance of the hapū and across Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Ngāti Raukawa living in the traditional area still may have knowledge of our time there. The hapū has expressed a desire to return to re-discover their roots.

2.4 Ngā Heke

Ngāti Raukawa as an iwi declined the invitation by their kinsman Te Rauparaha to move to the Kāpiti coast, however, oral traditions say they came as part of the household of Te Rauparaha.³⁷⁵ The first series of heke happened between 1821 and 1822. In 1824 Ngāti Raukawa as an iwi moved south and the first heke was called Heke Karere. Ngāti Kapu was part of this heke and also the others that followed; Te Heke Whirinui, 1826; Te Heke Kariritahi, 1827 and Te Heke Mairaro, 1828.

In a number of cases held in the Native Land Court there are several accounts by Ngāti Kapu leaders. In the Waitohu No.11 court case Hinewi (Ngāti Kapu) said...

“Te Ra brought his mana as a chief from the north only us came in the first heke – me, Te Ra, Kotira, Ngarihi, Enoka’s mother & Uriama – Te Wano, Takuira & Timoti – went north... Te Ra told him to bring Te Uhi (who was at Titiraupenga) & Te Waha... Whiritaura was the name of the hapū when we came here.”³⁷⁶

³⁷³ Ākuhata, A. 2017

³⁷⁴ Ākuhata, A. and Gray, R. Personal conversation, Ōtaki. 5 November 2017

³⁷⁵ *Te Pou o Tainui*

³⁷⁶ Waitohu No.11 OMB (18) 17. p. 86.

In the same case Akapita Te Tewe (Ngāti Kapu) said.

“Te Ra came with the first one... (heke) Te Uhi with the second one. Wairaka, Te Waha, Te Uhi, Te Raiia, Tumuhae and o’rs & Honoiti are the chiefs of this lot... Riini did not come in either of these. Came in the last with N’Te Rangi long after Christianity.”³⁷⁷

2.5 Ngāti Kapu Early Settlement

Ngāti Kapu like the rest of Ngāti Raukawa were scattered throughout Ōtaki. There are also some accounts of them living on Kāpiti. They eventually established on the land that was given to them – including along the Waitohu, at Pukehou and at Pukekaraka.

Ngāti Kapu were heavily involved in the Battle of Haowhenua in 1834. In fact, it was the actions of the hapū that in part led to the fighting.

Te Āti Awa were making their way to Waikanae and were encamped at the mouth of the Waitohu Stream. Some of their group went inland to forage for food and came across potato pits, which they plundered. The Ngāti Kapu owners discovered them and one of their members, Te Whakaheke, killed Tawhaki (Tawake).

In one of the Pukehou land court cases the following is recorded. Akapita Te Tewe (of Ngāti Kapu) said;

“N’Kapu heard of it and determined to go and kill Tawake – they killed him – that was the cause of the Haowhenua fight – after it – Ngātiawa divided off to Waikanae, Ngātitama to Wellington some of Ngātitoa to Kapiti and some remained at Ōtaki.”³⁷⁸

Ngāti Kapu fought at the following battle of Te Kuititanga where they lost their rangatira Te Uhi and other Ngāti Kapu toa. This ended the hostilities with Te Āti Awa.

Ngāti Kapu have strong connections with the other hapū who settled in Ōtaki such as Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Koroki and Ngāti Pare who form the group Ngā Hapū o Ōtaki. So were the links with iwi such as Ngāti Tukorehe and Ngāti Wehiwehi who settled to the north of Ngāti Kapu. Again, there is a rich history of inter-marriage. In one document Ngāti Kapu were referred to as a hapū of Ngāti Tukorehe. Ngāti Moewaka,

³⁷⁷ Pukehou Case OMB 2. pp. 155-156.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

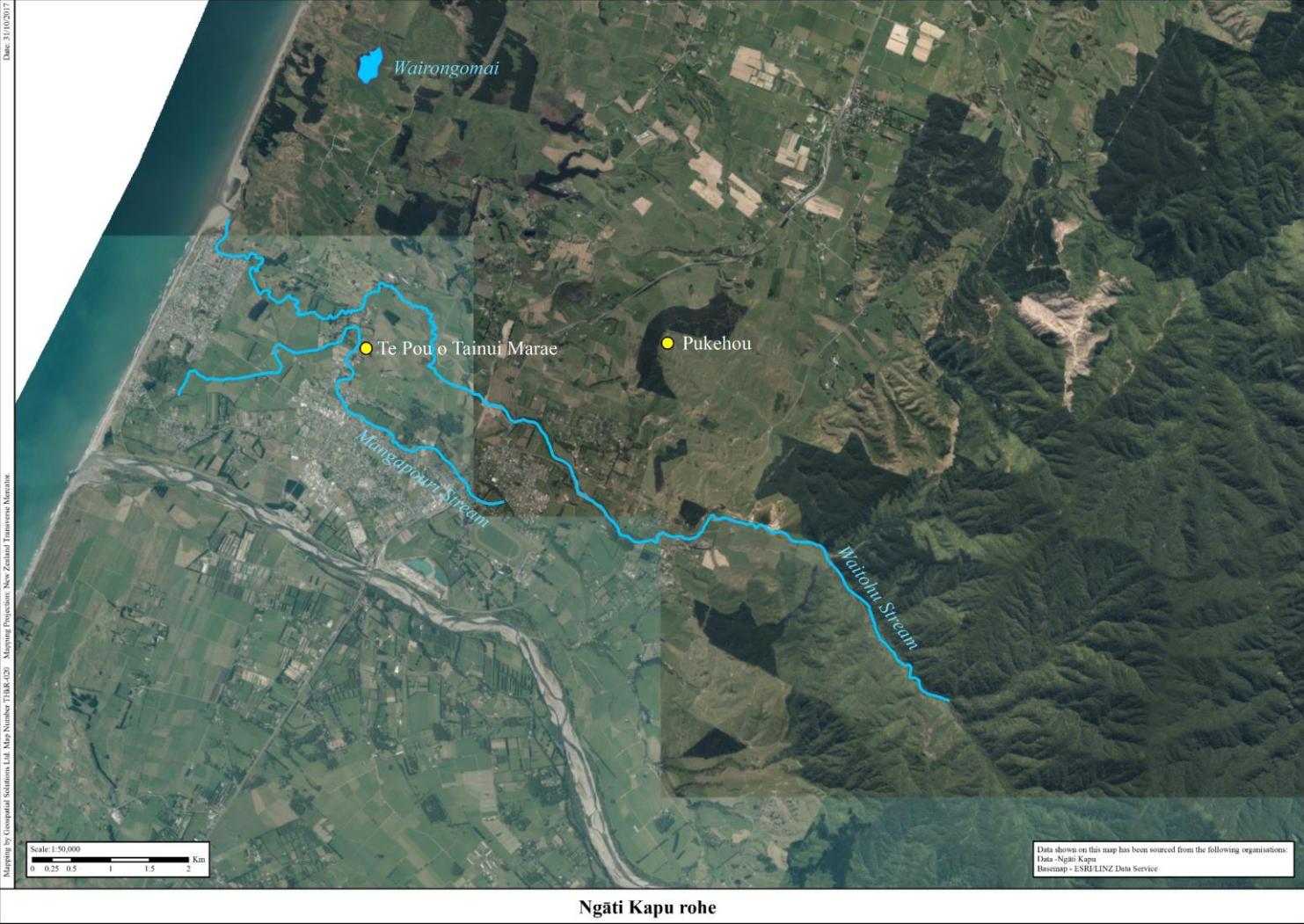
who also migrated to Ōtaki are no longer in existence. They were a hapū of Ngāti Kapu.³⁷⁹

2.6 Conclusion

There were various reasons for Ngāti Raukawa migrating to this area. In Waikato they were involved in several conflicts with their neighbours creating a level of uncertainty. This includes the Battle of Hingakaka. In coming to this area, they recognised the natural richness, the abundant resources, the potential of possible commercial ventures and to engage with Pākehā. They appreciated the benefits of the new technologies, new ways of thinking and opportunities available. Ngāti Kapu was a Waikato hapū. Their migration story is very similar to other migration stories; simply, they wanted to improve their way of living. In moving to a new land, they assumed ownership of their new lands through conquest.

³⁷⁹ Raureti, H. Personal conversation. Ōtaki, 2 November 2017

Map 136: Te Rohe o Ngāti Kapu



Ngāti Kapu rohe

3.0 Tino Rangatiratanga

3.1 Treaty of Waitangi

Ngāti Raukawa signed the Treaty of Waitangi on 19 May 1840 at Rangiuru Pā. At that time Ngāti Kapu chiefs were living at the mouth of the Waitohu and did not sign.

A number of Ngāti Raukawa chiefs who had strong links to Ngāti Kapu did sign. They were Te Matia, Kiharoa, Hori Kingi (Te Puke), Horomona Toremi, Aperahama Te Ruru and Kingi Te Ahoaho.³⁸⁰

3.2 Tino Rangatiratanga

Ngāti Raukawa at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi had asserted their authority over the conquered lands stretching from the Rangitikei River in the north to Kukutauaki in the south. Agreements between Ngāti Raukawa and the conquered were made. This is quite a common tikanga in these circumstances. Mostly this was by way of arranged marriages between the two groups. However, over the passage of time the Native Land Court, the conquered iwi, the Crown and some non-Māori historians have interpreted this tikanga to mean Ngāti Raukawa did not conquer the local iwi. Ngāti Kapu simply state they took the land by raupatu through the actions of Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Raukawa members who accompanied Ngāti Toa.³⁸¹

Evidence can also be seen in the Māori Land Court Minute books of the nineteenth century that describe the allocation of land to Ngāti Kapu following key battles described earlier in this document.

This authority was recognised by Ngāti Toa. In a Pukekaraka court case (Pukekaraka case Ōtaki MB (1881) No.5 p58.) Ngāti Kapu rangatira Akapita Te Tewe said.

“Tungia & his companions had a consultation when Tungia got up & said to Te Uhi if it is true you come from Kapu this is your land & the N’Toa returned”³⁸².

Tungia was Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

³⁸⁰ *Te Pou o Tainui*

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² *Ibid.* p. 9.

The Crown failed to uphold Article II of the Treaty when they implemented legislation regarding the alienation of Māori owned land. Various government bodies set up by the Crown were responsible and these include the Native Land Purchase Commissioners. The role of these officers was not to wait for Māori to decide when to exercise the pre-emption right but to actively pursue, promote and cajole land purchases. Ngāti Kapu had to compromise tikanga Māori to combat their treaty partner's new tikanga.

The Native Land Court was a creation of kāwanatanga and its principal function was to extinguish the iwi, hapū and whānau customary title to land. It did this by issuing orders in favour of individual owners i.e. to de-tribalise land ownership.

Analysis of the minutes of the Native Land Court show that Ngāti Kapu hapū members occupied land throughout the Ōtaki rohe during the nineteenth century and the allocation of land to small groups and individuals resulted in the alienation of the traditional lands of Ngāti Kapu. It is not only the land awarded to Ngāti Kapu that was alienated, consideration should also be given to the instances where Ngāti Kapu land occupation or ownership was not recognised by the Native Land Court and where title was awarded to others. Members of Ngāti Kapu applied to be considered for title to many land blocks including, but not limited to:

- Ōtaki Pa
- Pukekaraka
- Taumanuka
- Piritaha
- Ahitangutu
- Pukehou
- Rangiuuru
- Pahianui at Huritini Lake
- Moutere
- Topaatekaahu
- Waerenga
- Ngatoko
- Section 52 Ōtaki Township
- Harurunui
- Waerenga

A further historical report to investigate the origins and consequences of these and other land alienations should be produced in order to fully assess the implications of the loss of land for Ngāti Kapu.

3.3 Asserting Rangatiratanga

Ngāti Kapu were supporters of the Kīngitanga that was formed partly because of the land issues faced by Māori. The original notion was proposed by Ngāti Toa/Ngāti

Raukawa rangatira Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha. They travelled throughout Aotearoa seeking to appoint a Māori King. Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was eventually appointed. At one of the first ceremonies, held at Pūkawa, Taupō, a pou was erected which had a number of ropes attached to it. Affiliated iwi were invited to take one of these ropes and symbolically tie their iwi to it.

According to Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa tradition Mātene Te Whiwhi recited some of the first karakia. He addressed Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the convener of the meeting “*E Heu, tukuna atu ngā weri o tō niu ki roto ki ngā puna wai o Rangiaātea, he puna wai tērā, e kore e mimiti*”. Heu, place the life-sustaining roots of your pole, firmly into the spring of sacred waters emanating from Rangiaātea, the spring that can never be exhausted.

Mātene was credited with taking two of the ropes and pledging the support of both Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. For Ngāti Toa he declared Tawhitikura and for Ngāti Raukawa he declared Tararua.³⁸³ Ngāti Raukawa mana in the region was signified by the Tararua Ranges which were “tied” by Mātene Te Whiwhi as a pou or foundation upon which the Kīngitanga might stand.

Both rangatira however changed their stance eventually and became supporters of the Crown. Ngāti Kapu remained firm Kīngitanga supporters and over the next few years the “Ōtaki Kingites” held numerous meetings at Pukekaraka. Other Raukawa hapū supported the Crown.

A number of Ngāti Raukawa people went north to support their relatives fighting in the Waikato. One of these was Henare Taratoa well known for his involvement at the Battle of Pukehinahina (Gate Pa), and Te Ranga. Although of Ngai Te Rangi descent he had strong connections to Raukawa. Today, he is a tupuna for many in Ngāti Kapu. Taratoa arrived in Ōtaki as a lay reader and teacher for Octavius Hadfield’s Church Missionary Society mission.

³⁸³ Rene, T.O. tape recording, Victoria University.

The pou and the flag were potent symbols of rangatiratanga. An unveiling of a flag at Pukekaraka caused excitement. Two meetings were held in December 1860 at Rangitikei and it appears they are unanimously opposed to the King movement. The old chief Nepia declared, with reference to a proposal that has been made to hoist the King's flag at Ōtaki that he would not permit it."³⁸⁴

The flag was actually hoisted at Pukekaraka on the 12 March 1861. The Wellington Independent recorded the event.

“There were about 500 Māori present, (there being representatives from the whole of the various tribes in this part of the island), and the greatest interest appeared to be in the proceedings. On the flag being raised, it was saluted by a party of about two hundred natives, who fired several volleys, marched around it, and went through various evolutions.”

The Queen's natives, not to be outdone, obtained Mr. Beavan's flagstaff and erected it opposite the Ōtaki (Rangiātea) Church. Mr. Beavan's flag-staff is one of the masts of the Valentine Helicar, which was wrecked some time since on the West Coast, and is nearly equal, in proportion to the staff erected for the Māori King flag. A great feast was provided by the Natives, to celebrate the event, 20 bullocks were killed and a large quantity of flour, sugar potatoes, fish etc. provided for the occasion. A war dance was to take place on Wednesday.

“The Māori flag is a pennant or whip having a black ground, with three stars and a cross. The Queen's natives, not having a British Ensign, produced some calico, painted the Union in the corner and hoisted it at the same time as the King's Maoris raised theirs. The Queen's natives had been very industrious, having accomplished their work in one night.”³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ *The Wellington Independent*. 28 December 1860

³⁸⁵ *The Wellington Independent*. 15 March 1861

Image 36: Hoisting of the flag

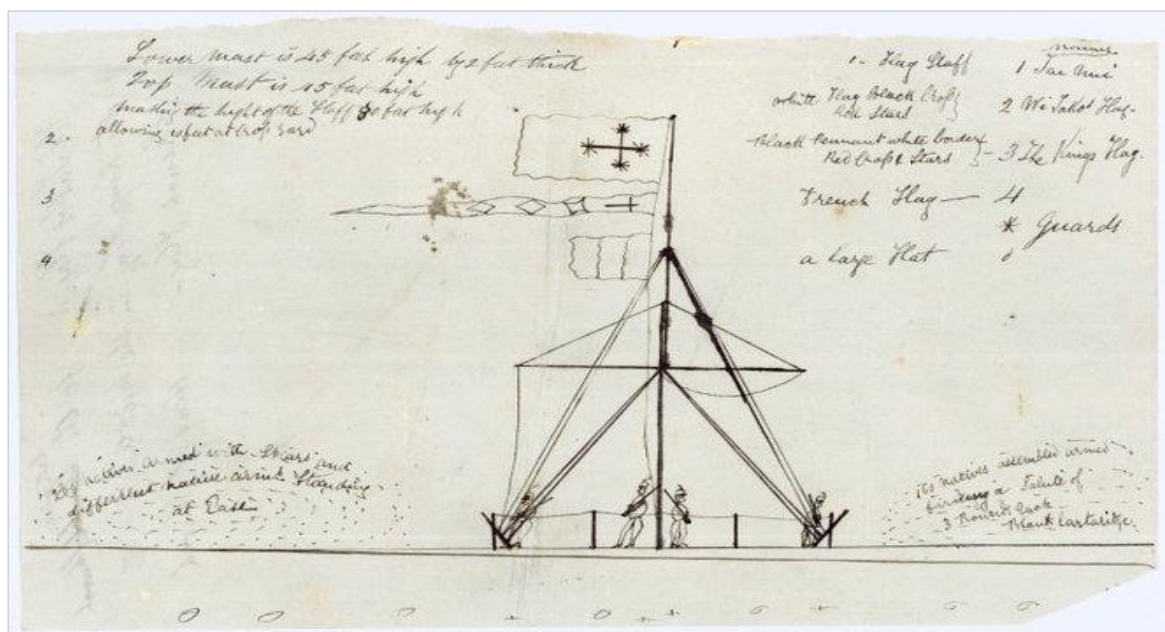


Image 37: View looking north from Pukekaraka Hill, Ōtaki ³⁸⁶



³⁸⁶ Ref: PA1-f-239-20. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22448543. This image dates from between 1886 and 1888 by Wrigglesworth & Binns of Wellington, and this detail is from the current location of Te Pou o Tainui Marae. The pou shown looks to be 20-25 metres in height. Full image is featured as Image 4.

In 1862 a large meeting was held at Ohau to discuss removing the Ōtaki flag to another place. After much discussion it was resolved to remove it to Hou Hou in the Upper Rangitikei.³⁸⁷ This did not eventuate as the flag was re-hoisted at Ōtaki on the 12 March 1862. The flags hoisted were the original which was presented by Pōtatau and a new one. The latter was given by Tawhiao and named Tainui.

“At the foot of the flagstaff was placed a large image decorated with flowers and Māori mats, to represent Maui, the ancestors of the Maoris. Tainui is the name of the canoe which brought Maui from the south seas islands.”³⁸⁸

The marae Te Pou o Tainui takes its name from a reference to the King movement and a series of eight pataka “situated at strategic points in the North Island. These pillars of the kingdom were termed *nga pou o te Kīngitanga*.”³⁸⁹ The marae is sometimes referred to as the southern outpost of the Kīngitanga³⁹⁰.

The movement, unfortunately, dissolved and this was marked by a ceremony held at Pukekaraka. As described in a letter from JA Knocks to Mr. Halse as recorded in the Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives, on 9 May 1871;

“...about 30 Kingite natives from Oroua, Ohau and Waikawa came to Pukekaraka where they formed a ring around the Kingite flagstaff representing Tainui, going through a certain form of incantation indicating why the Tainui portion of Kingism had failed and returned to Waikawa the same night, in the most secret manner.”³⁹¹

On the 26 August 1894 Tawhiao passed away at Parawera. Ngāti Raukawa attended the tangihanga with the Ōtaki Māori Brass Band. The following is an excerpt taken from Te Paki o Matariki, the newspaper of the Kīngitanga.

“I te Rahoroi te 22 o ngā rā o Hepetema... i ahiahi, ka tukua nga Kara Tau-a mo Tawhiao i te rakau Tarenga-haki e rere ana. Kotahi o aua Kara ko Tainui te ingoa, i haria mai i Ōtaki, ko te Kara tena o te Kīngitanga o Potatau; he mea whakaara ki te Upoko o te motu e Ngātiraūkawa e Ngātitoa, e nga Iwi i uru ki te Whakatu Kiingi i taua takiwa. A, no te matenga nei o Tawhiao, ka tahi ka whakahokia mai e Ngātiraūkawa me Whanganui nga taonga o Tawhiao ki a ia.”³⁹²

³⁸⁷ *The New Zealand Advertiser*

³⁸⁸ *The New Zealand Advertiser* 22 March 1862

³⁸⁹ *Te Pou o Tainui* p. 22.

³⁹⁰ Ākuhata A. and Gray, R. 2017

³⁹¹ Knocks, J.A. to Mr Halse, AJHR 1871 F-6B (15 May 1871) p. 20.

³⁹² *Te Paki o Matariki*

Saturday 22 September... in the afternoon, the flag for Tāwhiao was brought, the flag was flown on the flagpole known as Tarenga-haki. This flag is called Tainui and was brought from Ōtaki. This flag was for the Kiingitanga of Pōtatau, and was flown by Ngātiraukawa, Ngātitoa and other iwi of Te Upoko o te Ika who adhere to the Kiingitanga. Upon Tāwhiao's death Ngātiraukawa and Whanganui returned all the taonga associated with him including this flag and other flags.³⁹³

A totara tree at the marae was another gift from Tāwhiao. In the book *Old Manawatū* the following is recorded.

“In 1861 Tāwhiao, the then Maori King visited the natives living near Foxton and travelled as far south as Ōtaki.”³⁹⁴

This totara still stands overlooking the entrance to Te Pou o Tainui marae, and is of special historical, spiritual and cultural significance to Ngāti Kapu.

3.4 Te Kiri-Māori

There were two whareniui built at the settlement of Pukekaraka; Kapumanawawhiti and Te Kiri-Māori or Kirima. The latter no longer exists. It was built by the Kingite supporters. The resident Magistrate Walter Buller informed the Native Minister.

“...the Ōtaki Kingites are making progress with their house of entertainment for the Waikato visitors, and have named (Te Kiri Māori the Māori race) as an expression of their independence, but in their impoverished state, they are unable to meet the Commissariat demands of a general hui and the event is likely to pass off very quickly.”³⁹⁵

In the above excerpt Buller recognises the fact the building of Te Kiri-Māori by Ngāti Kapu was an expression of their independence. News reports and correspondence of the time show a patronising and derogatory regard held by people in positions of power, such as Buller, and news sources showed a similarly negative attitude towards Ngāti Kapu, which seems to have been perpetuated due to their involvement with the Kīngitanga. The following is from an unsourced newspaper clipping.

“A Page of History

In the year 1860, when the King movement was very strong all along the coast – Pōtatau was the Māori King at that time, the Ngātikapu natives took up the movement with much enthusiasm and the Tainui flag was hoisted and the King flag flown in honour of the Hauhau King. Those who were present at that

³⁹³ Te Paki o Matariki, 16 November 1894

³⁹⁴ Buick, T.L. *Old Manawatū*, Buick & Young, Palmerston North. 1903 p. 154.

³⁹⁵ Buller, W. to Native Minister, BPP NZ 13. 21 January 1863 pp. 241-242.

gathering stated that it was a memorable one. Thousands of natives were present, many of whom were fierce, untamed savages and the celebrations were of a wild and excitable nature. The flagpole erected in 1860 was of totara 70ft in length. It was secured at the turn-in of the old beach road, near Foxton, from whence it was dragged by a team of bullocks to the mouth of the Waitohu stream. Then it was floated up the stream to Mr. Ahern's property and dragged by men to the spot where it was erected."

3.5 Christianity And Rangatiratanga

Initially Ngāti Kapu did not readily accept Christianity. In the Pukekaraka Māori Land Court Case Akapita Te Tewe said.

"Christianity first came then Te Uhi was killed in Kuititanga (1839). N'Kapu hapu did not embrace Christianity. A chief called Te Kahia went into the church and laughed at the monitor Pairoko Te Mahi when the latter stabbed him, and he died. This kept N'Kapu away."³⁹⁶

However, with the arrival of the French Marist priest Father Jean Baptise Comte in mid-1844, Ngāti Kapu became Catholics. It has been suggested one of the reasons was Ngāti Kapu wanted to show its opposition to the Crown. So, this too was an expression of rangatiratanga. They were staunch Catholics and Kingites at virtually the same time. It is said the Kingite followers were the most fervent adherents.³⁹⁷ They gave land to the Church who established a church on Pukekaraka. Interestingly, Ngāti Kapu was also keen to establish their own town.

Image 38: Looking south from Pukekaraka 1887ca³⁹⁸



³⁹⁶ Pukekaraka No.5 case OMB p. 53.

³⁹⁷ Rikihana, R. 2017

³⁹⁸ Ref: PA1-f-239-20. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/2244854

Image 39: Looking north from Pukekaraka 1887ca ³⁹⁹



In the Pukehou 4C (Te Ngoungou) Māori Land Court case Thomas Ransfield (Ngāti Kapu) said;

“The part selected for the town was near the (Waitohu) Bridge. The town was for Ngātikapu... It was to be a Catholic Village and it was occupied by members of that hapū who resided there.”⁴⁰⁰

Ngāti Kapu also helped build Rangīātea. After many attempts to erect the ridge pole Piripi Te Ra of Ngāti Kapu said,

“Te Ra put up the ridge pole on the big church (Rangīātea). All the N’Kapu accompanied him or chiefs of Raukawa tried.”⁴⁰¹

This was also verified by Ben Keyes. He interviewed Hori Te Waru (Ngāti Pare) at Ōtaki on the 23 March 1920. Ben Keyes said,

“It is said that all attempts failed until the Roman Catholics amongst the natives held a special service to invoke divine... and at the next trial the people met with success. During the repair (re-opened 20 March 1920) operations above-mentioned, a little string of rosary beads was found hanging in the kakaho of the walls, and this by special request was sent to the Vatican.”⁴⁰²

The building of Rangīātea can also be viewed as Ngāti Raukawa’s assertion of rangatiratanga. They recognised the benefits of adopting the new religion. In naming

³⁹⁹ Ref: PA1-f-239-20. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22448543

⁴⁰⁰ Pukehou Case OMB (1889) 9 p. 166.

⁴⁰¹ Waitohu No 11 A case OMB 17 p. 67.

⁴⁰² ATL MS-Papers-0407-32 Ben Keyes diary p. 97.

the new church Rangiaētea, the name of a sacred place in the homeland of the Waikato and Tahiti, was an indication they built the church under their own terms.

3.6 Pukekaraka Mill

Māori in this period were active in setting up various economic ventures and in Ōtaki there were several mills built.

In 1850 the Native Secretary H. Tacy Kemp commented as follows on two mills. One by Ngāti Kapu,

“Distant from Waikanae about 10 miles, Beach Road is situated about two miles inland, and is the headquarters of the tribe commonly known as Ngātiraikawa. Ōtaki, I think, is the best specimen of anything like a new or regular system of Maori settlement anywhere to be found in New Zealand... There are also two watermills in progress of erection. One of them, the property of the Catholic natives, is now nearly completed; the cost of which, I am told, will not be less than £800. These two mills completed they will be in point of comfort and actual wealth, better off than any natives I know and the consumption of flour much more general than it is now. They have also near 100 head of cattle, well selected and in good condition. Total native population - 664.”⁴⁰³

An 1850 Native Secretary report also mentions the mills. One mill was beside the Haruatai Stream and now commemorated by the naming of Mill Road. The other mill was near the old course of the Waitohu Stream on the former Māori Land Court title Waitohu 11C3. In the case concerning this block Piripi Te Ra stated “My father had a flour mill on this place.”⁴⁰⁴

In the Waitohu 11C3 Māori Land Court case Akapita Te Tewe said.

“In 1846 the priest suggested building a mill and it was erected near the N. East corner. The people went to work on the road at Rimutaka to get sufficient money to pay for the mill. Fitzgerald surveyed this land near the mill. In 1848 the people went to live there so as to be near the race they were digging. The mill was finished in 1850.”⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ NZ Gazette, Province of New Munster, Vol 111, No. 16, Wellington (24 August 1850)

⁴⁰⁴ Waitohu case OMB [1891] 17 p. 15. Refer FS Simcox, Otaki and Town and District. AH & AW Reed. Wellington, (1952) pp. 62-66, p. 70.

⁴⁰⁵ Wellington case OMB (1891) 17 p. 55.

Image 40: Barraud, W.F Mission Mill, Ōtaki 1900ca ⁴⁰⁶



3.7 Conclusion

Ngāti Kapu held an important position in their original rohe of the Waikato, in areas such as Waotu and Maungatautari. One of the reasons Ngāti Kapu and the other iwi/hapū migrated to the Kapiti and Horowhenua areas was to be in close proximity to Pākehā.

Māori in the early nineteenth century recognised the benefits but did not leave their rohe. However, it became more and more apparent the real intent of Pākehā. Some in Ngāti Raukawa chose to ignore the warning signs and were supportive of the Crown. Ngāti Kapu conversely were more resolute and became followers of the Kīngitanga and Catholics, two choices which were not favourable to the magistrates and courts ruling over them at the time. Unfortunately, they were overwhelmed by the Crown who implemented policies and laws that nullified their assertions of rangatiratanga.

⁴⁰⁶ Ref: A-071-016. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Shows the Ōtaki Māori Church of England Mill, 'Hadfield's Mill', built 1850. There was a second mill at Ōtaki, the Pukekaraka Catholic mill, built 1854, established after local Māori had been sent to Sydney to be trained in its use. The Catholic mill had a much larger iron mill-wheel than the smaller wooden wheel shown here.

4.0 Colonisation at Work

4.1 Introduction – Like Moths to the Flame

Ngāti Kapu rangatira Enoka Te Wano wrote to the Wellington publication *Te Wānanga* on 15 March 1875.

“Ka nui te tinihanga o te mahi a tenei iwi a te Kāwanatanga.... Ara koa e hoa ma, no tatou ano tetahi kuaretanga, ki nga mahi a o tatou tuakana Pākehā. Titiro atu ano, he ahi te wahi e karangatia mai ra, kia haere atu ki reira noho ai, haere atu ano, he ahi te wahi e karangatia mai ra, kia haere atu ki reira noho ai, haere atua no, no te weranga... Kia kaha te hapai i nga tikanga hei orange mo tatou inaianei. Me ta koutou whakaako ki nga tangata i pera me te purehurehu te kitenga atu i te marama o te ahi ka rere ki runga, a ka wera.

Great is the deceit of this government... However, friends, it is our own ignorance of Pākehā guile that brings us near to the fire to which he calls us, despite seeing the flames, and getting burnt.... Those of you with knowledge, be steadfast in upholding our tikanga to sustain us at this time. And counsel those who, like moths, are drawn to the light of the fire, only to be burnt by the flames.”⁴⁰⁷

4.2 The Loss of Ngāti Kapu Lands

The diminishing of the tribal estate is documented in the recent research, however more in-depth investigations of the blocks relevant to Ngāti Kapu would further clarify the extent of alienation of land.

Previously produced research reports outline the allocation of land; however, it should also be considered that the decisions around land allocation was made by the Native Land Court. There are many instances of Ngāti Kapu showing association with land in the district without title having been granted. It is important to consider whether the Crown allocated land in Ōtaki with a prejudice against Ngāti Kapu due to their Catholic faith and their association with the Kīngitanga. An overview was provided in the previous chapter indicating the many times an individual’s name appears in the Native Land Court minute books declaring their association to Ngāti Kapu, and in a number of instances the land not allocated to them.

⁴⁰⁷ Mikaere, A. *Like Moths to the Flame? A History of Ngāti Raukawa Resistance and Recovery*. Te Kāurutanga Thesis. Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Ōtaki. October 2016

There are also many instances in the records where a member of Ngāti Kapu is listed under another of their iwi affiliations. As one example, the memorial of ownership at Ōtaki Pā, which was allocated during the session at Ōtaki on 27 April 1876, there are 22 individuals named from Ngāti Kapu. However, Te Raiti Tonihi (a Ngāti Kapu ancestor with many living descendants) is named in the allocation for Te Mateawa hapū. There are also many instances in the Native Land Court minutes where an individual may be affiliated to Ngāti Kapu in one place and Ngāti Raukawa or another hapū in another entry.

The Block Research reports that form part of the Manawatū ki Porirua Inquiry District research programme detail blocks where Ngāti Kapu held interests including the Pukehou and Ōtaki blocks.

4.2.1 Pukehou

Awarded title by 1874 as 16 parent blocks, Pukehou, at 26,806 acres, was the largest block in the sub-district. Today, there is only 345 acres (1.3 per cent) remaining.⁴⁰⁸

4.2.2 Ōtaki Blocks

The Ōtaki Blocks sub-district is slightly different than the other blocks. A small enclave between the giant blocks south of Horowhenua, the Ōtaki Blocks sub-district is located on the western coast extending from what is now the Ōtaki Beach village, down to the mouth and estuary of the Ōtaki River. From here it runs inland, through the original Ōtaki township, through to the highway. At this point, there is an area that extends north up to what today is the Ōtaki golf course and west of the highway to the Ōtaki racecourse and the northern suburb of Waitohu. Although most of the sub-district is north of the Ōtaki River a handful of the small blocks that are located south of the river are also included. Virtually all of this land has been alienated.

4.3 Land Taken for Non-Payment of Rates

A significant amount of Māori land was taken for non-payment of rates within the Ōtaki township and beach area by the Ōtaki Borough Council (BC). During the early 1920s

⁴⁰⁸ Walzl T. *Block Research Narratives*, Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for the WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District. Wellington. 2018 p. 216.

the Council embarked on a number of infrastructure projects that proved financially disastrous. This resulted in Council rates being increased. A large number of properties were Māori land and the Council had difficulty in getting the owners to pay the amount owing. This issue continued for the next fifty years. This issue is well documented in the Local Government Report by Suzanne Woodley⁴⁰⁹.

In 1928, the arguments of the Minister of Native Affairs, Apirana Ngata regarding the rating of Māori land were spelt out to the Ōtaki BC. He outlined the difficulties Māori had with title, multiple ownership, accuracy of the valuation roll, ability to pay and the ability of land to support rates. He argued that Māori land should be rated the same as European land only when conditions were the same. In 1996 the Court of Appeal decided in the case *Valuer General v. Mangatu Inc* there was a difference. In short it said Māori land should be valued for rating purposes less than general land. Not taking into account the proper value of Māori land has meant Māori have been charged and paid higher rates than they should have.⁴¹⁰

MP Tau Henare also recognised that the Ōtaki BC was blaming its financial troubles on Māori for non-payment of rates when in fact the Council was in debt because of questionable decisions about loans and drainage. Rere Nikitini told the Ōtaki Commission of Inquiry that land was being rated that would never be revenue producing and asked for this land to be exempted.

He also alluded to many Māori who could not afford the rates. Mr. Shepherd of the Native Department reflected that rates on Māori lands in Ōtaki were so high and the “potential revenue so low” that to “continue to levy the present high rates upon the lands looked remarkably like confiscation in a most insidious form”.

In December 1929, a list of 135 blocks comprising 204 acres 1 rood 34 perches was published in the New Zealand Gazette under section 32 of the Native Land Amendment

⁴⁰⁹ Woodley, S. *Local Government Issues Report*, Commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District. Wellington 2017

⁴¹⁰ *Mangatū Incorporation vs. Valuer-General* 2 NZLR 683. 1996

and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1928 thereby vesting them in the Ikaroa Māori Land Board.⁴¹¹

The blocks vested were valued at £118,895 which was 80 percent of the value of all Māori land within the Borough (£223,5 19)). The blocks ranged in size from between 23.7 perches to 20 acres (Taumanuka 3A). Makuratawhiti 10A1, 10A2 and 10B part (that had been subject to the section 109 application)) were also included in the list, the three blocks together comprising two acres 1.7 perches. Also included in this list were blocks affected by charging orders and blocks where no charging orders had been made. Some of the blocks were occupied and others were vacant. Some blocks had housing on them and others were used for gardens. Also, on the list were the Pahianui and Titokitoki blocks that Mr. Nikitini had expressly asked the Commission to exempt from rates as well as Taumanuka 1A and Takapu B blocks which were later exempted (over 20 years later) because they largely comprised sand dunes or river bed.

Although some of this land was later returned (re-vested) to the owners they had to pay the outstanding rates. They also had to prove they would pay rates in the future.

The Council's attitude towards the rating of Māori land remained relatively constant from the 1920s to the early 1970s. It is clear that the Council did not consider the comment of Apirana Ngata that Māori land should only be rated the same as European land when conditions were the same for each.

Kaumatua Rupene Waaka and Te Waari Carkeek lodged claim Wai 256. Their grievance involves Taumanuka 3A, a cemetery reserve, and the taking of the land for non-payment of rates. In Woodley's Local Government report she discusses the sale of the Taumanuka blocks. The Crown did have meetings with the owners but eventually the land was sold. Some of the money was used to build Raukawa whareniui.

We have yet to ascertain what Ngāti Kapu land was taken. Through the report there are a number of Ngāti Kapu whānau named. However, there is little known and not too

⁴¹¹ Woodley S. *Local Government Issues Report* Commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District. Wellington 2017

much was spoken about this topic. This again is perhaps due to a sense of shame or whakamā which will be discussed later in this report. This aspect is further discussed in the concluding chapters of this report.

4.4 Environmental Impacts and Protection of Taonga

One of the reasons that Ngāti Raukawa moved to the Manawatū and Horowhenua areas was its wealth in natural resources. Ngāti Kapu were extremely proud of their expertise in being hunters and gatherers. Over the years with the land being taken, waterways drained, and de-forestation, those abilities have been seriously compromised. The following are accounts of two Ngāti Kapu members who recall a time not too long ago when kai was still abundant. The stories they tell are of a time past unlikely to be experienced again.

George Gray:-

“The area we used to fish as kids with our old people, were between the Waiōrongomai and Katihiku. That’s where our food sources were. We never went outside our area or we would be encroaching on the areas of other hapū.

Lake Waiōrongomai is fed by two other lakes; the Kahuwera Lake from the north and the Haunted Lake from the south. The outlet of Lake Waiōrongomai runs out to sea. The Haunted Lagoon was between Lake Waiōrongomai and the Golf Links. It’s probably only a puddle now. It must have had a Māori name, but I don’t know it. That’s just one lake system that was important for eels, especially the good eels we call puhi eels or the silvery belly.

Pipi and toheroa were so plentiful at that time. You could go anywhere to pick toheroa, it was no problem. I never saw Māori exploit them because they respected the land. We used to get big cockles in the Ōhau Estuary.

You could throw out a hand line off Ōtaki beach and get snapper. You could go to the Ōtaki River and catch a big kahawai. It was easy to get a feed because everything was so plentiful. I feel privileged to have lived that, but I also feel sad to think we’ll never see it again. I’ll never see huge shoals of whitebait coming up the river again.

Increasing rural and urban development has changed everything. The council has drained more and more land and built structures to keep the water out. The tuna and whitebait have suffered because they’ve got nowhere to go now.

I’m dead against commercial eel fishing. They take everything out of the stream, even the small ones and all the breeding stock. It’s all about the almighty dollar. Everyone is so greedy for the dollar that they turn their eyes away from the truth. I don’t think things will ever recover. I think the only

time the planet will recover is when we get rid of humans. We've made a hell of a mess.

Tainui was a thriving community like all the marae and pā were at that time. It was our playground. The families living there at that time were the Henrys, the Tāhiwis, the Taratoas, the Hakaraias, the Enokas, the Winterburns and the Ransfields. They were all big families.”⁴¹²

Borgia Rikihana:-

“The stream and river were ‘owned’ by families. It was their place. Kids were territorial about sections of the river and stream. Particular families ‘owned’ the mouth of the river, the north side, the south side, the bend, the higher reaches, the mid-section, the lagoon, and the shallows. They had names for particular bends, hills hillocks and dunes. The families noted when after a flood the stream or the river changed. After the winter rains changed the river, the summer was a time to find a new swimming spot, a new deep place to dive into, and a new place to catch eels or to position a whitebait net. New places were part of everyday lives.”⁴¹³

John Brown:-

“John shared a few things he learnt as a young man for collecting kai. Some were tohu and others were techniques or common-sense practices.

Frost fish are deep sea fish and would feed on midge type fish that would glow at night. If the night was clear and full of stars this would indicate to John's whānau that the frost fish would be plentiful in the morning. Why? The frost fish would mistake the stars for the midge type fish and would come to the surface to feed and suffer the equivalent of the bends, blow up then float to the surface, then wash ashore. So, come morning they would be scattered along the beach ready for the whānau to gather. Another was eeling, they would float lit kerosene cans on the creek to attract mozzies etc. this would then attract the eels, which would be caught using a gaff. Thus, kai for the whānau and hapū. Another memory he has, was when they would go to the beach to collect pipi. It would always be on the incoming tide, if anyone happened to lose their balance and get swept up in the waves they would always be pushed back to shore. This was practiced really to safeguard tamariki. John has always enjoyed gathering kai for his whānau and because of this remembers and still uses many techniques and practices that were taught to him from his parents and old people.

The waterways, forests and coastline were teeming in flora and fauna. The devastation of the tribal estate, pollution of the environment, reduction in

⁴¹² Rawiri A (ed), *Tahi ki a Maru*, Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki. 2018. p. 73-80.

⁴¹³ Moore P. Personal conversation. Ōtaki. October 2004

waterways, de-forestation has had a profound effect on the economic, social, cultural and spiritual wellbeing of Ngāti Kapu.

Significant waterways for Ngāti Kapu were Waiōrongomai and surrounding lakes, Waitohu River and its tributaries including the Mangapōuri Stream, the Ōtaki River and its tributaries. Ngāti Kapu, alongside other iwi/hapū groups have attempted to remediate the detrimental impact on its waterways. There are many initiatives being carried out and such actions are an expression of not only our rangatiratanga but also reflect full ownership rights.”⁴¹⁴

4.5 Survival Mode

Kimihiā, rangahau,
Kei whea te momo o Ngāti Moewaka?
E ngaro nei? Aua tena?
Kua riro ki te tihi o Pukekaraka,
Ki te kanapanapatanga o Waiōrongomai,
Ki te ngarutanga o Te Moana o Raukawa,
Kia marama ai te ihi, te wehi o Mukakai,
Te ohakitanga o Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti,
Kei te riu o Tainui
Tihei Mauri Ora

The late Mauriora Kingi wrote the above tauparapara. He was a whāngai brought up in Ōtaki by his Ngāti Kapu relations. At a young age Mauriora moved to Rotorua and became a well-respected Te Arawa speaker and cultural representative. In the early 1980s and while in his teens Mauriora was one of the very few people in Ōtaki, under the age of 20 who could hold a conversation in Te Reo Māori.

The lack of te reo being spoken is only one of the many symptoms of Ngāti Kapu culture being overrun - in the words of Rei Parewhanake ‘hipokina katoa’.⁴¹⁵ These words were spoken in the 1870s. At this time, it was clear the bright future our tūpuna saw, the promises made would amount to nothing. Instead our future looked extremely bleak. Walter Buller was almost right in saying

“The Maori are dying out and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good compassionate colonists is to smooth their dying pillow.”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Rawiri A (ed), *Tahi ki a Maru*. Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki 2018

⁴¹⁵ Mikaere A. *Like Moths to the Flame* p. 247. Rei Parewhanake, Te Wananga Volume 2, No. 2, 26 January 1875, pp. 15-16. (letter dated 28 December 1874).

⁴¹⁶ Buller, W. *The Decrease of the Maori Race* New Zealand Journal of Science Vol. 2. 1884 p. 54.

Māori did not go the way of the moa but were resilient enough to fight back. However, Ngāti Kapu faced a deadly legacy of health issues, economic and social deprivation problems. This has left Ngāti Kapu with very little of their taonga, and with very little capacity to pass on and learn tikanga and mātauranga.

In an interview with Rupene Waaka he spoke about this predicament. He has spent a considerable amount of his life researching Ngāti Kapu and Ngāti Raukawa history. He spoke about the Beaglehole Report carried out in the 1940s. This was a report written about the state of the Ōtaki whānau in the 1940s. It depicted Māori in a state of despair and hopelessness. Rupene said it gives a good insight on what our social and economic wellbeing was at that stage 100 years after the signing of the treaty.

Anthropologists, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole carried out the report on the socio-economic wellbeing of the Ōtaki community. The aim of the report, sponsored by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, was to determine “the conditions which actually exist in the life of the people”. They were asked to make suggestions on how to improve those conditions.⁴¹⁷ Their findings subsequently appeared in a publication entitled “Some Modern Maoris”. As Ani Mikaere described it;

Ōtaki Māori felt betrayed and acutely embarrassed with what was written. Even though names were changed to protect the Ōtaki whānau it wrote on the intimate details of their daily lives. Te Rangihiroa had recommended Ōtaki as a suitable town and also wrote the foreword to the publication. He tried to reassure those by saying “[o]ur present weaknesses need not give us cause for shame, because they are the inevitable result of the contact between two different ways of life which have not yet had time to blend satisfactorily.”⁴¹⁸

What the study does do is give a good snapshot of life in Ōtaki. The population statistics for the whole of Ōtaki was estimated at 80 percent Pākehā, 18 percent Māori and two per cent Chinese. This was a significant drop from 664 in 1850 to 335 in 1946. Interestingly the population based on the 2013 Census reveals Māori making up 33.4 per cent or approximately 1929 people. Māori owned an estimated 15 percent of the land and most of this comprised land under multiple-ownership. Ani Mikaere in her publication states Māori could no longer rely upon the land for sustenance, whether by utilising it themselves or by leasing it to others.

⁴¹⁷ Beaglehole, E & P *Some Modern Maori*. Wellington: NZCER. 1946

⁴¹⁸ Mikaere A. *Like Moths to the Flame*

In terms of employment; 85% of Māori were unskilled or semi-skilled workers while 82% Pākehā were professionals, commercial workers, or farmers. In housing, overcrowding was significant with an estimated 65% of houses judged to be beyond repair. Seven percent of Māori dwellings were excellent but for Pākehā 78% of the housing was sound or excellent.

Health was also a major problem understandable given the poor socio-economic conditions. The report states “sickness was an ever-present reality.” It was no surprise that tuberculosis, a disease closely associated with poor living conditions⁴¹⁹ was prevalent.

The Beagleholes looked at te reo, attitudes to authority and a sense of belongingness. Their findings reflected those of Apirana Ngata who saw te reo was dying out. The Beagleholes said people were concerned but ultimately fatalistic, about the future of te reo.

Interestingly the Beagleholes considered the Tainui community to be noticeably more “integrated” than those in the township. This was attributed to the hapū living close to each other and didn’t mix with Pākehā so much. The fact that Ngāti Kapu was predominantly Catholic was significant. This changed somewhat when most of the hapū moved into the town or were caught up in the urban migration that was to follow.

Ani Mikaere showed that by 1940, Ngāti Raukawa

“...were reaping the bitter fruits of the ordeals endured by their tūpuna during the preceding century. The woefully inadequate land base, the economic hardship, the poor health and societal stresses of this period are directly linked to the forcible Crown purchase of land, the operation of the Native Land Court, the absorption of Ngāti Raukawa into colonial capitalism and the introduction of infectious disease that had occurred in the 1800s.”⁴²⁰

Over the next 30 years little changed and in fact, things got worse. Since the signing of the Treaty the detrimental effects have impacted multiple generations. The

⁴¹⁹ E & P Beaglehole Collection, Beaglehole Room, Victoria University, Wellington. 1946

⁴²⁰ Mikaere A. *Like Moths to the Flame*

dissemination of mātauranga, tikanga, and te reo Māori has been severely compromised.

Indeed, Raeburn Lange’s report on the impacts of colonisation and land loss on hapū and iwi in the inquiry district concluded by saying that:

“The circumstance that underlay almost every other aspect of the Māori situation in the twentieth century was the loss in the previous century of the bulk of the land formerly controlled by the iwi of the region.”⁴²¹

Image 41: Photo from an Arekatera whānau celebration held in Ōtaki to welcome Pat, the new wife of Tom Tulloch 1943. Pukekaraka in the background.



Mikaere is interested in how these traumatic events “impacted on Ngāti Raukawa thought.” She is not the only one. Dr. Rawiri Waretini-Karena says Māori are continuing to pay the price of this trauma. His PhD thesis is on how historical inter-

⁴²¹ Lange, R. *The Social Impact of Colonisation and Land loss on the Iwi of the Rangitīkei, Manawatū and Horowhenua Region, 1840-1960*

generational trauma and colonisation has led to Māori negative statistics for imprisonment, crime, poverty, family violence and unemployment and poor health. He explored his own family history and was able to find a pattern. He calls this “inter-generational impoverishment.”

Image 42: Pepe Taratoa holding her whāngai daughter Hinerau, Mrs Molly Hakaraia and Mrs Raukawa Tāhiwi on the verandah of Pepe's house. ⁴²²



For his great-grandfather, grandfather, father and himself that led to an increasing alienation from their roots; lack of cultural identity, language, cultural and whakapapa heritage and understanding of tikanga and kawa.⁴²³

This inter-generational impoverishment shows in a sense of being ashamed or experiencing whakamā. Post-graduate student Kiri Dell discusses the concept of whakamā in her blog titled *The Great Māori Shame Legacy*.⁴²⁴

“Whakamā impacts our social, spiritual, emotional and physical wellbeing. It sits at the birthing place for our addictions, obesity, violence, aggression,

⁴²² E and P Beaglehole Collection, 1946

⁴²³ NMIT *Māori trauma: How one teacher is inspiring others to change*. Website Article.

⁴²⁴ Waretini-Karena, D. *Māori experiences of historical intergenerational trauma and transformative pedagogies*. (2012)

depression and therefore I would call it the number one killer in Māori society.”⁴²⁵

She says whakamā is the “fear of disconnection, from someone or people you care about, so essentially whakamā is a connective disorder.”

Re-connection is the antidote to whakamā and for Māori the good news is tikanga Māori is loaded with ‘connection’ and ‘belonging’ processes. However, for Māori Dell says because connectedness is so important to us hapū, whānau and iwi there can be a collective whakamā.

“But the bad news for us is that because of our connectedness, we also have group whakamā. Whole entire groups, such as a hapu, whanau or iwi, can be whakamā. We tend to feel it more for each other, because we see ourselves as being connected to each other. That is a whole different level of a shame experience compared with, say for example Pākehā.”⁴²⁶

Various Ngāti Kapu people in this report have agreed that whakamā was an issue and certainly the challenge confronting us has been overcoming that. In te reo being whakamā is recognised as one of the main problems for people learning to speak Māori. Often you will hear the challenge “Patua te whakamā” or “kaua e whakamā”.

This sense of shame is not an isolated case. Ngāti Awa, in the Bay of Plenty, during their treaty claims spoke about the deep shame of raupatu and being labelled “tangata hara”.

Connected with shame is that people do not want to talk about these stories and so there is loss of knowledge. Rupene Waaka speaks about this loss of mātauranga in terms of the totara tree at Te Pou o Tainui Marae.

“The totara tree that’s still there today has kōrero attached, but in the day if you asked about the tree you were told Nanny said, don’t play on it, if you asked why the typical answer being. Nanny said. Rupene says the transmission of information on a lot of korero tuku iho wasn’t passed down. “Hence lack of knowledge of our history.”⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Dell K. *The Great Māori Shame Legacy*. Blog, www.kupumamae.com.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Waaka, R. Personal conversation. 2017

In his hapū study of Ngāti Kapu, Tukahia Cooper talks about the deprivations experienced especially during the time of his grandmother. He says

“Religion and colonisation influenced our thinking and over time, our origins, our stories, were shelved and some lost in our efforts to adjust to a changing world.”⁴²⁸

This quote taken from the Beagleholes’ report is pertinent. It talks about the positive cultural aspects being passed on. With whakamā it is a negative cultural facet that was handed down.

“Culture is not a static thing. Because it has no existence apart from the individuals who are its carriers, it lives, grows and changes in the process whereby it is handed on from one generation to the next; and in the process again whereby it helps each generation to adapt itself to changing social and environmental conditions.”⁴²⁹

4.6 Conclusion

The loss of our stories means generally we don’t know what land was taken, where or how it was taken. There is not only a collective shame but a collective blankness. All we seem to know is that it was taken.

The research being carried out has helped unearth a significant amount of knowledge. Ngāti Kapu has also been fortunate in having a number of dedicated researchers including Rupene Waaka. He has spent a considerable amount of time researching these issues and some of this kōrero is used in this report. The hapū is also fortunate to have Te Wānanga o Raukawa and we have started to tell our stories.

⁴²⁸ Cooper T. *A Private Study of One Hapū – Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti*. Unpublished student assignment for the completion of studies at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. 2013.

⁴²⁹ Beaglehole, E. *The Polynesian Maori*. Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 49. No. 193 (March 1940) pp. 39-68.

5.0 Wellbeing and Survival

5.1 The Game-Changer and Ngāti Kapu Wellbeing

Whakatapuranga Rua Mano (WRM) is the game changer for Ngāti Kapu as well as all other hapū/iwi of the ART confederation (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira). It was dubbed an experiment in tribal development by its architect, Professor Whatarangi Winiata. As its name suggests the aim was to prepare the iwi for the new millennium. The clear imperative was to fight the cultural, social and economic crisis confronting the three iwi. The four mātāpono, founding principles set the priorities. These were to restore and revitalise the marae and te reo. Development and retention of iwi members was the third principle. Rangatiratanga was the final commitment and possibly the key assertion.

The success of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano is apparent especially in Ōtaki. Initially Ngāti Kapu were hesitant about Whakatapuranga Rua Mano. Ngāti Kapu marae chairman, Heitia Raureti says Ngāti Kapu had to be led to it. “They had to see there were benefits for our people.”

Ngāti Kapu, although reluctant at first, established their own kōhanga reo and participated in setting up Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rito and Te Kura-ā-Iwi o Whakatapuranga Rua Mano.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa is probably the most visible outcome from Whakatapuranga Rua Mano. Ngāti Kapu play a significant role at the Wānanga, which is one of the largest employers in the area.

As part of his study at Te Wānanga o Raukawa Tukahia Cooper wrote on the state of te reo in Ngāti Kapu. In his conclusion he says the number of people who speak Māori has significantly increased in the last 30 years. The 2013 census showed 16.8 per cent of Ōtaki residents spoke te reo, compared with 3.7 per cent of all New Zealanders.⁴³⁰

⁴³⁰ <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports>

The kōhanga to wānanga education model has had a positive impact on the language ability of Ngāti Kapu and made significant contribution to our pataka mātauranga.⁴³¹

Ngāti Kapu marae committee Chairman Heitia Raureti says Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was a significant catalyst for change.

He says comparatively speaking we are much better off than “in the last 20, 30, 40 years.” However, compared to 1840 there is no comparison. “We were economically independent, culturally confident in our own identity.”

Image 43: Akuhata Akuhata, Ōtaki



The arrival of August (Rowdy) Ākuhata in the mid-1980s was also a game-changer for Ngāti Kapu. His mother Whauhuia Taratoa was born in Ōtaki but was raised in Rangiwaea, Matakana Island. Ākuhata was a native speaker and a Ratana minister. His arrival strengthened the capacity of both Ngāti Kapu and Ngāti Raukawa in terms of tikanga and te reo. He was fully involved with the community and notably became a member of the kaumātua group, Ngā Purutanga Mauri, the keepers of the mauri, at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Sadly, our kaumatua died early in 2018.

⁴³¹ Cooper, T. *A Private Study of One Hapū – Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti*. 2013

5.2 Te Pou O Tainui Marae

There are three bodies that administer the affairs of the hapū. These are the Marae Committee, the Marae Trust and Te Pou o Tainui Incorporated Society.

The marae committee meets every month and meets are open to all members. It is responsible for the day-to-day affairs of the marae including maintenance, bookings and accounts. Elected officers are Chairman Heitia Raureti, Secretary Kelly-Anne Ngatai and Treasurer Christine Warren.

The Marae Trust is the legal representative of the marae. Trustees are elected by the hapū and their obligations are set out by section 338 of Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. The incorporated society has objectives to support and develop Ngāti Kapu. The hapū has representatives on various other organisations such as the Raukawa Marae Trust, the Raukawa District Māori Council and Te Rūnanga o Raukawa.

In terms of our marae responsibilities Raureti says “we’re not too badly off”. Ngāti Kapu is fortunate to have on its paetapu, capable kaikōrero and kaikaranga. Its speakers include Heitia Raureti and Rawiri Rikihana with other young speakers ready to step forward. The same can be said for kaikaranga; Ngāti Kapu has been blessed with some strong women and kuia.

5.3 Population

There are no definitive figures on the population of the hapū. Te Hono ki Raukawa estimate the number of people 30,000 can affiliate to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. In the 2013 Census 15,132 people identified as belonging to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. Of this number 31 percent live in the Manawatū-Whanganui region, 26 percent live in the Wellington region, and 12 percent in Auckland.

The Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust is the mandated iwi organisation that administers the iwi’s fisheries assets and at 1 February 2017 has 10,368 validated members. This includes 857 Ngāti Kapu members.⁴³²

⁴³² Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust, *2017 Annual Report*, 2018

Conclusion

The focus of Ngāti Kapu in producing this report has not necessarily been about the Treaty settlement process. We consider, that so far this has been an agonising process, to be itself questionable. The analogy of the Crown being the car thief who gets to be judge and jury has clear relevance.

As we set out in our objectives this exercise presents us with the opportunity to collect our own stories of who we are, where we came from and what is important to us. It enables us to pass on those stories to the present and future generations. Our truth has a direct application to our young and their future wellbeing. As such it is our desire that this will be a cathartic experience. We have only just started to re-discover our stories and this exercise can only be considered a small part of our journey. Ani Mikaere is right when she says speaking our truth can only set us in good stead for a better future.

E kore au e ngāro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.

Map 147: Ngāti Katu St Mary's Church and surrounding area



Ngāti Kapu St Marys Church and surrounding area

NGĀTI KIKOPIRI

ORAL HISTORY



Ngāti Kikopiri Research Committee:

Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, Rob Kuiti, Puhī Campbell, Heeni Collins

August 2017

INTRODUCTION

*Ko Tainui te waka
Ho Hoturoa te tangata
Ko Ngāti Raukawa te iwi
Ko Tararua te pae maunga
Ko Ohau te awa
Ko Waiwiri te roto
Ko Kikopiri te whare tupuna
Ko Ngāti Kikopiri te hapū*

Ka nui ngā mihi kia koutou, e kui mā, e koro mā, ngā rau rangatira ma, o tēnei hapū o Ngāti Kikopiri. Thank you to those who have generously shared their kōrero, in a spirit of building kotahitanga and mātauranga amongst ourselves, and to those who have advised and supported this mahi whakahirahira over the past eight months.

This report has been written as part of the Te Hono ki Raukawa programme of supporting hapū to write their own oral and traditional histories. Seven interviews have been recorded (all on audio recordings, and three on video) with Ngāti Kikopiri kaumātua, elders and tribal history experts, including one (Rob Kuiti) who still has a whānau-owned papakainga at Muhunua. These participants have shared stories of their lives and knowledge of our hapū at Muhunua and Waiwiri (Ohau), and some of their understandings of our history and whānau connections.

A full report, including whānau kōrero, has been written, but it has been decided by the Kikopiri marae reservation trustees that the more detailed information be withheld for further discussion, but that this cultural and historical narrative document, with maps and limited whakapapa, be provided at this time. More time is needed to discuss and absorb the full report. A few selected quotes are included in this report. Some of the maps and whakapapa can be shared now, others will be further discussed and circulated. While the research committee⁴³³ was established by the Ngāti Kikopiri Marae committee society in late 2016, it was agreed at a meeting on 23rd July 2017 that the Kikopiri Marae reservation trustees have the authority to determine what is made public from the research.

⁴³³ Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, Rob Kuiti, Puhī Campbell and Heeni Collins

The early section of this report draws on research funded by Creative New Zealand in relation to Ngāti Raukawa origins in the Waikato. Further mahi rangahau was undertaken to follow our story through from our arrival in the Horowhenua and Kapiti areas in 1826 (or earlier) through the next 190 years to the current day. As part of Ngāti Huia, a grouping which includes people who are of both Raukawa and Ngāti Toa descent, including Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, and who make up a substantial proportion of those who migrated south, our history as Ngāti Kikopiri is a key part of the Ngāti Raukawa story. From the story of our origins in the Waikato and Taupo areas, and our arrival in the Horowhenua and Kapiti coast region, come the stories of participating in the conquest of earlier tribes including Muaūpoko, and our settlement in the place where Te Rauparaha's children were killed by that tribe, Lake Waiwiri, Ohau. He wāhi tapu, he wāhi mamae. While the conquest by Ngāti Huia of Lake Waiwiri and vicinity was clearly described in written sources by our ancestors, the place again became contested by Ngāti Kikopiri (Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Hikitunga) and two other related hapū as we fought Muaūpoko re-incursion in the years from 1873-1896. Treaty promises were not kept.

Today we hold only a small remnant of the thousands of acres of land and other natural resources (lakes, streams, forests) that we held without dispute from 1826 to the 1870s. We also suffer from the degradation of our resources from the impact of colonisation including pastoral farming and other forms of commercial production.

Patai considered are:

- a) Who is Ngāti Kikopiri?
- b) Where did we come from and who were our rangatira?
- c) How did we come to be at Muhunua? How did we survive at Muhunua before the Europeans came?
- d) How were Te Ahukaramū, Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha pressured into supporting European settlement by parting with their land at Muhunua?
- e) What benefits were they expecting for Ngāti Kikopiri and did these benefits eventuate?
- f) What was the process which facilitated the sale of land e.g. individualisation of title, subdivision? Was there further loss of land e.g. rates demands.
- g) Was Waiwiri (lake and stream) our principal food basket, and if so, has our access and kaitiakitanga been affected by actions of the Crown?

Whānau kōrero was shared by descendants of four of the five Roera brothers and Tuainuku (from Wahineiti's son Te Ruru) and offer insights into answering the above patai.

Interviewees were:

- a) Hirama Tamihana⁴³⁴ – descendant of both Henare and Te Tauhu. Topics covered - the intermarriage between descendants of Henare and Te Tauhu; no male line from Henare; Henare's daughter Puaia married Walter Whiley (senior); intermarriages between Royal and Kuiti whānau; chiefs used to visit Te Ahukaramū and whānau at Ōrotokare; kai from area west of lake Waiwiri; family spread afar; kai from west of lake Waiwiri; further children of Tiaho – the Paurini, Roiri and Tohaia whānau; Pareraukawa (II) came from Taupo, Te Whatanui's body returned there; Pareraukawa (I) was also a sister of Korouaputa and Kikopiri – she married Ramaroa; she was mother of Whawha, the reason Te Whatanui named his hapū Pareraukawa – close to Te Rauparaha.
- b) Rob Kuiti⁴³⁵ (bn 1951) Topics covered – lived with grandmother Ngahira Kiniwe Kuiti at Muhunua for several years, her values e.g. manaaki; experiencing the tuna heke; families there during his childhood e.g. Whileys, Murrays, Royals, Kuiti, Pirika; the old kauta at the marae; Waimarama stream for inanga, fresh-water crayfish, pā tuna; flooding prior to stop banks being built along Ohau; kaimoana at coast; continuous customary use of lake and streams.
- c) Ken Kuiti⁴³⁶ (bn 1943) – descendant of Wahineiti through Tuainuku. Topics covered - kai from Lake Papaitonga, e.g. tuna, ducks, duck eggs, kākahi; koura, whitebait spawning in Waimarama; sale of land near lake; big orchards near the marae.
- d) Whatarangi Winiata⁴³⁷ (bn 1935) – descendant of Kiniwe Roera and Pareraukawa-Parewahawaha. Topics covered - mother Alma grew up in Hauraki; father from Pareraukawa; remembers visiting Aunty Hilda (Ngahira); getting eels from lake Waiwiri and Hokio stream; re rates demands, people lived off the local kai, didn't have cash; Uncle Kipa's character, strong speaker of te reo; difficulty maintaining the marae during hard times between the wars; the character of Te Ahukaramū; the close relationship between Ngāti Pareraukawa and Ngāti Kikopiri; Aunty Nau; pollution of the lake and streams.

⁴³⁴ Tamihana, Hirama. Kaumatua interview Facebook voice call, Adelaide, audio recording. 19 May 2017.

⁴³⁵ Kuiti, Rob. Interview Kikopiri Marae, audio recording. 26 November 2016.

⁴³⁶ Kuiti, Ken. Interview Video and audio recordings. 3 November 2016.

⁴³⁷ Winiata, Whatarangi. Kaumatua Interview at Ōtaki. Audio recording and photograph. 24 November 2016.

- e) Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal⁴³⁸ (bn 1965) – descendant of Te Kiniwe Roera. Topics covered - Pakake Taiari; Kiniwe and Keriata Royal, connections to Hauraki; Te Rangihaeata and Topeora lived at Muhunua/Waiwiri; Te Ahukaramū and land; Ōrotokare; at Muhunua partly through tuku and through own actions; place-name Papaitonga.
- f) Anamaraea Harrison⁴³⁹ (bn 1940) – descendant of Te Kerehi Roera. Topics covered - whakapapa from Aperehama, (son of Te Kerehi Roera), Aperehama lived at Ngātokowaru; the previous cooking facilities (Uncle Lae's house) and the establishment of the current whare kai; her parents' generation and te reo; the Gilling whānau, Margaret wife of Te Kerehi; historic hapū photos discussed; Wehi Royal (from Te Tāuhu), the Bakers; Te Miringa married Hammond Murray; rates demands on land at Muhunua; Buller obtaining Kikopiri land.
- g) Lindsay Poutama⁴⁴⁰ – descendant of Te Kerehi Roera. Topics covered - whakapapa from Kerehi Roera and Makareta Gilling, connection to Bakers, Ngāti Maiōtaki; Buster Lee and aunty Ema, bach on the Waiwiri stream, eeling and white baiting, methods, tuna heke; Waimarama stream in 1960s; Aunty Weno, a whangai of Uncle Kipa, learned te reo; carvers Patuaka and Piwiki Te Horohau; boundaries between Tukorehe and Kikopiri; later allocation of whenua at Muhunua to Hema Te Ao (Ngāti Pare).

1.0 HAPŪ ORIGINS, HEKE and SETTLEMENT

Who is Ngāti Kikopiri? Where did we come from and who were our rangatira? How did we come to be at Muhunua? How did we survive at Muhunua before the Europeans came?

Raukawa grew up in the area south of Maungatautari, at Waikeria and Wharepuhunga.

Tamatehura, son of Raukawa's son Takihiku, was the key tupuna involved with defeat of Kahupungapunga, extending our whenua east to Te Kaokaoroa o Patatere (the Kaimai range) and south to Te Pae o Raukawa (near Lake Taupo). There is a haka associated with Wairangi, Tamatehura and other brothers in relation to the retrieval of Wairangi's wife Parewhete in a

⁴³⁸ Royal, Te Ahukaramū Charles. Interviews at Te Papa, Wellington. Video recording. 12 October 2016 and 6 December 2016.

⁴³⁹ Harrison, Anamaraea. Interview at Hokio Beach Rd, Levin. Puhi Campbell also present. audio and photograph. 10 January 2017.

⁴⁴⁰ Poutama, Lindsay. Interview at Levin. Video and audio recordings. 4 November 2016.

battle near Te Aroha.⁴⁴¹ Through Tamatehura's son Huitao's marriage to Hinetore we descend from Tukorehe and Whakatere as well.

Ngātokowaru lived at Waikeria and Waotu (Waikato region). His two wives were daughters of Maihi. Matau and Huia were sons of Ngātokowaru and his wife Pareunuora. The Māori King and his family also descend from Ngātokowaru.

Huia had at least three wives – Kaitāwhara, Rauporoa, and Hinekore – all from Te Arawa. Kaitāwhara was the mother of Korouaputa and Kikopiri.⁴⁴²

Kikopiri's wife was Te Ahiwharau – by her he had Wahineiti, Pareraukawa and Hapekituarangi. He also had a wife of Tuwharetoa and Raukawa descent, Parehunuku who lived at Taupo. Parehunuku's father was Tamamutu, the first son of Waitapu and Te Rangitiia.⁴⁴³

By the time of the heke south, in the 1820s, both Wahineiti and Hapekituarangi had died. Both had been leading rangatira within a wide alliance involving Ngāti Huia and other branches of Ngāti Raukawa. Pareraukawa II was their sister. Te Rauparaha had trained under Hape, as his kai-hapairakau, and Hape passed his mana to his nephew Te Rauparaha (son of his mother's cousin) on his deathbed.

Te Ahukaramū, grandson of Wahineiti, was from senior lines within Ngāti Huia (Korouaputa and Kikopiri). Te Whatanui, who also descends from Korouaputa and Kikopiri, was the son of Pareraukawa II and is also recognised (he is represented in our whare tūpuna). When Te Ahukaramū agreed to Waitohi's request to bring their whanaunga south, he said: "Māku, mā te tuarānui-o-Pakake." (I will! By the strong back of Pakake.)

The families who make up Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake (Roera, Te Hoia, Te Ruru, Tuainuku, Waretini) descend from both Kikopiri and Korouaputa (from Parewahawaha). Many also descend from Kikopiri's daughter Pareraukawa⁴⁴⁴.

⁴⁴¹ This story and the haka composed during the event can be read in *Wairangi, he tipuna no Ngāti Raukawa* by Te Rangihiroa, from Hitiri Paerata and others. JPS Vol 19. No 4.

⁴⁴² Carkeek, T.W. Ōtaki. 4 August 2013.

⁴⁴³ Whānau there who descend from Kikopiri include the Kusab and Dansey whānau

⁴⁴⁴ Royal, T.A.C. Interview 6 December 2016. Also, see Royal 2001, Appendix B.

Pakake Taiari had a son called Te Rangipūmamao, he had a marriage to Parewahawaha⁴⁴⁵, they had eight children, the eldest of these was Pakake Taiari II. It is that Pakake Taiari who is the ancestor of Te Tuarānui o Pakake, and they had three children – Te Tāuhu, Te Riu and Puaia. Puaia married Te Ruru, (son of Wahineiti) and became the mother of Tuainuku Te Ruru; Te Hoia came from Te Riu. Aperehama Te Ruru's father and Tuainuku's father were the same, but they had different mothers. Aperehama signed the Treaty.

Te Pae o Raukawa. As the Royal and Tuainuku whānau descend from Te Rangipūmamao (Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Te Kohera, Ngāti Ngarongo) as well as from Parewahawaha (daughter of Korouaputa), the area north-west of lake Taupo (Te Pae o Raukawa) is also a place of origin. Te Rangipūmamao was buried at Waihaha, and Te Whatanui's sister Manomano married her cousin and remained there. She composed a pātere which begins, 'E noho ana i te whanga ki Waihora...' Waihora and Waihaha are nearby places (north-west Taupo).

1.1 Heke

After an exploratory expedition (Te Heke Karere), Te Ahukaramū forcefully persuaded his whānau, Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake, to leave their homes in the north by burning their whare. He led the first major Ngāti Raukawa migration to the south - Te Heke Whirinui, in 1826. Ngāti Kikopiri rangatira (Te Ruru and others) were involved in obtaining utu against Muaūpoko at Lake Waiwiri for the deaths of Te Rauparaha's children.⁴⁴⁶ Fighting alongside Ngāti Toa in attacks on Muaūpoko gave Ngāti Huia and Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake rights to land there.

Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal said⁴⁴⁷:

“Te Ahukaramū and Tuainuku were involved in fighting. The reason Ngāti Kikopiri was situated there south of Waiwiri was because our chiefs had supported Te Rauparaha and other chiefs in obtaining utu for the deaths of his children there. Kauae pango.... was the place where the remains of Te Rauparaha's children had been found.”

He also said that⁴⁴⁸:

“My sense is that in order for Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake to have got the rights to the land at Muhunua, it would have been primarily Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake involved in the

⁴⁴⁵ Hiramā Tamihana states that Parewahawaha was the first wife of Te Rangipūmamao. Pakake Taiari II must have been the tuakana as he was given his grandfather's name

⁴⁴⁶ Waretini Tuainuku, quoted in *The Story of Papaitonga, or A Page of Māori History*, by Sir W. Buller. Transactions and Proceedings of the NZ Institute. Vol xxvi. Govt Print, Wellington. 1893.

⁴⁴⁷ Royal, 20 September 2016.

⁴⁴⁸ Royal, 6 December 2016.

pakanga at Muhunoa...They came into the possession of significant pieces of land through an element of tuku and an element of their own actions.”

1.2 Rangatira at Muhunoa and Waiwiri

Te Ahukaramū and Tuainuku were some of the chiefs who settled there. Te Rangihaeata, Topeora, Te Paea and Matene Te Whiwhi also lived at Mahoenui and Waiwiri, but may have arrived later. Matene Te Whiwhi's mother was Topeora (Ngāti Parekohatu) and his father was Te Rangikāpiki, grandson of Wahineiti.⁴⁴⁹ Matene Te Whiwhi's wife Pipi Ipurape was a daughter of Hape and his second wife Kiriwera. They had a daughter Heeni Te Rei, who also succeeded to land there. See map 19. for Te Raina o Te Whatanui (also known as the Mahoenui boundary) – the boundary between Te Whatanui's land and Te Rangihaeata's land.

1.3 Kai

There were plenty of tuna (eels), whitebait, inanga, kōkopu, ducks, and many other kai available in the lakes, lagoons, and streams at Muhunoa and Waiwiri and on the coast (toheroa). The native forest stretching to the Tararua range offered kereru, kaka, huia, kiore, berries, and timber.

Wera-a-waanga was a clearing used by Ngāti Kikopiri for cultivations.

Pukeatua was at the foothill of the Tararua and used for birding, as described in the Native Land Court⁴⁵⁰, though it was disputed, and we gave up our rights there in later years.

Peaks described as boundary markers for Ngāti Kikopiri were Pukemoremore and Arete (Hanga-o-hia-tangata) – see map 19.. The southern boundary was the lower reaches of the Ohau river to the Ma-korokio stream junction. Various tracks across the Tararua range led to the Wairarapa.

1.4 Mahoenui boundary

While our occupation on the Muhunoa and Waiwiri blocks is well-known, evidence given in the Native Appellate Court in 1896 also describes our occupation of land north of the Waiwiri prior to the disputes about the land and the unjust Native land Court decision which gave the

⁴⁴⁹ Rangikāpiki died in battle in the Waikato. Carkeek T.W Interview. 8 December 2016.

⁴⁵⁰ Manawatū Kukutāuaki No. 6 (Ohau). OMB No. 2. 18 April 1873.

Horowhenua block to Muaūpoko in 1873. Our boundaries in the west were from *Tauteka's post* on the beach and Rakauhamama lagoon (50 chains north of Waiwiri stream) to the southern boundary of Muhunua No. 3, with Tirotirowhetu on the boundary with Tukorehe. To the north the boundary was through Mahoenui, also known as Te Raina o Te Whatanui. Ōrotokare and lake Waiwiri were within our boundaries.

For example, Hura Ngahue, a Ngāti Maihi man who grew up at Mahoenui, and later lived at Muhunua, told the Native Appellate Court that Matene Te Whiwhi had mana over the area, and eels were sent to him:

“Heni te Rei used to come to Waiwiri and return to Ōtaki. Her kainga at Waiwiri was close to Te Puke's. The houses that Te Puke and Heni te Rei lived in are north of Kemp's line. Tuainuku's brother Aperehama Te Ruru cultivated north of the Waiwiri. There were nine pā tuna on the Waiwiri stream. The hapū living north of the Waiwiri were Pareraukawa (from Aperehama Te Ruru), Ngāti Hikitanga, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Parekohatu. R Ransfield was a witness for Ngāti Kahoro: "Within the boundaries of Horowhenua. Ngatihikitanga and the other hapūs had lived together, but each hapū had separate mahinga.”⁴⁵¹

2.0 HOW WERE OUR WHENUA AND HAPŪ RESOURCES DIMINISHED?

How were Te Ahukaramū, Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha pressured into supporting European settlement by parting with their land at Muhunua and Waiwiri? What benefits were they expecting for Ngāti Kikopiri and did these benefits eventuate?⁴⁵²

Access to guns (security) and economic benefits from trade. The hapū of the Manawatū and Horowhenua had been living in peaceful Christian communities during the 1830s, trading with Europeans. They expected that bringing Europeans to the region would bring prosperity and development opportunities. They saw Te Atiawa selling land at Port Nicholson and thought they had done well from it, getting guns and enhancing security.

Expression of mana over the land (Ngāti Raukawa). It was agreed to by a rūnanga of 300 people, including Te Whatanui and Ihakara Tukumarū, that Te Ahukaramū and Horohau

⁴⁵¹ AJHR 1898 G-2A

⁴⁵² Proceedings of Kohimārama Conference 23 July, and 3 Aug 1860, Māori Messenger Te Karere Māori, Vol. VII, Issue 15. Papers Past. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MMTKM18600803.2.2>

approach the New Zealand Company to discuss sale of the land (Horowhenua to Manawatū) for Ngāti Raukawa. These chiefs asserted their mana over the place, despite opposition from Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. The area under discussion was about 25,000 acres of flat fertile land as far south as lake Horowhenua and Hokio stream. But Te Ahukaramū did not agree to the price and turned it down. Waiwiri chief Horomona Toremi (Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Raukawa) said that Taikapuru (Ihakara's uncle) kept the goods offered anyway and still refused to part with the land. The sale was not validated by the Spain Commission.

A belief in the promises of the Treaty. Tamihana Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Parekohatu, Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Toa) and Matene Te Whiwhi (Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Parekohatu, Ngāti Huia) though younger than Te Ahukaramū, were also influential at Muhunua and Waiwiri.⁴⁵³ Their mana was related to early occupation by Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa in the area, and the fact that Te Rauparaha's children had been killed there at Te Wī and is confirmed by their signatures in relation to land at Waiwiri. Tamihana and Matene were early converts to Christianity, and their principles of peace-making with other iwi (e.g. Ngai Tahu) now extended to Europeans. The Treaty was a significant document in our history, and our tūpuna gave weight to its promises. They believed the promises of the Treaty, power-sharing and the 'union of the races'.

Some of the Ngāti Huia (and Ngāti Kikopiri) rangatira who signed the Treaty in 1840 were Te Rauparaha, his son Katu (Tamihana Te Rauparaha), Topeora, Matene Te Whiwhi (Te Wiwi), Aperehama Te Ruru, Matia (Te Matenga?), Te Puke, and Moroati Kiharoa. Horomona Toremi of Ngāti Kahoro also lived at Waiwiri and signed it. Our Ngāti Ngarongo relations, e.g. Ihakara Tukumarū (Tahurangi), also signed it.⁴⁵⁴

2.1 War in Taranaki and Kingitanga

The Kingitanga had supported Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake in conflict against the Crown, and now the Crown undertook measures to pressure chiefs to choose sides. Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi believed the Kingitanga had become too strongly opposed to Pākehā settlement, and this didn't fit with their peace-making principles. According to reports of the Kohimārama conference in 1860, Matene Te Whiwhi said that at a hui at Taiporohenui, south Taranaki, about land, a hui of 500 people, a chant was recited by which Pākehā would fall.

⁴⁵³ Tamihana carried the mana of his father Te Rauparaha, and his siblings were Hape's adult children.

⁴⁵⁴ Simpson, 1990.

Chiefs were exhorted to take back even that land which had been sold, for which goods had been received. Matene Te Whiwhi did not agree. He said, "It is wrong, leave that for our Pākehā kinsmen. But as to land not yet sold, retain that." So, he felt they were being too hard-line. Tamihana Te Rauparaha disagreed with Wiremu Kingi's stance against the Crown in Taranaki.

2.2 Threats and Intimidation

After fighting had broken out in Taranaki in 1860, Governor Gore Brown sought to gain the loyalty of chiefs throughout the Country by reiterating his commitment to the Treaty during a month-long hui at Kohimārama, Auckland. Chiefs from Ngāti Kikopiri and Ngāti Huia including Te Ahukaramū, Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha were "detained" at Kohimārama and brow-beaten for over three weeks at this hui. Galbreath (in his book on Buller) wrote:

“Browne and McLean did their best to reinforce Māori acceptance of the Treaty as the basis for the protection of the Māori people, and the basis of British sovereignty and government authority over them.”⁴⁵⁵

The young Christian chiefs wanted to believe this. Te Ahukaramū (or Te Roera Hukiki Te Ahukaramū?), stated at the conference that he also had converted to Christianity. Tamihana Te Rauparaha: “do not consent that the Treaty should be for the Europeans alone, but let us take it for ourselves, and let it be a cover for our heads”. All present agreed there should be regular hui between governors and chiefs to be involved in decision-making. They were promised active roles in governance e.g. as kaiwhakawaa (judges) for common offences, rūnanga to be chosen by the tribes, and as Native Land assessors.

Pressure was put on chiefs to declare their loyalty to the Queen, return home and accept subdivision of land. The Native Secretary Mr McLean and Buller told them that customary retention of land was a cause of strife and division. Sale of land was to be used for roads and bridges to facilitate trade, leading to wealth for all. Buller was the secretary for the hui at Kohimārama and wrote up the reports. Others who attended from Ngāti Kikopiri and Waiwiri/Muhunua were Wiremu Te Ahukaramū, Henare Winiata Tereanuku [Tuainuku?], Arama Karaka, and Horomona Toremi. The Treaty promises were soon forgotten and ignored.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Galbreath p. 38-43. 1989.

⁴⁵⁶ Thanks to NKMMCS deputy chair Bridget Robson for advising us to write this section.

3.0 HOW WAS COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP UNDERMINED AND SO MUCH LAND LOST?

What was the process which facilitated the sale of land e.g. leasing, individualisation of title, subdivision? Was there further loss of land e.g. rates demands? How was so much Ngāti Kikopiri land at Muhunua and Waiwiri lost, and to whom? What was done to get the reserves which were promised, and were they ever surveyed?

3.1 Leasing to Europeans

Leasing land to Europeans began in the 1840s. Te Roera Hukiki⁴⁵⁷:

“After the fight (Kuititanga – HC), I went to Muhunua. I have occupied up to this time from 1840 and I am there now. Nobody has ever during all this period disputed my right to this land. In 1848, I let this land – all of it – from Rotokare. I allude to the seaward block. I let it to Hector MacDonald in 1858. I let it to somebody else – that Pākehā has gone away. In 1859, I let it again to MacDonald. In 1860, I let it to Nicholson. In 1868, to John Knocks. No person ever interfered in any way with my letting of these lands. Up to 1874, I have sheep running there undisturbed.”

Hura Ngahue⁴⁵⁸:

“John Knocks was the lessee of the land at the time of disputes... Hector McDonald's sheep were running north of Waiwiri Stream in 1874. He had the lease of the land north of the stream. Te Puke (and?) Matene leased it to him. Te Whatanui leased the land north of Mahoenui boundary to McDonald.”⁴⁵⁹

Rod McDonald, son of Hector, recalled:

When I first remember, my father had given up what was later known as Kebbell's Run, between the Ohau River and the Waiwiri creek, this being leased by a man named Knocks.... For the land from the Waiwiri creek to the Hokio stream my father dealt with Te Whatanui alone, having received a lease from him, and paying him the whole of the rent.⁴⁶⁰

3.2 Economic benefits?

There may have been some economic benefits to leasing land, but according to the Government's own reports Ngāti Raukawa suffered a serious decline in the years from 1850 to the early 1870s and leasing was one of the causes.

⁴⁵⁷ Ōtaki MB 2, 16.3.1874, Wera-a-whaango or Muhunua

⁴⁵⁸ AJHR 1898

⁴⁵⁹ AJHR 1898 G-2A

⁴⁶⁰ O'Donnell, 1929

In 1850, H Tacy Kemp had visited the Waikawa/Ohau district, and described the cultivations as being 'in excellent order', with a wheat crop which had 'turned out very well'.

At Horowhenua the bountiful supplies of eels and flax were noted. But illnesses such as fever and consumption were a growing concern. There is evidence that leasing of land to Europeans led to a reduction in our hapū practice of cultivation and food-gathering, and vulnerability to food shortages. This led to increased pressure to sell land.⁴⁶¹

3.3 Buller's influence

Walter Buller was a persuasive and fluent speaker of Māori who was appointed Resident Magistrate for the Manawatū district in 1861. His attitude to the desire of hapū to hold land collectively:

“Communism in land is admitted to be the great obstacle to the social and material advancement of the Māori people...under the present system of tenure the Natives will never be induced to give up their low Māori habits, and adapt themselves to the requirements of a superior civilisation.”⁴⁶²

He thought that having exclusive title to a piece of land would encourage industrious habits. He became passionate about Lake Waiwiri and the surrounding whenua, acquiring it for himself and his family.

3.4 Rewarding Loyalty

Some chiefs, e.g. Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi, influential at Waiwiri and Muhunua, strove to build unity with Europeans and were rewarded for their loyalty to the Queen by being given authority as paid Native Land Court assessors, and pensions. As assessors they took part in the further individualisation of land titles, which we see now in retrospect as being detrimental to the hapū.

By 1864 Tamihana and Matene were both senior assessors on annual salaries of £100.⁴⁶³ This practice of buying the loyalty of influential chiefs and the use of anthropological knowledge to facilitate colonial domination of Māori has been described by Dr Des Kahotea in his PhD

⁴⁶¹ District 12 report, p. 202-206.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ [https://teara.govt.nz/en/search/bios -Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi](https://teara.govt.nz/en/search/bios/-Tamihana%20Te%20Rauparaha%20and%20Matene%20Te%20Whiwhi)

thesis.⁴⁶⁴ However, their loyalty to their relations was sometimes still evident e.g. Tamihana supported the four hapū in their occupation north of lake Waiwiri in the 1870s.⁴⁶⁵

3.5 Searancke

In the late 1850s, as part of the Government's move towards individualisation of land titles, Mr W.N. Searancke, Land Purchase Commissioner, discussed possible sale of land at Muhunua with Te Roera Hukiki and Karaipe Te Puke. The price wasn't agreed, and then the Government suspended purchases.

Galbreath:-

“Searancke had fathered and abandoned a Māori family, and now as Land Purchase Commissioner, had become notorious among Māori people for failing to carry out promises and for making secret deals when purchasing their land.... McLean tacitly condoned such methods of land purchase.”⁴⁶⁶

3.6 Featherston at Muhunua

Land Purchase Commissioner Isaac Featherston, former Superintendent of Wellington province, was also actively pressuring chiefs to sell their hapū whenua. In February 1864, it was agreed that the Muhunua Block (from the coast to the mountains) should be sold to him for £1,100. A deposit of £100 was paid to Te Roera Hukiki and Te Puke for distribution. Rather than a deed, a memorandum of agreement was signed in which Hukiki consented to the sale, and the boundaries of the alienation were described. Five hundred acres and an important eel fishery, Lake Ōrotokare, were to be reserved for the hapū. This is strong evidence of our ancestral occupation and resource use of this area. But Ngāti Raukawa chiefs in Ōtaki wanted a share of the money and the sale did not proceed. Hema Te Ao was amongst those objecting. Lake Papaitonga/Waiwiri was included in this block.⁴⁶⁷

Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal⁴⁶⁸ said "Hukiki and Hema Te Ao fought in courts over land at Muhunua. James Cootes was on same side as Hema Te Ao."

⁴⁶⁴ Kahotea, Dr D. University of Waikato, 2005.

⁴⁶⁵ District 12 report. p. 164.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ District 12 report. p. 99.

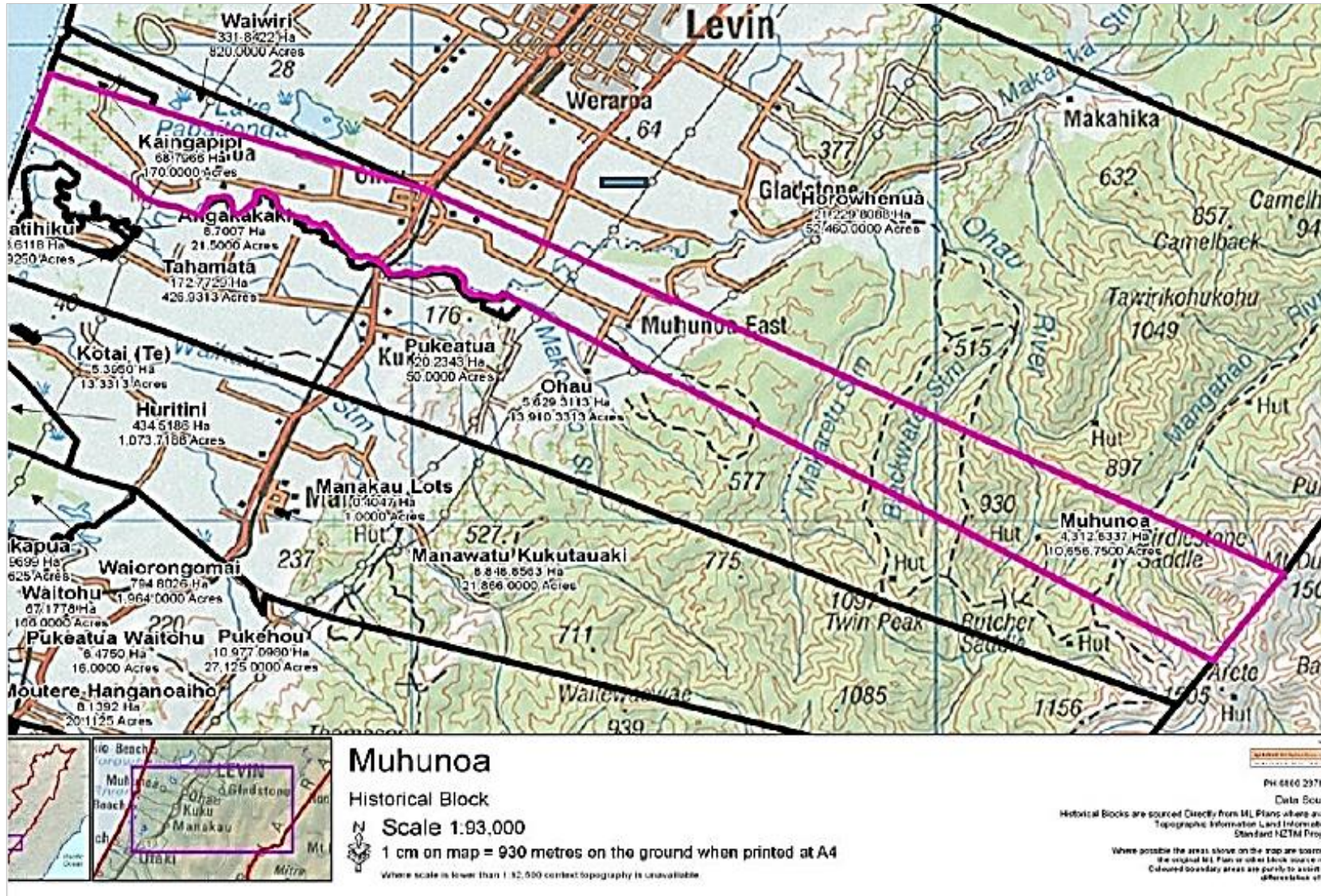
⁴⁶⁸ Royal, 20 September 2016.

Lindsay Poutama⁴⁶⁹ said:

“Hema Te Ao was left out of some of the major land allocations, he should have been in them, so they allocated him land on the northern side of the Ohau. And also shares at the beach. ... I know he had some major tracts of land around, and Parekawau was one, but what they had eventually was a lot less than what they had.”

⁴⁶⁹ Poutama, 4 November 2016.

Map 158: Muhunua Block



3.7 North of Waiwiri to Mahoenui Boundary

3.7.1 Reserves promised to four hapū

The land between the Waiwiri stream and the Mahoenui boundary was occupied by the four hapū - Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Hikitunga, Ngāti Parekohatu and Ngāti Kahoro. The boundaries of the area within which the reserves were promised in 1874 was described:

“On the north by a line commencing at Tauteka's post on the sea beach at Mahoenui thence inland to Te Rua o Te Whatanui, thence in a direct line to the Ohau river which it crosses at Tokaroa thence along the line bearing eastward to the Tararua range. On the east of the Tararua range to Pukemoremore, on the south by a direct line from Pukemoremore to the mouth of the Waiwiri stream; on the west by the sea coast from the mouth of the Waiwiri stream to the commencing point at Mahoenui.”⁴⁷⁰

Te Rangihaeata, his wives and sister Topeora came to live at Mahoenui, Waiwiri and Marokehengahenga at times after being pushed north by British forces in 1846.⁴⁷¹ Through their mother Waitohi they were Ngāti Parekohatu and Ngāti Huia. Te Rauparaha would sometimes visit them there. Topeora is said to have composed her waiata wawata, 'Naku te Whakarehu...' for Te Ahukaramū at this time.

The Ngāti Hikitunga leader Te Paea and Matene Te Whiwhi also lived at Mahoenui (north of lake Waiwiri) and at a kainga named Waiwiri by the coast, Te Aohau Neville Nicholson told the Native Appellate Court in 1896:

“I was told that in olden times north of Waiwiri Stream was cultivated. Mahoenui, Waiwiri, and Rakauhamama were worked up to time of disputes in 1873”.

Rakauhamama is a lagoon between the Waiwiri stream and the Hokio.

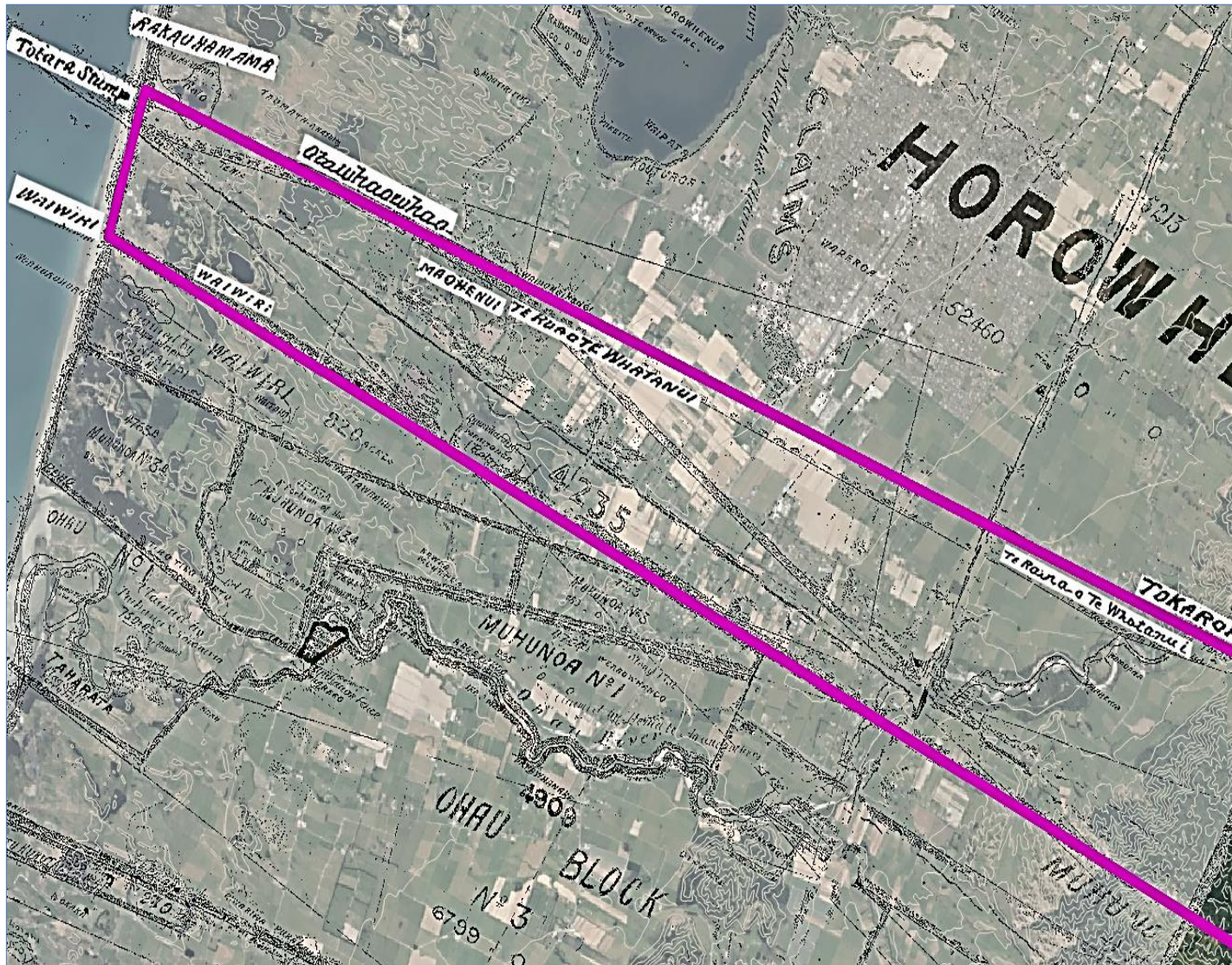
A boundary had been agreed between 'Te Rangihaeata's people' and 'Te Whatanui's people' said Mr Morrison, lawyer for the four hapū (Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Hikitunga, Ngāti Parekohatu and Ngāti Kahoro) in an 1896 hearing:

“Whatanui and people occupied near Horowhenua Lake. Rangihaeata and his people occupied the southern portion of block. There was a boundary laid down between Whatanui's and Te Rangihaeata's people by Topeora, Rangihaeata's sister, known as the "Mahoenui boundary" running from Rakauhamama, on the beach, through the Rakauhamama Lagoon eastward to Mahoenui”.

⁴⁷⁰ Signed agreement: ABWN W5279 8102, Box 320, WGN 27, C497207, Horowhenua-Rangitikei Manawatū, National Archives

⁴⁷¹ Carkeek, 8 December 2016; Royal 6 December 2016; AJHR 1898 G-2A.

Map 169: (Horowhenua ML4295 Sheet 6 Crop) showing the Mahoenui boundary some 50 chains north of Waiwiri stream.
(Names enhanced and map overlaid on current satellite image by X Ford, Ngāti Kikopiri)



This was the division between Te Whatanui's territory northwards, and Te Rangihaeata's land south of the boundary. Ngāti Pareraukawa people were on both sides of this boundary, but those on the south claimed through Aperehama Te Ruru, Tuainuku's brother, so were uri of Wahineiti. This could be described as an overlap between the lands of the hapū of Kikopiri and Pareraukawa, and of course all of Ngāti Pareraukawa also whakapapa to Kikopiri (Pareraukawa being a daughter of Kikopiri).

The area was included in Major Kemp's Horowhenua block in an unfair judgement of the Native Land Court in 1873. It is difficult to state the acreage of this land lost to Ngāti Kikopiri north of the Waiwiri, but it is likely to be over 1,200 acres, and more if the land extending east of the lake is also included. The four hapū dispossessed of their land north of the Waiwiri by this Native Land Court decision on the Horowhenua took up arms against Muaūpoko in opposition to the decision, and to resist Muaūpoko occupation. Chiefs including Kipa Te Whatanui of Ngāti Kikopiri continued to advocate for their interests in this land. Some even re-established a pā at Kouturoa. A party of Muaūpoko raided Watene Tiwaewae and Te Puke's settlement at Kouturoa, on the southern side of Lake Horowhenua. People were dragged out of their houses; roughly handled; the houses were burnt.⁴⁷²

As a result of the conflict, in 1874 the Government's chief land purchase officer Donald McLean intervened, and persuaded several of our chiefs to sign an agreement, to accept sale of the land on the promise of extensive reserves, to those who were permanent residents, 'between Papaitonga lake and the sea'.

McLean had lied when he told these chiefs that Te Paea and Hukiki had sold this land. In fact, the sale of land at Muhunua had not been concluded, the land north of the Waiwiri had been excluded from it, and the land between Mahoenui and the lake belonged to Horomona and Watene.⁴⁷³ Those who signed: Matene Te Whiwhi, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Karaipi Te Puke, Horomona Toremi, Watene Tiwaewae, Nerehana te Paea, Rakera Kipihana, Aohau Nikitini, Ngawiki Tuainuku, Kipihana te Kauatoa and Rakapa Topeora – accepted the sum of £1,050, and believed they would keep the lands they had been living on, their kainga, lagoons and pā tuna on the Waiwiri etc.

⁴⁷² District 12 report. p.156.

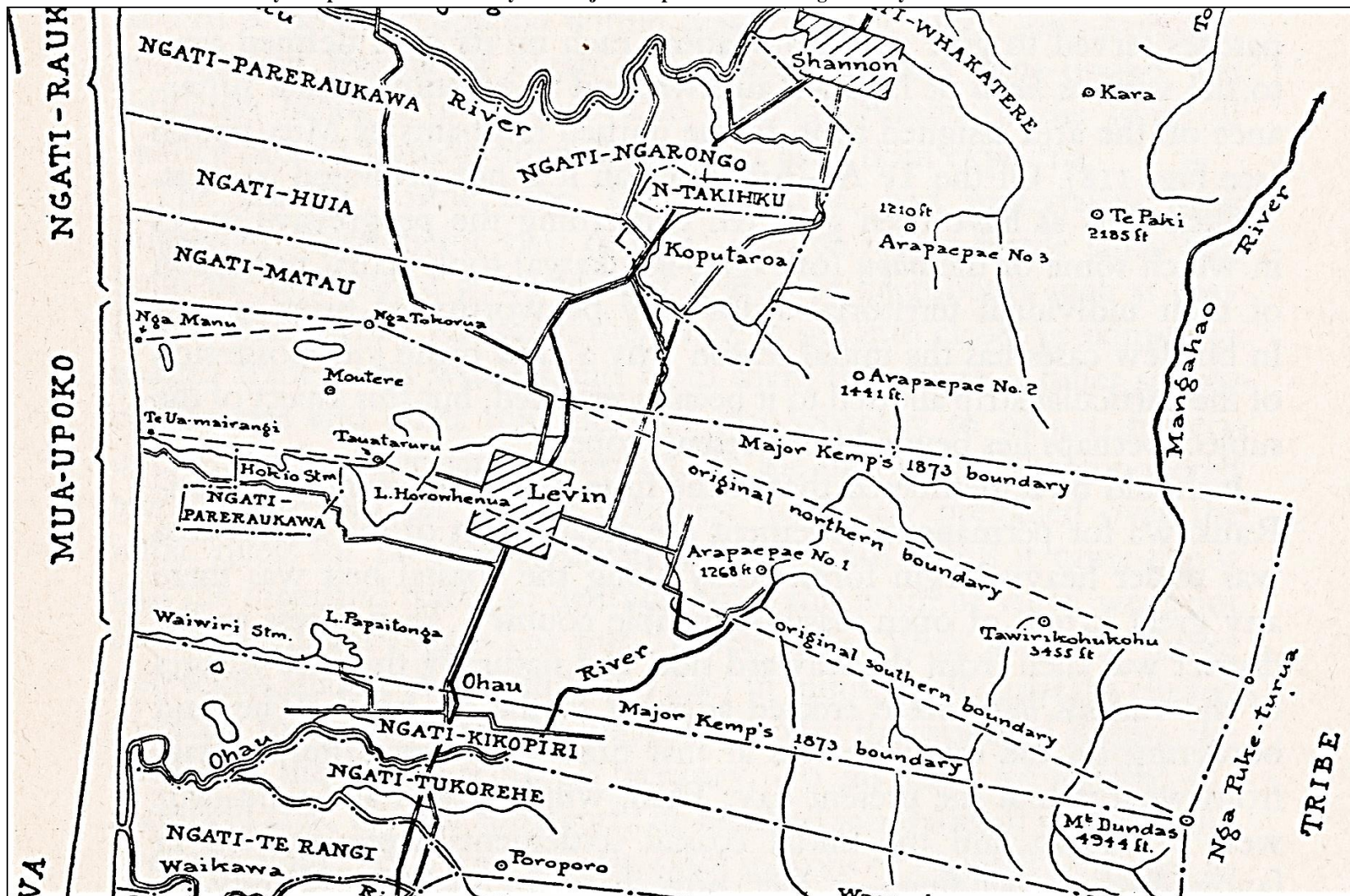
⁴⁷³ Ibid. p. 242.

A few days later Kemp agreed:

“...to convey by way of gift to certain of the descendants of Te Whatanui, to be hereafter nominated, a piece of land within the said Horowhenua Block, near the Horowhenua Lake, containing one thousand and three hundred acres (1,300) the position and boundaries to be fixed by actual survey.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁴ Turton, H.H. TCD, Vol. 2, p. 435.

Map 20: Adkin 1948 (fig 118) map showing the land offered to Muaūpoko by Ngāti Raukawa (original northern and southern boundaries) which they occupied and the boundary that Major Kemp and Hunia were granted by the Native Land Court in 1873.



By stating that this land should go to the descendants of Te Whatanui only, Kemp was ignoring the rights of those south of the Mahoenui boundary: Ngāti Kikopiri, including Ngāti Hikitunga, Tuainuku, and the descendants of Matene Te Whiwhi.

3.8 Waiwiri Block

Waretini Tuainuku, who was a grandson of Wahineiti's son Te Ruru, lived north of Muhunua beside lake Waiwiri. His daughter Hinga Waretini (bn 1872) married her whanaunga Hoani Kuiti (Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Kahungunu), son of Hoani Kuiti Taipo, in 1888, and they lived together at Matapounamu south-west of the lake for the rest of their lives. There is another urupā named Hiweranui near Matapounamu, beside the lake. Hence the two families were closely related and both the Kuiti and Royal whānau became the principal whānau of Ngāti Kikopiri. Other whānau are the Perawiti, Tohaia, Pirika whānau, and descendants of Hapekitūārangi were also there, particularly near the mouth of the Waiwiri stream.⁴⁷⁵

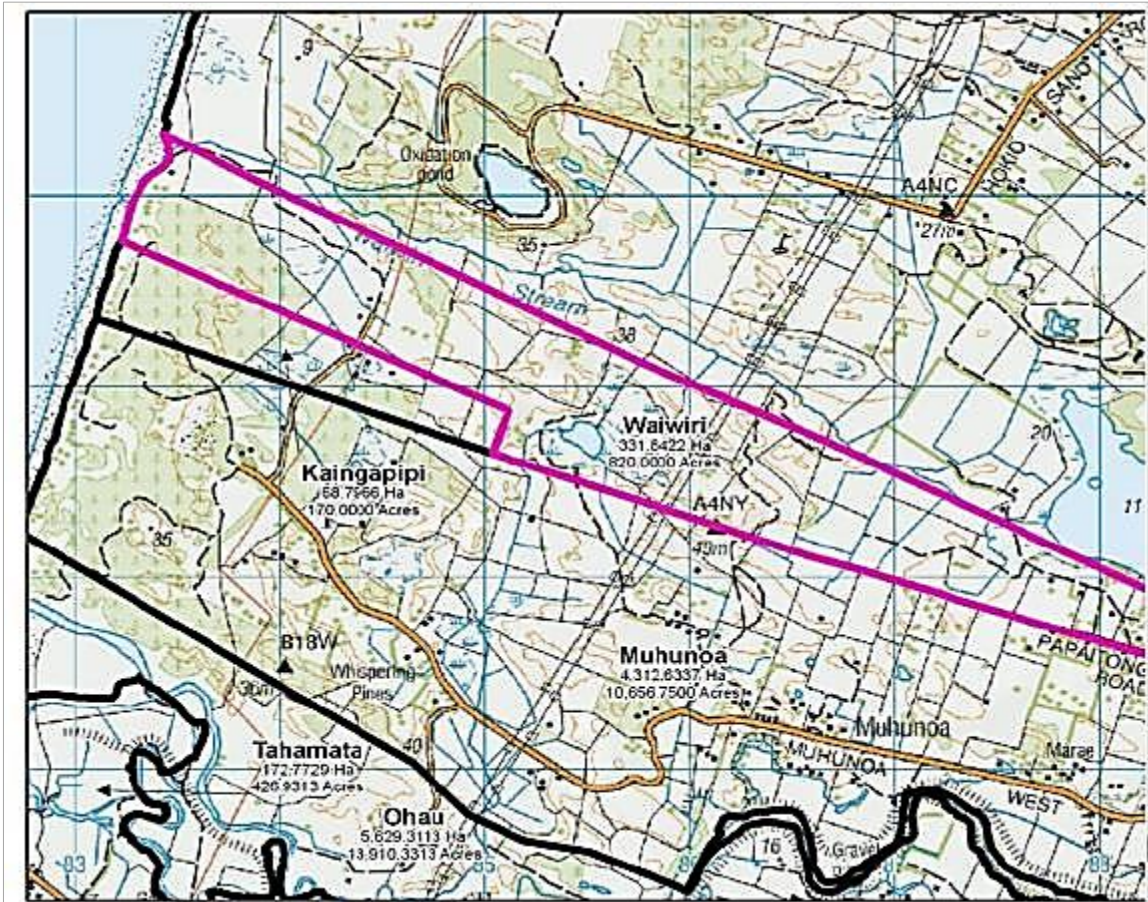
The Waiwiri block is shown south of Waiwiri stream and lake, from the coast to Ohau, just north of today's residential area. It includes a lagoon named Ohine. On 17 April 1873, title to Waiwiri (820 acres) was awarded as one parent block to Karaipi Te Puke, Ranguira Te Keho, Nerehana Te Paea, Tame Te Riu, Rangihina Te Paea, Waretini Tuainuku, Arama Karaka, Hipora Kumeroa, Hura Ngahue and Te Perawiti⁴⁷⁶. Several partitions of this block took place between 1887 and 1897.

John and Gertrude Kebbell bought the largest blocks (Waiwiri West in 1887 and Waiwiri East 1B in 1903), totalling 529 acres. By 1895, Walter Buller owned Waiwiri 1C, 2B, 3A and 3B. Hammond Murray began leasing Waiwiri 1A in 1952, and the family continues to do so. Henare Roera's grand-daughter Te Miringa or Milly married Hammond Murray, and Donald was their son.

⁴⁷⁵ Piwiki Horohau, carver of Kikopiri Whare, was a descendant of Hapekituarangi.

⁴⁷⁶ Ōtaki MBk 2. pp. 79, 399. PKM MLC Records RA Project, Vol. XXVIII p. 643.

Map 217: Waiwiri Block - Pink outline



3.9 Subdivision

The Muhunua block began to be subdivided in the 1870s. Featherston and Buller used threats and intimidation to force sales. The entire Muhunua block, stretching to the Tararua range, is said to have been over 10,600 acres.

Title to the Muhunua No. 3 block of 2,340 acres was confirmed in the Native Land Court in Ōtaki on 16th April 1874 (before Judge J. Rogan, with Enoka Te Whanake as Native Assessor) as belonging to Roera Hukiki, his wife Rutu Roera, his sons Henare Roera, Kiniwe Roera, Te Tāuhu Roera, Kerehi Roera, Hoani Kuiti, Mereana Patukino, Hori Roera, and Teri Tuainuku (for Ani Matenga).

Soon afterwards, European settler Mr John Kebbell arrived at Ohau, and began pressuring the named owners to sell; buying property including part of Muhunua No. 3, 1A. This block was 80 acres and included an ox-bow lagoon, Awamate. Kebbell eventually built up an estate of

around 2,000 acres which he named Te Rauawa⁴⁷⁷. Adkin notes that the name Rauawa refers 'to top-sides attached to a canoe to improve its seaworthiness' but has no explanation for the location name (Adkin 1948:336).

Sale of eastern block

In August 1875, the eastern part of this Muhunua No. 3 block (460 acres), north of Wera-whango (ie Muhunua East) was sold to the Government:

“This was part of its plan to develop roads to open up the area for European settlement. Although the purchase meant that 1,921 acres remained with the owners, the area awarded to the Crown was the eastern portion of the block through which both the railway and highway would pass and the area on which the township of Ohau would subsequently be established once the railway was opened in 1886 and the railway company began selling land in 1888.”⁴⁷⁸

It was signed by all of those above, though this time Teri Tuainuku's mother was listed as Ani Patene⁴⁷⁹. Further at Muhunua East, the Government purchased Muhunua No. 4 (WD 388, 3,600 acres) for the Wellington and Manawatū Railway company (stretching all the way to the Tararua ranges, from Roera Hukiki, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and others). The railway opened in 1886. And also 460 acres of Muhunua No. 1 (WD 364) (west of the road). Muhunua No.2, originally in the name of Hema Te Ao and another, had been sold to Kebbell by 1887.

3.10 Muhunua West and East

Henare Roera and others (including Te Tauhu descendants) owned a 386-acre block - Muhunua 3A No. 1D - around Ōrotokare to the north. Three 50-acre sections beside lake Ōrotokare were owned by Kerehi, Kipa and Kiniwe Roera. Names at Muhunua east, No. 4 (Wera-whaango, south east of Ohau centre) indicated that Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Toa people were owners - Roera Hukiki, Kararaina Whawha, Waretini Tuainuku, Hema Te Ao, Ihakara Tukumarū (Ngāti Ngarongo), Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Rakapa Topeora, Ropata Hurumutu (Ngāti Toa), Nopera Ngiha (Ngāti Toa). Te Aotutahanga was the grandson of Kikopiri by his wife Parehunuku, from her oldest son Te Rerenga⁴⁸⁰.

⁴⁷⁷ Horowhenua Chronicle 7 May 1910.

⁴⁷⁸ Walghan Partners. *Block Research Report Vol. 2* for WAI2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington. 2017.

⁴⁷⁹ Turtons Māori Deeds Vol. II, p. 160.

⁴⁸⁰ Carkeek, 8 December 2016 with Teira, T.K and Royal T.A.C.

A reserve of 100 acres was set aside, east of Wera-whaango (part Muhunua no 4), under the name of Paranihia Whawha⁴⁸¹. Paranihia was a descendant of Wahineiti through his son Te Ruru and Puaia (daughter of Pakake Taiari II, grand-daughter of Parewahawaha). She was a sister of Kipa Te Whatanui and married Tame Cootes. Muhunua 3A block was 1,105 acres and was subdivided in 1893. By 1900, 1,427 acres (59.9%) of Muhunua No.3 had been purchased.

3.11 Waiwiri/Papaitonga Reserves?

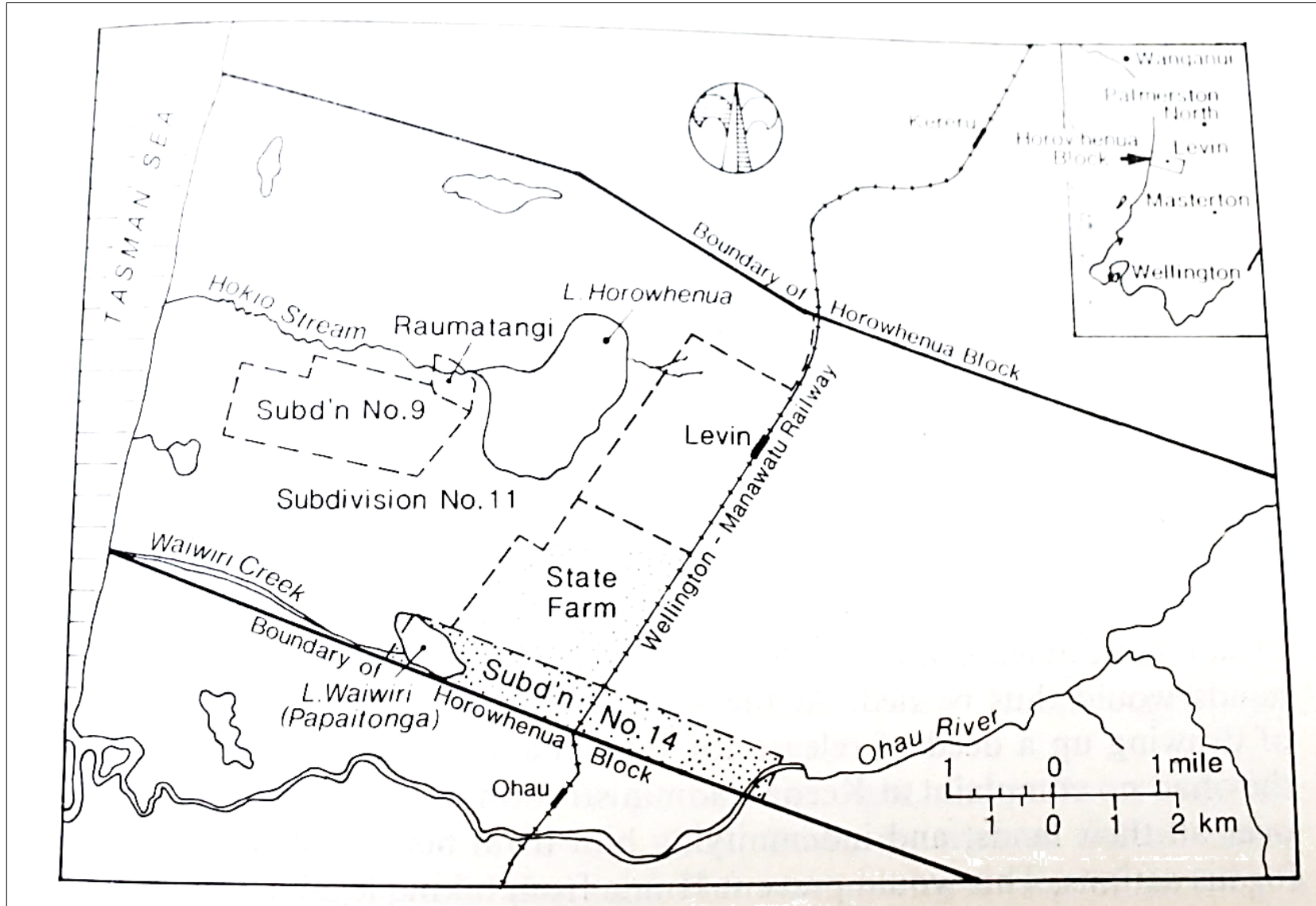
Until late 1886, there had been no survey of reserves for Ngāti Raukawa near Lake Horowhenua or at Waiwiri. The reserves promised between Lake Papaitonga and the sea and for Ngāti Huia at the northern boundary of the block had still not been surveyed.

Te Aohou Nicholson said that Muaūpoko were building houses next to their kainga, and requested Government intervention. In November 1886 the Horowhenua block was to be subdivided, and Kemp was held to his promise to allocate reserves for Ngāti Raukawa. He offered to give the 1,200 acres to Ngāti Pareraukawa at the southern boundary (Waiwiri, east of lake Waiwiri), but Te Aohou Nicholson insisted it should be by Lake Horowhenua, next to the 100 acres allocated (Raumatangi). Kemp reluctantly agreed, and Block 9 (1,200 acres) was surveyed.

The 1,200-acre block marked off at the southern boundary of the block, including Lake Waiwiri and east of the lake, became known as Horowhenua No. 14. Both this block and No. 9 above were initially put in Keepa's name, for him to give or sell to Ngāti Raukawa later. The large block by the coast, north of the Waiwiri (Horowhenua No. 11), was put in the names of Keepa and Hunia Te Hakeke, as other whānau in Muaūpoko also demanded representation. Keepa and Hunia then argued in court about whether they were owners in trust for Muaūpoko as a whole (as Keepa argued), or whether they were absolute owners, who could own half each and sell (as Hunia argued).

⁴⁸¹ WN_SO_10287. See appendix 3.

Map 22: Galbreath, 1989



3.12 Petitions

Our tūpuna kept advocating for the return of the whenua between the Waiwiri stream and the Mahoenui boundary. In 1890 Kipa Te Whatanui (great-grandson of Wahineiti's son Te Ruru) petitioned Parliament, asking for a Royal Commission to look into land ownership issues at Waiwiri (north of the stream). His petition was signed by 76 Ngāti Raukawa people and requested that Kemp be prevented from sale of any land in the meantime. His application was declined. However, the Native Affairs Committee of the Government had given his petition some regard, and in 1892 recommended that these questions be re-opened. Further petitions from Kipa Te Whatanui and others concerning the Horowhenua in 1894 resulted in recommendations from the Committee to temporarily restrict sale of Horowhenua blocks 6, 11A and 11B, and calling for the establishment of a Royal commission.⁴⁸² The Horowhenua Block Act of 1895 established a Royal Commission (the Horowhenua Commission) to look into the Horowhenua land issues.

In 1896 Kipa Te Whatanui again petitioned the Legislative Council, and in that year the Native Affairs Committee of the Legislative Council was chaired by TC Williams' older brother H Williams of the Bay of Plenty. The committee heard lengthy evidence about the Block and recommended that the Horowhenua Commission re-examine the 1873 decision. The petitioners promised not to disturb the title of the Crown or any Europeans legally occupying within the block. TC Williams advocated for the Crown to simply return the land to Te Whatanui's people. In 1897 Kipa Te Whatanui again petitioned Parliament for a rehearing, which was strongly supported by the Native Affairs committee in 1898. The then Premier Richard J Seddon, refused on the grounds that it happened too long ago and would only open up more difficulties.

3.13 Horowhenua Commission

There is evidence that the Horowhenua Commission gave brief consideration to the Waiwiri-Mahoenui whenua⁴⁸³:

“The Horowhenua commissioners had also considered evidence on the reserves that had been mentioned in the 1874 agreement, and had decided it would be absurd, for several reasons, to attempt to lay off reserves between Papaitonga and the sea.”⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸² See also T.C. Williams campaign for Ngāti Raukawa - *New Zealand Times*, 10 August 1883.

⁴⁸³ Anderson and Pickens 1996 p. 292.

⁴⁸⁴ Horowhenua Commission. p. 11. 'They would be small, non-contiguous and of little benefit, would seriously affect the remainder of the land.'

Its suggestion was that the northern boundary of Block 9 be shifted to the southern bank of the Hokio Stream, which would give the children of Te Whatanui access to fishing grounds and include the land on which their houses stood within the boundaries of their block. Action of this kind, if taken, could be considered to have extinguished the claims to reserves on the land to the south near Papaitonga Lake, which was now part of Block 11. The assumption here was that the reserves had been intended, along with Block 9, for Watene's people.

3.14 Outstanding grievance

The researchers⁴⁸⁵ writing the District 12 report concluded:

“A close reading of the evidence provided by Nicholson to the Commission, and of statements made during the meetings at Ōtaki and Wellington in 1874, however, suggests that the reserves were intended for Te Puke and some others, members of different hapū, and that they were given partly to compensate these hapū for the loss of land newly incorporated into the Horowhenua block, and also to complete the terms of sale for the Muhunua block.”

That is, that the 1,200 acres allocated to Ngāti Pareraukawa next to Raumatangi did not satisfy the claims of the four hapū – Ngāti Hikitanga, Ngāti Parekohatu, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Pareraukawa. Ngāti Pareraukawa was clearly not satisfied either because Neville (Pungarehu Te Aohou) Nicholson continued to petition Parliament in 1898, on similar grounds to Kipa Te Whatanui's. Petitions in 1902, 1922 and 1924 were similarly declined.

3.15 Buller obtains land

Meanwhile Walter Buller had arrived back from England, where he had exhibited the pataka and tomb he had bought from Ngāti Pikiāo and set his heart on buying land at Papaitonga. He was fluent in te reo and very wealthy, having been on exorbitant salaries for many years for his work in persuading Māori to sell land, and had also charged very high fees as a lawyer, often working for Māori clients who had to sell land to pay for his fees.

Keapa was an old friend of Buller's. Buller first bought 60 acres from the Ngāti Kikopiri (Tuainuku and Ngāti Hikitanga) owners of the Waiwiri East block, then in 1892 persuaded Keapa to sell him eleven acres of Horowhenua No. 14 around the lake, and to lease the rest of the 1,200-acre block. He developed it as a country home and farm for himself and his two sons.

⁴⁸⁵ Anderson and Pickens. 1996.

He got contractors to fell the bush, except around the lake, and put in fences. He brought white swans and other exotic birds from England to enhance its beauty in grand English style.

It can be argued that Keepa was not an owner of Horowhenua No. 14, but only a trustee for Muaūpoko as a whole, with no power to sell or lease to Buller without the consent of Muaūpoko at the time. In 1894, a mortgage (from Buller to Kemp) was taken out on the property (leased by Kemp to Buller) to pay the lawyer working for Kemp in a Supreme Court case (related to Horowhenua No. 11).

The Government bought the State farm land north of lake Waiwiri from Hunia, who had subdivided off his own land, for £2,000. The latter was a clear example of the Government's practice of finding individual owners willing to sell, ignoring issues raised about communal ownership, and either making a payment or running them into debt to obtain legal title to land.

3.16 Waiwiri reserve allocated 1898

Finally, on 19 September 1898, in relation to the promised reserves north of Waiwiri stream, the court awarded a 200-acre part of block 11 No. 1 beside the stream to be vested in the members of the four named hapū, and this would be sub-divided amongst the four hapū, and into smaller blocks under individual names.

- Ngāti Hikitanga received 75 acres (nearest the coast) with five owners named;
- Ngāti Kahoro received 12 acres (3 owners),
- Ngāti Parekohatu received 60 acres (15 owners),
- Ngāti Pareraukawa, furthest east, received 63 acres (seven owners).

Ngāti Hikitanga and Ngāti Kahoro got an extra seven acres to compensate them for sand drifts. The court agreed that the area of land south of the Mahoenui boundary had never been part of Horowhenua and had been wrongfully taken but awarded only a small portion of the thousands of acres taken.

3.17 Hokio and Lake Horowhenua

Oral history evidence shared at a meeting with Ngāti Pareraukawa⁴⁸⁶ was that these hapū were also given rights (by Ngāti Pareraukawa) to a 'right of way' giving them access to the Hokio

⁴⁸⁶ Meeting with Ngāti Pareraukawa on 14 December 2016.

stream. This indicates that Ngāti Kikopiri/Ngāti Pareraukawa also have rights to the Hokio stream (and Lake Horowhenua).

“In the years immediately after the arrival of Ngati Toa, the original holders of Horowhenua, the Muaūpoko tribe, had been worn down by constant attacks and driven into the hills and bush. But Te Whatanui, for reasons unrecorded, chose to shelter and protect the Muaūpoko remnant, maybe as few as 100 souls, on a block of land to the north of his own residence at Horowhenua. This block, of about 20,000 acres, included the principal Muaūpoko pā of Raia te Karaka, on the western side of the lake, some other small lakeside settlements, and the northern part of the lake itself. The southern half of the lake, and the Hokio Stream, with its eel fisheries, remained in the hands of Te Whatanui and his people, part of the Ngati Pareraukawa hapu of Ngati Raukawa. On the east and west the boundaries were the snowline and the sea.”⁴⁸⁷

3.18 Remaining lands

Waiwiri Stream

Of the 200 acres awarded, both north and south of the Waiwiri, it appears that only 16 ha remains in Ngāti Kikopiri hands today. A block named Horowhenua X1A 1A, sec 2 is owned and managed by the Perawiti Trust⁴⁸⁸. It has 59 owners. Blocks further east in Horowhenua XI are owned and managed by Muaūpoko Lands Trust, as is the Hokio A block of 354 ha, on the coast within the Horowhenua block.

Which streams, lakes and coastal areas were our main kai baskets, and how has our access and kaitiakitanga been affected by actions of the Crown?

Evidence of Plentiful Kai

There were at least five Ngāti Kikopiri pā tuna, or eel weirs on the Waiwiri stream – from the lake to the coast. Their names were given to Adkin by Hinga Waretini (Mrs Kuiti) - they were Te Karaka, Te Kahika or Te Kahikatea, Whakamate, Te Rere and Te Karamu. Adkins (p24) provides details of their construction, with two converging lines of stakes (rauri) interlaced with manuka, and a bed of fern and bark to prevent scour underneath. Hura Ngahue, a Ngāti Maihi chief who lived with Te Puke at Waiwiri, (and whose father had joined the Ngatiraukawa in the conquest of this country) gave evidence to the Native Appellate Court in 1896 (published AJHR 1898 G-2A) and named nine pā tuna on the Waiwiri stream. The extra ones were: Te Mapau, Te Karetu, Whakamaungaariki and Te Uku. He also had knowledge about ownership

⁴⁸⁷ Anderson and Pickens District 12 report. 1996. p.146.

⁴⁸⁸ Ngāti Hikitunga, Ngāti Kikopiri

of the pā tuna: 'Te Karamu; everyone worked at it... I heard that Te Uku belonged to Aperahama (Te Ruru) Whakamate belonged to Aperahama. I know this because he has left it to his descendants."

Matua Ken Kuiti (born 1943) talks of being able to catch 200-300 tuna in a day, using a spear (sharpened stick?), from the Waiwiri lake and stream.

"The eels lay on top of the water, and we used to go out and spear what we wanted. Mum would go out in the boat, she used to paddle out. We got 2-300 per day. Eels used to feed in certain parts of the lake, they'd go up the Waiwiri, one part would go left, the other right. They'd know where the food sources were, go on to the next place. And so, on until they're ready to run, when they'd come back to the mouth of the creek. There were thousands of them. We used to go up there spearing as well."

Ken related how his family used to find duck eggs around the lake (and on the islands) to eat, and they would herd and capture ducks as a source of kai.

"They called them flappers, before they could fly and take off. We used to block part of the creek off, drive them down and they'd get stuck there and couldn't get out. We got as many ducks as we wanted. They were in pretty good condition too."

Rob Kuiti of Ngāti Kikopiri⁴⁸⁹ spent several years living with his grandmother Ngahira Kuiti at Muhunua –

"White baiting over this side, no white baiting down the Waiwiri. Just the Waimarama you could get them. The Waimarama stream was pristine, it was beautiful, clean, clear water. They were inanga rather than whitebait, and freshwater crayfish, you can get eels, big eels there as well. Not the same eels you got from the Waiwiri, these had big heads and horns on them. Large eels.

We used to catch those, not only by using a spear but also by using a supple-jack, with worms. (You'd attach a worm to a supple-jack?) Thread the flax through the supple-jack and then through the worm. Then the flax, turn a part of that into muka, so eels would grab the worm, get their teeth caught in the muka and you'd have to pull them out, quite fast, once they actually grabbed on you had to pull them, flick them out, and then hit them on the head. You were taught that; a lot of the kids were taught how to do that. It was a pastime, and a thing to add to the table.

Down here in this stream (there was) also water-cress, heaps of water cress, beautiful water cress. Down at the Waimarama. (Did you use the Ohau for eeling?) We never had to go to the Ohau because we had places to go on the lake and streams. The Ohau river was more of a recreational place, for swimming. For tuna, either off the Waimarama or Waiwiri or the lake."

⁴⁸⁹ Kuiti, R. 26 November 2016.

Even in the 1950s-60s, Rob remembers as a child seeing the huge tuna heke, where the eels were so numerous they looked like 'boiling water', and surplus tuna could be kept in a pā tuna, a large (1.5m x 1.5m) wooden box in the Waimarama stream, for later use. Water could flow in and out of it, through slots too small for the eels to get through. He said the two tuna heke were at rainy times in late summer (late Feb-early March) and spring (September).

The coast was also an important food source. Rob Kuiti:

“We used to, as kids, walk to the coast for tohemanga, pipi. Down the road and across the dunes. At times as, kids we'd walk along the Waiwiri, spearing eels with matarau, and then go and get some pipi and toheroa, come back. Bring them back for a feed.”

Environmental degradation. How have our land and waterways, and access to kai e.g. tuna, been affected by colonisation and environmental degradation, e.g. taking water by bores, dairy farm run-off, impact of water take on Ohau? Our wāhi tapu and wāhi tūpuna are listed below, with a description of impact, when known. Selected wāhi tapu and wāhi tūpuna⁴⁹⁰:

Muhunua land block (Adkin p243) –

“The block extended parallel to the southern boundary of Major Kemp's augmented Horowhenua block, as a strip up to a mile or two in width and about 16 miles in length; it extended from the sea-coast to the crest of the Tararua range at the southern peak of Nga Puke-turua (Mt Dundas) and at Hanga-o-hia tangata (Arete Peak). Its southern boundary was the lower course of the Ohau river to the Ma-korokio stream-junction, thence an arbitrary direct line to Arete Peak.”

Muhunua East Rd is clearly within this territory.^{491,492} . By 1900, 1,427 acres (59.9%) of Muhunua No.3 had been purchased.

Papaitonga

The larger island in lake Waiwiri, was originally an island pā of Toheriri, ariki of Muaūpoko at the time of Te Rauparaha's invasion⁴⁹³. Ngāti Huia defeated Muaūpoko at Lake Wairiri and

⁴⁹⁰ Royal, T.A.C. *Ngāti Kikopiri Environmental Management Report 1991* (signed 19.2.1992) and Adkin 1948.

⁴⁹¹ See fig 118, Adkin p. 128.

⁴⁹² Patches of native bush which can be seen on either side of Muhunua East Rd (along a dog-leg bend, and closer to the river), can be considered remnants of Ngāti Kikopiri whenua (Poutama 24 January 2016).

⁴⁹³ Royal p. 34.

pushed them off this island pā after arriving on Te Heke Whirinui in 1826⁴⁹⁴. Te Puke is also said to have lived there⁴⁹⁵.

Waiwiri (Stream)

Five eel weirs listed by Hinga Kuiti. Depleted eel stocks, lower water levels. Hura Ngahue, a Ngāti Maihi chief who lived at Waiwiri, lists and names nine eel-weirs, and describes their association with particular chiefs⁴⁹⁶.

“I remember the Waiwiri being a clear-running stream – late 50s, early 60s. That was quite deep. I don’t remember it as deep-flowing but had quite a good colour. Used to catch whitebait there.”⁴⁹⁷

A study by Manaaki Taha Moana in association with the Cawthorn Institute⁴⁹⁸ found that the dominant source of faeces in the stream was from cows, but there were also indications of human faeces in two of the 42 sites where water was tested, particularly in the tributary which enters the stream from 'The Pot'.

Revered in recent memory by kaumātua as an abundant food resource, the coastal foreshore adjacent to the mouth of the Waiwiri Stream once provided local hapū and kaitiaki with a plentiful supply of shellfish, including toheroa. This is no longer the case today. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the stream has suffered severe ecological degradation in the past 35 years, reflecting the cumulative effects of loss of riparian vegetation, sedimentation, and increased nutrient and faecal loading.

Manaaki Taha Moana report No. 9, 2012.

“Dairy farming and other pastoral land use are known to contribute to the problem. Kaitiaki have also expressed concern about the possible contribution of human faecal matter from 'The Pot', an artificial pond built on an area of elevated sand dunes approximately 300m from the stream. The unlined pond receives secondary treated effluent via a pipe from the Levin Wastewater Treatment Plant. Effluent also seeps into groundwater or is spray-irrigated onto surrounding pine forest at a rate of up to 20,000m³ per day”.

⁴⁹⁴ see Buller 1892 and Royal Interview 6 December 2016.

⁴⁹⁵ see AJHR 1898 G-2A

⁴⁹⁶ AJHR 1898 G – 2A

⁴⁹⁷ Poutama, 4 November 2016.

⁴⁹⁸ Waiwiri Stream: sources of poor water quality, and impacts on the coastal environment, MTM report No. 9, October 2012.

Manaaki Taha Moana report No. 9, 2012.

“Drains from The Pot run directly into the Waiwiri stream, especially at times of high-water flow. From a cultural perspective, any faecal matter (particularly human) anywhere in the stream is offensive regardless of whether there is 'longitudinal decline'. The inability to manaaki (care for) guests with healthy, local delicacies at marae is a grave loss of mana or standing”.

While water quality in the area has been seen as the responsibility of the Horowhenua District Council and the Horizons Regional Council, the Crown has clearly failed to manage these processes in a way which protects our taonga, such as the waterways from which we derived our sustenance. Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed to rangatira continued authority over their taonga, and this authority has clearly not been maintained.

Waiwiri (Lake)

The lake was a source of plentiful tuna, kakahi, and ducks, as referred to previously. Wikipedia (Lake Papaitonga) refers to plentiful longfin and shortfin eels, waterfowl, and kakahi from its wetlands. Brown teal were chased into snares hung just above the water. The forest was preserved for its groves of kiekie, which produced a sweet fruit and much-prized succulent flower bracts (called tāwhara). There are also references to large number of "papango" or black teal, and to bird-snaring trees⁴⁹⁹. Ownership of the lake and its surrounds was wrongfully granted to Muaūpoko by the Native Land Court in 1873. Kemp sold 11 acres around the lake to Walter Buller in 1892 and leased him another 1,189 acres east of the lake for a farm⁵⁰⁰. This land should have been returned to Ngāti Kikopiri or the four hapū (Ngāti Hikitanga, Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Parekohatu and Ngāti Kahoro). Buller tried to develop it as an attraction for visitors, adding cultural items which did not belong there e.g. on Motukiwi, Buller erected an ornamental obelisk taken from the cemetery at Pūtiki near Wanganui. Buller moved back to England after the Horowhenua Commission investigated his land dealings and died there in 1906. His house at Papaitonga burnt down in 1904⁵⁰¹.

In 1901, 27.5 ha of bush were formally established as a reserve.⁵⁰² In 1930 the forest was made a scenic reserve, and (at least part of) the lake was purchased by the government from a Ngāti Raukawa farmer (D. Murray) in 1981 and added to the reserve. Part of the Papaitonga

⁴⁹⁹ Galbreath, p. 242, p. 262.

⁵⁰⁰ Horowhenua No. 14.

⁵⁰¹ Wikipedia.

⁵⁰² <https://envirohistorynz.com/2009/12/06/papaitonga-hidden-jewel-of-horowhenua/>

Scenic Reserve, a 135-ha area of forest and wetland, it is the only remaining lake surrounded by undisturbed native forest in the Horowhenua region and contains two populations of endangered native land snails⁵⁰³. The Department of Conservation, which administers the reserve and has bought further land on the northern side of the lake has shown an interest in its restoration and undertaken some activities to help improve its water quality. A Ngāti Raukawa participant told researchers:

“The Waiwiri outlet has been blocked and they [DoC] have put in a drain thing. They have blocked it; I think to raise the water level by about a meter and a half. For us I think it is going to be good, because they will slowly begin to let water out through the Waiwiri, so it will clean out some of the silt and mud.”⁵⁰⁴.

The lake was relatively deep and stable until the 1940s, but with the increase in horticulture nearby and the digging of irrigation bores it is becoming increasingly shallow.

The lake is bordered on two sides by wetland podocarp forest dominated by kahikatea, pukatea and swamp maire with substantial amounts of kiekie in the understorey. The drier forest on the higher surrounding terraces is largely tawa, kohekohe, and māhoe with some rimu and titoki. There used to be many kaka and kereru. Also, giant snails *powelliphanta*, which feed on earthworms and other small invertebrates. These native snails are threatened by rats, which take up to 25% of adults annually, by introduced blackbirds and song thrushes, and by the gradual drying out of Papaitonga from construction of drainage ditches, artesian bores, and farm irrigation. There were two streams which fed the lake from the east, e.g. Mangapiko, now only seen in heavy rains. The reserve is administered by the Department of Conservation, who undertake possum and rat control, and have banned dogs, hunting, and mountain biking.

Commercial eeling licences have impacted on the tuna population in lake Waiwiri and stream.⁵⁰⁵ Species affected - both the longfin tuna/eel (in gradual decline) and the shortfin tuna/eel (not threatened); brown mudfish, also known as hauhau; giant kōkopu (vulnerable general decline); banded kōkopu (regionally rare) and the pupurangi or giant carnivorous snail (*powelliphantia traversi*).

⁵⁰³ Wikipedia

⁵⁰⁴ Moore, Royal and Barnes, p. 28.

⁵⁰⁵ Seymour P. Interview 20 June 2017.

Degradation of Lake Waiwiri

“The two other big inland waterways in our area are Ōhau River and Lake Papaitonga/Waiwiri. These are places where our tūpuna lived. We had carved wharenui right on the edge of what is now known as Lake Papaitonga/ Waiwiri. There were two carved wharenui right on the water's edge and the Tūmaiteuru canoe landing area was by the Matāpounamu, down where the Kuiti whānau are now. Lake Papaitonga/Waiwiri has been terribly abused for a long, long time... it's been an unwell waterway for a long, long time.

The original course of the Waiwiri stream is different to where it is now as it was artificially moved. Some of our whānau may have been participants in that. Where the sites of our whakamate or our eel weirs once were are all dried up now. They are not where they were in history. Where the stream goes now is not where our whakamate used to be. The stream has been pushed northwest but the original came a bit closer down by where Matāpounamu is. It came around that way and that's where the whakamate used to be. Each whānau had their own whakamate or pā-tuna, which is the other expression.

So Waiwiri is quite a sad story in that respect and the water quality is very poor. The pollution in the lake you can see it in the tuna itself. I haven't had tuna from Papaitonga for a long, long time but the tuna that I saw when I was younger were tiny and very impoverished”⁵⁰⁶.

Matapounamu

Matapounamu is the kainga of Waretini Tuainuku and daughter Hinga Kuiti. Shallow basin upland at south-west corner of lake Waiwiri. (Land in the vicinity, including swampy land west of lake, was sold – probably by Waretini himself, and also by his grandsons Te Peeke Simon Kuiti and Pita Kuiti, according to Ken Kuiti⁵⁰⁷).

Papa-whārangi

Papa-whārangi is a small artificial island built by Muaūpoko (see Buller 1892 re methods used, including use of kākahi shells, indicating plentiful kākahi in lake).

Tu-mai-te-uru

Tu-mai-te-uru is on the southern shore of lake Waiwiri, east of Waiwiri stream. A tauranga waka for Ngāti Kikopiri.

⁵⁰⁶ Royal T.A.C in Smith 2016, p. 82.

⁵⁰⁷ Kuiti, K. 3 November 2016.

Te Wera-a-Whango

Te Wera-a-Whango is a clearing that was produced by burning. Used for cultivation. Those named in this block were Roera Hukiki, Kararaina Whawha, Waretini Tuainuku, Hema Te Ao, Ihakara Tukumarū, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Rakapa Topeora, Ropata Hurumutu, Nopera Ngiha. Hema te Ao ran stock there⁵⁰⁸.

Ōrotokare

Ōrotokare lagoon east of Muhunua, near end of Muhunua West Rd, now drained except for a small residual pool at the southern end. Te Ahukaramū and his whānau lived there when they first occupied, and the family later shifted east to Muhunua kainga, nearer the lake, probably when Te Roera was a young man⁵⁰⁹. At the time when blocks were partitioned in individual names, 1870s, blocks were held at Ōrotokare in the names of Henare, Kipa, Kerehi and Kiniwe Roera.

The first kainga settled by Te Ahukaramū and his whānau at Ohau was by the Ōrotokare lagoon. It was during the lifetime of his sons Te Roera and Wiremu Paiaka that the whānau shifted east to Muhunua kainga and became the principal family there.

“The centre of Te Ahu's interests were at Muhunua. Same with Te Whatanui – his centre was at Raumatangi, Hokio and those places. But they also had interests elsewhere in the rohe. They later moved from around Ōrotokare east to Muhunua kainga, near where the marae currently stands. Ōrotokare is very low on the ground, basically at sea level. Muhunua is not particularly high, but it's a bit more strategic”⁵¹⁰.

Te Aruhetakaka

Te Ahukaramū's son Roera Hukiki told the Native Land Court in 1874 that while his parents and hapū lived for many years at Ōrotokare, there was also a period, between the battles of Haowhenua (1834) and Te Kuititanga (1839), when the whānau lived further east, in a bush clearing they made, named Te Aruhetakaka. After that he went to Muhunua.

“Haowhenua fight then commenced, after that Ngāti Raukawa returned again. Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa came from Kapiti to ask them to remain. They overtook them at Ohau. They remained at Ohau and then this side of Ohau was allotted to Ngāti Pare. This was the second allotting of the land – my parents then occupied Rotokare with all my hapu. They remained permanently there, they were living there many years when my particular hapū went to make a clearing in the bush, called Te Aruhetakaka,

⁵⁰⁸ Parker D. Interview 30 October 2016.

⁵⁰⁹ Royal, 6 December 2016.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

extending to Whareao. They lived there many years. Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Awa fight Te Kuititanga took place in 1839. My hapus joined in this fight. After the fight I went to Muhunua. I have occupied up to this time from 1840, I am there now, and no-one has ever during all that period disputed my right”.

Kawari

Kawari was one of the kainga of Te Ahukaramū. It was a dwelling site, alongside Kawea pā, south-west of the lake, and together they formed Muhunua kainga. Te Roera married Ruru Rangihaua (Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Kahungunu)⁵¹¹, sister of Hoani Kuiti Taipo, and their home was also at Kawari. Their six sons were Henare, Hori Kerei, Te Kiniwe, Te Tauhu, Te Kerehi and Kipa. Hori Kerei died young, but the others all have descendants. These five sons built the whare tūpuna.

Urupā

The important urupā remaining today are Morunga, Tukere-whenua and Hiweranui. Muhunua became the primary settlement of Ngāti Kikopiri, though Te Ahukaramū and others continued to maintain interests at the Manawatū, Ōtaki and possibly Kapiti Island.

Impact on waterways:

“The older waterways which are now long gone have now been turned into farmland...waterways which are based upon the puna and springs and the water table underneath. You have Papaitonga, Ohau, Horowhenua and those big places but there are also a lot of different eco systems and habitats which are based upon puna, springs of water coming up from the water, and Ōrotokare was an example. The draining of swamps was just such a terrible thing to do to the health of our whenua. Birds could no longer make their homes. We lost so much in terms of pingao, harakeke.

Our tupuna, Te Ahukaramū lived in a place called Ōrotokare, which is a lake that no longer [or barely] exists [today]. It's right at the end of Muhunua West Road when you go down Muhunua, past Kikopiri, past Muhunua kāinga, go up [further], and there's a little knoll called Kebbell's knoll. Go over the knoll and come back down the other side to the seaside to the flat, and you will see just to the right - there you can still see the outline of the Lake. But the Lake is no longer there. It has been drained and is now farmland. You can see that there was once a Lake there. That's all Ōrotokare and that's the original kāinga of Te Ahukaramū when he first came south to this place, sometimes known also as Rotokare. That was his original home. The Tūainuku which is where the Kuiti whānau were at Papaitonga itself... at one point the land was sold on the seaside and [all] the families consolidated to Muhunua kāinga. The Tūainuku whānau lived more on the Papaitonga Waiwiri side and our mob, Te Roera Hūkiki, were more on the

⁵¹¹ Adkin p. 235.

Muhunua kāinga. They had a house on the flat at a place called Calvary or Kawari, that's where Te Roera himself lived”⁵¹².

Beaches

Beaches near Waiwiri stream. In an interview for the Manaaki Taha Moana research project, Rob Kuiti lamented the fact that the beaches near Waiwiri Stream (revered in recent memory as an abundant food source) could no longer be used to find kai.

“The inability to offer tuna (eels) and local shellfish from what was once an abundant resource is a grave loss, which we feel deeply every time we have visitors at our marae at Muhunua.”⁵¹³

Tipene Perawiti, also of Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Hikitanga and Ngāti Tukorehe, says it is alarming many locals continue to harvest shellfish from these beaches unaware of how contaminated the local waterways are.

“Our whānau know that we have not been able to safely harvest at the mouth of the Waiwiri since around 2002, as the water quality had declined too much. When I was a kid to young adult I used to go there every long summer with my relations. It worries me that I cannot take my moko (grandchildren) there now.”

Kaingapipi

Kaingapipi was a shelling site. For taking, eating and preserving. This land block was held in the names of the descendants of Hape and Ngāti Hikitanga. Kaingapipi, 170 acres, near Waiwiri. Ordered in the names of Hape te Horohau, Meretini Kuka, Karipa Te Rangiataahua⁵¹⁴, Tamati Parakaia, Taia Rupuha, Heni te Rei, Ria te Rangiataahua, Pene te Ruapurua, Akara Mahue. As members of Ngāti Kikopiri with former ownership of the Kaingapipi block, we are concerned that the proposed housing sub-division by Vincero Holdings, Muhunua Forest Park, will impact on our right to protect our customary interests in this land and coastline.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² Royal T.A.C in Smith 2016. p. 80-85.

⁵¹³ Manaaki Taha Moana Report 2012.

⁵¹⁴ Piripi Te Rangiataahua, son of Hape and Kiriwera, had two children – Karipa also known as Piripi, and Ria. The name which appears on the block in 1879 is Karaipa Piripi. Note that children of Pipi Ipurape and Matene Te Whiwhi are also included, e.g. Heeni Te Rei.

⁵¹⁵ There was insufficient consultation with the hapū of Ngāti Kikopiri, in that the developers did not approach the Ngāti Kikopiri Māori Marae Committee (Society Inc, which is responsible for the day to day running of the marae) and request to put the matter to the committee. Our hapū concerns were noted in the minutes of our committee. Ngāti Kikopiri and Tukorehe representatives opposed the development, and yet it was given approval to go ahead. The developers did not consult with the whānau who former owners of this whenua were (e.g. Cook whānau, Wilson whānau, Carkeek whānau).

Parikawau

Parikawau is an alluvial plain on right bank only a few yards downstream from the present railway bridge. A food gathering site, kahikatea, fruits gathered for kai. Kawau (shags) lived in the trees. Ngāti Hikitanga currently occupies the site. (Formerly owned by Hema Te Ao trust, sold by lawyer in 1991⁵¹⁶;

“The Parikawau land – it was in the name of Hema Te Ao Trust, and the lawyer in Ōtaki (McLaren?) said he'd written to a trust member, who was an in-law living in Tuakau, and had no response so he just sold it. I heard of it and intervened. I spoke with Doug Kidd, then Minister of Māori Affairs. This was in 1991 – there was no recognition of rights of the Hema Te Ao whānau. The land was that whole triangle from river to front of tearooms, a few acres. It was taken under the Public Works act. This claim is under the name of Turoa Royal and Rob Cooper.)”

Te Rauawa

Te Rauawa was north of lower course of the Ohau. Muhunua No. 31A was sold to Kebbell, a British soldier who emigrated in 1856. He arrived at Ohau in 1874. Kebbell ran sheep and cattle. His homestead was 1.8kms west-south-west of the property. He called it Rauawa. The property was sold at auction in 1920. It included Kaingapipi and Waiwiri blocks south of the Waiwiri stream and the Waitaha lagoon. It was farmed by Mr Easton 1918-20, who ran sheep and cows.⁵¹⁷

Te Wī

Te Wī is a former Muaūpoko kainga, where Te Rauparaha's children and other relatives were killed in 1824. South-west of whare tūpuna, left of Muhunua West Rd⁵¹⁸.

Ma-kahika

Ma-kahika is a principal tributary of the Ohau. Begins at lake Tawirikohukohu and flows down south-west.

Te Hono-Ohau or Manga-Ohau

Te Hono-Ohau followed the course now known as Te Wai Marama. When the connection with Ohau was undercut and abandoned, the spring source Te Wai Marama became its sole water supply, hence the name changes of the stream to Te Wai-marama.

⁵¹⁶ Royal, 20 September 2016.

⁵¹⁷ 383 Muhunua West Rd, 2015.

⁵¹⁸ Adkin (map VI.)

Waimarama

Waimarama is a spring-fed stream, tributary of the Ohau river. Adkin describes an area (15-20 acres) of damp ground as its source, with many 'upoko-tangata' plants (a kind of sedge or cutty grass). It has been reduced by modification by Council and farming interests. Rob Kuiti believes the diversion of the Waimarama (cutting a channel across farmland to take it more directly to the river) was done by a local authority in the late 1970s, at the same time the stop banks were constructed, as a flood control measure. While this may have reduced flooding, which he admits was a problem for his grandmother Mrs Ngahira Kuiti who lived beside it, it also reduced the cultural and environmental values of the stream. In former times, the stream was deep, flowing and pristine.

“They'd go out on the tuna heke, get the tuna and come back. What they kept for themselves they put into a box, eel box, in the Waimarama stream, it was pristine then. What you see now is not what it was like then. (H - was there a wooden box in there?) The box was about this (1.5m) square, and that that would be sitting in the Waimarama stream, in places it was deep. There were gaps that allowed the water in, but not big enough for eels to get out. It was a solid wooden box with a lid on. Whenever they wanted to have a tuna, there it was.”⁵¹⁹

The Waimarama was associated with periodic flooding, including at the home of Ngahira Kuiti, at the papakainga below the marae. It was probably because of this, and in the interests of farmers, that a short-cut channel was made to take the water more directly to the Ohau river.

“The Waimarama stream is now dead. They cut it off, it used to go by Rob's place. Used to get koura, and whitebait would spawn there. They did not speak to the marae committee or Ngāti Kikopiri about it, just blocked it.”

A series of three wānanga and planting days have been run by Ngati Kikopiri to clean to restore the Waimarama stream between 2014 and 2015. The kaupapa was - *Kia piki te Mauri a ngā wai a Parawhenuamea ki Kikopiri*. These have been led by Tene Tangatatai, with support from the Ngāti Kikopiri Māori Marae Committee Society and Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust⁵²⁰.

Kauwae-pango

Kauwae-pango is on the south side of Waimarama stream, south of meeting house. The name refers to the heavy bush with thick undergrowth making it a dark and gloomy place⁵²¹.

It was the place where the remains of Te Rauparaha's children had been found.⁵²²

⁵¹⁹ Kuiti R. 26 November 2016.

⁵²⁰ Kuiti K. 3 November 2016.

⁵²¹ Adkins (map VI, also p. 395)

⁵²² Royal, 20 September 2016.

Map 18: Drain affecting Waimarama Stream (S. Halliday, 2017)



Ngāti Kikopiri - Te Waimarama Stream

Reporoa

Northwest of the lake is Reporoa a swamp adjacent to Te Mahoe-nui. Te Mahoe-nui became a kāinga (home) of Ngāti Hikitunga and Ngāti Parekohatu people after Muaūpoko were defeated there. Reporoa, now known as Preston's Wetland was acquired by the Department of Conservation in 2011 to redirect stream flows back into the lake, increase lake levels and restore it to a fully functioning and species-rich environment. Since 2011, when a weir was built to restore the wetland and add to lake levels, the wetland now serves many more waterfowl and forest birds.⁵²³

Mahoenui

The kainga and former cultivations of Ngāti Hikitunga, Ngāti Parekohatu. Peaks (tihi). Used by our tūpuna and Europeans as vantage or survey points – Taumatawhanui, Kawea, Tirotirowhetu and Te Poa⁵²⁴.

Ohau River.

“The southern boundary is the river Ohau.”⁵²⁵

“The only time we went down to the Ōhau river was for dragging or after flounder. We [Ngāti Kikopiri] went there for white baiting as well, but we had to keep to our side because Tukorehe was on the other side. We never really fished [for tuna] the Ōhau River because we had our own [from Waiwiri].”⁵²⁶

“We never had to go to the Ohau because we had places to go on the lake and stream. The Ohau river was more of a recreational place, for swimming. For tuna - either off the Waimarama, or Waiwiri or the lake.”⁵²⁷

While the Moore, Royal and Barnes report (2013) concludes that Ngāti Kikopiri have not made a regular practice of fishing for tuna in the Ōhau River, Ngāti Kikopiri certainly has fishing rights in the tributaries on the northern bank. There is also a Ngāti Kikopiri assertion that the northern side of the Ohau river is under our mana to exercise rangatiratanga.

We are adamant that half of the river is ours [Ngāti Kikopiri] and half is Ngāti Tukorehe.

⁵²³ Tangatatai T. Ngāti Kikopiri, DOC

⁵²⁴ Muhunua ML364 Sheet 1, 1881.

⁵²⁵ Royal, 1991.

⁵²⁶ Unnamed Ngāti Kikopiri kaumatua, quoted in Moore, Royal and Barnes 2013.

⁵²⁷ Kuiti, R. 26 November 2016.

Adkin⁵²⁸ describes how, after the conquest of Muaūpoko, Ngāti Raukawa lived in...

"forest glades of the lower course of the river and on the open dune belt adjacent, but then moved further inland as forests were cleared. But people have never lived permanently along the river inland of the current highway."⁵²⁹

The water-take from the Ohau river is a concern, as it has significantly reduced the flow of the awa.

"Re Ohau river – concern about the quantity of water taken out and its effect on river. Rob shared memories of use of river mouth for whitebait, pipi, toheroa, inanga."⁵³⁰

We do have concern with the contaminants going into the river as well as the underground water supply. Not only from winery, market gardens but from the developments of lifestyle blocks. (sewage, septic tanks, farming ...).⁵³¹

Ohine Lagoon (and Rakauhamama)

Ohine lagoon near the mouth of the Waiwiri Stream – mostly drained, but tuna still present.

"In 1853, chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa gave up the land at the junction of the Ohau and Waikawa rivers as a ferrying place for Europeans and natives, to the Government of New Zealand as a trustee for this land for ever and ever, as a gift for which we will not require payment."⁵³²

The boundaries commence at the Waikawa river at a place called Kaiana and from thence in a direct line until it reaches the cut of the top of the first ridge of sandhills then right along the top of the said sand-hill to the river Ohau."⁵³³

Signed by Ngāti Rangitawhia chiefs including Hoani Meihana, and witnessed by Te Ahu Hukiki, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Parakaia Te Pouepa. The eastern interests were Pukemātāwai, Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal⁵³⁴ spoke of the sacred spring, high in the Tararua ranges called Pukemātāwai. He regarded it as a source of mauri and 'the breastmilk of Papatūānuku' this place is a watershed that feeds the Waikawa, Ōtaki, Mangahao, Ōhau and Ruamahanga Rivers, which in turn became the boundaries of the different hapū in the area. Te Roera Hukiki⁵³⁵

"Now I begin with the upper land (further east, upriver – HC). At Whareao, I have a cultivation. It was mine and my fathers. Te Kirikiri I have a cultivation, at Te

⁵²⁸ Adkin (p. 262, 394)

⁵²⁹ Moore, Royal, and Barnes p. 26.

⁵³⁰ Ngāti Kikopiri Māori Marae committee minutes of 9 September 2012.

⁵³¹ Kuiti, R. Email 1 July 2014.

⁵³² McQueen, Ohau and Waikawa ferry 2017.

⁵³³ Turtons Deeds, Vol. 2.

⁵³⁴ Smith, 2016.

⁵³⁵ Ōtaki MB 2, 1874.

Awamate, I have a cultivation. The persons who felled the trees here were Kanawa, Patukino, Tamaianewa. The children of those old men are living. Te Aruhetakaka was Tuaenuku's and others at Kauaeapango – Whareiaia cultivated there – Te Wherawhango – Patukino and others caught birds there. I had a saw pit at Weraawhango – Pukeatua - I used and extending to the mountain. I admit as co claimants – Roera Hukiki. I admit all the hapu called Hamua – Mereana – Kararaina Waretini, Rumaki, Ani Matenga, Ngauriki, Te Hitau and others which I will write out – Tuaemuku, Hoani Kuiti and Te Koroneho are also co claimants.”⁵³⁶

4.0 WHARE TUPUNA – KIKOPIRI TE WHARE

Our whare tupuna at Muhunua kainga was built over the years from 1889 to 1897 at a cost of £950, by Te Roera Hukiki (son of Te Ahukaramū) and his sons; Henare, Te Kiniwe, Te Tauhu, Te Kerehi, and Kipa Roera. Through the sale of land to Kebbell at Muhunua, they built and paid for the whare, and the carvings were done by Piwiki Te Horohau, great-grandson of Hapekituarangi. Piwiki's carving style reflects aspects of training and influence amongst both his Tainui and his Te Arawa relations.

Tūpuna pou inside represent the tūpuna of the Roera brothers, including tūpuna of Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Whakatere, Ngāti Toa, Te Arawa and Tukorehe (wives included). The significance of Te Rauparaha in his leadership of Ngāti Huia is indicated by his strong representation on the tuarongo, the back wall. Te Whatanui is also represented, inside, above the door. The amo represent Huia and his second cousin Ngārongo, indicating a close alliance between these hapū groupings⁵³⁷, as well as their proximity in the Manawatū area. The whare tupuna was opened in 1897 by tohunga Kipa Te Whatanui, who was a descendant of Wahineiti's son Te Ruru, and grandson of Matenga Te Matia. The opening began with the tangi of Rutu, wife of Te Roera – the first tangi to take place at the new whare tupuna. Rutu was the sister of Hoani Kuiti Taipo, and aunt to Hoani Kuiti (husband of Hinga). The whare was built on land which was in the title of Henare Roera⁵³⁸ and it remained in the title of Henare and his descendants for many decades following, before it was finally transferred to a Trust run by representatives across the wider hapū.

⁵³⁶ Ōtaki MB 2, 1874.

⁵³⁷ Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake descends from Ngarongo, through Te Rangipumamao's mother, Parehingaawatea.

⁵³⁸ Muhunua 3A1E1

Royal⁵³⁹ advised that 'the identity of Kikopiri has become elevated since the building of the whare at Muhunoa. Prior to that (we were) Te Tuarānui-o-Pakake.'

5.0 LAND INTERESTS ELSEWHERE

Ngāti Kikopiri also have land interests elsewhere in the rohe, too numerous to list. Some examples are lake Koputara (Sandon 382 and 383), where the five hapū involved are Ngāti Kikopiri, Tukorehe, Pareraukawa, Parewahawaha, and Ngāti Tūranga; Taumanuka at Ōtaki beach where many Raukawa hapū have historic rights; Ōtaki Pā south of the river mouth; Tutangatakino in Ōtaki township where the Royals have rights; Kapiti Island (Rangatira No. 4) where Matene Te Whiwhi, Pipi Kutia and Tamihana Te Rauparaha (succeeded to by Heemi Wallace) had rights; and Waiohanga (Ōtaki River), where the descendants of Hape's grand-daughter Meretini Cook (grand-daughter of Hape) had rights.

6.0 HUIA BIRDS – TARARUA

Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal is recorded as saying:

"The huia of course was significant to all our people and the loss of the huia. The irony of course, where this particular relationship with Sir Walter Buller, father of NZ ornithology. He had his estate at Papaitonga, so it was the Buller Estate. At one time I believe he created a massive aviary there and tried to get all the different native birds all living in the one place and of course it was a disaster because the birds that live up in the mountains don't usually live with the birds who live by the sea, and there's stories around about Buller's involvement in the killing of the last huia."

"It's not so well known about the petitions by Ngāti Huia, including Henare Roera who wrote numerous petitions and letters to protect the huia. We have lots of copies of Henare's writings which is about him complaining and the need to preserve the huia, and the reason Henare is there is he comes from the oldest line, from Huia himself. So Ngāti Huia was full of chiefs and chiefly women of course but on this particular occasion it was Henare who happened to have written these letters in protest of the slaying of the Huia and the need for protection, all that kind of stuff."⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ Royal, 20 September 2016.

⁵⁴⁰ Royal, 20 September 2016.

Acts passed through Parliament in the 1860s⁵⁴¹ provided protection for introduced species, e.g. game birds, but provided inadequate protection for native birds. The attitude was that native species would inevitably die out, like the Māori, and in the meantime, they could be killed to help feed settlers and for profit by selling to Europeans with an interest in scientific novelties⁵⁴². There was a cruel disregard for indigenous people and species in Darwin's theories of "survival of the fittest" which influenced European society at this time. Buller was a supporter of the theories of Darwin.

7.0 FURTHER LAND LOSS 1950S – RATES DEMANDS?

National Archive evidence⁵⁴³ indicates that further loss of land or pressures for Ngāti Kikopiri at Muhunua may have occurred in the 1950s through political decisions to impose rates on multiply owned Māori land, and enforce non-payment of rates by transfer to the Māori trustee. Charging orders were sent for these sections:

- Muhunua 3A1E1, no 8a;
- Muhunua 3A1E1, no 8b (39 acres, land leased by Mr H K Whiley for 21 years, owed £2.12);
- Muhunua 3A1E1 no 3, sections 1, 2, and 3 (totally 27 acres, land occupied by W Whiley for grazing dairy cattle);
- Muhunua 3A1E1 no 3, section 4 (12 acres, occupied by Hammond Murray, about 9 acres under cultivation for cropping);
- Muhunua 3A1E1, no 12, section 2A (3 acres, occupied by H K Whiley, sharemilker on land).

Both Whiley and Murray had married women from Ngāti Kikopiri - Walter Whiley had married Henare Roera's daughter Puaia; and Hammond Murray had married Henare's grand-daughter Te Miringa or Milly. Further evidence is being sought, about whether any of these debts were paid off, or whether the land was lost to the Māori Trustee at this time.

⁵⁴¹ Protection of Certain Animals Act 1861, the Birds Protection Act 1862, Wild Birds Protection Act of 1864, the Protection of Animals Act 1867.

⁵⁴² Galbreath 1989, pp. 82-84.

⁵⁴³ National Archives – AAMK W3074 869, Box 396 – Māori Trustee appointed agent.

The Local Government Issues Report⁵⁴⁴, written by Suzanne Woodley for this Inquiry District explains that until 1888, the Crown had covered rates on Māori land, but a law was passed putting the onus on local government to collect these rates. At a County Councils conference in 1894 members of the Horowhenua County Council led motions stating that Māori land should be rated on the same basis as European, and if there were multiple names, then the first person in the list should be responsible. The motions were passed. At the same time, Walter Buller was also pushing to get Councils to spend more money on developing roads to provide better access to Māori land. When Buller arranged the lease of Horowhenua No. 14 from Kemp, he agreed to cover the rates arrears. Many multiply-owned blocks were non-revenue producing, and Māori found it difficult to pay, sometimes considering selling the land due to non-payment. The Rating Act 1910 meant that all Māori land was rated, with few exceptions.

In 1913, the Horowhenua County Council decided to investigate the possibility of taking legal action against defaulters, and in 1916 it decided that the clerk should be given the authority to do so. Some rates were received from Māori land owners in 1919, but it was seen as inadequate and penalties for non-payment increased. The Rating Act 1925 allowed for charging orders against the land to be made by the native Land Court. The Horowhenua County Council immediately began making applications for charging orders. Parts of Ohau 3 south of the Ohau river, were targeted first, along with the Raumatangi block. A further group of 44 charging orders was applied for by the Horowhenua County Council in 1933 – for parts of the Ohau, Horowhenua, Manawatū-Kukutauaki, Aratangata and Waiwiri East blocks. The charging orders remained on the title until paid no matter the time period. Some began to be summonsed to court, but the costs of taking action were such that they found it was hardly worthwhile.

Most of the Māori land (68.5%) was being leased by Europeans, and Māori occupied the remainder. Only 2.67% of rates levied on Māori land occupied by Māori were paid. Matua Whatarangi Winiata⁵⁴⁵ offers the possible explanation that 'rates had to be paid in cash, they didn't have any cash, they lived on what they could catch in the creek, what they could grow.'

⁵⁴⁴ Woodley, S. *Local Government Issues Report* (Draft) Commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI:2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, 19 December 2016.

⁵⁴⁵ Winiata, 24 November 2016.

In 1908 the HCC solicitor Mr Park, stated:

“The problem is becoming a reducing one as the land was sold. I should say that the amount of Native land owned by natives today would not be more than half what it was twenty years ago. In this immediate district until 1908 the whole of Horowhenua 11B41 was community lands. The titles have since been individualised and are all in the occupation of Europeans. The question of rating there has been practically solved.”

Europeans who leased Māori land were usually also responsible for payment of rates. Parks also admitted that the majority of the charging orders were on small blocks of land, for 'extremely small amounts', mostly less than £3 and some were for blocks of land still in bush, which probably should be removed from the valuation roll as incapable of economic development. Applications for charging orders included parts of Horowhenua 9, occupied by Edward Nicholson and Neville Nicholson; also, for parts of Horowhenua X, owner Neville Nicholson.

In the 1940s, where there was 'no prospect of payment', land began to be transferred to 'receivers' i.e. the Native Trustee.

Currently held Māori land blocks at Muhunua and Waiwiri:

- Muhunua 3AEI, Sub 3 (sections 2-4), totalling 12.65 ha, multiple owners;
- Muhunua 3A1E1, sub 8A, 8B; 1.34 ha each, multiple owners;
- Muhunua 3A1E no 1, subdivision 12A; 11 ha, one owner (Burnell).
- Waiwiri East 1A, 58 ha, 83 owners.
- Waiwiri East section 2A, 4 ha, 105 owners.
- Waiwiri East section 2C, 3.7 ha, 85 owners.
- Horowhenua X1A 1A Section 2. 16 ha. 59 owners.

8.0 TE REO – DECLINE and RECENT EFFORTS TO REVIVE

Uncle Whatarangī recalls that there were strong speakers of te reo at Kikopiri when he was young:

“They used to be leaders (some of the best speakers), but they didn't think about succession, their children were not speakers. Now you've got speakers e.g. Charles. Skipper, his brothers, I never saw them, but I could listen to certain people talking about them”.

Whatarangi's parents were strong speakers of te reo, and respected community members. They were of the generation that believed their children did not need to know the Māori language, because they thought that work opportunities required other skills.

Factors suggested by Whatarangi in relation to the non-transmission of te reo inter-generationally were the influence of the education system, prejudice in society making it difficult for Māori to establish their position, and low population numbers due to fatal illness in the late 19th century. His own commitment to learning te reo and ensuring his children learnt te reo came after he had gained political awareness at Victoria University and lived in the US and Canada for fifteen years. He began talking about Whakatupuranga Rua Mano in 1974, at a meeting of the Raukawa Marae Trustees.

He proposed it as a 25-year project, a 'tribal development experiment' and of course from that whakaaro, alongside other institutions like the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board, came the wānanga, kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and a major revival of te reo within Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga over the last 43 years. His children became speakers of te reo each assuming leadership roles within wānanga.

Further insights from other interviewees:

Anamaraea Harrison:-

“All those cousins of my mother's age group did not speak te reo, but they understood it. As they got older some did speak te reo, which was lovely to hear. My grandfather and grandmother spoke fluent te reo.

My daughter Shelley is now doing flax weaving and Leeanne is very much *everything Māori*, as are many of our nieces and nephews and I applaud them. As a young person I was not exposed to (much Māori) some I was, but not others, for which I am sad.”

Ken Kuiti on te reo:-

“That's why most of our families out there couldn't speak our own language, because they maintained we've got to learn English first. (H - you weren't brought up with te reo?) They didn't teach us anyway. (H - Hinga would have spoken it, and Hoani?) My father did, and my mother did, but they didn't talk to us about it. They maintained we've got to learn a Pākehā education before we start doing that. It happened a lot to Māori families in those years. You feel sick about it, but what can you do about it? They just beat it out of us really. We got the cane every time. A guy called Chapel at Horowhenua College, he was a science teacher. Every day he gave us the cane for speaking te reo.”

Lindsay Poutama:-

“Aunty Weno was brought up by Uncle Kipa, her and Aunty Emma were brought up as sisters until Emma was 8-9, and then (Weno) returned back to the whānau at Whakahoro Rd, Manakau. ...Aunty Weno was brought up as a native speaker of te reo, Uncle Kipa was a tohunga and taught her to read signs, tohu. She brought this back to the family. Mum and the others were brought up as Europeans, not in te ao Māori, so she (scared them), and they rejected her. She also accompanied Uncle Kipa to Poukai and Koroneihana, so the whānau were going backwards and forwards to the Waikato and seeing uncles and cousins there. Also, the Kiniwe-Keriata whānau around Thames. These are the recollections of an 8-year-old.... The mid twentieth century was a time when assimilation policies were predominant, and te reo rangatira was nearly lost.”

Whatarangi Winiata:-

When we got to Horowhenua College, and said, we need to learn this language, they refused. They weren't teaching it, but after that, we did quite a lot of learning. Not from our parents, although they were responsive to our interest.

A revival of interest and commitment to the Māori language has been occurring since the 1970s, but there remains a shortage of fluent speakers and wahine to support the paepae. This reflects a failure of the education system to support the retention of our reo and tikanga, particularly during the twentieth century (1900-1980s).

A survey on the state of Te Reo Māori within the hapū of Ngāti Kikopiri was undertaken by Rangiwahakaewa Kuiti, as part of his studies at Te Wananga o Raukawa, in early 2000. Of the 60 adults surveyed (aged 16 and over):

- 2 considered themselves fluent speakers,
- 17 had conversational ability, and
- 25 could use only basic greetings.

Seventeen of the 60 surveyed were confident in singing three or more local waiata tawhito, 41 could sing a waiata a ringa, and 17 could perform a haka. While there was considerable interest in learning more about te reo, hapū history and whakapapa, waiata, arts, paepae skills and karakia, other commitments have affected the ability of hapū members to organise and lead such wānanga.

9.0 EVIDENCE OF FLU EPIDEMIC AT MUHUNOA

Many Ngāti Kikopiri people at Muhunoa died of the flu epidemic in 1918, Rob Kuiti said. There was a morgue outside John Royal's house in Muhunoa West Road, where the bodies

were piled up high. They were dying too fast to have tangi for each one. There is a wāhi tapū behind the house where the tupapaku were washed. Many people were buried at Morunga and Tukere Whenua urupā.⁵⁴⁶

After World War II a number of other diseases also had an impact – viral diseases, measles, mumps, whooping cough, scarlet fever and tuberculosis. They spread quickly amongst the Māori population, with high mortality rates, Rob states. These deaths were the result of European illnesses impacting on our hapū and indicate the Crown's failure to protect our health and provide appropriate services.

10.0 Proposed Outcomes

We request that the Crown take all possible measures to prevent pollution and degradation of lake Waiwiri, the Waiwiri stream, the Waimarama stream and the Ohau River. We also seek a greater role in the care and protection of the land, bush and wetlands surrounding lake Waiwiri, Waiwiri stream, the Waimarama stream and the Ohau river. We are also concerned about the western lagoons – Rakauhamama, Ohine and Ōrotokare, and areas of bush and former cultivation in Muhunua East.

At our Ngāti Kikopiri Māori Marae Committee meeting held in September 2016, we discussed what we want to achieve from the Kikopiri report for Te Hono and treaty claims. The responses were – land repatriation, compulsory reo in schools, the return of land within the Muhunua and Waiwiri rohe still in Crown hands, access to Waiwiri lake and stream, clean up Waiwiri (lake and stream), and the return of Ohau East school. We wanted to see stronger elements of Raukawatanga in our local schools – the Ministry of Education and schools should have to report to or have a relationship with Ngāti Raukawa; more protection for young people in the justice system; more controls on the economy; at least minimum wages and, health and environment.

⁵⁴⁶ Muhunua was a designated quarantine station where sick people were sent, to prevent spread of the disease. So many people from elsewhere also died there, and are buried in mass graves, adding to the dark history of the place. Royal, 1 August 2017.



NGĀTI PARERAUKAWA

ORAL HISTORY



Ngātokowaru Marae, 580 Hōkio Beach Road, Levin

Rachael Selby, Ani Mikaere, Pataka Moore,
and Rawiri Richmond, Heeni Jacob

March 2018

Introduction

The history of Ngāti Pareraukawa in all its complexity is interwoven with the histories of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Huia, and the hapū and iwi institutions and organisations which have evolved over the past two hundred years. While Ngāti Pareraukawa emerged and established as a hapū within the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa in the 19th century, its survival and future was particularly threatened by actions of the colonial government and Land Court from 1873-1912 and then by regional and local governments throughout the entire 20th century and into the 21st century.

The actions of the Crown and Land Court in the 19th century resulted in the forcible removal of most of the Horowhenua Block (52,000 acres) from Ngāti Pareraukawa. This history is recorded in various reports and publications commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for the Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry and a summary is provided by Ani Mikaere in Section 1. The unjust removal and transfer of the Horowhenua Block resulted in three or four and more generations of families that had settled in the area from the early 19th century, being unable to maintain a sustainable living on what remained and being forced into urban areas to live and work. This very effectively stopped many whānau from living as Māori and many descendants remain alienated, suffering significant prejudice.

The alienation of land and consequent urbanisation over the 20th century then resulted in a loss of language, culture and identity for the next four generations of Ngāti Pareraukawa. It is a tribute to those who steadfastly remained at Ngātokowaru in order to protect and secure the remaining pockets of land that we have a marae and urupā while other neighbouring hapū became totally landless and lost their identity as hapū and as Māori.

While the colonial legal machine unjustly removed most of the Horowhenua Block from Ngāti Pareraukawa ownership; within the psyche of the hapū the block is historically Ngāti Pareraukawa land. Kaitiakitanga and a sense of responsibility for the lakes, wetlands, streams, foreshore and food sources remains. With this in mind, the Crown and Council desecration of Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream where our unrestricted fishing rights remain, is a Treaty breach that is acute. The environmental damage at Hōkio that has been promoted by the local council for the past 40 years continues. The hapū commits people and resources to monitor this continuously and this is discussed in further depth in this report.

In 1840 Te Tiriti acknowledged tino rangatiratanga. In this region, Ngāti Raukawa had unquestioned authority in 1840 from the Rangitīkei River to Kuketauaki. The forced removal of land was a gross breach of Te Tiriti and constituted an unambiguous assault on rangatiratanga. It is an assault that has continued relentlessly ever since the first Native Land Court decision. Even with the English-language document, the Treaty of Waitangi as the benchmark, the Crown has fallen woefully short in fulfilling its obligations. The Treaty of Waitangi at 1840, guaranteed to “protect their just rights and property...” (Preamble) and “guaranteed ... full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of the Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to maintain the same in their possession...” (Article 2).

In 1840 the Horowhenua Block was exclusively owned by Te Whatanui of Ngāti Pareraukawa. Article 3 guaranteed all “the rights and privileges of British subjects.” The Crown breached the rights of Ngāti Pareraukawa guaranteed in the Preamble and all three articles.

The removal and misappropriation of Ngāti Pareraukawa land was and is a major loss for Ngāti Pareraukawa. The consequences of the loss are immeasurable. The hapū lost people from the land, and with that was historical knowledge, language, skills and support. A recent study⁵⁴⁷ (2013) estimated that there may be up to 15,000 descendants of Pareraukawa, that is, of one hapū of Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Raukawa. Ema Hapai Winiata, one of the eight original owners of Pareraukawa lands in the Horowhenua, had 14 children and at least 90 grandchildren (who were named during the study). She had lived through the period of massive migration. She was born in 1859, when Māori and migrant populations were about the same, at 60,000. When her youngest daughter, Lucy Atareti was born in 1896, the Māori population had declined to 42,113 and was not expected to revive.⁵⁴⁸ The migrant population had increased by half a million, with a further quarter of a million children being born to them.⁵⁴⁹ It took more than one hundred years and 4-5 generations for the Māori population to recover to 1840 levels after the Treaty was signed.

⁵⁴⁷ Selby, R. & Barnes, A. *Māori Mentoring and pathways to wellbeing: Te Huarahi o te Ora*. Ōtaki: Te Wānanga o Raukawa 2013.

⁵⁴⁸ Pool, I. *Te Iwi Maori. A Population past, present and projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. 1991.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid p .60.

Table 1: Māori and non-Māori Population 1840-2013

<i>Year</i>	<i>Māori population</i>	<i>Non-Māori population</i>
1840	150,000	2000
1852	59,700	55762
1896	42,113	701,101
1920	56,987	1,136,389
1949	112,610	1,871,087
1981	279,252	2,974,000
2006	624,110	3,403,000
2013	668,721	3,573,327

Ngāti Pareraukawa have made a substantial contribution to the iwi for two hundred years. This is despite significant land alienation, almost total, loss of te reo Māori in the 20th century, loss of knowledge and skills, of people and understanding of our own history.

In the 1970s, a new generation made a brave and defiant decision to build a new Marae complex on a small footprint at Hōkio, beside the polluted stream. This was despite the last living child of Ema Hapai Nicholson, namely Lucy Jacob (1896-1976) expressing uncertainty, even reluctance to replace the 1900 whare tupuna. She asked who would karanga, who would whaikōrero, who would manaaki manuhiri? Given that the Crown had ignored the shocking breaches of the Treaty, she had imagined she might be the last person to be farewelled from Ngātokowaru and buried at Raumatangi, the urupā where nine of her thirteen siblings were buried nearer to Lake Horowhenua. The marae was rarely used, and she expected it would cease having importance for most of the hapū who were colonised and urbanised, a consequence of the losses imposed by the Crown.

The reinvigorated Marae Committee, inspired by the enthusiasm of one of Ema Hapai Winiata's youngest mokopuna, Whatarangi, resolved to go ahead. His oldest brother, Hapai became the Master Carver and was assisted by younger cousins. Younger brother Martin Winiata designed kōwhaiwhai panels; Hapai's wife, Emma, designed tukutuku panels and people got to work making them in the old house; Whatarangi's older brother Murimanu and cousin Neville Winiata led the building team's working bees on Saturdays for over a year. Many volunteers from within the hapū, along with colleagues and friends, contributed in 1976 and 1977 to the building of the fully decorated and carved meeting house.

By the end of 1977, a new whare tupuna was being completed with an opening planned for March 1978. The original owners' families selected a puhi to be the first females through the door at the dawn opening. Ngāti Toarangatira, led by kaumātua, Pateriki Te Rei, performed the opening ceremony as the light dawned over the eastern horizon. It was an awesome, almost overwhelming moment for Ngāti Pareraukawa, with hundreds of people waiting in silence for the dawn, the karakia, karanga, the quiet wave of exhilaration as the door eventually opened for all to see a completed whare tūpuna. Despite Lucy Jacob's misgivings, whānau have returned, though far fewer than the numbers who whakapapa to Hītau, Te Whatanui's sister, who are the whānau of Ngāti Pareraukawa.

Despite the footprint at Ngātokowaru being less than two acres, the hapū have rebuilt the complex over the past 40 years, they have maintained the marae and adopted the principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano: that the people are our wealth, the marae is our principal home, te reo is a taonga and that we are determined to exercise our tino rangatiratanga. In spite of our losses, we have survived. How much greater our contribution would have been had we retrieved that which was taken from us and lost to us if the Crown had honoured the Treaty and returned our 1840 estate to us; if our people had had the economic base on which to thrive and contribute; if the confidence of our tūpuna had not been beaten and battered by overwhelming Crown actions; if we had retained and developed te reo Māori; if we had retained land sold by tūpuna who lost hope needing to provide for families in the sub-divisions of Levin and other communities. Rangatiratanga was so systematically eroded by the Crown that the hapū was for many years in a state of decline and many of our whānau remain lost to us today.

Ngāti Pareraukawa members have actively engaged in the 25-year Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme, contributed to the development of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, served continuously on the Raukawa Marae trustees, the Raukawa District Māori Council, the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club, Rangiātea, the Ōtaki & Porirua Trusts Board, Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and various iwi initiatives. Others have been active in broadcasting claims, the radio spectrum claim, the Māori language claim, Raukawa Radio and the New Zealand Māori Council.

From 2007-2012 a whānau development programme brought close to a hundred whānau back to Ngātokowaru to revive knowledge and skills, particularly with our rangatahi. The programme was named Te Huarahi o te Ora (after one of the original 1978 kōwhaiwhai

patterns) and enabled rangatahi to become goal setters, to be supported at school and in tertiary education and to be mentors to others. It acted as a time of revival again and its pathway is recorded in the book *Te Huarahi o te Ora*.⁵⁵⁰ The project was an expression of rangatiratanga.

The actions of the Crown have curbed the contributions of many of our people and we will seek redress because we have been denied the opportunity to maintain a cultural presence.

This report includes contributions by various hapū members and is a snapshot of our history. It focuses on our land loss with a chapter by Ani Mikaere; on environmental degradation issues prepared by Rachael Selby and Pātaka Moore; a brief comment on the loss of te reo by Hēni Jacob; the impact of Christianity and a technical description of the marae buildings. Finally, Pātaka Moore and Rawiri Richmond have contributed a schedule of thirty sites of historical and contemporary significance in the rohe. The list is a sample rather than an exhaustive description.

We have been fortunate that a number of whānau have had papers accepted in journals and other edited publications, some through Te Wānanga o Raukawa and other universities here and overseas. We have drawn on those for this report. Other hapū members have completed research for academic qualifications and for environmental projects. We have drawn on those papers as well. Many of these writers have enjoyed undertaking Oral History interviews with hapū members over the past forty years. Many of these are deposited in the National Library collection; many were destroyed in the 2016 fire in the library at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Some collections are also available at the Ōtaki library.

As always there is much more that can be written. We accept that this report introduces a selection of issues of importance to Ngāti Pareraukawa. We drafted our papers late in 2017, distributed them to hapū members at Marae Committee meetings and received feedback. We were also grateful for feedback and helpful suggestions from kaumātua. Our audience is Ngāti Pareraukawa and the Waitangi Tribunal. This should be seen as a work in progress as with 21st century technology we are able to continue to add and update the work and make it available through various media.

⁵⁵⁰ Selby, R. & Barnes, A. 2013.

Wai 113 and Ngāti Pareraukawa

After the opening of the new whare tupuna in 1978, Te Maharani Ranfurly Jacob (affectionately known as Ran) decided to relinquish his veterinary practice in Pahiatua to return to Levin where he could make a contribution to his hapū and iwi. He purchased a neighbouring property at Hōkio, a stone's throw from the marae. He became the first chief executive officer of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and remained in the position until 1998.

Ran's involvement in Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, and in the rebuilding of Ngātōkōwaru, triggered an interest in researching the history of the hapū and the iwi. His research led him to the conclusion that this report reaches, namely, that the Horowhenua Block was unjustly taken from his tūpuna in a series of events from 1872-1912. When, in 1984, a change in legislation enabled the Waitangi Tribunal to accept historical claims against the Crown, Ranfurly, with support from his two cousins, Whatarangi and Iwikatea began work towards lodging a claim that they decided should be made on behalf of the iwi, not Ngāti Pareraukawa alone. It recognised the losses suffered by all the hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. They invited Whatakaraka Davis, the Chair of the Raukawa Trustees, to be a named claimant, recognising that the claim would be for the wider iwi. Ani Mikaere, Ran's daughter, had completed a law degree and assisted her father with the drafting of the claim throughout 1989.

When it was ready to be lodged in November 1989, it was decided to have three named claimants: Whatakaraka Davis, Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, and Te Maharani Jacob. It was "for ourselves and for all the descendants of the iwi and hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga."

It began with the statement that "prior to and at the date of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga exercised absolute mana and tino rangatiratanga over the whole of the region bounded by the Kūkūtauaki stream in the south, the course of the Rangitīkei river (as it was in 1840) in the north, the Tararua ranges in the east and the Tasman sea in the west."

⁵⁵¹ Further, in paragraph 4 the claimants record statements in reference to Horowhenua:

"That the Crown's omission to take the appropriate action to correct the erroneous decision of the Native Land Court in 1873 which rendered Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga virtually landless in the Horowhenua (with the exception of 100 acres at Raumatangi)

⁵⁵¹ Wai 113 Statement of Claim 1989.

was inconsistent with its duty under the Treaty to protect Ngāti Raukawa from being dispossessed of their lands and resources involuntarily and without their consent;

That the establishment of the Horowhenua commission in 1896 and the implementation of its recommendations in the Horowhenua Block Act 1896 failed to redress the wrong which resulted from the 1873 decision because it left Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga with minimal resources in an area over which it had exercised complete mana and rangatiratanga in 1840.”⁵⁵²

Some research was undertaken in the years following the lodging of the claim on 29th November 1989. That we have waited 28 years (since 1989) and witnessed the death of all three named claimants is an additional disadvantage. With the plethora of claims now lodged by Ngāti Raukawa, our hapū finds itself further disadvantaged by the processes encircling us. Three further decades without any resolution leaves yet another generation being forced to fight the same battles that our tūpuna fought over a century ago, to put right that which was wrong. Our Claim number is Wai 113 and we expect to participate in the Waitangi Tribunal process.

Hapū Research Team

- Rachael Selby
- Ani Mikaere
- Rawiri Richmond
- Pātaka Moore
- Hēni Jacob

Location and the Marae structure

- Ngātokowaru Marae is located on Horowhenua XI B 41 A3 south of the Hōkio Stream on a Māori Reservation gazetted in 1974.
- It is the home of Ngāti Pareraukawa who are the descendants of Hītau, the sister of Te Whatanui. We descend from the eight original owners of the marae.
- The Marae Trustees were appointed by the Māori Land Court, originally in 1974 and have been updated since then as required.
- The Marae Committee is elected triennially and meets the requirements of the NZ Māori Council and Raukawa District Council for the election of committees.
- It is registered as a charitable entity CC 20480 (2008).

⁵⁵² Ibid.

- The Marae trustees are trustees for the Reservation, for the urupā (Raumatangi B4) and for the driveway to the marae. All blocks are owned and maintained by the Marae Committee.
- The Marae Committee adopted the principles adopted by the Raukawa Marae Trustees in 1975 and reviews an annual plan to guide the work of the Marae Committee (see Appendix 2).

Buildings

- The whare tupuna was completed in 1978. It is 150 square metres with a māhau of 18 square metres. It has concrete foundations, brick walls, an iron roof (replaced in 2017) and PVC spouting. The interior has a plasterboard ceiling and walls, panelled walls and is highly decorated with tukutuku panels, kōwhaiwhai and totara carvings. It is heated with two Fujitsu mounted inverter heat pumps.
- The dining room (Pareunuora) and kitchen were constructed in the 1970s and 1980s and the new commercial-style kitchen completed in 2015. The exterior is brick with cement fibre ends, concrete block in the kitchen and is 307 square metres.
- The 96 square metre ablution block was built in 2005 on a concrete foundation, brick exterior and cement fibre gable ends. The interior is mainly plasterboard. There are seven toilets, eight showers and two ‘family bathrooms’ for whānau and disabled people. A large wooden deck links the whare tupuna to the ablution area.
- A double garage has been converted into a lined room for use as a rangatahi space (Te Huarahi o te Ora) with a deck and link to a playground.
- A 1910 villa stands on the south side of the marae and is occupied by a whānau member.
- The marae buildings are insured as part of a Marae group scheme since 2014

Whānau Development

- The Marae Committee has committed to two major whānau development initiatives in the past 40 years: Whakatapuranga Rua Mano (1975-2000) which resulted in a re-focus on the marae, Ngātokowaru, for those who engaged in the 25 year programme; and Te Huarahi o te Ora 2007-2017, which asked a new generation of rangatahi and parents to

support the marae and the hapū. Both these initiatives have been written about in various publications.⁵⁵³

Marae Use

- 1978-2017 Since the opening of the new meeting house in 1978, the committee has recorded the events that have been held at the marae each year. This record provides an overview of the range of activities held at Ngātokowaru, the organisations, local and national that have attended and the purpose of the visits/ hui. See Appendix 1 for an example.

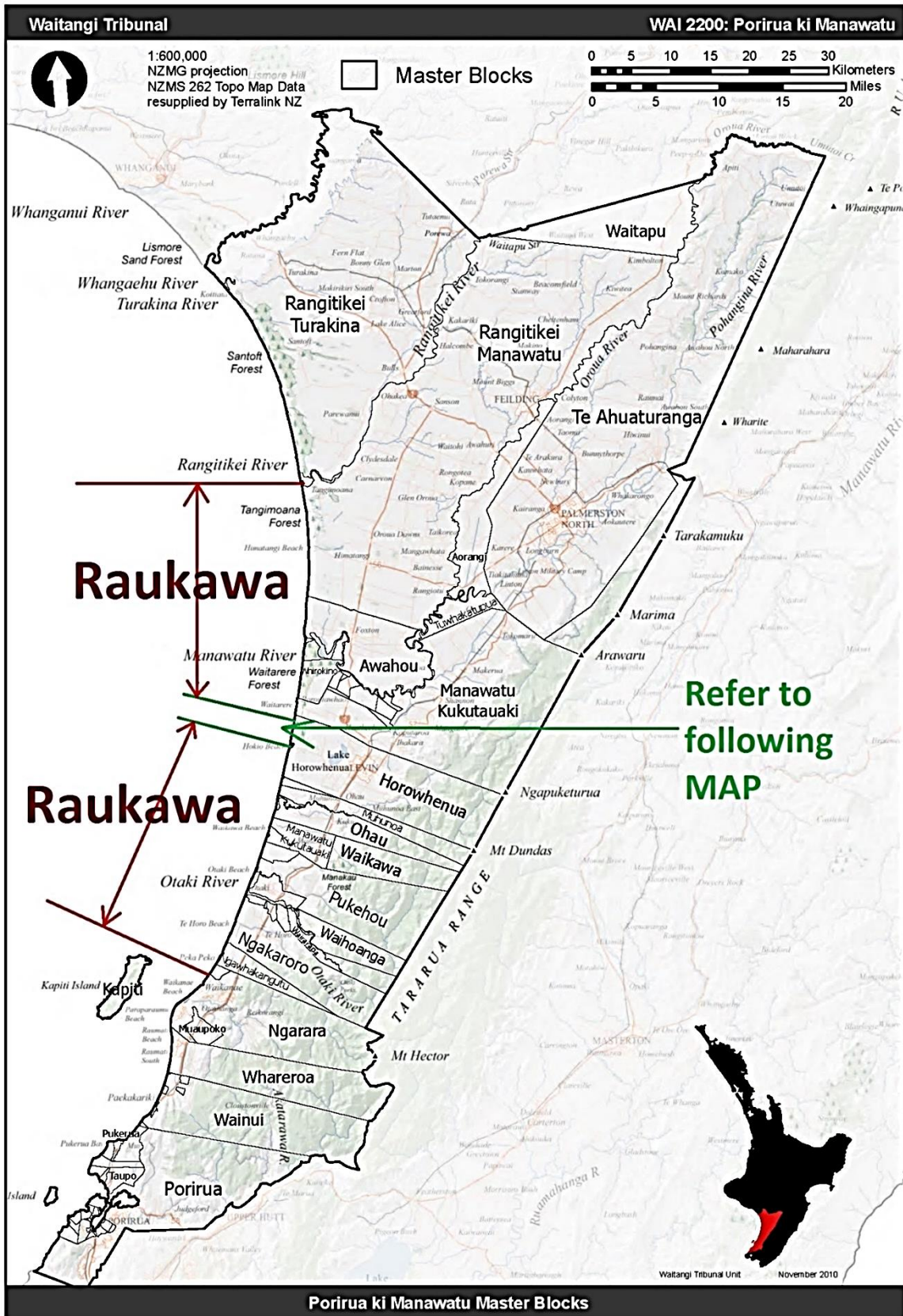
Hapū priorities

- Since early in the 21st century the Marae Committee has identified its goals annually and used these to set a programme for the year and as priorities for the hapū. The 2017-2018 hapū plan is appended as Appendix 2.

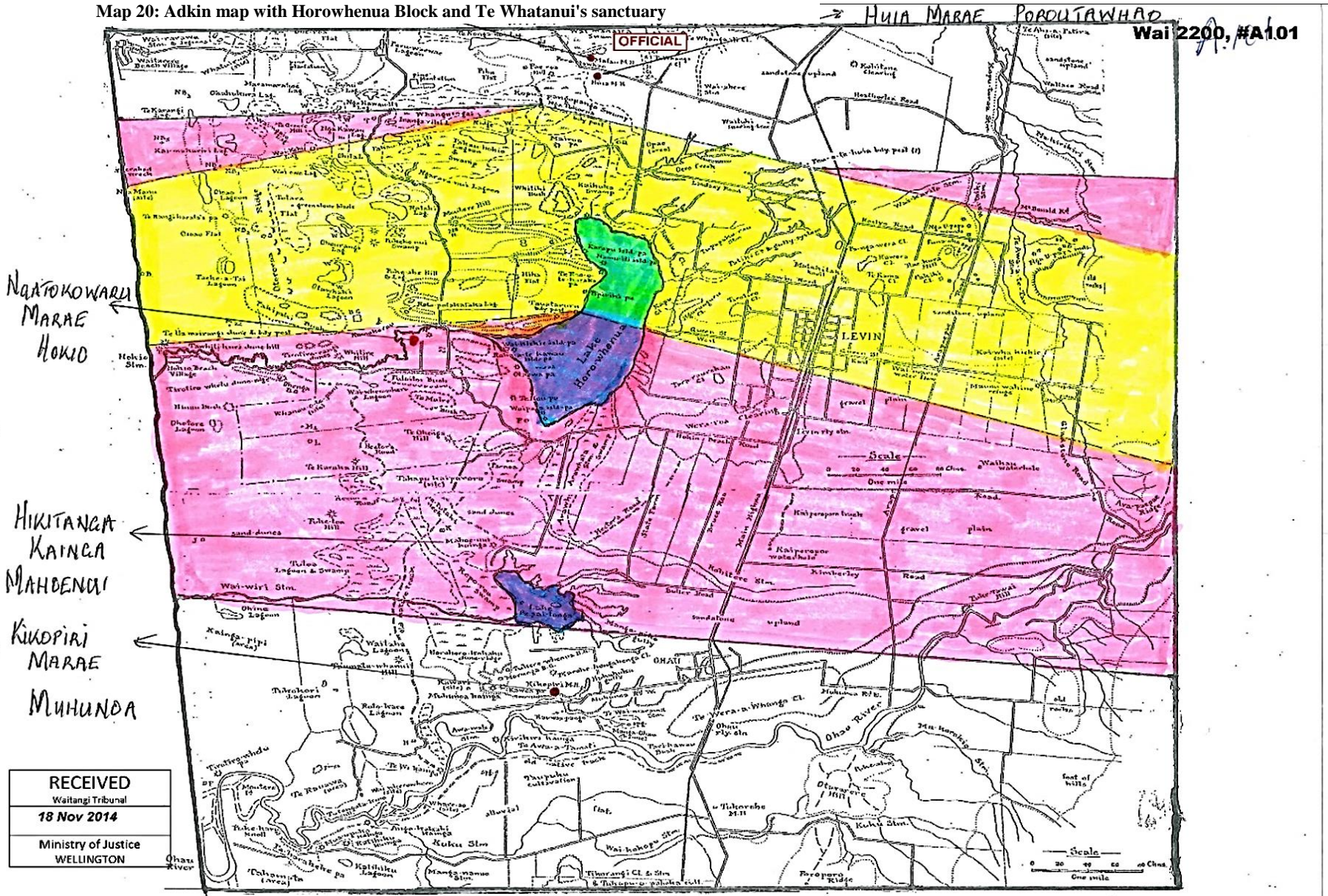
⁵⁵³ Selby, R. & Barnes, A. 2013. And Walker, Piripi, *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 1975-2000. He Tirohanga Whakamuri*. Ōtaki: Te Wānanga o Raukawa. 2011.

MAPS

Map 19: Porirua ki Manawātū Master Blocks



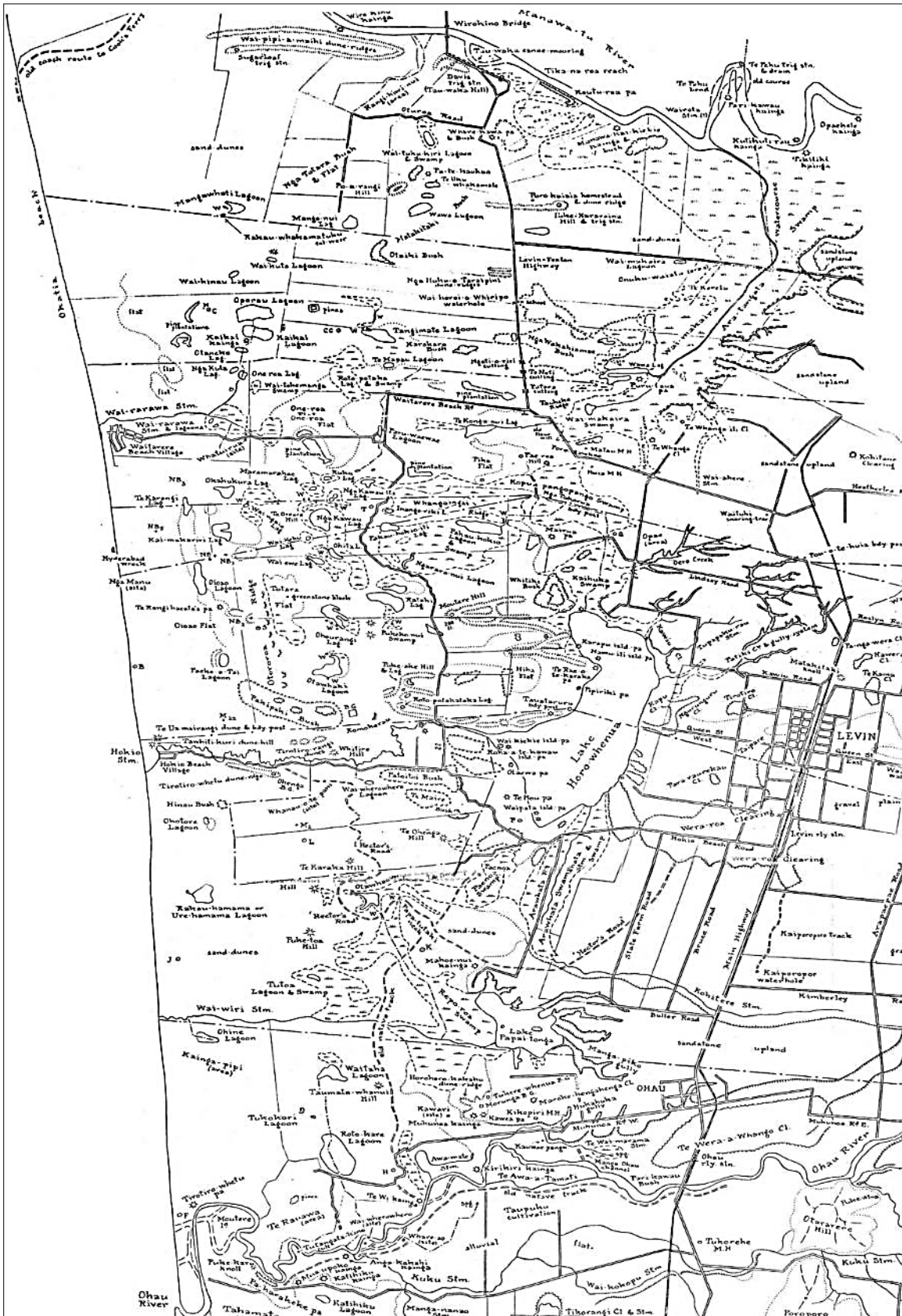
Map 20: Adkin map with Horowhenua Block and Te Whatanui's sanctuary



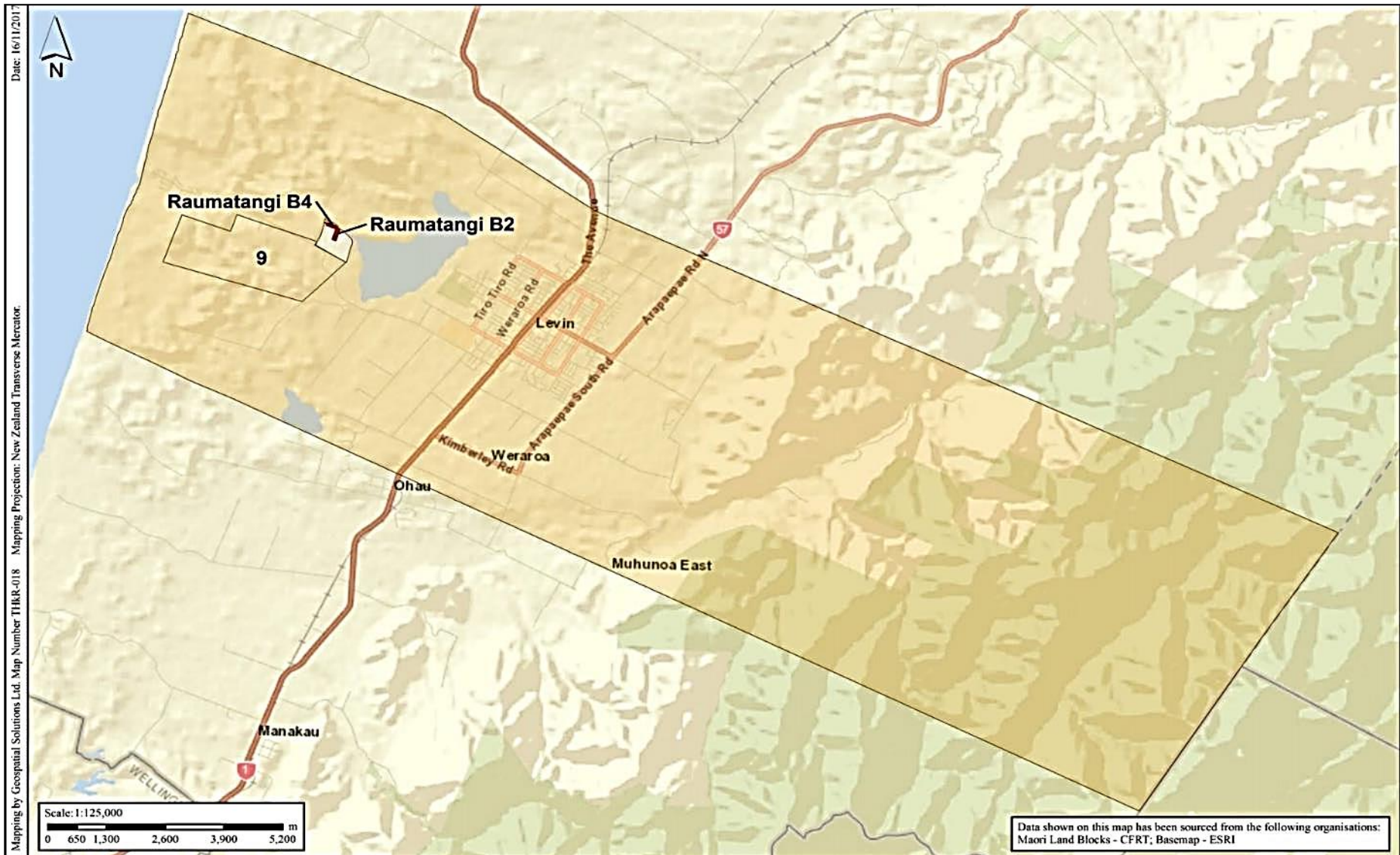
Map 21 Adkin Ōhau River South, Waitarere North, Levin East.



Map 22: Adkin extended. Ōhau South, Manawatū River North, Coastline West, Levin Township East.

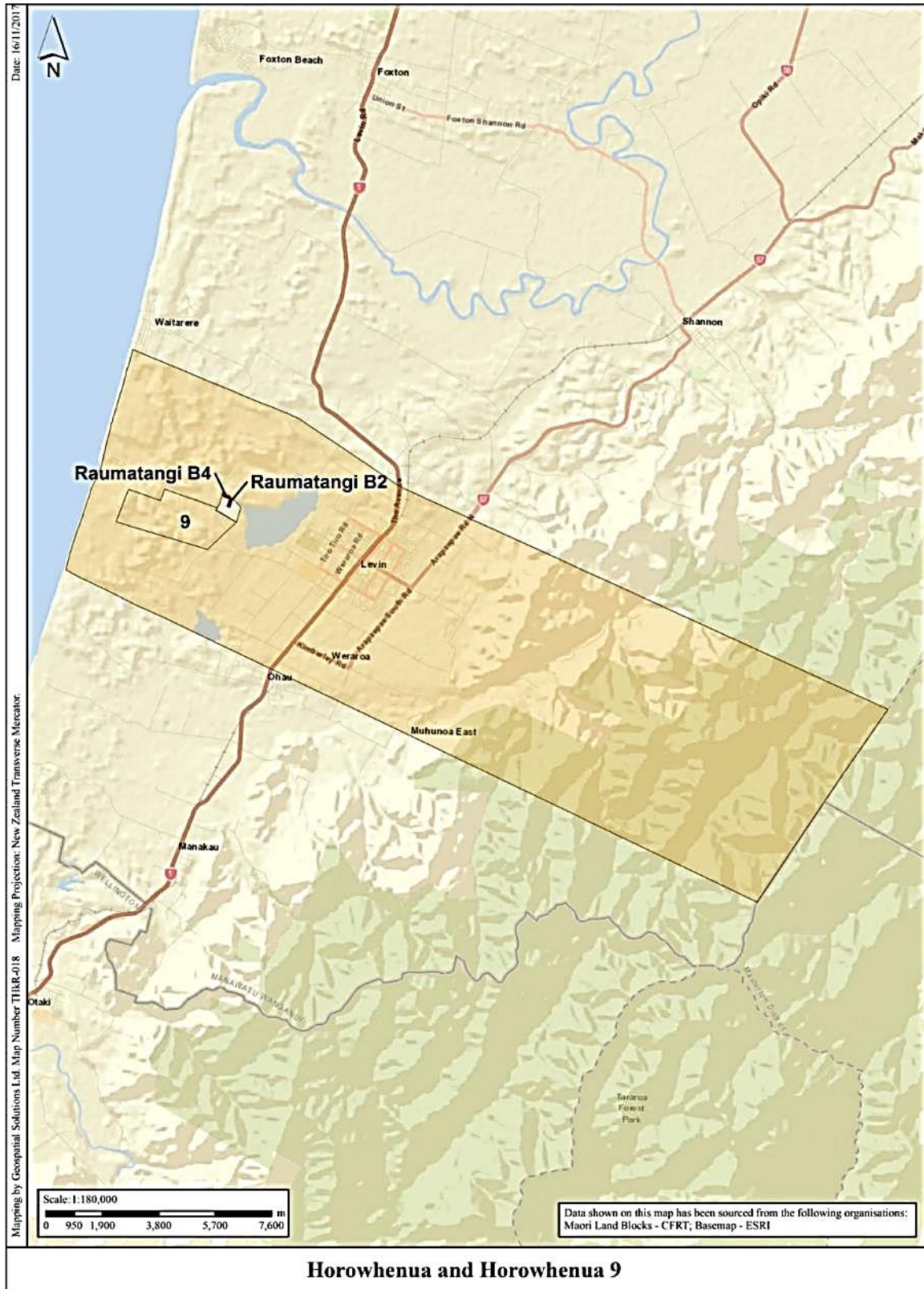


Map 23: Horowhenua and Horowhenua 9

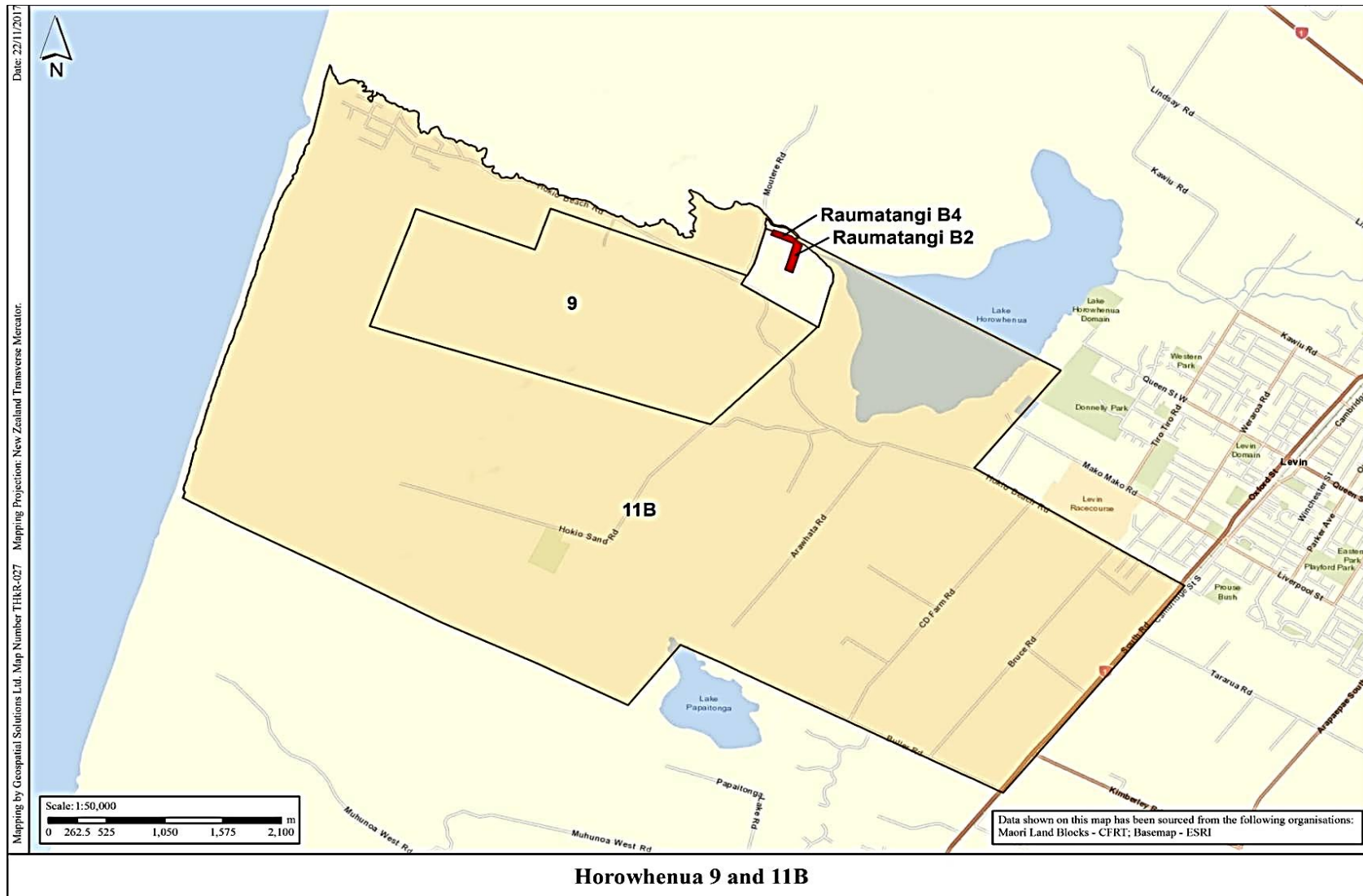


Horowhenua and Horowhenua 9

Map 24: Horowhenua and Horowhenua 9 (2)



Map 30: Ngāti Pareraukawa Horowhenua 9 and Horowhenua 11B



1.0 Ngāti Pareraukawa – A brief history

This section contributed by Ani Mikaere

Ngāti Pareraukawa is one of several hapū of Ngāti Huia. Pareraukawa was the grand-daughter of Huia and lived some seventeen generations after the arrival of Tainui waka to Aotearoa. The following chart traces one of the whakapapa lines from Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi to Pareraukawa:

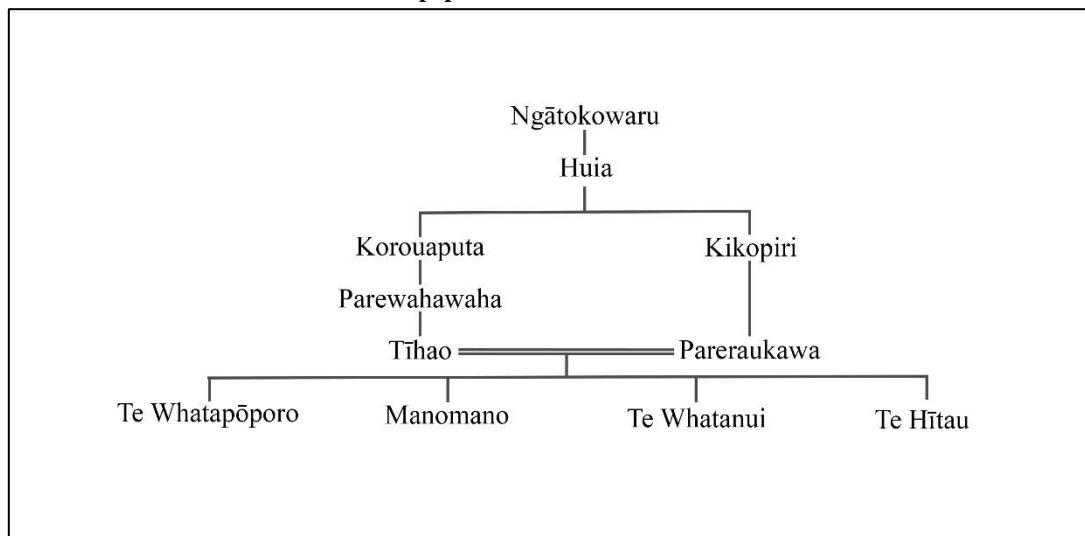
Whakapapa 29: Hoturoa to Pareraukawa



Pareraukawa and Tīhao had four children including three daughters, Te Whatapōporo, Manomano and Te Hītau; and a son, Te Whatanui. Tīhao, as shown in the following whakapapa chart, was also from Ngāti Huia.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁴ Winiata, H Ko *Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, in *Te Pā Harakeke Vol 1*, Ōtaki: Te Wānanga o Raukawa. 2004 p. 39.

Whakapapa 30: Tihao and Pareraukawa



Te Whatanui is a key figure in the history of Ngāti Pareraukawa. As the following brief account shows, he is the reason for the hapū being located beside the Hōkio Stream to the west of Lake Horowhenua.

During the early 1820s Ngāti Toa Rangatira moved from Kāwhia and established themselves in the southwest of Te Ika a Māui, overcoming resistance from the iwi who had formerly occupied the region. Te Rauparaha made repeated invitations to Ngāti Raukawa to join him in the south, but without success. On one occasion, when a visiting group of his close relatives (said to have included Te Ahukaramū, Te Horohau and Ngārangiorēhua) were about to return north to Maungatautari, he tried again.

However, it was not until his sister, Waitohi, issued the following instructions that the Ngāti Raukawa leaders were moved to respond:⁵⁵⁵

“Haere ki aku werewere. Haeremai hei noho i te whenua mai i Whangaehu ki Kukutauaki.”

⁵⁵⁵ Iwikatea Nicholson, oral communication, 9 November 2016. See also his explanation, recorded at Ngātokowaru on 10 October 1994, in response to a list of questions posed by Piripi Walker: “Na ka taemai a Ngāti Raukawa, i haere ake kite noho. Na te aha i tae tonu mai? Na te aroha, e ai ta Ngāti Huia kei aroha atu ki to ratou kuia, ki a Waitohi, nana ano te tono nana ano te ki, mo te noho i nga whenua, i hahatia e ia e tana tungane e Te Rauparaha me tana iwi. Na i tukua mai nei nga whenua” (p. 6 of transcript). In later years, Te Manahi of Ngāti Huia stressed that it was Waitohi’s statement that had swayed them: “[N]a Waitohi kē te kupu ka whati mai, ehara nā Te Rauparaha”: Carkeek, W. *The Kapiti Coast: Maori Tribal History and Place names of the Paekakariki-Otaki district* (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1966), p. 23.

Waitohi's request set in motion a number of Ngāti Raukawa migrations during the next few years, including: Te Heke Whirinui (led by Te Ahukaramū); Te Heke Kariritahi (led by Nēpia Taratoa) and Te Heke Mairaro (led by Te Whatanui). Tūkawekai Kereama provided the following explanation of the migrations:⁵⁵⁶

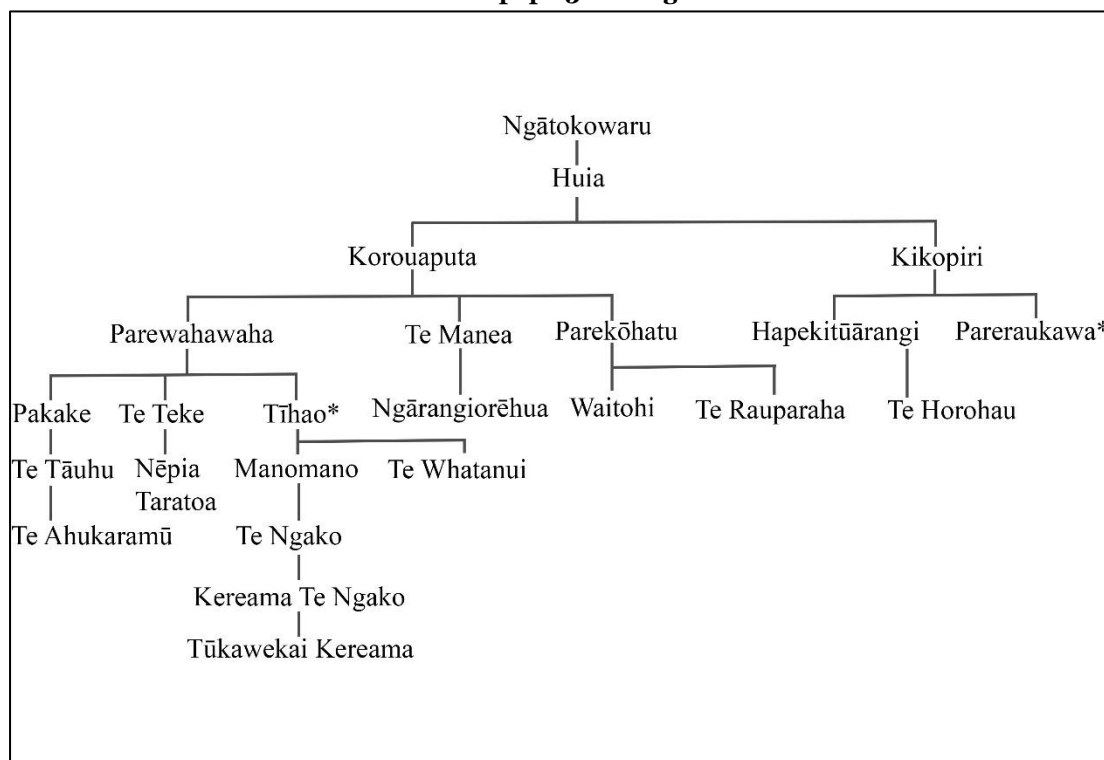
“Te taenga mai ka noho a Ngāti Toa ka tau ta ratou noho ki Kapiti. Ka noho, ka noho, a, ka whakaaro kia noho hoki a Ngāti Raukawa ki te whenua nei. Na, ka puta te tono a te tuahine o Te Rauparaha a Waitohi, kia tonongia atu kia hoki. I tera wa e noho haere ana e te hunga ope o Ngāti Raukawa a Te Ahukaramū. Ka kii a Waitohi, “Me hoki a Te Ahu, a Ngarangi a Te Horohau,” te tama na Hape. No reira ka hoki a Te Ahukaramū ki roto o Waikato i Maungatautari, i puta ake te tono kia Ngāti Raukawa kia haere mai ki runga i te whenua nei. Ko tenei te kupu a Te Whatanui, “Whakatitiro ia, kaore ia i whakaae i taua wa.” Ko Te Whatanui hoki te rangatira nui o tera karangatanga. Ko Nepia Taratoa, te rangatira i whakaaro kia whai mai ia te kupu o Te Ahukaramū. Ka tikina atu a Te Ahu ka tahutahunga i ngā whare o Ngāti Raukawa. I tera wa ka whai mai a Nepia Taratoa me tana ope. Ko te karangatanga o taua ope, ko Te Heke Kariritahi. Ka whai mai a Nepia, a Te Whatanui, a, ka whakaaro me haere mai ki te matakitaki i te whenua nei kia kite i te ahua o te takoto o te whenua. I haere mai ratou ki Taupo ka peka mai kia Te Heuheu. Ka whai hoki a Te Heuheu, otira, i haere tahi raua ko Te Whatanui i roto i ngā pakanga maha, a, whiti atu ki roto o Nukutaurua, ki roto i a Ngāti Kahungunu whanui tonu. Kei te mohiotia katoatia i enei āhuatanga i era wa. Heoi ano ka whai mai a Te Heuheu. To ratou hekenga mai ka matakitaki i te whenua, ka whakaaro tonu he whenua pai tonu tenei e noho ana. Ka hoki ano, ka haere mai, ka whakaaro a Te Whatanui, ae, me heke mai ia a me tona heke, ka karangatia Te Heke Mairaro. Tera kupu a Mairaro, ko Waikato tera. Ko tenei hoki Te Upoko o te ika, tera te hiku o te ika, no reira, ko tera te wahi ora. Ka whai mai a Te Whatanui. Tera te heke nuitanga mai o Ngāti Raukawa.”

It is important to note the whakapapa context within which the invitations were made and subsequently accepted. Te Rauparaha and Waitohi were closely related to Te Ahukaramū, to Nēpia Taratoa and to Te Whatanui (and to both Ngārangiorēhua and Horohau as well). They were all from Ngāti Huia, also known as Te Ngare o Huia.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁶ Quoted in Winiata, H. *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 40.

⁵⁵⁷ Winiata, H. *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 41. Note that Tihao and Pareraukawa parented Te Whatanui, Manomano, Te Whatapōporo and Te Hītau.

Whakapapa 31: Te Ngare o Huia



Waitohi is also credited with allocating land to those who answered her call, and with establishing the boundary between Ngāti Toa allies, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa.⁵⁵⁸ Te Whatanui was gifted various blocks throughout the region, including at Rangiuru, Otūroa and Horowhenua. There is evidence that he had a number of cultivations around Lake Horowhenua by the early 1830s, including potatoes, kūmara, maize and possibly cabbage and turnips;⁵⁵⁹ no doubt he also took advantage of the area’s greatest natural resource, the tuna. Adkin records the names of at least 24 pā tuna along the Hōkio stream, from the lake to the coast.⁵⁶⁰ Te

⁵⁵⁸ Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, p. 23. It is important to note that while it is often said that Ngāti Toa Rangatira took the land by conquest—take raupatu—and that Ngāti Raukawa’s title was based on take tuku, members of Ngāti Huia also participated in the fighting. Āperahama Te Ruru, mokopuna of Wahineiti (Pareraukawa’s brother) was one who assisted (see Royal, TAC *Kāti au i konei: A Collection of Songs from Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1994), p. 99. for the relevant whakapapa); his brother Tuainuku, who married Hinepūrorangi and fathered Te Hītau II, Tauteka, Waretini and Whāwhā, was another (see whakapapa on pp 36 and 40): Transcript of Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, 10 October 1995, p. 5. According to Huia Winiata: “E mea ana ētehi he take tuku tō Ngāti Raukawa take ki ngā whenua o te Tonga, engari i uru ētehi o ō mātou tūpuna o Ngāti Huia ki roto i te raupatu. Heoi anō ko te tino mahi a te hunga ka noho ki ngā whenua nei, ko te pupuru i te raupatu, ko te tiaki i te whenua i riro i te raupatu”: *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 42.

⁵⁵⁹ Grove, N *Te Whatanui: Traditional Maori Leader* (MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985) p. 87.

⁵⁶⁰ Adkin, L *Horowhenua* (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1986), pp. 20-23. McDonald also names a number of pā tuna in McDonald, R & O’Donnell, E *Te Hekenga: Early Days in Horowhenua* (Palmerston North: GH Bennett & Co. Ltd, 1979), pp. 48-50.

Whatanui's first settlement was at Raumatangi, the pā tuna located at the point where the lake ran into the stream.⁵⁶¹

Descriptions have been provided of Te Whatanui's extensive cultivations around the lakeside, and of various settlements. Te Herekau⁵⁶² named a number of cultivations extending southward along the lakefront from Hōkio, including Otaewa, Pua-te-Ngao and Tatearero.⁵⁶³ Settlements include a pā named Te Reti (on the north side of the Hōkio stream) and the kāinga of Titirangi, Kouturoa and Tatepare. Further pā included one at Raumatangi, one to the west (probably Taheke), another near Tauataruru and another on Waikiekie.⁵⁶⁴ Te Whatanui himself lived in a number of houses within these settlements, first at Raumatangi, then nearby at Tawa, before building Wharepuhunga on the north side of the stream.⁵⁶⁵ As Grove notes, these homes "stood in the centre of an attractively dispersed complex of settlements" which was "well-suited both to the terrain and to the natural beauty of the site".⁵⁶⁶

Wharepuhunga is said to have been 50 feet in length, and it is likely that this was the home which the earliest Pākehā narratives describe. A number of Pākehā accounts of Te Whatanui's settlements around Raumatangi survive; all are inevitably coloured by their own assumptions about the inherent superiority of Pākehā ways. Richard Taylor, who passed through the area in 1845, described Te Whatanui as having "a noble house according to native ideas and an equally noble wata".⁵⁶⁷ Edward Jerningham Wakefield was full of praise for the extent to which Te Whatanui had adopted "civilised" habits within his household, describing his whānau as "united and homely" and enthusing:⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶¹ McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p. 48.

⁵⁶² Te Herekau gave evidence in the *Horowhenua* case, explaining that his sister had married Te Whatanui Tūtaki and that he had himself lived on the land at Horowhenua for a period of eight years: Te Herekau, 3/4/1873, *Horowhenua Judgment*, Otaki Minute Book (No 2), pp. 34-41.

⁵⁶³ Te Herekau, *Otaki Minute Book (No 2)*, p. 35.

⁵⁶⁴ Grove, *Te Whatanui*, pp. 87-88. According to Te Herekau approximately 300 people assisted with building the pā on Waikiekie: *Otaki Minute Book (No 2)*, p. 36.

⁵⁶⁵ Grove, *Te Whatanui*, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁶⁶ Grove, *Te Whatanui*, p. 88.

⁵⁶⁷ Taken from Taylor's journal entry for 19 April 1845, quoted in Grove, *Te Whatanui*, p. 90. His reference to a "wata" would seem to be "whata" (he also refers to Te Whatanui as "Watanui"). Grove suggests that Taylor's use of the word "noble" is a strong indication that Wharepuhunga and the pātaka were both carved.

⁵⁶⁸ Wakefield, *EJ Adventure in New Zealand Vol 2*, (London: John Murray, 1845) p. 241.

[W]henever I spent an hour at this little village, I felt that it was the residence of a gentleman. There was a quiet, unobtrusive dignity in the well-regulated arrangements of the whole establishment.

Grove describes Te Whatanui's settlement at Horowhenua as "a showplace for visitors",⁵⁶⁹ a large establishment that was "ideal for entertaining visiting parties and honoured guests"⁵⁷⁰ with its large house, extensive cultivations and bountiful eel supply. In 1841 Te Whatanui also established a pā at the mouth of the Hōkio Stream, for the "convenience" of people (particularly missionaries) who travelled along the coast.⁵⁷¹

While it is difficult to estimate with any precision the number of people who lived with Te Whatanui at Horowhenua, it is clear that those who stayed there included his wife, Tauteka; his three sons (Te Tūtaki, Te Tahuri and Te Haua); his niece, Hinepūrorangi and his nephew, Tarāpuhi; along with spouses, children and other whānau members.⁵⁷² Other grandchildren of Parewahawaha also lived there; the family of Tamainewa (a child of Tīhao and Waiorohia) are mentioned, as is Te Witi. There were others too: Te Herekau, whose sister married Te Tūtaki, explained that he "was brought" from Ōtaki to stay at Horowhenua for a period in 1835 while Te Whatanui journeyed to Taupō in order to bring back a group of approximately 100 relatives, who he settled at the south end of the lake.⁵⁷³ In 1873 Mātene Te Whiwhi listed a number of people who had been buried at Raumatangi, including Te Whatanui Tūtaki, "another Whatanui" (Te Tahuri, perhaps), Tauteka (Te Whatanui's wife), Whatanui Te Haua and Hinepūrorangi.⁵⁷⁴ Before the Native Land Court, Te Herekau explained that Ngāti Raukawa had "remained in industrious possession of this land since Te Whatanui took it"⁵⁷⁵ up until the time when disputes over the land erupted, following the death of Te Whatanui Tūtaki in 1869.

⁵⁶⁹ Grove, *Te Whatanui*, p. 61.

⁵⁷⁰ Grove, *Te Whatanui*, p. 92.

⁵⁷¹ Te Herekau, *Otaki Minute Book* (No 2), p. 37. Herekau refers to these travellers as "teachers" who were preaching to the people, and names Hadfield as one of them.

⁵⁷² Hinepūrorangi's daughter, Tauteka, was raised by Te Whatanui. When Te Rangihacata gave his permission for the building of Rangiatea, he instructed the people to fetch "Te Whatanui's daughter", Tauteka, to clear the way for the logs to be floated down the Ōhau River, along the coast to Ōtaki: Te Rōpū Whakahaere o Rangiatea, *Rangiatea: Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora* (1997) p. 19.

⁵⁷³ Grove, *Te Whatanui*, pp. 70 and 87; Herekau, *Otaki Minute Book* (No 2), pp. 34-35. This is likely to be the group of people who remained at Taupō during Te Heke Mairaro.

⁵⁷⁴ Mātene Te Whiwhi, 3/4/1873, *Horowhenua Judgment*, *Otaki Minute Book* (No 2), p. 33. Te Whatanui himself, says Te Whiwhi, died at Ōtaki and was taken back to Tongariro. Te Whatanui died in 1849: Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 51.

⁵⁷⁵ Te Herekau, *Otaki Minute Book* (No 2), pp. 38-39.

Te Whatanui Tūtaki (Tūtakiawheawhe, often referred to simply as Te Tūtaki) was the last of Te Whatanui’s children to live at Horowhenua. After he died it was primarily the children and grandchildren of Te Hītau who remained. His death precipitated a chain of events which ultimately proved disastrous for Te Hītau’s offspring, propelling them into a lengthy and exhausting struggle to maintain a presence on the land—a struggle that was to become a constant theme of the Ngāti Pareraukawa experience, from the early 1870s through to the present day.

The disputes that flared up following Te Tūtaki’s death had their origins in events that occurred during the early years of Ngāti Toa Rangatira settlement within the region. Following the murder of his children by Muaūpoko at Te Wī (near Ōhau), Te Rauparaha had determined to exterminate the iwi, engaging in a relentless campaign against them.⁵⁷⁶ Upon his arrival to settle in the area, however, Te Whatanui had sheltered the surviving Muaūpoko from Te Rauparaha, reassuring a doubting Taueki of his ability to do so with the statement “Heoi ano ra, ko te mea e pa ki au ko te ua anake o te rangi”⁵⁷⁷ and setting aside for Muaūpoko a 20,000 acre area within the 52,000 acre Horowhenua Block that had been allocated to him. Te Rauparaha was not pleased with this arrangement but eventually conceded to Te Whatanui, who insisted: “E Raha kaati, kaore au i whakaae kia riro te tangata i riro mai nei i taku ringa, notemea he ringa tapu”.⁵⁷⁸ So long as they remained within Horowhenua, Muaūpoko were safe.⁵⁷⁹ Te Whatanui’s actions resulted in Muaūpoko naming him Te Whetūmārama o te Ata, and in his being described by them as their protector:⁵⁸⁰

“[N]ā tōna kaha ki te atawhai i a rātou ka puta hoki tērā kōrero (i a Muaūpoko), ‘ka whakatupuria e Te Whatanui te tangata ki te ora’”.

Following Te Tūtaki’s death, Muaūpoko began reasserting their claim to Horowhenua. After several years of escalating disruption and violence, and a number of unsuccessful attempts to

⁵⁷⁶ “[E] tonongia atu a Ngati Toa otira a Te Rauparaha, ano a Muaūpoko a Toheriri, kia haere mai. Engari, he take kohuru tona tuturutanga e ai ki ōku pakeke. Na te ahua o tenei mahi kino, mahi kohuru, i puta ai te kanga a Te Rauparaha mo tera iwi”: Transcript of Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, 10 October 1994, p. 5.

⁵⁷⁷ This was Te Whatanui’s response to Taueki’s question: “He nui ano koe ki te whakamarumarū i au?”: see McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p. 17; see also Transcript of Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, 10 October 1995, p. 7.

⁵⁷⁸ Transcript of Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, 10 October 1995, p. 7.

⁵⁷⁹ Their safety could not be guaranteed, however, if they ventured beyond Horowhenua, as the incident commonly known as the ‘Massacre of the Pumpkins’ reminded them: Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, p. 31.

⁵⁸⁰ Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 41.

have the matter settled by arbitration,⁵⁸¹ the case went before the Native Land Court in 1873. It was widely expected that the Court's findings would be consistent with Te Whatanui's boundaries, allocating 32,000 acres to his people and awarding the remainder of the block to Muaūpoko.

However, in a judgment that shocked Ngāti Raukawa and is said to have astonished contemporary observers,⁵⁸² the court awarded almost all of the 52,000-acre block to Muaūpoko. The judgment represented a complete denial of Te Rauparaha's conquest of the area, and of Te Whatanui's mana—which was all that had stood between Muaūpoko and their certain extermination at the hands of Te Rauparaha. The court found that while Muaūpoko had been “glad to avail themselves of the protection of a powerful Ngatiraukawa chief against Te Rauparaha” and had “looked up to [Te Whatanui] as their chief”, they had never surrendered their lands to him.⁵⁸³ He had, however, acquired “by gift” from Muaūpoko some land at Raumatangi and this gift was recognised by the grant of just 100 acres to his representatives.

The decision has attracted widespread criticism over time, with questions raised about the extent to which the judges were motivated by political considerations rather than by the evidence that was produced before them. McDonald describes how the hearing was adjourned for three days, during which time the judges rode over the Block with Muaūpoko leader, Major Kemp. The boundaries that he indicated to them corresponded exactly with the land that was subsequently awarded to Muaūpoko.⁵⁸⁴ A range of explanations have been offered for the judgment, including the suggestion that the Court was frightened of Kemp (who threatened to go to war if he did not get his way); the possibility that he was awarded the entire Block in order to compensate him for his services to the Crown (he had fought with the Crown against the Hauhau); or simply that Ngāti Raukawa were considered less likely than Kemp to resort to violence, in the event that they were unsuccessful.⁵⁸⁵ Perhaps the most damning commentary on the legality of the Court's decision was provided by a Native Land Court judge, over 20

⁵⁸¹ Anderson, R et al *Crown Action and Māori Response, Land and Politics 1840-1900* (Draft Report, June 2017) Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, 2017. pp. 563-569.

⁵⁸² MacDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p. 142.

⁵⁸³ Horowhenua, Native Land Court, Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1864-1879 (Auckland, 1879), p. 136.

⁵⁸⁴ MacDonald, *Te Hekenga*, pp. 142-144.

⁵⁸⁵ MacDonald, *Te Hekenga*, pp. 144-145; Anderson, R & Pickens, K, *Wellington District: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatū*, Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, Working Paper, August 1996, pp. 214-216.

years later, when he gave evidence before the Horowhenua Commission in 1896. Judge Wilson explained to the Commission how it had been a “tradition” of the Native Land Court that.⁵⁸⁶

“[S]pecial legislation should make anything that seemed to require it, valid. So much so that in 1873, Mr McLean thanked Judge Rogan for acting outside the law, so as to get the country settled. All that he did was legalised afterwards I have no doubt. Of the five judges, Smith was the one who ‘heard the block’ in the first instance, and he said to me ‘They will legalise what we have done’.”

The Native Land Court decision did nothing whatsoever to resolve the conflict between Ngāti Pareraukawa and Muaūpoko, which threatened to spiral out of control in the following months. Eventually, Native Minister Donald McLean was called in to try and resolve matters. His efforts resulted in Kemp agreeing to lay off a further 1300 acres for “the descendants of Te Whatanui”. In addition, the parties settled on a payment of £1050 and the laying off of reserves between Lake Papaitonga and the coast, for the benefit of four named hapū—Ngāti Hikitanga, Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Parekōhatu and Ngāti Pareraukawa. This latter agreement was by way of compensation for the court’s award to Kemp of an area of land that fell *outside* the Horowhenua Block—land that it had, in fact, already awarded to Ngāti Raukawa as part of the Kukutauaki judgment just a few weeks earlier!⁵⁸⁷

Unfortunately, these two 1874 agreements did not settle the matter at all, lacking clarity in a number of key respects and resulting in what Anderson refers to as “McLean’s legacy”—over thirty years of legal uncertainty:⁵⁸⁸

“Over the course of the next several decades, bureaucrats, officials, and judges would take all these ambiguities and make of them an unholy mess.”

With respect to the first of the agreements, disputes arose concerning the intended meaning of the term “the descendants of Te Whatanui”; there was also ongoing disagreement over the precise amount and location of the land to be laid off. These issues somehow became confused, in the minds of various officials, with the second of the agreements, resulting in the reserves

⁵⁸⁶ Horowhenua Commission: 1896 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, I G-02, p. 132.

⁵⁸⁷ This might be taken as evidence of the Court’s myopic focus on appeasing Kemp, at any cost. See Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, p 551, where it is explained that this land was part of the Muhunoa Block, the boundary having been decided as Mahoenui by Te Whatanui (who lived to the north of the boundary, on the Horowhenua Block) and Te Paea (who lived south of the boundary). But the Native Land Court in 1873 awarded land both north and south of the Mahoenui boundary to Muaūpoko, as part of the Horowhenua block. See also the Native Affairs Committee Report on the Petition of Kipa Te Whatanui and 90 others relative to lands at Horowhenua, 1896, Minutes of Evidence pp. 12, 13 and 20-21.

⁵⁸⁸ Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, pp. 580, 583.

that had been promised to Ngāti Hikitunga, Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Parekōhatu and Ngāti Pareraukawa being entirely overlooked for over 20 years.

The second agreement was eventually implemented in 1898, the Native Land Court “seemingly conjur[ing] from the air”⁵⁸⁹ a figure of 210 acres as an appropriate amount of land to satisfy Kemp’s promise to the four hapū. The 210-acre Block was named 11A1 and Ngāti Pareraukawa was awarded approximately 66 acres within it.⁵⁹⁰

The question of how much land Kemp had promised to Te Whatanui’s descendants in 1874—along with its precise location—remained unsettled for nearly forty years. When the land was partitioned out in 1886, Kemp insisted that he had only ever intended to set aside 1200 acres which, when added to the 100 acres already granted to Te Whatanui’s representatives by the Native Land Court in 1873, would add up to a total of 1300 acres. To make matters worse, the 1200 acres that was partitioned out in 1886 (Block 9) did not adjoin the Hōkio stream (thereby excluding Ngāti Pareraukawa from the eel resource) and failed to include the area where Ngāti Pareraukawa resided. The Royal Commission of 1896 ordered that a further 80 acres be added to Block 9, this additional area incorporating Ngāti Pareraukawa homes and cultivations and allowing them access to the stream. However, it took a Commissioner,⁵⁹¹ several more legislative interventions⁵⁹² and two more court hearings⁵⁹³ before most of Horowhenua Block 11B41 (an area of approximately 132 acres which adjoined Block 9) was finally awarded to Ngāti Pareraukawa in 1912.

The intended meaning of the phrase “the descendants of Te Whatanui” was also the subject of repeated litigation: at issue was the question of whether his lineal descendants (the children and mokopuna of his daughter, Te Rangingangana, who had married Pomare and settled in the

⁵⁸⁹ Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, p. 629. Anderson notes that the area concerned contained some 800 acres and that no reason was provided for the amount that was eventually awarded.

⁵⁹⁰ Anderson provides a figure of 63 acres, with an additional three acres awarded to compensate for the swampy nature of the land that was allocated to them. However, the *Block Research Narratives* indicate that the figure was either 51 acres or 71 acres: p. 161 (Block 11A1 was partitioned in 1898 and again in 1911—the latter partition shows 11A1 divided into four blocks and it would appear that Ngāti Pareraukawa was allocated either 11A1C (51 acres) or 11A1D (71 acres).

⁵⁹¹ Commissioner Seth Smith sat in 1905.

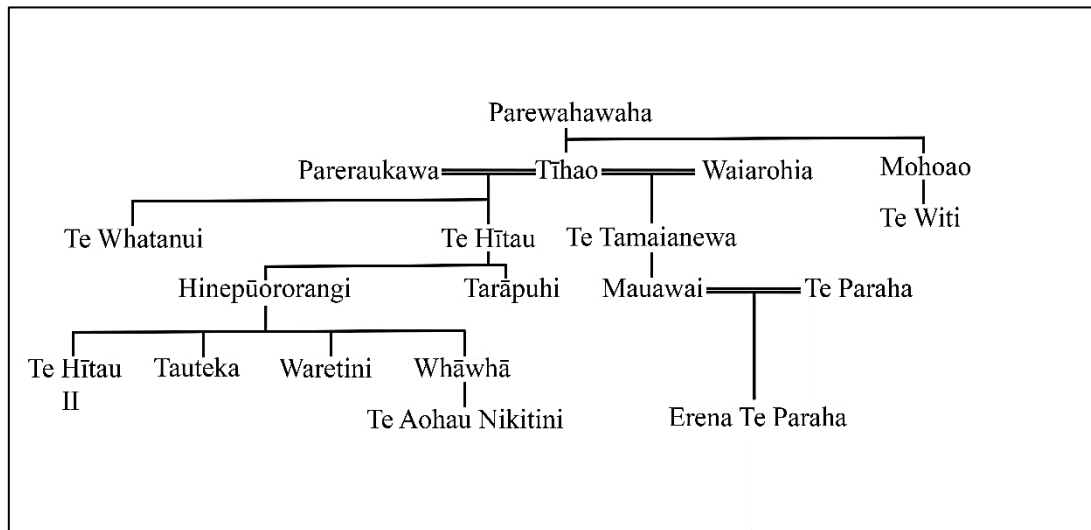
⁵⁹² Horowhenua Block Act 1896; Horowhenua Block Amendment Act 1906; Native Claims Adjustment Act 1910.

⁵⁹³ The Native Land Court awarded 47 acres of Horowhenua 11B41 to Ngāti Pareraukawa and 85 acres to Muaūpoko in 1908; but in 1912 the Native Appellate Court awarded 127 acres to Ngāti Pareraukawa, allowing Muaūpoko to remain on the 5 acres upon which they had erected residences following the 1896 Royal Commission finding that the land in question should be awarded to Pareraukawa: see Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, pp. 623-628.

far north) were entitled to a share of the 1200 acres partitioned out in 1886 (Block 9). None of them lived on the land, most of them residing in Te Taitokerau. The lineal descendants of Te Hītau had continued to reside upon and to fight for the land, in the courts and before countless parliamentary committees. They argued that Block 9 should rightly be allocated to them exclusively; while for their part the Pomare party (as they were often referred to) tried to strengthen their case by committing to an early sale of their shares in the block to the Crown.⁵⁹⁴

The Horowhenua Commission ruled in 1896 that it was Te Hītau’s whānau who were entitled to Block 9.⁵⁹⁵ It went on to order that the 1200 acres be awarded to five of Te Hītau’s uri (her son, Tarāpuhi and the four children of her daughter, Hinepūororangi), along with a further two mokopuna of Te Hītau’s grandmother, Parewahawaha: Te Wiiti and Erana Te Paraha.⁵⁹⁶

Whakapapa 32: Te Hītau



However, in 1898 the Native Appellate Court effectively reversed this decision, dividing Block 9 evenly between the two groups of claimants: Block 9A was awarded to Te Hītau’s whānau (as named above) while Block 9B was awarded to Te Rangiangana’s offspring.⁵⁹⁷ Within a couple of years, one of them had applied to sell a quarter of Block 9B on the basis that she

⁵⁹⁴ Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, p. 600.

⁵⁹⁵ Horowhenua Commission Report 1896, p. 10.

⁵⁹⁶ Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 45. This was subsequently enacted by section 8(a) of the Horowhenua Block Act 1896.

⁵⁹⁷ Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, p. 623.

lived permanently in the far north, where she had a considerable estate.⁵⁹⁸ She eventually sold her piece in 1902; the remainder of Block 9B was sold in 1915.⁵⁹⁹

While inevitably being drawn into disputes about the implementation of the 1874 agreements, Ngāti Pareraukawa continued to challenge the Native Land Court finding of 1873 that lay at the root of the injustice that they had suffered; they applied repeatedly for a rehearing, but without success.⁶⁰⁰ As Anderson concludes, “[t]he judicial and executive arms of government were clearly determined that no rehearing would be permitted, and the many applications . . . were simply ignored”.⁶⁰¹ Between 1873 and 1924 countless further attempts were made to have the case reopened but despite a seemingly endless succession of committee hearings, legislative amendments, court rulings—and even a Royal Commission—no significant changes were ever made to the 1873 Native Land Court finding, beyond the slight boundary adjustments already described. Far from being rewarded for their perseverance, Ngāti Pareraukawa’s determination to challenge the 1873 judgment was met with scorn and condescension. In 1906, for example, James Carroll contended:⁶⁰²

“The plea of those who want the whole of the block ripped up because of some alleged grievance against the judgment of the Court in 1873, and the sentimental desire to fight out again the old traditional grounds, should not be entertained. We have had Commissions and Land Court investigations, and you may go on *ad infinitum*, and still there will always be someone to say, “Let us have another hearing, we have not had justice,” and there will always be a grievance.”

⁵⁹⁸ Anderson, *Crown Action Māori Response*, p. 623.

⁵⁹⁹ Walghan Partners. *Block Research Narratives Vol II Part II Ahitangata to Muhunoa* (Draft) Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, 2017.p. 176.

⁶⁰⁰ The judgment was delivered on 5 April; by 21 April Tarāpuhi (also known as Watene Tiwaewae) and 69 others petitioned the Governor, seeking his consent for a rehearing “for we do not understand the reason why we are despoiled of our dwelling houses, our cultivations, our pa tuna’s, our farms, and our permanent settlements, we have now been 46 years in the absolute possession of this land that is Horowhenua. On 7 May they wrote to their lawyer, asking him to present their petition to the Governor and to the Native Minister. On 12 May they wrote again to the Governor, asking whether he had received their petition and seeking an early response as to the matter of the rehearing. On 13 May, Tarāpuhi and 42 others wrote to the Native Minister, seeking his consent to a rehearing. Their lawyer forwarded their petition to the court on 15 May. On 3 June Judges Rogan and Smith (who had sat on the original case) refused the application. On 8 December, Tarāpuhi and Te Puke Te Paea wrote to Chief Judge Fenton on behalf of all Ngāti Raukawa claimants. They sought a rehearing, asking that it be conducted by a different judge. Fenton refused their application on the basis that it was out of time, not having been sent within six months of the hearing. In 1896 a Native Affairs Committee, convened to report on a petition from Kipa Te Whatanui and others, noted that attempts to argue their case when the Native Land Court sat in 1886 to partition the Block had resulted in their being “threatened with imprisonment if they did not desist”. There was also, it has to be said, some force to the argument that in demanding a rehearing, Ngāti Raukawa risked reopening the question of entitlement to the entire Kukutauaki Block: see Native Land Court, (1898) Otaki Minute Book, 208.

⁶⁰¹ Anderson, *Crown Action and Māori Response*, p. 575.

⁶⁰² Carroll, 30 August 1906, NZPD, Vol. 137, p. 289.

As if to rub salt in the wound, in 1912 the Native Appellate Court effectively repudiated the reasoning underpinning the 1873 judgment - yet the judgment itself remained undisturbed. This was due to the terms of the Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1910, which empowered the court to hear appeals on the question of who was entitled to Block 11B41 (the land lying between Block 9 and the Hōkio stream, upon which Ngāti Pareraukawa homes and cultivations were sited). Section 12(2) specified that the court was to proceed as if the 1873 judgement did not apply to the 132 acres under consideration. Legislatively freed from the constraints of the 1873 precedent, the court concluded that Te Whatanui held the area in question “under an effective conquest”,⁶⁰³ finding that “there is not a particle of doubt, that the Ngāti Raukawa in 1840 were the absolute masterful owners of the block”.⁶⁰⁴ A finding to this effect in 1873 could only have resulted in Ngāti Pareraukawa being awarded the bulk of the Horowhenua block—at very least, all but the 20,000 acres set aside for Muaūpoko by Te Whatanui. Yet, because the 1912 judgment applied only to Block 11B41, the question of Ngāti Raukawa’s entitlement to the remainder of Horowhenua was unaffected. No doubt, confirmation of their title to a small portion of the land upon which they had resided for over 80 years would have come as a relief to Ngāti Pareraukawa. However, the finding acknowledging Ngāti Raukawa’s undisputed control over the area in 1840 constituted so hollow a victory that it could almost be described as vindictive.⁶⁰⁵

Despite the 1873 judgment and the interminable legal battles that followed it, Ngāti Pareraukawa continued to live “at various places all over the Horowhenua Block . . . paying little attention to the formal boundaries”.⁶⁰⁶ In 1896 Kipa Te Whatanui noted that a number of them still lived there, adding:⁶⁰⁷

“[W]e objected strongly to that decision of the Court; we have done so ever since: we have remained holding the land under the mana of our ancestors up to the present day.”

⁶⁰³ (1912) 3 Wellington ACMB 202, at pp. 269.

⁶⁰⁴ (1912) 3 Wellington ACMB 202, at p. 265.

⁶⁰⁵ As noted earlier, even here Ngāti Pareraukawa were forced to compromise, losing five acres of Block 11B41 to Muaūpoko claimants who had built within the disputed area for the specific purpose of defeating Pareraukawa claims. Anderson notes: “It seems that some of the Muaūpoko had in the very recent past—that is, subsequent to the 1896 Commission—built a house on the disputed land. In the Court’s opinion, they had done so in the full knowledge that “the Whatanui party were likely to obtain a title”. Nonetheless, the Court determined that it would give them the “fullest benefit of any slight doubt”, while it hoped that the appellants would be “generous enough not to object to an award sufficient to cover the house and improvements” the Muaūpoko had so recently constructed”, *Crown Action Māori Response*, p. 628.

⁶⁰⁶ Boast, Ngāti Raukawa: *Custom, Colonization and the Crown*, 1820-1900, Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, 2018. pp. 351-352.

⁶⁰⁷ Native Affairs Committee, Report on Petition of Kipa Te Whatanui and 90 others relative to lands at Horowhenua, 1896, Legislative Council, p. 14.

Before the 1896 Royal Commission Neville Te Aohau Nicholson (also known as Pungarehu) provided the names of a number of his close relatives who had continued to keep their fires alight on the land, either living there full-time or regularly returning there to fish and to work the land. Of his sister, Ema Winiata, for example, he said: “My sister was born there; her age is 39, and for 39 years she has been there”.⁶⁰⁸

However, there is little doubt that the Native Land Court of 1873 struck a devastating blow against Ngāti Pareraukawa’s hold on the land. The *Block Research Narratives* reveal that the land reserved to Ngāti Pareraukawa within Block 11A1 was alienated in 1912,⁶⁰⁹ that by 1957 over 860 acres out of the 1200 acres in Block 9 had been alienated,⁶¹⁰ and that over two thirds of their lands within Block 11B41 had been alienated by 1958.⁶¹¹

As noted earlier, the bulk of this land (approximately 600 acres) was sold by Te Rangingangana’s descendants within 20 years of having won their case to gain half of Block 9. Detailed analysis of the circumstances leading to the whittling away of the remainder of the lands that were left to Ngāti Pareraukawa, after the Native Land Court had done its work, has not yet been conducted. However, it is likely that the Horowhenua County Council’s aggressive rates collection regime played its part,⁶¹² along with the usual problems introduced by multiple ownership (itself a creation of the Native Land Court), Māori housing schemes which pressured Māori into selling their land in order to find the necessary cash for a deposit or to make mortgage repayments,⁶¹³ and the inability of a much-reduced land base to support growing whānau.

On the other hand, the prolonged uncertainty over whether their rights would ever be upheld, particularly with respect to the land which they had occupied along the southern banks of the Hōkio stream since the 1830s, also led some to take decisive action—well before title to that

⁶⁰⁸ Horowhenua Commission Report 1896, pp. 214-215; other sources state that Ema was born in 1859, which would suggest that she was 37 years of age in 1896, rather than 39—but this difference in detail in no way affects the point that Te Aohau was making about continuous use of the land despite the 1873 Native Land Court decision.

⁶⁰⁹ Walghan Partners *Block Research Narratives*, Vol. II, Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, 2018. p 176.

⁶¹⁰ Walghan Partners *Block Research Narratives*, Vol. II, 1 May 2017, pp 175-176.

⁶¹¹ Walghan Partners *Block Research Narratives*, Vol II, p 178.

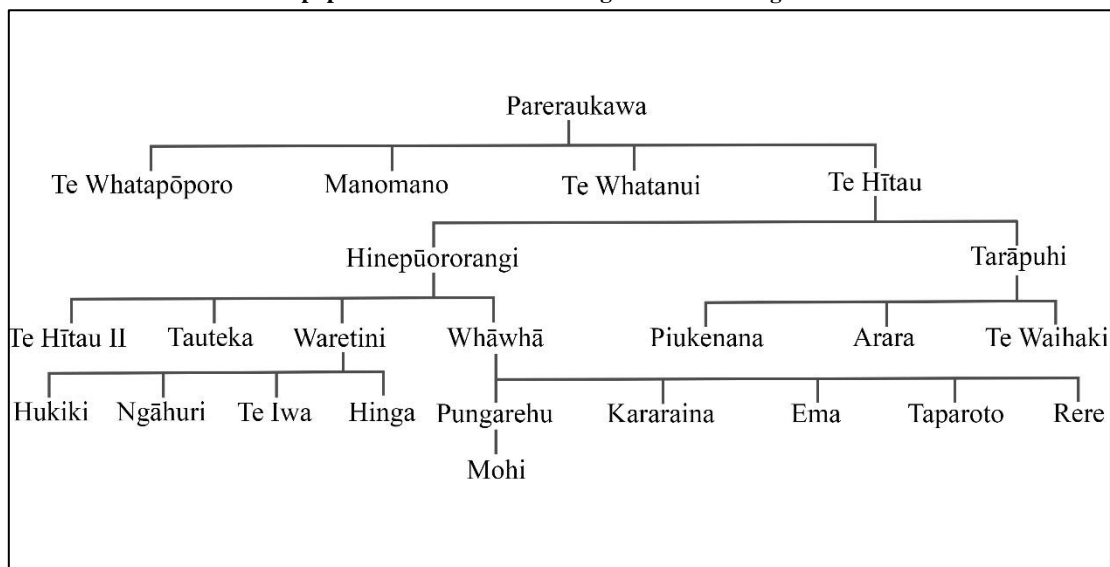
⁶¹² See Woodley, S. *Local Government Issues Report*, Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, 9 June 2017, chapter 9.

⁶¹³ Fitzgerald, E et al, *Ngāti Raukawa: Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga: Land Management and Land Loss from the 1890s to 2000*, (Draft Report, February 2017), Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry District, Wellington. p. 295.

land had been finalised in the courts. As discussed earlier,⁶¹⁴ the Royal Commission of 1896 ordered that a further 80 acres be added to the 1200 acres that had been partitioned out for Ngāti Pareraukawa in 1886 (Block 9), this additional area incorporating Ngāti Pareraukawa homes and cultivations and allowing them access to the stream. However, the Commission’s decision was hotly contested by Muaūpoko and it was a further 16 years before the Native Appellate Court eventually awarded an expanded area of 127 acres (most of Block 11B41) to Ngāti Pareraukawa. It should also be remembered that 1898 was the year that Te Rangingangana’s descendants were awarded half of Block 9. It is little wonder, perhaps, that those in occupation of the area between Block 9 and the Hōkio stream decided against waiting for the courts to award them the land on which they had been living for over 60 years; during the late 1890s they built the tūpuna whare, Ngātokowaru, on what was subsequently to become Block 11B41A.

The *Block Research Narratives* show that nearly a decade later, in 1909, Block 11B41A was awarded to eleven individuals.⁶¹⁵ This number of owners appears to correspond with the eleven people who are known to have given land for Ngātokowaru, shown in bold font in the following whakapapa:⁶¹⁶

Whakapapa 33: Eleven owners who gifted land for Ngātokowaru



⁶¹⁴ See p. 36.

⁶¹⁵ Block XIB41A3, the site of the marae, was formally partitioned out in 1921.

⁶¹⁶ Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 44.

A number of the eleven people who gave the land also built houses around the marae.⁶¹⁷

Ngātokowaru was opened on 25 December 1900. In light of the traumatic events of the preceding 30 years, the construction of tūpuna whare should rightly be understood as an unequivocal expression of Ngāti Pareraukawa's grim determination to maintain its ahi kā despite the overwhelming forces that had been rallied against it.

Before leaving this brief history of the hapū, mention should be made of the name Ngāti Pareraukawa. There is no record of the name being used before 1869.⁶¹⁸ Te Whatanui was usually described as belonging to Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Parewahawaha, and those who dwelled with him at Horowhenua were typically referred to simply as the "uri" or the "children" of Te Whatanui.⁶¹⁹ It has been suggested that the first people to refer to themselves as Ngāti Pareraukawa were Tarāpuhi, along with his children and the children of his sister, Hinepūrorangi.⁶²⁰

A number of reasons for their decision to take on the name Ngāti Pareraukawa have been proposed.⁶²¹ Firstly, with the last of Te Whatanui's sons dying in 1869, the people remaining on the land were Te Hītau's offspring; it was, in a sense, a new era and perhaps they chose a new hapū name to emphasise their own relationship with the land. Secondly, during this period the Native Land Court began its work of ascertaining and declaring title to land throughout the county and Te Hītau's whānau may well have wanted to ensure that their claim to the land was adequately reflected in any certificates of title that might be issued. Thirdly, the dispute with Te Whatanui's direct descendants over who was rightfully entitled to the land began during this time; Te Hītau's whānau may well have selected the name as a way of distinguishing themselves from their northern relatives. Carving out their own, unique hapū identity, may also have been a response to the disputes with Muaūpoko over the Horowhenua Block.

⁶¹⁷ For example, Rere, Ema and Ngāhuri.

⁶¹⁸ This was in a letter sent to Donald McLean by Tarāpuhi, Whāwhā and Tauteka: Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 43.

⁶¹⁹ The 1874 agreement, for example, revolved around the issue of further reserves being laid off for "the descendants of Te Whatanui", see p. 34.

⁶²⁰ Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 46.

⁶²¹ Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, pp. 45-46.

It would not seem unreasonable to suggest that the decision to adopt the name Ngāti Pareraukawa has its origins in the struggle that came to dominate the hapū experience during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Huia Winiata explains:⁶²²

Nō reira koinei ōku whakaaro mō te tīmatanga mai o tēnei hanga a Ngāti Pareraukawa.
He take whenua, heoi anō he whakapūmau i te whenua ki ngā mōrehu i noho tūturu ki
Horowhenua, arā, ki ngā uri o Te Hītau me tō rātou ake take ki te whenua.

He also explains that taking on the name Ngāti Pareraukawa in no way indicated a wish to deny the people's undeniable and enduring relationship with Ngāti Huia; rather, it reflected a strong desire to establish a unique hapū identity in connection with the land at Hōkio.⁶²³ Ngāti Pareraukawa originated from and remains a part of Te Ngare o Huia.

2.0 Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream – Environmental issues and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

This section contributed by Rachael Selby and Pātaka Moore

2.1. Historical background

In the early 19th century our tūpuna lived in the Waikato as Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Ngāti Toa migrated first to a sparsely populated region on the south west coast of Te-Ika-a-Maui and legitimately conquered (take raupatu) the region from the Whangaehu to Whitireia and further south. Te Rauparaha then consolidated the conquest by inviting his Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Raukawa Waikato whānau to settle in the region with him however, his invitation did not result in an immediate response – the decision to leave their homes, land and people in the Waikato took time. Eventually Te Rauparaha's sister Waitohi, persuaded the people to join their relatives in the south and to occupy the territory, thus securing the land already conquered from the Whangaehu to the south of Ōtaki. The decision to migrate south was in support of their Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Huia kin, and Te Rauparaha, resulting in large areas of land being allocated to Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Raukawa (see Section 1).

⁶²² Winiata, *Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū*, p. 46.

⁶²³ By way of example, he notes the words on the headstone of Ema Winiata, daughter of Whāwhā, who died in 1923: “He wahine rangatira ia no Ngāti Raukawa ko ona hapū ko Ngāti Huia, ko Ngāti Kikopiri ko Ngāti Parewahawaha. He mokopuna ia na Te Hītau, tuahine o Te Whatanui Rangatira Tianara o Ngāti Raukawa”.

It was accepted and recognised by contemporary commentators that these iwi had mana whenua over the region from “Waikanae north almost to Wanganui”⁶²⁴. At that time, Ngāti Huia rangatira were strategically allocated land on which to settle and this continues to be reflected in the location of the eight hapū of Ngāti Huia from the Rangitīkei river (Bulls) and Halcombe in the north to the Horowhenua and further to Katihiku south of Ōtaki. The Ngāti Huia clusters traversed the land supporting one another often for months or years at a time. If a building was to be constructed, for example, they moved to support that work returning when it was completed. If flooding occurred at a coastal location, they moved inland to one of the other strongholds until it was time to return. Gathering of kai was also a time to relocate for a season. Ngāti Huia have maintained these connections over time.

By 1828 Ngāti Raukawa occupied the territory from Whangaehu to Kukutauaki and had established mana whenua. Te Whatanui was gifted various land areas in the region; one of the most significant being Otūroa, south of the Manawatū River and the other being Horowhenua. By the 1830s he had significant cultivations around the Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio stream and various houses and settlements throughout the region. It was widely accepted that Te Whatanui had mana whenua in the Horowhenua from the early 1830s and rangatiratanga over the land, and the natural resources. Muaūpoko were in decline.

“Te Rauparaha had his own personal reasons for hating the Muaūpoko people of the Horowhenua region, and most accounts seem to agree that were it not for the Raukawa chief, Whatanui’s decision to take Muaūpoko under his protection, the Muaūpoko people may well have been obliterated as a people... [they] returned to their ancestral lands at Horowhenua where they lived under the protection of Te Whatanui. This basic narrative is widely documented in statements made by Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa witnesses, is accepted by Muaūpoko themselves.”⁶²⁵

In 1840 the Treaty guaranteed “full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties...” te Tiriti guaranteeing “tino rangatiratanga” and the Treaty “all the rights and privileges of British subjects”.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴ McDonald, R. *Te Hekenga Early days of the Horowhenua*, GH Bennett & Co. Palmerston North, p. 16.

⁶²⁵ Boast, R. *Ngāti Raukawa: Custom, Colonization and the Crow, 1820-1900*. Report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry. 2018 Ch. 12 p. 308.

⁶²⁶ Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The settlements at the mouth of the Hōkio Stream, through to and around the lake enabled the growing communities to enjoy the natural resources available. While Te Rauparaha had been intent upon extinguishing the Muaūpoko people, the few who remained were offered protection by Te Whatanui who guaranteed them a refuge and safe passage within an area he allocated from Te Uamairangi to Ngā Manu, known as Te Whatanui's sanctuary⁶²⁷. He was exercising rangatiratanga over the area and persuaded Te Rauparaha to leave the remaining Muaūpoko under his protection. The guarantee by Te Whatanui has been honoured and acknowledged by various Muaūpoko whānau and Ngāti Pareraukawa. We recognise that Muaūpoko had mana whenua status prior to the arrival of Te Rauparaha and before he exacted revenge on them after the murder of his children. We are also aware that the Horowhenua land became Te Whatanui's whenua from the ocean to the hills, eventually surveyed as 52,000 acres and including the lake and stream at Hōkio. Te Whatanui expressed a view that there was enough land for everyone.

Our rangatira signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Ōtaki and were thus guaranteed rangatiratanga over their whenua at 1840.

2.2 The Hōkio Stream – a life-giving natural resource from lake to the sea

The Hōkio Stream begins its four-kilometre journey at the western outlet of Lake Horowhenua to Te Moana o Raukawa, breaking between ancient coastal sand dunes that line the west coast of Te-Ika-a-Maui. Today, from the lake, Hōkio straightens a path past the urupā and headstones at Raumatangi, the resting place of tūpuna of Ngāti Pareraukawa on a hillock on the stream's south side. Italian marble statues tower over the concrete headstones and the ubiquitous concrete tomb that is Rerekorari Nicholson's vault. Further west, the burial site of the early MacDonald settler clan overlooks the Hōkio from her northern side, near the Moutere bridge. The Hōkio meanders on a westward journey to Ngātokowaru marae high up the southern bank, and the area settled by Ngāti Pareraukawa in the early 1830s⁶²⁸.

Hōkio continues a winding journey brushing the swimming bend known by Pareraukawa children as George Ho, nudging the banks on which piggeries flourished in the later 20th century, and on passed the site of Levin's former 1980s and 1990s rubbish dump. Closed in the early 21st century, it is now home to the more courteously named Horowhenua Landfill, still

⁶²⁷ McDonald, p.17-18.

⁶²⁸ Grove, N. *Te Whatanui: Traditional Māori Leader*. MA Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington. 1985.

the dump site of the domestic, commercial and industrial waste from the Horowhenua and Kapiti Coast communities. Further west, sand dunes on Hōkio's shoulders stretch higher to the sky, shielding her from the prevailing westerly winds. Hōkio settles again passing the site of the now infamous former State Institution, Hōkio Boys School where young boys in trouble with the law and their communities shed tears after arriving here from around New Zealand during the early and mid-20th century to do penance for their misdemeanours. The Hōkio then cuts her southward sway at the high tide mark within reach of the salty coastal air on the ocean's west coast. Beneath Hōkio's life-giving waters, Papatūānuku cradles the bionetwork, for centuries a food basket, now exhausted and depleted by Levin's citizens and a political network unwilling to insist that their human, commercial and industrial waste be disposed of with respect for the land and water.

Within reach of the stream are the tohemanga beds for which Hōkio has been held in reverence. The shellfish beds rely on clean water to grow and be safe for us to eat. It is one of the tragedies of this coast that many of our children have never gathered or tasted tohemanga since the 1960s. Research shows that declines occurred at all beaches in the area in the mid to late 1960s. The Crown failed to protect this taonga.

For hundreds of years, Hōkio was a waterway from which people quenched their thirst, in the days when, world-wide, drinking from streams was a natural and health-giving thing to do. It provided fresh water to travellers, for a multiplicity of purposes relieving the thirsty, it cleansed and provided water for baptism, cooking, for healing and hygiene. As with neighbouring water bodies, Hōkio has been a pathway for travellers on foot and boat for centuries. When the early white invaders carved a highway along the coast and beach, the streams provided refreshment from the sand and salt air as well as a link to the hinterland of wetlands and swamps and all the fish and food-life flourishing within them.

The descendants of Te Whatanui and Te Hītau settled at Hōkio from the 1830s and the marae, Ngātokowaru, is the nucleus of the community that grew and maintained the mauri of the stream for over a century. From the early 20th century and especially since the 1950s local and regional bodies which claimed Kāwanatanga in the area have enabled Lake Horowhenua and the stream and environs to deteriorate to now being one of the most polluted and toxic water bodies in New Zealand. A report completed by Horizons Regional Council and NIWA in 2012

reported cyanobacteria blooms released toxins which cause skin irritation and other health issues. They could be lethal to dogs and in extreme conditions to small children.⁶²⁹

More damage has been done to the land and waters of our tūpuna in the past 70 years than at any time in the past. Some hold a belief that the damage is irreversible. It is now claimed that 60% of New Zealand's rivers are not safe to swim in. Political parties in 2017 claimed to be interested in reversing the trend and with the Greens now on the government benches, there may be some hope by optimists of traction being gained on the issue.

In the many interviews conducted with our tūpuna over the past 20 years we have recorded the view that we are born with kaitiakitanga obligations to the land embodied in Papatūānuku. The obligation to respect the whenua and the waterways is manifested in responsibilities not to pollute, not to over-harvest, rather to maintain balance in all things.

Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream were seen as a jewel in the crown, from the late 19th century, of the growing Levin and Horowhenua communities. Despite being declared as privately owned by Māori owners, the lake was regarded as a fine place for Levin's population interested in recreational boating, sailing, fishing, and swimming. It was fed from underground springs and waterways. The land was part of a major network of wetlands which covered much of the coastal plain from the Rangitūkei north of Horowhenua to Kapiti to the south. This geography and topography were overlooked by Levin's colonial forefathers in the 1950s when establishing the town's drainage system, to their sorrow when human waste from the system flooded the town in the 1950s⁶³⁰.

The outlet from the Lake, the Hōkio Stream, was rich in food and fish-life and legendary up and down the coast for having the best quality and quantity of eels, respected by the neighbouring hapū and iwi for this and envied by those who valued the tuna as a major source of protein. Kaumatua Iwikatea Nicholson noted in a 2005 oral history interview that the Hōkio Stream "was known for quality eels and in particular the migratory eel."

⁶²⁹ M. Gibbs, *Restoration for Lake Horowhenua*, Collation of inter-related projects, Jan 2012.

⁶³⁰ Wood, V. Cant, G. Barrett-Whitehead, E. Roche, M. Hearn, T. Derby, M. Hodgkinson B & Pryce, G. *Environmental and Natural Resource Issues* Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, 2017.

He also noted that as a boy the old people “could catch 1000 in one night and those eels would last for 12 months.” They were kept in the stream for months at a time. Iwikatea Nicholson said

“The important thing about this marae is having good quality eels... the eel was the staple diet... the Hōkio eel has a thicker skin than other eel...handy when grilling... if fresh eels were required you just went down to the holding box and got them... Eels were everywhere you went. I attended a lot of tangihanga with elders when I was younger and there were always eel on the table... it was unthinkable to have a hui without eels.”⁶³¹

Image 44: Weir on the Hōkio Stream at the outlet from Lake Horowhenua



These sentiments were expressed by Douglas Benton in a 2003 oral history interview for the Hōkio Stream Project. He described gaffing 800 eels in a night during the tuna heke.⁶³² Joanna Selby was also interviewed for the same Oral History Project. When asked about the Hōkio Stream she said, “Well, the most important things was the eels!”⁶³³

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Oral History Interview with Douglas Benton and Anamaraea Harrison for the Hōkio and Mangapouri Stream Oral History project, 2003.

⁶³³ Oral History interview with Joanna Selby for the Hōkio and Mangapouri Stream Oral History project 2003.

In an oral history interview with Paul Hirini (11 May 2005) for the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Tuna Management Project, Ngāti Huia kaumatua, Mowhia Kerehoma, describes the pā tuna in the Hōkio Stream and the wooden chests used for storage. The story is consistent over several projects and interviews in the past 20 years. The Hōkio Stream was admired for the food source it proved to be for 140 years. The tuna was the primary source of protein for dozens of families. Almost unbelievably, today the long-finned tuna is an endangered species.⁶³⁴ It was a taonga for decades, as the main source of protein for many hapū.

Ngāti Pareraukawa have fished in the lake and stream sharing historical unrestricted fishing rights and respecting historical treaties; ‘maungarongo’ (verbal pacts) made between the tūpuna of Ngāti Pareraukawa and neighbouring iwi, Muaūpoko⁶³⁵. And Ngāti Pareraukawa retain those unrestricted fishing rights despite the changes brought in legislation and commissions in the 19th and 20th centuries. They were never removed.

Section 9 of the 1896 Horowhenua Block Act says that any Certificate of Title issued for part of Block 11

“shall be subject to the right of the Native owners of Block 9 to fish in such portions of the Hokio Stream and the Horowhenua Lake respectively as are included in the said certificate”.⁶³⁶

Section 18(6) of the ROLD Act 1956 says:

“Nothing herein contained shall in any way affect the fishing rights granted pursuant to section 9 of the Horowhenua Block Act 1896”.⁶³⁷

The ROLD Act Subsection 6 establishes that section 9 of the Horowhenua Block Act 1896 remains in force.

Both iwi recognise the disruption and imbalance that colonisation has exacted upon the land, the lake, the people and the Hōkio Stream, multiplying negatively with each decade that goes by. After the first hundred years following the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, Levin grew as a centre servicing a growing horticultural and farming region. Late in the 1940s, the Levin Borough

⁶³⁴ On the pathway to extinction? An investigation into the status and management of the longfin eel. Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, April 2013.

⁶³⁵ Ran Jacob, Objection to Water Right application 82/52 by the Levin Borough Council made to the Manawatu regional water Board 5/8/1982.

⁶³⁶ Horowhenua Block Act 1896.

⁶³⁷ Reserves and other Lands Disposal (ROLD) Act 1956.

Council made a decision that was to have a devastating 100-year impact on local hapū and iwi, and later the whole population of the Horowhenua. At the time, the 1950 decision to discharge raw, and later, treated sewage into the lake as a symbol of development and modernisation of the town, was thought to be a positive and pragmatic move. This reflects colonial thinking and consultation with owners and those who relied on the lake and stream for their lives was unheard of. The imposition of local and national government bodies on the country as whole, regardless of Māori rangatiratanga, sovereignty and survival, was like a roller coaster bearing modernisation gifts, gifts packaged to appear progressive though in hindsight they have had destructive and negative impacts that will take longer to reverse than any Council is willing to admit. Every decade the negative impacts multiply will result in decades of attention to reverse the damage.

On the banks of the Hōkio Stream, Ngāti Pareraukawa lived sustainably and in harmony with the environment for over a century. The community consisted of several dwellings, some close to the banks of the stream, others further south along Hōkio Beach Road, on developing farm blocks. The surrounding land was farmed and provided for the hapū community as a whole. The families lived with the seasons and the rhythms of life known by their grandparents and each generation took responsibility for ensuring that the lessons were well learned by the next.

In 2003 we interviewed Murimanu Winiata (1927-2008) as one of the last men who maintained an eel box on the banks of the stream at Hōkio. He recalled the rhythms of life at the marae in the first half of the 20th century where he lived as a child and young man in a community, the hapū of Ngāti Pareraukawa. He informed us that after Christmas when the new eel boxes were being made to rest in the Hōkio Stream to weather over the summer, the children witnessed the way the parents chose the timber and learned the measurements necessary for the boxes that would sit in the place of pā tuna. They would hold eels as the main source of protein over the winter. Building eel boxes was an event that provided learning opportunities. As the days grew shorter and autumn arrived, the parent generation anticipated the first eel runs of the year. The elders stood on the bank and gave directions to the younger men about where to position the stakes, how far apart and how firm they needed to be in order to ensure that the pā tuna structure being embedded in the stream would stand against the flow of the stream, wind and weather, and trap eels as they began their journey back to the ocean and then north to the South Pacific Ocean to complete their life cycle. Building pā tuna was another event that signalled preparation for the winter months ahead. The eels would be directed into the hīnaki then

preserved in the boxes for the winter. There were numerous hīnaki along the stream. Te Whatanui exercised rangatiratanga ensuring that kaupapa and tikanga were followed. Those who fished in the stream followed those tikanga that were enforced by Te Whatanui.

Filling the eel boxes weathering in the stream from late summer, guaranteed an essential and rich source of protein for the winter. The hapū had learned that important events that guarantee survival and the health of the community are seasonal. The children learned about these events each year and their roles were determined by their parents' generation. They were told to be prepared for the first cold and windy night in March when they could expect that the precious eels would begin their journey from the lake and stream westward to the coast and out to sea. It was harvest time on the land, with kumara and potatoes, orange skin hardened squash protected and stored in dry cool places.

When the eels ran, the noise was unforgettable as the tuna splashed their way from lake to sea. The boxes were filled with dozens of tuna in March and the appropriate tikanga and responsibilities were transmitted to the next generation. In an interview in 2003 with Joanna Selby (1920-2011) she described the daily routine as a child going to the stream with her grandfather (Winiata Pātaka 1858 – 1928). She referred to him as the 'Keeper of the Eel box'. She related that each day the keeper of the boxes checked them. She and other of his mokopuna living at Ngātokowaru often accompanied him and learned by example what to look for and what action to take. Any tuna that had died she described as 'belly-up' and had to be removed so as to avoid contamination of the box environment. The children were taught to remove dead eels and not to throw them into the water as this would pollute the stream.

The multiple ways that eels can be stored, dried, prepared and served were passed on to cooks and those preparing the meals. Some were skilled and became experts for which they were admired, whether that be cleaning, gutting, or hanging, others were known to be too impatient or clumsy to perform skills well. They were given other tasks such as gardening or food preparation. Their experiences were written into the land and communities and hands of people who passed on these skills to each succeeding generation. Witnessing thousands of eels noisily thrashing their way to the sea or writhing over sand in the moonlight at the mouth of the stream scenting the ocean were their experiences. The youngest who can describe these experiences are now great-grandparents themselves. Most of us living today have not witnessed this in our lifetimes.

2.3 Levin’s sewage problems and the impact on people, the lake and stream

In the 1930s the Crown agency, the Board of Health, applied pressure to the Levin Borough Council to deal with the issue of the growing population’s human waste. The Council delayed making decisions throughout the 1930s until finally directed by the Board “to provide plans and costings for a sewage disposal system”.⁶³⁸ Armstrong reports that the engineering firm Vickerman and Lancaster proposed four options: The Ōhau River, the sea, Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream⁶³⁹. Today, as then, none of these is an option for Māori.

A proposal to discharge into the lake was further developed despite the Board of Health and the Council being aware of objections by the Lake’s owners and also being aware of the impact on the communities living on the stream and at the mouth of the stream. This decision by the Levin Borough Council and the Board of Health to discharge sewage into the lake and stream from 1952, (and then for thirty years, treated effluent) is a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi⁶⁴⁰ and has had massive negative impacts on Ngāti Pareraukawa, and the communities and people that depended on these water bodies for their daily living. The effects have been severely felt now for over 77 years and will go on until the Crown reverses and repairs the damage. The cultural loss is just as evident. The Crown and its agents failed to protect the lake and stream from pollution through inappropriate use of the water bodies resulting in severe prejudice to Ngāti Pareraukawa as a result. The water and land were poisoned by the Council and the hapū that relied on those water bodies for their existence, were driven to sell and abandon the marae and their homes.

There was an immediate impact on the Ngāti Pareraukawa families living along the stream, from the outlet of the lake past Raumatangi to the marae a further kilometre on. Most of the families along the stream were invisible to the Levin citizens now happily ‘flushing and forgetting’ and enjoying the results of the Council decision that was blind to the health and wellbeing of Māori citizens at Hōkio. They accepted that the storm water and sewage from the town would all swish to the lake and be forgotten – for a time. The problems that were immediately evident around the lake brought about objections and protest from Māori owners but were ‘solved’ by the Medical Officer of Health when the overflow of raw sewage flowed

⁶³⁸ Wood V. et al *Environmental and Natural Resource Issues* Report commissioned by Crown Forestry Trust for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, March 2017.

⁶³⁹ Armstrong, D. *Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream, 1905-c1990* Report commissioned by Waitangi Tribunal for WAI-2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry, Wellington, p. 59.

⁶⁴⁰ Armstrong, D. p. 59.

in the town impacting upon the town's residents. The Medical Officer then "authorised the Borough Council to construct emergency overflow channels to bypass the overloaded sewerage system and divert the effluent into the lake".⁶⁴¹ Numerous Crown agencies became involved in the 'problem' and the subsequent investigations. Hamer lists the following agencies that became involved: Health Department, Department of Internal Affairs, the Ecology Division of the DSIR, the Nature Conservation Council, the Commissioner for the Environment and the Manawatū Catchment Board. All Crown/Kāwanatanga agents.⁶⁴²

Interviews in 2003 with Murimanu Winiata (1927-2008) one of the last of Ngāti Pareraukawa to maintain a pā tuna, hīnaki and eel boxes in the stream brought back vivid memories of the 1952-1962 era. When asked if he recalled the beginning of the discharge of effluent into the stream he stated unequivocally that he most certainly did! In an interview he stated, "one thing about tutae is that it hangs together in water"⁶⁴³. He then described the tutae and the lavatory contents that flowed around the hīnaki when he went to the stream to check his eel boxes, his food storage boxes, containing the kai for the community. He was forced to remove his food storage boxes. He never passed on his knowledge and skills to any of his children.

In 1953 the families abandoned their homes at the marae, leaving them empty and deserted, when moving to Levin and Ōtaki. Those who could sell land to neighbours did so. As the remaining mokopuna of Te Hītau and Waretini died, their children returned to Ngātokowaru for the tangi and then the burial at Raumatangi. The youngest daughter of Ema Hapai and Winiata Pātaka, Lucy Jacob (1896-1976) continued to get a taxi or 'a ride' out to the marae throughout the 1950s to mow the lawns and maintain the gardens. Other whānau would join her there throughout the 1950s and 1960s mowing lawns and caring for their marae. She believed that when she departed this life she would be the last of the hapū to have a tangi at the marae because the only way to survive was to move to town. From the 1950s her children and mokopuna were forbidden to go to the stream. It was portrayed as a dangerous dirty place to be avoided. And it was. A generation of children seldom breached the invisible line at the top of the bank and thus never learned the skills and knowledge of their tūpuna. Their millennial children ask them why they did not listen and learn from their parents about ngā taonga tuku iho. Lucy's eldest daughter Hinetamatea (1912-2001) frequently lamented the sale of the land

⁶⁴¹ Wood, V. et al, *Environmental and Natural Resource Issues* report p. 462.

⁶⁴² Paul Hamer, 'A Tangled Skein' Wai2200 #A150 pp. 216-231.

⁶⁴³ Murimanu Winiata Oral History interview, Ōtaki, 2003.

saying her grandmother Ema Hapai Winiata (1859-1923) always said: ‘Never sell the land to the Pākehā. You’ll regret it.’ Then she would gaze into the distance and wonder how they might have held on to it with the pollution and the assault by the Crown agents on the land, the lake, the stream and the ocean. They had to sell to buy a place in town.

In 1953 the block formerly owned by Ema Hapai and then her mokopuna, on the western boundary of the marae was sold. The whānau wanted to build at the marae but were told they could only build on Hōkio Beach Road, not along a shared right of way. She sold the block to Joe Knight who developed a piggery. He had a small operation, (4 breeding sows) bringing the slops from the town’s hotels to feed the pigs each day. His truck rattled up the dusty driveway with the pig food in 44-gallon drums clanging against each other. For many years this was a small piggery. It was then sold to farmers with much bigger aspirations and by the last decade of the 20th century, 1200 breeding sows squealed and delivered several litters apiece every year. The effluent produced by this one pig farm on our boundary exceeded that produced by the town of Levin!

The offensive odour and farming practices further offended the hapū. Without the need for consent to farm pigs and to limit the operation, the neighbours had carte blanche, an unconditional authority to do as they pleased without any consideration of the neighbours. The Crown again failed to protect Māori: from inappropriate use of an adjoining property; from offensive odour and farming practices; from pollution and damage to land and water; from alienation from tūpuna land; from having to sell land to relocate in town and away from the marae base. When the Resource Management Act finally gave the hapū opportunity to plead a case in the late 20th century the piggery owners suggested we move our marae as they had a business to run next door!

The homestead at the marae built of native timber was dismantled in the 1950s and immediately opposite the marae the block that had been farmed by descendants of Ema Hapai Winiata was sold by the whānau who had inherited it, to build a house and move to Levin. After all, the marae was almost surrounded by waste: the Lake and stream to the east and north, a piggery to the west.

The marae continued as a mainland island encircled by pollution. The remaining elders held on to their childhood memories of a time when the stream was their lifeline, when it provided

passage to the lake and to the sea, when the seasons brought the best quality and quantity of tuna in the region, when the whitebait was thick and plentiful, the koura and mussels providing variety in diet. Joanna Selby in a 2003 interview, when she was 83, described the stream in her youth as being clear with a stony bottom, a playground for the children.⁶⁴⁴ She also described the bend on the western side as a favourite swim spot, named George Ho. It had been a safe place to play and explore, to keep the eel boxes and learn from the elders on how to maintain the stream, clean and clear it in the autumn and travel its banks throughout the year over to the lake and to the sea.

In January 1940, the Māori Battalion had gathered recruits and was based at the Palmerston North's show grounds following the outbreak of a war in Europe. Despite 100 years of colonisation and Treaty breaches local men volunteered for the Battalion and for the war in Europe. Apirana Ngata famously called this the 'price of citizenship' believing that if we assisted Pākehā in their war, the grievances Māori held here might be dealt with by a more sympathetic Pākehā New Zealander.⁶⁴⁵ It was not to be. The Battalion sent flatbed army trucks to Hōkio and to the stream that was regarded as having the best tuna in the region. It is said that the Hōkio Stream delivered tuna to the Battalion during the training period before they sailed on the Aquitania from Wellington on the 2nd May 1940. They were fortunate to be in residence during the annual tuna heke in March. Three men from Ngātokowaru served in the Māori Battalion fighting a war that may have been seen as someone else's war a long way from home. Others from Ngāti Raukawa also paid the price of citizenship.

Less than six years after the war ended, the families at Hōkio faced the desecration of the stream by the Treaty partner's agents, local councils and government agencies responsible for public health. Within a decade after the war ended, the environmental damage was overwhelming. The remaining families farming and dwelling in the area reflected a pessimism and fatalism that pervaded the hapū after the 1950s: they also sold their land lots and moved to town. The Crown's actions drove people away and failed to ensure that adequate land resources including rivers and lakes were available for the cultural survival of the people. (Article 2 of the Treaty). That pessimism pervaded throughout the 1950s-1970s and remained for a further generation

⁶⁴⁴ Joanna Selby, Oral History Interview 2003.

⁶⁴⁵ Monty Soutar, *Ngā Tamatoa: The price of citizenship: C Company 28 (Māori) Battalion 1939-1945*. David Bateman, 2008.

after that. It completed the successful colonisation of the mind of many whānau: the marae is a dirty place beside a dirty stream that is a dangerous place beside a toxic lake next to a smelly piggery and across the road from a rubbish dump. Some retain that view today and stay away.

Yet there were also those who were drawn back to the marae as a place where whānau values and traditions were unquestioned. They had a conviction that the marae was a place with a rich heritage that should be managed and respected forever.

In 1973, twenty years after this sewage event, as part of a renaissance and commitment to transmitting cultural knowledge and securing Māori values and practices for the future generations, a small group from the hapū made a decision to halt the decline and to rebuild and revitalise the marae providing a buffer for the next generation against the overwhelming Pākehā way of life. It was a positive and futuristic ideal to work with and some of the 1970s generations embraced it.

2.4. The Levin Rubbish Dump arrives at Hōkio

At the same time the Levin Borough Council decided to site a new rubbish dump south of the marae. A Levin Chronicle article (9/4/1975) reported that the Mayor had announced the new tip would be located on Hōkio Beach Road. A previous site on Hōkio Sands Road had been objected to by the Horowhenua County Council⁶⁴⁶. In an agreement between the two groups the County Council agreed not to appeal the use of the site subject to certain stringent conditions.

Those affected by the siting of the dump normally had the opportunity to object, however, the Levin Borough Council claimed the right to use a special provision in the Town and Country Planning legislation to avoid affected parties being able to appeal. It was specifically used to avoid consultation.⁶⁴⁷ It was also noted the dump site was expected to last for 20 years. Ngāti Pareraukawa had no opportunity to object and thus began a 40-year roller coaster of watching and protesting about an environmental degradation that continues today, with even greater negative impacts as each month goes by. The tragedy of the landfill as an environmental disaster is presented as a case study by Vaughan Wood et al in their 2017 Report.⁶⁴⁸ The toxic

⁶⁴⁶ Levin Chronicle 9/4/75.

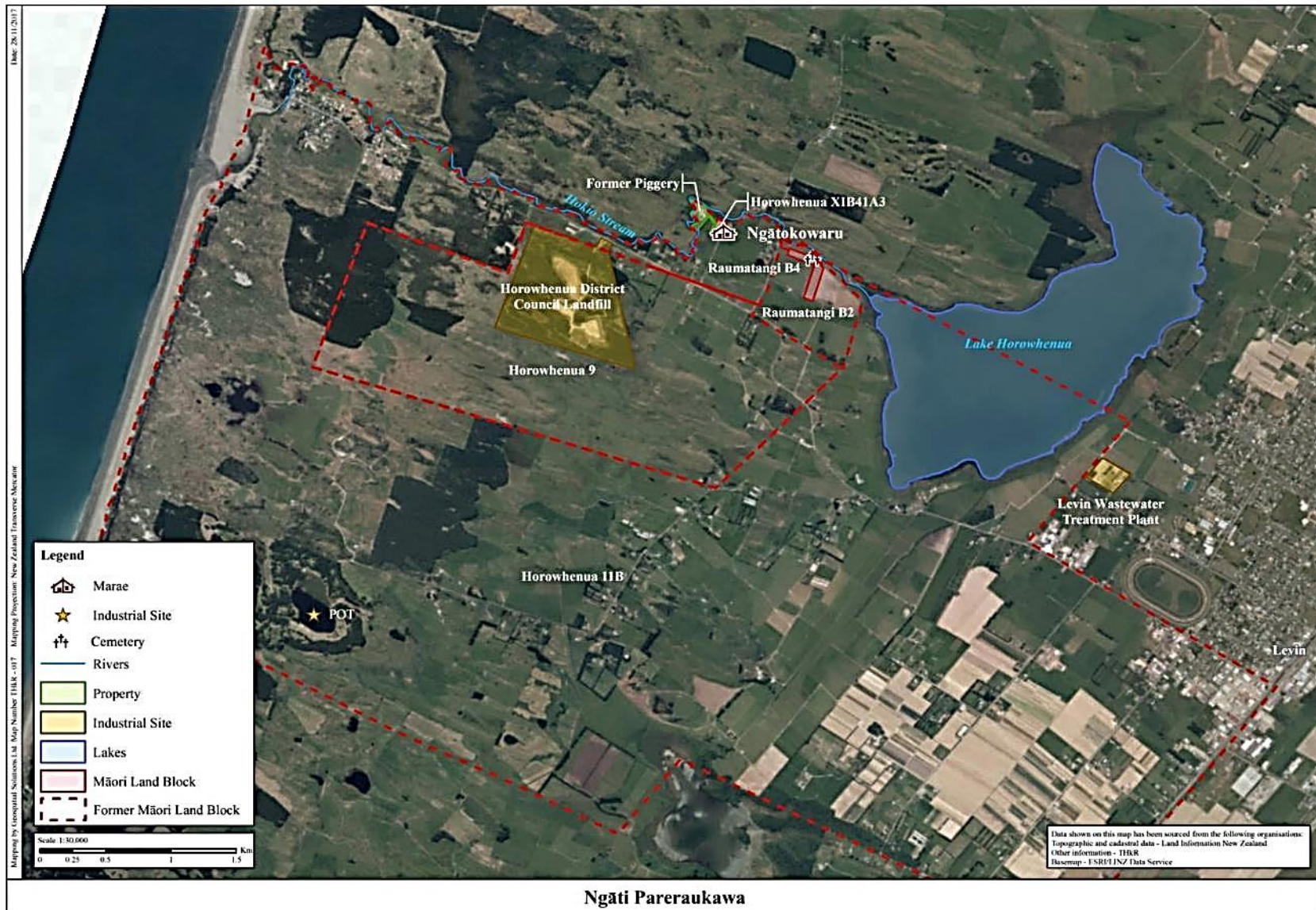
⁶⁴⁷ Wood, V. et al *Environmental and Natural Resource Issues report* 2017. pp. 495-510.

⁶⁴⁸ Wood, V. et al *Environmental and Natural Resource Issues report* 2017. pp. 495-510.

discharge from the Landfill flows directly into the stream today. It is a further example of the Crown failing to protect the land and stream from environmental damage. Reports suggest a clean-up will cost millions of dollars and ask who will pay.

This use of the Town and Country Planning legislation to avoid consultation was a further Treaty breach, one effect being to complete the circling of the marae with a polluted lake and stream, a piggery and the rubbish dump. Denying neighbours opportunity to comment effectively eliminated the Treaty partner's voice from decision-making and input.

Map 25: Blocks 9 & 11 and location of Ngātokowaru Marae on Horowhenua Block



Map 326: Land blocks and the site of the Horowhenua Landfill



2.5 Effluent discharge and the ‘Pot’

From the mid-1970s the Marae Committee minutes record ongoing concern about the discharges into the lake and stream. On 26th September 1982 a minute records “Litter in the Hōkio Stream - The secretary was asked to write to the County Council asking whether a sign could be erected at the Moutere Road Bridge discouraging people from dumping rubbish bags in the stream”.⁶⁴⁹ There are regular updates on the actions taken in relation to the environmental impacts. In June 1980 Ngāti Pareraukawa was encouraged by Deputy Chair, Ran Jacob, to establish a Pareraukawa and Muaūpoko Action Committee to work towards a clean-up of the Lake and stream. While Muaūpoko elders and spokespeople were supportive, they were also pessimistic about any chance of making headway with the Council and declared we were wasting our time. They had protested for twenty years without their concerns being heard or acted upon. Not deterred, Ngāti Pareraukawa joined with the Values Party, the Hōkio Progressive Association and other environmental groups to press for the sewage to be removed from the lake.

In the meantime, to the horror of Ngāti Pareraukawa, ‘The Borough Council and the Ministry of Works ...saw discharge into the Hōkio Stream as the best option and the Borough applied for a water right in March 1982’.⁶⁵⁰ Following regular meetings of the Action group at Ngātokowaru, a Hearing commenced in Palmerston North over several days and was attended by Ngāti Pareraukawa. The Action Committee members had prepared a proposal for discharge to land which was not regarded as viable by the Council. The Hearing is reported on in the Marae minutes of 26 September 1982 with the view that the presentation from the hapū had ‘made an impression on the Tribunal’. However, it eventually granted the Council a right to discharge into the Hōkio Stream for 26 weeks a year. The Ngātokowaru Marae Committee were cautiously relieved as it was felt that the Council would not be able to meet the conditions. The Action Group proposal to discharge to land was ignored despite having been prepared by two scientists on the Action Committee, one a hydrologist with international expertise. The Council later sought further advice and eventually settled on a discharge to land scheme which was implemented and applauded when it was commissioned in 1987 after a further extension to the right to discharge into the lake. That project is now 30 years old, is located south of the marae and needs a resource consent to continue in a revamped form. It is no longer an award-

⁶⁴⁹ Ngātokowaru Marae Minute Book #3

⁶⁵⁰ Wood. V. et al 2017 p. 464.

winning site; is poorly maintained with run off impacting on fisheries and other taonga south of the site.

The 'Pot' as it became known is now under pressure as The Council applies for a new consent to continue to discharge effluent on to the blocks of land it leases from owners. The blocks are not large enough for the growing community and the rapid infiltration system is inadequate and there is evidence of it not being well managed. We are now in a new phase of cajoling a reluctant Council to aim high in terms of environmental protection of the land, and the Waiwiri Catchment as there is clear evidence of effluent draining into the catchment south of the Pot.

2.6 Lake Horowhenua and Hōkio Stream Working Party 2013-2016

In February 2013, Ngāti Pareraukawa made another effort to restore our relationship with the lake and stream. We invited those with the energy for a new stream and lake vision to attend a meeting at Ngātōkōwaru Marae to share their views. Ngāti Pareraukawa, led by Whatarangi Winiata, were optimistic that a gathering of hapū and iwi, individuals, trustees, owners, neighbours, community representatives, Councils, Māori and Pākehā scientists might co-ordinate and find a way to drive a combined vision. The group met regularly over the following two years, held public meetings, field trips, gathered more research and shared it with the District Council, Lake Trustees both iwi and neighbours to the lake. It was a time of hopefulness and optimism. One of the visions adopted was to swim across the lake by April 2015, obviously more a fantasy than a dream. Many goals fell out of the vision.

One of the key goals was to meet with the Lake trustees to shape a strong collaboration. And further goals also included: finding funding options; discussing a winning restoration plan; winning community support. The group achieved the last two of the four goals: however, the Lake trustees were distrustful of our efforts and once they entered into an accord (which excluded Ngāti Pareraukawa) the trustees were able to become excited about small funding options from Crown agencies, though never enough to realise our vision. The Crown agents have frequently found it in their interests to continue to drive a wedge between combined iwi initiatives. The old adage 'divide and rule' contributes to a rift environment which better serves elements in the Councils and is unfortunately bought into by some trustees.

The Lake Trustees signed a Lake Accord with Crown agents in 2013 and have made some small gains as a result. The Ngāti Pareraukawa focus is on the relationship we have with the

lake and stream while the wider community is often focussed on the ‘uses’ of the lake and stream.

2.7 Implications for the hapū

As the last of the children and grandchildren of the original owners of the Marae block were laid to rest, pessimistic that their values and responsibilities were eroded beyond redemption, some of their children and descendants had made the decision to stand up for the marae, the lake and stream and to hold on to the last vestiges of knowledge held in the hearts and minds of those who had been born there.

Horowhenua and Raumatangi land blocks have been occupied by Ngāti Pareraukawa for nearly 200 years. (Maps included). While the connections to the marae for many whānau, are at best weak, for others they are strong. The two decades from 1953 damaged and broke the connections of a generation of families that, for some, seem irreparable. For others there has, more recently, been a determination to retrieve and transfer knowledge of the mid-twentieth century cohort to the new millennial generation. This requires ongoing events to achieve this, events that are marae-based, knowledge-based and skills based.

The tuna do not run in March each year as they did in the past. Mid-twentieth century scientists deemed it desirable to build a weir at the outlet to the stream in 1956 to control the water level in the lake, altering the natural flushing cycle of the lake, interrupting the life cycle of tuna and fish, and for half a century contributing to an unnatural build-up of sediment on the lake bed.⁶⁵¹ To restore the natural and environmentally sound flushing of Lake Horowhenua the weir must be removed. This requires an Act of Parliament (because it was installed under the ROLD Act 1956) and as with such barriers to progress, there is currently little political will to achieve this. It took an Action Group made up of Ngāti Pareraukawa, the 1980s Values Party and the Hōkio Progressive Association a decade of disruption and protest against the Council’s discharge of effluent to finally win the battle to stop effluent discharge into the Lake in the late 1980s. The Council continues to discharge into the lake in what they term ‘emergencies’. With new consents required, they were forced to move to a land-based effluent discharge in the late 1980s siting it on the south side of the marae completing the circle of pollution surrounding the marae.

⁶⁵¹ Gibbs, M. *Restoration Plan for Lake Horowhenua* NIWA Client Report January 2012.

The Council continues to discharge its storm water to the lake through unsightly open drains much to the sorrow of local owners and to a growing body of environmentally perceptive locals.

A further impact on Ngāti Pareraukawa of the weir was the creation of what is now called ‘a de-watered area’ around the lake. The Horowhenua Block 11B (see Map 7 p23) included the south and western part of the lake. Raumatangi went all the way to the lake and Ngāti Pareraukawa had kaitiaki responsibilities for those water bodies. The Crown action which resulted in the lowering of the lake resulted in Raumatangi no longer being contiguous with the lake and stream. An area known by many of us as ‘no man’s land’ was created. Title to our blocks should be extended to the stream and lake rather than those blocks being isolated. The Raumatangi blocks should remain contiguous to the stream and the lake, so that our rangatiratanga rights are not altered for those blocks.

NIWA scientist Max Gibbs provided a significant report in 2011⁶⁵² which described the lake like many others, as previously having had drinkable water and a “diverse fishery” while it is now “hypertrophic”. He attributes the decline in water quality to a range of factors including: removal of forest; stock grazing in the lake; the intensive horticulture and market gardening activities in the region for which Levin is well known; the sewage effluent; and storm water runoff from the town which continues today. The Arawhata Stream with its intensive market gardening south of Levin has become the largest source of nutrient and local growers have recently expressed surprise at the amount of top soil and fertiliser they are losing to the stream.

Gibbs notes that “natural restoration processes are slow, and it may take up to 100 years for the Lake to recover without management intervention.”⁶⁵³ Conversely, with sensible intervention and the political will to make a difference this could be achieved much sooner. It requires the Levin and Horowhenua community and Council to stop polluting the lake. While three generations of Ngāti Pareraukawa and Muaūpoko have said this, we currently have no political voice. Future generations may come to realise that what is good for Māori is also good for the wider community. New Zealand has become complacent, anaesthetised by a wave of publicity that portrays New Zealand as a clean green society. As the indigenous Cree from North

⁶⁵² Gibbs, M. 2011

⁶⁵³ Gibbs, 2011.

America note: “When the last tree has been cut down, the last fish caught, the last river poisoned, only then will we realise that one cannot eat money”⁶⁵⁴.

In Canada, frustrated with the continuous environmental degradation, indigenous peoples have begun a peaceful, grassroots movement aptly named ‘Idle no more’ (www.idlenomore.ca). It arises out of a history of resistance and a need to protect indigenous sovereignty of the land and water. Treaty 6 Cree woman Sylvia McAdam points out that our history is written in our land and in our experience and that as indigenous peoples we are born with responsibilities to raise our children in a healthy environment. Acquiescence and silence are consent. There is an urgency to be sovereign and to feed our children our culture in a healthy way. She noted that Canada has the last fresh water reserves in the world, a notion that many New Zealanders may reject, under the illusion that somewhere nearby there must be a clean fresh stream safe to swim in.

In the meantime, we regard the marae as an island paradise, a refuge from the world of urban and metropolitan over-indulgence that is only now awakening to the environmental threats that have been created by our moving too far from a sustainable reality. We do not need to live in the 20th century movie world that shields us from environmental degradation nor deny our children the benefits of new technologies sweeping the globe. Committing to time at our marae provides us with a reality check away from the social pressures of a competitive consuming world. Completing a tertiary education has taught many of us that we don’t know much and that the marae and the values that have been espoused there by our tūpuna do have as much relevance now as they did a century ago. While we came close to losing our language and culture 40 years ago, the marae is unashamedly a place where being Māori is unquestioned, where tikanga and kawa can be absorbed by being present, where learning never stops, where one belongs despite the length of one’s absence, where one’s job and income is irrelevant and that the opportunity to be with like-minded Māori people is refreshing. We can create events so that we build our knowledge and share our experiences with one another. While we are sometimes limited by external pressures, the current home-grown environmental restoration movement has the potential to take us both backwards and forwards and the lessons learned can be transferred the length of the coastline.

⁶⁵⁴ Cree Indian prophecy

Ngāti Pareraukawa has a substantial Treaty claim. Our rangatira had mana whenua over the Horowhenua Block at 1840 and over Otūroa and other land and water. Political action by the Crown has resulted in significant treaty breaches including the loss of most of our 1840 land holdings. Land was sold by individuals without the consent of the hapū, in some cases by whānau who no longer lived here maintaining responsibility to the hapū. The pollution of Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio stream by the local body and with the approval of the Health Officers is a breach of our rights. This continues today.

Image 45: Planting on the Hōkio Stream near Raumatangi



This chapter focuses on some of the environmental issues, degradation issues and pollution issues that faced and continue to face Ngāti Pareraukawa. Our claim is not only about these issues. But those highlighted here have consumed the attention of eight generations of Hītau’s mokopuna. She settled the land in 1830 and we remain there on a small footprint beside the stream within Block 11B 41A3. Our urupā is in the distance nearer the lake across land that is no longer in our ownership. We aim to purchase land back when we have the resources in the future.

3.0 The Loss of Te Reo Māori by Ngāti Pareraukawa

This section contributed by Hēni Jacob

3.1. What has been the experience of our hapū in terms of the development, retention and growth of mātauranga Māori including te reo?

Along with the loss of land and livelihood when Pākehā settled en masse in the area came the gradual loss of Māori language, Māori knowledge, and Māori ways of thinking and operating. Many of our tūpuna raising young families in the twentieth century came to believe that the health and wellbeing of their children and descendants depended on their succeeding in the Pākehā world. While they would still speak Māori amongst themselves to a certain extent, many made a decision to speak English to their children, and encouraged them to seek Pākehā knowledge, choosing at the same time not to pass on mātauranga and tikanga Māori.

By the 1970s, Ngāti Pareraukawa had only one native speaker under the age of 40. He was also the main repository of mātauranga Māori for the hapū, having been singled out and schooled by a number of elders (both from within Ngāti Pareraukawa and from the wider rohe) in tikanga, whakapapa and ngā kōrero tuku iho relating to Ngāti Pareraukawa and Ngāti Raukawa generally.

Along with the construction of the new whareniui in the seventies and renovation and extension of other key buildings came a renewed interest in things Māori and a keenness amongst many Ngāti Pareraukawa to try to reclaim the knowledge, tīkanga and language that were all but lost. Many hui were held in the decades that followed, including Māori language immersion hui, hui to learn whakapapa and history and young people's hui). Many of these were carried out as part of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano.

Since the 1970s there has been a gradual but steady increase in the number of people from within the hapū learning te reo Māori, and in the levels of proficiency being reached. Many of us have learned Māori as a second language, and we are followed by our children and grandchildren, a number of whom have Māori as at least one of their first languages. To date, no research has been done on the numbers of Ngāti Pareraukawa who can speak Māori, and how well they can do so. It can be safely said, however, that there is still much room for growth and improvement across the hapū in terms of Māori language acquisition.

It is likely that the breadth and depth of knowledge Ngāti Pareraukawa has in terms of mātauranga and tikanga Māori is on a par with the linguistic situation. We largely have that one native speaker and storehouse of knowledge still in our midst in the late seventies to thank for enabling us to retain even some of the mātauranga Māori particular to Ngāti Pareraukawa. That person was our pāpā and koroua, Iwikatea Nicholson, who died earlier this year (2017).

While he passed on much of his knowledge to certain ones within the hapū, it is hard to imagine that he managed to transfer absolutely everything he knew that is of cultural value to us as Pareraukawa. Indeed, since his death, a number of his nieces and nephews have lamented the fact that he is no longer around to ask questions of relating to the actions and people of our past, and to guide us on the path ahead.

It perhaps should be mentioned too that there is the potential for those who have learnt the language and other aspects of mātauranga Māori from people outside of the rohe to influence the development of those aspects within Ngāti Pareraukawa in the future in a way that would not have happened had the natural transmission of these aspects not been lost.

That being said, thanks to the foresight of those who began work in the seventies to retain and strengthen our identity as Pareraukawa, and armed with the knowledge Iwikatea managed to pass on, together with memories of other elders and other records such as manuscripts, mōteatea and oral histories, we can but try to piece together the past and reclaim how our forebears thought, acted and spoke, and why.

Image 46: National Spectrum Hui Ngātokowaru whare tupuna 2012



4.0 The impact of Christianity at Ngātokowaru

4.1. Pareraukawa and Christianity – Mihingare and Roman Catholics

Colonisation brought with it an overwhelming flood of new ideas and belief systems, one of which was a belief in Christianity. With that, came a rejection of other belief systems as representing, inferiority, paganism and being ‘uncivilised’.

Māori found advantages in adopting Christianity as missionaries brought new technologies, access to new ways of being and links to other worlds. They also brought powerful weapons of destruction in the form of the musket and gun powder. Our very existence became dependent on adopting the invaders belief systems as Ngāti Raukawa learned in the Horowhenua and Manawatū when migration reached a peak in the 1870s.

Like others throughout the country, Ngāti Pareraukawa became supporters of Christianity from the mid-19th century supporting the building of Rangiātea in 1849 and of the Māori Catholic Missions in the area.

Whāwhā lived with the whānau who settled on the Oturoa land on the south side of the Manawatū River.

On 4th December 1849, a 19-year-old Church of England missionary, Rhodes Nicholson, left for New Zealand on the Lady Nugent, arriving at Port Nicholson on the 27th April 1850. He was the second son of the 13 children of William and Martha Nicholson of Roundhay Park, Leeds. In February of 1852, Rhodes married the teenager, Whāwhā, in Foxton and they had two children, Kararaina and Pungarehu (Neville). He returned to Yorkshire in 1857 where he was ordained in 1859 by the Bishop of York. He never returned to New Zealand although he was followed by a younger brother, Albert, who lived with Whāwhā as her husband at Foxton for 12 years and became the father of his brother's children and three further children born in 1859, 1862 and 1864.

Whāwhā had children and grandchildren who adhered to the Christian faith over the following century: by baptising the children, adopting Christian and English names for children, marrying through the Christian church, supporting Church school education for children and adopting the practice of using both tikanga Māori and Christian tikanga in the farewell of the dead.

Image 47: Interior of Ngātokowaru. Christian influence depicted on back wall with Christian symbols.



It is the practice of tangi and burial that is recognised as effectively combining the two belief systems each contributing to the farewell of the dead. Ngāti Pareraukawa have retained the practice throughout the twentieth century.

The whare tupuna reflects the history of Christianity to the area with the back-west wall presenting various Christian images. The tukutuku panels are the purapura whetu patterns seen in Rangiātea, the windows have large red crosses on them representing Christianity.

Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha are represented in the carvings along with Octavius Hadfield, a Church of England missionary and Father De Lac, a Roman Catholic missionary.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi journeyed to the Bay of Islands to invite a missionary to be sent to this area. Octavius Hadfield, said to be a young man with poor health, was the missionary that came in 1839, becoming the Bishop of Wellington (1870-1893) playing a controversial role in the *Wi Parata v the Bishop of Wellington* (1877) case and among the new settlers at the time.

Ngāti Pareraukawa has maintained a monthly Sunday Anglican Church Service at the marae for over 100 years. In the early 20th century the Rangiātea minister caught the train from Ōtaki to Levin with his bicycle, alighted in Levin and biked on the metal road to the marae eight kilometres from the station. At the marae the whānau attended service, had lunch and the minister then biked back to Levin to catch a south-bound train back to Ōtaki.

In the 21st century, services continue monthly with Rangiātea providing the minister.

On other occasions, leaders from other churches, either Roman Catholic, Ratana or other faiths contribute to services at tangi, funerals and weddings.

Despite the fact that the tradition of holding a monthly Anglican Church service at Ngātokowaru has persisted for over a century, it is likely that the influence of Christianity on Ngāti Pareraukawa has nevertheless diminished. This would seem to be true of Ngāti Raukawa more generally as well: whereas the Rangiātea minister once conducted monthly church services at eight marae throughout the region, Ngātokowaru is now the only marae

where this occurs—and the question of whether the practice ought to be discontinued has certainly been discussed and debated in recent years.

Further evidence is in the acceptance now that baptism is not as essential and necessary as it once was; many whānau are no longer married in the church nor do they regard a legal marriage as necessary; tangi and funerals are not always conducted by Christian leaders. As within wider society, there has been a preference for secular ceremonies and a recognition that wairuatanga can be celebrated in various forms.

There are a number of likely explanations for this trend. It may, in part, be a reflection of the fact that peoples within Aotearoa are becoming increasingly secular, Māori and Pākehā (as opposed to Asian or Pacific peoples, for example) particularly so. In 2013 46.3 per cent of Māori identified themselves as having no religion.⁶⁵⁵ It is highly likely that Ngāti Raukawa attitudes towards religion have been influenced by these wider societal trends.

A second explanation revolves around the success of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. As the three iwi of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Raukawa have worked so hard to revitalise te reo Māori and to reclaim tikanga, interest in our own understanding and practice of wairuatanga has inevitably grown. Increasingly, the younger generations are turning to pre-colonial iwi wisdom when seeking answers to life's big questions and are utilising Māori karakia ahead of Christian prayer to meet their daily needs.

Finally, the role of the missionaries as the advance-guard of colonisation is now well understood. Early missionaries such as Octavius Hadfield, while perhaps convincing themselves that they had the best interests of their prospective converts at heart, were central to the project of assimilation. Moreover, they utterly failed to 'protect' iwi from settler greed or Crown duplicity. It is probably true to say that growing numbers of Ngāti Raukawa regard the complicity of Christianity in colonisation as reason enough to reject it in contemporary times.

⁶⁵⁵ National census statistics show a steady increase in the number and proportion of people reporting that they have no religion: in 2001 29.6 percent stated that they had no religion; in 2006 this figure climbed to 34.6 percent; by 2013 it had climbed further to 41.9 percent. In 2013 46.9 percent of the European population reported that they had no religion; compared with 30.3 percent of Asians and just 17.5 percent of Pacific Islanders: *2013 Census Quickstats about culture and identity* [http:// www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census-profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/religion.aspx](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census-profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-culture-identity/religion.aspx) (accessed 19/09/17).

Image 48: Raumatangi urupā overlooking Lake Horowhenua to the east and Hōkio Stream to the north



5.0 Ngā Wāhi Tapu o Ngāti Pareraukawa

This section contributed by Pātaka Moore and Rawiri Richmond

The following is a list of wāhi tapu with some adjoining commentary that is known to Ngāti Pareraukawa. Wāhi tapu have varying definitions, and therefore we have defined our wāhi tapu as any site of significance to our hapū. These may or may not include archaeology.

The following list are in no particular order of priority:

Key:

1: Site name

a: Site type

b: Address

c: Archaeology present (yes/no), description

d: Other information

Ngātokowaru Marae

- a. Marae
- b. 580 Hōkio Beach Rd, Levin
- c. yes; buildings, structures, infrastructure, etcetera.
- d. There are a number of buildings on the marae complex, many of which have a significance to them eg: The whare tupuna named Ngātokowaru is an ancestral house with huge significance to our hapū and iwi. It has a spiritual significance for our hapū also with a mauri connection from the old whare (the original pou-o-mua was removed in 1976 and has been attached to the floor-joists of the new whare. It remains there today). There are trees that have been planted in memory of events and people and there are whenua and/or pito buried on this site also. This title of land must have access to the middle of the Hōkio Stream (we have not relinquished this right, and we have not subdivided this site, therefore our title to the middle of stream remains).

Image 49: Planting on the Hōkio Stream adjacent to Raumatangi



Hōkio Stream

- a. Stream
- b. Hōkio Stream
- c. yes (see item 3 below for instream archaeology).
- d. The Hōkio Stream is a significant body of water to our people. The Hōkio was one of the integral reasons for settlement of our people at Hōkio. The stream provided us with water, food, storage (tuna), transport, and other values and resources. The Hōkio stream is very polluted but continues to provide a source of life and identity to our people.

Hōkio Stream Pā tuna

- a. Pā tuna
- b. Hōkio Stream
- c. Yes; Adkin, O'Donnell and other literature describe dozens of pā tuna in the Hōkio Stream. These pā tuna were used to catch tuna. Eel boxes and other structures were also used to hold tuna for months. This allows a fresh source of protein to our people. These structures were highly valued by our people as they relied on these heavily. Many of these structures have been destroyed by the Crown and its agents (Catchment Boards, local and regional councils). We have a remnant of these pā tuna in the Hōkio Stream. This is used by our people. There are also remnants of original pā tuna in the Hōkio Stream – one in particular is listed on the NZAA (New Zealand Archaeological Website).

Te Kawa

- a. Pā
- b. 580 Hōkio Beach Rd, Levin
- c. yes; there is no physical structure above ground however there is a likelihood that there is archaeology below ground.
- d. Our people describe a pā on this site and this was used in the late 1800s. This pā site had access to the middle of the stream.

Image 50: Raumatangi Urupā. Separated from the marae by land alienated in mid-20th century.



Raumatangi

- a. Urupā and Pā
- b. Moutere Road, Levin
- c. Yes; there are approximately 100 burial plots at Raumatangi containing our tūpuna. There are also areas where burial of other materials have been made also (belongings) within the confines of the urupā fence.
- d. This urupā is going to be expanded in the near future. Access from this urupā to the stream has been compromised.

Vault (with the Raumatangi Urupā)

- a. Above-ground vault for the internment of human remains
- b. Moutere Road, Levin
- c. Yes, this vault was constructed upon the death of Rerekorari Nicholson (Nikitini) in 1950s).
- d. There are three people interred in this vault.

George Ho (Hōkio Stream)

- a. Bend in the Hōkio Stream
- b. Hōkio Beach Road, Hōkio
- c. No, site of significance with no material remains of which we are aware.
- d. This site is referred to in many oral history interviews.

Whare of Rere Nicholson

- a. Whare
- b. Hōkio Beach Road, Levin
- c. Yes; whare was built here, and while there is no longer a whare on site, there are quite probably archaeological remains within the earth.
- d. This whare, built to accommodate visitors, is located on Uncle Rere's block of land.

Waikino and other Wetlands

- a. Wetlands
- b. Stretching westward from approx. 573 Hōkio Beach Rd, Levin.
- c. no; no archaeology that is known.
- d. Our people had access to ephemeral wetlands in this area. They were used for the gathering of resources (kai, paru, soils, a manor of flora and fauna).

Porokaiaia

- a. House structure/s
- b. SH1 Foxton-Levin
- c. Yes; Howard Taparoto Nicholson's house remains in the paddock. This house was built in circa 1900 and was used as a homestead until the 1970s. It has fallen into disrepair.
- d. This house and whenua were used by our people: we relocated seasonally to Porokaiaia and other areas (Aratangata, Manawatū River) to fish, grow crops and live.

Aratangata and surrounding areas

- a. Whenua and surrounding area/s
- b. SH1 Foxton-Levin
- c. Yes; there are various sites scattered across this whenua.

- d. This area was Ngāti Pareraukawa (et al) whenua with various settlements (some seasonal) located there. Access to the Manawatū River was crucial and was a draw for our people to this area.

Manawatū River wetlands and adjoining areas

- a. Wetlands, access routes, river.
- b. SH1 Foxton-Levin.
- c. Yes/TBC; various sites along the Manawatū River have significance to our people. Some are settlement sites with very little (if any) archaeology; other sites are whakahaere or blessing sites.

Rangiuru Pā/Okatia

- a. Pā, tauranga waka.
- b. Rangiuru Rd, Ōtaki.
- c. Yes; Rangiuru Pā is located adjacent to this site.
- d. Rangiuru Pā was a large fortified pa used by many of the Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa people. Okatia was the tauranga waka for Te Whatanui at Rangiuru. Te Whatanui lived at Rangiuru Pā in Ōtaki prior to taking up residence at Hōkio. He still visited Rangiuru frequently.

Kōpūtara

- a. Roto, whenua, whare.
- b. Wylies Road, Himatangi.
- c. Yes; there are various structures on this whenua that have archaeological values associated with them.
- d. Kōpūtara is a large block of land, with associated lakes, that was set aside as a reserve in the 1870s. This block became landlocked until circa 2016. The lake and stream at Kōpūtara has archaeology within it – pā tuna and other fishing structures are evident today.

Taheke

- a. Pā and promontory/ridge.
- b. Hōkio Beach Road, Hōkio Stream, Levin.
- c. Yes; a pā site was located here and so archaeology is present.
- d. Captured within literature of O'Donnell, Adkin and others.

Taumata Whiowhio

- a. Whare, Settlement, Ridge/hillock.
- b. Approximately 570 Hōkio Beach Road, Levin
- c. Yes; a whare was located on this hillock.
- d. Site of significance to Ngāti Pareraukawa and Ngāti Huia – Te Whatanui lived here.

Ōtūroa

- a. Hillock, settlement, urupā
- b. SH1 Foxton-Levin Road.
- c. Yes; a pā or similar settlement would have associated archaeology on it; urupā would have archaeology.
- d. This urupā was located and documented by Iwikātea Nicholson with information was shared with Ngāti Pareraukawa. This area has had archaeological assessment undertaken on it recently – NZTA have been undertaking earthworks in this area in 2017-2018 as part of the new State Highway roading and Whirokino bridge works.

Pā Tuna (Hōkio Stream)

- a. Pā tuna (tuna catching and storage sites)
- b. Moutere Road and Hōkio Beach Road, Levin
- c. Yes, although the stream was dredged in the mid-1900s, there are both wooden and concrete structures that remain in the stream
- d. All of the sites on the Hōkio Stream were governed by Te Whatanui. These sites include: Pukahau, Raumatangi, Totiti, Taua and many others.

Hōkio Beach

- a. Beach and Ocean
- b. Hōkio Beach
- c. No
- d. This stretch of beach and ocean was used and managed by Te Whatanui and his people. It was plentiful with tohemanga, pipi, other species of ika, shellfish, manu and other resources (rongoā, wood, etcetera). These resources have all been taken from us.

Image 51: Hōkio Stream at the mouth on Hōkio Beach facing south to Kāpiti Island



Manawatū River

- a. River and Estuary
- b. Foxton Beach
- c. No
- d. This stretch of River and ocean was used and managed by Te Whatanui and others of Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Raukawa.

Aratangata and other Manawatū River sites

- a. River and environs
- b. Manawatū River
- c. Possibly
- d. This stretch of river was used as a growing site for gardens. There were seasonal whare here where people stayed while tending and harvesting their crops.

Te Whatanui's Sanctuary

- a. Area of land, including rivers, lakes, streams etcetera.
- b. Area stretching from the ocean to the top of the Tararua, along the Tararua Ranges and back down to the ocean.
- c. Yes, various archaeologically significant sites are located within this area – some will be associated with Muaūpoko occupation, some will be associated with Raukawa occupation.
- d. This area was reserved by Te Whatanui as an area for Muaūpoko to remain under Te Whatanui's protection following the murder of Te Rauparaha's children. This area was under the mana and tino rangatiratanga of Te Whatanui, and in turn, his descendants.

Te Reti Ridge

- a. Pā site
- b. Te Reti Ridge – a ridge running west to east on the western side of Lake Horowhenua, north side of Hōkio stream.
- c. Yes; various archaeology – unknown.
- d. One of the early pā sites built by Te Whatanui in the 19th century.

5.24. Waiki kie

- a. Pā site
- b. Island in Lake Horowhenua towards the mouth of the Hōkio Stream.
- c. Yes; unknown as to the extent.
- d. One of the early pā sites built by Te Whatanui in 1938.

5.25. Kouturoa

- a. Pā site
- b. South end of lake.
- c. Yes
- d. Settled in 1836-1837. Noted in Adkin.

5.26. Titirangi

- a. Pā site
- b. South end of lake
- c. Yes

- d. Settled in 1836-1837. Noted in Adkin.

5.27. *Otaewa*

- a. Māra Kai
- b. Western side of lake
- c. No
- d. One of a series of māra kai on southern and western ends of lake established soon after settling in the area.

5.28. *Pua te Ngao*

- a. Māra Kai
- b. South Western side of Lake Horowhenua.
- c. No
- d. Described by Te Herekau – see Adkin 1948 fig:338.

5.29. *Tatearero*

- a. Māra Kai
- b. Southern end of lake.
- c. No
- d. A large māra kai as described by Te Herekau.

5.30. *Lake Horowhenua*

- a. Roto / Lake
- b. Current location
- c. Numerous archaeological finds.
- d. A fresh water supply, significant habitat for birds, kākahi, wetland plants, and valued fishery including tuna, pātiki, kokopu, koaro kakahi, koura and inanga.
Now one of the most degraded and polluted lakes in the world.

Image 52: Lake Horowhenua



6.0 Appendices

Appendix 1 – Example of the use of a marae over a one-year period.

Ngātokowaru Marae Bookings 2016

Use of the Marae over a one-year period

January	Sonny Whakarau	50 th Birthday	Sonny W
18-19 Feb	Te Runanga o Raukawa Ana W	Workshop for staff	RS Robyn and Ana Harrison
22 Feb	Marae committee		
27 Feb	St Mary's College	Rowing team	Ana Harrison
28 Feb	Church	Rangiātea	
15 March	Te Wānanga o Raukawa	Class	14-20 Pātaka
2 April	Gregor McGregor	Tangi /burial	
6 April	Pre-hearing	Horizons and HDC	RS, AH, RG
23 April	Pātaka Moore	Book project	
24/4 & 22 May	Church		
26 June	Whānau hui		10 – 2 p.m.
26/6 & 24/7	Church 11 a.m.		
29-31 July	Tema White	Tangi	Tangi
6 August	Whānau hui		
14 August	Ngāti Huia		WW Te Hono
12 September	Marae Committee		Landfill Hearing and wānanga
25 September	Church		
28 September	FMA8 hui	30	10 – 3 RR
2 nd October	Whānau hui		
3 – 7 October	St Marys school		Ana St Mary's
5 th Oct	Marae Committee		Ngā Purapura
23 October	Church		
11 th 12 th	Marae Committee		Working Bee
20 Nov	Alma Winiata		Winiata Whānau hui
27 November	Church		
1 December	Kaumātua Lunch	Rachael	Te Hono ki Raukawa
14 December	Marae Committee		
18 December	Church		
21-23 Dec	Raewyn Davis	Tangi	Tangi and Funeral

Appendix 2 Hapū Plan 2017-2018

Ngātokowaru Marae

Hapū plan 2017-2018

Goals

Our people are our wealth

1.	Promote a healthy marae and healthy lifestyles
2.	Promote educational attainment
3.	Organise 3 hui each year to promote health and whanaungatanga
4.	To register whānau as Ngāti Pareraukawa.
5.	Increase our knowledge of Pareraukawa tikanga and kawa
6.	Support research for our Waitangi Claim
7.	To foster the participation of kaumātua in marae activities
8.	To develop our people to be knowledgeable in the tikanga and kawa of Ngāti Pareraukawa and Ngāti Raukawa
9.	To produce people knowledgeable in whānau, hapū and iwi whakapapa

Our marae is our principal home

1.	Maintain the buildings, landscape, flagpole, stream and urupā
2.	Develop the children's playground and rangatahi room
3.	Conserve and restore our taonga, photographs, manuscripts
4.	Promote and record the use of the marae
5.	Maintain and develop the natural resources within our rohe

Te reo is a taonga

1.	Promote the use of te reo
2.	Increase the number of whānau who know our waiata
3.	Support kaikaranga and kaikōrero
4.	Increase the numbers of Ngāti Pareraukawa attending Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa

Self-determination

1.	Increase the numbers actively participating at Ngātokowaru
2.	Develop active groups to promote whanaungatanga activities
3.	Identify whānau with Business skills and knowledge
4.	Record our history
5.	Identify our resources and multiply them including financial

Appendix 3 - Hapū goals 2017-2018

Hapū Goals 2017-2018

Goals 2017-2018		
Goal 1	Te become a Zero Waste Para Kore Marae	2018
Goal 2	Prepare the Waitangi Tribunal report –N Pareraukawa	2017-18
Goal 3:	To conserve the whāriki for future generations	2018
Goal 4:	Continue to map the graves at Raumatangi	2017-18
Goal 5:	Support/participate in the NLG with the Dump issues	2016 -18
Goal 6:	Maintain the Stream with planting	Annual
Goal 7:	To increase land ownership at Hōkio	2017-18
Goal 8	Participate in Regional Govt with MWHorizons	Annual
Goal 9	Update maintenance plan for Te Patai	Annual
Goal 10	Maintain the website & send an e-pānui monthly	Annual
Goal 11	Maintain relationship with Community Corrections	Annual
Goal 12	Make our playground safe – and develop further	2017-18
Goal 13:	Increase the Ngāti Pareraukawa register	Annual
Goal 14:	Support Kōpūtara Trustees	Annual
Goal 15:	To insulate under the floor of the whare tupuna	2018
Goal 16:	To paint the Dining Room, Pareunuora, inside and insulate	2017-18
Goal 17:	To hold monthly wānanga at marae for whānau	2017
Goal 18:	Organise Working Bee in November	Annual
Goal 19:	Refresh skills in putting a hangi down at Ngātokowaru	2017-2018
Goal 20:	Participate in Pot and Waiwiri Catchment Plans	2017-18

NGĀTI NGARONGO

ORAL HISTORY

Image 53: Kereru flag⁶⁵⁶



Te Kenehi Teira, Heeni Collins, and the Kereru Marae Committee

April 2018

⁶⁵⁶ This modern flag represents the kereru (wood pigeon) in flight on the traditional colours used at the marae. The kereru was the bird that Tawhaki and Maui transformed into (by shape-shifting) in order to fly to the heavens.

Introduction

This oral history has been written at the invitation of the research cluster Te Hono ki Raukawa for Ngāti Ngarongo, one of the hapū associated with Kereru marae, 488 Koputoroa Road, north of Levin. As Whatakaraka Davis, a hapū member of Ngāti Ngarongo, was one of the original named claimants for Wai 113, we describe ourselves as claimants under that claim. Our main grievances are the Crown’s deliberate undermining of our hapū authority and mana through loss of land, failure to set aside adequate reserves, loss of control over transport routes (Te Wharangi, Matarakapa, Whirokino) the Crown’s failure to protect our waterways (particularly the Manawatū River), our wetlands and forests, and our cultural resources including te reo me ona tikanga.

While this report has been written within a period of a week, without time to interview widely, Te Kenehi Teira is a respected leader and historian within the hapū of Ngāti Ngarongo and has provided guidance. We have also consulted with members of the Kereru Marae Committee in writing this report. Hapū member Puhi Carlotta Campbell has contributed her notes from the Native Land Court case, Matarakapa. Ngā mihi nui kia koutou.

1.0 Whakapapa - Outline

Paora Taikapurua and his great-nephew Ihakara Tukumarū are both important rangatira of Ngāti Ngarongo and both are buried at Ihakara Gardens, Te Awahou Foxton. This cemetery was a pre-European urupā at Te Awahou kainga and has been registered as a wāhi tapu with Heritage New Zealand. The whakapapa chart (Whakapapa 1), is a Ngāti Ngarongo revision of one which was published in a booklet about Ihakara Gardens compiled by Ian Matheson⁶⁵⁷. It shows the whakapapa of both Paora Taikapurua and Ihakara Tukumarū, from Ngarongo. Both Haetapunui and Kapumanawawhiti were grandchildren of Tamatehura. Tamatehura was a son of Takihiku and the youngest grandchild of Raukawa. Tamatehura was one of the five main “conquest chiefs” who, along with his brothers Wairangi, Upokoiti and Pipito, and cousin Whaita, pursued and defeated Ngāti Kahupungapunga, the earlier occupants of current Raukawa lands, including Maungatautari, Wharepuhunga, Te Kaokaoroa a Patatere and Te Pae o Raukawa.

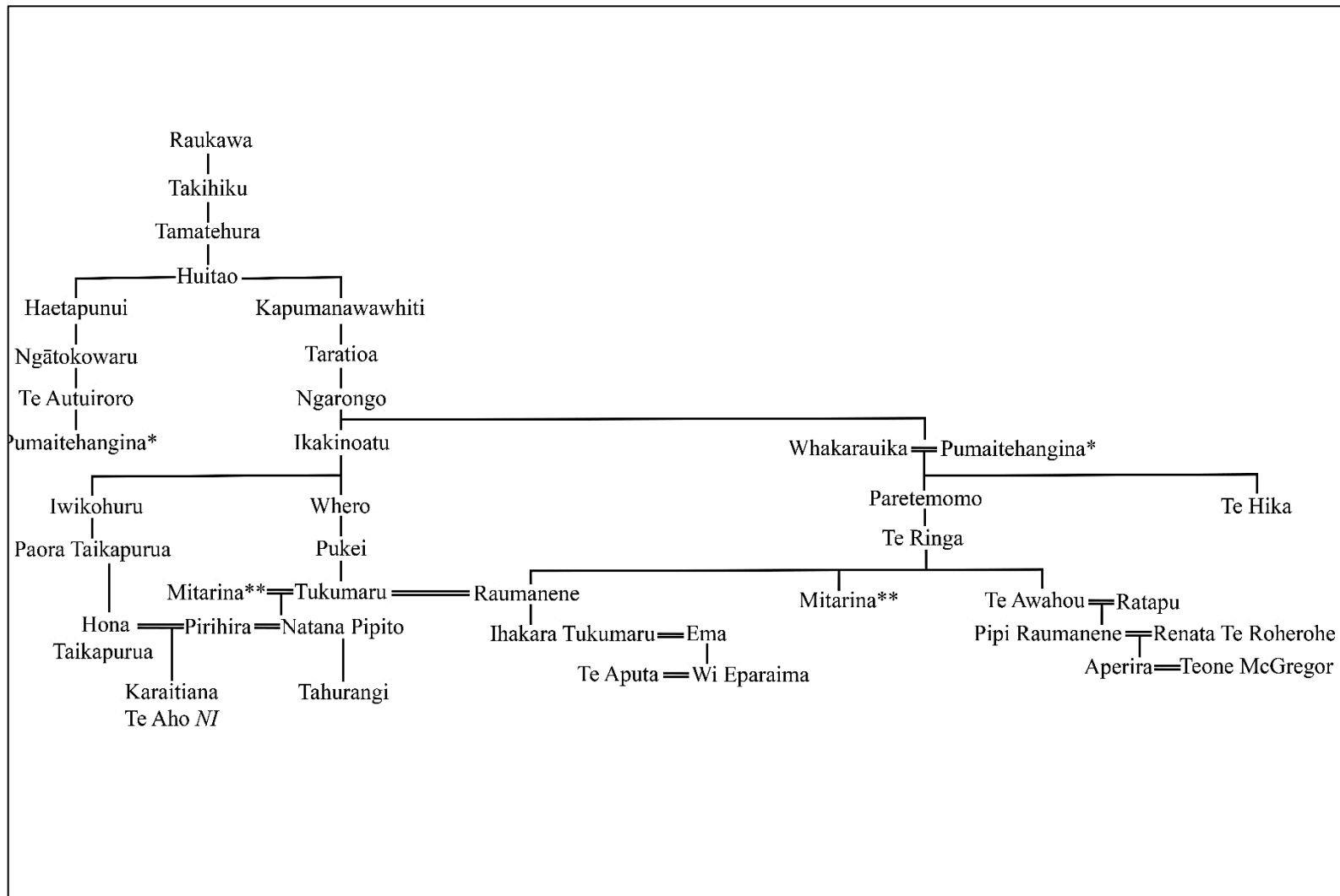
⁶⁵⁷ Matheson, 1983, p. 5. T. K. Teira advised him on some aspects of the booklet.

Ngarongo is the grandson of Kapumanawawhiti, and both Paora Taikapurua and Ihakara Tukumarū descend from Ngarongo's son Ikakinoatu. However, a sister of Ikakinoatu – Whakarauika - and her descendants are also significant. While Karaitiana Te Ahu and Te Aputa ki Wairau were both mana wahine and land-owners (for example, they gifted the land for Ihakara Gardens), they had no living issue. Most of the whānau at Kereru today descend from Whakarauika's great-granddaughter Te Awahou (see Whakapapa 1) and her cousin Rangiwaiā, grand-daughter of Te Hika (see Whakapapa 2 below). Te Awahou married Rātapu of Ngāti Ngarongo and they had a daughter Pipi Raumanene, who married Renata Te Roherohe (Ngāti Ngarongo, Takihiku). Pipi and Renata had four children. One of them was Aperira, second wife of Teone McGregor. The kuia Te Awahou, aunt of Ihakara, was also buried at Ihakara Gardens, but her grave is unmarked.

The majority of Ngāti Ngarongo members also descend from Kapumanawawhiti's brother Haetapunui, through Ngātokowaru's oldest son, Te Autuiroto (see Whakapapa 1). Te Autuiroto's son Pumaitehangina married Whakarauika (daughter of Ngarongo). Their daughters were Raumanene 1 and Paretemomo, and two grand-daughters from Paretemomo were Te Hika and Te Ringa (see Whakapapa 1 & 2).

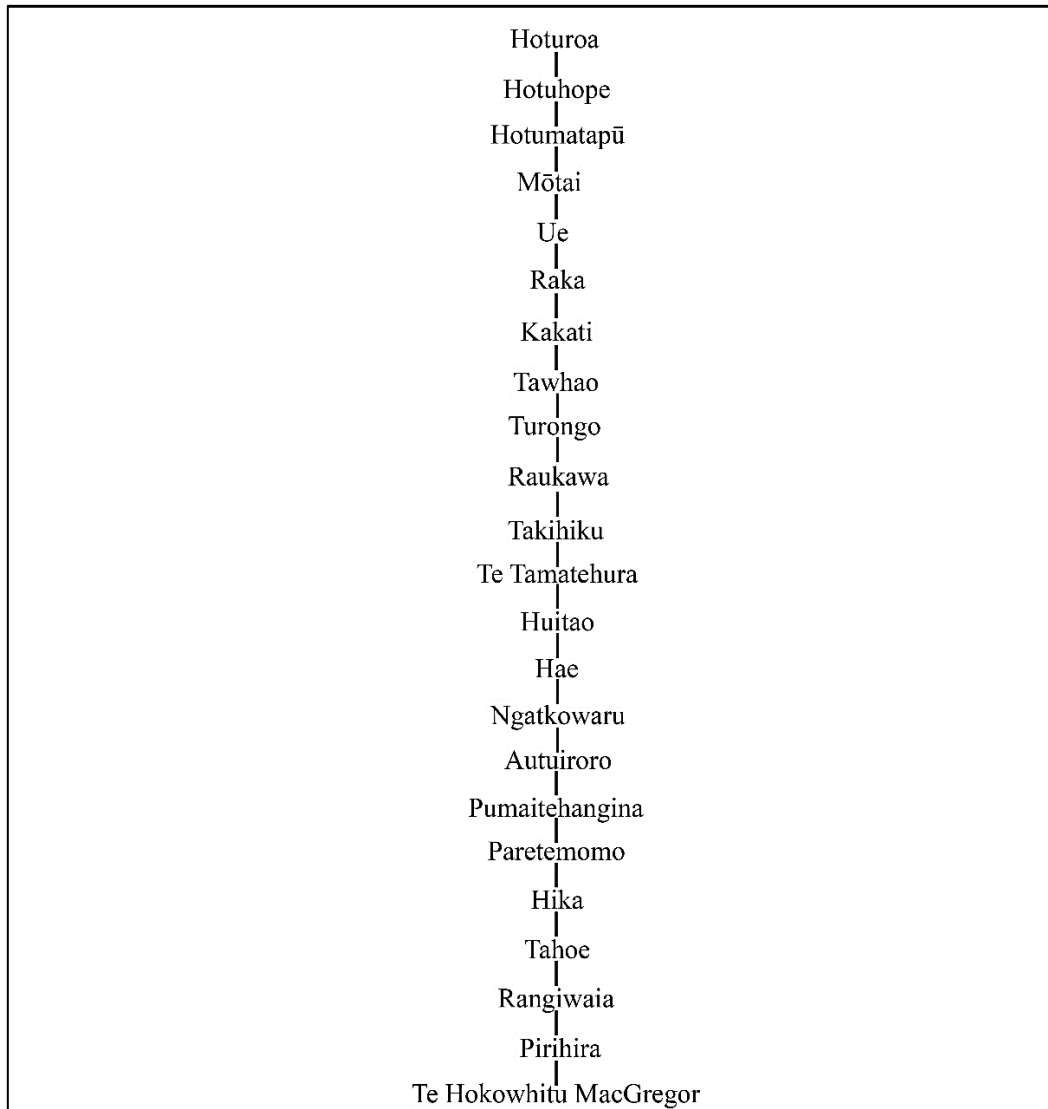
The grand-daughter of Te Hika was Pirihiira Poutu, who married Teone McGregor, and had Hokowhitu McGregor, renowned as a tohunga whakairo, a carver.

Whakapapa 16: Ngarongo whakapapa⁶⁵⁸



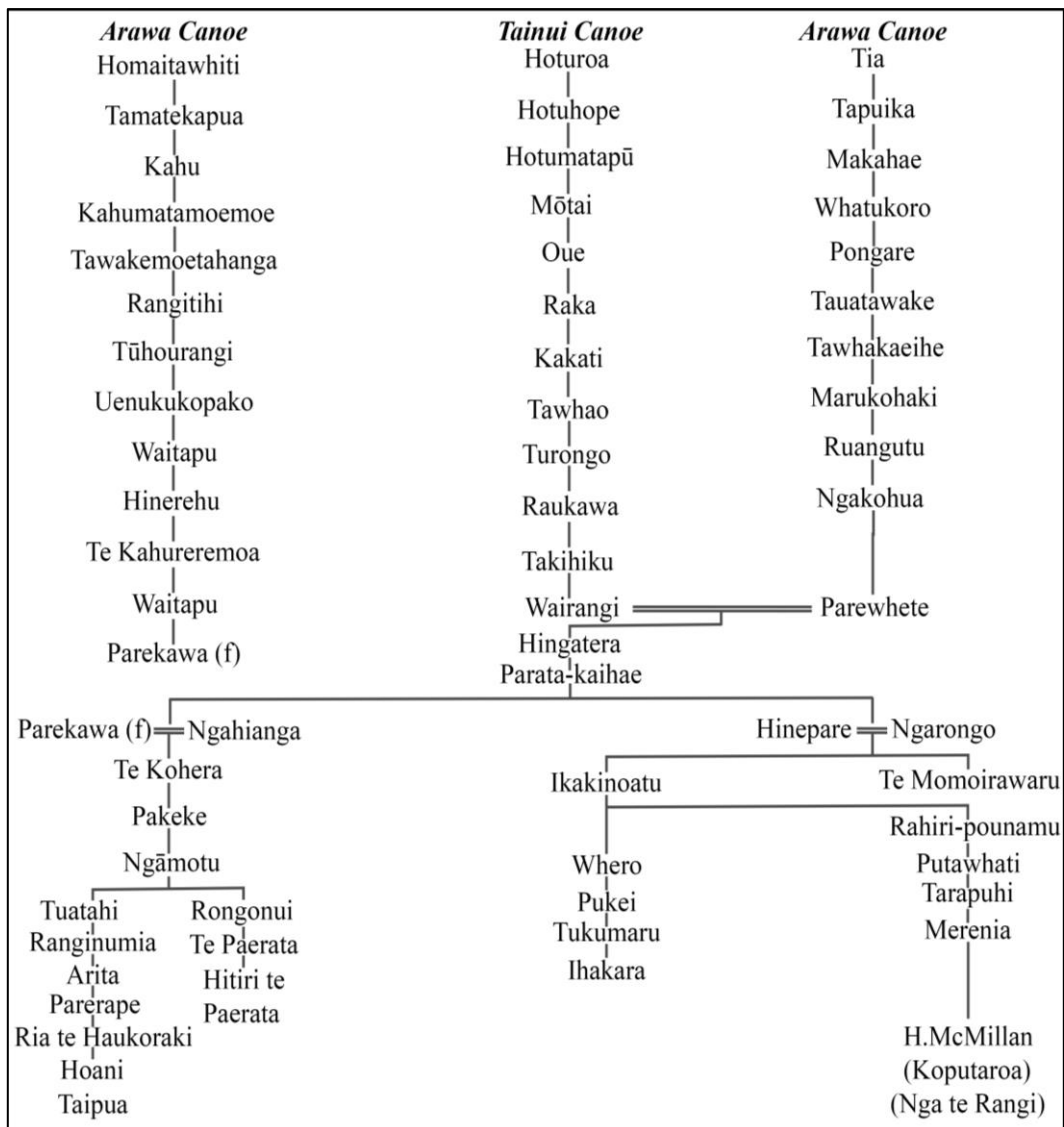
⁶⁵⁸ Matheson 1983; T. K. Teira revision, 17 April 2018. See the next page for Te Hika descendants.

Whakapapa 35: Hokowhitu McGregor Whakapapa (Phillips 1955 p.52)⁶⁵⁹



⁶⁵⁹ Hokowhitu, whose grandfather was Poutu Haeruha, chief of Ngāti Takihiku, was named after Ihakara – his name was Ihakara Hokowhitu McGregor. Ihakara’s full name was Ihakara Te Hokowhitu a Kuri Tukumarū.

Whakapapa 36: Ngarongo whakapapa from Hone McMillan⁶⁶⁰



Hone McMillan and Karaitiana Te Ahu. Hone grew up at Matakana Island, Tauranga, and became the second husband of Karaitiana Te Ahu. They lived together at Kereru marae for many years. Karaitiana Te Ahu acquired the land at Kereru from the estate of Kereopa Tukumarū and Arona Te Hana (neither of whom had issue), claiming she was their closest living whanaunga. McMillan continued living at the marae after her death, and eventually admitted that she had left the two meeting houses and the marae atea to the hapū in her will. So, 20 years after her death, he transferred the land through the land court process. Their

⁶⁶⁰ Whakapapa 3. Hone McMillan was a commentator for the hapū of Ngāti Ngarongo in the 20th century who gave information to Adkins (1949, pp184,251). Above is the whakapapa he gave to Phillips (1955, p. 145). It shows his Ngarongo whakapapa, and his relationship to his mother's cousin, Ihakara Tukumarū. "From Mr. H. McMillan, Koputaroa, we have the following whakapapa, which shows the descent of Parewhete from Tia, of Te Arawa, and her descendants down to Ihakara and Mr McMillan"

homestead was situated on the site of the current whare kai. McMillan sold that land, and the land as far as the road, back to the hapū for £800. As noted, Karaitiana Te Ahu was one of three wahine, along with her cousins Aputa ki Wairau and Rangiahuta, who gave Ihakara Gardens to the Foxton Borough Council, on the promise that they would look after it.

When it was surveyed, only part of the urupā was set aside for the cemetery – there are more burials under the cenotaph and street. Te Kenehi Teira: “They modified it without talking to the hapū. HDC should be giving back Ihakara Gardens, with some kind of shared management arrangement.” While Karaitiana had no issue, she had whāngai children, including Rātapu (Tap) Taylor, and Hohipuha Cook. Her half-brother Tahurangi also had offspring. Aputa ki Wairau and her husband Billy Te Uru o Te Ao Eparaima also adopted a son, a relation of Billy’s, and because they had recently got back together, they called him Hokimai Eparaima.

Whakapapa 37: Kererū Marae - Historic photo from Teira collection



2.0 KERERU MARAE – MEETINGS HOUSES

Rongorito was the main whare tupuna at Kereru marae, Koputoroa, near Levin. It stood from the 1900s until the 1970s. At a time when there was peace between the descendants of Rereahu and his younger brother Takihiku, it was arranged that Maniapoto's younger sister Te Rongorito would marry her cousin, Takihiku's oldest son – Tamatehura. Te Rongorito lived at Te Marae o Hine, near Ōtorohanga, prior to marriage, as a puhi, and was closely cared for by her older brothers. War parties were forbidden to trespass there.⁶⁶¹ According to Waitangi Tribunal member Tania Simpson (Ngāti Raukawa, Tainui), Te Marae-o-Hine was not only a sanctuary, but also a place of healing, particularly for wahine.⁶⁶² Te Rongorito maintained the kaupapa of peace at this marae, in order to reduce the tension between her husband and brothers.

Image 54: The meeting house Mahinaarangi - Koruru



⁶⁶¹ Ngata and Jones, 2005, pp. 302-3.

⁶⁶² Waitangi Tribunal site visit, 18 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). Tania is a descendant of Te Whatanui, from his daughter Te Rangingangana and Whetoi Pomare.

The other house, Mahinaarangi (see adjacent), which still stands as the main house, was named after the mother of Raukawa. The union of Mahinaarangi and Turongo is the greatest love story within Tainui, and Raukawa was their son. Mahinaarangi lived at Roto-a-Tara, Te Aute and her tūpuna came on the Kurahaupō, Tākitimu and Matahourua waka. Turongo went there from Kawhia and was inspired by the scent of the raukawa leaves she wore in a pouch at her neck. Her long trek whilst heavily pregnant, from Te Aute to Rotorua then across the Kaimai ranges into Tainui territory was guided by Turongo's dog and was an inspiring feat of endurance. A church named Turongo was built first at Te Rewarewa (1865) and then shifted to Whakawehi Marae, Shannon.

A kōhanga reo has operated at Kereru marae since 1984, with a maximum of 30 children attending. It is one of the three surviving Raukawa kōhanga reo built on a marae reserve, and this year moved into a new building. Most of the tamariki are from Kereru, and this shows the commitment of our hapū to the survival of te reo into the 21st century. "The kids get a sense of connection to the marae, get some reo, and the parents get that sense of connection too. It keeps the marae alive," says Te Kenehi.⁶⁶³ However, there is a shortage of immersion schooling at the primary level in the rohe so Te Kenehi estimates only about 20 percent of tamariki leaving the kōhanga continue in te reo. In recent years Ngāti Ngarongo hapū member Ani Rauhihi has established an immersion classroom at Foxton Primary School.

Te Kenehi describes the skill level on the paepae at Kereru: "We have a very good paepae of young and middle-aged people who can whaikōrero, karanga, karakia and waiata, and who feel very confident." Some, but not all, have learnt through Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Hohipuha Cook (descendant of Te Hana) had been the Ngāti Ngarongo representative on the Raukawa Marae Trustees since 1969, but few people knew much about it. Since 1982 Te Kenehi has supported Hohipuha and others in reviving Ngāti Ngarongo identity. A Ngāti Ngarongo committee was set up to learn more about that side of their whakapapa. Over 5,000 people are known members of Ngāti Ngarongo, through attending whānau reunions. Not many people live around the marae today, compared to last century. Te Kenehi estimates there were about 15 homes, and about 200 Kereru people living near the marae in the 1950s. Most have moved to the towns, so only two local homes are now occupied by Ngāti Ngarongo.

⁶⁶³ Teira, TK. Personal conversation 19 April 2018

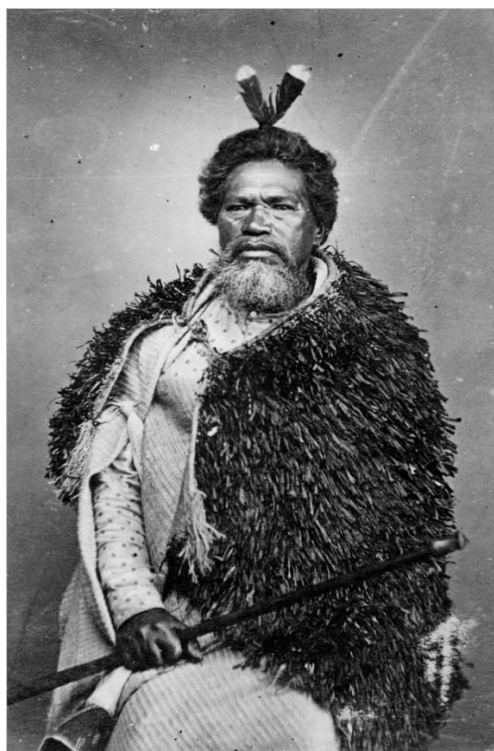
3.0 TAIKAPURUA & IHAKARA TUKUMARU - EARLY HISTORY

Taikapurua and Ihakara Tukumarū came south from Maungatautari on different heke. Hokowhitu McGregor⁶⁶⁴ (Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Takihiku) told the land court in 1905:

“Many of the Raukawa had come here before the second heke, in which Ihakara and Poutu came. Some of the Ngāti Ngarongo came in the first heke, soldiers for Te Whatanui, Taikapurua was one.”

Image 55: Ihakara Tukumarū

The first significant Ngāti Raukawa heke is known as Te Heke Whirinui (1826), and Ihakara came on Te Heke Mai i Raro, via Hawkes Bay (1828). Te Whatanui and others, including Mananui Te Heuheu, had been going to the east coast on raids since the early 1820s, and had some success in settling there at Puketapu near Napier and Roto-a-Tara in the mid-1820s. But increased Ngā Puhi support, boosting their gun-fighting power, enabled Ngāti Kahungunu to finally defeat Ngāti Raukawa at Te Roto-a-Tara in 1828. This migrating party was large (over 400 people) in its early stages but suffered heavy losses. A peace arrangement was made with a Rangitāne hapū (Ngāti Parakiore) on the way south and Ngai



Te Upokoiri (a Kahungunu hapū) also remained allies, some coming south with Te Whatanui. Ihakara Tukumarū:

“I arrived here in the year 1830 (that is Ngāti Raukawa). In the year 1834 we fought with Ngātiawa. In 1839 Bishop Hadfield arrived and we fought Ngātiawa at Kuititanga.”⁶⁶⁵

Ihakara was born about 1813⁶⁶⁶, probably at the Waotu Tokoroa.⁶⁶⁷ Like other Ngāti Raukawa hapū, Ngāti Raukawa went first to live with Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Raukawa relations at the mouth of the Ōtaki river e.g. at Ōtaki Pā south of the river, and at Rangiora Pā on the

⁶⁶⁴ Ōtaki MB46, Matarapa, 7.12.05, p. 342, p. 344.

⁶⁶⁵ Ōtaki MB 1:11-13, Manawatū-Kukutauaki case, Foxton, 13 November 1872.

⁶⁶⁶ Matheson 1983

⁶⁶⁷ Teira 15 April 2018; Simmonds 1999, p. 42; Waikato MB11, p. 140.

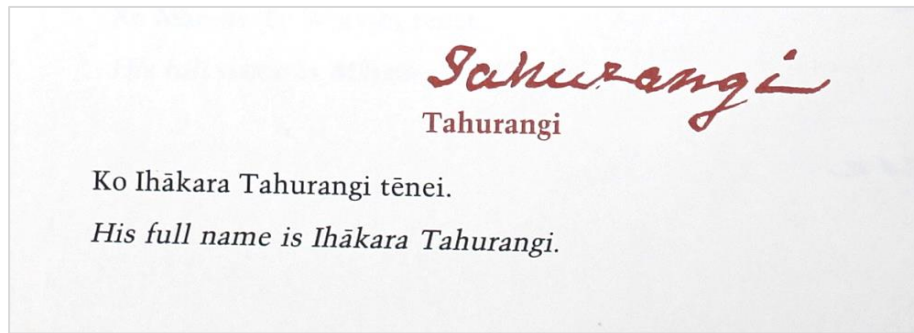
Taumanuka block, before moving to the Manawatū in about 1835. Ihakara Tukumarū spoke in the native Land Court in 1880 about living at Taumanuka.

“The part on the north of Ōtaki from ancient times was a pā. Ngāti Awa built it before Haowhenua. Kingi, myself and Matangi lived there. The Taranaki tribe came down and attacked Pakakakutu. They were beaten and Ngāti Raukawa held the pā.”

For example, Ngāti Ngarongo people named in the Memorial of Ownership for Ōtaki Pā, south of the river on 27th April 1876 were: Te Aputa Tukumarū, Kereopa Tukumarū, Hohepa Te Hana, Arona Te Hana, and Karaitiana Hamapiri (Hamapiri was Karaitiana Te Ahu’s first husband). Ngāti Ngarongo chiefs were also named in the Taumanuka No. 3 block in the Native Land Court in 1880 – the brothers Ihakara, Kereopa and Ruanui Tukumarū; Arona & Hohepa Te Hana; Renata and Ngapukapuka Te Roherohe; Whatakaraka; Hokonui Mekerika (sic – Horowhitu McGregor); Tahurangi Pipito (half-brother to Karaitiana Te Ahu); and Tukumarū. “All the hapū of Ngāti Raukawa had title to the pā and burial grounds” one speaker told the court. Another spoke of their engagement in flax-dressing. Nearby flax reserves enabled the hapū to support Te Rauparaha’s trading activities at Kapiti Island, and gain experience in trading with Europeans.

After arriving in the Manawatū in 1835, early Ngāti Ngarongo settlements were at Matarakapa, Te Maire, Te Awahou, Te Wharangi, Papangaio, Raumatangi, Karikari and Kereru clearing at Koputoroa. The Manawatū River was important as a trade and communications route. Te Maire (named for a tree) was a good place for cultivation, and there was also a lagoon of that name, near the river. Taikapurua and Ihakara had gardens and plantations and participated in trade with other tribes, before encouraging European settlers to come, to broaden their business opportunities. They travelled widely throughout the region. On 19th May 1840, Ihakara Tukumarū signed the Treaty of Waitangi under the name Tahurangi. The Treaty was a significant document in our history, and our tūpuna gave weight to its promises of rangatiratanga and retention of land and other resources.

Image 56: Simpson 1990, p.100 TK (15.4.2018)



In 1841, it was decided at two hui of Ngāti Raukawa at Manawatū and Ōtaki, including Ihakara Tukumarū, that six representatives, led by Te Whatanui, should approach the New Zealand Company to discuss sale of the land (from the Manawatū river south to Horowhenua). These chiefs asserted their mana over the place, despite opposition from Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. The area under discussion was about 25,000 acres of flat fertile land as far south as lake Horowhenua and Hokio stream. A Waitangi Tribunal district report⁶⁶⁸ states:

“Terms were discussed between a large gathering of Ngāti Raukawa and company officials at Ōtaki in December 1841. Ngāti Raukawa rejected the payment offered as inadequate, and Wakefield agreed that more goods should be sent from Wellington. Some 300 Ngāti Raukawa from both sides of the Manawatū gathered to receive the payment in February 1842. Goods for absentees were set aside, but subsequently ransacked, and only those reserved for the Ōtaki people were saved for distribution”.

Surveying of the land began, but the sale was so uncertain and controversial that the Spain Commission was asked to adjudicate.⁶⁶⁹

“The evidence heard by Spain comprised admissions by Te Whatanui, Ahukaramū, and Taratoa that they had agreed to sell land at the Manawatū – referred to as Raumatanga (sic) by a number of witnesses – and denials of any participation in that transaction by others. It was clear that Taikoporua (sic), a chief from the upper reaches, had neither consented to the alienation nor participated in the distribution of goods. Spain believed that Wakefield had ‘altogether exceeded the permission granted to him by Hobson’, but that the arrangement reached in January 1843 whereby the company could pay compensation, enabled him to consider their Manawatū claim. Wakefield, Spain, and Clarke later travelled up the coast in January 1844 in order to pay over £3,000, but Ngāti Raukawa refused to accept payment. The commissioner blamed this apparent change of heart on Te Rauparaha’s presence.”

⁶⁶⁸ Anderson & Pickens 1996, p. 38.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 38.

In a decision given by the Spain Commission in 1842, the sale was not validated, and the Company's claim was reduced to 900 acres.⁶⁷⁰ Because it was felt that 900 acres was too small for a settlement, only 400 acres was initially taken up – 200 to Capt. Robinson at Raumatangi, and 200 to John and Thomas Kebbell at Haumearoa, north of Paiaka. But due to delays in formalisation, after Governor Grey took office, he decided to double the land holdings to 400 each. Another 100 acres was given to Amos Burr in compensation for the loss of both his arms, which happened while firing a salute on board the Cuba.⁶⁷¹ Ihakara Tukumarū told the Native Land Court⁶⁷² that both he and Taikapurua had opposed the sale, and that he had also refused £100 from Spain for land. "I retained in my hand the land to the south of the Manawatū," he said. But some goods had been received by some of Ngati Raukawa, and Grey and McLean asked Ihakara to give land as a consequence.

"This was agreed to by the chiefs of Raukawa and by me. The land given is now occupied by Robinson, it is on the north side of the river; also, the land which Mr Burr has, also the land which Mr Kebble has, also the land Mr Cook has. That was sufficient for Wakefield's goods and I got my land back."⁶⁷³

Rev. James Duncan had arrived in the Manawatū in 1844, and some of his published reports provide useful information – this one describes Taikapurua's response to Spain's attempted purchase of his land.

"A considerable part of the Manawatū district has been surveyed and even allotted to purchasers from the New Zealand Company but those chiefs who own the largest portion have not taken payment for it...Taikapurua was one of those who got nothing for his land, and when Mr Spain, Commissioner of Land Claims was here a few months ago, and offered him £100 as an equivalent, the old chief, pointing to a range of lofty mountains in view, said, "Show me a heap of gold-money equivalent to these mountains and then I shall talk to you about it, but not so long as you speak of merely a hundred of your money-gold." Mr Spain replied, "Unless you accept now of my offer, you will receive no compensation at all, and your land shall be taken from you." "Not," replied Taikapurua, "until the last drop of my blood is shed."⁶⁷⁴

Rev. Octavius Hadfield visited and preached at Te Maire in the early 1840s but was based at Ōtaki so visited only occasionally. So, when Rev. Duncan, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, arrived in June 1844, offering to base himself at the Manawatū, Taikapurua and

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 25.

⁶⁷¹ Buick 1903, p. 138.

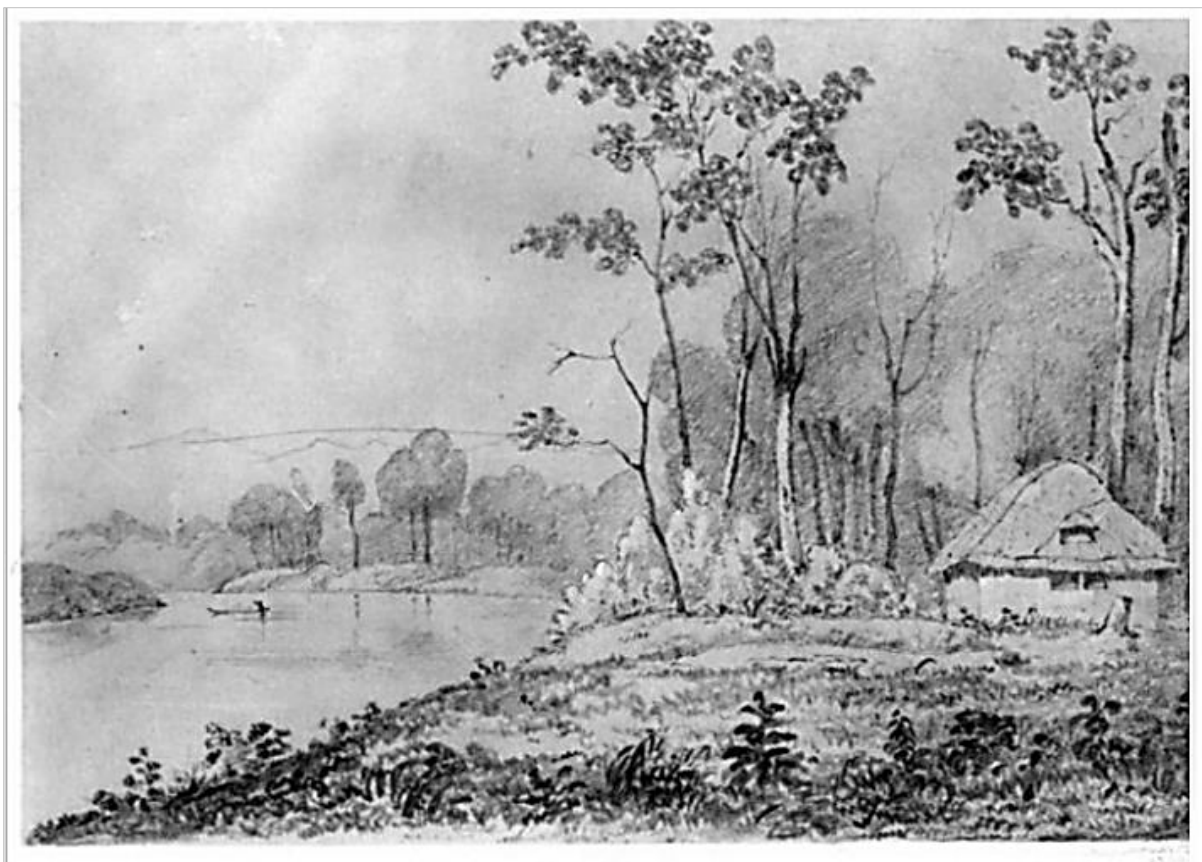
⁶⁷² OMB 1:11-13 1872

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ Letter from Duncan, Te Maire, 31st March 1845 *Scottish Presbyterian*, p275

Ihakara agreed to support him. Taikapurua and Ihakara lived often at Matararapa, and when Duncan and his family arrived in July, a house was built for them there.⁶⁷⁵ When that house accidentally burnt down, Duncan lived for some months at Te Maire. Taikapurua (now using the name Paora), Ihakara Tukumarū and his brother Kereopa became Christian leaders there. All of these leaders were also involved in the establishment of another Christian settlement up-river at Te Rewarewa, in the apex of the Tuwhakatupua loop, and people of various hapū lived peacefully together there. Ihakara accompanied Duncan when he preached in the wider district, e.g. Rangitīkei.

Image 2: Taikopurua's chapel, Te Maire c1850⁶⁷⁶



Kereru kainga was an important residence for Ngāti Ngarongo.⁶⁷⁷ Te Kenehi says there was a kainga at the clearing and a pā to the south (now south of the road), surrounding a pond.⁶⁷⁸ Native Land Court minutes refer to bird-snaring activities at Kereru. A hollow tree there

⁶⁷⁵ Letter from Duncan, Kapahaka, 9th September 1844.

⁶⁷⁶ Smith, W.M. Ref: A-035-009, ATL.

⁶⁷⁷ Adkin p. 184.

⁶⁷⁸ Teira 2018

became known as Te Ana o Taikapurua because it was where he took shelter.⁶⁷⁹ The Koputoroa stream was an important mahinga kai, for tuna, whitebait and kākahi, and there was also a wetland. The Manawatū river was important for eeling, fishing and transport. The boundary between Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Whakaterere was the Otauru stream. There was also an important Ngāti Raukawa meeting house at Takapu⁶⁸⁰, along the river from the Koputoroa Stream.

As the first Europeans arrived and settled mostly at Paiaka, processed flax, pigs, kumara and wheat were grown and sold to market as far away as Poneke and Australia. Large-scale wheat production brought income to the community, and Ihakara established his own flour-mill, powered by the Karikari stream. Kebbell used this one until he got his own. Goods were taken to Wellington by sailing waka and ships. The beach was the main route along the coast by land.⁶⁸¹

There were kainga at every river mouth along the west coast, as they offered resources from the ocean and river, as well as wetland and forest. European settlers wanting to cross the river would seek local knowledge and assistance and were willing to pay. Te Wharangi, named after a small tree, was a place near the Manawatū river mouth occupied by many Ngāti Raukawa hapū. Ngāti Ngarongo, including Ihakara Tukumarū and Paora Taikapurua, and others had a business there, taking people across the river by canoe and providing accommodation in a wooden house and stable.

In times of early settlement, the Provincial Government wanted control of all the transport routes and set up a committee to monitor and assess all ferries. There were complaints about the ferryman at Manawatū being “uncivil” and overcharging, and the Provincial Government decided to take it over. “Part of the problem was that the land around the ferry remained in native hands, which brought it under the General, not the Provincial Government.” This made it difficult for the Provincial Government to buy the land. The government’s ferries committee recommended that the ferry service should be attended by a European (clearly a racist decision), that a bigger boat be constructed, and that money should be set aside from the

⁶⁷⁹ See Adkins map X.

⁶⁸⁰ See image “*Old Manawatū*”, Buick, T.L (1903, 1975) *Old Manawatū*, Capper Press, Christchurch, 2014 p. 81.

⁶⁸¹ Buick 1903; Teira, 16 April 2018.

estimates to compensate the Māori claimants for relinquishing their right to run the ferry.⁶⁸² So in 1855 Land Commissioner Donald McLean persuaded our Ngāti Ngarongo chiefs and others to lease the ferry and buildings to the Government for the next ten years for £500. If they wanted it back after ten years, they would have to pay for any new buildings constructed on the land.⁶⁸³ Control over transport routes was a key element of the Government's strategy of undermining the authority of the chiefs. Te Wharangi was never returned to Ngāti Ngarongo or the other hapū, though Ihakara retained ownership of a small area of land in the vicinity.⁶⁸⁴ Te Wharangi was previously on northern bank of river, but the river is now some distance further south. This is part of our claim.

In relation to how the rivers changed as a result of de-forestation, Dreaver quotes early European sources, including Hubert Ostler⁶⁸⁵.

“In the days of early settlement, the rivers were clearer and deeper, less choked with gravel stone and silt than they have become since the forests were swept away,” he wrote.

Their value for trout-fishing deteriorated (particularly the Ohau). Ihakara Tukumarū also had land interests at Ohau – he was an owner in Muhunoa East No. 4, Wera-a-whango⁶⁸⁶ In 1849 Duncan (Te Awahou, 17th Sept), described the impact of the illnesses, small-pox and pleurisy:

“Through the winter, and more particularly within the last six weeks, there has been a great amount of sickness amongst the natives and several deaths. Pleurisy has been the prevailing disease. There have been a good many very serious cases.... Often called for to visit sick and administer medicine.”⁶⁸⁷

Buick also reports⁶⁸⁸ that in 1855 there were an estimated 3,400 hapū members living along the Manawatū, but there had been an influenza epidemic, which “attacked the natives with especial virulence...nearly 200 died from its effects.” Measles, mumps and typhoid also impacted heavily amongst Ngāti Ngarongo, says Te Kenehi Teira⁶⁸⁹.

⁶⁸² Dreaver 1998.

⁶⁸³ Turton's Deeds 1878 vol. 2, p. 172.

⁶⁸⁴ Teira 14 July 2017 and 17 April 2018.

⁶⁸⁵ Dreaver 1998; Ostler, ATL.

⁶⁸⁶ Collins 2017, p. 22.

⁶⁸⁷ *Scottish Presbyterian*, March 1850.

⁶⁸⁸ Buick 1903 p. 153.

⁶⁸⁹ Teira 15 April 2018

Flooding was a problem at Te Maire, and illness and political disturbance were adding to difficulties there. In 1848-9 Ihakara decided to shift the mission base to Te Awahou, beside the loop named Piriharakeke in the Manawatū River. Ngāti Ngarongo had land there but had mostly lived elsewhere. In 1850, Ihakara ordered the building of a substantial meeting house at Te Awahou for religious and cultural purposes.⁶⁹⁰“It is to be a weather-boarded and shingled building 57 ft by 24 and finished inside with reeds and dressed-flax plaiting.” And later,

“The house is large, substantial and has a very neat and pleasing appearance. It has been a great labour from time to time to the natives... (Ihakara) cheerfully bore the heaviest part of the undertaking, both in personal labour and in the contribution of money.”⁶⁹¹

The meeting house was completed in 1851, and alongside Christian karakia and teaching were hui about European settlement and land sales. A plough was given by Governor Grey to Ihakara, “as a token of the good opinion entertained of his conduct”, and he had also recently been appointed as a Native Assessor.⁶⁹² This was part of a deliberate strategy by Governor Grey and other Crown agents to buy the loyalty of key chiefs, with a long-term agenda of undermining their authority and the sovereignty and independence of the hapū.⁶⁹³ It is thought that a storm blew the meeting house down in about 1858-59.

“But illness and discontent with European colonisation was growing in the 1850s and new Māori political and religious movements began to rise. Duncan soon found his mission waned. Duncan to Bates (SP Aug 1854, Te Awahou, Jan 19th, 1854): “Between 30-40 of those who once attended my instructions at school and church here have within a short time left the place for another part of the country, or been removed by death...The extensive purchases of land already completed by the Government, and others still contemplated by them, may probably have influenced some of the natives to remove to their friends in the interior. Similar changes are taking place elsewhere.

Some of Ngāti Ngarongo went back to make claims in the Waikato e.g. Whatuaio, and some moved to Ōtaki for better schooling and resourcing. Some Ngāti Ngarongo people had remained in Ōtaki on their own lands.”⁶⁹⁴

Some also owned land in the Ōtaki township. By 1856 Duncan was mostly engaged with teaching settlers and their children, and by 1857 his mission work at Te Awahou Foxton was over.⁶⁹⁵ Still convinced of the benefit of European settlement, Ihakara sold the huge Awahou

⁶⁹⁰ *Scottish Presbyterian*, March 1850

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹² *Scottish Presbyterian*, Aug 1853 – Duncan to Bates, Te Awahou, 3 January 1853.

⁶⁹³ Kahotea 2005.

⁶⁹⁴ Teira 15 April 2018

⁶⁹⁵ *Scottish Presbyterian* 1843-1857.

block of 37,000 acres to the Government in 1858-59. In a letter to the *Māori Messenger*: *Te Karere Māori*, Ihakara explained that

‘it would be wise to dispose of a portion to the Europeans to settle upon, that they may dwell near us and carry out among us their good system [of commerce].’

Such a transaction, however, was contingent on the Māori owners ‘carefully’ securing to themselves ‘such land for cultivation as may be required’ for their ‘subsistence,’ he wrote.⁶⁹⁶ The block stretches from the sea and includes all the land inside the large bend of the river to Shannon, with its northern boundary nearly at Motuiti Road. It included Te Rewarewa, where the Turongo church had been built (west of the river), and the huge Tapu-i-warū wetland, a rich source of tuna and other kai. Te Awa-keri o Ihakara was a waterway he was particularly associated with there and had dug himself. Ihakara and Ngāti Whakātere accepted a down-payment of £400 from Searancke for the block, which put pressure on the non-sellers.

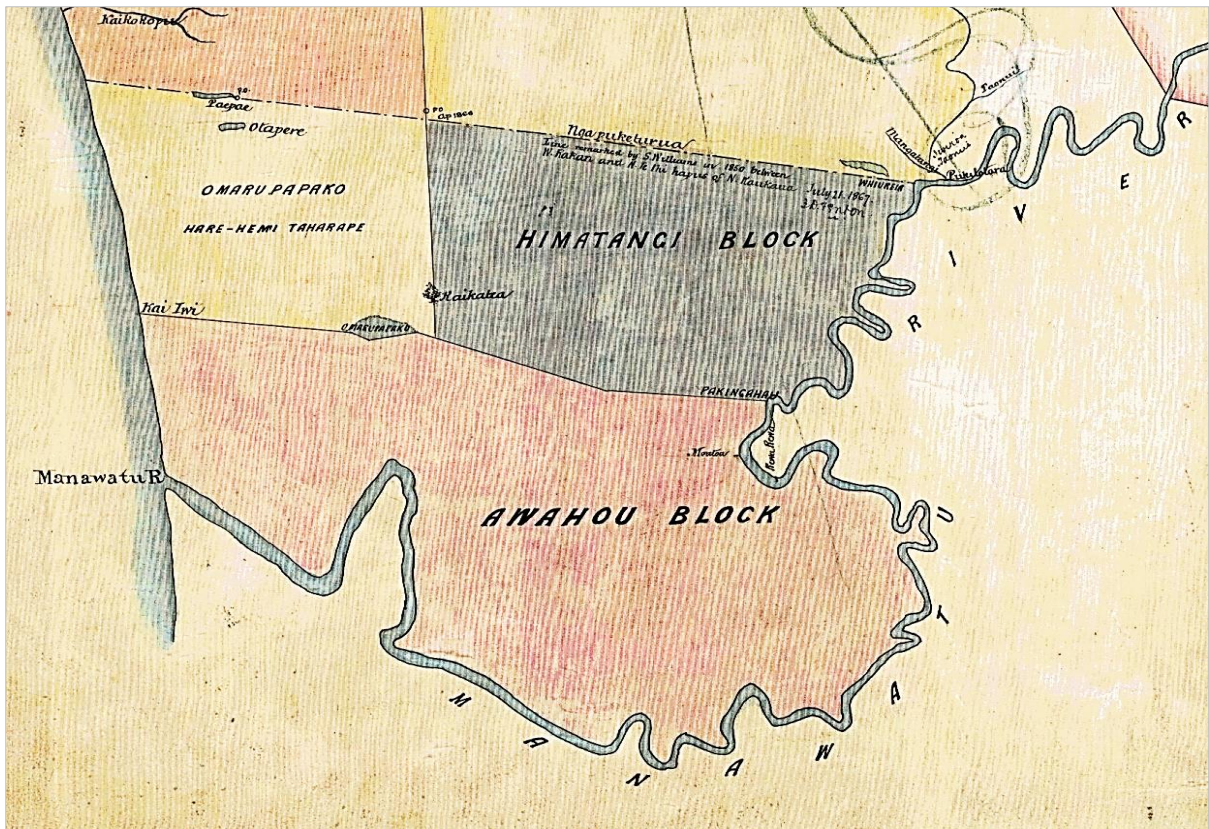
Ihakara was acknowledged as the primary interest-holder within Te Awahou⁶⁹⁷... Ihakara saw land sales, settlement, and cooperation with the Government as the best course of action.” Other Ngāti Raukawa leaders “asserted a wider right of Ngāti Raukawa to hold onto tribal land” and opposed the sale. Ihakara, however, was able to gather a majority of supporters at a hui at Te Awahou in November 1858, and those opposing were unable to prevent the sale proceeding. Ihakara and others were able to mark out Ngāti Raukawa claims within the block, which could be advocated for in court. Searancke pushed ahead with the sale, with a total purchase price of £2,500. A deed was signed by 67 people. The Crown made vague promises: “The external boundaries were described, but the reserves were left for future consideration.”⁶⁹⁸ The balance of the payment (now reduced to \$2,335) was disbursed.

⁶⁹⁶ ‘Letter of Ihakara Tukumarū’, *Māori Messenger: Te Karere Māori*, Vol V, Issue 13, 16 August 1858, pp. 8-9, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi->.

⁶⁹⁷ Anderson & Pickens 1996 p. 95.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 93-97.

Map 273: The Awahou Block⁶⁹⁹



The Awahou block was described:

“Commencing at Kai-iwi, on the beach, and running in an easterly direction to Oroua Kaitau, and thence through Omarupapaku bush to the road of path Te Pukehinaio-o-te-kura, and along the edge of the Otatara swamp, thence to Pukenhau on the River Manawatū, and down the river Manawatū to its mouth on the coast and along the coast to Kai-iwi where the boundary commenced.”⁷⁰⁰

In 1839, under pressure from the Colonial Government in England, the New Zealand Company had promised that for every sale of land, one tenth of the territory would be set aside as reserves, “to be held in trust for the benefit of the chief families of the tribe.” But by the 1850s, huge tracts of land were being negotiated for sale by the Crown, with no evident commitment to setting aside substantial or inalienable reserves. If individual names could be put on the blocks, then they could be purchased. Loss of knowledge of our landscape has led to difficulty understanding where the reserves were promised, and today, urupā and marae reserves are nearly all that remain.

⁶⁹⁹ Foxton ML 5247 Sheet 2, cropped. The Awahou Block.

⁷⁰⁰ Buick 1903, p. 162.

Anderson & Pickens (1996) stated:

“Areas within the block that were to be excepted from the transaction included areas at Raumatangi, Wirikino and Haumiara which were considered to have been already transferred to the New Zealand Company, gifts to the half-caste children of Cook, and to the Reverend Duncan, 20 acres for Ihakara and his brother, Kereopa, which was subsequently subdivided, and urupā at Moutoa and Whakawehi. A reserve was also defined: “These are the boundaries commencing at the Manawatū at the fence of Te Kuka (Mr Cook) thence to the landmark of Ihakara (pou Ihakara) thence direct to Auwaituroa thence to Te Mutu at Manawatū thence following the course of the Manawatū River to Manawaaru where it turns off towards Mukaka to the end of the forest of Tapuiwaru and along the edge of that forest at Paretau and thence to Manawatū.

Ihakara and Kereopa were allocated a total of 36 acres and two roods, located centrally at Te Awahou. The 16 acres for other named chiefs was only available to them if they paid £5 per quarter-acre. McLean wanted Māori to purchase land themselves on individual title rather than for it to be reserved. The fact that they were in the names of individual chiefs added to their vulnerability to land-sale pressure. In his 2018 report on reserves, Dr Paul Husbands⁷⁰¹ notes that the lack of access to the wharf and river from these sections was a disadvantage, compared to the 91 acres given to Duncan and the 197 acres to the children of Meretini and T.U. Cook. The May deed also cut out from the purchase a band of land running from Te Awahou township, across and down to Kari Kari, which was near the bottom of the big bend in the Manawatū River that defined the Te Awahou block. Rather than a permanent reserve, this area was meant to encapsulate the claims of those who still opposed the purchase and had refused to accept their share of Searancke’s payment.⁷⁰² The cemetery, now Ihakara Gardens, was also surveyed out as a reserve.

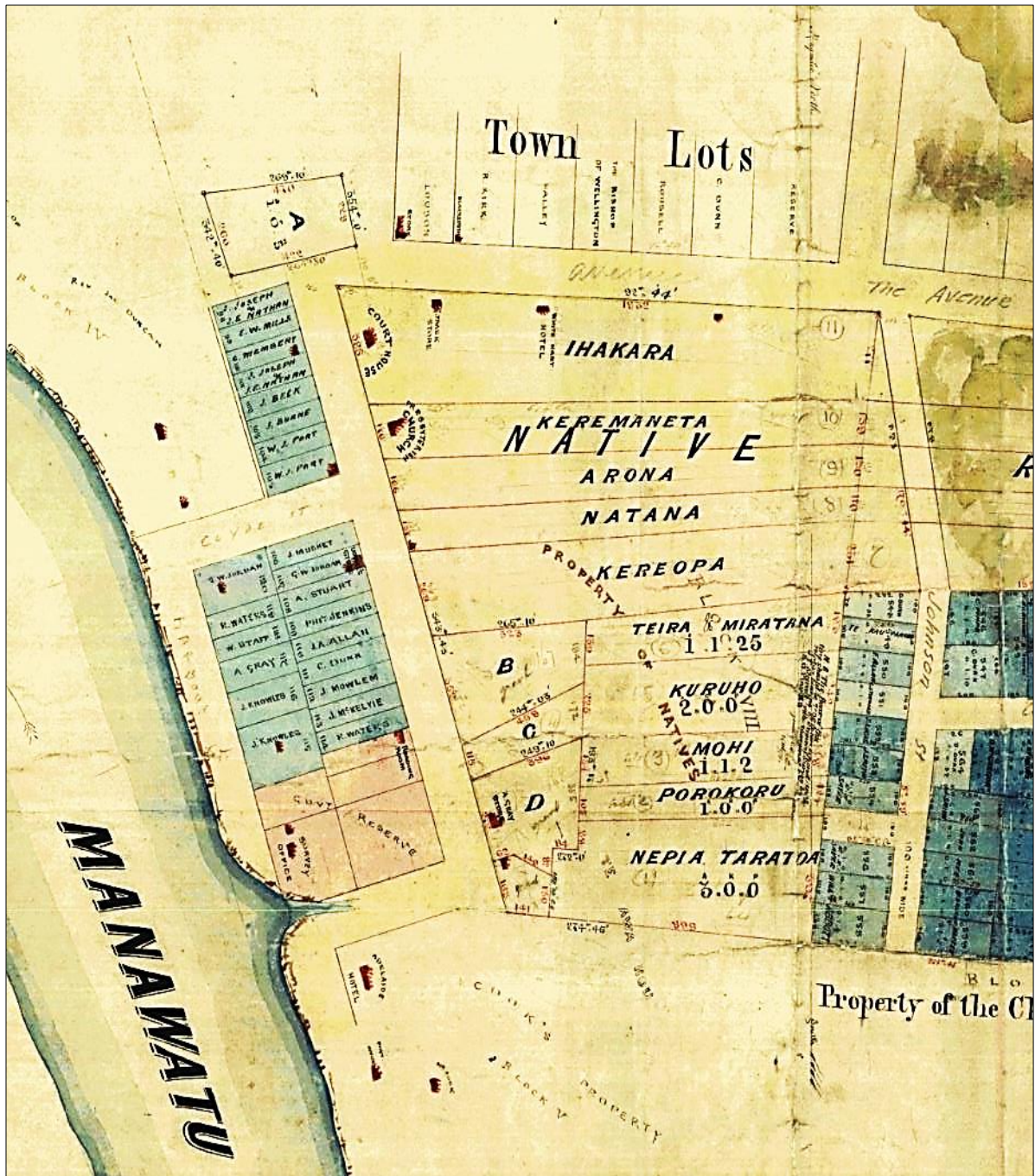
Te Kenehi Teira believes the substantial reserve described was north of Foxton, of which the only area not acquired by Europeans was Target Reserve, which today includes the racecourse, gun club, and Foxton golf club. The Foxton Borough Council claimed without evidence that the last piece of Target Reserve had been gifted by Ihakara, he says. The section next to Ihakara Gardens is still in hapū ownership. There was also a section on the corner of Avenue Road and State Highway 1, which was gifted by Aputa ki Wairau Tukumarū to the Foxton Borough Council for tennis courts. When it was no longer wanted for tennis courts, the Council sold it

⁷⁰¹ Husbands, P. *Historical Issues Project 3: Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000*. 2018; Part 1, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁰² Deed of Sale Awahou Block, Manawatū District; William N Searancke to Thomas H Smith, 31 May 1860, *AJHR*, 1861, C-1, p 291;

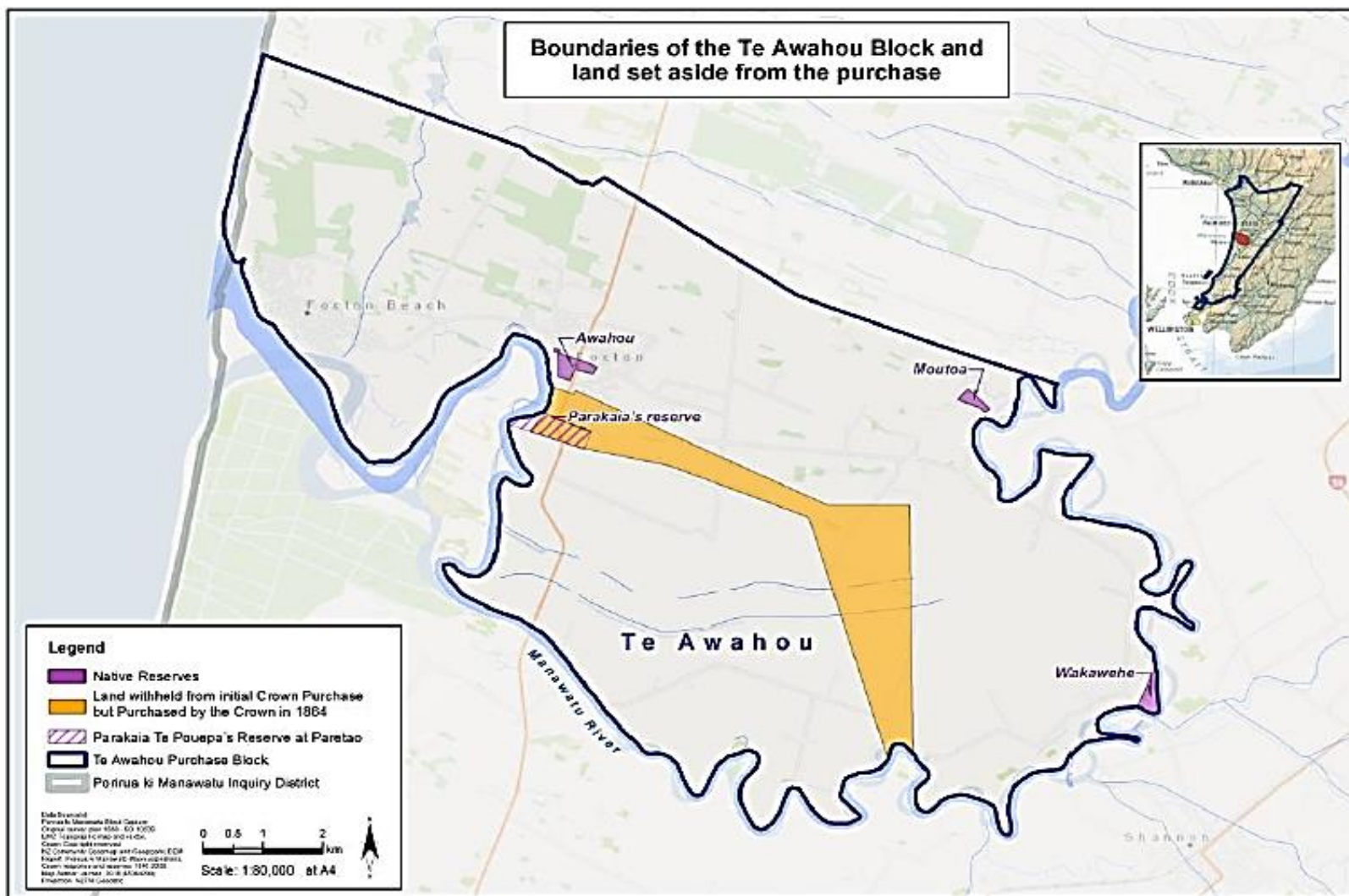
to a private owner. This section is part of the Ngāti Ngarongo claim. Reserves should also have been set aside at Karikari, Paiaka, Hokorawa and Te Awakeri o Ihakara, says Te Kenehi Teira.⁷⁰³

Map 28: Awahou Native Reserve, Foxton with named owners 1868



⁷⁰³ Teira 15 April 2018

Map 295: Boundaries of Te Awahou Block and land set aside from the purchase⁷⁰⁴



⁷⁰⁴ Husbands 2018.

After fighting had broken out in Taranaki in 1860, Governor Gore Brown sought to gain the loyalty of chiefs throughout the country by reiterating his commitment to the Treaty during a month-long hui at Kohimārama, Auckland. Ihakara Tukumarū and other chiefs from Manawatū attended. Taikapurua had passed away in 1858. Ihakara was quoted as saying at this hui that he was not in favour of selling land, but that he would consent to leasing.

“If you come and say to me, will you not consent to sell your land? I say, “no.” But if you come to me and say, “will you not agree to lease your land? I’m willing to do so.”⁷⁰⁵

Ihakara also proposed that a magistrate should come to Manawatū and that he should be a paid assistant to the magistrate. According to Matheson ⁷⁰⁶Ihakara was a Native Assessor, on an annual salary of £50, from 1852 until his death in 1881.

“This position involved assisting a Resident Magistrate to dispense justice among the Māori people and court sittings were held at Te Awahou to settle disputes concerning such matters as debts, thefts and assaults.”⁷⁰⁷

Ihakara established the first court for the Manawatū and Horowhenua district, by building it on his land (Main Road, Foxton). Matheson described Ihakara as a “peace-maker” during the 1860s and 70s, preventing the spread of violent conflict to the Manawatū. When disputes arose between iwi about ownership of land, he advocated a peaceful settlement by negotiation and referral to courts of law. Matheson:

“During these disputes the integrity, honesty and compassion of Ihakara and other Christian leaders of Ngāti Raukawa was acknowledged in the following words, said to have been uttered by Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu, of Ngāti Rangitāne: “Ko manawaroatanga o Ngāti Raukawa, ki te pupuri i te rangimarie, ara i te whakapono.”

(The stout-heartedness of Ngāti Raukawa, to hold fast to the peace of God by means of the Gospel.) Ngāti Raukawa had consented to Ngāti Apa selling the Rangitīkei–Turakina block in 1849, on the understanding that Ngāti Apa had conceded all land south of the Rangitīkei to Ngāti Raukawa.⁷⁰⁸

We agreed to allow Mr McLean’s tribe the Ngāti Apa to sell the land on the other side of the Rangitīkei to him, and the Ngāti Raukawa retained the land this side of Rangitīkei. It was through my consent that the land to the north side of the Rangitīkei was disposed of. The boundary of our land was then fixed at Rangitīkei.”⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁵ Ihakara, *Māori Messenger Te Karere Māori* 3 August 1860

⁷⁰⁶ Matheson 1983 p. 3.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ OMB1: 11-13 1872,

⁷⁰⁹ Buick 1903, pp. 171-2; Kukutauaki hearing, Ōtaki MB1, pp. 1-13.

Ngāti Raukawa received no money for the land north of the Rangitīkei, on the understanding that our iwi owned the land south of the river. And then Ngāti Apa persisted in trying to exercise rights on the south bank of the Rangitīkei, for example, they crossed the Rangitīkei to cut totara at Pakapakatea. Ngāti Raukawa replanted potatoes three times, which were three times burnt off by Ngāti Apa. Disputes continued.

Ten years later Ngāti Raukawa again generously consented to Rangitāne selling land at Ahuaturanga, up the Manawatū river, from just north of Tokomaru as far north as Apiti. Discussion about the sale began in 1858 and was concluded some years later. Ihakara Tukumarū (1872, OMB 1:11-13):

“Ahuaturanga - ...I did not agree to it. I retained the land in my hands. This included land which was included in my mana. Hirawhanu urged the sale but he did not get his wish, it was through my consent being given that the land was sold. We withdrew our boundary to Tuwhakatupua on the Manawatū River, this was on account of our allowing this land to be sold that we withdrew our boundary... We were invited to come here by Te Rauparaha, the land we now claim was his, he gave it to us, the Ngāti Raukawa.”⁷¹⁰

In the first six months of 1864, the Ahuaturanga purchase was finalised, (and) the Te Awahou reserves acquired. In the short term, the unsettled state of the country continued to impede the purchase of the larger part of the lower Manawatū. There was considerable danger of fighting flaring between Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne, and Ngāti Raukawa. ...the war in Taranaki further shifted the distribution of power among the Rangitīkei–Manawatū tribes towards the older occupiers who generally supported the Government and had long advocated sale of the lands excluded from the 1848 sale. Featherston and Buller promoted the alienation of the entire Manawatū area as the only means of maintaining peace in the district. In effect, Featherston fostered the growing power of Ngāti Apa in order to secure the sale of the block.

The New Zealand Company had surveyed sections south of the Manawatū in the early 1840s when sale of land there was being discussed, and further surveying north of the river occurred after the sale of the Awahou block. But due to the sales being disputed, and further tension between Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Apa, the Manawatū district was not settled until 1865, after the long-contested sale of the Rangitīkei–Manawatū block. This block extended from the northern boundary of the Awahou block (Omarupapaku) to the Rangitīkei river, and as far up-

⁷¹⁰ Anderson & Pickens 1996, p. 89

river as Tokorangi. As the Ngāti Raukawa chiefs had become Christianised, they had released slaves and allowed Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne to live amongst them south of the Rangitīkei. A mill had been erected at Makowhai by both Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Apa. Ngāti Parewahawaha leader Nepia Taratoa had also allowed Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne to be paid for lease of lands. Before his death Taratoa even handed over his own share of the rent to Ngāti Apa and urged them to cultivate friendly relations with Ngāti Raukawa. When Taratoa died in 1863, Ngāti Apa began to demand that the land was theirs. Many of the Ngāti Apa had fought alongside the Crown in Taranaki and had collected numerous guns and plenty of ammunition. But Ngāti Raukawa prepared for battle, and Ihakara built pā at Tawhirihoē, Hokianga and Makowhai south of the Rangitīkei, in preparation to fight with Ngāti Apa.⁷¹¹ Even Ihakara was angry (his blood was up) and ready to fight at this time. Wellington superintendent Dr Featherston then decided the Crown would impound the rents, and he effectively used this division between the tribes to obtain the land for the Crown. Long debates took place, and by October 1864, the sellers had become predominant. In a meeting at Te Wharangi, by the Manawatū river, Ihakara and seven other Ngāti Raukawa chiefs offered sale of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block to the Crown. To confirm the arrangement, as a kind of “receipt” and to assert his mana over the river and land being sold, Ihakara handed Featherston a mere named “Rangitīkei”.

But for the offer to be ratified, Ihakara said it needed to be consented by the tribe, and many hui were held towards this end. The passing of the Native Lands Act 1865, under which the land between Ohau and Rangitīkei was excluded from those lands which could be sold to anyone but the Crown, caused resentment at this time. By giving themselves a monopoly on sales, the Crown could offer as much or as little money as it liked, and the tribes would have no option. A cartoon was circulated by “Kaionge”, depicting the three tribes as pigs being driven to market by Featherston and his agent, Mr Walter Buller. The Act also put into law the individualisation of title, by requiring a maximum of ten names on a title. Ihakara objected to how Ngāti Raukawa was being treated, saying that he felt “blind-folded” and that Featherston and Buller, whom he had thought were friends, were trying to “hamapaka” (humbug) him. But Featherston eased his feelings, saying that exclusion was necessary where land was in dispute, or the Government in negotiation for its purchase. Ihakara was promised that “the fence” would be removed from his own land at Ohau. Other chiefs continued to object. Featherston continued

⁷¹¹ Buick 1903, p. 182, p. 205.

to advocate that sale to the Crown was the only way to settle the dispute between the tribes. While Ngāti Raukawa demanded the Government release the rent money and promised that it would be divided fairly amongst the tribes, Featherston did not agree. Instead he said he would consult more widely – with Ngāti Kauwhata, Rangitāne, Ngāti Ngarongo (led by Ihakara), Ngāti Raukawa in Ōtaki, and Ngāti Apa. If they all promised to divide the rents fairly, he would do so. While some chiefs, including Peeti Te Aweawe of Rangitāne opposed sale, Hoani Meihana was considered the principal chief and advocated sale, and also opposed the handing over of the rent money. Opposition to sale began to diminish, and now there was argument about price. In early 1866, there was a large hui held at Takapu. But Ngāti Apa was refusing to attend and said they would never consent to unite with Ngāti Raukawa in selling the land. After being told by Featherston that the Government was willing and able to maintain order, ie use force, if the tribes took up arms against each other, discussion of terms began. This threat of force was significant, when the Treaty had promised chiefs the free retention of all their taonga, including whenua.

On 5th April 1866, there was a gathering of about 700 people at Takapu. Ngāti Raukawa hapū included Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Whakatere, Ngāti Huia and others. Ngāti Apa was not represented. Ihakara had collected 40 tons of food, which he gave away after the initial speeches. Ihakara was persuasive, in saying that there were only two options – fight Ngāti Apa for the land or sell it to the Queen. He had wanted to fight but had set aside that option in favour of peace. His young men had laid aside their guns and were planting potatoes. Because it was disputed land, he would drop the price to £21,000. “This would show that he was selling, not for the sake of the money, but to prevent fighting.... It was the price of peace.” Christian chiefs Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha, who were also paid Native Assessors, were in favour of sale. By the next day, 7th April, opposition was waning and Ihakara urged Featherston to make a payment. Featherston was determined to include Ngāti Apa in the agreement and sent a delegation to approach them.

After talks with Ngāti Apa, those who opposed sale conceded that there was no other way to avoid conflict with Ngāti Apa. Arbitration, division of land or a Native Land Court investigation were not practical solutions, as neither tribe would concede to the other, Featherston told them. He called on each of the tribes in turn to declare their consent to the sale – Whanganui, Ngāti Apa, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Toa (Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha), Rangitāne, all of whom consented. He then told Ngāti Raukawa, who were still

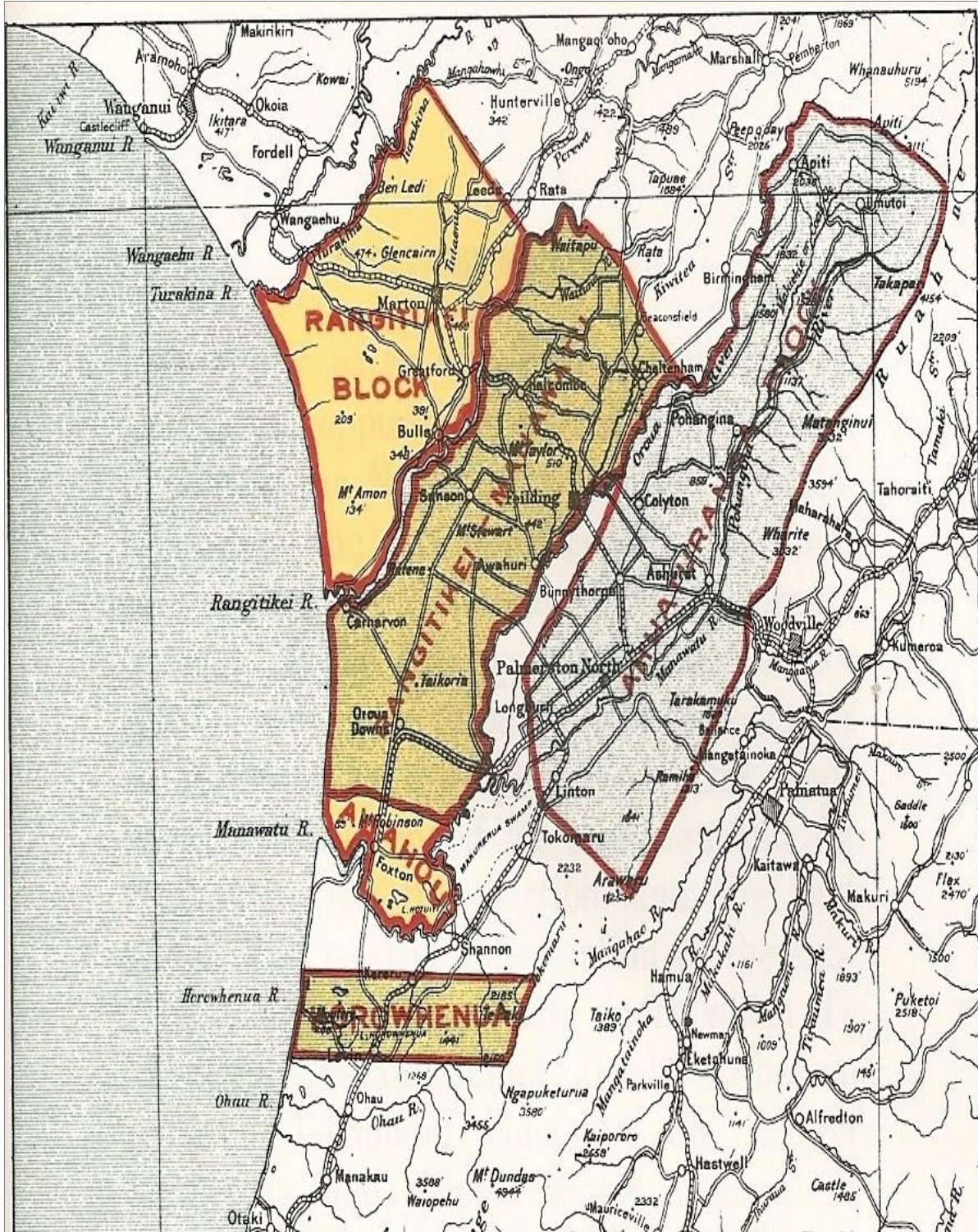
divided, that five of the six tribes concerned were in favour of sale, and that the majority of Ngāti Raukawa was also in favour. The opponents had said they would abide by the majority, and so he argued that consent had been given. The price offered was £25,000. A memorandum of agreement affirming the sale and describing the boundaries was then prepared, and on 16th April it was signed by over 200 of the principal claimants. Some claimants went to Wellington to make a case for retention of their lands within the block e.g. Himatangi. A report in the Wanganui Chronicle said, “Signatures to the sale were slowly gathered from pā to pā, from one settlement to another. Many felt an injustice was being done to them.”⁷¹²

The debate had continued for years now, and the matter of division of the sale money was no less contentious when it was discussed at Parewanui Pa on 10th December 1867. Ngāti Apa wanted the lion’s share (£22,000) of the £25,000 offered. Ngāti Raukawa argued for equal division. Finally, it was agreed that Ngāti Apa should receive £15,000 and Ngāti Raukawa £10,000, from which they would also satisfy the outstanding claimants within their tribes. Those selected to receive payment on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa were Ihakara Tukumarū and Aperehama Huruhuru.

Finally, the deed of surrender was signed by Dr. Featherston, as Land Purchase Commissioner, and witnessed by Buller, then Resident Magistrate and Whanganui. Two days later, 15th December 1866, Featherston brought the money back from Whanganui for the land and gave his signet ring to “Governor” Hunia in gratitude for his co-operation. He hoped it would symbolise friendship between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa. Hunia and Ihakara signed receipts which were attached to the deed of sale. The Himatangi block claim was eventually heard by the Native Land Court, with a judgement given in 1868. Ihakara and Ngāti Ngarongo (or Patukohuru) were not the lead claimants, but also made a claim on the block. The court found that while Ngāti Raukawa had acquired and exercised the rights of ownership over the territory in question, the original owners had not been absolutely dispossessed and also had rights, though they “were compelled to share their territory with ...Ngāti Raukawa”. Ngāti Raukawa claimants were therefore entitled to one half less 2/27ths of the land claimed. So instead of the 22,000 acres claimed, they received 11,000. The claim of Ihakara and Patukohuru, “founded on temporary occupation”, was not accepted.

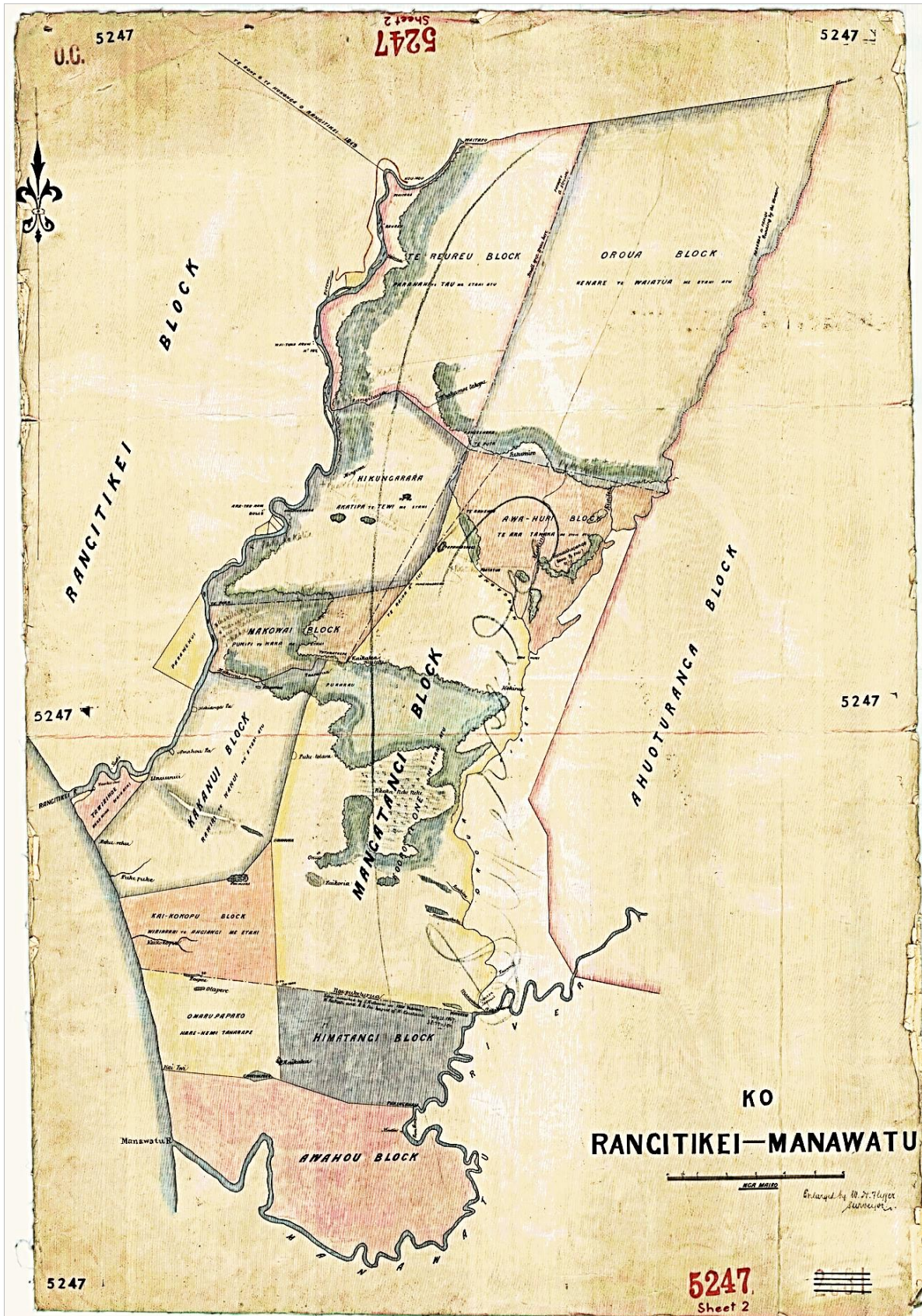
⁷¹² Buick 1903 p224; Wanganui Chronicle, July 1867.

Map 306: Buick 1903, Map showing Native Blocks p.168



Blocks included in the Rangitikei-Manawatu block were Omarupapaku, Kaikokopu, Himatangi, Kakanui, Makowhai, Mangatangi, Tawhirihoe, Hikungarara, and Awahuri (see map below). It was a huge block of land of over 100,000 acres (an estimate as the acreage was not stated in reports). The Himatangi block alone was 22,000 acres (see map below).

Map 317: Rangitikei-Manawatu Land Block⁷¹³



⁷¹³ Foxton ML_5247, Sheet 2, 1868.

The decision to admit “joint ownership” with Ngāti Apa was unfair, unreasonable, and a serious injustice against Ngāti Raukawa, we contend. The process by which the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block sale was undertaken was unfair and unjust. Ngāti Raukawa had become predominant in the area and any Ngāti Apa living amongst them was in a state of servitude under them at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁷¹⁴ A further investigation into the block was heard by the Native Land Court in 1869, with Judge Prendergast presiding. It concluded even less favourably for our hapū and iwi when it found that Ngāti Raukawa had not acquired any rights by conquest or occupation in the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block by 1840. The political climate had hardened against Ngāti Raukawa as a result of the conflicts which had occurred in Taranaki, the rise of the Kingitanga, and a sense that many Ngāti Raukawa leaders were not submitting to the Queen and were resisting land sales.

The specific areas within the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block where Ngāti Ngarongo had land interests were: the places Ihakara built pā (Tawhirihoē, Hokianga and Makowhai), and also parts of the Himatangi block which we had occupied at times. Te Kenehi Teira: “Ihakara was receiving rent for various places within the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block.”⁷¹⁵ Ihakara had also given Featherston three mere to retain ownership of the three lakes – Pukepuke, Omanuka and Kaikokopu.

Thomas C. Williams, a lawyer and son of the missionary Samuel, became so passionate about the injustice done to Ngāti Raukawa that in 1873 he advocated in Parliament and published our case in the newspaper.

“A people when savages and independent were merciful to the prostrate. They are afterwards led to embrace Christianity and to subject themselves to the Dominion of a Christian Queen. Their having been merciful when savages was the cause of their ruin under the Christian rule! My case is one of unscrupulous Anglo-Saxon greed and oppression triumphant over peaceable Māori submission.”

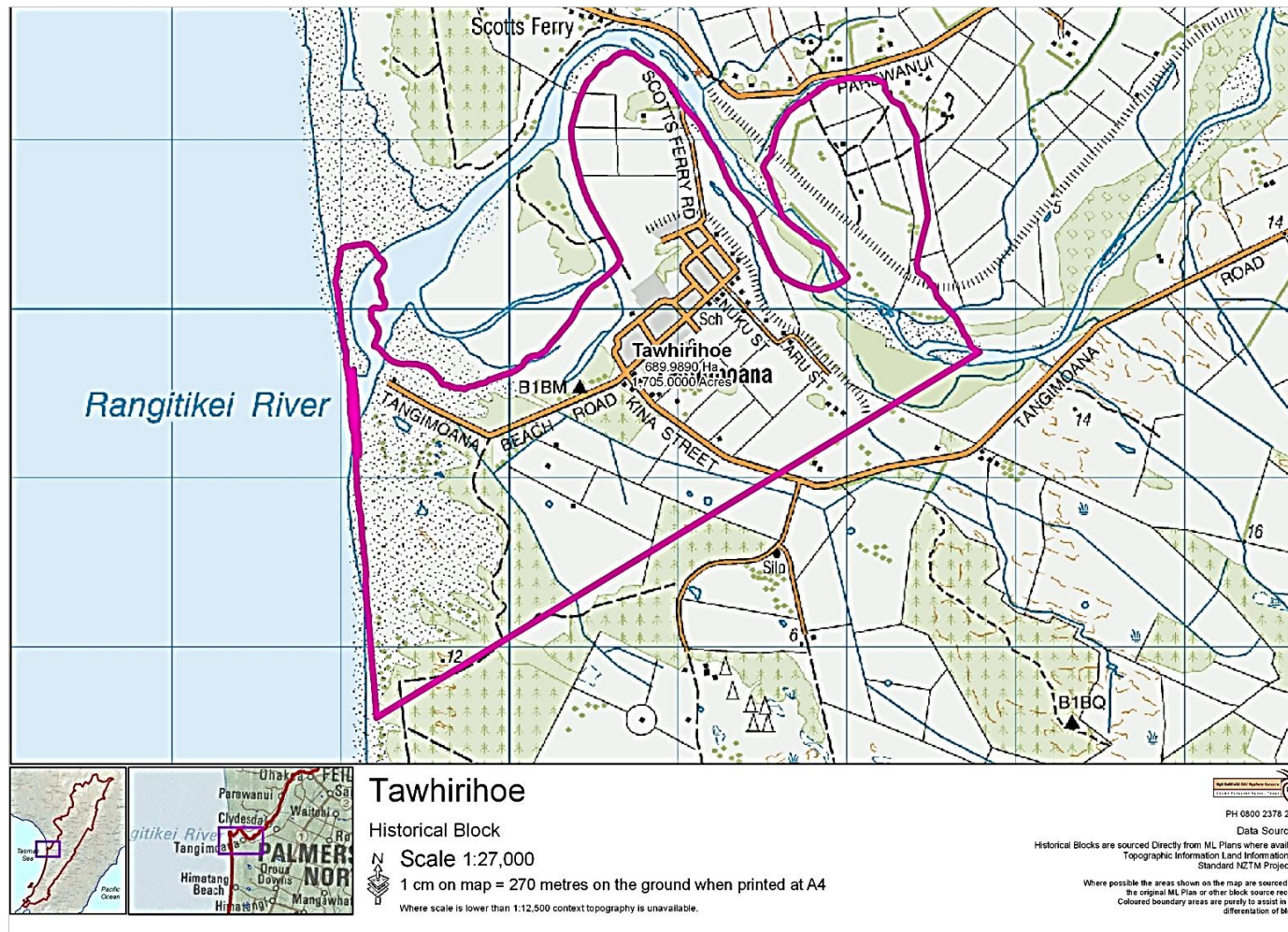
Ngāti Raukawa had been “undisputed owners, masters and possessors of a large tract of country”, from Kukutauaki stream in the south to the Whangaehu in the north, at the time the Treaty was signed, and had been promised the retention of their lands, he wrote.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁴ Buick 1903, pp. 245-6.

⁷¹⁵ Teira April 2018

⁷¹⁶ Williams 1873, pp. 2-3, p. 5.

Map 32: Tawhirihoe Block⁷¹⁷



⁷¹⁷ Teira 20 April 2018. The Tawhirihoe block south of the Rangitikei river mouth, includes Tangimoana township. Ihakara's Tawhirihoe pā was there. Supplied by S. Halliday, for Te Hono, 2017. When a pilot's house was situated at the Rangitikei heads, rent was paid to Ihakara.

4.0 Manawatū-Kukutauaki

The final huge area of land which was taken wrongfully by the Crown from Ngāti Ngarongo and other hapū of Ngāti Raukawa was the Manawatū-Kukutauaki block, which stretched all the way from the Manawatū river to Kukutauaki stream, just north of Waikanae. The Government wanted the land for strategic reasons, and to expand European settlement.⁷¹⁸ Ihakara was one of the first claimants and speaking before Judge Rogan, in Foxton, he said.

“Our claim to this land is by right of conquest. I’m able to state a portion of the land in which we claim this land. Te Rauparaha, Ngati Awa and Ngati Toa – after the arrival of these tribes the Ngāti Raukawa came. I arrived here in the year 1830. We were invited to come here by Te Rauparaha, the land we now claim was his, he gave it to us (the Ngāti Raukawa).”⁷¹⁹

Ngati Ngarongo owned land in the north of this district and allowed the Crown to survey it as part of an investigation of their claim to title. Muaūpoko disrupted surveys until they were allowed to mark out their own preferred boundaries. Food shortages and illness in 1872 were factors in our hapū members seeking work on the roads and tramways and added to the pressure to sell. Large areas of land were sold in 1874-76. Manawatū-Kukutauaki No. 3 was an area of 11,400 acres known as Ihakara’s reserve, east of Koputoroa stream. In 1873, ownership was awarded to ten individuals, including Ihakara, Kereopa Tukumarū and Hohepa Te Hana of Ngāti Ngarongo. In December 1875 most of it was purchased by the Crown, except 4,000 acres in the north-west, including the kainga of Kereru, Koputoroa stream and access to the Manawatū river. While it had been acknowledged that 93 other people had interests in the wider block, only ten names were put on this smaller reserve. Arona Te Hana objected, and in 1887 he achieved the return of the land as a Crown grant with 65 owners. After a long court hearing, it was divided between the two hapū of Ngāti Ngarongo (3A) and Ngāti Takihiku (3B). The smaller lists of owners had individual shares, which led to fragmentation and loss of communal ownership. This is part of our claim.

⁷¹⁸ Anderson and Pickens. 1996, p. 166.

⁷¹⁹ OMB1: 11-13. 5 November 1872.

Ngāti Ngarongo also claims land in the foothills of the Tararua range, for example, a block now owned by Department of Conservation between Potts Road and Shannon. The foothills were used for birding and getting timber.⁷²⁰

⁷²⁰ Teira, April 2018.

Map 33: Ihakara's Reserve, 1897. Superimposed over aerial view (S. Halliday 2018)



5.0 Horowhenua Block disputes – Ngāti Ngarongo

In relation to land court hearings for land south of the Manawatū, Ngāti Raukawa had some success in the Manawatū-Kukutauaki case but was devastated by the huge losses imposed on them by the Horowhenua block decision of 1873. The court rejected the Ngāti Raukawa claim, and found wholly in favour of Muaūpoko, giving Muaūpoko an extra 30,000 acres of land, in addition to the 20,000 Ngāti Raukawa had generously been willing to concede. From Ngāti Raukawa being the predominant owner-occupier, we now became the minor interest/occupier. Again, the decision was clearly political, as Muaūpoko had supported British troops in Taranaki, had been rewarded with guns, and now Major Kemp threatened to go to war if he did not get all the land he wanted. Ngāti Huia at Poroutawhao lost about 15,000 acres and were also expected to pay a huge legal bill to their lawyer, Buckley. They did not have the money⁷²¹.

“For some reason, perhaps because they thought he hadn’t done a good enough job as a Native Assessor, they expected Ihakara Tukumarū to pay this bill. So, a block of land, from Otauru stream at Shannon to Buckley Rd, 3,000 acres, the northern part of the Ihakara block, was given to Buckley to pay his bill.”⁷²²

This is part of our claim.

6.0 Matararapa

Ngāti Ngarongo enjoyed living at Matararapa from the 1820s to the 1940s, when European commercial interests led to a decision to create the Whirokino cut, a short-cut for the river, which effectively cut off access to the land on the peninsula for the local hapū. The peninsula of Matararapa (now an island) includes the former Matararapa Block, Kukutauaki 7E and Rerengaohau No. 2 and 3 Blocks. The land was then set aside for a Māori Development Scheme, which had little or no benefit for our hapū, and is now in the control of the local council, Horowhenua District Council which uses it for the disposal of waste-water. This is a key grievance for our hapū.

⁷²¹ Teira 15 April 2018

⁷²² Patete 2017, p. 63.

7.0 Timeline

7.1 Native Land Court Minutes

1820s-1830s - Taikapuraa, Ihakara Tukumarū and Renata Roherohe were some of the Ngāti Ngarongo chiefs who lived at Matarakapa. Tuna-fishing was an important occupation, and channels were dug at Kimi Mai i Tawhiti, at the north end, to enable eels to be caught by closing off both ends, and also at Kahikatea. Many species of fish were caught in the river, including snapper, mullet and flounder.

1840s - Ihakara Tukumarū began leasing land on Matarakapa block (north end) to Europeans and gave consent for a ferry to be run from Matarakapa to Te Awahou. He was also in control of the ferry four miles up-river at Whirokino, operated by T U Cook, husband of Meretini Te Akau (Ngāti Kikopiri). He later had a dispute with the ferryman, Thomas Bowe, who said his contract allowed him to charge fees from people who took their own waka across within a certain distance of the ferry. Again, the Europeans wanted to have sole authority over key transport routes. So Ihakara and two other chiefs, asserting their own mana, closed the road to the beach which went through their land, and set up a toll on it, near his house on Matarakapa.⁷²³

1877-78 The whare tupuna Te Aputa ki Wairau was built at Matarakapa by Kereopa McGregor. Carvings by his brother Hokowhitu McGregor were added later. This whare remained until the 1940s.

1880 – The church Te Upiri was built at Matarakapa, to acknowledge 40 years of Christianity in the area. Te Upiri blew down in a storm in 1968. Several people were buried near this church, including Ihakara’s younger brother Ruanui. Earlier burials were on the ridges.

1886 – Opening of Wellington-Manawatū railway led to pressure to sell land in eastern district.

1905 – Native Land Court hearing, Matarakapa block. Arona Te Hana told the court, in claiming the land for Ngāti Ngarongo, that about 100 Ngāti Ngarongo people used to live there:

⁷²³ Ōtaki Historical Society Journal, vol 4, pp. 123.

“They cultivated and occupied permanently, and their descendants have continued to do so until the present time. Paora and Te Hana were the first to occupy, and from that time our fires have burnt continuously on the land.”

1906: Most of the land was put into individual ownership by the Native Land Court, but a reserve was established for all owners for the meeting house, Matararapa No. 5 - 1 acre⁷²⁴.

1930s – Matararapa became part of Government’s Manawatū Land Development Scheme.

1942-43 The Public Works Department of central government decided to tackle flooding problems by making a cut to shorten the river and increase its rate of flow to the sea. The Whirokino Cut impacted heavily on the Matararapa community by reducing access and services.

1949 – Pipeline across Matararapa installed to take wastewater from flax mills to the western loop.

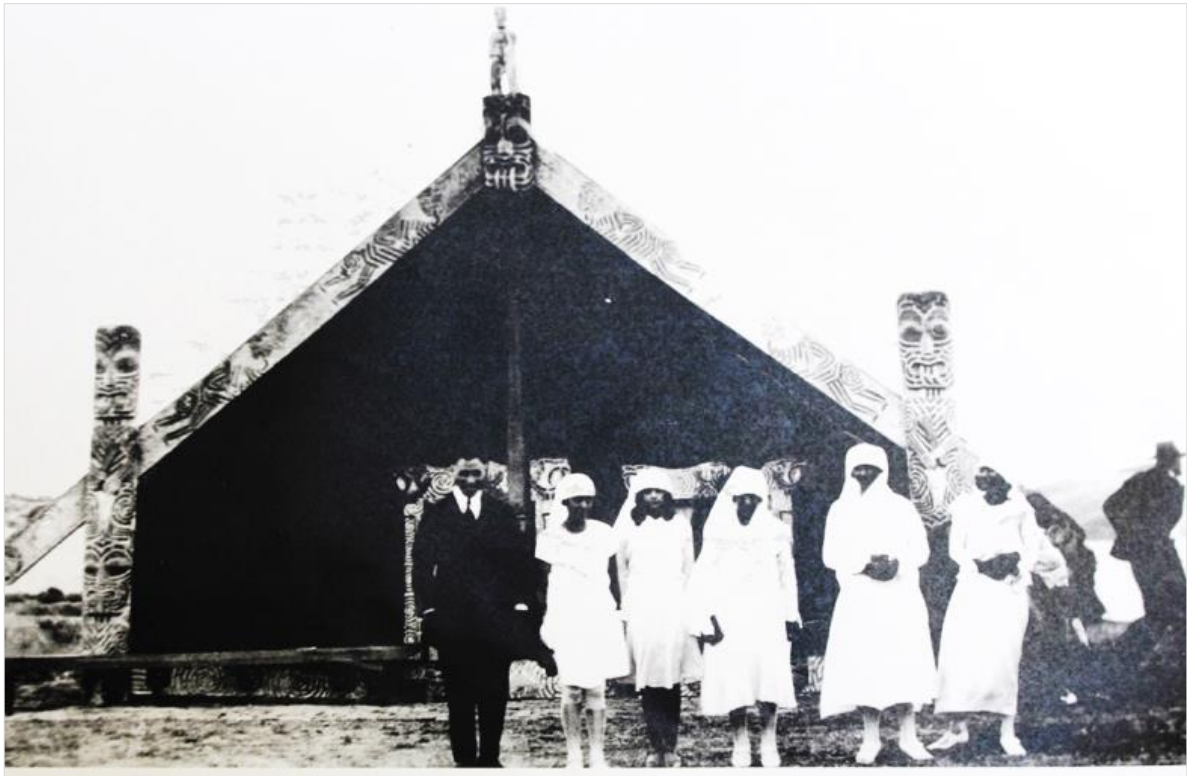
1976 – Foxton’s sewage began to be piped to oxidation ponds established on western Matararapa. From the oxidation ponds, the treated effluent runs into the western river loop.

2017 - Ngāti Ngarongo concerns about this activity were expressed, along with those of other hapū. A recent development of concern is the Horowhenua District Council’s plan to spread the wastewater over land at Matararapa.

2018 – Ngāti Ngarongo still owns the Matararapa No. 5 reserve, of one acre. An agreement has been negotiated with the Horowhenua District Council including mitigation and compensation for impact of waste-water spreading on land.

⁷²⁴ OMB-47, 25 January 1906

Image 57: Te Aputa ki Wairau Meeting House, Matararapa



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8.0 TE RERENGA O HAU BLOCK

Te Rerenga o Hau Block was 1,226 acres including the lower section of the Matararapa peninsula and a large area west to the coast. The name derives from the story of Haunui a Nanaia, travelling south in pursuit of his wife and her lover. He flew over the river at this place. Ngāti Ngarongo occupied this land from before the time of Haowhenua (1834) and have lived there since, they told the Native Land Court in 1870. Ihakara Tukumarū built a home there.

“There are cultivations of mine on the east side of that shown, on the river. I have a house at Te Rerengaohau. It is a wooden house, built by me.” Ihakara Tukumarū.⁷²⁶

Ihakara’s daughter Te Aputa ki Wairau was born at Te Rerengaohau and lived permanently at Matararapa.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁵ 1940s confirmation ceremony

⁷²⁶ OMB 1F, 7.7.1870.

⁷²⁷ Taken at the opening of Raukawa whare tupuna in 1936. Ōtaki Historical Journal, vol. 4, p. 121.

There is also an urupā on this land. Ihakara's wife Ema became the owner of the western section, near the coast, and Arona Te Hana owned the eastern portion, on the peninsula. This is part of our claim.⁷²⁸

Papangaio – (ngaio tree flat). The Papangaio block was previously on the north side of river (see map above), now mostly on the south. The river changed course when Whirokino cut was put through - it used to go out further north near the surf club (see maps above and below). There was a pā in 1842 (see Bree's survey), which was occupied by various hapū including Ngāti Ngarongo. It was not shown on Stewart's map (1856). Ihakara and other chiefs met with Wakefield at the pā at Papangaio in 1842 to discuss the sale of land. The river now covers a large part of Papangaio, and another part is covered by the Waitarere forest, a privately-owned production forest. This is part of our claim.

Image 58: Aputa ki Wairua Tukumaru

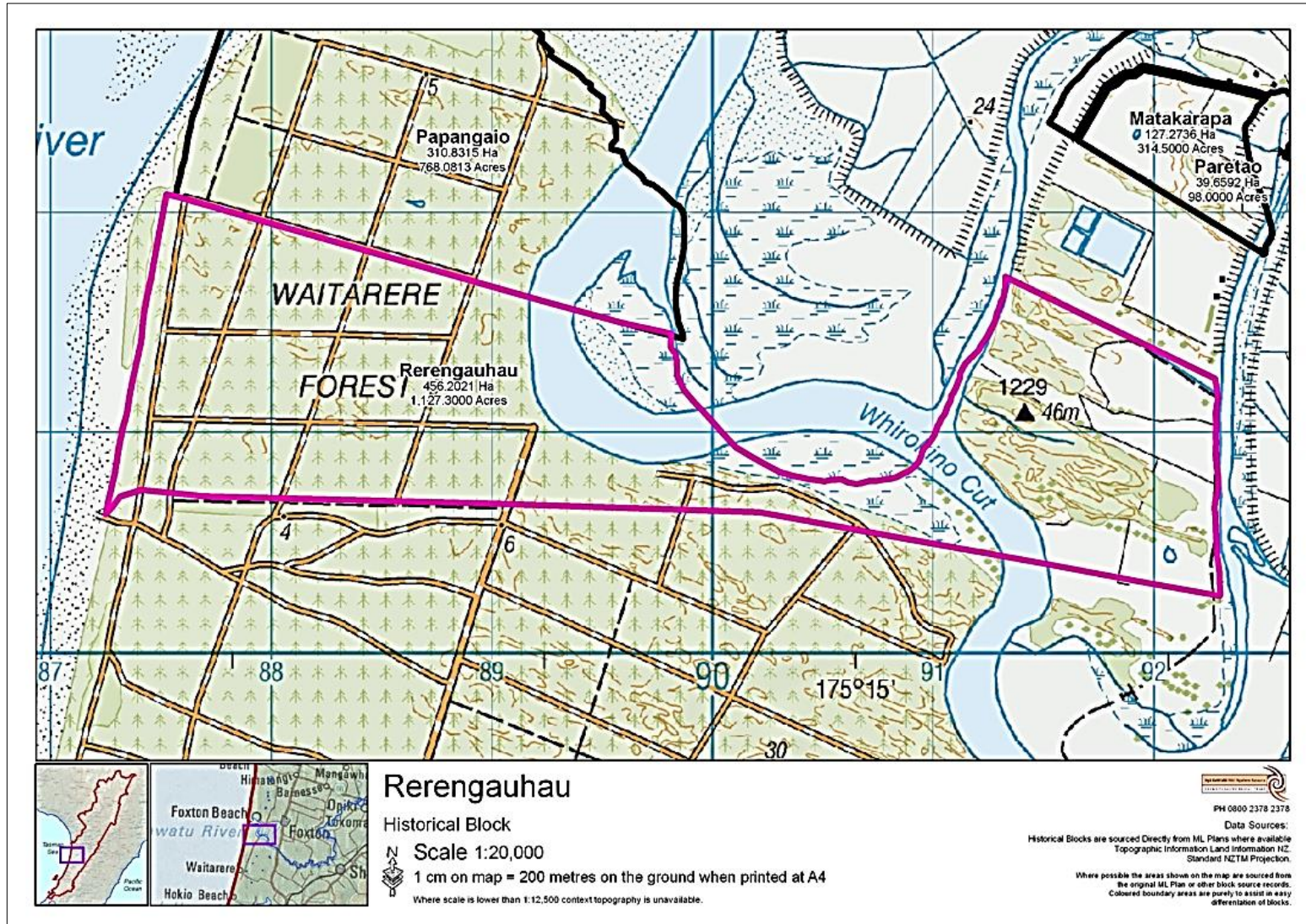


⁷²⁸ Moutere and Mt Robinson survey, 1928, Chief Surveyor Waters.

Map 40: Mataraka, Te Rerenga o Hau, Papangaio and Te Wharangi Blocks

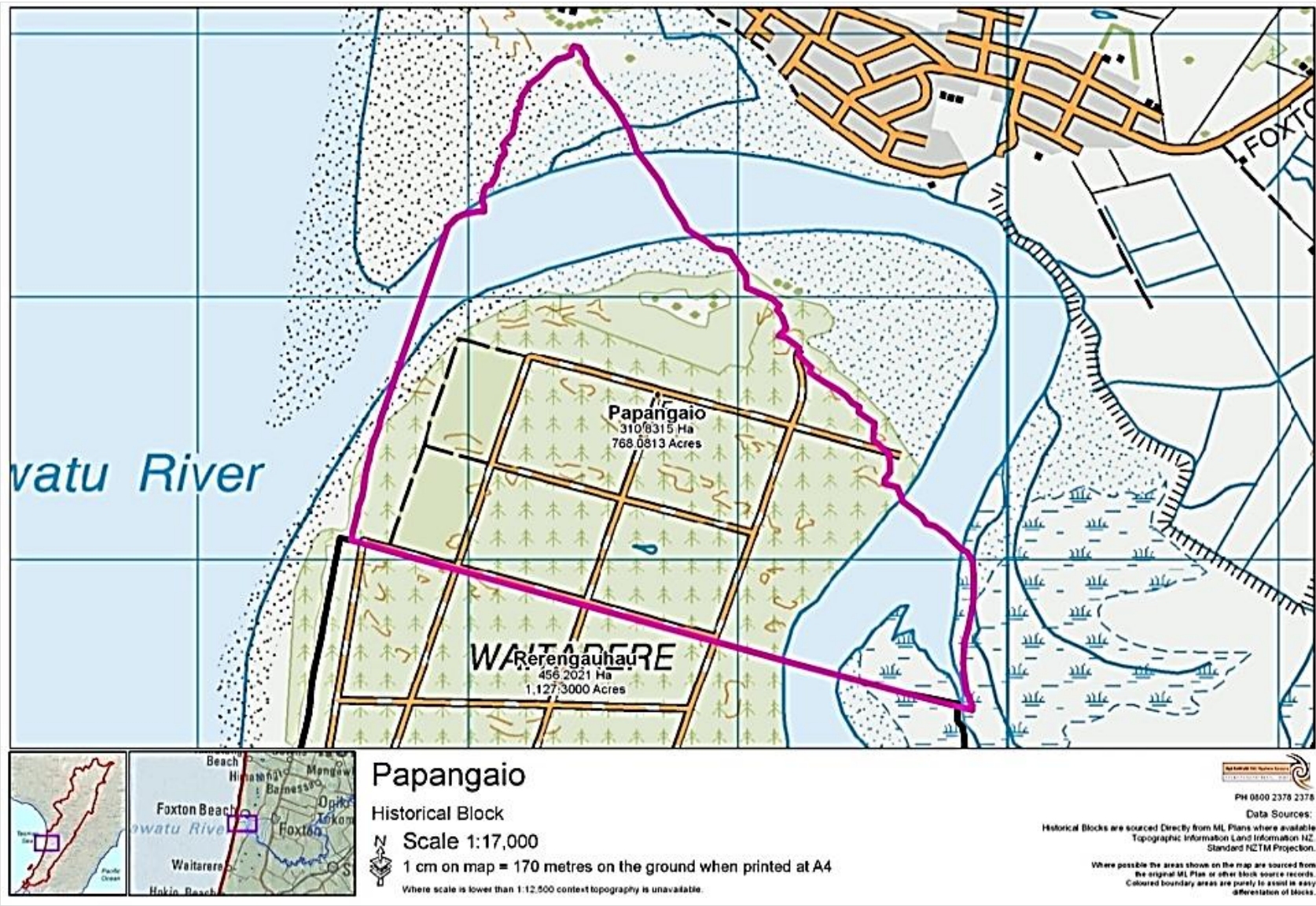


Map 41: Rerengauhau Block Today⁷²⁹



⁷²⁹ The cut has impacted on the urupā on the eastern section of this block. Supplied by S. Halliday for Te Hono ki Raukawa, 2017.

Map 34: Papangaio Block showing the current river position. (S. Halliday 2017)



9.0 WATERWAYS – MANAWATŪ AND KOPUTOROA

“Ngāti Ngarongo lived on the river, the river was our life,” says Te Kenehi (19.4.18). “We are the people of the river. We would eat, sleep and breathe the Manawatū river. If it wasn’t for the Manawatū our people would have died, not just in the major Depression, but also when devastated by disease. Our isolation helped us create a safe haven for our people.”

While members of the hapū still go eeling and fishing in the river, it has become a health-risk.

“The Manawatū River has been described as one of the most polluted rivers in the western world. The river contains some 75,600 cubic meters of discharged waste on a daily basis.”⁷³⁰

The main polluters are the Palmerston North City Council, the towns of Feilding, Dannevirke, and Ashhurst; and the Longburn Fonterra plant. The Kessels Ecology report stated that the E. coli (bacteria found in faeces of humans and animals) counts in 2012 were too high to allow primary contact (swimming, drinking), but within the limits allowing secondary contact (fishing). In 2013 the median values were within the limits for both primary and secondary contact, but sometimes above the limits for both. While there appeared to be improvement on some measures between 2012-2013, there was no improvement in several other measures, including E. coli and nitrogen levels.

The Manawatū River has been described as being “a crisis point in the region” and while Horizons Regional Council’s recently finalised ‘One Plan’ offers some hope of stronger governance towards better water quality⁷³¹, concern levels within our hapū in the lower Manawatū remain high. The political influence of Federated Farmers and Fonterra is strong due to their economic contributions in the region, and tangata whenua groups struggle to be heard, let alone influence policy.

Mauri binds the physical and spiritual worlds and is the life-force of all living things. When the mauri of our awa is low, the mauri of our people is also low. High pollution levels affect the ability of our hapū to engage with our awa, to harvest kai from the awa, and to enjoy the awa for transport and recreation. The lower Manawatū hapū have been part of a River Leaders

⁷³⁰ J. Morgan & K. Burns, “Manawatū River among Worst in the West,” The Dominion Post 2009.

⁷³¹ www.policyprojects.ac.nz/connorduffy/analysisandfindings.

Accord which has provided clear messages to the Horizons Regional Council and Horowhenua District Council that the discharge of any human waste into the Manawatū River is not acceptable as a pollutant and is culturally offensive.⁷³²

While the overflow from the Foxton wastewater treatment is only one of many factors contributing to the pollution of the Manawatū river, it remains significant, particularly to those hapū associated with the kainga on Matararapa (e.g. Ngāti Ngarongo). The wastewater treatment plant run by the Horowhenua District Council is situated on the west side of Matararapa, near the Matararapa kainga and urupā. It discharges into the western side of the river loop, and hence the contaminated water flows around the loop to the town of Foxton, as well as back down the loop to the main body of the Manawatū. Discharging onto the lands of our tūpuna is also a problem. It is hoped that the Horowhenua District Council will seek an alternative site for wastewater treatment. Dairy farming and allowing cattle to run unfenced near the awa is also an issue. The impact of pollution on our awa, the Manawatū, is significant in our treaty claims. The Koputoroa stream is also affected by farm run-off, market-gardens, and other commercial practices.⁷³³

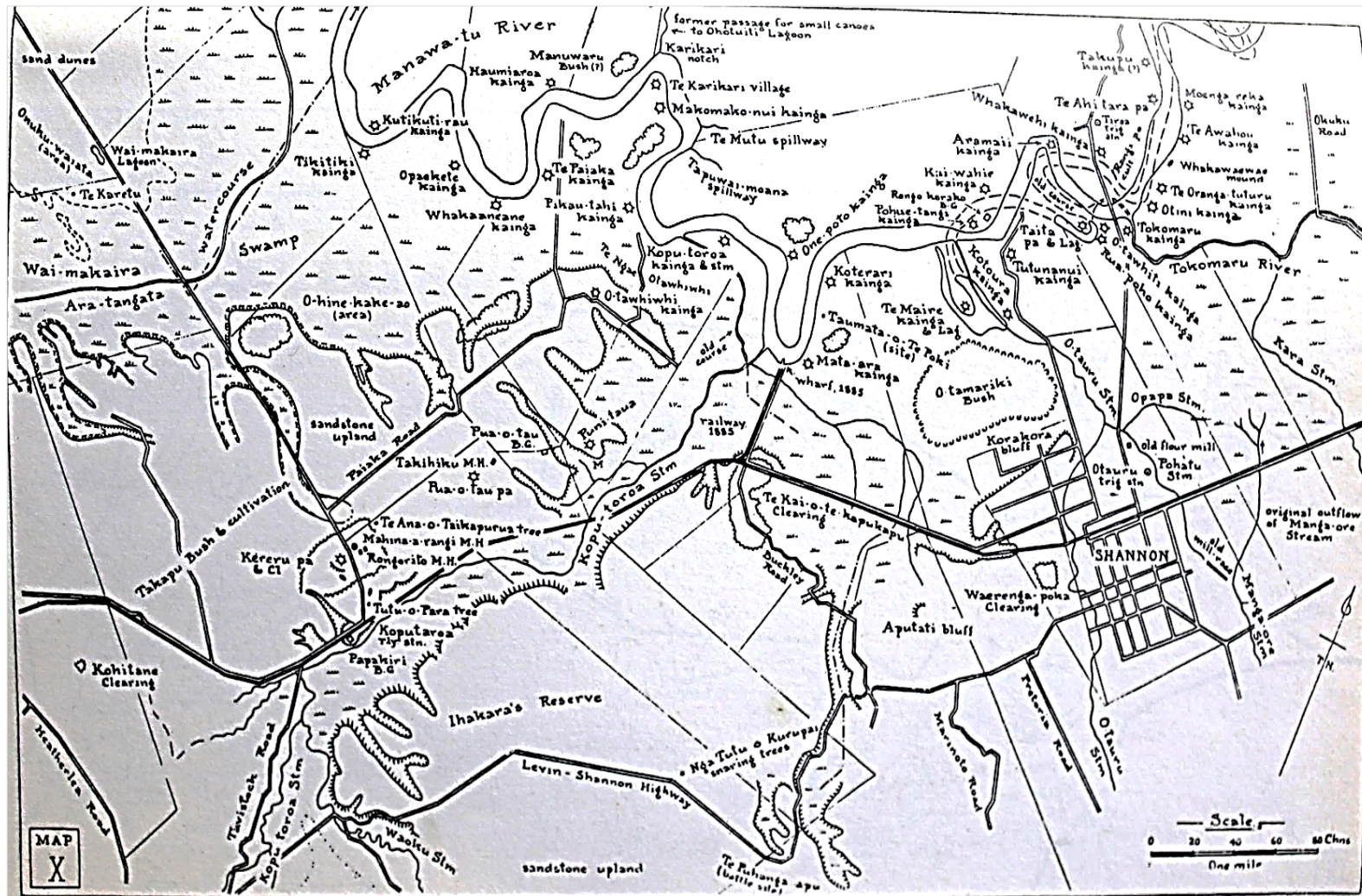
⁷³² Morgan, K. 2009. Zater Management and the ‘Mauri Model’ Decision-making Framework http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/about-massey/subsidiaries-commercial-ventures/manu-ao/seminars/2009-seminars/2009-seminars_home.cfm.

⁷³³ Note that this report does not include the history of Ngāti Hinemata, which is another story.

CONCLUSION

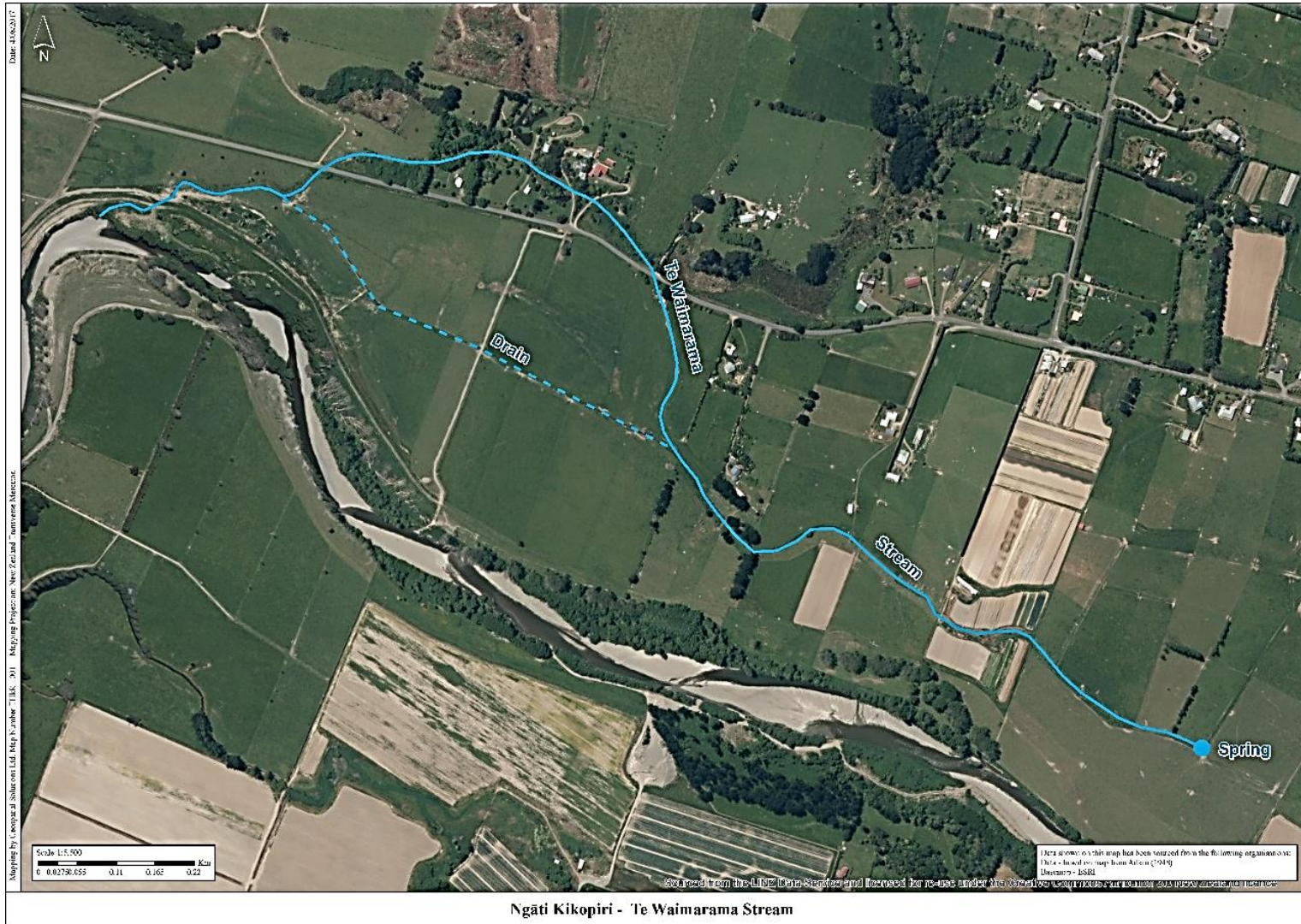
When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, our hapū Ngāti Ngarongo was numerous, with wide estates and resources to supply plentiful kai and maintain our customary communal lifestyle under the leadership of our rangatira Taikapurua and Ihakara Tukumarū. The loss of land, inadequate land reserves, and the pollution of our waterways have under-mined our rangatiratanga, the authority of our chiefs and our ability to sustain ourselves from our local environment as the health of the river deteriorated, the health of our people deteriorated. With the loss of land and waterways came the loss of economic independence. People went to towns and cities where alcohol, tobacco and unhealthy foods have taken their toll on our health. As a result, our sense of connection to Papatūānuku, Tanemahuta, Parawhenuamea and Tangaroa has been weakened. While we still have reasonable population numbers, we are scattered far and wide, and we struggle to bring our people together and maintain cultural and communal values.

Map 35: Adkin 1949, Map X⁷³⁴



⁷³⁴ Shows position of Mahinaarangi meeting house, Koputoroa stream, Manawatū river and Ihakara's reserve.

Map 36: Drain affecting Waimarama Stream (S. Halliday, 2017)



He Kāwei Tautika Mai Ki A Au

NGĀTI TAKIHIKU PŪRONGO Ā HAPŪ



He pūrongo motuhake mō Te Tarahēti o Te Hono ki Raukawa
nā Te Kaitiaki Rēti Ngahere Karauna

Haratua 2018

KUPU WHAKATAKI

He mea tuhituhi tēnei nā ngā uri o Ngāti Takihiku, hei reo motuhenga mō ngā whānau whānui o tēnei tupuna o tātou. E whakaaro nui ana ki a nunumi mā, ki a roroa mā, kua ngaro i te tirohanga kanohi. Kua whakaemihia ēnei korero katoa mō rātou hei taonga tuku iho mō ngā uri whakatupu.

Ahakoia he iwi nui a Raukawa, he nui ōna wahanga, ōna wehewehenga te whakakopani. Ko Ngāti Takihiku te karanga hapū e whai take ai ki aua wehewehenga o Raukawa hei iwi motuhake nō Tainui waka whānui.

He koha tēnei mō te Kerēme WAI-113, kia Takihiku anō te titiro ki te ao, ōna nehe mō te anamata hoki. He timatanga tēnei kia rongō i ngā mauāhara i patu kinohia e te Karauna.

E ono ngā wāhanga hei koha mō tēnei purongo

- Te Whare o Turongo
- Mai Wharepuhunga ki te Kōpū-o-te-Toroa
- Ngā kokonga whare ka kitea
- He Whenua Kotikoti
- Ngā Mauāhara
- He Whakarāpopoto

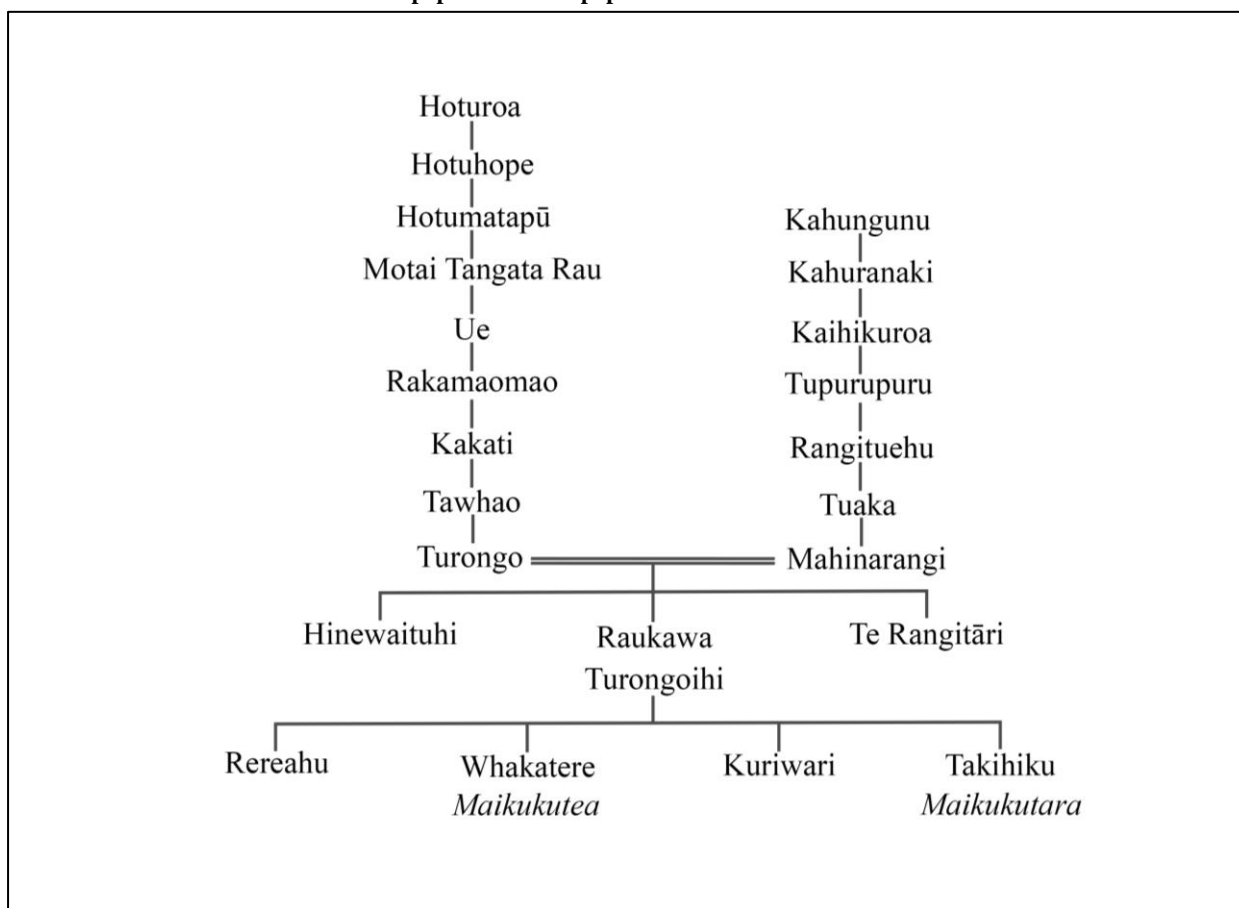
1.0 TE WHARE O TURONGO

Ko Te Whare o Tūrongo tētehi āhua kāore i te kaha rangona. Heoi anō, e tika ana kia āta whakatakotoria tēnei korero hei punua mātauranga mō te katoa. Ko Motai Tangata Rau, te tupuna i whānau tuatahi mai ki Aotearoa, nō muri mai i taenga mai o Tainui ki Aotearoa, e toru whakatupuranga hoki hei mokopuna tuarua nā Hoturoa.

Mō te tupuna nei a Raukawa, koia anahe te tupuna e mōhiotia whānuitia ana e ngā iwi o Tainui waka. Heoi anō, mō Te Whare o Turongo⁷³⁵, e mea ana a Ngāti Takihiku, he tuahine ōna.

⁷³⁵ Phillips, wh.21 vol.1

Whakapapa 38: Whakapapa of Takihiku to Hoturoa



Ko Hinewaituhi tōmua, ko Raukawa, tōmuri, ko Te Rangatāiri te whakapākanga. I whakatupua tahitia te whare o Tūrongo i te pā o Rangiātea, i Wharepuhunga tonu. Ka pakeke mai a Rereahu mā me ōna teina, tuahine, ka kotikoti te whenua e Turongo, hei whenua rāhui mo āna tamariki.

1.1 Raukawa, tupuna

He nui ngā kōrero mō te whānautanga mai a Raukawa ki uta, ki tai. He mea tapa tēnei ingoa nānā, i te kakara o te raukawakawa, i pōpō ai a Mahinaarangi ki a Tūrongo. I tōna whānautanga mai, mō ētehi i whānau mai i Ōkoroire, ko ētehi e mea ana i whānau mai i ngā taketakenga o ngā Maunga o Ngā Kaimai. Ko te ingoa katoa ko Te Kaimai i o Hamuti⁷³⁶. He mea whakamaumahara i te whānautanga mai a Raukawa ki reira, nā Mahinaarangi ōna hamutī i kai kia ora ai ia.

⁷³⁶ Smith, wh. 14

1.2 Te Rohe o Raukawa

He wā tōna, he iwi nui tonu a Raukawa, nō Wharepuhunga ōna taketakenga. Heoi anō, nāwai rā ka paratī te wai kia wehewehe ai ngā uri o Raukawa tonu kia puta ēnei momo whaituā ōna⁷³⁷:

Map 37: He mahere whenua o Waikato ki te taha tonga



- Mai Te Wairere, whiti ki Te Rae-ki-Tāpapa huri ki te rawhiti ki Tarukenga, ka haere whakatetonga ki Te Horohoroinga-o-ngā-ringa-o-Tia ki Te Whana o Whaita ki Pōhaturoa, mai i konei ka here ki te uru o Taupō ki Ngā Matimatihao-o-Tamatehura, ā, ki Titiraupenga, ka hoki mai ki uta ki Wharepuhunga ki Maungatautari ka hoki ki Te Wairere.
- Mai Te Wairere ki Tāpapa: ko te wehenga atu o Ngai Te Rangi, ko te wehenga mai o Raukawa

⁷³⁷ Te Komiti Poukai o Rawhitiroa me Aotearoa, wh.10

- Tāpapa ki Tarukenga ki Horohoro: ko te wehenga atu o Te arawa, ko te wehenga mai o Raukawa
- Horohoro ki te Pae-o-Raukawa ki Titiraupenga: ko te wehenga atu o Tuwharetoa, ko te wehenga mai o Raukawa
- Titiraupenga ki Wharepuhunga: ko te wehenga atu o Rereahu, o Maniapoto, ko te wehenga mai o Raukawa
- Wharepuhunga ki Maungatautari hoki atu ki Te Wairere: ko te wehenga atu o Haua, ko te wehenga mai o Raukawa

Ko ngā pekanga o te rohe o Raukawa, ko Raukawa ki Wharepuhunga, ko Raukawa ki Panehakua, ko Raukawa ki Maungatautari, ko Raukawa Te Kaokaoroa o Pātetere. Heke iho ki a tātou, mai Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai Miria te Kakara ki Kukutauaki, koia a Raukawa ki te Tonga, arā te kōrero Raukawa ki uta, Raukawa ki tai.

1.3 Takihiku, te tupuna

Ko Takihiku te whakapākanga o ngā tamariki o Raukawa⁷³⁸ rāua ko Turongoihi. He nui hoki pea ōna ingoa; ko Takihiku-roa tētehi ingoa mōna, me he tātai whetū ka kitea a Auahitūroa e rere nei i te poho o Ranginui. Ko Te Hiku o Raukawa tētehi atu, ko tā te hiku o te tuna, he namunamuā, he rongō tāwara ki ngā paerongo o te arero. Ka mutu he tamaiti whakapuhi a Takihiku e Tūrongo hoki. Ko te iwi nui tonu a Raukawa, ka heke iho mai i a Takihiku, nā ngā Rei o Maikukutara; he uri whakatupu i a Tamatehura, i a Wairangi, i a Pipito, i a Upokoiti, i a Ngakohua. I pakeke mai a Takihiku i waenganui i Maungaorongo i Rangiātea, i Korakonui, i Panetapu, i Tauranga-ā-kohu⁷³⁹, i te rautau 1500. Ko tōna pā i reira ko Ruataikawa⁷⁴⁰.

2.0 MAI WHAREPUHUNGA KI TE KŌPŪ-O-TE-TOROA

Ka wehe a Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga i runga i ngā whakahau a ngā kaiārahi i ērā wā, a Te Whatanui mā, a Te Ahukaramū mā. Waihoki, he nui ngā kōrero mō ēnā momo huarahi i whāia nei rātou; mō Te Heke Tahutahuahi, mō Te Heke Tātaramoa, mō Te Heke Mai Raro hoki. Kei pōhēhē te kaipānui, te uri whakatupu rānei, koinā noa iho ngā Hekenga Nui i takahia noatia e

⁷³⁸ Whakapapa chart 1: illustrating the close connections between the eponymous ancestors that make up Te Whare o Turongo.

⁷³⁹ Phillips, wh.17 vol.2

⁷⁴⁰ Phillips, wh.18 vol.2

rātou. Ko tā Ngāti Takihiku, he haere mai, he hoki atu mai, mai. E ora ai a Ngāti Takihiku me toutou, me kongangē te ahi kaa mai tawhiti i Wharepuhunga.

Ahakoia e toru ngā tū momo hekenga a te iwi, a ngā hapū e mea ana au, haere tahi mai rātou, hokihoki atu, erangi nā tētehi hekenga ruarua nei a te hekenga ‘Rua Mano⁷⁴¹’ i tae ririki mai ngā uri ki te tonga. Waihoki ko Ngāti Takihiku tētehi o ngā hapū whakamutunga kia tae ā tinana mai ki te whenua rāhui o Kereru, i tae kotahi mai i runga anō i te karanga o Ngāti Ngarongo kia wāmu ai rātou. Kia ahatia? Kia pupurutia tonutia ngā whenua rāhui, whenua ōhanga i a Ngāti Huia. He whenua haumako, he haumanu hoki te whenua rāhui o Kererū i te Kopu-o-te-Toroa nei waihoki tēnei peha o mātou:

*Taumanuka ki runga, Tawhirihoe ki raro
Ko Te Maire ki uta, ko Te Wharangi ki tai
Ko Te Awahou, ko Matararapa, ko Hokio ki waenganui
ko Papakiri, ko Hokio, ko Te Pua-o-Tau ngā rua koiwi o ngā tupuna*

2.1 Kopu-o-te-Toroa, he aha te aha i tētehi ingoa?

Kua roa nei e whakahua tukino ana te ingoa o te Kopu-o-te-Toroa. I pakeke mai ngā tamariki, ngā pakeke me te ingoa Koputaroa. Heoi anō, kia haumanu anō tōna tikanga ake o tēnei ingoa, e kōrero ana mō te poho o te kereru, me te mea nei ko te Kererū te manu o te ngāhere, ko te Toroa te manu o te takutai. Ko rāua rāua, ka mutu ka mea atu mātou o Ngāti Takihiku, Toroa ki uta, Toroa ki tai hei kupu whakamahara mō tēnei tikanga ōna. Ko tētehi atu, ko te pūkohukohu ka tau mai ki runga ngā arapaepae o Tararua, ko te Kererū anō hoki tēnā.

2.2 He tātai whakapapa, he huihuinga whanaunga

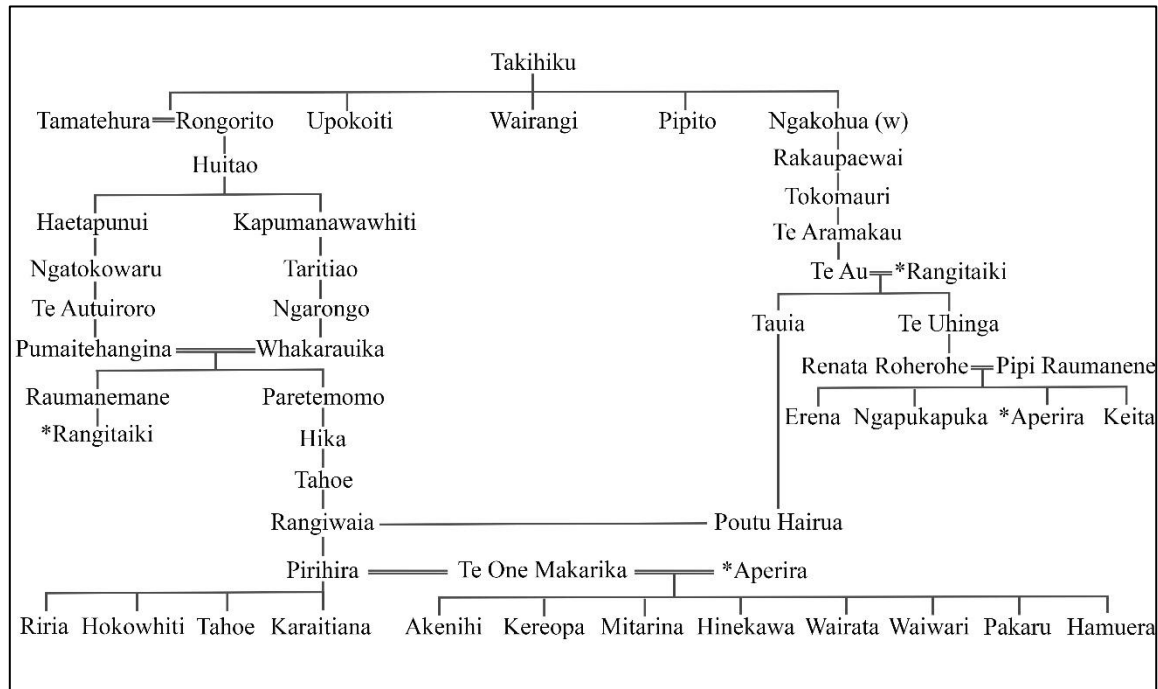
E mea ana au, he huihuinga tāngata, he huihuinga toto kia pakari ai te tū o te iwi⁷⁴². E tutuki ai tēnei momo whakahau, me ora te whanaungatanga i waenganui i ngā uri whaipānga o ēnei tupuna. Ka taea e tātou te kii, he uri katoa tātou i a Takihiku, waihoki ka whanake mai ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna i ēnā karangatanga matua.

⁷⁴¹ Carkeek, T.W 11.02.11

⁷⁴² Buck, wh.333

Ko ngā hapū e kōrerotia ana, ko Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Ngārongo, Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti, Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Rakau, Ngāti Te Au.

Whakapapa 39: E whakaatū ana ngā hongonga-a-hapū nei me ōna whanaungatanga hoki



He nui a tātou whānau i takea mai a rātou whakapapa nō ngā tūpuna o tuawhakarere. E mea ana au, ko ngā whānau o ngā hapū he huihuinga tāngata, he kāhui nō ngā tamariki o tētehi, ētehi whakairanga tūpuna.

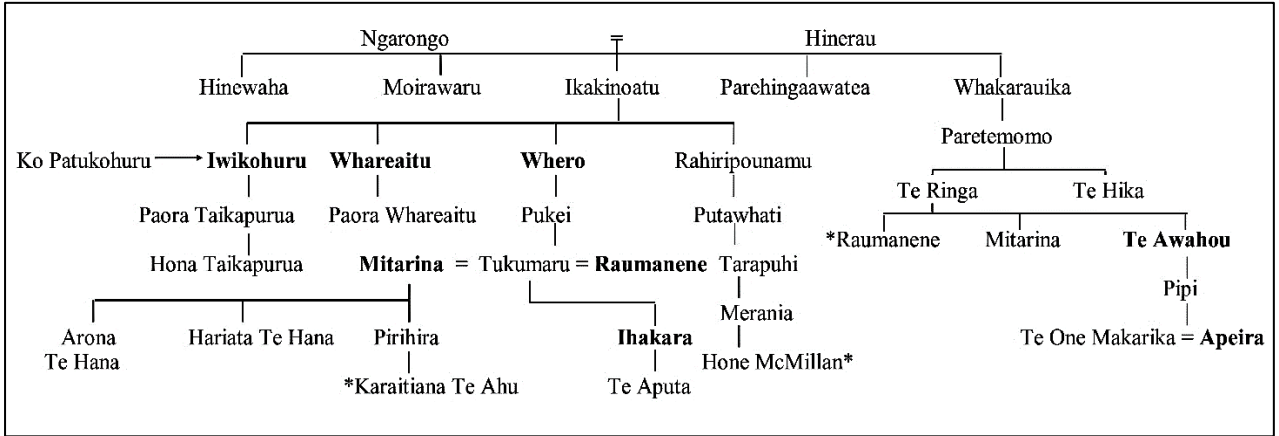
Ko ngā uri o Ikakinoatu he kāhui mokopuna nā Ngarongo, heoi i ōna rā ko taua kāhui rā kua tapaina mai ko Patukohuru, he rōpū ka whakakotahi mai hei ope tauā⁷⁴³. Ko ngā tuākana, teina o Ikakinoatu, a Whero, a Whareaitu, a Iwikohuru, a Rahiripounamu. Ka hua mai ngā whānau Taikapuraa, Whareaitu, McMillan, Te Hana hoki.

Ko ngā hononga mareikura o ngā tūpuna, i hua mai ngā whānau o ngā hapū e rua o Ngāti Ngarongo me Ngāti Takihiku. Nā Whareaitu ka puta ko Paora Whareaitu. I moe tahi i a Wairata Makarika, he tamāhine nā Te One Makarika rāua ko Aperira Renata – te wahine tuarua o Te One. He mokopuna a Aperira i a Te Awahou, he teina ki a Mitarina rāua ko Raumanene, ngā wāhine o Tukumaru. Anei te whakapapa⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴³ Carkeek, T.W 11.02.11

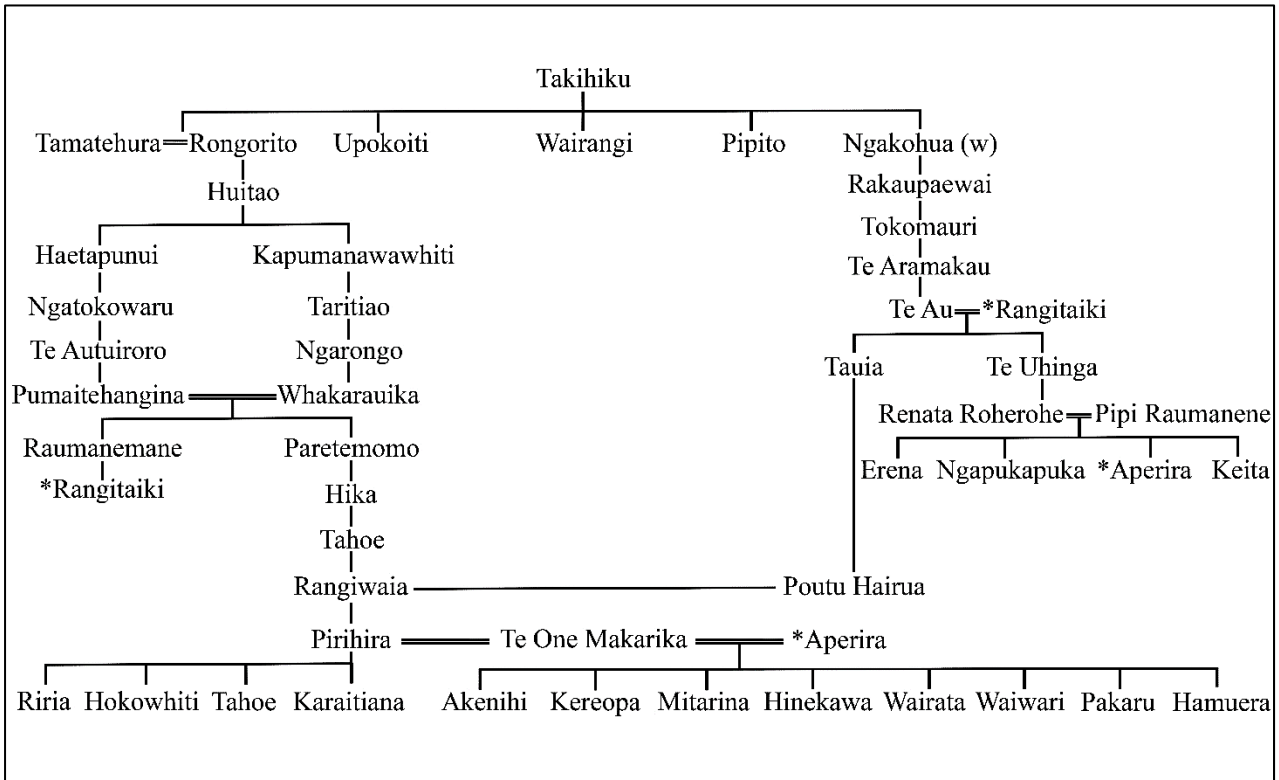
⁷⁴⁴ Teira, T 15.08.09

Whakapapa 40: Ngā ingoa o ngā tūpuna/whānau i heke iho mai a Ngarongo (tupuna)



Hei pā whakawairua ngā whānau o ngā tupuna nei, nā ngā mokopuna o Tukumaru ngā whenua rāhui I tuku ki Te Awahou hei mahi māra mō te taone. Koia ngā punaha whakawhitiwhiti kōrero⁷⁴⁵ a ngā uri otirā ko te ingoa o ‘Patukohuru’ hei whakatinana i te kotahitanga o ngā whānau i runga i te reo karanga o Tū.

Whakapapa 40: Ngā ingoa o ngā tūpuna/whānau i heke iho mai a Takihiku (tupuna)



⁷⁴⁵ Winiata, wh.795

E toro ai ki ngā ara whanaunga i roto i ngā tātai whakapapa o Takihiku hoki. Ko ngā uri o Poutu rāua ko Rangiwaiā, he mokopuna a Rangiwaiā i a Hika, ā, he teina ki a Rangitaiki. He mokopuna a Poutu i a Te Au, nānā a Rangitaiki i moe tahi. He uri tōtika a Poutu nā Ngakohua (he wahine), ā, he uri tōtika a Rangiwaiā nā Tamatehura⁷⁴⁶.

Ko te wahine tuatahi a Te One Makarika, ko Pirihira he tamāhine nā Poutu rāua ko Rangiwaiā.

Ka puta a rāua tamariki tokowha. Ko te mataamua, ko Riria nānā a Nicola Sciascia i moe. Tōmuri ko Hokowhitu, nānā a Titihuia Ngāpu ka tahi, ka rua ko Perepetua Utiku i moe. Tōmuri ko Tahoe, nānā a Huiarangi Kerekeha. Tōmuri ko Karaitiana nānā a Tuiti Makitanara i moe⁷⁴⁷.

Ko te wahine tuarua a Te One Makarika, ko Aperira Renata Roherohe. Tokowaru a rāua tamariki. Ko te mataamua o tēnei kāhui ko Akenihi nānā a Ropata Teira i moe. Tōmuri ko Mitarina, nānā a J Teira i moe. Tōmuri ko Kereopa, nānā a Hana Makitanara i moe ka tahi, ka rua ko Ata Piripi. Tōmuri ko Hinekawa, nānā a Taare Puni Hippolite i moe. Tōmuri ko Wairata, nānā ko Whareaitu i moe. Katahi ko tana teina a Waiwari, nānā a John De Tomba i moe. Tōmuri ko Pakaru, nānā a Ngapera Bella Makarika, ka mutu ko te whakapākanga a Hamuera, nānā a Ihipera Te Kuru i moe⁷⁴⁸.

He māmā te kii, nō Ngāti Takihiku katoa ngā tamariki o Te One rāua ko Pirihira, ngā tamariki anō hoki o Te One rāua ko Aperira. E mea ana taku whakapae, neke atu pea i te 10,000 tāngata te tokomaha o ngā uri whakaheke o ngā tupuna nei.

3.0 NGĀ KOKONGA WHARE KA KITEA

Tae mai ana a Ngāti Takihiku ki tōna whenua i runga i te tonu o ōna karangatanga matua a Ngāti Ngarongo. I konei tātou kite atu ai ngā kōrero i te hunga nōna te takiwā. He wā tōna, i tū ai te whare o Mahinaarangi ki tua rā anō o te repo, ā, i hunuku mai te whare ki tōna wāhi inaianei. Ko Karaitiana te Ahu te wahine nōna te whare rāua tahi ko Hone McMillan. Ka mate a Karaitiana, i riro i a Hone McMillan ōna rawa katoa.

⁷⁴⁶ Teira, T 15.08.09

⁷⁴⁷ 1972 Pukapuka o Te Whānau Makarika

⁷⁴⁸ 1972 Pukapuka o Te Whānau Makarika

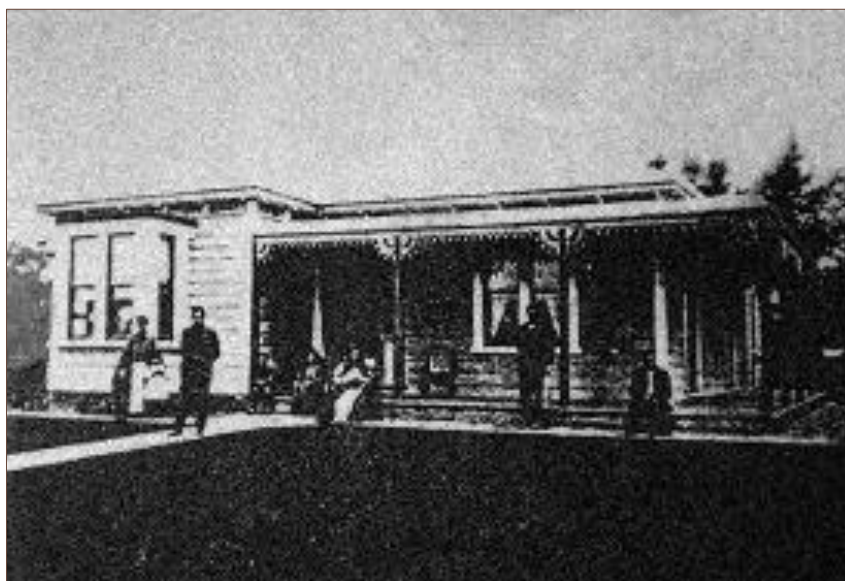
Neke atu i te rua tekau tau ki muri i te matenga o Karaitiana, nā Hone te whenua rāhui katoa o Kererū i tuku, ki te Kōmiti Māori o Ngāti Takihiku, hei wāhi noho haere ake nei. Koia noa iho te Kōmiti Māori i aua wā i taea ai te pupuru i te whenua katoa hei painga mō ngā hapū e rua, kia kiia ai te kōrero te nohotahitanga me Ngāti Ngarongo⁷⁴⁹.

Image 59: Ko Rongorito rāua ko Māhinarangi ēnei whare



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Image 60: Ko te papakāinga tēnei nā Hone McMillan rāua ko Karaitiana Te Ahu



⁷⁴⁹ Te Peeti, M. 1988

⁷⁵⁰ E noho nei tēnei papakāinga i te taha o Rongorito. I turakina tēnei whare e te ahi, nā ngā pāpā o Hone.

Image 61: Ko Rongorito tēnei, tū ai tēnei whare i ngā te tau 1901



Image 62: Ko Takihiku te whare, koinei te whare tuarua nā Hokowhitu i tarai.

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⁷⁵¹ I ngā tau 50 i hinganga haere te whare, ā i te tau 1973 i turakina.

⁷⁵² Nā Tamati Makarika, Heemi TePeeti, (mokopuna a Hokowhitu Makarika) tēnei waharoa i hautū, i tārai. 1994 te tau i huraina

Image 63: Ko Te Aputa ki Wairau te ingoa o te whare nei i tū ai ki te moutere o Matararapa, tona 1920 te tau.



Image 64: Ko Tūrongo te ingoa o te waharoa i te marae i Kererū.



⁷⁵³ I te tau 1905 i tuwherahia. I te whenua o Pua-o-Tau tēnei whare e tū ana.

⁷⁵⁴ Kāore he wā e whakatau nei inawhea tēnei tū ai, I kō atu i te tau 1887-1888 i whakatū ai. Heoi anō i whakairotia tēnei whare i te tau 1906

Image 65: Ko Mahinaarangi tēnei, tupuna whare mō Ngāti Ngarongo me Ngāti Takihiku, hei whare ahuru mowai mō te iwi.



3.1 Kererū Marae Kōhanga Reo

Neke atu i ngā tau 20 tēnei Kohanga Reo e tū ana. He mea koha tēnei whakaaro nui i a Henrietta Maxwell ki te whānau o tōna hoa pūmau a Lawrence Pumaitehangina Jury kia ora ai te reo i te marae nei. Ko te whare tuatahi, i te taha matau o Mahinaarangi. I ngā tau tata nei, i whakaaetia e ngā Kaitarahēti o te Marae, Te Tarahēti o Te Kohanga Reo me te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga kia whakatūria anō te Kohanga reo ki wāhi kē. I tuwherahia te Kohanga Reo ki te wāhi i tū ai ngā Whare Kaumātua o mua me te whare ako nā Te ⁷⁵⁶ Wānanga o Raukawa anō i tuku, i te tau 2017. Ko te Kōpū-o-te-Toroa te ingoa o tēnei whare. Rā tū, rā mai ka puarehia ngā tatao o te whare i te 30 tamariki (neke atu). Ko te oranga tonutanga o te reo Māori te tohu rangatira mō tēnei kaupapa, hāunga anō i ngā mahi ōkawa i te marae ātea. I te tau 1988 i whakatuwherahia te Kohanga Reo i te marae.

⁷⁵⁵ I whakatūria ai tēnei whare i te tau 1901. E rua ōna wāhanga hoki. I te hinganga o Rongorito, i tāpirihia tētehi wāhanga ki a Mahinaarangi kia rorua te whare mō te iwi.

⁷⁵⁶ 1998 te tau i whakatuwherahia.

Image 66: Ko Te Tini o Kererū te ingoa o te wharekai, i te marae o Kererū



3.2 Pua O Tau

Ahakoia he whare tō Ngāti Takihiku kāinga, kāore ia tētehi whenua hei tanumia ngā rua o ōna uri⁷⁵⁷. He urupā tō Ngāti Ngarongo⁷⁵⁸ kawē i ngā mate, ko Papakiri tōna ingoa⁷⁵⁹. Nā tētehi tohe i waenganui i ngā uri o Ngarongo me Takihiku i whakawāteahia tētehi wāhanga whenua mō Ngāti Takihiku ake. Nā Ngāmihi Pene (nee Ropata) te whenua i tuku ki tōna iwi⁷⁶⁰.

3.3 He Kura Whakairo, He Mana Tangata

Nā Kiingi Tāwhiao rāua ko Te Ao Katoa (tohunga o Ngāti Takihiku i Wharepuhunga) te tono kia hui katoa mai he pia, he taura, he tauira hei Kura Whakairo i ngā tau 1880. Ko ngā tohunga whakairo i ēnā wā ko Motu Raimapaha rātou ko Motu Heta, ko Huki (Huki) Takerei. Nā rātou te mahi nui, kia whakairohia ngā whare hei tohu mō te momo i a rātou. Ko ngā tauira o tēnei kura ko:

⁷⁵⁷ Hui Komiti Marae, 05.02.11

⁷⁵⁸ Teira, T.K Hui Komiti Marae 05.02.11

⁷⁵⁹ Ko te āhua o te urupā nei e pātata ana ki ngā huarahi miro i Koputoroa 5eka te paraka whenua mō ngā mokopuna o Hokimai Eparaima rāua ko Biddy Maraenui.

⁷⁶⁰ He uri a Margaret Pene (nee Sciascia) nā Nicola rāua ko Riria Sciascia (nee Makarika). He uri hoki a Riria Sciascia i a Te One Makarika. Ka mate te teina a Margaret i whakahokia mai ki te kāinga, nehu ai. Kāore he eka whenua e wātea ana hei urupā, hāunga anō te whenua i whakatū ai a Takihiku e Hokowhitu i taua wā. Kāore tō Margaret māmā a Riria, tōna koroua hoki a Te One i whakaae. I tahuri kē ia ki tōna hungarei a Ngāmihi Pene (nee Ropata), me te mōhio anō hoki nō Ngāti Ngarongo hoki a Ngāmihi, ka mana i kona.

- a) Hokowhitu Makarika
- b) Motu Heta
- c) Patuaka Tauwehe
- d) Pātara Te Tuhi
- e) He tātai heke whakairo o ngā whare nā rātou tonu i whakaara ake i te rohe nei, he matapihi nō tuawhakarere, he tohu wairua nō tēnei momo kura.

<i>TE TAU</i>	<i>KAUPAPA/INGOA O TE WHARE</i>	<i>NĀ WAI I WHAKAIRO</i>
1880	I tona a Hokowhitu e ngā tohunga whakairo hei tauira mō tēnei whare wānanga	
1881	Te whare tupuna o Hoturoa, i Aotearoa - Wharepuhunga	Motu Heta, Huhi Takerei, Ngāpū rātou ko Hokowhitu Makarika
1885	Te whare tupuna o Hauiti ki te Houhou	Huki Takerei, Te Ruku a te Kawau
1886	Te Tikanga ki Tokorangi	Huki Takerei
1888	Uawhaki ki Manakau	Patuaka Tauwehe
1889	Tukorehe ki Ohau	Patuaka Tauwehe
1890	Whitikaupeka ki Taihape	Huki Takerei
1900	Pakake Taiari ki Mokai	Huki Takerei
1900	Kauwhata ki Te Arakura/Kaiiwi	Patuaka Tauwehe
1901	Mahinaarangi ki Kererū	Hokowhitu Makarika
1901	Rongorito ki Kererū	Motu Heta mā
1905	Takihiku II ki Pua-o-tau	Hokowhitu Makarika
1906	Te Aputa ki Wairau ki Matarapa	Hokowhitu Makarika
1910	Te Poho o Kahungunu II ki Porangahau	Hokowhitu Makarika

He motuhenga tōna tāera, pēnā i ngā tohu rerekē nō ngā iwi kē. Ka mutu he iwi wairua tēnei iwi whakairo e pātata nei te ao wairua ki a rātou i te whenua. He rite tonu te momo whare i a rātou, ko ōna tohu, ko tōna āhua e rerekē nei ki whare kē atu i Aotearoa. Ko tā Ngāti Takihiku tāera, he hononga tapu ki te ao wairua, ōna kaitiaki, ōna tupua, ōna kōrero, ōnā mātauranga.

4.0 HE WHENUA KOTIKOTI

4.1 Manawatū Kukutauaki

Ka tae tōmuri a Ngāti Takihiku ki te au o te Tonga me te mea nei kua riro whenua kē ngā wehewehenga o Ngāti Raukawa e Te Rauparaha, nā te muru raupatu, nā te tohe riri. Ko tētehi o ēnei whenua nui i kotikoti, i wawāhi hei poraka whenua ko Manawatū Kukutauaki. He whenua haumako, he whenua haumanu mai te awa o Manawatū heke iho ki te raki o Waikanae. Ko tōna nohoanga tuatahi i Taumanuka, i te wahapū o Ōtaki. I reira a Ngāti Takihiku e noho ana, erangi anō a Ngāti Ngarongo, ko tā rātou he pākaiahi i te Manawatū. Tā te Pākehā hiahia, he whakatau kāinga ake mō ngā Pākehā ake a haere ake nei. Ki konei tātou kite atu ai te muru raupatu e te karauna hei whenua ake mōna anō⁷⁶¹. Erangi anō tā te Māori hiahia, he whakatupu i te whenua kia haumako mō te mahinga kai te take. Inā hoki te tohu o te ahi kaa o te iwi nōna tēnā whenua.

Ko ēnā tūpuna ko Arona Te Hana, Tai-ka-puraa (Pāora Tai-ka-puraa), Renata Te Roherohe, Poutū Hairuha, Ihakara Tukumarū, Kereopa Tukumarū, Wiremu Kiriwehi te hunga nā rātou te whenua i tohe i mua i te aroaro o te Kooti, i kō atu i ngā tau 1870 neke atu. E mōhio ana i te takiwā o ngā tau 1874 – 1876 e whia mano eka whenua kua riro e ngā ringa kaiponu a te Pākehā.

4.2 Manawatū Kukutauaki No.3

He tau niho roa ngā tau 1870 neke atu. Kua mimiti ngā mahinga kai, ā, kua noho toimaha te iwi. Me te mea nei i huri tuara atu a Ngāti Takihiku ki te kimi mahi i ngā rori o te takiwā. He tohu anō tēnei o te raupatu whenua, kia wawāhi ai ngā whenua e ngā rori. Neke atu i te 11,400 eka whenua a Manawatū Kukutauaki No.3 e kii ana ko te whenua rāhui o Ihakara, i te uru o te kōawaawa o Koputoroa. Ahakoa tōna whānui, tōna whāroa tēnei whenua, neke atu i te 7,400 eka whenua kua riro.

Mai te tau 1874, kua tukua e te 4,000 eka whenua i rāhui ai mō ngā hapū e rua. Mā Manawatū Kukutauaki no.3A mō Ngāti Ngarongo, mā Manawatū Kukutauaki no.3B mō Ngāti Takihiku. Tekau noa iho ngā ingoa i tuhia hei ingoa whai whenua i ēnā o te 93 o ngā ingoa tupuna mō te whenua katoa o Manawatū Kukutauaki.

⁷⁶¹ Anderson & Pickens 1996, p166

4.3 Ngā Tutohu Whenua a Ngāti Takihiku

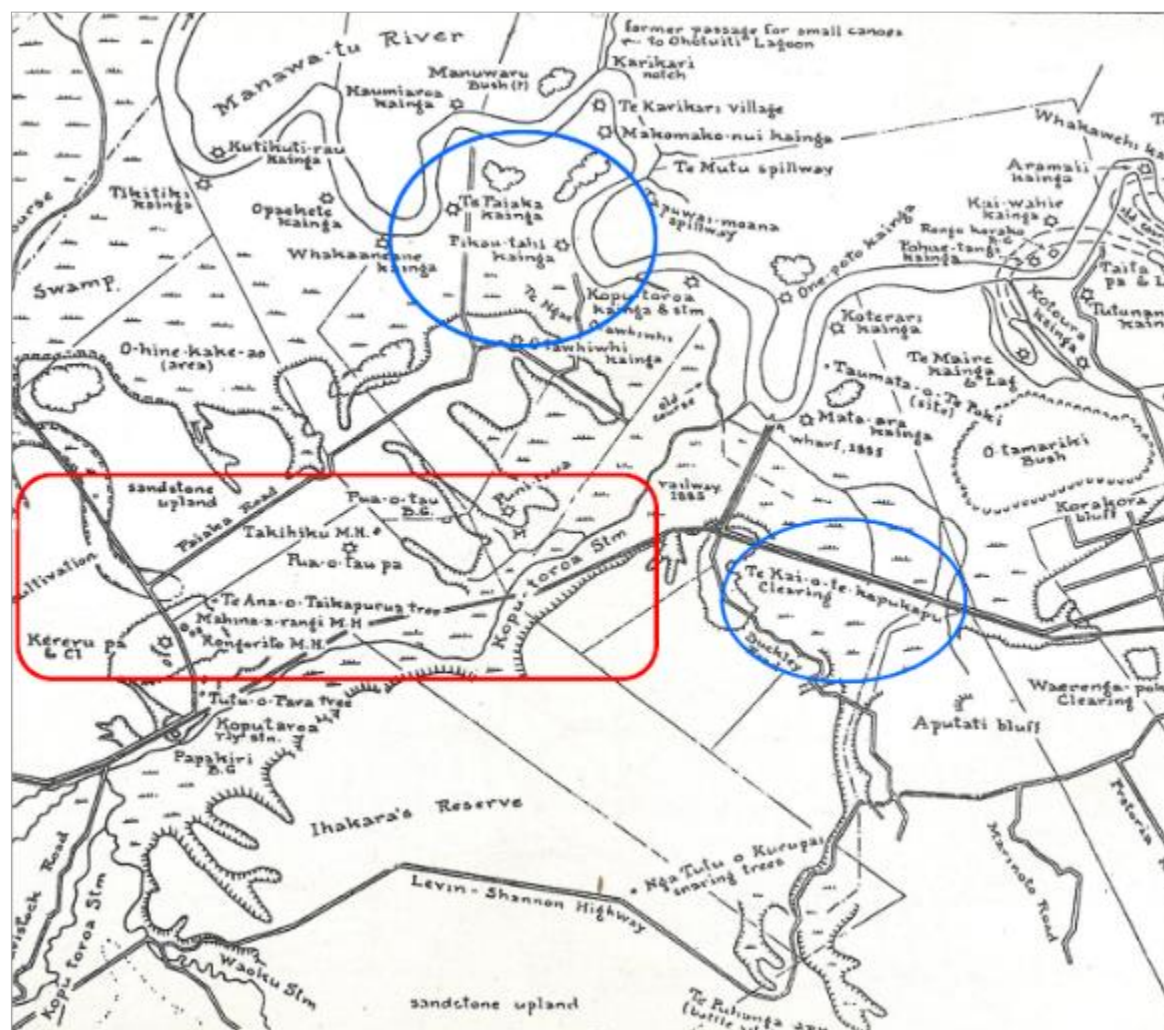
Ko Te Kai-o-te-kapukapu tētehi tūtohu whenua o mua mō ngā hapū e rua. E pātata ana ki te rāwhiti o te awa o Koputoroa, waihoki e rua kiromita hautonga ki te uru o Hānana. He tohu whenua tēnei momo wāhi mā Ngāti Takihiku, he mahinga kai hoki mō te iwi. Ko tōna painga, ka māwhiti anō te titiro ki te awa o Manawatū. I Te Kai-o-te-kapukapu tētehi tōtara e tū ana hei tohu mō te rangatira, nōna te whenua.

Ko te ingoa o tēnei Totara, ko Te Takapu o Tauteka, erangi ko te mate tonu, ehara i a Tai-kapurua taua whenua, nō tangata kē atu (nō Ngati Ngarongo kē). He tohe i waenganui i a Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Hinemata me Ngāti Ngārongo ki a Ngāti Whakaterere, mō te muru whenua te take. E oti ai tēnei tohe i a rātou, Nā Ihakara Tukumarū, nā Nepia, nā Arapata Whioi, nā Kuruhui i ea, kia whakatau te whenua haere ake nei. Ko ngā whenua e kōrero ake nei mai Pīkautahi ki Kererū, mai Koputoroa ki te Waokū tatū atu ki a Pukekohe; ngā arapaepae o Tararua⁷⁶².

Ko Pīkau-tahi tētehi atu tohu whenua. He kāinga e noho nei ki ngā pāpāringa māui o te awa o Manawatū, e pātata ana ki te kōawaawa o Koputoroa, ki te raki rā anō rānei. He whenua haumako a Pīkau-tahi me ōna mahinga kai. E rangatira ai tēnei momo kāinga me whakatau te mana whenua e te iwi, nōna taua wāhi. Arā atu anō ngā kāinga puta noa i te awa o Manawatū e tautake nei tēnei ariā o te mana motuhake. Koia hoki tētehi o ngā take nui o tēnei purongo – te mana motuhake a Ngāti Takihiku me tōna āhei ki te whakahaere te whenua hei whenua motuhenga mōna anō.

⁷⁶² Manawatū Kukutauaki No.3 No 1889, wh.16

763 Map 38: Anei te mahere whenua o Adkins 1948



⁷⁶³ E whakaatu ana ngā whaitūā ake a Te Kai-o-te-kapukapu me Pīkau-tahi kua kahurangiātia. Ka kite hoki te ngā wāhi i tū ai ngā whare o Ngāti Takihiku, a Mahinaarangi, a Takihiku, a Rongorito. Waihoki ko te Kererū pā I ōna rā i tū atu i te rori o Koputoroa – Kererū pā, kua wherotia.

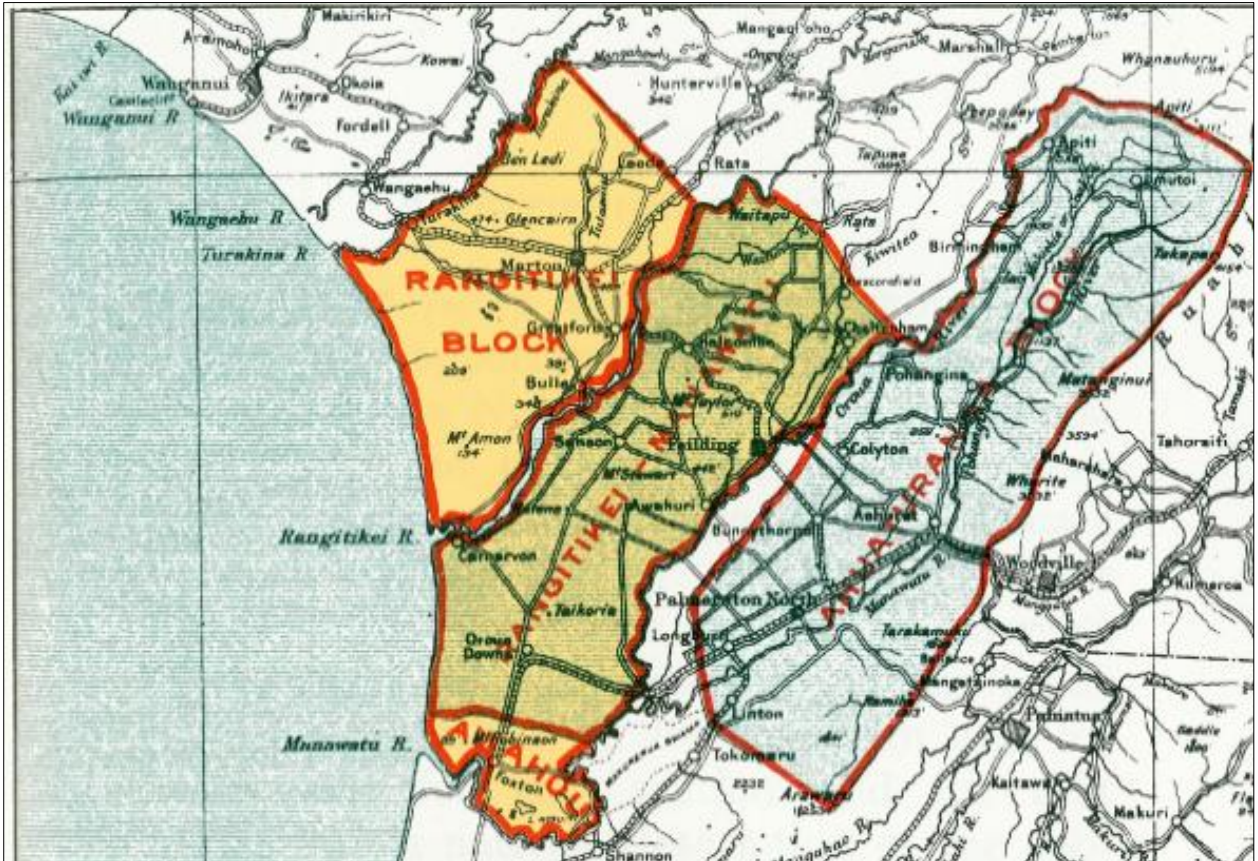
Nā Ngāti Ngarongo tonu te 1,000 eka whenua ki a Ngāti Takihiku hei whenua tuku nā ngā mahi o mua. Ko tōna whaituā ko Paiaka haere whakateraki ki te huarahi matua o Taitoko me Hānana, tatū atu ki a Ōtāuru ki te puaha o Te Maire, waihoki e pātata ana ki te whenua rāhui o Ihakara.

Map 39: Ko te whaituā tēnei o Paiaka, i kō atu i te 4,000 eka whenua i tuku



E kite ai tēnei whenua te marae o Kererū kua porowhitahia. Ko te wāhi o Paiaka e timata ana i te kokona o te rori o Koputoroa (Kopu-o-te-toroa). Heoi anō, ko ngā rārangi **kowhai** e whakahaumako nei te nui o te whenua nā Ngāti Ngarongo tonu i tuku. Kua mimiti, kua korekore tēnei whenua i a Ngāti Takihiku inaianei.

Map 408: Ko te poraka whenua o Te Awahou. McKinnon, M.



4.4 Te Awahou

Ko tēahi atu whenua rāhui i roto i te whenua i noho tahi ai ngā hapū, ko Te Awahou. He poraka whenua e karapoti nei te taone e kii ana ko Te Awahou.

I ōna rā, he whenua haumako i te harakeke e karapoti nei ngā pāpāringa katoa o te awa o Manawatū. I konā ngā pākehā kite atu ai tēahi hua i roto i te mahi tahi me te Māori o te takiwā. Ko tā te Pākehā ringa tōhau nui, ko ngā taputapu hāngarau. Tā te Māori rawa, he harakeke e puta ai he muka mō ngā momo kākahu a te māori, ngā kete, ngā kono mō te hāpori whānui o te takiwā. I ngā tau 1860-1870 kite atu ai tēnei momo ōhanga te kokiri. Heoi anō mai ngā tau 1889 – 1890 kite atu ai ngā Miira Harakeke i Te Awahou waihoki ngā pāpāringa katoa o te hiku o te awa o Manawatū. Ahakoa ngā mahi whai rawa a te Pākehā, mahi harakeke mai, kaupāmu mai, whakatika rori mai, kei raro tonu a Ngāti Takihiku e putu ana nā te noho rawa kore i runga i tōna whenua ake.

4.5 Matararapa

Ko tētehi atu whaituā ōna, ko Matararapa. 300 eka kua tukuna ki a Ngāti Takihiku me ōna karangatanga hapū o Himatangi. He whenua, he moutere haumako i ngā rawa e taea ai te whakaora i a Papatuānuku me ōna uri whakaheke. Kei tēnei moutere he nui ngā *tāhuahua*, he haumako, he haumanu. Kei reira hoki ngā taioneone, tai timu, tai pari me te mea nei neke atu i te 85,000 heketea i Matararapa. Kei ngā meneti o Te Kooti Whenua Māori e mea ana, ahakoa i a Muaupoko, i a Rangitāne te mana whenua, nā te muru raupatu, nā ngā pakanga i riro kē a Ngāti Raukawa te mana hei kaitiaki o tēnei moutere. Nā reira, nā te noho tahi a Ngāti Hinemata, Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Kikopiri, Ngāti Ngārongo, Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Rākau Paewai, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Tūranga me Ngāti Whakaterere i whakaū ai tēnei nohonga i reira⁷⁶⁴ i ngā tau 1830 neke atu. Kua kitea e ngā tuhinga rerekē e iwa ngā kāinga kua tāutuhia e ēnei tuhinga whakatau. Heoi anō, e ono noa iho o ēnei kāinga kua kitea rawatia he tohu e māori ake nei te Māori i ōna rā.

Ko ngā kāinga o Kapa-a-haka, Kahikatea, Matararapa, Paretāo, Te Rerenga-o-Hau me Upokopoutu – kua tāutuhia e ngā tuhinga o te Kooti Whenua Māori, heoi anō ko ngā kāinga e toru e toe ana o Kimi-mai-i-tawhiti, Oruarongo me Whakaripa kua kaha tuhia e Adkin, waihoki ko Whakaripa noa iho te mea nō Ngāti Raukawa ake tōna kukunetanga mai. Ko te katoa o ēnei kāinga, e noho nei ki ngā pāpāringa o te awa o Manawatū, i runga tonu i a Matararapa. He whenua motuhenga e noho nei i roto i ngā whenua haumako o Te Awahou.

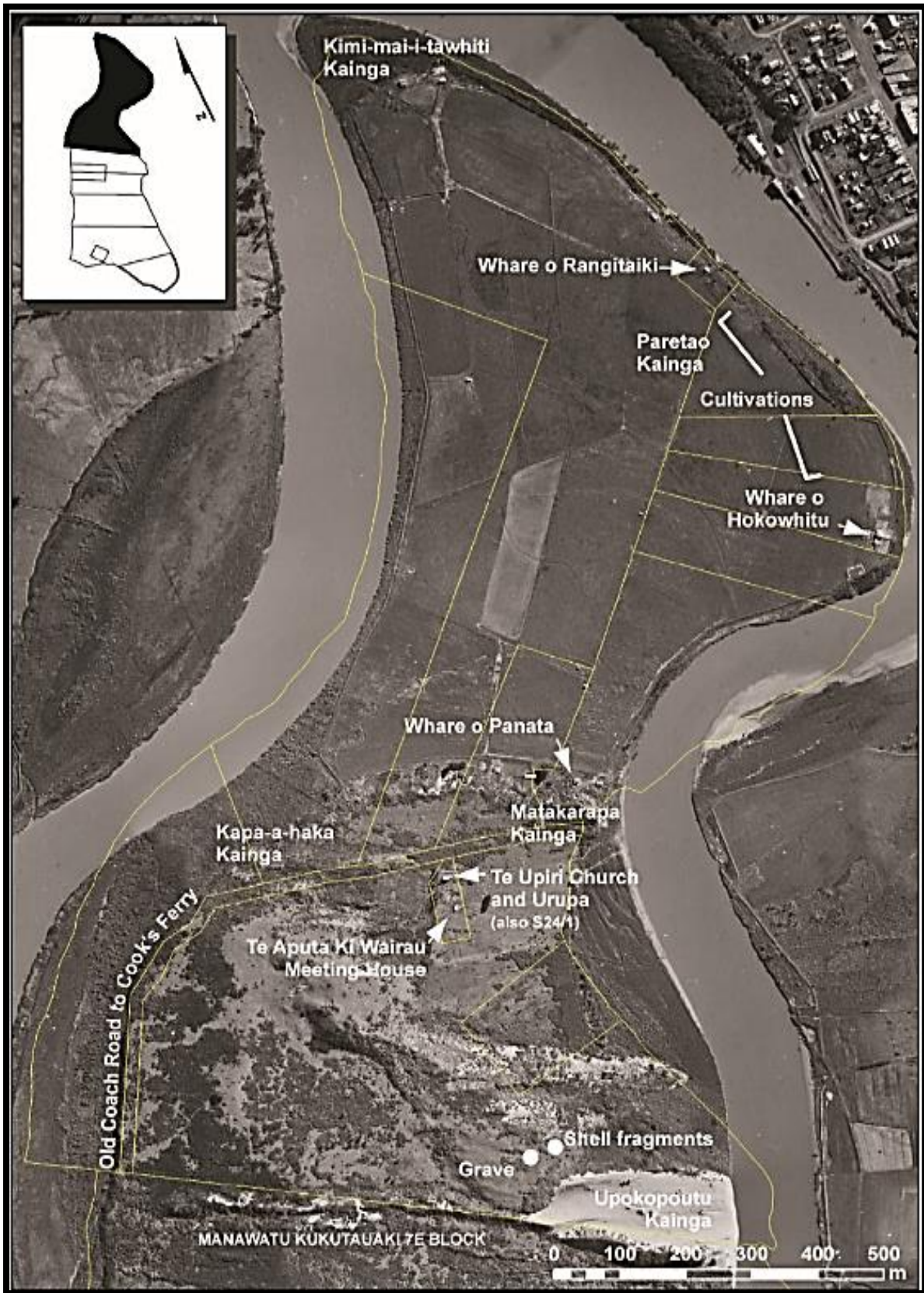
Waihoki ngā ingoa kē atu o ēnā kāinga ōna o Matararapa, ko Kimi-mai-i-tawhiti, Matararapa, Upokopoutu, Kapa-a-haka. Kei reira hoki ngā whare e tohu ana ngā mahi a Makarika, ko Te Aputa ki Wairau, me te whare karakia o Te Upiri me te urupā⁷⁶⁵.

Ko ngā hua o Te Kooti Whenua Māori e whakatau ai nō wai te mana o tēnā kāinga, o tēnā kāinga nā te hunga i noho hei kaiuiui i ērā wā. Kua tikarohia ētehi o ēnei momo tuhinga me ngā tohutoro o te momo pukapuka hoki e whakatau nei nō Ngāti Takihiku ēnei kāinga. E whakaatu ana hoki te nohotahitanga o ngā karangatanga matua hoki ki a Ngāti Ngārongo e whai ake nei.

⁷⁶⁴ Parker pp. 25.

⁷⁶⁵ Parker, pp. 31.

Map 41: Nā te purongo ake o Parker⁷⁶⁶



⁷⁶⁶ ...e whakaatu ana ngā kāinga me ngā nohonga ake a Ngāti Takihiku, me kii ko te whare o Hokowhitu me ōna mahinga kai i Paretao

4.6 O Matararapa:

I kitea e au a (Poutū Tauia⁷⁶⁷) e noho taketake nei i Matararapa. Nānā ahau i whakatupu. Kua tanumia hoki ki ngā kūrae o te Moutere.⁷⁶⁸

Kei reira rātou (ngā hapū) a Poutū rāua ko Ihakara e noho ake ana i reira. Neke atu i te 30 tāngata i reira...⁷⁶⁹

Ka moe a Teone Makarika i a Pirihira, he tamāhine nā Poutū. Nā Wereta rāua ko Arapata a Teone i whakatupu, nā rāua anō hoki rāua i whakapakeke mai ia ki te kūrae o te whenua, ki te tāhuhua rānei e kii ana ko Matararapa. He tātai iho tēnei wāhi i te poraka whenua i te taha tonga, a pakeke noa nei. I tōna honotanga ki a Pirihira, i noho tahi rāua ko Poutū, ko Ihakara me ētehi atu, waihoki ko Taikapurua⁷⁷⁰ i Matararapa⁷⁷¹

Nā tōku pāpā a Taikapurua ēnā whare i hanga, ā, nā o mātou pakeke ēnā whare i whakahou.⁷⁷²

4.7 Otirā a Upokopoutu:

E mōhio ana au i a Upokopoutu. Nā Poutū rāua ko Ihakara tēnā wāhi⁷⁷³

I noho a Poutū tū atu i [Matararapa] tēnei poraka whenua i Upokopoutu. Nō tērā wā i tonoa te iwi e Ihakara ki hanga tētehi Whare Karakia, ā ko Aputa hoki. Me matua noho ia ki tēnei whenua noho ai i te mea ko te Upokopoutu nei nō Ngāti Whakaterere kē i te mea hoki nō rātou tonu te mana.⁷⁷⁴

Māraakerake ana te kitea e waimarie ai a Ngāti Takihiku ēnei tūtohu whenua, ēnei kāinga, mahinga kai katoa kua kōrerotia me ora pea te ngākau i konei tēnei hapū i ērā wā, ahakoa i tae tōmuri mai i ērā i tae atu i ngā Heke nā Te Rauparaha, nā Te Whatanui hoki. Me i kore ake a Ngāti Takihiku i a Te Rauparaha, i te tātai whakapapa a Ngāti Ngarongo. He tohu rangatira tēnei momo mahi nā te whenua tuku ki ngā tūpuna i tautake ai tōna noho ki te rohe hei kāinga matua mō rātou anō.

⁷⁶⁷ Ko tōna ingoa kē atu ko Poutū Hairuha

⁷⁶⁸ Otaki MB46: 342

⁷⁶⁹ Otaki MB46: 344

⁷⁷⁰ Nō Ngāti Ngarongo a Taikapurua, a Ihakara (Tukumaru)

⁷⁷¹ Otaki MB46: 350

⁷⁷² Otaki MB46: 352

⁷⁷³ Otaki MB46: 349

⁷⁷⁴ Otaki MB46: 352

Me i kore ake a Hone McMillan hoki ahakoa neke atu i te rua tekau tau ki muri i te matenga o Karaitiana Te Ahu, nāna te whenua, te marae o Kererū i tuku hoki ki te Kōmiti Māori o Ngāti Takihiku. Mōkōri anō! Kei pātai mai tētehi nā te aha a Hone i pēnā ai, koia anahe te kōmiti Māori i ora ai i ēnā wā me te mea nei kua moea a Ngāti Ngarongo i ēnā wā. Ka aroha ki tēnā āhuatanga me te mōhio iho, he uri whakaheke mātou o ngā hapū e rua. Heoi anō mō ētehi o mātou kua pakeke mai mātou kia Takihiku te tirohanga, kua Ngarongo rānei, nō ngā kāwai whakaheke rerekē i ēnā o ngā tūpuna kua kōrerotia i tēnei purongo.

Kua mimiti tēnei whenua i a Ngāti Takihiku anō i ēnā o ngā whenua haumako ōna e ngā uri ake o Ngāti Takihiku. Kua riro kē e ngā kaipāmu, e te hunga whai rawa i te korenga o ngā Māori e pupuru, e whakawhanake rānei ōna wāhanga ki ōna. Kua tukuna rānei ēnei whenua ki iwi kē kia haumanu ai tēnei whenua te whakatupu. Mā te aha i tēnā? Koia hoki te pātai kei ngā ngutu o Ngāti Takihiku, kia wahapū ai ōna mauāhara e whai ake nei.

5.0 NGĀ MAUĀHARA

He aha kei taku ate e pākino nei te mamae? Me he wawāhi tahā, kua whati i tōna rua. Me uaua ka kitea tētehi hapū e taea ai te whakahua i te nui o ōna mauāhara i roto i ngā tau tata nei. Māna, i roto i ngā rautau kua taha ake nei. Heoi anō, ko tā Ngāti Takihiku hiahia, he wahapū, he āta whakatakoto ētehi punua whakaaro mō tēnei purongo. Kua whai pānga ētehi aria motuhake mō te Kerēme o WAI-113 e whai ake nei.

5.1 Muru Raupatu

Nā te muru raupatu anō te take, kua kore ngā kokonga whare i kitea, ngā kokonga ngākau kua kore kitea. E whai ake nei ngā momo ariā e tāmi nei a Ngāti Takihiku mai, mai. E kore a Ngāti Takihiku e whai hua mō tēnei momo maminga a te karauna. Ko te raupatu, he raupatu mana, whenua, ōna rawa katoa. Ahakoa ka tahuri ngā whatu ki whea, ki ngā iwi taketake katoa o te ao, e auau ana te kurī o tēnei momo raupatu huri, huri.

5.2 Ngā kokonga whare, e kore e kitea

He wā tōna, e toru pea ngā whare i kitea, i nohoia e ngā tūpuna o Ngāti Takihiku ake, heoi anō kua puehutia, kua taka o roto. Ko Takihiku, ko Te Aputa ki Wairau me tōna whare karakia ko Te Upiri ēnā e kōrerotia ake nei. Kua rawa kore te iwi, i te korenga o ēnei whare o Ngāti Takihiku ake, hei kāinga matua mōna. E whakapae ana au, nā te matenga o Karaitiana Te Ahu

i waimarie noa iho ai a Ngāti Takihiku te noho ki te marae o Kererū (ahakoa nō Ngāti Ngarongo kē). Ka hinga a Takihiku, a Te Aputa ki Wairau, a Te Upiri ka aha? He whare i pāhawa, tū atu i ngā whakaahua o te whare me ētehi o te iwi e tū ana i mua i a ia. Ki te whakakore ngā whare e manaaki nei ngā iwi, kua nanaohia hoki te mana motuhake o te iwi me tōna āhei te whakahaere i a ia anō.

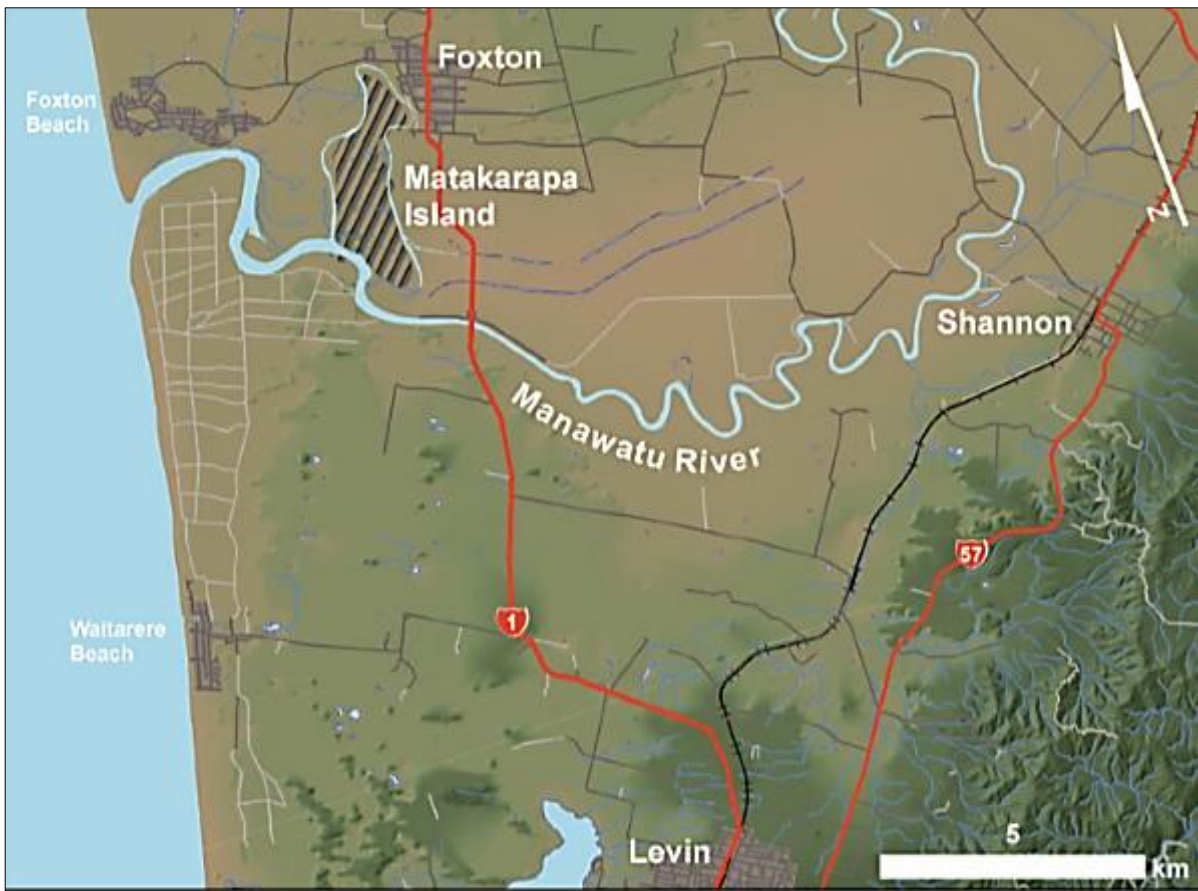
Ka mutu ko te purongo whakamātautau whenua a Parker e tohe ana mō te āhua o ngā mahi māminga a te Kaunihera o Horowhenua kia whakarite ai tētehi huarahi kōawaawa i roto i ngā wāhanga o te awa o Manawatū waihoki ko Matarapa. Ko te mate tonu o tēnā whakatau a rātou, kua whakaritea e rātou kia kaupare ngā para e patu kino nei te awa me ōna pāpāringa katoa. Ko ēnā para e kōrerotia nei ko te parakino o ngā heketua, ngā parakino o ngā kaipāmu, paitini mai, kau mai.

Kua tangi te ngākau i te rongotanga ake kua parakinotia te awa o Manawatū e te Kaunihera, tē aro mai i a rātou ahakoa ngā tohe o Ngāti Whakarete me ōna karangatanga hapū. Ko Ngāti Takihiku me Ngāti Ngarongo tēnā nā ngā tātai whakapapa ki a Whakarete. Ko rātou, ko mātou; ko mātou, ko rātou. Ko tō rātou mana, ko tō mātou mana e kore te toutou ahi e weto.

He mea whakaatu tēnei nā Parker⁷⁷⁵ i ngā whakaritenga a te Karauna o Horowhenua me tōna hiahia kia whakarite mai tētehi huarahi hōu mō ngā parakino.

⁷⁷⁵ Parker, pp. 13.

Map 50: Ko te āhua ia mā Te Awahou mā roto tonu mai a Matararapa otirā mā roto mai i te awa o Manawātū.



5.3 Ngā kokonga ngākau, e kore e kitea

Ahakoā ngā manomano eka whenua, he whenua i pāhawa i te korenga o te iwi e taea ai te noho tahi, mahi tahi i runga i āna tikanga Māori ake, kua mā ngā tikanga o Te Kooti Whenua Māori. Ehara i te mea, ko te whenua noa iho, erangi ko ngā rawa o te iwi tētehi atu. Ko ngā tino rawa o te iwi, tōna taiao e whakaongaonga nei te wairua, te mauri ki te ara takatū tāna i rerekē ai ki tā te tirohanga Pākehā.

Ko te patu wairua a te pākehā, ko āna tikanga, ko āna punaha e taupatupatu nei te oranga tonutanga o Ngāti Takihiku. Nā whai anō i huri ai ngā uara me ngā waiaro, waihoki ko ngā tukanga whakapono e whakatau nei tōna ake tirohanga ki te ao, Mihinare mai, Moromona mai, Hāhi kē atu mai. Ko te korenga o te iwi e manaaki nei tōna marae me ōna tikanga tētehi mate e ngau kino nei te mamae. He ruarua noa iho ngā whānau e taea ai te whakahaere kaupapa e ai ki ngā punaha Māori e Māori ake nei te titiro, tōna kawenga, tōna tū i te ao tūmatemate nei. Nāwai ka taupatupatu ka taupatupatu kē atu tēnei āhuatanga o mātou.

Ko ngā wai, ōna kōawa e ora ai te tangata otirā te aitanga a Tangaroa o-uta, o-tai, kua mimiti. Me te mea nei, e mimiti nei te ōhanga o te iwi kia puta hua he, kua kore. Ko ngā pā harakeke me ōna muka ka puta, nawai i kore kua kore rawa atu i ēnei rā. Kua tū kaumātua noa iho te whare mīra o Te Awahou i ēnei rā. Nā ngā uara me ngā waiaro kua tahuri atu ki te ao a te Pākehā. Kua tata ngaro te reo Māori ake o Ngāti Takihiku otirā tōna ake Māoritanga – tōna ake Takihikutanga.

E whakapae ana au, e toru ngā tū momo tikanga ako a te Pākehā i tāmi ai te reo. Tuatahi, ko te ture me ōna kaupapa whakahaere i whakaawetia te Kāwanatanga o taua wā. Tuarua, ko ngā uara me ngā waiaro o te iwi, ka mutu ko ngā rautaki me ngā pūnaha whakahaere o te hāpori whānui tonu.

“Nā ngā whakaaro tauwiwi tonu mō te iwi Māori i whakatau ko ēwhea o ngā taonga tuku iho te pupuru. Nā reira nei rātou i whakairi te reo Māori ki te pātū hei kura tātari reo⁷⁷⁶”

E whai ake nei tētehi whakarāpopoto o ēnei ariā mō tēnei purongo me te mōhio anō kia haumako ai te reo, me tuhi, me kōrero, me ora te reo; hinengaro mai, arero mai.

5.4 Te Ture me ōna Kaupapa Whakahaere

Mārakerake ana te kite atu i whakaawetia te ture me ōna kaupapa whakahaere e te kāwanatanga kia tāmi ai te mana o te iwi Māori me ōna tikanga tuku iho. Waihoki ko tōna reo kāmehehe. Ki konei i kitea ngā pānga a ngā Mihingare me ngā Pukenga tuhituhi, pānui i mau mai ki uta⁷⁷⁷. Heoi anō, me i kore ake Te Ture o Ngā Kura Māori 1867 me Te Ture Mātauranga 1877 kia rangona ai tōna mana nui i pēhia nei te reo ki ngā arero a ngā tamariki i te kura. Nā whai anō, he pānga nui ki te tokomaha. Koia te hua o te anga takitahi kia kotahi te aronga mō te katoa o te iwi Māori, ahakoa tōna horopaki i tāmi ai.

Ehara i te mea, ko te ture anake te take mō te mana kore o te reo Māori i aua wā. Tērā te tāpori o te iwi tētehi take nui me ngā te Nekehanga ki ngā taone nui mutu kau ana te Pakanga Tuatahi me te Tuarua o te Ao. Ko te otinga atu, kua makerehia ngā mita o tēnā iwi ki tahaki, ā, i aro kē rātou ki ngā mahi tutuā nei kia ea ai ngā whakapae a ngā Mihingare nō te rautau ki muri.

⁷⁷⁶ Smith, wh.3

⁷⁷⁷ Spolsky, wh.556

Wai ka hua, wai ka mōhio i ngā pānga a te paki maero matua⁷⁷⁸ nei hei patu wairua me te hinengaro a te Māori me tōna kawenga ki te whenua nei.

5.5 Ngā Uara me Ngā Waiaro o Te Iwi

Ki konei aruaru ai te pānga o te ture ki te huatau a te Māori. Nō muri mai te hainatanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, i tahuri kē tēnei aronga ki te iwi me tōna reo. Anō nei he aronga kakī whero ngā kaupapa whakahaere i tata hemo te oranga hinengaro a te Māori. Waihoki ka kite atu ngā whakaaro a ngā mātua, kia akiaki a rāua tamariki kia whai i te huarahi o te Pākeha. Nā, mō ētehi o a tātou kaumātua i pupurutia tonutia te reo ki a rātou anō. Ko ōku kuia, kaumātua ake tēnā i pēnei ai ki a rāua tamariki⁷⁷⁹. Ki konei i aruaru ai ki te oranga hinengaro o te whānau me tōna reo. Nā aua whakahau, i māturuturu ai taua whakapae ki ngā reanga nō muri iho.

He rerekē ngā aronga a te whakaaro a tēnā iwi, a tēnā iwi. He taiaha kanohi rua a te iwi Pākeha ki tōna iwi Māori⁷⁸⁰. He rerekē tōna karawhiu i tōna kaupapa ake kia noho tau ai te iwi Māori ki te papa, e mea ana ētehi he tōtara wāhi rua tāna i whai ai nā te iwi Māori.

5.6 Ngā Rautaki me Ngā Punaha Whakahaere

Ahakoia i rerekē haere ai te iwi whānui o te ao Māori, i aruaru tonu ngā tikanga tuku iho o te whānau. I ngā tau 1941 – 1980, he reo Māori kore ngā tamariki i whakatupua e ngā kaumātua, pakeke reo Māori tonu⁷⁸¹. Ko te hekenga o ngā taonga tuku iho; ko āna rautaki, āna pūnaha whakahaere i tere huri kia kotahi noa iho te reo ake a te tamaiti – ko te reo Pākeha tonu⁷⁸². Ki konei ngā huarahi ako a ngā whānau Māori e tahoro iho kia whai mana ai te whakaaro takitahi a te Pākeha. Koia te kitenga nui a Benton me tana Purongo Hunn. He uaua te mau ki ngā tikanga tuku iho ki te kore te reo e paku rongō nei. Koia tā Fishman whakahau mō te huri kōaro i te reo ki te reo Taiwhanga. Mā reira ka kite ai ngā rautaki ako, ngā punaha whakaaro tatū iho ki ngā whanonga a te iwi Māori e tino rerekē nei.

Ko te reo taiwhanga te momo reo e ngaro nei a Ngāti Takihiku e te Karauna. Ko te reo haere tahi nei ko āna tikanga, waihoki ko te tuakiri o Ngāti Takihiku kua ngaro. He wā tōna, he reo

⁷⁷⁸ Koia te hua o te Paki maero mātua nei me kii te whakaaro Grand narrative, me pēnei te aronga matua mō te iwi hei huarahi ako mō te katoa. Tērā whanonga mana kore tērā!

⁷⁷⁹ Tuhinga ake nō te whānau Jury, 1923

⁷⁸⁰ Spolsky, wh.556

⁷⁸¹ Te Puni Kōkiri, wh.15

⁷⁸² Te Puni Kōkiri, wh.15

motuhake a Ngāti Takihiku, mai ngā wā o ngā tūpuna a Poutū Hairuha mā. Hei whakatau ānei tētahi papatau e whakatau ana te korenga o te reo o tētahi whaituā o Ngāti Takihiku, nā te kaituhi nei:

<i>WHAKATUPURANGA</i>	<i>TAU</i>	<i>TUPUNA MĀTUA</i>	<i>REO TAIWHANGA</i>
1	1700 - 1750	Poutū Hairuha = Rangiwaiia	Māori
2	1750 - 1800	Te One Makarika = Pirihira	Māori
3	1800 - 1850	Riria Makarika = Nicola Sciascia	Māori
4	1850 - 1900	Margaret Sciascia = Horima Pene	Pākehā
5	1900 - 1950	Riria Pene = Te Whiu Jury	Pākehā
6	1950 - 2000	Denzil te Whiu Jury = Oriwa Makareta (nee Heremia) Jury	Pākehā
7	2000 -	Rangi te Whiu Jury = Mereana Putaka - Jury	Māori

E patu kino nei tēnei mea te raupatu i te reo, i te tuakiri o tēnei whaituā o Ngāti Takihiku. Nā ngā ture kāwanatanga, ngā mihinare, te hāhi i patu kinohia te reo taiwhanga kia pākehā te tuakiri otirā ko te reo tētehi āhuatanga nui o te pārongo a Ngāti Takihiku. Nā te muru raupatu o te tuakiri o Ngāti Takihiku, kua huri tuara atu tēnei iwi i tōna reo, kia Pākehā kē tōna tirohanga ki te ao. Nāwai ka pākehā ka Pākehā kē atu mō te hia rautau te roa. E mea ana ngā kaiariā, ka toru whakatipuranga ka ora anō te reo i a ia. Heoi anō i tēnei papatau e wawe ana te kitea kua toru kē ngā whakatipuranga e reo Pākehā nei tōna reo, tōna tirohanga hoki. Koia te pitomata nui o te raupatu tuakiri e taea ai, nā kua nui ngā hua e tāmi nei te iwi nei.

6.0 HE WHAKARĀPOPOTO

Kua toimaha a Ngāti Takihiku me ōna kokonga katoa o tōna ao. Mārakerake ana te kitea he tūāoma, he takahanga wae i tōna nohonga i Wharepuhunga tae noa ki tōna hekenga ki te Kōpu-o-Toroa. I reira a Ngāti Takihiku e kite ana tōna matapihi o tuawhakarere, ko te mana o ngā tūpuna taketake me tōna nohonga i Waikato waihoki ko ōna pakiwaitara, ōna kōrero taketake e Takihiku ai tōna tū. I reira a Takihiku ki uta e ora tonu ana i a rātou anō.

Erangi anō a Takihiku ki tai. Ka huri te tai, ka whati hoki te ao i waiho ake nei ki muri. Nāwai he whenua pakupaku, ka paku kē atu i ēnei rā. Ko ngā tohe i waenganui o te hunga i kotikoti ai te whenua hei whenua motuhake mōna, kua iti iho inaianei. He paku hinātore tēnei i te muru

raupatu o te pākehā me ōna taputapu e tāmi ai te iwi i tōna ake mana motuhake me tōna rangatiratanga. Ko te ahurea me te reo hoki tētehi wāhanga nui kua tata ngaro i ēnei rā. Kua wawāhi rua ngā hapū e rua, Ngarongo mai, Takihiku mai.

Kua whenumihia te marae kotahi mō ngā hapū e rua. Ko te rongoā pea, ko te *moe tahi* i a rātou anō, anō nei he takawaenga i tēnā tātai whakapapa ki a ia, ki tēnā tātai whakapapa ki a ia anō. Ko te mate tonu, kihai a Ngāti Takihiku e paku aro mai ki tōna ake mana motuhake ā-whānau, ā-hapū hoki. Hei māunu pea te mamae, me pēwhea kē e waihape ai te mana motuhake ki te hapū nōna tonu tēnā mana?

Tāmi ai te wairua, te hinengaro, te tinana me te waiora e patu haere nei, e patu kino nei. Ko te oranga tonutanga o Ngāti Takihiku te take nui o tēnei purongo. Ki te kore he whakakitenga ka mate a Ngāti Takihiku waihoki ko Ngāti Raukawa nui tonu. E ora ai tēnei iwi me whakatau, me whakaū hei whakatupu i te mātauranga kia puta he mātauranga hōu. Koia te pitomata i tēnei tūāoma a Ngāti Takihiku. Ka tahuri atu, ka tahuri mai ka kitea tonutia e au te tāmātemate haere o Ngāti Takihiku i ōna kokona katoa o tōna ake whare. He oranga pea kei roto i te tāmātemate o te mana motuhake, o te rangatiratanga o te hapū nei.

Ko te āhua hoki te ahuwhehua me ōna pānga kino katoa. He mātauranga kore tā Ngāti Takihiku whai i runga i te mōhio kua tahuritia tōna ao kia whati noa. Me whakaū te Māori ki te tukanga tuakiri o iwi kē. Ko te utu nui o tēnei momo whakaaro, ko te korenga o te iwi e whakapono nei ki tōna mana ake. Kua kuraina te nuinga o Ngāti Takihiku ki te whare mātauranga o Tauīwi. Kua patu wairua, kua patua te kiri e te Pākehā mō te reo Māori te take, me āna tikanga ake. Nāwai kua tata mate tātou i te korokoro o te Parata, tōna rētōtanga, tōna hohonutanga me tēnei momo tirohanga ki te mātauranga. Ko te Ture Pākehā hoki tētehi huarahi e kore e whai hua, e paku kite nei tētehi oranga i tēnā whakaaro ōna.

KAUPAPA	HOROPAKI	ARONGA
Manaakitanga	Manaaki i te whānau	Hoa whakapānga ki tēnā whānau, ki tēnā whānau o te hapū
Whanaungatanga	Ngā herenga ā hapū	Oranga wairua o te hapū
Whakamana	Te hapū, whānau	Te āhua o te tū mō ngā take ā iwi, a Tainui waka whānui, a motu

KAUPAPA	HOROPAKI	ARONGA
Pupuru taonga	Te whare kōrero	Kia rangatira ai ngā Hononga whakapapa ki te whare kōrero o Ngāti Takihiku

E kore te pātiki e hoki ki tōna puehu. E tutuki ai tēnei mahi rangahau i runga anō i ngā ariā matua e whā hei whakairo te āhua o Ngāti Takihiku ake. Tuatahi, ko te tātai iho o ngā kāwai kia rangatira ai ngā herenga a ngā tamariki. Tuarua, kia noho tonu hei mana motuhake tōna kia pupuru, kia whakawhanake tonu tōna mana nō tētehi tūpuna. Heoi anō, he maha ngā take ka hua mai mō te hapū kia noho motuhake ki a ia anō:

- Kia whakatutuki oati, tono rānei;
- Kia nohoia ki tētehi whenua kua riro mā rātou te whakahaere;
- Nō ngā tautohenga;
- Hei manaaki rānei ngā whakaaro ka hua mai a tōna wā

Ko te hekennga mai a Ngāti Takihiku i Wharepuhunga, he take tuku kē tōna nohonga ki te tonga, ka tahi. Ka rua ko te manaaki i te whakaaro i puta mai e Ngāti Ngarongo kia noho mai ki tōna rohe ake. Koia tētehi take matua i whakatōpū ai ngā hapū e rua ki te whenua rāhui o Kereru.

Hei whakawhanake, hei whakatupu ngā tūmomo kaupapa hei waeine a Ngāti Takihiku; me Māori tonu te titiro ki tōna anga whakahaere⁷⁸³. Ehara i te mea, koina noa iho ngā take hei whakaarotanga mā te tangata. Heoi anō, ko ngā take e wha nei ngā kaupapa matua e noho pai ana ki Te Toi o Ngāti Takihiku, hei anga whakamua mō ngā uri whakaheke:

Manaakitanga: He kaupapa kua rangatira ai ngā hapū ki runga marae; ko te āheinga a te hapū te manaaki i ōna manuwiri, ōna hoa haere, ōna karangatanga maha. Mō ngā tātai kōrero, me whakakaha ngā hoa whai pānga ki waenganui ngā whānau, i ōna karangatanga matua e noho tata nei ki a ia i runga anō i ngā tātai kōrero, ahakoa te horopaki, hauora mai, mātauranga mai, pupuru taonga mai.

Whānaungatanga: I tēnei tau kua huri me mārāma ngā mema o te hapū he aha te herenga tūpuna i waenganui i a rātou anō me ōna hoa whakapānga. Ko te pānga i konei, ko te whakawhanake,

⁷⁸³ Durie, wh.13

ko te whakairo ngā pānga ki tēnei whānau, ki tēnā kaupeka tūpuna hei oranga wairua mō ngā uri whakatupu.

Whakapumau kōrero: me whakatau kōrero ki ngā uri whakatupu, anō nei he kaupapa rautaki kia pou here ngā take matua ka hua mai mō te hapū. Me whakakaha ngā herenga i waenganui i ngā hapū katoa o te iwi; kia tuku iho aua kōrero ki tēnā whānau, ki tēnā kaupeka hei oranga wairua, hei oranga tinana mō ngā rā kei tua. E ū ai tēnei momo whakaaro, me ngākau tapatahi ki ōna kōrero, ki te hunga nā rātou nei ngā pānga kino i whakatō. Me noho whakaiti hoki te iwi nei i ōna tūāoma kē atu i tēnei ao.

Whakamana: me āhei ngā mema o te hapū te whai wāhi mai ki ngā take a iwi, a Tainui waka whānui, a motu hoki hei whakakanohi mai a Ngāti Takihiku ki aua wāhi. Ka whakamanahia ngā tūāhuatanga o ngā herenga kōrero me ngā herenga tūpuna ki aua tū momo take ka hua mai. Me whai reo, me waha a Ngāti Takihiku i ōna kōrero kia kiia ai te kōrero i ora ai ia i tēnei ao tūnekeneke nei.

Pupuru taonga (Te Whare Kōrero o Takihiku): ka rangatira ai ngā kōrero; ahakoa tohe, ahakoa tātai pounamu erangi me mahara mai ngā mema ki aua taonga hei whakairinga ngā kete kōrero ki ngā pātū o tōna whare, mā reira te hapū whānui e mātotoru ai ki ōna kōrero me ngā mōhiotanga o te hapū. Ko te purongo mō tēnei kaupapa te tētehi o ēnā whakaaro nui ki tēnei momo whare kōrero ā-hapū, kia motuhenga te reo, kia Māori te reo, kia wahapū te reo o Ngāti Takihiku hei oranga anō mōna, reo Māori mai, reo Pākehā mā. Ko te rētōtanga o tēnei whakaaro te take kia reo Māori mai tēnei purongo whakamahuki mō Ngāti Takihiku, waihoki mō WAI-113 te take.

I te ao hurihuri nei, me uaua ka kitea ngā momo hua ka puta e hapū ai ngā whakaaro mō tētehi rautaki whakahaere, mō tētehi rautaki whakahaumanu rānei. He tuatahitanga tēnei momo āhua kia kapo ake ngā kōrero o te hunga kaumātua o te naianei me o rātou maharatanga ake mō te wā i a rātou. E ora ai tēnei momo purongo, me uiui ngā wheinga, ngā kaumātua, ngā pakeke e ai ki ēnei ariā poto e whai ake nei, otirā ōna kōrero whakamahuki hei āwhina tonu te kaupapa o tēnei mahi:

<i>KAUPAPA WHĀNAU</i>	<i>KAWENGA</i>	<i>ARONGA</i>
Takihiku kia mau!	Whānau ora	Te mana motuhake o te whānau
Te marae o Hine	Oranga tinana	Ko te waiora o te iwi, ko tōna hauora
Takihiku e tū!	Tikanga whakahaere	Me kōrero tahi te whānau ki ngā take huhua o te wā.
Te Hiku o Raukawa	Pupuru taonga	Kia whai hua ngā mahuetanga iho e ngā taonga o te whānau, kōrero rānei

Takihiku kia mau! Ko tōna aronga mō te whānau kia rangatira te tū o te iwi, ahakoa kei whea rātou e noho ana i Aotearoa, i te ao whānui. Ko te mea nui, kua areare mai ngā taringa, he pai tōna kawē i a ia anō i te ao, ā, kua whai hua i roto i āna mahi o ia rā hei oranga hinengaro mōna.

Te Marae o Hine: Ko tōna aronga kia manaakitia te tau o tinana, he haepapa nōna kia kawē ia ki te takuta, ā, kua pai te kai. Ki te pēnei tōna aronga kua whai hua ngā tamariki, mokopuna i a ia.

Takihiku e tū! Ko tōna aronga, ko tōna reo me tōna kawē i ngā whakaaro a te whānau ahakoa ngā tū momo take kua mārama, kua mōhio i ōna pūnaha whakahaere mō te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro kia paiheretia tonu te whānau. Ka whai wāhi mai tōna whakawhanaketanga ki te whakatupu i ōna pūkenga reo.

A kaati. Hei whakamutunga kōrero māku, ko te koha nui o tēnei rangahau e tutuki ai te ngākau me waha ngā take kia hua mai ngā whakaaro o te puna mātauranga kia whai wāhi mai a Ngāti Takihiku ki Kerēme ā-Iwi o Ngāti Raukawa, a WAI-113. Nā reira, ko ngā hua ka puta mai ka kitea ēnei kaupapa hei whakaarotanga mā tātou:

He ahi kaa mai tawhiti, he pahī tangata. Nā ōku tūpuna i heke mai i Wharepunga nō ngā rautau ki muri te take i whai wāhi mai a Ngāti Takihiku ki te rohe kua tapaina mai nei ko Te Ngare o Mahinaarangi. Me i kore ake a Poutu Hairuha mā te huarahi i para kua kore ngā āhuatanga o taua wā i taka mai. He kāinga tupu, he oranga wairua mō tōna rahi i āta whai mai ki konei, mā reira ngā whānau i mauri rere ki tēnā rohe ki tōna, ki tēnā iwi ki tōna, hei pahī tangata. Ahakoa tēnā, ka aroha ki tēnei āhuatanga ōna. He pahī tangata neke atu i

te e hia rautau ki ōna taketakenga me te mōhio anō hoki i mārama kau atu rātou i takea mai a Ngāti Takihiku i whea, i tōna ōrokohanga mai, mai Te Whare o Turongo? He mahi tēnei kia mārama kehokeho ai rātou ēnei āhuatanga o ngā takahanga wae.

Te rau o te pene i mana ai. Nō roto mai ngā rautau ki muri i huri te tūāpapa o te ao e mōhiohia nei ngā tūpuna. Mai i te pātanga tuatahitanga o tauwi mā ki ngā parenga o te hiku o te awa o Manawatū, o Mataraka hoki i kitea tuatahitia ngā hapū e noho Māori nei, e whakahaeretia ana i a rātou anō. Nō muri mai, he akoranga hōu i puta, ko ngā tikanga ako o Te Kooti Whenua Māori. Ki konei i timata mai te wāwahi i te whakaaro, i te tauira o tēnei mea te hapū – ko te nohotahitanga o ngā whānau hei whakahaere i ngā nekehanga o te wā. E mea ana au, ko te rau o te pene i mana ai ngā whenua raupatu o te iwi Māori mai, Pākeha mai. He kongakonga whenua i tuku i a rātou mā, me te mea anō, ahakoa he kongakonga noa iho, i wāwahi tonu taua whenua hei timotimo mā te iwi anō e whakahaere. Inā hoki te nui o tō te pene raupatu mana. Ko tōna hinu hei wāwahi i te whenua tuku, i tuku mai ki te iwi ka tahi, ka rua ko te wāwahi i tōna whenua kia puta tōna ake kāwai hei Kaitiaki mōna tae noa kia ō mōhoa nei. Ehara i te mea ko ngā whenua anahe i pēnei ai, erangi ko te ōhanga rawa, ko ngā pāmu, ko ngā kaupapa whakahaere e tāmi nei i a rātou.

<i>KAUPAPA</i>	<i>WHĀNGA</i>	<i>PUTANGA AKO</i>	<i>HUA AKO</i>
Takahiku kia mau!	Mana motuhake, whai oranga, ā, kua whai hua I te mātauranga	70% e ora pai ana ngā pakeke kaumātua	Kua hihiko te tinana e te hunga pakeke – kaumātua nei.
		Kua whai hua i te ao mātauranga e ngā rangatahi heke iho	Te tokopae I te kura tonu, kōhanga reo, wharekura, wānanga, kuratini rānei
Te Marae o Hine	Kua māia tōna kawē ki te tākuta, kua āta koi, koiri tinana hoki	Kua haere te hunga pakeke ki te takuta o ia marama	Kua heke iho te momo rongoā, he rōpū kōiri tinana kaumātua tonu.
		Kua āta tatari I tōna kete kai me tōna maha, kua Pakari hoki tōna tinana	Kua aromatawaitia ngā taumata hauora o te whānau
Takahiku e tū!	Ka whakaae tahi, ka kōrero tahi te hapū hei oranga mōna.	Ka whakaae tahi te ki ngā whenua tōpu, Kokoraho Tiriti rānei	He rārangi ingoa o Te Hui Komiti Marae, ka haere ki ngā hui mātua o te iwi
		Kua whakawhāiti mai ngā pūnaha tuku kōrero kia mārama ai te katoa	Kua whakaritea tētehi Pūrongo hapū, marae paetukutuku
Te Hiku o Raukawa	Ko te reo me ngā taonga tuku iho	Kua whakawhanakehia te reo a te tangata	40% te hunga e taea ai te kōrero Māori
		Kua whakaritea tētehi mahere rautaki mō ngā taonga	Kia whakaritea he tahua putea mō ngā tamariki, mokopuna

Te Manawaroatanga o Raukawa. E hia noa nei ngā punaha whakahaere i whakatauhia me pēnei te whakahaere i te iwi, erangi anō kei roto kē i tā tātou kōrero tuku iho tērā āhuatanga. Ko tōna tauira matua kua tuhia ki te rangi ngā pūmanawa o te rangatira i whakahauhia e rātou mā. He akoranga nui tēnei āhuatanga ahakoa te momo rōpū kua whakahaeretia ngā take o te hapū mō tēnei purongo kia whakakanohi mai a Ngāti Takihiku ki tēnei kaupapa. Kei te taumata kōrero o te rohe o Raukawa me ōna tini whanaunga, e tū tahi ai, e whakaū ai tēnei whakaaro. Ko te hua ka puta, kia pupuru ki te manawaroatanga, te mana motuhake o Ngāti Takihiku hei hapai ngā mahi mō te iwi, kia kii ake ai *'ko Ngāti Raukawa mātou'*.

Tangata akona ki te kāinga tū ana ki tōna marae, tau ana. He nui tonu pea ngā akoranga huhua noa atu kua kukune mai ki te māhau o te whakaaro. Heoi anō, ki te ako, ki te huritao, ki te āta wahapū tātou ngā akoranga ō mua hei aronga a mōhoa nei kei reira ngā painga mō tātou katoa, kauaka mō te takitahi, engari kia rangatira te tū a Ngāti Takihiku haere ake nei. Me whakairo tonu pea ngā huarahi ako, ngā punaha hoki kia mārāma ai te katoa mō ngā rā kei muri i a tātou. Ehara i te mea he kōrero ahiahi, he kōrero i pāhawa erangi, he koha nui tēnei mō ngā waihotanga iho. Tokomaha tonu o Ngāti Takihiku kei te ao whānui tonu, nō reira me tuhurā aua akoranga ki tōna rangiwhāwhātanga o te ao, hei kitenga, hei whakatupu i te mātauranga anō mō te hapū, mō te iwi, mā reira pea te mana ā hapū e angitū ai, e whakatinana rānei tōna pitomata mō tēnei kaupapa.

He torotoro nui, he wānanga nui kua puta mai e te kaituhi nei nā runga i tōna wairua hikaka mō Ngāti Takihiku whānui tonu. I whakatairangatia tēnei momo wānanga mō ngā uri katoa, ahakoa te reo kei a rātou, kia whakarewa a Ngāti Takihiku ki tua o te pae pērā i te aroākapa o ana tamariki. Hua atu, he koha nui tēnei nō muri mai ngā tau kua taha ake, kua whakatupua te puna mātauranga mō Koputoroa, mō Ngāti Takihiku ake e te hunga matatini o mua. Me i kore ake koutou, kua kore hoki au.

Ka whakairi ake te pātaka Iringa kōrero ki konei, he kawei tautika mai ki a au.

Nā te ngākau iti, nā

Te Ngare o Mahinaarangi – Ngāti Takihiku.

NGĀTI TE AU

ORAL HISTORY

Image 67: Ngāti Te Au Papakāinga



Ngāti Te Au Research Committee

July 2018

PREFACE

The hapū oral histories are a series of hapū and iwi chapters includes a large mapping and visual sources component. The profiles complement the overview papers to form the full Te Hono oral and traditional history report. This information provides clarification and support for the presentation of Treaty of Waitangi claims to the Tribunal.

This hapū histories project is the largest output of the oral and traditional history project and involves active participation from hapū and iwi. The Histories project narrates and illustrates the cultural landscape by showing information relating to, for example,

- The traditional takiwā of the hapū
- Important whakapapa lines and tūpuna
- Sites of significance, wāhi tapū, locations of food gathering sites, and natural resources
- defining events, oral history and marae stories
- biographies and photos of leaders and rangatira.

New Zealand history in the past has been from one perspective, that of the coloniser. Learning our tribal histories through whakapapa, mōteatea, haka, narratives, weaving and carving etc. painted a whole different story and one that was difficult to align with the ‘other’ history. Being part of this project has been enlightening, as we have endeavoured to discover why and how we lost so much to so few and the impact these losses had on the following generations of our hapū and iwi.

The challenges to identify willing participants, who have the passion to contribute to the project and who have the time, has been difficult. However, with the support and guidance of Te Hono ki Raukawa, a small whānau group have persevered and have collated information and stories that form the perspectives and memories of a part of Ngāti Te Au. To those who have contributed in any way, ka nui te mihi ki a koutou. To those who may wish to pick up the wero and continue the story, kia kaha koutou, mā te Atua koutou e manaaki.

INTRODUCTION

The opportunity for Ngāti Te Au to participate in the hapū histories project was challenging but exciting. Our chapter, along with the other Hapū narratives, contributes to the introductory paper and the two research papers to form the full oral and traditional history report. Although our report does not need to contain all information that may be required for presentation before the Waitangi Tribunal, it needs to complement and support our hapū witness briefs. Time constraints for this project have enabled a narrow snapshot over the time period, focussed on a small section of Ngāti Te Au. Mainly a grouping of Mautiki Raimapaha (Kipa's) descendants. The narrative is incomplete but should be extended by others.

The history of Ngāti Te Au did not begin in 1840. However, this date is pertinent in the use of our report in supporting Treaty claims. We have included early history as a means of establishing cultural identity and practices. It is also appropriate to recognise our iwi origins. Some histories may be shared with other hapū. We identify the main families of our hapū and consider how the future might have looked had we maintained control of our own lands and communities. The task was to record those parts of the report relevant to Ngāti Te Au, to expand them in local context and to address the impacts. This enables the Tribunal and our negotiators to compare losses and impacts.

The creation of historical legacy is one desired outcome, however the outcome by which our hapū can most assist negotiations for the resolution of claims and the structuring of a negotiation mandate, is one that traces the potential of the hapū at 1840. This was supported by articulating the loss of that potential through land loss, environmental loss, loss of control of tribal affairs, and ultimately the loss of independent political capacity in Māori community development.

What happened to our hapū and iwi during the course of history, how those events have impacted on the practice of tikanga Māori and how those events have impacted on our cultural behaviours and cultural beliefs is explored through the following themes.

1.0 SECTIONS

1.1 Origins, Settlement and Survival

- Movement of whānau from Maungatautari, Wharepūhunga and defining stories of the hapū and marae. Who were the whānau who left their homeland to venture to the Kapiti coast? What do we know about them? Where are their descendants today?
- Prominent leadership of Te Rauparaha, Te Whatanui and others.

1.2 Hapū and Iwi Whakapapa

- Whakapapa, establishing our links to others who migrated.
- Identification of tūpuna names of whānau (owners) who signed for the whenua under the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act. 1877.
- Relationships and connections to other hapū and iwi; Ngāti Rakau and Ngāti Turanga.

1.3 Land Acquisition and Loss

- Emergence of the hapū at Hīmatangi prior to 1840 and the impacts of the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act. The 1866 sale. Vesting of land to individuals that led to multiple ownership.
- Letters from Mahauariki / Parakaia, Foxton Railways 1876,
- Sites of significance, pā, papakāinga, mahinga kai, and wāhi tapu.
- Railway land and Reserves.

1.4 Hapū and Iwi Leadership

- Rangatira, wāhine rangatira. Identifying the leaders during colonisation.
- The expressions of tino rangatiratanga. ‘The Non-Sellers.’

1.5 Wellbeing and Survival

- Artists and artisans, identifying whānau who have contributed in any of these areas. Who built the wharenuī? Why?
- Wealth distribution, quantification of cultural wealth, te reo, carving, weaving, tradespersons.
- Hapū engagement. How are our whānau contributing to the survival of our people as Māori? Kapa haka, rugby and netball activities that engaged hapū members who lived on their own whenua. Participation in World Wars and military service.

- Urbanisation large workforces for flax and freezing works industries, leasing of land.
- What are the risks for the survival of Ngāti Te Au as a hapū? Examples that reflect the reality. What are the solutions?

Research, whānau stories, histories, the determination of hapū to retain our rangatiratanga during and after the colonisation years, will guide our report and provide snapshots of critical Crown decisions and actions that impacted on our people.

2.0 ORIGINS, SURVIVAL AND SETTLEMENT

Ngāti Te Au have resided along the western bank of the Manawatū River, close to the settlement of Hīmatangi, for nearly two hundred years. We journeyed with Te Rauparaha and Te Whatanui from Wharepuhunga in the north. Initially the people gathered at Katihiku on the southern banks near the river mouth of the Ōtaki River. After two years the different hapū were allocated areas for settlement. Ngāti Te Au journeyed north with Ngāti Turanga and Ngāti Rakau.

Early settlements of Ngāti Turanga, Ngāti Rakau and Ngāti Te Au at Papakiri, Atiki and Paiaka and other localities were along the Manawatū River, as this was the principal means of communication at the time. The river provided food, water, transport and work for the men, while the bush provided timber, birds, food, rongoa and shelter. Kiekie, harakeke, raupo and toetoe from the river and environs were used for weaving. Times were changing not only for our tūpuna who had relocated from another part of the motu, but generally, with settlers, missionaries, business people arriving looking for opportunity. Ted recalls,

“When Koro and Nanny Reihana were married in the early 1920s, they lived *down the back* in a raupo hut beside the awa. His first job was clearing the land and floating the logs down to the mill near Paiaka. He worked for a time with his grandfather Jack Wells (Mautiki’s husband) doing similar work on the awa breaking up log jams.”

This would have been difficult and dangerous work, which eventually claimed Jack’s life. He and Mautiki had four daughters, Kararaina, Makareta Tikei, Rihi and one son Tiaki. Eventually the three hapū relocated closer to Awahou, to Motuiti. This area was originally planned as a town. Here the three hapū of Hīmatangi settled on what was to become known as the Hīmatangi Block.

Image 3: Makareta Wells, daughter of Mautiki Raimapaha and Harry Wells (Wales/Whales)



The descendants of Te Au, the son of Ngarongo and Hineteao, were referred to as the ‘non-sellers’⁷⁸⁴ of the Manawatū Block. In 1866, 22,000 acres of their land was sold from under them by the Government. For over ten years they persevered in their efforts to regain their whenua. Eventually they became joint signatories to the 1877 Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act. Mautiki Raimapaha and Pitihira Te Kuru were original non-sellers. Their descendants include the Haena, Hoterini, Rimene, Te Rangi, Takarua, Pāpara, Kauri, Kimura, Rautahi, Reihana, Kipa, Skipper and Mete whānau, many of whom still reside in and around the rohe.

⁷⁸⁴ Those who were opposed to the sale of their lands.

2.1 Wharenuī At Ngāti Te Au

The urupā at Hīmatangi and the wharenuī ‘Te Au’ that stood beside it until the early 1960s - 1970s, are significant sites for the hapū. No photos could be found of the whare. Also, on the site with the wharenuī, and urupā was the cookhouse (kauta) and the cowshed. Harry Wells, Tūturu, a Minister and others built the whare. It provided a refuge and safe haven over the years for whānau during the depression years and up until the 1960s-70s. Ted recalls,

“Kui Makareta was born in the mid-1850s and was a young girl during the land sales. I remember the old ‘cook house’ where she lived in the latter stages of her life. She would have been in her late eighties. I lived next door in the Te Au whare with my parents and three sisters. At times I slept in the same room and ate at the same table with my kui. Mum told me when I was two I used to go disappearing from koro and nanny’s house, I’d wander unseen, through the long grass, across the paddock towards the cookhouse and they’d find the two of us just sitting in front of the fire. A fire that seemed to be forever alight, glowing and sparking. The dirt floor and the corrugated iron chimney around a huge fireplace that had four large iron bars over it, was where our food was cooked. There was no electricity. Many of the mod cons of the 1880s were unchanged in the 1940s, time seemed to drift by.”⁷⁸⁵

“We lived there as a family during my primary school years at Oroua Downs School.” His mother Raita had the electricity connected during the war. The whare had a mahau, two windows back and front and a centrally placed door at the front. It faced north-east towards the homestead of his grandparents. Hayley Bell, Ted’s niece, tells of a conversation with her Aunty Hinewai Witika, (Hoterini) about the prevailing westerly winds along the Hīmatangi straights. She said the wind was a big part of our lives and that the old people used to light and hold fire to the wind and chant to it.⁷⁸⁶ Ted’s childhood recollection of the wind was vivid. The windward side of the whare had about six 8-foot-high posts dug in about two metres out from the wall. These had strands of no.8 fencing wire running horizontally along the poles. Roses grew at the front right corner. One of our jobs to cut lupin and weave it through the wires as a windbreak. On the downwind side of the whare, three poles were braced against the outside wall on a 45-degree angle. This stabilised the whare, it probably had no bracing as we know it today. Ted’s mother remembered many people sleeping around the whare, mainly whānau. Ted remembers his family only, living there during his time.

During the mid-1900s many whānau found temporary accommodation at the whare including the Devonshire, Hemara, Kunaiti and Peipi whānau. Many descendants of Ngāti Te Au have

⁷⁸⁵ Devonshire, T. Taonga Tuku Iho Hearing Tukorehe Marae, 2015.

⁷⁸⁶ Bell, H. Personal conversation, 19 July 2017.

now married into the whānau of Ngati Turanga and Ngati Rakau. The expression of manaakitanga continued over later years, Lorraine Bell told Hayley, that at the homestead, near the wharenuī, a rock would be left out on a fence to let swaggers know that a meal and a bed for the night was available. At one time, a Chinese woman was invited to stay with Nanny for a time. I think Nanny Rangimahora and Koro Pitihira were like this in terms of providing a place to stay... sounds like Kui Makareta was too. Over the following years in the 1970s the whare deteriorated and fell into disrepair. Hay was stored in it towards the end. Nothing remains of it today. Only the urupā remains on the site.

Hayley Bell remembered a discussion with Uncle Arthur Hoterini.

“He told me that Te Au was where people went for healing with Kui Makareta. If they were unwell at Motuiti they went there. It was like a place of sanctuary with Kui Makareta at all times, but many who came when influenza struck still died. Apparently when the influenza epidemic came Koro Pitihira seemed to be immune to it, so he also tended those who were unwell that had arrived seeking help, but in the end, many passed away and he had to bury them in Te Au in unmarked graves because there was so many.”⁷⁸⁷

In his obituary in the Manawatū Herald in 1954, it is recorded that:

“Pitihira Reihana Tawaroa was a man of great integrity...when the influenza epidemic swept through the country in 1918 he went to the Motuiti pa when he learned that the Māori population there was stricken, practically to the man. Lone handed he cared for them, undertaking not only the distribution of food and medical supplies, but filling the role of nurse, doctor, comforter and all too often undertaker. In all he was called on to bury 19 members of the community, only 15 surviving the scourge.”

It was not common for our whanaunga of the time to have ready access to medical support from doctors and nurses. In a conversation with Aunty Jo Selby (Jacob) a few years ago, she related how, when her siblings were ill, their mother Aunty Atareti Lucy Jacob, would pack them off to visit Billy Uru at Paranui Pa. Te Uru o Te Ao Eparaima was a well-known tohunga who was respected by whānau of the area.⁷⁸⁸

Ngāti Te Au treasured the kai and weaving resources bountiful in their rohe. These included pipi, flounder and sand shark from the coast; and eel, kahikatea, harakeke, pingao and kiekie from the bush, river and surrounding lands.

⁷⁸⁷ Bell, H. and Devonshire M. Personal conversation, July 2017.

⁷⁸⁸ Devonshire, M. & Selby, Jo. Discussion at home of the kuia in Palmerston North. September 2004.

“Koro had a special eeling spear, he had made from manuka. It had a long handle and three sharp muck metal, prongs at the end. It was in his shed and no one was allowed to touch it. He alone would take it eeling. One day, when he was older, I took it down to the Paranui stream and caught a big eel. One of the prongs was bent, my uncles, who were just a little older than myself, went. “oooooh you’re in trouble now!” I was really scared, but thankfully they straightened it out for me before I hung it back on the wall!”

A strong memory of those times was of a line of eels hanging on Nanny’s clothesline - split open, with the backbone removed, and salted. Nanny cleaned the paru from the eels and prepared them. It was not one of her favourite jobs. She would send them to her mother Ranginui Leonard in Awahou, Rotorua. The Pākehā kids at school would cheek the Māori kids for eating dirty eels.⁷⁸⁹

Nanny and her Mother were self-taught weavers. She collected harakeke, pingao and kiekie which was stored in her verandah, “we were told not to walk over it,” said Ted. She and Whakaara Mahauariki would catch Madge’s bus out to Hīmatangi beach to collect pingao. The driver would bring them back home with their treasures. Nanny was very generous with what she made and many of her friends and relations received samples of her weaving over the years.

2.2 Changing Times

From the times of settlement in the Hīmatangi area, there were great changes in the making. Paiaka was the name of the settlement situated at the end of Paiaka Road, Koputaroa, Levin. Thomas Kebbell and his brother John arrived in New Zealand in 1841 aboard the "Mandarin". They brought with them a 20 horse-power engine and boiler and the machinery. They settled at the Paiaka settlement on the Manawatū River and built their sawmill. Te Ara states: “When Māori saw the steam sawmill being built by the Kebbell brothers at Paiaka in the 1840s, it reminded them of the bubbling springs in the Taupō district.”⁷⁹⁰

Following its closure, the sawmill was converted into a flour mill and operated until wrecked by the 1855 earthquake. The Kebbells obtained new machinery from England and they moved

⁷⁸⁹ Devonshire R. Personal conversation with Selby, P& R. 17 May 2005.

⁷⁹⁰ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/Manawatū-and-horowhenua-region/5>

the mill operation to Te Aro in Wellington. Robert Gardner farmed at Paiaka from 1888 (having embarked in the flax milling industry in 1887 at Foxton).⁷⁹¹

2.3 Foxton's Flax Industry⁷⁹²

Flax has been an integral part in the development of the township of Foxton. Before the arrival of the Europeans in New Zealand Māori relied greatly on the flax plant (*phormium tenax*) for their everyday needs. The women scraped flax by hand using seashells to remove the fibre from the green leaf. The fibre was then processed into mats, kits, clothing and rope. Juices and gum were well regarded by Māori for their medicinal purposes. Soon after the European arrival flax became the raw material of the developing industry of rope making. From the 1840s rope walks using flax fibre produced by Māori were established in the Foxton-Shannon area.

In 1869 Mr C. James Pownall set up the first flax mill in Foxton designing and installing a stripper machine. The flax industry thrived throughout New Zealand during the later years of the 19th century and trade through the port of Foxton increased. Foxton became a borough in 1888. In the 1890s a recovery in the flax milling industry occurred as the price of New Zealand hemp rose on the world market. This was due to a war in the Philippines which had been a major supplier of Manilla hemp to the world. At one time fifty mills were operating within ten miles of Foxton. Sadly, the boom did not last. Later in the 1870s, mills began producing the fibre. From then until the 1970s flax fibre was used for woolpacks, binder twine, fibrous plaster, lashings, upholsterers tow and carpet. During the 1940s the Moutoa Estate swamp was bought by the Government and planted in *phormium tenax*. The strain selected was Siefert's special, a strong growing variety resistant to the disease 'yellow leaf'.

The depression of the 1930s almost killed off the flax industry but the government stepped in and established the New Zealand Woolpack and Textiles Company. The company built a new factory and began producing woolpacks from flax fibre. During World War Two, gun mats were produced and after the war diversification into floor mats took place.

The 1960s saw flax woolpacks losing their share of the market and less flax fibre was being used for floor coverings. Then complaints came from the Japanese about the quality of flax

⁷⁹¹ horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/topics/2340-paiaka-on-the-Manawatū...

⁷⁹² Kete Horowhenua website.

woolpacks. During the 20th century there was a gradual decline and the last mill in Foxton closed in 1973. In 1973 the woolpacks plant was sold to the firm of Stephens-Bremner who expanded the wool production. Wool had replaced flax as the Town's 'saviour'.

Flax was and still is plentiful in the Horowhenua. Māori recognise over 50 varieties of flax each with its own name. All those with fibre so strong they could be drawn out in long ribbons without breaking were called tihore while all others were known as horo. The variety most in use was harakeke or swamp flax. This grows best not in the swamps but along the edges of streams, with its roots near running water. The leaves of the plant are arranged in fans and the leaf is one of the strongest known. They can take a strain of some 19 kilograms. Many of our whānau over the generations worked in the flax industry. It was very hard work in conditions that were at times wet and very cold. James Cox kept a diary of the trials of working in 'the wash' at the Manawatū flax mills, 1888-1891. Because he had to bend over and clean the hanks of flax fibre in a trough of water, he got soaked. In the summer it was uncomfortable and in winter he was cold and miserable.' I get wet legs every day and get cold on cold', he wrote before quitting his job in despair.⁷⁹³

2.4 Turongo Church

In 1879 Turongo Church was built nearby at Moutoa, adjacent to the Hīmatangi Block Road. The beneficiaries of three blocks of land belonging to Ngā Hapū o Hīmatangi, Rangitāne and Ngāti Whakare, formed a Trust which administers the blocks of land. The lease money is used for the upkeep and maintenance of the Church. The Mihingare church has been relocated to Poutu Marae at Shannon and at time of preparation of this narrative, was undergoing refurbishment. Māori Ministers worked on a circuit to tend to their 'flocks.'

Pakake Leonard was one young man from Awahou, Rotorua who was part of that Ministry. He married Wharawhara Te AweAwe from Rangiotu. He was the younger brother of Rangimahora Reihana.

⁷⁹³ Fairburn, M. *Nearly out of Heart and Hope*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995. p. 54.

Image 4 Turongo Church 1879



2.5 Railways

In the 1870s the first railway line was built by a Manawatū company. It was a wooden track railway line that ran from Foxton to Palmerston North. There was a small railway station at Hīmatangi. The line was not fenced, and it ran parallel to the current highway. The timetable was flexible. As in many other places in the world the railway line opened up communication and transport opportunities locally and later, regionally.

The following information from the *Applications to the Māori Land Court for Orders Revesting Land acquired for a Public Work*, traces the history of these lands from the original ‘purchase’ through to the present day and highlights how hapū were denied ownership to their lands by Crown legislation.

- “On Dec 1866 the land which is the subject of these applications was purchased from the Māori owners by the Crown as part of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase. Part of the land purchased was subsequently returned to some of the Māori owners following their contention of not being a party to the original sale. Ownership of this claim was validated by virtue of the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act 1877 which gives rise to the Hīmatangi Blocks of today. In which these Crown sections are to be vested.
- By notice in the New Zealand Gazette of 1876 pages 909-910 (Appendix A)

- The land for the Foxton–Manawatū railway was reserved under the Waste Lands Act of 1858. The land was defined on survey office plan 16347 sheets 9-12.
- In the 1950s the Foxton-Manawatū Railway was closed to rail traffic and the tracks removed. Following closure, the Railways Department leased portions of the old railway to adjoining land owners. The Railway Department also prepared survey office plan 24614 for the purpose of finally disposing of the old railway land.
- By notice in the NZ Gazette of 1963 page 984 the reservation of land for the purpose of constructing railway was revoked and the status reverted to that of Crown Land. As the land was surplus to the requirements of the railways, the Commissioner of Crown Lands was asked to arrange disposal.
- Mr Bergin, Solicitor of the firm Bergin and Cleary, acted for several of the owners and lessees of the blocks adjoining the old railway land and he wrote to the Department asking about fencing to respect covenants in existing leases and about possible purchase of the surplus land.
- It was not however until 1970 following several inspections and valuations that the Land Settlement Board gave its approval for disposal to adjoining owners. Subsequent to this Mr Bergin and latterly Mr Cleary have been advising owners, and since 1970 have been collecting the necessary purchasing monies which together with Title fees have been forwarded to my Department. The last of these monies being collected in July 1974.
- Lack of experience on the part of some of Department staff delayed the completion of these vestings. In fact, title could possibly have been given earlier. And made subject to the payment of the purchase monies.”

Whilst searching Māori Land online, it was noted by a whānau member that the block of land had been re-vested to Hīmatangi 1H1A owners in 1976. On further inquiries, the above Court minutes were made available. Rangimahora had paid to get her husband’s hapū land back. Mr Bergin was her lawyer. In regard to recent overlapping claims, this land was returned to Ngāti Raukawa whānau.

2.6 Motuiti Marae

The celebration of the opening of a marae at Motuiti was in May 1880. This would have been the culmination of much planning and activity by the members of the three hapū. It could

have been held up until the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act was put in place, and actually gave some the land back. The marae opening was significant, the celebrations of the marae were attended by manuhiri and locals from far and wide. The building of the marae is a form of ahi kaa. Invitations go out. People outside of Ngāti Raukawa attend the marae and tautoko or acknowledge ahi kaa.⁷⁹⁴

The Manawatū Herald May 28, 1880 reports:

“For some time, past, as our readers are aware, the natives residing at Motuiti- about three miles north of Foxton, have been engaged in the erection of a large meeting house.... Invitations have been sent out to all the tribes in the district, representatives being sent in response. Among those most notable of the persons who attended were the following: Mete Kingi (Whanganui) Hoani Taipua, Hema Te Ao, Moroati Kiharoa (Poutu), Matene Te Whiwhi (Ōtaki), Te Munu (Whangaehu), Ihakara Tukumarū (Foxton), Te Heuheu (Taupo), Hoani Meihana, (Oroua Bridge) Nepia Taratoa, Takirei, Roera Hukiki, Pitihera, Rawiri Wanui, and several Māori Clergymen... The population appeared to have been greatly increased, there being at the lowest estimate from 3-400 persons present.... the dresses of the natives were of course varied. Some wore European costume... others had their shoulders covered with flax mats, tastefully ornamented. The centre of interest was of course the new building, which is now the most conspicuous feature of the village. Around this most of the people were gathered, whilst in front of it were piled two immense heaps of food, intended as presents for some of the visitors. There was a bullock ready for cooking, numerous sheep and pigs, and an array of kits of potatoes, melons, pumpkin and dried fish.... The natives of Ōtaki showed, as usual, great liberality, no less than 8 cartloads of kai being sent from the natives there to the feast.”

The article goes on to describe the dimensions and appearance of the building and the activity that followed on into the evening. The occasion was indeed a celebration of ahi kaa, mana whenua and the promise of good things to come for their people.

2.7 Kingi Tawhiao

On the death of the Māori King Tawhiao 1825-1894 an obituary appeared in the Manawatū Herald on August 30th, 1894 where it mentioned:

“...About eleven or twelve years ago Foxton had the honour of entertaining the deceased ‘Monarch.’ It was about the time he visited the confiscated territories in Waikato and then journeyed down the coast. He was entertained and lodged at the Motuiti pah and great was the welcome given him by the natives. As an act of courtesy to the older chief’s resident here the Europeans decided to offer the compliment of a dinner to Tawhiao and subscriptions having been collected a banquet was laid at the

⁷⁹⁴ Devonshire, T. Tukorehe Marae Taonga Tuku Iho Hearings 2015.

Public Hall. The scene was very exhilarating, the hall being densely crowded with Europeans and natives feasting side by side...”

As with the acknowledgment of ahi kaa and mana whenua by many hundreds of people in the opening of Motuiti marae, so too the same expression made by Tawhiao when he visited and stayed with the people at Motuiti, which again raises a question about the land returned to Hīmatangi under the Act of 1877. Although it was taken from three hapū it was signed off by 87 individuals across the three hapū. Where does that leave ahi kaa? Does that mean that the people who were not recognised as one of the 87 owners do not have ahi kaa or indeed mana whenua?⁷⁹⁵

3.0 WHAKAPAPA

3.1 Whakapapa Showing Links of Ngāti Te Au to Ngāti Turanga and Ngāti Rakau.⁷⁹⁶

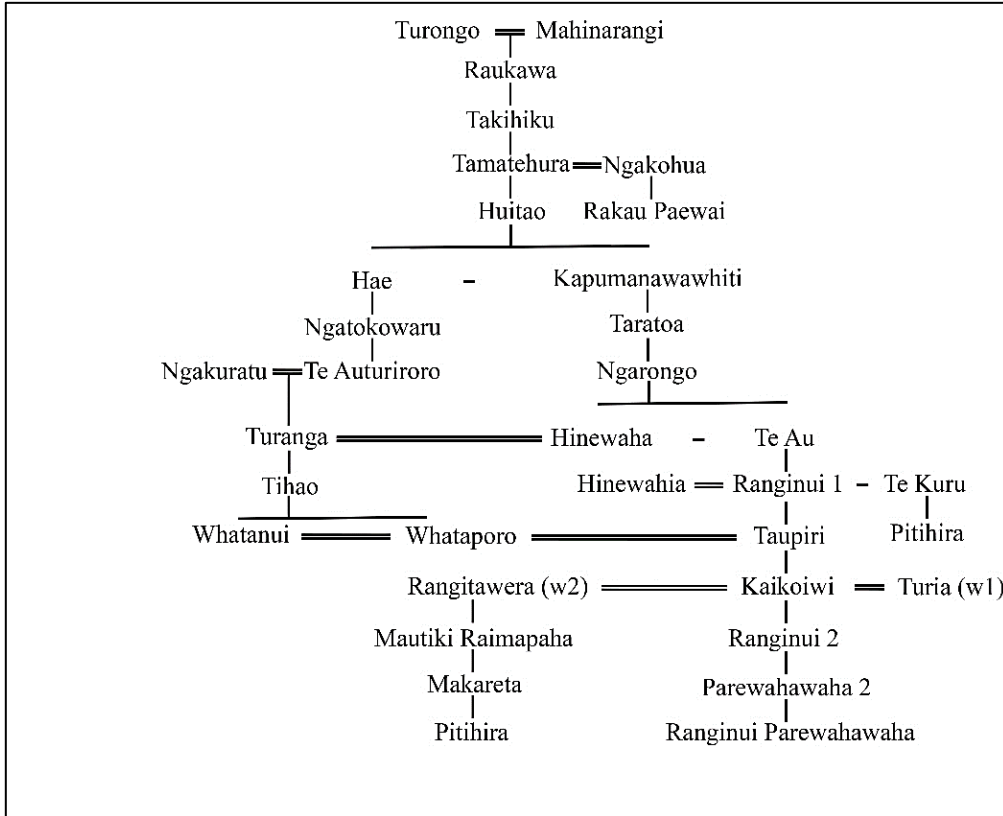
In the following whakapapa, it is important to note Whatapoporo, Manomano and Hitau are the sisters of Whatanui. Ranginui Parewahawaha, Ngati Huia, lived to the age of 112. She married Heketoro Leonard of Te Arawa and lived at Ngongotaha. Turia is referred to in another whakapapa⁷⁹⁷ as Tukia.

⁷⁹⁵ Devonshire, T. Tukorehe Marae Kōrero Tuku Iho Hearing

⁷⁹⁶ Whakapapa 1 & 2 given by Hayley Bell

⁷⁹⁷ Whakapapa Book Manurere Devonshire

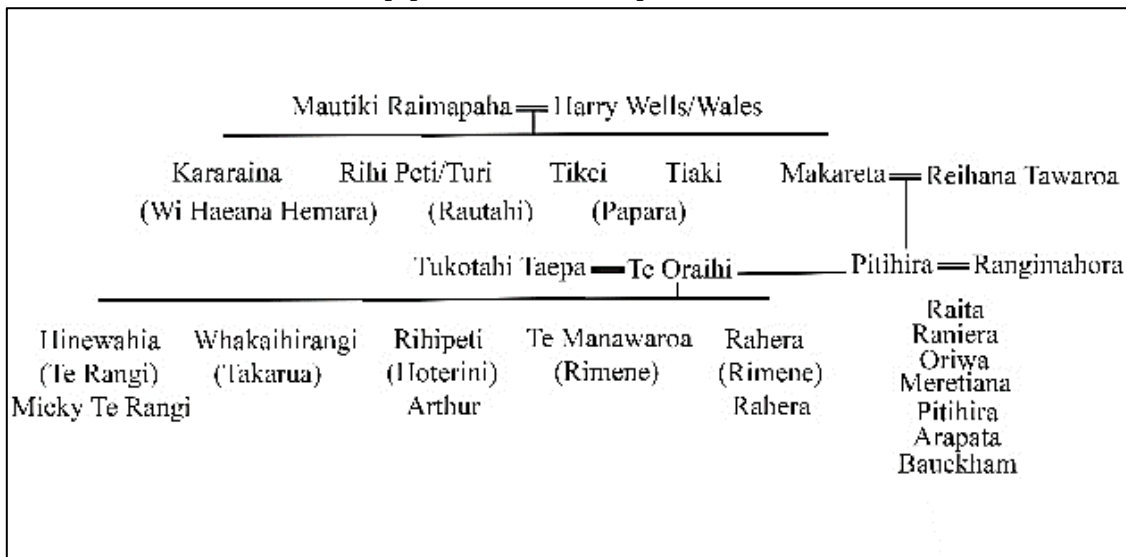
Whakapapa 17: Ngāti Te Au to Ngāti Tūranga and Ngāti Rākau



3.2 Whakapapa connections through Mautiki Raimapaha

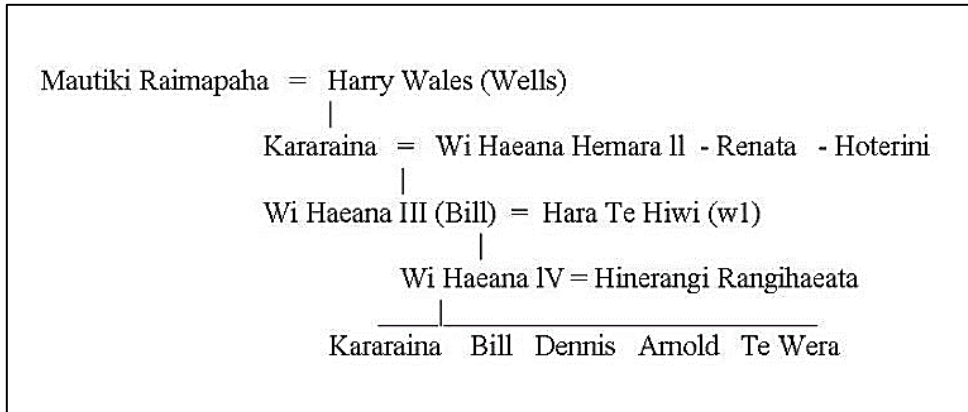
Mautiki Raimapaha signed the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act. She was listed also in the Whangamata 7 Block at Taupo and the Wharepungua Block. Her second husband was Kipa. Tikei also married Wereta.

Whakapapa 43: Mautiki Raimapaha to Bauckham



3.3 Kararaina and Wi Haeana Hemara II⁷⁹⁸

Whakapapa 44: Kararaina and Wi Haeana Hemara II



3.3.1 Background

Mautiki Raimapaha Kipa granddaughter of Whatapoporo and Taupiri migrated from Waikato in the 1830's. This kōrero provides some of the history and memories of Raimapaha and Harry Wells' child Kararaina and Wi Haeana Hemara (II)⁷⁹⁹ (*Note: Raimapaha second marriage was to Mete Kipa*).

Image 68: Wi Haeana Hemara II



Image 69: Wi Haeana Hemara III (aka Bill Hines)



⁷⁹⁸ The following information was sourced from a discussion with Kararaina (Hines) Oldridge and Manurere and Ted Devonshire at their home, at Taumata o te Rā marae, November 2017.

⁷⁹⁹ Extracted from whakapapa books of Koneke Tamaiwaho Pahiatua (1912) and Te Ao Tataurangai (1914) in possession of Mrs Hanatia Palmer, 12 Queens Street Pahiatua.

Kararaina and Wi Haeana Hemara (II) had one child Wi Haeana Hemara (III). Matua Friday Kauri has fond memories of Kui Kararaina as a humble and lovely natured lady who suffered from severe arthritis that crippled her body. She was often teased by her cheeky mokopuna (Bill Hines and Friday Kauri). She lived at Hīmatangi Block Road and then moved to Motuiti Marae and lived in a shed near the hangi pit. Wi Haeana Hemara (III) attended Te Aute College and as (his son) Roland Hines often said “This is where our Father learnt to sell the land”.

He became good friends with Dan Kotua at school (there is a photo hanging of the two young men in Motuiti wharenuī). Wi went on to marry Hara Te Hiwi and they had one son, Wi Haeana Hemara IV.

Wi Haeana Hemara IV was bequeathed to marry Moana Kotua but ran away to Taranaki and married Hinerangi Rangihaeata (aka Connie). They had five children, Kararaina, Wiremu, Dennis, Arnold and Te Wera. The family moved back to Foxton in 1954 and lived in the old Renata Hemara house on Motuiti Road.

From there they moved to Totara Park Road and ran a sheep and (jersey) cow farm. Wi worked for the Railways and the Longburn Freezing works and enjoyed duck shooting and eeling. Four of their children attended Oroua Downs Primary School on the Hīmatangi straights. Hara Te Hiwi passed at a young age and Wi Haeana Hemara (III) married Hannah MacDanell, the surname was then changed to Hines (Bill Hines and Hana Hines), their children were Roland, Lou, Henry, Hannah, Lolo and Te Wera Hines.

Wi Haeana Hemara (III) passed in 1943 and Hannah MacDanell resided on the Hīmatangi Block Road farm with their children until her death. Roland and Lou Hines successfully farmed the whānau land at Hīmatangi Block Road. He raised pigs in a state-of-the-art pig pen and milked cows in the first Herring Bone milking shed in the Manawatū. Uncle Lou had racehorses. Neither brother married and had no issue. Henry was another brother, Te Wera died at the age of 19. Of the two sisters, Hana and Lola, only Hana married.

**Image 70: Wi Haeana Hemara IV
(aka Wi Hines)**



The family farmed successfully, lived comfortably and had access to education. The Hines Trust now manages the Hīmatangi Block Road farm.

3.3.2 Te Wera Hines

Youngest son of Wi Haeana Hemara IV (Wi Hines) and Hinerangi Rangihaeata (Connie) was inquisitive. He had brilliant ideas and dreams, was quick minded and had a very good memory for whakapapa. He stood by his views and was never phased by others. He had a strong sense of injustice and was never afraid to challenge others when he felt it necessary. He was supported by Motuiti Marae Trustees to progress the Treaty claims on behalf of Ngā Hapū o Hīmatangi. Sadly, Te Wera passed away before his dream came to fruition. His diligence has returned some of our whānau, hapū and iwi land to the rightful owners.

3.4 Raita Devonshire

Raita was the eldest child of Rangimahora and Pitihira Reihana. She shared some of her memories of kai gathering at Hīmatangi, by her father for the whānau.⁸⁰⁰ The following comments were recoded in an interview for the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Tuna Management Project in May 2005.

- Describes areas used to go to. Te Kaikokopū Kōputara Lake Mr. Robinson (farmer) would ring to say the eels were running. Ted Barley from the shops and dad (Pitihira Reihana) would go.
- Mentions streams towards Hīmatangi Beach. Mum (Rangimahora Reihana) used to pawhara the eels. Explains. Remove bone out from the centre and flatten them out and rub salt to preserve. Hung them on the line to dry then hung in the shed.
- Would take horses (Nobby and Egypt) with bags on either side of the saddle to carry the eels (would sometimes borrow the neighbour's cart.)
- Would go out in autumn to catch eels; names – silverbellies.
- Used a spear to catch eels- three and one pronged spear. Three-pronged spear used to catch bigger eels. Made of wire.
- Watercress was gathered from Paranui Stream. Talks about puppies (and kittens) being drowned there.
- Mum got her pingao from Hīmatangi Beach. Would get them by the sack full.

⁸⁰⁰ Interviewed by Ted Devonshire for the Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga Tuna Management Project May 17, 2005.

- No permanent structures (pa tuna) for catching eels at the time. Come back with a sack load on the side of the horse. Mum wasn't 'mad' (expression) on eels as she had all the cleaning to do. Recalls wiping the slime off with grass and water using an old flour bag. Long job.
- Never took too much, always left some for others. Dad used to get mutton birds from down south always shared them. Cooked with watercress.
- Mum would put them [eels] in a pot, Kui (Ranginui Parewahawaha Leonard) would put them in an open fire rotisserie style with the bones still in them. Steam, boil and fry them for the kids.
- Talks about packing the eels up. Big boxes sent them to her mother with jam, peaches, karengo and pupu 70cmx1cm. Came down on the train. Dad used to go to Hīmatangi station to collect. Talks about sending eels up north.
- Recalls gathering eel for the Marae (Paranui and Motuiti). Couch Hoterini Lizzie's husband, the younger ones would gather as the older ones were doing the whaikōrero. Had to get cream for the pā. They would go to Hīmatangi to a drain to get eels.
- Kept everything in the storeroom, dirt floor, had to keep everything clean. Dad was in charge of the storeroom.
- Koura came from the Wairarapa. Most people went on horse to gather eels. Māoris got a hard time at school for eeling.
- All the milk used to go down the drain, clean over with caustic soda. Drown their kittens in there too.

4.0 LAND AQUISITION AND LOSS

The Hīmatangi Block⁸⁰¹ is located on the western bank of the Manawatū river, at the confluence with the Ōroua river and bounded to the south by the Te Awahou Block. The Hīmatangi Block is the result of a series of partitions of the original Rangitīkei – Manawatū block and covers an original area of approximately 22,000 acres.

The Crown purchased the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block in December 1866 when only some of the owners were willing to sell.⁸⁰² Most claimants expressed strong concerns about the way the

⁸⁰¹ Patete. A. Research Report. May 2017 p. 56.

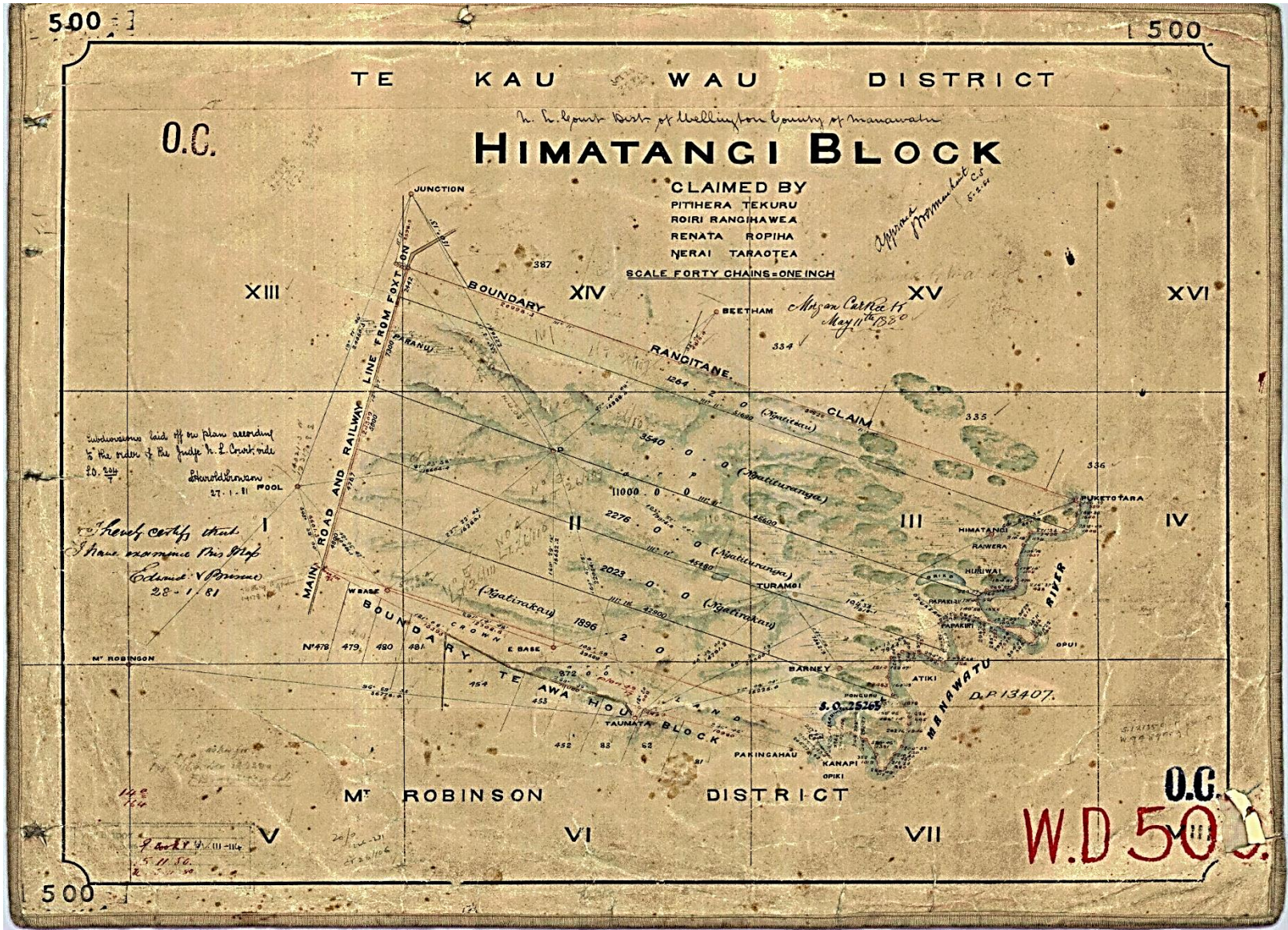
⁸⁰² The sale was undertaken by Dr Featherstone, Superintendent of the Wellington Province, with the assistance of Walter Buller in 1864-68, and then finalised by Donald McLean in 1871-72. Patete A. p. 54.

Rangitūkei-Manawatū was prosecuted. Dissatisfaction with the apportionment and distribution of purchase payments and failure to allocate reserves in addition to objections by non-sellers, finally persuaded the government to allow the Native Land Court jurisdiction on the matter.

The original owners of the Hīmatangi block, being Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Tūranga and Ngāti Rākau were amongst the non-sellers and did not receive any of the purchase money from the sale of the Rangitūkei-Manawatū block. The three hapū had by that stage been in sole possession of the Hīmatangi block for a considerable period, having obtained ownership of the Block by conquest with the help of Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Takihiku and Ngāti Hinemata. Despite the sale of the Rangitūkei-Manawatū block to the Crown, the three hapū continued to press to have their interests recognised and provided for.

The three hapū of Hīmatangi opposed the sale of their lands to the government but were relegated to a very reduced portion of the lands at Hīmatangi . For the next eleven years Parakaia Te Pouepa and others led their hapū to protest against this injustice and to have their lands returned.

Map 42: Himatangi Block of the Himatangi Crown Grants Act 1877



Parakai te Pouepa in a discussion with Governor Grey in Ōtaki, May 11 1867 captures the intelligence and passion of his people.

“To Thomas Williams, DEAR FRIEND, Will you publish the enclosed, being a report of what was said by Governor Grey and myself. I wish it to be read by both Pākehās and Māoris. I was foolish enough to suppose that when he sent for me it was to tell me something good - that he would instruct Dr. Featherstone to keep back his money; but when I saw him he only told me to give up the land; that if I persisted, in holding the land the Māoris and the Government would fight. I assured him there would not be any fighting. No sooner did he satisfy himself upon this point than he forgot all about our being brought to grief by this dishonest land purchasing of the Government of Wellington. This is all from your friend.”

Pineaha Mahauariki writes of his deep concern over the land issue.

“Manawatū, 21st May 1873 ‘To Mr Williams’ Salutations. This is to ask you to make known to us by what means we, the Three hapū, Ngatitūranga, Ngati Te Au and Ngatirakau, may get our rights with respect to our land at Hīmatangi. There are 60 of us- men, women and children. We none of us took any money on account of Dr Featherstone’s purchase. We are in great distress about our land taken from us by the Government. It has cost us a good deal of money contending about our land. You were our Lawyer when our title was investigated at Ōtaki, and Hīmatangi was divided, and 5000 acres were awarded to us; and since then Mr McLean returned the whole of Hīmatangi to Parakaia; but now it is all taken by the Government. Friend, do you be strong to contend for our rights. This is all. from Pineaha Mahauariki.”⁸⁰³

In 1877, some 11 years after the alienation of the Hīmatangi block, the Crown agreed to return to Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Tūranga and Ngāti Rākau an interest in the Hīmatangi block via ‘The Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act 1877’. This Act provided for approximately half of the Hīmatangi block (11,000 acres) to be returned. The balance of the block was not returned. As Ted Devonshire put it, the three hapū owned the land from the Hīmatangi block to the sea, but the 1877 Act returned only a portion. The land returned was given to individual grantees rather than to the three hapū; a step which caused initial confusion and protest. The area to be returned was chosen without consultation with the hapū and excluded the valuable coastal lands.

After disputing the matter for 11 years the Government acknowledged the justice of the Māori claim and returned the ownership of the Hīmatangi Block (11,000 acres) to the three hapū by means of a special Act of Parliament.⁸⁰⁴

“The Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act 1877. This was an Act to authorize the Native Land Court to ascertain the Shares of Members of the Ngatiteau, Ngatitūranga, and

⁸⁰³ Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Volume 63.

⁸⁰⁴ Matheson, I. *Archivist; The History of the Hīmatangi Block*

Ngatirakau Hapū in the Hīmatangi Block, part of the Rangitīkei Manawatū Block, and to subdivide the said Block; and to authorize the Governor to issue Crown Grants. (20th November 1877)”.

Eventually in 1877 the Native Land Court did come to Foxton and gave a portion of the land back to 87 named individuals of Ngāti Rākau, Ngāti Te Au and Ngāti Tūranga, three hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. The Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act⁸⁰⁵ stated:

“That the 10 persons of the Ngatiteau Hapū shall receive their undivided shares equal to the aggregate to 10/87 of the whole block, in that portion of the block lying next to its northern boundary and that such portion shall be bounded to the Southward by a line on a bearing of 111 -? 11’.”

The following names were the signatures of the Ngati Te Au grantees.

Pitihira Te Kuru

One Taupiri

Kiriona Te Pou

Raimapaha Kipa (Mautiki)

Riihi Turi

Hehiri Te Waha

Keahi Tukaha

HakopaWahine

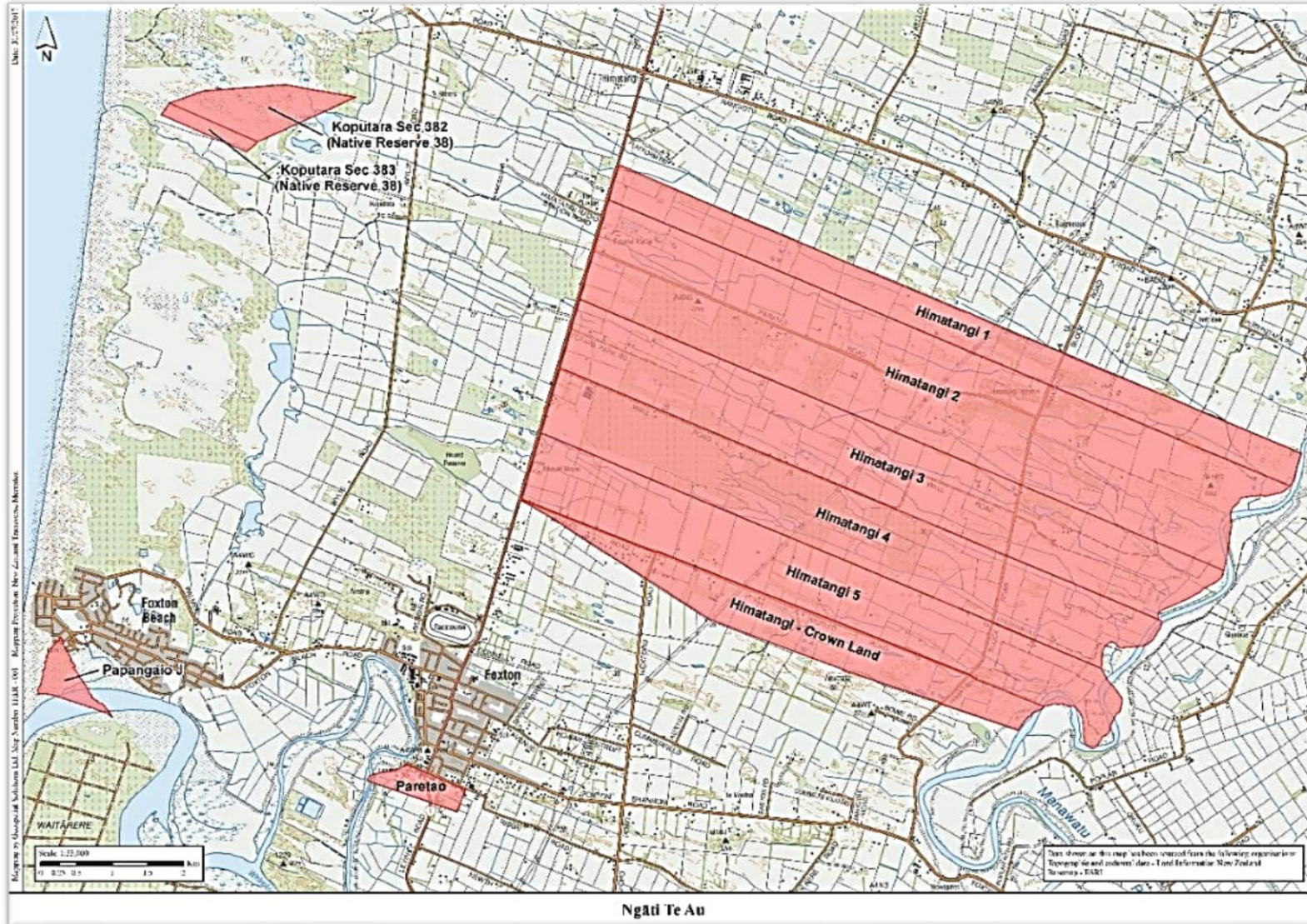
Kararaina Wi

Hoaua Kiri Hari

The uri of Mautiki Raimapaha are spread far and wide throughout the rohe and much wider afield.

⁸⁰⁵ Native Land Court 80/1230.

Map 43: Himatangi Blocks. Native Reserve Koputara



The railway line, along the present Hīmatangi highway, was built before the road. The railway line was significant as a boundary. Normally if the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act had given the land back we would be looking at the boundaries being the awa, the moana, not a road line or a railway line. Returned land⁸⁰⁶ was only part of former landholdings, land was surveyed into long strips which did not fit with the tikanga of customary use of landholdings. This strip of land ran alongside and abutted among other blocks the western boundary of the Hīmatangi block. This affected the ability of Ngā Hapū o Hīmatangi to exercise ahi kaa adjacent to their marae given that the three hapū state that they own the land down to the sea. When the strip of land was no longer needed for a railway, it was offered for sale. The three hapū had land taken for the railway track in 1866.

“When the railway line was no longer used, Nanny had to pay, through her lawyer to buy back their strip of land! It was taken from the Hapū and returned to those who lived on the frontage.”⁸⁰⁷

4.1 Reserves

Koputara Reserve. Lake Koputara was a very large lake of over 100 acres. It was one of a series of lakes along the coastal area of Te Awahou Moana. It was an important source of kai for the local hapū and iwi. It was set aside as Reserve as part of the Government’s plan to sell the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block. The deterioration and access of the lakes over time has been impacted on by land tenure changes, pollution, legislation, access and drainage. In spite of protests from Ngāti Raukawa non-sellers the land was sold. Our hapū benefitted from the food source at Koputara. Arthur Hoterini remembers camping there while collecting kai. Members of the hapū would also catch eels for hui at Ratana. Ngā Hapū o Hīmatangi, have mana whenua in the area and deal with Crown agencies such as local government.

4.2 Grievances and Claims

4.2.1 Hīmatangi Block

The land claim is made in respect of the traditional lands of the hapū in the Horowhenua-Manawatū-Rangitīkei areas. including the Rangitīkei-Manawatū, Manawatū-Kukutauaki and Te Awahou blocks, and the subsequent blocks which resulted from the partition of these blocks, some of which extend to the Tasman Sea.

⁸⁰⁶ Patete, A. Research Report. p. 67.

⁸⁰⁷ Devonshire, T.

The Hīmatangi Block was originally part of a much larger Rangitīkei-Manawatū block. It covered an extensive area of land which is bounded on the east by the Rangitīkei River, on the west by the Manawatū River, to the north by the Waitapu block and to the south by the Te Awahou block.

Today the Hīmatangi Block is the result of a series of partitions of the original Rangitīkei-Manawatū Block and covers an area of approximately 22,000 acres, it is located on the western bank of the Manawatū River, at the confluence of the Oroua River and bounded to the south by the Te Awahou Block.⁸⁰⁸

The whanaungatanga and whakapapa links of the three hapū of Hīmatangi were strong during the early relocation to the Manawatū area. Our narratives reflect this. When the Waitangi Tribunal was set up to consider the breaches and the impacts of the grievances on our whānau and hapū. Te Wera Hines took it upon himself to lodge a claim on behalf of the three hapū. This is known as the WAI 1618 claim. On Te Wera's untimely death, Milton Rauhihi took up the reins in August 2008. On the 19th March 2010, the Registrar was directed to add Hayden Turoa and Edward Devonshire's names to the claim.

Other areas of land are also subject to our claims.

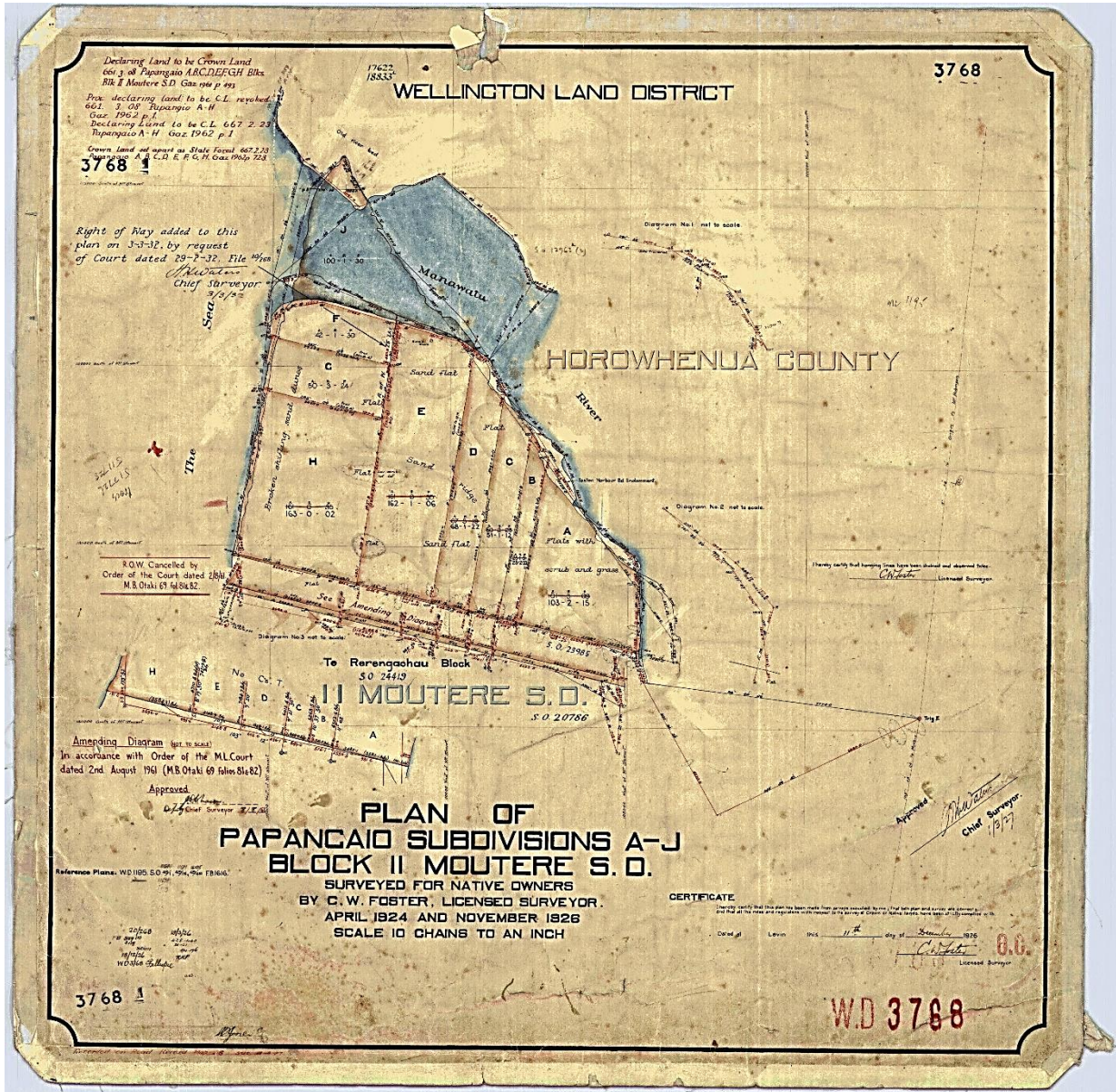
4.2.2 Papangaio J Block

Title to the 800-acre Papangaio block was investigated by the Māori Land Court in 1891. In 1923 the land was partitioned into nine parts including Papangaio J which comprised just over 100 acres. It includes an area that was, formerly south of the river, but when the river changed course, the land was seen to be both in the river and north of the river. The majority of the block is still south of the river.⁸⁰⁹ Shaded in map 55 below.

⁸⁰⁸ Anderson, R. & Pickens, K. *Rangahaua Whanui District 12 Wgtn District: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua and Manawatū*, p.113.

⁸⁰⁹ Plan of Papangaio Subdivision A-J block 11 Moutere SD 1926. Anthony Patete *Scoping Report* May 2017.

Map 44: Papangaio J Block



A number of questionable events and actions led to the disposal of Papangaio J to the Crown. Researcher Suzanne Woodley concludes,

“that it is questionable whether the trespass of Papangaio J land and accretion by the Foxton Harbour Board who leased it and allowed the building of houses equates with the concept of undisturbed possession. The Crown though blamed it on a lack of survey data. That the Board was able to do that for a number of years despite protest from Māori also raises questions as to the extent to which Māori interests were acknowledged and adequately protected.”⁸¹⁰

⁸¹⁰ Woodley, S.P. 230 *Local Government Issues Report* Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Wellington, 2017.

Other Treaty breaches which impacted negatively on our people include:

- claims effecting rivers and waterways and the fisheries and other natural resources that are considered taonga and of extreme cultural significance to the hapū.
- environmental issues: legislation and policies and actions that have destroyed, degraded or changed the environment in the the claim area. E.g. the Whirokino Cut in the Manawatū River.
- social and economic impacts: legislation and policies and actions that deprived them of the opportunities to generate income from their land, waterways impacted on their health and living standards.
- the individualisation of land titles contributed to the breakdown of traditional social structures.
- cultural property: te reo Māori, oral histories, customs and practices, tribal knowledge, metaphysical relationships and cultural identity. (referred to as cultural property of mātauranga Māori⁸¹¹

As a result of the breaches,⁸¹² the hapū have:

- been prevented from or hampered in the exercise of tino rangatiratanga and the rights otherwise protected and guaranteed to them under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi;
- been dispossessed of their traditional lands and resources;
- been displaced from their traditional lands and resources;
- suffered the erosion of the natural ecology, habitat and wildlife within the claim area;
- suffered the destruction and erosion of their economic base, social patterns, identity and traditional leadership structures;
- suffered division, dissension and conflict with other hapū and iwi within the Horowhenua-Manawatū-Rangitīkei region;
- suffered a subsequent erosion and loss of mana through social, political and economic marginalisation;
- suffered a loss of dignity, freedom and life;
- suffered the desecration of wahi tapu and other significant sites and severance from those areas;
- suffered the loss of customary fisheries and access to customary fisheries;

⁸¹¹ Statement of Claim WAI-1618

⁸¹² Ibid. Wai 1618 Statement of Claim, p. 20/1

- suffered the destruction of their traditional system of tenure;
- have been left with fragmented, meagre and individualised landholdings of little utility or value that are manifestly insufficient for the present and future of the hapū;
- have been left with insufficient land and resources to actively participate in the economy and enjoy the benefits of European settlement;
- suffered damage to the natural environment of the hapū and all its abundance of natural resources caused by the pollution of the lands, waterways and air;
- suffered poor health, wealth and education as a direct or indirect result of prejudice and losses referred to; and
- suffered the loss of customary gathering of Rongoa.

5.0 HAPŪ LEADERSHIP

5.1 Rangatira – Wāhine

Haeana Hemara and Pithira Reihana were the Ngāti Te Au trustees to the Raukawa Marae Trustees from 1936. Bauckham Reihana and Roly Hines replaced them. Ted Devonshire and Daniel Kawana are their current trustees. Te Wera Hines was on Te Rūnanga Whaiti, Ted Devonshire is currently the Ngati Te Au representative. Robyn Devonshire represents her hapū on Te Manu Taiko, Manawatū District Council in Feilding.

Kui Makareta Wells was the daughter of Mautiki Raimapaha, who had an older sister named Kararaina. Kararaina Wi, who is the grandmother of Kararaina Hines and Te Wera Hines. Kui Makareta is in the urupā at Te Au beside her son Pitihira Reihana.. Her mother, Mautiki Raimapaha, along with her older sister was one of the ten people who signed the Hīmatangi Crown Grants Act in 1877. Their signatures also appear on the documentation of the Wharepuhunga block. Mautiki is buried at Motuiti.

Rangimahora Reihana was the daughter of Ranginui Simmonds and Heketoro Leonard. Her husband Pitihira Reihana was the mokopuna of Mautiki and son of Makareta. Rangimahora was a wellknown weaver and along with her mother, have samples of their craft in Te Papa and Te Manawa museums. They are further acknowledged in Piriharakeke Generation Inspiration Centre, the Māori museum and gallery in Te Awahou Nieuwe Stroom at Foxton. She enjoyed teaching others to weave and giving away her own kete and crafts. The Māori

Women's Welfare League was instrumental in providing a forum for Māori women to hui, strategise and share their skills and knowledge. She received a MWWL award for her efforts and was also conferred with a British Empire Medal by the Queen for her contribution to the survival of Māori arts and crafts.

6.0 WELLBEING AND SURVIVAL

6.1 Ngāti Te Au Today

One of the concerns for the collation of knowledge and history for Ngāti Te Au was identifying the sources, the holders of our history. The timeframe for the task to be completed was always a concern for people who are working and involved with other kaupapa. One of the eldest of our whānau members is 77 years old. He has memories of his tūpuna that have shaped his views especially on land ownership and pride in those who preceded him.

From our small focus section of Ngāti Te Au, the colonisation process, the loss of reo, tikanga, cultural knowledge and cultural pride has been dramatic. In one generation maybe two, the outside influences of religion, varying lifestyles, interracial marriages, and/or connections to other hapū/ iwi have taken its toll on our hapū. In its day, the hapū was vibrant with a strong sense of whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga and manaakitanga. Today, there are some who doubt the existence of Ngāti Te Au as a hapū, and those who are keen to sell the last few acres of the existing whenua.

On a more positive note, there are others who are striving to learn something of their culture, who are learning te reo, raranga, indeed some who have taken full advantage of immersion Māori education and are fully bilingual, these are the mokopuna who have never come through the years of cultural deprivation and shame. They manifest the confidence of their tūpuna who walked with pride in two worlds. The Treaty claims acknowledge our tūpuna and the losses and impacts they incurred.

6.2 Artists and Artisans

Children of Rangimahora and Pītihira Reihana had strong work ethics. They themselves, were very involved with their marae of the area. Koro Reihana was a kaikōrero and a trustee of both Motuiti and Paranui Maraes. His youngest son Bauckham was interested in whaikōrero and stood at the tūwheratanga of Taumata o te Rā marae at Halcombe, to speak. Raita and her

brother Dan would speak the reo when they were together. Of the six children who had issue, the Kawana whānau have a high number of speakers of te reo, live their culture and engage in marae activity. There are a range of carvers, weavers, painters and artists across the families. We have a few kaikōrero and kai karanga. Some of the third and fourth generations down from Koro Pitihera and Nanny Rangimahora have reclaimed their reo and culture, many are engaged in tertiary education and have set goals for their futures. Others have settled in Australia and beyond.

6.3 Hapū Engagement

Our whānau contribute to the survival of our people as Māori, by learning the basics of their whakapapa, reo and culture. Ngāti Te Au were very active in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s with members of the other two hapū. Kapa haka, rugby and basketball teams competed locally as well as in inter-iwi fixtures. Team photos are on display in the Motuiti marae wharekai. Bruce Hemara was a Māori All Black and was selected in an All Black team as hooker. An injury forced him out of his first game. Sean Fitzpatrick replaced him. Some whānau members participated in World Wars and military service. Uncle Taylor Hemara was in the Māori Battalion and served in Italy, Jack Devonshire served in the NZ Air Force based in the Solomon Islands. Uncle Dan (Raniera) was in J Force based in Japan, after the second World War.

6.4 Risks to Hapū Survival

Currently we have a hapū trust and representatives on Te Rūnanga Whaiti o Raukawa, Raukawa Marae Trustees, Te Taitoa Māori o Te Awahou Trust and the Tū Te Manawaroa claims management group. The lack of a hapū base where whānau can meet and engage is a risk. The lack of whānau / hapū member participation in hapū development puts a strain on those who are passionate about the kaupapa. Many people acknowledge all three hapū.

Examples that reflect the reality. There is a Skyline garage onsite without power connected and no proper ablution area. The whenua belongs to a trust that has no reservation status. It is on original Ngāti Te Au land, owned by whānau, but leased to a Pākehā farmer. In the past whānau have supported the other two marae. Currently, as our whānau expands, interests and allegiances to other marae to which they whakapapa, have become their focus. Apart from the whenua, the urupā is our only significant link to our early days of the wharenuī. What are the solutions? Improved communications amongst whānau, resolving land issues will help unite whānau for future development. Proactive utilisation of the land.

CONCLUSION

Tracing the history and activity of our hapū, albeit from a narrow stance, may awaken memories and the desire from others to enhance the Ngāti Te Au narrative. Bringing alive our tūpuna and remembering the childhood antics and the way life was in those days, strengthens our resolve to emulate their values and their aspirations for their uri.

A stroll through our urupā, tells a story of many of our people who have felt the brunt of deprivation and loss. Many of our people did not reach 50 years of age. Our elders who reached 80 years or more were from another era, where kai was unprocessed, water was clean, where alcohol, drugs and tobacco were not a priority. Sadly, lifestyle choices leading to early deaths is evident from the headstones of our loved ones. Today our whānau have many opportunities to discover and reclaim their reo and culture and recognise the value and enhancement it brings to our lives as tangata whenua of this land.

The Treaty claims that Ngāti Raukawa are currently researching and collating, identify the many breaches that were imposed on our tūpuna. They were outraged and protested against the great tide of greed and dishonesty of the Treaty partners, but in many ways were powerless.

The importance of our narratives is that they are our stories, known, but rarely discussed outside our whānau / hapū circle. Stories that will support the long-term negative impacts that many of us have endured. Acknowledgement and settlement for our claims will go some way to making some reparation to past corruptions by the Crown.

Is there a future for the hapū of Ngāti Te Au? Only the hapū itself holds the answer.

Hokia ki ngā maunga kia purea koe e ngā hau ā Tāwhirimātea.

NGĀTI RĀKAU PAEWAI

ORAL HISTORY

Image 71: Rakau Paewae whare tupuna



By Milton Rauhihi

April 2018

HE KUPU WHAKAMIHI

*Uia mai nei koe e moko
Kei whea rā taku tūranga
Ki a au e tama, kei ngā takahanga a raha mā
ki ngā whaitua ki te tonga
Mahue rā a kāinga tahi, ka ora ki te kāinga rua nei
te au, te au ki te tonga,
Takoto mai āku kupu i kōnei
Hei hua o te wherawhera korero,
Mō te paraka nei, mō Himatangi e tapa ana
I te wahapū o te Manawatū ki Mairehau,
Whakawhiti atu ki Ngā Whakaraua ki Himatangi
Ko ōna wehenga e mau tonu ana ki tōna tūranga
Ko te paraka o Himatangi e horo nei
Hoki mai rā taku tūrangawaewae, hoki mai ki a au*

Tangi mōteatea nei te ngākau ki a koutou ngā pou whirinaki, ngā pou kōrero kua riro i ēnei rau tau e ora anō i konei, i tēnei o ngā tānga, ā, kāti rā. Tātou ngā urupā a rātou mā ki a tātou, tēnā tātou katoa.

Tēnei rā te mihi ki te hunga nā koutou ēnei kōrero i homai i ngā tūmomo huihuinga tāngata, ā-kanohi, ā-tuhi, ā-hiko. Nā koutou tonu ngā ringaringa tuhituhi i ārahi, ā, e kore e pau te puna mihi ki tō koutou momo e whakapito ngoi ana hei painga mō te Iwi whānui, tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa.

Kāore mātou i hoko whenua atu
'We never sold one piece of our land!

Image 73: Kei te taki karakia a Manu Kawana ki runga ki ngā mahi raranga harakeke a Rangimahora Reihana. Mete i te tau 2009 ki te aroaro o te whare tupuna a Rākau Paewai



Image 72: I ngā tau 1900s i tino ora te Marae o Motuiti. He Teihana, he Kōti Tēnehi



Image 74: An aerial shot by two trainee pilots over Motuiti Pā, 2008



HE KUPU WHAKATAKI / INTRODUCTION

Ngāti Rākau Paewai co-occupied land including the Himatangi and Te Awahou Blocks between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū rivers with other hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga before 1840. The occupation and ownership of this land by these hapū was a result of traditional binding negotiations agreed between 1820 and 1863 by the leaders of all hapū and iwi on the west coast of the lower North Island.

Ngāti Rākau Paewai belongs to a unique group of non-sellers that stood firm when the Crown came looking for land for the settlers. Our stance resulted in extreme pressure by Crown agents to sell. When this did not work, laws were passed that favoured those who willingly sold to and/or fought with, the Crown, Māori and Pākehā. We continue to declare...

“Kāore mātou i hoko whenua atu, i raupatutia taku turanga, ka whakahokia mai te hāwhe, i ngā ingoa tangata, kei te noho nama koutou, whakautua te nama!”

We did not sell any land, our home land consisting of 110,000 acres of the original Himatangi block that includes the Te Awahou, Robinson’s and Papangaio Blocks, was confiscated. Half of the land was returned in single title for easy purchase, the Crown has an account to pay (to WAI 1618 claimants).

In this report we introduce the story of Ngāti Rākau Paewai, one of the hapū of Himatangi and claimants for WAI 1618 before the Tribunal. The report includes short summaries of the lives of prominent ancestors; the migration south from Wharepuhunga; the signing of the Brumby Treaty of Waitangi in 1840; the opening of the first Ngāti Raukawa whare tupuna at Motuiti in 1882 and the construction of the new one in the 1950s and 1960s.

We discuss some of the issues that affected Ngāti Rākau Paewai during this period breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown and the impact this has had on the tino rangatiratanga, the right of the hapū to self-determination and development of Ngāti Rākau Paewai.

Included in this report are commentaries by kaumātua that describe what they remember of the environment they grew up in and the relationships they had with other hapū and iwi and with the kaumātua that lived with them at Motuiti Pā from the early 1900s. The kaumātua and their whānau also tell their stories of their journey to the big cities and the impact on their ability to uphold traditional practices that urbanisation had on the whānau, hapū and iwi. Those who stayed on to ‘keep the fires burning’ also witnessed negative changes in attitudes towards ‘being Māori’ by the whānau who made the move to the bright lights, with many whānau not returning to the ‘Pā’ at all.

“As soon as our generation moved away from the pā, they began to forget the old ways. We thought we knew better.”

“Our language was beaten out of us by our teachers, male and female. It left scars, big ones!”

“We had no mana, all the Pākehā’s had the mana. Our old people joined the church or turned to alcohol in a big way.”

This historical report has been compiled by Rākau Paewai descendants experienced in research as a contribution to the Te Hono ki Raukawa oral and traditional history collection of hapū narratives. It tells stories not committed to paper thus far, outlining the histories of particular ancestors that bring the various hapū together as Ngā Hapū o Himatangi.

The report is not meant to be a complete and final history of Ngāti Rākau Paewai. It is a work in progress. The information in it, and any future amendments, belong to the descendants of Ngāti Rākau Paewai and should not be used, quoted or referenced without permission from the research team or the Motuiti Marae Committee. If the reader has any information that will compliment the contents of this report, please contact the Marae Committee. Our children and their children will be grateful.

This report is a result of countless kaumātua interviews held between 1998 and 2017. The first ‘official’ kaumātua interview was held in Palmerston North in 1998 with the second in 2004. We called the active kaumātua of the Marae of those times together to a house in Palmerston North. There were 36 kaumātua at the first hui. The second hui was in January 2004 at Motuiti, with another in January 2008. The hui in 2008 included the painting of the kōwhaiwhai in the dining room. What transpired was a three-day

kaumātua open door interview hui. Initially, the team interviewed kaumātua individually, however we soon realised that group interviews were better. The latest research hui with kaumātua was held in 2014 in the Pā. Many of those who attended the first few hui had passed-on by this stage; a number of family members also agreed to be interviewed for the first time.

In the completion of this narrative, there has been careful analysis of Land Court records and other historical reports. Most importantly, we have included kōrero from many hours spent sitting on and around the paepae and listening to whānau kōrero. The contents herein are based on discussions we have heard all our lives in whaikōrero, karanga, and general kōrerorero around the Pā and whānau gatherings. It tells a story of whakapapa, tikanga Māori, taumau, te tuku whenua, te tatau pounamu and te whakatupu; all traditional concepts and practices that promote negotiation, peace and a process forward.

The Use of Te Reo Māori and English

We have used both English and Māori languages in this report. The English sections are commentaries the research team put together from recorded interviews. The information in te reo Maori are passages that were either, originally compiled in Māori and the research team have agreed to retain these paragraphs in Māori or are presented in Māori in recognition of the descendants who are being raised in te reo Māori. The statements tell a general history of geographical features such as the Tararua mountain range and the Manawatū River and descriptions of the land settled by Rangitāne before our migration south from Wharepuhunga. Most of the pepehā or identity statement and the explanations are in Māori.

There were an estimated 7,000 uri of Ngāti Rākau Paewai in 2017 living across the world. Like other hapū and iwi, many Ngāti Rākau Paewai descendants moved to large cities and are facing the adverse negative effects of colonisation and urbanisation.

Comments made by kaumātua at a research hui held at Motuiti, January 2008:

“We moved so far away, we couldn’t get home for tangi... that was hard. There was no phone at the Pā (and) we would hear the news way too late,”

“Our young people don’t know where they come from”⁸¹³.

“The stories, confirm and explain why we call Himatangi our tūrangawaewae; who we are and where we come from.”

The language unique to the hapū that told of our relationships to other iwi and hapū, the harvesting and procurement of special food and medicines is lost. Te reo Māori is the language that gave Ngāti Rākau Paewai direction to the future by providing past examples of loss, cooperation and re-development. E taku reo, e ara e!

Ko te reo o te whenua ko te reo o te hapū

Ka ngaro te whenua, ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro te hapū

Kāore mātou i hokowhenua atu!!

We did not sell (our land)!!

Whakahokia mai!

1.0 HE KŌRERO HITORI MŌ TE HAPŪ

Rākau Paewai is the name of the ancestor of those who identify themselves as Ngāti Rākau Paewai, a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. Land Court minutes and other historical records generally refer to Ngāti Rākau only. We have however, found the name ‘Rākau Paewai’ recorded on numerous whakapapa tables throughout Tainui. There are stories of the addition of the name ‘Paewai’ to the hapū name as a result of marriage. We can assume this is in fact the full name given to our ancestor and was the name of our hapū sometime before the migration south. It is also the name of the whare tupuna ‘Rākau Paewai’.

1.1 He Whakapapa

Ngāti Rākau Paewai is a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa whose ancestors travelled to Aotearoa on the Tainui waka from Hawaiki in the 1300s. The following whakapapa shows the genealogical link from Hoturoa kaihautū of the Tainui waka, to Rākau Paewai.

⁸¹³ Comments made by kaumātua at a research hui held at Motuiti, January 2008.

1.2 Ko Tainui Te Waka

There are many stories of how Tainui waka came to Aotearoa under the leadership of Hoturoa ending at its final resting place at Maketū in Kawhia. The iwi who migrated south from the central North Island in early 1800s trace back to the Tainui waka, including Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Whakaterere, Ngāti Kapu, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa.

Whakapapa 45: Hoturoa to Rākau Paewai



1.3 Tawhao

Tawhao, a descendant of Hoturoa who lived at Whaingaroa, married Punuiatakore and Marutehiakina, who were twin sisters. Marutehiakina gave birth to a son, Whatihua, just before Punuiatakore gave birth to her son, Tūrongo. This rivalry culminated in Whatihua outwitting Tūrongo for the hand of Ruaputahanga from Taranaki. Ruaputahanga was the daughter of Hou-tae-po and descendant of Turi, kaihautū of the Aotea Waka.

Tūrongo decided to leave Kawhia but before doing so, Tawhao gave Tūrongo all his lands “on the eastern and inland side of the Pirongia and Hauturu ranges with the northern boundary on the Puniu River”

1.4 Tūrongo and Mahinarangi

Tūrongo travelled to Heretaunga where he earned the hand of Mahinarangi, daughter of Tuaka and Te Angiangi. Mahinarangi was directly descended from both Kupe of the Matahoura waka and Paikea. Tūrongo was observed as a good builder and fowler and according to some accounts, Te Angiangi encouraged her daughter by saying “me moe koe i a Tūrongo hei rangatira mōu; he tangata kaha hoki ki te mahi kai”. Mahinarangi was raised in the districts of Te Hauke in the south to Pukepoto near Patutahi, west of Turanganui ā-Kiwa in the north.

Mahinarangi and Tūrongo became partners. On hearing this, Tāwhao and some of his people travelled to Heretaunga to ask Tūrongo to return home to Kawhia. On their arrival, they discovered that Mahinarangi was with child. Tūrongo returned with his father’s people to prepare a home for them. Before leaving, Tūrongo left his dog with Mahinarangi, who was to follow when Tūrongo had established a home.

Tūrongo, with some of his people, built a pā at Mangaorongo and named his new house Rangiātea. Mahinarangi and her people began their journey to Rangiātea guided by Tūrongo’s dog. There are many stories of this journey that can be sourced from tribal repositories from Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhaata, Ngāi te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Tūhoe to name a few. Mahinarangi stopped at top of the Kaimai ranges⁸¹⁴ to give birth to her son, Raukawa.

1.5 Raukawa

“Ka moe a Tūrongo i a Mahinarangi ka puta ki waho ko Raukawa e,
Tūrongo, Mahinarangi ko ngā mātua o tō tātou tūpuna,
Nā tō rāua moetanga, ka puta mai rā a Ngāti Raukawa⁸¹⁵”

He nui ngā kōrero mō te ingoa nei, mō Raukawa. Ki ētehi, ko te hinu o ngā pua o te rākau Raukawa, otirā, ko te karaka o te hinu ia i tōia ai a Tūrongo e Mahinarangi, ka moe rāua, ka puta ko Raukawa te tupuna o Ngāti Raukawa. Ki tā ngā kōrero, i nohotahi

⁸¹⁴According to some Raukawa was born at Okoroire, others say he was born at the bottom of the Kaimai range at the hot pool near Tirau called Te Wai Takahanga-a-Māhinarangi. Still others say Raukawa was born at the top of the Kaimai range, carried by his mother to the foot of the range and that both mother and child washed at Okoroire.

⁸¹⁵Nā Te Pikikotuku Kereama, nō Ngāti Manomano tēnei waita i tito. Nā tōna tira waiata, nā Tauira i whakaputa i ngā 1980s.

rātou katoa ki te Pā ki runga o Rangīātea, te kāinga nā Tūrongo me tōna iwi i hanga mō Mahinarangi, mō tōna iwi, me te tamaiti nei a Raukawa. He maunga tiorangi, ā, ka akoako a Raukawa ki ngā kōrero mō ngā whetu.

I te hokinga atu a Te Ahikaramu ki Wharepuhunga ki te akiaki i tōna iwi ki te heke ki runga, ki Kāpiti, ka tahuna haeretia ia ngā whare o ngā whanaunga, ka heke ētehi, ka noho tonu ētehi. Ka haere hoki a Ngāti Rākau Paewai i tōna taha, i te Heke Mairaro. Ka noho mai te ingoa nei a ‘Ngāti Raukawa ki uta’, hei kōrero mō ngā urī e noho tonu ana ki Wharepuhunga, ā, ko ‘Raukawa ki tai’ ngā hapū i heke ki te tonga.

Ahako te mana motuhake o ngā iwi i heke mai ki te tonga, pērā i a Ngāti Whakātere, i a Ngāti Takihiku, i a Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Toarangatira, no te tau 1936 ka noho te katoa i raro i te maru o Ngāti Raukawa te-au-ki-te-tonga.

He kaha tonu nō ēnei Iwi ki te hāpai i te whakarauora i te reo Māori i te tau 2017. Kua whakatūria he kaupapa nā reira e ora tonu ai ō tātou Marae, arā, ko whakatupuranga ruamano, kua pakari te tū o te Wānanga o Raukawa i te mahitahi ā ēnei Iwi. Ka tūtakitaki tonu ngā whanaunga o te raki, ki ngā urī o te tonga, ki Poutū Pā, ki te Poukai, ki te ekenga o te kīngitanga ki runga o ngā whanaunga o Ngāti Whakātere, otirā, ki ngā Iwi o Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga.

1.6 Takihiku

Takihiku⁸¹⁶ was the youngest child of Raukawa and Tūrongo ihi. Rereahu and Whakātere were his tuakana. He also had a sister, Kurawari. It is said that Raukawa was fond of his youngest child or ‘potiki’ and allocated the ‘hiku’ portion of the eel to him. As a result, descendants of Takihiku have quietly been referred to as ‘Te Hiku o Raukawa’. Takihiku grew up at Rangīātea with his parents⁸¹⁷.

When Takihiku got older he married Maikukutara, twin sister of Maikukutea who married Whakātere. Takihiku built a pā at Ruataikawa⁸¹⁸ near Wharepuhunga east of

⁸¹⁶ From the Rāwhitiroa webpage: Hītori o te Marae / ā-waha Paraone Golyne: September 2017.

⁸¹⁷ Paraone Golyne, 12.09.17, Aotearoa Marae.

⁸¹⁸ Rāwhitiroa wed page.

Otorohanga. This pā was a short distance from Rangīātea where Takihiku's father Tūrongo could watch over the young family.

1.7 Ngakohua

Ngakohua was the youngest son of Takihiku and Maikukutara and the teina of Wairangi, Upokoiti, Pipito, Tamatehura and brother of Ninikura. He was raised surrounded by his old people around Wharepuhunga.

1.8 Rākau Paewai

Ngāti Rākau Paewai descend from the son of Ngakohua, the mokopuna of Raukawa. Rākau Paewai was the youngest child of Ngakohua who grew up around his grandfather's peoples at Rautaikawa. It is said that during this period of occupation in the area, the iwi worked well together without any major conflicts.

1.9 Te Heke ki te Tonga

The decision to migrate south from their homeland at Wharepuhunga was not an easy one. A few relatives had made the journey south to Kapiti⁸¹⁹ with the Heke Tahutahuahi and had returned telling stories of a vast unoccupied area of fertile land with enough room for everyone. The pressure to move from other tribal groups had also become too much to resist.

Ngāti Raukawa chief, Te Whatanui and others wanted to investigate land in Heretaunga as a place to settle. It appears that all agreed to travel to Heretaunga in the first instance. Ngāti Rākau Paewai, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Huia with others, became part of the Heke Mairaro. The largest of all the migrations. The expedition to Heretaunga saw our people settle there for awhile before moving on. It was on the retreat south that a union between Rangitāne, Ngāti Rākau Paewai and Ngāti Raukawa whānui emerged.

⁸¹⁹ Refers to the land on the lower west coast of the North Island, from the Rangitikei River to Te Whanganui-ā-Tara, including Kapiti and Mana Islands.

Image 75: Hoturoa at Aotearoa Marae, Wharepuhunga. Some of Ngāti Raukawa left here to resettle at Kapiti, 2017



2.0 ORIWIA AND TE HEMARA

For many generations Motuiti people have told a story on their marae, in the kitchen, at tribal hui and at tangihanga of the encounter between Ngāti Mairehau, Ngāti Hineaute of Rangitāne and Ngāti Rākau Paewai. It is celebrated on the marae by the use of Pāeke as our kawa, the kawa of Rangitāne. We are challenged regularly by our Tainui whanaunga in this regard. The following is our explanation.

Te Ahukaramu of Ngāti Huia and the others who travelled from Heretaunga to join their relatives in Kapiti were guided by Reihana Ropiha of Rākau Paewai and Takihiku. There are three tracks that could have been used; Te Ahu a Tūranga track (the Saddle Road) and the Maharahara track old ‘ara tauā’ tracks that cut over the lowest points of the Ruahine ranges north of the Manawatū gorge. The third possibility is the Ngamoko track located at the beginning of the Oroua River, near Umutoi. This track was familiar to the Rangitāne people on both sides of the Ruahine mountain range and was well hidden. The party was being pursued by Ngāi Te Ūpokoiri, who were related to the

Rangitāne. A small number of Takihiku and Rākau Paewai, including Te Hemara, were left to defend as the rear guard.

Te Hemara, also known as Hotereni was the son of Hauāuru. Hāuauru was the mokopuna of Rākau Paewai and Te Hemara. He and his men protected the rear flank of the migrating group to ensure the others got to safety. They were crossing the Ruahine to another land with their fighting chief Te Whatanui; battle hardened and fighting fit to meet up with Ngāti Toa Rangatira-Ngāti Raukawa chief, Te Rauparaha. Te Hemara was also of Toa Rangatira descent, related to Hinewai, Te Rauparaha's sister. Word of Te Whatanui and the impending arrival his party had spread quickly throughout Rangitāne. They were heavily outnumbered and had no muskets.

Oriwia, was the daughter of Whāngai, son of Te Ui and Pango. Whāngai was a Rangitāne chief of Ngāti Mairehau and Ngāti Hineaute descent. Oriwia also had whakapapa links to all the other major Rangitāne hapū in the Manawatū, Horowheuna, Wairarapa and Tamakinuiarua districts, through her mother, Te Aparangi. After much debate, Oriwia was chosen to be given as a mark of a peaceful future between Rangitane and Ngāti Raukawa on the land. Rangitāne leadership proposed that they remain on the Manawatū River north of Puketotara, the Pā of Te Aweawe, at the junction of the Oroua and Manawatū rivers, to the Gorge. The 'mahinga kai' and small pā west of Puketotara to the Manawatū river mouth, were abandoned in anticipation.

Whāngai, whose pā was at the foot of Kaihinau, a hill behind the Makerua swamp, sent his daughter Oriwia on a waka kīwai alone down the Tokomaru to the Manawatū river with observers following. Before leaving Kaihinau, Oriwia had been instructed to remain still and silent, regardless of what came her way.

Image 5: Manawatū River taken from the Poutū Bridge with Kaihinau peak in the background



Te Hemara and his men made their way to Hotuiti, a small lake surrounded by swamp, bush and harakeke a short distance from the river.

“We were told this was a special lake, as were all the small lakes in the area. This lake had uru rongoā around it and was a special place to heal and recover.⁸²⁰”

Some of his men may have sustained injuries, or Te Hemara himself may have been injured. This is not clear. We do know they were dressing wounds. As her waka approached Hotuiti, Oriwia was spotted by one of Te Hemara’s men and he took pursuit. Oriwia remained still and silent while her pursuer thrashed around in the river. Te Hemara heard the commotion and on seeing that Oriwia was alone in the waka, commanded his toa to stop. He continued to watch and recognised the sign that she had been sent as a tatau pounamu, or peace marker.

For Rangitāne, especially Whāngai, this was the ultimate sacrifice. If Ngāti Raukawa did not except the offer, war could destroy what was left of his people. If accepted by

⁸²⁰ Interview with John Kauri, 2007.

Raukawa, she could be enslaved and mistreated by her captives. It is said⁸²¹ that Te Hemara swam out to the waka and brought it ashore. Another story relates that he killed his warrior to reach her. Whāngai was so grateful he gave Te Hemara and his people the land block mentioned below as a ‘tuku whenua’. It was decided that Te Hemara would stay with Oriwia and the uri from this union would be ‘takawaenga’ with the role to act as negotiators on issues affecting the relationship between Ngāti Raukawa and Rangitāne.

2.1 Unconditional Ownership

Mairehau and Ngāwhakaraua are two prominent peaks behind the pā at Kaihinu where the allocation of the following land was made by Whāngai.

“Mai te wahapū o te Manawatū ki Mairehau,
Whakawhiti atu ki Ngā Whakaraua ki Himatangi”

It is at this point that Ngāti Rākau Paewai and other Ngāti Raukawa hapū became undisputed owners of the land block.

Whāngai was the grandson of Te Hokimai, of Ngāti Kahungunu and Iriwawa of Ngāti Mairehau and Ngāti Hineaute, both Rangitāne hapū⁸²².

Whāngai gifted his taiaha⁸²³ to Te Hemara as part of the peace marker. The taiaha was buried with Rakeitekura Te Rangi in 1976. Memories of this taiaha are still very vivid for his children and grandchildren who continue to hold a takawaenga role in the area today.

Reihana Ropiha returned from guiding Te Whatanui down the Manawatū River to the river’s mouth. Te Hemara, Ropiha and their people remained on the land and prepared ‘māra kai’ from Puketotara to Te Whārangi. Our kaumātua say that some of Ngāti Rākau Paewai rejoined the others of Ngāti Raukawa at Rangiuru on the northern bank of the river mouth of the Ōtaki River, leaving a small number of workers on the land

⁸²¹ Rakeitekura Te Rangi to John Matheson, PNCC archives, 1978.

⁸²² ‘Ancestry of Oriwia who married Te Hemara, Whakapapa books of Koneke Tamaiwaho (1912) and Te Ao Tataurangi (1914). Ian Matheson, PNCC.

⁸²³ It is not certain if Tūwhakatupua was the name of the taiaha at this point, or, if it was named after the 1863 hui held at Tūwhakatupua.

block. Several traditional boundary markers or ‘pou’ were set at major junctions indicating the boundary between hapū and iwi.

“We had a huge macrocarpa tree growing where the car park is. It was the Motuiti boundary. They didn’t use natives. These trees grew very fast, some of them were huge.”⁸²⁴

At Rangiuru hapū were allocated land by Waitohi, sister of Te Rauparaha. The whenua along the Ōtaki beach called Taumanuka belonged to all the Raukawa hapū. Ngāti Rākau Paewai were part of the group of hapū and iwi allocated land along the Manawatū River. They were strategically placed to ensure the hapū could survive to benefit the wider iwi and had kaitakawaenga whānau to support the peaceful settlement of the new land.

By 1840, Rākau Paewai, Ngāti Tūranga, Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Whakatere, Ngāti Tukorehe, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Huia among others, had set up along the Oroua and Manawatū rivers. This group of iwi and hapū eventually settled Awahuri, Aorangī, Parawanui, Ohinepuhiawe, Paiaka, Ahimate and Puketotara on to Pukepuke (Mahinga kai), Hīmatangi, Kaikokopu (he puna wai), Piriharakeke, Rewarewa, Tiakitāhuna, Te Awahou, Matararapa (he wāhi tapū), Hotuiti, Te Whārangi, Te Rerenga o Hau, Whirokino and Hotuiti. Te Maire was the main pā and was located on the eastern bank of the Manawatū River approximately halfway between Puketotara and the Manawatū River mouth, just south of Poutu Pā.

3.0 THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Te Rauparaha and his nephew Te Rangihaeata on behalf of Ngāti Rākau Paewai on Kapiti Island on June 19, 1840. Although Te Rauparaha had already given his assent to Henry Williams during his visit earlier that year; Major Thomas Bunbury, returning to the Bay of Islands after asserting sovereignty over the South Island on the Herald, asked him to sign again. Te Rauparaha directed his nephew, Te Rangihaeata on Mana Island to sign. Ngāti Tūranga, Ngāti Te Au and Ngāti Rākau Paewai, with Ngāti Whakatere and Ngāti Ngārongo continued to cultivate and occupy the land on the northern banks of the Manawatū River to Puketotara. Ngāti Whakatere also moved across the river with Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti

⁸²⁴ Puawinawina (Miki) Te Rangī, 1998.

Hinemata, Ngāti Ngārongo and Ngāti Huia prior to the arrival of the Treaty of Waitangi to the Manawatū river mouth where it was signed in May 1840.

The Manawatū river had a wide mouth that allowed for easy access to the upper reaches where many Ngāti Raukawa settlements and cultivations had been established. Paiaka was a large clearing where the first of many churches was established along the river. Living on the river was not easy. The river was prone to flooding and had a forever-changing landscape. It was also easy to get lost in the swamp. A traveller would need to stay close to the main flow of the river as it meandered for some 50 miles from Puketotara to Te Whārangī at the Manawatū River mouth. The hapū came to know and respect the river and the resources it provided for their survival. A major flood in 1855 caused extensive damage at Te Maire and Paiaka and saw the establishment of the present-day location of Poutu Pā, a papakāinga for all Tainui hapū on the river.

One of the worst breaches by the Crown has been the total desecration of the river, old pā site, burial grounds, wāhi tapu and mahinga kai. There is almost no evidence of any of these traditional sites left. The traditional food sources have been all but depleted, stocks of plants that tended to the illnesses and provided the resources for the artwork that told the stories of the hapū are all gone. The re-direction of the river to accommodate a few farmers in the 1960s at Moutoa has seriously interfered with the traditional relationship hapū had with the river.

4.0 TE PAKANGA I ŌRĀKAU: 31 MARCH 1864

Rākau Paewai arrived as part of the Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Te Kohera reinforcements to assist Rewi Maniapoto and others to construct the fighting pā. They reached Ōrākau, about two miles east of Kihikihi in early March 1864. Rewi was initially against fighting however after having consulted Te Wherowhero and being encouraged by Tuhoē who had joined them, it was decided to construct the pā at Ōrākau. The Ngāti Raukawa-Tūwharetoa chief, Te Kohera designed the pā. His daughter Ahumai and two sons Hone Teri and Hitiri were also there during construction.

Word of the build soon reached the British soldiers camped at Kihikihi and two officers were sent to investigate. In two days on 31 March, 1400 armed troops arrived to battle with the 300 occupants of the pā including the women and children. On the third day, despite being outnumbered, running out of water, ammunition and food; when asked to surrender by Lt-General Duncan Cameron, the reply came back “Ka whawhai tonu mātou ake, ake, ake”.⁸²⁵ Some managed to escape despite being pursued by troops. Others, including women were caught and killed by bayonet.

Ahumai, daughter of Te Paerata survived Ōrākau, despite being shot several times. She went on to save the life of a wounded British soldier who wandered into a Māori settlement of Kingnites. Ahumai’s feats of bravery were shared with visitors at Motuiti for many years. Ahumai married Matawaia, son of Te Momo of Ngāti Raukawa and Maniapoto. Te Momo was killed at Waipatiki by Peketahi (Te Toma) at the battle of Tangoio in the 1820s.

Hone Teri’s son Rev. Tuturu Hone Teri Te Paerata came to live at Motuiti with Ruruhira, daughter of Te Hemara and Oriwia. They raised Hepina, wife of Pei Te Hurunui Jones. Rev. Tuturu Te Paerata played a big part in establishing Motuiti Pā and he is buried with Pitihira and Hepina in the Motuiti urupā. A concrete platform was built for the unveiling of Tuturu’s memorial stone and was attended by Sir Apirana Ngata and Dr. Maui Pomare. Tuturu provided a lot of information to Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurunui Jones in the 1920s that are included in Ngā Mōteatea Parts 1-4.

⁸²⁵ Some attribute Hitiri Te Paerata for this statement, others say it was Rewi himself.

Image 76: Ngā kowhatu maumāhara o Tūturu, Ruruhira rātou ko Hepina kei te urupā, 2017



5.0 TE PEPEHA Ō NGĀTI RĀKAU PAEWAI

Ngāti Rākau Paewai’s identity statement or pepehā includes geographical features that were named well before the hapū arrived in the Horowhenua/Manawatū area. It relates what we have identified with as a hapū since establishing ourselves as ‘tangata whenua’ in the area.

Image 77: Tararua maunga taken from Whirokino, 2017



5.1 Ko Tararua Te Maunga

Ki ētahi, nā Whātonga⁸²⁶ te ingoa ‘Tararua’ i tapaina ki ngā pae maunga, i tōna mokemoke ki te kāinga, otirā, ki āna wāhine, ko Hotuwaipara rāua ko Reretua. Ki ētahi atu, nā Kai-kore⁸²⁷, he toa tao manu, kē te ingoa. Ka whati e 2 o āna tara (he koinga wero manu kei te tihi o tana tao), ka huaina e ia ko ‘Tararua’, ā, mau tonu. He wā ia i whakaingoatia he wāhanga o Tararua ki ‘te tuarā o Te Rangihaeata’ hei tohu i te rongomau i waenga i a Kahungunu ki te Wairārapa me Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Ka noho teina mai a Tararua ki a Ruahine. Ka weheruatia ēnei pae maunga ki te āpiti o Manawatū, Nā Ōkatia anō i hanga. He tupua, he rākau totara i keria rawatia te ara mai i te rāwhiti ki te taihauāuru.

Kei te rāwhiti, kei runga i te kakenga o te ara mā Otangaki (Ashhurst) ki Whārite (Woodville) tū mai ai te tihi o te Ahu-ā-Tūrangaimua. E kī ana, he tamatāne nā Turī, rangatira o te waka o Aotea, a Tūrangaimua. Ka mate a Tūrangaimua i te tihi tonu nei i ngā tautūtanga i riro i ngā whawhai i te tairāwhiti. Ka hoki atu te tauā mā te awa o Manawatū, ka tū ki Motuiti. Ka mahue ngā hiwi ki te tihi rā. I riro mā ngā urī ngā hiwi rā, e tiaki. Ka taka te wā, ka hoki mai te iwi ka hahu ake ai ngā hiwi e rātou whakahokia atu ki Pātea, ka noho te ingoa ki Te Ahu ā-Tūrangaimuana (ko te ‘ahu ki Aotea), hāunga te nohotahitanga a ngā iwi nei ki te taihauāuru, koia nei ētahi o ngā hononga tawhito ki waenga i a Ngāti Mairehau o Motuiti ki ngā iwi o te waka o Aotea. E ai ki ngā kōrero, ko te ara o Te Ahu ā-Tūrangaimua tētehi o ngā ara i whakawhiti mai a Te Hemara rātou ko Ropihā mā ki konei.

5.2 Ko Manawatū Te Awa

Ko te tino awa tēnei o Ngāti Rākau Paewai, ā, ka pepehātia atu ki ngā manuhiri ka whakaeke ki runga o te Marae o Motuiti. E ai ki ngā kōrero⁸²⁸, nā te rākau tipua, nā Okatia, he tōtara, te awa i keria. Nō tōna hiahia ki te whakawhiti atu ki te Tai Hauāuru, puta atu ki te moana, ka hikina ōna pakiaka ka takahia e ia te whenua keria ai he rua. Timata ana ki tōna mātāpuna ki te taha rāwhiti o ngā pae maunga o Ruahine. Ko te

⁸²⁶ Chris Maclean. *Tararua The Story of a Mountain*: Whitcombe Press, 1994.

Often mentioned at formal occasions involving local Iwi, also recorded in *Mac Rangitāne*.

⁸²⁷ Maclean.

⁸²⁸ Manahi Paewai, ā-waha, 2001: *Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga*.

ingoa o te Awa nei ki te Iwi e manaaki ana i te matapuna, ko “Te Awa Pokere a Tamakuku”. Ka whakaweheruatia ngā pae maunga o Ruahine (ki te raki) me Tararua (ki te tonga), rere tonu atu ki a Hinemoana, ki Te Tai Tāpokapoka ā-Kupe, ki te Taihauāuru o te Ikaroa a Maui Tikitiki a-Taranga.

E ai ki ngā kōrero kei te mōteatea rongonui mō Te Wharaurangi o Ngāti Apa, nā Haunuiānanaia (Hau) te ingoa ‘Manawa-tū’ i tapaina hei ingoa mō te awa, i tāna whai i tana wahine a Wairaka me tana pūremu ki Paekākāriki. He tohunga a Hau. Ka tae atu ia ki te ngutuawa o te Manawatū, ka kīa te kōrero, i ‘tū tōna manawa’ i te auē ki te whānuitanga o te waha o te awa hei whakawhitinga māna. Ka tapaina te ingoa “Manawa-tū” ki runga ki te awa nei. Kei te takiwā o te waha o te awa nei, he wāhi ko tōna ingoa ko ‘Te Rere a Hau’. Ko te pito tēnei i whakawhiti ai a Hau i te Manawatū ki te tonga. I ēnei rā he rohe kē a Manawatū-, heoi, ki ngā Iwi e noho tonu ana ki ōna tahataha, he awa tipua, he awa taniwha. E ai ki ngā kōrero, e toru ngā kaitiaki o te awa nei. Ko Peketahi, ko Whāngai Mokopuna, ko Papangaio. Ko Peketahi hoki te ingoa o te Taniwhā o te awa o Puniu, ki Ngāti Takihiku ki Rāwhitiroa. He kōrero anō ēnei.

5.3 Ko Motuiti Te Pā

Ka tino kitea e te hunga waka ki uta ēnei Kāhikatea i te moana rā anō. He tāroaroa, he pakeke, he rākau tapu. Ka noho ēnei rākau hei tohu ārahi i ngā waka ki te waha o te awa. Ko Motuiti ki mua, ko Ngāwhakaraua ki muri. Nā te āhua o ēnei rākau i te tirohanga atu i te moana ka whakaingoatia, ko Motu-iti. I kaingākauria mai ngā kaumātua i uiuia i roto ngā tau, ki tō rātou na Pā, ā, i tauratia tēnei i ā rātou whakamārama.

“We all loved growing up here, we were a tight whānau. [We were] known as the ‘pā kids’, we looked after each other.”⁸²⁹

I tōna wā, e 19 ngā kāinga e tūtū na ki te Marae. Ka rawe te noho a ngā pouwhirinaki o tēnā whānau, o tēnā whānau, ki te takiwā o te Marae o Ngāti Rākau Paewai. Ko ngā mea kua noho mai, ka tū hei māngai, hei pou tuku korero atu ki aua whanaunga kei waho atu i te rohe. He maha hoki ngā kāinga i te whenua mai i Motuiti ki Himatangi. He whanaunga tata te katoa.

⁸²⁹ Ngā Kaumātua, 2004.

“There were houses at Totara Road. Takurua’s house was on the corner, then Aunty Ada Winiata and her whānau. They lived in the next house. There’s a urupā down there too. There was a house next to that we never went to. Only the old people. The Turoa’s lived down the end of Paranui Road, down the old homestead. Koro Kau lived down there too on the farm. There were two houses at the Pā at Paranui, another one across the road. We were all Pā kids. We all had to go to school at Oroua Downs.”

“All those houses belonged to families from the Pā. Motuiti [and/or] Paranui. It didn’t matter. We were related and that was the main thing. We stood up for each other. Blood was thicker than water then. [We] looked after each other. We never felt unsafe. We talked to each differently because we knew we would get told off.”⁸³⁰

Nō te tau 1965 ka hūnuku ētehi o ōku whanaunga ki Te Awahou (Foxton) ki tētahi Whare ‘Maori Affairs’. Ahakoa i nuku atu te nuinga o ōna whānau ki te tāone nui ka noho a Puawinawina ki konei tonu. I kī mai a ia i noho atu ia ki Te Awahou hei tiaki i tōna Pāpā. Tuku atu tōna Pāpā i te matua nei ki te Kura o Te Aute, hei painga mō te iwi ka uru ia ki ngā whakahaere whenua o ngā whānau, o te Marae.⁸³¹

Image 78: The 3 homes on the Marae were sold to the 1998-2006 Trust for \$12,000 by Housing Corporation. They were established here by Kararaina Oldridge, Robin Hapi and the Marae Trustees in 1984.



⁸³⁰ Potaka Hotereni (Snr), 2004.

⁸³¹ Gilbert Knowles, 1998.

5.4 Ko Rākau Paewai Te Whare Tupuna

He tūpuna Raukawa a Rākau Paewai (te ingoa o te whare tupuna ki Motuiti). Tirohia te whakapapa kei ngā whārangi o mua. Nō te tau 1882, tūwheratia ai te whare tupuna o Ngāti Raukawa tuatahi i Motuiti. He hōro te āhua. He whare whakairo, he kōwhaiwhai, he tukutuku. E ai ki te nuipepa⁸³² i whakatūhia te whare i te wā i whakatakoto ngā ara tereina i ngā tau 1881 - 1884. Ko te whare tupuna e tū ana ki Motuiti i ēnei rā i tūwherahia i te tau 1962. I hangāia i te wā o te hanganga o te Whare ki Ohinepuhiawe, i a Parewahawaha. Nā Pei Te Hurunui ngā rākau i tuku mai mō te Whare Tupuna hou.

“Pei Jones sent the wood for the new whare from Taumarunui. He did a lot for us. Hepina, Pei’s wife is buried up the urupā.”⁸³³

5.5 Ngā Whakairo

Nā te tohunga whakairo, nā Henare Toka, nō Ngāti Whātua, ngā mahi whakairo i whakaako atu ki ētehi o kōnei. Ko Hāpai Winiata, nō Ngāti Huia, Pareraukawa tētehi o āna ākonga, ā, nā wai rā, ka whakaako atu a Hāpai ki ētehi o Ngati Rākau Paewai, arā, ko Boy Witika, ko Ally Takurua ētehi.

Image 79: Ahuwhenua (Boy) Witika rāua ko Ally Takurua e pupuru ana ki ngā tauira o ngā whakairo a Henare Toka o Ngāti Whātua. Kō Ngāti Whātua a Uncle Boy.



⁸³² *The Herald*, Wellington, 1882.

⁸³³ Mere Rauhihi, 2018.

5.6 Ngā Tukutuku

Ka karangahia ngā wahine i whai pānga mai ki Motuiti e ngā kaumātua o te wā, ā, nā te wahine a Henare Toka, nā Mary Toka ngā mahi tukutuku i whakaako atu. I te hokinga mahara a Mere Rauhihi (nee Te Rangi) nā Mary tōna whaea me ōna tuakana i ako. Nā rātou ngā taitamahine i ako. Anei ngā tauira kei te whare tūpuna:

Mere Rauhihi:-

“We made them (the tukutuku) in the old wharenuī. Aunty Lizzy (Rihi Hotereni), Aunty Rehu and Mum (Hineiwahia Te Rangi) guided us. They got the pingao from the beach and the kiekie from Roundbush (Omarupapako). We would have to help with the dying and drying out. Black, white and like a natural colour. The younger girls sat on one side and they sat on the other side. They (the aunts) would pass the kiekie and pingao through the holes and tell us where to pass it back to them.”⁸³⁴

Georgina Te Rangi:-

“I don’t remember what happened to the old whare. We were young. We had a lot of old people around the Marae then. It wasn’t a place for us kids. The ashes from the (old) whare are buried under the new whare. We didn’t go to those things though.”⁸³⁵

Hinewai Witika:-

“We sent pingao and kiekie to Rotorua. They (Te Arawa) made our piupiu. They had the good harakeke. Aunty Pare (Parewahawaha Leonard) was a good weaver. She taught Rangimahora.”⁸³⁶

Image 80: Ētehi tukutuku kei te whare o Rākau Paewai. Poutama (māui). Takitoru (matau). Poutama: Te whai i te ora, i te mātauranga. Tokitoru: Te mahimahi, te tupu o te harakeke



He rite anō te hanga o ngā tukutuku me ngā kōwhaiwhai o Motuiti ki ērā kei te kite i te Tūpuna Whare o Parewahawaha. E ai ki te rongō, nā Bill Clark nō Ngāti Porou, he

⁸³⁴ Mere Rauhihi, 2017.

⁸³⁵ Georgina Te Rangi, 2004.

⁸³⁶ Hinewai Witika, 1998.

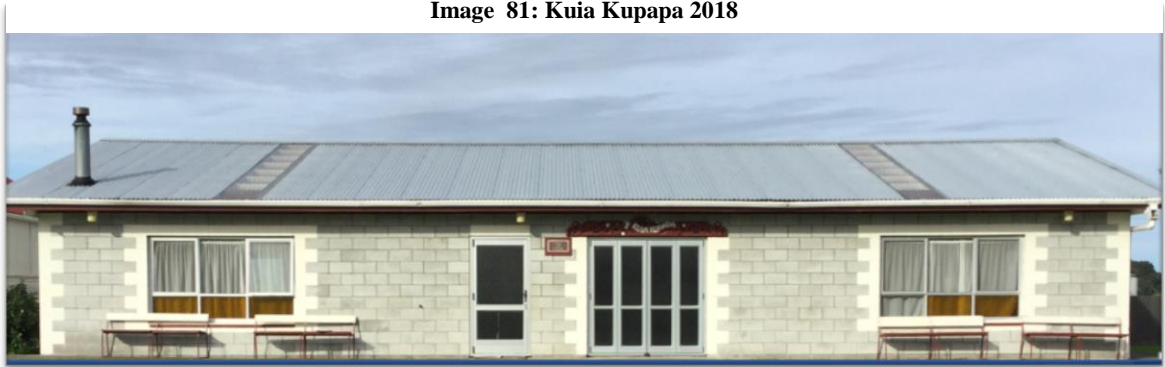
kaiwhakaako hoki i te Wānanga o Wīkītōria i taua wā, nā rātou ko āna ākonga ngā kōwhaiwhai. Nā ētehi o te hau kāinga anō i āwhina.

5.7 Ko Kuia Kupapa Te Wharekai

E ai ki ngā kaumātua i te hui ki Motuiti i te tau 2008; ko tēnei kē te tino wāhi o te Marae. Ka puta te rongō, he hui ka tū ki Motuiti, ko ngā whanaunga katoa ka mōhio ki a rātou mahi hei tautoko i ngā whakahaere o ngā hui.

“Our job was to round up the draft horse we had and hook it up to the long heavy trailer, it was an old train wagon from the flax mill. We young boys went with them to the manuka on the way to the lake. We had to work fast. We got all the dry stuff at one end. The horse would be used to push over the dead stuff and we chopped it up with axes and slashers.”⁸³⁷

Image 81: Kuia Kupapa 2018



Arthur Hotereni:-

“When we got back (to the Marae) we had to light the fires. One for cooking, one in the copper for hot water in the kitchen, and another one hot water for the woman’s toilet.”⁸³⁸

Potaka Hotereni:-

“Once everyone saw the smoke, people began to arrive to set up. We still had to stay there and keep the fires all going. Sometimes we went and it would be raining. We still went. We had to. Looking for water cress, and firewood.”⁸³⁹

Pare Seymore:-

“Ko te Wharekai tuatahi, he hōro whare pikitia te hanga. E ai ki ngā korero nā Hokowhitu Makarika te wharekai tuatahi i ngā 1920. I ngā tau 1930-50 he hōro whakatū kanikani, whakaatu pikitia, wāhi whakangahau, whakatū hākari. He

⁸³⁷ Micky Te Rangi, 2008.

⁸³⁸ Arthur Hotereni, 2004.

⁸³⁹ Potaka Hotereni, 2004.

pouaka tikiti i tū i ia taha o te tomokanga, ka kuhu, he pae whakatū whakangahau i te taha rāwhiti o te wharekai nei, i te taha tonga, te kāuta.”

“We had a lot of bands here. They threw sawdust on the floor and we would dance all night. The bands came from all around. We caught a bus to the Ballroom Astoria in Palmerston North. All of us from the pā went. Some of the boys from here and Shannon played in the big bands in town. They were good. They came back to the pā and played all night. It was awesome!”⁸⁴⁰

Kaka Taite:-

“The kitchen-storeroom was a small space. You walked out the back, down the step into the alley way. The cookhouse was a tin shed. We (the young ones) all worked in the dining room. Hinewai was a good teacher. We had to stay in the Wharekai until everything was cleaned up. We wore a white top and a black skirt; the boys wore a black tie.”⁸⁴¹

Mere Rauhihi:-

“We had a deck; on the tables we had fruit and some lollies and walnuts. No buffet in those days. We would refill all the bowls. Wasn’t allowed to be any empty. The deck had the lollies they made in Foxton, Foxton Fizz and fruit. Having fruit was special. The Chinaman across the road, Chung Wah, he grew apples and oranges.”⁸⁴²

Hinewai Witika:-

“We ate when everything was finished, not before. We got told off for eating before the manuhiri. Even if it was just tasting the food. The old people were hard on that. We never ate in front of the manuhiri ever. We had to wait if there was anything left over we ate. If not, we went without. We didn’t mind. Nowadays it’s different.”⁸⁴³

He pēnei anō i ngā tau 1960-70. Mā te mātakitaki me te mahitahi, ka pakari te hapū ki tēnei mahi, te manaaki manuhiri. I te tau 1980, ka ara anō te whakaaro kia tūrakina te wharekai tawhito, ka hangāia he whare hou. He maha ngā hui kohi pūtea a te hapū. He rāwhera, he ‘Queen Carnival’ anō hoki. Nō te tau 1982, ka whakatūwherahia te wharekai hou e Rev.Hāpai Winiata. Ko ngā kōwhaiwhai kei te tuanui i peitatia e ngā urī i te tau 2008. Nā Manu Kawana ngā kōwhaiwhai i ārahi i ētehi o te hapū i ngā mahi peita kōwhaiwhai katoa. I te wā tū ai te hui peita, i tū hoki tētehi hui kohi kōrero a ngā

⁸⁴⁰ Pare Seymore.

⁸⁴¹ Kaka Taite, 1998.

⁸⁴² Mere Rauhihi, 2008.

⁸⁴³ Hinewai Witika.

kaumātua. Harikoa ana te katoa i te pai o ngā mahi ārahi a Manu. Kei te Appendix 3, te roanga o ngā whakamārama o ngā kōwhaiwhai nei.

Image 82: Te wharekai tāwhito 1982



5.8 Te Kawa O Motuiti Marae

Ko Pāeke te Kawa o te Marae. I tēnei wā, ahakoa te hē ki ētehi, ahakoa Tainui te waka, ko Pāeke te kawa o te Marae o Motuiti. I pēnei mai i te whakaaronui ki ngā hononga ki a Oriwia, otirā ki tona Pāpā, ki a Whānga, o Ngāti Mairehau, nāna tāna tamahine i tuku hei tohu o te tatau pounamu i a Rangitāne ki a Te Hemara o Ngāti Raukawa. Kei kūare te noho a ngā whakatupuranga ki te hohonutanga o te Tuku Whenua me ōna tikanga. He mea i āta whakaritea e ngā kaumātua o ngā tau 1950-60, i mua noa atu i te whānautanga mai o te hunga kei ngā paepae i te tau 2017.

“Pāeke, nā Koro Jack (Tiaki) Kauri, te kawa i whakatau i whakamārama atu. Mā mātou ko Teri, ko Iwi (Iwikātea Ngārongo Nicholson) ētehi. Ka whakamārama i ngā korero mō Te Hemara rāua ko Oriwia. I roto i ngā whakairo ngā korero. Ki ētehi ko Pāeke te kawa i te tokoiti hei hāpai i te paepae korero i aua wā (1950-70), engari, ki a au nei, kei te tika tēnei korero. Ka maumāhara i te tatau pounamu i hangāia e Oriwia rāua ko Te Hemara.”⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴⁴ Arthur Hotereni 1998, 2004.

Image 83: He hanga rite te wharekai hou ki te mea tāwhito, ēngari he raima te papa, ā he rahi ake



Kua werohia te kawa nei e ētehi manuhiri, ka tika hoki, ā, ko te whakamārama kei runga ka kōrerotia atu. He wā anō pea ka huri, ka hoki anō ki tū atu, tū mai, ki tāutuutu. Mā te wānanga pea, ka rea ake he huarahi ki mua. Heoi anō, koia tonu te kawa o te Marae, ko tā ngā kaikōrero o te wā kāinga nei, he hāpai, he whakamārama atu.

5.9 Te Kāuta

I mua i ngā tau 1950, he āhua tawhiti te wāhi tao kai i te wharekai. Kāore he hiko o te Marae i aua wā. Ko te mānuka te tino wāhie o te rohe, ā, he kanara te rama i te po. nā, ko te mahi hāngī te tino huarahi taka kai mō ngā hui nui. Ko ngā kōhua hōpuni ki runga i te ahi te huarahi tao kai wera. Ko ngā pātū me te tuanui he rino kōwakawaka, me he pūaretanga kei te tuanui kia rere atu te auahi. Ko te papa, he paru, he oneone.

Georgina Te Rangi:-

“There were these big pots that hung off the iron bar. Hung pots they cooked in. They had a dirt floor [that] was always being swept with a manuka bush. They were good for that. The meat hung in the roof, the smoke went up the chimney sometimes the wind would blow it back in and we had smoke everywhere.”⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴⁵ Arthur Hoterani, 1998.

“The men worked in there. The girls weren’t allowed to go in there. Only the older ones who cook the bread; flat bread and rewana. They worked hard all day. The boys had to keep the fires going. There was no power in the kāuta. They (the men in the kāuta) only ate when everyone else had eaten. Not like nowadays. They drink all the time. Not good.”⁸⁴⁶

Ko te kāuta hoki te wāhi whakamate, whakarite hoki i ngā Kau, Hipi, Tia, Heihei, Poaka hoki. Ka whakairihia te tinana o te kararehe ki te tuanui mō ētehi rā, kia māmā haere te kiko. Ka māmā, ka tunu. Ko ngā whēkau anō ka horoia, ka raua ki te kohua rahi ka pairatia ki te wai. Ka kinakitia ki te pūhā, te taewa, te kumara, ki te paraoa i tunua ki ngā kongakonga o te ahi. Ka mutu, he hākari ka hora hei kai.

He wāhi anō mō te whakarite i ngā kai o te moana, o te awa. Ko te pātiki, te inanga, te kānae, te mangotipi, te tuna te kokopū hoki. Nā te katoa, tamariki mai, pakeke mai. Nā ngā wāhine ngā tuna me ngā ika i pāwhara. Nā ngā tamariki ngā pipi, ngā tuatua me ngā pūpū i kohi i takutai. Ka whakairiiri mako, me ngā pipi ki ngā rākau tawhito o te pā, hei kai timotimo, hei pī ngaungau mā te iwi. Arā noa atu ngā kōrero a ngā kaumātua i uiuia mō ngā momo kai i kaingia e rātou i a rātou e tamaiki ana i ngā tau 1930-1960.

Puawinawina Te Rangi:-

“We had a huge garden at the old man’s place. The Chinese family that had a market garden across the road also had these new vegetables. Cabbage and cauliflowers. We used cabbage when we couldn’t find pūhā or watercress. We all had horses and a plough. We grew peas. Dad used to give jobs to the whānau at the pā. We had kumara, potatoes, kamokamo and water melon growing. Kura (Rakeitekura Te Rangi) would go to work at the flax mills in town, come home and go straight out to work in the garden. There were quince and plum trees growing by the ‘bungalow’. That was the last of the old pā houses standing there. It had Poeys (Potaka Hotereni) old plastic leg there. [It] used to freak the kids out when over there.”⁸⁴⁷

Mere Woon:-

“We only had the long drops for our toilets with no power. There was a basin by the water tank to wash in. It was pretty cold. You sprinted out to the toilet and washed your hands and face at the basin before going back in the kitchen.”⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁶ Georgina Te Rangi, 1998.

⁸⁴⁷ Puawinawina (Miki) Te Rangi, 2004.

⁸⁴⁸ Mere Woon.

Gilbert Knowles:-

“There was so much whitebait during the season, the farmer used to throw it on to the paddocks for fertiliser.”⁸⁴⁹

Mere Rauhihi:-

“Aunty Rewa and our mother used to go out to the creek over by the driveway and catch whitebait for all the whānau. Pig bone (mostly bacon bones) and pūhā with spuds and dough boys. The van would pull up to the Marae. He was from Masterton. Plenty (of) meat on those bones.”⁸⁵⁰

Punawinawina Te Rangi:-

“We would go out by the lake after the ‘run’ and pick up the eels in the middle of the paddocks. When we got back the aunties would take over. They would hang them for a few hours, depending on the wheather, and then gut them and open them up. The kuia were the fastest and cleanest. The small ones were cooked on the fire, and the big eels in the hāngī. Tuna raurekau it was called in think.”⁸⁵¹

He nui ngā tautoko a tēnei Marae ki tēnā Marae i te rohe nei o Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga, i mua o te hūnuku ki ngā taone. Me he take ki ērā atu Marae ka haere a Rākau Paewai ki te tautoko, ā, ka haere atu rātou ki te tautoko i a mātou ki Motuiti.

Kaka Taite:-

“We went to Poutu to help them when the Kiingitanga came. They came over to help when we had a big do on. We went all over there. The homeguard during the Second World War, was a mixture of Muaūpoko, Huia, Kereru, Whakaterere and the Marae up here. They all trained here at Motuiti.”⁸⁵²

I ngā tau 1970 ka hanga te hapū i tētehi Kāuta hou. He whare rino, he papa raima, he whare whai hiko. Ka noho te umu ahi roa i waenga i te whare, hei ahi tao kai. Ka werahia ngā pae rino e te ahi, ka whakatauria ngā kohua kai ki runga.

Alex Kimura:-

“We had a huge long fire in the new kitchen. We’d get wood from the mill in town or off the farmers. A lot of us worked there [the mill]. It [the kauta] was a double garage with a concrete floor and deep concrete basins. We still had to light the fire, the copper and the chippy in the womens toilet.”⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁹ Gilbert Knowles, 1998.

⁸⁵⁰ Mere Rauhihi, 2018.

⁸⁵¹ Puawinawina Te Rangi, 2004.

⁸⁵² Kaka Taite, 1998.

⁸⁵³ Alex Kimura, 1998.

He maha ngā ākoranga i roto i ngā mahi i te kāuta ki Motuiti. Ko te mea nui, ko te mahitahi, ā, mā te manuhiri i te tuatahi. Me mahi tahi me te paepae. Kia nui te atawhai ki ngā kaumātua, ki ngā manuhiri tūārangi.

6.0 TE PĀ ME ŌNA IWI

6.1 Te Hākinakina / Sport

Ko tētehi maumāhara nui a ngā kaumātua, ko te haerere haere ki rohe kē atu ki te tākarō i ngā momo hākinakina. I nōhia te marae o Waihi, i Whakaoriori, i Waitahanui. He whakawhanunga tōna tino kaupapa. Ka haere hoki ngā manuhiri ki Motuiti.

Arthur Hotereni:-

“We travelled by bus to all these places. We knew some of the people, but we were still young. The girls played hockey and basketball. The boys played tennis and rugby. At night they [the adults] played pool and darts. It wasn’t really a competition.”⁸⁵⁴

I te marae he maha ngā mahi hākinakina i whakahaeretia e ngā mātua i aua wā. Kāore he pouaka whakaata, he aha rānei. I tū ētehi kōti tenehi i muri tonu i te wharekai. He pātiti te momo.

The old ones played a lot of tennis. They used anything for a ball, or the club in town would bring some out. We all played in town.”

Puawinawina Te Rangi:-

“The old ones played a lot of tennis. They used anything for a ball, or the club in town would bring some out. We all played in town.”⁸⁵⁵

Potaka Taite:-

“We went to ‘Ratana Day’ and played softball, tennis and rugby. We had a kapa haka group that performed there as well. Right up until the Motuiti Club in Palmerston North stopped in the 1990s. We were going there and to the Hui Aranga. Fundraised at the pub, down the shops in Highbury. Motuiti had a softball team and a netball team in the Palmerston North competition and we practiced at Monrad Park and Takaro School.”⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵⁴ Arthur Hotereni, 1998 & 2000.

⁸⁵⁵ Puawinawina Te Rangi, 2004.

⁸⁵⁶ Potaka Taite, 2008.

He maha hoki ngā toa hākinakina i puta i Motuiti. Heoi, tērā pea kaupapa rangahau anō tēnei mō ngā urī.



6.2 Kapa Haka

Image 84: The Awahou team outside Aotea wharenuī, Dannevirke before the triennial game against Aotea

“Kapa Haka was a big thing here back in the old days. Peter Reihana was our tutor, then Taylor Hemara. We performed all over. At the Marae(s) in Palmerston North, in Levin and Wellington. Everywhere! We sent pīngao and kiekie to our rallies in Rotorua for their whare. In return they made our piupiu. They had better haraheke for piupiu.”⁸⁵⁷

“We had a youth group in Palmerston North. We where all from families who had moved to the city from Motuiti. We practiced at the Scout hall opposite Arthur and Margaret’s. Every Sunday 1 o’clock. We learnt karanga, karakia, whaikōrero and kapa haka. We all went on to love kapa haka.”⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵⁷ Hinewai Witika, 1998.

⁸⁵⁸ Potaka Taite.

Image 85: Mōtuiti Māori Club 1974. Tutored by Taylor Hemara



6.3 Ngā Hāhī

Ka noho te paipera tapu hei ārahi i ngā mahi katoa o ngā hapū i noho i Motuiti i ngā tau 1900.

“Kāore he hāhī kotahi e mea koia te tino hāhī o Motuiti. Ko ngā hāhī katoa i konei i ōna wā. Ko (Rev.) Tūturu te pihopa tuatahi o te pā. Ka tū ngā karakia i roto i te Whare Tupuna. He Mihingare tōna whare karakia. Ka puta hoki ngā minita o te hāhī Ratana, ko Gilbert Knowles, ko Darcy Rikihana mā tērā. He nui ngā pānga o Motuiti i te rātou (Ratana Pā). Ko tā mātou he tiaki i a Pukepuke, he roto ki Himatangi, ā, ka haramai a Ngāti Apa ki te tiki tuna mō ngā rā nui i Ratana Pā. Etehi wā he Katorika te hāhī, he Ringatū, ngā hāhī katoa, ka whakaaea i konei. Ko Jack Rushworth tētehi o ngā Pākehā i whakahaere karakia i Motuiti i ngā rā o mua.”⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁹ Arthur Hoterani, 2004.

7.0 KO TŌNA REO

Auē te aroha ki te reo ake o te hapū, kore ngaro. Nā te aha i pēnei ai? Nā te tāmi a te reo Pākehā ki roto i ngā tūwāhi katoa o Aotearoa, nā wai, ka iti haere te mana o reo Māori, i pērā ai. Nā te patu i ngā mātua mō te kōrero Māori i te kura, me te tautoko a te kawanantanga, i pērā ai.

He aha te reo e kōrerotia nei i konei? Ko te reo ake o te hapū.

Georgina Te Rangi:-

“We were hit with a long stick, a cane or a strap. The boys were getting hit all the time. We felt sorry for them. When they got home, they got another hiding from their parents. They (the kaumātua) spoke Māori to each other all the time. We could understand, but they only spoke English to us. We loved to listen to them speaking Māori.”⁸⁶⁰

Mere Rauhihi:-

“Yes, they all spoke Māori. The local language, you know. We could tell where people were from by listening to them speak. We had a lot of visitors. But we spoke English to each other. They (the kaumātua) never wanted us to speak Māori and get abused by other kids and the teachers at school. So, we didn’t stay long at school.”⁸⁶¹

Ko te timatatanga tēnei o te hekenga o te kōrerotanga o te reo o Ngāti Rākau Paewai. Ko ngā kōrero i ngā mōteatea nā ngā tūpuna i tito, kei ngā pukapuka o ‘Ngā Mōteatea’ kua ngaro i te tino rangi, ko ngā kōrero o te whenua, ko te reo o te kohi kai o te rohe, kua ngaro. Koia te take i whai mana ai te hapū i roto i ngā tau, ko te mōhio ki ōna kōrero i te whakarongo ki ngā kaumātua.

He rahi ngā rama i ngā tāone nui hei tō i te Māori me tōna whānau ki reira noho ai.

Paddy Te Rangi:-

“When we moved to town no-one spoke Māori. Although we met up with each other, but we had our own houses. Those who knew how to speak Māori, just stopped.”⁸⁶²

⁸⁶⁰ Georgina Te Rangi.

⁸⁶¹ Mere Rauhihi, 1998.

⁸⁶² Paddy Te Rangi, 2008.

Pare Seymore:-

“There was no reason to [speak Māori], on-one else spoke it. People used to give us cheek for speaking Māori. Our Pākehā mates mainly. There were a few from other places speaking Māori, but we never. I don’t know why.”⁸⁶³

Paddy Te Rangi

“We all got jobs at the freezing works, the [shearing] sheds on the railways. Some of our workmates could speak Māori, but we didn’t. We didn’t want our kids to get hit at school, so it was like “No Māori”, not just the language but everything. We left it at the Marae, we were too busy working, and if we had to go work instead of going to a tangi of someone close to the whānau, you went to work.”⁸⁶⁴

I roto i ngā tau kua ara ake ētehi kaupapa whakarauora i te reo.

Arthur Paul:-

“You, young fella are doing alright though, you got the kohanga and kura. Go for it! We feel proud when we hear our mokopuna speaking Māori again.”⁸⁶⁵

Ko Whakatapuranga Ruamano tētehi kaupapa e whai hua ana te hapū. He maha ngā hui Rangatahi, Rūmaki Reo i whakahaerehia i te Marae o Motuiti. Ko te Kohanga Reo anō tēnā tēnā, ko te Kura Kaupapa Māori. Ko te wawata ia ā tōna wā, ka tū he Kura kaupapa Māori ki runga i te Marae ake o Ngāti Rākau Paewai.

8.0 NGĀ PĀKINO A TE KARAUNA KI A NGĀTI RĀKAU PAEWAI

8.1 Wai 1618

The original claim for the Wai 1618 was filed by Te Wera (Baldy) Hines in the 1990s. It was filed with the support of the kaumātua on behalf of Ngāti Rākau Paewai. In 2004 it was agreed by the same kaumātua to include all three hapū on the Himatangi Block. As a result, we had three claimants, Ngāti Rākau Paewai, Ngāti Tūranga and Ngāti Te Au as Ngā Hapū o Himatangi. We joined the claimant cluster called Tū Te Manawaroa

⁸⁶³ Pare Seymore, 2008.

⁸⁶⁴ Paddy Te Rangi, 2008.

⁸⁶⁵ Arthur Paul, 1998.

with Tūkorehe, Takihiku and others in 2015. *He mihi nui nā ngā hapū o Himatangi ki a koe, e Bauldy, moe mai rā.*

Kia tika te kōrero, nā te tuku whenua a Whangai ki a Te Hemara rāua ko Oriwia i mana ai te noho a Rākau Paewai ki Himatangi, i mua noa atu i te hainatanga o te tiriti o Waitangi i te tau 1840. I te mōteatea nā Peeti Te Aweawe o Rangitāne ki ngā rangatira o Ngāti Huia, kia whakahokia he maramara whenua mō tōna hapū e rātou, ka rongō, i a Ngāti Raukawa me ōna hapū te mana o tēnei whenua, e kī ana:

*Mai te wahapū o te Manawatū ki Mairehau,
Whakawhiti atu ki Ngā Whakaraua ki Himatangi*

I whakamanahia e te karauna te tuku mai i tētehi wāhanga o taua whenua hei whenua mō ngā uri o Ngāti Rākau Paewai. Ka kīa te ‘Himatangi Block’. He iti iho i te whenua i riro e te karaitiana Pākehā, e ngā kaihautū tīma i nōhia te whenua i whakataukitia e Whangai. Me noho pōhara tonu te Marae, te Hapū i ngā whakaritenga o ngā rautau ki muri, ahakoa te hē o aua whakaritenga.

Ka tango he whenua rahi anō mō te hanga huarahi matua i Te Whanganui ā-Tara ki Tamaki-makaurau, ki te hanga ara tereina hoki. Ka tangohia atu te katoa, ka whakahokia mai tētehi haurua o te whenua i tangohia e rātou i te tuatahi, ā, ko aua whenua i whakahokia atu ki te hapū, i whakahokia i te mana, ā-ture nei, ki te tangata kotahi, kia ngawari te hoko whenua atu. I hoko ki te whai pūtea i noho nama ai te Karauna i aua wā, heoi, kāore a Ngāti Rākau Paewai i hoko whenua atu. I ū tonu, nō te hapū te whenua, kaua te tangata kotahi nā te karauna i whakamana.

Ka mutu timata te mahi whakarerekē i te whenua, kāore he paku aro ki ngā kōrero a te hapū, a te Iwi, nō rātou te whenua.

8.2 Ko Tā Ngāti Rākau Paewai

E kī ana ngā urī o Rākau Paewai, i a mātou ko ētehi atu Iwi i heke mai ki te tonga, te ‘mana’ o ngā whenua i tuku iho ai a Whangai ki a Te Hemara, tatu mai ki tēnei tau 2017. Ko te tono ia, whakahokia mai, te katoa!

Ka timata au ki Te Whārangī ki te waha o te awa o Manawatū, ki Whirokino, ki Tūroa. Ka whakawhiti atu ki Te Maire, ki Poutū, ki Paiaka, ki Moutoa. Ka rere tonu ki Ahimate, ki Puketotara, ki Oroua ka tae ki Himatangi.

9.0 NGĀ KŌRERO HEI ĀRAHI I ŌNA URĪ KI ĀPŌPŌ

Ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero i tēnei tuhinga, nā ngā kaumātua i homai. Nā te rōpū rangahau ngā kōrero tautoko ā-tuhi i kimi, i whakatakoto ki ngā whārangī. Ko te mea pai o ngā mahi, he rongō kōrero i a rātou, mō ā rātou whakatupuranga ake ki runga i te Pā o Motuīti. Ko ētehi kua riro, ā, ka noho ngā mōrehu hei ārahi tonu i ngā mahi katoa kei te Marae. Katoa ngā mahi whakapaipai, whakarangatira i te Marae e hāngai tonu ana ki ngā mātāpono e whā i waihangatia e ngā kaumātua o Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira me Te Atiawa i te wā i whakaaro ai i te hanganga mai o Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Arā ko ēnei:

Tino Rangatiratanga: Tū māia, ko te mana motuhake.

Ko te reo Māori te reo matua o te Iwi: whakawhanake ake,
whakarauoratia.

Ko te Marae te tūrangawaewae: Whakatikatikahia, arohatia.

Ko te Iwi tōna ake rawa: Pupurutia, whakatupuria.

Ki a au, ki te hāngai tonu ngā mahi katoa ā ngā urī ki ēnei mātāpono, ka whai hua nui ngā hapū katoa.

10. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Herald-Bunbury Treaty Copy - Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi

Herald-Bunbury Treaty Copy

On 28 April Major Thomas Bunbury sailed from the Bay of Islands on HMS *Herald*; his directions were to complete negotiations in North Island areas that had not been covered and to secure treaty agreement in the South Island. The interpreter for the trip was Henry Williams' son, Edward, who had assisted with the translation of the Waitangi draft treaty into Maori.

Having proclaimed sovereignty over the South Island on Horahorakakahu Island, Bunbury sailed for Kapiti. Off Mana Island he found Te Rauparaha and insisted that he sign Bunbury's treaty copy, though the chief assured him that he had already given his agreement to Henry Williams. After a brief call at the Tukituki river in Hawke's Bay, where Te Hapuku signed, Bunbury arrived back at the Bay of Islands on 2 July.

Like some of the other treaty copies, this copy prefixed the chiefs' names with 'Ko te tohu o...' -The sign of...

Signed on 19 June 1840, off Mana Island, witnessed by Thomas Bunbury and William Stewart.

23	Te Rauparaha	Te Rauparaha	Ngati Toa	Ngati Koata, Ngati Rarua, Ngati Rakau (Paewai) , Ngati Kimihia
24	Rangihaeata	Te Rangihaeata	Ngati Toa	Ngati Kimihia, Ngati Te Maunu, Ngati Koata, Ngati Rarua, Ngati Rakau (Paewai)

Appendix 2: He Waiata Aroha

He mea nā Te Peeti Te Aweawe i tuhi i ngā tau 1828-30. Nō ngā karangatanga hapū o Ngāti Te Rangitepaea, Ngāti Hineaute o Rangitāne. He tono tēnei nōna kia whakahokia e Ngāti Huia (a Te Whatanui rāua ko Te Ahikaramu) tō rātou nā whenua i riro atu i te taenga mai o te Heke Mairaro.

Kāore te aroha e kōmaingomaingo noa

E kore hoki au e puta atu ki waho

Kei whakamau au te auahi, ka patua

Ki tai i Tireni i te iwi ka wehe

5. Kāore i pēnei te aroha i a au

Me te mōkai whenua e mahia mai nei

Mahi noa atu rā e te iwi toiora

E roa o rangi e tē tutuki

Me he mate kopaito, ka pohea nei

10. Me aha e te iwi ka riro atu anō

Te koha o te whenua

I a matua rā ka riro ki Paerau

Tē hoki mai nei ki a tāua

Ka riro Tūhoe, ka riro Tarapata

15. Aku manu whakaruru ki te ao nei

Waiho nei ki a au ko ngā rurenga nei

Ko Ruhaunga ki te ao nei.

“I tata ngaro atu te mōteatea nei, ka tae mātou ki tētehi tangihana i Piopio, ki roto o Maniapoto, i te takiwā o te 2004-6, ka waiatatia e te koroua o reira. E ai ki a ia, nā Henare Tuwhāngai rātou i whakaako.

Ka whakahokia ki Motuiti, ka waiatatia te kapa haka, a Ngā Whakaraua. Ka ora anō” (Milton Rauhihi, 2010)

Appendix 3: Ngā Kōwhaiwhai o te Wharekai, Kuia Kupapa



Ko Kōwhai Ngutu Kākā: He tohu i ngā tupu o te whenua, he rākau, he rongoā, he kai



Ko Rautawa: Ngā kai nā te Iwi anō i whakatupu

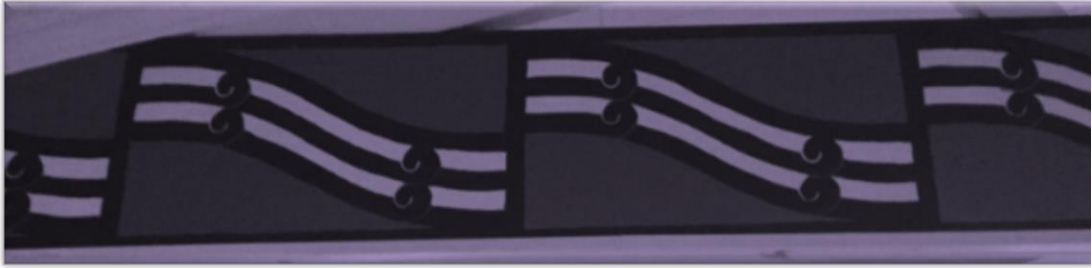


Ko Pikopiko: Ngā kai o te ngahere



Ko Pātiki - E tohu ana i ngā momo kai o te Awa o Manawatū, o ngā roto, o ngā manga hei kai mō

Te Tai o Potaka: Ko te tohu i ngā momo kai i tikina, i whakaritea e ngā tamariki o



te Marae pērā i te Tuangi, te Pipi, ngā Tuatua me ngā Pūpū



Ko Mangotipi: Ko ngā kai o te moana pērā i te Mango, te Tamure, te Kahawai, te Aua



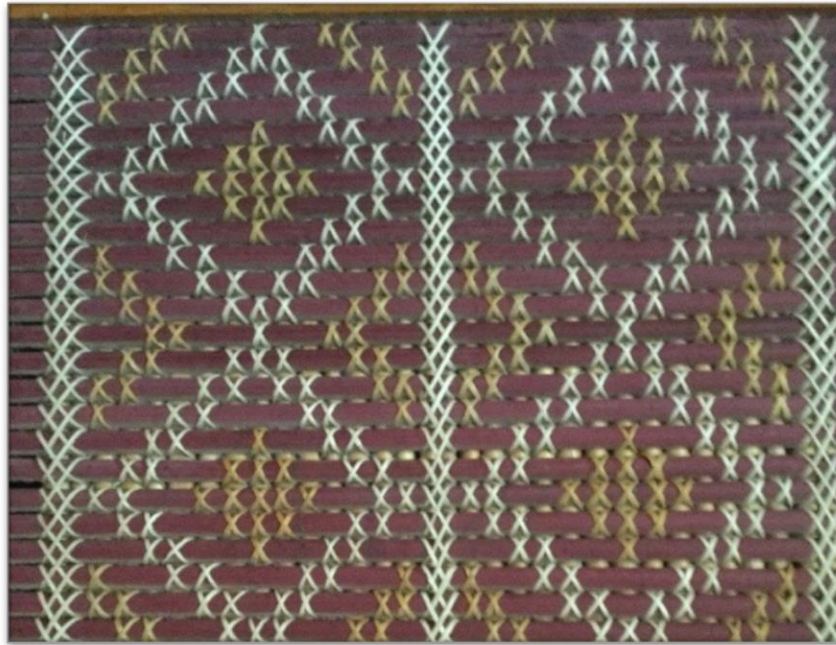
Maramataka Māori



Nā Tane nā Rongo

Appendix 4: Ngā Tukutuku o te Whare Tupuna, o Rākau Paewai.

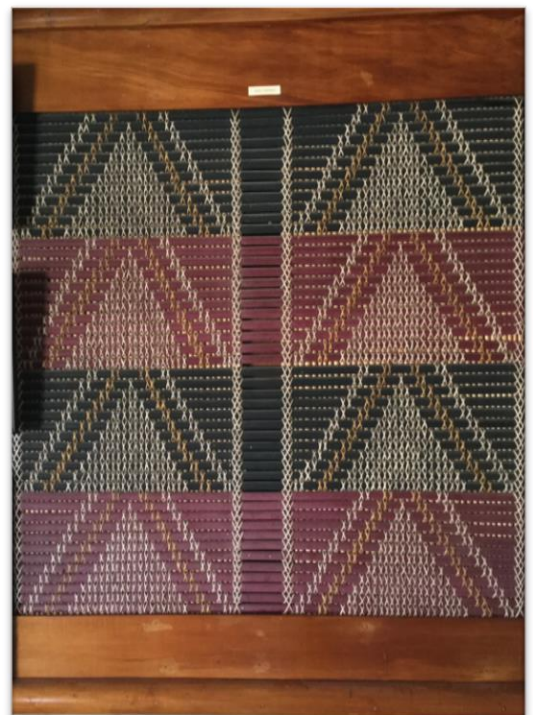
Ko Pātiki: Ko ngā mea e 2, he Pātiki. He tohu i ngā momo kai e ora ai te noho a ngā hapū ki tōna whenua.



Ao Nui: Ko te hūnuku ā ngā urī ki te tāone, ā, ētehi ka hoki mai, ko ērā atu, kāore i kaha hoki mai.



Niho Taniwha: Ko ngā rangatira, o nanahi, o naiane, o āpōpō.



Appendix 5: Ngā Whakairo o te Whare Tupuna



Nā Rev. Hapai Winiata anō ngā whakairo o Rākau Paewai i whakairo me te āwhina o te rauringa.

Ko te Kōruru, ko Rākau Paewai:

Ko te Amo kei te taha mauī ko Raukawa, Takihiku, Ngakohua. Ko te Amo kei te taha matau ko Rangitāne, Mairehau, Whanga. Ko te paepae ko Te Hekemairaro (mauī),
Tuwhakatupua (matau).

NGĀTI WHAKATERE

ORAL HISTORY



Dr. Fiona Te Momo, Te Meera Hyde and Ani Rauhihi

August 2017

PREFACE

NGĀTI WHAKATERE WHAKAPAPA

Waka – Tainui

Maunga – Tararua

Awa – Manawatū

Whakapapa

Hoturoa

Hotuope

Hotumatapu

Motai

Uetapau

Rakamaomao

Kakati

Tawhao

Turongo – Mahinaarangi

Raukawa – Turongoihi

Whakatere

POUTU PA

Iwi – Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga

Hapū – Ngāti Whakatere

Marae – Whakawehi

Wharenui – Poutu

Whare Karakia – Turongo

Rohe – Te Tai Hauāuru

The whakapapa of Ngāti Whakatere provides a brief description of how the people came to settle in Shannon. It explains the journey from the Tainui canoe and the rangatira that the people of Ngāti Whakatere descend from.

MAPS OF THE REGION

Map 454: Te rohe o Ngāti Whakare

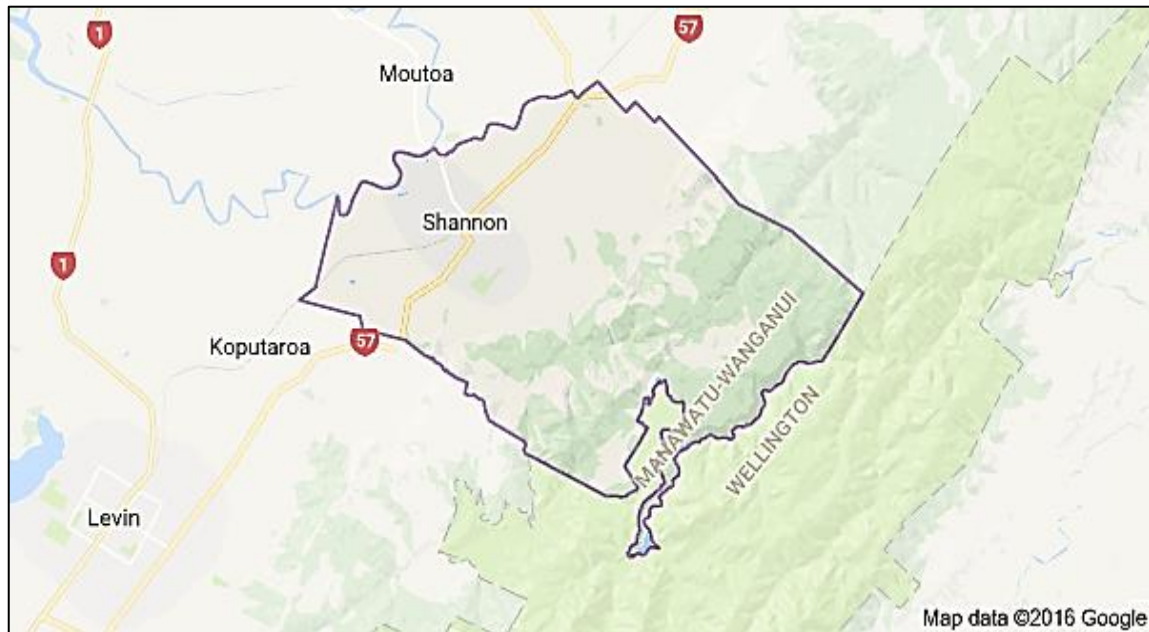


Image 86: Lower Makerua when looking west including Shannon bridge



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Ehara tāku toa i te toa takitahi, Ēngari he toa takitini.

‘My strength is not that of a single warrior but that of many.’

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NGĀTI WHAKATERE

Image 87: Poutu Wharenuī, Whakawehi Marae, Shannon



1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ngāti Whakaterē genealogy descends from the Tainui waka. The tribe Tainui are situated in the Waikato District and are referred to as the parental tribe of Ngāti Whakaterē. This genealogy connection to the Tainui waka and the Tainui tribe continues to be heard in whaikōrero or speech making on marae. There are many descendants of Ngāti Whakaterē who dwell in the Waikato – Tainui region in the central North Island. However, this Report concentrates the discussions on the migration of the people who travelled south to settle in the Manawatū District. Ngāti Whakaterē came from the Rangīātea Pā that was located in Waikeria where there are descendants of Ngāti Whakaterē under the Hapū called Ngāti Kaitaratara.⁸⁶⁶ History has recorded that sections of Ngāti Whakaterē were settled at Te Awamutu,

⁸⁶⁶ Rauhihi, M. *Ngā kōrero tuku iho*, Tokorangi Marae, Halcombe. 2014.

Wharepūhunga and Rangitoto in the Waikato District. But the home of Ngāti Whakātere in the southern parts of the North Island in Aotearoa New Zealand is Whakawehi Marae – commonly known as Poutū Pā. The name Poutū Pā, and the Wharenuī, were given to acknowledge the son of Whakātere called Poutū.

Poutū Pā is situated in the Horowhenua region of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. It stands about two kilometres North West of the small township of Shannon on the Foxton Road at the feet of the Tararua ranges. The Report provides a history of Ngāti Whakātere that has been gathered by Hapū members and supported with historical records. It documents a historical account of narratives so the current and future generations of Ngāti Whakātere descendants have access to a document that they can build from as they become the authors of their own narratives recording the days and lives of their people.

2.0 THE CLAIM

The Treaty of Waitangi claim lodged is Wai 1640—Ngāti Whakātere ki te Tonga. It was lodged by Te Meera Hyde and referenced by the Parliamentary Council Office (2016) to be in the Maraeroa A and B blocks and the Porirua ki Manawatū Claims Settlement Act 2012. The Parliamentary Council Office (2016) contends that the Act relates to the historical claims of Maraeroa A and B blocks and Manawatū ki Porirua.

The Parliamentary Council Office also gives reference to other claimants within the legal boundaries of Maraeroa A and B Blocks. With the number of different claimants in the Treaty of Waitangi process, the complexities that Ngāti Whakātere has to address when preparing the evidence for the Claim are highlighted as a result of this Report. Also, the significance in creating dialogue between the other claimants to collate the commonalities and conflicts that had emerged in the historical narratives. Hyde’s submission of Wai 1640 highlights the importance of the claims to Ngāti Whakātere. (Anderson, 2015, p. 76). It is acknowledged in this Report that there are limitations due the time constraints of collating information over months than years to prepare the necessary evidence to support this claim or conduct a more thorough research. In addition, Ngāti Whakātere are engaged in various social and environmental issues that have, and continue to, impact on the health and wellbeing of the people. Therefore, the Report touches on the history of Ngāti Whakātere with the

understanding that further research was required because the data collected from mainly a review of literature including a few recorded oral narratives had ignited a desire to learn more.

3.0 MIGRATION FROM WAIKATO

The history around the occupation of these lands by Ngāti Whakarete commenced before the Treaty of Waitangi with the Ngāti Toa raupatu that was led mainly by Te Rauparaha. The leading rangatira of Ngāti Toa, Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, Tungia, Te Rako, Te Kakakura, Hiroa, Nohorua, Puaha, Tamaihengia and others had already travelled to Te Upoko-o-te-Ika with a joint Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua war-party led by Tuwhare and Murupaenga. Ngāti Toa saw many options and opportunities and with the many hostilities in their home land of Kawhia, they made a more permanent move in 1818 to Rangitikei, Horowhenua and Manawatū. The history of the many migrations was documented.

Map 465: Wharepūhanga. Within the boundaries of Raukawa ki Waikato.



It is difficult to correctly identify the date Ngāti Whakaterere arrived, but many Native Land court records reveal it was early 1800s. The arrival is referred to as the Te Heke Tawhiri and the Te Heke Whirinui.

Te Herekau from Himatangi Ōtaki is recorded discussing Te Heke Tawhiri (1868):

“Ngāti Whakaterere were amongst those attempting to settle in the northern reaches of the Whanganui River, with Te Ruamaioro, when they were attacked by Whanganui tribes. With support from an ally (Te Kotuku), Tawhiri and Ngāti Whakaterere travelled west to join allies in northern Taranaki. This group then came south to Manawatū with Te Heke Hauhaua- a small migrating party of Ngāti Tama led by Te Puoho, Pehitaka and Te Kaeaea. The name refers to the group being ‘pushed ahead’.”⁸⁶⁷

Another section of Ngāti Whakaterere came in the Te Heke Whirinui (1826). Ngāti Whakaterere leader Henare Te Herekau, who settled in the Manawatū, supported Te Pouepa’s korero “I myself came with the ope called ‘Whirinui’. I heard what Parakaia stated about the battles fought. What he said was true.”⁸⁶⁸

After defeating Rangitāne, Muaūpoko and Ngāti Apa, the mana of Ngāti Toa extended from the Whangaehu River in the north to Te Koko-o-Kupe in the south. Jock McEwen wrote the battle of Waiorua, which occurred approximately in the year 1824 on Kapiti Island as being the most influential in terms of the mana-whenua status of the area. This was seen as the defining moment in terms of mana-whenua status for those tribes, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko who lived there prior to the heke of Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa and those that followed with the subsequent heke of Ngāti Raukawa.

“The first people to settle along the river were the Rangitāne tribe where they lived peacefully for many centuries. But their peace was shattered in the early 1800’s when the Ngāti Toa led by their great fighting chief, Te Rauparaha, swept down from the north. The Rangitāne armed with only stone and wooden weapons were no match for the invaders who were heavily armed with Pākeha muskets. Many of the Rangitāne were killed, eaten or captured for slaves, a few escaped and hid in the thick forest. The victorious Te Rauparaha then claimed all the land from Kapiti to the Rangitikei and invited some friendly tribes from the North to share his new-won land. The invitation was accepted by the friendly Ngāti Raukawa and a sub-tribe or ‘Hapū’ the Ngāti Whakaterere who travelled from the Waikato district to the Manawatū in a migration lasting between 1825-1830. The Whakaterere tribe chose to settle on the area of land we now call Shannon. They named their tribe after their ancestor, ‘Whakaterere’, and they

⁸⁶⁷ Te Herekau, H. 1873, p. 206.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid, pp. 206-207.

are descended from a formidable array of chiefs who arrived in New Zealand on the 'Tainui' canoe."⁸⁶⁹

War amongst the tribes and maintain mana whenua over the land was imminent. Accordingly, war between Te Rauparaha, Ngāti Toa, and other Hapū occurred throughout the districts. One 19th century lawyer, magistrate, politician and naturalist William Travers wrote:

"...the result was in every way advantageous to his (Te Rauparaha) people, for no further attempt was ever made to dislodge them (Ngāti Toa), whilst they, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of strengthening their position of wreaking vengeance on the Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko, the remnant of whom they ultimately reduced to the condition of the merest tributaries, many of the leading chiefs, including Te Hakeke, becoming slaves. It would be useless for me to give anything like a detailed account of the incursions of the Ngāti Toa into the country on the mainland, often extended as far as Turakina, in which numbers of the original inhabitants were killed, eaten, or reduced to slavery; but it is perfectly clear that their power was completely broken, and that after Waiorua, and Ngāti Toa and their allies found no enemy capable of checking their movement."⁸⁷⁰

After the Waiorua battle the Ngāti Raukawa heke began. One of Te Rauparaha's allies, Ngāti Tama, who also fought in the Waiorua battle, returned to their homeland in the Taranaki region. This left Te Rauparaha vulnerable to counter attack and it was Te Puoho who fetched from Taranaki a considerable number of fighting men. The Ngāti Raukawa Hapū Ngāti Whakaterere, who were resident at Whanganui, also joined this party. An additional Ngāti Raukawa force under Te Ahu Karamu and others strengthened the position of their kinsmen Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa. A Mr T.C. Williams who acted for local Māori during a sitting of the Native Land Court gave an account on the arrival of Ngāti Whakaterere. He discussed Ngapuhi invading the North Island and being followed by Ngāti Toa. The tribe Ngāti Toa, according to him settled at Kapiti Island. Then he says the tribes Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Whakaterere were Hapū of Ngāti Raukawa became established in Waikanae after further conquests.⁸⁷¹

"...during those particular migrations, according to what I've learnt that we came from Rangiatea, Rangiatea pa, that marae. Now that marae is still standing in Waikeria, Ngāti Whakaterere is still there and of course the Hapū representing there, and it's called Ngāti Kaitaratara. ... Now you've heard a Jot of stories pertaining to Ngāti Whakaterere. Now they firstly came down during the migrations to support Te Rauparaha on their descent down here, and of course they arrived at Kapiti, and of course built a house there, and Wharariki is the name of that house."⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁹ Ayson, B. 1977, p. 1.

⁸⁷⁰ Travers, W. 1872, p. 51.

⁸⁷¹ Williams, T. C. 1867.

⁸⁷² Rauhihi, M. 2015, p. 3.

“The patterns of occupation and exercise of customary rights in the Porirua ki Manawatū region must be the starting point for the investigation and analysis of the historical grievances of the Iwi and Hapū as described above. These Hapū arrived and settled the region from c. 1820 onwards in a series of heke, initiated by Te Rauparaha who had Ngāti Huia and other – Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Tukorehe, Ngāti Whakaterere and Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Wehiwehi - descent lines through his mother.⁸⁷³”

In the early 1820s, a portion of Ngāti Whakaterere migrated from the Maungatautari and Wharepūhunga districts of Waikato⁸⁷⁴ to the southern reaches of the North Island at the request of Te Rauparaha, Te Puoho and the chance for new beginnings. Although there are various recordings about the inter-tribal wars between Ngāti Whakaterere and other tribes the information relies on published literature. However, much information has prevailed and passed down orally through generations by descendants of Ngāti Whakaterere and over time at different hui ora, hui mate and wānanga, some Whānau estimated or guessed that Ngāti Whakaterere became a sub-tribe probably 2-3 generations after Whakaterere had passed away.

Ngāti Whakaterere lived on Kapiti for a period of time. Wharariki was the pā on Kapiti which they had become involved with before moving away to be near whanaunga on the mainland. Although the absence of written material makes it difficult to substantiate the number of settlements where Ngāti Whakaterere lived, there are various references to ahikā. Known spots have included areas in Waikanae, Paraparaumu, Kapiti, Te Horo, along the Manawatū River, at Matararapa Island in Foxton and at Moutoa between Foxton and Shannon.

Purchasing land that was under the title of Ngāti Whakaterere increased post 1870s. In Foxton during a hearing on the lands Manawatū Kukutauaki No.4; Henare Te Herekau handed to the court a list of names that recorded people that were interested in purchasing the lands owned by Ngāti Whakaterere. This was recorded in the Ōtaki Māori Land Minute Books on Tuesday the 8th April 1873 where the paper was read, with the boundaries described and an application for a tribal certificate was made. This process was not smooth. Grindell’s report to the Superintendent of Wellington Province in 1873 also suggested there was a high level of intervention, on his part, requiring further investigation. When Ngāti Whakaterere, for example,

⁸⁷³ Anderson, R. 2015, p. 14.

⁸⁷⁴ Ngāti Raukawa’s ancestral home is in the southern Waikato and northern Taupō area. Their ancestral mountain is Maungatautari and leading marae are marked in red. One part of their homelands, called Wharepūhunga, stretches down from Te Awamutu to Waipapa. Refer to Map 2, p. 8.

put in an application with 1,000 signatures, Grindell dissuaded the court from making out a title to the tribe since this would have made the block inalienable under section 17 of the Native Land Act 1867. For Grindell, and those he represented, the move by Ngāti Whakare was contrary to their intention and already considerable advances had been made. (Anderson, 2015, p. 42)

The following year the Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minute book records on the 26th March 1874 Arapere being sworn in. Arapere (1873) says:

“I live at Manawatū. I belong to Ngāti Whakare. I know this land. I have a claim at Otuwhatu and Apa. When I arrived here, Ngāti Raukawa were at Kapiti – they came across and built the Maraekuta pa. Ngāti Huia built Whakapawaewae. Te Ao and Rauparaha occupied Whakapawaewae. Ōtaki pa was built. Whatanui, Koharoa, Nepia and others occupied it. Papakuta was built. Tongia, Tahue, Te Whetu and Mohi Te Huia, Te Matangi, Te Ahoaho, Pehikino were in occupation of this pa. The people who occupied Whakapawaewae cultivated Katihiku. Of Ōtaki pa – cultivated at Maringiawai on this side – Papakuta people (Ngāti Toa) cultivated this side of the river. Apa is mine and on to Wahaotemarangai. Puoho made a canoe at this last place. I lived at Apa and then saw a Ngāti Tama come to clear land at Pahiko. Puoho objected. Puoho lived at Apa with me. I have never heard of Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Tama were the occupiers. After Haowhenua, I lived with Matenga – Ngāti Pare and I cultivated Otuwhatu. I worked also at Maka’s waerenga with Ngāti Pare and Kiharoa. That waerenga extends to Te Paotaonui.”⁸⁷⁵

Arapere (1873) talks about the transient natures of the Hapū that occurred during that time. Also, Arapere discusses the buildings being erected, the location of communities, and those Hapū who occupied various areas in the district. Also, Arapere names people and tribes of those times and notes that he heard about the objections to land being sold. A year later the Ōtaki Māori Land Court Minute book records on the 25th March 1874 Moroati Kiharoa being sworn in. Kiharoa states:

“I belong to Ngāti Pare. I live here and at Manawatū. I have no claim to the land before the court. Ngāti Pare land begins at Otuwhatu, Pareotepuohu, Paotaonui. At Pareotepuohu, trees are planted which are from Taranaki along a branch of Mangaonui through Whakahokiahiahia to Makahuri to Kapakapanui from Kapakapanui to the mountain. I don’t understand a map. Te Puoho and Ngāti Whakare arrived here first. Afterwards, Ngāti Raukawa. They went across to Kapiti – cultivated at Kapiti 2 years and came back here again. They commenced to cultivate outside near the sea. Ōtaki was built. Puoho came from Maraekuta to Ōtaki. His Hapū were living with Ngāti Whakare at Te Horo. He gave the land to Ngāti Pare. Waha-o-te-marangai, Otuwhatu, Tarehu, Te Pare-o-te-Puohu, Paotaonui, Apa, Whakahokiahiahia, Makahuri,

⁸⁷⁵ Arapere, 1873, p. 1.

Te Horo and Te Hapua – all these places were given. I don't dispute Te Horo now. I am only tracing the places. Haowhenua fight took place. People were killed. Puoho came a second time and brought powder, shot and lead. He went to Kapiti – did not take part in Haowhenua. After the fight, Ngāti Raukawa dispersed. After 12 months they returned to Ōtaki. We then occupied the places I have named along this boundary. The Hapū on this land are Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Whakaterere, Te Hapuiti, Te Matukiwaho. These people occupied and cultivated on the land and nobody had anything to say to them.”⁸⁷⁶

Kiharoa (1874) retells how the land was cleared and cultivated. In addition, Kiharoa claimed that the land extended to Te Horo and ended at Te Hapua that was the boundary. The land was used for animal grazing such as pigs to which the surrounding occupiers did not object to them being on the land. Also, the land was used to cultivate crops and drying fern roots. Kiharoa talks about the death of Haurangi from Ngāti Pare in Ōtaki and that Ngāti Toa attended the funeral. Kiharoa mentioned the gifts of 20 kits of fern root from Te Paotaonui and that there was no objection to the ferns being harvested. Throughout the hearing Kiharoa discusses the ways the Hapū worked with each other, the foods they ate, and the signs the environment gave them to let the Hapū know harvesting times.

“When the Hinau berry was right, we went to Otuwatu to gather them for food. Ngāti Raukawa – some present now in court went with us. I caught birds at Kapakapanui to Pukehinau. Huia's were caught there also the feathers of thirty tails were given to me. My Hapū went twice for Huia up to the Treaty I and my Hapū occupied this land and to the settlement and Ōtaki.”⁸⁷⁷

After decades of living in various areas the majority of Ngāti Whakaterere moved to the north and settled at Whakawehi Marae (Poutū Pā) a few kilometres up the road from Moutoa and continue to occupy these lands as mana whenua. These historical accounts were supported by Ayson's (1977) regarding Ngāti Whakaterere settling in the Horowhenua District.

The development of settlements in the Shannon district had a positive and negative impact on Ngāti Whakaterere. The increase in residents in the area led to new homes, people, and knowledge being imported into the district at the consequence of a decline in tribal ownership. Settlers desired land to build and develop industries in the Shannon district and as a consequence a large “land auction was held in 1887, selling blocks of land about Shannon for £1.5s and £2.15s per acre, the terms being 10 per cent deposit and the balance at five per cent

⁸⁷⁶ Kiharoa, 1874, p. 1.

⁸⁷⁷ Kiharoa, 1874, p. 1.

over seven years.” (Ayson, 1977, p. 2) Once settlers acquired the land they set to work to fell the timber and clear their land and early photos show the ground strewn with huge logs and dotted with jagged stumps rising from the raw earth. The first commercial development was the construction of a general store on Nathan Terrace, west of the railway line. The Store also served as the Post Office. This was followed by another commercial building (serving as auction room, Hairdresser, billiard room and boarding house) on the corner of Nathan Terrace and Sheehan Street. ... Almost the only remunerative activity for the earliest settlers was that of bush clearing and sawmilling. The settlers were so active in this that by 1894 Shannon had become treeless.

Two early sawmilling companies were the Campbell Land and Timber Co. and the Shannon Land and Sawmilling Co. which took over the land and interests of the Campbell Company in July 1906. The timber area was about 4,500 acres and covered the area which is now the site of the Mangahao Power scheme. The timber consisted of rimu, totara, birch and hinau.⁸⁷⁸

Although the settlers were pleased with the transaction evidence suggest that for Ngāti Whakaterere the process was not in their favour. With the increase of a settler population the environment suffered as noted above with Shannon becoming treeless in 1894. Ngāti Whakaterere began to feel the impact of colonial land development and the increase of non-Indigenous populations migrating to their lands and building businesses. Also, the impact of companies moving into their districts to create wealth for themselves that meant less land for Ngāti Whakaterere to own and manage and a surge in population that needed more land and water.

“Now Ngāti Whakaterere lived for long periods of time by the rivers of Manawatū. Because of the provisions, that particular area was able to sustain our peoples at that time, and of course Ngāti Whakaterere is still very well closely connected to Manawatū River, and of course you hear that within our songs, and our beings, but how we say to

Image 88: Mangahao Power Station



⁸⁷⁸ Ayson, B. 1977, p. 2.

you te Karauna, to the Crown - we do not feel your love towards us, so with that - but however, we must continue on, and of course our other iwi that live close by us, but yes as you can see through that that we are able to host our visitors, and of course, the intensification of farmlands and of course with all the pollutions and poisons that come from that river that those lands unable to give provisions for us.”⁸⁷⁹

Image 89: Acres of flax growing in the Makerua Swamp



“A scene now disappeared forever-acres of flax growing in the Makerua swamp. The leaf of the native New Zealand flax plant contains a strong coarse fibre which was made into ropes and cordage, and in later years, woolpacks and binder twine. The leaves of the plant are 3 ft. to loft long and 3 inches to 4 inches wide when fully grown. It took the flax plant 3 to 4 years to grow to a sufficient size to allow cutting. ... The bush in the background marked the boundary of the swamp and was a popular hunting area.”⁸⁸⁰

The Makerua swamp was drained during the 1890s, in the course of construction of the Wellington Manawatū Railway. ⁸⁸¹

4.0 Hapū / Iwi Whakapapa

Ngāti Whakaterere is known as a sub-tribe of Ngāti Raukawa. But to some Whānau Ngāti Whakaterere is an Iwi in their own right that settled within the Porirua ki Manawatū⁸⁸². Ngāti

⁸⁷⁹ Rauhihi, M. 2015, p. 5.

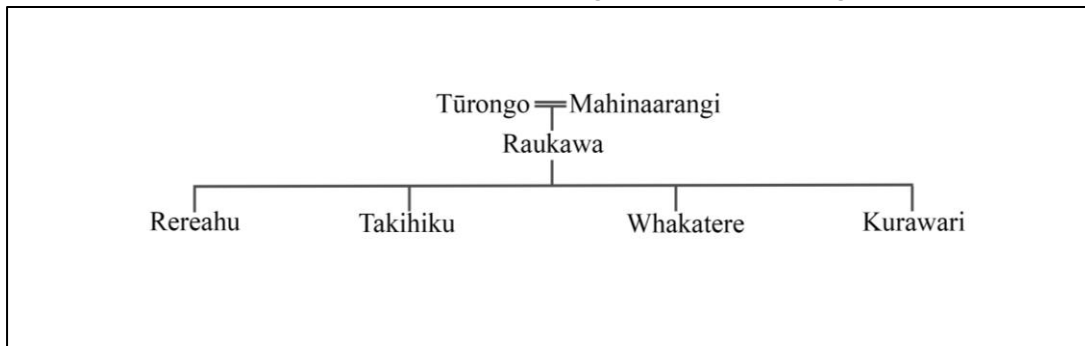
⁸⁸⁰ Ayson, B. 1977, p. 2.

⁸⁸¹ National Library New Zealand, Makerua Swamp 1885-1888, p. 1.

⁸⁸² Anderson, R. 2015.

Raukawa trace descent from their eponymous ancestor Raukawa whose father was Turongo of Tainui descent and mother Māhinārangi, was a chieftainess of Ngāti Kahungunu. It is a well-known love story that the scent of the kawakawa⁸⁸³ that Māhinārangi used enticed Turongo. It is believed that Raukawa was born almost 20–25 generations ago at the springs of Ōkoroire. He was nurtured and grew up at his father’s home of Rangiātea near Ōtorohanga. While there are various stories regarding Raukawa, this Report is focused on his four children – Rereahu, Takihiku, Whakatere and Kurawari. In most studies and literature reviews, these ancestors are reference points in Ngāti Raukawa history. With the exception of Kurawari, the three remaining children are immortalised in the name of a tribe.

Whakapapa 18: Tūrongo rāua ko Mahinaarangi



“Whakatere, being the second son of Raukawa and Turongoihi, grew to become quite adept in the art of warfare and weaponry much like his father in the Maungatautari and Wharepūhunga⁸⁸⁴ district. Similar to his father, Whakatere upheld his religious and cultural beliefs, instilling these beliefs and practices in his own people. His reputation as a warrior was second to none and this was evident in the fact that his father would select him and some other warriors to protect the Iwi when Raukawa and the rest of the taua went raiding. Whakatere was very adept at the art of warfare and weaponry. He often displayed his ability to adapt to any situation to the amazement and defeat of his opponents. In the face of adversity, he had an uncanny ability to apply a ‘hit and run tactic’ to whittle away the numbers of his enemy that he had chasing him. That means he would attack then retreat and was mindful to keep ahead of the enemy by shifting his people around to inhabit various corners of the district. In doing so, he retained an intimate knowledge about the communities and could ensure his people were kept steps ahead of the enemy. This approach to warfare made many irate and eventually they would give up the battle and return home with less of a war party than the beginning. Although the historical accounts of Whakatere are limited the stories and kōrero from kaumātua acknowledge him for being a great leader. These stories have been passed down the generations and are still spoken about today. The Iwi and Hapū of Ngāti

⁸⁸³ National Library New Zealand, 1953.

⁸⁸⁴ Mc Burney, P. 2013.

Whakatere were known to be warriors, and history has noted that some Iwi sought assistance from Ngāti Whakatere when avenging problems of a bygone era. Hyde (2016) recalled being told that “the reason Ngāti Whakatere were invited to the northern regions of the Tararua Ranges by Te Rauparaha was to provide reinforcement to the defence systems in the Horowhenua/Kapiti regions, from neighbouring Iwi.”⁸⁸⁵

Whakatere and his wife Maikukutea had a son named Poutūterangi. He lived at a place named Manu-kueke/Maraeroa, on the west side of Lake Taupo. Poutūterangi is known for causing conflict between Ngāti Tama of Rotorua (who settled by the lake) and Tuwharetoa by telling the Ngāti Tama to kill Ruawehea, a local Tuwharetoa chief who insulted Ngāti Tama and treated them badly. Eventually Ngāti Tuwharetoa sought revenge on Ngāti Tama and overtook their pā, killed their chiefs and took their pūhi Roroihape as a wife for Waikari, a Tuwharetoa chief; this is the line that records the descent of Te Heuheu. When Ruawehea was killed Te Rangīta his grandnephew escaped. Taringa (brother of Ruawehea and Te Rangīta’s grandfather) and his war party attacked Ngāti Tama and Poutūterangi. Poutūterangi and his Iwi were defeated and he was killed and subsequently Tainui moved out from the west side of Lake Taupo. However, there continues to be Tainui and Tuwharetoa descendants that link to that area. Poutū’s people who survived became part of Ngāti Tuwharetoa and consequently created an alliance between Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tuwharetoa. This is how this whakapapa began.

5.0 HAPŪ / IWI RELATIONSHIPS

Whakapapa provided the basis to forge strong relationships between Ngāti Whakatere and other Hapū. Poutū the son of Whakatere had a son and named him Uenuku Pikiahu. Through this birth a link was formed between Ngāti Whakatere and Ngāti Pikiahu-Waewae and other close marae and Hapū who have settled in the Rangitikei area. This included among them Te Tikanga Marae and Taumata o te Ra Marae at Halcombe.

Iwi / Hapū relationships continued to occur as new generations emerged. For example, Darcy Kereama married Moetu Ropoama of Whakatere from Poutu Pa, then Te Hīri o Mahuta to which the Serancke-Downs Whānau are linked to Whakatere and Poupatate Marae where the Arapere Whānau also closely connected to Poutū. These ties between Ngāti Whakatere and Tūwharetoa were enhanced by intermarriage over the years. Ngāti Whakatere and Ngāti

⁸⁸⁵ Hyde, T. 2016, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki.

Kauwhata also share a strong relationship from the time of the migration when Ngāti Whakarete aligned with these Iwi as they travelled down, and this has been maintained. There are strong links to Ngāti Rakau, Ngāti Turanga, and Rangitāne.

Ngāti Whakarete strengthened their intertribal relationships with other Iwi and Hapū in various ways. Ngāti Rakau Hapū residing at Moutoa gifted a portion of land to Ngāti Whakarete while living together at Moutoa. Their ties were also evident during building and the subsequent re-locating of Turongo Church from the Moutoa settlement to the marae at Poutū Pā. These arrangements have sustained connections with Motuiti Marae and Paranui Marae as well as Rangitāne. Many whakapapa connections with intermarriages and whāngai adoptions between the Hapū maintain whanaungatanga. All of these connections with these marae particularly but in general with marae throughout Raukawa have been maintained through tangihanga and annual poukai where all marae representatives have come together to welcome the Kahui Ariki each year and through participation on Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Whāiti.

According to Ani Rauhihi-Skipper (2013):

“We have close relationships with other marae through close whakapapa connection. With Aotearoa Marae in Wharepuhunga this is definitely the case. Ngāti Whakarete strongly link into Aotearoa Marae through the Rauhihi, Tunoho, Whiti, Rapana and McGregor Whānau lines. As is the case with Owairaka Marae and their eponymous ancestor Takihiku who is a brother to Whakarete. These marae are situated in the Wharepuhunga area and both are Poukai marae which is another link as once the poukai is finished at Poutū the next poukai is held at (Rawhitiroa) Owairaka and Aotearoa Marae.”⁸⁸⁶

Te Kenehi Teira, Ngāti Raukawa historian shared that Henare te Herekau, a Ngāti Whakarete lay minister had received a tono from King Tawhiao, for Ngāti Whakarete to return to Rangitoto, to occupy their lands. But the majority declined to avoid getting in the middle of the land wars taking place at that time. However, some Ngāti Whakarete people returned leaving the rest to stay in the Horowhenua/Manawatū region.

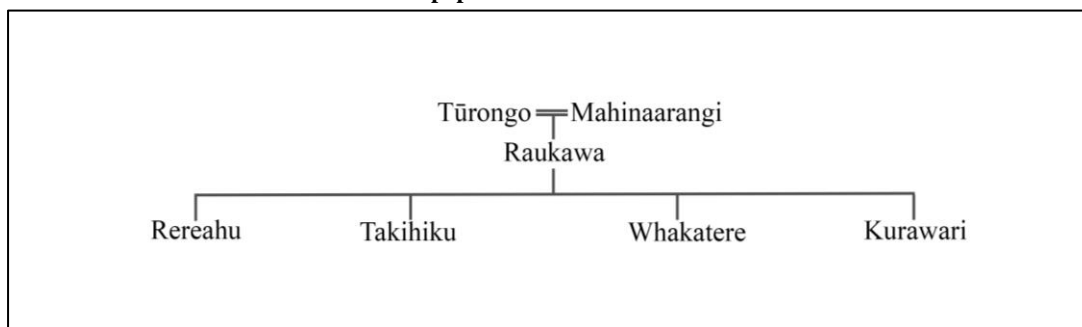
Ngāti Whakarete and Ngāti Takihiku have a very strong connection to each other and have assisted each other in battles and to survive. The closeness is attributed to Whakarete’s wife Maikukutea who became the wife of Takihiku after Whakarete died as was common practise to take care of each other’s wives and children. This migration continues to this day with Ngāti

⁸⁸⁶ Rauhihi-Skipper, 2013.

Whakatere and Ngāti Takihiku migrating from the Wharepuhunga region in Waikato to the Horowhenua region in the south. It is understood between these connections that Ngāti Whakatere came earlier and Ngāti Takihiku, located at Kererū Marae, the neighbouring marae is in Koputoroa.

“There are many whakapapa links with Kererū through the Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Hinemata whakapapa lines. One well-known link is the carver Hokowhitu Makarika who carved the mantel in Turongo Church at Poutū, as well as Takihiku Marae near Kererū Marae and many other marae around the country. Hokowhitu’s daughter Ema who was bought up in Koputoroa married Hori Rauhihi and lived at Poutū Pā. Hokowhitu’s son Arona Moses Makarika was very close to his sister Ema and spent time in Shannon. He married Ema Kopa Rata from Whanganui and they settled also in Shannon. Many of their Whānau still live in Shannon and return to Poutū Pā regularly. Arona and Ema’s grandson Heemi Te Peeti is also a well-known carver, tā moko and taiaha exponent and a speaker for Ngāti Whakatere at Poukai and various kaupapa hui. Kererū and Poutū regularly interact at many hui because of these strong whakapapa links.”⁸⁸⁷

Whakapapa 47: Whakatere rāua kō Maikukutea



The diagram above shows the links between Ngāti Whakatere and other Iwi/Hapū.

6.0 POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Although, in the early years of the nineteenth century, it has been established in earlier sections that Ngāti Whakatere went westwards that was beyond their traditional lands at Maungatautari. Mc Burney (2013) discusses their occupation at the Wharepūhunga and the Pūniu River in the upper Waipā district. “The fact that Ngāti Whakatere were then ‘at the height of their power’, suggests that this expansion may have been driven by the pressures of an increasing population.”⁸⁸⁸ In the report by Mc Burney the interview of Mr Te Hiko explains the unresolved issues between tribes like Ngāti Maniapoto:

⁸⁸⁷ Rauhihi-Skipper, 2013.

⁸⁸⁸ McBurney, P. 2013, p. 77.

“It is difficult to ascertain an exact number of Ngāti Whakarete descendants. In addition, identifying other marae Ngāti Whakarete are affiliated to and participate in cultural activities over the century is equally challenging. The following is a minor calculation Ngāti Whakarete Whānau have provided for the purposes of this report. McBurney (2013) affirms “Ngāti Whakarete, along with other represented Iwi and Hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, has sovereignty over Matararapa.”⁸⁸⁹

Toms (2015) stipulates “Ngāti Whakarete, along with other represented Iwi and Hapū of Ngāti Raukawa has Ahikā which asserts guardianship, stewardship and authority over the land, including Matararapa.”⁸⁹⁰

The Ngāti Whakarete Hapū estimated their population by applying a formula that looks backwards over the genealogies. It links Ngāti Whakarete formation through the four children from Poutūterangi to Ihunui, Huri, Pikiahu Uenuku and Hinetore. With the four children of the first generation and an estimated three children per generation the formula allows for adjustment to lessen the growth from every third generation due to natural or casualty death. There are 19 generations from the four mokopuna of Whakarete who connect to this present generation.

Table 3: An estimation of the population for Ngāti Whakarete.

Generation 1: 4	Generation 2: 12	Generation 3: 30	Generation 4: 90
Generation 5: 270	Generation 6: 800	Generation 7: 2,400	Generation 8: 7,000
Generation 9: 12,000	Generation 10: 18,000	Generation 11: 10,000	Generation 12: 20,000
Generation 13: 30,000	Generation 14: 60,000	Generation 15: 20,000	Generation 16: 30,000
Generation 17: 15,000	Generation 18: 12,000	Generation 19: 36,000	

Utilising the 2013 Census it is recorded that there are about 1,300 people living in Shannon (the closest town) and 42% of these people are Māori. Therefore, there are about 546 Māori people living in Shannon. However, government surveys and forms for census require people

⁸⁸⁹ Toms, C. 2015, p. 22

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid.

to identify their Iwi and less emphasis is placed on Hapū therefore it would be common for Ngāti Whakarete descendants to identify as Ngāti Raukawa as the predominant tribe of the district. A survey which recorded the Ngāti Whakarete descendants who registered under the Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust from all over the country and abroad showed numbers the population to be about 744 Ngāti Whakarete registered descendants out of 9,907 in 2013. The survey doesn't show where the members live making it problematic to determine whether the members that are registered in the Ngāti Whakarete records are mostly from Shannon or were raised in other towns. This according to Hyde (2016) does not reflect all of the members from Ngāti Whakarete as there are more unregistered members, however it does give an indication of recorded data.

There are many Whānau of Ngāti Whakarete that affiliate to Whakawehi and are included in the population estimates. They are: Rauhihi, Whiti, Ropoama, Nepia, McGregor, Ketu, Te Peeti, Kunaiti, Hyde, Te Tomo, Cootes, Puhipuhi, Hurunui, Kiriona, Wikohika, Poaneki, Downes, Te Momo, Takarua, Gray, Chadwick, Arapere, Turner, Laracy, Puti, Sprott, Gilman, O'Carroll, and Ness. The majority that live in the area have settled in Shannon as this is the closest town. Major settlements of members elsewhere are Foxton, Levin, Ōtaki, Palmerston North, Feilding, Tokorangi Valley, and Wellington or further like the Waikato District. There are quite a few Whānau who have moved to Australia mainly for work. This is reflected in the Ngāti Whakarete Facebook page which has 769 members.

7.0 Leadership

After the migration south Henare Te Herekau, a Ngāti Whakarete Anglican lay minister, was quite predominant as a leader of the Hapū. He had a lot of involvement in land issues in the Kapiti/Horowhenua as well as leading his Hapū in church affairs and other areas. He is noted as being against the selling of the Manawatū-Kukutauaki block but when some Ngāti Raukawa Hapū wanted to battle against Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa and Muaūpoko, he was one of three men including Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu and Pineaha Te Mahauriki who stood in between the battle lines and called for peace and stopped the battle from going ahead. He is also the father of Kerenapu Parehuia who is Taite Te Tomo's mother. Taite Te Tomo (1883 – 1939) – was a

Image 90: Taite Te Tomo



renowned Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Raukawa historian and politician, born near Ōtaki. He made a huge contribution to the maintenance of Poutū Pā and his grandson Renata (Uncle Len) Te Tomo grew up in Shannon and was a kaikōrero for the paepae at Poutu. Taite Te Tomo is known for his huge contribution to the Ngā Moteatea books that Tā Apirana Ngata authored. He served as a Member of Parliament for the Reform Party and won the Western Māori electorate in a 1930 by-election after the death of Māui Pōmare. Unfortunately, in 1935 the seat was lost to the Ratana candidate Hāmi Tokouru Ratana. His term in parliament was during the time of resurrection and fighting for Māori rights and the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1935, he was awarded the King George V Silver Jubilee Medal and passed away at Kākāriki Pā on 22 May 1939. (Evening Post, 1939) Ngāti Whakatere has produced many prominent leaders.

Arapere Tukuwhare, Tupotahi Rauhihi, Nepia Taratoa, and Whiti Patatoe, and Poaneki Te Momo to name a few, led the Hapū in various significant activities. Whiti Patatoe was a formidable and feared warrior who came to see some good in the future of our people mingling together with the European settlers. Those rangatira wanted the best for their people though the experiences were so very new to them. Whiti Patatoe was instrumental to the survival of the Kīngitanga because he gifted significant tracts of land to Tawhiao.

Image 91: Poukai Powhiri 2010, Whakawehi Marae, Shannon



He believed ‘a King should have land and so land was given’. Acts of such rangatiratanga laid the foundation for significant ties with the King Movement that remains and acknowledged yearly by Ngāti Whakatere in Whakawehi through the continued celebration of the annual Poukai.

The previous sections have mentioned various leaders through the whakapapa of Raukawa that led to the establishment of Ngāti Whakatere. Māori legends talk about Kiharoa of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Whakatere that was famous for his stature because he measured twice the

height of the average man.⁸⁹¹ Wahanui Te Huatare, of the Rohepotae, came from a family of giant-like men. His grandfather was also a giant man and Wahanui was a warrior who wielded mere and spear in many battles in the early part of the nineteenth century. The most famous of these pre-musket battles was Hurimoana, which was fought about the year 1812 in the Upper Waipa district, between the Ngāti-Maniapoto and their allies of Ngāti-Haua, from Matamata, and the Ngāti-Raukawa and Ngāti-Whakaterere tribes, who held the Wharepuhunga and Maungatautari country. A renowned man among the Ngāti-Whakaterere was Te Roha, whose prowess with the spear had carried him through many a fray.⁸⁹² But as Aotearoa New Zealand was being colonised retaining land was hard and under the leadership of Ihakara Tukumarū came the loss of land through acquisition.

8.0 WELLBEING & SURVIVAL

Over the years the land held in the title Ngāti Whakaterere Hapū was diminishing as colonisation advanced and European settlers moved into the district. While land was encountering a change of ownership, and increase of usage, and more people settling, Ngāti Whakaterere also faced intermarriages and Hapū members straying away from traditional processes to adopt new practices. Men women and children worked together for example, as in clearing a piece of land for cultivation. Men worked alone at tasks in which the elements of tapu impacted, such as house building, and canoe-making. Māka, Huhi and Te Karena were recognised experts in the arts of carving and house building. It is said amongst Ngāti Whakaterere that these men were too busy building other houses they never got to carve their own meeting house Poutu, at Whakawehi, Shannon.

Gathering food from the rivers and streams was an important part of life for the Ngāti Whakaterere. The Shannon School Journal (1949) has a story about taking the fresh-water fish, or eel from various streams. The main streams were the Tokomaru River and the Manawatū River. The eel were caught in hinaki with earthworms as bait and was a main source of food. The surrounding bush was another food source and yield and abundance of bird life, berries, and huhu grubs. The Shannon School Journal also documents that the Tui, Kaka, and Pidgeon were in great supply at the Managaore Forest. And it does not confine recordings to food and

⁸⁹¹ Bidois, V. 2017.

⁸⁹² Cowan, J. 1935, p. 1.

fishing and extends information to discuss early leaders, events of interest, and the relationships between Ngāti Whakarete and Pākeha culture. It records the first pa being established in 1876 on the north-west side of the Manawatū River. It says that the people Tupotahi, Moroati, Maaka, Rauhihi, Turau, Neri Puratahi, Rihi Tapuae, Takerei Te Nawe, Paranihia, Epiha, Ani Kanara, Huhi, Rangiwakaoma, Mira, Tiriwa, Tamara, Henare, Wirihana, Rihi Pareraukawa and Pahemata would share their evenings engaged in korero at the end of a hard-working day. These people would tell stories, sing and dance and enjoy that social and communal interaction.

In 1889, a Māori Sports Club was formed. As some of the principal events were horse racing, a mile track was laid down near the pa. Successful meetings were continually held for eighteen years. Competitors came from as far as Auckland and Rotorua. These meetings were very popular. The officials were – Rauhihi Tupotahi (chairman), Te Iwiata Arapere, Te Whata, Wi Kohika, Ropoama Arapere, Hihira Moraati, Matenga, Peni Matenga, J Puti, Whiti, Taite Te Tomo, M. Downes, Raiha Tapuae (treasurer) and Hurunui (secretary). There are many others who have played important roles in our survival. In the past 50 years and up to today, some of the male leaders of our Hapū were Koro Len Te Tomo (grandson of Taite Te Tomo), Harvey Rauhihi, Peni Rauhihi and Colman Rauhihi. They were all leaders and speakers for our marae in their time and have passed away. Some of the women were Ngarongo Rosie Downs, Tamara MacDowell, Taukawe Te Peeti and Ngaroi Louie Gilman who also have passed. Today, Te Omaki Rauhihi, Huihui Sprott and Mona Maunsell still maintain the mana for Ngāti Whakarete on the marae. With the passing of so many, Ngāti Whakarete found themselves failing in the capacity of knowledge and human resources of the old ways. As a consequence of trying to keep up with modern times, the marae and people often succumb to the power of colonisation and the attractiveness of a global economy that keeps the people away from their roots.

Although Ngāti Whakarete accomplished many things over a hundred years they were unable to stem the impact from colonisation. Ngāti Whakarete and Ngāti Raukawa lost vast amounts of land through legislation, pressured sales, deceitful purchases / trickery, and broken promises. Ngāti Whakarete throughout history has lost land and felt the decline in culture, eating of customary food, and the social impact from alcohol abuse that caused much damaged. Even though some rangatira thought they were doing the best for the future generations of Ngāti Whakarete by gifting or entering in land deals the outcome has produced poor results for the Hapū. For example, blocks of land ranging from 200 acres to 1,200 acres were slowly

wrenched away. In addition, the role of Christianity and the Church had an impact on the people in that land was transferred to these institutions to support religious developments.

Image 92: Tūrongo Church, Shannon



The kuia in Ngāti Whakaterere have a great influence with the decisions of the tribe. Albeit few are surviving, the kuia who live locally contribute greatly to our Hapū matters. The tāne who speak for the Hapū today are much younger and aged between 30-55 years of age. The decline in speakers has occurred due to key changes like work commitments, geography, and the fall in marae attendance. Instead, reliance on the modern world like Facebook and the Internet has become a tool for the current generations to sustain their cultural affiliations.

Heemi Te Peeti – who is a renown carver, tā moko artist, historian, mau taiaha exponent and has led us many times from the paepae. Finding work and carrying on in his fields has led him to currently reside in Tokaanu where he has been for the past six years and with work and other commitments he is becoming less accessible to our marae and Hapū affairs than before.

Milton Rauhihi – was an educator, foundation member of Mana Tamariki Kohanga Reo, Kura and Wharekura in Palmerston North, lecturer in Te Reo Māori at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, led Ngāti Whakaterere when representing on national matters such as the Poukai. He was the main speaker for many hui as he lived locally and was very confident and knowledgeable in Te Ao Māori. When looking at the types of leaders that Heemi and Milton presented attributes and

characteristics, like the kaumātua who were quiet, humble, and respected leaders of Ngāti Whakare. In 2018, Milton Rauhihi passed, another great leader of Ngāti Whakare.

In Hyde's analysis of Whakare leadership characteristics he argued they continued to be same today as others of the past. Hyde concluded that leaders of the past were closely connected to various Hapū activity like the land, politics, people, and marae therefore the support and manāki showed to each other was stronger. Nowadays, although the Hapū members of Ngāti Whakare try to emulate this strong connectedness, it is becoming a struggle in the modern world to find time, energy and space to come together like in the past, hui, and represent the Hapū on many affairs. As a consequence this lack of connection has contributed to the inadequacy in Hapū members knowledgeable in tikanga, whakapapa and te reo o Ngāti Whakare who can transfer this knowledge to the people.

“Now Te Meera was the initiator of our particular claim, now he was talking to me - what I picked up from him, he gave very specific information about the Manawatū River, at those particular settlements that were there, down Ngāti Whakare we're the people of those areas... Now I look back and bringing it back to these days, we still cry and we still are not quite healed, and of course the on-going land intensification through farming and so on and so forth, it's polluted our rivers, and of course, as I've said, it's a very heavy burden for us not to host visitors coming through, but here we are, giving our evidence and stories and of course I shall return - give back to Heemi to give some of our evidence. ... Now I do wish to extend my love to our peoples and grouping of Ngāti Reureu, now these are the times that we're able to consider Ngāti Whakare will be able to live peacefully amongst us all through our connections, but at that I shall sum up and thank you all for giving me time.”⁸⁹³

Ngāti Whakare have a Whaiti Representative on Te Rūnanga o Raukawa. There are also three other members who provide support by attending meetings alongside the Whaiti representatives who are involved with Iwi matters through this forum. Matters discussed are then shared with the Hapū at marae meetings. There is also a newly appointed Te Taiao o Ngāti Whakare group which was formed out of necessity due to the local Horowhenua District Council wanting to put sewerage into the Manawatū River. Ngāti Whakare are absolutely opposed to this plan because the pipe they want to build was only 200 metres from Poutu Pa marae. The Council stated they did not need to talk Ngāti Whakare because they were talking to Rangitāne who they considered to have the mandate over the area. This team, Te Taiao o Ngāti Whakare group, are made of Whakare Hapū representatives who are also

⁸⁹³ Rauhihi, M. 2015, p. 5.

in consultation with Te Taiao o Raukawa – the group mandated by the Iwi to respond to environmental issues affecting Iwi and Hapū. “Te Kete Taiao Rauemi Ngāti Whakātere Environmental Tool kit is Ngāti Whakātere’s environmental sustainability plan.” (Toms, 2015, p. 22) Other groups that support Ngāti Whakātere include the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust and the Raukawa District Council who both provide funds to help run the poukai every year. There are also annual visits from the local schools in Shannon and other areas, from the Shannon Kohanga Reo, Christian Groups and other local community groups who utilise the marae facilities.

The major annual event that involves local Hapū, Iwi and nationwide Iwi is the Poukai at Poutū Pā held annually in March. The history of this event began in 1885 when King Tawhiao initiated the institution of Poukai, where the King would pay an annual visits to marae to encourage people to return to their home marae at least once a year. The first Poukai (originally called Puna-kai, or ‘source of food’) was held at Whatiwhatihoe in March 1885. It was a day for the less fortunate to be fed and entertained. The Poukai developed into any event which would later ensure direct consultation of the people with the King.

The Poukai was set up to protect, to care and to revive the orphaned, the widowed and the destitute. Following the land confiscations war, (which deprived the children of their parents, wives or husbands of their spouses which left the people landless and in poverty and the Kiingitanga struggling), the Poukai gatherings during the times of King Tawhiao (The second Māori King) and the following generations helped to keep the fragmented and dislocated people together in spirit and in morale.

At the time when King Mahuta (the third Māori King) reigned he had told his people not to pay dog tax. Many Ngāti Whakātere chiefs were put in jail for not paying dog tax and so King Mahuta came to Rangitikei (the marae in Kakariki - Te Hiritanga o te Mana o Mahuta - is named for this time) and this brought the establishment of the Kiingitanga in the Rangitikei/Horowhenua region. Ngāti Whakātere gifted to Mahuta 5000 acres of land and became staunch Kīngitanga followers (Rangitoto A24b).

One version of the name of the marae “Whakawehi” is to acknowledge this time – ‘Kia wehi ki te Atua, whakahonore e te Kingi’ – (Glory to God, We give allegiance to our King). Kaumātua of the time, Taite Te Tomo and Te Uenuku (Joe Rene) went to visit King Rata and

then King Koroki on behalf of Ngāti Whakare to have poukai established at Shannon. King Rata gave support and a flag “Te Ngare o Turongo” which flies at tangihanga of descendants of Whakare. King Koroki acknowledged that Whakare had given land to Mahuta and that his father had given a flag – therefore poukai was established at Shannon because of the support that Ngāti Whakare continued to show to the Kīngitanga movement, Koroki also gave his flag to Whakare as a commemoration. The original poukai at Shannon started in the 1930s and King Koroki visited the marae. From 1938 it went into recess for 40 years at Poutū until 1978 it was decided to revive the poukai. “Under the Treaty of Waitangi, the right of Kaitiakitanga still exists for Ngāti Whakare”⁸⁹⁴

Each year the Atua have visited the marae. Kīngi Tuheitia continues to visit the marae since the beginning of his reign in 2006, and before then his mother Dame Te Atairangikāhu visited on many occasions. The Whānau of Ngāti Whakare return yearly to tautoko this special annual event. Many of the Hapū of Ngāti Raukawa come to the Poukai to support Ngāti Whakare in hosting through the koha of kai or money and support on the paepae or helping prepare for the day. On the Friday afternoon the kawemate that the local (Horowhenua/Kapiti) bring onto the marae are acknowledged. On the Saturday morning Kīngi Tuheitia and the Kahui Ariki arrive onto the marae, the Kīngitanga Band play as the kuia karanga and a haka powhiri from the tangata whenua takes place. Generally, about 3-4 busloads of Tainui people attend the poukai every year.

Once the manuhiri are seated the speakers take over and apply the kawa ‘Tu atu Tu mai’. There are usually 10-15 speakers on each side. The topics discussed are usually about whatever is happening currently in Māoridom or politically in the country. The oratory and mōteatea are beautiful to listen to and the most special part of the poukai, is the maintaining of kōrero i te reo, whakapapa connections and mōteatea are spoked that links everyone together. When the hākari is ready and people enter the wharekai the kuia stand with a kete at the door and as people enter a koha is put into the kete, an unchanging tradition maintained over years. This koha is divided between covering the costs to host the poukai and a percentage is returned to the King. Although it is becoming more difficult for Poutū to host poukai as so many of our elders are gone now, the tradition still, and will, continue to remain. For more than 30 years

⁸⁹⁴ Toms, 2015, p. 22.

the Ariki of Tainui, currently the Māori King – Kīngi Tuheitia have made an annual visit to Poutu marae. In recent years Iwi have experienced shame that he could not be fed from the nearby Manawatū River because of pollution. “We had to go out and buy food for our guest. Kids used to play and fish in that river, but that’s something our tamariki don’t know how to do,” says a Ngāti Whakarete spokesman.⁸⁹⁵

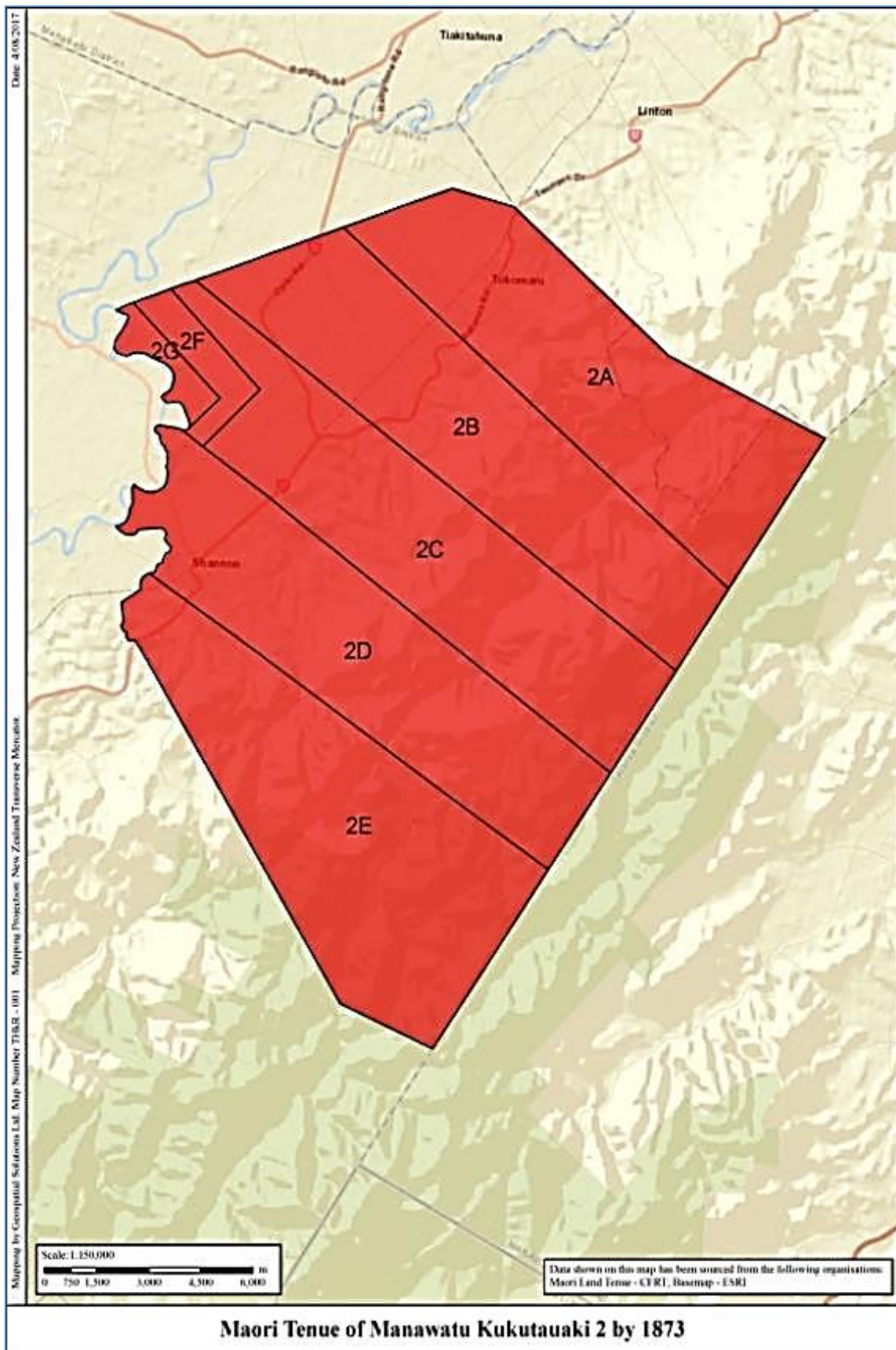
Te Rōpu Taiao o Ngāti Whakarete contributed to various published research papers in a quest to halt pollution and the negative impact on our environment. The environmental aspect of our well-being from the past to the present is a strong talking point for Ngāti Whakarete. While the world carries on producing and over processing many natural products we must be vigilant for the future generations. Ngāti Whakarete has always had an opinion and offered advice on environmental front. We must strive to keep our waterways as clean as possible and change the mind-set of people in regard to the natural resources we have today. Te Rōpu Taiao o Ngāti Whakarete are an extension of what our forbears knew to be practice as much as possible. In Toms (2015) report of a cultural impact assessment the following outcomes were expected:

- “Ngāti Whakarete shall achieve an improved understanding of the proposed activity.
- Horowhenua District Council shall achieve a clear understanding of cultural values concerning project areas and the effects that the projects may have on these values, allowing them to respond at the end of the process with appropriate resolutions.
- A thorough investigation of all potential sites of heritage and taonga is recommended.
- All parties shall develop a level of confidence and understanding through the evolution of a relationship between Ngāti Whakarete and Horowhenua District Council”⁸⁹⁶

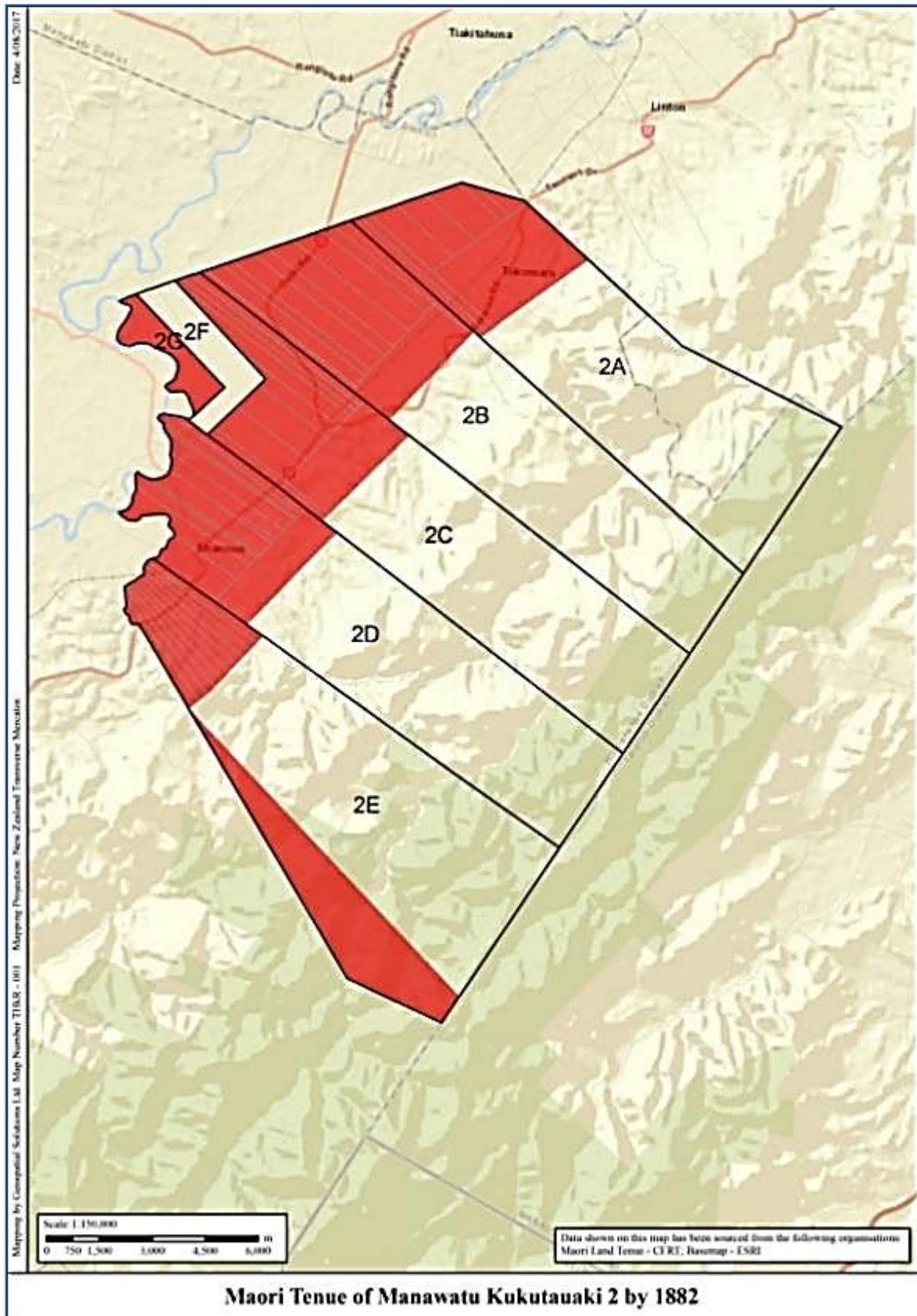
⁸⁹⁵ Toms, 2015, p. 67.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid

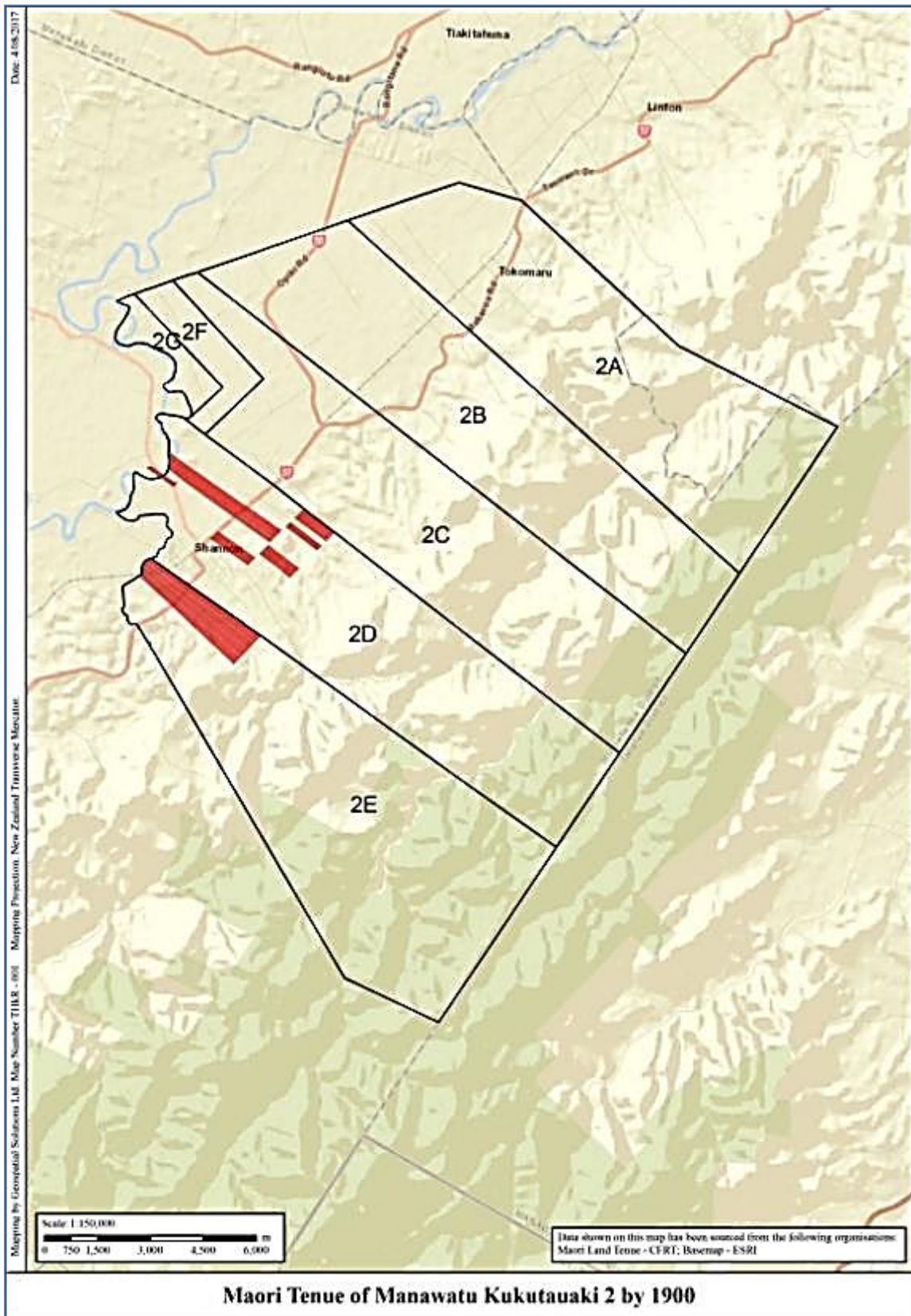
Map 47: Māori Tenue of Manawatū Kuketāuaki 2 by 1873



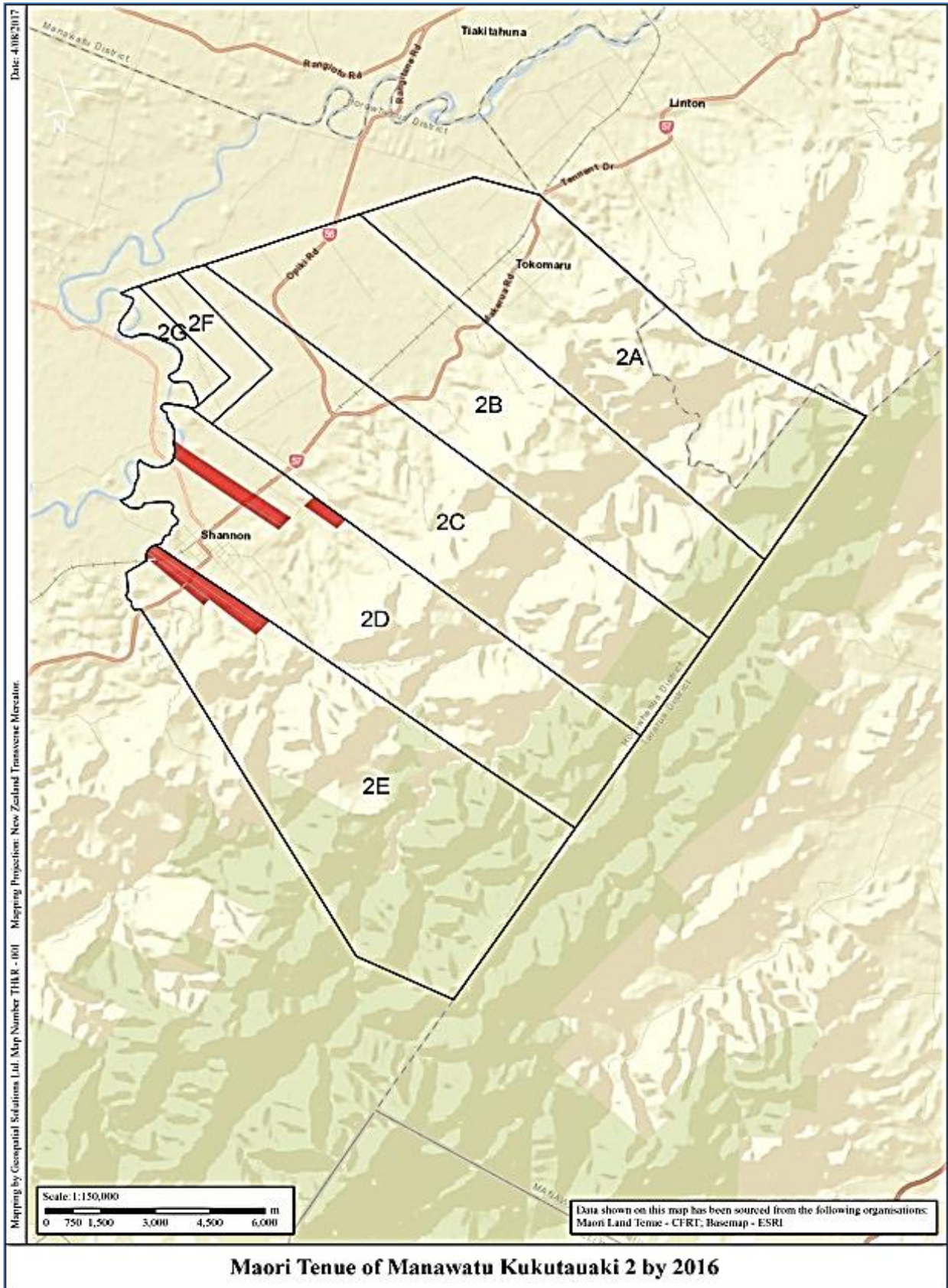
Map 487: Māori Tenue of Manawatū Kūkūtāuki 2 by 1882



Map 498: Māori Tenue of Manawatū Kūkutuaki 2 by 1900



Map 509: Māori Tenue of Manawatū Kūkatāuaki 2 by 2016



9.0 Land & Religion

History has shown that Ngāti Whakare were in possession of vast amounts of land, along with other Hapū and Ngāti Raukawa relations within the Manawatū, Kapiti and Rangitikei regions through Tuku-whenua. This was a result of the support for Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa during the conquests in the early 1800's. Through the activities of the Native Land Court, members of Ngāti Whakare became land owners decided by the court of the day. Much will be said at a later date about the effects both good and bad these actions had on the whanau and Hapū.

The Kaihinau, Matarapa and Kukutauaki blocks as they were named are very significant for Ngāti Whakare as many tupuna were put into these blocks. There is a much-anticipated research plan for the loss of much land. A block of 45,000 acres recorded as sold by Ngāti Whakare will be investigated thoroughly. It is without prejudice to Ngāti Raukawa as a whole and we support their korero also. For the purpose of this Oral and Traditional History report we take all care not to override others. On that note, we acknowledge that some see Ngāti Whakare as 'stand-alone.' The project is not unanimously supported in part from lack of knowledge and the impacts of the colonial landscape all have had to endure. In saying that a small example is the following oral korero conducted by Hyde with Ani Rauhihi-Skipper whom recorded that she spoke of Te Kenehi Teira, a Ngāti Takihiku historian, who believed that Ngāti Whakare were actually:

“...an 'Iwi' of their own rather than a sub-tribe. This is mainly due to the annihilation of Ngāti Whakare by Ngāti Maniapoto in many battles and particularly in the battle of Hurimoana. Because of these events, Ngāti Whakare stayed close to Ngāti Raukawa for survival, although there are many Ngāti Whakare who also link to Ngāti Maniapoto through these interactions. The land that Ngāti Whakare were known to occupy in Waikato was the Rangitoto block in Wharepūhanga. However, they vacated this land to move south and some stayed or returned after the migrations south. When it was decided that Ngāti Whakare as part of Ngāti Raukawa would move south to Horowhenua with Te Rauparaha, the great Ngāti Raukawa chief Te Whatanui asked Te Mananui (Te Heuheu) the chief of Tuwharetoa to protect his people “E Heu, kia kaha te manaaki i ērā ka ngahoro mai ki waho o taku kete.” Mananui agreed.⁸⁹⁷

Land acquisition along the Manawatū river was important for the growth and development of non-Indigenous and mainly initiated by Europeans through the Māori Land Court. Ihakara

⁸⁹⁷ Rauhihi-Skipper, 2013.

Tukumaru, according to Toms (2015) encouraged the Hapū of Ngāti Whakarete to accept that Europeans desired to expand and as such needed their whenua to achieve their objectives. The land purchases disadvantaged some Hapū members. Toms argued Ihakara was bribed by promises that were made to him and that this exchange should be investigated. The exchange, Toms believes, are questionable and assessments need to be made in respect of “whether payments and promises of reserves and benefits from settlement were sufficient (and fulfilled) as should the question of whether the Crown considered the rights of, and provided for, all Hapū with interests in Te Awahou”⁸⁹⁸

The settling of Ngāti Whakarete in the northern reaches near the Manawatū River mouth, near Moutoa and Te Maire, now known as Shannon are not to be seen as random. These places had food and material sources paramount to Māori life in the 1800’s. In the 1840s onwards, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Europeans were trading with Ngāti Whakarete. Mr Bevan of Manakau is recorded in the Manawatū Standard on the 26th February 1906 describing his journey around the Manawatū District and encounters with the resident tribes. Mr Bevan (1906) recounts encountering native burial grounds, flora, fauna, cattle, and the people named ‘Ngatiwakarete’.

“The banks were adorned with Kowhai tress, the yellow blossoms of which shone resplendent in the bright sunshine. Then there were patches of bush skirting the riverbanks, composed of tall pines and thick undergrowth of many varying shades of green, among which bright-blossomed creepers reached aspiringly upwards...the bell birds and tui sang their wild musical songs of joyous freedom, white cockatoos and many other natives abounded. In the clearings along the banks we saw Māori villages, and crops of wheat which promised a rich harvest to their dusky owners, who took great trouble with their cultivations. And so we made our way slowly up the river, while our native canoe men shouted their wild songs while straining at their paddles, until at last we reached Mr Chas Hartley’s place. Here we found a fine Māori settlement composed of large pa’s and hundreds of natives engaged in the cultivation of the rich river flats, and the production of fibre from the flax which grew in abundance at the vicinity.”⁸⁹⁹

One version of land history is that Ngāti Rakau, Ngāti Te Au and Ngāti Turanga had connections to most of the land in the Foxton-Shannon area after Te Rauparaha and his supporting tribes took over Horowhenua and Kapiti. Ngāti Rakau chief Renata Ropiha, Ngāti Turanga and Te Au chiefs Pitihira and Roiri supported giving Ngāti Whakarete 100 acres for a

⁸⁹⁸ Toms, 2015, p. 37.

⁸⁹⁹ Manawatū Standard, Volume XLI, Issue 8124, 26 February 1906.

settlement. The settlement area is considered to be the Moutoa block west of Himatangi. Bevan's (1842) records "there were two powerful tribes living in the neighbourhood, one of which was named Ngatiwakatere. The other tribe were heathens" (p. 1) This reinforces that Ngāti Whakatere established mana whenua before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Ngāti Whakatere for the last 100 years have been settled at Whakawehi Marae, commonly referred to as Poutu Pa. This block is gazetted as Whakawehi Reserve Sec.113 Township of Foxton. Initially it was set aside as a 'burial ground' and korero from Hapū members said it had 7 principal owners, but the paperwork collected by Hyde named 25 owners. On the 13th February 1890 the land was recorded as becoming a Māori Reservation, and again in 1933 being 'set aside' for the general use of Ngāti Whakatere. It was, and continues to be, recorded as 'inalienable', only by lease. One of the founding Whānau, the Rauhihi Whānau, have a version which is well known to those of connected to the block. It is:

"their tipuna kuia Raiha Te Rauhihi, had a disagreement with her sister in law and was told to leave their pā kainga as she didn't belong. Raiha was so upset she walked out of the pā kainga crossed the road into a paddock and sat down and would not move for days. Although the sister in law tried to make it right Raiha still refused to move, several of the Whānau began to build a shelter around her so she would keep dry when it rained. Her brother Te Rauhihi Tupotahi was called to help and asked her to move. She wouldn't move until he promised to build a whare for their descendants and was quoted saying "Hangāia he whare mo a mātou mokopuna kia kore rātou e panahia ki te taha o te rori". He gave her a coin as a promise that a whare would be built for their descendants. Te Rauhihi approached Turau Ngawhenua and his wife Tiriwa Tunganekore and asked for a gift of land to build a marae. Turau and the five other principle owners granted the wish and this is how Poutū Pā began creation." (Rauhihi-Skipper, 2013)

There were eighty-three native settlements (pā and kainga) located along the Manawatū River. Whakawehi Marae is the only one that remains and utilised by the people. Ngāti Whakatere position by the Manawatū River has been beneficial because over many years the river declined by the marae allowing for the land to increase from 13 hectares to nearly 40 hectares. Currently the land surrounding the marae is leased to a local farmer and the funds from this assist with the upkeep and maintenance of the marae.

According to the people of Whakawehi marae there is a particular land called Tuwhakatipua. Te Meera (2016) say that the block of land Tuwhakatipua was part of a settlement between

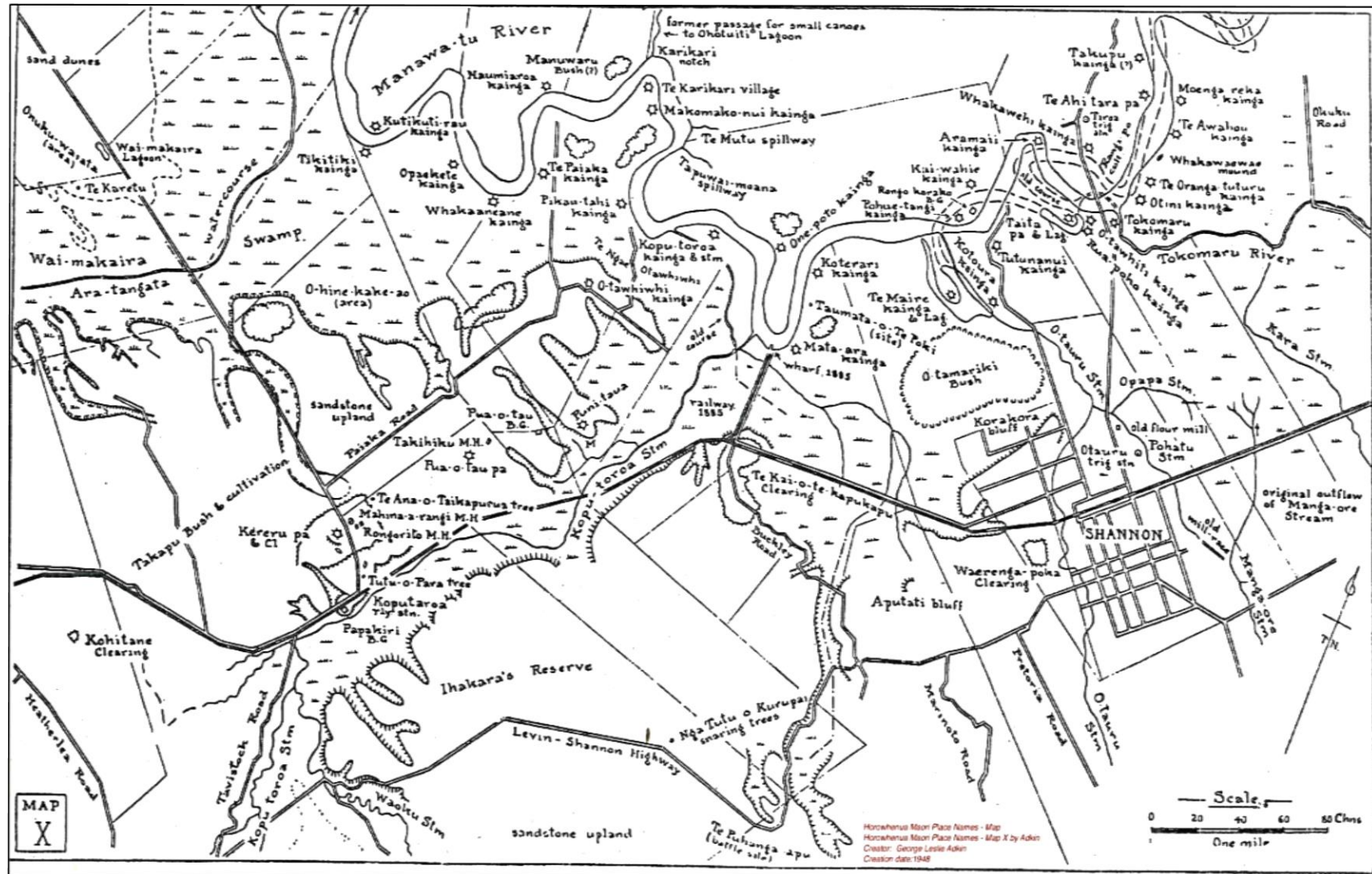
three Hapū. The settlement was created by Ngāti Rangitāne, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Whakātere and:

“were present and Whatanui was present there.... At the end of the day Rangitāne married into those particular groupings, now I guess that's particular, we still give reference to it because of those actions my ancestors that we're able to bring a peaceful end and of course make those connecting lines of Ngāti Whakātere to Rangitāne and Raukawa.”⁹⁰⁰

Land settlements and negotiations, as well as the gifting of land, was important to Ngāti Whakātere.

⁹⁰⁰ Milton Rauhihi, 2015, p. 6.

Map 60: Adkin Map X, Horowhenua Māori Place Names 1948



Map 61: Adkin Map X Overlay on Present Day Topography



Ngāti Whakātere became devoted to the Gospel through the early missionaries. In the quest to embrace the new ways early colonial people foresaw the benefits this path would bring if they converted the native people of the land. The Gospel brought the end of many traditional practices for Māori across Aotearoa New Zealand like trading, killing in warfare, anthropophagy, and the transfer of land from Māori to the Church. Ngāti Whakātere suffered the similar losses to other Iwi of the country and examples of these changes are seen in the churches built in the district at Ōtaki, Bulls and Ngāti Whakātere occupied land at Moutoa. During Bishop Hadfield's era the Church Turongo was built. The photo below shows the Church originally erected at Moutoa in 1879. It was then moved to Poutu Marae (Shannon) in 1965. (Kete Horowhenua, 2011).

Image 93: Tūrongo Church at Motutoa c1930



According to Tawhai Eruera⁹⁰¹ a Ngāti Turanga elder, there were two churches and was one named ‘Whanaihu’ and other named ‘Whanarae’. His dream directed that these trees be used in the erection of another church. The elder arose from his sleep and told his people of Ngāti Raukawa that this Church was first seen in a dream. An elder, who lived at Tiakitahuna, dreamt that he saw two huge Totara trees, then went in search of these trees. They were found, felled and floated down the Manawatū River to Moutoa (Te Rewarewa).⁹⁰² Arriving at Moutoa, they were then used in the building of a church named after the father of Raukawa, Turongo. In 1920, an earthquake caused the church to lean to one side. Later, in 1963, the local people dismantled it and moved it to its current site upon Whakawehi Marae, in Shannon, where the words ‘Whanaihu’ and ‘Whanarae’ were recorded upon the church gate. Another story about the building of the Church is provided by Wood in 1909 and written in the Manawatū Times Newspaper.

The idea of building a church at Moutoa was suggested, according to Ayson, by local Māori. It was an idea supported by the Ven. Archdeacon Hadfield who welcomed a suggestion in 1857 because it would detract Māori from the King movement. The leaders of the Church ensured that the minds of would be occupied by creating projects like establishing a place for religious congregation. The work to build the Church was undertaken the Hapū Ngāti Whakaterere a branch of the Ngāti Raukawa tribe, that were living on the banks of the Manawatū River. Ngāti Whakaterere lived approximately two miles above Moutoa (Papakiri) and below Moutoa that reached a farm owned by a Mr Kebbells. The interest of building the Church was welcomed by the male and females in Ngāti Whakaterere and recordings say that sometimes at the sawpit men could be viewed men on top of a log with the women in the pit below sawing away heartily.

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These recordings testify to a belief that religion became a large part of the early social development in the history of Ngāti Whakaterere. The leader of Ngāti Whakaterere Te Herekau became a lay preacher for the Anglican Church and similar to other Māori of that time who devoted their lives to servitude. In evidence given in a court case which was published in the Evening Herald, Te Herekau stated he and five others were “Monitors of the Church under the

⁹⁰¹Tawhai Eruera, Raukawa Marae Committee Representative, Recording Hyde, 2016.

⁹⁰²Living Heritage, 2017.

⁹⁰³Ayson, 1977.

direction of Archdeacon Hadfield” (p. 1) and that “Rawiri Te Wanui is a ‘superior monitor’; that the “Monitors superintend schools and conduct services”; that “Parakaia’s duty is to obtain land for the Church and so forth”.

Ngāti Whakarete also lost land because of religious transactions. The benefits from such transactions may have been experienced two generations ago and very little is known about what they were. Finding out the rationale behind the religious transactions and the benefits the people received is a task for the researchers of the future.

SUMMARY

This report provided a brief, but vitally important, story of Ngāti Whakarete. The narrative spoke of the journey the Iwi took centuries ago to become settled in the Horowhenua District. It discussed the whakapapa and origins of the Iwi that later became a Hapū. It was written to assist Whānau and mokopuna who search to learn about Ngāti Whakarete, the marae Poutu Pa, and the relationships to the Treaty of Waitangi Claim 1640, and the current protest that are occurring in the district. Ngāti Whakarete migrated south to be resident in the Horowhenua District and continue to hold the Poukai annually. However, it is acknowledged that as the elders have passed, and with them, those who possess the knowledge, te reo o Ngāti Raukawa and that distinctiveness that sets them apart from other Iwi will be under threat. After 200 years Ngāti Whakarete remain mana whenua over the land in Shannon. The current population of Ngāti Whakarete is small and those knowledgeable in the language and customs are rare. This report provides further evidence to highlight the importance of conducting research by Hapū for Hapū members so that the stories of the people continue to be told. Also, the challenges Hapū researchers undertaking the mahi to write this report faced finding time amidst work, Hapū, and Whānau duties to tell the narratives of Ngāti Whakarete has been a challenge. This Report does not conclude, rather it is a beginning to future narratives. It is the hope future responsibility of Hapū researchers to continue this mahi.

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Pepe Taratoa holding her whāngai daughter Hinerau, Miss Molly Hakaraia, and Mrs Raukawa Tahiwī on the verandah of Pepe's house. E and P Beaglehole Collection, Beaglehole Room, Victoria University.

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Here ends volume one of *He Iti Nā Motai*. Volume two provides the final ten hapū oral histories, the reports on the *Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa*, *Te Tino Rangatiratanga o Ngāti Raukawa 1840-2017* and *Kia Raukawa 3000* in addition to the full bibliography.

HE ITI NĀ MŌTAI

Volume 2.

Te Hono Ki Raukawa
Oral and Traditional History Report

Submitted by Project Supervisor
Professor Whatarangi Winiata

Edited by Daphne Luke and Dr. Fiona Te Momo

Ōtaki

31 January 2019

A report commissioned by Te Hono ki Raukawa on behalf of
Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga as part of the WAI2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry

VOLUME TWO

Volume One of He Iti Nā Mōtai Oral and Traditional History report introduces Te Hono ki Raukawa, the project and the teams of researchers and writers involved. It includes Part I – The Origins and Establishment of Ngāti Rauakwa Te Au ki te Tonga and ten hapū oral histories.

Volume Two of He Iti Nā Motai contains the balance of the Part II - Hapū Oral Histories Part III - The Establishment of the Social and Cultural Institutions of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the 19th – 21st century, Part IV – Te Tino Rangatiratanga o Ngāti Raukawa 1840-2017 and the final report entitled Kia Raukawa 3000.

Te Hono ki Raukawa Claims Settlement Trust

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PART II:
HAPŪ ORAL HISTORIES REPORT

*Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua
Mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki*

DR. WALLY PENETITO, DR. WHATARANGI WINIATA,
DR. FIONA TE MOMO, MANURERE DEVONSHIRE & DAPHNE LUKE

12 September 2018

NGĀTI PAREWAHAWAHA ORAL HISTORY



NGĀ URI O NGĀTI PAREWAHAWAHA

December 2017

Preface

*“E te Tūpuna, Parewahawaha,
E tū, e tū, e tū,
E tū hei whakaruruhau mō tō iwi,
E tū hei whakaruruhau mō tō whānau,
E tū hei tauira mō te katoa,
E tū ki te āwhina i te tini, i te mano,
E tū ki te manaaki i te ihi, i te wehi,
I te mana o Ngā hau e whā, o Ngā mātāwaka,
O Ngā reo, o Ngā kārangaranga hapū katoa
Putā noa i tō tātou motu o Aotearoa”*

Nā Anau Pare Richardson

15th April 2000

1.0 WHAKAPAPA

1.1 He Kāwai i a Tūrongo ki a Parewahawaha

Whakapapa 1: He Kāwai i a Tūrongo ki a Parewahawaha

Tūrongo
|
Raukawa
|
Takihiku
|
Tamatehura
|
Huitao
|
Haetapunui
|
Ngātokowaru
|
Huia
|
Korouaputa
|
Parewahawaha

1.2 Ngā Tamariki o Parewahawaha Raua Ko Te Rangipumaomao

Image 1: Parewahawaha - Whakairo showing the children of Parewahawaha from the eldest (just above her) to the youngest at the top.



Ranginawenawe (w)(te potiki)

Te Teke

Te Nge o Raukawa

Tuoi

Rangitāmoe (w)

Tihao

Tuheru

Pakake Taiari II
– *te mataamua*

PAREWAHAWAHA

Image 2: Parewahawaha Marae is situated on Domain Road, Bulls (east off Criterion Street)



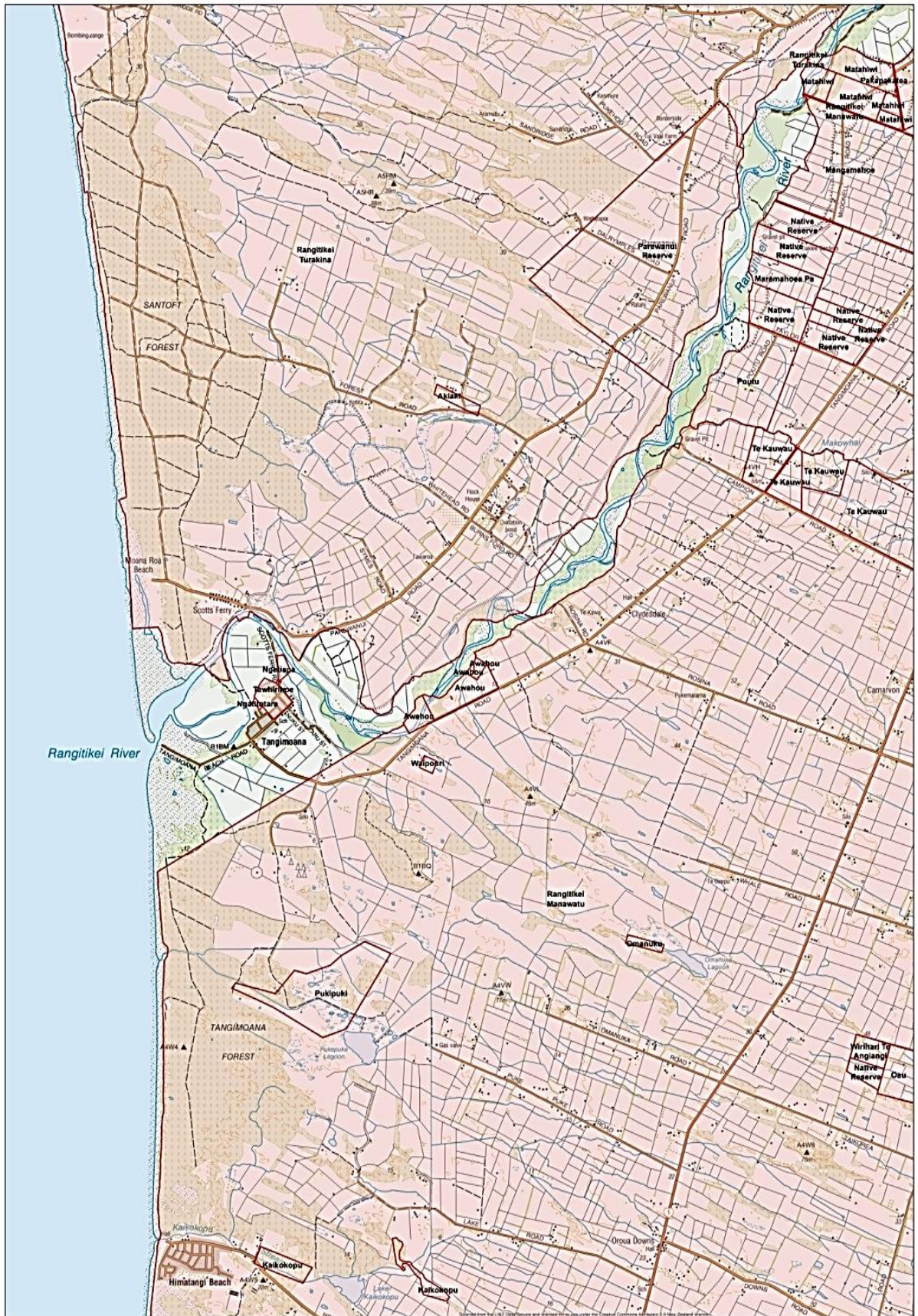
1.3 Legal Description

The Māori freehold land known as Ōhinepuhiawe 141C1 Blk XI, Rangitoto SD, area 8094 Square metres was set aside as a reservation for the purpose of a marae and for the use by the descendants of Ngāti Parewahawaha. (NZ Gazette 48/1711 on 18 August 1949) The land was gifted by four original owners, namely,

- Hare Hikungārara Reweti-Rongorongo 47.500 shares;
 - Te Rangipumamao Reweti-Rongorongo 23.750 shares;
 - Mataora Toatoa 11.875 shares;
 - Te Raunatia Toatoa-Tumu 11.875 shares;
- Total 95.000 shares.

The owners of Ōhinepuhiawe Block 140C No.s 1 and 141 B1A sold their land to Mr Taylor Whitirea Brown, Bulls. All monies received from the sale of their land was gifted to Parewahawaha Meeting House Committee to aid in the completion of Parewahawaha Meeting House in Bulls.

Map 1: 1840 Ngāti Parewahawaha



‘Map 1: 1840 Ngāti Parewahawaha’ is the original parent map showing all Parewahawaha and hononga such as Ngāti Mateawa and Ngāti Kahoro te tini. Ngāti Parewahawaha claimed ownership of land south of the Rangitīkei River. Land blocks are shown on the parent map above. Ngāti Parewahawaha had a lot of land and were a very healthy and wealthy people. Ngāti Parewahawaha are kaitiaki of the Rangitīkei River and whenua to the south of the river flowing from the far reaches of the Ohinepuhiawe block out to the sea through Tangimoana. The Māori naming of the specific land blocks in its simplicity indicates whānau boundaries and must not be overlooked and takes in the whole area south of the river meeting other hapū from the south. Today none of those names are used and we are now having to teach our mokopuna of the correct names and identify them as we explore our whenua and awa. The Māori Land Court describe them as Rangitīkei Manawatū block with letters and numbers rather than their correct names as they found our language too difficult to understand, for their ease rather than ours.

My whānau have always known the blocks by their names and who the whānau were who resided there. Pita Richardson sadly stated that he is the only one left of the Richardson whānau residing on the Mangamahoe block. The map opposite identifies these names. Not all whānau were named on the blocks for the simple reason that there was not enough room on the templates to name them all or the authority at the time only put one person. Those named on the blocks had an understanding of kaitiakitanga of the river and land for the collective Ngāti Parewahawaha hapū. The authority at the time plotted to individualise ownership so that the land could be taken, sold and/or cause dissention amongst whānau. The outcome of such a ploy is highlighted in the following map.

Ngāti Parewahawaha are kaitiaki for very small reserves dotted along the Rangitīkei River and a few multi-owned land blocks which have been significantly reduced from the vast lands they used to have. The district councils authorise gravel extraction and discharge rights of pollutants to the river and land for industry and farming providing direct access to the river at many points through land blocks, farmlands and reserves. The mounds of gravel are an eyesore along the river and run unquestionably close to the reserves which are protected.

Map 2: Ngāti Parewahawaha 2016



2.0 INTRODUCTION

2.1 Objective

The objective of this report is to record ngā korero tuku iho o Ngāti Parewahawaha whānau, primarily as a starting point for both current and future hapū researchers to continue to search and understand more of who we are and where we began,- and secondly it is an exercise in information gathering to assist in our pathway through the Waitangi Tribunal claim process. Due to the close ties of all the hapū up and down the Rangitūkei awa it is expected that some kōrero shared here may be similar to that of our whanaunga and/or they may provide more detailed information than has been provided. It would be beneficial to read the other Rangitūkei awa hapū korero in addition to this one to gain clarity. Many inter-relationships are anticipated with all of the other hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa.

2.2 Methodology

To gather information for this paper we completed interviews at the Parewahawaha Memorial Marae Committee of kaumātua and whānau who were available. They were semi-structured interviews. Interviews were conducted in early December 2016 and a review of literature was made at the same time. A broad scope of literature both published and unpublished was utilised.

Ngāti Parewahawaha have traditionally and historically maintained a relationship with the Rangitīkei River and surrounding lands for over 190 years.

Ngāti Parewahawaha environmental statements give recognition to the traditional concepts of whakapapa, mauri and mana, which can be used as measures of cultural balance and imbalance.

Ngāti Parewahawaha have determined that Crown activities severely impinge upon our relationship with the Rangitīkei River and the surrounding land thus causing a cultural imbalance. In particular, it has been identified that since 1840 activities of the Crown have severely impacted on the following:

wāhi tapu	traditional food sources
river mauri	whenua
recreation	rongo ā rākau
traditional healing systems	

3.0 TE HITORI O NGĀTI PAREWAHAWAHA

3.1 Ngāti Parewahawaha Narrative

Ngāti Parewahawaha are a hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, a branch of the Tainui confederation of tribes, who are descendants of the people that migrated to Aotearoa, from Hawaiiki in about the year 1350, aboard the Tainui Waka under the leadership of Hoturoa. Tainui made land at Whangaparaoa to the west of what is now Cape Runaway. After a period, Tainui continued sailing southward landing at various places enroute until reaching the Tamaki River where it was hauled across the isthmus to the Manukau Harbour. Hoturoa and his people continued their journey sailing south to Kawhia where Tainui was again hauled

ashore to its final resting-place. This was where Hoturoa and his people settled, their descendants inhabiting the area as described in the well-known whakatauaiki:

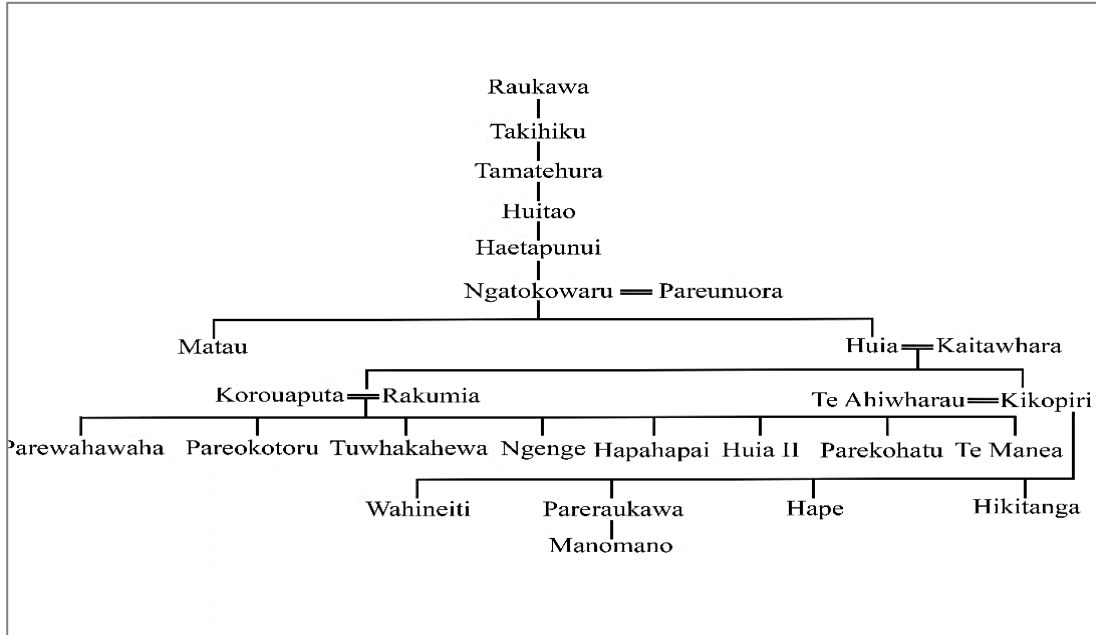
“Mokau ki runga, Tamaki ki raro, Mangatoatoa ki waenganui, ko Pare Hauraki, ko Pare Waikato, ko te Kaokaoroa o Patetere.”

The Mokau river to Tamaki-Makaurau in the Auckland area. Mangatoatoa and Patetere being inland areas, with the Hauraki Plains and the Waikato River basin indicating the extent of the area.”

Ngāti Raukawa, named after the eponymous ancestor – Raukawa – form a specific line of descendants from Hoturoa. This iwi established themselves in the central Waikato area at Maungatautari and Wharepuhunga. From this base, they then spread towards Patetere in the Tirau area and the western area of Taupo.

According to Arapere and Royal, the hapū is named after the eponymous ancestor Parewahawaha, a woman of rank and mana who married into Ngāti Tūwharetoa, creating a strong alliance between Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The connection to Ngāti Toa, is evident in Parewahawaha’s whakapapa, as her sister, Parekohatu, married into Ngāti Toa and was Te Rauparaha’s mother. Such connections and whakapapa links proved critical when hapū leaders considered migrating to Rangitīkei-Manawatū. Ngāti Parewahawaha are therefore descendants from the union between Parewahawaha, a direct descendant of Raukawa from who Ngāti Raukawa take their name and Te Rangipumamao a kāhui ariki line from Tūwharetoa. Ngāti Parewahawaha is closely connected to the leadership lines of Ngāti Raukawa such as ‘Te Ngāre o Huia’.

Whakapapa 2: Parewahawaha and her siblings are of Ngāti Huia descent (of Ngāti Raukawa)



This line was maintained through strategic, dynastic marriages and critical alliances. Ngāti Parewahawaha is also known as Ngāti Huia ki Parewahawaha linking to all the other Ngāti Huia whanaunga. We have many strong whakapapa links to other descendants of Huia.

These hapū and marae are also a part of the collective:

- Ngāti Huia ki Parewahawaha, Ōhinepuhiawe, Bulls;
- Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhāo, Huia marae, Poroutawhāo;
- Ngāti Huia ki Matau marae, Matau marae, Poroutawhāo;
- Ngāti Huia ki Pareraukawa, Ngātokowaru marae, Hōkio;
- Ngāti Huia ki Kikopiri, Kikopiri marae, Muhunoa;
- Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku, Katihiku marae, Ōtaki;
- Ngāti Huia ki Manomano, Taumata o te ra marae, Halcombe.

Kereama stated that Te Rauparaha was born in 1768 and is the last child of Werawera of Ngāti Kimihia a line of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Parekohatu - a leadership line of Ngāti Huia. Te Rauparaha spent much of his childhood with his mother's (Parekohatu) people at Maungatautari. He was still in his teens when he married his first wife, Marore, of Ngāti Toa Rangatira. She was of high rank, and it was an arranged marriage. As children, they knew they were to be joined. He had more than one wife in his late teens and early twenties. He married three other women, Kahuirangi, Rangitamoana and Hopenui. His fifth wife

became his principal wife. She was Te Akau, who was the widow of Ngāti Raukawa chief Hape Ki Tuarangi.

An account of Te Ohaaki o Hape ki Tuarangi (dying instructions of Hape ki Tuarangi). The leaders of Ngāti Raukawa had assembled at their marae at Maungatautari, the home of Hape-ki-Tuarangi. The aged man desired to announce his dying wishes and to farewell his people. He asked them, who of them was to follow in his footsteps and uphold the tribal status of Ngāti Raukawa as the tribal leader. No chief present appears to have responded to his enquiry, but after a long silence on the part of his seniors, then only did Te Rauparaha speak up, accepting Hape's appeal, and undertaking the responsibility.¹

Waitohi's emergence as a leader is recorded a few years prior to the migration south from Kawhia. A war party was headed for Kawhia. Waitohi recognised some of her relations in the war party and pleaded with them for peace. Waitohi's two children had recently been killed in a pakanga so her appeal carried great force, and was successful. The war fleet returned north. In the early 1820's after Ngāti Toa left Kawhia and established a base on Kapiti Island, Te Rauparaha called for his mother's whānau Ngāti Raukawa to join them. Supported by Waitohi he said, "If you return to Waikato bring my kinsfolk back with you – Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Wehiwehi, Ngāti Werawera, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Huia"²

Waitohi urged Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa who had come south with Ngāti Toa to lead this together with Te Ahukaramū. He replied with a proverb, 'My back is strong enough to carry them!' This story was told by his son Roera Hukiki. Te Manahi of Ngāti Huia stated "We came at the desire of Waitohi. Had Te Rauparaha called, the people would not have assented. It was at the word of Waitohi".³

Te Manahi also testified that Waitohi was responsible for allocating land to the hapū during these years. Waitohi therefore was a leader in her own right. Her views were heeded by Te Rauparaha during the migration and resettlement that followed. There were many reasons for the migration south, however, the appeal from Waitohi, a sister of Te Rauparaha,

¹ Kereama, 1996, pp. 89.

² McDonald R. and E. O'Donnell *Te Hekenga: Early Days in Horowhenua*, Palmerston North: GH Bennett, 1929.

³ Ibid.

that Ngāti Raukawa migrate south and her apportionment of lands were influencing factors. There are many versions of Waitohi's famous declaration. Most carry the same meaning but language differs slightly in each version. In this version Kukutauaki is spelt Kukutaueki.

A tono (request) for Ngāti Raukawa to move south from Waitohi:

“Haere ki aku werewere haere-mai hei noho i taku whenua, e takoto nei i te takutai Moana atu ano i Kukutaueki puta noa ki Rangitīkei.’ (Go to the heirs of my body (the whole of my relatives) and bring them down to settle on the land which lies along the seashore from Kukutaueki ... to Rangitīkei”⁴

Waitohi was referring to the land that lay between the Rangitīkei River and Kukutauaki stream south of Ōtaki. Her invitation laid out the lands which would be apportioned for her Ngāti Raukawa people.

4.0 NGĀTI TOA MIGRATIONS

The Ngāti Raukawa migration south has its beginning with the earlier raupatu by their whanaunga Te Rauparaha with the Ngāpuhi chiefs' Tuwhare, Patuone, Nene and others in 1819-1820. According to Harold Wereta what was important about the Ngāpuhi taua was the whakapapa connections. It was for this reason that Te Rauparaha could invite the northern contingent to support their conquest. The other importance of Ngāpuhi being there was the modern weapons, warfare and manpower of over 1000 men, 250 were armed, with the rest utilising traditional weaponry. Te Rauparaha afterwards led two Ngāti Toa Rangatira migrations preceding the Ngāti Raukawa migrations; the first during 1819-20 known as Te Heke Tahutahuahi⁵ and the second during 1821-1822 was Te Heke Tataramoa.⁶

⁴ Ibid. p. 15.

⁵ Tahutahuahi refers being able to light fires for warmth and food preparation during their journey.

⁶ Tataramoa (bush lawyer) refers to having to force a way through many obstacles.

5.0 NGĀTI RAUKAWA MIGRATIONS

5.1 Heke Karere 1825

This heke was the first of the Ngāti Raukawa migrations, so called because while they were residing at Maungatautari they received news that their whanaunga Te Rauparaha had been killed, therefore, under the ties of whanaungatanga Ngāti Raukawa had to come to Kapiti Island to investigate. Upon their arrival, they found that Te Rauparaha was alive and that two houses were built on Kapiti Island, one house was for Te Rauparaha named Te Umu ki Ohau and the other for Te Rangihaeata named Te Umu ki Whanganui. In this way Te Rauparaha invited his Ngāti Raukawa whanaunga to come south for the purpose of assisting in utu “on account of the murders [at night of his whānau by Muaūpoko] at Te Wi and Ohau.” Waitohi, an elder sister of Te Rauparaha, was instrumental in persuading and securing Ngāti Raukawa acceptance. Therefore, with agreement being reached by all parties and as with all requests or invitations a gift was always given and in this instance, tuku whenua from Te Rauparaha to his Ngāti Raukawa relations. “Te Rauparaha gave the land to Ahukaramū, Kuruho and Tuhainuku. This land was between Ōtaki on one side and Whangaehu the other.”⁷

5.2 Heke Whirinui⁸ 1826

Ngāti Raukawa chief Te Ahukaramū returned north to Maungatautari where he proposed that Ngāti Raukawa migrate south to join Te Rauparaha. They refused, at which he became angry and ordered their houses to be burnt down. This action initially led the people to leave the area, becoming the second of a number of Ngāti Raukawa tribal migrations south. Another Ngāti Raukawa chief, Te Whatanui and Te Heuheu of Tūwharetoa accompanied the party.

5.3 Heke Kariritahi 1827

Was the next migration and was led by Nepia Taratoa. This heke was so named because they were low on ammunition for their muskets. Te Whatanui who had returned, once again accompanied this migration and it was he who was to lead the final major migration south.

⁷ Kereama, R. Compendium of Te Wananga o Raukawa Studies (unpublished) 1992

⁸ Whirinui possibly refers to a large flock of migrating birds.

5.4 Heke Mai Raro 1828-29

Contained the main body of Ngāti Raukawa, including women and children, travelling southwards down the centre of the North Island through Taupo along the Rangitīkei River to join their kin south at Ōtaki. For two years they resided with Te Rauparaha on Kapiti Island before settling on the land that had been apportioned to them. Mai raro translates as “from below” possibly in reference to being the final major migration from Waikato.

Ngāti Raukawa together with Ngāti Maniapoto (Ngāti Rangatahi/Matakore) and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Ngāti Waewae) settled an area between the Waitapu and Rangataua Streams on the Rangitīkei River, from a boundary marker at Kakariki called Miria te Kākara in the north, to the Kukutauaki stream in the south, between Ōtaki and Waikanae as described in the following whakatauaiki.

“Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, Mai i Miria te Kākara ki Kukutauaki”⁹

6.0 NGĀTI PAREWAHAWAHA SETTLEMENT

The majority of Ngāti Parewahawaha migrated south in the Heke Mai Raro with Te Whatanui, a grandson of Parewahawaha, and Te Ahukaramū, Nepia Taratoa, Te Ngē o Raukawa and Tuoi. The apportionment of lands by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata enabled Ngāti Parewahawaha kāinga to be established throughout the Manawatū and Rangitīkei areas. Te Whatanui and his Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Parewahawaha whānau settled at Raumatangi near Lake Horowhenua.¹⁰

Further establishments were made along the Rangitīkei River by Ngāti Parewahawaha, Nepia Taratoa with his relatives established the first Ngāti Parewahawaha Kāinga at Poutū i te Rangi midway between Tangimoana and Bulls on the Rangitīkei River. Further upstream were other settlements such as Marama-i-hoea, Mangamahoe and Matahiwi where Nepia Taratoa, Wereta and their whānau resided.

⁹ <https://www.teara.govt.nz/en/map/223/ngati-raukawa-in-rangitikei-manawatu-horowhenua-and-kapiti>

¹⁰ Kereama, TP. Taumata o te Ra Marae, Levin: Graphic Press & Packaging Ltd. 1996, p. 10

Tawhirihoē is situated at the southern mouth of the Rangitīkei River at Tangimoana. Keremihana Wairaka was a non-seller of this block. Te Ngē o Raukawa, the only son of Parewahawaha to travel south, then an old man settled at Ōhinepuhiawe with other members of his whānau near the present township of Bulls.

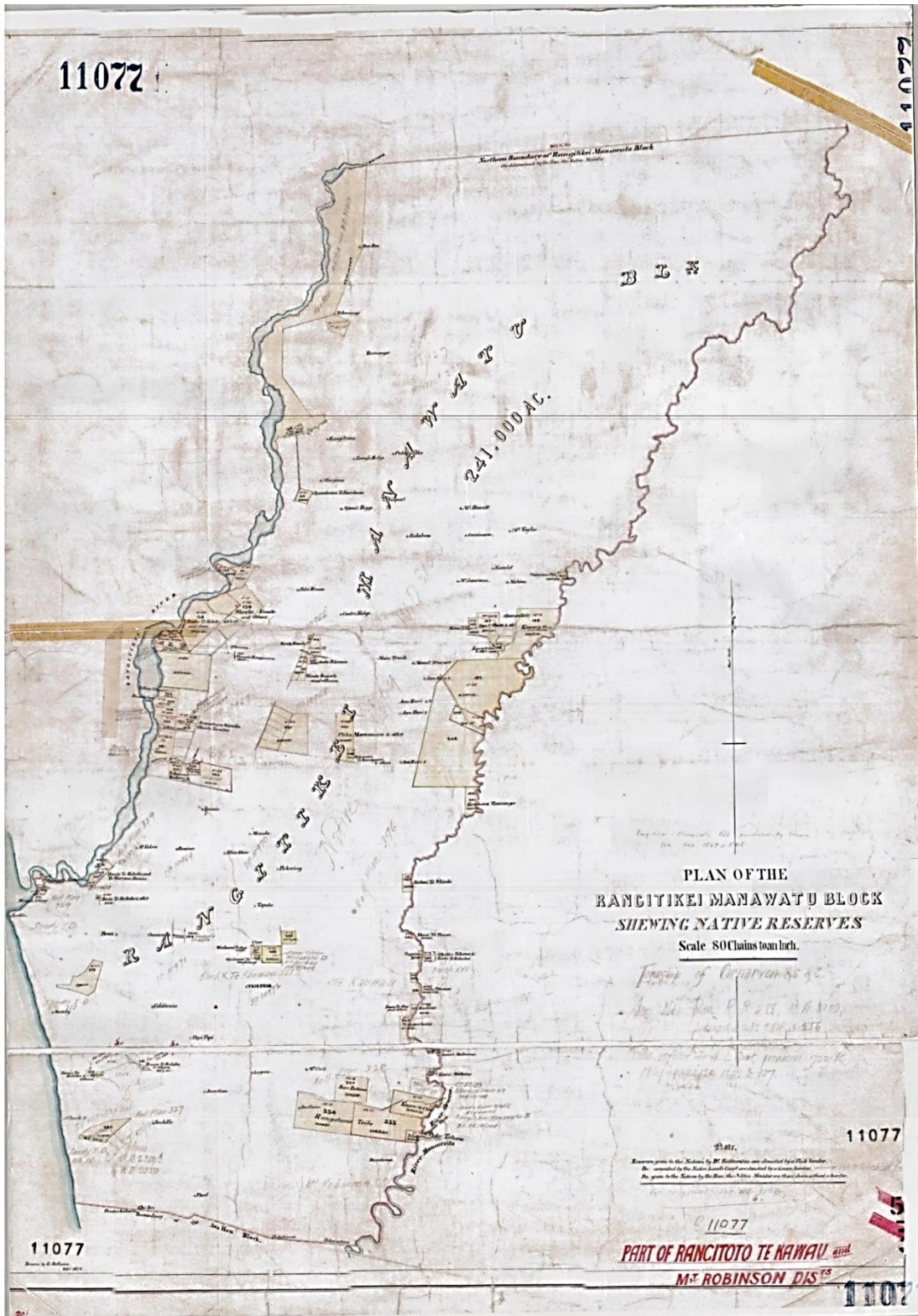
Cultivations were established early after arrival in the area. Indeed, it is said to be thriving before Haowhenua (1834) and Te Kuititanga (1839), the major battles which confirmed Ngāti Raukawa status and position in the region.¹¹ The work of the gardens and their produce was shared among the hapū and different chiefs took turns ensuring that the cultivations were maintained. For example, when Matene Te Whiwhi left Manawatū, Nepia Taratoa took possession of his cultivations. The major Ngāti Raukawa cultivation at Rangitīkei was called 'Te Puki o Heke'.¹²

According to Pita Richardson the cultivation of the land at Mangamahoe and Matahiwi continues to this day some 190 years later providing produce for the hapū. He also explained that with the expanding farming businesses that water for irrigation, farming and cropping has changed the traditional pataka kai areas such as watercress. He looks on now and there are no watercress spots in those areas where they were once plentiful. This is due to overuse of water from the whenua.

¹¹ Ihakara Tukumarū, Himatangi Hearing, 9 April 1868, Ōtaki Minute Book no.1E, p 584, MLC, AUL

¹² Horomona Toremi, Himatangi hearing, 9 April 1868, Ōtaki Minute Book no.1E, p 580, MLC, AUL

Map 3: Rangitikei-Manawatū Blocks



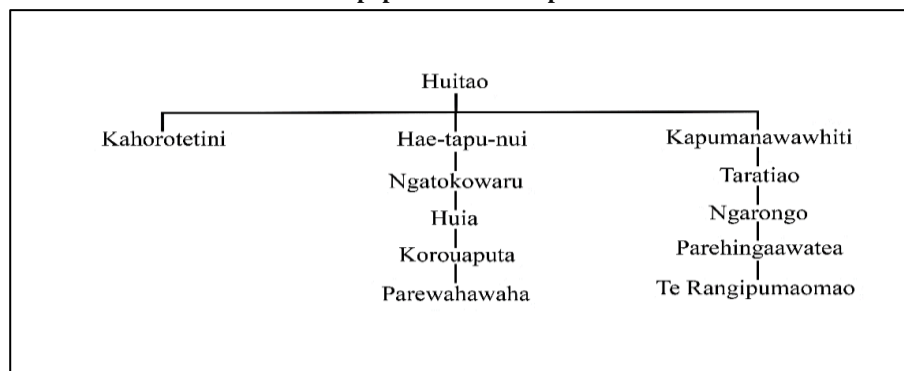
Arapere stated that by 1840 Ngāti Parewahawaha were well established in the Rangitikei/Manawatū area, having been resident for over ten years. The politics of land transactions between Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Pākeha began. Critical to

these negotiations was the mana that Ngāti Raukawa had established in the area through *take raupatu*. While Ngāti Apa attempted to deny that conquest had ever occurred, Ngāti Raukawa emphasised conquest as their right to retain, lease, sell land along the Rangitīkei River and further south. According to Hoani Meihana, Te Rangiotu of Rangitāne conceded in 1868 that Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa...were living ‘manakore’ and had ‘no tikanga’ to the land then or from some time previous. Ngāti Raukawa had the ‘mana’ and ‘tikanga’ before 1840¹³.

Ngāti Parewahawaha favoured papakāinga settlements rather than whareniui. A whareniui was opened in 1967 for Ngāti Parewahawaha after 21 years.

Ngāti Parewahawaha had other close kin who also settled along the river with them. Ngāti Tukorehe [Mateawa] and Ngāti Kahoro Te Tini also settled in the area of Mākowhai, Matahiwi and Mangamahoe. According to Ballara, iwi and hapū structures were open to change and develop in response to internal and external factors. Hapū names have been reconstituted and dis-established. For example, according to Arapere, Ngāti Parewahawaha was also known as Ngāti Kahoro te tini. Kahoro was a sister to Kapu-manawa-whiti and Hae-tapu-nui. Different names were adopted for varied purposes and occasions (Arapere, 1999, p. 58).

Whakapapa 3: Huitao ka puta ko...



According to Arapere, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, an early observer of tribal politics in the lower half of the North Island, wrote ‘Adventure in New Zealand’, published in 1845. Wakefield’s account suggests that he had some knowledge of the tribal political situation

¹³ MLC AUL, *Ōtaki Minute Book No.1C* Evidence of Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu, Himatangi Hearing, 12 March 1868, p. 244.

of the west coast area. In his book, he identified the important iwi groups in the area as well as many of the hapū. Wakefield wrote that,

“Arriving about noon at Manawatū, we found a large party of Ngāti Raukawa assembled in the pā at the mouth. Among them was a chief of high rank, by the name of Taratoa, the head of the branch of the tribe called Ngāti Parewawa.”¹⁴

Thus, Wakefield had identified the major iwi (Ngāti Raukawa), hapū (Ngāti Parewahawaha) and leader (Nepia Taratoa) of the area. Parewahawaha remained based at their settlements at Poutū, Matahiwi, Mangamahoe, Marama-i-hoea and Ōhinepuhiawe until Native Land Court decisions of the 1860’s redefined the territory they could call their own.

7.0 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

The early part of the nineteenth century was a period of cultural upheaval for Māori as the impact of early contact with Europeans lead to mounting inter-tribal pressures. This was the catalyst that set the 1820-30 migrations in motion. Ngāti Raukawa was under increasing pressure from their northern neighbours who had access to traders and consequently firearms and other commodities. This gave them an advantage over their southern neighbours. Thus, when Te Rauparaha extended the invitation to come south, although there was some initial reluctance and some persuasion was required, a large sector eventually did accept. The expeditions were an exercise of major proportions; the whole tribe migrating included women and children. They encountered and engaged in skirmishes with the local tribes and their muskets gave them an advantage over the traditionally armed south western tribes. Arriving in the Kapiti area they settled with their Ngāti Toa kin, then later moved throughout the Horowhenua and lower Manawatū, so by the 1840’s they had established kāinga and pā as far as the Rangitīkei River.

¹⁴ Wakefield, 1908, p. 445.

8.0 THE RANGITĪKEI – TURAKINA PURCHASE

In 1849 the full pressure of colonisation was once again to impact upon Ngāti Raukawa, as settlers seeking land and Crown interests in pacifying tribal groups along the lower West Coast of the North Island. This was preceded by missionaries seeking new converts to Christianity and culminated in the attempt by Ngāti Apa to take all of the land from north of Whangaehu to the Manawatū River to the Crown. This once again renewed tensions between Ngāti Raukawa and their Rangitīkei neighbours Ngāti Apa, however it was established at a hui at Te Awahou [Foxton] on 15-16 March 1849 that the Rangitīkei River was the boundary between them and that Ngāti Raukawa were opposed to any land sales on the Manawatū side. This is confirmed in a letter dated 20 January 1849 from Ngāti Raukawa to McLean:

“If you wish to purchase let it be the other side of the Rangitīkei do not consent to buy this side it will not be given up all the people have determined to hold the land the boundary is Rangitīkei.”¹⁵

Ngāti Apa were required to cede irrevocably all claims to land on the south side of the Rangitīkei River. In 1872 Ihakara Tukumarū recalled that:

“We shifted our boundary hitherward from Whangaehu to Rangitīkei. We agreed to allow Mr McLean’s tribe the Ngāti Apa to sell the land on the other side of the Rangitīkei [sic] to him and the Ngāti Raukawa retained the land this side of Rangitīkei. It was through my consent that the land on the northern side of Rangitīkei was disposed of. The boundary of our land was then fixed at Rangitīkei.”¹⁶

9.0 THE RANGITĪKEI -MANAWATŪ BLOCK SALE

Ngāti Parewahawaha were one of many hapū against the selling of the block. Arapere stated that Featherston would discredit those in opposition deliberately. Featherston’s notes of the meeting at Te Takapu explain much about his motivation and dislike of the anti-sale faction of Ngāti Raukawa.

He commented just days before the meeting:

“[the opponents of the sale] availed themselves of the interval afforded to foment discontent among the people and to create a feeling adverse to the sale. As often

¹⁵ McLean Papers, MS Papers 32, Folder 3, Ngāti Raukawa to McLean, Ōtaki, 20 January 1849, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington

¹⁶ Ōtaki Minute Book No.1, MLC, AUL. Evidence of Ihakara Tukumarū, Manawatū-Kukutauaki hearing, 12 November 1872, p. 13.

happens on such occasions those who were most zealous in opposing the sale...were amongst those who had least claim to the land.”¹⁷

Discrediting the title of non-sellers and deliberately underestimating their numbers were common ploys of both Featherston and Buller. The bonafide non-sellers and occupants at that stage of the negotiations were led by Nepia Taratoa and Aperahama Te Huruhuru of Ngāti Parewahawaha, and Henare Te Herekau, Te Kooro Te One and Parakaia Te Pouepa, and other Ngāti Raukawa rangatira who had claims to land within the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block. Paranihi Te Tau, Ngawaka and many others of Ngāti Pīkiahū also emphasised their opposition to the sale. All these leaders had title and occupancy rights within the block, and Taratoa had succeeded his father in claiming mana whenua over the northern part of the area.

Consent to the sale was never unanimous. When the non-sellers again requested that the dispute be taken before the Native Land Court, Featherston denied that the court had any competence and again insisted that the matter was settled through sale. Featherston continued the negotiating of the sale despite the opposition of non-sellers. The price for the block was set at £25,000 and a memorandum of sale detailing the boundaries was set out. The sale was complete. Buller executed dubious measures to get signatures as sellers often did not know what they were signing.

Taratoa, who was clearly against the sale, argued that Buller tried to coerce him to selling and then wrote Taratoa’s name on the deed himself. He stated to Richmond that:

‘he...[Buller] asked me to sign the Rangitīkei [-Manawatū] deed, I refused...Mr Buller said, well I can sign it for you, I then went away. This was the way he got many signatures...there are many here who can witness that fact.’¹⁸

The mark ‘Nepia Maukiringutu Tohe’ appeared on the deed of sale, but Taratoa maintained that he never signed the deed.¹⁹

¹⁷ Notes of various meetings held with the several tribes engaged with the Rangitīkei land dispute during March and April 1866, p 13, MA 13/69a, NA.

¹⁸ Notes of a Conversation with Certain Natives in Number 20 who waited on the Hon. Mr Richmond on October 24th, 1866 on the Subject of the Manawatū Purchase, 24 October 1866, MA 13/70a, NA

¹⁹ Deed of Sale, Rangitīkei-Manawatū Block, Rangitīkei District, No. 70, 13 December 1866, Turton, Māori Deeds of Land Purchase, Vol. II, pp. 224-5.

Arapere explains that Archdeacon Hadfield protested in the Wanganui Chronicle at some of Buller's practices. Of the deed of sale, which had over one thousand signatures on it by August 1866, he maintained that: 'Had Mr Buller obtained the signatures of the real owners of the land, there would be no need for all these names.'²⁰

Particularly disputable were the large number of signatures on the deed who had little or no interest in the block, such as the many Whanganui and Ngāti Kahungunu who signed (For example, 730 Whanganui and 58 Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Atiawa signed the deed of cession. Whanganui signatories clearly outnumbered Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Apa on the deed.²¹

Featherston reported to the government in early 1867 about why the purchase was taking so long. He maintained that the loss of time had occurred because Buller had made the effort to carry the deed to every hapū between Whanganui and Wellington. Time was also lost because of the opposition of chiefs with: 'great local influence whose signatures I considered absolutely essential to the completion of the purchase...The two most important of these Chiefs are Nepia Taratoa and Aperahama Te Huruhuru'²²

The protests of Ngāti Raukawa non-sellers took many forms, but all attempts were blocked by government agents. Ihakara Tukumarū and Horomona Toremi filed a lawsuit at the Supreme Court in Wellington against Isaac Featherston, for selling their land.²³ The leaders of a significant number of hapū, including Ngāti Parewahawaha rejected the sale.

Of Ngāti Parewahawaha, 20 are said to have rejected the sale:

"E.M. Puckey, an interpreter for the Department of Native Affairs submitted a list of non-selling hapū to Featherston on 13 November 1867. The Ngāti Raukawa hapū opposed to the sale and the approximate number of dissenters were given as: Ngāti Kauwhata 40, Ngāti Wehiwehi 37, Ngāti Rangī 20, Ngāti Maiotaki 30, Ngāti Parewahawaha 20, Ngāti Huia 30, Ngāti Kapu 20, Te Mateawa 25, Ngāti Tukorehe 20, Ngāti Maniapoto 20, Ngāti Whakatere 20, Te Matewha 40, Ngāti Pare 10, Ngāti Turanga 20, Ngāti Rakau 20, Ngāti Horu 10 and Ngāti Matau 10. The total number of dissenters listed is 392..."²⁴

²⁰ Octavius Hadfield, Wanganui Chronicle. 15 August 1866

²¹ Featherston to Richmond, 23 March 1867, MA 13/70f, NA

²² Report to Featherston re: the Purchase Meeting at Parewanui, 23 March 1867, p. 6, MA 13/69b, NA.

²³ Notes of a conversation with Certain Natives in Number 20 who waited on the Hon Mr Richmond on October 24th, 1866 on the Subject of the Manawatū Purchase, 24 October 1866, MA 13/70a, NA

²⁴ MA 13/70c, NA, p.1.

The hapū who most vehemently rejected the sale resided within the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block and had done so for at least thirty years. The Crown's agents, however, used their power and influence to ignore the protests and to continue with the sale negotiations regardless. Despite earlier opposition by Ngāti Raukawa to sales of land South of the Rangitīkei River, they were not able to hold out against the pressures brought to bear and the sale of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block was completed in 1866 on the understanding that reserves would be set-aside for the respective tribes.

Featherston stipulated in letters and in his deed of cession that reserves were to be solely at his discretion despite recommendation from Richmond and the government that provision in the shape of reserves for dissidents among the tribes...would be fully defined as possible.²⁵ According to Harold Wereta what was particularly disturbing about this transaction was the undermining of traditional leadership structure of local hapū and iwi by the Crown and its agents.

With the death of the old Chief Nepia Taratoa, it was simpler for the Crown to undermine the mana and authority of chiefs who did not have the same status as the principal chief. The sale in the view of Ngāti Parewahawaha was nothing more than Crown theft knowing that if the Iwi raised an arm the matter of confiscation might have applied. The old and young chiefs of Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa were very familiar with this practice having seen their kin lose their lands through confiscation in the Waikato.

The dissenters within Ngāti Raukawa continued to petition the government with their unceasing opposition to the sale that they believed was invalid. This occupied their time for at least another thirty years. Arapere stated that Taratoa refused any share of the purchase money. In July 1869 the claims of other non-selling hapū, including Ngāti Parewahawaha were heard at the Supreme Court in Wellington. Judges F.E. Manning and Francis Fenton presided, the Attorney-General James Prendergast argued the Crown case and W.T.L. Travers represented the claimants.²⁶

²⁵ Featherston to Richmond, 23 March 1867, p.306, MA 13/69b, NA

²⁶ Memorandum on the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Land Claims, AJHR, 1870, A-25, p. 3.

The Crown case rejected conquest by Ngāti Raukawa, stressing instead, the continued independence and occupation rights of Ngāti Apa.²⁷

The court released its' findings.

Judgement was delivered in the form of six questions:

Question 1: Did Ngāti Raukawa acquire dominion over Ngāti Apa prior to 1840?

Court answered 'No' and that Ngāti Raukawa as a whole, had no claim to the lands in question.

Question 2: Did Ngāti Raukawa acquire possession by occupation according to Māori custom prior to 1840?

The court found that: Ngāti Raukawa, as a tribe, has not acquired, by occupation, any rights over the estate. The three hapū of Raukawa, Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Parewahawaha, and Ngāti Kauwhata have, by occupation, and with the consent of the Ngāti Apa, acquired rights which will constitute them owners according to Māori custom.²⁸

Question 3: Had the rights of Ngāti Apa to the land been completely extinguished?

The court found that rights were not extinguished but were only affected by the three Ngāti Raukawa hapū who had acquired rights.

Question 4: Was there land right?

The court found that the rights of Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Kauwhata had co-existed.

The final two questions were not answered.

By order of the court, given on 25 September 1869 when the Court reconvened, it awarded Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro 1000 acres and Ngāti Kauwhata 4500 acres.²⁹ The

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

court case downplayed the impact of conquest and occupation by Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro, saying that

“they were simply invited to come by the Ngāti Apa themselves, and were placed by them in a position which, by undoubted Māori usage, entitled upon the newcomers very important rights, though not the rights of conquerors.”

Moreover, the Court did not consider the arrival of Ngāti Raukawa as tantamount to conquest because the original occupiers were not exterminated or completely expelled. The claims of all the non-sellers’ other than Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Kauwhata were rejected and undermined by the Land Court in which they had placed all their hopes. The order also vindicated Featherston’s dubious actions during the sale negotiations and angered Ngāti Raukawa non-sellers by undermining their claims.

The historian M.P.K Sorrenson argued that the findings of the court were:

“A complete misrepresentation of the situation at 1840, the only standard upon which Native Land Court could award ownership. These were the first Native Land Court sittings held to consider ownership of land in which government had an interest. The conduct of the Court sittings and the final decisions, upholding Featherston’s purchase, did much to perpetuate suspicions of unfairness of Government dealings in Māori Lands”³⁰

10.0 RESERVES

After many years Ngāti Parewahawaha were provided with reserves. On 22 November 1870 Hare Reweti reiterated the concerns of Ngāti Parewahawaha at a meeting with McLean at Bulls township in the Rangitīkei area. However, Hare Reweti’s greatest concern was the economic base and cultivations of Ngāti Parewahawaha.

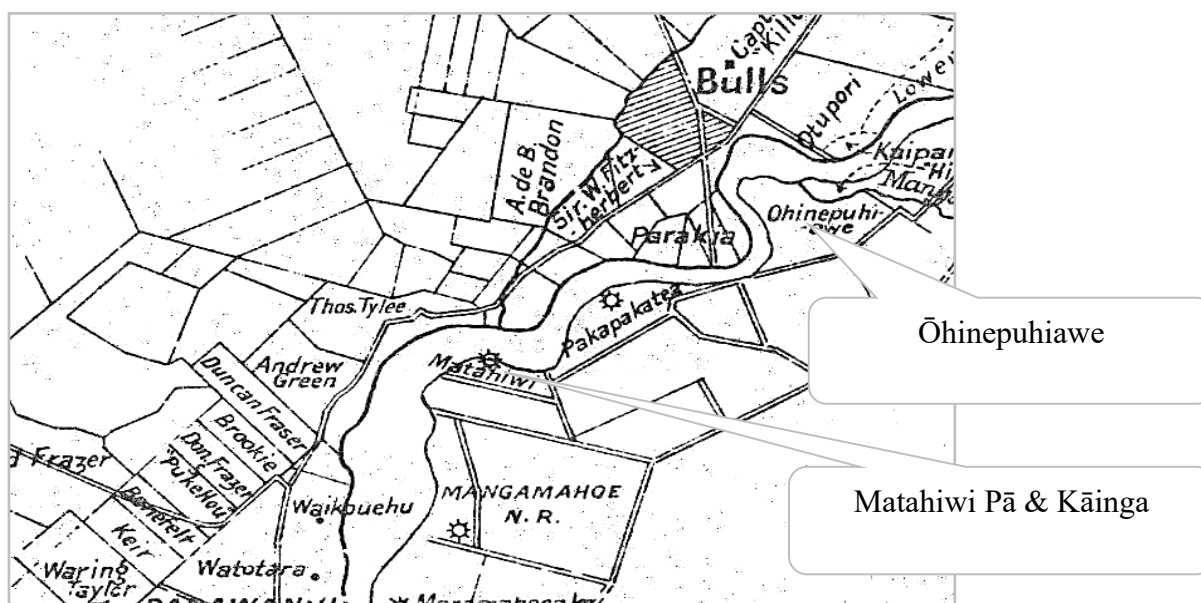
“I ask that reserves should be made. I consider they should be our cultivations at Ōhinepuhiawe and Matahiwi. [At] Marama-i-hoea, all those cultivations have gone to the Government, we got nothing outside of the door of the house.”³¹

While Ngāti Parewahawaha title eventually had been recognised, the reserve allocations were proving restrictive and insufficient for the maintenance of the hapū cultivations, their major economic base since leasing had been outlawed.

³⁰ Sorrenson, MPK. *The Purchase of Māori Lands, 1865-92*, MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1955, p. 69.

³¹ Notes of the meeting at Bulls, Rangitīkei, 22 November 1870, p.4, MA 13/72a, NA.

Map 4: Matahiwi and Ōhinepuhiawe Māori Reserves



The following are Ngāti Parewahawaha reserves:

<i>Name of Reserve/Urupā</i>	<i>Location</i>
Ōhinepuhiawe	From Te Ara Tau Maihi cliff face along Domain Road Bulls and up to and including the cliff face on the southern side of the river – Wightmans Road, Bulls
Hikungarara Urupā Trust	Papakāinga – māra kai – hi ika Wightmans Rd, Bulls
Mangamāhoe	Urupā McDonells Road, both sides. Known for the grove of Mahoe trees. Papakāinga – Māra kai
Marama-i-hoea Urupā Reserve	Off Taylors Rd, Ohakea (Rangitīkei River area) South of Mangamahoe Papakāinga – māra kai – urupā
Matahiwi Native Reserve	Off McDonells Rd, Ohakea (Rangitīkei River area) Papakāinga – māra kai – urupā
Matahiwi Urupā	Off McDonells Rd, Ohakea (Rangitīkei River area)
Poutu-te-rangi Urupā Reserve	Taylors Rd, Poutu No Exit Rd, Ohakea Papakāinga – māra kai - hi ika – urupā Tangimoana River Mouth and surrounds
Tawhirihoē	Papakāinga – hi ika – māra kai
Ōhinepuhiawe Reserve	

An area upstream of the Bulls SH1 Bridge on the true left bank first settled by Te Nge o Raukawa and his people of Ngāti Parewahawaha.

10.1 Matahiwi Native Reserve

This reserve is downstream of the affected area and was once the site where Nepia Taratoa and about 150 of his people settled.

(<http://www.Māorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/20796.htm>) Matahiwi Urupā is not noted as Māori land on the “Māori land online” website.

10.2 Mangamahoe Reserve [Rangitikei-Manawatū]

This was a larger block on the seaward boundary of the Matahiwi Reserve where a further 50 Ngāti Parewahawaha had settled.

10.3 Marama-i-hoea

Original area: 419 acres in four sections. Native Section 144 Township of Sandon – 100 acres vested in Āperahama Te Huruhuru of Parewahawaha granted 20 February 1874.

10.4 Marama-i-hoea Pā

Rural section 356 Township of Carnarvon – 124 acres vested in Ateara Te Toko, Wiremu Pukapuka and Harata Waipae granted 21 October 1879. Part of Marama-i-hoea Native Reserve Sec 360 – 147 acres vested in Horomona Toremi (129/147 shares) and Pekamu Ateara and 21 others (18/147 shares) granted 23 September 1887. Native Section 357 Township of Carnarvon – 50 acres vested in Ateara Te Toko of Ngāti Kahoro. There was a restriction placed on this land; it was inalienable by sale or mortgage by lease beyond a period of 21 years.

All the Marama-i-hoea owners were selling their shares to Marjorie Fraser. Further research is required as to the reason for selling of shares in this block. Only remaining urupā is located about one kilometre upstream from Taylors Road. Marama-i-hoea Urupā block. (<http://www.Māorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/20780.htm>)

10.5 Remaining lands at 2017: Nil

Following the early land transactions described briefly above, successive iterations of Māori Land legislation created title to Ngāti Raukawa reserves. The determination of individual title matched with the impoverishment of Māori brought about the inevitable shrinkage in reserves as more and more of the reserved land was sold. Subsequently, with the bulk of the reserves having been removed from any form of Ngāti Raukawa ownership, direct control of wāhi tapu located on these lands has been very difficult to assert.

11.0 WĀHI TAPU

11.1 Ōhinepuhiawe

Already identified as a reserve and a kāinga of Rangatira of Ngāti Parewahawaha Te Nge o Raukawa and others and was situated on the true left bank, however it now lies on the opposite side due to the flood in 1897, when the river carved a new course eastward.

Ōhinepuhiawe Land Blocks. In 1887 there were 385 acres in two blocks: 100 acres in Ōhinepuhiawe (OHP) 140 and 285 acres in OHP 141. The flood of 1897 changed the course of the Rangitīkei River and wiped out 100 acres of Ōhinepuhiawe land block.

Sketch showing OHP 141 (285 acres) and OHP 140 (100 acres) both originally on the east side of the Rangitīkei River and the new river channel running through OHP 140 and washing away over half the block.³² 19 Nov 1902, Letter from TW Downes³³, surveyor, to the Chief Surveyor notifying him that 24 ‘natives’ are forwarding an application for survey of the Ōhinepuhiawe native reserve. He notes:

“A very large portion of the land has been washed away and the natives are quarrelling among themselves and with the pakeha over what is left and over the riverbed. Fences have been erected and cut down. They are now making application to the Native Land Court to subdivide and apportion the land.”

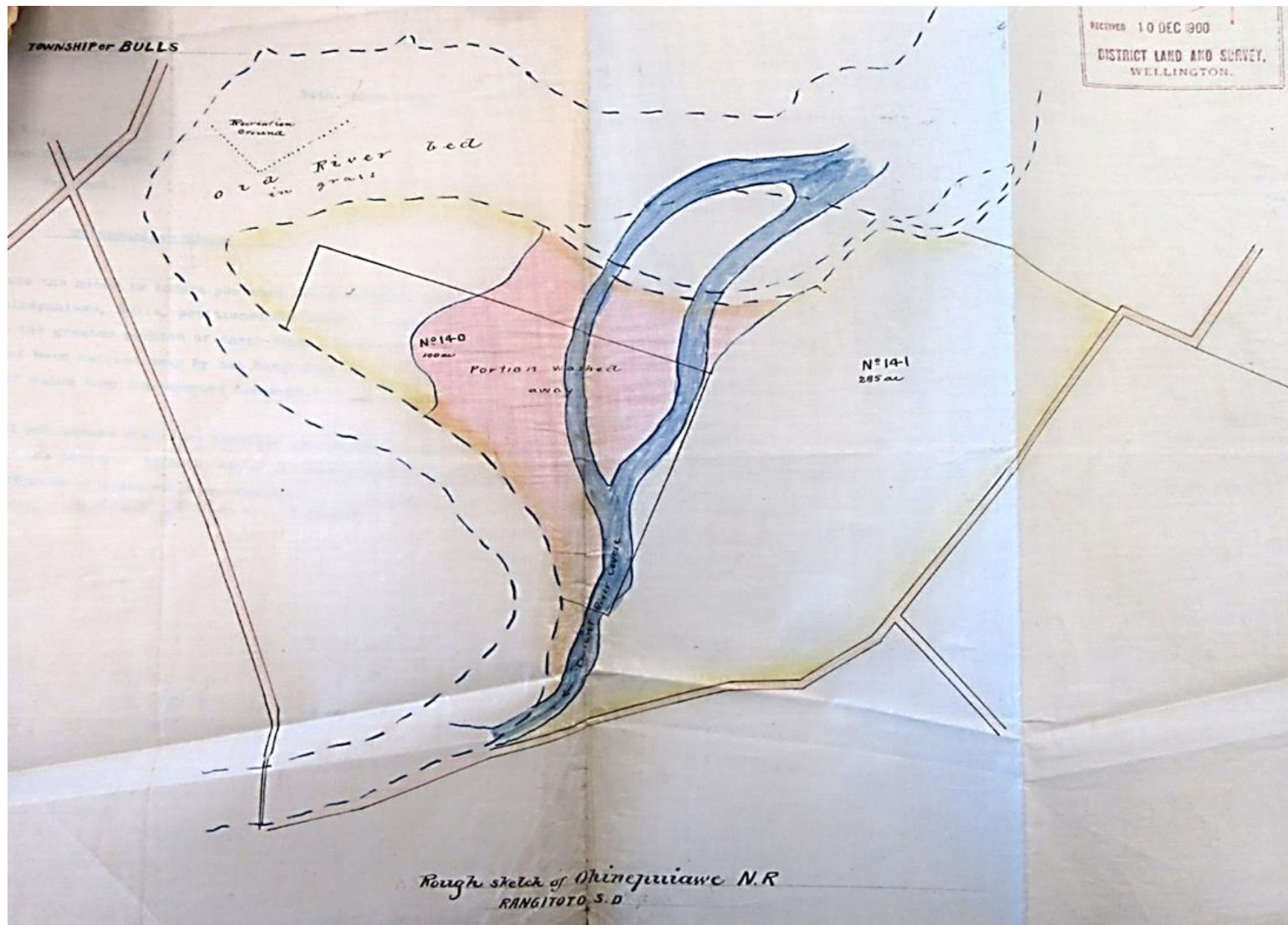
1 Dec 1902, Letter from TW Downes³⁴ to the chief surveyor regarding the size and value of OHP 140 and 141 after the river swept the land away. He found on Ōhinepuhiawe 140, ‘about 10-15 acres of an island remains, with standing bush upon it, and the surrounding shingle is being “silted over” and becoming covered with vegetation’.

³² IMGS 0450 and 0449, R20-436-481b

³³ IMG 0437, R20-436-481b

³⁴ IMGs 0433-0435, R20-436-481b

Map 5: Rough sketch of Ōhinepuhiawe Native Reserve, Rangitoto Survey District



On OHP 141 he found 'about 70 acres is on top of the cliff' and adjoining the Ohakea Special Settlement Block. Below the cliff he estimated:

'about 100 acres in rich alluvial deposit ... superior in quality to the land on the cliff - But it is in danger from the river (emphasis in original) not so much from flooding as from erosion'.

Thus, out of the original 285 acres, only 180-185 acres remained. Of that, 10-15 acres was un-useable and 100 acres was good soil, but potentially unsuitable for cultivating and living on because it was at risk of being eroded away by the river. See map below showing in detail the old river bed, the new river course, the Ōhinepuhiawe blocks and their condition, and cultivations, dwellings and other sites of importance, such as urupā.

Map 6: Ohinepuhiawe Native Reserve



In 2016, there were 88 acres in 11 blocks. Almost 300 acres or 77% of land has been lost; only 23% remains. There were approximately 66 acres remaining of OHP 140, including OHP 141B1A, representing a 34% reduction in land area. In contrast, there were around 20 acres left of OHP 141 from an original area of 285 acres. There has been a 93% loss of land from OHP 141. See the table below for details of the remaining blocks and land areas, and below for an image of them.

Table 1: Ōhinepuhiawe Lands 2016

OHP 140 blocks	Area	OHP 141 blocks	Area
140 B2	7.2 acres	141A 4B	1 acre
140D	0.5 acres	141B 2D	12.2 acres
140 C1 & 141 B1A	23.6 acres	141C 2B1	Approx. 1 acre
140E & OHP 140F	34.9 acres	141C 2B2	Approx. 1 acre
TOTAL	66.2 acres	141C 1	2 acres
		141C	1.75 acres
		141 C2A	1 acre
		TOTAL	19.95 acres

Map 7: Ōhinepuhiawe Lands today



The blocks that are visible in the image are: adjacent to the Bulls Domain - Ōhinepuhiawe 140C1 and 141B1A, 140E and F, and 140B2; and on the opposite side of the river, from the left – Pt Ōhinepuhiawe 141B2D, 141B4B and 141A4B)³⁵

11.2 Hikungarara

This site is an urupā of Ngāti Parewahawaha off Wightmans Road overlooking the Rangitikei River. Hikungarara Urupā:
<http://www.Māorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/20173.htm>.

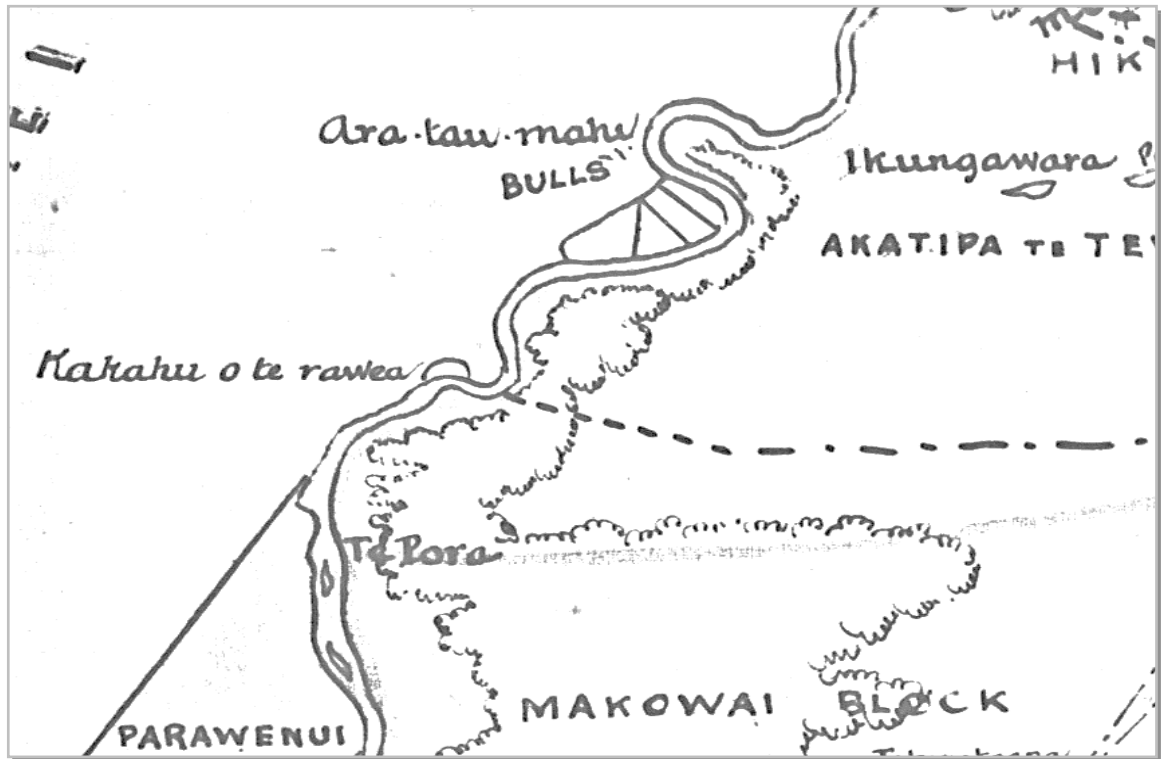
11.3 Poutu-te-rangi

Situated off Taylors Rd, Poutu No Exit Rd, Ohakea. This area was the first papakāinga when Ngāti Parewahawaha first settled in the area. It had a māra kai, traditional tuna fishing and the urupā is currently on a hill and landlocked.

Poutu te rangi Urupā reserve: <http://www.Māorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/20779.htm>.

³⁵ Māori Land Online, <https://www.Māorilandonline@govt.nz>, last updated 16 February 2017.

Map 8: Position of Te Kākahu o Rawea (Kakaho o Raura) and Te Pora



11.4 Tawhirihoē

Is located at the river mouth of the Rangitīkei River at Tangimoana. Keremihana Wairaka was one of the non-sellers to the Crown. Some of the others sold and left.

Tawhirihoē is not noted as Māori land on the “māori land online” website. It is however noted on the original map.

11.5 Matahiwi

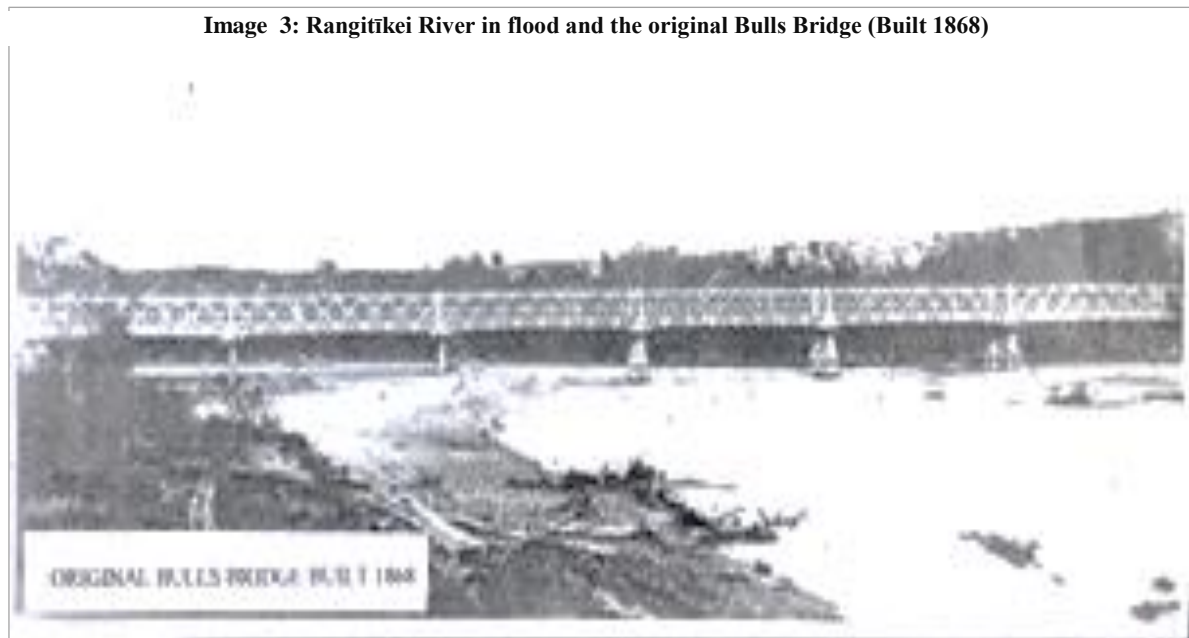
Also identified as a reserve Matahiwi contains pā, kāinga and urupā sites belonging to Ngāti Parewahawaha. However, this reserve was also affected by the flood of 1897 and a portion of it now lies in the river and on the opposite bank.

11.6 Te Kākaho o te Raura

This site is recorded in George F Swainson’s survey map of Rangitīkei Manawatū Land Blocks in 1868 as Kākahu o te Rawea.

11.7 Te Pora

Is another site further downstream of the activity otherwise known as Te Pora-a-Tuna and was a cultivation area on the banks of the river.



12.0 THE RANGITĪKEI RIVER – IMPACTS

Historically the Rangitīkei River formed a natural highway of transportation. As such, for centuries, it linked together many of the hapū and iwi that resided along its banks. It also provided a means of travel between the coastal plains and the interior hinterlands. Relics of the past such as old “dugout” canoes remind us of a past era of use. With an abundance of wildlife, the River has provided an essential food supply such as tuna, fresh water koura and waterfowl as well as a source of clean water. This food source was essential in maintaining a balanced diet. The fertile river terraces also provided for excellent cultivations for the hapū and iwi who resided along its banks.

Several of the Ngāti Raukawa migrations came down through Taupo via the Rangipō Desert and then striking the Rangitīkei River at Kaiānanga (Utiku), then traveling by canoes descending the River to the coast, where they continued onto Kapiti. Subsequently the Ngāti Raukawa hapū Ngāti Parewahawaha returned to establish themselves along the Manawatū side of the Rangitīkei River.

The River and its environs sustained the people of Ngāti Parewahawaha from the time that they settled on the southern bank of the River until the impact of widespread European settlement led to the gradual land loss in this area by many of their people. It is important to note that many Ngāti Parewahawaha people were born, lived, died and buried on the banks of Rangitīkei.

It therefore stands to reason that the Rangitīkei River is extremely important to Ngāti Parewahawaha as with all other iwi/hapū that reside along its banks on account of the long history of association with the river and dependency on the sustenance and transportation that it provided. Many hapū assert and maintain a spiritual bond with the river based on the belief that it originates from Ranginui and falls as rain onto Papatūānuku to form a body of water that has become the mauri of the people.

For Ngāti Raukawa as with the other iwi who dwell along its banks, the Rangitīkei River, like the many other water-bodies within their rohe potae is esteemed as a waitaonga, a treasure to be held onto and maintained.

12.1 Waitaonga

Ngāti Parewahawaha value waterways and water bodies, not as commodities, but as treasures, hence the term waitaonga, treasured because of the mauri or life giving and supporting properties they possess. Therefore, activities affecting waitaonga need to be managed in a manner that maintains and preserves the mauri to protect the special status of the waterway, and to ensure enjoyment by future generations.

13.0 SITES OF SIGNIFICANCE

13.1 Ōhinepuhiawe

As discussed previously, Ōhinepuhiawe was settled by rangatira of Ngāti Parewahawaha Te Nge o Raukawa and others, was once on the Manawatū side of the Rangitīkei but is now on the Rangitīkei side due to the flood of 1897.

13.2 Matahiwi

As a result of the flood of 1897, the Matahiwi settlement was disbanded and the settlement church relocated further inland away from the river; the human remains from the urupā were exhumed and reburied there also. Pita Richardson recalls a church called Wahangū at Matahiwi. That small church was Anglican and was built around the same era as Parewanui church across the river and the small church at Shannon. Wahangū was built in the 1880-1890s and it became dilapidated through non-use around the time of the second World War.

Pita Richardson recalls while he was growing up there were about a dozen homes and families at Matahiwi. It was quite a thriving community. Now there is only one home and one farm, only our family live there. When he was a kid, most of the whānau farmed. They went fishing and grew māra kai to supplement the larder because they had a big whānau. It was a normal thing, in those days, for cousins to come and stay. They did not stay for a day and go home, they stayed for three or four weeks or even longer.

13.3 Te Kakahou o Te Raura

Horomona Toremi is recorded in Māori Land Court Minutes to have identified Te Kakahou o Te Raura and according to him:

“It was on the south of the river, yet on Swainson’s map it is on the north side. The flood of 1905 may have affected the site, when earthquakes triggered a landslide at a place called Opiki above Rātā, which blocked the river for two days before letting go a flood that destroyed a number of sites along the river.”

13.4 Wāhi Tapu

Ōhinepuhiawe became and remains the hub of Ngāti Parewahawaha hapū life, with the Ngāti Parewahawaha Marae, the whare tupuna, kōhanga and kaumātua flats also bear the same name. Whānau have their own urupā sites up and down the river. The urupā closest to the present day marae is located on the Manawatū section of the Ōhinepuhiawe Reserve east of the river.

13.5 Matahiwi

Once a large settlement of Ngāti Parewahawaha, Matahiwi is now farmed, whānau have moved away for economic reasons with the Richardson whānau maintaining ahi kaa. It

remains of great significance to Ngāti Parewahawaha and has been retained by them as a reserve to this day.

The sites of Te Kakahou o Raura and Te Pora are no longer under Ngāti Parewahawaha control due to river migrations and loss of land in the area. However, they serve as reminders of Ngāti Parewahawaha's historical occupation of the area.

13.6 Rangitīkei River Transport

Harold Wereta³⁶ shared that Aunty Sue and Uncle Blondie Blackmore's property was one of the many transport systems between the north and south through the river. The district council altered the river pathway proving detrimental to freshwater koura, young kōkopu and of course eel habitats. With the advent of the modern transport system, the traditional use of the Rangitīkei as a means of transport has long since been abandoned, however it remains the main source of traditional kai and recreation for Ngāti Parewahawaha.

13.7 Traditional Fisheries

Tuna has been the staple food for Ngāti Parewahawaha who traditionally fished for tuna from the many streams in the area that flowed from the dune lakes and swamps to the Rangitīkei River. The Rangitīkei River acts as the main artery through which the streams are replenished by the annual migrations. The tributaries were fished rather than the main river because of ease of access and relatively large numbers could be caught in one place. Today access to many of these streams is restricted because of private property and other laws, and many have been reduced to trickles through damming and drainage of wetlands, pollution from human and animal faeces, and chemicals further discourage Ngāti Parewahawaha from taking food from the streams. Therefore, Ngāti Parewahawaha are forced to fish the river more or go further afield for their tuna; even so catches are in decline.

Pita Richardson³⁷ said that the places fished were the Mākōwhai, which is a tributary of the Rangitīkei River, and the Rangitīkei River itself. The tuna from that area were very tasty, mainly because of the stoney bottom creeks and rivers. They do not have a muddy or silt bottom. Te Mākōwhai is a catchment area that extends from around Mt Stewart or

³⁶ Harold Wereta

³⁷ Richardson P. Personal conversation. Ohakea, August 2013 and 16 November 2016.

Whakaari, and the hills that run back towards Taumata o Te Rā. The catchment includes all the little streams that come from those hilly areas and flow into the Mākōwhai. The landscape is different now compared to when he was a kid. In those days there were bush remnants, swamp areas and streams that are not there today. Fishing was not only for eels, but also for kōura, pātiki and inanga when they were in season. The stocks were different compared to today, mainly because of the habitat that used to be there.

As a kid, he used to get into the creeks and catch eels by feeling for them with his hands and throwing them onto the bank. Sometimes he used a spear or gaff, but mostly caught them by hand. Throwing them onto the bank was not hard to do because the streams were not very wide. They were only about three or four metres wide.

Pita Richardson recalls learning the technique of catching eels from Uncle Tamihana Waaka, who married Aunty Mihi Weretā. He lived just down the road from Pita. He would hop on his pushbike with his sack and spear and we would tag along behind him. Later, Uncle Tom Ngāhere was another whānau member who used to go eeling and we would tag along with him. The number of eels have declined so much so that an attempt to increase numbers through a tuna management plan was implemented. Due to the natural habitat of the river being disrupted and polluted the tuna are in serious decline and some species have completely disappeared.

Horepara: Silver bellied eel greenish tinge considered a delicacy.

Īnanga: Whitebait is still being fished for at Tangimoana and Scott's Ferry but is not caught in great abundance today as it once was.

Pīharau: The blind eel, was also a traditional delicacy that were generally caught in the spring as they returned from the sea to spawn, the pīharau have not been caught in the river for around 40 years now.

Pātiki: The freshwater flounder are another traditional delicacy, and can still to be found in some reaches upstream of Bulls but they are not as abundant as they once were.

Regarding the environment, Pita Richardson shared that the rivers, streams and whenua were all well cared for and were clean and abundant in all different types of kai when he was growing up. As he reflects, today the effects of economic development in the farming industry has had a huge impact on our whenua particularly with farm effluent, fertilisers

from farms leaching into waterways, raw sewerage and industry waste being discharged directly into the river. This impact has killed most of the species that used to live in the river and others no longer can live in the habitat.

“To return the environment back to its original beauty will take many decades but we must continue the clean-up otherwise the resource will be lost to us forever.”³⁸

Pita also stated that:

“one of the main impacts on eels is commercial fishing, but the waterways have also become polluted by farm run-off. The places where tuna was once abundant in the Mākōwhai and Rangitikei are now all polluted. They’re all at different stages, some are not quite as polluted as others, but they all have pollutants in them. The other thing too is that most of the creeks and swamps have been drained so those natural habitats have completely disappeared. It’s not good news for tuna. Their natural habitat has disappeared, they are in competition with other varieties of fish and commercial fishing has had an impact.”³⁹

13.8 Recreation

Ngāti Parewahawaha have enjoyed many years of recreational swimming in the river. With pollutants entering the waterways and the gravel extraction which disrupts the natural filtration system of the river the past 30 years has seen a huge decline in swimming spots. Where we as children would swim, - today is so polluted that swimming is not recommended from Kakariki down to the Tangimoana river mouth due to industry on the river and farming discharge to river.

14.0 TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS

14.1 Iwi and Hapū philosophy

Ngāti Raukawa – Ngāti Parewahawaha resource management philosophy is based upon the Māori philosophy of kaitiakitanga originating through whakapapa and the interconnectedness of the physical and the meta-physical elements of this world. As described by the Waitangi Tribunal in the Manukau Claim:

“The natural world of the Māori was not divided into seen and unseen parts, but the physical and spiritual dimensions formed an integral part and indivisible entity. That perspective dominated from the beginning and provided the foundation for latter environmental controls.”

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Kaitiakitanga: Developed and evolved with the tūpuna in Hawaiiki as Island peoples, the tūpuna had to grapple with sustainability on small resource-poor islands over thousands of years where a community that failed to find a relationship of unity with its environment risked extinction. Kaitiakitanga underwent another stage of evolution upon their reaching Aotearoa some 800 years ago, as people adapted and developed a new relationship with the new environment. Policies were further developed as the tūpuna learned of the limitations of that relationship.

Mauri: Central to this relationship is the protection and enhancement mauri; mauri is inherent in all entities. Through mauri all things are coherent and the mauri should not be desecrated. The mauri is the life force within a physical entity such as a river that ensures that all species within it have continual life, mauri is prone to desecration by uncontrolled unnatural incursions.

Wai: Water is of primary significance, it is a living entity and is central to all life. Water is particularly prone to desecration from unnatural incursions, and can become diseased, imparting this condition on to other organisms that rely upon its mauri, causing illness and possibly death.

It is this philosophy that Ngāti Raukawa brought with them on their migrations from the Waikato to the Rangitīkei districts and upon which they developed a relationship with the environment they found there. However, this relationship was all but broken off before it could be fully established, kaitiakitanga and mātauranga Māori became supplanted by European paradigms of resource management, environmental protection and western science.

Under this regime the environment was progressively stripped of its natural resources at an unsustainable rate. Over the past 190 years or more the Rangitīkei-Manawatū area was almost completely stripped of its indigenous flora and fauna. The natural character of the land and rivers was changed by erosion caused by the denudation and over grazing of the hinterlands and the over extraction of the gravel resources from the riverbeds. Māori protestations were continually ignored.

In spite of this, kaitiakitanga and mātauranga Māori survived in a few isolated areas amongst the kaumātua of Ngāti Raukawa, having retained that which was traditionally

transmitted orally from generation to generation, so when the Resource Management Act 1991 came into being, it ushered in a revival of the philosophy of kaitiakitanga.

Harold Wereta acknowledged Parewahawaha whānau traditional use and kawa/ tikanga of the river system within the domain and mana given by Te Rauparaha to Nepia Taratoa and the leading chiefs such as Aperahama Te Huruhuru Wereta. Harold identified the importance of acknowledging the kawa and tikanga of those hapū in the northern group.

Harold goes on to say:

“I recall from my grandfather (Kuruho Wereta) and his brother Uncle George how they used to describe the richness of forest life that encroached either side of the Rangitīkei River and the impact of deforestation had in the decline of biodiversity and of the ecosystem for the habitat of river and swamp life. I have seen old paintings and images for the Rangitīkei River near Bulls painted about 1847 which showed a different life. Old Wilson in his book gives important accounts of early settler life and the abundance of bird life. These were our available food source of our people living on the river.”

Harold also recalls an example of economic impact:

“I remember Grandad being very angry at the Rangitīkei DC for assuming ownership of the Rangitīkei river system through an antiquated Harbour Law which gave the old colonial rights of ownership and access because the river was large enough to bring flat-based hull schooners up and down. What this did, if I recall, was give the District Council rights to resources and the use thereof without engaging the Hapū. Your dad talks about extracting the river rocks for commercial roading. Although this was settled with royalties being paid eventually to the hapū, nonetheless it left a bitter taste.”

15.0 NEGATIVE IMPACTS

15.1 Wāhi Tapu

Gravel extraction is very close to reserves.

15.2 River Mauri

The Rangitīkei River is a substantial body of water that has its own mauri. The mauri of the river has been and continues to be affected by numerous activities including, water abstraction, contamination by water users and depletion of native flora on the river banks. These and other activities have the effect of decreasing the health of the river and diminish its ability to sustain life.

15.3 Traditional Food Sources

It is evident that the Rangitīkei River was prized by Ngāti Parewahawaha as a food source that enabled them to provide for their whānau. This is a source of great mana for the provider, to be able to give a delicacy such as tuna to manuhiri. Unfortunately, there has been a major decline in the presence of īnanga, pātiki, tuna, pihārau and other fish species. It is acknowledged that this decline can be linked to several factors, one of which is discharge of wastewater to the river.

16.0 OTHER IMPACTS

16.1 Ohakea

Ohakea Air Force Base. I am still looking for the evidence of the transferring of land (by whom) to NZ Defence despite the non-sellers stance of Ngāti Parewahawaha. That aside Ngāti Parewahawaha acknowledges a long and mutually complementary relationship with the Defence Force with the Air Force assisting with the development of the marae project over 21 years before the opening in 1967. Ngāti Parewahawaha also acknowledges the many events and activities we have shared over the years. Sadly, in 2016 we learned that the Air Force had built a new marae, no invitation to our whanau or kaumatua was received until very late in the piece. The Air Force had been advised that Ngāti Apa were the correct people to guide them due to post settlement arrangements. Ngāti Apa were actually against the Air Force creating a marae and penned a letter accordingly. Ngāti Parewahawaha will be claiming the land where the air force base is located, and now, we have the added grievance of minimal consultation with Ngāti Parewahawaha.

In early 2018 the lack of consultation continues. Through being a resident alongside Ohakea air force base a whānau member was informed about the contamination to the waterways and land alongside all other residents. That resident was ensured that iwi had been consulted. We came to know that was specifically through a group rather than to hapū directly. This meant that other iwi were privileged with the information before the neighbouring hapū. The impacts to the waterways and land of which we are kaitiaki of are numerous such as impact to mauri, hauora, economic development, biota, to name a few. Defence are still testing and a cultural impact report has not been commissioned yet. Breaches to the Treaty will be considered and will form part of this claim.

17.0 CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Ngāti Parewahawaha maintains a strong traditional history in the area dating back almost 200 years.

Ngāti Parewahawaha rights and interests in the area are based on ancestry, occupation and military force and they are therefore recognised as the tangata whenua and kaitiaki *of* the Rangitīkei River from Ōhinepuhiawe to Tangimoana and surrounding lands.

Ngāti Parewahawaha has undergone substantial social, economic and cultural change over the past 200 years however they have continued to maintain their association to the surrounding land and the Rangitīkei River.

Ngāti Parewahawaha has a cultural, physical and spiritual connection to the Rangitīkei River and a number of wāhi tapu and kāinga along its banks including Ōhinepuhiawe and Matahiwi.

The Rangitīkei – Manawatū purchases alienated Ngāti Parewahawaha lands and confined Ngāti Parewahawaha to reserves. Since this time, a culmination of factors, some of which were outside the control of Ngāti Parewahawaha have led to the loss of much of the reserved land. The Rangitīkei River has provided for Ngāti Parewahawaha for over 190 years but its traditional fisheries are in serious decline.

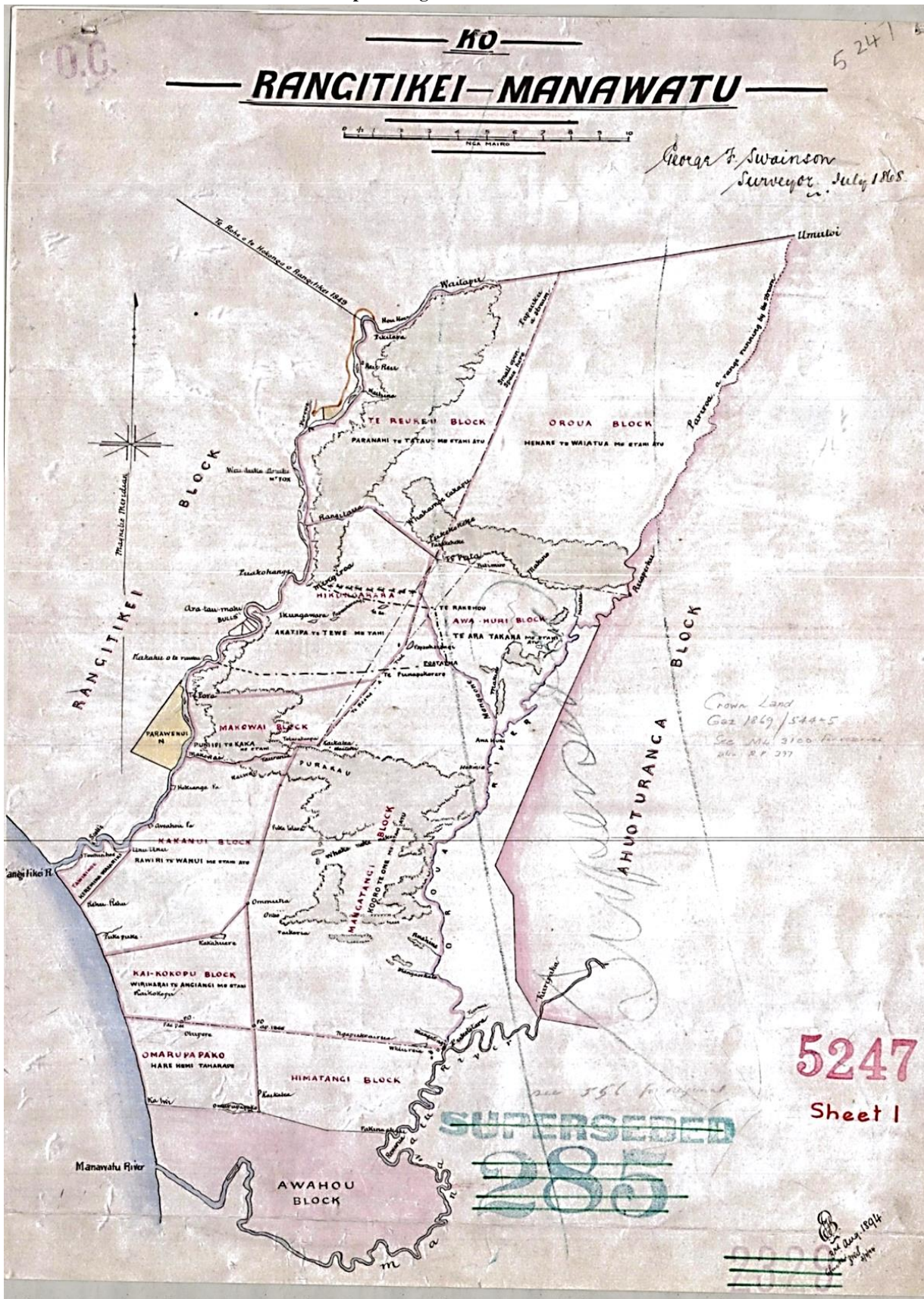
Ngāti Parewahawaha's connection to the Rangitīkei River environs and the whenua can be best described through traditional concepts such as whakapapa, mana and mauri. Ngāti Parewahawaha have identified water as a significant resource issue and believes lakes and waterways should be sustainably managed in a way that gives recognition to the mauri and mana of such resources.

Ngāti Parewahawaha have largely been alienated from controlling and managing the Rangitīkei River and the whenua however the Resource Management Act now enables Ngāti Parewahawaha to participate in the resource consent process.

Ngāti Parewahawaha are mindful of the negative impact of some activities which may cause cultural imbalances.

APPENDICES

Map 9: Rangitikei-Manawatu



Map 10: Ngā Marae o Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga

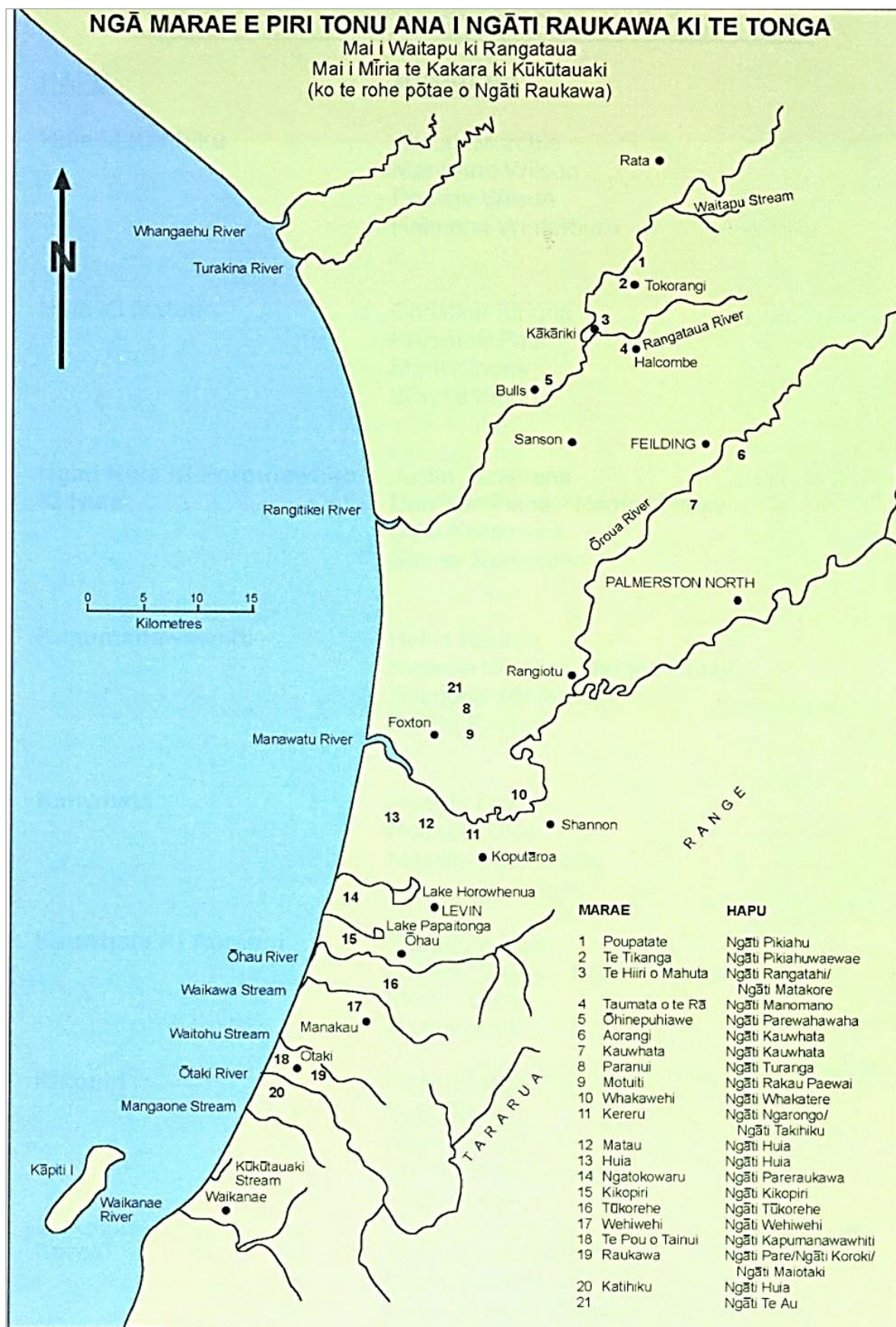


Image 1: Rangitikei River at Bulls Bridge showing significant deforestation which is indicative from the source to the river mouth and the river's edge lined with boulders pulled from within the river. (8 January 2017)



Image 2: Rangitikei River at the Bulls Bridge showing native deforestation along the river's edge



NGĀTI MANOMANO

ORAL HISTORY



Nā Ngā Uri o Manomano

2017

PEPEHA

Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Ruahine te pae maunga
Ko Rangitīkei te awa
Ko Ngāti Raukawa te Iwi⁴⁰
Ko Ngāti Manomano te Hapū
Ko Taumata ote ra te marae⁴¹



⁴⁰ Notwithstanding the various tribes of Ngāti Raukawa that live in the central North Island; within this document, unless otherwise stated, Ngāti Raukawa will refer to those hapū and iwi that migrated to the lower North Island in the 1800s. We choose to call ourselves, or be called by others, as Raukawa ki te Tonga when necessary to distinguish ourselves from the other Raukawa tribes.

⁴¹ We choose to call ourselves, or be called by others, as Raukawa ki te Tonga when necessary to distinguish ourselves from the other Raukawa tribes. This is the way that our people, the first generation' would write Taumata-o-te-rā. Throughout this narrative it will be spelt in accordance with modern writing conventions.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The pepehā on the previous page relates to a hapū that was established in the 1980s. The emergence of new hapū (and iwi) is somewhat of a rarity in today's society; Ngāti Manomano was the first new hapū to emerge from within Ngāti Raukawa for over a century. The purpose of this narrative is to relate the history and experiences of Ngāti Manomano for inclusion into a major piece of hapū based research that is supporting the Ngāti Raukawa Treaty of Waitangi claims.

Ngāti Manomano did not lodge a Treaty claim as it considered the process a potentially divisive one; choosing instead to support those claims that were working on behalf of all descendants of the iwi and hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. This narrative, based on an earlier literary work⁴² written by a hapū member, Dylan Kiriona, is our story as it relates to claims.

Treaty claims have a different focus to that of hapū history and for hapū members the original work offers more detail and information than this piece about the formation of the hapū and the building of the marae complex.

In terms of Treaty claims and land losses our story will not be very different from the stories of other hapū within, and indeed outside of Raukawa iwi. There is the typical injustice through the acts of duplicitous officials of the time, which were later intensified via a supposedly impartial Court that made judgements that happened to be convenient for the powers of the time.

This hapū based research will not attempt to argue any of those losses, or indeed the prior securing and retention of the land, as that will be completed by others. Likewise, it is not our intention to delve deeply into the migration of Raukawa to the south as that has been well documented and will no doubt be reiterated by others. Instead we will tell how our own ancestors migrated to the south, thereby showing how we came to be living in the Rangitīkei prior to losing the land; and the effect of that loss on the people of the time and their descendants today.

⁴² Ngāti Manomano, *A Vision That Became Reality*, written by Dylan Kiriona. Relevant parts were abbreviated for use in this narrative with some new material added.

As a hapū that only emerged about 30-odd years ago we are in a unique position. Although the hapū was not here during the migrations, our people were, but at that time were of Parewahawaha and Pikiāhu. Our right to form a hapū, as led by a group of formidable elders,⁴³ founded on tikanga tuku iho, and supported by the iwi is the ultimate expression of hapū and iwi self-determination. The recognition and acknowledgement of our existence by others, inside and outside of the Iwi, strengthens the iwi mana whenua within the boundaries as described in the tribal pepeha:

“Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria te Kakara ki Kukutauāki.”

After firmly establishing our roots this narrative will document the experiences of Ngāti Manomano over the last three decades. It has been a long and arduous journey with many ups and downs.

This is a collation of experiences from various individuals as well as records from minute books and other hapū correspondence.⁴⁴ The narrative talks little about the actual building of the marae complex as its relevance to the claims process is negligible. However, what is not negligible, and perhaps understated by removing the building phase, was the support received from the iwi and others.

“When the time came to commence building it was through the generosity of so many people that the project was completed. Aroha carried this project. The aroha of [our] elders who passed on the gifts of knowledge to all who were prepared to learn...The aroha of those members of the whānau who cared sufficiently to participate and to learn. The aroha of supporting whānau, hapū and iwi, and individuals who gave their time, expertise, koha and encouragement. The aroha of individuals, authorities, Government departments and Trusts of the wider community who gave financial support, material and physical assistance.”⁴⁵

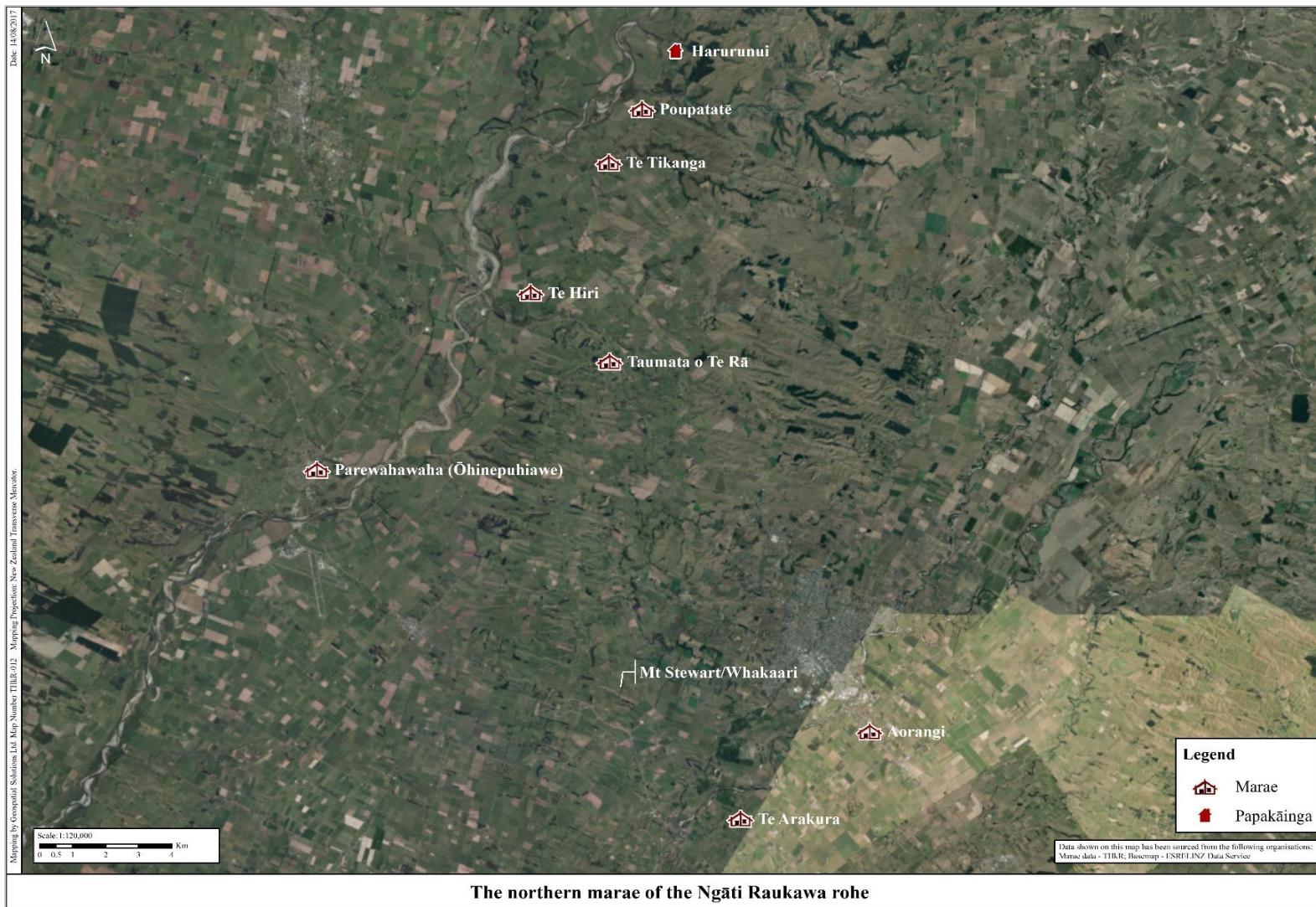
‘He aroha ki te iwi e mahi ana ki te hāpai i tō tātou Māoritanga.’

⁴³ These ‘formidable elders’ were the children of Kereama Te Ngako and his wife Waitauhi;

⁴⁴ As stated earlier, this document is based on a book written by Dylan Kiriona. Rather than continuously referring to his book we have chosen, with Dylan’s permission, to use the references provided in the original document. This will make it easier for Hapū members to track the original sources.

⁴⁵ Chairman’s Report, Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee cited in Kereama, T. 1996, p. 6.

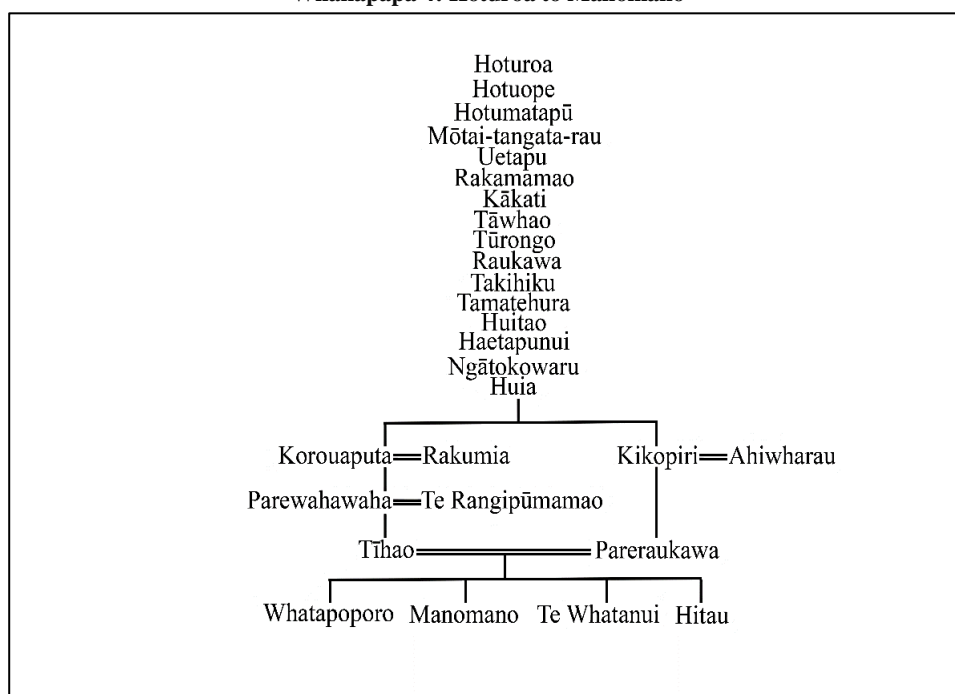
Map 1: The northern marae of the Ngāti Raukawa rohe. It shows the location of Hārurunui, the Kereama papakāinga, and Whakaari, the first place that Ngāti Manomano wanted to build Taumata-o-te-rā Marae.



2.0 MANOMANO THE ANCESTRESS

The ancestress Manomano is a descendant of Raukawa, from Tainui waka. Although there is no written evidence of her birth and death dates it is believed that she was born in the late 1700s and is said to have lived to over 100 years old. She was the daughter of Tīhao and Pareraukawa.⁴⁶ The chart Whakapapa 4: Hoturoa to Manomano shows a line of her descent.

Whakapapa 4: Hoturoa to Manomano



The ‘heke’ or migrations of Ngāti Raukawa and allied whanaunga from the Maungatautari district have been well documented.⁴⁷ The majority of those who led the migrations were descendants of Huia, and in turn his granddaughter, the Raukawa chieftainess Parewahawaha who married Te Rangipūmamao, a Tūwharetoa chief. One of their mokopuna, Te Whatanui, the brother of Manomano, led Te Heke Mairaro, the third and last of the major migrations. Te Whatanui maintained strong bonds with his grandfather’s Tūwharetoa people; he and the Tūwharetoa paramount chief Te Heuheu Mananui often supported each other in travels and battle.

⁴⁶ Kereama, T. 1996, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal offers a Ngāti Raukawa description of the Heke in his book ‘Kāti au i konei’. Royal is also quoted on the website ‘Te Ara, The encyclopaedia of New Zealand.’ The Heke were the subject of evidence in the Raukawa ‘Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho’ and Ngāti Toa Rangatira tribunal hearings.

When Te Whatanui led Te Heke Mairaro he migrated via the western shores of Taupō-nui-a-Tia. At a meeting with Te Heuheu it was agreed that hostages would be held for a period to ensure that Raukawa, in return for safe passage through Tūwharetoa territory, would not take the opportunity to attack hapū with whom they had a dispute. These hostages included the wife and daughter of Te Whatanui, Rauoterangi and Rangingangana, and his niece Rangipoutahi, a daughter of Manomano.⁴⁸ Despite Raukawa being involved in an attack that killed a local chief the hostages were released unharmed, an indication of the closeness of the relationship.

Te Whatanui led his people to the south to settle. He was considered the paramount chief of Ngāti Raukawa in his time and has been remembered in song within and outside of Raukawa. He died in the Horowhenua in the year 1846; his bones were later carried back and deposited in a cave at Waihāhā (also known as Western Bay) on the western shore of Taupō-nui-a-Tia.

The ancestress Manomano never migrated to the south. In the opening line of a pātere she composed '*E noho ana i te whanga ki Waihora*' she talks about staying at Waihora.⁴⁹ Kereama, the mokopuna of Manomano who was born in 1879, remembers meeting his kuia as a little boy. Moving slowly in her elderly years her sight was failing and she was afflicted with a goitre. After her passing Manomano was also interred in a burial cave at Waihāhā near her brother.

3.0 TE NGAKO

Manomano bore a son to Tūwhatu called Te Ngako. Te Ngako did migrate to the south as did his paternal grandfather Te Ngē-o-Raukawa. It is believed that Te Ngē-o-Raukawa was the only child of Parewahawaha to have migrated. His wife, Te Ahikā, was of Ngāti Pīkiahū, an important link that continues to be maintained. An old man at the time, Te Ngē-o-Raukawa was not here long before he died.⁵⁰ He was buried at Poutū,⁵¹ in the Ōhakea area near the Rangitīkei awa.

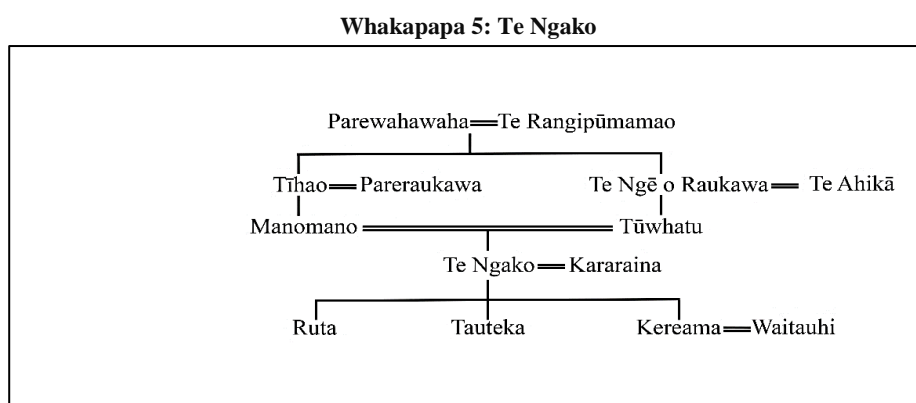
⁴⁸ Grace, 1959, p. 256.

⁴⁹ Waihora is a bay on the western shore of Taupō-nui-a-Tia, close to Waihāhā.

⁵⁰ Tūkawekai – booklet.

⁵¹ Pita Richardson 30 October 2016.

His grandson Te Ngako, settled with his people at Poutū, this settlement and its people later became recognised as being of Ngāti Parewahawaha.⁵² Te Ngako was known to have entered into the Taranaki Māori land wars fighting the redcoats. He later married Kararaina, who was much younger than him, and they had two daughters and then a son Kereama⁵³ (see chart Whakapapa 5: Te Ngako).



When Kereama was an infant Te Ngako took his family to Parihaka to support the pacifist prophets Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. When the Native Minister Mr John Bryce descended on Parihaka on 5 Nov 1881 with 1600 volunteers and armed constabulary to arrest the leaders and others, destroy the village and disperse the inhabitants of the settlement, Te Ngako and Kararaina (carrying their son Kereama on her back) returned home.⁵⁴ Raukawa also had strong factions of Kingites who advocated the retention of land; the Kīngitanga was supported by our old people and that support continues today.

Te Ngako lived in a time of major upheaval, from the migration and settling of the new home land through to the dispossession. As a non-seller he was not a signatory for the sale of the Rangitikei-Manawatū Block, hardly surprising given his two ventures into the Taranaki district. His name does not feature on any of the land reserves allocated at the time, but he did receive some minor interests in three blocks.⁵⁵ The sale of the land was conducted with a distinct disregard for the future of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa. The reserves granted to those who grudgingly sold their land under the false

⁵² Waka Huia – A Documentary on Parewahawaha marae, 1984.

⁵³ Kereama wrote that he was born at Ōhakea on 27 May 1879 – see Rangiamohia whakapapa book, p. 172.

⁵⁴ Interview with G.W. Kereama, 7 December 2016.

⁵⁵ Records show that the reserves to which he gained shares were originally allocated to Rewi Reweti, Hare Reweti Rongorongo, Hare Reweti and Wereta Huruhuru; all descendants of Te Ngē-o-Raukawa.

illusion that they would receive a block of sufficient size to guarantee the future livelihood of their people were severely disappointed with their allotted lands. Similarly, the meagre reserves eventually allocated to non-sellers were conspicuous for their lack of generosity; an entirely pitiful and unsatisfactory acknowledgement to those unwillingly divested of their own land.

Many reserves were assigned to individuals; an unnatural (for Māori) exclusion of others from their Hapū and Iwi.⁵⁶ The reserves allocated to the Iwi and Hapū residing in the area at the time were wholly inadequate for creating a viable economic base for the people and were entirely insufficient to allow for the natural growth and expansion of the people. Likewise, sustainable habitats of food sources were taken from their control. The whole matter was an obscene reflection of a greedy and cash strapped superintendent. Without the land to provide for his family in the Rangitīkei area, Te Ngako worked and lived around the Foxton and Shannon area. He later died at Motutītoki; where he was buried amongst his Ngāti Pīkiahū relations.⁵⁷ Kararaina died much later at Te Whārangī, Foxton and was buried at Poutū pā in Shannon in 1908.⁵⁸ Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata wrote:

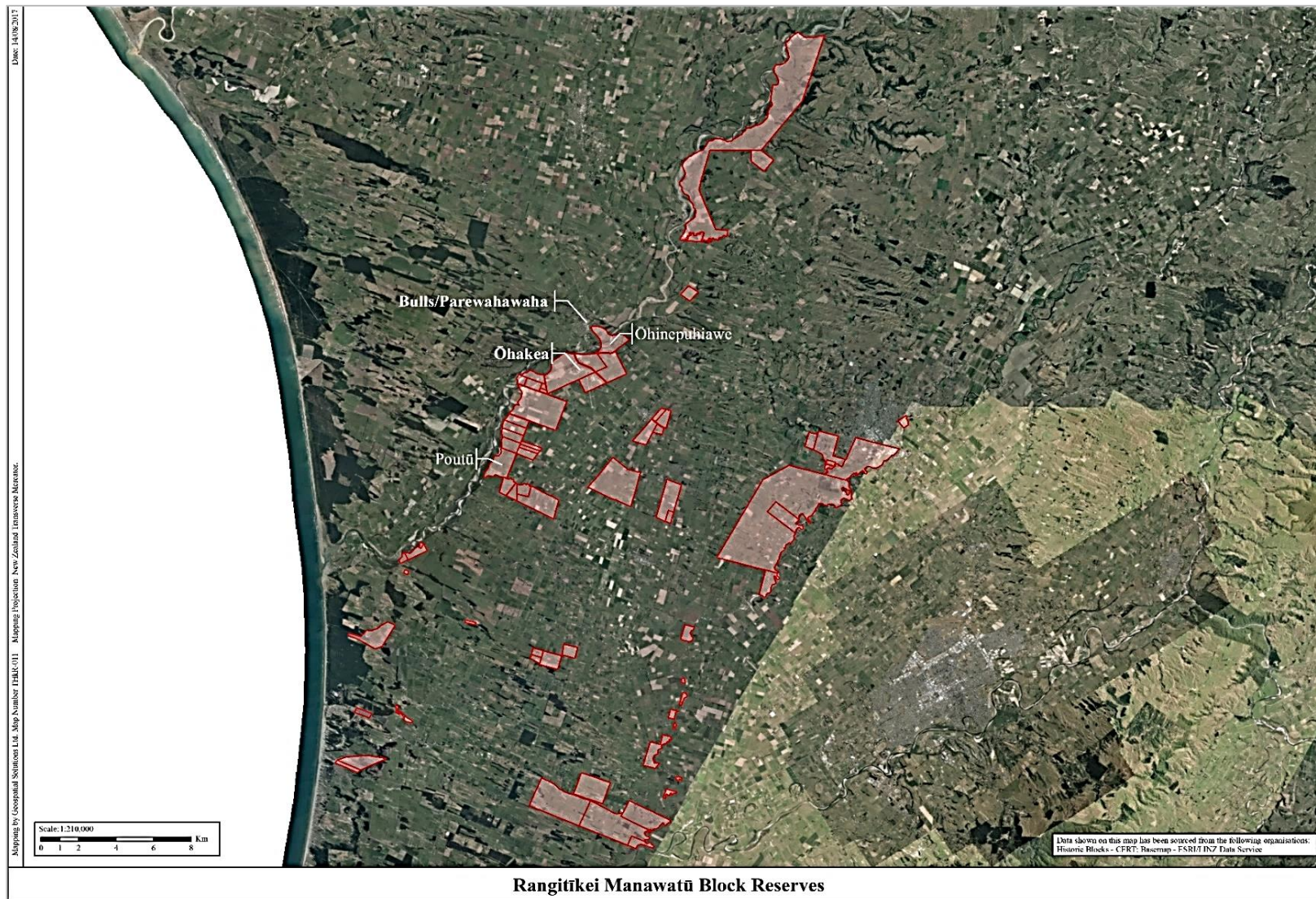
“[it] was stated by our Dad Kereama that his father, Te Ngako was a very hardworking man, was a great provider for his family and stood no nonsense from anyone.”

⁵⁶ Schedule of Reserves given to Natives in the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block by the Honour. The Native Minister as compiled in Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1872 Session I, F-08 shows the individuals and groups allocated reserves.

⁵⁷ Te Ngako died 3 May 1892. Motutītoki is in the Te Reureu block.

⁵⁸ Kararaina whakapapa book states that Poutū is also the resting place for three siblings of Kararaina; Anikanara te Rimunui, Taruna Te Huruhuru and Rōpine Te Tuku.

Map 11: Rangitikei-Manawātū Block Reserves: Ngāti Parewahawaha area



Further on he writes:

“At Ōhinepuhiawe, there was a dispute and came to his home, but as he approached his gate way, he called him out not to set foot inside his gate. The call was heeded as he held a firearm at the ready. (Ko ana korero) Kau wa hei hiki mai tou waewae ite kēti nā ka pakaru to mahunga i taku pu.” “He had a team of horses and he was a ploughing contractor. He was always busy working.”⁵⁹

3.1 Kereama Te Ngako

His son, Kereama Te Ngako, married Waitauhi Emery of Ngāti Maniapoto at Motuiti on 6th of January 1906.⁶⁰ Together they had 17 children, 14 of whom reached adulthood (see Whakapapa Tuatoru).⁶¹

Whakapapa 6: Ngā Uri o Kereama Te Ngako rāua ko Waitauhi

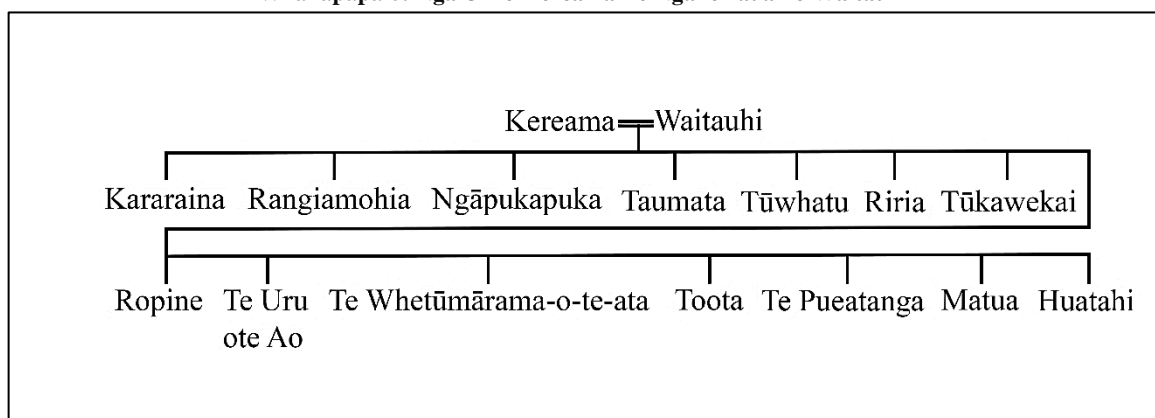


Image 5: Kereama Te Ngako



Image 4: Waitauhi Te Ngako (nee Emery)



⁵⁹ From the notes of Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata Kereama.

⁶⁰ Rangiamohia whakapapa book, p. 172.

⁶¹ There were three children who did not reach adulthood. Tiniwhara and her sister Parekahakaha were raised by others in the Shannon district but died as children they are buried at Poutū, Shannon. Mōrehu was born at Mangaweka but died as a baby and was buried at Rātana Pā.

Kereama worked as a horse team driver. The birthplaces of the children indicate that he and Waitauhi moved around Shannon, Foxton, Bulls, and Kākāriki before eventually settling in Te Reureu. Kereama and Waitauhi settled amongst their whanaunga on a small papakāinga called Hārurunui where they were able to eke out a modest lifestyle. Kereama and Waitauhi were active in the Anglican Church, Kereama as a minister. Kereama was also a builder and circa 1924, while working on a building at Rātana Pā, he saw the miracles and heard the preaching, Te Ture Wairua of the Māngai, Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana. The teachings and philosophies of the Ture Tangata; concerning the rights of Māori as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi, resonated with Kereama.⁶² Growing up he had listened to his father and others of that generation speaking of the land they used to own, ripped from their hands. Rātana was advocating for Māori rights in a similar manner to Te Kīngitanga, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, Tohu Kākahi and others.

When Kereama returned home he discussed what he had seen and heard with Waitauhi. They both returned to Rātana Pā and a few weeks later they changed faith⁶³ to become Mōrehu.⁶⁴ In 1926 they witnessed a miracle with their son Tūkawekai, also known as Darcy:

“A motor lorry being driven on the Tokorangi Hill, encountered three horses, each ridden by two children. Two of the horses shot ahead and the third stopped in front of the lorry and threw its riders to the ground. One, Darcy Karehama (sic) fell beneath the lorry, and is in the hospital, and believed to be in serious condition. The other child escaped unhurt.”⁶⁵

Kereama took Tūkawekai to be healed by T.W. Rātana as the doctors could not do any more for him. The Māngai asked Tūkawekai if he believed in God – he replied yes. He then asked Tūkawekai if he believed that Rātana could heal him – once again he replied yes. The Māngai flicked some marbles onto the marae and told Tūkawekai to go and get them, and he arose and got the marbles. Kereama eventually became an āpotoro of the church; taking on the robes of Te Whiwhi Tāpine. Te Whiwhi had been the first āpotoro from the Tokorangi area but had just relinquished the role.

⁶² Interview with G.W. Kereama, 7 December 2016.

⁶³ Interview with G.W. Kereama, 7 December 2016.

⁶⁴ Their older children were given the option of remaining Anglican while their younger children were baptised into the Rātana Māramatanga.

⁶⁵ Feilding Star 8th May 1926:

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP19260508.2.110?query=darcy%20karehama>

This kōrero was written by Ngāpukapuka Kereama about his father:

“He was only young when his father Te Ngako passed away. When he was 56 years old he was given the opportunity to whaikōrero on the marae. In those days that was the acceptable age to speak. He became quite good at it also taking on learning waiata and whakapapa.”⁶⁶

Rangiamohia Parata writes this about her mother:

Waitauhi was born at Kakepuku, in 1888. She was brought to Aorangi at the age of six and brought up by Hurinui. They moved to Foxton and that is where she met Kereama, she was quite young when they got together. She later became a midwife, dedicating her life to helping the sick and raising children, seventeen in all.⁶⁷

Te Ngako saw the loss of the land, Kereama and his children witnessed the land's transformation. The ngahere was cleared, the lumber sold, and the land turned into pasture. The timber mills and farmers prospered while the people saw the bounty of the forest being depleted and eventually eradicated.

3.2 A changing landscape

Swamps were drained to make the land more productive. Kahika is the name of the taniwhā who lives in the spring waters that flow from the hill opposite Hārurunui, the papakāinga of Kereama. Hārurunui was the name of another taniwhā, the friend of Kahika, he inhabited the swamp next to the papakāinga. It was said that when the taniwhā roared, hence the name Hārurunui, the people knew that rain was coming.⁶⁸ The draining of the swamp caused the demise of a taniwhā, the silencing of the resident barometer and the loss of an important food source.

George Kereama recalls catching koura in the swamp, they would take a raupō and tie a knot on the end and lower it into the water behind the koura. They lowered another stick in front of the koura; the koura backs up into the noose then you pull it out of the water. Rāwiri Kiriona describes another method whereby they would lower mānuka brush into the water and leave it for a period of time. Later they would retrieve the mānuka and the koura that had crawled into the brush.

⁶⁶ Kereama, T. 1996, p. 14.

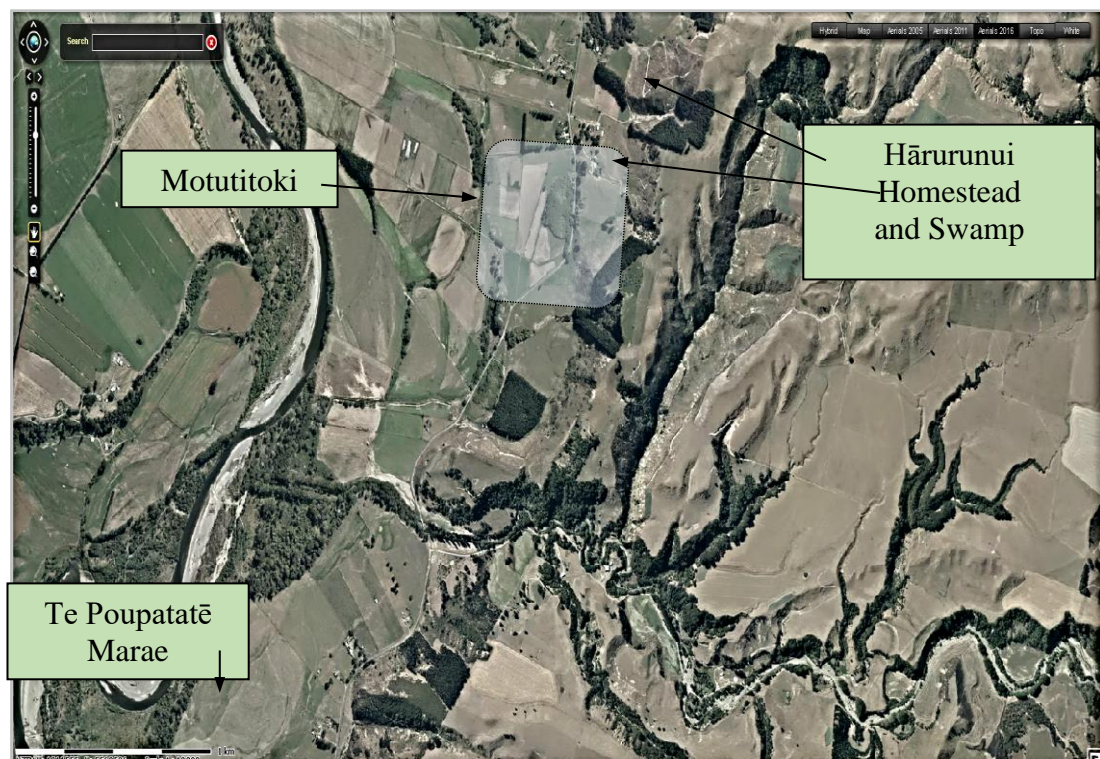
⁶⁷ Kereama, T. 1996, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Waka Huia – Field tapes from Taumata-o-te-rā Marae; Interview with Taumata Rēnata.

Prior to the disappearance of food sources Kereama and his whānau gathered eels, koura, birds, waterfowl, pūhā, watercress and other fruits of the land. Like many others of the time they grew their own kai in large gardens, tended an orchard and hunted. They also milked a few cows, selling the milk and cream so that they could buy basics like salt and flour. They reared animals, horses for transport and working, and pigs to be used as koha when required. They worked hard to subsist.

Later, gravel extraction, water extraction, industrial water pollution, damming of waterways and commercial eel fishing impacted negatively on the availability of eels, koura, and fish in the district for the grandchildren and later generations. George Kereama recalls catching whitebait by the old bridge in the Tokorangi Valley; that is but another distant memory now.

Map 12: Upper Tokorangi Valley with the Kereama homestead, Hārurunui and swamp



Kereama and Waitauhi raised a close-knit whānau who worked together, played sport together and got involved in community events together. They supported their whanaunga at many of the local marae; a crucial factor in the formation of Ngāti Manomano. Their tribal identity and cohesion enabled them to confidently relate to other whānau, hapū and

iwi.⁶⁹ Whilst visiting whanaunga at Moawhango in 1939, Waitauhi died and was brought back to Te Poupatatē to be mourned before being buried at Tokorangi. Kereama died at Palmerston Hospital in 1959 after a period of illness. He was returned to Te Tikanga before being laid to rest alongside his wife. The children they left behind were capable people; raised within their Māori ancestry and knowledge, in later years they would become the ‘first generation,’ of Ngāti Manomano, the leaders and drivers of a new hapū and marae.

Kei Te Takoto Koe

*He waiata tangi nā Te Kereama
mō Waitauhi*⁷⁰Kei te takoto koe kei te haere au

o rori e takoto i raro o Paiwhare
Titaha i Kotuku
Kei to whaea ra ete hoa
Kia peka atu au kei to tuakana
hei whakamaunga atu
moku nei mahara i
Noho e hoa kei te haere atu ki Wawe
Au te whiti te awa i Waituna
Kia whakamau au kite Poupatate
O turanga nui irangi ra ete hoa
Me huri ake au i raro o Pekapeka
Ki Kaikomako ki a koe e Whai
Maranga mai e hoa ka haere taua
Koe whare pouri kei to tuahine

Kei te whānau e kuika noa nei
Tere taku haere ki a koe e Hei
E hoa e Poi e kore au e peka
Koe nohoanga kino kei to mokai
Kei te piki tonu au
ki mua i te Tikanga
Kia noho iho au irunga ite taumata
Ka titiro whakararo
Kia koutou ehoa ma e
E roto i ahau kei te ao e rere
Moe mai, e whae me o mokopuna
Korua ra e kei to tungane
Kei te hoki ake au ki to Pukeikura
Nau ra i huri kino ite tai ao nei e

*A lament by Kereama Te Ngako for his wife
Waitauhi (nee Emery)*

There you lie as I venture forth along the road that
runs below Paiwhare ridge,
alongside of Te Kōtuku;
the abode of your aunt, my beloved.
I shall call in to visit your senior relative
so that I may preserve
my thoughts and memories.
Rest my friend, I continue onwards to Wawe, and
cross the waters at Waituna
to proceed directly to Te Poupatatē,
your grand courtyard over recent years.
Best I turn below Pekapeka and head
towards Kaikōmako, to you o Tāwhai.
Arise so that we may journey together;
cast as you are in the house of sorrows with your sister,
a family wanting in vain.
I move quickly to you, o Hei
My friend Poihaere, I shall not stop,
woeful though you are with your dear one.
I continue to ascend
before Te Tikanga
so that I may sit upon the crest.
I gaze down
upon you all, my cherished ones.
Within I am in turmoil.
Rest my beloved with your grandchildren,
and your favoured male kin.
I return to your place of repose
made wretched by your passing.

Hārurunui, the small Kereama papakāinga was never going to be able to support more than one family and slowly the whānau members moved out of the Tokorangi valley in an effort to find work that could feed and house their families. All that time, to now, descendants of Raukawa, Parewahawaha, Manomano and all other hapū continue to feel the detrimental effects of the Rangitīkei Manawatū land sale. Without land, and therefore the economic

⁶⁹ Kereama, G.W. Application for Planning Consent 3 July 1990.

⁷⁰ *E pēnei ana ngā kupu i te pukapuka* - as written in a manuscript of Kereama Te Ngako.

benefits that could be realised from land development our descendants have had to migrate to areas in Aotearoa outside of the tribal boundary, to Australia and further afield in an effort to find prosperity for themselves and their offspring. The separation in terms of distance is a huge hurdle for those wanting to return. Unfortunately, over time the separation of distance becomes an emotional separation and the attachment to your marae becomes less and less until some become totally separated. The main asset of an iwi, hapū, marae, and whānau is their people. The loss of the land, had, and still has a significantly detrimental effect on the wellbeing of our people. The ongoing loss of our people is equally, if not more so devastating.

4.0 THE BUILDING OF PAREWAHAWAHA

The idea to establish a new marae was first uttered in the 1940s in a conversation between Kereama and his daughter, Rangiamohia. Taumata Rēnata remembered the following statement “E Rangi! Kei te whanga ake ahau kia pakeke ake ō koutou tungāne ka whakatū tētehi tūpakipaki mō koutou.”⁷¹ At the time Ngāti Parewahawaha did not have a pā or marae. They did have buildings as places of assembly; made of mānuka and raupō they were mostly owned by individual families. In 1945 Taylor Brown visited Kereama, as recorded by Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata:

“He rode up on his pride and joy, a chestnut horse, to sit and talk when our family Christmas was being held at the Tokorangi homestead. Amidst the blooming flower gardens, trees and well-trimmed lawns, Taylor remarked, “It would be wonderful to have a meeting house built in a setting like this in Bulls.”

In 1946, at a meeting held in Bulls, attended by Kereama, his whānau and many other descendants of Parewahawaha, it was agreed to build a marae. The family became fully involved and it was here that Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata and others started their carving and arts training under the tutelage of Henare Toka and his wife Mere.⁷² After completing the initial training Henare would return occasionally to provide important assistance to the locals who laboured to build and decorate the whareniui. Parewahawaha, the Kuia-ā-Whare was opened on April 15th, 1967 by Te Arikinui, Te Atairangikāhu and her Waikato people.

⁷¹ Waka Huia – A documentary on Taumata-o-te-ra Marae, 1997.

⁷² Personal writings of Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata Kereama.

Henare, from Ngāti Whātua and Ngā Puhi had been invited to teach the local people the arts of their elders which had been lost during the pressures of a difficult time. Māori were struggling to survive without the land on which to base their economic prosperity. They must have considered those things that would not help their financial position as being an unnecessary luxury, the arts being one of them.

Children were disciplined for using their own language at school and many parents were encouraging them to seek the education of the Pākehā so that they would have a chance within a dominant European society. This was to have dire consequences for many of the intangible ‘taonga tuku iho,’ including arts and te reo Māori. With the new opportunity to revive the art, the whānau dedicated time and energy into this new marae while maintaining connections and support to others in the district.

During this time, it became noticeable that the whānau were growing in numbers with many living outside of the area. With the new marae as a resource in 1973 and 1980 Kereama whānau reunions were held at Ōhinepuhiawe. Both were well attended, and it was evident that more hui were needed in order to continue to bring whānau back to their tūrangawaewae.

Image 6: Family Reunion at Ōhinepuhiawe (1973) The First Generation



Front row: Evelyn Kereama, Nancy Kereama, Noleen Kereama, Te Hua-i-te-Kawariki Kereama, Hariata Kereama. Second row: Sitting - Patukōhuru Rēnata, RAngiamohia Parata, Kararaina Te Whatu, Taumata, Moetu Kereama. Third row: Standing – Riria Kūkūtai, Huatahi Kereama, Te Whetūmārama-i-te-ata Kereama, Tira Kūkūtai, Violet Kereama, Gwen Royal, Tūkawekai Kereama, Tūwhatu Kereama. Back Row: Toota Kereama, Te Pucatanga Kereama, Ngāpukapuka Kereama.

4.1 A new direction

A few years later a disagreement at Ōhinepuhiawe caused a serious dispute, which, after failed attempts to reconcile the differences, led to some members of the first generation deciding that it was an opportunity to heed the advice given to them by their father and pursue his vision of a ‘tūpakipaki’. Their father Kereama had stated that they would one day become “masters of their own destiny” and that to retain whatever that was of utmost importance to the whānau on a marae without censure or intrusion by other whānau or hapū, they had to build their own marae.⁷³

Numerous meetings were held amongst our whānau, led by our kaumātua, and with the resurgence of Māori occurring throughout the nation; including the Land March and the emergence of Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Kōhanga Reo, the timing was appropriate. Our kaumātua and their children had the knowledge, skills and experience to embark on the journey. They had competent people ‘at the front and at the back,’ of marae; they had leadership, planning, business and carpentry skills within the whānau and Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata was now a Tohunga Whakairo.

“To them, the marae would be a catalyst for re-establishing the stability of the whānau, where resources could be shared to teach and learn te reo, whakapapa, whakairo, tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, waiata, haka, poi, whaikōrero and karanga. The aroha and the sacrifices needed to make this dream become a reality would be monumental.”⁷⁴

4.2 The first meeting

The first of many meetings was held on Sunday 13th November 1983, at the New Caledonian Hall in Feilding, with representatives from each family and from each generation present. Among those present were many of our kaumātua including Kararaina Te Whatu the eldest of the whānau, Rangiamohia Parata, Ngāpukapuka and Hariata Kereama, Taumata Rēnata, Tūwhatu and Violet Kereama, Tūkawekai and Moetū Kereama, Te Uru-o-te-ao and Evelyn Kereama, Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata and Te Hua-o-te-Kawariki Kereama, Te Pueatanga and Nancy Kereama and Huatahi Kereama.

⁷³ Kereama, G. W. 2008, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Kereama, G. W. Application for Planning Consent. 3 July 1990.

The meeting began with a karakia and then our kaumātua proceeded to articulate their vision. They explained the circumstances leading to the decision, and then reported the results of initial investigations on land acquisition, costs and other details necessary to launch the project. All they sought for the project was whānau support. For it to be a success the whānau needed to be united in the decision.

It seemed overwhelming, however their vision was simple. They wanted to establish a new hapū and build a new marae complex and although many of the whānau were not convinced the enthusiasm of our kaumātua and their knowledge of tikanga Māori wore everyone down. Those who were in doubt were slowly persuaded as the presentation outlined everything that needed to be done. Before long, their vision became a shared endeavour; and it was unanimously resolved that ‘the family support the project to establish a marae.’ This was to be a new beginning for the whānau, a new era. We were not abandoning our other marae; simply re-focusing our attention. The formation of Ngāti Manomano became an inspirational experience for everyone. The persistence and determination of our kaumātua was irresistible, they were the leaders and once everyone was persuaded it became a challenge to get in behind and make it happen.⁷⁵

4.3 Naming the Hapū

The naming of the new hapū was discussed at the first meeting. Tūkawekai suggested Ngāti Manomano, stating that he had been considering this name for a long time. Many thought this matter should be deferred to a later date as they did not want to be hasty in making a decision.

At the next hui held on February 6th, 1984, Tūkawekai provided an explanation. When naming a hapū a common tupuna is usually identified; however, names have also been taken that commemorate events or circumstances of the time. The significance of hapū (or iwi) could be maintained through a name of importance or prominence. Most importantly it should strengthen connections and not encroach on existing hapū or iwi. Tūkawekai had studied our whakapapa and identified that Manomano fulfilled all of the requirements.

⁷⁵ Chairman’s Report – Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee cited in Kereama, TP. 1996, p. 6

Parewahawaha and Pareraukawa, the grandmother and mother of Manomano are recognised as being prominent by having hapū named after them. Manomano was a chieftainess in her own right, a composer of a pātere and her brother Te Whatanui, was the paramount chief of the tribe. The name was agreed upon; thus, the whānau became a hapū and is recognised as Ngāti Manomano.

Ka Whākanakana

He pōkeka nā Tūkawekai Kereama

A chant composed by Tūkawekai Kereama

Ka whākanakana nei aku kanohi

Mine eyes stare wildly

Ki Kāpiti

Towards the isle of Kāpiti,

ko Te Rauparaha ko Te Rangihaeata

To Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata.

Kore au e peka noa ki taku matua tāne

I shall not deviate to my [male] elder;

Ko ngā hua i puta i roto

Other relatives that came forth

Ko Te Horohau, ko Kūtia,

Were Te Horohau, Kūtia,

Wahineiti ko Hape e

Wahineiti and Hape.

Nā Pareraukawa

From the sister Pareraukawa comes,

Ko Te Whatanui, ko Manomano

Te Whatanui and Manomano,

Ko Ngāti Raukawa e tau nei e

T'is Raukawa people standing here.

4.4 The Consultation Process

Upon receiving the whānau support, an invitation was extended to kaumātua from throughout Ngāti Raukawa. It was considered important to inform them of our intentions and hear their responses based on the facts provided and not from hearsay. Precautions were taken to be considerate and understanding towards other whānau, hapū and iwi. Some were disappointed, and many were curious as to why we were leaving marae that we had been associated with for so long. Why did we need to establish our own hapū? Some were critical of the decision. As a response Tūkawekai composed the pātere ‘Tēnei ka noho i te mahau o tōku whare.’ It states our connections to other hapū and marae throughout the rohe and re-affirms who we are. It also assured everyone that although we were forming a new hapū and establishing a new marae, we would always maintain our connections. The stance was reiterated in our application for planning consent:

“We are not breaking away; we could never, and never will sever our belief and support of the marae to whom we are bonded by genealogy, gratitude and affection.”⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Kereama, GW. 1988.

Tēnei Ka Noho i te Mahau
He pātere nā Tūkawekai Kereama

*Tēnei ka noho i te mahau o tōku whare
Ka whakarongo rua aku taringa
Ki te taunu mai a te tangata
E kore au e aro iho
Ka whakamau atu ki ōku kāwei
Kei Te Hīri o Māhuta
ko Ngāti Rangatahi Matakore
Ka hīkoi atu au ki Te Tikanga
Ki a Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae
i runga o Tokorangi
Ki te whānau e moe noa mai rā,
e aroha nei au e i!
Ka titiro whakararo ki Te Poupatatē
Ki Te Kōtuku
ka ngaro rā aku whare kōrero
Ka ruku au i te awa
o Tīkei ki Ōhinepuhiawe
Ki a Ngāti Parewahawaha
e noho mokemoke mai nā
Ka toi taku haere
ki a Ngāti Kauwhata, Maniaihu
E koro mā e, kei whea te huarahi tika?
Ka piki au ki runga o Tararua, Ngāpuketurua
Ka titiro iho ki a Ngāti Whakaterere,
ki Poutū, Te Ngare o Tūrongo,
te marae o te poukai
Ka whakamau atu ki a Ngāti Tūranga,
ki Paranui; Rākau Paewai, ki Motuiti
Kei tua iti atu ko Te Ngare o Huia,
ko Ngāti Matau
Kei Raumātangi, ko Ngāti Pareraukawa
Kei Muhunua, ko Ngāti Kikopiri
Aku nui aku rahi, e kore e taea te kōrero*

*Kāti au i konei! Me hoki kōmuri au
ki te Taumata-o-te-rā
Ki a Ngāti Manomano
Kia hoki mai ai te waiora ki ahau e i,
Kōkiri!*

*A composition of response by
Tūkawekai Kereama*

Here I sit on the veranda of my house,
Mine ears listening
To the scornful remarks of others.
I shall pay them no heed,
Rather I find strength in my ancestral ties.
At Te Hīri o Māhuta dwell the
clans of Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore.
I walk to Te Tikanga,
To my Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae
people living at Tokorangi,
To the loved ones who sleep in eternal peace,
my heart grieves for you all.
Below I spy the houses of Te Poupatatē
And Te Kōtuku,
repositories of oratory lost.
I dive into the Rangitīkei River
to surface at Ōhinepuhiawe,
To my Parewahawaha kindred
Dwelling alone on the far shore.
Quickly I close upon Kauwhata clansmen, and
the ancestral house, Maniaihu.
O my elders, where then is the correct path?
I ascend Ngāpuketurua, upon Tararua range.
My gaze turns to the Whakaterere people
At Poutū; the descendants of Tūrongo;
Upon the courtyard that hosts the poukai.
I continue to Tūranga people at Paranui,
and then Rākau Paewai kinfolk at Motuiti.
Further on are the many Huia tribesmen, starting
with Ngāti Matau.
At Raumātangi are the Pareraukawa families,
while at Muhunua are Kikopiri kinsmen.
O so many other ties; unable to be recited at this
time.
I finish here! Best I return to Taumata-o-te-rā,
and my people of Ngāti Manomano.
So that I may rejuvenate.
Onwards

5.0 NGĀTI MANOMANO

It is easy to call yourself a hapū, but do we have that right? Whatarangi Winiata classifies whānau, hapū and iwi as ‘rōpū tuku iho’ with fundamental characteristics as inherited from earlier Māori generations. Winiata identifies these six characteristics as being associated with ‘rōpū tuku iho.’⁷⁷

- a) *They share a common tupuna Māori.* Whakapapa to Manomano binds us; including the descendants of Ruta and Tauteka.
- b) *Each is associated with a takiwā, a geographical area.* Ngāti Raukawa tribal area is encapsulated in the pepeha “*Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, Mai i Miria te Kakara ki Kukutauāki.*”
- c) *Each is identified with one or more marae.* The establishment of Taumata-o-te-rā gave Ngāti Manomano the right to say ‘this is my tūrangawaewae, this is my marae.’
- d) *Iwi have hapū networks, hapū have whānau networks.* Ngāti Manomano is recognised by Ngāti Raukawa as being part of the iwi network. Internal whānau networks fall from the ‘first generation.’
- e) *Each seeks to maintain and enhance mana-ā-whānau, mana-ā-hapū or mana-ā-iwi.* We strive to maintain and enhance mana-ā-whānau through expressions of ‘kaupapa tuku iho’ in times of joy and times of sadness. The maintenance and enhancement of *mana-ā-hapū* or *mana-ā-iwi* is expressed through being involved in matters and activities within and outside of the Iwi. This includes Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, Te Poukai at Whakawehi marae, Te Koroneihana, Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei,⁷⁸ Raukawa District Māori Council, Te Rōpū Hokowhitu and many other undertakings. The whānau have trustee appointments on other marae and travel as Ngāti Manomano for both sad and joyous occasions.
- f) *Neighbouring whānau, hapū and iwi recognise them.* The assistance from the individuals, whānau and hapū of the iwi, as provided from the outset; the donations of time, resources, artwork and labour are forms of recognition that will never be forgotten. As a descendant of Huia, Ngāti Manomano is also accepted by Ngāti Huia as

⁷⁷ Winiata, W. *Repositories of Rōpū Tuku Iho: A Contribution to the Survival of Māori as a People.* (2002) p. 2.

⁷⁸ Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei includes iwi and hapū from the source of Rangitīkei River to the sea.

being one of their hapū.⁷⁹ Ngārongo Iwikātea Nicholson of Ngāti Huia led the paepae during the opening of the house. Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai were also there to support Raukawa and us. The opening was attended by many including Te Iwi Mōrehu, Ngāi Tūhoe, Te Arawa, Taranaki, Te Ariki of Tūwharetoa and his people, with Te Arikinui Te Atairangikāhu leading the people of Waikato on to the marae to open the house. We are acknowledged and recognised both within, and outside of the tribal rohe, near and afar, as being Ngāti Manomano of Ngāti Raukawa.

5.1 Acquisition of land

As stated earlier, Te Ngako witnessed the loss of the vast Rangitūkei-Manawatū Block. He was not a signatory, and as such did not receive any reserves, but did receive minor interests in three blocks from his whanaunga ; which the whānau has retained. The sale of the land was conducted with a distinct disregard for the future of Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Raukawa.

The small parcels were considered unsuitable for a new pā or marae site in terms of size and location, for a new hapū that had sprung from the kuia, Parewahawaha. Although our elders were able to create a new hapū based on tikanga tuku iho, without suitable whenua tuku iho they would have to purchase land to create a tūrangawaewae for the hapū.

The whānau needed to buy land within the area to which Raukawa exercises mana whenua. As will be seen the regulatory consent process exposed the whānau to thoughtless, ignorant and thinly veiled racist comments from the many objectors. Unfortunately, Councils were apparently swayed by the opposition’s opinion resulting in our submissions receiving unduly negative or obstructive responses that were difficult to understand or comply with.

Whakaari (Mt Stewart) was the first site considered. This summit, situated between Palmerston North and Sanson, is regarded as the highest peak in the northern end of Ngāti Raukawa. It is the place where the sun first strikes as it rises above the pae maunga Ruahine and apparently was used by our people, when they first settled the area, as a lookout point to give early warning of the approach of friends or foes. The historical name given to this summit was “Taumata-o-

⁷⁹The member hapū of Ngāti Huia (also called Te Ngare o Huia) are Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ōhinepuhiawe; Ngāti Huia ki Huia, Poroutāwhao; Ngāti Huia ki Matau, Poroutāwhao; Ngāti Pareraukawa, Raumātangi; Ngāti Kikopiri, Muhunua; Ngāti Hikitunga, Mahoenui; Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku, Ōtaki and Ngāti Manomano.

te-rā”. Ngāpukapuka Kereama claimed that area was where Kereama wanted Parewahawaha marae to be built.⁸⁰

The site was a plantation covered 7½-acre hilltop area adjacent to the Centenary Memorial on Mt Stewart. Owned at the time by the Manawatū County Council, preliminary consultations with the Council revealed that acquisition was negotiable by purchase or perpetual lease. The purchase price quoted was \$5,000 plus an additional \$5,000 for the County to clear the trees. Further clarification was needed for the perpetual lease option and terms. Discussions held at the first meeting on Sunday 13th November 1983 indicated that other factors had to be resolved before a decision could be made. These included:

- Whether Kaumātua flats on leased land would attract subsidies,
- Annual rates,
- Town and Country Planning statutes,
- Water availability and water rights, and
- Whether freehold land could be attained on a perpetual lease.⁸¹

A sub-committee met Council representatives and were advised of the Government valuation, the annual rates cost, the purchase cost, perpetual lease costs and tree clearance details. At that time the Council were prepared to make conditional exceptions to the zoning limitations to allow the building of a meeting house, dining hall and ancillary buildings. Unfortunately, the granting of these would be subject to public notification and consideration of any objections. Prior to purchase we would need Manawatū Catchment Board approval regarding water availability and effluent disposal.

Image 7: The first Taumata-o-te-ra, Whakaari (Mt Stewart). The proposed marae site was the pine tree area on the left of the photo. The Mt Stewart Centennial Memorial Reserve is on the right.



⁸⁰ Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee Minutes, 13 November 1983.

⁸¹ Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee Minutes, 13 November 1983.

At the meeting on 6th February 1984, after being informed that interim negotiations were underway regarding land purchase, water rights and effluent disposal, it was agreed to proceed with the project. Information was received that our application had been placed before the Government department that administers Crown land and that the Manawatū County Council would advise when approval was given. A few months later we were informed that the land had been revalued, it was now worth \$15,000. This appeared to have been computed on resale value. As our marae would never be sold the whānau opinion was that this value should never have been included. A meeting was held with the Manawatū County Council after which it was reported:

- a) There would be no reduction in price; the price would stand at \$15,000.
- b) The legal and survey costs (approximately \$2,500) would be included in the sale price.
- c) Other concessions had been sought but no firm commitments were given by the Council.⁸²

The whānau agreed to continue however professional guidance was needed. A solicitor with the Māori Affairs Department, Mr Euan Hyslop, acted on our behalf in the land purchase settlement at no cost; the purchase agreements, the deposit payment and Planning Consent applications.

5.2 Planning Consent – Mount Stewart

An onsite meeting with Health Department and Manawatū County Council representatives regarding water supply and sewage disposal determined that planning application approval would be subject to the production of a civil engineering report. They needed to be satisfied that effluent could be disposed of onsite without risk to public health. The whānau received an indicative quote of approximately \$2,000 for commissioning an engineer. On August 13th, 1985, Ngāpukapuka, Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata and George Whatanui Kereama (nominated spokesperson) attended a meeting of the Manawatū County Council where objections to the sale were heard. As a result of this meeting the council decided not to sell the land. The next whānau meeting the matter was discussed and everyone was puzzled with the decision as it was felt that the points raised by the objectors had been adequately covered in the submission.

⁸² Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee Minutes, 20 April 1985.

⁸³ The option of looking for a different site was discarded; this was the location that Kereama had wanted. A solicitor had drawn up a letter to the Council stating our belief that:

- a) Incorrect procedures had been followed calling for objectors to the sale of the land, and by doing so had accorded the objectors greater status than the correct legislative procedures intended, and
- b) There was a feeling of injustice because even though the points raised by the objectors had been fully and adequately answered, no reason had been given by the Council as to why negotiations had been terminated.⁸⁴

An opportunity to approach the Council was requested to discuss the procedural aspects of the initial hearing. Council met and agreed to adopt our submission and hear the application for Planning Consent in respect of the Marae proposal on a portion of the Mt Stewart Memorial Reserve.⁸⁵ On the advice of the solicitor the whānau then sought assistance from an expert in local government procedures and law.⁸⁶ The date set for the Planning Consent Hearing was December 5th, 1985. Preparations were undertaken. In lieu of an all-important civil engineer's report on sewage disposal; Tom Payne, an acknowledged expert in this field, visited the site and gave a written assurance that a system could be designed to cope with the anticipated sewage disposal problem. It was noted that he did not design the system as that would have been at a large cost; with no guarantee that we would be able to use the designed 'for site' system.

Whatanui attended the hearing with our legal expert on behalf of the whānau and presented the application. On 4th February 1986, confirmation was received that the Manawatū County Council had approved the Planning Consent. On April 11th, 1986 our case was re-submitted to the Council to re-consider the sale of the land. By this time the objectors had formed an Action Group called the Mt Stewart Resident Support Group who had filed a proposal to retain the area for 'all people.' An appeal hearing was held on August 26th, 1986 where a resolution was moved to sell the land and carried by a majority vote. However, there were many conditions to be considered. A notification was sent out to the whānau advising everyone of a meeting to be held on September 21st, 1986. The following is an extract:

⁸³ Held 7 September 1985.

⁸⁴ Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee Minutes, 7 September 1985.

⁸⁵ Letter received from Manawatū County Council, 13 September 1985.

⁸⁶ On the advice of the solicitor we engaged Peter Brosnahan of Horsley Brown & Co. of Wanganui.

“The good news is that at the last meeting of the MCC, in response to our perseverance and the objectivity of our submissions, sufficient Councillors changed their minds and they have now decided to sell us the land.”⁸⁷

At that time, the final contractual conditions were still being processed so the purchase could not be completed. When they finally arrived, there were two clauses that concerned the whānau; clause 24, finances being available and clause 25, complete foundations within two years of signing the contract. Failure to comply with these would allow the MCC to purchase the land back for the selling price. Despite this, the whānau chose to proceed with the purchase.

On 14th February 1987 at a whānau meeting there was much discussion as to the continued desirability of the site, the estimated costs to set up a sewage and wastewater disposal system, the conditions placed on the contract by the MCC and the anticipated difficulty in raising sufficient funds. The whānau had persisted for over three years with much time, effort and money expended to purchase the site and gain Planning Consent. It was finally decided that the whānau would not proceed with the Mt Stewart site.

6.0 THE SEARCH FOR A NEW SITE

The search was now on for another site. Taumata Rēnata re-offered a site, which she had generously offered previously, situated near Hārurunui, Tokorangi. Unfortunately, it was noted that subsidies might not be available as the site was within 10 miles of Te Tikanga. During the following months through contacts with land agents and the Feilding Borough Council, different sites were identified and discussed. On 21st August 1987, the secretary attended an auction for land with bidding left to his discretion. At the next meeting everyone was advised that the bidding was not successful.⁸⁸ Although disappointed the whānau were optimistic that a site would be acquired.

6.1 Halcombe

On 12th December 1987, Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata and his wife Te Hua-o-te-Kawariki (Kawa) reported that an excellent piece of land was on the market at Halcombe. The whānau supported a motion ‘that an offer to purchase the area be made to the vendor as soon as possible.’ At the next meeting authority was granted to purchase the site to a price of \$40,000. An unsuccessful

⁸⁷ Notification of a General Meeting ‘Taumata-o-te-rā’, 21 September 1986.

⁸⁸ Meeting held 11 October 1987.

application had already been made for Planning Consent,⁸⁹ nonetheless the whānau decided to purchase the land and then fight the Council decision.

In January 1988 prior to the land being purchased, approval was sought from the Ōroua County Council for consent to the construction of a marae complex in Halcombe. A Public Notification was then published in the Manawatū Evening Standard and notice was served upon interested public bodies and persons. A resident of Halcombe approached one of our whānau kaumātua, Ngāpukapuka, to attend a public meeting on February 26th, 1988, to discuss the proposal and allow people to ask questions. It seems that the organiser's real intention was to influence the community to object to the proposal. It was also later reported that someone had thoughtfully brought along objection forms and distributed them to be completed for submission. There were many concerns expressed, with most having similar themes, however there were a few individualistic thoughts. These are summarised below:

- Land Values would fall;
- Excessive Noise;
- Lack of Control;
- Possible Traffic, Roading & Parking problems;
- The land is in a Residential zone;
- There are other marae in the area;
- Abandoned marae are eyesores;
- The whānau were not residents of Halcombe;
- Hostility – will cause harm to racial relationships;
- Sewage System will not cope;
- Waste of Public Funds;
- Not in accordance with District Scheme;
- Not suited to an established area;
- Revenue will be taken away from other halls;
- It may affect livestock.⁹⁰

The Planning Consent Hearing was held on 28th March 1988 at the Halcombe Memorial Hall. Whatanui, our nominated spokesperson, presented our application. In his introduction, he stated that people all over the world have gathered together in towns and villages for “mutual support, protection, trade, work and for recreation – marae were built for the same reasons.”

⁸⁹ In January 1988 prior to the land being purchased, consent was sought from the Ōroua County Council for the construction of a marae complex in Halcombe. It was unsuccessful.

⁹⁰ Kereama, G. W. 1988a, pp. 1-2.

He included a brief history on the whānau and the reasoning to establish a marae of our own and then stated why the site in Halcombe was chosen:

- a) It was available for purchase.
- b) It is in the area of our tribal affiliations.
- c) It is adjacent to the area where members of the whānau were raised.
- d) It is within easy access to ancestral burial grounds.
- e) The site has access to a water supply and sewage disposal systems.
- f) It has access to shopping and other available services.⁹¹

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly given past experiences, the application was declined as ‘although places of assembly are permitted uses in Residential zones, marae are included as uses only within the Rural zone ... not permitted in the Residential zone.’⁹²

The next whānau meeting was held on 14th May 1988, after much consideration it was decided to purchase the land and then fight the Council decision. In addition, a complex would be designed that complied with Residential zoning requirements. Advice from a Local Authority Building Inspector was that these were not constrained by size, nor by the number of guests. As long as compliance with building codes was achieved then the design, shape, size, interior and exterior decorations were only limited by imagination and cost.

On 23rd May 1988 the site in Halcombe was purchased and the ‘Deed of the Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Trust’ was established using the historical name of the previous site. The next meeting, held 16th July 1988, concluded with everyone travelling to Halcombe, where Ngāpukapuka led an ‘Ahi Kā’ ceremony with karakia. Symbolising the warming of the land with the settlement of people, a fire was lit and those present respectfully placed a piece of wood on the fire to build to it. People offered their individual prayers, hopes and aspirations for the future utilisation of the land. After years of perseverance and persistence, we had finally acquired land to establish a tūrangawaewae and fulfil the vision of our tūpuna.

On 1st October 1989 a re-structuring of the Local Government saw the amalgamation of five councils to form the Manawatū District Council (MDC).⁹³ Whatanui recommended that the

⁹¹ Kereama, G. W. 1988b, p. 2.

⁹² Letter from Ōroua County Council, 19 April 1988.

⁹³ These councils were the Feilding Borough, KIWITEA, Ōroua, Pōhangina and Manawatū County Councils.

application be re-submitted after this process as it was considered that the urban and rural combination would have more social conscience and may look more favourably upon what the whānau were trying to achieve.⁹⁴ On 3rd July 1990, the application for Planning Consent was submitted to the Manawatū District Council. The emphasis of this new application was that the proposed marae by definition is a ‘Place of Assembly.’ When the decision by the Ōroua County Council was made the site was not owned by the Kereama family and possibly the case failed to emphasise that by definition a Marae is a Place of Assembly; a description permissible within a Residential zone of the Ōroua District Plan.⁹⁵

The application further stated that every community has Places of Assembly, including Halcombe. They may be facilities available for general use by the community – provided that the rules of the trustees are adhered to or they may be special purposes facilities such as clubrooms, lodges and churches that members assemble to conduct activities unique to them and the facilities. The proposed marae was similar in nature. It will be a ‘Place of Assembly’ available to the community in accordance with tikanga Māori. It will be a place where things Māori can be conducted and practised in a Māori way and in a Māori setting.⁹⁶

Unsurprisingly, objections were again lodged in opposition to the application – a total of 95 persons objected. A letter dated 3rd August 1990 was received from solicitors acting on their behalf stating that the basis of their objection is that the size of the complex and its impact on amenities is much greater than what is contemplated by the District Scheme as a ‘Place of Assembly.’ They requested an opportunity to express their views before the Planning Consent meeting. A meeting was held by the whānau where this time, it was decided to decline the request to meet with the objectors; the application would be handled entirely in accordance with planning consent procedure.

On 16th October 1990 after much support from Ken Tremaine, a Planning Manager of the Palmerston North City Council, Whatanui presented the case to the Manawatū District Council. Many of the whānau, hapū and iwi also attended the hearing in support. Two weeks later, a report was received stating that our application to establish a Marae Complex was approved.

⁹⁴ Kereama, GW. 2004, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Kereama, GW. Application for Planning Consent, 1990.

⁹⁶ Kereama, GW. 1990.

There were conditions, and although some seemed outrageous, in the end they were accepted and the whānau was grateful for the positive result.

6.2 Māori Reservation

The whānau agreed to register the area of land as a Māori Reserve and on 12th June 1990 members of the whānau appeared before the Māori Land Court. They presented the application detailing the intended purpose for the land and requested that its legal status as ‘General Land - owned by Māori’ be changed to a Māori Reservation. This was subsequently approved.⁹⁷ The trustees of the Māori Reserve are direct descendants of Kereama Te Ngako and Waitauhi, as appointed by the descendants of the children.⁹⁸

7.0 THE GENERATION AND MAINTENANCE OF CAPACITY

As stated earlier, Raukawa, struggling to survive without land chose to forsake those things that they could not afford. This included maintaining the artistic skills of their ancestors; one result being that the iwi needed the assistance of Henare Toka to lead them in decorating Parewahawaha. Skills learnt during the building of that whare would make it easier when it came to leading the decorating and construction of Manomano; however people and training would still be needed to make the project a success. At a meeting of the Marae Committee held 12th June 1993 Te Pikikōtuku Kereama raised the idea of establishing an incorporated society. This type of legal entity was required for any group wanting to access funding from Government departments and wanting to register as a Private Training Establishment (PTE) with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Approval would allow the hapū to apply for funding for training purposes to assist in the building of the whare tupuna, in particular to train people in tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, whakairo, te reo and tikanga. Funding would be available to employ tutors, an administrator, course materials as well as providing employment opportunities for the hapū.⁹⁹ On August 30th, 1993, Taumata-o-te-rā Incorporated Society was registered with the Justice Department. With the support of extended whānau and networks

⁹⁷ New Zealand Gazette, 31 January 1991.

⁹⁸ Initially some of the children of Kereama and Waitauhi were trustees but there are none now. All but one has passed away, and he resides in Australia. The whānau of each of the sons and daughters of Waitauhi and Kereama Te Ngako are entitled to nominate a member of their whānau to be a Trustee.

⁹⁹ Taumata-o-te-rā Marae Committee Minutes, 12 June 1993.

they began compiling the necessary paper work required for an application to the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA) to fund a PTE. The courses would be run in accordance with the Society's objectives:

- a) To establish a physical base to meet the cultural, spiritual, physical and educational needs of Ngāti Manomano and others as agreed upon by the Society.
- b) To run training programmes appropriate to the needs of Ngāti Manomano and others as agreed upon by the Society.
- c) To co-ordinate, facilitate and administer seminars, hui, wānanga for Ngāti Manomano and others as agreed upon by the Society.
- d) To uphold the tikanga of Ngāti Manomano at all times, manaaki manuhiri, te kawa o te marae, te reo rangatira.¹⁰⁰

The successful application saw the establishment of Te Whare a Toi – Māori Art and Design course; which would focus on whakairo, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai. Building projects, as led by Brian Te Whatu, had already started when Te Whare a Toi courses began in 1994 using expertise from within Ngāti Manomano and extended whānau. Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata was the Tohunga Whakairo with his sister Taumata Rēnata guiding and supporting grand-niece Brenda Te Whatu with Tukutuku. Keiha Hammond of Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti graciously directed the kōwhaiwhai course. Te Pikikōtuku delivered weekly te reo, tikanga and kawa lessons, and was responsible for fulfilling administrative requirements to ETSA, whilst ensuring student, staff and whānau wellbeing.

For many taura, this was their first introduction to the arts, tikanga, kawa and reo. Approximately 30 students were Ngāti Manomano; the remaining 15 coming from neighbouring marae and communities. Other Manomano whānau were always evident around the marae; assisting as their schedules allowed. Some whānau living in Murupara, Rotorua, Invercargill, Bluff and other distant places would sometimes move to the marae for the weekend, or up to six months at a time, in order to give their assistance.

People were eager to help; whether it was with the construction and decoration of the buildings, landscaping of the grounds, feeding of the workers or any of the many other tasks required. They wanted to lend a hand towards fulfilling the dream. At times there were four generations

¹⁰⁰ Certificate of Incorporation of Taumata O Te Rā Incorporated, 30 August 1993; Objectives of the Society.

of extended whānau working together, benefitting from the intergenerational dissemination of knowledge and skills and forging new, or strengthening established relationships. Witnessing progress on a daily basis spurred everyone along; and with so many people working in unison towards a common goal the whare tupuna, other supporting buildings and grounds were completed in record time. Te Atairangikāhu and Waikato opened the ancestral meeting house of Manomano pre-dawn, on February 10, 1996. Later the same day, she presented tauira of the Te Whare a Toi, Māori Art and Design Course with a pounamu, an opening booklet and certificate acknowledging the successful completion of their first year.¹⁰¹

Image 8: Taumata-o-te-ra Marae from the waharoa.



When the courses concluded in December of that year the ‘first generation’ met with Te Pikikōtuku to discuss the next year. At that time our surviving native speakers of the first generation were now elderly. The second generation only had three native or fluent speakers; one male and two female; who had received approval from the first generation to control the front. There were three in-laws who were fluent speakers; one female and two males and they could assist when available.¹⁰² All of the ladies lived within an hour’s drive and were stalwarts

¹⁰¹ Sandra Paraha, 2016.

¹⁰² Native or fluent speakers: Te Pikikōtuku Kereama, Putiputi Twomey, Roimata Kereama. Native or fluent in-laws: Janey Wilson, Dobbie Harris and Harry Paraha. Harry had been identified as the speaker for the 2nd generation at the 1980 family reunion, an indication of the capacity within the family at that time. In 1996 Te Pikikōtuku was in his mid-30s but had taken on his late father’s role as a kaikōrero for the Hapū.

of the marae. However, three of the four kaikōrero lived 5-7 hours' drive away and returning was always difficult for them. The bleak reality was that the hapū was in dire straits in terms of maintaining te reo me te mana of the new whare and marae. The disciplining of a generation, the encouraging of children to follow the ways of the dominant European society and the unavailability of te reo within the curriculum of the majority of schools conspired to make Ngāti Manomano speakers of te reo Māori a rare commodity.

The focus turned towards developing capacity for 'the front of the house.' The Incorporated Society would apply to run a total immersion course dedicated to te reo, tikanga me ōna kawenga. New goals were discussed, and plans set in place. With that settled Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata returned home happy; within half an hour word spread that our tohunga whakairo had died. His sudden death highlighted the urgency for the course he had just helped plan.

7.1 Te Kura Mairaro

The new course was the birth of Te Kura Mairaro, however its genesis was in 1975. At that time the results of a study showed that no one under 30 years old in Ngāti Raukawa could speak te reo. The children of Kereama Te Ngako did not raise their own children to speak te reo. They had been punished for speaking te reo at school. Rangiamohia speaks of having to stand with her back to the wall at school during the breaks, so that she could fight off other children who wanted to beat her for speaking te reo. Her teacher gave her the name of Nancy as she could not or would not pronounce her given name.

Te reo was not valued by the overwhelming majority of Aotearoa at that time. There were no career prospects, or tolerance in the European dominated society for people that could only speak te reo. The children of Kereama Te Ngako wanted their own children to have the best chance to succeed and encouraged them to seek the knowledge and ways of the Pākehā. They supported them by only speaking English to them. So, while the children of Te Ngako could stand at 'the front' of marae, the overwhelming majority of his mokopuna could not due to lack of te reo; however, they knew how to support at the back.

In the 1980s Dr Whatarangi Winiata promoted an iwi development programme known as Whakatapuranga Rua Mano; one critical objective being to revitalise te reo within Raukawa.

The ‘first generation’ of Ngāti Manomano were among the ranks of many kaumātua who supported his ambitious plan.¹⁰³ Kaumātua gave freely to provide a solid foundation for Whakatapuranga Rua Mano and later Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Valuable kōrero tuku iho, mōteatea, whakapapa, experiences, tikanga, kawa and many aspects of Raukawatanga and mātauranga Māori were captured and preserved for future generations. Kaumātua were an important enabler of success for the students and the programme. It was a critical time and without Whakatapuranga Rua Mano many of the iwi marae would probably now be silent. Iwi and hapū within, and outside of Raukawa benefitted from the support and collective knowledge of the kāhui kaumātua. However, by the time Manomano opened in 1996 only two descendants of Ngāti Manomano had attended Te Wānanga o Raukawa to learn directly from their own, and other kaumātua. One of those was Te Pikikōtuku Kereama, son of Tūkawekai, driver of the Incorporated Society and now Te Kura Mairaro.

One of the aims of Te Kura Mairaro 46-week course was to boost the number of kaikōrero, kaikaranga, kaiwaiata, historians and guardians of the culture for Taumata-o-te-rā and other marae of the rohe. After years of observing and learning about language courses it was proven that Māori learn best on their own tūrangawaewae, within their own rules and amongst their own whānau and hapū.¹⁰⁴ Tauira would gain confidence and pride through knowing their own kōrero and being able to fit in and assist on the marae. In 2000, a further training course began focusing on life skills and employment opportunities for youth. This course was known as Rangatahi Represents or Taiohi Toa. Another course run under Taumata-o-te-rā Incorporated, as a joint venture with Te Hīri Marae Committee was Kāhu Kōrako. It was a two day a week course for kaumātua held at Te Hīri Marae and in the individual homes of the kaumātua.

The Government funding of most Māori training opportunities dried up in 2004 and the Incorporated Society was wound down. Taumata-o-te-rā Incorporated, Te Kura Mairaro, Taiohi Toa and Kāhu Kōrako were great assets, not only for running educational initiatives but also for teaching and promoting te reo and tikanga Māori within Ngāti Manomano and the surrounding marae. Te Pikikōtuku described these initiatives as whānau and hapū

¹⁰³ 1st Generation Kaumātua of Ngāti Manomano who have supported Te Wānanga o Raukawa: Kararina Te Whatu, Rangiamohia Parata, Ngāpukapuka Kereama, Taumata Rēnata, Riria Kūkūtai, Tūkawekai Kereama, Te Whetūmārama-o-te-ata Kereama and his wife Te Hua-o-te-Kawariki Kereama (nee Lawton of Ngāti Kauwhata).

¹⁰⁴ Kereama, T. 1996, p. 8.

development; for Māori, by Māori, of Māori. Like Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Kura Mairaro was an affirmation of our tino rangatiratanga.

Te Kura Mairaro did provide some well needed capacity for manning ‘the front of house,’ however; Ngāti Manomano still remains in dire straits. When the marae was being built the Kereama whānau was widely known and seen in the local area. Unfortunately, that is no longer the case as families have left, and continue to leave the area in search of employment opportunities; including some of those who were students of Te Kura Mairaro. This affects our ability to man the front and the back. People moving away is not new, it started with Te Ngako. Without the economic means of inducing our people to stay or return to the area we will continually struggle to generate and maintain capacity for the hapū. However, Ngāti Manomano has the will to continue to uphold the dream and vision of the first generation, their father, before them and indeed the leaders of those who led us to the south. We will continue to survive and express our tino rangatiratanga by determining and pursuing what we consider is appropriate for Ngāti Manomano and Raukawa.

8.0 CONCLUSION

This narrative and the wider research project will help our mokopuna, and others to understand more about their iwi, hapū and marae and how this fits into the larger picture of our Iwi history; particularly within the context of Treaty claims. Although Ngāti Manomano did not exist as a hapū at the time of the migrations, our forebears did migrate to the south in the Heke Mairaro. We have always tried to be the masters of our destiny; expressing our tino rangatiratanga on matters that touch individuals, whānau, hapū and the iwi. Te Ngako supported tino rangatiratanga in Taranaki; he was not a signatory for the sale of the Rangitikei-Manawatū Block but nonetheless was affected by it. He also saw and felt the effects on his Parewahawaha and Raukawa people. Later generations continue to feel the effects; the loss of economic potential affecting their livelihood, employment, areas of abode and the retention of arts, culture and te reo. Kereama and his children witnessed the changes in the land and waterways; and the subsequent pollution or disappearance of food sources and their valuable food commodities. Nonetheless our tūpuna were industrious and resourceful and eked out a modest living. They survived the impact and responded to the creeping impoverishment, denigration and cultural dispossession. The ‘first generation’ became a formidable group who determined

their pathway and led their descendants on a unique and monumental journey to create reality from a vision.

The dispossession of Raukawa land continues to be felt today and was to the fore when Ngāti Manomano was trying to identify a suitable site for our marae. With the little land we had being unsuitable for a marae the hapū was forced to purchase a tūrangawaewae. The blatant attitudes of some Pākehā that thwarted our efforts in the purchasing of land, reflected the same less than generous attitudes of those in power in the 1800s. Those of our mokopuna who have been educated through the immersion system of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and Te Wānanga o Raukawa have little understanding of what it was like to be monolingual and monocultural. For them the language and the culture has always been present. No more than a generation or two earlier this was not so; and so, an Incorporated Society was established, and training was conducted to upskill our own, an important expression of tino rangatiratanga. In an effort to find economic success our people have chosen to seek opportunities elsewhere; the loss of people is our greatest loss and creates a huge challenge going forward. However, we would do well to follow the example of our old people. Their survival, persistence and single mindedness drove a family to become a hapū. They had become “masters of their own destination;” and as their father had said; that to retain whatever that was of utmost importance to the whānau on a marae without censure or intrusion by other whānau or hapū, they had to build their own marae. And that is what they did!

*Me hoki kōmuri au ki te Taumata-o-te-rā,
Ki a Ngāti Manomano kia hoki mai ai te waiora ki ahau e!*

Image 9: Manomano, te kuia ā whare



NGĀTI RANGATAHI ORAL HISTORY



Tumanako Herangi

March 2018

HE MIHIMIHI

E noho ana ahau ki te mahau o tōku whare o Te Hiiri o Māhuta.

Ka whakarangipūkohu ake ngā whakaaro ki o tātou tini mate kua hinga atu, Kua hinga mai i ngā mārāma tata nei. Te mūrau o te tini, te wenerau o te mano, Kotahi te kōrero, haere, e hoki koutou ki ō tātou mātua tūpuna, e moe ki te Ariki.

E ngā mana e ngā iwi, e ngā mātā waka, o tēnā whaitua, o tēnā takiwa, tēnei ka mihi. Kei aku karangatanga maha, nei te whakamanawa atu ki a koutou katoa.

Nāku ēnei pitopito kōrero tuku iho e whai ake nei e pā ana ki o tātou tūpuna o Ngāti Rangatahi, ēra i heke mai i te Nehenehenui, i Mōkau ki runga ki te Riu o te Reureu, otirā ki ngā kirikiri o te awa o Rangitīkei.

Nā runga i tērā ka tahuri tonu nei ngā mihi ki tōku tūngane, ki a Tā Taihākurei Durie. Nāna ahau i kaha akiaki ki te tuhituhi i ēnei kōrero, hei āpitihanga ki te rourou mākohakoha i whakaemiemitia e tēnā, e tēnā. E te tūngane, nei to tūahine e mihi ana.

Ka rere tonu ngā mihi ki o tātou marae me o tātou whanaunga o Te Reureu. Ko Pikiahu-Waewae tērā, ko Matakore tērā, ko Maniapoto tangata ano hoki tērā, tātou i pokepokea tahitia e o tātou tūpuna ki ngā oneone o te Rangitīkei, tātou e pikau tonu nei i ngā ohakī i whakarerea iho e rātou mā, tēnā rā tātou.

Kei ngā mātua tūpuna ānei tā koutou mokopuna e tangi nei, e aue nei. Nā koutou te huarahi i para, kia whai oranga ai mātou ngā uri whakaheke. Mō koutou, mō tātou ēnei kōrero tuku iho inā hoki te kōrero, ‘e hara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takitini takimano kē.’ Ēnei mihi katoa, ka rere kau atu nei i runga i te ngakau whakaute, me te inoi ake ki ngā tūpuna, otirā ki to tātou Matua nui i te Rangī, kia tiakina rawatia ēnei kupu kōrero e hua mai ai ko te tika, ko te pono me te māramatanga.

I stand in the porch of my house Te Hiiri o Māhuta.

My thoughts are filled with the memory of those who have departed in recent months. The many, the multitude, there can only be one word, depart, return to our ancestors, rest in the Lord.

To the collective mana, the tribes, the many canoes, of the vast areas and territories, greetings. To my many relations, I pay tribute to you all.

These stories which have been passed down about Ngāti Rangatahi, their descent from Te Nehenehenui, the greater Mōkau area to the Te Reureu valley, to the banks of the Rangitīkei River are my recollection and account.

In relation to this, I wish to acknowledge and thank my (tribal) brother, Sir Taihākurei Durie. He strongly encouraged me to write so as to add to the already expansive basket of knowledge which continues to be added to by others. To you my brother, I, your sister greet you.

May then these greetings flow onto our Te Reureu relations. The peoples of Pīkiahū-Waewae, Matakore and also Maniapoto whose ancestors together worked and shaped the lands of the Rangitīkei, it is we who carry their wishes, their parting desires, greetings.

To our ancestors, here am I, your mokopuna who laments, who wails. It is you who forged the pathway to give us, your descendants, new life.

It is for you and for us all that these stories are passed on with the knowledge that “my strength does not come from individuality, my strength comes from many!”

All these acknowledgements flow from a heart of respect and deep appreciation, with the prayer to our tupuna, to our Heavenly Father, to keep and care for these words which are the fruits of truth, faith and understanding.

In humility
Tumanako Herangi
February 2018

1.0 NGĀTI RANGATAHI

Tēnēi ka noho i te mahau o taku whare, ka huri aku kanohi ki Rangitūkei awa, ki te wai tukukiri o oku nei mātua, o Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Rangatahi, Matakore, Maniapoto e

Nā Kahurautete Matawha

1.1 Hoturoa and the Tainui Waka

Ngāti Rangatahi descend from Hoturoa, commander of the Tainui waka. Tradition tells us that the Tainui waka explored both coasts of the central North Island. On its journey around the west coast the Tainui waka made landfall at Mimi in North Taranaki. Hoturoa then navigated the canoe to Mokau where it was hauled ashore and secured. When the canoe was launched again the anchor stone was left behind. Hoturoa sailed back up the coast to Kawhia where at Maketu the canoe was finally hauled ashore to rest. The extent of these early excursions established the boundaries of the territory claimed by Tainui and still recognised by all the other tribes today. The mooring place of Tainui-te Tumu o Tainui – is marked by two stone pillars named Hani and Puna. They represent the god and goddess who figure in the creation story of Tainui Sacred House of Learning. The two stones symbolise a mauri or talisman which was set up by Hoturoa and Rakataura. As high priests they blessed these stones and dedicated them to the future well being of the people of Tainui.¹⁰⁵

1.2 Maniapoto

Maniapoto had claimed as his second wife Hinewhatihua, the great grand-daughter of his elder half-brother Te Ihingarangi. At that stage Te Ihingarangi had already suffered a major disappointment when the mana of Rereahu was bestowed upon his younger brother, Maniapoto. Spurred on by his resentment and Maniapoto's determination to retain the leadership, a battle followed and Te Ihingarangi was defeated. His life was spared and he moved away to Maungatautari to live. Maniapoto was then living in the Waipa Valley at Mohoaonui where he had built a home called Hikurangi.¹⁰⁶ Maniapoto – the name of this illustrious ancestor abounds throughout Tainui.

¹⁰⁵ Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished). Refer to *Tainui* by Kelly, L. G. pp. 60-61.

¹⁰⁶ Kelly, L. G. pp. 86-88.

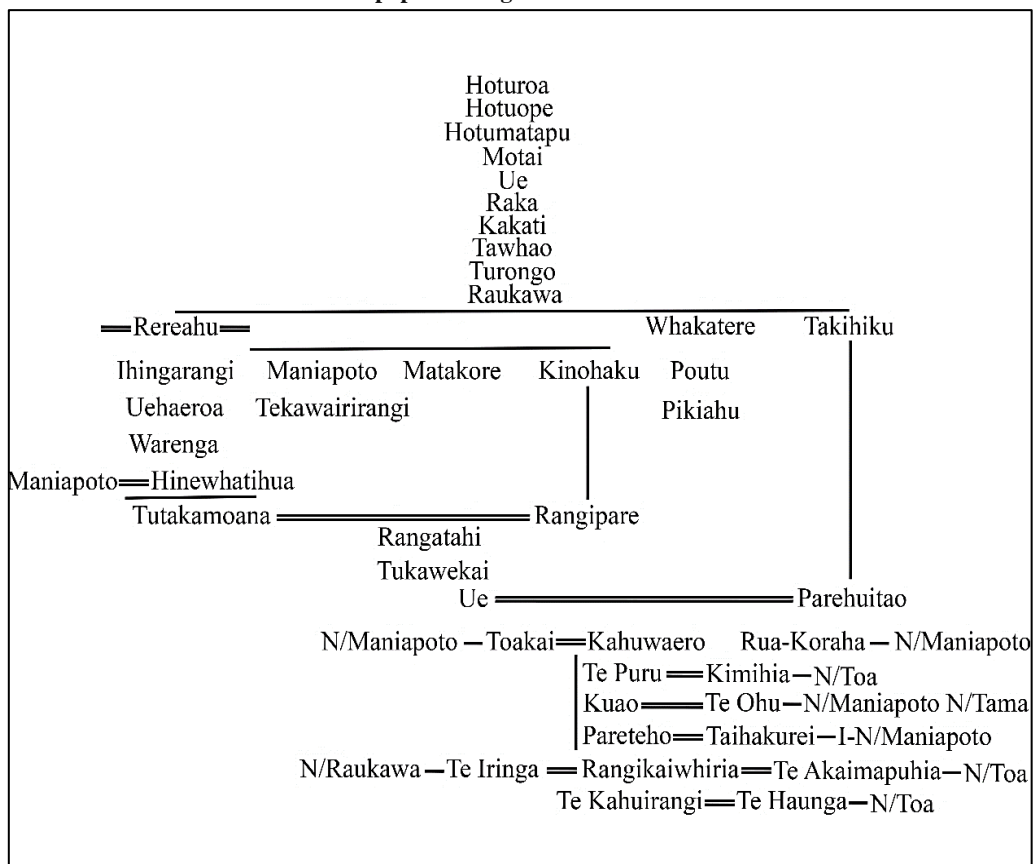
1.3 Rangatahi

Maniapoto and Hinewhatihua had a son they named Tutakamoana. Kinohaku had a daughter named Rangipare who was betrothed to Wairangi of Ngāti Raukawa. Rangipare instead eloped with Tutakamoana and they went into hiding at Mohoaonui. Nine months later they emerged with Rangatahi. Wairangi sought revenge and in the battle that followed, he was defeated by Maniapoto.

2.0 NGĀTI RANGATAHI

Rangatahi married Maniauruahu and they had four children; Hekeiterangi, Tumarouru, Urunumia and Tukawekai. The descendants of Hekeiterangi affiliated to Waikato, Tumarouru to Ngāti Hikairo, Urunumia to Ngāti Maniapoto and Tukawekai to Ngāti Rangatahi. The descendants it appears had no other option but the establishment of their own iwi - Ngāti Rangatahi after their tupuna. This is their whakapapa and their relationship to other Tainui ancestors.

Whakapapa 7: Rangatahi and Tainui links



2.1 Ngāti Rangatahi at the Waipa

The newly formed iwi of Ngāti Rangatahi comprised three sisters and two brothers thus comprising the smallest iwi ever in the confederation of the Tainui Tribes. They already had no land or resources so when Tukawekai was killed in battle they were then left without a leader. Furthermore with the numerous battles being waged in and around the Waikato the decision was made to leave the Waipa and migrate to the southern most boundary of Ngāti Maniapoto.

3.0 THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY AS SET BY HOTUROA

It was not until 1926 that the Tainui anchor was shifted to the urupā at Maniaroa adjacent to the tūpuna whare – Tekohaarua. It is embedded in concrete and a plaque provided by the Historic Places Trust commemorates the site of the anchor stone of Tainui. Te Puea Herangi C.B.E. and her husband, spent part of their honeymoon in Mokau, and tried to have Te Punga o Tainui shifted to Ngaruawahia as the most sacred heirloom of Tainui. The Mokau people however retained the ‘peg’ designating the most southern boundary of Tainui as set by Hoturoa.¹⁰⁷

A humble looking grove of te inui trees can be seen growing in only one place in all of Mokau, at PuraPura next door to the former home of Te Atarua Pairama. This rakau was used as skids and placed beneath the canoe as it was hauled ashore.

“Ko nga rakau i ahu mai i Hawaiki i runga i te waka o Tainui i rukenga ki Mokau.
Ka tupu te ingoa o nga rakau nei ko te Inui.”¹⁰⁸

An unusual feature of this grove is that year after year it neither diminishes nor expands in any direction but retains the same compact, small grouping of trees. A plaque by the grove of trees commemorates the significance of the Te Inui. :It reads “Mokau ki runga, Tamaki ki raro”

The original intent of the pepeha was to serve as a reminder to all Ngāti Maniapoto the deaths of three prominent warriors at the hands of Ngāti Whātua. “Mokau ki runga, Tamaki ki raro, Mangatoatoa kei waenganui”.

¹⁰⁷ Re-opening of Te Kohaarua at Maniaroa, Mokau 1982 Souvenir booklet by Te Rongo Herehere Wetere.

¹⁰⁸ Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished)

It is now used to denote the extent of Tainui territory.

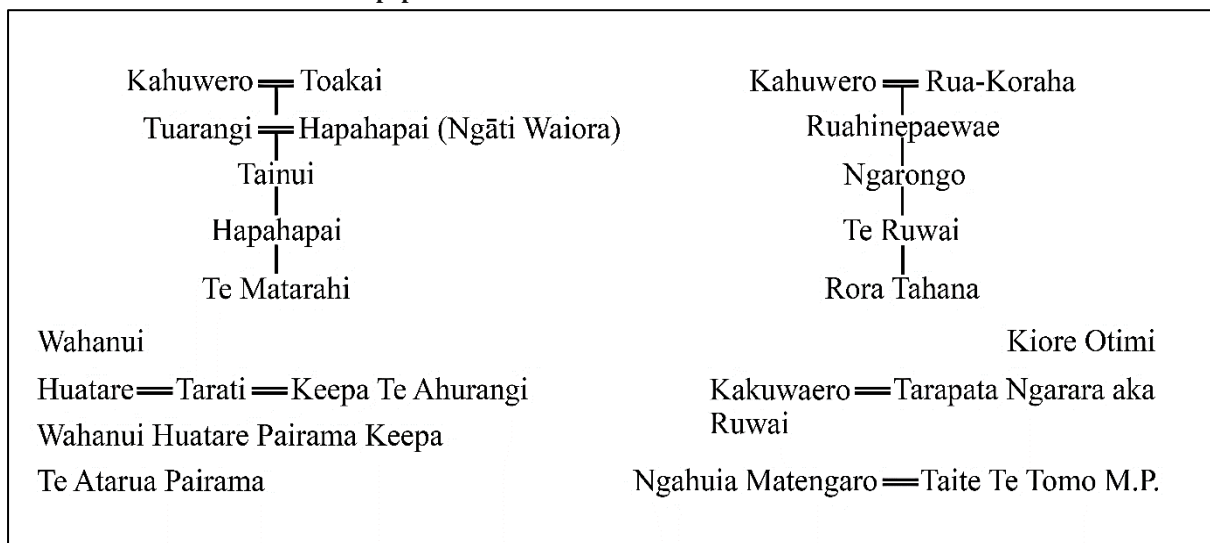
The southern and inland boundary would have seemed an idyllic area for settlement had it not represented the main highway for warring factions travelling from one takiwa to another, crossing the Awakino and Mokau rivers, back and forth.

Ngāti Rangatahi nevertheless prospered here, intermarried and raised their families, and with numerous other hapū made their homes around the maunga Herangi.¹⁰⁹

Kahuwaeroa married twice. One of these was to Toakai of Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Toakai, their descendants joining the numerous hapū around the maunga, Herangi.

From her other marriage to Rua-Koraha they had a child Ruahinepaewae. This was possibly the ancestor of the families who settled at Arapae and around Te Kuiti.

Whakapapa 8: Kahuwaero rāua ko Toakai me Rua Koraha



Pairama Keepa of Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Waiora and Ngāti Rangatahi gave evidence in the Māori Land Court in 1890.

I live at Ruakaka on the Mokau and my family and I are claiming land in the Aorangi Block, derived by right through our tupuna – Ruahinepaewae.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished)

¹¹⁰ Information from Pairama family and Court records.

Kahuwaero's descendants from her marriage to Ruakoraha were among the original list of owners in the Te Reureu block. The only dates of reference come from Māori Land Court succession orders.

Ngapiki Otimi died in 1892, Rora Tahana in 1894, Rangatahi in 1905, Retimana in 1907, Rangiwhuia Taitoko 1907, Ngarara Otimi 1909, Kahuwaeroa Te Otimi 1910 and Te Ruai Otimi 1918.¹¹¹

Like all the kaumātua of their era when they died they were taken back to their ancestral burial places, so why then were they here at the Rangitīkei? Otimi, Tarapata, Tahana, attended a meeting in Rangitīkei Oketopa 1866 in support of the non-seller Parakaia, the head of the Māori Rūnanga.

Kuao married Te Ohu of Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tama. Inter-marriage between Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Maniapoto living within the southern boundary had occurred years previously, so several Ngāti Rangatahi share this tribal affiliation as well.

Kuao and Te Ohu had two children and although Te Ohu remarried, no further reference to Kuao is recorded.¹¹²

Pareteho is thought to have married Taihākurei I also of Ngāti Maniapoto.¹¹³ Her descendants acquired land interests within the southern boundary of Ngāti Maniapoto granted by the Māori Land Court in their decision for the Rohe Potae in 1886. They were among the scheduled owners on 'Te Rerenga's List' whose names were recorded because they belonged. In 1866 Taihākurei, Hirawanu and Matawha were in the Rangitīkei, Matawha attended the same meeting as Otimi and Tarapata.

Rangikaiwhiria's descendants from his first marriage to Te Iringa of Ngāti Raukawa did not settle around the southern boundary. One of their children was Hawaiki, the ancestor of Meihana Te Rama Durie who married Kahurautete Matawha. Hawaiki had a sister Te Kahuirangi who married Te Haunga, mokopuna of Toarangatira and Parehounuku of Ngāti

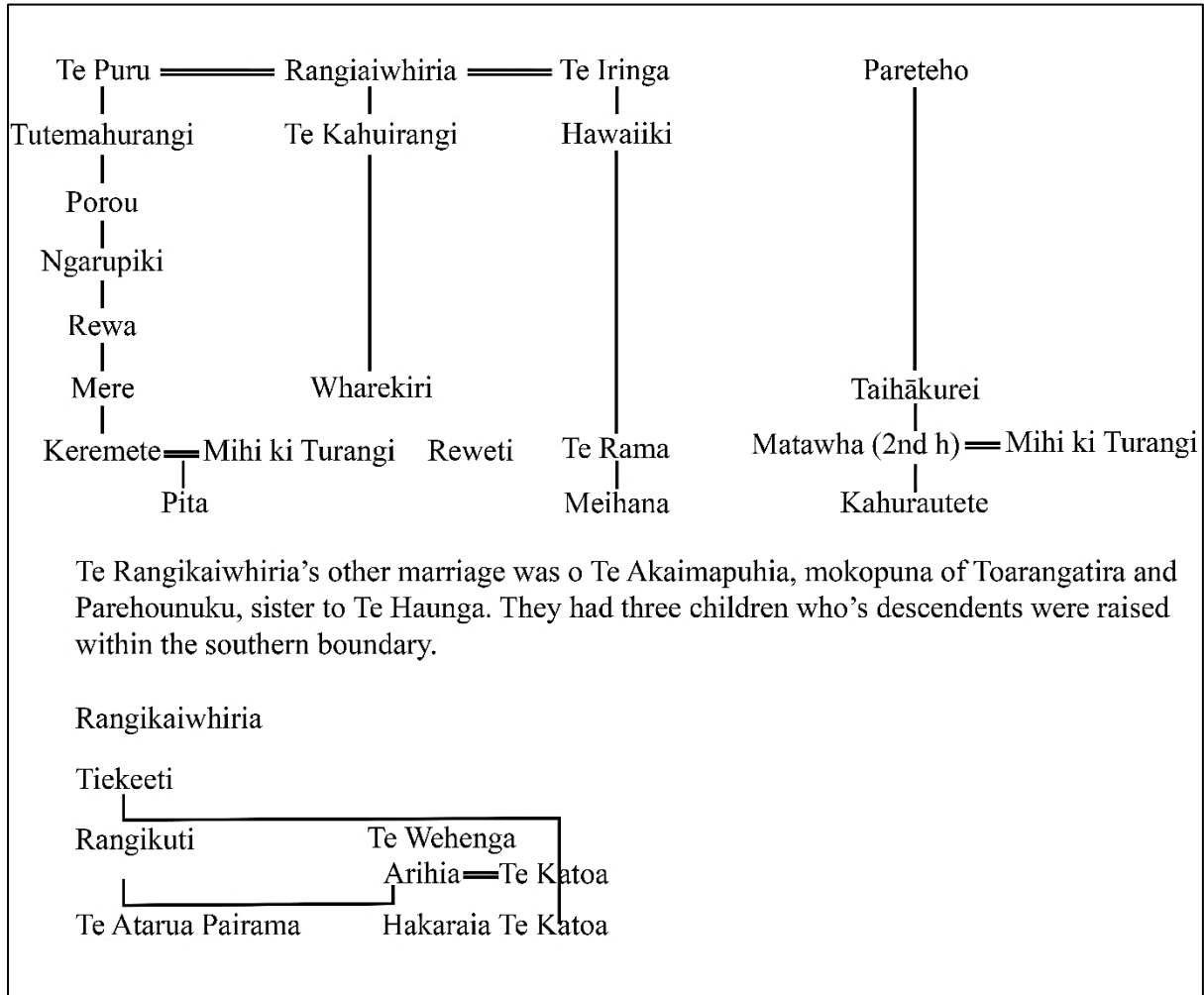
¹¹¹ Taken from Māori Land Court records.

¹¹² Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished)

¹¹³ Durie, Rawiri. Oral history.

Matakore. Te Kahuirangi and her father were the ancestors of Mihi ki Turangi and her brother Reweti Te Rakaherea.¹¹⁴

Whakapapa 9: Te Puru rāua ko Kimihia



According to history Marangaiparoa and his sons Te Haunga and Tuhaha received a request from their kinsmen of the Ngāti Raukawa for assistance in their battle against the numerous and powerful Ngai Te Rangi. Marangaiparoa and his sons arrived with a fighting force of one hundred and forty men to the dismay of the Ngāti Raukawa who tried to dissuade them from certain disaster. Undaunted they departed and returned from that battle victorious. To strengthen the kinship between the two tribes Te Kahuirangi was offered as a bride for Te Haunga.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Family history and whakapapa provided by Dr Rawiri Durie.

¹¹⁵ Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished)

Te Puru and Kimihia who was the mokopuna of Toarangatira and Parehounuku, sister or brother to Te Haunga and Te Akaimapuhia, made their home at Awakino where they raised five children, the youngest of whom was Tutemahurangi.¹¹⁶ The pātere composed by Tarati, the mother of Wahanui Huatare and his half brother Pairama Keepa, pays homage to the many noted ancestors who made their home within the southern boundary. In the introduction she pays homage to Kimihia.

This is an extract of that pātere.

*Ko Awakino
Ko ngai tai hurirua ki Awakino
Ko te ika ko te pahu ki Herangi
Taituha koe ki te akau
Ko Kimihia nana i taoro ki nuku o te whenua*

The boundaries which evolved from this area are described in the composition, ‘Ngā Rohe ēnei o Awakino’. They describe the territorial landmarks also extending outwards to encompass fishing grounds around Awakino, mooring places for canoes, ancestral urupā and much more.

Many whānau descend from Te Puru and Kimihia. The Wetere whānau, Rauputu, Taniora-Batley, Pairama, Ratima and many more identify as belonging to the southern boundary as set by Hoturoa.¹¹⁷

4.0 THE MIGRATION TO THE UPPER WHANGANUI

The next migration is associated with Tutemahurangi who was responsible for the death of his younger brother Nukuraerae.

“I kinongia aia e tona iwi mo tana patunga i tona teina i a Nukuraerae. Ka heke noho noa atu i Wairau i roto o Mangamaire e tata ana ki Ohura.”¹¹⁸

His journeys took him to the Waipa but there was no security there for them. Their final journey took them to the Upper Whanganui which provided the sanctuary and resources that Tutemahurangi, his wives and children required for permanent settlement. He then changed his tribal affiliation and most of his descendants thereafter were identified as Ngāti Haua.

¹¹⁶ Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished)

¹¹⁷ Te Atarua Pairama Whakapapa-History Book (unpublished)

¹¹⁸ Jones, PTH. *Ngā Mōteatea, The Songs*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. 1990 p. 224.

Many of those who acquired interests in Te Reureu descend from him.

In later years the Whanganui river would become a place for the disaffected, including sections of Ngāti Rangatahi who embraced the new religion of Pai Marire and the political beliefs of the Kingitanga. The Kingitanga had come into being seeking unity, solidarity and protection of their land. The same section of Ngāti Rangatahi became fervent followers of this kaupapa.

Even before this Whanganui was also important to the people in the southern boundary. Te Atarua Pairama wrote about Ruapokorua who lived among his wife's people for two years after she died.

“Ka mate a Hinewhare ka noho pouaru a Ruapokorua ki te rua tau, ka mau iho ki ngana kotiro ka hoki ki Whanganui. Ka whaia e Hapahapai ka mau atu ki Whakamaru i tua mai o Maunga Kahikatea ka whakahokia mai ko Pareturere hei takawaenga e nga huarai ki Mokau – Whanganui.”

4.1 Te Heke mai i raro

Tame Tuwhangai recounted that Ngāti Rangatahi who had been resident in Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) were forcibly evicted from the area by the Government of the time. He further stated that the Waitangi Tribunal in its Wellington District Inquiry report 2003, in the executive summary at page xxi declared:

“With regard to Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rangatahi we have found that the Crown failed to recognise and protect their rights in Heretaunga. Ngāti Tama were required to surrender property in Heretaunga without free negotiated agreement and without adequate compensation. Ngāti Rangatahi were forced out of Heretaunga and their property in the village was pillaged and burned. They received no compensation for their losses nor was any land subsequently reserved for them in the valley.¹¹⁹

To recount in brief, beginning with the heke mai-i-raro the events that impacted upon Ngāti Rangatahi to the hekenga ki Te Reureu.

On leaving Kawhia the Ngāti Toa heke rested at Marokopa and it was around this stage that Ngāti Rangatahi joined the heke. For their assistance in expelling the original inhabitants from Te Whanganui-a-Tara they were granted rights to the upper valley under the mana of Te Rauparaha. It was during the period when the whole district was under a tapu that the NZ

¹¹⁹ Tame Tuwhangai, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi 19-20 May 2014, p. 152.

Company ship anchored in Wellington and Colonel Wakefield made his purchase of Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

Meanwhile Ngāti Rangatahi returned into the region once the tapu had been lifted. We were not party to the sale and received no payment. Spain tried to persuade Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata to accept compensation for their claims. Rangihaeata was willing to compromise if the northern half of the valley was left for Ngāti Rangatahi. For the government the emphasis during all the negotiations was directed solely towards persuading Māori to vacate the valley.

Tension continued to build in the Hutt as the occupants refused to leave, no one had given thought as to where the dispossessed tribes were to go. Events now began to snowball and in 1845 Rangihaeata moved a strong war party to the Hutt. They were joined by Te Mamaku, a chief from the Ngāti Haua / Ngāti Rangatahi from the Whanganui river, who was related to Kaparatehau and who wished to support the Whanganui Māori in the valley.

Governor Grey's appointment brought changes. On 25th February 1846 he had two guns brought up the previous night. Rev. Taylor impressed upon Ngāti Rangatahi the urgency of the situation and they agreed to go. Taylor then witnessed the pillaging and violation of Rangatahi homes, chapel, urupā and cultivations. Ngāti Rangatahi sought refuge with the Ngāti Toa and it was Rangihaeata who directed them to the Rangitīkei.¹²⁰

They arrived in the Manawatū-Rangitīkei traumatised, destitute and landless. In 1849 McLean reported them to be living there on sufferance, but a year later, Kemp reported them as having settled there.¹²¹

Ngati Rangatahi had every reason to resist the sale of the Manawatū block but ultimately that would be the prerogative of the principal claimants to decide. Featherston had impressed upon the four major iwi that they were the principal claimants. He asserted that the remote claimants had no land rights and only entitled therefore to a gift from the Crown.¹²²

¹²⁰ Anderson R and Pickens K. Waitangi Tribunal Rangahau Whanui District 12, pp. 41-44.

¹²¹ Journals of Sir Donald McClean 1839-1877 – entry for 3 March 1849; Kemp to The Colonial Secretary 10 March 1850.

¹²² MA Series 13/72b p35-54. Extract taken – MA Series, p. 6. I.E. Featherston 'Report on Manawatū Blocks and notes of meeting at Parewanui in December 1866.

When they were finally granted a reserve at Te Reureu the claimants were reminded by Donald McLean that they were the newcomers. The court ignored their claim whereas he took compassion on them and said this was a ‘gift’ from the Crown. They then had to watch as the Crown took back some of that gift for roading, railway and defence purposes. What had been a small acreage to start with, became even smaller.¹²³

Dr. Ra Durie explained that the forced expulsion of Ngāti Rangatahi from Heretaunga, their journey to Manawatū-Rangitīkei, finding that the land could not sustain them all, caused them to become a scattered people.

“Heoi ano whai muri i tetahi raruraru i puta mai i waenganui i a Ngāti Rangatahi me etahi o nga pakeha i taua rohe ka panaia ratou ki waho i Heretaunga. A tena ka haere ma raro ratou ki Poroutawhao noho ai mo te wa poto, a tena ka hūnuku a Ngāti Rangatahi ki konei ki a Te Reureu noho ai. Heoi ano e ai ki te kōrero a taku koroua ehara nga whenua o Te Reureu i te whenua tino haumako, kaore e taea ratou te noho i runga i te whenua tena ka marara atu ratou. Koira te take kei nga topito katoa o tēnei motu e noho ana nga uri o Ngāti Rangatahi i tenei wa.

Ngāti Rangatahi had been decimated by the loss of land. When we arrived here the land was not suitable enough to sustain us and we dispersed.”¹²⁴

4.2 Manawatū – Rangitīkei

Wiriharai’s letter dated 8 October 1866 ki a te Kawana names Parakaia’s supporters e pupuru ana i a Rangitīkei, (Keeping back Rangitīkei).

Rangitīkei
8 Oketopa 1866
Ki a te Kawana
E hoa tena koe kia rongu mai koe, ko nga tangata tenei nana i pupuru a Rangitīkei ko te iwi o Parakaia, koia tenei ka tuhia ki raro iho nei.¹²⁵
Ko: Letter from I. E. Featherston to J. C. Richmond- Minister in charge of the Native Department

Wellington, 14 November 1866

Table 2: Parakaia's supporters re Rangitīkei

Tokoahu	Rawiri	Wiremu Kingi	Hakopa	Haurona	Haua
Te Tau Paranihi	Te Ngarue	Arama Te Whaka..	Te Weiti	Kerekeha	Hone
Werahiko	Matiaha	Te Whakawawa	Te Naera	Pamena	Hare
Otimi	Hirawanu	Parakipane	Haimona	Hohepa	Hare
Pita	Hohepa	Hare Rewiti	Ateara	Reihana	Hori

¹²³ Archival records.

¹²⁴ Durie R, p. 110. Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi 19-20 May 2014.

¹²⁵ MA Series 13/73a pp. 105-106. MA Series p. 14.

Katoa	Hahona	Keremihana	Karepa	Matetoru	Hami
Wihona	Te Naihi	Te Reihana	Te Katena	Rimini	Hawe
Tarapata	Waitere	Wiriharai	Wiremu	Kereama	Heta
Te Ngahoa	Tauke	Tohutohu	Timiha	Hoani	To
Hamapiri	Pumipi	Tmoti	Himiona	Te Teira	Taho
Wineti	Te Reihana	Te Muera	Hori	Turanga	Te Wa
Te Koinga	Tapuke	Kipihana	Tuatara	Hohua	Tame
Riwai	Ngaheke	Te Paraku	Mokena	Hikapo	Pini
Tahana	Pitama	Teretiu	Raimona	Potini	Paki
Arama	Te Kuri	Raniera	Mahirini	Te Kepa	Pera
Keremete	Tarikama	Rahoera	Natana	Poihipi	Pera
Hakaraia	Herewini	Pateriki	Kaitiraha	Henare	Parao
Matawha	Hopa	Ripine	Miratana	Makena	Paiura
Hamapiri	Rihara	Hoani	Winiata	Petera	Rewi
			Maika	Matene	Nepia

Featherston describes this document as a ‘final report on the Manawatū Rangitīkei purchase.’ Enclosed with the report are two tables (A & B) providing an analysis of the tribes (both resident and remote) who have claims to the land.

Table A – Featherston asserts that there are only about fifty bonafide Ngāti Raukawa claimants whose signatures can be considered in any way essential to the satisfactory completion of the deed of purchase.

Table B – Featherston reports that the vast majority of the non resident claimants have agreed to the sale. Noting that their signatures are in fact little necessary to the completion of the Deed of Title. Featherston contends that they have never resided on the block, nor have they exercised such acts of ownership as would justify their claim.

Tribes Claiming in Chief

The profile sets out the approximate strength or population of each of the three main tribes within Rangitīkei–Manawatū along with their representative chiefs and their attitude to Featherston’s purchase.

Both Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne – unanimously in favour of the sale.

The resident section of Ngāti Raukawa broken down further by hapū.

Ngāti Rongo (Ihakara Tukumarū’s hapū) – unanimous in favour of the sale.

Ngāti Parewahawaha (Aperahama Te Huruhuru and Nepia Taratoa) with a few exceptions in favour of the sale.

Ngāti Kauwhata at Ōroua – The leading men are recorded as having agreed to the purchase but a few members of the hapū are opposed to the sale.

Ngāti Pīkiahū – a small hapū residing at Te Reureu is categorised as divided as to the sale.¹²⁶

5.0 TE REUREU – PUKEKOKEKE

Te Reureu was estimated by the native occupiers as an area approximately 10,000 acres lying in the north of a far larger block of land covering about 241,000 acres. It was included in the lands sold to the Crown by Deed of Cession on 13 December 1866.

“Commencing at Waitapu thence by that stream to Whitianga, thence southwards to Whakamoetakapu Te Puta, thence to the westward along the line of Puroa a Pakeha to Mangaone, to Pahekeheke Pukeiwahie thence to the bridge at Whakauranga, thence along the Rangataua stream to the Rangitikei river thence eastward to Kakariki Maungamutu thence to Karaka, Te Ruai thence to Tapatu, Waituna thence to Reureu, Pikitara to the commencing point at Waitapu.”

In 1869 The Native Land Court investigated and adjudicated upon the said claims of persons who had not signed The Deed of Cession to lands within the said boundaries. Application to the Māori Land Court failed. Dissenters (non sellers) to the whole block, approximately 253 missed out in the awards of the Court.

In 1870 McLean was sent to the Rangitikei to make reserves out of the Manawatū – Rangitikei Block. This Block had been purchased by Dr. Featherston, Superintendent of Wellington in 1866 but no reserves had been included in the Deed of Cession. He promised to make reserves but by 1870 the promised reserves had still not been laid off or Crown granted. It was then that McLean was sent to determine the reserves.

On 24 November 1870 it was recommended:

“... a reserve be laid off not exceeding 2500 acres for the natives residing between Rangitawa and Waitapu. A reserve for the Ngatipukihau, Ngāti Rangitahi, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa. Reserve for Kakariki and Reureu natives.”

On 25th November 1870 a meeting was held at Te Reureu. Some of those present at this meeting were: Paranihi Te Tau, Reureu -Pukekokeke. Others included:

¹²⁶ MA Series 13/73a, pp. 135-152. Extracts taken MA Series, pp. 18-21.

Donald McLean	Noha Rauhihi
Hapi Whitipatato	Hamapiri
Ngawaka Maraenui	Ngawaka Waeroa
Aperahama Ngawaka	Horopapere
Hopa Karewa	Hunia
Eruera Paranihi	Tarapata
Paranihi Te Tau	Kereopa
Rawiri Te Koha	Karanama
Hue Te Huri	Retimata

A letter written on 17 January 1871 from Wihapi Whitipatato to Donald McLean informs the Native Minister of the completion of the survey of Kakariki on the side of Rangitīkei commencing at Waitapu and reaching Rangataua. He also recounts what appears to have been a dispute of the land. In concluding Whiti tells his friend McLean that “...we divided the land as we saw fit.”¹²⁷

Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu namely Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Maniapoto descend through whakapapa from Hoturoa. Ngāti Waewae from Tūwharetoa had whakapapa from Ngāti Pīkiahū, hence to Ngāti Raukawa, hence to Hoturoa as well. Those who could also whakapapa to Ngāti Matakore shared the same with Ngāti Maniapoto.

Te Heuheu Tukino paramount chief of Tūwharetoa saw that the NZ Company settlers were wanting more and more land and with Ngāti Apa willing to sell the Rangitīkei district, he instigated the 1842 hekenga to prevent land sales extending to Tongariro.¹²⁸ When in 1860 the Kingitanga came into being with its kaupapa of unity, solidarity and protection of lands, he became one of its most fervent advocates.

Auckland, 3rd August 1871, H.T. Kemp to D. McLean Native Minister

“...in the interests of the peace of the district and the settlement of a long standing and complicated question, I really had no alternative than to make what may appear at first glance, a large addition to that already suggested by yourself. A sufficient reserve for the natives (Non-Sellers) now in occupation of the eastern bank of the Rangitīkei from the Waitapu to the Rangataua streams, the principal settlements being those of Te Reureu and Kakariki. We were dealing with a considerable body of natives who as non-sellers repudiated the sale of that block altogether and consequently reserved to

¹²⁷ MA Series 13/73b, pp. 822-823, MA Series p. 100.

¹²⁸ Wai 2180 Taihape Hearing District ‘Te Hekenga a Ngāti Waewae ki te Tonga, p841-843

themselves the right of selection, the quantity finally agreed upon falling very far short indeed of what they proposed to hold for their own use and this was not done without causing annoyance to some of the chiefs. In the second place in suggesting 2500 acres you had not at that time been made aware that the young chiefs were owners of a considerable and increasing, flock of sheep, some cattle, working teams of oxen and many horses.

In finally fixing the lines of a reserve within which there were so many interests to consult, it seemed to them absolutely necessary to make reasonable provision in the shape of a run for their stock without the risk of encroaching upon the lands of their white neighbours.

In addition to this the young chief, Paranihi agreed to give up all claim to a settlement and plantation some eight or nine miles in the upper portion of the block which, had he retained would have been nearly 1000 acres.

An inconvenient location when taken in connection with the systematic settlement of that portion of the block.

I need not enter explanation of the smaller addition amounting to about 500 acres – they were deemed to be necessary for the present and future wants of the natives for whose use they have been set apart. The natives, as a body recognise the fact that it was solely in the interests of peace and the welfare of both races in the district that you had single handed imposed upon yourself mediation or takawaenga - in carrying out your arrangements.”¹²⁹

H. T. Kemp

11 March 1871, W. J Swainson to the Superintendent Wellington

“500 acres of land occupied by Swainson in partnership with Messrs. Taylor and Watt has been included as part of the reserves granted by McLean to Māori within Manawatū-Rangitikei. Swainson asks what steps the Government intends to take either to reinstate him and his partners in their former position or provide compensation for the loss they have sustained by the actions of the Native Minister.”¹³⁰

29th January 1872, H. T. Kemp to D. McLean

“Kemp describes half of the reserve as being broken and of little value. The lower land is overflowed and suffers from displacement of soil when cultivated. According to Kemp the natives distinctly understood the conditions which McLean’s reserves were subject to and that there should be no further obstruction whatever to quiet occupation of the whole block.”¹³¹

On the 1st February 1872, Marton: Donald McLean called a meeting anxious to have a settlement about the reserves in Te Reureu.

“Mr McLean You have already received extensive reserves far larger than you are entitled to or would have received at the hands of any other person. You must not forget that the court ignored your claim. I took compassion on you, gave you these acres to live upon.

¹²⁹ MA Series 13/72b, pp. 804-809. MA Series, p. 98.

¹³⁰ MA Series 13/73b, pp. 792-793. Extract from this letter, MA Series, p. 97.

¹³¹ MA Series 13/73b, pp. 794-797. Extract from this letter, MA Series, p. 97.

Rawiri Te Koha There is no cultivation space on the hill therefore I ask you to extend the boundary to Makara. A portion of the land on the bank of the Rangitīkei River has been carried away by floods. I have not sufficient land below the hill for cultivation, all the good portion of it has been washed away.

Hue Te Huri If 3400 acres is all the land we are to have, it will not be enough.

Mr McLean You shall have 4400 acres of land and the £300.00 as a final settlement of all your claims.

Hue Te Huri I want you to give a small piece of land for the half-caste children that are amongst us. If you agree to give them some, I will give a like amount.

Mr McLean I will think over this. (He then recommended an award of 211 acres)¹³²

Mr McLean Who is going to speak today?

Rawiri Te Koha I am and my talk is the same as it was yesterday”

An exchange on the following day, 2 February 1872 at Marton between McLean and Te Huri occurred:

“Mr McLean I have nothing different to say to you today, my determination is the same today as it was yesterday. I only meant you to receive 3400 acres but in consequences of the floods, I have consented to add another 1000 acres, 500 for yourself and 500 for Ngawaka as promised on behalf of all the people.

Hue Te Huri At the court we based our claim to these lands on the right of conquest but ancestor of ours was not recognised by the court. We only got this land Mr McLean, who really is the tūpuna?

Here the £300.00 was paid and the signatures signed, an agreement finally settling all these claims.

The iwi of Te Reureu occupied the area along the Rangitīkei River between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams. The two principal places of occupation were around Kakariki for the Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Maniapoto and further north around Te Reureu for the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae. The greater majority of the Te Reureu iwi were adamantly opposed to the sale of land but they did not have a principal voice in the negotiations. They had arrived at a later date and were the ‘newcomers’. The principal claimants had had far longer occupation on the land, the secondary claimants not so but they were either related to the principal claimants or held the same tribal affiliations. Te Reureu iwi were probably positioned somewhere between secondary and remote claimants.

¹³² Archival records.

The Hon. W. Fitzherbert to the Hon. The Native Minister
Superintendents Office Wellington 3 September 1872

Sir, I have the honour to forward to you herewith for your information detailed Schedules of Native Reserves in the Rangitikei – Manawatū block. Also tracing showing the position of each reserve.

All the reserves shown on tracing have been surveyed and pegged off on the ground.

The information given under the head of “Owners” will require to be examined by yourself. I have ...

William Fitzherbert – Superintendent

**Table 3: Schedule of Reserves given to the Natives in the Rangitikei-Manawatū Block by the Hon. Native Minister
Hon. D. McLean, Wellington.**

	<i>No</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Owners</i>
	1	200	Mangawhatu Oroua river	Tapu Te Whata
	2	50	Junction of Makino & Mangaone	Ngati Kauwhata tribe
	3, 12	400	Junction of Makino & Mangaone	Ngati Kauwhata tribe
	4	1035	Kawa Kawa	Ngati Kauwhata tribe
	5	514	Reserve of Pakehou	Purchased from Natves
	6	40	Rotonui ahau, on the Oroua river	Ngati Kauwhata tribe
65	7, 15	30	Tauranganui on the Oroua river	Te Ara Takana Uiriharai Te Angiangi
	8	50	Oau	Wiriharai Te Angiangi
	9	40	Oau	
	10	100	Kairakau on the Oroua river	Matene Te Whiwhi
	11	200	Kopani on the Oroua river	Ngati Kauwhata tribe
	12	...	vide no 3	
	13	100	Adjoining 3 and 12	Waikato Natives
	14	110 ½	Paparata near Oau	Ngati Wehiwehi tribe
	15	...	vide no. 2 on the Oroua river	Taimona
	15a	50	Above Kawakawa	
	16	50	Near small farm town	Anitu Pekhama
	17	1100	Puketotaru	Rangitane tribe
	18	500	Adjoining the above	Hare Rukena
	19	35½	Waipunoke on the Oroua river	Hoani Meihana
	20	10	Patangu on the Oroua river	Kere
	21	100	Mataihwi ?	Nepia Taratoa
	21 A	19	Mataihwi ?	Winiata
	22	125	near Mangamahoi	Kerehama
23 A	23	100	Mataihwi	Ereuoru Taratou
	23 A	19	Mataihwi	Winiatu
	24	124	Maramahoru Pa	Ngati Kahori tribe
	25	100	near Maramahoru	Ataretu Taratou
	26	...	vide no. 33	
	27	50	near Maramahoru	Kerenuhau
	27 A	50	near small farm town	Weretu

	<i>No</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Owners</i>
	28	192	near small farm town	Ngati Parewaha tribe
	28 A	615	near Paku Rakateu	Ngati Parewaha tribe
	29	...	Not settled 8 acres at Koputara	...
	30	285	Ohinepuhiaroe	Hare Rewiti and others
	31	100	Mingirou	Aperahamu
	32	11	Near Waipunoki at the Oroua river	Hoani Meihana
	33, 26	439	Poutu near Makawai	Hare rewiti and others
	34	Vide no	Included in Maramahoru reserve	...
	35	7310 acres for Hone Te Tehi	
	36	3	Tawhirikoe	Ngati Kahoro tribe
	37	102	Near Mangamatai	Te Peiria
	38	...	Kaputara 60 acres not settled	Matenga Te Mataka
	39	100	Awahou	Hunia
	40	200	Te Kauwau	Ngatiapu tribe
	41	87	Kaiko Kopu	Hunia
	42	50	Near Waitoi	Hakaraia
	43	1000	Taurerua	Hamueru and others
	44	20	Omanuku	
	45	390	Puki Puki	Ngatiapu tribe
	46	400	Near Waitoi	Utuku and others
	47	4510	Te Reureu	The Ngāti Pikiāhu and others
	48	77	Rangitawa	Meta
	49	35½	Awahou	Ponapu
	65	Vide	Ngapiro	Te Ara
		No ?	Oroua river	Tokana
	66	40	Ruahine Oroua river	Ngati Kauwhata tribe
	67	10	Te Maraounra Oroua river	...
	69	211	Tokorangi	Surveyed by Mr Carkeek under instructions of the Hon. The Native Minister
	72	100	Puketotaru	Metupiri
	73, 35	110	Near small farm town	100 acres for Te Pemu and other.

In 1872 Donald McLean awarded 4,510 acres in Te Reureu for Ngāti Pikiāhu, Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa. Ngāti Waewae from Tūwharetoa were awarded the same rights through their whakapapa to Ngāti Raukawa.

Ngati Matakore in 1872 had not at that time established their own separate iwi. Instead they had aligned themselves with their Maniapoto whakapapa despite the fact that as early as 1856 they were identified as a tribal presence in the affairs of the Rangitīkei tribes. Although Te Marae o Hine was not opened until 19 June 1913, Ngāti Matakore had already been identified as a separate iwi.

McLean promised that Crown grants for the Manawatū-Rangitīkei reserves which he had awarded, would be issued immediately but by 1876 they had still not been granted.

Then in the same year Donald M^cLean, Native Minister died.

In 1882 Alexander McKay was appointed Commissioner under a Royal Commission to enquire into Native Reserves in the Wellington Province. Some of the reserves promised in the Rangitīkei-Manawatū district came within the scope of this investigation.

In 1884 Mr A McKay Commissioner of Native Reserves appointed a Judge of the Native Land Court to ascertain ownership of the Reureu reserve under the gift from the Crown. In 1884 on the information provided by Ngāti Pīkiahū–Ngāti Waewae the court determined certain ascertained members of the hapū so entitled and at the same time that a few more persons in Te Reureu No.1 were owners also. But then no further action was taken in the matter.

On 1 December 1896 an appeal by Hue Te Huri with Ngāti Pīkiahū–Ngāti Waewae was heard at an Appellate Court sitting at Marton. The Court awarded in favour of Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Maniapoto, but held that no party had primary occupation. The land was a gift from the Crown made to the people resident and given to those persons as owners in common, of the whole reserve. Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae were to share between them 2550 acres (229 owners) while Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi were to share 1960 acres (97 owners). This acreage did not take into account any land that had been taken for the road or railway line, or which had been lost by river encroachment.¹³³

On 9th December 1896 Court was held at Marton. Ownership of Te Reureu No.3 containing 517 acres conferred upon 97 owners of Tainui descent.¹³⁴ Court was held at Marton. Ownership of Te Reureu No. 2 containing 1033 acres was conferred upon the same 97 owners.

On 25th January 1913 Certificate of Title to Reureu No. 2 and No. 3 granted to 97 owners, backdated to 9 December 1896. By 1913 Te Reureu No. 2 block had been reduced to 982

¹³³ W.G.M.B. /235

¹³⁴ Te Reureu No 2 Certificate of Title. Vol. 218, Folio 113.

acres.¹³⁵ On 13 March 1916 Certificate of Title to Te Reureu No. 1 granted to 229 owners, back dated to 30 August 1912. Te Reureu No.1 contained 2307 acres, 2 rood, 24 perches.¹³⁶

5.1 Ngāti Matakore

Heemi Te Peeti recalled the time Te Marae-o-Hine was destroyed by fire and the aroha shown by Ngāti Rangatahi to the plight of their whanaunga of Ngāti Matakore. Matakore's two granddaughters married two of Maniapoto's grandsons. Tuheao married Marungaehe who had Manukipureora who had seven children. Many families in Te Reureu trace whakapapa to those seven tūpuna. It was not only aroha that motivated the merger between Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore, it was whanaungatanga.¹³⁷

5.2 Miria Te Kakara

In 1868 Ngāti Rangatahi built a meeting house they named Miria Te Kakara, but it fell into disuse after the floods of that era.¹³⁸ The most catastrophic flood occurred in 1897 when picturesque kainga and kowhai groves, dotted along the riverside were destroyed and permanently replaced by shingle beds. Miria Te Kakara is forever remembered and referred to when defining the boundaries in the pepeha o Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga:

“Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, Mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki”

5.3 Te Hiiri o Mahuta

Te Hiiri o Mahuta Marae was built around 1907 to accommodate Kingi Mahuta who was scheduled to pay a visit which was postponed at the last minute. The Marae was built on land owned by the Riwai family who encouraged the people to use this as a communal meeting place.

In 1941 meetings were held to discuss the future care and upkeep of the Marae. With the agreement of the remaining owners an area was set aside as a reservation. The Court awarded 3 acres, 21 perches for the future use and enjoyment of the Ngāti Rangatahi tribe. The decision

¹³⁵ Te Reureu No 3 Certificate of Title. Vol. 7, Folio 81.

¹³⁶ Te Reureu No 1 Certificate of Title. Vol. 239, Folio 230.

¹³⁷ Te Peeti H. – Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, p. 62.

¹³⁸ Arapere B. Thesis 1999 – *Hapū Dynamics in the Rangitikei Area, 1830-1872*, p. 67.

was gazetted in 1942. Today Marae Committee and Trustee membership comes from families who have had long association with the district and for some, other tribal affiliations as well.

Table 4: Some memorable events that occurred at Te Hiiri Marae

16.12.1926	I tae mai a Te Puea me ana tamariki i te rua o nga haora i te ata, i konei katoa matou. (Princess Te Puea and her roopu stayed for several days touring towns and districts fundraising for Turangawaewae.)
17.12.1926	I tae mai a Toro, Keeni, Tawhai, Tamiaho, Waeroa, Waapu, Kumeroa me nga wahine. Koinei te ra i kitea katoa ai matou i a Te Puea me ana tamariki katoa – me nga mihi a Pikiahu, me Waewae, me Tūwharetoa, Maniapoto, Rangatahi katoa.
18.12.1926	I te kainga tonu a Te Puea, kaore he mahi – i te a te Taite, Keremete, Kimura me nga wahine, i te horoi nga kotiro i Rangitūkei.
23.12.1926	I Arakamu a Te Puea e purei ana i tēnei po. I reira ano matou-Taite, Manuka, Ngahuia, Pipi, Rata, Winihau otira matou katoa me Pikiahu, Waewae, Tūwharetoa katoa. ¹³⁹
22.01.1939	Mihi ki Turangi died. Tangi at Te Hiiri.
22.05.1939	Taite Te Tomo died.
27.05.1939	King Koriki, Te Puea and their people arrive with Sir Apirana Ngata.
29.05.1939	The discussion about where Taite Te Tomo should be buried was resolved by Sir Apirana Ngata who recommended he be laid to rest beside St. Joseph Church.
05.05.1946	Went to Te Hiiri to welcome new parson for the district, Rev. Bennett. Mr and Mrs Durie was also there. (Kakariki school records for 1908 show that Charles (Moihi) Bennett was enrolled.
15.09.1949	Big gathering at Te Hiiri, eight returned soldiers presented with an envelope (£1.00) Feilding and Tokorangi crowds present.
29.11.1949	Te Hiiri for Māori election. Sam Te Punga returning officer. ¹⁴⁰ Iriaka Ratana – 24 Hoeroa Marumarū – 8 Prohibition 01.....Continuance 28
04.03.1990	Queen Te Atairangikaahu accompanied by Koro Wetere M.P. with five chartered buses carrying supporters from the Waikato paid an informal visit to Te Tikanga Marae and to the Te Hiiri Marae. They were returning to Turangawaewae from the Poukai hosted by Ngāti Whakatere at Poutu Marae. During her visit to Te Hiiri the Queen planted two trees, Whakaruru and Piruru. ¹⁴¹

Tainui families living within Te Reureu gave allegiance to the Kingitanga but none were more loyal than the Ngāti Matakore at Te Marae o Hine. They also shared the same spiritual beliefs and frequented the awa o Rangitūkei ki te kaukau, to bathe and invoke ancient cleansing rites. It was not surprising therefore that when TW Ratana’s petition for the Treaty of Waitangi, ‘kia

¹³⁹ Extract from Manuka Taumatangi’s diary

¹⁴⁰ Extracts from Meera Herangi’s diaries. 1939-1949.

¹⁴¹ Extract from Te Oro Herangi’s diary.

uru ki roto i nga pukapuka ture o te Dominion' was circulated, Ngāti Matakore's response was ..."if the King signs, we sign". Ngāti Waewae's response to the petition was similar..."if Te Heuheu signs, we sign".¹⁴² At Ngāti Kauwhata Kahurautete and Meihana Te Rama Durie signed the petition¹⁴³.

6.0 EARLY MISSIONARIES AND EUROPEANS SOUTH OF THE AUKATI LINE

In the period estimated from the early 1830's onward, mission stations were established inland of the southern Maniapoto. In Aria there were signs of early cultivation and development, the remains of a flour mill, pigs, cattle and sheep of different breeds, occupation estimated well prior to 1839. Across the river from this deserted settlement, the Lutheran North German Mission Society was established in 1844 at Motukaramu, between Aria and Mahoenui. By 1846 they were forced to abandon the mission.

At this time the Rev. John Whitely (Wetere) had established The Wesleyan mission in Waitara and was displeased by the foundation of the Lutheran station at Motukaramu. The Roman Catholic influence brought by the Lyons Society was very strong on the middle Mokau by 1845. In the same year Donald McLean described the European who had been living in the middle Mokau for many years. The Māori were imitating his method of agriculture, industrious habits and the various kinds of seeds he introduced. At the mouth of the Mokau river there had been a number of European visitors.

The missionaries had brought peace to the land of the Maniapoto tribes but that era was passing with the approach of the Taranaki and Waikato wars, land confiscations and the first evidence of the Hauhau movement. The recognition of the 'King Country' as a closed territory had its beginning in 1869, which lasted until 1883 with an all important meeting with the Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa, Whanganui and Raukawa tribes.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Korero tawhito from Te Oro Herangi to the author.

¹⁴³ Taken from Tamiaho Herangi's diary.

¹⁴⁴ Craig D. *South of The Aukati Line: A history of the King Country*.

7.0 TŪPUNA PROFILES

7.1 Te Atarua Pairama

Te Atarua Pairama was a descendant of Hapahapai I, a noted warrior chief among the southern hapū, who achieved recognition because of his leadership and ability to negotiate peaceful solutions. The newly formed hapū of Ngāti Waiora was attributed to him. His two wives from Ngāti Rangatahi were Tuarangi and Whakairiwananga.

Keepa Te Ahurangi was the direct descendant of Hapahapai and the grandfather of Te Atarua. He and the warriors of his era living within the southern boundary around the 1830s, were striving to maintain the old world and the old ways. They relished the opportunity to participate in the conflicts at Kapiti, Heretaunga and Wairau in support of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata. According to family records Pairama Keepa testified at the court hearing in Nelson that his father Keepa, and his kinsmen, went south with Te Rauparaha. Afterwards he recited his whakapapa to Ngāti Rarua.

Te Atarua Pairama was the youngest of twelve children. She learned to speak English while employed as a maid to an English family. The housekeeping skills benefited her when she became a mother and widow in middle age. She became adept at manual labour around the home and there was always a huge vegetable garden and potato plot. She kept her family together and somewhere in between her labours she taught herself to write – well enough anyhow. For relaxation she weaved and kept her family supplied with whaariki, laboriously producing the black dye as taught to her.

Te Atarua believed in her taniwha absolutely and completely and I can testify that ‘seeing is believing’. Te Atarua was a descendant of Kahuwaero, Te Puru and Te Rangikaiwhiria. Her family whakapapa she divided into separate parts, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Waiora. The ancestors recorded in her book were all related through earlier intermarriage and their numbers had likewise increased considerably.

The traditional boundary of Ngāti Maniapoto extended beyond the Mokau river towards Mohakatino. The descendants of Maniapoto-Rangatahi extended their areas of occupation beyond Mohakatino-Poutama to include what is now the Ohura township, back around the Aria

hills to Piopio, Mahoenui, Awakino and back to Mokau. From this rohe came other migrations to the far south and finally to the Manawatū-Rangitīkei.¹⁴⁵

7.2 Mihi Ki Turangi

Mihi Ki Turangi was probably born around 1836 as according to family history, she was ten years old when she arrived in the Rangitīkei in 1846.¹⁴⁶ Her family together with others of the Ngāti Rangatahi left the Ngāti Toa settlement after their expulsion from the Heretaunga, in the hekenga ki Manawatū – Rangitīkei. Here they occupied a Ngāti Apa Pā opposite Parewanui and were reported living there on sufferance and in destitute circumstances. Imagine standing beside the river and wondering where the next meal was coming from. When they shifted to Kakariki beside the Rangataua, their wellbeing would have improved considerably with available land to cultivate. Mihi had much to contend with when growing up. Her first husband died young, their only daughter in her teens, their only son from a traumatic disability. He left behind a large and young family – the Pita family. Mihi's second marriage was to Matawha and their only child, Kahurautete married Meihana Te Rama Durie. These ancestors all have strong tribal links to Ngāti Rangatahi.

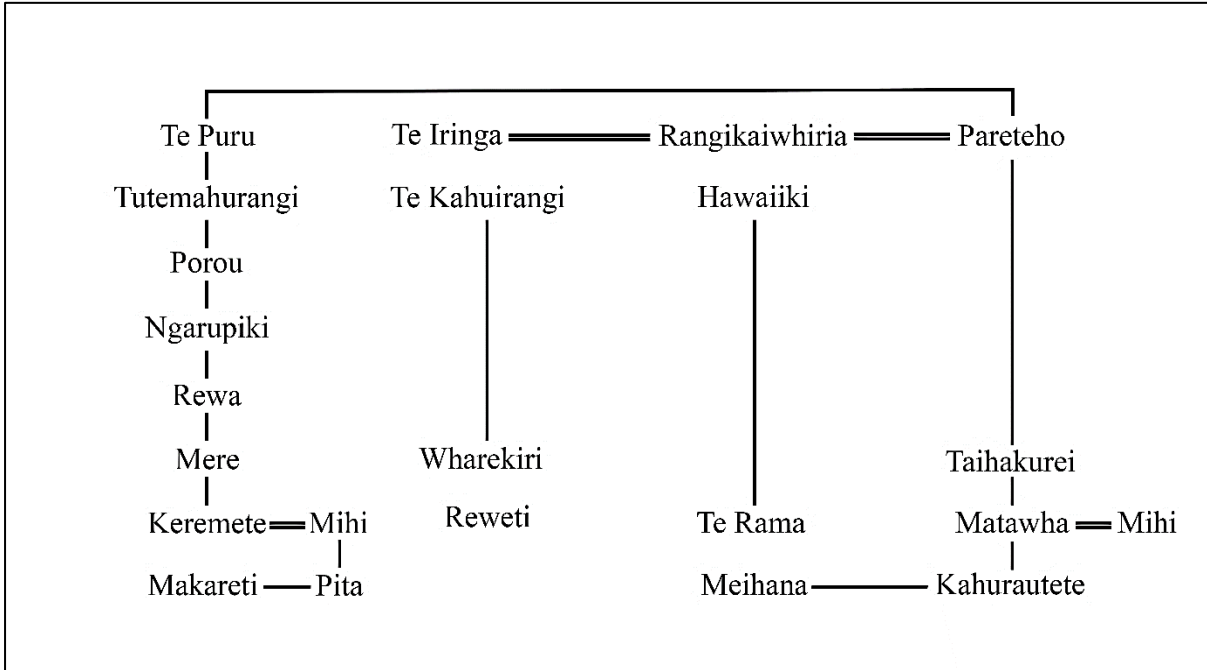
The Kakariki School was opened in 1899 and in that year Maggie Matawha was enrolled.¹⁴⁷ Kahurautete married Meihana and for many years they farmed the family properties at Kakariki. On their retirement their son Matawha continued farming there and today his son Rawiri, a graduate of Massey Agricultural College, farms and takes care of the land.

¹⁴⁵ Te Atarua Pairama – The authors grandmother.

¹⁴⁶ Family history provided by Dr. Rawiri Durie.

¹⁴⁷ Kakariki School Jubilee 1959. Enrolment records of pupils from 1899 onwards entrusted to Parekoiti Herangi to locate former Māori students.

Whakapapa 10: Mihi ki Tuarangi



Matawha had much aroha for his kuia Mihi, for the Marae, for the Paiaka Block and surrounding land. Standing outside the Marae he uttered this quote:

“The historical roots of this marae descend to the Paiaka block, ara ki nga whenua, kua heke te wai ki Paiaka...”¹⁴⁸

He was also the father of Sir Meihana Durie and Sir Taihākurei Durie and the grandfather of sports medicine physician Dr. Rawiri Jnr. named in this report. Kahurautete and Meihana were noted for their work at the Marae and support of community events in Kakariki. Their sons Dave and Matawha were able musicians who played with the dance band at Te Hiiri raising money for Marae projects.

Dr. Rawiri Durie serves as a trustee for the Marae, the administrative base for Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Maniapoto. Their tupuna Mihi Ki Turangi died on 22nd January 1939 aged around 103 years of age and her family continue to maintain those links to their tribal heritage today.

¹⁴⁸ Matawha to Tumanako after learning that rent money from Paiaka would no longer be payable to the Marae.

7.3 Riwai

Riwai – The name comes from the biblical reference to Levi and was the baptismal name given to Mokorou a Ngāti Ruru, Ngāti Haua warrior.

The Riwai family whakapapa from Te Puru and Kimihia, down through Tutemahurangi and his first wife Waikura. Riwai Te Ruakirikiri was the older brother of Keremete who married Mihi Ki Turangi. While it is known that Tutemahurangi and his descendants also affiliated themselves to Ngāti Haua te rangi, the Riwai family from their arrival in the Manawatū – Rangitīkei held steadfast to their Rangatahi affiliation.

Riwai Te Ruakirikiri, his brother Keremete and sister Ruta Te Hatete were listed owners in the Upper Whanganui and also shareholders in several Ohura South blocks. This is possibly where their ancestors originated, likely joined the migrations and also explains their re-settlement in the Manawatū – Rangitīkei.

Two mokopuna Tohunga Riwai and Reihana Riwai aged 22 years and 19 years enlisted in the Second World War, one with the Navy and the other with the Air Force. Regretably only one returned. Many of the Riwai family are buried in the Kakariki urupā. Others are continuing the work as kaitiaki at the Marae.

Keremete Riwai, the only surviving child of Riwai Te Ruakirikiri married Ripai Te Tomo the sister of Taite Te Tomo MP. Ripai and Taite were the grandchildren of Henere Te Herekau of Ngāti Pīkiahū. Henere Te Herekau was an eloquent, articulate correspondent who was often quoted then and still quoted now.

7.4 Kahuwaero II

Kahuwaero II married Tarapata Ngarara also known as Kiore Otimi of Ngāti Maniapoto. He was one of the key speakers in the negotiation with Donald McLean in 1872.¹⁴⁹ Kahuwaero's family were among the original owners listed in Te Reureu No. 2 and No. 3 blocks but between 1892 and 1907 some had passed away.

¹⁴⁹ Māori Land Court

Court records provide a glimpse into the early settlement of the Maniapoto-Rangatahi families along the Rangitīkei river. They recorded their names, the year of death and all those who succeeded them. Whakapapa was a lot more challenging to research.

Kahuwaero II and Tarapata had three children, Kiore who was the tupuna of the Otimi whānau, Rangiwhiua who married Taitoko and Ruwai who married Henare Matengaro-Hetet.

Kiore died on 5 September 1924 and is buried in the Kakariki urupā.¹⁵⁰ Kahuwaero III (Mrs. Rotohiko Jones) was enrolled at the Kakariki School in 1913 in the name Kahu Hetet. Her sister Te Raita's shares in Te Reureu, was succeeded to by her daughter Joy Mercia Te Ruwai Biggs.

Another sister Ngahuia Matengaro lived most of her adult life in Te Reureu. She married Taite Te Tomo MP of Tainui and Tūwharetoa descent. In his electoral campaigns his greatest support came from the Kingitanga. Ngahuia never learnt to speak English and Taite simply abhorred the emerging trend among young people of speaking English instead of Māori.¹⁵¹

Ngahuia, Kahurautete and Meihana, Hakaraia and Mura were all active members of the Marae Committee and an inspiration to the Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Maniapoto community. Ngahuia is buried in the Kakariki urupā.

7.5 Te Katoa Family

The Te Katoa family originated from the Aria and Ohura districts, once thriving communities where almost everyone was related through whakapapa to Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Paemate, Ngāti Waiora and Ngāti Rangatahi. Five separate urupā were established by the iwi and despite the isolation, today they remain the preferred final resting place for many families.

This was once a thriving base for Ngāti Rangatahi but families today have all dispersed. Te Katoa's children were listed among the original owners in Te Reureu but it was the youngest, Hakaraia Te Katoa who settled here permanently. Hakaraia was a private person, respected and

¹⁵⁰ Extract from Tamiaho Herangi's diary.

¹⁵¹ Korero tuku iho from Te Oro Herangi to the author.

trusted; and he was one of the builders who assisted in the construction of the Te Hiiri whare tupuna .¹⁵²

In 1907 Kakariki had a band of musicians. There was also a committee of its own and rules and regulations for proper behaviour. Their chairman was Hakaraia Te Katoa and he was probably responsible for the regulation passed on Oketopa 12 1907.

“He ture tēnei i pahitia – ki te kitea tetahi o enei tamariki e tutu ana ka whainatia ia tekau hereni 10/-.”

Kakariki Noema 1907

I tētahi o nga ra o Noema ka haurangi a A.Terimene, ka utua e ia te whaina 2/6”¹⁵³

Some of the band members were Ngarupiki, Mika Hakaraia, Rawhiti Hakaraia, A. Terimene, Moko Tamarere, Kereama Te Ngako, George Smith, Lew Hakaraia Te Katoa, Harry Kai and others. In 1899 Mick Hakaraia and Rawhiti Hakaraia enrolled at the Kakariki School, Wairangi Wiari in 1900, Barney Amorangi in 1912.¹⁵⁴

It is possible Te Katoa and others were part of the same migration as his whanaunga Keepa Te Ahurangi. Whereas he finally re-settled in the Manawatū – Rangitīkei, the others returned to their homes. Te Katoa attended the same meeting in 1866 with other Ngāti Maniapoto – Ngāti Rangatahi people with the same kaupapa. Hakaraia Te Katoa is buried in the Kakariki urupā. His descendants take pride in their affiliation to the district and their role as kaitiaki.

7.6 Tarikama

Not a lot is known about this family however, according to records, they did belong to Ngāti Rangatahi. In 1840 they were living among the Ngāti Toa,¹⁵⁵ by 1866 they had settled with the Maniapoto-Rangatahi along the Rangitīkei. They were all in attendance at the same meeting with the same kaupapa, voicing their opposition to the sale of the Manawatū-Rangitīkei block.¹⁵⁶ Tarikama died in 1885, Peti Hamapiri in 1894, Ani Tarikama in 1900, Hamapiri Tapaka in 1903 and Hamapiri Tarikama in 1917.¹⁵⁷ They acquired shares in the Upper

¹⁵² As told to me by Taruke Karatea who was raised by Hakaraia Te Katoa.

¹⁵³ From Hakaraia Te Katoa’s minute/record book lent to me by Mura Winchcombe.

¹⁵⁴ Kakariki School enrollment records.

¹⁵⁵ Family records held by the Bevan family.

¹⁵⁶ Refer to page 12.

¹⁵⁷ Māori Land Court records of ownership and succession.

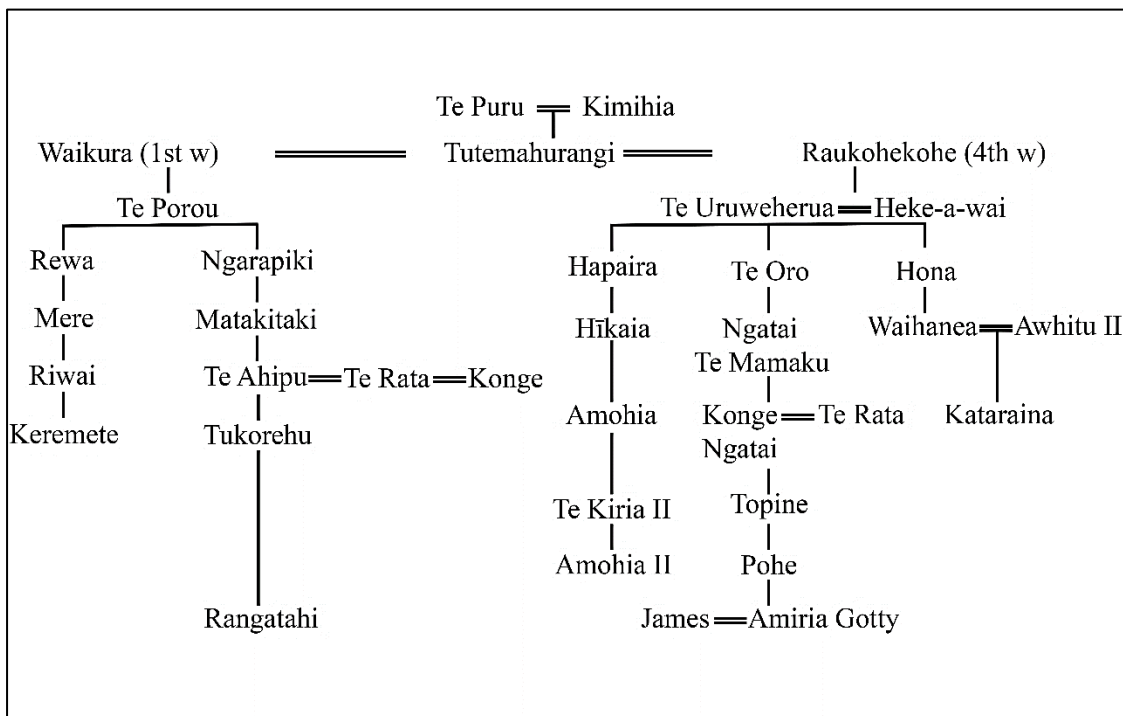
Whanganui and Hamapiri Tapaka a share in the Ohura South G. Block.¹⁵⁸ They were probably descendants of Te Puru and Kimihia.

Edward Bevan who was also known as Ngakirikiri Tarikama, lived all his life in Te Reureu where he and his wife raised their family. For years he worked voluntarily as caretaker for the Marae and Church. When required he also officiated as the Māori Warden at Te Tikanga and Te Hiiri Marae. Edward and his wife are buried at Kakariki. The family members who remain in the wider district still take pride in their affiliation to Ngāti Rangatahi and the Te Hiiri Marae.

7.7 Mika Hakaraia I

Ngatokowaru and Peti Hakaraia, possibly the sons of Hakaraia Ngatai were among the original owners in the Te Reureu blocks No. 2 and No. 3. The Te Mamaku, Ngatai and Hakaraia whānau are all closely related. They are also related to the descendants of Te Rata’s previous marriage to Te Ahipu and all are shareholders in the Te Reureu Block.

Whakapapa 11: Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Maniapoto links



There was once a very close relationship between Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Rangatahi within Te Reureu, to others of Ngāti Maniapoto/Rangatahi residing there.

¹⁵⁸ Ohura South Block-Native Land Court list of owners recorded on 28.10.1892.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans the people around Taumarunui adopted the tribal names Hauaroa and Hekeawai. The Hauaroa section of which the Hekeawai is a branch, have links to Tokomaru from North Taranaki and Maniapoto ancestry through the tupuna, Rangatahi. The Hekeawai branch has links with Tūwharetoa of Lake Taupo.¹⁵⁹

The warrior chief Topine Te Mamaku was the elder brother of Ngatai Te Mamaku. Topine went to the aid of his Whanganui whānau at Heretaunga and according to another historical account, he was also accompanied by several men from Ngāti Maniapoto. Others listed among the original owners were Parehuitao, Te Karaha Matakitaki, Tohengaroa Te Rauroha and Kiria Wiari Rawiri. The Wairangi-Hurst family descend from Kiria.

7.8 Hapi Whitipatato

Hapi Whitipatato belonged to the Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Whakare iwi but in his political beliefs he had much in common with sections of Ngāti Rangatahi. He was a fervent follower of the Kingitanga, the recognised head of the King party at Ōtaki, a Hauhau or follower of the Pai Marire religion. He was not present at the Rangitikei meeting in 1866. He was in the Waikato engaged in their struggle against Governor Grey's military invasion. On his return and cautious of reprisals, he and his followers settled in the Rangitikei at Te Reureu.¹⁶⁰

After a brief period of retirement he re-asserted his leadership on issues relevant to Te Reureu. His children attended the Kakariki School, Emma (Makarika) Paneta was enrolled in 1899 and Waka Paneta in 1902. From 1870 to 1872 he was present at all the meetings with Donald McLean, negotiating the future boundary of the Te Reureu reserve.

7.9 The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967¹⁶¹

That Act introduced compulsory conversion of Māori freehold land with four or fewer owners into General Land. This increased the powers of the Māori Trustee to acquire by compulsion and sell so called uneconomic interests in Māori land.¹⁶² One person affected by this Act was the author's mother, a shareholder in Te Reureu 2C2 and 2G4 along with her Aunt. Both Ngāti Rangatahi descendants were two of the three owners in a large block of land in the Upper

¹⁵⁹ Ngapuwaiwaha Marae souvenir booklet 1975. Tribal History by Māori historian Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones, OBE. Genealogical tables of Ngāti Haua compiled by him.

¹⁶⁰ MA Series 13/73b, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶¹ A Show of Justice, pp. 7-9 (ix) – Alan Ward.

¹⁶² Te Ao Hurihuri – edited by Michael King: refer to Douglas Sinclair, p. 163.

Whanganui. Until recently, at least one of those owners now aged over eighty years, was unaware of what had transpired in 1967 and its implications.

7.10 Maniaroa Marae

On the 31st of January 1987, the whareni Te Kohaarua, at Maniaroa Marae, Te Punga o Tainui, Mokau, was opened by Dame Te Atairangi Kaahu D.B.E and ‘Soaring Bird of the Dawn’ and senior elder and kaumatua, Dr Henare Tuwhaangai. Accompanying them were Sir Paul Reeves, his Excellency the Governor General and Lady Reeves, Koro Wetere, the then Minister of Māori Affairs and Mrs Wetere. Te Kohaarua was declared open for all people of goodwill, for unity amongst all the waka of Aotearoa.¹⁶³ On the 30th of January 1987, a van driven by Hare Arapere took a group of kaumātua from Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga on a journey to the southern most boundary of Ngāti Maniapoto to Mokau beside the sea, for the opening of Te Kohaarua. The kaumātua were Paul and Alice Hekenui, Taumata Myra Renata, Riria Gray, Rangiamohia Baker, Te Ruwai Bevan, Hare Arapere, Win Kuiti, Iwikatea Nicholson, Tukawekai Kereama and Te Oro Herangi.¹⁶⁴

The original whareni which overlooked the Mokau River was named Te Kohaarua. The barge boards were later used on the original Maniaroa Pa in the 1890s, which was also named Te Kohaarua. It fell into disrepair and was eventually demolished.

Te tau i whakahoroa ai a Te Kohaarua no te tau 1943. He ritenga whakahou i taua whare. Tangata: Tainui Wetere, i timatatia te whakahoro i a Te Kohaarua ia Akuwhata 21, 22, 28 tangata nana i whakahoro: Te Kohika Taurangamo-Waho, wahine: Te Atarua, Rangitahuna”¹⁶⁵

For the enthusiast, Mokau is steeped in interesting history. It has possibly the largest coal reserves left in New Zealand. The Mohakatino station is allegedly the area where the Tokomaru canoe is buried.¹⁶⁶ The families affiliated to Maniaroa Marae whakapapa to Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Re-opening of Te Kohaarua at Maniaroa, Mokau, 1987 Souvenir booklet by Rongo Herehere Wetere.

¹⁶⁴ As told to writer by Te Oro Herangi.

¹⁶⁵ Recorded by Te Atarua Pairama in her whakapapa / history book.

¹⁶⁶ Re-opening of Te Kohaarua at Maniaroa, Mokau, 1987 Souvenir booklet by Rongo Herehere Wetere.

¹⁶⁷ From the whakapapa recorded by Te Atarua.

8.0 CONCLUSION

This narrative tells of the origins and migrations of Ngāti Rangatahi of Kakariki, who began their journey from the Upper Maniapoto and Waipa area. Their arrival and settlement within the southern Maniapoto area, and their intermarriage with other Tainui iwi and common links in ancestry, secured their land interests, and provided for long and continued occupation and the power to retain possession. There were also other migrations that ultimately led to occupation in the southern regions.

These migrations take place at different intervals, and involve sections of Ngāti Rangatahi that for one reason or another have decided to take these routes. They have created new occupations wherever they have gone, bringing about changes in the Ngāti Rangatahi history and identity. Ultimately, they arrived with others in Heretaunga and eventually made their way back up to the Rangitūkei, representing the final migration.

The history of Ngāti Rangatahi is one that covers a distance and is coloured by difficulty, but represents a people of resilience and brilliance. Against the odds the Ngāti Rangatahi people have thrived, through strategic intermarriage and allegiance, and fierce loyalty, even in the face of overwhelming opposition.

This history ultimately points towards a destiny, that of the Rangitūkei River. This is where Ngāti Rangatahi eventually settled, and is the focal point for their identity and culture. Yet even this place of respite, where the Ngāti Rangatahi people settled after forcible eviction from Heretaunga, has been a site of struggle and injustice.

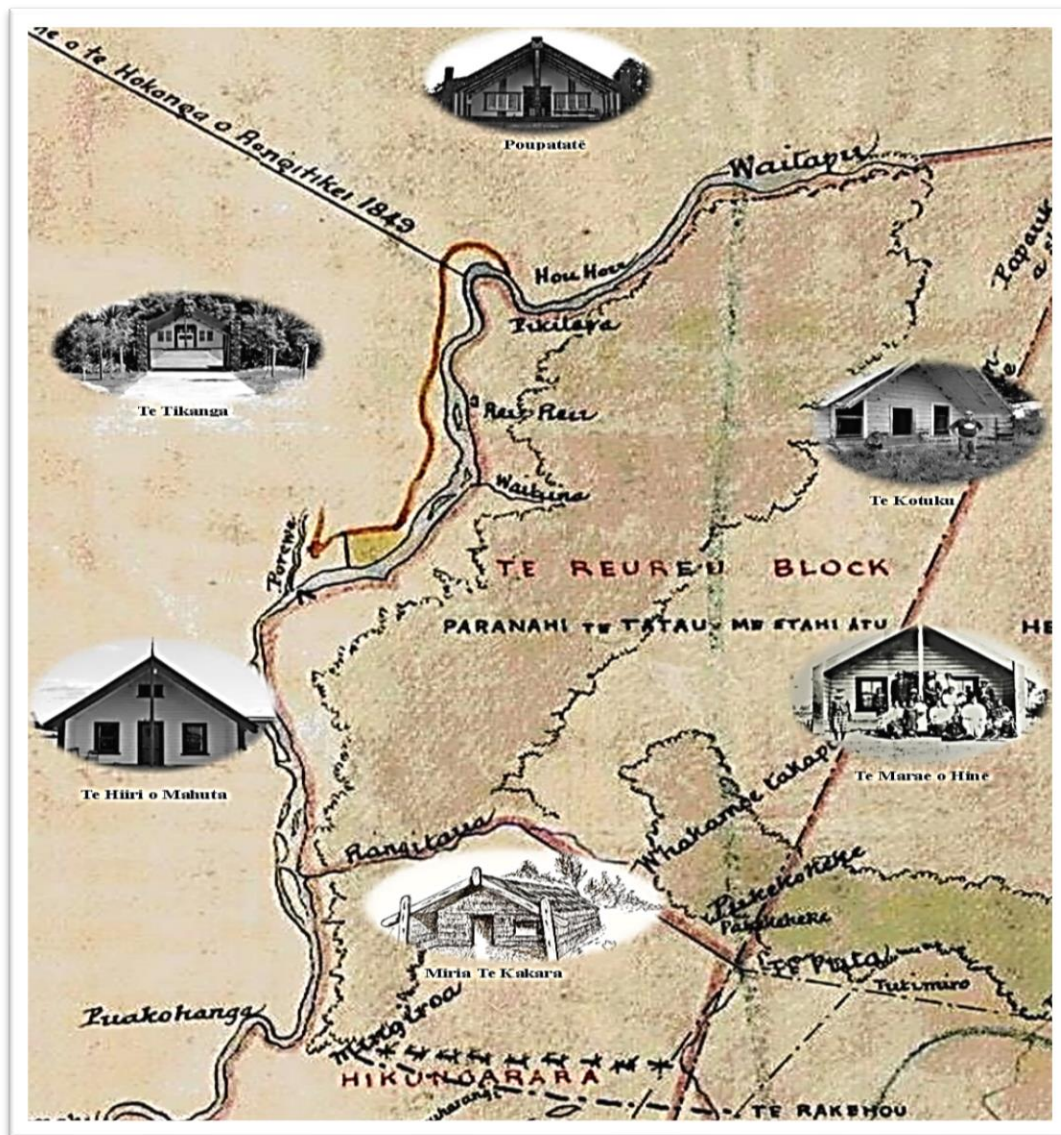
Ngāti Rangatahi were denied the right to resist the sale of the Manawatū Block, were promised a reserve which was then significantly reduced by the Crown, and had their claims dismissed in court. Still, the history of this people is about those who asserted their rights and defended their claims, and this history now constitutes the evidence for us to do so again, in the ongoing struggle for survival and recognition.

NGĀ HAPŪ KI TE REUREU

ORAL HISTORY

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Map 13: Rangitikei Manawatū Block.



Te Roopu Rangahau o Te Reureu

September 2018

¹⁶⁸ Adapted from the Rangitikei Manawatū Block Plan ML5247 with Marae image inserts. Also note the placement of marae images on cover page not geographically accurate.

PREFACE

Acknowledgements

The compilation of this report would not have been possible if not for the agreement, assistance and endorsement of the hapū of Te Reureu and most importantly, they added mana to the project. Appreciation is also extended to Te Hono ki Raukawa for providing financial resourcing, training, project leadership and support.

Compiled For:

Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatatē,
Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Te Tikanga,
Ngāti Matakore,
Ngāti Rangatahi,
Poupatatē,
Te Kotuku,
Te Marae o Hine,
Miria Te Kakara,
Te Hiiri o Mahuta,
Te Tikanga.

1.0 INTRODUCTION – MIHI

Me tuku atu ngā mihi ki tō tātou Kaihanga mō ōna manaakitanga katoa. Kā mihi, kā tangi ki ōu mate i hinga haere nei i waenga i a tātou, ki runga i ō tātou marae maha, ko rātou ki a rātou, ko tātou ki a tātou tihei mauri ora. Ko tēnei ripoata ehara nāku, ehara nā mātou te hunga rangahau, nā tātou katoa i ahu mai i tērā whenua e kia nei mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua ko Te Reureu tērā. Ka mihi atu ki ngā marae o Te Reureu – ko Poupatatē, ko Te Tikanga, Ko Te Hiiri o Mahuta, ko Te Kotuku, Ko Te Marae o Hine, ko Miria Te Kakara, ko ngā kāinga ērā o Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatatē, Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Te Tikanga, Ngāti Rangatahi, ko Ngāti Matakore. Ka mihi atu ki ngā kaumatua i whakaae, i ārahi nei, i tautoko nei i tēnei kaupapa.

2.0 REPORT COMMISSION

This report commenced 13 October 2016 and was completed 29 July 2017. According to the agreement between the hapū and Te Hono ki Raukawa, this report:

“...will assist Te Hono ki Raukawa with meeting its responsibilities in the preparation of the oral & traditional history project.”

The commissioning of this report envisaged that the 25 hapū associated with Te Hono ki Raukawa would each be invited to write their own specific oral and traditional history reports. Prior to the 10 September 2016 introductory research hui at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Otaki this was the case. However, during the wānanga it was decided to combine our efforts to produce one report that reflects the histories of the four resident hapū. The rationale was simple, we as the hapū of Te Reureu have resided together for over 176 years, and therefore we share a similar history, and similar whakapapa through intermarriage.¹⁶⁹

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The project requires that hapū/iwi establish a mandated ‘Hapū/Iwi Research Team (HRT) to complete the project on their behalf.’ This required a research team to complete a hapū narrative report for each hapū. By no means was this research team established officially per se, actually it was a reaction to a need when participants met at an introductory researchers hapū narratives training session at Te Wānanga o Raukawa Otaki on 10 September 2016. It was proposed at this hui that rather than write one report for each hapū (which would have meant splitting the team) it was much better to write one report that captured the histories of all the hapū resident at Te Reureu. The one report to serve all was based on the fact that the team can whakapapa to all of the hapū and that the hapū all have similar issues regarding the impacts of the Crown.

At first glance, everyone involved were either employed fulltime or in fulltime studies, which in actuality meant that the team would be required to provide a ‘fulltime finish to a part-time project.’ It is remarkable given that this report is intended to have a ‘life-time’ impact. Reference material used for this report undoubtedly is the *Kōrero ā te hapū*, sourced first from

¹⁶⁹ Puruhe Smith notes that the 176 years mentioned above coincides with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, however, Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae were present in the district before this date as part of the southern heke.

ngā kōrero tuku iho and other primary sources. The report incorporated traditional kōrero and whakapapa interspersed with contemporary narratives to add context to the issues faced by the hapū of Te Reureu.

4.0 RESEARCH TEAM

As noted above the research team of Huatahi Nuku, Paula-Maree McKenzie, Rochelle Paranihi, Peter Reweti and Lou Chase first assembled at Te Wānanga o Raukawa Otaki on 10 September 2016. After some discussion, it was decided that we combine our efforts to write this report for the hapū of Te Reureu.

4.1 Report Outline

Section one introduces the claimant hapū who reside at Te Reureu and it examines their whakapapa relationships to each another and their affinity to the whenua, the river and their homes. A chronological historic record of these hapū is outlined: from their original tribal roots to the purpose of their eventual occupation of the Te Reureu block. Mention is made of their innate determination to hold to their spiritual and physical connections to the whenua and river, the challenges they have faced and continue to face, and the losses that have come with the devolution of their environment.

The Te Reureu block is significant in their history because it is a beacon of their determination, not only to hold onto the land, but so too their absolute stand to not sell the land. Hence the Te Reureu block became an arrangement for non-selling Maori during the period of the Manawatu-Rangitīkei purchase. The importance of the Rangitīkei River is examined because it has inherent significance to the hapū at Te Reureu. The river has been their spiritual and physical healer, but because of its condition, there are concerns amongst the hapū. Mention is made of the abundance of kai and the numerous species that were once prominent in the river and testimony from hapū on how this resource has suffered and, in some cases, become non-existent. The last part of this section explains the three Wai claims 651, 1623 and 1872 and what are the issues and the reasons for hapū seeking to state their concerns before the Waitangi Tribunal.

Section two introduces the hapū of Te Reureu; each with their own specific origins and histories. and each with their autonomous reasons to reside at Te Reureu. Despite their uniqueness, these hapū share some notable commonalities in whakapapa and each experienced issues in terms of treatment from the Crown. Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatate, Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Te Tikanga, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore claim descent from Tainui and Te Arawa waka and to this day maintain the traditional closeness of these two waka. Their collective and individual stories will communicate the attachment that they have to the whenua and awa and how this impacted on their spiritual and physical makeup.

5.0 NGATA, TE WHENUA, TE AWA

This section provides a personal perspective detailing the people of the land – ngā tāngata o te whenua o Te Reureu and explains the staunch attitude these people display when it comes to their land and their river, Rangitīkei. Captured below are some of their thoughts:

“We were all fortunate in this valley to be born to magnificent people. The men were honorable and the ladies were ladies. Our old people did not sell the whenua; they were pohara and could have done with the money. They passed it on.”¹⁷⁰

“Te Reureu reserve was made for 4,000 acres and not the 20,000 acres defined by our tūpuna. Today whānau of Te Reureu retain 80 percent of Te Reureu lands. Over the generations whānau homes would have and continued to reiterate the words “Don’t sell the land.”¹⁷¹

“Te Reureu, that reserve was 4,500 acres when it was given back to us after the Rangitīkei/Manawatū block sale, and we still hold 80 percent of that, of that land. And if you talk to a lot of our elders here, they’ll tell you what they heard when they were growing up, “Simply, don’t sell the land”.¹⁷²

“... this is the reserve that we have ended up with but the important thing here is the river. It’s the second most important thing besides the whenua that our people cherished.”¹⁷³

Te Awa o Rangitīkei has provided for the physical needs of the hapū from the first time they ventured south from the Taupo district.

“I stand to speak about the few remaining resources in the great river our ancestors cherished. In the lower reaches were flounder, there were fresh water crayfish, all eaten by people living here.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Ngaparaki Lorraine Meads, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

¹⁷¹ Lauren Reweti, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7.p.53.

¹⁷² John Reweti, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.43.

¹⁷³ Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.87.

¹⁷⁴ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.177.

“You know, the river there was everything to us, it provided us with transport, food, recreation, spiritual. You name it that river was it. We treasured that river, looked after it. When I was a kid in the 1950s we used to fish it and still go down there and fish it – parts of it today, but there’s nowhere near the amount of fish that were once here.”¹⁷⁵

6.0 NGĀ TĀNGATA O TE REUREU

This section offers an evaluation of the people, the hapū of Te Reureu, as the land and river are interwoven with the people. Therefore, it is the people, the hapū who are the guardians and protectors of these taonga that sustain them. The ensuing kōrero will provide an historic account of the people of Te Reureu, the genetic make-up of these people, the aspirations and motivations of their tupuna. It is argued that these aspirations are also reflected in the personality of each hapū and their respective descendants today.

6.1 Ngā Hapū

The four hapū resident at Te Reureu (see map of block in section – Te Reureu Rāhui Whenua)

- are:
- Ngāti Matakore (hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto)
 - Ngāti Rangatahi (hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto)
 - Ngāti Pikiahu (hapū of Ngāti Raukawa)
 - Ngāti Waewae (hapū of Ngāti Tuwharetoa)

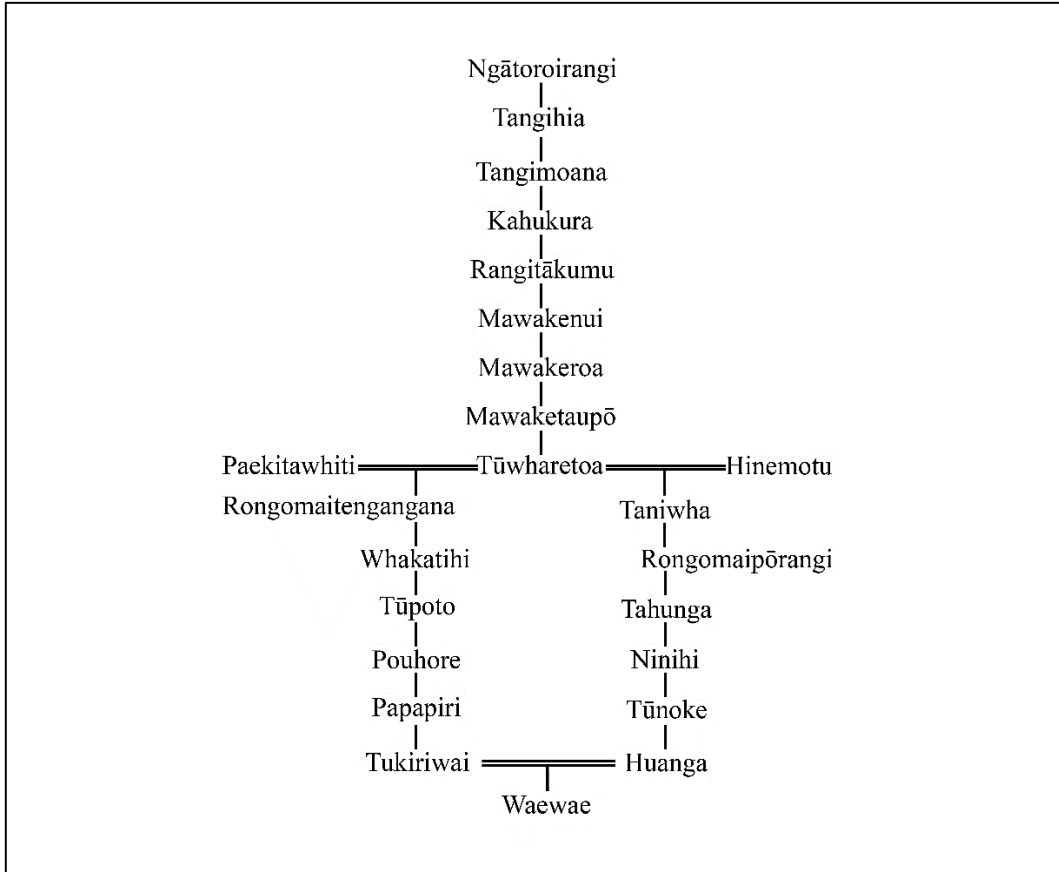
A more comprehensive description of these hapū and their traditional accounts are outlined in section two of this report.

6.2 Ngā Whakapapa

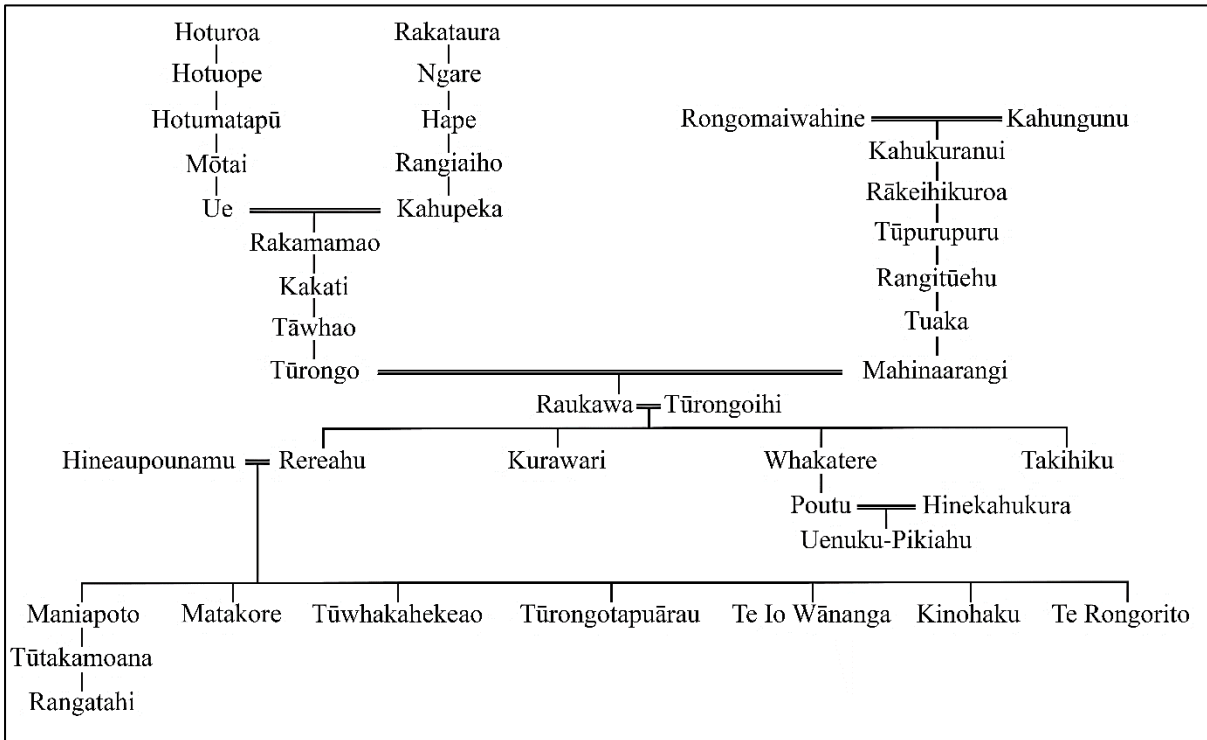
The whakapapa tables below provide a general overview of how the eponymous ancestors of these hapū and some cases they are very much very much interrelated.

¹⁷⁵ Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.87.

Whakapapa 12: Ngātoroirangi to the tūpuna of Ngāti Waewae



Whakapapa 13: Hoturoa to the tūpuna of Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi



6.3 Ko Wai Mātou – Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu

Claimants for Wai 1872 explain the four hapū:

- *Ngāti Pikiahu*

Uenuku Pikiahu is the eponymous tūpuna of Ngāti Pikiahu and a descendant of Raukawa. Pikiahu was born in the southern Waikato. Uenuku Pikiahu is the son of Poutu Te Rangi and Hinekahukura.

- *Ngāti Waewae*

Ngāti Waewae is a descendant of Tūwharetoa, the eponymous tūpuna, Waewae, was a female and a descendant of Tia, an uncle of Tamatekapua, captain of the Te Arawa waka and Ngatoroirangi, the tohunga of Te Arawa. Waewae was the daughter of Tūkiriwai and Huanga.

- *Ngāti Matakore*

Matakore is the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Matakore, the son of Rereahu and a younger brother to Maniapoto.

- *Ngāti Rangatahi*

Rangatahi is a descendant of Maniapoto. The tūpuna Rangatahi was a daughter of Tūtakamoana (son of Maniapoto) and Rangipare (daughter of Kinohāku).

- *Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu*

Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu have lived together and maintain mana and rangatiratanga at Te Reureu since the late 1840s to the early 1850s. There were many marae and kainga located along the banks of the Rangitīkei River between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams including Kotuku, Te Marae o Hine, and Miria Te Kakara. Poupatate, Te Tikanga and Te Hiiri o Mahuta are still alive and active today.

- *Te Reureu*

In the 1840s and 1850s the original area that these iwi and hapū had occupied was well in excess of twenty thousand acres on the eastern side of the Rangitīkei River, across approximately to where the villages of Cheltenham and Kimbolton are situated. Much of

that area was shared with Ngāti Kauwhata. This area was gradually reduced to approximately 4,000 acres at the interference and insistence of the Crown through officials such as Dr Featherston, Donald McLean and William Fox to name a few.

6.4 Taking Possession

The following provides some historical context to what was happening during this period of New Zealand history. Like other parts of the country land was required for settlement and economic growth and the only people with sufficient land were Maori. The New Zealand Company settlers who wanted land were pressuring the Government to fulfil their demands, therefore, the Rangitīkei was surveyed at some 225,000 acres and was described by McLean as being the:

“...most valuable and extensive acquisition, capable of maintaining a numerous European population and superior to any other part of the island for cattle runs.”¹⁷⁶

In 1866, land was purchased at 2.6d per acre, and because of this, the settlers viewed the Rangitīkei as a valuable land commodity. Ngāti Tuwharetoa believed that these wholesale land-sales could spread throughout the interior of the island, prompting Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Pīkiahū and others to travel to the district to prevent these sales.¹⁷⁷ These hapū who journeyed to the district to seize the land at Pourewa, and to take it by force if need be, and to “*aukati i te hokohoko whenua mai i Pourewa tae atu ra ki Tongariro*” (to halt the sale of lands from Pourewa to Tongariro). Parati Paurini gave evidence in the Native Land Court 25 May 1904 saying:

“According to what I heard, it was 1842 that Ngati Waewae went to live at Rangitikei. Some went, and some returned. The principle person who went was Tetau Paranihi. Elder people went. They were prepared to fight. The younger people and the women remained behind. They went to take possession of the land, and if necessary, to fight for it, owing to sale made by Ngati Apa of lands extending to Tongariro Mountain.”

“The going of that “*ope taua*” was a “*mea whakariterite*” by all Ngati Tuwharetoa. Te Heuheu Tukino II (who was overwhelmed in 1846) gave the word. In consequence of persistence of Ngati Apa in proposed sale of land, other hapū joined Ngati Waewae and Ngati Pīkiahū, namely, Ngati Whiti, Ngati Tama, and Ngati Hauiti. They “*huihui*’d” at Pikitara, near Te Reureu – Rangitīkei. A “*pou*” was set up at Pourewa, a *kainga* on Rangitīkei River, about 6 miles from Marton. The first post set up was a “*pou manuka*”. It was cut down and burnt by Ngati Apa and Ngāti Raukawa.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Anderson, Robyn and Pickens, Keith, *Wellington district: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitīkei, and Manawatū*, Rangahaua Whanui District 12, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1996), pp.51-83.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Parati Paurini, Taupo Minute Book 17, pp.202-205, 237-238.

Because of his statements in the Native Land Court, a tauparapara was written that describes the events that took place:

<i>Whakatoongia te Pou Manuka</i>	Plant the Manuka Post
<i>Whakatuuria te Pou Manuka</i>	Stand erect the Manuka Post
<i>Whakatuuria te Pou Manuka</i>	Stand erect the Manuka Post
<i>Hei aukati i te hokohoko whenua</i>	To halt the sale of land
<i>Mai i Pourewa</i>	From Pourewa
<i>Tae atu raa ki Tongariro</i>	To the mountain of Tongariro
<i>He take whakariterite</i>	a purposed motive
<i>He take ope tauaa</i>	a purposed war-party
<i>He take hei pupuri tonu i te whenua</i>	to hold fast to the land
<i>Kia whakatuutukingia ai</i>	to satisfy
<i>i taa te iwi whakahau</i>	the directions of the tribe
<i>Tihee Mauriora ee.</i>	We sneeze, we live ¹⁷⁹

All the preceding hapū sections pointed out similar themes regarding their migration. As an example, Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae not only journeyed south to halt the land sales, but they were also prepared to fight.

“They were prepared to fight.... They went to take possession of the land, and if necessary, to fight for it, owing to sale made by Ngāti Apa of lands extending to Tongariro Mountain.”¹⁸⁰

Henare Te Herekau said that after Horowhenua Ngāti Pīkiahū returned to Taupo to bring Ngāti Waewae to occupy the Rangitīkei ‘according to old custom, by right of conquest.’ Later these two hapū were moved from Otara to Te Reureu and joined by Ngāti Maniapoto. Te Herekau stated that they occupied their lands under the mana of the chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa, and that their lands totalled 20,000 acres of undisturbed occupation until Dr Featherston purchased the Rangitīkei leaving them with only 3,000 acres:

“These hapū did not join in the sale of Rangitīkei; they did not sign their names to the Commissioner's deed of purchase; nor did they take any money. There were no grounds for taking away the land from these hapū.”¹⁸¹

The Ngāti Maniapoto identified by Te Herekau were the Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi who also made the southern migration. Turoa Karatea says that majority of Ngāti Matakore came to Te Reureu with the same philosophy of holding on to the land, so much so that some of them assisted Taranaki iwi in their armed struggle of land retention. Ngāti Rangatahi showed

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Statement from Henare Te Herekau, for many years a native teacher, lately ordained a deacon of the Church of England, being a statement of the case of the three hapu of Ngatiraukawa occupying the inland portion of the Manawatu-Rangitīkei block. Source: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout63-t16-back-d8-d11f.html>

their resistance to land sales and staunch support for land retention when they were domiciled at Heretaunga, suffering forced eviction and later relocating to Te Reureu.

6.5 Resistance to Colonial Hegemony

All these hapū were distinct in their own way because of their whakapapa (at times there were tupuna who through intermarriage and birth joined hapū one to one another) and geographical origins and iwi affiliations. However, Jacinta Paranihi provides an intriguing viewpoint regarding the formation of Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae as a single unit as a response to colonial hegemony saying:

“The formation of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, a dual hapū representative of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa is a direct result of colonisation. Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae emerged as a single body during the mid nineteenth century, after their hekenga (migration) from Te Roto-a -Ira (Rotoaira) to the Rangitīkei area in Manawatū.”¹⁸²

All four hapū could subscribe to the same opinion, that it was a direct result of colonisation that they are resident at Te Reureu. Whether it was the land purchases of the Rangitīkei block or the Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) these hapū were affected. One of the guiding principles behind the Wai 651 claim is that:

“Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi are considered a “river people” whose whole way of life centred on the Rangitīkei River. Prior to the signing of the Waitangi Treaty of 6 February 1840, Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi collectively exercised mana and tino rangatiratanga over all the lands known as Te Reureu... have never surrendered rangatiratanga over their lands, river and resources despite Crown failure to protect their mana and tino rangatiratanga.”

The Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatate section showed how Ngāwaka and others obstructed the survey at Te Reureu in 1870. This was not an isolated event. In 1874 it was reported that surveyors, who had shifted their camp near to Te Reureu pa, had been approached by two natives Hapa and Akewa who then proceeded to pull two survey pegs out of the ground and ordered the surveyors to leave the area. Several days later at a meeting with the interpreter for the Bench in Marton, Eruini who was acting spokesperson for forty natives also threatened he would remove the surveyor’s tent and equipment to the other side of the river. They were not to return until there was a sitting of the Native Land Court. The interpreter replied that the court had already made its decision and that their land now belonged to the Government, their native title having been extinguished. Despite words of caution from Noa Te Rauhihi that they act

¹⁸² Paranihi, J. H, p. 5.

carefully and desist, Eruini said that he would return to the surveyor's camp every morning and see them off.¹⁸³

The Te Reureu reserve had been approved by the Native Minister Mclean and drawn up in 1872 along with some 60 others. Of the 24,000 acres allocated for the non-sellers the 4,510-acre Te Reureu was the largest so that it could accommodate its 200 residents. Although approved, the Te Reureu Crown grant was not finalised until 1884, hence the attitude and actions of the residents at Te Reureu.¹⁸⁴

6.6 Hauhau or Land Protector?

The Pai Mārire faith is synonymous with Te Ua Haumēne who based this new religion on goodness and peace, calling his church Hauhau (the breath of God). Hence adherents used both Hauhau and Pai Mārire interchangeably.¹⁸⁵

These above-mentioned obstructive actions by Te Reureu tupuna were recorded in an 1865 newspaper article stating that Ngāwaka a Hauhau leader was present at a meeting of Manawatu and Rangitīkei River Maori who were assembled to prevent the spread of the Pai Mārire faith. The paper reported that there was an incident between supporters of the faith and opponents who managed to quell the situation by giving the Hauhau supporters the choice of abandoning their faith or leave the district.¹⁸⁶ Licensed native interpreter and licensed native agent Alfred Knocks wrote to Colonial Under-Secretary George Cooper in January 1870 informing him that Hauhau chief Ngāwaka Maraenui had approached Mātene Te Whiwhi seeking his views on the land disputes in the Manawatu and Rangitīkei districts. Te Whiwhi advised to Ngāwaka to act peaceably towards the pākeha and if they be in the right, then offer up land quietly.¹⁸⁷ Later that year Ngāwaka, Wi Hape, Noa Te Rauhihi were still present when McLean was making provisions to appease them and others resident at Te Reureu by marking off a reserve.¹⁸⁸ Regardless that Ngāwaka was branded a Hauhau or an adherent of Te Pai Mārire he like his

¹⁸³ AJHR 1874, H18, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸⁴ Raeburn Lange, p. 13.

¹⁸⁵ <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/pai-marire/pai-marire-intro>

¹⁸⁶ The Press, 31 March 1865. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP18650331.2.8.1?query=Ngawaka>

¹⁸⁷ Papers relative to Horowhenua. https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=Tqg-AQAAMAAJ&pg=RA2-PA7&dq=ngawaka+maraenui&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiC6N_g59nTAhVGp5QKHTIpAS0Q6AEIKzAB#v=onepage&q=ngawaka%20maraenui&f=false

¹⁸⁸ The Evening Herald, 29 November 1870.

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WH18701129.2.4?query=Ngawaka>

whanaunga of the period had one single-minded goal, the retention of lands for his people at Te Reureu.

6.7 Not about Claims

When Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu visited Te Tikanga marae on 24 March 2013 he recalled the events of an earlier visit that focused on land claims, but this hui he said is about the people. The Ariki articulated several issues; the whakakotahitanga of Ngāti Tūwharetoa for the benefit of the mokopuna:

“...despite the erosive interference of colonial rule and its introduced laws.... We have witnessed a rapacious colonial hunger, which has alienated us from our taonga especially our whenua. We have been subjected to the systematic, political and legislative erosion, of our traditional beliefs and values. All of this has imposed a heavy toll on our traditional and modern social, economic, and physical wellbeing. Our history however, illustrates our remarkable resilience for survival in a world of incredible challenge and uncertainty.”¹⁸⁹

This speech could have been directed at all the hapū of Te Reureu who have had to endure much adversity pertaining to their whenua, awa and mana.

The Ariki also spoke of the whanaungatanga shared by hapū:

“I acknowledge your role as kaitiaki of this southern most border of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. I acknowledge also your important whakapapa links to our Raukawa whanau here in the Rangitikei, hence Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae.”¹⁹⁰

Paranihi believes that this whanaungatanga relationship between Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū, or rather their individual iwi from whom they descend had its origins in Hawaiiki. The Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Raukawa all descend from eponymous ancestors such as Tamatekapua, Hoturoa, Tia and Ngātoroirangi who were related in Hawaiiki, and also made the voyage to Aotearoa on Tainui and Te Arawa waka.¹⁹¹ Paranihi draws another parallel citing the relationship of Te Heuheu Mananui to Te Whatanui in 1829, whereby the latter asked the former to protect his people who chose not to leave with him from Maungatautari. Te Heuheu obliged and in response to Te Whatanui’s earlier request he instigated the 1840 southern migration of Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu, Te Kapua Whakapīpī.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Paranihi, J. H, pp. 47-48.

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 57.

6.8 Whakapapa & Settlement

A hui was held at Te Tikanga marae on 3 October 2016 between claimants and representatives of the Office of Treaty Settlements (OTS) to discuss a possible settlement for the Te Reureu hapū. The difficulty was that the Te Reureu hapū were seeking a geographical settlement that would incorporate all four hapū, whereas OTS stated that settlements were based on whakapapa, that is to say Ngāti Waewae are a Ngāti Tūwharetoa hapū therefore they would be part of that tribal settlement, similarly so for the hapū who descend from Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto. Turoa Karatea as claimant for Wai 651 responded by saying:

“... the claim was put together in 1989 when the old people were still alive, to capture the whanaungatanga of the four hapū. We needed to stick together as we survived here and learnt to live together.... This is unique. Because of our history here (180 years) we want to settle the four hapū here under a large natural grouping on our own... We would never had survived without each other.”

In terms of the current status of negotiations with claimant iwi, OTS replied that Ngāti Tūwharetoa is most advanced, Ngāti Maniapoto were seeking a mandate to negotiate and Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga has not commenced. With this in mind OTS asked how these iwi would react if the Te Reureu hapū did seek a geographical settlement, the response was somewhat mixed. Historically, all four hapū migrated from their respective tribal boundaries in the north; contemporarily, only Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatatē can claim a whakapapa relationship to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga as the prevailing umbrella that encompasses their hapū in the south. Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Te Tikanga, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi parent iwi still reside in the north. The four hapū of Te Reureu have occupied this region for as long as Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga have occupied theirs, so what is the difference, if only for their whakapapa to their parent iwi. What was apparent in the hui was geographical versus whakapapa, however what Wai 651 was trying to stress was that the geographical location and continued occupation at Te Reureu had created a hybrid whakapapa, the interconnected whanaungatanga whakapapa of all four hapū. The suggestion from OTS that they can only settle via the whakapapa mechanism to one iwi seems to be the policy that they adhere to, however, as Paranihi quotes Belich who says:

“Although there is no general distinction yet to be clearly defined between hapū and iwi in pre-contact society, ... the idea of hapū as actual groups, which supports the hapū being the primary group in pre-contact society. Iwi, who were a collective of hapū working together with no executive function, essentially became the imagined group. With regard to the authority of a new hapū, it was important that outside groups imagined their existence in the community.”¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Paranihi, J. H, pp.12-14. Quoted from Belich, J. *Making Peoples – A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, Penguin Books Ltd, Auckland, 1996.

6.9 Actual and Imagined

Paranihi explores the theory that ‘nations are the product of several influences’ and that it is a concept produced naturally in the advancement of the human species, and part of a natural process built on principles of religion and kinship:

“Nationhood is essentially an imagined concept; a contributing aspect of community building is how people imagine themselves as part of this community. In other words, groups of people ‘imagine’ their existence as a collective... Nations are limited because within any body, constituents will not know every other person, meet them or otherwise, “yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”¹⁹⁴

If one considers the statement made by Wai 651 that the hapū of Te Reureu have 180 years of shared occupancy, and the statements captured in this report from the various hapū members regarding the how their shared whakapapa binds the people of Te Reureu to one another, one can safely accept that they too imagine themselves as a community, or dare we say it, an independent nation. Paranihi shows the differences in pre-contact Māori societies, that iwi are imagined, that is, not everyone knows each other but all share a kinship connectedness to their iwi, and hapū who are considered as actual, because they ‘lived together permanently, or assembled regular for major enterprises or operated together occasionally but reliably in emergencies.’¹⁹⁵

Nevertheless, pre-contact Māori hapū would eventually splinter into groups or form new hapū either because the parent group grew too large or for personal reasons, always remaining faithful to their iwi. The situation today is different, because the size of some hapū is as large as pre-contact Māori iwi. For instance, on 5 March 2013, people affiliated with Ngāti Tūwharetoa numbered 35,877, people affiliated with Ngāti Maniapoto numbered 35,358 and 10,053 affiliated with Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁹⁶ By that scenario that would approximate to 1,237 persons per marae of Ngāti Tūwharetoa,¹⁹⁷ 842 persons per marae of Ngāti Maniapoto,¹⁹⁸ and 280 persons per marae of Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁹⁹ These figures are purely speculative, given that

¹⁹⁴ Paranihi, J. H, pp. 12-13.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 13.

¹⁹⁶ http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24569&tabname=Populationandgeography.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24555&tabname=Populationandgeography.

http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24556&tabname=Populationandgeography.

¹⁹⁷ Total divided by 29 marae of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, <https://www.tst.maori.nz/marae-hapu.html>

¹⁹⁸ Total divided by the 42 marae of Ngāti Maniapoto, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/ngati-maniapoto/page-5>

¹⁹⁹ 20 Marae of Raukawa ki te Tonga, <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/ngati-raukawa-ki-te-tonga/#>.
16 marae of Raukawa Settlement Trust, <http://www.raukawa.org.nz/raukawa-marae/>

some people could affiliate to more than one marae in their iwi, and marae from other iwi that are part of marae named in this exercise.

Given the theoretical discourse above, where does that place the hapū of Te Reureu, are they imagined or actual? Perhaps the answer can be both, given that only a small percentage of hapū members reside locally, many nationally with a considerable number globally with many not really knowing the entire hapū let alone their wider whanau, by this scenario they can be perceived as imagined. Those who remain locally tend to congregate as whanau (whether immediate or wider) to cater and minister to several marae as hapū are based on the concept of mutual support. With the advent of social media and live streaming, hapū members now communicate locally, nationally and globally in real time. Important issues regarding whanau, hapū and even iwi can be debated online.

Turoa Karatea holds to the concept that total reliance on one another was the only reason the four hapū were able to survive:

“The four hapū that were living here is that we would never have survived here if we didn’t have each other. We were neither Raukawa nor Tuwharetoa; we were here, and we’ve been through some tough times. Consequently, from that, we have a different view to how Tuwharetoa sees itself.”²⁰⁰

Turoa was also lamenting the fact that local trusts at Te Reureu and trusts within Ngāti Tūwharetoa were not operating at peak efficiency. He recalls the time when his father was a trustee on a trust in Ngāti Tūwharetoa and said to him ‘I will never get anything out of this, but you will,’ however, the situation of the trusts has not changed much, a situation of trustees spread across too many trusts which he believes should be limited to a set number. Although small, many of the land blocks at Te Reureu are leased to Pakeha, a situation Turoa believes can be changed because the hapū now possess the requisite skills to manage their own affairs:

“...we’ve got a lot of expertise in Tuwharetoa which is not necessarily here or in the puku. We have networks here (teachers, managers); these are people we need to be pooling our resources with, and their expertise that Tuwharetoa can click onto. Let’s not smother ourselves to just Lake Taupo; make it nationwide, because we have our own spread everywhere who will want to contribute. There are opportunities out there that we can tap into.”²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Turoa Karatea, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

6.10 Mana and Rangatiratanga

The Waitangi Tribunal has rendered the concept of ‘rangatiratanga’ as being inextricably related to ‘mana’ and states that in the context of Article II:

“...rangatiratanga denotes the mana not only to possess what one owns but, and we emphasise this, to manage and control it in accordance with the preferences of the owner.”²⁰²

The Crown did not recognise the institutions established by Māori and it did not provide for rangatiratanga in the entities the Crown itself set up. Angela Ballara pinpoints the Crown’s breach of the Treaty through her statement that the Crown felt it had done all that was necessary by recognising Māori land ownership in the Treaty.²⁰³ While the Crown may have recognised Māori land ownership they did not make practical the articles within the Treaty nor did the Crown provide for governance to be accorded to Māori for Māori by Māori. Māori rights to ngā taonga tuku iho were taken through the colonial legislative machine to acquire lands at any costs.

In the Central North Island Inquiry, the Waitangi Tribunal agreed with the claimants that, in generic terms, tino rangatiratanga involves:

- The right to be distinct peoples;
- The right to territorial integrity of their land base;
- The right to freely determine their destinies;
- The right to self-government; and
- The right to have previous injustices remedied.²⁰⁴

The principle of autonomy is central to the Treaty, and is the cardinal expression of the principle of partnership:²⁰⁵

Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake are equivalent terms for aboriginal autonomy and aboriginal self-government;

The Treaty principle of autonomy or self-government includes the right of indigenous peoples to constitutional status as ‘first peoples’ (tangata whenua);

²⁰² Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim* (1987), para 11.5.24. The Tribunal makes the point that “mana” could have described both “sovereignty” and “authority”, but was not used in the Treaty because of its spiritual and highly personal connotations, for no person could cede it; para 11.5.6.

²⁰³ Ballara, Response to Statement of Issues, para 2.

²⁰⁴ *He Maungarongo – Report on Central North Island Claims, Stage One*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2008. Volume 1, part 2, pp.200, 215.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.215

the right to manage their own policy, resources, and affairs within the minimum parameters necessary for the operation of the State, and then

the right to enjoy cooperation and dialogue with the Government.

Sovereignty in New Zealand, in terms of absolute power, cannot be vested in only one Treaty partner, as the Crown's sovereignty is constrained by the need to respect Māori authority (tino rangatiratanga).

It is more appropriate to talk about responsibility than power in New Zealand, as the Treaty envisaged two spheres of authority that inevitably overlapped. These overlaps require negotiation and compromise on both sides.

Experiences overseas show that the recognition of aboriginal autonomy is not a barrier to national unity but an aid. Conciliation requires empowerment, not suppression. In this situation, arguing over words and prescriptions is not helpful. The need to respect other peoples is clearer today than formerly, and the Crown must appreciate that the conciliation of indigenous peoples requires a process of re-empowerment.²⁰⁶

Under the Treaty, Māori were entitled to the same rights and powers of self-government as settlers. Also, their inherent political authority to manage their own lands, people, and affairs (their tino rangatiratanga) was guaranteed and protected by the Treaty.

There were a series of missed (or actively rejected) opportunities in the 1870s and 1880s when the Crown could have complied with the Treaty, essentially by meeting Central North Island Māori requests for legal powers for their komiti and runanga, for fair representation in Parliament proportional to their population size, and for a national assembly.

To have met these Māori aspirations was both reasonable and practicable in the circumstances.

6.11 Crown and Country

6.11.1 Observances

Attendance at the Marton picture theatre on Saturdays at the 2 o'clock matinee usually commenced with a vivid image on the screen of a brass band bedecked in red uniforms playing the anthem God save the Queen, requiring all in attendance to rise and stand at attention:

“Being Māori and young, many did not always observe protocol, which usually meant you either stand or face ejection from the premises.”²⁰⁷

6.11.2 Second World War

“There was a time during the late-1960s to the early-1970s when attending functions at Tokorangi marae, and during the speeches there would be an acknowledgment of ‘God Save the Queen or three cheers to the Queen,’ a

²⁰⁶ ‘Report of the Native Land Laws Commission’, 23 May 1891, AJHR, 1891, sess 2, G-1, p xxx

²⁰⁷ Boyhood recollections, Lou Chase, 2017.

salutation which was usually led by Shay Taite a former member of the 28th Maori Battalion.”²⁰⁸

A generic search of the 28th Maori Battalion website produced 20 names who gave their next of kin addresses as those living in Tokorangi, Halcombe and Marton.²⁰⁹ The majority of these names hail from Te Reureu which shows the commitment of these young men by volunteering to go to war for the defence of their country.

This bridge straddles the Raumanga Stream which has since dried up due to diversions upstream. One kua believed that one name for the stream is Ruamahanga however, no-one is quite certain. This kua related that this stream in recent memory was the area where two betrothals took place prior to two men going overseas in the Second World War with the Maori Battalion, one being her father.²¹⁰

Image 10: Raumanga Bridge



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At the time of the Second World War, several of these young men were descendants of land-owners or present owners of lands around the Waiouru district which had been acquired by the

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Tokorangi source: http://www.28maoribattalion.org.nz/search/apachesolr_search/Tokorangi
Marton source: http://www.28maoribattalion.org.nz/search/apachesolr_search/Marton
Halcombe source: http://www.28maoribattalion.org.nz/search/apachesolr_search/Halcombe

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 2010.

Crown for defence purposes. These land blocks were the Māhuia, Tāwhai, Rangipō North 6C and Rangipō Waiū.²¹²

Several blocks were acquired under section IX (Defence) of the Public Works Act 1908 of which Mahuia and Tawhai North were a part. However, under the Act there was no provision for consultation, negotiation of price, nor advanced notice to the owners. The Tribunal calls this the ‘first round of takings’, the period leading up to the First World War. The Court on 14 February 1914 made orders for payment of £419 for Mahuia B, where a large portion of this payment did not reach the owners till 1943, and £1,302 for Tawhai North which was received by the owners in 1924. According to the National Park Waitangi Tribunal, there is no evidence available to determine if interest was paid for these delayed payments.²¹³

The Tribunal considered the issue of ‘offer back’ of lands taken under the Public Works, in this case Mahuia B and Tawhai North. Both blocks became surplus to defence requirements and were incorporated into the Tongariro National Park in the 1920’s, with no consultation with the former owners, nor their descendants. These lands were reassessed in 1930 by the Crown for farming or forestry potential, again making these lands surplus, but this time to park requirements, still, with no consultation for change of use and title. These lands were then used for commercial purposes and eventually became part of the Taurewa Station owned by LandCorp. The Tribunal cites Crown failure in its the duty of active protection in both cases where these lands became surplus, stopping short of committing a third breach of active protection when the Taurewa Station was put up for sale, after succumbing to occupation and protest which required them to consult.²¹⁴

6.11.3 Tribunal Recommendation – Mahuia B & Tawhai North

The Tribunal recommended that these lands Mahuia B and Tawhai North that were required for defence purposes prior to the First World War, and have been surplus to requirements twice, be dealt with thus:

“Some became part of the Tongariro National Park, some became state forests, and some became Taurewa Station, currently held by LandCorp. The matter of those

²¹² Special Factors Report, A report written for the Tuwharetoa Hapu Forum, (Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2013). pp.86-87.

²¹³ *Te Kahui Maunga*, pp. 892-893.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.931.

contained in the Tongariro National Park is discussed further in chapter 11. The remaining lands in Crown ownership should be returned to the beneficial owners.”²¹⁵

The ‘second round of takings’ were lands needed for the Waiouru army base at the outbreak of the Second World War. At the behest of the army, the Public Works department was required to obtain some 6,500 ha, including 2,560 ha of Maori land, which it did in June 1942, by acquiring 749ha from Rangipo North 6C and 1,811ha from Rangipo Waiu 1B under the Public Works Act 1928 by gazette proclamation 13 July 1942. The Native Department offered to assemble a meeting of owners at Tokaanu, neither the army nor the department of defence considered the offer. The matter of compensation to the owners was a long and drawn out affair, considering that the combined area taken from the owners was some 25 square kilometres.²¹⁶

The National Park Tribunal considered the issue of compensation for Rangipo North 6C and Rangipo Waiu 1B, which, under the provisions of the Public Works Act 1928, compensation to be determined by the Native Land Court. In June 1943 the Court was held at Whanganui with no owner representation and considered Government valuations of £442 for Rangipo North 6C and £127 for Rangipo Waiu 1B, which the Crown rejected, offering special valuations of £5 for each block. This figure was provided by the district valuer who stated that the lands had no commercial value. The Court, being unsatisfied with this figure sought reconsideration from the Crown, who came back with a new offer of £250 for both blocks and a survey lien of £156, which the Crown eventually cancelled after the Court said that it would endorse the £250 offer. Given that the valuer had previously stated that these lands had no commercial value, the valuation officials of the time were already considering the farming and forestry potential of these two blocks.²¹⁷

The Tribunal’s view is that these two blocks, encompassing an area of roughly 25 square kilometres was unsuitable for farming, but suitable for army training purposes. What was not considered by the valuation officials was the spiritual, cultural, and customary values of the Maori, nor the operational value to the army, none of the aspects were factored into the compensation package. This Tribunal states:

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 934.

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 895. The Tribunal states that opportunity for consultation and informed consent was offered, but not responded to, therefore, in this Tribunal’s view – “There was no face-to-face consultation, no agreed price, and no informed consent,” pp. 914-915.

²¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 923-924.

“The claimants have been deprived of the use of their land and they have not received recompense that is in any way commensurate with the value of the lands.”²¹⁸

The Public Works Act 1928 had provisions that compensation for general land be determined by the Compensation Court, and that of Maori land being determined by the Native Land Court. Another provision being, that land acquired under that Act, and no longer used for the purpose, be returned or offered back to the original owners, however, this provision did not apply to Maori land.²¹⁹

Hence the aggravation of one of the descendants, who in submission to the National Park Tribunal provided three questions:

“Why were the Rangipo North 6C lands, high on the mountain, taken by the Army but never used? Why was the portion of Rangipo Waiu 1B which was leased to farmers in the 1960s and 1970s not offered back to the descendants of the original owners? What damage was done to wahi tapu by explosions from army weapons?”²²⁰

Several Waitangi Tribunals have made their views plain, saying that the legislation was discriminatory, and in breach of Treaty principles of equity, active protection, partnership and reciprocity, that provided fewer legal rights to Maori citizens than that of Pakeha citizens, stating:²²¹

“By enacting this discriminatory legislation, the Crown compounded the Treaty breach of taking land by compulsion without consent.”²²²
Compulsory acquisition is a breach of the plain meaning of article 2 of the Treaty. Maori were guaranteed possession of their lands for as long as they wished to retain them. It is possible that Maori, properly consulted, might have consented to set aside some of these rights.”²²³

The National Park Tribunal cites a clear breach of the Treaty in respect to the Rangipo North 6C and Rangipo Waiu 1B takings for defence purposes, saying:

“The failure of the Crown, in particular the Army, to meet with Maori, face-to-face, before it took the Rangipo lands is a poignant one. Maori from the area were supporting the Crown’s war effort in North Africa, the Pacific, and elsewhere – often losing their lives in the process – but were not accorded the respect of being consulted over the

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 924.

²¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 906-907.

²²⁰ Brief of evidence of Turoa Karatea, cited in *Te Kahui Maunga*, p. 896.

²²¹ *Te Kahui Maunga*, p. 908.

²²² Waitangi Tribunal, *He Maunga Rongo*, vol 2, p.873. Cited in *Te Kahui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report (Pre-publication) WAI 1130*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2012. p. 908.

²²³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Tauranga Moana 1886-2006*, vol 1, Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p.273. *He Maunga Rongo*, vol 2, p.819. Cited in *Te Kahui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report (Pre-publication) WAI 1130*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2012. pp. 908-909.

taking of their land for defence purposes. In our view, this was a breach of the principle of partnership.”²²⁴

6.11.4 Tribunal Recommendation – Rangipo North 6C and Rangipo Waiu 1B

The Tribunal recommendations regarding Rangipo North 6C and Rangipo Waiu 1B:

“The army currently owns these lands and uses them for armoured vehicle manoeuvres and artillery ranges. These uses may continue under lease or covenant, but the ownership of the lands can be returned.”²²⁵

The Tribunal considered how Maori at the time volunteered, served, and died in the service of their country by stating:

“...not only were volunteering in more proportional numbers to serve the war, but they lost land, taken by proclamation and without compensation, to support the war effort. There is no evidence before the Tribunal of any attention being paid to these issues after the war ended.”²²⁶

6.12 Demographics

6.12.1 Population Figures

A census conducted in 1874 placed the population of Ngāti Pīkiahū at 120 persons, 51 Ngāti Maniapoto at Te Karaka and 49 Ngāti Rangatahi residents at Kakariki. However, by 1878 the Ngāti Pīkiahū population had dropped to 107, which was consistent amongst many of Ngāti Raukawa hapū population figures of the period, with many travelling to and returning from the Upper Waikato. At the same period the Ngāti Maniapoto at Kakariki numbered 36 with no record of the Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Rangatahi. The Resident Magistrate based at Marton calculated that there were 78 Ngāti Pīkiahū at Te Reureu and 83 Ngāti Maniapoto at Kakariki.²²⁷

6.12.2 Health

Population numbers taken during the 1916 census were used to calculate the ‘registered deaths’ of the 1918 influenza pandemic by Counties which are inclusive of interior boroughs. The Manawatu County had a population 2,370 Māori with a toll of 32 registered Māori deaths. The Rangitikei County (which was part of the Manawatu County) had a Māori population of 606 and a death toll of only one person.²²⁸ This figure is disputed because hapū kōrero from Te

²²⁴ *Te Kahui Maunga*, p. 917.

²²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 933.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 896.

²²⁷ Raeburn Lange, pp.57-58, cited in AJHR, 1878, G-2, pp.17, 19-20, and AJHR, 1879, G-1A, p. 1.

²²⁸ New Zealand History:

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/influenza-pandemic/north-island-death-rates#manawatu>.

Reureu have definitely stated that there was more than one death. Attendees at the 2010 wāhi tapu wānanga listened to one kaumātua speak about the many deaths that occurred during the pandemic and how Te Marae o Hine was placed under quarantine by the Health Department and movement was restricted.²²⁹ Because of the quarantine restrictions and the haste to inter the dead to stop the spread of the disease, it is quite obvious that accurate records were not kept.

The urupā image below shows the resting place of many Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi. There is the story of how the influenza epidemic killed many of the whānau of the period forcing several to leave the area in fear. One of the kaumātua related to the wānanga attendees that his tupuna was one of two who were tasked with gathering the dead by wagon and interring the bodies. Payment for their labour was a bottle of whiskey, which he cannot confirm as the possible reason why they were spared the disease.²³⁰

Image 11: Urupā Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi



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²²⁹ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 2010. See Raeburn Lange, p. 64 who says that there was only one registered death and an estimated 20 total deaths.

²³⁰ George Kereama, Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 2010.

²³¹ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 2010.

Turoa Karatea recalls his mother's pain when she related the story that she had lost her mother, a sister and twin brother to the epidemic. As stated above, Te Marae o Hine was the quarantine area and locals tried to treat the sick with rongoa Māori with no success:

“Along with uncle Joe Poutama, Mum was tasked to dig graves for those that died, including her own family. If I recall correctly, she was only 12 years old. There are a lot of unmarked graves from around that period. People were dying so quickly. We had to have a cart just for carrying the dead to the urupa. The strong ones came through and the weaker ones didn't.”²³²

In the wake of influenza pandemic, the Te Reureu people were struck with tuberculosis in the late 1920s. A report in 1929 stated that a number of children had died at Kakariki and that investigating officials had heard from a Feilding doctor that Kakariki was ‘riddled with TB.’ The situation was desperate for the Te Reureu people who could not afford to bring a doctor from Feilding and were receiving infrequent visits from the district nurse. The only help the people were receiving was from the Kurahaupo Maori Health Council who reported that the deaths could have been avoided had there been a nurse to advise the people on prevention and care. The Minister of Health responded to the petitions from the Te Reureu people that he was considering sending native health nurse Wereta from Otaki to make regular visits. Whilst this issue was under consideration nurse Wereta started to make regular visits to the 214 people at Te Reureu, who were described as ‘very poor, and practically destitute.’ The Te Reureu people had also reported to the Director of Māori Hygiene that they found it financially difficult to obtain medical help from the local doctor in Marton. The Director was unsuccessful in trying to gain a medical subsidy for the Marton doctor.²³³

6.13 Present Concerns

Despite the historical challenges that the hapū of Te Reureu encountered and endured from taking possession of the lands and their resistance to colonial rule. They then have to explain to the colonisers (the people who were the original cause of them inhabiting Te Reureu) that their long occupation has created a people who see themselves as one, despite their hapū originating from different iwi. These hapū who have suffered hardships, sicknesses and even warring with foreign powers for the same Crown who is responsible for their historical and present hardships. This section will summarise some their concerns that they face.

²³² Turoa Karatea, Brief of Evidence, National Park Inquiry, 2006.

²³³ Raeburn Lange, pp.105-109. Lange says that the doctor's failed attempt was unsurprising because there had been no Native Medical Officer appointments in the region for many years.

6.13.1 Te Reo

Kipa Arapere addressed a hui held at Te Tikanga whare attended by the Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu and a delegation from Ngāti Tūwharetoa. He was worried about the lack of fluent te reo speakers, however, Kipa noted that there are enough people amongst the various hapū gathered to one day bring about a change:

“Once upon a time these hui were done in Māori, so I will turn to English; there are hardly any fluent speakers left. Tautoko ngā kōrero kua mihihia. I hear the challenge; economic, global. Amongst us we have a multitude of teachers in our own whanau. One thing we need to do is come together and stand on our own, our own whare wānanga / whare maire. We need to grasp it and teach our own tamariki. In this valley we have Pikiahu, Uenuku, Waewae, Manomano, Parewahawaha; so we are still lucky that it is not all gone yet. One day we expect to stand up and have the whole hui in Māori and we don’t have to change to the colonial language of English.”²³⁴

Danny Paranihi had similar concerns in that te reo was not his native tongue and the embarrassment he felt when his nephews would have to act as kaikōrero:

“All our reo speaking people are young; it is embarrassing for me. My young nephews have to stand and do our whaikōrero.”²³⁵

This situation of language loss is not new to Māori in general at the end of the 19th century the Māori population of New Zealand had declined from well over a hundred thousand people to 42,100 (1896). European New Zealanders believed that Māori were dying out and that the Māori people of New Zealand would be assimilated into the European population as the decades went by. It therefore seemed wise in the light of that belief that all Māori children should be fluent in English. It was not realised then what a destructive effect this emphasis on English speaking would have on te reo Māori and ultimately on the culture which is part of the national heritage.²³⁶

The Native Schools Act 1867 required schools to instruct in the English language as far as practicable to the school inspector’s satisfaction in order to receive funding. By the 1890s virtually all schooling, legal and commercial transactions, government, and social interactions outside of Māori communities were in the medium of English. From 1900 to 1925, Māori children went to school as monolingual Māori speakers and all effort was focused on their

²³⁴ Kipa Arapere, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

²³⁵ Danny Paranihi, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

²³⁶ Social and Cultural Development report, A Report Written for the Tuwharetoa Hapu Forum, September 2013, Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, p.18.

learning English.²³⁷ The children had to leave te reo at the school gate and were punished if they did not. Punishment was typically violent and swift:

“I went to the school across the Rangitīkei River to Porewa (Pourewa) School, and if you spoke Maori you were told to fetch a ‘supple jacks’ branch from the tree and the teacher would hit you with it.”²³⁸

“I can still hear my mother’s voice retelling the sad experiences that she and her cousins suffered as children at the Tokorangi native school in the 1940’s and 1950’s. I recently spoke to three of my whaea from mum’s generation who shared the same experiences at this school. Lillee Panapa (Poutama) spoke of the principal and teacher strapping her cousins for speaking Maori in the school grounds. One of her cousins urinated his pants as he couldn’t ask the teacher in English if he could use the toilet. They all spoke of the whakamaa, the shame of speaking Maori.”²³⁹

Between 1925 and 1950, the children of the first period grew to adulthood and, while they spoke te reo Māori to their parents and older relatives, they would not speak te reo Māori to their children. Parents simply did not want their own children to be punished in the way that they had been. Of course, some children were taught te reo Māori, or at least could understand it well, but by and large English had become their first language. The new generation of parents was convinced that their children had to speak English to get ahead. For such parents it was said to be necessary for their children to be fluent in English in order to take full advantage of the educational system. Many parents consciously and conscientiously brought up their children to speak English and never (or rarely) spoke in Māori to their families. The result was that a whole generation has been reared who know no Māori or who knowing so little of it are unable to use it effectively and with dignity. Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata encouraged education in English and parents encouraged use of English by their children so as to improve their success in the Pākehā mainstream as well as in the Māori world. As long as the Māori people remained largely in rural and isolated communities, the Māori language was very much in fluent everyday use. However, with large-scale urbanisation of Māori people from the late 1940s and the integration of Māori families into predominately Pākehā communities from the 1950s, the overwhelming influence of English meant that there was a dramatic loss of fluency in all generations of Māori and especially with young school children.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Reflections from Shay Torehaere Taite to mokopuna Lou Chase 1970.

²³⁹ Kotuku Tibble, Brief of Evidence, National Park Inquiry, 2006.

²⁴⁰ Social and Cultural Development report, A Report Written for the Tuwharetoa Hapu Forum, September 2013, Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, pp. 18-19.

Returning to the statement made by Kipa Arapere the onus is on the whānau/hapū to revitalise te reo to reverse the loss of language. This is in stark contrast to the time when Tokorangi School was first established and during its early years with a roll of 30 children (mostly Māori) a teacher named Williamson conducted night classes for 40 elders who learnt to write their names and read, in classes illuminated by candlelight or moonlight weather permitting.²⁴¹

Maori were faced with the inadequacies of Pākehā speaking and even pronouncing Maori words to the extent that Leonard Kane remembers when his father and uncle gained employment on the railways, their true name was Keeni, however, the Pākehā paymasters lack in te reo, the name Kane developed.²⁴²

In addition to the decline in te reo Māori, was also the irreplaceable loss of *kaumātua me ngā pakeke, ngā pātaka kōrero o te whānau, te hapū me te iwi*:

“...our tikanga is a central consideration in the blueprint that we develop for our future, and I need not explain the tikanga, as you are well aware of the key concepts and components, and the maintenance of our reo rangatira. Many of our people have already raised grave concerns over the apparent decline in the number of kaumatua and pakeke on our paepae, and the loss of important mātauranga.... We must talk about these matters and find effective solutions to addressing these concerns.”²⁴³

Kotuku Tibble says that his mother’s generation were educated and raised in a Pākehā system and society that viewed traditional beliefs and customs of little or no value in a ‘modern world.’ The dominant English language and knowledge post Second World War was channelled through the mainstream curriculum to maintain and support the connection with mother England:

“The waiata, moteatea, karakia and matauranga Maori of the kaumatua and the marae had no value in the mainstream educational system. A process of assimilation was applied through the deliberate omission of Maori language (and banning of it), Maori knowledge and Customs within the curriculum framework of Maori native schools.”²⁴⁴

Another aspect pertaining to te reo Māori is the geographical location of those of Ngāti Waewae descent from the rohe o Ngāti Tūwharetoa rohe acquiring a different dialect, as Paula-Maree McKenzie explains:

²⁴¹ Halcombe School Centennial booklet 1877-1977, p. 33.

http://www.halcombe.school.nz/index_files/Halcombe%20Centenary%201877%20-%201977.pdf

²⁴² Leonard Kane, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016.

²⁴³ Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu, Te Kapua Whakapīpī.

²⁴⁴ Kotuku Tibble, Brief of Evidence, National Park Inquiry, 2006.

“Here in Ngāti Waewae, we’re used to many faces. We are not surrounded by the face of Ngāti Tuwharetoa; we are surrounded by other iwi. It’s natural for us to be speaking a different reo / mita as we are not in the puku. Something in our gut growing up told us that this is where we belong (we were brought up in Wellington).”²⁴⁵

Kotuku Tibble explains the rituals carried out by the tūpuna of Te Reureu and how it was very much a part of their lives:

“They would visit the river in the early hours of the morning to carry out old Māori customs of tohi and purification rites. They understood the lore of tapu, and were in balance with nature, they lived and breathed wairua Māori, they were bilingual and bicultural. In fact, a few were monolingual – te Reo Māori was their only language.”²⁴⁶

One way the tupuna used to alleviate illness and sickness was to bathe in the river. In the past, good health came from a simple diet of home-grown kai or kai caught from the river and streams. Eels were the mainstay of each household and the flounder when one knew the ideal time and places to catch them.²⁴⁷ Turoa Karatea notes that the tupuna used the freshwater springs that fed into the river as their healing fountains before it mingled with the river water. He has witnessed many instances when the tupuna nursed and cured sick in this fashion.²⁴⁸

6.13.2 Education

Tamahou Rowe expressed his concerns about the NCEA statistical data that places Māori at the bottom, even internationally where Māori figure quite low:

“We need to be bold and stand up and say it is no longer acceptable for us.... I come from rangatira; therefore, this system does not work for us.... We need to shake the education system.... I am sick and tired of our kids being at the bottom. You get them on a marae and they know how to be a part of the management system that is seamless, priceless. I put this to the whare that we look at education for our kids (from a perspective of saying enough is enough).”²⁴⁹

Ngaparaki Lorraine Meads strongly believes that Māori should take responsibility for their own actions stating that her father was educated in Wellington at St Patrick’s Silverstream which was prevalent at the time for those of Ngāti Tūwharetoa because of the Church and to be educated to make it in the new world. Ngaparaki does not subscribe to the notion regarding educational statistical data portraying Māori tamariki at the bottom; rather it is Pākehā who are failing statistically:

²⁴⁵ Paula-Maree McKenzie, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

²⁴⁶ Kotuku Tibble, Brief of Evidence, National Park Inquiry, 2006.

²⁴⁷ Lorraine Meads, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016.

²⁴⁸ Turoa Karatea, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016.

²⁴⁹ Tamahou Rowe, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

“...look at the ratio of failure and success in Pakeha students, they are the ones that failed hugely because it is a statistical matter. When you look at us we succeed huge; this idea that we are at the bottom of the heap is rubbish. Stop throwing that in our minds. We are not at the bottom. If we are 15% of the population, and 3.5% are succeeding, that is a huge statistical success. Pakeha statistics are failing at 15%; what does that tell you. Think more positively and talk more positively about us succeeding. We are doing exceptionally well in the education system.... This whare was a school and started up at the old shed at the end of the 1800’s. The kids in the valley were well educated. I don’t mean to sound negative, but sometimes minds need to be changed so that a lot of our kids can go out there and let everyone know that it’s a lie, we aren’t at the bottom of the heap; we are up and rising.”²⁵⁰

Pro-educationalist George Kereama quotes his parents, who said to him that there is no way the world owes him anything, to succeed you have to be prepared to work hard:

“I am not afraid of the Pakeha system because I know that is where the jobs are. I encourage my kids and mokopuna to get an education. Pakeha are the ones who live the longest; they work the easiest jobs while our ones are busy in the spud fields. We have to train our minds, keep active and encourage our kids; our Māori values are important. Overseas I saw the deprivation, hopelessness, massacres. We don’t have that in NZ; we have to wake up and stop blaming the Pakeha for everything. It’s all about positiveness; yes, the Govt. has problems, but we need to take them head on.”²⁵¹

Tahau Williams made an interesting assessment pertaining to what is Tūwharetoatanga: “It is our awa, teaching values, respect to all our taura. I have no fears of my 11-year-old going to the awa alone; because I taught him the values of the awa. He also knows how to get kai off the river. It is the same thing in education. I often talk to our taura about our awa. When you talk positively, they will get through; they don’t fail they just need another opportunity. Should we expect the iwi to do that? No, we should all do it. Where do they go after education; there are no jobs. They are forced back into their old environment; that is something we need to deal with.”²⁵²

Paula-Maree McKenzie agrees, saying that we should be taking charge of our own destiny, rather than rely on others:

“The Govt. and Crown are not concerned with Tuwharetoatanga. The education system is run by Ministry for the Crown, and our people are in there. We should also simultaneously be building our own Ministry of Education. You Te Ariki are our “Hekia Parata”. She fell down because she did not listen to the people. It gives my heart joy to sit in my house to talk about our people and our aspirations for our people. Treaty claims does not stop us from building our own Ministry. Our hapū should be funding that and as part of the streams of MoE curriculum, then you have Ngāti Waewaetanga, Ngāti Kurauiatanga and all of the bones of the body of Ngāti Tuwharetoa. Do what we will with the Crown, but don’t be disappointed.”²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Ngaparaki Lorraine Meads, Te Kapua Whakapīpī.

²⁵¹ George Kereama, Te Kapua Whakapīpī Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

²⁵² Tahau Williams, Te Kapua Whakapīpī.

²⁵³ Paula-Maree McKenzie, Te Kapua Whakapīpī.

7.0 TE REUREU RĀHUI WHENUA

The Wellington Independent printed a Native Land Court article of Paranihi Te Tau and others stating the landmarks of the Te Reureu and Pukekokeko block stating:

“Commencing at Waitapu, thence by that stream to Whitianga, thence southwards to Whakamoetakapu Te Puta, thence to the westward along the line of Puroa a Pakeha to Mangaone, to Pahekeheke Pukeiwahie, thence to the bridge at Whakaaauranga, thence along the Rangataua Stream to the Rangitikei River, thence eastward Kakariki Maungamutu, thence to Te Karaka Te Ruai, thence to Tapatu Waituna, thence to Te Reureu Pikitara, to the commencing point at Waitapu.”²⁵⁴

Lauren Reweti offers the Māori text:

“Tīmata i Waitapu, ka haere atu i te awa o Waitapu tae atu ki Whitianga, ka whati ki te tonga. Whakamoe, takapū te puta, ka whati ki te hauāuru, ka haere i runga i te raina a Puroa Pākehā, Mangaone rere tonu ki Pāhekeheke puke i wāhia, rere i te awa o Rangataua ka puta ki Rangitikei ka whati ki te marangai Kākāriki. Mangamutu rere tonu ki Karaka, Te Rūai rere tonu Otāpatu, Waituna rere tonu Te Reureu, Pikitara ka kati anō ki Waitapu.”²⁵⁵

Manaaki Tibble provides an explanation to the name Te Reureu, saying that in the time of his ancestors it was customary for the kuia to cut locks from their hair and deposit it in the grave of a fallen warrior as a pillow for his head to lay. Another lock of hair was placed in water as a sign of tears; another lock would be left to grow as sign of life after death. This lock bore the name Reureu:

“Ahakoa he urunga, ahakoa he roimata, he tohu aroha me kī. He tohu aroha ki a rātou kua hinga i roto i ngā pakanga, ki a rātou kua moe.”²⁵⁶

7.1 Te Reureu reservation

Te Reureu reservation is the lands that for want of a better word were made rahui for those who would not sell lands, especially during the early half of the 19th Century. This section concentrates on the land, and the Rangitikei River and the hapū relationship and history pertaining to these taonga. The Te Reureu reservation/block was an outcome of the Rangitikei purchase orchestrated by Donald McLean. The deed of purchase was signed on 15 May 1849 for a total sum of £2,500 which was paid in several instalments, the first being a lump sum of £1000 divided into 100 saddlebags for distribution with the remaining £1500 paid out at £500 over three years.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Paranihi Te Tau me etahi atu, *Wellington Independent*, 9 May 1868, p. 3.

²⁵⁵ Lauren Reweti, p. 45.

²⁵⁶ Manaaki Tibble, p. 15.

²⁵⁷ James Cowan, *Sir Donald MacLean*, (A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1940). p. 42.

Image 12: Te Reureu Hill



When the first land grants and reservations were made, Paranihi's claimants missed out because they were the non-sellers and the new arrivals. The Crown soon realised however that in order to effect a peaceful European settlement of the Manchester block they had to resolve the issue of a reserve. It took two years of negotiations and in the end, there were compromises on both sides.²⁵⁹

7.2 Otara

Prior to the Rangitikei purchase, and at a place called Otara, McLean was of the belief that Ngāti Apa and Wanganui tribes had individual claims extending from Te Moria Bush to Otara (Ohingaiti). In 1849 McLean, in regard to Otara, would state the area was:

“Inhabited by a migrative band of Taupo natives, whose claims or rights to reside there are disputed by the Ngati Apa who also object to their receiving any payment for land to which they have not a hereditary or legitimate right.”²⁶⁰

In July 1850, this ‘migrative band’ or whom McLean would describe as ‘principally outcasts, and a wandering tribe’ who, like many others throughout the island were dissatisfied at the extent of the Rangitikei purchase, were led by their chief, Pohe, to take possession of the land at ‘Porewa’ (Pourewa).²⁶¹ Pohe’s argument was that he objected on the basis that continuing

²⁵⁸ Image sourced Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p. 7.

²⁵⁹ Tumanako Herangi, p. 108.

²⁶⁰ McLean to Colonial Secretary, 1 October 1849, Donald McLean Papers MS 32 (3), ATL

²⁶¹ McLean to Colonial Secretary, 30 July 1850, Donald McLean Papers MS 32 (3A), ATL; 19 July 1850, Donald McLean, ‘Diary’, Maori notes, 19 July-12 October 1850, MS 1229, ATL

sales of the interior would dispossess the inland tribes of all their lands. McLean would later convince him that this was not so, whereby Pohe agreed to return to Otara on the promise that Otara would be excluded from purchase.²⁶² McLean believed Pohe's behaviour was due to Whanganui Māori based at Pukehika (Ranana) who were laying claims to Murimotu and Otara, whereby encroaching on their bird snaring areas. A later hui was convened by McLean to settle the question of Otara, given that he would find, what he would call a 'mixed group' of Ngāti Whakaterere and Ngāti Pehi, led by Ngāwaka whom McLean would state was a 'Taupo man' resident at Te Pohue (a place where Te Heuheu had erected a pole).²⁶³

7.3 Pourewa

The lands lying between the 'Pourewa' (Pourewa) Stream and the Rangitīkei River were to prove a major concern, where resistance to sale became a focus for heated debate. Reason for this was that much of the land had already been purchased or leased, and some given as reserves to Ngāti Apa, which posed a problem for settlement. This interior boundary, many settlers believed comprised the most fertile lands. For instance, one Ngāti Apa chief, Panapa, who McLean described as a deserter from his tribe and an ally of Te Rangihaeata (who previously opposed the land sales) objected to the sale of the interior on the basis that it would cut off his retreat, if, in the future he needed to take refuge there. Panapa would erect a flagstaff at Powhara proclaiming he would die by it before he ceded his land. A flagstaff McLean would later find out from Te Heuheu, Te Rangihaeata and Taratoa had been erected in their names too, in opposition to further land sales.²⁶⁴ Te Heuheu would later withdraw his objection, which was directed more at Ngāti Apa's claims, rather than to Crown purchases in the area.

Puruhe Smith recounted how his tupuna Taurangi signed the Treaty of Waitangi

“At that time the lands of our people of Ngāti Raukawa ki Rangitīkei were very extensive lands, our boundaries ran from Whangaehu to Kukutauaki. The land from Whangaehu to Rangitīkei was 220,000 acres, the land from Rangitīkei to the Ruahine Range was 225,000 acres, and Te Ahuatūranga block was similarly 220,000 acres. Nearly 700,000 acres was in the control of our iwi at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.... within the Rangitīkei block. That's not including the Otaki area. It was just in the Rangitīkei block. We had under our control 700,000 acres.”²⁶⁵

²⁶² McLean to Colonial Secretary, 13 May 1850, Donald McLean Papers MS 32 (3A), ATL

²⁶³ 14 September 1850, Donald McLean, 'Diary' notes, 19 July-12 October 1850, MS 1229, ATL

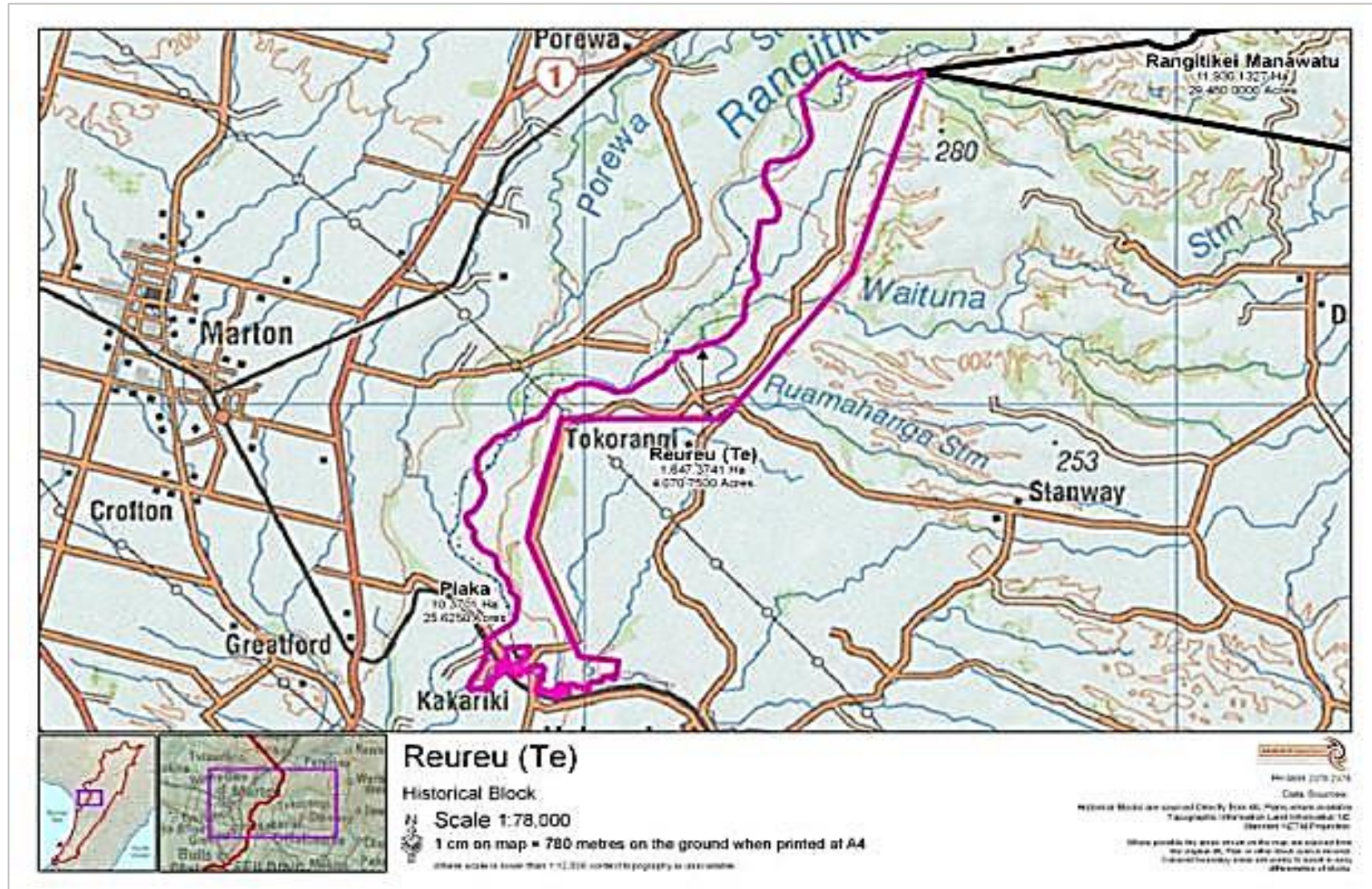
²⁶⁴ McLean to Colonial Secretary, 13 May 1850, Donald McLean Papers MS 32 (3A), ATL.

²⁶⁵ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 177.

Map 14: Rangitikei-Manawatu Block



Map 15: Te Reureu Block



7.4 Mai i Pourewa ki te tihi o Tongariro

The journey of hapū to the Rangitīkei area can be stated as:

“Mai i Pourewa ki te tihi o Tongariro
From Pourewa to the summit of Tongariro”

Mananui said that the land from Pourewa to the summit of Tongariro was never to be sold. Our hapū of Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Waewae, reside there still today.²⁶⁶ Stephen Asher (a descendant of Parati Paurini) speaks of the whakapapa connection, and the strategy employed to protect Ngāti Tūwharetoa’s southern flank and the resources within, by saying:

“First of all in respect of those family connections; I have known for some time because of the kōrero which my late father shared, that the connections have always been close. My father told me, and I have subsequently found out for myself, that when the original Ngāti Waewae families up here in Tokaanu and at Lake Rotoaira, realised the decision was made that Ngāti Tūwharetoa should have presence down on the southern flank for strategic as well as geo-political reasons, the Ngāti Kurauia connections, for some reason, put their hands up and said “We will go”. “

“I believe that my namesake Paurini Karamu, who was very much a part of the leadership of Ngāti Tūwharetoa at that time, during Hoani’s chieftainship and even before Hoani, understood the strategic importance for Tūwharetoa to be down there. It has to be contextualised to the time and to what was going on in this country with colonisation and the determined efforts being made by Pakeha to acquire land and control, and to in a sense, suppress Maori society and Maori ownership of resources and in particular land.”²⁶⁷

The 1842 hekenga was initiated to prevent the land-sales in the Rangitīkei District from extending to Tongariro. According to Robyn Anderson and Keith Pickens Ngāti Apa were willing to sell the Rangitīkei District amidst protestations from Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa.²⁶⁸ The New Zealand Company settlers wanting land were generating pressure, given that the Rangitīkei was surveyed at some 225,000 acres and described by McLean as being:

“...most valuable and extensive acquisition, capable of maintaining a numerous European population and superior to any other part of the island for cattle runs.”²⁶⁹

In 1866 land was purchased at 2.6d per acre, and an area of 30,000 acres was set-aside as reserves for Ngāti Apa, with an additional 2,500 acres reserved in other places for eel-fishing;

²⁶⁶ Wai 1200. Waitangi Tribunal CNI Inquiry. Brief of evidence of Paranapa Rewi Otimi, Dated the 27th day of April 2005, p.8.

²⁶⁷ John Stephen Paurini Karamu Asher, Interview, 1 August 2007

²⁶⁸ See - Anderson, Robyn and Pickens, Keith, *Wellington district: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatu*, Rangahaua Whanui District 12, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). pp.51-83

²⁶⁹ McLean to Colonial Secretary, 10 April 1849, Donald McLean Papers MS 32 (3), p.13, ATL

cultivations and urupa.²⁷⁰ It is quite obvious how the settlers viewed the Rangitīkei as a valuable land commodity. Hence the cautious view held by Ngāti Tūwharetoa that these wholesale land sales could spread throughout the interior of the island, prompting Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Pīkiahū and others to travel to the district to halt the land sales.

7.5 Ngā Poupou a Te Reureu

One must ask, what is the relationship of ‘pou’ to those who reside along the Rangitīkei? For instance, the Pourewa Stream, ‘pou’ meaning ‘post’ and ‘rewa’ meaning ‘elevated’ literally means elevated post. This traditional saying identifies the reason for the southern migration as means to stop land sales extending to Tongariro:

Mai i Pourewa ki te tihi o Tongariro
From Pourewa to the summit of Tongariro

Puruhe Smith relates the time his tupuna Ngāwaka and his people arrived at Otago at the behest of Utiku Pōtaka who gave them land to settle. Puruhe continues by saying how his tupuna climbed Te Tira o Raukawa and established his boundary posts:

“I te wā i whakatau mai ō tātou tūpuna ki Ōtago ka haere taku tūpuna a Ngāwaka ki te whakatū tana pou whenua kei waenga ki tērā takiwā. Ka piki ake ia i te maunga o Te Tira o Raukawa ka whakatū ia ki tētahi o ōna pou whenua ki reira. He tokowhā ngā pou whenua i whakatū ia i taua rā.”²⁷¹

7.6 Te Oti Pōhē

According to John Reweti the pou planted at Pourewa was named Te Oti Pōhē after a tupuna of Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Waewae descent. Te Oti Pōhē received his name as a result of his tupuna Irahangore who was wounded in a battle at Kōreromaiwaka was carried back to Murimotu and was later buried in a cave called Pōhē. John points out the relationships of these tupuna, saying:

“This tupuna that they talk about here, Irahangore was the brother of Huānga, Huānga being the father of Waewae, so we see here we have a close relationship. My tupuna, Karamu Paurini also said that the descendants of Irahangore were known as Ngāti Waewae because of the intermarriage between their descendants.”²⁷²

Lauren Reweti added more information regarding Te Oti Pōhē saying that he was concerned with what was happening with the lands at Rangitīkei and Murimotu. McLean called him the

²⁷⁰ Turton, Deeds, no 69, p.213

²⁷¹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp.176, 178.

²⁷² John Reweti, p.37,

leader of a ‘migrative band’ who were unhappy with the extent of the Rangitīkei purchase, that it may dispossess the inland tribes of their lands. Te Oti Pōhē returned to Otago on the promise from McLean that Otago would not be sold. Later that year Otago was sold, hence Te Oti Pōhē becoming such a stalwart for land retention. Lauren says:

“The drive to halt this sale of land was a collective effort by our ancestors. The aukati was the catalyst for generations of Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū in terms of holding the land. The values that underpin ‘take pupuri whenua’ are ancient...Those same values underpin our customary and traditional rights as much today as it did historically.”²⁷³

On arrival to the Rangitīkei district pou were erected to lay claim to the whenua and are also recognised as the people who were joined by marriage to consolidate familial ties to one another and to the whenua, which are evinced in the following paragraphs.

7.6.1 Pou Manuka, Pou Totara

In 1904, Parati Paurini gave evidence in the Māori/Native Land Court regarding the Taurewa block. In his evidence Parati gave an historical account of the southern journey of Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū from the Rotoaira district to the Rangitīkei. Parati states:

“According to what I heard, it was 1842 that Ngāti Waewae went to live at Rangitīkei. Some went, and some returned. The principle person who went was Tetau Paranihi. Elder people went. They were prepared to fight. The younger people and the women remained behind. They went to take possession of the land, and if necessary, to fight for it, owing to sale made by Ngāti Apa of lands extending to Tongariro Mountain.

Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū went together. They first went to Otago near Ohingaiti, about 20 miles up the Rangitīkei River from Marton. Ngawaka Maraenui was the principle man of Ngāti Pīkiahū, he had married Huna, of Ngāti Waewae. The going of that “ope taua” was a “mea whakariterite” by all Ngāti Tuwharetoa. Te Heuheu Tukino (II – who was overwhelmed in 1846) gave the word. In consequence of persistence of Ngāti Apa in proposed sale of land, other hapū joined Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū, namely, Ngāti Whiti, Ngāti Tama, and Ngāti Hauiti. They “huihui’d” at Pikitara, near Te Reureu – Rangitīkei. A “pou” was set up at Pourewa, a kainga on Rangitīkei River, about 6 miles from Marton. The first post set up was a “pou manuka”. It was cut down and burnt by Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa. The elders told us what took place.

Afterwards a “pou totara” was set up at Waituna, a stream falling into the Rangitīkei River on eastern side below Pikitara. I have seen that “pou....After the “pou manuka” at Pourewa was cut down and burnt, a “pou totara” was set up there. Then it was “awhina’d”, and a pa was built at Te Reureu. Eventually McLean (Te Makarini) brought out a peace between the parties. I heard that he put in a “pou” at Te Houhou, above Pikitara, on western side of Rangitīkei River. I have not seen that “pou”. I cannot say

²⁷³ Lauren Reweti, pp. 52-53.

that he called it “Te Pou a te Kuini”. It was at time of that “houhangarongo” that Mr McLean gave the land at Te Reureu to Tetau Paranihi and Ngawaka Maraenui.²⁷⁴

7.6.2 Pou-Whenua Pou-Tangata

Manaaki Tibble provides some insights into the origin of the term ‘Te Pou a Te Heuheu’ as expressed by Maraenui Iwikau who stated that:

“Ko Te Pou a Te Heuheu ehara i te pouwhenua, engari he pou tangata, he pou tangata.”²⁷⁵

This statement by Maraenui relates to the period just after the conflict at Haowhenua in 1834, Ngāti Tūwharetoa who had taken part in the battle in support of Te Rauparaha were returning home to the Taupo district accompanied by Te Rauparaha and some of his people. Hurihia, the sister of Te Heuheu who had been wounded at Haowhenua died at Rangitīkei as they were transporting her home to the Taupo district. Some believe that Hurihia was interred in the swamplands between Te Raumanga and Te Waituna streams. When it came time for Ngāti Tūwharetoa to depart for Taupo, Te Heuheu called out to Te Rauparaha saying:

“E Raha, kāti koe i konei, ko koe kei te tonga, mai i konei atu ki Taupō kei a au, kei a au
E Raha, for you will remain in the south; I will stay in Taupō, that belongs to me.”²⁷⁶

The physical internment of Hurihia is the pou-tangata alluded to by Maraenui, which Manaaki elaborates further by naming some of the marriages saying:

“Atu i ēnei kōrero ka moe ngā uri a Te Heuheu ki ngā uri a Te Reureu a Ngāti Waewae me Ngāti Pīkiahū. Tuatahi ka moe a Te Wetini Iwikau i a Pipi Haruru. Ka rua ka moe a Hiwawa Paurini i a Maora ka puta ko te whānau Paurini o Tokorangi. Ko te whaea o Hiwawa ko Pāpākore, ko te wahine tuakana o Tūreiti Te Heuheu, te mātāmua o ngā tamariki a Horonuku Te Heuheu. Ko Maora, te wahine o Hiwawa Paurini, he uri nā Paranihi. Ka toru ka moe a Torehaere i a Ngahuaia, anā ko Torehaere te ingoa Māori o Uncle Shay. Ko tōna kuia ko Te Kāhui, he teina nō Pāpākore. Ka moe a Hohepa Kumeroa i a Pirihira. Tērā te whakaahua o Te Kiekie Kumeroa (a picture hanging up in Te Tikanga behind the tribunal), ko tōna tungāne ko Hohepa Kumeroa. Ko Pirihira he tamāhine nā Te Rohu, ko Te Rohu he teina anō no Pāpākore rāua ko Te Kāhui. Otirā ko te pōtiki o ngā tamariki a Horonuku Te Heuheu rāua ko Te whaea o Hura Kumeroa ko Marata. Ko Marata he tuahine ki a Karatea nō Ngāti Waewae.

So, I go back to the statement by our elder Maraenui, that Te Pou o Te Heuheu was not a pou in the physical sense, but a post made up of people.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Taupo MB 17, pp.202-205 (25 May 1904), pp.237-238 (30 May 1904). One reason that Parati gave an historical account of Ngāti Waewae to the Court was to oppose claims that Ngāti Waewae were complicit in the fall of Motuopuhi Pa at Lake Rotoaira.

²⁷⁵ Manaaki Tibble, p. 13.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, pp.13, 19.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, pp.13, 20.

The issue of Hurihia dying from her wounds is part of historical folklore, however, according to Napa Otimi of Ngāti Turumakina her body was interred at Mangaweka and in observance to custom her tapu head was returned to Ngāti Tūwharetoa rohe. The tradition of caring for the site where her body is interred is carried out by those of Ngāti Hinemanu and Ngāti Paki of Winiata marae to this day.²⁷⁸

7.7 Te Hunga Kāore i Hoko Whenua Atu

The Te Reureu Block/Reservation was created for those deemed non-sellers (Te Hunga kāore i hoko whenua atu) during the large land purchases of the mid-1800s. Our tupuna were sent south from the Taupo district to this region to halt land sales. The following paragraphs will outline some of the reasons why the people of Te Reureu are that way inclined.

7.7.1 Kaua e Hoko

Puruhe Smith provided an account not long after Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae had settled at Te Reureu, Ngāwaka Maraenui attended a hui at Parewanui. Because of his stance in adhering to the request of Te Heuheu to hold on to and not sell the land he was threatened by Ngāti Apa who claimed that they could secure 400 muskets from Makarāni and drive Ngāwaka and his people from their land.²⁷⁹ Makarāni also known as Donald McLean was once appointed to Protector of Aborigines in 1843, Sub-protector in 1844, and Inspector of Armed Police in 1845 with duties extending to land-purchasing, most notably the Rangitīkei Block of some 200,000 acres between the Rangitīkei and Turakina Rivers in 1849.²⁸⁰ According to Puruhe, out of compassion for Ngāti Apa the Ngāti Raukawa rangatira Nepia Taratoa returned land to them extending from Whangaehu to Rangitīkei with a condition that they not claim below the Rangitīkei River. However, at the Parewanui hui they chose otherwise when confronting Ngāwaka:

“Ngāwaka says I have not come here ki te whawhai ki te hoariri. Kua tae mai ahau ki te whawhai ki te whenua. So, we were classed as the non-sellers because we held onto that tonu o Te Heuheu, kaua e hoko te whenua, kia mau ki te whenua. So, they classed us as the non-sellers. Because we wouldn’t sell the whenua, our whenua from Rangitīkei ki te Ruahine. The Crown took the tinihanga to approach Ngāti Apa and see if they would sell the land which Ngāti Apa agreed to.”²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Conversation with Napa Otimi, 21 January 2017, Turangi.

²⁷⁹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 179.

²⁸⁰ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/mclean-sir-donald>

²⁸¹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 179.

Turoa Karatea explained why the people of Te Reureu are so tenacious when it comes to retaining land and how they have made this concept clear in several Waitangi Tribunal inquiry districts namely the National Park, Whanganui, Rohe Potae, Taihape and Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry.²⁸² Tumanako Herangi concurs saying that although the hapū of Te Reureu occupy their areas ‘they were united in their resolve not to sell off any more Maori land.’²⁸³

7.7.2 Te Reureu Reserve

In 1870 McLean was under pressure to reserve as much land to non-sellers (specifically Ngāti Kauwhata) of the Rangitīkei-Turakina block as possible.²⁸⁴ The concern was that if these people became dissatisfied as some were, they may ally themselves with the King movement or disaffected leaders in the Taupo, Waikato, Hauraki, Upper Whanganui and Mokau areas from whence they had come. McLean was wary that others, such as Ngāti Wehiwehi, Ngāti Whakare, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Pīkiahū could also head in the same direction, given that they numbered 200-300 persons. Therefore, a further 6500 acres was set-aside for these groups, who considered the area to be their home.²⁸⁵ Ngāti Wehiwehi had been in the vicinity for some 30 years. These groups told McLean:

“...that if the Government were determined to take possession, they, the natives, must first be driven into the river or elsewhere for they had no Land to which they had a better right to retire than that upon which they were then located.”²⁸⁶

December of that year McLean charged Henry Tacy Kemp with the responsibility of providing for Māori the lands that they had occupied or cultivated.²⁸⁷ Kemp had to add a further 3,000 acres to the Reureu boundaries. This drew opposition from Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāwaka who thought that as non-sellers they were due more land, or an “unfettered right to select”.²⁸⁸

McLean and Kemp finally added an additional 14,379 acres, which drew criticism from Featherston. McLean defended his decision citing that this land allocation had already been reduced from 19,000 acres, which had been accepted by Māori. All but 1,800 acres of this allocation was made up of sand hills, swamp and bush. There were further protests regarding

²⁸² Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 88.

²⁸³ Tumanako Herangi, p. 108.

²⁸⁴ ‘Memorandum on the Rangitīkei–Manawatu Land Claims’, AJHR, 1870, A-25, p 8. Deals with the arrest of one of Ngāti Kauwhata for pulling survey pegs and destroying a trig station.

²⁸⁵ McDonald to Fitzherbert, 26 July 1871, MA series 13/75A, p 6, NA Wellington

²⁸⁶ McDonald to Fitzherbert, 2 August 1871, MA series 13/75A, p 3, NA Wellington

²⁸⁷ ‘Report on the Claim of the Province of Wellington in Respect of the Manawatu Reserves,’ AJHR, 1874, H-18, p. 11.

²⁸⁸ Kemp to McLean, 18 January 1871, Donald McLean Papers, MS 32 (369), ATL.

McLean's allocations of valuable river frontage, spotted by reserves. In defence, McDonald replied stating:

“They were almost without exception laid off so as to include cultivations, graveyards, eel fisheries etc in the occupation of the Natives and are necessary for the maintenance of the 500 or 600 souls forming many distinct families for whom the reserves are made.”²⁸⁹

McLean sent specific instructions to Carkeek regarding the survey of a 4400-acre reserve for some 200 people at Reureu, noting that ‘greater care’ would be required in laying out these boundaries because the residents came from so many different tribes.²⁹⁰ He was to include cultivations and important sites where possible. More detailed directions were given with regard to the inland boundary which was to be cut with the cooperation of Ngāti Upokoiri, who were offering to sell land to the east of that line.²⁹¹ Despite all this the status of McLean and Kemp's allocations remained unsettled, or until validating legislation was passed the allocations were considered an illegal disposal of Crown Lands.²⁹²

Writing on the subject of reserves in the Rangitīkei-Manawatū under date 6 February 1872 McLean alludes to the Reureu reserve as follows:

“One of the chief difficulties respecting boundaries has been the definition of the block boundary of the Reureu reserve. The extent of land claimed by the occupants of this reserve amounting to 20,000 acres was confined by me on a former occasion within certain limits, which were supposed to contain 3400 acres, but after my departure the natives claimed upwards of 10,000 acres in addition to my awards. Kemp conceded 3000 acres more, but I have been able to narrow the reserve to 4400 acres by giving compensation in money and agricultural implements to the amount of £350.”²⁹³

7.7.3 Te Kooti Whenua Māori 1912

This section which is transcribed fully from Whanganui minute book 63 and details a Maori/Native Land Court case that was heard in 1912.

7.4 Interesting History of Rangitīkei-Manawatu ²⁹⁴

An important reserved decision was given at the Native Land Court on Friday, by Judge Jack, affecting the ownership of about 2500 acres of native land called Te Reureu No.1, situate on the banks of the Rangitīkei River near Marton. The decision recites the history attached to the

²⁸⁹ McDonald to Fitzherbert, 2 August 1871, MA series 13/75A, p 3, NA Wellington.

²⁹⁰ Anderson, Robyn and Pickens, Keith, *Wellington district: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatu*, Rangahaua Whanui District 12, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). p. 168

²⁹¹ McLean to Carkeek, 3 February 1872, MA series 13/75A, NA Wellington

²⁹² Cooper on McDonald to Fitzherbert, 12 September 1872, MA series 13/75B, NA Wellington

²⁹³ Commissioner Mackay's Report 1884 (the official record of his report was destroyed by fire in the Parliamentary Buildings), this excerpt is derived from Whanganui Minute Book 63, pp. 251-253.

²⁹⁴ Transcribed from Whanganui Minute Book 63. pp.251-253. Dated - 30th August 1912.

block since European settlement began. As it throws much light on the difficulties encountered by the Crown in early settlement of lands bought from natives – a phase of New Zealand history too often overlooked – we publish the full text of the decision.

This case has had the attention of the Native Land Court at Wanganui during the past five weeks. The solicitors interested were Mr Marshall (Marshall and Hutton), Mr Gordon (Harnicoat, Treadwell, and Gordon), and Mr Cohen (Watt and Cohen), as well as native conductors, Kauapu and Wiki Riwhi (Rotorua), and Tewiti McDonald (Levin)

The judgement is as follows:

Te Reureu No.1 Block

Decision Under Statutory Enquiry

An epitome of the history of the title to this land will explain the causes that have rendered the present enquiry necessary.

Te Reureu No.1 is the larger part of a reserve of 4510 acres made by the Crown through the agency of Sir Donald McLean in 1870, in settlement of a dispute between the Government (who had purchased the Rangitīkei-Manawatu block of which Te Reureu is part), and certain resident natives who had not been recognised as owners in the Rangitīkei-Manawatu block by the Native Land Court. The reserve was the subject of an investigation and report by the Commissioner McKay in 1884. The official record of his report was destroyed in the Parliamentary Buildings fire a few years ago, but a copy has been put in as evidence in this case which is herein quoted, in order to put in again on record, and because much of it is apropos of the questions now in issue.

Mr McKay's Report

The block of land known as Te Reureu containing 4570 acres, the subject of the enquiry, was referred to the Commissioner together with other lands set apart for native purposes in the Rangitīkei-Manawatu Block, for the purpose of ascertaining the ownership of these lands with a view to clothe them with a legal title. As this is the largest and most important block dealt with, and as several sets of claimants have preferred claims to it under different pretexts, it is considered desirable to give a brief retrospect of the cause that led to the various reserves being made within the aforesaid block before intimating the conclusion come to in respect of the land now under consideration.

In 1866 the Rangitīkei-Manawatu block was sold to the Government, and lands to the extent of 3361 acres were set apart for the natives. At the time of the sale the natives claiming the block ranged themselves into two distinct factions – the sellers and the non-sellers – and in consequence of the quarrelsome and obstructive disposition evinced by the latter, it was found impossible to obtain possession of the block. After several attempts to settle the difficulty, the question was ultimately referred to the Native Land Court under Section 38 of the NZ Act 1867. The judgement of the Court was delivered on 25-9-69, approving the validity of the purchase made from the natives, and an interlocutory order was issued for certain lands amounting to 6200 acres to be granted to some of the natives.

The decision of the Court, however, did not finally settle the matter, and an attempt being made to survey the reserves awarded by the Court, the natives who dissented from the judgement immediately turned off the surveyors. After various attempts to resume the work it had to be abandoned and the General Government decided that Mr McLean visits the district and endeavour to settle the difficulty.

In effecting a settlement Mr McLean found it necessary to allot the natives an additional quantity of land to the extent of 14,379 acres. Titles have already been issued under the Rangitīkei-Manawatu Crown Grants Act for 30 of the reserves so made, and the investigation of the ownership to the remainder had been referred to the Commissioner under Royal Commission dated 22-5-82, and one of the chief objects of the enquiry was to determine the title to or interest in any such reserve in such a manner that will give effect to the original intention for which the said lands have been set apart. In the case of Te Reureu Reserve there are four sets of claimants, viz.

- a) Ngāti Parewahawaha.
- b) Ngāti Kahoro, and Ngāti Waiotahi.
- c) Ngāti Whiti.
- d) Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāti Rangatahi.

The first two sets of claimants prefer a claim on the grounds that Te Reureu reserve was a general one, made for the benefit of all the natives who had suffered through the decision of the Court in 1869, in regard to the Rangitīkei-Manawatu block. The third set of claimants based their claim on their original occupation of the land, and the fourth on possession and being parties for whom the land was set apart by Mr McLean.

The chief grounds on which the first two sets of claimants base their claim is that the Reureu reserve was for the benefit of all the persons for whom lands had not been previously reserved at the time of sale or subsequently by the Native Land Court and urge in proof of their contention the size of the reserve as being excessive for the number of persons residing on it.

The fourth set of claimants, viz.; the four natives in possession oppose the claims of the other three on the following grounds:

- a) Possession for many years.
- e) Houses and cultivations on the land.
- f) They are hapū for whom the reserve was made.
- g) The counter claimants have never occupied the land and have no right to it.
- h) It was not land held under native tenure when the reserve was made.

The enquiry has disclosed the following particulars in connection with the acquirement of the Rangitīkei-Manawatu Block, and the setting a part of the reserves in connection therewith.

- a) That the block of land known as Rangitīkei-Manawatu, was sold to the Provincial Government by Kawana Hunia and others in 1866.
- i) The certain reserves to the extent of 3361 acres were set apart for the natives at the time of the sale.

That subsequently the Ngāti Raukawa non-sellers commenced to obstruct the occupation of the land, thereby putting the Provincial Government to considerable pecuniary inconvenience. With a view to settle the matter the question was referred to the Native Land Court and a block of 5000 acres was awarded to Parakaia and others to Himatangi, and in 1869 the Court made further apportionments of 6200 acres in favour of certain natives.

Matters still remaining in an unsatisfactory condition in consequence of the dissentient natives opposing the survey of the reserves the general occupation of the land, the general Government were necessitated to employ McLean to endeavour to effect a settlement, which he ultimately did by setting apart additional reserves to the extent of 14,379 acres. In conformity with the instruction McLean visited the district towards the close of the year 1870 (and commencing at the seaward end of the block) to increase the reserves for the resident natives, leaving the setting apart of Reureu reserves to the last. On arriving at Marton on 24th November he wired to the Government to the following effect –

“You will be glad to hear that the main difficulties of the Manawatu question have been removed, the N’ Kauwhata and their agent, Mr McDonald signed a deed yesterday relinquishing all further claim and opposition on having certain lands adjoining the award of the Court made over to them. The extent given on this particular instance has been 1500 acres. Other reserves of considerable extent have been made in different parts of the block. No settlement could be effected without doing so. Today I intend to complete arrangements with the rest of the non-sellers and settle other details. Afterwards I have to meet the Ngāti Pīkiahū who reside on the inland part of the block Te Reureu opposite Mr Foxes.”

On 26-11-70 the Manawatu difficulty was finally settled at a large meeting held at Te Reureu, and Kemp an officer of the Native Department, was instructed by McLean to lay off the reserve at Reureu for the resident natives to include their houses and cultivations along the banks of the river Rangitīkei, but not to extend the boundary beyond the front range of the hills. In carrying out his instructions Kemp found it necessary to lay off about 4000 acres at Reureu, at which the Provincial Government recommended and called on McLean for an explanation. In reply to which under the date 15-7-71 he stated he had written to Kemp for an explanation of his reasons for increasing the extent of land, which was deemed sufficient for the tribes living opposite Mr Fox’s. Writing on the subject of reserves in the Rangitīkei-Manawatu under date 6-2-72 McLean alludes to the Reureu reserve as follows:

“One of the chief difficulties respecting boundaries has been the definition of the block boundary of the Reureu reserve. The extent of land claimed by the occupants of this reserve amounting to 20,000 acres was confined by me on a former occasion within certain limits, which were supposed to contain 3400 acres, but after my departure the natives claimed upwards of 10,000 acres in addition to my awards. Kemp conceded 3000 acres more, but I have been able to narrow the reserve to 4400 acres by giving compensation in money and agricultural implements to the amount of £350.”

In further reference to the setting apart of Reureu reserve, McLean when moving the second reading of the Rangitīkei-Manawatu Crown Grants Act 1892, alluded *inter alia*, to the setting apart of Reureu reserve. After detailing the action taken in setting apart reserves for the natives in other parts of the block, he states:

“In addition to various other natives occupying these lands there were 200 or 300 from the Waikato who held the inland portions of the block. They had held these upwards of 30 years, although their rights were not recognised by the Native Land Court, they still claimed the right to occupy, and it was evident that they were not to be easily dispossessed of the land they had held so long a period of years. In fact, they were resolved to hold their own. Their demands were very excessive indeed, amounting to 18,000 or 20,000 acres of land, but eventually they were satisfied by 4400 acres being allowed to them, and by certain payments for abandoning their seaward cultivations.”

A careful consideration of all the circumstances in connection with setting apart Reureu reserve, tends to show that the only logical conclusion that can be deduced from the various

allusions made by McLean relative to this reserve is that it is intended exclusively for the persons who were in occupation of the land in 1870, to whom the houses and cultivations belonged. There does not appear to be the least justification for the assertion that it was intended to be a general reserve in the lower part of the district, as all the reserves had been made for the resident natives in that locality.

Neither could the enlarged area be considered to establish a contrary opinion as the increase was attributable to the fact of Kemp having intended a larger area in the reserve that was contemplated owing to the difficulty experienced in confining the demands to narrow limits. The application of the members of Ngāti Whiti hapū to be considered as owners of the reserve cannot be entertained as it was proved in evidence they left the district and located themselves at Patea in 1848, over 20 years before Reureu reserve was made. The only just conclusion that can be arrived at is that Reureu Reserve was made solely for the members of the resident hapū of Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāti Rangatahi, and a Crown Grant will be recommended in favour of the persons named in the annexed lists. The following adjustment was finally agreed to by the four hapū who have been entitled to this Reserve, the land to be divided into two parts as made: Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae (to have between them in proportion to numbers) 2350, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi (to have between them in proportion to numbers) 1960, Total area as per original survey = 4,510.

Mr MacKay's report, it appears was never complete as to the list of names, as after he had closed his enquiry some natives followed him and stated that some names had been omitted from the lists handed in. Consequently, no Crown Grant was issued. The Reserve was brought under the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court by Order-in-Council dated 31-1-88. In 1895 Judge Ward held an investigation into the ownership for the purpose he stated, only of completing Mr MacKay's work. At this Court there was much disagreement amongst the members of the four hapū whom MacKay had found to be entitled to the Reserve. The case resolved itself into a conflict between Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae on one side and Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi on the other. The members of the two first named hapū apparently were not in agreement amongst themselves as to the names to be included in their list; and a native who was strenuous in his objections as to snatch away a list that was being handed in, had to be arrested and imprisoned for contempt of Court.

In 1896 the Appellate Court reviewed Judge Ward's determination and took evidence principally as an alleged boundary between Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae on one hand and Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi on the other. The vital part of the Appellate Court's interim decision is as follows:

“We must hold that the only take to the land was the gift by the Crown and we are satisfied from the documents on file as well as evidence from throughout that the gift was made to the people then occupying and given to those persons as owners in common of the whole reserve.”

There is nothing to show that the Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Rangatahi hapū should be restricted to the cultivations and kaingas they were occupying and using, forming a comparatively small portion of the reserve; whilst the Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū, who were occupying an area not much larger, should have the whole of the remainder.

“We are of the opinion that all the hapū actually occupying when the reserve was made are entitled to equal rights as among themselves, but on making a partition regard will be had to the parts actually in use by the different hapū at the present.”

After this decision was given the natives were instructed to give their lists of names. Both factions having been admitted with equal individual shares, it became a question, apparently, which side could command most names in order to get the larger share. Lists were handed in and many names in all were objected to. Before the Court had proceeded to inquire into the objections to these names, the natives came to an agreement amongst themselves that Ngāti Maniapoto and N' Rangatahi should take 1560 acres and Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū the residue 2546 acres (River encroachment having accounted for the original gift, 404 acres). The area for each side having been fixed, the names quickly passed without further question; and the final order for all names handed in (including those at first objected to) to hold in equal shares.

Later on, certain of the Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū were not satisfied that they had received justice and applied to the Chief Judge for a rehearing, alleging that:

- Names had been put in, out of order,
- Names had been put in, by mistake,
- Names had been put in, of deceased persons,
- Names had been put in, in duplicate.

This application was refused as there was no jurisdiction to hear it. Later, the dissatisfied natives petitioned Parliament, and after some delays Parliament has directed further enquiry, in so far as the names and shares are concerned in Reserve No.1, that is the portion of the block awarded by the Appellate Court to Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū hapū. The authority for the enquiry just held is Section 6 of the Native Land Claims Adjustment Act, 1910, which states inter alia:

“The Court shall have the jurisdiction to enquire into the allegations made in petition 424, 1910 in respect of Te Reureu No.1 block, and if necessary, to amend the list of owners of the definition of relative interests.”

The prayer of the petition asks for enquiry, because included in the title are:

Persons not of Ngāti Pīkiahū or Ngāti Waewae hapū;

Persons who did not reside on land, or work it, prior to 1870;

Persons who have not even yet seen the land;

Persons who died before reserve was given;

Persons who are included in other reserves in Rangitīkei-Manawatu block;

Persons having two different names.

All natives whose names are included in the order of Appellate Court have been represented at this enquiry; and the Court has heard evidence as to the rights of each individual whose inclusion in the order is challenged. The court is, as a general principle, strongly averse to the reopening of matters long since settled under the authority of law, and would have grave doubts concerning the propriety of interfering with the title in this case, as established in 1896, but for this fact, viz.: The terms of the Appellate Court’s interim decision state that the reserve is for “all the members of those hapū actually occupying when the reserve was made in equal shares,” while the final order includes a large number of names which had been challenged as having no right, but which were not objected to after the agreement between the rival parties as to area was arrived at. That Court made no enquiry to ascertain whether the names submitted had the qualification stated in the interim decision to be necessary, because natives had not persisted in their objections to the names after the agreement was reached. It appears therefore that the natives themselves, not the Court, are responsible for the confusion created by the admission of take-kore. From a careful study of the evidence tendered at this enquiry, and the evidence on record of the earlier investigations, the Court is of opinion that the terms of the interim decision of the Appellate Court are a fair and equitable determination of the question, but those

terms have been departed from by the inclusion of certain names of persons who had not the qualification therein required; and that an injustice has undoubtedly been done to the real owners by admission of large numbers of others for equal shares with themselves.

The Court has now scrutinised the evidence of the qualifications of each name in the list, and some admissions filed. And in order to give a measure of justice all round decides to range the names in groups giving those who qualify in the full terms of the Appellate Court's interim decision, a full share each, and those having less qualification a fraction of a share. The Court feels that those who, apparently, were admitted although having no right, should also receive a fraction of a share, as in some cases, on the strength of their having been included in the title they have come to reside on the land. To dispossess them now after 16 years, would impose a greater hardship on them, than is caused to others by their admission. Evidence tendered now shows that certain leading members of Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae were wrongly omitted from the list of owners. The omission of these names is not stated in the prayer of the petition referred to in the statute authorising the enquiry, and the question has been raised whether the Court has the power to add these names now. The petition contains a statement that the Reureu Reserve was made for the Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae occupying it in 1870; this is not now disputed. It is also, undisputed that those whose names were omitted from the lists are Ngāti Pīkiahū or Ngāti Waewae and were residing on the block in 1870, as leading residents of those hapū. The Court considers these facts brings the omitted names within the scope of the enquiry; and as empowering statute is remedial, and gives power to amend, justice requires that these names, seven in all, should now be added to the list.

An attempt has been made by Ngāti Pīkiahū to have the respective hapū shares allotted in proportion to the area in the several portions of the block alleged to be exclusively occupied by each hapū. The alleged boundary between the hapū is denied by Ngāti Waewae. From a cursory inspection of the land by the Court it is evident that the northern portion is almost exclusively occupied by Ngāti Pīkiahū and the southern portion by Ngāti Waewae; but the Court does feel justified in establishing the boundary as a fact in the face of Eruini Paranihi's evidence on this subject at the Appellate Court in 1896 (MB. 5-252). A question much disputed is the position of certain half-castes. At the time of the gift of land, possibly to pacify some turbulent spirits, McLean promised a reserve for certain half-caste children at that time living at Te Reureu, whose pakeha fathers had left them wholly dependent on their Maori mothers. According to evidence now tendered, the names of these half-caste children were handed in to

Mr Mackay in 1884 for inclusion in Reureu as well as in Tokorangi (which is the H.C. reserve, containing 211 acres). Their names, six in all, do not now appear in Mr Mackay's list, the inference being that Mr Mackay considered that they were not entitled to inclusion in both reserves. Four of them however were included in Reureu at the Appellate Court in 1896. Each separate interest in Tokorangi is considerably larger than a share, under Mackay's decision, in Reureu. It cannot be held that these children had a better claim to land or to the tactful beneficence of the Crown; than the elders, whom the gift of Reureu was intended to pacify. But for the fact that those admitted in 1896 have been occupying, they might, without injustice, be excluded now. But as they have occupied under the right conferred in 1896, it is considered equitable to allot a half share between them.

A large number of names in the title are names of persons born since the gift was made. Where these names do not stand in the relation of a deceased relative's interest, the interest is fixed at a small amount; children of persons having little claim receiving a lesser share than those whose parents have a good claim. The several groups have been arranged according to strength of claim under hapū and occupation, or either of these qualifications. In considering the merits of those who are not members of the favoured hapū, but who were in permanent occupation in 1870, it is necessary to remember that (although perhaps technically they had the right to participate in the gift, their occupation being simply as guests of the dominant hapū), yet it must be remembered that the area of the reserve as originally intended by McLean had to be increased on the account of the representations concerning the large number of residents on the land. No doubt all occupants, whether of the dominant hapū or not, were pressed into service to swell the number of the occupants. The native elders, it is reasonable to infer, recognised this by including these non-hapū occupants in their hapū lists. We think it fair therefore, that those non-hapū occupants with permanent kaingas in 1870 should receive more consideration than those who have a hapū claim but only slender occupation. The names of four persons in the order of 1896 are duplicated. In each instance, the duplicate name is deleted. Names of three persons who were deceased prior to the gift have also been deleted, as not entitled to the inclusion. In preparing the list of names eligible for each group it is found that there are included the names of some who were young children in 1870, whose parents were also included. To each is awarded a third of the share allowed to an adult in each group. The following schedules show the names in each group. In the preparation of these all evidence tendered has been carefully considered, but in regard to names not objected to practically no evidence was tendered. If, through want of evidence, any palpable error is apparent in the

schedules, the Court will remedy it on representation being made at once. This however is not to be construed as giving leave to re-open the whole case. For convenience the schedules show the number of names in the Appellate Court order. In drawing up the final order, successors, where appointed, will be substituted for names of persons deceased.

7.5 Ngā Wāhi ā Ngā Tūpuna

“Maintaining the physical and spiritual connection between ourselves and with our taonga, including our waahi tapu, is a priority for us all, and something that has been continually emphasised at previous hui.... As part of these discussions, I encourage you to explore and develop effective strategies for enhancing these vital foundations of our existence.”²⁹⁵

This section will cover the waahi tapu and sites of particular interest to the hapū of Te Reureu. For instance, one notable tupuna Te Hue had a māra kai and rātā trees which were served the purpose kai for native birds at Makara, about 20 miles heading eastward towards the Ruahine Range.²⁹⁶

The Waitapu Stream is situated at the northern end of the Te Reureu block and is significant in that it is a boundary between the hapū of Te Reureu and neighbouring Iwi. As Turoa Karatea explained to the Waitangi Tribunal:

“...when we were kids here we were never allowed to fish this river, this stream, and all these streams here used to run and had fish in them, but we were told not to come here. Obviously, there’s something happened up here that we weren’t supposed to know about, so we weren’t allowed to fish here. But one of the kui told me that out here there was an old pā site.”²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu, Te Kapua Whakapīpī.

²⁹⁶ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp.179,

²⁹⁷ Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.2.

Image 13: Waitapu Stream



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Puruhe Smith was able to elaborate on the pā site and that the name is Mahau and belongs to the Tāpa whānau of Ngāti Tūwera o Te Ati Haunui ā Pāpārangi. Puruhe also pointed out that the lands on one side of the Waitapu Stream belong to Ngāti Hauiti a hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu, likewise Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Tamakopiri and Ngāti Hinemanu who also trace their descent from Ngāti Kahungunu. The lands to other side (southern) belong to those who Puruhe says:

“...i tīmata ā mātou takiwā mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria te Kakara ki Whitireia, ko tēnei te tīmatanga o Tainui ki te tonga me te tomokanga o Ngāti Tūwharetoa.”²⁹⁹

Image 14: Waitapu Stream, Waitapu River Mouth



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²⁹⁸ Image sourced Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.2.

²⁹⁹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.3.

³⁰⁰ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 2010.

The images are indicative of the problem facing the hapū Te Reureu, that water diversion and intensive farm irrigation on the western river bank has seen the stream-bed dry up with the subsequent loss of traditional kai e.g. tuna (eels), koura (crayfish) and pātiki (flounder).

The Waitapu is also part of a pepeha two of which are listed below:

“Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki.³⁰¹
From Waitapu to Rangataua. From Miria Te Kakara to Kukutauaki (the tribal estate of Ngāti Raukawa).”

Another version of this pepeha states:

“Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria te Kakara ki Whitireia, whakawhiti te Moana nui a Raukawakawa ka tae atu ki Whakatū, ki Wairau, ko tēnei te rohe whānui o ō tātou waka o Tainui ki te tonga.”³⁰²

“From Waitapu to Rangataua, from Miria te Kakara to Whitireia, across the sea of Raukawakawa to Nelson area, to the Blenheim area, this is the broad boundary of our canoe Tainui in the south.”

Te Awa o Te Rangitūkei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga 2010

The Wānanga was well represented with many of the whanau, tamariki and kaumatua alike enjoying each other’s company and renewing old acquaintances. Many of the sites visited rekindled the memories of a once flourishing community and how the whānau existed happily in what could be perceived today as impoverished circumstances. However, as one kuia noted, due to the abundance of kai that could be derived from the river, streams and the land no one went hungry.

As each site was visited everyone was invited to speak and give their thoughts and views, for instance whanau who had a strong affiliation to certain sites provided much of the Kōrero that had not been heard in a generation, which was refreshing because so many of the tupuna have passed on and these stories need to be preserved.

A major concern for many of the kaumatua and pakeke alike was how much the Rangitūkei River had changed and how a large amount of the former food stocks were either depleted or had vanished. Nevertheless, the main focus of the wānanga is to locate all of the sites, (all were collected via film, photograph and GPS for later mapping purposes) and capture the Kōrero to

³⁰¹ Tumanako Herangi, p. 108.

³⁰² Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, pp. 184-185.

design a management plan for the future. The filming of the Wānanga is still being edited and will be made available on full completion of the Rangitīkei River wāhi tapu hīkoi.

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Image 15: Manutitoki Urupā



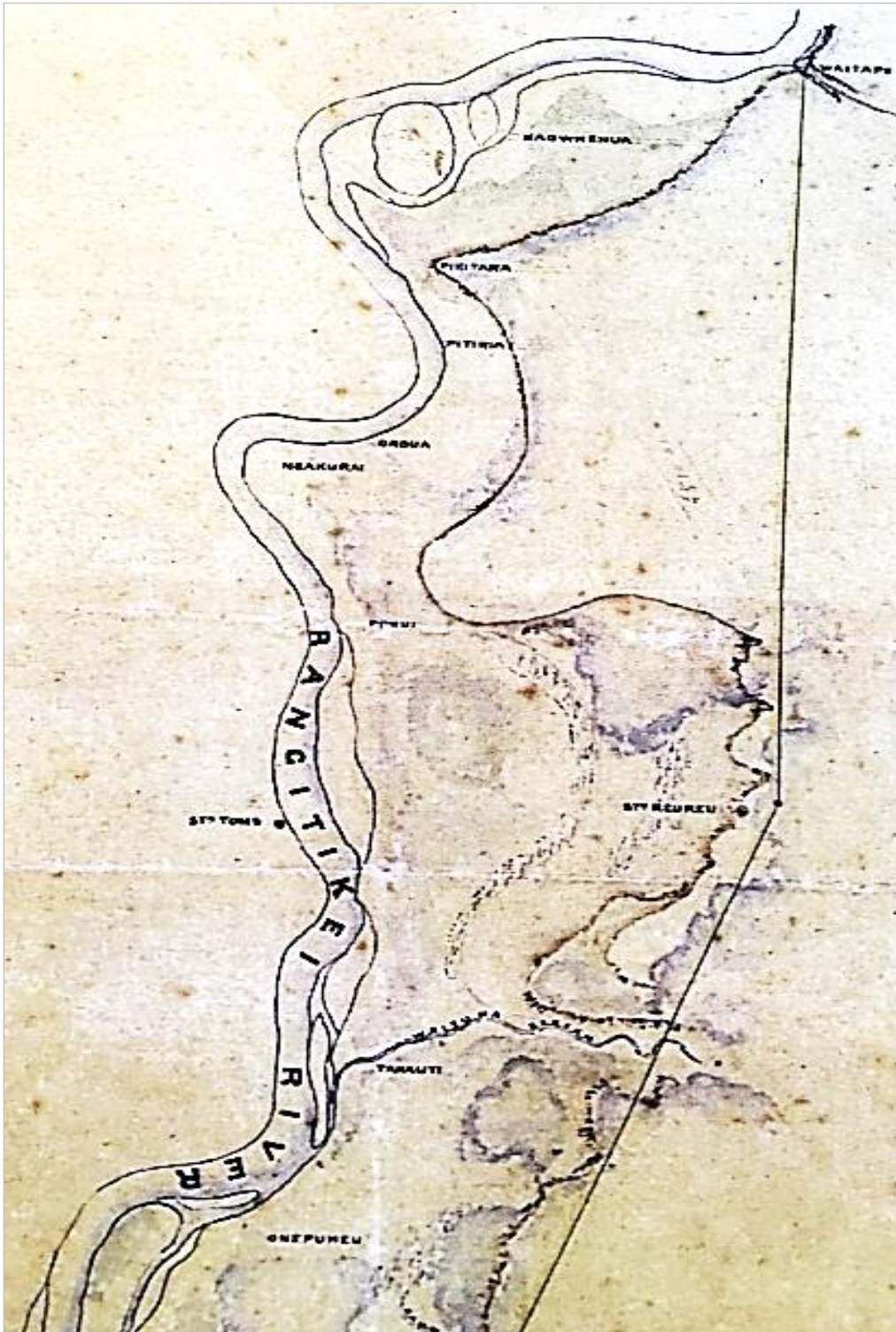
Manutitoki urupa has an amazing history with several well-known tupuna buried here. One of the local kaumatua gave an interesting Kōrero on its recent history whereby the urupa was part of a farm incorporation and when the incorporation were notified, they fenced the urupa off to preserve its status.

The same kaumatua related that as a child he played on creek bank at the back of the urupa and found toys buried in a hole, and upon informing his father he was promptly taken back and the toys reinterred. What his father related to him was that all of those buried in the urupa had their dearest belongings buried in the bank; in this case a child's toys and some holes hold rare taonga. The northern most reserve is called Haowhenua, and Turoa Karatea says that this name was brought here by his tupuna which corresponds with the Haowhenua where a battle was fought in 1834.³⁰⁴

³⁰³ Te Awa o Te Rangitīkei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 2010.

³⁰⁴ Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.2.

Map 16: Te Reureu Reserves³⁰⁵



³⁰⁵ Meredith, P. Joseph, R. Gifford, L, p. 61.

8.0 TE AWA O TE RANGITĪKEI

“Once we die we become part of that never-ending stream. This principle is conveyed simply in the Māori word ‘awa’. Its common meaning is ‘river’. Its uncommon meaning is ‘beyond time and space.’ Its significance is water flows from mountain to coast. It traverses mountains, hills, plateaus, valleys, gullies, all that a landscape has to offer. It traverses space. It is also never-ending and thus traverses time. A single droplet at the source remains the same throughout its journey; it is the same droplet when it reaches the sea, many hundreds of kilometres away.”³⁰⁶

8.1 Origins

The origin of the name Rangitīkei harks back to the time when the Kurahaupō ancestor Haunui-a-Nanaia ‘stepped out, or he said ka tīkeitia taku waewae,’ the action of his stride *tīkei*, during the course of a day (*rangi*) striding out – Rangitīkei.³⁰⁷ Puruhe Smith explains:

“Because of the swiftness of our river (Rangitīkei River) Haunui ā Nanaia found trouble in crossing it so he said his legs had to stride to cross it so we say “tīkeitia taku waewae” arā ko Rangitīkei.”³⁰⁸

Puruhe Smith says that the origin of the Rangitīkei River begins in the Kaimanawa Ranges at a puna called Te Puke Tūrua. The local hapū that resided there were Ngāti Taupounamu, whose eponymous tupuna Taupounamu was a grandchild of Waewae (eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Waewae).³⁰⁹ Chris Winitana offers a Ngāti Tūwharetoa perspective on waterways that originate within the tribal rohe, saying:

“There are eight waterways which are sourced to the base of the mountain Ngāpuketūrua in the Rangipō area. They were created by the mountain parents as a giant water swing, named a Moari, to occupy their river children who kept on running off towards the coasts. Their names depict the eight stages that one goes through in riding the swing.”

- a) Tauranga Taupō, the launching pad to the lake
- b) Te Ngaruroro, the wavering mind as one battles one’s fears
- c) Mangamāire, the steadfast waters as one hardens up
- d) Rangitīkei, reaching for the summit of the sky as one swings out
- e) Waipākihi, swinging out over the shallows
- f) Waiwhitikau, the crossing around the swing
- g) Waiotaka, the letting go and falling into the water
- h) Waimarino, the becalmed waters as you head back to shore.³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ Chris Tāmihana Winitana, 2005.

³⁰⁷ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp.182-183.

³⁰⁸ Puruhe Smith Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.4.

³⁰⁹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.3.

³¹⁰ Chris Tāmihana Winitana, 2005.

8.2 Significance to Hapū

Leonard Kane answered his own question about ‘why are we here? (Te Reureu)’:

“Well, there is only one answer to that and that’s because of our Māori ancestors that’s why we’re here. Why did they bring us here? Two things, river, the hill and the land. The river is the first, the first one you have. One of them we were told it was a medicine. Its a place to go when you want to go and cure anything. If you go to the river and you’ve got that, you go in, it will wash it away.”³¹¹

Turoa Karatea speaks about the how the Rangitīkei River has been ‘partitioned and everybody takes chunks out of it and they say we own this river.’ In his view the people of Te Reureu have had a long association with the river and they have used it as a highway all the way to its origin in the Kaimanawa Ranges. Rather than the concept of ownership, the people that live along the river share whakapapa relationship:

“...whether you were from Mōkai Pātea, Hauiti, Te Reureu, we all travel this river, and I can’t ever remember or recall anyone telling me that there were battles over this river. So, we had a free rein in using it.”³¹²

Farming practices have had a significant impact on the river. The draining of swamps have reduced or decimated former fish stocks. Turoa recalls how the river sustained local whanau during the 1940s and 1950s and that traditional maara were planted for travellers making their way south to Horowhenua or to the Wairarapa.³¹³

“From the Rangitīkei River we fished for eel, trout, inanga, koura, flounder and Piharau. That was our river and we know it like the back of our hands. We used to get buckets of inanga and our kuia would dry them for adding to a boil-up of watercress or we would just chew them... In the 1950’s I remember catching heaps of eels and my father and the whanau giving them a clean and pawhara them then putting them in boxes. We sent them up to National Park by train to our relations there.”³¹⁴

Tamariki were taught at an early age to swim in the Rangitīkei, as Lorraine Meads recalls that the tupuna would keep throwing a child out into the river until they were satisfied the child could cope and swim. She believes that this method of swimming instruction created good swimmer’s competition wise.³¹⁵ Leonard Kane remembers the flounders that were caught in the river, and it was the river that gave the people their rights to catch kai, their very own fishing rights.³¹⁶

³¹¹ Leonard Kane, Kaumātua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016

³¹² Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.87.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Turoa Karatea, Brief of Evidence, Whanganui Inquiry, 2006.

³¹⁵ Lorraine Meads, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016

³¹⁶ Leonard Kane, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016



Prior to the road linking up with the ‘valley’, Lorraine Meads remembers a dam that was fed by a stream. In this dam grew carp that were looked after by one of the kuia of the time, however, when the road was built water could not feed the dam killing them off. This was a kai they all ate. Another kai that has disappeared she attributes to the same road is the piharau or blind eel that attached itself to the papa riverbank below the road.³¹⁸

Many of the Wānanga attendees spoke of how the Rangitikei River once supplied all of the whanau with kai such as tuna, pātiki, piharau and koura. Much of this kai no longer exists in the river and side streams due to man-made disturbance i.e. up-river dam at Moawhango, farm irrigation, metal extraction and stream diversions.³¹⁹ The Raumanga stream that fed into the Rangitikei River was another source for kai that Lorraine Mead remembers. This stream was once stocked with vast quantities of koura (freshwater crayfish). Freshwater springs once fed the Raumanga stream which locals drank and even ate the watercress that grew in profusion from this natural source. Why have these resources disappeared? Lorraine can only attribute this loss to manmade manipulation further upstream.³²⁰

³¹⁷ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, p.18.

³¹⁸ Lorraine Meads, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016. The dam that Lorraine was speaking about is in the vicinity of image 7, rather, behind the photographer of the photo, and the papa rocks where piharau dwelt is at the bottom of the cliff-face below.

³¹⁹ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, p. 18.

³²⁰ Lorraine Meads, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016

Lorraine Meads blames commercial eeling as one cause for the depletion of the resource, but she takes a holistic view regarding all of the iniquities visited on the Rangitīkei River by making a pragmatic statement:

“We know what happened to us, we know what happened out there... But, the thing that strikes me is that what do we do as a people to quietly navigate towards that. Now we’re not gonna achieve everything in our life time, but, maybe we could have a plan about what we maintain here on this whenua and what we need to change.... How do we get that river to benefit us? Are we going to become kaitiaki? Are we going to look at those waterways? Are we able to reintroduce some of those fishing species if we got backwashes? And, more to the point I can see it’s going to be very important for people with young ones to take their kids down to the river and teach them how to handle that river and teach them how to swim.”³²¹

Meredith et al notes how commercial fishers were getting not only large numbers but also large sized eels.³²² The Department of Conservation (DOC) provides information on eel species and habitat, but also data on why there is a decline, which is attributed to the loss of historical wetlands and ‘historical commercial fishing practice:’

“In 1975, eels were the most valuable fish export after rock lobsters. Five years later, they were the fifth most valuable finfish export. This big increase in fishing effort led to significant stock reductions in some areas, with a marked decline in the average size of the eels caught.”³²³

Despite the Department of Conservation webpage having a lot of empirical data on eels, especially threats to the species, with hyperlinks to three reports dated 2013; the department had come under some scrutiny the year prior because a Dominion Post article read ‘Eels blunder leaves DOC red-faced.’ Apparently 150 eels were caught from various parts of the central North Island for a school fundraiser and when the fundraiser was complete the eels were handed over to DOC who inadvertently released the eels into the Rangitīkei River ‘running the risk of spreading pest weed and algae between waterways.’

According to DOC policy, permits are normally required when transporting species between waterways, which was not the case in this incident as DOC did not have the necessary paperwork. There was an admission from DOC that the situation could have been handled better, but the welfare of the eels was important at the time, and it would have been an impossible task to return each eel to its original place of habitat. Both the environmental management consultant and Manawatu/Rangitīkei DOC area manager said that the welfare of

³²¹ Lorraine Meads, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016

³²² Meredith, P. Joseph, R. Gifford, L, pp. 236-237.

³²³ Department of Conservation: <http://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-animals/freshwater-fish/eels/>

the eels was the priority and that the ‘department tried to minimise any biosecurity risk and he did not believe the river had been compromised.’³²⁴

There are many from the ‘valley’ with stories regarding a commercial eeler from Feilding who used to ply his trade at Te Reureu in the Rangitīkei River. Subsequently, there were several houses in the ‘valley’ who could boast having a commercial net which had been found at the river. Surprisingly these nets were lighter and easier to transport. There is a story of a teenager living in Feilding who felt the need to do some eeling, equipped with a gaff he left his father’s house and returned within the hour with a rather large catch. His reply to his father’s query of how quick it took and how many he caught was honest in all sense of the word, even though his actions weren’t. He said he was angry that a local commercial eeler was taking kai from his river, from the mouths of his whānau to make a dollar, so he liberated these eels so all the whānau could have a kai of their own eels.³²⁵

Turoa Karatea says that in the past one could catch 30 to 40 eels in a day with ease, freshwater mussels or the kakahi were plentiful at Pourewa and when in season the virtual length of the Rangitīkei River at Te Reureu was full of individual whānau pā-inanga. Turoa says that when the river changed course due to seasonal floods, little backwaters of silt were created which made an ideal environment for flounders to conceal themselves and inanga to settle in the shallows. At certain times it was easy to catch vast numbers of flounders because of the natural formations of backwaters. Because the catchment board manipulation straightened the river, these backwaters have gone and so has the kai.³²⁶ Leonard Kane has noticed that the depth of the river has dropped about 10 feet which is another factor in the depletion of kai.³²⁷

8.3 Tongariro Power Development (TPD)

Claimants before the Central North Island Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry stated that the waterways and geothermal resources within the Inquiry used for the purposes of power generation are taonga of the Iwi and hapū, which are included in, and guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. Because of the Treaty, the Crown is obligated to actively protect the resource and the wishes of the Iwi and hapū who want to progress these taonga for their developmental opportunities.

³²⁴ *The Dominion Post*, 16 October 2012: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/7822355/Eels-blunder-leaves-DOC-red-faced>.

³²⁵ Recollections of a ‘valley eeler’ 1987. Names withheld for personal reasons.

³²⁶ Turoa Karatea, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016.

³²⁷ Leonard Kane, Kaumatua interviews held at Te Tikanga Marae, 20 November 2016.

Stating also that the Treaty principles guarantee Māori the right to use new technologies and knowledge for such purposes, and that the Crown, in the interests of national objectives, cannot ignore Māori in the pursuit of their developmental needs and opportunities.³²⁸

Claimants criticised the Crown's taking control of their taonga and the establishment of major power generation projects, ignoring the Treaty rights of active protection for Māori, and failing to ensure that there were minimal impacts on the resources. The Crown excluded Māori from receiving a fair share of the benefits from power developments and failed to adequately compensate Māori for the loss or infringements of their development rights.³²⁹

Te Mauri o Ngā Wai

The 'mixing of waters' is a major cultural issue within Māoridom and Ngāti Tūwharetoa specifically, as is evidenced in the statements made by Te Rangihouhiri Asher, who was uncomfortable with the introduction of foreign waters into Rotoaira:

These foreign waters from the Rangitīkei and Moawhango have a mauri of their own. Their tikanga and kawa are different. Therefore, their relationship with all the taonga that existed in Lake Rotoaira creates an imbalance. This imbalance creates unknown effects and uncertainty in the Lake and in the capacity for tangata whenua to exercise our kaitiakitanga in accordance with our kawa and tikanga.³³⁰

Puruhe Smith says that the Whangaehu River is now mixed with water from the Rangitīkei, Moawhango and other waters across the catchment to Lake Rotoaira, 'so the mixing of the mauri of our waters is happening across many catchments around our maunga.' Puruhe blames the operations of the TPD at Moawhango, nitrate from farms and works carried out by local Catchment Boards since the 1970s (river straightening).³³¹

As if the mixing of the mauri was enough to cope with, the damming of the Moawhango River where the Mangaio and Waitangi streams converge has also made the Moawhango and

³²⁸ *He Maungarongo – Report on Central North Island Claims, Stage One*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2008. Volume 3, p. 1166.

³²⁹ *He Maungarongo – Report on Central North Island Claims, Stage One*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2008. Volume 3, p. 1166.

³³⁰ *Te Kahui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report (Pre-publication) WAI 1130*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2012, p. 1356.

³³¹ Puruhe Smith, Brief of Evidence, Whanganui Inquiry, 2006.

Rangitīkei Rivers narrower and faster. The faster pace of the Rangitīkei River has washed away sand beds at Te Reureu where pātiki (flounder) could be caught.³³²

Waitangi Tribunal Findings

The Tribunal found that:

It was reasonable for the Crown to undertake the development of hydro power resources in New Zealand, as the only body with sufficient capital and resources to do so effectively, while maintaining responsibility for the fair use and distribution of electricity.

In exercising its kāwanatanga rights, the Crown was required to consult with Māori, to acquire their property rights with their free, full, and informed consent, to infringe their tino rangatiratanga as little as possible, and to compensate for all such infringements.

There is a Māori property right in water resources, capable of development for profit, which is guaranteed and protected by the Treaty of Waitangi.

This development right included the right to develop the resource for hydroelectricity or to profit from that development.

When the Crown vested in itself the sole right to use water for hydroelectricity, in 1903, it preserved all existing rights ‘lawfully held’, which it then had to acquire before proceeding with hydro development.

Parliament was explicitly assured in 1903 that such rights included any Māori rights to develop water power, in response to queries and objections from Hone Heke. Such rights, in so far as the Crown could be brought to admit their lawfulness, were preserved in the Public Works Acts of 1905, 1908, and 1928.³³³

Rangitīkei Power Scheme

David Alexander says that the Crown legally vested the right to use water for hydroelectric power generation in itself without assessing whether Maori rights to waters existed. The Crown-vested right to use water in itself, gave it the ability to generate not only hydroelectric power but also an income without holding the mana over the waters.

With the TPD scheme in motion on the Rangitīkei River the hapū along its course endured the impacts to their waterway. Alexander says the impact was an environmental one because water was discharged from the Mangaweka scheme in to the Rangitīkei River consequently drying up the Mangawharariki Stream. These discharges from one catchment into another impacted on the mauri of the water and the spiritual association of the hapū connected to the Rangitīkei River. The Crown failed again, this time by not taking into account the thoughtlessness of their

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Adapted from *Te Kahui Maunga: The National Park District Inquiry Report (Pre-publication) WAI 1130*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2012, pp. 1189-1191.

actions. Another failure was the Crown's inability to invite Rangitīkei River Maori to be part of the TPD from its inception to the first twenty years of operations:

“There was neither active protection of the interests of Rangitīkei River Maori, nor any opportunity provided for them to exercise kaitiakitanga for their waterway. Local government (Rangitīkei-Wanganui Catchment Board and Regional Water Board) took its cue from central government, and equally failed to include or provide for Rangitīkei River Maori.”³³⁴

Establishment of the scheme

Alexander says that during the 1950s and 1960s electricity demand was increasing at a rapid pace and the Crown was the only one with the resources to meet the demand:

“Large development projects were needed to provide large blocks of electricity, and adverse environmental impacts were regarded as an inevitable and acceptable consequence, a sacrifice necessary to meet a greater good. If environmental concerns did not deflect the Crown from the course it took, it is unlikely that cultural concerns would have either.”³³⁵

Interference with property rights

Article 2 of Te Tiriti guarantees the protection of taonga such as lakes and rivers and the rights to use, control and develop its use. The right to generate hydroelectricity is not a customary right, but a proprietary right to develop the resource:

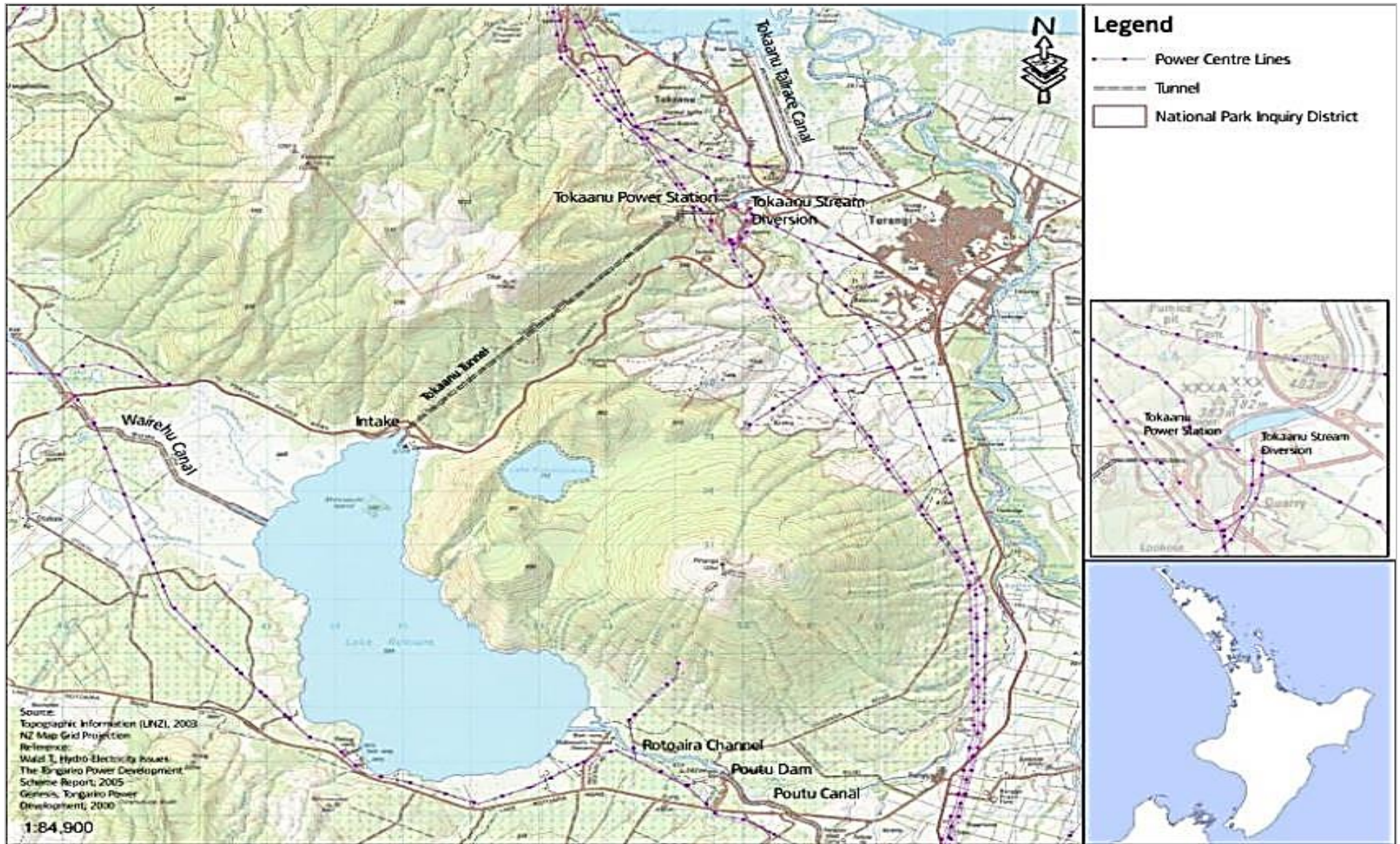
“...just rights and property in the river must include the right to licence others to use the river water. The right to develop and exploit a water resource is conceptually no different from a right to develop and exploit the resources on dry land. If one owns a resource, it is only natural to assume that one can profit from that ownership. That is the way with property.”³³⁶

³³⁴ This section covers the concluding remarks of Alexander, D. ‘Rangitikei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report,’ (A report commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust, November 2015, pp.360-362).

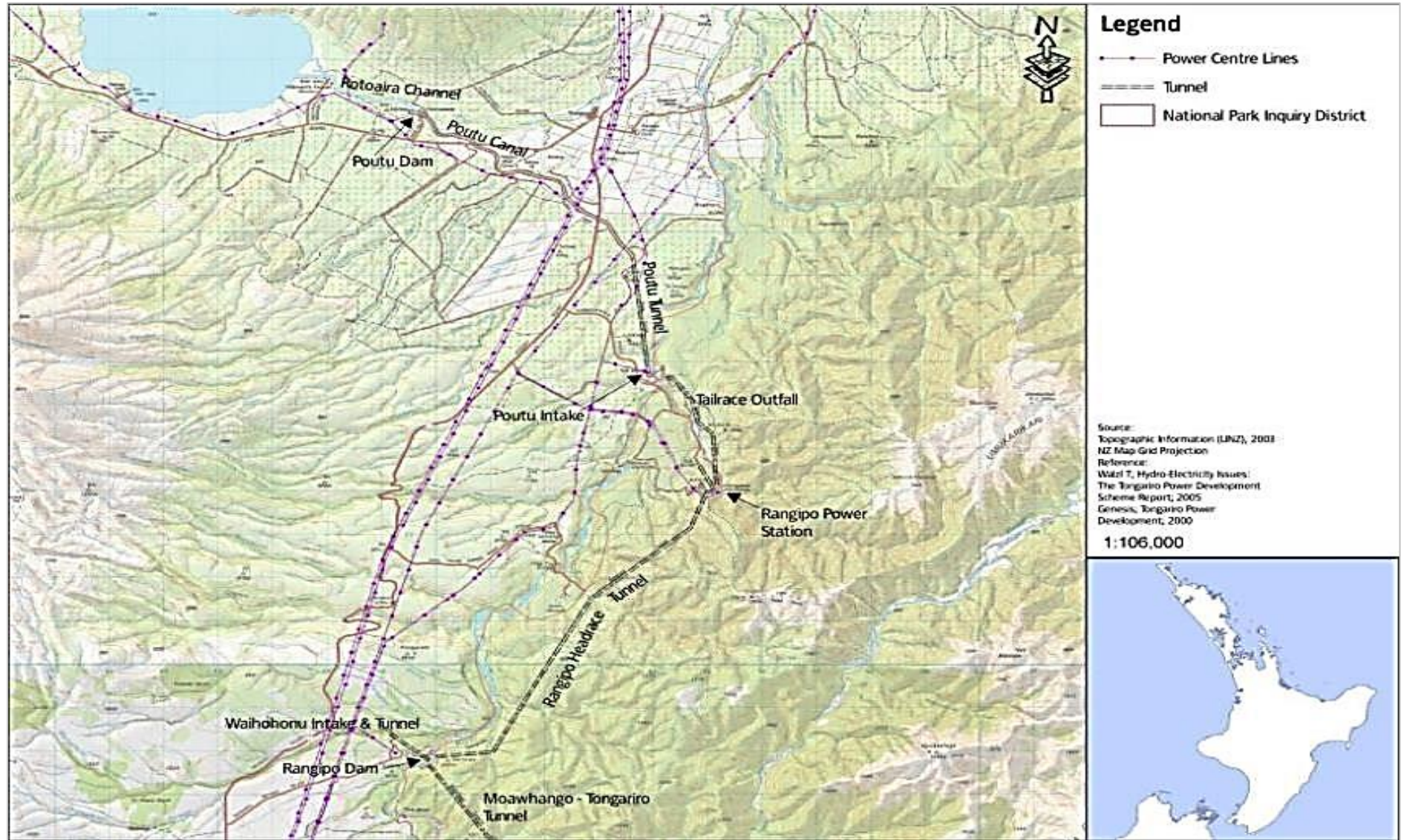
³³⁵ Alexander, D. ‘Rangitikei River and Its Tributaries Historical Report,’ (A report commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust, November 2015, p. 362).

³³⁶ *He Maungarongo – Report on Central North Island Claims, Stage One*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2008. Volume 3, pp. 1168-1169.

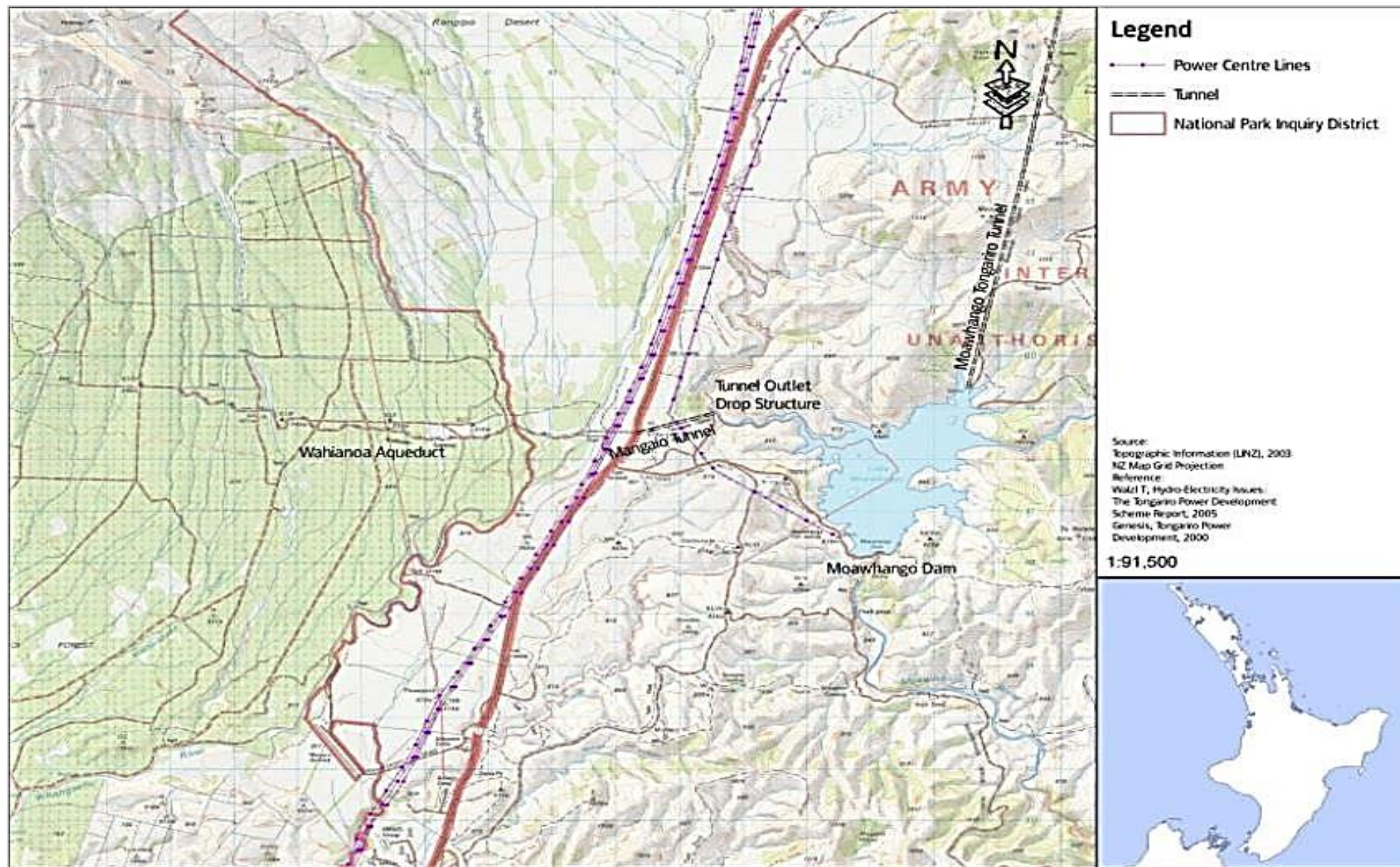
Map 17: Tongariro Power Development



Map 18: Tongariro Power Development Eastern Diversion



Map 19: Tongariro Power Development Moawhango Dam



9.0 WAI CLAIMS

The three Wai claims outlined below are pertinent to the hapū who reside at Te Reureu and explains their individual and collective issues.

9.1 Wai 651: Te Reureu Lands claim

9.1.1 Claimant

This claim was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal 18 November 1996 by Turoa Andrew Karatea on behalf of himself and the hapū of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi, being collectively the owners of all the land known as Te Reureu. The following subsections summarise the details of the Wai 651 Claim.

9.1.2 Background – Rohe and Rangatiratanga

The collective hapū of Te Reureu consist of Ngāti Pīkiahū of Ngāti Raukawa descent, Ngāti Waewae of Ngāti Tūwharetoa descent (both of whom through intermarriage became one house), Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi who are both of Ngāti Maniapoto descent.

Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi are considered a “river people” whose whole way of life centred on the Rangitīkei River. Prior to the signing of the Waitangi Treaty of 6 February 1840, Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi collectively exercised mana and tino rangatiratanga over all the lands known as Te Reureu, bounded to the north by the Waitangi stream and to the south by the Rangataua stream.

Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi have six Marae situated along the banks of the Rangitīkei River between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams: Kotuku, Poupatatē, Te Tikanga, Te Marae o Hine, Te Hiiri and Miria Te Kakara. These six Marae spoke for all of the Te Reureu. Post 1840, tupuna: Paranihi Te Tau and Huata were the recognised hapū spokesmen when dealing with the Crown. Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi have never surrendered rangatiratanga over their lands, river and resources despite Crown failure to protect their mana and tino rangatiratanga.

9.1.3 Land: Failure to Recognise Ownership

The Crown has consistently failed to recognise the ownership and authority of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi over Te Reureu. This failure is inconsistent with

the principles of the Treaty and a breach of the Second Article guaranteeing to all Māori the continued possession of their lands and resources as long as they wished to remain in possession thereof. Moreover, the Crown's failure to obtain consent from the stated hapū regarding the sale of Te Reureu, or rather, the purchase by the Wellington Provincial Government of the entire Manawatū/Rangitīkei Block (of which Te Reureu is part) by a Deed of Cession dated 16 December 1866.

This purchase of the Manawatū/Rangitīkei Block was inconsistent with the Principles of the Treaty in that:

Crown agents failed to recognise the rangatiratanga of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi regarding the Te Reureu block,

Crown agents failed to gain consent from the stated hapū to the sale of the Te Reureu block.

After the purchase of the Manawatū/Rangitīkei Block the Crown acknowledged that:

certain groups of Māori who were occupants in the area had not given their consent to sell, particularly those resident at Te Reureu,

the chief, Paranihi Te Tau of Te Reureu was a “non-seller” allowing him to apply to the Native Land Court on behalf of the Te Reureu hapū for a declaration that the Deed of Cession was void in so far as it included that the sale and purchase of the lands of Te Reureu.

Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi believe that the Crown and Native Land Court was wrong in that:

the sittings at Otaki in 1868 and Wellington in July 1869 confirmed the validity of the Crown purchase of the Manawatū/Rangitīkei Block.

the findings that Paranihi Te Tau on behalf of the Te Reureu hapū was recognised as a “new arrival” in the area and had not taken ownership of the lands by conquest therefore he had no authority. The Native Land Court ignored Māori law/lore whereby occupation and authority existed by way of cession, not conquest.

the Crown failed to repudiate the Te Reureu sale and the Native Land Court's 16 October 1869 declaration extinguishing Māori title to the Manawatū/Rangitīkei Block pursuant to the Native Land Act 1862.

The Deed of Cession made no provision for reserves; however, Crown agents intimated that a 10,000-acre reserve would be allocated for the people of Te Reureu. This intimation or promise

of a reserve induced the Te Reureu hapū to consent retrospectively to the sale of Te Reureu to the Crown. The Crown later failed to allocate a 10,000-acre reserve.

9.1.4 Land: Failure to Protect Land and Resources - Failure to Allocate Reserves

The Crown and Native Land Court failed to protect the lands, resources and taonga of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi in the allocation of reserves at Te Reureu by:

not honouring the promise of a 10,000-acre reserve,

not recognising the status of Paranihi Te Tau, whereby Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi were not entitled to receive any land at all. The granting of a reserve was in nature a gift of land, or an indulgence by the Crown,

enacting 23 September 1873, the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Crown Grants Act 1873, whereby, section 4 of the Act gave the Governor of the Wellington Province an unfettered discretion to grant reserves on such terms and conditions as he saw fit,

initially allocating 3,400 acres as a reserve centred on Tokorangi and a later 1,000 acres as compensation for reserves lost as a result of flooding. This allocation was insufficient in size to provide for the needs of the Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi people. This reserve was bounded by the Rangitīkei River to the east from the Waitapu stream in the north to the Rangataua stream in the south with the western boundary extending to a ridge on a hill,

failing to consider and incorporate existing mahinga kai within the boundaries of this reserve because this was not compatible with the Crown's policy of systematic settlement of the remainder of the high-quality land by European farmers,

failing to incorporate existing Wāhi tapu within the boundaries of the reserve,

failing to provide adequate compensation for the loss of mahinga kai and Wāhi outside the boundary of the reserve.

9.1.5 Land: Failure to Protect Land and Resources

The Crown and Crown authorities have failed to protect the land and resources of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi by:

consistently refusing or failing to provide any flood protection whatsoever to the eastern banks of the Rangitīkei River adjacent to Te Reureu reserve between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams,

providing and maintaining adequate flood protection to the western banks of the Rangitīkei River between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams, the adjacent land being owned by European farmers,

the acts and omissions of the Crown and Crown authorities in the abovementioned subheadings the Rangitīkei River course has changed over time and encroached upon the land at Te Reureu causing the actual loss of many acres of land,

this failure to provide flood protection the eastern banks of the Rangitīkei River land at Te Reureu has been prone to constant flooding. This issue has resulted in the Crown extinguishing Māori title to flooded lands and vesting ownership of these lands in Crown title under the policy of “accretion”. These lands acquired by “accretion” have not been returned to the Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi people,

allowing this failure of adequate flood protection to the eastern banks of Rangitīkei River has resulted in lands south west of the Waitapu stream (within the Te Reureu reserve) now being situated on the western side of the Rangitīkei River. The Māori owners have lost the use and benefit of the land. This regular flooding has caused considerable damage and destruction to the lands and cultivations at Te Reureu.

The Crown proclamation gazetted in 1939 stated that approximately 130 acres of land at Onepuhi (within the Te Reureu reserve) be acquired under the Public Works Act 1928 for river protective works and roading purposes. Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi believe that:

the Rangitīkei County Council failed to properly notify the owners of the said land as to the intention to acquire land under the Public Works Act 1928, whereby owners were not given an opportunity to object.

the Rangitīkei County Council failed to meet with the owners who had authority over the said land.

the Native Land Court was wrong in the assessment of the amount of compensation to be paid in consideration for the taking.

the Crown failed to return the land to Māori ownership and control when its public use had expired, as required by the Public Works Act 1928, and that the Crown authority has planted trees on the land and has felled these trees without obtaining consent of or consulting with the Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi people.

The Crown has also taken land within the Te Reureu block for roading and railway purposes without ownership consent, payment or consideration for these takings.

9.1.6 Land: Failure to Recognise Ownership of the River-bed

The Crown has failed to recognise the ownership and traditional authority exercised by Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi over the river-bed and resources within the Rangitīkei River between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams in that:

according to Māori law and custom, the true eastern boundary of Te Reureu is a line exactly halfway across the Rangitīkei River, rather, the halfway point where the river flowed in 1840 before its changed course,

the Queen's chain has restricted the access of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi persons from the river, river-bed and associated resources,

the Crown has excluded and failed to consult with the Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi people regarding the decision-making processes of river usage and the resources within,

the Crown since 1870, has authorised the dredging of gravel and shingle from the eastern side of the Rangitīkei River without the consent of the Te Reureu hapū, and without offering any compensation in consideration for the resource removal.

9.1.7 Land: Failure to Protect the River-bed

By authorising the activities along the Rangitīkei River over the past 100 years, the Crown has caused irrevocable damage thus failing to protect the river-bed, in that the dredging of gravel and shingle:

- materially affects the make-up of the river-bed,
- damages the plant life,
- influences the river course,
- causes erosion.

Resources: Failure to Protect Mahinga Kai

The Crown has failed to protect the mahinga kai of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi resulting in:

- the loss of mahinga kai
- the damage to plant life and fisheries as a result of by-products of gravel and shingle dredging reducing the water quality
- the dramatic reduction of water levels as a result of practice and policy of allowing the taking of water from the Rangitīkei River for irrigation and domestic purposes
- allowing the use of chemical weed control and aerial fertilisation on farmlands which drain into the Rangitīkei River causing chemical pollution

9.1.8 Water: Failure to Protect Water

The Crown has failed to acknowledge and respect the special relationship of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi and the Rangitīkei River. These hapū not only

draw material and spiritual sustenance from the river and the water within, but also believe that the water is mauri (containing a life-force). The Crown has failed to protect the water of the Rangitīkei River, and has:

- restricted access of the Te Reureu hapū to the water in the river and its use,
- excluded the Te Reureu hapū from the decision-making process regarding water usage,
- caused the hapū of Te Reureu to lose the use and enjoyment of the Rangitīkei River water for spiritual, healing, domestic and recreational purposes,
- polluted the spiritual quality of the Rangitīkei River. The river no longer contains “wai ora” brought about the loss of purity of the water in the river, damaging the life-blood of the Te Reureu people ending their traditional way of life.

9.1.9 Taonga: Failure to Protect Taonga

The Crown has failed to protect the taonga of Ngāti Pīkiahū Wāewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi, in that:

- the Wāhi tapu sites located outside of the boundaries of the Te Reureu reserve has resulted in the inability of the hapū to access these sites causing the loss of history and identity,
- the failure to provide flood protection along the eastern banks of the Rangitīkei River has resulted in the loss of a urupa site,
- the sacred nature of the water of the Rangitīkei River has been desecrated due to the significant deterioration in quantity and quality,
- the spiritual wellbeing of Ngāti Pīkiahū Wāewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi has been seriously damaged.

9.1.10 Relief Sought

Ngāti Pīkiahū Wāewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi seek a recommendation from the Waitangi Tribunal that the Crown return of ownership to the:

- lands taken by the Crown under the policy of accretion
- lands at Onepuhi originally acquired by the Crown under the Public Works Act 1928 and not returned on the expiry of the purpose for which they were taken together with all of the resources in and attached to the said land; and
- the lands now situated on the western side of the Rangitīkei River (if title has been extinguished).

Ngāti Pīkiahū Wāewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi also seek a recommendation that the Crown:

transfer ownership and control of the Rangitīkei River bed between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams, and the water flowing within

account to Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi for all resources removed from the river and the river bed

grant compensation to Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi for the loss of the use and benefit of and damage to the lands, the river, the water and all resources in or on the lands and river

compensate Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi for the loss of mahinga kai and Wāhi tapu

undertake urgent flood protection work on the eastern banks of the Rangitīkei River at Te Reureu to prevent any further loss and damage to land.

Such other relief as the Tribunal considers appropriate to:

recognise the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi over the lands at Te Reureu, the Rangitīkei River and all resources in or on the lands and river; and

to compensate for the loss and destruction of the said lands, river and resources; and

to compensate for the loss of the way of life of the people who drew material and spiritual sustenance from the said lands, river and resources.

9.2 Wai 1623: Ngāti Rangatahi ki Rangitīkei claim

Claimants: Turoa Karatea, Mason Durie, Danny Karatea-Goddard, Sue Tumanako Herangi on behalf of Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei and Te Hiiri o Mahuta marae.

Background 1: General History

Ngāti Rangatahi ki Rangitīkei derive from a section of Ngāti Rangatahi of Ngāti Maniapoto who moved to the Kapiti District with Te Rauparaha before 1840 to establish an autonomous hapū comprised of Ngāti Rangatahi and others from other hapū with whom they fused.

In the Kapiti District they settled and inter-married Ngāti Toa and eventually established an independent settlement in the Hutt Valley where they enjoy the support of Te Rangihaeata.

In 1846, after refusing to participate in a sale of the Port Nicholson Block, they were forced by Governor Grey to their homes in the Hutt Valley. The Governor was responsible for the destruction of their homes, marae, chapel, stock and crops.

They relocated with the help of Te Rangihaeata of Ngāti Toa. After a sojourn with Ngāti Raukawa around Poroutawhao and Koputaroa, they settled on the plateau above Kakariki beside the Rangitīkei River. Te Rangihaeata later returned to Poroutawhao and Koputaroa.

At Kakariki they established Te Hiiri o Mahuta marae. By the 20th century this appears to have been the only marae held extensively for a people under the name of Ngāti Rangatahi, although the people included other from other hapū.

At Kakariki, Ngāti Rangatahi merged also with Ngāti Matakore of Ngāti Maniapoto and very recently, Te Hiiri o Mahuta has become the marae of both peoples.

Although Ngāti Rangatahi did not consent to the sale of any part of its land, the Government included the Ngāti Rangatahi land in its claim purchase of the Manawatu block in 1866-1869 and allocated to Ngāti Rangatahi a reserve that was only a fraction of its proper entitlement.

Soon after, the Native Land Court allocated interests in the reserve to various persons then occupying the lands. This provides a record of the Ngāti Rangatahi populations as at that date. The land interests are included in the Reu Reu block.

The lands left to Ngāti Rangatahi were insufficient for their survival and after the award of land interests by the Court, several moved away. For example, some moved back to Ngāti Toa at TakapuWāhia, some to the Ngāti Maniapoto territory and some to Ngāti Tahu and Ngāti Whaoa at Reporoa.

A substantial population remained, but as a result of land sales brought about by Government's tenure reforms, land scarcity, housing policies and town planning laws, large numbers left from and after about 1940. There are now only few occupying or farming lands at Kakariki (including the named claimants). However, many shifted as far as Halcombe, Bulls, Feilding or Palmerston North and they continue to maintain a close association with the marae.

Ngāti Rangatahi seeks to re-establish the home base for the Ngāti Rangatahi people at Kakariki where the Ngāti Rangatahi travellers, as reconstitution over time, eventually settled.

Background 2: Associated claims

Two other hapū are also located further to the north on the Reu Reu blocks, Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae, with their marae known as Te Tikanga and Poupatatē.

At a hui at Tokorangi on 16 November 1996 it was agreed that the hapū would bring all their claims together under one claim to reflect their growing common identity as the Reu Reu hapū.

That claim became registered as Wai 651, and stands the name of Turoa Karatea. It was intended that the claims of Ngāti Rangatahi would be included in that claim.

It has been intended that all Ngāti Rangatahi claims would be included in the Wai 651 claim and would be heard in association with the claims in Manawatu-Horowhenua, the Ngāti Kauwhata claim (Wai 1461) and the Ngāti Raukawa claim (Wai 113).

However, recent events have caused Ngāti Rangatahi to file its separate claim to protect the people's interests.

Background 3: Recent events

In 1992, as part of the disposal of Hutt Valley railway properties, government purported to pay some funds to Ngāti Rangatahi through the Crown Congress Joint Working Party. However, this was paid to persons in the Taumarunui or Te Kuiti district of Ngāti Maniapoto. No contact was made with Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei.

Subsequently persons from the Maniapoto district filed a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in respect of the Ngāti Rangatahi occupation of the Hutt Valley. This was registered as Wai 366.

In about 1993 Ngāti Rangatahi Whanaunga Association was formed from Taumarunui to advance Wai 366 and contact was made with Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei.

We agreed to seek a way forward with that association, but our representatives felt sidelined at a hui and many years ago, contact ceased.

The Association called a hui in 2003 (at a school many miles from our marae) to seek a mandate to advance the Wai 366 claim. The hui was not well notified and was not well attended. However, by that time we had agreed to be included in the Wai 1461 claim and mandate to the Association was declined. This was advised in a letter from Te Hiiri Marae Committee tabled at that meeting, together with an objection that such hui should be held at our marae.

The Association called a further hui at the same school on 23 August 2008. They advised that they were now engaged in negotiations with the approval of the Minister in Charge of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, and further mandate was sought.

About 50 of Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei attended. It was agreed to defer the considerations of a mandate to enable us to reflect on our respective positions and to consider the possibilities of moving the negotiations forward together. It was indicated that a claim would be filed to protect our position and to facilitate a pathway forward if need be.

Historic claims

Claims are now made that the Crown acts or omissions set out below are or were contrary to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and prejudicial to the claimants and their associated hapū of Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei:

The acts of the Crown leading to the expulsion of Ngāti Rangatahi from the Hutt Valley and the destruction of homes, marae, chapel, stock and crops.

The inclusion of Ngāti Rangatahi land in the Manawatu Block as Crown land when Ngāti Rangatahi had not sold that land.

The vesting of the remaining land in individual title and not tribal title through the Native Land Court pursuant to state legislation.

The failure to provide adequate protection of the remaining lands against further land alienations.

The failure to provide for the interest of Ngāti Rangatahi in the adjoining Rangitīkei River.

The failure to provide adequate housing and town planning policies to secure the residence of Ngāti Rangatahi on their lands.

The claimants claim that they and Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei are or are likely to be prejudiced by the actions of the Crown in proceeding to negotiate a settlement of the claims of Ngāti Rangatahi descendants as a whole without proper protection for the unique interests of Ngāti Rangatahi kei Rangitīkei. Dated 26 August 2008.

Wai 1872: Ngāti Pīkiahū Claim

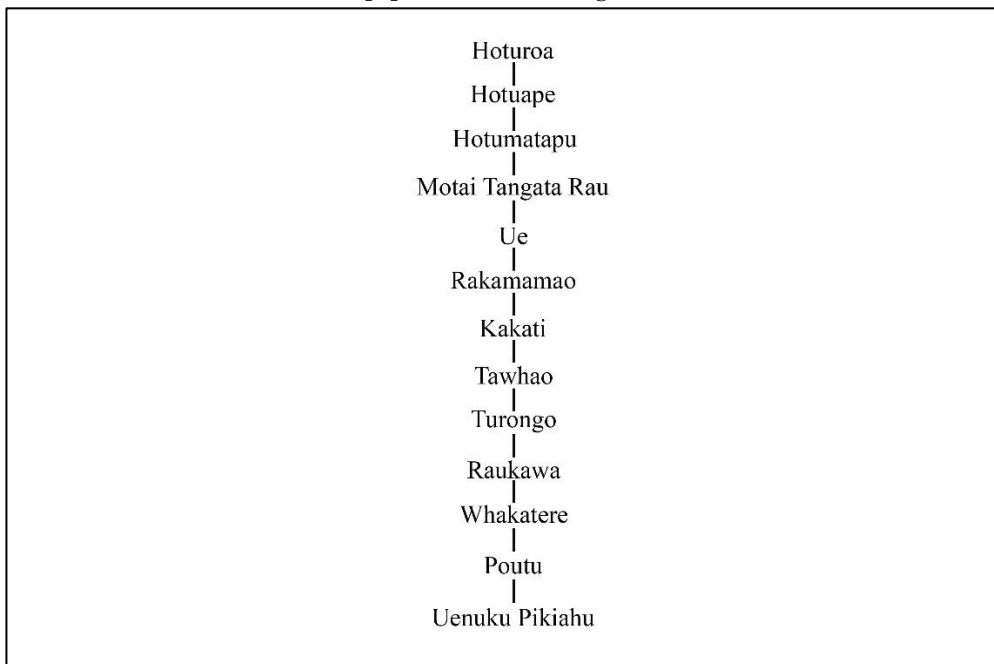
Claimants: Hare Arapere and Puruhe Smith for and on behalf of themselves and the hapū of Ngāti Pīkiahū.

A. Ngā Kaitono – Claimants

This Amended Statement of Claim is filed by Hare Arapere and Puruhe Smith for and on behalf of themselves and the hapū of Ngāti Pīkiahū. Uenuku Pīkiahū is the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Pīkiahū and a descendant of Hoturoa, the captain of the Tainui waka, and Raukawa.

The Ngāti Pīkiahū whakapapa from Hoturoa is depicted below:

Whakapapa 14: Hoturoa to Ngāti Pīkiahū



The ancestor Uenuku Pikiahu was born in the southern Waikato. His father Poutū Te Rangi resided on the north side of the shores of Lake Taupō at Waihīhī, Waihāhā.

B. Takiwā –The Claim Area

Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua
Miria te Kakara ki Whitireia
Whakawhitia te moana o Raukawa
Ki Wairau ki Whakatu.

This whakatauki sets out the boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

In 1820 Te Whatanui arrived in the Rangitīkei-Manawatū district. One of the hapū that came in support of him was Ngāti Pikiahu. Ngāti Pikiahu korero is that they were supreme warriors. After arriving in the district with Te Whatanui the ope crossed over to Hawkes Bay to battle with Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Whatuiāpiti. Te Whatanui and his supporters then returned to the Rangitīkei-Manawatū area on the request of the kuia Waitohi to establish a new home in the district.³³⁷

Subsequently in the early 1840s, on the instruction of Te Heuheu Mananui, others of Ngāti Pikiahu and of Ngāti Waewae journeyed to the Rangitīkei-Manawatū region from the Tongariro District.

The purpose of the haerenga was to hold the land and protect the southern boundaries of Te Heuheu's domain from land sales that were beginning in the area.³³⁸ A further reason was because of the marriage of Pareaitu, a kuia of Ngāti Pikiahu, to the Ngāti Hauti rangatira, Rangiamata. That marriage was the connection between Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Hauti.³³⁹

Ngāti Pikiahu was led by rangatira such as Ngawaka, Rauhihi and Hue Te Huri Rangihōapu.³⁴⁰ Following a brief hui with Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Ngāti Tamakopiri at Mataku, Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae arrived at Otara in approximately 1842. When they arrived, no one was occupying Otara Pā. They went in search of Ngāti Hauti and were met and welcomed by Potaka and Moeroa at Te Pou o Tu. Potaka was presented with Te Heuheu's axe – a symbolic gesture to signal a need to clear land for those that had arrived to assist with the prevention of land sales.

Ngāti Pikiahu occupied and were gifted various areas on the Otairi block as well as Mangapapa, Kaitara, Te Namu, Pumaruru, Pahiwai, Hukonui and Parahe. The claimants also occupied settlements on a number of other parent blocks within the Taihape Inquiry District including Otamakapua, Otairi, Parae Karetu, Rangatira, Waitapu, Taraketi and Ohaumoko.

Pou Manuka were erected to symbolise the boundaries within which the hapū and iwi exercised rangatiratanga and to emphasise that the land was not for sale.

³³⁷ Wai 2180, #4.1.5 Ngā Korero Tuku Iho Transcript, Taumata o Te Rā Marae, Smith P, at p. 262.

³³⁸ Wai 2180, #4.1.5 Ngā Korero Tuku Iho Transcript, Taumata o Te Rā Marae, Smith P, p. 262.

³³⁹ Wai 2180, #4.1.5 Ngā Korero Tuku Iho Transcript, Taumata o Te Rā Marae, Smith P, p. 264-265.

³⁴⁰ Wai 2180, #4.1.5 Ngā Korero Tuku Iho Transcript, Taumata o Te Rā Marae, Smith P, at p. 263.

In approximately 1850, Ngāti Pīkiahū left Otara and moved further south along the Rangitīkei River where they (and Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi) were allocated land at Te Reureu by Ngāti Raukawa and set up permanent residence. This allocation by Ngāti Raukawa ceded the rangatiratanga of those lands to those four hapū and recognised their strategic role in protecting and defending the lands alongside and including the Rangitīkei River. Ngāti Pīkiahū and the other hapū remain on those lands today exercising tino rangatiratanga over both the whenua and their tūpuna awa –the Rangitīkei River.

Despite the permanent settlement at Te Reureu, the relationships and contact with their whanaunga on the Otara side of the river continued and remains today. Further, Ngāti Pīkiahū maintained their relationships with their kin hapū and iwi in the north-in the southern Waikato and western side of Lake Taupō, and to the south down to Kapiti Island.

One of the tūpuna whare of Ngāti Pīkiahū is called Poupatate. The name was taken from a kupu poropiti (prophecy) of King Tawhiao:

*Maku ano hei hanga i toku nei whare.
Ko te **poupou** he mahoe, he **patate**.
Ko te tahuhu he hinau.
Me whakatuputupu ki te hua o te rengarenga,
Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki.*

*I will build my own house
The posts will be made of mahoe and patate
The ridgepole will be of hinau
The inhabitants will be raised on rengarenga and nurtured on kawariki.³⁴¹*

The whakatauki speaks of inclusiveness and a shared vision. This was the symbolism that Tawhiao used to describe the development of the Kingitanga. The philosophy is that the future of the iwi is dependent on everyone contributing to the wellbeing of the collective, drawing on their personal and group strengths.

Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi have lived and survived together on the lands at Te Reureu to the present day. The relationship between Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae from their co-habitation at Lake Rotoaira, to their heke south and then occupancy at Te Reureu is such that the identity “Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae” has developed. The relationship was strengthened through important marriages such as between the tūpuna Ngawaka of Ngāti Pīkiahū and Huna of Ngāti Waewae.

Further, given that the four hapū are from three different iwi –Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto –as a collective they have defined themselves as “Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu”.

³⁴¹ Claimant Evidence

The fact that the four distinct hapū from three different iwi have lived together as one at Te Reureu since 1850 is significant and crucial to the identity of Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu and how they see themselves and their place in the wider iwi and national political space.

C. Ngā Take –The Claims

Most of the Ngāti Pīkiahū claims against the Crown relate to lands, resources and issues within the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry (“PkM”). The key issues for the claimants in the Taihape inquiry are in relation to the Rangitīkei River and the Waitapu block.

D. Cause of Action: Rangitīkei River and its Tributaries

Ko Rangitīkei te Tūpuna, ko te Tūpuna ko Rangitīkei

Duty

At all times, the Crown has a duty to actively protect the land and resources of Ngāti Pīkiahū including the Rangitīkei River (inclusive of the river bed), its waters and its tributaries, and to act in good faith and meaningfully consult with Ngāti Pīkiahū on all matters that affect their tūpuna awa.

Breach

The Crown breached those duties by:

- failing to recognise the traditional mana and rangatiratanga that Ngāti Pīkiahū exercised over the Rangitīkei River (including the river bed), its tributaries and the natural resources within those waterways;
- adopting a practice of extinguishing Māori title to the bed of the Rangitīkei and asserting Crown “ownership” on the basis of common law concepts of navigability and accretion;
- failing to recognise and protect the spiritual connection of Ngāti Pīkiahū to the Rangitīkei River, and enacting laws and pursuing policies that undermined the role of Ngāti Pīkiahū as kaitiaki of their tūpuna awa and their obligations to maintain the mauri of the river;
- failing to protect the physical and spiritual health of the Rangitīkei River;
- creating legislation and regulatory regimes and actively pursuing policies that have had an adverse effect on the Rangitīkei River, its resources and the traditional practices exercised by Ngāti Pīkiahū; and
- failing to meaningfully consult with Ngāti Pīkiahū on matters affecting the Rangitīkei River.

Particulars

Ngāti Pīkiahū has a spiritual relationship with the Rangitīkei River. As kaitiaki Ngāti Pīkiahū has an obligation to maintain the mauri of the awa. The awa is used by Ngāti Pīkiahū for spiritual healing, karakia, and other rituals. As kaitiaki Ngāti Pīkiahū has the responsibility of sustainable management.

If the mauri of the awa is not cared for and respected it will lose its mauri and not only will the awa suffer but so will Ngāti Pīkiahū as kaitiaki.³⁴²

Ngāti Pīkiahū have kaitiaki and taniwha such as Hārurunui at the old marae Te Rurukōhanga, who protect and patrol the awa and the people.³⁴³

Ngāti Pīkiahū hold rights, interests, mana and rangatiratanga over the Rangitīkei River (including the river bed), waters and its tributaries through continued use and occupation. These rights were held in accordance with Ngāti Pīkiahū tikanga and were shared with other hapū and iwi with whom Ngāti Pīkiahū maintained relationships.

For Ngāti Pīkiahū the Rangitīkei River is an indivisible whole. It cannot be divided by administrative boundaries and certainly cannot be separated out into parts – riverbed, water and banks. Damage to one part of the awa affects the rest from the source to the sea.

Crown actions and omissions with respect to river control, flood protection, gravel extraction and pollution have affected not only the course of the Rangitīkei River itself and the quality of the water, but also the mauri of the river.

Legal Ownership

The Crown asserted “ownership” and control of the Rangitīkei River on the basis that the awa was navigable up to the confluence with the Kawhatau River, despite there being no navigable use of the awa post 1903.³⁴⁴

In April 1959 under the Reserves and Domains Act 1953 the Crown reserved the bed of the Rangitīkei River downstream of its junction with the Kawhatau River for soil and river control purposes.³⁴⁵

In April 1959, the Rangitīkei Catchment Board was appointed to control and manage the reserved area.³⁴⁶

In 1972, the Crown determined that “accretion land” adjoining Part [Reureu] 3C2B was Crown land. The Department of Lands and Survey came to this conclusion deciding that it was not true “accretion” but rather occurred because of a “sudden change in the course of the Waitapu stream”.³⁴⁷

³⁴² Hohonu Ltd Meredith P and Joseph R with Gifford L *Ko Rangitīkei te Awa: The Rangitīkei River and its Tributaries Cultural Perspectives Report* Wai 2180#044 at p. 135.

³⁴³ Above n 6, at p. 234-236.

³⁴⁴ Alexander D (2015) Rangitīkei River and its Tributaries Historical Report Wai 2180 #A040 at p. 117-135.

³⁴⁵ Above n 8, at p. 132-133.

³⁴⁶ Above n 8, at p. 133.

³⁴⁷ Above n 8, at p. 137.

The Crown relied on the purported “sudden change” in the course of the Waitapu Stream as opposed to accretion in the true sense being a gradual process, to override the *ad medium filum* rights of the landowners.³⁴⁸

No consideration was given at any time in this process to the rangatiratanga of Ngāti Pīkiahū and their role as kaitiaki.

The Crown relied on their earlier determination that the navigable status of the Rangitīkei River to take ownership of Part [Reureu] 3C2B therefore extinguishing the rights of Ngāti Pīkiahū. The area was then surveyed (Section 13 Block XIII Ongo Survey District) and brought under the control of the Rangitīkei Catchment Board without consultation with, and compensation to, Ngāti Pīkiahū and other hapū with interests.³⁴⁹

More recently Section 13 Block XII Ongo Survey District having been deemed Crown land was included in the Ngāti Apa settlement, vested in the Ngāti Apa trustees and then reserved as a local purpose and administered by the Manawatū-Regional Council removing it forever from Ngāti Pīkiahū and other hapū with traditional interests.³⁵⁰

Mahinga Kai

The change of course of the Rangitīkei River due to Crown flood protection measures and pollution in the awa and its tributaries has resulted in the depletion of the fisheries including whitebait, patiki, piharau, and tuna severely impacting on the traditional mahinga kai practices of Ngāti Pīkiahū.³⁵¹

The Crown failed to consult with Ngāti Pīkiahū in relation to:

- The release of introduced species (brown and rainbow trout) into the Rangitīkei River in 1870’s and 1880’s;³⁵²
- The creation of Acclimatisation Societies, fishing regulations and the requirement for fishing licenses; which gave no recognition to the right of tino rangatiratanga guaranteed in Te Tiriti.³⁵³

Bridging and Flood Protection

Felling of bush to allow land for settlers in the lower reaches of the Rangitīkei River meant that there were considerable changes to the environment and the course of the river.

The Crown prioritised the needs of European settlers over Ngāti Pīkiahū (and other Rangitīkei River hapū and iwi) with respect to bridging and flood protection.

³⁴⁸ Above n 8, at p. 137.

³⁴⁹ Above n 8, at p. 137-138.

³⁵⁰ Above n 8, at p. 138.

³⁵¹ Above n 6, at p. 234-236.

³⁵² Above n8, at p. 150.

³⁵³ Above n8, at p. 150.

The Crown provided and maintained adequate flood protection on the western banks of the Rangitīkei River between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams which had been opened up to Pakeha settlement.

The Crown failed to provide similar protection to the eastern bank adjacent to the Te Reureu reserve resulting in erosion and loss of land to Ngāti Pīkiahū (and other hapū) due to erosion and accretion.³⁵⁴

The Crown was not as concerned as to the impact on the flooding of Māori communities as it was about the impact on the settlers.³⁵⁵

Rangitīkei River Māori including Ngāti Pīkiahū very soon became sidelined, ignored and not included in decision-making in connection with river bank matters at bridging points.

The flood of 1897 rendered the Onepuehu bridge unusable.³⁵⁶ The June 1902 flood washed away much of the embankment leaving the Onepuehu bridge unapproachable from the Te Reureu side of the awa. For 17 years, nothing was progressed leaving Te Reureu Māori with restricted and difficult access to the main towns such as Marton.³⁵⁷

In considering the rebuild of the bridge, the interests and desires of Pakeha settlers were prioritised over those of Māori including Ngāti Pīkiahū.³⁵⁸

Following the rebuild of the bridge in 1921 an embankment was fenced off on Te Reureu Māori land without consultation and consent impacting of Te Reureu Māori farming practices.

Te Reureu Māori including Ngāti Pīkiahū opposed the erection of the fences on their land in 1921, and the lack of flood protection work on the eastern banks several times between 1933 and 1936.³⁵⁹

Te Reureu Māori including Ngāti Pīkiahū made it clear to Crown officials during various meetings at Te Reureu that they opposed their rights being usurped in relation to the land on the riverbank.³⁶⁰

The Crown established the Reureu Development Scheme which included land on the riverbank boundaries. Money was loaned to purchase materials for the erosion control work required and the land would be subject to charging orders as security for the loan indebting the Māori owners.³⁶¹

Further flooding in 1938 and 1941 increased costs for material and further indebted the Reureu Development Scheme.

³⁵⁴ Above n 6, at p. 224.

³⁵⁵ Above n 8, at p. 33.

³⁵⁶ Above n 8, at p. 190.

³⁵⁷ Above n 8, at p. 196.

³⁵⁸ Above n 8, at p. 197 and p. 199.

³⁵⁹ Above n 8, at p. 200 and p. 205.

³⁶⁰ Above n 8, at p. 202-207.

³⁶¹ Above n 8, at p. 206.

In 1939, approximately 130 acres of land on the river bank was taken via the Public Works Act for river protection works and roading and vested in the Rangitīkei County Council.³⁶²

In doing so the Crown:

- Failed to adequately notify and consult with the owners of the land regarding the taking;³⁶³
- Failed to pay compensation for 103 acres 3 roods 22.6 perches of the land taken on the basis that when the Te Reureu block was surveyed that land was considered riverbed;³⁶⁴
- Paid minimal compensation for the remaining land (27 acres 0 roods 15.8 perches) to the Aotea District Māori Land Board and not to the owners;³⁶⁵
- Following the closure and eventual removal of the Onepuehu Bridge, failed to return the land taken for river protection works to the former Māori owners;³⁶⁶
- In 1972 declared the land to be Crown land and it was reserved for soil and conservation purposes and vested in the Rangitīkei-Wanganui Catchment Board in 1973. At no time were the former Māori owners consulted or considered in the transfer process.³⁶⁷

In 1993, Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae sought the return of the land via section 40 of the Public Works Act 1981 as well as compensation for the delayed return.

As with their social response to Māori in the floods of 1897, 1926 and 1940, in the recent floods of 2004 and 2008 the Crown failed to assist Ngāti Pīkiahū and those on the eastern banks with any great urgency:

- Out of necessity, the trustees of Poupatate Marae offered the Marae as an emergency refuge centre for the community;
- The Ngāti Pīkiahū whānau and lands to the north of the Marae were cut off due to a washed-out bridge over the Waituna stream;
- Civil Defence failed to communicate with Ngāti Pīkiahū and Poupatate and check as to the welfare of the community;
- Subsequent follow-up by flood recovery groups bypassed Ngāti Pīkiahū (and other hapū) failing to seek their input and involvement in the recovery.³⁶⁸

³⁶² Above n 8, at p. 211.

³⁶³ Above n 8, at p. 211.

³⁶⁴ Above n 8, at p. 211.

³⁶⁵ Above n 8, at p. 211.

³⁶⁶ Above n 8, at p. 214.

³⁶⁷ Above n 8, at p. 217.

³⁶⁸ Above n 8, at p. 41.

Gravel Extraction

The dredging of gravel and shingle from the bed of the Rangitīkei River materially affects the structure of the river, interferes with the mauri of the waters, damages the plant life and influences the course of the river itself. The dredging also causes erosion. By authorising this activity for over 100 years, the Crown has caused irrevocable damage to the Rangitīkei River and the riverbed.

Gravel extraction has been a Crown dominated and regular activity for over 100 years.³⁶⁹

The Crown has extracted gravel from Te Reureu lands and the Rangitīkei River adjoining the Te Reureu lands via the Public Works Regime from as early as 1888:

- In 1881 from the Piaka block for ballast purposes;³⁷⁰
- In 1901 from Part Te Reureu 2L for ballast pit purposes;³⁷¹
- In 1912, 41 acres out of a total of 42 acres of land adjacent to Te Reureu 2M was taken under the Public Works Act for railway purposes. This land was declared Crown land and was riverbed. There is no evidence to clarify on what basis the riverbed was declared Crown land or what status Ngāti Pīkiahū may have considered their land to be.³⁷²

Since the early 1900's Crown and local government and bridge operators have undertaken river control works to aid in the extraction of gravel without any consultation with Ngāti Pīkiahū and other hapū on the eastern bank of the Rangitīkei River.³⁷³

Sediment laden discharge is returned to the awa following the washing and cleaning of the gravel.³⁷⁴

The financial benefit of gravel extraction to local government and private operators was prioritised over the general health and well-being of the Rangitīkei River.

The Manawatū-Whanganui Regional Council favoured an application for resource consent from Rangitīkei Aggregates Ltd to extract gravel over one from Ngāti Waewae, a hapū with mana whenua rights at Te Reureu and exercised mana and rangatiratanga over the Rangitīkei River.³⁷⁵

Resource Management Act 1991

The Crown has failed to recognise, protect, and provide for the customary rights, interests and associations of Ngāti Pīkiahū with respect to the Rangitīkei River, its waters and its

³⁶⁹ Above n 6, at p. 237.

³⁷⁰ Above n 8, at p. 443.

³⁷¹ Above n 8, at p. 443.

³⁷² Above n 8, at p. 443-444.

³⁷³ Above n 8, at p. 448-449.

³⁷⁴ Above n 8, at p. 450.

³⁷⁵ Above n 8, at p. 511-526.

tributaries by enacting various pieces of legislation including the Resource Management Act 1991.

The involvement and participation of Ngāti Pīkiahū provided for in the RMA is defined by Crown standards.

The Crown has failed to provide Ngāti Pīkiahū with adequate resources to allow them to appropriately engage and respond on RMA matters including resource consents and policy issues leading to increased social and economic pressures.

Despite the obstacles faced by Ngāti Pīkiahū in responding to the RMA, initiatives such as Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei highlight the continued connection, mana and rangatiratanga Ngāti Pīkiahū (and other hapū and iwi) have with the Rangitīkei River.

E. CAUSE OF ACTION: WAITAPU BLOCK

The other significant issue for Ngāti Pīkiahū is in respect to the Waitapu block. This block sits in both inquiry districts. The Tribunal has directed that specific issues in relation to Waitapu will be heard in each inquiry:

- Taihape Inquiry:
 - The ‘discovery’ of the Waitapu Block as a leftover piece of land between Otamakapua and the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase;
 - The subsequent Crown purchase of the block and any issues associated with how the owners were identified, the level of compensation awarded, recognition of any customary interests, etc.
 - Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry:
 - The aftermath of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase;
 - The adequacy of the land set aside for the Te Reureu Reserve, and whether or not it should have included land in the Waitapu block.³⁷⁶

The pleadings below relate to the two issues specific issues set out in paragraph 63(a)(i) and (ii) above.

Duty

At all times the Crown had a duty to actively protect the rights and property of Ngāti Pīkiahū including:

- Actively protecting Ngāti Pīkiahū and their lands to the fullest extent practicable;
- Acting reasonably and with the utmost good faith towards Ngāti Pīkiahū;

³⁷⁶ Wai 2180, #2.5.59 -Joint Direction of the Taihape: Rangitīkei ki Rangipō and Porirua ki Manawatū Tribunal Panels on Joint Hearings for The Rangitīkei River and the Waitapu Block.

- Adopting a fair process in any dealings with Ngāti Pīkiahū and their lands;
- Recognising and upholding Ngāti Pīkiahū customs and practices;

Ensuring Ngāti Pīkiahū were left with a sufficient land base for their present and future needs;

Ensuring that Ngāti Pīkiahū were accorded the same rights and privileges as British subjects.

Breach

The Crown breached those duties in the following way:

- by failing to consult with Ngāti Pīkiahū once the ‘discovery’ of the Waitapu block was made, following the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block purchase; and
- by failing to recognise the customary interests of Ngāti Pīkiahū in the Waitapu block;
- by failing to uphold the agreement made with Ngāti Pīkiahū (and other hapū) that the Te Reureu block would be a lot larger than what was eventually reserved.³⁷⁷

Particulars

The Crown failed to recognise the customary interests of Ngāti Pīkiahū in the Waitapu block, and to act with the utmost good faith in the survey and purchase of the Waitapu block.

The Crown failed to consult with Ngāti Pīkiahū following the “discovery” of the Waitapu block.

The Waitapu block never went before the Native Land Court, the Crown assuming ownership as part of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase;

The Waitapu block included land that formed part of the originally agreed Te Reureu reserve.

Despite the Crown’s position that the Waitapu block was part of the Rangitīkei Manawatu block, the owners were determined by who the Native Land Court awarded the adjacent Otamakapua block to – being Ngāti Hauti and Ngāti Upokoiri.³⁷⁸

The Crown failed to pay Ngāti Pīkiahū any compensation for the Waitapu block, despite their customary interests.

³⁷⁷ Tangata Whenua Evidence.

³⁷⁸ Hearn T.J (2012) Sub-district block study –southern aspect Wai 2180 #A007 at 255.

F. PREJUDICE

Ngāti Pīkiahū say they have been prejudicially affected by the actions and/or omissions of the Crown to adequately protect the claimants' lands and resources in particular the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries and the Waitapu block, to the fullest extent practicable, to act reasonably and with utmost good faith, in particular that they:

- were denied the opportunity to give their input and have their say in relation to the “ownership” of the bed of the Rangitīkei River;
- sustained, long term attacks on their mana and rangatiratanga;
- have lost the management, control and tino rangatiratanga over their lands waterways and resources in particular the Rangitīkei River and its tributaries;
- have had the mauri of their tūpuna awa severely impacted;
- have been dispossessed of their cultural, spiritual, economic and political base;
- have suffered damage and the reduction of the ability to carry out their duties, obligations, and functions as kaitiaki;
- have suffered active disregard and undermining of knowledge and understanding of their customs, tikanga, ture, kawa, reo Māori, traditions, whakapapa, role as kaitiaki, and customary practices relating to its rohe and marae;
- have suffered damage and the reduction of their ability to properly host manuhiri with provisions of mahinga kai, mahinga tuna such as tuna, kokopū, piharau, pātiki, inanga, koura and other natural resources from within their rohe;
- have suffered the depletion and destruction of the kai and resources in the Rangitīkei River due to gravel extraction, pollution and river control regimes.
- have suffered the loss and destruction, both wholly and partly, of their wahi tapu due to the Crown's lack of flood protection measures on the eastern banks of the Rangitīkei River;
- have lost their economic interests in, and rights to develop their lands and resources;
- have suffered impairment of, or damage to, the spirit, wairua, mana, ihi and wehi of the hapū;
- were not awarded compensation for land taken via Public Works legislation which would have allowed them the opportunity to purchase other lands in order to maintain a sufficient land base for their needs;
- were denied the opportunity to regain the land taken for public purposes when

- it was no longer required for its original purpose;
- are forever dispossessed of their lands and resources, leaving the claimants with insufficient land and resources today;
- are no longer in possession of land sufficient for their needs;
- are denied their right to compel the Crown to act reasonably in dealings with Māori; and
- have suffered the loss of mana and rangatiratanga.

G. RELIEF

The claimants, being desirous to achieve the removal of the prejudice inflicted upon them, seek recommendations as follows:

- Findings that the Crown breached the principles of Te Tiriti as set out in the above Amended Statement of Claim and that the claim is well- founded;
- That the Crown provides a full and comprehensive apology for the breaches of principles of Te Tiriti as outlined in the above Amended Statement of Claim;
- That the Crown provide full and comprehensive financial compensation;
- That the Crown return all Crown-owned land within the Ngāti Pīkiahū rohe and any improvements;
- That the Crown provide appropriate redress to ensure that Ngāti Pīkiahū can continue with undisturbed possession, rights, interests and kaitiakitanga over the Rangitīkei River within their rohe;
- A specific finding that the Crown's determination that the bed of the Rangitīkei River up to the Kawhatau River was Crown land, on the basis of it being navigable, was unlawful;
- A specific finding that the Crown's dealing of accretion issues on the Rangitīkei River was in breach of Te Tiriti;
- That full costs be paid to Ngāti Pīkiahū for the preparation and presentation of this claim and the cost of recovering any land that can be returned or other costs incurred in securing the implementation of recommendations and any further relief that the Tribunal deems appropriate;
- A specific finding by the Tribunal of the Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu collective identity;
- A recommendation from the Tribunal that the Crown enter into direct negotiations with Ngā Iwi o Te Reureu in regard to their Treaty claims including, but not limited to, the Rangitīkei River and the Te Reureu lands;

- Recognition of the claimants' tino rangatiratanga and the restoration of the claimants' self-governance including appropriate recognition by all Crown Departments and Agencies and Local Authorities within the claim Any further relief that this Tribunal deems appropriate.

The claimants seek leave to amend this Statement of Claim as a result of further research commissioned. Dated 22 August 2016.

10.0 NGĀ HAPŪ O TE REUREU

This section is primarily designed to inform the Waitangi Tribunal, Crown Law and other hapū/iwi claimants in the Porirua ki Manawatū Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry District (Wai 2200) as to the history of the hapū identified in this report. The history will include waka affiliations, whakapapa, prominent tupuna, and their marae which will include those currently in use and those, for certain reasons, are not in current use.

The relationships of these hapū and how they have interacted with each other are examined, considering that some have been resident in the area since the early 1800s with latter hapū arriving at Te Reureu in 1846. The four hapū resident at Te Reureu originates from three Iwi: Ngāti Raukawa of Tainui waka, Ngāti Maniapoto of Tainui waka and Ngāti Tūwharetoa of Te Arawa waka. Their relationships will be explored to examine whether these hapū still associate themselves to their Iwi or through long occupation at Te Reureu they have developed their own unique relationship. Some of these hapū journeyed to the area to halt local land sales, others as a result of armed conflict. The Te Reureu block where these four hapū now reside was in fact a reservation created for Māori non-sellers who were not party to the Rangitūkei land block sale to the Crown of 1849.

11.0 NGĀTI PIKIAHU-WAEWAE KI POUPATATĒ

*“Māku ano taku whare e hanga
Ko te poupou he mahoe. He Patate
Ko te tahuhu he Hinau
Me whakatuputupu ki te hua o te Rengarenga
Me whakapakari ki te hua o Kawariki”*



11.1 Waka

The Ngāti Pīkiahū of Ngāti Pīkiahū-Wāewāe descends from the tupuna who travelled to these shores on the Tainui waka that arrived at Whangaparaoa. From here they sailed west across the Bay of Plenty seeking lands for settlement. In their attempts to avoid the rough surf around Mauao, Tainui waka was grounded on a sandbank called Ruahine. Hoturoa, the rangatira of Tainui waka sought a reason for this predicament and laid blame on a kuia named Wahinerua and ordered that she be thrown overboard and her body shoved under the hull of the waka. Once this was done the waka was dislodged and headed for deep water. Today, the tangata whenua of the area hold to the tradition of offering morsels of kai to a rock pinnacle called Te Kuia in memory of Wahinerua and to show respect to the sea.³⁷⁹

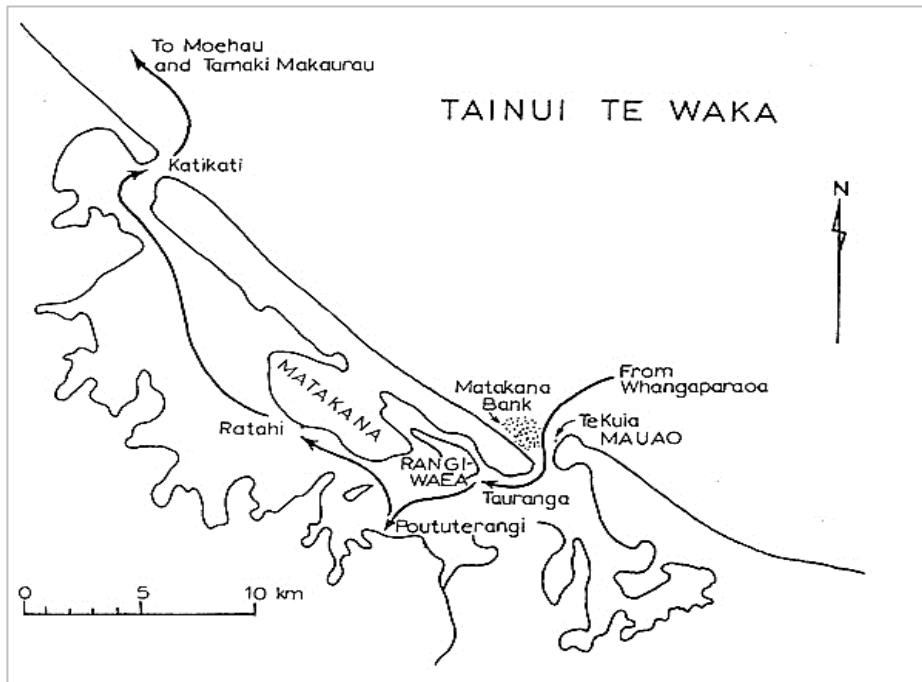
Ngāti Raukawa rangatira Te Whatanui composed a waiata that described the traditional mountain Maungatautari as Te Kura-a-Tauninihi, which refers to a sacred taonga that was brought to Aotearoa on Tainui waka. On arrival to Whangaparaoa those on board mistakenly sighted what they thought was something similar to Te Kura-a-Tauninihi and cast it overboard only to find that what they had been observing were the blossoms of the pōhutukawa and rātā. Te Whatanui likened Te Kura-a-Tauninihi to Maungatautari which his people had ‘discarded’ in their migrations to the south.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ Kōrero adapted from – Tauranga Moana, Turanga Whenua:

http://tauranga.kete.net.nz/en/tauranga_moana_tauranga_whenua/topics/show/545-traditional-story-tainui-te-waka-hoturoa-te-ariki. Figure adapted from: Stokes, E. ‘Stories of Tauranga Moana. Hamilton,’ (University of Waikato, Centre of Māori Studies Research, 1980, p. 29).

³⁸⁰ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, 'Ngāti Raukawa - Lands', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ngati-raukawa/page-1> (accessed 19 November 2016)

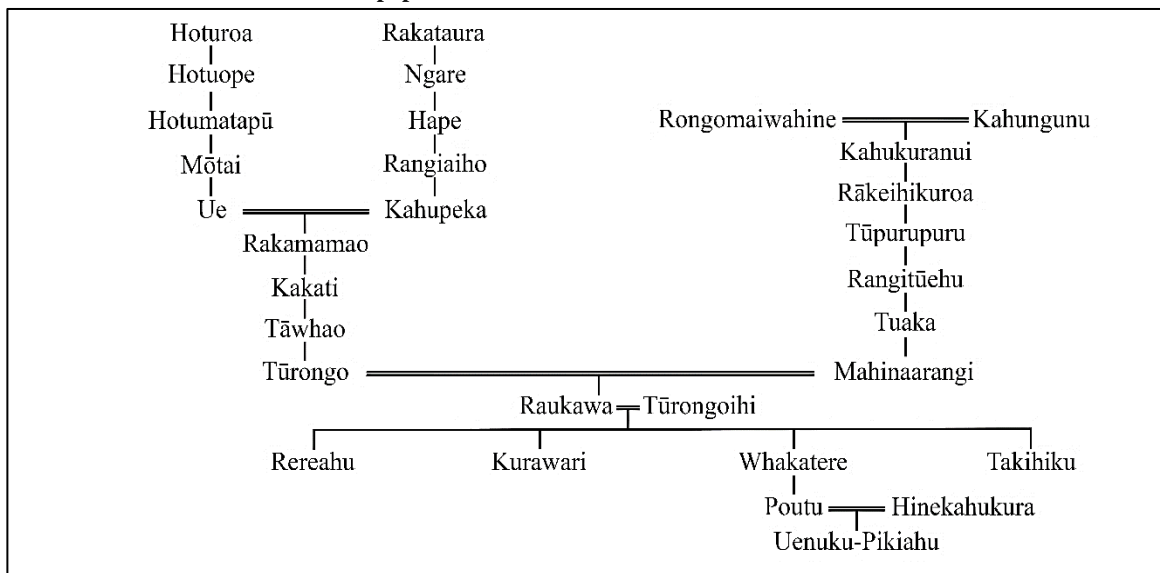
Map 20: Tainui Waka and Whangaparaoa



11.2 Whakapapa

The whakapapa of Uenuku Pikiahu the eponymous tupuna of Ngāti Pikiahu outlines the descent lines from Hoturoa and Rakataura to Raukawa and through his mother Mahinaarangi his descent lines from Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine.

Whakapapa 15: Descent lines Hoturoa to Uenuku Pikiahu



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³⁸¹ Whakapapa given to Raukawa: <http://www.raukawa.org.nz/about-our-iwi/> . Whakapapa from Raukawa to Uenuku Pikiahu sourced from – Manaaki Tibble, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 10.

11.3 Tupuna

This section will include a summary of tupuna who were either the eponymous ancestor or tupuna who defined the legacy of hapū in terms of their mana-whenua, or connection to other influential tupuna of the same iwi or other iwi.

11.3.1 Raukawa

Tūrongo the father of Raukawa travelled from the west coast of Kāwhia to the east coast to court the beautiful maiden Māhinaarangi who was known for wearing the special fragrance of Raukawa oil. Māhinaarangi means the ‘moon glow of heaven’ and she was a descendant of Takitimu waka. When they had both completed their courtship, Tūrongo returned to Rangiātea on the banks of the Manga-o-Rongo stream and commenced building a house for Māhinaarangi and their unborn child.³⁸²

Desiring to have her child born on the homelands of Tūrongo, Māhinaarangi heavy with child commenced her journey with members of her whānau with Tūrongo’s dog Waitete acting as guide. The journey was long and arduous and not an easy task for one heavy in pregnancy causing Māhinaarangi to give birth at a place called Whenua-ā-kura on the western side of the Kaimai Range. Ūkaipō Marae is named after the location where Māhinaarangi fed her new born infant. Continuing their journey, they crossed the Waikato River and Waitete left them to seek out its master Tūrongo and announce their arrival. On seeing Māhinaarangi and his son a jubilant Tūrongo took them to his homeland where his father Tāwhao greeted them and performed the tohi rite on his grandson naming him Raukawa after the perfumed oil his mother wore in her courtship with his father.³⁸³

11.3.2 Pikiahu

Puruhe Smith provides an insight into the whakapapa of their eponymous ancestor Uenuku Pikiahu:

“Uenuku Pikiahu was born at Mangapēhi, in Ōtorohanga. His brothers were Raekauri, and another of his brothers was Huriroroa. Huriroroa married one of the daughters of Ihingarangi, and they had Akamōrunga.³⁸⁴

³⁸² <http://www.raukawa.org.nz/about-our-iwi/>

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Puruhe Smith, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 177.

Apart from his prominent whakapapa being a great-grandson of Raukawa and grandson of Whakatare, there seems to be little additional information regarding the tupuna Pikiahu. However, despite this predicament, what is of importance is his heritage and his legacy continues today in his descendant's resident at Te Reureu.

11.3.3 Ngāwaka Maraenui

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Image 17: Ngāwaka Maraenui

Puruhe Smith says that Maraenui was the senior chief of the Ngāti Pikiahu people when they resided around Lake Taupo at Maraeroa prior to their journey to Te Reureu. Puruhe recounted the whakapapa of his tupuna:

“...ka moe a Whakatare ki a Parefīrangī, ā, ka puta ia te mātāmua ko Poutū Te Rangī, ā ka moe a Poutū Te Rangī ki a Hīnekahukura rāua ko Hīnekekehu, nā rāua ngā māhanga o te tupuna o Ngāti Mangō arā ko Ngāti Toa, arā ko Kaihamu. Tika tana kōrero, koinā te hononga o Ngāti Pikiahu, Ngāti Whakatare ki a Ngāti Toa. Ka moe a Uenuku Pikiahu ki a Hīneuru ka puta ia ki a Tūhape, ā, ko Tūhape ka puta ia ki a Hīnerangi, ā, ko Hīnerangi ka puta ia ki Te Kuramirimiri (Kuramirimiri), ā, ko Te Kuramirimiri ka puta ia ki a Pēke, ā ka puta a Pēke ki Te Rangihōapu, ā, ka puta a Te Rangihōapu ki ā tātou tupuna a Te Manea, ā ka puta a Te Manea ki taku tupuna a Ngāwaka.”³⁸⁶



11.4 Poupatatē Whare

Image 3: Poupatate Whare³⁸⁷



Puruhe Smith explains the different aspects of the whare and the marae area:

“Ko ngā whakairo kei runga i te whare nei, ko te koruru ko Whakatare, ko ngā amo o te whare ko Uenuku Pikiahu mō tōna tungāne a Ihunui, a Huriroroa me Raekauri. Koinā

³⁸⁵ Photographer unknown :Portrait of Ngawaka Waeroa. Ref: PA2-2185. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22675698

³⁸⁶ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp.175-177. Kuramirimiri corrected to Kuramirimiri – hui with Puruhe Smith 18 March 2017, Palmerston North Library.

³⁸⁷ Image sourced from Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, site visit 18 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.10.

ngā kōrerorero kei runga i te amo o te whare. Ngā kōrero kei runga i te maihi o te whare e pā ana ki te hekenga mai raro. I te wā i heke mai mātou mai i Maungatautari i tatū mai nei ki tēnei takiwā, arā ko te hekenga whirinui, ko te hekenga ka riri tahi, ko te hekenga mai raro. Koinā ngā kōrerorero kei runga i te maihi o tēnei whare. Ko ngā hapū o tēnei marae, ko tēnei te papakāinga o Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Uenuku Manawa Wiri, me Ngāti Kahungunu hoki. Engari ko ngā kaitiaki o tēnei whare ko Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae.”³⁸⁸

The name Poupatatē was the name of the meeting house brought originally from Kaungaroa in 1860 and re-built. It was shifted to Onepuhi (Onepuehu) and owing to erosion of the Rangitīkei River it was brought and re-built on present site in 1907.³⁸⁹ Poupatatē derives its name from a proverbial saying of King Tāwhiao and was chosen by Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae in support of the Kingitanga philosophy and of Kōtahitanga and Manamotuhake “Te Pou pou o te Patate koia ai te motu” (The post of Patate will unite the land). The small shrubs uttered in the following proverb symbolise the youth that will help build the Kingitanga. This saying is resonated on the Marae Atea of Poupatatē:

Māku ano taku whare e hanga
Ko te pou pou he mahoe. He Patate
Ko te tahu he Hināu
Me whakatuputupu ki te hua o te Rengarenga
Me whakapakari ki te hua o Kawariki.³⁹⁰

Puruhe Smith says that after hearing Tāwhiao their tupuna commenced the building of Poupatatē:

“The house was moved in the year 1862 to Onepuehu, and the two houses Te Tikanga and Poupatatē stood at that place at Onepuehu, known as Waimaru. When the flood came down from Parororangi the house standing alongside the Rangitīkei River was flooded. The ancestral meeting house standing beside the river was flooded. Our ancestors decided to move the house Poupatatē from Onepuehu to Te Ākau.”³⁹¹

11.5 Whanaungatanga

Puruhe Smith provides an interesting account that the close proximity and residence of Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore on the Te Reureu block since 1842 is part of the traditional history of all the hapū when they were once resident on the

³⁸⁸ Puruhe Smith Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, site visit 18 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p.10.

³⁸⁹ Pounamunui Herangi, Whanganui Minute Book 107, p. 335.

³⁹⁰ ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa: The Shadow of Ngāti Tuwharetoa,’ (A Report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, October 2006), p. 251.

³⁹¹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 183.

Maraeroa block. The three iwi of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Maniapoto resided side by side at Pureora.³⁹²

11.6 Te Hekenga ki Te Reureu

Each hapū section will have a description of how they came to reside on the Te Reureu block. This issue is premised on the fact that Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatatē under their original name of Ngāti Pīkiahū descendants of Uenuku Pīkiahū originated from the Maungatautari district in the north.

11.6.1 Henare Te Herekau:

“After Horowhenua, Ngatipīkiahū returned to Taupo, to bring down their friends to occupy Rangitīkei, they had a claim there, according to old custom, by right of conquest. In the year 1841, two hapū, Ngatipīkiahū and Ngati Tuwharetoa, settled at Otara; it was Tuwharetoa's doing that they settled there. They occupied from Otara to Rangitāua; but Ngatiupokoiri were jealous and quarrelled with them. When Ngatiraukawa heard that those people were quarrelling there, they assembled at Poutoa—part of Manawatu—to the number of 500. The Upokoiri were there. Ngatiraukawa decided to send for Ngatipīkiahū and Ngati Tuwharetoa and move them lower down to Te Reureu. Mohi Kahira was sent to fetch them. They then came down and settled at Te Reureu. They, the three hapū, settled there under the authority of the chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, in the year 1846. Ngatipīkiahū, from Manawatu, joined them; Ngatimaniapoto went there also, making three hapū who settled there; because there was no other tribe or hapū of any tribe occupying that country, only Ngatiraukawa, which made it quite right their settling Ngatipīkiahū and their friends at Te Reureu. In the year 1849, Nepia Taratoa, with other chiefs of Ngatiraukawa, went up and fixed the boundaries of the land for the three hapū (here follows a description of the boundaries.) There are 20,000 acres in that block of land. Paranihi and his friends granted leases over that land; they, the Ngatiraukawa, alone received the money; no other tribe or hapū received any; none was paid to Ngatiapa or Rangitane. These hapū occupied that land peaceably under the mana of the chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa, who placed them there. No tribe nor hapū went near them to disturb their occupation of that block of land up to the time when Dr. Featherston purchased Rangitīkei; then they lost. If Dr. Featherston had not purchased that country, these three hapū would be still in possession. These hapū number 250; the acreage of this land is 20,000; the portion of land returned to these hapū by the Government is 3000 acres. These hapū did not join in the sale of Rangitīkei; they did not sign their names to the Commissioner's deed of purchase; nor did they take any money. There were no grounds for taking away the land from these hapū. “From me, Henare Te Herekau, 23rd May 1873.”³⁹³

³⁹² Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p. 179.

³⁹³ Statement from Henare Te Herekau, for many years a native teacher, lately ordained a deacon of the Church of England, being a statement of the case of the three hapu of Ngatiraukawa occupying the inland portion of the Manawatu-Rangitīkei block. Source: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout63-t16-back-d8-d11f.html>

11.6.2 Ngāwaka Maraenui

According to Puruhe Smith the southern migration of Ngāti Pīkiahū and Ngāti Waewae was conducted at the behest of Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Utiku Potaka of Ngāti Hauiti to hold on to the ancestral lands. Both parties arrived at Otara near Ohingaiti the land of Utiku who in turn allowed them to live there and cultivate the land. Ngāwaka commenced to erect ‘pou whenua’ at Te Tira o Raukawa and three other locations. In 1842 Te Heuheu asked that they move to Te Reureu where they now reside between the Waitapu and Rangataua streams.³⁹⁴

Parati Paurini stated that Ngāwaka Maraenui was the principle man of Ngāti Pīkiahū, who had married Huna of Ngāti Waewae.³⁹⁵ Ngāwaka Maraenui related to the Native Land Court in Whanganui, how he and others (60 in number) planted the pole at Pourewa “as a protest against McLean’s proposed land purchase:

“Land seaward of this pole was for the sale by Ngāti Apa and the land inland, if it belonged to Ngāti Apa would be theirs still. It was a fence preventing Ngāti Apa selling land inside of that pole. Land inside was still to belong to Ngāti Apa in fulfilment of the word of Heuheu. The pole was not put up to oppose Ngāti Apa, but to prevent Europeans encroaching.”³⁹⁶

The connection to Ngāti Raukawa through the whakapapa to Ngāti Pīkiahū was considered important for the hekenga, as Ngāti Raukawa were the dominant tribe in the Rangitīkei/Manawatū district. The initial response by Ngāti Raukawa to the erection of the pou manuka at Pourewa did not seem to show the type of support expected. It was probably due to the arranged land use between Ngāti Raukawa who occupied the eastern side of the Rangitīkei River and Ngāti Apa occupied the western side. However, Ngāti Raukawa through association with Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toarangatira did dominate the whole region. Eventually both tribes agreed when Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū crossed the Rangitīkei River on to Te Reureu and re-erected their pou totara at Waituna Stream. Over the next few years Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū worked and occupied the land without any problems. Several members of Ngāti Maniapoto had accompanied them on the journey and had lived in common with them on the land.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 177-178.

³⁹⁵ Parati Paurini, Taupo Minute Book 17, pp.202-205, 237-238.

³⁹⁶ Ngāwaka Maraenui, Whanganui Minute Book 2

³⁹⁷ ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa:’ p.245.

Manaaki Tibble mentions the story given by Rihi Iwikau, who says that it was Pōtaka the rangatira of Ngāti Hauti who asked Te Heuheu for assistance by sending him a hapū to halt the land sales that were happening in his district. Pōtaka also wanted help to stop Pākehā encroachment and settlement, for this Te Heuheu agreed sending Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pīkiahū. Manaaki refers to the whakapapa of those who made the southern journey saying:

“Ko ēnei tūpuna ko Paranihi, ko Hinepoto, ko Taia, ko Mariana, ko Rehina, ko Te Rotu, ko Hunaa , he reanga kotahi. E whakapae ana ahau ko rātou te reanga i heke mai o Ngāti Waewae. Otirā, āe, i haere mai a Ngāti Pīkiahū ki te taha, heke mai. Arā ko Hue Te Huri, ko Ngāwaka me Noa Rauhihi mā.”³⁹⁸

11.6.3 Obstruction to surveys

The Wellington Independent newspaper (1870) ran an article that the survey near Te Reureu pa had again been obstructed by local Māori. Mr Downes had been informed that his survey pegs would be ‘pulled up’ and camp removed.³⁹⁹ The Deputy Land Purchase Commissioner based in Wanganui instructed Ward to accompany Downes to take the names of those who would obstruct the survey.⁴⁰⁰ According to the article several natives appeared one of whom was Ngāwaka a resident of Te Reureu. Another native named Hopa proceeded to pull the survey pegs out of the ground, by which Ward warned him that there will be consequences. Ngāwaka replied by removing the tent and survey party property on pack horses to the other side of the river. The article concluded by saying that these natives who were excluded from all shares in the block (Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase) and were expecting to have a reserve made for them by the Government.⁴⁰¹ This incident was not an isolated event, because in 1873 threats were made against settlers that their stock would be driven off their land, protests against Crown delays in allocating reserves, and accusations against Featherston and officials for not fulfilling their promises, which were not fulfilled until after 1884.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸ Manaaki Tibble, *Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.14.

³⁹⁹ Thomas William Downes, born in London 1833, arrived in New Zealand 1857. Surveyor and civil engineer resident of Bulls - The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District], The Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1897, Wellington. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d154-d3.html>

⁴⁰⁰ Resident Magistrate Robert Ward was born in the cathedral city of Norwich on the 6th of September, 1840, and the son of Rev. Robert Ward, a missionary who came to New Zealand in August, 1844. Source: The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District], The Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1897, Wellington <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d3-d15-d7.html>

⁴⁰¹ *Wellington Independent*, Volume XXV, Issue 2995, 19 May 1870, p.3.

⁴⁰² Lange, Raeburn, ‘The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960,’ (Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Victoria University, report commissioned by CFRT, 2000, p.13.

12.0 NGĀTI PIKIAHU-WAEWAE KI TE TIKANGA

*Ko te paepae o Tūwharetoa ki te tonga,
te timatanga hoki o Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga,
Ngā hapū e rua a Ngāti Pīkiahū me Ngāti Waewae*



12.1 Waka

The Ngāti Waewae people of Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae are descended from Ngātoroirangi who travelled to these shores on the Te Arawa waka. There is one suggestion that Te Arawa may have been a double hulled waka made from two logs which were fashioned by greenstone adzes named Tutauru and Hauhauterangi. There are conflicting stories regarding the Te Korokoro-o-te Parata that it was a shoal that the waka was washed up on, or it was a storm encountered at sea. However, it was the plea of Uenuku Whakarorongārangi to his uncle Ngātoroirangi to save the waka that they were able to arrive safely.⁴⁰³

Image 18: Arrival of Tainui and Te Arawa waka



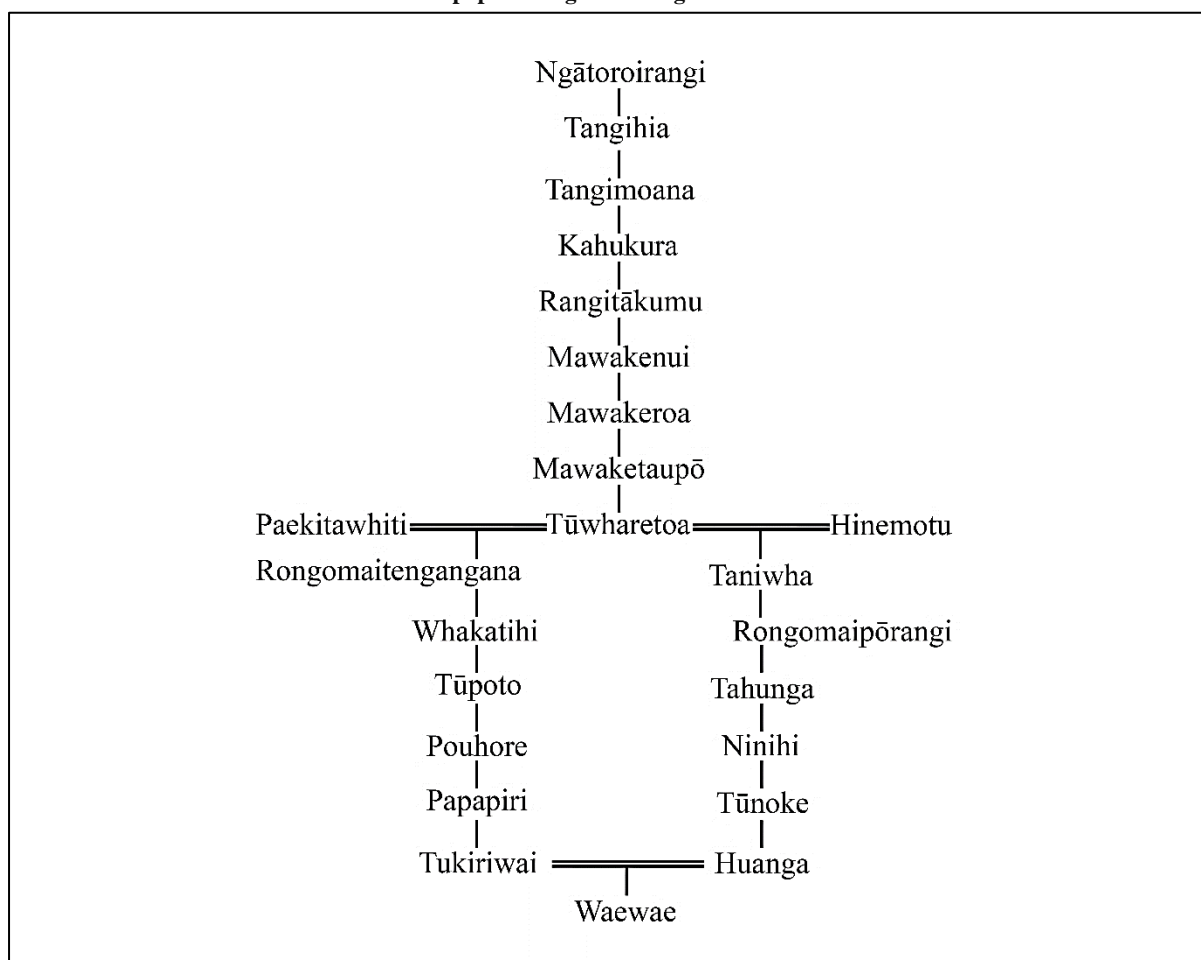
404

⁴⁰³ Evans, J. *Nga Waka O Nehera: The First Voyaging Canoes*, (Oratia Media Ltd, 2009), pp. 40-44.

⁴⁰⁴ Rāwiri Taonui, 'Canoe traditions - Te Arawa and Tainui', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/2340/landing-places-of-the-tainui-and-te-arawa-canoes>. (accessed 9 December 2016)

12.2 Whakapapa

Whakapapa 16: Ngātoroirangi to Waewae⁴⁰⁵



Lauren Reweti offers some insights into the traditional histories concerning Tūwharetoa *uri* of Ngātoroirangi and *tupuna* of Waewae:

“Eight generations after Ngātoroirangi a male tribe was born and prophesied to return to the lands to fulfil the claim made by Ngātoroirangi, the name Tūwharetoa translates to the standing house of the warrior.... When he was born he was known as Manaia. He was to prove a great leader of the people still settled in the Kawerau area. Manaia was renowned for being fast in flight and having tremendous stamina and was referred to as Tūwharetoa waewae rākau, the strength and power in his legs akin to the strength of the tall trees in the forest. When his father died he was given the name Tūwharetoa kaitangata.”⁴⁰⁶

The Ngāti Waewae hapū are descended from their eponymous ancestress Waewae, who is a descendant of Tūwharetoa. The marriage of Waewae to Te Marangataua produced offspring,

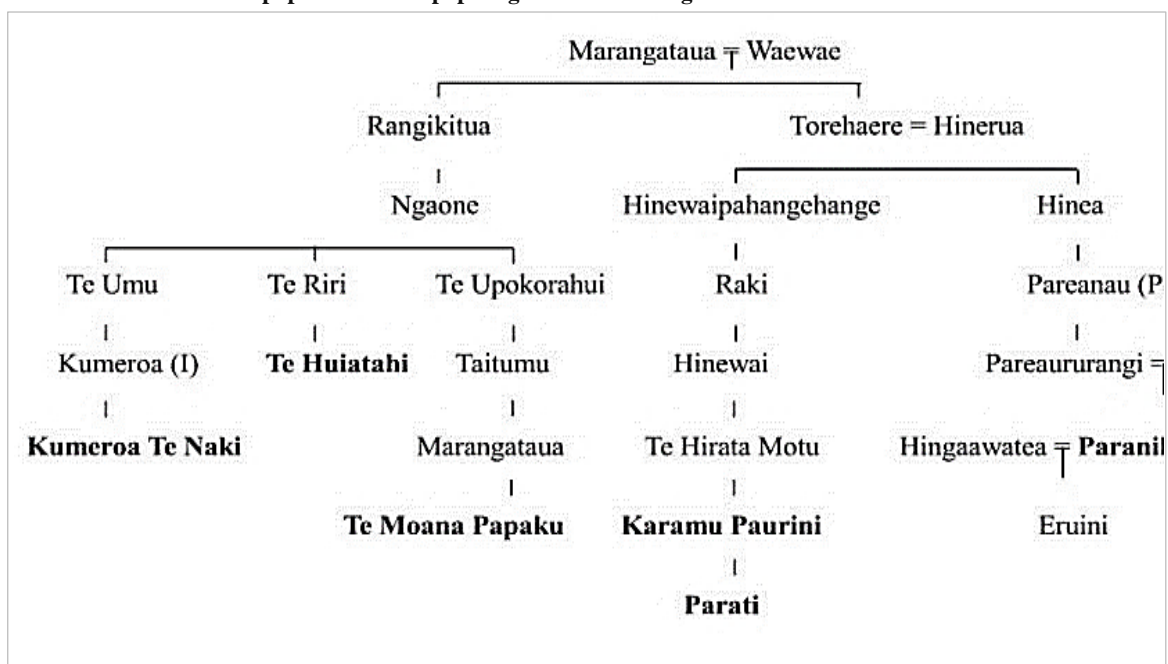
⁴⁰⁵ Adapted from - Manaaki Tibble, p.9. Adapted from ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa:’ p. 197.

⁴⁰⁶ Lauren Reweti, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p. 28.

from which came hapū, including: Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Marangataua, and Ngāti Taupounamu. This union produced notable rangatira of the hapū and the tribe.

For instance, Wineti Paranihi, Parati Paurini and Karamu Paurini were active in protecting their Ngāti Waewae interests in the Rangipo, Okahukura and Taurewa blocks. Kumeroa Te Naki, Te Huiatahi, Te Moana Papaku and Te Tau Paranihi, were important leaders during the Native Land Court processes in the Whanganui and Taupo Districts. As Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui put it, they were all important Rangatira of Taupo whose interests in Tongariro, Ruapehu and Wanganui join with his.⁴⁰⁷

Whakapapa 17: Whakapapa-Ngāti Waewae rangatira of the mid to late 1980s



The marriage of Waewae to Te Marangataua brings an important union to the lines of descent and adds to the genetic make-up of Ngāti Waewae, Ballara states that:

“Ngāti Waewae were the descendants of Te Marangataua by his wife Waewae. ‘Ngāti Waewae’ were their descendants through their eldest son... at least one section of Ngāti Waewae... were intermingled with Ngāti Marangataua that they were virtually one people, and that ‘the members of each were called indifferently by either name.’⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ Marr, Cathy. ‘The Waimarino Purchase Report The investigation, purchase and creation of reserves in the Waimarino block, and associated issues’ (A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, 2004) p.297.

⁴⁰⁸ Ballara, A. ‘Tribal Landscape Overview, c. 1800-c.1900 in the Taupo, Rotorua, Kaingaroa and National Park Inquiry Districts,’ (report commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust. 2004). p 134

Prior to the incidents on the Rangitīkei district, both Ngāti Hotu and Ngāti Apa were living at Moturoa Pa and Tauwharepapauma Pa near Lake Rotoaira. Ngāti Apa had migrated from the Bay of Plenty district and settled at Rotoaira alongside Ngāti Hotu. Their leader was Matangikaiawha II, a descendant of Rakeipoho through his eldest daughter Rakeiwhakaniwha. He married Hinemihi the daughter of Waikari, who was also a sister to Iwikinakia. Matangikaiawha II and Hinemihi's son was Te Rehu who married Pouroto's daughter Hinewai. Their children became known as Ngāti Matangi.

12.3 Tupuna

12.3.1 Ngātoroirangi

Ngātoroirangi arrived in Aotearoa with the sacred knowledge to establish a claim through the gods of the land, and to pacify those deities who guarded over them. His claim was achieved above others who sought the land for their descendants; by ascending to the summit of Tongariro to bespeak a right by discovery (Te Taunahanaha a Ngātoroirangi). Te Heuheu (Horonuku) stated in the Rangipo Waiu case for Ngāti Waewae that:

“claim through Ngātoroirangi and belong to Tuwharetoa. I can trace my decent... Ngātoroirangi was my first ancestor who came to Taupo. He went to Rangipo named it, ascended Tongariro and returned whence he came. The descendants of Tuwharetoa were the next people who came to Taupo. They have resided at Taupo ever since and are a strong tribe now.”⁴⁰⁹

John Reweti explains what Ngātoroirangi represents for Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Waewae, particularly his arrival to these shores brought us his descendants to these lands and he gave us a purpose and created a process for us to live around the mountain area:

“His arrival, his journey inland, his view of the maunga, and his ascent of the maunga, brought many things for us. It gave us a point where we could claim our rights, and we call this Te Taunahanaha a Ngātoroirangi, and we claim through his taunaha, many hapū do in Tūwharetoa, but for Ngāti Waewae it's quite a special thing because our people once lived around the maunga.... I just want to recite the karakia that he performed when he reached Maketu, and because when he arrived there, there was a whole strange land and ‘Ka ū ki Matanuku, ka ū ki Matarangi, ka ū ki tēnei whenua, hei whenua māu e kai te manawa o tauhou.’”⁴¹⁰

12.3.2 Waewae

Tupuna kuia Waewae became the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Waewae. In her time, Waewae was a high ranking Ngāti Tūwharetoa chieftainess and a direct descendant of Tia and

⁴⁰⁹ Taupo Minute Book 2, p.97

⁴¹⁰ John Reweti, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. p.26.

Tūwharetoa. She was the grand-daughter of Tūpoto the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Tūpoto, a sub-tribe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Tūpoto was of the Ariki Tuarua line of Ngāti Tūwharetoa through his father Whakatihi and grandfather Rongomaitengangana, the son of Tūwharetoa and Paekitawhiti.

12.3.3 Te Marangataua

Te Marangataua; the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Te Marangataua, was a high ranking Ngāti Tūwharetoa chief and a grandson of Waikari. From the union of Waewae and Te Marangataua came Rangikitua, Rahuikura, Torehaere, Waikapuaki and Te Au. It was in their time, and the time of their children and grandchildren, that Ngāti Waewae evolved into an independent hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, with blood ties to Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Atihaunui a Paparangi. Another important whanaungatanga link is to Ngāti Rangituhia through the tupuna Taiariki.

12.3.4 Huna

What information that exists regarding kui Huna is that she was central to the Ngāti Waewae heke ki te tonga. Her marriage to Ngāwaka, one of the rangatira of Ngāti Pikiahu, ensured that Ngāti Waewae did not make the journey alone.

12.3.5 Paranihi Te Tau

Parati Paurini recounted that after the Patoka battle at Waitotara in 1840, where Ngāti Tūwharetoa were defeated and how Tetau Paranihi (Paranihi Te Tau) was the principle man of Ngāti Waewae:

“Ngāti Waewae returned to Motuopuhi and resumed occupation of this land. It was at that period that Tetau was called Paranihi. He had killed Paranihi, a rangatira of Taranaki, and the name was then given for him. The Ngāti Waewae occupation was “noho tuturu”, Motuopuhi was the pa, and they went to “mahi kai” on this land now before the court. According to what I heard, it was 1842 that Ngāti Waewae went to live at Rangitikei. Some went, and some returned. The principle person who went was Tetau Paranihi. Elder people went. They were prepared to fight. The younger people and the women remained behind. They went to take possession of the land, and if necessary, to fight for it, owing to sale made by Ngāti Apa of lands extending to Tongariro Mountain.”⁴¹¹

⁴¹¹ Parati Paurini, Taupo Minute Book 17, pp. 202-205, 237-238.

12.4 Te Tikanga Whare

The house was first built on the Te Reureu Block about 1870 at a junction where the Rangitīkei River and the mouth of the Waituna Stream meet. This area is called Onepuehu; this name later changed to Onepuhi. When Te Tikanga and Poupatatē stood together it was known as Onepuehu Pa. These two houses were built for the descendants of Waewae and Pikiahu who are now collectively known as Ngāti Pikiahu-Waewae.⁴¹²

Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu once lived together around Lake Rotoaira and journeyed to Otara where Ngāwaka Maraenui remained for two years before re-joining Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae at Te Reureu. The significance of the Waituna junction relates to a historical ritual performed by Te Heuheu Tukino II and Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa namely the ‘Manea.’⁴¹³ This ceremony is the ritual sacrifice of a captive which is a part of raupatu that was performed to take and establish rights over the land.⁴¹⁴

While King Tawhiao was visiting Pūtiki in Whanganui, three elders went to see him and ask of him to visit the people at Te Reureu, in which he responded “Kimihia he tikanga hei hanga whare koropu”. The name Te Tikanga was taken from this statement and given to the wharepuni. There is also reference to a visit by Te Kere Ngātaierua, a prophet and healer from the Whanganui River, who had whakapapa links to Ngāti Waewae. His purpose was to have a house built for the expected birth of his grandchild. Because of his whakapapa relationship to the people at Te Reureu, they agreed.⁴¹⁵

The building of Te Tikanga is remembered in a waiata composed by a local chief of the time, named Te Rangihopu:

<i>Tango rawa mai au i aku iwi</i>	Gently may I remove my rib bones
<i>Pupu rawa hei kaho whare</i>	and be gathered and placed as kakaho reeds
<i>Mo Te Tikanga e tu nei</i>	for the house of Te Tikanga that stands before me
<i>He whare whakaakoranga nāku</i>	The house that I so desire
<i>Takoto rawa iho ki raro ra</i>	Slowly I must lie down
<i>He au noa taku hurihanga</i>	and frequently I must turn
<i>Whakaaratu ana i ahau</i>	Now I must gradually sit up
<i>I te ahiahitanga o te ra</i>	before the setting of the sun
<i>Nau mai e te tau hoki mai</i>	Welcome oh my dear one oh do return

⁴¹² ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa’ p. 249.

⁴¹³ Ibid, pp. 249-250.

⁴¹⁴ Waka, R. *Oral Tradition Seminar*. Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2000.

⁴¹⁵ ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa.’ p. 250.

*Ka takoto taua ki te whare
Ki te rore noa i o iwi
Ko te rauroha i a taua
E rua aku mate e noho nei au
Ko te mate akiko
Ko te ngau o te aroha
Mahi mai koutou e tama ma
He mahinga o taku ohinga

Ka haramai tenei ka tauwehe
Ka takoto pu au ki te whare e*

so we may both restfully lie in this house
Rest you weary and tired bones
spreading your arms amongst ourselves
I am laden with two illnesses
A form of consumption
and fretting with a broken heart
Oh my young masters I beseech you to continue
the gifted work of our ancestors that I did in my
youth
The time has come when one must depart
I shall stay lying in a heap inside the house.⁴¹⁶

The proverbial saying heard by visitors to Te Tikanga Marae is reflective of the alliance between two hapū and two Iwi:

“Ko te paepae o Tūwharetoa ki te tonga, te timatanga hoki o Ngāti Raukawa te au ki te tonga, Ngā hapū e rua a Ngāti Pīkiahū me Ngāti Waewae.”⁴¹⁷

Image 19: Former site of Te Tikanga Marae⁴¹⁸



⁴¹⁶ This moteatea was translated by Tūkawekai Kereama and retold by Pīkikōtuku Kereama.

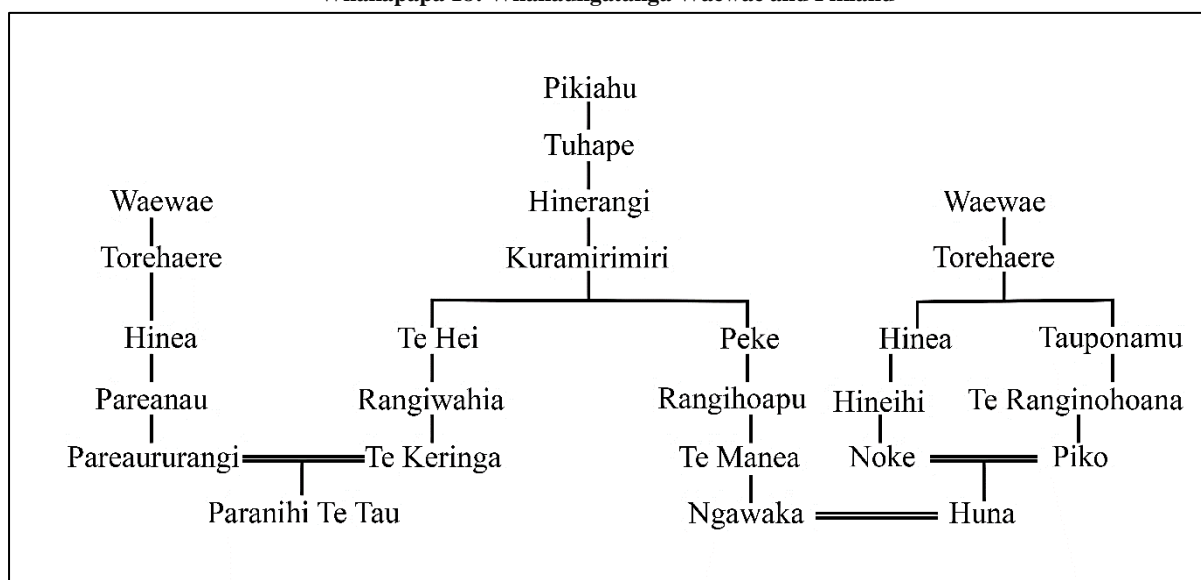
⁴¹⁷ ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa.’ p. 250.

⁴¹⁸ Image sourced Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p. 13.

12.5 Te Hekenga ki Te Reureu

The movement of the New Zealand Company moving closer and obtaining land in the Taupo district was a serious threat to Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Mananui's decision to send Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu was a strategic move to secure safe passage south. In particular, Ngāti Waewae's former relationship with Ngāti Hauti and Ngāti Pikiahu's whakapapa to Ngāti Raukawa. The whakapapa below shows the connection between Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu through Paranihi Te Tau and Ngawaka. These relationships solidified the whanaungatanga between the two hapū.⁴¹⁹

Whakapapa 18: Whanaungatanga Waewae and Pikiahu



The proposed purchase the Rangitūkei block compounded the threat of sales extending to Tongariro. It caused a reactive and strategic move by Ngāti Tūwharetoa to halt sales. Te Heuheu Mananui would not tolerate a threat to his tribal domain and sent Ngāti Waewae to Te Reureu to ensure that it would not happen. The journey of Ngāti Waewae to the Rangitūkei/Manawatū, and the successive occupation of Te Reureu were to halt the sale and/or loss of land. The decision to stop the sale of land extending to Tongariro required the support of all the hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Parati Paurini stated:

Had Ngāti Waewae not gone to the Manawatū all Ngāti Tūwharetoa would have suffered mate.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁹ Rochelle Paranihi, email correspondence, 21 July 2017.

⁴²⁰ Paurini Parati, Taupo Minute Book 17, p. 205.

Te Hekenga in the early 1840s took place at the request of the Paramount Chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Te Heuheu Tukino (Mananui). His concern was settler encroachment into the Taupo/Tongariro district. Mananui took extreme measures to stem the sale of land, on hearing of the New Zealand Company's interest to purchase land in the Rangitīkei and Manawatū districts, and the prospect of those sales extending to the Tongariro district he decided to act.⁴²¹

Ngāti Waewae's association with the people of this area went back well before the time the migration took place. The section of Ngāti Apa living in the Rangitīkei was once part of the section that came under the leadership of Matangikiaiwha II. When they fled from Rotoaira, they lived some years at Inland Patea and were later given land at the lower end of the Rangitīkei River by Ngāti Whiti, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Hauiti and others. A portion of this area is where Ngāti Waewae eventually settled and is now referred to as Te Reureu.⁴²²

Ripoarangi married a man of Ngāti Tama named Tamakaitangi, who had residences at Rotoaira, Patea, Kaiinanga and Otara; the latter three places are situated along the Rangitīkei River. Ripoarangi was killed by Ngāti Apa while staying at Kaiinanga, and on hearing of her death, sections of Ngāti Tūwharetoa made a series of attacks on Ngāti Apa in the lower parts of the Rangitīkei district. Retimana Te Rango gave an account of that event in *Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani* in 1879:

“Afterward a surprise party of Ngatiapa attacked Kawakawa, Makina, and other places up the Rangitikei River. A woman named Ripoarangi was killed there but her child Tuhope was spared. Tamakaitangi the husband of Ripoarangi escaped. Hauiti's people again pursued the enemy, overtook them at Karewarewa, and attacked and conquered them in the morning. The boy Tuhope was retaken from Ngāti Apa by his father. The boy seized his master by the waist and shouted “I'll have this part!” – so the lower part of his body was taken to Taupo to eat. At the fight all the prisoners taken from Ngāti Apa were killed. A party of Tuwharetoa then started to avenge the death of Ripoarangi. They went to Patea and joined the other Hauiti tribes at Otara; from that place they descended to the lower parts of the Rangitikei and settled their plans at a place called Takapuiri. Ngaitumokai hapū was with them. At the meeting a calabash of cooked Tuis was distributed. All received a share of the Tuis except a chief called Te Maatai. Proceeding then, on their expedition, they met the Ngatiapas at Koreromaiwaka, near Tutaenui (Marton). An action ensued and Ngāti Apa was on the point of retreating when Te Maatai fell back. Because he had not received a share of the Tuis he victimised his party. The Hauiti tribes then retreated and some of the allied chiefs were killed. Irahamori escaped wounded, and was carried to Murimotu, where he died his body was deposited in a cave named Pohee. The name of the battle was “Takurangi”. War parties of the allied hapū again took the field, and a fortified pa named Onepuehu was taken in satisfaction for the defeat they sustained in the last action.”⁴²³

⁴²¹ Ibid, p.203

⁴²² ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa:’ p. 242.

⁴²³ Retimana Te Rango, Otamakapua, *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani. Vol 1, No 42, 1879, p. 547.*

Now that Ngāti Waewae reside at Te Reureu, does this mean that they have given up on their land interests in the rohe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa? Parati Paurini explains the situation whether or not Ngāti Waewae interests became mātaotao after they had set up residence at Te Reureu:

“After that affair, Ngati Waewae returned to this district. Some returned here permanently, others took up residence at Rangitikei, but came here from time to time (ka hokihoki mai). No person is “kaha” to say that Ngati Waewae rights here became “mataotao” through their going to Rangitikei. If Ngati Waewae had not gone to Rangitikei to resist the Ngati Apa sale of land, that sale would have extended to Tongariro, and all Ngati Tuwharetoa would have suffered “mate.”⁴²⁴

Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu made a passionate statement to those gathered at Te Tikanga whare regarding their migration as a hapū to the Rangitikei district and to answer a query whether it was possible that a whare could be built in Ngāti Tūwharetoa rohe for those of Ngāti Waewae, the Ariki responded saying:

“When Manunui Te Heuheu requested Ngāti Waewae to relocate here in 1842; it was for the very strategic purpose of protecting Ngāti Tūwharetoa’ mana whenua, and to prevent the alienation of these whenua and the resulting blight of land acquisitions extending to the Tongariro district.... I am still undecided about your request to me to establish a whare near Lake Taupo. I do not want Ngāti Waewae to desert its post. However, I realise the importance of maintaining a constant linkage with our kin in the north, suffice to say I have not dismissed the thought.”⁴²⁵

13.0 NGĀTI MATAKORE

*“I heke mai i a Matakore raaua ko Wai-harapepe
eetehi
o nga whaanau rangatira o roto i nga iwi o
Tainui.*

*I tupu hoki a Ngaati Matakore hei iwi nui, he iwi
ora hoki. He tino whenua ora i te kai o raatou; he
tuna no roto
i nga awa, aa, he manu no runga i nga maunga.”*

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⁴²⁴ Paurini Parati, Taupo Minute Book 17, pp.202-205, 237-238.

⁴²⁵ Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu, Te Kapua Whakapipi Hui, Te Tikanga marae, 24 March 2013, minutes.

⁴²⁶ Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. Biggs, Bruce. *Nga Iwi O Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*. (Auckland University Press, 1995, p. 195).

13.1 Waka

Hoturoa the rangatira of Tainui waka guided his craft to Whangaparāoa, a place named after the finding of a stranded whale on arrival. Te Arawa waka had also landed at Whangaparāoa whereby both waka crews claimed ownership of the whale for its valuable resources of flesh, bone and teeth. There are accounts of scorching fibrous ropes to show signs of aging to indicate that the bearer's ropes had been tied to the whale longer than the other claimant. Tainui waka departed Whangaparāoa sailing along the coast to Tōrere, Tauranga, the Coromandel and Tāmaki Makaurau.⁴²⁷

Image 20: Arrival of Tainui and Te Arawa waka



Tainui waka made its way to Te Haukapua (Torpedo Bay), travelled up the Tāmaki River to Ōtāhuhu, the carrying the waka across Te Tō Waka into the Manukau Harbour. Leaving the Manukau, Tainui sailed in a southerly direction along the coast finally arriving at Kāwhia Harbour. During the travels of Tainui along both coastlines, several crew members disembarked and settled many of the areas they encountered.⁴²⁸

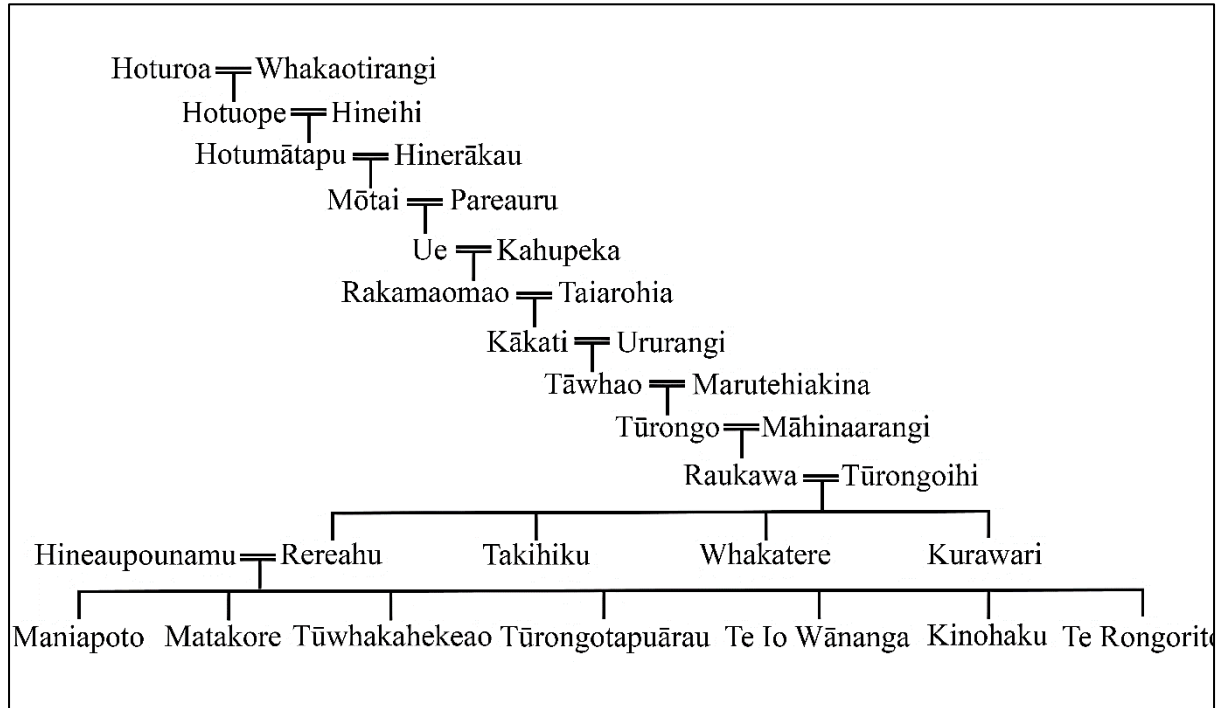
13.2 Whakapapa

The whakapapa below shows descent lines from Hoturoa and Whakaotirangi through successive generations to Matakore and his siblings.

⁴²⁷ Rāwiri Taonui, 'Canoe traditions - Te Arawa and Tainui', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/2340/landing-places-of-the-tainui-and-te-arawa-canoes> (accessed 7 December 2016)

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

Whakapapa 19: Hoturoa to Matakore⁴²⁹



Maniapoto held his younger brother Matakore in high regard, so much so, that he gave to him lands of the Rangitoto Ranges and lands south of the Waipā River. Matakore married Waiharapepe a wahine rangatira from Te Arawa. Jones and Biggs state that because of the marriage of Matakore to Waiharapepe, they and their people lived in peace with no warfare or trouble of any kind befalling them.⁴³⁰

13.3 Tupuna

The whakapapa table below clearly indicates the close whanaungatanga that exists between these tupuna despite the different tribal affiliations of their descendants today.

During the Native Land Court hearing of 1886 for the Maraeroa block Te Heuheu gave evidence that the Ngāti Tūwharetoa mana to the land was through their tupuna Karewa which

⁴²⁹ Whakapapa provided by Tūhuatahi Tui Adams. See David Swain, 'Genealogy and family history - What is genealogy?', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whakapapa/27059/maniapotos-whakapapa-in-graphic-form> (accessed 19 November 2016) and adapted from Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. Biggs, Bruce. *Nga Iwi O Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*. (Auckland University Press, 1995).p.177. See Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. Biggs, Bruce, p. 170. This whakapapa has eight children with a son named Kahuariari (name bracketed) situated between Te Io Wānanga and Kinohaku.

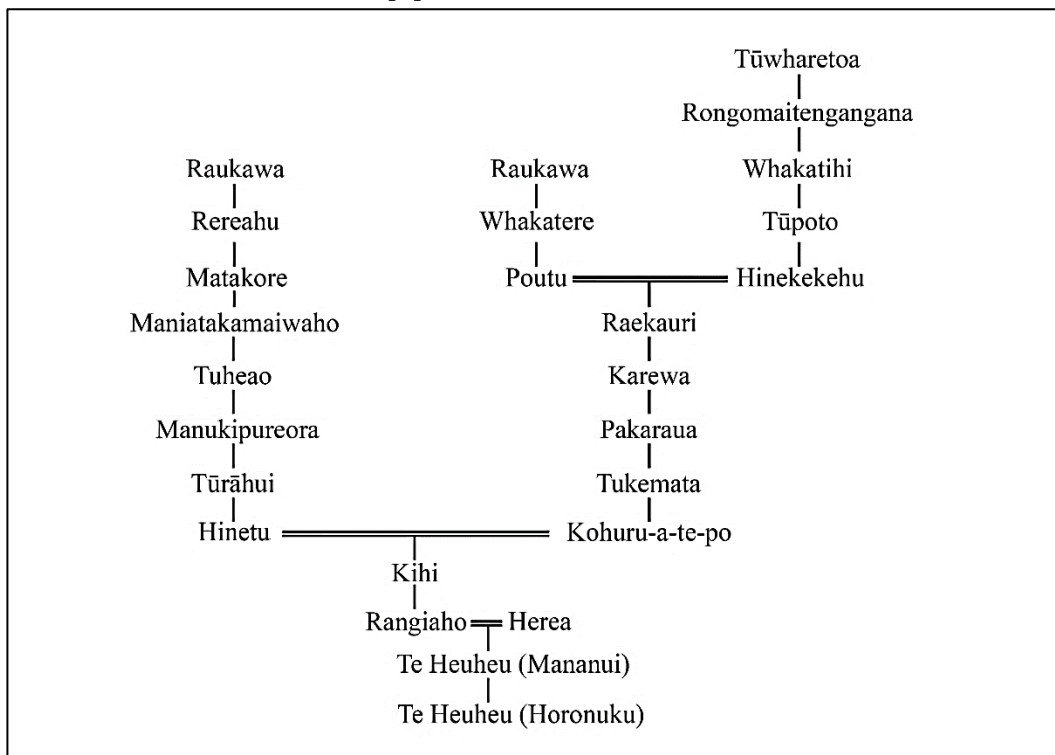
⁴³⁰ Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. Biggs, Bruce, p. 194.

Ngāti Raukawa, more so Ngāti Matakore did not dispute. Rather, Ngāti Matakore insisted that Karewa had arrived on the land as part of the Tainui expansion from Kawhia. They cited that the children and grandchildren of Raukawa had made their way into the region and had apportioned certain lands for those who remained.

Because Maniapoto had chosen to leave the area, his share was apportioned to Matakore who still retained his own and Poutu and Pikiahu had inherited the lands of Whakatere. Te Heuheu had stated that Hinekekehu had been the first to live on the land before she married Poutu who came onto the land at a later period; hence mana-whenua was derived through Tūwharetoa. Other claimants present at the court insisted that Matakore was first on the land and that his cousin Karewa had crossed the Hauhungaroa ridge to settle his people at Pureora.⁴³¹

Suffice it to say; despite the differing views regarding who was on the land first, the crucial point is that the whakapapa table above clearly indicates the close ties shared by the descendants of Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Whakapapa 20: Te Heuheu (Horonuku)⁴³²



⁴³¹ Ibid, pp. 80-84.

⁴³² Adapted from Parsonson, Ann R. 'He Whenua Te Utu (The Payment Will Be Land),' A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Canterbury, of Philosophy in the University of Canterbury, August 1978. p. 81.

13.4 Te Marae o Hine

Mura Karatea Winchcombe explained that where Te Marae o Hine stood there were three plateaus where their dead were buried on the second plateau and the people lived on the river flat, and because of flooding the hapū moved to the top plateau.⁴³³

Image 4: Te Marae o Hine⁴³⁴



The Ngāti Matakore settled on lands upstream from Ngāti Rangatahi who had their own marae Te Hiiri o Mahuta. However, when the whare burnt down in the 1960s the Ngāti Matakore joined Ngāti Rangatahi on their marae.⁴³⁵

Heemi Te Peeti provided a historical account of the origin to the name Marae o Hine and how this name was brought south to memorialise the ancestress Rongorito the youngest child of Rereahu. Rongorito had great mana within Waikato and her marae was a sanctuary for enemy

⁴³³ Mura Karatea Winchcombe, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p. 94.

⁴³⁴ Image of Te Marae po Hine supplied by Turoa Karatea

⁴³⁵ Meredith, P. Joseph, R. Gifford, L, 'Ko Rangitikei Te Awa: The Rangitikei River and Its Tributaries Cultural Perspectives Report,' (A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, May 2016, p. 32).

fighters because violence at her marae was forbidden. Because of her mana the Ngāti Matakore who travelled south to Te Reureu brought with them these aspects of their tupuna.⁴³⁶

Image 21: Former site of Te Marae o Hine⁴³⁷



Tania Simpson says that Te Marae o Hine was of Ngāti Maniapoto and a place of sanctuary for women, and a place for healing.⁴³⁸ The pine trees indicate the location of where the whare Te Marae o Hine once resided. This marae suffered fire and has not been rebuilt, but many of the whanau wish to restore the marae and wharekai (pictured below). One kuia related how many of the whanau would gather at this marae to discuss issues of concern and come to some agreements, and how others would reside here seeking treatment for ailments and even to give birth to their young.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁶ Heemi Te Peeti, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 95-97.

⁴³⁷ Image sourced Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p. 15.

⁴³⁸ Tania Simpson, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, site visit 18 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p. 16.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

Location of Te Marae o Hine⁴⁴⁰



13.5 Whanaungatanga

Dennis Emery cites the Kingitanga as the unifying influence for many of the hapū of Te Reureu, the Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Whakaterere. He recounted how the Ngāti Whakaterere had hosted the Poukai every March for 36 years and how his parents both supported Ngāti Whakaterere.

However, this support went further to the time when Tāwhiao took refuge amongst the Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Matakore around Ōtewa, Ōtorohanga and Te Kuiti, and because of their support to the Kingitanga:

“... we were obligated to honour in terms the whakaaro i a rātou nei kia mau tonu, kia pupuri tonu ana i te whenua. He tapu mō tātou nei, he mea tapu... Not one of us hapū and iwi down here would have survived by ourselves. We needed each other. We still need each other. And so I’m pleased and I’m delighted that I can move around and know that we get on well together in here, and part of the hōhonutanga mō tātou nei kia whakakotahi anō i a tātou nei.”⁴⁴¹

Heemi Te Peeti speaks of the close relationship that Ngāti Matakore have with their whanaunga Ngāti Rangatahi, the descendant of Tūtakamoana. Because when their marae, Te Marae o Hine was destroyed by fire the Ngāti Rangatahi:

“...showed great love for their kin in allowing us to become part of their house here, Te Hiiri Tapu a Mahuta. That is where this people of Ngāti Matakore gather today. That has given rise to the name Matakore Rangatahi, because of the love of those descendants of Matakore, we are now combined. That is the story of that name, associated with that marae, Te Marae o Hine.”⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Te Awa o Te Rangitīkei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, 19-20 February 2010, Report-Back to Funders: Ngāti Tūwharetoa - Mighty River Power Development Group and Ngāti Tūwharetoa - Genesis Energy Committee.

⁴⁴¹ Dennis Emery, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 98-100.

⁴⁴² Heemi Te Peeti, p. 96.

Turoa Karatea explains how Ngāti Matakore people travelled to and from their northern homelands visiting whanaunga:

“... some people stayed there and some were down here but our people kept travelling backwards and forwards all the time, so that’s how they became engaged in those wars up there, in the Land Wars, they were trying to hang on to that land that we owned up there at one stage.”

This old relationship with whanaunga who chose to stay in the north was epitomised in the Maraeroa A&B Block Settlement of 2012 as Turoa says that all of the people living at Te Reureu and those of Ngāti Whakaterere are beneficiaries to the settlement.⁴⁴³

13.6 Te Hekenga ki Te Reureu

Turoa Karatea says some of Ngāti Matakore joined with Te Rauparaha in his southern migration, and that others of Ngāti Matakore were part of the southern hekenga to Te Reureu by Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu:

“When I was talking about our people splitting up, some went with Te Rauparaha, they came down when Te Rauparaha came down here and conquered all this land but the other, the majority of them came down with Tūwharetoa, they were part of that.”⁴⁴⁴

The Ngāti Matakore has also held to the same philosophy of holding on to the land and there be no land sales. The philosophy of holding on to the land even prompted some of Ngāti Matakore to assist Taranaki iwi in their land struggles of armed conflict during the land wars in their rohe.⁴⁴⁵ Payment for their assistance to Te Rauparaha at the battle of Haowhenua in 1834, Ngāti Matakore were given land at Te Reureu.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴³ Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 85-86, 91.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Meredith, P. Joseph, R. Gifford, L, p. 32.

14.0 NGĀTI RANGATAHI

*'Tēnei ka noho i te mahau o taku whare, ka huri
aku kanohi ki Rangitūkei awa, ki te wai tukukiri o
ōku nei mātua, o Ngāti Pīkiahū Waewae,
Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Rangatahi, Matakore,
Maniapoto e.'*⁴⁴⁷



14.1 Waka

The whakapapa table notes that Rangatahi the tupuna and Ngāti Rangatahi the hapū descend from Hoturoa and those who sailed here on Tainui waka. Like Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Pīkiahū of Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae ki Poupatatē they share a common ancestry to those who arrived on Tainui waka.

14.2 Whakapapa

Rangatahi traces her descent lines from Raukawa through to Rereahu to the children of Maniapoto and Kinohaku. Ballara relates the story of when Rangipare was betrothed to Wairangi the son of Takihiku, but she chose Tūtakamoana instead and the couple eloped. Incensed, Wairangi set out with a large force intent on punishing Tūtakamoana, his father Maniapoto and their people. A battle ensued and Wairangi was defeated and managed to flee, however resentment would last several generations, even to the point that Whakatere took sides with his brother Takihiku. This resentment produced the separate hapū of Raukawa known as Ngāti Takihiku and Ngāti Whakatere, and according to Ballara it probably established the separate identity of Ngāti Maniapoto.⁴⁴⁸

Rovina Maniapoto Anderson concurs with Ballara by naming Whakatere, Kurawari and Takihiku the three youngest children of Raukawa and Tūrongoihi who make up the eventual final Raukawa grouping and how they fought against Rereahu and Maniapoto because an 'elopement.' This is the first instance that Rovina had ever heard of an elopement in the world of Māoridom. The elopement just aggravated the strained relationships that already existed and how both groups met to settle differences the time-honoured way of intermarrying their young

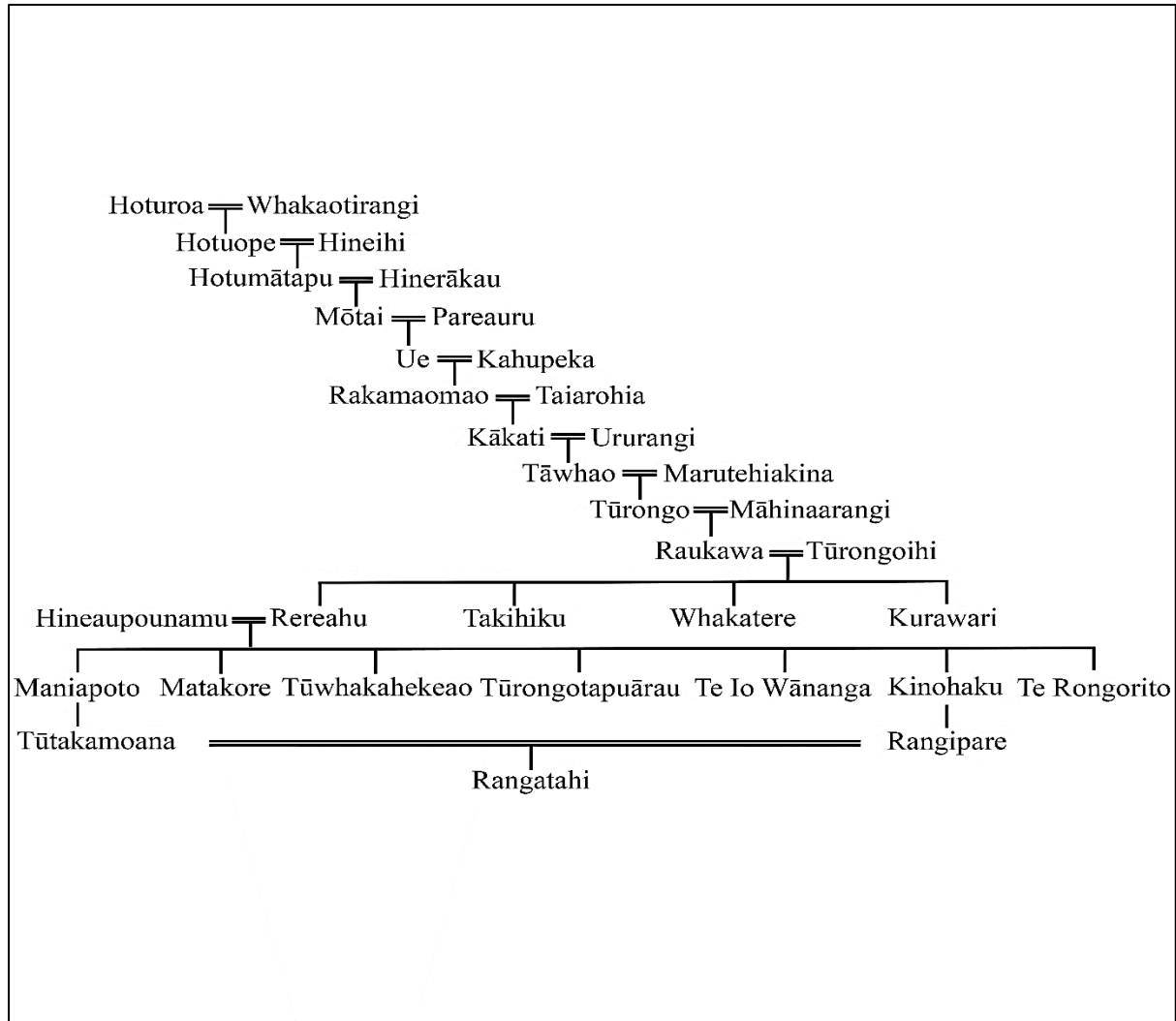
⁴⁴⁷ Waiata composed by Kahurautete cited in Ernest Adams, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p. 135.

⁴⁴⁸ Ballara, Angela, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from C.1769 to C.1945*, (Victoria University Press, 1998, pp. 177-178).

people to cease hostilities. However, Rangipare and Tūtakamoana had different ideas and rest is history, they fled into the Nehenehenui, the deep forest of Maniapoto. Open conflict ensued with Raukawa faction coming off worse for wear. During that period Rangipare and Tūtakamoana produced a daughter named Rangatahi. Rovina goes on to state that when she was in her teens she married Mania-uruahu and from this union produced offspring:

.... the might and the power of Tainui waka at that time.⁴⁴⁹

Whakapapa 21: Hoturoa to Rangatahi⁴⁵⁰



⁴⁴⁹ Rovina Maniapoto Anderson , Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 142-144.

⁴⁵⁰ Whakapapa provided by Tūhuatahi Tui Adams. See David Swain, 'Genealogy and family history - What is genealogy?', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whakapapa/27059/maniapotos-whakapapa-in-graphic-form> (accessed 19 November 2016) and adapted from Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. Biggs, Bruce. *Nga Iwi O Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*. (Auckland University Press, 1995).p.177. See Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. Biggs, Bruce. p.170. This whakapapa has eight children with a son named Kahuariari (name bracketed) situated between Te Io Wānanga and Kinohaku.

14.3 Tupuna

14.3.1 Rangatahi & Mania-uruahu

Rovina Maniapoto Anderson provides a whakapapa lesson on the children of Rangatahi and Mania-uruahu and how their descendants left such a rich legacy “four children were born, four children that left a mark they have to this day, clearly define who we are.”⁴⁵¹ The couple’s first child Heke-i-te-rangi married Ngaere a man she had met when she and her father visited the Waikato area. The union produced a son, so Heke-i-te-rangi arranged for her father Mania-uruahu to come to their son’s tohi ceremony. Her father came bringing Mania-ope-tini another Maniapoto rangatira with him. Because of the arrival of two rangatira the hāngī pit was split in two, hence the name Ngā-rua-wāhia was given which is the name of the present town. One of the hāngī pits produced raw food, so the mountain was named Hākari-mata (raw feast). The second daughter of Rangatahi and Mania-uruahu was named Tū-marouru who married Tamatea the second and the couple produced a son Hikairo the first whose domain would cover a vast area and his descendants are the Ngāti Hikairo people of Kawhia. This Hikairo would produce a grandson also named Hikairo whose descendants are the Ngāti Hikairo hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The couple’s third daughter was named Urunumia who married Te Kawa and they produced a son called Te Kanawa:

“...ka moe a Te Kanawa i a Waikohika ka puta ki waho ko Parengāope rāua ko Tiramanuhiri. Nā Parengāope ka puta ko te Kīngitanga, ko Te Rauangaanga. Nā Tiramanuhiri ka puta ko Wahanui tuatahi, ko Wahanui tuarua, arā, ō tātou rangatira i noho mai rā i te kāinga. And then, Te Kanawa married again...he married his first cousin, Hikairo’s sister Whaiapare, ka puta ki waho ko Te Riri-o-ranga-whenua, ko Kūmara-wai-nui, ko Tūtūnui, ko Te Rewanga, ko Taraunahi, ko Whati, ko Wairākei e kōrero nei koutou i heke mai a Parewahawaha, ko Wairākei, ko Paretekāwā.”⁴⁵²

Rovina finished by saying that the whakapapa of Tūkawekai resides with his descendants who reside at Te Reureu. Tumanako Herangi added that:

“The descendants of Hekeiterangi affiliated to Ngāti Hikairo. The descendants of Tumarouru affiliated to Waikato. The descendants of Urunumia affiliated to Ngāti Maniapoto and it was left to the descendants of Tūkawekai to formulate their own iwi hereinafter to be known as Ngāti Rangatahi.”⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ Rovina Maniapoto Anderson, pp. 143-144.

⁴⁵² Ibid, pp. 143-144.

⁴⁵³ Tumanako Herangi, p. 104.

14.3.2 Topine Te Mamaku

Topine Te Mamaku of Ngāti Haua-te-rangi and Ngāti Rangatahi resided at Tuhua on the Ohura River north of Taumarunui.⁴⁵⁴ Te Mamaku was credited in saying

Unuunu te puru o Tuhua maringiringi te wai e puta
If you withdraw the plug of Tuhua you will be overwhelmed by the flooding hordes of
the north.⁴⁵⁵

Te Mamaku was dissuaded from joining Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa in their migration to Kapiti by Te Peehi Turoa of Te Ati Haunui-a-Paparangi in the 1820s. However, by the 1840s Te Mamaku was in Wellington and by 1846 he and his Ngāti Haua-te-rangi warriors were engaged in battle with European settlers in support of Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Rangatahi in the Hutt Valley.⁴⁵⁶

14.3.3 Kāparatehau

Unlike Te Mamaku who was dissuaded from migrating to Kapiti, Kāparatehau and a group of Ngāti Rangatahi joined Te Rauparaha in the 1820s leaving their residence in the Ohura Valley near Taumarunui. Because of their assistance to Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata in gaining control of Te Upoko o te Ika, they were granted land in the Heretaunga area (Hutt Valley) which in turn they had to pay tribute to these benefactors.⁴⁵⁷ By December 1844, Ngāti Rangatahi considered that they were no longer subservient to Te Rauparaha, and that he held no mana over them when he had made an agreement to sell the Hutt Valley. Kāparatehau, responded that:

“...we do not intend to leave the Hutt without being paid, as to Rauparaha ordering us off, and shall pay no attention to him. If he wants us to go, he must come and drive us [off].”⁴⁵⁸

Eventually Kāparatehau and the Ngāti Rangatahi were forced to depart Heretaunga and moved to Rangitīkei. However, the Tribunal noted that in 1850, Kāparatehau returned to Heretaunga.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁴ *The Whanganui River Report, Wai 167*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 1999, p. 111.

⁴⁵⁵ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t49/te-mamaku-hemi-topine>. The statement made by Te Mamaku was that his pa was positioned strategically on the Ohura River.

⁴⁵⁶ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t49/te-mamaku-hemi-topine>

⁴⁵⁷ *The Whanganui River Report, Wai 167*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 1999, pp. 189-190.

⁴⁵⁸ Forsaith to Richmond, 28 December 1844, ma/w1/1, pp. 77–79 (quoted in doc. M3, p. 36), cited in *The Whanganui River Report, Wai 167*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 1999, p. 206.

⁴⁵⁹ *The Whanganui River Report*, p. 217. see also Anderson, Robyn and Pickens, Keith, *Wellington district: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitīkei, and Manawatu*, Rangahaua Whanui District 12, (Wellington, Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 44).

14.4 Te Hiiri o Mahuta

“We at Te Hiiri Marae see ourselves as the kaitiaki of our iwi, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Matakore, our links to Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Maniapoto, our land, our urupā, our whakapapa and our wāhi tapu.”⁴⁶⁰

Situated above Rangataua Stream is Te Hiiri o Māhuta. This is a house of Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Maniapoto and was built around 1907. Hato Hōhepa is the church house at Te Hiiri and is the resting place of Taite Te Tomo. Whānau from Te Hiiri not only have whakapapa links to Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu but can trace lineage to hapū of the Western Bays namely Ngāti Parekaawa. To the south of Rangataua Stream is Miria te Kakara, an old pa site where historical gatherings were held amongst tribes including Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Raukawa.⁴⁶¹

14.5 Whanaungatanga

Heemi Te Peeti recalled the time when Te Marae o Hine was destroyed by fire and the love shown by Ngāti Rangatahi to the plight of their whanaunga of Ngāti Matakore:

“Nā, ka piri mātou a Ngāti Matakore ki ō mātou whanaunga Ngāti Rangatahi, ko ngā uri ēnei heke iho nei i a Tūtakamoana. Nā rātou te aroha nui i moea tahi a Ngāti Matakore ki tō mātou tipuna whare i konei ināianei e kī ana ko Te Hiiri Tapu a Mahuta. Kei reira e noho ana tēnei iwi o mātou rā, o Ngāti Matakore i tēnei rā. Koia ka kī ko Matakore Rangatahi, heoi anō nā te aroha nui o tēnā uri a Matakore i moea tahi ai mātou. Koirā te ingoa o tērā kōrero mō tērā marae.”⁴⁶²

Grace Le Gros spoke how the Waitangi Tribunal Hearings in the Rohe Potae district had concluded and that it was quite evident that Ngāti Rangatahi still maintained their manawhenua in the Taumarunui region and their connections to other areas. Grace was confirming that the manawhenua and manatangata of Ngāti Rangatahi was just as strong in the Te Reureu region as it was in the rohe of Ngāti Maniapoto.⁴⁶³ According to Sir Taihākurei the Ngāti Rangatahi people today are represented solely by the whanau resident at Te Reureu, believing that those of Ngāti Rangatahi who chose to stay in the Taumarunui district instead of journeying south were subsumed by other local iwi and hapū. In his view, the history of the Ngāti Rangatahi resident at Te Reureu was not exhibited nor were they given the opportunity to give evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry in Wellington regarding the disposal of excess railway lands

⁴⁶⁰ Tumanako Herangi, p. 108.

⁴⁶¹ ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa:’ p. 251.

⁴⁶² Heemi Te Peeti, p. 62.

⁴⁶³ Grace Le Gros, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 155-156.

in the Heretaunga area of Hutt Valley. Extensive inquiries with kaumatua of the Taumarunui region demonstrated that the Ngāti Rangatahi of that area were non-existent. He endorses this saying:

“I believe that the identity of Rangatahi had died out in the Taumarunui area and they had been absorbed into other hapū. I was a Māori Land Court judge there from 1974 to 1980. There was no Rangatahi marae. I was given a list of the active hapū. Rangatahi was not amongst them. The flags of the various hapū were presented at marae in accordance with practice but again there was no Rangatahi flag – at least at that time. A Rangatahi flag was developed only when the claim for Heretaunga was filed in the Wellington inquiry.”⁴⁶⁴

14.5.1 Tukuteihu and Mātakitaki

Tame Tuwhāngai gives an account of Ngāti Rangatahi rangatira Ngarupiki who in 1846 made the journey from Heretaunga (Hutt Valley, Wellington) to Te Reureu after they were forcibly evicted from their lands by the Government. He was able to negotiate with Ngāti Rōrā rangatira Taonui for the return of their lands at Taumarunui. Part of the negotiations required the giving of gifts, a cask of tobacco, blankets and a wagon. Ngarupiki was then able to return with most of his people with some opting to stay on at Te Reureu. In 1861, Tukuteihu and Mātakitaki, the sons of Ngarupiki gathered their kinfolk from Te Reureu and Taumarunui and took part in the conflicts in Taranaki in support of Rewi Maniapoto and their Ngāti Maniapoto whanaunga. Several Ngāti Rangatahi were killed in the conflict, with Tukuteihu being badly wounded.

Tame states:

“Mātakitaki and Tukuteihu maintained their relationships between the two areas of Te Reureu and Taumarunui right up until their deaths, just at the beginning of the 20th Century. Though the actions of the Crown have eroded those relationships throughout the many years, we have not gone away or been superseded by larger tribes. We are Ngāti Rangatahi and we will pull the scattered together to go forward into the future.”⁴⁶⁵

Dr Rā Durie admitted that Ngāti Rangatahi descends from Maniapoto, however, they have very close whakapapa links to Ngāti Toa Rangatira, and he explains this relationship as given to him from his kuia:

“Nā Rangatahi ko Tūkawekai, tēnā ko Ue. Nā, i moe a Ue i a Parehuitao, te mokopuna rā o Ngātokowaru. Nā, ka moe a Ue i a Parehuitao ka puta mai i a rāua ko Te Rangikaiwhiria.... Ko tana moenga tuatahi a Te Rangikaiwhiria ki a Te Iringa. ka puta mai ā rāua ko Te Kāhuirangi. Nā, i moe a Te Kāhuirangi i a Te Haunga, tētahi o ngā tamariki o Marangaipāroa, arā, he mokopuna ia ki a Toa Rangatira. Koirā te hononga i waenganui a Ngāti Rangatahi me Ngāti Toa. Koirā te take i kī mai taku kuia ki a au he hapū a Rangatahi ki a Ngāti Toa ahakoa ko te tupuna rā a Rangatahi he mokopuna nō

⁴⁶⁴ Email correspondence from Sir Taihakurei Durie, 21 March 2017.

⁴⁶⁵ Tame Tuwhāngai, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 151-152.

Maniapoto, i runga anō i te whanaunga tata i waenganui i a Rangatahi me Toa Rangatira koirā te take i kī mai ia he hapū a Ngāti Rangatahi ki a Ngāti Toa.⁴⁶⁶

Sir Taihākurei Durie provides another whakapapa account pointing out the relationship of Ngāti Rangatahi to Ngāti Toa:

In the land awards, the link with Ngāti Toa was represented by the Wineera family in the Reureu land holdings around Kakariki while Kahuraute Matawha, whose grandmother Wharekiri lived on Kapiti, had retained a link to both Ngāti Toa and to the people of Te Kuiti. Wharekiri had been at Kapiti, Wairau, Heretaunga and Poroutawhao and now moved to Kakariki. Her daughter, Mihikiturangi came to Kakariki as a child. Mihikiturangi had Kahuraute who died in the 1960s. She was raised at both Te Kuiti and Kakariki, but mainly at Kakariki.⁴⁶⁷

14.6 Te Hekenga ki Te Reureu

This section seeks to examine the reasons why Ngāti Rangatahi settled at Te Reureu. What is apparent from the Kōrero and literature is that Ngāti Rangatahi was resident in Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) and had erected the pā Maraenuku in the late 1830s and reconstructed it in 1842. In addition, Ngāti Rangatahi were harshly dealt with by the suspect land purchase of Port Nicholson, armed Government policy in support of these policies and even the one-sided historical view of the battle of Boulcott's farm.⁴⁶⁸ In order to understand the hekenga ki Te Reureu the story needs to begin with the places of origin for the Ngāti Rangatahi.

Ernest Adams researched these origins and found that Ngāti Rangatahi in c.1790 lived in a village called Orahere not far from Kāwhia. Also, nearby is the Waipa River which connects to the Maungapu River which Ernest describes as an ideal place for fishing and gathering. However, conflict with their Ngāti Maniapoto kin prompted their rangatira Tūtemahurangi to lead his people south to Ohura and Taumarunui district the home of their whanaunga and the domain of Ngāti Haua. Conflict somehow followed them with the killing of Tūtemahurangi and his son Pango by Ngāti Maru people on behalf of the Ngāti Urunomia. Leaderless, the Ngāti Rangatahi eventually intermarried with the Ngāti Haua people. Ernest says that by the 1820s Ngāti Rangatahi had split into two groups, one staying in the Taumarunui area with Ngāti Haua and the other under the leadership of Parata followed Te Rauparaha south. It seems that many of the 600 men, women and children who left the Taumarunui area went because they were ordered by Topine Te Mamaku. On reaching Whanganui the travellers met Pehi Tūroa

⁴⁶⁶ Dr Rā Durie, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, p. 110.

⁴⁶⁷ Email correspondence from Sir Taihakurei Durie, 21 March 2017.

⁴⁶⁸ See map of Hutt Valley engagements 1846, p. 129.

who persuaded many of them to return to Taumarunui and on their arrival they found that their former lands had been seized and were now occupied by Waikato tribes. Those who chose not to return continued their journey to Waikanae and the eventual conflict at Heretaunga.⁴⁶⁹

Sir Taihākurei Durie offers some aspects of the early movements and relocation of Ngāti Rangatahi to Te Reureu saying:

“A section of Ngāti Rangatahi living south of Te Kuiti, including around Aria and Mokauiti, joined with Te Rauparaha in the early migrations. They settled and married in with Ngāti Toa on Kāpiti Island. They were involved in the raids on the South Island under the leadership of Te Rangihaeata and took an active part in the events in the Wairau Valley when Wakefield and a party were killed – as well as the wife of Te Rangihaeata. For that they were ‘wanted’ by the Governors.

Ngāti Rangatahi returned from the South Island and settled at Heretaunga in the Hutt Valley under the aegis of Te Rangihaeata. The military forced them to leave and to settle with Te Rangihaeata at Pouroutawhao-koputaroa in about 1846. Prior to this Te Rangihaeata had settled the Rangitikei river as the Ngāti Apa southern boundary but some time after this shift Ngāti Apa were threatening to move south of the Rangitikei River. Ngāti Rangatahi then went with Te Rangihaeata to the Rangitikei River and burnt down a house erected by a settler under licence from Ngāti Apa. Te Rangihaeata then located Ngāti Rangatahi at Kakariki where they established Miria Te Karaka shortly downriver from their Ngāti Matakore relatives. After a flood both Matakore and Rangatahi shifted to the plateau above, where Matakore re-established Te Marae o Hine, and Rangatahi established Te Hiiri o Mahuta marae.”⁴⁷⁰

14.6.1 Settlement at Heretaunga

The Waitangi Tribunal noted that the Port Nicholson block (Wellington Harbour) was originally settled and occupied by Ngāti Ira and those sharing common descent from Whātonga, which included Rangitāne and Muaūpoko. However, by the 1820s a series of migrations from the north slowly ousted these inhabitants. These migrants included Ngāti Toa from Kāwhia, several groups from Taranaki and the Ngāti Rangatahi from Taumarunui.⁴⁷¹

The ensuing paragraphs will take a step back in time to examine what brought about the Ngāti Rangatahi southern migration. Tame Tūwhāngai speaks of when his tupuna kuia Rangatahi was raised by her grandfather in his pā at Hikurangi; she later married Mania-uruahu. Their son Tūkawekai an expert in weaponry taught his nephew Te Kanawa-whatupango in these ancient arts. Together, uncle and nephew led a Ngāti Maniapoto force against several sections of

⁴⁶⁹ Ernest Adams, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, pp. 132-134.

⁴⁷⁰ Email correspondence from Sir Taihakurei Durie, 21 March 2017.

⁴⁷¹ *Te Whanganui A Tara Me Ona Takiwa, Report on the Wellington District. Wai 145*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2003. p.xvii.

Taranaki at a place called Te Maika, Kāwhia; the battle was called O-pua-tangehe. It was at Te Maika that Ngāti Maniapoto was beaten and Tūkawekai lost his life, fortunately Te Kanawa managed to escape. Tūkawekai had a son called Ue who married Parehuitau; both settled in the Taumarunui district. Their son Tūtemahurangi became the leading rangatira of Ngāti Rangatahi and from his first wife Waikura they had a son named Te Parau who succeeded his father as rangatira of Ngāti Rangatahi.⁴⁷² By the early 1800s and following a dispute with Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Rangatahi decided to join Te Rauparaha in his southern migration. Ngāti Rangatahi split into two groups under the leadership of Ngarupiki the son of Te Parau, and Parata a descendant of Tūtemahurangi. Parata whose other name was Kāparatehau took his section to join Te Rauparaha eventually settling in Wellington and supporting Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa and all their allied tribes in raids into the South Island.⁴⁷³

14.6.2 Wakefield Purchases

In September 1839, principle agent of the New Zealand Company William Wakefield had signed a purchase deed for Port Nicholson with Te Atiawa rangatira. However, Ngāti Toa rangatira Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata objected, stating that they were ones that the company should be dealing with, by which an agreement was established the following month at Kapiti.⁴⁷⁴ Unfortunately, Wakefield thought that he had purchased from Te Atiawa the seaward half of the Hutt Valley, and through his transaction with Ngāti Toa he had acquired the Hutt Valley and Porirua. The tensions between Te Atiawa and Ngāti Toa and their Ngāti Raukawa allies ignited into armed conflict in December 1839 at Kuititanga (Otaki). In the ensuing battle both sides were armed with guns and ammunition supplied from Wakefield as payment for their individual transactions.⁴⁷⁵

“Wakefield thought that by sending goods to prominent pa in the harbour area he had secured all the land between the south coast and the Tararua Range, the islands in the harbour and part of inland Porirua. So he had to seek an agreement with Te Rauparaha in October 1839 and with Te Atiawa in November 1839. However, rangatira 235 from other parts of the harbour disagreed saying that they were not party to the deal, that the gifts of purchase were just gifts, or that they accepted the gifts because they didn’t want to miss out ...”

⁴⁷² Tame Tuwhāngai, p. 152.

⁴⁷³ Tame Tuwhāngai, p. 152.

⁴⁷⁴ 'The Port Nicholson purchase', URL: <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wellington-war/port-nicholson-purchase> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 28-Sep-2016.

⁴⁷⁵ Anderson, A. Binney, J. Harris, A. *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, (Bridget Williams Books, 2014, pp. 234). <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wellington-war/port-nicholson-purchase>.

These purchases culminated in armed conflict, the loss of life, destruction of property and the forcible eviction of Ngāti Rangatahi from Heretaunga.

14.6.3 Boulcott's Farm

Death and destruction may have been averted had Governor Grey in early 1846 agreed with Te Kāēaea of Ngāti Tama and Kāparatehau of Ngāti Rangatahi who were willing to leave Heretaunga if they could receive compensation for the 300 acres of potatoes they had planted. Grey replied that compensation would not be discussed so long as they remained on the land. In compliance they vacated the Heretaunga in late February 1846 only to find out that settlers had destroyed Maraenuku pa and desecrated the village chapel and urupa. Incensed, Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Tama returned to Heretaunga and in retaliation attacked settler's property.⁴⁷⁶ Anderson et al, take a different view by pointing out that it was Governor Grey's 'ill-disciplined troops' who plundered Maori gardens, houses and a chapel. In retaliation Ngāti Rangatahi ransacked settler houses and a killed settler and his son at Boulcott's farm.⁴⁷⁷

Image 22: Boulcott's Stockade by George Hyde Page, 1846⁴⁷⁸



⁴⁷⁶ 'A line in the bush', URL: <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wellington-war/line-in-the-bush> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 20-Dec-2012).

⁴⁷⁷ Anderson, A. Binney, J. Harris, A. *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, (Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p. 237).

⁴⁷⁸ Cited in *The Boulder and the Bugler: The Battle of Boulcott's Farm in Public Memory* by Ewan Morris, Abstract, 2015. p.54. Source: *Journal of New Zealand studies (Online)*, 2015; n.20: pp. 51-71; issn:2324-3740.

Boulcott farm was a New Zealand Company rural block owned by Mr Almon Boulcott and developed by him in the early 1840s, one of the few settlers to occupy their land purchases in the Hutt Valley. South of Boulcott's farm was a pā called Maraenuku which had been erected by Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rangatahi, and to the north another pā called Motutawa. Boulcott's farm was fortified because of the conflict that triggered the events at Wairau in 1843 and the simmering unrest that was happening in the Wellington region. Maraenuku was believed to have been constructed in the late 1830's but was abandoned before settler arrival in 1840 only to be constructed again by Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rangatahi in 1842. Governor Grey ordered its destruction in February 1846.⁴⁷⁹

“At that time (1844) Ngati Rangatahi and Ngati Tama objected to the New Zealand Company purchases and refused to leave the Hutt Valley and were now considered trespassers. Support for their cause came from Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha, when in May 1844 Te Rangihaeata camped in the Hutt Valley with 500 followers. By March 1845, Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha were at loggerheads about the occupation of the Hutt Valley, with Te Rangihaeata eventually leaving the final decision up Te Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Rangatahi and the Government. However, Te Rangihaeata made it obvious that they not relinquish the Hutt Valley and that he would support them if they were attacked.”

Not long after Ngāti Rangatahi were evicted, tensions erupted in April 1846 when a father and son were killed for farming land that Ngāti Rangatahi had been evicted from. Although Kāparatehau and others were implicated it was Te Rangihaeata who was suspected of instigating the attack. Within the vicinity lay Boulcott's farm which had been converted into a military stockade commanded by Lieutenant G.H. Page with 50 men from the 58th Regiment. On 16 May 1846, Te Mamaku led a dawn attack on the stockade with his Ngāti Rangatahi and 200 reinforcements from Whanganui.⁴⁸⁰

The attack mortally wounded two Europeans and cost the lives of six soldiers. The following month an armed patrol was ambushed with four fatalities recorded. Governor Grey responded by arresting Te Rauparaha in July, and by mid-August Te Rangihaeata had withdrawn from the area ending all hostilities in the Wellington region.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ Morris Te Whiti Love, Statement of Evidence on behalf of Summerset Villages (Lower Hutt) Ltd, 10 June 2016, p. 3, see - <http://portal.huttcity.govt.nz/Record/ReadOnly?Tab=3&Uri=4128172>. Reference - 'A line in the bush', URL: <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wellington-war/line-in-the-bush> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 20-Dec-2012.

⁴⁸⁰ 'An escalation of violence', URL: <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wellington-war/escalation> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 8-Jul-2016).

⁴⁸¹ 'Eight killed in attack on Boulcott Farm', URL: <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/eight-killed-attack-boulcott-farm> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 14-Jun-2016).

14.6.4 Expulsion from Heretaunga (Hutt Valley)

According to Tame Tuwhāngai Ngāti Rangatahi who had been resident in Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) were forcibly expelled from the area by the Government of the time. Ngāti Rangatahi then made the journey to Te Reureu; however, because of the sparse nature of the land Ngarupiki managed to re-acquire their former lands in the Taumarunui district and return there with some of his people, with some electing to stay at Te Reureu.⁴⁸² The Waitangi Tribunal in its Wellington District Inquiry report, 2003 in the executive summary at page xxi stated:

With regard to Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rangatahi, we have found that the Crown failed to recognise and protect their rights in Heretaunga. Ngāti Tama were required to surrender property in Heretaunga without freely negotiated agreement and without adequate compensation. Ngāti Rangatahi were forced out of Heretaunga, and their property in the valley was pillaged and burned. They received no compensation for their losses, nor was any land subsequently reserved for them in the valley.⁴⁸³

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Image 23: Maraenuku Pā. Natives preparing to leave the Hutt in 1845



⁴⁸² Tame Tuwhāngai, p. 152.

⁴⁸³ *Te Whanganui A Tara Me Ona Takiwa, Report on the Wellington District. Wai 145*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2003, p.xvi.

⁴⁸⁴ Brees, Samuel Charles, 1810-1865. Brees, Samuel Charles, 1810-1865: Maraenuku Pa; natives preparing to leave the Hutt. [ca 1845]. Ref: A-179-013. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23052000>.

14.6.5 Whose History?

A Dominion Post article dated 16 July 2015 reads: ‘Historian Ewan Morris wants a rethink about the way we look at The Battle of Boulcott’s Farm.’ The article says that on the morning of 16 May 1846 a Māori raiding party attacked the military outpost killing six British soldiers, with two dying later from their wounds, no Māori casualties are recorded. The article states:

“In the 1970s, the skirmish featured in the television series *The Governor*. It also featured in Lloyd Jones' 1988 novel *Splinter*, and in a 2009 novel, *The Trowenna Sea*, by Witi Ihimaera. The local golf club named holes after events in the battle, including one called *Massacre*.”

Image 24: War Memorial



What concerns Morris is that the memorial erected near the Hutt Hospital in 1925 refers to ‘the glory of god,’ with no reference to the Māori version of events, despite a Waitangi Tribunal finding that what took place in the Hutt Valley breached the Treaty. In light of this finding

Morris says that it ‘lent further support to the idea that those who fought against the Crown had justifiable grievances.’ Rather than having the memorial removed, Morris would like to see something that acknowledges the Māori side.⁴⁸⁵

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Image 25: A noble deed



Petone-based historian Warwick Johnston has his own views about the engraving that depicts the brave bugler Private William Allen being hacked to death by a huge Māori warrior at Boulcott’s farm:

⁴⁸⁵ Ewan Morris, *Dominion Post*, 16 July 2015. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/local-papers/hutt-news/70275715/time-for-fresh-look-at-how-we-remember-the-battle-of-boulcotts-farm>.

⁴⁸⁶ ‘A noble deed’ (artist unknown) Supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, Christmas number, 12 December 1896. Cited in *The Boulder and the Bugler: The Battle of Boulcott’s Farm in Public Memory* by Ewan Morris, Abstract, 2015. p.54. Source: *Journal of New Zealand studies (Online)*, 2015; n.20: pp. 51-71; issn:2324-3740

“One account even says that when Allen's arm was lopped off, he held the bugle between his knees to sound the alarm before he was killed.”

Johnston believes that it was meant to depict:

“...we're the British Empire and this is a bunch of blood-thirsty natives!...” it's possible depictions of the incident were a distraction from the fact the British troops had been rather badly dealt to by the Māori, “or the need to show the utter ruthlessness of the rebel natives in order to get Governor Grey to send more British troops to Wellington.”

Johnston says that accounts of battles and our history books vary, particularly in this case because no medal was awarded nor was there mention in dispatches. Contrary to popular belief, Private Allen was a drummer not a bugler, he was 21 years old not 16. Morris cited the accounts of Louis Ward and James Cowan who both said that Allen was hacked to death whilst blowing a warning note; however, four reports mention that a warning had come from a musket shot.

Johnston says:

“...the only eyewitness account, by Joseph Hinton of the 58th Regiment, in a chapter of the book *Told from the Ranks* in 1901, does not name the bugler but mentions the warning shot as alerting the soldiers. It does not describe Allen's death in any detail, but mentions wounds to both arms, neither cut off, and severe head injuries.”⁴⁸⁷

14.6.6 A Scattered People?

Dr Rā Durie explains that the forced expulsion of Ngāti Rangatahi from Heretaunga, their journey to Te Reureu where they found that the land could not sustain them all, causing the Ngāti Rangatahi to become a scattered people:

“Heoi anō whai muri i tētahi raruraru i puta mai i waenganui i a Ngāti Rangatahi me ētahi o ngā Pākehā i taua rohe ka panaia rātou ki waho i Heretaunga. Ā, tēnā ka haere mā raro rātou ki Poroutāwhao noho ai mō te wā poto, ā, tēnā ka hūnuku a Ngāti Rangatahi ki konei ki a Te Reureu noho ai. Heoi anō e ai ki te kōrero a taku koroua ehara ngā whenua o Te Reureu i te whenua tino haumako, kāore e taea rātou te noho i runga i te whenua, tēnā, ka mārara atu rātou. Koirā te take kei ngā tōpito katoa o tēnei motu e noho ana ngā uri o Rangatahi i tēnei wā.”⁴⁸⁸

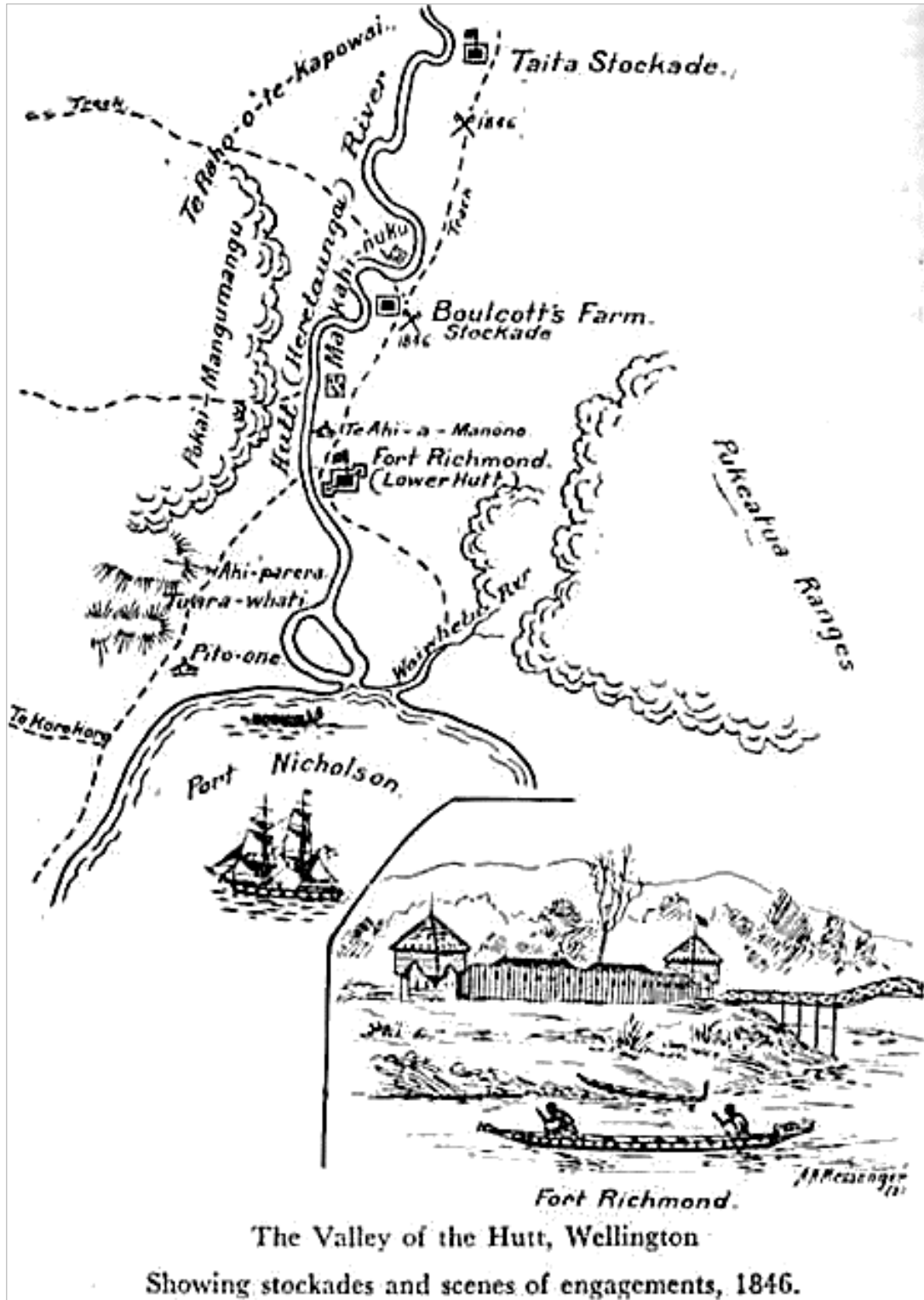
“Ngāti Rangatahi has been decimated by the loss of land. And when we came back from Heretaunga to Te Hīri and the land wasn't suitable enough to sustain us we dispersed and even though our Marae Te Hīri still stands the people are scattered.”⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ Warwick Johnston, *Dominion Post*, 17 August 2010. <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/local-papers/hutt-news/4031152/Petone-historian-says-the-famous-Boulcott-bugler-account-may-be-beat-up>. Johnston referred to War and Cowan, sources: Ward, L. E. *Early Wellington*, (Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Auckland, 1928). Cowan, J. *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, (AMS Press, 1922).

⁴⁸⁸ Dr Rā Durie, p. 110.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 114.

Map 21: Hutt Valley 1846⁴⁹⁰



⁴⁹⁰ 'Hutt Valley NZ war sites map', URL: <http://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/hutt-valley-nz-war-sites-map> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 25-Jun-2014.

15.0 NGĀ MARAE TAWHITO

This section will focus on marae who were once active but for reasons that will be explained does not function like present marae on the Te Reureu block. This section is inserted so that these marae and their history and whakapapa will not fade from memory, rather, these stories will keep these marae alive.

15.1 Te Kotuku Marae

This Marae sits at the northern end of Te Reureu on a block called Pariki. Although it is not used anymore it reminds us of our significant links to neighbouring iwi. To the east of Kōtuku is an old track that links us to Ngāti Kahungunu and was used regularly. To the



north are Ngāti Tamakopiri and Ngāti Whitikaupeka. There is a long history with these iwi and is evident throughout our whakapapa. The hapū who belong at Kōtuku are Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Waewae and Ngāti Pikiahu.⁴⁹¹ Jacinta Paranihi explains the close relationship that the Ngāti Kahungunu hapū Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Tamakōpiri and Ngāti Hauti have not only to Te Kotuku Marae but also to the hapū at Te Reureu. All three hapū by way of a series of intermarriages share a whakapapa to Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and because of this whakapapa they were part of and assisted Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae in their 1840 southern migration. Paranihi quotes an interview conducted with Lauren Reweti who says:

“Ngāti Tamakōpiri and Ngāti Whitikaupeka are situated at Taihape, Moawhango and Opaea and had very close connections with Ngāti Waewae in the Tongariro district. They escorted Pikiahu and Waewae during the travels along with Ngāti Hauti, who are located in Rata. Part of the tikanga when travelling was you had to get safe passage.”⁴⁹²

Puruhe Smith provides a detailed account of the surrounding area, naming the ancient marae of Te Kaiparangi and Te Rurukōhanga, with the local guardian taniwhā Hārurunui:

“Mai i Pikitara ka haere tātou ki tētahi o ngā pari, ko te pari e kīa nei ko Te Pōhue, kei raro i Te Pōhue e tū atu tētahi o ngā marae tawhito ko Te Kaiparangi. I te taha o Te Kaiparangi ko ngā urupā, ko tētahi o ngā urupā hoki ko Te Motufītoki. Mai i Motufītoki kei reira te urupā o tō tātou marae o Te Kōtuku, ko te rangatira o Te Kōtuku o te awa rā ko te rangatira ko Te Rangihopū. I tētahi taha o te huarahi o Te Kōtuku ka tū tētahi o ngā marae e kīa nei ko Te Rurukōhanga. Ko Te Rurukōhanga tētahi o ngā kāinga o Major Kemp, i te wā i kimihia e ia a Te Kooti ka noho ana ki tēnā marae o Te

⁴⁹¹ ‘Te Taumarumarutanga o Ngāti Tuwharetoa:’ p. 251.

⁴⁹² Paranihi, J. H. ‘He Take Hei Pupuri Tonu i te Whenua, A Perspective on Hapū Formation in Māori Society,’ 4th year Honours Dissertation, University of Otago, 2008. pp. 62-63.

Rurukōhanga. I te taha o Te Rurukōhanga ka noho ana hoki te taniwha, anā ko te taniwha ko Hārurunui. Arā ko Hārurunui he tuna nunui, koia te kaitiaki e noho ana kei waenga ki tērā repo.”⁴⁹³

Image 26: River view from Pikitara⁴⁹⁴



Kotuku Tibble responded to a question regarding Te Kotuku marae and a tupuna who bore the same name and what was the connection:

“He maha ngā Kōtuku, tokomaha... Now according to what I picked up that marae of Kōtuku is a kind of sacred place. It was tapu in a way because of... let me tell you the story. There were two kuia, Uncle Tūkawekai used to tell us, he said only at that marae, it was a special case, if there were no men there the women would stand to greet the visitors, they would offer the speeches of welcome, and the karakia. But they were experts at what they did.”⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7, pp. 182-183.

⁴⁹⁴ Te Awa o Te Rangitikei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, p. 20.

⁴⁹⁵ Kotuku Tibble, Nga Kōrero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Te Tikanga Marae, Tokorangi, 19-20 May 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.7. pp. 74-75.

Image 27: Pikitara karaka tree⁴⁹⁶



Pikitara is significant because many iwi held a hui there to discuss the location of their tribal boundaries. Also, of significance is that Reverend Richard Taylor first preached the gospel to those residents in the area. As Puruhe Smith says:

“All these significant sites here, the old people planted karaka trees. So everywhere you see those karaka, there’s some site of significance.”⁴⁹⁷

Pikitara was also a place where a combined force of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Whakarete defeated Ngāti Apa and drove them across the Rangitīkei River to where they reside now on the western side. As Turoa Karatea explains:

“I guess that’s why we have issues here over the selling of the Manawatū Rangitīkei Block.”⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ Te Awa o Te Rangitīkei Wāhi Tapu Wānanga, p. 16.

⁴⁹⁷ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p. 4.

⁴⁹⁸ Turoa Karatea, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). p. 4.

15.2 Miria Te Kakara



Figure 1: *Miria Te Kakara*⁴⁹⁹

Tumanako Herangi says that this marae was built by Ngāti Rangatahi in 1868 but was abandoned because of flooding. Now the marae and its surrounds are waahi tapu and forms part of the whakatauki ‘Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria Te Kakara ki Kukutauaki.’⁵⁰⁰

Puruhe Smith names several old pā sites, such as Kaipārangi situated near the Rangitīkei River. Another old pā called Rurukōhanga belonged to Major Kemp (Keepa Te Rangihwinui) who used this pā when in pursuit to Te Kooti. Another old pā site was located at Pikitara where a inter-tribal hui was held to establish individual boundaries.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ Image of Miria Te Kakara supplied by Turoa Karatea, (image dated 1924).

⁵⁰⁰ Tumanako Herangi, p. 108.

⁵⁰¹ Puruhe Smith, Wai 2200, #4.1.7 (a). pp. 4-5.

HE KŌRERO POUNAMU O NGĀTI KAUWHATA

A treasured account of Ngāti Kauwhata



Kauwhata Marae – Te Arakura, Feilding



Iwa Tekau mā Iwa Marae – Awahuri, Feilding



Aorangi Marae – Taonui, Feilding

Ngāti Kauwhata Claims Research Group

27 August 2018

1.0 HE WHAKATAKI | INTRODUCTION – TE PENE RAUPATU

Ngāti Kauwhata settled on the resource rich flats of the Manawatū, along the banks of the Ōroua River from Awahuri near Feilding, to the confluence with the awa Manawatū at Rangiotū. The magnificent repo or wetlands and associated tributaries such as Kiwitea, Ōtoko, Mangakino, Taonui and Mangaone streams, teemed with fish and waterfowl, and supplied the wīwī, wāwā, kutakuta, kōpūngāwhā, harakeke and kahikatea for clothing, implements and shelter. The locals recalled spending much time swimming in the Mangaone stream....

“When it was flooded, we swam there because there was a little island with trees on it and you could jump off the bridge and float down there with a tyre or you swam down to the island.”⁵⁰²

The arrival of large numbers of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa about the 1820s in Manawatū and Horowhenua enabled the hapū of the Tainui confederation to possess the lands previously invaded by Ngāti Toa. Ngāti Kauwhata occupied the Manawatū interior from the initial migration. They maintained their possession in battles against Ngāti Rangitāne until a peace agreement, hohou i te rongu was reached and was reinforced by a tomo, building of a whare karakia at Puketōtara – Rangiotū, presentation of mere pounamu and a division of the land.

They later re-joined the Ngāti Raukawa migrants who had grouped with Ngāti Toa at Kāpiti. They contributed to Ngāti Toa control in expeditions to Te Waipounamu. Three of the Ngāti Kauwhata hapū returned to the Ōroua and surrounding lands from the coast to the ranges, following the gathering of the migrating hapū at Ōtaki and their dispersal from there. Two of the hapū would finally settle in separate locations in Horowhenua. This report, ‘The Ngāti Kauwhata Story’ covers only the Manawatū group. They are the roopū, or group, associated with the Ōroua River.

⁵⁰² Oral source: Mary Sanson, Feilding 4 August 2018.

Map 22: Rangitikei-Manawatū Plan (LINZ Plan No. 5247)



Notwithstanding their opposition to land sales and their alignment with the Māori King in the 1860s land wars, the tenure of the Ngāti Kauwhata residence was not removed by military conquest and land confiscations elsewhere. It was removed nonetheless, and more extensively than in the confiscation zones, from the government's wielding of the pen in the wake of those wars.

First, was the manufacture of a misleading land deed that would extinguish Ngāti Kauwhata rights which had covered the greater part of the Manawatū district.

Second, was a Parliamentary Act that took from Ngāti Kauwhata the capacity to manage their remaining lands through their customary, corporate entities – the hapū.

Third, was the repo draining and mīanga channelling, with government support, and the destruction of the forest, that deprived Ngāti Kauwhata of their food, clothing and shelter. Alongside was the assumption, later reinforced by legislation, that the awa were public property.

Fourth, was to expose to purchase, the lands reserved for Ngāti Kauwhata from the Manawatū sale, while at the same time burdening that land with impossible debts. The debts were from legal and accommodation costs to prove title, survey and registration costs to gain title, fencing costs to define the title on the land and rates to maintain the title, and fencing costs to uphold an exclusive title. The rates were also to help the settlers develop the infrastructure of their new towns while the Ngāti Kauwhata papakāinga languished. The debts arose also from loans for fencing, clearing, grassing and stock. The consequence was that Ngāti Kauwhata were deceived by unscrupulous European settlers who capitalised on their impoverishment and inexperience in western property and mercantile law. Through legal guile and without proper recompense, they relieved them of many thousands of acres of the land reserved from the Manawatū sale.

With their food resources destroyed, the Ōroua hopelessly polluted very early in the 20th century and the rapid and dramatic loss of land, the onetime warriors, foragers and adventurers of Ngāti Kauwhata were reduced to labouring for the European settlers, or for the government on road and rail construction, or for private industry in agricultural processing.

The outcome for Ngāti Kauwhata was that from the beginning of the 20th century, they have had one of the lowest per capita rates of land ownership of the North Island Māori. As a result, they have not shared, as others have done, in the cheap land development funding available from the Department of Māori Affairs, or in the growth of trusts and incorporations which have supported tribal initiatives in other places. They also missed out on the compensation provided to other districts in the 1920s, typically in the form of trust boards. These included, compensation for pre-treaty land deals of the 1840s (Northland), pre-1860 land purchases (Te Waipounamu, Wellington), the confiscations of the 1860s (Waikato, Tauranga, Taranaki, Whakatōhea), and the use of rivers and lakes (Whanganui, Te Arawa, Wairarapa, and Muaūpoko). In terms of the recognition of extensive loss, Ngāti Kauwhata, along with other iwi of the Ngāti Raukawa confederation, are amongst the most neglected iwi of the country, and there may be few other iwi of Ngāti Raukawa, who suffered equally the extensive loss of land through trickery of the settlers and the failure to secure their reserves as inalienable.

In addition, because of the poverty in the papakāinga, and the lack of resources to sustain them, from the 1930s Ngāti Kauwhata were forced from their papakāinga and pepper-potted throughout Feilding and Palmerston North. While they were required to pay rates, which met the cost of roads, lighting, water reticulation and sanitation systems for the settler towns like Feilding, Ngāti Kauwhata were removed because of the condition of their papakāinga. The condition was unsurprising. No part of the rates had been applied to develop the same facilities in the four Ngāti Kauwhata papakāinga.

Ngāti Kauwhata now seeks

- monetary compensation

- cultural redress in the form of land recovery for development of each of the four papakāinga of the 20th century

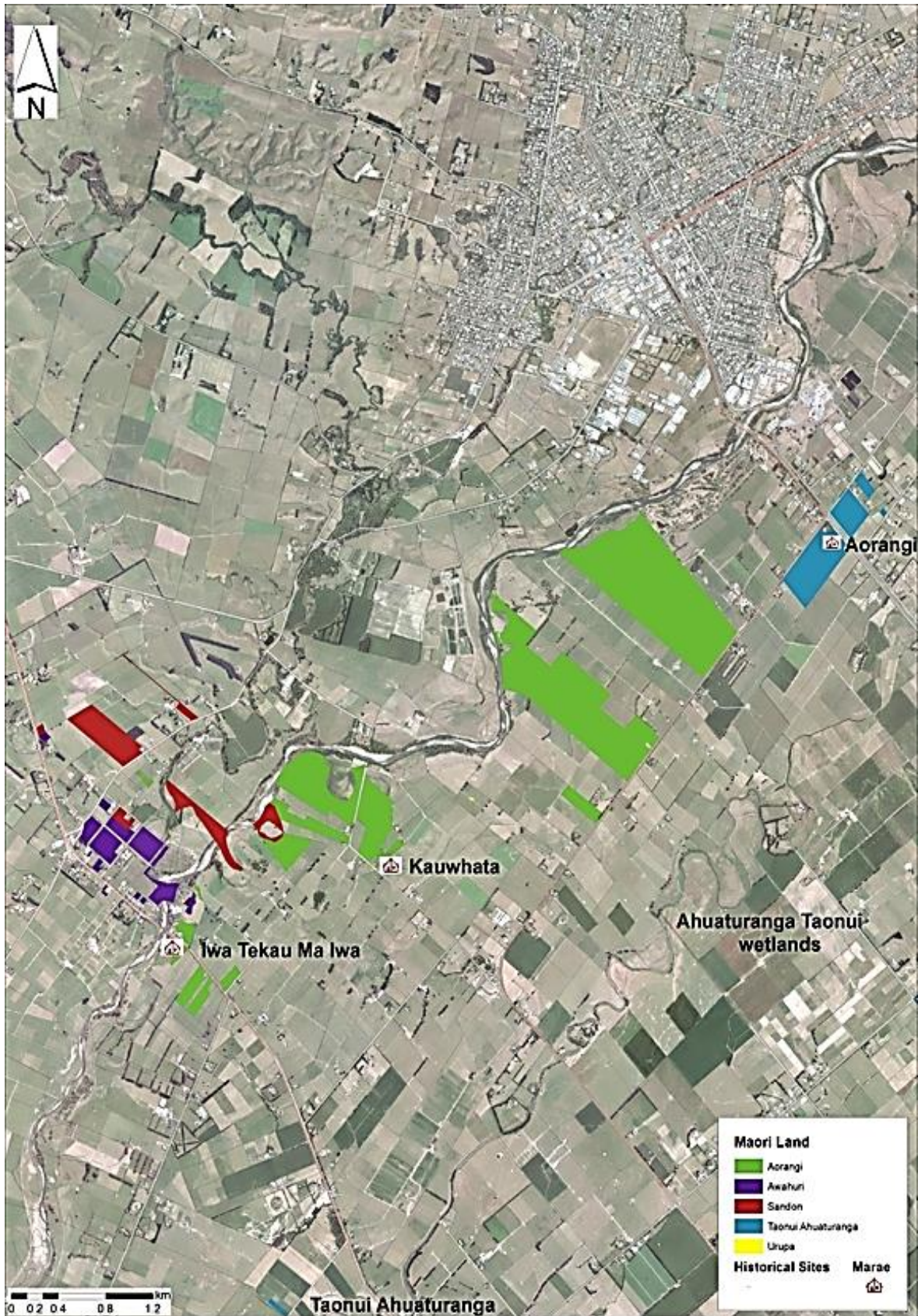
- cultural redress in the form of the Ngāti Kauwhata Kura ā-iwi and other tribal, educational initiatives

- the ownership of the Ōroua river

- compensation for the extensive extraction of gravel from the Ōroua River itself, and

- provision that the rates on the remaining Māori land are paid to the associated papakainga

Map 23: Taonui Ahuaturanga Land Blocks



2.0 HE TUKANGA | METHODOLOGY

A decade ago, Sir Taihākurei Durie developed a comprehensive research project for Ngāti Kauwhata to support its Treaty of Waitangi claims. This report further extends his research and brings together additional information which incorporates the experiences of hapū affiliated to three Ngāti Kauwhata marae, namely Kauwhata, Aorangi, and Te Iwa Tekau mā Iwa.

This report is one of four sections that will contribute to the broader oral and traditional history project. It will provide iwi, hapū, and whānau based narratives that are reflective of whakapapa, tribal affiliations, and experiences between Māori and the Crown. The report is divided into key sections in order to achieve this. Key these that will be discussed include:

- a) Ngā takahanga o Ngāti Kauwhata. Using existing literature and oral testimony including Māori Land Court records to identify and follow the journey and understand the experiences of Ngāti Kauwhata since arriving in Aotearoa, and further migrating across the regions.
- b) Ngā hononga me ngā tātai whakapapa o Ngāti Kauwhata. The whakapapa of Ngāti Kauwhata covering (a) primary links to distant iwi (b) primary links to the local iwi of Manawatū and Horowhenua (c) primary families. Drawing on whakapapa records and waiata tawhito.
- c) Ngā wheako o Ngāti Kauwhata. Narrative contributions of some 12-16 Ngāti Kauwhata whānau interviews. Information is gleaned from a collective effort of whānau, hapū and iwi voices who desire to ensure that the report continue to echo the people's voice from the past to the present.
- d) Te haerenga i roto i te Kāwanatanga o te Karauna. Impact of Crown policy and practice. An elaboration on the main claims, the prejudice arising, and the relief sought. This section is dependent on the completion and reading of technical reports commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust. As yet, there remain technical reports which have not been yet been completed.

3.0 HAWAIKI NUI, HAWAIKI ROA, HAWAIKI PĀMAMAO | A DISTANT LAND

It is understood that Kupe arrived in Aotearoa approximately 950AD⁵⁰³. His arrival is of great importance and many tribes are at pains to cite a relationship to him. It is understood that his wife, Kuramārōtini, devised the name of Aotearoa ('long white cloud') upon seeing the North Island for the first time⁵⁰⁴. Kupe explored the country naming various coastal areas throughout his travels, including Pari Whero (Red Rocks) on the coast of Wellington. On his travels, it was also known that Kupe found Ngāti Matakore who resided on the coast, near Raglan.

Approximately 400 years later, with disputes and war raging over land and resources languishing, Hoturoa, the son of Auauterangi and Kuotepo, set voyage to Aotearoa. According to historical narratives, Hoturoa was middle aged when he made the voyage with his people. He learned that Turi and others intended to leave the island and decided to follow suit⁵⁰⁵. With the aid of Tainui's sacred paddle, Tai-kehu, Hoturoa and his people made land in Rarotonga. There they examined the clawed feet of birds they observed migrating and the direction of their flight. Upon closer examination, Hoturoa and his people concluded that there must be land not so far across the ocean and followed the flight path of the birds to eventually land in Aotearoa.

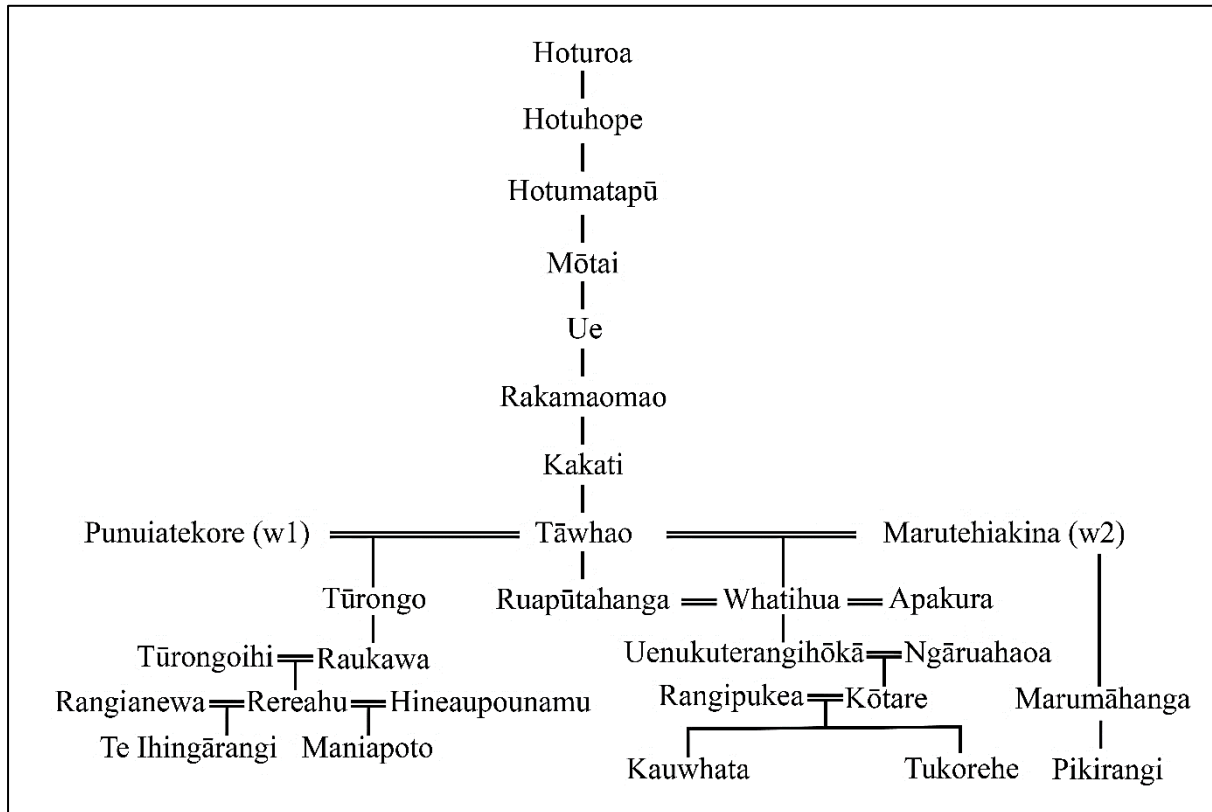
Upon arrival, Tainui waka made its first landfall at Whangaparaoa on the east coast of the northern North Island. They continued on to Tauranga, the Coromandel Peninsula and Waitemata Harbour. From the Waitemata on the east coast, the canoe was carried by hand across the Tamaki isthmus (present-day Auckland) to Manukau Harbour on the west coast. From Manukau, Tainui sailed north to Kaipara, then southwards to the west coast harbours of Whaingaroa (Raglan), Aotea and Kāwhia. It continued further south of the estuaries of the Mōkau and Mohakatini rivers before returning north to its final resting place at Maketū, Kāwhia harbor. Little is known about Tainui eight generations later, subsequent until Tāwhao. The table below shows the line of descent from Hoturoa to Tāwhao, the common ancestor from which the blood lines of Kauwhata and Raukawa descend.

⁵⁰³ Ngā Iwi O Tainui – The evidence for this date is questionable (Simmons 1976:36-42), however archaeological dating has established that New Zealand was settled from end to end by the twelfth century

⁵⁰⁴ Royal, T.A.C. *First peoples in Māori tradition - Kupe*, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/first-peoples-in-Māori-tradition/page-6> (accessed 28 August 2018)

⁵⁰⁵ <https://www.geni.com/people/Hoturoa-Captain-of-the-Tainui-Waka/6000000002626542266>

Whakapapa 22: Ngāti Kauwhata - Ngāti Raukawa links



Tāwhao married two sisters. Punuiatekore, who was the first wife, and Marutehiakina, who was the second wife. Both fell pregnant about the same time, with Marutehiakina giving birth to Whatihua, the firstborn. Punuiatekore then gave birth to Tūrongo not long after, which incurred quite a predicament as they sought to understand whom of Tāwhao’s two sons was the tuakana. While Tūrongo was the son of the senior wife, Whatihua was the first born. Much rivalry has continued between the two brothers since this time.

Many years later, as the two grew into young men, Whatihua took Ruapūtahanga to wife, despite her initially being betrothed to Tūrongo. The marriage eventuated after a sequence of carefully constructed events, that later saw Whatihua take her as his own. Whatihua and Ruapūtahanga had two sons, Uenukutuhatu, and Uenukuterangihōkā. There is word that a third was had, named Uenukutupū.

Uenukuterangihōkā later received a new name of ‘Uenuku-the-adopted’, or ‘Uenukuwhāngai’, which gave insight to the nature of his relationship with Apakura following the departure of his mother, Ruapūtahanga.

Uenukuwhāngai had three wives: Te Ketekura, Whaitiri and Ngāruahaoa. Through the union of Uenukuwhāngai and Ngāruahaoa, Kōtare and Tamapango were born. Kōtare then married Rangipukea, who gave birth to Kauwhata and his younger brother, Tūkorehe. Kauwhata is the eponymous ancestor with whom Ngāti Kauwhata affiliate.

During his journey to the Heretaunga District, Tūrongo met a pūhi of the Ngāti Kahungunu people, Māhinaarangi, which is to be interpreted as ‘Moon-Glow of Heaven’. They begat their son Raukawa, who later became an important Tainui tupuna. He himself had many descendants who were also eponymous ancestors of hapū and iwi within Waikato-Tainui.

By the late 1800s Ngāti Kauwhata remained independent of any other iwi, being recognised as an iwi in their own right. Despite the shared lineage between Kauwhata and Raukawa through successive generations, Ngāti Kauwhata are clear that they do not share a direct line of descent from the tupuna Raukawa himself, but Tāwhao instead, the male line from which Whatihua and Tūrongo descend. To this day, Ngāti Kauwhata continues to assert their own mana, independent of Raukawa and reject the notion that they could ever be considered a hapū of Raukawa.

4.0 HE TAPUWAE KI WAIKATO | FOOTPRINTS AT WAIKATO

Descendants of both Whatihua and Tūrongo fought battles alongside each other which resulted in expansion of Tainui territory to the south, north and east of Rangiātea. Tamaaio, son of Uenuku-terangihōkā, played an important role in early battles, alongside his cousin Raukawa. There were many marriages which linked them, and they fought together as allies. As their numbers grew, the descendants of Whatihua and Tūrongo may have been known as Mōtai-tangata-rau, as Mōtai was a tupuna from whom both Raukawa and Kauwhata descend.⁵⁰⁶

Whatihua and Ruaputahanga’s son, Uenuku-terangihōkā (also known as Uenuku-Whāngai), left Kāwhia with his son Kōtare after a falling out with his brother in law, Rangapa.

⁵⁰⁶ Teira, T.K. quoting Sean Ogden, Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing, 24.6.14. For this reason, Mōtai is the tekoteko on the Raukawa House at Ōtaki.

It was after a conflict with his brother-in-law Rangapa, that Uenuku-terangihōkā left Kāwhia with his son Kōtare and others and settled at Maungatautari. This was part of the territory allocated to Whatihua by his father Tāwhao. They may have gone to Pirongia first, then when Kōtare grew up he went on to Maungatautari, according to one source.⁵⁰⁷

The first pā where they settled at Maungatautari was Te Whanake, a peak (381m) west of Maungatautari. There was a rich wetland, known as Moanatuatu, on the north-western boundary, feeding into three streams. Other names associated with this place were Hurumutu and Puhue.⁵⁰⁸ Kōtare built a pā among rocks at a bend in the Mangaohoi stream, probably named Te Ohoi o Kōtare. Kōtare's eldest son Kauwhata then built Turuturu o Manaia, on the western slopes of Maungatautari, named after the Ngāti Ruanui pā of his grandmother Ruaputahanga in Taranaki. Turongo's descendants also helped to build this pā, indicating the closeness of Turongo and Whatihua descendants through inter-marriage. Kōtare succeeded to the mana of the land on his grandfather's death. His marriage to Rangipukea produced Kauwhata and his younger brother, Tūkorehe, and they succeeded to their father's mana there.⁵⁰⁹

It was after the construction of Te Turuturu o Manaia that Kauwhata's Ngāti Apakura relatives, descendants of Whatihua by Apakura, began to attack. At first, they were driven off and Kauwhata and his people built many pā on the north-west and western ridges of the mountain, running down to Rotoorangi, and the Mangapiko and Mangaohoi streams. Eels and waterfowl were plentiful. This region was known as Panehakua.

Ngāti Apakura persisted in harassing and attacking their relatives in the area until eventually they drove them around the maunga to the northern slopes. Kauwhata and Tūkorehe were associated with Te Ihingaarangi's pā. Te Tiki o Te Ihingaarangi (either the image of, or the top-knot of Te Ihingaarangi), on the northern slopes of Maungatautari beside the Waikato river.

⁵⁰⁷ Martin, D. Personal communication. 8 February 2016.

⁵⁰⁸ Wirihana, H. *Kauwhata and Wehiwehi report* 2013 p. 26.

⁵⁰⁹ An interesting match was Tūkorehe's marriage to his aunt – the daughter of his grandmother Ngaruahaoa by her second husband; Phillips, *Nga Tohu o Tainui, Landmarks of Tainui*. Vol. 2. p. 80.

The people of Te Ihingaangi's mother Rangianewa's (descendants of Uenuku-terangihōkā) may have been first in occupation there.⁵¹⁰ Ngāti Raukawa also remained at pā near the southern slopes including Hangahanga, Aratitaha and Pukeatua.⁵¹¹

Ngāti Apakura held the western district of Maungatautari for several generations before they were defeated by Ngāti Haua.⁵¹²

Tūkorehe and Kauwhata had a falling out, which led to Tūkorehe moving to the east, between Tīrau and Tāpapa.⁵¹³ Then there was a tatau pounamu, between Kauwhata's daughter Hinepare and Tūkorehe's son Tūwhakarara – they had Hinetore who married Huitao.

Kauwhata was driven from much of their territory by the sons of Apakura. Referring to Ngāti Maru dispossessing Ngāti Raukawa of its land on the eastern slopes of Maungatautari and about Karapiro. Ngāti Apakura also tried to take land at Wharepuhunga.

By about 1800 the Maungatautari rohe - which stretched east to Waotu, north to Maungakawa and west to Moanatuatua - was dominated on the eastern side of the Waikato River by Ngāti Raukawa, and on the western side by Ngāti Whakaterere. While they were originally a hapū of Raukawa, Ngāti Whakaterere had become a large and independent people, closely related to surrounding groups. In this period, they formed an alliance with Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Takihiku and later Ngāti Toa against Ngāti Maniapoto, while Maniapoto aligned with Ngāti Haua and Waikato.

A cause of conflict prior to that was Koroki took away the wife of Tawakairo (of Ngāti Raukawa), and Tawakairo was killed in the ensuing fight at Cambridge. In seeking utu, Ngāti Raukawa took lands from Ngāti Haua at Horotiu. Ngāti Haua fled to Waiterimu, and Waikato to Taupiri. Ngāti Raukawa followed them until their leader Te Whakaiti was killed and they were defeated at Pēpepe. The fighting continued and included the capture of a Ngāti Haua chief Te Heria by Ngāti Kauwhata at Maungatautari. Te Heria was later killed and his body made "an offering to the people". Hence resolution of disputes over women or the killing of chiefs

⁵¹⁰ McBurney 2013 p. 26.

⁵¹¹ Phillips Vol 2. p. 83.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ McBurney 2013 p. 27.

sometimes resulted in transfer of land by conquest. While many scholars have seen these events as leading to the departure of Ngāti Raukawa from their lands at Maungatautari, the Native Land court decision on the Rohe Pōtae case was that these battles were a “family affair” which had no bearing on the possession of lands.⁵¹⁴

Wahineiti was the older brother of Hape, both were prominent ariki, or high chief in Ngāti Raukawa in the late 1790s and early 1800s. They were described as chiefs of Ngāti Kauwhata, a sub-tribe of Ngāti Raukawa, by Pei Te Hurunui Jones in his article in *Te Ao Hou*. It is probably more accurate to say that Wahineiti and Hape had Ngāti Kauwhata whakapapa connections, and often fought alongside Ngāti Kauwhata as an allied and related iwi. Wahineiti and Hape lived at Maungatautari and Waotu, and their pā included Ōhiti, Urewera at Omaruapu, Puketōtara at Waotu, Pohatūroa near Atiamuri, Pakohatu, Mangakoromiko, and Te Rorekahu at Tokoroa.

Wahineiti died early and Hape-ki-tūārangi became renowned as a fighting chief of Ngāti Raukawa.

“Hape had no stated residence. He spent his time travelling about; he was in the habit of going about on fighting expeditions. He commenced at Otihi, thence to Taarua (?), Hangahanga, Puketōtara, Te Urewera, Papohatu, Powhaturoa, and returning to Maungatautari, which was his proper home.”⁵¹⁵

With his whakapapa connections to Kauwhata, Tūkorehe, Whakaterere and Takihiku, Hape was able to fight alongside these iwi, form alliances between them and his people of Ngāti Huia and become a prominent fighting chief amongst them. His success in battle became legendary. For these reasons, he became known as an ariki, or paramount chief.

In his mid to later life (about 1804⁵¹⁶), Hape is said to have led an army of a thousand men supported by Ngāti Whakaue and some Ngāti Maru, in a revenge attack against Ngāti Maniapoto. Reasons given by Jones are the attacks on Ngāti Toa (many of whom were relations of Ngāti Raukawa) at Kāwhia, and the fact that the Waikato forces were weakened after a recent defeat.⁵¹⁷ Phillips noted that Ngāti Maniapoto was trying to stretch its eastern boundaries into Raukawa territory. There was also a cursing song against Hape composed by

⁵¹⁴ Te Hiko. p.130. and Hutton. p. 96.

⁵¹⁵ Te Ngaru, M.

⁵¹⁶ Phillips Vol. 2. P. 127. and Kelly p. 281.

⁵¹⁷ Jones & Biggs p. 336.

Peehi Tūkorehu who had changed his allegiance from Raukawa to Ngāti Maniapoto - even though he was the grandson of Te Momo-i-waru of Ngāti Ngārongo - and so changed his hapū name to Ngāti Paretekawa.⁵¹⁸ It is suggested that he thought Hape had not done enough to avenge the death of Paretekawa, in which Ngāti Whakaterere was somehow implicated.

In the lead up to the battle of Hingakākā, the Waikato tribes gathered at Whaingaroa to lament the death of an old chief Te Paeahi. He had been left behind at Ōhaupo by his people, and then discovered and killed. Sending out a revenge party, they fought with Ngāti Kauwhata at Wai-paatito and the Ngāti Kauwhata chief Whata-tuupari was killed.⁵¹⁹

Enmity between the two groupings (as above) deepened over time, and eventually lead to the major migration south of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata.

5.0 HE PAKANGA KI WAIKATO | BATTLES AT WAIKATO

Around 1807 AD, Ngāti Kauwhata were known as a great people who could rally between 800 to 1000 fighting men. One of the Ngāti Kauwhata chiefs, Tapa Te Whata, led them to many a battle. One of the biggest battles of all time was *Hinga-kākā*⁵²⁰, which took place at Nga Roto.

For many years Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Apakura would hold feasts, each alternately hosting the event. 1807 was the year that the occasion was hosted at Marokopa and was attended by Pīkau-te-rangi, a chief from Ngāti Toa. Although there was plenty of food, it was of poor quality, and this offended Pīkau-te-rangi. To avenge his embarrassment, he planned to kill those he felt were responsible, some of who were from his own tribe. With Ngāti Kauwhata supporting Pīkau-te-rangi, they took his revenge on some Ngāti Apakura whānau, then cooked and distributed them to the hapū of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa.

Another battle in which Te Wāwāhanga's father, Te Paeahi, was killed caused the Waikato tribes to retaliate. They fought Ngāti Kauwhata who suffered great defeat. The battles continued and left both sides feeling the losses, losing many of their chiefs. Ngāti Kauwhata

⁵¹⁸ Te Hiko. p. 119. and Phillips Vol. 1. p. 99.

⁵¹⁹ Kelly. pp. 289-90.

⁵²⁰ Hingakaka was one of the greatest battles ever (circa 1807).

and Ngāti Raukawa re-evaluated their situation, requesting the assistance of their allies. War parties arrived from the West Coast – Taranaki as well as the East Coast. Meanwhile, Ngāti Whātua and others joined with Waikato.

Te Kāmaka, recorded that the army totalled sixteen thousand in size, such a force never seen before. They assembled at Te Mangeo⁵²¹, in the Nga Roto district, and songs were sung prior to the battle. The tone was called *irirangi* was believed to be prevalent to a bad omen.

<i>Oh, Awa' the kauri grows tall</i>	<i>E Awa e ka too te too o te kauri</i>
<i>The pukatea thrives in the water</i>	<i>Ka tupu te pukatea i te wai</i>
<i>The bones of the season are well cooked,</i>	<i>Ka ngoungou te iwi o te tau</i>
<i>And the pigeons are large and fat.</i>	<i>Ka ruperupe te kereruu</i>
<i>The kuumara is scraped, the fern root is</i>	<i>Ka waru te kao, ka patu te rou;</i>
<i>beaten.</i>	<i>Ka reka te kao miti, Ahahaa!</i>
<i>The dried kuumara is sweet, ahahaa!</i>	

Another war chant, this time from Te-Rau-angaanga, led Waikato in dance, causing the ground to shake. An indescribable fiercely fought battle took place with many fatalities. Many of the chiefs had been dealt an everlasting blow, and fallen, thus resulting in the battle being named Hinga-kākā –*Fall of Parrots!*

It was really after this battle that the people of Ngāti Kauwhata became unpositioned, taking refuge with Ngāti Haua. At that time three of the Ngāti Haua hapū, namely, Ngāti Te Ao, Ngāti Werewere and Ngāti Pare were living in Hui-te-rangiora Pā, at Pukekura, with Ngāti Kauwhata circa 1841. In spite of the intermarriages with Ngāti Haua, a part of Ngāti Kauwhata ‘tūturu’, remained pure descent from Kauwhata.

“In the late 18th Century, Ngaati Kauwhata tuuturu were politically and in location still a distinct entity”⁵²²

However, still revelling from the great battles that had taken place, Ngāti Kauwhata on the whole was not as sharply defined as before. Most, if not all, of the Ngāti Kauwhata had sought their safety and taken refuge amidst the other hapū. Ngāti Kauwhata and some of its hapū, Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Tāhuri, and Ngāti Wehiwehi were all living in the proximity of

⁵²¹ Te Mangao is the name of the place where the battle of Hingakaka was fought; it is about a mile and a half from Ootaawhao, near Te Awamutu –Nga Iwi O Tainui: Hingakaka-354

⁵²² Ballara, A. *Iwi: Part III: The 18th Century*, University Victoria Press, Wellington, 1998, p. 152.

Maungatautari. The intermarriage between Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa with Ngāti Haua had been so extensive that their origins, as Ngāti Kauwhata, had by now become somewhat clouded.

Earlier to this period, Te Rauparaha despondent with battle, had sought a haven on the West Coast, further south in Kāpiti. Te Rauparaha, a great chief, decided that his people should move to where the economy was better and so he sent word saying that the opportunities were good. They could trade with the Pākehā for muskets, new foods, and other contraband and most attractive was the abundance of kaimoana.

Leaving Waikato - Maungatautari, they travelled down through the central North Island, to Taupō, migrating to Kāpiti en masse and led by Te Whatanui⁵²³. Te Rauparaha had invited Ngāti Kauwhata to join with them and so attracted by the reports of rich and fertile land and the abundance of seafood, they agreed.

The main body of Ngāti Kauwhata, including Ngāti Tūkorehe (Kauwhata's younger brother) and Ngāti Wehiwehi (Kauwhata's son), left shortly after Raukawa under the leadership of Mokowhiti. Those that remained were left at Pukekura maintaining the cultivation of the land for their survival⁵²⁴. They also stood in arms with Ngāti Haua in a battle known as Taumatawiwi in 1830.

Again, battles were fought during the expedition with Te Rauparaha conquering the Horowhenua Coast, then in turn dividing it up amongst his people and those who migrated with him. Ngāti Kauwhata separated again heading inland from Turakina whilst Ngāti Raukawa headed along the coast further south. Te Whata, Ngāti Kauwhata's prominent chief, decided to settle alongside the Ōroua River in the Manawatū. Although Te Rauparaha had already allotted land, he did not object to the choice that Te Whata had made. Ngāti Apa was also said to have gifted land to Ngāti Kauwhata at Aorangi. Relationships with Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne were deemed amicable.

⁵²³ Ballara. 1828 a large group of Ngāti Raukawa was said to have made their move – en masse.

⁵²⁴ An account by Tapa, Metapere. Ngāti Kauwhata. 1881.

6.0 HE HEKENGAI KI RARO | THE MIGRATION

Details of Ngāti Kauwhata's trip south are recounted in accounts given by Tapa Te Whata in the Ōtaki Native Land Court in April 1868⁵²⁵ and March 1873⁵²⁶. Statements given by various members of Ngāti Kauwhata at the 1881 Ngāti Kauwhata Claims Commission⁵²⁷ and in the books by Downes^{528,529} whose main informant was Hepangaia Te Punga o Tainui⁵³⁰.

The main body of Ngāti Kauwhata headed by Te Whata and Te Wharepakaru is said to have migrated south in Te Hekenga mai i raro led by the Ngāti Raukawa chief Te Whatanui. Some sources give the date of that migration as having taken place in 1826. Others give the year as being 1829.

Tapa Te Whata⁵³¹ giving evidence at the Himatangi hearing in 1868 stated "I came with Te Whatanui, at the great 'heke'. The 'heke' started from Maungatautari and came to Taupo, thence to upper Turakina.". This party was said to contain between 600 to 800 people^{532,533,534,535}

They had utilised the Murimotu track, passing through the Otairi range and onto the Turakina river.^{536,537,538}

On entering the Ngāti Apa rohe, the combined party of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata came upon a settlement called Mangamahoe, just below Tiriraukawa. The traversing party attacked this settlement and killed Whareki and another person and took a woman called Amiria hostage, who was the wife of Hirea. Rawiri Te Mana o Tawhaki and others escaped.

⁵²⁵ Himatangi Hearing. Evidence of Tapa te Whata. OMB No. 1e. p. 615. 13 April 1968.

⁵²⁶ Te Wahi-o-Aorangi hearing. Ōtaki NLC. MB No 1. pp. 204-5. March 1873.

⁵²⁷ Ngāti Kauwhata Claims Commission; AJHR 1881. Vol 2. GA.

⁵²⁸ Downes T.W. *Old Rangitikei* Chapt. IV. p. 107.

⁵²⁹ Downes T.W. *Old Whanganui*

⁵³⁰ Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui, Old Wh 6. p. 3.

⁵³¹ Himatangi Hearing. Evidence of Tapa te Whata. Ōtaki NLC MB No. 1e, p. 615. 13 April 1968.

⁵³² Downes T.W, *Old Rangitikei* Chapt. IV. p. 107.

⁵³³ Hohepa Tamaihengia OMB 1d. p. 402.

⁵³⁴ Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke OMB 1d. p. 540.

⁵³⁵ Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui, Wh 6. p. 3.

⁵³⁶ Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui, Wh 6. p. 8.

⁵³⁷ Kawana Hunia OMB 1d. p. 515.

⁵³⁸ Kawana Hunia OMB 1d. p. 71.

These people were said to be living in temporary wharepuni whilst they were engaged in catching and preserving birds and therefore not in defensible positions.

Kawana Hunia of Ngāti Apa claimed that the Ngāti Raukawa and Kauwhata people on this migration were starving and that those Ngāti Apa people killed were eaten with korau (edible fern shoots and leaves).⁵³⁹

The appearance of this Ngāti Raukawa-Kauwhata ope and their acts of violence took Ngāti Apa by surprise. Those Ngāti Apa who escaped these encounters quickly notified their kinsman who rushed to fortified pā at Otakapou and Te Awemate.⁵⁴⁰

Hamuera Te Raikoiritia explained that they ran away because they feared the guns Ngāti Raukawa and Kauwhata possessed which they themselves did not have at that stage.⁵⁴¹ Tapa continues;

“From Turakina ‘ka wehe wehea nga huarahi’. The Ngatiraukawa went out to the sea beach and we, the Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngatihuaia came across inland through the bush to Rangitikei. Te Auturoa was chief of Ngatihuaia. I came with Ngāti Kauwhata. We came down Rangitikei on the north side. Stayed at Paeroa – a Ngatiapa settlement, since called Parewanui. Stayed there and crossed the Rangitikei to south side to Poutu. There, my father wished to go inland to look for a ‘kainga’ for himself then we (a small party) went up the south bank of Rangitikei leaving the body at Poutu. Went to Waituna thence to Parewharariki, inland towards Ōroua. At Parewharariki we found Ngatiapa. A man and woman took them. The woman told us that the man, her ‘tane’, was a ‘tangata kino he tangata makutu’ and that if he was spared we should all die. He was therefore killed.”

The tangata makutu described above by Tapa Te Whata was named by Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui as Tumatawhiti⁵⁴². Hepanaia differs from Tapa by saying that Tumatawhiti was killed at Whakamoetakapu and not Parewharariki.

Tapa continues:

“We went to Whakamo takapu and caught some Ngatiapa’s there. There was no fighting ‘he hopuhopu noa iho’. Went along the Kiuritea to Ōroua. Went along the Kiuritea to Ōroua. On reaching Ōroua, went up the river to Te Ruapuha and Waioteha thence to Oturoriki where we took more Ngatiapa prisoners. Te Whata asked one of the women, (Kete, a chief), “who are the chiefs of this land?” She said “Te Hanea, Te

⁵³⁹ Kawana Hunia OMB 1d. p. 515.

⁵⁴⁰ Kawana Hunia OMB 1d. p. 538.

⁵⁴¹ Hamuera Te Rakaikokiritia, OMB 1d. p. 563.

⁵⁴² Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui, Wh 6. p. 4.

Auahi and Te Raikoiritia”. Te Whata then said to all his party, “If we see these men, they shall be ‘hoa aroha’ of mine”. He searched for these men but did not find them.”

Hepanaia expands on Tapa’s account by saying that from Whakamaetakapu, the war party descended Kiwitea and at some point, encountered another party of Ngāti Apa. A man named Te Kiore was captured while Hakaraia escaped. Upon reaching the Ōroua, the war party detoured inland along the Ōroua River passing through Te Rua Puha, Waioteha and Oturiki. During that detour, more prisoners were taken including the mother of Hamuera Te Rakaikokiritia and Wi Mokomoko, named Ruakete (Kete) and another woman named Kiai.⁵⁴³ As will be seen shortly, Te Kiore was to play an important role in brokering a meeting between Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Apa. For the return of Ruakete, Ngāti Apa ceded the area from Whakaari to Aorangi to Ngāti Kauwhata. In addition to that however, he is likely to have married into Ngāti Kauwhata as his daughter Harata Te Kiore was among those granted land in the upper Aorangi block when crown grants for the land in Aorangi No 1 were issued in 1878. Furthermore, his descendants the Simeon and Drummond whānau and descendants of Karehana Tauranga (among others), make up a large number of today’s Ngāti Kauwhata members.

Tapa continues;

“We then came down Ōroua to Mangawhata. He, (Te Whata) said that should be his place. He came on to Manawatū. There we caught some Rangitāne near Puketotara – these men were killed. It was not Te Whata’s thought to kill them. It was through the Ngatiapa who had been previously taken in consequence of old feuds between the Ngatiapa and Rangitāne. We then went up Manawatū and surprised a Rangitāne ‘kainga’ – Hakione, on the other side of Manawatū. Took them and killed one of them - the one who turned to defend himself. The others fled up the Manawatū and we let them go.

We then came down Manawatū to the mouth, left our canoes and came on to Ōtaki and Waikanae. There were no people here. The people were all at Kapiti with the ‘heke’ of Whatanui and the party left by my father at Poutu. From Waikanae, crossed to Kapiti. At Kapiti, Rauparaha assembled the people at Rangatira – the house was ‘Te umu ki Ohau’. All Ngatiraukawa chiefs assembled. My father and Te Wharepakau Te Matuku (Ngāti Kauwhata chiefs). Rauparaha addressed Ngatiraukawa and afterwards spoke to Te Whata “to kainga ko Waikawa and Waitohu and Waitaheke – (Waitaheke had however been given already to Te Wharepakau by Pokaitara and Pehi and Ngatitōa chief) also Porirua”. Te Whata replied “it is well, but you should tell Ngatiraukawa what they are to have – “Ko ahau, he kainga ano toku naku ano i kimi, ko Ōroua te ingoa”. Rauparaha assented.

⁵⁴³ Kawana Hunia OMB. 1. p. 207.

After this, a party of Ngatiapa with Wi Mokomoko, some of Te Hanea (Hamuera's brother) came to Kapiti. Came to fetch his mother, the woman of whom Te Whata asked about the chiefs (Kete)."

Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui expands further on Tapa's account by saying that their Ngāti Apa captive Te Kiore was sent back by Ngāti Kauwhata from Kapiti to assemble Ruakete's people for the purpose of making peace. He said that Te Kiore contacted Te Hakeke at Kaikokopu and other sections of Ngāti Apa at Parewanui⁵⁴⁴.

On their return to the Manawatū, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehiwehi met with the Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Taurira hapū of Ngāti Apa. Kawana and Hepanaia say that the two parties are said to have met at Te Hakeke's pā at Kaikokopu where an exchange of prisoners for land took place.^{545,546}

Tapa (1868) says the meeting took place at Te Rotonui a Hau which surrounded Mangawhata:

"We went back to Ōroua with Mokomoko's party to Rotonui a hau. Found Ngatiapa there. They greeted us and Kete. Te Rai Kokiritia and Te Hanea and Te Auahi. Te Rai Kokiritia got up and said, 'he oi ano te kopaki mou, ko aorangi'. On the mountain side of Ōroua, "and Whakaari". All the chiefs confirmed this gift. Te Auahi took a canoe and stuck it up as a 'pou' and called it "Te Hokowhitu o Ngāti Kauwhata". We accepted it. Ngatiapa had 'mana' at that time. They gave us this land."

At this meeting, Ngāti Kauwhata returned the captured women Ruakete and Kiai and in return (as Tapa states above) were granted the lands from Whakaari (Mt Stewart) to Aorangi, by the chiefs of Ngāti Taurira, Ngāti Kauae, Te Raikokiritia, Te Hanea and Te Auahi.

Tapa expanded on this somewhat at a further court hearing in 1873;

"We returned with the prisoners we had taken at Te Rotonui a hau where we sat down, we found some people there and we were addressed by Kokiri the father of Hamuera who said "The only dowry I have to give with my daughter are the two places Whakaari and Aorangi" this was addressed to Ngāti Kauwhata, this was given as payment for returning his daughter and we the Ngāti Kauwhata remained and occupied the land we have remained in possession from that time."⁵⁴⁷

It is interesting at this point to speculate why Ngāti Kauwhata thought it was necessary to hold this meeting. Given they were in possession of guns and Ngāti Apa were not⁵⁴⁸, and that by

⁵⁴⁴ Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui Wh 6. p. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Kawana Hunia OMB 1. p. 207.

⁵⁴⁶ Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui. Wh 6. p. 4.

⁵⁴⁷ Tapa Te Whata, OMB 1. p. 205.

⁵⁴⁸ Hamuera Te Rakaikokiritia. OMB 1d. p. 563.

taking Ruakete, Kiai and Te Kiore hostage they undoubtedly held a military superiority. One questions why they thought a meeting was necessary. Perhaps given the years of intertribal warfare in Waikato they anticipated that given Ruakete's rank, at some stage reprisals might eventually occur if she was not returned. Perhaps, given the environment they had come from, they saw the sense in brokering peace.

Whatever the reason, it appears that the return of these people was done to complete arrangements for the decision they had made on the journey south to establish their "kainga" at Mangawhata.

Also, worth noting is that at that same time that Te Whata was forming a relationship with the Ngāti Tauira branch of Ngāti Apa. Hoani Meihana⁵⁴⁹ records that Te Whetu of the Ngāti Wehiwehi hapū of Ngāti Kauwhata also returned some captives of Rangitāne back to that tribe. As a result of that, Rangitāne invited Ngāti Wehiwehi to settle lands adjoining (south of) Te Rotonui a Hau and Mangawhata.

Ngāti Kauwhata's claims to this land area "Whakaari ki Aorangi" were later disputed by Hamuera Te Raikiritia⁵⁵⁰ Kawana Hunia⁵⁵¹ and Hakaraia Te Rangipouri⁵⁵² (of Ngāti Apa) at court hearings in 1873 and 1879.

However, contradicting their statements, the evidence that in the years prior to the sale of the Manawatū – Rangitikei block (1866) the early settlers (Mr. John Lees, Capt. Blewitt, Capt. Campbell and Mr. John Cameron) were grazing most of that land between Whakaari and Aorangi and were paying their rents to Ngāti Kauwhata. Thus, it was recognised then, by those settlers at least, that Ngāti Kauwhata held the rights to that land.

Wilson⁵⁵³ writes;

"Te Rakehou was another run on the Mangaone creek and extended from that creek to the Ōroua in open country. This was taken up by Captain Blewitt and Mr. Alick McDonald (more commonly known as Alexander McDonald) went there in 1862. - - - It afterwards passed into Mr. Swainson's hands, probably about 1865.

⁵⁴⁹ Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotū. OMB 3. p. 177.

⁵⁵⁰ Hamuera Te Raikokiritia, OMB 1. p. 206.

⁵⁵¹ Kawana Hunia OMB 3. p. 163.

⁵⁵² Hakaraia Te Rangipouri, OMB 3. p. 174.

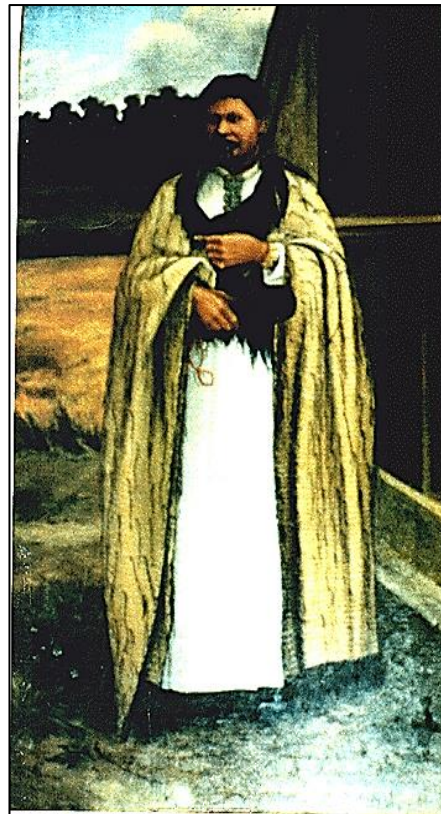
⁵⁵³ Wilson J.C. *Early Rangitikei*. pp. 150 – 151.

Another run, south of the Mangaone and reaching to Awahuri, called Pohatutua, was leased by Captain Campbell, of Wiritoa, and Mr. John Cameron, of Marangai. W.P. Campbell and John Lees went from Wanganui to manage it in April 1861.

The Māori's who leased these latter runs were Tapa Te Whata, Hoeta Kahuhui, Koro Te One and Poi-te-Ara (wife of Takana te Kawa) the latter a woman of commanding appearance and of great strength of character, is alive now at a place called Kai-Iwi, on the Ōroua river, between Awahuri and Feilding.⁵⁵⁴

Te Rakehou, John Lees, John Cameron and Captain Campbell's names are commemorated by the present day Te Rakehou Rd, Lee's Line, Cameron's Line and Campbell St in and around the Feilding to Mt Stewart area.

Image 5: Te Ara o Rehua



⁵⁵⁴ Lees, Janet. Descendent of Mr John Lees. Personal communication.

7.0 HE HONONGA O NGĀTI KAUWHATA | NGĀTI KAUWHATA CONNECTIONS

Those of Ngāti Kauwhata who migrated south in the late 1820s,⁵⁵⁵ did so with their close kin of Ngāti Wehiwehi⁵⁵⁶ and the Ngāti Huia hapū of Ngāti Raukawa,⁵⁵⁷ in what was known as “Te Hekenga mai i raro”. It was the last of three main heke of those Tainui related tribes that left their homelands from the Maungatautari and wider Waikato area. Before outlining the details of that migration south, it is interesting to speculate as to why those of Ngāti Kauwhata who migrated, chose to do so.

The pathway for those migrations had been paved by Te Rauparaha following his exploratory visit with Patuone, Waka Nene and other Northland chiefs around 1819, and then his migration with Ngāti Toa around 1822. When commenting on Te Rauparaha’s decision to migrate south, many historians have commented on his desire to seek new lands, food sources and Pākehā with which to trade (obtain guns). Also, on the fact that his remaining in the north, at least in the immediate period before he finally migrated, had become somewhat tenuous because of his battles with other hapū in the Waikato.

There is no great evidence however, that this was the case for the Raukawa and Kauwhata tribes who followed him. They left of their own will. In fact, when the Ngāti Raukawa chief Te Whatanui finally made the decision to move south, he had to burn his tribe’s houses down to compel them to leave, rather than their doing so for fear of expulsion from other tribes in the Waikato area.

Apart from both Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata wishing to explore greener pastures, Ngāti Raukawa would no doubt have been strongly influenced by the fact that Te Rauparaha’s mother, Parekōhatu, was of high ranking Raukawa ancestry.

⁵⁵⁵ Other members of Ngāti Kauwhata chose to remain in the Maungatautari area and surrounding districts. The Kereama (Graham) whānau report that their ancestor Te Ruirahi stayed behind (with others of Ngāti Kauwhata) to assist Ngāti Haua in the battle of Tumatawiwi against Ngāti Maru. It is also recorded that members of Ngāti Kauwhata died in the massacre at Rangiowhia on 21 February 1864.

⁵⁵⁶ The ancestor Wehiwehi was a son of Kauwhata.

⁵⁵⁷ The ancestor Huia was a great great grandchild of Kauwhata.

However, Ngāti Kauwhata probably had other reasons as well and to understand that better it is necessary to understand the whakapapa that tied them to the particular branch of Ngāti Rangatahi that accompanied Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa on their migration south.

When Te Rauparaha first brought his father's people of Ngāti Toa south with him, circa 1820–1822, he was joined by a branch of Ngāti Rangatahi as he passed through the Marokopa and Mōkau areas.⁵⁵⁸ This was a branch of Ngāti Rangatahi who had shifted away from their original tribal domain in the Ohura Valley and Ongahue region.⁵⁵⁹

Although the ancestor Rangatahi was the grand-daughter of Maniapoto (and therefore regarded as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto by those Ngāti Rangatahi who stayed up North in the Ohura valley area),⁵⁶⁰ Kahurautete Matawhā of Ngāti Rangatahi, who married Hoani Meihana of Ngāti Kauwhata, always referred to her people as a hapū of Ngāti Toa.⁵⁶¹ This was due to the great grandchildren of Rangatahi (Te Rangikaiwhiria and Te Puru) marrying the grandchildren of Toa Rangatira (Te Akamaupuhia and Kimihia respectively). Further still, the marriage of Te Rangikaiwhiria's daughter, Te Kahuirangi to Te Haunga, another of Toa Rangatira's grandchildren.

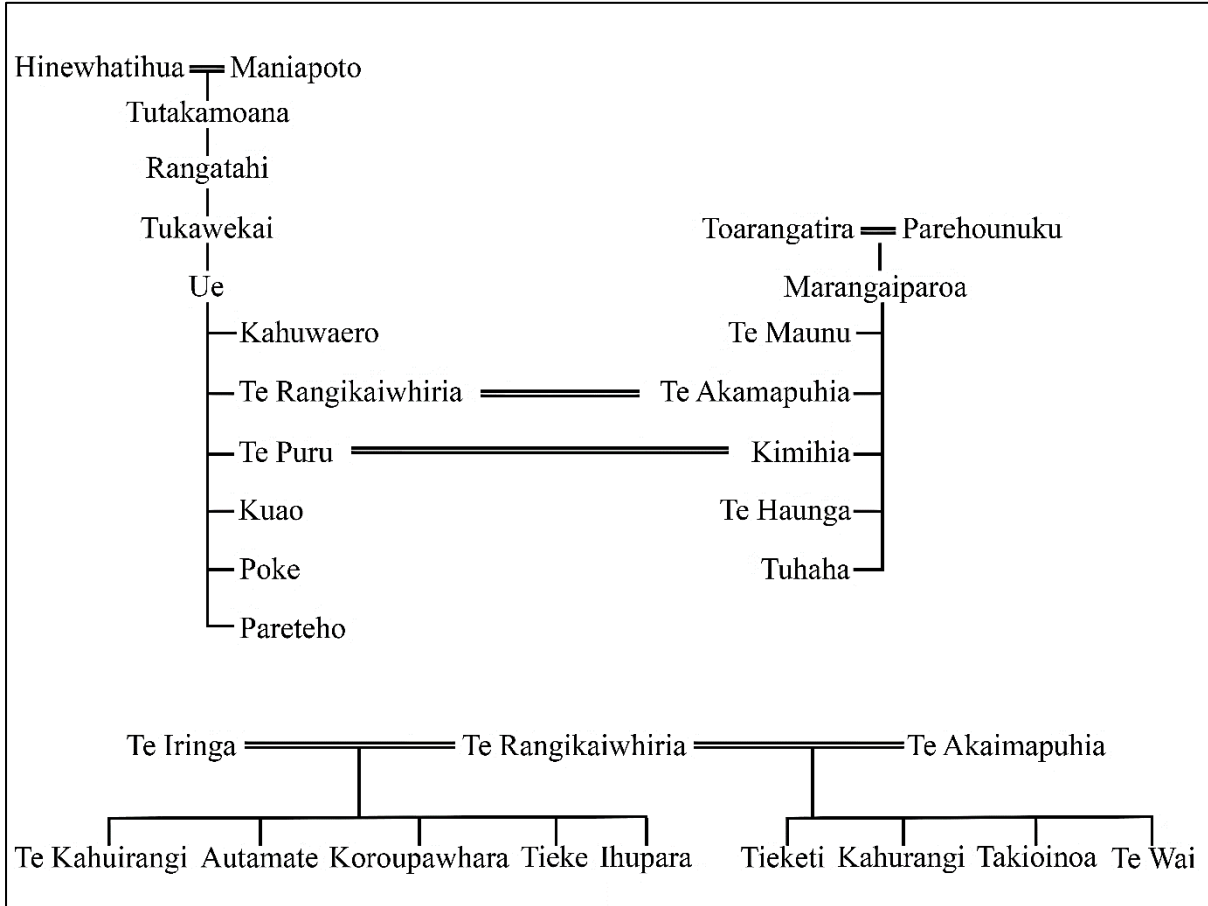
⁵⁵⁸ That this section of Ngāti Rangatahi resided in these areas is affirmed by the fact that Taihakurei II (the great, great grandfather of Hon Sir Taihakurei Durie) and his son Matawha were named in the original Crown grants for that area, when such titles were first awarded.

⁵⁵⁹ Rawiri Durie Snr. Mason Durie and Taihakurei Durie still have shares in the Pukepoto Block, passed down to them by their Ngāti Rangatahi ancestors, which affirms that connection with their original Ngāti Rangatahi homeland.

⁵⁶⁰ See evidence of Earnest Adams in report by Lou Chase.

⁵⁶¹ Kahurautete's mother's headstone reads "*Mihi ki Turangi Matawha, Nō Ngāti Rangatahi, No Ngāti Toa*".

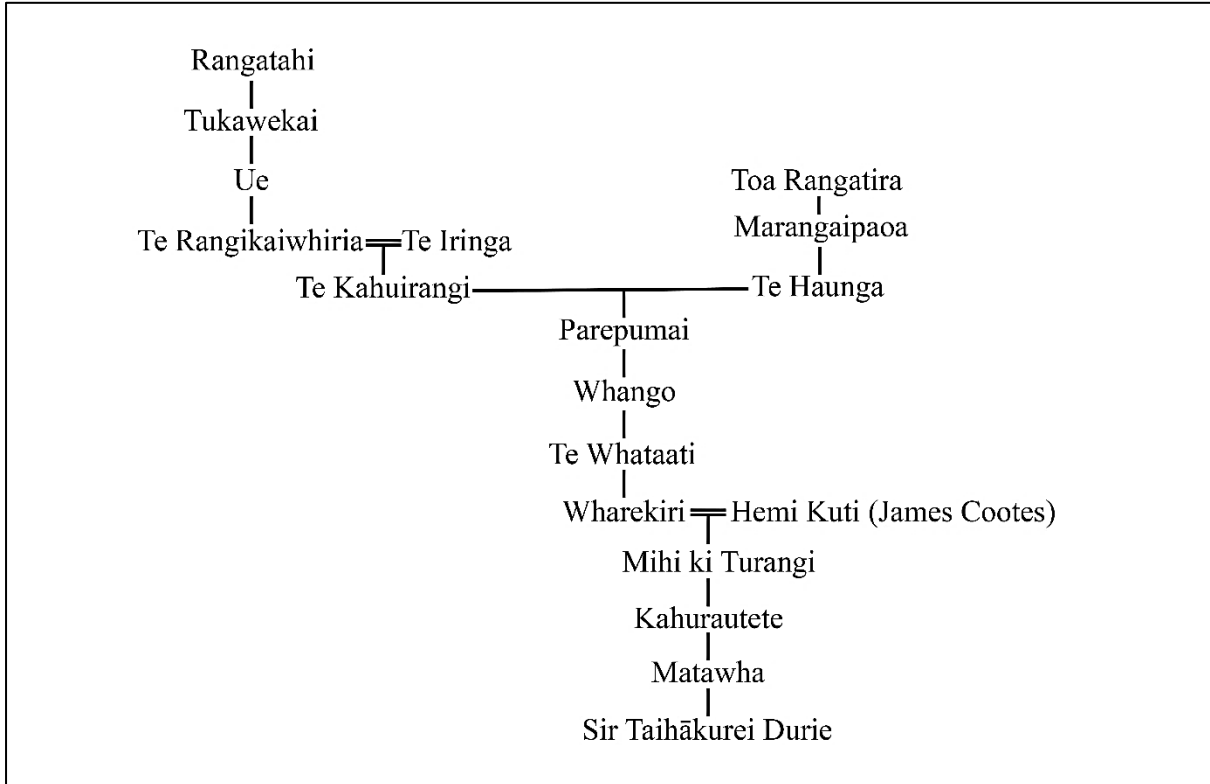
Whakapapa 23: Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa links



Those marriages between Ngāti Rangatahi and Ngāti Toa which predate the time of Te Rauparaha's initial migration south, confirm not only that they were living in close proximity prior to the migrations south but that this section of Ngāti Rangatahi had become more Ngāti Toa aligned than their relatives who had stayed inland in the Ohura Valley areas.

It was this group of Ngāti Rangatahi who accompanied Te Rauparaha south and were living with him at Kāpiti. This is evidenced by the fact that Kahurautete's grandmother Wharekiri married James Cootes, a whaler who was living at Kāpiti amongst Ngāti Toa at the time.

Whakapapa 24: Wharekiri rāua ko Hemi Kūti (James Cootes)

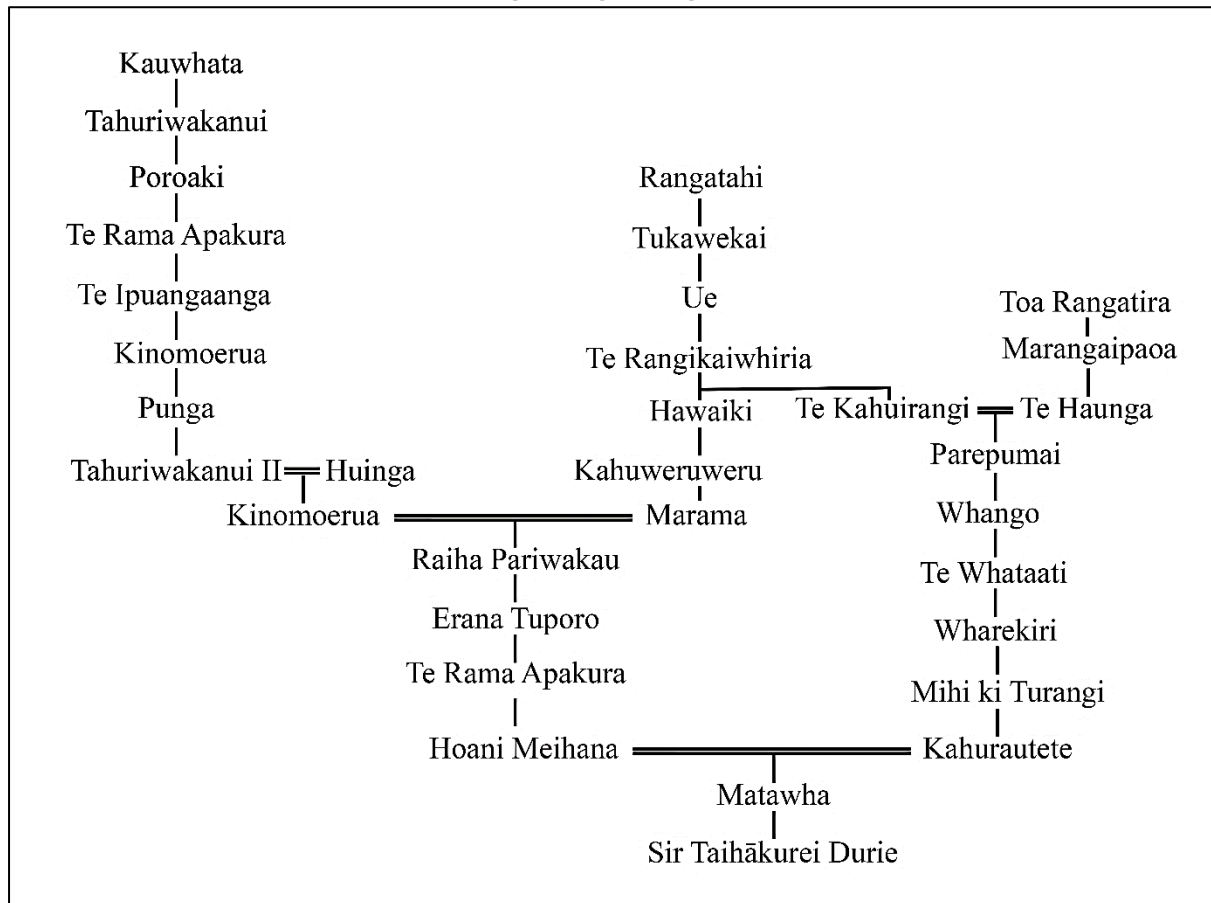


This is the same group of Ngāti Rangatahi who accompanied Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata to the Wairau incident in 1843 and earlier, circa 1836-40, had been sent by Te Rangihaeata to maintain his ‘ahi kaa’ in the Heretaunga area. It was these people who were in turn expelled from Heretaunga by the Crown troops in 1846 after an incident at Boulcott’s farm. Kahurautete, the grandmother of Sir Taihākurei Durie, relayed the story of her mother, Mihi ki Tūrangi (who was about 10 years old at the time of this expulsion) walking with the others of Ngāti Rangatahi who survived this ordeal from the Heretaunga area to Poroutawhao and then onto the Reureu lands at Kakariki where she spent the rest of her life. This would have included Mihi’s parents Te Whataati and Matawaha, as their names appear in the original Crown grants for the Reureu Blocks.

The reason for mentioning the above is that those members of Ngāti Rangatahi who accompanied Te Rauparaha on his journey south also had strong ties to Ngāti Kauwhata through the marriage of Te Rangikawaiwhiria’s grand-daughter Marama to Kinomoerua II of Ngāti Kauwhata (Figure 21).

The marriage of Kinomoerua II and Marama would have happened around the time of the migrations south and would likely have played a role in some members of Ngāti Kauwhata joining this union, at least following their offspring to the Manawatū Horowhenua area.

Whakapapa 25: Ngāti Rangatahi-Ngāti Kauwhata links



8.0 HE ORANGA KI MANAWATŪ | LIFE AT MANAWATŪ

Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa arrived in the Manawatū and Horowhenua area in the early 1820s. Given that they arrived with significant numbers, they were able to obtain lands previously invaded by Ngāti Toa. Ngāti Kauwhata assert that they resided in the Manawatū interior since the initial migration. It is here where they intentionally maintained their possession in battles against opposing iwi, such as their current neighbours, Rangitāne. It is widely known, that peace was established between the two warring tribes and a peace agreement eventually reached. This was then reinforced by a tomo, the construction of a whare karakia at Puketōtara – Rangiotū, the gifting of mere pounamu, and the division of whenua.

There are four (4) key land blocks that are significant to the Rangitīkei and Manawatū districts. They include:

- a) The Ahuaturanga block, from about Rangiotū to Āpiti and from the ranges to Taonui stream which parallels the Ōroua River
- b) The Ōroua block, between the Taonui Stream and the Ōroua River, including the Aorangi and Kauwhata marae
- c) The Rangitīkei-Manawatū block from the Ōroua to the Rangitīkei River, including Awahuri, our original and primary settlement
- d) The Rangitīkei block from the Rangitīkei River to the Whangaehu River.

The background is that in conquering the district from Whangaehu to Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington), Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa-Rangatira from Kāwhia, brought with him several allied iwi whom he located at different places to hold the land. The most significant was the location of his mother's people, Ngāti Raukawa, to hold under the mana of Te Whatanui, the large district from Whangaehu to Kukutauaki, a stream south of Otaki.

The people of Ngāti Kauwhata from Maungatautari, were part of the ancient and blood related Toa-Raukawa-Kauwhata alliance that stood against several other hapū confederations in the Waikato wars that preceded the migration south. Ngāti Kauwhata also joined with Te Rauparaha at Kāpiti. Thereafter, Ngāti Kauwhata settled permanently on the Rangitīkei-Manawatū lands and on part of the Ahuaturanga block.

Unlike the many iwi who took control of the coast, Ngāti Kauwhata, under Te Ahu Karamu, entered by an inland track, down the Rangitīkei river to the Rangatawa stream beneath Kakariki, west along that river past Whakamaetakapu (Halcombe) and from there down the Mangaone Stream (behind Feilding) to enter the Awahuri district at about what is now, Awahuri Bush or Kitchener Park. Awahuri, where the Mangaone drains into the Ōroua, became Ngāti Kauwhata's founding and principal settlement. There, Ngāti Kauwhata defeated the local Ngāti Apa. The arrangement appears to have been that Ngāti Raukawa would secure the coastal districts and Ngāti Kauwhata would secure the area inland.

From Awahuri Ngāti Kauwhata journeyed further south to join Te Rauparaha at Kāpiti. Later, they returned to the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block with the support of Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa. Ngāti Kauwhata returned mainly to Awahuri, then spread along both banks of the

Ōroua River from about what is now Reid's Line, near Colyton, downstream to the Manawatu river. By 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, Ngāti Kauwhata were well established in the area and had begun to accept the Ngāti Apa and Rangitīkei people as friends and neighbours. A great deal of inter-marriage was to follow, cementing the bond with those people.

Notwithstanding the Ngāti Raukawa mana in respect of the whole of the Rangitīkei, Manawatū and Horowhenua, through conquest, in accordance with ancient tikanga, Te Whatanui sought to divide the lands fairly between the conquerors and the conquered, namely the Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa, and so to establish an arrangement for peaceful coexistence. By then, Europeans had arrived.

Ahuaturanga block was given to Rangitāne. Very roughly, it was a one-third share. These people had moved into the area from the Wairarapa-Hawke's Bay coast. Rangitāne then sold the land but keeping some reserves for themselves.

The Ōroua block on the western bank of the Ōroua River was kept out of the Rangitāne allocation and sale because of the strong Kauwhata presence there. Ngāti Kauwhata had been living peacefully with Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa, but at this time nearly all of Ngāti Apa withdrew to the Rangitīkei block, on or beyond the northern banks of the Rangitīkei river. These people had come originally from the Whanganui district.

Later the Ōroua block was divided, by agreement, Ngāti Kauwhata taking the northern part, Ngāti Tauera of Ngāti Apa being given the centre and Rangitāne having the south. The Rangitīkei block was passed to Ngāti Apa. This was the Ngāti Apa share, which was more than a third, but no-one was really counting. After providing extensive reserves for themselves, mainly along the Whangaehu river close to their Whanganui relatives, Ngāti Apa sold the remainder. That left Rangitīkei-Manawatu, the final third, as the Raukawa-Kauwhata share taken by conquest and subsequent occupation. Ngāti Apa had vacated to the Rangitīkei block. Within a rather short time, Rangitāne and Ngāti Tauera sold their pieces.

Our whanaunga of Muaūpoko were also in the district at the time. These were located in the Horowhenua Block around Levin, which is outside the ambit of the Ngāti Kauwhata claims.

As to the occupations of Rangitikei-Manawatu block, Ngāti Raukawa hapū held the coastal area along the southern banks of the Rangitikei river. Some of Ngāti Wehiwehi, a hapū of Ngāti Kauwhata, were also in the area, mainly around Taikorei (now Sanson). However, Ngāti Kauwhata were mainly in control of the interior, on the eastern border, along the Ōroua river. The southern area, beside the Manawatu River near Himatangi, was held mainly by other Raukawa hapū. These hapū were strongly opposed to the sale of any part of the Rangitikei-Manawatu block; and time would prove that none were as staunch as Ngāti Kauwhata in maintaining that resolve.

Notwithstanding their determination to keep these lands, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata were willing to provide for their other allies. These included Ngāti Rangatahi of Ngāti Maniapoto who came originally from the area around Ohura and Te Kuiti. These too had come south with Te Rauparaha where they formed a special alliance with Te Rangihaeata, and his father, Rakaherea. They settled in the Hutt Valley, but they were forced out of there by the European settlers. They sought and were given refuge at Kakariki on the Rangitikei-Manawatu block. They would be joined later by other allies of Ngāti Maniapoto and Tūwharetoa origins, at Te Reureu.

9.0 HE KĀHUI MARAE | A CLUSTER OF MARAE

Originally there were three marae scattered throughout the Awahuri District to accommodate the needs of Ngāti Kauwhata. These marae included Te Iwa te Kau mā Iwa (Te Iwa), Kauwhata, and Aorangi.

9.1 Te Iwa Tekau mā Iwa

Te Iwa (99 feet long) has history that reflects this house being built to accommodate a multitude. The little whare on the side of the main meeting house was known as ‘Te Rere o Waikato’. It was said to have housed a whanaunga (relative) named Hoeta Kahuhui at one stage. One of the kuia mentioned in an interview that the whare, Te Rere o Waikato, “...was still standing after the big one got blown down.”⁵⁶²

⁵⁶² Lorraine Himiona oral source, Feilding, 4 August 2018.

Whakapapa 26: Iwa te Kau mā Iwa Whareniui and Te Rere o Waikato, Iwa te Kau mā Iwa Marae



Image 6: Te Rere o Waikato, Iwa te Kau ma Iwa Marae



Kaumātua of today still share fond memories of their parents who lived during a time when Te Iwa was still erect. They reminisce about whānau who lived in the vicinity at that time, including “...Aunty Nora, the Hutahi’s, the Cribb’s, the Knowles, Te Hiwi’s...”⁵⁶³

The marae itself was identified as being affiliated with the Paimārire faith, noting the crosses attached to the pinnacles of each of the whare, both front and back. The door sat to the right side of the window looking onwards toward the whare, with the dining room also located in the one building.

On 6 February 1890, an order was made in favour of 35 owners that two acres that includes the house (Te Iwa) built for the Ngāti Kauwhata tribe to be called Aorangi No 1 Section 8C. The Original owners were:

Te Kana te Kawa *	Weti Pekamu
Meteria te Kawa *	Wiremu Pekamu
Teieti Turanga	Noa Pekamu *
Te Wani Turanga	Ratima Pekamu
Karehana Tauranga *	Turhira Pekamu *
Ruera ti Karua	Miriama Pape *
Retimana te Hapoki	Raimapaha Ahitana *
Hori te Hapoki	*Mihirangi Ahitana *
Wiremu Hohinui *	Makareti Ahitana
Areta Hemokanga	Hapi te Wheoro
Te Ara Takana	Tapa te Whata
Taimona Pikauroa	Metapere Tapa
Kereama Paoe	Haimona Tapa
erewini Kereama *	Mereaina Kereama
Hoeta te Kahuhui	Te Rahira Kereama *
Rahira Kahuhui	Tupataia Kahuhui
Tura Kahuhui	Marara Kahuhui
Metapere Kahuhui	

*Note * At the time these original names went before the court they were already deceased and their shares succeeded to.*

⁵⁶³ Mary Sanson oral source, Feilding, 4 August 2018.

Image 28: Whare tupuna construction, Iwa te Kau mā Iwa



In 1936 the meeting house Te Iwa Te Kau was destroyed by a gale and resulted in the whare been blown down. One of the local kaumātua shared her memory of being around for the aftermath a few years subsequent to this event. She remembered that:

“It was down. I remember it came down in ‘36 I think it was, I wasn’t born until ‘37. ‘39 I think I was about three when Nanny was in her long tartan skirt, her moko and her and I went and stacked iron there wasn’t that many, it was all scattered around under the big trees there. I think the trees are gone...When Nanny and I were stacking the iron that was there, there wasn’t that many, it was good to sell. You didn’t get much from it but it was a putea. Nanny started it. After getting the iron from the roofing it started the putea off to rebuild Te Iwa.”⁵⁶⁴

An Evening Standard report some 37 years later in 1973 had a photo of the two whare. A member of the committee Mrs J Cribb (Hara) stated that the meeting house should be rebuilt not only because of its historic value but also to bring young people back into the Community. Since the whare was destroyed, a committee was working to raise funds to rebuild.

A meeting of the committee was held on September 26 1973 to discuss gazetting the land and once done the committee would apply to the Executive Council for a subsidy. The committee was looking to raise \$33,000 to rebuild and with a dollar for dollar subsidy, they needed to

⁵⁶⁴ Mary Sanson oral source, Feilding, 4 August 2018.

raise half in which they were not too far away from raising. The committee plans for construction was to rebuild in the traditional style. This aspiration for the rebuild continues with the descendants of today. The first Trustees were appointed on the 3 May 1974 and the land was gazetted on the 25 July 1974 setting aside .8195 hectares as a Māori Reservation and the Trust was named, “Te Iwa Te Kau Māori Reservation Trust”.

Image 29: Whare tupuna, Kauwhata Marae, Kai Iwi Pā



9.2. Kauwhata (Kai Iwi Pā)

Kauwhata is located just south of Feilding, situated near the Ōroua River. The marae is occupied by Ngāti Hinepare, a hapū of Ngāti Kauwhata, and is one of the main marae within Ngāti Kauwhata. The whare tupuna is aptly named after the principal ancestor for Ngāti Kauwhata, ‘Kauwhata’. Its carvings, kōwhaiwhai, and tukutuku, with raupō panels are still maintained by the iwi today. The whare mokopuna which stands next to the whare tupuna, is named ‘Te Aroha o Ngā Mokopuna’. This whare was established by a more recent Ngāti Kauwhata tupuna, Kawa Kereama. Its primary purpose was to help accommodate the overflow of manuhiri who stayed at the marae. This was needed as previously, they had used marquees to shelter manuhiri on the marae. The whare kai which is adorned in its interior with the words ‘Ngā Kupu Pupuritia’ is named Moarikura.

Image 30: Whare tupuna, Kauwhata Marae, Kai Iwi Pā 2



Above the meeting house, the tekoteko, Kauwhata, is observed to wear a five-pointed crown, for two reasons. The first is said to reflect five maunga in Waikato from whence Ngāti Kauwhata first descended: Pirongia, Maungatautari, Pukekura, Whānake, and Wharepūhanga. The second is said to reflect the five kete of mātauranga for which Kauwhata was most adept.

Whānau still share memories of days when they were able to leave their homes and not have to lock their doors. The living in this area seemed to be very communal, with children often entering the homes of others unannounced. However, this was the norm at the time, as most were related with shared whakapapa. Residents who lived at Te Arakura stated that “...Anyone related to you could tell you off. If you did something wrong you they have the right.”⁵⁶⁵ Iwi consensus speaks to the multiple fruit trees that blossomed along Te Arakura Road, including peaches, pears, apples, nectarines, and plum trees, and even a walnut tree.

⁵⁶⁵ Waiarani Abraham oral source, Feilding, 2018.

“...used to be a plum tree called the green gage that everyone would go and pick plums from. It was located down by the swamp, just in the paddock near the whare mokopuna...the swamp was quite popular in its time.”⁵⁶⁶

Marae life style seemed to be a natural, normalised way of life, where tikanga was normalised as kaumātua presence was a strong and forceful influence within the region. Tikanga upheld on the marae today, seemed to differ somewhat from those practiced on the marae today. Some examples include eating and drinking in the whareniui previously, whereas this is now unacceptable. Historical use of Whare Apakura for the purposes of sheltering tupāpaku, whereas now they are predominantly housed inside either the whare tupuna or the whare mokopuna. There is also mention of employing a makeshift cook house during a time when the dining room did not exist. Jeff Rakatau shared during an interview at a South Street residence, “...where the (whare) mokopuna is, that’s where we had our kai, our dining room was there. Our nanny’s and that used to set up our kai on the floor and we’d eat out of a kono.”

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Image 31: St Michael's and St Paul's Church, Kauwhata, Kai Iwi Pā



⁵⁶⁶ Rachel Kingi oral source, Feilding, 4 August 2018.

⁵⁶⁷ Jeff Rakatau oral source, Feilding, 4 August 2018.

Most of the children who lived near Kauwhata, including some surrounding areas, were schooled at Te Arakura. This included Pākehā whānau like the Galloway's, the Johnson's, and the Bennett's.

The whānau talked about migrating to town, saying...

“...it was (different) for us. We could go anywhere we liked in the country. When we got to town you can't go, there's a fence to keep you in. Live in town (was strange), shocking place. That's when your life changed.”⁵⁶⁸

Rusty went on to say that being near the river;

“...we had the best play ground in the country...every house had a horse and we would bridle up, ride up the river towards Feilding, tie up the horses at night, tie a tarpaulin and sleep under that at night and go home in the morning...plenty eels in the river back then. Eeling was a good thing with plenty eels. The effluent draining into the river back then was not as hygienic as now. Eels were about a meter and a half long and about 10-15cm in circumference...we all swam in the river and all washed in it...Mrs Matakī would go down and wash her clothes in the river, and swim and bathe in the river.”⁵⁶⁹

9.3 Aorangi

The meeting house at Aorangi, Maniaihu, takes its name from an ancestor of the Ngāti Kauwhata people. It is about 65 feet long and 25 feet wide. In contrast to the house at Kai Iwi, Maniaihu is not carved and lacks the ornate lines seen in many houses. The only decorations are the rafter patterns painted on the ceiling. These kōwhaiwhai patterns were originally simple and repeated throughout the house. Recently some fresh patterns have been added and some of the old ones repainted.

While the meeting house may not conform to the popular image of a Māori meeting house, its beauty lies in its quiet dignity and simple lines.

“In the old whare tupuna it wasn't carpeted. Some people have talked about there being a steel plate in the ceiling above one of the pou, by the first one through the door. I've heard people say there used to be a fire (place) in there. I've even heard people say it was for cooking...”⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Waiarani Abraham oral source, Feilding, 2018.

⁵⁶⁹ Rusty Galloway, Manawatū, 2018.

⁵⁷⁰ Charles Te Hape Taiapana, Manawatū, March 2017.

Image 32: Aorangi Marae



Another shared,

“...we didn’t have a dining room like we’ve got now, dad (with the help of a lot of people) built the dining room quite small really, but we managed to accommodate a lot of people. And the kitchen still had an earth floor and a long stove that you could put a whole log of wood in. Dad did most of that work, we had a store room. When we had hui, and manuhiri always went in first. There were about 2 or 3 sittings. Manuhiri were always called with a karanga, that is also Tainui kawa. The home people never sat down with the manuhiri and that’s what I always remember the most, because today they do. Even if there were spare places, you never sat down at the table with the manuhiri. Mum was very strict about that, I remember Kehu (not sure of the name) Te Oka, she was the one that kept that dining room. To stop kids from funning in and out, and make sure the right people came in at the right time. It wasn’t a very big dining room, I suppose it was about half the size of the (original) meeting house. We could fit two rows of tables on each side and one down the middle, but it would be pretty packed. The cookhouse, I always remember it being quite dark, but everyone used to laugh and as the cooked, they were always happy and joking around. There was always a flurry in the cookhouse...They used to eat in the Meeting House, (in the 1940s) for wedding breakfasts because the dining room was too small.”⁵⁷¹

The meeting house, Maniaihu, had previously stood on the Awahuri side of the Ōroua River. It was re-erected on its present site near Taonui around 1890. A small settlement of Ngāti Tahuriwakanui grew up around the meeting house, which served as a much-used cultural centre for the various families living there. Today only one of the original homes still stands but even in the 1940s four or five other homes were located adjacent to the marae.

⁵⁷¹ Kahu Kurihia Heni Durie oral source, Feilding, 24-27 June 2008.

From its beginning the marae was closely involved with the Anglican church and it became the centre of the Māori mission in the Manawatu-Rangitikei pastorate. The meeting house itself was used as a regular place of worship for many years and frequent large church gatherings were a distinguishing feature of the marae.

Image 7: Wharenuī, Maniaihu, Aorangi Marae



During an interview held at a South Street residence in Feilding in 2018, one of the interviewees shared that their church “was the Anglican Church and we used to go to Aorangi. It was an old prefab on the front of the marae on the left-hand side at Aorangi.”⁵⁷²

Later, after World War II, another building was added — St Luke's Chapel. This had been constructed by voluntary labour when the Rev. M. Bennett who was a pastor in the area. Each month services in Māori are still conducted in the chapel.

The links between Ngāti Tahuriwakanui of Aorangi and the other sub-tribes of Ngāti Kauwhata have always been strong and there has been close co-operation between the three Kauwhata maraes. Apart from its connection with Ngāti Kauwhata, Aorangi has other close bonds with neighbouring maraes. Through marriage, strong affinities have developed with Te Hiri

⁵⁷² Connie Lawton oral source, Feilding 4 August 2018.

(Kakariki), Te Rangimārie (Rangiotū), and other Ngāti Raukawa maraes. Such bonds are evident whenever functions are held at one or other of these maraes.

10. HE NAWE | GRIEVANCES – THE AWAHURI BLOCK AND ALEXANDER MCDONALD: FRIEND OR FOE?

Ngāti Kauwhata history would be incomplete without mention of Alexander McDonald. An early settler of Manawatū-Rangitikei, he became entangled in the affairs of Ngāti Kauwhata midway through the 19th Century and played a principal part in the alienation of the tribe's land during the 1870s and 1880s.

“One of my most profound memories from youth, is of the disdain of my grandfather, Hoani Meihana “John Mason” Durie, upon mention of McDonald's name. My grandfather was a measured man of quiet resolve, whom I cannot recall showing ill-will toward anyone, with the exception of McDonald. I was 9 years old when my grandfather died, and learnt only later of the details, yet I vividly remember his conversations with other elders in which he recounted his father, Te Rama Apakura, calling McDonald an ‘evil, crooked man’ who had ‘robbed us of our land’”⁵⁷³

McDonald's involvement with Ngāti Kauwhata began on the back of a request for advice from Te Ara Takana and two elders in relation to the sale of the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block. He was initially viewed as a valuable asset and friend of the tribe. Nonetheless, his actions led to the loss of most of Ngāti Kauwhata's land reserves.

McDonald was first engaged by Ngāti Kauwhata to retrieve their lands in the Manawatū-Rangitikei Bloc that they had steadfastly refused to sell. His efforts and those of Ngāti Kauwhata (as shown in papers and articles on the disruption of surveys, and his letters to Featherston and McLean on departmental file M/A 13) did assist in securing land grants within the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block as well as the Aorangi/Ōroua Block (Aorangi No. 1 Block). In the end, however, he went well beyond ensuring that his own work was fairly rewarded and took advantage of his position. First, he received in his own name excessively large blocks of land in the Upper Aorangi Block and Awahuri. Then while purporting to administer certain large areas reserved for Ngāti Kauwhata, he sold them without the tribe's knowledge.

⁵⁷³ Te Rama Apakura was a witness during the trial of McDonald, where he appeared under the name of Bob Drury, by which he was also known. This is affirmed in the diaries of Tamiaho Searancke held by his granddaughter Tumanako Searancke. These record: “1/9/1911 Mrs Bob Drury died – We went to Aorangi to tangi on buggy and trap . . . 11/8/1916 Te Rama (Bob Drury) died at Aorangi . . . 14/11/1916 We went to tangi at Aorangi for Te Rama”)

On discovering that their land had been sold from under them and the covert way in which it was done, the Ngāti Kauwhata leaders eventually took McDonald to Court for what they saw as outright fraud. McDonald was found liable and yet the injustices remained un-remedied. Owing either to the already successful alienation of the land or McDonald's defaulting on mortgages secured against it.

Some reviews of the Court evidence have found it difficult to decide whether McDonald's actions were the result of calculated deception or careless mismanagement.⁵⁷⁴ What cannot be mistaken, however, is that his actions resulted in Ngāti Kauwhata losing a large majority of the land they were left with after the sales of the Manawatū-Rangitikei and Te Ahu-a-Turanga land blocks. Accordingly, the issue that remains for Ngāti Kauwhata is whether the Crown acted consistently with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in failing to protect the reserves from fraudulent alienation by the settlers. The issue is exacerbated by the fact that as a result of this injustice, Ngāti Kauwhata became one of the most landless tribes in New Zealand for the whole of the 20th century and missed out on the concessionary land development schemes and other incentives available to most other iwi. How then did this come to pass? How did this man become involved in Ngāti Kauwhata's affairs and how was it that one man became responsible for the loss of most of our land?

10.1 Background

McDonald was a Scotsman whose family had immigrated to New Zealand on the *Blenheim* in 1840, when Alexander was aged 11. His father had made the decision to immigrate to New Zealand following his bankruptcy in Scotland. While he lost his assets to repay his debts, McDonald Senior gained employment with the New Zealand Company to bring together a shipload of prospective Scottish immigrants to join him and journey to New Zealand. Their family of eight sailed from Greenock, Scotland on 28 August 1840 and landed in Wellington on 27 December of that year.

Although MacDonald Senior had bought land in the Whanganui area through the New Zealand Company prior to their sailing, that land had not been surveyed upon arrival and so they settled instead in Wellington, where Alexander and his siblings were raised. There were two schools

⁵⁷⁴ See for example Milton, Richard. *Alexander McDonald: The Man who Shot the Horse at Awahuri*, *Manawatū Journal of History*, Issue 11, 2015.

in Wellington by 1842, a small school on the Terrace and a much larger one called the "Mechanics Institute" on the corner of Lambton Quay and Molesworth Street in what are now Parliament grounds. He and a younger brother went to the school on the Terrace.⁵⁷⁵

At the age of 14, Alexander was placed in the office of Waitt & Piper, merchandisers and general agents. He soon ran away from that job, however, to a farm in Evans Bay. He wrote in his autobiography that "it was impossible to keep me away from the country life". At the age of 15, in 1844, he was again placed in an office, that of Mr. P.M. Harvey (also a merchandiser and general agent), but again ran away after a few months. He left home at this time maintaining a positive relationship with his parents whilst earning his own living.

By 1851, now aged 22, he was employed as a manager on a 500-acre farm just north of the future settlement of Marton. In 1852, he married his childhood sweetheart Annie Cameron. Her family had travelled to New Zealand on the same voyage as McDonald's. They became sweethearts during the journey and agreed during that trip to marry. By the 1860s he was working on a sheep run at Te Rakehou, near Feilding.⁵⁷⁶

Perhaps the first recorded interaction between McDonald and Ngāti Kauwhata occurred in 1858 when Te Ara Takana and her family found him struggling to navigate dense bush near their home at Awahuri, towards the end of a long journey back from the Hawkes Bay and offered their assistance.

By 1867, McDonald was employed by the provincial government of Wellington as a sheep inspector in the Whanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatū districts. Sheep inspectors were employed by the provincial government to monitor the condition known as "scab" which was a parasitic disease of sheep skin that caused their wool to fall out. It was harmful to the life of the sheep but also to the wool industry at large, hence the need for these inspectors whose work took them to all corners of the province. McDonald's frequent travels through those areas during the course of his work saw him become well known by the local Māori and Pākehā alike.

⁵⁷⁵ MacDonald A. *My Story*, unpublished, 1904.

⁵⁷⁶ The name Te Rakehou survives in the form of Te Rakehou Road and Te Rakehou Station. However, the proper name is Te Rakau Hou, as given by Matangi, an early Māori explorer.

10.2 Land Issues in the Manawatū

It was during this period (the 1860s) that land issues which had arisen almost as soon as the ink on the Treaty of Waitangi had dried, and had escalated to warfare elsewhere in the country, were to raise their ugly head also in the Manawatū.

As discussed below, the majority of Ngāti Kauwhata Rangatira, led by Kooro Te One, did not agree to the sale of the Rangitikei-Manawatū Block to the provincial government in 1866. After the Māori land wars in Taranaki in 1862 and 1863, which erupted over the disputed ownership of the Waitara Block, the government enacted the Native Lands Act of 1862 and 1865 requiring that before any further Māori land could be purchased, the rightful, customary ownership of the land had to be proven in a court of law. The Native Land Court was established for that purpose. However, Ngāti Kauwhata were denied the opportunity to take their case to the Native Land Court. The Manawatū provincial governor, Isaac Featherston, a confidant of Premier William Fox who had purchased 5000 acres on the Rangitikei River from Ngāti Apa, managed to keep the Manawatū-Rangitikei Land Block exempt from that court.

It is important to consider Featherston's likely motives. Ordinarily the land would pass to the ascendant tribes in occupation. This could not have suited Featherston or Fox. Leading contemporaries like Bishop Octavius Hadfield and the experienced Crown Purchase Officer Donald McLean, had seen the tribes of the Ngāti Raukawa group as ascendant. This would not have suited Fox who had purchased from Ngāti Apa. Nor would it have suited Featherston who had found the original occupants willing to sell but the tribes of the Raukawa migration including Ngāti Kauwhata, deeply opposed. Featherston had good cause therefore, to keep the land away from the Native Land Court which might well find the favour of the Ngāti Raukawa group, and rather leave the decision to himself, where he could be a judge in the interests of his own cause. In addition with the Native Land Court out of the way, Featherston was able to impound the rents charged by Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata leaders to European run-holders along the Manawatū coastal flats of Ngāti Huia and others, and those charged by Ngāti Kauwhata inland from Whakaari (Mt Stewart), including at the Ōroua River Flats and the Kawakawa Block. Featherston's supposed grounds for taking these steps were disingenuous. He argued that it would prevent disputes when land rights were in doubt, when in fact the Native Land Court process, in theory, provided for the proper settlement of land rights disputes.

Rather, as was patently obvious, the impounding of the rents deprived Ngāti Kauwhata of the income that would spare them from the need to sell.

Moreover, the fact that European farmers and grazers recognised Ngāti Kauwhata as ascendant in the Ngāti Kauwhata area was good evidence that these too regarded Ngāti Kauwhata as the true, customary owners. When letters to the provincial and national governments protesting the alienation of the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block went unheard, Te Ara Takana and two others of the tribe approached McDonald for his assistance.⁵⁷⁷ McDonald in turn wrote to the resident judge of the Supreme Court, Judge Alexander James Johnson, to put their case forward. Judge Johnson replied that he could not help them directly but, perhaps through his influence, the Native Lands Act of 1865 was amended in May 1867, authorising the government to refer the claims of non-sellers to the court.

10.3 The Ngāti Kauwhata Claim

The first such hearing for lands in the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block was that of a Parakaia Te Pouepa (regarding the Himatangi Block) who was represented (unsuccessfully) by Thomas Williams. The second was the Ngāti Kauwhata claim.

When Ngāti Kauwhata were finally given the opportunity to contest their right to lands in that block in a Māori Land Court hearing at Bulls in 1869, the lawyer selected to represent them, Thomas Williams, withdrew from the case out of disgust at the decision regarding the Himatangi Block. His substitute then failed to appear. The tribe's sole representative at that hearing, Te Ara Takana, was left to represent herself.

Te Ara was unable to do this. No doubt language difficulties and unfamiliarity with European legal process played their part. Nonetheless, the Crown representative (none other than William Fox) insisted the court proceed or that the claim be dismissed. A desperate Te Ara pleaded in vain for a week's adjournment, then for one day and then finally, successfully, for an hour. She was asked by the Court whether she knew anyone in the courthouse who could help her. She turned to McDonald who happened to be in attendance on his own business.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁷ Mildon. 2015

⁵⁷⁸ McDonald. 2015.

Although McDonald had never been in a Māori Land Court before, he agreed to help and so began his time acting as the tribe's agent.

10.4 McDonald as Agent for Ngāti Kauwhata

Because he had never been in a court before, he requested 24 hours to talk to Te Ara and those she represented, to study the Act and a previous case and to learn the Court's procedure. The judge granted this request. William Fox immediately objected as McDonald was an employee of the province. He complained that McDonald was "Stirring up and encouraging the Māoris to resist the government".

For his efforts, McDonald was immediately suspended from his employment as a sheep inspector with the provincial government, before being formally dismissed by Featherston, the Wellington provincial superintendent.

After studying the details of Te Ara's claim overnight, McDonald came to the conclusion (to the great displeasure of William Fox and the Court) that the case was unable to proceed as the hearing was not on the application of Ngāti Kauwhata but on that of the government. After a number of days arguing the point, the Court was obliged to agree with the technicality raised by McDonald and the case was adjourned without a date being set for a further hearing. McDonald was now officially installed as a Native Agent for Ngāti Kauwhata and other non-sellers. The lawyer William Travers was engaged as counsel.

The Ngāti Kauwhata hearing finally took place in Wellington, later in 1869. At the conclusion of that hearing, which took several weeks, it was decided that the non-sellers would be granted land "...but only in proportion to the numbers involved in the claim". As a result, the Court set aside 4500 acres at Awahuri for the non-sellers.

The land set aside was in addition to a reserve of 300 acres which Featherston had partitioned off for Tapa Te Whata, the only member of Ngāti Kauwhata who put his name to the sale of the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block. This demonstrates the perverse pressure placed on the people of Ngāti Kauwhata to sell their land. Those prepared to sell their land, like Tapa Te Whata, were guaranteed land for themselves, those who declined to sell were more likely to get nothing.

The land set aside for Ngāti Kauwhata was further problematic in that it did not include the places where the people lived, cultivated and harvested, or fished. Instead, it was part of the land rented to grazers so that it was the grazers who most stood to benefit.

The government stipulated that the land was to be inalienable without the consent of the governor for 21 years, but restrictions on alienations were often either ignored or removed and, as demonstrated by the effect of McDonald's later actions, such restrictions failed to provide adequate protection of customary ownership.

In addition, it would soon be made liable for rates, to fund the infrastructure required to support European settlement and, even more seriously at the time, the land was required to be surveyed within an unforgiving timeframe of six months. How were Māori to meet the costs of such surveying, which was by no means cheap?

Image 33: He korowai huruhuru - Kō Kauwhata



10.5 Poor Administration and Protest

Upon granting the reserve and setting these conditions, Ngāti Kauwhata immediately protested (as evidenced by letters to Featherston and McLean in the M/A 13 file). McDonald promptly

informed the government that the surveys would be resisted. At one stage, McDonald was fined £30 for “...aiding and abetting Natives opposing the survey of the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block”.

To calm the situation, the government released the impounded rents of £500, but it appears this too was insufficient to cover the survey costs and mounting debts.⁵⁷⁹ The grounds for their protest were manifold. In the first instance, Ngāti Kauwhata contended that their lands within the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block extended well beyond the reserve granted.⁵⁸⁰

Koro Te One was one who particularly opposed the surveying of land (as shown in his and his sister Enereta’s letters to McLean, Buller and Featherston in M/A 13 file). First and foremost, Te Koro was adamant that in customary land tenure, land was the preserve of the whole tribe and not any one individual. He points out in his letters that land was to be retained and passed on inter-generationally to sustain the whole tribe and keep them together. Secondly, Ngāti Kauwhata were close kin and staunch supporters of the Kingitanga movement who were strongly advising their supporters against the surveying of land and the awarding of individual title. It had already come to be seen as a “means” for Pākehā to manipulate individuals and get their hands-on Māori land.

Thirdly, Koro’s sister, Enereta Te One, had married Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotū of Rangitāne whose tribe had become landless after the sale of the Ahuaturanga Block by Hirawani Kaimokopuna such that he, Hoani Meihana, had quickly come to see the folly of such large sales. Fourthly, Māori food gathering, and growing practices required them to shift their cultivation and fishing and hunting sites from year to year for the very practical reason that the same piece of land and the same lagoons would not sustain annual exploitation.

On the back of these protests and Featherston’s recall to England in 1869 to negotiate for the retention of Imperial troops in New Zealand, Native Minister Donald McLean intervened. In January 1870, McLean granted the non-sellers of Ngāti Kauwhata a further 1035 acres (the Kawakawa Native Reserve) as a northward extension of the Kawakawa Block. Once again, the

⁵⁷⁹ Mildon. 2015

⁵⁸⁰ See Kewana Emery who has the customary boundaries as given by Paora Tangimoana Rakatau.

government stipulated that the land was to be inalienable without the consent of the governor for 21 years. And once again, these reserves were to be surveyed within 6 months.

Then at the end of 1870 Ngāti Kauwhata's fortunes took a further turn for the worse. In December of that year, Featherston returned from England and disputed McLean's awards to Ngāti Kauwhata. He claimed that McLean had given away land that had been purchased by the Wellington province and demanded compensation from the government. It meant that for the next four years Ngāti Kauwhata could not get proper title to their land; and in the absence of a title, they could get no benefit from it.

The consequence of these events was devastating for Ngāti Kauwhata. During the period before the sale of the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block, when Featherston impounded the rents, and after it, when he disputed McLean's awards of the Awahuri and Kawakawa reserves, Ngāti Kauwhata lost the valuable income to which they were entitled in respect of their own lands. They had no money to pay for future survey costs or to pay McDonald for the work he was doing on their behalf. They had no money to buy their own food or clothing or construct their own shelters at a time when the settlers' drainage of the large swamplands was taking away their customary sources of food, clothing and building supplies. They had no capital with which to buy stock or erect fences, in order to engage in the new economy on which their survival now depended. This meant that they were accruing big debts, which ultimately, they were only able to resolve by selling large tracts of land when they finally got title to them, or by taking deposits on the sale of land subject to the completion of survey and title work.

McDonald, who by now was acting as the agent for Ngāti Kauwhata, continued to protest profusely against the provincial government on these issues. Ngāti Kauwhata had no money to pay him, however, and from March 1872, McDonald returned to his job as a provincial sheep inspector, out of necessity. He remained in employment with the province until the end of 1873, resigning then to resume his crusade for Ngāti Kauwhata who were being made "...promises . . . that were not being kept".

His protest action continued. In addition to the earlier Court appearance for "aiding and abetting the Natives", he also appeared in court and was fined £40 over the destruction of a government trig station on Ngāti Kauwhata land "in the township of Carnarvon". Now broke and without income, Ngāti Kauwhata allowed McDonald to settle on Ngāti Kauwhata land next

to the bridge that crossed the Ōroua River at Awahuri. There the tribe helped him build his first house, Springfield.

His protests came to a head on 1 May 1874. Exasperated after years of protesting, and after an afternoon in the Schultz Hotel at Awahuri where according to those who testified at the hearing, he was somewhat inebriated and appeared from the hotel with a gun and shot the leading horse of the mail coach driven by Mr. Andrew Young. His action was in protest against the government driving over Ngāti Kauwhata land. For this, he was convicted and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

Although McDonald's act was derided by the press at the time, some claimed his actions had the desired effect. McDonald himself so claimed this.⁵⁸¹ Mildon wrote that:

“...within a week of his being sent to prison, Governor Sir James Ferguson visited Ngāti Kauwhata and satisfied himself that they had genuine grounds for a grievance and immediately issued a Grant for the 4,500 acres they had originally been conceded.”

However, an article in the (Wellington) Evening Post stated that by the time McDonald shot the horse the grants had already been issued and had already been delivered to McDonald himself.⁵⁸²

Whatever the case, Ngāti Kauwhata so appreciated his actions that while he was in prison they surveyed off 850 acres within the Awahuri Block and gifted it to McDonald's wife, Annie.⁵⁸³ Then with the assistance of John Stevens, a licensed interpreter, they raised £960 for Annie and her children against a mortgage of 1500 acres of Te Awahuri, to Henry Churton of Whanganui. The mortgage, dated 29 September 1875, provided for immediate foreclosure in the event of default without any opportunity for the equity of redemption such that the mortgage was later argued by Ngāti Kauwhata to be illegal in terms of the Native Land Act 1873.⁵⁸⁴ McDonald only served 15 months of his prison sentence and on his release, the 850 acres at Raikopu was transferred to his name.

⁵⁸¹ McDonald. 2015.

⁵⁸² *Past Papers*, 1 May 1874.

⁵⁸³ This land was then known as Reikopu. It is now called Highden.

⁵⁸⁴ Husbands, Paul. *Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves 1840-2000: Ngāti Kauwhata's Reserves at Te Awahuri and Kawakawa*. 2017. p. 7.

In the meantime, Ngāti Kauwhata continued fighting for their interests in the Manawatū Block and upon his release McDonald was quick to again render his assistance. As well as helping with the Manawatū land issues, McDonald was also helping steer Ngāti Kauwhata through negotiations with Ngāti Taurira (a hapū of Ngāti Apa), and Rangitāne, over the division of the Aorangi Block (also known as the Ōroua Block).

10.6 The Division of Land Between Hapū

In Ngāti Kauwhata's journey down from Waikato they took certain hostages of Ngāti Apa, including Te Kiore and Ruakete. Te Kiore in turn was sent to set up a meeting between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Kauwhata to broker the return of Ruakete, a high-ranking woman of Ngāti Apa. For returning their chieftainess, Ngāti Apa represented by Te Auahi, Te Raikokiritia and Te Hanea, ceded the land between Whakaari and Ōroua ("*Te kopaki mou, ko Whakaari ko Ōroua*"). Te Auahi erected a pou "Te Hokowhitu o Kauwhata" to signify the event. However, Te Kiore and others of Ngāti Apa became incorporated into Ngāti Kauwhata as well as Ngāti Wehiwehi (who had accompanied Ngāti Kauwhata on the journey south from Waikato) and Rangitāne. It is likely that Te Kiore married into Ngāti Kauwhata as his daughter, Harata Te Kiore, is referred to as a relative of Koro Te One in the Ōtaki Minute Books regarding the allocation of land titles in the Upper Aorangi Block.

This meant that various families or hapū of Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Taurira (a hapū of Ngāti Apa) and Rangitāne co-existed along the banks of the Ōroua. Because of the land sales occurring around them and the fact that customary land ownership was being usurped by the Crown with its insistence on land being surveyed and titled, the chiefs of Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Taurira and Rangitāne met at Awahuri in 1870. This was of their own volition and divided the Aorangi-Ōroua Block amongst themselves in roughly equal partitions. They determined that Ngāti Kauwhata would take the upper block (Aorangi No 1), Ngāti Taurira the middle block (Aorangi No 2), and Rangitāne the lower block (Aorangi No 3). Although Ngāti Kauwhata had cultivations and kainga south of the Aorangi Block (that is, in the middle and lower blocks), Rangitāne and Ngāti Taurira also had cultivations and kainga outside of the blocks they were apportioned at this meeting. These divisions and allotments were made based on where the majority of these iwi and hapū were residing.

These divisions were made mutually between the interested parties residing in the Aorangi-Ōroua River area, but nonetheless they were immediately contested by factions of Ngāti Apa living outside the area. The challenges were led by Kawana (Governor) Hunia. Although Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne had contested land in this area before the southward migrations of the Tainui tribes, those of Ngāti Apa living in the area in 1829 (when Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Wehiwehi arrived) had ceded the land to Ngāti Kauwhata. The position was such that by the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Ngāti Kauwhata were well established as having mana over the lands between Whakaari and the Ōroua River. As earlier indicated, this evidence is supported by the leases with the grazers of those lands paying rents to Kooro Te One and Hoeta Te Kahuhui of Ngāti Kauwhata. They again held mana on the eastern side of the Ōroua (the Aorangi-Ōroua Block) but likely did so with various Ngāti Taurira hapū of Ngāti Apa who had intermarried with Rangitāne.

However, having fought with the Crown in the Taranaki wars in the 1860's, some factions of Ngāti Apa returned armed with guns and newfound mana. With Featherston's backing they then sought to re-establish a presence in the Aorangi, Ōroua and Manawatū areas. It is almost certain that Featherston allowed for and was keen for this to happen. He had been unable to get the majority of the leading chiefs of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa living in the Manawatū-Rangitikei Block to agree to the sale of the land. Having secured signatures from Ngāti Apa, Wanganui, Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne, all of whom had very little or no claim to any lands in the Block, the threat of warfare among the tribes was necessary to force the sale.

This meant that the division of the Aorangi Block as mutually agreed at the meeting at Awahuri in 1870 by those actually living on the lands at the time, was held up for three years by the threats of Kawana Hunia until it was ratified in the courts in 1873. However, further wrangling and internal difficulties meant the survey was then held up until another hearing in 1877 and Crown grants were not awarded until 1879. Once again Ngāti Kauwhata lost valuable income as they were unable to use their own lands for any income generating activity.

Also occurring at the same time was a claim by Ngāti Kauwhata for 3000 acres between the Aorangi No 1 Block and Taonui Stream. In order to fully understand this claim, some background is needed. After the battle of Te Kuititanga, in 1839 between the Tainui affiliated tribes (assisted by some members of Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa) and Te Ati Awa, Te Rauparaha

reorganised some of the tribal boundaries. Tapa Te Whata and Ngāti Kauwhata returned to Mangawhata and then Upper Aorangi. Te Whetu and Ngāti Wehiwehi returned to Lower Aorangi and Rangitāne to the area north of Tiakitahuna and east of the Mangaone Stream.

In 1858 when Te Hirawani Kaimokopuna of Rangitāne determined to sell the Upper Manawatū or Te Ahu a Turanga Block, the chiefs of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa met with Rangitāne at Puketotara. Rangitāne wanted the western boundary of that Block to be the Ōroua River. Ngāti Kauwhata stated that it should be the Mangaone Stream as had been decided in the time of Te Rauparaha. Eventually a compromise was reached whereby the Taonui Stream was settled as the boundary, which was roughly midway between the two.

However, when the surveyor undertook to survey the boundary, the thick bush and swampy terrain proved difficult to navigate. He settled on a straight line between Te Rua Puha (the northern most point of the Aorangi No 1 Block) and Waikuku (the southernmost point of the Aorangi No 1 eastern boundary), assuming (erroneously) that it would roughly bisect the Taonui Stream leaving approximately equal portions of land in the Aorangi No 1 Block and Te Ahu a Turanga Block. It later transpired that the line actually stripped Ngāti Kauwhata of 3000 acres.

In 1870, McLean promised McDonald and Ngāti Kauwhata that the mistake would be corrected but it took a further round of protests, letters, an Act of Parliament and finally a further Land Court hearing before Ngāti Kauwhata's right to the land was awarded in 1880.

In the late 1870's and early 1880's, McDonald was also involved in negotiating (unsuccessfully) for Ngāti Kauwhata's land interests in the Waikato. As already mentioned, only a small number of Ngāti Kauwhata had made the trip south in 1829. Others had stayed behind to assist Ngāti Haua in the battle of Tumatawiwi. There are also several family records, like those of the Graham, Tait and Emery whānau, of groups going back and forth between Manawatū and Waikato. Later, members of Ngāti Kauwhata took part in the wars against the British troops in the Waikato land wars and it is recorded that members of Ngāti Kauwhata perished in the fire and massacre at Rangiohia.

When a Land Court hearing to decide tribal claims was scheduled for 1868 at Cambridge, Ngāti Kauwhata wrote to the Court that the date clashed with another Land Court hearing in Bulls.

Ngāti Kauwhata were assured that the hearing would be postponed, yet it went ahead. Without being heard (as absent from the hearing), Ngāti Kauwhata lost their entitlement to their lands in the Waikato.

After years of protests, again with McDonald's assistance, Ngāti Kauwhata secured a rehearing in 1881 but were unsuccessful in their claim. Their rights to their tribal homelands around the Maungatautari area had been extinguished and their presence there evaporated.

10.7 Context

These activities are recorded here because they are very relevant to the context by which Ngāti Kauwhata would not have been in a position to pay McDonald for his time or services. This perhaps explains why, when in 1879 Crown grants in the Aorangi Block were finally issued, so many of the land titles in the southern half of the Aorangi No 1 Block were registered in McDonald's name. It appears they were either handed over as payment for his work for the tribe, or that he simply awarded himself these land titles because he was the one negotiating with the Land Court on Ngāti Kauwhata's behalf and there was no one from Ngāti Kauwhata or the Crown overseeing or contesting his actions and activity.

Ultimately the actions of McDonald led to Ngāti Kauwhata bringing a case against him in 1887, claiming that he defrauded them of their land. The chain of events leading up to that court case are recounted below, with reference to Paul Husbands' well-researched report.

As relayed above, while McDonald was in prison, Ngāti Kauwhata presumably in appreciation of or as payment for the work that he had done for them, partitioned off 850 acres at Raikopu for McDonald's wife, Annie. Te Ara Takana then registered a mortgage against 1500 acres for the sum of £960 for Annie McDonald and her children. She said, "That will help until Riki comes back".⁵⁸⁵

10.8 Grantees

It was during McDonald's time in prison that titles were issued for the Awahuri Reserve (on 20 October 1874). The rest of the 3,650 acres (after the above 850 acres had been partitioned off) was divided up between six of the main leaders of Ngāti Kauwhata at the time, excluding

⁵⁸⁵ Ngāti Kauwhata referred to Alexander McDonald as Arikihana or Riki for short.

Tapa Te Whata and Kereama Paoe.⁵⁸⁶ Those six were, namely: Te Kooro Te One, Takana Te Kawa, Te Ara Takana, Hepi Te Wheoro, Hoeta Te Kahuhui, and Karehana Tauranga.

An agreement was reached between the six grantees and McDonald on 30 November 1876 as to the subdivision of the land. The agreement was that Kooro Te One would be apportioned 255 acres,⁵⁸⁷ Takana Te Kawa 683 acres, Te Ara Takana 583 acres, Hoeta Te Kahuhui 901 acres, Karehana Tauranga 650 acres and Hepi Te Wheoro 600 acres.⁵⁸⁸ The subdivision agreement required ratification by the Native Land Court which was all but guaranteed until the sudden death of Te Kooro Te One, on 2 May 1877.⁵⁸⁹ This unexpected event brought Te Kooro's sister Enereta (mentioned above) who inherited his legal interest and her legal representative Walter Buller, into the picture.⁵⁹⁰ Enereta opposed the mortgage and subdivision arrangements refusing to make the prescribed mortgage payments or to recognise the subdivision agreement reached prior to her brother's passing.

In the meantime, McDonald and four of the other grantees entered into an agreement to lease (in June 1878). However, the legal validity of this agreement also relied on the ratification of the subdivision by the Court.⁵⁹¹ An application was brought before the Native Land Court in December 1878. The interested parties represented by McDonald and Buller, met before the hearing in an (unsuccessful) attempt to come to some agreement. In the absence of any such agreement, the application proceeded to hearing for determination by the Court. The Court dismissed the application for failure to produce the Crown grant for the reserve.

10.9 Retaliation

This angered McDonald who retaliated by announcing that he would no longer pay the interest on the mortgages. He gave notice to the five remaining original grantees for whom he was still acting as agent and then wrote to the mortgagee "to take whatever consequent proceedings may be necessary as promptly and firmly as may be". In the meantime, McDonald encouraged the

⁵⁸⁶ Tapa Te Whata was not included in this reserve because he had already been awarded 300 acres at Awahuri (separate from the 4500 acre reserve) for being the only Ngāti Kauwhata elder / leader to sign the deed of sale. The author does not know why Kereama Paoe was not included in this reserve when around the same time (1878/79) he was awarded equal shares (with 5 of the grantees for Te Awahuri) in the Upper Aorangi Block.

⁵⁸⁷ Kooro Te One accepted a smaller share than the others because he had already been awarded land at Puketotara, the principal place of residence for him and his whānau.

⁵⁸⁸ *Husbands*, P. p. 15.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ *Husbands*. p. 15.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

five grantees to make another application to the Native Land Court for approval of subdivision. This application was heard on 26 November 1879, again opposed by Buller and again dismissed by the Court for failure to produce the original Crown grant.

The following week on 5 December 1879, notice of mortgagee sale was served on the grantees. This appeared to have the desired effect, in that Enereta finally agreed to subdivision and to mortgage payments. This coincided nicely, from McDonald's point of view, with his purchase of the mortgages a few days earlier, on 21 January 1880, upon selling the 850 acres at Raikopu for £10,000. However, Enereta's agreement relied upon the Native Land Court's definition of six relative interests. Such a definition would have the effect of increasing Enereta's share and reducing that of each of the other grantees. As such, the original five grantees would not agree, and McDonald took to putting the land up for sale.

10.10 Second Thoughts

Having arranged for sale however, it appears that McDonald came to regret and dread the prospect of third party ownership and eviction of Ngāti Kauwhata. He appealed unsuccessfully to the Native Minister to purchase the land on behalf of Ngāti Kauwhata before meeting with them himself and undertaking to travel to Wellington in active protection of their interest. He is said to have promised not to return without having secured Te Awahuri for Ngāti Kauwhata however he later denied this.

10.11 Opportunity for Personal Gain

In any event, McDonald went to Wellington and himself purchased the 3650 acres of Te Awahuri on 26 May 1880 for the price of £5100. The earlier arranged sale of the 850 acres at Raikopu helped finance the purchase. He then returned to Ngāti Kauwhata and reported having recovered our land for us. As to the question of money, he cited the purchase price and the outstanding interest of £2000 and asked whether they would prefer to receive the balance or have their lands returned. We know that our tupuna insisted on return of the land but unsurprisingly, McDonald claimed that they in fact requested the balance of the purchase price.

Henry Hughes is reported having suggested the sale of a section for the purpose of settling the £2100 owing to McDonald, and McDonald in response, said that it was a bad time to sell but that instead they should pay him the money received from the leases (the largest of which was

with himself).⁵⁹² Hughes reported all agreeing to this. Though our tupuna were always led to believe that the land remained in their possession and every account is consistent with this being their belief. McDonald later claimed that he had informed them of his purchasing the land and had issued threats of eviction immediately upon his return from Wellington.⁵⁹³

10.12 Alienation

In any case, in April 1881 McDonald began to sell the Awahuri Reserve. Between April 1881 and 17 June 1885, McDonald sold 1700 acres to European purchasers for sums totalling £9546 2s 6d. This portion of land added to the 850 acres sold in 1880 totals 2550 acres, or nearly 60% of the Awahuri Reserve's original area. However, as Paul Husbands explains, most of the land sold from 1881 to 1885 was already leased to European settlers, such that the immediate (visible) impact was limited. The exception was the sale of a northern section of the Awahuri Reserve which alienated land occupied by the nephew of Takana Te Kawa.

Nonetheless, our tupuna continued to believe that they retained possession of their land. They were aware of sales but believed these to be minimal and necessary for raising funds for the purpose of the Waikato claims or the purchasing of farm stock. During this time, McDonald continued to make occasional payments to the remaining grantees of the Reserve. While he claimed that this was evidence of their accepting the balance of the purchase price and forfeiting their land, it was actually consistent with their belief that they continued to own the land and reap the benefits accrued, as administered by McDonald.

In 1883, European settlers Charles Whisker and John Hughey, leasing a combined total of 921 acres at the Kawakawa Reserve, sought to purchase this land from Ngāti Kauwhata. For reasons unknown to us, our tūpuna appear to have agreed to this proposal. McDonald was involved in facilitating the agreement and may well have misrepresented this situation as well. In any case, the Crown grant for this reserve provided again that the land was inalienable without consent of the Governor, such that petitions had to be sent for the Governor's approval.

The Minister of Native Affairs at this time, John Bryce, made it a condition to consent being given that the owners should possess other property held under similar tenure and appointed

⁵⁹² Husbands. p. 23.

⁵⁹³ Husbands. pp. 23-24.

the Reserves Commissioner Alexander Mackay to investigate in this regard. In the course of his investigation, Mackay discovered the true particulars of the title to the Awahuri Reserve and caused Ngāti Kauwhata to become aware of this. He also explained the consequences of this by which they could be evicted from their homes at any time and suggested applying proceeds of the prospective Kawakawa sale to repurchasing their Awahuri lands.

Needless to say, our tupuna were outraged and astounded. In response to Mackay's suggestion of repurchasing, Te Ara Takana exclaimed, "Why, Mr. MacKay, why should I pay for my land with my land? It must be returned to me by McDonald without (my paying) anything for it!" Of course, the land was not only held in McDonald's name but heavily mortgaged.

Turning to McDonald for answers, our tupuna were dismayed to learn that the dire situation as suggested by Mackay was in fact reality and that McDonald had mortgaged £15,000 against the Awahuri Reserve.⁵⁹⁴ Confronted with this dilemma they pushed through the Kawakawa sale and repurchased 1523 acres of their land from McDonald. The purchase price was at £5000, notwithstanding the fact that McDonald had purchased the entire 3650 acres for only £5100 in 1880.

Not long after this, most of the remaining 100 acres or so of the Kawakawa Reserve was alienated by sale to Richard Hammond, initially blocked by the Native Minister John Ballance but successfully appealed without any further investigation.

10.13 The Last Straw

On 4 July 1887, McDonald issued Hara Tauranga, daughter of Karehana Tauranga, with an eviction notice. This presented the now longstanding betrayal of our people by McDonald, in an absolute, undeniable way. Te Ara Takana explained, "I had no love for him then. It was so bad of him to thrust that girl out."

Karehana Tauranga's interest had not been included in the Kawakawa Crown grant. Such that Hara was unable to draw upon this for the repurchase of her father's lands. In response to this eviction notice, Ngāti Kauwhata brought legal action against their once trusted agent.

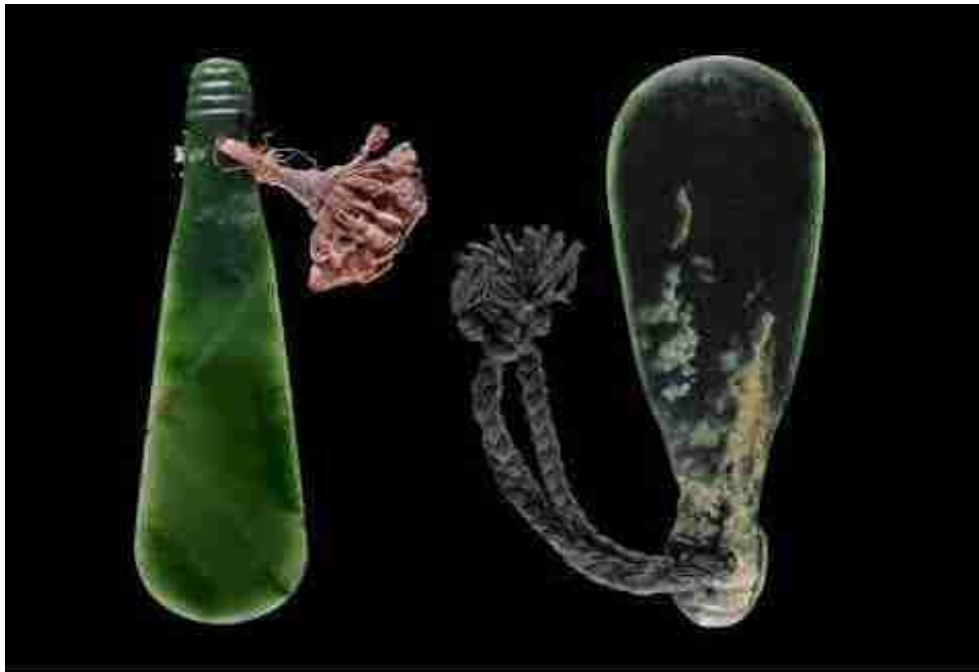
⁵⁹⁴ Husbands. p. 29.

10.14 Te Ara Takana & Others V. Alexander & Annie McDonald

Our people claimed that McDonald had acted in the capacity of an agent for Ngāti Kauwhata, that he held our assets on trust and owed a fiduciary duty to our people. They claimed that he had violated this duty by acquiring mortgages secured against our lands without our knowing then causing the mortgages to be defaulted on, despite having the means to make the necessary payments and then purchasing the lands in his own name at gross undervalue. They sought to have the lands reconveyed to Ngāti Kauwhata and sought an account of the rents, profits, and payment of any money owed to them.

Judge Richmond found that McDonald had indeed created the default and taken advantage of it, ordered reimbursement for sales and reconveyance of land not already disposed of for valuable consideration. The McDonalds unsuccessfully appealed this decision. Of course, the large-scale disposal for value left only 700 acres of the original 4500 acres available for reconveyancing. Yet even before this could be returned, McDonald foreclosed on all of his mortgages, such that the effect of this legal victory was merely auction and alienation (of 631 acres) nonetheless.

Image 8: Ngā Mere Pounamu - Ko Kauwhata rāua ko Wehiwehi



10.15 Conclusion

There is no evidence as to whether our people received any proceeds from these final mortgagee sales in January 1889, nor whether we received any compensation for the funds raised unlawfully through alienation of our land. The McDonalds moved to Shannon and Alexander found employment with the government as a Native Assessor and Translator, in which capacity he subsequently witnessed future applications for the alienation of the Awahuri Reserve. Ngāti Kauwhata has never been compensated for the injustice done to them at the hands of McDonald and the Crown. The Court findings in our favour only add salt to the wound when they have no practical effect. While McDonald and his whānau continued to enjoy an easy and privileged life, many of our people continue to suffer the consequences of his grave breach of trust and fiduciary duty still today.

HAPŪ ORAL HISTORIES REPORT

CONCLUSION

Writing one's history is a challenging task as the authors of these reports will attest. The stories are not just about events that happened, in the most part, generations ago. They deal with multiple and often overlapping realities, with competing truths. In the telling of these stories we are reminded of the saying that no one has a monopoly on the truth or on wisdom. So we turn to the 'authentic voice' to capture the mood of the times and we search for endorsements as evidence mainly in the guise of those who share the same or similar stories. What we discover is that there is no authentic voice except for those whose stories closely approximate other forms of representation of times and events. At this time there are no 'real' conclusions to these historical narratives. That decision awaits the Waitangi Tribunal and the government of the day and the judgements they make on the evidence produced through the oral narratives and the Crown Forestry Rental contract reports of recognised historians and legal scholars.

In reading these Ngāti Raukawa oral narratives it is also well that we heed the wise counsel of one of New Zealand's leading scholars in the field the ethno-historian, Judith Binney⁵⁹⁵ when she reminds us that whereas "oral history is transmitted by narrative (waiata, whakataukī, whakapapa) while we who write down our histories in books transmit our chosen perceptions to readers rather than to listeners, but both forms are structured, interpretive, and combative". "History," she argues, "is the shaping of the past by those living in the present". (p.16)

The brief summary and conclusions that follow is a selection of stories or narratives taken from the Hapū Oral Narratives Report. Two powerful themes underscore the messages the various hapū authors have set out to convey to readers:

Firstly, the extraordinary 'resilience' of Ngāti Raukawa hapū members to protect and promote their 'mana whakaheke' as birthright, and

⁵⁹⁵ Judith Binney. (1987). Māori oral narratives, Pākehā written texts: Two forms of telling history, *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 21(1):16-28.

Secondly, the equally extraordinary lengths the Pākehā settlers and residents were prepared to go to separate Māori from their lands. This included warfare and consequent raupatu, confiscations through local rates regimes, Māori Land Courts, and numerous other European devices made international through the colonising and imperialist processes.

Perhaps the single most dramatic of all colonising devices employed by Pākehā from the arrival of the missionaries in the early 1800s right through to today's foreshore and seabed debacle has been what the cultural anthropologist Michele Dominy⁵⁹⁶ calls ecological imperialism. This involved draining of waterways to establish pasture land, clearing of bush lands, redirecting streams, and isolating waste lands. These activities were a preoccupation of the early settlers, all in the name of creating grasslands as a material commodity to support stock and become part of the British economy. Dominy combines her cultural analysis with that of the New Zealand author, Maurice Shadbolt⁵⁹⁷ and his novel *Monday's Warriors*. She argues that Shadbolt's metaphoric use of grass as the primary instrument of colonialism is hardly hyperbole. We concur.

Throughout the oral narratives stories about the loss of land, by whatever means, saturate the texts. Pākehā were at times, probably most of the time, deliberately setting out to dismantle Māori customary forms of land tenure and to do whatever was necessary to acquire the land for its own occupation and use.

What follows are four themes with sub-themes taken from the Oral Narratives with examples quoted from individual hapū.

a) Most of the oral narratives cover similar territory which begin with:

- when and how the hapū arrived in the area defined in the pepeha:

Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua; Mai i Miria te Kakara ki Kukutauaki

- something about the leadership and whakapapa and those part of the hekenga:

Te Ahukaramū and Tuainuku were part of Te Heke Whirinui in 1826 is the story of Ngāti Kikopiri in the region,

⁵⁹⁶ Michele D. Dominy. (2002). Hearing grass, thinking grass: postcolonialism and ecology in Aotearoa-New Zealand. *Cultural ethnographies*, 9: 15-34

⁵⁹⁷ Maurice Shadbolt. (1990). *Monday's warriors*. Auckland, Hodder & Stoughton.

- stories about the lands, forests, waterways, the plentiful supply of food sources and the relatively idyllic life of the hapū in their environmental niche:

Te Pare o Matengae aka called The Creek as part of the Ngāti Koroki story.

b) Then follows detailed narratives of the influx of the early Europeans into the lives of ngā hapū o Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga:

- stories of resistance, resilience and survival:

Against the odds, in the face of a hostile Settler Government, anti-Māori sentiment, racism and prejudice, Ngāti Maiotaki has maintained a presence in Otaki for nearly 200 years.

- stories of losses related to economic independence:

When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, our hapū of Ngāti Ngarongo was numerous with wide estates and resources to supply plentiful kai and maintain our customary communal lifestyle under the leadership of Taikapurua and Ihakara Tukumarū. The loss of land, inadequate land reserves and pollution of our waterways have undermined our rangatiratanga.

- stories of the loss of land – Whatungarongaro te tangata, toitū te whenua

Some reviews of the Court evidence have found it difficult to decide whether McDonald's actions were the result of calculated deception or careless mismanagement Ngāti Kauwhata has never been compensated for the injustice done to them at the hands of McDonald and the Crown.... While McDonald and his whānau continue to enjoy an easy and privileged life, many of our people continue to suffer the consequences of his grave breach of trust and fiduciary duty still today..

c) Conspiracies of belief:

- stories associated with loss of te reo Māori

From Ngāti Rākau-Paewau: Ko tōna reo – When we moved to town no one spoke Māori. Although we met up with each other, but we had our own homes. Those who knew how to speak Māori, just stopped. We didn't want our kids to be hit at school so it was like "No Māori", not just the language but everything. We left it at the marae. We were too busy working, and if we had to go to work instead of going to a tangi of someone close to the whānau, you went to work.

- the role of missionaries in the story of Ngāti Pare raukawa

.... as the advanced guard of colonisation is now well understood. Early missionaries such as Octavius Hadfield.... were central to the project of assimilation. Moreover they utterly failed to 'protect' iwi from settler greed or Crown duplicity.

d) Deprivation and powerlessness as told by Ngāti Te Au:

A stroll through our urupā tells a story of our people who have felt the brunt of deprivation and loss. Many of our people did not reach 50 years of age. Our elders who reached 80 plus were from another era where kai was unprocessed, water was clean, where alcohol, drugs and tobacco were not a priority.... Our tūpuna were outraged and protested against the great tide of greed and dishonesty of the Treaty partners but in many ways were powerless.

The oral narratives are rooted in the belief that the human need for meaning or coherence is a universal value. Without coherence there can be no mātauranga continuum, no cultural continuity. The Hono ki Raukawa Hapū Oral Histories Report is a reminder that the tyranny of the majority, of cultural hegemony, of secularism and science are flawed instruments of colonialism when dignity and respect are ignored and replaced by the ideology of ‘te rongomau a tauwi’, the white man’s peace.

Dr. Wally Penetio

6 October 2018

**PART III : THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
INSTITUTIONS OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA
KI TE TONGA IN THE 19TH – 21ST
CENTURY**

By Piripi Walker, Ngāti Kikopiri

Chapter Five contributed by Sir Edward Taihakurei Durie

30 January 2017

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Piripi Walker

30 January 2017

Introduction and Outline

This report deals with the establishment of the institutions of the modern Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata and Te Reureu people of the Southern West Coast of the North Island from the time of their arrival in the Cook Strait-Manawatū-Rangitīkei region until 2010. They are:

- Māori ancestral religion
- Rangiātea and the Churches created by the early Christian conversion
- The Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board (formerly separate Trusts)
- Raukawa Marae and the Raukawa Marae Trustees
- The Ōtaki Māori Racing Club
- The Raukawa District Māori Executive which became the Raukawa District Māori Council
- Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000
- Te Wānanga o Raukawa
- Radio and Television, and the radio spectrum
- The Māori Women’s Welfare League and
- Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and its subsidiaries.

In general the narrative will not focus on the single most influential and cherished institution in the life of hapū and whānau Māori, the ancestral marae. This is because a report produced by those hapū has been completed. Report Two: Hapū and Iwi Narratives, constructed by hapū writers themselves; they are the ones who needed to write about the history of their own marae. This chapter does not deal with the actual history of individual hapū of the iwi, as this is currently being compiled by hapū themselves. There are only two exceptions. One is the main marae matua in Ōtaki, Raukawa. Although it is the marae of the hapū of Ōtaki, it appears in this story because all of the iwi like to call it “home”. The Raukawa Mārae Trustees, the pan-hapū and iwi body established in 1936 administers it, so some discussion of the marae appears in Chapter 4 on the marae and the Raukawa Trustees. Likewise, in order to do justice to that part of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme, a short summary of marae rebuilding projects across the iwi appears in Chapter 7.

The establishment of Rangiātea church required significant planning, manpower, and resources,. It spanned the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the arrival of newcomers, - the

Pākehā - in numbers in the Cook Strait area and the conversion to Christianity. In the face of the new economy and imposed rule brought by Pākehā to Aotearoa, Ngāti Raukawa showed determination and flexibility. There are ten institutions featured in this report; the later ones were part of the modern era, when Māori had acquired western education and been influenced by the modern world, and deeply affected by colonisation. The most recent institutions, Whakatapuranga Rua Mano, Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Rūnanga o Raukawa can best be described as part of a ‘self-correction’ to recalibrate the iwi and to recover mana, re-propagate identity, educate the individual and ensure an economic capacity.

In the period 1825 to 1830, Raukawa people migrated at the invitation of Waitohi (the sister of Te Rauparaha) and established themselves in the Rangitikei, Manawatū and Horowhenua areas. Prior to 1826 Ngāti Raukawa were an ancient Tainui canoe people in their home base in the Waikato. We inherited a rich ancestral religion, and a magnificent legacy, from our Pacific voyaging ancestors and the 700 or so years of history in the Waikato. From the time of the battle of Te Mangeo led by Pīkauterangi (later called Hingakākā) around 1768, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Toarangatira spent fifty years in nearly continuous active warfare. These wars began with wars against our relations in the Waikato and elsewhere, and ended with contest with non-Māori. They covered four major periods of conflict, the first three were the wars in the Waikato, the wars of attempted conquest in the Hawkes Bay, and internecine war with our migratory allies in the Horowhenua. The fourth involved sections of Ngāti Toa against settlers and Pākehā troops in the Wellington region in the 1840s. All iwi then found themselves deeply affected by a fifth set of wars, the Land Wars, being fought not far away in Taranaki and elsewhere, from 1860 to 1878, and their later consequences.

The primary focus of the pre-Treaty period before 1840 in this report will be on the ancestral belief system, the origins of the desire on the part of many to convert to Christianity, the establishment of the church Rangiatea, and the West Coast Catholic mission as central iwi institutions. After 1840 the iwi, for the most part adopted Christianity. They had established a major trading, political and military empire alongside their Ngāti Toa and Taranaki allies from 1820, on Cook Strait. This enterprise was maintained through to 1859, backed by force of arms, diplomacy and strategic marriages, and clever recruitment of talent and resources. The iwi encountered Christianity and sent for missionaries to come among them. They grappled with the upending of the Māori world view brought by Christian conversion, the instruction in new spiritual practices, and the rules of their new teachers. Te Rauparaha ordered the building of

Rangiātea Church in 1848. Rangiātea Church has been a major institution in the life of the iwi, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, down to its rebuilding after the 1996 fire.

The iwi welcomed the arrival of the first settlers. They made adaptations to how they lived to create a new economy, new trading enterprises and to modernise and improve living conditions. The people enjoyed the flowering of the Māori economy in the years to 1859, and played a major role in the creation of Ōtaki township, and later Foxton and other towns. Later in the nineteenth century, after the reverses of ravaging diseases, the land wars, population decline and poverty, the three iwi Confederation including Ngāti Raukawa found themselves in a marginalised position, battling for biological and cultural survival.

In 1936 the people, in concert with Parliament through an Act of the Crown, established the Raukawa Marae Trustees to create a representative three-iwi body, and to act as owners and guardians in perpetuity of the new whareniui Raukawa in Ōtaki. The rebuilt meeting house was opened that year. Within the Act were sufficient powers and membership of sufficient weight in Māori terms, to create a Rūnanga of the three-iwi Confederation – Te Atiawa, Ngāti Toarangatira, and Ngāti Raukawa. In the 1970s this body engaged in an incredible burst of iwi re-development called Whakatupuranga Rua Mano which was comparable to the campaigns of the early 1800s in intensity and passion.

Image 34: 1936 opening of Raukawa Marae



Chapters Three (The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board) , Seven (Whakatupuranga Rua Mano) and Eight (Te Wānanga o Raukawa) of this report focus on education. The iwi and its leaders, alongside Ngāti Toa, played a part in the 1847 Whitireia College proposal. They actively supported the Ōtaki Schools in the 1840s to the 60s, and the establishment of the Ōtaki Māori (Mission) College in Otaki from the 1880s. From the earliest gift and transactions in relation to the land at Whitireia in Porirua, the iwi were always interested in the Church Mission Trust at Whitireia. The land there was given after decisions of Ngāti Toarangatira, with some input from Ngāti Raukawa leaders, for a school which was never built. The original Porirua Trust eventually became the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board under an Act of Parliament in 1943. For decades iwi felt like spectators in the affairs of the Board. In recent decades it has once again become an iwi affair.

The iwi has established or partnered the establishment of other social and political institutions over the generations: Chapter Five of the report provides a history Raukawa District Māori Executive, and the modern Raukawa District Māori Council, kindly contributed by Sir Edward Taihakurei Durie. I am very grateful indeed to him for this chapter.

Raukawa established the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club from the 1850's. (Chapter Six) This club grew naturally out of Māori and Pākehā making contact with each other and growing to enjoy each other's pastimes. Horses arrived very early along with all other livestock, and the hapū of the Coast, their members and tamariki became good horsemen and stockmen/women. Races were being run very early, as was betting. Early race tracks in the vicinity of Katihiku, on the south bank of the river, and Ōtaki town, and indeed, race-running into town are recorded from 1854, with regular full race meetings from the 1860's. Beyond its obvious attraction as a recreation and sport, it has provided employment and opportunities in the racing industry. It is also a place where the iwi and those associated with the club have been able to offer hospitality and attract and look after manuhiri, a cardinal Raukawa aim, and indeed, a Māori one. The Racing Club is regarded to this day as a taonga tuku iho; hence the loyalties and efforts of iwi members in that direction to ensure its continuance and uphold its mana.

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, the 25-year programme of cultural and political revival of the iwi in 1975 supported by the Raukawa Trustees, was a signal development. It was the largest initiative launched by the three iwi in the twentieth century, and the one with the widest

consequences for change. Its planning, establishment and activities are described in Chapter Seven.

In 1980, as part of that programme, the Raukawa Marae Trustees agreed to the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, an institution for “archives, teaching and research”. That institution (Chapter Eight) has been successful, becoming a force in repairing the core cultural base of the iwi, repropagating the Māori language as an everyday language, developing many competent speakers among the iwi, contributing to national academic life, attracting students from all over New Zealand, and helping to frame the bicultural imperative of the nation.

Chapter Nine deals with broadcasting (radio and television). Raukawa ki te tonga has played a part in the modern evolution of Māori media. An experimental radio station, Te Reo o Raukawa FM, ran briefly in the 1980s and very successfully for a number of years after 2004, as Reo FM. The radio station, (the only iwi station to be refused funding by the Crown) is off air at the time of writing due to that denial of funding, but the other part-Raukawa station, Te Upoko o Te Radio is on air, still broadcasting in te reo Māori. Raukawa was a participant in the Treaty and Court cases relating to the survival of the Māori language and the provision of broadcast frequencies.

Image 35: Third birthday of Te Upoko o Te Ika



Left to right: Mike Wills, Donald (Donny) Kingi, Piripi Walker, Erana Hemmingsen (obscured), Mere Grant (standing), Lucy Te Moana (Kneeling), Hirini Melbourne (visiting), Philip (Pip) Saffery, Henare Hetaraka (standing) Piripi Whaanga (kneeling) Murray Raihania, Kevin Hodges, Aunty Iris Te Ari Whaanga (sitting), Mahia Fuimaono (kneeling), Huirangi Waikerepuru

These cases underpinned the establishment of a Māori Television channel, Māori Television, in 2003. Claimants from one of the Raukawa hapū, Ngāti Pareraukawa, led the generic case on the 3G radio spectrum auction on behalf of all Māori, from 1998 and into the new century. The Chapter contains a description of the twelve years of Tribunal and Court cases carried and funded by Māori in order to secure a national Māori Television Channel, from 1984-1996. Ngāti Raukawa as an iwi was heavily involved in this effort, brilliantly assisted in the exercise by their legal counsel, the late Martin Dawson.

Chapter Ten covers the Māori Women's Welfare League in the rohe, which has had various branches in the region since 1951. Its members were drawn from women's welfare committees established by Māori Welfare Officers. Some of these branches operated for many years within particular marae and held regular meetings and coordinated activities for members. The League was mostly occupied with social problems and providing real help to whānau but quite quickly led to a major re-entry by wāhine Māori into politics. It played a major role in the second half of the 20th century over the period of urbanisation of Māori.

Chapter Eleven is the story of the establishment of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, an iwi governing council, which has operated over the last 27 years as an overarching body in the social, health, Treaty and economic field. The rūnanga itself is a modern version of the pre-European rūnanga or iwi council/regulatory body and is flourishing in 2016.

All of the bodies in this report beginning with the original Rangiātea Church begun in the 1840s are still operating under the mana of Ngāti Raukawa and its confederated allies, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Atiawa in 2016. The one institution that is no longer operating is its military force, maintained through hundreds of years by the iwi, until events from 1840-1870 saw organised Raukawa military action pass into history. Raukawa military talents nonetheless made a huge contribution to the two World Wars in the 20th century and in other international conflicts, both in the armed forces and in manpower. The sacrifices of those Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata people who served under the New Zealand flag are detailed and honoured in Taihakurei Durie's Chapter Five on support from within the District Māori Executive of efforts by New Zealanders in the wars overseas.

The object of this report is to present the efforts of Raukawa since 1820 to establish modern institutions in the religious, political, educational, health and economic spheres, with the goal

of advancing the well-being of their people and maintaining their identity. The report will also offer comment on the extent of the success of these institutions, and the efforts of the iwi to maintain them as a self-sustaining system of social, political and cultural organisation.

A final chapter in this series by Ani Mikaere and Professor Whatarangi Winiata, picks up the issue of tino rangatiratanga and deal with it in full.

Sources

Published Sources

The list of publications consulted appears in the bibliography. There have been many books written about the history of this rohe which have greatly assisted the research for this report.

Ngā mihi ki a koutou ngā manu mōhio, ngā kaituhi i ā tātou pukapuka.

Unpublished Sources

Among the manuscripts and oral recordings assembled, listened to and viewed which are relevant to the twelve institutions, the following might serve to give the outline of our research track. We worked through the Otaki Māori Land Court Minute Books for general background on issues, personalities, hapū and whānau leadership, the nature of the Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata *take* in the rohe, the operation of the Native Land Court and the effect of individualisation of title and land loss, cultural marginalisation, and origins of modern social forms and institutions. The manuscript by Tāmihana Te Rauparaha mss GNZMMS 27, on the life of his father Te Rauparaha snr, both the original, and an emergent translation by Ross Calman [Ngāti Kimihia] has provided a first hand account Ngāti Toarangatira/Ngāti Huia account of the pre-1850 period. I am providing occasional translation advice to Ross on this project. Other manuscripts I have drawn on are by Atanatiu Te Kairangi, Mātene Te Whiwhi (dictation by Te Rangihaeata), Wi Neera Te Kanae, Donald MacLean, (dictation by Hūkiki Te Ahukaramū), and Wiremu Kiriwehi.

During this research I have translated and transcribed around 240 hand-written Raukawa letters and telegrams in te reo Maori to McLean, Grey, and others or between rangatira themselves, over the period 1846 – 1875. These are letters by Ngāti Raukawa- Ngāti Kauwhata elders, with some from neighbouring iwi. I have also consulted many letters relating to the periods covered in this report, with a focus on letters by Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, Thomas Williams, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi, Heni Te Rei, Parakaia Te Pouepa, Nepia Taratoa,

Ihakara Tukumarū, Eric Ramsden, Sir Apirana Ngata, Rev Paora Temuera, Gov Thomas Gore-Browne, and Rev Octavius Hadfield.

The voices and oral testimony of our elders in recordings made over the last few generations are present in this report. I listened on tape and transcribed Sir Apirana Ngata, (born 1874). To gain insight into the Whitireia land I revisited the tapes I made in 1982 with Auntie Kamiria Mullen, a 90-year old Pākehā-Māori born in 1892, and adopted by a Ngāti Toa woman, at Hongoeka, Plimmerton. She was a native speaker of Māori.

In the late 1990s, after the Rangiatea fire the Rangiatea Vestry commissioned the writer and the late Marie Harakaia to undertake an oral history project with kaumātua and kuia over six months on the people of the Church. We taped individuals, and group discussions amongst people associated with Rangiatea. I interviewed Tahiwī (Buster) Carkeek, a son of Rikihana Carkeek and descendant of Matene Te Whiwhi, and his wife Louise. The Rangiatea project also included recordings of the late Uncle Hohipuha Cook and Rev. Raumoa Baker. For the purposes of this current project I revisited and transcribed some of those recordings, now in the Turnbull Library, and they informed parts of this report.

Tapes in the official Te Wānanga o Raukawa Collection, now deposited in the Alexander Turnbull Library have also been used extensively. For example I drew on the interviews I conducted with Uncle Matenga Baker in the 1980s at his home, recordings of his whaikōrero on the marae, and a radio interview with Mātenga and Kiripuai Te Aomarere at Te Reo o Raukawa in 1984.

The Waitangi Tribunal has introduced Kōrero Tuku Iho hui in inquiry districts, where recognised iwi historians and hapū spokespersons can talk at length about whakapapa and history, to the Tribunal, in a Māori way. The five transcripts of Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui in the Porirua ki Manawatū district, held in 2014-15 at Tokorangi, Tukorehe, Kawiu, Whakarongotai and Raukawa marae, are viewable at <https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/WT/>. Around 130 speakers presented at those hui. I have read and taken notes from all of these hui, and acted as an interpreter at most of them for the Waitangi Tribunal.

Other oral history projects also provided material; the Ōtaki Oral history Project offered the recording with Auntie Margaret Davis. The women in World War II Project (ATU) contains

an interview with Cynthia Toss Bell, and Kiripuai Te Aomarere on Ōtaki history, including memories of the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club.

Uncle Hori Ngapukapuka Kereama was recorded on Manawatū and Te Reureu issues at home in Halcombe in 1994, in an interview with Iwikatea Nicholson and the writer, who produced a transcript for Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and the claimants. Similarly, as part of that 1994 project Iwikatea Nicholson self-interviewed by answering my written questions, and produced a recording on migrations and Raukawa/Toa/Atiawa history. A transcript was made by the writer for Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and claimants.

Huia Winiata and I made transcripts in te reo from kaumātua from the rohe in earlier decades – I have returned to the audio tapes and revised the transcripts for this project. Uncle Patariki Te Rei in 1983 gave his views on the evolution of the District Councils and the New Zealand Māori Council. Not all of the interviews we have transcribed with kuia and koroua are closely related to the ‘social and Cultural Institutions Project’. Nevertheless they have proved useful in painting a picture of the social history of hapū and iwi.

For Chapter 11 (Māori broadcasting and Te Reo o Raukawa-Reo FM), I have had access to documents from the Raukawa Media Charitable Trust and Te Reo Irirangi Māori o Te Upoko o Te Ika Archives, as well as the recording archives of broadcasts of both stations from 1984-2008. These are in their respective archives in the Oral History Centre, ATU. I was also fortunate to have been granted access to the archives of the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board, and examined minute books for a forty year period, and associated documents.

I have relied on selected minutes of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa (Inc) and Annual Reports 2016. I have also viewed the original minutes of the Ngatokowaru branch of Maori Womens Welfare League 1955-78, with the permission of Rachael Selby in June 2016.

For Chapters 8 and 9 on Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Whatarangi Winiata very kindly loaned a compendium of a large number of his published and unpublished papers 1975-2016, assembled by Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal. I was also granted access to a manuscript, *Wānanga*, written by the late Dr. Ranginui Walker on the three Wānanga Māori.

New Oral History Project

When asked to take on this project I decided it would be best if I taped and transcribed the korero of members of the iwi, and actual officers, including Chairs and Ahorangi, of long standing in these institutions. This would give me a further detailed body of knowledge and views, beyond the hapū based material offered at the Ngā Korero Tuku Iho hui. I have transcribed all the interviews completely. Most were in te reo Pākehā. Mereana Selby was happy to be interviewed entirely in te reo about the development of Te Wananga, memories of her grandmother Atareti and her mother Hoana. I have also focussed on kaumātua assessment of the kinds of knowledge people are presenting nowadays as true Tainui/Raukawa tradition. Much modernised material is now starting to enter the Tribunal record and needs close scrutiny.

I suggested to Ngā Pūkenga, the scholars group, in May 2016 that new oral history interviews would be required, and with their approval undertook a new oral history project over the months May - September 2016. The interviewees, who gave their knowledge freely in multiple extended sessions, were:

- Rachael Selby
- Auntie Gabrielle Rikihana
- Kuini Rikihana
- Dennis Emery
- Dr Tūroa Royal
- Pā Piripi Cody SM
- Dr Mereana Selby
- Te Kēnehi Teira

Image 36: Margaret Rangimakaora Davis and younger brother Whatarangi Winiata (2018)



These sound recordings, interviews, now transcribed in toto, provided further Raukawa memories, experiences, and views that might not otherwise be reflected in the report, or known about. My warm thanks to all advisors, interviewees, managers, scholars and supporters.

Role of Ngā Pūkenga scholar's group

Ngā Pūkenga, a group of PhD scholars called together by Te Hono ki Raukawa for the purposes of supervising this work, advised me throughout the project on its formulation and conduct. Their careful consideration of the work and ongoing guidance is profoundly appreciated, as is their time and energy in attending hui, replying to my emails, and answering my questions. Ngā mihi tino nui e aku rangatira. Kei aku whanaunga, kei aku pakeke, e kore e mutu ngā mihi. He iti nā Mōtai, nāna i takahi te one i Hākerekere. Tāreia he waka kia tika, tū te tauihu, tū te taurapa.

1.0 ANCESTRAL RELIGION, AND THE ROAD TO CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY

1.1 Māori Religion

This report describes the history of the social and political institutions of Ngāti Raukawa. Kaumātua have asked that it begin with a focus on the underlying platform of those institutions, the religion and values of the people. This chapter therefore offers at the beginning a summary of the primordial Māori religion which arrived from Hawaiki in the hearts and minds of the waka voyagers – those parts which differed from the Christian world view, and those which had some similarity to Christian ideas. The Māori creation story and Tainui mythological cycle, and its teachings, are discussed in brief. I describe the lead-up to the 1839 trip by Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tāmihana Te Rauparaha to fetch missionaries from Paihia, interactions between missionaries and Māori in the very first encounters, and the roles Ngāti Raukawa took in converting themselves and other iwi, to Christianity. The Chapter covers the tussles between missionaries and Māori over which parts of Māori custom would be “acceptable” in the Christianised order. There is a discussion of the historic decision by Te Whatanui and other Raukawa rangatira to make peaceful accommodations with the original iwi of the rohe, and indeed with Pākehā. There is a discussion on the name Rangiātea and its associations with a single supreme being, and whether Ngāti Raukawa had this tradition.

1.2 The place of religion and mythological teaching in institutional underpinnings

The shape and kaupapa of the most important institutions in all societies is derived from their fundamental beliefs and values; their religion if they adhere to one, or their founding philosophy, if they do not have a religion. The Christian church Rangiatea, named after the Māori abode of the divine Rangiatea, was opened in 1851 in Ōtaki. Its builders, both Christian and non-Christian rangatira, placed elements of the primordial Māori world, ie soil from Hawaiki, the homeland, and dedications of the old, inside the new.

These two belief systems shape Māori society and its thinking, and feelings, today, and provide the conceptual foundations for the institutions in this report. Hence the decision to discuss the religious myths and creation stories, the perceptions of the divine world and its relation to humans, and the creation and essential nature of those humans, in the first chapter of this report.

1.3 Te Pō Tuatahi, ko Te Pō Tuarua – Māori ideas of creation and the gods

In 1856 in Ōtaki, Hukiki Te Ahukaramu dictated creation whakapapa and stories to Donald McLean, the Chief Land Purchase Commissioner of the Crown who was moving about the country on his mission of purchasing land for settlement. Te Ahukaramu was a senior rangatira of Ngāti Kikopiri and Ngāti Huia, sub-tribes of Ngāti Raukawa. This manuscript, in one of McLean's notebooks has been transcribed and translated by his descendant, the scholar Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal. He begins with the primeval night, Te Pō.

“Ko te Pō i mua, he pō anake. There follow several more nights, down to the bright world, the world of light⁵⁹⁸.”

Te Ahukaramu then gives the creation legends, beginning with the story of the creation of the universe and the world by the children of Rangipōtiki and Papatūānuku [translated here by Royal].

‘the sky (Rangi) Rangi cohabited with the earth (Papa), who was the wife of the sea (Tangaroa). She was seduced by the sky. The sea heard of this and for a time, earth and sea remained together. Eventually however, the sea and the sky fought for the earth and the sky finally claimed her and

⁵⁹⁸ *Native Traditions Te Ahu Karamū o Ōtaki, Jany Ist 1856, He mea whakatakoto nā Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, (Edited by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal) Te Wānanga o Raukawa 2003*

took her as his wife. They had a child whom they named meaning “male element of essence”.
Tāne has a number of names.”⁵⁹⁹

Te Ahukaramu names Tāne first in the list of children – he had had nine names, which Royal translates as ‘tāne who urinates upon the fires, Moist Tāne, Tāne the true, The Limbs of Tāne, Tāne upright, Tāne the bearer, support, Tāne the living waters, Tāne the great of the heavens.’
600

The story of the separation of the parents by Tāne and the other child gods, follows, a short but particularly evocative version. Afterwards we encounter the primeval occurrence of the crime of incest. Tāne finds the earth maid Hine-tū-ā-one, and creates a woman Hine ā-tauira who becomes his wife; after copulating they produce a human daughter, Hine-tītama. Hine ā-tauira asks Tāne who her father is, and he says “It is me.” She “felt ashamed and became desperate.” Hine ā-tauira rushes to the gate of the underworld. Despite Tāne’s efforts to persuade her to return she dies, and become Hine-nui-i-Te Pō.

“I muri nei e Tāne, māu e kukume ā tāua uri ki te Ao, māku e kukume ki te mate. Ka tīmata i konei te mate. Ka hoki a Tāne ki te Ao. Ka atawhaitia a Hine-tītama-uri. Ka moe a Hine-tīmata-uri i a Tiki-te-pou-mua.”⁶⁰¹

‘she said Tāne, I now die. You shall draw our progeny to the light. And I shall draw them to death. Death commenced at this point. Tāne returned to the world of light. He raised Hine-tītama-uri. Hine-tītama-uri-married Tiki-te-pou-mua, the first male human.’⁶⁰²

Te Ahukaramu offers explicitly with this outcome the origin of mortality among humans. Among other iwi the occasion of Māui’s death at the hands of Hine-nui-i-te-pō is seen as the cause of death in the world. Here, in the Raukawa text, the cause comes earlier, during the life of the first couple on earth, a god and the child of a god.

According to Royal, Te Ahukaramu was said to have been born around 1800 and his uncle Te Rangihaeata, the Ngāti Toa chief, around 1785.⁶⁰³ It is clear they were graduates of the Whare Wānanga, the sacred school of learning of the iwi. In April 1851 Mātene Te Whiwhi of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa wrote down the creation whakapapa of Tainui, a table of genealogies beginning at Te Pō Tuatahi (The primordial night), before the creation of the physical

⁵⁹⁹ *ibid.*, P 80

⁶⁰⁰ Royal, P 80

⁶⁰¹ Te tupuna o ngā tāngata katoa/The ancestor of all human beings

⁶⁰² *ibid.*, 83

⁶⁰³ Te Ahukaramu was a great-great-grandson of Huia, an ancestor of Ngāti Raukawa, and Te Rangihaeata a great great grandson of the same Huia. Te Ahukaramu was thus a Ngāti Huia relative of Te Rangihaeata.

universe⁶⁰⁴. Te Whiwhi's manuscripts were assessed by their earliest cataloguers as having been dictated by his uncle Te Rangihaeata⁶⁰⁵. On the latter point as to authorship and dictation the cataloguers of the Grey Collection were probably guided by written statements to that effect appended to them, in Governor George Grey's handwriting⁶⁰⁶.

Ranginui, (named here Rangipōtiki) the sky father, appears in the genealogical lines, but the stories Te Rangihaeata told begin with a cycle of legends about Māui. Māui is the most prominent of the children of the gods, and appears living within creation, in places approximating the known world - a world of kāinga, relations, volcanoes, cropping, fishing, childbirth and so on. According to Te Rangihaeata's cycle the work of creation is still unfolding in Māui's time, the first murder and the first makutu appear to happen at his hands. We hear of the first instance of turning one's brother-in-law into a dog - after a fit of anger on Māui's part over who would prepare food. The stories continue through the exploits of Tāwhaki in avenging the death of his father Hema, the heroes Whakatau and Tinirau and the corrupt tohunga Kae, the migration of the waka from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, particularly those of Tainui and Te Arawa, the disputes in Hawaiki which led to the migration, and the life story of the Tainui hero Ngātoro-i-rangi.

Ngātoro-i-rangi appears in a number of the story cycles from Hawaiki, on the waka migrations and in Aotearoa, and his spiritual influence permeates Te Rangihaeata's telling of the stories. Ngātoro-i-rangi initially lived in the ancestral homeland about the time when all the trouble began which led to the migration of people to Aotearoa. The story continues with how Ngātoro avenges a dreadful curse back in the homeland, and through his position as a tohunga leader

Image 37: Tamihana Te Rauparaha



⁶⁰⁴ Matene Te Whiwhi, Genealogy and pūrākau (legends), GNZMSS 77 and GNZMSS 46, Grey Collection, Māori manuscripts, Auckland Public Library.

⁶⁰⁵ The Library of Sir George Grey KCB, Item 135, catalogue compiled by Wilhelm H. I. Bleek, Auckland Public Library.

⁶⁰⁶ A handwritten note from Grey accompanies GNZMSS 46: "Written by Te Matene at Otaki and Poroutawhao on the northern shores of Cook Strait from the dictation of Mokau, or Te Rangihaeata, in 1852. G Grey."

on both the Tainui and Te Arawa canoes, he became a venerated figure in the Tainui branch of Māori religion.

The curse was uttered by the rangatira Manaia, his brother-in-law; his sisters had to travel urgently to Aotearoa to advise him of the aforementioned. They appeared to make the journey though the air. Ngātoro-i-rangi then asked his people to dig up a huge totara log, stuck in the sand, to make the return journey with his warriors to Hawaiki, complete with its root system and so on. There, he fought the famous battles of Ihu-motomotokia, Tara-i-whenuakura and Whaitiri-ka-papā. These contests culminate in a momentous final battle back in Aotearoa at Mōtītī Island, where Manaia has Ngātoro and his wife cornered. Ngātoro cleverly delays the fight by quick thinking and at night is able to summon the wind Te Aputahi a Pawa; Manaia's flotilla is sunk in a storm. In the morning only the fingernails were found, hence the name of the battle, Maikukutea (the beach of bleached fingernails). These battles are still recalled in the old laments sung at tangihanga, particularly among Te Arawa.⁶⁰⁷ Ngātoro was in intimate contact with the deities which were important to his people in Hawaiki, and remained so to the generations in Aotearoa among Tainui people. The iwi atua or gods which appear in his account are at the level Te Rangihīroa (Peter Buck) called 'tribal gods'⁶⁰⁸ and include Kahukura (Uenuku), Itupawa, Romai (Rongomai) and others.

The story of the primal parents Ranginui and Papatuanuku and their children Tāne, Tangaroa, Haumia-tiketike, Tūmatauenga and Rongo is known across the Pacific Ocean. It begins with the creation of the universe, then this world of sky and earth, the retrieval of the sacred gift of fire, the baptismal failure which leads to the weakness in an heroic figure, which leads to death for the hero, on to other stories in successive generations. Māori religion conceives of a creation without the emergence of evil as a supernatural force, contesting with the "good" god and humans. The human being, as pre-ordained by the nature of the first god-child, Māui, contains within itself all the black and white notes of human behaviour and impulse. In the Te Ahukaramu legends, Rangipōtiki (Ranginui) commits the first adultery, the children of Rangi

⁶⁰⁷ He tangi mō Te Kuru-o-te-marama, Ngata A.T. ed, Part One, Song No 5. The Polynesian Society 1928

⁶⁰⁸ Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangihīroa) *The Coming of the Maori*, Māori Purposes Fund Board/Whitcombe and Tombs 1962. Buck explains his beliefs about the evolution of iwi gods (P 460): "In addition to the departmental gods shared by all Māori tribes, each tribe had gods to whom they had exclusive rights. The fact of having to share the war god Tū, for example, with other hostile tribes may have had a contributing influence in causing tribes to elect war gods who would give them undivided attention. Tu was a remote classical god and the veteran of battles fought in distant lands in ancient times. Though his name continued to be honoured in song, story and ritual, closer and more active gods were needed for the frequent field campaigns in New Zealand."

and Papa drive their parents into separation for their own survival and Māui, living in the physical world, is responsible for the first murder, the first makutu and various other crimes. He battles with his own growing self, seeks answers to his questions, and he finds again his own mother, then his father. Slowly he becomes generally heroic and admirable to humans, having been endowed by his grandparent with character, bravery, ambition, insight, leadership ability and the necessary karakia. He will physically haul the land up in the shape of a fish, and decide to introduce longer days, by catching the sun in a magnificent array of strong and cleverly made ropes, thus slowing its movement. He will bring the unknown secret of fire to the world, by urinating on all existing fires and creating the necessity of retrieving renewable fire.

Image 38: Sir Hirini Moko Mead

According to Hirini Moko Mead and Māori Marsden the myth cycle is religious truth. It pierces and demolishes the inherent self-interest of long established social systems to teach the truth about human nature, life and death. The religious force of the myths comes from their ability to make the moral universe clear to the hearts of all, the great and the small, men and women.



The first incest by Tāne, has dreadful fatal consequences, not just for Hine-ā-tauira, but also for the human race. The first case of a lost child, Māui-pōtiki, whose father was too busy with his own affairs, is remedied by the grandparent's unconditional love. The first case of tuakana (older siblings) denying the humanity of the one with less seniority leads to his surpassing them and then recruiting them back into the group. First, despite their opposition, he dazzles them, with his fishing up of the land. Later, with their enthusiastic support, they combine in catching the sun. The untouchable but corrupt tohunga, Kae, who comes and officiates only to steal and cook the pet whale of the host people, is finally punished by the strategems of a group of women, who ensure justice is done.

Thus the moral corners and beams of the Tainui universe come into being, as good and bad interact, within humanity and its forebears. According to Rev. Maori Marsden the origin of Māori religious notions of the sacred, the Mana Tapu had its source with the atua. This descends down the senior ariki lines – inherited by rangatira. Properly trained adepts have the ability to bestow and remove tapu. Later on in this chapter I expand on Wiremu Parker's view that the tangihanga has ensured the modern survival of much Māori culture. I suggest further

that because of its widespread practice, it has been responsible for preserving a significant part of Māori religion, in iwi generally, and in Ngāti Raukawa.

1.4 The Christian Religion

The Christian religion was a new and challenging set of beliefs for Māori. It proposed that all human beings were created essentially equal, but have a central set of flaws –imperfection of the intellect, disorder of the emotions and weakness of the will. This ‘sinful’ nature has led to humans estrangement from their divine Creator.⁶⁰⁹ But the creator loved them nonetheless, he had sent a son, Te Karaiti, to redeem all the sins of imperfection. This had already been done; through repentance of one’s faults, and a baptism in the Church, one became a member of his “flock”. Its truths, like those of all religions were fairly simple and few in number, but one had to believe in them absolutely, to enter the Kingdom of God. The sentence by Christ Ko ahau te huarahi te pono me te ora (“I am the way, the truth and the life”) was emblazoned at the front of the church above the altar of the Ōtaki Church, and has been reproduced in the new Rangiātea from 2003⁶¹⁰. Communities and individuals had to orient themselves towards good works, helping the poor, the enslaved and downtrodden – the new god was on the side of the poor. And there was another promise, that of eternal life after death, even brighter and better than life on earth. According to a number of clergy on marae of Ngāti Raukawa the writer has asked over the years about the motive for conversion to Christianity, the latter guarantee was the one which tipped tūpuna Māori towards the whakapono.

1.5 Christianity enters the picture – three responses to the direct challenge to Mana Māori

At what stage did the iwi begin to turn away from their old religion, and embrace Christianity and what, ultimately, were the motives? At the time of Te Pēhi’s return from England to the Kapiti Coast in 1828, Christianity had been ashore in Aotearoa for at least 14 years. The importation of the Gospel and other Western technologies and ideas were changing Māori society in the north of the country. The iwi was fully in possession of its traditions when Tamihana Te Rauparaha says he first heard from his uncle Te Pēhi Kupe that the Europeans worshipped a single god, in that year, 1828.⁶¹¹ Tamihana tells how Te Pēhi, wanting to explore

⁶⁰⁹ New King James Version, Holy Bible, Romans 5:12-21

⁶¹⁰ *ibid.*, John 14:6

⁶¹¹ Tamihana Te Rauparaha, handwritten mss “*He Pukapuka Tātaku tēnei i ngā Mahi a Te Rauparaha nui, o tōna itinga, kaumātua noa,*” c 1856, unpublished translation by Ross Calman (Ngāti Kimihia).

Europe and trade for weapons, boarded the ship *Urania* off Kapiti Island, after leaping up from a canoe and grabbing the ships foremast rigging at the bowsprit, and travelled to England, landing after adventures on the way, in Liverpool. He eventually returned on the *Queen Charlotte* out of Sydney, in 1828.

‘the goods he brought back with him were axes, spades, hooks, rakes and other tools. Te Pēhi also learnt, I heard, that the Pākehā have a God that they pray to in Heaven.’⁶¹²

Tamihana would have been around 6 years old⁶¹³ when he heard of Te Pēhi’s return from Europe. If he was able to listen to his stories of his travels, via South America to Europe, it would not have been for long. Te Pēhi was killed only a year after his return, in Kaiapohia in the South Island, during a visit to the pā. Some give the date as 1828, after a war expedition to Kaikoura. Te Rauparaha sought vengeance for the death of Te Pēhi Kupe when he hired the brig *Elizabeth* to take him to Akaroa two years later. The paramount chief Tamaiharanui was captured along with his wife Te Whe and twelve-year daughter Ngā Roimata, and handcuffed below deck. The parents strangled their daughter at night to spare her the fate of slavery or painful death. The parents were taken to Kapiti and Tamaiharanui was tortured and killed on the beach at Ōtaki.

Alongside the modernising consequences of the whaling and trading years, the beginnings of European settlement, and the fascination with goods and European technology and weapons, Christianity was taking root. The preacher of the first Christian service in Aotearoa in 1814, was the Anglican Rev Samuel Marsden, based in Sydney. Marsden was vexed by the level of inter-iwi warfare, and inter-hapū antagonism he observed, and sought to ban the trade in muskets. Māori were ‘trade wealthy’ at this time with much produce to barter, and the arms race was well-established. In order to counter this Marsden invited Māori youth across the Tasman over time, in order to spend time at his home in Sydney:

‘Marsden’s chief ground for complaint at this stage was the private trade in firearms, which he had banned as early as 1815. In February 1819 he was obliged to entreat his settlers once again to desist... In response to Macquarie’s repeated refusal to grant him leave to revisit the Bay of Islands, Marsden took in increasing numbers of Māori at Parramatta and taught them fish-curing,

⁶¹² Tamihana was perhaps sanitising the truth here; other commentators say Te Pēhi sold the gifts he received in England when he reached Sydney, and bought guns and ammunition.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, Tamihana says he was born just after the battle of Pukerangiora, and the battle of Motunui, in Taranaki, which according to Calman places his birth at around 1822

ropemaking, and brickmaking. He also added to his properties so that he could employ all who came in gardening and agriculture, mixed with moral and religious instruction.”⁶¹⁴

Māori were attracted to the benefits of literacy and to new technologies. Tamihana relates that his father Te Rauparaha travelled to Sydney during the 1820s. Young Māori sought out participation in the whaling industry which offered travel to both the Americas, to Australia and the Pacific, and to Europe. Trade goods, clothing and fashion, and the avenues for exploration of new ideas were exciting to the young. Tamihana’s manuscript offers several glimpses of the trading and interaction of those times, at Kapiti and the northern South Island:

“Ka tae ki te makariri ka whakawhiti ki tera motu a Te Rauparaha, ka whakaaro atu hoki, ka u mai nga kaupuke patu wera ki Karauripe, taki rima tekau e timata mai ana ano te rere mai. Kua noho noa ake te Pakeha noho uta ki reira ki Karauripe ki te Awaiti. He nui te ngahau i taua takiwā, ki ngā mahi takaro patu wera. He taima ano ka haere ake o Ngāti Raukawa waka ki Karauripe ki te hokohoko taonga ma rātou i te Pakeha.”

*When winter came Te Rauparaha would cross the strait to the South Island, knowing that the whaling ships anchor at Cloudy Bay. Up to fifty whaling ships would be in the bay for the off-season at the height of their annual visit. The shore settlers among the Pakeha had long since built stations there and at Te Awaiti [on Arapawa Island in Tory Channel]. There was a lot of partying in those days, the leisure pastimes of the whalers. At other times Ngāti Raukawa would bring their canoes down to Cloudy Bay to barter goods from the Pakeha.*⁶¹⁵

While Ngāti Toa was taking Horowhenua, Kapiti, and the Northern South Island, and Ngāti Raukawa was seeking to establish a foothold in Hawkes Bay, the northern fighting chiefs and tohunga sensed change in the air. The missionaries were difficult settlers in many ways; Māori custom and the laws of tapu were foreign to them; the missionaries and their families were often the first in the communities in which they settled and worst of all to rangatira and tohunga of the time, they insisted that their atua was all powerful. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that it was extremely painful on both sides; neither side could figure the other out, or give ground. There is a vivid picture in Hadfield’s letters from Ōtaki of around half of the population at Rangiuuru having nothing to do with him or his faith for around four years, the aim being to discourage his attempt to plant the new religion.

Māori social order was maintained by an elaborate set of legal practices, including the institution of muru (ritual plunder and tribute) and observance of the spiritual laws of tapu. The

⁶¹⁴ G. S. Parsonson. “Marsden, Samuel”, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012 p.1

⁶¹⁵ Tamihana Te Rauparaha, handwritten mss “*He Pukapuka Tataku tenei i nga Mahi a Te Rauparaha nui, o tona itinga, kaumatua noa,*” c 1856, mss P 76, this translation by Piripi Walker.

missionaries decided early on they would not obey the laws of muru, they dismissed the practice as brutish and akin to theft. Missionary diaries offer a vivid picture of life as a continual sequences of tussles and physical wrestling as they often struggled to retain their possessions in the face of taua muru (muru raiding parties). In many of these visits by taua muru there were wrestling matches where the rangatira had their mere out of their belt, and raised above their head.⁶¹⁶

A much younger rangatira from Te Atiawa in Waikanae named Rīwai Te Ahu joined in the reading lessons with Matahau, it is said, and also learnt to write early. Octavius Hadfield chose himself to come to Kapiti. His 1839 account of preparations finds him lamenting in Paihia that, as a sick young man:-

“I may as well die in Ōtaki as here.”⁶¹⁷

When Hadfield arrived in Ōtaki, the energetic Matahau became his enthusiastic assistant. Rev Octavius Hadfield gives a picture of the response of two Ngāti Raukawa rangatira who were supreme in the old Māori school, Mātenga Te Matia, and Aperahama Te Ruru to Christian teaching, and the request to convert. He got into trouble very early on in Ōtaki with Mātenga:-

“He occasionally, on Sundays when I had prayers with and preached to the converts, came for the purpose of making a noise and interrupting us. On one occasion this interruption went rather too far. On the following Monday I walked to his abode for the purpose of remonstrating with him. I found him in his garden with several of his people. But he took no notice of me. So I sat down on the ground and thoughtlessly took up a piece of kumara and bit it. This was on my part an infraction of a *tapu*. It afforded him an opportunity, which perhaps he had been looking for, of ridding himself of me and my proceedings. He rushed at me with his tomahawk, and was about to strike me as I sat on the ground, when his daughter, the wife of Te Whatanui’s eldest son Te Roha, and Morowati, son of Kiharoa, an important chief, immediately came and placed themselves between me and my assailant, placing their hands over my head so that it became impossible for him to strike me without first striking them. Others then came forward. After some time his rage abated, and he sat down.

I then endeavoured to explain that I, as a foreigner, who had not been long among them, was not aware that I was doing anything offensive. But before I could finish my explanation the Maori priest, Hereiwi, who had gone through his karakia making the kumara ground tapu, interrupted by pronouncing a curse upon me which was necessarily to lead either to my death, or to my removal from Otaki. I told him his curse would neither affect my life nor influence my proceedings but was more likely to injure him. I then left them. In the evening several of my friends came to me in

⁶¹⁶ For descriptions of these kinds of incidents see *Marianne Williams: Letters from the Bay of Islands*. Caroline Fitzgerald ed. Penguin Books, New Zealand (2004)

⁶¹⁷ Hadfield Papers, collection of the Wellington Public Library, cited in Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, *Rangiātea, Ko Ahau te huarahi, te pono me te ora*, National Library of New Zealand the Rangiātea Vestry 1997, P27.

very low spirits. They wanted to know what I intended to do, and what I thought would be the effect of the curse. I assured them that I should take no notice whatever of the curse but should go on with my work as usual. They expressed a fear that, having been degraded by the curse, no one in future would pay any attention to what I said or taught. They then left me. Early next morning I went to Waikanae. On my return after a few days' absence, I learnt that Hereiwi had died during the night after the affair in the kumara garden. This produced a profound impression on the natives, who attributed his death to his cursing me. In vain I endeavoured to explain that I had heard from some Englishmen who knew him that he had been suffering from a complaint in his lungs, and that his death was occasioned by the rupture of a large blood-vessel. Not altogether convinced they resolved not to meddle any more with me, but to allow me in future to disregard all their *tapu* ceremonies and go where I liked. After that Te Matia and I were on friendly terms, at least we lived in peace. Many years after that Te Matia was baptised and named Matenga and became a regular communicant.⁶¹⁸

This contest of the missionary and the tohunga was repeated right around the country. Occasionally the tohunga came out on top. In the Māori process of vetting a newcomer like Hadfield a quick assessment would be made of physical courage. It is clear from a number of accounts that Hadfield was unflappable when facing threats. All of the responses in this encounter taken together led to success by Hadfield over his opponents; this would most likely have led to careful consideration of the atua the person professed to worship. In this case, after the initial fight, Mātenga Te Mātia gave the new religion a try, and found that it satisfied a number of his deeper needs.

Aperahama Te Ruru was of the Ngāti Huia and Kikopiri hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, a junior cousin in Māori terms to Matene Te Whiwhi. Hadfield describes him as a person with a finely developed conscience, a reputation as a warrior and fighter, who became a practising Christian along the lines Hadfield desired, and never wavered from that course. He also praises his wife in similar terms:-

“He was the chief of Ngatihuia, and lived at Pakakatu, at the mouth of the River Otaki. He was about fifty years of age when I first met him in 1839. He was a fine handsome man, with a reputation for great courage. During a war on the southern island, on one occasion when his tribe was retreating before the enemy, he at a narrow pass stood alone to resist them, and thus rallied the fugitives. The description given to me of this and other feats of courage reminded me of Homeric heroes. No chief received me and the Gospel message which I brought with more consideration and cordiality. He was greatly pleased on hearing the New Testament read and asked whether I thought he would be able to learn to read. I gave him a primer to begin with. With a little assistance from a native within a month he could read fairly well. I gave him a New Testament, and to my surprise within two months he could read it aloud intelligibly. In due time he was baptised and acted as lay-reader to his people. His whole subsequent life was consistent

⁶¹⁸ Hadfield, Bishop Octavius, *Maoris of Bygone Days*, Te Rau Press, 1902 P.7.

with his Christian profession. He never, unless prevented by some insuperable obstacle, failed to be present at morning and evening prayers. During many years he lived near the present church at Otaki; and frequently would ring the bell in the morning while younger people slept. His wife in many respects resembled her husband. She was the most dignified and courteous Maori woman I ever saw and was besides a thoroughly consistent Christian. Their only son was taken by Bishop Selwyn to S. John's College, Auckland, where he was educated. Shortly after he returned to his parents he died. It need hardly be said that Aperahama was highly respected by all who knew him."⁶¹⁹

Pointing the camera in the other direction, Ngāti Raukawa too, made their assessments of the character of the missionaries among them. Whatarangī Winiata, writing in 2016, gave a description to the iwi (in preparation of their Waitangi Tribunal research) of Octavius Hadfield, describing Hadfield as a true friend of Ngāti Raukawa, siding with his Māori flock even after the arrival of legions of Pākehā settlers, the attacks on Raukawa's leadership, and land predation. He stood firmly on the side of the iwi after the Wairau affair, remained loyal to the rights of Te Atiawa during the first Taranaki war, and launched major defences of Ngāti Raukawa in England throughout the Horowhenua cases and Rangitikei-Manawatū purchase. By the time of the latter debate he was detested by most Pākehā people as a supposed traitor, but never wavered.

Image 39: Rangiatea Church Centenary celebrations 1950



⁶¹⁹ *ibid.*, P.10 p.11.

The story of the month on month, year by year baptism of converts, the church communities at Waikanae and later Ōtaki from 1839, and the building of Rangiātea has been told in great detail in the book *Rangiātea* by Eric Ramsden. The book was published to coincide with the re-dedication of Rangiātea church that year. It is also a detailed biography of Octavius Hadfield, and by virtue of that fact, a history of the period 1840-1906 of Ngāti Raukawa territory, and of the relentless energy and optimism of the 19th century Christians.

During the 1820s and 1830s writing arrived in regions outside Te Tai Tokerau (Northland). It was brought to a number of iwi by freed slaves, a product of the Christianisation of parts of the country. In the Kapiti area, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi were taught to read by a freed slave, Te Matahau, also known as Ripahau. He was from Ngāti Raukawa, and had been captured many years earlier by Ngapuhi, where he learnt about the Christian Gospel, and was later released.

The central printed text was a copy of the Gospel of St Luke which had belonged to a young woman Tarore. H.T Purchas related this story relying on the diary of A.N Brown, the Tauranga missionary. He had earlier converted the Ngāti Haua rangatira, Ngakuku. On a trip to another pa with a large group of children, Tarore, the daughter of Ngakuku was killed in an ambush on their camp. The thoughts of the rangatira, as a new Christian, came to the fore at his daughter's tangihanga. Brown conducted the funeral and reported that the father urged that there be no utu for what happened:

‘there lies my child; she has been murdered as a payment for your bad conduct. But do not you rise up to obtain satisfaction for her. God will do that. Let this be the conclusion of the war with Rotorua. Let peace be now made. My heart is not sad for Tarore, but for you. You wished teachers to come to you: they came, but now you are driving them away. God will obtain satisfaction,' said Ngakuku.⁶²⁰

According to the writer of the Anglican history, Te Uira, the man who slew Tarore, found her copy, and had the Gospel read to him. He came to visit the father, Ngakuku, full of repentance for his act, and returned her copy of St Luke. He became a visibly changed man and knelt in repentance with Tarore's father in the church. The slave who read him the Gospel, Ripahau, made his way to his Ngāti Raukawa relations at Waikanae and Ōtaki. He becomes a central

⁶²⁰ H.T. Purchas, *A History of the English Church in New Zealand*, Simpson and Williams, Christchurch 1914, p.60.

figure in the Ōtaki accounts of the arrival of the Gospel among Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa ki Ōtaki and is emblematic of the strong efforts by early Māori Christians themselves to take Christianity to their own people, alongside the missionaries and their wives. In 1966 Hohepa Taepa, pastor at Rangiātea, published a version of the story in his booklet on the church. It is more gentle in the details, reframed to suit teaching of the origins of the Christian faith in Ōtaki to younger minds, and for publication in an uplifting book for the general public. It also emphasises the nature of the girl Tarore's death; the martyrdom of a Christian convert at the hands by non-believers, resulting in their conversion after her death. These kinds of stories are known in all proselytising religions and repeated in religious instruction. They present in the most graphic and moving way evidence of the saving power of the deity. The educational purpose alongside is to convert the non-believer, and to confirm the faithful as 'true believers', to inspire them to strengthen and hold on to their faith. In his version of the same story Taepa brings in the details of Ripahau (Matahau's) visit to Ōtaki and his role in teaching the art of reading and writing, using the same battered copy, taken from Tarore's body, of the Gospel:⁶²¹

'sometime later Ripahau came away to Otaki to visit his relations. It was there that he was called Matahau. It was there are also that he attracted two young aspirants who were desirous of learning to read and write. These young men were Tamihana and Matene Te Whiwhi, son and nephew respectively of the chief Te Rauparaha.

After a time this stock of reading material needed replenishing and Matahau sent to the Mission Station at Rotorua for help. Among the parcel of books that duly arrived was one bearing Ngakuku's name. It was Tarore's copy—the copy that changed Te Uira's outlook completely to one of peaceful activities. Now though dead, Tarore was about to speak again the life of Christ, this time to two cousins Tamihana and Matene. They studied the tattered volume until they were overwhelmed by the promises of a New Life. So the young lass, whose brief lifetime enriched New Zealand history, was avenged."

1.6 The attractions of the new world and the expectation to anglicise

Many of the young rangatira, both male and female, who were admitted to the Christian instruction in the Cook Strait region, became advocates of the new European home and school-life opening up before them. From the first exercises in the catechism and in writing and reading lessons, rangatira like Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha gravitated towards the attractions and opportunities of the new.

Rangi Nicholson and Kuni Jenkins have researched the process and consequences of the missionaries teaching of reading and writing to Māori. In his MA thesis Rangi Nicholson

⁶²¹ Canon Hohepa Taepa, *The Rangiātea Story*, Rangiātea Vestry, Ōtaki 1966, P6

summarised the realisation on the part of the missionaries that they had to learn to speak Māori, and teach in that language as well:

‘the missionaries had realised early that to achieve their ends, they would have to introduce their ideas to the Maori through the Maori language. The Word of the Bible did not arrive in Aotearoa-New Zealand culture-free. Indeed, English culture was inextricably intertwined with the Gospel. For Maori to gain access to this Word of God, it would be necessary for new meanings to be added to extant Maori words and where this was difficult, to transliterate English, Hebrew or Greek words and modify them to accommodate the sounds of the Maori language.

The process of planning a Maori corpus, or language resources, was designed to make the Western world, especially British the world, much more available to Maori. It was part of wider colonising practices where becoming Christian began to mean becoming culturally Anglican.⁶²²

There was an expectation that the process of baptism into Christianity means also baptism into a different culture. This debate about the cession of cultural identity upon entry to the new faith appears in the oral tradition of the iwi, where the Anglican section of Ngāti Raukawa adopted a position distinguishing God and his people, from the British. David Williams describes how the fledgling New Zealand Anglican Church was hopeful the New Zealand branch of the Church would have less ties to the state than its English parent. Raukawa elder Matenga Baker stated that its adoption of the name of England into the name of the local Māori Church was rejected by Ngāti Raukawa: -

“Nō te mea i te wā i whakatūngia ai a Rangiatea nē, koinā tētehi tautohe i mua. Ko te Hāhi Ingarangi nē, kāore hoki i whakaaetia e ngā iwi o Ngāti Raukawa te Hāhi Ingarangi, engari me Hāhi Mihingare, Missionary. Na, mau tonu tērā ingoa ki runga i a Rangiatea, engari ko ngā kaiwhakahaere nō te Hāhi Mihingare ā, nō te Hāhi o Ingarangi nē, ka kīa he mihingare. Engari ko te ingoa i taua wā, Missionary, Missionary Church o Rangiatea.”

“Now, at the time of the building of Rangiatea, there was an argument over the name of the Church in general. The Church called itself the Church of England [Ingarangi], but Ngāti Raukawa did not agree with the Church of England for the local name, rather, the “Missionary” Church. That was the name that was associated with Rangiatea, but the administration was the Missionary Church, albeit a part of the Church of England. But it was always called the “Missionary Church” of Rangiatea by Māori.⁶²³”

1.7 Māori preachers of the new religion

Tamihana Te Rauparaha wrote about the thinking behind the trip he made with Mātene Te Whiwhi to the South Island to evangelise among Ngāi Tahu. The popular version of this has

⁶²² Rangi Nicholson, *Hei Tīmatatanga Kōrero, Māori Language Regeneration and Mihingare Clergy* A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of Master of Arts, University of Canterbury 2000, P 49.

⁶²³ Matenga Baker and Kiripuai Te Aomarere, Te Reo o Raukawa radio recording on the Racing Club, Boys College, childhood memories and Raukawa Ōtaki social history (in te reo), March 1986, transcript by Huia Winiata OHint-0225/24 ATU

them modelling themselves on the old “peace emissaries” of their ancestors; they decided to travel as unaccompanied powerless individuals. Although this appeared to demonstrate a willingness to accept death if that were the decision of their former enemies, Eric Ramsden suggests that they encountered an already Christianised population, with James Watkin the Welseyan missionary having been in Waikouaiti since 1840.⁶²⁴ Watkin recorded in his journal that year that they left behind a deeply divided set of communities, arguing between the “children of Wesley” and ‘the children of Paihia’ in their wake:-

“ Mr. Hadfield has something to answer for, I think, in endeavouring to poison the minds of his own people against their fellow Christians...The distraction of their minds has essentially interfered with their happiness by producing a feeling of separation between members of the same family. This would seem to suggest the expedience of not sending missionaries of different creeds to the same tribe.”⁶²⁵

That said, Watkin was impressed by Tamihana’s sermon at Waikouaiti, where according to Ramsden he “was impressed by his humility and earnestness”. Tamihana in particular wrote in several places at this time about the placing to one side the sword and the desire to turn the other cheek, and on balance this appears to be the main motivation in their trip south. They had the model of the missionaries they had met personally at Paihia, Waikanae and Ōtaki who trusted completely to their god to prevent swift death. The young idealistic and slightly clumsy “Christian Māori” rangatira decided to throw their lot in completely with their new Atua, to the point of refusing to budge against the criticisms and ridicule of their warrior parents and uncles. Tamihana dictated a statement along these lines to the government official Edward Shortland in the South Island, probably around 1843:

“Ka whakaaro tonu a Te Rauparaha kia patua hoki nga pa o Ngai Tahu i toe atu, i te Waioteruati, i Moerangi [Moeraki], i Otakou, i Ruapuke. Kua hohoro māua ko Mātene Te Whiwhi te haere ki te tiki mihinare i Paihia. Riro mai ana i a maua ko Te Harawira ki Kapiti. Haere ana maua ki te kawē i te Rongopai ki te matou hoa whawhai ki a Ngaitahu. Riri noa a Te Rauparaha raua ko Te Rangihaeata kia kua hoki maua e haere ki te wawao [whawhau] i te rongo, kia waiho, me haere ano ki te ope ki te patu i tena iwi. Kihai maua i rongo. Tohe tonu maua ki te haere ki te Waipounamu, ki te kawē atu i te rongo pai o Te Atua kia wawe te whakamutu o nga mahi a te Rewera. No to maua taenga ki a Ngai Tahu, katahi ka whakamutua nga mahi a Hatana, ka tahuri katoa nga tangata katoa ki te whakapono ki te kupu tapu a te Atua nui, me taua iwi hoki i kawea nei e maua te kupu o Te Atua. Heoti ano, katahi anō ka noho pai nga tangata, na te rongopai o te Atua, aroha ana tetehi ki tetehi”.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴ Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, A.H & A.W. Reed 1951. p. 174.

⁶²⁵ Ibid 174

⁶²⁶ Tamihana Te Rauparaha, unpublished dictated manuscript, “He korero mo nga wawai o Te Rauparaha ki Ngaitahu”, Shortland papers, MS-0096, Hocken Collections, Dunedin, pp30–49, mss P 48, transcription and translation by P Walker

‘te Rauparaha was still planning to carry on taking the remaining pa of Ngai Tahu, at Waioteruati, Moeraki, Otakou, and Ruapuke. Matene and I made haste to fetch a missionary from Paihia. We obtained Hadfield and brought him back to Kapiti. Then we went to take the gospel to our enemy, Ngai Tahu. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata were furious about our plan to go and broker peace. They told us to forget the idea. We should go with an army to kill those people. We did not listen. We argued back that we were going to the South Island to take the good news of God there so the works of the Devil would be stopped as soon as possible. When we went among Ngai Tahu, the works of Satan came to an end, everyone turned to the faith, to believe in the holy word of God, that whole tribe among whom we travelled. As a result of the gospel of God, people settled their differences and showed love to one another instead.”

Thus, the adoption of the Christian rule, to turn the other cheek, profoundly affected Maori social mores. There is another section in John White’s account of Te Rauparaha’s campaigns in *Ancient History of the Māori*, which Ross Calman of Ngāti Toa believes was written by Tamihana (Te Rauparaha’s son) himself, as asserted by White⁶²⁷. The passage gives the following background to the conversion of the Ngati Toa – Ngāti Raukawa leaders:

‘tupu ake ko au ko tana uri, ko aku whakaaro o taku tamarikitanga tae noa mai ki tenei ra ko te aroha anake ki te whakaponono ki te Atua me te maunga rongo ki te pakeha, ki te tangata maori hoki, kia huia kia kotahi tonu te iwi ki tenei motu me te ture kia kotahi.

E hoa ma kei pohehe koutou, i te oranga o a matou kaumatua, he iwi pewhea ranei a Ngati Toa? Maku e ki atu kia koutou, ko te iwi whai rangatiratanga tena o matou o matou tupuna o nga tangata maori, he iwi pai a Ngati Toa na te Rauparaha i atawhai nga pakeha, i mua iho, i mua iho, katahi nei ano te whawhai i pohehetia e te Rauparaha ko Wairau. E korero ana hoki a te Rauparaha na te Atua aia i ora ai, te take i mohio ai aia, ko te mea ka ore (kahore) aia i tu i te mata a nga pu a nga Pakeha i ta ratou whawhaitanga i Wai-rau kaore hoki aia i huna i aia.

E he ana nga kupu a Te-kooti whakawa whenua i ki, “I patipati a te Rau-paraha i nga tangata kia pai ai ki aia hei hoa mona kia ora ai nga iwi o konei.” He rawa taua kupu, kaore rawa he iwi i kaha ki aia i tenei pito; mai ra he iti rawa a Ngati Toa a te Rauparaha i tona hekenga mai ai. Nana hoki i tuku atu tena motu ki te Pakeha, me tenei motu hoki.

I, his son, with my thoughts of my childhood, am now working at the same work and for the same object—to have love, and Christianity, and peacemaking with the European and Māori, that they may become one people under one law in this land.

Now, O people! do not be mistaken in regard to our old men of the Ngāti Toa Tribe, and ask what sort of people were they. I will tell you. They were a tribe of chiefs from the time of our Māori ancestors. Rauparaha was a kind man: he fostered the Europeans from days long past, and for the first time, in the battle at Wairau, has Rauparaha acted in a stupid way. He says God saved his life; and why he knows this is, he did not hide himself, and he was not killed by the bullets fired by the Europeans in that fight. The Native Land Court utters that which is not correct when it says,

⁶²⁷ Calman states: “I am fairly confident that this piece did come from Tamihana, as I have seen the same text, word for word, amongst Travers” MS version of his Te Rauparaha biography, where he claims it is written by Tamihana, and it does feel like Tamihana”. – Ross Calman R, personal communication 26 Sept 2016.

“Rauparaha flattered the tribes so that they might like him, and become one with him, and that those tribes might be saved from the power of his weapon (death).” These words are wrong, as there was not one tribe in the south end of the North Island able to stand against him; and Rauparaha and his tribe were but few in number when they migrated to Kapiti; and it was he who gave [sold part of] not only the North but the South Island to the Europeans.⁶²⁸

1.8 Te Whatanui, Te Aweawe, and Te Manawaroatanga

Compromise and merciful behaviour were known and admired greatly within Maori tradition, where the humanity of a person was closely identified with rangatiratanga. This was in evidence in events after the attack and killing of Te Rauparaha’s children by Muaupoko in the 1820s. Te Whatanui, rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa arrived some years later and after settling with his hapū in the Horowhenua decreed that he would not follow Te Rauparaha’s instruction to annihilate the remnants of Muaupoko people. He compared himself to a huge forest tree, saying Muaupoko would not feel the rain falling on their heads, if they would come under its branches.

A similar pattern was deliberately adopted by Ngāti Raukawa in relations with Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne, despite the agonies of the contest over land, and in this case the saying associated with it is directly connected to Christian belief in peace-making. There have been a number of renowned ‘takawaenga’ marriages between these iwi and Ngāti Raukawa, deliberately pursued by the elders with an eye for the future well-being of their descendants and their relationships. Again this is an ancient Māori practice. Peeti Te Aweawe, the chief of Rangitāne is credited with the famous saying ‘te manawaroatanga o Ngāti Raukawa ki te pupuru i te rangimārie, arā, i te whakaponu’ (The steadfastness of Ngāti Raukawa in upholding the peace, that is, the teachings of the Gospel.) Some credit the saying to Hoani Meihana. Hoani Meihana, according to Iwikatea Nicholson, gave three mere, carved from a single block of greenstone, to various rangatira as a permanent sign of the peace. The names given to the mere were Tānenuiarangi, Manawaroa and Te Rohe o Tūwhakatupua.⁶²⁹ In 1988 the proverb itself became the motto adopted by Te Rūnanga o Raukawa (see Chapter 11) to govern all its activity.

⁶²⁸ John White, *Ancient History of the Māori Vol VI, Ch 4*, translation also from White, reproduced at <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi06Anci-t1-body-d1-d4.html>

⁶²⁹ Iwikatea Nicholson, response to interview questions from Piripi Walker, for Te Rūnanga o Raukawa research programme, Ngatokowaru Marae, 10 February 1994, p.14

1.9 The Decorative Arts and the Missionaries

Along with the positive lessons of the parables and the life of Christ came negative messages about aspects of traditional Māori life, particularly related to war, utu, the eating of the corpses of the slain enemy, polygamy and so on. There was considerable disdain among the Victorians for Māori pā, housing and living habits. The missionaries disliked Māori art, saying among themselves and to their young converts, that it was “grotesque” and undesirable. There are examples of the missionaries actively campaigning against whakairo inside the new churches. Rev William Williams travelling in the Wairarapa in 1848, not long after the release of Te Rauparaha from prison and announcement of the plans for an Ōtaki church, wrote to his son Leonard:

“Rauparaha’s chapel is to be superior to that at Waikanae, and now the people at Turanga are stirred up to make another attempt, and they wish not merely to have a building large and good, but also to carve the posts. I am doubtful about this latter proposal because the natives cannot strike out into any new design, and the horrible figures they are accustomed to make are hardly suitable for a place of worship. I tell them they must refer this question to the Bishop the next time he comes.”⁶³⁰

The sharp end of Christian criticism and the new teachers’ attack on Māori ways was felt by the tohunga and experts in Māori lore, karakia and metaphysics. The ancient religion of the Māori people would be demolished, if the missionaries were to succeed in their aim. Bright young minds were taken across the paddocks in short order to the schools to be initiated, not into the retention of the ancient lore and karakia of their people, but to be taught literacy and school work, to listen to the lessons of the New Testament and become soldiers of Christ. Belief in the precepts of the ancestral religion, in Te Pō, the emergence of creation from a non-personal night, and the practice of its ritual and karakia was proscribed by the first of the ten commandments, which did not tolerate any belief whatsoever in Gods of other religions than that of the Bible. Explicit rejection of those beliefs was a condition of entry into the faith by baptism. Instruction began with the Ten Commandments, the unshakeable laws of the children of Israel, the first of which according to the Missionaries of the time, left no room for older beliefs. The King James Bible set out the primary law on a single God:

‘take heed to yourself, lest you make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land where you are going, lest it be a snare in your midst. But you shall destroy their altars, break their sacred pillars,

⁶³⁰Archdeacon William Williams, letter to his son Leonard Williams, Mataikona, 1 July 1848, transcription in Ramsden Papers, ATU 0188-973

and cut down their wooden images. (for you shall worship no other god, for the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God),⁶³¹

The very beautiful architecture of Rangiātea was created in the late 1840s without carvings; the design, however, was the product of nudging in that direction by the missionaries. There are claims by iwi teachers and others that the spare design came from a Māori desire to retain a mystical calm within the Church. Rev Hohepa Taepa describes the thinking:

‘the Church is entirely Nave, displaying to great advantage the distinctive and symbolic features of Māori architecture. It was the people’s intention that their grotesque figures of pre-Christian days should remain in their meeting houses, while only the simplest and finest form of decoration should beautify the interior. This, therefore, explains the absence of features of Māori architecture not fitting in a Christian Church.’⁶³²

1.10 A new weapon in the spiritual armoury?

There is a Māori view however, that more subtle and flexible attitudes were at play. This view expresses doubt that the loss of the old was caused by the aggressive persuasion of the missionaries, bent on supplanting allegiance to the old Māori religion with a Christian faith. Taihakurei Durie, a former Chief Judge of Māori Land Court and Head of the Waitangi Tribunal disagrees, suggesting that rangatira Māori saw Christianity as a new branch of spirituality, one they could grasp as a voluntary addition to their own spiritual armoury. Such adoption of the atua of others according to this school of thought was a very Māori thing to do; Māori were natural pluralists on the issue of spiritual practice⁶³³. David Williams in his book *A Simple Nullity, The Wi Parata Case in New Zealand Law and History* reaches the conclusion, after a detailed traverse of all the cross-cultural interactions of several decades, that the conversion of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa was a set of careful adult decisions on the part of Māori. Marist priest Fr Philip Cody has listened to many Ngāti Raukawa elders since the mid 1990s talking about the decision by Māori to convert when the Gospel arrived:-

‘From what I’ve heard and learnt Māori made the decision to follow the Christian whakapono, Christian faith with an awareness. One thing that I heard was that they embraced Christianity because of all the feuding, bloodshed, and they saw in Christianity another path, a path of forgiveness which would bring healing - he hohou rongu. They felt that what was happening in their life, they’d had enough of it, and this was not working, and they sought a new path, of that forgiveness through Christianity.’⁶³⁴

⁶³¹ New King James Version, Holy Bible. Exodus 34:17. See also Verse 17: You shall make no molded gods for yourselves.

⁶³² Canon Hohepa Taepa, *The Rangiātea Story*, Rangiātea Vestry, Otaki 1966, P34

⁶³³ Durie, Sir Edward Taihakurei, minutes, Ngā Pūkenga seminar, Ōtaki, July 25, 2016.

⁶³⁴ Fr Philip Cody, Oral history interview, Te Hono ki Raukawa oral history programme, 18 Oct 2016, 1.10-1.45

Raukawa oral historian Rachael Selby believes the pressures of the times and the need to strengthen the Raukawa position post-migration hastened conversion:

“I think there were parts of it that they recognised as merging quite nicely with a lot of tikanga Māori. I remember, one of the Kaa’s, Hone Kaa was it? One of them, saying that when the missionaries brought the life of Christ and the teachings of Christ to Māori, then Māori said, yes, we’ve met this guy before. So in recognising a lot of what Christian teaching is about was not foreign to Māori, they were able to embrace that. I think that for Ngāti Raukawa in particular, given that during that period the people who were here had made a massive sacrifice in leaving Maungatautari in the North to come here and to Te Rauparaha I guess, that when they got here, we had to rebuild.”⁶³⁵

Selby draws a parallel to other displaced peoples of the world. The situation in Cook Strait was highly insecure; any available supporters were recruited as allies, including the clearly influential missionaries;

‘there was hostility, and while Raukawa were in a dominant position supported by some of our neighbours, they also had hostile neighbours. So I think that where we could gain support in, and that was in part from some of those missionaries, I think it was a practical pragmatic political decision to do so.’⁶³⁶

In an essay in the book on the Ōtaki church *Rangiātea, ko Ahau Te Huarahi Te Pono me Te Ora*, Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal describes the nature of the Rangiātea tradition. Royal explains that Rangiātea is the name of the abode of the Supreme God known only to the inner circle of tohunga among some iwi, Io-matua, in the highest of the rangi, or heavens. He expresses the belief that the journey made by Tamihana and Matene to the Bay of Islands could be construed as a ritual Māori journey, known in the past, where emissaries of an iwi travel to ask an atua, a new God, to come to live among their people:

‘there are some interesting comparisons to be made with the journey taken by Mātene and Tāmihana, and the pre-Christian practice of obtaining the mana and authority of an actual God. It is the author’s view that Mātene and Tāmihana made the journey to bring the mana of Christ to Ōtaki, and more specifically, to reside at Rangiātea, in keeping with the pre-Christian custom of obtaining the “mana” of a god.’⁶³⁷

⁶³⁵ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Otaki, 27 May 2016, Track 3, 1.43 - 2.54

⁶³⁶ *ibid.*, Track 1, 1.27 - 3.55.

⁶³⁷ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, *Rangiātea, Ko Ahau te huarahi, te pono me te ora*, National Library of New Zealand the the Rangiatea Vestry 1997, Wellington, P 16.

1.11 How early were Ngāti Raukawa speaking of, and teaching the Io traditions?

Rev Canon Hohepa Taepa in his book (see p.14) gives the Io tradition as the origin of the name Rangiatea. ⁶³⁸Taepa had written:

“When the people of Raukawa who had settled in the district known as Horowhenua completed their house of worship in 1851, they bestowed on it the name Rangiatea. Which interpreted means ‘the Abode of the Absolute’. To the Māori of those primitive days the Supreme Being was known by the name Io Matua Te Kore, which means God the Parentless.”⁶³⁹

According to Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, Io makes its first appearance in Raukawa ki te Tonga in the whakapapa book of Kipa Roera, in material written in 1915⁶⁴⁰. The concept then appears in the statements of Rev Paora Temuera, who took over the pastorate from his father Tokoaitua in the 1920’s. Temuera knew, and sang the oriori from the Kurahaupō people which sings about these traditions to a high born child. It is important to the story of the Ōtaki Church because in the placing of the sacred soil of Ngati Wehiwehi in the new Church, its mauri would thenceforth be the most sacred and ancient relic of the Hawaiki homeland, and its religious traditions.

Image 40: Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal



According to Royal there was a rapid response by scholars when the papers of Te Whatahoro were shared widely by S.Percy Smith in 1913: -

“Particularly important in the history of the Io discussion was the publication of S. Percy Smith’s *The lore of the whare-wananga* (1913), thought to contain the first extensive account. Some have even said that this had been secret and esoteric lore held by the initiated only, until Smith discovered it and made it more generally known. As a consequence, Smith and his informants – Te Whatahoro Jury, Nēpia Pōhūhū and Te Mātorohanga, all of Wairarapa – were regarded with some suspicion. Others have argued that Io was invented to bring Māori cosmology more into line with Christianity. Nevertheless, the Io tradition appears to have enjoyed the attention of many 19th- and 20th-century tribal elders, and almost all tribes have a view on Io.”⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁸ This is also mentioned by Te Kenehi Teira in Chapter 2, when he read of the tradition in Taepa’s book while attending Rangiatea services as a child.

⁶³⁹ Canon Hohepa Taepa, *The Rangiatea Story*, Rangiatea Vestry, Ōtaki 1966, p.4.

⁶⁴⁰ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, pers communication October 2016

⁶⁴¹ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, “Māori creation traditions - Different creation traditions”, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-creation-traditions/page-2>

The abode of the god Io was said to be Rangīātea. If this is the case then the choice of the both the site for depositing the soil, and the choice of the name Rangīātea itself, would be concepts within Māori tradition that matched the Christian notions of the sacredness of the building, and the house of god. A good number were sceptical as Royal says, and one of those was Te Rangihīroa (Sir Peter Buck) who, as an anthropologist was already possessed of fully-formed ideas on the Māori gods. He believed the main atua were the multiple children of Rangi and Papa – Tāne, Tū, Tangaroa, and so on, and wrote about this view as a Māori anthropologist thirty odd years later in his work *The Coming of the Maori*:-

‘the discovery of a supreme God named Io in New Zealand was a surprise to Māori and Pākehā alike. For years we had accepted the pattern of a number of co-equal gods, each attending to his own department. Though references to Io had been made in the literature, the extent of his claims was not fully realised until an extraordinary amount of detail was furnished by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best through the publication of copious extracts from the Te Matorohanga manuscript. Both Smith and Best were enthusiastic in their acceptance of the Io material, but many others were doubtful, because the Io version of the separation of the light from the darkness, the division of the waters, and the creation of the earth were too reminiscent of similar episodes in the first chapter of Genesis. The doubt grew when it was considered that both Te Matorohanga and his scribe Te Whatahoro had been converted to Christianity before the detailed story of Io was committed to manuscript. The New Zealand discovery of a supreme creator led to a search for the same or similar creators in Polynesia, and it is amazing what a mass of secret information was alledged to have been locked away in the minds of cautious Christians who but awaited the inquiry of sympathetic seekers to unloosen the floodgates of memory.’

Te Rangihīroa nonetheless accepted that certain parts of the teaching of Io were a New Zealand Māori concept:

‘the Māori concept of Io was also a local development in New Zealand and apparently originated within the Ngati Kahungunu tribe, from which rumours of the cult spread to a few other tribes.’⁶⁴²

Another Māori authority was convinced that teachings of the single divine being Io were a true Polynesian development. Sir Apirana Ngata, Te Rangihīroa’s friend in debate on things Maori was recorded giving a talk (possibly to the Polynesian Society) by the NZ Broadcasting Service. He told the story of how he and a group of Māori scholars, who knew something about the spread of the Io traditions, went to see Sir Peter Buck before he left New Zealand after a trip home, possibly for the last time in 1949. Ngata said his tira (group) were determined to put the view to Te Rangihīroa that the secret Io teaching was so widespread among iwi in Aotearoa,

⁶⁴² Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangihīroa) *The Coming of the Maori*, Māori Purposes Fund Board/Whitcombe and Tombs 1962, p. 535.

that, contrary to Te Rangihiroa's view, it must have come from the Pacific to different places in Aotearoa in ancient times:-

'that appreciation of the value of Stimson's work in the Pacific and of Te Whatahoro here, Peter arrived at the conclusion that the cult of Io was evolved in New Zealand, it never was in the Pacific. I tipu i konei. (It evolved here). We took him up [on it] in Auckland when we went to say goodbye to him. Myself, Rangi,⁶⁴³ and we said:

"Peter [speaking to Buck], the evidence of the coverage of the cult of Io in New Zealand shows that it's not confined to one district like Wairarapa, or even the East Coast. You might say the East Coast is fairly uniform in its traditions. You find it in the Whanganui River, you find it at Thames, and the remarkable thing from our standpoint, on the East Coast, you find it at Tolaga Bay in the Rā Wheoro where wānanga".

And then Pei chipped in and said: "It's right through the Tainui district."⁶⁴⁴

Ngata then related a story which had come down to him through several generations through the Williams family, concerning young Frederick Maning, an Irish immigrant who landed in the Hokianga in 1833, and lived among Ngapuhi. (He later became a well-known judge and wrote a famous account of early life in Aotearoa):

"I was able to tell Peter the story of Judge Maning. As a young man not long settled in the Hokianga and quite unaware of the tapus and that sort of thing, his horse strayed and he went chasing his horse up. And presently he heard a voice, intoning, and he began to follow the voice up, and he broke onto an old chap stark naked, up against a cliff, intoning what was the Io karakia's. Well the old tohunga pulled himself up and addressed took himself to this young Pākehā, and he said "Well you've only got the alternative of death, or becoming an adept in this cult. So Maning chose to become an adept. And he's the only Pākehā to make a complete study of the cult, he absorbed it all, the karakia's and everything, he was even initiated.

In due course he had to go to London for medical advice, he had cancer. And while he was dying there, he wrote all this stuff up. Then his conscience began to prick him because one of the things you do when you become an initiate of the cult of Io is to swear secrecy and he had given Io's secrets. Would that obtain in the case of an oath made to a 'savage'? He was arguing that point when he heard that Bishop W. L Williams of Gisborne - he wasn't a Bishop he was an archdeacon - was in London. So he sent for him and had it out with the Bishop, this question of conscience. The Bishop said your duty is clear. It doesn't matter whether the oath is given, to a heathen or not. If the oath is given the oath is binding on your conscience....Well when the Bishop left he ordered the housemaid to light the fire and burn the manuscript. [Interjection: Goodness gracious!] That story is well accredited, it came from Bishop Williams, through Leonard Williams, through Bishop Herbert Williams and it was Herbert Williams who told me."⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴³ Possibly Te Rangiatāhua Royal.

⁶⁴⁴ Sir Apirana Ngata, Talk on Maori Lore, Part 1, Part 3 Ref 177776, Nga Taonga Sound and Vision (radio NZ Archives), transcription by Piripi Walker

⁶⁴⁵ Sir Apirana Ngata, Talk on Maori Lore, Part 1, Part 3, Ref 177776, Nga Taonga Sound and Vision (Radio NZ Archives), transcription by Piripi Walker. Note: further examination of this recording is required to place it correctly in time and location.

1.12 Summary

In the pre-Treaty period before 1840 Ngāti Raukawa were living within their ancestral belief system. The 1830's brought the desire on the part of many to convert to Christianity and they sent for missionaries to come among them. After 1840 the iwi, for the most part adopted Christianity. They grappled with the wrench of leaving behind significant parts of the ancient culture after Christian conversion, the instruction in new spiritual practices, and rulings of their new teachers, but the consensus is that the conversion to Christianity was a willing adult decision. The implantation of the new Church, how this took root, and the ways it influenced daily life among the hapū of Ngāti Raukawa is discussed in the next chapter of this report.

Image 41: Rangiātea interior



2.0 BUILDING OF RANGIATEA, THE PUKEKARAKA MISSION AND PERMANENT ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG NGĀTI RAUKAWA

The chapter attempts to identify the motivation in the Māori mind that led to early conversion to Christianity among Ngāti Raukawa. It describes the summons from the iwi for missionaries from Paihia, and after the arrival of Hadfield the conversion of almost all of the iwi over the period 1838 to 1855. The discussion covers the wars of 1846 and the thinking which led to the building of the church Rangiātea in Ōtaki. It describes the adoption of Christian beliefs by the hapū of Ngāti Raukawa, and the pressure to abandon major elements and customs of Māori culture, such as the tangihanga [funerary rites] and the extent to which core Māori custom and identity survived Christianisation. It gives an account of the maintenance and adoption of the faith after Christian conversion through the 19th and 20th centuries. A section of this chapter describes the arrival of Catholicism and other religions among Ngāti Raukawa from 1844. Some glimpses follow drawn from oral history, of the practice of Christianity and blends of Māori religion and Christianity in the lives of whānau. It also deals with the loss of Rangiātea by fire in 1996, and the building of a replica of the original on the site.

2.1 The war of 1846 and the choice of a peaceful route

Iwi in some regions of Aotearoa realised not long after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi that, in contravention of its promises, they were faced with the loss of their lands, and subjugation by the Pākehā. Implacable settler demand ultimately led to moves whereby Māori were stripped of their land. Some rangatira, both Christianised and those who were not, appeared to draw a line under the extent of cession of sovereignty and loss of land. Were the coloniser to cross it, war would be declared. Te Rangihaeata was one of those rangatira.

1846 was a pivotal year in race relations in the lower North Island. Hadfield believed that war was becoming inevitable; the Wairau affair in 1843 served as a warning of the strength and resolve of Māori. Hadfield's conscience led him to use his influence to prevent it – by providing intelligence to the Governor. Only a small fragment of Hadfield's diaries survives, but there is another important piece, a 'diary within a letter' contained in a document in George Grey's papers. It comes from 1846 when Te Rangihaeata and his Ngāti Rangatahi allies began the push to hold on to the Hutt Valley. Governor Grey gave orders to Ngati Tama to leave its fertile horticultural plains to the New Zealand Company settlers.

Entries from May 8th and May 12th of this letter indicate that Hadfield was in close contact with Mātenga Te Mātia, Kiharoa and Te Puke, to determine the activities of other Ngāti Raukawa thinking of joining Te Rangihaeata:

May 8. I received a letter dated the 5th inst from Mātenga Te Mātia, Kiharoa, and Te Puke, the three leading chiefs of the Ngāti Raukawa tribe, informing me that there had been a numerous meeting assembled at Ōtaki, at which Te Rauparaha was present; that there was a unanimous expression of disapprobation at the conduct of Te Rangihaeata, and a determination to have no connection whatever with him. I subsequently learnt that one man, Tuainuku, had shown an inclination to espouse his cause, but that he was very soon silenced by Te Rauparaha: also that a few others had come there disposed to pursue the same course, but that seeing the determination of Te Rauparaha to resist any such attempt they had abandoned all idea of doing so.

May 12th. I learnt from Hemi Te Ruha that some natives of the Ngāti Raukawa tribe who had wished to join Te Rangihaeata were told by Hakaraia Te Reinga and others that if they did not return quietly to their homes they would be disarmed, that they would not be permitted to proceed armed to Porirua. I received a letter from Watene informing me that an attack upon the Hutt was determined on by the rebels at Pauatahanui.⁶⁴⁶

The attack on Boulcott Farm in the Hutt in which six soldiers died occurred on 16 May 1846. Hadfield then reported to Grey the contents of a second letter received from Harakaia Te Reinga of Ōtaki expressing strong Ngāti Raukawa opposition to the military action of Māori in the Hutt:-

June 9. I received a letter from Hakaraia Te Reinga of Ōtaki; dated 2nd. In it he informed me that Te Rangihaeata and Karamu had sent messengers to Otaki, Ohau, Whanganui etc. calling on their ancient allies to come to assist them: that one man, Te Ahi a relative of Te Rangihaeata, was going to see him to assure him that it was hopeless for him to expect aid from them: that Te Tihi, the chief at Ohau to whom they had written, had declined to assist them; that it was not probable that any persons from Whanganui would come: that the tribes to the northward would not think of coming while the natives here remained [quiet?]; that as the Ngāti Awa who were more closely connected with him than they were, were opposed to Te Rangihaeata, even according to native customs it was not for them to move in the matter; and that he supposed Te Rangihaeata remembered their former readiness to fight on all occasions, which induced him to expect their assistance now.⁶⁴⁷

Hadfield also supplied copies of certain letters to Grey, or to an associate who may later have passed the originals to Grey:

‘the enclosed letter dated May 29, from Te Tihi Te Tuere, from Ohau, addressed to himself and Wiremu Kingi at Waikanae, saying that he had been requested by Te Rangihaeata to come to his

⁶⁴⁶ Octavius Hadfield to Grey, Grey Collection, Auckland City Library, Manuscripts collection, GLNZ H1.1 p.2

⁶⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.10. See Ramsden p.100 for a discussion on how Grey showed an alleged intercepted letter to Te Rauparaha the night before his arrest. Te Rauparaha said it was a forgery written by an enemy to discredit him. Chapter VI, p.101 of the same book has further discussion on the views of Wellington Supreme Court Justice Henry Chapman, and his doubts as to the legality of the arrest of Te Rauparaha.

assistance, but that as he had no intention whatever of doing so, having like themselves professed Christianity, he wished to inform them of the circumstances here; hearing that he had been sent for, they might have suspicions as to his intentions.⁶⁴⁸

Hadfield saw the contest in the Hutt Valley as one which tested Christian honour and the promises of the faith; that the new God would serve as a beacon in the hearts of the baptised Māori and of their Pākehā countrymen. He saw at stake the principles of fairness, due process and peace, and also the possibility of significant bloodshed if nothing were done. This may explain his decision to act essentially as a spy for the Governor. At this stage in his life he still trusted Grey fully (although this changed dramatically upon his ordering of the invasion of the Waikato in 1863). Many missionaries also acted as intelligence officers for the colonial government in this way. Once more his letter describes interaction at his Wellington home with Ngāti Raukawa; those hapū wanting to support the cause of the “Māori nation” which Te Rangihaeata and his allies were calling to arms, and the other group of Ngāti Raukawa, committed to the new nation and bound in Christian friendship to the Pākehā:-

June 10. [1846]. I learnt from Henare Ngawaraki of Waikanae that on the 6th Kiharoa, an influential chief of the Ngāti Raukawa, accompanied by Te Ngaru had come to Waikanae, that they might on behalf of their tribe, give the Ngāti Awa a renewed assurance of their pacific intentions both towards them and the whites. They proceeded to state that in former times the two tribes were not at variance, but they had been involved in war with each other by the counsels of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata; that subsequently Christianity had been introduced among them – that there had been only one teacher for both tribes, that they had been taught the same doctrines, that they had been induced to love one another and live in peace, they had in fact been reconciled, and restored to their former friendly state – but in a new and but on a new and less precarious basis – the basis of Christianity. – That they were determined that no act of theirs should in any manner tend to interrupt the present friendly relations subsisting between the two tribes; and that they hope the Ngāti Awa would not hastily give credit to any idle rumours of any hostile movement on their part.⁶⁴⁹

Thus other iwi and their rangatira made a conscious decision to avoid military confrontation and war. Ngāti Raukawa appears to step in this direction from an early point. It appears that by 1846 almost all the rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa, including Te Rauparaha, were siding against their relation Te Rangihaeata, as he laid down his line and began guerilla operations in the Hutt Valley.

⁶⁴⁸ *ibid* p.12.

⁶⁴⁹ Octavius Hadfield to Grey, Grey Collection, Auckland City Library, Manuscripts collection, GLNZ H1.1 p.13

2.2 The building of Rangiatea church in Otaki

Te Rauparaha was taken prisoner on the orders of George Grey a few months later in September 1846, and taken to Auckland by ship. Most now agree that this was an illegal act on Grey's part. His son Tamihana was attending St John's College at the time. He advised his people via Tamihana not to take up arms on account of his arrest:-

“He visited his father on board the *Calliope* and quotes his father as saying, “Oh son! both you and Matene [Te Whiwhi], go to your people! and say: repay only with goodness on my account; do not incur ill-will with the Europeans on my account – for only by Goodwill is the salvation of Man, Woman and Child.” Tamihana took this message to Otaki, where Ngāti Raukawa were planning to take revenge for the arrest of Te Rauparaha, by joining with Te Rangihaeata to attack Wellington. They were dissuaded from war by Te Rauparaha's words. During Te Rauparaha's detention in Auckland Tamihana and other Ngati Toa leaders agreed to sell the Wairau plains to the government for £3,000. When Te Rauparaha was released in January 1848, Tamihana was at Otaki to welcome him.”⁶⁵⁰

On his release from imprisonment and return to Otaki in 1848, Te Rauparaha ordered the building of a new *whare karakia*, when he stepped on to the beach again at Otaki and wept on the sand. According to Iwikatea Nicholson he wept for two hours lamenting the loss of the *mana*, and the changed course of history.⁶⁵¹ According to the *iwi* oral history, Te Rauparaha then stood and spoke, thrust a sword into the ground, and addressed Paora Pohotiraha, the *rangatira* of Ngāti Wehiwehi, to take it.

‘tīkina te mea nei. Kua mutu taku rūri ki te whenua. Ka rūri au ki te rangi. Hoatu. Hangaia he *whare karakia* mō tātou.”

Take this sword. My rule over the land is finished. I will rule in the spiritual realm. Let us make haste. Build a church for us all.”⁶⁵²

Thus the *hapū* and *iwi* began the task of building the new Church in Ōtaki. Kuini Rikihana grew up in Otaki in the 1960s and attended Sunday School with Rev Hohepa Taepa, a keeper of the stories of the building of the Church:-

“Uncle Hepa used to talk about how the church was built. He would talk about many strong, broad-shouldered warriors cutting down the *totara* after the dictates of our *tupuna rangatira* Te Rauparaha who arrived at Rangiuiri i te moana and said “Build me a church. I no longer seek glory on earth, I seek glory in heaven”. Ngāti Wehiwehi say that beautifully, because they remember how they gave the *one*, the soil that was later put under the altar, and they bequeathed the trees. Tukorehe, [gave] the forty metre trees that were cut in that forest and are pulled by big flax ropes down the Ohau River out to the sea and dragged seven miles along the beach by big ropes, and

⁶⁵⁰ Steven Oliver. ‘te Rauparaha’, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012

⁶⁵¹ Iwikatea Nicholson, Transcript of interview 10 Feb 1992, Ngatokowaru Marae, P. Walker

⁶⁵² Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, quoting unnamed Ngāti Raukawa source (possibly Paora Temuera) Translation by P. Walker, p.110

then pulled seven miles inland to rest in the swamp beside where the church was to be built. And then over a period of five years the church being built and the people being fed by the lake. The lakes of Waiorongomai, the eels. He made it all sound so majestic, and this church, those pillars going up. Because a big rope is being held from the Mutikotiko [hill], and tying in those pillars, those big pillars, three pillars being pulled up and the crossbar you know, the tūāhu and the panels. He made that story so gorgeous that standing in the church, even today it makes people in awe.⁶⁵³

The leadership of Raukawa and Ngāti Toa were drawn to the notion of a joint venture with the British Crown and the colonists. The conversion to Christianity set in place the foundation for settled society, partly because once made, the iwi left behind the old rule of its military traditions and the right and duty of rangatira to take lives and avenge wrongs, where tikanga ordered it. The conversion to Christianity was profound across the Pacific – according to Te Rangihiroa the supreme rulers throughout Polynesia married the new religion into the place occupied in their realm and villages by the supreme tūāhu, at the centre of the religious and spiritual life of the iwi. Christianity emphasised education, a strong devotional life, the building and maintenance of a church institution and a reverence for the clergy. Most, even the warrior class and their leaders and generals (except for those like Te Rangihaeata who never converted and remained Māori by religion until death) joined the peaceful new order.

Chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa in Ōtaki cemented the gift of land to the Ōtaki Ministers in a letter to Governor George Grey in early 1851. They advised Grey of their wish that he assist in making a final formal grant of land in Ōtaki to the Church of England, for “our Ministers”.⁶⁵⁴ This included the place where school and the Church stood at the time (Rangiātea was completed and in use a year earlier), the Ministers’ homes, the hostels of the children at the school, and a pasturing place for the horses. The letter gave all four boundaries of the land in some detail and asked Grey to send a surveyor to begin the apportionment of the block. In January 1852 Grey duly issued the grant of just over 26 acres to Rev Octavius Hadfield, William Williams and Richard Taylor as Trustees on behalf of the Church Missionary Society⁶⁵⁵.

A large grouping of many Ngāti Raukawa (including Te Rauparaha and Tamihana Te Rauparaha) and Ngāti Awa chiefs signed what David Williams describes as an “independent

⁶⁵³ Kuini Rikihana, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Otaki, 13 September 2016, Track 1, 4.15-6.12

⁶⁵⁴ Mohi Te Wharewhiti and 5 other rangatira, letter to George Grey 7 Feb 1851, MS 654 Grey Collection, Auckland Public Library

⁶⁵⁵ Grant for a Mission Station at Ōtaki, Signed Gov George Grey, 21 Feb 1852, No 34, Register 1, Folio 37

attempt to cement peaceful relations with the Crown” in the form of a letter to Te Karere Māori, the Māori Messenger newspaper. It was sent from Waikanae, on the 22 February 1849.

Waikanae, February 22, 1849.

“Oh Madam—the Queen. This is a letter from us to you to express our gratitude to you for your good selection in sending here, your Governor and our loving friend Governor Grey, as a Governor for New Zealand.

On his arrival here, he found the natives and white people divided against each other. The white people were contending to obtain possession of the lands, and we also made this a cause of quarrel with the white people. We had also our own civil wars amongst ourselves. By his Government all these quarrels were put an end to.

He brought into force that there should be but one law for us, and for the white people, and we now live in love with the white people. He made us acquainted with your good intentions towards us, the natives. He joined us to the works of Christ, his Ministers and his Bishop, and now for the first time good works are the result. Faith in our Father that is in Heaven, and in our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the doing those worldly things which God thinks good for the body.”⁶⁵⁶

Williams suggests the gift of the Porirua Whitireia block for a Church school (see Chapter 3 on the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board) had a secondary motive; that it was part of a general political move by the iwi of the rohe to cement in place an alliance with the Crown. The letter above draws on Christian references, and allusions to permanent familial relationships between the races, suggesting that the gift of land at Whitireia [see Chapter 2] was a final abandonment of military resistance to the authority of the new order. Williams suggests it was:-

“part and parcel of a concerted effort to rehabilitate the tribes” reputation in the eyes of the Queen, the imperial government and the colonial administration. It also confirmed that sending and publishing an English translation of their own was considered an efficient means of getting their message out to the Pākehā public in words of their own choosing.⁶⁵⁷

Williams laments that in his covering letter to his namesake Grey in the Colonial Office the New Zealand Governor’s words:-

“contain not the slightest hint of remorse for his appalling treatment of Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa leaders over the previous three years. On the contrary, he seems almost to gloat that Te Rauparaha’s signature to such a letter “is a circumstance hardly to have been looked for.”

The missionary and anglicising work in Waikanae and Ōtaki is seen by some iwi historians as dividing the old Ngāti Toa, Taranaki, Ngāti Raukawa military alliance. Grey was a strategist

⁶⁵⁶ *Te Karere Māori – The Maori Messenger*, Vol 2, issue 34, 14 April 1850. Translation here is the one that appeared in the newspaper; David Williams believes the translation was provided by the rangatira involved. See *A Simple Nullity? The Wi Parata case in New Zealand Law and History*, D Williams, Auckland University P. Press, 2011, p. 64

⁶⁵⁷ Grey to Earl Grey, 22 March 1849, in *British Parliamentary Papers*, vol 6, pp.66-67, cited in D. Williams p. 64

like Te Rauparaha, and was certainly laying plans so this powerful and troublesome alliance of iwi could be successfully subdued. He cultivated a young Hadfield and had a strong friendship with him throughout the 1840s and 1850s.

“Even now, a large part of the Maori people held aloof from the conflict. The settled congregations in the far north, under Henry Williams, and on the east coast under William Williams, remained quiet; while in the south-west the tribes under the influence of [39/40] Hadfield and Taylor actually fought against the insurgents.”⁶⁵⁸

Other Governors followed up that association, with Gore Browne seeking the private counsel of Hadfield in the 1850s on native policy.

2.3 The Arrival of the Catholic Church in Ōtaki 1844

Image 42: St Mary's Catholic Church, Pukekaraka Presbytery & St. Peter's Chanel, Ōtaki 1925⁶⁵⁹



The first Catholic priests had arrived at Ōtaki in 1844. Like all of the Catholic clergy who arrived in New Zealand in the 1830s and 1840s they were from the Lyons-based congregation the Society of Mary in France. By the mid 1840s they were serving around 4,000 Māori Catholics mostly in the Upper North Island, but with a fair number around Ōtaki. According to Fr Paul Bergin, whose thesis focussed on the Hiruharama (Whanganui) and Ōtaki Missions, there had been a very good initial decade after 1844 from the missionaries point of view, followed by reverses:

⁶⁵⁸ Eugene Stock, *The Story of the New Zealand Mission*, London Church Missionary Society, London, 1913, p. 37

⁶⁵⁹ Leslie Adkin

‘the Marist mission among the Maori people of the Otaki district had also suffered its share of setbacks after a decade of considerable success between 1844 and 1854, when Father John Baptiste Comte had received about 500 Māori people into the Catholic faith. Based at Pukekaraka, on the northern outskirts of Otaki, Comte had made a considerable impact in the district, guiding local tribes in the construction of three water mills and a rope walk, the building of improved roads, the cultivation of cereals, the setting up of shops, and the purchase of a schooner, the “Elizabeth”, to transport surplus goods to the market at Port Nicholson.’⁶⁶⁰

Bergin reports that Comte was doing battle with his conscience over his successful role in promoting economic developments for Māori, as opposed to remaining strictly a spiritual figure:

‘sadly for Pukekaraka, Comte had scruples about his involvement in such projects of material development and returned to France in 1855. However, he was not immediately replaced with a resident Priest, as Bishop Viard was hard pressed to find sufficient priests to serve the needs of his huge diocese, although Otaki continued to be served over the next three decades by a number of visiting Marists, including Fathers Seon, Petitjean, Pezant, Pertuis, and Bishop Viard himself.’⁶⁶¹

2.4 Catholic Revival after 1872

Seventeen years later in 1872, and after a hiatus of 14 years which left those who had joined the Catholic Church without a priest, Fr Delphine Moreau was appointed to the rohe. He found most of the earlier promising projects begun by Comte had gone into reverse. By 1871 the schooner *Elizabeth* had run aground, and economic recession and contagious diseases had arrived: -

Diseases such as typhus had further affected the well-being of local tribes, whose morale had not been helped by the defeat in war of Kingitanga (the King movement), which had a strong following among many of the Ngāti Raukawa. From a Marist viewpoint, the conversion of some Catholics to Pai Marire had also been a blow to the Otaki mission, although Moreau claimed that “Hauhauism” was virtually dead when he arrived back in Otaki in 1871.’

According to Bergin Fr Moreau spent much time in the Manawatū as opposed to Ōtaki, and in the end he transferred to the Fielding Pākehā parish:-

“.. because Moreau’s appointment to Otaki also entailed responsibility for ministering to all the Catholic people Horowhenua and Manawatu, he spent much of his time in the north of the district. By 1878 Moreau had moved to a new residence in Fielding which was then the most populous centre of Catholic Pakeha people in his district. Moreau’s Māori mission apostolate suffered accordingly⁶⁶².

⁶⁶⁰ Paul Bergin SM, *Hoani Papita to Paora, The Marist Mission of Hiruharama and Ōtaki 1883-1914*, MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland 1986, Marist Library Wellington, p. 3.

⁶⁶¹ Paul Bergin SM, *Hoani Papita to Paora, The Marist Mission of Hiruharama and Ōtaki 1883-1914*, MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland 1986, Marist Library Wellington, p. 3.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 4

This sideways migration, whereby the attention of Bishops and occasionally the pull of the non-Māori church world hampered concentration, according to Bergin, is a signal feature of the ebbs and flows of progress in nineteenth century Catholicism among Ngāti Raukawa. Bergin describes a major revival of the Catholic Mission under Frs Cognet and Melu from 1886. Based in Turakina they covered the whole of the district on horseback:

‘the revival of the Otaki mission began in October 1885 when Father Francois Melu was transferred from Hiruharama to Turakina, where he was offered private accommodation at a generous Englishwoman’s home for the next five years. Riding a “fouque cheval maorie” (‘spirited Māori horse’), conspicuous in his “mainteau d”officer (“officer’s coat”) and sporting a distinguished “barbe imperiale” (“imperial beard”) Melu journeyed extensively throughout his large mission territory visiting Māori families between Whangaehu and Porirua, some of whom had not seen a Catholic priest for more than 20 years. After one of his first journeys through the Otaki district Melu reported meeting Māori people such as the elderly kuia, Hepina, near Foxton who “ cherchait en vain un prêtre qui sût le Māori, pour se confessor”) (‘searched in vain for a priest who knew Maori so that she might go to confession’). The Otaki Mission district had not been served with a full-time Maori mission priest since the Compté era had ended in 1854.’⁶⁶³

According to Bergin in April 1886 Melu was joined for a short while by Father Claude Cognet, from the Whanganui river mission. Melu and Cognet reorganised the Ōtaki Mission district and worked to familiarise Cognet with aspects of Māori mission work. One of the journeys of pastoral visitation by the Marists of this period was that made by Melu and Cognet when they set out on horseback from Turakina on 17th of April 1886.

‘they crossed the Rangitikei River near Bulls, and visited Maori village of Matahiwi, near Sanson, where they stayed the night at the home of a Catholic woman named Ruta. They then travelled through the woods to the village of Awahuri where a Catholic elder, Akapita, hosted them in a house, put especially at their disposal. On the third day of their journey they visited the Irish Parish priest of Palmerston North, Fr M. McManus, before calling in at the home of three French settlers at Oroua Bridge. The Pascal Brothers, John Baptiste, Claude and Louis, had been pupils of Cognet at St Chamond, a Marist College in the south of France. Their new home, on a large block of land around Puketotara, was a welcome place for the French Marists on their journeys through the district.’⁶⁶⁴

The Akapita mentioned is Akapita Tahitangata. Fifteen years after the arrival of these two priests in Awahuri, Akapita wrote to the Māori newspaper Te Puke Ki Hikurangi, to give notice of the death of Moihi Winiata of Awahuri aged 88. His family had been involved with the Hauhau faith in the 1860s according to Akapita, but converted to Catholicism and built the Catholic Church of St Peter’s. Akapita referred to the inspiring work of Fr Melu in his eulogy

⁶⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶⁶⁴ Paul Bergin SM, *Hoani Papita to Paora, The Marist Mission of Hiruharama and Ōtaki 1883-1914*, MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland 1986, Marist Library Wellington, p. 50

to Winiata, saying that Melu's influence had pulled his whanau away from the prophetic movements and the Hauhau (Pai Marire) religion towards Catholicism, and the building of a church:

“No te tau 1867 i roto ona Iwi me ona matua i nga Karakia o te motu nei, i te Hauhau me nga mahi Poropiti. No te tau 1885 ka tae mai a Werahiko Meru, he Pirihia ia no te hahi o Rooma, ki te Awahuri nei, ki te whakaata i nga huarahi o te Whakapono kia Ngaati Kauwhata, a no te wa ka iriiria a M. Winiata raua ko tona hoa wahine, a ka marenatia e te hahi i taua tau ano, a ko tona akonga tenei i nga tikanga o te Whakapono, ka riro tonu koia hei Katikita mo ona Iwi, ka kitea katoatia e nga tangata tona pai, katahi ia ka mea ki ona matua, me kohikohi he moni hei hanga whare Karakia, a whakaaetia ana e ona matua, nana tonu i harihari nga rakau o taua whare Karakia a tae noa ki te otinga o taua whare, a i whakatapua ano tana whare e te Pihopa, a tapaiia ana te Ingoa o tana whare ko St Pita”⁶⁶⁵.

“In 1867 at the time of the Hauhau, he and his whanau joined that religious movement and adopted those prayers. In 1885 Fr Francis Melu arrived, a Roman priest, here at Awahuri, to teach the way of the Gospel to Ngāti Kauwhata, and at that time M Winiata and his wife were baptised, and married within that Church at that time. That is how he came to know this faith, and became a Catechist among his people, all of the people saw how good he was. Then he said to his elders, let us raise funds to build a church, and his elders agreed, he himself worked on the lumber to build his Church until it was completed, and his Church was dedicated by the Bishop, and called St Peters”.

These priests are still remembered today in the oral tradition of Catholics among Ngāti Raukawa, indeed, Fr Melu and a later priest Fr Delach appear as carved figures in the whare tupuna Ngātōkōwaru at Hokio. Tata Lawton related the impression still in the hearts of Catholic Maori when he related memories of these priests, when touring their parishes. In evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2014. Lawton recalled the house Akapita lived in at Kauwhata, and how he used to provide accommodation for the Catholic priests on their journeys. These were prodigious in length; their flock was scattered as far as Little River on Bank Peninsula in the South Island. But they had a welcome place of accommodation among Ngāti Kauwhata:

‘so we got the church there, there was an old katakite there called Akapita Tahitangata, and he was the only one who had a western style house at Kauwhata and the Catholic Priests were French. They used to all stay there when they travelled because they used to journey from Otaki south to Little River, and they went north up to Feilding and then they either went east, ending up in Mahia, so Pakipaki, Feilding or they went west through Tokorangi, over to Hauti and Rata, up to the river, and Hiruharama up the [Whanganui] river, so all of those places there, all further west to Taranaki.”

⁶⁶⁵ Akapita Tahitangata, Letter to the Editor, No 14, Te Puke ki Hikurangi, Vol 4, no 14, 31 Oct 1901, p. 7.

2.5 Raukawa and Christianity 1860-1900

Rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa were keen students of good race relations and gave Pākehā the benefit of the doubt as the power equation swung in favour of the burgeoning settler population. But in 1859, with the sending of troops to the Waitara, allegiances changed. Many hapū of Ngāti Raukawa became adherents to the Kingitanga, sensing a last chance for unified Māori resistance to colonisation and the loss of land. Sean Ogden gave a broad general account of this unfolding change and how it aligned in some ways with the split between those hapū that were aligned to Anglicanism and those who had become Catholics.

“When the flag was raised a hui was called in response by Governor Grey. He said to us at Pukekaraka, ‘take down your flagpole, burn the flag, come under the wings of Queen Victoria’. Grey was laughed at by my ancestor, Heremia Te Tihi. He raised his house, we called it Te Kiri Māori, down at Te Pou o Tainui in Ōtaki. I will leave most of that story to them, but I am giving you the broad base to explain my ancestor Heremia Te Tihi. Grey like the previous governors began to stir up trouble between the two sides, those adhering to the Anglican faith, and those adhering to the Catholic faith, they called them the Queenites and the Kingites. We were Hauhau according to their label.

There were many meetings, there were many disturbances throughout the country. My ancestor Heremia Te Tihi said “please listen, Māori and Pākehā, I will not let Taranaki be injured, or die, if Taranaki gets into trouble I will get into trouble, if Taranaki, dies I will die.”⁶⁶⁶

2.6 Ngāti Raukawa and Christianity at the time of the Kohimarama Conference 1860 and the Taranaki and Waikato Wars

Māori were keen students of world affairs. Faced with what Paul Temm QC called the ‘swamping’ effect of colonisation they still sought a middle way. They advised their young to minimise the hurt in the minds and hearts, to grab hold of the new Christian narrative, and become Māori citizens of the British experiment. The older rangatira steered the new Māori identity, post colonisation into an adaptive position. The preference among Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata was to close off the door to armed struggle, and to contest the issues of sovereignty, marginalisation and loss of land in peaceful ways. An example of this attitude is seen in the following undated letter (c 1860) by one of the redoubtable fighters for the land rights of his Himatangi hapu in later years, Parakaia Te Pouepa (the translation is mine):-

“Ki a Kawana Paraone
Ki a te Makarini

⁶⁶⁶ Sean Ogden-Bennett, Evidence at Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui, Tukorehe Marae, Waitangi Tribunal transcript (translation of evidence in te reo) 27 June 2014, p. 244.

He nui ke nga tikanga pai kua tukua nei ki te runanga o nga rangatira o Niu Tireni. Na te kawana ano i tuku noa mai ki a koutou. E nga rangatira katoa e whakarongo nei, hei kurupatu moku ko enei ture mo nga rangatira katoa e whakarongo nei, moku ano hoki. E nga pakeha o te runanga kua pa nei toku ringa ki te pene, moku ano hoki kua puta nei aku kupu pai i oku ngutu, me aku kupu ano hoki i he ake ai i toku ngakau, ka rongo nei koutou e nga rangatira, hei mahi ano moku. Ko te kingi Maori ko ana mahi e kore au e pai, ko nga mana maori e kore au e pai, me korero pono au i tenei kupu ki a koutou, ko te mahi a Taranaki e patupatu noa iho nei i nga Pakeha e haereere noa ana i te takiwa, he kino rawa, kino rawa tera mahi. Ko te take i tupu ake ai tera pakanga kaore au e mohio, ko te Pakeha hoki nana i tuku ake te panuitanga, me tuku ake ki Poneke whakawa ai, kia rongo ai toku iwi me oku matua, na taua panuitanga hoki i pakaru ai enei iwi au, ko te take tera i rere noa ai te whakahe ki a koe. He tikanga pouri tenei moku, kia kia mai, no toku ngakau ano te whakahe, tukua ake ki Poneke whakawa ai kia hoki mai ai tera iwi au. He oti ano era.

Ka korero pono atu au ki a koe, e Kawana, ko au ture ka whakau nei ki a matou, na te Atua, tuku iho ki nga Apotoro, tuku iho ki a te Kuini, kua tukua mai ki nga pihopa, ki nga minita, ki a koe ano hoki, hei hapai i nga minita kua tukua noatia nei e koe ki te runanga, katahi ra ka ora tenei motu, katahi ka ora te whakapono, katahi ra ka ora nga tamariki a te Kuini ka puta nei ki a matou. Na Parakaia te Pouepa

Translation

To Governor Browne
To McLean

Many good things have been given to the assembly of rangatira throughout the nation of New Zealand. The Governor gave them freely. These have been given to us to fortify ourselves, we have the written law, for the chiefs, and for me. To the Pākehā of the Government I point out I have taken up the pen and the written word, so good and wise things can be uttered by my lips, and indeed the missteps in thinking in my mind, as well, you can see them, this is something I can now do.

The Māori King is one thing I will never support, nor the deeds of Taranaki killing Pākehā people who might be out and about in the district, it is abominable, wicked in every way. The Pākehā made the proclamation saying that the perpetrators would be sent to Wellington to be put on trial, so my iwi and my elders can hear about it. Because of that proclamation [of war] these tribes of yours were divided in their unity. This is a source of great sadness for me, to have it said that the wrong action came from my heart, let those really responsible be sent to Wellington to face justice so that other tribes of yours might be part of me again.

I say to you truly Governor, your laws which you have given me come from God, down to the Apostles, then to the Queen, to the Bishops, to the Ministers, and to you, to support those Ministers you have placed in the Cabinet, only through sticking with this structure will this country flourish, will the faith flourish, and the children of the Queen including us.

From Parakaia te Pouepa⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁷ Parakaia Te Pouepa to McLean and Gore Browne. The letter is undated but must have been sent between Mar 1860 and Sept 1861, given the events it outlines and the dates of Gore-Browne's term. The letter is a paraphrase

A very full account of the wedding of Natanahira Wi Parata Te Kākākura and Āreta Hoani Taipua Te Punairangiriri at Ōtaki on the 13th June 1876 is given in a Māori newspaper that year. The minister who married them was the Rev. McWilliam, successor to Hadfield on his retirement. Even the speeches by the kaumātua are recorded, and these give us a glimpse into the crystallised Māori-Christian views of the generation of first converts among Ngāti Raukawa after several decades of Christian teaching in the rohe. The first to speak was the elderly rangatira Matene Te Whiwhi: -

“Friends, greetings. My greetings to you for attending this marriage out of love for and adherence to the good tenets of the faith.

“Young men, listen to me. I approve of what Wi Parata said, that you should heed the words of your elders, so that you achieve good works. Now, young men and women, cherish the lesson that Wi Parata [the previous speaker and father of the bridegroom] has taught you, so that you reach the new Canaan. When a child listens to his elder, he takes away with him the blessing of his elder. Because these young ones heeded their elders, they come to marriage.

“Also, young men and women, hold to the instruction of your ancestors. The marriage of man and woman is not for today. Abandon narrow views. Turn to Christ. When you marry, marry on the day the sun shines, and, you will hold your wife forever, that is, with faith. And up until the present you, the children, should continue to keep to marriage. Now, young ones, in future persevere in adhering to the words of your elders. There is no other work but the faith for nurturing goodness, love, and peace for you all.”⁶⁶⁸

In general the kaumātua by this time were converts to the systematic entry of their young people into an educational, economic and spiritual programme that would see them emerge as respected citizens of a new nation, with two peoples under one Queen and one God. As Māori grievances grew, many people among the Ngāti Raukawa hapū joined the Kingitanga, and later, the Hauhau movement which emerged after the Waikato defeat. After the subsidence of Hauhau missionary activity, and the need to focus on the retention of West Coast lands in the face of the attempt to purchase, the idea of returning to armed struggle was damped down. There were skirmishes, particularly over the Horowhenua lands around Lake Horowhenua, but little else. Some went to fight in Taranaki and to support their relatives in the Waikato, but not the majority. The rangatira of the majority of Ngāti Raukawa hapū urged their young to hold fast to the way of peace, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

of some of the arguments Te Pouepa raised at the Kohimarama conference 1860, (reported in Te Karere Maori newspapers, Vol 7, 14, p. 28, - Te Pouepa attended that conference in Auckland).

⁶⁶⁸ *Te Wananga*, (Maori newspaper) 24 February 1877 pp.72-3. This translation appeared alongside the Māori language version of Te Whiwhi’s speech in the newspaper.

At the Kohimarama conference in 1860 Tamihana Te Rauparaha concluded one of his speeches with a warning to other iwi, in the first year of the Taranaki wars, not to take on the Crown. Tamihana drew on the lessons learnt, and things he saw in England in 1851 for his political advisory. He also offered his blueprint for integrating with the Pākehā:

‘don’t let us suppose that we shall be able to vanquish the Pakeha. Let us consider the power [Tamihana used the word *rangatiratanga*] of the Pakeha. Their island is a small one, similar in size to New Zealand, but they are a great and powerful nation. They owe their power to Christianity. We shall never be able to contend with the Pakeha. If we continue to provoke the Pakeha we shall be exterminated and our lands will go into other hands. We shall become slaves. If you had been to England you would be able to appreciate her good (institutions). The ministers [Church] also are laboring for our benefit and are instructing us. Do not let us question the character of the Pakeha nation. The Pakehas do not wish to degrade us. They do not wish to trample on the "mana" of the Maori people. Do not advocate the separation of the black skin from the white skin: but rather unite them, that both (races) may prosper’.⁶⁶⁹

Tamihana had seen martial law in action already in Porirua in the 1840s. He watched his father Te Rauparaha taken prisoner on the orders of Grey in 1846, and while a student at St John’s College spent a good deal of time visiting him on the prison ship, and later onshore in Auckland. He and Matene Te Whiwhi had been coerced in the months following the arrest into selling huge blocks of Ngāti Toa lands in Wellington and the South Island⁶⁷⁰. The laws of war were in force again in 1860, and Tamihana understood the demarcation between loyal iwi and those deemed “rebels”, or the “enemy” opposing the British Crown. He knew that taking any military action against the government in 1860 would result in the permanent confiscation of all tribal land. From 1849 on the political position of the leadership, [other than Te Rangihaeata’s section of Ngāti Toa and his allies] of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa mirrored the child-parent relationship proposed by the missionaries to Māori in submitting to the laws of the new religion. The Governor and the Queen were referred to, even by Te Rauparaha senior, as kind parents, and “our mother”, to portray a permanent bond of submission, and acceptance of the Pax Britannica. It was born out of necessity, and the strategic imperative to give clear unambiguous messages to the other side, and to one’s own whanaunga. Tāwhiao had been annointed as second Māori King in 1860 two weeks before this whaikorero by Tamihana.

⁶⁶⁹ Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Speech to Kohimarama Conference 25 July 1860, reported in Te Karere Māori Maori Messenger Vol 13

⁶⁷⁰ Matiu Rei, Brief of Evidence Northern South Island Enquiry, Wai 785 9 June 2003: “As a result Te Rauparaha was captured at Porirua and detained on 23 July 1846. He remained a captive of Grey for 18 months but was never charged or tried and was only released back to Ngati Toa after the sale of Wairau and Porirua”.

Image 43: Matenga Baker at Raukawa Marae



According to Mātenga Baker, kaumātua of Ngāti Raukawa, in a recording made in 1986, Raukawa oral tradition says Mātene Te Whiwhi was the major mover in the idea of establishing the King:

“Nā Ngāti Raukawa hoki i pou te Kīngitanga ki roto o Waikato. Kāore i whakaae a Ngāti Porou i te kīngi ki a rātou. Te haere o Mātene Te Whiwhi ki runga i te motu nē, ki te pou i te Kīngitanga. Tae rawa atu tana haerenga ki roto o Ngāti Porou ki te Tairāwhiti nē, nā, kāore rātou i whakaae. Te kī a Te Kani a Takirau, he kīngi mai anō ia i te kāinga nē. Haere tika tonu a Mātene, huri noa, huri noa, tae atu ki roto o Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato, na, kātahi ka whakaae a Waikato kia poungia te kīngitanga i reira. Nā Mātene taua take. Engari i hui anō a Ngāti Raukawa, ngā hapū o Ngāti Raukawa nē, ki whea poungia ai te Kīngitanga mō te motu. Na, ko Mātene Te Whiwhi te kaikōkiri i taua kaupapa, Mātene Te Whiwhi. Na, tau rawa atu ki roto o Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Waikato, poungia atu te Kīngitanga i reira. Koinā te tūnga o Pōtatau, o Pōtatau.”

“It was Ngāti Raukawa who placed the Kingitanga within Waikato. Ngāti Porou refused to stand forth to provide a King. Mātene Te Whiwhi travelled the country to lay the foundations for the Kingitanga. When he got to Ngāti Porou on the East Coast, they did not agree. Their great chief Te Kani a Takirau said “I am already King of my own lands”. Mātene kept on travelling, all around the iwi, until he came to the country of Ngāti Maniapoto, and Waikato; eventually Waikato agreed to accept the kingship. It was Mātene who led the whole cause. Ngāti Raukawa and its hapū met to decide where the King should be placed. Mātene Te Whiwhi was the champion of it. It finally fell to Ngāti Maniapoto, and Waikato, and the Kīngitanga was placed there. So Pōtatau was raised up as king.”⁶⁷¹

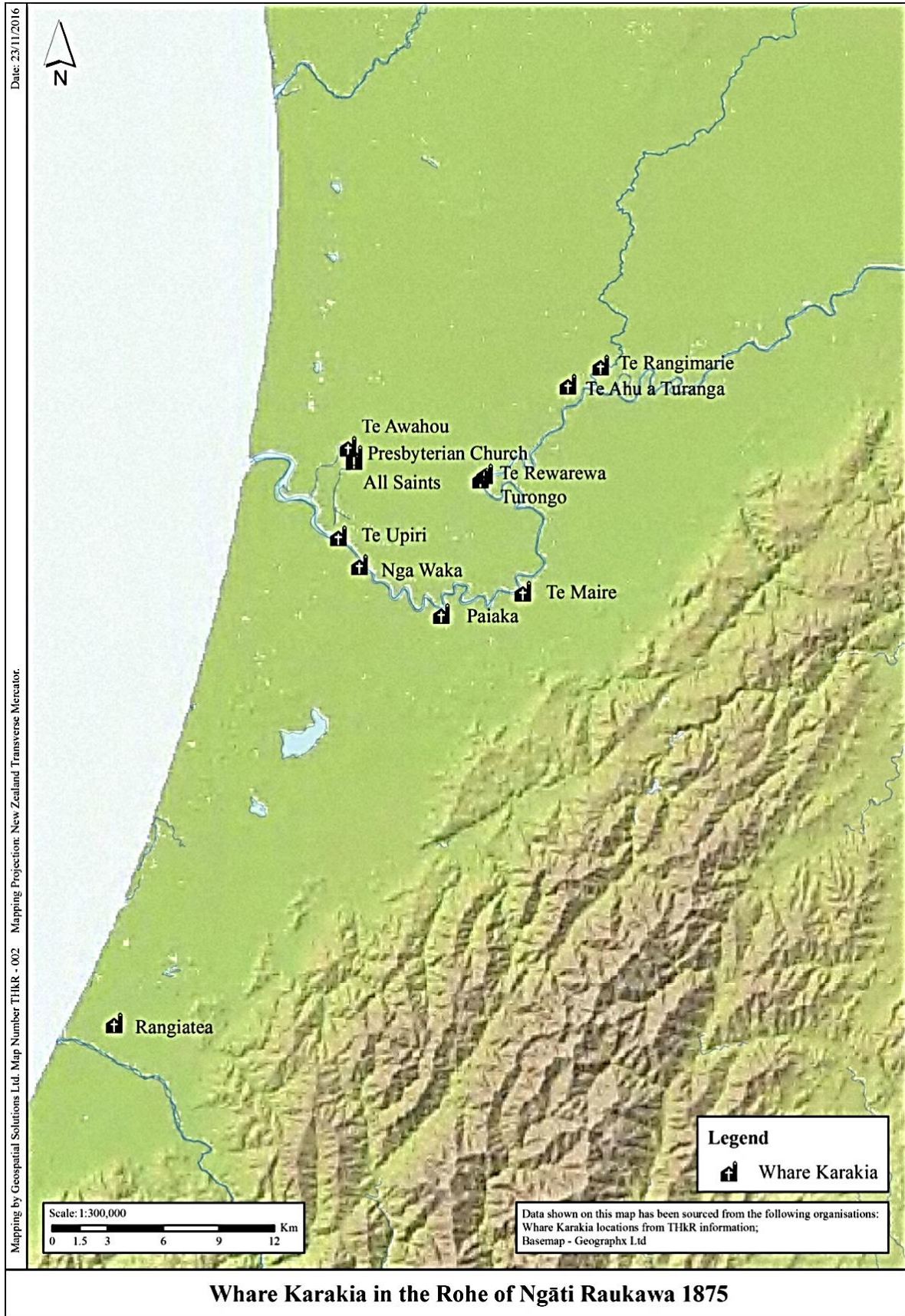
⁶⁷¹ Matenga Baker, recording on the Kingitanga, Rangiatea and the Hahi Mihingare, Racing Club, Boys College, childhood memories and Raukawa Otaki social history (in te reo), March 1986, transcript by Huia Winiata, translation by Piripi Walker OHint-0225/24 ATU

Tamihana and Matene Te Whiwhi must surely have felt torn later as the Kingitanga, an institution they had laboured to create, turned to the idea of armed resistance against the Crown. These two leaders were not going to have a bar of it, and by this point had left the club. In 1858 Potatau was announced as King at Ngāruawāhia and he was anointed King the next year. In the unstable foment of the year 1860 Ngāti Raukawa leaders loyal to the queen may have decided to exaggerate that loyalty at every possible opportunity, to keep the impulse to resort to armed struggle away from the Rangitikei, Manawatu, Horowhenua, and Porirua, and avoid the sanctions imposed on iwi deemed to be rebels against the rule of law. The origins of that loyalty lay in the powerful force of personal friendship that developed between Sir George Grey and Hadfield, and Matene Te Whiwhi, and Tamihana Te Rauparaha. The Māori Christian rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata and Rangitāne were among the most prominent and pro-colonial speakers at the Kohimarama conference of 1860.

After the wars and the land purchases that followed, many new religions emerged, and the closeness of Māori to both the Anglican and Catholic churches faded. Rev Duncan's Presbyterian mission among Māori at Te Awahou (Foxton) in the 1840s had found initial success and support, but later fell victim to conflict with Hadfield. The arrival of new Māori millennial religions drew some adherents among Ngāti Raukawa, - the movements of the Pai Marire (Hauhau), the Ngāti Apa/Rangitāne prophet Mere Rikiriki, the Ringatū church and Te Whiti and Tohu all had adherents among Ngāti Raukawa. Rātana in the early 20th century developed a major following, with its headquarters among Ngāti Apa, and his powerful healing mission. A telling note in W. G. Williams's journal reported by Ramsden, was that around half of Ngāti Raukawa Anglicans joined the Rātana movement between 1925 and 1928. Ngāti Toa were 90 per cent Mormon by denomination by 1951, according to Ramsden's estimate.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷² Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea*, AH and AW Reed 1951, p. 305

Map 24: Whare Karakia in the Rohe of Ngāti Raukawa 1875



2.7 A glimpse of Christianity education among Raukawa at the turn of the 20th century

Mātenga Baker described his memories of the Rangiatea Sunday School in Ōtaki. A number of the teachers were devoted women who regarded Christian instruction as a fundamental duty and who appeared to live lives of great sacrifice to their faith. Ms Mary-Anne Blakiston was a well-known teacher in Ōtaki from 1906 to 1910, and under her tutelage the children were efficiently taught and coached: ⁶⁷³

Āa, ko tētehi kuia Pākehā, a Miss Blakiston, koirā te kaiwhakaako i a mātou i taua wā. Mōhio hoki tērā wahine ki te reo Māori. Na, ka akona mātou ngā tamariki ki ngā karakia Pākehā, te “Our Father which art in Heaven,” nē. Ki a mātou hoki “E tō mātou matua i te rangi”. Na, ko Miss Blakiston tō mātou kaiwhakaako i taua wā, mō te Sunday School. Engari ka haere mātou ki te Sunday School ka mau anō ngā starch collar, me ngā jersey mō ngā tamariki, tamariki tāne. Me ngā tamariki wāhine, ko ngā kākahu whakapaipai rawa atu. He lace ētehi. Na, ko ngā blouse nei, blouse, ka haere ngā tamariki wāhine me te hōro anō, nē, e kīa ana he kāmete.

“A Miss Blakiston, Pākehā, she was our teacher at that time. She spoke Māori well. We were all taught the English language prayers “Our Father which art in Heaven,” nē. In Māori we had learned the Māori version “E tō mātou matua i te rangi”. Miss Blakiston was our teacher at that time, for Sunday School. But when we went off to Sunday School we had to wear a starch collar, jerseys for the boys. The girls wore very smart clothes. Some had lace edging on their clothes. They would have a blouse and the older girls a shawl, what we call these days a scarf.”⁶⁷⁴

2.8 Paora Temuera and the 1950 restoration

Whatarangi Winiata describes Rev Paora Temuera, Minister at Rangiatea in Ōtaki from 1933-1952 as a profound influence on his notions of the Christian faith. Temuera was learned in both Christian theology and Māori lore, and was a popular Minister. People gravitated to him in times of need and sadness. According to Winiata, Temuera regularly represented the iwi alongside other kaumātua on the marae and in Māori organisations (he was on the Ōtaki Māori Council for example in the 1940s). Temuera gave a whaikorero to the Catholic Archbishop Redwood on the occasion of his jubilee visit to Ōtaki in February 1934, along with other kaumātua of the iwi. His ability to communicate on spiritual matters with Māori, according to Winiata, was evident in his sermons:

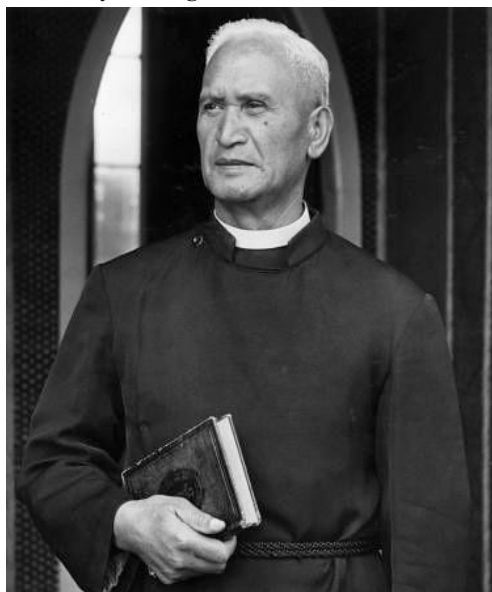
⁶⁷³ Blakiston died in 1911. The Annual report of the CMS Society reported that in 1899 Miss Blakiston began work at Papawai, in the Wairarapa district, removing to Ōtaki in 1906” See “the Story of The New Zealand Mission By Eugene Stock, Church Missionary Society, London 2013.

⁶⁷⁴ Matenga Baker and Kiripuai Te Aomarere, recording on the Racing Club, Boys College, childhood memories and Raukawa Otaki social history (in te reo), March 1986, transcript by Huia Winiata, OHint-0225/24 ATU

“When our people, I’m talking about our people at Ngātokowaru [the marae at Hokio], that’s where I was brought up, my sister and I and our brothers.. and they were very responsive to Paora Temuera, who was the priest at Rangiātea and who was a conveyor of his understanding of the Bible, but he also brought with him his understanding of what his people of Te Arawa, one side of him, and people from here, had derived from his tūpuna.

I used to hang around with him, of course I was quite young at that time. And I didn’t speak the language, he spoke the language of course, Paora Temuera. Our parents spoke the language, but they chose not to teach the language to us. So that was a significant gap in our upbringing. But we enjoyed Uncle Paul, Paora Temuera, he succeeded his father.⁶⁷⁵ Our parents knew his father well, I didn’t. So I’m not able to talk about that part of the beginnings of the Gospel among us.⁶⁷⁶“

Image 44: Paora Temuera photographed in the doorway of Rangiātea Church, Ōtaki in 1950



Temuera was buried at Rangiātea, right at the front of the Church. Rachael Selby described how this happened. According to the story she heard from kaumātua Atareti Lucy Jacob made the call on his final resting place:

“I think she still had a bit of a power of veto at times over what happened. Apparently when Paul Temuera died she just walked out the front of the Church with her walking stick and said “He”ll be buried there”. Whatakaraka told me that - Whatakaraka Davis. So there are people here, and

⁶⁷⁵ Paora Temuera’s father Rev Temuera Tokoaitua was Minister at Rangiātea from 1908-1933 (The Rangiātea Story, Rev Hohepa Taepa).

⁶⁷⁶ Whatarangi Winiata, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Otaki, 21 June 2016, Track 1, 1.20 - 3.29

places, people will often say “How did this happen?” And they would say “Oh Aunty Lucy Jacob said ‘that will happen’. So she was really a very devout Christian in many ways.”⁶⁷⁷

By the mid 1940s Rangiatea was in need of major renovation. Rev. Paora Temuera Minister at Rangiatea pleaded with the Church and supporters to consider restoration. One of his letters went to the Prime Minister, Hon Peter Fraser:

“Greetings and salutations. I am writing this letter in the hope that I might reach you and make myself and the object which I am persuaded to bring to your notice clear, precise and honest in the hope that you will give it your sympathetic consideration.

It is in connection with the dear old ancient Māori Church here in Ōtaki. In about three years hence the church will attain its hundredth year. Renovations, repairs and general preparations will have to be undertaken before centennial celebrations take place.

I found when taking over the pastorate in which the Church stands that was no regular source of income for the necessary repairs and upkeep of the Church, apart from small offertories made by visitors who come to look over the church. However this has never been sufficient to do the urgent repairs. I estimate it will cost about £1000 or even more to carry out the necessary repairs and strengthen the building.

I consider this ancient church “Rangiatea” is not only a responsibility upon the whole Christian church throughout the Dominion, but a national one. Completed in the year 1850 “Rangiatea” was built by both Anglican and Roman Catholic converts and for many years it was the spiritual home of Wesleyans, Presbyterians and Pākehā Anglicans in the Horowhenua district. ..

Sir, to see this beautiful edifice of Māori architecture deteriorate and fall to the ground would not only be a great loss to Māori art and craft but a national calamity. On these grounds Sir I pray and humbly beg of you and your Cabinet that you will see your way to get financial assistance towards the cost of the necessary repair work. I feel sure my friends of the other denominations would not grudge me making this request and that you, Sir, might see your way to give this appeal your support. This appeal is made on behalf of a universal sacred monument to the memory of our Māori forefathers, and the ancient history of this country and its people.”⁶⁷⁸

His call was noticed by Sir Apirana Ngata who wrote to him some months later in 1947, to sympathise with his call for action to restore Rangiatea. Ngata wrote in Māori – the translation is mine: -

“Ka titiro ake ki te Hahi kei te ngoikore rawa, ki nga kaingaki i te mara a te Atua, kei te he nga tinana, ki nga kaihautu o te taha Pakeha, Maori, kua ngaro te ihiihi o te reo. Me aha?

Ka titiro atu ki nga uri o mea ma, nana i hanga te whare na, kei hea ra? Koia te tangi atu ki a koe, e whakapoururu na i te taha o tena whare o tatau.

⁶⁷⁷ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Otaki, 27 May 2016, Track 1, 7.30-7.57.

⁶⁷⁸ Rev Paora Temuera, letter to Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, 9 May 1947, Ramsden Papers MS 0188-076, ATL p. 2.

Mehemea ko te whakatikatika noa i nga tui me te whakau i nga kakaho o runga ka taea te whakaaro atu. Tena pea kei te tinana ake o te whare te wahi taimaha. Ko koe kei te mohio. Mehemea he whakatikatika i te tinana, i runga, i nga pakitara, i te kaupapa hoki, na ka tino taimaha. Kaore pea nga kaiwhakahaere o te Hahi i kona i te whakaaro he wero ta te wa nei ki a ratou, kia whitiki hou i tenei rau tau. Kei te rongu atu i te kura hou a te Katorika ka tu mai na i Feilding, pou pou tonu mai ki te manawa o to tatou. Me waiho noa atu?"

"I look at the Church which is in a weak state, at those who work in the garden of God whose health is now poor, and the leadership on both the Pakeha and Maori side of the Church, whose voices have grown weak. What should be done?"

I look around at the descendants of all the various people that built that church, and ask where are they? That is why I feel deep sympathy for you, feeling sorrowful about the state of things down there where you are at Rangiatea.

If it were only a matter of restoring the tukutuku and the reeds in the interior, it would be quite feasible. But the actual church structure is the hard part and quite a different matter. You know more than anyone, if it is a matter of restoring the timbers, the ceiling, and the walls, as well as the floor, that's a massive job.

The powers that be in the Church in your area don't understand that they are being challenged right now, to get moving again in this new century. I have heard about the new Catholic College that has started in Feilding, standing tall as a challenge to our own [Te Aute]. Can that be left unanswered?⁶⁷⁹

The call was answered. The decline of pride in language and the weakening of the culture was met by the elders of Raukawa, Rev Temuera and Apirana Ngata with the restoration of Rangiatea Church. A photographic account of the work of the mid-twentieth century restoration teams appears in the book produced by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, *Rangiatea, Ko Ahau te Huarahi, Te Pono me te Ora*. Ngata's wife Hēni Te Kira Paenga was present leading some of the restoration. Ngata, in his 1947 letter to Temuera, had wondered how the dreams of a reawakened Māori church in Raukawa, which might once more match the dreams of the founding ancestors might be achieved. He talked about the coals of the fire still being present, awaiting the breath of the Spirit to blow them into flame:

"Ina te kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea. I tau i ona ra ki te one matua, ka tipu, ka rakau nui. Homai tona huru mo tenei ake rau tau, a ka rakau nui ano. I hua au i te otinga o te take mo Whitiorea ka mahara te Hahi i Poneke na me pera hoki te manaaki i te taha Maori katoa o te Hahi. Kei kona tonu nga motumotu o te ahi na nga kaumatua i tahu, e whanga ana ki te ha o te Wairua hei whakaoho kia ngiha ano.

⁶⁷⁹ Sir Apirana Ngata, letter to Rev. Paora Temuera, 2 November 1947 ATU, MS-Papers-0188-075 p. 1.

Kaati noa. Kua rongo mai koe i a Wi Te Hauwaho kua moe. Kotahi wiki i mua i tona matenga ka kite maua ko taku kuia i a ia. Kua kore tera momo i te Hahi. Ko nga tamariki nei kaore anō au i mohio e rewa nga mahi nunui i a ratou.”

Heoi, Na to matua, Apirana.⁶⁸⁰

‘there was a seed sown from Rangiatea. It settled in its day in the best soil and grew, and became a tall tree. Hand me the new belt for the garments of this new century, and it will grow again in similar fashion. I thought mistakenly after the settlement of the lands at Whitireia that the diocese of Wellington would realise they should institute similar provision for all of the Māori sections of the church. The coals of the fire which the kaumatua [elders] lit are there with you, waiting for the breath of the spirit to awaken them and to kindle the flame once more.

That is all. You have heard that Wi Te Hauwaho has died. One week before his death I and my kuia [wife] saw him. We no longer have people like him in the Church. When I look at our young people I am not sure they will be able to complete the major projects of the ancestors.

That is all, from your uncle, Apirana.

Ngata and Temuera’s desire for more vim notwithstanding, Raukawa Anglican whānau and hapū remained devoted to the Church, the talisman of the iwi, built among them by Te Rauparaha, the tohunga of the old religion, by the hapū of the area, and by Hadfield and Samuel Williams.

2.9 The Fire

Rangiatea was destroyed by the work of an arsonist in 1994. Tūngia Baker spoke at the service the morning after the fire to the crowd assembled, about their grief:

‘there was a time in the life of this man Jesus, when he came back to his papa kāinga and he wept. There was a time in the life of this man Te Rauparaha, he came back to his papa kāinga and he wept. His vision has touched the heart of everyone who is here today. Think of that. The vision of this man has brought your feet and your tears to this place today. And in the past twenty-four hours this gift has folded its arms, and subsided back into Papatuanuku. Māna, mā te kuia hei awahi tēnei taonga tuku iho. [Mother Earth will now embrace this treasure handed down].”⁶⁸¹

In an earlier piece on this event from 2011 I wrote:

“This was a devastating loss for the iwi and a huge outpouring of grief and questioning followed the fire. Later, Church, iwi and the general community came together and decided to rebuild a replica of the old whare karakia. Such was the love for the place of worship the ancestors had left, only an exact copy in its place would satisfy the people. This was a major event, striking out of the

⁶⁸⁰ Sir Apirana Ngata, letter to Rev. Paora Temuera, 2 November 1947 ATU, MS-Papers-0188-075 p. 1. Translation by Piripi Walker

⁶⁸¹ Tūngia Baker, karanga and kauwhau to the whakaminenga, Service for Rangiatea, at Rangiatea churchyard, Oct 9, 1995 sound recording, 3.09-4.31

blue in the last five years of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano. It was when Generation 2000 found out about the twists and turns of fate, about the harshness of life, and all of a sudden, became adults. The replica Church was opened in 2003. Rangiatea and the whakapono was a very large part of the life of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano, and the foundation of Te Wānanga o Raukawa.”

Hui and committee were formed by the descendants of the original builders, and a decision was made to rebuild an exact replica, down to totara for the main pou (posts) and ridgepole. The tukutuku and all other decoration was duplicated exactly. In an incredible effort of goodwill and unity, a rebuild and fundraising team worked for eight years to complete the replica of the original church. It was re-opened on November 24, 2003. Ka ora anō i reira te wairua o ngā iwi e toru, tae atu ki ngā kaumātua.

2.10 Memories of Christian faith in whanau

An essential Māori ecumenism flowed through the life of many Ngāti Raukawa whānau Māori. Iwi historian Te Kēnehi Teira of Ngāti Ngarongo describes how almost no inkling of traditional Māori religious concepts entered his training as a child, because Christianity was everything:

“Well the strange thing about it is that as a child I wasn’t introduced to much of that at all, because we were brought up very strong Anglican. My Dad’s real mother, she was brought up not only Anglican and Catholic because she grew up on Te Rauparaha Street in Otaki, so she would take her father to Mass in the morning and then ring the bell for Rangiatea later that morning. So we had an upbringing that was mostly around church and our father and mother took us to the marae for church all over the place. Particularly amongst the Himatangi people round Foxton, Koputaroa (also known as Kōpūtoroa), and as far away as Fielding and Palmerston North, all the way down to Rangiatea.”⁶⁸²

The influence of a Christian grandmother was strong on the whanau, because of her wishes they would head off to service:

So we’d travel when it was required because our kuia Ngapera, she would want to go and so we all packed in the VW van and off we went. And so we always had enough room to take a number of us, and that having six other siblings and our parents and our kuia, you know, we’d go a long way just to go to church.

Image 45: Te Kenehi Teira 2015



⁶⁸² Te Kenehi Teira, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Otaki, 15 August 2016, Track 1, 23.33 - 24.01

It was Canon Taepa's booklet which provided Te Kēnehi's first glimpse of abstract pre-European Māori religious concepts, letting him know that Māori had their own religious tradition, something which kindled a lifelong interest:-

But what had dawned on me was, when I went to Rangiātea one time as a child is that Reverend Taepa had already produced a booklet about the church and he started talking about the background to the name of the church Rangiātea, and how there's this association with the old religion of our people, and it talked about Io-Matua Kore, and those beliefs, and how those were transcribed into this connection with the whole advent of Christianity, that our people took on in a big way.⁶⁸³

Māori who maintained association with their marae, and had culturally Māori elders and parents remained in touch with a Māori way of doing things. One of these was the tangihanga for the deceased. In Ngāti Raukawa territory Hadfield was regularly upset by the intense emotion of the tangihanga, (the haehae ritual involving cutting the skin by women in grief, and the sheer intensity of the tangi and grieving). When two leading Ngāti Raukawa rangatira died in 1853, he recorded his anxiety that the practice of the tangihanga was as strong as ever:-

“On the death of the elder chief many of his relatives, among them Te Rangihaeata, came from a distance to weep and lament loudly and boisterously as in former years, and some of the people of this place looked on without any apparent attempt to check them.”⁶⁸⁴

According to Ramsden, Hadfield “was always opposed to the tangihanga, even in a modified form, though it was one custom that had survived a century later.”⁶⁸⁵ It is interesting to note how Tamihana Te Rauparaha annoyed his whanaunga by insisting on the adoption of English habits, and that the most irritating one to many was his insistence on English customs at tangihanga. In his later years Rev McWilliams noted that Tamihana did not attend tangihanga – he may have been heavily influenced in this by loyalty to Hadfield's Christian regime:-

“He [Tamihana] had been to England and been presented to the Queen, and he wished to be considered an English gentleman. For that instance he lost influence with his tribe. He held aloof from tangihangas and other Māori feasts but was most hospitable and generous to Europeans.”

But the tangihanga did survive. Kaumātua Wiremu Parker, of Ngāti Porou, attributed the survival and transmission of most Māori values and te reo to the tangihanga, which he called the “cradle of the culture”. Parker believed that if the tangihanga were to go, the language and culture would disappear too.⁶⁸⁶ Within the care and handling of dying and death, and the care

⁶⁸³ *ibid* 24.08-25.10

⁶⁸⁴ Report of Otaki Mission to CMS, December 1853 cited in Ramsden 1951, p. 201.

⁶⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 202

⁶⁸⁶ Parker, the Māori news reader on National Radio in World War II, was one of the drivers of the adult education effort which led to the building of Parewahawaha Marae on the banks of the Rangitīkei River at Bulls in the 1960s.

of the bereaved, a significant stream of pre-European religion has survived untouched to this day. It was preserved intact by the force of tapu. According to Hirini Moko Mead death holds one of the strongest of all tapu, particularly that associated with the tūpāpaku (corpse) itself⁶⁸⁷. Despite manifold Christian influence among hapū and iwi throughout the country, most hapū have some experts in their particular mortuary customs related to correct procedure before and after death, handling and laying out of the tūpāpaku, ways of being with, tending to, and carrying the deceased on and off the marae, care and support of the bereaved whānau, welcoming and manaakitanga of manuhiri and grieving rituals and so on. Hirini Moko Mead says to this day, the tapu of death is respected almost universally, in strict protocols around tangihanga. He discusses the underlying reasons for this – that missteps at tangihanga create possible breaches of tapu, of which the ancestors would not approve, thus creating unhappiness for the spirit of the deceased.⁶⁸⁸

Most Christian religions do not allow the living, other than priests and ministers, to directly communicate with the spirits of the newly dead. To concern oneself with communicating with the spirit once on its journey was not really showing Christian faith. God is all powerful, and in his love wants to take the spirit immediately to Paradise, and is looking after every last thing. It is the priest at the requiem Mass who with the authority of God only has to make a call to the Lord and in goes the spirit; to judgement, and depending on the outcome, eternal life. In modern times according to Pa Philip Cody, the wisdom of Māori practice is seen as a help in understanding thinking related to death:-

“I guess there are different theologies. Some would say that when the person dies the soul, the wairua, translated that way, goes to meet God, so and there’s not a journey, although the Catholic has also embraced - although it’s not an article of faith - the idea of purgatory, that there’s a purifying place which fits very much with Māori understanding as well. Waiting before entering the Hawaiki, the face-to-face with God. It’s a bit of an unknown because the scripture says “Eyes have not seen nor heard what God has in store.”

So we are doubtful, but the Catholic Church doesn’t stop someone anointing someone, you know even if they’re not sure whether they’ve died or not, that or, even the human thing of still talking to someone when they seem to be unconscious, just before death that the spirit is actually tuning in to these things, and there are signs of that being effective in a peaceful death or the peace after death, and the Church has all sorts of prayers there. You know, “Go Christian soul to paradise, to the side of Abraham and Sarah.” So all these prayers in a sense, parallel things Māori, if not exactly

⁶⁸⁷ “Once the relative breathes their very last breath, their status changes immediately to that of being very tapu, and of being classified as a tūpāpaku, meaning to stand shallow rather than stand tall.” Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2003, p. 134

⁶⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 147

the same way. So, the big thing about death, illustrated in say the death of a baby, is that the person goes before God who is a God of mercy, rather than a God of judgement to embrace that person to call them, hopefully to life with them forever.’⁶⁸⁹

Māori throughout the nation on the other hand, address the spirit of the dead in familiar terms from the moment of death, and in formal *whaikōrero*, *karanga* and *mōteatea* (laments) during the *tangihanga*. There is no question that most inculturated Māori believe that this form of contact is real and the spirit of the person who has died is listening and observing proceedings.

2.11 The whakapono in recent generations

Since the 1830s Christian teaching took deep root within the Māori heart. Rangiatea was, and remains in replica form, and in the pictures in the mind of the first building, an object of veneration, an immense source of pride for all *iwi*, and a nourishing spiritual home. Tahiwi Carkeek returned to Ōtaki with his growing family and became immersed in the Church, where his father Rikihana was a stalwart.

“At other times it was quite a pleasure, working with people, meeting people, one of the pleasures I had as a pastor’s warden was working with the various *hapu*’s. When I was made Pastor’s Warden, Windy Wehipeihana from Tukorehe was made the People’s Warden. He was appointed or elected by the people of the pastorate. And I really cherish working with Tukorehe and Windy... Ngāti Wehiwehi. They were an absolute pleasure to work with. I really enjoyed working with the people from the various *hapu*’s. We all had that one idea, you know, anything for Rangiatea we’ll do it.”

Rachael Selby described the level of support and affection within her *hapū* of Ngāti Pareraukawa for the Church and the strong sense of obligation as *kaitiaki* and parishioners to contribute each year:

‘she [her grandmother Atareti Lucy Jacob] went on to the vestry each year, came to each of us for the “quote”, or the quota, which was an amount of money. So they went around and made sure that Ngātokowaru always had a very decent sizeable contribution, to make sure that we would never be criticised for our lack of contribution to Rangiatea. So for years we paid, our aunt came and got a cheque off us to make sure that Ngātokowaru had a decent-sized *koha* for the Church.’⁶⁹⁰

2.12 Concluding thoughts

In the present time the bell for *karakia* is rung morning and evening on the *marae* of Ngāti Raukawa, and wherever Māori gather, *karakia* are offered. In recent times, many among the

⁶⁸⁹ Fr Philip Cody, Oral history interview, Te Hono ki Raukawa oral history programme, 18 Oct 2016, 29.07-30.54

⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹⁰ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 27 May 2016, Track 2, 7.56-8.42.

new generations, pulled inevitably by reacquisition of their ancestral language and bodies of knowledge, have re-oriented themselves towards their primeval Māori parents Ranginui and Papatuanuku. If they are Christians, their Christian teachers allow a dualism in what is believed, and in where their karakia are directed. The Churches write about complete inculturation of the Gospel among indigenous peoples.

The kōhanga reo movement sows the Māori seeds of belief freely among the young. Mereana Selby described the kinds of beliefs and ideas her pre-schoolers have grown up with as a result.

“Kua honoa te tangata ki te whenua. He rawe tērā ki a au. I haere mātou ki Pōneke i tētehi wā ki te tatari kia tae mai te poti, te kaupuke. I te tū māua tahi ko taku tamāhine, e toru ana tau, i te taha o te wāpu. Kua titiro atu ia, kua kite ia i tētehi para, pāketē Makitānara, aha rānei, i runga i ngā toka, ka kī ia, “Ka aroha a Papatuanuku.” Kāore ia i kī mai, oo, titiro ki tērā para, te rāpihi, te aha rānei. “Ka aroha a Papatuanuku.” Toru tau noa iho te pakeke, ka titiro atu ia ki te whenua, ka kitea atu e ia a Papatuanuku. Kore rawa au i taua wā, kore au e pērā rawa tērā hononga ki te whenua. Tangata whenua.”

‘the tamariki have been re-joined to the earth itself, [through kōhanga learning]. That is wonderful to me. We went to Wellington one day to wait for a ferry. I was waiting there with my daughter who was three years old, beside the wharf. While standing there she saw a takeaway box, a MacDonalds box, lying on the rocks and she said “ How sad for Papatuanuku!” (the earth mother). She didnt say, oh look that’s dirty litter, that’s rubbish or whatever. “How sad for Papatuanuku!” At that age I would not have known such a connection to the land. And we are the people of the land.’⁶⁹¹

This return of Māori thinking among Māori mokopuna is evident among whānau Māori in the present day. Such sentiments might have been unwelcome to 19C religious teachers in the Horowhenua and Manawatu, simply because that is the way those times were; the theology and the thinking were different. Attitudes and the concept of what is desirable changes, and the “abominations” “heathen practices” and “grotesque art” to use the phrases of earlier centuries, are changed by the passage of time, and emergence of new thinking.

Whatarangi Winiata believes that the adoption of Christianity by Ngāti Raukawa was a good choice. The promises of the Gospel have been deemed a good thing. But time has led to the need to allow the spirituality and religion that Māori developed to re-emerge also, and for freedom for all creeds to flourish: -

⁶⁹¹ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, with Piripi Walker, Otaki, 26 June and 2 July 2016, Te Hono Archives Tracks 1, 59.07-60.03

“I think our people made some good decisions with the adoption of what the Pākehā brought here. We need to strengthen our views on what we had inherited from our people. They looked around them and they heard what our people were saying, about the view that there are powers greater than us from which we could learn. And I think that if anything we may have given a balance that needs to be corrected, and that’s a consequence of our giving less attention to what we inherited from tūpuna Māori in favour of what we have inherited from the interpretations of the world, brought to us by Pākehā. It was my belief that we have given a balance to what Pākehā have introduced us to, and I’m talking about the Anglicans, the consequence being a diminishment in the emphasis that we give to what our people brought us prior to the introduction of the Bible.”⁶⁹²

2.13 Summary

From the oral histories and other accounts described here it is clear Ngāti Raukawa were willing to “marry” their religious and cultural heritage with the new religion brought by Hadfield and other missionaries. Early over-enthusiasm by Tamihana and others to “over-anglicise” was corrected by the broad mass of the iwi, and a successful equilibrium between Māori and Christianity was achieved. Despite enforced land loss and marginalisation through colonial practices, Ngāti Raukawa and their allies remained Christian once converted. The new religion provided a set of spiritual practices and relationships that provided satisfaction. Until well into the 20th century, most whānau believed profoundly in the existence of the Christian God of the Bible, and practiced their religion assiduously. In addition, Māori spiritual practices and beliefs in Māori spirituality survives in relation to the tangihanga and all things Māori. This survival has been maintained by recognised spiritual practioners within hapū and whānau. The Christian message of peace, love, faith, good order, and forgiveness of past scores, found an alignment with Māori views of rangatiratanga and desirable behaviour. In particular, they gave a platform for the education of the young and integration into the new economy, described in subsequent chapters.

⁶⁹² Whatarangi Winiata, interview, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Otaki, 28 June 2016, Track 2, 0.50-3.50.

3.0 THE ŌTAKI AND PORIRUA TRUSTS BOARD

3.1 Introduction



This Chapter examines the origin and establishment of Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board from its first seeds in the 1840s, as a dream in the minds of certain Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Raukawa rangatira and Bishop George Selywn. At the centre of the buildings of Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki is the main old building – the original large two-story wooden building typical of the country headquarters of many schools and similar organisations in New Zealand. It was built in 1908, to be the boarding hostel for the Ōtaki Native College, a new College under the auspices of the Anglican Church. The college idea hatched in the 1840s further south in Porirua, with the donation of 600 acres of land at Whitireia, by rangatira of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira, and Bishop George Selwyn. It took sixty years, and generations of legal wrestling and disappointment for a physical school to be built. The long story, and the legal arguments over the grant of land have been extensively researched and described by Professor David Williams in his book *A Simple Nullity? The Wi Parata case in New Zealand Law and History*. I have drawn on his excellent work for much of this chapter.⁶⁹³ Despite the daunting otherworldly places it recalls – the courtrooms of Wellington and London over many decades - it can be recommended to all members of Atiawa, Toa and Raukawa wishing to understand the origins of today’s Trust Board and the struggles for justice which occupied many years of our ancestors’ lives. It summarises the legal cases in later generations concerned with the Whitireia land, spearheaded notably by Wi Parata, and the shift of the focus of the school idea to Ōtaki. It also describes custody of the funds generated, the assets purchased, and the use to which the funds were put in providing education for Māori children, from 1850 until 2010.

The Chapter discusses the 1943 Act and the changes it brought. In the 1970s the iwi returned to the question of their role in such a Board, controlling land and assets for the purpose of education, and sought to re-frame the partnership with the Church. The request was made in 1980 to move the Board’s headquarters from downtown Wellington to Ōtaki, and for a staff-member to be appointed from within the iwi. Since then the Trusts Board steadily became more Māori both in its composition and orientation to iwi aspirations. It played a significant role in

⁶⁹³ David Williams, *A Simple Nullity? The Wi Parata case in New Zealand Law and History*, Auckland University Press, 2011.

the activities of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano and the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa (the subjects of chapters 7 and 8 respectively).

3.2 The beginnings of the Whitireia school proposal

Williams describes the origins of the proposal in the incredible missionary zeal of Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi and other converts in Porirua and Ōtaki, (among all three iwi, Ngāti Toa, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa in fact). This dovetailed well with the vision of Bishop George Selwyn to establish a college, to be called Trinity College. This dream had been nursed by Selwyn in earlier times as a cleric in England. Williams describes how Selwyn had written a tract urging the expansion of the work of the great cathedral sites there, by building alongside them colleges of education, for a variety of different branches of the clergy, and “expansive educational use of cathedral educational facilities”. His ideas met opposition in England, but once in Aotearoa where the Church was new, and Selwyn had more power, he sought to establish a “composite collegiate institution”, for both settlers and Māori. Already his ideas were quite different from those that the rangatira of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa might have been entertaining for a school on Māori land. Williams describes how Selwyn felt that his college could be made up of several different divisions:

“his new college should comprise a theological college, a collegiate school, a Native teachers” (adults”) school, a Native boys school, an infant school (including an orphan asylum) and a hospital. This college would be a community physically set apart from both Pākehā towns and Māori settlements – in some senses a model community. As church historian Ken Booth describes it, “His model of St John’s is of an exemplary haven in the midst of the turbulent world.”

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Williams stresses that Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa were operating from a position of power in 1847 when the discussions over the gift of land were underway. They were thus at least equal partners in decisions like the gifting of land for educational purposes, there could be no question of coercion of the iwi: -

“One must be reminded again perhaps that Pākehā were but a small but not overly powerful presence in these islands in the mid-1840s. Especially in the North Island, Māori totally controlled almost all of the territory, and participated actively in trade with the few Pākehā settlements and also trade to Po Hakene [Port Jackson, i.e. Sydney]. Economic historian Hazel Petrie has documented well that phase of Māori history when many tribal economic enterprises flourished in various parts of the country. Militarily too, Māori tribes were a force to be reckoned with and Ngāti Toa more so than most. Of all the musket-armed tribes in the land, Ngāti Toa recovered from their expulsion from Kāwhia in 1820 to establish themselves – along with Ngāti Raukawa

⁶⁹⁴ D Williams, p. 27.

and their expeditionary allies from Taranaki – as one of the most powerful military, political and economic forces in Aotearoa New Zealand.”⁶⁹⁵

Williams advances evidence that the initial gift of the land was the enthusiastic idea of Tamihana and Matene Te Whiwhi themselves, albeit with influence from Selwyn, from their time at St John’s College in Auckland between 1845 and 1846 as students. Williams argues that Māori leaders were capable of making and willing to make hard decisions that they thought to be in their tribe’s best interests in the 1840s, even though their decisions might (in retrospect) appear to have been mistaken, especially in the light of the settler intrusion and Māori marginalisation in the decades that followed.

“Based on that evidence, I am not disposed to accept that able Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa leaders in the 1840s should be portrayed as victims of Pākehā duplicity that was sanctioned in colonialist law by a Crown grant made without their consent to the Bishop of New Zealand. In my view, there is more to the story of the gift of Whitiāreia than breaches of good faith by the Crown and by the clergy.”⁶⁹⁶

Heni Te Whiwhi’s evidence to the Royal Commission into the various Church Trusts in 1905 gives her recollection of the attempts to gift the land, firstly on the part of Tamihana, and then her father Matene’s more reluctant agreement to the gift:

“My father told us at his home how Bishop Selwyn approached him and Tamihana and asked them for a piece of land in Porirua - Whitiāreia. Tamihana Te Rauparaha agreed to give the land to the Bishop, but I [he] did not. Tamihana went to see Ngāti Toa in Porirua, and told them of the Bishop’s request, and said he had agreed to give the land to the Bishop. The Ngāti Toa people told Tamihana the land was not his to give and that the land belonged to Te Rangihaeata. Tamihana came back to Otaki. The Bishop persistently asked Mātene to let him have the land for a school, so that their children could be taught all the knowledge of the Pākehā children, and after many efforts on the part of the Bishop, Mātene agreed. Mātene knew that his uncle, Te Rangihaeata, and Te Rauparaha would not override him in this matter.

An initial letter was sent from the Ngāti Toa Rangatira of 1847 which offered the land for the Bishop and his future successors for a College:

“E hoa e Kawana Kerei, 16 Akuhata 1848
Tena koe. E pono ana ta matou whakaaetanga ki a “Whitiāreia” hei kāreti mā te Pihopa. Ehara i te mea he tuku atu hei kainga ma te Pihopa, otira mona mo nga Pihopa a muri ake nei e whakakapia ai tona turanga, hei whakatipu i nga ritenga o te whakapono a te Karaiti, kia waiho ai hei patutu, kia ruru ai i nga hau huanoa o te ao, ara, i te he. Heoi ano kua tumau rawa taua kainga hei Kāreti ma nga Pihopa o te Hahi o Ingarangi.
Na Te Rauparaha, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Matene, Hoani Te Okoro, Wiremu Kanae

⁶⁹⁵ D Williams, p. 27

⁶⁹⁶ D Williams, p. 27

Rawiri Puaha, Watarahi [sic – Whatarauhi] Nohorua, Rawiri Hikihiki

Friend Governor Grey

Greeting! It is a perfect consenting on our part that Whitireia shall be given up to the Bishop for a College. We give it up not merely as a place for the Bishop for the time being but in continuation for those Bishops who shall follow and fill up his place, to the end that religion in Christ may grow, and that it may be, as it were a shelter against uncertain storms that is against the evil of this world. This is the full and final giving up of that place, as a College for the Bishops of the Church of England.”

Williams describes a second letter from Ngāti Toa, in 1849 which told the Governor of Ngāti Toa’s consent to gifting Whitireia to the Bishop. Williams points out that the second letter appears to be much more cognisant of English land law than the first, in that it expressly stated that it was a *tuku* – *to the Queen* - for the use of the bishop and the successor Bishops of the Church of England. The rangatira or their advisors appeared to know that the track of the gift had to be to the Crown first, then by way of grant to the Bishop:-

E hoa e te Kawana

Na matou tenei whenua. I tukua atu ki a te Kuini hei kainga pumau mo te Pihopa o te Hahi o Ingarangi, mo nga Pihopa hoki o mua atu, hei Karetī mo nga tamariki Māori Pakeha, kia honohonoa hei iwi kotahi i roto i te tikanga hou o te whakapono ki te Karaiti, o te whakarongo hoki ki nga tikanga o te Kuini.

‘the official translation from the Colonial Office read:

‘this is our land. It has been given to the Queen as a permanent place for the Bishop of the Church of England, and also for former (sic?- future) Bishops, as a college for Māori and Pākehā children, to join them together as one race in the new principles of the faith in Christ, and in obedience to the authority of the Queen.’⁶⁹⁷

3.3 The early school in the 1840’s in Ōtaki

There was a school operating in Ōtaki next door to the site of the Māori church Rangiatea from 1847. It was set up by Rev Octavius Hadfield and Samuel Williams of the Church Missionary Society with the assistance of Ngāti Raukawa. Ramsden writes of the situation in June 1849:

‘there were 150 scholars at the Otaki school, the majority boarders. That month Williams had engaged a teacher to instruct the Māori boys in English. Grey was so pleased with the school’s progress that he promised a Government subsidy of £100. Hadfield considered it to be the only really efficient school in the whole country.’⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ AJHR, 1905, G5, Appendix B, p.146

⁶⁹⁸ Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea: the story of the Otaki church, its first pastor and its people*. Wellington: Reed, 1951 p.140.

Ramsden describes how Williams and Hadfield also supervised a system whereby “village schools, throughout the rohe, where adults as well as children obtained an elementary education, were as important as the central establishment at Ōtaki, with its 120 scholars of both sexes.” Samuel Williams wrote to his father Henry Williams about this work in August 1848:-

“some of my Māoris are much scattered, but they always come together when they know that I am there. Our schools rapidly increase in numbers, adults from 220 to 350, and children, 115.”

By 1851, with Rangiatea the Church building opened, Ramsden describes how Hadfield and Williams turned their attention to building a school house and hostel: -

‘that year, Hadfield concentrated more on Otaki, especially on the training school for teachers, while Williams continued with his work in the villages. Despite the presence of other denominations in the field the results achieved by the Mission in 1851 were distinctly encouraging.

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The hostel was closed in 1868, but the Ōtaki school continued to function as a day school.

“In 1903 the original hostel and school were burned down. In 1907 the administration of the endowment was taken from the Church Missionary Society and given to the newly formed Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board. The Ōtaki and Porirua Empowering Act 1907 enabled the trust to build a new hostel and classrooms.

The plans for the new facilities were drawn up by architect Ernest Coleridge, and the buildings were built by James Craig. The new facilities were opened by the Governor General Lord Plunket on 4 October 1909. When built, the school building was described as having accommodation for 100 students in two large classrooms, and an assembly hall. The school operated for a further 30 years before it was closed in 1939.⁷⁰⁰”

3.4 Objections at the Kohimarama Conference to inaction on the Porirua school

Most Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa rangatira attended the Kohimarama Conference called by the Governor (Gore-Browne) in Auckland in 1860. Among those attending were Tāmihana Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi, Hohepa Tamaihengia, Ropata Hurumutu, Nopera te Ngiha, Horopapera, Pukeko, Hohepa Pokaitara, Rapihana Te Otaota, Hapimana and Te Hope. Ngāti Raukawa in Ōtaki and Manawatū were listed as in attendance. Some of those whose speeches were transcribed were Horomona Toremi, Parakaia Te Pouepa, Hukiki Te Ahukaramu, Wi Paiaka, Kuruhou Rangimaru, Te Moroati Kiharoa, Te Aomarere, Ihakara Tokonui [Tukumuru] and Takere Te Nawe.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.166.

⁷⁰⁰ Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea: the story of the Otaki church, its first pastor and its people*. Wellington: Reed, 1951.

⁷⁰¹ Te Karere Māori Messenger, Vol 7, No. 13, 1 Sept 1860, p. 4

One of the whaikorero delivered at the Conference was by Hohepa Tamaihengia, on the 8th August 1860, about the Whitireia grant. This speech was heard by a young Wi Parata, and in Williams view became a major motivation for him to campaign throughout his life for the return of the block. The Government newspaper the Māori Messenger reported the entire conference in both languages. It translated the speech by Tamaihengia. After complaining about various Pākehā neighbours and runholders in Porirua whose livestock was encroaching on iwi lands, Tamaihengia spoke about the Whitireia gift: -

‘the Bishop is another: that land was reserved for a school for our children. We consented to give up this land for (the purposes of) a school for our children, on account of his (the Bishop’s) good words to us. The name of the land is Whitireia. The only pupils in that school now are cattle and sheep. Those are the children, (the animals) in the "bail-up." The difficulties about those lands which are blocked up is that there is not now room for those for whom the land was originally set apart. The Bishop and Mr. De Castro have got all the land. Enough on that subject.’⁷⁰²

Tamihana Te Rauparaha attended the conference and spoke several times at length. His kōrero was recorded and published, with translations in the Māori Messenger, the government newspaper:

“Let me speak to you now on another subject. A long time ago I proposed to give to the Bishop a piece of land for the purposes of a school for the Native children. I desired that the land should be decided on and I called a meeting for that purpose. Te Rauparaha and others assembled in my house. The Bishop also was present. We consented to give for this purpose that piece of land at Porirua containing seven hundred acres or thereabouts. All the Natives consented. This was a token of our appreciation of the pains taken by the ministers to instruct us. That piece was handed over. When my relatives saw that a school was not established they were angry with me for giving the land to the Bishop, and they proposed that we should take it back. When I spoke of this to the Bishop, he replied, That would not be right because you have entirely surrendered it. We gave it in order that we might get a school, and no school has been established there. The land has been let and the Bishop is receiving the money. Ngatitōa were the first to give land for schools for the children, and from their example the Maori people (generally) learnt to do the like.”⁷⁰³

Tamihana spoke again the next day, and mentioned the school again:

“I have another word to say. Let us, the Chiefs of this Conference, urge the Governor to establish a school for our boys and girls, that they may receive instruction, whereby the Maori race may prosper and be equal to the Pakeha; that the girls may be well educated and allowed to marry such Maori husbands as they may choose; so that a generation may arise to uphold the Maori name.

⁷⁰² Te Karere Māori, Māori Messenger, Vol 7, No 17, 1 Sept 1860 pp. 21-22.

⁷⁰³ Te Karere Māori, Māori Messenger, Vol 7, No 15, 3 Aug 1860 p. 21.

3.5 The Wi Parata Court Case

In 1876 after a major petition to Parliament by Ngāti Toa and unsuccessful hearings on it before the Native Affairs Select Committee, Wi Parata lodged Court action against the Bishop – a case that was to become what Apirana Ngata called “one of the legal classics”⁷⁰⁴, - seeking return of the land to Ngāti Toa. Williams suggests that Parata and his advisors used a weak plank in their arguments about the nature of the gift at Whitireia, in particular the arguments that the gift of 600 acres of land was a “fraud on the donors” – a phrase created by William Barton, lawyer for Wi Parata in the case. Williams relies on the correspondence from Ngati Toa described earlier in this Chapter to conclude that about Barton argued before the Wellington Supreme Court:

“In the year 1850 a grant was, without the knowledge or consent of the tribe, issued to the Lord Bishop of New Zealand.

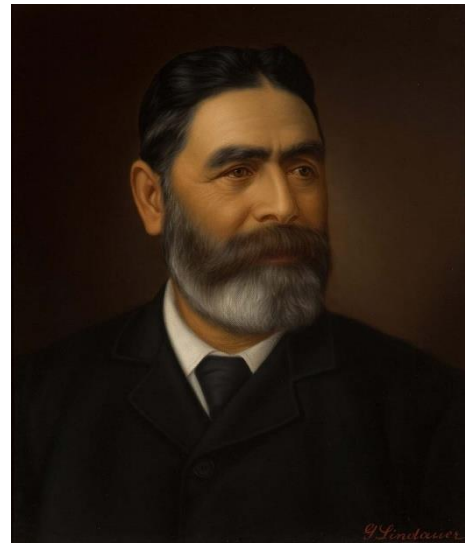
No school of any kind was ever established at Porirua, nor has any school been maintained, or any of the Trusts mentioned in the grant been performed. That the said grant, so far as it purports to be a grant for the education of children, is a violation of the agreement between the donors of the lands and the Bishop of New Zealand, and is a fraud upon them.”⁷⁰⁵

As is now well known, the two judges on the case, Prendergast and Richmond, found against Wi Parata, ruling that the Courts could not overturn the grant by the Crown, and that the idea of “native title” must not be allowed to spring up and interfere with the Crown derived title once created. Leave granted to appeal to the Privy Council was not pursued.

Thirty eight years later in 1905, and one year before his death, Wi Parata was still carrying on the battle. He gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the Porirua, Ōtaki, Waikato, Kaikokirikiri and Motueka School Trusts: -

“When Bishop Selwyn first came down he asked the natives for certain land to be set aside for religious and educational purposes. The Maoris were pleased with that proposition because the word came from the Bishop, and they gave up the land to the Bishop in accordance with his word that it was to be used for religious and educational purposes. They did not understand the Bishop would keep the land for himself, and it was not understood that the Bishop would take a larger

Image 46: Wi Parata Te Kakakura,
Lindauer Online



⁷⁰⁴ D. Williams, p. 182

⁷⁰⁵ D. Williams, p. 45

piece of land than it was intended he should have. The Māoris saw the survey and did not object because they thought it was being done in accordance with the agreement⁷⁰⁶.

The Whitireia transactions throw much light on a topic in focus today; just how Christian-Māori tūpuna thought and operated in the shifting realities of colonial times. Williams insists quite rightly that current generations must first understand the realities of nineteenth century Church history, and the contests within factions of the Anglican Church, and the movement for free, secular education, to understand what was really going on. Politicians waving the secular flag were fighting a running battle to lever unused education grant land, which had come from Maori, out of Church hands. Williams also asserts, relying on a remarkable feat of detective work and tracking of original notes, that Chief Justice James Prendergast probably didn't write the decision containing the words "a simple nullity" about the Treaty of Waitangi which he read to the Supreme Court in that 1877 case. The phrase was very likely composed by his fellow judge on the bench for the case, Judge Christopher Richmond:

“..during the course of my research I became increasingly convinced that Richmond rather than Prendergast was the primary author of the judgement”⁷⁰⁷

Prendergast's unlucky duty, according to Williams, was to be the one who read them to the Court.

3.6 The iwi continue to fight in the 1890's

By the end of the nineteen century the issue of the land had again returned to Parliament. In the 1890s the Liberals under Richard Seddon were spearheading an attack on Church land Trusts. The Liberals were advocates of secular education for all New Zealanders. There were also vigorous disputes between the various Church Trusts.

Heni Te Whiwhi, the daughter of Matene, became the major fighter for the return of the land and took a petition to Parliament in 1896. It was signed by 13 others and sought the return of the land to the donors. There followed a major enquiry by the Native Affairs Select Committee in Parliament into Whitireia, chaired by Robert Stout, which recommended the return of the land to the donors as papatupu, or native land.

⁷⁰⁶ D. Williams p. 182.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 149.

Over the next eleven years from 1896 to 1907 there were major enquiries into the Church Trusts, and an historic Court case led by Hohepa Wineera of Ngati Toa for the return of the land to iwi, in the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal. There were Bills sponsored by Seddon which even his own government could not pass. The Crown sought the reversion of the original gift of land to itself from the Church, seeing no school had been built on the Whitireia land. The Bishop of Wellington (now Bishop Wallis, as Bishop Hadfield had retired) fought along with his supporters to retain the land, to assist Church schools. The New Zealand Court of Appeal sided with the Crown. The Trustees went to the Privy Council in London, which in a decision against the Crown decision reversed the Court of Appeal's ruling, saying the land had to stay with the Porirua Trust. The Privy Council rejected the Crown's argument that "it was the true donor of the land", as Williams summarises, to the Church Trust.

This provoked a huge outcry from the New Zealand based lawyers and judges, (who had seen a major finding from their lower Court in New Zealand overturned); they published a pamphlet called "*Protest of the Bench and Bar*" telling the Privy Council it knew nothing about the country.

3.7 The Otaki and Porirua Empowering Act 1907

A Royal Commission was set up in 1905, chaired by none other than Judge Prendergast, the judge in the Supreme Court in 1877. It recommended the amalgamation of the Porirua Trust and the Ōtaki Trust to support a school at Ōtaki. This was a reworking of a Church Trustees compromise from the 1890s which suggested the Otaki and Porirua Lands would be combined, to support a school to be built in the Wairarapa, which was a proposal ultimately approved by the Anglican Synod. David Williams highlights the lack of any consultation with the iwi. The final 1907 Act finally rejected the Wairarapa idea. Williams comments that it provided for possible sales of the land: -

"For the first time a law was passed that empowered the Trustees to sell certain lands if that was considered desirable. Parata would have opposed that act as well for sure, but he had died in October 1906 after a fall from a horse. He was farewelled by thousands in a week-long tangi at Waikanae as a chief "whose mana was great with Europeans and natives alike."

A summary of the lands held in 1907, which were to be consolidated with the Porirua Whitireia lands, is given by the Trust Board itself on its modern day web-site. Prior to the 1907 Act the Whitireia [Porirua] land was vested in the Porirua College Trusts Board, and the Ōtaki Land in the New Zealand Missions Trust Board. The latter Board had operated the Ōtaki school and

held a Crown grant after original Māori gifts of land for the site of Rangiaētea Church, and the present Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Campus.

According to the Schedule of the 1907 Act, the land which came over by Crown Grant at Ōtaki was a total of 561 acres. But in 1906 approximately 39 acres of the land conveyed by Crown Grant at Ōtaki had been taken by proclamation for hospital purposes, leaving about 522 acres in the Board's hands when the 1907 Act was passed.⁷⁰⁸

Rūpene Waaka emphasised before the Waitangi Tribunal in 2014 that the original gift of Otaki land to the Trusts Board, to Rangiaētea and the land where the Ōtaki Maori College was established, came from the Ōtaki hapū in very early days, to the missionaries. There was an accompanying deeply felt duty to those gifts, which has been reflected in service on the Trusts Board by many descendants of those original donors:

“I want to just reflect now on the discussion around the whenua that was granted by our rangatira. It's established Rangiaētea, there are kura kaupapa, whare kura, our farm, trust farms standing on the land, our wānanga's standing on the land that was gifted. And their gift was given to the Church Mission Society now administrated by the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board. Ngāti Pare again have maintained their ahi kā representation on the board. That board, from the income that they generate, provide scholarships to all descendants of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa, Te Ātiawa⁷⁰⁹.

The Board's own account says that under the Schedule of the 1907 Act, the Porirua Land conveyed by Crown Grant was about 500 acres. The Board sub-divided part of the southern area of the land into 72 quarter acre sections in 1925, which with roading amounted to about 25 acres. This break-up formed a subdivision was put up to auction under the title “Herewini [Selwyn] Estate” also in that year. Some sections were unsold at the time of the drafting of the 1943 Act are mentioned in clause 12 of the Schedule of the Act. Excluding the 25 acres subdivided, 475 acres of the Crown Grant remained in the Board's hands.

There followed the gradual alienation of all of the original Whitireia Block. In 1935-1936 the Board sold 100 acres to the Broadcasting Authority, which David Williams describes as a compulsory acquisition. This left 375 acres unsold at the time of the passing of the 1943 Act. In 1955-1956, the Crown took 89 acres for housing. This reduced the Porirua land remaining in the Boards hands to 284 acres in 1975. In 1976 the Crown brought the remaining lands from

⁷⁰⁸ Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board website, history, <http://www.optb.org.nz/history>

⁷⁰⁹ Evidence of Rūpene Waaka, Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho, Raukawa Marae 17 Nov 2014, p. 131.

the Board, and in the same year the Board acquired 7856m [2 acres] of land at Mohuia Crescent, Porirua.

By the time the 1943 Act was passed the land owned by the Board at Otaki was just over 500 acres:-

“According to the Schedule in the 1943 Act the total area owned by the Board at Ōtaki was then about 536 acres.

The increase of about 14 acres over the area owned in 1907 appears to be due to the purchase of 22 acres for the New Zealand Mission Trusts Board offset by the loss of land for the formation of Tasman Road. In 2003 the Board acquired 153 acres at Waikawa Beach Road, Manakau and in 2005 a further 23 acres at Rangiuru Road, Ōtaki⁷¹⁰.

The Board in 2016 describes its function as:

“land asset management (including Dairy Farming, Land Rental and Rental Properties). The income which is derived from these land-based asset management activities is applied to its Scholarship Funds, making available scholarships for Post Primary Education to members up to the age of 20 who are descended directly from one of three iwi - Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira.”

It is a registered charitable non-profitable organisation created under a Private Act, The Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Act 1943⁷¹¹. It is made up of ten members who are appointed by the Governor General; 5 of whom represent the Diocesan Trusts Board, 4 represent the Raukawa Marae Trustees and one represents the Ministry of Education.

3.8 The Ōtaki Māori College after 1900

Mātenga Baker was born around 1900 and attended the Otaki College. He recalled in 1986 meeting a Reverend Williams in Otaki, one of the original Williams missionary family, and lamented the loss of an Anglican school in Ōtaki, a failure most observers put down to lack of the necessary funds:

“Na, ko ētehi o ngā hui, i tū anō ki Raukawa nē, i ngā rā nunui a te Hāhi Mihingare a te Wiremu mā. Ka tū a Rangiātea i taua wā. Na, ko ngā kaikauhau i reira i te whakapono ko ngā whānau a Te Wiremu, Reverend Williams nē. Ā, i kite anō au i ngā uri a Reverend Williams nē, i a au e haere ana ki te kura i te kāreti o Ōtaki. Kua kati hoki te kāreti ināianei i ngā mahi a te Kāwanatanga, me

⁷¹⁰ From OPTB website) <http://www.optb.org.nz/history/>

⁷¹¹ From the Board website : ‘the Board was established under the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board Act, 1943 which replaced the Ōtaki and Porirua Empowering Act, 1907. There have been three amendments to the original 1943 Act, in 1946, 1969 and again in 1977. Further references to the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board are made in the Māori Purposes Act 1951 No 75, Part 38 and the Māori Purposes Act 1978 No 78, Part 10”.

haere katoa ngā tamariki ki ngā kāreti a te Kāwanatanga. Nā ka whakamutua ngā kāreti a ngā Hāhi nei, Hāhi Katorika, Hāhi Mihingare.⁷¹²

“Now some of the hui were held at Raukawa, at the great hui of the Anglican Church conducted by Te Wiremu (Williams). Some of the preachers at Rangiatea were members of his family. I met the descendants of Reverend Williams when I went to school at the Ōtaki College. But now the College has closed as a result of Government decisions, all children these days have to go to secular schools. The Colleges of our Churches, whether Anglican or Catholic, have all been closed down.”

Image 47: Otaki Māori Boys College c1920



In the 1930s the College was still operating. Among its famous pupils were Ben Rīwai Couch of Ngāti Tahu (in later life Minister of Māori Affairs), Manuhia Bennett of Te Arawa (later Bishop Bennett), and Inia Te Wiata. The headmaster at the time was Harold Wills. Te Ao Hou magazine published by the Māori Affairs Department paid tribute to Wills on his death in 1971, saying that in recognition of his achievements, Mr Wills was “adopted” into the Ngati-Raukawa tribe.

“A Pakeha who was recognised as one of the foremost authorities on the Maori language, Mr Harold Wills, died recently at Napier. He was 71. He taught Maori at both Te Aute and Hukarere Colleges and wrote a text book and reader for students of the language. He had almost completed a text-book at the time of his death.”⁷¹³

According to Kiripūai Te Aomarere, Wills made multiple visits to the Te Aomarere home at Katihiku, Ōtaki, conversing on the finer points of the Māori language with her mother, Rahapa Te Aomarere.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹² Matenga Baker, recording on Otaki social history (in te reo), March 1986, transcript by Huia Winiata, OHint-0225/24 ATU

⁷¹³ Obituary, Te Ao Hou, June 1960, p. 3.

⁷¹⁴ Pers communication, Kiripuai Te Aomarere, 1992

3.9 The 1943 and 1946 Acts⁷¹⁵

By the late 1930s, after years of the Great Depression, the College was struggling and closed at the end of 1939 after 30 years of operation. In 1940 there were moves within the Church to free the Trust to sell some of its assets after the closure and the Government introduced the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Bill allowing the Trustees to make such sales, including land. At this kind of complete ignorance of the Māori view of alienation of ancestral land, the Raukawa Trustees must have had a fit. The Evening Post newspaper reported on a hui held in Otaki in 1940, under the headline “Ōtaki Māori College”:

“A representative gathering of the Ngati-Raukawa and sub-tribes of the district, who are deeply concerned because of the Porirua College Trustees Empowering Bill, was held at the Raukawa marae on Sunday, writes an Otaki correspondent. The Bill empowers the Trust Board to sell, thereby alienating the whole of this valuable endowment, and this, it is considered, would be a great injustice to the Maori race. A deputation is to wait on Parliament to give reason why the Bill should not be passed. The original educational intention by the grant of the endowment having failed through the recent closing down of the college buildings, alternative propositions as to the most beneficial use to which the property can be put are under consideration. One suggestion receiving consideration is that the property be acquired by the Health Department.”⁷¹⁶

According to David Williams Parliament did not do enough to placate their suspicions, and the Raukawa Trustees refused to fill their positions on the Board in the 1943 Trust Act. According to Williams there was a strong Māori desire at this point for greater input into decision-making, hence the boycott. A revision to the Act in 1946, which saw the iwi finally rejoin the Board along with a provision “giving the Raukawa Trustees a veto power over any voluntary sales of land by the trust board”, went some way towards protection, but there was a threat in the background:-

“that Act [1943] did not protect the land from compulsory acquisitions by the government under the Public Works Act. As part of a huge construction programme of state housing after the end of World War II, the government between 1949 and 1955 moved in to acquire compulsorily the bulk of the best land in the [Whitireia] block for state housing in the suburb now known as Titahi Bay. The Maori Trustees agreed only to the acquisition of land for the Titahi Bay North High School. That was in accord with the education purposes of the trust still dear to their hearts. But compulsory acquisition of the large area of land sought for housing was completed by 1955. The remainder of the land, now of little value for generating revenue for the educational purposes of the trust, was sold to the Crown in 1973. It remains under the administration of the Department of Conservation to this day as Whitireia Park.”⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁵ Otaki and Porirua Trusts Act 1943, and the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Amendment Act 1946

⁷¹⁶ Evening Post, Vol CXXX Issue 57, 4 Sept 1940.

⁷¹⁷ D. Williams p. 197.

Map 25: Land Holding of Ōtaki & Porirua Trusts Board 2016



The 1946 amendment also allowed the distribution of scholarships to all children, not just those of Anglican affiliation.

The Board continued to maintain the properties and develop the Ōtaki farms throughout the next two decades. The Act specified there must be five Māori members on the Board ⁷¹⁸. An early member was John Mason Durie of Ngāti Kauwhata and Rangitāne, who joined in 1946. Every year it made scholarship grants to students with whakapapa to the three iwi, Māori generally and children from the Pacific Islands, to attend mostly Anglican schools. The scholarship funds were to allow:

‘the provision of scholarships for the post-primary education of children of British subjects of all races, and for children of other persons being inhabitants of islands in the Pacific Ocean, but so that preference is given to boys and girls of the Ngatiraukawa, Ngatiawa [Te Atiawa], and Ngatitōa Tribes:’

At some point in the 1950s the Church managers began holding joint meetings of the two Trusts, the Otaki and Porirua Trust and the Wairarapa Lands Trust known as the Pāpāwai and Kaikōkiri Trusts Board. Minutes of the joint meeting of November 1960 showed S.J.Castle from the Wellington Anglican community was in the Chair, and the representative from the Atiawa Raukawa Toa iwi present was Matenga Baker. The venue for the meeting was the Anglican Diocesan Library in Wellington.

A total of 14 students were awarded scholarships from the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board for the 1960 year at Church of England schools, under the “Church of England Scholarships Fund” under section 4 of the 1943 Act. The recipients were all descendants of the three iwi, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira, as specified in the qualifying criteria in the Act. A further 20 received scholarships to attend other schools (mostly Catholic colleges) in the “Open Scholarships” category; a grand total of 34 recipients. The financial reserves available for the two categories of the OPTB that year from income from the Ōtaki dairy farms was £645 and for the Open Scholarships category £412.

⁷¹⁸ Māori by descent.

3.10 The Return of an Iwi Focus in Management of the Land

The adoption of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme in 1975 made its presence felt, both in the make-up and conduct of the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board. Principle number four of the four overarching principles of the programme was:

‘that we shall strive to govern our own affairs.’⁷¹⁹

Five of the nine members of the Board remained Māori in 1970. The Chairman was non-Māori and other membership included the Bishop of Wellington. A number of the key members of the Raukawa Marae Trustees⁷²⁰ were also on the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board by 1979, namely Whatarangi Winiata, Matuaiwi Solomon, Whatakaraka Davis and Maui Pomare (the Trustees Chair). Winiata was in the Chair by 1982. The stir caused by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was clearly lapping around the modus operandi of the Trust Board. Minutes record the Board being asked to adjourn before too late in the day, to attend tangihanga of local kaumātua as a group. Next, a proposal to relocate the entire Board secretariat and offices to Otaki materialised, was debated, and adopted. A proposal was moved to have a full-time officer employed in Ōtaki, to go beyond the routine office tasks of land asset and farm management, and funds distribution, and begin coordination within the iwi, in relation to education, whānau liaison and hapū development.

The Bishop of Wellington Rev Edward Norman at the time was a tough war hero, who won the Military Cross in Italy in 1944. At some point in the meeting of minds in the 1970’s between the revolutionary and the senior cleric, the Bishop met Winiata privately, and said to him:

“Whatarangi Winiata, I have heard you are a very dangerous person.” Winiata replied like a shot: “I’ve heard the very same thing about you Bishop.” According to Winiata, the Bishop laughed at the quick-witted response.⁷²¹ The Ngāti Raukawa reformer though, was undoubtedly being tested out.

In what appears to be a signal moment in the history of the Board at its hui in October 1980, it received a paper on the proposal to re-locate the secretariat to Ōtaki. This was Winiata’s second hui on the Board as a nominee of the Wellington Diocese; he had taken the opportunity at the first hui to flag the scope of his ideas, and was asked to prepare a paper on them. The paper’s

⁷¹⁹ Whatarangi Winiata, “Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development”, published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 7

⁷²⁰ This was the body established in 1936 to act as the custodian of the renovated Raukawa Marae, and to act as a three iwi rūnanga – the subject of the next chapter.

⁷²¹ Whatarangi Winiata, interview, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 28 June 2016, Track 2, 15.12-16.10.

main points produced a debate which drew out the eloquence of those proposing change, and those resisting it. Those for the re-location to Ōtaki insisted that

- (i) ‘the introduction of Christianity to the Otaki area by Anglican missionaries in the latter part of the nineteenth century had gradually been followed by a period during which the Anglican influence – and in particular the loyalty to Rangiatea – had suffered;
- (ii) in a similar manner the vitality and significance of the College at Otaki had suffered and, as with Rangiatea, a spiritual revival was necessary;
- (iii) the Maori language had suffered, and needed a similar revitalisation;
- (iv) emphasis in a general revitalisation should be directed at the children of the communities in the area.’⁷²²

Winiata and others argued that at present there appeared to be no Anglican machinery equipped to help with such a revival. They suggested the Board’s office, postal address etc. should be located in Ōtaki and the amount currently contributed from the Board’s funds (between \$9,000 and \$10,000 annually) to the Diocesan Office for its supporting services should be available to establish and maintain the office. Their compromise on cost was that a Secretary located in Ōtaki would not be employed full-time but for, say, two days a week.

The proposed new system would tend to increase “productivity” in getting a better return for each dollar spent on scholarships. Local “awareness” would be enhanced by the Secretary attending functions, and being seen on the marae in the area. Meanwhile, the Wellington proponents of remaining in Wellington offices offered their counter-view, saying that the Diocesan Office in fact provided at that time rather more than a secretarial service e.g. accounting, typing and so on. Board members – rather than the Secretary – should perform the role of being available and visible in the rohe of the iwi. ⁷²³ Later on at the hui heavy-weight counter-arguments and manoeuvres were launched. The minutes recorded the opponents as saying:

- (i) “a decision on the proposals in the memorandum would be a major one and called for participation by all the members of the Board;
- (ii) The objectives of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme were praiseworthy but the direct involvement of the Trusts Board was less easy to understand;
- (iii) The cost of the establishment and maintenance of the Secretariat in Otaki, and the provision of the supporting (accountancy etc) services would be quite substantial.

In the end, the proposal carried the day some months later and the office moved to Ōtaki, where Pehi Parata of Te Ati Awa became its first Otaki based administrator. Later another very new

⁷²² Minutes, Otaki and Porirua Trust Board, 10 October 1980 p. 1.

⁷²³ Minutes Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board Hui October 1980 p. 1.

idea; to establish a Wānanga for the next generation and use the Board's old building came before the Trusts Board. In July 1982 Jim McGregor and Pehi Parata as members of the interim Council of Te Wānanga o Raukawa visited the Board to ask for a lease on the College building which was in disrepair. By this time Professor Winiata was in the Chair, and had to ensure he was guiding matters for the Trust's benefit as a responsible Trustee. The minutes record the Wananga delegation making a plea to the Trust Board to assist the fledgling proposal by providing it with a home base:-

“After an exchange of greetings between the Chairman and Messrs McGregor and Parata of the Interim Council of Te Wānanga o Raukawa Mr McGregor recalled the short history of the Wananga concept and its development and looked forward to the day when it would have a central and all-pervasive function throughout the community and would acquire a national significance. The hope was expressed that the Board would bear in mind the Council's financial limitations when determining the terms under which the hostel property might be made available.

The Chairman indicated that the Board by virtue of its responsibilities as a trust organisation was subject to certain constraints in this respect. In response to Mr Parata's request it was agreed that he would be provided with a copy of the Act of Parliament which established the Board together with recent legal opinions as to limitations on the Board's freedom of action. In return the Interim Council would provide the Board with a definition of its property requirements. The Chairman indicated that one of the guidelines which the Board might well follow in its consideration of the terms of availability would be the net receipts by the Board in respect of property over the last, say, three years”.⁷²⁴

The proposal was accepted and Te Wānanga o Raukawa had its home base in the old building in Tasman Road.

3.11 The Scholarships Programme and the young Peoples Hui

Many Raukawa, Atiawa and Toarangatira people, and others, have received scholarships for secondary education from the Trust Board's funds. After the adoption of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano, the 25-year experiment in iwi development begun in 1975, the Trust Board scholarships programme was married into a tri-annual series of Young People's Hui which ran for fifteen years, and in 2016 have been re-activated. These Young People's Hui, run by the Board and a team of old and young within the iwi, became a core activity within Whakatapuranga Rua Mano Generation 2000.

⁷²⁴ Minutes Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board Hui July 1982, p. 2.

Image 48: Denise Hapeta, OPTB Chairperson announces 2015 OPTB scholarships at Rangiātea Church



3.12 Summary

There is general satisfaction among the iwi at the development of the Trust Board over the years, the tireless efforts of its farmers and their teams, its management of assets, and the growth of its scholarship programmes. The realignment of its activities with the programmes of the Raukawa Trustees at crucial times, including the sharing of land and key infrastructure with Te Wānanga o Raukawa (land and buildings) has made many things possible and brought the Board fully alongside the aspirations of hapū and iwi.

4.0 RAUKAWA MARAE, AND THE RAUKAWA MARAE TRUSTEES

Image 49: Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki



4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a short history of Raukawa Marae, the marae matua [main marae of the iwi] in Ōtaki. It covers the ground from the times of the migration down to early marae in the new township from the 1850s, and later renovations, until opening of the current building in 1936. Apart from a discussion on the value of the manaakitanga it has left the presentation of its history to the Ōtaki hapū, which they are currently engaged in writing. It gives an account of the functions of the 1936 Act, which remains in force today, and the body it created, the Raukawa Marae Trustees. It discusses the role of the Trustees in iwi life and in strengthening the ART confederation over the generations, and their adoption of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano.

4.2 History of the original marae

Ngāti Raukawa migrated from the Waikato after 1825 to fulfil the request from Waitohi, that those on her female Ngāti Huia side come down to settle in the Horowhenua-Manawatu.⁷²⁵ Their initial settlements were at the Ōtaki rivermouth region, with major pā at Rangiuru, and Pakakutu. All of the hapū lived side by side with one another near the beach, and were clearly of one mind at the time.

Over the generations there were three marae on the spot in Mill Rd Ōtaki where the current marae stands according to Rūpene Waaka. The first was built in 1853, and occupied a site slightly nearer to Mill Rd than the current marae. Initially the land was private land. Waaka notes that the marae was built on some of the initial sections allotted at the time of the building of the town. Later the section was donated back to the hapū by Hori Te Waru. His descendants are still living in the weatherboard house at the back of the marae in 2016.

The original house was not decorated with carvings and the tradition was to decorate it for tangihanga with nīkau greenery, according to Waaka. In describing the first house when photographed in the 1890s Waaka indicated it wasn't adorned with carving.⁷²⁶ At some point there was a renovation of the original house; about 1885.

'so once the township was laid off everyone got a section they still needed a headquarters once they were in town. In about 1885 and '86 it was renovated and re-opened and I can't tell if this is the same model or the old house, but I can tell you that when they did build it we got a resource consent growling from the local council.'⁷²⁷

Hema Te Ao records a waiata composed possibly for this occasion. Hema, the son of Ropata Te Ao, was said to be the last paramount chief of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga. He accepted the mantle of his father after his elder half brother, Hori Te Waru, decided against taking it up. Hema died in 1932 aged 69 years. His funeral was held on 17th April 1932, with his tangihanga at Raukawa meeting house at Ōtaki, and the service taken by the Rev. Temuera Tokoaitua at Rangiātea Church.

⁷²⁵ Iwikatea Nicholson, oral evidence at Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hui, Raukawa Marae, 17 Nov 2014, gives statement by Waitohi “*Haere ki aku werewere, haere mai hei noho i te takutai moana atu anō i Kukutauaki ki Rangitikei.*” [Come to the place, cling to my female pubic hair, come to live on the Coast, from Kukutauaki to Rangitikei.] Wai 2200 Tribunal transcript and translation. p. 49.

⁷²⁶ Reuben Waaka, 17 Nov 2014, Wai 2200 Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho, Transcript p. 35.

⁷²⁷ Reuben Waaka, 17 Nov 2014, Wai 2200 Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho, Transcript p. 34.

A photograph of Hema Te Ao's tangi at Raukawa in 1932 shows the carvings temporarily removed from the house for reconstruction, as the house had apparently become dilapidated, although still usable for a major tangi. The Government with Sir Apirana Ngata leading the charge decided to assist with the restoration and re-carving of Raukawa. The carving team was led by Pine Taiapa of Ngāti Porou, and included younger carvers from the Māori Arts and Crafts institute Kohe Webster, Charlie Tuarau (Cook Islands) and Henare Toka. The whare tupuna has for many decades now been the "marae matua" (the chief marae) of all of Ngāti Raukawa. It still stands proudly on its mid-Ōtaki site, replacing the old marae. The tekoteko atop the front gable is the ancestor of Raukawa, Mōtai-tangata-rau. The meeting house was opened by Kingi Koroki on 14 March 1936 thus celebrating treasured links to all of Tainui and Te Kingitanga. Thirteen years later, on 17 March 1950, Kingi Koroki returned to open the Raukawa Marae carved memorial gates.

4.3 Rebuild of facilities 1970s to 1990s

Like the other marae of the Confederation of Atiawa, Raukawa and Toarangatira, the energetic hapū of Ōtaki were actively rebuilding their marae 'to modern standards of comfort,' as the iwi put it in the building aspirations of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano. Kuini Rikihana and her whānau were active in fundraising as the new ablution block and kitchen plans got underway in the 1980's. This involved the demolition of the treasured old dining hall, and kitchen with its railway irons, dixies, and long open cooking fire.:-

"We grew up also with the toilets out the back, the concrete toilets out the back with the long drop. I remember them being very clean smelling of creosol or whatever it was or some smell, but being clean, like you weren't scared to go except at night, we'd have to hold hands and go running out there. A really treasured memory is the kāuta because that's where Dad and Uncle Sam and everybody worked, and Uncle Dave, you know I can still see them in their black singlets and alot of them had just come from work, and they were at Raukawa stoking up the fires and the donkey for the hot water and you know, and everything was pristine, you know, so that kitchen was warm and welcoming, and smoky.

But you know, when it went it was a very sad, we grieved for days and days. I mean I was (one of) the ones helping raise money with Te Waari [Carkeek], Miki and I and some others, we did that big dance festival with Tungia.. the first nation families from Australia came, and they wouldn't sleep in the whare [meeting house]... But they slept outside by the fire where the whare was [the kitchen before demolition], and they were saying that that place was still - everybody was still there - all our people were still there. And that there was very warm, and while they were here. they were told by their people nothing was going to happen, it was not gonna rain. And they did, they slept out there the whole time and actually, only on the last night I think we had a few beers "cause you know, you think "Oh they wanna.." but no they just, they'd have a corroboree thing

they'd do, and some of them were doing the dance, and it was the most - we cried again - they were right, that was the heart, the heart that was no longer, of our marae.”

The new kitchen and ablution blocks were formally opened at an inter-denominational service in 1992. Raukawa is the beloved marae matua of the people of Ōtaki. It serves as the focal point for a rich Māori life, centred on whanaunga, and the enjoyment of Māori life. A typical summary of a Māori childhood lived near the marae and Māori gatherings comes from Michelle Hyland:

“Growing up Māori in Ōtaki meant attending tangi and marae from a young age and told to kiss aunty, kiss uncle, kiss your cousin. Until I came to realise that actually I should just kiss everyone because they were all whanau, regardless of whether I had just met them for the first time, or I saw them every day. It has also meant Christmases filled with food, of times spent with whānau gathering pipi, pūhā, watercress, getting corn from down the back and having heaps of cousins to play with at Nana’s house.”⁷²⁸

4.4 Raukawa Marae Trustees Created in 1936 under Māori Purposes Act Section 10

By virtue of this Act in 1936 the various town sections making up the original marae were placed in freehold title in the new body, the Raukawa Trustees. This body was multi-iwi, containing between one and five Trustees for both hapū and iwi from Rangitikei to Porirua. Nineteen hapū of Ngāti Raukawa had multiple representatives (58 from Raukawa) on the founding Trustees. The Raukawa hapū represented in the Trustees are:

Ngāti Pare

Ngāti Maiotaki

Ngāti Ngarongo

Ngāti Koroki

Ngāti Kikopiri

Ngāti Wehiwehi

Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti

Ngāti Pareraukawa

Ngāti Tukorehe

Ngāti Huia

Ngāti Whakaterere

⁷²⁸ Michelle Hyland, *Growing up Māori*, essay in *Te Ūkaipō* Vol 3, Dec 2001 p. 39.

Ngāti Rakau
Ngāti Kauwhata
Ngāti Takihiku
Ngāti Te Au
Ngāti Parewahawaha
Ngāti Pīkiahū
Ngāti Turanga

Representation included Ngāti Toa with five founding Trustees, namely Te Ouenuku Rene, Hari Wi Katene, Hohepa Wi Neera, Kohe Webster, and Rawiri Puaha. Te Atiawa had four representatives, Rakaherea Pomare, Tohuroa Parata, Herehere Ropata, and Heremaia Eruini, making a total of 67 initial Trustees.

The whānau holding positions in the Schedule in 1936 are almost the same as those appearing in a 1982 register of members of the Trustees. It is clear that hapū have preferred to take the Māori approach and regard the positions on the Raukawa Trustees as whānau positions, to be inherited by closely related successors. Rachael Selby, Trustee for Ngāti Pareraukawa, gave an insight into the way the next generation joined as Trustees:

“It’s funny because when I became a trustee my Uncle Ran was again resigning, and he came to me and said. “I’m pulling off as a Raukawa Marae Trustee” and said “You need to go on there.” And I said “No, no no, I don’t want to be on there, and I’m on enough things as it is.” And he said, “Rachel, it’s dynastic, your grandmother was an original trustee, and when she died I took her place, and now you’re taking mine.” And I said: “What about your own daughters?”

“No, no, he said. “You can do this.”

I guess because I lived in Ōtaki. He clearly thought I could do that. So I’m part of this dynasty, of it coming down.”⁷²⁹

Under the Act the Trust was exempt from rating and subject in certain ways to the intervention of the Māori Land Court, for example, in disputes among the Trustees. The quorum was set at 15 persons. Senior leadership of hapū were named as initial Trustees in many cases, and it appears that the older forms of decision making in cross-hapū ventures survived in the actions of the Trustees, that is, discussion, leading to decisions by consensus of the whole, rather than by vote. A smaller committee, to be known as the Raukawa Marae Committee could be

⁷²⁹ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 27 May 2016, Track 3, 15.12-15.48.

appointed by the larger group, to become effectively the operating committee of the marae. According to the memories of Raukawa people the Trustees did not meet very often in the 1940s and 50s and when they did it was a big hui.

4.5 Manaakitanga at Raukawa Marae

Raukawa Marae is the home marae for the four home hapū of Ōtaki and the surrounding districts, namely, Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Korokī, Ngāti Pare, and Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti. Over the decades the marae has been the revered headquarters for the tangihanga of all whānau, and hosted many whānau reunions, celebrations and ceremonies for the Ōtaki hapū. Ngāti Maiotaki held a typical hapū reunion in 1999, involving whakawhanaungatanga, a trip to ancestral land blocks and talks on hapū history, and future planning⁷³⁰.

Raukawa Marae has fulfilled the duty of manaakitanga, showing hospitality to local, national and international visitors. Gabrielle Rikihana recalled her childhood and teenage years, watching the flow of interesting and entertaining visitors to the marae matua:

“..we had people in Wellington like Kingi Tahiwī and people particularly all those important musicians, ballerinas, singers... Because our people, especially the darling Tahiwī family you know they were so open-hearted with visitors, and that’s a Māori given. My understanding is that if we do nothing we must look after the manuhiri and so they all came to Raukawa. They brought joy to all of us and really the following week, the talk up and down Main Street would be... ‘did you hear so and so?’” What they said, or what they did, and how lucky we were.”⁷³¹

4.6 New direction for the Trustees - leading Whakatupuranga Rua Mano from 1975

Rachael Selby attributes the reactivation of iwi political activity among the Raukawa Trustees after 1975 to Whatarangi Winiata:

“And I don’t know a lot about that first 40 years, but again my grandmother, when Whatarangi came back in 1975, “76, from British Columbia, the University of British Columbia, we went through a 20 year period where the Raukawa Trustees operated like a Parliament. It was a fantastic period. Meetings went till one or two in the morning and nobody left. These days if you tried to go past 10 or 10.30 people would grumble going out the door, saying this is taking too long. And I think Whatarangi single-handedly had managed to inject a whole new vision, that he often attributed to the Raukawa Trustees, but actually, was driven by him. They were fantastic nights. You’d go along there to get there on time to get a seat. I can remember going when I had my first baby in 1979, I still never missed a Raukawa Trustees meeting. When people lined up at 7 o’clock at night for these meetings to start, I can remember sitting up at the back with my baby, in the

⁷³⁰ Ngāti Maiotaki hapū hui, Otaki Historical Society Journal, Vol 23, 2000, p. 24-25

⁷ Gabrielle Rikihana, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 14 June 2016, Track 3, 8.10-9.50.

carrycot and that because they weren't to be missed. There was so much happening. People like Maui Pomare, who was a terrific Chair, he had a lovely vision for it.⁷³²

In an essay in 2010 Ani Mikaere of Ngāti Pareraukawa described the energy of the Trustees, as they responded to Winiata's plans with commitment. Some commentators have agreed with Rachael Selby, that the Trustees were really reactive, in response to the pushing from Winiata, and not too much initiative came from elsewhere. But it is clear there was an invitation to both young and old to become involved. The story of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 is told in Chapter 7, but it really belongs within the history of the Raukawa Trustees; the story of a generous, intelligent and hard-working elders, and the not so old, who came together at Winiata's urging, and got into harness on an historic kaupapa. The hui of the Trustees are remembered in the manner to Rachael Selby above, with fondness for the heady times they recalled. Perhaps unfortunately, the hui of the Trustees were also remembered for their length.

Ani Mikaere recalled:-

'the time that the Raukawa Trustees spent at meetings was astounding. It was not uncommon for them to finish their business far into the night, leaving members to drive for an hour or two to arrive home in the early hours of the morning, fall into bed exhausted and rise after a few winks of sleep to go to work. Indeed, I suspect that some of them treated sleep as a luxury. How they continued to function is beyond me. I daresay that enthusiasm and an unwavering belief in the importance of what they were trying to achieve helped them to honour what might normally have been considered an impossible array of commitments.'⁷³³

At a hui in 1978 the Trustees adopted nine proposals which had been discussed with the Government, including amending the Māori Reserve Land Act, seeking financial assistance from the Government to help marae cope with the costs of education visits and establishing a Māori academy of Māori performing arts. It was considered that these would be of national benefit.⁷³⁴

There were other projects adopted alongside these, including research into the health of members of the Confederation, the acquisition of artifacts that were of importance to Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Atiawa, and the establishment of a secretariat for the Raukawa Trustees. The Trustees hoped that the person in such a position might identify and

⁷³² Rachael Selby, Oral Recording, Te Hono ki Raukawa Oral History Project 3, Ōtaki, 25 May 2016, Track 3, 17.00-18.18.

⁷³³ Ani Mikaere, Reflections on Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Assignment for Te Wānanga o Raukawa Studies, Sept 2011

⁷³⁴ Whatarangi Winiata, *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000, An experiment in Tribal Development*, 1979, A fuller version of the paper published by the NZ Planning Council in He Mātāpuna Planning Paper No 4. p. 7.

update all Māori Land titles in the region, advise the Trustees on legislation affecting the people, and conduct surveys.

Image 50: 1979 Young People's Hui at Raukawa Marae



By 1982 the Trustees had been operating Whakatupuranga Rua Mano for seven years. The papers sent out to Trustees for the January hui at Parewahawaha were entirely in te reo Māori, as were the minutes. The idea appeared to be to pilot a track that would make the Trustees hui Māori-speaking. Included in the cyclostyled mailouts from the secretariat

was a section entitled He Kupu Awhina, which gave sentences and phrases in te reo to assist the officers of the Trustees and attendees to help with contributing to the business under discussion:-

“tumuaki:

- (a) Kua motini a i tana korero”.
- (b) Ma wai e tautoko te motini nei?”
- (c) ‘tutu mai koutou ki te korero; nga mea e whakaae ana, e whakahe ana ranei i tenei motini.”
- (d) “Kaati, ka rahi nga korero mo tenei motini. Ko etahi o koutou e whakaae ana, ko etahi e whakahe ana. No reira, ka tukuna atu tenei motini ki te poti.”⁷³⁵

“Chair:

- (a) So and so has moved following his/her proposal.”
- (b) Who will second the motion?
- (c) Please feel free now to stand, it is open to all those who either agree or disagree with the motion.”
- (d) “Enough now, we have had enough discussion on the motion. Some of you agree, and some disagree. I am now putting this motion to the vote.”

There were more phrases and words offered to Trustees for the hui. Although on the surface these are just the form words from Western meeting protocol, albeit rendered in very good Māori, there is a discernible commitment to allowing free flowing discussion and contrary opinions in these guidelines, and a commitment to use the Māori language in its rightful fashion, as a normal operating language in the councils of the iwi. Reports from the same summer hui a year later, combined with an Immersion Hui where Māori only was spoken held at Ngātōkōwaru Marae, indicated the going was tough. The hui was advertised as Maori

⁷³⁵ Notice of hui and agenda Raukawa Trustees, Meeting 22 January 1982

language only, but attendance by Trustees was disappointing. Pare Richardson, a kaiako and teacher in te reo at the immersion noted the hui did not attract enough Trustees and had to be cancelled⁷³⁶. The road towards conducting iwi activity in the Māori language was a difficult one for many.

At the hui during this period there were standard reports on a revolving basis – four hapū per hui – on their initiatives and activities. Notice was given in advance and Trustees representatives would prepare and deliver a ‘state of the play’ report. There were set agenda reports on the activities of the Racing Club (Whatakaraka Davis of Ngāti Wehiwehi), Rangiātea (Tahiwi Carkeek), Te Komiti Whaiti o Raukawa (Te Maharani Jacob), Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Hemi MacGregor), and Te Komiti Takawaenga (between the Rūnanga and Trustees - Te Maharani Jacob again).

The Secretary during the 1980s was Horiana Joyce, Trustee for Ngāti Tūranga. Horiana was resident in Ōtaki and a vigorous supporter of Raukawa Marae, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and the work of the Trustees. The Trustees ran a Rā Whakawhaunaunga at the Ōtaki Race Course and other venues during these years, for hapū of the iwi to come together for getting to know one another and activities.

Image 51: Ra Whakawhanaunga at Ōtaki Race Course 1979



In 1980 the Trustees tabled before the nation a proposal for a Trustee for the Māori Language, after submission of a paper by Winiata on the idea.⁷³⁷ This was later the subject of the TVNZ television programme called *Idea on Trial*. This idea was redeveloped and presented again by Whatarangi Winiata to the Waitangi Tribunal enquiry into the Māori Language (Wai 11) at Waiwhetū Marae in 1985, sowing the idea for the establishment of the Maori Language Commission, Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori.

⁷³⁶ Pare Richardson, *Taku Rēhita mō te Hui Rumaki and Oku Whakaaro mō Te Hui*, Report on the Immersion Hui at Ngātōkōwaru Marae, January 1983

⁷³⁷ Whatarangi Winiata, *A Proposal to establish a permanent Commission for the Māori Language*, August 1980.

The Trustees had adopted a proposal for a two-house Parliament for New Zealand which was presented to a national hui on the Treaty of Waitangi in 1984, held at Ngāruawāhia. Under this model there would be two houses of Parliament for New Zealand, a ‘tikanga Māori’ house for the tangata whenua, and a ‘tikanga Pākehā’ house for non Māori to discuss matters affecting them. There would be an overarching Senate which would have a membership from both houses, where decisions affecting both parties, and the nation, would be made by consensus. Māori would design and conduct elections according to their tikanga Māori electoral system, and non-Māori would do the same for their house. In an example of change reverberating sideways, Whatarangi Winiata introduced a plan modelled on this for reform of the governing bodies of the Anglican Church, to the national scene. It was adopted by the General Synod, with the adaptation that there would also be a third tikanga-Pasifika house for Pacific Island Church members, in 1992.

Individual iwi members who were approached to join national councils or Boards in Government organisations were strongly urged not to take up these posts, and avoid getting into a minority position. It was described as being subject to the “Pākehā veto”, an inherently dangerous position with no possibility of matching the voting strength of non-Maori. Part of this initiative was a 1985 Trustees protest against the weak Terms of Reference of the Royal Commission on Social Policy in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. The Trustees in concert with the New Zealand Māori Council established as a counter-weight a Māori Royal Commission, featuring bodies like the New Zealand Māori Council and the Maori Women’s Welfare League. This group met over the course of a year; it is unclear whether it produced a final report. Another Raukawa leader – Professor Mason Durie entered the Crown’s Royal Commission to make the best of the opportunity to have the Māori voice heard – in Durie’s case as a Commissioner. A statement of the activities and outcomes of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano appeared in the Royal Commission report.

Other political decisions of the Raukawa Trustees included a boycott of certain activities in the lead up to the 1990 sesqui-centennial celebrations for the 150th year since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In the late 1980s the government had launched the New Zealand Dictionary of Biography project, and approaches were being made by the Internal Affairs project team to various iwi historians, to write biographies of their ART tupuna for the first volume 1769-1869. After discussion by the Trustees it was resolved to withdraw from the project in protest at the non-fulfilment of the Treaty by the Crown.

4.7 Summary

The loving maintenance and manning of Raukawa Marae over nearly two centuries is a symbol of the vitality of the iwi and its hapū. By the year 1990 the Raukawa Marae Trustees were expressing real confidence – having spearheaded major calls for constitutional reform during the previous decade and strong views on Treaty issues. Becoming perhaps more radical than they themselves, and many of those hapū loyal to the Crown had ever dreamed, the Trustees formally adopted a programme of “withdrawal” from unjustly structured bodies, where the Treaty partner was in a powerless position. This was a powerful moment in the history of the iwi, because for the first time, senior Māori leadership within the iwi would join with actions in the Courts (over broadcasting, forests, fisheries and so on) which took the Crown on and directly thwarted its plans, to the point of antagonising non-Māori. There had been dozens of Court actions in the past, but there was no mistaking the decision by the Raukawa Trustees, to “go on the front foot.” There is more discussion of this change in Māori tactics and thinking in chapter 5 on the District and New Zealand Maori Councils, and in chapter 7, on “Whakatupuranga Rua Mano” (Generation 2000 Programme).

Image 52: Whakatupuranga Rua Mano hui 1980



The waiata (see Para 4) is described in Te Ao's handwriting as:

“He waiata whakawhiti, arā, he mea hanga nā Ngāti Raukawa mō te whakahoutanga i Raukawa (A song to “whakawhiti” that is, a song which was composed by Ngāti Raukawa for the renovation of Raukawa)

“Kāore he roimata e paheke ki aku kamo
Whakarongo rawa iho ka raungaiti au
i te tūranga ki runga
He aroha i mahuki ki te iwi ka wehea
Nana nei te tinana i ako raweke iho

E kore au e ngaro he tamawahine
He iti nā Mōtai-tangata-rau
tēnā kei te rāwhiti e taka ana
Māna e takahi te one i hākere

E whai atu ana i te ihu o te waka nei
o Tāmaki ki raro, o Mōkau ki runga
Ka haere i runga i te kawau mārō
i te rourou iti a Haere
Kia tūria iho ko te marae i Raukawa

E ahu ō mata ki a Te Rauparaha
Kia tomokia te ahurewa i Rangiātea
Kia whakarongo koe ki ngā hau o te rangi
e pupuhi mai nei te tara ki Hikurangi
ki te whai-ao, ki te ao-mārama

Takiwai tūpā e takiwai tawhito e
Takiwaiora i ngahoro iho ai
te kutikuti o taku kiri
i whākī nui ai koe i tō kupu
Ki a Tangaroa eei hai.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁸ Hema Te Ao, waiata book, Matenga Baker Collection, MSY 5302, Alexander Turnbull Library

5.0 RAUKAWA DISTRICT/NEW ZEALAND MĀORI COUNCIL - HISTORY AND FUTURE DIRECTION

5.1 Introduction

This paper began as a backgrounder for researchers in the Ngāti Raukawa historical Treaty claims.

5.2 Raukawa District Māori Council

Raukawa District Māori Council is a corporate entity under the Māori Community Development Act 1962. It promotes Māori community development, advocates for Māori in the districts of Manawatu and Horowhenua, and contributes to national policy development through the New Zealand Māori Council. It sits within a structure comprised of Committees (usually marae committees), District Councils and the New Zealand Māori Council. There is also provision for Executives to sit between the Committees and District Councils. Only one District maintains Executives at present.

Historically the District Council has focused on marae, papakainga, and urban migration and at the national level, on rights in natural resources.

What is the issue?

The Raukawa District Council is part of a statutory scheme, with the New Zealand Māori Council as its apex, to provide for Māori self-government. In practice the New Zealand Māori Council is an advocacy body. The issue is how this fits with the principle of rangatiratanga in the Treaty of Waitangi and how the principle could be applied better.

5.3 The origins of the Council system⁷³⁹

With Pākeha settlement, Māori sought to adopt, adapt and improve on western systems to strengthen their political and economic capacity. They also sought pan-tribal unity to withstand the influx of settlers and the apparatus of imperial government. From that search came the Kīngitanga, Te Kotahitanga and independent religious movements.

⁷³⁹ The information in this section draws on the Report of the Waitangi Tribunal *Whaia Te Mana Motuhake Report on the Māori Community Development Act Claim*, WAI 2417, ch 3.3.1

For Ngāti Raukawa of the Raukawa District, the Kīngitanga had special significance because of their Tainui whakapapa. They supported the King's motto of Mana Māori Motuhake and his stand for self-government.

Image 53: Pōtatau Te Whero the First Māori King



To keep community discipline without the use of force and to exclude the Governor's magistrates, administrators and constabulary, the King introduced Rūnanga, Karere and Wātene. These, now called Councils, Community Officers and Wardens, became the operatives of the Māori Council system established by statute in 1962. The community officers have since ceased to operate. They were taken into the Māori Affairs Department and were disbanded in 1991 when the Department's service operations were mainstreamed.

In accordance with tradition, where the hapū is the primary self-governing unit, the King's Runanga, Karere and Wātene operated within the papakainga, holding to the tikanga that community control is a community function. Likewise, the Council's Act puts the hapū communities first. This contrasts with the western view that authority descends from the Crown.

Second, the Wardens were distinct from the Police. The term may have come from the part time and voluntary lay Wardens of the Anglican Church who supervise the people of the

Church communities or congregations. With no powers to apprehend or punish, they relied on persuasion. This too fitted with tikanga, where good conduct is enforced by the moral sanction of the community, and balance is maintained by ritualised muru, so that police and courts are unnecessary.

The King's decision to develop Wardens, without constabulary powers, and to exclude the state's armed constabulary, was a significant statement on self-governing rights. The kaupapa remains valid today. However, new processes are needed as Māori no longer live in papakainga, the Māori crime rate is above the national average and certain Wardens themselves are changing the character of the Wardens by serving as Police auxiliaries. The District Councils have therefore to develop processes like community resolution and restorative justice, and to train effective Wardens driven by kaupapa rather than the Police.

5.4 The Māori Councils Act 1900⁷⁴⁰

In response to Māori calls for self-government, following the New Zealand Wars and the Māori Parliaments introduced by Te Kotahitanga, the government enacted the Māori Councils Act 1900. This began with self-governing komiti marae as the foundational unit of Māori governance. These were set up to rebuild the papakainga, with the same powers as a local authority in developing roads, sanitation schemes and other public amenities.

⁷⁴⁰ The information in this section draws on the Waitangi Tribunal Report above, chapter 3.3.2

Image 54: Inaugural meeting of the Tākitimu Māori Council in 1902 was held at Te Poho-o-Rāwiri Marae, Gisborne.



Seated: Mr Brooking, Otene Pitau. Front row standing: TAKina (Kaiti), Charles Ferris (Gisborne), Hetekia Te Kane Pere (Gisborne) Paratene Tatae (Manutūkē), Hemi Tutapu, Matenga Taihuka Te Kooti (far right), Back row: Hapi Hinaki (Whāngārā), Paora Kohu (Muriwai), Pewhairangi (Tokomaru Bay), Rangi (Tolaga Bay), Arani Kunaiti (Te Rēinga).

The scheme was bound to fail as there was no funding to undertake the works. There was a possibility of a subsidy but no capacity to raise the cash contribution from rates or taxes. The land, traditionally the most significant resource for the hapū, was effectively lost for that not acquired by the Crown had been taken from the hapū and vested in individuals. In addition, the land incorporations, which incorporated multiple owners into a single entity as shareholders, and which were able to allocate a small proportion of profits for general tribal purposes, were still being formed, and those which had formed, had still to clear their development loans.

The background was that after the New Zealand Wars, the Te Kotahitanga movement had taken over the call for unity between the tribes and the exercise of national self-government. They had established a national Māori Parliament which operated at different places. Te Kotahitanga was to learn however that self-government is ineffective if the decisions of the self-governing institution are not recognised by the government and the people remained bound by the government law.

Accordingly, Te Kotahitanga supporters met with Māori Parliamentarians led by Sir James Carroll, at Waiomatatini in 1899, to seek Government support for a proposal for Māori self-government. The Māori Council's Act 1900 was the outcome.

The scheme, modelled on a local authority, fell well short of Te Kotahitanga expectations, but Te Kotahitanga appears to have been appeased by a provision that the komiti marae would appoint to large pan-tribal District Councils, and by a further provision for a national conference of District Council representatives. In fact the Districts Councils, which corresponded with the seven Native Land Court districts, were too large, so that the komiti marae developed their own structure and aggregated at a natural, iwi level. These came to be called Tribal Executives.

Most historians agree that the District Councils were in decline by 1920 when Te Rangi Hīroa (Sir Peter Buck) brought the remainder into the Health Department as Māori Health Councils on account of the health conditions in the papakainga. This changed the Councils' character, from independent political entities to auxiliary welfare providers. When the Māori Hygiene Division of the Health Department was abolished in 1931, the District Councils collapsed and by the outbreak of the Second World War there remained only the Komiti marae and the Tribal Executives. It is not clear how many of these existed under that name.

5.5 The War Effort⁷⁴¹

The value for the government of a self-governing structure for Māori, based upon the customary community or hapū, and their natural group affiliations, was recognised when government sought to engage Māori to recruit personnel and food supplies for the second world war. Government sought to work with the Komiti Marae and Tribal Executives that existed or could be established.

Judging by the speed with which the Raukawa Tribal Executive with its komiti marae came into the war effort it seems that the structure was already in place in the Raukawa District. This may have been because the hapū had recently come together to build Raukawa Whare Rūnanga

⁷⁴¹ The information in this section draws on the Waitangi Tribunal Report above at chapter 3.3.3 and also Minutes of the Raukawa Tribal Executive held at the Durie Homestead, Aorangi marae, by Sir Mason Durie. The handwritten minutes from February 1943 to February 1945 are complete but no complete compendium remains of the typed minutes thereafter and only scattered minutes have been retained.

and had so organised that they were able to obtain supporting legislation as well, in 1936, to vest the marae atea in representatives for each marae throughout the district.

Driving government to reach an arrangement with Māori was that several hapū, mainly of Tainui, had defied compulsory conscription in World War I. This time, government agreed with the Māori politicians (a) that Māori recruitment would be for a tribally based Māori Battalion; (b) that recruitment would be voluntary but the Māori Executives would provide recruits, free labour, food, and rehabilitation assistance; and (c) that the districts would nominate Māori community officers to work with the Native Affairs Department.⁷⁴² In addition, as the Waitangi Tribunal considered in its report on the Māori Community Development Act, it was also understood that Māori self-government would be recognised and provided for once the war was over. In other words, the price for assisting the war was not just citizenship, as Ngata wrote, but was also the recognition of future self-government.

At the same time the Marae Komiti became Māori Committees, as not all were marae based,⁷⁴³ and the Districts would be broken down to the Tribal Executives which were already in existence.

Accordingly, without state funding, the Tribal Executives and Māori Committees worked with the Māori recruiting officers/community officers and the manpower officers of the National Service Department, to engage Māori support for the War. In addition, the Tribal Executives had access to the Māori Parliamentarians who were members of the National Organisation.

The Raukawa Tribal Executive minute books for February 1943 to February 1945 show however, that the Raukawa Tribal Executive addressed a large range of issues affecting the Māori communities, not just matters relating to the War Effort.⁷⁴⁴ Many of the issues discussed are summarised in the Appendix. Also, since no record has been found of the members of the Committees and Executives during the War, the Appendix also includes the names, where legible, of those attending the Executive Meetings.

⁷⁴² It was resented at the time that the Native Affairs Department was staffed by Pākehā.

⁷⁴³ For example, Palmerston North was set up as a Māori Committee. Many Māori of Ngāti Raukawa then worked there, for example in the Longburn Freezing Works.

⁷⁴⁴ These minutes are a continuation of earlier minutes but the earlier minute book has not been found.

The minutes also tell that the Raukawa Tribal Executive of the war years was not so much involved in proposing policy for Māori, as in seeking to manage individual claims and to support individual applications within a wide range of basic, pressing issues. For example, the Executive was vitally interested in the housing policy for Māori, but did not propose a policy. Instead the Executive was concerned to take up the cases of individual housing applicants who had struck difficulties.

The Raukawa Executive along with the local Rangitane people with whom Ngāti Raukawa had intermarried, also supplied customary foods for the Māori Battalion recruits as they marshalled for training at the Palmerston North Showgrounds.⁷⁴⁵

Notwithstanding the expectations at the beginning of the war however, the prospect of self-government was about to founder on the rocks of Pakeha fears of Māori nationalism, the government preference to provide welfare assistance and the ideology of assimilation. Ominously, from early in the War the community officers became called Welfare Officers. More ominously, near the end of the war, the Native Minister, HGR Mason, questioned the government's association with the Māori Council system for self-government and proposed that the Maori Councils be focused on the provision of welfare services under his Department's direction.

The Member for Southern Māori, Eruera Tirikātene (later Sir Eruera) led the counter-proposal, to retain the tribal committees and tribal executives, to resurrect the old pan-tribal District Councils, and to add on a National Council. The National Council would include the parliamentarians holding the four Māori Seats and would appoint the staff of the Native Affairs Department.

Tirikātene's proposals were developed with Māori and were confirmed at four conferences in 1944 at Wellington, Rotorua, Rātana, and Ōpoutama (Mahia). The prospect of self-government directly linked to Parliament through the four Māori seats, offered an extraordinary opportunity

⁷⁴⁵ Mrs Atareta Poananga, of the Te Aweawe whānau of Rangitane and the Matau whānau of Ngāti Kauwhata, opened a tuck shop supplying Māori kai at a site opposite the Showgrounds entrance. It is now the site of the Māori Battalion War Memorial Hall built by the Executive for the purposes of a Māori Community Centre. Atareta's son Brian Poananga would later hold the highest position in the defence forces as Chief of General Staff, while her eldest son Bruce, rose to Major in the Māori Battalion and was later United Nations military observer in Palestine and in Pakistan.

for Māori and the prospect of the formation of an independent Māori party. However, while Tirikatene's vision had some influence on Mason's proposals, with the Committees and Executives becoming statutory bodies, it was nonetheless seriously compromised by Mr Mason himself. He not only rejected the large districts, the national organisation, and the appointment of the officers of the Native Affairs Department, but he proposed to make the Committees and Executives subject to the direction of the Department.

In brief, Māori went into the War Effort on the promise of self-government, but once the War was over, found their community organisations would be subject to departmental direction. Prime Minister Fraser extolled the proposals as conferring independence and autonomy for Māori but that was not the case. The upside, as found by the Waitangi Tribunal, "was that the department was drawn into a wider range of work and was committed by legislation to a degree of cooperation with the Māori people which would have been unthinkable in the pre-war years". Also, in practice the Māori Welfare Officers were dedicated to their communities and spoke up for them; and it was a first time that Māori had been admitted to the Department in any significant numbers. Nonetheless, the kaupapa under Mason's proposal was not the kaupapa of self-government. Later, the provisions for departmental direction would have adverse repercussions for Māori.

5.6 The 1945 Act⁷⁴⁶

The 1945 Act followed the principle set in 1900 that the adoption of the Council system was voluntary. Given the deep disappointment with the 1945 Act, hapū were slow to engage, but the predominant opinion became to work with what was given while seeking change.

Ngāti Raukawa filed notice of its tribal committees in 1947. By 1948, most hapū and iwi had agreed to participate, with Waikato, Taranaki, and the East Coast remaining outside until 1950. There were then 430 Tribal Committees and 72 Executives and the numbers continued to grow.

The Act also followed the principle that the hapū are the primary unit for decision making, but an allowance was made for those now residing as a community outside of the papakainga. For example, Palmerston North was included as a tribal committee in the Raukawa Tribal District on account of the number of Ngāti Raukawa then living there. The other groups, as listed in

⁷⁴⁶ The information in this section draws on the Waitangi Tribunal Report above at chapter 3.3.3

the Appendix, were Kauwhata, Pīkiahū-Wāewāe, Mūaupoko, Ngāti Hūia, Otaki, Tukorehe and Ngatokowaru. The founding members of each Committee are also given in the Appendix. Other Committees would be added over time.

In addition, Mūaupoko was included although Mūaupoko is not a Ngāti Raukawa hapū. It could be said that the Māori of this era were not tribal fundamentalists but took a pragmatic approach to include all. It might then have been argued, as it is today, that “Raukawa Tribal District” was a reference to the tribes of the District of Raukawa Moana.

A major incentive for the formation of Committees at this time was the government’s policy to subsidise the Committees a pound for every pound raised for capital works, of which the restoration of marae buildings or the building of new marae were the main targets. Palmerston North had particular interest. The opinion was that the Māori population of Palmerston North would continue to grow and should be serviced by the construction of a Māori Community Centre. The subsidy is a recurring theme in the minutes of this era.⁷⁴⁷

The pound for pound subsidy however carried a measure of inequality for the land-strapped tribes like Ngāti Raukawa and which lacked as well, the Trust Boards endowed by government from the 1920s with compensation for historic land or water resource losses. For example, the policy favoured the marae of the land rich hapū of the central Māori districts which were the last to be systematically settled by Europeans, roughly from Tauranga to Taumarunui and thence to northern Hawkes Bay. Areas like these were well served by large land incorporations which provided the cash contribution for marae construction. Ngāti Raukawa, on the other hand, had one of the lowest acreages of Māori land in the country, due primarily to early government and settler land purchases. There was perhaps only one land incorporation of such scale as to be able to contribute to a local marae, out of the 26 Raukawa marae of the 1940s.⁷⁴⁸ In the Raukawa district, as shown by Executive minutes of the 1940s and 50s, the Māori contribution to community capital works came from raffles, card evenings, concert performances, gala days, golf tournaments and Queen carnivals.

⁷⁴⁷ In 1945 the handwritten minute book was replaced by individual typed minutes only a few of which have survived.

⁷⁴⁸ Tahamatā Inc, in the takiwā of Ngāti Tukorehe.

It is thus a tribute to the efforts of the Raukawa Marae committees under the Act that most of the Whare Runanga survived and were improved; that Raukawa Whare Runanga was completed in fully decorated form; that the committees of the Executive were able to build the three story Māori Battalion Memorial Hall as a Māori Community Centre, opposite the Battalion marshalling grounds in Palmerston North; that four years later, a new carved house was opened at Parewahawaha and eventually, that a new hapū was able to form near the Ohinepuhiawe reserve with all the accoutrements of a significant marae.

Image 55: The Māori Batalion Hall, named 'Te Rau Aroha' opening, June 1964



It ought not to be assumed however that Māori were privileged by the subsidy for such capital works as marae buildings, papakainga roadways or sanitation facilities. Community Halls were also subsidised for the European community and the other capital works were paid for from rates, to which Māori also contributed.

5.7 The lead up to the 1962 Act⁷⁴⁹

Constraints on self-government

In the interests of self-government early changes were sought to the 1945 Act to achieve:

freedom from departmental control;

⁷⁴⁹ The information in this section draws on the Waitangi Tribunal Report above at chapter 3.4.1 to 3.4.10, and chapter 4.

pan-tribal representation; and
representation for tribal migrants.

Although the Raukawa Tribal Executive welcomed the relationship with its Māori Welfare Officer, Harry Jacobs, the Raukawa Tribal Executive led the charge by hosting a national hui at Raukawa marae in 1950 to protest the Department's control of its affairs through its welfare services.

In 1952 Major Te Reiwhati Vercoe followed up with a national hui at Mourea, Rotorua over the government's failure to appoint pan tribal District Councils and a national body. Vercoe had already formed the Waiariki District Māori Council without waiting for statutory approval and was now proposing to do the same for a national organisation.

In further disregard for the Act, the committees were incorporating as members, the migrants from distant iwi who had come to reside locally.⁷⁵⁰ Several at the Feilding and Longburn Freezing Works for example, had joined with the local hapū, and interestingly, the Raukawa Tribal Executive included a Freezing Works representative.

As with Ngāti Poneke set up as part of the War Effort, the migrants also formed their own communities. The migrants came to be called "urban Māori" but the term is not a good fit as not all Māori from outside the district were urban dwellers and not all urban dwellers were from outside the district. Within Ngāti Raukawa it has recently been suggested that *tau tangata Māori* would be an appropriate term for those who have settled in the district from outside.

5.8 Departmental Control, Pan-tribal Representation

The three issues at paragraph 38 above, the first two in particular, were the subject of intense debate between the Māori organisations on the one hand, and officials, Ministers, and the four members for the Māori seats, on the other. The positions taken included these:

The most senior officers of the Department, who with one exception were Pakeha, were adamantly opposed to Māori self-government and exhorted a welfare and assimilationist approach. They often caused Ministers to withhold support for self-government where Ministers had been minded to concede.

⁷⁵⁰ This practice of incorporation was seen as a customary practice in the Waitangi Tribunal Report on Muriwhenua. The Muriwhenua hapū also competed to incorporate European settlers.

The Labour Party Ministers were sometimes supportive but not as enthusiastically as the Māori representatives for the four Māori seats, who were Labour. These again proposed that they should be members of the National organisation. That proposition had startling possibilities as an integrated form of self-government but it did not have the Labour Ministers' support.

The National Party Ministers were sometimes supportive as well but were opposed to the organisation being associated with the Māori seats.

The Māori leaders of the Tribal Executives however, held that the organisation would work with the government of the day and would not align to any political party. They had been willing to work with the Welfare Officers but eventually considered that the Welfare Officers should be separated from the organisation after a senior welfare officer acknowledged that his ultimate loyalty must be to the Department. In addition, while it was important to engage with issues of Māori welfare (a compendious term for initiatives in housing, employment, health, education and law observance) the proponents of self-government did not regard welfare-ism as the rationale for the organisation's existence.

The Māori leaders also considered that the structure should be mandated by statute. It was considered that by the government's own laws, statutory recognition would bind government to the arrangement. It would also provide the organisation with standing before local authorities and other bodies, including the Courts, and would provide official recognition of the constitutional status of Māori under the Treaty.

The many arguments from officials in opposition, as now referred to, show the weight of the arguments that Māori had to overcome. The fear of Māori separatism had abated but it was still asserted that New Zealand could not have two governments, that the correct path for Māori to express their views was through the four Māori seats, that it was not practical for just one Māori body to come to the Government and that there was no unified voice that could speak for the Māori people.

In addition, officials and Ministers argued that a national organisation might challenge government policy or formulate its own policies and press these on the government. Of course, that was what Māori in fact, intended. Also, officials argued, the assistance given to the Tribal Executives by the Māori Welfare Officers was no longer acceptable as it was a conflict of interest for officials to be involved in any way with a body which might criticise the Government and its policies.

Further argument was that a national organisation would detract from what was seen as the primary purpose of the Tribal Executives and Committees, to promote and assist the provision of welfare services, and, while in the short term an independent Māori Organisation might infuse new life into the Tribal committees by providing an organised outlet for their views, in the long term it would be hard to get rid of and would hamper the integration of Māori into the general community.

Officials and Ministers also argued that the Māori body should also be a voluntary association without a statutory base, for the proposed organisation was no different from other organisations like the Dominion Farmers, the Returned Services Association and sporting bodies.

These arguments should be recalled as a reminder of the importance of the Māori Council's later association with international indigenous movements in the early 1970s, including the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and their approaches to the United Nations for an international covenant on indigenous peoples' rights.⁷⁵¹

In the end the government was effectively obliged to provide for an independent organisation. This was not for any great reason of principle, notwithstanding the government's resounding references to Māori autonomy, self-government, and self-determination once the decision had been made. Nor was the rationale that governments needed a two-way channel of communication with Māori, very convincing. The reality was that there was a sizeable, national Māori movement in support, represented by the Tribal Committees and Executives, that was making changes in spite of the Act, and that the movement could command a significant vote.

Meanwhile, in October 1959 Major Vercoe had called a Dominion Conference at Rotorua which approved of a constitution for what would become the New Zealand Māori Council,

⁷⁵¹ On the formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples at Port Alberni, British Columbia in the late 1970s, the Council was represented by Sir Graham Latimer, Ranginui Walker and Apa Wātene. The right of indigenous peoples to maintain and develop their own decision-making institutions, to participate in decision making in matters which would affect their rights through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, and to be consulted with through their representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them, was finally provided for in the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 (articles 18 and 19).

with independent committees, executives, and district councils leading to a national body, and with provisions for urban Maori. From 1959 a provisional Dominion Council operated with its own constitution but without statutory recognition.

Notwithstanding that the 1958 constitution formed the basis for the Bill for a revised Māori Council structure, the Department led the drafting of the Bill and presumed to make changes to keep the Minister or Department in control through welfare servicing. Māori had clearly to be on guard in reviewing the drafts.

For example, Māori insisted that the word “welfare” be removed from the title to the several entities, but nonetheless the word remained in the title to the Act so that the Act was originally passed as the Māori Welfare Act 1962.⁷⁵²

Another provision was included in the Act which directly controverted that which had been settled with the provisional Council. The Council had agreed to a provision which read ‘the Secretary for Māori Affairs, acting under the general direction and control of the Minister, shall be charged with the administration of this Act.’ The provision which slipped through was ‘this Act shall be administered by the Minister, and the powers conferred by this Act shall be exercised under the general control and direction of the Minister.’ This is still in the Act as a blemish on the agreed principle of self-determination although the minister’s capacity to intervene is probably limited to the appointment of community officers and the warranting of Wardens, and then only within reasonable bounds.

5.9 Tribal Migration

The Provisional Council also addressed the demographic revolution occurring about them with the migration of tribal members to districts removed from the tribal base. It was not only the scale and rapidity that attracted attention, but the extraordinary development of protest movements⁷⁵³, and the diverse leadership developing from the universities, adult education facilities, teachers training colleges, trade training centres, drama and art schools and cultural clubs. True to its policy of inclusiveness the Provisional Council sought to provide for these as well, as Māori Societies, which would rank with Māori Committees.

⁷⁵² The Act was changed to the Māori Community Development Act in 1979 following further representations.

⁷⁵³ The major protest at the time concerned the 1960 All Black Tour to South Africa exclusive of Māori and the formation of the Citizen’s All Black Tour Association at the Wellington Town Hall led by three Māori, Whetu Tirikatene, Roland O’Regan and Whatarangi Winiata.

One concern was the adequacy of the description of Tribal Committees and Tribal Executives. A proposed change to Māori Committees and Māori Executive Committees drew strong criticism but was eventually accepted when it was argued that the change was not a denial of tribe but a recognition that the Committees could be either tribal or pan-tribal.

Similarly, under the 1945 Act the Wardens had been accountable to the Tribal Executives who usually delegated responsibility to the Tribal Committees. Effectively, most wardens worked to a marae.⁷⁵⁴ However, Wardens were increasingly operating in groups across Tribal Committee and Executive boundaries and were operating in town and cities where frequently, there was no Tribal Committee or Executive. In addition, a Warden might come from outside the Tribal District. It was proposed therefore to place the Wardens under the District Councils but with power of delegation to a Māori Executive or Māori Committee.

5.10 The National Organisation

What is now the New Zealand Māori Council thus took shape, initially as an informal Provisional Council, then as a statutory Council by an amendment to the 1945 Act in 1961, and finally by the 1962 Act, as amended in 1963.

Major Vercoe, who led the council movement during the 1959 Dominion conference, the Provisional Council, and the work of the standing committees, died on 23 March 1962 only shortly before the elections for the New Zealand Māori Council leadership. The leadership then shifted from Waiariki to Tai Rāwhiti. Sir Turi Carroll was elected president and HK Ngata, later Sir Henry, became secretary and treasurer.

The Council's first full meeting was at Ngāruawāhia on 16 and 17 March 1963, where the proposal for a form of Māori self-government first took shape, more than 100 years earlier.

Since then, there have been two major changes to the legislation. The first allowed the Māori Committees to leapfrog the Māori Executives to appoint directly to the District Council, thus bringing the District Councils into closer contact with the Māori Committees. Presently this option applies generally. The second provided for representation for Māori Societies in recognition of the vast array of Māori groups which formed in the wake of the migration.

⁷⁵⁴ Warden Eddie Wakefield of Paranui marae is an example of a Warden still operating under that arrangement in the Raukawa District.

5.11 Operations under the 1962 Act.

New Zealand Māori Council in action

Once able to function as an official, national organisation the New Zealand Māori Council became an advocate for Māori rights and policy and was probably the most successful advocate since the need to confront a state government arose.

From the outset outstanding submissions were made on almost every issue of concern to Māori. The major concerns of the 1960s related to Māori land administration⁷⁵⁵, estate and gift duties⁷⁵⁶, the charitable functions of the incorporations, rating, Māori Language policy⁷⁵⁷, Radio⁷⁵⁸, the Water and Soil Conservation Act⁷⁵⁹, provisions for Māori fishing reserves, the recognition of Māori fishing rights generally and recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁷⁶⁰ In the longer term most of the Council's proposals would be adopted.

The Council's reputation as conservative and a tool of the national party changed when the Council voiced strong opposition to several National government proposals, most especially the assimilationist Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967,⁷⁶¹ and later expressed support for the Labour Government's Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1974.

In the protest years of the 1970s when the Council was criticised by the protest movement as conservative, relationships were improved when it was learnt that the Council's then President, Sir Graham Latimer, was part of the organising committee of the Māori Land March. At the same time the Council, in co-operation with Labour's Matiu Rata as Minister of Māori Affairs, successfully sought the return of lands taken for public works but no longer used for the

⁷⁵⁵ Particularly notable was the Council's opposition to the Government's compulsory purchases of uneconomic interests, the alienation of Māori land through the meeting of owners' procedure with minimum quora, and the admission of strangers to Māori lands through individual share purchases.

⁷⁵⁶ This was relevant to the transfer of land owned by four or fewer to European land and the transition from 2 ½% succession duty to estate duty on a graduated scale up to 60%.

⁷⁵⁷ The Council sought the introduction of Māori at Teachers Colleges and Universities and its extension in Adult Education.

⁷⁵⁸ The first campaign was to extend the Māori News programme of Wiremu Parker on National Radio. It was then 10 minutes on a Sunday.

⁷⁵⁹ A major concern was the Crown's presumptive ownership of the water in lakes and that Māori might own only the lake bed where recognition of a proprietary interest was acknowledged at all.

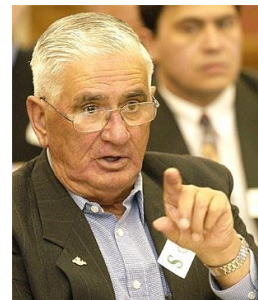
⁷⁶⁰ Most notable was HK Ngata for Tai Rawhiti on Statutes that contravene the Treaty of Waitangi and the submissions of Dr Doug Sinclair for Waikato-Maniapoto seeking legal recognition for the Treaty.

⁷⁶¹ The Council proposed a Māori Land Trust to promote the development of Māori Land.

purpose,⁷⁶² or taken for schools,⁷⁶³ or the settlement of Returned Servicemen⁷⁶⁴ or significant lands taken by confiscation⁷⁶⁵. The proposal for a first offer back to original owners when land taken for Public Works was no longer needed for the purpose taken, was to be applied to Europeans as well as Māori but in the Māori case it was usually not possible for the multiple owners to raise the funds to buy back. The Council therefore proposed that Māori Land should be taken for Public Works only on a lease for the life of the works.⁷⁶⁶ That proposal has not been implemented.

Image 56: Sir Graham Latimer, long time Chair and later President NZMC

However, the Council is probably best known for its work in the 1980s and 1990s under Sir Graham Latimer as Chair. Picking up on the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal (of which Sir Graham had been a founding member), extraordinary advances were made for Māori, and for the Treaty Claims process, through litigation challenging government policy.⁷⁶⁷



The Raukawa Tribal Executive was also re-established as the Raukawa District Māori Council as a result of the 1962 Act and took a leading role in the Council's work already described. The 1962 Act provided for eight District Councils, seven corresponding with the seven Māori Land Court Districts and one for the Auckland Urban area, each appointing three members to constitute the New Zealand Māori Council. The Raukawa Executive was part of the Ikaroa District extending from Mohaka River on the East Coast and Rangitikei River on the West to Wellington in the South. However, the Council was to be given the power to divide the Districts and soon after, Ikaroa became divided into Wellington (in 1971) and in about 1984

⁷⁶² The Papamoa Rifle Range in Tauranga was an early example

⁷⁶³ Lands of Whānau a Apanui and Ngāti Porou were particularly affected.

⁷⁶⁴ For example, the Owhaoko Blocks between Tuwharetoa and Kahungunu.

⁷⁶⁵ For example, Mount Taupiri.

⁷⁶⁶ In order that Māori would have no problem in recovering land taken for Public Works the Council proposed a compulsory lease for the life of the works. It also lobbied that land taken years ago, like land taken for schools but not used for the purpose, be returned, and the Council proposed the return of particular sites, like Taupiri Mountain and the Owhaoko blocks taken for the settlement of returned soldiers but not used for that purpose.

⁷⁶⁷ These related to the transfer of Crown Lands to state owned enterprises resulting in the Tribunal's capacity to claw-back such lands for settlements; to the Quota Management System for the fishing industry leading to the Fisheries Settlement and the distribution of assets to iwi; the sale of the Crown's commercial forestry assets leading to the Crown Forestry Rental Trust funding Māori claims where forests were involved and a process for the recovery of forestry land in settlements; the transfer of Crown Broadcasting Assets to a State Enterprise leading to the establishment of Te Mangai Paho, Māori Radio and Māori Television; the allocation of Radio Spectrum leading to the establishment of Huarahi Tika Trust, a share in Two Degrees, and a fund to train Māori in the Information Technology industry; and Māori Electoral Rights resulting in the retention and increase of the Māori seats and the Māori Electoral Option.

the balance became the Takitimu District Māori Council on the East Coast, and the Raukawa District Māori Council on the West.⁷⁶⁸

The Raukawa Tribal Executive/ Raukawa District Māori Council was to take a leading role in the Council's work as described above. In the 1960s the Raukawa Tribal Executive had challenged the application of the Town and Country Planning Act 1952 and the Counties Act 1961 which provided for minimum sized economic units for farming with only one home allowed on each unit and which required the installation of septic tanks. The requirements led to the collapse of several Raukawa papakainga on rural land in Manawatu and Horowhenua and the shift of the people into town.

In the 1980s and 1990s Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo joined with the New Zealand Māori Council to bring the Broadcasting Claim. This was led by Huirangi Waikerepuru, and by Professor Whatarangi Winiata of Raukawa District Māori Council for the New Zealand Maori Council. The same would also join with others to lead the Spectrum claim.

5.12 Proposed Reconstruction, Runanga a Iwi and the National Māori Congress

In 1980 the Council proposed that its committees, executives and districts be replaced by 24 tribal and 4 pan tribal Runanga who would appoint to a Runanganui of the New Zealand Māori Council. The organisation would take over the service operations, and associated budget, of the Department of Māori Affairs. The proposal was rejected by the Minister, Ben Riwai Couch⁷⁶⁹. Then in 1984, when the Labour Government took office, Koro Wetere as Minister took up the proposal but to the exclusion of the New Zealand Māori Council.

Wetere provided for tribal Rūnanga to be established under the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 but with no provision for a national organisation for the Rūnanga as a whole. The view was that each iwi was able to make its own representations to the Minister. Effectively, the Minister would

⁷⁶⁸ It is assumed that the change coincided with Māori Land Court restructuring when the Palmerston Registry closed and replaced by offices in Hastings and Whanganui.

⁷⁶⁹ Hon Ben Couch was a former member of the Ikaroa District Māori Council. He had commissioned the Council to prepare a paper on its proposals after the Council had rejected his own proposals for the reform of the Department. After rejecting the Council's proposals Mr Couch asked the Council to undertake a redraft of Maori Land Law. A Bill was drafted on the basis of the Council's report in 1983. It was reworked by the Department and later emerged as Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. The Council prepared its report at meetings conducted throughout the country.

be the national body. Wetere then divided the Department into Manatu Māori, dealing with policy issues, and the Iwi Transition Agency, to transfer service delivery to the Rūnanga. Effectively the Rūnanga would become the providers of government services.

Tribal (and pan tribal) Rūnanga formed throughout the country⁷⁷⁰ but the Rūnanga Iwi Act was repealed in 1991 when Winston Peters became Minister of Māori Affairs. He also abolished the Iwi Transition Agency and Manatu Māori and established instead the Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri) as a policy focused Ministry. The Department's policy programmes were mainstreamed to other government departments with parts contracted out to service providers. Several of the tribal Runanga thus reshaped as service providers. That included Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa.

The National Māori Congress then formed to represent the iwi in 1990. However, without a secure financial base and beset by tribal rivalries, it held its last meeting in 1996.

By this time the Māori Committees and District Councils were in serious decline due to the withdrawal of subsidies from District Council control leaving the Committees and Districts with no funded developmental role, and since these were the bodies which appointed to the New Zealand Māori Council, this left the mandate of the New Zealand Māori Council in question.

As has been seen, the Committees and Districts had wide developmental powers for capital works but funded on a subsidy basis which then became restricted to funding for marae and Community Centres. In 1965 the government placed a ceiling on this form of funding, requiring the District Councils to rank the subsidy applications for their district in priority. Then in 1991, when the Department was mainstreamed, the subsidies passed to the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and ceased to be managed through the Council.

There was then no part of the Committees' work that qualified for government funding and the committees, with many issues of their own to deal with, were unable to undertake their

⁷⁷⁰ Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc was formed in 1991 (see Chapter 11 for more on its history). The pan-tribal organisations included Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust, Te Rūnanga o te Upoko o te Ika and Te Rūnanga o Ngā Maata Waka.

functions under the Act and had no reason to continue. Many of those districts that carried on ceased to hold proper elections. Others continued only for the management of the Wardens.

The committees still functioned in Raukawa District however, and continued to meet as a District Council, because of the assets that the Raukawa District had built. Notwithstanding that funding was not available from local land trusts, incorporations or trust boards, the Raukawa Committees had been raising funds from at least 1950 for a Māori Community Centre in Palmerston North. By 1962, with support from the Māori Returned Servicemen throughout the country, they completed a three storied Community Hall for the Urban Māori of Palmerston North, named in honour of the Māori Battalion and standing opposite the Battalion original marshalling grounds.

The loan had been repaid when the subsidies dried up, and the rents from the Building continued to provide assistance for the marae so long as the committees maintained their allegiance to a district organisation advocating for local issues and a national organisation advocating for all Māori. The committees continued to exist as a result.⁷⁷¹

The New Zealand Māori Council itself was not otherwise affected. The Council was originally funded by levies on the districts subsidised by the government. Again, Districts with large land incorporations and trusts were able to meet their levies, like Tai Rawhiti and Waiariki, but not others, including the Urban Districts which had problems in their own districts and no resource base. Accordingly, in 1970, at the Council's request, the subsidy system was replaced with an annual grant of \$6000 per annum. This continues to assist with administration costs but the sum has been revised for inflation only twice.

Meanwhile, at the opening of the 21st century, the government's policies for the settlement of historical Treaty claims had borne fruit starting with the Sealord's Fisheries Settlement in 1992.⁷⁷²

⁷⁷¹ Due to the national assessment of buildings for earthquake risk following the 2014 earthquakes, the District Council lost its tenant and improvements have been required to the building. Funding has now been suspended while alterations are made.

⁷⁷² This led to the passage of substantial assets to the Mandated Iwi Organisations for each of the recognised iwi.

The tribes presumed that since fisheries were tribally owned, the benefits would pass solely to recognised iwi. Consistent with its inclusive policies to provide for all Maori, the Council took proceedings to set aside funds for Māori groups existing independently of the traditional tribes and succeeded in seeing established the Putea Whakatupu Trust for that purpose, with a start-up fund of \$20 million.

There followed the Waikato Tainui settlement in 1995 and the Ngāi Tahu settlement in 1998. Several others formed in the new millennium with a significant resource base, and with formalised tribal structures secured by statute or operation of law.

In about 2010, these collectivised informally as the Iwi Leaders' Group with sub-groups appointed for particular purposes. Notwithstanding that in the settlements Government insisted that none of these, with the exception of Ngāi Tahu, would have the political function of being the recognised voice of the tribe, it is with these that the current government, and the Māori Party, now deal.

In addition, government has undertaken reviews of the Māori Council system but with inconclusive results, and with doubts about the propriety of the government led process in terms of the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights.

5.13 Summary

Past

The Councils of 1900 were modelled on a local authority set up to provide roads, sewage and the like for towns in which the Māori Councils would do the same for the papakainga, but the Councils had not the funding of a local authority from rates, taxes, or government grants. It was nothing like what Te Kotahitanga had bargained for and was effectively a system by which government and local authorities could avoid their responsibility for the papakainga which fell increasingly into disrepair.

The 1945 Act failed to provide for a national body, such as was needed to deal with a range of perceived injustices, and that promised before the war was not delivered after the war, when Māori soldiers were no longer required. As a result, the best part of the next 15 years was spent

in a struggle that had been ongoing for over 100 years, to build a better structure for effective self-government.

The 1962 Act provided for the national body, and to make it genuinely inclusive, in view of the urban migration, provided for both hapū and the new, migrant communities. From the outset the national body made enormous progress for Māori, and as the Waitangi Tribunal has determined, claims that the Council structure was assimilationist are unfounded. However, when the subsidy programme was withdrawn from the Council in 1991, many of the Committees and Districts disintegrated, several Districts did not conduct elections, and the Council's mandate was brought into question.

Other initiatives to replace the Council by Rūnanga and the National Māori Congress did not succeed, for lack of a national organisation and political will in the former case, and for lack of funds and tribal rivalry in the latter.

Future

There appears to be no perfect single entity for Māori self-government. Self-government is achieved today through a range of organisations which seek to advance Māori interests in commercial and non-commercial roles.

The history suggests that a national organisation is needed and would serve best in an advocacy role proposing Māori policy to government and standing up for particular Māori interests and rights.

The election of its personnel would need to reflect democratic principles and engage a wide range of communities, tribal communities, non-tribal communities and communities of interest like those provided for as Māori Societies in the Council's current statute.

To avoid conflicts the body should not compete in the delivery of services or have large commercial interests. Nonetheless it would need to be funded, to meet the cost of policy development and administration, and to achieve widespread participation in electoral processes.

To be politically credible it should be recognised by government, and to be credible in Court, it should have authority to represent Māori best interests, as the Council has at present.

On the other hand, self-government can no longer be limited to tribal self-government. Tribes take priority on some matters but other matters move beyond tribal domains.

Other institutions like the Māori Women's Welfare League, the Iwi Leaders Group and the New Zealand Māori Council, have significant roles in maintaining an oversight of Māori self-government and the survival of Māori values, by advocating for all Māori, or for a particular group on account of a principle affecting all Maori. They are the general advocates and negotiators. They seek bicultural solutions for a bicultural society.

No one organisation is all good or bad. The League may be thought to represent just women and Iwi leaders just iwi but in fact the women's voice and the iwi voice may each benefit all Māori. The Iwi structure has been seen as removing self-governance from the hapū, or community, where it truly belongs, as influenced more by corporate than customary values, as reintroducing tribal rivalry or disparity as where the larger tribes will look after themselves ahead of all or other Māori, and as having been born out of the government's overly prescriptive requirements for post-settlement governance entities with compliance costs that could place smaller iwi in jeopardy. Government stipulations for post settlement governance entities also predicate a shift from the operating communities based on participation, to an individualized, multiple and absentee membership largely divorced from the community. Nonetheless they are an important voice for the government approved Post Settlement Governance Entities, with major commercial interests to protect.

The Council's experience with the Water Claims points to two concerns. One is the prospect of conflict between the commercial imperatives of the tribal entities on the one hand and customary, environmental standards on the other. The second is the lingering influence of the Government in the Treaty Claims Settlement Process⁷⁷³ with its bottom lines. For example, the provision of cultural redress provided for the ongoing input of Iwi into the management of specific sites or natural resources, but assumed that Māori had no ownership rights in those

⁷⁷³ The process was not agreed with Māori or even given effect by statute whereby Māori may have made representations.

resources. Consequentially the discussions with Iwi Leaders now is on the same basis, that there are no general, ownership rights.

On the other hand the Iwi Leaders are a nationwide collection of post settlement governance entities approved for asset management and with assets enabling them to stand independent of government. They presently have the ear of government although there is no statutory recognition to secure this in the long term and in the Treaty settlement process only one was ever recognised as having the right to speak for the tribal group.

The Council structure is more inclusive. Taking as its rationale the communities that actually exist, it provides for true tribes, that is, the hapū, for those now living outside their customary territories, and, potentially, for numerous Māori societies. It also has a statutory right to represent in courts and other places what it considers to be in the best interests of all Māori, without which it could not have responded as it did to the government's devolution policies.⁷⁷⁴

On the other hand the Council needs to (a) rebuild its mandate by reconstructing its constituencies for voting purposes based upon participating marae, pan tribal groups and Māori societies (b) re-develop its original purpose of promoting stability in Māori communities by reference to community resolution processes and to train and engage Wardens in that process (c) redevelop its reputation for quality submissions on Māori issues through an association with Māori societies and (d) secure funding for administration expenses.

As to funding, the process for the settlement of Māori claims, while providing for individual tribes, failed to provide for the one thing most critical for Māori as a whole, a truly independent organisation for the maintenance of Māori political rights with an adequate asset base for that role, such as Māori bargained for in 1962. That could be rectified by the provision of an asset base for each Māori Council district, and access to the Putea Whakatupu Trust set up under the Fisheries Settlement to assist the urban communities.

⁷⁷⁴ Statutory recognition has assisted the Council in its representations to successive governments for at least 50 years from 1945. In the case of the litigation of the 1980s and 1990s, it was critical. The Court of Appeal recognised this in 1987. A legal entity may bring a case for its members or beneficiaries but no further. The Council may bring a case for all Māori. Since the Ngāti Tahu settlement government has declined any form of recognition for the Treaty settlement entities, leaving the iwi liable to political manipulation, there being no obligation to deal with them.

Image 57: NZ Māori Council leadership at Massey University 2018



Left to right: Matthew Tukaki, executive director NZ Māori Council, Prof. Mohan Dutta, director of CARE; Dr Gary Raumati-Hook advisor to the Council, Sir Eddie Taihākurei Durie, Māori Council Chair, Dr Steve Elers, communication lecturer at Massey Business School and Council member, Donna Hall, legal advisor the the Council.

5.14 Appendix

Names, where legible, of those attending the Raukawa Tribal Executive Meetings during the war years of February 1943 to February 1945, according to the handwritten minute book, and others attending according to such uncollated typed minutes as have survived, to mid-1950.

Mason Te Rama Apakura Durie (chair), Nepia Winiata (secretary) Rikihana Carkeek (secretary), Mr Ward (freezing works representative).

Baker Whata and Tenga, Brown Taylor, Collins Mr R, Cook A, Cowan Bunty, Durie Kahurautete, Enoka C, Hakaraia Hema, Hapeta Mr, Hawea T, Heremaia Whiro, Hemara H Wi, Herangi Mr, Hurunui J, Jacobs Harry, Knox Mr A, Kohika Takarei and Tohi, Lawton Ward and Thomas, McMillan Hone, Pene Mrs, Poananga Atareta, Pou Mr J, Puti J, Rauhihi Kuiti, Reihana J and P, Rikihana D, Ropiha Teni, Roera Mr K, Royal Skipper, Searancke Mr, Sciascia Hema and J, Tatana Rawinia, Dave and Mr Tatana Snr, Tahiwī Prim and Kingi, Temuera Paora, Turoa J, Utiku J, Wehipeihana Robert, Tureiti, Tumeke and Ruihi, Winiata T and Wilson.

Also attending at Raukawa Tribal Executive meetings during the same period were, members of the Ikaroa and Aotea District Māori Land Boards, officers of the Native Department including CM Bennett, Rangi Royal, Harry Jacobs, TT Ropiha, Mrs M Tamihana and MR Jones, District Health Nurses and local MPs.

Appendix 1: Sampling of Issues recorded in minutes February 1943 to February 1945

War Issues

(The names of those confirmed as killed in action were acknowledged at the start of each meeting).

The Māori Battallion should serve in the Middle East in preference to the Pacific

Consideration of reports on prospective recruits

Consideration of reports on Māori Committee fund raising

Those returned to New Zealand on furlough should not be returned to active service

Consideration of pleas that sons and grandsons should be returned from the war when they had served as much as four years

Remove restrictions on tohemanga and birding for the supply of food parcels

A young Brian Poananga (later Chief of General Staff) should go back to school for Higher School Leaving Certificate before thinking of military service

Children should not be kept back from school to work on farms or businesses where their fathers or brothers had gone to war

Petrol rationing and tyre shortages were affecting the capacity of the Home Guard and the ability of members to attend committee meetings

Parliamentarians to be informed of the influence of American Marines on Māori girls of tender years and their engagement in a brothel sponsored by the marines.

Civil Issues

Inadequate workplace conditions especially for women and minors in market gardening in Ōtaki and Ōpiki.

Unsatisfactory housing for some 500 Māori market gardeners at Ōpiki.

Unsatisfactory housing at several papakainga including overcrowded one room whare. Reports from District Nurses describe Māori housing and drainage throughout Manawatu and Horowhenua as “appalling” and ‘shocking’.

Condemning of homes in papakainga and requiring Māori to move to town to rebuild. Impossible conditions for rebuilding in rural papakainga eg sole ownership of land and roads one chain wide etc.

Government requirements for Māori to give over Māori land in town areas for state housing not exclusively for Māori, such as the Tītokitoki block in Ōtaki, and to supply timber from Māori Land in the ranges.

Apprenticeship and Trade Training needed. “Ōtaki College” proposed for plumbing and bricklaying.

Scholarships needed for attendance at Māori schools.

Māori language should be taught in homes through the radio.

Illegitimate children born in cities without grandparent's knowledge.

Māori guest houses and hostels are needed for the young people moving to the cities. A proposal is floated for a Māori Community Centre for Palmerston North.

Increased crime is seen to come from Māori in cities associating with 'the cruder and rougher elements' or as due to poor living conditions in cities and not as coming from those "living a community life". Most offending is property related.

Tohemanga [toheroa] restrictions of 20 per Pakeha and 60 for Māori groups are discriminatory (presumably because Māori groups generally exceeded 3 persons).

Pakeha are building groynes on their side of the Rangitikei River causing the river to erode the Māori side and others are then putting stone crushers on the eroded lands.

Our task should not be just the rehabilitation of the returned soldiers but the reconstruction of the people. The average Māori has nothing, the land having disappeared extensively.

Appendix 2: Founding members of Raukawa Tribal Executive under the 1945 Act

Meihana Te R.A. Durie (Chair) (Kauwhata), A. Knox (Otaki), S.Enoka (Otaki), Hori Kereama (Pikiahu Waewae), Purangi Herangi (Pikiahu Waewae), R.E. Collins (Palmerston North), D. Tatana (Palmerston North), Tumeke Wehipeihana (Tukorehe), Karanama Ruihi (Tukorehe), Tamihana Winiata (Ngā Tokowaru), Harry Williams (Ngā Tokowaru), Ngarorori Kingi (Muaupoko), James Hurunui (Muaupoko), Mrs. M.C Pene (Takahiku), J. De T. Sciascia (Takahiku), Menchira Tatana (Ngāti Huia), Harold Buckman (Ngāti Huia), Te Waari H. Ward (Kauwhata).

Nepia Winiata Secretary, non-member.

Appendix 3: Founding members of the Tribal Committees of Raukawa Tribal District under the 1945 Act

KAUWHATA TRIBAL COMMITTEE

Meihana Te R.A. Durie (chair), H.P. Takerei Hynes (Secretary), Reupena E. Merritt, Te Waari H. Ward, Aperahama Wi Te Oka, Te Whanaupani Cowan, Himiona Wereta, Ned Lawton, Puaheirirangi Waaka, Matawha Durie, Mere Dixon.

PIKIAHU-WAEWAE TRIBAL COMMITTEE

Hori Kereama (Chair) Hoani Rauhihi (Secretary), Te Rahu Roera, Maraenui Iwikau, Huki Teimana, Aperahama Kati, Huia Teehi, Pounamunui Herangi, Purangi Herangi, Hare te Wano, Rangi Erueti.

PALMERSTON NORTH TRIBAL COMMITTEE

R.E Collins (chair), H. Wehipeihana (secretary), D. Tatana, M. Rether, J. Reweti, W. Baker, C. Winiata, J. Pou

MUAUPOKO TRIBAL COMMITTEE

James Hurinui (chair), Himiona Warren (secretary), Rangi Williams, Rangi Broughton, Rangi Hill, Williams Waitere, Frank Greenland, Kerehi Heremaia, Murahi Hurinui, Dick Timu, Ngarori Kingi.

TAKIHIKU TRIBAL COMMITTEE

J. De T. Sciascia (chair), Mrs M.C Pene, Mrs E. Ropiha, Albert Taylor, H. Pene, N.Pene, Mrs W. Whareaitu, J.McDonald, P. McGregor, J. McGregor, Hone McMillan, T. A. McMillan (secretary, non member).

NGĀTI HUIA TRIBAL COMMITTEE

Menehira Tatana (chair), Harold Buckman (secretary), Taka Kerehoma, Mahanga Tatana, Rau Tihema, Huia Mihaka, Mac Tatana, Dawson Tamihana, Waaka Hapeta, Wharetaiki Hirini.

ŌTAKI TRIBAL COMMITTEE

A. Knox (Chair), S. Enoka (secretary), P. Baker, T. Baker, W. Nicholls, Rev. P. Temuera, H. Johnson, M. Rikihana, S. Cook, J. Cook, R. Carkeek

TUKOREHE TRIBAL COMMITTEE

Tumeke Wehipeihana, Rameka Wehipeihana, Taurua Wehipeihana, Peter Seymour, Karanama Ruihi, Tima Wereta, Moihi Paipa, Kakakura Ranapiri, Whareao Seymour, Tuhuwaiki Ranapiri, Ranapiri Perawiti, Tureiti Wehipeihana (secretary, non-member).

NGĀTOKOWARU TRIBAL COMMITTEE

Harry Williams (chair), Tamihana Winiata (chair), Kipa Roera, Te Ahukaramu Royal, Puke Kuiti, Hare Hare Hatete, Aperahama Roera, Lucy Jacob, Christina Winiata, Te Mahinganui Hook, Mohi Hartley

Appendix 4: Founding Wardens under the 1945 Act

August Simeon for Kauwhata

Tureiti Hoterini for Foxton and Rangiotu

M Hakaraia for Ōtaki

I Pene for Whakatere

Ōtaki-Māori RACING CLUB

6.0 THE ŌTAKI MĀORI RACING CLUB

6.1 Introduction

This Chapter deals with the establishment of the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club, the only Māori Racing Club in New Zealand, and its maintenance through to the present day as a Māori owned and operated institution regarded with huge affection by the iwi, and highly regarded by the racing community of New Zealand. It discusses the reasons Māori enjoyed raising and racing horses, the cultural and tikanga imperatives behind it, and the atmosphere of the big race days at the club. It also looks at the particular governance, ownership and social and economic impact of the club, which is still operating today, hosting race meetings in Ōtaki. For the historical material I am in debt to Alistair Bull's wonderful published history of the club⁷⁷⁵, likewise to a similar particularly informative historical account by Wakahuia Carekeek from *Te Ao Hou* magazine⁷⁷⁶. For the experiences of Ngāti Raukawa people I am indebted to participants in the oral history project conducted for this report, and to participants in other oral history projects over recent decades.

6.2 History of the Club

According to Carkeek the club ran its first races in the 1850s and 1860s, on a course at Katihiku on South Bank of the Ōtaki River. There was undoubtedly a major attraction to horses and horse racing on the hapū of Ōtaki and surrounding districts. Horses were the motorcar of several generations before the arrival of motorcar, and most Māori were expert horsemen, particularly Māori children in the nineteenth century. Most descendants of the hapū in the rohe

⁷⁷⁵ Alistair Bull, *The Otaki-Māori Racing Club, A History 1886-1890*

⁷⁷⁶ Wakahuia Carkeek, *A Century of Racing*, article in *Te Ao Hou* No 23, Jul 1858

will be able to find a Māori ancestor on the stewards list, or as an office holder, in times gone by. Membership to this day is only open to descendants of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa.

Wakahuia Carkeek reproduced a translation of an early programme:

“COME! COME! NOTICE TO ALL

This notice is to all friends in the East, in the West, in the North and in the South Oh friends, Listen.

HORSE RACES WILL BE HELD AT OTAKI

These races will be under the Patronage of the King of the Maori people

Stewards of the Races

Chairman: Hoani Taipua and his friends

Judge: Enoka te Wano and his friends

Starter: Hori te Waru and his friends

Clerk of the Course: Inia Hoani

Handicapper: Honoiti Ranapiri and his wife

Treasurer: Hiwi Piahana

Secretary: Puke te Ao⁷⁷⁷

The Chair here Hoani Taipua was one of the stalwarts and founders of the club; his full name Hoani Te Puna-i-Rangiriri Taipua. Taipua was a major Raukawa rangatira, said to have been born around 1839. He was typical of those Māori in the 19th century who became excellent horse breeders after growing up and working with horses. This led in a natural fashion to an interest in horse racing: -

“Before and during the wars of the 1860s Taipua assisted in running the mail service from Wellington to Auckland. He had a lifelong interest in horse-racing in the Otaki district, and by 1868 was chairman of race meetings, declared to be under the patronage of the Maori King. Races were run on a straight ‘there-and-back’ course, and horses owned by the different Maori tribes would compete with each other and with European-owned horses. The European-backed Otaki Racing Club was formed in 1879 with Taipua one of only three Maori stewards. About 1886 the Otaki-Maori Racing Club was established; Taipua was one of its initiators and remained president until his death. Membership was officially restricted to Ngāti Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa, although some Europeans were permitted to join.”⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁷ Wakahuia Carkeek, *A Century of Racing*, article in Te Ao Hou No 23, Jul 1958 p.25.

⁷⁷⁸ Angela Ballara. ‘taipua Te Puna-i-rangiriri, Hoani’, in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t3/taipua-te-puna-i-rangiriri-hoani>

In his article on the history of the club Wakahuia Carkeek puts the start of formal races at 1854:-

“the earliest date for racing in Otaki that this author has been able to uncover appears in Rod McDonald’s book *Te Hekenga*. McDonald recalls his mother telling him of a race meeting held on a course at Katihiku pa (on the South bank of the Otaki River) in 1854, the year before she arrived in the district. Match races arranged between owners were almost certainly held before that date.”

Many young Māori from the Cook Strait region served on whaling vessels and spent time in Sydney since pre-Treaty days. According to Australian racing histories horse racing was well-established in Sydney by 1810, and Māori, who spent months and years in Sydney in these years, would no doubt have seen what was going on, and learnt how to organise races and betting. Some modern non-racing types wonder why their tūpuna were drawn so rapidly into horse racing and its mysteries. One answer is in the opportunity it provided for a competitive kind of single combat by a hapū-backed team, with an immediately public result. The old competitive thrust of inter-tribal war, with its proving grounds and opportunities to smell victory and exult in the feats of champions had been suppressed by the conversion to Christianity. Māori gravitated to the respectable pastime of horse racing, which few Europeans disapproved of, indeed Pākehā people actively admired it, unlike the playing of billiards and other “low-grade” pursuits.

Many of the rangatira of the Kapiti Coast like Taipua and Tamihana Te Rauparaha quickly gathered a stable of horses, and developed an interest in horse-racing. A Te Ati-Awa leader with similar interests was Wī Te Kākākura Parata at Waikanae:-

“He was the largest landowner of the area: the town of Waikanae was originally named Parata Township. His farm boasted a fine stable of horses and a training racetrack on which the Waikanae Hack Racing Club operated until 1914. Parata was followed in these activities by his second son, Natanahira Te Umutapu Wī Parata, and by his grandson, Tohuroa Hira Parata.”⁷⁷⁹

First and foremost, there is the encounter with the horse itself, what Hector MacDonald of Hokio called ‘the sport of the thing’ at the heart of the early Ōtaki Races. Many Ngāti Raukawa, over the generations became involved through riding horses, and seeing and attending the

⁷⁷⁹ Hohepa Solomon. “Parata, Wiremu Te Kakakura”, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012

races. Tahiwi (Buster) Carkeek recalled in 1998 being up close to the horses at his childhood job at the Otaki Race course in the 1920's:-

“A bloke I got very much involved with around that time, it was a chap named Bob Nicholls. Now that's Jimmy Nicholls grandfather. Bobby Nicholls. He was a great fella actually.. I was working in a Chinese garden, and he was staying with his son, I can remember Jimmy he was a little boy, his grandfather was looking after him..and he sort of cottoned on to me, old Bob, and he used to take me all round Otaki. He was gonna do wonders with me. He had a job, little jobs here and there, and I used to go round with him. One of his jobs was down the racecourse helping to put up the starters on Race Day. I got five shillings for the day, helping old Bob. Actually the stewards kicked up, they said that joker's rooking him, he ought to get more than five shillings for the day. However, I think I got a pound in the end.

In those days, the starter, at the racecourse, the starter..he just had a cord across the horses and two big arms on either side, he just pulled the lever and the cord went up. And invariably that cord broke and you had to get out in the centre, amongst all those horses, and tie the knot up, in a certain knot, and I never used to get out, and he used to get out and I used to think “Ohh he's had it!”⁷⁸⁰.

With the establishment of large spectacular “rā” or race-days, came the opportunity also to entertain visitors from other rohe, a cardinal Māori pursuit and an opening to exercise manaakitanga (hospitality) , whereby the mana of both parties would be raised, but especially the giver, an exchange which signals to Māori that tikanga is being followed. **Could comment on quality of facilities and their maintenance – WW.** It is clear from some of the oral testimony gathered for this project that the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club was filling this role into the twentieth century, and indeed is still doing this. The Ōtaki Maori Racing Club is still operating in 2016, and a view of its activities and powhiri to visitors to attend race meetings over the last two years confirms this dynamic.

Race meetings allowed the resuscitation of the hākari, the tradition of offering delicacies in undreamed of quantities to all neighbouring hapū and iwi who were owed such kauhaukai, or as Tamihana Te Rauparaha put it, “kai whakataetae”, or competitive reciprocal feasts. Just who owed whom is remembered to this day in ancient memorials of giving and receiving kept down the generations by the iwi's book-keepers of such things.

Wakahuia Carkeek cited Rod McDonald again on the next phase of horse racing, which took place into Ōtaki town.

⁷⁸⁰ Tahiwi and Louise Carkeek, Rangiātea Oral History Project, 22 Dec 1998 – Alexander Turnbull Library OH Coll-0620 18.20-20.02

“In his book on early Horowhenua, Rod McDonald has recorded that a meeting was held near Otaki in 1854 at which his father, Hector McDonald, held the combined positions of steward, starter and judge. The race course was at that time at Katihiku on the south bank of the Otaki River and events were run on a straight course, the riders doubling around a post and finishing at the starting point. When McDonald attended his first meeting at Otaki in the early 70’s the starting post was outside the old Telegraph Hotel. The horses ran a gruelling race down the unmetalled Beach Road, round a post at Dodd’s Corner, and back to the Hotel again”.⁷⁸¹

“McDonald was of the opinion that racing in those days was pursued more for the sport of the thing than is done in these days of commercialised racing. The stakes were not attractive and £15 and £20 for the main race of the day was considered a worthy prize. It is even recorded in the minutes of an early meeting that a vote of thanks was passed to the donor of one white rooster as the stake for a race.

“Nearly all events were weight for age, welter weights being more usual. Hurdle races were quite popular and were normally run over a distance of two miles. Other events which sometimes drew large entries were pony races, these were usually not less than a mile.

“the events were run in heats, and all horses finishing the course became eligible to enter for the second heat. This meant that a horse had to win two heats straight out to win a race; if two different horses won first and second heats they were required to run it off for first place.”⁷⁸²

Eventually the first official racing club was formed at Otaki in 1880. It was a European one for which John Jillett was the Secretary. According to Carkeek they raced on the Rikiriki block which became the first circular race course in the district. It was a mile long course, and followed the Rangiuuru stream near the Ōtaki river mouth. Carkeek reports that club began to suffer from financial difficulties; the course became overgrown with variegated thistle, and people couldn’t see right across the course. The financial trouble led to the original club being disbanded and superseded by the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club: -

“After spending £250 on reforming the course and a further £170 on the construction of a Stewards stand and grandstand the Otaki Maori Racing Club became firmly established. In 1896 they claimed to have never had a loss at any meeting held. They also boasted in the following year that they had achieved a record in the number of nominations for a hack race meeting anywhere in New Zealand. Their entries on this occasion totalled 170.”⁷⁸³

The horse culture was well-established among Ngāti Raukawa in the final years of the nineteenth century and into the 20th. According to Carkeek race days were a major event in the 1890s with performances by the Ōtaki Māori Band being a notable feature. Photographs show Union Jacks flying and a typical crowded race scene with all races present.

⁷⁸¹ Wakahuia Carkeek, *A Century of Racing*, article in *Te Ao Hou* No 23, Jul 1858 p. 27.

⁷⁸² *ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 29.

Image 58: Māori gather at Ōtaki Māori Racing Club meeting c1900



6.3 The Rahui Road Racecourse

In his full history of the club Alistair Bull researched and presented in detail the story of the purchase of the Rāhui Rd site, and the development of the both the buildings, and the racetrack at the site which it occupies today: (See Map 26). Two offer of land for a racecourse were made for sites in 1904 when the people of the town heard the OMRC [Ōtaki Māori Racing Club] may be searching for a new venue for its race course. These came from a former race day judge Hakaraia Te Whena, and from Ben Ling. It was Ling's offer that was eventually accepted by the club. The stewards decided to see Ling about acquiring a course on his property in April 1905, and it was on this land purchased from Ling on the Te Roto-Rahui Road block, and on small sections belonging to various Māori owners adjacent to this, that the OMRC has raced ever since. J. Bennett in early 1907 drew up plans for the formation of the course, and G Cootes was awarded the tender for the work. According to Bull:-

‘there has been some confusion in the past is to when the OMRC began racing on this new course, with 1910 and 1912 both having been stated as being the year in which the move was made. However, both the club's minutes and newspaper reports make it clear that the first race day on the new course in Rahui Road was October 12, 1910. It was a wet day, but a good crowd attended nevertheless. The Honourable James Carroll, the Native Minister and OMRC patron was host for the day, and the many guests (which included a number of MPs) were, according to the *Weekly Press*. “eulogistic in their remarks concerning the course and appointments, and admitted having experienced an enjoyable day's sport”. The one problem according to the *Weekly Press*, was that the totalisator facilities were insufficient now that bookmakers were banned. Legislation had

forced the club to allow bookies back onto their course in 1907 when making plans for the construction of the course.

Race meetings on the new course went fairly smoothly in the years immediately preceding and during the First World War, but a post-war boom in race-day attendances saw the course facilities heavily strained. Record crowds were present at the meeting in June 1919 and they continue to grow into the 1920s. Considering the somewhat limited facilities the club did remarkably well to keep its attendances up, but there were aspects of the course facilities criticised by the public and the press.

The stewards stand came in for most criticism. After the June 1919 meeting the *Manawatu Times* reported that “it is time the OMRC considered the desirability of erecting a new stewards stand. The present structure is altogether too small for the purpose for which it was intended and with the crowd who manage to squeeze past gate-keepers, things get very uncomfortable for the authorised guests at times”

Further criticisms of the stand came from the *Otaki Mail* and from patrons, and the OMRC finally decided in February 1923 to improve and enlarge the stewards’ stand. Improvements were obviously satisfactory as few complaints can be detected after 1923. The *Otaki Mail* was pleased with the changes in November 1928 it praised the quality of the stand.

Another section of the course that was improved in the 1920s was the accommodation for horses and trainers present for the race meeting. This was expanded in 1928 to include 50 rooms for people to stay in, and 50 loose boxes for the horses. These facilities were apparently very comfortable and according to the *Otaki Mail* “any owner, trainer or jockey desiring accommodation will receive every attention, and can rest assured that horses can be thoroughly housed.”

Few criticisms were made of the racing service itself, which was described by the possibly overenthusiastic *Otaki Mail* in 1928 as being “known throughout the Dominion as one of the best”. However, this state changed a great deal in the 1930s. Major faults were detected in the 1930s, and one steward reported a number of jockeys and trainers had said the track was not fit to race on. The condition of the course was so bad that the winter meeting at 1935 had to be held at Levin. Although this was the only occasion that the club was forced to switch tracks in the 1930s, major renovations continue throughout the decade. These included filling in many holes and depressions, resowing the soil with grass seed, topdressing, ploughing the course up, and the construction of two new tracks: a sand track for training, and a steeplechase track.

There were two major factors which caused the racecourse to degenerate into such a shocking condition in the mid-1930s. One was a run of natural disasters in the 1930’s – there were a number of floods (including four in 1931 alone) which caused some damage, and a storm in 1936 which did the same. With the racecourse only a very short distance from where the [Otaki] river usually flooded it always suffered great damage when the floods came. Also, it must be remembered that the early and mid-1930s were the years of the Depression, and with finances strained it was harder to pay for the continued upkeep of the race-course. It would appear that it was a combination of these factors which resulted in the poor condition of the racecourse in the 1930s.

The years of the Second World War saw the Otaki course in great demand as a venue for race meetings as many clubs found their racecourses used for other purposes, such as army bases. In the 1942-43 season four other clubs – the Levin Racing Club, the Foxton Racing Club, the Masterton Racing Club and Pahiatua Racing Club held meetings at Otaki, and Levin would continue to race at Otaki for the rest of the war, and on occasions, after the war as well. There was some dispute within the OMRC stewards as to whether allowing all of these clubs to race at Otaki was wise, especially when Masterton was given permission to use the course by the secretary and the president without consulting the other stewards. In defence of his actions, OMRC President Hone McMillan stated that other clubs had not hesitated to help the OMRC out in times of hardship previously, and that by helping these other clubs the OMRC could keep these good relations intact. He also showed a great deal of foresight in stating that ‘there is always the possibility of centralising racing and it is just possible that Otaki will be the centre’. Mr McMillan’s statement was to prove prophetic.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸⁴ Bull, Alistair, *The Otaki-Māori Racing Club, A History 1886-1890*, Otaki Māori Racing Club 1990. pp.14-15.

Map 26: Ōtaki Māori Racing club



6.3 Ngāti Raukawa – Horses and Riders

Katihiku kuia Ramari Ropata reported to the writer in 1987 that all of her Ngāti huia ki Katihiku cousins had their own ponies for travel to school across the Ōtaki river. “I ētahi wā, ka pore mātou i ō mātou hōiho.” ‘sometimes we would fall off our horses.’ But they were tough and confident, and their horsemanship meant they felt safe around horses. Tahiwi recalled Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku arriving at the racecourse gates together as a hapū on raceday:

“I can remember too, raceday, from Katihiku, to come over, and they’d all be in a group at the main entrance, but you knew they were all from Katihiku and that yeah.”

There are local accounts of the rules, slightly bowlderised, but kōrero tuku iho nonetheless. Mātenga Baker recalled the early races for fun in a period of his childhood in Mōkau, South Waikato, in a 1986 interview. (The translation is mine):-

“Ngā wāhine, ngā kōtiro nei i runga i ō rātou nei hōiho i Mōkau ne. Haere ki tātahi i ngā rā nunui i reira, he Māori race on the beach ne. Na ko ngā kuia na kua tahutahu, kua tahuna atu te ahi mō ngā hāngī mō te hākari nē, mō ngā mea wini i te reihi i Mōkau. Na, koirā te mahi a taku koroua a Te Aramau i mua. I noho hoki au i te taha o te koroua a Te Aramau na, me aku tuāhine, a Mihirangi mā, kua wareware au ki te ingoa o te kuia, nō te mea, oo, nineteen ten, kei mua noa i tērā.”

“the women, and the girls ran their own races at Mōkau. They would race on the beach on days when the big hui were on, Māori races on the beach. The kuia would prepare bonfires ashore, they would light the fires for the hangī, to celebrate the winners of the races at Mōkau. That was a favoured pastime of my elder Te Aramau. For a time I stayed with my elder Te Aramau, with my sisters/cousins, Mihirangi and others, I have forgotten the name of the kuia, back in nineteen-ten, or perhaps well before that.”⁷⁸⁵

Matenga described the importance of horses in the rural Māori settlements of his childhood:

“Oo kī tonu te ngāherehere i te manu i taua wā, he kererū. Kererū te kai, kererū te kai i taua wā. Engari ko taku pāpā ko te Aramau..kātahi anō ka whiwhi i ngā hōiho ne, na, ka tiki i tana hōiho tāriana, whakamoea ki ngā pūihi hōiho kia puta he ponapona mō tā mātou.. mō ngā tamariki. Eke hōhio katoa ngā kuia, na, ka haere mātou ki ngā uhunga ne, na, ko ngā tamariki kei runga i ngā tuarā o ngā kuia, ko ngā kuia kei te noho i runga i ngā hōiho. Nā ka haere mātou ki ngā uhunga ne, ko ngā tamariki kei runga i ngā tuarā o ngā kuia, ko ngā kuia kei te noho i runga i ngā hōiho.. Na, ka haere mātou ki ngā uhunga, na, ka hari mātou i ā mātou nei poaka me ā mātou nei hipi ne, mō te uhunga hei kai ki te tangihanga.

“the forest was alive with birds in those times, with wood pigeons. Kererū was a staple food, wood pigeons. I remember my uncle Te Aramau, when he came into ownership of a horse, he would get this stallion, and breed it with the wild horses [Māori hacks]so we would each have ponies.. for the children. All of the kuia rode horses effortlessly. When we would go to tangihanga the

⁷⁸⁵ Matenga Baker and Kiripuai Te Aomarere, recording on the Racing Club, Boys College, childhood memories and Raukawa Otaki social history (in te reo), March 1986, transcript by Huia Winiata OHint-0225/24 ATU p. 8.

children rode on the kuia's backs; the kuia would ride horses. We would take pigs and mutton, to feed the people at the tangihanga".⁷⁸⁶

Gabrielle Rikihana had a vivid memory of Whatakaraka Davis, later a champion of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano and cultural revival, leading the horses before the grandstand in his distinctive Ōtaki Māori Racing Club red blazer. Her memories of childhood meetings between the wars were of a huge day marked by the arrival of hundreds of visitors. The whole of Raukawa acted as the hosts:-

Everyone went to the races in my day. You didn't go if you were very ill but other than that. We didn't have money to bet on horses. We didn't go to bet the horses, we went to see everybody who was there, and it began at the gates which were guarded by all our families. The people from Wellington came in special trains and if you were coming in from Wellington to the races, and those trains were packed. There would be a lot of people who wanted to bet, because there was no TAB, you know bookies were at risk."

Image 59: Whatakaraka Davis and wife Margaret at the opening of the new Ōtaki Māori Racing Club. The grandstand behind them was carved by Margaret's brother Hapai Winiata. Ōtaki 1979



⁷⁸⁶ Matenga Baker and Kiripuai Te Aomarere, recording on the Racing Club, Boys College, childhood memories and Raukawa Otaki social history (in te reo), March 1986, transcript by Huia Winiata OHint-0225/24 ATU p. 9. (Translation Piripi Walker)

Whānau of the Confederation were involved in the club from top to bottom. Kuini Rikihana recalled a childhood full of horses:

“so actually I was thinking you’ve got the Racing Club, now I love, I love thinking about the racing club you know “cause my father was a steward there and racing was really important in Ōtaki to us growing up “cause the clip clop of horses was as natural to me as, as night and day, because they’d be coming past or going to or they’d be out the beach. And we would go to the races, the Ōtaki races, I remember the sawdust on the you know, on those - we were never allowed to go anywhere near the public bars - but there would be candy floss and all those other things, and great food handed out to kids just, you know willy nilly. But so I remember Uncle Hema Hakaraia, but he had a horse called ‘so Pleasant’ and Dad would always back it, and I remember a time when we were driving away from the racecourse and ‘so Pleasant’ would be running down the road and Dad said “Look at that bugger! So he runs at home to go to his feeding box but he won’t run round the racing track!” You know, he was beating this ‘so Pleasant’”.

Rikihana recalls the full on involvement of the men in her family – her father was a steward at the club :

“so the three R’s, Raukawa, Rangiatea and the Racing Club, and then it became the Runanga didn’t it, were like the three pillars of our community and I think to be a member of the Racing Club was an honour. When my cousin Tommy became the president of the Racing Club it was like the biggest thing in our family you know, because of our Rikihana blood. You know Johnson, he was a Johnson and Tommy was, I think he was a fabulous president, but he used to say things and he’d have a giggle in his voice and he’d say ‘the Otaki Māori Racing Club is not only racially segregated, we are also iwi-ly segregated.’” So although you were a Māori you needed to belong to um, be Raukawa, hopefully from this area and so that includes Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Atiawa but not Ngāti Awa from the north, we’ve had to stop a few of those sneaking in to our membership.

So it was such an honour you know, to be, to be able to be a member of the Racing Club. I also remember the beautiful carpet, we’ve got the remnants of it now in Tāringaroa, next to Raukawa which we own, and the horseshoe table. I snuck in with my cousins, I think we had to take something in but we hung around and we saw that big horseshoe, and my uncles all sitting back with waistcoats and you know looking very important. A lot of cigar smoke in the room, and they’re all “Haw haw haw.” Mickey and I we weren’t allowed, but I do remember seeing that, glimpsing it but it was hallowed ground really, those things.”⁷⁸⁷

Atareti Jacob and her whānau ran the accommodation house at the club. One of her daughters Auntie Tohe Bell (nee Jacob) recalled in an interview with Kuini Rikihana how all the siblings helped out in the fastidiously run dining room looking after the racing fraternity who came for race days:

⁷⁸⁷ Kuini Rikihana, Te Hono ki Raukawa Oral History Project 2016, interview 13 Sept 2016, Otaki, Tk 1 19.01-22.24

“I grew up at the accommodation house of the Racing Club.. They’d have to come and stay for a week, because it was all done by float. So we were kept very, very busy, but we could house 50 guests.”⁷⁸⁸

Bell recalled the energy of her mother Atareti who did the catering for guests, alongside a cook who came in to help her.

“Of course the waitressing was all done by us. We had two stoves in a very big kitchen and they both used to be used in the time of these guests. But it was quite a lot of work, because breakfast always consisted of cereal and of course, cooked meals. Lunch, invariably a hot meal, combined with cold meats and salad, and of course hot dinner at night. But I am proud to say this, many many trainers paid so much respect to the accommodation house when we were caretakers.”

Her husband Ben Bell became involved in horse racing in their lives, and he later became the President of the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club. Her niece Rachael Selby recalled that Racing Club was a significant employer of Māori – providing people in support roles with a livelihood in the important and powerful racing industry:

“For them it was social. I’ve heard that some of them were jockeys for example, some of our family, Uncle Whiwhi I think, some of them were jockeys. But it was also an income. You know my grandparents were over at the Racing Club in the 1930s depression, and what my aunts said, is that they they didn’t really notice the depression, where a lot of families had, because over the racing club it was like a farm, because they were catering for race meetings. They had the cows that they milked for the cheese, and the butter and what not and some income, so the cows.. and they had sheep which my grandfather killed for meat, and they had pigs, for meat, and there were ducks there. And so there was plenty of protein and it also gave them all their dairy. They also had quite large gardens, and at the end of the 1930s, during the Second World War, the middle of the race course was planted out in vegetables, so it was part of what was a government initiative in this period.”⁷⁸⁹

Selby also recalled family picnics at the Ōtaki races where many whānau and their tamariki would attend. There was a great deal of energy put in to those gatherings. Among the family stories told by her mother and aunts were the details of the preparations in the dining room:

“they had white starched tablecloths and serviettes, and they had soup served up in tureens, and they had three cold meats, or three meats and.. so it very much resembled the hotels. So the owners may well have stayed in the Railway Hotel but the fare over at the Racing Club was no less than the dining room at the Railway Hotel. And they all dressed up and had to be waitresses; my mother and her sisters and cousins, and so that side of it, the manaakitanga matched in in a way what was expected in Pākehā circles, in a hotel-type standard. And I understand that on the day before races,

⁷⁸⁸ Tohe (Toss) Cynthia Bell (nee Jacob), Women in World War II Project, Alexander Turnbull Library, OHC-004675, Tape 1, 304-405.

⁷⁸⁹ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Track 5, 31.25-32.28

my grandmother would have gone out with her bucket and her scrubbing brush, and she scrubbed down the members” stand to make sure that it was clean.”⁷⁹⁰

Selby related stories from her aunt Tohe Bell about how jockeys trainers would arrive at the racing club on the Thursday or Friday prior to race meetings:-

“they were given a towel and, for example, they were given a deposit of two shillings for that towel, because you couldn’t afford to have people take towels away in those days, but sometimes they did, and they then were able to keep the two shillings because they didn’t have to give that deposit back, so that was seen as income as well. So there were lots of ways it provided the family, and many of Mum’s cousins with the ability to come over and work a couple of nights before and after the race meeting. Because people didn’t jump in their cars after a race meeting and head off. They stayed over, and sometimes for a couple of days because then they were moving onto the next race meetings that they didn’t go home, as it were. They might have come from a race meeting in Wellington to Ōtaki, and then be moving up to another race meeting in Palmerston North, or Marton or Feilding, or somewhere or other. So the accommodation wasn’t for one or two nights. So that did create this marvellous social atmosphere before and after race meetings. And that was great fun.”⁷⁹¹

Carkeek reports in his article that in a programme from those early days the rules of racing at Ōtaki were given. (There is some doubt as to whether these were first published in Ōtaki – see below) :-

- a) “Men owning horses and wishing to enter them must deposit money in the hands of the Secretary.
- b) Men who have taken too much drink will not be allowed on this course. If any man disobey this rule he will bring the whip of the Club down upon him.
- c) No girls will be allowed to ride as jockeys in these races.
- d) Do not bring any drink to these races.
- e) No jockey must knock any other jockey off his horse or touch the reins of any other jockey, or strike any other jockey with his whip during a race, or strike any other horse other than his own, or swear at or threaten any other jockey.
- f) Jockeys must wear trousers in all events.
- g) Any jockey breaking these rules will be driven from the course if he does not pay 20/- to the Treasurer.
- h) You must not change the name of the horse, or suppress the fact of a win at any other race meeting. You can be expelled or fined not more than 50/- if you break this rule.
- i) Persons allowed to see these races must not say rude words to the Stewards, or swear at jockeys who do not win, or otherwise behave improperly.”

As noted above these rules appear verbatim in Maui Pomare’s *Legends of the Māori*, Vol II, edited by James Cowan, and are said to have come from notice of a race meeting held in Ōkoroire, northern Ngāti Raukawa territory in the Waikato. It has the same notice about being run under auspices of the King (Tawhiao), in the 20th year of his reign, which would date it to

⁷⁹⁰ *ibid.*, Track 5, 33.54-35.05

⁷⁹¹ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Track 5, 32.37-33.51

1880. Given that the notice about the auspices of the Māori King runs in the Ōtaki account, it makes one think that the original may have belonged in the Waikato.

6.4 Summary

Raukawa established the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club from the 1850s. This club grew naturally out of Māori and Pākehā making contact with each other, and growing to enjoy each others pastimes. Horses arrived very early along with all other livestock, and the hapū of the Coast, their members and tamariki became good horsemen and stockmen/women. Races were being run very early, as was betting. Early race tracks in the vicinity of Katihiku, on the south bank of the river, and Ōtaki town, and indeed, race-running into town are recorded from 1854, with regular full race meetings from the 1860's. Beyond its obvious attraction as a recreation and sport, it has provided employment and opportunities in the racing industry. It is also a place where the iwi and those associated with the club have been able to offer hospitality and attract and look after manuhiri, a cardinal Raukawa aim, and indeed, a Māori one. It has had a major role in promoting good race relations and upholding Māori pride – it has been a highly regarded contributor to the Racing industry throughout New Zealand since its inception. The Racing Club is regarded to this day as a taonga tuku iho; hence the loyalties and efforts of iwi members in that direction to ensure its continuance and uphold its mana.

Image 60: Whatarangī Winiata with youngest child Kimo at Ōtaki Māori Racing Club 1979



7.0 WHAKATUPURANGA RUA MANO (GENERATION 2000, 1975-2000)

Image 61: Whakatupuranga Rua Mano organisers at Raukawa Marae 1980



7.1 Introduction

This Chapter is about the establishment and operation of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 25-year programme, which was adopted by the three iwi (Te Atiawa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira) under the auspices of the Raukawa Trustees in 1976. It was a plan of iwi re-development devised and spearheaded by Whatarangi Winiata, which ran from that year until the year to 2000. Under the plan, hapū and iwi, the “basic operating units” of Māori society would once again become major architects in the formation of their young people. The chapter describes how this programme of education and activities re-oriented the new generation within communal realities, endowed them with the gift of bilingualism, and re-located them spiritually so they formed attachment at the basic level of identity to their Māori kin groups – whānau, hapū and iwi. The Chapter gives an account of how the three-pronged programme was implemented and carried to fruition.

7.2 Earlier moves, the proposal and adoption of the idea

Kaumātua of the Confederation had begun working on strategies to retain the language and culture earlier than 1975. According to Iwikātea Nicholson, Te Ouenuku Rene of Ngāti Toarangatira was the person who insisted the Confederation start to pass on knowledge and tradition, and this became a Raukawa Marae Trustees initiative. In the mid-1960s Nicholson became the Chairperson of the small committee which organised hui for those interested to come together and hear kuia and koroua give lectures on tradition and tikanga.

A plan for a programme of iwi and hapū revitalisation had gestated in Winiata's mind during his 15 years away in the United States pursuing academic qualifications and working in a number of university posts. He recounted the story of the adoption of the Whakatapuranga Rua Mano programme to Dr. Ranginui Walker: -

“Whatarangi suggested that the Trustees develop a strategic plan for the future of their people with a time horizon of 25 years. He proposed the idea of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000. The objective was to ensure that all children in the Confederation would be fluent in Māori by the year 2000, thus projecting the future of the Confederation into the 21st century as bilingual speakers of Māori and English. Whakatapuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000 also aimed to produce a number of doctors, lawyers and graduates from members of the confederation. Whakatapuranga Rua Mano was a visionary idea. Although the Raukawa Trustees thought Whatarangi was dreaming, they agreed with the proposal. But it was up to him to make it work.

Undeterred by the lukewarm reception from the Trustees, Whatarangi put his idea of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano out into the public domain. In April 1976, he described his concept of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000 at a one-day seminar of principals of 32 secondary schools in the region of the Kapiti Coast.

The inspiration for the launch of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano was the restoration project of Ngatokowaru marae.”⁷⁹²

The main tools were to be Māori ones, in particular, the hui. Young people's hui were arranged on marae every school holidays with one marae becoming the headquarters in each school holidays for all the tamariki of the Confederation. There would be activism within whānau, with transmission of key messages to tamariki, language immersion hui. Finally, there was a proposal for the re-establishment and re-formulation of the ancient Māori school of learning, a central wānanga. It was proposed that the latter would become a major institution. Pākehā groups would be hosted at hui on marae and taught about things Māori also. Walker heard from Winiata how the first young people's hui ran for five days. These hui were held under the auspices of the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board, for the scholarship holders who received grants from the Board:-

“While living in Wellington, Whatarangi relied on his sister Margaret and his brother-in-law Whatakaraka Davis to prepare the marae, Whatakaraka, being a native speaker of Māori, manned the paepae along with Whatarangi. For Margaret, having to back up her brother and husband at the marae was a learning experience. She had to karanga, and sing waiata to support the orators. The two “Whata's were the pillars of the hui...There was no funding from Government, so a major element underpinning the programme was raising funds to cover the costs to the marae of feeding participants. The main sources of funds were the Churches and the Raukawa Trustees. Whatarangi, supported by Turoa Royal, did the teaching.”⁷⁹³

⁷⁹² Ranginui Walker, *Wānanga* Unpublished mss in preparation by Steele Roberts Publishers 2015, p. 65.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

7.3 The Four Central Principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000

Winiata described the founding principles of the programme in 1979 in an article he prepared for the NZ Planning Council:

‘the Principles. These are not obvious. The Raukawa Trustees have not resolved what they should be. There is considerable uncertainty in this area. A great deal of discussion and testing will be required. Examples of (possible) principles are:

- a) That the marae is our principal home and, as such, it must be well serviced and maintained and thoroughly respected. It is the place where distinguished manuhiri (visitors) are to be extended hospitality, and where extended families meet for significant events.
- b) That the language, as a deeply treasured taonga left by the Māori ancestors of New Zealand, is to be protected from further decline and our activities must guarantee revival.
- c) That the people are our wealth and that their development and retention is more important than the development and retention of any other tangible resource.
- d) That we will strive to govern ourselves. (That all decisions of significance to the confederation and its people be subject to initiatives or responses from and close scrutiny by the Trustees or their representatives.)⁷⁹⁴

These were to become the four guiding beacons of activity over the 25-year life of the programme– the marae, people development and retention, the revival of the language and culture, and self-determination. The third principle in Winiata’s list related to the prime value to be placed on the human being. In equipping and educating the young people for progress in modern society, the Māori value system would prevail. Although material goals would be highly valued, they would operate one down from the top tier of human values.

Winiata suggested these four principles were a rough initial attempt to weave a convenient scheme, but the net woven in that early paper, with its layers of activity survived the next twenty-five years unchanged.

In that same paper the ‘sub-objectives’ for what the Trustees hoped to see by the year 2000, were:

- a) “to close the gap in educational accomplishments between the tamariki and mokopuna of Raukawa Toa and Atiawa and the rest of the community.

⁷⁹⁴ Whatarangi Winiata, “*Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development*”, published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 5.

- b) To rejuvenate the many marae of the Confederation.⁷⁹⁵“

The focus on marae was part of the quest to retain the central features of Māori communal kin groups and reverse the loss of te reo and the culture among the young, as expressed in the 1979 paper. In his book on *Politics of the NZ Maori* John Williams concludes that the main thrust of Māori resistance by the end of the nineteenth century was to resist the implantation of Western notions of individuality in the young, whereby the old Māori communal hapū identity, and thus the cornerstone of the culture, would be lost.

“the Māoris had only to be set on the same path of progress as the Europeans had taken. The Māoris” problems would be solved, the Europeans of New Zealand believed, if the Māoris would, in economics, society and culture, virtually become Europeans. The system of education for the Māoris was designed to further this aim⁷⁹⁶.”

7.4 What were the “Missions”?

Winiata, described Whakatupuranga Rua Mano as a programme of ‘self-correction’ by the iwi. In order to effectively carry out the programme, the Raukawa Trustees would adopt three separate arms of activity;

an education arm for the young (the *Education Mission*),

an iwi re-development programme based on marae (*the ART Mission*), and

an outreach arm, aiming to teach non-Māori about things Māori, (*the Pākehā Mission*).

The following section is a description of each of these “Missions” in turn, and their impact.

7.5 The Education Mission

Education conferences in New Zealand in 1974 heard that Māori children were only doing “half as well as non-Māori”. The initiative known as Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000) had the goal of turning that performance around. Winiata presented the analogy of two cars travelling in the same direction, but at different speeds; both make progress but the gap between them widens:-

“the Trustees believe that in our educational system the car in front is represented by the Pākehā people and the rear car by their own tamariki and mokopuna, who, stripped of many of their cultural characteristics including their ancestral language, are distinguishable from Pākehā people

⁷⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 3

⁷⁹⁶ John A Williams, *Politics Of The New Zealand Maori, Protest and Cooperation 1891-1909* Oxford University Press 1969, p. 22.

only by colour... The risk, which Trustees are attempting to reduce, is that strictly colour prejudice will emerge in an essentially monocultural community.⁷⁹⁷

The programme would encourage young members of the Confederation to become much better educated than was previously the case. A number of the leading figures in Whakatupuranga Rua Mano were educationalists, and some others had graduated to successful careers in medicine, law and other professions. They were all enjoying the benefits of personal growth, discovery and secure lifelong income that a full tertiary education, or trade, can bring. Most were well aware of the racist policies of the Department of Education in the nineteenth and twentieth century, that had deliberately marked out Māori for non-academic careers. The Trustees identified a number of goals for the Education Mission, for young people to gain qualifications in particular professions, and set it before the iwi. It contained targets for entry into the medical, dentistry and legal professions, and into wider choices such as professional music and the religious Ministry:

Table 5: The Professions: Present & Future⁷⁹⁸

Profession	Qualified	Goals
Accountancy	2	10 by 1985; 20 by 1990
Agriculture	1	5 by 1985; 10 by 1990
Architecture	2	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
Dentistry	-	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
Engineering	1	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
High school teaching	5	15 by 1985; 30 by 1990
Law	1	10 by 1990; 20 by 2000
Medicine	2	10 by 1990; 20 by 2000
Ministry	-	10 by 1985; 20 by 1990
Professional music	1	5 by 1985; 10 by 1990
Veterinary science	1	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000

Despite the fact that by the year 2000, the end of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, not all these targets were met, in some cases falling short by a long way, there is little doubt that Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and Te Wānanga o Raukawa (one of its successor programmes) produced results. There was close monitoring of emerging students in schools and universities throughout the years of the programme, and excellent mentoring. With the support of their iwi, many young people were encouraged into professional careers in education and the

⁷⁹⁷ Whatarangi Winiata, "Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development", published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 2.

⁷⁹⁸ Winiata, Whatarangi, "Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development", published in *He Mātāpuna, A Source: Some Māori Perspectives*, 1979, p. 72.

universities, the language, arts, broadcasting, music and so on. The general enthusiasm and excitement about education did affect and infect the young, as the programme's designers hoped. They joined with the whole kaupapa of education, and many stayed with it all the way.

The successor programme to Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, explained that its first degree, the Bachelor of Māori and Administration, was designed to produce “bilingual and bicultural administrators” who would be fitted to manage the affairs of the Confederation in their later lives. There was perhaps, by 1981, a little less emphasis on the desire to export those potential “bilingual and bicultural administrators” into the mainstream English speaking professions. It seemed there was a rethink about sending the bright young minds of the Confederation away to the worlds of medicine, dentistry, municipal law and so on.

Trained minds and hands were needed within the Confederation and its new wānanga, which meant the programme began to emphasise the importance of “retention” of the people. Once a commitment was made to primary and secondary bilingual education and a tertiary institution, a large number of workers were required for ‘the vineyard’. There was an increasing set of new opportunities, in new sectors under Māori control. Iwi development was taking off, and Māori initiative was being demonstrated in businesses, social services, commerce and education across the country. At this time of increasing iwi enterprise Te Rūnanga o Raukawa was formed, along with Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira and the emergent iwi authority for Te Rūnanga o Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai. Many new positions were created in various sectors of the activity by these bodies.

7.6 The ART (Atiawa, Raukawa, Toa) Mission

Rebuilding marae

Redevelopment of marae buildings and maintenance became part of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. The Trustees and their component hapū committed to improving tupuna whare, accommodation, and ablution blocks, to reach modern standards of comfort. In March 1978 the carved meeting house Ngātokowaru at Hōkio was opened, to replace the old Ngātokowaru.

Image 62: Kaumātua Hui at Ngātokowaru Marae, Hokio, 2017



In 1981 followed the opening of the new wharekai at Whakarongotai, Hine-o-te-iwi. Through the late 70s, Ngāti Toa Rangatira were also bringing to fruition years of work in building and decorating the new whare tupuna Toa Rangatira at Takapūwāhia, which was opened in May 1982. This was a significant iwi-wide effort for Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

An ablution block and waharoa (gateway) were added at Parewahawaha, the meeting house Tūranga was opened at Paranui Marae, Hīmatangi, the carvings and wharekai added at Matau marae in 1985, and the ablutions, kitchen, and kohanga reo of Wehiwehi Marae, Manakau. In the years before 1995 the house at Aorangi was restored, and Kauwhata had a new house built known as Ngā Mokopuna. A dining hall known as Pareunuora was added at Ngatokowaru, dining and ablutions were built at Kikopiri. Tukorehe Marae saw the addition of a whakaruruhau entrance way and the dining hall Ngaparetaihinu, Raukawa Marae saw the addition of the rebuilt dining hall Te Kata a Raukawa and a new ablution block. At Pukekaraka new ablutions were added for Tainui Marae. At Katihiku the 19C house Tamatehura on the southern banks of the Otaki river was restored and reopened, in 1992. Other whare tupuna

completed within the Confederation during the 25 years include Hongoeka (Porirua) opened in 1997, and Manomano (Halcombe) in 1996.⁷⁹⁹

In addition to re-building of physical marae, according to Tūroa Royal came the desire to regain the aspects of marae tradition which meant hapū could confidently maintain their marae, and host hui, with the traditional protocols:

“Another dream of the Raukawa Trustees was to revise and maintain the traditions of Raukawa-tanga, Toarangatira-tanga and Te Atiawa-tanga. It was hoped that the Raukawa trustees as a group representing the three iwi would continue to act as a forum for decision-making and guidance. A series of discussions took place on marae in the rohe to take stock of the level of knowledge on whakapapa (genealogy), history, waiata, (traditional chants), reo (Māori language) and so on.

During the course of these hui a number of ideas emerged including:

- the number of marae which needed upgrading
- the small number of people on each marae able to perform all essential ceremonial activities pertaining to the marae
- the small number of people either learning or speaking the reo (in 1975 no one in the confederation under the age of 30 could converse comfortably in two languages
- limited knowledge amongst the three iwi of the history, waiata, traditions, kawa (protocols) and resources of the rohe.”⁸⁰⁰

Occasionally the young people at the Young People’s Hui assisted with the renovation of the marae matua, eg. Raukawa, in the late 1970s. The objective of renovation of the marae was reported to be well underway by the late 1990s – almost all of the marae of the Confederation had undergone some kind of refurbishment or rebuilding.⁸⁰¹

Rebuilding Hapū

Winiata produced a retrospective paper in the signal year 2000, the year the experiment ended, in which he examined further this rebuild of the marae, and the hapū. He focussed on the traditional concept of mana, and discussed the phenomenon of Mana ā-hapū and mana ā-iwi (the mana of hapū and of iwi). He described these as distinctively Māori institutions and provided a list of sixteen indicators which might define and measure the health and well-being of hapū and iwi. He felt there would be no surprises in his list, nor any disputes about the relevance of the contents:

⁷⁹⁹ Huia Winiata, my thanks to Huia for information on these building activities, email communication, Nov 11, 2011

⁸⁰⁰ Turoa Royal, *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Celebrating 25 Years* article Otaki Historical Society Journal, Vol 23, 2000, p. 50.

⁸⁰¹ Selby, R ‘tararua is my Mountain’ in 1999 *Te Ūkaipō* (volume 1), p. 12.

“Indicators of Hapū or iwi Health and Wellbeing

- The number of active members of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The number of members who have an extensive knowledge of whakapapa of the Hapū or Iwi and can produce it instantaneously.
- The depth and strength of the wairuatanga of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The depth and strength of the whanaungatanga of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The ability of the Hapū or Iwi to explain or defend their kawa and tikanga [protocol and customs]
- The strength of the reo within the Hapū or Iwi.
- The number of active and effective kaumātua within the Hapū or Iwi.
- The state of health of the members of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The level of educational achievements of members of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The breadth, depth and general state of the “books” or manuscripts of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The condition of Marae facilities of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The number and significance of taonga owned and controlled by the Hapū or Iwi.
- The amount of land owned collectively by the Hapū or Iwi.
- The size and stocks of Hapū or Iwi fisheries.
- The size and state of financial assets of the Hapū or Iwi.
- The value of any radio spectrum parts owned or vested in the Hapū or Iwi.”⁸⁰²

Winiata went further in this 2002 paper and spelt out the kinds of behaviour relating to these indicators, both individual and group, that the elders of the Confederation might consider the most important to assist with re-producing the most desirable and distinctively Māori aspects of the culture. In the first instance he distinguished between the goals of corporate and financial management and those of hapū and iwi, the latter would not have “money maximisation” as their primary goal. The main goal is “mana ā-hapū and mana ā-iwi”, and this will be attributed to any of these bodies by other hapū and iwi, “in terms of their ability to maintain their health and well-being.

“It is likely too that they will ask themselves: What will be the impact on other Hapū or Iwi? This question is vital to the management of mana-ā- hapū and mana-ā-iwi relationships. For our long-term prosperity we will ask both questions and act in ways that are

- Beneficial to both or own (hapū or Iwi) and other hapū or Iwi or
- Beneficial to one with neutral effects on the other.

Any decisions that lead to the diminution of health and wellbeing of other Hapū of Iwi while being beneficial would be risky.”

Winiata stressed that very great care indeed is needed in all actions affecting others and their mana, and with insight into this principle hapū and iwi could increase their ‘social capital’ in

⁸⁰² Whatarangi Winiata, ‘*some Thoughts on a Theory of Managing Mana-ā-Hapū and Mana-ā-Iwi Relationships, The Long Term Survival of the ART Confederation as a Case Study*, January 2000, p. 7.

such areas as community arrangements, systems, values and treasures, thus increasing ‘the formation of favourable impressions’ of other hapū of one’s own.

“Consider active membership: No members, no Hapū (or Iwi)! It’s as simple as that. The more numerous are the active members, the more impressive is the position and the greater is the potential of that group in the eyes of other Hapū and Iwi.

Deep and broad knowledge of whakapapa, instantaneously available, is highly regarded. The more members of a Hapū or Iwi who are able to deliver this, the more Hapū or Iwi will be impressed.

“Confidence of a Hapū or Iwi in the expression of wairuatanga and in demonstrating the ability to provide spiritual support for themselves or for others will be observed with admiration by other Hapū or Iwi.

“Activities that are reflective of derivatives of whakapapa, including whakawhanaungatanga will be applauded by other Hapū or Iwi. Strength in whanaungatanga and signs that efforts are made towards whakawhanaungatanga cause observers, especially other Hapū or Iwi, to take note. A high reputation for having people who can explain and defend the kawa and tikanga of a Hapū or Iwi and their marae travels widely and rapidly within Māori networks. Lots of people who have the ability to conduct affairs in te reo Māori will be regarded with awe.

Active kaumātua always receive acclaim.

The state of health among members of a hapū will attract favourable comment if it is to be judged to be good, in terms of te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro, te taha wairua and te taha whānau [physical health, mental health, spiritual health, and familial health]. High educational accomplishments will be complimented.

All of these aspects of the human presence of a Hapū or Iwi contribute to the health and wellbeing of any marae community. They will be regarded favourably; they will be respected, and they will have standing. They will be the basis for ascribing mana.

Coupled with these aspects of the human community of a Hapū or Iwi are the physical signs that other Hapū or Iwi will look for.

Many Hapū or Iwi have their “books” or manuscripts in which are contained important information about the group. The state of the manuscripts of Hapū or Iwi and the quality of management given to them, will be seen as important to the long-term recognition of the group. Here is a source of admiration among those Hapū or Iwi who are in the know.

Clearly, the quality of marae facilities in terms of their ability to deliver manaakitanga to the Hapū or Iwi itself and to others will be a sign that will be the subject of favourable comment.

The distinctiveness of taonga and the range of events to which they apply, will be attributed respect by others. Other tangible resources and their magnitude and significance, including fishing areas,

financial assets and land will attract analysis and comment. The more substantial, the more complimentary will be the ‘talk’.⁸⁰³

The mana of individuals, and of hapū and iwi, was to be valued more than money and tangible things. This led inexorably to a key decision within the principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, the resolve to focus on rescuing te reo Māori.

7.7 History of Language Loss and Plan for Restoration of te reo Māori

The Trustees decided that no matter what the cost the language would be restored to the mokopuna. This became the second principle. Language loss had become universal in Ngāti Raukawa after the 1930s, though it appears that Raukawa was still relatively rich in Māori speakers in the 1920s. It was common for both parents of large Raukawa families at that time to be native speakers, ie those individuals born into the language in the years 1880-1900.

There was reluctance on the part of this generation to pass on the language at all to their tamariki. Language transmission appeared to stop quickly. Among the elders of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano years later, questions and regrets remained, as they looked back on the missed opportunity. Tahiwī Carkeek grew up with two native-speaking parents, Rikihana Carkeek and his wife Pareraukawa, in the Rangiotu district, but recalled how firmly the parents wished their children to grow up as monolingual native English speakers.

“My parents amused me because they both spoke Māori, and when they didn’t want us to know anything they used to speak in Māori. But we used to tune in..e te whānau.. hello, we knew somebody was born.. kei Taupō .. oh they’re both down there. Whenever they were speaking in Māori in front of us they didn’t want us to know anything. But they never encouraged us to speak. That’s something I look back and think, terrible that was really. I think they were conned by the Europeans at that time. Don’t teach Māori to your kids, because it’s going to be of no value to them. I sort of got that impression from my father in later years actually.”⁸⁰⁴

Carkeek recalled his father asking visiting elders to stick to English in the family home, something he once argued with his father about. Whatarangi Winiata had a similar memory.

“I used to hang around with [Paora Temuera], of course I was quite young at that time. And I didn’t speak the language, he spoke the language of course, Paora Temuera. Our parents spoke the language, but they chose not to teach the language to us. So that was a significant gap in our upbringing”.

⁸⁰³ Whatarangi Winiata, *‘some Thoughts on a Theory of Managing Mana-ā-Hapū and Mana-ā-Iwi Relationships, The Long Term Survival of the ART Confederation as a Case Study*, January 2000, p. 8.

⁸⁰⁴ Tahiwī and Louise Carkeek transcript ATU OHA-8108 Rangiatea, transcript, p. 27.

According to Mereana Selby of Ngāti Pareraukawa, her grandmother Atareti (Lucy) Jacob made a conscious decision to raise her children as English speakers (the translation is mine):-

“Nō reira i roto i aua tau, mai i te mutunga o te rau tau tekau mā iwa, tae noa ki te tau kotahi mano iwa rau rua tekau, he aha ngā āhuatanga i puta mai, i huri ai ōna whakaaro, i whakatau ai ia, “ehara te reo Māori i te reo pai, tika, aha rānei hei whāngai atu ki aku tamariki”. I roto i aua tau, ko te hekenga tonutanga o te iwi Māori, puta noa, kua mōhio tātou, mai i te taenga mai o te iwi Pākehā, ērā āhuatanga katoa, tae noa ki te hainatanga o te Tiriti, ngā whakatau a te Karauna kia riro atu te whenua ki te Karauna, ngā pakanga, ērā āhuatanga katoa, i pā mai i mua i tana whānautanga mai. Engari koiā pea ngā rongo kōrero i rongo ia, i a ia e tamariki ana, kei te heke tonu, kei te heke tonu te iwi Māori, te tokomaha o ngā Māori, me ngā āhuatanga i runga i ngā Māori, he korenga nō te whenua, te itinga rānei o te whenua, ngā rawa, ērā āhuatanga katoa, kei te heke haere. E whakapae ana ahau, koinā ngā kōrero o tana tamarikitanga, tana taiohitanga, ka rongo ia i ērā momo kōrero. Me pēhea e ora ai tōna iwi i ngā tau e heke mai? Me pēwhea, me pēwhea? Ki te pērā tonu te heke tonutanga, kua kore he iwi Māori e ora tonu ana. Koirā ngā momo kōrero e haere ana i taua wā. Nā reira, ka pēwhea te matua e hiahia ana kia ora ai tana whānau, ana tamariki? Ka tiki atu i ngā momo taputapu, pūkenga, aha rānei, mōhiotanga, e ora ai tana whānau, me kua tonu e whai noa iho ia e whai i te huarahi o te heketanga.⁸⁰⁵”

‘so within that period, the 1890s to the nineteen-twenties, what were the key factors which changed her outlook on transmission of the language, that made her consciously decide “ the language is not desirable, not the right language for her children to acquire? In those years the Māori population had been declining throughout the country as we know, in fact since the arrival of the Pākehā, all of those factors. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was the start of the decline, the decisions of Governments which saw the land go to the Crown, the wars of the nineteenth century, all those things which happened before she was born. That was the kind of discussion she grew up with, “Māori are fading away, their numbers are decreasing, Māori are marginalised, they are landless, they have scraps of land, no resources, they continue to decline”. I believe that that is what she grew up with, she heard these kinds of statements. How could her people survive? What could be done? If the decline continued, Māori would die out completely. That’s what she heard all around her. How could a parent ensure their children might live? They would seek after the tools, skills, knowledge, whatever was needed to allow their children to survive, and decide not to remain on the road which had led to decline.’”

The NZCER survey of Māori Language use in communities throughout Aotearoa led by Dr Richard and Nena Benton produced a report on a number of towns and communities in Ngāti Raukawa territory. Their research was conducted in Ōtaki township in 1975, and in nearby rural areas in 1978. Ōtaki township results found a total of 26 fluent speakers out of 158, of whom four were under the age of 25.⁸⁰⁶ Although this 20% sounds higher than the percentage now commonly agreed, Richard Benton has explained that around 10 native speakers from Ngapuhi

⁸⁰⁵ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 26 July 2016, Track 1, 4.52 – 6.63

⁸⁰⁶ *Te Tirohanga i te kōrerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i ngā kāinga Māori me ngā rohe: Survey of Language Use in Māori Households and Communities, Pānui Whakamōhio Information Bulletin 2, New Zealand Council for Educational Research p. 3.*

and other iwi were resident in Ōtaki at that time and may have increased the total to obscure the low numbers of Ngāti Raukawa speakers.⁸⁰⁷

Table 6: Knowledge of spoken Māori in Ōtaki township (1975)

KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MĀORI IN ŌTAKI TOWNSHIP (1975)				
Age Group	Fluent speakers	Understand easily	Limited understanding	No knowledge
45 and over	15 (60%)	17 (68%)	3 (20%)	3 (12%)
25 to 44	7 (27%)	10 (39%)	5 (19%)	11 (42%)
Under 25	4 (5%)	15 (19%)	27 (34%)	38 (48%)
Overall	26 (20%)	43 (32%)	37 (28%)	52 (40%)

Numbers and percentages refer to those interviewed during the linguistic survey. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

In the rural area of Manakau, Ohau and Kuku the survey found nine fluent speakers, out of 76, but none under the age of 25.

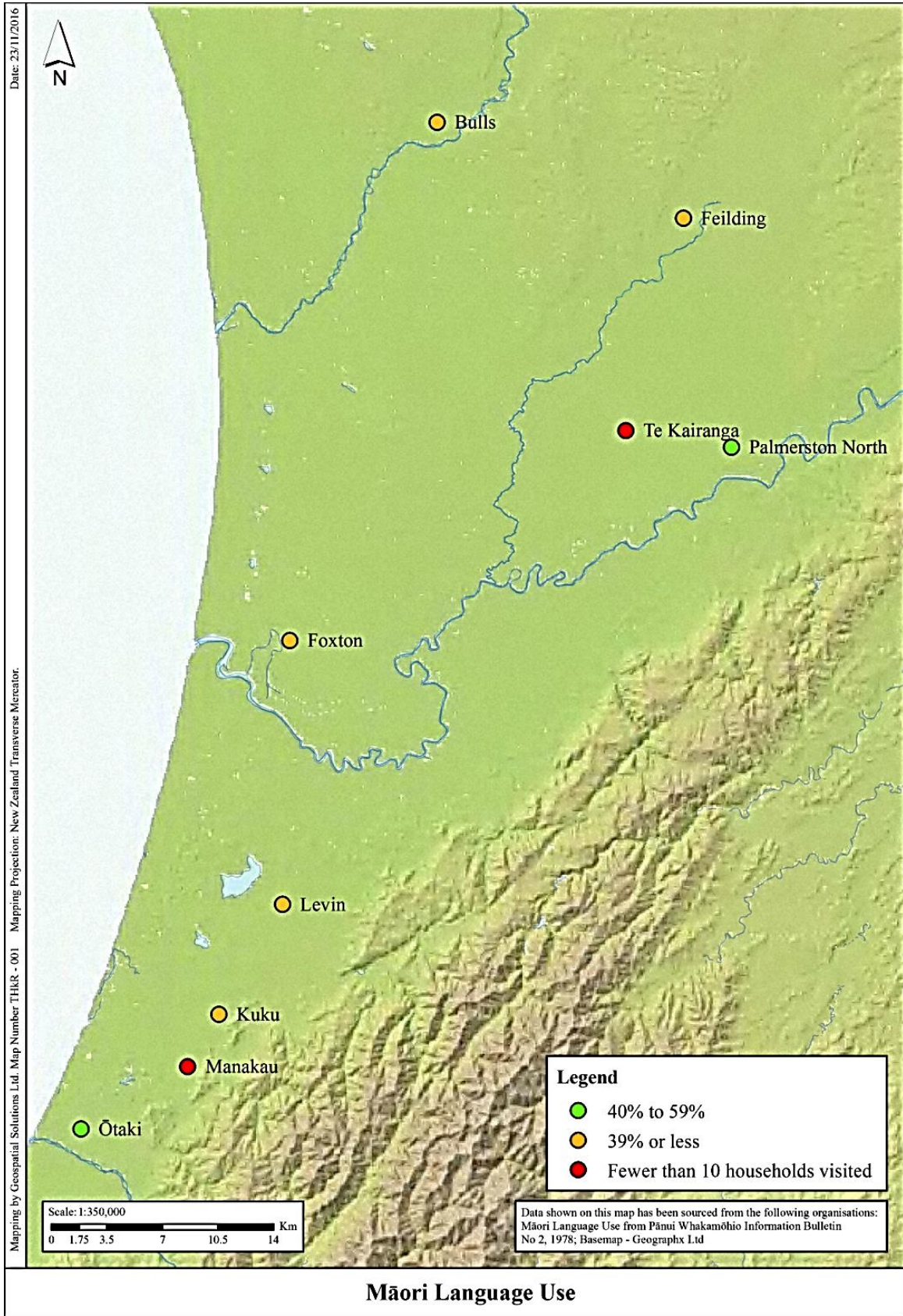
Table 7: Knowledge of spoken Māori in rural areas near Ōtaki (1978)

KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MĀORI IN RURAL AREAS NEAR ŌTAKI (1978)				
Age Group	Fluent speakers	Understand easily	Limited understanding	No knowledge
45 and over	7 (27%)	14 (58%)	8 (33%)	2 (8%)
25 to 44	2 (15%)	13 (23%)	3 (23%)	7 (54%)
Under 25	0	1 (2%)	10 (21%)	37 (77%)
Overall	9 (11%)	18 (21%)	21 (25%)	46 (54%)

Numbers and percentages refer to those interviewed during the linguistic survey. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

⁸⁰⁷ Richard Benton personal communication, Dec 2 2016

Map 27: Māori Language Use



A contemporary analysis by the iwi, presented by Whatarangi Winiata three years before the publication of the Ōtaki results, counted no child aged under 30 (as opposed to 4 above) who was truly fluent in Māori in the whole of the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai (Te Atiawa in the Waikanae area).

‘It is well-known that all of the marae in the region are extremely shallow in terms of their human resource for those activities requiring the use of Maori. At this time there is not one Ngāti Raukawa, Ngati Toa or Te Atiawa child in the Raukawa region who is able to converse freely in Maori. Moreover, probably less than 5% of the adult population of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngati Toa or Te Atiawa has this capacity.’⁸⁰⁸

Despite the results and the seemingly inevitable extinction of te reo in the region, the NZCER researchers detected sparks in the embers. Whakatapuranga Rua Mano had not begun in 1975 when Ōtaki town was surveyed, but it was underway by the time of the Ōtaki rural survey in 1978. A significant number of families expressed regret at the loss of the language and said they were trying to get their children to take an interest in learning it. According to the analysts of the survey some parents were studying the language at night classes:

‘there seemed to be strong general support for moves to promote the use of the Maori language in the school and in the community generally (one informant in the 1978 survey specifically mentioned bilingual education in this regard). A few families thought such moves were too late – the Maori people were now living in a Pakeha world, and the Maori language belonged to a dead past. This was certainly a minority view, and a much larger number of parents said they would like to know much more about the Maori language themselves.’⁸⁰⁹

Suppression in the schools

The policy of state schools in New Zealand since 1867 had been to suppress the speaking and use of the Māori language among schoolchildren. This was the policy throughout the country and was rigorously enforced using the normal methods of school discipline for any infringements, including corporal punishment. This factor in the loss of the Māori language is now widely known about, thanks in some measure to gatherers of personal histories of those who suffered as children through physical punishment at school.

One member of the Confederation who conducted a programme of interviews and published a book on the experience of Māori speaking children was Rachael Selby of Ngāti Pareraukawa.

⁸⁰⁸ Whatarangi Winiata, “*Whakatapuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development*”, published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 6.

⁸⁰⁹ *Te Tirohanga i te kōrerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i ngā kāinga Māori me ngā rohe: Survey of Language Use in Māori Households and Communities, Pānui Whakamōhio Information Bulletin 2*, New Zealand Council for Educational Research p. 3.

Curious to find out about the causes of language loss, and not having grown up with the language herself, she began to interview people who had been punished as children by school authorities, for speaking the native tongue at school:

“I took those stories to Huia Publishers. I’d written up their stories. Robyn Bargh, who was the principal in Huia Publishers at that time, which was 1999, said to me ‘these people have been through enough pain without putting this out on the public record, and having them questioned about the veracity of their stories.’ Because of course I also found people who said to me, “Well you know it’s not true, you know that people weren’t strapped at school for speaking Māori.” So these were school teachers of course, who denied that it had ever darn well happened! And people said things like “If it had happened it would’ve been recorded.” In the native schools for example, which were Māori schools, were “native schools”, and then became “Māori schools”, they said that the principal had to record - they had a daily record, where they recorded what they had done, and if they had strapped children it would’ve been in that. Well, Whare te Moana at Te Kaha, had been a principal of the Whanau-a-Apanui area school and so I asked him and he said “No, you didn’t record things like that. That wasn’t what that the record was for, for the inspector when he came around”. And so there was huge denial that these people had been punished. After the book was published people started ringing me up and saying “Are you still doing interviews? Because I’m one of those children.” And I found that extremely difficult as well.⁸¹⁰

Selby did not encounter too many instances of punishment for speaking te reo in the schools in Raukawa territory. From oral accounts it appears that parents within Raukawa whānau from the 1920s on had already done the job of nipping out the shoots of te reo Māori among their children. In addition, the intent of most of the schools, state and Church, over many generations, was to direct the learning and development of Māori children within a monocultural model, with accompanying messages which did not encourage conversational Māori language on the lips of the children. Selby has tried to analyse this effect in her own life. She was a recipient of Ōtaki and Porirua Trust Board Scholarships and attended Queen Victoria College for Māori girls in Auckland:-

‘so I remember Iwi Nicholson saying to me one day, when I made some comment about te reo [at her school] a lot of the girls were of course native speakers, and those of us who weren’t, were quite ridiculed, and laughed at, and Iwi said to me, “Yes well your grandmother was never impressed to hear that you were hit on the head,” you know, with knuckles of the teacher when I got things wrong. And so, I don’t know what it was, it’s something, something occurred and boy I mean I’ve been to that many te reo Māori classes over the years, from Polytech classes and night school classes and, Tamaki College in Auckland when I lived there. Everywhere I went, I went and enrolled in Māori language classes and I’ve never blimmin’ overcome it. So, I decided a few years ago, give it away, and just give my - make my contribution more in managing the marae, in building our marae up and using, like Iwi Nicholson said to me way back in my twenties, “You’ve got particular skills and you should be using those for the iwi.” So I figure if I use those skills for

⁸¹⁰ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Track 2, 4.52 – 6.63

the iwi and I produce some descendants who are competent and fluent in Te Reo then maybe I'll be making my contribution in that way.”⁸¹¹

Despite the later very wide support for Whakatupuranga Rua Mano there was much initial scepticism, and the arrival of large-scale “hands and arms” support came only after several years of dedicated labour by Winiata’s supporters at the coal face – the language and Pākehā Mission hui. According to Mereana Selby, the nineteen-seventies was a time of social change, the perfect backdrop for iwi members to embark on a revolutionary course. Then came the NZCER reports, and the grim news they contained about the end of inter-generational transmission of te reo. The Trustees now saw the face of the future which had loomed into plain view; it was completely monolingual in English:

“Kāore au i te mōhio mehemea he pērā rawa te tere o te huri mai. E ai ki ētehi o ngā kōrero kua rongō au i a Uncle Whatarangi, he ruarua noa iho i te tīmatanga. Engari ko taua wā tonu, ngā tau whitu tekau. I te korikori te motu, nō reira, he pai mō te wā, i āhua pai te tīmatanga o taua kaupapa i taua wā, kua tīmata ētahi rōpū..kua tīmata ngā mahi rangahau a Benton, ērā momo āhuatanga, kua tīmata ngā kōrero, kia rangona ngā kōrero puta noa i te motu. Te hīkoi ki te Pāremata i te tau, whitu tekau mā rima.. ērā āhuatanga, kua tīmata te whakakā i tērā ahi i roto i te motu.”⁸¹²

“I am not sure if the iwi really came in and supported quickly, in the early period. According to some statements I have heard from Uncle Whatarangi there were only a few supporters at the beginning. But that period, the seventies was unique. The whole country was looking for change, so it was a fortunate time for this project. It was a good time to kick it off, certain other things were underway, the Benton surveys on the use of the Māori language, the talk had begun, all over the country. There was the Land March to Parliament in 1975; the fires of change had been lit throughout the country.

The rare native speakers among the older generation who had watched the language slowly withering among their age-mates welcomed the language revival with open arms. In communities from D’Urville Island and Whakatū in the South to Hongokea, to Ōtaki and to Te Reureu in the North, there were around 80 native speakers of Māori still alive in 1975.

Winiata elaborated on a key part of the prescription for revival, which he recalled came from Professor Bruce Biggs. His paper for the Planning Council suggested that in order for language revival to become a reality,

⁸¹¹ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Track 2, 55.19 –55.43

⁸¹² Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 26 July 2016, and translation by Piripi Walker, Track 1, 27.45 – 28.43

“each generation would need to “ be better in their language than their parents. This is language revival defined.”⁸¹³

Winiata went on to offer a vision which the Trustees had in mind for New Zealand a century into the future; when the Minister of Finance of the country would present the Budget in English or Maori. This simple and applicable measure, children being more fluent than their parents, became the year-on-year measuring stick within the Confederation, and among the language crew of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Rachael Selby offered a description of how she applied this over two or three decades in her own life:

“And so I guess in some ways the church education of the 1960s has been effective, but I’m very deficient in other ways. I’ve learnt to live with that. And my children, I remember many years ago, Whatarangi saying that the next generation needed to be better than the last one. And so I say to myself “Well, I managed that.” My three children are far more competent than me in te reo Māori, and my six grandchildren are all now first language speakers in te reo Māori. So my moko, my five year old Atareti phoned me this morning, all in te reo Māori, to say that she wasn’t feeling well and that she wanted to spend the day with me today.”⁸¹⁴

Selby recalled Iwikatea Nicholson telling her at a young age that she was expected to put her skills, acknowledged even at a young age, to the service of her hapū, Ngāti Pareraukawa. 40 years on she is now Chair of the Marae Committee.

Image 63: Ngārongo Iwikatea Nicholson 2012



⁸¹³ Whatarangi Winiata, “Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development”, published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 4.

⁸¹⁴ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Track 5, 42.05 – 52”06

7.8 The Immersion Hui – Ngā Hui Rumaki

The architects of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano looked about for ideas on recovering language skills when all seemed too far gone for revival. One of the models developed was the immersion hui for adults, whereby students would attend a residential hui, and English would be banned. These initial hui ran for eight days, from the sound of church bell on a Sunday morning to the sound of bell on the following Sunday.

Mereana Selby recalled the moment of anguish when one of her cousins asked her to participate in an interview conducted in Māori for a university paper. That cousin was Ani Mikaere (nee Jacob), Ani had been commissioned by the Raukawa Trustees as a young law student to survey the number of young people of the Confederation able to speak te reo. Mereana had spent her teenage years in Christchurch where the family had moved and asked her mother Joanna about participating; her mother advised that she should make herself available to her cousin. The subject was knowledge of the Māori language. She sat with the interviewer in a room, and was only able to give one-word answers, all in the negative [about her language use]:

‘tata ki te katoa o ana pātai, te katoa rānei ko aku whakautu ko “kāo”, “kore”, “korekau”, “kore noa iho”, ērā momo, “korekore rawa” “kāore he paku aha” ērā momo whakautu katoa ki ana pātai, i roto katoa i te reo Māori. Kei te maumahara tonu nei au, ānō nei nōnanahi tērā uiuitanga, i taku whakamā. Mō taku kūware, te korenga ōku e paku mōhio mō te reo, ahakoa i hiahia tonu au ki te ako i te reo, engari i taua wā, taku tau tuatahi pea i te whare wānanga, kāore i taea e au tētehi pātai te whakautu, ki tētehi matū, he hau noa iho.’

‘to almost all of her questions my answers were negatives, “no knowledge, “none” “never speak”, “absolutely none”, those kinds of phrases, “never once”, “there were none” those kinds of replies to her questions, which were all in Māori. I still remember, as if the interview was yesterday, my overwhelming embarrassment. My ignorance, that I knew nothing about the language, even though I did wish to learn the language. But at that time, perhaps in my first year at university, I couldn’t give a detailed answer to any question, just vague answers.’^{815c}

Selby later heard about the iwi’s plans to offer language learning to all. One was the new method of the immersion hui. She made plans to attend and found herself at one of the first hui held in Ōtaki at Raukawa Marae. She was undertaking Māori 101 (First Year course) at Canterbury University, and thought the immersion sounded worthwhile, not realising the depth of commitment required for learners. She recalls being particularly struck by the number of her aunts and uncles in attendance as students, patiently grappling with the demands of not speaking English, and listening only to Maori for seven days. Among those in attendance were

⁸¹⁵ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 26 July 2016, Track 1, 2.27-3.20

“Uncle Whatarangi, Uncle Ran [Jacob], Uncle Pat Rei, and perhaps Jim McGregor”. Iwikatea Nicholson and Rev Te Waka (Sonny) Melbourne attended the hui in support. Selby recalls that the older generation at that time [apart from elders like Pātāriki Rei and Iwikatea Nicholson] knew little Māori language.

She was a nineteen year old who didn’t know most of those older relations before attending the hui. She reports her amazement at the fortitude of the middle-aged students and elders who sat unflinchingly through the lessons conducted in te reo, in order to learn to speak. She realised how tough the regime was when Uncle Pat Rei stood to give lectures. He didn’t concern himself with the time of the evening, following instead the teaching practices of elders where night-time hours

Image 64: Mereana Selby, Tūmuaki, Te Wānanga o Raukawa



are used to the full. She recalled the arrival of Rei, an important teaching elder of Ngāti Toarangatira and first Ahorangi (Senior Teacher) at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in later years. Selby was working in the old kitchen at Raukawa helping those preparing meals for the hui at the time of Te Rei’s arrival at the gate. At one point she noticed her workmates had disappeared, as Whatarangi Winiata marched in the other door. He was looking for female kaikaranga, for the welcome for Patariki to the marae, particularly with the task of the karanga, or call of welcome:-

“Ka tū au kei te mahau o te whare o Raukawa. Ka kī mai ia “Kei te kēti nei tō tātou koroua a Pātāriki. Māu ia e karanga.”

“Kāore au i te paku mōhio me pēhea te pērā. Engari i homai ia i ngā kupu, ‘tēnā koe, e Koro e. Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai e.’” Koirā ngā kupu tuatahi i ako au mō tēnei mea te karanga, engari te mutunga mai o te koretake o taku karanga i taua wā. He squeak noa iho te āhua o taku kupu, i te hekeheke te werawera, ērā āhuatanga katoa. Ka roa, e hia kē ngā tau i muri mai i tērā, ka oma atu au ina kite au i te mahau o te whare me te tono a tētehi wahine kia karanga au, kua kī au “Kore rawa au e karanga,” i runga i te taumahatanga o taua tono.”

“He asked me to stand beside the front of the house Raukawa. He then said to me our elder Pātāriki is at the gate. You will karanga to him.

I didn’t have any idea how to do it. But he gave me the words, ‘tēnā koe, e Koro e. Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai e’. These were the first words I learned for performing the karanga, but my delivery was terrible. My words came out as a squeak. I was sweating with nervousness. For many years after that I would run away when I saw a woman in the vicinity of the front of the meeting

house looking like ordering me to karanga, I would say “I never karanga.” It was due to how difficult I found that first time.⁸¹⁶

Not everyone was pleased about the idea of banning English. Even the eventual stalwart organiser of these hui among Ngāti Raukawa, the language planner Rangi Nicholson had doubts: -

“I initially thought that a total immersion programme where only Māori was going to be spoken and English banned was “a stupid idea”...I remember that a lot of other people shared my uncertainty about the idea.”⁸¹⁷

His uncertainty was related to the idea that language ‘sink or swim’ methods might produce an awful lot of sinking. There was also the problem of marginalising elders who might not be Māori speakers, through the creation of events where they could not fully participate, and in fact, would feel like outsiders on their own marae. These same kaumātua and their marae committees were persuaded before each hui to agree to the temporary ban on English. Some of course, were English speakers – by the 1970s a very high proportion of elders in the Confederation were English speakers by mother tongue. On the other hand for those kaumātua who were among the 80 or so remaining fluent speakers of te reo across the Confederation in 1979, these hui were as welcome as the buds of spring. At last there was sufficient commitment to re-establish hui which would provide for teaching and conversation in te reo. For the speakers of a fading language, the hui were enjoyable in every way.

Roimata Kereama wrote about her father:

‘dad and his sisters liked to go and help at Te Wānanga o Raukawa Total Immersion Hui. They would go and stay for the one-week hui, offering support with teaching waiata, helping with whaikōrero, karanga, kawa and tikanga seen within Ngāti Raukawa and other iwi. They supported the hui from the early days until the late 1990s.’⁸¹⁸

There was tension around the ban on English, however. In one argument, a kaumātua very well-known to the Confederation’s children as a wonderful uncle and first class story-teller, stood his ground when visiting a marae during a hui, and demanded to be allowed to make his contribution. The immersion hui kaumātua did allow him to speak in English during the pōwhiri, but another kaumātua at the hui was upset that English had intruded, packed his bags

⁸¹⁶ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 26 July 2016, Track 1, 7.07-8.05

⁸¹⁷ Comment from Rangi Nicholson writing in Whakatupuranga Rua Mano celebration booklet 2000, Raukawa Trustees, p. 16.

⁸¹⁸ Kereama, Roimata “Mum and Dad”, unpublished essay, Sept 2010.

and left. There was consternation and after tears and pleading he returned to the hui. The other English-speaking kaumātua returned home, and I recall him saying “*I know things about Māoritanga many of you have never seen or heard.*” But there was a significant loss to the teaching and transmission of knowledge as this demarcation opened up.

In another incident I witnessed a few years later, another very highly regarded expert and a native-speaker from another iwi came to impart traditional knowledge at an immersion hui. Speaking in the meeting-house he commenced in Māori, but moved to English. He was asked by the senior kaumātua of the wānanga to speak only Māori. The visitor could not quite process this request – so unusual was it to ever be asked inside a wharehau to speak only in te reo. The kaumātua from Te Wānanga listened to the lecture which continued in English, asked again, but appeared to not get cooperation. He then packed his suitcase and walked out to his car to go home. He was pursued by tearful hui attendees, ākongā, and kaumātua from the marae, and was finally persuaded to return to the whare tupuna. A discussion between all parties began, mediated by kaumātua. During this discussion the visiting kaumātua described his thoughts as he had begun his earlier session. He had realised how keen all of the students were on listening to te reo, but when he looked into the students’ eyes as he spoke, he could see they didn’t understand him. Hence the switch to English – so they might absorb his stories. It was his usual mode of teaching rangatahi, he said.

When feelings on all sides had settled again, the visitor agreed to speak only in te reo Māori, and the Wānanga kaumātua stayed and listened with pleasure. I recall the late Uncle Hiko Hohepa (one of the “mediators”) noting drily later that the speaker’s lectures continued for the entire day. A case of “Be careful - you may get what you asked for.”

Through such incidents the kawa of the immersion hui was forged and upheld. But it created a new kind of “no-English” zone. As a sad side effect of the declaration of “zones”, many elders of the Confederation were temporarily disempowered, and as in the example above, some may have felt this as a permanent reduction in their participation in the ART Mission. A further example was the fact that on the marae of the Confederation, the catering was done by local expert “ringawera”, who were not usually speakers of te reo. Over some years the immersion hui organising committee tried to negotiate a way of having these experts produce lovely meals but in silence! This policy was doomed to fail, the choice between magnificent tables for manuhiri, and language purity, was ultimately a no-contest. But this was a point of stress for a

time, for many. At one discussion on these issues our late kuia Kiripuai Te Aomārere remarked critically, *‘so what are we saying, if you can’t speak Māori, you’re out?’* She herself was highly fluent in both languages, but wasn’t pleased with discriminatory practices.

7.9 The passion of the young

Selby continued to attend immersion hui, like many others, at times of the year that suited her studies at Canterbury, and later in Hamilton Teachers College of Education. She found a group of young people who had totally committed themselves to becoming fluent in te reo Māori. Rangī Nicholson was the administrator at that time.

(translation) “Me and my friends were the students, and a number of them were mischievous at that time, in fact they would play up at the hui. I was older than them, that generation a bit younger, they were the ones who travelled to hui all over the country, hitch-hiking the favoured mode of getting around for this group in those days. I would attend the occasional hui, and would feel a bit like a visitor, sometimes even on my own marae, because they knew all the songs, all of the activities... I attended those hui for some years, and was amazed at how good it was to learn in that way...The young people acted and thought as a whānau, and I was truly impressed by them, and their devotion to their cause.”

7.10 Bilingual classes at St Peter Chanel Convent, Te Kōhanga Reo movement and Kura Kaupapa Māori

The Raukawa Trustees gave considerable support also to the St Peter Chanel convent bilingual project in the late 1970’s, which was successful and attracted favourable attention from Lily Wong Filmore, one of the foremost American experts in bilingual education Filmore reported it was the first time she saw learning through a minority language being so obviously enjoyed by all the children in an ethnically mixed.⁸¹⁹

Ngāti Raukawa had multiple kōhanga reo (language nests), from the earliest days of the movement, when many of the kuia of the region were the initial teachers. The kōhanga, a number attached to marae, have laboured through adversity since their early days, producing dozens of true native-speaking five-year olds among Ngāti Raukawa, the first in two generations. Parents began at this point the commitment of years of their lives to re-orienting their home lives to create Māori speaking environments to raise their tamariki, and the need to repeat the pioneering into primary schools emerged. In 1990 these graduates became the first

⁸¹⁹ Benton, Richard, pers communication December 2016

intake of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rito, a pioneering kura kaupapa Māori based in Te Rauparaha St, Ōtaki, which has over the decades provided primary and later secondary education through Māori medium instruction. It has since been joined by Te Kura Māori of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano, which began under the auspices of Te Wānanga o Raukawa and continues to flourish today in its buildings nearby.

7.11 Ōtaki College and home Māori language teaching

Hiko Hohepa, a teacher at Ōtaki College, was a native speaker of Māori. He had trained as a draughtsman, and re-trained in later life as a teacher under one of the re-training schemes mentioned in Chapter 8. Possessed of an exceptionally humble charm, but a person of enormous learning in things Māori, including whaikorero expertise, whakapapa and waiata, Gabrielle Rikihana recalls how he became a key teacher, starting home groups for the language and for the learning of songs.

There have been other people who’ve done wonderful things but really you know, if you want to look at the first move that was made here for us, Hiko is certainly a person, we could never thank him enough. He was a wonderful draughtsman, top quality, in Rotorua and then there was opportunity to do a teaching course and he was one of those who went. Now his big friend was John Hunia.. Hiko was looking to practise what he had taken such care to change his life and his family’s life, for the sake of the maintenance of the reo. So he came one day and he said to John “Look there are no jobs, I think I have to go back.” And John said to him “Please look in the Gazette and tell me what there is” and he said “the only one is something down at that Otaki.”⁸²⁰

Image 65: Kuia Gabrielle Rikihana with Barbara Rudd, Poupātate Marae, Halcombe 2019



⁸²⁰ Gabrielle Rikihana, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, 1 July, Otaki, 2016, Track 4, 0.05-1.35.

Gabrielle recalled Hohepa getting adult education classes going in te reo, where he would ask people not to focus on language books, but to cook family dishes together, and recall all the words that were used for each dish, and its preparation. She also remembered his role in “cracking the code” – producing the first native speaker among the new generation, Mauriora Kingi. By the age of 15 the young schoolboy was being asked to speak on the orators bench at Tainui Marae (Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti), Otaki. He shifted away to Rotorua to study carving at the National Māori Arts and Crafts Institute. By his twenties, and throughout his life he became a nationally known orator. Mauriora Kingi was the proof to Ngāti Raukawa that it could be done; to listen to him was to know for sure that the young could become effortless speakers of Māori once again.

7.12 Te Ataarangi movement

During the period around 1980 the major national language movement known as Te Ataarangi, (the coloured rods method) arrived in Raukawa territory. It made a major contribution, finding stalwart supporters in Raukura Leather (who became national Chair of the movement) and her husband Ben Leather, Marina Parata and Jim McGregor in Levin, and Olga and Haimona Winterburn at Tainui Marae in Ōtaki. Other Raukawa people were sent away under the auspices of the Raukawa Trustees to a national hui at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, in 1982 to be trained in the method. The ‘silent method’ was based on ideas of Caleb Cattegno, an Egyptian educationalist, as developed by Katarina Te Heikoko Mataira and Ngoingoi Pewhairangi⁸²¹. It was re-designed to become suitable for group learning among Māori adults. The champions of Te Ataarangi movement made a sustained contribution to language teaching among Ngāti Raukawa. Haimona Winterburn began a “private training establishment” in Ōtaki, Te Maioha that schooled hundreds of mostly local Ngāti Raukawa people in te reo Māori. This group ultimately established a teaching base at Te Maioha, the hall in Waerenga Rd, Ōtaki. The approach in their courses was new to many but well-received. Te Reo Maioha with Haimona as teacher had many students. He truly believed in the benefits of that method, that was obvious in his teaching delivery, that was another good thing”.

⁸²¹ Katarina Mataira, *Te Ataarangi*, Explanatory notes and history prepared for Te Puni Kokiri, 26 September 2001

The Te Atarangi Levin group ran until the late stages of Jim McGregor's retirement; one of the writer's uncles in his 70s who had not mastered the language in his earlier life became a devoted student, learning from his elderly teachers.

7.13 The Pākehā Mission

One of the three strands of activity was the Pākehā Mission. Although developed in a spirit of sharing and nation-building, it nonetheless contained explicit political aims. Winiata described the Pākehā Mission in his 1979 paper as a reverse of the mission conducted among Māori over the period since colonisation. The aim was to convince as many non-Māori people as possible that the Māori language is a national treasure, and that Māori themselves should not be its sole custodians. They would share the details of the revival of te reo with non-Māori, and ask them to assist. They would also seek acceptance of aspects of Māoritanga which the Trustees considered to be of benefit to New Zealand society. One of these was whanaungatanga, the "way an extended family works" and the tangihanga, "a real life drama with ordinary people involved and in which grief and despair are openly shared)". The final treasure to be shared was the Māori language itself, which was "a source of well-being because of the extra power of communication, and the additional sources of insight" it provided.⁸²² And in an explicitly political goal, the formulator of the programme suggested its aim was to "penetrate these [Pākehā] values preferences and attitudes to cause Pākehā decisionmaking to be more sympathetic to Māori values, procedures and institutions."⁸²³

Over the four year period from 1976 to 1979 a tally of the Pākehā Mission hui hosted by the Trustees was published as part of a paper by Whatarangi Winiata in a NZ Planning Council bulletin. It showed a mix of professional, overseas and education groups had visited to participate in the Pākehā Mission:

Teachers of English from Secondary Schools

Principals and other senior staff of secondary schools

University students

Teachers of history and Social Studies

Members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Children, parents and teachers from Taita Intermediate

⁸²² Whatarangi Winiata, "Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development", published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 4.

⁸²³ *ibid.*, p. 4.

Ministers of Education and Departmental Staff from Australia and New Zealand
Conference on Oceanic Art at Raukawa Marae
Staff and Students of the Wellington Clinical School
Department of Education Curriculum Officers
Staff and students from Samuel Marsden School
Parents and teachers of Wellington regional Playcentre
Administrative staff and families Department of Education
Students and staff of the Faculty of Architecture
Wellington Playcentre Parents
Rotarians and Exchange Students
Pupils and staff from whānau of Wellington High School.

In the early 1980s public broadcasting groups ventured out to Raukawa to be hosted on the marae. This wave of work and caring was done willingly, in line with the laws of manaakitanga, an unselfish concept, but the strain was evident to some. An unvarnished eye-witness account of the hui was written later by David Somerset, the writer and Head of Radio New Zealand Children's Programmes. David was a nephew of Rewi Alley, and like his uncle a free thinker and speaker: -

“One of the funny things that stick out in my mind is the picture of Whatarangi Winiata in his funny old green pants, a bit short at the bottoms, baggy at the top and his lumpy green woollen jersey, his shirt tucked up at the elbows, hurrying around from place to place – one minute speaking on the marae, and the next off to the cookhouse to see how things were going on in there. And back onto the marae again; into the meeting house to make sure everyone was bedded down, taking part in this discussion and that, hurrying back off to the cookhouse again, stirring everybody up, doing the washing up, saying the prayers, getting up next morning, lighting the fires, organising people to peel the spuds, getting apples ready, getting the porridge ready, and the toast and feeding all these hungry Pākehās. Thinking back on it, I wonder how he kept it up, especially when you remember he did the same thing for television (TVNZ) a few weeks before. He also organises similar weekends for all sorts of other groups. This happens throughout the year.”⁸²⁴

⁸²⁴ Somerset, David, in Williams, Haare (ed), *‘the Raukawa Experience’*, (Ōtaki, September, 1980) on Radio New Zealand's noho marae at Raukawa Marae in Ōtaki.

7.14 Choice of nomenclature

Mereana Selby suggests part of the success of the selling of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme was the crafting of a plan for involvement by all, which encouraged the entry of many others like herself. Participation would educate and inculturate the participants:-⁸²⁵

“He mahere. Ehara i te mea i whakapāohotia e ētehi, me ako tātou katoa i te reo. I whakatakotoria he mahere. Koinā te painga, ahakoa pai, tino pai, tino pai rawa atu te mahere, he mahere. Mehemea ka titiro whakamuri a Whatarangi ki taua mahere, kāore pea ia e whakaae rawa ki tōna hanga, engari he mahere. Kei te pērā tonu tātou i ēnei rā, kua kite au i konei, me he mahere, ka ū ngā tāngata, ka mōhio he aha ngā whakaritenga, he aha ngā whāinga, ērā āhuatanga katoa. Ka whai wāhi koe, tētehi wāhi i roto i tērā, ka kitea tētehi wāhi mōu ake, nā reira pea, ko te take i huri ai a Ngāti Raukawa, he mahere hei whai.”

‘there was a plan. It wasn’t simply a programme of ideals, with some people announcing we should all learn the language. A clear plan was set down. That was the key ingredient; it might not have been a perfect plan, but there was a plan. When Whatarangi looks back now, he would say perhaps he wouldn’t agree with every aspect in hindsight, but it was a plan. We still use this method now within the iwi; I’ve seen it here at Te Wānanga, if there is a plan, people remain committed, they understand the milestones, the goals, all those things. You are drawn in, you have your way of getting involved, you understand it, you are important, and I think that’s why Ngāti Raukawa came in and supported it, there was a plan to follow.’⁸²⁶

Another was the selection of the key names for the plan which lay at the heart of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. According to Selby, American grassroots and missionary movements which may have influenced Winiata. The word “Mission” was used in the two streams of activity, the “ART Mission” among Māori, Atiawa, Raukawa and Toarangatira and the “Pākehā Mission”, the project to evangelise non-Māori on the nature of the Māori culture and its benefits for the nation. Selby believes it was a sound strategy to use the word “Confederation”, for the traditional alliance of the three iwi. Young people found the “Confederation” label appealing. [Translation] ‘someone here among us has just told me we have a “Confederation”. What a great thing! It conjured up the image of Confederations like the United States and similar places. Some of the words chosen by Uncle Whatarangi were of that order. “Missions”, ‘the Confederation”, “it’s not what your iwi can do for you, it’s what you can do for it.” Selby suggested that kind of language came from American movements. Winiata made them central to his strategy.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁵ Selby in 2016 is the Tumuaki, Head of Te Wānanga o Raukawa. She was interviewed in te reo for this research. The translations in this chapter are mine.

⁸²⁶ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 26 July 2016, Track 1, 28.45-29.43

⁸²⁷ Ranginui Walker notes that the Winiata whanau had been living in the USA during the Kennedy presidency, the rise of the Civil Rights Movement and Martin Luther King.

“You have to marvel at the power of language used in this way. His use of names and words in his plan was brilliant. “Missions”, mind you, came from the missionaries. People were quick to accept words associated with the missionaries. That’s why he named the main streams of activity in his project “missions”.⁸²⁸

Te Waari Carkeek recalled the years when there would be hui every week at Raukawa. Whatakaraka Davis would come down to get him with his trailer and vehicle; they would have to make the trip to Tainui marae not far from the township, and load up with extra mattresses for the visitors, come down and set up at Raukawa Marae. Then after the hui, they would load all the mattresses back onto the trailer and take them back to be unloaded back at Tainui Marae one kilometre away. Whatakaraka could do all the jobs front and back, and taught him how to cook in the old kitchen, how to load the pot properly with meat, and set things up with the puha, to move things round properly so the puha cooked in with the meat. Some people would come into the kitchen and end up being in the way, those who couldn’t just work effortlessly and efficiently in there and knew the rules would be moved on.⁸²⁹

The late Auntie Kiripūai Te Aomarere was a much loved kuia figure in Ōtaki, a teacher of things Māori, and guide to all, including the leaders of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. From the Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku hapū, she would tell people that Ngāti Huia were the best at everything. A deep thinker, she served at posts out the front and the back from the very earliest days of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Kiripūai spent 30 years at Hager’s clothing factory as a factory worker and was

Image 66: Te Kiripūai Te Ao Marere



required to leave at the age of 65. She recorded that she had a great respect for Mr Hager and what he did for the region. Called into Hager’s office just before her birthday, she was told she would have to finish. With typical humour she left the meeting shattered, but on the shop floor announced to her long time workmates ‘sacko!’ - the cry that went up when the workers heard there might be a dismissal. They didn’t believe her, she said, she’d been there so long, and further, was a story-teller and well-known for it. Retirement brought little rest. Whakatupuranga Rua Mano had been adopted by the Trustees, with its “Pākehā Mission”. A

⁸²⁸ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording, Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 26 July 2016, Track 1, 35.30-36.50 (Translation is my own)

⁸²⁹ Te Waari Careek, Personal communication, 18 Oct 2016.

phalanx of Pākehā organisations were taking up the invitation to stay at Raukawa Marae each weekend to be schooled in matters of concern to Maori, mostly by experiencing “manaakitanga” (hospitality) and to learn a little of the language and culture, and in quiet fashion, to hear about the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi and the dreams of the ART iwi for the future. Then there were the many hui for the young people of the Confederation. Kiripuai was part of the crew feeding the multitudes, and a patient teacher of the mokopuna. Oral history interviewer Rachael Selby put it to Kiripūai that she probably worked harder for the next 20 years of her life after retirement:

“Harder! If you like, for no money. By that time, of course Whatarangi had come back [from Michigan USA], we were working. What happened, we used to go over there every Thursday after work, and we always had a stew, for our manuhiri that came, because that was the only thing that I could prepare in time, because next day at 5 o’clock, they arrived, at Raukawa Marae. So that’s what happened then, so from working till I was 65, from then on I worked just as hard, for no money at all. For the iwi, for aroha.”⁸³⁰

7.15 Pākehā Mission set to one side

This demanding Mission consumed a lot of energy and resources, among a Confederation that was not laden with financial wherewithal. By the late 1970s, the Raukawa Trustees were indicating that the welcome and hospitality extended to the other Treaty partner and rōpū Pākehā was too demanding, and “may be too great for the Trustees.”⁸³¹ Among the development proposals adopted by the Trustees in 1979, was a proposal that the Minister of Māori Affairs encourage the Government to find ways and means to assist marae in coping with education visits. The Mission was carried into the early 1980s but had to be abandoned at around that time. The Trustees became increasingly disillusioned at the failure of the Crown to discharge its duties to its Treaty partner, and to respond to the new order, which involved a form of declaration of sovereignty by the Māori partner. The Trustees adopted an organised programme of “withdrawal” from, and non-cooperation with, all unjustly framed Government activity. Similarly, mainstream political debate, and the preferences expressed by non-Māori voters in terms of the Treaty, showed little sign of changing. Pākehā did not enjoy the prospect of reformulation of the power equation, and dug in. The case made by the Trustees and other national Māori organisations was unanswerable; yet like most incumbents feeling the powerful

⁸³⁰ Kiripūai Te Aomarere, Ōtaki Oral History project, interviewed by Rachael Selby, 2 Mar 2002, Tape 2, Side 1, ATU, OHC-011053

⁸³¹ Winiata, Whatarangi, “Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development”, published in New Zealand Planning Council, *He Mātāpuna, A Source: Some Māori Perspectives* (1979), p. 70.

surge of the historical tide of decolonisation, Parliament and Crown agencies offered little change. They would exercise their veto until wrestled involuntarily to the ground.

There was also a realisation that Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was running on the finite bodily energy of a limited number of workers. It was not funded at all in those years. When the Wānanga was established in 1981, offering full degrees predicated on voluntary teaching, the need for caution became even more urgent. No one wanted casualties.

The Pākehā Mission ended – a good idea, and a good experiment. Although our pakeke appeared to end the Mission with pessimism about the outcomes, I personally believe it may have been a real success. For example, in the succeeding decades the practical task of employing and elevating Māori as an official language in Government Departments, hospitals, and places like Te Papa Tongarewa has received very strong support indeed from public servants and other professionals. Attempts by anti-Māori language politicians, even when in Government, to uproot progress, was thwarted by these supporters. One nation, two languages was a simple idea, but an idea whose time had come. This is particularly true in the region of the capital city. Who knows, perhaps the seed was sown by our elders in those many hui, and those patient teaching sessions.

7.16 Summary

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, the dream of Whatarangi Winiata, sought to re-focus iwi activities on the people (rather than buildings), to redevelop marae, to revive the Māori language, and to seek greater control by Māori over their own affairs. Through its activities the three participating iwi sought to modernise further, but not abandon whanaungatanga, the core value of closeness and loyalty to one's own relatives within the kin group. Through the remarkable efforts of this programme from 1976 on, the marae as the main gathering place operating within tikanga Māori (custom), and the use of the Māori language, moved once again to the front of the loyalties of the young. Marae and their facilities saw widespread revival and the teams to crew them expanded considerably. This was in fact the goal of the programme, buildings – yes, but people must be the most important focus of all activity. The branch of activity called “Pākehā Mission” which taught non-Māori about Māori culture and aspirations in an attempt to penetrate Pākehā society and recruit non-Māori support for the national bi-cultural project was a success, despite it coming to an end through exhaustion of resources. The aim to gain

greater control of its affairs led to a major focus among the iwi on restoring self-determination. The fruits of all of the wider battles described continue to be gathered in the present, with continuing action on protecting and restoring the rights of the people, and the strengthening of iwi capacity to self-manage. The focus on language revival has led to action on many fronts related to reo Māori. The education push led to the establishment over the same period of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the subject of the next chapter.

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation ended with the end of the millenium. It was described as an experiment, if that is the case, the verdict has been that it has met its aims. The new graduates were worthy graduates of their degrees and embodied the aim of producing bilingual and bicultural administrators and other specialists, who had fully inherited their own language and culture.

Horiana Joyce, Secretary for many years of the Raukawa Trustees, wrote a deeply-felt note of thanks to all who contributed to Whakatupuranga Rua Mano in the year 2000 which was published in the Ōtaki Historical Society journal:-

“It has been a privilege to be a part of what began as an experiment and development from 1975 to the year 2000. The years have meant much hard work by many people. These years have unfolded treasures hoped for, but not dreamed of.

We have seen a halt in the decline of te reo Māori in this tribal area. It is also considered that te reo Māori is now in revival and renewal in this area. We have seen in this tribal area the birth of a generation of Māori children who have te reo Māori as a first language. In Ōtaki we have seen the development of four kōhanga reo, (Māori language nests) two kura kaupapa Māori, (Māori Primary Schools), a Whare Kura (Māori Secondary School) and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, a Māori university. Along with this development has been the development of bilingual and/or bicultural units in the two Ōtaki Primary schools and the Ōtaki College with a total immersion unit at Ōtaki Primary School.

We celebrated the graduation of young people from many tutoring institutions of learning with diplomas, Bachelors Degrees, Masters and Doctorates. The abilities and capabilities of young students have been overwhelmingly realised. We have celebrated the building and rebuilding of tupuna whare (ancestral houses) throughout the rohe of the Confederation. The refurbishment and renovation of many whare kai (kitchen and dining facilities) on marae of the area has brought to the many hapū of the Confederation a sense of satisfaction that also celebrates the achievements of our young students in education..

We have lost many elders who have taken with them reo Māori of the past and the wisdom and protocols of the ancestors. We recognise this loss with sadness and continue to strive to maintain and disseminate this knowledge through teaching and research.

We have gained strength and tenacity from the challenges that have presented in various guises.

We have supported the development of indigenous peoples of the world in the areas of language, spirituality, and healing, dance and song, and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).

We acknowledge the very generous support of Māori people from many tribes. The support has been given us in a variety of ways. We are particularly grateful to those who came and taught us te reo Māori and tikanga. This is a taonga (treasure) indeed and the only reciprocity is that we continue to actively care for and nurture te reo Māori as a taonga of Aotearoa for the generations to come.⁸³²

8.0 TE WĀNANGA O RAUKAWA

*E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangitātea.
I will never be lost, the seed that is sown from Rangitātea.*

8.1 Introduction

This Chapter describes the thinking that led to the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, an iwi-owned and operated tertiary institution. It outlines the planning undertaken by its founding leaders, Whatarangi Winiata, Tūroa Royal and others, and the initial pioneering work of the institution over the decade from 1981 when it ran on its own resources. An account follows of the writing and structure of its first papers and degree programmes, and the overlap and mutual coordination with the language revival aims of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, the subject of the previous chapter. Memories of elders and their thinking on the language component of Te Wānanga form part of the Chapter, as well as memories of some students and staff of those kaumātua and their whānau. An account is given of the processes followed in order for Te Wānanga o Raukawa to be accredited under the Education Amendment Act 1990. The chapter covers the evolution of its degree programmes, the emergence of a graduate studies and research programme in the 1990s, and marae-based studies (distance learning for outlying confederation marae and iwi all over the country). The story of the fight for capital funding and its associated Waitangi Tribunal claim (Wai 718) which was finally settled in 2008, is also presented here in summary form.

⁸³² Horiana Joyce, *The Legacy of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano*, Ōtaki Historical Society Journal, Vol 23, 2000, p. 50-52.

Image 67: Te Wānanga o Raukawa



8.2 Establishment

Whatarangi Winiata of Ngāti Pareraukawa grew up beside Ngātokowaru Marae in Hokio. After completing his Bachelor of Commerce at Victoria he travelled off overseas with his wife Mata Te Tai Awatea (Francie, nee Aratema, of Te Arawa and Ngāti Awa) to the United States, where he completed a PhD in accountancy in 1966, at the University of Michigan. The Winiata whānau raised their four children for 15 years in the USA and Canada. During his years of study overseas, and his ultimate appointment as a Professor, Winiata and his wife developed proposals to deploy their training and energies to improve the situation of Māori people, and their own iwi, when they returned home. Occasionally they found opportunities to socialise with other Māori studying in the United States, such as Hirini Moko Mead and his wife Te Rina (June), and Mason and Arohia Durie. At these gatherings they compared notes on how they might do their bit to transform society in Aotearoa in a direction which raised the position of the tangata whenua. Through the latter part of this period the couple were priming a plan:-

“We were very clear as we spent each passing year at the University of Michigan that we needed to be planning to establish our own educational institution, and we had in mind a university. It became an absolute priority as we moved towards the end of our tenure in the US, and Canada, and prepared for a return here. I was asked when we got back to come to Raukawa, the marae [Raukawa Marae in Ōtaki]. They [Ngāti Raukawa] farewelled me when we left and they wanted to say “Hoki mai!” [Welcome home!] And we went there, and on that day I indicated we ought to be doing something like this.”⁸³³

⁸³³ Whatarangi Winiata, Oral Recording, Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 28 June 2016, Track 5. 0.20 -1.46

Winiata reported in later years that this period of study in America, in major nations overseas, gave him the tools to consider leading major initiatives, and effecting social change, when back in Aotearoa.

At a hui in December 1978 the Raukawa Trustees adopted nine proposals, including national initiatives like amending the Māori Reserved Land Act, establishing a Māori financial institution, and appointing a Trustee for the Māori Language. Others were directed towards the three iwi and a proposed programme of tribal re-development, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, or Generation 2000. Winiata described the most important of these as the idea of establishing the Raukawa Trustees’ “Centre of Learning”. The Trustees had been prepared through the 25 year development plan Whakatupuranga Rua Mano to contemplate the idea of a Māori-owned and operated educational institution. In this case it would be iwi-based; owned and operated by the three iwi, Ngāti Toarangatira, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa. Its purpose was clarified: the key goals were archives, teaching and research. Most of the features proposed in the initial design in 1979, such as the core curriculum, residential courses, establishment of a library and so on, became part of the actual institution in its first decade of operation: -

‘the aims of this centre will focus on encouraging and promoting research and study into the origins, history, literature and contemporary developments of the Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa. The hostel of the former Otaki Boys College could be adapted to this purpose and negotiations for the use of this building and for capital to undertake the necessary alterations and renovations should be underway by the end of the year.⁸³⁴ It is intended that the centre will have residential and other courses of study and that it will collaborate with other institutions where appropriate. It is also envisaged that it will have a resource centre which will include a library and taonga collection. The Centre of Learning will assume responsibility for the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 programme.’⁸³⁵

Tūroa Royal says he and other Māori studying at Auckland University in the 50’s and 60’s were urged by educationalist John Waititi to consider entering the teachers training colleges. The thinking was to provide Māori trained minds, who could re-propagate the language via the school system. Waititi produced the famous Māori language teaching texts *Te Rangatahi I & II* over the period 1962-64, and encouraged Royal to undertake further studies. Royal completed an MA thesis in Australia on Māori involvement in educational administration in New Zealand education. He also asked him to consider entering the Department of Education

⁸³⁴ Winiata’s explanation in the paper noted that this building was owned by the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board “of which children of the Confederation are the beneficiaries”.

⁸³⁵ Whatarangi Winiata, “Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development”, published in New Zealand Planning Council, (1979), p. 7.

to seek change in schools policy, using the emerging body of work on Māori educational achievement. He subsequently moved his family to Wellington where he was appointed one of the four regional Māori managers on Māori in education, alongside Whare Te Moana, Wiremu Kaa, John Tapiata and Hone Taumaunu. He then followed a path into the Department of Education working on policy. Royal later became principal of Wellington High School and developed a full bilingual stream within the school – a pioneering move at that time.

The Raukawa Trustees passed a formal motion establishing its “Centre of Higher Learning” in April 1981 and chose the name ‘te Wānanga o Raukawa.’ The courses on Māori language and culture, and iwi and hapū studies section of the degree were not mere tokenism – this area of study comprised half of the degree.

Royal is a Ngāti Kikopiri relative of Winiata, and the two joined forces with the educationalist Jim MacGregor, former principal of Wainuiomata College. MacGregor had retired to the Hokio Beach where he had grown up, and he and others became the spearhead of the Wānanga establishment team⁸³⁶. Royal was the inaugural head of Whitireia Polytechnic in Porirua in 1985, and was able to attach the fledgling Wānanga o Raukawa to its services and structures before it had acquired a legal personality of its own. With the help of the Minister of Education Hon Russell Marshall, he was given permission to allow some the administration staff in Ōtaki to be funded under the activities of Whitireia Polytechnic, and the same for other staff who joined in the years between 1988 and 1991.

Te Wānanga began with one degree – the Bachelor of Māori and Administration. According to Turoa Royal, canvassing by the initial committee among the marae of the region unearthed the need to better train and equip those holding positions on marae and in Māori organisations. The curriculum and learning objectives were predicated on a central tenet of the Te Wānanga mission – to produce bilingual and bicultural administrators in order to manage the assets of the Confederation:-

“We did a survey of the marae around “If you went to a Wānanga, what would you want to learn?” And of course some of the secretaries said “I don’t know how to write and present a report et cetera.” Some of the people looking after the money or the marae said “I don’t know how to account for this, don’t know how to report the finances et cetera and things like that.” And some

⁸³⁶ Turoa Royal, Oral Recording, Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Paremata, 28 Oct 2016, Track 1. 3.45 -5.40

of the chairmen said “You know, chairing this place, very difficult. I don’t know the boundaries of how I should help to administer this place.”⁸³⁷

Several years of planning were conducted at late night meetings according to inaugural Chairman Jim MacGregor, to work on the initial degrees. As a result of this discussion, the BMA, the Bachelor of Māori and Administration was hammered together.⁸³⁸

Wānanga supporters recall the disbelief and opposition the idea of the Wānanga created once it was established. Rachael Selby, Senior Lecturer at Massey University and long-time kaiāwhina at Te Wānanga believed that the Crown viewed the institution as a short-term thing:

“If we talk about the Crown-Raukawa relationship, the Crown have never adequately supported Te Wānanga o Raukawa. I think in the beginning they probably thought it was going to be something that came and went.”⁸³⁹

Local reception was also mixed. Despite a decade of solid work on the “Pākehā Mission” some members of the townsfolk of Ōtaki were opposed to the establishment of a Wānanga, with “a group of businessmen who were absolutely opposed to the idea”.

“When Te Wānanga o Raukawa was being mooted a group of local businessmen Pākehā called a meeting to talk about this problem, of this institution. They said they would fight it, they would oppose it, they would try to stop it, because it would result in increased crime and more Māori, which was seen as a disadvantage. And they only saw negative results if one was established. Instead what we’ve got is a unique community, that does reflect te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. And it’s probably the only town in New Zealand where you go into the supermarkets and the shops, and people openly speak Māori to one another without any embarrassment any more. I find I have relatives who don’t live here, who come here and they say “Why does everyone speak Māori?” It’s like there’s something wrong with it. I’m conscious of when I have relatives who are in that position. I remember last year walking into the supermarket and as I walked in, a person spoke to me in *te reo*, and to my children because they know that the children speak Māori, our grandchildren were with me so they asked the children how they were, in Māori. And we then went down the aisle and somebody else spoke to us, and then when we got to the checkout two people behind me were speaking *te reo* to each other. And none of those people noticed that they were consciously communicating in reo.”⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁷ Tūroa Royal, Oral Recording, Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Paremata, 28 Oct 2016, Track 1. 10.10 -10.46

⁸³⁸ Jim MacGregor, *Pakeha Skin Maori Blood, Kiri Ma Toto Maori*, Dorset Enterprises 2005 p. 210.

⁸³⁹ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, with Piripi Walker, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Te Hono Archives Track 5, 3.39-4.06

⁸⁴⁰ Rachael Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, with Piripi Walker, Ōtaki, 5 July 2016, Te Hono Archives Track 3, 24.55-26.56

8.3 Language revival meets a tertiary institution under Māori control

From 1975, the iwi instigated Whakatupuranga Rua Mano –Generation 2000 (see Chapter 7) and commenced its language revival programme. The programme insisted that the language was a major taonga left by the Māori ancestors of New Zealand, which was to be protected from further decline; accordingly ‘the activities of the iwi must guarantee its revival’. A more detailed overview of the arrival of language teaching in the form of the immersion hui appears in that chapter, including the remarkable facts on participation by adults, the middle aged and the elderly. At these hui, the use of English was banned for one week.

In a contribution recorded by Ranginui Walker, the late Rev Māori Marsden, teacher and tohunga from the Far North, heard about the commencement of Te Wānanga o Raukawa and came to see one of the founders:-

“When Rev Māori Marsden from Te Tai Tokerau heard his nephew Tūroa was involved in planning a wānanga, he visited him the next time he was in the capital city and told him that for a wānanga to be credible, the working party had to make the Māori language a compulsory component of all degrees.”⁸⁴¹

Image 68: Ngā Purapura, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki



8.4 Experts with energy among the older generation

Though few in number, other remaining champions of the language among kuia and koroua were ready to meet the challenge of teaching the language in this way. Matenga Baker was one

⁸⁴¹ Ranginui Walker, *Wānanga* Unpublished mss 2013, p. 71.

of the latter who had been on the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board for decades in 1984, and meditated deeply on the loss of te reo and identity. A whaikōrero, or formal speech given in his mid-eighties that year, on the occasion of the presentation of scholarships to children of the Confederation at Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki, is a typical statement by a lonely native speaker of a dying language. This whaikōrero was recorded and transcribed later in 1986 by Huia Winiata, one of the first two graduates to undergo the tohi (graduation rite) a year later in 1985, in the BMA degree. (The translations are mine):-

“Nō reira kāore e nui ake ngā kōrero, heoi anō, kei te āhua āwangawanga anō ahau mehemea kei te mārama ngā kōrero a tātou ngā pakeke, a ngā koroua ki ā tātou tamariki. Nō te mea ahakoa kua kōrero tātou i tō tātou reo me tō tātou mana i te mutunga ake, kua hoki anō ki taua reo, “What did he say?”. Nō reira te manawapā kei ngaro te reo o ā tātou tamariki. Ahakoa kāore e mōhio ana ki te whakarongo mai ki ngā kōrero a ngāi tāua, a ngā pakeke ka huri anō ki te reo Pākehā, nō te mea koirā te reo e kaingākauria e ō rātou nei taringa, ka kōamuamu nei, kāore hoki rātou e mōhio ana ki te aronga o aku nei kōrero. Kei te kōamuamu te tamariki.”

“I do not have a lot more to say today (to the iwi) but I worry during our speeches whether our statements, the speeches of us the elders, are understood by our young people. Because even though we speak Māori and can stand with authority as elders, at the end of proceedings, our audience goes straight to the other language, asking “What did he say?” this upsets me, to think that the language is not known to our children. Even though they are not able to follow the statements of their elders, they do nothing about it, they head straight for English in all situations, because that’s the language their ears enjoy, and they complain to me that they don’t understand the meaning and intent of my speech. The young people complain.”⁸⁴²

Baker’s speech told how Ngāti Raukawa would go home from major hui where the speeches had obviously been full of worthwhile content and humour, and begin telephoning around those relatives who could offer a translation, from the comfort of home. The writer recorded a number of such statements from ART (Atiawa, Raukawa and Toarangatira) native speakers in these decades; some of those were the last remaining speakers of their hapū, community, or town. Their children may have numbered no speakers of Māori among them, or only one speaker, if they were lucky, who could converse with them in te reo Māori. That child may have moved away, or emigrated to other countries. Some had not had much conversation in te reo for two or three decades as a result. Baker continued in his whaikōrero to offer a statement on how the language could be modernised, made more relevant for multiple modern uses, and resuscitated in a Māori education system: -

⁸⁴² Mātenga Baker, recording of a whaikōrero at the Te Wānanga o Raukawa graduation, *He tuhituhinga i te whaikōrero a Mātenga Baker i te tohinga o ngā tauira o Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Raukawa Marae, December 16, 1984* p. 3.

Nō reira [...] taku ngākau me pēhea rā i roto i ngā tau e heke mai nei e mau ai te reo Māori. Haria te reo Māori i roto i ngā mātauranga o te Pākehā, kāore e taea. Heoi anō, mā ngā tohunga anō o te mātauranga Māori hei atawhai hei whāwhā, hei taurima, koinā pea e kitea ai te puāwaitanga o tāua, te reo Māori. Koinei ētehi mea e tiro ana au ki ā tātou nei tamariki. Ahakoa e whakawhiwhia ana ki ngā karahipi hei painga mō rātou i roto i te ao Pākehā, waiho ai⁸⁴³ e hoki mai anō ki tō rātou reo Māori. Koinei te manawapā o te ngākau.

“Nō reira kia kaha ngā tohunga ki te kapo noa ake i ngā mātauranga o te Pākehā, whakapurua ki tō tātou reo, tēnā pea ka kitea ai te puāwaitanga o te reo Māori i roto i tēnei whakaturanga, Koinei ētahi mea hei whāwhā mā ngāi tāua, nō te mea ko te nuinga o ngā tamariki nei, waiho ai⁸⁴⁴ rātou e mōhio ana he aha rā ā tātou nei kōrero, a ngā pakeke, he kaha rawa te Pākehā. Tātou ka mutu ake ā tātou hui i runga i te marae me te kōrero Māori, na, ka ringi atu ki te hoa nei nā ...”what did he say? rānei.”

“I am searching in my mind for ways in which the Māori language can be preserved in coming years. If you take Māori language as it is now into Pākehā fields of knowledge, it can't cope. But we have experts in things Māori, Māori knowledge who could tend the language, mould it, and develop it carefully, at that point we Māori with our language will come into our own. That's something I think about when I look at our children. Even though I watch them over the years being awarded our educational scholarships to get ahead in the Western world, they aren't coming back for the Māori language. That upsets me.

‘so I say the experts should come back and grasp western knowledge, meld it into our language, and perhaps through that marriage we will see the Māori language bloom in this next generation. That is the task for us to take up, because I tell you most of our young people do not understand anymore what their elders are saying, they have become too Pakeha-fied. When we finish our hui they go home and ring their friend who might understand and ask “What did he say?”

Baker stated that the Māori speaker would do better in education, and would be more likely to pursue knowledge:

“Nō reira kia mau ki tō tātou reo, ahakoa [...] tēnā pea i roto i ngā tau e heke iho ana ka kite ai tātou i te puāwaitanga o te mātauranga o tāua o te iwi Māori. Nō te mea ko ngā iwi katoa o te ao kei te whai i tēnei mea i te mātauranga o te ao, tāua kei muri mai noa atu e noho mai ana. Engari kia whai tāua i tō tātou reo, āta mahia ngā kupu tōtika mō ngā mātauranga, te rongoā o ngā mahi a te tākuta, o ngā mahi a ngā tohunga Pākehā e kīa ana he ‘scientific’, kāore he kupu pērā o tāua o te iwi Māori. Engari tēnā anō pea e taea te hanga e ngāi tāua ngā mātauranga e kōrerotia nei, ā, koinei mā te Wānanga anō hei ako i tētehi taha o te mātauranga ki roto i te ao hou.”

‘so my advice is to hold on to our language, and in future we will take off on the education front as a result. Because all people in the world are pursuing knowledge, seeking after the knowledge of the world, but somehow we Māori are lagging behind. But if we seek after our language, and

⁸⁴³ This “waiho ai” appears to be a Taranaki idiom = Kore rawa (to form a strong negative). Baker used it in a sentence in his March 1986 Te Reo o Raukawa interview, alongside Kiripuai Te Aomarere, to illustrate Taranaki idiom and pronunciation “Wai”o ai? au i mō”io kei whea rā aku pūeru, kimi noa, kimi noa, ki”ai au i kite”, = Kore rawa au i mōhio kei whea rā aku pūeru, kimi noa, kimi noa, kīhai au i kite.”

⁸⁴⁴Kore rawa as above in footnote 1

create a suitable vocabulary for various specialities, the words for anatomy and medicine, the branches of what Pākehā call scientific endeavour, we will have advanced, because at the moment we don't have the vocabulary. But perhaps we can create this new approach to these areas of knowledge, and Te Wānanga will be able to teach this new curriculum in the world of the future.”

Baker's whaikorero was an accurate portent of Māori medium education schools and tertiary courses that sprang up from 1984 on. Nevertheless Te Wānanga o Raukawa to the present day has maintained a pragmatic approach to the use of English and Māori as teaching languages. A good command of English has also been regarded as a strength, not a weakness, both in teachers and students. If English had to be the medium of instruction for many, so be it. English remains the language of many avenues of employment. The pragmatic kaumātua of Ngāti Raukawa liked the idea of bilingualism, and having a “bob each way.”

8.5 Design of the programme of study, 1980s

Around 25% of the years full-time study for first year students in the only degree in 1981, the “Bachelor of Māori and Administration” was allocated to study of te reo Māori. The language courses centred on attendance at the three annual one week immersion hui being run under Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, developed by Rangi Nicholson and his team. The hui became popular early on, attracting students from universities and other iwi across the country. Also in the mix were thrown the first students of Te Wānanga o Raukawa – only a handful of individuals from 1980 to 1988. Thus, the experimentation and occasional successes of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 programme yielded parts of Te Wānanga's founding curriculum. In the 1983 calendar the students were credited with 270 hours for attendance at the three immersion hui in January, May and August. The aim of the hui was to assist students to learn:-

- (i) “to listen to relatively simple spoken Māori and enjoy a high level of comprehension
- (ii) whaikorero and karanga for selected formal occasion and to ‘survive’ in conversational Māori
- (iii) to write Māori correctly
- (iv) to read relatively simple Maori aloud correctly with confidence and understanding
- (v) by memory, two reasonably substantial pieces of Ngāti Toarangatira, Te Ati Awa or Ngāti Raukawa literature at each of the three hui.⁸⁴⁵“

The “Māori” component of studies was called *Iwi and Hapū Studies*. In addition to the language programme above, there were four other first year papers in this half of the degree. The second

⁸⁴⁵ Rangi Nicholson, Course outline, Te Wānanga o Raukawa Immersion Hui 1983, p. 1.

was a study of the use of a particular marae over a 12-month period. Students were asked to head off in the direction of a marae, often their own ancestral marae, to talk to the marae committee, to research its history, layout and kawa, describe its kōwhaiwhai (rafter patterns), tukutuku (lattice work) and whakairo (carving) decoration, its administrative and organisational arrangements as affected by laws and regulations, eg Town and Country Planning⁸⁴⁶. The third course was a weekend hui on the decorative arts, supervised by Kohe Webster, a master carver, after which students would write a 500 word report evaluating the content of the hui. The fourth was a study of ‘tribal history’, over seven specified periods; prior to 1800, from 1801-1840, from 1841-1860, from 1861-1900 and so on. Students were required to write a 500 word assignment on each period. The fifth course involved attending two ‘self-selected hui’ averaging 30 hours in residence. The aim suggested that students “would obtain first hand experience in the conduct of hui.”⁸⁴⁷

The other half of the first year of the BMA were the “Administration and Accountancy” Papers. These were taught over five weekend seminars throughout the year, and at this early stage with only three students, often at the lecturers’ homes. The first was entitled *The Young Peoples’ Hui: May 12-16 1983, A Case Study on Designing, Planning, Promoting, Directing Managing and Reporting on Education hui for Young People*. The background reading consisted of earlier papers on the hui, the circular for one of the hui to participants, and a reading from *Accounting Theory and Practice* by Glautier and Underdown. The second block course was a weekend on decision-making and models of problem-solving. Readings included the *Concept of the Marketing Mix* by Neil Borden. The third weekend for July 1983 was on *The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board Case: An Investment Proposal Analysis*. Students were presented with an idea for investing funds, and had to assess the risks and benefits, and make a set of decisions. Readings included a number of the major iwi statements on aspirations and priorities, the Trust Boards 1943 Act of Parliament among others. The August weekend introduced students to ‘the nature and dimensions of leadership, the nature of groups, and Māori leadership. The final October weekend studied *Investments: A case to Illustrate Risk, Return and Value in Financial Management*.

⁸⁴⁶ Te Wānanga o Raukawa Calendar, draft, 31 August 1982, p. 7.

⁸⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 9.

A further section of the Administration half of the course was ‘the total management of the 4-day Young People’s Hui on May 11-15 1983’. A written report was to be presented on the experience.

The second year courses in the degree for 1983 had the same dual structure, half was “Iwi and Hapū studies” and half “Administrative Studies”. Two students entered year two that year, Pikiotuku Kereama and Huia Winiata, both destined to become the first graduates at the end of 1984. The language immersion courses occupied the same prominent position – second year students would attend three week-long immersion hui, alongside first year students. The first of the “papers” was a “private study” (without formal classroom time but with tutors provided) of a particular hapū, or sub-tribe, describing its size and population characteristics, its origins, location of members and so on. There was private study on art and craft; students selected a carved meeting house and described its carvings, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai. A third year two private studies paper offered students three choices; to select a tupuna (ancestor) and write a biography (the tupuna were Te Whatanui, Te Ahukaramu, Sir Maui Pomare, Inia Te Wiata and Topeora, another ten were added in later years), or, to write a history of a major iwi institution (chosen from Rangiātea Church, The Ōtaki Māori Racing Club, The Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board, The Raukawa Marae Trustees, or the migration of the three iwi south. The final choice was to write a book review, in preference to the other genres of writing; the books on offer were *The Cork of War*, (Ray Grover) and *Te Rauparaha* (Pat Burns). Again, another ten books were added as the years went by.

The year two administrative studies were kicked off by *Organisation structures and theories of organisations*. The second weekend in April was *Case studies on the management of Māori organisations*. The individual was under study in June with *Individuals and Groups in Organisations*. August’s topic was *The Administration of Māori Resources and A Case Study into the Creation of Legislation*, and the final residential seminar in October was on *Organisational Development: Strategies of Change*.

The Year Three courses at this design stage had papers on study of cultural skills within a hapū (karanga, whaikorero), study and acquisition to performance level of mōteatea (ancient songs), study of taiaha under expert Kohe Webster, hapū and iwi planning, and of course language immersion residential hui, for three weeks. Administration Studies began with a weekend on *Education Administration: The High School as Case Study* led by Tūroa Royal, followed by

The Management of Public and Private Corporations in Contrast, the weekend third was *Computer Studies, and introduction to the computer* (possibly the last time in history teachers introduced young people to unfamiliar computer concepts). In August the course was *Macroeconomics New Zealand and Japan in contrast: Selected Case Studies on Japan*. The final October weekend was *Entrepreneurship Marketing and Technology Management*. A final component of the study was an intensive 4-6 week course (200 hours) on the study of Japanese. Winiata had completed his thesis on Japanese models of business ownership and had travelled there to complete his research in 1965. According to Winiata the Japanese language was chosen because Japanese culture, economic models, the marriage also of the two, and innovation at that point had much to offer Māori entering the business world. Some knowledge at least of a third language, particularly Japanese, the course designers believed, could prove very useful in the international landscape of the early 1980s.

The two streams, iwi and hapū and Administration papers in Year 3 totalled 1400 hours of study. This was recognised as a higher workload than that in other universities in New Zealand, and the academic year had to be extended to run from February to December, as opposed to March to October, to accommodate it. In December 1985 Te Wānanga o Raukawa capped its first graduates, Pikikōtuku Kereama (Ngāti Manomano) and Huia Winiata (Ngāti Pareraukawa), with its only degree at the time, the Bachelor of Māori and Administration. In the years shortly afterwards they were joined by BMA graduates Ngawini Kuiti, Nuki Takao and Arapine Walker.

8.6 Development of Other Degrees

Throughout the 1980s other degrees were added. Mason Durie wrote and taught the Bachelor of Health Studies, along with Dr Eru Pomare of Ngāti Toa/Te Atiawa. Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court Taihakurei Durie of Ngāti Kauwhata wrote a degree called the Bachelor of Māori Laws and Philosophy (the BML) which sought to teach Māori customary concepts and traditions of tikanga, in a formal way. Some of its thinking was based on the emerging call for marae-based courts, the desire for a return to Māori concepts, tikanga Māori, Māori customary law, and the authority of kaumātua in the justice and corrections area. These systems were well within the living memory of teachers such as Whatakaraka Davis at the time. In the frame also were proposals for Māori control over parts of the justice system which had assumed such a

dominant position in relation to Māori, as examined in Moana Jackson's report *He Whaipāanga Hou* (1988).

In 1991 Te Wānanga o Raukawa asked for the help of the Wellington Teachers' Training College and other groups to assist with the establishment of a Teacher Training Facility in Ōtaki, at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. This proceeded under the leadership of Mereana Selby and offered training in Atiawa- Raukawa- and Toarangatira-tanga as well as the professional components of teacher training studies.

8.7 Strength and Depth

Support came from a group of kaumātua, some of whom had been trained in traditional systems of the Māori house of learning, or whare wānanga, or by knowledgeable parents and relatives. One particularly supportive whānau were a number of the seventeen children of Kereama Te Ngako (Ngāti Manomano) and Te Waitauhi (nee Emery), most of whom were elders in 1980. They were known as repositories of whakapapa, history and oral literature and were all raised as native speakers of the Raukawa/Tainui dialect in the Rangitūkei/Manawatū. They were all accomplished, stylish, humorous but careful communicators, expert singers of traditional songs with hundreds of these taonga committed to memory, and patient teachers. Winiata recalled the element that these whanau and kaumātua brought to the new incarnation of wānanga Māori:

“We had the Kereama family, people there who were thoroughly familiar with the history of this place, taught to them by their parents. So that was a huge resource. The quality of the work was unchallengeable. That was such a great starting point... What also became important to us is we had to do it our way, that is, Māori would design and deliver courses of their choice, and of course the Kereama family just loved that and they were providing much of the input. It's probably a bit unkind to talk about it as a resource, but to have that deep knowledge base and the absolute commitment from people like Uncle Darcy available. It was such a source of reassurance, we didn't worry about what others might look to say about our programmes, we knew we had the goods, and our job was to try to ensure that we looked after them, and that the students looked after them. It was such a huge gift that they brought, and offered it generously, openly, and seemed to enjoy it.”⁸⁴⁸

8.8 Changes under the Education Act 1990

Changes were introduced under the Education Act 1990 making provision for the establishment of Wānanga, and the accreditation of degrees under NZQA, the New Zealand Qualifications

⁸⁴⁸ Whatarangi Winiata, Oral Recording, Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, Ōtaki, 28 June 2016, Track 5, 31.25-34.55. He is referring to Uncle Tukawekai (Darcy) Kereama.

Authority. These changes had been spearheaded by two officials in the Education Ministry, Monte Ohia and Brendan Te Tiwha Puketapu. Tomorrow's School reforms had taken place and an opportunity to incorporate Wānanga arose in the midst of the legislative reforms setting up the change.

Tūroa Royal was convinced that he should move on getting accreditation for Te Wānanga, which would bring with it legal recognition and operating funding, having been persuaded by Monte Ohia and Brendan Puketapu to move in this direction. The late Dr Ranginui Walker, in a manuscript he produced on all three wānanga Māori, takes up the story:-

“Whatarangi, who had no confidence in the Ministry of Education, was more cautious. He did not want to be subject to the mana of the Crown if it meant the freedom of movement to develop the wānanga from a tikanga Māori perspective would be stunted by Crown policy. Monte placated Whatarangi by explaining that a Wānanga had the same academic freedom as a university. All he needed was to provide a charter, a profile, a mission statement, and demonstrate that the wānanga had the capacity to deliver its programme in appropriate teaching facilities.”

“Reassured on the point of academic freedom, Whatarangi agreed. Tūroa did the necessary paperwork for the accreditation. The Mana Whakahaere applied to the Minister of Education to be established as a wānanga under the Education Act 1990. Application was also made to NZQA to have the wānanga's suite of four degrees accredited on level 7 of the qualifications framework.”⁸⁴⁹

Walker then recalls how a panel of academics appointed by NZQA inspected the Wānanga and was satisfied its four degrees (BMA, Bachelor of Māori Laws and Philosophy, Bachelor of Health Studies and Bachelor of Hapu Development) met the criteria for degrees as laid down by the New Zealand Universities Vice-Chancellors Committee. The contest over control was hard-fought throughout the process. At a meeting of the internal managers (the Tohu Programmes Committee) in August 1992, two resolutions were passed (sponsored by Tūroa Royal and Whatarangi Winiata) asserting that Te Wānanga o Raukawa should arrange with NZQA for the Raukawa Trustees, to assume the duties of NZQA. A second resolution was for Te Wānanga o Raukawa to recommend to NZQA that the Raukawa Trustees formulate its Whakaruruhau body to do this job.⁸⁵⁰ These resolutions reflected an anxiety over Crown institutions once again having the mana to decide the outcomes for Te Wānanga. The Councils of the iwi were felt to be wiser and more trustworthy in the long term. This outcome though

⁸⁴⁹ Ranginui Walker, *Wānanga* Unpublished mss 2013, p. 71.

⁸⁵⁰ Ko ngaa meneti o te hui o te Tohu Programmes Committee i te 20 o ngaa raa o Here-turi-kookaa 1992 i Te Waananga o Raukawa, (Minutes 20 Aug 1992) p.2.

was never achieved; the reality of being a statutory body meant at least part of the mana over accreditation of courses had moved into a state-supervised system. The Mana Whakahaere or governing council from this point comprised 2 Ministerial appointments out of 12 members, 2 from local Government and 2 from other tertiary institutions, and 2 from ART iwi.

Te Wānanga was recognised under the Education Act, and EFTS funding became available to Te Wānanga o Raukawa, after accreditation was complete.

8.9 Arrival of new Degrees in the 1990's

In 1992 the number of students at Te Wānanga o Raukawa was around 40. By the beginning of 1996 there were around 600 students. In those years Pakake Winiata wrote a new Māori Studies Degree, the Bachelor of Mātauranga Māori (BMM) for Te Wānanga o Raukawa. This degree was designed to re-inculturate Māori and set them on the path to full bilingualism as adults. As designer of the Poutuarongo Mātauranga Māori (Bachelor of Māori Knowledge) he felt the aim was to arrange the programme so a graduate would be as knowledgeable as a person who had spent their childhood and adolescence around marae and te reo, unconsciously immersed in te ao Māori (the Māori world). For example, Māori raised in other parts of the country or overseas, now wanting to resettle, or spend time, or study among their own people were able to have that experience at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. In December 1997 the first nine students graduated with a Bachelor of Mātauranga Māori.⁸⁵¹

Mereana Selby had joined the staff and brought the Diploma in Bilingual Teaching from Wellington Teachers College in Karori, to an outpost in Ōtaki at Te Wānanga. This brought an influx of trained teachers, hungry for language and tikanga, to the student mix and greatly enriched the institution's academic body. In 1997 the teacher training team introduced a new teacher training programme in response to a lack of trained teachers in the rohe. This course was different to others; from the outset the focus was on the needs of Māori children. According to Diane Tūnoho, one of the group who developed the idea the development of the children of the Confederation was of great importance, hence their needs had to be the focus, and the degree taught predominantly in te reo Māori. Māori would be in charge of the development of the programme as "we know what's best for ourselves." The aim according to Tūnoho was to

⁸⁵¹ Graduation Booklet, Te Rā Whakapūmau i ngā Tauira o Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 6 December 1997, p. 6.

produce graduates who could teach people to see the world through Māori eyes and were competent to teach a range of subjects using the Māori language.:

“Within the aim we believe the learner and teacher need to speak te reo Māori as the language carries beliefs, values and attitudes, The aim was not intended to create monoculturalism, as we feel safe in the knowledge that the Pākehā culture is strong and continues to dominate our everyday lives, for example when shopping and in the media. We developed the core curriculum from a Māori knowledge base, which in turn ensures the authenticity of the model we developed. Rather than work from the *essential learning areas*’[of the official curriculum], and attach a Māori focus, we work in reverse. Having established a Māori knowledge base first, we then match which of the essential learning areas can be aligned to each topic of study.”⁸⁵²

In the years 1991 to 2015 over 100 Bachelors (Poutuarongo) of Teaching and 33 Masters (Tahuu) have graduated from Te Wānanga, with a further 126 Diplomas in bilingual teaching in partnership with other institutions.

Image 69: Opening of Te Ara Tawhaki, Te Wānanga o Raukawa 2018



8.10 The Wānanga joint claim for Capital funding to the Waitangi Tribunal

In May 1998 increasing frustration with attempts to secure funding for buildings and other campus facilities from the Crown led to a major Treaty of Waitangi claim. Despite the aforementioned accreditation and recognition in the 1990 statute, the three wānanga Māori in Ōtaki, Te Awamutu and Whakatāne were limping along in old buildings or premises they had built themselves with limited resources. Their national association, Ngā Tauihu o ngā

⁸⁵² Tūnoho, Te Rangitapu, *Te Whakatupu Pouako, an indigenous teacher training model*, essay in *Te Ūkaipō* Vol 3, Dec 2001 p. 51.

Wānanga, lodged a joint claim against the Crown over its inaction to the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 718). This claim reached far back in the Tainui memory to the confiscation of 10,000 acres in Pirongia, taken to establish an endowment for Auckland University. Maori education had been not been adequately or equitably provided for since the earliest colonial days. The major basis of the claim was unfairness and the lack of any equivalent funding to wānanga to that enjoyed by universities and polytechnics. The claim also referred in its traverse of history to an announcement of a \$44m campus for the Manawatū polytechnic in 1996, and promises made for similar capital funding for Wānanga in 1997, which went unfulfilled. Whatarangi Winiata summarised the grounds for the claim in a 2008 radio interview: -

“I tūmata mai ēnei mahi i Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Tētehi o ngā uri o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano ko te Wānanga o Raukawa. I mahi tāua mai i te tau waru tekau mā tahi o te rau tau ka taha ake nei, tae mai ki te wā i hangaia e te Karauna tētahi ture kia uru ai ngā wānanga hei kura i raro i te Karauna. Tokotoru ngā wānanga. Ahakoa nā te Karauna ērā atu momo kura, wānanga, arā, ngā whare wānanga Pākehā, universities, ko ngā kura whakaako tāngata kia uru ai rātou ki ngā kura hei kaiwhakaako me ngā kuratini, i tukua atu ki te karauna ki ēnei momo kura e toru he rawa hei whakatū whare, kia riro i a rātou ngā taputapu e tika ana. Engari i te whakatūrangā o ngā wānanga kua mimiti haere te pūtea hei āwhina i a mātou ngā wānanga ki te pūtea. Ka tūmata mātou ki te mahi ki te whakatakoto i ā mātou amuamu mō ngā mahi a te Karauna, tūmata mai i te tau iwa tekau mā rima pea o te rau tau ka taha ake nei.

All of this activity began with Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. One of the offspring of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano is Te Wānanga o Raukawa. We worked since the year 1981 last century to bring Te Wānanga o Raukawa into being, and maintained it ourselves until the time when the Crown passed a law allowing Te Wānanga to become part of its educational institutions. There are three such wānanga. The Crown system has its own tertiary institutions, that is, the Pākehā universities, teachers colleges and polytechnics, and has given these three kinds of establishments funds to build their campuses and equip them properly. When it came to wānanga they declared the funding had all been used up. We began presenting our grievances on this matter to the Crown about the year 1995 of the last century.⁸⁵³

Extensive hearings were heard on the claim and many witnesses from the founders and staff of all three wānanga gave evidence. The Tribunal released its report on 22 April 1999.⁸⁵⁴ It found in the first instance gross unfairness by virtue of the non-grant of capital funding, and Treaty breach on that basis alone. It found other breaches of the Treaty in respect of a failure to protect its Treaty partner in tertiary education.

⁸⁵³ Whatarangi Winiata, radio interview, Raukawa Marae, at a hui to celebrate the signing of Te Wānanga o Raukawa capital funding agreement. Te Upoko o Te Ika 1161 AM Radio Archives, Track 1019, Oct 15, 2008. Transcript and translation by Piripi Walker

⁸⁵⁴ Waitangi Tribunal Wānanga Capital Establishment Report Wai 718. The Report is available at https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68595986/Wai718.pdf

“We have found that the Crown’s tertiary education policies have served to disadvantage wananga and place their operations at risk. Wananga now lack a stable capital base from which to deliver their educational services. The evidence clearly shows that this has served to compromise both their financial viability and their integrity as a significant Maori educational initiative.⁸⁵⁵”

It found that wānanga itself (the traditional Māori system of education based on te reo and mātauranga Māori) was a taonga, and must be protected. Specifically, since 1990, the Crown had provided funding to some tertiary institutions but not to wānanga. The Tribunal recommended a one-off payment to wānanga to make up for the breach and allow them to move forward.

“there is, in the clear view of the Tribunal, an urgent need that the settlement of this claim be achieved by injections of capital to place wananga on the footing that would have applied had they been exempted from the legislative provisions ending initial capital funding in 1990.”

The Tribunal also recommended that the Crown compensate the claimants for the expenditure of capital and labour that they had invested in the land, buildings, plant, and equipment on the various sites that they occupied, and provide accommodation and other necessary amenities for their staff and students. It further recommended a payment to each of the claimants sufficient to cover the real cost of bringing the buildings, plant, and equipment of the various establishments up to a standard comparable to other tertiary education institutions and commensurate with the needs of their existing and anticipated rolls over the following three years.

After a year and a half’s delay the Crown responded through Minister of Finance Sir William Birch, in September 2000. He indicated in his reply that comparability was not the key determinant and there was a need for care with public money. Ranginui Walker summarised the interim funding arrangement he proposed thus, and the reaction: -

‘the offer was made to the wānanga in October [2000]:

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| • | Te Wānanga o Aotearoa | \$6 million |
| • | Te Wānanga o Raukawa | \$3.4 million |
| • | Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi | \$1.3 million” ⁸⁵⁶ |

According to Walker the Wānanga negotiators were taken aback, having been given only 20 minutes to consider the offer.

⁸⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 12

⁸⁵⁶ Ranginui Walker, *Wānanga* Unpublished mss in preparation by Steele Roberts Publishers 2015, p. 115.

“Although they were also disappointed at the paucity of the offer, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi accepted. Tūroa and Whatarangi rejected the offer because it was mean-spirited and did not reflect any sense of partnership between Crown and Māori. Their action was subsequently endorsed by their councils.

A change of government early in the year 2000 heralded a new approach to the wānanga claim. Early in the year Minister of Māori Development Parekura Horomia travelled to Ōtaki to meet with the wānanga leaders. His offer of \$4 million as an interim payment on the settlement of the wānanga claim was accepted.⁸⁵⁷

From this point on the Crown officials thinking appeared to change. After negotiations capital funding was agreed to for the three wānanga to be spread over the following decade: \$60 million to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, \$51 million to Te Wānanga o Raukawa, and \$14 million to Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

8.11 Marae-based studies

Te Wānanga o Raukawa studies were based on the acquisition of university type skills, with advanced reading ability and research, analysis and writing the underlying skills whereby further specialisation in its degrees would result. From the mid 1990s Te Wānanga received requests from hapū asking whether their members could be taught at home, on or near their own marae, thus relieving the students from the burden of the cost and time of travel, and inculturating the courses within their ancestral hapū. This programme was duly developed and took off, and from the year 2000 to 2015 MBS students comprised between 60%-70% of the graduate pool, after studying near their own homes and marae.⁸⁵⁸ Te Wānanga teachers would travel to Northland, the Waikato the East Coast and the Te Waipounamu to deliver specialist courses.

8.12 Contribution to the nation

A number of non-Māori students have studied through to Bachelor level, and in one case post-graduate level at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Fr Philip Cody, a priest with the Society of Mary, came to Raukawa to learn the language in 1994. He completed his Masters thesis in 2001 on the inculturation of Māori culture in the Catholic faith, and vice-versa⁸⁵⁹. He described his experience at Te Wānanga o Raukawa thus:

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

⁸⁵⁸ 1984-2015 Te Wānanga o Raukawa graduates, Te Wānanga Database, Te Wānanga o Raukawa-MBS, 2015

⁸⁵⁹ This was later published as *The Seed of the Word*, Philip Cody SM,

“It’s been one of the big gifts in my life really, that fact that I have been privileged to walk alongside, not only the teachers but also the students, and been allowed and accepted to sleep alongside them, to eat alongside them, to learn te reo. I mean it’s been a wonderful, wonderful gift for me personally, and I’m utterly grateful .. to Charles Royal and other different ones. The Winiata whānau doing the teaching. I think the Wānanga is one of the great signs of hope among Māori people these days, that here is an opportunity. And I’ve seen it time and time again, where I can see in the eyes of a student here a discovery of their mana, and just the sheer beauty of someone coming alive and who they are deeply as Māori, man, woman and expressing that in absolutely beautiful ways, in waiata, in their learning and taking it back home to their marae. So I think this is, and will go down in history I believe, as one of the great gifts to te iwi Māori and to Aotearoa also. And, through people like myself, so it spreads out beyond us, it’s a gift to the Catholic Church. In one strange way at the very beginning when there were not too many Māori in the actual Church practice, but I could see them at the Wānanga I thought well, that’s sort of like their church. Let’s go there. And that’s proved to be utterly fruitful, and I’m very grateful.⁸⁶⁰

8.13 Masters Programmes

Dr. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal returned full-time to the institution and developed a post-graduate studies programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa during the 1990s. These programmes attracted students interested in research and deeper study from many parts of Aotearoa/New Zealand. By 2010 Te Wānanga o Raukawa was offering 43 qualifications with 8 at post-graduate level. 4143 persons from the three ART had completed qualifications with 117 having gained post-graduate degrees. For these post-graduate qualifications students had to complete 11 papers in language studies, iwi and hapū studies, and a specialisation, what the wānanga calls a ‘three-fold’ approach.

8.14 Summary

The three founding iwi, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Toarangatia and Ngāti Raukawa pioneered Te Wānanga o Raukawa from its early vision as a modern institution for the purposes of “archives, teaching and research” into a major tertiary institution. The ancient was indeed successfully reformulated in modern form. The institution is flourishing in the new century and has become the tertiary educational headquarters for the iwi, and indeed many iwi. Despite having become a part of the statutorily recognised tertiary education sector and a recipient of Crown funding, it retains its intellectual independence and loyalty to iwi, and is now a clearly tikanga-Māori centre of learning. It has become a force in repairing the core cultural base of the ART iwi. It has played a major role in repropagating the Māori language as an everyday language, developed many competent speakers among the iwi, and contributed to national academic life.

⁸⁶⁰ Fr Philip Cody, Oral history interview, Te Hono ki Raukawa oral history programme, 18 Oct 2016, 31.17-32.55

It has indeed, fostered and developed many Māori in the world of education. It has advanced the career prospects of hundreds of Māori people, and helped to frame the bicultural imperative of the nation.

Image 70: Hohaia Collier graduates as the first Te Kāuru, 2015



Left to right: Whatarangi Winiata, Mereana Selby, Hohaia Collier, Maria Collier, Robin Hapi and Pita Richardson

9.0 TE REO O RAUKAWA, AND TE UPOKO O TE IKA (WELLINGTON) RADIO STATIONS, AND MĀORI TELEVISION

9.1 Introduction

From the 1970s activists began a new push to enshrine rights to use and maintain the Māori language in broadcasting. This chapter begins with a brief summary of the movement from the 1960s to make the Māori language an official language of New Zealand, to teach it widely in the schools, and gain access to the airwaves, the campaigns and consciousness-raising of the national organisations Te Reo Māori Society and Nga Tamatoa in the 1970s, and the development of Treaty rights related in the Māori Language Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985. Ngāti Raukawa was involved in the organisation, logistics, strategy and negotiations in relation to broadcasting from the outset, and in Te Reo Māori Society. The story moves on to cover the efforts by Māori to implement those rights in reality, in subsequent Tribunal and Court cases (post the Maori language claim) over the years 1985 to the present.

In order to keep the story clear for readers, the five theatres of this campaign are described not in a single chronological story, but five. Each has been given its own section, where the action unfolds from its starting year:

Māori Language Activism 1970-1986

Te Reo o Raukawa Ōtaki 1985-2010

Te Upoko o Te Ika Radio 1983 -2010

The Spectrum Claims 1988 – 2010

The Establishment of Māori Television 1985 – 2010

The story of the establishment of radio stations in Ngāti Raukawa-ki-te-tonga territory and the Wellington station - Te Upoko o Te Ika 1161AM, and the national Māori Television channel MTS form part of the Chapter. I then discuss claims for access to licences, and the question of Article 2 rights to the electro-magnetic spectrum under the Treaty of Waitangi. Access to licences were the first step to getting on air for Māori, whether on FM radio, AM Radio, VHF television, or indeed, being able to move into modern communications areas such as digital data and cellphone development. A concluding section gives a summary of the principles which were at stake in all of the cases, what these meant for te reo Māori, and some thoughts on the outcomes achieved in these institutions by 2010.

9.2 Māori Language Activism 1970 - 1986.

A concerned kaumātua of the ART Confederation, Te Ouenuku (Joe) Rene of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, when giving a lecture to university students at Victoria University during the early 1970s, offered the following scenario:

“E tama mā, e hine mā.

Tērā Te Atua e pātai mai ki a koutou,

“I pēwheatia e koutou te reo rangatira i hoatungia nā e au, ki a koutou?”⁸⁶¹”

“My people, when we finally meet our Creator and he asks us: What did you do with the treasure which I gave to you? How will you reply?”

Te Kapunga Dewes reported that on hearing this challenge, he and his students set in place a series of moves which led to the founding of Te Reo Māori Society, the national student-led

⁸⁶¹ Iwikatea Nicholson provided this utterance from Te Ouenuku Rēne, written communication, in November 2011

organisation which became the powerhouse of agitation for the teaching and retention of te reo. Also operating in the 1970s and based on the Black Power civil right movements in the USA was Ngā Tamatoa. This group also agitated for wider teaching of the language and Māori language rights in general in New Zealand. Nga Tamatoa and te Reo Maori Society presented a petition to Parliament on September 14 1972, calling for Māori language and culture to be taught in New Zealand schools⁸⁶². This day was commemorated and became Māori Language Week in 1975. Later Te Reo Māori Society ran a sophisticated campaign for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand, and another for increased visibility in the media. It also campaigned directly to TVNZ for a two-minute Māori language news bulletin on Television New Zealand. It obtained around 100,000 signatures, the largest petition ever presented to Parliament. Ngāti Raukawa language activists including Rangi Nicholson and Miki Rikihana were part of these efforts by a committed group to change the national mind-set on te reo Māori.

Television programmes the society made on Māori song-poetry and haka, led to an actual news pilot in Māori language week, 1981. This led in turn to Te Karere news, which is still on air.

Out of these moves at the end of 1970s the Government moved to establish regional Māori Language Boards, to promote and organise activities related to te reo Māori in various regions around the country. One of these was the Wellington Māori Language Board, an Incorporated society based in Wellington, which adopted the Māori name of Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo (those who make the language secure). In 1983 it had around a hundred members representing hapu and iwi resident in the Wellington area.⁸⁶³ Nga Kaiwhakapumau was one of a number of groups which picked up the battle on broadcasting rights for te reo Māori from the ground-breaking work of the activists in Ngā Tamatoa, and the multi-fronted work of Te Reo Māori Society.

In 1984 Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo, led by Huirangi Waikerepuru, a Taranaki teacher and language exponent, lodged a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal asserting that the Māori language had been severely harmed through Government policy and Acts of Parliament since the signing of the Treaty. It related to the areas of official recognition, education, and broadcasting. The claim was heard over four months in 1985; many kaumatua and expert witnesses were heard.

⁸⁶² Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, Press release, 30 Nov 2012

⁸⁶³ List of membership, Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo 1983

The Tribunal constituted to hear the claim consisted of Chief Judge Edward Taihakurei Durie (presiding), the late Sir Graham Latimer, and the late Paul Temm QC. Hearings were held in June, October, and November of 1985, and the Tribunal presented its report to the Minister of Māori Affairs and the claimants on 29 April 1986.

Image 71: Huirangi Waikerepuru



The Waitangi Tribunal recommended that the Crown legislate for Māori to become a full official language, able to be used in spoken and written form in most public transactions. It specifically said that it should be a full recognition – those using Māori should be able to use it both for oral and written communication in dealings with public bodies in New Zealand. The Crown was required under the Treaty to protect and foster the Māori language in Broadcasting. It recommended to the Minister of Broadcasting that he should have regard to that finding, and that Section 24 of the then Broadcasting Act 1976 allowed him to do this in relation to the BCNZ.⁸⁶⁴

Unfortunately, the Government in 1986 decided not to wait for the Tribunal's report and rushed a much weaker Māori Language Bill than the Tribunal recommended into Parliament. Māori language was only authorised in the Courts, (not Government Departments and local bodies) and then only for oral purposes, not written. The Bill did establish a Commission for the Māori Language, similar to that proposed in the paper presented to Ngāti Raukawa during the Tribunal hearings. That proposal had been supported by Dr Richard Benton and other linguistic experts.

⁸⁶⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Māori Claim*, (Wai 11) 1986, p.51

The claimants and its supporting iwi and Māori organisations had sought stronger recommendations in respect of broadcasting, namely, specific findings that Māori language radio stations and a Māori language television channel were needed to support the survival of the language. The mass media was so powerful in New Zealand, according to evidence presented by Benton during the hearings, that it had “unsalted” the water. He compared the Māori language to a mussel bed; the mussels could never flourish again until the water flows had sufficient salt water in them – this “ecosystem” had to be provided by a strong television and radio presence.

The Tribunal’s findings were also respectful of two judicial bodies operating that year on broadcasting issues. The Broadcasting Tribunal was hearing bids for the third television channel warrants which featured a Māori Council led bid for TV3, and other mainstream commercial bids with some Māori backing. Further, the Royal Commission on Broadcasting was underway, examining the future shape of broadcasting in New Zealand, and how to accommodate the increasingly desperate Māori clamour for stand-alone television and radio. The claimants were not despondent over the broadcasting findings of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986, despite the fact they simply asked the Minister and the Crown to take note of how precious the moribund language was, and take some action, and identified the fact the Minister had powers to do this under the Broadcasting Act. The sense was that the finding that the language was a “taonga” guaranteed solemnly under the Treaty of Waitangi was a seed, that if watered, would grow in a generation or two into major developments.

9.3 Te Reo o Raukawa radio, Ōtaki

I te tīmatanga o ngā mahi pāpāho i Aotearoa, ko te reo irirangi o Aotearoa he irirangi reo Pākehā. Kore rawa te reo Māori i pīrangitia. Nō te wā i a Apirana Ngata, i a Kingi Tahiwī, i a Wiremu Pāka i muri i a ia, ka kune mai te wawata kia pāho te reo Māori ki ngā raorao, ki ngā kāinga o te motu, otirā kia ora mai anō te reo hei reo tuakana i roto i ngā mahi pāpāho, hei reo kōrerorero hoki mā te iwi Māori, mō ia rā, mō ia rā.

The early radio stations of Aotearoa New Zealand used only English as a broadcasting language⁸⁶⁵. In the time of Sir Apirana Ngata, and his protégé Wiremu Parker, the language crept on to the airwaves. In time, Māori radio stations were conceived. In the early to mid

⁸⁶⁵ Wai 11 Report, Te Reo Māori, Waitangi Tribunal, April 1986, 3.3.2

nineteen-eighties, Māori in several parts of the country began trialling a new kind of radio in Aotearoa. The builders of these pilots dreamed that Māori would function as the normal and senior language on a local radio station⁸⁶⁶.

9.3.1 Te Reo o Raukawa 1985

Te Wānanga o Raukawa decided in 1985 to establish and operate a 10-day radio experiment in Ōtaki. It was to be called Te Reo o Raukawa FM, and it would broadcast mostly in the Māori language. The station would be built in the one room that was operational at the time in the old Native Boys College Hostel, in recent times the headquarters of the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board. A budget was prepared and funds sought from outside granting sources. Technical help was obtained from Radio New Zealand and the Wellington Missionary Radio Fellowship led by Stu Clarke, Brian McGettigan and Brian Millar. The fellowship were a group of knowledgeable engineers from Christian groups, committed to assisting useful community radio projects. Radio New Zealand's help was also considerable, by way of secondments, logistics and programmes.

A licence was obtained to install a 300-watt FM unit on Pukehou, near Otaki, and trials were conducted before broadcast day. A broken power supply unit meant the broadcast was scaled back to 100 watts but coverage was still good up to the Rangitikei River and to Paekakariki in the South.⁸⁶⁷ Musical jingles and station ID songs were recorded, and bands also such as Taurira and the Heke Whānau, in Radio New Zealand's Studio 1 in Wellington. A contingent of willing volunteers, many still school age, assembled in order to be trained in basic radio skills. Over the ten days a variety of interviews, panel discussions, talent contests and news broadcasts were heard on air. The Ōtaki Travel Company sponsored the afternoon talent contest with \$1,000 of prizes, and travel and movie vouchers. There was a "kōrero paki" (jokes and story-telling) session with some of the kaumātua, and our Māori Anglican Minister, all in te reo. In a remarkable coincidence, burglars blew a hole on the wall of the BNZ bank in Ōtaki, which became the source of a news story."⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶⁶ *Ethnic Minorities, Electronic Media and the Public Sphere, A Comparative Study*, Donald R Browne, Hampton Press Inc 2005, p. 160

⁸⁶⁷ Piripi Walker, *Report on Te Reo o Raukawa 91FM*, Jun 1986, p. 2.

⁸⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 1.

Spoken material from native speakers of the language (some 30 hours) was recorded for archival purposes. This was an early FM station, in stereo, and that aspect caused it to be a musical sensation, to the consternation of some kaumatua. At the end of the broadcast the temporary station offered its farewells and the equipment was “put back in the box.” There were promises to return to air the next year.

9.3.2 Te Reo o Raukawa 1986

Te Reo o Raukawa in 1986 was very similar to the 1985 experiment - but ran for a longer time – 20 days. The studio was built in an outbuilding of the former large building housing at various times different function of the Māori College, now Te Wānanga o Raukawa. This small building had once been the garage where Mr Wills (Writer of First Lessons in Māori) kept his Buick motorcar in the 1930s. Among the highlights of the second broadcast in 1986 were interviews with Matenga Baker about his memories of Halley’s Comet from 1910 – the comet was visible again after an absence of 76 years.⁸⁶⁹ A special interview was broadcast with Ramari Ropata of Katihiku recorded by her niece Heni Wirihana Te Rei. The evening party producers had been awaiting the return of the radio station, and a considerable collection of suitable music was ready to go on Sonia Snowden’s “platter party; (platter meaning 45rpm discs or LP’s) in the evenings.

9.3.3 Iwi and regional radio in preference to a single national network

After this broadcast the Te Upoko and Ngāti Raukawa radio groups firmed up their commitment to establishing iwi radio. This led to a fight against the Government’s plans to establish only a national Māori radio station, out of studios in Auckland. The BCNZ in 1985 had suddenly pulled out of its \$172m commitment to the NZ Māori Council-backed ABS (Aotearoa Broadcasting Systems) television bid – for the third television channel warrant. (for more discussion of this bid see Page 236) The Crown plan for a network broadcasting out of Auckland was developed as a consolation prize to Māori after the abandonment by the BCNZ of those joint venture arrangements.

⁸⁶⁹ Te Ao Hou made the following tribute to HW Wills : “A Pakeha who was recognised as one of the foremost authorities on the Maori language, Mr Harold Wills, died recently at Napier. He was 71.... After a spell of teaching at Te Aute, Mr Wills became headmaster of the Ōtaki Maori College, which closed shortly before the War of 1939. In recognition of his achievements, Mr Wills was “adopted” into the Ngati-Raukawa tribe.” From Te Ao Hou, June 1960.

The BCNZ established a group called the Māori Radio Board and appointed kaumātua and Māori broadcasters to it, to consult with Maori and see the project through to completion. In Wellington and Raukawa however, the desire, particularly with several years trialling under the belt, was for a local studio, and local broadcasters. Some iwi of course, were for the national body. Tipene O'Regan of Ngāi Tahu, a key figure on the Māori Radio Board and member of the BCNZ Board, reminded people that a national language network would best be set up in a region rich in language resources – others could listen in and benefit.

9.3.4 Further planning for a radio station in 2003

In June 2003 a hui was held at Te Maioha in Waerenga Rd Ōtaki to discuss the desire for an iwi radio station. A number of older people who had worked on Te Reo o Raukawa in 1985 and 1986, and attended later planning hui in 1993 and 1997, and groups of younger people, some not born at the time of the 1985 trial, were at the hui. Representatives from the staff from Te Whatu (the audio visual production centre), and Te Putahi Whakawhiti Parongo (the ICT centre), both divisions of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, were also present. The hui reviewed where Ngāti Raukawa and Te Wānanga had come from in terms of aspirations for radio, and indeed, television. Trained Raukawa broadcasters attended the hui, circulated copies of reports on the earlier successful experiments on FM in the region, earlier proposals, planning hui materials and budgets for an iwi station. Some were involved in Te Upoko o Te Ika Radio in Wellington, where the Raukawa Trustees were licence holders in the Whitireia frequency and major stakeholders as joint tangata whenua appointors to the Board.

Graeme Everton, a trained broadcast engineer as well as major advisor to the Māori spectrum claim by his mother, Rangiaho (see P 175 for discussion on that claim) was employed at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in its ICT arm and e-learning programmes at the time. He outlined the Wananga's decision at its 2003 strategic planning hui to initiate a local radio station for the iwi and provided details of planning work to date on this, and associated networking plans for television, distance learning and the internet. Everton stressed the view of Te Wānanga that the station should have an educational focus and educational benefits for listeners. Discussions focussed on the ownership and stakeholding of any local station, ie the broadcasting entity, the availability of frequencies either through purchase or under the reserved frequency scheme, licence-holding arrangements, and the requirements of the Radiocommunications Act. The group also considered transmission options on FM, and the successful coverage on 100 watts, off Pukehou, in the 1980s.

The planners canvassed access to iwi radio funding, as an iwi radio station under the Broadcasting Act, and Te Mangai Paho, and the need for an iwi station to be driven by Ngāti Raukawa people, with a studio near the people and near marae⁸⁷⁰.

9.3.5 Te Reo o Raukawa 2004 - 2010

Everton and a committee designed a broadcast of one week 19-26 April 2004. The station broadcast on 97.5FM to Ōtaki based in studios at the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club, with some coverage towards Levin. It began with a major reciprocal sports exchange, the Raukawa games, between local Ngāti Raukawa and around 70 whanaunga or relatives travelling from Ngāti Raukawa in Waikato. A dozen volunteers, including staff and students from Te Wānanga o Raukawa put the programmes to air. Programmes were a mix of Māori and English, with a mix of news and coverage of the games, community notices, interviews on events on marae, at the Wānanga, or in the community. There was a nine to midday show with nostalgia and classics of Māori music, and a wide variety of interviews and documentaries. It was hoped the permanent station would be on air before the end of that year.⁸⁷¹

In September 2004 Te Wānanga and the start-up group set up and ran a four week full-time training course in temporary training studios at Te Wānanga o Raukawa for 10 young people interested in training permanently in radio. Students were taught the basics of radio transmission and studios, recording equipment, and principles of sound recording. There was a week learning programme-making and scripting, and a week making news and current affairs, during which students chose stories, and wrote and made bulletins. After the course the radio group made further moves to get on air.

9.3.6 Broadcasts from 2006

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa made a successful application in 2006 under a project called Tū Rangatira, which made available funding from Vote Māori Affairs for projects in iwi development. The long dreamed of Reo o Raukawa became one of the alternative projects under the fund.⁸⁷² In 2006 funding for a two year period under the auspices of Tu Rangatira was granted. Scoping work and design were completed with the help of professional consultants. Studios were built in shared rented accommodation with Raukawa Taiao

⁸⁷⁰ Rōpū i tae ki te hui ki Te Maioha, letter to Whatarangi Winiata, 3 June 2003

⁸⁷¹ Piripi Walker, *Te Reo o Raukawa te-au-ki-te-Tonga, Report on Current Activity*, November 2005 p. 2.

⁸⁷² Dennis Emery, Te Hono ki Raukawa Oral History Project Jul 3 2016, Tk 2, 12.10-12.25

Environmental Management Trust in the Main Street of Ōtaki and the station launched in June 2007 under the auspices of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa. The station broadcast local programme with manager Tipi Wehipeihana at the helm, using an FM frequency with transmitter and mast co-sited at Forest Heights above Paraparaumu. The station was popular and provided an outlet for the broadcasters in the community. Significant technical help was again provided by the initial manager, Graeme Everton.

Image 72: Reo FM radio station, Ōtaki



The purpose of Tu Rangatira was to advance projects that had commercial opportunities. In the applications for funding from the incipient radio Trust, to be called Raukawa Media Charitable Trust, the idea was to take talent from within Ngāti Raukawa and to support them to create content that can be sold. As well as creating radio and television shows, the operators believed Ngāti Raukawa should be developing material for the knowledge economy. After two years broadcasting the station's finite funding ran out, and the station had to make some hard decisions. At a certain point Whatarangi Winiata and local business leader Daphne Luke entered the Trust, and found ways to nurse the radio station along. Te Wānanga o Raukawa adopted the station, suggesting ways both could collaborate. In December 2012 Te Wānanga o Raukawa took over as the Trust's broadcaster. The station moved to Te Wānanga at 144 Tasman Road, Ōtaki, but technical issues affected the studio equipment. Some of the gear had been purchased second-hand and its software was of the cheaper variety. There were technical issues with the Forest Hills tower, and there was minimal staffing. Limited broadcasting proceeded which was funded 100% by Te Wānanga o Raukawa. By Oct 2015 Te Mana Whakahaere of Te Wānanga o Raukawa signalled concern over its financial exposure to the unfunded radio station.

Winiata had developed a programme called Language Acquisition, Maintenance and Revival (LAMR) during Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. New written proposals catalogued the experience of Raukawa in mounting radio broadcasts over decades, aligning them with the new language and educational landscape created by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. The new energetic backers sought funding from Te Māngai Pāho to continue. The case was thoroughly made, and strenuously put; officials and indeed Ministers made public changes of mind, indicating the station would be funded. These promises all evaporated when they reached Wellington, where the rule of the cap, at 22 iwi radio stations was reasserted. As at 2016 the station remains unfunded and is off air, but efforts to seek funding are ongoing, and a new proposal has been prepared.

9.4 Te Upoko o Te Ika Radio 1161 AM Wellington

9.4.1 Management and brief history

Te Upoko o Te Ika began broadcasting in 1987. The early pilot broadcasts using the name Te Reo o Pōneke were mounted in Māori language week from 1983-85, at Radio Active (Victoria University,) and Access Radio, within Radio New Zealand. At the same time, Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo agitated to free up the BCNZ's plan for a single national Māori station with one studio in Auckland, to allow the development of iwi radio in each region.

In April 1983, Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau held its monthly meeting at an old Victoria University house on Kelburn Parade. This two-storey house, now demolished to make way for the Von Zedlitz building, was the first university marae at Victoria. Previously it was home to the Anglican chaplaincy on campus. There were around seven people at the hui. The meeting agreed to do two things. First, it was decided to establish a Māori Language Radio station for a trial period in Wellington two months off, in July. It would be on air for a week, as an activity for Māori Language Week. Secondly, the group decided to take a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal over the Māori language. The claim would be against successive Governments in New Zealand alleging that they had breached the Treaty of Waitangi by not protecting and promoting te reo, the Wai 11 claim. That claim also had a major radio and television "leg." Many witnesses gave evidence at the hearings in 1985, including several from Ngāti Raukawa, on the need for greater Māori presence on radio and television.

Scouts went out to hunt for a small scale FM transmitter – visits were made to the VUW Physics Department's John Futter, who had built the small transmitter used by Victoria Student Radio,

Radio Active. He suggested the Māori Language Board borrow the Radio Active studio and transmitter during the holidays. After an approach, the Manager of Radio Active, Alistair Shennan, and the Radio Active Board, agreed.

A programme was devised, and Radio New Zealand pitched in with resources and a staff secondment. Wiremu Parker was kaumātua of Victoria University Māori Studies in 1983. He came into the station when available over that week and sat at the microphone with the Dominion newspaper and translated stories off the page impromptu, and out on the air. Students like Ngahiwi Apanui and Sean Ogden ran specialist music shows in te reo. The late Maaka Jones and Ruka Te Rangiahuta Broughton ran story-telling sessions live on air.

The idea of its founders, Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo (Inc) (The Wellington Māori Language Board) was that local, relevant radio would carry the language and culture to urban whānau, and act as a kind of hub at the centre of Māori language revitalisation. The target audience was primarily Māori; Māori would function as the normal and senior language on a local station. Its programmes would be highly current, locally targeted, and cover a wide variety of normal broadcasting genre.

An opportunity arose when Radio New Zealand's AM stations began moving to the new FM transmission technology in Wellington, leaving their old transmission systems unused. Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau applied to the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand (BNCZ) to run a two month experiment covering Māori language week in 1987, covering the months of May and June. This was duly granted by Radio New Zealand, who also supplied a significant amount of engineering and material assistance to this broadcast. The broadcast began on 4 May 1987 in the former Greenwich Building, Wakefield St, opposite the Michael Fowler Centre. Since demolished, at that time it was empty and stripped out ready for the bulldozers. The station workers led by Bruce Stewart ran temporary wiring back into the building. The toilets on one floor were still operational. Highlights of that broadcast included talkback sessions run by Ngahiwi Apanui and Tungia Baker, the arrival of kaumātua, in support, from throughout the region, in person and on the phone in support, and a similar group of rangatahi, musicians, listeners, producers, and idealists, led by the Hemmingsen duo of sisters, Erana and Tiekiwhare. After the station went off air after a successful two month broadcast. Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau ran surveys with cut-out questionnaires in the Dominion newspaper, to ask

people for their feedback on the broadcast, and to assist writing further submissions in support for a local station.

Nga Kaiwhakapumau then organised a one-month radio training course for all staff in the other five emergent iwi radio at the RNZ Sturdee St Centre. Planning proceeded for a return to the airwaves for a four-month broadcast in 1988. However, the earlier support for lease of the Mt Victoria's facilities and the use of the 1161khz frequency was withdrawn by the BCNZ. Nga Kaiwhakapumau organised rallies at Broadcasting House and an occupation of the Head Office of the BCNZ.

The BCNZ backed down and Te Upoko went back on air with a four-month STBA (Short-term Broadcasting Authorisation) licence from the Broadcasting Tribunal in April 1988. The four months turned into 30 years.⁸⁷³ Bruce Stewart, a local champion of marae building and community initiatives, built a sound-proof on-air talk booth out of car cases from the Mitsubishi factory, and the station crew lowered it onto the roof, and through the roof door, from the car park building behind. The Stewart Dawson was an old Wellington building scheduled for demolition but later saved. Radio New Zealand management and engineers were very supportive, with key technical staff assisting throughout, and personnel seconded on pay for the two months.

Facing financial problems with no funding, after three months on air Te Upoko became a Māori Access scheme, with six trainees. A Radio New Zealand staffer from Ngāti Raukawa was employed as a Māori Access trainer/manager at the station. Nga Kaiwhakapumau had \$400 in radio funds left at startup - just enough to connect the power and phones, and to undertake the first of a number of radiothons. The station also raised \$50,000 from housie/bingo over its first four years, 1987-1991. The station attracted a very large number of visitors and provided a cooked breakfast and lunch every day over its first few years. Speakers of the language gravitated to the station and some became staff. The late Murray Raihania was interviewed a year after he began, an article from that time gave a picture of the early days on air:

“I worked for the Railways for 38 years, and I felt I'd lost some of my Māoritanga over that time.”
A regular listener to Te Upoko o Te Ika, Murray “felt it was a golden opportunity to get back what I'd lost.” Working the 10pm to 6am shift, he would rush home to catch the 6am karakia on Te Upoko and then listen all day — “My eyes were hanging down here.”

⁸⁷³ Don Browne, *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples, A Voice of our Own*, Iowa State University Press, 1996, p.141.

He heard the station one day broadcasting an appeal for financial support by way of listeners' pledges, "and I was foolish enough to donate a dollar for each point scored in the Wellington versus Wales rugby game. It cost me \$109! I visited the station to pay up. I was grabbed. I'm quite thrilled now that they hired me, I'm pleased to work here among Māori."

Murray co-hosted the breakfast programme, with the other kaumātua Henare Kingi. He also produced his own show on Saturday nights, 6pm to midnight, called the "Pereti Whakangahau." "I came to bring in some records - they've been here ever since. I brought in Billy Vaughan's version of La Paloma. The next thing I'm on air, shaking like a leaf."⁸⁷⁴

In 1991 Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau created a Trust to take over the ownership and operation of the radio station. The Trust had a joint structure - composed equally of tangata whenua iwi, and taura here, or iwi more newly settled in Wellington and its surrounding cities and regions. In 2016 there are between five and six Trustees of the radio station, both tangata whenua [Local iwi – Ngāti Toa, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa], and taura here [people from more distant tribes who have settled permanently in the city and its suburbs].

The Māori Tribunal and Court challenge was successful and led to the award of FM frequencies for Māori, as a Treaty right, in the main cities and iwi rohe⁸⁷⁵. The victory for Māori however, created problems for the Minister and the Government. It meant new funding might have to be found for Māori FM stations, this time targeting rangatahi on FM. The Minister set up a false set of choices for NZ on Air in funding the new FM stations. Any new Wellington FM Māori station would be funded by the removal of half of the funding from Te Upoko o Te Ika. An arbitrary redefinition of Te Upoko as an iwi radio station was the means to achieve this. The proposal was to withdraw 50% of the funding from Te Upoko. Clouds were looming over the station's operations and its staff.

9.4.2 Reclassification of Te Upoko o Te Ika as an iwi station and 1994 funding cut.

The Minister of Communications Maurice Williamson in 1991, instigated the redrawing of the definition of Te Upoko as an "iwi" radio station. The Minister of Broadcasting in a letter to

⁸⁷⁴ *Te Upoko o Te Ika, Te Irirangi Māori*, Interview with Murray Raihania, Author unknown, Oral History Project, 1991, Archives Te Reo Irirangi Māori o te Upoko o Te Ika Trust p. 20

⁸⁷⁵ See p. 231. for the history of the FM claim.

Chairman Merwyn Norrish in May 1991 insisted on major cuts. A sum of \$300,000, equivalent to the salaries budget of Te Upoko, was withdrawn in early 1994.

9.4.3 Prelude to cut taking effect in December 1993

Negotiations continued intensively throughout 1992 and 1993 to avoid the cut. By this time, NZ on Air had created a new regime. The funding of Te Upoko, at \$600,000 was now ‘the total available to Māori radio in Wellington’, and was described as the “Wellington pool”. Iwi were called by NZ on Air to hui, with the Ministry of Commerce and Ministerial advisors in attendance, where the “Wellington pool of \$600,000” was discussed. NZ on Air sought indications on whether Te Atiawa and Ngāti Toa would continue to support Te Upoko o Te Ika “getting all of the Wellington pool” (and thus disqualify themselves from any medium term access to funding.) This produced a withdrawal of the former unequivocal support of Taranaki Whanui for Te Upoko o Te Ika, and accelerated rapidly the move to establish Te Atiawa FM.

At a critical point in 1992 the Trust Board of Te Upoko Radio initiated legal proceedings against NZ on Air in the High Court. These proceedings were duly lodged, and a hearing for a judicial review of NZ on Air’s process was sought. NZ on Air offered a one year reprieve at that point, provided Te Upoko could “justify” its continuing to receive more funding than the rural iwi stations. It would have to produce new programming for national supply (with a programme staff of five) in order to retain its funding. Māori language programme was more expensive to produce than in English as interviewees and so on were scarcer, and the Māori language writing, voicing and production skills rare and more expensive.

9.4.4 The cut proceeds

After a further two years of intensive effort the reclassification went ahead in December 1993. A month later in January 1994, the Board was faced with laying off half the staff, or closing down. The list of layoffs included all four technical operators who were essential in the creation of edited high quality news and spoken Māori language programmes. Half the station’s staff were laid off that month.

The station’s morning programme lost its local news, current affairs and interviews, contests and local news on the prime time 6.00-9.00 show. It lost the produced interviews, talkback and current affairs of the 9.00-midday show. In the long-term though, through voluntary labour, it has survived another 22 years, and remains a major radio broadcaster. During another period

of difficulty in early 1994, the station manager and other staff were unable to be paid a salary but agreed to work gratis for the station.

The station's input from advertising declined between 1998 and 1999. This was a deliberate policy decision to scale back the labour-intensive and unprofitable radio advertising sales operation of the station and focus on studio hire and production contracts as by far the better earner. The Trust retained the services of a very experienced engineer Maaka McGregor (Ngāti Raukawa) in 1997. It was found that the station was able to attract reasonably lucrative programme production contracts, with Maaka as a sought-after engineer. Most were for Māori language programmes, such as Te Taura Whiri's Te Muka series on CD.

9.4.5 Archives Maintenance

On going to air in 1987 the station inherited the archives of the experimental radio stations Te Reo o Poneke 1983-1986, and a collection of programmes and documentaries in Māori sourced from other archives, mostly Radio New Zealand. In addition, Te Upoko attempted to archive most of its quality programmes and interviews with native speakers of the Māori language. By 2003 the collection of 2000 programmes was held in an ordinary 100 year old firesafe, on shelving in most cases, at the station's premises in Featherston St.

Some of the earlier programmes from 1998/1990 were archived on to digital video sound tape in 1990-1992. However, a large majority were in their original format, (reel to reel tapes and cassette tapes, and on digital mini-discs) as the station generated archival material on a weekly basis. The Trust sought funding to remaster its archives onto a durable archival format, and received funding from the Lotteries Board in 1994 of \$20,000, to purchase equipment and begin that work. The format chosen at that time was mini-disc, which turned out not to be ideal for archival format. It was a new technology at the time and had unforeseen problems.

The Trust recognised the dangers of losing the archive through decay, and in 1998 sought to fund the archives work by retaining a full time engineer, and investigating new formats and cataloguing options. Funding was a major obstacle. The funding for Archives from NZ on Air was not available to Māori radio, only Radio New Zealand Archives. A possible method of funding, - using the archives to generate funding from Te Māngai Pāho - by way of making radio programmes, was developed. The idea was to use any surplus funding gained from archives programmes to run an archives rescue project. The Trust proposed to TMP to produce

CDs on a monthly basis as the archive project proceeded. Thirteen CDs were to be produced over the first two years of work on the archives. The funds went to employing a dedicated engineer Kevin Hodges, of Ngāpuhi, and Maaka and Teresa MacGregor (Ngāti Raukawa) to work on archives digitisation and cataloguing. These are on matters of history, culture, childhood oral history, life stories etc, which are not timelocked for future play, [ie nothing the listener hear makes them feel the programmes are out of date) and have the same appeal as when first recorded. Twelve of the CDs (a total of thirty documentaries) were distributed to stations.

Digitisation became urgent as the original tapes decayed and some unique material was almost lost. Finally, an agreement was reached with the Oral History Centre of the Alexander Turnbull Library to house the Archive. They were deposited in 2008 in the Sound Archives of the Turnbull, where they are kept in secure cold storage in perpetuity by agreement with the Trust. Special arrangements to safeguard continuing ownership of the material by the Trust, and arrangements for access to recordings by descendants, whānau, other broadcasters and bona fide researchers have been underway since 2008, and are being renewed with whānau and hapū with any new developments.

For Stage One of that project, in 2007 the Trust Archive team selected 570 out of around 2000 tapes and discs for digitisation. Initial selection was made on the basis of high quality Māori language programmes, and programmes of historical/educational importance, for the repatriation of a digital working copy from the archive to the station for everyday use. With funding from Te Puni Kōkiri, the Turnbull located engineer Gareth Watkins from Radio New Zealand, to digitise, restore and enhance the Archive tapes. An interim catalogue was produced which contained descriptions of those 570 programmes/sound files copied from original tape and other masters into digital formats. A hard drive and 570 CDs of these programmes were returned to the radio station in July 2011.

At the suggestion of the Turnbull and after a number of joint hui, the station Board, in October 2015, gave agreement to allow streaming via the internet of selected recordings in the Te Upoko digitised archive. Listeners would be able to search an online catalogue to find programmes and speakers of interest, and click to listen, from anywhere in the world. A pilot was planned for late 2016 with 70 programmes available for public listening. No recording would be possible, just listening via the internet on computers and audio devices. Work was

underway on design of a digital database within the Turnbull, with Te Upoko's team involved, to capture all available information for the whole archive. The station and the Turnbull indicated they would review the progress of the streaming pilot by April 2017.

9.4.6 General funding levels for iwi radio

The National Māori organisation's main submission on iwi radio in 1996, during eight months of discussions was to seek an increase of funding and resourcing for iwi radio. One of the key recommendations from the Māori side was to increase average funding for iwi radio, depending on populations served, to an average of 500k per annum. The total funding for Māori radio should be increased from the then approximately \$10m per year. The case was made strongly. The Crown got off the hook at that point by putting the kaupapa off, promising to conduct a major review 'shortly.' There was a long delayed Crown response to those submissions in 1995/96 on funding and resourcing. The archives illustrates the shoestring funding available to Māori radio and the dedication required of the band who worked there.

Officials themselves acknowledged clearly in 1996 that Māori radio was under- resourced.

‘the level of base funding provided by TMP (\$200,000) is considered inadequate by most stations. It has not been increased since 1994 and has therefore depreciated in real terms. On the other hand, iwi stations avail themselves of additional incentive funding of \$60,000 per annum on average.’

The Crown's sources of advice convinced it that each iwi radio was receiving sufficient funding at \$200,000 per year. It was a major retreat by the Crown from the jointly agreed and published position reached after a year of joint research and discussion on the issue.

The funding for Māori radio has been, and remains, inadequate.^[11] Some estimates are that the entire workforce within iwi radio (approx 250) turned over and left for greener fields over its initial ten years. The difficulty was the lack of infrastructure in iwi radio, ie the lack of meaningful salaries, career paths and so on. This should not be surprising, as both the initiators of the policy, and Treasury analyses of iwi radio, have described it as a form of access radio, where skills and labour are provided by dedicated community volunteers for nothing. The National Māori Organisations estimated the donated labour component in most iwi radio stations at around \$100,000 per annum. This was made up both of *mahi aroha* (voluntary labour) by staff and Board members, and arrangements whereby staff work either on shoestring wages, on half hours, in half positions and so on, to allow stations to remain alive. Despite this

– at Te Upoko’s 25 year birthday and reunion in 2012, 200 former and current Te Upoko broadcasters joined to celebrate the training in the craft of radio that the station had given them.

Similar difficulties affected stations who had to use AM transmission due to topography and engineering realities, with its far higher costs, for talk radio. Te Upoko o Te Ika and Radio Kahungunu (until they switched in 2004 to FM) saw 40 % of their grant go out the door each month, to the Crown SOE’s, Broadcast Communications Ltd (BCL, the Crown owned transmission company at the time), and Radio New Zealand in co-siting and transmission charges. In the case of the partly Ngāti Raukawa owned station Te Upoko o Te Ika, the charges were for rent on a mast placed on the Whitiireia land. The impoverished radio station has paid Radio New Zealand \$1.5m in co-siting charges in the 25 years since 1991. This is the land which was the subject of the donation by Ngāti Toa to the Crown, to be gifted to the Bishop of New Zealand in 1849 for a school – the story of which is told in Chapter 3.

This was a reflection of a larger problem, the ‘stand alone’ or “quasi private” model pursued for Māori radio by the Crown and to some extent Maori. There was no large communally owned parcel of broadcasting infrastructure, dedicated to the purposes of Maori “public broadcasting” available to Māori radio, unlike mainstream public radio with its very large assets. Television New Zealand operated similarly for tikanga Pākehā television. Māori stood outside this structure as “customers” and had to lease or rent its assets and services.

Transmission

The Trustees attempted over the years to rebuild Te Upoko o Te Ika’s AM transmitter. After the forced shift of Te Upoko’s transmission from Mt Victoria (under orders from NZ on Air to move) the new 5 kilowatt transmitter on the Whitiireia peninsula did not reach much of the Wellington/Hutt Valley suburbs. The transmission rebuild in 1991 was ordered by NZ on Air as they were concerned with the costs of lease of 2YB 783khz. The large transmitter at 40Kw used a lot of electricity and Radio New Zealand billed the Trust \$144,000 per annum for hire of the transmitter. Unfortunately, the shift forced on the station to a 5 kilowatt transmitter at Titahi Bay - the cheapest option, was disastrous in terms of loss of coverage. Cost appeared to be the main priority to NZ on Air. The Trust made plans to build or lease better new transmission over the years, on both AM and FM in a simulcast arrangement. Te Māngai Pāho did grant \$20,000 to the Trust for engineering advice on design for new transmission/upgrades during the 1990s and after 2000 but this came to nothing. Te Upoko Radio trust asked

repeatedly for grants and an engineering team to assist with a new mast and transmitter, but the poor coverage remains in 2016.

Participation in the National Scene

Te Upoko o Te Ika has close links with every other Māori radio station and Māori broadcasting organisation. It was one of the founders of Te Whakaruruhau o Ngā Reo Irirangi Māori, the Federation of Māori Radio Stations, in 1991 and has been active ever since in that organisation.

Concluding statement on iwi radio

Of all service industries in the communications and cultural sector, iwi and regional Māori radio, and Māori news and current affairs are the most underfunded and under-resourced. Te Upoko o Te Ika Radio Trust has consistently argued for a strong and well-funded Māori language presence on air since its earliest days. This strong Māori language focus continued under the leadership of manager Wena Tait of Ngāi Tūhoe, during her 12 years at the helm from 2004-2016.

Te Upoko o Te Ika's history and whakapapa is strongly linked to the rise of Maori language usage throughout Aotearoa. Its founding bodies Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo and its stakeholder organisation the Raukawa Trustees, participated in the Maori language claim mentioned above, to the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 11). Both the Raukawa Trustees and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau played a governing role in Te Upoko Radio, and through their involvement in the radio, television and spectrum cases, played a part in laying the foundations for today's nationwide Maori broadcasting presence in radio and television. Te Reo o Raukawa, (ReoFM Otaki) after many years on air, and many successful trial broadcasts running years at a time, remains one of only three iwi radio stations to have been refused funding by the Crown.

Image 73: Jackie Tikiwhare-Hemingsen and Horiana Hakaraia, Te Ūpoko broadcasters 1988



9.5 Spectrum, the Treaty of Waitangi, and access to frequencies

9.5.1 Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau/NZ Maōri Council Court Cases 1989-1991 on Provision of FM frequencies for Māori Radio, and the cellphone cases

The Labour Government in the 1980s, on the advice of Treasury, began to look at a more commercial way of awarding radio frequencies than hearings before a judicial body, the old Broadcasting Tribunal. The concept was to sell licences to the highest bidder. This approach to licensing broadcasting and other telecommunications use of the spectrum saw the electromagnetic spectrum not as a publicly owned resource, like hydroelectric potential, fresh water, and so on, but rather, as resources which would more logically and efficiently be privatised. Government turned its mind in the mid- eighties to studying how this might be achieved. The essential core of the analysis used by economists was that body of law which deals with property rights. According to Brent Wheeler, giving evidence for the claim by Maori against the sale of FM frequencies in 1990, these principles were developed by Ronald Coase in the 1960s:

“ Under the Coase theorem the initial allocation rights to a given resource, in this case the radio spectrum, are of no particular consequence because parties to the allocation will trade their allocation until the most efficient distribution is achieved. The theorem states, however, that efficient outcomes will arise only if such trading is both permissible and capable of being achieved at a cost lower than the value of benefits conferred through the trading. These costs of trading, known as transaction costs, therefore become critical. ⁸⁷⁶”

⁸⁷⁶ Philip Brent Wheeler, affidavit in support of a claim to radio frequencies, NZMC and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo, 23 Oct 1990.

Nera recommended that the Government proceed with a systematic sale of frequency rights. Such a new regime of managing frequency rights was finally proposed in the Radiocommunications Bill of 1990.

Maori in iwi radio were opposed to the commercial sale of the airwaves from the start. Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Sir Graham Latimer, of the Zealand Māori Council, and Huirangi Waikerepuru of Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo presented submissions opposing the Radio Communications Bill. The Crown was already facing a legal challenge to its broadcasting policies in the High Court. Cabinet, under advice from its Treaty advisors, approved funding of around \$100,000 for a proper enquiry into the nature of the Treaty claim to the spectrum. During this period research and papers were assembled by Māori for discussion with officials and Ministers on behalf of the Māori partner.

A significant range of tohunga and kaumātua, some with traditional training in whare wānanga, gave contributions to the preparation. Maori views rested on several points within mātauranga Maori, that a taonga is anything highly valued, by iwi, *taonga*, the word used in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, applies to tangible or intangible things, and the spectrum is a *taonga* of high value, and is of high value to iwi. Tāwhaki, or in other traditions Tane nui ā Rangi, made the ascent to heaven through Te Rangi-tūhāhā. As Hirini Moko put it, in the Māori world view knowledge of a good and bad aspect came from the heavens. Kaumātua were of the view that the radio spectrum was a resource akin to land, which, like land, should not be alienated in finality. Nor should it be measured in one dimension (economically) and put entirely to the service of wealth creation. To do this in the wrong spirit was to trample the living relationship between the ancestors, creation itself and their descendants in the creation whakapapa, human beings. Māori also stressed that “mana motuhake” clearly placed the regulation of transmission and frequencies under the purview of the inherited authority of iwi over their resources, which was not diminished by the Treaty.

In the end the Crown rejected an Article Two right in relation to spectrum as a taonga. It was a resource that all citizens needed, and the Crown should be the final arbiter of its management. Māori would receive a sufficient share as the Crown wisely administered the resource for the benefit of all under the “kawanantanga” provisions of the Treaty.

Some reservations, of mostly AM (talk radio, the older transmission system) would occur. In 1990, Māori, unhappy with these provisions, sought to injunct the sale of the country's best FM frequencies, and won. The Crown appealed and Māori again won in the Court of Appeal, which required that the Waitangi Tribunal hear the case. The Court of Appeal agreed with the principle that Māori, as the Treaty partner, needed access to a decent share of FM frequencies in all centres. FM in Auckland, and Wellington would become non-existent after the sale of all good frequencies. In a 3/2 decision, the Court accepted the view that Māori needed FM to promote the language and culture to a variety of audiences, particularly to rangatahi (youth). The Court decision meant the sale was halted at the eleventh hour, until full Waitangi Tribunal hearings could be conducted. Hearings were duly held over several weeks in 1990. In its decision, Wai 150, The Waitangi Tribunal took the Article 2 claim some distance down the track. It declared that there was a significant iwi prior interest under the Treaty, in relation to the newly discovered spectrum.

Despite the recommendation that the Crown not proceed with the sale, a new Government was elected in late 1990. The sale proceeded in its first month of office. The Court of Appeal backed away from continuing its support of Māori. It advised that the Crown had had regard to all relevant factors in rejecting the decision, and allowed the sale to proceed. Later, the Crown had to face the consequence of this action as it prepared to defend the poor provision for Maori broadcasting in the High Court in the BCNZ Broadcasting Assets Case. Officials found other "unsold" frequencies for Auckland and Wellington in the "guard band". These were hardly adequate frequencies, but FM was found for Ngati Whātua in Auckland and Taranaki Whanui and Ngāti Toa in Wellington. The result was reservation of scarce FM frequencies for Māori in the large cities and provinces of New Zealand.

9.5.2 Sale of 3G Frequencies

Further sales of frequencies by auction were announced throughout the 1990s. At the consultation round on the 3G (third generation cellphone) frequencies in 1996 Whatarangi Winiata and his nephew Graeme Everton began researching the relationship of the earlier principles on radio spectrum to other uses such as cellphone and data transmission. They began a chain of correspondence over the years 1996-1999 with the Minister of Communications, arguing the Article 2 case.

At that point Everton's mother Rangiaho lodged a claim on behalf of all Māori to the spectrum, seeking the halting of the 3G auction until a satisfactory outcome could be negotiated. This claim, known as Wai 776, was heard over three weeks in 1999, and found emphatically in favour of Māori. Many of Everton's hapū, Ngāti Pareraukawa (Hōkio) attended in support.

Te Puni Kokiri (The Ministry of Māori Affairs) had also been active, commissioning an important report by communications expert Bruce Tichbon on the potential benefits to Māori of access to these frequencies, and possible future options for participation by Māori in telecommunications based on his and other international experiences. The report did not become the subject of consultation with Māori thereafter, and proved very difficult to obtain, once its contents were seen by officials in other Departments.

The sale of the increasingly important, and valuable, mobile 2 Ghz frequencies (for microwave data transfer, local broadcasting networks, and cellphones) was announced in 1999, with a sale date of 29 March 1999. An application for an urgent hearing was then lodged by the late Rangiaho Everton (Ngāti Raukawa), to enquire into its alienation.

The urgent hearing was conducted in March 1999. In its interim finding supporting a further delay in any sale of frequencies, the majority two Tribunal members who agreed (MPK Sorrenson and J Anderson) supported the Māori view of the Treaty interest in spectrum rights described in the negotiations in 1989. Their finding referred to the nature of the Crown's prerogative over gold and other "royal metals". They said that despite English law, it was necessary for the Crown to negotiate with iwi for access to the gold fields last century.

The Tribunal referred to petroleum discovery and other lesser minerals, and how it had been necessary to legislate for the Crown for ownership of these. Sir Apirana Ngata, the Tribunal said, had argued for a 50% share for Māori, of petroleum and oil found on Māori land. These are principles of both the law of aboriginal title, and English common law. They appear to make up much of the intent of Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi. Further, a sense of prior ownership and related ancestral rights to resources are a universal part of the inherited Māori world view, and these sentiments are heard frequently among kaumātua and on the marae. The majority decision in favour of the claim referred to earlier decisions of the Tribunal where it had had to consider new issues:

“In interpreting the principles of the Treaty, the Waitangi Tribunal has long been aware of the need to adapt the Treaty to new circumstances. In 1983, the Motunui Waitara Report said that the Treaty “was not intended to fossilise the status quo but provide direction for future growth and development.” The Tribunal considered that the Treaty was “capable of a measure of adaptation to meet new and changing circumstances, provided there is a measure of consent and an adherence to its broad principles.” The President of the Court of Appeal, Sir Robin Cooke, has also taken up the notion, as he put it in delivering judgement in *Te Rūnanga o Muriwhenua Incorporated v Attorney General* in 1990, that the Treaty is a living instrument and has to be applied in the light of developing circumstances.⁸⁷⁷”

Judge Savage, in his minority decision, said the claim bordered on the absurd. It was stretching Treaty principles to breaking point to claim some kind of “ownership” in the radio spectrum. It was a part of the universe, like sunlight, and the fresh air which is the birthright of all human beings.

9.5.3 Principles as Determined in 2000 by the Full Hearing on 3G

The claim was accepted in a favourable majority decision, with the same judges, Sorrensen and Anderson, finding in favour, after the full hearings in April 2000. The Tribunal clearly not only accepted the arguments of Māori but had significant difficulty with the Crown case. The Crown had created a red herring:

“Māori have not contested the Crown’s Kawanatanga right to regulate the use of the spectrum (let alone traffic licences), what they are contesting is the Crown’s privatisation of management monopolies.⁸⁷⁸”

Thirteen years later Winiata summarised his views on the rights involved and his memories of the Crown’s reponse to the Tribunal recommendations in 1999:

“the design of legislation to address issues associated the allocation of management rights over the radio spectrum has one party to *Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi*, the Crown, simply impose kawanatanga while setting aside the guaranteed tino rangatiratanga over taonga of the Māori partner. The Crown acted on the advice of its principal legal advisor, namely the Crown Law office, despite the standoff between the Crown Law Office and the Waitangi Tribunal. The difference between these two sources of advice could not be more starkly put: the Crown law Office declared that radio spectrum is not a taonga; the Waitangi Tribunal pronounced that the radio spectrum is a taonga⁸⁷⁹.

The Crown simply assumed unqualified authority over management rights to the radio spectrum despite the Waitangi Tribunal’s advice to the effect that “the electromagnetic spectrum, in its

⁸⁷⁷ Waitangi Tribunal Wai, *Interim Report Radio Spectrum Management and Development* Wai 776, 1999 p. 8.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸⁷⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, 1990 Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on Claims Concerning the Allocation of Radio Frequencies Wai 150

natural state, was known to Māori and was a taonga⁸⁸⁰ one of the many taonga under Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi over which the Māori partner was guaranteed tino rangatiratanga.

The unilateral action by the Crown caused tension between the two partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi to rise and that tension has not subsided and is unlikely to diminish. This action at the end of the 20th century, the effects of which continue in the 21st century is confiscation. Moreover, as further parts of the spectrum are to be allocated acts of confiscation will continue in the absence of Crown compliance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi in respect to accessing spectrum management rights.⁸⁸¹

As Winiata indicates, Ministers had refused to accept any Article Two argument and the 3G auction was initiated. While rejecting the reports from the Waitangi Tribunal, the Crown unilaterally decided in 2000 to create:

a reservation of a “joint development right” over one quarter of the 3G spectrum for sale, whereby Māori would have to enter into a viable contract with a commercial partner for use of that spectrum; and

a charitable trust, known as Te Huarahi Tika Trust, to represent Maori interests in negotiations and receive \$5m by way of a grant from the Crown.

The Crown gave Māori a limited paper right to “choose its development partner” and a relatively small parcel of cash, \$5m. This cash was to be used to enter into a commercial relationship with a partner to develop the spectrum right and create a new Trust structure as a mechanism for development – Te Huarahi Tika Trust (Charitable Trust) and its commercial arms. Any new joint development which planned to take up the one quarter of the 3G blocks for sale would still have to purchase the reserved spectrum. The cost would be the lowest price realised at the auction for other 3G spectrum, less a discount of 5%, with payments spread over 3 years.

The original claimants were not consulted about these moves and did not support them at the time. Other Māori were willing to work with the limited amount of resources offered, however. After a period the claimants, through Te Tauihu o Ngā Wananga, (the national association of iwi-operated wānanga) did make an appointment, to the Electoral College for Te Huarahi Tika Trust.

⁸⁸⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, 1999: *Final Report on the Radio Spectrum Management and Development Claim Wai 776*, p. 51.

⁸⁸¹ Whatarangi Winiata, *Radio Spectrum: Managing the Tension*, Paper presented at Ngatokowaru Marae to National spectrum hui, Oct 2012 p. 2.

Members of the Electoral College were (1 representative each):

New Zealand Māori Congress

NZ Māori Council

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust

Te Taihū o Ngā Wananga

Te Rūnanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori

NZ Māori Women's Welfare League.

9.5.4 Commercial subsidiaries: Hautaki Trust and Hautaki Limited

The charitable trust, Te Huarahi Tika Trust, formed a commercial entity known as Hautaki Trust. This trust is governed by Hautaki Limited, a Trustee Company. Te Huarahi Tika Trust is the sole shareholder of Hautaki Trust. Te Huarahi Tika Trust is also the beneficiary of the Hautaki Trust and appoints the Trustee Company. The Hautaki Trust in turn took a 30% shareholding in Econet Wireless (NZ) Ltd. The other majority shareholder was African (Zimbabwe) cell phone company Econet Wireless Ltd. Hautaki Trust borrowed the remaining cash from THTT and put these funds into the fledgling company. This, along with the net present value of the discount, and deferred payment for the purchase of the spectrum, achieved a 30% shareholding in the New Zealand business.

In 2006 the Trust announced there would be a joint development (permanent but starting just in Auckland, first stage around Auckland CBD) of a 3G-cellphone development with Chinese partner Huawei. This was to build on the long running but unrealised joint venture with Econet Wireless Ltd. The building of a network began with Huawei as the major telecommunication equipment supplier to the network build. New investors were sought. These were found offshore in the shape of GEMS – an investment company from Hong Kong, and CVP from London, UK who came in with investments March 2008 of \$100m to build the network. They assumed a major shareholding in the company at that point and Hautaki's share was diluted to around 12%.

The deed between the parties allowed for Māori shareholding to be maintained at 20% to allow further investment by approved Māori organisations. Through a capital raising programme from 2005-2009, Māori shareholding (available in \$1m minimum parcels) increased to 19.5%

of the company. The other major new Māori shareholders were the Tuaropaki Incorporation and the Wairarapa Moana Trust/Wairarapa Moana Incorporation.

In 2008, Te Huarahi Tika Trust and Hautaki became more involved in assisting NZ Communications in overcoming some of the barriers in bringing the new network to fruition. A small group was formed to give support to Mike Reynolds, Chief Executive of Two Degrees. In particular, Mavis Mullins and Bill Osborne along with Mana Forbes (employed directly by NZ Communications) gave assistance with :

Liaison with local communities, local Government and iwi to overcome some of the barriers of the Resource Management Act, and managing the relationship with communities;

Liaison with central Government and assisting with creating a more friendly regulatory environment;

Development of marketing opportunities within Māori communities; and

Pursuing opportunities to leverage Māori investment in 2Degrees.

Image 74: Bill Osborne, Te Huarahi Tika



The work in helping to liaise with local communities continued as the network ultimately was built beyond the three main centres. In 2009 NZ Communications Ltd announced it would launch its cellphone venture commercially along with its new more commercial company name - ‘two Degrees Mobile Ltd’. In mid-July 2009, in another significant change of stakeholding, Econet Wireless (the original South African /Zimbabwean partner of 8 years) announced it had sold its shareholding to Trilogy International Partners LLC, an American company already holding 27% of shares in Two Degrees. By way of the sale Trilogy took a further 25% shareholding in Two Degrees Mobile Ltd to take its shareholding to 52%. The price for the

purchase was not disclosed. Trilogy was an investor company in cellphone networks in Bolivia, the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

The search for new Māori shareholders continued to 2010. National Māori groups came to the table with only \$5m at the outset, to a venture that required an initial outlay of between \$150-\$300m. Despite some bright spots iwi Māori remain a small shareholder and a relatively limited player in the commercial company's decision-making and development. Modest success notwithstanding, the Trust is still solvent and active, and the national Maori shareholding is around 5% of the company. The value of the Māori shareholding has been diluted yet again in recent years as a result of capital raising by its large investor partners. Māori, led by Huarahi Tika Trustees Bill Osborne, Tex Edwards, Mavis Mullins, Antony Royal and their colleagues managed to establish a national mobile phone operator, 2Degrees, despite the tiny wherewithal Māori held at the start.

9.5.5 The 4G Claim - the digital dividend and proposed auction

In 15 September 2009, Te Huarahi Tika Trust called a hui of national Māori broadcasting and telecommunications groups in Wellington, to be briefed by MED officials about a huge change looming – the freeing of spectrum by digital television, and the arrival of 4G cellphones. Old frequencies were to be released to market and new auctions were planned. Māori were invited to discuss the paper released by Ministry of Economic Development in August 2009⁸⁸². A number of interested Māori organisations attended this hui. It was agreed to call a further longer hui on a marae, for fuller discussion by Māori of the issues. A two-day hui was duly called by the New Zealand Māori Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo, for 5-6 November 2009, at Kokiri Marae in Petone.

9.5.6 Tribunal Claim Wai 2224 – a new spectrum claim

Correspondence with the Prime Minister on the claim proceeded throughout those weeks. A claim was then lodged under urgency to the Waitangi Tribunal, by the New Zealand Māori Council, the Wai 776 claimants, Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo on current issues in the radio spectrum, on 10 December 2009. An urgent judicial conference was conducted before the Tribunal consisting of Prof Sir Hirini Moko Mead, Judge Patrick Savage (Chair), and Tim

⁸⁸² Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 'digital Futures – Planning for Digital Television and New Uses'

Castle on 15 December 2009. The Prime Minister sent a letter to the Tribunal during the hearing, promising negotiations and saying that the issue would this time

‘to review the development of Māori interests in spectrum over the last twenty years, the current situation and options for the future.’⁸⁸³

There followed an urgent hui with officials on 23 December 2009, following the initial judicial conference before the Tribunal panel. Acting on legal advice after this hui, claimants agreed to attempt negotiations, following a signal from the Crown that it was open to a discussion on all points in the claim. The two parties agreed to:

- ask the Waitangi Tribunal to vacate the fixture and the timetable of a February hearing [] [SEP]
- adjourn the application to an indefinite date [] [SEP]
 - ask the Tribunal to reserve leave for the claimants, with three working days’ notice to the Crown, to revive the urgency application.

The parties held an initial meeting with officials on 10 February 2010 to further develop an engagement work programme. Further national hui took place in Mangere, Manukau, and at Kairau Marae, Waitara, Taranaki, in Feb 2010 and June 2010 respectively to bring all interested iwi and rōpū together, to nominate a group to carry the claim forward on their behalf, and to discuss how to proceed in discussion with the Crown.

9.5.7 The engagement process in 2010

The engagement process began in February 2010, and continued throughout the first half of the 2010 year, ending on 30 June. The claimants submitted a budget for the work with estimated costs of \$93,000 incl legal costs. The Crown agreed to fund the activities of the joint group for that period, to a maximum for the claimants expenses of \$40,000, and legal costs (\$10,000), a total of \$50,000. Claimants identified a clear need to be ‘drafting’ the Cabinet paper in conjunction with the Crown officials, being fully engaged in the development of their thinking. The example of the Joint Working Party on the drafting of what became the legislation for Māori Television was a case in point. The engagement led to the finalisation of a draft cabinet paper on possible solutions for the Māori interest in the spectrum. At the 6th May 2010 meeting with Ministers claimants requested that Māori be permitted to write an unfiltered statement of the Māori view of the Treaty matter, to sit alongside, and within, the Cabinet paper when presented to Ministers. This was agreed, and the claimants worked on their own statement, as

⁸⁸³ Hon John Key, Prime Minister, Letter to Jim Nicholls, Deputy Chair, NZ Maori Council, Dec 15, 2009

well as supplying material and comment for the broad “options” paper. Indications from Ministers were that the paper needed to be ready for consideration by Cabinet in July/August 2010, for consideration in late August 2010. Both papers were ready by that time, but as it turned out, were not taken to Cabinet in any form until a year later – August 2011.

9.5.8 Rejection of the Cabinet Paper

The scope of this report ends at 2010. By way of an afterword perhaps, it would be fitting to describe the outcome at the auction in 2014. At the request of the Prime Minister, both sides had worked hard in good faith to prepare the Cabinet Paper, which described possible legislative solutions and mechanisms, and discussed the kind of future developments in relation to co- management, and allocation of significant spectrum the Tribunal prescribed in its Wai 776 decision in 1999. The final Cabinet paper proposed three possible tracks for the Crown to follow, noting:

“Officials have identified three principal options for addressing Māori interests in spectrum that derive from the Treaty of Waitangi. These options can be briefly summarised as:

- (i) do not accept that Māori have a Treaty right to the radio spectrum per se (the current Crown position). This approach does, however, acknowledge that Māori have a right to the protection of Māori language and culture through broadcasting;^[1]^[SEP]
- (ii) accept that Māori have a Treaty right to the radio spectrum, i.e., accept that the radio spectrum is a taonga and/or that Treaty principles require the Crown to allocate to Māori a share of spectrum rights; or, ^[1]^[SEP] focus on the Crown-Māori Treaty relationship and shared objectives concerning spectrum.”⁸⁸⁴

At this stage the claimants’ separate statement was reproduced in the Cabinet paper in paragraphs in the relevant sections. Throughout these years, again on Treaty grounds, the Electoral College for Māori Television Te Pūtahi Pāho argued it should retain all of its frequencies from its start up days, despite the digital TV era. In the end TPP received advice that it would be retaining 16 MHz of the 32 MHz it formerly had reserved, for the purposes of Māori TV, with the ability to use that spectrum for other purposes.

In April 2011 the Minister of Māori Affairs wrote to certain Māori including a number of the claimants advisers asking them to accept appointment to Ngā Pū Waea, a National Māori Rural Broadband Initiative (RBI) working group. This group was established as a Ministerial committee, with funding for the purpose of ongoing research, provision of advice and meeting

⁸⁸⁴ Te Puni Kokiri, *Draft Wai 2224 Draft Cabinet Paper on Spectrum*, August 2010

costs. The role of Ngā Pū Waea was to give advice to the successful private tenderer to the Crown in the Rural Broadband Initiative.

A letter was finally received in September 2011, after a long delay in progress, from the Minister of Communications, and the Minister of Maori Affairs. It rejects the taonga argument with some finality, and proposes focussing on the Crown Maori Treaty relationship and ‘shared objectives’ concerning spectrum.

9.5.9 New engagements

After the lapse of a year, and with discussions of preparations for auctions in 700 MHz band continuing, claimants were contacted by the Māori Party in August 2012 to explore ways in which further exploration and discussion with Ministers might lead to a negotiated outcome. Further hui with Ministers were held and papers prepared at the Crowns request, but the auction proceeded in 2014. No Māori reservations were made. In an echo of the Crown’s action in 2000 the Government announced in 2014 the reservation of a \$30m ICT fund for Māori in ICT.

Māori rejected a cash settlement in principle. Claimants had already won their claim, that the Treaty right to develop extends to the electromagnetic spectrum, and under Winiata’s leadership asserted its potential for the Māori partner in the broadcasting and telecommunications worlds. These were recognised by Antony Royal and Graeme Everton as lynchpins of the modern knowledge economy. The employment fields they created would be communication and language based. Māori nevertheless had been excluded from participation in this far-reaching area of modern economic life, and from the opportunities it offers. Firm action was taken in the context of the alienation of spectrum to maximise an allocation of spectrum and hence Māori participation in the knowledge economy. As Winiata put it:

‘the extension of manaakitanga to the Nation by the Māori partner is essential to this. Manaakitanga is a taonga tuku iho and an essential element in aronga Māori [Māori concepts]... The facilitation of steps through Parliament to affirm rangatiratanga of Māori over the radio spectrum management rights, particularly over those management rights that have not been alienated to non-Māori entities, is an essential tikanga awaiting implementation. The Māori partner will insist on providing the leadership in prescribing the formulation and implementation of this tikanga through an auction or some other process.’⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁸⁵ Whatarangi Winiata, *Radio Spectrum: Managing the Tension*, Paper presented at Ngatokowaru Marae to National spectrum hui, Oct 2012, p. 4.

9.6 Establishment of Māori Television

9.6.1 Aotearoa Broadcasting Systems 3rd TV Channel Bid 1984-1987

In 1984 the New Zealand Māori Council sought to secure the third national television channel warrant for Māori. A number of Ngāti Raukawa people were involved in the team for the bid, led by Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Derek Fox. It secured an agreement from the State Broadcaster the BCNZ for revenues of \$170m, and progress appeared to be being made. But the BCNZ's promises were withdrawn on the eve of the Broadcasting Tribunal licensing hearings in 1985. The bid, despite drawing in wide support from Māori and many expert witnesses, without financial backing did not succeed, and New Zealand's last VHF television network passed into private hands.

9.6.2 Broadcasting Corporation Assets Case to High Court, on access to mainstream radio and television - High Court, Court of Appeal and Privy Council 1988-1993.

The largest of all of the cases against the Crown, the "Assets Case" took six years of hearings and Appeals. In late 1988, the New Zealand Māori Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo lodged an injunction to prevent the transfer of Broadcasting Assets to the new State Owned Enterprises Radio New Zealand and Television New Zealand, arguing that capacity to provide broadcasting in Māori and for Māori would be lost. The claimants sought to prevent the commercialisation of the country's State Owned Broadcasting networks, based on Section 9 of the State Owned Enterprises Act, which said the Crown was not permitted to breach the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The case froze the title to the public broadcasting system's assets, preventing their transfer to new SOE's TVNZ and Radio NZ Ltd, pending the hearings. This case took three years, from 1988 – 1991 to come to hearing in the High Court.

In his 1991 judgment Justice McGechan found that the Crown had begun to move in the area of Maori radio, but that little was being done in television. Little improvement was seen in either TVOne and TV Two, or the private channel TV3.⁸⁸⁶ He ordered the Crown to come up with a protective scheme which they duly brought back to the Court:

"Provision of \$13m over three years and establishment of a funding agency (Te Māngai Pāho)
Mainstreaming programmes on existing television channels

⁸⁸⁶ New Zealand Maori Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo vs the Attorney-General, 13 May 1991, (Broadcasting Assets) CP No 942/88, p. 89.

Development of policies and plans for a stand alone channel and a time frame for work on this over two years⁸⁸⁷

At this point the High Court Judge allowed the transfer of assets to proceed. Māori were not convinced by the measures in these undertakings and, under advice from their counsel Sian Elias QC, Martin Dawson and David Baragwanath QC appealed to the New Zealand Court of Appeal. That Court agreed 3-1 with the High Court judge saying enough had been done. Only Sir Robin Cooke disagreed, on the grounds that the Court could not, in his view, avoid judging that the policy was inconsistent with the Treaty of Waitangi.⁸⁸⁸ Encouraged by Cooke's view, and unhappy with the vague nature of the proposals and the lack of guarantees of action and funding on television in particular, the Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau agreed to appeal to the Privy Council in London, still New Zealand's final appeals court at the time. The claimants fundraised for the case, and both Sir Graham Latimer and Huirangi Waikerepuru went to London in support of the lawyers.⁸⁸⁹ Professor Don Browne, an expert on international indigenous broadcasting, summarised the outcome:-

‘that hearing finally took place in October 1993, and the Council's decision appeared on December 13, 1993. It upheld the Government's action but reminded the Government that it *did* have some remaining control over TVNZ, despite its transfer of some NZ\$137 million to TVNZ as a State Owned Enterprise. That being so, should the Government fail to honour its pledge to help support a separate Māori channel, the case could be re-opened.’⁸⁹⁰

Numbers 2 and 3 of these undertakings had not been fulfilled seven years later, by the year 2000. They were under examination when Māori returned to Court in 1996 over the sale of the RNZ commercial stations.

9.6.3 Māori Broadcasting in the late nineties and the second round of pressure to establish Māori television

In 1996 Crown moved to sell the commercial arm of Radio New Zealand Ltd, one of its new State Owned Enterprises. Māori moved to intercept this sale of involving 41 commercial radio stations. It was argued in this case that the move to sell spelt loss of “Crown powers” over the

⁸⁸⁷ New Zealand Māori Council and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i Te Reo vs the Attorney-General, 26 July 1991, (Broadcasting Assets final decision) CP No 942/88 p.19.

⁸⁸⁸ New Zealand Maori Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo vs the Attorney-General, 26 July 1991, (Broadcasting Assets final decision) Court of Appeal, Decision of Cooke R para 7.

⁸⁸⁹ New Zealand Maori Council and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo vs the Attorney-General, Privy Council decision, in NZLR p. 525.

⁸⁹⁰ Don Browne, *Electronic Media and Indigenous Peoples, A Voice of our Own*, Iowa State University Press, 1996, p.153.

new SOE". Māori lost the case both in the High Court, and later, in a 5-1 decision against the Māori position in the Court of Appeal.

9.6.4 Joint Working Party to advance Treaty position 1996

Nonetheless, during this case (the Radio New Zealand commercial stations sale, in the High Court, and the Court of Appeal) the Crown offered to establish a Joint Working Party on Māori Broadcasting. It was duly established and worked for eight months, writing two reports which identified areas of agreement and disagreement with the Crown.⁸⁹¹ The Joint Working Group recommended that a similar joint Treaty based process continue in 1997, to lay the foundations for the development of Māori Television and strengthen Māori radio. Ngāti Raukawa was heavily involved in these negotiations.

9.6.5 Mainstreaming on TV

The extent of failure to increase mainstreaming is still apparent in 2016. Te Karere has been scheduled further away from prime time since the BCNZ Assets Case was heard in 1991. At that time it was broadcast at 5.15pm. In 2010 its time slot was 4.30pm, a time with a greatly reduced adult audience. (4.00pm in 2016) Presumably, it was moved further away from prime time to have less of an effect on TV One's early evening listenership. Te Karere was briefly funded by Te Mangai Paho to run for twelve months of the year in 1995/96. The change took effect from December 1995, after repeated criticism from Sir Graham Latimer and others, and direct action (a sit-in live on air) by Te Kawau Maaroo, an activist organisation.

9.6.6 Stand alone television pilot

Te Mangai Paho, the Crown agency now in existence, initiated a pilot television channel using a reserved UHF frequency in Auckland in 1996, called the Aotearoa Television Network (ATN). The service was said by Derek Fox to be poorly designed with an inadequate lead time, and poor management structures. Government and officials in its Māori broadcasting funding agency introduced the ATN pilot against the objections of Māori broadcasters involved in Māori Television treaty negotiation with Government.⁸⁹² The pilot was sponsored by the Ministry of Commerce, which oversees Te Māngai Pāho, and the Minister of Communications.⁸⁹³ After the pilot and its public management failures, new proposals were

⁸⁹¹ Reports of the Joint Maori/Crown Working Group on Māori Broadcasting Policy, Sept 1996 and November 1996

⁸⁹² Te Māngai Pāho, *Māori Television Consultation Report*, April 1996

⁸⁹³ Te Māngai Pāho, *Māori Television Report*, 30 June 1996

put forward. The Māori plaintiffs ran their own consultation hui on the emergent plans, and sought expert advice.⁸⁹⁴ In its 1997 consultation document the Crown still appeared to be making haste slowly, asking questions the Courts had long since answered:

“should the Government be promoting the Māori language through broadcasting?
In promoting the Māori language through broadcasting, how much emphasis should be given to television and how much to radio?
Should Māori language programmes be shown on a separate television channel or through mainstream commercial networks or a combination of the two? If a combination of the two what should be the relative emphasis?”⁸⁹⁵

9.6.7 Māori Television Service Legislation 2003

A major piece of work produced in the year 2000 by a Māori group, established by Ministers at the request of the Māori caucus of Government. It was known as the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee (MBAC) and was led again by Derek Fox. It noted:-

‘that the committee considers that the Government’s plan for Māori Television is fundamentally flawed because the relatively low level of funding does not allow for the production and broadcast of the high quality programmes needed to revitalise Māori language and culture.’⁸⁹⁶

The committee sought funding of \$50m per year for the operation of the channel, after comparing programmes and genres funded by NZ on Air and TVNZ.

After several more years of discussion the Government passed the Māori Television Act in 2003, which established the Māori Television Service (MTS). The service was opened jointly by Huirangi Waikarepuru and Prime Minister Helen Clark and went to air from studios in Newmarket in 2004. Ngāti Raukawa has supplied a number of broadcasters to the channel over that time, in governance, programme-making, management and journalism. The station has received funding of around \$40m per year on average, and is perceived by viewers as having reasonably good quality programmes, with a commitment to using Māori as a normal broadcasting language. It has been extremely well-received by the public of New Zealand, and after twelve years on air, is now part of the “wallpaper” for all bilingual New Zealanders under the age of fifteen years. That the water is more suitable to the “growth of the mussel beds of the Māori language” there can be no doubt. But with comparatively limited funding (TVNZ

⁸⁹⁴ Māori Broadcasting: report to Māori by National Māori Organisations June 1997.

⁸⁹⁵ *Kaupapa Pouaka Whakaata Māori, Māori Television Policy, He Tuhinga Matapaki, Discussion Document, Ministry of Commerce* June 1997, p.16.

⁸⁹⁶ *Toward a Māori Broadcasting Strategy, Report of the Maori Broadcasting Committee (MBAC)* Sept 2000 p. 25.

and subsidiaries have annual revenues of \$400m) it struggles to fulfil the dreams of those who conceived a Māori channel in the first proposals for stand-alone Māori television in 1984.

9.7 Summary

I offer by way of conclusion some of the principles fought for by Ngāti Raukawa broadcasters and their kaumātua, and their views of the success of the Māori broadcasting that had emerged by 2010, the cut off point for this research. In the years of negotiations over how a Māori Broadcasting system should look, Winiata framed the main aims, namely that Māori broadcasting should have **access, equity, and autonomy**, in the emergent Māori system. By way of access Māori should be able to enter the radio and television game as equal partners in the Treaty of Waitangi. There should be sufficient radio licences, whether on AM and FM, VHF, UHF or in modern digital transmission systems (where television is being transmitted on smartphones as much as via TV sets), for Māori, their language and their culture to be fully visible. Radio should allow **access and control by iwi** in order to maintain dialect, traditions and rangatiratanga.

A second Treaty principle which Māori established before the Waitangi Tribunal was that the spectrum is a major taonga, and fell under the purview of ‘tino rangatiratanga’ in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Crown has not accepted the Tribunal finding to date. Māori, including lead claimants from Ngāti Pareraukawa have recently engaged in a four year legal and negotiation process from 2009-2013 (over the 4G auction), to reassert the position i.e, a third round since 1989. In time it appears that the Crown will have to change its mind on refusal; Māori have won the ruling and it is unlikely to be reversed.

A further principle pursued is one for Māori to deal with, that Māori ourselves had a responsibility to create **authentic tikanga-Māori radio and television**, and not just submit to a future as English speakers. Māori should not give up on the revival of te reo as a normal everyday language, and broadcast mostly in English. The negotiators and kaumātua the claimant groups decided that a tikanga-Māori radio/television station is one that commits to using the Māori language for over 50% of its broadcasts. According to a Te Māngai Pāho survey in 1994 after three years of iwi radio, Māori language use in many iwi stations had dropped from the early idealism of over 60% of content to around 30%, as stations sought advertisers and moved to “rock and roll formats”. Te Māngai Pāho recovered the position using

an annual financial incentive of \$100,000 to each station, if they reversed the trend. This duly occurred - an interesting example of using the language of money to achieve a better outcome for the indigenous language.

It remains a remarkable fact in 2016, that despite years of successful on-air trials, thirty-three years of “going through the channels,” despite a huge talent base of broadcasters, composers, speakers, and good listeners, and a rohe where most of the Māori population are now Māori speakers, Crown iwi radio policy and its Māori broadcasting funding agency refuses to recognise Ngāti Raukawa-ki-te-tonga as an iwi, and refuses to fund its radio station.

10.0 TE RŌPŪ WĀHINE MĀORI TOKO I TE ORA (THE MĀORI WOMEN’S WELFARE LEAGUE)

10.1 Introduction

This Chapter offers with a short picture of the origins of the national body of NZ Māori Womens Welfare League, along with its purposes and main activities. The early days of the League in Raukawa rohe are traversed here, told mainly through memories from early participants in Raukawa branches recorded by the late Dame Mira Szaszy. The main themes and activities of the Raukawa branches are outlined, as well as the political aspirations of Raukawa women and participation at national Dominion conference level A concluding recalls the early progress days and fundraising projects of the league in the rohe. Some of the material has come from a study of branch and regional minute books; my thanks to whanaunga who supplied access to these.

10.2 Early History and founding of National Body

An early forerunner of the Māori Womens Welfare League got going in Auckland in 1930. A group was formed to discuss matters pertaining to Maori, and notably “all of its meetings were to be conducted in the Māori Language”. The New Zealand Herald of 22 July 1930 carried a report of its inaugural hui in Mangere:

“A Tamaki Māori Women’s Welfare League to protect the interests of the Maori race and to further a knowledge of Maori history, customs, music and language was formed at a meeting convened by Mrs. Meri Newton at Mangere. All the meetings of the league will be conducted in the Maori language. The objects of the league include co-operation with all kindred reform

movements, and with European women for the betterment of the community as a whole, and the acquisition where possible of suitable properties. The following officers were appointed: — Patron, Chieftainess Te Puea, of Mangere; President, Mrs. Newton, Secretary, Miss Delia Newton.⁸⁹⁷

This Mangere League was still active the following year, in 1931, again with Te Puea heavily involved. The activities of this early forerunner of the national League were focussed on poverty and homelessness among Māori in South Auckland. Reports from 1931 and 1932 show that this league carried out a sustained programme of practical assistance to whānau Māori and their tamariki in the market garden areas of South Auckland. In these early years of the Depression Māori were gravitating towards the work available in the gardens. Whānau came in large numbers and it was reported by the Herald they often had no shelter. Many fell on hard times, and suffered from malnutrition. One report from 1931 indicated that land was given for a pā, to become ultimately Te Puea Marae in Māngere. Princess Te Puea of Waikato was involved in the establishment of the marae.

“ACTION BY WOMEN’S LEAGUE. Following the recent disclosures of the condition under which some Maori families were living at Mangere, Mrs. Mere Newton, president of the Maori Women’s Welfare League, offered a piece of land at Mangere as a site for a building for the accommodation of members of the native race; but as the newly formed Kiwi Esplanade bounds the property, thus giving it three road frontages, it has been held that the site is unsuitable. When this information was conveyed to the league, Mrs. Te Paea Rewha, patroness of the league, offered a more suitable site in the same locality, but at the end of a road which is used very little.”⁸⁹⁸

The National League began with its inaugural conference in 1951 and throughout the 1950s continued to develop its central kaupapa, and its programme of activities. A description of its kaupapa was given by Mary Findlay, Secretary of the Wellington League Council, in a report she wrote on the 1960 Conference, held in Taranaki:

“In broad outline, the M.W.W.L. is a nationwide movement for the welfare of the Maori race. Its work falls into three main categories—Health, Housing and Education. Yearly programmes are planned by the branches which encompass this wide field. Speakers are invited and aspects of Health, Education, Public Relations and Maori Culture are discussed. Activities include Horticulture, Domestic Arts, visits to the sick and distressed and money-raising for Government subsidy, for educational purposes. The work of the League is constructive and preventive, with the underlying motive of self-help and co-operation within the group, and in the wider sphere of public relations. Members have their ears to the ground and try as far as possible to solve local problems, by bringing pressure to bear in the appropriate quarters. If they meet with no success, then the matter is brought to Conference in the form of a remit”⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁷ NZ Herald, news report, 22 July 1930

⁸⁹⁸ Auckland Star, news report 14 September, 1931

⁸⁹⁹ Mary Findlay “My First Conference, Article in Te Ao Hou magazine, March 1961, p. 52.

Image 75: Inaugural meeting of the Māori Women's Welfare League, Ngāti Poneke Hall, September 1951



The League had a number of Raukawa branches from the 1950s on. A list of the Branches and their Secretaries appears in the Minute Book for the Womens League Raukawa District Council for 1965-1975.⁹⁰⁰

“Pikiahu-Waewae	- Mrs. M (Taumata) Renata
Kauwhata	- Mrs. M Lawton
Bulls	- Mrs. A Brown
Ngāti Pāmutana (Palmerston North)	- Mrs K Robbie
Ngatokowaru	- Mrs A Sciascia
Poroutawhao	- Mrs D. Kiriona
Te Awahou (Foxton)	- Mrs G Huff
Kāhui (Ōtaki)	- Mrs G Webber”

Ngāti Pāmutana in Palmerston North had a recess of some years in the early 1960s, but reported in 1967 that they were reconstituting.

10.3 Pikiahu-Waewae Te Reureu Branch

Early Ngāti Raukawa involvement in the founding of the League was spearheaded by Atareti Jacob and Māora Tamihana. Both appear in photographs of the inaugural conference. At one point they arrived in the north of the district in Te Reureu. Taumata Renata, (one of the Kereama siblings mentioned in Chapter 8 on Te Wānanga o Raukawa) told Miraka Szasz about the arrival of the “League” personnel and the slightly rocky start to the League in the Tokorangi - Te Reureu area.

“In February 1933 I married a local man and we lived in a small settlement named Rātā, where we used to pick potatoes. It was the same place where my natural sister Nancy and I previously played hockey for the Rātā team for three years, travelling from Tokorangi over the Rangitīkei River on our horse. My late husband, Patu Rēnata (Waihape), was of Ngāti Hinemanu-Ngāti Te Huki-ki-Mōhaka descent but was brought

⁹⁰⁰ Raukawa District Council, Māori Women’s Welfare League minute book 1965-1975, Frontispiece, library G.W. Kereama.

up by his aunt locally. We lived and had a small farm at Rātā for 14 years. In January 1949 we were asked by his foster parents to come back to Tokorangi to farm on their land interests and to take care of them. We then had two children, a daughter Raiha and a son Mānuera. We moved over with sheep, cows and pigs. We were there actually three months and moved to where I am now, a bigger piece of leased land to farm the way we wanted to, following the more modern trends - milking 75 cows on average, breeding ewes, cattle and a piggery.

It was then, in the years between 1950 and 1951, that I first heard of the Māori Women's Welfare League. Mrs Atareti Lucy Jacob of Ngāti Pareraukawa, Levin came to accompany Mrs Māora Tāmihana to speak to our local women about this welfare thing. First visit we were not very interested, due to a misunderstanding of the word welfare, so a further visit was arranged and a branch set up. Then another meeting was called and 27 women, including our elders, were all present. My sister Kararaina Te Whatu became the first president and I became the secretary, with Parewairere Royal as co-treasurer.”⁹⁰¹

10.4 Self-sufficiency and fund-raising

The League branches were energetic and had many projects on the go. They showed commitment to forming and maintaining an effective regional grouping. The Raukawa Branches confederated thus in the Raukawa District Council of the Māori Womens Welfare League. The Council held monthly meetings, with two delegates from each branch in attendance and its own regional President. That Council also raised funds for regional purposes, through donations from branches and special events; every small amount raised was carefully recorded and held in a combined fund for regional activities, special projects in the community, and to assist with the costs of attendance of three delegates at the annual national conference of the League.

10.5 Participation in National Conferences of the League and in Politics

The Raukawa Council had regular discussions on the deeper causes of the social situations of their whānau, and inevitably became interested in politics. Each year Districts of the League could submit remits to their national headquarters, in the hope those motions would make the Conference floor. The Raukawa remits for the 1968 Conference for example were a sharp set of proposals, reflecting concerns over discrimination and insisting on retention of the Māori language, as they turned the corner into the 1970's:

That the MWWL express its support for the use of some test for alcohol content of the blood of motor-vehicle drivers.

⁹⁰¹ Szaszy, Dame Miraka and Anna Rogers, Miria Simpson (ed), *Te Tīmatanga, Tātau, Tātau*, Early Stories from Founding Members of the Māori Women's Welfare League, 1993. p. 108.

That the appointment of inspectors by government to inquire into the efficiency of Māori farmers is discrimination. These inspectors should either enquire into all farming operations or to none.

The MWWL draws the attention of Māori people to the changes in the law of Māori inheritance and advise branches to invite speakers qualified in this field to discuss those changes.⁹⁰²

That the MWWL encourage the use of the Māori language among its members, especially at conference, and that if necessary interpreters be employed.⁹⁰³

In a reflection perhaps of the fact national politics has always been a tough game, the news came back a few months later that none of the Raukawa proposals above had been selected for debate at national Conference. A report back from President Ada Brown of Parewahawaha expressed concern over how short the national conference was, with little time for in-depth discussion. After the 1969 hui in Whangarei there was debate over a motion to reduce the number of Raukawa delegates from three to two, given the costs of accommodation, and the draining of scarce funds in travel. Despite these occasional debates, participation in the national conference remained a focus of each year's activities, with the selection of attendees being carefully considered, and a regular cycle of attempts to have national conferences at venues where travel and accommodation expenses could be minimised.⁹⁰⁴

The focus on the retention of the Māori language was a constant in the discussions at Raukawa District League meetings in the 1960s and 70s.

10.6 Parewahawaha Branch

The Bulls/Ngāti Parewahawaha branch began with the calling of a meeting at Ada Brown's house in July 1951. Ada was the daughter of Marore Tamihana and an American, Jack Allen. She married Taylor Brown, of Ngāti Parewahawaha hapū and she and her husband farmed in the Bulls District. They were closely involved in rebuilding their carved meeting house in Bulls. Brown related the story of the founding of the Parewahawaha Branch of the League to Miraka Szaszy:-

⁹⁰² Inheritance law had been changed that year so that Māori widows automatically received the first \$12,000 of their husband's estate, to make their situation equal to Pākehā women. The Raukawa District Council had a guest speaker on that topic earlier in the year.

⁹⁰³ Raukawa District Council, Māori Women's Welfare League minute book 1965-1975, Minutes 12 April 1968, p. 54.

⁹⁰⁴ The Raukawa District AGM resolved to write to the National Dominion Secretary at its April meeting in 1973, asking that the proposed site of Trillos in Auckland be moved to the Māori Community Centre in Fanshawe St, in downtown Auckland, as "Raukawa members felt there would be too much expense in conveying delegates to and from the conference site." – Minute book 1965-1975, AGM Hui 14 April 1973, p.129

“As time went on, the need for a meeting house became a major priority and with the help of Taylor’s relatives and whānau of Parewahawaha, Raukawa, Tūwharetoa, and his good friend Wiremu Parker, this dream became a reality. Wiremu Parker, adult education officer at Victoria University, arrange for expert tutors Mary and Hēnare Toka of Ngā Puhi to teach carving, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai. We are all proud of our beautifully carved meeting house and through its development we have become skilful and talented in our Māori arts and crafts.

My Māori Women’s Welfare League interest began when we held a meeting here in my home and formed our League on the 16th June 1951. We have had many years of active involvement in education on many facets of life, including parenting and especially in Māori arts and crafts and culture. We have made many friends, long wonderful friendships - Māori and Pākehā - and had very many happy times.

Some of those present at our first meeting were Aunty Kahu Durie, Māora Tāmihana, Mīna Richardson, Delia Rēweti, Eileen Ngahere, Polly Ngahere, Laura Rēweti, Roimata Hāwea, Lorna Tumu, Madge Rēweti, Emma Winiata, Olive Weretā and myself. We named our branch Parewahawaha Māori Women’s Welfare League and our League is still going today, although in a small way”.⁹⁰⁵

10.7 Hutt Valley Offshoots and the start of Ōtaki Branch

As Brown indicated the League opened its membership up to non-Māori spouses and other Pākehā friends of the kaupapa. Louise Carkeek (wife of Tahiwī Carkeek – see Ch 2) grew up in remote Hawkes Bay and made mostly Māori friends, because there weren’t many other Pākehā people around. She met Tahiwī, a soldier, when he came into hospital in Wellington where she was working as a nurse. She looked after him. They raised their whānau in Naenae. Carkeek was highly active in the Naenae Māori Women’s Welfare League, working at the grassroots level among families in need, from all iwi, all over the country. Later on, when she and her husband moved back to his people in Ōtaki, she was one of those who launched the Ōtaki Branch of the League: -

“I think the League made Māori women aware of what a strong voice they could have in Māoridom. As mothers they were in control of their homes but I felt the League furthered their interests in the future of themselves and their children, and health too. I think it bonded European and Māori women together too; there was a better understanding between them of each other’s lifestyles.

Mere Wīpiti and I formed a League here in Ōtaki in 1989. I asked the women here if they would be interested in forming a branch and then we got in touch with the Kōwhai League in Levin, to come down and talk to the women. So we set up a branch. They came down to talk to us. It has grown - we have started a youth group now - and I feel that although there are other things going on in Ōtaki and it’s only a small town, our League is beginning to make its way. It’s being noticed! The interesting thing I can say is that Māori women who don’t belong to Ngāti Raukawa have joined this branch of the League.

⁹⁰⁵ Szaszy, Dame Miraka and Anna Rogers, Miria Simpson (ed), *Te Tīmatanga, Tātau, Tātau*, Early Stories from Founding Members of the Māori Women’s Welfare League, 1993. p. 10.

When I was involved with the Naenae branch it consisted of Māori women from all over New Zealand. There was pride in who you were and where you came from, so that a big effort was made to make everything work properly. Today I'm finding it difficult to get them to realise that if you have something to do, you do it straightaway, don't leave it for a few days and then think about it. I think that you should make an effort to start right from the word go. I have got the League interested in doing work for Raukawa Marae because we have a new dining room that will be opening soon. I was well aware that the League had never done anything for the meeting house. We have made pillowcases and painted them with a design. So at least that's something that the League has done. We're giving a shield to Ōtaki College for the best student in te reo each year. The youth group, which I'm quite interested in myself, went to a conference in Porirua and Nicole Dalley Broughton, our little girl, won a Māori speaking competition. That was a real thrill to us!⁹⁰⁶

10.8 Progress Days and Fundraising

One significant strand of the league's activities was encouraging home crafts and 'show days' where craft competitions were held for participation by members. Categories for the following year were decided on a year in advance to allow careful planning and preparation, and ensure a high standard of competition. The taonga manufactured and the cookery produced was sold or raffled to raise funds.

On November 17 1954 at the Ngātokowaru (Pareraukawa) Branch of the League Lucy (Atareti) Jacob was in the Chair. Around a dozen members were in attendance, and the main point of discussion was the upcoming shop day, It may have clashed with a "Community Chest" day being held by a non-Māori organisation. After discussion it was resolved to seek to combine the activities and groups. Mereana Selby recalled observing the League gatherings as a child, particularly these "progress days", which were fundraisers to assist with the programme of social work the League undertook in the rohe. There would be homebaking, making of condiments and jams, bread-making, rewena, and special Māori kai of the time. These competitions were described by Selby as a kind of "bake-off".⁹⁰⁷ Ngatokowaru prize certificates for 1978 show winners in the categories of korowai/kākahu, best sultana loaf, louise cake, sweets (coconut ice), and floral art⁹⁰⁸.

In 1967 the District League Council meeting settled on sewing categories of shortie pyjamas, a brunch coat, and a frock made from striped material with special emphasis on the artistic use

⁹⁰⁶ Szaszy, Dame Miraka and Anna Rogers, Miria Simpson (ed), *Te Tīmatanga, Tātau, Tātau*, Early Stories from Founding Members of the Māori Women's Welfare League, 1993. p. 16.

⁹⁰⁷ Mereana Selby, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, with Piripi Walker, Otaki, 52 Aug 2016, Te Hono Archives Track 1, 0.45-2.40

⁹⁰⁸ Ngatokowaru Māori Womens Welfare League, Certificate copies, 1978, Ngatokowaru Branch Archives

of stripes. In the knitting category the competition for the next year would consist of a girl's school age cardigan, (four ply), and a garment made out of homespun wool, which could be dyed. The crochet category like many had two categories, one for novices who would crochet three wool medallions, each different. The "experienced" crochet competition was for a table centre, made from cotton. In the millinery category a summer fashionable hat was sought – a bought shape could be used.

In the handiwork category the experts made an evening bag, and a nightgown sachet. There was a floral competition with an evening spray (real flowers), a green arrangement category and a section for black & gold dried arrangements. Local elders and clergy were asked to be judges - one year the Committee was approaching elder Tira Putu to come along. The Council remained true to things Māori and had a number of categories also that year for traditional Māori craft competitions: -

Novice, tāniko headband (not mounted)

Ex. Taniko belt (not mounted)

A whāriki, (one hono [ie one join of two sections – a size limit])

Shopping basket

Fancy Kete; novice and ex

Potato kete; novice and ex

Patere [traditional chant] novice and experienced.

Single short poi (not less than four members)

Action song original⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰⁹ Raukawa District Council, Māori Women's Welfare League minute book 1965-1975, Minutes 10 November 1967, p. 48.

Taumata Renata reported on more enjoyable and memorable activities once the Pikiahu-Waewae branch was set up in the northern end of the rohe:

“the first progress day was held at Aorangi Marae. A note of the competition articles etc was sent to some of the branches. District wise it had not been widely advertised but we had our people’s interest, along with all the funny little incidents that took place. For instance, two members of our branch trying to arrange a floral display of large-headed dahlias into an Agee quarter jar - after they had rammed in six large stalks and leaves they couldn’t find a space for the water! Furthermore, when they released the jar it fell over, it was so top heavy. That was Eva Kōhatu and Pera Gotty’s effort - sheer determination! The displays were a chaos but it was a very enjoyable occasion.

Image 76: Taumata Renata, Pikiahu-Waewae branch



Next meeting I would drive down the road towing the trailer hooked onto the tractor and pick up members along the way to one of our marae where we always held our meetings, our bring and buy days, our euchre party card afternoons - all to raise money for our League branch. During our first 14 months of being a League branch we had raised sufficient funds to pay Crown Lynn of Auckland for 20 dozen badged crockery, comprising dinner, pudding, bread plates, cups and saucers, milk jugs and sugar bowls. Cutlery was purchased locally. This crockery was used on our three marae when requested. Some of it is still in use today.

Then the idea of each branch having an embroidered cloth for our meeting table was mooted and adopted. Our Pikiahu-Waewae Branch produced ours the following month. All the required materials were donated by the following members: linen - Laura Iwikau-Fernandez, cottons - Taumata Rēnata, crochet lace for edgings by a friend, Mrs Alma Beazer. The drawings and embroidery were all done by our president, Kararaina Te Whatu. The drawings are native tree blooms and two swamp plants - Kōwhai with tui bird, pohutukawa, rātā, tītoki, tawa, raupō and harakeke complete with rakiraki and her pīpī. There is a front of a wharepuni across one corner in black and red cotton with the words ‘tātau Tātau’. I have this cloth in my possession. It became the cloth used at our Raukawa District Council meetings and all progress days.⁹¹⁰

10.9 Summary

Women’s Welfare League in the rohe, which has had various branches in the region since 1951. Raukawa is proud to claim Dame Elizabeth Murchie (her mother Oriwia was from the Hawea family of Katihiku, and her father was Ngai Tahu), a President of the League who was very close to her Raukawa roots. Its branches have operated for many years within particular marae, and held regular meetings and coordinated activities for members. The League marked a major re-entry by wāhine Māori into politics, and has maintained its important role in the second half

⁹¹⁰ Szaszy, Dame Miraka and Anna Rogers, Miria Simpson (ed), *Te Tīmatanga, Tātau, Tātau*, Early Stories from Founding Members of the Māori Women’s Welfare League, 1993. p. 181.

of the 20 century over the period of urbanisation of Maori. The League addressed itself in a major way to political issues from its inception to the present.

Image 77: Dame Elizabeth Murchie



11.0 TE RŪNANGA O RAUKAWA

11.1 Early years of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa

In 1984 the Hui Taumata was called by the Government, and iwi who attended advocated ‘the control of resources by, and the delivery of programmes through iwi authorities.’⁹¹¹ After the hui the Crown launched a scheme known as Mana Enterprises, with \$13m to disburse over ten years. In May 1986 Te Rūnanga o Raukawa was chosen to coordinate the scheme on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa.

In 1989 the policy of ‘devolution’ was moved forward in a major fashion. The concept was sponsored by the Minister of Māori Affairs in the Labour Government, Hon. Koro Wetere. Officials produced a booklet *Tirohanga Rangapū* (Partnership Perspectives) and conducted consultation with iwi around the country on the establishment of Rūnanga. Under devolution to iwi, the old Māori name for tribal councils re-entered discussion; a modernised form of Rūnanga would to be established across the country under a new Rūnanga Iwi Act. In 1989 the Maori Affairs Department was disestablished and replaced by the Crown with two new agencies, the Iwi Transition Agency (Tira Ahu Iwi) and the Ministry of Māori Affairs. The first of these was seen as interim, leading ultimately to a transfer of powers and resources to iwi, i.e. a shift of the activity formerly conducted by the Crown to iwi Māori. The future of District Māori Councils under the Māori Development Act, whose history is described in Chapter 7, was still unclear. In the end there was no abolition of the Māori Councils governing Act, and regional and national structure continued to exist through to the end of the century and into the 2000s. Indeed, it appears to be in a process of revival in the present.

Some iwi and critics were unhappy with the Rūnanga Iwi Bill when it was introduced because the Crown-rūnanga relationship took place entirely within a framework of complete Governmental sovereignty and control.⁹¹² In fact, ‘devolution’ didn’t last long as it was unpalatable to a new incoming Government. After the election in 1990 the new National Party-led Government rapidly repealed the Rūnanga Iwi Act, with the repeal act in force by New Years Day 1992. The new Minister of Māori Affairs Winston Peters sought to find alternatives to Labour’s policy and convened an Advisory Group, which wrote the report *Ka Awatea*. It

⁹¹¹ Te Maharani Jacob, *Mana Enterprises, Report to Te Rūnanga o Raukawa* 21 May 1989, p. 58.

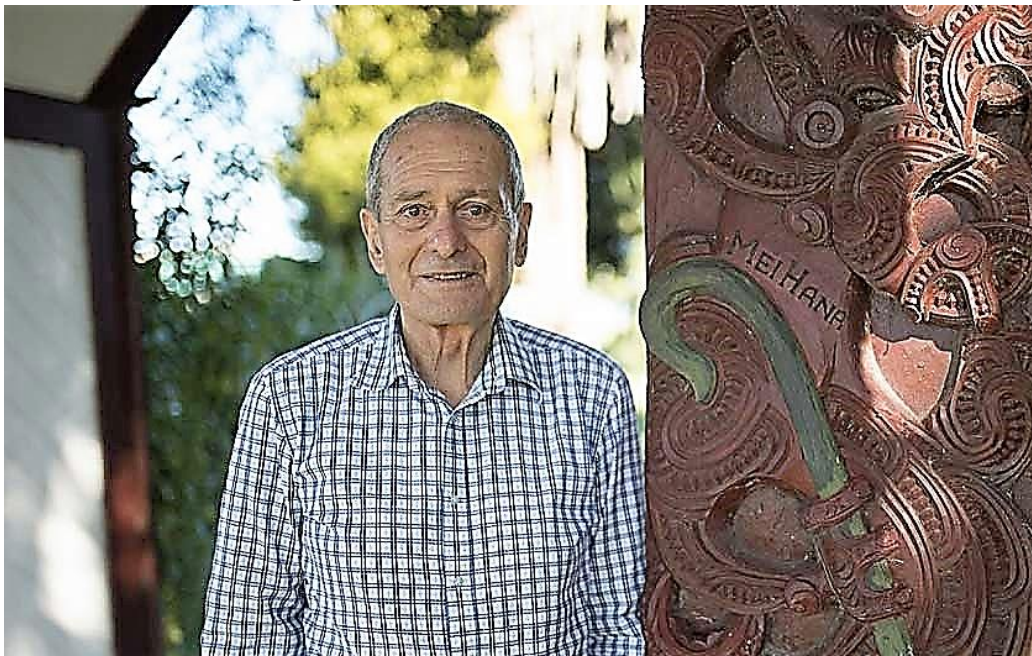
⁹¹² Richard Hill, *Māori and the State, Crown Māori relations in New Zealand Aotearoa 1950-2000*, Victoria University Press 2009, p. 241.

recommended closing up the two interim bodies Labour had created, the Iwi Transition Agency and Ministry of Māori Affairs, and the Government accepted its recommendations. It replaced them with Te Puni Kōkiri, (the Ministry of Māori Development).

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa was formed in the late 1980s in the lead up to the foregoing events, led by Te Maharanui Jacob and Professor Mason Durie. Its headquarters over the first 15 years of operation was the former Presbyterian Church Minister's manse at 245 Mill Rd Otaki. Its initial broad plan was to have all iwi in the region on board, including Muaupoko, Rangitane, Ngāti Apa, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Toa. During canvassing at the time those iwi other than Ngāti Raukawa held their own internal discussions; word came back that Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa wanted to establish their own independent Rūnanga for the next stage of their development. According to Matiu Rei, the head of the Committee appointed to establish Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Toa:-

“At that time there was pressure from others to join their Rūnanga. Principally there were two sources of pressure, Ngāti Raukawa (to the north at Ōtaki) and the Rūnanganui (to the south in the north of the South Island). These offers were declined. In short Ngāti Toa had allegiances to the north and to the south but opted for independence. These decisions were made at full hui ā-iwi.”⁹¹³

Image 78: Professor Emeritus Sir Mason Durie 2017



⁹¹³ Matiu Rei, brief of evidence to Section 30, Te Ture Whenua Maori hearings, Maori Land Court, Takapuwhāhia Marae, 1994 p. 6.

The Raukawa District Māori Council and the Raukawa Trustees, in the mid-eighties set up a Komiti Whakatinana as a joint body to look after matters affecting them both. Later, the Komiti was organised so it was able to receive Government funding, but had limited powers. Then after 1985, it was given the task of producing the constitution of the emergent Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, which was formally incorporated by the Registrar of Incorporated Societies on 9 January 1988.

The constitution of the incorporated Society of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa had “Founding Nominating Bodies” to nominate persons for memberships of the Rūnanga. At this stage the ‘separation’ into individual rūnanga was yet to occur; the nominators including membership beyond Ngāti Raukawa: The Raukawa Marae Trustees, The Raukawa District Māori Council, Te Rūnanga o Te Wānanga o Raukawa Inc, the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club Inc, the Ōtaki and Porirua Trusts Board, and Rangiātea Māori Pastorate. Members, Office Bearers and Vestry members of all of the above formed part of the initial “Founding Nominating Bodies”, a total of 174 individuals. It can be seen that most of the bodies studied in the earlier Chapters of this report were in the “Founding” group.

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa presented its inaugural Annual Report in March 1989. The writers were members of Te Rūnanga Whāiti (The Executive Body of the Rūnanga). It appeared at the time of the crest of the work by the Government to introduce the Rūnanga Iwi Bill; hopes were high that the Rūnanga was on track to become a major political body for the iwi.

“Te Rūnanga o Raukawa has been recognised as an iwi authority. It is expected that this will be confirmed by the proposed bill (due for introduction in the next few week) to empower iwi authorities. Te Rūnanga (together with 27-30 other iwi authorities) is tapped into Government’s machinery for devolution.”⁹¹⁴

Te Maharani Jacob, founding chief executive of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, writing nine years later, set out his view of the functions of a rūnanga for Ngāti Raukawa in modern society:-

‘the basic duties, some might say obligations of the Rūnanga are not dissimilar to those of its constituent hapū. Whereas the Rūnanga is bound to act in the best interest of the collective good of the hapū, the hapū are expected to focus upon the collective good of their whānau and individuals. The objectives are similar, the scale is different.

In today’s competitive society and political environment, because of economies of scale, the Rūnanga is able to act more effectively on behalf of her hapū than hapū can act on behalf of their constituent members. This is particularly so in respect of making claims against the Crown for

⁹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 6.

breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, in researching and engaging in large-scale investment opportunities, in providing justice, educational, health, social and other services, in consulting with an extensive range of local bodies, government departments and private enterprises, in taking deputations to ministers and members of parliament, in representing Ngāti Raukawa whānui on local and national Māori organisations, and in supporting hapū, whānau and individuals in such areas as resource management, loan finance and other activities.”⁹¹⁵

There were 39 members, and some of the members had multiple membership rights, i.e. represented multiple different hapū.⁹¹⁶ A section entitled ‘dissension’ noted the voluntary withdrawal of Ngāti Tukorehe’s representatives from the Raukawa Trustees and Ngāti Tukorehe’s endeavours to form a Rūnanga of their own. The distinguished ancestor of this grouping of the iwi was not a descendant of Raukawa himself, but was further back in generations. Ngāti Tūkorehe framed their withdrawal on the basis of not being a descendant group i.e. a hapū, of the ancestor Raukawa. Te Rūnanga made a plea for unity:-

“Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and the Raukawa Trustees are hopeful that unity within Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga will be raised and that our position vis-a-vis the Crown and others will be strengthened.”⁹¹⁷

The Runanga had tested the waters with a broad multi-iwi founding and nominating base. By 1993 however, the mood was to follow other iwi and make the Rūnanga for Ngāti Raukawa hapū and other closely related Tainui iwi (Tukorehe, Kauwhata and Wehiwehi) only. Thus in July 1991 a very significant raft of changes were made to the rules which removed the Raukawa District Māori Council, the Raukawa Trustees, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the Otaki Māori Racing Club, the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board and the Rangiātea Māori Pastorate from the nominating bodies. The idea was to ensure that a narrower Rūnanga for Ngāti Raukawa would result which could genuinely claim derived its authority from Ngāti Raukawa people. In other words, once other iwi, and iwi of the confederation, made their move towards independence, Ngāti Raukawa followed a similar track, but with greater reluctance.

There was a clear handover at this point of the decades old “Parliamentary” function of the Raukawa Trustees and the District Māori Council, to Te Rūnanga. For substantive political decision making and indeed, deal-making with the Crown, the Rūnanga was asserting that it was the lead body. Likewise, the Rūnanga once established in an incorporated society, had an unencumbered ability to receive funds and act as a self-governing society in business ventures

⁹¹⁵ Te Maharani Jacob, CEO Report in *Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Annual Report* 30 June 1997 p. 1.

⁹¹⁶ *Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inaugural Annual Report*, 31 March 1989 p. 3.

⁹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 7.

of many kinds, something the Raukawa Trustees could not do under their 1936 Raukawa Marae Trustees Act. For example, when the Crown moved in 1988 to dispose of surplus NZ Railways Houses administered by the Housing Corporation, the Trustees entered a partnership with the Housing Corporation “ in order to research and cater for the housing needs of the people affiliated to the Trustees” and noted that “funds would be available shortly”. However the Trustees did not have the same freedom to act as the Rūnanga. ‘the Trustees were not legally competent to receive these funds”and ‘the Runanga was.’⁹¹⁸

The time-honoured ART confederation of Atiawa, Raukawa and Toarangatira which had been promoted to Generation 2000 in the iwi’s educational curriculum faded from prominence overnight. This was despite some protests and insistence by older kaumātua that this was a mistake, that the alliance was a net benefit to all three iwi. The old consensus was ebbing away, as the Crown/Māori relationship moved all economic and political planning into the single mandated iwi model.

There was nonetheless general support for attempts to maintain the feelings of whanaungatanga cherished by kaumātua and kuia into the new body. Regular, well-attended hui by a very large number of kaumātua from iwi associated with all ART marae attended these hui. At a hui on 16 April 1989 at Raukawa Marae 42 kaumātua signed the register of attendance. The Rūnanga published a typed list of contact details for 150 kaumātua of the ART confederation in its inaugural Annual Report that year. The Roopu Kaumātua presented a paper on what a “kaumātua” was and their status in discussions of the Rūnanga: -

“A kaumātua is a kuia or koroua who is a source of information and guidance particularly in connection with the mana of the Runanga and of the hapu, iwi and other roopu tikanga Māori in the rohe, the lives and works of the old people, the histories of the whanau, hapu, marae, tikanga, kawa or taonga and relationship within and among hapu, iwi or other roopu tikanga Māori.

Kaumātua who are not members of the Runanga shall be free to attend meetings of the Runanga with the right to speak and to offer guidance and advice on any matter. What they say must be allowed to penetrate the collective mind and emotions of the Runanga in coming to decisions.”⁹¹⁹

After Mason Durie’s term ended Rūpene Waaka served his first term as Chair. He was followed by Tūroa Royal of Ngāti Kikopiri; Waaka then served a further term. In 1994 Dennis Emery

⁹¹⁸ Minutes, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, special General Meetings 29 November 1988 p. 1.

⁹¹⁹ Te Roopu Kaumātua, *Report to Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, 21 May 1989*, Te Runanga o Raukawa Annual Report 1989 p. 54.

was appointed Chief Executive of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa. He was advised by a group of senior kaumātua of more southern hapū. He was also summoned by George Kereama from the Northern hapū of Ngāti Manomano/Te Reureu, who asked him to come and see him to receive a briefing on his responsibilities, in an attempt to make sure resources flowed evenly to all Ngāti Raukawa hapū, both north and south. Rūnanga former Chair Mason Durie prepared a draft strategic plan for him as incoming CEO. Another group of senior kaumātua within the iwi reminded him of old principles of respect forged in the time of Te Whatanui (see Chapter 2), which must not be left behind when Emery assumed the helm:-

“[The plan was] to reach out further to those hapū around, and get them and the maraes involved. That was the strategic [plan], to do that. And it was interesting when I had my first meeting..when I first started, Uncle Iwi [Nicholson], Uncle Whatarangi [Winiata], Auntie Gabrielle [Rikihana], Auntie Kiripuai [Te Aomarere], there was a number of them, came and met with me, and said (one of the things I took from that meeting) that I had a role to play, as Kauwhata, and that was the peace between Rangitane and Raukawa. You know I never picked up the significance of takawaenga [mediator] until later on, about what that means, and so I wasn’t to do anything, they were quite clear with me, as the new CEO, that would damage the relationship with Rangitāne and with Muaupoko. In fact my job was to build the bridges, they said to me, as Kauwhata. “And whether you know that or not, you should get quite used to that.”

11.2 Mana Enterprises and the MACCESS Schemes

This late 1980s idea was the first major entry by Te Rūnanga into taking opportunities for researching and leading economic development. The initial idea, emanating from the 1984 Hui Taumata mentioned at the commencement of this chapter, was that the funds made available would be kept by the iwi authorities, both principal and interest payments on loans, to fund the scheme in perpetuity. In 1988 it was decided by Government that the Board of Maōri Affairs did not have the authority to make such an advance. A report from Te Maharani Jacob, coordinator of the scheme for Ngāti Raukawa protested that the scheme left the Rūnanga doing the work, but unable to retain any ownership in the fund, simply ‘the use of the funds but denies it the ownership of the returned principal and interest.’”

Nonetheless, Jacob found much to praise in Mana Enterprises, particularly the ten year terms of the loans, and the low levels of collateral required, whereby loans would be advanced with “adequate, but not exorbitant levels of security”. In addition the loans could be ‘discounted, according to such criteria as job creation, and whānau, hapū and iwi involvement in the loan”. The Raukawa governors of the fund had an impressive record over its first three years. None of the 18 businesses funded had failed in that time. These businesses were funded a total of

\$947,000, and none had missed interest payments. They had created 32 full-time and 12 part-time jobs.

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa also became a provider of employment training under the Maccess (Māori Access Schemes run under the Department of Māori Affairs) in the late 1980s. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa operated as the central headquarters for groups operating under the scheme at 6 sites and marae within the region. These sites had their own Access trainers providing vocational instruction and work experience for a group of trainees attending three-month courses, and receiving a nominal subsidised wage.

11.3 Land and Treaty Claims

Hui of the rūnanga claims committee in 1992 considered the Tangimoana, Waitarere and Manakau State Forests, and an application for funding was made to the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for research into the Waitarere State Forest. In 1992 a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, relating to the actions of the Crown in relation to the lands and other Treaty rights of Ngāti Raukawa was lodged. The claim was registered as Wai 113 and there were four claimants, Te Maharani Jacob, Iwikatea Nicholson, Te Whāmārō Kiriona, and Whatakaraka Davis. Over the following two decades a sub-committee of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, the Waitangi Claims Executive Management Committee, prepared research and carried the responsibilities of this generic claim, lodged on behalf of the whole iwi. The principal researchers and guides of the claim were Iwikatea Nicholson and Rupene Waaka. This claim is still being actively pursued today on behalf of the iwi. In 1993 the Rūnanga was funded by Crown Forestry Rental Trust to conduct research in the Tangimoana State Forest. During 1992 budgets were prepared which allowed for the payment of expenses to kaumātua. Kaumātua rejected payment and initiated a programme of relaying any funds to hapū and marae for hui costs.⁹²⁰ Other individual claims to the Tribunal by hapū, whānau, individuals and rōpū Māori in the rohe, have followed.

11.4 Raukawa Fisheries

In 1986 Māori opposed the introduction of the quota management system. Muriwhenua and Ngāi Tahu iwi were insisting the system was a confiscation of Māori fisheries rights protected under the Treaty of Waitangi as their claims proceeded before the Waitangi Tribunal. In 1987 Tainui, Ngāi Tahu, the New Zealand Māori Council challenged the Government over the issue

⁹²⁰ Waitangi Claims Executive Management Committee, Minutes 3 November 1992, p. 1.

of individual transferrable quotas (ITQ's) on selected species under the Total Allowable Catch framework. An interim injunction was granted in favour of the Māori Council by Justice Grieg in the High Court halting the issue of quota until the issue of Māori fishing rights could be fully examined by the Court. At this point a regional hui was called in Ōtaki to establish a committee of iwi in the district to look into the problem. Ngāti Toa were in this grouping initially but left shortly after. Te Atiawa remained with Ngāti Raukawa, and the Fisheries Committee came to be known as Te Komiti Whāiti. It was led by Iwikatea Nicholson and Pehi Parata. Over the two years 1988-89 it conducted significant research on the fisheries history and stocks of the region, and produced a publication made available to those hapū who had contributed \$1,000 to assist with the work⁹²¹.

In 1989 some of the major claimant iwi to that point, namely Muriwhenua, Ngāi Tahu, Tainui and the New Zealand Māori Council reached an interim agreement with the Crown that enabled the quota management system to be introduced. Māori would receive 10% of all fishstocks (quota) introduced under the Quota Management System (QMS) and \$10 million dollars cash. These two pools of resources (quota and cash) came to be known as pre-settlement assets.

Next followed the Sealord Settlement, a full and final settlement of Māori claims to the offshore fishery under the Treaty of Waitangi. A number of key Ngāti Raukawa kaumātua were involved in the lead up to the agreement, including Whatarangi Winiata. The settlement was that, in addition to the \$10m offered in 1991, Māori would receive 20% of any new species introduced to the QMS, and a further \$150 million to complete the purchase of 50% of the fisheries company Sealords Ltd, half of which had come up for sale, as reported in the Māori Law Review in 1995:

‘the Deed of Settlement of September 1992 provided that, in addition to the 10% of national fishing quota already held by Maori under the Maori Fisheries Act 1989, the Crown would give \$150 million to Maori to complete the purchase of a holding in Sealords fishing company whereby Maori would receive 26% of the national fishing quota. The Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission was then to propose a scheme of distribution for pre-settlement assets (the 10% of quota) and a separate scheme for post settlement assets (the 26%). The Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Settlement) Act 1992 gave effect to the Deed... The distribution model based on coastline length but also partly on population (mana whenua mana moana model) is causing contention.’⁹²²

⁹²¹ Te Rūnanga Whāiti (Fisheries) report to Te Rūnanga o Raukawa 21 May 1989 p. 50.

⁹²² Maori Law Review, August 1995, Hauraki Maori Trust Board & Others v The Waitangi Tribunal & Others.

The question was how the allocation of assets would proceed, and the argument was contested for eight years after the Sealord settlement. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa became the negotiating body for Ngāti Raukawa rights in these Fisheries negotiations, with a fisheries committee led by Iwikatea Nicholson, with Whatarangi Winiata, Mark Whāmārō Kiriona with Dennis Emery who joined this group as Chief Executive. At a particular point there was a major contest between iwi with the largest coastlines and other iwi, with the Raukawa negotiators fighting for a deal for all that would settle on a combination of both coastline and population. Raukawa's resident population at the time was assessed at c.15,000. According to Dennis Emery CE of the Rūnanga o Raukawa the negotiations were hard fought, and in the end, with the support of Ngāti Maniapoto, Tainui, Te Arawa and Ngāpuhi the initial proposals were modified from a proposal whereby the split would be 60/40 in favour of iwi with the longest coastlines, to a 50/50 split of those iwi, and others.⁹²³ Te Rūnanga established a holding company to act as the iwi fishing arm, Raukawa Tauranga Ika and this became the recipient company for the iwi's fisheries assets distribution. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa remained the main driver of negotiations for the iwi and custodian of repatriated assets.

11.5 Raukawa ki Te Tonga Trust Inc

In 2010 a new Trust, the Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust, through a voting process of registered iwi members, became the active body of the iwi in relation to Fisheries rights and assets, and the Mandated Iwi Organisation under the protocols mapped out by iwi and the Crown for fisheries negotiations.

11.6 Reflections on the state of the play after first eleven years

Te Maharanui Jacob was the founding CEO of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa. After eleven years he reflected widely in his outgoing CEO report to the AGM about where the hapū and iwi of Raukawa were at, along with the state of iwi Māori in general. After some years of the debate over the fisheries allocations above, not everything was going well, particularly in relation to competition over position and money. This contest in his view was changing the essential nature of Māori society:-

“In the present and what is likely to be the future dog eat dog world, it is probable that some hapū and other subgroups will want to exercise their autonomy and vie with other organisations, other

⁹²³ Dennis Emery, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, with Piripi Walker, Palmerston North, 6 July 2016, Track 2, 48.39-49.36

hapū and the parent body itself, for mainstream resources. The same rationale can be applied to fiscal settlements.

The present inter iwi disputes may well reappear in the future as inter hapū disputes within iwi.

There might be justification for such disputes if ultimately the benefits for all hapū are [not]⁹²⁴ fair and reasonable. Such an outcome will depend upon the exercise of a degree of fairness which at the present national and inter-iwi level is not apparent.

The past 10 years have seen changes to Māori society that could not have been predicted. The devolution policies of the mid 80s were followed by the disestablishment of the paternalistic Department of Māori Affairs. The Iwi Rūnanga Act and mainstreaming policies provided incentives and opportunities for iwi authorities like the Rūnanga to manage their own affairs. More importantly they provided the funds with which to manage them.

In the modern world acquisition of money and the ability to survive are seen as synonymous. The view is difficult to refute. Not unexpectedly the vast amount of money involved in successful Waitangi settlements pervades the whole of Maoridom's thinking. In establishing grievances against the Crown it is also necessary for iwi to establish their rangatiratanga often at the expense of a neighbouring iwi. This has created a climate of disagreement, argument and animosity that has not been seen since the pre-colonisation period.⁹²⁵

It can be concluded that Jacob was a believer in iwi including his own Ngāti Raukawa establishing a single council and voice, but was frustrated at the ever present instinct to compete, accompanied by fragmentation in thinking and effort, and loss of the force of combined power.

11.7 Health

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa pursued an iwi-centred health programme from its earliest days, and still maintains its health programmes. The early programmes focussed on community health. Te Rūnanga had been active in the health area since 1983, and in 1994 contracted with the Central Regional Health Authority to run its “Whānau Ora” programme (not to be confused with the programme of the same name launched after 2012) on marae of the region. It made contact with an initial 2000 people and the expectation at the time was that this would increase to 5000.

Dr. Mason Durie was on the District Health Board at the time and proposed to that Board that Te Rūnanga should have its own community health nurses. Anawarihi Rudd was Project

⁹²⁴ The original text prepared for the Rūnanga Annual Report (see following footnote) omitted the word “not”; clearly a typographical error.

⁹²⁵ Te Maharani Jacob, CEO Report in *Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Annual Report* 30 June 1997 p. 2.

manager, and others on her team were Hinga Gardiner, Paddy Jacobs, Sue Taylor, Miriama Kereama, Ngaire Rubay. They worked among the hapū in this capacity, and some have remained until the present day. “Whānau Ora” provided Māori oriented health services for the 22 marae in the region, i.e. education, immunisation, cervical screening and vision and hearing testing, and health promotion. In an article in the journal Kai Tiaki Journal Nursing New Zealand in 1996, Anne Manchester reported on progress:-

‘the main focus of the programme is prevention and positive health promotion. The rūnanga’s nine health workers (of whom five are registered nurses and two psychiatric nurses), working from bases in Otaki, Feilding, and Palmerston North, are expected to encourage healthy lifestyles, to ensure young children have access to health services, and to encourage better use of preventative programmes such as immunisation, cervical screening and vision and hearing testing.

Late in 1993, a survey was undertaken to assess the overall health status of those households and individuals intending to use Te Runanga o Raukawa’s Whanau Ora programme. A total of 116 households were surveyed and their 402 permanent residents interviewed. Just over half the residents were aged under 16 and 60 and a third were 15 and under.

In two out of every three households, some form of health ailment had occurred over the preceding 12 months, In the preceding year, most households had at least one member who required treatment from a doctor, while two out of every five households someone required hospital treatment. One in five failed to complete their medical treatment. In almost two thirds of households, at least one member had a long-standing health problem or disability. The major illnesses suffered were identified as high blood pressure (60%), asthma (40%), and heart problems (36%).⁹²⁶

The Health Service also employed mental health support workers. The Project Manager reported (Manchester) a dramatic improvement in first time encounters by hapū members with decent primary health services:-⁹²⁷

“We have picked up many people who haven’t been to a GP for years. By taking our services to marae, kohanga reo and into people’s homes we have been able to reach people who have been slipping through the health net”.

Later a health centre with a GP was established in Shannon, under the Rūnanga health arm. The doctor had his own practice nurse and supported the Rūnanga nurses out in the field. In the years after 2000 Smokefree programmes began under the Auahi Kore programmes of the Ministry of Health, with its own expert staff, from another office in Feilding. Cervical screening services were available through the Rūnanga. As time went on Te Rūnanga received

⁹²⁶ Manchester A. *Making a difference to Maori Health*. Kai Tiaki: Nursing New Zealand, February 1996 p. 14

⁹²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 15.

funding under contract to run regional programmes for the iwi in sexual health, and other mental health programmes. In 1998 the Health Funding Authority approached Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, and a private provider of sheltered housing in the mental health area, the MASH Trust, with a proposal to establish a joint venture to provide supported accommodation, and training and employment opportunities for mental health clients.⁹²⁸ This led to the establishment of Te Whaioro Trust, a mental health provider in the northern part of the rohe.

11.8 Hapū Development

The Rūnanga prepared a proposal for a programme of hapū and iwi management and development in 1990. Directly encouraged by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000, the proposal scanned the current scene among whanau and hapū, and set out a plan for improvements through a new hapū based programme:-

“To date the results stemming from Whakatupuranga Rua Mano have been sufficiently encouraging to convince the Runanga that whanau and hapū development is linked in a very positive way to wellbeing, particularly for youth, and that conversely, social dysfunction at an individual level has mirrored a lack of whanau/hapū cohesion or planning. The overall success of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano has played a major part in shaping this proposal in the direction of the promotion of positive lifestyles and attitudes, and the prevention of social breakdown.”⁹²⁹

The Rūnanga had appointed a Kaitohutohu Toko i Te Ora (Director, Social Welfare) in 1988, to explore the idea of hapū engaging in preventative social welfare programmes. Officers reported in 1990 that this enabled the Rūnanga to gauge the views of hapū and produced clear evidence that preventative programmes were within the scope of hapū: -

“On the other hand it is also apparent that hapū intervention programmes which concentrate only on the needs of high risk families, or families already distressed, will founder, at least until hapū are better prepared and adequately resourced.”⁹³⁰

This proposal contained plans for the appointment of 39 hapū coordinators, with secretarial and research support. Their goals were directly based on Whakatupuranga Rua Mano ideals for hapū-centered development. In the end these multiple coordinators were not funded, and the proposal did not progress. Instead a smaller social welfare team was put together under Te Rūnanga. The Social Welfare team in the 1990’s comprised Ema Jacob, Hoani Bradley, Haare Arapere and Hēni Stretch, working from an office in Awapuni, Palmerston North. Throughout

⁹²⁸ Te Whaioro Trust website: <http://www.whaioro.org.nz/about-us/whakapapahistory/>

⁹²⁹ Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc, *Proposal for a Programme of Hapū and Iwi Management and Development*, 22 May 1990 p. 3.

⁹³⁰ *ibid* p. 4.

the 1990s it extended its work successfully, registering initially as a Child Youth and Family Social Service and later becoming an approved Iwi Social Service under the Children Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989).

11.9 Family Start programme

In 1999 the Secretary of Social Welfare widened its pilot of a new social welfare programme called Family Start (Tīmata Whānau) among Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa, a home visiting programme for mothers and children.⁹³¹ It provided a funding package of \$15m over five years, i.e sufficient means for Te Rūnanga o Raukawa to employ 30 staff. The Rūnanga moved to new offices in the commercial district of Levin, and the Family Start team began their work. According to Dennis Emery it became the mainstay of the social services activities of Te Rūnanga ever since.

11.10 Connections with the Confederation

The Rūnanga did attempt in the years leading to 2010 to maintain the three iwi union of Ngāti Raukawa Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa. One of the events it played a part in, in conjunction with Te Wānanga o Raukawa was the annual ART day. Dennis Emery says it was built into the staff contracts as an extra days holiday so they could all participate in a whanaungatanga gathering:

“It was always on the Friday of Anniversary weekend, so we’d just come back from Christmas break. We were only there a week, and we were taking Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, off and we’d come back on Tuesday. The Wānanga used to be drivers of that, they used to have concerts, and Denise [Hapeta] used to drive it, with Huia [Winiata], they were there, all the time, Kimo [Winiata], they were big drivers on that.”⁹³²

11.11 Summary

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa has performed its role on behalf of hapū, giving them the strength hoped for by Te Maharanui Jacob “beyond their abilities as hapū” in respect of “making claims against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, in researching and engaging in large-scale investment opportunities, in providing justice, education, health, social and other services, and in consulting with an extensive range of local bodies, government departments and private enterprises.” Te Rūnanga o Raukawa has demonstrated commitment,

⁹³¹ Rhema Vainianathan and 3 others, *The Impact of the Family Start Home Visiting Programme on Outcomes for Mothers and Children*, Ministry of Social Development, Feb 2016, p. 61

⁹³² Dennis Emery, Oral Recording for Te Hono ki Raukawa Project 3, with Piripi Walker, Palmerston North, 6 July 2016, Track 2, 48.39-49.36

professionalism and sheer capacity for hard work, over three decades in service to its people. It has also shown steadfastness and heroism during the trials and difficulties associated with resolving long-standing grievances, and with the task of unifying the iwi in order to deal with them. He kokonga whare e taea te kite, he kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea.

Image 79: Raukawa Whānau Ora, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa iwi provider 2018. Shane Royal and Dr Betty Iwikau, Chief Executive accept Provider of the Year award



12.0 CONCLUSION

This report finds a thread, audible in the words of that section of the early rangatira who welcomed traders, missionaries, Governors, officials and colonists, - that they were welcome to come, but on Ngāti Raukawa terms. Ngāti Raukawa showed resistance to land alienation, and for several generations, the importation of the blueprint for submission to Empire which the British had planted elsewhere. Māori also held at arms length Pākehā customs and the Pākehā world view, despite the acceptance of Christianity by many. As time went on the effect of marginalisation of the language, inter-marriage, and belief in things Māori meant the iwi was drawn into the notion of being part of the British Empire, as citizens and soldiers, and latterly, New Zealanders.

Despite the cost of their defensive operations against land purchase, the Land Court, and economic marginalisation, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata and Te Reureu continued to

maintain marae and associated facilities for all their hapū, and to establish a modernised Raukawa society operating its own institutions, in accordance with tikanga Māori (Māori cultural values). Raukawa resisted the idea of becoming landless and living in thrall to non-Māori overlords. This resistance was clear both in the conduct of the iwi in the face of the predations of the Māori Land Court and the land purchase years. The general desire of the majority was to retain their language, tikanga and social structures, and the mana of their rangatira; their own system of government. There was always a desire for that particularly Māori form of hapū and iwi self-government to survive - despite the loyalty shown to the British Crown and Queen Victoria. The Treaty of Waitangi appeared to them to guarantee the preservation of this position. Despite the imposition of systems mirroring those of England, the wish within Raukawa was to become fully Christian-Māori, but to resist the assimilative work of colonisation. By the end of the nineteenth century the iwi of Raukawa were hunkered down in survival mode – determinedly seeing off the predictions of the demise of the race which had become the dominant operating expectation in late 19th century settler society.

Māori were invited to become citizens of the British Empire, and latterly of just New Zealand. The enforced education of their tamariki in this world view brought the iwi to a “cultural threshold” by 1970. From that point on, with the advent of a new wind signalling retention of the ancestral culture, Raukawa became activists in their own cause, and followed a programme of what Whatarangi Winiata called ‘self-correction’. In the 20th century the Māori renaissance led by Ngata and his fellow thinkers, some of whom were Raukawa, Atiawa and Toarangatira people, and the ART (Atiawa, Raukawa, Toa) renaissance led by Winiata, assured the survival, hopefully, of Raukawa, Ngāti Kauwhata, Te Reureu and associated rōpū, as a distinct people. In many respects Māori have not abandoned their own customs, plans and institutions. With the weapons provided by our newer institutions Ngāti Raukawa is well on the road to re-establishing ourselves as distinctively Māori people.

The nature of the Confederation of three iwi, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira has changed due to the modern spirit of repatriating decision-making and influence firmly to single iwi. The old injunction of kaumātua to retain the alliance, and indeed ‘te manawaroatanga o Ngāti Raukawa,’ will no doubt be revisited by coming generations as these institutions continue their good work, and assume new forms.

Ehara tēnei i te mihi, ka waiho katoa ērā āhuratanga mā te tangata kē anake. Ka tangi te ngākau i te mutunga o te tuhituhi i tēnei pūrongo iti, mō ngā pakeke kua ngaro atu i te tirohanga kanohi, mō ngā hoa o tau kē, mō ngā kaiako o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Kotahi anō te kupu whakamutunga e tika ana, he whakamoemiti ki ō tātou mātua, ki ō tātou kuia, ō tātou koroua, nāna i hāpai ngā mahi nui i ngā whakatupuranga ka taha, nāna hoki i tiritiri te māra mō āpōpō. Ētehi kāore i kite i te tau rua mano, ko ētehi i kite. Moe mai koutou i te āhurutanga o te Ariki, te kaihomai i ngā mea papai katoa. E te iwi, e ngā tamariki, e ngā mokopuna, hei konei noho ake, i roto i te hauoratanga!

PART IV:
TE TINO RANGATIRATANGA
O NGĀTI RAUKAWA 1840-2017

Ani Mikaere, Te Kāuru

10 September 2018

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The central focus of this chapter is on the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa within the region bounded by Whangaehu to the north and by Kukutauaki to the south; by the Tararua ranges to the east and by Te Moana o Raukawa to the west. It also discusses the relationship of Ngāti Raukawa tino rangatiratanga with the kāwanatanga of the Crown, as prescribed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 and as it has subsequently been expressed.

The chapter begins by describing the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa in 1840, which can only be understood within the context of the close whakapapa links that bound Te Rauparaha, Waitohi, Te Rangihaeata and others to the Ngāti Huia leaders who led the major Ngāti Raukawa migrations to the region during the 1820s. The complexities of whakapapa also determined the way that these key people interacted with one another subsequently, as relationships were tested and as the subtle balance between the mana of rangatira such as Te Rauparaha and Te Whatanui was established and maintained.

The discussion then turns to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which was brought to the region by missionary Henry Williams during May 1840. Possible reasons for the apparent lack of any significant Ngāti Raukawa tradition surrounding the signing of Te Tiriti are canvassed. The implications of the document that was signed are then considered. There is no doubt that, in signing Te Tiriti, Ngāti Raukawa rangatira were reaffirming their tino rangatiratanga while delegating kāwanatanga to the Crown, so that it might take responsibility for the conduct of its own people within Ngāti Raukawa territory.

A significant portion of the chapter is dedicated to describing the process whereby the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa was eroded and attacked by the Crown's abuse of kāwanatanga. For over two decades following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Ngāti Raukawa maintained its authority within the region—but the colonial state was pressing in on all sides. By the mid-1860s, the Crown was in a position to launch a sustained assault on the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa. This was conducted primarily through forcible land acquisition, utilising methods that quite clearly breached the undertakings given by the Crown in 1840. The process of separating the people from the land was relentless and has continued through to the present day, with devastating consequences for Ngāti Raukawa.

The discussion concludes by returning to the promises that were made in 1840, commenting on the way that Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been interpreted (and misinterpreted) over time and clarifying the Ngāti Raukawa understanding of the document. The point is made that settlement of this claim requires more than the return of land and a commitment to repair the appalling environmental damage within the region: it will also necessitate the restoration of the careful balance between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga that was prescribed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Before leaving this introduction, two general points should be made.

The first is that there is a staggering amount of detail contained within the numerous technical reports completed for this inquiry. This material provides graphic evidence of the multitude of strategies employed by the Crown as it overstepped the bounds of kāwanatanga in its quest to nullify the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa. The other side of these technical reports—the human story of the dreadful price paid by Ngāti Raukawa for the Crown’s conduct—is recounted with heartbreaking clarity by the compelling hapū narratives.

This chapter does not dwell on the detail recounted within these reports because it has focused on what this material can tell us about the relationship between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga: what that relationship was understood to mean in 1840 and how that understanding was subsequently cast aside in the interests of furthering the colonial project. This is not to suggest that the detail is unimportant: indeed it is crucial to the argument being advanced about the nature of the relationship between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga. In order to fully comprehend the argument that is being advanced within this chapter, readers should thoroughly familiarise themselves with all of the contributions to this oral history report, and with the technical reports.

The second point to be noted is that this chapter relies neither on the English-language Treaty of Waitangi, nor on the Principles of the Treaty that have been developed by a succession of judges, Waitangi Tribunal members, politicians and public servants since 1975. The English-language document is irrelevant to Ngāti Raukawa because Henry Williams brought only Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori-language document, to the Kapiti Coast for signing. The statutory device of ‘treaty Principles’ was invented purely as a means of trying to reconcile the differences between Te Tiriti and the Treaty. However, given that the two documents are

essentially irreconcilable, it is hardly surprising that the Principles of the Treaty have failed to establish a compromise position between Te Tiriti and the Treaty, becoming no more than the Treaty by another name.

Ngāti Raukawa has no need to rely on the English-language Treaty or on the Principles of the Treaty. Our tūpuna signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its meaning was crystal clear: that Ngāti Raukawa signatories would retain their tino rangatiratanga, their own law-making authority over their own people; while enabling the Crown to take full accountability for the conduct of British citizens within this region through the allocation to it of a lesser form of authority—kāwanatanga.

2.0 MAI I WHANGAEHU KI KUKUTAUAKI: TE RANGATIRATANGA O NGĀTI RAUKAWA I TE TAU 1840

“Ki te patai mai koe “i a wai rawa te mana o enei takiwa”, maku e ki atu “i a matou”. ”⁹³³

In 1840 Ngāti Raukawa exercised political authority throughout the area from Rangitīkei to Ōtaki. During the 1820s they had answered the call of Waitohi to come and settle the land between Whangaehu and Kukutauaki:⁹³⁴

“Na ka tae mai a Ngāti Raukawa, i haere ake ki te noho. Na te aha i tae tonu mai? Na te aroha, e ai ta Ngati Huia kei te aroha atu ki to ratou kuia, ki a Waitaohi, nana ano te tono nana ano te ki, mo te noho i nga whenua i hahatia e ia e tana tungane e Te Rauparaha me tana iwi.”

According to Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, there were four main Ngāti Raukawa migrations: Te Heke Karere (1825), led by Te Ahukaramū; Te Heke Whirinui (1826), led by Te Ahukaramu and Te Whatanui; Te Heke Kariritahi (1826-1827), led by Taratoa and Te Whatanui; and Te Heke Mairaro (1828-1829), led by Te Whatanui.⁹³⁵ Each of these rangatira was awarded

⁹³³ Ngarongo Iwikatea Nicholson, Transcript of material a recording in response to a questionnaire from Piripi Waaka, recorded at Ngātōkōwaru Marae, 10/2/94, p 3.

⁹³⁴ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 6. Waitohi’s brother, Te Rauparaha, had made the request on a number of occasions, but to no avail. History records that it was Waitohi’s intervention that eventually secured the consent of their Ngāti Raukawa relatives. In later years, Te Manahi of Ngāti Huia insisted: “[N]a Waitohi kē the kupu ka whati mai, ehara nā Te Rauparaha”: Carkeek, W *The Kapiti Coast: Maori Tribal History and Place names of the Paekakariki-Otaki district* (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1966), p 23.

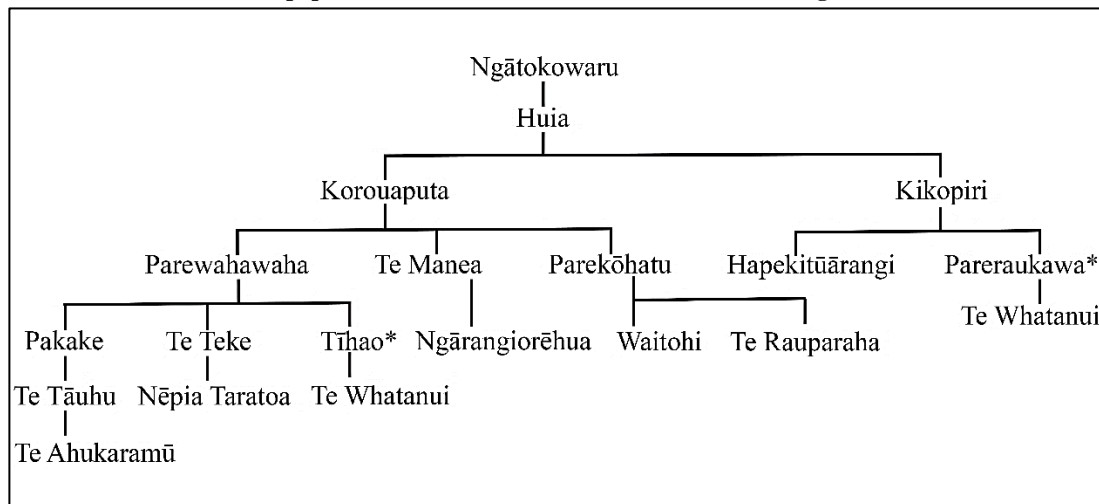
⁹³⁵ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 4.

particular areas within the region, in recognition of their positive responses to Waitohi’s request.⁹³⁶

“Te taenga mai ki tenei takiwa, muri tata iho, ka wawahi e Waitohi me tana tungane a Te Rauparaha, nga whenua kia pae mai ta ratou noho. I te whakau i ta raua kupu kia mana, i runga ano i te kite ko ‘te Tuaranui a Pakake kua taemai”, ta Te Ahukaramu tona pepeha kua tutuki. Na ki toku rongu, ko nga takiwa ki runga o Rotokare, Muhunua, te awa ki Ohau tenei taha tae atu ki Waiwiri, i a Te Ahukaramu, engari he wahanga ano i a Te Paea. Horowhenua, Oturoa, Manawakiekie, Porokaiaia, Aratangata, Wharekawa, i a Te Whatanui, Poroutawhao i a Ngarangiorēhua, Rangitikei i a Nepia Taratoa.”

The whakapapa context within which Waitohi’s invitation was made, and subsequently accepted, is important. Te Rauparaha and Waitohi, through their mother, were closely related to those who led the Ngāti Raukawa migrations. As the following whakapapa illustrates, all belonged to Ngāti Huia.⁹³⁷

Whakapapa 27: Connections of leaders of the four main migrations



Waitohi’s choice of words reveals a perceptive utilisation of whakapapa dynamics to achieve her goal⁹³⁸ “Haere ki aku werewere. Haeremai hei noho i te whenua mai i Whangaehu ki Kukutauaki”.

The word “werewere”, in Ngāti Raukawa usage, means “pubic hairs”. An example of the way the term is used is the tikanga: ‘tai-tamatane whai i te ure tu; Tai-tamawahine/tamahine whai i ana werewere”, which suggests that sons typically follow their male side while daughters

⁹³⁶ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 4. Note that Ngārangiorēhua was one of those present when Waitohi issued her request: see the account of Tūkawekai Kereama, quoted in Winiata, H “Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū”, p 40.

⁹³⁷ Winiata, H “Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū”, p 41. Note that Tīhao and Pareraukawa parented Te Whatanui.

⁹³⁸ Nicholson, NI oral communication, 9 November 2016.

follow their female lineage. Waitohi was therefore employing language that was specifically designed to sway her mother's people to accede to her request. It was a strategy which clearly worked: Iwikatea Nicholson relayed that "our elders would say it was her use of the word werewere which stirred their emotions".⁹³⁹

If her Ngāti Huia relatives felt a heightened sense of obligation, in light of the way that she had phrased her request, their actions in uprooting their people and making the arduous journey south in order to start anew then triggered an expectation of appropriate acknowledgement from Waitohi and Te Rauparaha—"i whakau i ta raua kupu kia mana"—hence the careful division of the promised territory between those who led the various heke. The political implications of Ngāti Raukawa's decision to accept Waitohi's invitation can only be understood in light of the complex whakapapa connections that bound them to one another. Then, as now, the careful nurturing of relationships was a key determinant of human behaviour.

Fulfilling whānau obligations extended to joining forces with Te Rauparaha in order to exact utu when circumstances demanded it. Following the murder of his children by Muaupoko at Te Wī (near Ōhau), Te Rauparaha declared war on the iwi. While this event occurred some years before Ngāti Raukawa moved south, it has been recorded that members of Ngāti Huia were there to participate in the first act of retribution, at Waiwiri:⁹⁴⁰

"Tona nei whakahoki, ko tera pakanga kirunga o Waiwiri, i a Ngati Toa me Ngati Raukawa te tikanga o taua pakanga, i hinga tera iwi i horo enei takiwa katoa me ona paanga, na i riro mai ite ope haere atu."

Āperahama Te Ruru and Tuainuku have been named as having been present at the battle of Waiwiri, along with others.⁹⁴¹ The significance of their involvement has been explained by Iwikatea Nicholson:⁹⁴²

"Ko nga korero mai ki ahau, na taua pakanga, i tino u atu aku tupuna o Ngati Kikopiri o Ngati Pareraukawa otira o Ngati Huia ki te take raupatu. Kua tau te kai upoko a Te Rauparaha. Ko te utu tuatahi ko tenei, me te mea hoki i reira ano a Aperahama Te Ruru me tana teina a Tuainuku me etahi ano o ratou. E hara naku enei kupu, no aku matua."

⁹³⁹ This explanation of the significance of the term "werewere" and the effect that it had on Waitohi's relatives was provided by Nicholson, NI oral communication, 9 November 2016.

⁹⁴⁰ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 5.

⁹⁴¹ Nicholson, NI Transcript, pp 5 & 11.

⁹⁴² Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 11.

When considering the nature of Ngāti Raukawa’s claims to the lands to which they had migrated, Huia Winiata concludes:⁹⁴³

“E mea ana ētehi he take tuku tō Ngāti Raukawa take ki ngā whenua o te Tonga, engari i uru ētehi o ō mātou tūpuna o Ngāti Huia ki roto i te raupatu. Heoi anō ko te tino mahi a te hunga ka noho ki ngā whenua nei, ko te pupuru i te raupatu, ko te tiaki i te whenua i riro i te raupatu.”

While Te Rauparaha could reasonably expect the support of his Ngāti Huia relatives in such matters, there was no expectation that they would find themselves in agreement on all issues. Such relationships were necessarily about mutual respect, each party acknowledging the mana of others and agreeing to disagree when this was deemed necessary. Tolerating differences of opinion was all part of maintaining the strength of the connections between people who were bound together by the complexities of whakapapa and by generations of shared experience.

Inevitably such relationships were tested—perhaps even deliberately, at times, for the specific purpose of gauging their strength. The battle of Waiwiri was but the first step in what was to become a relentless campaign against Muaupoko, conducted by Te Rauparaha to avenge the murder of his children. He made no secret of his desire to exterminate the entire iwi as utu for what he regarded as an unforgiveable breach of tikanga,⁹⁴⁴ and it is widely accepted that he had the wherewithal to achieve his objective.⁹⁴⁵

Upon his arrival to settle in the area, however, Te Whatanui made the decision to shelter the surviving Muaupoko from Te Rauparaha:⁹⁴⁶

"Koia ano te kai manaaki i a Muaupoko. Ka ora mai ano a Muaupoko i a ia. He nui ana korero. Tera te wa, i patai mai tetahi, he kaumatua rangatira no roto o Muaupoko ki taku mohio, penei “He nui ano koe ite whakamarumarū i au?” Ka utua e Te Whatanui, “Heoi ano ra, ko te mea i pa ki au ko te ua anake o te rangi.”

Te Whatanui’s reasons for protecting Muaupoko have been the subject of much discussion, most of it ill-informed. While some have openly confessed to being mystified by his actions,⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴³ Winiata, H “Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te Hapū”, p 42.

⁹⁴⁴ “[E] tonongia atu a Ngati Toa otira a Te Rauparaha, ano a Muaupoko a Toheriri, kia haere mai. Engari, he take kohuru tona tuturutanga e ai ki oku pakeke. Na te ahua o tenei mahi kino, mahi kohuru, i puta ai te kanga a Te Rauparaha mo tera iwi”: Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 5.

⁹⁴⁵ Buick, for example, cites a Muaupoko informant who told Rev. Samuel Williams ‘te Rauparaha would have killed us all, but Te Whatanui protected and saved us’, Buick, L. *Old Manawatu* (Palmerston North, Buick & Young, 1903), p 272.

⁹⁴⁶ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 7.

⁹⁴⁷ See, for example, Anderson, R et al *Crown Action and Māori Response, Land and Politics 1840-1900* (draft report, June 2017) p 552 which describes his actions as “mysterious” and his reasons as never having been “explicated”; see also McDonald, R & O’donnell, E *Te Hekenga: Early Days in Horowhenua*, (Palmerston North:

most have unhesitatingly overlaid the gesture with their own interpretations, characterising Te Whatanui as the personification of Christian charity: generous, mild and merciful⁹⁴⁸ and typically mistranslating his words in the process—for example, claiming that his response to the Muaupoko query as to whether he would be able to shelter them from Te Rauparaha was a reassuring “nothing but the rain from Heaven can touch you”.⁹⁴⁹

However, the correct translation of his statement, “nothing but rain from the heavens can touch me” conveys an entirely different message. The statement—and indeed the decision to thwart Te Rauparaha’s agenda—was an assertion of his mana over his recently acquired lands to the south. It has been suggested that Muaupoko’s predicament presented him with an opportunity ‘to test the concern and respect Te Rauparaha would show him’.⁹⁵⁰ There is no doubt that the two men discussed their opposing views on the matter. According to one contemporary account:⁹⁵¹

‘Ka koorerotia a Te Whatanui, “Kaati te patu i ngaa taangata.” Ka mea anoo a Te Rauparaha, “Me whakangaro rawa te tangata”.
“Te Whatanui said, ‘stop killing the people’. Te Rauparaha replied, “Exterminate the people”.

Te Whatanui set aside for Muaupoko a 20,000 acre area within the 52,000 acre Horowhenua Block. Te Rauparaha was not pleased with this arrangement and it seems that he may have

GH Bennett, 1979), p 17 which refers to Te Whatanui’s gesture as “illustrat[ing] one of those strange quirks in the old-time Maori mentality which has always proved so puzzling to the *Pakeha*”.

⁹⁴⁸ Buick, for example, refers to him as “emulating the precepts of the gentle Nazarene” (p 273), calling him a ‘dark-skinned humanitarian’ (p 75) and ‘that grand old member of a magnificent race’ (p 102): Buick, L *Old Manawatu* (Palmerston North: Buick & Young, 1903). Numerous sources for this particular characterisation of Te Whatanui are also provided by Grove, RN ‘te Whatanui: Traditional Maori Leader’ (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985), pp 71-79.

⁹⁴⁹ See, for example, Buick, TL *An Old New Zealander: Te Rauparaha, the Napoleon of the South*, p 207; Trafers, WTL *Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha*, p 154; Burns, P *Te Rauparaha*, p 152; Best, E “Notes on the Art of War”, (1903)*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol 12, p 162.

⁹⁵⁰ Nicolson, NI “Maori customs and traditional practices some examples): Hohou rongo. Takawaenga”, in (2016) *Whakatupu Mātauranga*, Vol 1, p 77.

⁹⁵¹ Maunu, Pio T., p 13, cited in Grove, ‘te Whatanui’, p 78. There are a number other accounts of their discussions on this issue, many of them cited by Grove. Another oft-quoted exchange ends with Te Rauparaha’s comment: “E pai ana, e Whata, ka paa he raakau kotahi, teena te raakau rua; whata ake he raakau, haapai ake he raakau. Kei te whai au ko te kakii tangata ko te kakii whenua kia mau i au. Kaatahi anoo, kaatahi anoo, e Whata”, Grove, p 72. See also Mead, HM & Grove, N *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), p 177. A contemporary translation of this has been provided as follows: “All right, Whata, it is not as if one relies on a single weapon, the better strategy is to hold two weapons, when one weapon has found its target, another is lifted. I go for the human throat in order to seize the throat of the land. That way is best, Whata” (Piripi Walker, 27 August 2018).

responded with his own test of Te Whatanui's resolve by continuing his campaign against Muaupoko for a time.⁹⁵² Eventually, however, he was forced to concede to Te Whatanui.⁹⁵³

“He wa ano i tahuri e Te Rauparaha ki te patu i nga herehere, i mea atu a Te Whatanui”
“E Raha kaati, kaore au e whakaae kia riro te tangata i riro mai nei i taku ringa, notemea he ringa tapu”.

It would be difficult to find a more emphatic statement of Te Whatanui's insistence that his authority be respected. He must have been well aware of the magnitude of what he was demanding of Te Rauparaha; he was, after all, a father himself and the manner in which Te Rauparaha's children had met their deaths was considered particularly reprehensible.⁹⁵⁴

Striking the right balance between acknowledging Te Whatanui's mana while simultaneously ensuring an appropriate measure of respect for that of Te Rauparaha, thereby maintaining a workable equilibrium between their respective spheres of authority, was no simple exercise. It required a high level of mutual trust and a shared understanding of the subtleties involved in the exercise of power. With characteristic astuteness, Te Rangihaeata revealed his appreciation of the political dynamics in play when he countered Te Whatanui's position with his own 'statement of limitations':⁹⁵⁵

“Ko to taua tuahine ki te puta atu ki waho ko te umu ki Ohau kaore ano kia ea—
(remember) our sister, if (they) venture out, the oven at Ohau is yet to be avenged.”

Thus were the respective positions of Te Rauparaha and Te Whatanui accommodated. So long as they remained within the boundaries set down for them by Te Whatanui, Muaupoko were safe. If they ventured beyond Te Whatanui's domain, however, they exposed themselves to harm at the hands of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, as the incident commonly known as the “Massacre of the Pumpkins” graphically illustrated.⁹⁵⁶

⁹⁵² Evidence of Kipa Te Whatanui to the Horowhenua Commission, 1896 AJHR I G-02, p 225.

⁹⁵³ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 7. According to Kipa Te Whatanui, Te Whatanui also told Te Rauparaha that “no one must climb up my backbone”: Horowhenua Commission, 1896 AJHR I G-02, p 225.

⁹⁵⁴ “Ki ahau nei tika tonu te awangawanga a Ngati Apa a Muaupoko ranei, engari ko te mea e he ana, ko tenei mea te kohuru. E hara na te rangatira tera tu ahua pakanga, whawhai hoki. Na, i powhiritia atu, i whakarangatiratia atu, ka mutu, ka tahuri ki te mahi pera. Me i peratia, he tohu tena no te ware, e hara no te rangatira”: Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 6.

⁹⁵⁵ Nicholson, NI “Maori customs and traditional practices (some examples): Hohou rongo. Takawaenga”, in (2016) *Whakatupu Mātauranga*, Vol 1, p 76.

⁹⁵⁶ Against Te Whatanui's advice, Mahuri led a large party to a feast at Waimea, where they were attacked and killed by Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa: Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, pp 31-32.

Te Whatanui's actions resulted in Muaupoko naming him Te Whetūmārama o te Ata, and in his being described by them as their protector: "Whakatupuria e Te Whatanui te tangata ki te ora".⁹⁵⁷ While modern commentators might be tempted to interpret this statement as a comment on Te Whatanui's beneficence, Iwikatea Nicholson sees it as a statement about mana. He also draws a parallel between Te Whatanui's relationship with Muaupoko, on the one hand, and that of Nēpia Taratoa with Ngāti Apa, on the other:⁹⁵⁸

"I patai mai koe, mo te mana, na irunga ano i te kupu korero tona whakautu. E hara no Ngāti Raukawa tera kupu Te Whetumarama-Ote-Ata na ratou ano, na Muaupoko. Na ko ia te kai manaaki, kai whakamarumaruru ko ia te rangatira, i a ia te mana, e ai taku titiro, e ai taku mohio. Kei te ahua pera tonu mo te hanga nei mo Ngati Apa. Ko te kai manaaki i tenei hanga, ko Taratoa.

Tera ano te kupu korero, i taangia i te kohatu a tana mokopuna, "Kia pirangi koe ko Taratoa, nana hura tohu potae kia whiti te ra ki tua o Tawauwau." Na i whiti mai ano te ra i runga i a Ngati Apa. Na wai? Nana, na Taratoa. I a Nepia Taratoa te mana i tera takiwa o Rangitikei, i ko atu, i ko mai. I a Ngāti Raukawa te mana ki taku mohio."

Thus Ngāti Raukawa's starting position for this claim is that in 1840 Ngāti Raukawa exercised mana throughout the area that had been conveyed to them by Waitohi and Te Rauparaha, from Whangaehu in the north to Kukutauaki in the south.

3.0 NGĀTI RAUKAWA ME TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

"Kaore au e mohio pewhea te hainatanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I meatia e Te Rauparaha, e Te Rangihaeata, e Topeora me etehi atu, a ratou tohu ki runga. Kaore au i rongo mehemea i hainatia e Te Ahukaramu, e Ngarangiorehua, e Taratoa, e Te Whatanui me etehi atu o nga rangatira rongonui, kaore ra nei. Mehemea ka titiro koe, kihai i kite atu."⁹⁵⁹

Despite Claudia Orange's conclusion that "most major chiefs in all the areas visited" by Henry Williams 'seem to have consented to the treaty',⁹⁶⁰ there appears to be no significant Ngāti Raukawa oral tradition concerning the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi within its region. Indeed, as Iwikatea Nicholson notes, a number of significant rangatira appear not to have signed. For their part, Pākehā participants in the acquisition of Ngāti Raukawa signatures have left accounts

⁹⁵⁷ Maunu, cited in Grove, p 79. It should be noted that Maunu is identified by Grove as a Muaupoko rangatira who lived at Te Rae-o-te-Karaka on the west side of lake Horowhenua. His transcript is dated 1847.

⁹⁵⁸ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 7. The mokopuna on whose gravestone these words appear is Pātaka Winiata, who is buried at Raumātangi.

⁹⁵⁹ Nicholson, NI Transcript, p 8.

⁹⁶⁰ Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p 72.

that are distinguished by their brevity. Henry Williams, for example, simply recorded having travelled to Hadfield's various mission stations at Kapiti, Waikanae and Ōtaki, adding that the document "was explained at all those places and signed".⁹⁶¹

Henry Williams's copy of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (also known as sheet 8) records that it was signed at Kapiti, Ōtaki and Manawatū on May 14th, 19th, 21st and 26th 1840. Octavius Hadfield accompanied Williams and witnessed the signatures. Among the 22 people who signed were Te Rauparaha, Tamihana (Katu), Matene Te Whiwhi, Te Rangi Topeora, Āperahama Te Ruru, Matia and Kiharoa. Williams also obtained agreement from two further individuals at Motungārara on 4 June. In addition, Major Bunbury later convinced Te Rauparaha to sign his copy of Te Tiriti (known as the Herald (Bunbury) sheet); Te Rangihaeata also signed on this occasion.⁹⁶²

The signatory most often referred to in Pākehā accounts is Te Rauparaha. This is almost certainly a reflection of the instructions issued by Hobson to his team of emissaries when he sent them forth to gather signatures throughout Aotearoa. According to Orange, Hobson went so far as to describe the acquisition of Te Rauparaha's consent as Henry Williams's "principal object" in travelling south, assuming that this simple act would secure to the Crown undisputed sovereignty over the area.⁹⁶³ She also points out that Bunbury's insistence on Te Rauparaha signing his sheet in June, despite the latter's reassurance that he had already signed Williams's copy, shows his awareness of the priority that Hobson placed on gaining Te Rauparaha's agreement.⁹⁶⁴

Perhaps the preoccupation with Te Rauparaha goes some way to explain why Williams wrote so little about the Kapiti, Ōtaki and Manawatū signings; once he had secured Te Rauparaha's consent, the missionary may have felt that acquiring further signatures throughout the region was more a matter of show than of substance. Imbued with their own hierarchical notions of political power, and constantly seeking the expediency of treating with the few rather than the many, Pākehā habitually misread the political dynamics of Māori communities. Claiming

⁹⁶¹ Carleton, H *The Life of Henry Williams [Vol. II]* (Auckland: Wilsons and Horton, 1877) p 16; accessed at www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz

⁹⁶² Orange, C *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1987), p 81.

⁹⁶³ Orange, p 72.

⁹⁶⁴ Orange, p 81.

universal consent on the basis of agreement from just a handful of people, whom they chose to regard as the only ones who counted, coincided nicely with their own ideas about the normalcy of having supreme leaders. It was also a matter of convenience.⁹⁶⁵

One wonders whether the fixation on Te Rauparaha might also provide an explanation for the apparent absence of consent from a number of important Ngāti Raukawa rangatira. It is, of course, possible that some key people were asked to sign and refused—but elsewhere those who rejected the invitation to sign (Te Heuheu Mananui, Te Wherowhero and Taraia, for example) were typically recorded as having done so.⁹⁶⁶ It is hard to believe that a refusal to sign, by significant Ngāti Raukawa rangatira, would not have been documented.

It should perhaps be noted that the signatures of Te Tohe and Te Whetū are shown as having been obtained at Manawatū, so it is possible that Te Whatanui signed under one of his other names.⁹⁶⁷ Much as one would expect his refusal to have been recorded, however, it is unlikely that securing the agreement of one so important would have passed without comment.

Extraordinary as it may seem, therefore, it appears that Williams may simply not have bothered going to any great lengths to obtain the agreement of rangatira such as Te Whatanui, Taratoa or Te Ahukaramū. This despite the fact that each of them had played such a key role in the Ngāti Raukawa migrations to the south and had, since his arrival in the region, exercised undisputed authority over the particular areas conveyed to him by Waitohi.

The apparent omission of Te Whatanui from proceedings is particularly surprising because not only were Williams and Hadfield fully aware of his position within the iwi, but they had both made his acquaintance only a few months earlier. In November 1839 Williams had accompanied Hadfield to the Kapiti Coast for the purpose of establishing an Anglican mission there. Both describe visiting Te Whatanui at Rangiora upon their arrival in Ōtaki; indeed, they

⁹⁶⁵ Indeed the Crown continues to behave in this manner, often prioritising groups such as the self-named “Iwi Leaders” over more representative Māori groups when seeking to “consult” over political matters or expecting entire Māori nations to speak with one voice.

⁹⁶⁶ Orange, pp 68-69, p 74, p 110.

⁹⁶⁷ As already explained, Te Whatanui was also known as Te Whetūmarama-o-te-Ata; he is also referred to by this name in the waiata “Kāore te aroha i ahau ki taku pōtiki” by Peou: Royal, TAK, *Kāti Au I Konei* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1994), p 76.

spent several days with him, staying at Rangiuru (where his sons appear to have been delegated responsibility for entertaining them) and also travelling with him to Waikawa and to Ōhau.⁹⁶⁸

The missionaries arrival to the area coincided with the end of the battle of Te Kuititanga, between Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa. While Williams and Hadfield immediately assumed that they were ideally suited to assist in securing a peaceful resolution to the conflict,⁹⁶⁹ they were left in no doubt that Te Whatanui was crucial to the achievement of that end.⁹⁷⁰ Te Whatanui hosted a hui of Ngāti Raukawa leaders at Rangiuru, where the options (going back to war or making peace) were traversed at length. Discussions continued when he took the missionaries to Waikawa and Ōhau. When a party of Ngāti Raukawa (numbering about 200, according to Hadfield) eventually made their way to Waikanae for the specific purpose of negotiating a settlement, it was headed by Te Whatanui.⁹⁷¹

When Williams eventually left Ōtaki on 5 December, bound for Paihia, he was clearly anxious about the young missionary who he was leaving behind to further the work of the church. Hadfield had been very unwell throughout their journey from the north, and was virtually bedridden when Williams took his leave. Williams noted that he “regretted leaving Mr Hadfield, a young man with ardent zeal but in very delicate health alone in this extensive and most important field”.⁹⁷² Hadfield’s journal during the same period refers to bouts of extreme ill-health; indeed, he rarely left his tent from 4th to 9th December. However, it would seem that the kindness of Te Whatanui provided some respite from the discomfort. The day after Williams had left, for example, Hadfield’s journal records:⁹⁷³

“Felt rather better this morning. Left my tent about 11 and sat with Watanui and his son and wife in the warm sunshine.”

⁹⁶⁸ See extracts from Williams’s journal: Fitzgerald, C (ed) *Te Wiremu: Henry Williams, Early Years in the North* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011), pp 294-295) and extracts from Hadfield’s journal: Macmorran, B *Octavius Hadfield* (Wellington: David F Jones Ltd, 1969), p 159.

⁹⁶⁹ Given that they had only just arrived in the region and had not yet established even the most superficial of relationships with either of the main parties to the conflict, this supreme self-confidence in their ability to broker peace looks like pure conceit from this distance. We will probably never know whether they in fact made any difference to the outcome or whether they were simply tolerated, their presence largely irrelevant to the process which eventually led to a lasting resolution of the issues.

⁹⁷⁰ Williams, for example, understood that no approach could be made to Te Āti Awa on Ngāti Raukawa’s behalf without Te Whatanui’s agreement: ‘sent to Wata to know our movements, as he objected to our returning to the opposite party at present’: Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 295.

⁹⁷¹ Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, p 159.

⁹⁷² Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 298.

⁹⁷³ Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, p 160.

It would seem that Hadfield had a good deal of respect for Te Whatanui. Many years later, in 1896, he wrote about ‘the celebrated Te Whatanui’ in highly complimentary terms, comparing him favourably with his contemporaries and commending the fact that while he did not look for conflict, he was nevertheless fearless once committed to it.⁹⁷⁴

In view of their first-hand knowledge of Te Whatanui, the failure of both Williams and Hadfield to mention him in the context of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by Ngāti Raukawa rangatira is puzzling. However, the explanation may be found in what had occurred following Williams’ visit to the Kapiti coast at the end of 1839. Once he was satisfied that Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa had agreed to peace, he had returned to Paihia, leaving Hadfield to get on with the work of establishing the Anglican mission in the region. Williams’s journey north was undertaken firstly on foot, to Tauranga, the remainder of the trip being made by sea.

As his route was to take him through Taupō, Te Whatanui asked the missionary to convey a letter to his relative and ally, Te Heuheu Mananui. Upon arrival there, the letter was opened by Mananui’s brother, Te Heuheu Iwikau.⁹⁷⁵ Williams was dismayed to learn the contents of the letter:⁹⁷⁶

[Te Whatanui] “desired that the people of this place would not attend to anything I had to say, as it was all deceit, but make a requisition for the tribes to go and join him against Ngatiawa, to renew hostilities, though peace has just been established.”

Williams had mistaken Te Whatanui’s manaakitanga as unquestioning agreement with the stance that the missionary had taken on the need to restore and maintain peace between Ngāti Raukawa and Te Āti Awa. With a paternalism that was typical of so many missionaries, committed as they were to their divinely appointed task of raising heathens out of their formerly primitive state, he had assumed the superiority of his views to be self-evident. He had doubtless also imagined that his stance represented the final word on the matter. Any lingering independence of thought, as that evidenced by Te Whatanui on this occasion, was to be deplored as regression and as proof of the inherent unreliability of the natives. Williams’s sense

⁹⁷⁴ Hadfield, *O Maoris of By-Gone Days*, (London: J.B. Shears & Sons, 1902), p 7

⁹⁷⁵ It appears that Te Heuheu Mananui was not present. He met with Williams a week later, at Ohinemutu, having travelled from Maketū: Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 310.

⁹⁷⁶ Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 306.

of betrayal was palpable; he lamented this “evidence of the duplicity of old Watanui” and promptly dismissed Te Whatanui’s views as inconsequential.⁹⁷⁷

Just a few months later, when Williams returned to Kapiti, armed with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and under instruction to gather the signatures of rangatira throughout the region, it appears that he failed to do Te Whatanui the bare courtesy of approaching him—and, if he did approach him, he clearly failed to record the fact. Perhaps, in a fit of clerical petulance, he had simply decided that Te Whatanui did not rate a mention.

Whatever the reason for Williams’s somewhat taciturn approach to recording the process whereby Ngāti Raukawa were informed about and agreed to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi, there is no doubt that the document was taken both to Ōtaki and to Manawatū and that some Ngāti Raukawa rangatira did sign it. It is worth considering their reasons for doing so.

Those who gave their agreement to Te Tiriti may well have been influenced by their personal knowledge of the man who had been sent to promote it. In 1839 Mātene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana had travelled to the Bay of Islands for the specific purpose of asking Williams to establish a mission station in the region. Williams returned to the region with them, bringing Hadfield to fulfil the role of resident missionary. Williams was taken to meet Te Rauparaha at Kapiti; Te Rauparaha is recorded as having told the missionary that he “had done well to come to him”.⁹⁷⁸ Williams spent a night at Pakakutu with Āperahama Te Ruru (with whom he declared himself to be “much delighted”)⁹⁷⁹ and, while with Te Whatanui (at Rangiuuru and then at Waikawa and Ōhau), he would have met a number of other rangatira. In May 1840 he came, then, not as a stranger to Ngāti Raukawa but as one who had already spent time with a number of key individuals and who, importantly, was known as having responded favourably to a request to establish a mission in the region.

⁹⁷⁷ “All much surprised at the conduct of Watanui, but as the character of the Missionaries was well known, his letter was treated with silence”: Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 306.

⁹⁷⁸ Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 292.

⁹⁷⁹ Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, p 294. It should be noted that the name Williams uses is Kuru but, Hadfield’s journal entries refer to him as Ruru: Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, p 158. In *Maoris of By-Gone Days*, Hadfield writes at length about Āperahama Te Ruru, describing him as ‘the chief of Ngāti Huia’. He explains that Ruru lived at Pakakutu and that he first met him in 1839: Hadfield, *Maoris of By-Gone Days*, p 11.

The impact of Hadfield on the course of events is also worth pondering. Despite the fact that he subsequently tried to distance himself from the proceedings,⁹⁸⁰ it is likely that his mere presence was understood by Ngāti Raukawa as a personal endorsement of Te Tiriti. By this time, Hadfield had established bases in both Ōtaki and Waikanae and had begun travelling throughout the region. While his efforts to convert Ngāti Raukawa were to yield little obvious success for several years,⁹⁸¹ it is nevertheless likely that his capacity for hard work and his sincerity of purpose had already made a favourable impression upon the people in whose midst he toiled. According to Edward Jerningham Wakefield (who, it should be added, had a very low opinion of missionaries in general) nobody at all—whether Christian or heathen, whether Pākehā or Māori—seemed to have anything but admiration for the young missionary.⁹⁸²

Beyond their familiarity with the two main proponents of Te Tiriti in their region, what might have motivated the Ngāti Raukawa signatories to assent to the document? Was there something in the way that Williams explained Te Tiriti that they might have found appealing?

Williams left no record of the explanations that he provided to Ngāti Raukawa as he sought their consent to Te Tiriti. However, he noted that he had portrayed the document at Waitangi as “an act of love towards [Māori] on the part of the Queen, she desired to secure to them their property, rights and privileges”.⁹⁸³ It is not improbable that this is how he described it to potential signatories on the Kapiti coast, Ngāti Raukawa included. If this was his message, it is likely to have been well received.

It has to be remembered that one of the reasons for Te Rauparaha initially deciding to migrate to the Cook Strait region had been his desire to trade with Pākehā.⁹⁸⁴ The opportunity to forge

⁹⁸⁰ Of the signings, Hadfield wrote to his brother: “All I did was to witness them, but I would rather have nothing to do with the Government”: Letter to George, 6 July 1840, Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, p 164.

⁹⁸¹ During his early years in Ōtaki Hadfield regularly despaired at the resistance of Ngāti Raukawa to receiving the Christian message, referring to them in 1840 as “perhaps the most obdurate of all the tribes in N.Z.”: Letter to his sister, Maria, 19 September 1840: Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, p 165. It was not until 1843 that he was able to report a break-through, nearly four years after he had established the Anglican mission in Ōtaki: Letter to his mother, 1 September 1843: Macmorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, p 180.

⁹⁸² Wakefield, EJ *Adventure in New Zealand (Vol II)* (London: John Murray, 1845) p 267.

⁹⁸³ This is how he described the message he had conveyed to Māori at Waitangi when asked by Hobson to read Te Tiriti aloud to the gathering: Fitzgerald, E *Te Wiremu*, p 317.

⁹⁸⁴ Hēni Collins identifies three key factors in Te Rauparaha’s decision to move to the region: the presence of Pākehā around Cook Strait (whom he recognised as potential sources of valuable goods, including muskets); its proximity to Te Waipounamu (and the much sought-after pounamu); and its abundance of food: Collins, H *Ka Mate Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010), pp 40-41.

advantageous connections with Pākehā had therefore always formed part of the backdrop to the Ngāti Raukawa experience on the Kapiti coast. By the early 1830s whalers and traders were beginning to settle on shore. Carkeek notes that every rangatira in the region sought to have at least one Pākehā living in each settlement in order to ensure ready access to guns and clothing. These men lived “under the iron rule of their chiefs, who invariably referred to certain ones as “my Pakeha” or “our Pakeha” as if they were some odd possession of the tribe”.⁹⁸⁵ Such relationships were clearly regarded as beneficial to the iwi and, in any case, were able to be regulated by the rangatira. In the event that a resident Pākehā failed to meet expectations, they were unlikely to last long in Ngāti Raukawa territory.⁹⁸⁶

By 1840, however, a new kind of Pākehā was starting to arrive in the Cook Strait area—and in unprecedented numbers.⁹⁸⁷ The New Zealand Company settler came with a very different set of expectations and loyalties to those held by the whalers and traders with whom Ngāti Raukawa had become familiar. As the chief negotiator for the New Zealand Company, William Wakefield rapidly proved himself to be entirely untrustworthy when it came to the matter of land. Within a few months of arriving on the *Tory*, racing to secure land before the arrival of the first shiploads of Company settlers, he was claiming to have purchased almost a third of the total area of what was subsequently to become New Zealand.⁹⁸⁸ His discussions with Te Rauparaha featured prominently in his extravagant assertions. Hēni Collins explains:⁹⁸⁹

“[Te Rauparaha] listed the names of all the places he claimed from the Mōkau River north of Taranaki, down the west coast to Port Nicholson, and across to the Sounds and other parts of the northern South Island. . . . Colonel Wakefield . . . apparently took Te

⁹⁸⁵ Carkeek, W *The Kapiti Coast: Maori Tribal History and Place Names of the Paekakariki-Otaki District* (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1966), pp 46-47.

⁹⁸⁶ An example (which did not involve Ngāti Raukawa, but which typifies the nature of the relationship between Māori and Pākehā throughout the region during this period) is provided by the case of Bill Jenkins, who operated the accommodation house at Te Uruhi on land allocated to him by the Puketapu people (relations of his wife, Pareoke). He was forced to move from there after Pareoke died and he married a Pākehā woman instead of complying with their expectations by marrying Pareoke’s sister: Browne, C “Bill Jenkins: Kapiti Coast Pioneer” (1984) *Otaki Historical Journal*, Vol 7, p 23.

⁹⁸⁷ The *Aurora* arrived at Petone on 20 January 1840, bearing the first New Zealand Company settlers to what turned out to be an entirely fictional settlement. Within six months, some 1500 colonists had arrived in Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara Report*, p 84.

⁹⁸⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara me ona Takiwa* (Wai 145) 2003, p 59. Wakefield arrived in Wellington on 20 September 1839. He claimed to have purchased 160 acres from te Āti Awa in the Port Nicholson Purchase of 27 September 1839, a purchase that the Tribunal describes as having subsequently been “overlaid” by two further deeds, signed at Kapiti and at Queen Charlotte Sound. The Kapiti deed, signed by Te Rauparaha and ten others on 25 October 1839, “purported to purchase a huge area of land on both sides of Cook Strait. In the South Island, this included all land north of a line from 43 degrees south. . . . In the North Island, it included all land south of a line from about 38 degrees south on the west coast (near Mokau) to about 41 degrees on the east coast”.

⁹⁸⁹ Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora!* p 132.

Rauparaha's statement of his mana whenua rights as an agreement to sell a huge area of land from near the Hurunui River south of Kaikōura, stretching as far as northern Taranaki and the southern Wairarapa coast, a total of some 20 million acres."

Burns suggests that Te Rauparaha may have quickly realised 'the world of fantasy in which the Wakefields were living'⁹⁹⁰ because a few weeks later he sought to clarify the situation,⁹⁹¹ explaining that he had agreed to sell only Taitapu and Rangitoto (D'Urville Island). Wakefield's response was can only be described as grossly offensive:⁹⁹²

"Colonel Wakefield reproached him instantly, and in the strongest terms, with his falsehood and duplicity; making . . . the interpreter . . . repeat to him several times that he had behaved as a liar and a slave, instead of a great chief. *Rauparaha* maintained, however, an imperturbable silence, giving no answer to this severe attack, or to the reproaches which all the cabin-party addressed to him. He demanded and drank another glass of grog, and then got into his canoe, which pulled for *Kapiti*."

This account is provided by Edward Jerningham Wakefield, who clearly shared his uncle's sense of moral outrage. It appears that Te Rauparaha did not deign to enter into a verbal exchange with Wakefield. We can only guess at what he was thinking as he took his leave—but his opinion of Wakefield can scarcely have been a favourable one.

Given these events, Williams's explanation of Te Tiriti is likely to have fallen on receptive ears. It suggested that the unsavoury Pākehā individuals with whom Ngāti Raukawa were sometimes forced to interact would be answerable to their own rangatira, Queen Victoria. Responsibility for ensuring their respect for Ngāti Raukawa's authority would rest with her. This, then, is what was anticipated by the Ngāti Raukawa signatories when they granted *kāwanatanga* to Queen Victoria: Crown accountability for the conduct of British citizens within Ngāti Raukawa's domain.

It is important to note that, beyond this commitment to regulate the behaviour of its own people, the Crown granted Ngāti Raukawa nothing. The Crown was in no position to confer power or privilege on Ngāti Raukawa: this was Ngāti Raukawa's domain, into which the Crown came as supplicant. In 1840, the Crown's acknowledgement of Ngāti Raukawa's *tino rangatiratanga* was a prudent diplomatic gesture. It had no impact on the reality of Ngāti Raukawa authority, which was undisputed at that time.

⁹⁹⁰ Burns, P *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective* (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1980), p 208.

⁹⁹¹ Their initial conversations occurred during mid-October; Te Rauparaha returned to clarify his intentions when the *Tory* returned to Ōtaki on 18 November.

⁹⁹² Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand (Vol 1)*, p 143.

Before leaving this discussion, it should perhaps be noted that no attempt has been made here to consider the effect on Ngāti Raukawa of the English language document (‘the Treaty’) which had been signed by some 37 people at the Waikato Heads and at Manukau, in March and April 1840. This omission is intentional. The Treaty was not the document that Williams brought to the Kapiti coast. It has no relevance to Ngāti Raukawa.

Nor can it be argued that there is any degree of equivalence between Te Tiriti and the Treaty, such that the latter can somehow be utilised as an aid to interpret the true intent of the former. The Treaty sought to deny the indisputable fact of Māori authority throughout Aotearoa in 1840, completely contradicting the political, economic and numerical dominance of iwi and hapū at that time. It was a far cry from reality, a projection of pure colonial arrogance and ambition. Turning to the Treaty in order to discern the meaning of Te Tiriti would be profoundly illogical. It is also completely unnecessary; there is no confusion about the meaning of the document that was signed by Ngāti Raukawa rangatira.

To conclude, Ngāti Raukawa’s stance on the significance and effect of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is clear. Te Tiriti reflected the political situation during the period when it was discussed and signed, acknowledging Ngāti Raukawa’s authority and containing an agreement that the Crown would take responsibility for regulating the conduct of its citizens within Ngāti Raukawa’s territory.

4.0 THE EROSION OF TINO RANGATIRATANGA BY THE CROWN

When Ngāti Raukawa signatories to Te Tiriti o Waitangi granted kāwanatanga to the Crown, their authority was beyond dispute. They understood that they were putting their relationship with Pākehā on a more formal footing; but the onus was on the Crown to ensure that its exercise of kāwanatanga was at all times able to be reconciled with the reality of tino rangatiratanga.

For some years after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa remained largely undisturbed. As a general rule, any Pākehā who lived within Ngāti Raukawa’s domain did so on its terms. The example of William White, forced by Te Rauparaha to vacate

the land that he had been farming at Ōhau following the 1843 conflict at Wairau,⁹⁹³ shows how tenuous the position of Pākehā settlers remained during this period. So too does the fate of Simmonds, who fled Poroutāwhao (leaving behind his Ngāti Huia spouse and child) when he heard that Te Rangihaeata, retreating from his unsuccessful campaign against Governor Grey's troops in the winter of 1846, had promised to kill any Pākehā he found there.

As these two examples reveal, however, it was not long before the magnitude of colonial ambition began to make itself felt; during the 1840s, Ngāti Raukawa rangatiratanga was confronted with an increasingly belligerent kāwanatanga. In the aftermath of Wairau, Ngāti Raukawa responded to the potential for Crown retaliation by establishing a defensive line behind the Ōtaki River,⁹⁹⁴ making it clear to Commissioner Spain that neither Te Rauparaha nor Te Rangihaeata would be given up without armed resistance.⁹⁹⁵ Following Te Rauparaha's kidnapping and illegal imprisonment by Governor Grey in 1846, Te Rangihaeata was forced to engage colonial troops in order to fight his way out of danger, eventually finding safety amongst his Ngāti Huia relatives at Poroutāwhao.

Grey used Te Rauparaha as a hostage, forcing Ngāti Toa Rangatira to 'sell' lands to the Crown, both in Te Waipounamu (including Wairau) and at Porirua. Ngāti Toa, concerned for Te Rauparaha's health and anxious to secure his release, settled for a sum that Grey himself described as "very trifling".⁹⁹⁶ Moreover, Grey insisted that the purchase price be paid in instalments over a period of five years, a strategy designed to give him "almost unlimited influence over a powerful and, hitherto, a very treacherous and dangerous tribe".⁹⁹⁷

By the late 1840s the corrosive potential of land sales at the margins of its rohe was clearly a matter of concern for Ngāti Raukawa. In 1849 the Crown purchased the Turakina-Rangitīkei block from Ngāti Apa. Ngāti Raukawa had initially opposed their right to sell but eventually allowed the transaction to proceed unopposed, on the strict understanding that no future Crown

⁹⁹³ Collins, H *Ka Mate Ka Ora*, pp 166-167.

⁹⁹⁴ Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora*, p 166.

⁹⁹⁵ Spain reported: 'they gave me to understand that if there was an attempt made by the Government to apprehend Rauparaha and Rangihaeata they would not allow them to be taken . . . they would defend them to the last': Carkeek, W *The Kapiti Coast*, p 73.

⁹⁹⁶ Collins, *Ka Mate, Ka Ora!*, p 224: George Clarke subsequently described the deal as a 'disreputable bargain'.

⁹⁹⁷ Despatch from Governor Grey to Earl Grey, Government House, Auckland, 26 March 1847: British Parliamentary Papers, 0891.06, No. 6, p 8.

attempts would be made to purchase land south of the Rangitīkei river. At a meeting convened at Te Awahou Pā to discuss the sale, Taratoa cautioned Donald McLean:⁹⁹⁸

“Do you wish for strife Mr McLean? I will hold all this side, and the other sides shall be yours. Rangitikei, Rangitikei, Rangitikei shall be the boundary.”

Hori Kingi Te Puke was very clearly concerned at the impact of land sales on the integrity of Ngāti Raukawa’s domain, making the observation that “we are now crowded on both sides, Wanganui north of us is sold to the Europeans, Port Nicholson south and Porirua. Now this is”. Te Rangihaeata made a similar point in 1852, bluntly rejecting an offer from Governor Grey to purchase Waikanae with the observation:⁹⁹⁹

“You have had Porirua, Ahuriri, Wairarapa, Wanganui and the whole of the Middle Island given up to you, and still you are not contented; we are driven into a corner, and yet you covet it.”

Pressure to sell land to the Crown was unrelenting. In 1864, it purchased the 250,000 Ahuaturanga Block from Ngāti Rangitāne. As with the sale of Turakina-Rangitīkei by Ngāti Apa, after initial opposition Ngāti Raukawa allowed the transaction to proceed unopposed, on the condition that no further attempts be made to purchase Ngāti Raukawa land.

By that time, Crown purchasing activity was no longer limited to the periphery of Ngāti Raukawa territory. In 1858, District Land Commissioner William Searancke had secured the purchase of the 37,000 acre Te Awahou Block. The process leading to the sale was enormously damaging to Ngāti Raukawa, with a significant rift opening up between sellers and non-sellers. Crown agents actively cultivated dissension, heaping praise upon the sellers and working tirelessly to undermine the non-sellers.

By way of example, in July 1858 James Grindell (interpreter for the Land Purchase Department) recorded his impression that the non-sellers, led by Taratoa, were steadily losing ground, noting that many now accepted that the land would be sold because “it was impossible to resist the “Kawanatanga””. His diary described the ranks of the sellers being ‘daily augmented by deserters from the non-sellers’ and claimed that the irresistible swing of public opinion against Taratoa, even amongst former diehards such as Ngāti Huia at Poroutāwhao,

⁹⁹⁸ Meeting at Te Awahou Pā, Rangitīkei, 15 March 1849: Donald McLean papers, Object#1009898, MS-Papers-0032-003, p 19.

⁹⁹⁹ Taylor, R *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London: Wertheim & MacIntosh, 1855), p 339.

would eventually force him to “come over to the other side”.¹⁰⁰⁰ Tellingly, he felt that Ngāti Huia resistance to land sales had waned since Te Rangihaeata’s death in 1855.

Taratoa attracted a good deal of criticism for his continued opposition to land sales, Searancke going out of his way to treat him with disrespect in public¹⁰⁰¹ while privately referring to him as ‘that double-faced old sinner’.¹⁰⁰² At a hui convened for the purpose of bringing the deal nearer to completion, Searancke paid an unusually large sum over as the first instalment of the purchase price—£400 out of an agreed total price of £2,500—for the express purpose of encouraging ‘the many now wavering between selling and holding the land’ to realise that “any further opposition to the sale of the Manawatu district will be useless”.¹⁰⁰³

As this observation suggests, Searancke was well aware that the purchase of Te Awahou represented the thin edge of the wedge:¹⁰⁰⁴

“Taking into consideration the number of years, and the many difficulties that the Manawatu question has been involved in, I have taken a step which I firmly believe will lead to its solution at an early period, for this is not a question of the purchase of a few acres, but of the whole District.”

Taratoa’s death in 1862 presented the Crown with a golden opportunity to advance its land purchase agenda throughout the district. Taratoa had been key to the maintenance of political stability in the area, particularly through his careful management of the complex relationships between Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Rangitāne. As with so many rangatira, however, his sudden absence produced a political hiatus which Crown agents were quick to exploit.

The issue which precipitated a damaging breakdown in relationships between the three iwi was the collection and distribution of rental income. During the 1840s and 1850s, in defiance of

¹⁰⁰⁰ Reports of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title; Journal of James Grindell, 1 June-31 July, 1858: 1861 AJHR, C-01, p 278.

¹⁰⁰¹ Searancke claimed: “I had the satisfaction of giving him a piece of my mind which I think will have the affect of bringing him to his senses”: Searancke to McLean, Object#1024815, MS-Papers-0032-0565, letter dated 20 November 1858.

¹⁰⁰² Searancke to McLean, Object#1024815, MS-Papers-0032-0565, letter dated 20 November 1858.

¹⁰⁰³ Reports of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title; Serancke to McLean, 15 November 1858:, 1858: 1861 AJHR, C-01, p 283.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Reports of the Land Purchase Department Relative to the Extinguishment of Native Title; Serancke to McLean, 15 Noevmber 1858:, 1858: 1861 AJHR, C-01, p 283.

various legislative measures disallowing the practice,¹⁰⁰⁵ Pākehā pastoralists had negotiated leases over land within the Manawatū region, a form of alienation that became increasingly popular with Māori during this period.¹⁰⁰⁶ Taratoa had been responsible for collecting the rents, estimated by the early 1860s to have been worth the significant sum of £1,000 per annum, and for distributing them between Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne.

Following his death, disagreements about the relative entitlement of the three iwi to the rental income—and ultimately, to the land itself—arose. For a time, efforts were made to secure the agreement of all parties to submit to arbitration with respect to the rents. However, in 1864 Isaac Featherston, who was both Superintendent and Native Land Commissioner for the Wellington Province, became directly involved. Impounding the rents, purportedly as a measure to encourage compromise on the question of allocation, Featherston soon revealed his true agenda—purchase of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Block.

Ngāti Raukawa regarded the allocation of rental income as a discrete issue, completely unrelated to the question of land sales. Ngāti Apa, on the other hand, were willing to treat the two discussions as inextricably intertwined. Moreover, they evinced a strong desire to sell the land as a reassertion of their mana within the region. Their goals coincided neatly with Featherston's determination to acquire the Block, producing a situation that became increasingly difficult for Ngāti Raukawa to manage.

There was an additional factor at work. In 1862, Featherston and others had lobbied hard to have the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Block exempted from the operation of the Native Lands Act, a measure that was subsequently extended by the Native Lands Act of 1865. While a range of justifications were offered for the exemption, the main concern appeared to be financial. It was feared that allowing Māori within the region to have their land titles investigated by a judicial body, after which their lands would be available for sale to private purchasers, would almost certainly drive the purchase price up. This was likely to put the land beyond the reach of the

¹⁰⁰⁵ For example, Lands Claims Ordinance of 1841 and the Native Land Purchase Ordinance 1846.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Hearn, *One Past, Many Histories*, p 130. In 1849 Ihākara told McLean that he approved of short term leasing arrangements, but that he would not agree to sell “on any account”: Donald McLean's Diaries, 13 March, 1849, MS-1224. Te Rangihacata's comments to McLean during this period suggest that he was less enthusiastic about any form of alienation, including leasing. Prophetically, he told McLean: “I do not like natives living in among Europeans on spare patches of land. It is a step to acquiring the whole”: Donald McLean's Diaries, 12 January-17 March 1849, MS-1224.

Provincial Government. Exempting the Block from the Act also prevented Ngāti Raukawa from having its claim to the land investigated by a judicial body, effectively making Featherston the sole arbiter of the dispute with Ngāti Apa. The Native Land Act provisions therefore further strengthened Featherston's hand as he capitalised on inter-iwi tensions and applied direct financial pressure through the withholding of rents in order to further his agenda of large-scale land purchase.¹⁰⁰⁷

From the end of 1864 Featherston worked steadily to convince Ngāti Raukawa that sale was the only feasible solution to their 'dilemma'—a situation that he could easily have helped to resolve in a way that did not involve sale of the land. In April 1866, a Memorandum of Agreement for sale of the Block was drawn up and signed by some 200 people at a hui attended by representatives from Whanganui, Ngāti Apa, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Toa, Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa. Other than Ngāti Raukawa, all of the iwi are recorded as having been unanimous in their support. Unsurprisingly, particularly in light of what had occurred with the sale of Te Awahou, Ngāti Raukawa were divided.¹⁰⁰⁸

Featherston claimed triumphantly that with five of the six iwi unanimously in support, with only a 'small section' of Ngāti Raukawa opposed and with his personal confidence that any opponents would ultimately abide by the majority decision, his course was now clear.¹⁰⁰⁹ On 30 June he recorded:¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁷ It is important to stress that these comments should not be taken as an endorsement of the work of the Native Land Court, famously (and accurately) described as a "veritable engine of destruction for any tribe's tenure of land, anywhere": Kawharu, *IH Maori Land Tenure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p 15. Numerous authors have described the appalling damage that the Court did, drastically reducing iwi land-holdings, significantly eroding rangatiratanga, spreading mayhem and illness wherever it sat (for example, Sorrenson, MPK "Land Purchase Methods and their Effect on the Maori Population 1865-1901", (1956) *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol 65, No 3; and Williams, D *Te Kooti Tango Whenua* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1999)). It is simply to make the point that, in this particular instance, Featherston understood that exempting the Rangitikei-Manawatū Block from the operation of the Act removed all possibility, for Ngāti Raukawa, of resolving the dispute with Ngāti Apa other than by following the path that he had recommended. As it turned out, when Ngāti Raukawa were eventually allowed to take their claims before the Court, they received no more satisfaction than they had gained at Featherston's hands.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ihākara is recorded as reminding the hui that Taratoa's opposition had not prevented him from selling Te Awahou in 1858 and that if the entire Rangitikei-Manawatū Block had been sold at that time, as he had suggested, there would have been no more trouble: "Further Papers Relative to the Manawatu Block": 1866 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, A-04, p 25.

¹⁰⁰⁹ "Further Papers Relative to the Manawatu Block" 1866: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, A-04, p 29.

¹⁰¹⁰ "Further Papers Relative to the Manawatu Block" 1866: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, A-04, p 30.

“ The Deed of Purchase . . . is now being executed in the district . . . [it] will be signed by over a thousand Natives, and on its completion the purchase money will be handed over to certain chiefs . . . it is not anticipated that any difficulty will arise.”

Resident Magistrate Walter Buller was assigned the task of gathering the signatures during the ensuing months. His methods attracted a good deal of criticism: he collected the signatures of 600 people from Whanganui (whose interests in the block, it was later acknowledged, were non-existent); some signatories claimed that they had been pressured into signing by Buller’s insistence that the sale was already a foregone conclusion and his advice that failure to sign would deny them a share in the proceeds; and allegations of forged signatures and bribery were also made.¹⁰¹¹

Meanwhile, Ngāti Raukawa mounted what Hearn has called a “remarkable public campaign” of resistance which was to endure for several years:¹⁰¹²

“That campaign would comprise a number of distinct components, among them, letters addressed to sections of the colonial press . . . ; petitions; representations to government; and efforts to secure redress through the courts. Ngāti Raukawa was determined to reach over the heads of Featherston and Buller to the general public and to the General Government in an effort to secure what they considered to be not their customary rights so much as their rights under English law.”

It is interesting to note that the Ngāti Raukawa strategy seems to have focused primarily on challenging the Crown to honour to the third article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi—the promise that Māori would be afforded the same rights and privileges as British subjects. The iwi must have realised that gaining Pākehā allies was going to be key to influencing the outcome. Appealing to colonial conceit by seeking the protection of *kāwanatanga*, therefore, while perhaps appearing illogical at first glance, can be seen as a pragmatic political tactic, designed to maximise their chances of success by winning wider support.

In December 1866 a hui was convened at Parewānui to finalise the Deed of Sale. Attended by some 1500 people, it was agreed that the purchase price of £25,000 should be divided between Ngāti Apa (£15,000) and Ngāti Raukawa (£10,000), Ngāti Apa agreeing to meet the claims of

¹⁰¹¹ Maukiringutu (Nēpia Taratoa’s son) claimed that Buller offered him a position as an assessor, ammunition and beer if he would sign; and that Buller had threatened to falsify his signature when he refused. He also accused Buller of forging the signatures of others without their consent. Buller denied the accusations: Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 105.

¹⁰¹² Hearn, *One Past, Many Histories*, pp 301-302.

Rangitāne, Whanganui and Muaūpoko and Ngāti Raukawa agreeing to deal with the interests of any non-sellers, as well as those of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Te Āti Awa. Featherston flatly refused to discuss the matter of reserves, insisting that they be dealt with at the Government's discretion and at a future date.

While Ihākara Tukumarū and Āperahama Te Ruru were present at Parewānui, Ngāti Raukawa as a whole was conspicuously absent. A journalist who attended the hui noted this fact, observing:¹⁰¹³

“Probably, when the history of the Manawatu land purchase is written, it will be admitted that never has a Government so systematically countenanced an injustice as this attempt at forcible purchase, and never have a body of men, supposed to be on the eve of rebellion, shown more patience in peacefully asserting their own rights, than the Ngatiraukawa tribe.”

Ngāti Raukawa, it turned out, were holding their own hui in Ōtaki. Resident Magistrate Major Edwards recorded that some 300 people of all persuasions, “Hauhau, Kingite and Queenite”, attended the hui. While agreeing not to interfere with the rights of those who wanted to sell their interests in the Block, the hui attendees resolved to withhold from the sale that portion of the block which they claimed as their own, committing to prevent the survey and to retain possession “peaceably if possible, trusting to the law to protect them”. If it turned out that the law would not protect them ‘they would lose their faith in the law and the Pakeha and there would be “a second Waitara”’.¹⁰¹⁴

Despite Featherston's insistence that the purchase was now complete,¹⁰¹⁵ others were less than confident that the matter had been resolved satisfactorily. Hadfield considered that Featherston had committed “an act of injustice . . . quite as bad as Waitara”.¹⁰¹⁶ Several newspapers of the day were heavily critical of the way that the negotiations had been conducted and expressed doubts about the legality of the transaction.¹⁰¹⁷ The reserves had not been dealt with, questions were raised about the methods employed to gain signatures and the rights of non-sellers continued to be a cause for concern.

¹⁰¹³ *Press*, 12 December 1866, p 3.

¹⁰¹⁴ Major Edwards to Richmond, 17 December 1866, cited in Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 109.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hearn, *One Past, Many Histories*, p 369.

¹⁰¹⁶ Letter to his brother, Charles, June 1867: Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, p 244.

¹⁰¹⁷ Hearn provides several examples, *One Past, Many Histories*, pp 353-356.

Ngāti Raukawa’s strategy of arguing that they had been denied the protection of British law seems to have gained a significant degree of public sympathy. The exemption of the block from the Native Lands Act was particularly controversial. The editor of the *Daily Southern Cross* commented that ‘the native owners of the Manawatu Block have been denied equal rights with their fellow-countrymen *because they owned a block of land which the Superintendent of Wellington wished to purchase*’.¹⁰¹⁸ Ten days later the paper published the observation of the *New Zealand Advertiser*’s correspondent that “[o]ur Maori policy is supposed to be to bring them under the action of English law—not to refuse them the use of it whenever it is likely to act against ourselves”.¹⁰¹⁹

In 1867 the Native Lands Act finally gave the Governor power to refer to the Native Land Court claims made to land within the area covered by the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Deed of Cession.¹⁰²⁰ Importantly, however, claims could only be taken by non-signatories. A number of applications were lodged by Ngāti Raukawa claimants, seeking confirmation of their title to various blocks of land throughout the district.

In March 1868 Parakaia Te Pouepa led an application (on behalf of himself and 26 others) for a certificate of title in respect of the Himatangi Block, an area of 11,500 acres. This was one of the first times that the Crown claimed to have a direct interest in lands being investigated by the Court; it has been recorded that the presence of Government officials in the courtroom, acting as counsel and appearing as one of the parties, was met with “considerable suspicion”.¹⁰²¹ Sitting in Ōtaki over a six-week period, the Native Land Court considered both the question of iwi claims to the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Block, and Parakaia’s claim to Himatangi in particular. Concluding that Ngāti Raukawa had acquired ownership rights over the area before 1840, it also decided that Ngāti Apa had never been absolutely dispossessed; the result was a finding that the two iwi held equal rights within the block as a whole. The Court then determined that Ngāti Raukawa’s interest was vested in those who were in actual occupation of particular blocks, to the exclusion of all others. Applying these conclusions to the claim at hand and deducting the interests of two of the claimants who were found to have

¹⁰¹⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 December 1866. (The italics were in the original article.)

¹⁰¹⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, 29 December 1866, p 4.

¹⁰²⁰ Native Lands Act 1867, section 40.

¹⁰²¹ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 113.

signed the Purchase Deed, the court awarded Parakaia one-half minus 2/27 of the block that he was claiming, a total of approximately 5,500 acres.¹⁰²²

The decision did little to resolve concerns about the legality of the Rangitikei-Manawātū purchase. Neither Ngāti Apa nor Ngāti Raukawa were satisfied with the result. For the Crown, whose interests in the block were defined entirely by the extent of Ngāti Apa's interests, a finding that Ngāti Raukawa had a stake within the Block that was equal to its own was most unwelcome. The following year, all remaining applications of non-signatories to the Purchase Deed were referred to the Native Land Court, sitting this time in Wellington. Once again, the Crown insisted on appearing to defend its interests.¹⁰²³

On this occasion the court found that by 1840 Ngāti Raukawa, as a whole, had not established any rights to the block through conquest or occupation. Just three groups—Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kauwhata—had acquired ownership rights, with the consent of Ngāti Apa. The court reviewed the list of individual claimants, some 500 in all, reducing the number to 62. A total of 6,200 acres was awarded, distributed amongst those whose claims it had found to be legitimate.¹⁰²⁴

Reasons for the judgment have been debated ever since. Buick was convinced that Ngāti Raukawa, being opposed not only by Ngāti Apa but by both the provincial and general governments as well, had stood little chance of success. He claimed political interference, pointing out that ‘there is such a remarkable similarity between the decision of the Judges and the views of the Superintendent that any one might well be pardoned for suspecting that such unanimity arose from something more than mere coincidence’.¹⁰²⁵ It is a conclusion that has gained support from more recent writers.¹⁰²⁶ Anderson and Pickens note:¹⁰²⁷

“Why the court should have rejected the generally held perception of the relative status of the two tribes is not easily demonstrated. But to have done otherwise would have challenged the legitimacy of the Crown's purchase, since tribes deemed to have

¹⁰²² *Himatangi (No. 1)*, Native Land Court, Ōtaki Minute Book 1E, pp 719-720.

¹⁰²³ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 128.

¹⁰²⁴ *Rangitikei-Manawatu Claims*, Native Land Court, *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1864-1879*, pp 101-108. This case is sometimes referred to as *Himatangi (No. 2)*.

¹⁰²⁵ Buick, *Old Manawatu*, pp 265-266. His reference to ‘the Superintendent’ is to Featherston.

¹⁰²⁶ For example, Sorrenson, who observed that “It is almost certain that there was direct political interference during the first sitting of the Court”: Sorrenson, MPK ‘the Purchase of Maori Land 1865-92’ (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1955), p 70.

¹⁰²⁷ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 136.

conquered were often found by the court to be owners to the exclusion of the interests of a defeated people even when they lived side by side.”

Immediately following the decision, Featherston succeeded in convincing the General Government to issue a proclamation declaring Native title over the Rangitīkei-Manawatū Block extinguished. The impounded rents, totalling £4,700, were distributed between Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Rangitāne and the three Ngāti Raukawa hapū who had been found by the Native Land Court to have a legitimate interest in the block.

Actual possession of the block by the Crown, however, was contingent on the laying out of reserves. The strength of feeling against the judgment was demonstrated by widespread obstruction of the surveyors and growing unrest throughout the district. By the end of 1870, concerned that sellers might be tempted to repudiate the transaction and that the non-sellers’ campaign to delay the Provincial Government’s survey and sale of the land was in danger of gathering momentum, the General Government was forced to intervene.¹⁰²⁸ Native Minister Donald McLean initiated a further round of negotiations with many of the dissatisfied parties and eventually a further 14,380 acres were added to the 6,200 acres that had been ordered by the court the year before.

Far from resolving matters, however, the promised reserves came to represent yet one more item in a never-ending list of broken promises. Koputara—one of the reserves awarded by McLean in 1870—provides a graphic example of the seemingly wilful ineptitude that characterised the Crown’s handling of reserves. A further 16 years passed before Alexander McKay, appointed in 1882 as a Commissioner to inquire into Native Reserves within the Wellington Province, drew up a list of entitled owners to Koputara. No further action was taken to create the reserve until the 1960s, when a meeting of owners was called by the Māori Land Court—prompted, ironically enough, by adjoining Pākehā landowners who were seeking to purchase or lease the land. By this time, Koputara had long since become completely landlocked. Instead of approving the proposed alienation, the meeting resolved to determine the beneficiaries, based on McKay’s 1886 list, and a trust was established pursuant to section 438 of the Maori Affairs Act 1953. Since 1969 the Koputara Trustees have faced innumerable

¹⁰²⁸ Hearn, *One Past, Many Histories*, p 481. Hearn notes (at p 482) that the Province was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy and that its viability was heavily reliant on the profits that could be made from selling the cheaply acquired land within the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block to Pākehā purchasers.

obstacles in their quest to regain access to, and restore, Lake Koputara and the land surrounding it.¹⁰²⁹

As the Crown worked to contain the damage wreaked by Featherston, thereby concluding the Rangitīkei-Manawatū “purchase”, attention was shifting to the area stretching between the Manawatū River and the Kukulauaki Stream. Not only was this the last significant block of Māori land within the Wellington Province, but its acquisition was essential to the Provincial Government’s long-held goal of linking its southernmost settlements with those in the north. Rights to particular blocks within Kukulauaki were contested by a number of disputants¹⁰³⁰ but, unlike the situation in Rangitīkei-Manawatū some years earlier, all parties were able to apply to the Native Land Court to have their titles determined.

In 1872 Native Department interpreter James Grindell was seconded to the Provincial Government and tasked with travelling throughout the area, encouraging the people to apply to the court for investigation of their titles and broaching with them the issue of future land purchases. As a preparatory step he also instigated the survey and mapping of land throughout the block, at Government expense.

During the time that Grindell was laying the groundwork for investigation of title before the Native Land Court, it became apparent that the issue of kotahitanga was causing concern in some quarters. Mātene Te Whiwhi and his sister Rākapa applied, on behalf of Ngāti Raukawa as a whole, for a certificate of title to the entire Kukulauaki Block; however, a number of hapū preferred to apply for title to their own particular areas within the block.¹⁰³¹ The contrast in views was reflected in attitudes towards the survey work, with those favouring the unified approach largely opposed to having the interests of individual hapū surveyed.¹⁰³² Grindell insisted that survey was a necessary prerequisite to the issue of certificates of title which, in turn, would be essential if the Government were to purchase the land.

¹⁰²⁹ Ngā Hapū ki Te Reureu also note that the Crown failed to honour promises that its agents gave to set aside a 10,000 acre reserve.

¹⁰³⁰ Disputes over the Horowhenua Block, between Muaūpoko and Ngāti Pareraukawa, had been threatening to boil over for some time; and there were some boundary issues to be resolved between various neighbouring hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. It is also worth noting that immediately to the south of Kukulauaki, the rights of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Te Ātiawa were yet to be determined.

¹⁰³¹ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 167.

¹⁰³² Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 171.

Two factors have been suggested as contributing to the heightened focus on unity during this time. The first was the sense that “a hostile coalition” of Muaūpoko, Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa, Whanganui and Ngāti Kahungunu was emerging, against which Ngāti Raukawa may have found itself forced to defend its claims in court. Faced with this prospect, the ability to present a united front assumed renewed significance.¹⁰³³ The second is related to the fact that Grindell made no secret of the Government’s desire to purchase land throughout the district. It is possible that the prospect of land sales was encouraging hapū—and even individual hapū members—to prioritise their own interests, at the expense of maintaining a collective iwi stance.

It should be noted that by the early 1870s the iwi had been through two decades of considerable adversity. Indeed, it would have been surprising if iwi cohesion had not suffered as a result. A range of developments, social, political and economic, had put the people under enormous pressure.

Introduced diseases, arriving with the first Pākehā into the region, had significantly eroded Ngāti Raukawa’s standard of health. This process had been gradual at first but, with the accelerated rates of immigration and contact that had followed the arrival of New Zealand Company settlers and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the situation had eventually reached a crucial tipping point, catapulting the iwi into a desperate battle for survival. This is no overstatement, the evidence suggesting that during the 28 year period from 1850-1878 the decline in Ngāti Raukawa’s population may have been in excess of 53 percent.¹⁰³⁴

The effects of introduced disease were compounded by the vagaries of the market to which, as they became enmeshed within the framework of colonial capitalism, Ngāti Raukawa were increasingly vulnerable. The iwi had responded to the encouragement (in some cases, admonishment) of missionaries, settlers and the Crown to become producers and consumers, cultivating wheat and taking up paid employment in order to help them acquire a seemingly endless array of consumer goods. While this activity resulted in short-term prosperity, it

¹⁰³³ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 171. The court subsequently ruled that Ngāti Apa, Whanganui and Ngāti Kahungunu had no rights in the block.

¹⁰³⁴ It has been suggested that Ngāti Raukawa’s population declined by 35-42 percent between 1850 and 1870, a trend that worsened during the following decade: Mikaere, *A Like Moths to the Flame? A History of Ngāti Raukawa Resistance and Recovery* (Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, 2017) pp 195-196.

rendered them susceptible to market failures, such as the devastating collapse of the wheat market in 1855-6 or unanticipated unemployment.¹⁰³⁵

Social and economic hardship typically contributes to political discord, and this was true of Ngāti Raukawa during the late 1850s and throughout the 1860s. The issue of the Kīngitanga, for instance, divided the iwi. Some were strongly in favour of the movement while others urged the people to distance themselves from it, in the hope that doing so would keep war away from the region.¹⁰³⁶ Calls to join Te Ua Haumene and the Pai-marire movement were met with a similarly mixed response.

Coming on the back of these various destabilising factors, the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase had embroiled the people in a relentless and ultimately unsuccessful campaign of resistance against the combined forces of government (both Provincial and General) and the judiciary. It is little wonder that iwi solidarity had been weakened by the early 1870s.

It would also have been surprising if some were not tempted by the promise of cash in exchange for land. When Resident Magistrate Willis wrote, in July 1872, of the appalling state of health amongst Māori on the coast, particularly at Ōtaki,¹⁰³⁷ he also noted that the crops being cultivated at that time were barely sufficient to meet the needs of the people; that only very small quantities of flax were being dressed for sale; that employment on Government projects such as roads was no longer available due to unfavourable weather conditions; and that the principal source of income was rent.¹⁰³⁸

To make matters worse, the court hearing for the Kukutauaki Block had been set down for November, a time of year when food was typically scarce due to the fact that winter stores were low and the spring crops had not yet matured. There is also evidence that the winter of 1872 had been particularly severe,¹⁰³⁹ Tamihana Te Rauparaha unsuccessfully petitioning to have

¹⁰³⁵ For more detail, see Mikaere, *Like Moths to the Flame?* pp 196-200.

¹⁰³⁶ See Mikaere, *Like Moths to the Flame?* pp 201-203 for further discussion.

¹⁰³⁷ See p 218 for discussion of Willis's report.

¹⁰³⁸ Reports from Officers in Native Districts; Willis, W Resident Magistrate, Ōtaki, "Report to the Native Minister", 5 July 1872: 1872 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, I F-03, No. 12, pp 15-16.

¹⁰³⁹ The report of the Inspector of Meteorological Stations for that year notes stormy, cold and severe conditions during June and July, followed by below average temperatures in August, unusually low rainfall in September and, despite above average rainfall in October, extremely hot conditions and excessive drought in November and

the case postponed until February 1873 because of extreme food shortages.¹⁰⁴⁰ The hearing was to draw a large number of people (estimates range from 600 to 1000) to Foxton for its entire duration, which ended up being over a month.¹⁰⁴¹ According to Anderson and Pickens,¹⁰⁴² a number of requests were made for provisions in the period leading up to the hearing, without which various groups of applicants claimed that they would be unable to attend.

On the 2nd of April 1873, by which time the main Kukutauaki judgment had been delivered and the Horowhenua decision was shortly to be handed down, the *Wellington Independent* noted:

“Some three or four hundred natives from the extremities of the province are gathered at Foxton, and are located in two gipsy looking camps about half a mile apart . . . This is not more than half the number that gathered at their first sittings, the period during which one publican is said to have taken £1800. The natives must have got rid of their superfluous cash then, for they are very impecunious just now. It was through knowing this probably that the Provincial Government sent up about £15000 by the Inspector of Police to Mr Grindell to advance to the natives in anticipation of any sale they may make, which there is no moral doubt they are certain to do.”

Cash advances or the supply of provisions, to be deducted from the purchase price at the point of sale, had been common strategies for the creation of debt amongst landowners in other parts of the country, thereby increasing pressure on them to sell once their title had been confirmed. While Grindell had initially spoken against the wisdom of making such advances with respect to land within Kukutauaki, an increasing number of such requests were acceded to in the weeks and months immediately preceding the hearing. The combination of factors that led to such hardship clearly worked in the Government’s favour:¹⁰⁴³

“[F]rom all directions provision and cash advances were being urgently sought, secured by land about to pass through the court. The Government was not having to solicit, persuade, or entice in any way at all: even hapu who had in the past opposed land sales were approaching the Government for advances.”

December: *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand 1868-1961*, Volume 5, 1872, pp xxiii-xxiv: www.rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_05/rsnz_05_00_004370.html

¹⁰⁴⁰ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 184.

¹⁰⁴¹ The court sat for the first time on 5 November 1872 and adjourned on 9 December, eventually delivering its judgment on 4 March the following year.

¹⁰⁴² Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, pp 182-184.

¹⁰⁴³ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 184.

The Kukutauaki judgment,¹⁰⁴⁴ delivered in March 1873, was consistent with the Rangitīkei-Manawatū decision of 1869: it found that Ngāti Raukawa had acquired rights over the land, not due to conquest, but as a result of occupation with the acquiescence of the original owners, who had never been entirely dispossessed. There is no doubt that a contrary finding would have raised “embarrassing questions” about the Rangitīkei-Manawatū decision which in turn, it has been suggested, had been “framed in that particular way to justify the disregard that had been shown for Ngāti Raukawa during the purchase of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū district”.¹⁰⁴⁵ In this instance, however, Ngāti Raukawa claimants were able to prove to the Court’s satisfaction that they had been in occupation of most of the district since before 1840. More importantly perhaps, unlike what had happened with Rangitīkei-Manawatū, they did not have to contend with a Provincial Superintendent intent on purchasing the Kukutauaki Block in a single transaction, at a reduced price and in the face of concerted opposition. Consequently, they were awarded title to the majority of the Kukutauaki Block.

The Horowhenua Block, however, was expressly excluded from the Kukutauaki judgment. Title to Horowhenua, approximately 52,000 acres in area, raised distinctive issues and was dealt with in a separate hearing. Upon his arrival to settle in the area, Te Whatanui had sheltered Muaūpoko from Te Rauparaha,¹⁰⁴⁶ allocating them a 20,000 acre area within Horowhenua; the remaining 32,000 acres of the block had been settled by Ngāti Raukawa. In 1873 it was widely expected that the Court’s findings would be consistent with this division of territory between the two iwi but, in a judgment that shocked Ngāti Raukawa and is said to have astonished contemporary observers,¹⁰⁴⁷ the court awarded all but 100 acres to Muaūpoko.¹⁰⁴⁸

The decision has attracted widespread criticism over time, with questions raised about the extent to which the judges were motivated by political considerations rather than by the evidence that was produced before them. McDonald describes how the hearing was adjourned for three days, during which time the judges rode over the Block with Muaūpoko leader, Major

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Kukutauaki*, Native Land Court, *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1864-1879* (Auckland, 1879), pp 134-135.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 200.

¹⁰⁴⁶ As noted earlier, Te Rauparaha had resolved to exterminate Muaūpoko shortly after his arrival on the Kapiti Coast but T Whatanui offered them protection, see pp 2-6.

¹⁰⁴⁷ MacDonal, *Te Hekenga*, p 142.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Horowhenua*, Native Land Court, *Important Judgments Delivered in the Compensation Court and Native Land Court 1864-1879* (Auckland, 1879), p 136.

Kemp. The boundaries that he indicated to them corresponded exactly with the land that was subsequently awarded to Muaūpoko.¹⁰⁴⁹ A range of explanations have been offered for the judgment, including the suggestion that the Court was frightened of Kemp (who threatened to go to war if he did not get his way); the possibility that he was awarded the entire Block in order to compensate him for his services to the Crown (he had fought with the Crown against the Hauhau); or simply that Ngāti Raukawa were considered less likely than Kemp to resort to violence, in the event that they were unsuccessful.¹⁰⁵⁰ Perhaps the most damning commentary on the legality of the Court's decision was provided by a Native Land Court judge, over 20 years later, when he gave evidence before the Horowhenua Commission in 1896. Judge Wilson explained how it had been a 'tradition' of the Native Land Court that:¹⁰⁵¹

“[S]pecial legislation should make anything that seemed to require it, valid. So much so that in 1873, Mr McLean thanked Judge Rogan for acting outside the law, so as to get the country settled. All that he did was legalised afterwards I have no doubt. Of the five judges, Smith was the one who “heard the block” in the first instance, and he said to me ‘they will legalise what we have done’.”

Numerous applications were made for a rehearing, but without success. McLean subsequently managed to persuade Muaūpoko to give up a further 1200 acres (a promise that was eventually honoured in 1886) and urged Ngāti Raukawa to accept the deal as the best that they were going to get. Between 1880 and 1924 countless further attempts were made by Ngāti Raukawa to have the case reopened but despite numerous committee hearings—and even a Royal Commission—no significant changes were made, just some slight boundary adjustments. By the turn of the century, Ngāti Raukawa held fewer than 1500 acres within the Horowhenua Block.

The Horowhenua Block was preserved intact for Muaūpoko, under the trusteeship of Kemp, until 1886. Thereafter, however, it was partitioned and rapidly transferred out of Māori ownership by a range of means. McDonald was moved to make the somewhat cynical observation that Ngāti Raukawa “were perhaps lucky after all; they lost their lands in one clean blow, whereas the Muaupokos were bled equally white, but by a more gradual process”.¹⁰⁵² Throughout the remainder of the Kukutauaki Block, however, the fortunes of Ngāti Raukawa largely foreshadowed what was to happen to Muaūpoko after the Horowhenua was partitioned:

¹⁰⁴⁹ McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, pp 142-144.

¹⁰⁵⁰ McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, pp 144-145; Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, pp 214-216.

¹⁰⁵¹ Horowhenua Commission: 1896 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, I G-02, p 132.

¹⁰⁵² McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p 145.

former Ngāti Raukawa landholdings within Kukutauaki were inevitably converted into smaller blocks and eroded over time.

Indeed, before the Court had even begun hearing the evidence in respect of the Kukutauaki Block, the Superintendent of Wellington Province had already issued instructions for the majority of the Block, some 250,000 acres, to be purchased.¹⁰⁵³ The rate of purchase proved slower than anticipated but by 1881 over 157,000 acres had been secured.¹⁰⁵⁴ Assuming that the bulk of this area (if not all of it) was acquired from Ngāti Raukawa, and adding the 32,000 acres that Ngāti Raukawa had expected to be awarded within the Horowhenua Block, it is not unreasonable to conclude that nearly 190,000 acres of Kukutauaki land passed out of Ngāti Raukawa hands, in one way or another, between 1873 and 1881. Further lands were sold directly to the Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company (registered in 1881) and to private purchasers as the century progressed.

It is perhaps unsurprising that by April 1873, in the brief lull between the issuing of the Kukutauaki and the Horowhenua judgments, the *Wellington Independent* could so confidently predict that ‘the only natural course’ open to the Māori owners of land between Ōtaki and Manawatū was to sell it ‘to anybody who will give them a fair price for it, retaining, of course, a few reserves’.¹⁰⁵⁵ It was an almost glib observation, disingenuously glossing over the complicity of Crown officials and judiciary alike in creating the situation whereby Ngāti Raukawa landowners had been left with almost no option but to sell their few remaining interests. It captured nothing of the frustration and terrible suffering that had led up to, and would only be compounded by, further land sales.

The following year, Rei Parawhanake provided the other side to the narrative, a devastatingly frank commentary on the situation in which Ngāti Raukawa now found themselves:¹⁰⁵⁶

“Na, inaianei, kua hoki te whakaaro o te iwi Maori ki a Papa, e haehaea nei e te reti, e te hoko, e te mokete, i te arero hianga hoki, o te iwi Ingarahi nei. I tenei na te iwi nei, ko nga ngutu kau kei te awhi mai, ko nga ngakau ia, kei te apo i te whenua. Na, e tama ma, hipokina katoa; te upoko me nga uaua o te iwi Ingarangi nei kei te tango i Niu Tireni, kia riro i a ia. Heoi, e awangawanga ana tenei taha kei nga uri e haere ake nei,

¹⁰⁵³ Anderson and Pickens estimate the area of land to total between 400,000 and 500,000 acres: Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 203; but Hearn provides an estimate of 250,000 to 300,000 acres: Hearn, *One Past, Many Histories*, p 556.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington District*, p 207.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Wellington Independent*, 2 April 1873.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Te Wananga*, Vol 2, No. 2, 26 January 1875, pp 15-16 (letter dated 28 December 1874).

ka kore atu ai te ingoa tangata Maori i runga i tenei motu. . . E nga hoa titiro i a *Te Wananga*, kua tutaki te takiwa o Ngāti Raukawa i tenei mate, i te hoko whenua, koia i puta penei ai enei whakaaturanga ki nga hoa i te motu nei, kia manawanui, ki te pupuri i etahi wahi whenua hei oranga i tenei ao.”

“So, now our thoughts return to Papa, lacerated by rates, by purchases, by mortgages, by the forked tongue of the English. These people embrace us with their lips, desiring all the while to seize the land. We are being inundated; these English people are taking over New Zealand. I fear that in future generations, Māori will be no more in this country . . . Friends, the domain of Ngāti Raukawa has been afflicted with this contagion, the selling of land. That is why I urge you, throughout the land, to be steadfast, retain sufficient land for your survival.”

These words describe, with heart-breaking clarity, the Ngāti Raukawa reality of the mid-1870s—a very different picture to the situation that the iwi had enjoyed just over twenty years earlier. In the early 1850s the Ngāti Raukawa land-base was intact, from the Rangitīkei River to the Kukutauaki stream; and concepts such as rates, mortgages or land-purchase were virtually unheard of. The people were well-aware of Pākehā avarice with respect to land but, as the statements from rangatira such as Taratoa and Te Rangihaeata revealed,¹⁰⁵⁷ they were also adamant that the rohe should be preserved under Ngāti Raukawa control. While a few Pākehā farmers leased blocks and other individuals lived within Māori communities on areas of land that had been allocated to them to meet their needs, there was no question as to whose land they occupied. Nor was there any doubt that their ability to live there was entirely dependent upon securing and retaining Ngāti Raukawa’s permission to do so.

By the mid-1870s the iwi had been subjected to an unrelentingly corrosive campaign, conducted by the combined forces of General and Provincial Government and explicitly designed to break its collective will on the question of land sales. When Ngāti Raukawa refused to sell, the Crown simply found other iwi from whom to purchase Ngāti Raukawa land. When some Ngāti Raukawa individuals could be convinced or otherwise pressured into selling, the Crown bought from them and denied the rights of others. Promises were readily made and even more readily forgotten; laws were changed for the specific purpose of strengthening the purchaser’s hand; and income from the land was arbitrarily withheld as a kind of ransom in order to force compliance with Crown dictates. Whatever the Crown officers did, the courts could be relied upon to validate their actions retrospectively; if the courts got it wrong, the legislature could be relied upon to paper over the legal cracks.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See p 14 for their comments.

With the combined forces of the state wielded against them over many years, those within Ngāti Raukawa who remained opposed to the sale of land were marginalised, intimidated and, if all else failed, overwhelmed by sheer force of law, expertly (and often unethically) wielded by the judiciary and the legislature. The end result was that the iwi land-base was reduced to a small fraction of what it had formerly been and the problems associated with the Pākehā system of land tenure, so poignantly identified by Rei Parawhanake, became part of everyday life for individual owners who struggled to retain the little they had left to them.

When relating the experience of Ngāti Raukawa, it is pertinent to note that the lands stretching from Cook Strait to Rangitūkei had been targeted by the colonists from the moment the first New Zealand Company settlers arrived in Wellington. Bitterly disappointed with the geographical limitations of Wellington, the settlers were obsessed with securing a farming hinterland to support the growth of the fledgling settlement. The following commentary on the construction of the first road from Wellington to Porirua, published early in 1841, is illustrative of the prevailing sentiment:¹⁰⁵⁸

“Heretofore we were hemmed in by hills which appeared insurmountable . . . This appearance of confinement was painful to the feelings . . . Doubt has been converted . . . into the most positive assurance of their being abundance of desirable land in convenient localities. . . Instead of expecting daily to hear fresh statements of there being no land or that it is useless, we may anticipate the moment when it will be declared that Paradise has been detected.”

The “Paradise” about which the newspaper waxed so lyrical consisted largely of Ngāti Raukawa lands. Throughout the 1840s the *Wellington Spectator* published numerous articles describing these lands as crying out for settlement:¹⁰⁵⁹

“By the information we have endeavoured to afford our readers respecting the country between Port Nicholson and the Manewatu, (sic) it has appeared, that there is a wide extent of agricultural country of a highly available character. That the timber is fine, and not so heavy as to offer any serious obstacle to the agriculturalist. That the flax is abundant, and of the finest quality. . . That the natives are not only not opposed to the settlement of the district, but are most anxious to have the Company’s Colonists live among them. . . That the route by land is exceedingly practicable . . . That the means of water communication are ample, and the settler will in few instances have to carry his produce more than 20 miles by land, while the roads can easily be rendered excellent. . . Here prosperity presents itself to all . . .”

¹⁰⁵⁸ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 3 March 1841.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 12 January 1842.

By 1845, the tone was becoming more impatient:¹⁰⁶⁰

“On my return from a visit to the districts of Otaki, Horowenua, and Manawatu, where the richness of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the beauty of the country, excite the admiration of the traveller, I wish to ask you why this part of New Zealand has not been colonized?”

The settlers found a powerful ally in Governor Grey. Arriving early in 1846, Grey came with an unequivocal agenda of subjugating Māori to British law as rapidly as possible, of dismantling Māori authority structures and promoting settler interests.¹⁰⁶¹ While his long-term goal entailed complete takeover of the country, the superior military capacity of Māori at the time of his arrival necessitated a more cautious approach. In a memorandum to Lord Stanley, Grey recommended that during the winter of 1846 the Government should limit itself to holding Porirua and the upper Hutt Valley as military outposts, while laying the groundwork for the future expansion of Crown authority by building a “good line of road” from Wellington to Porirua and beyond, to Paekākāriki, if possible.¹⁰⁶²

Efforts must at the same time be made to enforce British authority within the same limits; to strengthen our alliances along the coast in the direction of New Plymouth; to accustom the natives to, and to inspire them with a respect for, British laws and usages; to choose proper sites along the coast for military and police stations: so that when at the commencement of the next summer we break out into the open country beyond Wai-nui, we may be able at once to afford an efficient protection to the settlers inhabiting that tract of country . . .

While the early settlers were unapologetically focused on the commercial potential of Ngāti Raukawa land, it is clear that Grey’s determination to obtain the land was driven by more than economic considerations. He, like Featherston two decades later, was under no illusion that dismantling an iwi’s land-base was part and parcel of destroying its political integrity. Acquisition of the land stretching between Rangitīkei and Kikutauaki doubtless took longer than the Crown may have wished, but once Featherston had conceived of a strategy to force the Manawatū purchase through, the ongoing pressure on Ngāti Raukawa to give up the land was relentless. There is no doubt that the Crown campaign to seize the land represented a flagrant abuse of *kāwantanga*, carried out for the specific purpose of diminishing (if not entirely nullifying) the *tino rangatiratanga* of Ngāti Raukawa.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Letter to the Editor, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian*, 4 October 1845.

¹⁰⁶¹ Collins, H *Ka Mate Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010), p 182.

¹⁰⁶² Despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Grey to Rt Hon Lord Stanley, Wellington, 22 April 1846, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 0763.06, p 11. Note that Wainui is a short distance north of Paekākāriki.

For its part, Ngāti Raukawa was also acutely aware of the connection between land and political authority. In 1881 a hui took place at Raukawa marae, immediately following the tangihanga of Mātene Te Whiwhi. Unsurprisingly, given the events of the preceding decades, land and leadership were matters of key concern. Participants expressed considerable anxiety about the closely linked issues of kotahitanga and rangatiratanga, which were clearly understood as pivotal to the survival of the iwi. There was an abiding sense of frustration at Crown duplicity and of impotence in the face of unjust laws. Henry Herekau, for example, warned that Māori “would soon be like the swagman, owning no land”. N.C Nicholson noted that they had been under Government “protection” for 40 years but that ‘the Government had taken more land than the protection was worth’. Tellingly, he also urged his relations to draft their own laws ‘to save themselves or else their skeletons only would be left’.¹⁰⁶³

The assault on the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa, launched with such vigour during the latter half of the nineteenth century, continued apace throughout the 1900s. A key component of that process was the acquisition of land, which remained a priority for the colonial state. For instance, in 1900 Māori land made up some 28 percent of the total land from Rangitīkei-Manawatū to South Ōtaki; by 2000, that figure had reduced to just five percent.¹⁰⁶⁴ Commentators often refer to this as a process of land loss but that description is, at best, euphemistic. The land was not “lost”—a term that seems almost to imply neglect or forgetfulness—it was extorted.

Reports prepared for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry¹⁰⁶⁵ catalogue a relentless succession of policies, processes and behaviours designed and implemented by the agents of kāwanatanga within this rohe throughout the twentieth century, all of which contributed to the ongoing removal of land from Māori hands. The few Ngāti Raukawa who had managed to withstand the onslaught of the previous century, remaining on their lands during the early 1900s, were subjected to immense, multi-faceted pressures to vacate it. Prohibitive planning schemes, exorbitant rating regimes, title problems, bureaucratic incompetence and an obstinate refusal to provide financial support to Māori land owners combined with numerous other factors to

¹⁰⁶³ “Meeting at Otaki”, *The Yeoman*, 5 October 1881: reproduced in (1981) *Otaki Historical Journal*, Vol.4, p 26.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Fitzgerald, E et al *Ngāti Raukawa: Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga, Land Management and Land Loss from the 1890s to 2000* (2017), pp 27-28.

¹⁰⁶⁵ See, in particular, Fitzgerald, E et al *Ngāti Raukawa: Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga, Land Management and Land Loss from the 1890s to 2000* (2017); and Woodley, S *Local Government Issues Report* (2017).

create the “problem” of unoccupied or unproductive Ngāti Raukawa lands. The ‘solution’ comprised a range of punitive (and, from the Pākehā viewpoint, highly convenient) measures which were tantamount to confiscation.

The breaches of Te Tiriti did not stop with forcible land removal, but extended to legislative schemes and government policy that enabled (and often actively promoted) environmental despoliation on a grand scale. For over 150 years kāwanatanga has ridden roughshod over tino rangatiratanga within the rohe of Ngāti Raukawa, facilitating rampant deforestation,¹⁰⁶⁶ unrestrained wetland drainage¹⁰⁶⁷ and a raft of ecologically destructive measures designed to develop and sustain intensive grassland farming, seemingly at any cost. The only resources (waterways, for example) that Ngāti Raukawa whānau and hapū have retained any fragment of influence over are those to be found on the tiny parcels of land that they still own and occupy—and even then, these resources have typically been degraded or destroyed by the actions of surrounding landowners.

The litany of breaches of Te Tiriti laid out in the various technical reports prepared for the Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry is, by any standards, appalling. However, it is the oral narratives of those on the receiving end of these cynical measures that provide real insight into the human cost of what has done in the name of kāwanatanga. Ngāti Korokī, for example, as one of the hapū living within the area covered by the Ōtaki Borough Council, was particularly harshly affected by the issue of rates. Jack Rikihana recalls:¹⁰⁶⁸

“I remember Mum crying over the rates bill. . . It would come twice a year and that time was for land owned by Raita and Pari and we were going to lose it by not paying the rates. . . . That’s how they did it—they picked off the people that weren’t local so the land would get taken. . .”

“What happened over here on this land (where Otaki College is) caused a lot of angst in our family, a lot of arguments, a lot of tears—and that was because we couldn’t pay the rates and the land was taken, confiscated.”

¹⁰⁶⁶ It has been estimated that 94 percent of the natural vegetation within the inquiry area has been removed, most of it replaced with pasture: Potter, H et al *Porirua Ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report* (2017), p 535.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 88 percent of the wetlands that previously dominated the lowland landscapes, particularly in the northern half of the inquiry district, have been drained or covered over: Potter, H et al *Porirua Ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report* (2017), p 535.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Rikihana-Hyland, Q & Vieira, M *Ngāti Korokī Oral and Traditional History Report*, pp 12-13.

Gabrielle Rikihana notes that “working for money was a foreign thing for Maori people in the late 1920s”, and explains that this made rates demands (which required payment in cash) particularly onerous: ‘they lost their land from rates, always from rates’. She also points out the absurdity and the injustice inherent in the very concept of rates.¹⁰⁶⁹

“It is alien, an alien idea when a person has got that land from their grandmother or great grandmother . . . why would you think for one minute that you would need to pay a gang, like Otaki Borough Council for that land. There’s no road, there’s no water on it. It hasn’t got anything there.”

For every method employed to wrest Ngāti Raukawa land from whānau and hapū—spurious judicial decisions, public works takings, premeditated land-locking, Māori Trustee facilitated sales, or otherwise—the statistics, while shocking in themselves, conceal similar stories of personal heartbreak and intergenerational despair. The devastating impact of large-scale land removal is a recurring theme throughout the hapū narratives.¹⁰⁷⁰

The impact of the environmental destruction wrought on Ngāti Raukawa’s landscape has also been devastating. Many of the hapū record the negative effects of pollution, gravel extraction, drainage schemes or the lack of flood control as having significantly damaged their relationships with their waterways. The following selection of personal observations, taken from *Tahi ki a Maru*,¹⁰⁷¹ is representative of the Ngāti Raukawa experience.

Gary Wehipeihana, 2005

“There used to be what they called backwashes that went up to where the farm is. There were two backwashes and it was all wiwi in there. You’d sometimes go there at high tide and see whitebait spawning. We’d block off the stream to catch flounders. Today, all that natural habitat is gone. The area has been completely drained for pasture.:

Mickey Carkeek, 2010

“The council chopped down all the trees and used big draglines that disturbed the creek bed as it had been for hundreds of years. Then they discharged sewerage into it. I’ve seen market gardeners wash their drums in it that held spray for their tomatoes, then I’ve seen fish floating belly-up in the creek afterwards. . . When they drain the Hāruatai swimming pool, the creek gets covered in white foam and the water goes haunga. Further upstream, cowsheds used to milk forty, fifty or perhaps sixty cows. But today they milk four or five hundred cows. That’s a huge difference. There’s so much effluent polluting it now that the water quality has gone backwards.”

¹⁰⁶⁹ Rikihana-Hyland, Q & Vieira, M *Ngāti Korokī Oral and Traditional History Report*, pp 15-16.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In Ngāti Manomano’s case, the scarcity of remaining land was such that their dream of establishing a new hapū required them to purchase a block of land on which to build their new marae complex.

¹⁰⁷¹ Rāwiri, A (ed) *Tahi ki a Maru: Water, fishing and tikanga in Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga* (Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, 2018), pp 90, pp 98-99, p 108, p 77.

Pat Seymour Tima, 2005

“About ten years ago I put a hīnaki in a river about forty minutes drive from Kuku. When I went to pick it up the next morning, I had trouble finding it because the water was all milky. When I did, all the tuna were kua mate, they had died. The water was so severely polluted that the oxygen had been taken clean out of it. All the tuna had suffocated, it was a heart-wrenching sight to see. Farm fertiliser run-off and the spraying of drains have turned many waterways toxic. The draining of the wetlands is having a huge impact on the habitat of the tuna too.”

George Gray, 2005

“You could throw a hand line off Ōtaki Beach and get snapper. You could go to the Ōtaki River and catch a big kahawai. It was easy to get a feed because everything was so plentiful. I feel privileged to have lived that, but I also feel sad that we’ll never see it again. I’ll never see huge shoals of whitebait coming up the river again.”

The cumulative effect of land removal, followed by over a century of environmental devastation, was profound. A graphic illustration is provided by the experience of Ngāti Pareraukawa. Stripped of the vast bulk of their lands by the stroke of a judicial pen in 1873, the impact on Ngāti Pareraukawa of the legislatively sanctioned ecological recklessness that subsequently occurred was savage. To the east and the north of Ngātokowaru marae, Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream were destroyed by decades of sewage being discharged directly into them from the nearby town of Levin. To the west, a large, unregulated piggery created a nauseating odour which regularly blanketed the marae; the effluent it produced, which exceeded that produced by the township of Levin, was also discharged directly into the stream.¹⁰⁷² To the south, the Levin Borough Council established its rubbish dump.¹⁰⁷³ Rachael Selby and Pātaka Moore describe Ngātokowaru as being transformed from a once pristine and life-sustaining kāinga into “a mainland island encircled by pollution”.¹⁰⁷⁴

“The remaining elders held on to their childhood memories of a time when the stream was their lifeline, when it provided passage to the lake and to the sea, when the seasons brought the best quality and quantity of tuna in the region, when the whitebait were thick and plentiful, the koura and mussels providing variety in diet.”

For many hapū members, the situation became untenable: the marae was now “a dirty place beside a dirty stream . . . beside a toxic lake next to a smelly piggery and across the road from

¹⁰⁷² The piggery is no longer there. When the Resource Management Act finally provided Ngāti Pareraukawa with the legislative means to challenge its practices, “the piggery owners suggested we move our marae as they had a business to run next door!”: *Ngāti Pareraukawa Ngātokowaru Marae Oral and Traditional History Report* (2018), p 52.

¹⁰⁷³ It has since been renamed the Horowhenua Landfill: closed to the public, it now receives domestic, commercial and industrial waste from throughout Horowhenua and the Kapiti Coast.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ngāti Pareraukawa Ngātokowaru Marae Oral and Traditional History Report* (2018), p 52.

a rubbish dump”.¹⁰⁷⁵ Overwhelmed by circumstances beyond their control, it is hardly surprising that, for some, the only escape appeared to be to leave.

While the specifics may have varied from one hapū to the next, the experience of dispossession—of being forcibly separated from the land and from the mātauranga that had grown out of an intimate, intergenerational relationship with the environment—is common to all. It is clear that the repercussions are not merely economic, affecting all aspects of collective well-being. It is also clear that the ill-effects are not finite, but rather that they have been experienced across the generations, typically compounding as the years have passed and as the damage done to the relationship between people and land has been exacerbated.

There is a tragic inevitability about the fact that by the mid-twentieth century, a growing number of Ngāti Raukawa whānau were becoming disconnected from their marae and from hapū activities. No longer able to support themselves on the meagre pockets of land left to them, they focused their energies on surviving in what was often referred to at that time as ‘the Pākehā world’: securing employment wherever they could, building homes, paying mortgages, raising children—and visiting the marae only occasionally. It was a trend that had serious consequences for the long-term viability of the marae:¹⁰⁷⁶

“ During the mid-1970s many of our meeting houses and the surrounding marae and land were in a poor state of repair, had been neglected for a number of years, were being used intermittently throughout the year, were regarded by many as dying institutions and tended to be used for tangi.”

Once the hub of hapū life, the marae became associated primarily with death; not only of individuals, but of the hapū as a whole. The very survival of the hapū was under threat, many struggling to sustain a critical mass of people with the capacity to fulfil key roles and to pass on critical knowledge to future generations. The threat to knowledge transmission was a direct result of the severing of links between the people and the environment within which the knowledge had been generated.

It is also important to note that the removal of land and the despoliation of the environment were accompanied by an overwhelming pressure to assimilate or perish. Te reo Māori was

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ngāti Pareraukawa Ngātōkōwaru Marae Oral and Traditional History Report* (2018), p 53.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Selby, R ‘tararua is my Mountain’ (1999) *Te Ūkaipō*, Vol 1, p 12. In the case of Ngātōkōwaru, for example, the marae was so little-used that the marae committee was even put into recess during the 1960s: the marae committee minute books record no meetings from 1963 to 1968.

singled out by the colonial state as a marker of resistance, its transmission actively discouraged. By the early 1900s increasing numbers of Ngāti Raukawa parents, having suffered punishment and humiliation at school for speaking Māori, were making a deliberate choice to prioritise English within their homes so that their children would grow up with English as their first (and indeed, their only) language. A study conducted amongst the hapū of Ōtaki during the 1940s found a high degree of fatalism about the future of te reo Māori, most accepting that it was a dying language.¹⁰⁷⁷

During the 1970s Richard and Nina Benton conducted the landmark *Sociolinguistic Survey of Māori Language Use*, which examined the state of the language throughout the country.¹⁰⁷⁸ The information gathered from participants who identified as Ngāti Raukawa¹⁰⁷⁹ revealed an extraordinarily rapid replacement of te reo Māori with English as the main, indeed the only, means of communication. Survey respondents reported that in 1900, 100 percent of their whānau had understood Māori and 75 percent of them had spoken the language fluently. By 1970 a little over five percent understood Māori while fewer than five percent spoke it; for over 80 percent of them, English had become the only means of communication.¹⁰⁸⁰

By the 1970s all the marae within Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Te Āti Awa (otherwise known as the ART confederation) were described as being “extremely shallow” in terms of te reo, with fewer than five percent of the adult population able to converse freely in Māori. Worse still, there were no children able to do so.¹⁰⁸¹ Piripi Walker explains that the

¹⁰⁷⁷ Beaglehole, E & Beaglehole, P *Some Modern Maoris* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1946), p 273.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Benton, R *The Māori Language: Dying or Reviving?* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1997).

¹⁰⁷⁹ 21 of the households who identified as Ngāti Raukawa came from the Waikato district, whereas 89 came from the area between Bulls and Ōtaki. It is likely that many other Ngāti Raukawa people were interviewed in places such as Okoroire, Tīrau, Tokoroa, Matamata, Putāruru, Fielding, Palmerston North and Shannon, but in these locations fewer than a third of the participants claimed to belong to any iwi: Benton, *The Māori Language*, pp 35-36, p 40.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Benton, *The Māori Language*, p 17. These findings were largely replicated by the information gathered within Rangitīkei, Manawatū and Horowhenua (which would have included large numbers of Ngāti Raukawa, even though many respondents did not name their iwi): in 1900 nearly 100 percent understood Māori, 80 percent spoke Māori and fewer than five percent said they could only speak English; by 1970 fewer than five percent understood Māori, almost nobody spoke Māori and over 85 percent said they were only able to speak English (p 16). The common perception amongst Māori in Ōtaki, during the 1940s, that te reo Māori was destined for extinction, has already been discussed at p 260.

¹⁰⁸¹ Winiata, W “Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development” in New Zealand Planning Council, *He Mātāpuna: Some Māori Perspectives*, NZPC No.14, 1979, pp 70-71.

three iwi were facing a real crisis, as the ranks of kaikōrero and kaikaranga rapidly thinned and as the paucity of expertise in the next generation became glaringly apparent:¹⁰⁸²

“Kua angiangi te pae, kua tū takitahi ngā reo kōrero, ngā reo waiata, ko ngā kaumātua me ngā kuia mōhio ki te reo, kua rere ki te Pō. Kua tae ki ngā rā o te korekore, kua tomo te ihu o te waka ki ‘te Korokoro o Te Parata’.”

Just as the erosion of rangatiratanga led to the near abandonment of marae and to a catastrophic decline in the use of te reo, it also impacted significantly on the integrity of Ngāti Raukawa mātauranga. Āneta Rāwiri¹⁰⁸³ suggests that mātauranga is defined by two important characteristics. Firstly, it is “embedded in a defined geographical area and a people’s distinctive spiritual/cultural relationships and history”. Secondly, it “resides in the lived memory of uri, and is integrated wholistically into iwi and hapū day-to-day life by sharing and living collectively”. She continues:¹⁰⁸⁴

“Iwi and hapū can only exist where our distinctive mātauranga-based cultural, social, economic and political systems remain intact. Where these are severely weakened, iwi and hapū cannot survive and our mātauranga-based ways of life disappear.”

As pointed out earlier, the Crown’s forceful acquisition of Ngāti Raukawa land—compounded by the relentless campaign of environmental desecration that followed—constituted a blatant assault on the tino rangatiratanga of the iwi. The erosion of Ngāti Raukawa tino rangatiratanga by a rampant kāwanatanga has resulted in a landscape that has been “virtually cleared of Māori cultural context”.¹⁰⁸⁵ It has brought Ngāti Raukawa near to the threshold of total loss, not simply in terms of its land and waterways, but also with respect to the integrity of the mātauranga continuum bequeathed to us by our tūpuna. As a consequence, our prospects of survival as a people have been significantly diminished.

The Crown has exhibited a blatant disregard for the relationship between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga that was prescribed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. For Ngāti Raukawa, the consequences of the Crown’s behaviour have been dire. It is to the urgent question of restoring the relationship between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga, thereby fulfilling the promises

¹⁰⁸² Walker, P *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 1975-2000* (Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, 2011), p 19.

¹⁰⁸³ Rāwiri, A *Te Wānanga o Raukawa: Restoring mātauranga to restore ecosystems* (Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, 2012), p 5.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Rāwiri, A *Te Wānanga o Raukawa: restoring mātauranga to restore ecosystems* (Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, 2012), p 5.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Smith, H *Porirua Ki Manawatū Inquiry: Inland Waterways Cultural Perspectives Technical Report* (2017), p 276.

made in 1840 and ensuring the survival of Ngāti Raukawa as a people, that this paper now turns.

5.0 RESTORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TINO RANGATIRATANGA AND KĀWANATANGA

As detailed earlier in this chapter, a number of Ngāti Raukawa rangatira signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, at Kapiti, Ōtaki and Manawatū, during May 1840. This was a time when the authority of the iwi was undisputed, any Pākehā who lived within the rohe doing so entirely on Ngāti Raukawa terms.

However, during the months before Henry Williams arrived on the Kapiti Coast, seeking signatories to Te Tiriti, the first New Zealand Company settlers had arrived in Wellington. These Pākehā were quite unlike the whalers and traders who had come before them; they displayed a new level of colonising arrogance, showing no inclination to understand or defer to Māori sensibilities. And they had been preceded, late in 1839, by William Wakefield who had proven himself greedy, delusional and untrustworthy in his dealings with Te Rauparaha. These newcomers had not posed any serious challenge to Ngāti Raukawa authority but their presence would not have gone unnoticed. Wakefield had been nothing if not irritating and the potential for the growing numbers of New Zealand Company settlers to become a disruptive influence within the wider region may very well have been noted.

When Williams arrived in their midst, reassuring them of the Queen's desire to secure their property, rights and privileges, Ngāti Raukawa is likely to have welcomed the prospect of the rangatira-to-rangatira relationship which Te Tiriti seemed to promise. Delegating kāwanatanga to the Queen, so that she could take responsibility for her subjects within Ngāti Raukawa territory, constituted a pragmatic response to the possibility of British people behaving badly. In effect, Ngāti Raukawa signatories to Te Tiriti were stipulating Crown accountability for its own people as one of the obligations inherent in maintaining a relationship with the iwi.

It is important to note that the grant of kāwanatanga was entirely conditional upon the Crown's affirmation and acknowledgement of Ngāti Raukawa's tino rangatiratanga. The assignment to the Crown of responsibility for British subjects who ventured into Ngāti Raukawa territory in

no way affected the political authority of the iwi to make and enforce law over its own people and within its rohe.

In its report on Stage 1 of the *Te Paparahi o te Raki Inquiry* the Waitangi Tribunal has found that the rangatira who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi on 6 February 1840 agreed to a sharing of power and authority with the Governor, whereby each party would operate within its own sphere of influence:¹⁰⁸⁶

“The detail of how this relationship would work in practice, especially where the Māori and European populations intermingled, remained to be negotiated over time on a case-by-case basis. But the rangatira did not surrender to the British the sole right to make and enforce law over Māori.”

This is equally true of Ngāti Raukawa: quite apart from the wording of Te Tiriti, given the demographic profile and political realities of the region in 1840 it is preposterous to suggest that Ngāti Raukawa rangatira would have imagined for a moment that they were surrendering any kind of authority over themselves to a remote British monarch who they had never met.

The British approached the treaty signing exercise from a very different standpoint. They were, by that time, well-practised imperialists. They regarded the extension of British sovereignty over ‘savage’ peoples as intrinsic to the expansion of Empire, ensuring unrestricted access to valuable resources and enabling the mother country to utilise newly-acquired territories in the achievement of imperial goals. Colonial conceit rendered the actual intent of Māori signatories largely irrelevant in British eyes. There was no room, in their minds, for the maintenance of any form of authority other than that wielded by the Crown. This meant that, regardless of what was actually discussed and agreed to by the parties, the British regarded cession of sovereignty as the inevitable outcome of the process.

Of the British intention to secure a cession of sovereignty from rangatira in 1840, however, the Waitangi Tribunal has had this to say:¹⁰⁸⁷

“The treaty’s meaning and effect can only be found in what Britain’s representatives clearly explained to the rangatira, and the rangatira then assented to. It is not to be found in Britain’s unexpressed intention to acquire overarching sovereign power for itself, and for its own purposes. On that, the rangatira did not give full and free consent, because it was not the proposal that Hobson put to them in February 1840.”

¹⁰⁸⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o te Raki Inquiry* (Wai 1040, 2014), p 527.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Te Paparahi o te Raki*, p 528.

We can say, with absolute confidence, that it was not the proposal that Williams put to Ngāti Raukawa rangatira in May 1840 either; if he had described the agreement to Ngāti Raukawa leaders in such terms, they would never have signed it. While Williams left no record of how he explained Te Tiriti to them, we do know that at Waitangi he had described the document as “an act of love towards [Māori] on the part of the Queen, she desired to secure to them their property, rights and privileges”.¹⁰⁸⁸ This accords with the Waitangi Tribunal’s finding that Hobson and his agents had been instructed to accentuate the protective aspects of the document: ‘their emphasis was on the Governor acquiring sufficient authority to control British subjects and to protect Māori and their rangatiratanga’¹⁰⁸⁹

It was not long before the insincerity of the Crown with respect to the promises made to Māori signatories was revealed by Hobson’s actions. At the very time that Williams was peddling Te Tiriti on the Kapiti Coast, Hobson was contradicting the pretence that was being made of negotiating the future Crown-Māori relationship, by unilaterally issuing proclamations of sovereignty over all parts of Aotearoa. The Governor claimed that the proclamation issued over the North Island was made on the basis of universal consent, citing the treaty-signing process as evidence of this. This was, of course, a blatant lie: at that time very few of the North Island sheets had been returned to him.¹⁰⁹⁰ Indeed, many North Island hapū and iwi never signed at all¹⁰⁹¹ and almost all those who did so, signed the Māori language document, Te Tiriti, which did not cede sovereignty.¹⁰⁹² With respect to the South Island, Hobson proclaimed sovereignty on the basis of discovery, claiming “a perfect knowledge of the uncivilized state of the natives” there. This was a statement for which, Claudia Orange has observed, he had no grounds whatsoever.¹⁰⁹³

This openly contemptuous colonial attitude towards Te Tiriti (the Māori language document)—and indeed towards the Treaty (the English language document)—was to continue for at least

¹⁰⁸⁸ This is how he described the message he had conveyed to Māori at Waitangi when asked by Hobson to read Te Tiriti aloud to the gathering: Fitzgerald, E *Te Wiremu*, p 317.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Te Paparahi o te Raki*, p 528.

¹⁰⁹⁰ The documents signed at Waitangi, and at Port Waikato and Manukau, were the only copies that had been returned to Hobson by 21 May: Orange, C *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Port Nicholson Press, 1987), p 85.

¹⁰⁹¹ For example, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Te Arawa.

¹⁰⁹² The only people to sign the English-language document, which ceded sovereignty to the Crown, were the 39 who signed at Port Waikato and Manukau.

¹⁰⁹³ Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p 85.

the next 130 years. When Chief Justice Prendergast delivered his infamous *Wi Parata* judgment in 1877, describing the Treaty of Waitangi as “a simple nullity”,¹⁰⁹⁴ the comment was regarded as uncontroversial. Indeed it came to be regarded as representing the official legal position on the significance of English-language document. Meanwhile, Te Tiriti—the document that had been signed by the overwhelming majority of signatories, including Ngāti Raukawa—was relegated to the realm of legal inconsequence.

It was not until the Waitangi Tribunal was established, in 1975, that the document signed by over 500 Māori (and by Hobson) received statutory acknowledgement. As part of its task of reporting on grievances brought by Māori against the Crown for actions, policies or practices found to be inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Tribunal was charged with the responsibility of reconciling any differences between the two ‘texts’ of the Treaty.¹⁰⁹⁵ This legislative wording had the unfortunate effect of characterising the Treaty and Te Tiriti as simply being English and Māori language “versions” of the same document. The statutory device of the ‘treaty principles’ was to provide the means of fudging any inconvenient differences between them.

The Treaty principles enjoyed considerable statutory popularity during the next 20 years or so, making an appearance in numerous pieces of legislation, ranging from the Environment Act 1986 to the State-Owned Enterprises Act of the same year, from the Education Act 1989 to Hazardous Substances and new Organisms Act 1996.¹⁰⁹⁶ Over time, as the Waitangi Tribunal and the courts interpreted and applied these statutory provisions, they developed a body of principles that have been widely promoted as embodying the spirit of the Treaty.

Particularly influential was a series of Court of Appeal judgments during the late 1980s and early 1990s that dealt with Māori challenges to the corporatisation and privatisation of what had formerly been Crown activities.¹⁰⁹⁷ Despite the glaringly obvious contradictions between Te Tiriti and the Treaty, these judicial weavers of myth did not for one moment allow the truth

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Wi Parata v Bishop of Wellington* (1877) 3 NZJur (NS) 72 (SC) 78.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, section 5.

¹⁰⁹⁶ In 2001 the Law Commission listed a total of fourteen statutes that employed the expression “principles of the Treaty of Waitangi”, in *Māori Custom and Values in New Zealand Law*. Study Paper 9, Wellington, 2001, p 83.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Eg *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 NZLR 641; *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1989] 2 NZLR 142; *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1994] 1 NZLR 513.

to cloud their judgment, choosing to gloss over the intractable differences between the ‘texts’ as mere variations on a single theme. As Cooke P maintained in 1987:¹⁰⁹⁸

“The difference between the texts and the shades of meaning do not matter for the purposes of this case. What matters is the spirit. . . . The Treaty has to be seen as an embryo rather than a fully developed and integrated set of ideas.”

Judicial interpretation of the principles was couched in the lofty rhetoric of “partnership”, whereby both the Crown and Māori were urged to act towards one another in the spirit of mutual respect, good faith and reasonable cooperation. However, the immutability of Crown sovereignty has remained at the core of the principles articulated by the courts: as Cook P declared, “[i]n brief the basic terms of the bargain were that the Queen was to govern and the Maoris were to be her subjects”.¹⁰⁹⁹ Nobody has summarised the effect of the courts’ interpretation of the Treaty principles more succinctly than Jane Kelsey:¹¹⁰⁰

“Via the concept of the principles the judgments had . . . gone full circle and returned to adopt the key elements of sovereignty in the English text at the expense of tino rangatiratanga in the Maori.”

The enthusiasm with which these principles have been espoused owes much to the notion of ‘the honour of the Crown’. The suggestion that the Crown has “honour”, upon which Māori can rely, might be imagined to render the starkness of Crown sovereignty more palatable. Ironically, however, what seems at first glance to provide a potential limitation on the exercise of Crown authority merely serves to increase the burden of expectation on Māori. For Māori to trust in the honour of the Crown requires a profound suspension of disbelief, the Treaty “principles” of mutual respect, good faith and reasonable cooperation apparently demanding that Māori simply overlook the Crown’s track record of irredeemable untrustworthiness.

The Treaty principles have ushered in an era of unprecedented mealy-mouthedness with respect to the Crown-Māori relationship. However, the cloying language of partnership cannot disguise the relentless determination of the Crown to control the narrative, ensuring that the legitimacy of its power remains unchallenged. It has been nothing if not vigilant in its crusade to neutralise any version of events that raises uncomfortable questions about the origins of its self-proclaimed authority.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 NZLR 641, 663.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 NZLR 641, 663.

¹¹⁰⁰ Kelsey, J *A Question of Honour: Labour and the Treaty 1984-1989*. Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1990, p 217.

And yet, as Taiaiake Alfred has argued:¹¹⁰¹

“ State sovereignty can only exist in the fabrication of a truth that excludes the Indigenous voice. . . From the Indigenous perspective, there was no conquest and there is no moral justification for state sovereignty—only the gradual triumph of germs and numbers.”

Within Ngāti Raukawa, the evidence is clear: there was no conquest, and sovereignty was never ceded. Those rangatira who never signed Te Tiriti simply retained their authority, unaffected by Williams’ 1840 visit to the Kapiti Coast. Those who did sign Te Tiriti reaffirmed their tino rangatiratanga but delegated kāwanatanga to the Crown, so that it would take responsibility for its own citizens in Ngāti Raukawa territory. There was nothing in Te Tiriti to suggest that they were giving up authority to make and enforce law over their own people.

Nor did Hobson’s 1840 proclamation of sovereignty over the North Island change this state of affairs in any way. It was based on a brazen lie and, in any case, it had no practical effect on Ngāti Raukawa. We can say this with certainty because Ngāti Raukawa’s land base and its authority remained intact for a quarter of a century after the proclamation; and this despite the fact that New Zealand Company settlers, converging to the north and south of Ngāti Raukawa territory, had coveted it from the moment they had arrived in Aotearoa.

It was 1866 before Featherston managed to rally a sufficient number of accomplices (bureaucratic, political and judicial) to help him force through the Rangitīkei-Manawatū purchase, setting in motion a devastating train of events that resulted in the vast bulk of Ngāti Raukawa lands being seized within a relatively brief time period. By this time, the unremitting assault on Ngāti Raukawa rangatiratanga by the Crown’s abuse of kāwanatanga was starting to have its intended effect. Iwi resolve had been seriously weakened, by disease and by forms of economic, social and political pressure hitherto unheard of. The iwi had begun to buckle under the sheer weight of the colonial state that was, by then, pressing in on all sides. It was neither cession nor conquest but rather, as Alfred has described it, a gradual triumph of germs and numbers that eventually enabled the Crown to impose its will on Ngāti Raukawa.

In Aotearoa, as in other settler colonies around the world, the exclusion of the Indigenous voice has enabled the myth of Crown sovereignty to expand aggressively, spilling beyond the fertile

¹¹⁰¹ Alfred, T “From Sovereignty to Freedom” in Greymorning, S *A Will to Survive: Indigenous Essays on the Politics of Culture, Language, and Identity* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004), p 121.

imaginings of the early colonists and asserting a normalcy that can only persist in the absence of a counter-narrative. This paper challenges the suppression of Ngāti Raukawa’s voice, reasserting the truth of what our tūpuna agreed to in 1840 and demanding that the balance between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga be restored. This is not simply about the return of land or the restoration of the environment—although it is very clear that those aspects must be part of any settlement. Te Tiriti o Waitangi requires a fundamental recalibration of the relationship between Ngāti Raukawa and the Crown. Crucial to this will be Crown acknowledgement of its obligation to employ kāwanatanga so as to support, and not to impede, Ngāti Raukawa in the exercise of its tino rangatiratanga.

6.0 CONCLUSION

In Aotearoa, as elsewhere, colonial conceit has extended to an assumption of the right to monopolise the way that people, places and events are depicted—to control the telling of the story. For Ngāti Raukawa, this has resulted in simplistic renditions of our pre-1840 history that fail to grasp the way that political realities were determined by the complexities of whakapapa or that characterise actions such as those of Te Whatanui protecting Muaupoko as benevolent gestures rather than as demonstrations of mana. It has led to Pākehā historians minimising the significance of key Ngāti Raukawa rangatira with offensively casual assertions about “most major chiefs” throughout the region having signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, implying that those who did not sign were unimportant. It has allowed over 150 years of land theft and environmental despoliation to go largely unnoticed or to be written off as the necessary price of growing “national” prosperity, glossing over uncomfortable truths about who has been forced to pay (and how much) so that others might reap the rewards. It has enabled the Crown to dominate the discourse on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the English-language Treaty of Waitangi: first dismissing both as irrelevant; then raising up the latter as evidence of Crown beneficence; then acknowledging the existence of Te Tiriti but seeking to neutralise its effect by promoting a set of Treaty Principles which, despite claiming to represent a compromise position between Te Tiriti and the Treaty, actually sacrifice the former to the latter.

This chapter has been written from an unapologetically Ngāti Raukawa standpoint. Woven around the theme of tino rangatiratanga, it begins with an assessment of Ngāti Raukawa’s political authority within the region between the Whangaehu River and the Kukutauaki stream

in the period leading up to 1840. It examines the history surrounding the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi within this region during May 1840, considering the document's meaning and effect at that time. It charts the process whereby the Crown breached the guarantees it had given in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, launching a sustained assault on the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Rauakawa which has continued to the present day. Finally, it asserts the irrelevance of the English-language Treaty of Waitangi and of the Treaty Principles to Ngāti Raukawa, arguing that Ngāti Raukawa's claims are based entirely upon the document that was signed by Ngāti Raukawa rangatira in 1840: Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The central premise of this chapter is that the relationship between the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa and the kāwanatanga of the Crown, as prescribed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, has been severely damaged by the Crown's persistent abuse of kāwanatanga. The consequences for Ngāti Raukawa have been devastating and cannot be ameliorated simply by the return of land or by reversing the effects of over a century of environmental damage. Over and above the various forms of redress that might be considered, the balance between kāwanatanga and tino rangatiratanga must be restored so that the relationship between Ngāti Raukawa and the Crown adequately expresses the original intent of the Ngāti Raukawa signatories to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

KIA RAUKAWA 3000

Professor Whatarangi Winiata & Daphne Luke

9 September 2018

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The customary oral and traditional history report reflects on the past and sometimes the present. However, this final chapter of the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga oral and traditional history report seeks to build on our experiences over the last 200 years and to take a glimpse of the future of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga; a future where our survival is assured.

The chapter is entitled *Kia Raukawa 3000* drawing on our 20th century iwi development programme *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* and projecting ahead 1000 years into the future to the year 3000. Ngāti Raukawa has a reliable collective memory of 27 generations to the present¹¹⁰², certainly to nine generations when Te Whatanui, Te Rauparaha, Te Ahukaramu and their people migrated and settled this region almost 200 years ago.

These rangatira and their whanaunga who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi could not have imagined that the handful of Pākehā in their midst in 1840 would grow to outnumber them five to one within a hundred years or that their tino rangatiratanga would be all but extinguished within fifty years of signing that document.

To now be thinking about survival one thousand years ahead is indeed a huge undertaking. The most important thing we can say about the past twenty generations is that we survived. If our behaviour of the past is a useful marker for our future, then our prospects for survival are encouraging.

2.0 THE RANGATIRATANGA OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE TONGA

The chapters by Dr Arini Loader and the hapū research teams describe the 1820s migration and settlement of the hapū and iwi of what would become Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Contained within those pages are examples of the iwi and hapū expressing their rangatiratanga over their lands, resources and people.

¹¹⁰² There are 27 generations from Hoturoa to my mokopuna tuarua.

“Ngāti Raukawa peoples were a strong, numerically and therefore territorially powerful body politic connected by whakapapa in the genealogical sense as well as by whakapapa of experience and shared intellectual heritage.”¹¹⁰³

Allocations of land and resources by Te Rauparaha, Waitohi and Te Whatanui are widely discussed; as are the lengths that the rangatira would go to, to defend their rights, their rangatiratanga over these taonga. Te Whatanui’s protection of Muaūpoko; Ngāti Kapu’s defense of their maara kai - credited at least in some part, to having sparked the Haowhenua conflict¹¹⁰⁴ and Kuititanga are all examples of rangatiratanga in action.

2.1 The duplicity of Kāwanatanga

The hapū narratives go on to describe the change in circumstance for Ngāti Raukawa over the more recent period, that is the last 180 years. They communicate the determination of the people to retain their distinctiveness and express their tino rangatiratanga over their taonga despite the sustained attempts of the Crown to assimilate them into a Pākehā culture and to sever their ties to their lands, to each other and to their knowledge base. Ngāti Kikopiri describes the alienation from the Waiwiri and Muhunua blocks in the early 1870s including the Waiwiri Stream where the interests of Ngāti Kikopiri have reduced to only 16ha today. Their northern neighbour, Ngāti Pareraukawa saw the loss of 32,000 acres as a result of Crown action. The Ngāti Pareraukawa narrative provides a damning account of how the mismanagement of the Crown through its local government agencies has all but destroyed the traditional fisheries and other food sources of Lake Horowhenua, Hokio Stream and associated waterways.

The chapter prepared for Te Reureu which includes the interests of four hapū including Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Pikiahu, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi, describes the decimation of their collective populations in the 1920s as a result of first the influenza pandemic immediately followed by an outbreak of tuberculosis. The record includes a considerable discussion on how there was a ‘dramatic loss of fluency in all generations of Māori’¹¹⁰⁵. There are numerous citations from oral interviews that illustrate the total destruction of our language and traditional learning systems. We also see how the establishment of the Rangitīkei Power Scheme by the Crown all but exterminated the wai mana of the iwi over this important waterway. The Ngāti

¹¹⁰³ Loader p. 84.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ngāti Kapu Oral History* p. 258.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Social and Cultural Development report, A Report Written for the Tuwharetoa Hapū Forum*, September 2013, Commissioned by the CFRT pp.18-19 in Te Reureu narrative p. 28.

Rangatahi chapter portrays the expulsion of Ngāti Rangatahi from Heretaunga (the Hutt Valley) and their relocation by the Crown to Te Reureu.

With the draining of Makerua swamp, Ngāti Whakitere at Shannon lost a valuable resource that previously had provided their own clothing, ropes as well as an emerging textile industry. The Manawatū River was an important waterway for the iwi and hapū along its banks. Ngāti Ngarongo used the river to transport its peoples and to freight goods for export. In 1855, the Crown took control of the transport route thus undermining the authority of local rangatira.

“Ngāti Te Au includes in their chapter a discussion on the impact of the influenza epidemic of the early 1900s citing the obituary of Pitihira Reihana Tawaroa who was credited with caring for, nursing, comforting and providing undertaking functions for 19 members of the community. Only 15 survived the scourge. The Crown’s determination to alienate Ngāti Te Au from their lands continued with the building of the first railway line in the 1870s.”

Ngāti Rakau Paewai describes the heart wrenching damage caused to the Manawatū River through ‘the total desecration of the river, old pā site, burial grounds, wāhi tapu and mahinga kai¹¹⁰⁶’ which have all but disappeared today. “The traditional food sources have been almost entirely depleted, stocks of plants that tended to the illnesses and provided the resources for the artwork that told the stories of the hapū are all gone.”

The non-selling stance of Ngāti Te Au, Ngāti Rakau Paewai, Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Parewahawaha in terms of the sale of the Rangitīkei-Manawatū block is clearly recorded in these chapters. Again, the duplicity of the Crown is evidenced in the takings and broken promises regarding the establishment of reserves. Ngāti Parewahawaha describes how their holdings have diminished to less than 20 acres today.

The contribution of the Rangitīkei River to the wellbeing of Ngāti Parewahawaha is described in the narrative of the hapū.

“With an abundance of wildlife, the River has provided an essential food supply such as tuna, fresh water koura and waterfowl as well as the source of clean water...The fertile river terraces also provided for excellent cultivations for the hapū and iwi who resided along its banks.”

¹¹⁰⁶ Ngati Paewai Rakau p548

In the chapter by the most recent of the Ngāti Raukawa hapū to emerge, namely, Ngāti Manomano the determination of the Kereama whānau to establish themselves as a hapū on whenua tuku iho is illustrated. As are the trials and tribulations that they endured over many years as they sought agreement from local authorities and communities to build the beautiful Taumata o Te Ra Marae in Halcombe which opened in February 1996.

These twenty chapters reflect the fundamental importance of mana a iwi and mana a hapū to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

2.2 Understanding Mana a iwi, mana a hapu

Iwi, of which there are approximately 121¹¹⁰⁷ spread across the islands comprising Aotearoa New Zealand, with populations ranging up to 125,601¹¹⁰⁸ are cooperatives that have the following characteristics.

Their members are related through a common ancestor; typically an iwi is known by the name of this ancestor

They occupy, and are identified with, a geographical territory

An iwi comprises a network of smaller groups, known as hapū and whānau, that share the same common ancestor

They are recognised as an iwi/hapū by neighbouring iwi/hapū¹¹⁰⁹

They seek to maintain and enhance the favourable view that other iwi (and their networks of hapū and whānau) have of them; this “favourable view” contributes to the mana-a-iwi of the iwi being spoken about.

All of our hapū narratives demonstrate these five characteristics, Ngāti Maiōtaki provides a very good example of this with extensive whakapapa charts, descriptions of their takiwā and food gathering sites, the whānau that make up the hapū and their relationships with neighbouring groups.

The final characteristic noted above is commonly held to acknowledge the ends to which a rōpū tuku iho will go to extend generosity. Such action is seen to be the principal way by

¹¹⁰⁷ Te Kāhui Māngai directory listing iwi identified in the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 and those iwi/hapū that have begun the process of negotiating settlement of their historical Treaty of Waitangi claims. (www.tkm.govt.nz) Retrieved 5 August 2018.

¹¹⁰⁸ 2013 Census QuickStats about Iwi population, specifically Ngāpuhi population figures. - Stats NZ (www.archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary.../population.aspx) Retrieved 5 August 2018.

¹¹⁰⁹ Runanga Iwi Act 1990.

which a rōpū tuku iho attracts and maintains the favourable view held by others, particularly other rōpū tuku iho¹¹¹⁰.

Mana-a-iwi is formed around the success with which an iwi is perceived to be managing its affairs and, as already noted, the observed willingness and ability of that iwi to express manaakitanga.

Kaupapa tuku iho are inherited values and, for Raukawa, the expression of these values is preferred over their non-expression. The same can be said in defining any value: we would rather have it than not have it. The expression of kaupapa tuku iho by an iwi is viewed favourably by other rōpū tuku iho. For the iwi expressing kaupapa, this activity is uplifting, enriching and a source of satisfaction. Concurrently, it is an assurance of survival of the iwi and of the natural world.

Mana-a-iwi, or more generally, mana-a-rōpū tuku iho is the principal currency of rōpū tuku iho and this includes, but is not limited to, financial transactions. In order to capture this thought, consider the following. In te ao Pākehā, monetary value is the form of currency used in the market. By contrast, in te ao Māori, we need to *include* many values in the assessment of mana-a-iwi or mana-a-rōpū tuku iho (i.e. the currency).

2.3 Addressing the cultural threshold

2.3.1 Managing iwi affairs

In earlier times, the maintenance and enhancement of mana-a-iwi was pursued subject to the imperative of survival. Alternatively, iwi would seek to maximise the prospects of survival subject to the maintenance of mana-a-iwi.

Survival of Māori as a people will be happening when an increasing number of people of Māori ancestry are living according to kaupapa tuku iho. The continuing search for and implementation of tikanga to give expression to these kaupapa is central to the survival of Māori as a people.

The concern for the survival of Māori as a people and the importance of mana-a-iwi has been a continuing and major issue for Raukawa.

¹¹¹⁰ Durie, M. *Launching Māori Futures*, Huia Publishers, Wellington. 2003, pp. 15-19.

The later stages of the 19th and the 20th centuries saw the determination of Ngāti Raukawa to survive with the establishment of a range of initiatives designed to address the cultural threshold. These are explored by Piripi Walker in some depth. The chapters that describe our spirituality and relationship with Christianity looks at Māori ancestral religion, our conversion to Christianity, resource management and education. The institutions established by Ngāti Raukawa to manage its own rangatiratanga include Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, the Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga Trust and the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club. Co-management of interests within the ART Confederation are expressed within the arrangements for the Raukawa Marae and its Trustees and of course, Te Wānanga o Raukawa. The Raukawa District Māori Council includes Muaūpoko and Rangitāne in the north. Attention is paid to Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, ‘the 25-year programme of cultural and political revival of the iwi in 1975 supported by the Raukawa Marae Trustees’¹¹¹¹.

2.3.2 Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000

The Confederation of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira (ART) was at a cultural threshold in 1975. The Confederation, under the influence of the Raukawa Marae Trustees, chose to go down a self-correcting trail in 1975 through the development experiment called Whakatupuranga Rua Mano.

Four principles shaped during the iwi experiment have survived the last forty years and remain constant in the minds of our people. There were signs in the 1970s that we were in decline, that our survival as an iwi was in doubt. The principles were developed to focus and guide our planning and activity around the critical areas that needed attention.

- The people are our wealth, develop and retain
- The marae is our principal home, maintain and respect
- The Māori language is a taonga, halt the decline and revive
- Self-determination.

These principles have become so fundamental to our thinking that we will continue to draw on them as indicators of our wellbeing into the future.

¹¹¹¹ Walker, P. p. 329.

2.4 Kaupapa tuku iho

Ten kaupapa, inherited values, are central to our behaviour. All are thoroughly familiar to Ngāti Raukawa and their neighbouring iwi. They are a small selection of the many kaupapa available to Māori.

Table 8: Kaupapa and translation options

<i>Kaupapa</i>	<i>Translation Option</i>	<i>Kaupapa</i>	<i>Translation Option</i>
<i>(Reo Māori)</i>	<i>(Reo Pākehā)</i>	<i>(Reo Māori)</i>	<i>(Reo Pākehā)</i>
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship	Whanaungatanga	Family
Rangatiratanga	Chieftainship	Ūkaipōtanga	Home
Manaakitanga	Generosity	Kotahitanga	Unity
Pūkengatanga	Knowledge	Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Whakapapa	Genealogy	Te reo	Language

For each kaupapa one of many possible translations is presented in the table above. Each kaupapa has, however, many different shades of meaning; a consequence is that each can be expressed in different ways. Each kaupapa has its own domain and with each domain comes its own perceptions of reality and complexities. Herein resides the strength of the kaupapa and tikanga framework.

There are many different perfectly correct ways to express each kaupapa. These are called tikanga. Identifying more and more tikanga to express a particular kaupapa is limited only by our imagination. For Raukawa, the framework¹¹¹² has the great advantage of leading its user to the expression of inherited values that continue to be treasured by Raukawa. They distinguish Māori as a people. This is attractive to Māori and to Raukawa and are crucial to our long-term survival.

2.5 Ecosystems and kotahitanga

The study of ecosystems is about the relationships between parties in a system that is part of the environment in which we live. In its totality, the environment includes Ranginui, Papatūānuku, the space between them and all that is in them, including *he tāngata, te mea nui*

¹¹¹² The combination of each kaupapa and the infinite number of tikanga available to express the kaupapa, is a tool to discover innovative value-based ways of addressing issues. This combination, referred to as the kaupapa and tikanga framework, and the search for the most effective combination can be assisted by iterative processes.

o te ao. The parent science of ecosystems is called *ecology* which the Collins Dictionary defines as ‘the study of the relationships between people, animals, plants and their environment’. For this narrative, focus is on a small sub-field of ecology and that is human ecology and within that the Māori people and within that Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

At the heart of studies into ecology is enquiry into the prospect of ecosystems being sustainable, that is that they will live on. A necessary condition for sustainability is that parties to the system act in ways that are positive; that their actions are helpful in the sense that they contribute to sustainability. This has to do with kotahitanga.

We would be assisted by drawing on the notion of kotahitanga and the power of this kaupapa that we inherited from our tūpuna. Kotahitanga is an essential element in the health of the Ngāti Raukawa ecosystem.

As Te Wānanga o Raukawa has advanced its work on the kaupapa-tikanga framework, it has come to think about kotahitanga as ‘developing and maintaining a unity of purpose and direction and avoiding approaches and decisions that lead to division and disharmony.’¹¹¹³

2.5.1 Te Kotahitanga o Ngāti Raukawa

The parties to the Ngāti Raukawa ecosystem/te kotahitanga include individual members and a variety of entities of which we have an interest.

2.5.2 Whānau members (population)

There are a number of issues when it comes to definitively accounting for the population of any iwi however, our best estimate is that at the beginning of 2018 there were 30,034 whānau members affiliated with Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

We arrive at this figure by bringing together the three following calculations:

2004 Te Ohu Kaimoana/Iwi calculation	19,698
14 years annual growth at 1.5%	4,929
18% of total Raukawa members living abroad ¹¹¹⁴	<u>5,406</u>
	30,034

¹¹¹³ *Te Pūrongo 2007*, Te Wānanga o Raukawa. 2008, p. 15.

¹¹¹⁴ Dr. Tahu Kukutai

Of the 30,034 members of the iwi, 40% identify Ngāti Raukawa as their sole iwi while 60% identified affiliation with one or more other iwi also. Ninety-two percent live in the North Island, with 31% living in the Manawatū-Whanganui region which includes the Horowhenua district. One in four, or 26% choose to live in the Wellington region which includes Kapiti. This tells us that 57% live within a 2 to 3-hour drive of their marae.

Almost a third are tamariki under the age of 15 years, rangatahi aged between 15-29 years make up 23% of the iwi population, 38.6% of whānau members are aged between 30-64 years. The proportion of the iwi aged over 65 years old is 6.2%. Like most other iwi, our iwi population is young.

Across the Country, almost 24% of Raukawa can hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori. However, Ōtaki is an anomaly, described by Mereana Selby¹¹¹⁵, as “a Māori language sanctuary”. The Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme and the activities of Te Wānanga o Raukawa both based in Ōtaki for over forty years have had an extraordinary effect on the township. Mereana commented:

“A national census was undertaken in 2013 which published statistics about Ngāti Raukawa in this region, and the language situation in the town of Ōtaki. It reported that 33.4% of the population is Māori and that 16.8% of Ōtaki residents can speak te reo. It is safe to assume that nearly all of those speakers are Māori people; that being the case, half the Māori in Ōtaki are now able to speak their language. This is extraordinary. It is more than twice the figure reported for the iwi as a whole (23.9%) or the national figure for Māori (21%)”¹¹¹⁶.

Three out of four adults over the age of 15 years hold a formal qualification with 15.5% holding a bachelor’s degree or higher. Of the population, 86.8% are employed, almost 10% receive income from investments and 12% are self-employed or in business. The most common occupational group for men is labourers followed by managers, while for women the most common occupational group is professionals followed by administrators. This appears to reflect the efforts of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano education mission. The Raukawa Marae trustees identified the need to develop the capacity of our people to effectively manage the affairs of our marae and other hapū/iwi institutions.

¹¹¹⁵ Tūmuaki of Te Wānanga o Raukawa

¹¹¹⁶ McBreen, K. & Mikaere, A. (Eds), *Whakatupu Mātauranga*, Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki. 2016, p. 9.

The median income for the iwi population is \$25,100. In terms of income, 45.3% of the iwi reported an annual personal income of \$20,000 or less, while 4.6% received over \$70,000. Just 35.5% of our people own or partly own the home they live in whilst 45% are living in rental accommodation. In terms of mobility and connectedness, 92% of the iwi have access to a motor vehicle, 75% had access to the internet at home and 89% have a cellular phone.

For te kotahitanga o Ngāti Raukawa to be collaborating effectively in the shaping and implementing of long term plans a high level of connection will be required. We know that we have the technology to do this and as each decade passes we have increasing means to do it.

With this connectivity will come

improved health

more educational opportunities in terms of programme diversity, convenience and efficiency

greater ease of communication in terms of speed, efficiency and diminishing cost

increased opportunities for employment and engagement

all contributing to a greater likelihood of survival as a people.

To complement the membership of Ngāti Raukawa to the kotahitanga we have a range of entities that have the interests of the iwi as part of their responsibilities:

The 25 hapū that look after Te Rūnanga o Raukawa appoint four members each to form the governing body of 100 persons for Te Rūnanga o Raukawa.

Legal entities located in the takiwā Mai i Waitapu ki Kukutauaki created by Ngāti Raukawa.

Land incorporations established by members of Ngāti Raukawa.

Kura and kōhanga reo established by members of Ngāti Raukawa and other Māori.

Organisations in which Ngāti Raukawa shares interests with Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira, within the ART Confederation.

The iwi also shares interests in some entities with tauiwi organisations, and

Finally, there are pan-tribal initiatives where Ngāti Raukawa has an interest in their activities.

The term “ecosystem” and the expression “kotahitanga” each imply that these parties, act toward each other and to Ngāti Raukawa in ways that are expressive of manaakitanga, namely,

that their behaviour is mana enhancing toward others. There is the expectation of reciprocity, an essential dimension of manaakitanga. For te kotahitanga o Ngāti Raukawa to be sustainable these behaviours are fundamental.

We see within the hapū narratives, examples where the hapū of Te Reureu and those of Ngāti Kauwhata express their kotahitanga to provide strong voices that advocate on behalf of their members with local and central government, neighbouring iwi of Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Tūwharetoa and with other hapū of Ngāti Raukawa. There is much to be learned from this behaviour and its potential contribution to the future.

Of all the goals embraced by Raukawa, our survival as a people is the most important. If it is not possible to achieve this goal, then no other pursuit is really of importance.

3.0 KIA RAUKAWA 3000 – LOOKING AHEAD

3.1 Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga

Our ideas of kotahitanga in one thousand years become even more complex when you consider what our projected population might be in the year 3000. We have used the 1.5% population growth figure¹¹¹⁷ over 982 years and produced some interesting estimates.

In a decade from now, our population will have increased to 35,338 and by the 200th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti, there would be 42,251 members of Ngāti Raukawa. After two generations, in 2068 we can expect our current population to have doubled to 64,105 and in 96 years, in 2114 Ngāti Raukawa as an iwi will have the same population as Ngāpuhi does today.

In 189 years, we will have passed the half million mark and by 2218 or after eight generations, we will have 598,130 kākano. Only 47 years later, our population passes one million people; this is the effect of compounding the population figures. The growth becomes much more noticeable as we begin to work with the larger numbers. Five hundred years later, in 2518 we will see 52,072,499 and when we reach midnight on 31 December 2999, our population will

¹¹¹⁷ Used by Statistics NZ in its population projections for Māori population growth.

be in the realms of 68.1 billion! We will return to this population discussion but for now, just imagine the possibilities for kotahitanga.

That kaupapa tuku iho will continue to have influence in the hearts and minds of Ngāti Raukawa is without doubt. We can detect their presence in our earliest recollections including the behaviour of Maui over a thousand years ago.

3.2 Resolving the natural tension between Tino Rangatiratanga and Kāwanatanga

There is a stand off between Raukawa and the Crown. This is a reflection of the natural tension between the two partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the absence of effective mechanisms to resolve differences between the two.

There is ample evidence in the preceding chapters of the poor behaviour of Kāwanatanga and its failures to uphold the rights of hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. The experiences of Ngāti Rakau Paewai, Ngāti Pareraukawa and other non-sellers who collectively lost hundreds of thousands of acres of land reflect the blatant disregard and dishonesty of the Crown and her agents.

As Ani Mikaere has said,

“When Ngāti Raukawa signatories to Te Tiriti o Waitangi granted kāwanatanga to the Crown, their authority was beyond dispute. They understood that they were putting their relationship with Pākehā on a more formal footing; but the onus was on the Crown to ensure that its exercise of kāwanatanga was at all times able to be reconciled with the reality of tino rangatiratanga.”

Ani goes on to add that

“It is important to note that the grant of kāwanatanga was entirely conditional upon the Crown’s affirmation and acknowledgement of Ngāti Raukawa’s tino rangatiratanga. The assignment to the Crown of responsibility for British subjects who ventured into Ngāti Raukawa territory in no way affected the political authority of the iwi to make and enforce law over its own people and within its rohe.”

This illustrates the Crown’s determination to pursue kāwanatanga as provided for in Article 1 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Māori partner, represented by Raukawa in this instance, is equally firm in their resolve to express their tino rangatiratanga as guaranteed in Article 2 of Te Tiriti.

For the Crown, kāwanatanga includes having the final word where there is a dispute with Ngāti Raukawa; however, for Raukawa, the maintenance of its tino rangatiratanga precludes the Crown from pursuing this pathway. The guarantee of tino rangatiratanga in Article 2 is absolute.

As a nation we have not yet found efficient and fair ways to resolve the natural tension that emerges from the pursuit of kāwanatanga and tino rangatiratanga embodied in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Māori partner has been greatly disadvantaged by this. The Crown has held the power of decision, increasingly since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. The Crown has controlled the military forces to impose the Crown's will; the Crown has dominated the legislative processes to produce decisions that are favourable to its thinking; the Crown has managed the financial resources with which to buy its support. For the Māori partner these forces have neutralised the effectiveness of Māori to achieve the promises of the "Covenant".

The relevance of Te Tiriti in the lives of our uri in a millenia will depend on how much attention is paid to the relationship between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga.

In another thousand years, we can envision that all of our relationships will be imbued with kaupapa to a level far beyond what we can imagine today. Perhaps the influence of Galileo's mathematically based epistemology will have given way to a more spiritual and values-based society. Expressions of kaupapa tuku iho will not be limited to Raukawa or even to Māori in that future world.

There are concepts and values that will be sourced in Māori and of course those concepts may be enriched by the interaction we have with other sources of ideas.

3.3 Principles of Partnership and Two Cultures Development

One of the institutions in this Country which has reflected on its own operations in the light of Te Tiriti of Waitangi is the Anglican Church. It studied Te Tiriti for principles of partnership and two cultures development and, having found these ideas embodied in that document, proceeded to revise its 1857 constitution accordingly. The revision was completed in 1992 and the favourable experience of Te Hahi Mihinare has prompted its members to promote it as an

answer to the calls for sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga by representatives of the Māori partner to Te Tiriti.

The “Raukawa-Mihinare” model adopted by Te Hahi involves a re-configuration of Parliament to include a legislature for each of the partners to Te Tiriti and a third house, known as the Treaty of Waitangi House. The principal job of the third House would be to test every piece of legislation emerging from the other two chambers against Te Tiriti o Waitangi. A distinctive feature of the Treaty House would be its voting procedures: a majority of each of the two partners groups comprising this House would be required in the making of decisions. Thus the more numerous could not dominate or outvote the less numerous. In the Raukawa Mihinare model this is described as voting by Tikanga; a majority of each of the two Tikanga, Tikanga Māori and Tikanga Pākehā, would be required. Neither partner can impose a wish or a practice on the other. Our experience within the Anglican Church is that this procedure has raised the quality of the partnership enormously.

We are all aware that significant reform at a national level, peaceful or otherwise, is likely to be a long and continuing process - full of tension and challenges for those who advocate it, for those who are called on to introduce the relevant policies (or legislation) and for those whose task it is to manage the implementation.

Our focus in this statement is on arrangements for the governance of the local and regional population and environment. The model that the Anglican Church adopted, has been explored a number of times by Ngāti Raukawa within a local government context. These discussions have produced varying results with various engagement models operating throughout the region. Despite this, Ngāti Raukawa has little or no influence on the management of waterways or other resources within its domain.

The natural tension that this note discusses could be addressed by constitutional change or statutory action. Alternatively, each Māori partner engaging in agreements with the Crown might press for understanding between the two partners along comparable lines.

3.4 Management of hapū and iwi resources

Over the years, Ngāti Raukawa has drawn on the experience of its hapū and iwi to explain how its wellbeing can be measured. The subject has been researched and refined; and academic

programmes developed on this basis. Annually, many students of Te Wānanga o Raukawa study, and write about hapū and iwi wellbeing. Many of the studies reflect the journey that the Iwi and the ART Confederation have taken over the last four decades and the associated discoveries.

When the Royal Commission on Social Policy of the 1980s reported to the Nation, it included a paper based on some of the experiences of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. In particular, the paper dwelt on a set of variables by which the health and wellbeing of hapū or iwi might be defined and measured.

The pataka of hapū and iwi include:

- Active membership
- Knowledge of whakapapa
- Spirituality
- Whanaungatanga
- Kawa and tikanga
- Reo
- Active kaumātua
- Health
- Education
- Repositories of written knowledge
- Marae and facilities
- Land
- Fisheries
- Financial investments
- Radio spectrum

Our relationships with these taonga will remain absolutely crucial to our survival, however the nature of our stewardship may be very different.

Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi acknowledged Māori tino rangatiratanga over all taonga tuku iho; amongst these are “rātou wenua o rātou kainga me o rātou taonga katoa”. The hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa have the responsibility to exercise tino rangatiratanga over these taonga

and over other treasures that are being added to the list with the passage of time. In recent years the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal have led to the pronouncement of intangible resources such as mātauranga Māori to join another intangible, te reo, declared to be a taonga in 1984.

Ngāti Raukawa are determined to express their tino rangatiratanga in respect to these items. A responsibility of the Crown is to actively protect taonga tuku iho of Ngāti Raukawa including our lands, waterways, fisheries, flora and fauna and our mātauranga. Raukawa are obliged to express their tino rangatiratanga in respect to these items and kaupapa tuku iho are part of the solution. In her report, Ani anticipates the iwi will negotiate a new relationship with the Crown that reflects true partnership.

Raukawa has refined its kaupapa-tikanga model for planning, measuring and reporting on Māori wellbeing¹¹¹⁸. Consider a Māori approach to planning and performance management where expressions of kaupapa tuku iho are measured to provide an indication of Raukawa wellbeing.

“Whereas Raukawa are determined to survive as a people;
Whereas survival as a people will be happening when communities of Raukawa find the expression of kaupapa tuku iho uplifting, rewarding and preferred;
Whereas it is possible to actively pursue the expression of kaupapa tuku iho through tikanga selected by the community; and
Whereas the pursuit of tikanga can be planned and measured;

Then,
the wellness of Raukawa communities can be measured by identifying the preferred tikanga of the community and measuring the levels at which these tikanga are displayed.”

In a series of wānanga held within the last five years, 143 iwi members came together to affirm the ten kaupapa tuku iho that we work with, to identify kaupapa based hiahia and to shape a range of tikanga to progress our aspirations for the future¹¹¹⁹.

¹¹¹⁸ Te Wānanga o Raukawa has been working with this framework formally for the last ten years, informally for the last 20 years.

¹¹¹⁹ Wānanga participants shaped 43 tikanga to advance their wellbeing; 19 of which are actively being pursued by parties to Te Kotahitanga o Ngāti Raukawa.

4.0 BACK TO THE FUTURE

Many times in the past, audiences have pondered the question “who expects that in 500 or 1000 years, their people will be identifiable on the global mosaic”. Māori in the audience rarely hesitate to raise their hands in response to this query. Ngāti Raukawa is no different.

“E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea” is a forever statement adopted by Ngāti Raukawa. It speaks to our survival as a unique and distinctive group amongst others in the global community. Kia Raukawa 3000 extends the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano Generation-2000 programme to the year 3000; that is another 982 years from the publication date of this report.

Kia Raukawa is a statement that encourages our people to behave in ways that accentuate and perpetuate what it is to “Be Raukawa”. Drawing on the language every day, in every way and so doing, focusing and applying a Raukawa lens to our world.

Raukawa is shaping a plan that will ensure our survival for the next 50 generations. The development of a thousand-year plan is an undertaking that will require us to draw on our experiences over the last 175 years and beyond. Important to the task will be the retention of kaupapa tuku iho, mātauranga Māori, te reo Māori, our learnings from Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 and our ecosystem/te kotahitanga activities. Our creativity and imagination will be tested.

4.1 Whakatupuranga Rua Mano Revisited

To guide our thinking, we have retained the four principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 that remain constant in the minds and hearts of our people today.

The people are our wealth, develop and retain;

The marae is our principal home, maintain and respect;

The Māori language is a taonga, halt the decline and revive;

Self determination

The following seeks to map out a set of aspirations for the iwi which have been influenced by the ten kaupapa tuku iho and which provide focus and encourage attention to the four Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (WRM) principles over the next millenia.

The following fifteen whaingā have been influenced by Ngāti Raukawa ecosystem wānanga within the iwi, the Rūnanga constitution and a multitude of additional discussions over the last ten years including those that are related to our Treaty claims against the Crown.

4.1.1 WRM 1: The people are our wealth, develop and retain

Whakapapa is the pathway that connects us to each other and to our important places. It would be no exaggeration to say, it defines us as a people. There are seven original owners of Ngātokowaru who have living issue. Each hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga has its own list of tūpuna credited with the establishment of their tūrangawaewae in one way or another.

A task for today's generation is to uplift those tūpuna in the hearts and minds of future generations. In terms of how we support those future kākano, we need to record the experiences and interactions of those tūpuna in compositions, both written and oral but especially written. It is doubtful that the Christian religions would have survived 2000 years without the bible; the Quran has served Islam in a similar manner.

We will know that the people are our wealth when:

- a) Our people know or have access to information on their origins and whakapapa and are contributors in one way or another to the wellbeing of their whānau, hapū, iwi and marae
- b) Our people have productive relationships with karangarangatanga and other citizens of Aotearoa
- c) Our people strengthen their taha tinana, taha hinengaro, taha wairua and taha whānau to develop their full potential
- d) Our children are embraced by and raised under the influence of their whānau, hapū and iwi

4.1.2 WRM 2 : The marae is our principal home, maintain and respect

We have no way of knowing whether in fifty generations, our uri will have been able to retain any mana whenua. The current thinking is that the Earth can sustain a population of between 6 – 16 billion depending on our diet and the quality of our kaitiakitanga.

With this in mind there is the very real possibility that the population of Earth could be inhabiting other planets and travelling the universe. If that is the case, we will need to shape new ideas of ahikaatanga; our turangawaewae and marae will need to be transportable and accessible over space and time.

Just as hundreds of thousands of today's muslims participate in the Hajj and converge on Mecca for one day of the year, it is feasible that the Raukawa diaspora, will include in their life's goals, a visit to their principal home, their marae.

Although some of the seeds may scatter afar, we can anticipate that the lights of the home fires will continue to burn warmly, lighting the way home for wayfarers. Signs of their attention will be evident:

- a) Our whānau contribute to the mauri of their various Marae and their offerings are prized by the ahikaa
- b) The high standard of our Marae facilities uplift our mana a hapū and mana a iwi in the eyes of whānau, hapū, iwi members and manuhiri
- c) The bountiful talents, energy and mātauranga of our people support whānau, hapū, iwi and other events facilitated at our marae
- d) Marae inspire and accomplish breath-taking initiatives and ideas of community, iwi and national significance

4.1.3 WRM 3: The Māori language is a taonga, halt the decline and revive

Developing and sustaining a meaningful standard of te reo Raukawa amongst the Raukawa diaspora distributed across the galaxy would be exceptionally challenging. However, amongst the tangata whenua who remain in the takiwā the reverse will be true. We can anticipate that as the resources of the planet deplete and the residents of the takiwā pursue alternative living arrangements, the tangata whenua will remain. Indeed, numbers of those living away will return home thus bolstering our resident numbers and consequently our strength and influence.

Picture a time when every marae in the takiwā, and there may be many, many more of them than today, has scores of kaikaranga, scores of whaikōrero, scores of kaiwaiata and scores of ringawera skilled and actively participating in the affairs of the hapū and iwi. The uniqueness and richness of te reo Raukawa needs to be recorded in its many forms to ensure its survival and translation by the voices of the future.

To facilitate this, the following whaingā will need to be part of our consciousness.

- a) Every one of our mokopuna will have automatic right of entry to the highest quality of Māori early-childhood, primary and secondary education and will achieve results amongst the most elite of the nation's performers.
- b) Reo programmes provide a gateway to the wonder of Raukawa knowledge, experience and inspiration for new learners and opportunities for the enrichment of that mātauranga Māori by experienced users of te reo.
- c) Reo rangatira in its glorious multiplicity is composed, spoken, sung, recited and otherwise performed in our homes, on marae and in our communities.

4.1.4 WRM 4: Self-determination

As Ngāti Raukawa prepares itself for the upcoming discussions with the Crown over their grievances related to Te Tiriti. The partners will include on their agenda, the shaping of arrangements going forward that maximise the opportunities for the expression of tino rangatiratanga by Ngāti Raukawa.

It would be wholly inappropriate for Kāwanatanga to apologise for past misdeeds as part of its settlement process and then to continue to defend the unjust constitutional structures that provided the means to default on its promises to its Tiriti partner in the first case. If these structures were to stay in place, it is predictable that the agents of Kāwanatanga will inevitably find themselves drawn to repeating their failures of the past and worse, finding ways to justify that behaviour.

The reality is that the growth of population and influence by Pākehā and other immigrants to our shores has come at cost of the survival of Māori and more locally, of Ngāti Raukawa. The full expressions of ūkaipōtanga, rangatiratanga, whakapapa and other kaupapa by Raukawa have similarly been eroded by the policies, practices and behaviours of other populations of people who have settled and exerted their influence amongst us.

Putting aside concerns and complexities of resource management on a global scale for just a moment. We can contemplate that in future the policy decisions of 2010 supporting the Whānau Ora phenomena; will have been extended across the full extent of services to regional populations.

In the not so distant future, we predict Ngāti Raukawa will exercise its mana whenua to its maximum effect. It's expressions of manaakitanga will see the Iwi exercise full responsibility for the provision of health, social service, education, infrastructure management, the environment, community and economic activity for all citizens within the rohe mai i Waitapu ki Kukutauaki. This is tino rangatiratanga as expressed in article 2. The sole responsibility of Kāwanatanga will be to generate and facilitate the resourcing of these activities. Their presence in the form of local and regional territorial authorities will no longer be appropriate.

Upcoming discussions with the Crown should begin to lay the foundations for this arrangement. The expansion of our rangatiratanga over health and social services is an urgent requirement. Arrangements for Ngāti Raukawa managed and directed educational programmes in the rohe should be a priority. The results will be amongst other initiatives, kohanga and kura kaupapa established that provide for the educational requirements of our people as they prepare to participate in and influence global affairs.

Signs that we are on track will be that:

- a) Our environments including waterways, flora, fauna and other forms of life are flourishing under the tender care and kaitiakitanga of whānau, hapū and iwi as they exercise their rangatiratanga over taonga tuku iho.
- b) Whānau are knowledgeable, self sufficient, resilient and able to maximise their opportunities to lead rich and profound lives contributing to the wellbeing of their hapū/iwi and wider communities.
- c) The mātauranga and rangatiratanga of our tūpuna and our living taonga that is our kaumātua, are revered whilst their guidance in our learning and living is embraced enthusiastically.
- d) The principles of two partners development and Te Tiriti o Waitangi imbue hapū and iwi arrangements with the agencies of kāwanatanga producing relationships that elevate the tino rangatiratanga of our people in our communities and on the world stage.

The inclusion of these 15 whāinga in our planning and activities of the Iwi ecosystem in coming centuries will ensure that Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga survives as an iwi, distinct from all others in the nation, around the world and across the milky way.

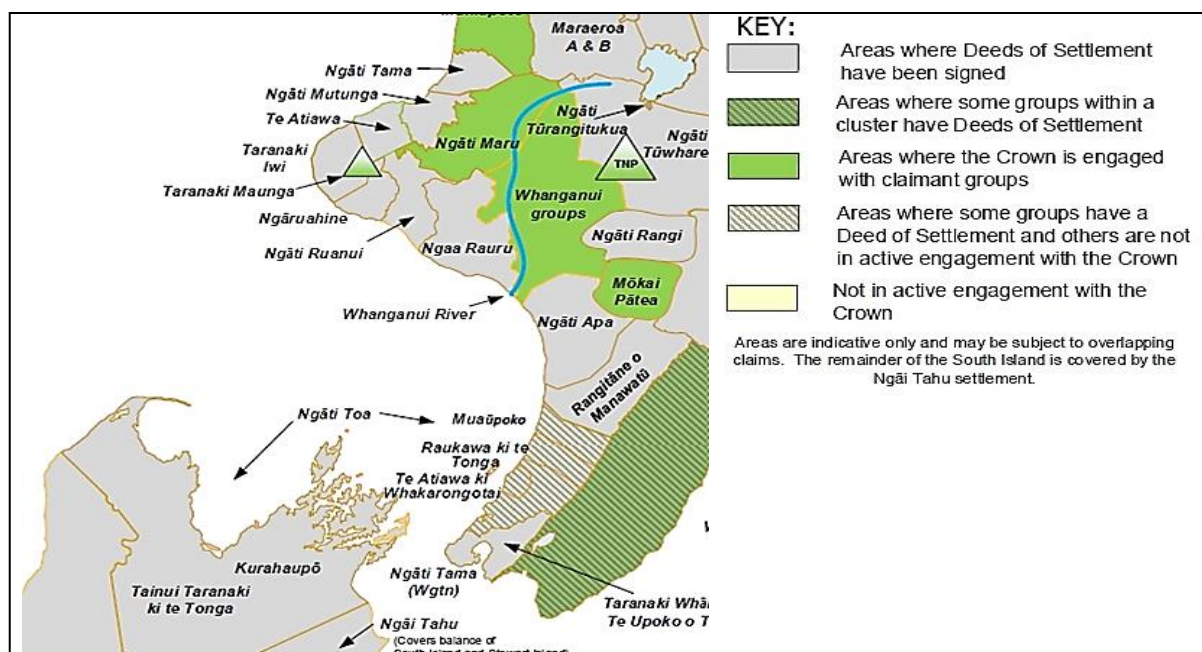
There is a role for Kāwanatanga in assisting Ngāti Raukawa to achieve the vision that is laid out in this collection of whaingā. It is to address the issue of unjust structures that prohibit our full expression of tino rangatiratanga and to ensure that adequate resources are made available for our purposes.

5.0 RIGHTING THE WRONGS

Our Treaty settlements will go some way towards helping to right many of the wrongs of the past. A recent release¹¹²⁰ by the Office of Treaty Settlements identifies how little land is available for return to the Iwi. That being the case, the shortfall will need to be met through the financial component of the settlement.

The Ngāti Raukawa journey to identify and address its rights under the Treaty has been decades in the making. Our neighbours and whanaunga Kahungunu, Rangitāne and Ngāti Toa all settled their issues with the Crown and both Te Ātiawa and Muaūpoko are currently pursuing their discussions. Their discussions include lands that our hapū narratives have identified their own interests in.

Map 28: Treaty Claims progress report map, 2017-2018 OTS



¹¹²⁰ Private communication from Forde, X. Office of Treaty Settlements. Subject Treaty Claims progress report map 2017-18 OTS dated 10 August 2018.

Whatever the final arrangements for Ngāti Raukawa redress will be, they must not be at the expense of our whanaungatanga and neighbours Muaūpoko, Rangitāne, Ngāti Toa or Te Ātiawa.

Similarly, as Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga makes its presentations to the Tribunal, our kotahitanga amongst our own hapū and iwi needs to hold firm. Our attention must be on the main protagonist in this piece, that is, the Crown.

The potential for strengthening the kotahitanga of our hapū is illustrated in the hapū narratives. In particular, the many cases where land was taken unjustly can be used to inform our negotiations.

Take the case of Ngāti Pareraukawa who as demonstrated in their narrative, had 32,000 acres of the Horowhenua Block¹¹²¹ stripped from them by the Crown. Currently, there is 14 acres of unimproved land for sale at Koputaroa priced at \$32,307¹¹²² per acre. If we were to apply this per acre price across the 32,000 acres, the value is \$1.03 billion at today's market rates. The Crown's wholly inappropriate practice of awarding 3-5% in redress would see Ngāti Pareraukawa receive between \$31M and \$51M for the lands taken.

Ngāti Te Au describes how in 1866, 22,000 acres of their land was sold from under them by the Government. Using the same calculation, today's value of that land would be \$710,754,000 attracting redress of between \$21.3M at 3% and \$35.5M at 5% for the hapū.

Te Reureu records that Henare Te Herekau said

“Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae occupied their lands at Te Reureu under the mana of the chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa, and that their lands totalled 20,000 acres of undisturbed occupation until Dr. Featherston purchased the Rangīkei leaving them with only 3,000 acres.”

At the time of writing, there are thirteen acres of unimproved land for sale at Halcombe priced at \$22,500 to \$27,500 per acre. The 17,000 acres taken as identified by Te Herekau would be worth \$382M contributing to the Te Reureu redress a sum of between \$11.5M at 3% - \$19.1M at 5%.

¹¹²¹ Having already transferred 20,000 acres to Muaūpoko.

¹¹²² <https://www.trademe.co.nz/property/residential-property-for-sale/auction-1287476480.htm?rsqid=d2913ed3d9f44952890104e20ab16e22>

To the south, the almost 100-acre Taumanuka 2B9B block was acquired by the Crown in the early 1930s from the Ikaroa District Māori Land Board. The Board had been established to hold lands taken for non-payment of rates. The block encompasses today’s Ōtaki Health Camp, the Pine Forest and prime beach front blocks.

At Te Horo beach an unimproved 1.8 acre block is currently for sale at \$350,000 or \$194,000 an acre. If this value translates to the Ōtaki Beach lands, the various hapū with interests could press a claim for the taking of their interests in this block alone, which would return a 3% settlement of \$19.4M.

These are only four examples of this rather simple calculation. The calculation estimates a figure of \$100M in redress for only four hapū and only for breaches of the Treaty related to land alienation. A similar reckoning of the acreage and value of land takings for each of the hapū and iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga would contribute to assessing an appropriate and just financial settlement across the iwi.

Additional attention would need to be paid to other issues of the destruction of our waterways, decimation of our flora, fauna and fisheries, the near demise of our mātauranga Māori and te reo rangatira, the health and wellbeing of our people.

In terms of taking some initial steps toward turning around this situation, to restoring what we have lost in language, health, education etc, let us consider some ideas. In the takiwā we have identified 14 distinct communities where our people are located. For the purposes of this exercise, and to satisfy the need for scale, we have clustered these into eight rohe:

Table 9: Eight rohe

Rohe	Total Population	Māori Population
Te Horo/Ōtaki	7,488	1,123
Manakau/Kuku	3,141	471
Levin/Ohau	21,706	3,256
Shannon/Foxton	3,236	485
Feilding/Halcombe	16,100	2,180
Palmerston North/Rongotea (2)	87,894	13,184
Bulls/Sanson	<u>2,247</u>	<u>337</u>
	141,812	21,037

In the following discussion, we explore ideas to restore the Raukawa populations within these eight papakainga to the position they enjoyed 180 years ago in terms of wellbeing expressed through language capacity, health and wellbeing, mātauranga Māori.

5.1 Mana-hauora

We are all aware of the poor health and social outcomes for Māori including Raukawa. Mid-Central Health, the Crown agency with responsibility for the healthcare of the majority of the Raukawa takiwā¹¹²³ published a Māori Health Profile¹¹²⁴ in October 2015. That document identified that there were 32,100 Māori living in the region; 19% of the region's population and goes on to detail health and mortality data for Māori residents of all ages compared with non-Māori. The findings of the report included:

Smoking rates, though decreasing, are still twice as high for Māori as for non-Māori (33% compared to 16%).

Māori are a third more likely than non-Māori to be hospitalised for circulatory system diseases (including heart disease and stroke)

Heart failure admission rates were 2.5 times as high for Māori as for non-Māori

Stroke admission rates were 48% higher for Māori than for non-Māori, and heart valve replacements were twice as high

Māori under 75 years were 2.5 times as likely as non-Māori to die from circulatory system diseases

The cancer incidence rate for Māori is 24% higher for wāhine Māori than for non-Māori females while cancer mortality was 54% higher.

Māori aged 45 years and over were 2.5 times as likely as non-Māori to be admitted to hospital for pulmonary disease

Asthma hospitalisations were 60% higher for Māori than for non-Māori aged 15-34 years and 41% higher in the 35-64 year age group.

Māori under 75 years of age had 3.2 times the non-Māori rate of death from respiratory disease.

Māori were 49% more likely than non-Māori to be admitted to hospital for a mental health disorder

The life expectancy at birth for Māori in the Manawatū-Whanganui region was 76.4 years for females (7 years lower than for non-Māori females) and 72.3 years for males (7.2 years lower than for non-Māori).

¹¹²³ Except Bulls and parts of Rangitikei.

¹¹²⁴ MidCentral District Health Board Māori Health Profile 2015, Published by Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, University of Otago Wellington, Wellington, October 2015.

Leading causes of death for Māori were accidents, lung cancer, stroke, heart disease and suicide.

This information will be unsurprising for most. But what is completely unacceptable is the fact that DHB admits:

More than 1,500 Māori hospital admissions per year were potentially avoidable

500 hospitalisations per year of Māori children were potentially avoidable through population-based health promotion and intersector actions

Nearly 360 hospitalisations per year of Māori children were potentially avoidable through preventive or treatment intervention in primary care.

These figures relate the utter failure on the part of the Crown to ensure that adequate socioeconomic resources are available to Māori families with children. Similarly, central and local government housing policies are woefully inadequate. This also indicates failures to provide Māori with access to timely, appropriate affordable primary healthcare and to implement population based health promotion strategies aimed at improving Māori child health.

These figures indicate the catastrophic failure of Kāwanatanga to fulfil its responsibilities under Article 2 of Te Tiriti to Raukawa and other Māori in the region. The patience of Tino Rangatiratanga has come to an end. We are reminded of the words of Rangitihi Tahuparae¹¹²⁵.

“Mai i te urunga o ngai tāua te iwi Māori ki roto i ngā kāwai mātauranga o tauwiwi, honotia te peka Māori ki te rākau rāwaho, he rerekē tōna hua me te rongō o tōna kiko, he kawa. Kāti, tēnei te whakahoki ki ngā paiaka ā kui mā, ā koro mā.

Let us return to our origins. Since the time we as Māori were immersed in the knowledge streams of Pākehā we have become like a branch, grafted to a foreign tree, producing fruit of a different quality and somewhat unpalatable. It is time we returned to the rootstock of our ancestors.”

Raukawa has been offering health and social services to our people through Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and a number of other Māori and iwi providers in the region since the early 1980s. In these pursuits our providers have drawn on Māori models to produce improved outcomes for our people.

¹¹²⁵ As relayed to Raukawa Whānau Ora by his cousin, Dame Tariana Turia, 15 October 2012.

Within the last five years, the iwi has invested heavily in the development of Whānau Ora services. The Rūnanga established Raukawa Whānau Ora and eight providers in the north formed Te Tihi o Ruahine Whānau Ora Alliance.

At Foxton, the Rūnanga partnered with the Central Primary Health Organisation to establish an iwi health centre named Te Waiora Community Health Services that provides General Practitioner and related health services for Foxton and Shannon. The centre was established in 2014 and is described as a hub for holistic health and social services. The cost of establishing Te Waiora was approximately \$2M for land, buildings, plant and equipment.

The rot in the wood that these providers all have to deal with is the shaping of central and local government policies that fail to ensure the principles of Te Tiriti are taken into account when making resource allocation decisions affecting families. This fundamental issue must be addressed as part of our upcoming discussions with the Crown.

In order to restore Raukawa health and wellbeing conditions, we propose establishing eight iwi health centres similar to Te Waiora but with the addition of Whānau Ora services. It is crucial that these centres be resourced sufficiently to attract the best doctors and health practitioners in the country. Our people deserve no less.

5.2 Mana-mātauranga

In the 2015 national results for the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA), the percentage of Māori school leavers with a Level 2 qualification was 62.2% compared to Pākehā school leavers or 90.6% for Asian school leavers. The gap between Māori and Asian school leaver NCEA Level 2 achievement of 28.4% is unforgiveable.

In October 2016, the Auditor-General published the last in a series of five reports on Education for Māori. In that report¹¹²⁶, the Auditor-General, Lyn Provost, agreed that “...progress on Māori education is still too slow. The disparity between Māori and non-Māori is too great and too many Māori students are still leaving our school system with few qualifications.”¹¹²⁷

¹¹²⁶ Office of Controller and Auditor-General. *Summary of our Education for Māori reports*. Presented to the House of Representatives under Section 20 of the Public Audit Act 2001. October 2016

¹¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 11.

The Summary also reported that in 2015, the Crown spent \$5 billion on property, operations and teaching in primary and secondary schools nationwide. This equates to \$7,046 per student and about \$1.2 billion for all Māori students.¹¹²⁸

In 2017, the Ministry of Education reported¹¹²⁹ a total 800,334 primary students enrolled in New Zealand schools. Nationally, there are 192,430 Māori students enrolled with 9.6% enrolled in Māori Medium Education (MME). In the Manawatū-Whanganui region, there are 40,305 primary students enrolled with 13,691 (33.5%) Māori students.

The Ministry provides a Manawatū-Wanganui Region Education profile 2015-2016 which amongst other things reports on Early Childhood Education (0-6 years) participation, Primary (5-13 years) achievements against National Standards, Secondary (13-18 years) NCEA achievement and Secondary/tertiary achievement of NCEA Level 2.

The following table brings data on Māori, Pākehā and Asian students together. We have included the figures for Asian students because their achievement levels are the highest of all ethnic groups. And Raukawa want their achievement rates to be on par, at least, with the best in the Country, if not the world.

Table 10: Māori Educational Achievement

	Māori	Pākehā	Asian
Early Childhood Education (target 98%)	96%	98%	97%
Primary students at or above National Standards (Target 85%)			
Reading	70%	82%	76%
Writing	63%	75%	75%
Mathematics	66%	78%	82%
NCEA qualifications for school leavers			
School leavers with NCEA without Level 1	17%	9%	7%
School leavers with NCEA Level 1	13%	10%	9%
School leavers with NCEA Level 2	38%	29%	17%
School leavers with NCEA Level 3	31%	52%	68%
18-year-olds with NCEA Level 2 or equivalent	77%	88%	91%

¹¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 6.

¹¹²⁹ Indicators & Reporting Team, Ministry of Education. *Roll by Education Region & Ethnic Group – 1 July 2017*. <https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/schooling/student-numbers/6028>. Accessed 8 Sep 2018.

The Government's target for early childhood education participation is 98%. Participation in early childhood education is seen to be helpful in terms of the preparedness of our tamariki to engage in primary school education. Māori are on par with Asian families while the only ethnic group achieving the target participation rate, is Pākehā/Europeans.

Māori primary students meeting National Standards are 12% to 17% below that of their school mates. There is something fundamentally awry with an education system that produces such abysmal results for over a third¹¹³⁰ of its students.

At secondary level, the problem continues with the percentage of Māori school leavers without NCEA Level 1 10% higher than the number of Asian school leavers. Similarly, the number of Māori school leavers with NCEA 3 and above is less than half that of their Asian counterparts.

The variations between the academic success of Māori students compared with their fellow students reflects the failure of Kāwanatanga to serve the educational needs and aspirations of Māori. Again, an epic fail on the part of the Crown and its agencies to fulfil their responsibilities under Article 2.

These results have not changed over the years and they explain why whānau felt the need to wrest the schooling of their tamariki back into the hands of whānau and hapū. The emergence of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa and kura a iwi is the outcome. Within the Raukawa takiwā over a dozen kōhanga reo and a slightly lower number of kura operating; such expressions of rangatiratanga by Raukawa and their whanaunga.

Whether kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa or kura a iwi, the underpinning philosophy, school systems, language and ways of doing and being stem from āronga Māori. They were born of a desire to retain, rejuvenate and develop te reo and mātauranga Māori and recognise the need to prepare students as 21st century learners and contributors to Te Ao Māori and to the Nation.

In his seminal offering, "What's Māori about Māori education?"¹¹³¹, Raukawa academic, Dr. Wally Penetito makes the statement that:

"It is relatively easy for a Māori to fit into the Pākehā world, if that is her choice, because most things in society are positioned to assist that transition. That is what the

¹¹³⁰ Māori make up 33.5% of the primary school roll in Whanganui-Manawatū.

¹¹³¹ Penetito, W. *What's Māori About Māori Education?* Victoria University Press, Victoria University of Wellington. First published 2010, reprinted 2011.

assimilationist policies in New Zealand are all about: how to hasten the demise of Māori by getting them to forget being Māori and to take on the values, attitudes and practices of Pākehā. The prevailing belief among Pākehā is that deep down Māori really want to be like Pākehā.”

Over the last forty years, the ART Confederation has consistently demonstrated that this is not the case. Raukawa do not want to be Pākehā, Raukawa want to be Raukawa. No where in the takiwā is this more evident than in Ōtaki. Ōtaki provides examples of how the establishment of a kohanga reo will drive demand for a kura, which in turn fosters the need for wharekura. It then follows that tertiary studies in a Māori context are attractive. Our Whakatupuranga Rua Mano experience taught us that the future of the language resides with our tamariki. To continue the work of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, we will plan for increased presence of kohanga and kura in each of these eight communities. In 2015, whānau of Ngāti Kauwhata established Te Kura a Kauwhata as a site of Te Kura a Iwi o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. The kura has 44 students and seven staff including three relievers. The kura is located at Cheltenham in Feilding.

5.3 Mana-Taiao

In terms of te taiao, the Environmental and Natural Resource Issues Report¹¹³² provides an overview of the environmental changes that took place in the region between 1840 and 2017. The focus is on the impact of changes in the environment on iwi, hapū and whānau, and the Crown’s role in facilitating changes or mitigating the effects of environmental damage.

Previously whānau and hapū accessed a rich range of resources. Forests and bushlands provided ample food supplies for bird life including huia, tui and kereru which tūpuna hunted according to tikanga Māori. Materials for tools, textiles, waka and whare were also sourced from timberlands. There was a diversity of fish and tuna was a staple and a taonga. Local harbours and tributaries provided shallow water fish and shellfish to sustain whānau and hapū.

Kāwanatanga promoted and sponsored the expansion of settler agriculture and was responsible for deforestation and draining of wetlands. The Crown prioritised policies that were in direct contradiction to critical environmental protections. It failed to control the damage and pollution as it developed the transport infrastructure for towns and cities.

¹¹³² Wood, V. Cant, G. Barrett-Whitehead, E. Roche, M. Hearn, T. Derby M. Hodgkinson, B. & Pryce, G. *Environmental and Natural Resource Issues Report* commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI2200 Porirua ki Manawatū Inquiry. September 2017.

The lack of effective environmental controls meant Ngāti Raukawa suffered from the loss of subsistence foods and the loss of taonga foods. Their ability to exercise kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga was diminished, and the exercise of tino rangatiratanga was put at risk.

“The Inland Waterways Historical Report identifies 150 inland waterways of significance and their cultural values. The report is yet another demonstration that, the Crown has failed to uphold their guarantee of maintaining the rangatiratanga of hapū and iwi in the district over their inland waterways. Instead, the Crown legislated for the near wholesale transfer of hapū and iwi lands and associated waterways into private hands to support the development of pasture lands for farming and to support ongoing settlement. This has left many hapū and iwi with limited or no access to their taonga waterways, and with limited ability to learn and pass on important tikanga and mātauranga associated with these waterways.”¹¹³³

Large scale deforestation and drainage of wetlands to create pasture lands served to exacerbate flooding, extract gravel, reduce food and other resources and deny hapū and iwi their kaitiakitanga. Hapū and iwi have been denied any financial benefit from the extraction of millions of cubic metres of gravel from the region’s waterways.

The adoption of many pieces of legislation to regulate water take and the release of waste to waterways over the last 150 years has paid little regard for the environment and water quality. Instead, Crown-authored management and regulatory regimes have consistently usurped environmental interests for the economic interests of the farming and horticultural sectors.

The Crown has completely failed to protect inland waterways resulting in major impacts on their life supporting capacity and their use by whānau and hapū as a key source of food, fibre and medicine; as the basis of their economy and as sites for spiritual cleansing and rejuvenation.

The hapū narratives consistently describe the diminution of fish stocks and other food sources within the last two or three generations. Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Pareraukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata all portray a time when their hapū and iwi members were sustained by their tuna and other fisheries. The Inland Waterways report suggests that the loss of habitats for fish can also allow for the assessment of the fisheries and biomass lost. This assessment revealed that somewhere between 9,800 and 180,000 tonnes of tuna have been lost.

¹¹³³ Te Rangitāwhia Whakatupu Mātauranga Ltd, *Porirua ki Manawatū Inland Waterways Historical Report* commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust for WAI2200 Inquiry. August 2017. p. 530.

The value of this loss is between \$72M and \$1.3B at today's rates¹¹³⁴. The restoration and ongoing management of these waterways and their associated flora, fauna and fisheries must be within the domain of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Clearly the Crown gave little or no recognition to the cultural significance of environmental resources to Ngāti Raukawa and denied hapū and iwi the opportunity to exercise their rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga in respect of these taonga.

Throughout the region, Raukawa and other iwi groups have established arrangements with their local and regional Councils to influence management policies and practices in regards to managing our waterways. Despite the energy, expertise and experience that our people contribute to those processes, these Crown bodies continue to prioritise the needs of industry and their constituencies over the entitlements of Ngāti Raukawa.

In 2013, a group representing Ngāti Pareraukawa and elements of Muaūpoko shaped a plan named He Ritenga Whakatikatika¹¹³⁵ for the restoration of Lake Horowhenua and the Hokio Stream. The joint initiative described 31 remedial activities to be undertaken to reverse the ravages of Council mismanagement over the decades. A conservative budget of just under \$3M was suggested for the implementation of the plan. He Ritenga Whakatikatika described interventions that would remove the pollution, restore water quality and the lake environment. What it did not address, or formulate budgets for, was changing the current arrangements for wastewater management and industry. There are likely as many plans with accompanying budgets for the restoration of waterways and their environs as there are waterways. But for the purposes of this exercise, a budget of \$3M for the restoration of each of the 150 inland waterways is proposed.

We propose the establishment of eight environmental units that would be responsible for this work and for related infrastructure matters. Each would have a purpose-built facility to

¹¹³⁴ NIWA tells us that the New Zealand eel fishery has both a domestic and export market. In New Zealand, processed as well as live eels are available from markets and suppliers, with eel dishes also being sold in restaurants all around the country. This industry has an estimated value of \$6.1 m for export, which equates to around 830,000 kg. In Belgium, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Republic of Korea, Netherlands, Taiwan, United States of America, the United Kingdom and Japan. <https://www.niwa.co.nz/te-k%C5%ABwaha/tuna-information-resource/pressures-on-new-zealand-populations/commercial-tuna-fisheries>.

¹¹³⁵ Ngāti Pareraukawa and Muaūpoko Joint Working Group, *He Ritenga Whakatikatika – Lake Horowhenua & Hokio Stream*. August 2013.

accommodate the work of a minimum of two environmental scientists who will be supported by hapū members with substantial budgets for the restoration and management of the inland waterways and environs in their rohe.

5.4 For Raukawa, by Raukawa, of Raukawa

The extension of tino rangatiratanga demands that the management of mana-tāngata, mana-mātauranga and mana-taiao be returned to the hands of Ngāti Raukawa. Kāwanatanga have demonstrated in the past 180 years that it is ill-equipped and incapable of protecting and enhancing the wellbeing of these taonga.

The responsibility of ensuring that our future health and educational experiences are superior to that of non-Māori and restoring the environment and waterways to states where fisheries, flora and fauna are once again thriving and sustaining our people, must now be assumed by Ngāti Raukawa. Our mokopuna and future generations must feel the joy and pleasure of being Raukawa, resplendent in our language, mātauranga and rangatiratanga. This is the responsibility of the current generations.

This paper discusses the establishment of new facilities including :

8 x kōhanga reo

8 x kura

8 x iwi health & whānau ora centres and

8 x environmental units

This arrangement would provide for eight papakainga (with two in Palmerston North), established and governed by the kaitiaki of these taonga, the hapū and iwi of each area. Some of these interests will also be shared with other iwi including Te Ātiawa, Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Kahungunu and/or Muaūpoko. Those arrangements will be made on a case by case basis.

The opportunities for these papakainga to promote language revitalisation, other than through the kohanga/kura to be established, will be varied and many. There is real potential for bi-lingual health and social services, bi-lingual tradesmen or for total immersion communities. Again, the Ōtaki experience provides a hint of what is possible.

These papakainga will travel some distance to addressing the restoration of our taonga, but in doing so will provide substantial employment opportunities for the iwi. We will need to train dozens of teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses, scientists and administrators. We will need to draw on our kākano that have dispersed to other areas for work, to come home. We will need to provide housing to accommodate the return of these whānau. In order to do so, we will need to provide trade training particularly in the area of construction. We will use our whenua for this, developing papakainga where Ngāti Raukawa maximise the expression of their rangatiratanga. This is the beginning of a new era for Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

The following table provides estimates for the establishment of facilities and workforce for the eight papakainga.

Table 11: Establishment and capacity development over eight papakāinga

Papakainga	Puna	Establishment	Staffing per Hub
Te Horo/Ōtaki	Education Hub	\$4.0M	20
	Wellbeing Hub	\$2.5M	30
	Taiao Unit	\$1M	2
Manakau/Kuku	Education Hub	\$4.0M	20
	Wellbeing Hub	\$2.5M	30
	Taiao Unit	\$1M	2
Levin/Ohau	Education Hub	\$4.0M	20
	Wellbeing Hub	\$2.5M	30
	Taiao Unit	\$1M	2
Shannon/Foxton	Education Hub	\$4.0M	20
	Wellbeing Hub	\$2.5M	30
	Taiao Unit	\$1M	2
Feilding/Halcombe	Education Hub	\$4.0M	20
	Wellbeing Hub	\$2.5M	30
	Taiao Unit	\$1M	2
Palmerston Nth /Rongotea (2 of)	Education Hub	\$8.0M	40
	Wellbeing Hub	\$5.0M	60
	Taiao Unit	\$2M	4
Bulls/Sanson	Education Hub	\$4.0M	20
	Wellbeing Hub	\$2.5M	30
	Taiao Unit	\$1M	2
		\$60M	416

An obvious question in our minds will be how do we fill the 416 positions prescribed? Well, we have some people already in place, located in our existing kohanga/kura/wharekura, in our hauora units and in whānau ora. But we will plan for the 416 so we can grow our existing operations.

With the advent of 416 new jobs with additional jobs in support services, we will need to ensure adequate housing and accommodation is in place. A four-year building programme with a goal of building 300 new homes would require a concentrated effort across a number of trades including building, electrical, plumbing, interior decoration, design, concrete and landscaping. We have completed some initial calculations regarding training and qualifications for these eight papakainga and their respective activities.

Table 12: Workforce development

<i>Position</i>	<i>Cost to qualify</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Total</i>
Kaiwhakaako (kohanga, kura & wharekura)	\$12,359	136	\$1,680,824
General Practitioners	\$105,000	24	\$2,520,000
Nurses	\$20,142	24	\$483,408
Social Workers	\$13,385	80	\$1,070,720
Environmental Scientists	\$12,392	16	\$198,272
Managers and administrators	\$3,637	20	\$72,740
Tradesmen across all areas of housing construction	\$140,000	30	\$4,200,000
Cost to build a skilled and qualified workforce for eight papakainga			\$9,262,964

This reminds us of a similar exercise in 1975 completed by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano that identified a number of professions that it wanted to train its people for.

Let us bring some of these thoughts into one table to provide us with an idea of the size of the task ahead of us and the redress that the Crown should be preparing to make. We have begun to identify loss of lands, wellbeing, language and mātauranga to the hapū and iwi in the following table including a percentage of redress that will be the responsibility of the Crown.

The Crown's current practise of calculating settlements based on only 3% of the damage is wholly inappropriate and Ngāti Raukawa must not accept the argument that the nation cannot afford a more meaningful percentage. The Crown must stand up and face this situation, they

cannot continue to argue that their obligation to their Treaty partner is less valid than their obligation to others, the newcomers who have more recently settled in Aotearoa.

We have heard the Crown’s rhetoric that the manaakitanga of the tangata whenua explains the difference between the real value of the loss and the current day redress (3%). Sadly, it seems that they have managed to convince many Māori of this! But not Raukawa. Raukawa will determine the appropriate level of support required.

We must put a price on the survival of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga as a people. The settlement must make provision for our guaranteed survival over the next millenia.

In the table below, we have calculated the Crown’s responsibility at 3%, 10% and 50% of the injury. It should be noted that this is an initial list and that further work is needed to fully populate the table.

Table 13: Settlement calculations

<i>Taonga</i>	<i>Cost/Loss</i>	<i>Responsibility of the Crown</i>		
		<i>At 50%</i>	<i>At 10%</i>	<i>At 3%</i>
Papakainga				
Workforce development		9,262,964	9,262,964	9,262,964
Papakainga establishment		60,000,000	60,000,000	60,000,000
Waterways restoration		450,000,000	450,000,000	450,000,000
Land (4 worked examples provided)				
Ngāti Pareraukawa	1,030,000,000	515,000,000	103,000,000	30,900,000
Ngāti Te Au	710,754,000	355,377,000	71,075,400	21,322,620
Te Reureu	382,000	191,000	38,200	11,460
Ngāti Koroki	19,400,000	9,700,000	1,940,000	582,000
Ngāti Rakau Paewai				
Ngāti Kauwhata				
Ngāti Parewahawaha				
Ngāti Manomano				
Ngāti Takihiku				
Ngāti Ngarongo				
Ngāti Whakatere				
Ngāti Kikopiri				
Ngāti Turanga	Tbc			
Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhao	Tbc			
Ngāti Huia ki Matau	Tbc			

<i>Taonga</i>	<i>Cost/Loss</i>	<i>Responsibility of the Crown</i>		
		<i>At 50%</i>	<i>At 10%</i>	<i>At 3%</i>
Ngāti Hikitunga	Tbc			
Ngāti Wehiwehi	Tbc			
Ngāti Tukorehe	Tbc			
Ngāti Pare	Tbc			
Ngāti Katihiku	Tbc			
Ngāti Maiotaki				
Ngāti Kapu				
	1,760,536,000	1,399,530,964	695,316,564	572,079,044
	\$1.76B	\$1.40B	\$695.3M	\$572.0M

With these taken into consideration, we anticipate that the final settlement for Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, last of the large iwi claims before the Tribunal, will also be the largest of the claims settlements, exceeding those allocated to date including the payment of additional sums built into the Ngai Tahu and Tainui settlements.

At this point, the calculation suggests that a settlement of a billion dollars would be a starting point. With more work, we can anticipate that figure will double. The halls of Treasury have the capacity to include settlement arrangements of this nature into their budgetary calculations, with the appropriate accruals, over the next century. This is the true reflection of the manaakitanga and tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Raukawa.

With four payments of 25% and full payment within 100 years this is imminently affordable. The table below illustrates how settlements of 3%, 25%, 50% and 100% might be organised over the next 100 years.

Table 14: Payment of potential Ngāti Raukawa settlement

		<u>100%</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>25%</u>	<u>3%</u>
2020	25%	440.1m	349.8m	174.9m	143.0m
2045	25%	440.1m	349.8m	174.9m	143.0m
2070	25%	440.1m	349.8m	174.9m	143.0m
2095	25%	440.1m	349.8m	174.9m	143.0m
		1.776b	1.399b	699.6m	572.0m

An arrangement of this kind, adjusted for inflation, would provide future generations of Ngāti Raukawa with the means to shape and implement their own expressions of rangatiratanga.

Getting back into one waka

It is crucial that the Iwi immediately put aside our internal tensions and come together to focus on the bigger picture of our survival and the true threat to our survival which is Kāwanatanga. A team of our best and brightest thinkers needs to be established to identify and catalogue accurately, the true cost of colonisation for our people. They will need to work with economists, actuaries and others to arrive at an appropriate value. This will assist those of our people responsible for negotiating with the Crown on our behalf in the coming years to achieve outcomes that are long overdue.

CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to draw on the experiences and learnings of the last 800 years of our existence and to speculate about our future prospects 1000 years into the future. It has been said that "Māori have been defined by the Treaty over the last 180 years¹¹³⁶", it is our contention that, that should not be the case for the next 1000 years.

Instead, we will be defined by a distinctive and recognisable language, a belief system and values borne of our own experiences. That definition will be anchored in our enduring whakapapa, our rich mātauranga and our significant tikanga.

We have a unique experience that has prepared us for the next thousand years. Over the last forty years Whakatupuranga Rua Mano has assisted us to develop our capacity and in doing so, the teachings of our tūpuna will guide us.

¹¹³⁶ Hook, G. Private conversation in Ōtaki 2 August 2018

Section two of the paper provides some initial explorations of the future potential for exerting our influence, our tino rangatiratanga over the daily lives of our people and those we share our communities with. We have identified that the role for Kāwanatanga is as a funder and facilitator of policy in the Beehive and that in future, they will have reduced influence in our lives.

These explorations and discussions within the Iwi over the last ten years have provided a number of kaupapa-based whaingā and hiahia for our pursuit in the next millenia based on the four principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Our people will be familiar with these principles and uplifted by the aspirations.

The paper provides a clear prescription for our preparations for the upcoming discussions with the Crown. Those of the Iwi tasked with leading these discussions on our behalf must have a clear strategy well informed by research on the ground that qualifies and quantifies what has been denied us by Kāwanatanga.

Finally, we have shaped a plan to reclaim our tino rangatiratanga, it begins with the establishment of eight papakainga where we will focus our attentions on te reo me ona tikanga, mātauranga Raukawa, our health and wellbeing as well as attracting our people living away from the rohe, to come home.

Of all the goals embraced by Ngāti Raukawa, our survival as a people is the most important. If it is not possible to achieve this goal, then no other pursuit is really of consequence. Failure is not an option. Kia kaha tatou!

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE TONGA IN THE 19TH-21ST CENTURY

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