IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL **WAI 2200**
PORIRUA KI MANAWATŪ DISTRICT INQUIRY **WAI 52**
WAI 2139

IN THE MATTER of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

AND

IN THE MATTER of the Porirua ki Manawatū District Inquiry (Wai 2200)

AND

IN THE MATTER of the Muaūpoko Tribal Authority (Wai 52 and Wai 2139)

BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF GRANT HUWYLER
Dated: May 2026

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MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

Introduction

1. My name is Grant Huwyler and I am currently the Group CEO for Te Rūnanga o Ngā Wairiki – Ngāti Apa. I was raised in Whanganui within the Hunia whānau, a name that is strongly connected to Ngāti Apa and Muaūpoko history. My grandmother is Paeroa Hunia. She was born on Ngāti Apa whenua in Parewānui, on the banks of the Rangitīkei River. Despite living in Putiki in Whanganui, my whānau has remained strongly Ngāti Apa in terms of our identity, and we were encouraged to believe that we are the descendants of rangatira.

2. My grandmother's and therefore my affiliations are varied, but somewhat localized to the southern North Island. As well as Ngāti Apa and Muaūpoko, she was strongly affiliated to Ngāi Te Upokoiri based in Hawkes Bay. She was also affiliated to Mōkai Pātea Iwi. This was all on her father's side. His name is Kawana Hunia Te Mana. On her mother's side, she was strongly Ngāti Toarangatira, Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Raukawa. Her mother's name is Ruakohatu Ropata.

3. I understand that the wider inquiry hearings are considering Muaūpoko tikanga. Muaūpoko consider that I can assist in understanding aspects of the tikanga as they relate to the Kurahaupo confederation, specifically relations with Ngāti Apa where they have been involved with Muaūpoko both before the arrival of the iwi heke and since. Ngāti Apa has been largely absent from the Waitangi Tribunal Hearings by virtue of the fact that Ngāti Apa elected to go into direct negotiations with the Crown in the early 2000s, culminating in a Treaty Settlement signed in 2008. I agree that a full picture of tikanga of Kurahaupo groups is not possible without considering relations between them. This evidence does not make any claim or ask the Tribunal to consider any claim of Ngāti Apa. It simply seeks to present a fuller picture of the Muaūpoko situation within the inquiry district.

4. Because of the role that Ngāti Apa played historically at the northern end of the Porirua ki Manawatu hearing district, without this perspective on events of closely related Kurahaupo groups, I would agree with Muaūpoko that the hearings could potentially create an imbalance in the nature and content of historical accounts that have been given to the Tribunal by hapū and iwi representatives, upon which the Tribunal will base it's findings.

Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki Rights and Interests

5. The first Ngāti Apa people to arrive in Rangitīkei were the Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira people. It is this branch of Ngāti Apa that met the Kupe descendants who were already in occupation of the lower North Island, and then the Rangitāne people who migrated from the East Coast. A key intermarriage was that of Whakamau of Ngāti Apa to Tamakere of Rangitāne. This genealogy is recorded from Kereopa Te Rangitakorou, arguably the last true Ngāti Apa tohunga. Today, this blood line runs throughout Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko and is a foundational pou for the Kurahaupō waka alliance in this area covering the lower North Island and top of the South Island. The next generation after Whakamau and Tamakere included an intermarriage with the Ngāti Tūmōkai people, the descendants of an early explorer named Matangi.

6. A further wave of Apa migration surrounded the descendants of Tuariki who settled on the Rangitīkei River inland of Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira, and included ancestors like Tupua and Tonganui whose descendants multiplied. These people moved backwards and forwards from Rotoaira according to evidence from people like Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, who said that Rangiwhakau, the Ngāti Apa wife of Te Rangiopewai, returned from Rangitīkei to Rotoaira to give birth to her son Tairapanga. His birth on Motuopuhi, in lake Rotoaira is confirmed in the writings of the Mōkai Pātea people.

7. Another wave includes Pairu and her sibling Hinekura from Ngāti Apa. Te Pairu married Rangitumoana from Turakina and Hinekura married Punakaiariki, a Ngāti Apa descendant of Tuariki through Tonganui. This occurred slightly before the final and best documented wave which was that of Tairapanga who is mentioned above, who was born at Motuopuhi in Rotoaira, near Taupo and returned and married Rakihi from Ngāti Tauira in Rangitīkei and Hinewai, the daughter of Te Pairu and Rangitumoana, from Ngā Airiki in Turakina.

8. By contrast, the Nga Wairiki identity and origins align closely with Paerangi o Te Maungaroa from the foot of Mount Ruapehu. Paerangi was also a founding tupuna of the Whanganui River tribes and Ngāti Rangi of the Ruapehu district. The Ngā Wairiki name is based on geography, literally meaning small rivers. This name was applied to the lower Mangawhero, Whangaehu and Turakina catchments. The name Ngā Wairiki as it applied to the people living there meant “the people of the small rivers”. This differentiated them from their near relatives who had occupied “Te Awa Nui”, Whanganui.

9. Several Ngā Wairiki hapū groups emerged from Paerangi. On the inland extent of Ngā Wairiki, this included Ngāti Tūkōrero, Ngāti Houmahanga, Ngāti Hurutera, Ngāti Paenga and a number of associated groups. In addition to the descendants of Paerangi, a number of other groups converged onto the fertile river flats of Ngā Wairiki. One account names Tuwharemoa and his sister Awanuiarangi as the first people who settled on the lower Whangaehu River. They are joined there by brother and sister Rangiwhakaturia and Taitapu from Patea, who were Aotea people. They, in turn, were followed by Te Ikahoroiwi. They also encountered Kurahaupo people at Whangaehu called Ngāti Rangiwhaiao, who were descendants of Hauiti from Wairarapa. A division of these people later became known as Ngāti Kiriwheke.

10. Tamarehe became a prominent figure at the mouth of the Turakina River. He was a descendant of Te Aokehu from south Taranaki. Tamarehe's descendants became a dominant whakapapa group generally called Ngā Ariki, but comprising of Ngāti Rangitumoana, Ngāti Hinewai and Ngāti Tamawaina. Also at Turakina was Ngāti Kiriwheke, and there was another hapū there called Ngāti Rangipuhi. Tamarehe is named in association with the land around Waipū and the mouth of the Turakina River, but so also did his ancestors. Lines of descent are given for Tamarehe from Te Aokehu, through Tutepou.

11. The composition of Ngā Wairiki as a people consequently evolved over the last 500 or 600 years since people first occupied this whenua. It was further augmented through the intermarriages with waves of Ngāti Apa heke which saw the arrival of Pairu at Turakina and Ika or his descendants at Whakaware. Ngāti Ika were also referred to as Ngāti Tumoetere after Ika's wife, who was also said to be from the whenua. They occupied the prominent position of Manuriro in the Whangaehu Valley. There were many intermarriages between Ngāti Apa groups and Ngā Wairiki groups which facilitated the future alliances that would occur as these groups evolved and relationships developed.

12. Looking at Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa in its entirety, these groups expanded to occupy a large area, which is defined in modern terms as;

Mai i Te Rerenga ki Tiriraukawa ki Taikorea ki uta,

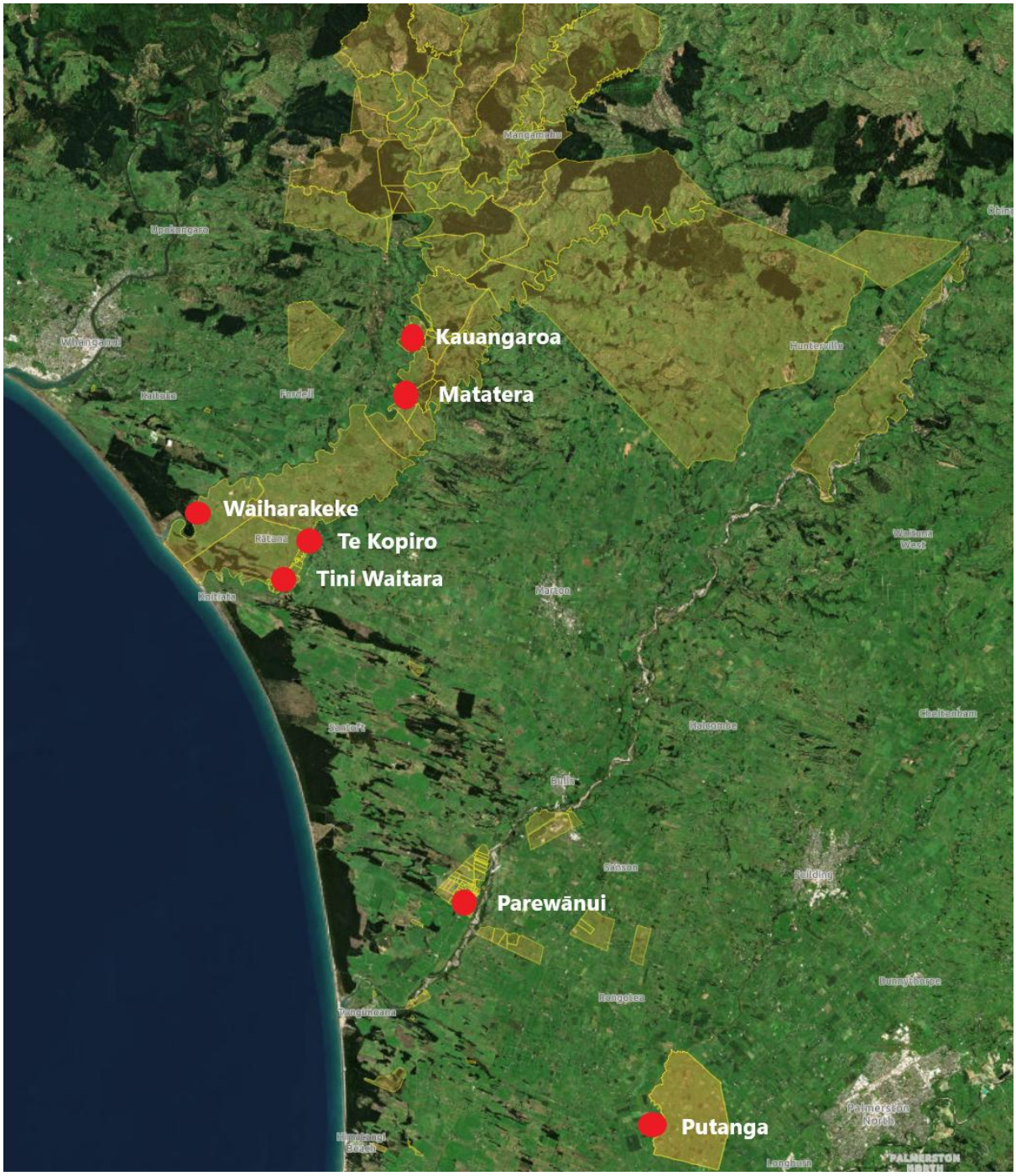
Mai i Motukaraka ki Omarupapako ki tai.

13. In saying this, it is important to note that this alliance did not quite evolve to become a unitary or monolithic tribe under the control of a centralised hierarchy. It was instead a

broad tribal confederation consisting of several largely autonomous groups or hapū collectives connected through this network of diverse origins and intermarriages, and other geographic, economic and political factors. These collectives occupied separate takiwa within the broader tribal rohe, although boundaries were not fixed and there was a good deal of flexibility and overlap.

14. Each collective, comprising several hapū, operated generally under the authority of their own rangatira and leadership group. Whānau within each hapū would utilise their hapū takiwā under the direction of their leadership group, though over several generations, whānau developed exclusive customary rights to certain locations for pā tuna (eel and

fishing weirs), bird snaring, resource gathering and cultivations. The rangatira and leadership group would manage disputes and relationship issues, and would make decisions about security, political relationships and marriages and other matters related to the wellbeing of the collective of whānau and hapū These themes come through in a careful analysis of Māori land court material, in terms of who these rangatira were and even the identification of locations within a hapū takiwā that were the customary property of one whānau or another.



Rangitikei Based Hapū of Ngāti Apa

15. This submissions provides a detailed summary of the Rangitīkei based hapū of Ngāti Apa. These hapū have been the most affected by Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa migrations north of Manawatū. By virtue of Rangitīkei Turakina Transaction of 1849,

these Tainui groups were largely confined south of the Rangitīkei River. Historically, Ngāti Raukawa hapū had stayed for periods north of the Rangitīkei River, but not as far north as Turakina and Whangaehu.

16. Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa also actively maintained a security interest in what happened north of the Rangitīkei River, given the history of conflict with the people on the Whanganui River. Case in point was the collaboration between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa to prevent Pehi Turoa from establishing himself in Ngā Wairiki, when they burnt his seed potato near Matatera. The area between the Whangaehu River and Rangitīkei was occupied by Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa, but was also a buffer zone between Whanganui and Ngāti Raukawa.

17. Consequently, the Whangaehu and Turakina based people of Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki are not further analyzed in this submission. Suffice to say that Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa acknowledges the broader interests of our neighbours north and south, but considers the hapū of Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa as the only voice on the whenua from Rangitikei to Whangaehu.

Ngāti Kauae me Ngāti Tauira

18. The hapū based permanently at Parewānui are the Ngāti Kauae and the Ngāti Tauira sections of Ngāti Apa. They are descendants of Apa through the Hapeketuarangi line. A central ancestor in this line is Papawhenua. The two hapū correspond to the children of Papawhenua named Tamatāne and Rangitauira. These hapū descend from early migrants to the Rangitīkei - Manawatū coast. The precise detail of how and when this section of Ngāti Apa travelled to this area has not yet been captured. However, there are clues found in whakapapa that indicates when different groups have come into contact with one another through intermarriage.

Ruatea

I

Apa-hapai-taketake

I

Hapeketuarangi

I

Te Taha

I

Pouwhenua

I

Te Rangiwawahia

I

Papawhenua

I

Tamatāne **Rangitauira**

(Ngāti Kauae) (Ngāti Tauira)

19. An early intermarriage was that of Tamatāne to Horouta. This is the foundation of the Ngāti Kauae hapū. Horouta is a descendant of Kupe and Kauae-muriranga-whenua, where the Kauae name stems from. The descendants of Kupe are viewed as the earliest people to occupy the coastline from the Rangitīkei River area to the south.

Kupe

I

Te Mātangi o Rupe

I

Karotaha

I

Taiteahouri

I

Horouta = Tamatane (Ngāti Apa)

20. A further intermarriage in this phase was the marriage of a child of Rangitauira named Papawhenua to Rangiaorere who is another descendant of Kupe.

21. Whakamau of Ngāti Tauira was married to Tamakere of Rangitāne. In 1850, an Oroua and Rangitīkei based Ngāti Apa tohunga, Kereopa Te Rangitakorou, shared whakapapa with Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotū which described this marriage. Tamakere is considered as being amongst the first of Whatonga's descendants to return to the Manawatū River after Whatonga himself had navigated the river and placed names on the land to secure this place for his descendants.

Rangitauira

I

Papawhenua = Rangiaorere (Kupe)

I

Rangipohatu

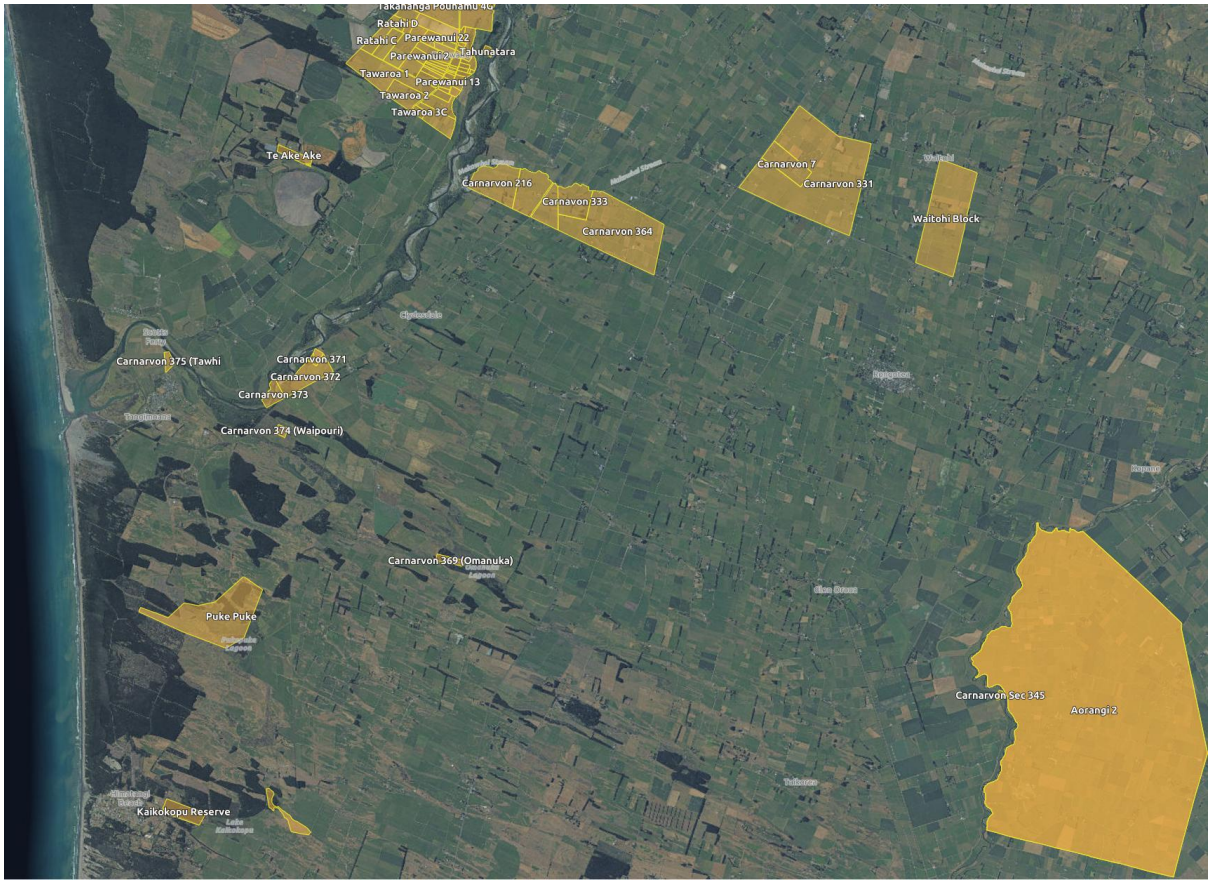
I

Whakamau = Tamakere (Rangitāne)

I

Te Aonui Tanehurihia Te Rangimawake

22. The descendants of Whakamau and Tamakere flourished through descent from three of their children, Te Aonui, Tanehurihia and Te Rangimawake. The descendants of Te Aonui include many whānau from across Rangitāne ki Manawatū, Rangitāne ki Tamaki, Muaūpoko, Rangitāne o Wairau and Ngāti Apa ki te Ra Tō. Tānehurihia married Rangituanini from Ngāti Tūmokai. Ngāti Tūmokai descended from an important ancestor named Matangi who had journeyed from Wairarapa to the middle reaches of the Rangitīkei River naming many sites that continue to hold these names to this day. This includes names such as Turitea, Aorangi, Tokorangi, Pūtorino and Parororangi. The descendants from Tānehurihia and Ngāti Tūmokai then largely intermarried with whānau from Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne ki Manawatū.



23. The descendants of Te Rangimawake largely became known as Ngāti Apa, and occupied the area from the lower Rangitīkei River, to the Mawanatū River and inland to a large area on the Oroua River where there was a very blurred line between what was Ngāti Tauira whenua and what was Ngāti Tumokai whenua. This group upheld the name of Ngāti Tauira as a hapū, and substantially intermarried with other divisions of Ngāti Apa and with the Ngā Wairiki people from the Managawhero, Whangaehu and Turakina Rivers. It is estimated that 75% of Ngā Wairiki me Ngāti Apa uri today are descendants of Te Rangimawake from Ngāti Tauira. There is also a particular line from Te Rangimawake that is linked to Ngāti Apa ki te Ra To through a great-grandchild named Kirihau.

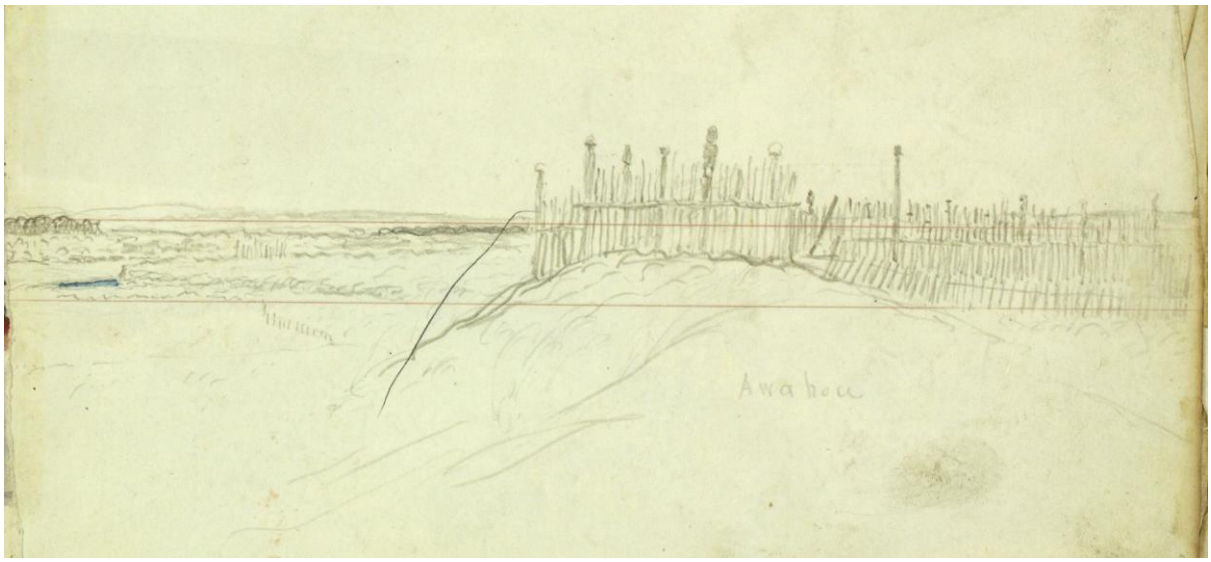
24. Whilst assisting to place this earliest branch of Ngāti Apa on the whenua, the unions between Tamatāne and Horouta, between Papawhenua and Rangiaorere, and between Whakamau and Tamakere also provide an important part of the picture as to why it has always been said that Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko are closely connected. An ancestor named Utiku Te Ua Whakataki described the Ngāti Tauira as being "partly Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Rangitāne". Through these unions, and subsequent events and unions, these three Iwi became closely related, and the identities, in some cases, became interchangeable. This is seen particularly in the top of the South Island, where some people who were referred to as Muaūpoko in the North Island were referred to as Ngāti Apa in the South Island.

25. Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira could break down into a number of smaller hapū units including Ngati Rangiwaho, Ngati Maero, Ngati Tūmokai, Ngāti Kahuwairua, Ngāti Tai, Ngā Potiki. Ngāti Tuanini, Ngāti Rākei and Ngāti Apu. Conversely, the combined hapū collective was sometimes simply called Ngāti Kauae.

26. The most prominent leader of this hapū collective was Te Ahuru o te Rangi. He was primarily from Ngāti Rangiwaho, but he transcended the status of a hapū leader to become a highly esteemed iwi leader. The Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira collective alone was a large group of people who mobilised behind Te Ahuru o te Rangi on numerous campaigns including expansion into the South Island. He was particularly aligned with Te Rangihautu, a Ngāti Kauae leader who secured the mouth of the Rangitīkei River whilst Te Ahuru concentrated on expansion in the South Island. The death of Te Rangihautu in conflicts with Rangitāne destabilised the hapū, and Te Ahuru o te Rangi returned to Rangitīkei as a consequence.

27. When Te Ahuru o te Rangi died at Waiorua on Kapiti Island, he was succeeded in Rangitīkei by Te Rangihautu's son Kawana Te Hakeke who Te Ahuru had raised. Te Hakeke proved to be a very capable leader, and he was supported by a strong leadership group that included people such as Mohi Mahi, Hori Kingi Te Hanea, Rawiri Takioi, Te Auahi Turoa, Ropiha Te Auahi, Hakaraia Te Rangipouri, Matiaha, Kereopa Te Rangitakorou, Matene Te Matuku, Harawira, Hori Te Mohi, Te Raikokiritia and his sons including Mokomoko and Hamuera and many others.

28. Prior to the creation of permanent kāinga at Parewānui, and the subsequent development of Putanga, these people once occupied a large area from Awapatiki in the north to Omarupapako in the south, near Foxton, then across to Taikorea and over a large stretch of the Oroua River. Kāinga on the Rangitīkei River included Paeroa (Parewānui), Te Hou, Te Awahou and Te Kawau. At Oroua, kāinga included Te Hinau a Hapainga, Pariroa, Karangatiko, Kopane and Putanga. These kāinga were aligned with large cultivations and karaka groves. There were additional smaller kāinga and each whānau had their customary fisheries and places to go to catch birds. The numerous wetlands were named and utilised, the main ones being Te Awamate, Te Rotonui o Hau, Pukepuke, Omanuka, Kaikokopu and Koputara.



29. This hapū collective had several notable fortified pā located throughout this hapū takiwā. The older pā sites were Te Oahura on Kaikokopu lake, Pukepuke pa on the Pukepuke lagoon, Te Awamate pā, in the Te Awamate wetland. Modern pā were built

at Parewānui, which hosted the full collective of Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa after the Kohurupo battle in the mid 1830s. One fortified pā there was called Te Raomanga, and another fortified pā was Ngā Iwi Tarawa. Another modern fortified pā was located at Te Awahou. The seasonal fishing kāinga were Tāwhirihoe and Te Pou a Te Rehunga.

30. Te Putanga became a prominent settlement after the establishment of a permanent settlement at Parewānui. With other hapū leaving Parewānui and returning to their ancestral rohe, a group of the hybrid Ngāti Tauira and Ngāti Tumokai people left Parewānui to establish a permanent settlement at Putanga on the Oroua River. A whare karakia was built here in 1840, and Hamuera Te Raikokiritia was the teacher. Historical accounts name the men who lived here including Hamuera, Te Auahi Turoa, Matiaha, Kereopa Te Rangitakorou and Mokomoko. When they died, most of these men were buried at Te Awahuri with Ngāti Kauwhata. Mokomoko has a large headstone in the urupā whilst others including Te Auahi Turoa, Matiaha and Kereopa would appear to be in unmarked graves.

31. As noted above, Tāwhirihoe was the main coastal fishing settlement at the mouth of the Rangitīkei River. It was here that iwi leaders, Kāwana Te Hakeke, Mohi Mahi and Hamuera Te Raikokiritia (then named Taumaru) signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi on 21 May 1840. A Pakeha named Thomas Scott visited Tāwhirihoe on a trading mission in 1841 or 1842. Te Hakeke and around 150 Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira were in occupation. During later visits he observed a population of up to 300 people.[1]

32. The arrival of Waikato migrants to the Rangitīkei and Manawatū districts had a significant impact on Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa. Importantly, the initial relationship with migrating hapū to Rangitīkei and Oroua, namely Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Parewahawaha was largely positive. Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa accounts speak of collaboration in conflicts with Whanganui and with Ngāti Kahungunu and the allocation of whenua to the migrants. Tensions emerged later when rights to lease the land to Europeans became an issue, and the old leaders including Kawana Te Hakeke and Nepia Taratoa had passed on. Needless to say, Ngāti Apa have always refuted conquest claims made in this takiwā.

33. As with all the hapū groups throughout Ngā Wairiki me Ngāti Apa, the effects of warfare, disease and land loss had a prolonged impact with line after line of whakapapa withering throughout the entire 19th Century. The surviving families of Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti

1 Rangitīkei-Manawatu Native Land Court papers. Thomas Scott. ACIH 16046 MA13 113/71. ANZ, Wellington. 195.

Tauira who stayed at Parewānui included the Hunia whānau, the Ratana whānau, the Ropiha whānau, the Hakaraia whānau, the Marumaru whānau, the Kiriona whānau, the Tamehana whānau, Metekingi whānau and the Waitere whānau. Whilst other related whānau had drifted away, there were many, many lines that died off due to the terribly high rates of infant mortality that dominated the later half of the 19th Century and into the 20th Century. This is proven in Māori Land Court records where reference is made to children who never made it to adulthood, and succession records show numerous elders passing away leaving no descendants.

1.2 Tuariki

34. The descendants of Tuariki form a large section of Ngāti Apa that occupied a substantial area on the Rangitīkei River, extending from the Makohine stream, at a site called Te Kiekie (just south of Ohingaiti) seaward to Parewānui. The northern part of the takiwa was visited seasonally for birding, eeling and gathering kai. The southern part was occupied on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. A number of kainga, including Te Pohue, Te Ongaonga, Te Hoho, Te Mahoe, Parororangi, Te Ngei, Te Houhou, Waituna, Matahiwi and Te Ana were located on both sides of the Rangitīkei River. The main fortified pa were Otuwhare, Te Ana, Ongaonga, Pikitara, Pukiore, Paparangiora, Rongomotumotu, Taumatarangi, Te Ara o Tawhaki, Te Ika a te Mate, Turangaokahukura and Papawharangi. Leaders from this hapū claimed extensive interests in what was called the Otamakapua Block, east of the Rangitīkei River. This land was very contentious and was awarded to Ngāti Hauiti from the Mōkai Pātea confederation.

35. An interesting event affecting whenua in this hapū area was the post 1840 migrations into this area, after Te Tiriti o Waitangi had been signed. Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa intentions to enter into a land transaction with the new settler government were actively opposed by two powerful leaders, namely Te Rangihaeata of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa, and Te Heuheu of Ngāti Tuwharetoa. Both of these leaders sent associated hapū to disrupt any land deal with the government. This saw Rangihaeata's people occupy the land now called Te Reureu in the mid 1840s, and they were later joined by Te Heuheu's people in the early 1850s. Donald McLean was accused by Wirihana Hunia of having accommodated these leaders and their people, and having given these people land that was still controlled by Ngāti Apa in 1840.

36. In terms of Ngāti Apa land rights in this hapū region, emphasis is given to descent from a tupuna named Tuariki who is famed for having captured and reared a pet named Tutaeporoporo. Tutaeporoporo commenced its life as a shark, but upon capture, was nurtured and transformed by Tuariki into a formidable creature. Whilst Tuariki lived, Tutaeporoporo was his pet. However, when Tuariki was killed by a Whanganui war party and Tutaeporoporo learnt of his fate, this pet transformed into a ferocious taniwha, and swam up the coast, occupying the Whanganui River in order to inflict vengeance on the Whanganui people who had killed his master. This situation continued until a tohunga named Te Aokehu arrived from Taranaki and was successful in killing Tutaeporoporo.

37. The descendants of Apa through Tuariki descend through three of Tuariki's children, Rakeipuiaki, Rakeikauwhata and Rakeipou.

Ruatea

I

Apa-hapai-taketake

I

Tupuahoronuku

I

Tuariki

I

Rakeipuiaki **Rakeikauwhata** **Rakeipou**

38. Looking at this whakapapa above, there is voluminous information about the Rakeikauwhata and Rakeipuiaki lines, and some very sparce information about Rakeipou. The descendants of Rakeipuiaki make up the hapū of Ngāti Tupua, Ngāti Aputaua and Ngāti Tupataua.

Rakeipuiaki

I

Tupua (Ngāti Tupua) **Aputaua (Ngāti Apu)**

I

Tamaki

I

Te Ahuta

I

Aro = Marama (from Ngāti Tupataua)

39. Ngāti Tupua is a substantial hapū collective. As shown in the whakapapa, Ngāti Tupataua is essentially a sub group of Ngāti Tupua, but the Ngāti Tupataua identity was particularly strong. By the late 1800s, the large Hakaraia whānau strongly upheld the Ngāti Tupua identity, whilst Utiku Marumaru and his brother Kiriona Te Piki strongly upheld the Ngāti Tupataua identity. Looking closely at these whakapapa lines through Tuariki, it is significant that the child of Tupua named Tamaki married Tukarukaru from the Pikinau line from Tuariki, bringing these lines together. An interesting fact about the ancestor Tupataua is that this ancestor does not descend from Apa. Tupataua is a descendant of Kahungunu, and this represents a significant historical connection.

40. Within the Rakeikauwhata line, a lot of emphasis was given to a tupuna named Tonganui. He had two children, Pikinau and Ika. Ika marries a tupuna named Tumoetere and they form a distinct hapū that used both names, Ngāti Ika and Ngāti Tumoetere. This hapū was prominent in the general Tuariki rohe, and as an interesting addition, this particular hapū also resided in the Ngā Wairiki area, holding the prominent Manuriro and Mangoroa fighting pā. These pā overlooked the Ngā Paenga settlement of Akerama emphasising close proximity between this hapū and the inland Ngā Wairiki people. This hapū also substantially intermarried with the Ngā Ariki people at Turakina and the Rangiwhakaturia and Taitapu people from the lower Whangaehu River.

Rakeikauwhata

I

Tupāku

I

Tonganui

I

Pikinau **Ika = Tumoetere**

41. Hone Waitere said that Pikinau and Ika descendants had lived together on their lands, however the advent of "law" had led to a separation. This is making reference to the fact that both Ika and Pikinau were large hapū and that once, they would have co-existed. However, the advent of colonisation and the Native Land Court, or the "law" as Hone Waitere referred to it, created a completely different paradigm which encouraged groups to separate and compete with one another for remaining whenua.

42. A theme of tupuna evidence about this presence in Ngā Wairiki is a period of fighting between the Tuariki people and the Ngāti Tumokai, Mōkai Pātea, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Tauira and Rangitāne people. An analysis of available information suggests the process of Ngāti Apa migration to Rangitīkei and the displacement of Ngāti Tumokai from this area implicating all the other parties who had a Tumokai connection.

43. From this period, there are snippets of kōrero about Ngāti Apa hapū moving to Whangaehu and Turakina for periods of time over the generations during periods of conflict in Rangitīkei. It appears that certain Apa / Tuariki hapū never completely left the Ngā Wairiki area after the conflict, case in point, Ngāti Ika at Manuriro pā. But it also demonstrated the support that these Tuariki descendants of Ngāti Apa received from Ngā Wairiki in this period.

44. Ngā Wairiki also supported Ngāti Apa in these conflicts. The battle of Takuterangi was a significant Ngāti Apa victory at Koreromaiwaho, near Marton in the Rangitīkei district. The battle commenced with the Ngā Wairiki champion Huiakapea going forward and defeating an opponent named Te Ranginui, after which the battle commenced and Ngāti Apa was victorious.

45. However, the relationships in Ngā Wairiki for Ngāti Apa do not appear to have been completely harmonious. There is kōrero about a conflict between Ngāti Ika people and the Ngāti Tumataikura and Ngāti Ratua divisions of Ngā Wairiki. It revolved around an

ancestor named Te Rangiwhakamai who was said to have issued an insult against a Ngāti Ratua leader named Kahunui. It is alleged he had expressed a desire to eat Kahunui. In consequence of this, Kahunui killed Te Rangiwhakamai. The Ngāti Ika people responded by seizing the Whakaware area, including Manuriro pā as muru for this killing. This is noted as an interesting version of what happened, and it is correspondingly noted that the Ngāti Ratua people did not claim the Whakaware block in the Native Land Court, despite a likelihood that they did have an ancestral connection to that land.

46. Despite being such a significant whakapapa group within the fabric of Ngāti Apa, the early period of European arrival had a large impact on how this hapū lived and utilised their whenua. General population decline and the drive to interact and trade with Europeans led to the inland extent of the whenua being largely abandoned as hapū moved to the coast. Ngāti Apa dominance in the middle reaches of the Rangitīkei River as far as Makohine had been hard fought for with a long history of fighting with Ngāti Tumokai and affiliated groups spanning many generations.

47. Donald McLean's ambition to open the Rangitīkei River up to European settlement, and remove the Rangitīkei based Ngāti Apa hapū to live as one with Ngā Wairiki, impacted hugely on this hapū whose ancestral lands were largely in the Rangitīkei catchment. There are well documented examples of Rangatira asking for reserves in the Tuariki area, but McLean resisted and manipulated iwi and hapū leadership to avoid creating any significant reserves for these people. Even the Parewānui Reserve was not contemplated in the original land transaction and was only "gifted" back to Ngāti Apa by McLean once he realised he would have significant difficulty convincing the Rangitīkei based hapū to abandon this whenua altogether. He still needed allies along this coast and needed to keep the Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa people on side, such was the nature of the early settler government and their objectives at the time.

48. Whilst Ngāti Tupua got the northern end of the Parewānui reserve, called Takahanga Pounamu, much of the rich and fertile Rangitīkei plains and terraces were lost to the settlers. Key Tuariki whānau received little or nothing and were forced to locate themselves with other Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki hapū to which they were affiliated. The deleterious effect this had on these hapū cannot be overstated. This saw remaining whānau move to live on the Parewānui Reserve and the Tini Waitara Reserve at Turakina which had also been "gifted" back to the Iwi once McLean realised the people would not leave.

49. The hapū did receive half of the large "Rangatira" block which extended from Rata, north to the Makohine Stream which was partitioned, with half being awarded to Ngāti Hauiti. This block was contested in the Native Land Court between Ngāti Apa and the Ngāti Hauiti people from Mōkai Pātea. There is a large volume of information in this case about land use and warfare. Hori Te Rangiao was named as a prominent Ngāti Apa leader in this part of the rohe, as were a range of other leaders including Aperahama Tipae. The hapū also participated in the very large Paraekaretu Block along with Ngā Wairiki.

50. There was a historically significant gift of land given at Rata by Kāwana Te Hakeke to a Ngāi Te Upokoiri leader named Maihi Ngapapa on the occasion of formal peace making, when his son Kāwana Hunia Te Hakeke was betrothed to Maihi's daughter, Ruta Kau.[2] This brought to a close many generations of fighting in the Rangitīkei. The back story to this fighting is complicated but definitely centres on Ngāti Apa arrival and expansion in the middle reaches of the Rangitīkei River, and the displacement of the earlier occupants Ngāti Tumokai.

51. There are two other well documented lines of whakapapa from Apa-hapai-taketake that appear to be inter-twined with the descendants of Tuariki. Tariuha Manawaroa Te Aweawe records Hinereia as the eldest child of Apa.

Apa-hapai-taketake

I

Hinereia

I

Te Hikitanga-a-rangi

I

Tamareia

I

Rakeiora

I

Ruapuke

I

Tamakitehau

I

Tuwhakahekenuku

[2] Herewini Tawera, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 506.

Apa Rongonui

Tini o te Makairi

Kahutaringa	**Kawaiki**
Kahuwairua	**Marukai**
Makoroa	**Pukeko**
Roau	
Pairu = Rangitumoana	**Hinekura = Punakaiariki**

52. Pairu unites with Rangitūmoana from Ngā Ariki in Turakina. Hinekura unites with Punakaiariki who is a Tuariki / Ngāti Ika descendant. The Pukeko line marries the son of Hinekura and Punakaiariki, named Tamateanini.

Apa-hapai-taketake

Rongouekaupa

Arikiatamai

Maruatamai

Te Moungaroa

Tupeamaru

Tawaru

Taraua	**Kahunui**
Tunaanapua	**Rangiapu**

Rewa **Rangiatea** **Rakeikura**

I

Kainamu

I

Ponuiarangi

I

Tarere = Rangiatea

I

Hineata = Tuwhakau

53. This is another important line from Apa that becomes largely integrated with the Tuariki line from Apa. Tuwhakau is the child of Ika and Tumoetere and therefore many descendants from Rongouekaupa are also Ngāti Ika. There is evidence from others like Ihakara Rangiahua that suggests other lines of descent of Rongouekaupa that are not Ngāti Ika. People like Ihakara emphasise Kahunui as a basis for land rights at Takahanga Pounamu, near Parewānui whilst others emphasise Taraua as the basis of land rights on this block. This conflicts slightly with claims that Ngāti Tupua is the correct hapū on Takahanga Pounamu.

Ngāti Tumokai

54. A significant whakapapa overlay on the whenua that conflicted with claims under Tuariki and Tonganui was that of Tumokai who has been introduced above because of the intermarriage between Ngāti Tumokai and Ngāti Tauira. Before the consolidation of Ngāti Apa as it is understood today, there was conflict between the descendants of Tuariki and Ngāti Tauira, Ngāti Tumokai and the Mokai Patea Iwi, particularly Ngāti Hauiti, who were the product of an intermarriage between their Takitimu ancestors and Ngāti Tumokai. An element of this was seen in the Rangatira Case where recognised Ngāti Apa leader and Tiriti signatory Hamuera Te Raikokiritia claimed the Rangitira Block as a Ngāti Tumokai which put him at odds with his Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Hauiti whanaunga. His claims were largely quashed, but in the context of the Matangi narrative, claims by Ngāti Tumokai on the Rangitīkei River have merit.

55. Hamuera explained how his people would visit Rangitīkei from Oroua as they had customarily done for generations. Once Tuariki descendants had occupied this area and become dominant, it would appear that those Tumokai people that became affiliated with the Ngāti Apa alliance through historic intermarriages were still able to

exercise their rights derived from Matangi and Ngāti Tumokai on the Rangitīkei River as far inland as Makohine.

56. Kawana Te Hakeke was himself a product of these intermarriages and this no doubt contributed to the authority he exercised to gift the land at Rata to Maihi Ngapapa, bearing in mind that Maihi himself was a Tumokai descendant too, but through lines of Ngāti Tumokai that had married into Ngāti Hauiti.

57. It is clear to me that Ngāti Tumokai dynamics were at work in Rangitīkei throughout the 19th Century despite the dominant position that had been achieved by the descendants of Tuariki over lands south of Makohine, and despite the tension that existed between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Hauiti leadership as seen in the Otamakapua and Rangatira Block investigations.

Muaūpoko Rights north of the Manawatū River

58. Land rights in the area north of the Manawatū River were once considered the domain of Tupatunui.

59. The descendants of Tupatunui who have persevered in this area, and who retain Māori Freehold Land in this area to this day are known as Ngāti Kauae. This was Te Hakeke's hapū. Ngāti Kauae maintained their fighting pa on the Kaikokopu lake, at a place called Te Oahura.

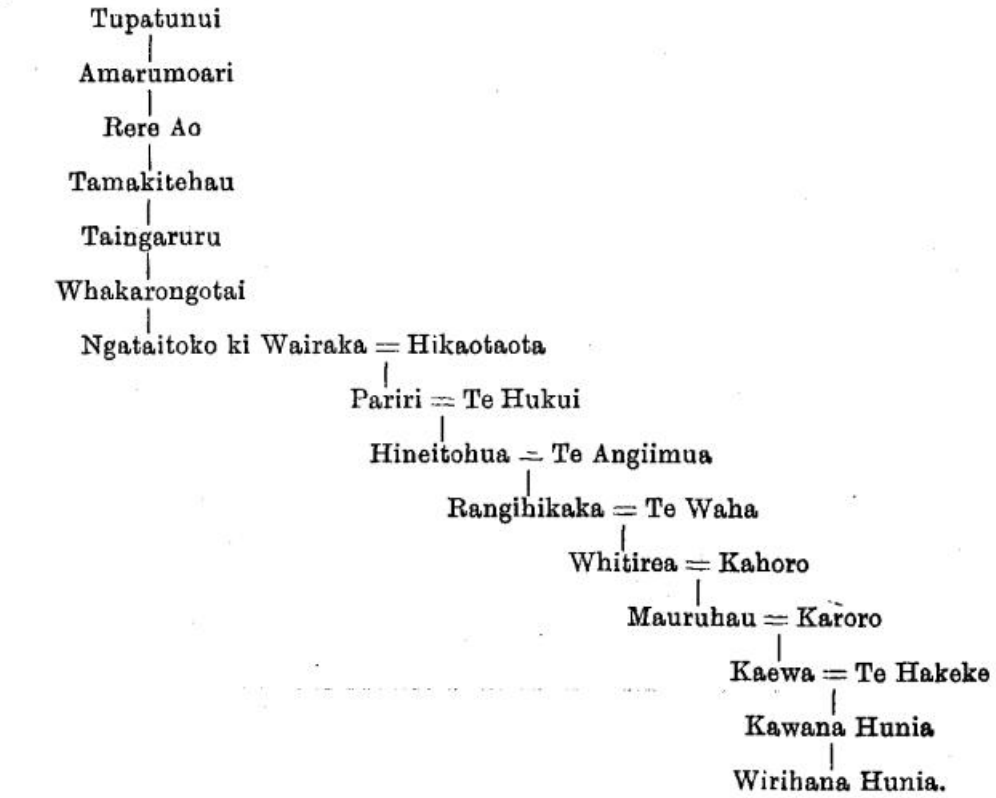
60. Wirihana shared stories about Tupatunui. In the AJHR's, Wirihana is recorded to have said that the Iwi takes its name Muaūpoko from the event of Tupatunui's death, where he was killed near Pukerua by Ngāti Ira. His head was cut off and mounted on a rock, and his people were thereafter referred to as Muaūpoko[3].

61. In another story about Tupatunui, Wirihana says that he reared the famous taniwha named Whangai Mokopuna, on a hill near Manawatū called Taikorea.

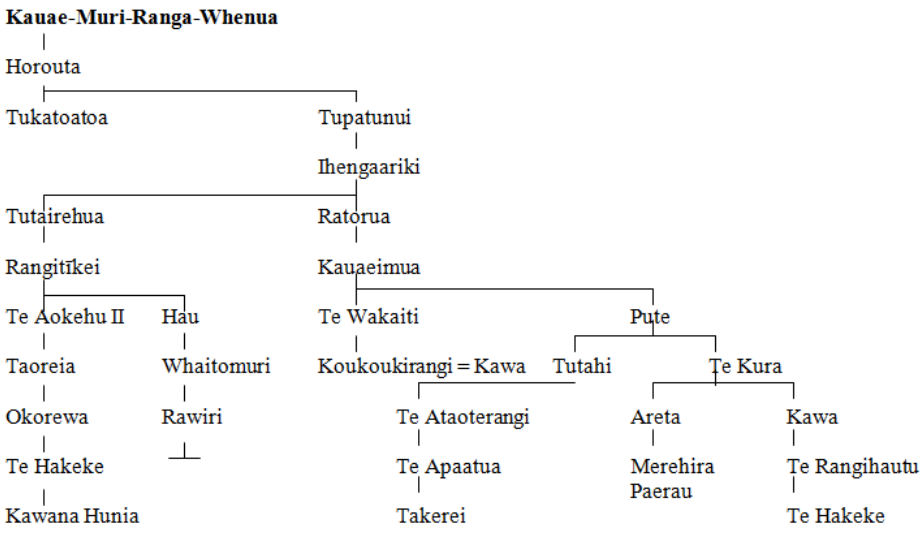
62. Research into the lines of descent from Tupatunui are far from complete. But whilst Te Hakeke and his people of Ngāti Kauae have clear descent from Tupatunui, the Ngāti Pariri hapū of Muaūpoko in their entirety have this whakapapa too.

[3] AJHR – The Horowhenua Block – Minutes of the Proceedings and Evidence in the Native Appellate Court, G – 2A, page 32

63. Here is the whakapapa from Tupatunui to Ngāti Pariri to support this section of my evidence:



64. Here is the whakapapa from Tupatunui to Te Hakeke to support my evidence.



65. There are primary historical references that record Muaūpoko people being north of the Manawatū River. Tanguru occupied lands north of the Manawatū River, and his son

Te Rangihiwinui Keepa was born in this area, near to Taikorea. These people had rights to be on this land through descent from Tupatunui.

66. Whilst Te Hakeke, who became the senior representative of Tupatunui in this area, subscribed to being Ngāti Apa, this did not make all of the descendants of Tupatunui members of Ngāti Apa. In those times, Iwi affiliation appears to me to have been driven politically, as much as being driven by whakapapa and land boundaries. I would argue that in those times, Muaūpoko people from further south would come and go from Tupatunui whenua with no thought of suddenly becoming Ngāti Apa. These firm views about Iwi identity being associated with well-defined land boundaries came in after the arrival of the Tainui people in Rangitīkei and Manawatū.

67. Furthermore, in paragraph 5, the connection of Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko is discussed arising from the marriage of an early Rangitāne migrant to the area named Tamakere marrying Whakamau from the Ngāti Tauira branch of Ngāti Apa.

68. Muaupoko, almost in its totality, are descendants of the eldest child of Tamakere and Whakamau, named Te Aonui. Potentially all of the hapū of Muaūpoko can whakapapa to the Puakiteao and Te Mou lines. Puakiteao is an uri of Te Aonui.

69. Tireo O Te Rangi is a famous ancestor for Muaūpoko. He was born and bred in Te Waipunahau - Lake Horowhenua area. Tireo O Te Rangi had a very transient lifestyle as a toa whawhai and was resident in Tōtaranui - Queen Charlotte Sound and was instrumental in the consolidation of Ngāti Apa at this location.

70. Significantly, Tīreo O Te Rangi was also said to have travelled north, having resided at Tāwhirihoe, at the mouth of the Rangitīkei River. According to Ngāti Tauira tradition, and earlier tupuna and an ancestor of Tireo O Te Rangi named Rangipōwhatu was the first resident tupuna to live there.

71. A number of whānau within Mūaupoko and Rangitāne Ki Manawatū are uri of Tīreo O Te Rangi.

72. Yet another important connection was the marriage of a Aonui descendant named Potangotango, a key tupuna in Muaūpoko, to Tokai, from Ngāti Rangiwhakaturia from Ngā Wairiki, from Whangaehu. Ihaia Taueki is a descendant from this marriage. It is important because Tokai had a brother named Tamakaokaonui who is the ancestor of Rangipikinga, who was married to Te Rangihaeata from Ngāti Toa.

Ngāti Toa

73. I have always considered the fundamentally biased and limited writings of Travers and Buick, and subsequent writings as a serious threat to Kurahaupo and Ngāti Apa identity in the region.

74. These texts generally condemn Ngāti Apa as a conquered people. Having read so much materiel on the relationship between my ancestors of Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Toa, it is my opinion that conclusions of conquest and subjugation of Ngāti Apa by Ngāti Toa lack a reasonable foundation. It is my opinion that without a clear narrative of Ngāti Toa conquest of Ngāti Apa, it should not be assumed that Ngāti Apa was conquered.

75. Therefore, if a compelling account of conquest can not be distilled from all the research that has been done in the past, right through to this Tribunal hearing, then the conclusion of conquest of Ngāti Apa must be revised. It is not good enough for people to simply say that Ngāti Apa was conquered. A similar standard of reasonable proof should be upheld when considering the condemnation of Rangitāne and Muaūpoko as conquered people also.

76. An observation is that early European writers simply accepted claims that Ngāti Toa had conquered Ngāti Apa without doing any substantive research to test these claims. I believe that early writers were influenced by factors such as comparable population between the iwi and a eurocentric analysis of warfare. Buick's Napolean of the South is just such an example of how he viewed Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa, applying this as a framework and likeness of Te Rauparaha's life and deeds, and telling the story accordingly.

77. Consequently, early writers such as Buick and Travers created a biased and prejudiced foundation for history along this coast and many subsequent writers have carried on with the conquest narrative as though it is an established fact. These written histories have been very damaging to Ngāti Apa and our Kurahaupo relatives, namely Muaūpoko and Rangitāne.

78. Ngāti Toa never settled on lands north of Otaki, which is over 40km south of the contemporary Ngāti Apa southern boundary marker at Omarupapako. Ngāti Apa people were killed at Motuiti near the Manawatū River, including Tamaraki who was one of the Ngāti Apa leaders who had escorted Ngāti Toa south from Waitotara.[4] This

[4] Mete Kingi Te Rangi Paetahi, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 438

prompted Ngāti Apa and allies to attack Ngāti Toa and their allies at Waikanae, with significant people being killed including the daughters of Te Pēhi Kupe, and a woman named Pohe, the high born Taranaki wife of Te Rangihiroa.[5]

79. Ngāti Apa consequently led the assault on Kapiti Island where Ngāti Toa and their allies successfully defended themselves and overcame a very large attacking force. Two senior Ngāti Apa leaders, Te Ahuru o te Rangi and Te Rangimairehau were killed in this assault on Kapiti.

80. Shortly after this, Te Hekenga Hauhaua from Taranaki attacked Ngāti Apa for utu, particularly for the killing of Pohe, the daughter of Taranaki chief Haukione who had joined this hekenga.[6] The Pikitara pā on the Rangitīkei River was attacked in this phase but accounts of this event suggest only one person was killed, possibly the Ngāti Apa elder Hatae.

81. Shortly after this, Te Pēhi Kupe of Ngāti Toa returned from England with new muskets. He required further utu for the deaths of his daughters at the hands of Ngāti Apa at Waikanae. Ngāti Toa assaulted the Te Awamate pā near Rangitīkei and around 10 people were killed including the chiefs Te Rangihauku and Koupeka, both of whom had participated in the marriage of Te Rangipikinga to Te Rangihaeata.[7]

82. The next event was the attack led by Mohi Mahi of Ngāti Apa against a party of Ngāti Toa at Rangitīkei. Takapiti and Te Ngohi and between 10 and 20 others of Ngāti Toa were killed, and a man named Tohiariki was captured.[8]

83. This period of conflict ended here with Te Rangipikinga coming to Rangitīkei on behalf of Te Rangihaeata and re-establishing the peace.[9] Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Toa never fought again. In fact, based on the marriage of Rangipikinga and Rangahaeata, Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa people were able to travel to Kapiti and stay for prolonged periods and trade. During this phase, a Whangaehu based relative of Te Rangipikinga named Te Rangiteki died in battle in 1831 when he joined Ngāti Toa forces that attacked Kaiapoi Pā in the South Island.

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5 Te Rangihīroa | NZ History https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/signatory/8-131
6 Riwaka 2003 Ngā Hekenga o Te Ātiawa, pages 57&58
7 Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pg 539-540.
8 Ratana Ngahina, Whanganui Minute Book 21, page 46 and Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pg 539-540
99 Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 540-542

84. Can it reasonably be concluded, on the strength of this summary of events, that Ngāti Apa was conquered by Ngāti Toa? I am reasonably well read on this matter, and I would ask anyone, what additional information have I missed out that would be materiel to the question of conquest over my Ngāti Apa ancestors?

85. This peace with Ngāti Toa was restored prior to any significant settlement by Ngāti Raukawa on the coast. Te Hekenga Whirinui may have occurred prior to the peace. This was a Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Mōkai Pātea party that traveled through the Ngāti Apa rohe seeking utu for the death of Reremai and others at the Kaiinanga battle on the upper Rangitīkei River. Hekenga Whirinui killed Tauwhiro and his whānau from Turakina on their way to Kapiti.[10] This was the extent of the violence.

Tatau Pounamu - Whakahiamoe

86. A very important and culturally steeped event that is worthy of closer examination was the marriage of Te Rangipikinga of Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa to Te Rangihaeata of Ngāti Toa.[11] This account repeats some of the summary above concerning interactions with Ngāti Toa, the difference being it is written here within the context of the tatau Pounamu.

87. Early Pākehā historians were largely dismissive of the significance of the marriage of Te Rangipikinga of Ngāti Apa to Te Rangihaeata of Ngāti Toa. However, the gifting of the pounamu Whakahiamoe by Te Rangipikinga's relatives to Te Rangihaeata at Te Awamate Pā and the acceptance of this gift by Te Rangihaeata followed by the retention of this pounamu by certain whānau in Ngāti Toa speaks to the significance of this marriage. There is a tikanga here that early European writers could not have comprehended and appreciated.

88. Whilst the existence of this tatau pounamu did not prevent fighting and bloodshed, it did give the parties something to default back to that brought an end to the violence. The account of Te Rangipikinga being sent to Rangitīkei to restore the peace between the people speaks to the significance of this marriage and the tatau pounamu.[12]

89. The negativity directed towards this marriage by earlier writers is no doubt influenced by circumstances. Ngāti Apa had suffered losses at the hands of the largely Taitokerau force, which Ngāti Toa had joined, with their muskets in the Tauwhare raids in around

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10 Retimona Te Rango, Whanganui Minute Book 6, page 94
11 Kawana Hunia, Otaki Minute Book 1, page 66 and Kawana Hunia, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 425 & 512
12 Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 540-542

1819. Te Rangipikinga was amongst others captured in this one sided expedition. This was the first encounter of Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa with muskets.

90. Te Rangipikinga was married to Te Rangihaeata as the Tauwhare force returned home. This marriage occurred at Te Awamate, the pā of Te Rangihauku, a close relative of the dominant figure in the area, Te Ahuru o te Rangi. Te Rangipikinga is a sister to Aperahama Tipae from Whangaehu. There was a strong bond between the people of Whangaehu and Rangitīkei. The fact that Te Rangihauku and other leaders with him formalised this marriage was significant. From a Ngāti Apa perspective, this was done under the mana of Te Ahuru o te Rangi who was the most senior Ngāti Apa leader in Rangitīkei and had a large following. The people of Te Awamate gifted the prized pounamu which was accepted by Te Rangihaeata. It was named Whakahiamoe and represents tatau pounamu.

91. This tatau pounamu was to prove very material to Ngāti Toa survival in the early phase of their later migration and settlement in the region. Te Ahuru's people escorted Ngāti Toa from Waitotara to Manawatū during their migration.[13] This included a stay of several months at Rangitīkei enjoying the hospitality of the Ngāti Apa people before travelling south towards Kapiti.

92. The reason that Te Rangipikinga's people did this is because they were aware of a serious threat to Ngāti Toa from a number of leaders in the region who wanted to resist the Ngāti Toa migration. This plan was eventually executed at Te Wi but failed to weaken Ngāti Toa and eliminate Te Rauparaha. Te Ahuru and his people were not involved.

93. The tatau pounamu was contravened first by Ngāti Toa when they killed Tamaraki at Motuiti, following the action at Te Wi. This was primarily a Rangitāne pā occupied by people who had supported that action at Te Wi. Ngāti Toa attacked this pā, and Tamaraki and others were killed. Tamaraki was one of Te Ahuru's people and a relative of Te Rangipikinga, and should have been protected by the Tatau Pounamu.

94. The Ngāti Apa people at Rangitīkei were compelled to avenge Tamaraki, and led a large scale attack on Ngāti Toa at Kapiti. The details of this event are sketchy, but two largely open settlements of Ngāti Toa and their Taranaki allies were attacked simultaneously

13 Nopera Te Ngiha, Otaki 1D, page 392 and Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 513

and were routed with large loss of life, including the daughters of Te Pēhi Kupe and the wife of Te Rangihiroa.

95. With the fervor of war and the taste of success, Ngāti Apa as a whole joined the combined assault on Kapiti Island to dislodge Ngāti Toa and their Taranaki allies. This battle was a calamity. Ngāti Apa warriors including Te Ahuru o te Rangi were the vanguard in this ill fated assault. Te Ahuru o te Rangi and another senior Ngāti Apa leader named Te Rangimairehau from Turakina were killed and no doubt many warriors with them.

96. Te Ahuru o te Rangi was succeeded at Rangitīkei by his foster son, Kawana Te Hakeke. Te Hakeke was able to muster a force of accomplished warriors in the wake of the battles at Waikanae and the defeat at Kapiti. Te Ahuru o te Rangi's nephew Mohi Mahi was amongst those who still represented a serious threat to anyone who would consider settling north of the Manawatū River in this period.

97. In the months following the defeat at Kapiti, there were incursions into the area by Taranaki groups. The first was Te Hekenga Hauhauā which arrived shortly after the defeat at Kapiti. It is documented that a motive for Te Hekenga Hauhauā was utu for the killing of Pohe, given that her father Haukione was a leader of this party. Te Hekenga Hauhauā and elements of Ngāti Toa attacked Pikitara pā which had been fortified by Ngāti Apa under Kawana Te Hakeke and Turangapito. The defenders chose to vacate the pā in the face of such a formidable force armed with muskets. Hatea is named as the Ngāti Apa chief who was killed here. He was elderly and was not able to join the evacuation of the pā. Kaewa, the Muaūpoko wife of Kāwana Te Hakeke was captured during this period in the Oroua area and held for some time before her eventual release.

98. Another event following this was the attack by Ngāti Toa on Te Awamate pā, north of the Rangitīkei River. This attack was prompted by Te Pēhi Kupe who had returned from abroad with new muskets and required utu for his daughters. Ngāti Toa consequently attacked the pā, killing the leaders Rangihauku and Kopeka and around 10 others.

99. Emphasising the point that Ngāti Apa still retained military capacity, towards the end of this period of violence, Mohi Mahi led a party of warriors against a group of Ngāti Toa, attacking them at Poutu on the Rangitīkei River. Both Kawana Hunia and Ratana

Ngahina gave accounts of this engagement in which Takapiti and Te Ngohi and between 10 and 20 others were killed, and a man named Tohiariki was captured.[14]

100. It is at this point that Te Rangipikinga is said to arrived at Rangitīkei to make peace on behalf of her husband Te Rangihaeata. This was the defaulting back to the tatau pounamu after the various aggressions that had occurred. There is a significant amount of evidence that talks about Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa people travelling to Kapiti given the control that Ngāti Toa were exercising over trade, and being there as guests of Te Rangihaeata, including the story of Te Rangiteki being killed fighting with Ngāti Toa at Kaiapoi in Te Waipounamu. There is also the story of the Ngāti Rangiwhakaturia and related hapū travelling to Kapiti after the battle of Kohurupō which was around 1835, in a similar timeframe to Haowhenua, where they lived for up to two years.

101. Also noteworthy is that Ngāti Rangiwhakaturia whakapapa extended beyond Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa with a significant portion of Muaūpoko and even Rangitāne descending from this line of descent. These connections will have been relevant and well known to Te Rangipikinga and Te Rangihaeata.

102. On a more personal note, my ancestor Kawana Te Hakeke was the foster child of Te Ahuru o te Rangi. After the defeat at Kapiti and the death of his foster father, Kawana Te Hakeke dedicated his son Te Rarā o te Rangi to the mission of avenging the death of Te Ahuru. He was said to have taken his son to Pukehou, the lands of his wife Kaewa, where he could look across to Kapiti, where he composed the oriori attached in Appendix 1. Certain lines in that waiata speak of Whakatau potiki, the personification of revenge, bringing Te Rarā o te Rangi forth into the world of light, thus dedicating him to this mission. The mindset then, fresh in the aftermath of the defeat at Kapiti Island, was clearly one of defiance, not of acquiescence and surrender.

103. However, within his own lifetime, this intent to seek revenge for Te Ahuru was curbed by what was ultimately in the best interests of the people. Te Hakeke himself took on a much more diplomatic role, doing his part to keep the doorway open to Kapiti so his people could benefit from the tatau pounamu and engage in trade with the Europeans.[15]

The Peace made by Te Whatanui

14 Ratana Ngāhina, Whanganui Minute Book 21, page 46 anc Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 540
15 Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 542-543

104. Te Hekenga Whirinui occurred in 1826. This warparty was led by Te Whatanui, Te Heuheu, Te Rangimorehurehu, Te Whakarau, Te Wanikau, Popoki and Tawera. Te Hekenga Whrinui sought utu for the death of Reremai and others at Kaiinanga on the upper Rangitīkei River. Ngāti Apa had been called upon to attack the Mōkai Pātea people at Kaiinanga on the upper Rangitīkei River by a man named Moeroa. Many people were killed at Kaiinanga including a woman named Reremai who was connected to Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tuwharetoa. A focus of Te Hekenga Whirinui was to seek retribution for Reremai. There is an account of a brutal killing at Pourewa of a Turakina whānau by Te Hekenga Whirinui which included Te Heuheu and Te Whatanui. The majority of Ngāti Apa at this time had evacuated the area to avoid the warparty. They went to Wairarapa to secure muskets. Once Te Hekenga Whirinui had come and gone, the Ngāti Apa people who were in Wairarapa returned to Rangitīkei. The claim that the land had been cleared by Te Hekenga Whirinui is a falsehood.

105. Within the context of this submission, a critically important event occurred after peace had been established with Ngāti Toa and the main Ngāti Raukawa migration under Te Whatanui arrived. This migration was initially aggressive towards Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa when they entered the rohe via the Turakina River. At least one person was killed on the Upper Turakina. As an interesting side note, the people at the inland extent of Ngā Wairiki and their Whanganui neighbours had been embroiled in a long feud with Ngāti Tuwharetoa and their allies, including the Tainui people. They were attacked by Ngāti Matakore from Ngāti Maniapoto after a particular battle at Ruatahuna near Taupo.

106. Whatanui and this hekenga then travelled to Rangitīkei where a party including Ngāti Kauwhata went inland and travelled through the Oroua district, capturing a senior woman named Ruakete and others, and killing several others as well.[16]

107. In response to this mirgration and its aggressive deeds, a large warparty was organized to attack Ngāti Raukawa. Ngāti Raukawa mobilized to meet this threat. These forces met on the Manawatū River, but rather than fight, Te Whatanui famously offered peace to the various Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne and Muaūpoko leaders who largely accepted. It is documented that Kawana Te Hakeke agreed to peace whilst his cousin Paora Turangapito quietly disagreed. This occurred at a place called Karekare.[17]

16 Tapa Te Whata, Otaki Minute Book 1E, page 614 and Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1, page 207
17 Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 516-518

108. Despite Turangapito's reluctance and a small engagement he later had with Ngāti Raukawa at Rangitīkei, this peace that was initiated by Te Whatanui at Karekare largely held.

109. An early event that demonstrated that peace was indeed established between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa was a subsequent migration of Ngāti Raukawa that was welcomed by Ngāti Apa at the strategically significant location of Pukepuke, located between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū Rivers, where Ngāti Raukawa was warmly received and fed by their Ngāti Apa hosts.[18]

110. It is my strong contention that the peace with Ngāti Toa through Te Rangihaeata and the peace that was agreed with Te Whatanui are fundamental impediments to any Ngāti Toa or Ngāti Raukawa claim of conquest over Ngāti Apa.

111. It is my contention that a single Ngāti Raukawa claim over Ngāti Apa whenua is a modern creation to deal with an otherwise complicated history, and this approach also completely denies Ngāti Apa and our Kurahaupo relatives from rights to their ancestral whenua. It is a logical approach therefore for Ngāti Apa to point out the layers of detail that sits behind Ngāti Apa rights and Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa rights to what was formerly whenua occupied by Ngāti Apa.

112. My advice to my Ngāti Apa relatives and our most affected hapū groups is that Ngāti Apa should acknowledge those Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata and other affiliated hapū that have settled north of the Manawatū River and built Marae and occupied certain areas for generations now. This may seem disingenuous because Ngāti Apa has no Marae between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū Rivers, so who is Ngāti Apa to acknowledge those people who are still visible on the whenua today?

113. However, from my perspective, it is about acknowledging the contemporary reality of what has happened since 1840 both in terms of the whenua and the people. Intermarriage is a factor in my thinking, but also manaakitanga and the fact that there are bigger issues for iwi and hapū to focus on than historic arguments about land rights over whenua that, in an ownership sense, has mostly been lost to tauiwi. I think a basic level of respect between iwi is required, whereby all Kurahaupo and Tainui hapū and iwi who were on this coast in 1840 should have a place to stand and call their own.

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18 Horomona Te Toremi, Otaki Minute Book 1E, pages 570 & 576.

114. For Ngāti Apa, the apparent failure of our people to maintain a visible presence on the whenua between the Manawatū and Rangitīkei Rivers is much more to do with colonization than any pressure exerted upon Ngāti Apa to vacate this land by Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata. To get to the nub of overlapping claims between Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata, some key facts exist that cannot be disputed;

a) Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki leaders signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Tāwhirihoe on the southern edge of the Rangitīkei River estuary in 1840. Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki were largely living together at Rangitīkei in this period. Te Awahou was a large Ngāti Apa fortified settlement located on the south bank of the Rangitīkei River.

b) Ngāti Apa had a fairly modern settlement at Putanga on the Oroua River located near to the Rotonui a Hau wetland in 1840. They had returned here from Parewānui under Kereopa Te Rangitākorou including elders such as Te Auahi Turoa and Matiaha. A whare was built there in 1840 for Christian karakia and Tiriti signatory Hamuera Te Raikokiritia ministered to the people here. Ngāti Kauwhata did not prevent Te Rangitakorou and his people returning here. In fact, people from this kāinga are buried at Te Awahuri with Ngāti Kauwhata. The most obvious example of this is Mokomoko who has a grave stone. But kōrero suggests that Te Rangitakorou, Te Auahi Turoa and Matiaha, all key ancestors, are buried there too.

c) In the Himatangi Case, Ngāti Apa witnesses say that they were still utilizing their ancestral wetlands at Koputara, Kaikokopū, Pukepuke and Omanuka as well as numerous other wetlands and lakes that have since been drained. The association with these wetlands is a theme that has carried on for Kaikokopu, Pukepuke and Omanuka in particular with ownership in these locations awarded to Ngāti Apa ancestors after the Rangitīkei Manawatū transaction. Although not overly visible, the Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira whānau in these lands have been undertaking land management and administration activities since the 1800s when legal ownership of these lands was determined.

d) The Ratana Whānau and the Tamihana Whānau of Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki maintained ownership rights in Pukepuke until the 1950s when the Government compelled the owners to sell this land, threatening the Public Works Act if the owners did not agree. Despite losing ownership in these circumstances, these whānau secured a deed protecting eel fishing rights, and Ratana whānau

members and their associates from the Ratana community have utilized this lake for generations right through to today to harvest eels.

e) The Hunia and Kawana whānau have retained Māori Freehold Blocks in conjunction with the Kaikokopū lake. This lake was better known as Hunia lake, and the whānau controlled duck shooting on the lake until it was revealed to them that the lake was not part of the reserve. Hunia whānau members were trespassed from the Lake after they refused to acknowledge the Pākehā owners and continued to utilize the lake. In the current generation, the larger of the two blocks was planted in pine and this has been harvested within the past two years.

f) The Kawana whānau have retained the Māori Freehold Block in conjunction with Omanuka which they retain to this day.

g) Kawana Hunia retained a large reserve called Pakapakatea which is the current location of the Ohakea airforce base. For a short period Hunia had a compound on this block that was dedicated to the Kingitanga. He worked with certain Ngāti Raukawa chiefs and together they adjudicated on matters under the Māori King's laws. They were eventually worn down by the local settler government authorities and the Hunia whānau eventually lost this land through a mortgage foreclosure despite efforts in the High Court to prevent this land from being taken.

115. This situation from 1840 to today on the land from Rangitīkei to Manawatū was related to events north of the Rangitīkei River too, namely the evolution of Parewānui from a traditional settlement, to a defensive position for the entire Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa tribes, to a permanent, almost European styled settlement for the local Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira hapū, and the Ngāti Tupua hapū, under the strong influence of Christianity.

116. The Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira people started collectivising here in the 1830s. It is well documented that there was substantial population decline across the entire Māori population from this period through to the mid 1890s. The population of Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira centralised at Parewānui more and more during this period, and the population of this hapū declined and declined until only a handful of whānau remained. This was the pressure that saw Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira leave their remaining settlements between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū Rivers namely Putanga and Te Awahou.

117. Ongoing land loss on the Parewānui reserve led to this once large settlement that boasted a shop and post office, four active meeting houses, the Maramatanga religious movement, several national kotahitanga hui and so much activity that is recorded in history, being reduced to farmland.

118. One of the main morehu whānau was the Ratana whānau. Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana moved from Parewānui to his lands at Turakina where he founded the Ratana movement. The Marae at Parewānui was gone by the 1960s, and the Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira families are only now rebuilding the people with wānanga, having secured the former school property as a base. A reservation has been established at this site and the hapū is moving towards Marae build which will further signal the return of Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira as a stronger presence on their whenua.

119. From a Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira perspective, establishing a Marae at Parewānui represents a significant step towards reconnected in a more visible way with the rohe of Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira, including the interests described between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū rivers.

120. Getting back to acknowledgement of the visible groups of Ngāti Raukawa between the Rangitīkei and Manawatū Rivers, following the high profile Native Land Court cases such as the Himatangi Case and the Aorangi case in particular, there are important narratives for Ngāti Kauwata and the different hapū of Ngāti Raukawa that came to this area that are summarized below.

Ngāti Kauwhata

121. The weight of evidence from the reports and the Native Land Court Minutes, particularly the Aorangi Case, clearly shows that Ngāti Kauwhata were the first iwi to occupy formerly Ngāti Apa whenua north of the Manawatū River. Accounts of their migration with Te Whatanui and Ngāti Raukawa are well documented including the decision of Ngāti Kauwhata to explore the Oroua area on their way. In doing so they captured a senior woman named Ruakete. In a way, she was used to bring the parties together after this event. It is documented that her family followed Ngāti Kauwhata and asked for her return.

122. According to accounts, Ngāti Kauwhata brought Ruakete back to her people who met them at Te Oahura, a fortified pā that was formally on an island or a headland in the

Kaikokopu lake, before it was extensively drained[19] [20]. In recognition of her return, a waka was placed in the whenua at Oroua by Ngāti Tauira and Ngāti Tūmokai leader Te Raikokiritia and Te Auahi, and a gift of land was made at Mangawhata[21] [22] [23] [24] [25].

123. In the Aorangi case, Ngāti Kauwhata claimed that these events were grounds for a claim of conquest. A son of Ruakete named Hamuera Te Raikokiritia took great issue with this because he had personally maintained close ties with Ngāti Kauwhata. In another case for the Taonui Ahuaturanga block a Ngāti Kauwhata witness named Karehana Porae freely acknowledged Hamuera as a rangatira with a large say over the whenua[26].

124. Based on the established narrative of how Ngāti Kauwhata came to be in Oroua, a claim of conquest should be seen as unfounded.

125. A more compelling and mutually respectful view would be that Ngāti Kauwhata accepted a gift of land at Oroua, and over time the relationship evolved, and other factors such as the concentration of Ngāti Tauira people at Parewānui contributed to Ngāti Kauwhata becoming the dominant group over much of the Oroua River, particularly where the hybrid Ngāti Tauira and Ngāti Tumokai people had formerly occupied.

126. Much should be made of the last Ngāti Tauira settlement at Putanga and the burial of several of the residents at Te Awahuri with Ngāti Kauwhata, as this indicates that a special relationship existed. After Haowhenua, Ngāti Kauwhata occupation at Oroua intensified.

Ngāi Te Upokoiri

127. Events in the Rangitīkei and Manawatū areas were greatly impacted by events that occurred further afield. A prolonged period of conflict in the 1820s in Heretaunga that had commenced with tensions between Ngāi Te Upokoiri and their whanaunga Te Whatuiapiti led to the displacement of the Ngāi Te Upokoiri people who migrated to Manawatū.

[19] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1, page 207
[20] Hepanaia Te Punga o Tainui, Whanganui Minute Book 6, page 4
[21] Wirihana Hunia, Whanganui Minute Book 21, page 130
[22] Hamuera Te Raikokiritia, Otaki Minute Book 3, page 169
[23] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 3, page 163
[24] Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu, Otaki Minute Book 3, page 177
[25] Tapa Te Whata, Otaki Minute Book 1E, page 616
[26] Karehana Parae , Wairarapa Minute Book 5, page 173

128. How this links with the Rangitīkei and Manawatū area connects to a largely overlooked whakapapa from this area which comes into play, being that of Matangi, and his much later descendant Tumokai. Divisions of Ngāti Apa, Mōkai Pātea, Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Rangitāne share this descent. Also, key marriages had occurred between Ngāi Te Upokoiri and Rangitāne o Manawatū which further facilitated this migration to Manawatū.

129. Kawana Te Hakeke and divisions of Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki had previously travelled to the battle of Mangatoetoe near Heretaunga to support Ngāi Te Upokoiri at an early stage in the conflicts there.

130. The arrival of Ngāi Te Upokoiri in Manawatū thus bolstered Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa. Ngāi Te Upokoiri were to occupy the Manawatū River from the early 1830s to the early 1850s during this precise period when Ngāti Raukawa moved into the region and consolidated their presence.[27]

131. An incident occurred when Hori Kingi Te Hanea, a Ngāti Apa leader and a descendant of Ngāti Tauira and Ngāti Tumokai killed Te Ngare who was described as Ngāi Te Upokoiri at Kiwitea, near Fielding. Te Ngare was also of Tumokai descent and was related to Te Hanea. The violence at Kiwitea had the potential to escalate. Kawana Te Hakeke of Ngāti Apa and Te Wanikau of Ngāi Te Upokoiri addressed this situation with the betrothal of Te Rarā o te Rangi (aka Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke) from Ngāti Apa to Rutakau of Ngāi Te Upokoiri. To this day, Hunia descendants hold the taiaha and kahukiwi that were gifted to Kawana when this marriage later occurred.

132. Also as part of this marriage, Kawana Te Hakeke gifted former Ngāti Tūmokai land on the Rangitīkei River that had become Ngāti Apa land to Rutakau's father, Maihi Ngāpapa. The first settlement on this land was called Te Houhou, to commermorate the peace making that occurred between Kawana Te Hakeke and Te Wanikau. This opened the door for an influx of Ngāti Tūmokai from Mōkai Pātea to occupy Rata, leading to the extension and establishment of Ngāti Hauiti from further inland at Otara to Rātā.

133. The key point here is that the Ngāi Te Upokoiri migration into the Manawatū region served to strengthen the Ngāti Apa position at a time when Ngāti Raukawa says Ngāti Apa had capitulated and were conquered. From the period of the 1830s through to the early 1850s, the Ngāti Apa position was arguably very strong by virtue of the fact that

27 Pirimona Te Urukahika, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 503.

Ngāi Te Upokoiri was there and the historical ties had been refreshed with the marriage of Hunia to Rutakau.

134. When Ngāi Te Upokoiri returned back to Heretaunga in the 1850s, one of Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke and Rutakau's children named Hera Te Upokoiri returned with them, whilst her siblings remained on the West Coast.

135. Before leaving the district, there was a gathering at Moutoa on the Manawatū River attended by Ngati Apa and Rangitane. Te Hirawanu and Peeti Te Aweawe were the senior Rangitane chiefs present, whilst Ngati Apa leaders including Aperahama Tipae, Hori Kingi Te Hanea, Matene Te Matuku, Kawana Hunia and Mohi Mahi. At this gathering, Ngati Te Upokoiri returned the land at Himatangi and Omarupapako to Rangitane and Ngati Apa respectively. Some time following this 'runanga' Ngati Te Upokoiri departed[28] [29] [30] [31] [32].

136. These Ngāi Te Upokoiri movements away from the Manawatū do have some coincidence with the movements of the Manawatū oriented hapū of Ngāti Raukawa who had extended their settlements there after Kohurupo. This emphasises again the late timing of these people extending their interests north of the Manawatū River, being well after 1840.

Ngāti Kahoro, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Mai Otaki

137. After Ngāti Kauwhata, the next significant migration was Ngāti Raukawa hapū groups who began coming north in the mid 1830s. Whilst assertions have been made that certain Ngāti Raukawa hapū moved north of the Manawatū River in this period based on pre-existing rights of conquest, there is no separating this migration away from Otaki and Ohau from the impact of the Haowhenua battle in 1834 when large forces congregated in that area and fought a series of engagements spanning months. There is little doubt that the depletion of crops and other food prompted migrations away from the area to sustain the people, and create space and time to restore the crops and natural resources in Otaki and Ohau.[33]

[28] Paramena Te Naunau, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 459
[29] Karaitiana Takamoana, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pp 446,447
[30] Pirimona Te Urukahika, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pp 503,504
[31] Herewini Tawera, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 506
[32] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 544
[33] Hapaniaia Te Punga o Tainui, Whanganui Minute Book 6, pages 10-11.

138. Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa had supported Ngāti Raukawa at Haowhenua. The Ngāti Apa hapū on the Rangitīkei River then hosted several groups that came to Rangitīkei after Haowhenua. The principle groups were Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro, under Nepia Taratoa and Horomona Te Toremi.[34] These people lived initially with the Ngāti Tupataua hapū at Te Ana, on the north bank of the Rangitīkei River, near to Marton. These people lived here for over two years.[35] At the same time, Kingi Te Ahoaho and Ngāti Mai Otaki stayed at Pukepuke with Mohi Mahi and his people.[36]

139. A noteworthy event occurred whilst Ngāti Parewahawaha were at Te Ana. At this time, Te Hakeke was based with his people at Te Hinau a Hapainga on the Oroua River. Nepia Taratoa commenced clearing land at Paeroa, later renamed Parewānui. Upon hearing that Taratoa was doing this, Te Hakeke lead his people there and spoke to Nepia. As a result, Nepia returned to Te Ana and Te Hakeke occupied Paeroa.[37]

140. Following this period, Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa had become embroiled in conflict with Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru. The reason for Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa participation at Haowhenua was largely to get revenge against Ngāti Ruanui for a particular murder of a relative of Aperahama Tipae[38] [39]. Another murder by Pehi Turoa, which had been endorsed by Ngā Rauru and occurred in their rohe, lead to a large attack on a pā called Koatanui not long after Ngāti Raukawa hapū had arrived at Rangitīkei. Ngā Wairiki and Ngāti Apa went in full force and were supported by Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāi Te Upokoiri, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro. This party was joined by Whanganui and Koatanui was a significant pa-horo[40] [41] [42].

141. Immediately after this, due to the Ngā Rauru and Whanganui (Ngā Paerangi) leader Takarangi Atua taking offence to something that happened at Koatanui, he attacked a Ngā Wairiki kāinga and killed a woman named Waina. This lead to the fortification of a pā on the north bank of the Whangaehu River. Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro of Ngāti Raukawa joined the effort to retrieve Waina's body and fortify the pā. Takarangi Atua and his Ngāti Rongomaitawhiri people attacked the pā at night time, and

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[34] Horomona Te Toremi, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 572 and Nopera Te Ngiha, Otaki Minute Book 1D, 395
[35] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 520 and Horomona Te Toremi, Otaki Minute Book 1E, page 573
[36] Ratana Ngahina, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 554
[37] Wirihana Hunia, Whanganui Minute Book 21, pages 109-110 and Hare Reweti, Whanganui Minute Book 21, pages 136-137
[38] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1, page 75
[39] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 519 and 537
[40] Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Whanganui Minute Book 5, page 443
[41] Wirihana Hunia, Whanganui Minute Book 17, page 79
[42] Te Rangihiwinui Keepa, Otaki Minute Book 3, page 171

several hours of fighting followed before Takarangi Atua himself was killed. Upon his death, his people withdrew. The pā was named Kohurupō after this battle.

142. Following Kohurupō, Ngā Wairiki, Ngāti Apa and these Ngāti Raukawa hapū expected retribution. This is around 1837. At this point, Kawana Te Hakeke called Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki together at Parewānui and a large fortified pā and settlement was built. Te Awahou on the other side of the river was similarly upgraded as there was too many people at Parewānui. Ngāti Raukawa responded too and fortified the Poutu pā opposite Parewānui and inland of Te Awahou pā.

143. At this stage, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro left Te Ana and migrated permanently to the area of Poutu, inland of the Makowhai Stream. From here, the hapū expanded inland with a significant settlement called Matahiwi near to present day Ohakea and Ohinepuhiawe, and Maramaihoea. Ngāti Apa claims that there were two gifts, one from Ngāti Kauae and Ngāti Tauira, and one from Ngāti Tupataua and there is Ngāti Raukawa evidence acknowledging this, particularly from Horomona Te Toremi of Ngāti Kahoro in the Himatangi case.[43]

144. The next event is the Kuititanga battle. Taratoa invited Kawana Te Hakeke to join the attack, but he declined, stating his intention to take his pigs to Kapiti to sell. It was at this time that Ngāti Apa said that Kingi Te Ahoaho and his people who had been staying with Ngāti Apa at Pukepuke returned to Otaki, and did not return north of the Manawatū.[44] This is significant from a Ngāti Apa perspective when emphasising that the different Tainui iwi and hapū that came to the area were autonomous. Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki are generally said to have stayed out of Kuititanga where Ngāti Raukawa were heavily defeated by the Taranaki people. An allegation is made that Te Hakeke informed the Taranaki people of the impending attack. For some time after Kuititanga, the Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa settlements north of Manawatū were much reduced. This would almost certainly have been because Ngāti Raukawa would have concentrated in defensive positions further south in case of counter attack.

145. Given the evidence above, Ngāti Raukawa may have been unhappy with Ngāti Apa and potentially other groups that did not support them at Kuititanga. Aside from the arrival of Christianity and the 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the next big event in the area was the attempt by Te Ahu Karamu and Te Whatanui to unilaterally transact a land deal with the New Zealand Company from Horowhenua to the Rangitīkei River. Kawana Hunia

43 Horomona Te Toremi, Otaki Minute Book 1E, page 575 and Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, Otaki Minute Book 1D, 521
44 Ratana Ngahina, Otaki 1D, page 554

claimed that the Kurahaupo people and Ngāi Te Upokoiri were not consulted and were alarmed by these actions. Ngāti Apa responded with Te Upokoiri and occupied locations in and around the Manawatū River to interfere with the survey and otherwise resist the transaction.

146. There is an opinion that this attempt to do a deal with the New Zealand company marked a turning point in relationships between the various iwi. It signaled that the senior Ngāti Raukawa leadership were prepared to act as overlords on the coast, a role that Ngāti Apa and other iwi did not acknowledge.

147. This reference above to selling pigs is interesting, because in 1841, Ngāti Raukawa implemented a muru after Ngāti Apa ignored a Ngāti Raukawa imposed rahui at the mouth of the Rangitīkei River in 1842 after a high born Ngāti Maru person drowned when a ship called the Cloudy Bay wrecked off the coast. A large party of Ngāti Raukawa descended on Parewānui, and they killed all of Te Hakeke's pigs.

148. Continuing the theme of sus scrofa domesticus, Matene Te Whiwhi, a documented source of Ngāti Toa history, would later label Te Hakeke as a "swine lord". This was disclosed by a Ngāti Parewahawaha leader named Hare Reweti who lived at Ohinpuhiawe on the Rangitīkei River. Hare was married to Rakapa who was from a Ngāti Raukawa father named Paraone and a Ngāti Apa mother named Mata Whakaraia who was strongly connected to Ngāti Tauira and Ngā Ariki. He made this following comments in this investigation, and his evidence was generally support by another witness named Wereta Kimate.

I knew Te Hakeke and Kawana Hunia, his son. Te Hakeke was a chief.

Ngāti Raukawa claimed the land about Poutu by conquest. Taratoa did not hold that view in his day.

I heard Matene Te Whiwhi say that Te Hakeke was a swinelord, but it was a lie.[45]

149. The key comment that Nepia Taratoa did not hold the view that Ngāti Raukawa rights at Rangitīkei were based on conquest is very significant. This viewpoint is reflected in actions by Nepia in his lifetime. He set himself apart from the Ngāti Raukawa hapū who occupied the Awahou – Foxton area when they conducted the 1858-1859 Te Awahou block transaction. Historical accounts are clear, and it was acknowledged by Ihakara

45 Hare Reweti, Whanganui Minute Book 21, page 138.

Tukumaru who was the principle Ngāti Raukawa chief behind this transaction, that Nepia Taratoa opposed the extension of that block to Rangitīkei and was instrumental in limiting the transaction boundary to Omarupapako, preserving that land north of that point for his hapū (Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro) and for Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne.[46]

150. There are strong accounts of Nepia Taratoa, the senior Ngāti Raukawa leader at Rangitīkei working with Ngāti Apa in the 1850s to contain the northern boundary of the Te Awahou block purchase at Foxton. A senior Ngāti Raukawa leader named Ihakara Tukumaru is recorded to have said:

" Leading up to the Te Awahou sale I threatened to sell up to the Rangitikei river, Nepia stepped in and created a boundary for himself, Ngāti Apa and Rangitāne at Omarupapako"[47]

151. History shows that Nepia Taratoa took an increasingly dominating role with the whenua at Rangitīkei including leases south of the Rangitīkei River, but in many cases he included Ngāti Apa leaders in leases. In 1850, it was agreed by Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa at Rangitīkei that Taratoa would assume chieftainship over the whenua for a period of time.[48]

152. This is a crucial point when trying to understand the relationship that existed between Ngati Apa and Ngati Raukawa at this time. Armstrong raised the point that the death of Te Hakeke in 1848 had created a leadership vacuum that Nepia Taratoa might try to fill. Indeed, the Ngati Apa acknowledgement of Taratoa on this occasion provides a good example to Taratoa being given a role that he almost certainly would not have been given by Ngati Apa if Te Hakeke was still alive.

153. Ngāti Apa also led a number of leases and would include Ngāti Parewahawaha leaders. Tension did start to build when Nepia Taratoa and Ngāti Kauwhata leaders erected pou to mark their respective interests, leading to people like Waitere Marumaru from Ngāti Apa cutting down pou and cultivating lands to protest. Whilst Taratoa largely kept the peace, after he died, tensions flared and armed conflict looked inevitable. This led to the Rangitīkei Manawatu transaction.

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46 Matene Te Matuku, Otaki Minute Book 1C, pages 455-472 – Nepia stood at Omarupapapa and extending his arms said "Ngatiraukawa kua mutu kia a koe kua huri taku tuara kia a Ngatiraukawa taku aro aro ki a Ngatiapa."

47 Ihakara Tukumaru, Otaki MB 1e, pg 606
David Armstrong, 2004, "The 1849 Rangitīkei/Turakina Transaction and its Aftermath" pages 177-178

154. The attempted NZ Company transaction and the killing of his pigs were big blows for Kawana Te Hakeke and his people. Whilst Te Hakeke maintained a close relationship with Nepia Taratoa and his people at Rangitīkei, the relationship with other Ngāti Raukawa leadership in this time was somewhat soured.

155. Kawana Te Hakeke was to lead efforts to enter a Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki led transaction with the settler government. After several years of negotiations, this culminated in the Rangitīkei – Turakina transaction of 1849. Te Hakeke wanted to include all the iwi lands in this arrangement, bearing in mind he had no comprehension of an English sale and purchase agreement, extending as far south as Omarupapako, but in this ambition, he was thwarted by strong Ngāti Raukawa opposition. The southern boundary of the transaction was pushed back to the Rangitīkei River[49].

156. Te Hakeke was dying in 1848 when he wrote to McLean in an attempt to see the transaction concluded before he passed. Sadly, McLean was not to be rushed, and Te Hakeke died. There is a passage from his letter to McLean in which Te Hakeke wrote;[50]

I au anō ngā whakaaro o aku matua
I te whakaaro mo te riri
I te whakaaro mo te pai
I te whakaaro mo te toro whenua
A, I te whakaaro whakatupu mo te Iwi

His reasons for entering into a land transaction with the Crown are captured in the final sentence, this transaction was about the advancement of Te Hakeke's people. Te Hakeke died in December 1848.

157. This resonates with kōrero recorded from a Native Land Court hearing where Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu said the following about the signing of Te Triti o Waitangi by Rangitāne and Ngāti Apa[51]:

The Court will know that a treaty like that of Waitangi was a highly important matter; and that low and obscure persons, beggars and slaves, and men without power and authority, would not be asked to become parties to such a treaty. On the contrary, it is clear that men possessing and exercising power and authority, owners of land and men of substance, would be the men sought after for their signatures….. The Chiefs of

[49] David Armstrong, 2004, "The Rangitīkei /Turakina Transaction and its Aftermath" pp 62 - 73
[50] Papers Past | Letters and Diaries | The Papers of Sir Donald McLean | Series 2 Inward letters (Maori) | 4 pages written Oct 1848 by Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke to Sir Donald McLean in Ngamotu and Rangitikei... | This page
[51] Papers Past | Newspapers | Waka Maori | 24 December 1872 | Hoani Meihana's address to the Native Lands Court...

Ngatiapa signed at Rangitikei to secure and fix their title to their lands, and their power and authority over their people. And that right and title and power and authority has descended upon their tribes and upon us their children, and has remained with us down to the present day when we stand before the Court.

158. The point I am wanting to make here is that Nepia Taratoa, was keeping the peace by acknowledging Ngāti Apa. In my opinion he was aligned with the original peace made by Te Whatanui at Karekare, and he made his own agreements with Kawana Te Hakeke and others of Ngāti Apa, which he largely upheld until the end. He died in January 1863 at Matahiwi on the Rangitīkei River. The next generation of Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki leadership and Ngāti Raukawa leadership quickly became hostile to one another. Ngāti Apa committed to support colonial forces in their wars in the Bay of Planty and in Taranaki, and were consequently armed with modern firearms. This definitely emboldened Ngāti Apa and Ngā Wairiki in this period.

159. In my opinion, there is a degree of hypocrisy when people choose to claim rights alleged to have been gained from battles where Ngāti Apa with traditional weapons were fighting against musket armed opponents, only to complain later when Ngāti Apa gained the advantage of having better guns.

160. In recapping the account of Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Mai Otaki movements north of Manawatū, there is this evidence from Ngāti Kahoro leader Horomona Te Toromi from the Himatangi case[52]:

After our allies left after the Haowhenua battle, we were afraid of Ngati Awa and left our pa and resorted to Ohau and remained there. Te Rauparaha, Whatanui and others all went to Kapiti. Nepia, Kuruho, Aperahama Huruhuru, of Ngati Parewahawaha, and Haerewharara, Honoiti and I of Patutukituki all decided to go to Rangitikei. We decided to go and befriend Ngati Apa, we were not to my knowledge invited by Te Hakeke. Kingi Ahoaho joined us on the way….On leaving Waituna we went to Te Ana and built a pa with Ngati Apa because we were living as one tribe. Stayed here at Te Ana for two years, after which we fought at Koatanui.

During these fights (Koatanui – Kohurupo) none of Parakaia's came to join us, Ngati Apa was our tribe. Nepia returned to Otaki, Hori Te Hanea gave us land at Makowhai running up to Poutu and Takirihitau and to Maramaihoea, Mangamahoe and Huakituore were

[52] Horomona Te Toremi, Otaki Minute Book 1E, pages 573-575

added to this by Ngati Tupataua, then to Te Whakaari and Te Kakahou o te Raura. These are all south of the Rangitikei river

Ngāti Turanga, Ngāti Rakau and Ngāti Patukohuru

161. At the same time that Ngati Parewahawaha and other hapu of Ngati Raukawa migrated to Rangitikei, another group of Ngati Raukawa hapu migrated to Manawatu. This group was made up of Te Patukohuru (Ngati Patukohuru), Ngati Parengaua, Ngati Takihiku, Ngati Rakau, Ngati Turanga and Ngati Te Au.[53]

162. These hapu settled initially at the Rangitane settlement of Puketotara. Whilst here, these hapu took over cultivations at Himatangi, near the Manawatu River, which belonged to Matene Te Matuku of Ngati Apa. Tapa Te Whata of Ngati Kauwhata explained that these Ngati Raukawa hapu helped themselves in general to Ngati Apa, Rangitane and Ngati Kauwhata cultivations in the area.

163. A chief named Taraotea (not to be confused with Taratoa) was named as the leader amongst this group of Ngati Raukawa hapu. According to a Ngati Te Upokoiri source, Taraotea lead the combined hapu of 100 people. This source claimed that the cultivations at Himatangi which the Ngati Raukawa hapū cultivated were under Te Paneiri (Ngati Te Upokoiri) control at the time. It was explained that these cultivations originally belonged to Ngati Apa and Rangitane but that Ngati Te Upokoiri had taken them because they were a "heke".[54]

164. Ngati Te Upokoiri originated from Hawkes Bay. They had been living on the banks of the Manawatu River in exile after fighting in the Hawkes Bay. They claimed to have arrived there three years prior to Haowhenua, and they testified that Ngati Raukawa had not come to that area prior to Haowhenua[55] [56].

165. Before long, the Ngati Raukawa hapu under Taraotea left Puketotara and occupied Opiki, on the south bank of the Manawatu River. Tapa Te Whata gave a more detailed account of these movements, explaining that Patukohuru and the other hapu stayed at Puketotara for a short while before they crossed to the south bank of the Manawatu River and made clearings at Te Kirikiri. From here, they expanded down stream to Opiki. It was probably at this point that Ngati Raukawa ceased utilisation of the Himatangi

[53] Tapa Te Whata, Otaki Minute Book 1E, page 618 and Ihakara Tukumaru, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 596-600
[54] Kereopa Tukumaru, Otaki 1E, page 619.
[55] Karaitiana Takamoana, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 446
[56] Paramena Te Naunau, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 460

cultivations, though Ihakara Tukumaru did say that these Ngati Raukawa hapu utilised Himatangi for two or three years before focusing on the south bank of the River. It is noted that before Kuititanga, which was 1839, Ngati Raukawa were no longer using the Himatangi cultivations.

166. Tapa Te Whata testified that Ngati Patukohuru and other hapu had occupied Moutoa and Te Ahimate, two locations on the north bank of the Manawatu River, before the battle of Kuititanga in 1839[57]. Despite these occupations, Peti Te Awe Awe of Rangitane claimed that they had not commenced cultivating on the northern bank before Kuititanga[58].

167. In 1842, a European flax trader named Cook established an operation on the north bank of the Manawatu River. In association with this development, Ngati Raukawa hapu from south of the Manawatu River crossed over and established a small settlement at Ahitane. These people were cutting flax for Cook. Whilst here, some members of the hapu ventured further north and erected shelters for bird snaring expeditions. Matene Te Matuku of Ngati Apa was said to have discovered these structures and promptly burnt them.[59]

168. As discussed earlier in this report, the area of Te Awahou was occupied by a large hapu of Ngati Kahungunu, called Ngati Te Upokoiri who occupied this land for almost 20 years up until the early 1850s. Their migration away from the area was not met by a return of Ngati Apa, Muaupoko and Rangitane, so one imagines that the area was virtually uninhabited. It was at this time that the group of hapu of which Taraotea and Ihakara were leaders migrated to Papakiri from their settlements on the south bank of the River.

169. Kawana Hunia of Ngati Apa had married a Ngati Te Upokoiri woman and had stayed at Manawatu with Ngati Te Upokoiri from time to time. He observed that Ngati Raukawa were not cultivating north of the Manawatu River until close to the Te Awahou block transaction which occurred in 1858 or 1859.

170. Upon occupying Papakiri, these Ngati Raukawa hapu began stretching their influence further north, occupying Matene Te Matuku's disused cultivations at Himatangi. Matene claimed that, by this time, he only went to Himatangi to catch birds. He claimed that he found houses and boundary posts at Himatangi and at an eeling lake, and burnt

[57] Tapa Te Whata, Otaki Minute Book 1E, page 619
[58] Peti Te Aweawe, Otaki Minute Book 1D, page 485
[59] Matena Te Matuku, Otaki Minute Book 1D, pages 466-470

them. He later learnt that these belonged to Parakaia Te Poupa of the Ngati Turanga hapu of Ngati Raukawa.

171. Ihakara Tukumaru of Ngāti Patukohuru occupied Tāwhirihoe at the mouth of the Rangitīkei River in the 1860s as tensions arose leading to the Rangitīkei Manawatū transaction of 1866. It would be claimed that Tukumaru was in the habit of utilising Tāwhirihoe prior to the 1860s, however this was most unlikely. It is to be remembered that Nepia Taratoa had contained Ihakara and his people in the southern part of the coastline, and it would not have been a coincidence that this action by Ihakara occurred after Nepia had died.

Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Pikiahu, Ngāti Waewae

172. During this same period, in about 1846, a hapu called Ngati Rangatahi arrived at Rangitikei and set up occupation. These people were of upper Whanganui River and Ngati Maniapoto origins, but had aligned with Te Rangihaeata during his campaign against the colonial forces in the Hutt Valley in the years preceding 1846. Te Rangihaeata's withdrawal to Manawatu lead to Ngati Rangatahi moving instead to Rangitikei[60]. It is quite possible that Ngati Rangatahi were joined by another Ngati Maniapoto hapu called Ngati Matakore, as these people are now also noted as a hapu on the land at Te Reureu.

173. Other writers have not linked this move to Te Rangihaeata's and Te Heu Heu's growing interest in securing Rangitikei under their control.[61] As the following narrative will show, Ngati Rangatahi were soon joined by Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae, who were linked to Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Raukawa. These migrations into Rangitikei would seem to give some validity to the well documented speculation that Te Rangihaeata and Te Heu Heu indeed did want to annex Rangitikei lands under their combined control, and these hapu were perhaps the advance guard.

174. McLean's failure to clarify the inland extent of the purchase proved incredibly problematic. On the 11th June 1849, Richard Taylor accompanied McLean to the upper Whanganui River to meet with Te Mamaku and Peehi Turoa. They were deeply concerned that the inland extent of the purchase included all or parts of Murimotu,

[60] David Armstrong, 2004, "The 1849 Rangitīkei/Turakina Transaction and its Aftermath, pages 79-80, and pages 141-142
[61] David Armstrong, 2004, "The 1849 Rangitīkei/Turakina Transaction and its Aftermath", page 55

Taupo and Waikato, which affected their interest. This reaction was a sign of things to come.

175. By about August 1849, there were reports that the uncertainty about the inland extent of the purchase area was generally causing unrest amongst neighbouring tribes.

176. Through his dealings with Ngati Apa, McLean had come to understand that the inland extent of Ngati Apa lands was Otara, a kainga on the Rangitikei River. He noted that Otara, at that time in 1849, was occupied by a;

177. "migrative band of Taupo natives whose claims or right to reside there is 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".

178. It was noted that this particular area came under the authority of a Ngati Apa leader named Hori Te Rangiao who had undertaken to keep this area for European settlement. Hori had promised to settle and keep possession of this land in order to keep it free from Ngati Tuwharetoa, and thus keep it open for settlement.

179. Some of the people who had settled at Otara were the Ngati Pikiahu / Ngati Waewae hapu, who were part Ngati Raukawa and part Ngati Tuwharetoa. They had only recently moved to the area upon Te Heu Heu's instructions. Te Heu Heu had been alarmed by news that Hori Te Rangiao was proposing to sell as far inland as Otara.

180. Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae had arrived at Otara under the leadership of Ngawaka Maraenui. A Ngati Hauiti leader named Tapui Potaka invited Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae to settle in this location, which they did. Raukahawai Maraenui said that the gift from Potaka included Kawatau and other places. Tapui Potaka found resistance to this gift from his own people, most notably Renata Kawepo, who objected.

181. This hapu clearly felt that they had been placed in a precarious position. They knew that they had been sent there as a challenge to Ngati Apa. Furthermore, they knew that Potaka's relations were not entirely happy about their presence either. Ngawaka's son, Raukahawai Maraenui, gave an account of his experience growing up at Otara and their fear of attack from Ngati Apa. He explained that they actually slept in caves for greater security.

182. When the occupation of Otara occurred, many of the chiefs who had occupied Parewanui after fighting with Whanganui had returned to their homelands. This

provides a clue that the migration of Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae to Otara occurred between 1846 and 1849, as this would coincide with the Ngati Apa migrations away from Parewanui. Therefore, when Moeroa journeyed to Parewanui, Hori Te Rangiao, Waka Te Kawariki and Turangapito were at Turakina, and by this time, Tahataha was deceased. The people at Parewanui were Marumaru, Noa Te Waiehu, Papaka Kewetone, Haia Takiri and Hori Te Rangiao's son, Heremaia Te Hauparoa.

183. On arriving at Parewanui, Moeroa called upon Heremaia Te Hauparoa to drive Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae away. Heremaia and his people went to Otara to confront Ngawaka.

184. Ngawaka informed Heremaia that he had been sent by Te Heuheu to hold the land and prevent Europeans from acquiring it. According to a Ngati Pikiahu / Ngati Waewae source, Heremaia changed his mind after meeting with Maraenui, and agreed to put the lands from Te Kiekie downstream to Pourewa, then to Whareroa and on to Turakina into Maraenui's hands to prevent it from being sold. To confirm this arrangement, Maraenui pledged his son Te Tokoroa o Maui to Heremaia. It is claimed that Te Tokoroa o Maui was later married to the daughter of Panapa Te Huruoterangi, who has been noted in this story already for his opposition to the Ngati Apa land sale. It is also recorded that Te Hauparoa encouraged Ngati Pikiahu / Ngati Waewae to move further down the river, to Te Reureu.

185. During May 1850, Panapa, obeyed an instruction from Te Heu Heu to erect a boundary marker at Parewai, indicating that opposition would be offered to an extension of the boundary beyond that spot. Not long after this event, McLean intercepted Te Heu Heu at Parikino, on the Whanganui River, where he discussed the matter. As a result of this encounter, Te Heu Heu agreed not to interfere with the inland boundary, and he explained that this aggression was directed towards Ngati Apa who had cursed him.

186. By July 1850, Otara was also occupied by another group under their leaders Teoti Pohe and Ihakara Te Rango. They had been urged by the Whanganui people of Pukehika to occupy the area to ensure that the inland boundary did not extend to their bird snaring areas, probably in the Otairi range. McLean was suspicious that Te Heu Heu may have been instrumental in Pohe's arrival, despite his personal assurances that he would not interfere with the setting of the inland boundary. At one point, McLean succeeded in summonsing Pohe and his people to Parewanui where they were confronted by Ngati Apa and lower Whanganui River chiefs. Pohe was asked to explain himself and, according to McLean, was not very convincing. McLean also diffused Pohe's opposition

to the inland boundary by talking to the Pukehika people directly, giving them assurances that there lands would not be interfered with. Pohe soon left the district but not before he and Ihakara Te Rango had assisted Ngawaka to establish a pou at Pourewa.

187. It is quite likely that, by July 1850, Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae had left Otara and migrated down the Rangitikei River to Makaraka and Te Pohue. It appears that these hapu had, indeed, been able to influence Hori Te Rangiao and his son, Heremaia Te Hauparoa, to withhold lands inland of Te Hou Hou, as these hapu now occupied Hori's kainga, and worked closely with Panapa. When McLean and a delegation of chiefs arrived at Te Houhou, Hori Te Rangiao identified this as his inland boundary. Te Houhou is several miles seaward of Otara, representing a major shift from his original position.

188. To finally address the inland boundary, McLean implemented a comprehensive strategy designed principally to get around Te Rangihaeata's and Te Heuheu's ongoing opposition. This coincided with the second instalment to Ngati Apa. As a starting point, McLean directed Hori Kingi Te Hanea to give Te Rangihaeata a "gift". At the same time he gifted £5, a coat, two blankets and a shovel to Te Rangihaeata himself. Then, on 21 April 1850, McLean was received warmly by Te Rangihaeata at Maramaihoea, a Ngati Raukawa settlement on the Rangitikei River. The gifts appear to have had the desired effect. In a major breakthrough, Te Rangihaeata declared that he would no longer interfere with the Rangitikei Turakina transaction and that he would inform the inland tribes that they no longer had his support.

189. McLean proceeded to further appease Ngati Raukawa by including Ngati Raukawa leaders, Nepia Taratoa and Ihakara Tukumaru with Whanganui and Ngati Tuwharetoa chiefs in the process of visiting and determining the inland boundary. This group proved very effective in destabilising the remaining opposition for the inland boundary, especially Ngati Pikiahu and Ngati Waewae. On 3 September 1850 McLean and the accompanying chiefs found them located at Te Pohue, though he described them as Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Pehi, Ngati Whakatere and a party of Taupo Maori. These groups were at first, opposed to the determination of the inland boundary, but upon learning that Te Rangihaeata no longer supported them, their mood changed. The following day, their leader Ngawaka, accompanied them to Te Houhou, where a pou was established to mark the inland boundary of the purchase area, to which Ngati Apa, more particularly Hori Te Rangiao, agreed.

190. During this determination, a number of Ngati Apa, including a chief named Reihana Pereamire, became angry once they learnt that McLean was considering reserving an area of 100acres near Bell's station to the Ngati Raukawa man, Paraone, who was married to a Ngati Apa woman. They were still occupying parts of this land and could not accept that it would be reserved to Paraone. However, other Ngati Apa chiefs interceded to quell Reihana's outrage.

191. With the determination of the boundary at Te Houhou, the way was clear for McLean and the surveyors to finish the rest of the inland boundary, which saw the final closure of the Rangitikei – Turakina question, pending the internal issue of one or two reserves such as the proposed reserve for Paraone.

192. As a final note, with the completion of the inland boundary in or around September 1850, the Ngati Pikiahu / Ngati Waewae people abandoned Te Pohu and Makaraka moved to Te Reureu, where they effectively joined with Ngati Rangatahi.

Concluding Comments

193. In providing this brief, I am anxious to impress upon the Tribunal a strong Ngāti Apa perspective on history in the region. Being at the northern end of the hearing district, I emphasise the importance of historical events north and east of the hearing district that all have a bearing on events and history in the hearing district. For example, the accounts of battles in the Whanganui and South Taranaki area, the Mōkai Pātea rohe and Heretaunga all have a bearing on events when Ngāti Raukawa came into the area south of Rangitīkei and provide a greater context.

194. Based on the information shared in this submission, it should be clear to anyone looking at this objectively that a single tribal claim by Ngāti Raukawa over Ngāti Apa based on conquest is inconsistent with the varied nature of historical accounts of Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa movements and settlements north of the Manawatū River. This single tribal claim by conquest contradicts volumes of evidence to the contrary, including evidence sourced from senior leaders from within the Ngāti Raukawa confederation. It is very important to Ngāti Apa to challenge and refute this conquest claim, to protect space for Ngāti Apa to maintain rights and interests south of the Rangitīkei River to Omarupapako and east to the Aorangi block.

195. This submission identifies four significant movements of Ngāti Raukawa north of Manawatū onto lands previously occupied by Ngāti Apa.

196. The first is Ngāti Kauwhata, who arrived between 1826-1828. Ngāti Kauwhata were gifted land at Mangawhata, and over time, expanded their interests at Oroua. Over time, they became the dominant group at Oroua, as the Ngāti Tauira and Ngāti Tumokai generally reduced in population and migrated to Parewānui.

197. Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Kahoro and Ngāti Mai Otaki migrated to Rangitīkei in 1834-1835 after Haowhenua, living for two and half years with the Ngāti Tupataua hapū of Ngāti Apa at Te Ana, before shifting to Poutu after the Kohurupo battle in 1837. The level of engagement and cooperation between these hapū of Ngāti Raukawa and the various Rangitīkei based hapū of Ngāti Apa is very evident in history. This was largely a respectful relationship. Te Hakeke and Nepia Taratoa were friends, and after Te Hakeke died, Nepia was able to hold a position of authority at Rangitīkei, essentially keeping the peace between Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa groups, a role he played up until his death. After his death, tensions rose quickly.

198. The third group is Ngāti Turanga, Ngāti Rakau, Ngāti Patukohuru and others who had migrated to the Manawatū River area after Haowhenua but, according to published accounts, did not expand much north of Manawatū until the 1840s, with a large expansion after Ngāi Te Upokoiri returned to Heretaunga late in the early 1850s, culminating very quickly in the Te Awahou Block transaction that was led by these hapū. It is to be remembered that Nepia Taratoa from Ngāti Parewahawaha had limited the northern boundary of this transaction to Omarupapako. It was not until after Taratoa had died in 1863 that these hapū occupied Tāwhirihoe at the mouth of the Rangitīkei River during a period of heightened tension. They left this fortified pā after the Rangitīkei Manawatū transaction went through, but were later granted land there by the Crown.

199. The fourth group were the Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae. These groups represent a very interesting dynamic with two powerful leaders, Te Heu Heu and Te Rangihaeata threatening to take control over the Rangitīkei River in the mid 1840s. These chiefs were opposed to European settlement in the region and sought to prevent the Rangitīkei Turakina Transaction. Their opposition to the Rangitīkei Turakina transaction is the reason these hapū came to the Rangitīkei, and they ended up simply taking the land in the Te Reureu area as an act of defiance to Ngāti Apa and the settler government. The first group to arrive there was Ngāti Rangatahi in 1846 who were followed by the others. The settler government did not have the power at the time to do anything about this and ultimately acknowledged the rights of these groups to the whenua as a way to avoid conflict with these people. Ngāti Apa did not

have the military strength in terms of man power or weapons to resist the occupation of this whenua.

200. To characterize the taking of this land as raupatu implies that there was violence, when there was none. The rights of Ngāti Kauwhata at Oroua, and Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Kahoro at Rangitīkei started with gifting, and expanded over time for various reasons, including additional gifts, but also because these hapū were comparatively larger than the Ngāti Apa hapū and could push their boundaries out eventually over several decades without much resistance.

201. The Ngāti Turanga, Ngāti Rakau and Ngāti Patukohuru group, and the Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Pikiahu and Ngāti Waewae group, demonstrated a much more forceful approach of occupying and taking land. It is my view that these actions did not represent the exercise of pre-existing raupatu rights over all Ngāti Apa land, but rather a use of force to take discrete areas where the original occupants Ngāti Apa were not able to resist and prevent the taking of the land. This may be defined as raupatu, but definitely at the lesser end of the scale compared to the broad raupatu claims asserted by Ngāti Raukawa over Ngāti Apa. The Rangitīkei Manawatū transaction of 1866 largely put an end to further expansion by Ngāti Raukawa hapū into formerly Ngāti Apa whenua in this manner.

Appendix 1: Waiata Oriori mo Te Rarā o te Rangi

Kati, e tama, te noho i to whare!
E puta ki waho ra, ka haere taua
Ra nga parae I waho o Whakaari!
Kia ia mai koe, “Ko wai to ingoa?”
Mau e ki atu, “Ko Te Rara-o-te-Rangi!”
Kei ki mai, “Te wareware!”
Ka pau te whakanoa e te tini, e te mano!
“Moku ia nei, mo te kahui pepeke, Te Roa Wairerewha!”
Kei whea to tipuna, kia whakaputa mai?
I muri ano a Whakatau-potiki,
Nana I tautoko te rangi I runga-
Ka puta koe ki te whaiao,
Ki te ao marama!

Hikaka te haere ki runga Taikoria!
Pukana o karu ki roto Manawatu,
Kei o matua e tu mai ra
I te one o te riri-
Ka ngaro te tangata!
Aronui te haere ki roto
Horowhenua,
Kia powhiri mai koia, I to whaea,
E Rai-a-te-waka! Ki paoa te rangi
Te rau o te huia! He noa te tinana-
Tenei to piki, he hokioi I runga,
Nga manu hunahuna, kaore I kitea
E te tini, e te mano!

Kia takaro koe nga takutai
I waho o Waiwiri, I roto o Waikawa!
Ka eke koe ki runga o Pukehou
Ka whakamau, e tama, ki waho o Raukawa-
Ko nga moana ra e whakawhana no ara
O tupuna I te kakau o te hoe!
Ngaro rawa atu ki Hawaiki