

Crown Forestry Rental Trust

Te Kurutao a Maahanga
Te Pū o te Tao
Te Pū Kotahitanga
Oral and Traditional History Volume
of Ngāti Maahanga

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DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume is dedicated to our tūpuna, who have given us our history as an iwi; and to all the rangatahi of Ngāti Maahanga, who will take our iwi into the future.

We pay tribute to all our koroua and ruruhi who keep our tribal memories alive.

We will always remember the support of those who have passed away while we have been doing this mahi to obtain redress from the Crown for the injustices we have suffered as an iwi. In particular we acknowledge the leadership of our late whaea Mori Shaw in spearheading our claim, WAI 1327, to the Waitangi Tribunal, and we remember our late ruruhi Hine Waitere, who gave her evidence before the Tribunal at our Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho in April 2010.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR: Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives

MB: Minute Book

PREFACE

Karioi maunga titiro whakaterāwhiti ki Taupiri maunga, Taupiri maunga titiro whakatetonga ki Pirongia maunga, Pirongia maunga titiro whakateuru ki Karioi maunga. Ko oku herenga ngākau, herenga wairua ēnei pouwhenua e tohua ana te porotaka o Ngāti Maahanga. I te taha o tōku māmā ko Karioi te maunga, ko Whaingaroa te moana, ko Ngāti Maahanga te iwi, ko Ngāti Whare te hapū.

In this interesting process of research into myself I would like to express my heart felt gratitude toward our kaumātua who have kept me inspired for the long haul, ōku pāpā Tuahu Watene, Pakira Watene kāore he mutunga o te mihi ki a kōrua ōku teo herenga ngākau, te pāpā Sunnah Thompson te pū o te tao, mei kore ake mōu me ngo mahi, otirā te mātauranga e ora tonu ana i a koe, koutou ko ngā ruruhi a whaea Maadi King, whaea Ani Willis, whaea Molly Maclean me tō tātou pāpā a Henare Gray ngā poutokomanawa o te whānau rangahau nei, me koutou i tae mai i te wā e ahei ana, a pāpā Napi Waaka, te pāpā Mokoroa Hamiora, a Taoatahi Pihama, a pāpā Wally Crawford, a Sarah Harihari, a Raiha Gray me tōku pāpā ake a Tonga Kelly rātou ko tōku whānau Gillett.

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Miromiro Kelly-Hepi Te Huia

Ko Ngāti Maahanga me Ngāti Pākehā ōku iwi, ko Ngāti Hourua, ko Ngāti Maahanga ngāhapū, ko Kaye Turner tōku ingoa. I am of Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Pākehā and Ngāti Hourua descent. I am a descendant of Te Kura and Te Taotahi from whom descend Te Rongomau, from him Te Kaniwhaniwha, from him Makareta Hopai, to Ati Parakihana, to Margaret Ferguson Rothwell, to Gwen Rothwell Turner from whom I descend.

In this culmination of years of research that I have been able to share in this volume, I would like to acknowledge Evelyn Stokes, Pakewa (Gary) Watene and Sandy

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Toimaha i rukiruki te tīnana i te aroha, kore rawa i tū tika i te toimaha e. Tuhia ki te rangi, ka kitea e te kanohi. Tuhia ngākau, e kore e kitea. E mihi kau ana ki nga uri a Maahanga me Maniapoto nāna i awahi mai i teneki mahi ngākau hei pou māku. Tenaka kōutou Anaru Gray, Hana Kerei, Helene Watene, Cherie Watene, and Vaelua Ah-Hing

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Kāore te aroha nei e mimiti i ahau e, mai ngā tūpuna huri noa, he tangi, he mihi e ki a kōutou e. Manawa tukituki puna wera i aku kamo e, tirohia ngā maunga Karioi, Pirongia e tangi, e mihi nei, aue te aroha e, aue taukiri e.

He mihi maumaharatanga to Poo Kingi Muriwhenua, the Koro buried at Te Papa-o-Rotu Marae whose passing 100 years ago on 16 September 1912 aged 73 years, was commemorated during the writing of this volume.

He rangatira ia noo eenei hapuu, noo Ngaati Hourua, noo Ngaati Maahanga, ara, noo Waikato. Ko toona oohaakii ki tana tamaiti kia mau ki te aroha, aa, ka mutu ana kupu.

He Poroporoaki

Haere taku tuakana, haere, ki Te Papa o Rotu, ki te urunga te taka, ki te moenga te whakaarahia, i roto i Te Rua o Tuheitia.

Taku kupu moou kaati anoo koe, i too takotoranga, i takoto mai naa koe e takatakahanga, maa taaua tamariki, heoi anoo aku kupu, kia ora nga iwi.

na Kiingi Mahuta

Dr Adelaide Collins

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this volume is to present a full traditional history to the Waitangi Tribunal to support our claims as Ngāti Maahanga me ngā uri o Te Awaitaia against the Crown's breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. We also articulate our Ngāti Maahangatanga and general history. We build upon Te Tai Hau-ā-uru Scoping Report and technical research compiled for the Tribunal's Te Rohe Pōtae District Inquiry and other sources to document our tangata whenua kōrero tuku iho.

The Issues and Themes we focus on are:

- Whakapapa, origins, early history and key tūpuna;
- Contemporary tribal landscape including iwi/hapū areas of interest and marae locations;
- Tangible and intangible taonga;
- Geography and natural resources;
- The establishment, evolution, maintenance and defence of our mana whenua throughout the generations, particularly in the three to four generations prior to witnesses giving evidence in the Native Land Court in the late nineteenth century;
- Sites of significance (wāhi whakahirahira, wāhi mana, wāhi tapu);
- A detailed description of our rohe, including boundary and whakapapa relationships with neighbouring iwi and hapū;
- Settlement and migration patterns;
- Significant events since the coming of the Pākehā (including battles, migrations, missionaries, traders, the Treaty of Waitangi, early land sales and surveyors);
- Te Kīngitanga;
- Raupatu
- Operations of the Native Land Court and issues of land tenure;
- Twentieth century land alienations and other contemporary issues (such as the impact of local councils and rating systems, Crown policy relating to minerals, and te reo Māori);
- The impacts of alleged Crown acts and omissions in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The structure of this volume

We have organised our volume into seven chapters:

Chapter 1: Te Kurutao a Maahanga, Te Pū o Te Tao, Te Pū Kotahitanga

In this chapter, we describe the iwi Ngāti Maahanga and its constituent hapū and the tūpuna who are our progenitors.

We set out the boundaries of our porotaka and identify our wāhi whakahirahira, kāinga, pā, marae and taonga.

We summarise our experiences in inter-tribal warfare and ‘musket wars’ that took place in the same period as early European contact, i.e. Hingakākā, the wars with Taranaki, Mātakitaki, the migration of Te Rauparaha and his people, Huripopo and the impact this turbulent period had on Ngāti Maahanga.

We outline the substance of our claim against the Crown.

Chapter 2: Te Horahia o Ngā Pā Harakeke

In this chapter we capture in detail our stories of our origins, the whakapapa, and significant tupuna and events, which led to us holding mana whenua in our rohe. The interwoven connections between Ngāti Māhanga, Te Tai Hauaauru, and Waikato; the significance of the coastal wars; and the conflicting ideals of Māhanga-Kupapa, Māhanga-Hauhau are recurring themes in the chapter.

Chapter 3: Mahia Te Pai

In Chapter 3 we describe the ways in which Ngāti Maahanga engaged with Pākehā and the Crown and the impacts of that engagement on us as an iwi.

We focus on the leadership of Te Awaitaia, Ngāti Maahanga rangatira, throughout the period of early contact with Pakeha and the Crown.

We describe our response as an iwi to the impacts of colonial traders and missionaries. We set out our position on the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and the relationships of our tūpuna with successive Governors and their colonial officers. We describe our role at the Kohimarama Conference and in the period leading up to the 1863/64 invasion of

the Waikato by the Crown. We set out in detail the Crown's invasion of our kāinga and porotaka.

We summarise the impacts on our relationships with other iwi, and the Crown's treatment of Ngāti Maahanga in the post-War period through the raupatu and Compensation Court processes.

Chapter 4: Ahakoa Iti Taku Ngohi He Rei Kei Roto

We set out the Crown's policies and actions relating to our lands within the boundaries of Te Rohe Potae Inquiry district.

We identify the land blocks Ngāti Maahanga had a connection with, and the nature of that connection.

We describe the shift from the exercise of mana whenua as an iwi, to the destruction by the Crown of our identity and our relationship to our lands. We look at the negative impact of the Crown's land laws, policies and practices on Ngāti Maahanga.

Chapter 5: Kia Pūmau te Oranga

In this chapter, we address the impact of the policies and actions of the Crown on the well-being of the whenua, ngahere, awa, swamplands and moana of our rohe, and hence on our well-being as Ngāti Maahanga.

Chapter 6: Ko Taku Maahangatanga

In this chapter we describe the impacts of the actions and omissions of the Crown on the social and economic well-being of Ngāti Maahanga.

Chapter 7: Ko Te Pohewa Te Tatau Atu Ki Te Ao Whānui

We set out in this chapter a summary of our grievances against the Crown that require redress.

CHAPTER 1: TE KURUTAO A NGĀTI MAAHANGA, TE PŪ O TE TAO, TE PŪ KOTAHITANGA

1.1 Te Herenga Ngākau

Ka rere taku manu ki runga Taupiri maunga ka titiro whakatetonga ki Pirongia, ki te tihi o Mahaukura, i reira ka titiro whakateuru ki Karioi, koia nei ngā poutokomanawa o te iwi o Maahanga, ko ngā teo herenga ngākau ko Heretū, ko Ngā Heru o Whārangi, ko te Taumata, ko Moerangi.

Ka topa taku manu ki runga i te whenua, ka kitea ngā kohinga roimata o Ranginui, e kawea ana ki roto i ngā awa whāngai i te iwi koia tērā ko Waitetuna awa, ka tutaki i te awa o Ohautira ki roto i ngā ringa tūwhera o Whaingaroa moana, ka hikina taku manu e te hau o te uru, ka whai haere i te rere o te wai e rere ana ki roto i te awa o Oporuru, puta atu ana ki Raukawa moana ka uru atu anō ki roto i te whanga o Aotea ki ngā ngutu o te awa o Pakoka e kōpikopiko haere ana i ētehi o ngā papatupu o Maahanga. Ka kurutohitohi haere taku manu i te porotaka o Maahanga ka whakawhiti atu i Mangakara e rere kau atu ana ki te awa o Waipa, ko tāna e mau ringa ana ki Kaniwhaniwha, ki te Manga-o-tama, he nui ngā kohinga kōrero kei ngā awa nei mō ngā hapū me ngā tūpuna, ka whakakotahi ngā kohinga kōrero nei i te tūtakitanga ki te Awanui o Taikehu, i whakahoungia tōna ingoa ko Waikato me āna tini taniwha. Kei te porotaka a Maahanga te matatoru a ngā kōrero mō te iwi, mō ngā hapū, kei ngā waimāori nei, kei ngā wai mātaimai, kei ngā kōawaawa, kei ngā puke me ngā maunga.

Koutou ngā tūpuna hoki wairua mai, maranga mai kia rongo o uri whakatupu i a koutou kōrero mō te wā i a koutou, kia honohono mai ki tā mātou kōrero i te wā iti nei kia ea ai ngā nanawe otirā kia rongo hoki i ngā kōrero mo Maahanga nui tonu.

1.2 Ki Tā Ngāti Maahanga – Wai 1327

On 9 December 2012 Ngāti Maahanga's Final Amended Statement of Claim was filed with the Waitangi Tribunal. The Wai claimants are listed as: Maude Shaw, Tuahu Watene, Ken Te Houpihake Rautangata and Sunnah Thompson, for and on behalf of themselves, Ngāti Maahanga and the descendants of Te Awaitaia. The claimants assert the following:

14. a) They are Maori;
- b) They have been or are likely to be prejudicially affected by the Ordinances, Acts, Regulations, Orders, Proclamations, Notices, or other Statutory Instruments, Policies, Practices, Acts or Omissions, by or on behalf of the Crown as is pleaded in this statement of claim; and
- c) That such Ordinances, Acts, Regulations, Orders, Proclamations, Notices, or other Statutory Instruments, Policies Practices, Acts or Omissions, were or are inconsistent with the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.¹

The following excerpts identify some issues of significance to Ngāti Maahanga:

Mana

16. The claimants have always held and continue to hold mana (absolutely sovereignty, authority and control) over their Rohe, Whenua, Moana, Ngahere, Awa, Wahi Tapu, Taonga, Whanau and Hapu.

17. The claimants held this mana collectively as Whanau and Hapu.

18. This mana was exercised by the people through Rangatira and Tohunga who were recognised by the Whanau and Hapu because of their expertise or leadership. The Rangatira or Tohunga received this mana as the authority to fulfill that role on behalf of the people...

40. Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga made numerous commitments and sacrifices towards upholding this agreement and the partnership. The Crown took all Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga were willing to offer, and more. The Crown failed to uphold its commitment to Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga.

41. As a result Ngāti Maahanga lost land and resources and strained relationships within themselves and with neighbouring Iwi and Hapu.

¹ Armstrong, M., *Final Amended Statement of Claim-Wai 898, Wai 1327*, Aurere Law, Rotorua, 2011, pp. 9-14.

42. While Ngāti Maahanga sought to uphold their mana by honouring their commitment under the Treaty, the Crown's actions undermined their mana instead.

Te Tiriti

23. Despite the wording of the English version of the Treaty, Te Awaitaia, and Ngāti Maahanga, did not cede their mana or sovereignty to the Crown.

34. Te Awaitaia understood that under the Treaty:

- a) Ngāti Maahanga would retain their mana or sovereignty over their Rohe, Whenua, Moana, Ngahere, Awa, Wahi Tapu, Taonga, Whanau and Hapu;
- b) The Crown would govern settlers under British law; and
- c) Maori and the Crown would work together as partners for the prosperity of all.

35. Te Awaitaia's understanding of the Treaty is reaffirmed by his actions following the signing which were consistent with this understanding.

36. Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga are not bound to the written English version of the Treaty but are bound to what they agreed to as set out in paragraph 34 above...

In clarifying the issues the claimants further assert that:

43. The actions of the Crown:

- a) Breached Article One and Two of the Maori version of the Treaty;
- b) Breached the Crown's duty to deal with Ngāti Maahanga in good faith; and
- c) Breached the principle of partnership.

It is the intent of this volume to provide evidence of the continued occupation of the Ngāti Maahanga collective in the area that they define as te Porotaka o Maahanga, issues such as ahi kā, mana whenua, continued assertion of the mana of Maahanga in their affairs, whilst also providing evidence of breaches against te Tiriti and the principles of partnership.

1.3 Te Porotaka o Ngāti Maahanga – Boundaries of Maahanga

Ngāti Maahanga through kaumātua Sunnah Thompson, Moko Hamiora and research support of Te Awarutu Samuels asserts the following points of reference as the definition of Maahanga's boundaries:

The principal boundary of Ngāti Maahanga begins at the summit of Pirongia, named Mahaukura. Running in a south-east direction to a stream called mangakara, following until it reaches the river waipa. Following the current of the river waipa until it reaches the river mouth of Mangaotama. In an east direction to Taraakura, Pukerimu, then on to Horotiu (narrows landing). Following the flow of Te Awanui o Taikahu (now known as Waikato) to Te Rapa (current Waikato Hospital site). Flowing on to reach Puke-i-ahua, thence to the confluence of the river Waipa and ajoin to the river where it becomes Waikato at Ngaruawahia. Following down the river Waikato coming upon Hopuhopu and then on to Peepeepee (opposite Taupiri Mountain) thence too Nga Toka Maapuna, in a western direction towards Kahuhuru, follow the Te Akau block and coming into the Whaingaroa harbour following through to the Ohautira stream, Waitetuna river, Okete, to Putoetoe, thence to Opororu estuary, following down to Rokikore, Papahua, te Puaha o Nihinihi, to Takapaunui and Te Hutewai to Pakaraka and Ruapuke it follows the sea coast onto Ngāti Te Wehi territory then in a southeast direction to Pakoka stream to Kōhanga Paarera, Te Whare o Huaraaraatahi. Making claim in the Aotea - Manuaitu and Kawhia harbours in the rohe potae to Oparau, to Te Raukumara to Tumuaki Tahuna, to Otungaoko and making its way back to the summit Mahaukura.

Maahanga kaumātua distinguished our boundaries further in acknowledging succession and movement of Ngāti Maahanga.² Maahanga acknowledges that the area 'down the Waikato coming upon Hopuhopu and then onto Peepeepee (opposite Taupiri mountain) thence to Ngā Toka Maapuna in a western direction towards Kahuhuru, follow the Te Akau block' are the traditional lands of Ngāti Tamainupō and that the mana upon the whenua is Tū-kōtuku, daughter of Maahanga, Te Uku landing being the boundary between us.³ These lands were given to Tū-kōtuku by Maahanga. Maahanga kaumātua also note that Tū-kōtuku's mokopuna, Wairere was the reason that peace was reached with Kōkako.⁴ This peace-making is discussed in detail in a later section.

² Wānanga, 17 February 2012, Te Rau Awaawa, Hamilton. Kaumātua present: Mokoroa Hamiora, Sunnah Thompson, Tuahu Watene, Pakira Watene and Kaka Kihi.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Personal communication, Mokoroa Hamiora, 3 March 2012.

We acknowledge the Maahanga connection to Te Raukūmara, which was the area that Maahanga lived in. We also acknowledge the connection of Ngāti Maahanga with Ratapiko, the old pā site of Tonganui, and Waikaretu, the area of Tūheitia distinguishing them as pānga ngātahi.⁵ We also assert pānga ngātahi in the Manuaitu area, which we were removed from through the Native Land Court decision on ownership.⁶ Our boundaries are illustrated in Map 1.

In 1887, the Native Land Court considered the the claim by Tainui and Ngāti Whakamarurangi to a block known as “Manuaitu-Aotea”, Ngāti Maahanga and related hapū submitted a counter-claim for the “8342 acres, more or less” surrounding Aotea Harbour.⁷ Ngāti Maahanga still assert the original claim to Manuaitu and Aotea.

The Maahanga tupuna Hurukurī is buried at Te Pahi, Manuaitu’s significance is acknowledged in the whakataukī:

‘Kia whakatupu te tangata i tana tamaiti rangatira hei takitaki i te mate o Tonga-nui! Whakamau! Whakamau ki Manuaitu, ki Puke-rengarenga! Tuutuu kau nga puururu kahikatea e tuu ki Oomaero! Oraora kau nga kaakaho o Te Kaharoa!’

Let the people raise young chiefs to avenge the death of Tonganui! Remember, remember Manu-aitu and Puke-rengarenga! The close-growing kahikatea stand erect at Oo-maero! The reeds of Te Kaharoa rustle and stir!⁸

These words were uttered by Maahanga when he learnt of the death of Tonganui and his nephews. The rustling of the reeds referring to the many warriors of Maahanga.⁹ Tonganui had raised an ope taua of 140 men, when he heard that a tree marking the boundary of Maahanga in the Manuaitu area had been felled, undermining the mana whenua of Ngāti Maahanga in the area. Nigel Cooper speaks of the attempts of Tonganui to right this wrong and the many battles he initiated until he fell at the last pā in his attempt to gain ‘the whole country’.¹⁰ Cooper also notes the evidence given by Aperahama Patene, describing the fight where Te Mori and Rangipotiki are killed. Dismayed at the death of Te Mori, Patene states his people fled to Kāwhia,

⁵ pānga ngātahi – shared interest. A term given by kaumātua Pakira Watene.

⁶ P. Berghan, CFRT 1508 Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District Research Assistance Projects: Block Research Narratives, Wellington, 2009, pp. 468-479.

⁷ Cooper, Nigel, Ngā Uri o Pourewa - A Pākehā Family Discovers its Māori Ancestry, 2005, p. 35.

⁸ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui*, Auckland, 1995, pp. 130-131.

⁹ Mokoroa Hamiora, 17 February 2012.

¹⁰ Cooper, p. 35-37.

abandoning the area. Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua occupy the area through the right of raupatu. Evidence of mana whenua comes about when Muriwhenua of Waikato tried to claim the land but failed in his attempt. Patene asserted that occupation had continued through to the ‘present’ time (i.e. 1887).¹¹

Cooper also refers to the evidence of Haeata Maahanga, who stated that, ‘Ngāti Te Wēhi never fled and so remained in quiet possession; they had become merged in Ngāti Hourua and Ngāti Maahanga as their allies’.¹² This dispute was settled as recently as the early 1800s. Our kaumātua Mokoroa Hamiora and Kaka Kihi spoke of an agreement between Hone Waitere and Te Awaitaia that stated the boundaries of Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Te Wehi within the Manuaitu area.¹³ Their right of occupation was described by Wiremu Nero Te Awaitaia as ringa kaha, take tupuna and raupatu.¹⁴ Between them, the tūpuna of the day settled the issue of occupation. After Ngāti Toa migrated, Ngāti Maahanga, and other Maahanga hapū settled on the whenua between Kawhia and Aotea.

There is also historical kōrero of collaboration and inter-marriage, the descendants of which have whakapapa that deems them as ‘taha rua’, a term noted for descendants of both sides equally. They acknowledge the descendancy of Te Wehi from Maahanga, Hone Waitere’s mother being of Ngāti Maahanga, and naturally gravitate to offering support and accepting support from Ngāti Maahanga descendants, as well as acknowledging a long term relationship with the organization Ngā Uri ā Maahanga. They lay their grievances alongside Ngāti Maahanga uri. In doing so, Te Papa Tapu does not demean their connections to Ngāti Te Wehi nor undermine their shared grievances but rather acknowledges their ongoing political alliance to the Maahanga collective under the Ngā Uri ā Maahanga organization.¹⁵

¹¹ 14 March 1887, Waikato Minute Book, 16, cited in Cooper. Patene was speaking on behalf of Wiremu Nero Te Awaitaia, son of Te Awaitaia.

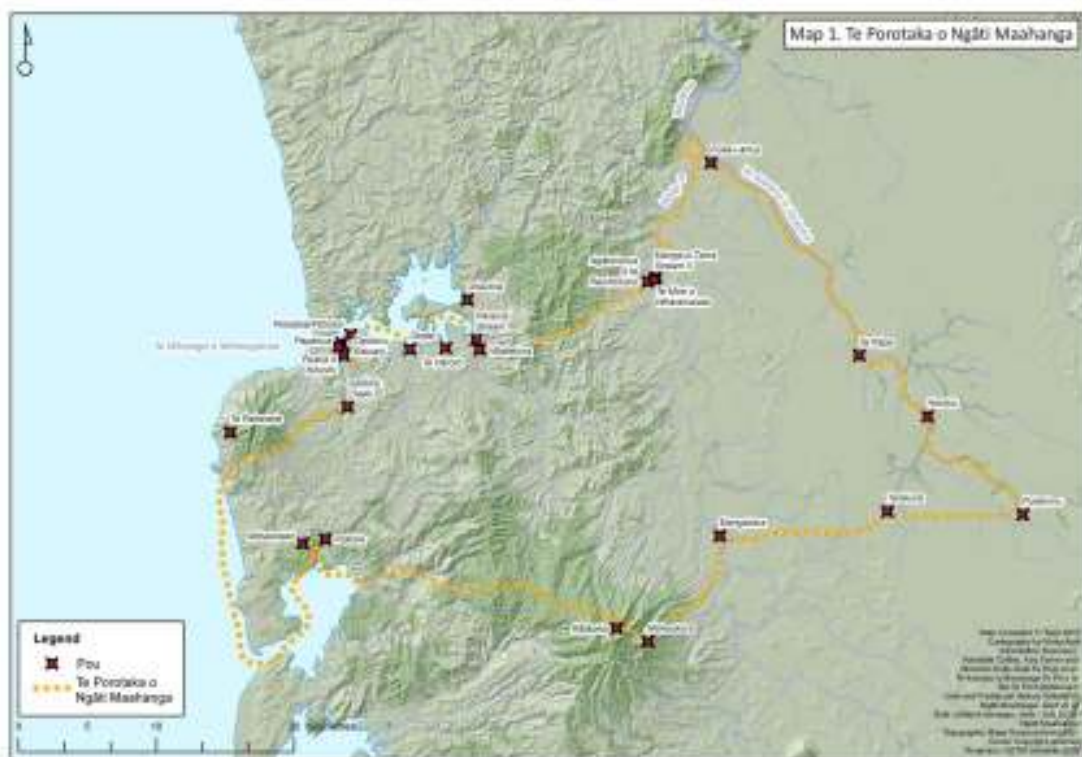
¹² 14 March 1887, Waikato Minute Book, 16, cited in Cooper.

¹³ Wānanga, 17 February 2012, Hamilton. Kaumātua present were Mokoroa Hamiora, Sunnah Thompson, Tuahu Watene, Pakira Watene and Kaka Kihi.

¹⁴ Ringa kaha – defence of the land, Take tupuna – ancestral right, Raupatu – confiscation. Cooper, pp. 35-38. Translated by Te Awarutu Samuels as described in Māori Land Court Minute Books.

¹⁵ It is knowledge of this connection that has led Te Papa Tapu marae, traditionally known as Ngāti Te Wehi and descendants of Hone Waitere, to join with Ngāti Maahanga in these claims. Te Papa Tapu marae is on the border of Maahanga and Te Wehi lands. This was signalled in the sale of Ruapuke block, with both Te Awaitaia and other Ngāti Maahanga tūpuna, along with Hone Waitere and other Ngāti Te Wehi tūpuna signatures, on the purchase deed.

The musket wars had an unsettling impact on the tribal landscape in the 1820s and 1830s. After the migration of Ngāti Toa and the various battles (discussed in depth in a later section), the area became thinly populated. Ngāti Maahanga, and other Maahanga hapū moved in to occupy the whenua between Kawhia and Aotea as already stated previously. However, in the Māori Land Court judgement the Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Hourua claim to Kawhia through conquest, as claimed by Harete Te Waharoa in the occupation of Harihari, Hikurangi, and then Te Kauri, was dismissed based on the evidence given by Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo as being in continual occupation of the area with their whanaunga Ngāti Toa and the assertion that Te Rauparaha and related hapū moved out of Kawhia after peace had been made. The judgement was reached that Ngāti Maahanga had no rights in Kawhia due to the fact that Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Hikairo occupied and ran businesses, in which Ngāti Maahanga took no part, after the migration.¹⁶



Map 1 Te Porotaka o Ngāti Maahanga

¹⁶ Otorohanga Minute Book, 2, 20 October 1886, pp. 48-67.

1.4 Whakapapa

Maahanga is a descendant of Tainui waka :

Hoturoa Whakaotirangi

Hotuoape

Hotumatapu

Puhanga

Putetere

Uetihi

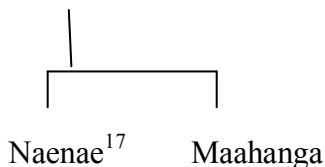
Uenoho

Ueraki

Taipu

Tamapoto Takotonuiarangi

Tuheitia Te Ataihaea



Maahanga had four wives and the majority of hapū under Maahanga are derived from his wives Paratai Ahitapu and Wharewaiata. He had many children and evidence will be shown in Chapter 2 of the natural whānau groupings being recognized as hapū under the Maahanga collective around the time of Te Awaitaia. A more comprehensive whakapapa showing the generations will also be listed here. Ngāti Maahanga became the terms of reference for the collective again as an after affect of the Government confiscations, however some hapū have maintained there separate identity.¹⁸

¹⁷ Potatau is a decendant of Naenae. This is one of the important whakapapa connections of Te Awaitaia and Potatau. Te Awarutu Samuels, Maahanga wānanga, May 2012.

¹⁸ Mokoroa Hamiora, personal communication, November 2010.

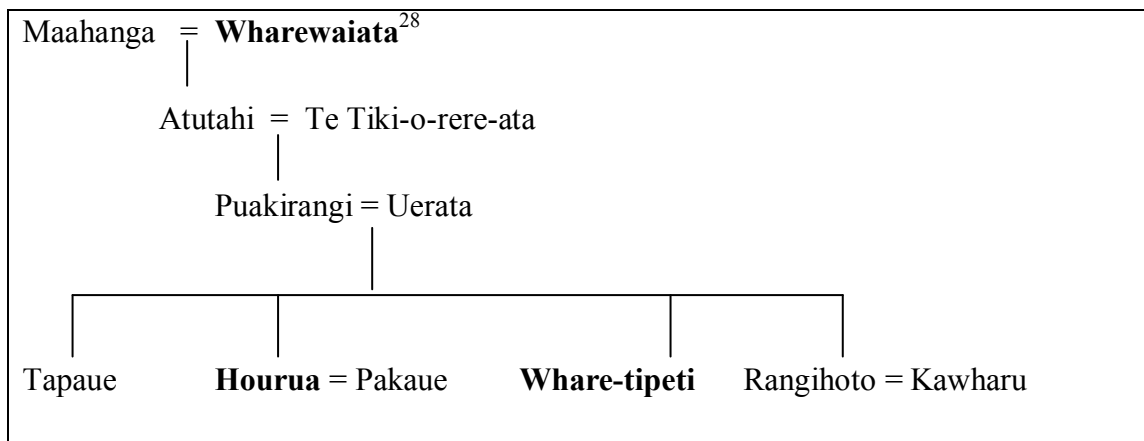
and not another child of Paratai Ahitapu and Maahanga.²⁵ The story about the accusations made against Hotunui are the same.²⁶

1.5 Ngā Hapū o Ngāti Maahanga

Upwards of 24 Ngāti Maahanga hapū have been identified. Several hapū names stem from the children of Maahanga, others from their children and mokopuna as well as the wives of Maahanga.

Some hapū groupings are more likely to band together, as stated by Te Aopouri namely: Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Hourua.²⁷ A comprehensive description of these hapū, the origins of their names and their locations will be identified in the following chapter.

The following whakapapa is an example of the hapū relationships:



The hapū are:

Ngāti Hararanui

Ngāti Hinetepi

²⁵ Kelly, p. 89.

²⁶ Graham, G., *The Journal of the Polynesian Society - Pare Hauraki, Pare Waikato, Volume 58, No. 2* 1949, p. 68-76. Accessed February 2012.

http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_58_1949/Volume_58%2C_No._2/Pare_Hauraki_-_Pare_Waikato%2C_by_George_Graham%2C_p_68-76/p1?page=0&action=searchresult&target=#

²⁷ Moerangi Minute Book, 12, Te Aopouri, 1909, p. 40-41.

²⁸ Kelly, 1986, p. 471.

Ngāti Hinetū
Ngāti Hourua
Ngāti Kahupeke
Ngāti Kuku
Ngāti Ngārape
Ngāti Parawai
Ngāti Peke
Ngāti Ruateatea
Ngāti Tamakaahu
Ngāti Tarao
Ngāti Tonganui
Ngāti Waiaranui
Ngāti Whare
Ngāti Taka
Ngāti Wai ki Waikōwhai
Ngāti Wharewaiata
Ngāti Kieraunui
Ngāti Tohe
Ngāti Paratai
Ngāti Paakura

Te Iwikairākau²⁹

Although Ngāti Marutuahu are of Hauraki, they are acknowledged by Maahanga as having whakapapa links through Muri-rāwhiti. They also acknowledge this connection.

In this volume, the collective hapū will be referred to as Ngāti Maahanga except when the need for definition is required.

1.6 Influential Tūpuna

1.6.1 Tūheitia

Tūheitia was a very influential tupuna. He was the father of Maahanga. There are two versions surrounding Maahanga's birth, one being that his mother was pregnant at the time of Tuheitia's death and that she fled to Kawhia to birth and raise her child, another is that he was born at Kaiparera, on the whenua of his father. After his birth his mother took him on to Kawhia. He was an ominous figure in battle his reputation as a warrior captured in the whakataukī:

Haere mai ki ahau, ki Te Papa-o-Rotu, ki te au tē rena, ki
te urunga tē taka, ki te moenga tē whakaarahia. Ahakoa iti
taku nohi, he rei kei roto.³⁰

Tūheitia established a whare wānanga at Waikaretu and it was Maahanga that moved it to Whatawhata, this being all he was entitled to after the death of this father. The name of the whare wānanga has been reputed as being Pākuru a te Rangikataua with the name Te Papa-o-Rotu also being acknowledged by Ngāti Maahanga kaumātua and in historical documents. Tuheitia was the tuahuroa (learned one, the meaning being similar to tohunga).³¹ The following quote is from our kaumātua Sunnah Thompson:

Naana i whakatū te wānanga i Waikaretu, i Te Akau i muri i tona
matenga, ka whakahokia te whare wānanga, ki te Papa-o-Rotu, ki a Te
Oneparepare. Kei te tahatika o te awa o Waipa, kei reira te rua o

²⁹ We acknowledge the discovery of several more hapū that have been identified during this research process in Dr. Adelaide Collins Chapter 2 which are not listed in our Final Statement of Claim. Most of these hapū were found during the course of reading the Māori Land Court minutes, and others have been supplied by Heather Thompson and Te Awarutu Samuels.

³⁰ Come to me, to the Papa-o-Rotu, to the unstirred current, to the pillow that falls not, and the undisturbed sleep. Although I am small I have teeth.

³¹ Pakira Watene, Kaumātua wānanga, Hamilton, 16 February 2012.

Tūheitia. Ka tapaina ko Te Pakuru-a-Te Rangikataua. I noho ia ki Te Akau. Naana i whakahaere te wānanga tae noa ki tana matenga.³²

Kelly states that Tūheitia died by an ‘unfortunate accident engineered by Kokako’, drowning while on a fishing expedition off the coast.³³ As Buddle and Te Wheoro explain, ‘Tūheitia was left to drown by his brother-in-law Tāhinga who had persuaded him to dive into the sea to loose their snagged anchor’.³⁴

The Ngāti Tahinga version states that as Tūheitia dived for the anchor, Tahinga cut the anchor rope. He then preceded to shore leaving Tūheitia to drown. Even calls for help from Tūheitia did not sway Tahinga. All it invoked was the throwing of a whāriki, a hue and an aho.³⁵ Tuheitia drowned at Tauranganui.

Our kaumātua also state that the unaunahi (fish scales), ngā puku (fish guts) were also thrown at him by Tahinga.³⁶ Kaumātua Mokoroa Hamiora shared that to his knowledge the event was a collaborative one between Tahinga and Kōkako in order to gain the lands of Tūheitia at Waikaretu. Waikaretu was absorbed by Tahinga after the death of Tūheitia.³⁷

1.6.2 Te Ataihaea

Te Ataihaea was Tuheitia’s wife. She was the sister of Tahinga who is accused of conspiring with Kokako to murder Tuheitia. On the return of Tahinga she enquired as to the whereabouts of her husband but her brother denied knowing of his whereabouts.³⁸ The name taokete (tao-cook, kete-basket) for brother-in-law has been with good reason in te ao Māori. It has proven to be a very dangerous position for more than one brother-in-law in times gone by.

³² Thompson, S., Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho (unpublished paper written in preparation for the Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho hearings), April 2010, p.6. Edited by Kelly-Hepi Te Huia, M.

³³ Kelly L., *Tainui – The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants*, 1986, p. 90.

³⁴ Jones P. Te H. and Biggs B., *Ngā Iwi o Tainui*, p. 111.

³⁵ Tainui Māori Trust Board, *The Carved History of Tainui:Te Winika Gallery*, p.18, cited in Seymour, G., & others, *Scoping Report for an Oral and Traditional History Project for Te Tai Hau-ā-uru*, March 2011, pp. 39-40.

³⁶ Wananga, Whaingaroa – Napi Waaka, Kaka Kihi (quote) – 31 March 2012.

³⁷ Personal communication, Mokoroa Hamiora, Raglan, 3 March 2012.

³⁸ Thompson, S., Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho (unpublished paper written in preparation for the Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho hearings), April 2010, p.6. Edited by Kelly-Hepi Te Huia, M.

1.6.3 Maahanga

As told to the writer, Maahanga was named in remembrance of his older siblings (twins) that died in the womb of their mother. This piece of information was handed down through the iwi and has been carved onto the pou at Te Papa-o-Rotu marae.³⁹ The place of his birth has been identified as either Kawhia or Kaiparera, the whenua of his father, but he was raised in settlements along the coast.

As a man Maahanga became the first of the Tainui chiefs to move inland from the coast, a move Rore Erueti states was of a peaceful nature.⁴⁰ His pā was located at the junction of the Kaniwhaniwha and Waipa stream, its name was Pūrākau, however, in the retelling of the meeting of Tū-kōtuku and Tamainupō the pā is said to be of the same name as the Kaniwhaniwha stream.⁴¹ That being said kaumātua Mokoroa Hamiora identified that amongst Maahanga the lands to the west of the Waipa river were known as Pātangatanga because this is where the taua trained, while the lands to the east of the Waipa were for peaceful activities, such as agriculture.⁴²

It would appear that Maahanga lived between Pūrākau on the Waipa and Kawhia. George Graham referred to the cultivation he allotted to his daughter Muri-rāwhiti at Pouwewe (Kawhia township) when she returned to Kawhia. Muri-rāwhiti was returning from Patea, where she had married Hotunui.⁴³ Maahanga was renowned for his fighting skills and eventually moved on to Hauraki where his reputation as an able and experienced military commander preceded him. He was therefore invited to Hauraki to support those people in battle. The chief Rongomai invited him and wanted to give his daughter, Te Aka-tāwhia, to Maahanga as his wife but she would not agree. Not to be refused, Maahanga eventually caught her in a compromising position on her latrine, Rongorongō, which induced her to agree to marry Maahanga in order to save face before her people.⁴⁴

³⁹ Pare Hayward, interview, 26 November 2010.

⁴⁰ Kelly, p. 93.

⁴¹ Jones P. Te H. and Biggs B., *Ngā Iwi o Tainui*, 1995, p. 116.

⁴² Personal communication, Raglan, 3 March 2012.

⁴³ George Graham, Volume 58, No. 2, Pare Hauraki - Pare Waikato, by George Graham, 1949, p. 68-76. http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_58_1949/Volume_58%2C_No._2/Pare_Hauraki_-_Pare_Waikato%2C_by_George_Graham%2C_p_68-76/p1?page=0&action=searchresult&target=#.

Kelly refers to the family leaving Waipa as being the reason her name is changed, both references stating that they moved from Waipa to Kawhia. Kelly, p. 99.

⁴⁴ Jones, pp. 128-129.

Kelly states that Maahanga headed to Hauraki via the Urewera country, where he was first invited to support the Maatātua people in avenging Tamapahore's death. Kelly speculates that because of his whakapapa connection through Kaiahi he went with a 'body of men' to help. Little is known of his time in this area or the path taken to get to Hauraki but Kelly goes on to say that his Hauraki descendants credit him with East Coast origin. Maahanga found himself in the company of Ngāti Huarere and there became attracted to their puhi Te Aka-tawhia. Because of their age difference (he was quite old now and she very young) she constantly rejected his advances until she was seen by him on the latrine Rongorongo.⁴⁵

It is from this occasion that the following waiata was composed by Te Aka-Tāwhia to tell of her displeasure about the actions of Maahanga and was later adopted by Ngāti Maahanga as a haka:

Ka hua hoki au
Ki taku roopi ma te ure e titiro.
Kāore ianei, ma te kanohi e titiro.
He tieke kai kino,
Kia ketu mai te hamuti.
Hokowhitu mau patu
i waenganui nei.
Te poarotanga mai,
Te tai ki Rongorongo,
He aha te mea ka kite mai na koe?
He mea ka katitohe!
He mea ka hotahota!
He mea ka ngirangira!
Pangopango tuai kerekere,
Te kai ate kotinga,
E hū!⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Kelly, pp. 112-113.

⁴⁶ Jones, p. 129.

When Maahanga heard about the death of his son, Tonganui, he sought support from Whare-Tipeti and Tapaue to avenge his death. It was at this hui that he laid down his taiaha Tikitiki-o-rangi before them, he being very old at this time, and his taiaha was snatched up by Manu-pīkare, a Ngāti Maahanga warrior. This being done Maahanga headed back to Hauraki but was caught in a storm so stopped to seek shelter. It was here that Maahanga died. His death is attributed to a branch of Ngāti Huarere (a hapū mainly of tangata whenua but Te Arawa had married into them) which Maahanga had gone to aid. This branch had close connections with Te Arawa through intermarriage and was therefore antagonistic to Maahanga. On learning where he was seeking shelter, they captured and killed him.

His taiaha Tikitiki-o-rangi was last in the hands of Te Ao-pōuri and on his death it was given to Te Rata and then said to be given to King Korokī after him.⁴⁷

1.6.4 Tonganui

Tonganui was the third son and third child of Maahanga and Paratai. Known for his ability as a warrior, Tonganui was also given the mantle of tuahuroa for the iwi/whenua.

Tonganui captured seven pā on the block known as Manuaitu today but was killed during his attempts to take the eighth pā. The following rendition has been given by Te Awarutu Samuels :

E ai ki tā Kamanomano kōrero ko te pā tuatahi i horo ia Tonganui mā ko Te Tupa, ka whati ngā tāngata i ngā morehu ki Kōhanga Parera. Ka horo, ka rere ngā morehu ki Herangi. Ka horo taua pā kātahi ka rere ki Tahere. Ka horo taua pā ka rere ki Whakamaru. Ka horo tērā pā hoki, ka rere ki Manuaitu katahi ka tikina atu ngā morehu e Pakaue nāna te mana whakahaere i te riri. E ai ki ngā kōrero kei whakamaru rātou ko Tonganui i mate ai i te ringa o Pakaue.⁴⁸

One of his pā was located on Pirongia maunga and another on the Wharauoa block (Rātāpiko and Te Tihi o Tonganui consecutively). His many pā signaled both his status and also the seasonal nature of living in the various pā.

⁴⁷ Jones, pp. 130-131.

⁴⁸ Te Awarutu Samuels, Ngāti Maahanga wānanga, Whaingaroa, 5 May 2012.

According to this statement from Kamanomano, the pā that fell as listed here in order of sequence are: Te Tupa, Kōhanga Parera, Herangi, Tahere and Whakamaru.⁴⁹ The survivors fled to Manuaitu and it was at this pā that Tonganui fell. Jones states that a storm occurred whilst attempting to invest the fort. Tonganui and his ope taua set about to make themselves a temporary shelter out of raupo. While they were distracted with this task, Tū-paenga-roa and his ope taua gathered up their weapons and set upon them killing them all with the exception of Terewai (tupuna of Rāwhārangī, wife of Tapaue) whom eventually escaped.⁵⁰ It was not until six generations later in the time of Te Pumatoto and Te Awaitaia that the capture of the eighth pā was fulfilled.

1.6.5 Ruateatea

Ruateatea was the sixth child of Maahanga and Paratai. His role was one of a tohunga, with the mantle of tuahuroa being passed on to him after the death of Tonganui. This is confirmed in the whakataukī of Maahanga :

Kāti anō he wae tārewa nōku a muri nei kia mau ki te papa, kia mau ki te aroha. Haere ki a Ruateatea. Kaua e whai te pakanga ki waho, waiho mā te pakanga e whai mai.⁵¹

Te Pahū hails its name from Te Pahūpahū o Ruateatea (pahū being the action to bang the gong). The pahū or gong was reported to be a rock (te pakeho - possibly a limestone rock) that was used to sound an alarm or to inform the hapū of a get together. This would have everyone come together from the hillside and meet in the valley. Pahū were found along the Waipa river by colonial surveyors.⁵² Amongst Maahanga it is stated that tohunga of Maahanga used the ihirangaranga⁵³ created by the pahū to travel and communicate.⁵⁴

The uri of Ruateatea eventually became estranged from the uri of his brother, Tonganui. This came about through a fight over boundaries, with both claiming a particular Miro tree to be on their boundary (likely to be in the early 1800's). Being disgruntled by the situation, Ngā uri a Ruateatea chopped the Miro tree down so that it fell clearly on their side (Ngāti Tonganui being housed at Ruapueru pā and Ngāti

⁴⁹ The names of the other two pā were not given.

⁵⁰ Jones, P.T.H., 1996, p. 128-131.

⁵¹ Wānanga, 31 March 2012. – Te Awarutu Samuels.

⁵² Wānanga, 31 March 2012. – Te Awarutu Samuels.

⁵³ Ihirangaranga – vibrations (a term given by Katarina Mataira).

⁵⁴ Wānanga, 31 March 2012. – Te Ariki Pihama.

Ruateatea at Aramiro). The estrangement continued through a number of generations. For example, Ngāti Tonganui would hold poukai at Ruapueru and, when it was sold, Ngāti Tonganui went to Te Papaorotu to carry out their ceremonies, choosing not to use Aramiro even though it was closer to them (early 1900's). Such events have been forgotten allowing the more recent generations to be on better terms.⁵⁵

Ruateatea was the father of Whāwhākia. Ngāti Whāwhākia is a Waikato hapū with links to Rāhui Pōkeka and Aotea moana today.⁵⁶

1.6.6 Tū-kōtuku Rerenga Tahī

Tū-kōtuku Rerenga Tahī was the daughter of Māhanga and Paratai. It was through her marriage to Tamainupō that the descendants of that union take the hapū name. Unbeknown to Maahanga, her marriage would be the union needed to restore peace between Kōkako and Maahanga after the killing of Tūheitia by Kōkako.

Tū-kōtuku and her sister Waitawake happened upon Tamainu-pō whilst he was fowling. He had started on Pokohuka ridge and then descended to the Kāniwhaniwha creek nearing the pā of that same name. As they approached Tū-kōtuku on hearing the thud of the birds declared to her sister, "A man!". They soon came across the attendant of Tamainu-pō under the tree. Tamainu-pō came down from the tree to greet the women and they in turn urged him to come to their pā. He sent them on ahead so that he could appropriately prepare both the birds and himself for presentation to their father, anointing himself with 'fragrant oil'.⁵⁷

On the return to the village, both Wai-tawake and Tū-kōtuku were arguing as to whom Tamainu-pō should be betrothed, their father Maahanga not making comment. After the pōwhiri of Tamainu-pō where he displayed his mana, asserting that he was a man of stature, and on seeing the preference of Tamainu-pō for Tū-kōtuku, Maahanga eventually commented to Wai-tawake "Waiho atu te tāne a to teina".

The following is Sunnah Thompson's rendition of the historical details:

⁵⁵ Sunnah Thompson, interview, Aramiro, 23 November 2011.

⁵⁶ Tainui Māori Trust Board, *The Carved History of Tainui: Te Winika Gallery*, p. 18, cited in *Scoping Report for an Oral & Traditional History Project for Te Tai Hau-ā-uru*, March 2011, p.64.

⁵⁷ Jones P. Te H. and Biggs B., *Ngā Iwi o Tainui*, p. 116.

Ka tīmata te mahi manu rāua ko tana mōkai. Ka haere mai ngā tamāhine nei a Wai-tawke me tana teina a Tū-kōtuku. Ka rongō a Tū-kōtuku i te haruru o ngā manu, Ka karanga atu ki tana tuakana ki a Wai-tawake, “He tangata, he tangata.” Ka ui mai te teina “Na te aha?” “Nā te papaa o ngā manu”. Ka haere ngā tokorua nei ka kite i te mōkai a Tamainu-pō, ka pātai ko wai tērā whiu iho ana i ngā manu, ka whakahokia e te mōkai ko Tamainu-pō. Ka heke iho a Tamainu-pō, ka mihi ki ngā, tuahine nei. Ka tonoa e nga wahine kia haere ratou ki te kāinga. Ka mea a Tamainu-pō hoatu ma māua hei whai atu. I te wā e hoki ana rāua ka mea a Tū-kōtuku, “A māku te tangata nei hei tane māku”, ka mea a Wai-tawake, “Kao māku kē te tāne”. Ka tae a Tamainu-pō me tana mokai ki te pā o Maahanga, ka kuhu te mōkai o Tamainu-pō i te kurupae o te waharoa, ko Tamainu-pō i piki mā runga ka uru ki roto i te pā. Mōhio tonu a Maahanga he rangatira kua tomokia te marae. Ka tīmata te Pōwhiri me nga Mihimihi ka oti. I waenga pō ka tīmata ngā whakangahau, ko Tamainu-pō kei mua noa atu i te hau kāinga mo te whakangahau. I konā ngā tuāhine e taupatupatu ana ko wai o rāua a Tamainu-pō. Ka kī a Waitawake “Māku te tāne ko au to tuakana”. Ka rongō a Maahanga, ka karanga atu ki a Wai-tawake, “Waiho te tāne mā to teina”. Ko te moenga tērā a Tamainu-pō ki a Tū-kōtuku. Ko Waitawake i haere ki Ngāti Maniapoto ngaro atu, kore ake i hoki mai.⁵⁸

Maahanga put aside land for Tamainu-pō when she married Tū-kōtuku . The only descendants who hold Tū-kōtuku Rerenga Tahī’s full name today are the descendants of Whakaari.⁵⁹

1.6.7 Tamainu-pō

As stated above, the marriage of Tamainu-pō to Tū-kōtuku was important as it eventually led to peace between Kōkako and Maahanga. Tamainu-pō joined his father-in-law in the battle against Kōkako and Tamainu-pō fooled Maahanga into thinking that he had killed Kōkako. (At this time Maahanga did not know that Kōkako was the father of Tamainu-pō.) It was only after the birth of Tamainu-pō and Tū-kōtuku’s first child, that Tamainu-pō revealed that Kōkako was not only still alive but also in fact his parent.⁶⁰

The following is Sunnah Thompson’s rendition of the story.

⁵⁸ Thompson, S., Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho (unpublished paper written in preparation for the Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho hearings), April 2010, pp. 6-10. Edited by Kelly-Hepi Te Huia, M.

⁵⁹ Wānanga, Whaingaroa, 31 March 2012. – Te Awarutu Samuels.

⁶⁰ Kelly L., *Tainui – The Story of Hoturoa and His Descendants*, 1986, pp. 94-98; Jones P. Te H. and Biggs B., *Ngā Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 118-122.

Ka ara tētehi pakanga nā Kokako hei patu i a Maahanga me tana iwi ka hangā e Kokako tana pā ki Kai-parera, kei te tuauru o te awa o Waipa, kare i tino matara atu i Kaniwhaniwha, ka rongō a Maahanga mo te ope taua o Kokako, ka tīmata te whakaara i tana ope taua. Ka tū a Maahanga ki mua i tana, ka karanga “Ka tū reia” ko te whakamaatautau ko wai hei ārahi i te toa o Maahanga. Kotahi anake te tangata i taea te pepeke tua atu (leap frog) i a Maahanga. Ka hari a Maahanga, kua mōhio ka hinga a Koakao i a ia. Ka haere rātou ki te patu i a Kokakao ka tae ki mua te pā ka paoho te reo o Maahanga, “Kōkiri”. Tere tonu te haere a Tamainupō, ka tae ki te whare o Kokako me te uru atu ka karanga “Hōmai ki a au to patu me to kahukura, e oma ki te kawhaki i a koe”. Ka pātai a Kokako “Eriki na wai au” ko te omanga o Kokakao, ka tae mai tētehi o ngā oranga o te ope ōrite ki te hanga ki a Kokako, ka patua e Tamainupo, ka taphia rawatia e ia te ūpoko, ka haria ki Kaniwhaniwha.

Ka takotohia e ngā tokowhitu ngā upoko ki mua o Maahanga kia tirohia me he mea ko Kokako, kāore i kite iho kāore he mea urukeehu pērā i te mahunga o Kokako. Ka karanga a Tamainu-pō kei a au a Kokako. Ka titiro a Maahanga ki te mahunga kāore i rite ki tana mōhio. Nō te whakatakotohanga e Tamainu-pō i te patu me te kākahu o Kokako, ka whakaāe, āe kua mate a Kokako. Roa rawa te wā i muri ka whānau te tama a Tū-kōtuku me Tamainu-pō. Ka pātai a Maahanga, “Nā wai koe?”. Ka mea a Tamainupō, “Ko Kokako taku matua, kei te ora tonu”. Ka whakaāe a Maahanga kia haere a Tamainu-pō ki tana matua mo te tohi karakia mo to rāua mokopuna. Ka kī a Maahanga ki tana hunaonga, “E puta koe ki tai ātea to koha ki ahau”. Ka puta te whakaaro o Maahanga kia houhia te rongō i waenganui ia rāua.

He maha atu nga kōrero, ka hikitia mō tēnei wā.⁶¹

1.6.8 Tāpātai - Te Punatoto

Tapatai was another important rangatira in the late 1700s and early 1800s. His kāinga by the name of Mahinu was located at Pirongia.⁶² Known for his prowess as a warrior, Tāpātai’s name change came about when he supported another section of Ngāti Maahanga, who were attacked and killed by Ngāti Koata at the pā called Te Kūpapa. His ability as a strategist became the undoing of Ngāti Koata in the battle named Huripopo where they suffered great losses. It was because of this battle and a Kaioraora composed by Ngāti Koata that Tāpātai took ownership of their description of him, changing his name to Punatoto.⁶³

⁶¹ Thompson, S., *Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho hearing*, April 2010, pp. 6-10.

⁶² Kelly, p. 304.

⁶³ Kelly, p. 305.

Kaioraora for Huripopo

Tera te marama
Ka roko marewa ake ia i te pae
I hara mai na koe
I a Toto ko tahuri atu
Kaati te whakaihi no Tuarea
Kei te hara mai
Kei te whakamate raro
He wai herunga no te Orahi
No Tapatai kei roto koe
I te Puna-toto
Tarure ki te taha ko te hokowhitu o Ngāti Maahanga
E hoa ma e, i tuhaua nga mahi nei
E tuku harere ra te ope i a Whare
Hei whiu i ahau
Nga ia rino kei Tauroa
Taupua ana e te mahau whare
I a Karaua
Kia ringiringi tu te hinu koia o te ngohi tahi
Me tuku ki raro ra
Nga pahau o te Uerangi⁶⁴

Although the musket was established in fighting in the west coast by the final battle with Ngāti Toa at Te Kakara, it appears that Te Puna-toto still believed in the old fighting regime of hand to hand combat, as in the battle of Te Kakara before the death of Raparapa. Rore Eruera recounted to Kelly that one of the Ngāti Maahanga warriors raised his musket fixing to shoot Raparapa, who was at the front of the warriors. However, he was restrained by Te Puna-toto by placing his hand between the flint-lock and the touch hole saying, ‘Kaua whakahei phuia. Engari waiho ma te ringa tangata to koutou papa’.⁶⁵

1.6.9 Te Awaitaia (pronounced as Te Awa-i-taia)

Te Awaitaia was a significant rangatira during the nineteenth century, leading Ngāti Maahanga during the critical transitional time of European settlement and the first decades of the relationship with the Crown following the signing of Te Tiriti. His

⁶⁴ Kelly, p. 305. There is the moon, it rises higher above the horizon. Thou camest hither then From Toto now spurned. So be it, the spell of Tuarea Is coming hither. The approaching sickness down below Shall be the water for the head-combing from Te Orahi. It shall be for Tapatai, thou art within The source of woman’s menstrual flow. Lags listlessly to the side of the war-party of Ngāti Maahanga. Oh friends, quick were these eventualities. The war-party led by Whare shall stand gasping quickly A chastisement for me. The swirling currents of Tauroa. Rest was afforded by the house porch of Karaua To pour forth the oil of the single fish In which must be steeped The beard of Te Uerangi.

⁶⁵ Kelly p. 322: ‘Do not meet him by firing. Rather leave for the hand of man, your father’.

importance as an influential rangatira and his rise into leadership was cemented by his defeat of Te Raparapa of Ngāti Tama. The son of Te Kata and Parehina, Te Awaitaia was born at Waipa. At the age of 20, Te Awaitaia killed Raparapa in hand-to-hand combat.⁶⁶ Kelly states that Te Awaitaia fought with a tewhatewha whilst Raparapa fought with a long-handled tomahawk. Te Awaitaia managed to disarm Raparapa, causing him to flee. Te Awaitaia gave chase, leaping 'clean over' a tutu bush and bringing his weapon down upon the head of Raparapa. Rangihokaia, having also given chase, joined in on the fight at that point, as both Raparapa and Te Awaitaia lay on the ground. Rangihokiaia leaped upon Raparapa who 'staggered to his feet lifting Te Rangihokaia with him' when another blow delivered by Te Awaitaia killed him.⁶⁷

At a Maahanga wānanga in April 2012, Te Awaitaia's ability as a leader and a taua was described to the participants as follows:

Te Awaitaia's prowess as a General and military strategist rivalled that of his whanaunga Potatau. He was an expert duellist and was a master of both short and long forms of weapons with his favourite being a tewhatewha.

He would lead charges from the front or command units from the rear, whatever was required on the day of battle. He was fierce, staunch and resolute being born into an era where a chieftain's mana was earned and maintained on the battlefield. Potatau himself had referenced Te Awaitaia as being his "right hand" and indeed lamented this fact when he and Te Awaitaia had their significant differences.

He was also extremely quick to adapt to new technology and it was said that Maahanga's battle group contained but one musket. The story goes that when Te Awaitaia was in Taranaki he was able to take the musket from a fallen sniper that had been decimating the front line of his invading warriors. Te Awaitaia had crept stealthily forward making small corrections each time the musket retort echoed across the field of battle. In a classic counter-sniper tactic, he out manoeuvred the sharpshooter and struck him down at close quarters before seizing the weapon and making it his own. He then mastered the art of sniping and counter-sniping, sending many an enemy to their ancestors with a bright red dot in the middle of their foreheads.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Nigel Cooper, Ngā Uri o Pourewa – A Pākehā Family Discovers its Māori Ancestry, 2005, p. 40.

⁶⁷ Kelly, pp. 322-323. We acknowledge that there are variations of the story of the battle between Te Awaitaia and Raparapa recorded elsewhere.

⁶⁸ Te Ariki Pihama, Maahanga wānanga, April 2012.

Te Awaitaia's claim to the whenua was through ringa kaha, take tupuna and raupatu.⁶⁹ This is how Maahanga came to extend their boundaries into Whaingaroa, by carrying out utu on Ngāti Koata, who in turn eventually moved south with Te Rauparaha and the Ngāti Toa collective.

To help distinguish the times more clearly the following is a time line of some of the major battles (and a major event) in the time of Te Awaitaia.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Ringa kaha – defence of the land; Take tupuna – ancestral right, Raupatu – confiscation. Seymour, G., & others, *Scoping Report for an Oral & Traditional History Project for Te Tai Hau-ā-uru*, March 2011, p. 64. Translations by Te Awarutu Samuels at Maahanga wānanga, April 2012.

⁷⁰ Kelly, pp. 287-377.

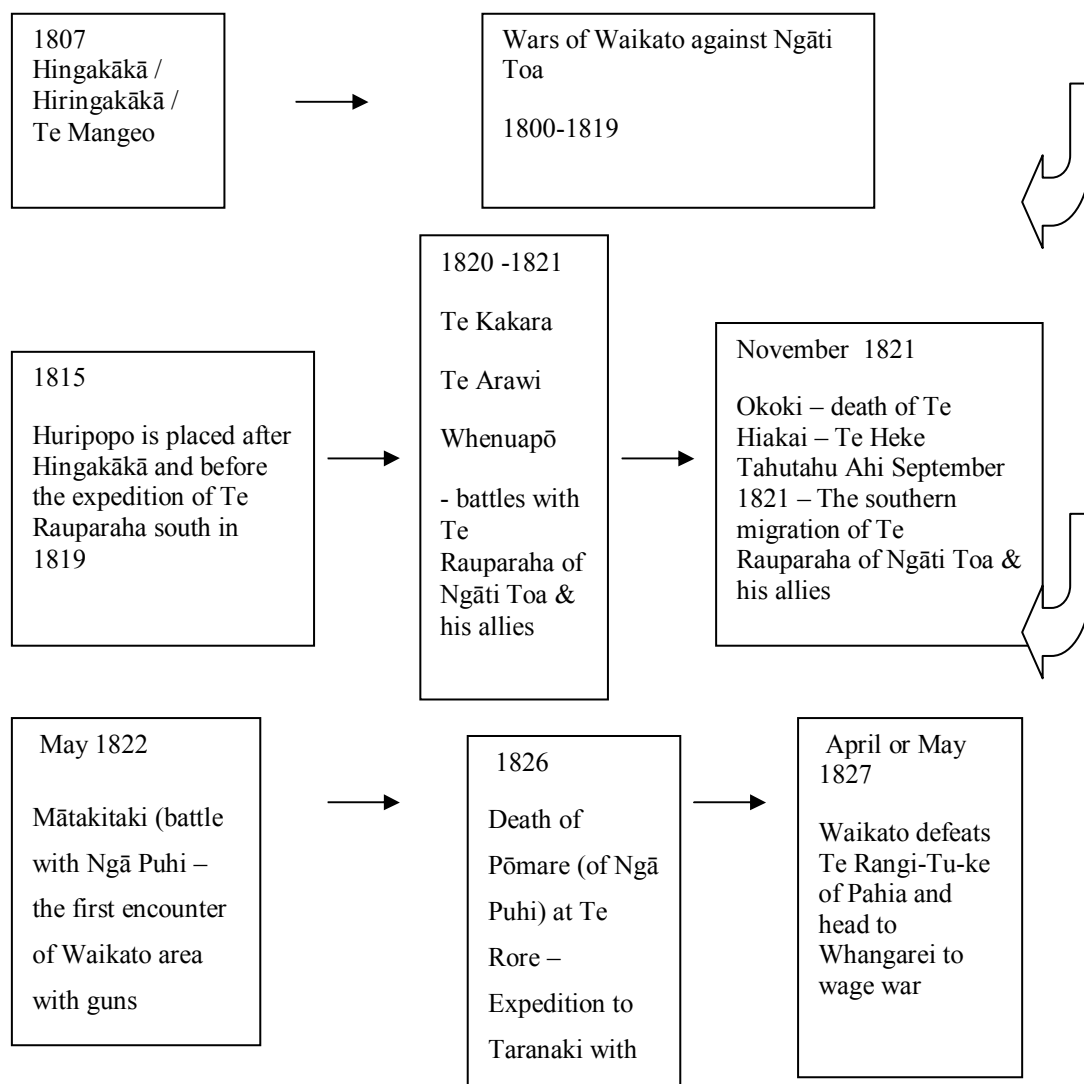


Figure 1 Major battles and events in Te Awaitaia's time

There was much turmoil and change in the time period that Te Awaitaia lived and ultimately lead through. His was the time of the coming of the Pākehā, iwi wars, engagement with Pākehā, prosperity of the people, the migration of Te Rauparaha, the land wars with the Crown, Kīngitanga, conversion to Christianity, alienation of land, introduction of legislation including land confiscation, the settlement of the country involving roads and the division of land, the Māori Land Court, and the power shift that these events created. It was these things that he and other Maahanga leaders had to navigate their people through to try and attain again the health and well-being of the people. He was a warrior, a peace maker, a peace keeper, a minister, a politician, and known for being a friend of the Pākehā, as it was through these actions that he avoided

potential land mines by creating a solid relationship with both settlers and Crown. The challenges that he faced will be covered in depth in Chapter 3.

1.6.10 Ngā Tūpuna

The children of Maahanga were of great importance as they were the progenitors of Maahanga the iwi and its various hapū. In acknowledging them we also acknowledge all our ancestors and the feats accomplished in their time, not least of all the difficult days of Te Awaitaia and his peers. The tūpuna listed here are important rangatira in relation to this claim. Theirs were difficult days indeed:

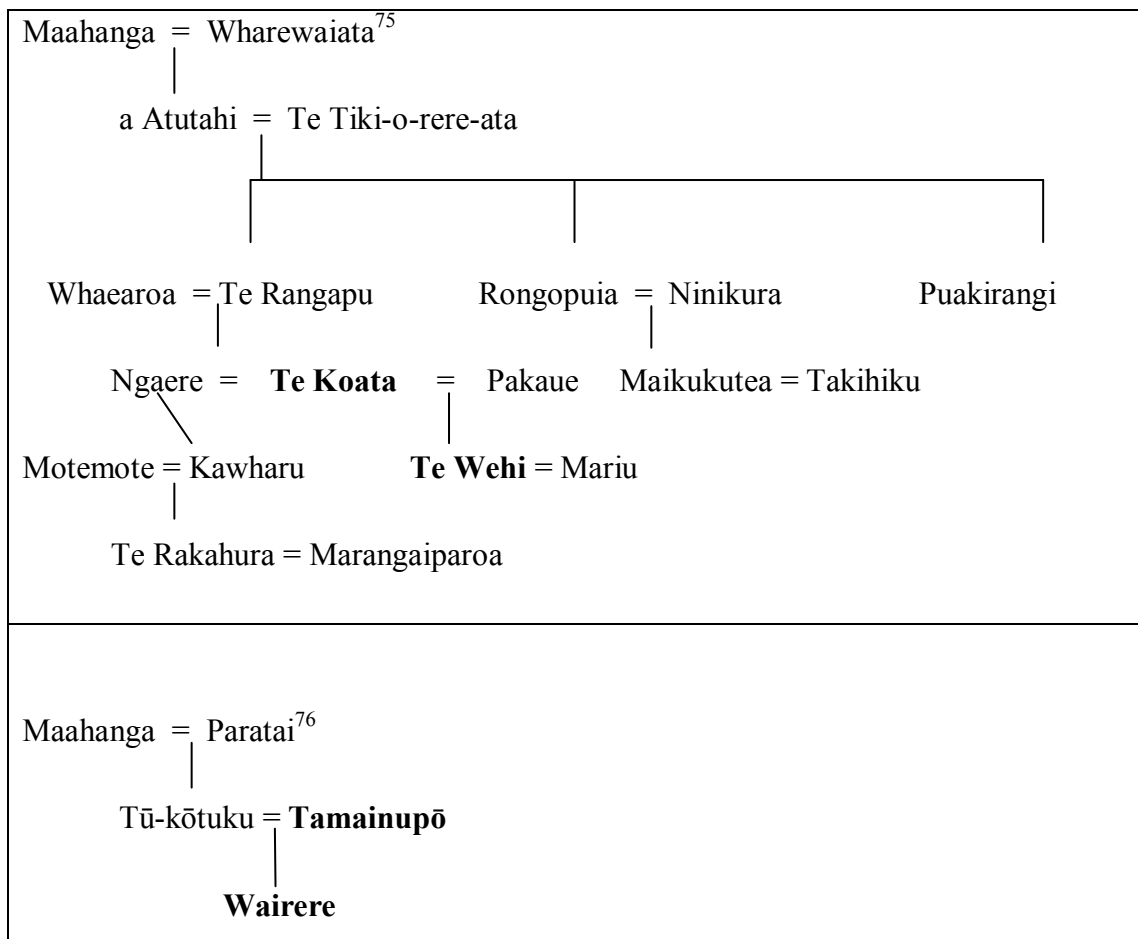
- a) Te Matutaera Kaniwhaniwha;
- b) Kamariera;
- c) Rihia Pohepohe (also known as Pokepoke);
- d) Wharewaiata;
- e) Nikorima Atutahi;
- f) Wiremu Otene;
- g) Waaka Otene;
- h) Hemi Matene (also Matini) Te Nero (also Nera and sometimes recorded as Hemi Matene Te Awaitaia);
- i) Te Waka (also Te Waaka, Te Ruki Te Waka);
- j) Hetaraka Nero;
- k) Mohi Te Rongomau;
- l) Hakopa Tekotuku;
- m) Wi Neera II;
- n) Hone Pirihi;
- o) Hone Kingi Muriwhenua;
- p) Tai Rakena;
- q) Te Aopouri Waata;
- r) Pukeikura;

s) Hapeta Waaka.⁷¹

t) Hone Waitere I (Te Ngana/Ngā Tokorua⁷²)

1.7 Ngā Hononga – Neighbourly Relations & Connections

The iwi/hapū that have borders in common with Ngāti Māhanga have whakapapa connections, namely: Ngāti Te Wehi, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Tamainupō, Ngāti Wairere, however Tainui-ā-Whiro are a collection of thirteen hapū whom have come together under the waka's name⁷³ and Ngāti Hikairo trace their origins through Rakataura⁷⁴.



(Atutahi is also the father of Wharewaiata hence the naming of her son Atutahi.)⁷⁷

⁷¹ Affirmed at claimant hui, Te Papa-o-Rotu marae, December 2011.

⁷² Wānanga, Te Papa Tapu marae kaumātua: Huti Waitere, Te Whānau Pani Moke, Leanne Shortland, Rangi Waitere, Frank Phillips, Hamilton, 12 July 2012.

⁷³ Marleina Te Kanawa, Hui, Whaingaroa, 11 November 2010.

⁷⁴ Personal communication, Frank Thorne, Ngāti Hikairo researcher, June 2012.

⁷⁵ Kelly, 1986, p. 465.

⁷⁶ Kelly, 1986, p. 470.

In regards to the relationships and boundaries between Tainui-ā-Whiro and Maahanga, our kaumātua Sunnah states that Te Awaitaia followed Ngāti Koata and told them to come back to Whaingaroa, where he would return their lands to them. This point was also raised in the Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing in Whaingaroa.⁷⁸ Te Awaitaia and Paratene Te Maioha also invited Te Rauparaha and the Taranaki people back to their lands after they had converted to Christianity after the Taranaki wars:

I roto i taua Rongo Pai ka whaka-hokia atu nga tangata i riro herehere mai Waikato ki Taranaki. Na taua Rongo Pai ano i kawea ai e Wiremu Te Awaitaia raua ko Paratene Te Maiaha [sic] te maunga rongo ki a Ngāti toa i Karape. Ka puta te kupu ki a Ngāti toa kia hoki mai ki Kawhia. Ka puta ta ratou kupu, "Ki to tupuna te whaka-aro."

.... Ko Te Rau- paraha, kihai i whakaae kia hoki ki Kawhia. Ka hoki mai matou ki Waikato. Ka rongo a Muri-whenua, a te Kanawa, a Pohepohe, ka hoki mai a Ngāti awa ki Taranaki, whakaae ana ratou. Muri iho ka haere atu a Ngāti - Maahanga, a Ngāti hourua, a Ngāti naho, a Ngāti mahuta, o Kawhia, me Ngāti maniapoto, ki Ngamotu, ki te whakapumau i taua rongo mau ano. Ko te take o taua rongo mau kia noho a Ngāti awa ki Taranaki.⁷⁹

In pre-European times right up to the arrival and early settlement, Ngāti Maahanga formed many allies. They were often based on whanaungatanga and alliance against a common enemy. Te Awaitaia had close whakapapa ties to Potatau and Te Waharoa and therefore we see in the battles of Waikato, that if Ngāti Mahuta arose to battle, there too were Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua. Other such allies in battle were Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Te Ata and Ngāti Hikairo. In the battle against Taranaki, this Waikato collective raised 1,600 men to battle. On a separate occasion, Ngāti Tipa, Ngāti Tahinga and Ngāti Te Wehi were called upon to wage battle in Taranaki, this time there were 540 men accounted for. These were

⁷⁷ Kelly, p. 464.

⁷⁸ Sunnah Thompson, personal communication, July 2011. Te Awarutu Samuels, *Ngā Kōrero i Tuku Iho hearing*, April 2010, p. 47.

⁷⁹ Te Manuhiri Tuarangi and Māori Intelligencer, Vol. I, Auckland, April 15, 1861, p. 11.

http://www.nzdl.org/gsdmod?gg=text&e=q-00000-00---off-0niupepa--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-1lpc--11-en-50---20-about-te+awaitaia--00-0-1-00-0-0-11-1-0utfZz-8-00-0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=niupepa&srp=0&srn=0&cl=search&d=04__3.9

Under the teaching of Christianity, the prisoners captured by Waikato were liberated and sent back to Taranaki. It was Christianity that induced Wiremu Te Awaitaia and Paratene TeMaiaha to carry peace to the Ngātitoa at Karape. Word was sent to the Ngātitoa to come back to Kawhia. Their reply was, The thought is with your ancestors.

....Te Rauparaha did not agree to go back to Kawhia. We came back to Waikato, and when Muriwhenua, Te Kanawa, and Pohepohe, heard that the Ngāti-awa had returned to Taranaki, they assented to it. Afterwards the NgātiMaahanga, Ngātihourua, Ngātinaho, Ngātimahuta, of Kawhia, and Ngātimaniapoto, went to Nga-motu to confirm the peace. The basis of that peace was that the Ngātiawa should reside at Taranaki.

battles when Te Ao-o-te-Rangi and Muriwhenua were the elders and they called on their ‘tamaiti’ Wiremu Te Awaitaia to exact revenge for the death of Te Hiakai.⁸⁰ Recounts of the numerous engagements of Ngāti Maahanga in battle are found throughout this volume, most particularly in this chapter and Chapter 2.

Engagement with neighbours was obviously not always on friendly terms, as we see in the following sections. However, a tikanga that overrode hostilities that was applied by all, was that where iwi had lost their members in battle, those people were invited back to ‘whakanoa’ or to lift the tapu imposed on the area due to the death of their people. According to Tai Rakena, the ‘ara tuakana’ could also lift the tapu.⁸¹

1.8 The War over Aotea

The foremost important event in the history of Ngāti Maahanga before the immigration of Pakeha was the war over Aotea. Ngāti Maahanga was at war for seven generations from Maahanga’s son Tonganui to Te Awaitaia. Te Aopouri Waata’s evidence showed that the war was related to Ngāti Maahanga’s conquest of land to the west of Ngāti Maahanga’s ‘papatupu’ land in the Moerangi land block.⁸² The land was the home of Whatihua, Kakati’s grandson, who built Manuaitu pā and lived to an old age. When nearing death, Whatihua chose a hill as his final resting place, his okiokinga.⁸³ Te Tihi o Moerangi (the Summit of Moerangi) is often referred to as ‘te puke okiokinga’, the hill of eternal rest. The hill had a sheer cliff on the seaward side and a cave in the cliff face, which was called Pohotangi because the noise made by waves crashing into the entrance sounded like a rumbling stomach. It was here, at the cliff-top that Whatihua plunged to his death.⁸⁴ His great-grandson Tu-iri-rangi and his people lived there after him. Today, Makomako Marae is called Te Tihi o Moerangi.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 6-12.

⁸¹ Moerangi Minute Book, 12, Tai Rakena, 14 October 1909, p.104. The nature of this invitation would become an issue in the Native Land Courts when Ngāti Tamainu-pō were asked to come back to Ohinetamatea to lift a tapu there. This is covered in Chapter 4.

⁸² Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, pp. 39-43.

⁸³ Te Hurinui Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi O Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, Auckland, 1995, pp. 82-85.

⁸⁴ Te Hurinui Jones and Biggs, pp. 84-85.

Tai Rakena (Ngāti Ruateatea) called the area ‘Moerangi proper’ to differentiate between this and the land block of the same name.⁸⁵ Te Aopouri explained that the boundaries for the Moerangi land block and original Moerangi area were mismatched:

These boundaries take on part of Moerangi and leave out part. The place Moerangi is in the west on conquered part. The proper name of the part of this block, which belonged to Maahanga, is [Manuwera]. The whole district was Pirongia. [Manuwera] is enclosed in the boundary I have just described.⁸⁶

When arranging the case for Ngāti Maahanga, Roka Hopere (Ngāti Whawhakia) told the Court that part of the west side of the Moerangi land block was utu land called Matakowhai.⁸⁷ The diagram below shows Matakowhai and other utu land around Moerangi block. Te Aopouri said that hapū from five sons of Maahanga spread out across the utu land at Aotea and at Whaingaroa as well.

⁸⁵ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 28 October 1909, p. 167.

⁸⁶ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 27.

⁸⁷ Roka Hopere, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 29 September 1909, p. 18.



Figure 2 Map of Ngāti Maahanga utu land in and around Moerangi block 1911.

The whole of the land blocks were claimed for Ngāti Maahanga except Kawhia. Mohi Te Rongomau gave these landmarks for the utu land around Kawhia:

Begins at Raukumara, follows the coast south to Harihari, turns thence in E[ast] direction to Tohoanga, Okura, Matarangi then in [n]orth direction to Mangaora, Pokopoko until it reaches the external boundary near Pirongia and follows the Rohepotae boundary to the starting point at Raukumara.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 23 August 1886, p. 174.

The diagram in *Figure 3* shows the four major battles associated with the Aotea war. Each spanned two generations of warriors who embarked on a series of revenge attacks and counter-attacks culminating in Ngāti Maahanga driving all of its enemies from the district by the early 1800s. The defeated hapū fled to their Ngāti Toa kin at Kawhia and the war merged with that taking place against Te Rauparaha. The names of the battles were the sites of the main disputes; the battles were remembered for the deaths of the Ngāti Maahanga rangatira on the left side of the diagram and the Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi rangatira on the right side.

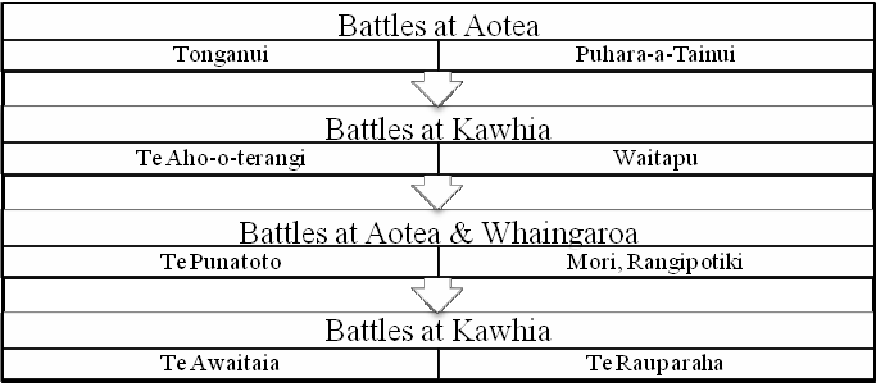


Figure 3 Chronology of Ngāti Maahanga war at Aotea against Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi

The war at Kawhia was between Te Rauparaha and the Waikato Confederaation, which included Ngāti Maahanga.

Two of the witnesses to speak on the war were direct descendants of the men associated with the battles. Te Aopouri was a descendant of Tonganui, Te Aho-o-terangi, and Te Punatoto. Pouwharetapu Te Kewene was Ngāti Hourua, or more precisely, Ngāti Whakamarurangi, through his father. His mother was a descendant of Tu-iri-rangi’s son Puhara-a-tainui, his grandson Waitapu and *his* grandson Mori, all of whom were killed by Ngāti Maahanga. Pouwharetapu was related to Rangipotiki as well, who was a descendant of Maahanga. However, Rangipotiki allied with the adversaries of Ngāti Maahanga.

Te Aopouri and Pouwharetapu held opposing views that underscored the tensions within Ngāti Maahanga. Both sides agreed that the ancestors Maahanga and Tu-iri-rangi lived in peace and that their descendants waged war on each other. They also agreed on the general timeline and details of the conflicts. However, their overarching contention was over mana. The Ngāti Maahanga view was that Ngāti Maahanga gained the land in conquest and cleared the land of those who were not Ngāti Maahanga; and the occupation of those hapū on the land was because they were associated with Ngāti Maahanga.

Pouwharetapu argued that this ongoing occupation meant the original Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi inhabitants maintained continuous occupation throughout the conquest and, therefore, still held the mana whenua. Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi and its constituent hapū had become part of Tainui by 1909. Intermarriages blurred the differentiation between the two groups even further, of which the most complex was Ngāti Te Wehi, a Ngāti Maahanga hapū that was closely related to Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi.

1.9 Te Rauparaha - Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Koata

Te Rauparaha is said to have abandoned Kawhia for the south in September 1821. The departure of Te Rauparaha and his hapū Ngāti Toa is attributed to the culmination of many events of war involving Ngāti Maahanga, Waikato and their allies as well as Ngāti Maniapoto. Ngāti Toa took offence to every loss suffered by them in battle and it was because of these grievances that they often sought utu to the point that many hapū turned against them.⁸⁹ The largest battle of consequence was Te Mangeo, widely known as Hinga-kākā due to the large amount of taua killed. This battle was cause of a long term grievance for the occupants of Kawhia against Ngāti Maahanga, Waikato, Maniapoto and their allies. The battles were ongoing between the two enemy parties. Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Raukawa (the mother of Te Rauparaha was Ngāti Raukawa) and other hapū sided with Ngāti Toa. At times they were small ambushed parties or wives were killed as an act of revenge, such as the killing of Marore the ‘girlhood wife’ of Te Rauparaha, killed when she came into Waikato to attend a relative’s tangi. However, there were also larger battles.

⁸⁹ Kelly, p. 300.

In one of the larger battles Te Rauparaha was given the reason to whai utu when dissension happened between Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Maahanga. The issue began when Tarakaihuanga of Ngāti Toa belittled his wife ,who left him and went back to her relatives at Horongarara. On hearing the curse they in turn belittled him, these words eventually reaching him, causing him to lead an ope taua in response. While on the way to Horongarara, for reasons unknown, he turned instead into Waitetuna, killing the occupants of the pā Te Kupapa a Maahanga pā. Aid was sought from Tapatai and climaxed with his taua defeating Ngāti Koata at Huripopo. It is due to the kaioraora or cursing song of Ngāti Koata that Tapatai changes his name to Pumatoto. Ngāti Koata retreated south with Ngāti Maahanga in pursuit, another clash ensued and the rangatira Mori was killed. This event was followed with an invasion from Te Rauparaha and his people. The trouble between Ngāti Toa and their allies Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Tama and others, with Ngāti Maahanga, Waikato, Maniapoto and allies culminates in a large battle where all slighted are present at two battle fronts Te Kakara and Waikawau in around 1820 or early 1821. The final blow ousting Ngāti Toa and their allies was delivered at Te Arawi and Te Whenuapo when after the Te Karaka and Waikawau battles, Ngāti Toa reoccupy their country. Te Muriwhenua and Te Awaitaia are credited for contriving ‘the escape of about one hundred of their relatives’ at Whenuapo.⁹⁰ The events after these battles lead to the migration of Te Rauparaha, Ngāti Toa and their allies.⁹¹

1.10 Musket Wars

The introduction of the musket amongst Māori had a great influencing effect on the change of cultural norms. Due to their superior nature as a weapon, the owner of a musket was a daunting enemy, and for Ngāti Maahanga and the rest of the Māori nation, Ngā Puhi, who were first to acquire this powerful new technology, had the effect of a wild tornado venting its destruction throughout Aotearoa. In their desire to gain resources the Government of New South Wales sent in the first traders to scout the terrain for any hint of the desired flax and other primary resources.⁹² Perhaps a nation that has a long history of colonising countries ought to have asserted more

⁹⁰ Phillips, F.L., *Ngā Tohu a Tainui – Landmarks of Tainui*, 1989, p.146.

⁹¹ Kelly, pp. 287-340.

⁹² Vennell, C.W. & Williams, S., *Raglan County Hills and Sea, A Centennial History 1876-1976*, 1976, pp. 19-21.

strongly laws of engagement with countries new to the British ways and influences. Without this protection in place life as it was known was to change irreparably.

For their part Ngā Puhi made the initial sacrifice to their cultivation norms by creating 'commodities' that would allow them to 'barter for these envied muskets'.⁹³ They were even willing to 'put up with injuries' so as not to offend those who manufactured and supplied them.⁹⁴ It would appear that cultural difference was allowed for. The thought might be raised here as to the eventual impact culturally that these allowances might have. With their advantage of early trade before the rest of the North Island and with the leadership prowess of Hongi Hika, Ngā Puhi took advantage of their position and handed out death to those that had aggrieved them, starting with Mokoia and Mauinaina pā (this pā stood in the Auckland suburb of Panmure), Te Totara (a pā at the river mouth of Waihou), moving on to the Hauraki Gulf. Hongi left the Bay of Islands again on the 25th February 1822 with around 3,000 warriors many of whom were armed with muskets, making a line for Waikato.⁹⁵

The musket had already been introduced to the Waikato. They had been gifted as presents from Tuwhare, one of the northern war party's chiefs. They had come via Waikato Heads and Whaingaroa penetrating south to the Cook Strait in 1819.

On hearing of their approach, Waikato gathered at Mātakitaki. This defensive pā was well positioned at the junction of the Waipa and Mangapiko rivers, protected by the steep sand cliffs on two sides as well as three huge ditches that had been dug between the two streams as well. Despite it being well positioned, without knowing the capabilities of a musket those seeking shelter had not realised the predicament they would soon be in. In normal circumstances, a pā like this would have proven to be a highly defensible position but in the face of a gun its weaknesses were exposed. The superiority of the gun was demonstrated by the large numbers of lives lost that day.

The attack was made from the Whaingaroa side of the Waipa at the lowest level of the banks. Hongi and his war party fired continuously into the midst of the crowds creating a panicked reaction to escape the onslaught of bullets. Their fear being

⁹³ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827*, 1909, pp. 51-52.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Vennell, C.W. & Williams, S., *Raglan County Hills and Sea, A Centennial History 1876-1976*, 1976, pp. 19-21.

heightened due to their lack of knowledge about the musket, people tried to escape across the huge ditches, falling in and being trampled to death by the sheer weight of the crowd trying to escape behind them. An estimated 1,500 people died that day, the impact of the day creating a no-man's land in the vicinity of the battle for some time.⁹⁶ The deaths were not due to the sharp shooting of the Ngā Puhi taua but rather through the fear of the unknown, namely the ability of this weapon to deliver death from a distance.

A year later, a Waimate chief by the name of Rewa, second-in-command to Hongi Hika who also fought at the battle at Mātakitaki, went on a peace-making visit to Waikato. He offered his daughter Matire-toha as a tatau pounamu in an attempt to create peace through marriage to Kati the younger brother of Te Wherowhero. One of the Waikato chiefs who went on the expedition to escort Rewa back home to the north was so 'enthusiastic' in his rendition of the trip that Te Puaha a rangatira from Kawhia chose to go northward to see for himself.⁹⁷

It was Te Puaha who engaged with Kent. John Rodolphus Kent was the Captain of the Elizabeth Henrietta back on his second trip to Aotearoa, sent by the New South Wales authorities on a flax finding expedition. On New Year's Day in 1824, they sailed south and there made arrangements for the local iwi to cut and dress flax for Kent. The goal for local Māori was trade for the much coveted musket as well as other 'British manufactures' that Kent was authorised to trade in.⁹⁸

An effect of the introduction of trade on the west coast, coupled with the declaration of peace from Ngā Puhi, was a return to the abandoned areas in 1823. The re-population of the area also saw the filling of the void created by the migration of Te Rauparaha and the people of Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Toa. With the opportunity to obtain muskets and powder, even the inland tribes engaged in the flax trade. This meant carrying the flax over the ranges, a ton of fibre equalling one musket. To supply a ton of fibre meant that 'more than a hundred and thirty backloads' had to be carried to the ships.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Vennell, 1976, p. 22-24.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

The west coast was further opened up to trade when John Vittoria Cowell¹⁰⁰ moved to Kawhia. Free to trade weapons, Cowell opened a store at Pouwewe which Vennell states is where the present Kawhia township is. Kent also settled in the district, under the protection of Te Wherowhero, marrying a close relative of his. Te Wherowhero settled him at Heahea, a village found on the northern side of the Kawhia harbour near the heads.¹⁰¹ It was through this trade in Kawhia that muskets and powder found their way into the Waikato, to both the inland and the coastal hapū and iwi.

When Hongi Hika next visited the Waikato, he honoured the peace agreement and left the Waikato people unmolested. The purpose of his visit this time was to whai utu, attacking Ngāti Whātua for the killing of his son.¹⁰² The following year (1826) Pomare came to the Waikato, choosing not to honour the peace treaty, but unfortunately for him Waikato were in a far different state than Ngā Puhī had left them in previously. Word had reached the Waikato iwi of the intentions of Pomare and at Te Rore they ambushed and killed Pomare and his taua. The survivors headed to the coast at Whaingaroa, and then on to the Waikato Heads. At every point they were met with hostility and death. Vennell states that only ten of the original 500 taua made it home.¹⁰³

Five years later, the next domino effect of the musket revolution found the Waikato collective, inclusive of Ngāti Maahanga, ready to assert themselves. They had experienced defeat at the hands of Te Ati Awa ten years earlier and they were ready to whai utu. The ope taua was led by Te Wherowhero, with Te Awaitaia in command of Ngāti Maahanga there in support. They headed south via Aotea, Kawhia and Mokau. At the pā Puke-rangiora, 4,000 Te Ati Awa held off the Waikato contingent but after three months were eventually 'starved into surrender'. Vennell states that as the Te Ati Awa people were being led out, Te Wherowhero stationed himself at one of the gateways of the pā 'braining each one with his greenstone mere'. Only after slaughtering 150, his right arm aching with the effort, did he take rest. In the afternoon Te Awaitaia became the executioner.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ A twine-spinner from England who was with the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands in 1820 and who three years later was dismissed by Marsden for selling muskets to Māori.

¹⁰¹ Vennell, p. 25.

¹⁰² whai utu – seek revenge.

¹⁰³ Vennell, 1976, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

In 1832, Ngā Puhi once more attempted to take Waikato, arriving with an ope taua of 3,000. However, the Waikato collective, inclusive of Ngāti Maahanga, were ready for them, armed with muskets thanks to the traders. A Pākehā observer described the haka as ‘something terrific’, with 6,000 taua challenging each other, each side eager to show their prowess.¹⁰⁵ Ngā Puhi thought better of an invasion at that time but due to lack of food the taua of Waikato eventually retreated. After their retreat Ngā Puhi did cross the river at the Heads, harassing some Pākehā settlers who had chosen not to seek shelter elsewhere during the Ngā Puhi invasion. Some were taken by the Ngā Puhi taua back with them. Those that resisted were killed and unlucky hapū members of the Waikato collective were also killed as Ngā Puhi made their way back home.¹⁰⁶

With his baptism on the 17th of January, 1836 by the missionary Wallis, the leadership of Te Awaitaia took another path moving from traditional rivalry to creating other pathways in which to engage with the new settlers. The influence of christianity in the Whaingaroa district in the 1840’s saw Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Hourua and other hapū of Maahanga along with others of Waikato turning to ‘a more lucrative occupation than shooting each other’¹⁰⁷ as other iwi were still doing in South Auckland, choosing instead to engage in the occupation of trade. Applying the idealism of working collectively the next ten or more years saw Ngāti Maahanga and its collective hapū engaged very successfully in commerce.¹⁰⁸

1.11 Ngā Marae o Ngāti Māhanga

As at 2010, 4,381 people are enrolled as Ngāti Maahanga on the Waikato-Tainui beneficiary roll.¹⁰⁹ Collins provides the following population statistics for Ngāti Maahanga marae:

Te Papa-o-Rotu 2214
Aramiro 896
Mōtakotako 607
Ō-maero 481
Te Papatapu 183¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Vennell, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶ Vennell, pp. 22-29.

¹⁰⁷ Vennell, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Vennell, pp. 36-44.

¹⁰⁹ These statistics were gathered by Adelaide Collins who states that they are ‘the only existing guide for estimating the population size of Ngāti Maahanga marae’. Other estimates done as provided for the Pūkete feasibility study estimated the numbers at possibly 10,000. K. TH. Raungatanga, H. Kingi, K.A. Turner & T.H. Fraser, *Pukete Marae Reservation Feasibility Study Report*, Whatawhata, p. 13, 2010.

The following brief descriptions of Ngāti Māhanga associated marae have been provided by the marae.

1.11.1 Ō-maero

Te Awarutu Samuels wrote the following account about his marae.

Whakatupu te tamaiti hei Rangatira
hei takitakia te mate o Tonganui.
Whakamau, whakamau!
Whakamau ki Manuaaitu, ki Pukerengarenga
Tūtū kau ana ngaa pūruru Kahikatea e tuu ki Ō-maeroa
Ore-ore kau ana ngaa Kākaho ki Te Kaha-roa.

Ō-maero was built by Tonganui and his people, his father Maahanga was still residing in Waikato at the time. Tonganui established Ō-maero in the Rohe of Karamu and Kaniwhaniwha, at an area called Te Pahupahu o Ruateatea, not far from the main kainga at Purakau.

It was on account of Maahanga learning of the deaths of Tonganui and his nephews that he commanded his people to stand erect at Ō-maero, telling them to rise and making reference to the Kahikatea tree and the very root system that intertwine, making them impossible to separate through the storms. He encouraged his people to stand up, 'Kāti anō! He wae taarewa nōku', even though Tonganui is dead he still had a son, to lead the people.

Haere ki a Ruateatea, ā muri nei kia mau ki te papa, kia mau ki te Aroha, Kauraka e whaia te pakanga ki waho, engari, waiho māna hei whai mai. Kāore he paa ki roto o ngōku whenua, o Moerangi, engari he kāinga noa iho.¹¹¹

It was on the recitation of the whakatauki by Maahanga about Ō-maero and Te Kaha-roa that the names have become historically important. According to our Kaumatua the name Ō-maero has been incorrectly spelt over the years because of early historical recordings, which has been the source of debate concerning the (a) at the end of Oma-e-roa, and continues to this day to be the source of the same debate.

¹¹⁰ Statistics provided by Adelaide Collins: Waikato-Tainui, 'Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust Annual Report for the Year Ended 31 March 2010', 2010.

¹¹¹ Maahanga was instructing his people to go to Ruateatea, protect the whenua and lastly to hold fast to love, not to follow or be the cause of unjust war. He was also telling his people to be strategic in their thoughts and actions and never establish fortresses within the boundaries of Maahanga but to have kainga. Translated by Te Awarutu Samuels.

The name Te Kaharoa talks about the strength or stronghold of Maahanga through their Journeys of Occupation and conquest. The names refer to the power and strength displayed among the iwi during their long travels and conquest of the land. Another fine point to these names is that through Tonganui, the whole country (Te Tai Hau aa Uru) was taken. Ō-maero and Te Kaharoa are living evidence of the strength of Maahanga iwi through the time of Tonganui.

Omanga, Whakaroa
pae riri whakawaho,
pae nguha whakaroto,
Tahu-matakaa he ahi tau-roa , Te whenua!
Ranga te tara a whare o Rotu, He kohinga maarama
te Rua o Tuheitia.
He Uunga Kaha, He Uunga Roa,
Maahanga e huu!

Ō-maero Tuutuu kau!

Ō-maero was brought down to Whatawhata as a kāinga noho for Ngāti Hourua. In 1872 while on a bird expedition, Houkura Te Awaitaia came across from Poukowhatu and passed Ō-maero and Te Kaharoa kāinga. Te Kaharoa had been moved earlier to Mahinui in the Pirongia region. Ō-maero was left to protect the boundaries of Maahanga on the western bank of the Waipa, not far from Pūrākau. Apparently, when it arrived in Whatawhata, it first stood on the hill situated above its current site and years later was moved down below to where it currently stands today.

It was said by one of our kaumātua who, as a child in the late 1920s and early 1930s, was raised at the original site where his tūpuna were still residing, that Te Kaharoa and Ō-maero both stood in the same area, metres away from each other. Ō-maero whare stood on the upper hill and Te Kaharoa stood on the lower hill; both were near Pūrākau, along the western banks of the Waipa River.

The Whenua and its History

The lands between Poukowhatu and Pātotahi were lands that belonged to the uri and family of Te Awaitaia. Toea is the daughter of Miriama Te Awaitaia and Atutahi Te

Rutu Nikorima. Toea tuku whenua¹¹² for the children of Irihaapeti and Heemaima. She also tuku whenua below her kāinga for her two younger brothers, Houkura and Te Awarutu. Toea's kāinga was situated above Ō-maero at Paa-too-tahi looking down over Ruamakamaka, Maamere, Piringaiti, Ōkahukura, Kahutaunoa right through to Poukowhatu and over to Te Iaia, Peehihoukura, Kakaramea and on to Tuhikaramea.

Houkura and Te Awarutu settled their families on the land; their descendants currently occupy the whenua and still maintain kaitiakitanga and mana over the whenua. The owners act as custodians of the ingoa on behalf of Ngāti Hourua.

Ō-maero was formally registered as a marae reservation in 1962 and the land was gazetted 'for the benefit of the owners with common use of spring'. It is a marae widely acknowledged as being for the people of Ngāti Hourua.

Whare Kauta

A Whare Kauta built from ponga was erected that had a dirt floor. The whānau of Ō-maero would collect river pumice, which was sprinkled over the ground along with water to stop the dust from rising. The kuwaha¹¹³ was said to be so low that you had to stoop down to enter into the whare. It had a fireplace to the left of the door next to the entrance of the house. There was a pou in the middle of the whare. This whare was pulled down in early 1952.

The Hall

The current hall was built around 1920. The whare was built by many whānau living in and around Whatawhata at the time of its construction. According to our kaumātua, Puturangi Makarini and Raiha Rawiri of Ngāti Reko and Ngāti Tamainupō gifted the majority of the wood to build the hall as Raiha had shares in the Tangirau timbermill. Many whānau contributed in the construction of the whare as it was said the hall at Ō-maero was built by Ngāti Hourua, Ngāti Maahanga iwi nui tonu.

Last Whare

Ō-maero was a large kāinga noho in the early days, and is surrounded by other kāinga noho that belong to Ngāti Hourua. Ō-maero was still an active kāinga as late as 1978.

¹¹² Tuku whenua – gifted land.

¹¹³ Kuwaha – door.

Hika Jones' three-roomed whare, which was built by Teinakore, was the last to stand there. It was pulled down after his death in 1979.

Poukai

Ō-maero pā held annual poukai until the 1930s when the flag was returned to King Te Rata by Ngāti Hourua representatives. It is said the poukai of Ō-maero was held in May of every year. Ō-maero poukai was returned and the people united under the mantle held by Te Papa o Rotu. It is also known that Te Papa o Rotu poukai was first held on the 10th April 1926. Te Awarutu Te Awaitaia of Ō-maero pā was its first Chairperson and the following words were recited on his election to the chair thus cementing Maahanga-Hauhau, Hourua-Kupapa within the Kīngitanga.:

Kooia he uri nō Te Awaitaia, māna, hei whakatutuki ngā kupu whakaari a Te Awaitaia ki a Pootatau, ki a Tawhiao.

Te Hāhi Te Kaumarua

Tuhura Te Kani of Te Puaha o Waikato established the Haahi Te Kaumarua within Ngāti Hourua. This Hāhi is held three times a year and was strongly practised among our kaumātua of Ngāti Hourua. It is said that when Tuhura and Ahenata arrived here in Whatawhata, they settled at Ō-maero making this their kainga and settling among the uri of Te Awaitaia. When they settled at Ō-maero, he was a member of the Hāhi Ringa-tū and was under strict rules of tapu. According to our Kuia Umu-Hiakita, he locked himself in a whare at Ō-maero and asked God to remove the tapu from him so he could preach and share the teachings among the people. When he came from his whare, he was free of tapu and he could start to teach the people about healing and all that God had to offer. The Hāhi Te Kaumarua represents the three feasts of the tabernacles, which is of the Old Testament. It is a time for all males to come before the Lord to give thanks and to pray for the 'pani, pouaru me te rawakore and to ask for blessings over our Ūpoko o te Kīngitanga and to ask for his guidance for the coming months.'

12 March: The feast of the unleavened bread

it is time to break free from all that shackles or bounds us to do little, breaking free from oppression. Giving thanks to our Creator for all that has been done for us when he brought us into the Promised Land from the lands of the Oppressor.

1 July: The feast of the first fruits:

Bring forth all the first fruits of your labour to the house of your Lord God; to share and distribute to the people and to exalt in the name of the Lord of multitudes, the Lord our provider.

12 November: The feast of the Tabernacles:

A time to give thanks for all that has been reaped over the year, and to ask for blessings for the coming months. To give thanks and ask for many blessings for the seeds that will be re-sown into the land.

The church services are held by whānau within Whatawhata and have been passed down through the generations and are still upheld every year. Tuhura Te Kani was the head of this haahi; on his death it was left to his wife Ahenata and Teinakore Kukutai Rautangata, who both carried the responsibilities right through until their deaths. It was then carried by others within the rohe of Whatawhata.

The 12th March belonged to Pare-Hourua Makereti and Tui Tuwhakamaua Rua. On the death of Nanny Makereti, it was then given to Hemotu Te Rongomau Tawha, whose family are still the current Kaitiaki of this taonga.

The 1st July was the day that was held by Tuhura and Ahenata only. The day was then carried sometime after by Sam Grace and his wife Te Aroha. It was returned to the Hāhi for a while after both their deaths in 1998. It was then carried by June Te Rawhatihoro Ngaruhe and her children for a couple of years. In 2007, the children of Sam and Roha were given the taonga back and still are the current Kaitiaki of this taonga.

The 12th November was the day held by Charlie Te Arangawairua Tuhura, son of Tuhura and Ahenata, and his wife Rangimarie Waata Koniria. This day was held right up until the death of Rangimarie in the year 2000. It was then returned back to the Hāhi. It wasn't until the Makarini/Richmond whānau went to tonono for the taonga and they were given the day and are still the kaitiaki of this taonga today.

1.11.2 Aramiro – Te Kaharoa

Te Tihi o Tonganui Nā Raiha Gray

Anei rā o mātou i roto o Moerangi
E karanga ana ki nga hau e whā
Nā te whakaaro ka puawai te kākano
o te ngākau
Nā te aroha ka whiri
Te herenga tangata he hononga kotahi
hei painga mō nga uri whakatipu e
Maahanga te tupuna
Pirongia te maunga
Waitetuna te awa
Te Aramiro te marae
Moerangi te whenua
Kia ora rā

The name Te Kaharoa was brought over from Te Pahū and was a name of an area in that vicinity, this land block not being far from a pā site located on Te Pahū road. The full name of Te Kaharoa, as told to our kaumātua Sunnah Thompson by his father, was Te Kaharoa O Maahanga (The Stronghold of Maahanga). The whare itself has been rebuilt three times. The first whare suffered a ‘broken back – kua piko te tuara’, its deconstruction was a contentious issue, with a debate about renovating or pulling the whare down. Debate about keeping the shape of the whare for a waharoa was also hotly debated. The roof was sagging because the whare had a 60 foot long roof without a poutokomanawa. The whare was made out of brick. Our kaumātua Sunnah Thompson had known that whare from birth and was very saddened at the decision to demolish. They tried to pull down the whare with a tractor but in the end had to pull it down piece by piece. The pare above the door was carved by our kaumātua Sunnah’s father Aotaka Taukiri Rihimona Thompson.

The second whare was built out of a hay barn frame. When finished it was 40 feet by 30 feet and capable of sleeping 30 people. Five to six years later the whare was extended, this being the third whare of sorts. When they built the dining room, they built a small wharekai and eventually this also needed to be extended.

The marae was originally five acres but was reduced by papa kāinga that were built on the marae land. The Crown eventually gave individual title to the occupants of those kāinga. The marae is now three acres as a result.

The hapū that make up Aramiro are Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Tonganui and Ngāti Waiaranui. At this area's most populated time Aramiro Native School was able to field two rugby teams, one junior, one senior. The marae had a Tribal Committee whose purpose was to keep and maintain social order. They enforced fines for drinking alcohol within a close proximity of the marae as drinking in a public place was not allowed. People were also banned for violence or committing adultery and the like. The Tribal Committee waned after 1953-1954. Around this time a rōpū of mana wahine picked up the mantle and managed the marae and hapū business. In the passing of these ladies, their rōpū was reduced to a mere fundraising focus.

As the work ran out in the early 1960s, people started to move away from the area, husbands moved out first to look for work. Staying in other districts during the week and then home for the weekend eventually taking their families with them. The movement of the people is indicated by the closing of the kura in 1965.

There used to be horse sports that went around every year from Aramiro, Raglan, Te Uku and Te Mata. Billy Phillips of Mōtakotako was well known for his riding skills. The horse was the only mode of transport in those days. Cappy Kereopa owned the only gig and was married to Tira Te Haara. The football teams used to do the circuit also travelling to Raglan, Kawhia, and Whatawhata.

The first shop was housed at the marae and there was also a church here which was unfortunately burnt down in an accident. This church was originally used as a kura in the early 1900s (around 1910 to 1912 – Molly McLean's mother went here in 1915) and was situated at the front of Aramiro (in what is now the car park area).¹¹⁴ Molly McLean's recollections of the church brought back to mind her friend Pākehā (Rangi Rongo was her name, Pākehā was her nickname) who was blamed for the burning of the church when in fact it was Roger Kauī whom confessed to Molly later that he was lighting his cigarettes and the match didn't appear to ignite so he threw it under the church. Hay used to be stored under the church and it caught alight. Molly's younger

¹¹⁴ Sunnah Thompson, conversation, at his home, 22 March 2012.

sister and her friend Pākehā were watching him and he threatened to give them a hiding if they told.¹¹⁵

It is of interest to note that there used to be other whareniui in close proximity to Aramiro. Te Kaha Raumati was one of these but this fell down in 1953 due to lack of use. This whare had ponga walls, an iron roof and a dirt floor and had two rooms in it. Originally on the left bank of the Waitetuna river, it had to be relocated after they cut the bush down due to flooding that occurred thereafter. This was the marae of the Pakaru and the Pukeikura whānau.

Another was the Te Rape pā. It was in use in the early 1900s. Kaumātua Sunnah Thompson is unsure when the whare was pulled down however, the land was sold in 1915. It housed Te Whakahau, granduncle of our kaumātua Napi Waaka, and Rīmona, Sunnah's grandfather and others. There was a mixture of hapū here and when the land was sold those with Aramiro whānau connection went to Aramiro and those connected to Whatawhata went there.

1.11.3 Te Papa-o-Rotu

Dr. Adelaide Collins has provided the following insights into the many facets of the Ngāti Hourua marae of Ngāti Maahanga Te Papa o Rotu. Mention is made in her rendition of the Whare Wānanga. This will also be highlighted in chapter 6.

There is more than one road to Whatawhata but the one most travelled is the east-west State Highway 23 from Hamilton to the coast. Driving to Whatawhata means travelling westward over low hills from an urban landscape to rural countryside even though the drive will take a mere 15 minutes or so (13 kilometres). At the top of the last hill, a valley of farmland sparsely populated with trees is spread out before you with the small township of Whatawhata in the middle. Ahead in the distance is the Hakarimata range of densely forested mountains through which you must travel to reach the coast. The Waipa River meanders from the south down through the valley and cuts through the western-most part of the township. A wide two-lane bridge connects the two sections of the town. The main part of the town has houses and facilities clustered together, including a tavern, service station, timber yard, primary school, golf club, touch rugby clubrooms, domain, and a public cemetery called Peehihoukura.

¹¹⁵ Interview, Molly Maclean, at her home, 20 February 2012.

Across the bridge and to the right is Maori Point Road, which parallels the river for a short way. There are houses on both sides of this road, most of them owned by families belonging to the local tribes for this area, the Ngāti Hourua, and Ngāti Maahanga tribes. About two hundred yards along on the left hand side lies Omaero Marae, the first of the two marae to be found on this road. The marae has two buildings - a small dining hall and an ablution block - in the centre of a large, grassy paddock surrounded by a low wire fence.

A few hundred yards further on is a fork in the road. The road to the right is about four hundred yards long and stops at a gate in front of a tract of fallow land leading to the Waipa River. The left fork leads to Te Papa o Rotu Marae. There are gates to paddocks rather than houses for a few hundred metres until the road winds around, first to the right, then left, and straightens out for a further kilometre or so to end at a gate protecting private land at the end.

A private urupa called Ruamakamaka for some of the whanau is situated at the first bend in the road on the left hand side, and four homes are clustered just past the second bend. For a few hundred yards after these homes the road is flanked by fenced paddocks, then a house on the left hand side heralds the location of the marae, which sits behind the house. Both have a punga log fence that surrounds them, since all the other properties in the area use low wire fences. Were you to park on the grass verge outside the marae gate you would see an old, dilapidated house in the middle of the neighbouring property, and a short way down on the right hand side of the road, two more private homes before the road ends. Across the road from the marae is a straight, potholed, gravel access road about half a kilometre long through fenced paddocks leading to two weatherboard homes owned by the same whanau. Part of a northbound road to Ngaruawahia and Auckland can be seen on the hills in the horizon.¹¹⁶

The hapū are Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua. When reciting the whakapapa of Ngāti Maahanga to the Waitangi Tribunal, Tuahu Watene noted how the hapū name Ngāti Maahanga-Hourua came about:¹¹⁷

... Ka huri atu raa ki te mea toomuri [a Atutahi, te tamaiti a Maahanga, raa ko Tiki-o-rereata, te tamaiti a Mahuta] ana ko Puakirangi teeraa. Ka moe a Puakirangi i a Uerata, te tamaiti a Mahuta. Ka puta ki waho te tokowhaa o a raaua tamariki. Te toomua ko Rangihoto, ana whai muri, ko Wharetipeti, ko Hoourua ana ko Tapaue. Me hoki atu raa a Hoourua, teenei ka moe a Puukauae, te tamaiti a Haua raaua ko Tamangarangi; ko Ngaati Haua teeraa. E maha ana hoki ngaa koorero e paa ana ki a Wharetipeti raaua ko Tapaue, heeoi anoo, maa teetehi atu

¹¹⁶Adelaide Collins, 'Te Papa-O-Rotu Marae Management and Administration at the End of the Twentieth Century: Negotiating Bureaucratisation', PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 2005, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Tuahu Watene, oral submission on behalf of Ngāti Maahanga (Wai 898), Nga Korero Tuku Iho hearings, third hearing, 13 April 2010.

hei koorero moo eeraa. Hoki atu raa ki a Hoourua raaua ko Pukauae, ka puta ki waho te tokowhaa, te toomua ko Te Umukiwhakatane. Teenei ka moe i a Parengaope, ka puta ki waho ko Whakamarurangi; me waiho teeraa ki reira; he koorero anoo moo teeraa.

Ana, heke iho mai raa ki Te Ahooterangi. I te matenga atu o Te Umukiwhakatane, ka moe a Parengaope ki teenei tupuna, te teina Te Ahooterangi. Ana he koorero anoo hoki moo teeraa. Waiho teeraa ki reira. Aa, me hoki atu raa ki te maatamua a Maahanga raaua ko Paratai. Ko Kieraunui teeraa, ara ka moe a Kokihi ka puta ki waho ko Pareketeiwi, naa Pareketeiwi ko Kuku, naa Kuku, ko Te Rawhatihoro, ana teenei hoki o ngaa wahine e moe a Te Ahooterangi. I konei ka puta mai a taua ingoa e paa ana ki a maatou o Ngaati Maahanga-Hoourua.¹¹⁸

The name of the whare nui at the marae is Te Papa o Rotu and the whare kai is Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua. When Ngāti Maahanga spoke of our traditional history to the Waitangi Tribunal, some of it related to these whare. Henare Gray told of a whakatauaiki that is etched into the pare above the door of Te Papa o Rotu:¹¹⁹

...Ka tuu he pakanga i waenganui i a Ngaati Ranginui raaua ko Ngai Te Rangi akua nei, he puuremu pea. Ka mau te tamaiti nei e te iwi nei ka tuarakina, ka titoia te ure, te otaota nei te rite ana ki te kani ne? Ka kania te ure o Tamaiti nei, ka aue taukiri te koorero a konei te moana o Tauranga. Ko Hauhona, naa te iwi nei. Ka patu te tamaiti nei ka maka ki runga i te ihu o te waka, ka pana kia hoki.

Naa te hokinga, ka kimi te iwi nei i te tama. Kaatahi ka pai karaihengia ngaa whakapapa, ka kitea kei a Tuuheitia. Kaatahi ka takahi mai te kaumaatua nei akua nei i Waikaretuu i teenei takiwaa a Tuuheitia e noho ana. Ka tae te tangata nei ki a Tuuheitia ka patai naa te awhi nei i a au ki te taketake ai i tana mate. Ka kii - naa ka puta ai te koorero i runga i to maatou tupuna whare i whakapapa a Ngāti Hourua raa –

“Haere mai ki a au ki Te Papa o Rotu ki te au te rena, te urunga te taka, te moenga te whakaarahia, ahakoa iti taku ngohi he rei kei roto”.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Turning to the youngest child [of Atutahi, a son of Maahanga, and Tiki-o-rereata, a child of Mahuta] Puakirangi. She married Uerata, a child of Mahuta and they had four children. The eldest was Rangihoto followed by Wharetipeti, Hoourua and Tapau. Hoourua married Puukauae, a son of Haua and Tamangarangi; that's Ngaati Haua.... Hoourua and Puukauae had four children; the eldest was Te Umukiwhakatane. He married Parengaope [daughter of Te Kanawa] and they had Whakamarurangi. I will leave that story for another.

Next was Te Ahooterangi. When Te Umukiwhakatane died, Parengaope married his younger brother Te Ahooterangi but that's another story; let's leave it there. Returning to the first-born of Maahanga and Paratai, Kieraunui; he married Kokihi and they had Pareketeiwi, who had Kuku, who had Te Rawhatihoro. She was another wife of Te Ahooterangi. Here was the origin of that name of ours, Ngaati Maahanga-Hoourua. Translation taken from the Oral Traditional hearing minutes.

¹¹⁹ Henare Gray, oral submission on behalf of Ngāti Maahanga (Wai 898), third hearing, 13 April 2010.

¹²⁰ ...A battle was fought between Ngaati Ranginui and Ngai Te Rangi, the result of adultery perhaps. A child was captured and they used cutting grass to castrate him. The child screamed with pain and it

Pakira Watene discussed Te Papa o Rotu and Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua when he spoke about the whare wānanga of Tainui:¹²¹

... Hoki mai ki Whatawhata ki teetehi o ngaa ana rua o Tuuheitia, te Oneparepare. Koia nei te waananga tuatoru, heoi anoo i te waa e ora tonu ana a te tupuna nei a Tuuheitia, ka whiikoi atu ki te Waikaretu, whakatu ai te waananga. Ka riroa, ka whakahokia mai ki te Oneparepare. Ko te ingoa o taua waananga, Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua.

Piki ake au ki te taumata raa o Pirongia, ka titiro ki ngaa huarahi haerenga o aku maatua tuupuna, whakarongo ake ki ngaa ngaru e nguunguuruu i waho Karioi, te paepae o te Taihauaauru. Heke iho raa ngaa takahanga tapuwae ki a Rikihana raa, toku haonga kaha, whai atu ana ia i te ia o Waipaa ngaa pikopikohanga o Tuuheitia e - Tuuheitia tuupuna, Tuuheitia taniwha, Tuuheitia tipua, Tuuheitia pororaakau....

Naa, ka hoki atu ki te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua, i te Papa o Rotu, kei reira te waananga e haere ana a Pootatau te Wherowhero, te kiingi tuatahi, me tana tamaiti. I aua waa tonu ka kawea te ingoa Tuukaroto. Ana, tae te taiohitanga piki ake ki te taipakeketanga, he ingoa tuarua noonaa, ko Matutaera. Tata tonu ki toona kaumaatuatanga, ka puta mai te ingoa Taawhiao, he koorero anoo ki teeraa reanga, me waiho i teenei waa....

Ana, ka hoki mai anoo ki te Papa o Rotu, ki Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua noo te mea, i ngaa raa i mua, ahakoa i whakatu ai ngaa waananga e waru, e wha ngaa mea matua e mahi tonu, e mahi tonu te waananga. Tae noa ki te hoki atu ki Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua. Ko ia raa te waananga mutunga, te waananga mutunga.

Kua mutu aku nei koorero moo ngaa waananga, eengari, kua e wareware taatou, ko teenei te mea te Iotanga, eehara te kupu, he tohu kee. He tohu moo te tuukaokao wahine, te tuukaokao taane, ana, ka puta mai te Mareikura, te Whatukura. Me waiho i konei, huri nei i too taatou nei whare, teena kooutou, teena kooutou, teena anoo taatou.¹²²

resounded across the Tauranga Harbour. The child was killed and placed upon the prow of the waka and sent out to sea to return to his people.

When his people found him, they consulted the whakapapa for an avenger and seized upon Tuuheitia. So the elder trekked to Waikaretu, where Tuuheitia lived. When he reached Tuuheitia, he asked for help to avenge their loss and Tuuheitia said – the saying is on our ancestral house at Ngaati Hoorua – ‘Come to me at Te Papa o Rotu to the calm currents, the pillow that does not fall, and the undisturbed sleep. I may be small but I have sharp teeth’.

¹²¹ Pakira Watene, oral submission on behalf of Ngāti Maahanga (Wai 898), third hearing, 13 April 2010.

¹²² ... At Whatawhata is one of the taniwha Tuuheitia’s caves, Te Oneparepare. The third waananga was here, but when Tuuheitia was still alive, he went to Waikaretu and established a waananga there. In time, it was moved to Te Oneparepare. The name of that waananga was Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua. If I was to climb to the summit of Mount Pirongia, I would see the travel routes of my ancestors and listen to the waves rumbling beyond Mount Karioi, the paepae of Te Tai Hauaauru. Then descend to

The rangatira for Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua was Te Awaitaia. When he signed the Treaty of Waitangi, several other Ngāti Maahanga rangatira signed the same copy including Hone Kingi, Tamati, and Pohepohe, all descendants of Te Aho-o-terangi.

1.11.4 Mōtakotako

A marae with whakapapa connections to Te Tai Hau-ā-uru. Mōtakotako is based in an area that was a social and economic hub, greatly impacted upon by the 1860s wars and now houses several hapū belonging to the area. The marae and whānau acknowledge the whakapapa connections to Ngāti Māhanga and Ngāti Whakamarurangi. Whakamarurangi is the child of Te Umukiwhakatane and Parengaope Te Kanawa of Te Kotahitanga marae. Te Umukiwhakatane was the oldest son of Hourua and Pukauae. This marae is found by turning off at the Te Mata Road turn off on the main road to Raglan.

1.11.5 Te Papatapu

The marae is located on the Moerangi block 3 A2B2B1A at the northern side of the Aotea harbour and accessed through the Te Mata Road turn off from the main road into Whaingaroa (Raglan). On 21 January, 1964, under the Māori Affairs Act 1953, Pare Whakaruku Waitere and her daughter Te Atarua transferred four acres into a papa kāinga for the wider whānau. Pare also planted a tree beside the area that she wanted the whareniui to be built. After her death her son Ned (Tutemahurangi) Waitere and his sister Moana Aoturoa Thompson redesignated the whenua to that of a marae. The marae is for the descendants of Hone Waitere II and they identify themselves as Ngāti Te Wehi.

follow the footprints of Rikihana, my inspiration. to the Waipa River and the meanderings of Tuuheitia - Tuuheitia the ancestor, Tuuheitia the taniwha, Tuuheitia the mystical being, Tuuheitia the totemic....

Returning to Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua at Te Papa o Rotu, Pootatau Te Wherowhero, the first King, and his son went there. In those days, the son carried the name Tuukaroto. When he was a young man entering adulthood, he was given a second name, Matutaera. Nearing old age, he was given another name, Taawhiao, but that is another story that I will leave at this time....

Back again to Te Papa o Rotu and Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua because in the old days, although eight waananga were established, four were senior ones and continued to operate as waananga. Here we return to Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua. It was the final, the very last waananga.

And so I conclude my talk about these waananga, but let us not forget this divine work. It is not a word but a badge of distinction. It is a sign of the distinguished standing of men and women, and so we have Maareikura and Whatukura (female and male nobility). Translation taken from Oral Hearings transcript.

As stated earlier, the descendants also acknowledge the fact that they are ‘taharua’, related equally to Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Te Wehi and it is due to this relationship, the location of the whānau whenua and the marae in particular that the members of this marae lay down their grievances of Te Tiriti breaches with Ngāti Maahanga. The descendants also acknowledge their connection to Ngāti Hikairo.

This marae has recently received funding to build a new complex and the old wharekai has been pulled down and the old wharenui moved to one side to make room for the new building. Te Wehi Kaiwakarua was the name of the wharekai and Parewhakaruku is the name of the old wharenui in recognition of the efforts of this ruruhi at keeping her family together. The building is currently in progress.

1.12 Ngā Taonga ā Ngāti Maahanga

When Maahanga kaumātua were asked to identify taonga their views were not restricted to artifacts or repositories.¹²³ As stated in the Williams dictionary a taonga is ‘anything highly prized’.¹²⁴ The following is taonga as identified by Ngāti Maahanga.

1.12.1 Artefacts

The definition of an artefact was any tool, weapon, jewellery, or more aptly anything with cultural or archaeological importance within the Maahanga boundary or held in museums or the like, homes, overseas institutions, of Maahanga making. To follow on from this discussion, it was further identified that there are artefacts in the hands of non-Maahanga whānau that were not returned to them that were generally found while farming or similar activities by land owners within the Maahanga porotaka. We would like to see these returned.

A possible way forward is to:

1. Ask for them back;
2. Gift them to museum with the stipulation that it is for Maahanga’s use;
3. Develop a lending system.

¹²³ Kaumātua wānanga, Whaingarua, 31 March 2012.

¹²⁴ H.W. Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 1992, p. 381.

1.12.2 Kākahu

Kākahu have been described as follows:

- Korowai,
- Hieke,
- Pōkeka
- and any other description of cloak,
- Tātua,
- Pare,
- Parirau,
- Piupiu,
- Maro,
- Rapaki,
- Wheuwhi (inside bark of tree that clothes were made of),
- Pūreki,
- and any other type of clothing made in the time of te ao kōwhatu.

1.12.3 Books

The following books have been identified as taonga to Ngāti Maahanga:

- Whakapapa,
- Historical,
- Manuscripts,
- Diaries,
- Karakia,
- Thesis,
- Waiata,
- Pūrākau,
- Pakiwaitara,
- all types of written repositories that include Ngāti Maahanga and its hapū.

1.12.4 Recordings

On speaking about recordings and their importance to Ngāti Maahanga the need to protect those recordings was also identified. The principle was discussed of protecting the content and ensuring that integrity is exercised in the use of the recordings.

We identify recordings as being any tapes (many are housed in the Auckland library), digital, interviews, or moving images.

1.12.5 Whakaahua

Whakaahua or photos are what is being identified here. This is inclusive of:

- Still or static images,
- Paintings,
- Portraits.

1.12.6 Te Reo Māori

Te Reo Māori expressed through the Ngāti Maaanga mita or dialect has been identified as being:

- Wairua o te reo,
- Te tangi o te reo,
- Ngā kupu o te reo,
- Kupu tawhito,
- Mita,
- Intonation/tangi,
- Kīwaha (whakahua to Maahanga),
- Whakataukī, whakatauākī.
- The spiritual aspects/side,
- The cadence,
- The words,
- The ancient words,
- The accent,
- The flow,
- The idioms,
- The proverbial sayings of Ngāti Maahanga reo.)

1.12.7 He Tangata

Whilst speaking of taonga our tūpāpāku were spoken about and the grief that sits with our kaumātua when they call back our people as ashes (this is becoming more and more frequent) when they return from overseas. It is because of this conversation and the acknowledgement of the sale of tūpāpāku and ūpoko that have been sold and taken overseas in the 19th century that kōiwi and pungarehu have been identified here. (This is inclusive of the bones, heads or any other body parts including the ashes of our people).

1.12.8 Maahangatanga - Cultural Practices

The cultural practices of Maahanga in their entirety are also deemed taonga namely:

- Wairuatanga (spiritual practices and beliefs)
- Whanaungatanga,
- Manaakitanga,
- Rangatiratanga,
- Kaitiakitanga,
- Whakapapa,
- Ūkaipōtanga,
- Kotahitanga,
- Wānanga

1.12.9 Te Whakararangi a ngā Taonga

During the process of collecting information for this volume various Ngāti Maahanga whānau (and non-hapū members) have been happy to share with the writers that they have taonga or that they have created taonga for the hapū or about various Ngāti Maahanga tūpuna. The taonga have also been identified based on the present state of Ngāti Maahanga as a people. , The following is a list of Ngāti Maahanga taonga that are known of however, it is not an exhaustive list:

1. He Tangata

Nga koroua me nga kuia – our living links to our past, our kaumātua kai-kōrero, kai-karanga, kai-waiata.....

2. Te Taiaha a Maahanga, ko Tikitiki-o-rangi¹²⁵

3. Te Taiaha a Te Awaitaia

¹²⁵ Jones and Biggs, *Nga Iwi o Tainui*, pp. 130-131. Source is given as Jones n.d. 6: 121. In the bibliography this is listed as: Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, n.d.6. 3/*Taku Pukapuka Whakapapa/My Book of Genealogies/Te Wehi's whakapapa from Rongowhakaata/P. te Hurinui/Akarana (Auckland)/28.4.30. This is described as a fscp ms book pp. 382. Pages blank after 148. Maori text, prose traditions and whakapapa. Pei's personal library was deposited by Brian Hauauru Jones in the Library of Waikato University, and Bruce Biggs also passed on to the University of Waikato Library certain manuscripts of Pei's which were in his possession while editing *Nga Iwi o Tainui*.*

Ko te taiaha a Maahanga, ko Tikitiki-o-rangi, i a Ngaati Maahanga tonu e pupuri ana, aa, tae mai ki te waa i a Kiingi Te Rata. No te matenga o teetehi o nga kaumaatua o Ngaati Maahanga, o Te Ao-pouru, ka hoatu te taiaha nei ki a Kiingi Te Rata. Kei a Kiingi Korokii inaaiane.

'Maahanga's taiaha Tikitiki-o-rangi [Highest Heaven] was kept by Ngaati Maahanga until the time of King Rata. When one of the elders of Ngaati Maahanga, named Te Au-pouru, died it was given to Te Rata. King Korokii has it now.'

In the safe-keeping of Raglan Museum.

4. Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Original, including page with tohu of Te Awaitaia.

In the safe-keeping of Archives New Zealand, Ponake.

5. Carvings and tukutuku work, whare, pou, etc at our marae

6. Portraits of our tūpuna rangatira

Drawings of Te Awaitaia and Te Moanaroa; Te Maioha; and Te Awaitaia's daughter, by George Angas, done at Whaingaroa, 1844. It is not known who the originals were entrusted to for safekeeping however, it is known that some are housed in the Australian National Library.

Portrait in oils, from photograph of Te Awaitaia taken in 1860s, by Gottfried Lindauer, in the safe-keeping of the collection of Auckland City Art Gallery, Akarana.

7. Ngā waiata o Ngāti Maahanga

Recordings of traditional Maori songs 1958-1979, edited by Mervyn McLean and Jenny Curnow, Original recordings in the safe-keeping of the Archive of Māori and Pacific Music at the University of Auckland.¹²⁶

In the Waikato area, Mervyn McLean collected recordings in 1963. He is noted as staying first at the camping ground (believed to be Papahua) and then Uehoka Tairakena and his sister Wati Erueti took him in; Uehoka became his guide and mentor, especially among his own Ngāti Maahanga people. Recordings were made at Raglan, Hamilton, Frankton, Aramiro and Makomako between February 1963 and March 1964. Those recorded included: Uehoka Tairakena, Whati Tamati, Mrs Hapimana, Parehaha Mapi, Amohia Tuhua, Riripo Rongo, Tira Pumipi, Peter Turinui, Wati Erueti, and many more.

¹²⁶ Anthropology Department, University of Auckland, held in the McLean Collection [McL 1 – 1283 Catalogue No. 3]. 'With few exceptions, sets of each tribe's own recordings from McLean 1 to McLean 802 are in tribal repositories in each tribal area'.

There is also a set of recordings made at the Koroneihana Celebrations at Ngaruawahia from 6-8 October 1963. Most of the karanga recorded are by Mrs Hapimana and Mrs Herengi (and all karanga texts are dictated from the tape by Wati Erueti and Uehoka Tairakena). One item is of tauparapara and whaikōrero by Whati Tamati (but it is noted that this is 'largely obscured'). There are also items by the 'home group' led by Ako Pihama (male, aged about 45 years, of Ngāti Maahanga); waiata by Ngerungeru Pihama; some items sung by Whati Tamati; a waiata on which the singers are Ngapaka Kukutai, Whati Tamati, Paraire Herewini and Mutu Kapa; and a karanga by Parehaha Mapi.

8. Research of Whaea Mori Shaw

Research undertaken by Mori Shaw held with whānau member.

9. Whalebone patu of Te Kaniwhaniwha

In the safe-keeping of Mrs Dianne Baker of Ngahinapouri.

10. Photographs

All those in whare at each of our marae; photos of Te Whare Perengi and Schnackenberg in Raglan Museum, others still to be identified. Photos of our kāinga of Whatawhata and Tuhikaramea occupied by British and Colonial troops in 1863/64, and of Waipa River in January 1864 – in safe-keeping of Spencer Collection, Hawke's Bay Museum.

11. Ngā Reta o Ngā Tūpuna

Various, several hundred, in safe-keeping of Archives New Zealand, Alexander Turnbull Library, and other library collections.

12. Adze and other artefacts of material culture of our tupuna

One adze in safe-keeping of Eric and Verna Vandy of Okete. One adze in safe-keeping of the Gillett whānau. Various, adze/cutting tools, in safe-keeping of Brett McCardle of Whaingaroa. Other artefacts have been identified as being held by farmers who are yet to be approached for their return. Other artefacts of Ngāti Maahanga in Raglan Museum and other museums.

13. Artefacts from Early Contact Days such as Flags, Early Bibles, Diaries etc

1840s Diary of Edward Meurant – in safe-keeping of Auckland Public Library.

Leslie Kelly diaries with Kelly whānau.

14. Ngāti Maahanga Taonga of 21st century

Pou, Whaingaroa footbridge from Pūtoetoe to Papahua – Haimona Te Wheoro created sculpture at Papahua end of bridge and Pakewa Watene (co-creators were Te Wānanga O Aotearoa carvers and Pakewa as the project lead. They were Te Kuiti Stewart, Cory Boyd, and Bobby Te Huia), created sculpture at Pūtoetoe end of bridge 2012

Pou, Kawhia, 2011 (Kereti Rautangata, Pakewa Watene snr, Pakewa Watene jnr, others)

Two Portraits of Te Awaitaia, painted by Simon Te Wheoro. One gifted to Raglan Community Arts Council, one in artists studio.

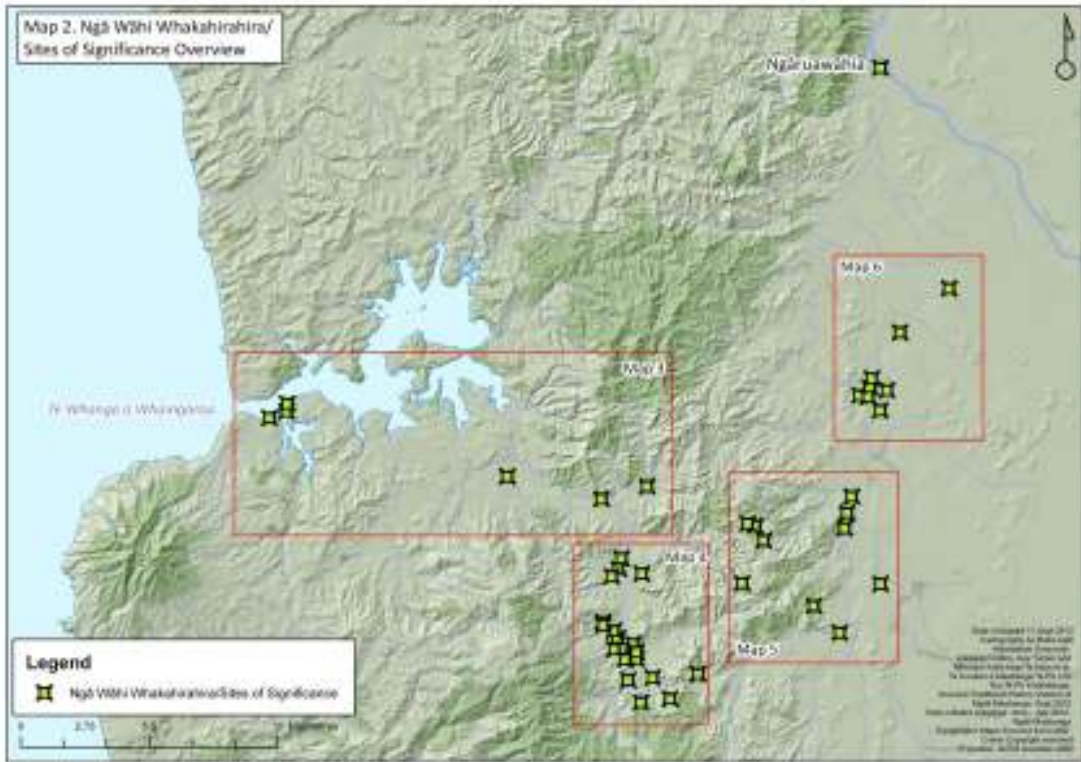
Exhibit, Henare Grey and whānau, Waikato Museum, 2012

Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho o Ngāti Maahanga, Poihakena Marae, Whaingaroa, April 2010

Interviews with present day kaumātua of Ngāti Maahanga, and numerous photographs stored by Miromiro Kelly-Hepi Te Huia (Interviews & photographs from 2010-2012).

1.13 Ngā Wāhi Whakahirahira – Sites of Significance

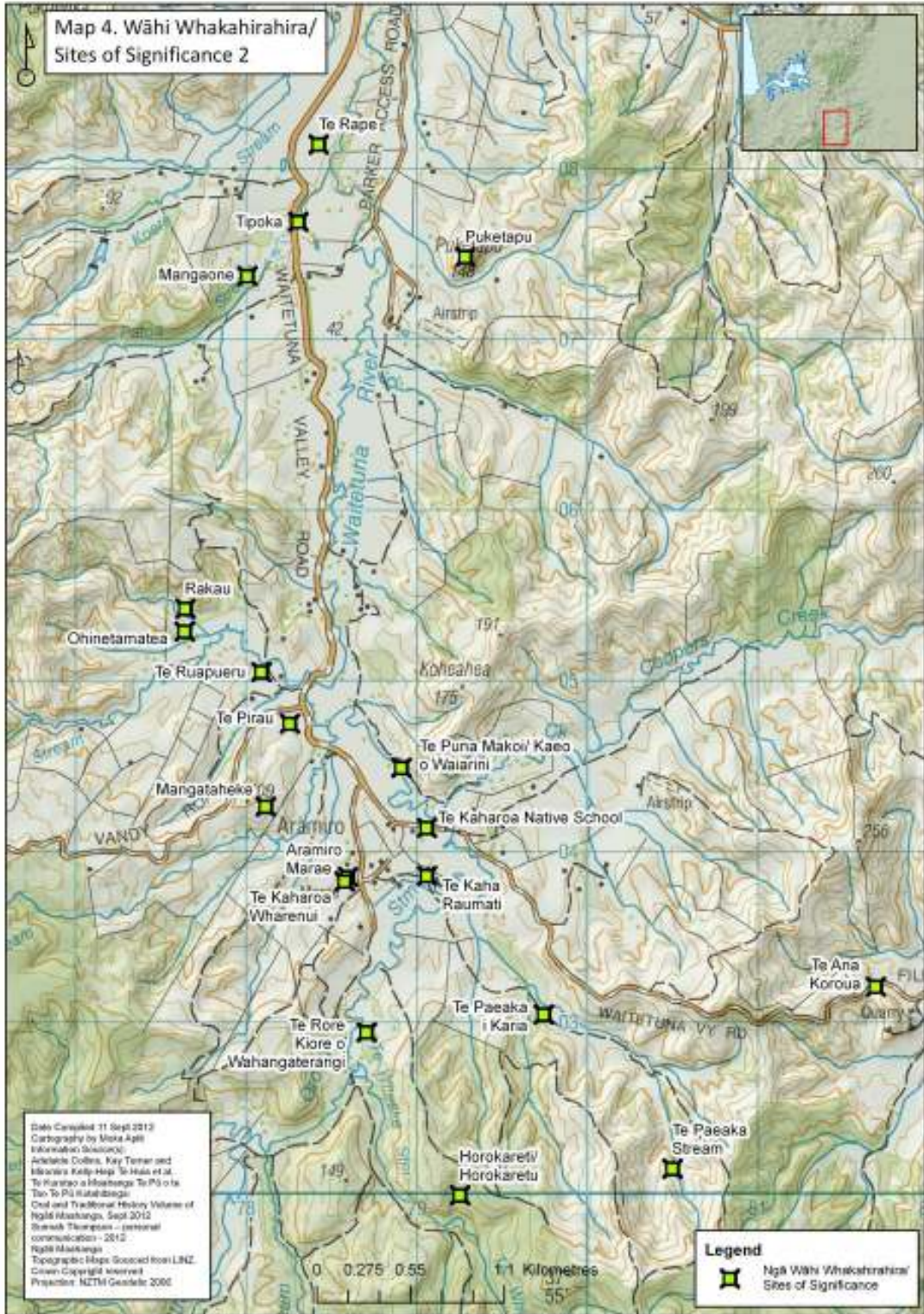
As stated when giving our boundaries of te porotaka a Maahanga, or the boundaries in which Ngāti Maahanga claim mana whenua, a large part of this area is outside of the Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry. However, reference to these sites shall still be included here. With the exception of the land blocks and the pā site of Te Awaitaia (identified by Te Awarutu Samuels) all sites listed below have been identified by our kaumātua, Sunnah Thompson. The identification of sites of significance is ongoing for Ngāti Maahanga.



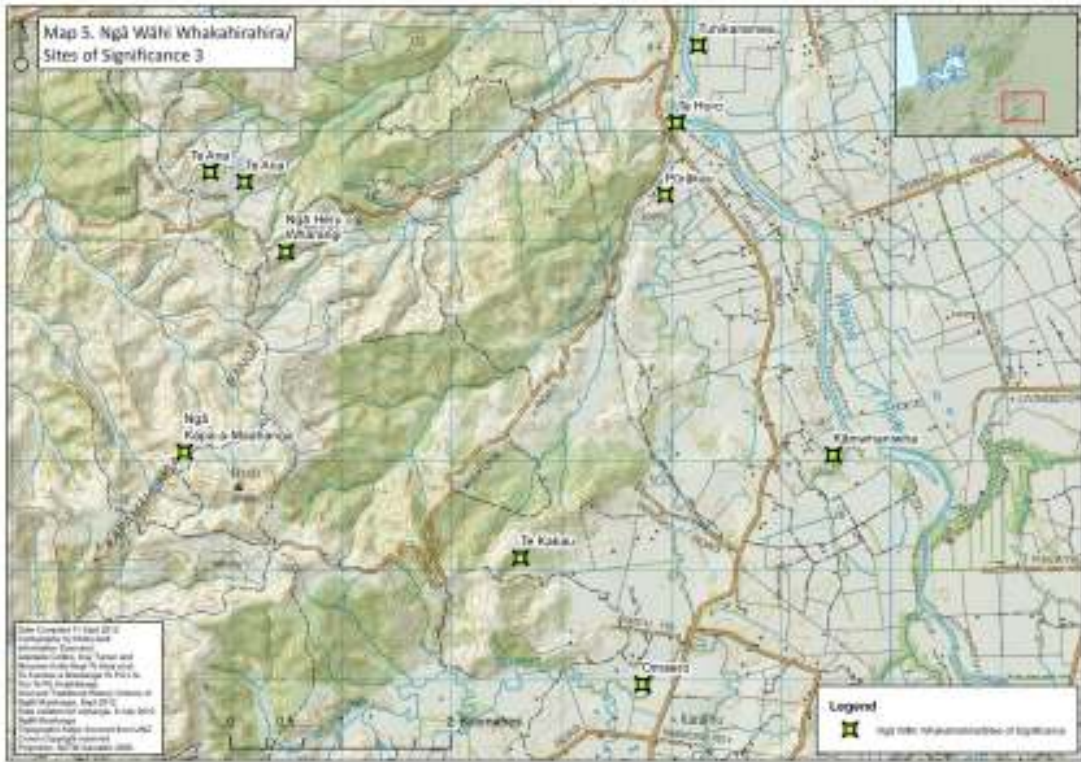
Map 2 Ngā Wāhi Whakahirahira/Sites of Significance Overview



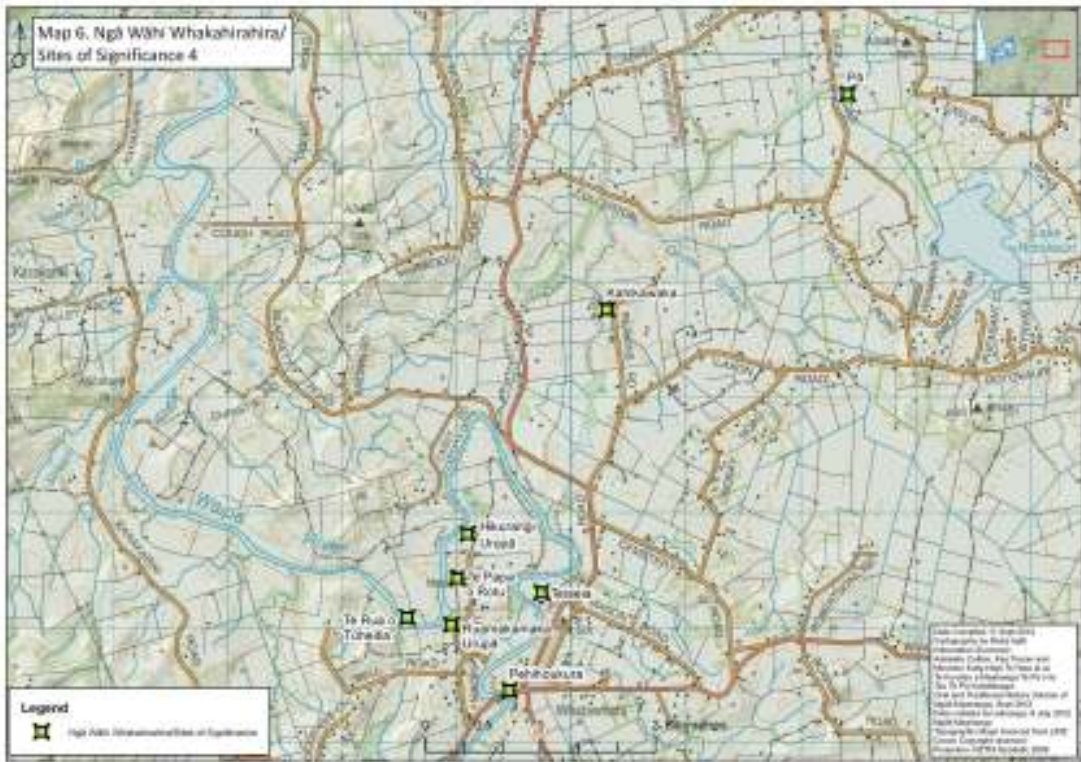
Map 3 Ngā Wāhi Whakahirahira/Sites of Significance 1



Map 4 Ngā Wāhi Whakahirahira/Sites of Significance 2



Map 5 Ngā Wāhi Whakahirahira/Sites of Significance 3



Map 6 Ngā Wāhi Whakahirahira/Sites of Significance 4

1.13.1 Te Rua o Tūheitia

Tūheitia the taniwha is located along the Waipa river not far from Te Papa-o-Rotumarāe. The Waipa river is significant to Ngāti Maahanga in its entirety with some areas such as the location of our taniwha Tuheitia and the area that our taonga are hidden within its banks being of paramount significance.

1.13.2 Te Awa o Waitetuna

Housed within te awa o Waitetuna are a type of mussel called kaeo. Reference was made to it at the Oral and Traditional Histories hearing:

Kei Aramiro tonu i haria mai e Waiaranui ēnei tūmomo pipi ko te kaeo.
Kei reira e tupu ana e kōrerotia nei Ngā mākoī ā Waiaranui. I roto i a
Aramiro, kāore kau atu he wāhi tupu matatoru ērā momo ika.¹²⁷

We consider the place that these shellfish are located and the mauri of the awa are of great significance as the kaeo cannot survive without the mauri of the awa being intact.¹²⁸



Illustration 1 Te Puna Kaeo o Waiarani

¹²⁷ Sunnah Thompson, Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing, 12-13 April 2010, p. 25-26.

¹²⁸ Photos taken by Miromiro Kelly-Hepi Te Huia.

Te Manga-o-Tama: Significant as another food gathering area where an eel weir was located.

1.13.3 Ngā Ana – Ngā Urupā

The following caves have been identified as part of the enquiry into our historical kōrero namely: Te Kakau, Te Ana Koroua. They are located on our ancestral lands as well as others that have been identified on various blocks, caves originally housed tūpapaku but it is thought that some have been removed from the Karamu caves (not by Ngāti Maahanga members) as they are frequented often by the public due in part to easy access from public workways and or roadways, whereabouts unknown;

Ngā Ana

Our koroua Sunnah Thompson has expressed his concern of possible development as it would appear that the manuka has been sprayed in this area where caves are located.



Illustration 2 Ngā ana - showing sprayed manuka



Illustration 3 Ngā ana – There are numerous caves on this land block

The entrance of another ana has been covered over due to the road developments, location is out of Te Rohe Pōtae claims area.



Illustration 4 He wāhi tapu

Urupā

We acknowledge our connection to the following urupā and include them in our sites of significance (some already mentioned): Te Wehi - Kaiwaka, Te Rangipū, Puketutu, Ohiapopoko, Okahukura, Pehihoukura, Tipoka, Te Rape, Whakataki, Ruapueru, Tuhikaramea (originally close to Mahinui down by the Old Mountain Road turn off).



Illustration 5 Temple View

Temple View is built upon a Ngāti Maahanga urupā. Permission was given by Rore Erueti to build on top of it to ensure its protection.

Taupiri maunga is also significant to Ngāti Maahanga as some of our tūpuna were exhumed and taken there after the call of Tawhiao as expressed here :

I Tipoka, ka hahua nga koiwi. I reira a Tuheitia tuarua e nehu ana, ka kitea tana upoko, he tapawha.

Ka kawea katoa nga koiwi ki te take o Taupiri, ko ngā upoko anake. Na runga I te karanga a Tawhiao, kawea mai nga koiwi o oku tupuna hei iwi mōku.¹²⁹

1.13.4 Land Marks

Ngā Heru-ō-Whārangī mountain ranges are named as one of the children's boundaries of Ngāti Maahanga namely Atutahi;



Illustration 6 Ngā Heru-ō-Whārangī paemaunga

Te Taumata mountain ranges are also used to signify connection to an area:



Illustration 7 Te Taumata maunga

¹²⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909.

Puketapu

Another significant land mark signifying an area in the Ngāti Maahanga porotaka.



Illustration 8 Puketapu

two pā sites of Tonganui: one located on the Wharauroa block, the other on Pirongia maunga named Rātāpiko and the southern point of our boundaries namely Mahaukura;



Illustration 9 Pirongia maunga

Herutū another significant maunga located at the bottom of the deviation heading to Whaingaroa; te Kapa a Maahanga mountain range; Tokamapuna in the Waikato river marking Maahanga's boundary.

1.13.5 Maahanga Land Reserves

Papahua

Papahua has three sections. Sections 1 and 2 were part of the land gifted to the Raglan Town board in 1923 for a recreation ground. Part of Papahua 2 and all of Papahua 1 was taken by the Minister of Public Works to form part of the aerodrome. Papahua 3 is a reserve for the urupā. Te Awaitaia, and Hetaraka Nero (also known as Otene – buried in 1873) and others are buried here.



Illustration 10 Photos of Te Awaitaia’s memorial on Papahua 3

Karioi 56

Exchanged for Te Uku land block. Located on Te Hutewai Road the middle of the section is at the cross roads of Te Hutewai and Benseman Road, as a result the block has been sectioned into three areas.



Illustration 11 All three photos are of the different sections of Karioi 56

Takapaunui

Split into 3 blocks, A, B1 and B2. B2 the larger area sold in 1955. There have been reports of artefacts being found on block. These are not in Ngāti Maahanga's possession.



Illustration 12 Takapaunui A and B1

Ohiapopoko

Ohiapopoko has been sectioned into six sections: Ohiapopoko 1, 2B 2, 3B, 4A, 4B and 3A. Section 3A was sold in 1968. Section 1 is the urupā.



Illustration 13 Ohiapopoko block, the white fenced area is an urupā

Te Uku

As stated no longer in Ngāti Maahanga ownership. A map has been included as the land is now private property.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Map in Illustration 13 sourced from: Archives Title: Te Uku Native Reserve - Reference #:LS1 1362



Illustration 14 Old map showing the position of Te Uku reserve

Puketutu

A block returned after the land wars of 1863-1864 to Te Awaitaia and others (later sold). Bounded by the Waitetuna for about three miles on the west and south sides.¹³¹



Illustration 15 Puketutu

Te Rape

An old pā site and occupied area, sold in 1915. The urupā is still in Maahanga whānau ownership.

¹³¹ Ibid., map in Illustration 14 also sourced from Archives Reference #:LS1 1362



Illustration 16 Looking onto the original position of Te Rape pā site



Illustration 17 Moeteia urupā on Te Rape A and C block

Ruapueru

This old pā site is marked by two trees in the middle of the paddock. The urupa Te Pirau is located on the hill to the left of the pa site.



Illustration 18 Site of Ruapueru pā



Illustration 19 Katikako stream runs past the Ruapueru site

Ohinetamatea

Another pā site Ohinetamatea is located on the other side of this puke not far from Ruapueru. This site is right on the boundary of the Tūtaenui land block that Hakiaha sold. It is in this area that Te Mopihi died on the way to a tangi in Kawhia, rather than turn back the people hung him in a hinau tree (which has just rotted and died in the last six or so years). When the people came back he had fallen from the tree and the pigs had desecrated the body.



Illustration 20 Site of Ohinetamatea

Tīpoka Urupā

Tuheitia II and others were buried here and with Tawhiao's kōrero to gather his people at Taupiri, his and other tūpuna skulls were exhumed and taken there.



Illustration 21 Tipoka urupā

Aramiro

Located on the Moerangi land block Aramiro was formed through the consolidation of Moerangi shares. It has been a significant settlement in the times of our present day kaumātua, both ruruhi and koroua.



Illustration 22 These four photos are of the Aramiro farm block

Te Rore Kiore o Wāhanga-te-Rangi

This is a large papakāinga with an extensive orchard based at Aramiro. There was also a large plantation of harakeke in this vicinity that provided harakeke for kete, kākahu and the like. Both the orchard and the harakeke plantation serviced the large community that lived here during the time that the milling was taking place. The population would have been over 100. The mill was a steam driven boiler (later taken to the marae). The whānau living in this area were the Gray's, Thompson's, Pare Pounamu and whānau, Hema Kihi Pouwhero and Pita Tarao.



Illustration 23 Te Rore Kiore o Wāhanga-te-Rangi papa kāinga

The homesteads on Aramiro were located around the mill where the pine trees are growing now and close to Te Rore Kiore o Wāhanga-te-Rangi.



Sunnah Thompson's kāinga area.



Kāinga area of Hema Kihi Pouwhero.

Below: Home of Pita Tarao, whose wife was Paeroa.



Illustration 24 Homesteads positions on Aramiro block in the time of the mill



Illustration 25 Site of old timber mill

Pūrākau

Pūrākau was the pā site of Maahanga the tupuna.



Illustration 26 Pūrākau pā site

Poukowhatu

This is the site of Poukowhatu, the pā of Te Awaitaia.



Illustration 27 Poukowhatu pā site

Pā Sites

Although the name for these pā sites are as yet unidentified they are still of Ngāti Maahanga origin and for this reason noted on our sites of significance. These pā sites are located outside of the Rohe Pōtae claims area.





Illustration 28 Ngāti Maahanga ancient pā sites





Illustration 29 Te Pahū Road redoubt site

The two photographs, above, are of a site located on Te Pahū Road, on the opposite side of the Karamu walkway road heading south. It is thought to be the area of the redoubt.

1.14 Conclusion

What is stated in this chapter is that Ngāti Maahanga occupied a vast area, from Pirongia maunga to the Waikato river, from the Waikato river to the west coast. We have outlined the stories of our connectedness to this whenua, through the occupation and excursions of our tūpuna, and of the sites and taonga that have become significant to us because they hold the kōrero of our tūpuna. Our tūpuna are buried on the whenua, they lived from the resources of the whenua, and they fought battles to win and hold the whenua. This is the precious inheritance of Ngāti Maahanga. The following chapters give more detail about our tūpuna, our whenua and our changing world.

CHAPTER 2: TE HORAHIANGA O NGĀ PĀHARAKEKE

By Adelaide Collins

2.1 Introduction

The title for this chapter was a metaphor used by Ngāti Maahanga kaumātua and claimant Tuahu Watene, who recited to the Waitangi Tribunal, the inter-marital connections between the Tai Hauaauru hapū in Ngāti Maahanga whakapapa.¹³² Ngā pā harakeke are plantations of flax bushes that grow clumped together. The phrase is a common expression for whānau groupings or generations and is used as a metaphor for the gene pool inherited by children and the passing of attributes down the generations.¹³³

Ngāti Maahanga was an influential iwi in traditional times before colonisation with a large tract of papatupu land inland from the Tai Hauaauru coast as well as conquest land along the coast. The mana of Maahanga was carried by his children and their descendants to the time of Te Awaitaia, who was Paramount Chief in the Tai Hauaauru by 1820.

This chapter opens with a discussion of the use of Native Land Court evidence and provides some context to the evidence presented by witnesses to the Court. Section 2.3 is a brief overview of the early history of Maahanga and his whānau to acclimatise the reader to the more complex detail in later sections. This is followed in Section 2.4 by the story of their origins on the land. The other sections describe each of Maahanga's nine children who lived in the Tai Hauaauru, and key descendants, especially eponymous ancestors of hapū. The stories about the hapū that descended from them describe the area of Maahanga country for which they took responsibility and

¹³² Te horahianga o ngā pāharakeke (the inter-marital connections down through the generations). Tuahu Watene, oral submission on behalf of Ngāti Maahanga (Wai 898), third hearing, 13 April 2010.

¹³³ *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*, 3rd edn, 2011, <www.maoridictionary.co.nz> [accessed August 2012].

important tribal events of their time in which they participated. Leadership development, the Aotea war, and the Hauhau-Kūpapa factionism are recurring themes throughout the chapter.

The main source for this chapter has been Land Court evidence from a generation of kaumātua more than a hundred years ago. The importance of the histories of our ancestors is highlighted by their retelling down through the generations to our current generation of kaumātua, as demonstrated in Chapter 1. Therefore, some of the stories are repeated across chapters in this volume, with different aspects emphasised.

In tracing the origins of hapū names, the research for this chapter revealed that 19th century rangatira initiated the practice of identifying people by hapū. Prior to the creation of hapū names, the most common form of self-identification was by waka name. Land Court witnesses made frequent references to ancestors of Tainui who forged close relationships with people of other waka, most notably Aotea and Te Arawa. Examples include Mahuta's father Hekemaru, who was of Te Arawa, and Whatihua's wife Ruapu-tahanga, who was of Aotea waka.

Rangatira chose as hapū names, the names of Maahanga's descendants who had particular traits that the rangatira wished to acknowledge. Hapū names were extensively used by the time of the Battle of Rangipotiki in the early-1800s.¹³⁴ All of the witnesses in Land Court hearings used the term 'hapū' as their expression of self-identification without concern for clarifying further with the term 'iwi'. In other words, as the founding settlers for the Tainui waka, the people of the Tai Hauaauru divided into hapū after spreading inland from the coast, that is, their social grouping moved from waka to hapū. In contrast, the commonly held modern view is that iwi formed because of political alliances between hapū, that is, Māori social organisation moved from hapū to iwi.¹³⁵ The modern view of iwi is more apparent from the late 1800s after the formation of the Kiingitanga.

The identification of iwi was obscured during these stages of change. However, Te Aopouri Waata (Ngāti Kuku) stated that 'Ngāti Maahanga was the name that covered

¹³⁴ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, pp. 44-45.

¹³⁵ Ballara, Angela, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, Wellington, 1998.

everyone'.¹³⁶ As an example, he said that 'all of Ngāti Hōurua are Ngāti Maahanga, but all of Ngāti Maahanga are not Ngāti Hōurua'.¹³⁷ Such clarification has become important today and Sunnah Thompson, a Ngāti Maahanga kaumātua commented, 'if we're talking Pākehā, it's iwi; if we're talking Māori, it's hapū'.¹³⁸

2.2 Native Land Court Evidence

This chapter follows the trail of evidence given by Ngāti Maahanga kaumātua who were witnesses in Land Court hearings from 1886 to 1910. They were from Ngāti Maahanga hapū who lived within the Tai Hauaauru region of the Rohe Potae Inquiry District. Several decades after the war and raupatu in Waikato, the distinction between those in Ngāti Maahanga who supported Kiingitanga and those who had supported Te Awaitaia continued as a significant factor in the evidence given to the Native Land Court.

The principal kaumātua tracked are Te Aopouri Hare Waata (pronounced Ao-po-uri) of Ngāti Kuku, and Tangata-iti Rawiri Maru (Ngāti Whare). Te Aopouri was young when his elders set the confiscation boundary and died around 1911; Tangata-iti was born around 1848. Their younger relatives Te Wharepuhi Taiki Heruika (Ngāti Ngarape), Tai Mokai Rakena, and Pukeikura Pakaru (both Ngāti Ruateatea), were all born around 1863. They were Hauhau except for Te Aopouri, who was one of 'Te Awaitaia's people'.

Evidence from a group of their older generation has been included as well, most of whom were Te Awaitaia's people: his son Wi Nero Te Awaitaia; his nephews Hapeta Waaka and Wi Waiti Otene; his first cousin Mohi Te Rongomau; and Ngāti Maahanga rangatira Haeata Maahanga and Aperahama Patene were witnesses in the Manuaitu and Kawhia hearings in 1886-1887. They were Ngāti Maahanga's leadership after Te Awaitaia passed away in 1866. Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia, a grandson of Te Awaitaia's sister, was the youngest of the witnesses and was Hauhau. Harete Tamehana, the daughter of Te Awaitaia's Ngāti Haua cousins spoke for her Ngāti Hōurua kin at the Kawhia hearings.

¹³⁶ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, p. 43.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Minutes of the Ngaati Maahanga Iwi History Waananga, Aramiro Marae, Waitetuna, Raglan, 3-4 December 2011.

The whakapapa evidence of 70 direct descendants was pieced together and analysed to provide deeper insight into the tribal mechanisms at work in the Tai Hauaauru. It builds upon, and provides further detail, to the information provided in Chapter 1. Wherever the whakapapa of Maahanga and ancestors of other hapū merged, the evidence of kaumātua from both ancestors was cross-referenced. At least three direct descendants confirmed the whakapapa lines contained in this chapter.

The evidence consisted of witnesses' own whakapapa, tribal knowledge told to them by their kaumātua, and their life experiences. They were in the witness chair for up to six days and late into the night in the hearings investigating the title to the Moerangi land block, with Sunday still observed as a day of rest.

A chronology by generation has been used as a rough guide only with a stronger emphasis on matching key Ngāti Maahanga ancestors with peers of their time. Ngāti Maahanga's descent line (from Puhanga) has fewer generations than the main Tainui descent line (from Motai). Furthermore, some male ancestors, especially rangatira, were still having children at the same time as their great grandchildren. Though rare, one marriage involved a couple who were eight generations apart in the whakapapa.

The evidence was drawn from the hearings for the Moerangi land block in 1909-1910, Takapaunui and Ohiapopoko in 1908, Te Rape in 1905, Manuaitu in 1887 and Kawhia in 1886. Te Rape was Ngāti Maahanga papatupu land; Moerangi was both papatupu and utu land; Takapaunui, Ohiapopoko, Manuaitu, and Kawhia were utu lands. Moerangi was more than 45,000 acres extending from the eastern side of Aotea Harbour to the western slopes of Mt. Pirongia. Te Rape comprised 415 acres at Whaingaroa on the northwest side of Moerangi and was part of the same land; so was Manuaitu, which was over 8,300 acres to the north and south of Aotea Harbour, west of Moerangi. Takapaunui (720 acres) and Ohiapopoko (379 acres) were two blocks on the same land at Whaingaroa, northwest of Moerangi. *Figure 4* is a government survey of the Moerangi and Manuaitu blocks by 1911.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Land Information New Zealand, National Office, reference number, ABWN-8925-W278-80-227-5-MOERANGI-1911-12, Te Rohe Potae Map Collection, Crown Forestry Rental Trust.

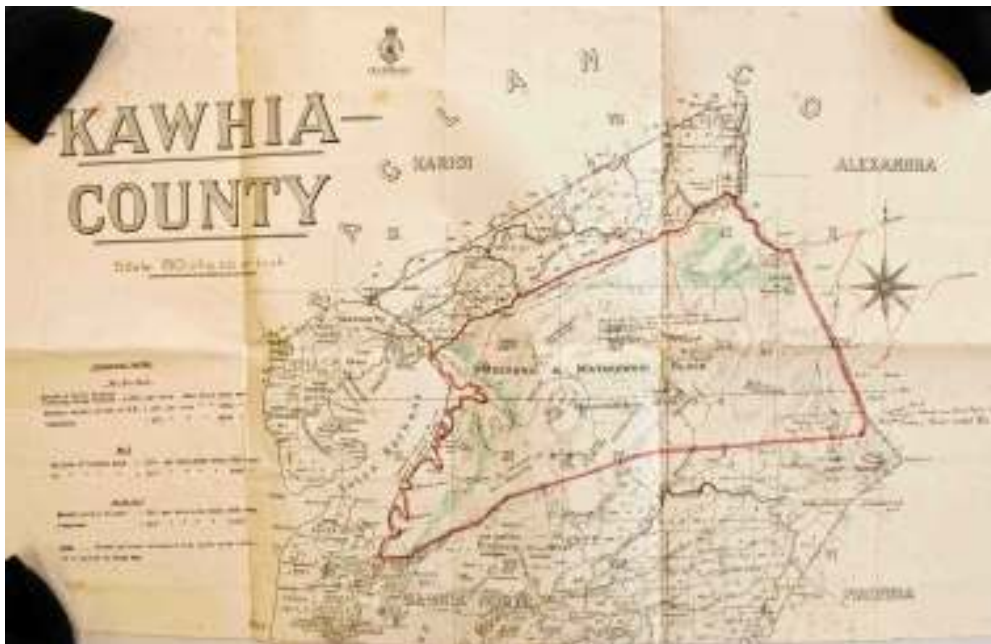


Figure 4 Survey map of Moerangi and Manuaitu land blocks 1911.

The Moerangi hearings formed the bulk of the evidence analysed. Moerangi was the last block in the district to have its title investigated and every hapū in the Tai Hauaauru and its surrounds claimed rights to the block. Most of the witnesses had previous experience of Court hearings and were adept presenters. Rights by ancestry were claimed through three ancestors, one of whom was Maahanga. The other two were Hekemaru, Mahuta's father (claimed by Hauhau), and Kakati, an ancestor five generations before Maahanga and one that most other hapū have in common. Witnesses' hapū affiliations depended on the context and which viewpoint they wished to support because all of the hapū in the Tai Hauaauru are related.

Evidence to the Native Land Court also revealed the deep division within Ngāti Maahanga at this time. Ngāti Maahanga was torn apart by the two opposing responses to colonisation, namely, Tawhiao's leadership of the Kiingitanga movement, and Te Awaitaia's leadership of the co-governance kawenata with the Crown. The tension was not between Potatau and Te Awaitaia, who had grown up together and were unwavering brothers-in-arms. Besides, the Kiingitanga was formed near the end of their long lives. After the colonial war in 1863, Te Awaitaia and his people stood alone in advocating cooperation with the Crown. Te Awaitaia's people (called 'loyal natives') and Kiingitanga supporters disagreed for much of the century from the 1860s, and their differences had a major effect on Land Court hearings from 1886,

where the witnesses broke into two camps and set up separate cases claiming rights that were otherwise identical.

The Land Court encouraged and rewarded hapū who subdivided the land between them, which had a significant influence on the way in which evidence was presented. Hapū sought to split away from Ngāti Maahanga and claim their occupation rights under their own mana or under an ancestor at least as old as Maahanga. A particular idiosyncrasy of witnesses that supported the Kiingitanga, especially the younger generation, was to claim rights under the maru or ‘ringakaha’ of Potatau.¹⁴⁰ Although their country was north of Taupiri, Potatau and Tawhiao spent much of their time in the Tai Hauaauru and supporters claimed this as occupation, and then presented whakapapa connecting the hapū to the Kahui Ariki.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, hapū names were chosen to distinguish Maahanga-Hauhau from Maahanga-Kūpapa, the latter of whom continued to honour their kawenata with the Crown until the late-1800s, when most of Te Awaitaia’s people had passed away.

2.3 Legacy of Mana: A Brief Introduction

Tuheitia=Te Ataihaea			
Maahanga, NAENAE (f)			
MAAHANGA=PARATAI (1)	Wharewaiata (2)	HINETEPEI (3)	Te Akataawhia (4)
Kieraunui	Atutahi	Potaua	
Tupana			
TONGANUI			
Waitawake (f)			
Tukotuku (f)			
RUATEATEA			
Tumoehau (f)			
Tūpuna of hapū in capitals			

Figure 5 The key tūpuna of Ngāti Maahanga

Ngāti Maahanga is a very old and large iwi with origins from the Tainui waka and territory that once extended from Pirongia to Taupiri and from the Waikato River to Whaingaroa and Aotea. Maahanga inherited his mana through a male descent line of 12 generations from Hoturoa to his great grandson, Puhanga, to Maahanga’s father,

¹⁴⁰ Ringakaha (protection), maru (protective authority). Ringakaha was used by Ratapu Te Kewene (Tainui), Mercer Minute Book, 13, 8 December 1909, p. 41.

¹⁴¹ Kahui Ariki (the royal descent line of the Kings).

Tuheitia.¹⁴² Most of the other ancestors of Tuheitia's time were descendants of Puhanga's brother, Motai. Two brothers, Whatihua and Turongo, inherited their mana from Hoturoa through the Motai whakapapa line and were two generations older than Tuheitia.

While Kawhia was home for all of the ancestors at that time, Whatihua settled at Aotea, Turongo lived southeast of Pirongia, and Tamapoto, Tuheitia's father, resided at Kaiparera on the west side of the Waipa River near Mt. Pirongia. Whatihua's descendants Tu-iri-rangi and Te Atai-orongo were at Aotea and Whaingaroa when Tuheitia was north of Whaingaroa at Waikaretu, Te Akau. Turongo's son Raukawa and his descendants spread south and east of Pirongia, and Maahanga and his wife Paratai moved their family to the Waipa River and Pirongia after Tuheitia died. Maahanga was the first to claim ownership of territory inland - his children, their families dispersed across Maahanga country, and his sons, especially Tonganui, successfully defended the land. Their descendants continued to do so for seven generations until the colonial war in 1863.

Tuheitia was a Tuahuroa and set up his Hiahuroa at Waikaretu.¹⁴³ He also built a large whare there, Te Papa o Rotu, which was a whare wananga first established in Hoturoa's time. After his death, Tuheitia became the taniwha in the Waipa River. Maahanga continued his father's traditions at Purakau pā at the foot of Mt. Pirongia. Maahanga left his son, Ruateatea in charge of the Hiahuroa when he took a war party to Hauraki. Tonganui, Atutahi (Maahanga's youngest son), and Tumoehau (Maahanga's youngest daughter) went with him. Tonganui returned to the Tai Hauaauru with the war party but Maahanga, Atutahi, and Tumoehau remained in Hauraki. All three died there. The Hiahuroa passed down through a branch of Ruateatea's descendants to the last Tuahuroa, Tuheitia II, who died around 1882. Te Papa o Rotu still exists today as one of two marae at Whatawhata on the east side of the Waipa River near Hamilton.

Tonganui became embroiled in a war with Whatihua's descendants at Aotea. The country belonged to Tu-iri-rangi. His daughter Parekino married Ruateatea; his son Puhara-a-tainui provoked the confrontation with Tonganui. The conflict escalated into

¹⁴² Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 51.

¹⁴³ Tuahuroa (Grand High Priest), Hiahuroa (place of incantation).

a war over Aotea that lasted for six generations to the 1830s and sparked an enmity between the descendants of Maahanga and Tu-iri-rangi that was still apparent in early-20th century Land Court hearings. Tonganui and his son, Tamakahu were killed in battle but Tonganui's grandson, Manu-mahara-nui and Ruateatea successfully held the land.

On learning of Tonganui's death, Maahanga called on the warriors at two of Tonganui's pā, Te Kaharoa and Oma-eroa, to avenge Tonganui's death. Te Kaharoa still exists today as the whare nui at Aramiro, one of Tonganui's kāinga at Moerangi. Te Aopouri related that Aramiro got its name from a Miro tree used for snaring. Tonganui named the tree. A track (Ara) passed over its roots hence the name 'Ara miro'.¹⁴⁴ Oma-eroa is known as Omaero today and is the second marae at Whatawhata.

Ruateatea linked Ngāti Maahanga with the rest of the Tai Hauaauru through his marriage to Parekino. His descendants endured turbulent times through the Aotea war, the Christian condemnation of tōhunga, and the Te Awaitaia-Kiingitanga (Kūpapa and Hauhau) factions within Ngāti Maahanga.

Ruateatea and Tonganui had always lived together, likewise, their older brothers Kieraunui and Tupana, who lived on the east and west sides of the Waipa River. Kieraunui was known for his cultivations and he settled the land between the Waipa and Waikato Rivers. The area is still used for horticulture and agriculture today. Kieraunui's land was confiscated.

Tupana and his descendants linked all of the descent lines of Maahanga's children together. One of his descendants was Tapaatai, who ended the war at Aotea and drove his enemies off the land around 1815. His enemies suffered such heavy casualties that it was said blood flowed into Whaingaroa Harbour. One of the hapū to be defeated, Ngāti Koata, gave Tapaatai the name 'Te Puna a toto', the fount of bloodshed. Tupana settled on the land from the Waipa River westward to the Waitetuna, a tidal stream that runs through the centre of the Tai Hauaauru. This land was confiscated.

¹⁴⁴ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 32.

Whereas Tupana linked the descent lines from Maahanga together and Ruateatea connected Ngāti Maahanga to the other hapū of the Tai Hauaauru, Atutahi, Maahanga's youngest son, connected Ngāti Maahanga to the leadership of the rest of Tainui waka. His precedent was Maahanga, who married three direct descendants of Whatihua. Atutahi had a half-brother his own age, Potaua. Their mothers, Wharewaiata and Hinetepei, were sisters who married Maahanga.

Maahanga set aside an area of land for Atutahi from Okete, south Whaingaroa to Tunaেকে Stream, Waipa because he wanted to provide a measure of security for his youngest son. The area east of Waitetuna Stream was confiscated but the government returned a portion of land around the Waipa River at Whatawhata and Atutahi's descendants still live there today.

Maahanga set aside another area for his daughter Tukotuku when she married Tama-inu-po. The general area was north of a boundary from Parawai Stream, Whaingaroa to Tunaেকে Stream near Whatawhata. The Waipa landmark for both Tukotuku and Atutahi were two trees called Nga Tokorua a Te Rawhatihoro, which stood north of Tunaেকে. Tukotuku's land was confiscated but the government returned a portion and her descendants still live there today.

Tukotuku had an older sister, Waitawake. The two sisters quarrelled over Tama-inu-po, but when Maahanga noticed that Tama-inu-po favoured Tukotuku, he endorsed their union. Waitawake left and did not return; she later married Pikirangi, the grandson of Whatihua and Apakura. Thus, Maahanga's mana was distributed amongst his children. Their descendants continued to uphold his mana until the late 1800s.

2.3.1 Hapū of Ngāti Maahanga

All of the hapū in the Tai Hauaauru intermarried but their names indicated the desire to be associated with a specific ancestor that lived in Maahanga's time or around then. The most enduring of these ancestral associations evolved into iwi in the 20th century – in the Tai Hauaauru, the iwi was Ngāti Maahanga. Many Ngāti Maahanga hapū associated with ancestors other than Maahanga by the late-1800s to establish rights to land on their own behalf, distance themselves from Ngāti Maahanga's kūpapatanga, and/or emphasise their support for the Kiingitanga. The following table summarises 34

hapū from Maahanga's children and their descendants found in the research to date. Their main areas of settlement are included along with other hapū and iwi that are closely related. The hapū tended to live together in clusters based on their common ancestor.

Table 1 Hapū from the children of Maahanga, their settlement areas and marae

	<i>Hapū</i>	<i>Main settlement area</i>
Kieraunui	Tohe, Peke, Paratai, Naenae, Parewai Related to Kahui Ariki, Te Ata	Waipa, Aotea, Marae: Te Papatapu, Makomako
Tupana	Kiriwai Related to Kahui Ariki, Maniapoto, Toa	Pirongia, Waipa
Tonganui	Kuku, Kahu, Tonganui, Matarau, Kahuone, Te Patupo Related to Huru-ma-angi-angi	Moerangi, Aotea Marae: Aramiro
Waitawake	Hinetu, Tukemata Related to Apakura, Maniapoto	East of Pirongia
Tukotuku	Tama-inu-po, Wairere, Toa-kotara, Te Huaki, Kahurere Related to Koroki, Haua, Koura, Kahui Ariki	North of Te Uku Marae: Waingarō
Ruateatea	Ruateatea, Waiaranui, Whawhakia, Ngarape, Taka Related to Kuia-arangi, Tu-iri-rangi	Moerangi, Aotea, Waipa Marae: Aramiro
Potaua	Hine Related to Hore, Ruamano, Kakati, Maniapoto, Tu-iri-rangi	Pirongia, Waipa, Aotea, Whaingarōa
Atutahi	Hōurua, Whare, Koata, Te Wehi, Whaka- maru-rangi, Hikairo, Kahukoka, Tarao, Rangimahora, Waitarere Related to Kahui Ariki, Tu-iri-rangi, Haua, Te Ata, Maniapoto, Paoa, Tipa, Naho	Waipa, Pirongia, Aotea, Whaingarōa, Kawhia Marae: Te Papa o Rotu, Omaero, Motakotako

2.4 Nga Korero Tuku Iho - From Hoturoa to Maahanga

Te Aopouri stated that Hoturoa returned to Hawaiki and left his children here. Tuheitia's son, Maahanga, was 12 generations after Hoturoa.¹⁴⁵ Tuheitia married Te Ataihaea, the sister of Tahinga, the ancestor for Ngāti Tahinga and the man credited with killing Tuheitia. When Karaka Tarawhiti of Ngāti Whawhakia gave his whakapapa, he showed that Tuheitia had a daughter, Naenae, as well as Maahanga. Her descendants inter-married with Maahanga's and became Ngāti Maahanga hapū.¹⁴⁶ Tai Rakena stated that Tuheitia had four children before Maahanga, who died soon after they were born.¹⁴⁷ They were two sets of twin brothers and Maahanga (meaning twin) was named in their memory.

Te Wharepuhi (a.k.a. Taiki) Heruika told a little about Tamapoto, his son Tuheitia and grandson Maahanga:

When Tuheitia was living at Te Akau, Maahanga was at Moerangi. Tamapoto, Tuheitia's father was there so I have heard.... Tamapoto lived at Kaiparera and Aotea i.e. Hawaiki, Aotea South. He lived on this land at Orongo. That is the only one I know of. His chief kāinga was Kaiparera.... I believe Tuheitia also lived at Orongo. I heard that Maahanga lived there also. I know of no other kāinga at that time. My knowledge of ownership begins with Maahanga.¹⁴⁸

Tai Rakena stated that Marae-o-Hine, the home of Maahanga's wife was near Kaiparera on the west side of the Waipa River at the foot of Mt. Pirongia.¹⁴⁹ Orongo was east of Whaingaroa.

Tuheitia was a Tuahuroa and set up his Hiahuroa at Waikaretu, Te Akau, where he built the whare, Te Papa o Rotu. Jones describes Rotu as a tōhunga, one of Rakataura's people to come from Hawaiki on the Tainui waka. His specialty was mauri manu and he settled at Pukehoua and Paewhenua near Mt. Pirongia. Jones

¹⁴⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 51.

¹⁴⁶ Karaka Tarawhiti, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 10 December 1909, p. 68.

¹⁴⁷ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 28 October 1909, p. 164.

¹⁴⁸ Te Wharepuhi Heruika, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 30 October 1909, pp. 183-185.

¹⁴⁹ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 28 October 1909, p. 165.

referred to Rotu and his people as the 'bird cult'.¹⁵⁰ Tangata-iti Maru gave this account:

As to the ancestor Maahanga and his father lived at Te Akau. He married his wife Paratai there. All his children were from there. He came here [Pirongia] because of the killing of Tuheitia who was murdered on account of a whakatauki uttered by him. A large building had been put up called Papa o Rotu. He sent a messenger to some people on the east coast [Takitimu waka] who were fighting to say to them to come to him at Papa o Rotu where there is peace. Though my people are small in numbers yet they have power. Kokako was angry at Tuheitia for making this claim to power and mana so he had Tuheitia killed. So Maahanga and all his people left.¹⁵¹

Tai Rakena added that the whakatauākī related to the safety of anyone under Tuheitia's protection at Te Papa o Rotu. Tangata-iti Maru's reference to mana and power in Tuheitia's whakatauākī relates to the mana of the name 'Te Papa o Rotu', with its associations to Rotu, Rakataura, Hoturoa, and ancestors from the crew of Tainui waka, as well as to Tuheitia's confidence in his ringakaha. Tuheitia's claim to power rested in his ability to protect those around him. His death came at the hands of his brother in-law, Tahinga.

Haere mai ki aau, ki Te Papa-o-Rotu, ki te au tee rena, ki te urunga tee taka, ki te moenga tee whakaarahia. Ahakoa iti taku ngohi, he rei kei roto.¹⁵²

Mohi Te Rongomau said that Rakataura's descendant Haumia and other chiefs escorted Maahanga to Pirongia.¹⁵³ Years passed but Maahanga yearned to avenge his father's death. He attacked twice: the first time was before his daughter Tukotuku's marriage to Tama-inu-po. He went from his pā that he built, Purakau, to Te Puaha o Waikato, the headlands at the mouth of the Waikato River, north of Whaingaroa. He captured and destroyed Okarahau pā occupied by his uncle Tahinga's people then returned to Pirongia.

¹⁵⁰ 'The Ancient History Of Pirongia Mountain By Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Prepared for the Pirongia Forest Park Advisory Committee of the New Zealand Forest Service for its Annual Report, 1973', Histories of Pirongia and Karioi, The Pei Te Hurinui Jones Collection, 3C2/6, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

¹⁵¹ Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 1 December 1909, p. 5.

¹⁵² Come to [me] at Papa o Rotu where there is peace. Though my people are small in numbers, yet they have power. Interpretation from the evidence of Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 1 December 1909, p. 5.

¹⁵³ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 23 August 1886, pp. 164-166.

The second time was a while after Tukotuku's marriage. Tama-inu-po accompanied Maahanga in his attack on Kokako at Te Puaha o Waikato. Kokako was wounded and Tama-inu-po helped him to escape. At the time, neither Kokako nor Maahanga knew that Kokako was Tama-inu-po's father. Tama-inu-po waited until his son Wairere was born to tell them. Peace was made after Kokako christened Wairere and removed the tapu.

Maahanga lived with Paratai at Kaiparera and married his other wives after Paratai died. They lived together at Marae-o-Hine, about a quarter mile away from Kaiparera. Maahanga set the two kāinga apart for his wives.¹⁵⁴

Tai Rakena told of how Maahanga set up his Hiahuroa at Purakau pā at the foot of Mt. Pirongia and rebuilt Te Papa o Rotu there. Maahanga left Ruateatea in charge of his Hiahuroa when he went to Hauraki.¹⁵⁵

Maahanga was the first to claim inland from the original coastal settlement of Tainui waka. Te Aopouri recounted that Maahanga lay down the boundary of his land when he was living at Purakau pā, from which could be seen the whole of Maahanga country.¹⁵⁶ Sometime after, land surrounding Maahanga's was claimed by other descendants of Hoturoa. Maahanga, his children and their descendants then defended and maintained his mana over Maahanga country.¹⁵⁷ The major landmarks were the east side of Aotea Harbour to the Waipa River, from Mt Pirongia and the Waikato River to Taupiri, to Te Akau on the coast. Te Aopouri and the other kaumātua referred to this country as the 'papatupu' land. Maahanga's son, Tonganui, took the west side of Aotea in conquest. In the early 1800s, Te Pumatoto, a descendant, added Whaingaroa and the rest of Aotea. Te Aopouri and others referred to this land as 'utu land'.¹⁵⁸

Of Maahanga's last years, Te Aopouri said, 'Maahanga died at Moehau, Hauraki having married a woman of that place and settled there while on a fighting expedition.

¹⁵⁴ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 28 October 1909, pp. 164-165.

¹⁵⁵ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 14 October 1909, p. 128.

¹⁵⁶ Kaye Turner, Personal Communication, 16 August 2012. She and Sunnah Thompson visited the pā site earlier that week.

¹⁵⁷ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, p. 48.

¹⁵⁸ Hare Waata, Mercer Minute Book 11, 10 June 1908, p. 163.

His party came back, Tonganui was one'.¹⁵⁹ Tai Rakena added that the woman's name was Te Akataawhia and their children were still there. Maahanga went to Moehau from Purakau after both Hinetepei and Wharewaiata had passed away. Atutahi accompanied Maahanga and died in Hauraki. Tumoechau went with her father as well and died there without issue.¹⁶⁰ Tai Rakena recalled having heard of a whakatauākī that people from the east coast had used alluding to Maahanga who abandoned food, canoes, and men.

Maahanga whakarere kai, whakarere waka, whakarere wahine

The Assessor in the Moerangi case was Raureti Mokonuiarangi of Te Arawa, who confirmed that it was a waiata composed by Piko of Te Urewera long after Maahanga's time, 'about two generations ago'.¹⁶¹

2.4.1 Ngāti Maahanga Settlement in the Tai Hauaauru

Te Aopouri told of five of the 'great' kāinga of Ngāti Maahanga: Horo-kiokio was on the western side of the Waikato River, near Ohaupo. Ka-niwha-niwha on the western side of the Waipa River had two urupā called Te Karaka and Te Kakau, a burial cave called Te Ana o Koroua, and a Ngāti Maahanga mill built there. Whakataki was northeast of Waitetuna Stream. Tapu-ko-nako-nako was at the foot of Mt. Pirongia. Mahinui was on the Waipa River and Purakau pā was nearby.

Te Awaitaia supervised Ngāti Maahanga's settlement on the utu land at Whaingaroa and Aotea. Te Aopouri defined the hapū and their rangatira who settled at Whaingaroa as:

<i>Hapū</i>	<i>Rangatira</i>
Ngāti Hōurua	Te Awaitaia, Kamariera
Ngāti Hine	Te Otene, Noa
Ngāti Kuku	Hone Kingi
Ngāti Ngarape	Te Tana, Hakopa Te Kotuku, Hakopa Te Ngori, Hamiora

¹⁵⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 38.

¹⁶⁰ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 127.

¹⁶¹ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 20 October 1909, pp. 166.

	Ngaropi, Te Heruika
Ngāti Tohe	Pita Toto, Hopai
Ngāti Kahupeke	Erunui
Ngāti Whare	Te Waaka, Haunui, Heni Rangiita

The witnesses in the Manuaitu hearings gave the following clusters of hapū that settled around Aotea:

	<i>Hapū Cluster</i>	<i>General Settlement Area</i>
1	Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Tohe, Ngāti Huirangi, Ngāti Tarake, Ngāti Pakura, Ngāti Kahupeke	Te Ana Puta (Karioi) to Te Kakara (Kawhia)
2	Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Matarau (Te Patupo), Ngāti Kahuone	Moerangi and west from Whaingaroa southward - Te Rape to Te Kakawa
3	Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Waiaranui	Same area as Ngāti Tonganui as well as Purakau and Ka-niwha-niwha
4	Ngāti Whawhakia, Ngāti Kuia-arangi	Matakowhai on eastern side of Aotea Harbour
5	Ngāti Te Wehi, Ngāti Reko, Ngāti Rangi	Raoraokauere to eastern side of Aotea Harbour; Kawhia
6	Ngāti Taka, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Tarao	South end of Aotea Harbour - Tahuri-kohia to Raukumara; Kawhia

The following table outlines the kāinga of Maahanga, his father Tuheitia and grandfather Tamapoto. The table then summarises 100 Ngāti Maahanga pā, kāinga, urupā, and other settlements found in the research to date. They are arranged by region of significance to Ngāti Maahanga, namely, Pirongia, Waipa, Moerangi, Aotea, Whaingaroa, and Kawhia.

Table 2 Kāinga of Ngāti Maahanga

<i>Settlement Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
Kāinga of Tamapoto and Tuheitia	
Kaiparera	West side of the Waipa River near Mt. Pirongia
Hawaiki	South Aotea
Moerangi	Surrounding Aotea Harbour
Orongo	At Moerangi, Waitetuna, east of Whaingaroa
Kāinga of Maahanga	
Purakau pā	At the foot of Mt. Pirongia; on the west side of the Waipa River near Kaiparera
Marae-o-Hine	At the foot of Mt. Pirongia; Quarter mile away from Kaiparera
Settlement at Pirongia	
Tahua-nui kāinga	On Mt. Pirongia, an urupā was there
Mahaukura kāinga	The summit of Mt. Pirongia
Marae-o-Hine kāinga	At the foot of Mt. Pirongia – Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Hōuruia, Ngāti Whare
Tapu-ko-nako-nako kāinga	At the foot of Mt. Pirongia; on the west side of the Waipa River - Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Hōuruia
Settlement at Waipa	
Purakau pā	At the foot of Mt. Pirongia; on the west side of the Waipa River – Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Taka
Kaiparera kāinga	West side of the Waipa River near Mt. Pirongia - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Hōuruia, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Mahinui kāinga	One of the major kāinga on the western side of the Waipa River near Purakau pā - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Tohe, Ngāti Hōuruia, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Ka-niwaha-niwaha kāinga	One of the major Ngāti Maahanga kāinga on the western side of the Waipa River near Mt. Pirongia. A burial cave called Te Ana o Koroua was there. A mill was there as well. - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Hōuruia, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te Puna o Whawhokia	A spring along the Ka-niwaha-niwaha Stream
Te Kakau urupā	An urupā at Ka-niwaha-niwaha - Ngāti Hōuruia, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te Karaka pā and urupā	Pā and urupā at Ka-niwaha-niwaha - Ngāti Hōuruia, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea
Areropango also called Poukaka kāinga	At the source of the Ka-niwaha-niwaha Stream - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Ruateatea
Ngahina-pouri kāinga	Near Kaiparera on the Waipa - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Naenae

<i>Settlement Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
Whakataki kāinga	One of the major kāinga northeast of Moerangi; had a church - Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Whawhakia, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Whatawhata kāinga	Northeast end of Waipa River - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Naenae, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Kuku,, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Harapepe kāinga	East of Waitetuna Stream - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Koromatua kāinga	Near the Waipa River - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te Horo kāinga	Near the Waipa River - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Peehihoukura urupā	An urupā at Whatawhata on the east side of the Waipa - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te-i-eia kāinga	At Whatawhata on the east side of the Waipa - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Tuhikaramea kāinga	On the west side of the Waikato River - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Hikurangi kāinga (Karamu Lot 201)	At Whatawhata on the west side of the Waipa - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Manga-poari kāinga	Near Whatawhata - Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Peke
Tiri-ki-popo kāinga	Near Whatawhata - Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Peke
Horo-kiokio kāinga	One of the major kāinga on the western side of the Waikato River, near Ohaupo; Te Punatoto's kāinga - Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Tohe, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Mangakowhai kāinga	A temporary kāinga on the Whatawhata side of a road that ran through the range dividing Whatawhata and Waitetuna. The road was called Tokehoho - Ngāti Kahukoka
Te Hapainga kāinga	Northeast of the Waitetuna Stream - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Ngarape
Ruaweke kāinga	Kāinga near Ka-niwha-niwha Stream - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku
Pohoroa kāinga	Kāinga near Ka-niwha-niwha Stream - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku
Mangarata pā	Pā near the Waipa - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku
Tohutoke pā	Pā near the Waipa - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku
Te Rore pā	Pā near the Waipa - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Matarau
Settlement at Moerangi	
Wharauoa kāinga	Northeast of Moerangi block - Ngāti Ngarape
Okupu a.k.a. Manuwera kāinga	Eastern half of Moerangi block - Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea
Te Kaha-raumati kāinga	South of a branch stream across Waitetuna at Paiaka-keria, east of Orongo Stream; one of Ngāti Kuku's principal kāinga, which had an urupā. - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Waiaranui, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine

<i>Settlement Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
Aramiro kāinga	Close to where Waitetuna Stream formed a branch stream near the northern boundary of Moerangi land block; Te Kaharoa and Oma-eroa (Omaero) were Tonganui's pā at Aramiro - Ngāti Naenae, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Waiaranui
Te Makoe-a-Waiaranui	A tohu at Aramiro; a pool where the kaeo pipi grow. Makoe is the name for the kaeo's black shell. Waiaranui seeded the pool
Rua-pueru kāinga	On the west side of the Waitetuna Stream - Ngāti Naenae, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Waiaranui
Patatoto kāinga	201 Karamu - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kuku
Te Tihi o Tonganui pā	A log-fenced pā on the summit of a hill near the Kati-kako Stream – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu
Te Kauere kāinga	A pā a little north of the Kati-kako Stream and in the southern corner of Te Rape block at the foot of a hill – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku. Was sold to Europeans
Ohine-tamatea kāinga	Adjacent to Rua-pueru on the west side of the Waitetuna Stream; Korotu's wife Poha planted flax at Ohine-tamatea that was called Nga-tau-titi o Poha; there was no other flax in the area. Takatea's daughter Ripeti also planted flax there - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te Horo-karetu kāinga	On the west side of the Waitetuna Stream and east of Orongo Stream - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku,
Ongaonga kāinga	On the east side of Waitetuna Stream - Ngāti Ruateatea
Paiaka-keria kāinga	On the west side of the Waitetuna Stream and east of Orongo Stream; had a cultivation called Te Roretangata and flax was grown there - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Huru-ma-angi-angi, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te Rorekiore-a-Wahangaterangi kāinga	On the south side of Orongo Stream - Ngāti Ruateatea
Ruakorotangi and Ruaone food pits	On the side of a hill near Manga-taheke - Ngāti Ruateatea
Manga-taheke kāinga	On both sides of Manga-taheke Stream between Rua-pueru and Aramiro - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Ruateatea
Wahatane kāinga	Close to Te Kauere and belonged to Te Orahi of Ngāti Tonganui. Was sold to Europeans
Te Poporo kāinga	Adjoining Te Kauere and belonged to Korotu of Ngāti Kuku. His son Pourewa and his sisters lived there
Te Papa kāinga	Southeast of Rua-pueru; had an urupā - Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Ngarape
Te Pirau food-pits	On top of a hill south of Rua-pueru in which the food became rotten so Korotu's son Pourewa called the place Te Pirau (rot). Eels were caught on the land but there were no eel pā - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kuku. Ngāti Ruateatea

<i>Settlement Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
Orongo kāinga	East of the Waitetuna - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone, Ngāti Hōuruua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Poukohatu kāinga	East of the Waitetuna - Ngāti Ruateatea, Ngāti Hōuruua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Te Kaka o Ruateatea kāinga	East side of the Waitetuna Stream near Te Puna o Whawhakia – Ngāti Ruateatea
Te Pahu-a-Ruateatea (gong of Ruateatea)	A rock that makes a noise like a gong when the top is walked on; the rock oscillates
Te Rape kāinga	A stronghold of Ngāti Tonganui on the same land as Aramiro, west of the Waitetuna - Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Hōuruua, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hine
Settlement at Whaingaroa	
Puketutu pā	173 Karamu; A pā at the Waitetuna river mouth - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu
Takapaunui kāinga	Te Awaitaia and his family lived there in the middle of the block. A church was there - Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōuruua, Ngāti Ruateatea
Ohiapopoko kāinga	Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Kahupeke, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōuruua, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Tarao
Papahua kāinga	Takapaunui - Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōuruua
Pukewhiu kāinga	Takapaunui; less than a mile from the west side of the Oporotu stream - Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōuruua
Puketoa kāinga	Takapaunui; near the middle of the block; had an urupā - Ngāti Hine
Taumawaka kāinga	Takapaunui; had an urupā - Ngāti Kahupeke
Ranana kāinga	Takapaunui - Ngāti Hine
Aroaro kāinga	East side of Oporotu stream - Ngāti Ngarape
Oporotu kāinga	Takapaunui - Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōuruua
Mahanarae kāinga	Takapaunui - Ngāti Kuku
Kokoawatea kāinga	Takapaunui - Ngāti Ngarape
Rarauheroa kāinga	Takapaunui - Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Hōuruua
Pari-tata kāinga	Near the mouth of the Whaingaroa Harbour - Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Tarao
Settlement at Aotea	
Pourewa	South-western shore of Aotea Harbour at Manuaitu – Ngāti Hōuruua, Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae
Para-para kāinga	Near Pourewa - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae
Horoure pā	Near Para-para - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae
Mau-kutea kāinga	At the mouth of the Aotea Harbour - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti

<i>Settlement Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
	Kahukoka
Matakowhai kāinga	South-eastern shore of Aotea Harbour on southern boundary of Moerangi block - Ngāti Ngarape
Oteohu kāinga	South-eastern shore of Aotea Harbour on southern boundary of Moerangi block - Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Kahukoka, Te Patupo
Te Kakawa kāinga	South-western shore of Aotea Harbour opposite Oteohu - Ngāti Peke, Te Patupo
Te Pakihi kāinga	Ngāti Peke
Makomako kāinga	Manuaitu - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone Ngāti Huru-ma-angi-angi descendants of Tonganui were east from around the Makomako Stream - the Pukemako, Uetara, Kauangaroa, Piripiri, Whakaharuru kāinga
Motakotako kāinga	North of Aotea Harbour on western side of Pakoka Stream – Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone, Ngāti Whakamarurangi
Te Mari kāinga	Manuaitu; had a mill - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone
Mohiti pā	Taken in conquest by Tonganui - Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Te Wehi
Awa-awaroa kāinga	A kāinga at Manuaitu – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Taka, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Paratai
Raorao-kauere kāinga	West of Aotea Harbour between Manuaitu pā and Rauiri; a Wesleyan mission station was there – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone, Te Patupo, Ngāti Hōurua
Te Makaka kāinga	A kāinga at Manuaitu – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Matarau, Ngāti Kahuone, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Taka, Ngāti Paratai
Tahere kāinga	A large settlement northwest of Te Pahi at Manuaitu where Ngāti Whare had a large house called Mirumiru
Toreparu kāinga	Northwest side of Makaka - Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Hōurua
Te Waerenga kāinga	Northwest side of Makaka near Toreparu - Ngāti Whare
Tongawhawhea kāinga	Northwest side of Makaka near Toreparu - Ngāti Whare
Kowhato kāinga	Northwest side of Makaka near Toreparu - Ngāti Whare
Ruapuke kāinga	North of Manuaitu block – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Taka, Ngāti Paratai
Te Pahi kāinga	Northwest shore of Aotea Harbour at Manuaitu – Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Whare
Te Pai kāinga	On the coast at Manuaitu - Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Taka, Ngāti Paratai
Tahuri-kohia (Tahuri-kopua) kāinga	Across the harbour from Raoraokauere - Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Kahukoka, Ngāti Tarao, Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae
Rauiri kāinga	Western shore of Aotea Harbour near Raoraokauere at Manuaitu – Ngāti Ngarape
Kaipapaka pā	Across the harbour from Raoraokauere - Ngāti Hōurua
Settlement at Kawhia	
Te Kakara kāinga	At Taharoa - Ngāti Kahukoka

<i>Settlement Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
Raukumara kāinga	On the coast, South Aotea - Ngāti Hōurua

2.5 Kieraunui

Although Tai Rakena acknowledged that Maahanga's sons had collective, common entitlement to the land, he attributed specific areas to them. Kieraunui's area of Maahanga country lay between the Waipa and Waikato Rivers southward to the summit of Mt. Pirongia (Mahau-kura).¹⁶²

Te Aopouri told of how Kieraunui, the eldest brother, and Tupana the second eldest, lived together. They were both buried at Te Karaka, an urupā at Ka-niwaha-niwaha on the Waipa, near Pirongia. Te Aopouri - a direct descendant - and others, took their skulls in an expedition and handed them over to Tawhiao. Kieraunui's son and grandson, Hinga-kite-wawa and Te Whatu, were buried at Te Karaka as well.¹⁶³ Tai Rakena said that Kieraunui died a natural death.¹⁶⁴

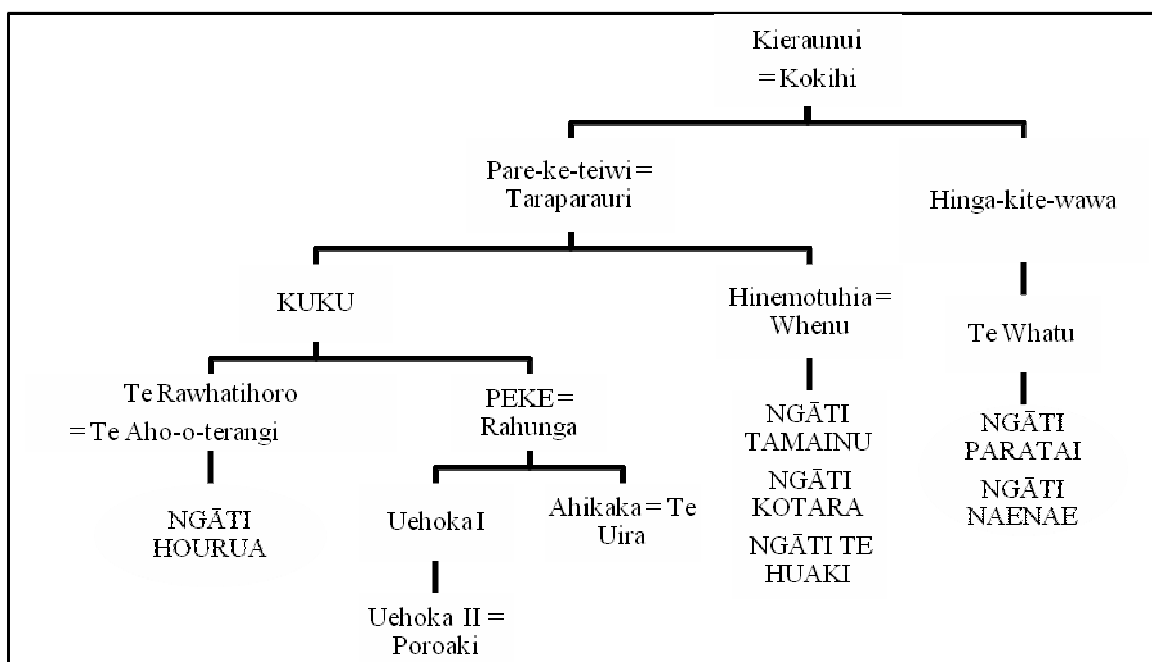


Figure 6 Ngāti Maahanga hapū from Kieraunui

¹⁶² Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 126-127.

¹⁶³ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, pp. 40-41, 56.

¹⁶⁴ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 126.

2.5.1 The Ngāti Maahanga Hapū From Kieraunui

2.5.1.1 *Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Tohe*

Kuku was the grandson of Kieraunui and Tupana, Tohe (a.k.a. Tohehaea) was his son, and Peke and Te Rawhatihoro were his daughters. Kuku was buried at Tahua-nui, Pirongia and his mother, Pare-ke-teiwi, was buried in a cave called Te Ana o Koroua at Ka-niwaha-niwaha, Waipa.¹⁶⁵ Their principal kāinga, Te Kaha-raumati, was one of several kāinga near the Waitetuna Stream.¹⁶⁶ The parents of Te Aopouri and Tai Rakena were amongst the last to live there but it was abandoned during the colonial war in 1863. After the war, Te Aopouri's parents, aunts, and uncles were amongst the first to return.¹⁶⁷ Te Kaha-raumati Stream became the western boundary of the confiscated land and Te Kaha-raumati was one of the kāinga affected. Today, Te Kaha-raumati is the Kohanga Reo at Aramiro Marae.

Kuku's daughter, Te Rawhati-horo (the break of dawn) married Te Aho-o-terangi, a descendant of Maahanga's youngest son, Atutahi, thereby connecting the tuakana and tōmuri lines.¹⁶⁸ Their descendants were Ngāti Hōurua.

Te Rawhati-horo's sister Peke married Rahunga, Te Aho-o-terangi's youngest brother. Their descendants were Ngāti Peke. Peke's son was Uehoka and he had a son named after him. Te Uira of Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Reko was Peke's son in-law. Pouwharetapu Te Kewene (Tainui) related that Te Rauparaha killed Te Uira at Aotea.

Uehoka II married Poroaki, the daughter of Te Rawhati-horo and Te Aho-o-terangi and they had three children. Poroaki married again to a descendant of Atutahi and had four children. Uehoka III was a grandson from the second marriage. Hapeta Te Waaka (Ngāti Whare) said that Te Awataia and Tawhi, the son of Uehoka III, erected the first boundary mark at Manuaitu.¹⁶⁹ Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Hōurua, and Ngāti Whare came from Poroaki's whānau.

¹⁶⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, p. 40.

¹⁶⁶ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 55.

¹⁶⁷ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 34.

¹⁶⁸ Te Rawhati-horo (the break of dawn); tōmuri (youngest, last-born).

¹⁶⁹ Hapeta Te Waaka, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 22 March 1887, p. 75.

Te Karahi, the older son of Uehoka II fought alongside Te Punatoto and Te Kata, Te Awaitaia's father, at Whaingaroa. Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Hōurua, and Ngāti Whare were amongst those who occupied Whaingaroa afterward. Te Rongomau said this occupation triggered Te Rauparaha's attack on Uehoka III.

The death of Uehoka III marked the final assault in the Aotea war. Te Rauparaha was allied with Kawharu's Ngāti Koata people by then. Haeata Maahanga (Ngāti Taka) said that Rangipotiki was attacked at Horoure, Aotea to avenge the deaths of Te Uehoka III, his brother Mata-u-tutonga, and the son of Uehoka II, Manataiaho, all of whom died at the hands of Te Rauparaha.¹⁷⁰ Mohi Te Rongomau said that Te Awaitaia's mother visited her sister Rangitoia, who was the widow of Uehoka III, and soon after this, Ngāti Hōurua decided to kill Rangipotiki to avenge the slain. When Tawhi heard, he asked Te Awaitaia to wait until he sent word to Rangipotiki, a relative, to distance himself from the fighting. Rangipotiki, a descendant of Hōurua on his father's side and Koata on his mother's side, paid no heed. 'One hundred were killed and taken prisoner. Aotea was then evacuated'.¹⁷¹ Haeata Maahanga said that Rangipotiki was killed at Tahuri-kohia south of Aotea.

Te Awaitaia's nephew Wi Waiti Otene described the boundary of the conquered thus:

The boundary of the original conquest commenced at Te Ana Puta on the sea coast, then takes an eastern direction till it reaches Hoho, a ridge at Karioi, then to Te Hutiwai, then to Pokarangi north east, then Ngaiwiturua, then south to Parauwa, then to Whakamaru, then to Kaikai, then to Hihi, then to Pakoka, then to Te Matau, then to Puketoa, then to Te Hera on the Aotea harbour, then to a sand bank in the harbour called Te Hinetapu, then to another sandbank Pipitea, then follows the harbour seaward to another sandbank called Teterini, then to mainland on the south side to a point called Te Tuhi a te Wehi, then to Waitetuna, then to Kaipapaka, then west to Raukumara, then north following the coast, then crosses the Aotea harbour to Te Ana Puta the starting point. This is the country that formerly belonged to the conquered people. Some of this land on the north side has been sold to the Government by the late Te Awaitaia. The country north of this land is the Whaingaroa district; to the east belongs to Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Reko and other hapū by right of ancestry.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Haeata Maahanga, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 33.

¹⁷¹ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 23 August 1886, pp. 170-171.

¹⁷² Wi Waiti Otene, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 18 March 1887, pp. 48-49.

He explained that the boundary from Kaipapaka to Raukumara was one arranged by the people shortly before 1887 but the old boundary of the conquered country had extended far beyond it to the south as far as Te Kakara, Kawhia.

2.5.1.2 Te Pumatoto – War at Aotea and Whaingaroa

Tohe was Kuku's first-born and Ngāti Tohe was the hapū of his son Te Wharetapuke. Te Pumatoto was his grandson and one of the principal leaders in the war at Aotea-Whaingaroa. Te Aopouri (Ngāti Kuku) thought that Te Pumatoto led the invasion of Whaingaroa shortly before Te Awaitaia fought Te Rauparaha.¹⁷³ Te Aopouri said that in the lead up to the battle at Huripopo, Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Toa (Kawharu's people) killed a kuia of Ngāti Maahanga called Te Rangi-ka-piu-a to provoke hostilities with Ngāti Tama-inu-po. She lived in a pā called Pā-pahi-ahi at the mouth of the Waitetuna Stream. Ngāti Tama-inu-po sought help from Ngāti Maahanga to avenge her death so a war party set out from Moerangi. Ngāti Maahanga taua have comprised 140 warriors since the first battle in Tonganui's time.

The southeast end of Whaingaroa from Okete northeast to Huripopo was Maahanga country that Ngāti Koata tried to take. Ngāti Koata land was west of Huripopo. The chiefs of Ngāti Koata were Huia and Toto, the great grandsons of Ngāti Koata's rangatira Kawharu and his Ngāti Toa wife Waikauri. Te Pumatoto, Te Awaitaia's father Te Kata, and Te Karahi, son of Uehoka II overcame them.¹⁷⁴ Ngāti Koata fled to Kawhia and Ngāti Koata's land at Whaingaroa was taken in conquest.

Te Awarutu Samuels gave testimony to the Waitangi Tribunal at its Nga Korero Tuku Iho hearings in 2010 in which he recounted how Te Pumatoto got his name. Te Pumatoto's birth name was Tapa-a-tai but after Whaingaroa, Ngāti Koata called him Te Pumatoto, 'the fount of bloodshed'.¹⁷⁵

Te Awaitaia's son Wi Nero and nephew Wi Waiti Otene said that Mori was killed at Motu-kotuku, Manuaitu and his people fled to the other side where Rangipotiki was living.

¹⁷³ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, p. 41.

¹⁷⁴ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 4 October 1909, p. 48.

¹⁷⁵ Te Awarutu Samuels, oral submission on behalf of Ngāti Maahanga (Wai 898), third hearing, 13 April 2010; verified in personal communication 18 March 2012.

Te Aopouri related that Te Punatoto settled at Horo-kiokio and went from there to fight Rangipotiki at Manuaitu. Te Punatoto died after those battles, which were before the Matakītaki battle c1821, but Ngāti Maahanga continued to live at Horo-kiokio after Matakītaki. Rore Erueti (Ngāti Kuku) said that Te Punatoto was buried at Mahinui.¹⁷⁶

2.5.1.3 *Ngāti Paratai, Ngāti Naenae, Ngāti Parewai*

Besides Ngāti Kuku and Ngāti Peke, other hapū associated with Kieraunui came from Kuku's first cousin Te Whatu, who lived in the Aotea and Moerangi area. Paratai was Maahanga's first wife and Ngāti Paratai represented descendants of the intermarriage between her oldest and youngest sons Kieraunui and Ruateatea. Ngāti Naenae was from a sibling branch of descendants who had intermarried.¹⁷⁷ Naenae was Maahanga's sister. Parewai was Te Whatu's granddaughter who married Kuku's grandson Ngai.

Ngāti Paratai and Ngāti Naenae were connected to Ngāti Te Ata, a hapū from Te Puaha o Waikato, under the rangatira Te Whiti (Ngāti Tarao) and Kaihau (Ngāti Kahukoka). They were also part of the Whare Kahui Ariki.¹⁷⁸ Te Hiakai was a rangatira of Ngāti Paratai, his mother's people, as well as first cousin to Potatau's father, Te Rauanga-anga. Likewise, Potatau's first cousin Paratene Te Maioha married Ramari of Ngāti Paratai. Te Rauanga-anga's wife Parengaope II was Ngāti Naenae and Ngāti Koura, Mahuta's niece.

One of Peke's descendants, Tiatia, married Te Whiti. Kaihau married Ramari Te Maioha's sister Paneke from Ngāti Naenae. They were part of the Waikato Confederation's war at Kawhia from around 1810 and lived together along the Waipa River and on Ngāti Maahanga's utu land at Aotea, Manuaitu, and Kawhia after the conquest.

Naenae's people had lived with Ngāti Maahanga since Maahanga's time. Three of her four sons were killed in battle with Tonganui at Manuaitu during the Aotea war. Her

¹⁷⁶ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 16 October 1909, p. 100.

¹⁷⁷ Whakamarumarū Te Tawhana, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 8 April 1910, p. 348; Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 8 April 1910, p. 353.

¹⁷⁸ Whare Kahui Ariki (Royal House).

fourth son, Terewai (also called Mahuteriwai) was imprisoned at Manuaitu pā. Aperahama Patene (Ngāti Hōurua) gave this account:

He was sent to a spring below the pā for water and was lowered by a rope from the pā; but in place of getting the water he cut the rope, fastened it to a tree, and made his escape. The tree is called to this day Heretutukutu.¹⁷⁹

Terewai eventually married Moetini, the granddaughter of Maahanga's son Tupana. Moetini was also the great granddaughter of Mango, ancestor for Ngāti Toa. Terewai and Moetini were associated with the Kahui Ariki through their daughter Rawharangi; so was Ngāti Te Ata's ancestor. Both Rawharangi and Te Ata married Tapaue, Mahuta's grandson (see the section on Atutahi).

Te Haeata Maahanga was a witness in the Manuaitu hearings and his brother Te Kie Raunui was a witness in the Te Rape and Moerangi hearings. Their mother, Rangituia, was Ngāti Paratai and she married Pikia, the son of Hikairo II (ancestor for Ngāti Hikairo). They lived at Aotea – Ruapuke, Makaka, Te Awaawaroa, Te Pahi – and Tipoka at Te Rape. Tangata-iti Maru (Ngāti Whare) said that in the fighting at Kawhia, Te Awaitaia confronted Raparapa at Te Kakara but Pikia killed him.¹⁸⁰ The elders of the time decided that Te Awaitaia should be credited with the killing. The incident became known as his first major victory.

Tangata-iti Maru, Te Aopouri, and Toro Te Whiti traced the two sisters, Ramari and Paneke, who were Ngāti Paratai and Ngāti Naenae respectively. Ramari married Paratene Te Maioha, Potatau's first cousin. Paneke married Kaihau of Ngāti Te Ata and adopted her older sister's name after Ramari died. Their son Ahipene was a claimant in the Manuaitu hearings. Kamanomano Mahu (Ngāti Reko) said that Kaihau lived at Te Kakara before the fight at Matakītaki, then Maukutea. He left for Manukau in 1840. His son Ahipene lived at Maukutea and Mangakowhai (near Whatawhata) after the fighting at Kawhia.¹⁸¹

Remana Nutana (Taranaki) had lived with Tainui hapū since childhood and married into Ngāti Koata (Kawharu's hapū). He said that Ramari lived at Purakau and Horo-

¹⁷⁹ Aperahama Patene, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 28.

¹⁸⁰ Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 3 December 1909, p. 21.

¹⁸¹ Kamanomano Mahu, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 6 December 1909, p. 30.

kiokio but Ngapuhi captured her at Matakītaki. She escaped while Ngapuhi were returning home and rejoined her husband Paratene.¹⁸² Their son, Patara Te Tuhi, represented Potatau when discussions about a King first arose. He was the Editor for *Te Hookioi Rere Atu Na*, the Kiingitanga newspaper at Ngaruawahia, from 1861 and was Kiingi Tawhiao's Secretary and adviser on their visit to England in 1884.¹⁸³ He was still living in 1910.

Ramari's sister Paneke and Kaihau had a grandson, Henare Kaihau, who was Western Māori MP 1896-1911.¹⁸⁴ Another of Kaihau's grandsons, Paekau Kaihau, added that Kaihau's son Henare Toetoe lived with Te Awaitaia at Whaingaroa after the colonial war.¹⁸⁵ Toetoe was one of the men to travel to Austria and return with a printing press for the Kiingitanga.¹⁸⁶

Toro Te Whiti said that his mother Tiatia (Ngāti Peke) was raised and lived at Te Kaha-raumati, Pirongia. She already had a son, Iraia, when she married Te Whiti.¹⁸⁷ Iraia was born at Oteohu; Aotea; Te Toro was born at Te Kaha-raumati. According to Iraia, Ngāti Te Ata lived at Oteohu for 31 years.¹⁸⁸ Ngāti Peke lived at Te Pakihi and Puketutu in Maahanga country as well as Puriri and Te Puha at Te Puha o Waikato. Another section of Ngāti Tarao lived with Ngāti Kuku at Puketutu, a pā at the Waitetuna river mouth, and Patatoto (Pirongia), Mahinui, and Te Kaha-raumati.¹⁸⁹

Pouwharetapu Te Kewene (Tainui) told of being captured at Rangiriri. He said Te Whiti was another prisoner from Rangiriri.¹⁹⁰ Te Toro and his brother both fought in the war in 1863: Te Toro fought with Tawhiao at Waikato; Iraia fought alongside colonial troops at Waiuku. Te Toro's recollection of this time revolved around where he was in relation to Tawhiao.

¹⁸² Remana Nutana, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 1 March 1910, p. 240.

¹⁸³ Steven Oliver, 'Te Tuhi, Wiremu Patara - Biography', in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2010 <<http://www.teara.govt.nz/>> [accessed December 2011].

¹⁸⁴ 'Kaihau, Henare - Biography', in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2010 <<http://www.teara.govt.nz/>> [accessed December 2011].

¹⁸⁵ Paekau Kaihau, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 5 April 1910, p. 317.

¹⁸⁶ Paul Meredith, Rewi Nankivell and Robert Joseph, 'Ngāti Apakura Mana Tangata Scoping Report for a Ngāti Apakura Oral and Traditional History Project', Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2010.

¹⁸⁷ Toro Te Whiti, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 5 April 1910, pp. 312-313.

¹⁸⁸ Pouwharetapu Te Kewene, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 4 April 1910, pp. 306-308.

¹⁸⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 2 March 1910, p. 247.

¹⁹⁰ Pouwharetapu Te Kewene, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 4 April 1910, p. 306.

I was at Te Mano, Kawhia when Tawhiao was at Te Kuiti. When he was at Hikurangi [Kawhia], I was married to a woman of Ngāti Maahanga. We lived at Takapaunui and then followed Tawhiao to Hikurangi.... Iraia and I and others were digging gum at Waikato [Horahora] after Tawhiao's death.¹⁹¹

Tara-hawaiki recalled that, as a boy, his family and others of Ngāti Paratai lived at the mouth of the Ka-niwha-niwha Stream, Whakataki, and along the Waipa:

The elders went to Whakataki from Whatawhata with Potatau. I was taken with them. Whakataki was a general name.... After that, I went to Whaingaroa.¹⁹²

Whakamarumarū Te Tawhana related that Ngāti Naenae lived with Kaihau's section of Ngāti Te Ata, Ngāti Paratai, and Ngāti Whare. Elders of Whakamarumarū told him Ngāti Naenae had lived on the land until about the time Christianity was introduced. They lived at Horo-kiokio; Tiri-ki-popo and Manga-poari 'above' Whatawhata; Ngahina-pouri; Whakataki; Aramiro; and Rua-pueru. A large whare at Kihikihi called Hui Te Rangiora belonged to Ngāti Naenae and Ngāti Maniapoto.¹⁹³ Today, Hui Te Rangiora is a marae in Hamilton West, that is, the Ngāti Maahanga side of the city.

2.6 Tupana

Te Aopouri stated that Tupana, Kieraunui; and their descendants lived together in areas next to each other. Tai Rakena described the area in which Tupana and his children settled as that from the Waipa River inland to Waitetuna Stream and north to Atutahi's boundary.¹⁹⁴ All of this area was confiscated. Tupana was buried on this land at Te Karaka and later, his skull was given to Tawhiao and taken to Taupiri.

Tupana married three times and his descendants made intricate connections with descendants of his siblings thereby keeping the descent lines from Maahanga together, but Te Aopouri stated that there was no hapū called Ngāti Tupana of Ngāti Maahanga.¹⁹⁵ Land Court witnesses focussed on a single child from each marriage as shown in *Figure 7*. The descendants of each child had a significant role in the leadership lines of Ngāti Maahanga. Taraparauri, Tupana's son from his first wife,

¹⁹¹ Toro Te Whiti, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 5 April 1910, p. 316.

¹⁹² Hota Tara-hawaiki, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 2 April 1910, p. 318.

¹⁹³ Whakamarumarū Te Tawhana, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 8 April 1910, p. 350.

¹⁹⁴ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 126.

¹⁹⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 37.

connected Tupana to his brothers and sister Tukotuku, as discussed in the section on Kieraunui.

Tupana and his second wife Hinekino had a son, Wharangi, whose children married those of Maahanga’s sister Naenae, and Maahanga’s son Ruateatea. This branch from Tupana married into Ngāti Mango (the ancestor for Ngāti Toa); the family of Maahanga’s brother in-law Tikitiki; and the Kahui Ariki - the principal wives of Potatau, Tawhiao, and Kiingi Mahuta were all descendants of Tupana.

Tupana’s daughter with his third wife Makara was Tini, who married Mana-o-terangi, a descendant of Maahanga’s children, especially Tukotuku. He was associated most with their Ngāti Maniapoto connections because his father, Nga-ere married Heke-iterangi II of Maniapoto, and carved out a place for his family amongst Ngāti Maniapoto. The children of Mana-o-terangi and Tini branched into Ngāti Maniapoto-Ngāti Tamainu and Ngāti Maniapoto-Ngāti Mahuta lines. Tamainu II was a grandchild of the former branch; Te Rangi-kataua and Kiriwai (ancestor for Ngāti Kiriwai) were from the latter branch.

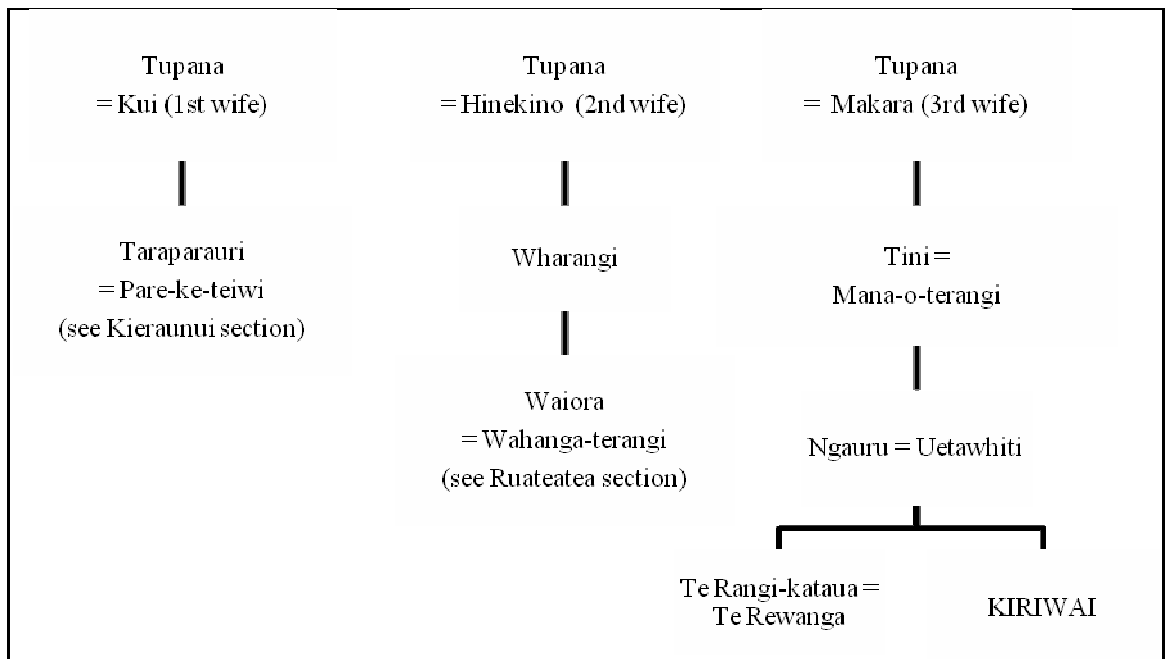


Figure 7 Ngāti Maahanga hapū from Tupana

2.6.1 Te Rangi-kataua and Kiriwai

The whakapapa that accompanies the waiata ‘He Tangi Mo Hiakai’ in *Nga Moteatea* showed that Te Rangi-kataua married Te Rewanga, a daughter of Te Kanawa I (Ngāti Maniapoto). Te Rangi-kataua’s granddaughter Te Riutoto composed the lament after her husband Hiakai (Ngāti Paratai) was killed in the battle at Okoki pā, Motunui against Te Rauparaha.¹⁹⁶ Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia (Ngāti Hōuru) placed Hiakai at the battle of Mori. Mohi Te Rongomau (Ngāti Hōuru) said that Hiakai led a Ngāti Mahuta contingent in the later battle at Taharoa in which Raparapa was killed (Te Awaitaia’s first major victory). Hiakai was in the battle at Whenuapo as well, which involved the Waikato Confederation. He tried to save a part of the besieged garrison – his mother’s Ngāti Apakura people - but they were destroyed.¹⁹⁷

Te Rangi-kataua composed a waiata aroha after his Ngāti Maniapoto in-laws asked him to leave his pregnant wife when their tribes began fighting. He is referred to as Ngāti Mahuta in the explanation that accompanies the waiata but Rawinia Manukau (Ngāti Kiriwai) referred to his branch as Ngāti Whare. The Ngāti Maahanga branch of Ngāti Whare lived around Mt. Pirongia and along the Waipa.

Te Pakuru a Te Rangi-kataua was a whare nui on the shore of the Waipa at Te Oneparepare, a cave of Tuheitia’s (that is, the taniwha Tuheitia) at Whatawhata. The story about the name is that Rangi-kataua played his flute or ‘te pakuru’ to call his people in from the river and cultivations along both sides of the river. Today, Te Pakuru a Te Rangi-kataua is the whare kai at Te Papa o Rotu Marae. Most of the Ngāti Kiriwai kāinga that Rawinia mentioned were in Maniapoto country from Whatiwhatihoe southward but they also lived at Te Makaka, Te Kopua, Te Awaroa, and Taharoa.¹⁹⁸

2.7 Tonganui

¹⁹⁶ Apirana Ngata, and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Nga Moteatea*, Auckland, 1959; 2004 repr. p. 230.

¹⁹⁷ Mohi Te Rongomau, *Otorohanga Minute Book*, 1, 24 August 1886, pp. 173-174.

¹⁹⁸ Rawinia Manukau, *Mercer Minute Book*, 14, 26 April 1910, p. 42.

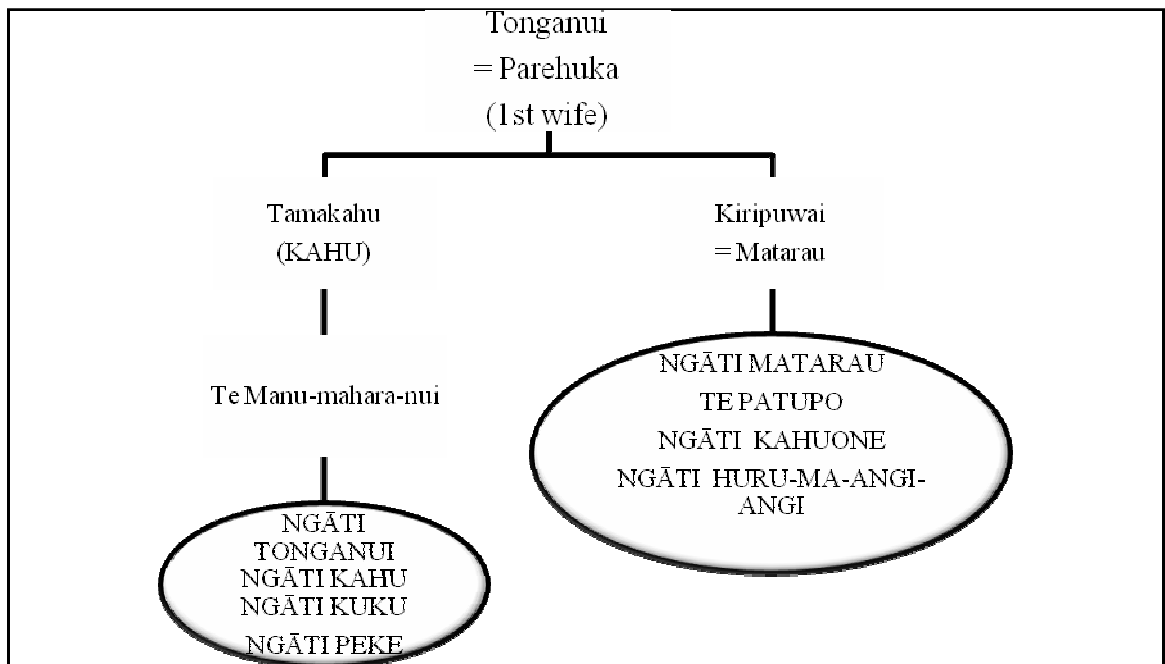


Figure 8 Ngāti Maahanga hapū from Tonganui

It is not surprising that this section is an account of Ngāti Maahanga's military engagements, for Tonganui was unquestionably the warrior of all of Maahanga's children and he and his younger brother Ruateatea took responsibility for defending the land. They lived together at Moerangi but Ruateatea also lived along the Waipa. Tonganui married twice and had five children. His eldest was Tamakahu (ancestor for Ngāti Kahu), who died with Tonganui in battle. Tonganui's daughter Kiripuwai married Matarau (ancestor for Ngāti Matarau). The hapū from Tamakahu and Kiripuwai are shown in the diagram above **Error! Reference source not found.**

Tonganui and his younger brother Ruateatea lived together at Moerangi, which included Te Rape to the east of Whaingaroa. Tai Rakena added that Te Rape and Te Aramiro were one land – Aramiro was a kāinga south of Te Rape on the west side of Waitetuna Stream. Tonganui also lived at Te Kauere, Wahatane, and Te Rua-pueru near Aramiro. His pā Te Tihi o Tonganui was on a hill between Waitetuna and Aotea. Ruateatea also lived at Ka-niwha-niwha, about four miles east of Te Kauere.¹⁹⁹

Te Aopouri's evidence showed that the Aotea war began from Tonganui's battle at Otu-nga-oko, which was an area to the south-west of Mt. Pirongia.²⁰⁰ Two of the pā to defend the land were Te Tihi o Tonganui, a log fenced pā on the summit of a hill in

¹⁹⁹ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 8, 10 July 1905, pp. 122-123.

²⁰⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, pp. 39-43.

Moerangi, and Te Pā-o-Makirehe. Makirehe was Tonganui's grandson. Tumua-kitahuna near Mt. Pirongia was another pā that belonged to Tonganui.²⁰¹

Tonganui had a bird-snaring totara tree north of Aotea Harbour near the Pukohu Stream called Huara-ra-tahi, which marked the boundary between Maahanga and Tu-iri-rangi lands. When Tu-iri-rangi's son Te Puhara-a-tainui felled the tree, Tonganui saw it as an attempt to take land and killed him. Te Puhara's companion was his uncle Pai-ariki, Tu-iri-rangi's half-brother. He fled to his people at Otu-nga-oko, so Tonganui followed and attacked them. When Tonganui fought the rangatira there, Karewa, his weapon, Te Aronui, was stuck in a tree and part of it broke off, remaining in the tree until modern times. This tree to the tree Huara-ra-tahi marked the boundary of the utu land.²⁰²

Te Aopouri related that Tonganui later invaded Manuaitu and took seven pā. Mohi Te Rongomau (Ngāti Hōurua) said the first was Mohiti then Puketoa and Herangi.²⁰³ Pouwharetapu Te Kewene (Tainui) named four of them as Tikiore, Upoko-tioa, Whakamaru, and Pekewharangi. When news of the attack reached a young man at Kawhia called Pakaue, he went to Manuaitu and waited. Tonganui set out from Te Tihi o Tonganui pā when he met his death. Once Tonganui reached Manuaitu, Pakaue and the people there met and defeated him. Tonganui's son, Tamakahu and the sons of Maahanga's sister Naenae - Tai-akiaki, Raupara, and Ngarue-i-tehotu - were killed too. His grandson, Manu-mahara-nui, and Maahanga's son Ruateatea held the mana and defended the land. The hapū name of Ngāti Tonganui began in the time of Manu's son, Tu-te-hokotahi, who lived at Te Tihi o Tonganui.²⁰⁴ Rore Erueti (Ngāti Kuku) said that Manu-mahara-nui was the first to be buried at Te Rape and Tu-te-hokotahi was buried on the same land at Moeteia.²⁰⁵

Te Aopouri said that Tonganui took the western part of Moerangi block – which Roka Hopere (Ngāti Whawhokia) called Matakowhai – but did not take Manuaitu. His descendants as well as those of Ruateatea and Naenae lived on the utu land from Huara-ra-tahi to Otu-nga-oko.

²⁰¹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 31.

²⁰² Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 31; Pouwharetapu Te Kewene, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 6 October 1909, p. 61.

²⁰³ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 23 August 1886, p.167.

²⁰⁴ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1-2 October 1909, pp. 31-32.

²⁰⁵ Rore Erueti, Mercer Minute Book, 8, 19 July 1905, p. 175.

The vanquished were descendants of the first cousins Tu-iri-rangi and Te Atai-orongo. Their great grandfather was Whatihua. Puhara-a-tainui was Tu-iri-rangi's son; Pai-ariki was his brother; and Pakaue was Tu-iri-rangi's great great grandson. Karewa was a descendant of Maahanga's brother in-law Tikitiki, who was from Te Atai-orongo. Karewa married Tu-iri-rangi's granddaughter. According to Aperahama Patene (Ngāti Hōurua), Pakaue married Maahanga's great granddaughter Koata sometime after the conquest and they lived at Kawhia.²⁰⁶ Their sons were Kawharu and Te Wehi, whose descendants became Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Te Wehi. The next major assault in the Aotea war involved them. They are discussed further in the following sections, as they are key people in Ngāti Maahanga's history.

Aperahama Patene (Ngāti Hōurua) said that Tu-iri-rangi's son Tuahu-mahina remained in place at Manuaitu.²⁰⁷ An inference from this whakapapa is that Tonganui was much older than the people with whom he fought.

2.7.1 The Ngāti Maahanga Hapū From Tonganui

2.7.1.1 Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Kuku

Te Aopouri's whakapapa evidence showed that descendants of three brothers - Korotu, Te Orahi, and Takatea (Ta-ka-atea) - chose these hapū names. Their father, Taiki, was a direct descendant of two of Tonganui's children, Tamakahu and Marae (Mara-e). The name Ngāti Kahu is derived from Tamakahu. Takatea's descendants were Ngāti Kahu and Te Orahi's descendants were Ngāti Tonganui. Ngāti Kuku, Ngāti Tonganui, and Ngāti Kahu were considered 'virtually one hapū under Ngāti Tonganui'.²⁰⁸ Rore Erueti (Ngāti Kuku) said that Taiki was killed in battle.

Te Aopouri attributed the hapū name Ngāti Kuku to the intermarriages of descendants of Tonganui and Kieraunui, particularly Korotu and Te Pumatoto. All of these rangatira – Te Pumatoto, Korotu, Te Orahi, and Takatea - led taua of Ngāti Maahanga in the war over Aotea around 1800. Te Orahi was with Te Pumatoto in the battle at Whaingaroa against Ngāti Koata rangatira Toto and Huia. Te Aopouri said that Korotu and his wife Poha were killed at Mangakowhai, a temporary kāinga on the Whatawhata side of a

²⁰⁶ Aperahama Patene, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 29.

²⁰⁷ Aperahama Patene, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 29.

²⁰⁸ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 25 February 1910, p. 211.

road that ran through the range dividing Whatawhata and Waitetuna. The road was called Tokehoho.²⁰⁹

Te Aopouri traced six generations of military leaders from Tonganui by showing the connection between Tonganui's line and that of Kieraunui's. Of those, four were considered extraordinary: 'the people had a saying; we must raise a chief to take the place of Tonganui and Te Aho-o-terangi'.²¹⁰ The chief in question was Te Pumatoto. Te Awaitaia followed in the next generation.

One of Te Pumatoto's grandsons was Hone Kingi Muriwhenua, who signed the same copy of the Treaty of Waitangi as Te Awaitaia.²¹¹ He was also the grandson of Uehoka III mentioned in the section on Kieraunui. Te Aopouri was another of Te Pumatoto's grandsons and a key witness in Land Court hearings at the turn of the 20th century. His nephew and whāngai was Rore Erueti, one of the best-known tribal elders of the 20th century. Rore was born at Te Rape in 1872 and was awarded an OBE in 1947 for his service to Māori.²¹²

The kāinga of the three hapū generally lay between the Waitetuna and Kati-kako Streams, and near the two streams in most cases. The majority of their kāinga were on land that was subsequently confiscated. Today, the names of most of their kāinga are the names of streams surrounding Aramiro.

Te Aopouri said that Te Orahi was buried at Ohine-tamatea before the colonial war at Waikato. Pourewa was buried at Te Papa, Waitetuna. Mokopuna of Te Pumatoto were buried at Mahinui and Te Karamu on the Waipa.

Tai Rakena related how the descendants of Tonganui and Ruateatea fought over Te Rape. Te Anga, a descendant of Maahanga's son Tupana, sought revenge for a curse that had been placed on him by Ngāti Tonganui. On one side was Tai's father Rakena; Te Haeata Maahanga and his son Tuheitia; Te Awaitaia's nephew Hemi Matini; and Haara, a descendant of Te Rangi-kataua (see the section on Tupana). On the other side

²⁰⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 25 February 1910, p. 215.

²¹⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 32.

²¹¹ 'Waikato-Manukau Treaty Copy - Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi', in NZ History Net (2006) <<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty-of-waitangi/>> [accessed December 2011].

²¹² Supplement to the London Gazette, 12 June 1947, p. 2608.

was Te Punatoto's son Te Waapu; Te Orahi's son Hakiaha; and Te Punatoto's granddaughter Waikaukau.

Te Anga and Ngāti Ruateatea went from Aramiro to the place at Te Rape where he had been cursed and cut down all of Ngāti Tonganui's trees during the night. When Ngāti Tonganui saw what had occurred they knew Ngāti Ruateatea were laying claim to the land and the two hapū fought. During the battle, Te Anga put his sign or 'te rape' on a tree and that is how the place got its name.²¹³

2.7.2 Ngāti Matarau, Te Patupo, Ngāti Kahuone

Tonganui's daughter Kiripuwai married Matarau (ancestor for Ngāti Matarau) and lived on Ngāti Maahanga's utu land for most part. Their great granddaughter was Kahuone (ancestor for Ngāti Kahuone). Te Awaitaia's wife Te Kohu was from Ngāti Kahuone. Kiripuwai and Matarau had a great grandson, Te Ehutu, who took part in the Battle at Tapu-ko-nako-nako against Ngāti Whare about 1835. One of his direct descendants, Te Awarua Rihari, recalled that Te Ehutu was buried at Manuaitu and Ngāti Matarau became known as Te Patupo.²¹⁴

In Te Aopouri's account, Tapu-ko-nako-nako was a Ngāti Maahanga kāinga at the foot of Mt. Pirongia on the eastern boundary of Moerangi block and was the site of the last major battle between Ngāti Maahanga and its adversaries. The invaders included Te Patupo, Ngāti Kahuone, Ngāti Huru-ma-angi-angi (descendants of Matarau's grandfather), Ngāti Te Wehi, Ngāti Hinetu, and Ngāti Apakura. Before the fight, Te Awaitaia asked his people to save the life of Te Ehutu.²¹⁵ Te Patupo and Ngāti Te Wehi had been allies of Ngāti Whare until this battle.

Tai Rakena said that the fight broke out over a slave woman who belonged to Taki of Te Patupo. Heruika (Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Whare) and Wharenikau (Ngāti Whare) were taking the woman away when Taki confronted them. Te Otene, the rangatira of Ngāti Whare, watched the argument, then shot Taki and killed him. Someone from Te Patupo shot Ngangaia in retaliation. Ngangaia (Ngāti Ruateatea) was a brother in-law to Te Awaitaia and Te Otene so Ngāti Hōrua, Ngāti Whare, and Ngāti Maahanga

²¹³ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 8, 10 July 1905, p. 122.

²¹⁴ Te Awarua Rihari, Mercer Minute Book, 14, 27 April 1910, p. 57.

²¹⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1-5 October 1909, pp. 32-33, 54.

attacked. The tōhunga Hurukuri and Tuheitia (both Ngāti Ruateatea) were related to both sides and eventually stopped the fighting: ‘Dead of both sides were placed together and were lamented and peace ensued. I think this was after the coming of Christianity’.²¹⁶ Te Aopouri stated that Te Ehutu was captured and released. When he left, he declared he would never return and had shut the door of his house.²¹⁷

Te Ehutu’s son Kiwa and granddaughter Pingareka lived at Te Mari, Makomako, and Te Kakawa. Te Awarua recalled that there was a mill at Te Mari. Pingareka died at Te Kuiti during the colonial war. Her bones were exhumed and taken to Taupiri.²¹⁸ Haeata Maahanga (Ngāti Taka) said that she was one of the rangatira to put a Wesleyan minister on a piece of land at Aotea, although he said she was Ngāti Te Wehi.²¹⁹ Pingareka was the last wife of Kawharu, rangatira for Ngāti Koata and Te Wehi’s brother.

2.8 Waitawake

Waitawake was the eldest daughter of Maahanga and his first wife, Paratai. Tai Rakena and Te Aopouri agreed that she married a Maniapoto man and lived there; she did not return.²²⁰ Tangata-iti Maru of Ngāti Whare gave this account after Kokako had Maahanga’s father Tuheitia killed:

Maahanga planned to avenge his father’s death so he gathered a large store of food. The leader of the women who went to gather the food was Tukotuku, Maahanga’s daughter. While so engaged she met Tamainu, son of Kokako. She took him for her husband. They returned to Purakau pā, which belonged to Hinetepei and Wharewaiata. Waitawake and Tukotuku quarrelled over Tamainu and the former left and went to Ngāti Maniapoto and married Pikirangi there.²²¹

The inference from Tangata-iti’s account is that Tukotuku’s marriage and Waitawake’s departure occurred before Maahanga married Hinetepei and Wharewaiata. Pikirangi was the grandson of Whatihua and Apakura.²²²

²¹⁶ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 129-130.

²¹⁷ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 54.

²¹⁸ Te Awarua Rihari, Mercer Minute Book, 14, 27 April 1910, p. 57.

²¹⁹ Haeata Maahanga, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 15 March 1887, p. 41.

²²⁰ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 127; Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 30 September 1909, p. 28.

²²¹ Tangataiti Maru, Mercer Minute Book 13, 1 December 1909, p. 6.

²²² Kamanomano Mahu, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 24 November 1909, p. 328.

2.8.1 Ngāti Hinetu and the Ngāti Apakura Connection

Ngāti Hinetu, Ngāti Rangimahora, and Ngāti Tukemata were all descendants of Waitawake's son Tu-tenga-ngana. Rangimahora was the granddaughter of Atutahi, Maahanga's youngest son. She married Te Manahanga (a.k.a. Te Wa-wahanga), Hinetu's grandson. Ngāti Hinetu, Ngāti Rangimahora, and Ngāti Tukemata came to be associated most as hapū of Ngāti Apakura. Their rangatira were involved with Tu-irirangi's people and Kawharu's people in the battles against Ngāti Maahanga. However, Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga went to their aid in the battle at Kaipaka.

In Tangata-iti's evidence, Kaipaka was a pā on the Mangapiko Stream near Te Awamutu in the Maungatautari district. The pā belonged to the descendants of Waitawake and Atutahi, Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Rangimahora. Ngāti Koroki attacked the pā and Te Waharoa led a Ngāti Haua contingent to support them. Te Awaitaia sent Ngāti Hōuru as a relief unit for Ngāti Hinetu and Ngāti Rangimahora. The Ngāti Maahanga branch of Ngāti Koroki (that is, Ngāti Kahurere) lived at a pā nearby but did not get involved in the fighting.²²³

2.9 Tukotuku

Tangata-iti Maru (Ngāti Whare) said that Tukotuku met Tama-inu-po while leading a party to gather the food needed for Maahanga's attack on Kokako, the man who arranged the death of Maahanga's father, Tuheitia.²²⁴ Mohi Te Rongomau (Ngāti Hōuru) said that Tama-inu-po was fleeing Kawhia after an indiscretion with his brother's wife. Maahanga's taua attacked Kokako at Te Puaha o Waikato and Kokako was wounded. Tama-inu-po helped Kokako to escape and tricked Maahanga into thinking that Kokako was dead. After Tama-inu-po's son Wairere was born, Maahanga asked Tama-inu-po about his father, who was expected to perform Wairere's christening. Tama-inu-po admitted that Kokako was his father and still alive. Peace was made after Kokako christened Wairere and removed the tapu.²²⁵

²²³ Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 7 April 1910, pp. 342-343.

²²⁴ Tangataiti Maru, Mercer Minute Book 13, 1 December 1909, p. 6.

²²⁵ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 23 August 1886, pp. 164-166.

Te Aopouri said that when Tukotuku married Tama-inu-po, Maahanga gave her land to the north. The boundary line was from the two trees called Nga Tokorua a Te Rawhatihoro standing near the Waipa River, ‘thence west to Parawai Stream thence down that stream till it joins Waitetuna Stream, a tidal stream. Tukotuku named the land on the north side of that boundary. Her descendants have occupied it ever since and have not attempted to occupy in the south of it’.²²⁶

2.9.1 Ngāti Tama-inu-po, Ngāti Wairere

Tukotuku’s descendants took the hapū name Ngāti Tama-inu-po. Her land was included in the confiscated territory but was reclaimed and given to Ngāti Tama-inu-po, Ngāti Kotara, and Ngāti Te Huaki. Wairere was the only child of Tukotuku and Tama-inu-po. Today, Ngāti Wairere is at Hukanui on the east side of the Waikato River. Wairere had five children with Hinemoa and the descendants from their eldest, Whenu, included Ngāti Kotara and Ngāti Te Huaki. The diagram below **Error! Reference source not found.** shows the hapū from Tukotuku.

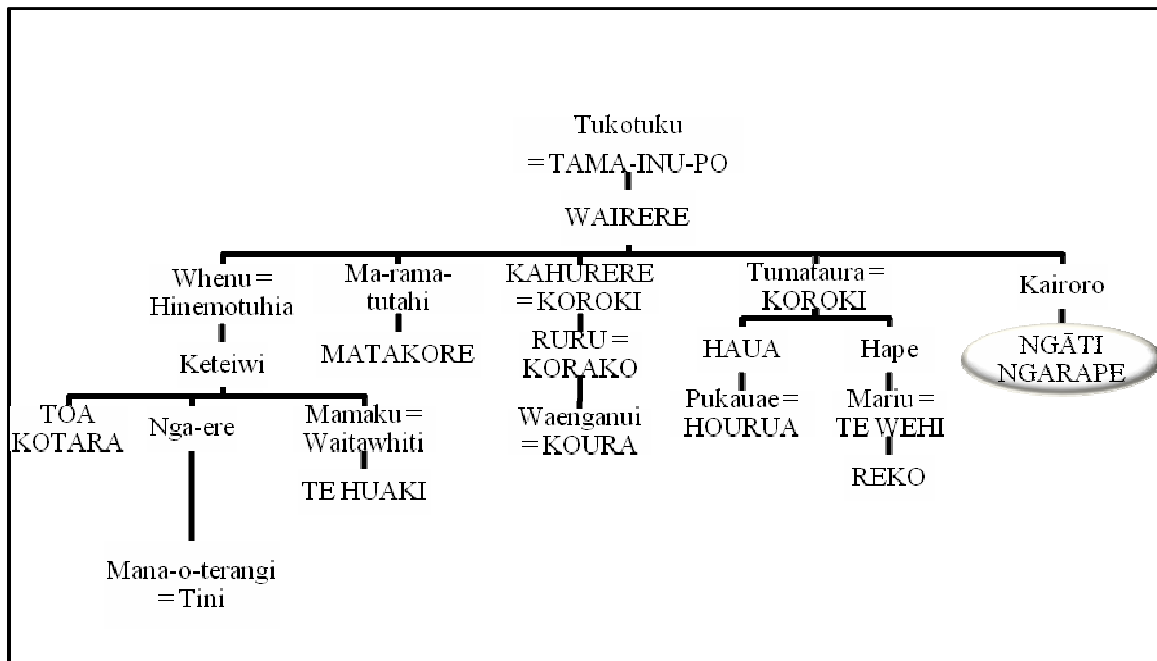


Figure 9 Hapū from Tukotuku and connections with Ngāti Koraki and Ngāti Haua

2.9.2 Ngāti Kotara, Ngāti Te Huaki

²²⁶ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 30 September 1909, p. 27.

Toa-kotara (the ancestor for Ngāti Kotara) married Mahara-ki-rangi, the daughter of Maahanga's son Ruateatea, but he had an affair with Koata, the granddaughter of Maahanga's son Atutahi. Koata had Kawharu, rangatira for Ngāti Koata.

Toa-kotara's brother Nga-ere was married to Koata when she had the affair and he left her when she became pregnant. Nga-ere married again to Heke-iterangi II and their descendants became branches of Ngāti Maniapoto. Their son Mana-o-terangi married Tupana's daughter Tini. Toa-kotara's other brother Mamaku married Ruateatea's daughter Waitawhiti and they had Te Huaki.

2.9.3 Ngāti Kahurere, Ngāti Koura, Ngāti Koroki

Wairere had five children with his second wife Tutekapua. The eldest Ma-rama-tutahi, married Mahuta's older sister Paretahuri. Their great granddaughter, Kiri-nga-ua, married Mahuta and their descendants were the Kahui Ariki line.

Two of Wairere's daughters were Kahurere, the ancestor for Ngāti Kahurere, and Tumataura, both of whom married Koroki, the ancestor for Ngāti Koroki. Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Te Wehi were descendants from Tumataura as shown in the diagram above **Error! Reference source not found.** Another daughter was Kairoro, whose descendants were Ngāti Ngarape and Ngāti Taka (discussed in the section on Ruateatea).

Ngāti Kahurere was a hapū name chosen to acknowledge the Ngāti Maahanga – Ngāti Koroki linkage. One of Kahurere's grandsons, Waenganui, married Koura, the ancestor for Ngāti Koura. Koura was the daughter of Paoa, Mahuta's brother. Hakopa Te Huia (Ngāti Koura) said that the ancestors of Ngāti Koura had their 'headquarters' at Hukanui and his branch from Koura's grandson Hotuma-uea was still there.²²⁷ Ngāti Koura and Ngāti Naenae inter-married and lived at Makomako, Moerangi.

2.10 Ruateatea

According to Te Aopouri, Ruateatea was living at Ka-niwaha-niwaha, a kāinga near the Waipa, when Tonganui died. He also lived in kāinga on the east side of Waitetuna Stream called Te Kaka o Ruateatea, Paiaka-keria, and Whakataki. Ruateatea was

²²⁷ Hakopa Te Huia, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 9 April 1910, p. 359.

buried at Te Kakau, the urupā at Ka-niwaha-niwaha His land was subsequently confiscated.²²⁸ Tai Rakena gave this account:

The Court has been told of the death of Tonganui at Manuaitu. Word was sent to Maahanga that all but two of his children were slain. Maahanga said to the messenger to tell Ruateatea to be strong in holding the land in future and not to wage wars away from it....

Te Kaka o Ruateatea is a range. Part of this is in the confiscated land. In this range grew a Totara of which a canoe was made. The stump of the tree is still there. This canoe was named Ruateatea. It afterwards was given to Ngāti Te Ata in exchange for sharks and so on. Ngāti Te Ata lived at Manukau. The canoe first belonged to Ngāti Ruateatea. The persons who made it were Hurukuri, Te Hara [Tai's grandfather], Pikia, father of Haeata Maahanga, and others....

There are two places in Moerangi named after Ruateatea; one is Te Pahu-a-Ruateatea (gong of Ruateatea), a rock. It makes a noise like a gong when the top is walked on; the rock oscillates. I have heard it was used to call the people together but I have not seen it. The other place is Te Kaka o Ruateatea.²²⁹

Ruateatea's first wife was Tu-iri-rangi's daughter, Parekino, and they had five children. Their eldest, Mahara-kirangi married Toa-kotara (ancestor for Ngāti Toa-kotara). Ruateatea's daughters became the ancestors for Ngāti Whawhakia and Ngāti Waiaranui. Tai Rakena mentioned the branch of tōhunga who took custody of Ngāti Maahanga's Hiahuroa, who were from Ruateatea's oldest son, Wahanga-terangi. The fifth child was Waitawhiti, who married twice: she had Te Huaki (ancestor for Ngāti Te Huaki) to Toa-kotara's brother Mamaku; and Te Uru-kahu-taraheke (ancestor for Ngāti Te Uru) to Tu-iri-rangi's son Ariari. *Figure 10* sets out the hapū from these key marriages.

²²⁸ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2-5 October 1909, pp. 40, 55.

²²⁹ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 129-130.

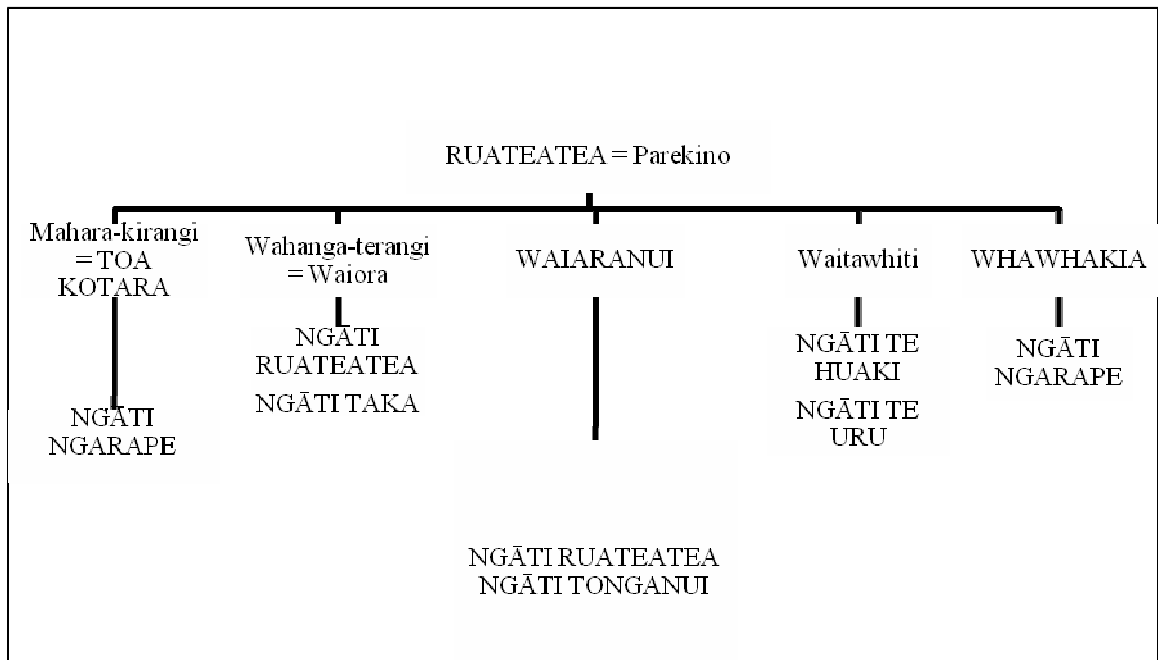


Figure 10 Hapū from Ruateatea

2.10.1 The Ngāti Maahanga Hapū From Ruateatea

2.10.1.1 Ngāti Ruateatea

Ngāti Ruateatea was the hapū name used to describe descendants of Ruateatea's son Wahanga-terangi. Te Aopouri stated that Ngāti Ruateatea occupied the east side of the Waitetuna from Whakataki, northeast of Moerangi, to Poukohatu. They were at Kaniwha-niwha before then. Purakau pā, the place of Maahanga's Hiahuroa, was at Kaniwha-niwha. Te Aopouri recalled that Ngāti Ruateatea also lived at the kāinga, Te Hapainga, with Ngāti Ngarape.²³⁰

Tai Rakena said that Wahanga-terangi had a kāinga on the south side of Orongo Stream called Te Rorekiore-a-Wahangaterangi, 'it still bears signs of occupation as the growth there is small as compared with surrounding timber. It is almost in middle of block (Maahanga land) adjacent to there this ancestor planted some flax'.²³¹ Wahanga-terangi's son, Te Tau-o-rangiriri, was the Tuahuroa after Ruateatea and his nephew Te Rangi-whaka-okonga was next. His nephew Te Rangi-whaka-ea was after him.²³² This Tuahuroa line took the hapū names Ngāti Taka under Te Haeta Maahanga and Ngāti Paratai under Te Haeta's brother, Te Kie Raunui. Te Haeta's son Tuheitia Maahanga

²³⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1-2 October 1909, pp. 30-31, 41.

²³¹ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 130.

²³² Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 14 October 1909, p. 128.

was the last Tuahuroa and died about 1882. Te Rangi-whaka-ea's descendants became Ngāti Ngarape after his daughter.

2.10.1.2 *Ngāti Waiaranui*

Tai Rakena was a descendant of Waiaranui. He stated:

Waiaranui lived permanently on this land. She did not go away anywhere. Her kāinga was Te Aramiro. She stayed at other kāinga on the block during winter. There is a Tohu at Aramiro called Te Makoe-a-Waiaranui. Makoe = Pipi shell the name is given to a pool where these shellfish grow. They were placed there in first instance. The fish is "Kaeo" shell "Makoe". There are no other Kaeo in Moerangi. This spot is known only to us. Waiaranui put the fish there. She died at Aramiro, was buried at Kakau, the main burial ground of Ngāti Maahanga, near Purakau.²³³

Three particular branches of Waiaranui's descendants were closely related to, or part of, the hapū living around Aotea. They were Te Rahui, Kahu-aute, and Raka. The descendants of Kahu-aute were Te Awaitaia's people. Raka and Te Rahui's descendants were Hauhau. Hamuhamu Te Putu (Ngāti Mahuta) was a relative to Tawhiao and spoke about two of the most distinctive characteristics of Ruateatea's descendants, spirituality and the Kiingitanga:

I have heard of Te Aramiro. Wallace was the missionary who brought Christianity to the district. It was then that Whakataki was first occupied by Ngāti Waiaranui, Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Parekino. Te Kaha-raumati was occupied at same time and Te Aramiro. The people came from Ka-niwaha-niwaha to those places.

Then Ngāti Waiaranui sent for their relations of the elder branch to remove the tapu from some place, I don't know which place, perhaps Aramiro. These persons sent for were Kiwakiwa, Hepata Turingenge, and Hakaraia Te Huaki and some others. They arrived at Te Aramiro. Ngāti Waiaranui asked the visitors to remain permanently and they did so i.e. at Aramiro. The two parties lived together and now the visitors are setting up a claim to the land.

When the Three Kings College was opened [1844 in Auckland] the people left the land and went to attend the College. Only the very old people were left. Hakaraia Te Huaki and Wiremu Patene, both elderly men, attended the College. Ngāti Maahanga who were living at Whakataki also went. Just before Waikato war broke out they all came

²³³ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 130.

back. Some of the people died while attending College and were buried at Waikowhai near Onehunga.

I knew Tai Rakena's father. Before the war I saw him living at Kaiparera. We all, including Rakena, went to Meremere from there. After the fall of Rangiriri all of us, including Rakena and Te Haeata, father of Pou Haeata, fled to Rangitoto. I speak of rebel Ngāti Maahanga. I was with them. We were compelled to leave through want of food. Ngāti Maahanga went to Harihari. They buried some 20 of their dead there and then moved to Pikupahia. Lived there about 4 years and then moved to Te Kauri within Rohe Potae. Then they split up into war parties; some went to Puniu, some to Whatawhata and afterwards to Te Rape.²³⁴

A young Pukeikura Pakaru was born around 1863 and lived at Aramiro by 1909. He spoke about growing up with Hauhauism:

I settled on the land in 1881. My wife planted apple and plum trees then. My parents were driven away by the troops from Whakataki, Kaniwha-niwha and Te Aramiro. My first recollections are of my parents and elders living at Harihari, south of Kawhia, then at Waikiekie, Hikupare, Te Kauri and then to Aramiro....

I was born at Harihari while my parents were retreating before the troops (in Rohepotae). I grew up in Hauhauism. I married an Aotea woman called Ngaone Parekino of Ngāti Kahuone. She is also of Ngāti Ruateatea. At the time of Tomotomowaka meeting in 1879 we were at Te Kauri. We were not living at Puniu during Tarawera eruption [1886]; we never lived there. I was at Whatawhata at time of eruption and afterwards returned to Aramiro.... When Tarawera eruption took place my wife was visiting Poutu her uncle at Aotea

Te Pakaru went from Whakataki to the war. I can only say that he lived there because it was very fertile. There was a proverb about the way potatoes grew there. No elders of mine took part in the sale of Wharauoa and Whaingaroa but that was because they were rebels....

Hurukuri [Pukeikura's Grandfather] was buried at Aotea. He left our kaingas on the approach of the troops and died at Aotea.²³⁵

Tai Rakena was born about 1860-61 and lived at Aramiro by 1909:

When the war (Waikato) broke out my people left these kaingas. They were afraid of the Pākehā, thought it unsafe to remain. The troops were within a mile or two at Hingakakariki. Heruika II and his wife were the

²³⁴ Hamuhamu Te Putu, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 12 November 1909, pp. 258-260.

²³⁵ Pukeikura, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 28-29 October 1909, pp. 168-177.

last to occupy. He was a policeman in government employ. Everyone else left. Heruika's wife was Waikaukau [Te Wharepuhi's parents].

After the fighting was over Heruika went to bring Ngāti Maahanga back onto their land. I recollect his coming to Harihari south of Kawhia for that purpose. He made a speech and my father just replied and sang a waiata....

In 1878 Te Haeata Maahanga came with his young people to Te Rape to live. I went there about two years afterwards. He had 2 kaingas there, Whakataki and Te Rape. He also had cultivations at Kaharaumati near Orongo stream on the block. This was in 1882. (Letter produced from Mr Dickey to Tamati Te Haeata, Waitetuna, Aotea 31 May 1882 agreeing to occupation at Whakataki in 1882.) In 1881, I with some others made a clearing at Aramiro in March of that year. My companions were Tipene Te Kawera, Te Whanake Te Rehu, Pukeikura, Hemi Matini, Te Tauorangiriri II. We were at work there about 2 weeks. At proper times clearings were burnt off and grain seed sown. The occupation during that and following years was not continuous as we came to Whatawhata at times.

Two years afterwards another clearing was made. Te Haeata's sons assisted viz. Pourewa Haeata, Tuheitia Haeata, also Kieraunui their uncle. Latter came only to visit us. He was living at Kawhia. Tipene Te Kewera and Te Whanake did not take part in the second clearing. I did not see Rore Erueti with Tipene at that time. At that time Pukeikura settled permanently on the land, made his home there. I used to go about to various places attending Tawhiao's meetings and so on. I fix the date as 1881 because my wife was confined at the time at Whatawhata and that confinement was on 13 March 1881.²³⁶

Tai Rakena recalled that Haeata Maahanga was their rangatira when the government sold Whakataki about 1892.²³⁷ The land was erroneously included in the confiscations. He remembered Tawhiao living at Moerangi proper, Aotea around 1880-81 for about three years, 'I lived at Puniu near Te Awamutu then. Before the war, my parents lived for three years at Onehunga. Both Te Rakena and Wi Patene did'.²³⁸

2.10.1.3 *Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Taka*

Ngarape was a descendant of Wahanga-terangi, Ruateatea's son. Her father was Rangi-whaka-ea, the fourth Tuahuroa from Ruateatea. Ngarape married Te Karihi at

²³⁶ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 132-133.

²³⁷ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 131-132.

²³⁸ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 28 October 1909, p. 167.

Manuwera (Moerangi), which became Ngāti Ngarape's principal kāinga.²³⁹ Te Karihi was the son of Takapuanga from whom the hapū name Ngāti Taka was derived. Te Karihi's great-grandson was Te Kata, Te Awaitaia's father.

The sons of Te Kata's brother Whaka-a-rangi were Te Tana, Hakopa Te Kotuku, and Hamiora Ngaropi, who chose the hapū name Ngāti Ngarape. They were some of the leadership of Ngāti Maahanga in Te Awaitaia's time and the kaumātua with whom Te Aopouri and Rore Erueti lived and learned the traditional history of the region. Their sister Pirihi was Te Awaitaia's wife and she had Wi Nero Te Awaitaia, who was a claimant in the Manuaitu hearings.

Hakopa Te Kotuku told Te Aopouri of the whare at Manuwera called Hui-pou-ngarongaro; that was the name of Ngāti Ngarape's kāinga. They lived at Te Hapainga, northeast of Waitetuna, with Ngāti Ruateatea and Ngāti Tonganui. Te Papa was another kāinga at Waitetuna that belonged to Ngāti Ngarape. There were some snaring trees at Okupu that Karihi named; Te Tana and others lived there. The place name was changed from Okupu to Manuwera after a storehouse accidentally burnt sometime after the birth of Te Tana's daughter, Raiha. Te Tana and his people left Manuwera and moved to Te Rape and Manuwera remained deserted from then on. Wharauoa, northeast of Manuwera, was sold by Te Tana and Hakopa Te Kotuku of Ngāti Ngarape and Hemi and Aperahama Karu of Ngāti Te Wehi after the remains of Mapihi, Karohia's wife, fell out of a tree and was eaten by animals.²⁴⁰ Raiha Te Tana spoke about her grandparents Karohia and Mapihi (Ngāti Whare), who lived at Ohine-tamatea.²⁴¹

2.10.1.4 *Ngāti Whawhakia*

In 1905, Remana Nutana (Taranaki) mentioned that the name Ngāti Whawhakia was a new hapū name.²⁴² Whawhakia's descendants took the hapū names Ngāti Whawhakia of Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Kuia-arangi of Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi of Tainui. Land Court witnesses Roka Hopere and her brother Karaka Tarawhiti were descendants. Roka Hopere said of her ancestors:

²³⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, pp. 36-37.

²⁴⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 30.

²⁴¹ Raiha Te Tana, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 3 December 1909, p. 183.

²⁴² Remana Nutana, Mercer Minute Book, 8, 8 August 1905, p. 209.

Ruateatea lived at Tipoka; his other home was near Te Aramiro. He thought he would visit his relatives in Waikato for Maahanga's mother was partly of Ngaiwi, so Ruateatea and his daughters Mahara-kirangi, Waitawhiti and Whawhokia went to Rauwhitu near Rangiriri, where he found his relatives and gave his daughter Whawhokia in marriage to Pakaraka. Ruateatea and his other two daughters then returned to Tipoka but the brothers were angry with their father for leaving their sister in Waikato, so Ruateatea fetched his daughter Whawhokia and her husband back to Tipoka.

And the place Whakataki was named because of his looking about there for his relatives. Whawhokia and her husband lived permanently at Whakataki and at another place called Whawhokia [Te Puna o Whawhokia?]. She died at that place.²⁴³

Nowadays, Ngāti Whawhokia is at Te Kauri and Kaitumutumu Marae near Huntly. The whare nui at Kaitumutumu is Ruateatea and the whare kai is Whawhokia.²⁴⁴

2.10.2 Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi

Maahanga and Tu-iri-rangi were both 12th generation descendants of Hoturoa but Maahanga's mana came from Hoturoa's great grandson Puhanga, while Tu-iri-rangi's mana came from Puhanga's brother Motai. Maahanga and Tu-iri-rangi were friendly neighbours and in their time of peace, their children inter-married. Tu-iri-rangi had three wives and 11 children and the family of each wife became associated with another major hapū in the Tai Hauaauru. Descendants of his first wife Kinohaku included Tukemata and Hikairo I from the Ngāti Maniapoto area east of Pirongia. Ariari and Tuahu-mahina II were from the second wife Maromuka and lived at Kawhia and Aotea. The family of his third wife Mamaua linked to Ngāti Ruateatea of Ngāti Maahanga.

Three key marriages, shown in *Figure 11*, were that of Maahanga's son Ruateatea to Tu-iri-rangi's daughter, Parekino; Ruateatea's daughter Waitawhiti to Tu-iri-rangi's son Ariari; and Maahanga's grandson Rangapu (Atutahi's son) to Ariari's granddaughter Whaearoa (a.k.a. Haeroa). The Aotea war drove Ariari and his people

²⁴³ Roka Hoopere, Mercer Minute Book, 8, 20 July 1905, pp. 184-185.

²⁴⁴ Te Kauri Marae, September 2008, <<http://www.naumaiplace.com>> [accessed December 2011].

from Moerangi to Kawhia and forced Ruateatea into an opposing position against his in-laws. On the other hand, Rangapu's whānau allied most with their Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi relations. Rangapu and his whānau are discussed further in the section on Atutahi.

2.11 Potaua

As mentioned previously, Maahanga married Hinetepei and her younger sister Wharewaiata. They were descendants of Te Atai-orongo, an ancestor from around Tuheitia's time (Maahanga's father) who became the taniwha at Whaingaroa. Te Atai-orongo and Tu-iri-rangi were descendants of Whatihua and first cousins. Maahanga's first wife Paratai was from Te Atai-orongo's older son Kaihu while Hinetepei, Wharewaiata, and their older brother Tikitiki were from Atai-orongo's younger son Tane Whetukura. Tangata-iti Maru gave this account of them:

At that time, Marae-o-Hine was noted for being a place where there was peace and no disputes. People all lived there as one people including those from West Coast. So Maahanga came here for peace. Tikitiki, Hinetepei, Wharewaiata, and many others lived there. Maahanga married Hinetepei and Wharewaiata; Atutahi by Wharewaiata and Potaua by Hinetepei were born to him there.²⁴⁵

Maahanga, Paratai, and their family were at Te Akau, north of Whaingaroa until Tuheitia died, after which they moved to Pirongia. Tai Rakena said that Maahanga lived with Paratai at Kaiparera and married Hinetepei and Wharewaiata after Paratai died. They lived together at Marae-o-Hine, about a quarter mile away from Kaiparera. Maahanga set the two kāinga apart for his wives.²⁴⁶ Tai Rakena said that:

The gift to Atutahi was the outcome of a quarrel between two of Maahanga's wives. Two sisters Hinetepei, Te Wharewaiata both married Maahanga. They had one child each. Hinetepei had Potaua and Wharewaiata had Atutahi. Being incensed by a refusal of Hinetepei to suckle Atutahi, Maahanga cut off land for the latter. No claim has ever been made through Potaua because it is well known that Maahanga discarded Hinetepei owing to this trouble.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 1 December 1909, p. 5.

²⁴⁶ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 28 October 1909, pp. 164-165.

²⁴⁷ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 126.

Potaua was named after Hinetepei's grandfather from Atai-orongo's line and Atutahi was named after Wharewaiata's father. Pukeikura related what became of Hinetepei and Potaua:

Potaua afterwards lived with Tikitiki, elder brother of Hinetepei... Potaua left descendants... some are still living. Piripi Otene is one and his brother Whakatau another. Potaua's descendants are called Ngāti Hinetepei.²⁴⁸

Te Otene chose the hapū name Ngāti Hinetepei, which was colloquialised to Ngāti Hine. He married Hemaima, Te Awaitaia's sister. Pouwharetau Te Kewene said that some time after the Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi battle at Rauiri, Ngāti Hine and others attacked Matatarawhare pā at Matawha and Waitapu was killed.²⁴⁹ Ngāti Hine lived with Ngāti Hōurua and Ngāti Whare but their general settlement was around Mt. Pirongia at Marae-o-Hine and Tapu-ko-nako-nako.

An earlier ancestor of Ngāti Hine was Pakaraka and he lived at Rauwhitu, the original name for Rangiriri. Karaka Tarawhiti (Ngāti Whawhokia) said that his pā was Panawaka at Lake Waikare near Rangiriri.²⁵⁰ Pakaraka married Whawhokia, a daughter of Ruateatea and they lived out their lives at Whakataki, Waipa. Their descendants lived at Rauwhitu as well as the Tai Hauaauru. For instance, their great grandsons, Karohia and Te Oro returned to Ngāti Maahanga from the Waikato. They were also known as Ngāti Ngarape. They lived with Te Awaitaia's people and led units in the war at Aotea and Whaingaroa. Te Oro's son was Waaka Te Ruki, one of Te Awaitaia's brothers in law.

2.11.1 Ngāti Kakati, Ngāti Ruamano, Ngāti Hore

These three hapū were descendants of Tikitiki, the brother of Maahanga's wives Hinetepei and Wharewaiata. Tikitiki married a descendant of Turongo - Tiramanuhiri was the daughter of Te Kanawa (Ngāti Maniapoto). Tikitiki's great grandson was

²⁴⁸ Pukeikura, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 28 October 1909, p. 172.

²⁴⁹ Pouwharetau Te Kewene, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 63.

²⁵⁰ Karaka Tarawhiti, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 10 December 1909, p. 68.

Hore, whose children were Haeroa, Ruamano, and Kakati II. They fought against Maahanga's son Tonganui at Otu-nga-oko during the Aotea war.

Hore's daughter Haeroa married twice - to her cousin Ruamano and Maahanga's grandson Rangapu. She had Karewa to Ruamano and Koata to Rangapu. These relationships are shown in *Figure 11*. They were all closely related to Tu-iri-rangi's son Te Ariari through whakapapa and marriage. Hore married Te Ariari's daughter Te Tauruki-ngaoho; Karewa married Ariari's daughter Hineorunga; and Koata married Ariari's great grandson Pakaue. Karewa fought Maahanga's son Tonganui at Otu-nga-oko and was killed; Tonganui fought Pakaue at a subsequent battle at Manuaitu and Tonganui was killed. Tu-iri-rangi's descendants then fought each other at Kawhia and Pakaue was killed.

Te Aopouri said that sometime after the battle against Tonganui, the people defeated at Aotea drove Kakati's people away. Ngāti Kakati were scattered across the land as far east as Haua country (east of the Waikato River). They helped Ngāti Maahanga in the Battle of Mori and then settled on part of the conquered land on the western side at Hiruharama and Aotea. Ngāti Kakati became known as Ngāti Te Wehi after the Battle of Mori but the name was revived during the Moerangi hearings to differentiate between the Maahanga, Tikitiki, and Tu-iri-rangi branches of Ngāti Te Wehi.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 52.

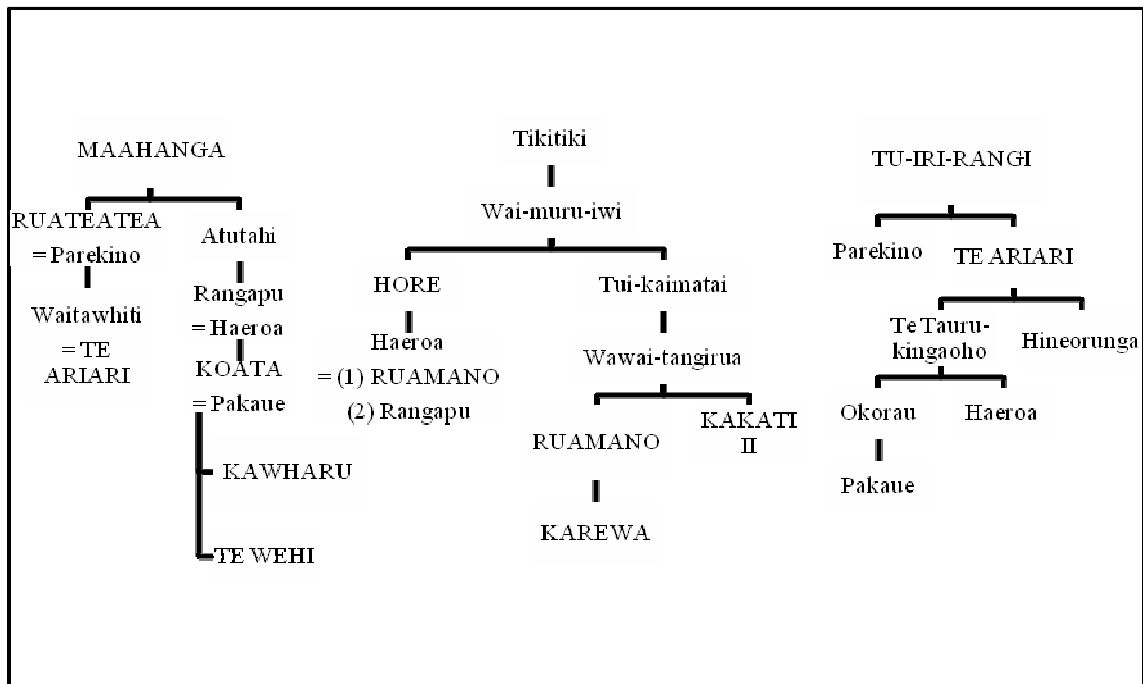


Figure 11 Inter-relationships between descendants of Maahanga, Tikitiki, and Tu-iri-rangi

2.12 Atutahi

Whereas Tupana kept all of the descent lines from Maahanga together and Ruateatea linked Ngāti Maahanga to the other hapū of the Tai Hauaauru, Atutahi connected Ngāti Maahanga to the leadership of Tainui waka. Ngāti Maahanga was the female (mothers and wives) half of many leadership descent lines. Whakapapa from Kauki Taurira (Ngāti Kakati) showed that Wharewaiata named Atutahi after her father. Tai Rakena said that Atutahi left his children in the Tai Hauaauru to accompany Maahanga to Hauraki and died there.²⁵²

Maahanga set aside land for Atutahi below Tukotuku’s boundary from Whaingaroa Harbour to the Waipa River. Te Aopouri gave the landmarks:

It commenced at Okete in Whaingaroa Harbour which I mentioned yesterday, running east to Ruakerikeri thence south to Putaua thence east again in a straight line to junction of Mangakuikui with Waitetuna Stream, following Mangakuikui Stream to Waikanapanapa Stream thence leaving the stream still easterly to the summit of the range at Pukewhakahu thence descending to Tawake Stream following that stream to its junction with Mangakowhai Stream, turning north to Tunaike, another stream, crossing that stream thence to Ngatokorua a Te Rawhatihoro thence along the boundary of Tukotuku’s land to the

²⁵² Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 20 October 1909, pp. 166.

west to Maunurima Stream thence to its junction with Waitetuna down that stream and along the Whaingaroa Harbour to Okete.²⁵³

Atutahi married Tiki-o-rereata, Mahuta's granddaughter and had four children.²⁵⁴ Their eldest child was Rangapu, who married Haeroa, a descendant of Maahanga's brother-in-law Tikitiki. The second son was Tarao, whose descendants married into Ngāti Te Ata. The youngest was Puakirangi, who married one of Mahuta's younger sons, Uerata. Their descendants became the hub for the leadership of Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Haua, the nexus that formed the Waikato Confederation of tribes.

2.12.1 The Waikato Iwi Connections

The marriages of Atutahi and his daughter, Puakirangi, to Mahuta's family were the most strategically influential unions since Maahanga's own marriage to three direct descendants of Whatihua. These unions locked the two lineages of Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Maahanga together. Te Aopouri stated that Mahuta had a large family that lived at Taupiri.²⁵⁵

Puakirangi and Uerata had four children: Rangihoto, Wharetipeti (a.k.a. Whare), Hōurua, and Tapaue. Tapaue married three times and the Kahui Ariki and Ngāti Te Ata were his descendants. Hōurua connected Ngāti Maahanga to Ngāti Haua through her marriage to Pukauae, the son of Haua. Whare had five wives and the descendants of eight of his children married descendants of Maahanga, cementing connections between Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Mahuta.

2.12.1.1 *The Kahui Ariki and Kiingitanga*

From the mid-1800s, all hapū that supported the Kiingitanga connected their whakapapa to the Kahui Ariki, the 'royal' line. In doing so, hapū added their collective strength and commitment to the kaupapa of unity in resisting colonisation and regaining their lands after confiscation. The whakapapa connections were made to the ancestors of Mahuta and/or the wives and children of the Kings.

²⁵³ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 38.

²⁵⁴ Kamanomano Mahu, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 24 November 1909, p. 328.

²⁵⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 52.

The matter was more about the whakapapa itself for Ngāti Maahanga since there were intermarriages at almost every generation from the ancestor Mahuta to Kiingi Mahuta, as shown in the diagram below **Error! Reference source not found.** Tapaue's marriage to Rawharangi, a great granddaughter of Maahanga's son Tupana, produced the Kahui Ariki and for this reason, he is Ngāti Mahuta more than he is Ngāti Maahanga.

MAHUTA	= Kiringaua of Tukotuku
Uerata	= Puakirangi of Atutahi
Tapaue	= Rawharangi of Tupana
Te Putu	= Pare-uatawhiti of Whare
Tawhiakiterangi	= Te Ata-i-rangikaahu
Tuata	= Kahurangi of Hōurua
Te Rauangaanga	= Parengaope II of Rangapu
Potatau	= Whakauri of Tapaue and Rawharangi
Tawhiao	= Hera of Tupana and Waitawake
Mahuta	= Marae of Hōurua and Tapaue

Figure 12 Intermarital connections between Ngāti Maahanga and the Kahui Ariki

2.12.1.2 The Ngāti Haua Connections

Ngāti Maahanga wove intricate links with Ngāti Haua through Maahanga's daughter Tukotuku as well as Atutahi, as shown in the diagram below **Error! Reference source not found.** Haua's parents were Koroki and Tumataura, Tukotuku's granddaughter. In addition, Haua's brother Hape had Mariu, who married Atutahi's great grandson Te Wehi.

KOROKI	= Tumataura of Tukotuku
HAUA	
Pukauae	= HOURUA of Atutahi
	16 Te Aho-o-terangi
	17 Muriwhenua
	18 Pohepohe
Te Waharoa of HAUA	= 19 Wikitoria

Figure 13 The connections between Maahanga and Haua

Two key intermarriages were through Atutahi's granddaughter, Hōurua, who married Pukauae, Haua's son; and Te Awaitaia's cousin Wikitoria who married Te Waharoa, also known as Tamehana Tarapipipi. He was a direct descendant of Haua and the

principal rangatira for Ngāti Haua from the early-1800s.²⁵⁶ Both Te Waharoa and Te Awaitaia died in 1866.

2.12.1.3 *The Ngāti Te Ata Connections*

The Ngāti Te Ata ancestor Te Ata-i-rehia married Tapaue of the Kahui Ariki and their son Te Niho married Kahukoka. She was a descendant of Te Wehi and the ancestor for Ngāti Kahukoka. Kahukoka's daughter, Te Kuru married Hikataua, a descendant of Tara-o, Atutahi's son. Their grandson Te Whiti was the rangatira for Ngāti Tara-o. Kahukoka's son was Te Awa and his grandson was Kaihau, the rangatira for Ngāti Kahukoka. Te Whiti and Kaihau married descendants of Kieraunui (Maahanga's oldest son) from the hapū Ngāti Peke, Ngāti Naenae and Ngāti Paratai.

The five hapū were part of Potatau's taua and Ngāti Maahanga's settlement on the utu land at Aotea and Kawhia after the Aotea war. At least four of the nine Ngāti Te Ata rangatira to sign the same copy of the Treaty of Waitangi as Te Awaitaia, belonged to these hapū: the brothers Maikuku and Aperahama (descendants of Hōurua), as well as Wairaka and Te Tawha, Kaihau's siblings. Kaihau left the Tai Hauaauru in 1840 and moved to Manukau. The hapū travelled between the Tai Hauaauru and Te Puaha o Waikato and became some of the earliest hapū to support the Kiingitanga and the kingship of Potatau and Tawhiao.

2.12.2 **The Ngāti Maahanga Hapū From Atutahi**

2.12.2.1 *Ngāti Hōurua, Ngāti Whare*

Hōurua and Pukauae had six children as shown in the diagram below **Error! Reference source not found.** Te Umu-ki-whakatane married twice and had five children. Descendants of the children from his wife Kiriuka became Ngāti Paratai and Ngāti Pukauae (a hapū of Ngāti Haua). The two children from his second wife Parengaope were Whaka-maru-rangi and Parore, whose great grandson was Rangipotiki. The death of Rangipotiki marked the final conquest of Aotea.

Hōurua's second eldest Pokohuia married Paoarangi, Whare's son and their descendants were Ngāti Whare. Te Moko married Tumu and their grandson was

²⁵⁶ Rangikaumoana Hakopa, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 24 February 1910, p. 206.

Hikairo II, the ancestor for Ngāti Hikairo. Taiko was the second youngest and the youngest, Rahunga, married Peke, the ancestor for Ngāti Peke.

Hōurua’s son Te Aho-o-terangi featured throughout Ngāti Maahanga’s history, as the progenitor of Ngāti Hōurua and as the ancestor for much of Ngāti Maahanga’s leadership. He married twice, to his older brother’s widow Parengaope and to Te Rawhatihoro, a great granddaughter of Maahanga. Te Aho-o-terangi and Parengaope’s four children were Rangimahora (ancestor for Ngāti Rangimahora), who married Te Manahanga of Ngāti Apakura; Riria-rangawhenua, killed in battle after Tonganui’s death; Muriwhenua, whose branch married the leadership of Ngāti Haua; and Waitarere (ancestor for Ngāti Waitarere). Te Aho-o-terangi and Te Rawhatihoro had two children: Poroaki, the main Ngāti Hōurua descent line, and Raumako, who shared her son, Pohepohe, with her half-brother Muriwhenua. Pohepohe’s daughter Wikitoria married Te Waharoa. Pohepohe also signed the same copy of the Treaty of Waitangi as Te Awaitaia.²⁵⁷

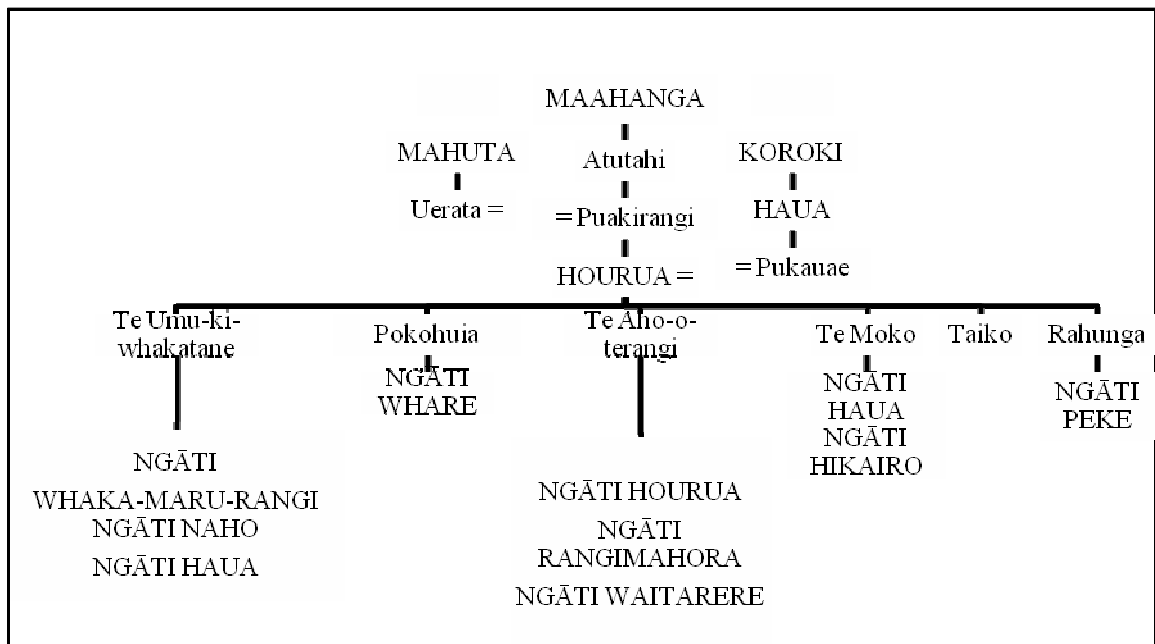


Figure 14 Hapū from the children of Hōurua

Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia (Ngāti Hōurua) said that after Maahanga’s son Tonganui died, Te Aho-o-terangi’s son Riria-rangawhenua was killed by the same people. Te Aho-o-terangi determined to avenge them and marched with a war party to Motungaio pā at Kawhia, which he captured. Kawharu’s people were there. Te Aho-o-terangi and

²⁵⁷ 'Waikato-Manukau Treaty Copy - Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZ History Net*, 2006.

his party were annihilated when they moved to Te Rauparaha's Kaipapaka pā.²⁵⁸ Mohi Te Rongomau added that he set out from 'Hamilton'.²⁵⁹ Hapeta gave grisly details of the defilement of Te Aho-o-terangi's body, which was taken to Manuaitu from Kawhia. That act was so deeply offensive that it united Te Aho-o-terangi's whānau - that is, the leadership from Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Haua - in what became known as the Waikato Confederation of tribes, which was simply called Waikato by the late 1800s. Hapeta Te Waaka (Ngāti Whare) explained that Manuaitu held special significance for Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hōuruia because Te Aho-o-terangi's remains were taken from Kawhia and eaten there, so Te Awaitaia put up landmarks: 'there was a previous determination of those chiefs to stick to that place, which had special reference to the killing of Te Aho-o-terangi'.²⁶⁰

In Te Aopouri's whakapapa evidence, Te Awaitaia chose Ngāti Hōuruia and his sister Hemaima (a.k.a. Rangitara) took Ngāti Whare emphasising the brother-sister relationship of Whare and Hōuruia. They were also descendants of both Hōuruia and Whare. Hemaima's husband Te Otene was the rangatira for Ngāti Hinetepei. Their son, Hetaraka, was Te Awaitaia's successor and was known as Te Awaitaia II until his death in 1873. Te Aopouri stated that,

Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hōuruia lived together in ancestral times on this land but not in recent times. From Pumatoto's time, they began to separate within Maahanga's land.... Ngāti Hōuruia would not be mentioned in more or other matters as distinct from Ngāti Maahanga... Both hapū names were extensively used at the time of the Rangipotiki battle.... The name Ngāti Hōuruia came into general use about the time of Waikato war, before that all were called Ngāti Maahanga. That war was after the fighting with Rangipotiki.²⁶¹

Ngāti Maahanga was fighting on two fronts during this time with Te Pumatoto at Aotea and Te Awaitaia at Kawhia. Te Aopouri placed Ngāti Hōuruia and Ngāti Whare settlements on the east side of the Waitetuna at Te Kaha-raumati, Paiaka-keria, Ohine-tamatea, Whakataki, Orongo, Ka-niwha-niwha, Poukohatu, Mahinui, Tapu-ko-nako-

²⁵⁸ Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 19 March 1887, pp. 56-57.

²⁵⁹ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 25 August 1886, p. 181.

²⁶⁰ Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 22 March 1887, p. 77.

²⁶¹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 4 October 1909, pp. 43-45.

nako, Harapepe, and along the Waipa River at Horo-kiokio, Kaiparera, Te Marae-o-Hine and Te Horo.²⁶²

Toea Nikorima, Te Awaitaia's granddaughter, recalled that she lived with her mother and grandfather at Poukohatu before Potatau was made King. Te Awaitaia lived at Kaniwha-niwha, Te Rape, Whaingaroa, Whakataki, Kaha-raumati, and Paiakakeria. He lived at Raglan and Te Rape during the colonial war. Her mother (also called Toea), was buried at Puketutu; Te Awaitaia's wife Te Kohu was buried at Te Kakau; and Te Awaitaia's mother Purehina was buried at Tapu-ko-nako-nako. Te Awaitaia became ill when he went to Kawhia with Sir George Grey. He was taken to Whaingaroa where he died. Toea said Ohiapopoko, Takapaunui, Puketutu, Te Rape, and Karamu 201 were the kāinga of her elders.²⁶³

Rangikaumoana Hakopa (Ngāti Kahu) traced the descendants from the marriages of Te Awaitaia's sisters Hemaima to Te Otene and Irihapeti to Waaka Te Ruki. He recalled that, in addition to the kāinga Te Aopouri mentioned, they lived along the Waipa at Koromatua. Some of the younger people lived at Te Rape by 1910. Te Horo was an ancient kāinga of theirs and Poukohatu was a kāinga of theirs before the war. They left all these places during the war. Puketutu pā, Ohia-po-poko, and Takapau-nui were their kāinga as well. Many lived at Whatawhata by 1910. Peehi-houkura and Te-i-eia at Whatawhata and Tuhi-karamea on the west side of the Waikato River were their chief kāinga. Hikurangi (Karamu Lot 201) was partly owned by Ngāti Hōurua and partly owned by Ngāti Whare.²⁶⁴ Te Papa o Rotu marae is situated on Hikurangi today along with Ruamakamaka urupā and is slightly beyond Atutahi's traditional boundary of Tunaekē Stream. Te Aopouri stated that the land blocks Karamu 173 and 201 are within Atutahi's boundary because the government gave the land back.²⁶⁵

Tangata-iti Maru (Ngāti Whare) was born about 1848 at Te Makaka, Aotea and lived at Whatawhata by 1909. His father was buried at Whaingaroa and his mother at Te-i-eia, Whatawhata. His grandfather Karoro was buried at Peehi-houkura, Whatawhata. Ngāti Whare was a hapū that Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Mahuta shared. Rangatira of

²⁶² Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 24 February 1910, pp. 207-208.

²⁶³ Toea Te Awaitaia, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 23 February 1910, pp. 193-194.

²⁶⁴ Rangikaumoana Hakopa, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 24 February 1910, pp. 205-207.

²⁶⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 4 October 1909, p. 50.

Ngāti Whare included Te Awaitaia's brother in-law Waaka Te Ruki and Hone Waitere, one of the ancestors of the whānau at Te Papatapu Marae, Aotea.²⁶⁶

2.12.2.2 *Ngāti Whaka-maru-rangi, Ngāti Naho, Ngāti Hikairo*

Descendants from Hōurua included two people called Whaka-maru-rangi and three known as Muriwhenua, who lived around the same time (shown in the diagram below **Error! Reference source not found.**). Their life stories appear to have been mixed up in Land Court testimony.

Whaka-maru-rangi of Ngāti Haua was Hōurua's grandson from Te Umu-ki-whakatane and Parengaope Te Kanawa. After Te Umu-ki-whakatane died, Parengaope married Umu's younger brother Te Aho-o-terangi and they had Muriwhenua. Te Aho-o-terangi's descendants were Ngāti Hōurua. Muriwhenua's granddaughter Wikitoria married Te Waharoa as discussed in the section on Ngāti Haua. Haeata Maahanga said that Te Awaitaia supervised Ngāti Maahanga's settlement at Whaingaroa and Aotea and soon after, Hiakai (Ngāti Paratai) and Muriwhenua went especially to Whenuapo pā, Kawhia during the war there to bring away Kawharu's people (Ngāti Motemote, Ngāti Whangaparaoa) and other hapū to settle them at Manga-ohia, Waipa as a peace making gesture.²⁶⁷ Mohi Te Rongomau said that Te Awaitaia sent some of Ngāti Hōurua and Ngāti Maahanga to escort them to safety and protect them from the Waikato pursuers and 100 left the pā safely.²⁶⁸

Whaka-maru-rangi married into the leadership of the hapū from Mahuta and his brother Paoa (ancestor of Ngāti Paoa). Paoa's daughter was Tipa (ancestor of Ngāti Tipa) and granddaughter was Naho (ancestor of Ngāti Naho). Naho married Te Putu of the Kahui Ariki and their daughter was Hinematua. She married Whaka-maru-rangi and had five children. One of their grandsons was Muriwhenua, also called Paora Muriwhenua or Muriwhenua Kaitangata. Like his granduncle Muriwhenua, Paora did not have any children of his own. Haeata Maahanga (Ngāti Taka) said that Muriwhenua's section of Ngāti Haua was separate from the main body of Ngāti Haua at Maungatautari.²⁶⁹ Several of the witnesses in the Manuaitu hearings recalled that he

²⁶⁶ Tangata-iti Maru, Mercer Minute Book, 13, 4 December 1909, p. 27.

²⁶⁷ Haeata Maahanga, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, pp. 35-42.

²⁶⁸ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 25 August 1886, pp. 173-175.

²⁶⁹ Haeata Maahanga, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 42.

did not take part in the wars at Aotea and Kawhia. Instead, he took the vanquished from the Waipa, where they had been resettled, and returned them to Aotea. He and his people were driven from place to place but eventually settled at Ruapuke unaccosted. He signed the same copy of the Treaty of Waitangi as Te Awaitaia at the same time as other people from these hapū living at Kawhia.²⁷⁰ He was a key rangatira for Ngāti Whaka-maru-rangi. Mita Karaka (Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi) said that he was buried at Tahuri-kohia, Manuaitu.²⁷¹

According to Hapeta Te Waaka (Ngāti Whare), Ngāti Naho was the hapū of Paora Muriwhenua's half-brother, Te Haho. Mohi Te Rongomau (Ngāti Hōurua) said that Te Haho fought alongside his Ngāti Hōurua and Ngāti Naho kin and died in the battle at Kaipapaka against Te Rauparaha.²⁷² Haho was one of the rangatira to help part of the enemy garrison at Whenuapo pā to escape.

Wi Te Wheoro was the rangatira for Ngāti Naho who gave evidence in the Manuaitu hearings. Te Wheoro shared Te Awaitaia's view on Māori self-government becoming an Assessor, leading an Armed Constabulary of 60 Ngāti Naho, becoming a Major in the colonial militia, and a Native Commissioner. He was Western Māori MP 1879-1884 with the support of Rewi Maniapoto and fought relentlessly for changes in government policy. He was a harsh critic of the Native Land Court and an envoy for Tawhiao during his time in Parliament. He died in 1895 and was buried at Taupiri.²⁷³

The hapū name Ngāti Whaka-maru-rangi was introduced by Te Haho's descendants shortly before 1887. Pouwharetapu Te Kewene was their rangatira and key witness at both the 1887 Manuaitu and 1909 Moerangi hearings, by which time Ngāti Whaka-maru-rangi was part of Tainui hapū. Pouwhare's father Te Kewene married Mata, a descendant of Tu-iri-rangi's son Puhara-a-tainui, his grandson Waitapu and *his* grandson Mori, all of whom were killed by Ngāti Maahanga in the major battles of the Aotea war. Pouwhare was related to Rangipotiki as well, who was a grandson of Whaka-maru-rangi's brother Parore (Ngāti Haua).

²⁷⁰ 'Waikato-Manukau Treaty Copy - Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZ History Net*, 2006.

²⁷¹ Mita Karaka, *Waikato Minute Book*, 16, 9 May 1887, p. 292.

²⁷² Mohi Te Rongomau, *Otorohanga Minute Book*, 1, 25 August 1886, pp. 183-184.

²⁷³ Gary Scott, 'Te Wheoro, Wiremu Te Morehu Maipapa - Biography', in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2010 <<http://www.teara.govt.nz/>> [accessed December 2011].

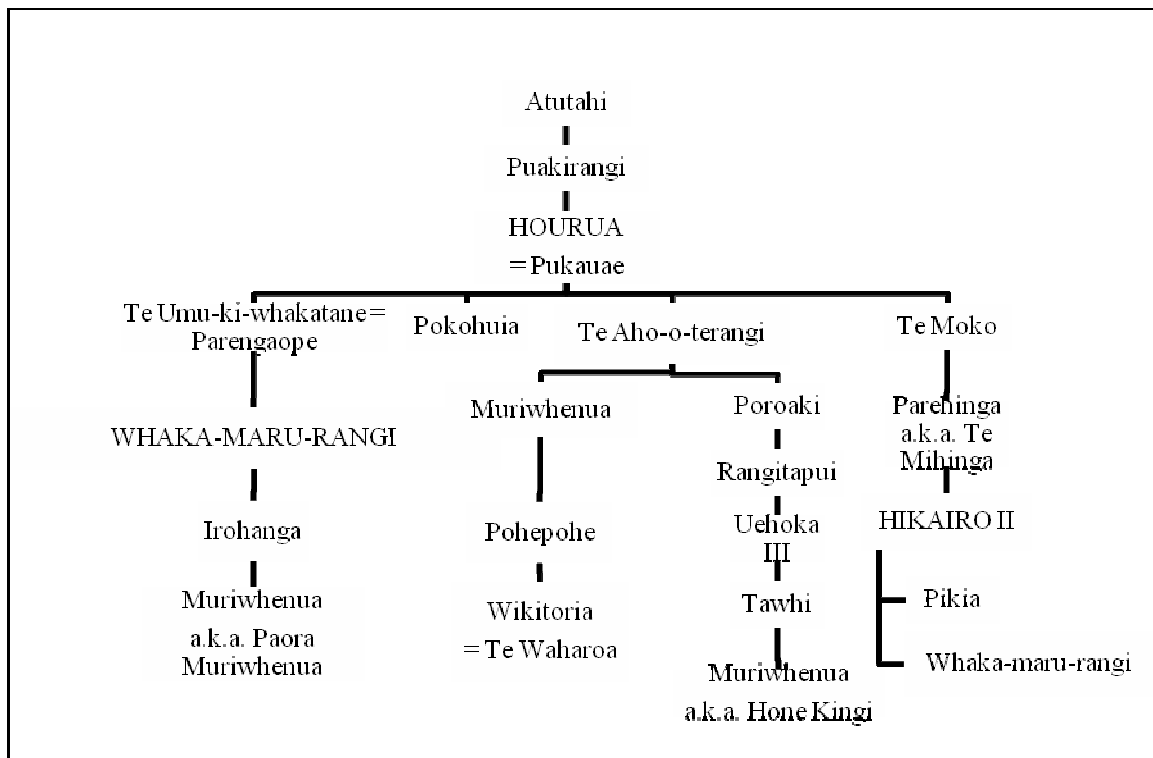


Figure 15 Whaka-maru-rangi and Muriwhenua

However, another Muriwhenua lived during the same period. His Christian name was Hone Kingi or Hone Kingi Uehoka, a descendant of Te Aho-o-terangi and Te Rawhatihoro that is, Ngāti Hōurua. He was also a grandson of Te Punatoto, the Ngāti Maahanga leader of the attacks at Aotea. His daughter Puaou married Houkura, Te Awaitaia's grandson; his son Poo Kingi Muriwhenua married Powhitu Hetaraka, the daughter of Te Awaitaia II (a.k.a. Hetaraka Otene). Hone signed the Treaty of Waitangi under his Christian name at the same time as his Ngāti Te Ata and Ngāti Hōurua kin living at Aotea.²⁷⁴ Hone's first cousin Te Aopouri said that he was one of the elders who lived at Aramiro and Rua-pueru before and after the colonial war.²⁷⁵ Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia (Ngāti Hōurua) said that Muriwhenua was buried at Whatawhata, which is where Hone Kingi's descendants live to this day.²⁷⁶ His son Poo Kingi Muriwhenua set aside land at Hikurangi for a papakainga that eventually became Te Papa o Rotu Marae. Poo was buried at the marae in 1912 and the memorial stone inscription came from Kiingi Mahuta.

²⁷⁴ 'Waikato-Manukau Treaty Copy - Signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZ History Net*, 2006.

²⁷⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, *Mercer Minute Book*, 12, 4 October 1909, p. 44.

²⁷⁶ Hapeta Matini Te Awaitaia, *Waikato Minute Book*, 16, 19 March 1887, p. 56.

The Whaka-maru-rangi who was the son of Hikairo II was a key tūpuna for Ngāti Hikairo. They developed a close bond with Ngāti Whaka-maru-rangi. Hapeta Te Waaka (Ngāti Whare) spoke of signing a deed after the colonial war giving some land at Motakotako to Hone Te One, a rangatira of Ngāti Hikairo, as a dowry for Pouwhare Te Kewene's wife but the Court case was adjourned.²⁷⁷ Hapeta referred to Ngāti Hikairo as 'neutrals' in the wars on the coast. Both Mohi Te Rongomau (Ngāti Hōurua) and Harete Tamehana (Ngāti Haua) said that Ngāti Hikairo were living at Waiari near Te Awamutu during the wars but settled at Kawhia with others of the Waikato Confederation after the war.²⁷⁸ Mohi heard they were employed as scouts and signalmen during the war.

2.12.2.3 *Ngāti Koata*

Te Aopouri said that Tu-iri-rangi's descendants became the hapū Ngāti Whangaparaoa, Ngāti Motemote, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Kakati, Ngāti Ariari, Ngāti Ruamano, and Ngāti Ira.²⁷⁹ The ancestors of Ngāti Kakati, Ngāti Ariari, and Ngāti Ruamano fought Tonganui but Ngāti Whangaparaoa, Ngāti Motemote, and Ngāti Koata were Kawharu's family – Koata was his mother, Motemote was his wife, and Whangaparaoa was their daughter. Kawharu and his people became involved in the third major assault in the Aotea war shortly before Mori was killed. They were the lynchpin that connected all of Ngāti Maahanga's adversaries in the Aotea war. Muskets were in use by then.

Kamanomano Mahu (Ngāti Reko) explained that Koata was pregnant from a previous relationship when she married Pakaue so Kawharu was born after their marriage.²⁸⁰ Te Nguha Huirama (Ngāti Te Huaki) and Hori Takerei (Ngāti Koata) traced Kawharu as the son of Toa-kotara (of Maahanga's daughter Tukotuku), who was married to Mahara-ki-rangi (Ruateatea's daughter). Aperahama Patene (Ngāti Hōurua) said that Koata's first husband was Nga-ere, Toa-kotara's younger brother who left Koata when she became pregnant. She moved to her mother Haeroa's people in Kawhia, where she

²⁷⁷ Hapeta Waaka, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 23 March 1887, p. 78.

²⁷⁸ Mohi Te Rongomau, Otorohanga Minute Book, 1, 25 August 1886, p. 183.

²⁷⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 5 October 1909, p. 52.

²⁸⁰ Kamanomano Mahu, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 24 November 1909, p. 328.

met Pakaue²⁸¹ Descendants of Kawharu chose the hapū name Ngāti Koata. By 1910, Ngāti Koata was part of the Tainui and Ngāti Te Wehi hapū.

Kawharu had 17 children and four wives from Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Whare, and Te Patupo. His first wife was Motemote (the ancestor for Ngāti Motemote), the daughter of Koata's brother Puoro-oro; his second wife was Waikauri, the daughter of Toarangatira (the ancestor for Ngāti Toa). His fourth relationship was with Pingareka, the granddaughter of Te Ehutu of Te Patupo. Kawharu also married Wairinga, a daughter of Atutahi's grandson Wharetipeti. In the 1887 Manuaitu hearings, Haeata Maahanga (Ngāti Taka) recalled that, 'a few years ago, Ngāti Motemote were living on the land with Kawharu, their chief.... Kawharu was living with Ngāti Te Wehi'.²⁸²

Kawharu and Te Wehi lived at Okura on the south side of Kawhia Harbour. Aperahama said that Pakaue was killed at Kawhia in a fight with Tu-iri-rangi's son Tuahu-mahina.²⁸³ Kawharu and Te Wehi avenged Pakaue's death and captured Motungaio pā by shotgun. Tuahu-mahina escaped to Aotea.

Te Rongomau and Aperahama related that the brothers quarrelled after this because they had attacked the people of Kawharu's wife Motemote and he wished to spare the rest. From then on, Kawharu joined forces with Ngāti Tu-iri-rangi and Ngāti Toa, and Te Wehi allied with the Waikato Confederation. Te Wehi chased Tuahu-mahina to Rauiri, Aotea and Kawharu occupied Motungaio pā. Around this time, Te Rauparaha's people began clashing with Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Mahuta. The battle in which Waitapu was killed took place next.

2.12.2.4 *Ngāti Te Wehi*

Te Wehi, also called Te Kihi, was a descendant of Atutahi, Tikitiki, and Tu-iri-rangi (shown in *Figure 11*). Te Wehi had two brothers, Kawharu and Ao-manga-uika. Te Wehi was born at Kawhia; his first wife was Mariu, Koroki's granddaughter; his second wife was Rawaitu, the granddaughter of Tu-iri-rangi; and he had 10 children in all. Ngāti Te Wehi was the main section of Ngāti Maahanga to settle on the utu land at

²⁸¹ Aperahama Patene, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 29.

²⁸² Haeata Maahanga, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 15 March 1887, p. 38.

²⁸³ Pouwharetapu Te Kewene, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 6 October 1909, pp. 61-63.

Aotea but widespread inter-marriage blurred the differentiation between the victors and the conquered after the Aotea war - many of the latter inter-married with Ngāti Te Wehi.

Ngāti Whangaparaoa, Ngāti Motemote, and Ngāti Koata (that is, the people of Te Wehi's brother Kawharu) became sections of Ngāti Te Wehi and lived on the land at Manuaitu pā and Horo-ngarara. They had a pā called Moerangi that became known as Te Puketoa, Mohiti. They were driven away when Rangipotiki was killed.

Pouwharetapu Te Kewene (Tainui), Mohi Te Rongomau (Ngāti Hōurua), and Aperahama Patene (Ngāti Hōurua) said that Te Wehi's father Pakaue was killed at Kawhia and his greenstone patu Karioimutu was taken. Kawharu and Te Wehi avenged Pakaue's death and then quarrelled. Kawharu joined forces with Ngāti Tu-irirangi and Ngāti Toa, and Te Wehi allied with the Waikato Confederation.

Kawharu remained in Kawhia while Te Wehi sought help from his mother's first cousins Tapaue and Wharetipeti to pursue his enemy to Aotea. They lived at Uapata pā, which was at Hukanui, east of Taupiri. The war party went from Te Wehi's pā, Mowhiti, to Tautinimoke's pā, Te Rau-ote-huia, at Rauiri. Tapaue and Wharetipeti combed their hair and stuck the combs in a stone called Te Heru o Wharangi. Tautinimoke was killed. The battle in which Waitapu was killed took place after Rauiri.

2.12.3 Te Awaitaia and the Waikato Confederation

Not only was the leadership of Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Mahuta, and Ngāti Haua closely related, they were long-time political allies. Te Awaitaia and Potatau went to war alongside their fathers and spent their war years fighting Te Rauparaha and Taranaki. Whereas the Aotea war was between Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Tu-irirangi, the war at Kawhia was between Te Rauparaha and the Waikato Confederation. The people vanquished from Aotea fled to Te Kakara, Whenuapo, and Te Arawi pā at Kawhia. Ngāti Maahanga followed and captured the pā but some of Kawharu's people were escorted from Whenuapo to safety at Mangaohia, Waipa. Haeata Maahanga said

that Te Awaitaia supervised the occupation of the utu lands and the hapū lived in specific areas by collective agreement.²⁸⁴

2.13 Colonial War 1863

After the long land war over Aotea, Ngāti Maahanga held the mana over the Tai Hauaauru from the coast to the Waikato River and northward from Pirongia to Taupiri. Ngāti Maahanga's tribal estate lost the area from Pirongia to Taupiri and the area north of Aramiro after the colonial war. Most of the remaining estate was taken in Native Land Court decisions.

Te Aopouri stated that Te Awaitaia; his brother in-law Te Waaka, cousins Hakopa Te Kotuku, Te Tana, and Hamiora Ngaropi; his nephews Hetaraka and Hemi Matini; and other chiefs took part in the fixing of the confiscation boundary. Te Aopouri said 'they were "loyal chiefs" of Ngāti Maahanga':

They got the boundary moved so as to exclude this papatupu land and preserve for them. I was a boy then but I have heard of it from Hakopa Te Kotuku and Hakopa Te Ngori and others of my elders. No outsiders took part in the discussion. Land to the east of Waitetuna, Mangakowhai, Ka-niwaha-niwaha (196/197 Karamu), was confiscated but given back to 'loyal natives'. All this land was given back by the government to Ngāti Maahanga:

Beginning at Maunurima at mouth of the Waitetuna, thence east along the boundary of Ngāti Tamainu land to Waipa River at Ngatokorua a Te Rawhatihoro, thence up the Waipa river to Manga-o-tama thence leaves the river running west in a straight line to Tahanui where it touches the confiscation boundary, following that north to Waitetuna stream then down the stream to the beginning.²⁸⁵

In the hearings for the Moerangi land block, Te Aopouri said:

The Waitetuna Stream in the plan is not the one Ngāti Maahanga know of by that name; the stream I know was through the block not along the boundary written on plan. The stream in plan is really Kaha-raumati, a tributary of Waitetuna.

²⁸⁴ Haeata Maahanga, Waikato Minute Book, 16, 14 March 1887, p. 34.

²⁸⁵ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, pp. 33-34.

Kaha-raumati Stream ran along the eastern boundary of the Moerangi land block. Land to the east of Kaha-raumati was confiscated. Tai Rakena told of how he ‘interfered’ with the laying down of the confiscation line in order to protect the land:

When the surveyors came to survey the land which Aperahama Patene and Wi Neera secured compensation from government for, they just ran their lineup the stream called Waitetuna in plan, running into the block a mile and a half. I interfered and the result was they took the line up the other Waitetuna marked ‘branch stream’ on plan. I call the first stream Orongo not Waitetuna, branch stream is the true Waitetuna. It is swampy there, primarily used for eeling.²⁸⁶

Tai Rakena recalled that Aramiro was the chief kāinga of the locality and he ‘put up notices warning Europeans against trespass.’²⁸⁷ Te Wharepuhi Heruika recalled that Aperahama Patene and Wi Neera received compensation for Whakataki in 1892.²⁸⁸

Te Aopouri’s evidence showed a people that had settled into maintaining their mana over both papatupu and utu land but who became divided, ideologically and geographically, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. All parties – Te Awaitaia’s people, Hauhau, and observers - were displaced during and after the war at Waikato. The following combines the recollections of some of the witnesses in Land Court hearings to give a brief impression of the effect of the war on their settlement in Maahanga country.

Tonganui’s people were settled in the utu land around Aotea as well as his papatupu land. Ngāti Tonganui, Ngāti Ngarape, Ngāti Kahu, and Ngāti Kuku lived at Mangataheke, Aramiro, and elsewhere, that is, at Tonganui’s kāinga, up to the time of the war. Before the war, Te Aopouri, his nephew Rore Erueti, and their parents, lived at Rua-pueru, Aramiro, and Whaingaroa. Hone Kingi Uehoka lived at Aramiro before and during the war.²⁸⁹

During the war, the young people of Ngāti Kuku and Ngāti Tonganui were at Ongonga; the people who lived at Rua-pueru, Mahi-nui, Puke-tutu, and Ohia-po-poko at Whaingaroa moved to Moerangi including Kiingitanga supporters like Hone Kingi, and Te Awaitaia’s people like Te Aopouri and his mother, Ritihia.

²⁸⁶ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 134-135.

²⁸⁷ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book 12, 14 October 1909, pp. 134-135.

²⁸⁸ Te Wharepuhi Heruika, Minute Book 13, 22 February 1910, p. 191.

²⁸⁹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 35.

As mentioned earlier, land belonging to Kieraunui, Tukotuku, Tupana, and Atutahi was confiscated. Some of Maahanga country was returned – but to sections of Ngāti Maahanga rather than Maahanga’s people as a whole.

By 1909, Te Aopouri lived at Whatawhata; Te Wharepuhi Heruika at Ohine-tamatea and Rua-pueru; Tai Rakena and his wife, Te Punatoto’s great-granddaughter, Pare-tutaki, were at Aramiro; Rore Erueti was at Manga-taheke and Whatawhata; descendants of Te Punatoto’s son, Honeri, were living at Aramiro and other places in the Moerangi area; and Wikiriwhi Rangiawha lived at Te Makara. Pukeikura Pakaru lived at Aramiro. Toro Te Whiti of Ngāti Kahukoka lived at Whatawhata and Manukau. Hone Kingi Uehoka’s descendants lived at Whatawhata.²⁹⁰

Those who had joined in the rebellion afterwards settled at Ongaonga, that is, Tai Rakena and his father Rakena, Pukeikura and others. Ongaonga was sold so they went to Aramiro in 1906.²⁹¹ The elders of Tai Rakena lived at Whakataki, northeast of Moerangi before the war. Prior to that, they were at Ka-niwaha-niwaha. Maahanga Te Haeata went to the war from there. Haeata’s brother Te Kie Raunui, and Hemi Pakaru, father of Pukeikura Pakaru, went too. Afterward, they lived at Kawhia and elsewhere, then Te Rape from 1880. Haeata and Te Rakena were buried at Te Rape.²⁹² Te Rape was leased to a Pākehā for 21 years with a right of renewal. Te Aopouri recalled that:

Ngāti Reko went there for a time about 1901-2 we turned them away. They did not return. They were at Ohine-tamatea in less than a year. Their ancestors never lived there. The people we turned away were Waikato Pita Mahu, and his children viz. Tokoreko and Whareiaia, Marepo sister of Wharepuhi, Pare-tutaki were all turned away by Te Wharepuhi. Ngāti Reko did not cultivate while there.²⁹³

2.14 Conclusion

The hapū of Ngāti Maahanga were all of the hapū in the Tai Hauaauru, connected together by whakapapa, as this chapter has shown. Leadership development was a way of life for Ngāti Maahanga with at least one whānau from each of Maahanga’s

²⁹⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 35.

²⁹⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, p. 41.

²⁹⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, pp. 34-35.

²⁹⁰ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1-2 October 1909, pp. 35, 41.

²⁹¹ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, pp. 34-35.

²⁹² Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 2 October 1909, p. 41.

²⁹³ Te Aopouri Waata, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 1 October 1909, p. 35.

children nurturing future leaders for the hapū, iwi, and waka. Strong kinship bonds were the foundations for the Waikato Confederation, which became the most formidable political force in the Tai Hauaauru and beyond.

However, the 19th century was a period of rapid change and transformation. The long-standing alliances of hapū that comprised Ngāti Maahanga disintegrated after the colonial war as support for the Kiingitanga grew, especially for those living at Aotea where the idea of a Māori King was first conceived. The hapū living at Whaingaroa, Pirongia and the Waipa became the heart of Ngāti Maahanga; the hapū at Aotea became champions of the Kiingitanga. Testimony from Land Court witnesses fell into two camps – Kiingitanga followers and Te Awaitaia’s people, otherwise known as Maahanga-Hauhau and Maahanga-Kūpapa – the latter being from an older generation who were dying out.

By 1909, Ngāti Maahanga had abandoned its Māori self-government ideals and committed itself to the kaupapa of the Kiingitanga under Ngāti Mahuta’s leadership. However, Tai Rakena described a redefined hapū landscape showing that irreparable damage had already been done to the mana of Ngāti Maahanga over its country:

We don’t recognise persons who live elsewhere as Ngāti Maahanga although descended from Maahanga, but they recognise us as such. Those who live at Whatawhata are Ngāti Hōurua. Those who live at Whaingaroa and are connected with Tainui are called Tainui. Those living at Aotea are Ngāti Te Wehi. Those living in this district [Ngaruawahia] right down to Waikato Heads are called Waikato. My parents and I don’t regard ourselves as Waikato though outside tribes such as Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Raukawa when speaking of Waikato may include my people.²⁹⁴

By 2012, Ngāti Maahanga representatives attending local government meetings for mana whenua were told that no one had ever heard of Ngāti Maahanga. The magnitude of Ngāti Maahanga’s loss is clarified further in the following chapters.

²⁹⁴ Tai Rakena, Mercer Minute Book, 12, 14 October 1909, p. 128.

CHAPTER 3: MAHIA TE PAI

Ko taku korero tenei kei taku paihere rakau. He ritenga nga to matua e ako ana ki to mate; ka whakaaro ia. Kahore he whakaaro o aku tamariki, kahore e mohio i muru i ahau. Ra ki atu ki ana tamariki, “Me ake au ka mate; haere mai ki toku aroaro.” Ka tu ana tamariki. Ka mau ia ki nga rakau e whitu, ka pai heretia ka hoatu ki to mua, ka ki atu, “Wha-tiia,” kahore i whati. Ka hoatu ki te tuarua, “Wha-tiia”, kahore i whati. Pena tonu ki te tuatoru tae noa ki te tuawhitu. Kihai i whati, e kaha ana, e paihere ana hoki. Ka tahi ka takitahitia nga rakau, hoata ana ki tenei ki tera: kihai i maro, whati katoa aua rakau e whitu. Ka mea ano te matua, “Paiherea, kahore i whati.” Ka whakaritea e ahau tenei ki te Maori ki te Pakeha, e kori e ahei te wehe; ki te wehea ka whatiwhati noa, e kore e mau, ngakongako kau.²⁹⁵

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we tell our story of Ngāti Maahanga’s struggle to resist Pākehā power. Our tupuna Te Awaitaia was born in the 1790s, just as Pākehā began to make their presence felt in other parts of the land: whaling, sealing, cutting timber for ship’s spars, buying flax and spending time ashore for supplies and re-fitting their ships. Te

²⁹⁵ *The title for this chapter* has been translated by Te Awarutu Samuels as: Do what is right; perform good works. It is drawn from his korero at Poihakena Marae during Nga Korero Tuku Iho hearing, April 2010, when he referred to the flag of his ancestor, Te Awaitaia, flying over his ancestral house at Putoetoe (Raglan town): Nō reira tēnei ahau e taungia kei konei hoki te whenua o Ngāti Hourua o Ngāti Maahanga, koinei ta mātou hononga ki te whenua nei kei Pūtoetoe taku tupuna e tau ana kei reira tana whare tupuna hoki. Kei reira tana haki e rere ana, ko ngā kupu i runga i tana haki, “mahia te pai”. Noku atu ki a koutou, “mahia te pai, mahia te pai, otia te pai”. His korero is confirmed in the following excerpt from AJHR, 1862 E – No. 9, p. 21, *Report by J. Armitage Esq of the Ngāti Maahanga Runanga – Proceedings of the Runanga of Ngāti Maahanga assembled in W. Nero’s [Te Awaitaia’s] house, at Raglan, Whaingaroa, 27 January 1862*: ‘The principal Chief of NgātiMaahanga also attended. A large flag was flying over the building, with the inscription of “Mahia te Pai” on it,’ and also p. 37, *Kawhia Runanga* – 4 April, ‘Started early from Te ka Kawa, and proceeded in procession to Kawhia – thirty horsemen, two a-breast, headed by Hira Kingi on foot, carrying the flag “Mahia te Pai,” followed by about 100 or 200 on foot, headed by W. Nero [Te Awaitaia].’

The introductory quotation is an extract from a speech of Te Awaitaia to the Kohimarama Conference, reported in *Te Karere Maori, The Maori Messenger*, 1 September 1860. Translation: ‘I shall now speak of my bundle of sticks. It was the lesson taught by a father to his seven sons. Those seven sons were growing into manhood, and their father was declining to the grave. He thought within himself “My children are thoughtless, and will not be wise after my death.” He said to his sons, “I am near death: come into my presence.” The sons then stood forth. The father took seven sticks and tied them up in a bundle and giving them to the eldest he said, “Break them.” He could not break them. He gave them to the second, and said to him, “Break them.” They were not broken. He said the same to the third, and so on to the seventh. They were not broken because they were tied together in a bundle and were therefore firm. He now separated the sticks and gave one to each of the lads. They were no longer strong, and all the seven sticks were broken. The father then said “Tie them in a bundle and they won’t break.” I will liken this to the Māori and to the Pākehā. If they are separated they will be easily broken up. They will not endure but will be torn to pieces.’

Awaitaia's life was spent working out how to preserve our autonomy as a tribe in the face of the extreme changes brought into our rohe through the impact of Pākehā technology, the imperial economy and politics, and Pākehā contact and immigration. This chapter tells the story of Te Awaitaia's leadership of Ngāti Maahanga through these turbulent times.²⁹⁶

3.2 Impact of colonial exploration

It is said that no Pākehā ship entered Whaingaroa, Aotea or Kawhia harbours before the 1820s.²⁹⁷ But the presence of Pākehā elsewhere in New Zealand was already having an effect on our tūpuna in the period while Te Awaitaia was growing to adulthood and establishing his reputation as a warrior and leader. It became apparent to our tūpuna that iwi elsewhere who were in contact with Pākehā were gaining access to resources, such as guns, that made them potentially powerful adversaries.

This would have seemed incredible in the time of Maahanga's grandchildren, when the first colonial explorer passed our shores. This was Abel Tasman whose two ships sailed past Karioi on 28 December 1642. To our watchful tupuna, these ships appeared '...to [be] manned by waraki or retireti, that is, gods of the sea,'²⁹⁸ says Leslie Kelly, Tainui historian, whose descendants include people of Ngāti Maahanga today. Tasman and his 110 crew made no apparent impact on our way of life; but unknown to us, his expedition inspired another which was to impact on us for ever.

This was James Cook's *Endeavour* expedition one hundred and thirty years later, in the time of Te Awaitaia's grandparents, the time of Te Kura and Taotahi. The *Endeavour* sailed close by our shores on 11 January 1770.²⁹⁹

At nine,' Cook wrote in his journal for that day, 'was abreast of a point of land which rises sloping from the sea to a considerable height. It lies in the latitude 37 degrees 43 minutes south. I named it Woody Head. South-west-a-half-west eleven miles from the head is a very small island which we named Gannet Island on account of the great number

²⁹⁶ Ngāti Maahanga had many rangatira throughout these times, and each of them provided leadership in his own right. But we have chosen to tell our story of our engagement with the Crown as a 'case study' of Te Awaitaia's leadership because he was a rangatira of mana in both Ngāti Maahanga and the wider world of te ao Māori, and also engaged with and well-known in te ao Pākehā, throughout the period from 1820 to the mid-1860s, in our rohe and beyond.

²⁹⁷ Vennell, C. and Williams, S., *Raglan County Hills and Sea*, p. 22; also: Kelly, L., *Tainui - The Story of Hoturoa and his Descendants*, p. 423.

²⁹⁸ Kelly, p. 423.

²⁹⁹ Vennell and Williams, p. 18. For a general account of Cook's expedition in this period, see: Salmond, A., *Two Worlds First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*, p. 238.

of these birds we saw upon it. At noon a high craggy point bore east-north-east one and a half leagues: this point I have named Albatross Point.³⁰⁰

The places Cook ‘named’ had already been named by our ancestors many generations before he passed by - Karioi, Karewa, Honipaka (Woody Head, Gannet Island and Albatross Point, respectively). But unknown to us, a new Pākehā ‘mapping’ of our landscape had begun. In less than one hundred years our Ngāti Maahanga landscape was turned into a Pākehā landscape.

3.3 Impact of early Pākehā trading

Cook’s expeditions were soon followed by others, who visited Taranaki and Kāpiti for whaling, or Hauraki for flax and timber, or the Bay of Islands to refit and trade for supplies. Vennell says that the first Pākehā came to the west coast harbours in January 1824.³⁰¹ As we have seen in Chapter 1, this was Captain Kent, known to the Māori as Hamukete, and the arrival of Kent and his ship at Kawhia was the beginning of the trade in muskets for flax.³⁰² By the late 1820s there were a few Pākehā living in the Whaingaroa area, including some former convicts and runaway sailors.

Kent’s instructions from the New South Wales Government were ‘*to promote the civilisation of the inhabitants by supplying them with British manufactures in exchange for flax.*’³⁰³ As we have seen in Chapter 1, he arranged for the Kawhia people to cut and dress flax for later collection, and it is thought that he may also have called at Whaingaroa on this voyage, because all the west coast harbours were rich in flax. He returned to Sydney via the Bay of Islands by mid-March 1825, with 25 tons of flax on board. Kent continued to trade on behalf of the NSW Government until he became a private trader early in 1826, and continued to travel almost constantly between New South Wales and New Zealand with cargoes of seal skins, flax and pork.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Vennell and Williams, pp. 18-19.

³⁰¹ Vennell and Williams, p. 23.

³⁰² Kelly, p. 423.

³⁰³ Vennell and Williams, p. 22 (*emphasis added*). The role of the New South Wales Government in fostering the flax trade is corroborated in Oliver, W. and Williams, B., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, The Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, Oxford/Wellington, 1981, Chapter 2, ‘New Zealand before Annexation’, by J.M.R. Owens, p. 34.

³⁰⁴ Vennell and Williams, pp. 23-25.

We have also seen in Chapter 1 what an incredible amount of work the people of Ngāti Maahanga put into the flax trade. Dressing the flax was very labour-intensive, and was done by women using mussel shells, which resulted in an excellent product.³⁰⁵ The size and impact of the flax and musket trade is indicated by the fact that, while Waikato was said to have only one gun at the time of the battle of Te Kakara at Taharoa in 1820/1821, a gun carried by a warrior of Ngāti Maahanga,³⁰⁶ just ten years later, by 1832, 'Waikato possessed some three or four thousand muskets, part originally purchased, the remainder spoils from Pukerangiora.'³⁰⁷

There were also some traders on the Waikato and Waipa Rivers and at Waikato Heads by 1830. All these traders would have been familiar to Ngāti Maahanga, constantly travelling up and down the rivers and the coast. The traders were often former seamen and soldiers. They traded for flax and pigs and potatoes (and later wheat), which they exchanged for muskets, powder, steel cutting tools and weaponry, clothes, alcohol and tobacco. A lot of the trade was to New South Wales at this time; it was later that the lucrative trade with Auckland really developed, after 1840, when New Zealand became a Crown Colony with Auckland as the capital. Goods from Whaingaroa, such as pigs, potatoes, corn and flour, also went to places such as New Plymouth and Nelson, especially from the early 1840s. The coastal trade at this time was done in small schooners and brigs owned mainly by Pākehā; but the river trade to Auckland was mainly by waka carrying pigs and potatoes and other produce for cash sale; money was then spent in the Auckland stores on European commodities such as blankets, clothes, pots and pans, which the canoes brought back to the river settlements.³⁰⁸

These are some of the early Pākehā who came into the rohe of Ngāti Maahanga. These people lived in our kāinga on our terms; if they were not prepared to accept our terms, they had to go elsewhere. We wanted some of the goods they could bring to us from the wider world, and we had some goods they wanted, so it was an exchange. Some of these early Pākehā were good men, and conducted themselves well.

³⁰⁵ Oliver, W. and Williams, B., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, The Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, Oxford/Wellington, 1981, Chapter 2, 'New Zealand before Annexation', by J.M.R. Owens, p. 34.

³⁰⁶ Phillips, F., *Nga Tohu a Tainui Landmarks of Tainui*, p. 141.

³⁰⁷ Kelly, p. 395.

³⁰⁸ Vennell and Williams, pp. 42-43.

Others among these early Pākehā were troublesome, drunken and lawless – they fought, stole and gambled, among themselves and with Ngāti Maahanga people. And some of the goods the early Pākehā traders brought were very destructive of our people and our way of life, especially tobacco and alcohol, and that harm is with us to this day. We wanted guns so we could keep our power in the face of our foes at that time, but we have shown in Chapter 1 the terrible loss of life and suffering that came upon Ngāti Maahanga because of this new and very destructive form of warfare. Nobody knew anything of, nor wanted, alcohol or tobacco, but they soon became things some of our people could not live without. We did not know anything then of the disease called addiction, but we soon learnt. And there were many other diseases that came into our rohe in these times, with the early Pākehā, that led to the untimely early deaths of many of our tūpuna.

3.4 Our responses to the early impact of the Pākehā

Te Awaitaia experienced first-hand all these early impacts of the Pākehā, and his experiences had a profound impact on him. He formed the view that the Pākehā, even though they appeared few in number and weak in those early times, were backed by powerful empires and weapons, and could destroy Ngāti Maahanga, and all Māori, if they made up their minds to do so. For example, Te Awaitaia was among a group of rangatira who responded to a plea from Te Rangihaeata and Te Wawarua to join them in avenging the imprisonment of Te Rauparaha:

You two thought you should be able to destroy Pakehas [sic], but do you suppose you can dry up the sea? You are just as able to destroy the Pakehas. The Pakehas are not to be cut off by all of us, not by all the Maories [sic]; on the contrary, the Maories will be exterminated if they persevere against the Pakehas. We, therefore, say, cease to fight against the Pakeha – make haste and be reconciled, that you may live, and your children.³⁰⁹

Te Awaitaia's mission was to preserve his people, in the face of Pākehā power and the destructive influences of contact with Pākehā. He first turned his attention to things in Pākehā culture that seemed to offer some hope both of restraining the raw exercise of

³⁰⁹ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, Volume III, Issue 164, 24 February 1847, p. 3. This letter was signed: By Newton, Te Pakaru. By Ngar.....(illegible). By Te Waru, by Te Kanawa. The following note was appended: 'P.S. We have to say that the thoughts of all the Chiefs to whom your letter was addressed are the same as ours. These are the views of Waitara, of Ngatapa, of Te Rangituatea, of Pehi, of Te Roto, of Paul (Muriwhenua), of William Naylor (Te Awaitaia), of Kukutai, of Kaihau, of Te Wherowhero, of all'.

Pākehā power, and for Ngāti Maahanga to be able to engage successfully in the new Pākehā economy. He turned his mind to acquiring literacy, Christianity and European-style agriculture skills and knowledge for his people.

3.4.1 Literacy skills

Te Awaitaia wanted his people to have literacy skills - reading, writing, arithmetic, and some spoken English – for practical reasons, that is, to enable us as Ngāti Maahanga to engage directly in trade for ourselves, and to lessen our reliance on Pākehā intermediaries. Before any missionary came to live at Whaingaroa, Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga were already making a heavy investment in literacy.

Our appetite for literacy is clear from the writings of the Wesleyan missionary, William Woon, who arrived at Kawhia in November 1834. In his journal for December 17th 1834 he writes:

Received a letter today from a native at Whaingaroa written on paper with a stick with the black mixture which they use for tattooing which served instead of ink, begging for books, slates etc etc for the School which they have formed. They have built a very large house, and hundreds are desirous for instruction'. And on 16 January 1835 he recorded: '...we have neither books nor slates to put into the people's hands.'³¹⁰

It is also clear that we were quick learners. In a report shortly after he came to live in Whaingaroa, Wallis said:

Our schools are ... in a prosperous state. The number of scholars including both males and females, children and adults, is about sixty, most of them can spell and write words of three syllables, and a few can read portions of the new testament.'³¹¹

In a letter just six months later he refers to having 300 scholars in the schools.³¹² His 1839 report notes that although '...the people of Whaingaroa

³¹⁰ Woon, W., *Letter from W Woon to the Secretaries from Kawhia 1 January 1835, including extracts from Journal*, p. 3, 'Wesleyan Mission Society Letters to the Secretaries', MET 4/1/3, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's College, Auckland. [MIC 35 Methodist Missionary Society (12) 1 Committee minutes 1814-1865, AJCP Reel M118-120 (7)].

³¹¹ Wallis, J. *Letter to Wesleyan Society Committee from Whaingaroa 29 July 1835*, 'Wesleyan Mission Society Letters to the Secretaries', MET 4/1/3, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's College, Auckland. [MIC 35 Methodist Missionary Society (12) 1 Committee minutes 1814-1865, AJCP Reel M118-120 (7)].

³¹² Wallis, J. *Letter to Wesleyan Society Committee from Whaingaroa 18 January 1836*, 'Wesleyan Mission Society Letters to the Secretaries', MET 4/1/3, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's

had been without a teacher for nearly three years, they had continued to assemble throughout that time..... and had continued to seek knowledge and learn'. He noted that there were now '...about 800-1000 connected with Whaingaroa station.³¹³

We were so eager for books to read, that we would drive our pigs to the mission station so we could swap a pig for a book, and the Reverend Wallis said that we were very reluctant to drive our pigs away again if he had no books available!³¹⁴ Te Awaitaia himself acquired literacy skills in this period, a notable feat for a person already well into his 30s, or perhaps older. Reverend Waterhouse, visiting Whaingaroa on a tour of New Zealand and the Pacific in November 1840, reports Te Awaitaia reading from Corinthians, and also the words of St Peter, in his presence.³¹⁵ In the general area of Kawhia, Aotea and Whaingaroa by the mid-1840s the Reverend Gideon Smales reported that many young men:

...‘have learned arithmetic’ and ‘work with ease questions in “long division”...and so forth...Some of them are very apt, and all are highly interested in arithmetical exercises. There is no doubt you will not have to wait long before you hear of the New Zealander working the problems of Euclid. Many are learning the English language, which even two years ago appeared to them such a profound gibberish of iss-iss-issing that they seemed to think that they would require certain additions to their physical nature ere it could be attempted.³¹⁶

Thus it can be seen that we had acquired literacy by the 1840s, and we were supported by the missionaries in that effort, but we ourselves had paid most of the costs of acquiring these essential new skills to cope with our changing world.

3.4.2 Christianity

College, Auckland. [MIC 35 Methodist Missionary Society (12) 1 Committee minutes 1814-1865, AJCP Reel M118-120 (7)].

³¹³ Wallis, J., *1839 Whaingaroa Report to Wesleyan Society Committee*, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's College, Auckland. [MIC 35 Methodist Missionary Society (12) 1 Committee minutes 1814-1865, AJCP Reel M118-120 (7)].

³¹⁴ Morley, W., *History of Methodism in New Zealand*, McKee and Co. Wellington 1900, p. 68.

³¹⁵ Waterhouse, J., 'Extract from the Journal of a Second Voyage from Hobart-Town, Van Diemen's Land, to New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and Feejee, commenced Wednesday October 28th 1840', *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* for February 1844, 'Missionary Notices, relating principally to the Foreign missions carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference: Australasia and Polynesia', p. 161; *Methodist Magazine 1844*, Vol. XXIII of the third series, London, John Mason, 1844.

³¹⁶ Smales, G., 'New Zealand – Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Gideon Smales, dated Beecham-Dale, Aotea, 29 January 1847'. *Missionary Notices 1848*, volume VI, Wesleyan Mission House, London, 1848, p. 5.

Christianity has had a deep impact on us as Ngāti Maahanga tangata, an impact which continues to this day. Many of our people and our leaders today are devout and learned Christians. The ideas that influenced our ancestors at the time they adopted and adapted Christianity, in the 1830s, are the kinds of ideas which continue to influence many Ngāti Maahanga tangata today, as correct ideas for living a good life. The following passage from Matthew 5:38 – 44, seems to sum up the attitudes and behaviour of many of our influential people from the early time of Ngāti Maahanga Christianity until today:

Kua rongō koutou i korerotia, He kanohi mo te kanohi, he niho mo te niho: Na ko taku kupu tenei ki nga koutou, Kua e whaka-uaua atu ki te kino; erangi ki te pakia tetahi i tou paparinga matau, whaka-angahia atu hoki tera atu ki a ia. A ki te mea tetahi kia whaka-wakia koe, ka tangohia tou koti, tukuna atu hoki ki a ia tou ngeri. A ki te tonoa koe, tetahi kia haere kotahi te maero, kia rua maero taua, e haere tahi ai. Whoatu ki te tangata nga mea e tono ana, kua hoki koe e tahuri ke i te tangata e mea ana ki te taonga tarewa. Kua rongō koutou i korerotia, Kia aroha ki tou hoa tata, kia kino hoki ki tou hoa whawhai: Na ko taku kupu tenei ki nga koutou, Arohaina ngo koutou hoa whawhai, manaakitia te hunga e kanga ana ki a koutou, kia pai ta koutou mahi ki te hunga e kino ana, me inoi koutou hoki mo te hunga e whakawhiu, e whakato ana i a koutou.³¹⁷

We retain our faith in the fundamental rightness of these Christian ideals, but we feel deeply that these ideals have been betrayed by the British Crown in its actions towards us. This traditional history is in part a story of the heavy price we have had to pay as an iwi for the steadfast Christian beliefs and ideals of our tupuna.

3.4.2.1 Paying for the work of the missions

Bringing Christianity to our rohe took up lots of the resources and energies of Te Awaitaia and his people. The missionaries were not well-resourced by the missionary societies in England, and many of them (especially the Wesleyans) had few resources of their own, so this meant that almost everything was provided for them by the tribe.

³¹⁷ Translation as given in the Bible: Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.

For example, here is the Reverend Wallis' account of the building of the mission at Whaingaroa:

Building the Mission House was undertaken by some fifty or sixty men, only about one third of whom [worked] at one time, all the rest looking on and occasionally suggesting an improved style of architecture. In the course of a few weeks, the house was finished.....Soon after building the dwelling house, the natives built a raupo Church capable of seating several hundred persons...³¹⁸

Everywhere in our rohe there are similar stories of the building of mission dwellings, churches, schools by Ngaati Maahanga for the missionaries, not only when they first arrived but throughout their time with us. These used a lot of our resources (e.g. raupo, timber) and labour that we diverted from meeting other needs.

Of course, we also provided the land on which the mission stations were built, and for the missionaries' gardens and livestock. There is evidence that Wallis thought he 'purchased' land for a mission station on his arrival in Whaingaroa in 1835, but he later wrote:

Arriving again at Whaingaroa it was found that the former Mission Station (which had not been purchased) was not so desirable a place for a permanent station as was a block of land on the south side of the river and which the natives were willing to sell. It was therefore purchased.³¹⁹

We have a different view: Wallis at Whaingaroa, and the missionaries elsewhere in our rohe, were under our protection and on our lands on our terms at all times. We provided land and buildings for the use of the mission. The missionaries were utterly dependent upon us, including for their personal safety. For example, Wallis describes how Te Awaitaia in those early days arranged the defence of the mission by placing his armed men around the Mission House, especially by night.³²⁰

So we provided the land and the buildings for the missionaries, we defended them, we provided a lot of their everyday necessities. We also provided substantial direct cash

³¹⁸ Wallis, J. *Some Letters written by Reverend Wallis to his Grandson about 1880*, pp. 2 and 3; typescript, 19 pp, MET 14/1/9, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's College, Auckland. (This was in 1839, after the Whaingaroa mission had been withdrawn for three years because of the Wesleyan Mission's lack of funds for its work in New Zealand, and disputes with the CMS about areas of operation.)

³¹⁹ Wallis, J., *Some Letters written by Reverend Wallis to his Grandson about 1880*, p. 5; typescript, 19 pp, MET 14/1/9, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's College, Auckland.

³²⁰ Wallis, J., *Some Letters written by Reverend Wallis to his Grandson about 1880*, p. 4.

donations to the missions. For example, when Reverend Gideon Smales arrived at Kawhia in 1843 with his wife and two small sons he collected subscriptions to support his work, and most of the 120 pounds collected was donated by Māori living from Whaingaroa in the north to Ngā Motu in the south, in amounts ranging from one shilling to one pound.³²¹ And Wallis himself acknowledged shortly after his arrival at Whaingaroa that ‘the barbarous people [of Whaingaroa] shewed me no little kindness’.³²²

We did this for missionaries across our rohe, not only on the coast, but also inland and in our river settlements on the Waipa. Far from the popular image of mission work being paid for by church congregations in England, much of it was paid for by us.

3.4.2.2 Our engagement with Christian ideas

Ngāti Maahanga were certainly keen students of Christianity. The writings of missionaries and of European visitors to the rohe of Ngāti Maahanga are full of references to the eagerness of the people to discuss religious matters, often until very late into the night! For example, Reverend Gideon Smales commented that: ‘A knowledge of the sacred Scriptures is quite popular amongst the natives; their inquiries after the meaning and import of divine truth are incessant.’³²³

It can be very difficult for many people today to comprehend just how knowledgeable our ancestors were about Christianity. So much so that by the mid-1840s, when a missionary said of a hapū that ‘Their feet are swift to shed blood’, all his Ngāti Maahanga Christian listeners would have recognised this as a quote from Romans 3:15, and would already have spent many hours not only committing that chapter to memory, but also discussing its meaning with their missionaries and lay teachers, who were guided by Wesley’s own Explanatory Notes. Ensign Best gives a flavour of this dedication – and an insight into his own less serious devotions - in his journal for 23 April 1842, recorded while staying overnight at Aotea after a day at Whaingaroa:

³²¹ Hunt, C.G., *Wesleyan Mission History at Aotea*, p.5. Accessed 19 July 2009, <www.aoteaharbour.co.nz/aotea-history.html>.

³²² Wallis, J. *Letter to Wesleyan Society Committee from Whaingaroa 29 July 1835*, ‘Wesleyan Mission Society Letters to the Secretaries’, MET 4/1/3, John Kinder Theological Library, St John’s College, Auckland. [MIC 35 Methodist Missionary Society (12) 1 Committee minutes 1814-1865, AJCP Reel M118-120 (7)].

³²³ Smales, G., ‘New Zealand – Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Gideon Smales, dated Beecham-Dale, Aotea, 29 January 1847’. *Missionary Notices 1848*, volume VI, Wesleyan Mission House, London, 1848, p. 5. [Note that Beecham-Dale was at Raoraokauere].

After Tea went into Mr Turtons kitchen to smoak my pipe where I found a party reading the Testament the Book was handed in turn to me in order that I might learn a *lovely* little girl one of Mr Turtons Mauri servants undertaking the office of Preceptress. Need I say that under such Tuition I improved rapidly.³²⁴

Here is a quote from the Reverend Gideon Smales' report to the Wesleyan Mission Society for 1846 (the report relates to his mission station at Aotea, with which many Ngāti Maahanga would have been familiar):

Their knowledge of the sacred Scriptures has been and is still distinguished. At our public examination, in 1845, a large body of the natives repeated from memory the first four chapters of St Pauls Epistle to the Hebrews and some few even ten chapters. At the examination of 1846, they repeated in the same way the eight first chapters of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and for the coming examination they have already learned the fifth and following four chapters of St Matthew's Gospel.³²⁵

The recorded speeches of Te Awaitaia and other Ngāti Maahanga rangatira are full of references to scripture, all of them quoting from memory, as was customary in those days. To give just one example, at the Kohimarama Conference in 1860, Te Awaitaia referred to Genesis 49:8, 9, 10 to illustrate a point he was making in his korero:

Ko te take o taku rakau ko te kupu e mea ra "ko koe e Hura e whakamamoemititia nei eo tuakana; he kua o raiona a Hura, e kore e riro ke te hepeta o Hura; me te kai whakatakoto tikanga o ro to o ona waewae." Ka tu tatou ki runga nga ki tenei Karaipiture ka tu ano tatou. E whe – nei ana tenei kupu me te kowhatu e whiua ana ki waenganui i a tatou.³²⁶

So it can be seen that we of Ngāti Maahanga were very serious in our pursuit of a deep knowledge of Christianity and its key ideas; we put a lot of our energy into trying to

³²⁴ Taylor, N. (ed.), *The Journal of Ensign Best 1837 – 1843*, p. 357; *emphasis in original*.

³²⁵ Smales, G., 'New Zealand – Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Gideon Smales, dated Beecham-Dale, Aotea, 29 January 1847'. *Missionary Notices 1848*, volume VI, Wesleyan Mission House, London, 1848, p. 6. Note that the parts of the Bible that were most commonly discussed in these early days of Ngāti Maahanga Christianity were about the creation of the earth, the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount and the nature of the Christian faith. The New Testament was the first part of the Bible to be translated into te reo Māori, beginning with Luke's Gospel, and Paul's Epistles, and then the rest of the New Testament. The first six books of the Old Testament were published in 1847, and the remainder in two sections, in 1856 and 1857.

³²⁶ *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 17, 1 September 1860. Translation: 'The root of my (fable of the) sticks is in the words: "Thou, O Judah, are praised by thy brethren. Judah is a lion's whelp. The scepter shall not depart from Judah nor a lawgiver from between his feet (till Shiloh come)." If we stand upon this Scripture then we shall stand. This word is like unto a stone cast into our midst.'

understand the ways of the Pākehā and adapt them into our own lives. Sadly, we do not think that many Pākehā put anything like as much effort into trying to understand the ways of Ngāti Maahanga and adapt our ways into their lives, right up to present times!

3.4.2.3 The impact of Te Awaitaia's decision to become a baptised Christian

As has been seen in Chapter 1, Te Awaitaia decided to become a baptised Christian in the mid-1830s, and it is said that he was baptised by the Wesleyan missionary Reverend James Wallis at Whaingaroa on 17 January 1836 and given the baptismal name 'William Naylor' or Wiremu Neera.

The Reverend Ashwell published an account of a conversation he had near the end of 1842 with Te Awaitaia, about how Te Awaitaia became a 'believer', i.e. Christian:

William Naylor (Te Awaitaia) who had been baptised by the Wesleyans, called upon me and gave me his history as follows: "Some years since, I met Archdeacon Williams, and accompanied him to Paihia (Bay of Islands). He told me that I had a Father in heaven, and all the native gods were false; he also gave me some bread. I ate the bread and thought it good. I heard the words and thought them good. The next Sabbath I went to prayers and wondered at the words. Soon after, I went to the Manukau, and I told the chiefs that the missionaries had said that all their atua (native gods) were false, and that their Father was in heaven. I now heard that a native at Waipa had a book that could speak, and I determined to see this wonderful thing. I got the book, but it would not talk, and I was very angry. I gave it to the owner, who could read, and then was I surprised at the speaking book, and thought the words very good. Soon after, I went to Kawhia and told the natives our Father was in heaven. I could never get the words out of my mind but I went on in my old course, fighting, killing, and eating my enemies, drinking their blood, &c. After a time, I met a native teacher who confirmed the word I had heard at Paihia, and he gave me some books and slates. A Wesleyan missionary next found me preparing to revenge the death of my father, who had been cut off at Ahuriri (sic). He told me that the dead would rise again, and that at the day of judgement he would see all his relations, and that God would take vengeance on the wicked. I thought, if God will revenge my father's death, I need not. I therefore abandoned my intention, and then joined the believing party. Soon after, I heard that the new doctrine was false and that the missionaries were deceiving them. I put my books and slates into a box till I should hear more about them. I soon after met another missionary, who confirmed the truth of what I had previously heard. I now resolved to abandon my old courses and be steadfast (sic) to Christ. As a decisive step, I cut off my hair and threw it into the fire

which was cooking food for the slaves. The chiefs of Waikato, hearing of this profane act, brought a fight to kill my slaves. The priests prophesied that I would die. I said, "Well, if I die, call my new religion false but if I live, true." The fight remained several weeks, and, finding I did not die, returned without killing my slaves.³²⁷

Te Awaitaia is regarded by Ngāti Maahanga as the first Māori Wesleyan 'minister' or teacher, and he has inspired others to follow his example right up to the current generation. For example, our kaumātua Sunnah Thompson, made his decision to train as a Wesleyan minister because he was inspired by the example of Te Awaitaia.³²⁸ Another Ngāti Maahanga tupuna, Hamiora Ngaropi, is remembered in church histories as the first Native Wesleyan Minister, having undertaken the official programme of training and induction for the ministry.³²⁹

Why did Te Awaitaia take such a decisive step, unusual for a rangatira of his rank and mana at the time? We think it was because he saw Christianity as a pathway to unite Māori so that we would be able to engage from a position of strength with the Pākehā, and find a way together to create a peaceful and prosperous country for both Māori and Pākehā to live in.

We can see this in the words of Te Waka Te Ruki, a Ngāti Maahanga rangatira of Whaingaroa, speaking at the opening of the Kohimarama Conference in 1860:

Kahore ano ahau i korero noa, ahakoa kei te ngaro a Wiremu Nero kua mate a Potatau. Ko a raua korero maku e whaki. Kia korero ahau i nga kupu a Wiremu. Tae ana mai te Rongo Pai, hopukia ana e Wiremu. E whawhai ana a Waikato ki Taranaki; ka kawea atu te rongo pai, a ka ora a Taranaki; hoki ana mai. E whawhai ana a Waikato ki Rotorua, a kihai ratou i whakarongo; hoki ana mai. Ka tahi ka haere ki a Te Rauparaha ki Kapiti. Ka hoki mai ka kite Potatau ka haere ki a Te Rauparaha; heoi ka mau te rongo ki te taha Maori. Katahi ano ka huri te aroaro ki te Pakeha.³³⁰

³²⁷ Ashwell, Reverend B. Y., 'Recollections of a Waikato Missionary No 6 1842' in: *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue 3073, 23 May 1867, p. 5.

³²⁸ *Personal communication*; Hakari at Black Sands Café Whaingaroa, 27 April 2012, following karakia at Te Awaitaia's urupa in remembrance of his passing on 27 April 1866.

³²⁹ Morley, p. 135.

³³⁰ *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 14, 31 July 1860. Translation: 'I have not yet spoken, though Wiremu Nero is absent and Potatau dead. Let me give expression to their words. Let me speak the words of Wiremu. When the Gospel was introduced, Wiremu grasped it. Waikato was waging war against Taranaki; the Gospel was conveyed thither and Taranaki was saved. Wiremu returned home, Waikato was fighting against Rotorua; they would not entertain proposals of peace; he returned home. Then he went to Te Rauparaha, to Kapiti; when he came back, and Potatau had seen him, he also went to Te Rauparaha. The result was that peace was made on the Maori side. Then he directed his attention to the Pakehas.'

These words are borne out in Te Awaitaia's actions after his baptism. By 1837 Te Awaitaia had freed the slaves he had taken in Taranaki, and escorted them back to their homes, and he influenced others to do the same. In his visits to the south around these times, not only to Taranaki, but also to Otaki and other places, he made his peace and the peace of our tribe with the people of Taranaki, and the people of Ngāti Toa. There are stories of these visits by Te Awaitaia - for example, the well-known Wi Neera family of Ōtaki is said to have been converted to Christianity by him, taking his baptismal name as their baptismal name also.³³¹ At Kohimarama, Tamihana Te Rauparaha of Ngāti toa said:

E koe, e Te Awaitaia, ko koe to matou kai-whakaako ki nga tikanga o te Atua i mua i to taenga ake ki Kapiti. Puta ana to kupu mo te maunga rongo ki a tatou ki te tangata Maori. Kihai i whakaparahakotia mai to kupu e Te Rauparaha ma, whakapono tonu mai.³³²

The missionaries placed a lot of importance on Te Awaitaia's baptism, because they believed it was a crucial moment in the adoption of Christianity by Māori in Aotearoa. Wallis wrote at length on the matter and in a revealing manner:

It is a happy thing for our Mission and indeed for the whole of the Waikato District, that the principal chief of Whaingaroa, William Naylor Awaitaia, is a Christian. I feel it to be my duty to notice a statement which I have been informed appears in a number of the Missionary Register, attributing the conversion of this man to the instrumentality of one of the Church Missionaries, a statement absolutely and positively false. Mr William Williams was the first Missionary whom Awaitaia ever knew, and the first who ever addressed him on divine and spiritual subjects. But what he said to him had no other effect upon him than that of exciting his ridicule and he told me only a few days since that subsequent to that interview he assisted in killing and eating many a man. It was poor unhappy White who was the means of turning this great chief from his barbarities.³³³

Wallis' statement shows that the missionaries brought their sectarian divisions with them to New Zealand and into our rohe. In 1845, speaking at the opening of the

³³¹Taylor, G. & Gregory, D., *Visions from the Past Tainui Personages of note*. 1998, HPL infokit no. 83, Hamilton Public Library, p. 9.

³³² Speech at Kohimarama Conference, *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 15, 3 August 1860. Translation: '...You, Te Awaitaia, were our teacher in things pertaining to God when you visited us at Kapiti. You advocated that peace should be established amongst the Maori people. Your words were not ridiculed by Te Rauparaha and others. They believed in them....'

³³³ *Letter*, James Wallis to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Mission Society, London; Photocopy of ms; 10 April 1845; MET 014/1/4. [See also: AJHR NZ, 1858-1870].

Wesleyan Native Institution in Auckland, Te Awaitaia expressed our view on this destructive sectarianism:

What the Governor [FitzRoy] said about divisions in the Church was quite right. We have sometimes been led to think that the Church of England was one Church, and the Wesleyan Church another; but I am glad to hear from the Governor that they are one, and have one foundation. We have been told that Wesleyans were all slaves, and the members of the Church of England chiefs; that the steps of the Wesleyans tended to hell, and the steps of the other to Heaven, and we don't understand this. It did not originate with us, but with you Europeans, and we must leave it with you to settle. We always thought that there was one foundation, one root, and that the two were branches of the same, and I am glad to hear from the Governor that it is so.³³⁴

Wallis' statement also confirms that missionary work was about trying to convert the Ngāti Maahanga people to the missionaries' own ways of thinking and behaving. Reverend Wallis genuinely believed that Te Awaitaia and the Ngāti Maahanga people were heathen and barbarous. One historian has commented that '[t]he mission station was commonly conceived [by the missionaries] as an island of civilisation in a heathen world, setting an alternative pattern of life.'³³⁵ This was also greatly to our detriment, as not only was it insulting, it also meant that Reverend Wallis and many other missionaries were keen to change our way of life, without having the skills or insight to realise how destructive this would be to our well-being as a people.

3.4.3 European-style agriculture

The missionary motivation for supporting the introduction of European-style agriculture by Māori was strongly influenced by their view that the Māori way of life had to change, and become more settled and 'civilised':

³³⁴ Morley, p. 112. (Extract from Te Awaitaia's speech as recorded and translated by Reverend Buddle). Note that 'Governor FitzRoy and other notables' were present on this occasion, 'as well as many Maori'. The Institution was built at the corner of what are now Carleton Gore and Grafton Roads. Its first students came from Whaingaroa, Kaipara, Pehiakura, Kawhia and Hokianga, and instruction was in the English language. In 1848, Te Awaitaia sent one of his sons to this school, one of the first two boys to be admitted – the other was a grandson of Tamati Waka (Thomas Walker) Nene. They joined 14 young men, 4 married and 10 unmarried, and they all, young men and boys, studied reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English language, theology, scripture history and chronology. They also built four small cottages for the use of the married students, supervised by a carpenter; and cultivated about 10 acres of land in wheat, potatoes, pumpkins and other vegetables – but an unusually dry summer caused a complete failure of crops. See: Missionary Notices 1848, December, p. CXIV – *Report of the Native Institution in Auckland*.

³³⁵ Oliver and Williams, Chapter 2, 'New Zealand before Annexation', by J.M.R. Owens, p. 36.

The success of [the missionaries'] work was marred by the migratory habits of the people. Owning large tracts of land in different places, they frequently went to live on these in order to maintain their rights. This made it difficult to follow them.³³⁶

Another motivation was to provide more stable resourcing for their mission stations and activities, through the sale of agricultural produce. Often, their approach involved Māori working for the mission to produce saleable goods.

We of Ngāti Maahanga already knew something of European-style cultivation and livestock from the traders in our rohe. And there were mission stations in these years which Ngāti Maahanga visited on journeys up and down the coast and the inland rivers where there was a strong emphasis on agriculture. One prominent example close to us was Morgan's CMS station at Otawhao. Morgan was deeply interested in agriculture and taught agricultural husbandry on English lines to Māori. Sir George Grey reported a landscape of neat European-type villages set amid orchards and immense wheat fields, with two steel flourmills constructed by Māori at their own expense, when he visited in 1849. There was an impressive trade with Auckland, and in the early 1850s Te Awamutu flour was even exported to the Californian goldfields where it fetched high prices.³³⁷

And at Maraetai up the coast, Maunsell worked with two local chiefs, and a school and mission farm had been started as early as April 1839; Maunsell later initiated a very large mission farm on a Tainui endowment at Te Kōhanga in lower Waikato. This soon became the largest and most productive in the Waikato, with an apiary, dairy, sheep and goat farms, an orchard and extensive market gardens. (The total produce reaching Auckland from all the Waikato missions in 1854 was valued at 16000 pounds).³³⁸

From 1849 we could also access the training provided at the Wesleyan school at Three Kings in Auckland, which was established to complement the more 'academic' education offered at the Wesleyan institution in Grafton, and which had a large farm

³³⁶ Morley, p. 104.

³³⁷ 'Morgan, John', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, McLintock, A. (ed.), 1966. Te Ara – The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, updated 16 Mar 2005.
URL: <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/M/MorganJohn/en.htm>>

³³⁸ 'Maunsell, Robert', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, McLintock, A. (ed.), 1966. Te Ara – The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, updated 16 Mar 2005.
URL: <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/M/MaunsellRobert/en.htm>>

where the boy pupils learnt to plough, harrow, ditch and fence, and some learned carpentry.³³⁹

We ourselves directly supported mission schools through our generous endowments for their farms. For example, the Surveyor-General reported in 1852 that a Ngāti Maahanga rangatira of Whatawhata had offered a substantial endowment for a school farm at Kaitotehe:

I now enclose a survey of another piece of land containing 96 acres, situated on the Horotiu branch of the Waikato river, proposed to be given by the Chief Mokoro [sic] of Wata Wata [sic] and his family as an endowment for the school established by the Rev. Mr Ashwell at Kaitotehe. The land is intended as a farm in connexion with the school, and would doubtless render it less dependent on other sources for support, as the procuring of a sufficient quantity of food for the children is at present attended with considerable expense. This establishment is now educating, lodging and clothing about fifty young natives, and it cannot but have a very beneficial effect on the rising generation. If his Excellency should approve of the proposal made by Mokoro, that chief would be willing to convey the land to the Crown, on the understanding that it should be granted by the Crown in trust for the use of the school above mentioned.³⁴⁰

Ashwell's native school at Kaitotehe was 'considered one of the finest in the country and [received] annual grants from the Governor's fund' as well as becoming 'a pattern for similar institutions in other parts of the country.'³⁴¹

At Whaingaroa, Wallis, who was anxious about the future of his large family, especially his sons, wrote to his brother in England in 1852 about his plans to establish a mill and '...encourage the natives to sow as much wheat as possible to supply it when ready. The plan is to purchase the wheat off them at an average price of 4

³³⁹ Morley, p. 116. Three Kings was regarded as a 'model' training institute of its type, and was regularly included on the itinerary of important visitors to the colony. (There were also girl pupils who were supervised in making, mending and washing their own clothes and clothes for the boys.) The principal for the first ten years was the Rev. Alexander Reid, who then became a resident Wesleyan missionary on the Waipa, where he ran an infants' school for Maori (highly regarded by Gorst, who was a strong critic of the poor conditions and standards of education at many other mission schools for Maori), until Reverend Reid was forced to leave in May 1863 – see *Taranaki Herald*, Volume XI, Issue 562, 9 May 1863, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ Ligar, C.W., Report for his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Grey, Auckland, April 15, 1852, British Parliamentary Papers New Zealand (BPPNZ), p. 109 in: 1779.01.052, Copy of a Despatch from Sir G Grey to The Right Hon. Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, June 12, 1852, Enclosure No. 52; <<http://digital.liby.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz>>.

³⁴¹ 'Ashwell, Benjamin Yates', *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, McLintock, A. (ed.), 1966. Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 16 March 2005. URL: <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/A/AshwellBenjaminYates/en.htm>>

shillings a bushel and export the flour to Auckland or elsewhere. Auckland is a day's sail from this place. Flour generally ranges between 14 and 20 pounds per ton. It is sometimes down as low as 12 pounds and as high as 28.³⁴² Wallis thought he might get up to 4 pounds profit per ton of flour, with bran left to feed pigs.

Ngāti Maahanga may have grown wheat for Wallis family enterprises.³⁴³ But as we have seen, Ngāti Maahanga were literate, and we almost certainly took just as much interest in the prices for agricultural produce, as we did in Christian ideas: 'Every recently arrived traveller, if he comes from any of the settlements, is closely questioned as to the price of pork, wheat, flour, and flax.'³⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, we decided it would potentially be more beneficial for the tribe to have its own farming enterprises, not ones locked into the missionary economy.

Under Te Awaitaia's leadership we embarked on our own farming enterprises. But one of the big challenges for us was to find the cash to invest in agricultural inputs. There is clear evidence that this was one reason for us selling land in the early 1850s; on a visit to Whaingaroa in April 1852, the Surveyor-General reported that he found Te Awaitaia and his tribe:

...busily engaged in thrashing their wheat...' and that they had '...with a part of the purchase money, bought implements of agriculture and horses, and have otherwise placed themselves in circumstances to commence the cultivation of wheat on a large scale.'³⁴⁵

This shift to large-scale European style farming was a very risky one for us, although this was not known to us at the time. We had only so much 'people power' (labour) available to us, especially at seasonal peak times such as planting and harvesting. So we had difficulty keeping up our traditional patterns of food gathering and cultivation as well, and that meant that our food supplies were no longer so plentiful or varied. Importantly, we had also put ourselves in a position to lose access to many of our

³⁴² Wallis, J. *Letter to his brother from Whaingaroa June 11, 1852*, p. 7; MET 014/1/10, John Kinder Theological Library, St John's College, Auckland.

³⁴³ Sources differ as to whether or not Mr Wallis and his sons actually established the planned mill.

³⁴⁴ Ligar, C.W., Report for his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Grey, Auckland, April 15, 1852, British Parliamentary Papers New Zealand (BPPNZ) in: 1779.01.052, Copy of a Despatch from Sir G Grey to The Right Hon. Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, June 12, 1852, Enclosure No. 53; <http://digital.lib.y.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz>. Newspapers routinely carried information about agricultural prices.

³⁴⁵ Ligar, C.W., Report for his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Grey, Auckland, April 15, 1852, British Parliamentary Papers New Zealand (BPPNZ), p. 109 in: 1779.01.052, Copy of a Despatch from Sir G Grey to The Right Hon. Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, June 12, 1852, Enclosure No. 52; <http://digital.lib.y.waikato.ac.nz/bppnz>

traditional food sources, although that was not apparent until settler pressure increased, and we became locked into just the areas designated as reserves during the land sale processes. Also, we had to grow enough of the new crops to generate a surplus for sale, so we had enough money to buy the following year's inputs, as well as any Pākehā goods we wanted. All this very quickly locked us into the cash economy. We had unwittingly made ourselves vulnerable to droughts and floods, or to diseases striking our crops or livestock, or to ups-and-downs in market prices for our surplus crops and livestock. And because we had less land, and put much of our labour into the new agriculture, our capacity to be self-sufficient and provide for ourselves from the resources of our own rohe was diminished. All this was not immediately apparent - initially there were boom times, and it is clear that we had ambitious plans:

Wiremu, chief of Whaingaroa, expressed his readiness to settle the greatest part of his tribe near Whatawhata on the Waipa ...proposing to sell land and raise money to commence a farm like the one at Kohanga...³⁴⁶

But at the end of the 1850s a disastrous succession of circumstances occurred. There were devastating floods wiping out our kāinga and crops along the Waipa, and in other places in our rohe. There was agricultural depression and prices for our agricultural produce dropped catastrophically. Meanwhile, we had invested in expensive mills, so that instead of just selling wheat or corn, we could process it and get more money by selling flour. We also had to employ Pākehā millers to erect and run the mills, which meant paying their wages. It was not unusual for Ngāti Maahanga tangata in this time to go hungry, or to shiver in the cold winters.³⁴⁷

It is clear that some of the missionaries were aware that the new agricultural methods they were introducing had some risks. Maunsell wrote in 1849 'To this mill I have looked myself with some anxiety; for if it fail, I cannot imagine how I can maintain the present large number that are dependent on me with so little means for their support.' But when things did go wrong, it was not uncommon for Pākehā to blame us;

³⁴⁶ Report from Mr Fenton R.M. as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District March 1857, AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, p. 9.

³⁴⁷ Smales, G., 'New Zealand – Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Gideon Smales, dated Beecham-Dale, Aotea, 29 January 1847'. *Missionary Notices 1848*, volume VI, Wesleyan Mission House, London, 1848, p. 6. See also: AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, pages 23-24, p. 33.

for example, to say that it was our mania for mills that was the problem, and that they hoped we had learnt our lesson.³⁴⁸

Once again, the missionaries had over-reached themselves, introducing huge changes into our lives without explaining the risks (or perhaps even understanding the risks themselves). They were not properly resourced to help us to adapt to new methods of agriculture. And once again, the Crown did little in a sustained or systematic way to help us adjust to this completely new kind of economy that they had brought into our rohe. The need for the missions to be 'self-sufficient' meant that the missionaries had more incentives to encourage us to provide labour on mission enterprises that to become self-sufficient farmers in our own right. For some, such as Wallis, anxiety about their children's future in New Zealand led them into direct competition with us, and also into encouraging us to sell our land.

We succeeded in establishing our own Ngāti Maahanga cultivations based on European-style agriculture, but it was in spite of the Crown; and in the end our efforts came to naught because of the actions of the Crown. The settler pressure for land culminated in the invasion of the Waikato by the army of the Crown. The invading army had a 'scorched earth' approach, to ensure that there would not be any food supplies for the 'rebels', so we lost all our crops and livestock. The land confiscations and influx of settlers (including military settlers) that the Crown engineered after the invasion of Waikato were the final knell to our hopes of creating a prosperous future for ourselves.

3.5 Te Kawenata o Waitangi me Te Kawenata o Kohimarama

Our rangatira Te Awaitaia signed the Treaty of Waitangi because the knowledge he and our other rangatira tupuna of those times had acquired from their dealings with Pākehā up to 1840 led them to believe that a close relationship with Pākehā was important, as they explained and reaffirmed at the Kohimarama Conference of Chiefs in 1860:

...“Arohaina atu o koutou hoa tata, ano ko koe.” Tenei ano hoki tetahi o kau whakaaro. E rite ana ki te tio e piri ana ki te toka kohatu i

³⁴⁸ See, for example, *Memorandum by Native Secretary*, 27 September 1861, p. 8, quoting letter written by Archdeacon Kissling in May 1858; sent as enclosure with letter to Duke of Newcastle, from Governor Gore-Browne, 13 July 1861: '...their failure in mills left a standing warning before their Eyes to use more practical wisdom in laying out their money.' See: our Document Bank, 3.2.

waengamoana; ahakoa pakia e te ngaru e kore e taka i taua toka kohatu. Te tikanga o tenei toka, ko te Kuini, te tikanga o te tio, ko nga tangata, e noho ana ki Whaingaroa, ki Aotea.³⁴⁹

Te Awaitaia himself commented on the position of Maori: ‘Kahore, ka hanga noatia etahi ritenga takahi mo te Pakeha, e kore e memeha, he puna ora.’³⁵⁰ But he was not seeking only to protect his people. More importantly, Te Awaitaia developed what was essentially a shared sovereignty or ‘co-governance’ approach to his relationship with the Crown from the time he signed the Treaty onwards. We discuss this in more detail in section 3.6.1, below.

The missionaries, both CMS and Wesleyan, played a big part in advocating for the Treaty of Waitangi in our rohe. Maunsell canvassed for signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi in the Waikato and Governor Hobson and George Clarke paid an official visit to Maraetai mission station in July 1840, presumably in recognition of his efforts. The Minutes of an 1840 Wesleyan meeting held in part at Whaingaroa contain a full record of a letter to the Wesleyan missionaries from Governor Hobson, thanking them for their assistance during negotiations with native chiefs over the Treaty.³⁵¹

It has been written in Pākehā histories of the Treaty that Te Awaitaia later said he signed the Treaty on the advice of the missionaries:

He signed the Treaty in March or April and later recalled that, like other chiefs, he had followed missionary advice. He said that chiefs were told that any nation other than Britain would have forcibly compelled the Māori people to give up possession of the country, whereas government by the British could be relied upon to be benevolent.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Te Waka Te Ruki, ‘Reply from NgātiMaahanga to the Governor, and to Messrs. McLean and Smith’, Wanganui [i.e. Kohimarama] July 1860, reported in: *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, no. 18, 30 November 1860. Translation: “...Thou shall love thy neighbour as thyself.” This is also one of my thoughts. The oyster cleaves to the rock in the midst of the sea: though it be dashed by the waves it does not fall off. By the rock is meant the Queen, and by the oyster the people of Whaingaroa and Aotea.’

³⁵⁰ Speech at Kohimarama Conference, reported in: *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 15, 3 August, 1860. Translation: ‘Plans may be devised to suppress the Pakeha, but he will not pass away. It is a living spring.’

³⁵¹ Minutes of an Annual District Meeting held by adjournment at Kawhia, Whaingaroa and Mangungu, 1840; *District Meeting Minutes, 1827-1858*. MET 001/1/1, John Kinder Theological Library, St John’s College, Auckland. See our document bank 3.3.

³⁵² Orange, C., *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi*, p. 45.

It is certainly the case that Te Awaitaia signed the only English copy of the Treaty,³⁵³ so we know he would have been reliant on the missionaries' explanations in Māori of the meanings of the English text. There would have been room for plenty of misunderstandings about the fine details of interpretation in this process!

Twenty years later in 1860, appearing before the Waikato Committee, Reverend Maunsell was asked if he had assisted the Government in any way to obtain the consent of the Waikato chiefs [to the Treaty of Waitangi], to which he replied: 'I did; I induced the Waikato people to consent to it.' He was then asked: 'Were you aware as to what was their understanding, at the time, of their cession of sovereignty to the Queen, as contained in the Treaty?' and Maunsell responded: '*That they retained the rights over their lands, but that the Queen had power to make the laws.*'³⁵⁴ We see this understanding expressed in the actions and speeches of Te Awaitaia and other Ngāti Maahanga rangatira from the days of the signing of Te Tiriti.

Our tupuna Hemi Matini told the Kohimarama Conference that he had been at Waitangi, and listened carefully there to the 'love of the Queen' and the 'advantages of the Treaty'. For Hemi Matini and Ngāti Maahanga, the Treaty, and specifically the clause usually referred to in the English translation as the cession of sovereignty by Maori to the Crown, was actually about the union of the races:

Ka whai ahau inaianei hei korero maku, ko nga korero a te Kawana. Me whakahaere taku korero tuatahi ki runga i te wha o nga rarangi ara koia tenei "Na, he meatanga ano to nga rangatira Maori i tuhituhia nei o ratou ingoa ki taua Pukapuka, ki te Kawenata o Waitangi, hei ritenga hoki ia mo enai pai i whakawhiwhia nei ratou; ko tana meatanga he meatanga mo ratou mo o ratou iwi hoki; tino tukua rawatia atu ana e ratou ki te Kuini o Ingarani nga tikanga me nga mana Kawanatanga katoa i a ratou katoa, i tenei i tenei ranei o ratou, me nga pera katoa e meinga kei a ratou." Ko te whakakotahitanga tena o nga iwi ki Waitangi. I reira hoki ahau e whakarongo ana ki te aroha o te Kuini. Ka rongong ahau ki nga paenga o tena korero.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Orange, pp. 298-300.

³⁵⁴ AJHR, 1860, F- No. 3, Report on Waikato Native Affairs, p. 42.

³⁵⁵ Speech, Kohimarama Conference, *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger* Volume 7, No. 13, 14 July 1860. Translation: 'I shall make the Governor's address the subject of my speech. I shall speak first of the fourth clause [of the Governor's speech], namely, "In return for these advantages the chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi ceded for themselves and their people to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which they collectively or individually possessed or might be supposed to exercise or possess". That was the union of races at Waitangi. I was there at the time, and I listened to the love of the Queen. I then heard about the advantages of the Treaty.'

It was very meaningful to us that the Treaty relationship was direct and personal:

No Wiremu Nero tena whakaaro ki te Kawana tuatahi, marena rawa, ki te Kawana tuarua, marena rawa, ki te Kawana tuatoru, marena rawa, ki te Kawana tuawha, marena rawa.³⁵⁶

When Governor Hobson died, there is evidence that some Maori considered it the end of the Treaty relationship, which absolved them of their agreements under the Treaty.³⁵⁷ We of Ngāti Maahanga, however, stuck firmly to our agreements, and it was the direct relationship between Te Awaitaia and successive Governors was to us the living evidence of the sincerity and commitment of both parties to the Treaty.³⁵⁸ From those times right up to present times, we have believed that Pākehā and the Crown have special responsibilities to Māori in general, and Ngāti Maahanga in particular, because of the Treaty relationship.

We can be clear about this because of what our tupuna said at the Kohimarama Conference convened by Governor, Thomas Gore Browne. This 1860 Conference was the first meeting to bring together Māori chiefs from all over New Zealand to meet with the Governor and his colonial administrators to discuss matters connected with the welfare and advancement of the two races living in New Zealand. One of those topics was the Treaty of Waitangi.

The significance of Te Awaitaia's presence and contribution at Kohimarama is emphasized over and over again when reading the record of the Kohimarama Conference. He was one of the most important rangatira at Kohimarama, in terms of his contribution and influence, recognized as such among his chiefly peers, and also by the representatives of the Crown.³⁵⁹ Here is just one example (of many) of the influence of Te Awaitaia:

³⁵⁶ *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 14, 31 July 1860. Translation: 'The thought with reference to the first Governor was Wiremu Nero's. They two were married; to the second Governor they were married; to the third Governor they were married; to the fourth Governor they were married.'

³⁵⁷ *Memorandum by Native Secretary*, 27 September 1861, p. 3; sent as enclosure with letter to Duke of Newcastle, from Governor Gore-Browne, 13 July 1861: 'In 1844... [the Protector of Aborigines, referring to circumstances in the north] said "Opinions are professed...by them that the obligations they had contracted under the Treaty of Waitangi ceased on the death of the late Governor Hobson".' See document bank 3.4.

³⁵⁸ AJHR, 1860, E - No. 9, p. 21; see also *Raupatu Document Bank*, page 5082.

³⁵⁹ The record shows that approximately 1769 pounds were spent by the Governor on the 'entertainment of the Chiefs', i.e. their food and lodgings, during the Kohimarama hui. See: *Return showing amount*

Te Makarini Te Uhiniko, Ngāti awa, Te Awa-a-te-Atua: ‘Ue painga noku ki te korero a Te Awaitaia, a Tamihana, i tu ai au ki runga, e whakahaere nei i ia ra, i ia ra. He mea nui tenei, tango ake ano raua ko tana Ukanga nui. No konei au i mea ai kia kaha ta rana tikanga. Ko wai ka mohio ki a tatou e runanga nei i roto i te whare nei; ta te mea hoki e mau tonu ana nga parahanga a Uenuku kaitangata. No reira au i whakatika ai ki te pupu rakau a Te Awaitaia.’³⁶⁰

This was a reference to part of one speech Te Awaitaia made at Kohimarama, which we recounted at the beginning of this chapter. Te Awaitaia’s ‘parable of the sticks’ was referred to by many other rangatira in their speeches and was clearly very influential with them.

At the end of the Conference our Ngāti Maahanga rangatira entered into a solemn pledge which became known as the Kohimarama Covenant. All the chiefs present at Kohimarama ‘pledged to each other, to do nothing inconsistent with their declared recognition of the Queen’s sovereignty, and of the union of the two races. And they promised to abstain from anything that might break this covenant that they had solemnly entered into.’ Claudia Orange adds that:

...the Kohimarama Conference as a whole, was as important to Maori understanding of the Treaty as the meetings of 1840. The covenant represented a new or renewed commitment to the Treaty as a sacred deed. Many northern chiefs had always seen it this way, but now this perception was shared by other chiefs from all over the country, including tribes who had not signed in 1840. It was an important ratification of the 1840 agreement.³⁶¹

Our tupuna rangatira kept their solemn promise, but sadly the Crown and Pākehā did not reciprocate.

3.6 Partnership under Te Kawenata

Our tūpuna at the Kohimarama hui emphasized their long record of engagement with the Crown. For example, Hemi Matini said:

expended in giving presents to and entertaining natives from 1 January 1846 to 30 June 1861, Archives NZ, Wellington, in our Document Bank 3.5.

³⁶⁰ *Te Karere Maori, The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 17, 1 September 1860. Translation: ‘I rise to speak because I am pleased with the words of Te Awaitaia and Tamihana [Te Rauparaha] which they have spoken day after day. An important subject (is before the Conference) and they have taken it up. Therefore I say, let them persevere in the course they have taken. Who can answer for the rest of us in this runanga? Because we still cleave to the old customs of Uenuku the man-eater. For this reason I agree with Te Awaitaia in his parable of the sticks....’

³⁶¹ Orange, pp. 66-67.

No Kawana Hopihana taku korero. Mea ana te Kawana, 'E kore koe e pai ko koe hei hoa moku?' Ka moa au i konei, 'Hei hoa ano ahau mou.' Ko taku kupu tenei ki te tuatahi, ki te tuarua, ki te matoru, ki te tuawha o nga Kawana. I oaitia ahau ki te aroaro o nga Kawana.³⁶²

Given this view of the Treaty relationship, the political roles that Te Awaitaia adopted in the years after the Treaty are not surprising. He saw himself as a partner with the Governor in implementing the Treaty partnership as a meaningful union of the two races, Māori and Pākehā. Te Awaitaia therefore engaged directly with successive Governors and their officials about the key issues of the day. He not only met with Governors and their officials who came to Whaingaroa; he travelled to other places inside and beyond the rohe of Ngāti Maahanga; and he wrote letters to the Governors, and they wrote many letters to him, and referred to his views and opinions in their official reports.

The artist, George French Angas, who visited Whaingaroa in 1844, has left us a record of Te Awaitaia at work:

All day at Whaingaroa taking portraits of the principal chiefs. A korero, or gathering of the native orators, was held at the mission station....and the most distinguished of these individuals sat to me for their portraits....The day is over; the chiefs have concluded their meeting, at which many energetic and eloquent speeches have been delivered; and two of the principal leaders, Wiremu Nera (William Naylor) or Awaitaia, and Paratene Maioha, are sitting with me at the table, writing letters to the Governor; they made me fold their letters for them, and have given me their signatures beneath their portraits.³⁶³

³⁶² *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 13, 14 July 1860. Translation: 'My words date from the time of Governor Hobson. The Governor asked, 'Will you be my friend?' I replied, "I will be your friend." These were my words to the first Governor, to the second Governor, to the third Governor, and to the fourth Governor, I made this pledge in the presence of the Governor.'

³⁶³ Angas, G.F., *Portraits of the New Zealand Maori Painted in 1844*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1972. The version of the portrait we reproduce in this volume comes from: Morley, p. 130. The caption reads: 'Two noted Christian Chiefs of Whaingaroa. Standing - Te Moanaroa (Stephen) Sitting - Te Awaitai [sic] (William Naylor). The artist was George French Angas, and the portrait was done in 1844 [October 7] at Whaingaroa'. The original is held in the National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK 55.



Illustration 30 Portrait of Te Moanaroa and Te Awaitaia

Te Awaitaia was even prepared to visit the capital, Auckland, to meet with successive Governors. There were many rangatira who would not ordinarily go to Auckland, because they felt ill-treated there³⁶⁴; and there were also other hazards that sometimes had to be faced in the capital, even by the greatest of rangatira!³⁶⁵

There were two key issues that occupied a lot of Te Awaitaia's attention, and the attention of other Ngāti Maahanga rangatira, in the years between the signing of Te Kawenata o Waitangi and the invasion of Waikato: the system of government, and the related matter of the system of laws and how that would be implemented; and land rights.

3.6.1 The system of government and laws, and its implementation

It was very important to us when we signed the Treaty, as it is to us now, that from that time on we would be equal partners in the government of our nation, under the Treaty. Our tupuna Hetaraka Nero informed the Governor and his officials at the Kohimarama Conference of two serious instances of the Crown failing to meet its

³⁶⁴ E.g. *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 1, No. 7, 1 September 1855: '...the great chiefs are averse to visit the European settlements...'; see also, Letter from Governor Gore-Browne to the Duke of Newcastle, 13 July 1861: "Te Heu Heu said to me...that...if a Maori Chief of the highest rank visited Auckland, he was treated like a slave by all except the Governor and a few of his officials." (See our Document bank 3.6).

³⁶⁵ Meurant, E., *Diary*, entry for July 4 1846: 'the chief William Naylor (sic) Requested the Police would assist in apprehending [sic] his wife.....This evening I went with the Chief Naylor in search of his wife to no effect [sic]'; and on July 5: 'This morning about 9 am one of the Native Police brought William Naylor's wife...to me.'

responsibilities under Te Kawenata o Waitangi: one was that they had not brought the Chiefs together earlier, and the other was in relation to land. This is what he said:

Ka korero ahau i te wahi i puritia ai e koutou te pai. Me i takoto tenei runanga i a koutou i nga ra o mua kua pai ano: otira i puritia e koutou. Me i peneitia o matou whenua, penei kua takoto te pai ki a matou.³⁶⁶

At the Kohimarama Conference our tupuna supported the Petition of the Chiefs to the Governor requesting that a Conference of the Māori Chiefs of the Island of New Zealand should be established and made permanent, ‘as a means of clearing away evils affecting both Europeans and Natives’. Their petition went unanswered. We all know the results; Ngāti Maahanga and all Māori suffer to the present day because of the Crown’s inaction; and although many Pākehā may not realize it, they are poorer, too, because the chance to create a more just foundation for our nation from those early times was lost.

This sadness becomes even deeper when we remember how Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga pleaded with the Crown to ‘introduce British law’ from the very earliest days after the signing of Te Kawenata o Waitangi. We have already heard that Te Awaitaia’s understanding was that the Queen would have the power to make laws, from his kōrero with Reverend Maunsell before he signed Te Kawenata. Te Awaitaia was from the time of Te Kawenata a strong advocate of the establishment of a system of laws that combined Māori ritenga and British laws, to be implemented by Māori and the Crown working together. Best observed in 1841 that

[i]n consequence of several murders which had been committed among the Mauries (sic) some of the chiefs had written to Capt Hobson expressing their wish to stop such proceedings for the future and requesting his assistance. This application and the usual question concerning the land compelled Capt Symonds to convene a meeting of the Mauries.....The result of Capt Symonds interview with the Chiefs was that they determined in any case of murder or other heinous crime among their tribe to secure and deliver the offender up to justice.The Principal advocate for British law was William Wai Ti [sic] a baptized Native.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 15, 3 August 1860. Translation: ‘..... Now I will point out where you have kept back what is good. If you had convened a meeting like this some time ago, it would have been well, but you withheld it. If our lands had been treated in the manner now proposed, we should have secured an advantage.....’

³⁶⁷ Taylor, N. (ed.), *Journal of Ensign Best*, 12 March 1841 at Whaingaroa. We are confident that it is Te Awaitaia to whom Best is referring in this quote. Taylor noted (p. 287) that ‘Possibly Best meant Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia, also called William Naylor, the leading chief of Whaingaroa and of great

What Te Awaitaia wanted was early and decisive action to give meaning to Te Kawenata o Waitangi as the foundation of a new government by Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand.

Fitzroy did get Chief Justice Martin to write a book of instructions on English laws and customs called *Ko Nga Tikanga a Te Pakeha*, which was published in 1845,³⁶⁸ and *Te Karere Maori* reported and explained court cases. But little real progress was made in response to the requests of Te Awaitaia and other chiefs:

Fitzroy's Native Exemption Ordinance of 1844 required magistrates to issue warrants for the arrest of Maori offenders through chiefs, and allowed offenders to avoid sentence by paying compensation to the aggrieved party, in effect an acceptance of the Māori principle of utu. The Ordinance was attacked by settlers as appeasement. In 1846 Grey replaced it by a Resident Magistrates Courts Ordinance which gave magistrates summary jurisdiction in disputes between Māori and Pākehā, but it required them to act with the concurrence of two Māori assessors in purely Māori cases. Compensation in lieu of sentence was continued. Clause 71 of the 1852 Constitution Act provided for the setting aside of Māori districts in which Māori law and custom were to prevail; but no such districts were ever proclaimed. However, the 1858 Native District Regulation Act allowed local Māori councils (runanga) under a Pākehā chairman, to make bylaws on matters of local concern; and a Native Circuit Courts Act of the same year provided for the appointment of Circuit Court Judges, advised by Maori assessors and juries, to enforce the bylaws. Grey used the two Acts for 'new institutions' he tried to establish in Māori districts when he returned to New Zealand in 1861.³⁶⁹

Te Awaitaia also saw the need for an institution specifically to address inter-tribal disputes, something that would sit in between a rūnanga at the level of a kāinga (and its immediate rohe), and the 'national' level, i.e. a conference of the chiefs of New Zealand. In his conversations with Fenton, he saw the need for 'district councils' to address inter-tribal disputes in a way which meant that their decisions would stick, and thought that the strengthening of the magistrates would be the 'chief duty of this Council'.³⁷⁰ Te Awaitaia was very flexible in his thinking, willing to adapt and adopt a mix of Māori and Pākehā practices. Perhaps the strongest evidence of the commitment of Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga to achieving a workable system of laws under Te

influence in the Waikato.' Elsewhere in his Journal (entry for 24 May 1841), Best refers to 'William Wai Ti from Wainga Roa (sic) one of the Chiefs who was anxious to introduce British law'.

³⁶⁸ Orange p. 113.

³⁶⁹ Oliver and Williams, Chapter 7, Sorrenson, M., 'Maori and Pakeha', pp. 176-77.

³⁷⁰ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, Fenton's Papers, p. 21.

Tiriti is the energy with which they participated in the short-lived effort of Fenton in 1857-58, when he was Resident Magistrate in Waikato, to establish rūnanga-based institutions to devise local laws, and appoint and train Maori to administer them.

How frustrated Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga must have been by the endless delays and changes of mind on the part of the Governors and their officials! Mohi and Hetaraka, for example, took matters into their own hands in 1858, apprehending a person, Raharuhi, at Kāniwhaniwha who had been accused of stealing salt in Auckland, and returning him to Auckland for trial. This demonstrates the exercise of Ngāti Maahanga's mana in their own rohe, as well as our willingness to adapt to the Pākehā system, i.e. return the accused to Auckland (where the offence took place) for the case to be heard.³⁷¹ At the time this incident occurred, neither Mohi nor Hetaraka had any 'Pākehā' appointment to back their actions.

Fenton's job was to '... execute the organisation of the Natives into a self-governing system, and their instruction in the elements of the law,'³⁷² something Te Awaitaia had been advocating ever since the signing of Te Kawenata o Waitangi. But this kāinga-based scheme fell far short of Te Awaitaia's vision of complementary governance institutions at the national, regional/district, and village levels.

Despite the inadequacies of the scheme Fenton was appointed to promote, Te Awaitaia did support Fenton's appointment as resident magistrate in Waikato, and graciously portrayed himself and Fenton as partners in the maintenance of law and order. Te Awaitaia also attended Ngāti Maahanga's Whaingaroa runanga, and was already a Government assessor at the time Fenton was appointed.³⁷³ Te Awaitaia continued to display his goodwill towards the Crown, adopting these Pākehā institutions and ways of doing things, and adapting them to Māori ritenga, tikanga and kawa, even as his own proposals were ignored. Te Awaitaia was exceptional, as many of the 'old chiefs' were said to resent the influence gained by younger men who were trained in the new system. Te Awaitaia himself was already a Kai-whakawā when Fenton came to Whaingaroa, and he asked Fenton that his two nephews be appointed. In his evidence to the Committee on Waikato, Fenton said that:

³⁷¹ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, p. 59, paragraph 1093.

³⁷² AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, p. 4.

³⁷³ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, p. 59.

The old Chiefs often ... requested that younger...men should be chosen, men more acquainted with Pakeha “tikanga”. Wiremu Nera’s expression to the Governor was, “We [meaning the old Chiefs] will support the magistrates, and they must do the work. (Ma matou e tino whakakaha i nga kai-whakawa.)³⁷⁴

Donald McLean, the Native Secretary, who did not have a good relationship with Fenton, said that the older chiefs, including Te Awaitaia, were not happy about Fenton’s elevation of the younger men, that the use of rūnanga to devise bylaws was rousing undue excitement among Māori, and that the system was antagonising the King party.³⁷⁵

Our tupuna Mohi Te Rongomau, who was an assessor ‘appointed by the Maoris’ and sat as a ‘companion’ to Mr Fenton during judicial investigations, ‘at Whatawhata and throughout all its boundaries,’ said in his evidence to the Committee on Waikato that he liked Mr Fenton’s system of administering justice, and he did not think that Potatau, the ‘King party’ or the older chiefs had been displeased by it.³⁷⁶

Te Awaitaia did express his general approbation of Fenton’s work, and wholeheartedly put the resources at his disposal into making the system work. He initiated the building of a court-house in Whatawhata in 1858, and also in Whaingaroa in 1857; the latter was substantial, 37 feet long by 16 feet wide and 6 feet 1 and a quarter inches in height. Fenton himself commented on the Whatawhata courthouse and the proceedings held in it:

Held court on the 2nd [March]. Hemi Matini and Te Waterauhi as probationers. This court-house is built of adzed matai – very well done. The absence of windows is a great inconvenience. Magistrates present: Waata, Takerei, Taneti. Probationers – Mohi, Panapa, Te Reweti, Waterauhi, Hemi Matini. A most orderly and satisfactory Court. Several partizans [sic] of the King expressed admiration of the proceedings, and said it was just what they wanted.³⁷⁷

Ngāti Maahanga took all these initiatives at their own expense; Fenton himself commented in his diary that he felt uncomfortable asking people to do so much work

³⁷⁴ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, p. 104.

³⁷⁵ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, pp. 88-89.

³⁷⁶ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, p. 69.

³⁷⁷ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, p. 31.

in the new system when so few received any pay for doing so.³⁷⁸ Te Awaitaia did ask for payment for the builders of the Court-houses, on the basis that he thought the Court-houses ‘should be regarded as the property of the Queen, and not of the Maoris.’³⁷⁹

But, as usual, all our efforts came to naught, because of a lack of commitment by the Crown, and infighting in the Government. Te Awaitaia sent Fenton a letter on his dismissal, which is an eloquent commentary on the inconsistent and half-hearted nature of the Crown’s ‘policies’: ‘...who is to take these Pikaris [birds just out of the shell], who is to teach them to swim if they are left? They will sink in the water....’³⁸⁰

A major Select Committee enquiry was held in 1860, known as the Waikato Committee, to ‘enquire as to the circumstances under which an attempt was made, in the year 1857, to introduce institutions of civil government amongst the natives of the Waikato district...’ This Select Committee met for the whole of October 1860 and heard evidence from more than 30 people, including our tupuna Mohi Te Rongomau. The nine-man Committee included the most prominent members of the House of Representatives. It is worth noting their conclusions:

Your Committee....do not perceive sufficient reasons for suspending the work in which Mr Fenton was engaged....his withdrawal disheartened a large and influential body of the Natives....including many influential Chiefs....They were disappointed and humiliated at the sudden abandonment of their undertaking. In the Maori phrase they felt *tinihaNgāti a*; in plain English, ‘humbled’.³⁸¹

And later in their report they pointed to

....defects in the arrangements which have been in force of late years for the administration of Native Affairs....’ and to ‘the entire want of harmonious action between the Ministry and the Department of the Native Secretary....’ with ‘....fundamental differences of opinion on vital questions, [and]....a state of inter-departmental conflict which would be fatal to the success of any administrative plans for ameliorating the conditions of the Natives.’³⁸²

³⁷⁸ See, for example: Further papers Relative to Native Affairs, AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1 (c), page 34: ‘The magistrates begin to complain of the weight of their labours, and that soon they will be the poorest of their tribes if so much of their time is consumed by their duties’.

³⁷⁹ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, Fenton’s papers, p. 21.

³⁸⁰ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, Fenton’s papers, p. 45, Enclosure No. 12, Letter from Te Awaitaia to Fenton, 27 July 1857.

³⁸¹ AJHR, 1860, F – No 3, p. 4.

³⁸² AJHR, 1860, F – No 3, p. 4.

The Committee on Waikato recommended for the serious consideration of Government ‘...the necessity of providing some settled system of law and governmental authority amongst the Natives...with a view...[of] giving them the utmost possible share in the work of their own government.’³⁸³

While this sounded promising, it must be noted that the Select Committee had a patronising approach towards Māori, more about ‘incorporating them into our own system of civil institutions’³⁸⁴ than the partnership Te Awaitaia was committed to under Te Kawenata o Waitangi.

But the Committee’s report is nonetheless an eloquent summary up of the kind of governmental delay and failure that Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga were forced to endure in the decades after the signing of the Treaty.

Te Awaitaia never gave up in the face of these betrayals and inadequacies of the Crown. A Pākehā commentator of those times put it this way:

Wiremu Nera [and other loyal chiefs] ... in all [their] conversations [with the Governor] insisted on the maintenance of a distinct nationality. They evinced strong jealousy of the Assembly, and a strong desire for one of their own. The friendly party wished for their own Assembly and the Governor, the others desired their own Assembly and a King, but all were agreed on the maintenance of a distinct nationality.³⁸⁵

Te Awaitaia’s views were in fact more far-reaching. He actively sought for a new and different way to govern a new nation, to recognize the interests of both Māori and Pākehā within the structure of government, and to manage the inevitable tensions between Māori and Pākehā. The most comprehensive statement of Te Awaitaia’s views that we have been able to find so far was reported by Fenton as follows:

...[Te Awaitaia considered that] the substitution of the title “Governor” for that of King, would avoid most of the objections connected with the former.... [His] idea is, that a Maori Chief should be named by them, and, having been instituted into office by the European authorities, should be a sort of second consul, specially charged with the supervision of the Maori interests—that he and his secretaries should be supported by the revenues of the country, alleging as a ground for this claim to support, that Maoris are large contributors

³⁸³ AJHR, 1860, F – No 3, p. 4.

³⁸⁴ AJHR, 1860, F – No 3, p. 4.

³⁸⁵ Gorst, J.E., *The Maori King*, p. 63.

thereto - that he should have power to summon a “runanga” resembling the General Assembly which meets annually to adjust the European interests, which “runanga” should, with his consent, make laws and appoint officers - that he should be charged with the peace of the country, and the execution of justice therein -and that when he died, or became incapable to act, his successor should be appointed according to their custom, by the voices of an assembly of themselves.³⁸⁶

This is a most interesting concept, as it can be seen that it was essentially a proposal for a ‘co-governance’ system as the very foundation of the new nation of New Zealand, as new nation which united the two races, Māori and Pākehā. It is little wonder that Fenton further noted that:

...[t]he few individuals who entertain these opinions, state them with doubt, and abandon them (apparently) without defence. The Maoris (sic) seem aware that there is no middle course between the total recognition and the entire disavowal of the British sovereignty.³⁸⁷

In the climate of the times, Te Awaitaia would have been only too aware of the danger that his views could be misrepresented, and his people put in jeopardy as a result.

But it is a genuine tragedy for our land that the Governor and his officers and advisers were blind to the opportunity that Te Awaitaia’s ‘co-governance’ concept offered. His powerful concept of shared sovereignty could have provided an alternative to war at the time, and also a foundation for a dynamic new nation based on a just relationship between indigenous and settler peoples.

Once again, the British Crown failed us. Twenty years after Te Kawenata o Waitangi, there was still no system of government and laws under the Treaty in our rohe, to uphold the peace and security of all people living within it. The protector of Aborigines had recommended shortly after the signing of the Treaty that Native Courts should be established in New Zealand; acting Governor Shortland thought such courts would be too expensive. The views of both the acting Governor and the Protector were conveyed to Lord Stanley in England, who took no decisive position or action on the matter.³⁸⁸ That was an early example of opportunity lost through Crown inaction. Without peace and security for all, there could be no sustained prosperity in our rohe. In spite of all our own efforts, conditions of life got worse for us after the signing of the Treaty.

³⁸⁶ AJHR, 1860, E– No. 1c, p. 4.

³⁸⁷ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, p. 4.

³⁸⁸ Acting Governor Shortland to Lord Stanley, Government House, Auckland, 30 October 1843.

To rub salt into our wounds, the settlers had been given their own Assembly in 1852; but we still had none. There had been talk of voting rights, at least for chiefs, but once again nothing came of the talk.

Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga had put a lot of energy and resources into partnership under Te Kawenata o Waitangi, but what did we have to show for our efforts? And where was the reciprocal commitment of the Crown?

3.6.2 Land rights

The second of the serious failures of the Crown that our tupuna Hetaraka Nero pointed out to the Governor and his officials at the 1860 Kohimarama Conference was that their laws relating to land transactions had put Māori at a disadvantage.³⁸⁹

It is a source of continuing *mamae* to Ngāti Maahanga that our tupuna Te Awaitaia is spoken of even into current times as ‘the one who sold land’, as though Te Awaitaia betrayed his people, Waikato, and Māori katoa through his actions. But there are things that need to be remembered about those times. Te Awaitaia was not alone when he did decide to sell land (in the 1850s), nor did he act in isolation. Donald McLean purchased more than 20 million acres of land for the Crown in the period up to the end of the 1850s!³⁹⁰ When Te Awaitaia did sell, he did so for a reason – he wanted his tribe to succeed in this ‘new world’ and he needed money to invest in Pākehā-style agriculture.

In this section, we consider briefly what Te Awaitaia’s actual views were on land, and how Crown policy once again failed to protect and further the interests of Ngāti Maahanga in relation to their lands, throughout the post-Treaty period. The detailed analysis of the transactions that took place, and the many injustices perpetrated in the processes relating to them, both at the time and subsequently, are the subject of the next chapter on the *whenua*. Here, we look briefly at the broader land policy matters.

The clearest statement we have of Te Awaitaia’s views on land sales, as he expressed them in his meetings with the Governors, is in a dispatch Governor FitzRoy. The dispatch followed FitzRoy’s meeting with a deputation of rangatira at the time of the

³⁸⁹ Speech, Hetaraka Nero, Kohimarama Conference, *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger*, 3 August 1860.

³⁹⁰ Despatch to Lord Carnarvon re: land title in New Zealand, December 4 1860.

great hui of the tribes at Remuera, which took place in May 1844.³⁹¹ Fitzroy, who succeeded Hobson³⁹², gave Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary in England, the following account of Te Awaitaia's views on land matters, in a dispatch on 25 May 1844:

The ideal situation in land dealings, as seen by Wiremu Neira [sic], was one of reciprocity: "We are anxious that our lands should be secured by us, that a check should be put upon English urging us sell those lands that we cannot part with; and when we do sell, we wish that the feeling of kindness should be mutual; when we dispose freely of our lands, let the English dispose freely of their property.

This is the speech of a man who had listened carefully to the explanation of Reverend Maunsell before he signed Te Tiriti, that Māori retained their rights over their lands under Te Tiriti. Maunsell elaborated on what he had meant in 1840, in a speech he made at Waiuku on the occasion of Potatau's visit at the beginning of 1860: 'I said that they ought to allow each man to do what he liked with his own land, that their right to their land was secured to them by the Treaty of Waitangi....'³⁹³

When the Crown tried to limit the sale of small pieces of land in the early 1840s, Te Awaitaia was among those who resisted what he may have seen as an attempt to limit the rights of Ngāti Maahanga in relation to their own lands. An example of the approach Te Awaitaia preferred was when Edward Meurant got deeds to land at Whaingaroa in the late 1840s. He was someone well-known to Ngāti Maahanga, married to a woman of Ngāti Mahuta, a former Wesleyan lay preacher, now working as a government interpreter. That is the kind of Pākehā, and the kind of Pākehā settlement, that Te Awaitaia desired in his rohe. He also desired that there should be reciprocal buying and selling of such small lots of land between Māori and Pākehā, i.e. that he might also be able to purchase 'Pākehā' title to lands, from Pākehā.

When the rangatira Kaihau offered a large tract of land to the Crown that extended southwards from Waikato Heads, Te Awaitaia and Pohepohe opposed the offer by Kaihau to sell. The Protector of Aborigines who investigated the dispute concluded that their claims on the land were semi-frivolous: Pohepohe referred to a burial on the lands, Te Awaitaia to rights flowing from the marriage of a female relative into

³⁹¹ *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* 1843-45, vol. 4, p. 230.

³⁹² Hobson died in office in office in September 1842.

³⁹³ AJHR, 1860, F- No. 3, Report on Waikato Native Affairs, p. 42.

Kaihau's tribe.³⁹⁴ That is probably why the Protector considered the matter merely one of the revival of old tribal animosities. But it is more likely that it was a serious expression of our tupuna's views about the best way forward in relation to the incorporation of Pākehā into Māori communities. In our view it seems likely that Te Awaitaia wanted a gradual process, with decisions about which Pākehā would get land resting with the tribe.

There is also evidence that Te Awaitaia himself was involved in discussions in the early 1840s about the possible sale of large tracts of land, but was careful to stipulate that key areas would need to be reserved from any such sale. For example, during Shortland's Whaingaroa visit in 1842:

22 April 1842 - ...a rainy morning. The two principal chiefs, Te Awaitaia and Te Maioha (Broughton) were introduced to his Excellency and during the conference which ensued, expressed much anxiety that Europeans should be sent to dwell among them; offering to dispose of a large tract of land, which extends from the sea to the banks of the Waikato, through part of which we had travelled. But with their natural shrewdness they bargained to reserve for themselves certain portions, which they named, and amongst them the principal frontage towards the harbour.³⁹⁵

What was the duty of the Crown in this matter of land? It was to protect the rights and interests of Māori and Ngāti Maahanga under the Treaty. There was plenty of advice available to the governors and their colonial masters about the potential impacts of large land sales on Māori. The Protector of Aborigines in New Zealand, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1843, calculated that each hapū in the country needed a large amount of land (probably about 10,000 acres) for their pig-runs, in addition to their cultivations, and stated:

...as their independence can only be maintained by holding possession of their lands, I think it would not only be difficult, but very injurious to them to purchase large blocks of land, even if offered.³⁹⁶

Once again, the Crown knew everything it needed to know in relation to how it should act following the Treaty, but it failed to take its own advice.

³⁹⁴ See letter from T. Spencer Forsaith to George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, 2 September 1843, Auckland, in: No.4 Copy of a Dispatch from Acting Governor Shortland to Lord Stanley, BPPNZ online.

³⁹⁵ Shortland, E, *Report*, entry for 22 April 1842.

³⁹⁶ *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* 1843-45, vol. 4; Letter from Protector of Aborigines to The Honourable Colonial Secretary, Auckland, 1 November 1843.

3.7 The settlement of disputes by diplomacy rather than war

We have already seen that our tupuna committed himself from the time of his Christian baptism, to peaceful resolution of disputes, and we have seen something of his efforts to make his peace and the peace of Ngāti Maahanga with those he had fought in the past. Under Te Kawenata o Waitangi, Te Awaitaia devoted himself tirelessly to resolving disputes, whether among Māori, or between Māori and Pākehā, by diplomacy and negotiation. This was not only because of his Christian beliefs; it was because of his plans for a stable and prosperous life for his own people, and all the people of New Zealand. To achieve that, it was necessary for people everywhere to see that it was possible for issues to be addressed without recourse to armed conflict. Te Awaitaia therefore did not confine his diplomacy to his own rohe.

Matters in Taranaki provide an excellent example of Te Awaitaia's wider engagement with both Māori and government, sustained over many decades, to try to resolve tensions with the potential to lead to conflict. We have already learnt in Chapter 1 of his actions in the 1830s to free his Taranaki slaves and his peace-making visits to Taranaki. In the 1840s, tensions relating to Taranaki arose within Waikato itself, between Ngāti Maahanga (and other iwi) and Ngāti Mahuta, over Te Wherowhero's sale of Taranaki to the Government. Ensign Best records in his Journal during the Governor's visit in 1842 that

...[Te Awaitaia and Te Maioha] expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with the Conduct of Te Wherowhero who they complained was aggrandizing himself at their expence they particularly cited his sale of Taranaki to the Govt for which he recd payment to the value of 500pounds no share of which they had been given although instrumental to its conquest.³⁹⁷

We can understand that our tupuna would have been annoyed by the sale to Government, because we know that Te Awaitaia had asserted rights by conquest in Taranaki lands:

By 1826, when Ngāti Maahanga under Te Awaitaia went south with Waikato to assist Te Ati Awa to attack Kikiwhenua and Maru, a halt was made at Manukorihi, Waitara, during which time Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Tahinga [sic] dug a pit in the earth and placed in it a canister of

³⁹⁷ Taylor, N. (ed.), *Journal of Ensign Best*, pages 356 and 357. Te Wherowhero and Kati signed a deed ceding their Taranaki lands on 31 January 1842, receiving about 500 pounds in money and goods on behalf of the tribes of Waikato – see AJHR, 1860, E – 2, p. 5; and 1861, E -2, pp. 3, 5.

powder and some bullets, by which action they intended to lay claim to the country.³⁹⁸

It is likely that Te Awaitaia's real concern was that Ngāti Maahanga had not been included in the ceremony of payment, '.... the external recognition of their claims to the land involved.'³⁹⁹

Our tupuna continued to take a close interest in the affairs of Taranaki, accompanying Donald McLean and Whiteley to Taranaki in 1854, where he said that he would intervene on the side of Europeans in Taranaki if harm came to them.⁴⁰⁰ Matters in Taranaki were a major topic of discussion at the Kohimarama Conference, and Te Awaitaia expressed his views about the serious tensions there.⁴⁰¹

Te Awaitaia took a dispute resolution approach in relation to the affairs of both the Waikato and Hauraki after signing the Treaty. Ensign Best recorded in his Journal for 24 May 1841 that Te Awaitaia

.... had come to see him at James Preece's Anglican mission station on the Kauaeranga stream, near the southern end of the present town of Thames. His principal message was to beg that I would represent to the Governor that the People of Matta Matta were tired of the war they were waging with the Tribes of Mukatoo and to beg his interference. By his account Matta Matta had formerly conquered Muckatoo and taken possession of the Island of Motete but on their enemies representing that they had no ground they allowed them to reside on and cultivate Motete and now these very people wish to assert their right to it vi et armis. Wai Ti (sic) also said that he had spoken to the chiefs on the subject of the murders and that they promised to suppress such acts in future.'⁴⁰² (*note: Best's spelling, punctuation and grammar reproduced as in his original text*)

And we know that when the chiefs met with Governor FitzRoy in May 1844, matters relating to Motiti were the dominant theme of their discussions.⁴⁰³ At this hui, Te Awaitaia stood in support of Pohepohe's claims to Motiti, but also suggested a way for the Governor to achieve a negotiated solution, and backed this with action, personally

³⁹⁸ Kelly, L., p. 371.

³⁹⁹ Oliver and Williams, Chapter 6, A. Parsonson, 'The Pursuit of Mana', p. 147.

⁴⁰⁰ Scott, Gary; 'Te Awaitaia, Wiremu Nera – Biography', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1 September 2010.
url : <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t26/1>

⁴⁰¹ See, for example: *Te Karere Maori, The Maori Messenger*, Volume 7, No. 15, 3 August 1860.

⁴⁰² Taylor, pp. 316 – 317.

⁴⁰³ Oliver and Williams, p. 140.

visiting Ngāti Whakaue in Rotorua and securing an agreement they would not meddle in Motiti provided that Waikato also refrained from doing so.⁴⁰⁴

But the most serious issue to which Te Awaitaia addressed his attention as a peace-maker was the matter of whether or not Waikato would support the ‘King movement’ and, in particular, the installation of Potatau Te Wherowhero as king in 1858.

3.8 Tensions over the formation of Kīngitanga

It is said that Te Awaitaia had declined nomination as Māori King in 1857, and tried to persuade Te Wherowhero not to accept it either.⁴⁰⁵ We have the words of our tupuna himself on the subject: ‘Potatau and Wi Nero were called King. I did not agree...I left Potatau to become King and I became as a slave to all men.’⁴⁰⁶ And also: ‘I asked Potatau if his kingship was right; he said, “aua”. I told him he might be a matua, but that his kingship was wrong.’⁴⁰⁷

In his evidence to the Committee on Waikato on 9 October 1860, Reverend Buddle said, in response to the question, was Wiremu Nera a chief of much influence: ‘Second to none but Potatau in Waikato; he was, in fact, Potatau’s fighting general in all the old wars; when he embraced Christianity, Potatau said: “I have lost my right hand”.’⁴⁰⁸

Te Awaitaia expressed his views on the proposal to establish a Māori king at the Paetai hui in May 1857. Reverend Buddle, who was present, described the hui:

At Paetai there were upwards of two thousand natives present. The meeting was divided into two parties, one headed by Thompson and Te Heuheu comprising their respective tribes, with a few others that sympathised with their views; the other party was headed by William Naylor, and included the tribes of lower Waikato - at that time all opposed to the movement. The flag given by William IV to the united tribes at the Bay of Islands, was hoisted by one party with the

⁴⁰⁴ See Stokes, E., *Wiremu Tamihana Rangatira*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2002, pp. 120-123.

⁴⁰⁵ See Stokes, p. 521, which quotes Reverend Richard Taylor of the CMS: "... the office [of Maori King] was offered to Wiremu Neira [Te Awaitaia], a loyal chief, who declined it; and then Potatau te Wherowhero was pressed to take it....". In AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, p. 57, paragraph 1057, Fenton says that he knew Wiremu Neira had been solicited to be King.

⁴⁰⁶ Interview of the Governor with Te Awaitaia and other chiefs (Hetaraka, Teaooterangi, Hone Wetere, and others), 24 November 1861, handwritten notes. See our Document Bank 3.1.

⁴⁰⁷ AJHR, 1862, E – No. 9, p. 36.

⁴⁰⁸ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, p. 32, paragraph 508; used by Gorst, J., in: *The Maori King*, p. 56.

inscription, 'Potatau, King of New Zealand', and the Union Jack by the other.....⁴⁰⁹

Te Awaitaia's speech to the Paetai hui '...made a deep impression, for no man present was so renowned a warrior chief as Wiremu':

I am a small man and a fool.... Ngāti haua, be not dark, Waikato listen, Taupo attend. My name has been heard of in the old day, and sometimes it is still mentioned. I am going to speak mildly, like a father. My word is this, I promised the first Governor, when he came to see me, and I promised all the rest, that I would stick (piri) to him, and be a subject of the Queen. I intend to keep my promise, for they have kept theirs; they have taken no land. Mine was the desire to sell, and they gave me the money. Why do you bring that new flag here? There is bother (raruraru) in it. I can't see my way clear. But I know that there is trouble in that flag. I am content with the old one. It is seen all over the world, and it belongs to me. I get some of its honour! What honour can I get from your flag? It is like a fountain without water. Don't trouble me. You say we are slaves. If acknowledging that flag make me a slave, I am a slave. Let me alone. Don't bring your bother here. Go back to the mountains. Let us alone in peace. I and the Governor will take our own course. That's all.⁴¹⁰

This speech was followed by half an hour's silence. It was at the same meeting that Te Heuheu Tukino III advocated forcible expulsion of Pākehā from New Zealand and Te Awaitaia and Waata Kukutai interrupted him and after some conversation made him sit down.⁴¹¹

All the tribes from lower Waikato and from the sea coast to Kawhia mustered in support of the English flag, and marched away to hold their own meeting nearby, where they passed resolutions, and wrote to the Governor.⁴¹²

Te Awaitaia and other Ngāti Maahanga rangatira did not only talk about this matter, they gave practical expression to their view by opposing Te Wherowhero's desire to move from Auckland to settle at Ngaruawahia, asserting that it was Ngāti Maahanga's ancient domain.⁴¹³ In 1857/58 Fenton noted that our tupuna Te Kaniwhaniwha had

⁴⁰⁹ Stokes, p. 151.

⁴¹⁰ Speech, reported in *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIV, Issue 1037, 5 June 1857, p. 3.

⁴¹¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIV, Issue 1037, 5 June 1857, p. 3. See also: Stokes, p. 148: 'Wiremu Nera Awaitaia, NgātiMaahanga: His word to Te Heuheu was, Have you not heard, 'The descendants of Muriwhenua the man eater?' This was because Te Heuheu had said that he retained Waikato. This also, 'Whence comes your authority? Did you derive your authority from that man?' Therefore Wiremu used that saying to stop Te Heuheu's mouth. - Song: 'The wind is westerly that preys on my flesh'.

⁴¹² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIV, Issue 1037, 5 June 1857, p. 3.

⁴¹³ Scott, Gary; 'Te Awaitaia, Wiremu Nera – Biography', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 1 September 2010.

built 'an opposition house' at Ngaruawahia.⁴¹⁴ Te Awaitaia also wrote to the Governor to express his views:

E tai e te Kawana tena ra koe a ra koutou konga ratiu Pakeha kai whakarite onga ture. E tai e te Kawana tena ra koe i roto i te aroha o to tatou ariki Ahu Karaiti. E tai e te Kawana tenei ano te mea tuhi atu ai matou kia koe no te mea kei a koe to matou putake e noho nei i roto i te Kawanatanga me o matou whiua e hoa ma kia te Kuini. E tai e te Kawana he pai takea kia koe koi a ra nei. Kua whakae ta ko matou whenua a kite kino mori kua ma raneite turei korerotia e tatou i Akarana ko te Kingi whenua a ki aia no ko matou whenua kia matou ano. E kore hoki a Matutaera a Hoani e nga rangatira o Ngāti Maahanga o Tihourua e rongō kia whakaetia o matou whenua ki te Kingi Maori no te mea he ritenga whakake no te mea kua tae mai o ratou pukapuka ki te tohe ia matou kia riro matou ki te Kingi Maori kia takahia te mana o te Kuini ki raro ki o ratou waewae. E tai e te Kawana e kore to tatou tikanga mahera i o matou ngakau e ki nei a Ihowa Kipeka ki mau kei peka ki matou. Heoti ano e na korero. E tai e Kawana whakehe ngatehe whakatikaia te tika. Heio ano. Na to hoa, Na Wiremu Nera.⁴¹⁵

At a runanga at Ngaruawahia in May 1860, Te Awaitaia spoke as follows in the general public hui:

Ka karanga kia Tamehana. Tamehana ki kona koe, ki konei au ka hurihia koe e au ki taku tuaru; to he ra, ko te hao i te whenua me nga tangata taka waiata mou. Waiata: 'E nohora e te namunamu ki roto koia o te repo repo, nau i whaka haere mai te atiawa i tera papae aiki te tonga.'

This would not have come as a surprise to Tamehana, as Te Awaitaia had already addressed him at a korero in Potatau's house and in his presence, held prior to the general public hui:

url : <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t26/1>

⁴¹⁴ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 1c, Fenton's diaries, page 21: "Takerei told me that Konewhanewa (sic) and other owners of Ngaruawahia objected to Potatau's coming to live there, and would not sanction it."

⁴¹⁵ *Letter from Te Awaitaia to the Governor*, 18 July 1859; BBOP, A52, 28/64: Correspondence Regarding to Land at Waipa, 1858-1864, Archives New Zealand, Auckland. Translation: Friend the Governor Salutations to you and to the Pakeha chiefs who carry out the laws. Salutations to you O Governor in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. Friend the Governor - This is the cause of our writing to you, you are our root in the Government and also the root of our lands which we give up to the Queen. Friend the Governor - I am well disposed towards you. Is it true that you have agreed to the Maori King having our land, is the arrangement made void that we spoke about in Auckland: that the King was to have his own lands and we ours? Neither Matutaera [Kaniwhaniwha - annotation in Turton's hand], Hoani nor the Chiefs of Ngāti Maahanga and Tihourua will obey or consent to yield our lands to the Maori King, for that movement is one of ambition. We have received letters from them urging us to join the Maori King and to trample the Queen's authority under our feet. Friend the Governor - your and our regulations will not be lost in our hearts. Jehovah says "Turn neither to the right nor to the left." This is all we have to say to you. Friend the Governor - Approve of that which is right and condemn that which is wrong. Enough. From your friend, Wiremu Nera.

Thompson, you are there and I am here. Don't say the cause of the war arose at Taranaki; it is your doing; my opinion is that you caused it; Thompson, don't interfere with land, (or do not bring any more into the land league), lest you suffer for it.⁴¹⁶

There were around 2000 Māori present at the rūnanga, which was characterised by a great deal of ceremonial associated with the Kīngitanga, including flag-raising. Te Awaitaia and all the Ngāti Maahanga struck their tents and returned home before the hui ended, without having participated in any of the ceremonial associated with the King party.

So by the time of the June 1860 Kohimarama Conference⁴¹⁷, our tūpuna were at odds with their Waikato relatives. At Kohimarama they emphasised their loyalty to Potatau, and strongly condemned the King movement as a source of division with Pākehā and hence danger to the future of Māori, while strongly advocating that Waikato should be left alone (by Government) to solve their own issues.

Te Awaitaia thought that the setting up of a Māori King would provide a pretext for Pākehā to attack Māori, so he opposed setting up a king; at the same time he argued strenuously for Government not to intervene (i.e. attack Waikato), but to leave Waikato to address matters for themselves. In a context where there was already armed conflict between Māori and Government in Taranaki, and alarms amongst the settlers in various parts of the Waikato about possible attacks on them, one can understand why Te Awaitaia constantly tried to 'buy time', during which he could work with both sides: to try and persuade Government that they should not move quickly to a military intervention, and his Waikato relatives to lower the level of direct confrontation with government and settlers.

A specific example of Te Awaitaia's approach can be seen in his evidence to the House of Representatives committee, sitting in Auckland on 24 August 1860, on the provisions of the Native Offenders Bill 1860:

⁴¹⁶ Both speeches were reported in *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XVII, Issue 1307, 28 June 1860, p. 2. Translation James Armitage: Tamehana, you are there; I am here; you have turned your back on me, your fault is the land (grievance) (meaning that he the speaker was on the side of the Queen and that Tamehana had thrown off his loyalty to the Queen).

⁴¹⁷ Te Awaitaia and others of our tūpuna were not present at the opening of the Kohimarama Conference because they had returned to Ngaruawahia to attend the tangi for Potatau, who had died of influenza on 25 June (as reported in *Daily Southern Cross* 3 July 1860, Volume XVII, Issue 1309, p. 3; but note that *Te Karere Maori The Maori Messenger* 30 June 1860, Vol. 7, No. 11, reported that Potatau died on 27 June). Hemi Matini and Te Waaka Te Ruki went ahead to Auckland to ensure that Ngāti Maahanga was present to speak at the Conference opening.

Heoti ano te kainga e mohiotia e au, ko Taranaki. Tona ritenga, me kai ano te Maori tona kai, kia kakahu ano i ona kakahu ; kaua e hoatu nga kai, me nga moni, me nga taonga o te Pakeha ki nga iwi whawhai. Mo Taranaki enei whakaaro. Kia Ngāti ruanui, kia Rangitake me tona iwi katoa. Tetahi hoki, ko Kawhia. Kaua e rere te kaupuke taonga o te Pakeha ki Kawhia. Waiho nga rangatira Maori kia kai ana i ana witi, i ana poaka, i ana riwai, me ona kakahu, me te kahu Maori. Taku e whakapuaki, ko Taranaki, ko Kawhia, ta te mea, he nui rawa to ratou whakakino; to ratou whakakake ki te Kawanatanga, kia takahia i te Kuini, i nga rangatira e piri ana ki te Kawana. Ko taku e pai nei, me aku iwi katoa, ko Aotea, ki reira nga taonga o te Pakeha, no te mea kua karaNgāti a e te Kawana raua ko Makarini, e Wi Nera, koia he kainga mo te Pakeha era kainga. No te mea kua poto mai nga Pakeha o Kawhia ki Aotea. Ko te ritenga mo nga Pakeha e noho ana i roto i nga iwi tutu, kia tonoa atu kia hoki mai ki Akarana ki hea ranei. He mea tika nga Pakeha kia whakahokia mai i nga iwi tutu. Ko te ritenga o Waikato, ekore au e whakaae wawe kia tutakina a Waikato, engari kia puta he kino ki reira. Kia puta he kino, kia whakaturia hoki te Kingi ki reira, katahi au ka whakaae, no te mea, i whakaaro ai ahau ki te ritenga o Waikato o toku iwi. Ko etahi e pakeke ana ki te Kingitanga, ko etahi rangatira e whakekahore ana i te kingitanga. No konei ano i ki au, me mau tonu te hokohoko ki Waiuku. Me piki nga tino rangatira pu o Waikato ki Taranaki, ki te mahi i te Kingitanga ranei, ko reira au whakaae ai kia whakamutua te hokohoko ki Waikato. Ko tetahi kupu—Kia whakatika a Waikato ki te patu i nga Pakeha o Taranaki ki reira, ka tika kia purua a Waikato.⁴¹⁸

And Te Awaitaia volunteered the following advice to the Government:

Taku ki mo Waikato, ekore e hiahia Waikato ki te patu. Ma rere a Kawana ki te turaki i te kara o Ngaruawhia, katahi ka kino. Ki te waiho kia tu noa tera poupuu pirau ake, ekore e puta mai te kino.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 5, p. 3. Translation: The only place I know of is Taranaki. Let it be in this manner. Let the Maories eat their own food and wear their own clothing. Don't give either food, money, or Pakeha goods to those tribes that are fighting. These thoughts are for Taranaki, Ngātiranui, Te Rangitake, and all his tribe. There is also Kawhia. Let no vessel of the Pakehas with goods, sail to Kawhia. Leave the Maori chiefs to consume their own wheat, eat their own pigs and potatoes, and wear their own Maori garments. I am alluding now to Taranaki and Kawhia, for their evil doing is very great; their arrogance towards the Government, and endeavours to trample upon the Queen and the Chiefs who are attached to the Governor. What I and all my tribe are in favour of, is for the Pakeha's goods to be at Aotea, because it was said by the Governor, Mr. McLean, and Wi Nera, that there was to be the place of the Pakehas, as the Pakehas of Kawhia had all gone to Aotea. With regard to the Pakehas residing among disaffected tribes, cause them to return to Auckland or elsewhere. It is right that Pakehas should be drawn from among disaffected tribes. As regards Waikato, I will not speedily consent to the closing of Waikato;—first let evil occur there. When evil arises there, and when the King is set up there, then I will consent, for I take into consideration the conduct of my people, of Waikato. Some are averse to the King movement, while other chiefs are in favor of it. I therefore say, let trade with Waiuku continue. When the principal chiefs of Waikato go to Taranaki, or work at the King movement, then will I consent to a stop being put to the trade with Waikato. Another word, if the Waikato join in killing the Pakehas of Taranaki, then it will be right to close Waikato.

⁴¹⁹ AJHR, 1860, E – No. 5, p. 4. Translation: My opinion about Waikato is that Waikato will not desire fighting. If the Governor goes to cut down the colour at Ngaruawhia, then evil will ensue. If the flagstaff is left standing till it rots of itself, no evil will come.

But our tupuna would have had little faith by this time that his advice would be heeded by the Governor or his Ministers and officials. After several months away from home from May through August 1860, Te Awaitaia returned to Whaingaroa. His heart must have been full of foreboding for the future, given the nature of the Ngaruawahia hui in May, Potatau's passing, the conflict in Taranaki, and the dissension between the government departments responsible for native affairs. In September he talked at Whaingaroa with a CMS missionary, who later wrote to the Governor about their conversation:

When at Whangaroa [sic] in September last, I went through the whole of the war question with the Chief of that place, Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia, and in conclusion he observed to me: 'You must understand this, the war is not a struggle of the Maori and the pakeha, it is not a war with the missionary, it is not a war with the magistrate, but it is a war of the King [Native King] with the Queen.' This he afterwards repeated and added 'The flag [King's flag] is the cause.'⁴²⁰

For our tupuna, the terrible conflict that he had worked for twenty-five years to prevent must have seemed all but inevitable – and he would have had some sense of its likely catastrophic impacts for his people. The seasonal rhythms of tilling the soil, planting and weeding, of gathering kai moana and bush food, of tending pigs and other livestock, and of trading, would have continued, but Te Awaitaia must have had a heavy heart as he led his people in the everyday work of feeding and providing for themselves in these times.

Nonetheless, Te Awaitaia's engagement and resolve never wavered. Despite all their disappointments over the introduction and then withdrawal of runanga in the late 1850s, Ngāti Maahanga permitted their rūnanga to be viewed as part of Grey's scheme, introduced after he returned to New Zealand as Governor in 1861. Their solicitude for all their relatives in the Kīngitanga and their desire for unity and peace never wavered either. In his interview with the Governor that year, when the Governor explained his proposals for rūnanga, Te Awaitaia specifically asked:

Will Mr Fenton amalgamate the runanga of the King with the new system?' to which the Governor responded 'Yes, if they come in...,' and Te Awaitaia then commented 'I have not wished to keep the

⁴²⁰ AJHR, 1861, E - No. 1, p. 55: Extract from Letter of Reverend J.A. Wilson, Church of England missionary, to Governor Gore Browne, November 1860.

separation of parties. If the Kingites wish to come in that will be well.⁴²¹

Hetaraka continued the line of questioning:

Have you determined who is to [implement] the plans?’ to which the Governor replied, ‘Fenton will go down and start it.’ Hetaraka continued: ‘Will this be the only movement in this land?’ and the Governor responded with a question of his own: ‘Do you mean, do I intend to attack Waikato?’ Hetaraka said: ‘No – is this the commencement and will it extend throughout the iwi?’ The Governor replied: ‘Yes – I will begin with the friendly people first,’ to which Te Awaitaia, and all those present, said: ‘That is right.’⁴²²

But the accommodating and cooperative attitude of our tupuna was not reciprocated by the Governor. Grey intended that his runanga system would

...break the native population up into small portions instead of teaching them to look to one powerful Native Parliament [i.e. the Conference of the Chiefs proposed by our tupuna and the other chiefs at Kohimarama] as a means of legislating for the whole Native population of this island – a proceeding and machinery which [in Grey’s view] might hereafter produce most embarrassing results.⁴²³

3.9 Tensions over building a road between Raglan and Waipa

In 1862 serious tensions emerged right in the rohe of Ngāti Maahanga. There was serious dissension not only with our Waikato relatives, but also among ourselves, about the project of building a road between Raglan and Whatawhata. These disagreements split the long-standing united front of the Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Hourua rangatira who had been the ‘public front’ of Ngāti Maahanga for many years. For example, Te Kaniwhaniwha, formerly a stalwart supporter of all the key positions taken by Ngāti Maahanga, opposed the building of the road, only changing his mind after many months of kōrero.⁴²⁴ Under the strain of disagreements with our Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto relatives, and increasing pressures from the Crown, our own tribal allegiances and loyalties were beginning to crack.

The other Waikato tribes objected strongly to the building of a road, and Wiremu Tamehana expressed their feelings in a letter he wrote to Te Awaitaia in May 1862:

⁴²¹ Interview: See our Document Bank 3.1.

⁴²² Interview: See our Document Bank 3.1.

⁴²³ Governor Grey, *Letter to the Duke of Newcastle*, 27 November 1861. See: AJHR, 1862, E – No. 9.

⁴²⁴ *Letter from R.O. Stewart at Waitetuna to the Native Minister*, 2 February 1863, BBOP, A52, 28/64: Correspondence Regarding to Land at Waipa, 1858-1864, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Ehoa, Tena koe koutou ko to whanau ko o papaa. Ehoa kua tae mai te rongo ki a au o ta koroua whakatatau ko te Watene, e kiia ana e mahia ana e koe te rori mai o Whaingaroa ki Waipa. Na te kawana te utu o taua rori. E Wi, rere, taku kupu ra kia rongo mai koe, e tahi ana koe i te rori kia pai hei taonga mai mo nga taonga o te pakeha. E Wi, ki tau mahara ka pai te mahi a te kawana e, e mahara ana koia koe kua mau to rongo nei.

Taku whanunga whakarongo mai kia ki atu au ki a koe, kahore ano au kia mohio noa, ka mau te rongo ina hoki, kahore ano e ata takoto noa he kupu ma te kawana ki oku taringa. Ehoa me waiho te rori ra. Me he mea ka tohe koe ki tena mahi. Katahi enei iwi ou ka mohio kei te kino koe kia tatou. E Wi, ko oku taiapa tena ka wahia mai ra e koe. Ehoa he whakahauhau noku te rori kino, te maunga, te repo, te ururua kua waiho katoa enei he pa whakaora i ou iwi e takoto nei. Ehoa kia manaakitia mai enei nga kupu e koe. Aroha ki te iwi, waiho tona taiapa kia tu ana, kei tirohia atu e whiu ana koe i te patu ki to matawaha e wahi ana koe i tenei waka ia Tainui.

Na to whanaunga Na Wiremu Te Waharoa.⁴²⁵

The road was the subject of a hui held at Peria at the end of October, to which Wiremu Tamihana had invited chiefs from all parts of Aotearoa. About six hundred people attended, including representatives from many parts of the North Island. One of the topics was the Whaingaroa road. It does not appear that many other than Kingitanga supporters attended, but true to their principles, Ngāti Maahanga continued to engage with their whanaunga, even while profoundly disagreeing with them, and Hemi Matini was present. The atmosphere was antagonistic to the building of the road, and the general conclusion was that Waikato should be closed.⁴²⁶

Heta Tauranga, who acted as secretary for Tamihana, sent a report of the Peria hui from Kirikiriroa on 1 November 1862 to Mr Bell in Auckland, including the following point about the road: "The road at Whaingaroa: it must not cross Waitetuna."⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Stokes, pp. 283-4. Translation: Friend, Salutations to you, to your parents and to your children. Friend, news has reached me of your dispute with Te Watene. It is said that you are making the road from Raglan to Waipa, and that the Governor is to pay for that road. O Wi, attend. This is my word, listen. You are forming the road that the Pakehas goods may be dragged over. O Wi - in your opinion, is the work of the Governor good? Do you suppose that peace is made? My relative, listen, and I will speak to you. I am not yet aware that peace has been made, for the Governor has not yet uttered a word in my ears. Friend. Let that road alone. If you persist in that work, then, these people of yours will know that you are ill-disposed towards them. O Wi. Those are my fences that you are breaking. Friend, bad roads, mountains, swamps and thickets are my protection, all these things are pas of safety for your people here. Friend, Regard these words, pity the people, and let their fence stand lest it should be thought that you are throwing the weapon at your tribe, and breaking up this Tainui canoe. From your relative, Wiremu te Waharoa.

⁴²⁶ Stokes, pp. 288-312. The Peria hui took place 21-27 October 1862.

⁴²⁷ Stokes, p. 294.

We can imagine how deep and difficult the tensions of the times must have been for our tupuna. After the Peria meeting, Te Awaitaia even wrote to a Government official in Auckland ‘in confidence’, something alien to his way of working with both sides to a conflict in open korero, to convey his message that he did not think the road would be stopped.⁴²⁸

Te Awaitaia continued to exercise his skill at finding ways to lower the temperature all round. Ngāti Maahanga did work on a road, but only as far as Waitetuna. But the cost in internal divisions, and in conflict with our Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto relatives, was very high, as Te Awaitaia would have known only too well at the time. These internal divisions and conflicts could only increase as greater pressure was exerted upon us, as the direct confrontation between Government and our relatives in the Kingitanga worsened.⁴²⁹

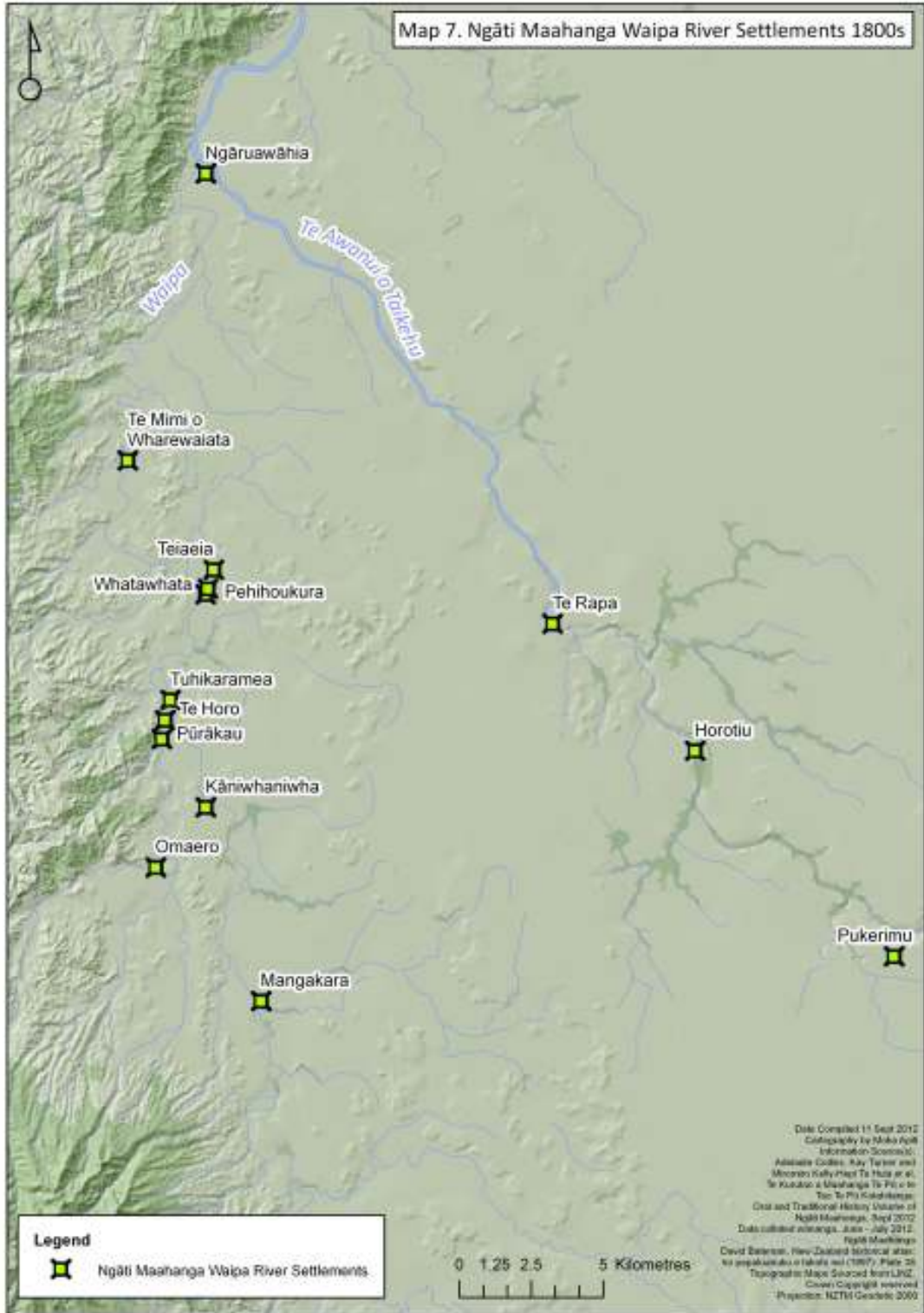
3.10 War comes to our rohe

It is not easy for us to talk about the Crown’s invasion of our rohe. We suffered so much at the time, and we have suffered so much since. We all know the story of Grey’s Proclamation of the Invasion of Waikato (dated 11 July) not reaching the Chiefs until the army of the Crown had already begun the invasion by crossing the Mangatawhiri. The proclamation said it was necessary to establish military posts beyond the Mangatawhiri in order to preserve law and order, and that any Māori who resisted were likely to have their land confiscated. The Proclamation included the following undertaking: “Those who remain peaceably at their own villages in Waikato or move into such districts as may be pointed out by the Government, will be protected in their persons, property and land.”⁴³⁰ Map 7 illustrates some of our peaceful river settlements which were to be affected by the war.

⁴²⁸ Te Awaitaia, Letter to Mr Halse from Raglan, November 17 1862, BBOP, A52 28/64, Correspondence Regarding to Land at Waipa 1858-1864, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

⁴²⁹ See also: Gorst, J., pp. 289-291 on the subject of the road.

⁴³⁰ Stokes, p. 337.



Map 7 Ngāti Maahanga Waipa River settlements 1800s

Given the history we have recounted of our engagement with Pākehā and the Crown over the forty years preceding the invasion of Wakato, it is not possible for Ngāti

Maahanga to feel other than utterly betrayed by the actions of the Crown in 1863 and 1864.

Even worse, Grey essentially knew before the invasion that it would lead to the confiscation of Waikato's lands, so that the bankrupt Auckland Province could once again balance its books through the subsequent land sales to settlers. So the invasion commenced, on the flimsiest of pretexts of Auckland being threatened.⁴³¹

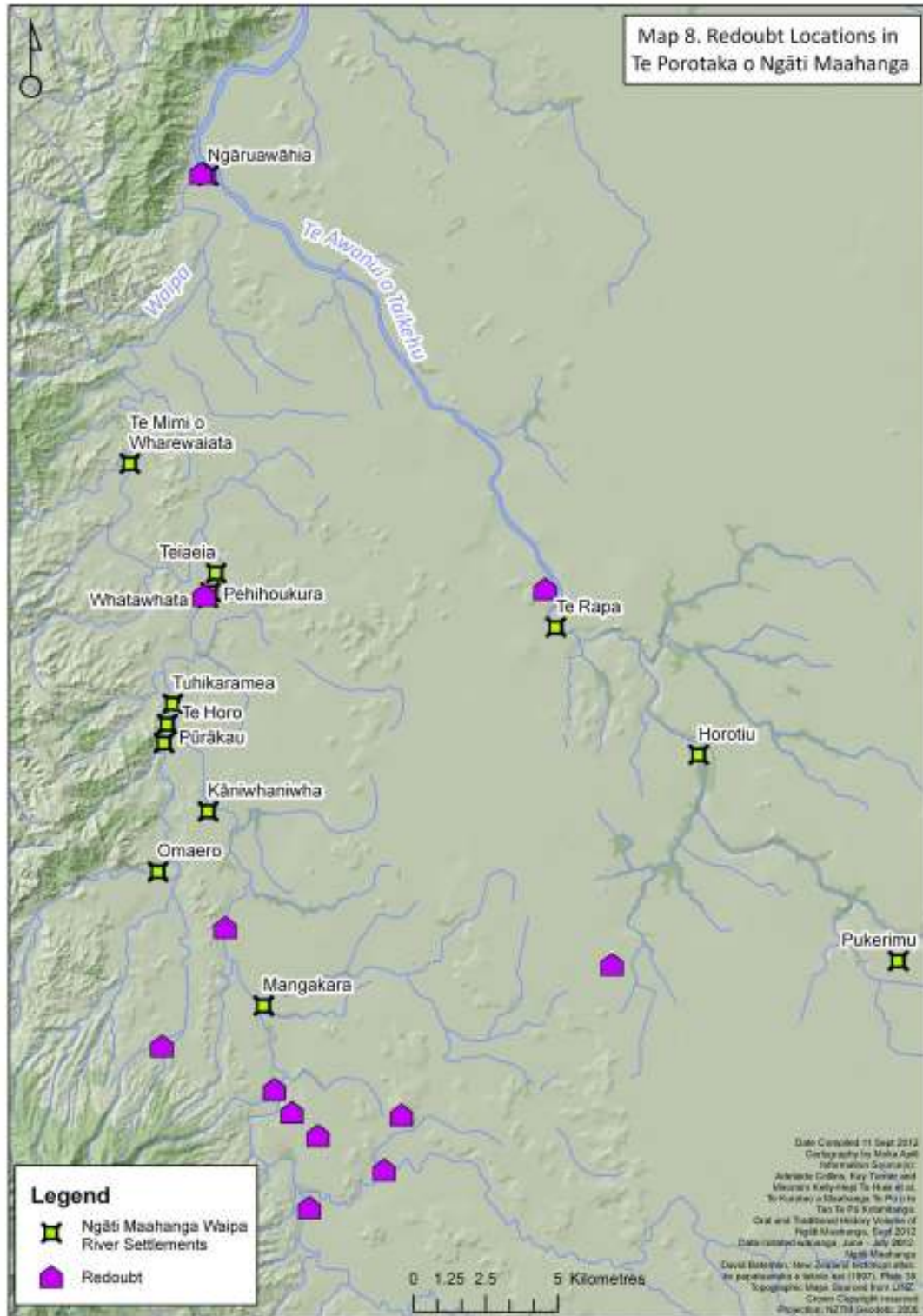
For us, the best way to tell the story is through an account by our tupuna himself. It is a 'second-hand' account, i.e. it is in English and from Government records, but it still tells a powerful story, from our Ngāti Maahanga perspective; and it also demonstrates that Te Awaitaia never ceased in his efforts to mediate between the two sides, and to save Māori lives:

I started from Raglan and arrived at Whatawhata, and then went to Ngaruawahia, to the General. I expected to find Tamehana and Te Wharepu at Ngaruawahia, and also the Governor, but when I arrived I found they were not there. When the General heard that pas were being built, he said to us. 'I shall go to Whatawhata. I do not like this place. I thought that when I arrived at Ngaruawahia it (the war) would end here. Now they are still determined on fighting. I have no thought about the Waikatos; the Waikatos are dead (utterly defeated); but the Ngāti maniapoto still survive.' I replied, 'What you say is correct. Perhaps I had better go to Maungatautari.' He said, 'Very well; it rests with you, only don't say that I sent you. You go out of compassion for your race.' The General gave up the idea of going to Whatawhata, and left the days to us (i.e. to give them an opportunity of going to see the natives at Maungatautari and elsewhere). I said to the General, 'Farewell; if they agree to peace, well and good. If they are obstinate, the law will overcome them.' We went, and arrived at Maungatautari. They had finished their pa; the name of that pa is Te Tiki-o-te-iHINGA-arangi. They had a tangi when we arrived, and then Karaha Te Taniwha, of the Ngāti mahuta, stood up, and made a speech, bidding adieu to the Waikato prisoners. Patara stood up, and said, 'Welcome, my son, welcome.' I could not see that there was any good in his speech; it was bad in fact (i.e. warlike). I said, 'What is to be done about the Waikatos who are in prison over there?' The answer was 'What do we care?' Tamehana stood up and said, 'Welcome friend; welcome; welcome sons. I don't say that peace is made. The gift (koha) to your fathers and younger brothers is this, Meremere has been given up, and Rangiriri and Paetai and Rauwhiti, and Ngaruawahia and this flowing stream. They are my gift to your fathers and brothers; as for me, I shall remain here. If the Governor follows me here, I shall fight. If not I shall remain quiet. However, when peace is made, let it include Waikatos, Ngāti

⁴³¹ See: Oliver and Williams, pp. 182-5.

maniapoto, and Taranaki. Then only would it be good. But if the general goes to Waipa to (attack) the Ngāti maniapoto I shall be there.' Wi Nero - 'Friend, those were your words at the commencement, and even up to the present time, that is, up to the time of the war, and the result is the land has been taken, Waikato captured, and the men slain, and now you again make use of the same words, and tomorrow there will be the same thing over again. Why have you no compassion for Waikato? Why leave your fathers, brothers, and your tribe in prison?' On the following day the Waikatos came. There was a tangi, after which Te Kanawa stood up, and said, 'Welcome, son, welcome; let your father and brothers remain where they are. They are the captive descendants of Terewai' (an ancestor of the Waikatos who was taken prisoner, and afterwards effected his escape). Enough. They showed no pity for the captives. I heard nothing about peace. Hikaurua went to demand the guns, and also the murderers, but they would not consent (to give them up). Enough. We got up and came away. We went on to Pikopiko and Paterangi, and staid with Hori Te Waru, Hone, and the Waikatos. When the Ngāti maniapotos heard of my arrival they came to the number of twice seventy. On their arrival they all showed themselves; six hundred stood up. Hoani Papita stood up, and recited a song. (Song) He said that peace should not be made; that if they were exterminated it should be in Waikato. Porokoru stood up and said, 'Welcome, son. Peace shall not be made. If we are to die we will die in Waikato.' Tikaokao stood up and said, 'Welcome, my younger brother. I shall not be taken to the mountains. (shall not fly to the mountains), I shall remain here and if I die I shall die with the Waikatos.' Hari stood up and said, 'O my elder brother, I shall not go. Shall Waikato die, and I survive? I shall stay here. What matter about those prisoners?' I (Wi Nero) stood up and said, 'It is well you have forsaken the path of life, and have taken the road to death. Shall Waikato die, and you live; die together, and if you are against it, that is, if the law spares them, then they may become friends with the Government. You have set yourselves against us and the Governor. If the law says that they must die, they will die; if the law says that they are to live, they will live. It rests with the Governor. If you are still determined to do evil, the General will come very quickly and fight you.' I know therefore that there will be no peace. By-and-by there may be, when they have suffered. This was all. I returned to Whatawhata on the Monday. The general came, and I agreed that Hetaraka and Mohi should go to point out the bad places (to act as guides). After we left the General occupied Tuhikaramea.⁴³²

⁴³² Stokes, pp. 371-2, from GBPP, 1864, vol. 13, pp. 524-5: 'This account is of a visit by Te Awaitaia to Ngaruawahia in December 1863, where he spoke to General Cameron and then travelled to Maungatautari. Governor Grey received this 'very interesting account' from Nera and sent it on to the British Colonial Office as an enclosure with a despatch dated 17 February 1864.' This reference may also be found at AJHR, 1864, D – 06, Enclosure No. 10. For Pakeha accounts of the invasion of Waikato and Waipa, see Alexander, *Bush Fighting*, pp. 113-127 and Cowan, p. 338.



Map 8 Redoubt Locations in Te Porotaka o Ngāti Maahanga

Map 8 shows the Whatawhata and Tuhikaramea redoubts mentioned by Te Awaitaia. It was during the army’s advance along the Waipa that a Government gunboat was put out of action. Matua Henare alluded to this during our korero at Poihakena marae in

April 2010, saying ‘...trees were felled into the water, and that is where that saying came, “ta Tumutumu Rauwhitu”, to stop the boats from coming up the river...’⁴³³ The Pākehā records are more specific and show that a Government steamer was badly damaged on the Waipa river during the Army’s advance from Ngaruawahia to Whatawhata and Tuhikaramea, with the ‘Avon’ [being] temporarily out of service through striking a snag in the Waipa’.⁴³⁴ The ‘Avon’ was unsuitable for use on the Waikato⁴³⁵ especially in the summer months but there was a critical shortage of boats to transport the great quantities of supplies necessary to sustain the 3000-plus soldiers⁴³⁶. There were many shoals in the rivers, and most supplies had to be shifted in flat-bottomed rowboats, which was very laborious.⁴³⁷ The Crown had ordered a very expensive replacement steamer with a shallow draught from Australia, but it did not arrive until after the invasion along the Waipa.⁴³⁸ So they took the risk of using the ‘Avon’, and paid the price when it stranded.

We have seen photographs of the white tents of the Crown’s army pitched among our raupo whare in our kāinga of Whatawhata and Tuhikaramea on the Waipa in December 1863 and January 1864.⁴³⁹ It can only be imagined how our tupuna felt at this time! Not only did we have the invading British and Colonial troops laying waste to our kāinga, there had also been a lot of tension between us and our Ngāti Maniapoto whanaunga in the preceding six months, as they threatened Pākehā who lived with us, and established fortifications along the Waipa including at Whatawhata. We were increasingly divided among ourselves, and it was reported in the Pākehā press that everyone had gone over to the King’s side, except for those living under the rangatira

⁴³³ Te Rohe Potae Oral and Traditional Hui 3, 12-13 April 2010, Poihakena Marae, Raglan, Final transcript, pp. 20-21.

⁴³⁴ Cowan, J., *The New Zealand Wars*, page 338; See Pulman, G. Sketch Map of the Country lying between the Waipa and Waikato rivers, showing the Maori positions at Pah Te Rangi (sic) and Piko Piko, undated.

⁴³⁵ *Te Rohe Potae Newspaper Document Bank*, Volume IV, p. 2360, *Wanganui Chronicle* 19 February 1863, p. 3: “The Avon having been found of too deep a draught of water for the Waikato, a steamer is expected from Sydney of the required size.”

⁴³⁶ Stokes, p. 373, for reference re numbers of British and Colonial troops camped in Ngaruawahia in December 1863.

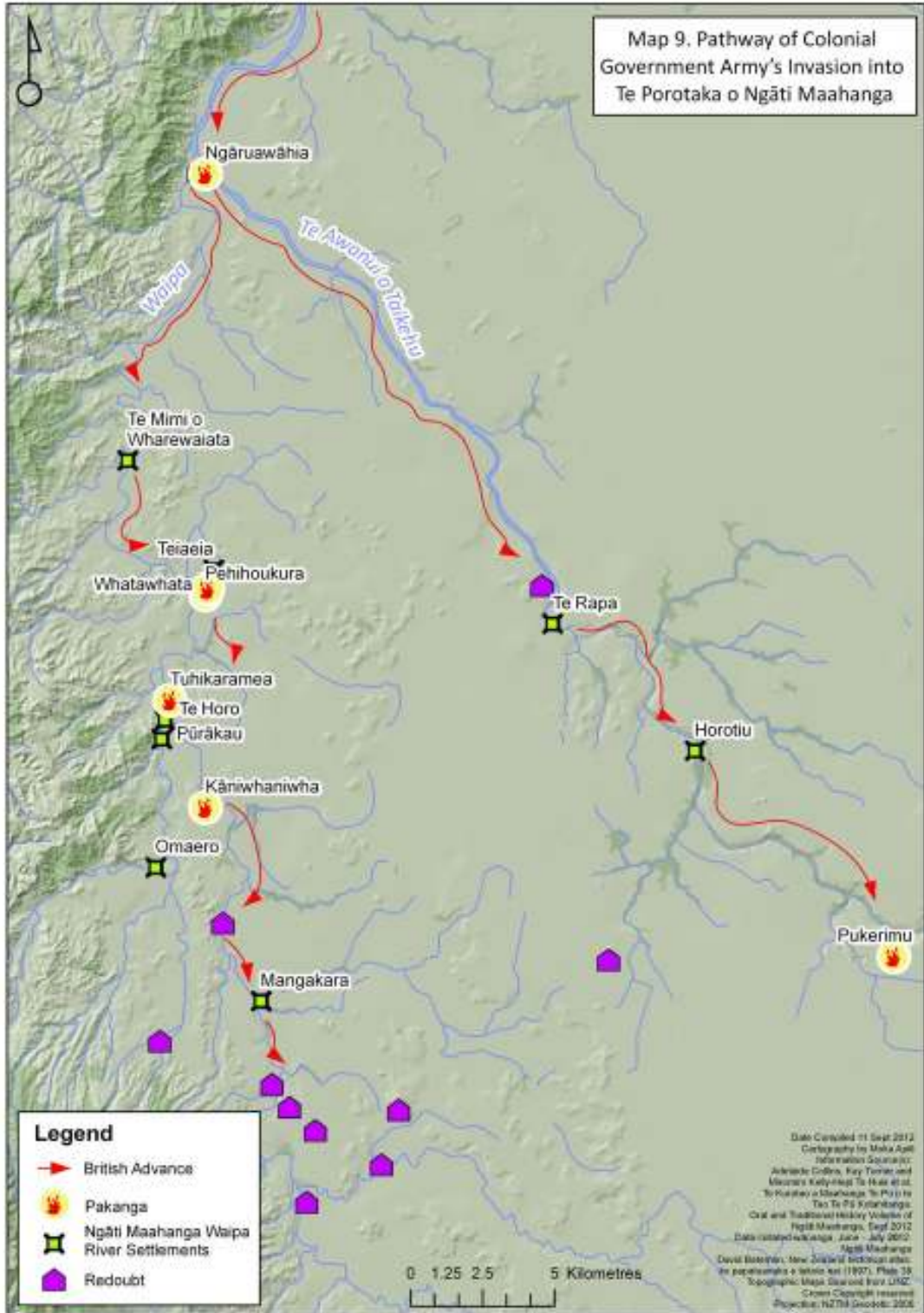
⁴³⁷ Alexander, J.E., *Bush Fighting: Illustrated by remarkable actions and incidents of the Maori war in New Zealand*, London, Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1873, extracts from pp. 113-127.

⁴³⁸ Te Rohe Potae Newspaper Document Bank 2367, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 January 1864, p. 3. There is a newspaper report that it was not until 11 January 1864 that the paddle steamer Blue Nose was launched at Onehunga - built "...for the purpose of navigating the Waikato River, for which she appeared to be admirably adapted" [the Blue Nose was a flat-bottomed craft].

⁴³⁹ Stowers, R., *A History of the Forest Rangers during the New Zealand wars*, published by Richard Stowers, Hamilton NZ, 1996, pp. 48 (Whatawhata Camp) and 50 (Tuhikaramea). Photographs taken in January 1864, from the Spencer Collection, Hawke’s Bay Museum.

Matutaera Kaniwhaniwha at Whatawhata, and Te Awaitaia at Whaingaroa. Ngāti Maahanga living at Whaingaroa were reported to have begged those at Whatawhata to come and live with them from mid-1863, but that those at Whatawhata resisted, saying ‘who will feed us?’ i.e. they were planting their crops on which they relied, and wanted to keep peaceably cultivating.⁴⁴⁰ But whether we wanted to go or not, we were ordered to leave by the Crown so as not to impede the invasion. Map 9 illustrates the pathway and intensity of that invasion.

⁴⁴⁰ Te Rohe Potae Newspapers Document Bank Volume 4, p. 2363, *Wanganui Chronicle*, Report from Raglan, 22 July 1863.



Map 9 Pathway of Colonial Government Army's Invasion into Te Porotaka o Ngāti Maahanga

The heart-breaking details of the destruction of the peaceable and hard-working lives of our tupuna during these times emerged years later during the Compensation Court hearings. Here are just two examples:

Claim of Wiremu Ngawake [sic] - The goods claimed for consisting of various joiner's tools, farming implements, tobacco, clothing and other articles were left at his place in the charge of nobody, when he took despatches from Whatawhata to Whaingaroa for the general. When he came back they were not there, and does not know of what become of them. Officers were living in his house when he came back. The officers' horses trod down his wheat and potatoes.

Henie [sic] Matine [sic] claimed for cattle and horse. He formerly lived at Waipa; left there by order of the Governor. Went to Raglan and took his cattle with him. Saw his cattle afterwards at Te Rori [sic]. The colonel told him Govt would pay him for his cattle. William Naylor borrowed his horse, and left it with a Maori Minister and claimant did not get it. Mr Moon, at Raglan, would know that he had cattle. He was loyal. C. de Thiery, sworn, said, he knew Matine; saw a cow and calf at Te Rori, which he was told belonged to claimant. Matine claimed them, Colonel Hamilton did not give them up; the cow was in milk. The troops scoured the district for cattle and horses. They did this partially to prevent these falling into the enemy's hands. He knew nothing of the horse.⁴⁴¹

After a month camped in our kāinga, the British and Colonial troops moved on towards Te Rore, Pikopiko and Paterangi:

On the 27th of January 1864, the two columns from Tuhikaramea and Whatawhata started on the main road for Pikopiko. For miles and miles now there was an unbroken stream of soldiers, bullock-drays, artillery, packhorses, and orderlies meandering over the plains and fern ridges of the sacred Maori delta. Yellow clouds of dust hovered along our road.....We had the special honour to escort on the first day some Armstrong guns dragged by bullocks.....On the following morning we sighted Pikopiko and one's heart began to beat as soon as the General began to mass his troops in columns before the Maori stronghold.....For more than an hour we were kept in suspense regarding the intentions of the General. (The loyal chief Wiremu Neera, of Raglan, now made his appearance with a party on horseback.) Our suspense was broken at last

⁴⁴¹ Te Rohe Potae Inquiry Document Bank 3210; NZ Herald July 13 1866, p. 4 - "Mr De Thierry, Native Interpreter, Ngaruawahia, removed to fulfill same office at Raglan." Forty Māori made claims of this nature to the Compensation Court; they received 2432 pounds, about one-third of what they asked for; the 372 Pākehā claimants received 71,000 pounds out of the 136,000 pounds they asked for – Vennell, p. 84.

by the columns filing away to the west, past Pikopiko, towards the Waipa, and this night we camped unmolested near Te Rore.⁴⁴²

When Te Awaitaia arrived, he met for over an hour with General Cameron in his tent. Following the kōrero of Te Awaitaia and General Cameron, the army moved on, bypassing the Paterangi pā fortifications without engaging the occupants.⁴⁴³ We do not know for certain, but it would seem very likely that our tupuna exercised his influence to help prevent further bloodshed against his relatives of Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato who were inside the pā.

Neither Te Awaitaia nor any of the kūpapa Ngāti Maahanga fought on the side of the invading forces, either in our rohe or elsewhere, during the whole course of the wars over these years. We did provide some guides to General Cameron, and convey some messages between the Waipa and Whaingaroa, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Te Awaitaia never ceased in his efforts to try to save lives, minimise damage, and make the peace; he kept the promise made by all the great rangatira on the first day of the Paetai hui in May 1857: ‘The war hatchet was buried, and a solemn compact made that if ever dug up again, it should not be employed against any of the tribes present.’⁴⁴⁴

In March 1864 Te Awaitaia was actively trying to influence the government to spare the Waikato, Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Maniapoto and other leaders of the ‘rebels’. At the end of March 1864, Premier Fox responded to a letter from Te Awaitaia as follows:

Friend Wm. Nero – I have read your letter in which you say that the road to life for Wm. Thompson and the chiefs of Waikato is stopped because they are afraid if they give up their weapons Wm. Thompson and Matutaera will be hung; and you ask that you may be allowed to go to tell them whether this thought is true or false. Friend William! Great is your love for Waikato to save these men from destruction. This is good. The Government also desires that they should not perish. But that thought of theirs is wrong altogether. The word of Government is, that all *will be spared* if they lay down their arms and agree to live under the Queen’s law. Their land will be gone to the Queen, but they will be allowed *enough to live on well*. A Crown Grant will be given to each. This word is for Matutaera, Tarapipipi, for all Waikato; *none are excepted but the murderers*. Let not these men then be afraid; but let them be quick in giving up their arms, for otherwise the General will

⁴⁴² Alexander, pp. 113-127, quoting from von Tempsky’s *Journal*. For an idea of the country through which this advance took place, and of the camp at Te Rore, see Stowers, pp. 52 and 56, photographs from Spencer Collection, Hawke’s Bay Museum.

⁴⁴³ For some idea of the extent of the Paterangi pa earthworks, see photograph taken in February 1864 after the pā was evacuated: in Stowers, p. 66, from Spencer Collection, Hawke’s Bay Museum.

⁴⁴⁴ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIV, Issue 1037, 5 June 1857, p. 3.

not be held in – he will go on until the arms of the rebels are laid down. This is a true word....This is that your love for Waikato may save the lives of those men, of Matutaera, of Thompson, and the others. From your loving friend, Te Pohika.⁴⁴⁵

But sadly our whanaunga among the ‘rebels’ were not convinced, or perhaps did not know, of our tupuna’s tireless efforts to save them from the wrath of the Government and the soldiers. Paora Tuhaere of Ngāti Whatua who was sent by the Government in late May 1864 to report on the situation in Waikato, noted ‘...the suspicion felt towards “neutral Chiefs” and, in particular, Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia and Waata Kukutai’, when he met with Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Haua at Patetere to discuss the end of the war.⁴⁴⁶

Te Awaitaia had considered the ‘rebel’ cause to be hopeless, in the face of the might of the Crown, and it is difficult to argue with his judgement. The outcome was devastating for those Waikato who decided to directly confront the Crown and fight.

3.11 The war comes to Whaingaroa

General Cameron needed an alternative supply route to the Waipa by the time he camped in Whatawhata and Tuhikaramea in December 1863/January 1864. The Pākehā record tells us what happened as a consequence:

...General Cameron now thought it desirable to open a communication between Tuhikaramea and Raglan, a small European (sic) settlement on the west coast, having a good harbour, not more than twenty miles distant from the Waipa river, and to which there was only a bush track. He therefore directed the 50th Regiment (the fighting 'half hundred') and a detachment of 300 Waikato Militia, the whole under Colonel Waddy (an old Crimean friend), to embark at the Manukau for Raglan, where the greater part had already arrived; more troops were to be employed in improving the track, rendering it *practicable* (emphasis in original) for infantry and pack horses, so that in case of need reinforcements might reach head-quarters in a few hours, for until this road was made, this line could be reached only occasionally for supplies....⁴⁴⁷

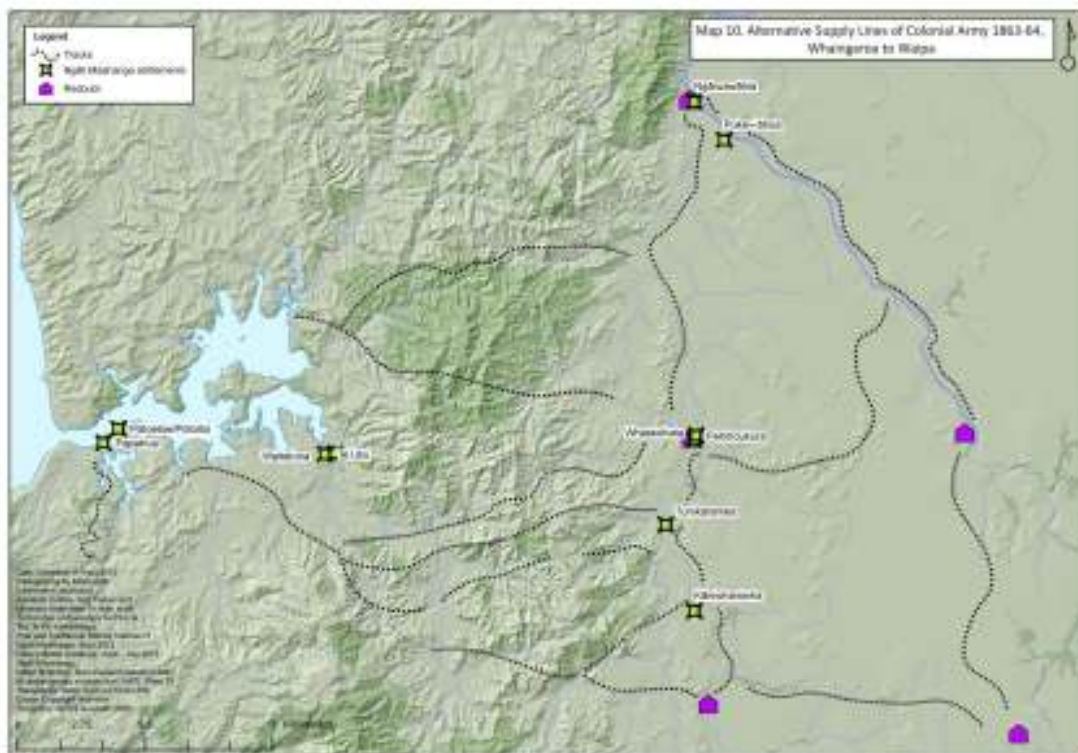
The 50th regiment joined General Cameron on the Waipa, and the Waikato militia garrisoned a stores redoubt 17 miles from Raglan which fed some of the soldiers who were camped at Whatawhata. This makes it clear that it was the need to secure supply

⁴⁴⁵ Emphasis as in original.

⁴⁴⁶ Stokes, p. 386.

⁴⁴⁷ Alexander, extracts from pp. 113-127.

lines at a crucial stage of their invasion that ‘triggered’ the sharp focus of General Cameron and Government on Raglan (Whaingaroa) as an alternative and/or supplementary supply line in December 1863 and January 1864. But it is also clear from the Pākehā records that Government had probably been planning the possibility of using Raglan as a supply route well before the actual invasion reached Whatawhata and Tuhikaramea on the Waipa. (This would make sense, as General Cameron was an experienced and careful commander, who knew that without secure supply lines his army would not be able to pursue their mobile enemy, bring in troop reinforcements, or feed the troops in the field.) The key supply line for the invasion of the Waikato was along the rivers, the Waikato and the Waipa. The supplementary or ‘reserve’ supply lines, in case of need, as seen in Map 10, eventually became via the Whaingaroa harbour, which could, although this would not have been ideal due to the difficult nature of the terrain between Whaingaroa and the Waipa, have become an alternative supply line if the supply line along the rivers had been cut off for any reason.



Map 10 Alternative Supply Lines of Colonial Army 1863-64, Whaingaroa to Waipa

And it is Government forays into Whaingaroa that took place in mid-1863, probably as part of Government preparations for the invasion of Waikato, that almost certainly

gave rise to our traditional kōrero about Te Awaitaia paddling his waka out alone to challenge the Government warships. Whaea Mori Shaw told this story many times, of Te Awaitaia paddling out alone in his waka in Whaingaroa Harbour to confront the Government warship that was threatening him and his people, in that same period of the invasion of the Waikato.

There is also the kōrero of our tupuna Te Otene in his evidence in the Manuaitu-Aotea case to reinforce Whaea Mori's korero:

In proof of Te Awaitaia's title over the land, he [Te Awaitaia] refused Sir George Grey's request to allow Aotea and Whaingaroa harbours to be opened for the passage of troops into the Waikato in 1863. Te Awaitaia went to Auckland at that time, accompanied by Wi Nero, Te Rongomau and Wi Patene. It was then Sir George Grey made his request and Te Awa replied he preferred those places to remain undisturbed in his own hands.⁴⁴⁸

And here is evidence of Te Awaitaia himself directly challenging the presence of Government ships in Whaingaroa in 1863:

E tai e te Kawana. Ka patai atu ahau ki te ritenga o nga kaupuke e tu nei i Whaingaroa he mohiotanga na te Kawanatanga ma te Maori e patu te pakeha me matou e kore e tika engari whakaturia mai te take no te mea na Waikato na Taranaki ara na Niutereni te kohuru. Koia ahau i mohio ai ko te take ano tenei e whiu ai nga [nga] iwi tohe ki te kino a Waikato. Ki te utua mai enei korero anake e whakarongo maku. Na Wiremu Nero.⁴⁴⁹

There is also clear evidence in the Pākehā record to confirm that *warships* did in fact come into Whaingaroa harbour in the relevant period, for example: "During the Māori War the 'Eclipse' a war ship entered the harbour and anchored inside the Waitetuna Heads."⁴⁵⁰ The record shows that H.M.ss. Eclipse, was a man-of-war, barque rigged and with two funnels [i.e. it could proceed under sail or steam. The letters H.M. ss stood for 'Her Majesty's steam screw']. The Eclipse was armed with 4 guns, i.e. one

⁴⁴⁸ Cooper, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁴⁹ Grey Sir George, *Maori Letters*: GNZMA: 86, Auckland City Library. Letter from Te Awaitaia at Whaingaroa, to Governor George Grey, 14 June, 1863. Translation: Friend the Governor, I shall ask you the meaning of the vessels now anchored in Whaingaroa. Does the Government suppose that the Maoris will kill the Europeans and us? That idea is incorrect. Let me know the reason, because the murders were by Waikato, by Taranaki, by New Zealand? [Translator's note: Naylor's expressions here are not very clear, but he means that he has heard Waikato is to be attacked, and he wants information on the subject]. Therefore I suppose that is the reason the obstinate ill-disposed people of Waikato will be punished. If you answer these questions, I only will listen (meaning the information shall go no further). By William Naylor.

⁴⁵⁰ Pegler, 1962, *Snippets of History concerning the three harbours of Whaingaroa, Aotea and Kawhia*, manuscript, page not numbered.

100-pounder Armstrong pivot gun, one 68-pounder, and two 32-pounders; was 700 tons, and 200 horsepower.⁴⁵¹ There is also clear evidence in the Pākehā record that the presence of such warships would have been highly unusual (and therefore especially memorable) in 1863, which reinforces the preservation of this event in our traditional korero: “Up until 1877 few if any other than sailing boats traded in the Raglan port.”⁴⁵²

A Pākehā source also confirms what our traditional kōrero asserts – that Te Awaitaia was passionately focused on preserving the mana of Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti Hourua throughout these turbulent times, and that he was determined to avoid fighting and bloodshed on Ngāti Maahanga lands: ‘...[when] hostilities broke out in 1863Te Awaitaia at once declared that no war party should enter his territory 'save over his dead body’’.⁴⁵³ While Pākehā interpreted this to mean no *Māori* war party, this declaration can be read as applying just as much to *Pākehā* war parties (including warships) as to *Māori* ones.

Given his determination to keep them out, why did Te Awaitaia eventually let both warships and troops into Whaingaroa? The reasons for his actions were no doubt complex. But one obvious reason is that even though he still had hundreds of loyal and armed Ngāti Maahanga warriors in the 1860s, he had no firepower to compete with that of warships like the Eclipse, or of European troops equipped with heavy guns in addition to firearms. He therefore ‘chose’ to allow the warships and troops into Whaingaroa harbour rather than engage in futile armed conflict which would inevitably have resulted in the deaths or wounding of many of his people.

It is also likely that Te Awaitaia, weighing up developments as they occurred, decided to let warships and Government troops enter Whaingaroa harbour in order to avoid something worse: that they would land at Kawhia, which was what the Government intended before Te Awaitaia intervened.⁴⁵⁴ Te Awaitaia probably took the steps he did in this situation because he had concluded that it would be better to have Government

⁴⁵¹ Shipping intelligence, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 14 Hakihea 1864.

⁴⁵² Pegler, page not numbered. The arrival of a warship with dual steam and sail, such as the Eclipse, in Whaingaroa harbour would have been memorable for our tupuna, standing out from the usual small coastal sail boats of the traders.

⁴⁵³ Pegler, p. 12.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, “Following Te Awaitaia's advice British troops were not landed at Kawhia as was first intended but H.M.S. disembarked men and ammunitions at the Waitetuna Stream Heads on the property then owned by Captain J.C. Johnstone.”

troops and warships within his rohe and under his influence, rather than rampaging about in Kawhia and its environs.

It is also very interesting to note that Te Awaitaia arranged for the troops to land on Captain Johnstone's property. As Johnstone had made a unilateral declaration of martial law in Raglan during the fighting in Taranaki in 1860⁴⁵⁵, an insulting action, one can imagine that Ngāti Maahanga might have taken some small grim satisfaction in organizing for the troops to use his property in 1863!

Thus it can be said that our tupuna kept the Government's warships and troops out of Kawhia and Aotea harbours, thereby protecting our relations in those places. He also ensured that the troops that came into Whaingaroa did not disembark at Pūtoetoe or other nearby places, but on land distant from the settlement and occupied by a Pākehā.

While rapidly unfolding events meant that Te Awaitaia had to make some very hard decisions during the invasion of the Waikato, he still managed, through these terrible times, to preserve the peace in his rohe, and protect all the people living in his rohe from the worst consequences of war. The Pākehā record affirms that: "the services [of the troops] were never required, nor was the blockhouse erected in Raglan protected by strong ramparts, for not a hostile shot was ever fired on the west coast watershed."⁴⁵⁶

3.12 The Crown betrays Ngāti Maahanga

Not only was the outcome of the wars devastating for the 'hau hau' Ngāti Maahanga and all our whanaunga who had supported the Kīngitanga; the outcome was devastating for all the 'kūpapa' Ngāti Maahanga, too.

In 1864 Grey signed Proclamations under the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 providing for the confiscation of nearly three and a quarter million acres of land in Waikato, Taranaki and the Bay of Plenty. In fairness to Grey, it should be noted that the area of the confiscation was smaller than that demanded by Domett and Fox, his

⁴⁵⁵ AJHR, 1860, F – No. 3, Report of the Waikato Committee, p. 92. Captain Johnstone was in fact absent in 1863/64, on a visit to England (Vennell, page 82). Captain Johnstone was not well-regarded by Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga, and our opinion was shared by the members of the Committee on Waikato in 1860, who disregarded Johnstone's evidence. Kōrero was shared during our wānanga at Aramiro in February 2012 that when Johnstone's wife, a woman of Ngāti Maahanga, died, he retained her lands; and there is suspicion among us to this day about the circumstances surrounding her death.

⁴⁵⁶ Pegler, page not numbered.

‘responsible Ministers’, who had proposed to confiscate even huger areas of land, including all of Waikato north of a line drawn from Raglan to Tauranga.

As it was, much of Ngāti Maahanga’s rohe was the subject of raupatu. As M P K Sorrenson notes:

‘In the selection of the land for confiscation, fertility and the strategic location of land were more important than the owners’ part in the rebellion. Some tribes, like Ngāti Maniapoto, who were heavily engaged in the Taranaki and Waikato wars, got off scot-free; others, such as the central Waikato tribes, lost virtually all their lands.’⁴⁵⁷

Our immediate focus in the mid-1860s was to use every means available to us to get our lands back, to claim for our devastating losses suffered in the invasion of Waikato, and to assert Waikato and Ngāti Maahanga’s mana in the face of the settler government’s expansion through military settlements, sales of land to Pākehā, and new laws.⁴⁵⁸

Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga engaged in the Compensation Court process regarding lands, which began in our rohe in early 1866.⁴⁵⁹ The main Compensation Court hearing in relation to the lands of Ngāti Maahanga took place at Ngaruawahia in January and February 1867, and very sadly for us the official records have all been lost. We do know that Ngāti Maahanga attended in large numbers.⁴⁶⁰

We also know that James McKay, the Government agent, worked assiduously outside the Court to ‘settle’ our tupuna’s claims.⁴⁶¹ What this usually meant was that some cash and some land would be offered in settlement of all the claims put forward by an individual on behalf of the iwi.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ Oliver and Williams, Chapter 7, ‘Maori and Pakeha’ by M.P.K. Sorrenson, p. 185.

⁴⁵⁸ The Government passed a law in 1865 legalising the private sale of Maori land, and ‘Auckland speculators, notably Thomas Morrin [in the area of Morrinsville] and J.C. Firth [in the area of Matamata], acquired huge tracts of the Waikato by unscrupulously exploiting both European law and Maori disarray and poverty.’ See: Oliver and Williams, page 56. What an irony that some of the ‘reciprocity’ Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga had long argued for in relation to land sales, was only offered when Maori were no longer able to engage from a position of any strength!

⁴⁵⁹ See: Raupatu Document Bank, p. 39527.

⁴⁶⁰ *Daily Southern Cross*, 18 January 1867, Vol. XXIII, Issue No. 2959, p. 5: ‘The natives have now nearly all left Raglan to attend the Compensation Court at Ngaruawahia.’

⁴⁶¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXIII, Issue No. 2971, 1 February 1867, p. 5. ‘...Mr Mackay, Civil Commissioner, is acting for the Crown, and has settled a large number of the claims by agreement with the native claimants’.

⁴⁶² For example, claims of Makareta Hopai Parakihana to Waimarino, Whatawhata, Tamahere, Ngaroto and other places were settled by awards of 80 acres at Tamahere, 209 acres at Whatawhata and twenty

Our ancestral ties to our lands through our close whakapapa links to all the Tainui tribes were diminished through the Government agent's actions at this time. We also fought hard over these years to recover and retain areas of land of particular significance to us, seeking Crown Grants from Government for our former lands, including former reserves, and often having to pay to buy our own lands back! And, as we have seen already seen, we also claimed and tried to obtain some compensation for the losses we had suffered as a direct result of the Government soldiers' actions. Both Māori and Pākehā suffered these losses:

Many farmers had occupied land in various parts of the district [Raglan] for nearly ten years and, in that time, had made remarkable progress. While some had been fortunate enough to find themselves on fern land, others had had to carve out of the forest new homes for their families and land for their food crops and stock. Many returned after the war only to find much of their hard work undone, not only by the enemy but more often by their own countrymen. Those who stayed on during the war sometimes had to stand by powerless to prevent the wanton destruction in which some of the soldiers seemed to delight....Nor in Raglan itself was property respected. Richard Galvan, the town's first blacksmith, who came from New York just before the war, described one of the British regiments as 'a rough lot'. They stole pigs from the friendly Maoris, he said, and broke into Gilmour's store. Some of the stolen goods were later found hidden in a swamp. Galvan was in a position to know what went on for he was among those residents who stayed at Raglan during the war.⁴⁶³

We also had to continue to try and feed ourselves, and take care of all our normal requirements of living, throughout these times. But most of all, Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga continued their role as mediators and peace makers. For example, we attended a large hui at Kawhia where the Governor came in 1866 to begin the process of engagement with the 'rebels', with sad consequences for us all. The Pākehā newspapers reported on 28 April that:

The mortality amongst the natives here is very large and greatly on the increase in spite of the indefatigable exertions of our medical man, Dr Harsant, J. P., who spares no pains in attending to the wants of the afflicted. William Naylor has been struck down by the prevailing fever, but it is hoped that he may speedily recover under the careful hands of

pounds; land acreage combined and allocated at Whatawhata only, ending association with Tamahere whenua. See: Raupatu Document Bank pages 41268, 41269, 42470 and 42471; also Box 8, Nos. 408 and 498, and Voucher 3/23.

⁴⁶³ Vennell, pp. 82-83.

his medical attendant. His death would be a severe loss to this community, and more so to his tribe.⁴⁶⁴

The news had not yet reached Auckland of the passing of our tupuna on 27 April 1866. The loss was deeply felt by all, and it could truly be said that his passing was the symbol that our traditional history as an iwi of mana was coming to its end.

It does not need to be emphasised that Te Awaitaia's passing was an event of significance in te ao Maori. When Te Awaitaia died, he was placed in a coffin with silver handles, lined with silk and draped with korowai, and when he was buried his grave was covered in flowers. Whaea Te Rau Putiputi (Molly) Maclean has given us kōrero to illustrate how our memories of this event in our iwi history have been kept alive through a naming tradition, by which the daughters of successive generations of two Ngāti Maahanga whānau carry five names handed down in remembrance of Te Awaitaia. The first of these names is Kahutoroa, a reference to the albatross feathers decorating the korowai covering Te Awaitaia's coffin, and the Paekau whanau carry this name. The other four names are carried by the whānau of Whaea Molly. These names are: Ngā Korowai, Ngā Hiriwa, Ngā Hiraka and Te Rau Putiputi.⁴⁶⁵

It is also important to acknowledge that it was an event of significance in the world of the Pākehā. Lengthy obituaries for our tupuna appeared in Pākehā newspapers from Auckland to Whanganui, from Pōneke to Ōtakou. Here is a description of Te Awaitaia's tangi written from a Pākehā perspective:

...The old chief [Te Awaitaia] lived in Raglan until the day of his death in a large whare adjacent to the blockhouse. The tangi obsequies were of the most extensive character [annotation on manuscript - First Putoetoe, then Papahua] and the Governor Sir George Grey gave instructions that the funeral should not take place until he arrived with adequate military escort to pay a last tribute appropriate to the dead chief. Te Awaitaia was laid to rest in a small urupa on Tuhua Point (Papahua Park) and buried with full military honours. Sir George Grey and a number of British officers were among the mourners while a squad of marines from the Government steamer 'Hinemoa' formed a fitting firing party. Addressing Te Awaitaia's two sons the great Pro-

⁴⁶⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 28 April 1866.

⁴⁶⁵ [Korowai, silver, silk and flowers, respectively]. Personal communication; Molly Maclean, 27 April 2012.

Counsel urged them to tread in the footsteps of their famous father and follow his example in both their private and public life.⁴⁶⁶

Although it pains us to mention it, less than a month later, the government struck ‘Hetaraka Nero, Tamehana Tarahou and Hemi Matini of Raglan’ off the assessors’ list, without pay, due to retrenchments in the native department.⁴⁶⁷ This miserly, thin-spirited action by the Government, following so closely after the expression of noble sentiments by the Governor, very sadly seems to us to exemplify our whole history of engagement with the Crown up to today. We live in the sincere hope that we will be able to create a different and more just history between Ngāti Maahanga and the Crown from now on.

3.13 Conclusion

We believe that the British Crown in the form of the New South Wales Government, was directly involved in the coming of Pākehā to our rohe. By the 1820s the effects of unregulated European/British trade and settlement on indigenous peoples were well-known to the British Crown, as were the effects of alcohol and tobacco, but we feel we were left us to fend for ourselves in this new world that the Crown encouraged to enter our rohe.

We of Ngāti Maahanga did everything we could to adapt to the Pākehā world, investing a lot of our own resources and energy into learning to read and write, and to adopt and adapt European-style farming. The latter became very destructive for us, as we had to fund the change through our own resources, which forced us to sell land. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Crown’s laws put us at a disadvantage in terms of dealings with land and their cumulative effect was destructive of our well-being as a people. A depression in agricultural prices combined with extreme weather events and settler pressure forced us into a spiral of land sales in the immediate pre-war years.

We also adopted and adapted Christianity with fervour and commitment, but among its impacts, Christianity undermined our own comprehensive and integrated systems

⁴⁶⁶ Pegler, pp. 13-14. There are differing accounts of what happened, for example, see: Stokes, p. 475: ‘At the end of April 1866, Grey visited the Waikato and Tamihana was persuaded to come to Hamilton to talk with him on 1 May. Mair had travelled with Grey but stayed in the Raglan and Kawhia districts (among other things, attending the tangihanga for Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia) while Grey’s entourage travelled to the Waikato’. (Andersen, J. C. and Petersen, G. C., *The Mair Family*, Reed, 1956, Wellington).

⁴⁶⁷ Raupatu Document Bank, p. 41201.

of social organisation and our traditional belief systems, without providing an effective replacement.

We utterly committed ourselves to a partnership with the Crown under Te Kawenata o Waitangi, but the Crown utterly failed us as the Treaty partner. The Crown did not engage with us in any sustained and systematic way to devise and apply any coherent system of laws to deal with the changed conditions in our rohe. Nor did the Crown develop with us new institutions to govern at the wider district or the national levels.

We tirelessly helped the Crown to maintain peace and solve disputes, but the Crown did not reciprocate our efforts, undermining the mana of our tūpuna and causing strife and division between us and our Waikato-Tainui whanaunga, and other Māori. The consequences of this continue to cause us mamae up to present times.

Finally, the Crown utterly betrayed us through the invasion of Waikato and raupatu, and the destruction of our peaceable way of life based on our farms, cultivations and the ngahere, awa and moana.

The impact of Pākehā and the Crown on Ngāti Maahanga has been devastating and brought suffering to our people right up to the present. Before the Pākehā came to our rohe, we were an iwi of mana. Within fifty years of the first Pākehā coming to live in our rohe, we were the subjected people of the British Crown. The Crown even sent an army to occupy our kāinga, and confiscated our lands. Our people were divided among themselves by the actions of the Crown, and scattered to the four winds.

Seven generations on, it is our hope that the Crown will now give us redress for the wrongs we have suffered at their hands, and create the conditions for future generations of Ngāti Maahanga tāngata to live in peace, security, prosperity and well-being.

CHAPTER 4: AHAKOA ITI TAKU NGOHI HE REI KEI ROTO

4.1 Piki Ake

Piki ake au ki te taumata rā o Pirongia
Ka titiro iho ki ngā huarahi haerenga o aku mātua tūpuna
Whakarongo atu ki ngā ngaru e ngunguru i waho Karioi
Te paepae o te tai Hau-ā-uru e...I...Aue
Heke iho au ngā takahanga tapuae i Arekahanara taku haona kaha
Whai tonu au i te ia o Waipa ngā piko pikohanga o Tūheitia
Tū ana au i te Papaorotu ngā iringa kupu a rātau mā
“Haere mai ki au kite au tē rena, te urunga tē taka”
“Te moenga tē whakaarahia!”...
“Ahakoa iti taku ngohi he rei kei roto”
Ka hiko i au ki Ngāruawahia taku Turangawaewae,
Tū ana mai ngā whare whakairo i wawatatia ai e Te Puea
Ngā iringa kupu i waihaNgātia ai e ngā iwi o te motu
I ngā rangi o mua rā, tū ana mai te Kīngi Tūheitia
Takahia au i whenua kura ka titiro whakarunga ko Taupiri
Te maunga tapu a ōku kurapounamu o te iti o te rahi e
Huri atu au te tahuna i wāhi ngā pounga kupu atua
A Potatau, a Tawhiao, a Mahuta me ngā manu kōrero
Tuku iho ko Te Rata, ko Koroki, ko Te Atai-rangi-kaahu
Me te whare ariki nui tonu ee....

Takahia anō e au i whenua kura te rauna o aku marae o Tainui
Mōkau ki runga Tamaki ki raro huri atu ko Pare Hauraki
Kei te uru ko Pare Waikato Mangatoatoa ki waenganui
Whakarehurehu ana taku titiro ki te Kaokaoroa-o-Patetere
Hiko tonu au ki Rukumoana ko Ngāti Haua a....i.....aue
Wiremu Tamehana nāna i tū ai te Kīngi Māori o te motu
Kei ko iti kau atu ko Kemureti te oko horoi o Tawhiao
Piki au i te hiwi ki Maungatautari
Ka titiro iho ko Ngāti Koroki te iwi hoki hoki tonu mai
Marama te titiro atu ki Pohara ko Rangiatea ngā Ohaki a Piupiu
Heke iho au ka huri taku tira ki HaNgātiki Te Aitanga-oManiapoto
Whakaheke tonu au ki Te Kuiti ko Potatau Te Wherowhero ko Tawhiao
Ka koi aku wae ki Kawhia ko Maketu te urunga o taku waka o Tainui
Taorotia i te wai i Aotea kia whiti atu ki Whaingaroa
Ka piki au ki runga te maunga o Karioi
Tū ana mai te hiwi o Moerangi te puke okiokinga
Me āwhio atu ki te rae o taku maunga o Pirongia
Ka pupū ake te aroha ka tauheke iho ka hoki au kōmuri
Whakatika tonu taku tira ki te au ki te wā kāinga, e...i...aue
Tū ana au i runga i taku whenua kura, I taku whenua tupu i
Whatawhata...i...aue...aue...hi⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁸ I climb the slopes of Pirongia and gaze down the pathways, where once my ancestors trod, in the distance I hear the roar of the waves, lapping against Mt Karioi my shelter from western storms, descending I retrace the sacred steps (Tawhiao's) at Alexandra (Pirongia), the symbol of my strength of character, I follow the course of Waipa the turning twisting abode of Tūheitia, Proudly I stand on my

Housed within this chant are the complex relationships that have developed over time, acknowledged here in the spiritual wanderings of the writer. The writer walks pathways that were once Ngāti Maahanga's and acknowledges our neighbouring iwi and Kīngitanga. It is in this setting that we explore the impact of the colonial Government and successive Governments imposed legislation on Ngāti Maahanga and the causes of loss of whenua and the desire to sell land.

In this chapter we discuss the idea of the importance of whenua to Ngāti Maahanga as portrayed through our pūrākau and our traditions. This chapter has a time sequenced approach that follows the country's more recent history of colonial occupation, discussing Crown purchases, Crown's treatment of pre-Treaty transactions, land sale transactions of the 1840s-1850s, Raupatu, and then a summary of block allocation and then land alienation through the Native Land Court process. It also touches on the amalgamation, consolidation and partitioning of the land blocks, public works takings, the Papahua and Pūtoetoe/Pūtoitoi blocks as a special case, and the impact of the Returned Soldiers legislation, ending with an acknowledgement of Maahanga whenua outside of Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district.

soil at Te Papa-o-Rotu, where history and vows abound and beckon, "Come unto me all who are weary and in need, and I will give you rest upon the pillow that never sleeps, and the sleep from whence there is no rising, though my contribution be small, its spiritual value is great." Onward I go to Ngaruawahia my footstool, where proudly stands the carved meeting houses, the fulfillment of dreams designed by Te Puea, and the storage place of vows and decisions, made by tribes of the land in yester-years, embodied today in the status of Te Atai-rangi-kaahu, forward I go to the most precious of my native soil, to gaze up to the sacred peak of Taupiri, the holy mountain and resting place, of my beloved people both great and small, towards wāhi I turn to behold the carved portals of its meeting house, by Potatau, by Tawhiao, by Mahuta and great orators of old, a heritage bestowed upon Te Rata, Koroki and Te Atai-rangi-kaahu, and the whole of the royal household.

Forward upon my precious soil I go, to pursue the course of my Tainui marae, from Mokau in the south to Tamaki in the North I proceed, to turn aside to Pare Hauraki in the east, westward to Pare Waikato I move then Mangatoatoa to the centre, far to south east I perceive the boundary of my realm, from the kaimai and to Fitzgerald Glade it extends, moving further on I come to Rukumoana marae to Ngāti Haua, the tribe of Wiremu Tamehana the king maker of the land, from there I proceed to Cambridge, the symbol of Tawhiao's washbowl of sorrow, further ahead I climb the slopes of Maungatautari mountain, to look down at the dwelling place of Ngāti Koroki, the people who always return from their wanderings, clearly to the south I see the land at Pohara, where stands the meeting house Rangiatea established by Piupiu, descending I follow the trail to HaNgātiki, the heritage and breeding ground of Maniapoto, still I descend and reach Te Kuiti the territory of Potatau and Tawhiao, my wandering feet lead me to Kawhia where stands the hill Maketu, the sacred resting place of my beloved canoe...Tainui, across the shimmering waters of Aotea harbour I wade, at Raglan I climb the summit of Mount Karioi to gaze in the distance at the reclining ranges of Moerangi, in spirit I climb again the peak of my beloved mountain...Pirongia, instinctively the love and longing for the home of my childhood returns, then slowly I descend and turn my weary steps homeward, responding to the call of my heritage, the precious soil of my birth 'Whatawhata'. Composer: Mori Shaw.

4.2 Mana Whenua, Tangata Whenua

As part of the environment, the importance of land to Māori is also housed within our whakapapa, our pūrākau and whakataukī⁴⁶⁹. Māori origins are attributed to Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother) birthing their children whom eventually became the deity of the world as we know it. For Tainui waka the male and female elements hani and puna were first to copulate and it was whilst they were searching for each other they woke up Ranginui who in turn woke Papatūānuku. Our pūrākau tell us that the first woman was fashioned out of the earth at Kurawaka found at a certain point on Papatūānuku, and our whakataukī provide cultural frameworks and points of reference as to how we should regard the whenua her being our earth mother, our environment and each other.

Great ceremony was conducted to connect the people to the land. Karakia was recited as was inoi (with the embracing of Christianity) to join them both. ‘Ownership’ in the form of whakaaro Māori was then recognized through these rituals and occupation took place thereafter. Tikanga required you to be present at the ceremony. Leeanne Boulton in her report quotes an example of the marking ceremony in the 1830s on a piece of land given to a trader:

Montefiore testified that the land had been deliberately and publicly marked out as part of setting aside or ‘tabooing’ the land to him. He described how ‘the line of Demarcation was burnt out, and that which was granted was made sacred or tabooed to me.’ The line ‘was first marked out by pitching Trees or small Plants, and then they set fire to them, and lying in a Train in very dry Weather it burnt quickly.’⁴⁷⁰

Other rituals were conducted to ensure connection with the whenua was retained. Ceremonies such as burying the whenua (placenta) in the whenua where the whānau was living, the pito⁴⁷¹ also being interred or hidden into a tree, a rock or in the land itself.⁴⁷² Land points are quoted in our pepehā⁴⁷³ these land points identifying where we are from but also indicating the mana on the whenua. The view of today has seen a shift from identifying ourselves to Tauīwi as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa to a more pointed view of mana whenua on the land as iwi claims are being addressed by Crown

⁴⁶⁹ Pūrākau – Stories in which our histories and beliefs are recorded.

⁴⁷⁰ Boulton, Leeanne, ‘Hapu And Iwi Land Transactions 1840–1865’, 2009, p.23.

⁴⁷¹ Pito - naval

⁴⁷² Kaumātua wānanga, 31 March 2012, Napi Waaka.

⁴⁷³ Pepehā – Tribal saying that identifies where the person is from.

and legislation taken on board by Councils to engage with iwi. An old view embraced in a new situation.

In present times we find our connection to the whenua has been disturbed and reduced more to the quarter acre section mentality of individuality, never-the-less we still find pockets of Māori whenua still in Māori hands. It is the same for the Ngāti Maahanga collective. We are still connected through our marae and our land reserves. However we find even these last bastions under stress. Mason Durie aptly describes the importance and symbolism of land to Māori today:

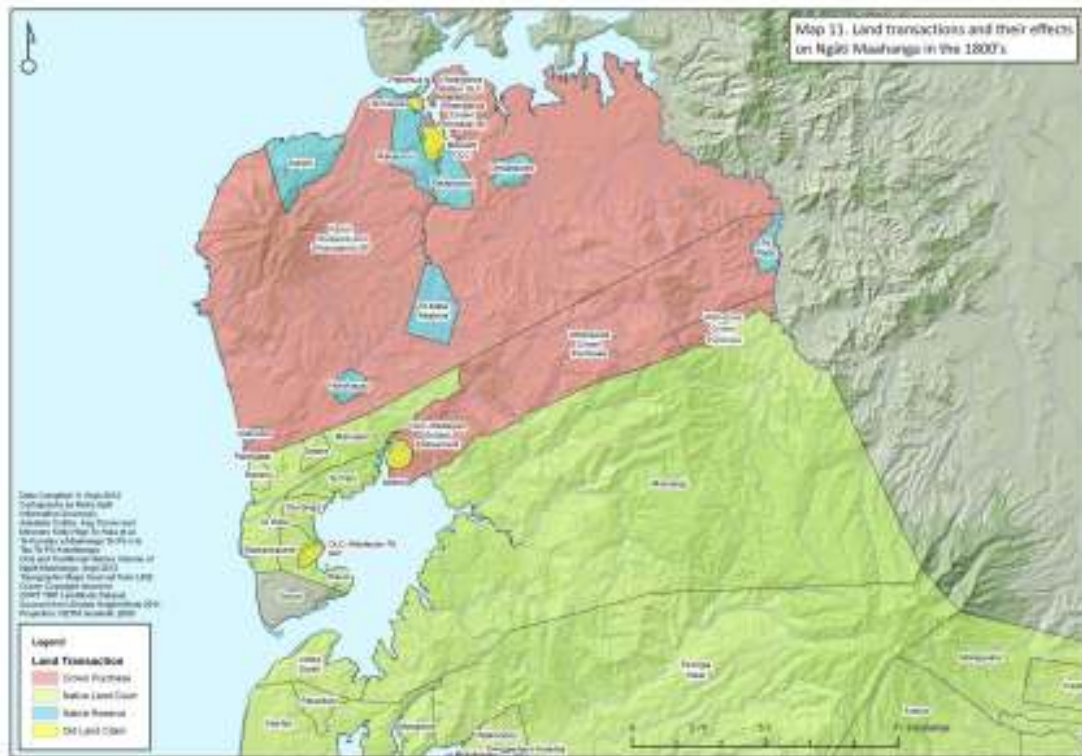
Land is necessary for spiritual growth and economic survival. It contributes to sustenance, wealth resource development, traditions; land strengthens whānau and hapū solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the well-being of future generations.⁴⁷⁴

If this is our measurement then what state does Ngāti Maahanga find itself in today in its land affairs? What is the legacy left to a powerful nation whose forefathers asserted themselves and created a vast area in which they occupied from the Waikato river to the Whaingaroa, Aotea and Kawhia harbours? With the first engagement of trade taking place in the 1820s what progression has happened for Ngāti Maahanga regarding its lands and its well-being in the last 150 years in its relationship with a Colonial Government to the present day system of governance?

As described in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, Ngāti Maahanga was well and truly established in te porotaka o Maahanga. As we noted in Chapter 3, encouraging Pākehā settlement was only part of the reason that Ngāti Maahanga sold land. The act of land sales became far more complex as the establishment of the Colonial Government became entrenched leading eventually to the undermining of Maahangatanga operating as a collective and in harmony with each other and its neighbouring hapū and iwi. Land wars and betrayal through the act of confiscation and numerous laws dealt its final blow to the cultural glue that held Ngāti Maahanga and its hapū as a collective on the landscape. As we saw in Chapter 3, Ngāti Maahanga was very involved in business and was a thriving iwi engaged in the development of its country and national politics, a people that were quick to grasp the new technology and cultural norms of the settlers. This picture of engagement in their landscape provides the backdrop to the next era of land legislation and its impacts. In this chapter the

⁴⁷⁴Durie, M., *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga – The Politics of Māori Self-Determination*, 1998, p. 115.

sale of whenua and the purpose of the sale will be explored whilst taking into consideration the impact of legislation and the political climate of the day. The question in the background is, was the sale of land voluntary or induced? The final findings of this chapter will be measured against Durie’s definition of the importance of land.



Map 11 Land transactions and their effects on Ngāti Maahanga in the 1800's

The occupation of land was not a random act of our tūpuna. Not only did they seek out the best positions in terms of transport and access to kai resources, much ceremony was also made to connect the people to the land as already stated. With this as our cultural context of the connection of Ngāti Maahanga to the whenua we will look at what would motivate Ngāti Maahanga to sell land, as shown in Map 11, and will explore the concept of ‘selling’ for Ngāti Maahanga.

In the context of the claim we shall look at land block sales based on the legislation of the time and government records held in the archives in an attempt to re-create the political climate whilst also taking into consideration the technical reports and the Oral and Traditional History transcripts as well as the Final Statement of Claim of Ngāti Maahanga claimants. It is important to note here that much of the chapter draws

heavily from Paula Berghan's block research narratives which provide, in many cases, a complete history that has not been known in recent times.

4.3 Blocks within the boundary

The following are the blocks that have been identified in the Maahanga boundary within the Rohe Pōtae inquiry. All names have been included as they come to light regardless of the fact that they may not have been 'discovered' at the time of finalising our Final Statement of Claim.

- Aramiro
- Moerangi
- Te Rape
- Wharauoa
- Tutaenui
- Puketutu
- Ohiapopoko
- Takapaunui
- Te Uku
- Te Mata
- Wahatane
- Whaingaroa
- Te Haroto
- Tureakina
- Papahua
- Pūtoetoe/Pūtoitōi (there is still debate as to the proper spelling)
- Karioi Parish 56

4.4 Ko te Whakaaro Māori - Incorporation - Land Sales

In the early 1800 it is doubtful that the idea of 'sale' in the European understanding of the word was a view shared by Ngāti Maahanga. Rather, as already stated the people welcomed onto the land were hand-picked as being important contributors to the hapū and ownership remained with the collective. The following example from Leeanne Boulton's research highlights the difference in the understanding of what a purchase

meant at this time. Schnackenberg the missionary stationed at Mokau whilst busy working at his home requested of the local 'Maori stopping at his house to go back to their own houses because they were getting in the way of his work', to this 'one of them replied that we are in our own place'.⁴⁷⁵ Boulton provides this insight into the political and social climate between early settlers, traders and Māori:

As trade moved from primarily picking up cargoes of raw materials to more permanent land-based trading and mission stations issues of transactions involving land became more evident. The evidence indicates that agreements over the use of land took place in a tribal world, where relationships and the allocation of land and resources were determined by Maori communities and governed by tikanga. In particular these transactions were conceived as a means of building alliances and establishing reciprocal relationships.

Ngāti Maahanga and our other west coast whanaunga had tikanga in place that determined the conditions for the use of our land. For the earlier settlers/traders that engaged with mana whenua they appeared to have an understanding that the terms of purchase were different than their own. At times marriage was a part of these conditions and it ensured that the whenua stayed with the people through the children. Missionaries were an exception to the rule as they did not take Māori wives nevertheless endeavours were still made to bring 'missionaries under Maori patronage'.⁴⁷⁶ In her report Boulton has been able to capture the ideology of land tenure within Māoridom, a description she has coined as 'incorporation':

The emphasis, for Maori, was on gaining people for the tribe, and the allocation of land was incidental to this goal. This practice of incorporation rested on an assumption that the arrangement endured only for so long as the newcomers... contributed to the community to the best of their ability and were committed to the community's best interests. As a consequence there was no equivalent to the English common law whereby people could hold land without concomitant duties to an associated community.

One of the prime motivations behind these arrangements from the perspective of the rangatira and his hapu was that they enhanced the mana of the community as mana accrued to those who provided for the people and not at all to those who looked after only themselves. The exercise of manakitanga towards strangers and the ability of those strangers to increase the material wealth and status of the community with commodities such as muskets, western goods and tools, and literacy ultimately enhanced the mana of the rangatira. As a result these relationships were, from a Maori perspective, conducted within the

⁴⁷⁵ Boulton, p. 16.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

framework of the obligations and privileges of host and guest inherent in the distinction between tangata whenua and manuhiri. The practice of incorporation sat within and was consistent with the fundamental purpose of Maori law, the whole aim of which 'was to maintain appropriate relationships of people to their environment, their history and each other.'⁴⁷⁷

Based on her research she concluded that the land sales were of this nature:

There is considerable evidence to suggest that arrangements between Europeans and hapu and iwi in this inquiry district before 1840 were incorporations of this sort, whose primary purpose was to secure Europeans who's trading and missionary activities would benefit the community. Individual Europeans were given the right to use and reside on land in the district on the condition that they carried out their trade.

4.4.1 Pre-1840 'purchase' – the Wallis Claim (Old Land Claim 946)

An example of this early missionary land purchasing method is the Wallis Claim. The Land Claims Commission established after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi heard Wallis's claim that he had given goods to the value of 23 pounds and had a deed signed constituting a valid purchase of the land upon which the Wesleyan mission station at Nihinihi stood. This claim was heard in Auckland by Commissioners Godfrey and Richmond on 3 June 1843, and Reverend John Whiteley, the Wesleyan missionary at Kawhia, gave evidence to support the claim. The church claimed 90 acres at Whaingaroa, and Whiteley stated that it was purchased on 27 February 1839 and that the goods in payment for it went to 'the native chiefs Wiremu and others.' The deed in Maori was provided, signed by Hakopa, Hone Kingi, Ware Kura and Mahikai, and witnessed by Te Awaitaia. Two witnesses, Hakopa and Waka, gave evidence before the claims commission. The summary of Hakopa's evidence said that he was 'sent here by the chief of our tribe Wiremu near to declare the truth of having sold the piece of land described in the deed now read to me and also to having received the payment as stated for it.' He also testified that the deed had been read and explained to him before he signed it, that they had not sold the land to anyone else, and that his right to sell the land had not been disputed by anyone else. Waka testified that the land had been 'sold' to the mission and that he had received payment for it. The commissioners recommended that the full amount of land being claimed by the church should be included in a Crown grant to the Wesleyan Mission Society. The

⁴⁷⁷ Boulton, p. 17-18.

amount was reduced to 76 acres in 1855, and in 1862 a Crown grant was issued for that amount.⁴⁷⁸

We have described in this volume (in both Chapter 3 and above), and also in our statement of claim paragraphs 93 to 96, our very different view of the true nature and import of these land transactions. To us, we had invited the Pākehā missionary and his family into our Ngāti Maahanga community under our mana and control, and we were not permanently alienating our lands. However, contrary to this as highlighted in the technical research of Leeanne Boulton the Land Claims Legislation that dealt with the validation of these earlier purchases (or invalidation) became ‘increasingly narrow’ between 1841 and 1858 moving from the 1841 Ordinance where transactions were recognised that they ‘may have been in the nature of purchases or pretended purchases, gifts or pretended gifts, conveyance leases or pretend lease agreements’ (or other titles), reduced in the 1850s to a single option ‘that the transaction was a purchase’, to the 1856 Act that title over the land had been ‘extinguished by the transaction’.⁴⁷⁹

As described here by Boulton the processes of Crown would take over and undermine the original purchase agreements through the above declared Ordinances :

The intervention of the British Government in New Zealand from 1839-1840, with its prohibition on further private land transactions with Maori and the establishment of the old land claims commissioner, exerted some degree of pressure on Europeans in the inquiry district to formalize earlier agreements over land...Other forces at work in the district by the 1850s, such as Crown officials making payments to Maori for land at Whaingaroa, Kawhia and Aotea, and personal factors such as ill health and a desire to provide for their children’s future, also played a part in a desire to secure their position. In the majority of cases these deeds simply read as deeds of sale and give no indications that they sprung out of earlier oral agreements where a conditional use right had been intended. This became problematic in the old land claims process as these deeds were taken at face value as purchases....

Many of these European men who had been more or less integrated into Maori communities in the district did not file claims for the land on which they lived until some threat or event caused them to try to secure

⁴⁷⁸ Boulton, p. 54-55; also Armstrong, M., WAI 898 WAI 1327 Final Amended Statement of Claim, 9 December 2011, pp. 22-24.

⁴⁷⁹ Boulton, p. 95.

the land. In 1839 and early 1840 the initial news of impending British intervention in New Zealand and of proclamations declaring all land transactions between Maori and Europeans void prompted some traders at Kawhia to get previously oral agreements over land written up and signed by chiefs.⁴⁸⁰

4.5 Te Haehae o te Whenua -Crown Purchases

As stated, Māori ideology on land tenure, namely ‘incorporation’, was not entertained by the Government. Crown pre-emption was asserted after the signing of Te Tiriti, undermining the ability of Ngāti Maahanga to ‘sell’ directly to settlers in the Ngāti Maahanga understanding of the word and therefore have some say in the process of the occupation of Maahanga lands. Engagement and discussion with Ngāti Maahanga would have revealed the cultural ideology behind ‘land sales’ and ‘tino rangatiratanga’ as agreed to in te Tiriti in Article two would have been honoured, yet another breach of te Tiriti.⁴⁸¹ Durie claims that the pre-emption clause was not explained well and could have been interpreted as the Crown had first option to buy as opposed to what it really meant that they had the only option. He further adds that the Crown’s reasons for the pre-emption clause was: ‘to validate titles, thereby protecting Māori from unscrupulous dealers, but also to fund emigration by creating a price differential and providing a mechanism for colonisation’.⁴⁸² In the settlement of te Porotaka a Maahanga, Ngāti Maahanga, like the rest of the country, was offered minimal purchase prices from the Crown, the agency that was supposed to be protecting Ngāti Maahanga from the ‘unscrupulous dealers’. Land identified as the future ‘township of Whaingaroa’ was surveyed and sold by auction in Auckland in 1851, for between one pound five shillings and six pounds five shillings.⁴⁸³ This was still a huge profit on what Ngāti Maahanga and its hapū received, as highlighted in this conversation between McLean and Rogan when he took over the land purchases in the Whaingaroa and Aotea districts in 1855: “You cannot do wrong in acquiring land at prices varying from sixpence to one and sixpence per acre in a part of the country that promises to

⁴⁸⁰ Boulton, p. 30.

⁴⁸¹ Copy of Te Tiriti found on the website: <http://www.treaty2u.govt.nz/the-treaty-up-close/treaty-of-waitangi/> - Accessed May 2012.

⁴⁸² Durie, 1998, p. 118.

⁴⁸³ Vennell and Williams, p. 71.

become such a valuable appendage to the Crown territory.”⁴⁸⁴ It is hard to recognise the protective element of the pre-emptive clause in this scenario.

Three years later, on the 3rd May 1854, Te Haroto was sold for two hundred pounds. Two days after that sale, Tureakina was sold, an area that sat beside Te Haroto for a deposit of one hundred pounds with the balance being paid after the survey of the area.⁴⁸⁵ Durie describes the alienation of land at this time as occurring at a ‘great pace’ and with little regard to Māori welfare as instructed by Lord Normanby to Hobson that in the process of land purchase ‘tribes should retain sufficient land as an economic base for the future’.⁴⁸⁶ The land sales of the 1850’s were to cement the imposed mindset of the European Settler Government.

The blocks that have been identified as having been purchased under the Crown’s purchasing drive at this time are Whaingaroa (22nd March 1851), Tutaenui (which was sold as part of the Wharauoa block), Wharauoa (2nd December 1857), Te Haroto (25th August, 1854), Tureakina (5th May, 1854), Wahatane (24th August, 1857), Ruapuke (2nd February, 1856). Ngāti Maahanga also took part in the sale of Horea (14th December 1836). Te Mata, Te Uku, Ohiapopoko, and Takapaunui were set aside as reserves for Ngāti Maahanga and its hapū from the Whaingaroa block sale. However, Te Mata was sold on the 6th May, 1854 by Te Awaitaia and others and another part of Te Mata in 1857 by Paratene and Kamariera however, Wiremu Nera’s son Hemi Nera signed on their behalf.⁴⁸⁷ More will be said about this later on in this chapter. Te Uku was exchanged for Karioi 56, details will be given around the circumstances of exchange later on in this chapter. The land blocks outside of the Rohe Pōtae inquiry that were purchased is the area between the Waitetuna and the Waipa (noted as the Whaingaroa district) on the 17th September 1864, as well as Horotiu and the Waipa block (noted as the Upper Waikato District) purchased on the 18th January 1865.

⁴⁸⁴ Vennell and Williams, p. 65.

⁴⁸⁵ Deeds No. 437 Te Haroto Block, Whaingaroa District accessed on:
<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur01Nort-t1-g1-g1-g1-g14-g8-t1.html>

⁴⁸⁶ Durie, 1998, p. 118.

⁴⁸⁷ Deeds of sale, accessed on: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Tur01Nort.html>

Berghan's block narratives provide insight into the awarding of land blocks as directed in the Native Land Court rulings. The insight gained will help form the opinion of the nature of the sale, induced, voluntary or indeed was it a sale at all? In some cases, only the outcome has been included, due to the length of the block brief. Where extra information has been found or comments made by kaumātua about the blocks these have also been included.

Reference should be made here that these land blocks are not of Te Rohe Pōtae proper:

Blocks within the Rohe Potae Hearing District where title was not awarded as part of the Rohe Potae block.⁴⁸⁸

North of the Rohe Potae Block
(Whaingaroa Harbour)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| • Moerangi | September 1909 |
| • Ohiapopoko and Takapaunui | June 1908 |
| • Rakaunui | February 1896 |
| • Te Akau | |
| • Te Kopua | February 1896 |
| • Te Rape | May 1905 |
| • Whaanga | February 1896 |
| • (Aotea Harbour) | |
| • Aotea South | March 1887 |
| • Manuaitu | March 1887 |
| • Manuaitu No.1 | March 1889 |
| • Mowhiti reserve | |
| • Oioroa | |
| • Rahinui | March 1889 |
| • Rauiri | March 1889 |
| • Raoraokauere | March 1887 |
| • Tahere | March 1889 |
| • Tauranga | March 1887 |
| • Te Pahi | March 1887 |
| • Te Rete | March 1889 |

4.5.1 Horea Block

The purchase of the Horea block is an unusual purchase. It was unusual because its purchase was instigated to resolve conflict over the land. The context of its sale is described as follows. Te Awaitaia was one of the signatories on the purchase contract although Ngāti Maahanga is not mentioned in the following kōrero⁴⁸⁹:

The Crown's payment for the Horea block on 25 May 1850 took place in the context of attempts by the Governor and the Surveyor General to

⁴⁸⁸ Berghan, p. 87.

⁴⁸⁹ Boulton, p. 190-191.

resolve a dispute between two iwi over customary interests in the land... The blurring of distinctions between the process of conflict resolution and land purchasing raises questions about the Crown's intentions in negotiating for land at this time, and what the various iwi involved in the conflict and in the transaction understood about the meaning of the deed that they signed. In January 1850, newspapers reported a dispute over land at Whaingaroa between 'two divisions of the Waikato tribe, the Ngātimahuta, with Te Wherowhero at their head, on the one side, and the Ngātitahinga, with Kiwi at their head on the other side.' The report simply stated that the dispute was about 'their respective claims to lands at Waingaroa [sic].'... The dispute itself had begun sometime before and the Governor was already aware of, and actively involved in, trying to resolve it. The newspaper report of January 1850 said that 'a few months ago the parties agreed to refer it to the Governor, who was to act as arbitrator to settle the matter in dispute, and the principal chiefs were to come to Auckland this summer for the purpose.' In fact the Governor's first involvement in the dispute went back at least as far as January 1849, well before he instructed the Surveyor General on 13 December 1849 to begin purchasing land for European settlement (...). However, both Ashwell and Wallis supported the Surveyor General's plan to acquire the land for the Crown as a mean to resolving the dispute and actively tried to persuade both sides to accept the proposal. Given that many of the members of these two iwi had close and trusting relationships with the missionaries their role in persuading both parties to enter the arrangements with the Crown was probably significant.⁴⁹⁰

4.5.2 Wahatane

Berghan states that:

On 24 August 1857, a purchase deed was signed between Hemi Matini and Hariata and John Rogan on behalf of the Crown for land known as Wahatane. The total payment for the land was £20 all of which was paid on the same day the deed was signed. The size of the block was not specified in the deed although subsequent evidence revealed the block to contain 500 acres.⁴⁹¹

4.5.3 Whaingaroa Block.

Berghan's summary of the block purchase is as follows:

Whaingaroa⁴⁹²

On 22 March 1851, a purchase deed was signed between the Crown and certain "Chiefs of NgātiMaahanga and of Nga Te Hourua" The chiefs were named as being Wiremu Nero, Te Waka, Hetaraka Hemi, Noa and Te Wapu. The total payment for the land was £400. Three payments were made. The first of £200 was paid on the same day the

⁴⁹⁰ Boulton, p. 190-191.

⁴⁹¹ Berghan, p. 59, (Turton's Deed no. 441).

⁴⁹² Berghan, p. 60, (Turton's Deed no. 432).

deed was signed. The second payment was to be £100 and the third also of £100. The size of the block was not specified in the deed although subsequent evidence revealed the block to contain 8,000 acres. The deed recorded that Te Mata, Takapaunui, Ohiapopoko and Te Uku were reserved as places of abode for the owners. The deed was signed by Wiremu Nero and 13 others.

Leeanne Boulton, in her critique of the Crown's practices of land purchase at this time, highlights the following difference of opinion between Te Awaitaia and his idea of 'purchase' as opposed to the European understanding of the word. She also raises questions about the purchase practices employed for the acquisition of Te Haroto block (housed within the Whaingaroa block) :

The Surveyor General was also involved in the acquisition of the Whaingaroa block during 1850 and 1851. He had been instructed by Grey in December 1849 to acquire large blocks of land for European settlement as soon as possible. The Whaingaroa block was attractive with good harbor access for ships, fertile soils and proximity to coal and timber in the Waipa area. Ligar worked rapidly and by February 1850 an agreement had been reached regarding the Whaingaroa block. Unfortunately sources do not reveal how these negotiations were conducted. His instructions did not provide much insight into any subsequent transactions. They provided no detailed guidance about how he was to proceed. They simply required him to seek the approval of the Governor once an arrangement had been reached, to pay the purchase money in instalments, and to make and mark out Native reserves for the benefit of those who were involved in the transaction. Nor do the sources indicate what NgātiMaahanga understandings of the transaction were. Given the rapid expansion of their involvement in new economic opportunities, it is likely that NgātiMaahanga engaged with the Crown in the hope of securing European settlement in the district so that they would have a local market for their wheat, flour and other produce that they were having difficulty taking overland to Auckland. They certainly used a good portion of their purchase money to buy livestock and agricultural equipment. It is also unclear how the purchase price of £400 was agreed on. Four Native reserves were created and Ligar reported that he had marked them out clearly to avoid later confusion.⁴⁹³

A later section of this chapter also discusses a reserve that was proposed but never officially provided at Pūtoetoe – see section, below, on Pūtoetoe and Papahua.

Boulton highlights further the different ideologies of 'purchase' which would cause conflict between one of the original 'sellers' and the purchaser. She also makes reference to another area namely Te Rape that would be excluded from the

⁴⁹³ Boulton, pp. 191-193.

‘transaction’. The purchase of Te Rape will be covered later in this chapter. The following events that take place after the ‘purchase’ of Te Haroto show that even as late as the 1850s the purchasing practices of the Crown were still foreign to Ngāti Maahanga and that the principles of mana whenua were still being asserted:

The Whaingaroa block was one of the few blocks purchased by the Crown in the inquiry district that was opened up to European settlement before 1865. In that sense, it was one of the only places where Maori understandings about how the transaction they had entered into effected their ownership, use and control of the land were tested. The dispute between Captain Johnstone and Wiremu Nera, the rangatira of NgātiMaahanga, and his people over land within the Whaingaroa block known as Te Horoto [sic]..(Te Haroto) raises questions about whether NgātiMaahanga understood the transaction to have completely transferred all right to the land to the Crown. Johnstone had bid for land at public auction in December 1853 and began to have it surveyed in January 1854. He was turned off the land three times during them survey and complained to the Government that he was unable to take possession of the land. Rather than investigate the matter the Crown authorized him to make further payments to Maori to persuade them to allow him to take up the land. He tried to resolve the issue in this way for eight months from January to August 1854. Only when he was unsuccessful did the land purchasing officials step in and negotiate a deed and make payments in May and August 1854. Despite knowing that Johnston’s title to the land was disputed the Crown accepted his payment for the land in July 1854. This fact was acknowledged explicitly by the Secretary for Crown Lands. There are also indications that this was not an isolated practice and that something similar had occurred with regard to land Johnstone acquired in the Waikato district and that there had been a similar case involving another European near Auckland. Johnstone was eventually able to take possession of the land at the end of April 1855 and in 1864 he received some compensation for delays and costs from the Crown. The cause of Johnstone’s later dispute with Wiremu Nera is not entirely clear, it appears that Johnstone gave Nera permission to use part of his land but a disagreement broke out when Nera moved some of his relatives onto the land. It is unclear what Nera understood about NgātiMaahanga’s ongoing rights to that land, but he may have considered that they retained some rights to use it, particular if it did not seem that Johnston was occupying that particular part.

Te Haroto is in the vicinity of the Te Uku reserve. It seems likely that Johnstone may have settled on part of this area which would account for the later conflict. Information on the Te Uku reserve is found later in this chapter.

4.5.4 Toitū te Whenua - State of the Reserves

As stated already four reserves were set aside for Ngāti Maahanga descendants in the Whaingaroa block.⁴⁹⁴ These were areas identified as settlements namely: Ohiapopoko, Takapaunui; Te Uku and; Te Mata. Original government maps has the original acreage of the reserves as follows:

Takapaunui	-	580 acres
Te Mata	-	180 acres
Ohiapopoko	-	350 acres

The surveys were based on the settlement areas inclusive of cultivation and urupā both before and after the sale of the Whaingaroa block. Original claim for acreage of Te Uku was 25 acres until an enquiry was launched.



Map 12 Whaingaroa Parish and Reserves

⁴⁹⁴ Map of Whaingaroa Parish found in – Te Uku Reserve, Code C339 574, Ref # LS1 1362.

4.5.5 Mata (Te) Reserve

Te Mata reserve⁴⁹⁵ will be covered here and the other reserves will be covered later in the chapter.

On 11 January 1854, a purchase deed was signed between the “Chiefs of the Ngātitahinga and Tainui” and the Crown for the land described as being part of the Te Mata block. This appears to be part of the reserve set aside from the 1851 Whaingaroa purchase. The total payment for the land was £30 all of which was paid on the same day the deed was signed. The size of the block was not specified in the deed. The deed was signed by Kiwi Hine Warena and 17 others. It appears that a further part of Te Mata was involved when a 6 May 1854 purchase deed was signed by Te Waka, Wiremu Te Awaitaia and Hetaraka and the Crown. A total payment of £35 was made on the day the deed was signed paid by Donald McLean. On 8 October 1855, District Commissioner John Rogan informed Chief Land Purchase Commissioner Donald McLean that he had made payments of £35 and £72 to various claimants for the Te Mata (estimated at 450 acres) on 6th and 31 May respectively. The land is of good quality, having a Native track leading through it from the harbour, capable of forming a road by deviating slightly inland. There are a few acres of fern land which are in the occupation of a settler, having been purchase by him from the Government, and the remaining part is forest. I am requested by Te Waka, the principal claimant to make application to you for a sum in addition to that already paid. At the same time I informed him there was no probability of your acceding to his application. On 20 August 1857, another purchase deed was signed by Paratene and Kamariera for a third part of the Te Mata block. The total payment for the land on this occasion was £20 all of which was paid by John Rogan on the same day the deed was signed.

On 4 September 1857, a purchase deed was signed by Te Waka for the fourth part of the Te Mata block. A payment of £5 was made by John Rogan. However the deed also includes a note that £107 was received by “our children” on the 6 May 1854 referring to the two payments made by Rogan at that time for which a deed has survived of only one payment. On 15 June 1858, a final purchase deed was signed for a part of the Te Mata reserve. The deed was between the Crown and the “Chiefs and people of the tribe of NgātiMaahanga”. The total payment for the land was £100 all of which was paid on the same day the deed was signed. The size of the block was not specified in the deed although subsequent evidence revealed the block to contain 1,500 acres. The deed was signed by Te Waka and Nikorima. District Commissioner John Rogan signed on behalf of the Crown. It appears that soon after there may have been some sort of protest from Ngāti Maahanga as Rogan was required to write on 28 June 1858, and assure McLean that he had paid Te Waka the final £100.

⁴⁹⁵ Berghan, pp. 50-51.

4.5.6 Karioi Parish

On 19 April 1916, a title order was issued for the Parish of Karioi Lot 56 containing 91 acres 20 perches. During the 1940s, the following leases were recorded:

Table 3 Alienation of Karioi 56

ALIENATION	DATE	BLOCK	SIZE	LESSEE/ PURCHASER	TERM AND/OR PAYMENT
Lease [pt 16/3/19]	1/8/1943	Lot 56	91/0/19	A.P. McCardle	42 yrs @ £20.0.9 per annum
Lease [pt 29/2/20]	1/8/1943	Lot 56	91/0/19	W.R. Russell	42 yrs @ £3.11.6 per annum
Lease [pt 44/2/21]	1/8/1943	Lot 56		G.E. Stephenson	42 yrs @ £5.7.9 per annum
Transfer Lease [pt 29/2/20]	14/3/1949	Lot 56	91/0/19	Russell to A.C. Pooley	£1,405
Transfer Lease [pt 44/2/21]	22/7/1949	Lot 56	91/0/19	Stephenson to W. Stephenson	Nil

Currently the Parish of Karioi Lot 56 remains as Maori Land.

4.5.7 Ruapuke

In their ongoing desire to engage in the benefits brought to the area by immigrants, Ngāti Maahanga tūpuna and others were often forced to accept low offers for whenua as highlighted here:

On the 23rd August 1855 ‘District Commissioner John Rogan informed Chief Commissioner Donald McLean that the survey of 6,000 acres that had been offered for sale by Wiremu Nera and some of the Aotea Maori had been completed’. Rogan had offered 300 pounds that was originally “unanimously declined”. Those selling tried to negotiate for 700 pounds, but were eventually to accept the 300 pounds offered earlier.

On 2 February 1856, a purchase deed was signed by the “Chiefs and people of Aotea and Whaingaroa” for land known as Ruapuke. The total payment for the land was £300 of which £290 which was paid on the day the deed was signed. A payment of £10 had been previously made to Hemi Matini by Donald

McLean on 14 April 1854. The size of the block was not specified in the deed although subsequent evidence revealed the block to contain 6,000 acres.

Two portions were reserved. One called Toroanui which had been reserved by Rogan for Kewene Paia. The other reserve was called Horokawau and this had been made for Hone Te Apa. The deed was signed by Wiremu Nero Awaitaia and 83 others. District Commissioner John Rogan signed on behalf of the Crown. On 4 February 1856, Rogan forwarded the Deed of Sale for the Ruapuke block.⁴⁹⁶

4.5.8 Wharauora

On 2 December 1857, a purchase deed was signed between the “chiefs and people of the tribe of Ngātitehewi” and the Crown for the Wharauora block. The total payment for the land was £410 of which £170 was paid on the same day the deed was signed. Previous payments had been made: £50 on 11 April 1854; £50 on 12 April 1854; £100 on 5 May 1854; £10 on 11 September 1855; and £30 on 10 October 1856. The size of the block was not specified in the deed although subsequent evidence revealed the block to contain 5,000 acres. The deed was signed by Te Tana, Hemi, Aperahama, Hone and Hakopa. District Commissioner John Rogan signed on behalf of the Crown.

On 28 December 1857, District Commission John Rogan forwarded to Chief Land Commissioner Donald McLean the Deed of Sale for Te Wharauora which joined Mr Ligar’s purchase and contained about 8,000 acres....nearly the whole of which is very hilly, and covered with dense forest.⁴⁹⁷

Armstrong drawing on Boulton’s research highlights the issue that:⁴⁹⁸

The number of previous payments made for a variety of smaller blocks of land within what became the Wharauora block made this one of the most complex transactions, with payments made by three different officials over a four year period from 1854 to 1857.

Berghan comments that there was contention around outstanding payments due for the Wharauora block by two interested parties namely : Kanga Kihirini Te Kawana and Hone Waitere Te Ngana whose son Te Mahara Hone Waitere also wrote to the Native Minister regarding the outstanding money.⁴⁹⁹ Although the issue was investigated and the official records stated that full payment had been paid, that was not so for those that sold:

⁴⁹⁶ Berghan, p. 54.

⁴⁹⁷ Berghan, pp. 61-67.

⁴⁹⁸ Boulton, Hapu and Iwi Land Transactions with the Crown 1840–1865, p. 368, cited in Armstrong, p. 37.

⁴⁹⁹ Berghan, pp. 64-65.

On 2 October 1895, Hone Waitere again wrote to the Native Minister requesting an explanation regarding the balance of money due for the Wharaurua purchase. He gave the boundaries as:

Thus starting at Whataipu, Wharaurua, Katikako, thence turning to Kohangapaura, Waireinga, that is the block. The money which I have received is £170. I request that the £500 be paid to me. Do not delay in replying to my letter. On 13 October 1895, Te Mahara Hone Waitere, the son of Hone Waitere, also wrote to the Native Minister regarding the purchase of the Wharaurua block by Judge Rogan...which was sold to the Government by Hone Waitere, Hakopa Pikiuru and Aperahama Karu...the amount of money paid to the sellers was £170 and there was an arrangement made between those persons and the said officer to the effect that when the surveys of that land were completed the balance of the purchase money would be paid to those persons. [underlining as per original] Waitere believed the balance due was £300 or more.

That from the time when the first money was paid up to the present time we have not had any information from Judge Rogan, that is why I now write this to you so as that you can explain to me how the matter stands in regard to this arrangement, my father is of the opinion that it should be settled while his is alive, lest it cause trouble after his death.

However, after investigation into the issue it was stated that:

(...)Therefore, Sheridan minuted a reply to Waitere on behalf of the Native Minister that after a full enquiry into the matter The Native Minister was...satisfied that the whole of the purchase money for Wharaurua block was paid to by Mr Rogan many years ago to the Native owners and that there are no grounds whatever for supposing that is still a balance due to them.

On 2 July 1900, John St Clair wrote to Wilkinson on behalf of Paora Pomare, Pita Mahu, Hapoka Pikiwai and Hone Waitere to arrange a time and place "at which to pay them the balances due to them" in the Wharaurua block purchase. Wilkinson informed Sheridan on 7 July 1900 that he had replied to St Clair stating he was unaware of any balances due on Te Wharaurua purchase.

The Wharaurua block, 5,000 acres at north end of Aotea harbour was purchased in 1857 at a cost of £410 paid in six instalments. The last of £170 was paid on 2 December 1857. Turtons Book of Deeds shows that the whole of the purchase money was paid.

Of these purchasing tactics, Armstrong draws on Berghan's narratives and Boulton's research to draw the following summary:⁵⁰⁰

Repeated complaints were made from 1886 to 1895 that not all monies had been paid for Wharaurua. This was denied by the Crown.

The piecemeal acquisition of the Wharaurua block was a deliberate tactic that McLean used as he was unable to negotiate a single

⁵⁰⁰ Berghan, pp. 64-65, and Boulton, p. 371, cited in Armstrong, p. 38.

transaction with publically reached consensus amongst all or most of those who held interests in the block. This pattern of transactions was common in this district after 1854 and was typical of the way that McLean was operating by this time. McLean no longer sought ‘the free consent of those entitled to sell.’ Instead the settler demand for land resulted in McLean and his commissioners increasing pressure on Iwi to sell land and using more dubious tactics in the process. McLean was buying whatever interests he could and hoping to wear down opponents to selling so that all the interests would eventually be purchased.

This theme of land purchase without regard to the collective or the well-being of Māori would continue into the 1900’s.

4.6 Raupatu – 1, 217,437 acres

Evelyn Stokes in her book about Wiremu Tamihana notes that plans were ‘well established for the possible invasion of Waikato’. Plans started from surveys initiated in 1861 to 1862 of possible routes and areas in which to construct redoubts including plans to confiscate land from ‘rebel natives’.⁵⁰¹ Article three of te Tiriti ignored, the protection of Māori having the same rights as British subjects and Article two, the promise of the protection of our autonomy: ‘te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa’ trampled on.⁵⁰²

By the end of the wars 1,202,172 acres were confiscated in the Waikato area, this included the whenua of Pākehā-Māori and other Pākehā that had been incorporated into Māori/Ngāti Maahanga society and married into the Māori community under this ideology.⁵⁰³

314,264 acres was returned to Māori (although the land was not always given back to the correct hapū/iwi, often rugged terrain and unwanted for Pākehā settlement); and so the area finally confiscated was 887,908 acres.⁵⁰⁴ Raupatu was enacted on the 17th December 1864.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰¹ Stokes, pp. 314-315.

⁵⁰² <http://www.treaty2u.govt.nz/the-treaty-up-close/treaty-of-waitangi/index.htm>

⁵⁰³ Boulton, p. 32.

⁵⁰⁴ Royal Commission on Confiscated Lands, AJHR, 1928, G-7, pp. 6-22.

⁵⁰⁵ AJHR, Province of Auckland, [1864], Waikato and Waipa District, p. 583.

As already stated in chapter 3, Te Awaitaia and other rangatira of Maahanga tried to navigate the wars by negotiating directly with government ways and means of indicating that they were not rebels and indeed sided with the Crown. Grey's Proclamation indicating the start of the Waikato wars issued on the 11th July, 1863, in short stated that due to the harassment, murders and threats on the settlers lives and in order to preserve law and order, posts needed to be established beyond the Mangatawhiri and necessary measurements would be undertaken to protect the settlers. As highlighted in chapter 2, Grey stated that:

Those who remain peaceably at their own villages in Waikato or move into such districts as may be pointed out by the Government, will be protected in their persons, property and land.

Those who wage war against Her Majesty, or remain in arms, threatening the lives of Her peaceable subjects, must take the consequences of their acts, and they must understand that they will forfeit the right to the possession of their lands guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi, which lands will be occupied by a population capable of protecting for the future the quiet and unoffending from the violence with which they are now so constantly threatened.⁵⁰⁶

Based on the Proclamation, Te Awaitaia approached the Government to make an arrangement with them to ensure his peoples' safety, suggesting that if they 'furnished him with a flag' he would raise it on either the Waipa or at Whaingaroa at the appropriate time, as signal for all of the 'well disposed natives' to gather for mutual protection and if necessary co-operate with the troops.⁵⁰⁷

However, as history has taught us, the Proclamation was of little or no bearing on which lands would be confiscated. This had a lasting legacy. The devastating effects of land confiscation on people's relationships spilled over into the courts where whanaunga turned on each other as in this case where the cause of loss of land was placed squarely on the 'rebels' shoulders:

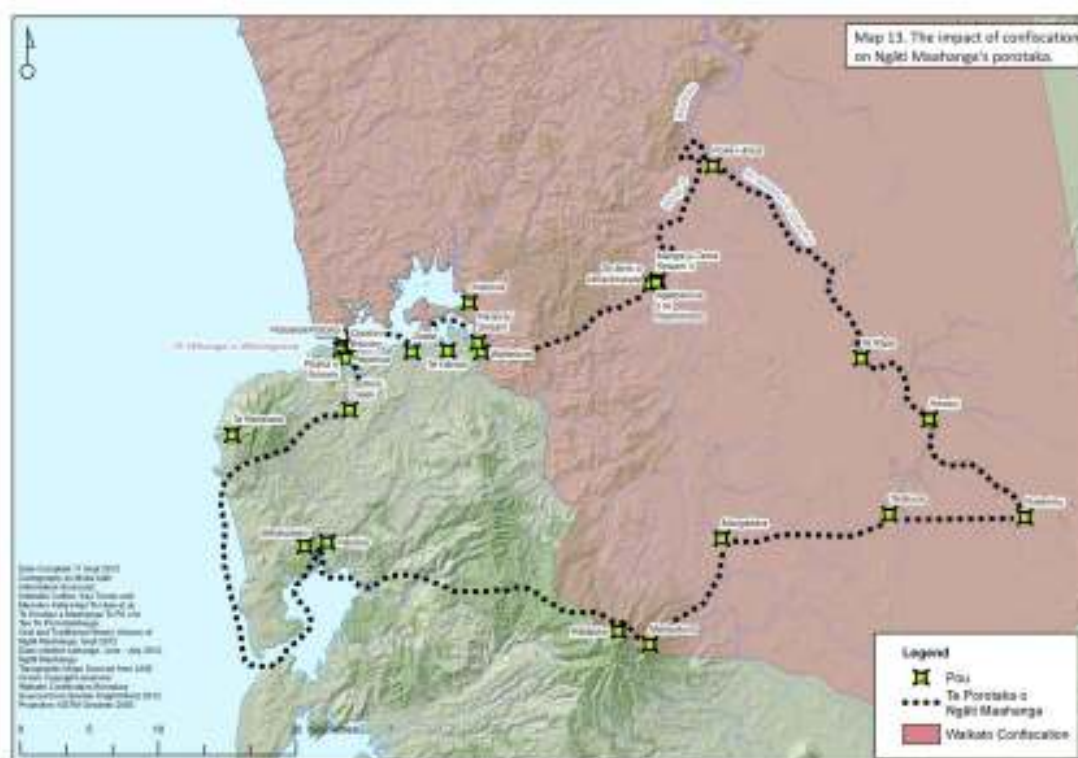
....The Court commented on two of Roka's arguments, firstly, that Maori who were "rebels" in the war were entitled to smaller rights. The Court did not agree with this. The rights of rebels had been reduced through confiscation made by the Crown, and regarding the remaining

⁵⁰⁶ Cowan, J., *The New Zealand Wars: A history of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume 1 1845-1864*, 1955, pp. 251-252, accessed on : <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cow01NewZ-c28.html>.

⁵⁰⁷ Wellington National Archives Reference # MA1 832, Container Code:C457 449.

land, “the rights of rebels and loyal natives stand on the same footing in the Native Land Court”.⁵⁰⁸

It is without doubt that not all our tūpuna who owned land within the aukati boundary were rebels and yet they did not get title back to their lands in the confiscated area. The impact of confiscation on us is illustrated in Map 13.



Map 13 The impact of confiscation on Ngāti Maahanga's porotaka

4.7 The impact of the Native Land Court

The Native Land Court, born out of the Native Land Act legislation of 1862 and then drastically changed in 1865 from a fundamentally Māori principles system to a ‘Eurocentric and formalised system’ was to have devastating impacts on cultural ideology and practice. Not only did the practices and judgements of the court undermine and unpick the delicate cultural fabric at this time but the expenses and inconvenience suffered by Ngāti Maahanga tūpuna in their attempts to reinstate what was rightfully theirs meant that some whānau did not engage in the process and therefore ran the risk of being disinherited by the stroke of a pen. The health and well-

⁵⁰⁸ Mercer Minute Book, 8, p. 222, cited in Berghan, pp. 1035-1037.

being of those attending also suffered.⁵⁰⁹ The court processes were such that at times they ran court hearings for several land blocks concurrently which meant Ngāti Maahanga interests went unheard.⁵¹⁰ The purpose of the court as described in our Statement of Claim was to enable the crown to ‘speed the process of land alienation and assimilation’. What had become ancient boundaries asserted through cultural practice and tested through time, was undermined by the system change as shown here:

Roka asserted that descendants of the ancestors who had owned the land were entitled to be included in the list of owners, even though they could show no occupation over the past six generations. “The Court has never adopted this extreme view, but had required evidence of occupation, if not by the present claimants by their immediate elders”. Regarding Roka’s intentions, the Court stated:

The present difficulties regarding Native Lands are the result mainly of the crowding of large numbers of persons into the title to every block, many of such persons having but small right. For this creating of difficulties in the way of future dealings with their lands, the Natives themselves are largely responsible. And not until different ideas begin to prevail and the old tribal customs are allowed to give way to newer methods of land ownership more in accordance with European ideas, will present difficulties begin to disappear. What the present generation of Maories need is more ownership of land by single individuals or families. Towards securing this end the Maories themselves are doing little or nothing: on the contrary they are deliberately increasing the difficulties by crowding every block with large numbers of owners.⁵¹¹

The words themselves were of a prophetic nature. The difficulties inflicted upon our tūpuna at this time to maintain relationships, tikanga and cultural practices coupled with ongoing disempowering legislation has meant that in becoming more in cultural expression like Pākehā running the whenua within a Māori framework with aspirations for the collective has become extremely difficult.

The 1873 Act was to have an even greater impact allowing the individualisation of whenua to create easier selling/buying conditions.⁵¹²

4.7.1 Native land court awards - Manuaitu (Tauranga)

The Manuaitu title investigation commenced on 10 March 1887 at Alexandra.⁵¹³ Tainui and Ngāti Whakamarurangi claimed the whole of the

⁵⁰⁹ Armstrong, pp. 39-41.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵¹¹ Berghan, p. 1036.

⁵¹² Armstrong, p. 42.

8,342 acre block. Te Manihera Pouwharetapu set up the claim on behalf of Ngāti Turirangi and Ngāti Whakamarurangi through the ancestor Turongo and from him Turirangi; a gift by Rawaho and Te Rangipotiki to Irohanga and Riunui (both descendants of Whakamarurangi); and permanent occupation.

Eleven counterclaims were set up:

1. Wiremu te Nero Awaitaia of Ngāti Maniapoto [sic]..(Ngāti Maahanga) and Ngāti Hourua to the whole block through conquest and keeping the fires burning.
2. Wiremu Te Wheoro of Ngāti Naho to part of the block through conquest over the original inhabitants of Whaingaroa and Aotea (Ngāti Turirangi, Ngāti Whangaparaoa, Ngāti Motemote and Ngāti Koata); and occupation.
3. Hapeta Waaka for Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua to the whole block through the ancestor Maahanga and constant occupation.
4. Pumipi Hapimana on behalf of Ngāti Te Wehi and Ngāti Koura to two portions by conquest over Ngāti Turirangi, Ngāti Teariari, Ngāti Motemote, Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Whangaparaoa who were driven from Whaingaroa, Aotea and Kawhi; and occupation.
5. Te Rawhiti Parata on behalf of Ngāti Hourua, Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti haua over a portion on the north side of the block and Herangi and other places through conquest and continuous occupation.
6. Te Poutu Mouhaere for Ngāti Patupo, Ngāti Te Wehi, Ngāti Reko, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Kahuone, Ngāti Uakau, Ngāti Matarau and Ngāti Raparapa over the piece on the southern side of Aotea Harbour and the eastern half of the other portion by conquest and constant occupation.
7. Ahipene Kaihau on behalf of Ngāti Teata claimed Maukutea on the southern side of Aotea Harbour by ancestry, conquest and constant occupation.
8. Hemi Matine Te Awaitaia claimed part of the land through the ancestors Paratai Turirangi, Tiki-orereata (who married Maahanga); and conquest over his own ancestors.
9. Te Heruika placed his claim under that of the claimants.
10. Wiremu Te Whitu on behalf of Ngāti Haua and other hapu by conquest and occupation.
11. Hoterene Te Rangihokaia on behalf of Ngāti Parekino and other hapu set up on exactly the same basis as No.6.443 The counterclaims were reduced to four as some were identical:
 1. Te Wiremu Te Awaitaia.
 2. Hapeta Waaka with Te Rawhiti Patara, Hemi Matini and some of Te Rangihokaia's hapu.
 3. Wiremu Te Whitu.
 4. Wiremu te Wheoro with Pumipi Hapimana, Ahipene Kaihau and the rest of Te Rangihokaia's hapu.

Having dismissed conquest, ancestry and gift, the Court found the best title to the land was through occupation. The Court gave findings on the counterclaims based on occupation:

1. Wiremu Nero: certain hapu and individuals claimed to be from Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua were claimed to have 'kept the fires burning' but

⁵¹³ Berghan, pp. 468-479. (Waikato Minute Book, 16, and Otorohanga Minute Book, 6).

from the evidence presented it appeared they were not in constant occupation of the land and therefore they had no claims as a tribe, although this would not prevent the claims of individuals from being considered.

2. Hapata Waata: his evidence was very unsatisfactory, making it hard to determine the value of the case. The land claimed did not match his survey. But it was felt Ngāti Whare were entitled to an interest on the Northern side of the block at Tahere.

3. Wiremu Te Whitu: It was claimed that Pirihi and his people were in constant occupation of the land but evidence against this showed that he only made occasional visits to the land and had not made any visits for over twenty years. There was no evidence of constant occupation although Pirihi could be admitted with consent of the hapu among whom he lived when on the land.

4. Wiremu Te Wheoro: most of the hapu under this claim had proved their claim under occupation. However, Ahipene Kaihau for Ngāti Teata gave no evidence in support of occupation but had gone to Manukau before Auckland was settled, but had not returned since and had not 'kept the fire burning', therefore the Court found Ngāti Teata had no claim in any way. Regarding the 1869 Ngāti Te Wehi survey, its boundary line was inside the land currently claimed and the Court found Ngāti Te Wehi had no claim to the portion outside the survey line. The claims of Ngāti Naho were disputed by the claimants who stated the people mentioned by Te Wheoro as Ngāti Naho belonged to them. The Court found the descendents of Naho were present in both cases (Ngāti Naho and claimant) and there was strong evidence of Ngāti Naho occupation and only a partial return to Waikato. The claimants refuted the occupation by a large portion of Ngāti Naho and stated only a few persons related to the residents went to live on the land for a short time before returning to Waikato. The Court found that Ngāti Naho were entitled through occupation to a portion in the west of Manuaitu. The Court found regarding Te Wheoro's claims on behalf of Ngāti Patupo, Ngāti Te Wehi and others to the southern part that rights of occupation over the entire southern part had been proved. Regarding their case for the northern part the Court found Ngāti Patupo and Ngāti Te Wehi and their sub-hapu were entitled to parts occupied by them but certain claimants who have lived at Raoraokauere were to be admitted with them.

The Court gave findings on the claimant case for the entire block regarding occupation. The claimants appeared to have sold Ruapuke to the north to the Crown. It was unclear when they came to reside at their main settlement on the land. However their occupation was proven and they were the principal owners of the north and west portions of the block. It had been proved Ngāti Whakamarurangi (claimants) had no claim by occupation to the southern portion though persons could be admitted if they could prove individual rights.

Orders were made for three blocks:

1. **Aotea South** on the south side of Aotea Harbour: to Patupo, Ngāti Te Wehi Ngāti Reko, Ngāti Mahuta and their sup-hapus along with any of the descendents of the original owners who could prove their rights when lists of names were considered.

2. **Aotea North**: to Ngāti Te Wehi and Patupo along with any of the descendents of the original owners who could prove their rights to admission, together with Kawharu, Wharara, Te Whareiaia and Pouwhare.

3. **Manuaitu**: to the claimants and also to Ngāti Naho and Ngāti Whare.

The order for Aotea North was made into three separate orders:

1. **Raoraokauere**: to Ngāti Te Wehi.

2. **Tauranga**: to Ngāti Patupo.

3. **Te Pahi**: to Ngāti Te Wehi.

On 15 March 1889, the following orders were issued by the Court for subdivisions out of the Manuaitu block.

- An order was issued to Wi Te Wheoro and others of the Ngāti Naho for a piece of land in Manuaitu block to be called Manuaitu No.1.
- An order was issued to Pouwharetapu and the other claimants which will retain the name Manuaitu block.

Table 4 Manuaitu block partitions 1899-1964

DATE	BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS	ML
7 Jun 1899	A	172/0/00	14	
	B	2755/0/00	179	
	1A	55/0/00	7	
	1B	744/0/00	98	
11 Jul 1908	B1	105/0/00	4	
	B2	104/2/00	3	
	B3	239/1/08	6	
	B4	364/1/00	11	
	B5	141/3/00	6	
	B6	237/2/00	24	
	B7	80/1/16	54	
	B8	210/0/00	8	
	B9	117/0/00	33	
	B10	165/2/00	46	
	B11	895/2/00	33	
	B12	66/2/00	20	
26 Jan 1911	B11A	117/1/00	5	
	B11B	147/0/00	9	
	B11C	298/1/00	19	
	B11D	326/2/00	14	
8 Sept 1911	B4A	62/1/00	2	
	B4B	300/0/00	11	
5 Oct 1916	1B1	194/0/00	45	
	1B2	570/0/00	76	
15 Oct 1919	B4B1	57/1/34	1	
	B4B2	68/2/24	2	

	B4B3	177/3/24	8	
15 Feb 1927	B11D1	86/1/18	4	
	B11D2	234/0/10	10	
	B11D3	303/0/04	-	19426
19 Feb 1930	B5A	69/0/22	3	
	B5B	72/1/00	3	
18 Nov 1937	B8A	5/0/00	31	17688
	B8B	205/0/15	31	17688
14 Nov 1946	A1	144/1/37	1	
	A2	27/2/03	9	
26 Feb 1948	B11D1A	3/1/02	1	19426
	B11D1B	83/0/16	15	
12 Sept 1957	B11D1B1	0/1/00	1	19036
	B11D1B2	82/3/16	11	
28 Mar 1962	B5C	22/2/22	1	
	B5D	48.0569ha	23	21295
5 Sept 1962	B4B3A	137/0/36	1	19769
	B4B3B	40/2/31	1	20182
	B4A1	39/1/20	1	
	B4A2	22/3/20	1	
	B5C1	1/1/24	1	20182
	B5C2	8.5945ha	1	21295
3 Sept 1964	B11D1B2A	15/0/00	2	19426
	B11D1B2B	67/3/16	10	

Table 5 Manuaitu block purchases 1913-1939

ALIENATION	DATE	BLOCK	SIZE	LESSEE/ PURCHASER	TERM AND/OR PAYMENT
Purchase	6/6/1913	B11A	117/1/00	J Bugman	£205
Purchase	16/4/1930	B4B2	33/2/36	E Schnackenberg	£40
Purchase	9/5/1939	B3	239/1/08	William Thomson	£717.18

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the titles of several Manuaitu subdivisions were Europeanised under Part 1 of the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967.

- B4B1 57a. 1r. 34p.
- B11D1A 3a. 1r. 02p.
- B11D1B1 0a. 1r. 00p.
- B4A1 39a. 1r. 20p.
- B4A2 22a. 3r. 20p.
- B4B3A 137a. 0r. 34p.
- B4B3B 40a. 2r. 30p.
- B5C1 1a. 1r. 24p.
- B11D1B2A 15a. 0r. 00p.

At some time the following Manuaitu blocks were alienated. Although the names of the subsequent landowners are recorded on file, details associated with the alienation have not been located by research conducted to date.

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| • 1A | 55a. 0r. pp. | Not Recorded | 223/119 |
| • 1B1 & 1B2 pt | 382a. 0r. 00p. | D Kain | 418/266 |
| • 1B2 pt | 332a. 0r. 00p. | D Kain | 406/38 |
| • A1 | 144a. 1r. 37p. | W G Thompson | INS BIN7/123 |
| • A2 | 27a. 2r. 03p. | W G Thompson | - |
| • B1 | 105a. 0r. 00p. | Not Recorded | PR.173/7 |
| • B2 | 104a. 2r. 00p. | D Kain | 485/151 |
| • B3 | 239a. 1r. 08p. | W G Thompson | 734/186 |
| • B4B2 | 68a. 2r. 24p. | W G Thompson | 650/25 |
| • B5C2 | 21a. 0r. 38p. | Not Recorded | CT27C/529 |
| • B6 | 237a. 2r. 00p. | Not Recorded | PR.214/81 |
| • B7 | 80a. 1r. 16p. | Maud Thompson | PR.200/143 |
| • B8B | 205a. 0r. 15p. | Not Recorded | PR.219/58 |
| • B9 | 117a. 0r. 00p. | R & J Nesbit | PR.258/125 |
| • B10 | 165a. 2r. 00p. | Not Recorded | PR.257/47 |
| • B11A | 117a. 1r. 00p. | R J Bregman | PR.58/19 |
| • B11B, B12 pt | 359.a 2r. 39 | p. J Bergman | 428/239 |
| • B11B, B12 pt | 66a. 2r. 22p. | J N Newton | 600/219 |
| • B11C | 298a. 1r. 00p. | L & L Bregman | TN.11/56 |
| • B11D3 | 301a. 3r. 26p. | L & L Bregman | PR.257/14 |

Currently, Manuaitu B5D (118/2/17) and B8A (5/0/00p) blocks remain as Maori land:

4.7.2 Takapaunui

Takapaunui⁵¹⁴ was separated into three portions namely: Takapaunui A; Takapaunui B1; and Takapaunui B2.

⁵¹⁴ Berghan, pg. 1072-1073. Mercer Minute Book, 8, was the quoted source of information for Takapaunui.

Vernon notes a reference from Te Hutewai which states that Mick Galvan leased Takapaunui from ‘the Maoris’, a 600 acre block that produced ‘well and fattened many lambs’ when it was first farmed. Later it reverted to ‘gorse and other weeds’ and sat vacant for over 20 years when Harry McCardle bought it. McCardle farmed Takapaunui until 1969 and sold it on to A.H. Strawbridge and sons.⁵¹⁵

Takapaunui B2

In the 1950s McCardle leased Takapaunui in its entirety, eventually making enquiries to purchase Takapaunui B2, the larger area of the three portions. The Māori Trustees called a meeting in Whatawhata and sale of Takapaunui B2 was supported by a motion to sell the land at a meeting held in Whatawhata on the 25th May 1955.⁵¹⁶ As part of the purchase 2 acres was asked to be reserved from the sale to provide seaside amenities. The state of this reserve and indeed whether or not the reserve was set aside is unknown at this time.

⁵¹⁵ Vernon, R.T., *Te Mata - Te Hutewai, The Early Days*, 1972, p. 24.

⁵¹⁶ Takapaunui B2 – Archives Ref # BACS A192 15355 Box 271. See our Document bank 4.1.

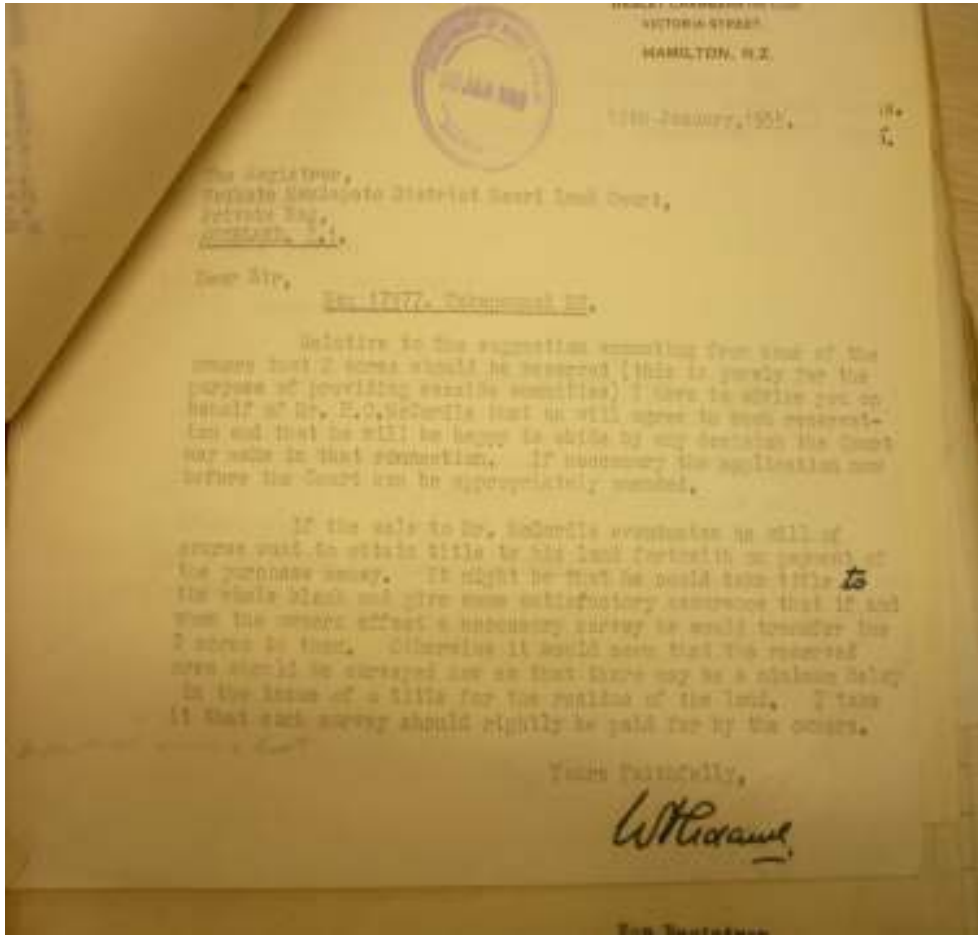


Illustration 31 McCardle's lawyer's letter to Registrar, Waikato Maniapoto District Māori Land Court

Berghan has this to say about the land block:

(See Ohiapopoko for title investigation)

Takapaunui is one of a collection of blocks located on the southern side of the Whaingaroa Harbour. As such the title of the block was not included in the Rohe Potae investigation. On 17 April 1889, the Takapaunui block was awarded to Hetaraka Nera Te Wetini Mahikai and six others.

On 15 August 1905 the Takapaunui block underwent its title investigation at Ngaruawahia. Roka Hopere stated the case for Takapaunui was heard in 1866 and the list of owners settled but now most of those persons were dead and a new list had been prepared.

The Court noted a significant discrepancy between the order made in 1866 for around 250 acres and the new survey that showed the block to contain 670 acres. The list mentioned by Roka could be submitted but the Chief Judge would make the decision as to how the case should be dealt with.

The Takapaunui block was not brought before the Court again until 1908, when its title was settled in tandem with the adjoining block of Ohiapopoko. (See separate entry for Ohiapopoko) On 16 June 1908, the Court issued orders for the Takapaunui block.

Table 6 Takapaunui block - Court orders to 1911

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS	M.L.
A	47/0/00	6	7657
B	620/0/00	86	

Table 7 Takapaunui B block partition 1915

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
B1	108/3/00	19
B2	510/1/00	77

Table 8 Takapaunui alienations 1950s

ALIENATION	DATE	BLOCK	SIZE	LESSEE/ PURCHASER	TERM AND/OR PAYMENT
Lease	30/05/1950	B2	510/1/00	H.C. McCardle	21 yrs @ £39.10 per annum
Lease	1/07/1952	B1	108/3/00	H.C. McCardle	21 yrs @ £17.15 1st yr, 5% remaining
Lease	1/07/1952	A	47/0/00	H.C. McCardle	21 yrs
Purchase [pt 51/0/00]	29/06/1954	B2	510/1/00	H.C. McCardle	£3,000 PR 108/46

Currently, the following Takapaunui blocks remain as Maori land:

A 47a. 0r. 00p.
B1 108a. 3rs. 00p.

4.7.3 Te Rape

On the 7th November 1914 the Native Minister directed the Māori Land Board for the Waikato-Maniapoto Māori Land District to call a meeting of the owners with an offer to purchase Te Rape from the Crown. On the 30th November 1914, a valuation was completed by Percy C. Rose valuer. On the 5th February 1915 the outcome for the land owners meeting attended by around 30 owners to sell was a unanimous no. On the 16th September 1915 Te Rape F block was declared Crown land. On the 18th November 1915 the Crown published a notice of an Order in Council stating that Te Rape land blocks A-E were prohibited from sale unless to the Crown. The prohibition was to be for a year. On the 24th February 1916 Te Rape E block was declared Crown

land. On the 2nd November 1916 another Order in Council was gazetted prohibiting the sale of Te Rape blocks for a further two years unless alienation was to the crown.⁵¹⁷

Regarding the sale of the land blocks A and C to Johnstone it was noted that the meeting was very poorly attended and that of the 38.72 shares only 3.200 were represented. It was further noted that regardless of the poor attendance it still 'satisfied the minimum requirements of the Act and Regulations'.⁵¹⁸

Berghan states:

Te Rape is one of a collection of blocks located on the southern side of the Whaingaroa Harbour. On 30 May 1905 Te Rape underwent its investigation of title at Ngaruawahia. Remana Nutana set up the first case on behalf of his wife and her people under the ancestor Te Waimaori. It was noted that the descendants of Hoani Matini also had a right through occupation alone as did Hamuera Te Okaoka through occupation and tattooing. Part of the lands of Te Wai had been sold to the crown but Rihia Pokepohe and Hakopa Kotuku had reserved Te Rape from sale in 1854.

(...)The Te Rape case did continue and on 10 July 1905 Maaka Patene asked for 13 persons from his family to be admitted to the list of Hone Patene's list. However, Hone declined this, stating "When I set up my case it was for those desc of the ancestors who had lived on the land".

The order of cases was fixed:

1. Hone Patene
2. Maaka Patene
3. Roka Hopere
4. Remana

Following evidence being supplied in relation to these cases, on 10 August 1905 the Court delivered its decision on Te Rape. It did not accept any of the particular ancestral claims set up. Roka Hopere and Te Nguha Huirama appealed the decision at the Lower Court on the 15th April 1907, in Ngāruawahia but the appeal was not successful. The Court stated:

In this case the Lower Court decided that the claims by ancestry all failed, and it had to be guided by occupation. The evidence on this point is very conflicting, and the occupation is of a recent date. The most convincing evidence we have is that of dead buried on the land, and that is very much in favour of the respondents. Taking all the circumstances into consideration we are of the opinion that no sufficient ground for interfering with the decision of the Lower Court.

⁵¹⁷ Title: Land Alienation – Te Rape Block: Te Kieraunui and others; Archives Reference No: BACS A110 15355 Box 92. Also see document bank 4.2.

⁵¹⁸ Title: Land Alienation Te Rape A and C2; Archives Ref #: BACS 4958 Box1562. Also see our Document bank 4.3.

The decision of the Native Land Court is therefore affirmed.⁵¹⁹

The following tables show in detail how Te Rape was partitioned and then sold:

Table 9 Te Rape partition 11 June 1915

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
A	66/3/14	9
B	49/1/15	20
C	45/1/10	8
D	76/1/05	20
E	55/2/00	3
F	114/2/16	23

Subdivisions E and F were subsequently proclaimed Crown Land whilst the partition orders for subdivisions A to D were cancelled under Section 121/09.

Table 10 Te Rape partition 3 October 1916

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
A	31/0/09	6
B	31/2/15	15
C	46/0/30	7
D	33/0/00	10
E	55/2/00	Crown
F	114/2/16	Crown
G	114/0/26	Crown

Table 11 Te Rape B block partition 19 May 1922

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
B1	5/0/00	1
B2	26/2/15	14

Table 12 Te Rape partition mid 1930s

DATE	BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS	M.L.
14 Nov 1935	D1	17/3/32	16	
	D2	15/0/08	7	
10 Jun 1936	D1A	4/3/00	3	
	D1B	13/0/32	13	
29 Nov 1939	(A & C) 1	39/0/09	4	18108
	(A & C) 2	38/0/30	13	18108

⁵¹⁹ Berghan, pp. 1033-1039.

Table 13 Alienations of Te Rape subdivisions 1927-1942

ALIENATION	DATE	BLOCK	SIZE	LESSEE/ PURCHASER	TERM AND/OR PAYMENT
Lease [38/0/00]	1/3/1927	C	46/0/30	George Gaskill	21 yrs @ £8 pa
Lease [42/0/00]	1/3/1927	C	46/0/30	George Gaskill	21 yrs @ £8 pa
Lease [13/2/08]	1/7/1936	D2	15/0/08	John Gillett	21 yrs @ £6.10 pa for whole block
Purchase	22/4/1937	D1B	13/0/32	Lindsay Johnstone	£140
Purchase [15/3/00]	14/3/1938	A	39/0/09	F. Johnstone	£120.18.3
Purchase [18/2/25]	12/4/1938	C	46/0/30	F. Johnstone	£163.12.6
Purchase	18/8/1938	B1	5/0/00	John Gillett	£55
Purchase	18/8/1938	B2	26/2/15	John Gillett	£265
Purchase [4/0/01]	4/6/1940	A	31/0/09	F. Johnstone	£31
Purchase	20/1/1942	D2	15/0/08	John Gillett	£130
Purchase	21/1/1942	D1A	4/3/00	John Gillett	£25

At some time, as yet undetermined by research conducted to date, the following Te Rape blocks were recorded as having become General Land:

B1/B2	31a. 2r. 15p.	PR 183/106
D1A	4a. 3r. 00p.	PR 185/133
D2	15a. 0r. 08p.	PR 183/39

At some time the Te Rape D1B block was alienated. Although the names of the purchaser is recorded on file, details associated with the alienation have not been located by research conducted to date.

D1B	13a. 0r. 32p.	L.C. Johnstone	PR
183/21			

On 19 July 1960, A & C2 block was repartitioned into the A block containing 37 acres 3 roods 24.4 perches and sold to F.C. Johnstone.

Currently, only the Te Rape A & C1 block (38a. 0r. 30p.) remains as Maori land.

The present ownership status of Te Rape is 35 owners. No Trust has been recorded.⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰<http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/map/search.htm;jsessionid=7066DDF125284DEBA4C9FA28502F649F> – accessed 25 May 2012.

4.7.4 Ohiapopoko

On 10 June 1908 Ohiapopoko⁵²¹ and Takapaunui came before the Court at Ngaruawahia. Remana stated the take to both blocks was the same, a conquest made in 1815. He claimed for Ngāti Maahanga, the tribe of Te Wetini, and would not set up the gift to Tainui. He did not claim for all Tainui. His other client was Rihia Pokepoke (brother of Hera, the wife of Wetini). Another of his clients in Takapaunui was Eliza Dickey. 'It was Takapaunui where my client chiefly occupied'.

He had a take to Ohiapopoko under Hami Whakatari but would abandon that claim and leave the land to Roka's clients and others. Roka supported Remana not setting up the tuku. He objected to Wetini being of Ngāti Maahanga, Wetini was of Tainui.

The Court proposed the 1869 decision and list of names be accepted and that relative interests be decided by the present Court. Roka stated Ngāti Maahanga had discussed the issue and had decided to ask the Court to confirm the list.

Tai Rakena objected to the proposal to confirm the 1869 list as it would affect the larger area, the other part of which he claimed separate from Roka and Remana through conquest from Ngāti Koata by Ngāti Maahanga around 1815 and occupation until the Waikato War. His occupation claim rested on the occupation of his uncle Te Hoita te Hara who had been excluded from the 1869 list for marrying a woman of Ngāti Te Wehi(...). Roka stated he had left out many persons and had put in only the head of each family to represent them. Tai Rakena objected to Roka's list and claimed the land for himself alone. Roka objected to Tai's claim and Remana's list of three persons. He proceeded with his case and called Hare Waata, who claimed by conquest over Ngāti Koata and occupation:

The conquest was at Huripopo. That was a fight between N. Koata and N. Maahanga. Toto, Tuarea, Huia of N. Koata were killed. The leaders of N. Maahanga were Te Punatoto, Te Orahi & Te Kata. The desc. of those three & of others, have now the right to this land.

Huripopo was eight or nine miles east of the block. After the fight Ngāti Koata began to leave the land, going to Kawhia, and a section of Ngāti Maahanga then lived on the land. Hare mentioned the main kainga on the land. Te Awaitaia and his family lived at Takapaunui kainga in the middle of the block. 'No one had lived there before'. He stated: 'Aroaro was another kainga, on the E. side of Oporu stream. The chief people who lived there were Hahopa te Kotuku, Hamiora Ngaropu. It was a general kainga of N. Maahanga'. Puketoa was another kainga, near the middle of the block, occupied by Ngāti Hine, Te Otene's section of Ngāti Maahanga. Kokoawatea was another, occupied by Ngāti Ngarape. Taumanuka was another, the principal man there was Eruini of Ngāti Kahupeke. Oporu was another, occupied by Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Hourua. Hare explained 'The nature of this occ. was to claim the land for each hapu. It was immediately after the conquest, up to the time of the European war, & also since it'. The Rakaunui block had been awarded to Tainui and Ngāti Maahanga had not set up a claim there because the land had been given back to Tainui by Ngāti Maahanga. It was part of the land that Ngāti Maahanga had conquered from Ngāti Koata. Hare stated of Takapaunui 'The block is all

⁵²¹ Berghan, pp. 597-603. Narrative taken from Mercer Minute Book, 11.

good land. The best ploughable parts are the North & the West side, along the Opotoru stream.' A church stood at Takapaunui and the principal urupa were at Puketoa and Taumanuka. Tai Rakena claimed for himself alone under the occupation of his uncle Te Hoeta, who lived with Te Awaitaia at Takapaunui: After the fight, Te Hara did not live on the land. But Te Hoeta did. Since the missionaries came a short time prior to the Europ. wars.... Te Hoeta lived at Takapaunui till long after the Europ. wars.

Tai did not now object to Roka's list. However he stated Remana's clients were of Ngāti Koata and denied they had any right to the land. 'It was the land W. of Opotoru that was given back to them'. On 11 June Roka Hopere stated he had agreed to let Remana have the land between the road and the stream for his client Hera Parekawe and her children. He stated the lists for both blocks had been settled. Maaka Patene stated he had been instructed by Te Kie Raunui to set up a case for both blocks. Roka replied that claimants had been called for two days ago. Te Kie was part of Tai's party, but Tai had claimed the land for himself alone and his name had been included out of aroha. Roka asked the court to refuse to reopen the matter as the case was nearly complete and Te Kie had been in Court throughout the case without objecting or setting up a case. Remana supported Roka as Te Kies's section had taken no part in the conquest by Ngāti Maahanga over Ngāti Koata.

The Court agreed with Roka. On 12 June Hare stated Takapaunui was settled but they wanted to divide Ohiapopoko into hapu. Later on 12 June Roka confirmed Takapaunui was finished and handed in the list. 'The land is owned by several hapus':

- Ngāti Kuku
- Ngāti Tohe
- Ngāti Hineteppei
- Ngāti Hourua
- Ngāti Whare
- Ngāti Ngarape

Roka, questioned by the Court, stated no one lived on Takapaunui and it had been leased to a European since last February. The owners were in £70 debt for the clearance of noxious weeds and therefore they did not want to divide the land between hapu but lease it as one block. The Court stated nothing further could be done until the land was divided between hapu. Later on 12 June the Court proposed to award each hapu an area proportionate to the number of shares each had of the total. The land could be partitioned if desired once the 21-year lease had ended. The parties appeared uncertain and 'at loggerheads' about this proposal. On 13 June Roka handed in the list for Ohiapopoko but stated shares had not been allotted. The Court asked that each block be left as a whole, that there be one list for each block and that no persons be included on both lists. On 15 June the Takapaunui list was discussed regarding the number of shares awarded to each owner. The Court stated it would not alter the decisions made by the people in this matter and the list was passed.

On 16 June Roka stated the people were still fighting over the shares in Ohiapopoko. There were discussions but no agreement was reached and the Court was asked to suggest a settlement of the area for each hapu. The Court

made the following allocation fixing the total number of shares, 379, to the acreage of the block:

- Ngāti Ngarape: 29 persons, 70 shares
- Ngāti Kuku: 47 persons, 122 shares
- Ngāti Ngarape: 14 persons, 42 shares
- Ngāti Parewai: 9 persons, 26 shares
- Ngāti Whare: 39 persons, 78 shares
- Ngāti Kahupeke and others: 13 persons, 41 shares

All persons accepted the allocation and there were no objectors. Later on 16 June the Court made two orders for Takapaunui:

- Takapaunui containing 670 acre to Pumipi Hone Kingi and others as per the list.
- Takapaunui A containing 50 acres to Pera Nutana and others as per the list.

Table 14 Partitioning of Ohiapopoko 14 December 1920

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
1	83/2/38	28
2	61/3/12	29
3	0/1/00	3 Urupa
4	233/0/30	94

Table 15 Ohiapopoko re-partitioned on appeal 16 December 1922

BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
1	0/1/00	4 Urupa
2	85/2/38	28
3	66/2/31	28
4	231/1/22.2	95

Table 16 Ohiapopoko partitions 1928-1975

DATE	BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS
9 May 1928	2A	5/0/00	2
	2B	80/2/38	28
21 Aug 1946	4A	12/1/30	69
	4B	126/3/15	69

16 Mar 1951	2B1	9/2/19	1
	2B2	78/3/28	46
9 June 1975	3A	83/2/38	1
	3B	66/1/14	1

Table 17 Alienations of Ohiapopoko subdivisions 1955-1964

ALIENATION	DATE	BLOCK	SIZE	LESSEE/ PURCHASER	TERM AND/OR PAYMENT
Lease	1/1/1955	2B1	9/2/19	D.W. Jones	21 yrs
Lease	1/8/1958	2B2	78/3/28	L. P. Hartstone	21 yrs
Purchase	19/10/1964	2B1	9/2/19	B. Egerton	£220

At some time, Ohiapopoko 2A was alienated. Although the names of the subsequent landowners are recorded on file, details associated with the alienation have not been located by research conducted to date.

2A 5a. 0r. 00p. E.W. & L.P. Hartstone 628/300

Currently, the following Ohiapopoko blocks remain as Maori land:

1 0a. 1r. 00p. Urupa
 2B2 78a. 3r. 28p.
 3A 0a. 1r. 16.4p.
 3B 66a. 1r. 14.6p.
 4A 124a. 1r. 30p.
 4B 125a. 3r. 38p.

4.7.4.1 Ohiapopoko 3

This block is described as consisting of 66 acres, 2r, 23.4p. It was acknowledged as sold by the courts on the 15th May 1968 to Ronald Stanley Gillett, following an owners meeting on the 8th March 1968. At this meeting a motion was passed by Roroti Tai Rakena and seconded by Queenie Tuata to raise the price of the land sale from \$4,020 to \$5,020 before the sale was agreed to, the price being a contentious point amongst those owners present.

At the meeting Mr Palmer of Native Affairs spoke on behalf of Ronald Gillett stating that the land was original leased by Makarini Gillett the father of Ronald. Mr Palmer stated that the land was uneconomic on its own and that it adjoins the Gillett farm.

Eventually the sale was supported on the condition the payment was made within a month to the Māori Trustees office inclusive of commission and recoverable rates.

The aggregate shares for the motion were 6.2606 and against were 6.1802. The records state that everyone agreed to sell however, as already stated the issue of contention was the amount. Of the 92 owners: 9 letters were returned to the Māori Trustees office; 13 people were noted as deceased; places of residence ranged from Aramiro, Whatawhata, Hamilton, Kawhia, Coromandel, Ngaruawahia, Taranaki Auckland, Pukekohe, Tuakau, Tokoroa, Motueka. Fourteen owners were recorded as voting, however, of that fourteen two were represented by proxy and four people were represented by a Trustee. Those present were: Allan Herbert, Elsie Herbert, Margaret Herbert, Daniel Herbert, Mary-Jane Herbert, Akinihi Paroto, Matekino Makarini, Queenie Tuata, William Graham, Wano Makarini, Roroti Tai Rakena, Darcy Tonga (who was the trustee representative for Wiremu Tiatia, Tamati Tiatia, Wiremu Kingi Tiatia and Orahi Tiatia). Gordon and Ronald Barlow were present as proxys on behalf of their wives Leonie and Dianne Barlow.⁵²²

The Māori Trust requirements for the meeting to take place was that at least three owners had to be in attendance throughout the meeting.

4.7.5 Moerangi (Aramiro)

On 24 November 1965 Judge M.A. Brook issued an order cancelling several titles of Moerangi⁵²³ blocks pt 1A1, pt 1A2, 1B1, 1B2B, 1C, 1D, 1E1, 1E2, 1E3, pt 1E4 and 1E5 containing an area of 1982.28 hectares and substituting them into one title so that the land could be “conveniently and economically worked”. (For details associated with these blocks, see separate entry for Moerangi) Therefore, an order was issued for the land to become known as the Aramiro block which was declared as Maori Freehold land.

The Aramiro block currently has 46,220 shares and has 1,290 owners. The total area of the farm is 1982.2868 (ha). The four Trustees for the Aramiro block are: Taiporehenui Day, Henare Gray, Sunnah Thompson and Kevin Heitia.⁵²⁴

⁵²² Title: Land Alienation; Reference #: BACS 4958 Box 1503. See our Document Bank 4.4.

⁵²³ Berghan, p. 121.

⁵²⁴ <http://www.maorilandonline.govt.nz/gis/title/6180.htm> - Accessed May 2012.

4.7.5.1 *Moerangi*

Lists⁵²⁵ were arranged from 21 February 1910. The Court awarded its decision on the lists of owners on 30 April 1910 after taking lengthy evidence on the matter. 41,750 shares were awarded each representing one acre to the persons on the following lists:

1. Ngāti Whawhakia: Roka Hopere's list for Matakowhai including Ratapu Kawene
and his son, 300 shares.
2. Ngāti Whawhakia: Karaka Tarawhiti's list for Matakowhai, 180 shares
3. Patupo: Patupo list for Oteohu, 50 shares
4. Tawhiao's family, 5,000 shares
5. Ngāti Maahanga: Hemi Kereama and Mrs. Brabant, 100 shares (50 shares each)
6. Ngāti Maahanga: Maaka Patene's list of the descendants of Haara Patene, 300
shares
7. Ngāti Maahanga and Ngāti Hourua: Toea te Awaitaia's list, 800 shares
8. Ngāti Maahanga: Roka Hopere's list, 6,850 shares
9. Ngāti Maahanga: Tai Rakena's list, 9,000 shares
10. Ngāti Maahanga: Tawharu Rapana's list, 200 shares
11. Ngāti Kakati: Kauki Tauira's list, 9,740 shares
12. Ngāti Te Wehi: Hamuhamu Te Putu's list, 4,100 shares
13. Ngāti Reko: Kamanomano Mahu's list, 1,250 shares
14. Ngāti Maahanga: Ngāti Paratai, 1,000 shares
15. Ngāti Te Wehi: list of Hone Waitere and others, 4,100 shares
16. Ngāti Maahanga: Ngāti Hourua list of Houkura te Awaitaia and others, 1,200 shares
17. Ngāti Maahanga: Ngāti Whare list of Tangataiti Maru and others, 800 shares

⁵²⁵ Berghan, pp. 533-549. (Extracts taken from Mercer Minute Books, 13, 14).

18. Ngāti Te Wehi: Ngāti Te Wehi list of Te Ratu Whareroa and others, 200 shares

All other claims were dismissed by the Court. On 7 May 1910 Mahuta Tawhiao signed a document (reproduced in the minutes) regarding the 5,000 acres of Moerangi awarded to the family of the late Tawhiao Potatau by the Native Land Court with the consent of the owners. Mahuta had been awarded 4,000 acres and the rest of the family 1,000 acres. He asked that 2,000 acres remain in his name, 2,000 acres be placed in the name of his wife Te Marae Mahuta and 1,000 in the name of Henare Kaihau. On 7 May 1910 a Freehold order was issued for Moerangi block containing 45,770 acres which had 1,221 owners.

Table 18 Moerangi partitions 1911-1968

DATE	BLOCK NO.	SIZE (a.r.p)	NO. OF OWNERS	ML
2 Jun 1911	1 & 3	33,725/0/00	1169	
	2	11,757/0/00	104	
27 Aug 1912	4	20,596/0/00	702	
	1A	1,175/0/00	39	
	1B	634/0/00	16	
	1C	112/3/26	14	
	1D	110/0/13	10	
	1E	3,349/2/00	186	
	3A	707/0/00	9	
	3B	1,382/0/00	20	
	3C	168/0/00	4	
	3D	1,022/0/00	13	
	3E	689/0/00	19	
	3F	129.4994ha	10	
	3G	971/0/00	118	
	3H	990/0/00	21	
	3J	500/0/00	10	
	3K	387/1/00	8	94753
	3L	530/0/00	47	
	Moerangi School Site	3/0/00	-	
28 Nov 1919	1B1	205/2/39	11	
	1B2	427/0/00	8	
29 Nov 1919	1E4A			
	1E4B	232/0/00	82	
	1E4C	746/0/00	39	
	1E4D	398/0/00	15	
	1E4E	748/0/00	34	

8 Dec 1919	3G6A	77/1/20	2	
	3G6B	103/2/00	7	
27 Aug 1920	3D1	442/0/00	5	
	3D2	572/0/00	7	
22 Aug 1923	3B2A	256/0/00	1	
	3B2B	237/3/22	3	
	3B2C	712/0/00	10	
3 Dec 1925	3B2C1	242/0/00	4	
	3B2C2	462/0/03	6	
28 Apr 1926	3J1	250/3/00	9	
	3J2	250/3/00	6	
18 Aug 1926	3E1	203/1/05	4	
	3E2	464/1/35	16	
1 Dec 1926	1B2A	264/0/30	1	
	1B2B	161/1/33	5	
25 Nov 1930	3A1	203/3/17	3	
	3A2	492/1/35	6	
16 Feb 1932	3G3A	48/3/07	18	17422
	3G3B	71/2/33	26	17422
16 Feb 1937	3G5A	5/0/00	11	
	3G5B	125/3/32	6	
	3G5C	199/3/08	5	
18 Feb 1937	3H1	157/0/15	2	16180
	3H2	94/2/25	1	16180
	3H3	130/1/00	1	16180
	3H4	320/2/10	12	16180
	3H5	276/2/00	7	16189
	3H6	0/2/01	23	
	1E1A	25/3/08	5	
	1E1B	108/0/31	4	
25 Feb 1938	3B2A1	85/3/16	3	
	3B2A2	171/2/32	6	
15 Mar 1939	3E2A	82.0075ha	8	22102

	3E2B	262/0/20	17	
6 Feb 1940	1B2A1	5/0/00	1	
	1B2A2	259/0/30	1	
12 Mar 1940	3E1A	21/1/07	2	
	3E1B	181/3/08	6	
13 Mar 1940	3E2B1	68.9290ha	15	22102
	3E2B2	92/3/02	3	20962
14 Mar 1940	3D2A	177/1/00	1	20429
	3D2B	394/3/00	9	
18 Feb 1942	3A1	112/3/24	2	19884
	3A2	582/3/29	18	
	3A3	0/2/00	11	19884
	3A2A	142/2/00	9	
	3A2B	440/1/29	9	
22 Feb 1944	3H1	157/0/15	1	
	3H2	115/2/25	2	18240
	3H3	130/1/00	1	
	3H4	299/2/01	12	18240
23 Feb 1944	3C1	24.0100ha	8	21218
	3C2	107/0/00	2	
21 Feb 1945	3B2C1A	1.3900ha	1	21846
	3B2C1B	240/3/20	4	20983
29 Jul 1947	1E4A	3/0/07	220	19142
	1E4B	0/2/00	220	
	1E4C	0/0/34	1	21048
	1E4D	0/0/34	1	21048
	1E4E	0/0/34	1	
	1E4F	0/0/34	1	21048
	1E4G	0/0/38	1	21048
	1E4H	0/1/00	1	21048
	1E4J	0/1/08	1	
	1E4K	0/1/08	1	
	1E4L	0/1/14	1	
	1E4M	0/0/32	1	
	1E4N	0/0/32	1	
	1E4P	0/0/32	1	
	1E4Q	0/0/36	1	
	1E4R	0/0/36	1	
	1E4S	0/1/04	1	

	1E4T	2/0/00	1	
	1E4U	0/1/00	1	
	1E4V	0/1/00	1	
	1E4W	0/1/00	1	
	1E4X	0/2/00	1	
	1E4Y	2412/1/38	208	
3 Nov 1949	3A2B1	7/2/09	1	18952
	3A2B2	433/1/13	9	
6 Jun 1952	3A2B2A	54/1/29	1	19884
	3A2B2B	378/3/24	7	
1 Dec 1954	3A2A1	5/2/10	1	17706
	3A2A2	1/0/31	1	17706
	3A2A3	135/2/38	1	18026
9 Mar 1955	3D2B1	76/3/17		20180
	3D2B2	572/0/00	10	
4 Feb 1957	3G5A	18/3/00	33	
	3G5B	307/2/02	33	
4 Apr 1957	3A2B2B1	38/1/19	2	18952
	3A2B2B2	0/0/31	1	18952
	3A2B2B3	339/1/29	5	19884
19 Jun 1958	1A2B1	118/2/32	4	20071
	1A2B2	160/2/27	6	
	3C2A	16.6130ha	2	21220
	3C2B	23.3360ha	6	21219
4 Sept 1963	3A2B2B1A	30/2/38	2	19916
	3A2B2B1B	0/1/00	1	20151
24 Jun 1967	3G5A3	3/1/34	34	19787
	3G5A4	15/1/17	34	19787
7 Feb 1968	3G5A4A	1327m2	2	21845
	3G5A4B	5.9950ha	32	21154

Table 19 Moerangi 3K and 3G4 blocks - 1950s alienations

ALIENATION	DATE	BLOCK	SIZE	LESSEE/ PURCHASER	TERM AND/OR PAYMENT
Purchase	31/3/1954	3K	387/1/00	John Thorn	£500
Purchase	27/7/1955	3G4	51/0/00	Hone Paki	£204

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the titles of several Moerangi subdivisions were Europeanised under Part 1 of the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967.

- 3A1 112a. 3r. 24p.
- 3A2A1 5a. 2r. 10p.
- 3A2A2 1a. 0r. 31p.
- 3A2A3 135a. 2r. 38p.
- 3A2B1 7a. 2r. 09p.
- 3A2B2A 54a. 1r. 29p.
- 3A2B2B1B 0a. 1r. 00p.
- 3A2B2B1C 30a. 2r. 38p.
- 3A2B2B2 0a. 0r. 31p.
- 3A2B2B3 339a. 1r. 29p.
- 3D1 430a. 0r. 00p.
- 3D2A 177a. 1r. 00p.
- 3D2B1 76a. 3r. 00p.
- 3G1 82a. 0r. 00p.
- 3G6A 77a. 1r. 20p.
- 3H1 157a. 0r. 15p.

On 24 November 1965 the titles of Moerangi blocks pt 1A1, pt 1A2, 1B1, 1B2B, 1C, 1D, 1E1, 1E2, 1E3, pt 1E4 and 1E5 were cancelled and amalgamated into a block named Aramiro. (See separate entry) At some time the following Moerangi blocks were alienated. Although the names of the subsequent landowners are recorded on file, details associated with the alienation have not been located by research conducted to date.

- | | | | |
|----------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| • 1A2 pt | 38a. 0r. 00p. | J Vandy | 1274/43 |
| • 1A1B1 | 18a. 2. 30p. | Desmond Vandy | - |
| • 1B2A | 264a. 0r. 30p. | Not Recorded | CT.458/23 |
| • 3B2A | 257a. 2r. 08p. | G B C Gould | TN41/156 |
| • 3B2C1B | 240a. 3r. 20p. | Not Recorded | PR275/83 |
| • 3E1 | 203a. 1r. 05p. | Bryant Station | PR.214/148 |
| • 3E2B2 | 92a. 3r. 02p. | Not Recorded | CT19C/366 etal |
| • 3H4 | 299a. 2r. 10p. | E P Pun ate Aroha | TN48/128 |
| • 3L1 | 50a. 0r. 00p. | (Scenic Reserve) | 1440/100 |
| • 3L4A | 36a. 0r. 00p. | Not Recorded | PR283/23 |

On 27 October 1988 the Moerangi 2B2B block was declared Maori freehold land. Currently, the following Moerangi blocks remain as Maori land:

- 1A3 0a. 1r. 00p. Urupa
- 1E4A 3a. 0r. 07p. Marae
- 1E4B 0a. 2r. 00p. Urupa
- 1E4C 0a. 0r. 34p.
- 1E4D 0a. 0r. 34p.
- 1E4E 0a. 0r. 34p.
- 1E4F 0a. 0r. 34p.
- 1E4G 0a. 0r. 38p.
- 1E4H 0a. 1r. 00p.

- 1E4J 0a. 1r. 08p.
- 1E4K 0a. 1r. 08p.
- 1E4L 0a. 1r. 14p.
- 3A3 0a. 2r. 00p.
- 3A2B2B1A 3a. 2r. 16p.
- 3B1 163a. 0r. 29p.
- 3B2C1A 3a. 0r. 00p.
- 3B2C2 462a. 0r. 03p.
- 3C 8069m2 Kaiwaka Urupa
- 3C1 24.0100ha
- 3C2A 16.6130ha
- 3C2B 23.3360ha
- 3E2A 202a. 1r. 15p.
- 3E2B1 169a. 1r. 18p.
- 3F 320a. 0r. 00p.
- 3G5A1 0a. 1r. 14p.
- 3G5A2 18a. 1r. 26
- 3G5A3 3a. 1r. 38p.
- 3G5A4A 1327m2
- 3G5A4B 5.9950ha
- 3G8 1a. 2r. 00p. Moriu Urupa
- 3H6 0a. 2r. 01p. Urupa
- 3J1 250a. 3r. 00p.
- 3J2 250a. 3r. 00p.
- 3L2 42a. 0r. 00p.
- 3L3 74a. 1r. 10p.
- 3L4A 328a. 0r. 00p.
- 5 5099m2 Urupa
- 6 24.7ha
- 7 41.9ha
- 8 53.2ha

4.7.5.2 Moerangi – process of sale to Crown and the Native Land Court

This purchase provides an insight into the effects of the Native Land Court and the means that the Crown applied to expedite land sales. On the 15th September 1909 a letter was written from the Department of Lands, Wellington to The Under Secretary in explanation about money that had been advanced to iwi members involved in the court process for the block. The understanding was that amounts were ‘to be considered a part payment on account of certain land to be disposed of to the Crown at the conclusion of the case’. The letter explains that the outcome of the hearing meant that the land was awarded as such: ‘Ngāti Maahanga to be awarded 20,000 acres; Ngāti Te Wehe [sic] 20,000 acres; Mahuta 5,174 acres’. Both Ngāti Maahanga and Te

Wehi it was noted were lodging an appeal against this 'award'. Ngāti Maahanga members namely Tai Rakena, Pou Haeata, Rihari Whatarau, Puke Kahuone and Te Wharepuhi Heruika, approached the Department of Lands representative to request 500 pounds to help them with the appeal costs and offered 3,000 acres for it. The advice of the representative was to request 4,000 acres of land for the sum requested.⁵²⁶

It appears that the return of the land needed to be offset with the loss of it.

4.7.6 Te Uku

When the Crown advertised that the Te Uku native reserve was to be sold they asked for applications by Wednesday 22nd November 1893 for those interested in buying or leasing. This triggered a response by both Wiremu Nero Te Awaitaia and Remana Nutana whom both wrote letters requesting the sale be stopped as the whenua was Māori land. This in turn prompted the Crown to carry out an enquiry as to the state of affairs. The Government believed that the Te Uku reserve was only between 20-25 acres however, evidence to the enquiry from the son of Rev. James Wallis and Wetini Mahikai showed the area of the Te Uku reserve to be more in the vicinity of 156 acres. The government's stance was that it was a smaller area as this area was used as a 'landing place' located on the banks of the Waitetuna river for canoes when the 'natives' were going to and coming from the township of Raglan and the harbour. However, upon considering the statements of Mr H.W. Wallis and Wetini Mahikai as well as checking the deed of sale it was agreed that the land size was indeed greater than the 25 acres but due to the fact a European settler had taken up residence on part of the block and had made improvements it was decided to award land from the Karioi 56 block where there was a section available of 99 acres. There did not appear to be any compensation paid or other land offered to make up for the loss of the 57 acres.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶ Preservation Details WGTN LL3 YA 362k; Container code C339 093. See our Document bank 4.5.

⁵²⁷Te Uku Native Reserve - LS1 1362. See our Document bank 4.6.



Map 14 Te Uku Reserve

4.7.7 Pirongia West/Te Kopua (Waipa)

Ngāti Maahanga were unable to assert their interests in the Pirongia West blocks due to economic pressures and the fact that they were already attending the courts to represent their interests in other areas.⁵²⁸ The awards for Pirongia West reflect this fact, the connection of Ngāti Maahanga to this whenua remain largely unacknowledged to today.⁵²⁹

Ngāti Maahanga does not assert exclusive interests rather we acknowledge shared interests as stated in our Statement of Claim:

257. Ngāti Maahanga had interests in these blocks. This was through:
- a) Use of these areas for travel, gathering kai, shelter and other important uses.
 - b) Whakapapa to Turongo and his descendants; and
 - c) Association with Pirongia Maunga (which is located on the Pirongia West block) which is a Ngāti Maahanga tupuna and from which there are strong links through occupation, mahinga kai and other uses. Ngāti Maahanga's interests in Pirongia Maunga do not stop at its peak but includes all its foothills and sidlings, on both sides. The toes of the mountain with which the claimants associate do not stop at the mountain itself but spread out to the surrounding regions taking in these areas and what is now the Pirongia South Forest.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Waikato Minute Book, 16, p. 304, and Berghan, p. 468. These two sources provide the dates of the hearings.

⁵²⁹ Armstrong, M., Affidavit of Sunnah Thompson in Support of an Application to Become an Approved Client with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 18 December, 2008.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-7.

258. Ngāti Maahanga do not assert exclusive interests in these blocks but rather shared interests with other Iwi and Hapu located in this rohe.
259. Ngāti Maahanga were not able to participate in the hearings for these blocks before the Native Land Court:
- a) The hearing for Pirongia West ran from November 1887 to June 1888 with judgment delivered on July 1888;
 - b) At this time Ngāti Maahanga were pursuing their interests in hearings before the Native Land Court for the Tauranga and Takapaunui blocks which took place from 1887 to April 1889;
 - c) This period followed the aftermath of the New Zealand wars which had seen loss of land, life and resources of Ngāti Maahanga and their relations;
 - d) This was also during a period of economic decline;
 - e) Costs of attending and participating in Native Land Court hearings were high;
 - f) Ngāti Maahanga did not have sufficient resources to attend these hearings as well as those for the other blocks in which Ngāti Maahanga held interests;
 - g) Ngāti Maahanga had to concentrate on claims to those lands closer to the heart of their rohe.
260. The Native Land Court did not seek information on whether any other Iwi or Hapu had interests or claims to these blocks. Instead it proceeded on the claims and counter-claims before it and awarded title based only on those.
261. Through no fault of its own, Ngāti Maahanga could not advance its claim to these blocks and missed out on the lands. The majority of these lands in which Ngāti Maahanga held interests were sold to the Crown (and now form part of the Pirongia South Forest).
262. The Crown failed to adequately protect Ngāti Maahanga's interests in imposing this regime and this process.
263. The same applies to the Te Kauri, Ouruwhero and Hauturu East blocks.⁵³¹

4.8 Te Patu a te Karauna he Pene

This section addresses issues of amalgamated, partitioned and uneconomic shares. The Aramiro block was made up of Moerangi shares consolidated and turned into a farming block. Molly McLean recalls the day that Te Puea brought the Prime Minister to talk to the share holders. She and her friends were to serve the kai and look after

⁵³¹ Armstrong, *Final Amended Statement of Claim-Wai 898, Wai 1327*, Aurere Law, Rotorua, 2011, pp. 60-61. Waikato Minute Book, 16, p. 304 and Berghan, p. 468 provide evidence of the dates of the hearings.

the visitors.⁵³² Both Molly and Raiha Gray also made mention of the Rapana family, a large Ngāti Maahanga whānau who used to live on the bush line and whom survived heavily off the fruits of the bush (i.e., tawhara, para, pigs, etc). Once the scheme started the bush was cleared away which caused the area to flood and it is because of this that the pā in the gully had to be moved to higher ground. The block was consolidated to create a farm large enough for an economically viable farming project. It was placed under the Māori Trust Board and left to them to direct and manage. After many attempts to regain the whenua it was eventually given back to Māori management. However, land owners would need to find the money to buy back the shares that had been taken by Crown in lieu of payment for help to develop the block.⁵³³

In recent interviews of several of our kuia and koroua they have shared the grief through loss of interests in the Moerangi land block (as well as the Oparau land block) based on the ruling of shareholdings being uneconomic.⁵³⁴ Land has also been taken through the amalgamation of shares, and the consolidating of land blocks. These rulings have led to a sense of loss amongst those that have been affected and yet again the feeling of betrayal. When she spoke of the loss of land through this ruling our kuia Maadi King recalled the trip made by her and her mother with Mr. Palmer of the Native Department to visit the land in which her mother had shares at Oparau. She recalled Mr. Palmer stating that her mother's shares were deemed economical. After this visit it was inconceivable that her mother's shares would be lost to them however, they were, ruled as being uneconomic despite Mr. Palmer's assurance. Our kaumātua Henare Gray has a similar account of the amalgamation of his shares left to him by his father. On the death of his father he continued to pay for the rates yearly on the land until the year that he was told that he no longer needed to pay the rates as the land had been amalgamated. No consultation was held, no discussion to explain the situation or the reasoning in both cases.⁵³⁵ Our kaumātua Sunnah Thompson has a similar story of land lost through the judgement of being uneconomical.⁵³⁶

⁵³² Interview, Molly McLean's house, 27 April 2012.

⁵³³ Interviews, Sunnah Thompson, December 2011, and Gerald and John Gillett, January 2012.

⁵³⁴ Maadi King & Henare Kerei, Maahanga wānanga, Aramiro, 3-4 December 2011.

⁵³⁵ Maadi King & Henare Kerei, Maahanga wānanga, Aramiro, 3-4 December 2011.

⁵³⁶ Sunnah Thompson, Maahanga wānanga, Aramiro, 3-4 December 2011.

4.9 Takings by the Crown for public works

The main impacts on us of takings by the Crown for public works in Te Rohe Pōtae Inquiry District were in relation to Pūtoetoe and Papahua (which we discuss elsewhere in this chapter), and also to takings for roads and schools in other parts of our rohe that lie within the Inquiry District.

Takings for public works have to be seen in the context of wider Crown laws and policies, especially those relating to land. We have already made our view clear, that the Crown failed to protect our interests in relation to the pre-1840 purchase (‘Wallis Claim’) and the Crown purchases of 1854-1865. The effects of these failures by the Crown were intensified by the Crown’s establishment of the Native Land Court, and by the provisions of the Native Land Acts of 1862, 1865 and 1873, all of which were imposed by the Crown to achieve large scale alienation of Maori land and undermine traditional tribal structures.⁵³⁷

One (of many) destructive impacts on us of the Crown’s initial failures to protect our interests during the early land transactions, and of the later barrage of Crown legislation relating to land, was that our abilities as an iwi (or even as hapuu) to become aware of Crown intentions regarding public works, and involved in resisting them if necessary, was undermined. In the regime of land ‘ownership’ introduced by the Crown, ‘ownership’ became more and more focused on a single whanau, or even just part of a whanau, as the land was partitioned into smaller and smaller blocks.⁵³⁸ These small whanau groups found it very difficult to resist or mitigate the Crown’s actions in relation to the public works, and the power of the wider hapuu and/or iwi collective to resist them was strongly diminished by the Crown’s laws.

In his study of public works takings in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry District, Alexander concludes that: ‘Maori involuntarily contributed in large measure to the network of roads in TRP District that exists today. For that they received no recognition, no acknowledgement, and no recompense.’⁵³⁹

We as Ngāti Maahanga were particularly affected by a method the Crown used for setting aside land for roads, that of laying-off roads over the Crown’s own estate:

The 1850s in the Raglan district....were characterised by multiple purchases of large blocks of land from Maori by the Crown. Once part of the Crown's estates, these land blocks were cut up into sections for

⁵³⁷ Armstrong, M., Final Amended Statement of Claim, 9 December 2011, pp. 22-39.

⁵³⁸ Alexander, D., Report on Public Works Taking in Te Rohe Potae District, pp. 35-36.

⁵³⁹ Alexander, p. 152.

settlement. The sections which were given an appellation or legal description expressed as a section of a block of a survey district (or allotments of a parish in respect of lands acquired by the Crown in the Raglan and Whaingaroa districts in the 1850s.....) were serviced by the laying-off of public roads as an integral part of the cutting up process. Such roads are known as Crown Grant roads, as they were laid out to provide legal access to the sections that the Crown was granting to European settlers..... This required that linking roads be laid out and taken over Maori-owned land under the various no-compensation provisions.⁵⁴⁰

Even those lands that remained in our hands were impacted negatively by the pressures of European settlers brought to our rohe by the Crown. For example in 1883 there was a petition to Parliament asking for the road across one of our reserves, stating that 'the Natives are willing to permit a road to be made upon receiving compensation.'⁵⁴¹ It should be noted that there was no obligation to fence roads, unless the road cut through a fence at the time of construction, and this had additional consequences for Maori owners.⁵⁴²

Another example of impacts of public works takings on us in relation to lands we retained is recorded by Alexander:

In November 1906 the Surveyor General issued a warrant for the taking of roads through customary land that later became the Moerangi Block. Although a survey was made, the taking was later completed under the 5% provisions after the Native Land Court had issued a freehold order defining the boundaries and ownership of the Block.⁵⁴³

We can see that sometimes compensation was paid for public works takings, and sometimes it was not. We doubt that compensation was adequate even where paid, because of the severe imbalance between the Crown and our people in any compensation process.⁵⁴⁴ And even when that inadequate compensation was paid, sometimes our people did not accept it, as a symbol of their disagreement with the Crown's actions. Alexander notes that:

Large amounts of money owed to Maori landowners still remain undistributed in the Maori Trustee's account today. Thus it cannot be said whether or not owners received the compensation they were entitled to. It was also a tactic used by some Maori to refuse to receive

⁵⁴⁰ Alexander, p. 113.

⁵⁴¹ See TRP Supporting Papers #3869

⁵⁴² Alexander, p. 126.

⁵⁴³ Alexander, p. 146.

⁵⁴⁴ Compensation for land taken is one aspect; another is compensation for shingle and metal to build and maintain roads. There is an example relating to Moerangi on p. 304 of Alexander's Report, Table 10.1, regarding assessment of compensation for such takings.

payment of compensation, as that would imply their acceptance of a Crown action they strongly disagreed with.⁵⁴⁵

Te Kopua (Raglan), Moerangi and Makomako are identified by Alexander as native schools for which Maori land was taken.⁵⁴⁶ Te Kopua was taken in 1904 under the Public Works Act, and no compensation was paid. There were also two sites taken elsewhere in Raglan as sites for teachers' housing.⁵⁴⁷

Moerangi (Kaharoa) was taken in 1916, as a transfer by three of the Maori owners acting as trustees for the local community, and only a nominal payment was made. Moerangi (Kaharoa) Maori School was closed at the end of 1964, and the Maori Land Court vested it in the then-owners of Aramiro, and the block boundaries were amended to include the school site.⁵⁴⁸

Makomako was amalgamated into the public school system in 1968; Alexander says that it had been gifted as a native school, and that the Crown did not consider it had a moral obligation in 1968 to return it, as it was still being used for education purposes.⁵⁴⁹

This is a brief summary of the main aspects of public works takings in our rohe.

4.10 Pūtoetoe and Papahua – E haehae ana te Ngākau

The mamae of the loss of our lands at Pūtoetoe and Papahua drove our Whaea Mori Shaw to lodge this claim WAI 1327 on behalf of the iwi and the descendants of Te Awaitaia. The loss of these lands continues to sit heavily on the hearts of our koroua and kuia.⁵⁵⁰

One of our deepest desires through this claim is to remedy what we see as a grave injustice perpetrated against us by the Crown in relation to these lands. We want the situation to be put right. Only this will assuage the mamae of our elders and our tūpuna. We believe that if justice is done, it could herald a new partnership for Ngāti Maahanga and the Pākehā of Whaingaroa (Raglan), with the potential to realize at last the vision of our tupuna Te Awaitaia. That is the heartfelt dream of Ngāti Maahanga and ngā uri o Te Awaitaia.

⁵⁴⁵ Alexander, p. 40.

⁵⁴⁶ Alexander, pp. 187 and ff.

⁵⁴⁷ Alexander, p. 309.

⁵⁴⁸ See TRP SP #3771.

⁵⁴⁹ Alexander, p. 309.

⁵⁵⁰ Huti Waitere, Whaingaroa hui, 2005.

4.10.1 Te Take

We the people of Ngāti Maahanga are ‘at home’ in our own rohe in Whaingaroa but we are often treated as if we are ‘invisible’ and peripheral to this place. Here is an example of the impact of this treatment on us across generations:

I wish to have on record the anguish experienced by my wife’s whānau in relation to the loss of potential, opportunity and mana, both personal and tribal.

The indignities relating to being deprived of land within the Raglan township boundaries, land which has been alienated from themselves and their wider whānau.

Over a period of 45 years I have had many conversations with my in-laws regarding their inability to have access to whenua in Raglan, which they felt they should have inherited through their tupuna Te Awaitaia.

In particular, my brother-in-law, Hohepa Te Poria Harihari, who was a young man who served his country and the Crown in both Italy and Japan during World War 2. While he held no grudge regarding his service, the indignity for him was to have to go to the Rehabilitation Board to beg, as he saw it, for land to build a house in his hometown of Raglan. He resented also being asked to pay to go through the gate when he and his children went regularly to attend the grave of the tupuna Te Awaitaia.

While the situation no longer exists, the memories and heartfelt dismay still burn in the minds of surviving whānau. My brother-in-law articulated to me many times in conversation the latent potential, which he felt, was being denied him and his people. Through the deprivation of access to the land, many opportunities were, to him, only dreams.

When I first became involved with my wife’s whānau, I began to learn their family history. I asked many times about the lack of a Ngāti Maahanga marae at Raglan. Among the older generation who had more personal links to the history of Raglan, this question would often expose deep-seated emotions. While most of our elders were extremely humble and gentle people, the subject of land and access to resources an exceptionally flammable topic. My wife’s parents, uncles and aunts were often engaged in discussion about where a suitable position would be for a marae if only land were available. While there is a marae at Raglan Poihakena..... it is not within the accepted Ngāti Maahanga rohe. This was and is an important point of contention for the Te Awaitaia whānau and Ngāti Maahanga people in general. The Te Kaharoa marae at Aramiro, being the closest proximity to Raglan for Ngāti Maahanga whānau in Raglan, some of whom feel only a tenuous relationship to that place.

Many times have the whānau and now my own children and mokopuna expressed a sense of alienation within the township. They ask why there has been a denial of their right to their tupuna's legacy, which he saw fit to provide for when he negotiated the native reserves, at the time of the sale of the Raglan township land, and which is no longer accessible to the whānau.⁵⁵¹

There are few visible tohu on the land today of the historic presence of Ngāti Maahanga and especially of the crucial roles that we played in the establishment of this place now known as Raglan.

Ngāti Maahanga lived in these places, Pūtoetoe (now the centre of Raglan town) and Papahua (now the recreation reserve and camping ground, across the footbridge from the town). Te Awaitaia himself lived in Pūtoetoe, Papahua, Ohiapopoko and other places, and is buried at Papahua.

We want our tūpuna to be honoured by all the people of this place, Whaingaroa, and all the visitors to this rohe. We believe we were cheated out of Putoetoe and Papahua by the complex political and legal manoeuvring of the Crown and its agents. We of Ngāti Maahanga have always known that our tūpuna would never have willingly given up, and did not in fact willingly give up, our Pūtoetoe or Papahua lands. In this section we tell our story of the dispossession of Ngāti Maahanga from Pūtoetoe and Papahua by the Crown and its agents.

4.10.2 Pūtoetoe not part of 1851 Crown Purchase of Whaingaroa block

The Pākehā assumption was that this purchase included everything except the four named reserves.⁵⁵² To us, this makes no sense at all. Ngāti Maahanga were living at Pūtoetoe, as well as Papahua, Ohiapopoko and other places, at the time. In his evidence to the Tribunal at Nga Korero Tuku Iho, our kaumatua Sunnah Thompson said:

Haere tonu kātae ki a Pūtoetoe kia whakawhiti i te awa ka tae ki tēnei taha o te awa tēnei taku tupuna a Te Awaitaia me ōnā whānau e takoto āna.

⁵⁵¹ Excerpt from: *Affidavit*, written by Wallace (Wally) Crawford, and presented by his niece, Sarah Jane Te Ripo Harihari at WAI 898, Te Rohe Potae *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, Week 3, 11-13 April 2010, Poihakena Marae, Whaingaroa/Raglan, pp. 76-78.

⁵⁵² See section on Whaingaroa block purchase in this chapter, above.

Carrying on to Pūtoetoe and crossing the river, reaching this side of the river where my ancestor Te Awaitaia and his family lived.⁵⁵³

And another of our kaikorero, Te Awarutu Samuels, referred to:

Nō reira tēnei ahau e taungia kei konei hoki te whenua o Ngāti Hourua o Ngāti Maahanga, koinei ta mātou hononga ki te whenua nei kei Pūtoetoe taku tupuna e tau ana kei reira tana whare tupuna hoki.

Ngāti Hourua and Ngāti Maahanga lands are here, that is our link to the land at Putoetoe [where] my ancestor is interred, and his ancestral house is there.⁵⁵⁴

Whaingaroa, both the harbour and the settlement, were critical to Ngāti Maahanga's engagement in the new Pakeha economy through trading. So we do not think Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga sold Pūtoetoe as part of the Whaingaroa block sale, whether or not there was a formal 'reservation' placed on it. It was our place, secured by us through battle and occupation, and it was essential to us, to secure our mana and prosperity as an iwi, into the future.

We have already seen (see Chapter 3) that our tūpuna were adamant that they wished to retain the whole of the Whaingaroa foreshore and harbour frontage in their ownership, when the matter was discussed with them by the Governor in Whaingaroa in 1842. There was no reason for them to have changed their minds by the 1850s – in fact, the reasons for holding fast to their Pūtoetoe lands would have become even more apparent to them over the intervening years.

All the evidence is that after the Whaingaroa block sale in 1851 they continued to live at Pūtoetoe exactly as they had before, as the rightful occupiers, and with Te Awaitaia accepted as the seat of governance authority for the settlement and the rohe, by Māori and Pākehā alike. We believe that Putoetoe was meant to and should have been reserved to us at the time of the Whaingaroa purchase, and the fact that it was not is an issue of enduring significance to us. We set out our views on this in more detail, below – much of this factual content relating to Putoetoe is drawn from a report prepared for us by Bruce Stirling in relation to another kaupapa in 2008, and we acknowledge and

⁵⁵³ Thompson, Sunnah, WAI 898, Te Rohe Potae *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, Week 3, 11-13 April 2010, Poihakena Marae, Whaingaroa/Raglan, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁵⁴ Samuels, Te Awarutu, WAI 898, Te Rohe Potae *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, Week 3, 11-13 April 2010, Poihakena Marae, Whaingaroa/Raglan, p. 47.

thank Bruce for his information and insights; all expressions of opinion in the material that follows are ours alone.⁵⁵⁵

4.10.3 Pūtoetoe reserved to Ngāti Maahanga

For example, when Native Secretary Donald McLean reported to the Governor in April 1860 that he had made arrangements with Te Awaitaia for the defence of Raglan, he said:

that a house should be created for Wiremu Nero [Te Awaitaia] on a rising ground, **the site of an old pa about the centre of the town**, as a place of refuge in case of need, and that a Pa should be made by himself and his followers round the house.

The site forms part of a public reserve but I trust Your Excellency will cause half an acre of the said reserve to be made over to William Nero in fee simple as it is required for the purposes of public safety.’

The importance of Wiremu Nero as an ally supported as he is by 5 or 600 men induces me to recommend to the favourable consideration of Your Excellency that in addition to the above house he should be in further secured a pension for life of £100 a year.⁵⁵⁶

Given the urgency of the situation, neither McLean nor Te Awaitaia waited for the Governor’s approval of these arrangements. McLean had already had contracts let “for the immediate erection of a building 40 feet long by 30 wide with a chimney and well to be sunk.” He added that, “the site is much approved of by Nero as well as by the European inhabitants.”

McLean’s own sketch map in 1860⁵⁵⁷ refers to the area as the “Putoitoi (sic) Sec. 11 Landing Reserve” and McLean no doubt saw it as a landing reserve for all the inhabitants of Raglan. Our tupuna probably had a similar perspective in terms of everyday practice, but with the significant difference that they would have regarded

⁵⁵⁵ Stirling, B., *Title History: 1 Wi Neera Street, 3 Bow Street and Adjacent Land*, July 2008. Report commissioned by Kaye Turner, to provide Nga Uri o Maahanga Trust Board with independent information, in context of proposals by Waikato District Council for fast-track commercial development on these named sites. A copy of Bruce Stirling’s report is lodged with legal counsel for WAI 1327, Miharo Armstrong of Aureere Law.

⁵⁵⁶ McLean, from Raglan, to Governor Gore Browne, 30 April 1860. MA 1/1861/156. Archives New Zealand. See Stirling report, p. 2. (emphasis added).

⁵⁵⁷ We sighted this map in the course of our researches for this volume, but do not have access to a copy.

Pūtoetoe as ‘their place’, rather than the Crown’s property, the place where the mission station had come when invited by Te Awaitaia to re-locate from Nihinihi.

It is possible that McLean regarded the area in 1860 as a public reserve because it had been surveyed as such in processes around the 1851 Whaingaroa block sale. Whatever his reason, a map from 1860 shows that the area was NOT regarded as available for sale in sections, as no such sections are marked on it; and the Government township is designated in a separate area across the modern Bow Street.⁵⁵⁸

As for why McLean would suggest that part of this area should be reserved specifically to Te Awaitaia, McLean did express the view that this would make it more likely that Te Awaitaia’s 5 to 600 followers would defend it.⁵⁵⁹ This seems very odd to us, as those men were under the command of Te Awaitaia and other Ngāti Maahanga leaders, and would do what was asked of them by those leaders, without appeal to abstract and in this case confusing Pākehā concepts of land ownership. It is possible that McLean may have had other reasons for reserving an area specifically to Te Awaitaia at this stage – perhaps as an acknowledgement that the land should have been reserved to Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga at the time of the Whaingaroa block sale, perhaps because he wanted to show Government’s appreciation to Te Awaitaia, perhaps some combination of these reasons.

Whatever his reasons, it seems likely to us that McLean wanted some visible sign of success at this stage – it was 1860, he was under attack by the Committee on Waikato, he needed to demonstrate his influence with chiefs such as Te Awaitaia, and building a very large house in Raglan would be a ‘shot in the arm’ to fearful Pākehā settlers.

And Te Awaitaia would have been open to the idea of the house, as a symbol of his tribe’s mana in its own rohe. He would also have been open to some visible recognition by Government of his rights to these lands. The times were volatile, with war in Taranaki, the evacuation of settlers from Kawhia, and increasing numbers of Pakeha in Whaingaroa. Stirling notes that ‘[d]espite rising war tensions at the end of 1862, the price of land in Raglan township had risen to 400pounds an acre, while

⁵⁵⁸ *Sketch plan of town sections of Raglan*, [ms map] [c. 1860], reference no. MapColl-832.14967bje/[ca. 1860]/Acc.3322. We acknowledge with thanks the kind permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z., to use this image in our volume. See our Document Bank 4.7.

⁵⁵⁹ McLean, Raglan, to Governor Gore Browne, 30 April 1860. MA 1/1861/156. Archives New Zealand. See Stirling report, p. 3.

“choice frontages” sold in small lots at one pound per foot frontage, “rates which will compare favourably with allotments in some parts of the suburbs of Auckland.”⁵⁶⁰ These factors taken as a whole may explain the concept of a ‘reserve’ designated specifically to him and his iwi by the Government, for land he already occupied, being something that appealed to Te Awaitaia at the time.

Stirling says that the Government endorsed McLean’s suggestions and Premier Frederick Whitaker noted on McLean’s report: ‘recommended that a reserve be made at Raglan as proposed by Mr McLean and granted to Wm. Naylor. Also that erection of the House be approved.’⁵⁶¹

As far as we know, no such reserve was ever granted to Te Awaitaia. Perhaps, in our opinion, for the simple reason that one already existed in reality – Pūtoetoe was already visibly reserved to us through our continuous presence and prominence. It was in our opinion a fiction that there was a Government reserve on this land.

The area which became known as Section 11 Town of Raglan (an area of 4 acres bound by Green Street – now Wainui Road - Bow Street and Oporuru Creek), was referred to in the press as ‘the public reserve’ upon which ‘substantial Government offices’ were being built in 1863. As we have seen in Chapter 3, the first courthouse was built in 1857 by Te Awaitaia and used constantly for runanga meetings and resolution of disputes.⁵⁶² On 8 May 1860 the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper reported that at a public meeting held at the courthouse on 28 April, it had been resolved to support McLean’s opinion that a house be built for Te Awaitaia at public expense.⁵⁶³ By early 1863 this house, and also a jail, were completed on land in the vicinity of Te Awaitaia’s whare; a blockhouse was also completed next to the whare in 1863, although work had begun on it in 1862. On 12 August 1863 the same newspaper provided a description of the defensive works being undertaken around what they now

⁵⁶⁰ *Daily Southern Cross*, 28 November 1862 – see Stirling report, p. 5.

⁵⁶¹ Whitaker minute, 7 May 1860, on *ibid*; see Stirling report, p. 3.

⁵⁶² See: AJHR, 1860, E-No 1c, p. 19, *Journal F D Fenton*, 3 August 1857; also p. 46, *Letter from Heneri Matini*, 20 July 1857, with description of house; also AJHR, 1862, E-09, p. 20, *Report by Armitage RM*; and AJHR, 1858, I B-06, pp. 6-7, regarding expenditure for Raglan Magistrate’s Court for year ending 30 June 1858 and estimated expenditure for year ending 30 June 1859.

⁵⁶³ Walter Harsant (Resident Magistrate, Raglan) is reported as having paid 165 pounds for the erection of a new house for Te Awaitaia (See: AJHR, 1862, 13- E.12).

called the ‘Government’ Court House. Te Awaitaia was still hearing cases there in 1864.⁵⁶⁴

As we have seen in Chapter 3, it was Te Awaitaia who insisted that these buildings should be erected at Government expense, because he felt that they should be seen as part of the structure of Government and not merely the property of Māori; we also know that it was Ngāti Maahanga who actually did the building and provided the materials, albeit they were paid for them, and their labour. After years of constructing churches and houses and schools and courthouses at their own expense, Ngāti Maahanga had learnt that they had to make deals with Government to get them to contribute their share of any buildings or other public projects.

4.10.4 Early Pākehā efforts to dislodge Ngāti Maahanga from Pūtoetoe

There is clear evidence that some Pākehā in Raglan township in the 1860s did not want an on-going Māori presence there. Just seven months after Te Awaitaia’s death it was reported that Resident Magistrate Hamilton ‘tried to have the building removed, but could not succeed.’⁵⁶⁵ In early 1867, a newspaper report asserted that the late Te Awaitaia himself had wanted the whare moved before he died, because it was surrounded by three public houses, and that both settlers and natives thought it would be much better if ‘...it [were] removed a few hundred yards across the Opoturo (sic) Creek [where] it would be on native land, and being in the midst of their cultivations, would be a benefit...’⁵⁶⁶ From our knowledge of our tupuna, we think it much more likely that they thought the public houses should be moved, and not our whare! (The land being referred to ‘across the creek’ was Papahua which was unequivocally marked ‘native land’ in the 1860s map, above, although this also too was to change within 60 years, as we set out later in this section of chapter 4).

4.10.5 Pūtoetoe becomes government property

No title was issued to the Crown in respect of the Pūtoetoe area of Te Awaitaia’s whare, yet ‘[o]n 27 February 1873, the Crown granted an area of the township comprising 1.77ha (4 acres 2 roods 21 perches) to the Superintendent of the Province of Auckland (the Auckland Provincial Government) as an endowment for wharf and

⁵⁶⁴ See *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 November 1864, p. 6.

⁵⁶⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 November 1866. See Stirling report, p. 5.

⁵⁶⁶ *Daily Southern Cross* 25 January 1867. See Stirling report, p. 5.

harbour purposes for the Town of Raglan the jail, courthouse, etc. until 1873. This [was the] area....bounded by Bow Street, Green Street (Wainui Road) and Oporuru Creek/Whaingaroa Harbour.⁵⁶⁷ The actual harbour endowment had been resolved upon by the Auckland Provincial Council in 1870, but for reasons which are unrecorded it took three years for the grant to be made.

The flavour of this saga can be gleaned from some of the press reports of the time. For example, the *Daily Southern Cross* reported on 11 November 1870 a request by Mr Hamlin for the Auckland Provincial Council to set aside Section 11 as an endowment for wharf and harbour purposes,⁵⁶⁸ and on 19 November the same newspaper said that notification of the endowment had been made in the Auckland Provincial Government Gazette. On 28 November the newspaper was lauding the ‘prompt action’ taken by the Provincial Council in granting Section 11 as a harbour endowment stating that ‘the endowment is a nest egg from which we hope to raise a whole brood of marine facilities’.⁵⁶⁹

On 24 March 1871 the *Daily Southern Cross* informed its readers that:

Tenders have been called for painting and repairing the Court-house and native hostelry here. Both these buildings are situated on Section 11; which was granted by the Superintendent as a harbour endowment. It appears now that no-one is clear to whom this section belongs; Hetaraka Nero claims it as the property of the deceased Wiremu Nero; the Provincial Government, or rather the Harbour Trustees claim it; and the Central Government claims it.

To us, the reasons for the delay are not surprising – at this time, our tupuna Hetaraka Nero, Te Awaitaia’s nephew and successor, was still alive, and we can be sure that he and others were vigorously promoting Ngāti Maahanga’s interests in the chaotic post-war world. But Hetaraka passed away, probably of rheumatic fever, in 1873, having recently returned to his home at Te Kopua from an exhausting hui on the Waipa.

⁵⁶⁷ Crown Grant 53/17 (A88/15), incorporated in CT SA 6/115. LINZ. Source: Stirling report, p. 8.

⁵⁶⁸ This request was seconded by T B Hill, the Raglan member on the Provincial Council. T B Hill was both a chemist and farmer. (Raglan had a representative on the Auckland Provincial Council from 1863.) Hill received some 477 pounds in payment for providing medical supplies to the Colonial troops during the war. (See: AJHR, 1865, D-O7, p. 8). By 29 February 1876 the *Waikato Times* was reminding its readers that: ‘... the public of Raglan may not be generally aware of the fact, but it is nevertheless the case that one of the most enterprising and energetic of their settlers Mr T B Hill when a member of the Provincial Council, some years ago, managed to get a section in the township adjacent to the wharf, something like an acre in extent set apart as an endowment for harbour and wharf purposes.’

⁵⁶⁹ On the same page the paper notes that a native petition to the Government ‘praying’ for employment has been started because of a food shortage in Raglan.

Reverend Schnackenburg officiated at the service at Papahua, and Heteraka was buried there next to his uncle, Te Awaitaia. Clearly, this period of leadership transition presented an opportunity for some Pākehā to press forward with their wharf project in Pūtoetoe, and further their objective of pushing Ngāti Maahanga out of Pūtoetoe.⁵⁷⁰

The Provincial Council did note that there was ‘a native hostelry’ i.e. Te Awaitaia’s whare, and a blockhouse on the land, but no reference was made to any Māori claims or interests in the area.⁵⁷¹ However, the 1873 title plan shows evidence of a road (later Wi Neera Street) and of two small lots being separated out from section 11 as a whole, and in an 1877 plan these small lots are designated as the court house reserve (Lot 1 Section 11) and the native hostelry (i.e. Te Awaitaia’s whare, Lot 2 Section 11), with the large remaining area, Lot 3 Section 11, more than 4 acres, designated the ‘balance’ of section 11. ‘This indicates that Lots 1 and 2 remained ungranted Crown land, having been excluded from the grant to the Auckland Province.’⁵⁷² Work began on the Raglan wharf in 1873 and a jetty was completed in 1874, off the end of Bow Street.⁵⁷³ Interestingly, titles were not issued for the new lots until 1892, at which time the new title to Lot 3 Section 11 was issued to Raglan County Council (provincial governments having been abolished in 1876!); this was amended in 1894 to ‘the Chairman, Councillors and Inhabitants of the County of Raglan’. Also in 1894, a small part of the court house reserve and part of the site of Te Awaitaia’s whare were exchanged between the Crown and the Raglan County Council, with the result that the Crown acquired a small area immediately behind the hostel site, as well as a small triangle of land between the court house reserve and the Cliff street foreshore. This meant that Raglan County got a new title for 1 acre 2 roods and 33 perches between Cliff, Bow and Wi Neera Streets, and 2 acres 1 rood 3.5 perches between Green, Bow and Wi Neera Streets. ‘The courthouse reserve and the rest of the site of Te Awaitaia’s whare and monument remained excluded from this title, being ungranted Crown land.’⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁰ On 29 May 1873 the *Waikato Times* Raglan correspondent reported that the ‘natives’ were forbidden from occupying their usual quarters in the township and had to take shelter with Rev. Schnackenburg.

⁵⁷¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, 11 November 1870. Source: Stirling report, p. 9.

⁵⁷² See Stirling report, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁷³ Vennell and Williams, p. 192.

⁵⁷⁴ Stirling report, p. 10.

‘Some time after these title changes, Section 11 was resurveyed and subdivided into 16 lots (most of which were about a quarter of an acre). What had been the site of the native hostel and the county chambers became Lot 1 DP 8090, while most of the court house reserve became Lot 15 DP 8090. However, the hostel and monument site was still marked as a separate section, comprising 3 perches as before, plus the 3 perches gained in the exchange (the original Lot 2 Section 11). The part of the court house reserve exchanged between the Crown and the County became incorporated into the County’s title to what was later resurveyed as Lot 14 DP 8090 (now 1 Wi Neera Street). The Crown’s portion beside acquired in this exchange (between Cliff Street and the court house) was later set aside as the site of a police station and police housing.’⁵⁷⁵

4.10.6 The Government monument to Te Awaitaia at Pūtoetoe

A monument to Te Awaitaia was erected by Government in front of ...his whare.....[probably] by February 1870. In that month, a press report referred to a forthcoming “monster meeting of natives at Raglan to celebrate a tangi over the grave of the warrior chief, William Naylor (sic).” More than 2000 Māori were expected to attend, as well as Native and Defence Minister McLean. This hui appears to be similar to a hura pohatu (or unveiling) for Te Awaitaia, as it was reported at this time that the “obelisk to the memory of the late warrior chief, William Naylor (sic), has been erected by Government in the Government Reserve, near to the late residence of that chief.”⁵⁷⁶ It is important to remember that the monument was erected by Pakeha in recognition of their debt of gratitude to Te Awaitaia, and the significance of Te Awaitaia and his tribe in Whaingaroa/Raglan. This is often overlooked by Pakeha today, and the Council itself has had to be regularly reminded of its responsibility for the monument.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Stirling report, p. 11.

⁵⁷⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 February 1870. See Stirling report, p. 6

⁵⁷⁷ For example, in 1960, the Raglan County Council passed a resolution accepting responsibility for the monument, the upkeep and maintenance of which they had come to regard as the responsibility of Maori, not themselves - 27 April 1960, Letter from Raglan County Council. Archives NZ, Wellington. See our Document Bank 4.8.

This pattern continues, e.g. Ngāti Maahanga have had to remind the Council of its obligations to keep the current monument site at the Papahua urupa clean and tidy, including regular lawn mowing – Personal communication, Sarah Jane Harihari, April 2009.

The following photograph is of some of our tūpuna taken beside the monument in 1870; clearly showing the weatherboard whare in the background. We assume this photograph was taken on the occasion of the hui referred to above.⁵⁷⁸



Illustration 32 Ngāti Maahanga tūpuna standing beside Te Awaitaia's monument at Putoetoe

The monument was noted on a survey plan in 1877⁵⁷⁹ and was still there in 1912 when the ungranted Crown land on which it stood as well as the whole of Te Awaitaia's whare site, and also some of the land in the County's hands, was included in a Public

⁵⁷⁸ We wish to acknowledge current Whaingaroa resident and Raglan Museum Committee stalwart, Roger Gallagher, who found this photograph while doing research at the Waikato Museum, and kindly brought it to our attention. Te Awarutu Samuels and Heather Thomson have provided the following korero regarding this photograph: We consider the woman wearing the korowai is either Miriama, daughter of Te Awaitaia and Karoraina, and her husband Nikorima Te Rutu, or it is her daughter Toea and her husband Matini Tariao Motu Ihaka. Toea was around twenty-two years of age at this time, (she married Matini her uncle about 1868). Karoraina, her daughter Toea and son Hakopa pre-deceased Te Awaitaia, the former two succumbing to typhoid one month before his death from the same illness. He was survived by two sons, Wi Te Awaitaia and Hone Pirihi, and one daughter, Miriama. If the photograph was taken prior to August 1873, then the older figure would certainly be Hetaraka who succeeded to the chieftanship of Ngāti Hourua after the death of Wi. The younger man with the taiaha would be either Wi Te Awaitaia son of Pirihi and Te Awaitaia, or Hone Pirihi.

⁵⁷⁹ SO 1354C1 and SO 1437. LINZ. See Stirling report, p. 6.

Works taking to widen Wi Neera Street and also for a post office. In total 22.73 perches were taken for the post office site, and a further 17.3 perches for roading.

As Stirling comments: 'It is not clear why Lot 2 Section 11 [Te Awaitaia's whare and monument site] was required to be 'taken' under the Public Works Act when it appear[ed] to have [been] in Crown ownership since 1851.'⁵⁸⁰ To us, the 'taking' was just another in a long line of insulting and insensitive Government actions in relation to this site, and a sure sign of the Government's lack of confidence in the methods by which it had dispossessed us of our Pūtoetoe lands. There is no doubt in our minds that the burning down of Te Awaitaia's whare (probably in 1886) greatly aided the process of dispossession, by removing the most visible symbol of our presence on the land.⁵⁸¹ The whare was used after Te Awaitaia's death for Māori accommodation in the town of Raglan.⁵⁸²

4.10.7 Recent Government manoeuvring about Pūtoetoe

Nor was this the end of the complicated manoeuvres relating to this land. In **1962**, the County's title to Lot 3 Section 11 (i.e. the 'balance' of section 11) was cancelled, and a new title issued for the original area, less the land lost in the **1912** Public Works taking!⁵⁸³

In 1967, a separate title was issued to the County for an unquantified area comprising Cliff Street (i.e. the foreshore) together with Lot 13 DP 8090. Lot 13 has been leased out since that time on renewing seven year terms. Stirling comments that '[t]he balance of the title may be either a foreshore reserve or a road.'⁵⁸⁴

At the same time in 1967, the remaining area between Cliff Street, Bow Street and Wi Neera street (Lot 3 Section 11) was subdivided and new titles were issued to the County. At least two of these properties (1 Wi Neera Street and 3 Bow Street) continued to be leased out on seven year terms.⁵⁸⁵ In 1989 when local government was reorganised, the assets of Raglan County (including the titles discussed in this

⁵⁸⁰ Stirling report, p. 11.

⁵⁸¹ Vernon, p. 47.

⁵⁸² *Waikato Times*, 24 February 1880.

⁵⁸³ Stirling report, p. 12. Source: CT SAIA/1204. LINZ.

⁵⁸⁴ Stirling report, p. 12.

⁵⁸⁵ Stirling report, p. 12. Source: CT SA7D/712. LINZ.

section, were transferred to the Waikato District Council.⁵⁸⁶ The site of the post office is now the site of the Council offices and Library, which has a section 27 notice attached to it. Imagine our distress when one of our people doing some personal research at the Waikato District Council offices one day came across detailed material in the files which demonstrated that the Waikato District Council has within the past ten years employed consultants to advise it on possible ways to have the section 27 notice removed.⁵⁸⁷ Eventually, only the firm and decisive advice of the District Land Registrar prevented the Council from continuing to pursue this deceitful path, the antithesis of the Treaty partnership.

In addition, we ourselves have been forced to commission professional research in order to untangle the web of Crown/Government confusion and duplicity outlined above. Our experienced professional historian researcher was only able to do limited research in the time we could finance, and has indicated that there are undoubtedly more details yet to be uncovered in the records.

4.10.8 Ngāti Maahanga's ongoing relationship to Pūtoetoe

We have felt compelled to summarise the story up to present times even in this traditional history, because we think it is necessary to sketch the whole picture in order to get some idea of why our koroua and kuia feel so betrayed by what has happened. They have protested when they had the resources to do so and knew that something was going on. For example, in July 1947 some of Te Awaitaia's descendants became concerned when they believed that the County intended to move the monument from its original site. His great-great grandchildren, Kahu Pohatu of Karioi and Hemaima Heremia Pohatu of Te Hauke (Hawkes Bay) objected to any proposal to remove the monument, and outlined to Māori Affairs why the monument had been put up.⁵⁸⁸ The Hamilton Māori Welfare Officer reported in August 1947 that their objection was the result of a misunderstanding; another whānau member, Whareperengi Motu Ihaka, had discussed with the County Engineers making repairs to the grave of Te Awaitaia at 'Te Kopu' [Te Kopua]. Staff changes were said to have led to poor communication about

⁵⁸⁶ Stirling report, p. 12. See Local Government (Waikato Region) Reorganisation Order 1989, New Zealand Gazette, 1989, p. 2460.

⁵⁸⁷ Her distress was added to by the fact that she had to pay a total of \$90 to gain access to the relevant files, which should in our opinion be accessible as a matter of public record.

⁵⁸⁸ Stirling report, pp. 6-7. Source: *Notes of meeting with Kahu Pohatu and Hemaima Heremia Pohatu*, 16 July 1947. MA I W2490/54, 34/4/6. Archives New Zealand.

these repairs, which had been effected without Whareperengi being present. It was confirmed that ‘there had been talk’ of moving the monument on Wi Neera Street ‘a few feet on account of the highway,’ but the County assured Maori Affairs that ‘there is no likelihood of this course of action at this stage.’ The County was said to be ‘desirous of improving the memorials rather than remove [sic] them.’⁵⁸⁹ Stirling comments that ‘The fact that the monument was located in front of Te Awaitaia’s whare, and the continued Maori association with the whare until at least 1886, indicate the strong association of he and his people with the site. The 1947 objections to any attempt to move the monument from its site indicate that these associations with the land remained strong.’⁵⁹⁰ On 26 April 1954 Whareperengi Ihaka travelled to Kawhia to see Mrs Scholes, daughter of E.H. Schnackenberg, to ask her to convey to Wm F Wallis his concerns about the possible removal of the Te Awaitaia monument by Council.⁵⁹¹

These feelings were still present in 1956 as raised in a letter from the Māori Affairs Department to the Secretary of Internal Affairs where mention is made of the concern of an ‘elder’ about the land the monument stood upon and what would happen to it once the monument was moved.⁵⁹² Further evidence of the strength of these feelings is evidenced in a 1958 statement by the Tainui Tribal Committee: ‘We as a committee and descendants of this man [Te Awaitaia] **refuse** to allow the Raglan County Council to move this monument.’⁵⁹³ One tupuna was subsequently that year reported to have remarked that he thought it was “...only a matter of time [until our] monument will finally be ‘thrown into the sea’.”⁵⁹⁴

4.10.9 Issues around the moving of Te Awaitaia’s monument

The monument was eventually moved from Putoetoe to Papahua, and there are differences of opinion within Ngāti Maahanga about the relocation. We have seen,

⁵⁸⁹ Stirling report, p. 7. Source: *Maori Welfare Officer, Hamilton, to Controller, Maori Social and Economic Advancement*, Wellington, 20 August 1947. MA I W2490/54, 34/4/6. Archives New Zealand.

⁵⁹⁰ Stirling report, p. 7.

⁵⁹¹ Wallis Files held at the Hamilton Public Library:MSC. 21 Folder 1V Wiremu Neera 1949-1957)

⁵⁹² Wellington National Archives : ADNX W5613 7536 Box 6 – Dates:1956-1974. See our Document bank 4.9.

⁵⁹³ Letter from R. Kihi, Secretary, Tainui Tribal Committee and Tainui Maori Women’s Welfare League, to Minister of Internal Affairs, 21 September 1958. **Emphasis as in original**. See our Document Bank 4.10.

⁵⁹⁴ Letter from Resident Officer, Hamilton to District Officer Auckland re: Raglan Maori Monument – Wiremu Neera Te Awaitaia, 23 October 1958. See our Document Bank 4.11.

above, the strength of historic feeling against the monument being moved from its Wi Neera Street site. It was strongly felt that the association of Putoetoe with Te Awaitaia and Ngāti Maahanga, and the Pakeha memory of gratitude to him and Ngaati Maahanga for their safety and security, would be much more likely to persist if the monument remained on prominent display in the township for visitors to see. The original suggestion to move the monument to Papahua in 1923 seems to have been a Pakeha idea, just as the original suggestion regarding the Papahua gifting. But by 1987 it was the view of the 60 members of Ngāti Maahanga who attended a meeting with the Raglan Domain Board and the Department of Lands and Survey that the relocation of the monument had been a condition of the gifting of the Papahua land, and it was this view which prevailed and resulted in the relocation of the monument to its present site.

4.10.10 Pākehā dominance wins out – until now

The story of our connection to Pūtoetoe is truly a tale of ‘death by a thousand cuts’, one confusing Pākehā legal transaction after another, over 150 years. In spite of all that has been done by the Crown to alienate us from our Putoetoe land, our feelings of strong association with the land in Putoetoe remain steadfast today. Until now, we have not had the resources to bring together an overview of what has happened, to support our view that these lands should be returned to us, so we can once again bring warmth and life to the heart of Whaingaroa, and redeem our tupuna’s memory.

4.10.11 Papahua 2 becomes a public reserve

The failure of the crown to return the current Raglan camping ground site (known as Raglan Kopua Holiday Park) to us, or to include Ngāti Maahanga as co-governors and managers and equal beneficiaries of the revenues from this land, has been identified by our kaumātua living at Whaingaroa as their greatest source of mamae in recent years.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁵ Huti Waitere, Whaingaroa hui, 2005.

David Alexander⁵⁹⁶ in his report has compiled a dispassionate professional's perspective on the Raglan Camping ground (Papahua 2) which is a very helpful overview and we therefore reproduce it here. Alexander writes⁵⁹⁷ that:

“The site of the Raglan camping ground was gifted to the Raglan Town Board for the purposes of a public reserve in 1923. This is the only gifting by Maori in Te Rohe Potae District, other than for Native schools, that has been identified during research for this report.

Papahua 2 Block had been awarded to Ngāti Maahanga. It is located at the tip of the sandspit opposite Raglan township, and in 1923 was described as being ‘purely a sand bank.’⁵⁹⁸ A title search that year showed 28 owners holding a total of 34 shares.⁵⁹⁹

The first mention of the proposed gifting is in January 1923, when Remana Nutana, who had applied in 1920 to purchase the block, but whose application had become stalled when a meeting of owners held then had failed to reach a quorum, advised that he had ‘relinquished all interest in the land, and request you to substitute the name of Raglan Town Board in lieu of mine in the application.’⁶⁰⁰ However, the Waikato-Maniapoto District Māori Land Board Registrar replied that it was necessary to make a fresh application for the calling of a meeting of owners to consider a new resolution.⁶⁰¹

Alexander continues:

At some stage prior to 1923, a meeting was organised by a Raglan-based official of Raglan County Council. That official, writing in 1938, stated:

I started the movement to get this reserve for the town, and was associated with it until the property was transferred to the town as a reserve. At first the Maoris interested, though they came to the Town Hall from various places to discuss the matter, would hear nothing of it.

⁵⁹⁶ Alexander, D., *Public Works and Other Takings in Te Rohe Potae District*, A Report Commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust, December, 2009.

⁵⁹⁷ Alexander, pp. 241-245

⁵⁹⁸ Maori Land Court minute book 17 ALWM 373. Supporting Papers #3624. All references to ‘Supporting Papers’ in this section, below, are to those cited in Alexander, 2009.

⁵⁹⁹ Alexander Supporting Papers #3613-3616.

⁶⁰⁰ Alexander Supporting Papers #3608-3609.

⁶⁰¹ Alexander Supporting Papers #3610.

In fact they had apparently attended mainly for the purpose of airing their grievances against the Pakeha in connection with other land transactions. I therefore closed the meeting and let the matter drop.⁶⁰²

However, the proposed gifting must have been revived subsequently, as a fresh application was made to the District Māori Land Board in February 1923, asking that a meeting of owners be called to consider the resolution: 'That a gift of the said block be made to the Raglan Town Board.'⁶⁰³ It was lodged by solicitors for the Town Board. Three days later Rore Erueti of Whatawhata, one of the owners, made a similar application, using similar wording for the resolution⁶⁰⁴, suggesting that he too had signed an application prepared by the Town Board or its solicitors. The District Maori Land Board consented to the meeting being called.

The meeting was held at Raglan in June 1923. Although it was attended by just one of the owners, Awarutu Te Awaitaia, he had also been appointed to vote as proxy on behalf of five other owners. In their proxy forms, all five owners declared themselves in favour of the resolution; however, notes on the forms indicate that at the meeting Awarutu Teawaitaia stated that three of them were actually opposed to the resolution. The minutes of the meeting note that, of the 34.00000 shares in the block, 7.33333 shares were in favour of gifting and 3.20000 shares were against. However, no resolution to gift the land was put to the vote, the minutes instead recording:

In view of the fact that the great majority of owners reside at Whatawhata, and that the proxies are informal, Chairman suggested meeting be adjourned to Whatawhata. Awarutu agrees to this. Adjourned accordingly.⁶⁰⁵

The adjourned meeting was reopened at Whatawhata in October 1923. This time three owners were present, Awarutu Te Awaitaia, Rore Erueti and Ahiahi

⁶⁰² Alexander Supporting Papers 1050-1051.

⁶⁰³ Alexander Supporting Papers 3611-3612.

⁶⁰⁴ Alexander Supporting Papers #3613-3616.

⁶⁰⁵ Alexander Supporting Papers #3617.

Koniria. Awarutu held proxies from six owners, all of whom were in favour of the resolution. The proxy forms had all been signed the day before the meeting and witnessed by the same person, a licensed interpreter.

Alexander explains further:

The meeting was addressed by the Chairman of the Raglan Town Board. Speaking through an interpreter, the same person who had witnessed the proxies, he explained:

The Board was anxious to obtain the Block as a Public Reserve. They would derive no benefit from it. It was their intention to connect the Block with the mainland by a bridge.

There is a burying-ground on the Block, and this would be reserved to the native owners, and the monument now in the Main Street (sic) would also be transferred by the Board to the Reserve. The land would be vested in the Crown as a Public Domain, and would never be sold.

Both pakeha and native would have equal right over the land.⁶⁰⁶

.....All three owners present intimated that they 'were quite agreeable to the gift.' The resolution was put and carried unanimously. The owners present and those who had sent in proxy forms held a combined total of 15.03333 shares (44%) of the 34.00000 shares in the block, if the list of owners at the time the block was ordered in 1919 was still unchanged in 1923.⁶⁰⁷

For the District Māori Land Board, it was not so much the percentage of shares that were in favour that was important, as there was at that time no minimum percentage required to allow an alienation of Māori Land to proceed. Rather, it was the unanimity with which the owners spoke at the meeting that was regarded as the significant factor. When the resolution came before the Māori Land Board in November 1923 for confirmation, the Town Board was represented, but no owners were present. The minutes record:

⁶⁰⁶ Alexander Supporting Papers #3618-3619.

⁶⁰⁷ Alexander Supporting Papers #3618-3619.

There was a representative meeting of owners; no dissentients. Board knows the land. It is purely a sand bank having no commercial value whatever. Board will confirm.⁶⁰⁸

Alexander comments:

How much of these remarks are a record of what the Town Board's solicitors told the Māori Land Board, and how much of them are the views of the President of the Māori Land Board, is not clear from a reading of the minutes. It was only after the gifting of the block had been agreed and confirmed that it was surveyed. This meant that the Maori owners were absolved from paying for the survey, as the Town Board paid those costs.⁶⁰⁹ On behalf of the owners, the Maori Land Board executed a transfer of Papahua 2 to the Raglan Town Board 'as a public reserve'.⁶¹⁰ Raglan Town Board amalgamated into Raglan County Council in about 1940.

After part of the block (5 acres 2 roods 30 perches) was taken for an aerodrome⁶¹¹ in September 1941...a balance area of 28 acres 1 rood 10 perches remained. This balance area was transferred to the Crown 'for recreation purposes' under the provisions of the Public Reserves, Domains and National Parks Act in March 1950.⁶¹² It was then brought under the Public Reserves, Domains and National Parks Act 1928 as Kopua Domain later that year.⁶¹³ In 1980 the domain was classified under the Reserves Act 1977 as a recreation reserve.⁶¹⁴

It was not until 1987 that there was a meeting between Ngāti Maahanga (some 60 members of the hapu *sic* attending), Raglan Domain Board and the Department of Lands and Survey, at which the subject of the burial ground and the monument was raised. The retention of the burial ground by the owners gifting the block, and the relocation of the monument, were accepted by the Department of Lands and Survey as being conditions attached to the gifting of

⁶⁰⁸ Alexander Supporting Papers #3624.

⁶⁰⁹ Alexander Supporting Papers #3620.

⁶¹⁰ Alexander Supporting Papers #2205-2205.

⁶¹¹ For a summary of this aspect of Papahua's history, insofar as it relates to Ngāti Maahanga grievances, see below.

⁶¹² Alexander Supporting Papers #2216-2220.

⁶¹³ i.e. later in 1950. Supporting Papers #4602.

⁶¹⁴ Alexander Supporting Papers #4125.

the land, although there had been no conditions specified in the confirmation by the District Maori Land Board nor in the transfer document. However, neither condition had been met.⁶¹⁵

Alexander concludes:

Following the meeting the burial ground was surveyed⁶¹⁶, the monument was relocated, and the Crown applied to the Maori Land Court to have the burial ground revested in the original owners of Papahua 2. The Court at a hearing in June 1990 ordered the revesting.⁶¹⁷ The burial ground was given the appellation Papahua 3.

At the same hearing in June 1990 the Court recommended that the burial ground be set apart as a Maori Reservation, ‘as an urupa for historic and cultural purposes.’ The recommendation was accepted and the site was set apart in September 1990.⁶¹⁸

4.10.12 Raglan Aerodrome and its impact on Papahua blocks

Alexander’s Report also contains a detailed case study, ‘Raglan Aerodrome and Golf Course’⁶¹⁹, and we now set out the relevant information from that which relates to the Papahua Blocks:

“The study examines the taking of land at Raglan for an aerodrome. Although stated in the proclamation to be ‘taken for defence purposes’. At a time when New Zealand was officially at war, the aerodrome had its genesis in peacetime in 1936, for civil aviation use, so that whether the land had to be taken because of national security concerns is questionable.’⁶²⁰

‘In October 1938 another engineer visited Raglan to look for a site for an emergency landing ground. He identified just one site, the sand spit opposite Raglan township, which he considered satisfied the site requirements.’⁶²¹

⁶¹⁵ Alexander Supporting Papers #3621-3623.

⁶¹⁶ Alexander Supporting Papers # 2336.

⁶¹⁷ Alexander Supporting Papers #3845-3847.

⁶¹⁸ Alexander Supporting papers #4129.

⁶¹⁹ Alexander, pp. 653-843.

⁶²⁰ Alexander, p. 653.

⁶²¹ Alexander, p. 657.

‘In December 1938 the Raglan County Council became aware of the aviation interest in the sand spit. At the tip of the spit was the Papahua 2 block⁶²², which had been gifted to the Raglan Town Board in 1923 by Ngaati Maahanga, and the Council asked if it was intended to take the land for a landing ground.⁶²³ Use of Papahua 2 as an emergency landing ground was confirmed, but this did not necessarily require that the land be taken.

With regard to the use of the area by the Raglan County Council after its establishment as a landing ground, any activities which the Council propose to carry out would be restricted by the fact that the ground must at all times be available for use by aircraft. It is usual in establishing emergency landing grounds for the Government to obtain a long term lease of the area from the owner at a nominal rental, and allow the owner to use the area for grazing sheep only. Improvements and grassing carried out in the course of development generally greatly improve the land, and this procedure is often quite favourable from the point of view of the owner.

If alternatively as a result of negotiations it is found to be more satisfactory for the government to purchase the property, then arrangements are made for the original owner or other persons to lease the area for grazing purposes as mentioned previously.⁶²⁴

Alexander continues:

When this advice was communicated to the County Council⁶²⁵, it replied that Maori had gifted the land for the purpose of a recreation reserve only, other sites in the district had been identified as suitable in 1936, and the use of Papahua 2 block should be reconsidered.⁶²⁶ The Council’s stance had considerable local support. The local Member of Parliament (who was also the Minister of Agriculture) expressed his concern that Papahua 2 (‘this fine

⁶²² The five parcels of land identified as potentially for use as an aerodrome were: Papahua 2, 34 acres ‘owned [sic] by Raglan Town Board’; Papahua 1, 10 acres 1 rood; Te Kopua 1, 31 acres 2 roods; Te Kopua 2A, 3 acres; and Te Kopua 2B, 103 acres 2 roods 10 perches (all four identified as ‘Maori-owned’ and one – Te Kopua 2A - as having a meeting house on the land).

⁶²³ Alexander Supporting Papers #1047.

⁶²⁴ Alexander Supporting Papers #1048.

⁶²⁵ Alexander Supporting Papers #1049.

⁶²⁶ Alexander Supporting Papers #1050-1051.

reserve') might be 'taken from the residents',⁶²⁷ and the Raglan Improvement Society collected signatures during Carnival Week on a petition against the use of the sand spit reserve.⁶²⁸ In a letter attached to the petition, when it was sent to Wellington, was a statement from the County Clerk that:

The Maoris who gave the area originally for a recreation ground, and one of their chiefs is buried on the reserve, are very perturbed at the proposed action, and I understand are sending the Government a separate petition of their own.⁶²⁹

No petition from Ngaati Maahanga has been located during the research for this evidence. However, faced with this determined local opposition, the Controller of Civil Aviation promised further investigations 'with a view to the development of a satisfactory ground without the necessity of taking in the Papahua Block'.⁶³⁰

Alexander elaborates:

In August 1939 the Public Works department reported back to Civil Aviation that it had been unable to find any alternative site. The other sites it had looked at were all in 'inaccessible localities, some distance inland, and land-locked or swampy or difficult of drainage.; The sand spit at Raglan overcame these difficulties, although it was 'hardly satisfactory, particularly in view of the direction of the prevailing wind.'⁶³¹ The following month the Public Works Department became aware that Raglan County Council was anxious to continue the development of the recreation reserve, and had applied to the Local Government Loans Board for a loan to enable it to subdivide part of the block for the leasing of small sections for camping and holiday homes. Yet Papahua 2 would be needed for the length of runway that was then being contemplated.

An early decision is required relative to the adoption or otherwise of an emergency landing ground on this site, and if necessary the Raglan

⁶²⁷ Alexander Supporting papers #1052-1053.

⁶²⁸ Alexander Supporting papers #1054-1062.

⁶²⁹ Alexander Supporting Papers #1054-1062.

⁶³⁰ Alexander Supporting Papers #1063.

⁶³¹ Alexander Supporting Papers #1064.

County Council should be advised whether their subdivision scheme can proceed.⁶³²

Further study, however, showed that the intentions of both parties could be accommodated. In March 1940 the Engineer in Chief of the Public Works Department in Wellington stated:

As far as investigations have gone, this site is the only one likely to provide a satisfactory emergency landing on the New Plymouth – Auckland route.

The proposal by the Raglan County Council to subdivide the land adjoining the proposed site was referred to this Office by the Local Government Loans Board, and in reply the Board was advised inter alia:

‘The actual camping site would not be required for aerodrome purposes, but this Department considers that a small corner [of Papahua 2] should be kept free from buildings and that the layout for residential sections, camp sites and picnic grounds should be slightly amended
.....⁶³³

The area to be kept free of buildings was in the southwestern corner of the reserve.”

In May 1941 the design work for the Raglan aerodrome was completed, and an area of approximately 93 and a half acres was identified to be taken.⁶³⁴ ‘This showed that the worst fears of local Maori had been well-founded, as the area required included at one end part of the land gifted for recreation reserve in 1923, and at the other end the meeting house, four whares, and two areas under cultivation.’⁶³⁵

‘The Resident Engineer’s advice...that local opposition could be expected, was brought to the Minister’s notice shortly after the Cabinet approval had been given. He was told inter alia

.....The land owned [sic] by the local body is held as a reserve, and was apparently donated to the local body by the natives for that express purpose...’⁶³⁶

⁶³² Alexander Supporting Papers #3326.

⁶³³ Alexander Supporting Papers #3227-3228.

⁶³⁴ Alexander Supporting Papers 1171-1172.

⁶³⁵ Alexander, p. 664.

⁶³⁶ Alexander Supporting Papers #1174

The Lands and Survey department survey of the boundaries of the land to be taken did not include the burial ground – the surveyor’s file note includes ‘Maori burial ground near south west boundary, half chain in. Not taken’.(underlining in original)⁶³⁷

The site of the aerodrome was taken for defence purposes in mid September 1941. The area taken totalled 89 acres 3 roods 30 perches, and included the whole of Papahua 1 (9 acres) and part of Papahua 2 (5 acres 2 roods 30 perches).⁶³⁸ Monetary compensation was fixed at 60 pounds for the Papahua 1 land taken.⁶³⁹ The Minister of Public Works wrote to the Council promising the following for the 5 acres lost from the camping ground site of Papahua 2:

...it has been decided that the Government will provide 1220 pounds towards the cost of ... alternative access [to the camping ground], and will agree to the road being formed round the end of the east-west landing strip of the aerodrome....Your Council would also have to ... give approximately five acres of reserve which is required for aerodrome purposes free of charge.’⁶⁴⁰

Everyone knows of the struggles of Tainui, spearheaded by Eva Rickard, to achieve the return of the Raglan Golf course leased land on Te Kopua blocks to Tainui, which was finally formally completed in 1990.⁶⁴¹

4.10.13 Ngāti Maahanga’s grievances require redress

However, from the overview we have given in this section of Chapter 4, it can be seen that for us there is a major unfinished business relating to Papahua and Putoetoe resulting from the Crown’s unjustified actions over the past 170 years.

Our grievances with the Crown relating to Putoetoe and Papahua must be addressed through this Treaty claim process, and all the relevant issues resolved satisfactorily, including those of the return of land, partnership protocols, and co-management and

⁶³⁷ Alexander Supporting Papers #3334.

⁶³⁸ Alexander, p. 676.

⁶³⁹ Alexander Supporting Papers #3343.

⁶⁴⁰ Alexander, pp. 679-680; Supporting papers #3349.

⁶⁴¹ Alexander, p. 841; the details of the leasing of the land to the Raglan Golf Club and the struggle for the re-vesting of this land in the descendants of the 1941 owners are set out on pp. 715- 841.

revenue-sharing arrangements, in order to satisfy our grievance and assuage the
mamae of our elders.⁶⁴²



Illustration 33 Te Awaiaia's monument on original site at Putoetoe

⁶⁴² Photos from Wellington National Archives: ADNX W5613 7536 Box 6 – Dates: 1956-1974.

4.11 Returned Soldiers

The issue of whenua lost to Ngāti Maahanga continued with the request of whenua for returned soldiers from World War II. At the time that land was being called for and being identified by Government to settle returned soldiers, legislation was being introduced to tidy up the state of Māori owned whenua (outstanding rates and survey liens) in the attempt to bring about equality. This was part and parcel of the introduction of consolidation schemes.⁶⁴³ It was due to the introduction of consolidation schemes that ‘compulsory acquisition’ took place of ‘uneconomic shares’, our opinion of dissent has already been shared.⁶⁴⁴

In the Native Departments request of the Waikato-Maniapoto District Māori Land Board to stock-take lands available in the ‘Te Rohe Pōtae considered suitable for rehabilitation purposes’ the following was identified of Ngāti Maahanga land in March 1941:⁶⁴⁵

Blocks	Total acres	Number of farms	Estimated cost development: Pounds
Ohiapopoko 2B3, 2B4	406	4	8200
Takapaunui blocks	862	5	10000

Scheme	Total Acres	Acres in pasture	Suitable for further development:acres
Aramiro	5208	818	1883

The purpose of identifying the blocks was with the mind that in their development returned Māori soldiers could be incorporated onto the land as farmers or labourers as well as to provide the information to ‘make a case for a share of private lands acquired for soldier settlement’.

⁶⁴³ T.J. Hearn, Land titles, land development, and returned soldier settlement in Te Rohe Pōtae, 2009, pp. 43-45.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 575.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 533-536.

It is not clear how the whenua was allocated to non-Māori service men however for the land set aside in te Porotaka a Maahanga our kaumātua Henare Gray had this to say:⁶⁴⁶

There was a clamp down on Māori horses, there were too many so I took them up to Strouds (Wharauoa). Those were some of the blocks that were allocated to the Returned Soldiers, Strouds, Wilsons Clearing, Taylors Clearing, McAllisters, Barlows, Charlie Brewerton. Charlie Brewerton said that if it wasn't for the Māori's we wouldn't have survived. Everyone but Brewerton walked off, they couldn't make the farms work. A fullah King has bought Brewertons. I never heard of any Māori that got any land. It was Māori owned and the Government just sent them in and gave them sections. Wharauoa – original owners Hone Waitere and others. They used Ballots, apparently you just put your hand in a hat and pull it out and the number on your ticket is the land you received.

The complexity in the land loss or the ability to address its loss still reverberates within this generation.

4.12 Te Porotaka a Maahanga

Not all of Māhanga's land blocks are within the Rohe Pōtae claims boundary therefore, I have separated them into the appropriate areas. Other land blocks have come to light after the filing of the Final Statement of Claim however, they have still been included here. Although the blocks outside the Rohe Pōtae are out of the scope of this volume it should be noted that Ngāti Maahanga still has a vested interest in the state of our other reserves including those that have been returned in the Waikato/Tainui claim.⁶⁴⁷ There are other land interests that have been found outside of the identified Ngāti Maahanga boundary also during our process of research, our tūpuna of Ngāti Maahanga and its hapū were adjudged to have interests in many other areas, in addition to the named blocks e.g. Tamahere, Maungatautari, Maungakawa, to mention just a few.

⁶⁴⁶ Interview, Whaingaroa, 29 September 2010.

⁶⁴⁷ Wānanga, 17 February 2012, Hamilton. Kaumātua present were Mokoroa Hamiora, Sunnah Thompson, Tuahu Watene, Pakira Watene and Kaka Kihi.

4.12.1 Ngā Poraka i Waho i te Rohe Pōtae

The Crown maps that follow the list of blocks, show reserves within the Hamilton, Whatawhata, Ngaruawahia areas as originally allocated in the 1800s. The following are the names of the blocks outside of the claims area:

- Horotiu
- Kāniwhaniwha
- Ngahinapouri
- Parish of Karamu
- Pehi Houkura
- Puketapu
- Pūkete
- Te Iaia
- Tuhikaramea
- Whakataki
- Whatawhata

The following maps show the land confiscations, reserves and land block allocations for some of those areas after the land wars in the 1860's.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁸ Maps showing reserves & crown awards – Wgtn LL3 YPU 17g – C594 989.



Map 15 - Horotiu



Map 16 - Close up of Horotiu reserves



Map 17 - the Parish of Karamu



Map 18 - Endowment for Colonial University located on the Parish of Karamu



Map 19 - Whatawhata



Map 20 - Pūkete



Map 21 - Second picture of Pūkete

4.12.2 Puketapu

Puketapu was not a commonly known land block of Ngāti Maahanga. It was discovered through a word search that was used for one of the signatories.⁶⁴⁹ The document was a letter from Wiremu Nero Te Awaitaia (son of Te Awaitaia), Hakopa Kotuku and Rihia Pohepohe, dated 12th September 1882, asking for the hearing about Puketapu which is at Karamu at Waitetuna, to be held in Cambridge. The issue they were raising about the block was that Te Wika (no explanation given on who Te Wika is) is in occupation on their part of the land.

This block was originally 400 acres, 300 acres was sold by Te Tana, 100 acres (at the time of the letter) was still left in trust to Wiremu. The 100 acres was originally designated for a school but due to the fact that the signatories had given another piece

⁶⁴⁹ Reference #: BBOP 4309 Box 10, Container code #C45 742.

of land a total of 3 acres instead, it would appear that they wished to keep the land (or claim it back).⁶⁵⁰

There has only been a limited piece of information discovered about the block known as Puketapu so far.

4.12.3 Mai i te awa o Waipa ki te awa o Horotiu

On the 15 September 1864 (end of the wars in Waikato): Turton got Deed No. 420 signed, for the sale of Horotiu and Waipa Block in the Upper Waikato District. The sale purported to cover 'all that piece of our land situated between the Rivers Horotiu and Waipa'. 1000 pounds was paid. The deal was arranged by Henry Hanson Turton (Te Tatona) who was Special Native Titles Commissioner; with Wm. Harsant, JP of Raglan, Richard Todd, District Government Surveyor, and Henry Falwasser, Government Interpreter of Raglan also present.

The tribes and people participating were identified as:

Ngāti Maahanga, Ngāti tamainu and Ngāti hourua. The signatores were listed as: Wiremu Nero te Awaitaia, Hetaraka Otene, Hakopa Kotuku, Hemi Matini, Mohi Te Rongomau, Hone Pirihi, Te Waaka te Ruki, Rikimona Otene, Wiremu Patene, Hamiora Ngaropi, Wiremu Nga Weke, Hone Kingi, Kiriona Putoitoi, Ropata te Wairoa, Te Waapu, Matutaera Kani Whaniwha, Hemini te Awhio, Rihia Pokepoke, Iria te whiwhi, hape tawaka, Hone Ihaka, Hokopa Te Wharengori, Reta Tihi, Te Rehutai, Aihe te Moki, Reihana Takiwhitu, Tamati Kapua (na Wiremu Patene i Tui), Ekana Kaiapa, Pihopa Wharenikau, Kamareira Whakamarurangi, Hemi Keera, Miriama Toea [female], Arireire Nero [f], Ngāti [f], Hariata Tatai [f], Ihaka Hororure, Mere Rangiata [f], Hera Parekawa [f], Turia Taho [f], Ritipete Whakairo [f], Rawiri hikaka, Karena te Himo, Wiremu Otene, Hone pihama, Mahi Pane, Paratene Tarahina, Hori Pikitia.

The transaction was said to be 'a full and final sale conveyance and surrender by us the Chiefs and People of the Tribes [as listed above].' A similar deal was done with Kukutai and others for Lower Waikato in November 1864.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁵⁰ See our Document bank 4.12.

4.12.4 Puketutu

Puketutu is a huge area in close proximity to Te Uku. Although not named as a reserve it was returned to Te Awaitaia and others as part of the lands returned after the confiscations in 1864. In crown maps Puketutu is literally awarded to ‘Te Awaitaia and others’.⁶⁵² According to R.T. Vernon Puketutu block was made up of 3,000 acres and bought from Māori owners for 3/- an acre by William Robertson.⁶⁵³ Vernon goes on to say that since then 1,000 acres had been surveyed out of the eastern end of the block and in 1975 the time this book went to print the owners of the Puketutu block were Jefferies, Nelson, Russell and Vernon. According to the maps below Puketutu is situated in the vicinity of the Waingaro Road turn-off. Vernon’s description of its locality has it ‘bounded by the Waitetuna River...for about three miles on the west and south sides’.



Map 22 - Puketutu

⁶⁵¹ AJHR, Province of Auckland, [1864], Waikato and Waipa District, p. 583.

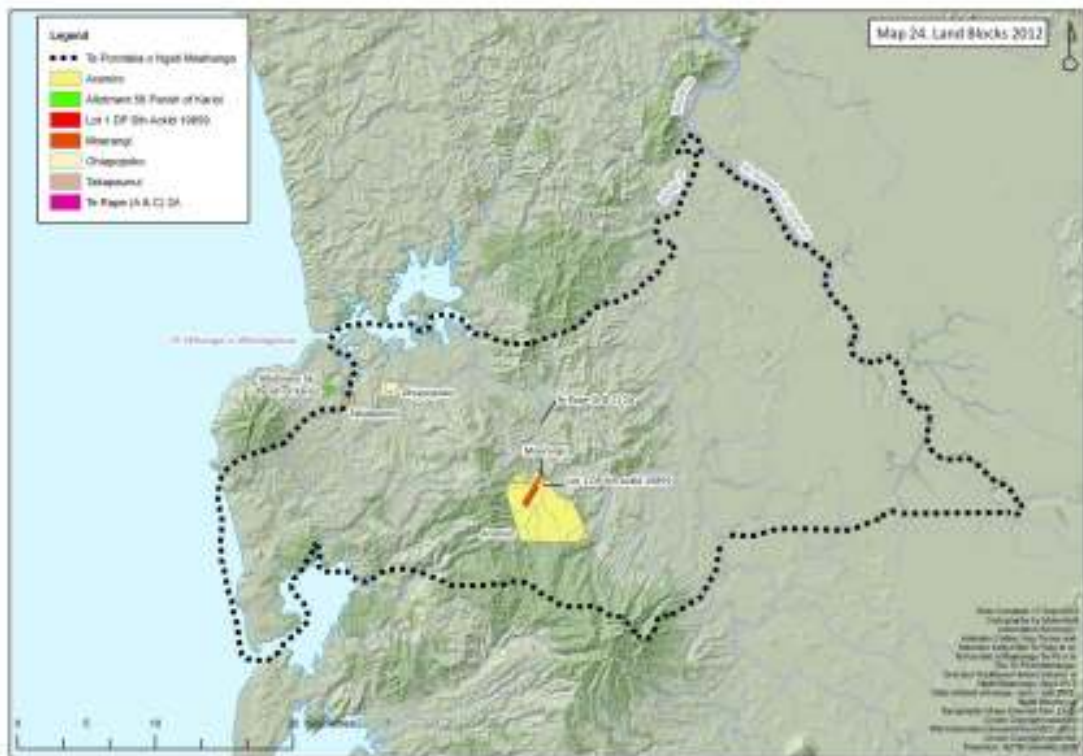
⁶⁵² Map showing reserves & crown awards – Wgtn LL3 YPU 17g – C594 989.

⁶⁵³ R.T. Vernon, *Te Uku*, 1975, pp. 84-85.



Map 23 - Second map of Puketutu

4.13 Conclusion



Map 24 Land Blocks 2012

What would prompt Ngāti Maahanga to sell their land from early contact to more recent times, reducing themselves to be almost landless, as seen in Map 24? The clues are in the nature of the sales, legislation changes and the price to be paid in the European practice of acculturation in order for the ‘natives’ to become ‘civilised’ (this conversation is clarified further in Chapter 6, in the education section).

In summary, the processes through which Ngāti Maahanga lost their land also undermined their cultural practices by deliberately ignoring and undermining the continued assertion of mana whenua and collective ownership, they have also interfered with Ngāti Maahanga rights to be heard fairly and dealt with equably. In this climate of land dealings it would be safe to assume that not all land sales were voluntary. Ongoing assault has come through the creation of such legislative Acts that removed the insistence on the collective approach allowing small numbers to make decisions for the larger groups (as per the sale of part of Te Rape block, right into the 1960s). Other losses occurred through processes such as the acquisition of uneconomical shares and public works takings.

Engagement and discussion with Ngāti Maahanga would have revealed the cultural ideology in which we conducted our affairs namely: mana; rangatiratanga; manaakitanga; kotahitanga; ūkaipōtanga however, as highlighted throughout our volume this was not the case. The overall tactics engaged by the Crown had its desired effects of land loss and alienation. What has been identified and inferred here is that the state of Ngāti Maahanga lands has been reduced to a few acres in comparison to its original state. The reduction has been highlighted in the differences between our porotaka/rohe map at the beginning of Chapter 1, and our map, above, that shows the present state of land ownership still within Maahanga hands (within Te Rohe Potae boundaries). Even after the generosity of our tūpuna to make room for the incoming settlers and continual gestures of good will, their needs and rights were, and still are, continually ignored and trampled upon.

By using Mason Durie’s description on the importance and symbolism of land to Māori today:

Land is necessary for spiritual growth and economic survival. It contributes to sustenance, wealth resource development, traditions; land strengthens whānau and hapū solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the well-being of future generations.⁶⁵⁴

as a means of measurement, we see that it is only the small parcels of land where our marae are situated that sees us coming together as an expression of the Ngāti Maahanga collective. Whānau and hapū decision making over land blocks has been replaced by Trusts and the histories and state of these land blocks are unknown by many of Ngāti Maahanga, most information only coming to light through this claims process. Nearly all of the locations of the blocks were also unknown. The land blocks still in Maahanga possession at this stage do not create a lot of benefits for the beneficiaries of them and the damage of our colonial history is almost complete in its objective of creating cultural estrangement. Having land blocks and being able to create income from them requires a specific skillset, the issue of which is not to be addressed here, but should most certainly be raised. If Durie's model is our measurement Ngāti Maahanga are in very poor condition and it will take large amounts of good will, honesty and integrity on behalf of the Crown to address this current state.

⁶⁵⁴ Durie, 1998, p. 115.

CHAPTER 5: KIA PŪMAU TE ORANGA

Ka Titiro ki te Uru

Nā Ani Willis i tito

Ka eke ki Pirongia

Ka titiro ki te Uru

Ki te tihi o Karioi

Te herenga ngākau o Maahanga

Ki Aotea Utanga-nui

I te kai i te kōrero

Whaingaroa te moana

I hoia mai ngā tūpuna

Ngā taonga wāhi tapu

I takahia ki raro rā

Ngā awa, ngahere

Ki ngā taha moana

He pataka kai

Mō ngā uri o Maahanga

Ngā whenua noho-anga

O ngā tūpuna kua ngaro

I raupatuhia rā

E te kawana o te wā

He oati nā ngā uri

Kia whakatika te hara

I riro whenua atu

Me hoki whenua mai

Kia pūmau te oranga

Mō ngā uri whakatupu

Ko te Atua tōku piringa

Ka puta ka ora ee

Kōkiri

5.1 Ko Ngā Poutiriao

Our world view⁶⁵⁵ is housed within the framework known to us as our whakapapa. Our whakapapa tells us how we are related to the children of Tāne Mahuta, Tangaroa and their siblings, it reminds us that we too are also born from the atua and it is because of this hononga whakapapa and our whanaungatanga with our environment it

⁶⁵⁵ Poutiriao are- ...Super normal beings as guardians and controllers of the different realms of the earth, the heavens, and the oceans. Gough, M. and Tauria, K., *Māori English Māori – Cd Rom Encyclopedia*, 1998.

is incumbent upon us to protect our environment hence our view as kaitiaki.⁶⁵⁶ Tūmataunga ate his brothers' children because of his anger at his siblings for not helping him to fight off Tawhirimatea making their children noa and therefore available for consumption thereafter. Tangaroa still battles with Tāne Mahuta as some of his children chose to go with the later at the time that Tawhirimatea was warring upon them all, angry at his brothers for trying to separate their parents. Our whakapapa and our pūrākau house the explanations of our environmental interactions and connectedness including our own customary rituals and practices as Ngāti Maahanga. Despite the fact that Ngāti Maahanga members converted to Christianity these concepts and this world view were not abandoned but rather were amalgamated one with the other.

The following korero sets out a brief overview of the key concepts from te ao Maori which shape our relationships with our environment, both in traditional times and today. We had (and have) a comprehensive world view about the environment, which was synonymous in traditional times with our entire way of life. The key to understanding this world view is to accept its holistic nature, i.e. that it is a view of the essential inter-connectedness of all things.

Mauri, 'the essential life-force of a person or thing', and **ihi**, 'the power of living things to develop and grow to their state of full maturity and excellence,' are the key foundational concepts in our world view:⁶⁵⁷

'Everything has a mauri, including people, fish, animals, birds, forests, land, seas, and rivers; the mauri is that power which permits these living things to exist within their own realm and sphere.....While a person cannot control their own mauri, it is possible for someone to establish a mauri for some creation.....This mauri is the power obtained through a covenant with the gods to take care of the [creation] and to fulfil the wishes, desires and hopes of the people who will use it for noble purposes.....with oceans, rivers and forests, when the food supplies become depleted it is possible to return the mauri through conservation (rahui) and appropriate ritual ceremony.'⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁶ Hononga whakapapa– connectedness; Whanaungatanga– kinship.

⁶⁵⁷ Barlow, C., *Tikanga Whakaaro Key Concepts in Maori Culture*, p. 31.

⁶⁵⁸ Barlow, pp. 82-3.

There are **atua**, gods, for each and every part of the universe and it is **karakia** and **pure**, rituals and incantations, that link people with the spiritual world for protection and purification, such as the pure rituals associated with planting and harvesting.

Whakapapa trace ‘... the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time.....’ and ‘everything has a whakapapa: birds, fish, animals, trees and every other living thing; soil and rocks and mountains ...’⁶⁵⁹

It is through **tapu** that ‘...the power and influence of the gods’ is expressed. ‘Everything has inherent tapu because everything was created by Io.....the land has tapu as well as the oceans, rivers and forests, and all living things that are upon the earth.’⁶⁶⁰

Rahui (protection, restriction, conservation) ‘...is a form of tapu restricting the use of land, sea, rivers, forests, gardens and other food resources.’⁶⁶¹ Many different kinds e.g. setting aside certain trees for carving, or flax for weaving a cloak for a chief; or restricting access to fishing grounds, pigeon reserves, wild berries or eels to conserve them for special tribal occasions; or letting a place lie fallow so the vitality of the land can be restored; or a rahui after a fatal accident at sea or in the bush.

It is the **mauri** which joins the physical and spiritual elements together as one. ‘According to Marsden, “Immanent within all creation is mauri – the life force which generates, regenerates, and upholds creation”. [He] equates mauri with what he calls “elemental energy derived from the realm of Te Korekore, out of which the stuff of the universe was created”. Marsden also describes mauri as the “force that interpenetrates all things to bind and knit them together and as the various elements diversify, mauri acts as the bonding element creating unity and diversity”’.⁶⁶²

Barlow defines **wairua** or spirit, as the belief ‘...that all things have a spirit as well as a physical body; even the earth has a spirit, and so do the animals, birds and fish; mankind also has a spirit’⁶⁶³ and **aroha** as ‘...an all-encompassing quality of goodness,

⁶⁵⁹ Barlow, pp. 171-174.

⁶⁶⁰ Barlow, pp. 125-129.

⁶⁶¹ Barlow, pp. 103-106.

⁶⁶² Hook and Raumatī, 'Cultural Perspectives of Fresh Water' in: MAI Review, 2011, 2, pp. 7-8; <http://review.mai.ac.nz>.

⁶⁶³ Barlow, p. 152.

expressed by love for people, land, birds and animals, fish, and all living things.⁶⁶⁴ He explains that **kaitiaki** and **taniwha** are guardians who watch over us and our sacred places, many of them in the form of birds, insects, animals and fish.⁶⁶⁵

Hook and Raumati quote Miller on the concept of kaitiakitanga.⁶⁶⁶

The key feature of kaitiakitanga is reciprocity. The reciprocal agreement between kaitiaki and resource means that the resource must sustain the kaitiaki (physically, spiritually and politically), who in return must ensure the long-term survival of the resource. ... Reciprocity is a means of keeping balance, and also a way of insulating the kaitiaki against political, economic or spiritual harm. Miller goes on to say: Kaitiakitanga represents a number of concepts that tie together the physical, environmental, spiritual, economic and political aspects of Māori society. It establishes relationships humans have with the environment, the spiritual world and each other. It also provides a means through which hapū identify with an area or resource and strengthen their ties to it. In particular, kaitiakitanga provides a framework in which practices for responsible management of resources may function.

Thus the significance of **mana whenua** ‘...the power associated with the possession of lands...[and] with the ability of the land to produce the bounties of nature...[and] a number of important principles associated with the mana of land, including:....the power to control and protect, conservation, chiefly status and sacred burial grounds.’⁶⁶⁷

5.2 Te Rourou Kai a Ngāti Maahanga

There are many names throughout our rohe to remind us of its rich resources, such as Whatawhata, Waitetuna, Aramiro, Papahua, Kai-paarera and Hakarimata. During Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing, our speakers reminded us of these resources of our rohe:

...ka haere mātou ki Waipā ki te tiki kai kaeo mōhio koutou he aha te kaeo, ngā pipi o te awa o Waipā, pipi Māori. Ērā wā. *We would go to Waipa to make food such as kaeo, there are freshwater pipi in the Waipa River.*⁶⁶⁸

Kei Aramiro tonu i haria mai e Waiaranui ēnei tūmomo pipi ko te kaeo. Kei reira e tupu ana e kōrerotia nei Ngā mākoī ā Waiaranui. I roto i a Aramiro, karoe kau atu he wāhi tupu matatoru ērā momo ika.

⁶⁶⁴ Barlow, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁵ Barlow, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁶⁶ Hook and Raumati, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁶⁷ Barlow, pp. 60-62.

⁶⁶⁸ Evidence of Maadi Kingi.

Staying at Aramiro you will find at Waiaranui, a particular type of pipi there and they are known as the “makoi of waiaranui”. At Aramiro you will not find these pipi growing at any other place.

Tēnei rā te whakaterere ake i raro te kōrero nei te Rorokiore o Wahanga te Rangī, te ruri. Ka ki a Ngāti Te Wehi e kōrero nei te Horakaretu, kāore e tino matara atu he wāhanga patu manu, he wāhanga patu manu ki reira. Nō reira tētehi o ngā huringa ko Paiaka, tētehi o ngā huringa. I haere tētehi o a mātou tupuna a Te Keene ka haria tana māra ki roto i te ngāhere ka kara Ngāti a a Paiakakaria, ka whakahētia i ōnā tuahine, he aha ai koe i haere hari i tō māra ki roto i te ngāhere? Ka whakatuma te kaumātua nei ka whakarerea tana kāinga ka hoki mai ka noho ki roto o Ngāti Te Wehi. Te ingoa o tērā tupuna ko Te Keene.

And this place Te Rorokiore and then carrying onto Te Rore Stream and the places referred to by Ngāti Te Wehi are not far away, you will find a birding place and one of the places is called Paiaka – one of the streams – and one of our ancestors Te Keene grew a garden in the forest and it was named Paiakakaria and his sisters contested his garden in the forest and the elder said he was upset and he left that place and came to Te Wehi. The name of that ancestor was Te Keene.

Tēnei rā e kōrero ko ngā patunga tuna, kāore i tino maha, kore noa iho nei he mahinga tuna i roto i a Ngāti Maahanga. Te mea i runga kē te awa o Waipā, anō tētehi e mōhio āna o Hāroto nei kāore e mōhio āna te ingoa, ēngari ka tae atu ki reira kei roto i te paru. Ka kau koe ki roto i te paru o te moana tai, ka kimi haere i te hopua akua nei ki te whatutoka te kuaha te whānui ka haere koe mō tō kite te paru o te wai, koropupu āna te wai i te maha o te tuna. I te wā e haere atu ana, ka kite koe he putanga kei konei tētehi kei konei me he ripi tāu, he haukuri i waenganui ka whēnei mai te tuna puta mai te whiore me te pane.

The eeling places – well there weren't very many eeling places within Ngāti Maahanga lands because most of them – there is one at Te Haroto, eel making place, I do not know the name but I have been there. You have to go into the mud and then you find the holes (about from here to the door), you can't see because the water is too dirty because there are so many eels there. And when you go there you will see holes here, holes there and if you whack the middle the head and the tail will pop out of the holes.⁶⁶⁹

Our interviews of our kaumātua also revealed the richness of our environment in their time:

We caught piharau, pork, inanga, pigeon. The piharau and inanga were caught up the Waitetuna and Makomako (Henare Gray). I remember mum setting some at Te Uku there, she used to lay down some bracken fern (Tom Kingi). We used to go up Okete to pick pupu, we used sheet iron cause it used to be quite boggy. Pupu and pipis at 3 streams.

⁶⁶⁹ Evidence of Sunnah Thompson.

Opotoru stream – kokoto, pupu. There used to be mussels across the way that we used to gather since I was young, and scallops by the wharf (Henare Gray). (Tom Kingi) – yeah I remember Koro Whati eating eel, he'd throw it on the fire and eat the lot,...from head to tail. We used to go to the river and set the hinaki. We would have to go down with the horse and tie the hinaki on because it was so full of tuna. My old man used to eat the guts prepare it like terotero. There used to be some scallops at the camping ground....She used to walk backward to pick them.

When you walk backwards it makes the shell stand up. Fish Maru used to be a good fisherman here. He'd smoke eel for bait, fish can't get it off and the smoke brings out the flavour. He used to go up the narrows and fish up there. Wouldn't be surprised if they spawn up there. Fish had the gift or mana to be able to fish. He went to a little creek up by Ohiapopoko, came back with a huge eel. Other fish in the harbour are kingfish, kahawai, mullet, flounder and butterfish (John Gillett), (Tom-parore, black snapper good for raw fish). My great granduncle would go up on the horse, there'd be 3 or 4 of them and watch the shoal of mullet come in, they'd put out a wire net must've been small mesh – they had to let some go because there were too many. They'd stay up all night to gut them (Henare Gray). (Tom Kingi) – lots of whitebait up Makomako. (Henry Gray) – yeah that's the only time you see people up there. All our people.⁶⁷⁰

As befits a great and numerous iwi, our traditional rohe was abundant in resources and encompassed every kind of environment: alpine heights, hills and valleys, swamps and flatlands, coastal harbours and tidal estuaries, rivers and lakes, and the open ocean and its offshore islands. We could feed and clothe ourselves, build our waka and whare, and maintain our health, all from the resources of our environment. The wealth of our rohe meant that we were a prosperous people, able to express our manaakitanga and to exchange things of value with other iwi. We were able to support a strong warrior class who defended our rohe from competitors, and preserved our sources of prosperity and well-being. Our prosperity, the seasonal rhythms of our lives and our collective ethos meant that we had times of leisure as well as work, so our culture was also rich in song, poetry, weaving, carving, speech-making and games and pastimes.

Our traditional rohe encompassed the moana with its rich resources of kai moana; the ranges clothed in ngahere, with timber for our whare and waka, and birds for snaring; and the awa, swamps and lagoons, with countless eels and wild fowl, '...an almost

⁶⁷⁰ Interview, Raglan, 29 September 2010. Kaumātua present were Henare Gray, Tom Kingi and John Gillett.

inexhaustible source of food supply for the people.⁶⁷¹ This has been so from earliest times and was ensured by the observance of the correct rituals by those arriving from Hawaiki. During the several hundred years we had lived in our rohe by the time of the tupuna Maahanga, we learned how to manage our resources and live in close harmony with the natural world of Aotearoa.

It is said that Maahanga was among the first of the descendants of Hoturoa to move inland from the coast, and that his principal pa at Purakau ‘...was a delightful spot, with the broad and placid Waipa serving as a highway to the north and south. Its terraces of alluvial soil were ideal for gardens and its waters teemed in season with eels, mullet and inanga. Maahanga and his people probably first came to this region on bird hunting expeditions and developed the pa as a base for that purpose.’⁶⁷²

Here is just one example of traditional korero which illustrates our rohe’s reputation for rich resources of kai, the story of the meeting of Maahanga’s daughters, Wai-tawake and Tuu-kootuku, with Tamainu-poo:

There they went fowling, beginning at Pokohuka ridge, where the bird talisman of Kaawhia was located. As they worked they descended and came to the Kaaniwhaniwha Creek. At that time they were nearing a plain on which there was a village with the same name. This was Maahanga’s place. While they continued their fowling, Maahanga’s daughters, Wai-tawake and Tuu-kootuku were approaching. Tuu-kootuku heard the thudding as Tamainu-poo threw his birds down from the tree. She said, ‘A man!’ ‘How do you know?’ Wai-tawake asked. ‘There!’ By the thud of the birds!’ At that moment Tuu-kootuku saw Tamainu-poo’s attendant under the tree. The girls approached as Tamainu-poo was throwing down some of the birds, and they saw him. He came down and greeted them. The women urged that they all go to the village. Tamainu-poo said, ‘You go on and we will follow.’ The women went and Tamainu-poo and his attendant returned to their camp. They set about presenting their potted birds attractively and hanging the fresh birds. Tamainu-poo got himself ready, anointing himself with fragrant oils. Then they went to the village.⁶⁷³

And:

In the morning, at dawn Tamainu-poo asked Maahanga for helpers to fetch the birds he and his attendant had caught. Many people went,

⁶⁷¹ Kelly, p. 62.

⁶⁷² Phillips, p. 21.

⁶⁷³ Jones and Biggs, p. 117; this story is also told in Kelly, pp. 93-4; and was recounted by our tupuna Mohi Te Rongomau in Native Land Court, 23 August 1886 (Te Rohae Potae hearing), Otorohanga Minute Book. A rendition of this story by our kaumatua Sunnah Thompson is recounted in Chapter 1 of this volume.

because of the great number of pots of birds preserved by Tamainu-poo. When the birds were fetched Tamainu-poo announced to whom they were to be distributed. They were dripping with fat, a sign that Tamainu-poo's spells were efficacious. Maahanga admired his son-in-law for his diligence in securing food. Soon afterwards, Tuu-kootuku, was married to Tamainu-poo.⁶⁷⁴

In the time of the grandchildren of Maahanga, there were already many marae on the Waipaa awa, always a sign of the richness of the food resources and the fertility of the land:

Te marae tuatahi ko Manga-o-tama, nuku mai ko Kai-paarera, ko Kaa-niwhaniwha, ko Tuhi-karamea, ko Whatawhata, aawhio i te awa o Waipaa, huri tata ki koo tata atu o Whatawhata, ko Te Rua-makamaka, ko Tikirahi; koo tata mai, ko Whakatakotoranga, ko Te Waka-paku, ko Pahii-wai, ka peka mai ai ki uta ki te paa o Puke-ahua.⁶⁷⁵

An example of the specific bounty of the lands of our rohe and the significance these sources of sustenance had for our tūpuna can be garnered from the detailed memories captured in the evidence of our tupuna Te Aupouri. In his evidence in the Moerangi case, Te Aupouri said:

The ancestors also caught birds in the land....There were no eel pas on the land. But eels were caught there without pas. Te Aramiro takes its name from a miro tree used for snaring. Tonganui first owned the tree and his descendants afterwards. The track passes over its roots, hence 'Aramiro'. That is an old Maori track. Tonganui named the tree. There is some flax at Ohinetamatea. It was planted by Poha parent of Hinu. There is no other flax in that locality. The flax was called Ngatautiti-o-Poha. There were some foodpits in which the food became rotten. Hence the place is called Te Pirau to this day. Pourewa owned these pits. They were close to Ruapueru. There were cultivations and clearings round all the kaingas I have spoken of. There were some snaring trees at Okupu and Manuera. Karihi owned them. He is a descendant of my ancestors

⁶⁷⁴ Jones and Biggs, p. 119.

⁶⁷⁵ Jones and Biggs, p. 245.

Translation, Jones and Biggs: Marae on the Waipa at this time included Manga-o-tama, next was Kai-paarera, then Kaa-niwhaniwha, then Tuhi-karamea, Whatawhata; winding on down the Waipa River, then turning just beyond Whatawhata to Te Ruamakamaka and Tikirahi, then back this way to Whakatakotoranga, Te Waka-paku, Pahii-wai and then turning aside to the fortress Puke-ahua.

⁶⁷⁶ Evidence of Te Aupouri Waata in Moerangi case, 1 October 1909, Mercer Minute Book, 14, p. 36.

Conflict over resources

Despite the abundance of kai and other resources in our rohe, there was also rivalry for access to the best resources. One story of this competition for resources, from comparatively recent times, i.e. the early 1800s, relates to the Ngāti Maahanga rangatira Pourewa who lived with his people in a fortified village on the small island of Nga-toka-kairiri, close to the sandy beach of Otururu, near Oparau. The Oparau estuary was renowned for the dense schools of kahawai which entered there each autumn; ‘...[a]t that season great racks of drying fish towered above the village.’⁶⁷⁷ ‘In common with other coastal tribes, fishing was the chief occupation of Pourewa and his people, and every day, during intervals of peace, canoes of fishermen would push off for the fishing grounds.’⁶⁷⁸ A party of Ngāti Ngawaero of Ngāti Maniapoto came to obtain kai moana and decided, in the absence of the men, to seize some of the large supplies Pourewa’s people had already gathered. They also surprised and captured Wharetiki, son of Pourewa, and his companions, who had been spending the day drying fish at nearby Matakirikiri. Wharetiki’s companions were killed and their bodies cooked and eaten, but Wharetiki himself was spared and taken over the ranges, never to see his homeland again. At Tirohanga, the last place from which Kawhia Harbour can be glimpsed, Wharetiki ‘...begged his captors for one last look at the land of his birth. His wish was granted, and not knowing that his father [who had set out in pursuit when he returned from fishing], helpless to assist him, was listening, he turned and sang a song of love and farewell:

Tera ia nga tai o Kawhia
Ka wehe koe i a au, e
He whakamaunga atu naku,
Te ao ka rere mai
Na runga mai o Te Motu
E tu noa mai ra koe ki au, e.
Ka mihi mamao au e,

⁶⁷⁷ Phillips, p. 131, says that the first recorded incident about this island is its occupation by Ngaati Maahanga about 1808, under the mana of the chief Pourewa, a fifth generation descendant of the great warrior Maahanga; Ngatokakairiri was later the place of the death of the Ngaati Maahanga rangatira Te Unuatahu, who took refuge there with his Ngāti Hikairo kinsmen as he fled along the coast from his Ngāti Tama pursuers. Te Unuatahu was taken from his where where he was sleeping, and killed by Te Raparapa. Te Raparapa was himself killed soon after at Te Kakara, as recounted earlier. Phillips, p. 132. Ken Rautangata told a different version of this story during our evidence at the Oral and Traditional Hearing 3, Poihakena marae, April 2010, in which the war-party was of Ngāti Maahanga and the place was Tiritirimatangi, a story which he heard when growing up at Kawhia.

⁶⁷⁸ Kelly, pp. 301-303.

Ki te iwi ra e.
 Ka pari e te tai,
 Piki tu, piki rere,
 Piki takina mai ra,
 Te Kawau i Muriwhenua,
 E kawea e te rere.
 Tena taku manu
 He manu ka onga noa,
 Huna ki te whare
 Te Hau-o-Matariki.
 Ma te Whare-porutu,
 Ma te whare Ati-Awa,
 E kau tere mai ra,
 Whakaurupa taku aroha, na.⁶⁷⁹

It can be seen therefore that conflicts over resources were not unknown to us; but while this competition could escalate into instances of destructive conflict among ourselves in traditional times, as in the example above, we also had well-developed systems for regulating that competition so that it did not become too destructive of us and our well-being. These systems were disrupted by the coming of the Pākehā, especially by the Pakeha introduction of the musket. Our systems of ensuring harmony with the natural world were also unbalanced by the coming of the Pākehā, especially through the Pākehā hunger for land.

5.3 The colonial view of our rohe

We have already referred (in Chapter 3) to the sights recorded by the first Pakeha explorers to reach Te Taihauauru, Tasman and Cook. They talk of a land covered in verdure, with plentiful birdlife on the offshore islands. The names given by Cook reflect this, such as Woody Head and Gannet Island. Our rohe looks very different these days, with bare pastureland, drained wetlands, and large plantings of exotic trees.

⁶⁷⁹ Kelly, p. 302.

Translation: 'There lie the tides of Kawhia, You are parted from me now forever. My gaze in longing, lingering glance, Follows the fleecy cloud that hither drifts, From above Te Motu [*an island within the Kawhia Harbour entrance*], Standing there alone before me. Let me bid sad farewell in parting, To the people there. Flows on the tide, Rising and leaping, Flowing hither and thither, Across Te Kawau rock at Muriwhenua. [*a rock marking the site of the underwater cave entrance to the ancestral burial cave, Muriwhenua*], Behold my bird! A bird that sings at early dawn, Now hidden in the house Te Hau-o-Matariki. In future it shall be for Whare-porutu, And the tribe of Ati-Awa (to avenge me), [the tribe residing at Waitara and thereabouts who were related to the people of Kawhia] Swimming swiftly by And thus my love shall cease.'

Note also that this was the lament sung by Te Rauparaha when he farewelled the main body of Ngāti Toa at Moeatoa as they left on Te Heke Tahutahu Ahi in September 1821; Te Rauparaha remained at Tirua at that time, rejoining them later in northern Taranaki (Phillips, pp. 120-1). Kelly notes (p. 339) that Te Rauparaha made one alteration in the first line to suit the occasion, i.e. Tera ia nga tai o Honipaka.

Early Pakeha visitors to our rohe, often spoke of its beauty and rich resources. For example, Best said Whaingaroa was ‘...a small harbour surrounded by beautiful land’ when he visited in 1841.⁶⁸⁰ He often mentions the woods his party passed through, the game he shot (especially different kinds of birds) and the prolific cultivations of the inhabitants.⁶⁸¹

But these early Pakeha were not only interested in the beauty of our rohe; they were also interested in its commercial potential as a colony. On his second visit to our rohe, in 1842, Best came by way of the awa: ‘Nothing can exceed the quiet beauty of the Banks of Wai Pa. The hills rise gradually from the river side to a moderate elevation clothed with magnificent forest its luxuriance amply attesting the richness of the soil and appearing as if nature intended them in future times as the residence of the aristocracy of New Zealand...’⁶⁸² He described part of the way between the Waipa and Whaingaroa as ‘...through a dense forest of totara and other woods...’⁶⁸³ and also through swamp.

John Johnson, the Colonial Surgeon, paying a visit to our rohe in 1846 referred to ‘(...)the famed fertility of the Waipa country’ and describes meeting with Te Wherowhero at Whatawhata, where the rangatira was ‘...about to eat his evening meal of potatoes and a delicious small fish caught in the river...’ He also describes the terraces at Whatawhata as ‘(...)formed of rich alluvial soil and extensively cultivated.’ Nearer to the confluence of the Kaniwhaniwha with the Waipa he describes terraces covered either in woods or cultivations and backed by bare fern hills, and with ‘beautifully wooded’ western hills at the confluence itself.⁶⁸⁴ On the Whaingaroa side of our rohe, Ligar the Surveyor-General described the land in 1852 as: ‘(...)the soil is of the finest description, having for its base a limestone formation. It is also well watered, and has an abundant supply of fuel, for building purposes, or for commerce.’⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁰ Best, in Taylor, N. ed., p. 286.

⁶⁸¹ Best, in Taylor, ed., e.g. see pp. 287, 288, 292, 293, and 294.

⁶⁸² Best, in Taylor, ed., p. 345.

⁶⁸³ Best, in Taylor, ed., p. 356.

⁶⁸⁴ Johnson, John; Notes from a Journal kept during an excursion to the Boiling Springs of Rotorua and Rotomahana, by way of the Waikato and Waipa countries, in the Summer of Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Six and Forty-Seven; published in *The New Zealander*, 22 September and 6 October 1847.

⁶⁸⁵ Ligar, C.W. Report to Lieutenant-Governor Grey; Auckland, 15 April 1852; ref 1779.01.052 Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir G. Grey to Earl Grey, Government House, Wellington (British Parliamentary Papers Online, University of Waikato Library).

The pace of change in our environment picked up dramatically with the coming of the Pākehā. We ourselves had impacted on the environment in our first ten or so generations, with the introduction of rats and dogs. The extinction of moa and other birds took place in these times. It was through these experiences that we had learnt to live lightly upon the land.

But with the coming of the Pākehā, the land suffered a series of shocks which changed it utterly, and not for the better.

5.4 The transformation of our environment through colonisation

In our rohe, as we have seen in previous chapters, this transformation was based on raupatu and the activities of the Native Land Court, and with Pākehā immigration came settlement, forest clearing, the introduction of new animal and plant species, and pastoral farming. The 1860s and 1870s were ‘...the decades of most rapid change in the colonial era...’ and ‘[i]n the space of two generations the vegetation was transformed, as was the population, the economy and society...observers of the New Zealand world in 1840 would have been immobilised by what they saw in 1910.’⁶⁸⁶

In this period indigenous plant and bird life was rapidly displaced by the introduction of exotic species:

The process, which took four centuries in North America, essentially ran its New Zealand course in one. (...) there were only a few dozen introduced plants in New Zealand in 1840. Thirty years later, the country’s leading botanist, Thomas Kirk, counted almost 300 introduced plant species...In the 1930s, some estimated that the number of exotic plants exceeded 1000, although only (sic) 500 were permanently established. Of these, 6 per cent had reached New Zealand before 1850, while fully two-thirds had arrived between 1851 and 1900. Plants, birds, fish and animals were introduced from all parts of the globe, although most came from Europe...The introductions had an enormous impact. They transformed the face of the countryside, changed ecologies, and reduced, disastrously, the range and/or population of many indigenous species.⁶⁸⁷

On the following pages we illustrate in maps and graphs⁶⁸⁸ this dramatic impact on the vegetation of our rohe.

⁶⁸⁶ *Bateman’s NZ Historical Atlas*, plate 30.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, plate 42.

⁶⁸⁸ **Special thanks to the Waikato Regional Council for resources.** Map 25 - <http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/.../Current-and-historic-native-vegetation---map/>



Map 25 - Historic and current native vegetation maps - 1840 (left) to present day (right)

In the graph⁶⁸⁹ that follows the columns for Hamilton, Waipa and Waikato illustrate the thousands of square kilometres of native vegetation which have been lost from our rohe since 1840, and the perilously small quantities which remain.

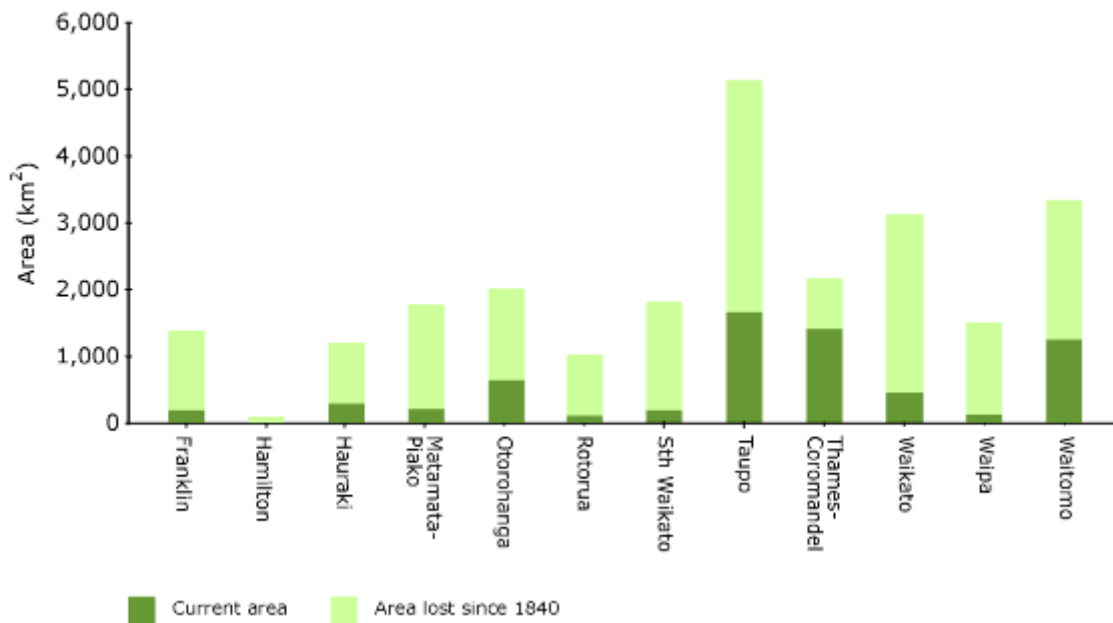
Our rohe has gone from one where at least ninety percent of the land was covered with native forest, scrub or tussock, to one where less than a quarter is covered by native vegetation today.⁶⁹⁰ This has had a huge impact on birdlife, fish and eels, insects and reptiles, and bats.

The loss of coastal dune, native forest, native scrub and wetlands habitats, in particular, have had an enormous impact on us, the Ngaati Maahanga people. So fragile have these environments become, we cannot even access our traditional and customary foods and resources for weaving and carving. While this motivates us to engage strongly in conservation efforts, to ensure our future generations will be able access these taonga, it means that currently our culture and wellbeing is diminished and disrupted.

⁶⁸⁹ See Graph 1, **Source:** Waikato Regional Council website <http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/.../veg3-technical-information/>

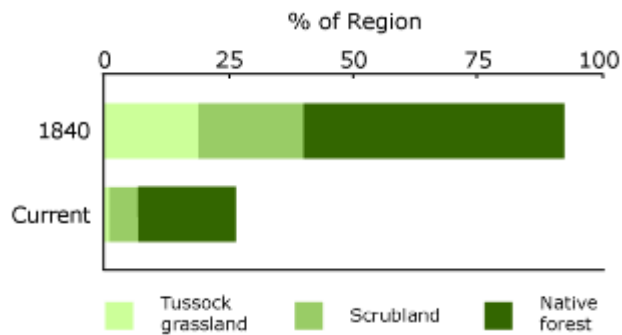
⁶⁹⁰ See Graph 2, **source:** Waikato Regional Council website <http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/Environment/.../veg1-keypoints/>

Change in areas of native forest, scrub and tussock by district council area¹



Graph 1 showing changes in extent of native forest, scrub and tussock by district council area, from 1840 to present day, showing extent lost and extent remaining.

Percent of the Waikato Region covered in native forest, scrub and tussock in 1840 and today



Graph 2 showing percentage of Waikato region covered by native forest, scrub and tussock in 1840 and today.

Table 20 Vegetation changes and habitat loss since 1840

Vegetation type	Current area (ha)	Current percent of region	Percent of total native vegetation	Loss since 1840 (ha)	Loss since 1840 (% of original area)
Native forest	488,240	20	78	796,001	62
Native scrub	101,411	5	16	874,901	90
Wetland	30,426	1	5	78,641	75
Geothermal	627	<1	<1	unknown	unknown
Coastal dune	129	<1	<1	5,790	98
Total native vegetation	620,833	26	100	1,755,333	74
Plantation forest	288,811	12	n/a	n/a	n/a
Agriculture/Horticulture	1,362,264	57	n/a	n/a	n/a

Note to the table⁶⁹¹: Almost half of the remaining areas of native vegetation are not legally protected. Native timber milling is restricted to sustainable harvest under the Forest Amendment Act 1993. However, these unprotected areas may still be at risk of being cleared for pasture or pine plantation.

These changes in the vegetation of our rohe took place very rapidly, within two generations. We have emphasised the changes in vegetation resulting from tree felling, scrub cutting and draining of the wetlands because these lie at the heart of many other environmental issues we now face. For example, there was soil erosion as a result of devegetation; our waterways and harbours lost their purity; the birds and other wild life lost habitat and food supplies. Not only did we lose access to hundreds of thousands of acres of habitat that once enabled us to be self-sufficient, but the quality of those areas of traditional habitat that remained was compromised. We feel deeply that we cannot be truly healthy as a people unless the environment in which we live is also healthy. We are committed as an iwi to protecting the traditional habitat areas that remain, and to enhancing the health and well-being of all the lands and the waterways and the air of our whole rohe. When the quality of the soils and the plants, the fish and the birds, the insects and the reptiles, the bats and the tuna, the waters and the air of all our rohe can once again be called truly healthy, we as Ngāti Maahanga, as well as all the other people who now live with us in our rohe, will also be able to say: together we are truly healthy as people, bequeathing a precious taonga to future generations who will live here in harmony.

⁶⁹¹ **Source of table:** Waikato Regional Council website
<http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/Environment/Natural-resources/Biodiversity/Threats-to-native-plants-and-animals/#content>

We will now briefly outline the key environmental issues we face in present times as a result of the complete transformation of our traditional rohe in less than one hundred years. These are the key issues we want to work in partnership with the Crown to address, so that we can achieve our vision for the future.

5.5 Environmental issues we face today

5.5.1 Protecting remaining native vegetation and insect and animal life

Our region still contains a diverse range of native plants and animals which we wish to protect for future generations. In the Waikato region we have:

1. more than 900 native plants
2. 124 native bird species
3. 19 reptiles (including geckos, skinks and tuatara)
4. two species of native bats
5. two native frogs.

At least 100 species of these native plants and animals are threatened with extinction (including all of the bats and frogs and 30 per cent of the birds).⁶⁹²

A significant part of the work needed to ensure the survival and flourishing of these species in the future is controlling animal and plant pests. We include two pictures, below, both taken in recent years at a place of great significance to us, the heights of Pirongia, close to Mahaukura which is one of the boundary points of our rohe. The first picture⁶⁹³ shows just one precious taonga of this place, the mountain neinei, in its natural setting, contrasting with the farmlands that can be glimpsed far below. The second shows another taonga, the pahautea or mountain cedar, many of these mighty trees now dead as a result of possum browsing.⁶⁹⁴ We know how important the policy and work of controlling animal and plant pests is, and want to be much more involved in them by the relevant government agencies in future. We are people of this maunga, Pirongia, with a marae on its flanks, and we are committed to work with others to care for our tupuna maunga.

⁶⁹² **Source:** Waikato Regional Council website.

<http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/Environment/Natural-resources/Biodiversity/>

⁶⁹³ Photograph 26 December 2009, summit of Pirongia maunga by Kaye Turner; Mountain neinei (*Dracophyllum traversii*) is endemic to NZ, i.e. native to NZ only. For our relationship to Pirongia maunga, see: Armstrong, M., Affidavit of Sunnah Thompson, 18 December, 2008, pp. 1-7.

⁶⁹⁴ Source: Te Papa Atawhai (DoC) information board, Pirongia Mountain summit (959 metres above sea level) Pahautea or mountain cedar (*Libocedrus bidwillii*) is endemic to NZ.; grows in mountain and subalpine forest from Moehau and Pirongia southwards. Photograph taken at summit of Pirongia maunga, 26 December 2009 by Kaye Turner.



Illustration 34 Example of significant conservation value in our rohe - mountain neinei on Pirongia summit



Illustration 35 Pahautea trees killed by possum browsing on summit ridge of Pirongia

5.5.2 Improving water quality and restoring life to our waterways

The second key issue we want to be more involved in by the agencies of the Crown in the future is in restoring the quality of our waterways and wetlands. In a recent national water quality survey, the Waipa awa at Whatawhata ranked 74th (out of 77). That means it was almost the worst in the country, based on visual clarity and faecal pollution (as indicated by *E. coli* bacteria).⁶⁹⁵ Our freshwater fisheries have declined catastrophically since traditional times. Longfin tuna is in decline; koura, mullet, whitebait and piharau are not as plentiful; and the grayling is extinct. Instead, these days, pest fish (such as koi, catfish, goldfish, gambusia, rudd, perch and others) make up a significant percentage of the total fish biomass.

⁶⁹⁵ **Source:** <http://www.niwa.co.nz/our-science/freshwater/our-services/water-quality-monitoring-and-advice/rivers-league-table>

The water quality of Whaingaroa harbour and estuary is still much poorer than it was in the times of our tūpuna, despite concerted efforts in recent times to fence and plant and protect waterways and hence the well-being of the harbour and estuary. For example, there is significant transport of sediment into the estuary from the Waitetuna awa. Sedimentation of estuaries has been identified as a serious environmental issue in some areas of New Zealand's coastline, and the Whaingaroa harbour is one of these areas. It has been identified that '(...)most problems in estuaries start when it rains, because the estuary is at the bottom of the fresh water drainage network...' and that as 'estuary illnesses are caused by what happens on the land....this is where the cure must be applied.'⁶⁹⁶

Our kuia Maadi Kingi and Ani Willis spoke at Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing of their sadness at the decline of our access to kaimoana because of this environmental degradation and over-harvesting:

Āhua wareware au ki – ēnei wā ka haere mai mātou i Whatawhata ki konei ki te mahi kai i raro nei i te moana, he nui ngā pipi i ērā wā, e tamariki ana ahau, he nui ngā kai katoa i roto nei, ināianei kua kore kē, arohaina ki te titiro atu ki to tātou whenua moana, he nui ērā wā.

In those times we would come from Whatawhata to here to collect food at the sea where there was multitudes of pipi and much kai there. But now there is nothing and sadness befalls me looking upon the lands and the sea.⁶⁹⁷

I just want to speak about our pipi beds and I think right around the motu it's very important for us that our kai moana's depleting. And without giving away my age, I was born out at Makomako and brought up at Makomako and kai moana was our source of food and there was plenty....

What was most important for us, as whānau, from my tupuna's, me haere tātou me karakia to mātou haerenga, and that's one thing they taught us growing up. And we only got enough kai moana just for a kai and not to go to waste and leave the rest. And during the poukai's out at Okapu my tupuna's used to go by horse and buggy or wagon And our tupuna's used to come and get kai moana, set nets for fish and take them to the poukai.

Also for me to see today that our pipi beds have since gone, I've gone back there about a couple of months ago and there's no sign of any

⁶⁹⁶ <http://www.niwa.co.nz/freshwater/update/no27-2008/storm-chasing-understanding-sediment-generation-and-transport> See also: <http://www.niwa.co.nz/no16-2007/land-use-change-and-sedimentation>. See also: <http://www.niwa.co.nz/our-science/freshwater/tools/nzestuaries/ails>.

⁶⁹⁷ Evidence of Maadi Kingi.

pipi, and I put that down to pollution, with us not looking after our moana or other people not looking after – I'm not putting the blame on anyone.⁶⁹⁸

We want to exercise our kaitiakitanga in partnership with the relevant Crown agencies, to monitor water quality, fence and plant waterways, and reintroduce and nurture all the native wildlife of our lakes and streams and wetlands and harbours and coasts. We still live in all the parts of our rohe, and it matters to us that our children can swim and play and we can take tuna, inanga, mullet and watercress from all our waterways with safety. And we want everyone who lives in our rohe to experience these good things of life, which provide physical and spiritual sustenance.

In the pages that follow we have material to illustrate succinctly why we need to be involved in improving the quality of our waterways, wetlands and moana:

First, we give an example of just one of our awa, the Waitetuna stream - the water is unsatisfactory for swimming most of the time, and the ecology is unsatisfactory for 25% of the time, with high phosphorus, nitrogen and turbidity;

Second, we show a graph of the Waipa awa and its tributary streams, which shows that the worst affected awa in terms of their ecological quality are those in our rohe – the Ohote, the Waipa at Whatawhata, and the Mangapiko; even the Kaniwhaniwha, where our tupuna Maahanga had his kainga of Purakau, is only at the half-way point on the graph. All the awa in our rohe that are included in the graph are unsatisfactory for swimming almost all the time;

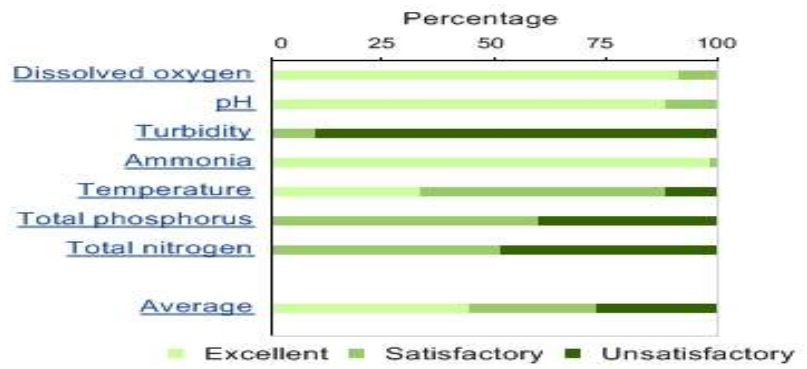
Third, we have three graphs relating to Whaingaroa harbour which show that there is significant room for improvement, particularly in terms of ecological quality, and the quality of the environment for shellfish. The overall verdict of the Regional Estuary Monitoring Programme says that overall Raglan Harbour is relatively healthy, but that at Okete and Haroto Bays in Whaingaroa there has been a change from sandy to muddy in the past ten years, and some decline in animal populations, which will require monitoring into the future.⁶⁹⁹ For us, the standard is not with other harbours today, but with the quality of the moana in traditional times, and so our desire is to see

⁶⁹⁸ Evidence of Ani Willis.

⁶⁹⁹ **Source:** Regional Estuary Monitoring Programme, compiled by Nathan Singleton, June 2009, published by Waikato Regional Council.

a return to much higher levels of health and wellbeing in our moana, using the skills of modern science in partnership with our traditional practices.

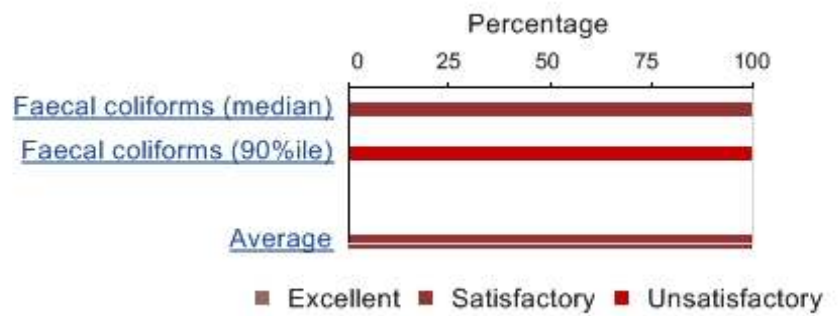
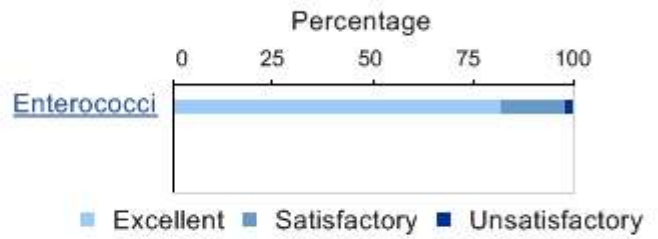
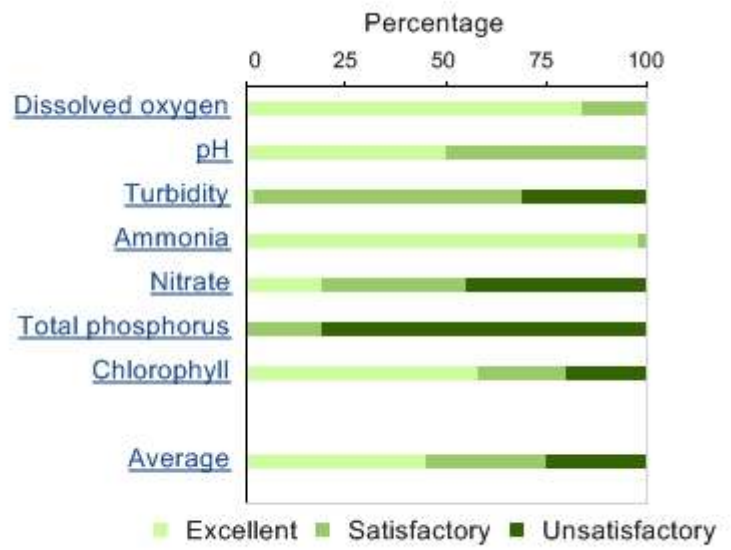
Graph 3 Water Quality of Waitetuna Awa



Graph 4 Ecological quality of Waipa and tributaries



Graph 5 Water Quality of Raglan Harbour



5.5.3 Protecting and enhancing the quality of the land and the air

The third issue of significance for us is improving the quality of the land in our rohe and of the air above it. Large areas of our rohe are identified as of high potential soil erosion, especially the hill country and river banks, and there are also significant issues around the need to improve soil quality, which has been degraded, with an impact on productive use. This is one of our priority issues, due to the impact of sediment and the by-products of land use on water quality in our awa, roto and moana. There is an example in our rohe at the Whatawhata Research station⁷⁰⁰ of the improvements that can be achieved through implementing a sustainable land management plan. Since implementing the plan in 2001 there have been marked improvements in water and habitat quality as well as reduced nutrient and sediment loads, and there has even been a slight improvement in farm returns, despite some land formerly in pasture being planted in native or exotic forest and extensive riparian buffers. It has been demonstrated that planting these ‘buffers’ of native plants improves both rural and urban streams, and that the optimum width for best results is 15 metres or more. In the Waitangi Day storm of 2007 when more than 100mm of rainfall was recorded, and the road to Raglan was closed by slips, this land stood up to the stresses far better than its neighbours.⁷⁰¹

While there is generally good air quality in our rohe, there is also some air pollution. There is a need to control this for health reasons, and also because of the impacts on our customary resources and taonga, according to our traditional beliefs. This is the third environmental area in which we want to be involved in our kaitiaki capacity in a partnership with the relevant Crown agencies in the future.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have outlined our world-view on environmental matters, and demonstrated the severe negative impact of colonisation under the auspices of the Crown and its agencies on our lands, forests, waterways and sea, and all the birds and

⁷⁰⁰ These Ngāti Maahanga lands were returned to Waikato Tainui in the Raupatu Settlement; Whaea Molly's late husband, Joe McLean, was the Farm Manager at the research station for many years, and his contribution to agriculture in the Waikato is acknowledged in the Waikato Museum, where he is identified as one of the significant pioneers in the farming industry in the Waikato.

⁷⁰¹ <http://www.niwa.co.nz/publications/wa/vol15-no2-june-2007/news-testing-times-at-whatawhata-wind-toolbox-debuts-at-te-papa>.
<http://www.niwa.co.nz/publications/wa/vol14-no1-march-2006/sustainable-riparian-plantings-in-urban-and-rural-landscapes>.

animals and fish of our rohe, and the devastating impact this has had for our well-being as the people of Ngaati Maahanga. We have reaffirmed our commitment to our kaitiakitanga for our rohe, and stated our heartfelt desire for a future partnership with the Crown to care for the health of our rohe.

5.6.1 Need for holistic response

We want a heartfelt and holistic partnership with the Crown in future to protect, enhance and restore the full health and well-being of the land, water and air of our rohe. One of the great scientists of modern times shares our holistic perspective: ‘We need to love and respect the Earth with the same intensity that we give to our families and our tribe. It is not a political matter of them and us or some adversarial affair with lawyers involved; our contract with the Earth is fundamental, for we are a part of it and cannot survive without a healthy planet as our home.’⁷⁰² His Gaia Theory, that regulation at a state fit for life is a property of the whole evolving system of life, air, ocean and rocks, is like a scientific expression of our traditional world-view.⁷⁰³

5.6.2 Protecting and enhancing our ancestral lands in our own way

Within our overall kaitiakitanga for all our traditional rohe, nests the more specific issue of those ancestral lands which remain in our ‘ownership’ in a Pākehā sense of that word. We want to work in partnership with the Crown to ensure that we can manage and control these lands in line with our own traditional management systems. We want to create islands of innovative environmental management, places to demonstrate our holistic practices in action. To enable this, there will need to be a meaningful partnership with agencies of the Crown, and local and regional government, to ensure the right policy and regulatory frameworks and working relationships.

5.6.3 Endorsement of Tainui Awhiro and Ngāti Tamainu-pō

Finally, we wholeheartedly support our whanaunga of Ngāti Tamainu-pō and Tainui Awhiro in their positions and representations to the Crown on all matters environmental in Te Rohe Potae Inquiry. We recognise their long-standing dedication to their kaitiakitanga in their rohe, and we wish to emulate and support their mahi in

⁷⁰² Lovelock, James, *Gaia A New Look at Life on Earth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009 reprint, p. viii.

⁷⁰³ Lovelock, p. 144.

the

future.

CHAPTER 6: KO TAKU MAAHANGATANGA

6.1 Ko te Aruhe te Paraoa a te Māori

In this chapter we will highlight the social and economic impacts that various imposed legislation have had upon Ngāti Maahanga. The areas covered are health, education, te reo, economy and autonomy.

The original state of the health of Ngāti Maahanga is found in the diaries of those that were present at the point of first contact. The descriptions of our people are often found in the artists, botanists, scientists, missionaries, traders or the like, diaries/journals. Sir Joseph Banks an affluent English man of science was on board the Endeavour with Captain Cook and had this to say about the well-being of the first Māori they encountered:

Water is their universal Drink, nor did I see any signs of any other liquor being at all known to them, or any method of intoxication.....So simple a diet accompanied with moderation must be productive of sound health, which indeed these people are blessed with in a very high degree; tho we were in several of their Towns, where Young and Old crowded to see us actuated by the same curiosity as made us desirous of seeing them, I do not remember a single instance of a Person distempered in any degree that came under my inspection, & among the numbers of them that I have seen naked, I have never seen an eruption on the Skin or any signs of one by soars or otherwise.....Such health drawn from such sound principles must make Phisicians almost useless.....A farther proof, & not a weak one, of the sound health that these People enjoy may be taken from the number of Old People we saw hardly a Canoe came off to us, that did not bring one or more and every Town had several whom if we may judge by grey hairs and worn out teeth were of a very advanced age; of these, few or none were decrepid, indeed the greatest number of them seem'd in vivacity and cheerfulness to equal the Young, indeed to be inferior to them in nothing but the want of equal agility and strength.⁷⁰⁴

This judgement of well-being he deduced from the simple diet of the people:

Their food in the use of which they seem to be moderate consists of Dogs, Birds, especially Sea fowl as Penguins, Albatrosses &c, Fish, Sweet Potatoes, Yamms, Coccas, some few wild plants as sowthistles, Palm Cabbage &c, but above all and which seems to be to them what

⁷⁰⁴ Morrell, W. P. ed., *Sir Joseph Banks in New Zealand from his Journal*, 1958, pp. 137-138.

bread is to us the roots of a species of Fern very common upon the hills, & which very nearly resembles that which grows on our hilly Commons in England, & is call'd indifferently Fern, Bracken, or Brakes.⁷⁰⁵

The bracken fern root was acknowledged as important in our diet until as recently as in the time of the youth of our kaumātua. Kaumātua Napi Waaka recalls the banks opposite Poihakena marae in Whaingaroa as being declared tapu, the people were not to clear them as they were an important part of the staple diet of the people 'te paraoa a te Māori'.⁷⁰⁶

In his recount of his nine month residency in New Zealand in 1827 Augustus Earle describes the Māori that he has encountered as 'kind and hospitable to strangers' and 'excessively fond of their children'. He goes on to say that 'it is more usual to see the father carrying his infant than the mother and all the little offices of a nurse are performed by him with the tenderest care and good humour' and that 'in many instances...I have seen the wife treated as an equal and companion'. He sums up his chapter on the Character of New Zealanders stating that 'the intellects of both sexes seem of a superior order; all appear eager for improvement, full of energy, and indefatigably industrious....'⁷⁰⁷

A missionary, Reverend Waterhouse, who spent some days at Te Awaitaia's Whaingaroa kāinga in 1840, the year of the signing of te Tiriti, recorded in his Journal his observations of Ngāti Maahangatanga in action, in a well-functioning, balanced and prosperous community:

I ... told (Te Awaitaia) how much it had delighted me to see his land so well-cultivated; and, using a few words in the New Zealand language, expressed my thanks for the potatoes which we had eaten at his village. He expressed his pleasure at this, coupled with a hope that by the time I came again I should be able to preach in their language.... we enjoyed our dinners, which were provided as on the former days. I expressed to this Chief my pleasure in eating their excellent potatoes, and seeing him and his people so comfortable...I met William Naylor and several other Christian Chiefs, at their own request. We went to the chapel. The natives formed a semicircle. William, who was formerly a great warrior, rose and addressed me, saying: "... we love to read the book (New Testament), and live in peace, cultivating our lands... from that book we learn, that those who have received the Gospel should

⁷⁰⁵ Morrell, p. 136.

⁷⁰⁶ Kaumātua wānanga, Whaingaroa, 31 March 2012.

⁷⁰⁷ Earle, A., *Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827*, 1909, pp. 201-206.

contribute towards its support. From 1 Cor. Xvi, I learn,” (here he read it) “that collections were made. But we have no money. We must, therefore, give of our substance, kumeras and potatoes...When crops are good, we must give plentifully; when poor, moderately...”⁷⁰⁸

This same missionary visitor also recorded on numerous occasions his observations that the women, as well as the men, of our tribe could read, and he was very impressed with their deep knowledge of written scriptures. These brief anecdotes from a Pakeha missionary, despite his vested interest in showing the ‘benefits’ of Christianity, paint a picture of us in 1840 as an iwi in charge of our own destiny, confident in our Maahangatanga, and confidently adapting new ideas on our own terms.

The earlier pre-colonisation accounts paint the picture of Māori health as being in an ideal state, meaning all generations within the hapū and iwi generally were healthy and vibrant. Not only were we physically healthy, but spiritually healthy as well. Perhaps some of our practices were coming to a time of release and those changes within our cultural ideology were eventually made by our tūpuna. As time moved on our health started eroding due to the exposure to European introduced diseases and vices. The missionaries themselves, as well as early traders, introduced smoking through their use of pipes and tobacco as trade goods, such as William Woon exchanging pipes and tobacco for food supplies.⁷⁰⁹ It was 1840 before the Wesleyans in our rohe passed a resolution at their annual meeting to stop using pipes and tobacco as trade goods (substituting soap instead).⁷¹⁰ At our Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing at Poihakena marae, one of our speakers outlined the resolute efforts of Te Awaitaia and his whānau in 1844 to give up this highly addictive substance, tobacco, but it is fair to say that the damage to the people of our iwi that persists to this day had already commenced.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁸ Waterhouse, J., ‘Extract from the Journal of a Second Voyage from Hobart-Town, Van Diemen’s Land, to New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and Feejee, commenced Wednesday 28 October 1840’, *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine for February 1844*, ‘Missionary Notices, relating principally to the Foreign missions carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference: Australasia and Polynesia, pp. 163-168.

⁷⁰⁹ Woon, W., *Letter from W Woon to the Secretaries from Kawhia 1 January 1835, including extracts from Journal*, p. 3, ‘Wesleyan Mission Society Letters to the Secretaries’, MET 4/1/3, John Kinder Theological Library, St John’s College, Auckland. [MIC 35 Methodist Missionary Society (12) 1 Committee minutes 1814-1865, AJCP Reel M118-120 (7)]

⁷¹⁰ Minutes of an Annual District Meeting held by adjournment at Kawhia, Whaingaroa and Mangungu, 1840; *District Meeting Minutes, 1827-1858*. MET 001/1/1, John Kinder Theological Library, St John’s College, Auckland. See our document bank 6.1.

⁷¹¹ Evidence of Kaye Turner, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, Poihakena Marae, Whaingaroa, 11-13 April 2010, transcript, p. 60.

Eventually we too were caught by the ‘isms’ namely alcoholism, sexism, racism and still we strived to regain our cultural equilibrium. An example of a Pākehā report of the impact of alcohol on us is the following newspaper extract from 1863: ‘Raglan, From our own correspondent....a Waipa native in passing my house, in great disgust exclaimed, “The Ngāti Maahanga have lost their wits; all the Maoris at Ohiapopoko are lying drunk on the ground.’⁷¹²

The anonymous (but certainly Pākehā) correspondent had his own ‘agendas’ in reporting this, which included supporting a Pākehā application for a liquor licence – in a town which at the time had about 20 houses, and three hostleries. He was basically saying that the law forbidding the sale of alcohol to Māori was useless, as we could get hold of it anyhow. And he took the opportunity to cast aspersions on Ngāti Maahanga, asserting that Heteraka Nero had brought two gallons of rum from Auckland, and that was what was responsible for the event at Ohiapopoko. But the essential point, that excessive alcohol consumption had a disastrous impact on us and our way of life, was one we agreed with, whoever was doing the consumption – it was clear that lots of raruraru between Pākehā themselves, as well as between them and us, was fuelled by drinking. And the Government’s laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol to us were not always enforced. The correspondent who reported on our Compensation Court hearings in Ngaruawahia in January-March 1867 commented sarcastically that: ‘The operation of the law forbidding the supply of alcoholic liquors to the Maoris [sic] apparently does not extend to the Waikato...if it does, it has continually been broken under the Magistrate’s nose...’⁷¹³

The people of Waikato, Hauraki, Tama-inu-pō and Ngāti Maahanga were keen to engage in ideas that would anchor our well-being, we being cognisant of the detrimental effects of alcohol. Our tupuna Hemi Matini and Hami Ngaropi, for example, were prominent among those who campaigned in the 1870s for abstinence from drinking alcohol, controls on access to liquor and sanctions for drunkenness, and many Ngāti Maahanga people ‘signed the pledge’ in this period.⁷¹⁴

It was natural for the collective to converse about these issues, everything was in the open and contemplated upon by the collective and both women and men chose to

⁷¹² *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XIX, Issue 1782, 6 April 1863, p. 6.

⁷¹³ *Daily Southern Cross*, 13 March 1867, p. 4, Volume XXIII, Issue 3005.

⁷¹⁴ *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani*, Volume 11, No. 13, 7 June 1875; and No. 16, 17 August 1875.

abstain (it is often hard to find the women's voice in the articles written by Pākehā, an influence of their patriarchal society, yet one can still glean indications that women were also part of the conversation and deciding voices). The following aptly describes Māori response to times of duress:

Maori kinship groupings were equipped to survive stress, and even disasters such as war and famine, at the local level. All kin groups interlocked: the whanau...the hapu...the iwi...the waka. These social groups, though based on descent, were capable of constant change and re-grouping.⁷¹⁵

However, through the lack of protective mechanisms and without genuine engagement of our tūpuna our health continued to erode. The contrast of the first contact description of the health and well-being of Māori is a far cry from the statistics and description of us today. We are not the 'picture of health' seen by the first Europeans to make contact with Māori people. It is true that '...many new diseases such as dysentery, venereal disease, tuberculosis, influenza, whooping cough, and measles were introduced' in that early contact period.⁷¹⁶ But that is not enough to explain our state today. The explanation lies in the destruction of our overall way of life as Ngāti Maahanga, described in our preceding chapters. The impact can be seen in the poor health now so prevalent among us. The following brief points from the Waikato District Health Board's strategy give us a stark picture:

- Māori have the poorest health status of any ethnic group in the country;
- While there has been a slight improvement in Māori life expectancy the gap between Māori health status and non-Māori health status has continued to increase;
- Despite having a higher health need relative to the rest of the population, Māori rates of access to health services are lower;
- More than half of Māori die of heart disease and stroke before the age of sixty-five.⁷¹⁷

Sadly, the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 meant that the system of learning and the bodies of knowledge that once regulated our lives and ensured our well-being, have not survived for the benefit of current and future generations, and that our traditional

⁷¹⁵ Oliver and Williams, p. 40.

⁷¹⁶ Oliver and Williams, p. 49.

⁷¹⁷ Source: Waikato District Health Board Strategy 2006-2015.

healing practices were also outlawed. Mason Durie points out that ‘[t]he customary codes for living hinged on the application of the laws of tapu [but]...there has been no serious extension of those laws, or the principles that underpin them, to ease adaptation to new environments, and as a consequence Maori lifestyles have become increasingly normless....what is needed is....not simply to re-invoke the old laws... but to extend the principles behind those laws so that reducing smoking, avoiding excess of alcohol and drugs, eating sensibly, and driving carefully can become incorporated in a Maori world-view that makes sense to modern times.’⁷¹⁸

Te Tiriti guaranteed that our taonga would be protected. The further we get away from the signing of Te Tiriti the more it seems our cultural practices, te reo and perhaps even our health are moving under the category of ‘taonga’ due to its poor state. The protection of Māori health and well-being is guaranteed in te Tiriti, as raised in the pre-amble. Article three covers our rights as British subjects to be protected: Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.⁷¹⁹ Health and well-being must most surely be a part of those rights awarded. This said, it is not the health of the body only that must be addressed here but rather the health of the wairua, of which mana and tapu are a part. It is the effect on these aspects of the wairua that have been greatly affected in those initial phases of the colonisation process. It is the re-balancing of these aspects of the wairua that is sought in our claim through: acknowledgement of our grievance; acknowledgement of the breaches of the articles of te Tiriti that our tūpuna worked so hard at and suffered as a result of honouring; and redress.

To become truly healthy once again, we need to rediscover and redefine our Ngāti Maahanga ‘codes for living’ that were destroyed by the actions of the Crown and its agents. Acknowledgement and redress will greatly aid that process; but we ourselves will reclaim our Ngāti Maahangatanga.

⁷¹⁸ Durie, M., *Nga Kahui Pou Launching Maori Futures*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2003, p. 165.

⁷¹⁹ <http://www.treaty2u.govt.nz/the-treaty-up-close/treaty-of-waitangi/index.htm>

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

6.2 Ngā Tikanga Ako

*Kaumātua :- Ka ū ki te mātuatanga (collective parenting); pā life was about everyone raising the children; men to war, women to cultivate, koroua and ruruhi left to care for the children.*⁷²⁰

Tikanga ako or learning teaching principles had been perfected by our Ngāti Maahanga tūpuna. Children were watched from birth for signs of their pending profession and they were dedicated to the appropriate atua as a part of the early preparation for them on their identified pathway.⁷²¹ Children were being taught as early as the womb with oriori being sung to them to help prepare them in the life that they would eventually be dedicated to. The work path they eventually undertook was not necessarily the same as the parents but rather it was identified by the traits they displayed. The tikanga ako principle was the elders of the pā would provide the childcare whilst the parents cultivated and gathered kai. War was not the everyday norm within the Māori society. Collectivism and recognition of generational wisdom was incorporated in these principles of teaching and learning:

Social obligations to one's kin were practically as powerful as the checks of the spirit world, which was in effect an extension of the kin-group.....[Maori] commonly had a highly developed sense of correct procedures in social relationships. This derived from a respect for the proper balance in all social situations that had to be restored if disturbed.⁷²²

Our ruruhi spoke at Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho of their memories of these traditional ways of learning and collective values surviving into their lifetimes, in spite of the impacts of colonialism:

Now my next kōrero is mainly to do with my Mum, and I think what she did way back then is significant. I used to go with her a lot and she used to – once a year she had put down this bed in our awa, the awa was called “Te Mari” and it was quite cold actually, walking in there, it's nice in the summer but when it comes to winter it's pretty cold. What she did, she used to put down this pihara bed, whakaparu that's what she called it, and to us it looked easy because she was doing it.

⁷²⁰ Pakira Watene, Wānanga, Whaingaroa, 31 March 2012.

⁷²¹ Tuahu Watene, Ibid.

⁷²² Oliver and Williams, pp. 46-47.

She used to lay this bed across the Te Mari awa (river) and then we would go home and then we ask her questions, “What are you doing, what did you do that for?” And she used to growl and said, “You wait and see.” She had put it down in the end of March. April/May she takes us out again early hours in the morning, freezing cold, to hold her sugar bag. Now in the water she’s also collecting these piharau and we’re there to hold the bag for her and she used to get heaps and heaps of it and we’d moan because we’re getting cold and want to get out.

But at the end of the day we watched what she had done – well I did anyway – I took a lot of notice of what she was doing. She would go home and she would prepare all these piharau and then she used to make us light this fire outside where we cart our wood from, then she had this netting, she put that down on top of the embers. Now she placed them all on there to cook them. We ask her, “Why do you cook it out here,” you know, and she said, “I’ll tell you when you get a little bit older.” Oh, well so we keep quiet and we just carry on helping her.

Now the significant thing that I learnt from that, is that, when she’s done all this work another tupuna of hours, Henare Tuwhangai came to our home once a year to collect that stuff and it went to the Koroneihana at Tūrangawaewae every year, every year she did it until she couldn’t do it anymore. And that is the significance of what I learnt, you know, just by asking silly questions and her making me do the work. And I’m quite proud to have caught all this and I would like to carry on and teach my children or my brother’s children or whoever’s children that are in the whānau to carry on and pick up her significance again, hopefully and carry it out.

Although it only happens once a year at a certain time of the year, which I learnt end of March is when you lay it – end of March is when you lay your beds, April/May then you go and collect.⁷²³

Also the marakai from Te Kaokao o Pukehinau which is one of the papakainga’s of my tupuna’s, they had marakai almost from Kaokao, all the way to the Makomako Native School, and hence they had awhi’d to the Kīngitanga when they had their hui’s. I can remember riding a horse bare back to cart all these bags of riwai, kumara, watermelon, pipi’s and the truck from Ngaruawahia used to come and pick all this up.

I think from the age of eight I remember with my nan, he pukumahi tēnei, and we had a slasher each and she was leading us into cutting tea tree, cutting blackberry to make way for these marakai and ka hoki aku whakaaro ki ērā rā, and all those people that were involved. And when we grew our marakai the rest of the whānau used to come and help and I think we had about 40 families and they weren’t small families. Some

⁷²³ Evidence of Hine Waitere. He kupu whakamihī tēnei ki tēnei o tō mātou ruruhi kua mene ki te pō, i konei ia i te tīmatanga o te whikoinga roa nei. Our heart felt thoughts are of our ruruhi Hine who has passed on before we had a chance to complete this claim, who had been a part of the journey of the claims process since its early stages, moe mai e kui, okioki ai.

of us had about 17 tamariki in one family, so you can imagine how big our families were.

And we lived in a punga house, ground floor and I think it's one window and one door, it was comfortable, it was clean and I can remember me and my whānau, like my cousins, my boy cousins, my girl cousins, you know, there's about 20 of us in one bed topping and tailing because this is how we slept in those days, and I think today that won't be done.⁷²⁴

However, as already described in the previous chapters through a barrage of continual attempts to impose European ideology on Māori generally and on Ngāti Maahanga in particular, the cultural norms and behaviours were in disarray as Māori tried to recover from deceit, war and the paper tiger known as proclamation and legislation (these paper tigers had real claws and teeth). As stated already the Tohunga Suppression Act was a direct affront on our cultural practices and an attempt to stop our Maahangatanga, its enactment eventually led to the closing of Whare Wānanga, and created a restriction on cultural practices with an eventual abandonment of many. Our long-time practice of 'incorporation' and collective thinking were in grave danger of being replaced with the idea of individualism, 'tino rangatiratanga' an empty expression on a fading Tiriti.

Tikanga ako housed the natural cultural transition and the interruption of it meant that cultural knowledge gaps and its natural advancement/development have been impeded to the detriment of the people who spent generations developing it.

6.2.1 Mātauranga Māori, Mātauranga Pākehā

The concept of higher learning is not lost to Māori and in particular Ngāti Maahanga. Maahanga people were part of the nine higher learning institutions that operated in the Tainui area as recounted by Pakira Watene at the Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing held in Whaingaroa (and already referred to in Chapter 1).⁷²⁵ The purpose of the wānanga was for both the physical and spiritual development of the individual. Warriors were taught to overcome fear (similar to the samurai) control of the mind over the body's needs teaching it to withstand pain and not to fear death; astronomy (tātai hono) was also a subject area; the learning of whakapapa and all its intricacies that it depicts in te

⁷²⁴ Evidence of Ani Willis.

⁷²⁵ Pakira Watene, *Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing*, 12-13 April 2010, pp. 41-44.

ao Māori covering the beginning of time; takahi whenua or astral travel; mākutū or bewitching.⁷²⁶

The nine wānanga started from the arrival of the Tainui waka with Hoturoa as the Tuahuroa or the learned one (tohunga). The following is the account of Pakira Watene, kaumātua of Maahanga, of the wānanga, and although he spoke of eight wānanga at the hearings, at a wānanga held in February 2012 he spoke of the ninth whare wānanga located below Taupiri (name unknown):

Ana, e waru ngā wānanga huri noa i te rohe o Tainui āna, ka hoki ki Kāwhia Moana ki Kāwhia Kai, Kāwhia Tangata. Koia nei te wāhanga tuatahi āna ko te ingoa, ko Ahurei. Ana ko te tohunga i ērā wā, ko te ingoa tuahuroa āna ko Hoturoa, ka hīkoi atu ki te taha o te uru o te nehenehenui āna ka whakatūngia te wānanga tuarua, ko te ingoa o taua wā ko Te Kahuwera. Ana ināianei, he maunga, he maunga tapu mō ngā hapū e toru o Maniapoto, āna ko Ngāti Waiora, Ngāti Paimate, Ngāti Te Rahurahu.

Ana, hoki mai ki Whatawhata ki tētehi o ngā anga rua o Tūheitia, te Oneparepare. Koia nei te wānanga tuatoru, heoi anō i te wā e ora tonu ana a te tupuna nei a Tūheitia, ka whīkoi atu ki te Waikaretu, whakatū ai te wānanga, ka riroa ka whakahokia mai ki te Oneparepare āna ko te ingoa o taua wānanga te Pakaru a Te Rangikataua.

Piki ake au ki te taumata rā o Pirongia, ka titiro ki ngā huarahi haerenga o aku mātua tupuna whakarongo ake ki ngā ngaru e ngūngūrū i waho Karioi te paepae o te Taihauāuru e. Heke iho rā ngā takahanga tapuwae ki a Arekahānara toku Haongā Kaha whai atu ana ia i te ia o Waipā ngā pikopikohanga o Tūheitia e. Tūheitia tupuna, Tūheitia taniwha, Tūheitia tupua, Tūheitia pororākau.

Ana, ka hoki atu ki te wānanga tuawha i whakatūngia taua wānanga ki Rangitoto te taha o te manga roopu. Ana ko te ingoa o taua wānanga Rangiatēa ko te Tūahuroa, ko Tāwhiao. Nā ka hoki atu ki te Pākuru a Te Rangikataua, i te Papa o Rotu, āna kei reira te wānanga e haere āna a Pōtatau te Wherowhero te kīngi tuatahi me tana tamaiti. Ana i aua wā tonu ka kawea te ingoa Tūkaroto. Ana, tae te taiohitanga piki ake ki te taipakeketanga, āna, he ingoa tuarua nōnā. Ko Matutaera, tata tonu ki tōnā kaumātuatanga, āna ka puta mai te ingoa Tāwhiao, he kōrero anō ki tērā reanga, me waiho i tēnei wā.

Ana, hoki atu ki te pū o Te Nehenehenui ki te whenua o Rereahu whakatū ai te wānanga tuarima i raro i ngā maunga hurakia Pureora, āna ko te ingoa o taua wānanga Te Miringa te Kākara. Ana, ko te Tūahuroa ko Te Rapate, haere atu tawhiti atu ki te raki o te Kāokāoroa o Patetere, kei raro i ngā hiwi o Te Māmaku, Te Kaimai, āna ko te

⁷²⁶ Pakira Watene, Kaumātua wānanga, Hamilton, 16 February 2012.

whenua o Ngāti Haua tū ai tērā wānanga te wānanga tuawhitu ko te ingoa ko Kuranui. Ana ko te Tūahuroa, ko te Omeka. Nā, haere tonu, haere tonu tae atu ki Tāmaki Makaurau, āna i reira, whakatū ai te wānanga tuawaru ko te ingoa o taua wānanga, ko te Kāhu Pōkere. Ana, ko te Tūahuroa ko te Kete āna taura.

Ana, ka hoki mai anō ki te Papa o Rotu, ki te Pākuru o Rangikataua. Nō te mea, i ngā rā i mua ahakoa i whakatū ai ngā wananga e waru, e wha ngā mea matua e mahi tonu, e mahi tonu te wānanga. Tae noa ki te hoki atu ki te Pākuru o Rangitaua. Koiarā te wānanga mutunga. Te wānanga mutunga āna, kua mutu aku nei kōrero mō ngā wānanga, ēngari kaua e wareware tātou ko tēnei te mea te Iotanga, ēhara te kupu. Ēhara te kupu, he tohu kē. He tohu mō te tūkaokao wahine, te tūkaokao tāne, āna ka puta mai te Mareikura te Whatukura. Ana me waiho i konei huri nei i to tātou nei whare, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā anō tātou.⁷²⁷

The Whare Wānanga were an important part of our education in our cultural norms as Māori. They began with Hoturoa in Aotearoa but were obviously an institution and knowing that was transported from Hawaikinui as indicated through Hoturoa being the first tuahuroa.

⁷²⁷ Pakira Watene, *Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho Hearing*, April 2010, and interview, April 2012. There were eight sections of Tainui, returning to Kāwhia sea, Kāwhia food, Kāwhia people. The first wananga was Te Ahurei, the master at that wananga was Tuahuroa and Hoturoa. And walking to the west and to the great forest of the King Country the second wananga was Te Kahuwera, today it is a sacred mountain for the three hapū of Maniapoto, Ngāti Waiora, Ngāti Paimate and Ngāti Te Rahurahu.

And then returning to Whatawhata at Te Oneparepare, that was the third school, but in the time when Tūheitia was still alive he walked to Te Waikaretu and established a house of learning there and in time it was returned to Te Oneparepare at Whatawhata and the name of that school was Te Pakuru a Te Rangikataua.

From Pirongia I gaze down upon the travels of my ancestors and then unto the waves that crash beyond Karioi on the East Coast, and descending into the Rikihānara, my source of strength and carrying on to Waipa River, and to the travelling places of Tūheitia the ancestor, Tūheitia, the taniwha, and Tūheitia the denizen and Tūheitia who fells trees.

And the fourth wananga referred to was established at Rangitoto. The name of that wananga was Rangiatēa and Tāwhiao was the principal. And returning to Te Pakuru o Te Rangikataua at Te Papa o Rotu and that is where the wānanga of Pōtatau was and unto his child. And at that time he still carried the name Tūkaroto. And when he became his manhood, he was given a second name – Matutaera. And then just about to his middle age, elderly, he was given another name – Tāwhiao. But there is a story behind that, but I will leave that for now.

Returning to the great forest that the Nehenehenui it is the lands of Rereahu, and the fifth wananga was erected under Hurakia and Pureora mountains, and the name of that wānanga was Te Miringa te Kākara. And the principal was Te Rapatei. And going to the north of the – under the Māmakū Ranges, and the Kaimai Ranges, and the lands of Ngāti Haua, the sixth wananga was established – the seventh was Kuranui, and the principal man was Te Omeka. Now, then going to Tāmaki Makaurau, the eighth wananga was established there, called Te Kāhū Pōkere. And the principal taonga was te kete anataura.

Returning to Te Papa o Rotu, and to Te Pakuru o Rangikataua because in times of old the eight wananga were established, four were deemed principal and carried on their works. And returns to Te Pākuru o te Rangitaua. That was the last house of learning, and so I conclude stories about these wananga. But lest we forget, this thing called – about Iho is not a name – a word, is not a word, it is a symbol. It is a symbol for the stand of man and stand of a woman, and so we have denizens like Mareikura and Whatukura. So I conclude here.

Our traditional whare wananga did not last long after the passing of the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907. The ethos of the whare wananga was centred around the expertise of learned people, i.e. the tohunga – when they were suppressed, our traditional learning was suppressed. One of the last ‘graduates’ of the whare wānanga at Whatawhata was Rore Erueti in 1909. We have suffered badly as a people from the demise of our traditional whare wananga, which was really one of the essential pillars of our way of life as Ngāti Maahanga, one of the most significant ways in which specialist and esoteric knowledge was transmitted down the generations.

As we have outlined in Chapter 3, we engaged enthusiastically in Pakeha-style education in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s, and in 1860 at the Kohimarama Conference our tūpuna were still able to speak of the desire of Māori for schools, saying that they were a good thing introduced by Pākehā, and were still attended even in those increasingly troubled times.

As stated by Christoffel ‘in 1844 Buddle helped found the Wesleyan Native Institution known as Three Kings in Auckland to help train Maori as teachers’. Alexander Reid who was a teacher at Three Kings left and went on to establish ‘native schools’ at Te Kopua, Whatawhata and Karakariki. Reid taught at Te Kopua and two Maori teachers trained at Three Kings taught at Whatawhata and Karakariki. Although varying reports were given of their teaching abilities and outcomes and despite the fact that Whatawhata and Te Kopua were open for a short while due to the unrest of war, it was said of Karakariki that it ‘continued into the 1870s with Maori teachers and generally positive inspector’s reports’. A report given by Gorst in 1861 about the school stated that the school ‘did not lose a single child in consequence of the war’.⁷²⁸ After the wars it is well known that Tawhiao ‘...forbade Waikato children to go to school in case they should ‘weaken’ by following ‘Pakeha thoughts and fashions.’⁷²⁹ Nonetheless, there is evidence that Ngāti Maahanga continued to support schools and schooling.⁷³⁰ When a Government school supported was established at Whatawhata in 1879, we enrolled some of our children: Wiremu Utika was the seventh pupil to enrol,

⁷²⁸ Christoffel, P., *The Provision of Education Services to Maori in Te Rohe Pōtae 1840-2010*, p. 47.

⁷²⁹ King, M., *Te Puea A Biography*, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1977, p. 42.

⁷³⁰ See, for example, *Daily Southern Cross*, 5 May 1873, p. 3, Volume XXIX, Issue 4895, reporting a meeting under the new Education Act held in Raglan (Whaingaroa), chaired by Rev. Schnackenberg and attended by (among others) Revs. S. Ngaropi and W. Barton (Patene), Hakopa Hetaraka (Kawhia) and Hone Te One, native assessors, and also Kawene [sic] of Aotea and A. Barton from Waipa – all expressed their desire for schools for their children.

and Agnes and Lily Pihama the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh respectively, signalling an ongoing desire for education.⁷³¹

The next phase of education saw the establishment of native and general schools in the 1900s. This period saw native schools built in Kaharoa (Aramiro - originally named Moerangi which according to our ruruhi Raiha Gray included a high school⁷³²), Raorao, Makomako (these two schools are in Aotea) and Kawhia (these are the areas in the Ngāti Maahanga territory that native schools were established in). Although a request was lodged for a native school in Raglan after five years of enquiry it was not endorsed by the Education Department for various reasons.⁷³³ Other native schools were placed in Te Kopua and Parawera. In some of these areas the request for schools was greatly celebrated :

One of the most remarkable signs of change in the attitude of the Maoris towards European civilisation is to be found in the extension of the area of the country in which the Native inhabitants now desire schools....[These] have been built, or, at least, asked for, in places that were practically inaccessible a few years ago. One of the most cheering features of this change is to be found in the fact that the soreness caused by the Maori wars of “the sixties” is being gradually removed in most districts. The fact that a large school has been established at Rakaumanga, which is close to Waihi, the settlement of Mahuta, son and successor of Tawhiao, is significant. It seems to show that much of the prejudice and ill-will naturally engendered by the old trouble is being mitigated, and it gives ground for hoping that in a few years all misunderstandings depending on the Kingite wars will have quite passed away.⁷³⁴

Christoffel states that the Native Schools Act of 1867 was well debated before its introduction with claims that a decent education would save the colony money of ‘on-going warfare’, where others thought it a ‘miserable pittance’, that a lot more should be spent, and that ‘the Natives contributed very heavily to the revenue’.⁷³⁵ (A ‘miserable pittance’ when compared to the costs of the land wars, with further consideration of the large area confiscated from Ngāti Maahanga.) To further clarify the expectation on Māori to engage in Pākehā education at this time the Māori communities had to:

⁷³¹ Source: Whatawhata School Roll.

⁷³² Personal communications, 14 June 2012.

⁷³³ Christoffel, pp. 110-111.

⁷³⁴ Christoffel, p. 57.

⁷³⁵ Christoffel, p. 20.

....initiate the foundation of a new school and contribute to its establishment. A ‘considerable number’ of the male Maori inhabitants of a district had to petition the Colonial Secretary asking for a school. Furthermore, the majority of local inhabitants had to agree at a meeting to provide a portion of the costs towards the establishment and maintenance of the school and elect a committee and chairman. Maori were also required to contribute at least an acre of land for the school site, half the cost of the buildings and maintenance, a quarter of the teacher’s salary and the price of school books. The Colonial Treasurer would then be empowered to grant the remaining cost of buildings and maintenance and the remainder of the teacher’s salary. There was nothing in the Act preventing Pakeha children enrolling in native schools.⁷³⁶

Ngāti Maahanga whanau provided what was required (even though there is historical evidence of widespread poverty at the time⁷³⁷) so that their children had access to Pākehā education. An amendment to the act meant that when half of the children registered were noted as being Pākehā, a school would be changed to a general school.

With the impact of the land wars and ongoing legislation causing the loss of our own institutions and a devaluing of Māori ideology, Ngāti Maahanga were being shepherded down pathways for which they had little to no say due to lack of engagement with them politically. No amount of positive statements offered by either inspectors or politicians as highlighted by Christoffel in his rendition of the development of Pākehā education, could replace a system of engaging directly with Māori which, as continually highlighted in this volume, was advocated for by our tūpuna at that crucial time of developing the governing systems of this country. The Native Schools Act was eventually amended and the required contribution from Māori communities reduced, however, it did become ‘standard practice’ in the 1880’s ‘to request three acres of land be donated for a new school (rather than the acre specified in the legislation), but to seek no other contribution from Maori communities’.⁷³⁸

An example of this is shown in the Puketapu land dealings where 3 acres was put aside for a school.⁷³⁹ Four thousand pounds was the annual grant for Māori schooling, and this included ‘teacher training and employing itinerant teachers’. This remained the funding amount for seven years.

⁷³⁶ Christoffel, p. 21.

⁷³⁷ Christoffel, pp. 202-204. See our Document bank no. 6.2.

⁷³⁸ Christoffel, pp. 21-23.

⁷³⁹ Archives Reference #: BBOP 4309 Box 10, Record #: 1882/5234. See our Document bank 6.3.

But the Government still did little to make schooling accessible to us: '[a]ccording to evidence given to a Royal Commission on Maori church schools in 1905, only one government school was provided for the whole of the Waipa district between Whatawhata and Huntly. Waikato's lack of interest was used as an excuse for not providing schools, and those children who did want to go often found it difficult. Consequently, few Waikato children received formal education...'⁷⁴⁰

Of the general public schools that Māori (who had access) did attend after 1904, it was noted that Māori attendance was 'not always well-received' as the presence of Māori students was 'often blamed for the spread of disease' and in 1913 with the outbreak of smallpox and due to the 'apparent susceptibility of the Maoris to the disease' creating alarm amongst Pākehā it was reported by the Education Department that the epidemic had interrupted school operations in northern schools and it was noted in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives⁷⁴¹ that Māori children were 'indiscriminately forbidden to attend school' even though there was no sign of the epidemic. Further reference was made to the impact of the diseases on communities:

A more serious effect, so far as the education of Maori children is concerned, has been the intensification of the racial antipathy and prejudice exhibited towards the Maori in many parts of the North Island, and even in some parts of the South. This has led in some cases to an attempt on the part of the local authorities to turn the Maori children out of school, which has in some places actually been accomplished.⁷⁴²

An inspector of the Native Schools Harry Kirk would introduce the concept of immersion teaching in English into native schools and before his retirement in 1903 James Pope and then his successor William Bird would advocate further the embracing of the concept. Bird introduced the idea of speaking English in the playground. The approach was called the 'direct' or 'natural' method, and it was due to the introduction of this pedagogy that te reo Māori would be 'discouraged' in Native Schools.⁷⁴³ It seems ironic that the same or similar ideology would be re-

⁷⁴⁰ King, p. 43.

⁷⁴¹ As cited in Christoffel, p. 29.

⁷⁴² Christoffel, p. 29.

⁷⁴³ Christoffel, p. 116.

introduced to save our language almost 80 years later with the introduction of Te Ataarangi method.

As schools gradually became more accessible in the twentieth century, and the attitude of the Kīngitanga to formal education gradually changed under Te Puea's influence, new issues came to the fore. One of these was that the Government made no provision whatsoever for any form of Māori studies or for the teaching of te reo Māori in the curriculum. Te Puea was a strong advocate for these:

‘The language, history, crafts and traditions of the [Maori] should be an essential part of the curriculum throughout the country,’ she said, ‘Unity of Maori and Pakeha can only grow from each sharing the worthwhile elements in the other’s culture. Today the Maori language can no longer be taught in the home to Maori children. It should be given a place in the schools.’⁷⁴⁴

Although attempts would be made through the introduction of cultural expressions of a superficial nature by introducing weaving, poi and the like in the 1930's, education recovery and cultural renaissance for Maori has come about through the determination of insightful Māori as endorsed by Ngāti Maahanga and other iwi through creating our own centres namely: Te Kōhanga Reo movement, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Whare Wānanga. Unsurprisingly, these institutions have had to fight under te Tiriti for recognition and in doing so they have validated greatly, mātauranga Māori or Māori ideology. The passage of time has shown us that it is Māori who define mātauranga Māori, and Māori institutions which advance mātauranga Māori and it is this recognition that has been lacking from the outset. In his research conclusions Christoffel also recognises this important point.⁷⁴⁵

As an example of the ongoing battles fought on many fronts the institute of Te Whare Wānanga has been reinstated into modern times due to the efforts of Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa (established in Ōtaki, April 1981), Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa (established in Te Awamutu, 1984) and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi (established in Whakatane, 1992).⁷⁴⁶ However, these institutions were not recognised

⁷⁴⁴ King, p. 249.

⁷⁴⁵ Christoffel, p. 222.

⁷⁴⁶ Waitangi Tribunal.

<http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/reports/viewchapter.asp?reportID=39e13093-2f4d-4971-aca0-28e811572755&chapter=5>

by Government or eligible for funding until long after their establishment. The following is an extract from the Waitangi Tribunal website that explains the change to the Education Act:

Wananga are given statutory recognition under section 162 of the Education Act 1989 (as added by section 36 of the Education Amendment Act 1990). As such, wananga are regarded as the peers of universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education. Section 162(4)(b)(iv) states that:

A wananga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Maori (Maori tradition) according to tikanga Maori (Maori custom).

This was the situation more than one hundred years after our tūpuna signed the Treaty of Waitangi. And in spite of all the educational developments in the sixty years since Te Puea's passing, Mason Durie points out the poor record of schools in New Zealand in relation to Māori children, with about a third of all Māori children leaving school without any qualification.⁷⁴⁷ In his report Christoffel makes reference to John Gould's study in 2005 that found the 'iwi with links to the inquiry district were in general less qualified on average than members of most other iwi' and further to that, 'in addition, data from the 2006 census shows that Maori within Te Rohe Potae are less qualified on average than Maori overall'.⁷⁴⁸ To us, it is unacceptable for any Ngāti Maahanga child to leave kōhanga, primary school, secondary school or any form of tertiary education, without achieving the best possible outcomes, so that they can live as Ngāti Maahanga, actively participate as citizens of the world, and enjoy good health and a high standard of living.⁷⁴⁹

We believe that government failed us in the past in relation to education and continues to do so, in spite of the many education innovations in the past twenty years; we also assert that we as Ngāti Maahanga are the key to our cultural restoration and renaissance and that engagement and empowerment of us is the way to righting the wrongs of these historical grievances. We look forward to a partnership in the future

⁷⁴⁷ Durie, 2003, p. 160.

⁷⁴⁸ Christoffel, p. 38.

⁷⁴⁹ Adopted and adapted from Durie, 2003, pp. 199-202.

to achieve the best possible educational outcomes for our tamariki and, hence, for Ngāti Maahanga.

6.3 Ko Toku Reo

Te reo o Ngāti Maahanga was alive and well in the early 1800s. From first contact, much effort would have been made from the early missionaries and traders to learn it. Interpreters would have had an important role bridging the language barrier and all transactions would have been done in te reo. Te reo Māori was given its status as the indigenous language of the country and as literacy spread it became the written mode of communication between our tūpuna and government. Māori also became bilingual learning the language of trade namely English. The Education Ordinance of 1847, passed by Governor Grey to provide subsidies for mission schools, required that the language of instruction be English and that the curriculum include industrial training.⁷⁵⁰

In 1883 te reo Māori was still the language of communication for members of Ngāti Maahanga as shown by the copy of this letter to the Crown written by Wiremu Neero Te Awaitaia, son of the tupuna of the same name who has featured greatly in this volume.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵⁰ Oliver and Williams, p. 171.

⁷⁵¹ Container code: C339 574; Reference No. LS1 1362.

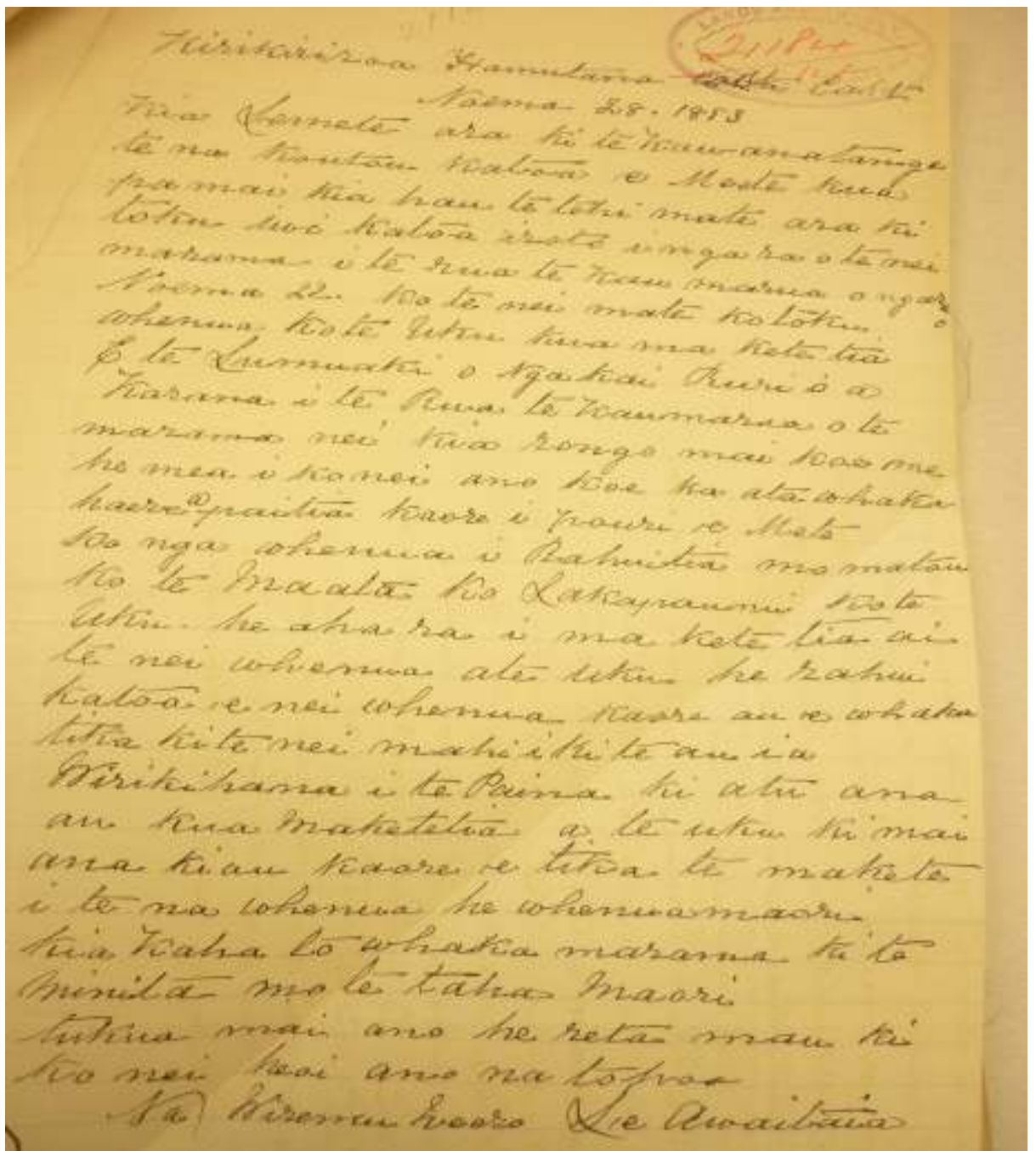


Illustration 36 Photo of letter in te reo Māori from Wiremu Neero Te Awaitaia II

Even as late as 1955 an interpreter was still necessary to conduct a land meeting for one of the land blocks of Ngāti Maahanga. Despite everything Ngāti Maahanga was still able to maintain its language, but interviews of kaumātua would show that te reo use amongst Ngāti Maahanga was dying out.⁷⁵²

It was around this time though that the pressure was building to disengage Ngāti Maahanga and the Māori nation from their natural language of communication,

⁷⁵² See our Document bank 6.4.

however, the strategies of cultural undermining had begun far earlier than this as has been highlighted earlier on in this chapter. Corporal punishment was being used against those that were speaking te reo Māori in schools and the demeaning of the status of te reo Māori was asserted in what we would deem psychological warfare. The decline of te reo was imminent:

My father had three children from his first wife, the second wife of my father had 10 children and I'm the youngest. I went to Whatawhata School. My Māori was proficient. I started school in 1950 at Whatawhata. I was seven years old when I returned from the East Coast because of the governments oppression of our language at the time my memories return to day 1 when I went to school when my mum took me to school and my mother told the teacher that I could not speak English.

My mum said to the teacher, "My girl can't speak English" and my mum said to me, "If I want to go to the toilet I should raise my hand just one finger. If I want to go for a number one or a number two." And I looked at the teacher, "Oh, they won't know what the signs are." So I felt sorry for myself. The other kids at Whatawhata didn't know how to speak Māori so I would just sit there silently and when we would go out to play I would just sit and just sit mute and other kids would look at me and say, "Who the hell is that, can't even speak English," but that's okay.⁷⁵³

Other influences were to take their toll on te reo Māori as stated here :

Urban migration

During the 1940s-1970s Māori migrated from rural communities to urban centres. English language was seen by many Māori as the key to wealth, increased social standing and better standards of living.

Many Māori parents stopped speaking Māori to their children. This, together with policies which favoured English as the dominant language, resulted in a massive language loss within the Māori population who moved from speaking Māori to English.⁷⁵⁴

The impact of urban drift was highlighted in the description of Aramiro marae in Chapter 1. Corporal punishment and the demeaning of te reo Māori diminished the mana of those that spoke Māori from birth and in an attempt to be accepted amongst new communities and to hold their own in the work force English became the accepted form of communication. Its effect on breaking down the intergenerational language

⁷⁵³ Maadi King, *Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing*, 12-13 April 2010.

⁷⁵⁴ <http://www.korero.maori.nz/forlearners/history> - accessed 17 April 2012.

transition is found in the following rendition of life growing up in the Aramiro community as recalled here by our ruruhi Molly Maclean, drawing also on the memories of our koroua Sunnah Thompson.⁷⁵⁵

As was told in Chapter 1, Aramiro was at one time a thriving community until there was no longer work available which initiated the ‘urban migration’. Whilst in its prime (Aramiro community) te reo Māori was still spoken in the homes but in the native school at Aramiro and also in the school at Waitetuna children were writing lines as punishment for speaking te reo Māori. As noted below, others received the cane for their indiscretions. The effect was that English became the language of communication between the children. It was also the language that the children began to communicate in to their parents. In a short time te reo Māori quickly became a language of parents and grand parents only. Even children’s names were not safe.

Molly shared how she was sent home from school (Molly first started school in Frankton, Hamilton) and was not to come back until she had an English name. This was given to her by the Dinsdale District Nurse in 1933. Her birth name that she had been given was Te Rauputiputi, an important name that connected her family to the tangihanga of Te Awaitaia (as referred to previously in Chapter 3). Many children from Kawhia and Whatawhata came to Frankton (their parents had gained work at with the railways and the Chinese gardens in Gibson Road) and it is likely that many of them had a similar experience to that of Whaea Molly.

Of corporal punishment Christoffel has this to say:

The oral evidence provided by various researchers indicates that, in the 1930s and 1940s, the majority of native school teachers discouraged the use of Maori language, and many punished pupils for speaking Maori. Corporal punishment was often used, and evidence of this has been presented to other Tribunal inquiries. No evidence was found of this happening within Te Rohe Potae, although any corporal punishment was supposed to be recorded in the school log book. However, given the strength of the oral evidence at a national level, it would be surprising if children were not punished for speaking Te Reo in at least some of the native schools within the inquiry district. Corporal punishment in this case may have simply gone unrecorded. Simon and Smith note that corporal punishment for speaking Maori contravened both the Native Schools Code and the 1931 regulations for native schools. ‘It seems clear, therefore, that when Maori children were strapped simply for speaking in Maori, it was the teachers rather than

⁷⁵⁵ Molly Maclean, Interview, at her home, 20 February 2012.

the children who were breaking the rules’. According to Barrington, ‘no official regulation forbidding the use of Maori in schools appears to have existed’.⁷⁵⁶

In the Traditional Korero hearings our koroua had this to say of corporal punishment at his school:⁷⁵⁷

Ka mahara anō ki ērā o ngā taima kāore mātou e ahei ana ki te kōrero i te reo. I tērā wā ka patua. Ko ahau anō te taea te kōrero mō tērā i te mea i tērā wā i rongo taku tou i tēnei mea te cane i a au e parakatihi ana ki te kōrero i tō tātou reo rangatira i tērā wā, ahakoa pakupaku ngā kupu e mārama ana, e mōhio ana I puta kē mai te kehua nei te cane kātahi ka rongo taku tou I te haunga o tērā o ngā mamae mau tonu āna i ēnei rā. (...)Koinei ngā āhukatanga e mahara tonu āna au i a au e tamariki tonu ana, kāore au i ahei ana ki te kōrero i te reo, ka mau atu au e te kaiako ki roto i te ruma ka whakapuare te kuaha o te kapata kātahi ka kīa atu tēnā tāu ki parakitia kia rongo ngō matimati ki tērā taha o te kuaha o te kapata, ia a au e pupuru ana i raro kātahi taku tou ka rongo i te ‘twang’ o te cane nei. Kore e warewarehia. Nō muri kē mai ka mōhio ki tēnei me te reo, kua pakeke, kua koroua nō ngā tau tata nei. Koinei te pai, kua haere mai tātou ki te kawē mai ngā whakaaro i ā tātou tamariki tonu ana tupu mai i roto i ngā āhukatanga o te ao Māori. Me taku hiahia anō kia kite anō i toku ao katoa mai ōku whatu Māori ahakoa i tipu mai i roto taku whatu e mātakitaki i ngā āhukatanga o te ao e ngā whatu Pākehā.

Christoffel states that there was ‘no evidence found that the Crown, through the education system, suppressed traditional Maori knowledge....neither did they give it support’, with these points made he goes on to say that the ‘....education officials had an overt agenda to ‘civilise’ Maori children and their communities by inculcating Pākehā values, which in many cases were intended to replace Maori values’.⁷⁵⁸ If a people express their values through their language (as for example expressed in the term manaaki or mana aki meaning to uplift another’s mana), and their cultural ideology is dependent on the formation of that language how then can it not be said

⁷⁵⁶ Christoffel, p. 226.

⁷⁵⁷ Eru Thompson, *Ngā Korero Tuku Iho Hearings*, 12-13 April 2010, pp. 80-81.

As translated in the transcripts of the hearing: I recall in those times we were not allowed to speak Māori at that time. We would be punished and I can speak of that experience because I was caned when I was speaking Māori, although I could only – I only knew a few words. The cane would come and I would feel the full force of the cane and I still recall it clearly this day. (...)So these are some of the experiences as a child. Not allowed to speak the language, the teacher would take me into the room and the door of the cupboard would be left slightly ajar and there, put your fingers over the other side of the cupboard and while I was holding on underneath and then I would be caned. I would hear the twang of the cane. I never forget that. It was much later I realised the language when I was older, that the language came to me in the days, and that is one of the good things about this process that we recall growing up as a child and my desire again is to see my world once again through Māori eyes because I gaze through the world with Pakeha eyes.

⁷⁵⁸ Christoffel, p. 225.

that there was a deliberate attempt to suppress te reo Maori through the instilling of Pākehā values?

As further evidence of a wish to suppress te reo Maori, in 1957 the Education Department reported with approval the declining percentage of new entrants to school with no knowledge of English. ‘This follows the steadily increasing integration of the Maori adult into the economic life of the country. He becomes more competent and more confident in his knowledge and use of English through his occupational contacts and tends to use it more habitually in his own family circle.’⁷³ As we all know it is incumbent on the parents to hand on the child’s first language. There are no lines between cultural practice and the use of language, rather we believe the evidence of time has shown that they go hand in hand.

Christoffel argues further ‘that there is no evidence that the immersion policy was intended to replace Te Reo with English. Rather, it was assumed by officials that Maori would continue to be widely spoken in homes and communities’. This seems unlikely when the notion of the wish to ‘civilise’ as practiced by Pakeha in other countries prior to their reaching Aotearoa has suggested otherwise. Christoffel in his final summary states:

The Crown has since focussed on encouraging improved Maori participation at all levels of education and, as can be seen from the response to Question 3, has had some success in this regard. However, much of the credit for improved participation may lie in Maori initiatives such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wananga.⁷⁵⁹

6.4 Tino Rangatiratanga – Self Rule, Self Determination

As stated also in Chapter 1, the Aramiro marae had a Tribunal Committee with the purpose of maintaining social order. They enforced fines for drinking alcohol within a close proximity of the marae, as drinking in a public place was not allowed. It could be said that the idea was a hangover from the runanga instigated by Government before the invasion of Waikato. However, it is more likely that it was an assertion of

⁷⁵⁹ Christoffel, p. 222.

self rule on the back of a Māori Affairs Act that empowered Māori Wardens to remove car keys from people too intoxicated to drive.⁷⁶⁰

In their assertion to self rule, Aramiro community members empowered and accepted the Tribal Committee's authority to ban people who committed violent acts or for committing adultery and the like. Although it waned after 1953-1954 the attempts of Ngāti Maahanga continued at maintaining and asserting its own autonomy. Around this time a rōpū of mana wahine picked up the mantle and managed the marae and hapū business. In the passing of these ladies the leadership and hapū structures were being affected by the 'urban drift' and, as already stated in Chapter 1, the work ran out in the early 1960's and people started to move away from the area. The movement of the people is indicated by the closing of the kura in 1965.⁷⁶¹

Ngāti Maahanga continually tried to assert our mana, believing in our ability to self rule. We have also made sincere efforts to participate in the processes and mechanisms of local and regional government in our rohe. Our views on those experiences were captured in the korero of one of our speakers at Ngā Korero Tuku Iho hearing in April 2010:

Today on behalf of my whānau and with their blessings I am going to speak about community representation, local government authority, representation and lack of representation. Whaingaroa has a long history of contentious issues which we have heard from many of the speakers here today. A few have been successfully dealt with, some that are thrown into a 'too hard' basket and then there are those that are completely ignored, and I guess that is where I get my inspiration from, is for those issues that get completely ignored. Ngāti Maahanga have only recently, in the last three years, had community representation. Acknowledgement that we are the mana whenua is still being questioned today. From my own personal experiences I have seen and heard the racism, ignorance, fear and jealousy to name a few, all through a lack of knowledge, yet all reasons that determine my inspiration. I am realising all that we have not been a part of. Key decision making that have made and shaped our landscape in the past, here in the present and even into the short term future.

It is absolute whānau that we are represented in our community, on our landscape in every aspect. It provides that much needed foundation for knowledge and acceptance, it provides the awareness of issues that do

⁷⁶⁰ Tonga Kelly, personal communication, March, 2012. Tonga was President of the Hamilton Māori Wardens at the time.

⁷⁶¹ Sunnah Thompson, personal communication, February 2012.

and will affect us, it provides acknowledgement and acceptance of our existence and finally, it provides us with a voice and a chance of being heard. I refuse to feel stripped of my identity and sense of belonging. I refuse to feel ignored and insignificant.....

A lot of what I have previously mentioned is descriptive of our present relationship with local government authority here at home. On a positive note consultation on local issues happens now. More recently my fellow community board members have learnt to seek opinions before leaping onto their good ideas.

On the downside their ignorance is disrespectful and arrogant to our culture and well being. Their denial and lack of effort to learn about us as an iwi, a hapu, our customs, our culture and our boundaries are insignificant. Until they have a want or a need for us to fulfil their plans. That I have experienced on many occasions.

Most recently the newly proposed walk bridge at the camping ground. The proposed indoor recreation complex and the light industrial area at Three Streams. For them, their consultation efforts are part of their processes, however, they lack reciprocity and I am left feeling that we are just another spoke in their wheel that they need to fulfil, like a tick in the box. Yet despite this, it is vital that our voice is heard amongst them. Absolutely prevalent that we are heard in all forums.

In the past to many Pākehā we have been an unknown identity, even to the local school. If we allow this to happen we lose our identity, our mana, our respect, our morale and our justness to be here on our own landscape. Hence the importance of our representation at all levels. Without it we will remain unknown and silenced.⁷⁶²

6.5 Socio-economic impact of the 1860s war and its aftermath

We have set out in Chapter 3 our strenuous efforts to adapt to the new economy that came to our rohe, and how our efforts were unsupported and undermined. We faced even worse economic challenges in the years following the wars. There was depopulation of our rohe, partly as a result of Ngāti Maahanga tangata following Tawhiao beyond the aukati line, and also because of economic migration, e.g. to the gum fields in the north, to undertake logging, or to the goldfield settlements, especially Thames. Ngāti Maahanga lands had been confiscated, so we faced a critical situation in terms of the ability of some of our hapū and whānau to produce enough kai for just their basic needs. Also, a lot of our energy had to go into Compensation Court processes to get some of our own land back, and in participation in Native Land Court hearings to secure titles to our land. There was lots of expense associated with these

⁷⁶² Evidence of Sarah-Jane Te Ripo Harihari.

processes, and also lost food production, due to absence at crucial times of planting, weeding and harvesting. During the 1880s there was a severe agricultural depression. This exacerbated the vicious cycle of Ngāti Maahanga ‘emigration’ out of our own rohe. There was a huge increase in European immigration into our rohe during the 1860s and 1870s, and this put us under enormous pressure. There were lots of new settlers, most of whom knew nothing of Māori or Māori life.

Another aftermath of the invasion, war and raupatu was strained relationships with some of our relatives at Aotea south, Kawhia, and beyond, and the ‘kūpapa’ epithet was freely used in relation to us. It was easier for those who did fight, to blame those of us who did not for the outcome of the war, rather than trying to see our point of view, which was that it was in the best interests of all the people of our iwi not to fight, especially for the well-being of our women and children.

Pākehā had dominance over us, politically and economically, from the time of the wars. At first, some aspects of Pākehā governance continued to ‘mirror’ our own rohe, for example, Council meetings were held alternately at Raglan and Whatawhata in the 1870s. But gradually the numbers of Pākehā who spoke Māori, or who knew anything about Māori life, or who remembered the debt they owed to Ngāti Maahanga, became few in number. These few could still be called upon to intercede with Government on our behalf, and there are examples of Wallis and Schnackenberg descendants writing letters to Government and acting as custodians of taonga. But these people themselves were part of a group, the old settlers and the descendants of missionaries, that lost influence rapidly during these years, with the influx of new settlers, and so there was little they could do for us.

Pākehā attitudes towards Māori became much harsher once war began at Taranaki in 1860, and after the invasion of Waikato, downright racism was more commonly and publicly expressed by Pākehā towards Māori, and specifically towards us as Ngāti Maahanga. Our response to this racism was articulated by one of our speakers during Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho hearing in 2010:

I was blessed with a piece of wisdom given to me by my koro, Poroaki Kīngi, on encountering my very first racist incident at work. His words were these: “Kotiro, you go out into that Pakeha world, walk and work amongst them, take their good and learn by it. When they show you

their kino, show them your Maoritanga and be proud.” Even today I live by that advice and I teach my children the same. Kia ora.⁷⁶³

We do not like to dwell on this racism, as we believe it is pernicious to give currency to such attitudes, but we will give some examples of what we mean, because we also think it is important not to gloss over the serious and widespread nature of this Pākehā racism, but to face it head-on as part of the founding fabric of our country, and as an insulting and degrading aspect of our treatment in our own rohe, up to and including present times.

Our first example is of the campaign waged against Ngāti Maahanga and Te Awaitaia by an anonymous correspondent (‘a Waitetuna settler’) of the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper in the 1860s. This alleged all kinds of things, such as that the tribe was shooting cattle belonging to settlers, and practising witchcraft and murder, and when Te Awaitaia let his anger be known via Fenton about these injurious slanders, the newspaper basically called his and Fenton’s trustworthiness into question.⁷⁶⁴

Our second example is taken from a meeting of our Whaingaroa rūnanga in 1862. James Armitage reported a decision of the runanga to appoint a Pakeha policeman, Richard Philp. Sadly, the next day:

R. Philp came to me ... and told me he wished to decline the office of Policeman for this reason, viz: that he was a labouring man, dependent on his labour for his support, and that the Pakehas at Raglan had intimated to him that, if he accepted the office, they would not employ him in his trade (carpenter and boat-builder) any further. On these grounds I consented to release him from his promise to act.⁷⁶⁵

Our third example is a report by a correspondent for the same newspaper in January 1867, about the gathering of Ngāti Maahanga at Ngaruawahia at that time for the hearing of their claims before the Compensation Court:

We are now having an insight into the domestic manners of the Maoris such as has seldom, if ever, previously been afforded to Europeans, if

⁷⁶³ Evidence of Sarah-Jane Te Ripo Harihari.

⁷⁶⁴ *Daily Southern Cross*, 16 December 1862, p. 3, Volume XVIII, Issue 1686; and *Daily Southern Cross*, 2 January 1863, p. 3, Volume XIX, Issue 1702.

⁷⁶⁵ AJHR, 1862, E – No. 9, p. 21, Report by J. Armitage Esq of the Ngāti Maahanga Runanga – Proceedings of the Runanga of Ngāti Maahanga assembled in W. Nero’s [Te Awaitaia’s] house, at Raglan, Whaingaroa, 27 January 1862.

we except the Pakeha-Maoris, or exploring parties, and others who, in the pursuit of their avocations, may have been temporarily resident in Maori villages or encampments; and the result of such insight is sufficient to convince anyone that, unless the Maori can be brought somewhat nearer our standard of our civilisation, the sooner he disappears from the face of the earth the better.⁷⁶⁶

Our fourth example is from a Wellington newspaper, quoting the *New Zealand Herald*, ‘reporting’ on the rumour that Rewi had refused to meet with the Governor, saying he did not wish for peace:

If there is to be another struggle for the Waikato and the settlers are to fight their own battles, they will make a clean sweep of it. Wherever a Maori is seen the crack of a rifle will be heard, and we shall succeed in establishing ourselves in this country as surely as the Anglo-Saxon race succeeded in establishing itself in the country of the “Redskins.”⁷⁶⁷

Our fifth example is when Reverend Hamiora Ngaropi, an elderly man, went to a Hamilton hotel with a Pākehā friend, and when they sat down to eat, he was told that there was not sufficient room for him in that building (except perhaps at the bar!). He and his friend rose and put on their hats and departed.⁷⁶⁸ Just imagine how many racist incidents of this kind have been experienced by the people of Ngāti Maahanga over the years.

It pains us deeply, and angers us, that our tūpuna had to endure and stand up to this kind of racist treatment and vituperation in their own land. Not only do we want the Crown to acknowledge the damage done to us over the generations through Pākehā racism, we also want the Crown to act from this day forward, forever, to protect and promote our citizenship rights under article three of Te Kawenata o Waitangi. We want the Crown to accept its responsibility for public education and public sector and regional and local government partnerships, in our rohe and the whole of the country, to ensure positive Pākehā engagement with Ngāti Maahanga tāngata, forever.

All these issues of the nineteenth century continued into the twentieth, so that today we still find ourselves sidelined in our own rohe, and scattered as a people. One of the most heart-rending moments at a recent Ngāti Maahanga kaumātua wānanga came when the observation was made that these days Ngāti Maahanga go overseas and come back as pungarehu⁷⁶⁹. We look forward to a day when there will be prosperity

⁷⁶⁶ *Daily Southern Cross*, Vol XXIII, Issue No. 2963, 23 January 1861.

⁷⁶⁷ *Wellington Independent*, 12 May 1866. Accessed 21 November 2011:

<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&cl=search&d+W18660512.2...>

⁷⁶⁸ *Waikato Times*, 21 August 1877, Volume X, Issue 808, p. 3.

⁷⁶⁹ Pungarehu – ashes/cremated.

and well-being for all in our rohe, and where every person of Ngāti Maahanga descent who wishes to live here will be able to lead a good life in their own rohe, instead of going overseas in search of economic opportunities in places where our people find themselves accepted for who they are, rather than labelled and viewed as ‘Māori’, with that not meant in a positive way. Many of our Ngāti Maahanga people now live and work in Australia, and although many Pākehā New Zealanders like to think of themselves as much more open and egalitarian than Australians, the truth for many of our people is that Australia provides a more accepting and welcoming environment for them and their whānau than their own homeland, as well as greater opportunities for a good standard of living.

This diaspora is shown by the example of one Ngāti Maahanga whānau, the Gillett whanau:

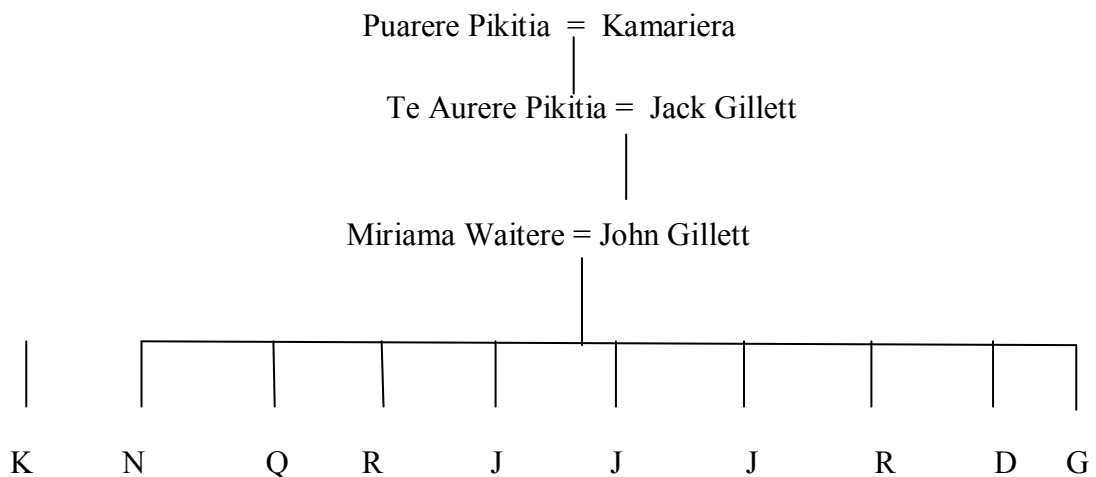


Table 21 Generational display of family

Te whānau Kereti	Ngā tamariki		Ngā Mokopuna		Ngā mokopuna tuarua		Ngā mokopuna tuatoru	
	Tama	Kōtiro	Tama	Kōtiro	Tama	Kōtiro	Tama	Kōtiro
K = S	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
G = A, G = M	2	1 1	2	-	-	-	-	-
+D = J	1	2	3	3	-	-	-	-
+R =+ N	-	3	3	3	-	1	-	-

J = H	1	1	3	3	-	-	-	-
+J= T	1	2	9	5	1	1	-	-
J = T	2	1	7	5	6	5	-	-
+R = +W	3	1	9	5	6	6	-	-
+Q = J+	2	7 (2 have died)	10 (1 has died)	5	3	2	-	-
+N = B	1	1	1	4	2	1	-	-
Total	14	20	47	33	18	15	-	-

+ These people have passed away.

Table 22 Placement of Gillett whānau

Whaingaroa	28
Kirikiroa	17
Matamata	6
Paeroa	2
Tāmaki-makaurau	10
Palmerston North	3
Matauri Bay	4
Gisborne	1
Ahipara	6
Otautahi	12
Total	89

Cairns	7
Brisbane	17
Moroubra	5
Melbourne	2
Queensland	15
Perth	3
Total	49

$$89 + 49 + 9 = 147$$

The Gillett whānau statistics show that one-third of the family live in Australia.⁷⁷⁰

To achieve our dreams for Ngāti Maahanga, it will be necessary for governments (national, regional, local) to work alongside us in new forms of partnership and in a holistic way: ‘[i]t is now well recognised that health cannot be separated from socio-economic circumstances.good health is dependent on the terms under which people participate in society and the confidence with which they can access justice, sport and recreation, a meaningful job, an adequate household income [and] most importantly, quality education and the school of their choice.’⁷⁷¹

6.6 Conclusion

While it is literally a ‘labour of love’ to write our tribal history, we want from now on to embark on a new and different kind of journey, one which can be positive for all our people. We want to use these lessons from our past to influence our present and shape our future.

When we look back into the past we see that time and again the truth was told to the Crown by its own officers. This is what Fenton, for example, wrote in a report he

⁷⁷⁰ Kelly-Hepi Te Huia, M., *TIH Hapū – Ko te Hapū: Ko Wai Ahau, Nā Wai Ahau, Nō Whea Ahau?*, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2010, pp. 8-10. The assignment was originally written in te reo and has been translated by Miromiro for the purposes of this volume.

⁷⁷¹ Durie, 2003, p. 160.

drafted from Whaingaroa in March 1857, so we know that he had the words of our tūpuna and the condition of Ngāti Maahanga in his ears and eyes as he wrote:

The time has gone when many words and few pensions will suffice...Professions [promises] lose their power when practice is long absent. The policy of postponement of remedies is a policy of accumulation of evils...I do not agree with the doctrine expressed by many men of intelligence and experience that a collision of races must eventually happen. I see nothing in the Anglo-Saxon character or in the constitution of the Maori mind which should render this an inevitable result. But no-one will deny that duty as well as interest requires us to make every effort to avoid even the chance of a catastrophe so much to be deplored. And what have we hitherto done? Besides the mills, the hospitals, and the schools, reflection brings to my mind no practical thing done, no permanent benefit supplied, no recognised principles established. All the rest has been professions of affection which produce nothing, condolences of sympathy which remedy nothing.....⁷⁷²

We say, Enough! More than 150 years later, it is time to remedy our grievances and atone for the catastrophe, i.e. war and all its consequences, which was visited upon us.

We agree with Mason Durie when he observes that:

Most energy [of Maori today] is spent coping with crises, responding to government initiatives, or researching the past for the settlement of claims. Planning well ahead: for an ageing population, establishing the Maori constitutional position; reshaping the laws of tapu to provide for better adaptation to modern times and new lifestyles; creating strong and vibrant whānau in order to gain better access to te ao Māori; and assessing the impacts of tribal policies on health, await serious Māori input.⁷⁷³

This is the positive mahi that we wish to turn our minds and hearts to now, and we are looking to the Crown to redress the grievances that spring from our past, so that we can move on to a new positive cycle in the history of Ngāti Maahanga.

A study on 'tikanga ako' or teaching learning principles of Māori, namely Ngāti Maahanga, show that they **can** be recovered. The issue is that the generation that is attempting to reinstate them needs the engagement and buy-in of their whānau and hapū members. In this day and age there is a barrage of conflicting ideologies to our own. The influences of America on our children through the media from a society who has learnt the art of mind manipulation through imagery creates high competition

⁷⁷² Fenton, F.D., 'Report from Mr Fenton R.M. as to Native Affairs in the Waikato District', AJHR, E – No 1c, Further Papers Relative to Native Affairs, p. 12.

⁷⁷³ Durie, 2003, pp. 167-168.

to gain our children's attention and loyalty. We have already identified that our people have spread to the four winds and that whānau and hapū members are not necessarily related through whakapapa. To gain a high cultural proficiency inclusive of te reo if it is not known by the family would cost between \$18,000-\$24,000 (and this is just study fees) and between six-nine years of study (if the cultural knowledge is not housed within the whānau grouping). However, no amount of study will reinstate the original disposition of Maahangatanga. It is through opportunities of operating within a cultural context surrounded by cultural mentors that this reinstatement can take place. This is the 'new world' of Ngāti Maahangatanga that we want to establish as a result of our own renaissance as a people, with the support of our settlement with the Crown through this process of redress under te Tiriti. We want ngā uri a Maahanga katoa, to be able to access their Ngāti Maahanga cultural contexts and cultural mentors, so that they can, quite literally, 'be themselves', wherever they may be.

CHAPTER 7: KO TE POHEWA TE TATAU ATU KI TE AO WHĀNUI

Whakatauākī

Ko te pohewa te tatau atu ki te ao whānui

Ko ia anō te taringa o ngā mea kāore anō kia whānau mai

Ko ia anō te Whaea o te toi

Ko ia te matua o te auahatanga

Ko te pohewa te pū o ngā moemoea.

Nā Pakira Waatene⁷⁷⁴

Housed within this whakatauākī are the embers of dreams waiting to be realized, of a people waking from hibernation. It is in this resting state that we are recovering from over one hundred and fifty years of both physical and spiritual assault. This process of recount and analysis of our history has mapped the demise of a powerful and proud people who attempted to navigate a relationship with Europeans, a people who were both invited here and embraced within our culture. These relationships have led to many dead ends in the pathway to our future

Our kōrero in this volume affirms that:

1. Te Awaitaia and his people honoured their agreement to assist the Crown in developing a co-governance system in the Waikato despite:
 - a. condemnation from all other major hapu in the region;
 - b. the humiliation of being labelled the derogatory term ‘kupapa’;
 - c. mistrust of Crown intentions from within Ngāti Maahanga that resulted in factionism and hapu setting themselves apart;

⁷⁷⁴ Imagination is the doorway to worlds unknown, Imagination is the anticipation of things unborn, Imagination is the mother of arts and the parent of creativity, Imagination is the focal point of dreams. Translated by Pakira Waatene.

- d. a war that saw brothers facing each other across the battlefield and landless Hauhau sisters being turned away from shelter by Kupapa brothers; and
 - e. assistance in setting the confiscation boundary.
2. There was some protection from confiscation through Te Awaitaia's relationship with the Colonial Government but mostly the latter reneged on its bipartite agreement, which became Ngāti Maahanga's core grievance against the Crown;
 3. Most of Maahanga country was confiscated and Ngāti Maahanga displaced;
 4. Native Land Court decisions denied Ngāti Maahanga's ancestral rights and reduced the size of Ngāti Maahanga's remaining estate by redistributing it to neighbouring hapu and ratifying hapu divisions within Ngāti Maahanga;
 5. The actions of the Crown reduced to insignificance, Ngāti Maahanga's estate, resource base, leadership capability, political position as an iwi, and status.

It is in this Waitangi Tribunal process that we lay our grievance down in our attempt to take control of our future by addressing history and demanding redress.

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