OFFICIAL

BEFORE THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

WAI-898

IN THE TE ROHE POTAE DISTRICT INQUIRY (WAI 898)

HEARING WEEK ONE

TE TOKANGANUI-A-NOHO, TE KUITI

Hui Commenced: 5 November to 9 November 2012

Tribunal:	Judge D J Ambler Professor Sir Hirini Mead Professor Pou Temara	Mr John Baird Dr Aroha Harris
Crown Counsel:	Geoffrey Melvin Annsley Kerr Stephanie Jones	
Lead Counsel:	Glenn Tootill Richard Boast Maui Solomon Karen Feint	Haylee Putaranui Tavake Afeaki Jason Pou Spencer Webster

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Waitangi Tribunal
25 Feb 2013
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Dominic Wilson
Matanuku Mahuika
Yashveen Singh
Tom Bennion
Kirikaiahi Albert
Moana Tuwhare
Cameron Hockly
Rebecca Sandri
Bernadette Arapere
Bryan Gilling
Gerald Sharrock
Terena Wara
Jude Murdoch
Te Atairehia Thompson

Peter Johnston
Mark McGhie
Annette Sykes
Alex Hope
Darrell Naden

Witnesses:

Thomas Roa
Toiamoko Manaia
Rovina Maniapoto - Anderson
Paranapa Otimi
Meto Hopa
Frank Thorne
John Kaati
Paul Meredith
Hinekahukura Aranui-Barrett
Te Pare Joseph
Lynda Toki
Rangi Joseph
Harold Maniapoto

Jock Roa
Robert Te Huia
Rewi Nankivell
Cathy Marr
Phillip Cleaver
Jonathan Sarich
Keith Aitken
Barney Thompson
Harry Kereopa
Robert Jonathan
Monica Matamua
Matiu Haitana
Petuere Kiwara
Boy Cribb
Kevin Amohia

TAKEN BEFORE JUDGE D J AMBLER

TIME	TE REO AND ENGLISH (VERBATIM)	INTERPRETATION OF TE REO INTO ENGLISH
	DAY 1 STARTS (missing audio)	
	PIRIPI WARETINI	
	…in terms of evacuation, we have two points of evacuation at the whatitoka in the main and over here for the judiciary and the people. Our meeting place is down across the road in the carpark. In terms of the warden station, Ray Coffin is the person to contact and he'll come and identify himself during the day. Anything to do with the Waitangi Tribunal matters please see Jenny Syme. In terms of co-ordinating counsel, that's Dawn Magna, that's her standing there having a kōrero. If the legal counsel need anything to do with photocopying facilities, there's – we have a facility, it's user pays and again please see Dawn and we can do those in the breaks and during the breaks. In terms of media, please once again see Jenny Syme and please people, with your cellphones please turn them off now. There is a administration confidentiality form if witnesses do not wish to be videoed or recorded. It needs to be signed prior to giving evidence and you can also announce that to the media that Jenny looks after. Tēnā ka nui tērā, kia ora tātau.	

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0854	**JUDGE AMBLER**	
	Kia ora mai tātau. Heoi anō kua mihia ngā mihi inanahi nei, engari i te ata nei, e tautoko ana i ngā mihi. Tēna koe, tō tātau kai karakia, nāu nei ngā kupu whakawhetai ki tō tātau matua nui te rangi, nō reira tēna koe.	The Presiding Judge has just opened up with an acknowledgement to everyone here, and of course continuing on from our welcome as of yesterday, an acknowledgement to Piripi for leading us in prayer this morning, and to all those gathered here in this great meeting house, for this very important hearing as you lay your evidence before the Waitangi Tribunal.
	Kia ora mai tātau kua tae ki tēnei o ngā huihuinga tūturu o te Roopū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi. Nō reira ka haere ngā mihi. Me kī pēnei, kua roa tātau e hīkoi ana i tēnei huarahi, kātahi ka tae ki tēnei mahi tūturu a tātau.	So again, I wish to acknowledge all those present here. The Judge is just reflecting and making comment that this has been a long arduous journey and the work still continues.
	Kua oti ngā kupu, ngāwari tātau kia tātau. Kua tae ki te wā a mā (inaudible) koutou e whakatakoto i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki ō koutou kerēme. Tēnei te wā hoki mā ngā rōia e whakamātautau i ngā kai kōrero. Nō reira, taku kupu kia koutou, kaua e māharahara. Koia rā te āhuatanga o tēnei mahi, te kimi i te pono me te tika. Nō reira, tēnā koutou (missing audio 08:56:26 to 09:04:57)	All that has been said prior has been said, and now we are open to hearing all evidence put forward for this is the time for all legal counsels to listen to all the evidence being laid before us. It's important that we gather as much evidence as we can, so we can weigh it up (missing audio 08:56:26 to 09:04:57)
	(missing audio 08:56:26 to 09:04:57)	
0905	**JASON POU**	
	My name is Jason Pou. Sir I'm here representing a number of clients in the (audio skipping 09:05:03) region. They aren't really taking part in this inquiry, in this part of the	… to encourage all to lay your evidence accordingly (missing audio 09:05:11 to 09:06:57)

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	inquiry so I won't really set them out (missing audio 09:05:11 to 09:06:57)	
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	...just like Mr Pou but we act for them under the rubric of Aurere Law. I'd like apologies for appearances today from Ms Wara and Mr Armstrong. Legal aid makes it very difficult for those of us that have significant numbers. They'll all be here at the same time, and while legal aid does not think it is prejudicial, I wish to note on the record, I do think it is prejudicial to those claimant groups because it makes it very difficult for us to be instructed in these matters all of the time around all of these issues. So Sir, just for your benefit, at any one time from our firm, notwithstanding we act with significant interest, there will only ever be two of us present because of legal aid constraints. I'm very privileged today to say that the (missing audio 09:07:35 to 09:07:47) in a kōrero for us. I also act for a number of claimants from Paretekawa and a number of claimants who are descendants of Te Whānau a Rewi Maniapoto. Many of those claimants are represented in the (missing audio 09:08:03 to 09:08:12) are heard. Mr Armstrong appears for Ngāti Māhanga whose claims sit within (missing audio 09:08:19 to 09:09:03)	
	MATANUKU MAHUIKA	
	...pōwhiri inanahi rā, ka tika me tuku mihi atu ki a koe e te Kaiwhakawā me tō Poari, otirā ki a Ngāti Maniapoto me ngā iwi mā rātōu ēnei tono. Nā reira ka mihi atu ki a tātōu katoa	I wish to apologise for my non-attendance in the welcome yesterday, however, I must acknowledge our Judge present and of course wider groups, in particular Ngāti Maniapoto, as the majority of the evidence will be from there and of course I

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	kua haere mai nei ki te whakahaere i tēnei kaupapa nunui.	wish to acknowledge all of those gathered in the great meeting house here.
	Heoi anō, kāore e whakatorongia, kei te mōhio tonu au, kua mihi kē ngā mihi, engari ka tika me tuku mihi atu ki a tātau katoa kua haramai. (missing audio 09:09:40 to 09:15:05)	However, I shall keep my intro short, but however, greetings to all those present. Sir, counsel's name is Mahuika. I appear with Ms Albert. (missing audio 09:09:40 to 09:15:05)
0915	**CAMERON HOCKLY**	
	...claimants of Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Ingoa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Mahuta and pertinent to this week, te hapū o Te Ihingārangi will have one witness giving evidence, kia ora.	
	DOMINIC WILSON	
	Tēnā koutou katoa. Counsel's name is Wilson, and may I please tribunal I seek to appear today for Ngāti Hikairo. One of the iwi of Ōhākī hapū, Te Paetapu o Ngāti Paretekawa and two general claims WAI 100 and WAI 1818 for Ngāti Maniapoto for general issues and also health issues, ā kia ora tātau.	
	BERNADETTE ARAPERE	
	Tēnā tātau katoa. Te mea tuatahi, ki te iwi kaea ko Ngāti Maniapoto. (missing audio 09:16:27 to 09:16:50)	Firstly (missing audio 09:16:27 to 09:16:50)
	PETER JOHNSTON	

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	Yes may it please the Tribunal. Counsel's name is Johnston. I appear for six claims. First is the Ngāti Kauwhata claim. Also two claims within the Whanganui Northern Cluster WAI 1147. It's a claim by Michael and Grace Le Gros and WAI 1203 which is Te Tutemahurangi claim. I also appear for Ngāti Hinemihi 1447 and the Ngāti Wehiwehi claim WAI 1482 and the Rawiri Whānau claim 1824, kia ora.	
	KAREN FEINT	
	E kui mā e koro mā, tēnā koutou. Ki te Roopū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātau katoa. Ko Karen Feint ahau. I appear as counsel for Te Ariki Tumu Te Heuheu who is the claimant in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa comprehensive claim WAI 175, kia ora tātau.	To my fellow elders, I greet you all. I acknowledge the Waitangi Tribunal that are here. My name is Karen Feint.
	RICHARD BOAST	
	Tēnā koutou katoa. Counsel's name is Richard Boast. May it please the Tribunal, I appear for Ngāti Raukawa. It is Raukawa ki Waikato. Principal claim is WAI 443, claimant Mr Taiamoko Manaia who is here this morning to address the Tribunal in the kōrero, and as well as WAI 443, there are 17 affiliated claimant groups of Raukawa. I also appear for and I appear also for some upper, upper Whanganui groups, Tamahaki and Uenuku Tūwharetoa. The claimant for Tamahaki, Mr Robert Cribb, is also here this morning to address the Tribunal in the introductory kōrero and will also speak later this week. Kia ora tātau.	

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	MĀUI SOLOMON	
	Kia ora tātau. My name is Māui Solomon and I appear for three claimants in the Rohe Pōtae inquiry, Ngāti Rangatahi in WAI 366 and WAI 8, ah, 1064, Ngāti Hari in WAI 1803 and the Pukepoto Farm Trust in WAI 478.	
	TAVAKE AFEAKI	
0920	Ki āku rangatira, huri noa ki te whare nei, te whare pupuri kōrero. Te marae e takoto nei, e ngā rangatira, ngā mihi, ngā mihi, ngā mihi.	To all my elders gathered here within this house, this great house which stimulates conversation, and to the marae lay before us, I acknowledge you all.
	Ko Tavake Afeaki ahau. He uri ahau nō Kahungunu. Nō reira whānaunga mā, mihi atu, mihi atu.	I am Tavake Afeaki and I am from Ngāti Kahungunu and to all my relations, I greet you.
	Ānei ahau i taku taha kō taku hoa, ko Te Atairehia Thompson. Nō Maniapoto hoki anō ā Ngāti Paoa, ā, kō māua Hōnore, kia haramai hei māngai kōrero mō ētahi ō ngā hapū o Te Rohe Pōtae nei, kō WAI 537, ētahi kerēme o Ngāti Tāhinga mō ngā hapū o Tahinga., kō WAI 587, ētahi kerēme o Pita Pou Haereiti. (missing audio 09:21:00 to 09:21:57)	This is my friend Te Atairehia Thompson and of course she's Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Paoa and it is our honour as we represent various hapū within the Rohe Pōtae area and that's a claim from Ngāti Tahinga and that's a claim of Pita Pou Haereiti. (missing audio 09:21:00 to 09:21:57)
	GERALD SHARROCK	
	Tēnā koutou katoa, Sir, counsel's name is Sharrock. I am appearing on behalf of WAI 2075, Robin Whaanga on behalf of the descendants of Te Wherowhero. Thank you.	

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	JUDE MURDOCH	
	Tēnā koe Sir, counsel's name is Murdoch from Te Nahu Lovell and Co., Sir. Sir, we represent several Ngāti Hikairo claims as well as claims from Ngāti Hinemata, Ngāti Whakatere and Ngāti Uekaha. Kia ora.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Ka pai, all right. Mr Tootill, you are co-ordinating counsel for the week?	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Yes, Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	I had three other names in terms of what was provided to me, Mr Bennion, Mr Pou and Mr Wilson, but they've deferred to you, so you're in charge of whipping this along.	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	I will try my best, Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Just for everyone's benefit we have a tight schedule this week and there will be a few teething issues no doubt. One of the matters I'm interested in is there are some opening	

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	presentations. I don't believe they've been provided in written form before today, so I'm not sure what is intended in that respect, but Mr Tootill, I will continue to come back to you in terms of what is the next step. So, over to you in terms of who is first up.	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Thank you Sir, and I'll hand over to Ms Sykes shortly, but just to give an indication the estimates from the counsel leading the witnesses this morning were that each witness would take approximately 15 minutes, so hopefully we can keep to that schedule albeit it might be a bit tight. Ms Sykes?	
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Sir, if I can invite the Tribunal to take document H13 before themselves. It's dated the 29th of October and I'd invite Mr Nick (missing audio 09:24:12 to 10:57:12)	
0925	(missing audio 09:24:12 to 10:57:12)	
	NAPA OTIMI	
1057	...ā Te Heuheu Herea. Nāna i kitea he tangata kē, e kīia nei he tangata kēhua. Nāna hei kimi i te ao he tangata kē (inaudible 10:57:40 to 10:58:18). Aroha mai. Nā Te Heuheu Mananui, i te wā i a ia, ko tōna tinana te whenua, he Ariki ngau taringa. Wera ngā tikanga e mau ana i a ia, he mana o tōna tīpuna Taipāhau, he mana nui mō te iwi o Tūwharetoa.	...at that time of Te Heuheu Herea, it was he who had envisioned, in other words, he saw a ghost, an alternative, and of course his saying that he laid down from our ancestor Te Heuheu Herea, a (inaudible 10:57:55), a peaceful means and we talk of Te Miringa, the importance of Miringa Te Kākara. Secondly, it was from Te Heuheu Herea, it was he.

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	Nāna i whakahē te Tiriti o Waitangi.	Nā Te Heuheu Mananui at that particular time, he was saying that his body is off the land. Those were the teachings given to him by his ancestor Taipahau that he was given the mana of Tūwharetoa. It was he who ever saw the Tiriti o Waitangi at that time.
	Whakaiti i a ia wērā ngā kōrero, hau wahine hoki ki te ara o Tāwhaki. Koinā ngā tikanga hei whakaiti i a ia, ā Kuini Wikitōria. Kore tōna mana i puta ki raro te maro, te panekoti o tērā wahine. Ngā whakamārama mō ngā maungarongo, hau horongo, te tau pounamu e hangaina ana i a ia i te wā e takatū ana i a ia kei runga i te mata o te whenua. Nā hau horongo o tōna iwi, kāre ia anake. Ka tae atu te kōrero ki Te Heuheu Iwikau. Tōna tohu i runga i te Tiriti o Waitangi i te tau 1840. I te tau 1848 kua tae mai a Tekerei. Nāna i kite atu te tapu, te mana motuhake (missing audio 11:00:33 to 11:28:34).	Now the speaker is talking of proverbs. We talk about these powerful symbols of peace and it was he that led these particular symbols of peace. Now it was not only he who proposed these efforts. He did take it to Te Heuheu Iwikau and of course in the 1840s. Now 1948 Governor Grey had arrived (missing audio 11:00:33 to 11:28:34)
	HEARING ADJOURNS: 11.00 AM	
	HEARING RESUMES: 11.28 AM	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Kia ora e te matua, kia tau te whare. Ka hoki atu ki a koe e te matua, e Napa, kei a koe.	
	NAPA OTIMI	
	Ka hoki au ki āku nei kōrero, te wā e ora tōnu nei a Te Heuheu Horonuku. I te tau 1867, ka tīmata, te tīmatatanga o ngā rūri i roto i Te Puku o Te Ika. 1875, ka	May I return to my introduction, at the time where Te Heuheu Horonuku was alive. In 1867, the beginning of the surveys within the Central Plateau. 1875, gifts were

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	tuku taonga ki a Tawa, Gilbert Mair me Scannell.	given to Tawa, to Gilbert Mair and Scannell.
	Te poraka o Aotea, Waimarino, Kāingaroa i te tau 1882, te tīmatanga o ngā rūri mō te iwi, e kī nei mō te iwi o Tūwharetoa. 1883, the puku kōrero mō te Rohe Pōtae, 1885, te poraka of Taupō-nui-a-Tia, anā ko Scannell te Kaiwhakawā, ngā kaupapa, ngā hara, e kawea nei ngā mahi o te Karauna, ko te rere hui ko ngā ara o te kuīni, te waipiro, Te Kooti Whenua Māori, ngā taonga o te whenua e ngaro ana i raro ngā pure i hanga te Karauna.	The landblock Aotea, Waimarino and Kāingaroa, 1882 and of course the surveys were done amongst, within Tūwharetoa. In 1883 the boundaries were set within the Rohe Potae, the landblock within Taupō-nui-a-Tia and of course Scannell was the presiding Judge at that time, which was put forward, all the ills that were implemented, that were implemented by the Crown in line with policies from the Queen at that time, the prohibition of alcohol, the Māori Land Courts and of course various things were lost. Land loss was very prevalent, were all conscripts of the Crown.
	Kia whakarite ai tātau te kōrero o Te Heuheu Tūreiti, I te tau kotahi mano, waru rau, iwa tekau mā whā, ko ia tētehi hei karanga te kaupapa o te Kotahitanga o Niu Tīreni. I te tau 1903, kua tae tinana mai a Tūreiti Te Heuheu ki konei mō te kaupapa kōrero o Te Nehenehenui. I raro tōna nei whakapapa, anā ki a ngāi tātau a Ngāti Maniapoto.	Now, may I return to Te Heuheu Tūreiti, in 1894, it was he who instituted the Kotahitanga Movement and in 1903 Tūreiti Te Heuheu came here to discuss various issues that were happening at that time. It was he who brought his please within Ngāti Maniapoto here.
	I te tau 1908, te ngarotanga o te wao nui a Tāne i te taha hauaruru o te moana. I te tau 1913, e hanga ana ō tātau tīpuna me Te Heuheu Tūreiti, te Kotahitanga o Ngāti Tūwharetoa. I te tau, mai te tau 1913, tae atu ki te tau 1916, i te tau 1921, ka haere tēnei tīpuna o tātau ki te whare teitei o te whare Pāremata, e kīa nei i roto i te Whare o te Raiona.	1908, the confiscation of the forests in the east, Te Heuheu Tūreiti and others and those connected within the Kotahitanga Movement within Ngāti Maniapoto and Tūwharetoa from 1913 to 16 and further on to 1921, this particular ancestor went forward before the steps of Parliament and it is said at that time that it was the House of the Lion.
	Te Heuheu Hoani i te tau 1924, te ngarotanga ake o te mana ki te whenua o te Moananui a Taupō-nui-a-Tia. I te tau 1939 tōna kēhi, i whakahē ai, i a ia, te kamupene rākau o	Te Heuheu Hoani, in 1924, came in petition in regard to the Great Lake in Taupō and it was.

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	Tongariro ki te Kooti.	
	I te tau 1941, te pakanga tuarua o te ao. Ka tukunga atu i a ia te kēhi o te iwi Māori ki te Piriwi Kaunihera i Ingarangi. He momoria ki te whakatika, te kawenata pūmau e kīa nei te Te Tiriti o Waitangi. E kīa nei te kōrero "Constitutional change", nā Alex Frame he kōrero ki muri i a rātau.	1941 was the beginning of the second great war, the World War and it was he that took his position through to England in relation to the covenant in respect of his iwi and his alliance with the Treaty of Waitangi and they – to ratify constitutional change.
	Anei ngā whakamārama kōrero mō tēnei wā e te Taraipiunara. Nā reira e ngā iwi, āku tuakana, kei te mihi maumahara. I te tau 2006, ka tae tinana mai tō tātau papa rangatira a Tuia Adams, kō tātau mātua Tūī. Ka tae tinana mai i a ia ki Otukou Marae mō te hui Taraipiunara mō te take o Tongariro. Ka puta ia he kōrero mō te Ōhākī Tapu o te Rohe Pōtae. Tōna nei wawata kōrero ki a au i tēra wā pēnei. I tōna wā, i hui ai tātau katoa e iwi e rima ki mua i te Taraipiunara ki te puta te kōrero tapu i waihotia a kui mā, ā koro mā. Kia mau ki Te Kawau Mārō anake ake, anake, ake tonu atu. Anā kua tae mai tēnei kawau aroarotia, mai te kōpū o kānapanapa o Taupō-nui-a-Tia, i ruku ai ngā wai tapu o Te Nehenehenui. Rere ki runga i te hau mārire, rire, rire hau. Pai Mārire.	Now these were the rationale behind these particular, but however towards all those present, I reflect on all that has passed within 2006, Tui Adams visited us. It was he that came upon Otukou Marae in relation of the Tribunal hearings in relation to Tongariro and it was from there that he spoke of the sacred oath within the Rohe Pōtae and I still remember what he said to me at that time. It was within that five iwi laid before the Tribunal at that time the evidence, his evidence that we take leadership of all, stretching far towards Taupō, the Great Lake and of course giving due respect towards the Pai Mārire Movement.
	Nā reira, huri noa tō tātau whare, ngā mihi. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā anō tātau katoa.	So, to those within this great house, I acknowledge you all.
	E tangi tēnei ō ngā manu, nau e tito, e kore au e rongo te tangi o ngā manu o te ngahere. Kua ngaro ērā ngā taonga. Mai Te Wao Nui a Tāne, mai Te Nehenehenui. Hei ahakoa he tangi, he auē, he waiata aroha ki a tātau.	Now this is the cry of the bird, it has been written. We do not hear the sound, the birdsong of birds in this present time. They have since disappeared. I reflect on the great forests of old and I cry and I reflect what this particular song which speaks of that. My heart yearns. The tears fall down continuously and the great bird continues

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		with its song, lamenting, casting its ever foreseeing gaze upon us all.
	WAIATA	**WAIATA**
	Te tau, te tau o tāku ate. Maringi noa, maringi noa ngā waikamo. Ka tangi te manu ki oriori, ka tangi te manu kaikaranga. Auē, auē, te aroha. Auē, auē, te mamae. Pariroa te Rimu o te Huia. Kua ngaro te Korimako. Kei hea te Tūī, e tuituia. Kei hea te Kōkako, e kō. Auē, auē te aroha.	My tears continue for this loss in the enduring pain that I continue to take. I talk of the great Rimu tree where the Huia birds perched and the Bellbird that we do not hear anymore and where is that cheeky Tui that goes to and fro, again the Bellbird with its ever lamenting cry which we do not hear anymore. Oh how I remember, and I remember with sorrow.
	Auē, auē te mamae. Auē, auē te aroha, auē, auē, taukiri e.	And here I continue on with that cry.
	E ngā manu kōkō tuituia. E ngā manu kōkō tuituia. Tuia ki runga, tui ki raro, tuia ki roto, tuia ki waho. Tuia te here tāngata, tēnā tātau katoa.	To all the many birds that have since passed on, may you continue to sing to the heavens, to the earth, to all mankind, kia ora.
1140	**JUDGE AMBLER**	
	Tēnā koe e te matua. Ms Feint, as I understand it, there is a written copy of what Mr Otimi has presented.	
	KAREN FEINT	
	There is Sir and Mr Otimi has indicated he's happy for that to be filed, if that's what you'd like. Professor Mead's already asked him for that.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes well it should be filed and I understand that he will be addressing matters in more detail the second week.	

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	KAREN FEINT	
	That's right Sir. That's the précis of the more detailed evidence that he does intend to give.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes, Mr Melvin, you are happy to wait until then?	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Yes Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Thank you. Kia ora koe.	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Sir, the next two speakers are, the next two speakers are Meto Hopa and Frank Thorne. They have filed a brief of evidence #H12 and will be led by Mr Wilson. Sir just while they are coming to the stand, following them we'll have opening submissions presented by Mr Mahuika and then there's been a slight change in the timetable. Mr Thomas Roa will now go before Mr John Kaati.	
	DOMINIC WILSON	
	Sir, kia ora tātau anō. Sir, I think it's fitting that the last speakers are from Ngāti Hikairo. It's fitting because they are joined, iwi joined, the fifth iwi are last. Sir, there'll be an opening, a brief opening by the Ngāti Hikairo kaumātua,	

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	Meto Hopa, and then the actual brief will be presented by Frank Thorne, and as my colleague mentioned, it's document H12. Sir, I'd like to seek your leave to have the, this brief taken as read, in the sense that Mr Thorne will present just a few selected paragraphs in the interest of time. And Sir, I remind of course that this is an opening introduction by both speakers for Ngāti Hikairo and it's intended that they will present in the second hearing week in December, in the Ngāti Hikairo section, and that'll of course be available then as well for questioning. Kia ora tātau. Like to call Mr Meto Hopa.	
1145	**METO HOPA**	
	A kia ora mai rā tātau, tātau e tau nē i raro i te tuanui o tō tātau whare Te Tokanganui-a-noho. Kāti rā ngā mihimihi. Me kī rā kua tau, kua tau, kua tau. Nō reira ngā mihi kia koutou e te Taraipiunara, ngā Kaiwhakawā, ā tēnā koutou e te Karauna. Kia koe e te hoa, e Pou, tēnei te mihi e koro. Kōrua, kōrua tahi Hirini, kia ora mai rā, ā tae noa hoki ki a koe e te Kaiwhakawā, te Tiati, kia ora mai rā.	I acknowledge all those present today. Those gathered here under the great auspices of this house Te Tokanganui-a-noho. I acknowledge the Tribunal before me, to the Judge, and of course to you Crown. And to you my dear friend, Professor Temara. To you both, to you Sir Hirini, and again, to you Judge Ambler, tēnā koe.
	Ko Meto Hopa hoki taku ingoa. I heke mai au i ērā atu hoki, ngā kāwai o, o Waikato ko Ngāti Wairere. Tērā taha ōku a kai tēnei taha o Te Tai Hauāuru, ā tēnā o Ngāti Hikairo me ōna kārangaranga maha.	My name is Meto Hopa. I come from a long line of Waikato whakapapa, Ngāti Wairere. One side belongs to the Tai Hauāuru, and of course to Ngāti Hikairo and all that pertains to that iwi.
1155	E rau rangatira mā, ko Riwaru te waka, Ko Rātā ngā tāngata o runga. Kāre e nui atu ngā kōrero. I roto i ngā wiki nei ko te wāhanga tuarua, kei reira hoki te nuinga ake ngā kōrero ka uhia nei ki runga kia koutou, ki runga kia tātau. Nō reira, me huri anō ki te kaupapa, te kaupapa i haere mai ai mātau.	Riwaru. The speaker's now giving whakapapa of ancient connecting him to this region. I do not have much to say at this stage; however, within the second week of hearings will be the basis of a lot of effort that's been brought forward so I just want to make that clear. Now I must return back to the

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		evidence I give before you.
	E te Karauna, tērā tētahi kōrero. Me hoki anō taku kōrero pēnei, ko te kōrero a Kāwana Kerei ki tō mātau kaumātua a me kī rā ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. Anei tana kōrero, "E pō, ka tango iho katoa ki ōu whenua, maunga, ngahere, moana, e koro, he aha he kai māu?" Anō nei te koroheke nei, ka whakaarotia, ā, ko tēnei kōrero he whakateka. Ko te whakautua mai a te koroheke nei, "Kāwana Kerei, ki te mea whēra ana, whēra ana ōu whakaaro, he aha kē kai māku Kāwana Kerei? Ko koe anō he kai māku." Nā reira, e aroha ana au ki te kōrero nei. E te Taraipiunara, kua rongo hia ngā kōrero, wērā atu hoki ngā rangatira i tū ake i mua i ahau, aroha ana hoki ngā kōrero. Tērā tētahi tonu anō i kōrerotia ko te tumuaki o Ngāti Hauā, ko Wiremu Tāmihana. Kua mutu rā ngā pakanga i te pū. Kei tōna wā ka utaina tēnei mea kei runga kia tātau kia kapohia te tuhirau ki te rehu inga. Nā reira tēnei hoki, tēnei te kaupapa i haere mai ai mātau hei kōrero kia koutou e Te Taraipiunara, hei kōrero ki te Kāwana. Ko te take ko ēnei kōrero e tika ana e hāngai ana ki te kaupapa, te kaupapa i haere mai ai mātau. Tēnei hoki a Kāwhia moana, ko Kāwhia kai, Kāwhia tāngata, kua tae mai mātau, kua tau, kua tau.	To you the Crown, there is a saying, perhaps I should say it in this way. Now what was said by Governor Grey and his discussions with King Pōtatau, and addressing, he said, "I will take your land, your mountains, your seaways, I will take it all." That is what I say. Then Pōtatau replied accordingly, "Now where is this, where is this coming from?" And of course Pōtatau continued and he says, "Governor Grey, if that's your thought, if that's where you're coming from, it is you who I shall have as sustenance for my being." And I reflect and give, and I reflect on what was said at that time. So to you the Tribunal, you've heard what's been said of all that was said prior to myself, and I give reflection towards what has been said thus far. However, I must reflect on and speak about that tīpuna, Wiremu Tamihana. At the time where the Māori wars had ended, at that time - so with that, no I just want to make it clear, this is what I came for, to lay down my evidence. Now the essence, the essence of the evidence I want to bring forward, now here before you is Kāwhia the sea, Kāwhia the man, the people, w are here.
	Ko tētahi kōrero i kōrerotia mai a Tāwhiao, kaua te taura pokaia ki te kai whakahora, whakahora. Ko tēnā kōrero ka eke i runga i ngā kōrero e kōrerotia ake nei au kia koutou. Ko tēnei kōrero ka heke i runga i te kaupapa, te kaupapa i haere mai ai mātau.	Now Tāwhiao also, I reflect on a, a saying. Now this particular proverb he talks about, and I shall explain it to yous.
	Nā reira e te Taraipiunara, kia mōhio mai koutou, kō Ngāti Hikairo, me ōna kārangaranga maha kai roto. Kō	So, with that, to the Tribunal, this is Ngāti Hikairo here and everything about us we have five iwi within that grouping,

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	mātau ngā iwi e rima kei roto Te Rohe Pōtae. Koinei mātau e hiahia ana ki a koutou, kia kaha koutou tiaki atu te Karauna, ki te kāwana. He iwi kē mātau e hara mātau, te hapū, kō te take i te tau, ki te tahi mano, waru rau, waru tekau mā rima i kōrerotia ai i roto i ngā Kooti, te kōrero a te kāwana o te kai-wahakawa i tērā wā, kō ngā iwi e rima, kōrero pēnei kō ngā hapū e rima. Engari, kō ngā iwi e rima, kia mōhio ai koutou, kō mātau tētahi o ngā iwi e rima. E rongohia ana au kō ngā iwi e whā, kei kōnei au e whakarongo ki ngā kōrero, engari kua wareware hoki ki a mātau, kō mātau ngā iwi e rima.	within the Rohe Pōtae. It is invested upon you, the Tribunal, to hear our evidence, to represent what we have said and lay before the Crown. In 1885 evidence was laid down before the Courts at that time. Now, he talks about this grouping of iwi, it is a iwi of grouping of five and not a hapū. Now, as i said, Ngāti Hikairo was one of those iwi within the five and I'm very keen to hear from the other four iwi, but again i just want to clarify our position, we are an iwi, a group, within the collective of iwi within that five.
	Kei a mātau e pupuru ana, mana motuhake i tō tātau waka o te tumu a Tainui. E rite tonu mātau kua warewaretia, a kua mātau e noho mai ana, te takutai moana, he tongi ano hoki kei roto i a mātau, kō taku pūreke, kō taku kahu e pūreke he kahu i te oto.	I just want to reflect back to our waka, our great vessel of old, Tainui. We represent that. That is an embodiment. Of that, we will never forget that. The witness has just laid down a proverb. I shall try to endeavour to unravel it, but however.
	Nō reira e te Taraipiunara, kia kaha hoki ki a koutou. Arohamai ai kia wawata. Nā reira kāre e nui ake ngā kōrero i tēnei wā. Kia tae atu ki te wāhanga tuarua kei reira te nuinga ake i ngā kōrero. Pēnei he makinga Te omangaroa kia iri ai te kī te kōrero ki te tarawharo, kō te hunga wairua, kua iri ai ki te korero ki te tōrea i te waha kirihanga, nā tēnei au e tū ake nei. Me hoki anō ngā mihi ki tēnei tīpuna o tātau ko Wahanui. Kō tana kōrero, kia tōrea i te wahae tū ake nei. Hei kōrero ki a tātau. Engari i haere mai mātau i roto i tēnei kōrero, kō te tūmanako, kō te aroha, kō te whakapono, engari kō te aroha hoki, te mea nui kia rite ki te kupu pai a harakore kia mā me te hukarere. Nō reira au e haere mai i te kōrero i ēnei kōrero, hei whaka takotoria, te mauri mana motuhake kei roto i a tātau.	To the Tribunal, it is upon you, the weight of our aspirations. Yeah, I just want to summarise by saying that the majority of our evidence will be given in the second week of hearings and I shall not prolong proceedings at this stage. Again, I want to acknowledge our dear loved ones that have since passed, but I want to reflect on our ancestor Wahanui and of course his leadership at that time and I represent that, i represent him and we talk about these three big things faith, hope and charity and love. It intertwines with our old sayings of the ancient Māori world. We just want to make sure that we're clear that the evidence that we will be giving is special and represents who we are and our place in the world.

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	Kua wera ahau. Nā reira e rau rangatira mā, tēnei e tū ake nei, he whakapuare, hei kōrero, ērā atu ngā kōrero i mahuetia mai ai i ō mātau nei tīpuna, i ō mātau nei mātua. Tangi te korowhiti, tangi te korowhiti kore rawa i whakautu i raro i ngau. Tēnei mātau e haere mai ana ki te kōrero i ō mātau nei take i mua i a koutou, engari haere mai ana, e heke mai ana te roimata. Nā reira, kāti rā. He mea nui tēnei, he mea paku noaiho tēnei. Taku mihi k otaku kōrero kia koutou. Heoi anō, ko te mea nui kia mātau, kia whakamōhiotia te mana motuhake kia mātau a Ngāti Hikairo. E hara tēnei ko te hapū a e tika, me ōna hapū kei roto, engari kia mōhio mai te Karauna, he iwi kē mātau. Kei roto i a mātau nei rohe, kāre mātau e peke i ngā taiapa. Ko ngā rohe e whakatepe ko te kōrero hoki o ō mātau nei mātua, o mātau nei tīpuna, "Nō hō mai koe i roto i tō rohe, e kore koe taka i roto i te raruraru." Nō reira e rau rangatira mā, kāti i konei, kāti i konei. Nō reira, ka tukuna atu hoki ki te – ki taku tamaiti, tā mātau tāngata i rangahautia ngā kōrero. Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou a kia ora mai rā tātau. Haramai e tama.	Please forgive me I'm quite flustered with heat at the moment and here I stand, hopefully to carefully explain our position and who we represent, particularly our ancestors of old. The speaker is breaking into another proverb. Coming towards our purpose for today, when I reflect on, on the old people, I shed a tear. In recollecting on their position back then and where we are now. It's a huge great step forward for us. Even though little old me, it is still a task we must endure. But we want to make sure that the interests that the uniqueness of Ngāti Hikairo is very clear and of course to you the Crown, so that you're very clear that we are an iwi, iwi. Within our boundaries, within our areas, we do not jump fences. We are very clear who we are. To everyone here present, I end my presentation and I hand things over to, ah, my colleague who will give evidence in the research that they have managed to gather thus far, but however, I acknowledge all those present. Tēnā koe.
	Āe tēnā tātau katoa. E tika ana ngā kōrero kua kōrerohia, ngā mihi kua mihia. E tautoko katoa ana. Heoi anō, tēnei e mihi ana, tēnei e mihi ana, ngā mihi kia koutou katoa.	Yes I do want to acknowledge all the speeches that have been said thus far. I acknowledge all that has been said to date.
	Āe, tēnei e tū ana hei tautoko, he hāpai i ngā kōrero kua kōrerohia e taku matua e taku koroua. Heoi anō, kua riro māku hei, hei kōkiri i ētahi o ngā kaupapa kāore i kōrerohia. Heoi anō te tuatahi e tautoko ana. Toko rima ngā, ngā iwi o Te Rohe Pōtae nei, pērā i mana ai e te Kāwanatanga, e te Karauna i 1883, tae noa atu i 1886. Koira tā mātau e kōkiri ana i ēnei o ngā, o ngā hearings nei nā, kia kore e	As my dear uncle has said, I want to support him in what he has said so far. Now there are some areas which I do want to speak about and give clarity. However, again I want to make sure that it's clear that there are five iwi from 1883 to 1886. We said it back then, that we are, there are five iwi within this area. Hopefully, that you will hear that we are an iwi which is unique and special, and we have our place in the

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	warewarehia. Kia ranonga ai, kia kōrerohia ai. Kei konei ā Ngāti Hikairo, he iwi motuhake. Ehara i te hapū nō tēnā, e hara i te hapū nō tērā. Heoi anō kei konei mātau e kōkiri tonu ana i taua kaupapa, e kore rawa mātau e mutu i tō mātau nei haka. Ka hakahaka tonu mātau i ō mātau nei haka kia ranonga e koutou, kei konei mātau. Heoi anō tēnā koutou katoa.	world. And so here we are, continue on, continue on the journey and of course we'll continue to sing our songs, do the haka about it, so that we are all clear who Ngāti Hikairo are.
	Okay, ā kua riro māku that's te mission nei, te pepa nei kua, kua whoatu nei kia koutou. Heoi anō ka haere tonu ki tērā rā. Ā ka tīmata au ki te whiti tua whā, te paragraph 4. Āe, mātau nei o Ngāti Hikairo, we acknowledge the importance of this kaupapa to all the iwi and therefore, the hearings have been brought forward into the inquiry, ki konei ki te tokanganui-a-noho, ki Te Nehenehenui.	Now it's left upon me that, that is all before you, the evidence briefing, and can we go to paragraph 4.
	Paragraph 5, te pitihana. Ngāti Hikairo acknowledges that he maha ngā ingoa e pā ana ki tēnei mea Te Ōhākī Tapu. Kei a iwi, kei a iwi ōna ake mita, ōna ake kupu me, me kī o tēnei o ngā, o ngā kaupapa. Hei te ētahi ko te Kawenata Tapu, hei tā ētahi ko te Ōhākī Tapu, hei tā ētahi ko te pat, te combat rānei nā. Kia mātau ko te pitihana. Ko tā mātau ko tā Ngāti Hikairo e mau riterite tonu nei mātau ki te pitihana. Okay ka pai.	There are many names Te Ōhākī Tapu, so other people will say, will say it in their own way pertaining to their dialects. To some that Kawenata Tapu, the Sacred Covenant. Some say it's a sacred oath. Others may say it's a compact or pact. To us well – but to us at Ngāti Hikairo, we refer to it in terms of petition.
1200	So, the pitihana, as far as we are concerned were signed by four tribes; Tūwharetoa, Raukawa, Maniapoto and Whanganui and submitted in June 1883. Ngāti Hikairo have always maintained that from that point we continue to hold onto te pitihana, ka pai? Te Rohe Pōtae me te pitihana. Ka hoki.	

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	Paragraph 8, tuawaru. Ngāti Hikairo kōrero is that the iwi was concerned with the initial boundary of Te Rohe Pōtae as set out in the June 1883 petition.	
	I taua wā, kāore a Ngāti Hikairo i uru ki roto nei e ngā Pitihana, kei a mātau – i a mātau o mātau ake "ambitions" me kī. I a mātau tō ake rangapū i te mahi mātau i ō mātau mahi, engari i tau uaua tonu i te wā i whakatakotorea tētahi rohe, i tapahia tā mātau nei rohe. I tau uaua tonu, kātahi ka areare o mātau nei taringa me te whakaaro me pēwhea mātau te whakatikatika, te whakahē rānei i tēnei o ngā kaupapa, kīhai mātau i kaha ki te whakahē, kō tō mātau me pēwhea mātau. Me waiho mai tērā o ngā tokowhā, me uru rānei ki roto. Heoi anō, ka kōrero mātau ki a mātau nei whanaunga kei muri nei i a mātau, ā, ka noho tahi, ka noho tahi ki Kihikihi, ka noho tahi anō ki Kāwhia, ā, kia mutu te tautohetohe, kia mutu te taukumekume, kātahi a mātau, ka whakaitahi. 5th of December 1883 and Kāwhia, Ngāti Hikairo decided to join the petition and all its ngako, all its purposes, all its agreements, all that it was seeking and therein asked for the boundary to be moved, mai Whitiura, mai Kāwhia ki Whitiura ki Pirongia and to be moved to its current known boundary which is from Kārewa to Raukumara up to Pirongia and then joining what was known as the rest of the inquiry boundary at Pūniu.	We had our own separate petition or ambition. We had our own political people there. Now it was at that time the land began to divide. Now, at that time we were – how are we able to correct this? We didn't know all the pitfalls. We did see there were a lot of pitfalls within in, but however, how are we going to move forward? Now, we will leave that for our relatives that are present here, that some will live in Kihikihi, some will live in Kāwhia and through robust discussions that we're able to come to some form of agreement.
	I reira, i runga i tērā whakaaro, ka whakaitia, ka totea i Ngāti Hikairo, tēnei mea kō te Pitihana. Kia ora.	It was there that a consensus agreement was met, was agreed upon and a petition was set.
	So, we informally joined, we supported the kaupapa in	

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	December 1883 based on the boundary movements and then fully embraced and supported what all iwi were pushing for and those discussions that had been happening with Bryce and other ministers. So, Ngāti Hikairo met on the 5th of December where Hōne Wētere, Hōne Teone and Pikia confirmed Ngāti Hikairo's support for the King Country survey. They consented to the additional Ngāti Hikairo boundaries to that already provided by the other four tribes and to join that boundary at Pūniu. Ngāti Hikairo rangatira there signed an agreement provided by Bryce, consented to the survey. The kōrero of Ngāti Hikairo is therefore that once the iwi joined as a fifth iwi – the boundary was extended north to ensure that our rohe was entirely included. We believe the Crown was aware of this extension and has been and had been actively seeking to exclude our lands by promoting a separate Native Land Court application by our tribe.	
	Ka pai. Ka tahuri au ki te rua tekau me te rua tekau mā tahi. Hei mua i pērā, in 1884, Governor Jervois in March 1884 came to Kāwhia and met at Ōmiti in downtown Kāwhia, the CBD.	Can we turn towards paragraphs 20 and 21.
1205	I reira i hui tahi mātau, i reira nā a Pikia, arā, kō Pikia Haurua, kō Hōne Teone, kō Tiki Taimana, kō Te Tihirahi nō Ngāti Mahuta a Te Tihirahi, i reira anō a Te Huki, ā, ka Kōrerohia me pēwhea te uru ki roto nei i ēnei mea, ngā "negotiations" mō te whakatuwheratanga i te Rohe Pōtae. I reira, ka kōrerohia ngā ture, ina ko tā Pikia, nō mātau tēnei rohe. E kore rā e whakaitia kia riro atu te mana whakahaere kia koe, kia koutou, kia wai atu rānei. Tēnei wā tonu kei te	It was there that we gathered and Pikia was there, Pikia Haurua was present, Hōne Teone, Tiki Taimana, Tihirahi, Tihirahi, Huki was present. Now, it was there that was discussed – now how were we able to enter the agreements in regard to the Rohe Pōtae and Pikia was said that this land belongs to us. We did not agree for its management to be handed over to any other entity, and at this time – and we talk about our, the influence which we

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	kōrero tāua me pēwhea tāua kia mahi tahi i roto nei i Te Rohe Pōtae. Ko tō mātau nei mana mai Kāwhia nei, tae noa atu ki te 20 māero ki waho, kei a mātau te mana whakahaere, e hara nei i a koutou. Āe ka whakaetia kia, kia tuwhera, engari e kore rā e riro noa atu i a mātau te mana whakahaere. Kei te pupuri tonu mātau ki tērā, kei te pupuri tonu mātau ki tērā.	cover from Kāwhia, and of course we have full management of those area, well that was our petition. However, things did not eventuate, and of course we are still aggrieved of that. However, now let me explain, when I say we haka or we perform a ngeri or a, or an ancient, one of the very many expressions of song and it talks about the, the actual wars within Waitara, Mahoetahi. It was there that one – that Te Tewetere Taiporotu was killed at that particular battle, and Ngāti Hikairo were very upset. And however, it was there that this particular song was composed, and it was here, and it was through one of our ancestors that composed a song in relation to Ngāti Hikairo and it's very insistent to the Government in the wrongdoings that had been ongoing since then till now.
	Rua tekau, in the 1880s and continuing today, we have been pressing for self-governance of the iwi in Te Rohe Pōtae. Our iwi understood that the agreement of the Pitihana would protect us. We saw the five cloaks of Te Rohe Pōtae as a collective path towards this goal. Through the collective work with the five iwi, we believe we would retain our iwi independence and have our authority appropriately recognised by the Crown. For this reason Ngāti Hikairo holds fast today to its allegiance to Te Pitihana.	
	Heoi anō, koira tā mātau, tēnā koutou katoa.	With that we end, thank you.
	A, ka haramai tā mātau iwi. Heoi anō, māku e, e whakamārama atu kia koutou. Ka haka nei mātau i tētahi ngeri. Ko tēnei o ngā ngeri a, nō Tuawhakarere. Nō te wā i haere atu ai a Ngāti Hikairo ki te tautoko atu i nā, ki ngā pakanga ki roto nā ō Waitara. I reira tētahi pakanga ko	And I do want to give reference to my ancestors Tāpihana and it was Ngāti Hikairo that asked him to support in that particular battle. It was he – Tāpihana was also influential in developing prayers of old during the time of the early King Movement. Now this particular song or ngeri

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	Mahoetahi. I reira i hinga ai tētahi tīpuna nui, ko Te Wetere Taiporotu. Auē ka aroha. Heoi anō ka tangi ngā, ngā kaumātua o te kāinga, ka tangi ngā wāhine o te kāinga, o ngā wāhine he kaha nō rātau ki te tito i ngā, i ngā ngeri, i ngā haka e whakaatu nei i tōna riri. Heoi anō, ko tō mātau nei – tēnei o ngā, o ngā ngeri, na Matiri Whaea ki te Rangi. Tō mātau nei tīpuna he kaha nōna ki te haka, he kaha nōna ki te tito haka wahine. Tēnei o ngā ngeri, ka whakaatu nei i te riri o Ngāti Hikairo ki te Kāwanatanga me tōna kore whakarongo, tōna kore mōhio me pēwhea te kōrero tahi ki te iwi me pēwhea te aroha mai ki te iwi. Heoi anō, i reira anō i roto nei i te waiata, ka whakahuatia tō mātau nei tīpuna, Te Tāpihana. Nāna anō a Ngāti Hikairo i, i ārahi ki te pakanga, ā, ā taihoa ake, um, ka rongo nui anō tērā o nā tīpuna mō ngā mahi i whatiwhati hoe. Nāna anō hoki i, i karakia ngā karakia ki te whakatuwheratanga i te Kīngitanga. Ko Te Tāpihana tērā. Ka whakahuatia i roto i tēnei o ngā waiata, ā ka whakahuatia anō ko ngā rangatira 10 o Ngāti Hikairo. Heoi anō kia mātau nei, e mana ai tēnei o ngā ngeri i roto nei i ngā whakaaro o ngā tīpuna, he iwi kē mātau. Ahakoa ka tautoko mātau i tēnei o ngā kaupapa, ko te Kīngitanga, ahakoa e tautoko ana mātau i te, i te pakanga i Taranaki, ka tautoko i a Maniapoto, i a Raukawa, i a Whanganui, i a Maniapoto i te, i Te Rohe Pōtae, he iwi kē mātau. Heoi anō, e tatauko ana mātau ki tēnei o ngā ngeri. Heoi anō, ka hakaina. Heoi anoi, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātau katoa.	represents Ngāti Hikairo and of course comes back that we are an iwi. Our support for the Kīngitanga and of course the war that was held at Taranaki in Waitara there. Again, I do want to stress that this ngeri or this particular song is very clear that Ngāti Hikairo are an iwi.
	HAKA	
	E karanga pao mai te tara.	The particular waiata is very clear on who caused this divide at that time, in particular to the Crown at that time.

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1210	A kia ora mai rā tā tāua – kua rongohia ngā kupu o te waiata nā, kua eke ki runga i te kōrero, te kōrero e kōrerotia ake nei e au kia tātau, "Pōtatau, he aha he kai Māu?" Nā, nā Kāwana Kerei hoki tēnei kōrero. Ko te whakautua mai a Pōtatau, "Ā ko koe anō hei kai māku." Nā ko te waiata nei kua eke i runga i te kōrero nā. Nō reira e rau rangatira mā, kāti rā, kua oti kē te wāhi, te wāhanga kia mātau. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, ā kia ora mai rā tātau.	You would have heard particular words within this particular song, chant, and of course I go back to that old saying when Governor Grey says, and of course Pōtatau's reply towards Governor Grey that you will be the food that gives me sustenance. So with that to all those present, I greet you all.
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Mr Wilson, can I be clear in what you are intending?	
	DOMINIC WILSON	
	Sir the –	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Mr Thorne and Mr Hopa are going to be addressing the Tribunal in more detail -	
	DOMINIC WILSON	
	They are Sir, they are Sir and so there will be –	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	On these, on these same matters.	

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	DOMINIC WILSON	
	Indeed Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Mr Melvin?	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Yes Sir. On that basis, the Crown will wait until they present again and ask questions then.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Kia ora, kia ora kōrua.	
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Sir can I have a request about the translations. I think because of the importance of some of the evidence this morning that hasn't been made available, I would like especially the last two witnesses evidence in Māori to be transcribed word for word if possible.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes there is going to be a transcription prepared of every hearing. Is the issue that you are raising that we need these sections sooner rather than later?	

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	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Sir, no disrespect to the translator but I couldn't follow the translations, and I would prefer the evidence in Māori. I prefer the first language that is uttered as the evidence I rely on.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	So you are referring to Mr Thorne and Mr Hopa?	
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	That's the only request I've made at the moment Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes, right ka pai. All right, well we'll look into that in terms of how soon the transcript of, of their evidence can be, thank you.	
	DOMINIC WILSON	
	And Sir, it's Mr Wilson here, I certainly support that. Sir, it also notes that the ngeri that was formed was set out in the oral traditional report. That's document A98 at page 255. Tēnā koe.	

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	JASON POU	
	Sir, in terms of that going forward, I just note because I've been listening to the translations that there were a couple of whakataukī that were, that were referred to by Mr Hopa that were just, they basically just got missed by the translations and one way forward might be also for Mr Wilson to have those explained when these two give evidence the next time within the next week, Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes I think that would be helpful.	
	METO HOPA	
	E mea atu ana rātau ko ngā tongi he pou. Kāre e mārama ana. Tērā hoki te kōrero a Tāwhiao, "Kaua te taura pokaia ki te kaiwhakahora, whakahora." He maha hoki ngā tikanga kei roto i tērā kōrero. Ko te wairua o tēnā kōrero. Ā he haeremai ai mātau mā runga tō mātau waka, engari i haria mai e mātau tā mātau kaupapa, tā mātau take hei horahia ki mua i a koutou.	Back to the tongi that were given. The speaker is now – now the essence of those particular whakataukī that was given.
	Nā koinei hoki te taura taku, tātau e kōrero. Kaua e pōkaia te taura ki te taura ki te kei, nā reira kia mutu rā anō, kia tutuki rā anō te kaupapa, kei reira ka here te taura.	Now this is the rope that binds us all here.
	Heoi anō, ko tēnei take ka haere tonu ka haere tonu, ka wānanga hia, ka wānanga hia. Kei reira te pūawaitanga, kei reira ka here, nē, mārama ana? Ā nō reira, kia ora mai rā tātau. Nō reira ka tau ki raro.	We will continue to discuss, to where that binds us together.

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1215	**GLENN TOOTILL**	
	Sir, Mr Mahuika will now present opening submissions for Ngāti Maniapoto.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Now, Mr Mahuika, you've filed something?	
	MATANUKU MAHUIKA	
	I've only just filed something, Sir. We were having some technological problems giving you a soft copy. There are hardcopies that have been distributed, but during the last 15 minutes or so i understand an electronic copy has been placed on the record.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	All right, just bear with us at the moment. I'm hoping that we can pick it up. Jenny, can you tell me what has been allocated? Just for everyone's benefit we are experimenting with trying to avoid taking bucket loads of paper home with us and we're hoping to work off an electronic platform. Mr Mahuika has only just filed this document with us. He's apparently submitted it electronically and i just need to find it. Is it in there? Kei a koe, Mr Mahuika	

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	MATANUKU MAHUIKA	
	Sir, my apologies for that. It has been a little while since I've appeared in this forum, so i had assumed we were still doing things the old fashioned way with bits of paper.	
	So, kei te aroha atu. Heoi anō. Kia ora anō koutou, otirā, tātau, kō te wāhanga hei au i tēnei wā, te tuku atu, me kī rā te tīmatatanga kōrero mō Ngāti Maniapoto e pā ana ki Te Ōhākī.	Now, what's been given for me is to – as I have been giving opening statements on behalf of Ngāti Maniapoto.
	Kei te mōhio tonu koutou taku taha ki a Ngāti Porou, tuku mai au i reira, ka noho tonu au i reira, engari he taha nō taku i te taha o taku māmā ki a Ngāti Raukawa. Nā reira, he hōnore nui tēnei ki te tū ki te tuku kōrero atu mō tēnei take mō – me kī rā mō āku whānau kei roto o Tainui waka, me wērā atu o ngā karangatanga. Heoi anō, ngā kāri whakatorongia, āe, engari, kei te mihi atu, tēnā anō tātau katoa.	As you know and of course my affiliation is to Ngāti Porou as I grew up there and I lived there and from my mum's side I am of Ngāti Raukawa and it is with great honour that I stand here and giving evidence in respect to my relatives within Tainui waka and the wider groupings and of course I acknowledge all those present.
1220	Sir, I almost said this morning when we were – because this is what, midday on the first day of these hearings and this is the first time we've heard a lawyer get up to make submissions and it in some respects takes me back to the way that the Tribunal initially operated before we were looking to move these things quickly through the system when it was essentially a claimant driven process and the lawyers were there just as the supporting act and I did think we've heard the speakers this morning, we felt their passion. We've felt the depth of feeling that there is in relation to this important topic, Te Ōhākī Tapu.	

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	So, all I will be doing today is, very briefly, because I've been given a time limit, setting out the case for Ngāti Maniapoto in relation to Te Ōhākī Tapu. It's not normally how I do things but given that you've only just received the submissions and given that also those that are present won't have seen them, all I propose to do Sir, is to just read through the submission. It's only about five pages long. I'll interpolate in a couple of places. The other document that you've also got is chronology, which is only one and a half pages and it's really just to highlight the key events. There is actually a lot that sits in behind those events that I've highlighted and a lot more detail which will be fleshed out during the course of these hearings and which will no doubt be elaborated upon when it comes time to close. But, for the meantime I thought it was useful to have a brief chronology in order to put some of these events in sequence and just to assist and understand the brief submissions that I am now about to make. So, if I just turn now to the written submission, these opening submissions are filed on behalf of Maniapoto in respect of the Rohe Pōtae hearings focusing on what has become to be known as Te Ōhākī Tapu and of course we've heard during the course of this morning that there are actually a number of different names that are given to what I'll be referring to throughout these submissions as Te Ōhākī Tapu, so the rangatira at the time also referred to the agreements with the Crown that formed the Ōhākī Tapu with terms such as Ki Tapu, whakahoatu – Te Rohe Pōtae compact and of course we've also heard Te Petihana.	

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1225	These submissions do not traverse that the legal and Treaty related issues that arise in respect of Te Ōhākī Tapu. I think we understand the Treaty jurisprudence that's been developed over many years by this Tribunal, so there's no need for the purposes of these submissions to delve into those or to reiterate them. All they seek to do is to highlight key matters that will be covered in evidence by and on behalf of the various Maniapoto and related claimants. So, I have attached to the submissions as an appendix the chronology that I've talked about. The key questions for consideration during the course of these next two weeks of hearing what was Te Ōhākī Tapu and why does it continue to be so important that it should be the first matter considered in this inquiry. For the people of Maniapoto, the Ōhākī Tapu sits at the heart of their claims against the Crown. It was a declaration of the ongoing autonomy, the rangatiratanga within the Rohe Pōtae and an assertion of the right to govern within that rohe. It was a promise by the Crown that this autonomy, this exercise of rangatiratanga would be recognised and respected in all respects including within and through the laws passed by the Government. What history will record and what the record will show at the conclusion of these hearings is an abject failure by the Crown to make good on that promise. Whether the Ōhākī Tapu is spoken of as one particular agreement or a combination of several agreements, its historical roots lie in a course of dealings including a series of specific agreements that have come to be viewed as a solemn compact that was	

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	reached between the iwi of the Rohe Pōtae and the Crown. So these agreements covered matters that were reflected in the 1883 Rohe Pōtae petition, such as the agreement to an in, to an initial survey of the railway route and the conditions for the establishment of the railway. To have survey of the external boundary of Te Rohe Pōtae, surveyed within which native authority would continue to be recognised. So in other words, to establish this external boundary of Te Rohe Pōtae and recognising that the authority of the iwi, of Te Rohe Pōtae would continue to be exercised within that district, and also the establishment of the licensing district. The content of Te Ōhākī Tapu is reflected in a number of key events, including the agreement of 16 March 1883, which is also known as the Aotea agreement, and this was the agreement to survey the external boundaries of Te Rohe Pōtae. This characterisation of Te Rohe Pōtae, so as a, you know, series of agreements giving rise to like a broader compact, is accepted by the Crown historian in this inquiry, Dr Loveridge, who in discussing the 1953 analysis by historian McLintock, as to whether there was a Sacred Pact, Pledge or Treaty between the Government and the Māori tribes of this area, makes the following comment, and so I'm just at the quote there. Yet if there was no single sacred pact between the governments of the day and the Māori concerned, it is abundantly clear that there were a series of agreements and understandings, and disagreements between the different parties, which contributed to and shaped this momentous development. Conspicuous by its absence from McLintock's discussion is	

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	any reference to the Tiriti o Waitangi and the implications of the Crown's treaty obligations with respect to the series of events which led to the opening of the King Country. The agreements in question need to be re-evaluated in this light, and to do so, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of what the key agreements were and were not, and of the circumstances in which they were reached". Even then I say Sir, and as far as it goes, I agree and accept Dr Loveridge's analysis, but, but that analysis focussing as it does on the content of the original, of the individual agreements, in my submission Sir, misses the point, because it fails to look at the broader significance of these agreements, what they represented and the inter-relationship of the agreements. Each of these individual agreements Sir was regarded by the iwi of Te Rohe Pōtae as reflecting a broader compact with the Crown, to recognise and respect their autonomy, their rangatiratanga within the Rohe Pōtae. The belief that such a broad compact had been reached by the Crown and its significance was marked by the 1885 lifting of the aukati, which had been in place since 1868, so over a period of 17 years. The lifting of the aukati in 1885 is not a small insignificant event, and the gifting of a taiaha as a symbol of peace. These were events in my submissions Sir of enormous consequence in the Māori world and to the Māori mind, and reflected the high level of trust that the iwi of Te Rohe Pōtae were placing on the Crown. So Paul Meredith, who you'll be hearing later, describes the view of the iwi of Te Rohe Pōtae when referring Te Wahanui's speech to the upper house on 6 November 1884, and he says, "Wahanui was given leave to address the bar of upper house or the legislative counsel on 6th	

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1230	November 1884." His speech was very similar to the one that he had given in the lower house just few days earlier. His primary objective was to have the mana whakahaere i tōku whenua i raro i te mana o te Kāwana. Full control and power over my lands, subject to the authority of the govenor. Then in 1885 Wahanui himself said, "I stated to Mr Bryce formally that I am to have the administration of the whole of my lands in my district. I have made the same statement in my petition. I told Bryce on that occasion that when my petition reached the house, I wished him to bring forward a measure, vesting the whole authority in me, I mean in ourselves. Why should our land be taken from us or why should our authority over that land be held back? This was the representation I made to Mr Bryce formally and again I make that representation to this committee." And finally in 1888 Wahanui again said, "Now, our principal reason in consenting to have our land in the Rohe Pōtae surveyed and adjudicated at Court was the promise made to us by the Honourable Mr Bryce when he was Native Minister. We placed absolute reliance on that word of Mr Bryce. For he personally told us that he would give due respect to our land and that he would prevent all evil practices from being done in our district. It was owing to the favourable nature of the proposals of the Government that we agreed that the railway should go through our district and freely granted the sites for the stations." Now, it is doubtful that the Crown ever intended to recognise rangatiratanga or iwi self-governance within the Rohe Pōtae, despite that being the belief of the iwi of the Rohe Pōtae and despite that belief having been, in my submissions Sir,	

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	promoted by the Crown in the various discussions and in reaching the various agreements that were reached. Sadly, the trust in the Crown on the part of the leaders of the Rohe Pōtae iwi was misplaced. Now, that Sir, doesn't go to whether or not there was a compact or whether there was some sort of understanding reached, because it is clear when you look at the record that that is the view of the iwi and you heard it this morning. The point here is that despite all of these things happening, despite the iwi believing that they had entered into this compact, it appears that there wasn't ever an intention truly to honour that agreement. So, the immediately consequence for the Crown in not honouring those agreements was the opening up of the Rohe Pōtae and this commenced effectively with the Taupō-nui-a Tia application to the Native Land Court in 1885. Ultimately this would lead to the loss of land and the ability to self-govern, that the iwi of the Rohe Pōtae had worked so hard to protect and maintain. During the course of these hearings you will hear evidence from a range of witnesses who will present evidence on a number of key themes relating to the Ōhākī Tapu and these will including traditional agreement making by Māori, the nature of the agreements reached with the Crown and the actions by the Crown and Rohe Pōtae iwi and giving effect to that agreement or those agreements, the context in which those agreements were made, the Māori understanding of what those agreements meant and how Māori saw the Crown, the Crown's actions and intentions and the positions	

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	that it communicated to the iwi of the Rohe Pōtae. Underpinning this evidence is a consistent theme in my submission and that is that the Crown led the Rohe Pōtae leadership to believe that their right to self-governance, that their right to exercise their rangatiratanga within the area that they had identified for that exercise would be respected. The evidence will further show that this was a belief that continued, there was a belief that this continued right to self-governance, within their territories arose out of a sacred compact that their tīpuna understood had been reached with the Crown. The evidence will then show that ultimately their tīpuna's trust in the Crown and in the agreement that they believe had been reached was misplaced. Not because there was never such a compact, but because the Crown never intended to honour the promises that it made.	
1235	For the purposes of this opening, Sir, it is appropriate to perhaps appropriate to give the last word that should be, to Taui Wetere said the following, "We have never heard it said by our elders that the pact was written on paper. It was written in the uttered words of men of whom it was said their word is their bond. The fact and substance of the pact has come down to us through hundreds of channels in oral tradition and their words recorded in Government records about that time, speaking of the fact of a Pact." So, I suspect what we will hear from my friends from the Crown is what were the terms of the agreement. There will be an attempt to describe this agreement in a way that we as lawyers might describe a contract and to try and break it down into those sorts of terms and certainly that there are	

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	individual agreements which in my submission you could argue have that character, but I think we also need to be cautious not to get caught up in that detail and to lose sight of what the iwi of Te Rohe Pōtae were endeavouring to achieve and that was protection of and respect for their continued exercise of rangatiratanga within the area that they had established the Rohe Pōtae. Sir, just to conclude, you do have the chronology, I don't propose to go through that in a lot of detail. It is simply a series of highlights. It doesn't purport to be complete by any means. It simply endeavours to set out some of the key events and to put them in the order in which they occurred. So, it could arguably go back beyond 1868, because the movements that occurred around the establishment of the Rohe Pōtae and we rarely pre-date that, but 1868 is the date that we have for the aukati that encircled the district. You will see the engagements first of all with Native Minister McLean who was willing to recognise that district and respect it during the time that the pursuit for Te Kooti was underway. We move down to the amnesties of 1882, the pou that erected in January of 1883 to define the boundary over which it was said that no European can make claims and then we go through into the agreement at the bottom of that first page there on 16 March 1883 and of course the interesting activities that occurred prior to that when Hursthouse was trying to enter the Rohe Pōtae in order to undertake some exploratory work for a survey and was prevented from doing so. We have the June 1883 petition to Parliament and over the	

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	page we see the support from Ngāti Hikairo in December of 1883, the gazetting of the Native Committee District in early 1884, bearing in mind that that district mirrored the area that had been established for Te Rohe Pōtae. We then have Ballance becoming minister, Wahanui's presentations to the house, the licensing district boundary which also reflected the area of Te Rohe Pōtae, so reinforced in people's minds that this district was being recognised and protected, through to the permission given in 1885 for the construction of the railway and of course the lifting of the aukati and the gifting of the taiaha. Sir, those are my submissions unless there are any questions. Ka pai, a kia ora tātau.	
1240	**GLENN TOOTILL**	
	Kia ora Sir, the next witness is Mr Thomas Charles Roa. He filed a brief of evidence in Māori. That document number is H9 and to assist with translation, he's also filed an English translation of that brief, that's #H9c. Sir, just a slight addition. You'll note at paragraph 36 of the English version, Mr Roa has added a slight bit there, and he will speak to that. Sir Mr Roa intends to read his brief of evidence in full in Māori and I understand that there may be a PowerPoint presentation which we can subsequently file. Tēnā koe Mr Roa. Sir, while Mr Roa is setting up, I note the timetable had us having lunch from 1.00 to 1.40. Perhaps Sir, we may need to truncate that, given some of the evidence, the estimates	

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	given.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Sorry, we may need to truncate –	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Lunch, Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	So what are you suggesting?	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Perhaps if we wrap up lunch, Sir at 1.25.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	All right I think you will be doing well to do that because we endeavour to take 20 minutes morning tea, that was 25 minutes, so for people to get through and eat and get back in 25 minutes, I think would be very high pressured. But we can see where we get to by, by 1 o'clock.	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Ka pai.	
	TOM ROA	
	Heoi anō, kei aua inoi, kei aua tangi, kei aua mihi o roto o tō	Here we are gathered within this great meeting house, and

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	tātau tīpuna whare i runga ki te papa nekenekehanga o ngā tīpuna o ngā mātua. Kei te Kaiwhakawā koutou ko te tēpu. Tēnā koutou huri noa tō tātau whare, kia ora huihui tātau katoa.	to you the table, our Judge and all those gathered here.
	Ko taku ingoa ko Thomas Charles Roa. Ko au te kai kerēme i te kawe nei, i te WAI 1095. Heoi anō tāku i tēnei wā, he kōrero e pā ana ki tēnei mea ki te Ōhākī Tapu. Kō au te kaikerēme te kawe nei i te WAI kotahi mano, iwa tekau mā rima. Heoi anō taku i tēnei wā he kōrero e pā ana ki tēnei mea ki Te Ōhākī Tapu. Ki a au, koia tēnei te mea nui whakaharahara kei roto i ngā kerēme katoa o Ngāti Maniapoto.	My name is Thomas Charles Roa. I'm the main claimant in WAI 1095. However my task today is to give evidence in my understanding of Te Ōhākī Tapu. I assert this is of prime importance (inaudible 12:43:18) all of the claims of Te Rohe Pōtae inquiry district.
	Nō Waikato Maniapoto au. Kei runga i ngā pepa te whakapapa. Heoi anō, he Pūkenga Matua au kei te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, kō te reo Māori kō ngā Tikanga Māori, kō te Whanaketanga o Te Ao Māori āku kaupapa whakaako, he oti rā, he kaiwhakamāori au, nā Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori au i raihana.	I am senior lecturer at the University of Waikato. My fields of study and teaching are over matters of Māori language, Māori customary practice, Māori development and I'm a translator, interpreter licensed by the Māori Language Commission.
	E nui ana ngā whakapuakinga o tēnei mea Te Ōhākī Tapu, arā, kō te Ki Tapu, kō te Kī, kō te kupu nā te rangatira, ā, kua rongohia ake i roto i tēnei wā iti noa nei, kō ētehi anō o ngā ingoa ki tēnei kaupapa.	There are a number of terms used for Te Ōhākī Tapu including te Ki Tapu, te kupu nā te rangatira.
	Me tohu e au ki te mea nei ki whea. Kei ngā tuhituhi a Wahanui me ētehi atu o ngā rangatira of Ngāti Maniapoto, tēnei mea te Ki Tapu, arā, he tapu te kōrero. Nō reira au i pai ake ai ki te Ki Tapu. Kaori au i te whakahē i Te Ōhākī Tapu te āhua nei kō ēnei kupu he mea tā e Pei Te Hurinui mā, i te wā e tohea ana kia kaua te waipiro e hokona ki roto	The manuscripts penned by Wahanui and the Ngāti Maniapoto leaders, the term used is Te Ki Tapu, that is the word is sacred, it is the term i prefer, i do not disavow Te Ōhākī Tapu as a legitimate terminology. It would appear to have been coined by Pei Te Hurinui with the question of prohibition when the King Country was being debated, during

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	o Te Rohe Pōtae. Kō taku e whakaatu nei ki mua i te aroaro o Te Roopu Whakamana i te Tiriti, he mana nō te kupu a te rangatira. Herea ana te iwi ki taua mana a taihoa. Whatia ana ngā herenga ki ngā kupu mana a te rangatira, he utu. Ā tēnā kei ētahi wā he toto ka rere. Kia au ka nui te mana o te kupu a te rangatira i kī ai tana kī, he tapu. Nō reira, koia, ko tōna whānau, ko ōna hapū, ko te iwi ka herea ai ki aua kupu. Ko rongo tātau i ētahi o ngā kōrero a ngā rangatira nō roto i ngā kōrero a ngā tāngata kua kōrero i mua i au ki tēnei, ki tēnei tū āhuatanga.	the late 40s, early 50s. My witness before the Tribunals that the word of rangatira helped sway, committing the people and later should the commitment made by the rangatira be broken, redress was to be sought, sometimes as a consequence blood was spilt. In my opinion, it was because of the rangatira's mana that his word was synced and so he, his family's people were committed by his word and of course you would have heard evidence given before me earlier on this morning.
1245	Kei raro e whai ake nei ētahi tauira e rangi rawa ia mō Maniapoto te iwi, mō Maniapoto te tīpuna. E mana ana, e poropono, e piriponotia ana te kupu a te rangatira, nō te whakapuakitanga ka herea ai te whānau, te hapū, me te iwi ki taua kupu. Kīhai te kupu a te rangatira i tukuna noa tia, hei tauira ko ngā pukapuka nā ngā rangatira o ngā iwi Māori ki ngā mana nui o te ao Pākehā, pērā i a Pīhopa Herewini o te Hāhi Mihingare. Kei aua reta te tīmatatanga pēnei ko taku pukapuka tēnei kia koe. "Ko taku kupu tēnei kia koe rānei." E hara tēnei i te kupu tīmatatanga noaiho, he kupu mana nō te tapu o te rangatira.	I provide the examples in my evidence to follow in particular with regard to Maniapoto the ancestor and Maniapoto, the people. The word of the rangatira held sway and was loyally applied from its very declaration, the family, the people were committed. The word of the rangatira was not likely given, for example, the letters written by leading rangatira of Māoridom to the leading lights of the Pākehā world such as Bishop Selwyn, began with words such as, "This is my letter to you," and, "This is my word to you." This was not a mere introductory, Sir, it was an indication that this word had mana in keeping with the tapu of the rangatira.
	Kia au, nō mai rānō nō, nō neherā. Te nui o te mana o tēnei mea te Ki Tapu, he mea tuku iho i aua, i a Io Matua Kore. Kei raro ake nei te whakapapa o Maniapoto mai a Io ki ngā ao me ngā pō, tae mai ana ki a Hoturoa, mutu ana kia Maniapoto me ana tuākana tēina. He mea tango tēnei whakapapa mai te Kawenata. He pukapuka i wānangatia i te hui o ngā rangatira o Maniapoto i tū ki Māhoe nui i te tau 1903. Nō te tau o muri mai, ka tāngia ai ka tahi ka tukuna whānuitia ai ki roto o ngā mana o Ngāti Maniapoto.	In my opinion the mana of Te Ki Tapu came from the memorial, it is part of the heritage and the whakapapa, from Io the parentless to the eons to Hoturoa, captain of the Tainui waka to Maniapoto and his siblings. The whakapapa is taken from Kawenata, a publication carefully considered at a wānanga of the leading rangatira of Ngāti Maniapoto, held at Mahoenui in 1903, publishing the following year and distributed widely among Ngāti Maniapoto.

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	He mea mana, he Ki Tapu anō tēnei pukapuka. Kei tōna whārangi tuatahi tōna tino kaupapa, arā kia noho tonu te Kawenata nei ki raro i te maru o the Kīngi Eruera VII, kia manaakitia ngā kupu mēnā tikanga e te Kīngi Māori e Mahuta. Kia whānui te whakaaro ki ngā kupu me ngā whakahaere a Te Whiti arā te taha wairua. He āwhina kia noho kotahi a Ngāti Maniapoto, kia ū tonu a ia ki tōna motuhaketanga, kī tōna reo, me ōna tikanga mō taua wā ahu ake.	This is a publication of consequence in itself, a Ki Tapu, the first pageant line to the purposes, namely the covenant established under the protection of King Edward VII. That its word and customary practices supported by the Māori king, by Mahuta, that his conception is brought in to include the words, operations of Te Whiti, promoting the unity of Ngāti Maniapoto and that Ngāti Maniapoto should adhere to their own special character.
	Kei te whārangi tuarua o aua pukapuka e kī ana, nā he mea kia mārama ai ki tēnei whakatipuranga ahu ake, mō te āhua o tēnei mea o te mana. Arā ko te hiahia a ngā rangatira o aua wā, me mārama ki ngā iwi o taua wā, tae noa ki tēnei wā ahu ake, he aha rawa tēnei mea te mana. Kei te Kawenata te whakamārama he aha he mana, e rangi rawa ia, ko tana e kī nei, ko te mana whatuahuru, he mana motuhake nō Ngāti Maniapoto ake, he mātāpono nō roto mai o ngā kupu a ngā kaumātua, he whakamārama mai i reira hei whai mā ngā rangatira o roto i a Ngāti Maniapoto. Nei rā te whaka Māori, te whakamārama i aua kupu nei. Ko te mana, koia tērā. Heoi anō, kei tua kē atu te mana o Maniapoto te tīpuna. Ko tōna mana he mana ariki i āia anō tēnei mea the Mana Whatu Āhuru. Ko te whatu e toru ōna whakamāoritanga. Kotahi he kōwhatu, arā he toka tū tonu, he toka tapu. Ko Maniapoto te tīpuna pērā, he mau roa, he māro ki tānā e hiahia ai, ki tānā i whakapono ai mō tana iwi.	The second page of the publication states, “Now, these words are, in order to be clear to this generation and to those, come with regard to the term ‘mana’ that is it was the wish of the leading rangatira of that time for there to be a clarity with regard to the meaning of the word ‘mana’ for the people of their time and those to come.” The kawenata explains what it is, what mana is in particular, according to the wānanga of Mana Whatu Āhuru and authorities specific to Ngāti Maniapoto, are principal from kaumātua discussions with an explanation from those discussions which informed the rangatira of Ngāti Maniapoto, here is an explanation of the term.
	Tuarua, kō te whatu, te karu, he mata, he kanohi, arā, he matakite. Kō ia rā te āhua o Maniapoto te tīpuna, he whānui te titiro, he mataī āio engari mō Tūmatauenga, he mataī whāiti rawa, he whakatakariri te kaupapa. Nā kō taua mātai	The term “mana” is self-explanatory. However, the mana of the ancestor Maniapoto was something again. His was that of an ariki. He inherited a particular mana term, Mana Whatu Āhuru. Whatu has three interpretations, firstly,

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	āio, he mea tuku iho ki ana uri, taea noatia a Manga, ā Wahanui,ā Taonui, ā Wetere Te Rerenga mā. He toa katoa engari he toa whawhai, kia tau te rangaimarie. Nō te hokinga mai o Tāwhiao i Ingarangi, ka nui te taka o te riri, ki runga o Wahanui mā nā rātau te rerewē i wahakaae, kō Te Ara tērā o Tūrongo. Kō te whakautu a Wahanui a Rīria te riri, kinongia te kino, houhia ki te rangimārie ki te maungārongo. Kō te hoa riri tērā, he hoa nōu, kei te riri i tēnei wā kei teteha wā anō he hoa mahi, ahakoa pēwhea he hoa tonu.	a stone, that is a rock persevering against all odds. This characteristic was ascribed to the ancestor Maniapoto ever persevering, committed absolutely to his purpose which he believed to be in the best interest of his people. Secondly, an eye, that is a seer, not a mere fortune teller, another trait attributed to the ancestor Maniapoto, with the breath of vision and an eye for peace, different from that of Tu, of the baleful eye with his very narrow view and warring nature, that eye for peace was a heritage passed on to his descendants through to Manga, Rewi Maniapoto, Wahanui, Taonui, Wetere, Te Rerenga and others. All warrior chiefs but warriors of peace. When Tāwhiao returned from England he expressed a no uncertain terms his anger and others who agreed to allow the railway, Te Ara o Tūrongo to traverse the King Country. Wahanui's response as a senior state, in his senior kinsman to Tāwhiao was, "Give voice to your anger, feed your spleen? As appropriate, however, let peace be at its resolution, such as the nature of hoa riri. And angry at this point in time a workmate at another time however no matter what a friend.
1250	Kō te āhua tuatoru o te whatu, he tūī. Arā, he whatu kākahu he raranga whāriki. Kāore ēnei mahi e taea me e pakanga ana te iwi. Kō ia rā kō tā te rangatira, he raranga i i tana tira ka taea ai e rātau te taumata e hiahiatia ana.	Thirdly, the action of weaving together, for example and the terms whatu kākahu are weaving of clothes, cloaks alike with the weaving of mats, he raranga whāriki. These activities are impossible if one is at war and such is the primary task of a rangatira to raranga or weave the tira or group moving to achieve a single person, a shared goal.
	Kō te Āhuru, he rangimārie. He āio, he maungārongo tēnei. Arā, he mea pā ki te tohi i te kōhungahunga e puta ana ki waho o te kōpū o te waherere, kō te Āhuru mōwai tērā, ina te tohi tāngaengae i tohia ai a Maniapoto e tana pāpā e	Āhuru is a peace, a term for peace. It is also a reference to ceremonial blessing of a child as a journey from the womb, that is the peace and security of the – a ceremonial blessing bestowed on the infant, Maniapoto by his father Rere, a ritual

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	Rereahu, he tohi i tuku iho, i tuku iho.	which has been passed on from generation to generation.
	Kō ia au e tohe nei kō te Mana Whatu Āhuru te pūtaketanga o tēnei mea te Ki Tapu, ā kei roto ia i ngā kerēme kato o Ngāti Maniapoto. Koia nei te kotahitanga o Ngāti Maniapoto i raro i te Kīngitanga te kupu a Tūhoro Te Kanawa Hauāuru i tū ai te Kīngitanga ki Haurua. Kō tā Tanirau mō te whitinga o te rā i te ata te herenga o Ngāti Maniapoto, ki te tautoko i te whare o Pōtatau hei Kīngi Māori.	That is why i assert the Mana Whatu Āhuru is the base of Te Ki Tapu and Te Ki Tapu permeates all of Ngāti Maniapoto's claims. At Haurua the Kīngitanga was established where Te Tūhoro Te Kanawa and Hauāuru committed their people and Ngāti Maniapoto stood under the mantle of the Kīngitanga. Tanirau starts with regard to the rising, again of the sun in the morning, committed Maniapoto to supporting the future kings being of Pōtatau's house, ie from his lineage.
	Ka tuhia i te kawenata, te kōrero o Maniapoto rāua kō tana tuakana Te Ihingarangi. Ka riro i a Maniapoto te teina, te mana o te matua o Rereahu, he oti rā te Mana Whatu Āhuru. Kei ētehi te kōrero i tū te riri ki waenga i a rāua ka whawahi, kō Te Ihingarangi ka hinga, ka panaia ai me tana whānau ki Maungatautari. Kāore au e whakaae ana ki ēnei kōrero. I te whānautanga o Maniapoto kua pakeke kē a Te Ihingarangi, kua moe wahine kū whiwhi mokopuna. Nā te pakeketanga o Maniapoto, kua ruānuku kē a Te Ihingarangi. Ki taku whakapono, kua kore ia mō te whawahi ki tana teina, mō Maniapoto rā anō, ki a au, ka kore ia mō te whawhai ki te ruānuku. Kāore e kore, i tohe. Kāore e kore kō ētehi o te whānau i ngangare tērā pea ki te Rerenga o te toto.	The kawenata makes mention of the history of Maniapoto and his older brother Te Ihingarangi. Maniapoto, the younger brother, inherited their father Rereahu's mana including the Mana Whatu Ahuru. Some assert that they fought and Te Ihingarangi was defeated and his family being exiled to Maungatautari. I do not agree with this assertion, when Maniapoto was born Te Ihingarangi was already an adult. Having already been married when Maniapoto reached that alter, Te Ihingarangi was viewed as a senior citizen of some stature. It is my belief he would not have wished to fight physically with his younger brother and also with Maniapoto. In my opinion he would've said no value in fighting with a senior citizen of high standing. There is no doubt that there would've been heated exchanges, especially amongst followers of each of these rangatira, perhaps even to the threat of being blood spilt.
	Kia houhia te rongomau, ka tau te rangimārie ki waenga i a rāua me te whakaae, kō Te Ihingarangi ki Maungatautari ki te rohe i nōhia ai e tana tīpuna e Raukawa, kō Maniapoto ki Waipā ki te rohe o tō rāua mātua. Kō taua whakatau i	In order to preserve the peace in the family an agreement was reached whereby Te Ihingarangi and his followers would live at Maungatautari, the area occupied by his grandfather Raukawa and Maniapoto and his followers would live along

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	waenga i ngā rangatira e rua, kō koe ki kō, kō au ki kōnei. Mau āku pānga o kō e tiaki, māku au o kōnei. Kia kaua e taka te kino ki waenga i a tāua he Ki Tapu.	the Waipā, the area settled below. The agreement against those two rangatira, you go there, me here. You look after my interests there, I'll care for yours here. Let no evil be between us. An understanding and agreement was sacrosanct, Ki Tapu.
1255	Kei te pokapū o Te Rohe Pōtae kei kō atu o Pureora, kō Waimiha. Kei reira tonu ētehi o ngā uri o Te Ihingarangi. Inā kō te hapū tērā o reira, e mau tonu ana i a ia, te ahi kā. Kei te kitea te maunga o Maungatautari mai i reira kaoere i te matara rawa. He aha hoki tā Te Ihingarangi e whakarerena iho nei? He kupu he Ki Tapu nō waenga i a rāua kō tana teina, kō au ki kō nā, kō koe ki kō nei. Māku auna pānga okona. Ō konā nā e tiaki māua ake, mau āku o konei nā. Kia au nā te mārama ki te whatu, te mana whatu a huru nā aua Ki Tapu a ngā rangatira i whakaritea ai te noho a te iwi, tēnā hapū ki tōna rohe, tēnā ki tōna. Tēnā iwi ki kō, tēnā iwi ki kō pea. Ko te tino tūapapa tēnei o te Ki Tapu. He whakatau i te rongo mau, he whakatau rite. He mārama katoa aua tīpuna ki te hanga tiriti, oti rā ko te tino whaenga o ēnei tū momo tiriti, he ara whakataurite kia tau te rangimaria. He Hīngakāka anō tōna tauira. He mana nui kei te rangatira e whatu nei i ana tira, ki te tautokona ia e ngā whānau, e ngā hapū. Ka noho ko Ngāti Apakura te iwi mana ki Ngāroto. He whakataunga mau roa o waenga i a rātau me ngā iwi o Te Hauāuru, kei tōna wā, me haere mai a Ngāti Hoa, ā Ngāti Toa, me ētahi atu ki uta, ki Ngāroto ki te hī i ngā kai o te wai Māori. Ā mō tōna wā, ko Ngāti Apakura ki tai, ki Kāwhia ki te hī i ngā kai wai mōna. Nāwai rā a ko Pikauterangi o Ngāti Toa tērā, ka riri kia Ngāti Apakura. Ko tana hē kai tonu a puku. Kīhai rite tā rātau hī ki Kāwhia. Ka rīria rātau e ia. Nā ki tōna wā, ki Ngāroto. He kaha rawa tāna mō te hī, ka tata	In the centre of the King Country is Waimiha near Pureora, descendants of Te Ihingarangi still live there. That is the hapū which maintains the ahi kaa. From there Maungatautari can clearly be seen. It is not too far in the distance. What was it that Te Ihingarangi was supposed to have abandoned? He and his younger brother made an agreement, a sacred understanding between a Ki Tapu, I'll live there, you here, I'll look after your interests over there and you look after mine here. In my opinion because of the clear understanding with the mana whatuahuru and the Ki Tapu of rangatira, the way of life and lands occupied by each hapū or is it this way established and upheld. This is the very foundation of the Ki Tapu that peace rang and a balance maintained. These ancestors knew well the value of treaty making and that the primary objective of these kinds of treaty was a pathway to keep a balance to ensure too that there was peace. Hīngakāka is another example. The mana of rangatira who weaves his people together was a indeed great, should he be able to gain his followers support. Ngāti Apakura were the people of mana at Ngāroto. There was a long standing agreement amongst them and the peoples of the coast, of the season Ngāti Toa and other coastal tribes could come to Ngāroto to harvest fresh water foods, and in its season, Ngāti Apakura and the inland tribes could travel to the coast to Kāwhia and harvest seafood. Time passed until Pikauterangi o Ngāti Toa became angry at Ngāti

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	te ringa kino o Apakura ki runga i a ia, ka tata a Pikauterangi te toromi. Ka hoki a ia ki te kāinga me tōna pukuriri. Mai reira ka omi haere ia i te motu ki te kimi hoa hei āwhina i a ia me tāna take kia, kia Apakura, e ai ki ngā kōrero ka tata pea tekau mano ngā toa o Mātaatua, o Tākitimu, o Kurahaupō, o Aotea, o Te Arawa, i hui mai ki te tautō, tautoko i a Pikauterangi me Ngāti Toa. Ko Tiriwā te rangatira o Ngāti Apakura. He whanaunga tata nō Huahua o Ngāti Maniapoto me Te Rauangānga o Ngāti Mahuta, arā o Waikato. Mai ēnei iwi e toru, ka toru mano pea ngā tō. Heoi anō, ko te, Te Rauangānga e tia ana. I Mangeo ka whakatikahia e Te Rauangānga mā te whīra whawhai. He nui ngā repo o reira. Ki hau, ki hai a Pikauterangi mai i mārama i ngā rā o roto me ngā wāhi marumaru. Ko te kupu a Tiriwā, kia Huahua, he hīkaka nō rāua me ō rāua ope taua. "E Hua, māku te tītī, mau te whēwhē. Ko tā Huahua e hoa, mau anō tō te tītī me tō whewhera, māku anō taku." Kua herea ngā rangatira ki te kaupapa. Ko ā rāua kupu ēnei he Ki Tapu. Ko ngā hapū me te iwi nui tonu tērā, ahakoa pēwhea. Ko Te Rauangānga mā i toa. Kohikohia ana ngā patu, ngā pounamu, ngā kākahu, ngā taonga katoa, ka tohatohainga ki ngā rangatira me ō rātau toa. Nā te tini o ngā kahu whero ka tapā ai e Te Rauangānga tana tama ki te ingoa Te Wherowhero. Whakamaumahara ki tēnei Wikitōria nui kia oti rā te whakataunga tūturu o te huinga iwi e mōhiotia nei ki tēnei wā, ko Waikato, Maniapoto. Nō muri mai, nō muri mai, ko te amio whenua a Pēhi Tūkorehu, tūpono mai ana te Purewa o te Urewera. Te Ki Tapu o waenga i a rāua ko te whenuanui mā tērā i Ōrākau. Ko tētahi anō o ngā takahanga mai o ngā pakanga, kō te putanga mai o Te Rauparaha, hei rangatira mō Ngāti Toa, ā, te panatanga i a ia me tana iwi ki te tonga, me te rironga o ngana whenua ki Kāwhia i a Ngāti Mahuta.	Apakura claiming that they claiming that they had greedily taken more than they fair share. In turn, he took a larger portion of the catch from Ngāroto at which Ngāti Apakura very nearly drowned him. He went home furious. He then travelled the island seeking support to help him with the issue he had with Ngāti Apakura. According to oral traditions, he gathered together a fighting force approximately 10,000 warriors from Mātaatua, Tākitimu, Kurahaupō, Aotea and Te Arawa who came together in support of Pikauterangi. Tiriwa was the rangatira of Ngāti Apakura. He was related to Te Huahua of Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Rauangānga o Ngāti Mahuta of the Waikato hapū. A warrior force of around 3000 was formed from these iwi under the overall leadership of Te Rauangānga. At Mangeo, Te Rauangānga and his rangatira prepared the battle field. The area was covered in swamp land. Pikauterangi and his forces did not have a clear understanding of the safe pathways through the swamps. Before the commencement of hostilities, Tiriwā said to Huahua in the eagerness to engage, "Hua, let me blaze a pathway for you to follow." Huahua's bold reply us, "You blaze and you follow your own pathway. I'm doing my own." The rangatira were committed, their words were sacracent, Ki Tapu the hapū, the iwi too were committed no matter what might befall them. Te Rauangānga and his forces were prevailed. When the weapons, the greenstones, the cloaks and all the booty of the battle were gathered together it was shared amongst the victors. There were so many red cloaks indicative of the number of high chiefs killed, that Te Rau named his son Te Wherowhero as a memorial to this great victory indeed of the established and the reinforcement of the confederation of iwi known today as Waikato, Maniapoto.

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		Not long after, Pēhi Tūkorehu o Ngāti Paretekawa of Maniapoto, undertook his Amiuwhenua, a journey to extract revenge of those tribes who had invadedMangeo. A consequence of this great battle was the later emergence of Te Rauparaha, is the rangatira of Ngāti Toa, that himself along with his followers resulting in his lands at Kāwhia being occupied by Ngāti Mahuta and others.
1300	Kei te Parekura ki Mātakitaki kei Pirongia i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau, rua tekau mā whā, anō tētēhi tauira. Mai i te tata o te whakapapa me ngā whānaungatanga otirā te pakanga i Hingakākā, kua noho piritata a Waikato a Apakura me Maniapoto. Nō te Matenga o Te Haranui, irāmutu a Hongi Hika, nō roto i a Ngāpuhi, kua whai take whaiutu a Hongi mā ki a Waikato.	The tragedy at Mātakitaki near Pirongia in 1824 is another example, through genealogical links and other relationships, Waikato, Apakura and Maniapoto conclusive. With the death of Te Haranui, Hongi Hika's nephew, Hongi had an issue with Waikato, who had been charged with the car of Te Haranui and was obliged to seek utu or redress.
	Ka heke mai me te nui o te pū. Kō te awa o Waikato i whāia ai. Kō ngā manene o ngā kāinga i horo i a Ngāpuhi ka hui mai ki Mātakitaki, me te whakapono ki te tau marumaru o te wāhi raka. Nō reira, kikī ana te pā rā i te kaumātua i te hunga tamariki me te wahine. Kīhai i taea e Te Wherwhero mā, te ārahi i taua tini mapu kau. Ka horo te pā i a Ngāpuhi, ka mauheretia ētahi tamariki me ētehi wāhine. Ka oma mai ngā mōrehu ki Maungauika.	With his northern army armed with the musket, he attacked following the Waikato River, refugees from the villages sat by Ngāpuhi gathered at Mātakitaki, believing the place afforded them the best security. So, that pā became overrun with old people, children and women, non-combatants. Te Wherowhero as the leader of the fighting force was not able to control the great numbers with too many non-combatants. The pā fell with a number of women and children captured. Some survivors escaped to Maungauika nearby.
	I reira, ka rere te kupu a Te Otapeehi, māna ā Te Wherowhero e maru. He tāngata poto a Te Otapeehi, he tāroaroa a Te Wherowhero. Kīhai a Te Wherowhero i te whakapono, he piringa, ā Te Otapeehi mōna, ka kīia atu, ka marū rānei āu i a koe? Kō tā Te Otapeehi, he ao te rā ka	There, Te Otapeehi asserted that he would provide shelter for Te Wherowhero. Te Otapeehi unlike Te Wherowhero was not a tall man of imposing feature, Te Wherowhero did not believe Te Otapeehi was capable of providing a sanctuary for him and his survivors asked, are you really

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	uwhia ai, arā, tere mai ana te kapua iti ki mua i te rā nui ka kore te rā e kitea. Kō taku kahu, he kahu Pītongatonga, ka marū rā anō koe i a au.	able to provide shelter for me and mine? To which Otapeehi replied, as the cloud hides the sun, that he was comparing himself to the small cloud which flies across the face of the sun and blocks its rays, my cloak is that of Pītongatonga I can indeed provide you a sanctuary.
	Nā, kō te Pītongatonga he manu moroitiiti noa iho. He uaua he pakeke, he roroa te whatu kākahu mai i ana hururu. Me mano, me tīni rā anō ngā manu. Nā te mātotoru me te tini o ngā huruhuru e ora ai te tāngata mai i te aneurysm mātao, o ngā hōtoke o Te Nehenehenui, te kāinga o Te Otapeehi.	Te Pītongatonga is a very small bird. It is a difficult and time consuming task to weave a cloak from its feather. There must be a myriad of birds because of the last numbers of feathers and thickness of the weave, the cloak provides a warmth of protection, the biting cold King Country winters in Te Otapeehi's home.
	Nā reira, i noho mai ai a Te Wherwhero ki Ōrongokoekoeā. I whānau mai ai tana tama a Tūkāroto ki reira. Kō taua ingoa he wahakamaumaharatanga ki te tū a te matua ki Mātakitaki, he otirā, kō tana whaea i reira me te kawer i a Tūkāroto ki tana kōpū i taura wā tonu i taua wāhi i nā kō Tūkāroto.	And so Te Wherowhero stayed at Ōrongokoekoeā where his son Tūkāroto, later known as Tāwhiao was born. The name is a commemoration of the stance his father took at Mātakitaki and also that of his mother who was pregnant at the fall of the pā, carried Tūkāroto while the battle raged around her.
	Nō muri mai nō te tukakitanga i a Te Ua Haumēne of Taranaki me tā Te Ua, kupu poropiti mōna. Ka huria ai tōna ingoa, ina, kō Tāwhiao, te take ka tāwhia tōna rongo ki te ao.	Later following his meeting with Te Ua Haumēne and with Te Ua's prophecy that his fame would encircle the globe, his name became Tāwhiao.
	Ka heke tonu a Ngāpuhi ki roto o Te Nehenehenui, ka wāhi whakatā ki Ōtorohanga ki te taha o te awa o Waipā, ki raro o tētēhi Kahikatea.	The Ngāpuhi invaders continued their advance into the King Country, resting at Ōtorohanga, beside the Waipā River underneath a Kahikatea tree.
	Kō Riutoto tētēhi wahine i mauheretia i Mātakitaki. I a ia e tiki wai ana i te awa kō tā Te Otapeehi ki a ia, mā rātau kō ngā wāhine, ngā toa o Ngāpuhi e whakangahau. Kia pau rā anō te hau, ao ake, kei te atatū, whakaekea ai a Ngāpuhi e	Te Riutoto was one of the women captured at Mātakitaki. While fetching water from the river Te Otapeehi called on her to meet with the other women for them to keep the Ngāpuhi warriors entertained through the night, exhausting them and

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	ngā toa a Te Otapeehi.	the next day at daybreak Te Otapeehi's forces would attack.
	JUDGE AMBLER	
1305	Tēnā koe te matua. Ahakoa kāre anō kia karanga mai te whare rā, engari kua pahi tātau te tahi karaka. Me whakawhiria i reira nē, ka hoki mai. We will come back at 1.40 okay 1.40. Kia ora.	The Judge has asked if the witness could please pause. The Judge is asking whether or not lunch is ready however, he has called a closing at this stage.
	TOM ROA	
	Kia ora. He pito kōrero kahukea.	
	HEARING ADJOURNS: 1.06 PM	
	HEARING RESUMES: 1.42 PM	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	To Mr Roa, there's just one matter I wish to raise with the parties and that is there's been a media request from Te Kaea to take a visual and audio footage of the proceedings of the Tribunal hearing this week and I wanted to find out whether there was any objection to that recording taking place?	
	Oh, well, pēnā, kāre kau he whakahē, kei te pai tēnā ki ahau.	If we do not have any objections to this, then we will let it proceed.
	If there aren't any objections I'm happy to approve Te Kaea to take video and audio footage. Nō reira, ka hoki atu ki a koe, e te matua.	

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	TOM ROA	
	Nō mua o te haere ki te "gas up." Kō āku kupu kei te whārangi rima tekau mā tahi. Taihoa te whānui o te kōrero mō ngā papa, ki te whatia te Ki Tapu. Heoi anō he ara anō hei whakataunga. Nā reira, ki tā te Māori whakaaro, e ai ki ngā kōrero a ngā mātua tīpuna, he tika te take a Hongi, te take a haeremai a ia, ā, e horo a Mātakitaki, nō reira, i kore ai a Te Wherowhero mā i rapu utu. Nō reira, i taumautia ai e Te Wherowhero tana teina, ā Kāti Takiwaru ki a Matire, he kōtiro ki a Hongi. Kō te tatau pounamu tērā. Nō reira i kaha ake ai ngā honohonotanga o waenga i a Waikato-Maniapoto me Ngāpuhi. Hei whai i enei Ki Tapu, kō ta Tui Arama te whakapuakitanga ki Te Koroneihana o Kingi Tuheitia i te tau rua mano mā whitu, kō Maniapoto te tuara o te Kīngitanga. Nā wai ra, ka ruanukutia a Te Wherowhero. Ka riro i a ia ko te mana whakahaere o tētahi rohe nui whakaharahara e mōhiotia nei ināianei Mōkau ki runga, Tāmaki ki raro, Maungatoatoa ki waenganui, Whare Hauraki, Whare Waikato. Te Kaokao Roa o Pātetere ki Te Nehenehenui. Ki tōna wā ko aua kupu he whēnei kē nei ko Pōtatau te ihu, ki te ihu ko Te Wētini ki te kei, ko Manga ki waenganui. He whakapae nā Ngāti Hauā he karanga whaea o Te Wherowhero a Te Rangiānewa i kōhuru. Kua herea a Te Wherowhero ki ōna tikanga me ngaki te mate nei.	The witness has just - and in accordance to the Māori world, following the Māori belief according to my elders' kōrero, Hongi's issue was fair and so Te Wherowhero and others did not seek further revenge. Instead Te Wherowhero sought to betroth his younger brother Kati Takiwaru to Matire hoahoa, a close relative of Hongi Hika. This was termed Tatau Pounamu and the relationships between Waikato-Maniapoto and Ngāpuhi were strengthened further. Note, Pomare broke the tatau pounamu attempting to re-take Mātakitaki with advice and assistance from Hongi. Waikato slaughtered Pomare in his warpath at Te Rore just past north to te Mātakitaki. Following these Ki Tapu, Tuia proclaimed that the Maniapoto is the backbone of Kīngitanga at King Tuheitia's Coronation celebrations in 2007. Time pass and Te Wherowhero grew old. He held sway over a large territory known today as Mōkau to the south, Tamaki to the north, Mangatoatoa in the middle, Whare Hauraki, Whare Waikato, Te Kaokaoroa o Pātatere to Te Nehenehenui. There was a contention that Ngāti Haua were responsible for the murder of Te Wherowhero's aunt Te Rangianewa. Customary practice demanded that Te Wherowhero avenged this death.
1345	I te tau 1856, ka tū te hui nui ki Pūkawa. Nā Te Heuheu i karanga, nā ko te kupu a ngā rangatira i reira, ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero hei Kīngi. Kīhai a Te Wherowhero i tere whakaae. E ai ki ētahi tino kōrero, kīhai ia i whakaae. Kei ētahi te whakapae, ko tana whakatau he waiata me te tohe	In 1856 a great gathering was held at Pukawa held by Te Heuheu. The decision of the rangatira at that time was that Te Wherowhero should be King and Te Wherowhero had not quickly responded to early overtures. According to some sources he turned the offer of the kingship down. Others say that he sang a song in reply and insisted that the

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	kia kōrerotia te take nei e tana iwi.	issue be addressed by his iwi.
	Ka hui te iwi ki te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro me te mōhio pai ki ngā kawenga. Me te manaaki e te Kīngi ana manuwhiri. Me whai rawa nui ki te hui mai te motu kia Waikato Maniapoto. Ka tae te kōrero tae atu ana ki ētahi o Mātaatua ki Paetai. Tuku mana, tuku taonga, tuku whenua, tuku tāngata ki raro o te Kīngitanga. Kei ētahi te whakapono ka riro i te Kīngi ngā rawa katoa aua iwi. Kei ētahi te whakapono, mā reira aua rawa e pupuritia ai mō te iwi. Kei te rere tonu taua tohe, tae noa mai ki tēnei wā.	So his iwi met and discussed the issue understanding full well the burden of responsibilities inherent. It was incumbent on the King to provide appropriately for the visitors. Should the rangatira of the land meet, major resources were required to host them at Paetai Waikato Maniapoto and Mātaatua agreed to surrender mana, treasures and land and people to the Kīngitanga. Some believed that displacement of land et cetera under the kingship, those resources would be reserved for the iwi. That debate continues to this very day.
	Heoi anō, ka tae atu a Tarapīpipi ki Te Whakaroa, arā a Wirema Tāmehana o Ngāti Hauā ki Māngere ki te aroaro o Te Wherowhero me tana kī māna ā Te Wherowhero hei tautoko me tū ana ia hei Kīngi. Ko tā Te Wherowhero, e paru tonu ana, arā mā te ngaki te kōhurutanga o Te Rangiānewa a Te Wherowhero ka mā ai. Ka hoki a Tarapīpipi ki te kāinga. Ka tū te hui kiRangiaowhia. Ka tae atu a Tarapīpipi me tana kōtiro, he taumau kia Te Wherowhero hei Tatau Pounamu. Ka rongo a Te Wherowhero ka haere atu ia me te whakaae ki te kōtiro nei he otirā kia pōtae i āia ki tēnei mea ki te Kīngitanga. Ka karakiangia e Te Tāpihana me te whakaae a ngā iwi i reira ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero hei kīngi. He Ki Tapu anō wēnei mahi a ngā rangatira nei, i herea ai rātau me ō rātau iwi ki tēnei mea ki te Kīngitanga. Nō muri mai ka puta te kupu, tuku mana, tuku taonga, tuku tāngata i raro i te Kīngitanga.	Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa, ko Wiremu Tāmehana of Ngāti Hauā travelled to Māngere to meet with Te Wherowhero asserting that he would support Pōtatau, should he agree to be King. Te Wherowhero declared that he was unclean, that is, he was still to avenge the murder of Te Rangiānewa only then, he be free to consider the kingship, Tarapipi returned home. A hui took place later Rangiaowhia. Tarapipipi brought his niece to be betrothed to Te Wherowhero's choice amongst his family. When Te Wherowhero heard of this and agreed to the betrothal and to the taking on, of the kingship. Te Tāpihana performed the appropriate ritual.
	Ko ngā tohungatanga ko Naki Kino o Panataua Rangitaawa mā i au e tamariki ana. Ko tā rātau he whai i tēnei mea i te	Tohunga of the old school with whom I was acquainted and my children like Naki Kino, Panataua Rangitaawa ascribe to

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	tau ritetanga, kia hoki ai te tau ritetanga o te kino me te pai. I ngā rā tata kua pahure tata ake nei, ko tā Robert Koroheke ki ngā wānanga I te Kotahitanga Marae me Te Kauwae Marae, ko taua āhua anō. Ko tana ko tētahi whānau ki konei, ko tētahi ki kō atu. Mā te whānau tuatahi ngā pānga o te whānau tuarua hei tiaki ki konei ā tēnā mā te tuarua ngā pānga o te tuatahi ki kō atu hei tiaki. He Ki Tapu tēnei nō waenga o ngā rangatira, o aua whānau, ka herea ai ngā whānau. Ko te ahi kā anō tērā.	this nation of balance espousing off them on the balance of good and evil. In very recent wānanga at Te Kotahitanga at Te Kauwae Marae, Ngāti Maniapoto Elder Robert Koroheke lectured on the very same thing. According to him, one whānau occupies a certain space, another whānau a different space. Each protects the interests of the other according to the Ki Tapu or the word of the rangatira and agreement binding on the whānau concerned.
1350	Pērā ia ko ngā hua ana kei ngā kāinga e tiaki ana i ngā ahi. Ko te mana o ngā huānga kei wāhi kē e noho ana, e pupuritia tonu tia ana. He oti rā, ki te hoki tērā hunga ki te kāinga, me te pōhēhē kei a ia te kupu nui, auarea ake.	Similarly, with the concept of ahi ka, the relationships of living at home, keeping the home fires burning recognised that those who live elsewhere have rights to be recognised. However, that does not mean that the word of those living elsewhere has priority.
	Kō Te anō tērā. Me he takohatanga ki Te Kīngitanga mō te iwi wahanua te take. Tērā ētehi o te iwi e whakapono ana kō te tukunga o ngā taonga, me ngā whenua ki Te Kīngitanga, he pupurutanga o aua whenua, o aua taonga mō te iwi.	As with the Kīngitanga, a gift given to – the Kīngitanga is considered to be for the benefit of the people. Some of the people believe that the gifting of treasures or lands to the Kīngitanga was a means of preserving those treasures and lands for the people.
	Nō te kaha kē o te noho mai a te Pākehā me ana ture he pānga nui ki te noho a te Māori. Ka tupu mai kō te poauau, te pōhēhē, te kore e whai i te Tikanga Māori. Pōwhiritia ana te hunga nei, arā, te hunga Pākehā me ōna hangarau hou. Me te whakapono, he painga mai i a rātau. Koia te kupu a Tāwhiao, "Kei ngā tōpito e whā o te ao ōku hoa." Nō muri mai nā te kaiponu a ētehi, kātahi ka pōauau ai, kua kore katoa te tauritetanga.	Pākehā laws and their colonising of these lands, have impacted greatly onto the Māori way of life, resulting in misunderstandings and non-compliance with Tikanga Māori. The newcomers and their new technologies were welcome in the belief that benefits would occur and Tāwhiao is saying, "My friends come from all corners of the earth," later with a greed of certain individuals, the balance was greatly disturbed.
	Ka panaia atu i Te Rohe Pōtae te hung pērā i a	People like Robert Ormsby deemed not to be committed to

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	Robert Ormsby, taku tīpuna, kāore i te herea ki taua tauritetanga nei. He kaupapa e kīia ana, he kūpapa e kīia ana. E herea ana ki te Karauna me te kaiponu a ētēhi atu.	that balance, we checked it, from the King Country termed "kupapa" they were committed to the Crown and those consumed by greed.
	Mō te whakatauritetanga e meangia ake nei, kua kōrerotia e au ngā tūāhuatanga o te whakapapa, o Te Mana Whatu Āhuru. Kei reira, mō Maniapoto te iwi, he kawenga, me mau te rongo ki te tauritetanga.	With due regard to balance, I bear witness to the nature of whakapapa and of Mana Whatu Āhuru within those Maniapoto iwi carry the responsibility for the balance and peace.
	Nō te whakawhitiwhitinga o Te Maungatawhiri e ngā hōia Pākehā, he haukotinga tērā o te tauritetanga. Tae atu ana ki te wā i turia ai e Tāwhiao me ōna rangatira, te aukati, ina rā, he whakatauritenga. Ka pupurutia ai te Mana Māori Motuhake, ka tū kaha ai te Ao Māori. Kō te rohe i potaeniga, kei raro i te mana motuhake o te Māori, arā, o te Kīngitanga. I a Ngāti Maniapoto te kaha ki te pupuri taua mana.	With the crossing of the Maungatawhiri by the colonial forces, balance was lost, through to the establishment of Tāwhiao and the rangatira of te aukati which was as move to restore balance whereby Māori autonomy could be retained and the Māori world stand strong. The area covered by the hat was under the mantle of Māori autonomy, Te Kīngitanga, Ngāti Maniapoto were more than capable of retaining that mana.
	Kō te hunga kāore mō te tautoko i taua mana Māori ka panaia ki waho. Whakaritea ai, kō tēnā whānau hei kātipa, hei hēteri ki tēnā wāhanga o te aukati. Kei Pirongia te wāhi ki tōku whānau ake. I a au e taitama ana, ka rongo ai au i ētehi kōrero i waenga o taku tīpuna o Te Reti me tana whanaunga, me Hēnare Tauaiti Rangitaawa. Ki taku mahara kō tā rāua mō ō rāua tīpuna, kāore kau he wehi, kāore kau he mataku ki te Pākehā. Heoi anō he nui te kōrero mō te hoa riri, anō nei, kei tēnei wā e riria ana te hoa, ā taihoa pea, he āhua kē ki taua hoa.	Those who are not in support of that special Māori character were expelled. Whānau were appointed to act as centuries along the aukati border. My family were held responsible for a section near Pirongia. As a young man I vividly recall my grandfather Te Reti Roa, Rangitiia in conversation with his relation Hēnare Tauiti Rangitaawa, I recall the discussing their ancestor who had no fear of the Pākehā and their views about the enemy, ie, the angry friend at a certain and place and one with whom we are angry at another time and perhaps a different place, a friend with whom we have a different relationship.
	Ki taku mōhio, nō te whakatakotoranga o te pōtae, he whakaaitanga he Ki Tapu, he kawenata, nō waenga o	It is my understanding that the following incident, with the placement of the hat, an agreement was in place, a Ki Tapu,

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	te Kīngi me te Kāwana, kō te mana o Te Rohe Pōtae nō te Kīngi, māna tana iwi o roto hei arataki, ina ngā i e whakawhirinaki ana ki te Kīngitanga. Mō waho, kei te Karauna Pākehā tērā. Ka noho hoa tūturu te Kīngitanga me te Karauna me i pērā.	a covenant between the King and the Governor, the King held the māna of the area covered by the hat and with those living there who were loyal to him. Outside of that, the Crown decided should this be the Kīngitanga and the Crown would truly be friends, ie, enjoy a healthy relationship.
	Ka tū te aukati, ka whakaekea e te hunga kairūri Pākehā ki Pirongia. Ka panaia te hunga nei. Ka hoki mai, ka panaia anō me te kupu ki te hoki mai ka mate ia. Ka hoki mai, nā kō taua āhua, ka hinga rātau i a Porukotu mā.	The aukati was established, a group of surveyors intruded near Pirongia at the time Alexandra, they were escorted out. They came back again, they were expelled with a warning should they return, they would be killed. They came back, they were killed by Porukotu and others.
1355	Ka tohea i waenga i Te Kīngitanga me te Karauna kia tukuna e te Kīngi ngā kaikohuru, kīhai a Tāwhiao i wahakaae. Engari, kō te whakapono a ana rangatira a Wahanui mā, he tika te mahi a Porukotu mā.	Crown and Kīngitanga argued over the surrender of the murderers, Tāwhiao refused. His rangatira Wahanui and others asserted that Porukotu's actions were justified.
	Ko te kōrero a ngā kaumātua, ka tū te Kōti ki Kemureti. Mai taua Kōti ko te whakapono a Tāwhiao ko ea. Nā reira i haria ai e Tāwhiao tana iwi ki te roto o Koutu ki Kemureti. Ko te whakapuakitanga nā Tāwhiao ki reira ko utu taku hara, ina, kua reka hānara tōku haonga kaha, ko Kemureti tōku oko horoi, ko Ngāruawāhia tōku tūrangawaewae. Arā, mō tōna wā, ka hoki ia ki Ngāruawāhia, hei aha koa ngā Raupatutanga me te panatanga ki Te Rohe Pōtae.	According to my elders from the Court at Cambridge Tāwhiao came to believe that the matter was settled in favour of the Māori stance, and so Tāwhiao led his people to Koutu Lake at Cambridge. He declared there, "Koutu taku hara," that is my sin has been forgiven. Alexander is my horn of my strength, Cambridge is my wash basin, Ngāruawāhia is my foot stool of mana.
	I te wā o Pōtatau i reira i taua wāhi te tapatorutanga o Areka Hānara i Pirongia ko Kemureti i Maungatautari me Ngāruawāhia i ngā hākari mata. Ko ia te pokapū, te Manawa o ngā whenua o Waikato-Tainui, o Waikato Maniapoto, o te Kīngitanga. Nō muri mai, ko Te Rohe Pōtae. Kei tēnei wā kua hoki ia ki Ngāruawāhia, ki	At that is the same time he would return to his headquarters at Ngāruawāhia in spite of the Raupatu invasion and his forced exile in the in the King Country. In his father, Pōtatau's time with Pirongia, Maungatautari and Ngāruawāhia is the delta. That was the centre, the heart of the King's lands. The hub of his influence, the King Country

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	Tūrangawaewae.	had come, had become that centre, but Tāwhiao was determined his people would return, will be returned to Ngāruawāhia.
	Nō mua o te Raupatu he iwi mana a Ngāti Apakura. He nui te tōnuitanga kia Waikato-Maniapoto. I aua iwi nei ētahi ōhanga e whanake ana. He tau ritetanga i reira. Nā te kai pono a te Pākehā i kore katoa ai. Nā te whatiwhatinga o ngā Ki Tapu. He aha koa te whai a ngā rangatira o Ngāti Maniapoto i te, te kupu tuhi a te Pākehā, he tuku Pitihana, he whakapuakitanga i te Whare Pāremata, hea mea whati tonu e te Karauna ana Ki Tapu ana whakaotitanga. Nā te rere noa o te pene i riro ai te whenua. Kia au, he aha koa i te mana Māori Motuhake, te mana whakahaere o Te Rohe Pōtae, he whakapono nā te Karauna i ōna ture kē te mana tūturu.	Before the Raupatu, Ngāti Apakura were an iwi of mana with a wealth shared by Waikato-Maniapoto. These iwi possessed a burgeoning economy of some substance. Their world enjoyed a balance which Pākehā agreed overturned completely through its breaking, its own Ki Tapu. Although the Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira followed the Pākehā's written word with petitions and directly addressing Parliament, the Crown broke its word, going back on its promises. With the stroke of a pen, land was lost. In my opinion, although Māori autonomy in fact and indeed held sway of the King Country and its management, the Crown believed that its law were paramount.
	Nō mua noa o tana haerenga ki Ingarangi, ko tā Tāwhiao, kia kaua te rerewē, kia kaua Te Kooti Whenua Māori, kia kaua te hook waipō e uru ki roto o Te Rohe Pōtae. Ki a au, he whakapono nā ngā rangatira o Ngāti Maniapoto i a rātau te Mana Whatu Āhuru o runga o ā rātau whenu o ā rātau taonga. Ki a au, he whakapono anō nā rātau, nā te pū, he oti rā te Riri A Te Pākehā i roto ai ngā whenua a Waikato, ā Ngāti Apakura i te Pākehā. Mā te kaha me te mana o te Ki Tapu, te Mana Whatu Āhuru e purutia ai ngā whenua o Ngāti Maniapoto. Ka aroha rā, ko taua pōhēhē. Ki a au, kei te Ki Tapu ōna whakaritenga ōkawa, hei arataki, hei kawe, hei uptake mō te tika o ngā whanonga, ngā whāinga, ngā mahi a te iwi, arā, he "constitution". Ki au, ko te Ki Tapu te constitution a Ngāti Maniapoto.	Before travelling to England Tāwhiao left instructions that the railway, the Māori Land Court and the sale of liquor not be permitted in the King Country. In my opinion, a Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira believed that they held the Mana Whatu Āhuru over their lands, their treasures. It is also my opinion that they saw the effect of the gun, of Pākehā colonisation and the loss of Waikato and Apakura lands, and so there was a belief that through the Ki Tapu an honourable interaction and the Mana Whatu Āhuru, they will be able to, to retain their lands. Unfortunately, they were mistaken. To me, the Ki Tapu is a formal arrangement. It guides, it informs, provides a basis for the appropriate behaviour and objectives for its people. It can be likened to a constitution. To me the Ki Tapu o Te Mana Whatu Āhuru as its base. This is the constitution of Ngāti Maniapoto.

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	I ngā rā o mua, me he whatinga nui rawa atu o tētehi Ki Tapu, ka wānangatia nā wai rā, ā, kei te rere pea o te toto te utu. Ko Hingakākā tētehi tauira. I reira te rere o te toto, te rironga o ngā taonga a ngā kaka i hinga. Ki ngā whatinga ahakoa pēhea, me mārama tuatahi kua whātia te Ki Tapu. Nā wai, he aha hoki te take i whatia ai, me whai utu te hunga ehara nāna te hara. Me whakaae tahi ngā hunga nei he aha te hē, nā wai rā anō ki, me pēwhea rā te whakatau. Ko Mātakitaki rā anō tērā. Ko te kōhuru i a Te Rangiānewa anō hoki. Heoi anō, mai i Mātakitaki, me Te Rangiānewa, ko Te Tau Pounamu te whakataunga. Koia ko ērā mō tērā wā. He ao anō tēnei. Mā tēnei Ao anō whakataunga hei whakarite. A kia kaua au e waiata i taku waiata, he waiata nā Te Manawa. Heoi anō rā, kei reira, ko te Ki Tapu a Te Rauparaha kia Te Manawa me tana tukunga i a Te Rauparaha, kia haere ki roto o Ōtaki, o Kapiti, me te rā takiwā.	In former times, if a Ki Tapu was broken in a major way, meetings to consider ways forward were held and sometimes a major consequence was the shedding of blood. Hingakākā is one example. Their blood was spilt, treasures confiscated and later an Amiowhenua a traversing of the land to take revenge. Note: During Peehi Tūkorehu Amiowhenua, Maniapoto assisted Tūhoe which led to a Ki Tapu that Tūhoe would come to the help of Maniapoto, hence their strong presence at Ōrākau. When broken, no matter what it had to be clear that the Ki Tapu had been broken then. Why was it broken and the aggrieved party being awarded/seeking appropriate recompense? With an agreement amongst the parties that are wrong had occurred, and who was at fault, a settlement was sought. Mātakitaki and the incident with Te Rangianewa are other examples. With Mātakitaki and Te Rangianewa, te Tātau Pounamu settled the matter. That was the way it was done in those days. This is another world and it is up to this world to create its own ways of settlement. Now, the witness has laid before his evidence. He is giving reference to Te Rauparaha. He has concluded his evidence.
1400	**WAIATA**	
	...Tūrongo iho ai ki te Tairāwhiti, kō Māhinaarangi (inaudible 14:00:37) ka puta kō Raukawa, nā Raukawa kō Rereahu, nā Rereahu (audio missing 14:00:55 to 14:00:58) ki a huri au ki āku aro o te Tai Tuauru kō (inaudible 14:01:02) tai tuauru kō Tuhianga, Tuhianga, kō Poutama, nā Poutama kō Haumia, nā Haumia kō (inaudible 14:01:12) kō (inaudible 14:01:16) ki te ao e kore ai (inaudible 14:01:29) e au ki a kotahi a	

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	(inaudible 14:01:40) kō Maniapoto. Tēnā tātau.	
	Me parakatihi pea e au taku waiata.	The witness has said, “Perhaps I should’ve practised a bit more.”
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Mr Melvin.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Tēnā koe Mr Roa. Thank you for your evidence. I've just got a few questions. You talk in your evidence about traditional agreement making between Māori. Would you accept the proposition that Māori entering into an agreement with the Crown is in a different context?	
	TOM ROA	
	I would accept that Māori belief was that we were dealing with human beings and I would accept the belief that Māori were dealing with people of honour and I believe as I said in my evidence, Ka aroha, ka aroha hoki he pōhēhē.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Could you translate that, please?	
	TOM ROA	
	Sadly we appear to have been mistaken.	

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	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Would you accept though that by the 1880s following – well, would you accept that by the 1880s, Māori entering into an agreement with the Crown it's no longer identical to the customary mode of making agreements between Māori?	
	TOM ROA	
1405	I would again accept that by 1883, when Wahanui presented his petition, he presented that petition in good faith and then by 1885 Te Rohe Pōtae was opened up, in good faith. I would accept that that good faith again was mistaken.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Excuse me, what's your understanding of Te Ōhākī Tapu and what was agreed? ~~Ōhākī.~~	
	TOM ROA	
	Of the Ōhākī Tapu?	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Yes.	
	TOM ROA	
	My understanding is that when and we take the incident as having actually taken place. When the hat was laid on the map, that there was an agreement, a gentlemen's agreement that under that hat would reign the king.	

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	Externally of that hat would reign the British Crown. I understand that that was an agreement and in that understanding, it also follows to be that when surveyors entered the King Country and they were expelled and a number of them were killed because they did not follow the law within the King Country, if it is that Pākehā law held sway within the King Country, then those people responsible for that slaying should have been arrested and should have been taken by the Crown. My understanding is that they didn't, they were not. So, therefore it is clear to me that Mana Māori Motuhake held sway in the King Country and that was an understanding with those external that that Mana Māori Motuhake was to be recognised and respected.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	The event you're describing where the hat is placed on the ground.	
	TOM ROA	
	The hat was placed on a map.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Sorry, on a map.	
	TOM ROA	
	Yes.	

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	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	From my understanding of the evidence provided so far in this inquiry, that's not the agreement generally referred to as Te Ōhākī Tapu.	
	TOM ROA	
	I am asserting to you, Sir, to the Crown and to the Tribunal, that Te Ōhākī Tapu which I term the Ki Tapu, and I have heard others say that earlier this morning as well, that one's word is one's bond and the incident to which you are referring is part of that gambit. There were other agreements and part of that agreement, I would assert, is the Treaty and the guarantees and the promises of that Treaty. Following that, other incidents occurred for Ngāti Maniapoto. Where the understanding in working with the Crown was that such and such matters would occur and I'm sure through the course of the inquiry, other details of that will occur, but I might refer to the opening up of the King Country through the railway, where a certain corridor was guaranteed, but the Crown took more than that corridor, where the Crown broke its word, but Ngāti Maniapoto continued to follow its promises.	
1410	**GEOFFREY MELVIN**	
	You've talked in your evidence about Tāwhiao returning from England and expressing in no uncertain terms his anger at	

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	Wahanui and others for allowing – making agreement about the Railway?	
	TOM ROA	
	Yes.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	You say this was a contravention of instructions that he left before leaving for England?	
	TOM ROA	
	That's correct.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Do you accept then that there was a split between Tāwhiao and Rohe Pōtae's chiefs?	
	TOM ROA	
	I accept that Wahanui through the whakapapa, you can clearly see is a matua to Tāwhiao. I accept that others of the rangatira were tuakana to Tāwhiao. I accept too that those rangatira of that time, believed that they had the mana over the land and that the King and Waikato were under their protection. I accept that Tāwhiao left very explicit instructions. I accept that, ah, his Ki Tapu was broken. I accept that, ah, through time, ah, other, um, ways of bringing the balance back to the breaking of that word. However, I believe that Wahanui and the other chief's stance was that	

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	they agreed to be at peace with the Pākehā. Tāwhiao laid down his weapons as we heard earlier, and I would suggest that the manu that were given were manu that others could eat and so tapu were withdrawn.	
	Whakanoangia ai te kaupapa o waenga o te Karauna me te Kīngitanga. Engari noho tonu mai ai te tapu o te pīrairaka.	The tapu was lifted, was lifted between the Crown and the Kīngitanga, but the sacredness of the fantail bird still remain.
	I accept that there were differences as always there will be differences. I don't accept that there was such a division that Tāwhiao and his rangatira were not able to resolve, hence, Wahanui's saying, "Express your anger. Rīria te riri, kinongia te kino." Do what might be construed as bad things? Ko uhia ki the maungārongo. Cover it with peace.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	One last question Mr Roa. At paragraph 78 of your evidence, you referred to Tāwhiao leading his people to Koutu Lake at Cambridge.	
	TOM ROA	
	Yes.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Could you just – are you able to elaborate anymore on that, on what Tāwhiao said there, just in terms of the, the meaning?	
	TOM ROA	

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1415	My, my learnings from a number of wānanga taken by Tui Adams, Ēnā Ngāhina Tūrae a Te Uira from Kāwhia, and other kaumātua, where we were told of this, is that, ah, the surveyors despite warnings, continue, ah, to break the law, if I hear it properly outside. Ah, the law of the Mana Māori Motuhake. So they were executed after warnings. Now, if the Crown's law held sway, then these people should have been arrested and taken and tried. They were not. So, therefore I submit that Mana Māori Motuhake, the Kīngitanga and our laws held sway in this, our territory. I understand there were other Court cases. Some held in the Māori Land Court in Cambridge, where because this was not pursued, Tāwhiao and the Maniapoto chiefs believed that then they were vindicated and so Tāwhiao called his people over Te Koutu where he said, "Koutu taku hara." My sin has been a sewage and followed up saying Areka Hānara, Pirongia where the incident took place and these surveyors were executed. That is my horn of –strength. Cambridge, where the Māori Land Court held its sittings is my wash basin where I blessed myself and my people, having been vindicated. Ngāruawāhia is the apex of the delta between the Waikato River and the Waipā River and its conjunction, there is my footstool. Does that answer your question or has it gone off the track?	

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	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	No, it does. I think, because I was interested particularly in the reference to Cambridge and from what I understand from what you've just said is that it's in part, at least, a reference to the raruraru there with the Native Land Court and the problems with the Native Land Court and its – which were centred in Cambridge where the Court was physically located, is that –	
	TOM ROA	
	Yes, that~~s~~ is correct.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Thank you very much, kia ora.	
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Sir, I have a couple of questions for this witness that I'd like to develop, please? Mr Roa, in answer to the Crown but it's actually a theme I want to develop. You talked about the compact as being a whole, but almost of component parts and in particular you emphasise the importance of the railway negotiations. Could you elaborate on that aspect of your evidence today?	
	TOM ROA	
	For me the Ki Tapu is tapu and that tapu comes from the whakapapa from the Gods. So that when Wahanui and	

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	Taonui and other chiefs gave their word, that was it. They gave their word that they would open up the King Country to some aspects of the Land Court. They gave their word that they would open up a corridor, through the King Country and I believe that they also saw that in that opening there were other advantages to be held and had for the people of the King Country, not just Ngāti Maniapoto and those advantages, I believe, they took as their right. However, the Crown being given an inch, took a mile. Does that answer your question, Annette?	
1420	**ANNETTE SYKES**	
	Before we move onto the Crown, I want to talk about the subset of the whole. Was it fundamental to the whole that Māori authority, te mana motuhake, e kōrero ana e ake ki te rānei, be an underpinning of a condition before those other component parts could apply?	The mana motuhake we spoke of earlier on.
	TOM ROA	
	Thank you. Koia tēnei, kō tēnei mea te Mana Whatu Āhuru, Māna Māori Motuhake o Maniapoto ake.	Now, when we talk about the scene, te Mana Whatu Āhuru, that special mana regarding Māori and how they see things.
	Kō ngā mahi o ngā kaumātua, e whai tonu i taua Mana Whatu Āhuru. Nō reira, koia tēnei ngā kōrero i runga o rā au, ki a Hēnare Tūwhāngai rāua kō Henare Tauaiti Rangi, i a rāua e kōrero ana ki tēnei teka, te Mana Whatu Āhuru.	Now, through the teaching of our ancestors, that they all used this to underpin all their discussions and Henare Tūwhāngai and other important kaumātua will no doubt give you a wider context of that.
	Kaore a Wahanui mā i pīrangi kia noho hoa riri te Karauna me te Kīngitanga. Kāore rātau i pīrangi kia noho hoa riri te	Now, Wahanui did not, did not want to see the Kīngitanga and the Crown as enemies. Now, the relationship between

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	Pākehā me Ngāti Maniapoto. Nō reira, kia whatuhia te Āhuru o waenga, o ēnei – tēnā pea me kī e au, iwi, ka noho o taua whakaoati. Kia uru mai ēnei āhuatanga ki roto i Te Rohe Pōtae, engari, kō te Mana Māori Motuhake, ka tū tonu mō ake tonu atu. Kāore kau e te tīpuna ki te Karauna, te mana o runga kō ēnei whenua.	the iwi which – and through these oaths would underpin all relationships with regardless, but in summary coming back, that Māori mana motuhake, what was driving all aspect of management of the land.
	He wāhi, e ara, pērā me te ara o Hine, kō tau ara, he tukuna ana, kia waiake, kia – hē riri e taka ki runga ki tau ara, he ara Ohine. Tēnei ara, te ara o Tūrongo me Wātea, whakawāteatanga i te tāngata ki a iri mai e ia, anā rawa, anā taonga, ka tae ai e ia, te whakahaere e ana rawa, i kokea.	Now, I'm talking about the pathway of Ohine. Te ara Ohine is, in Māori terms, that it should be a peaceful path, a clear pathway should be afforded in order to pass through.
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Kāore au ki te reo Pākehā, engari me whakapātai mai pea, whakahoki mai i runga i te reo Māori.	Now I'm just going to ask, my question is in English, but now I encourage you to speak in Māori.
	If that is the case, then is it the proposition of Ngāti Maniapoto, that their mana would always be respected in a desire for a peace between those that they did not desire as an enemy, but not below the sovereignty of the Crown, but equal to or above the sovereignty of the Crown?	
	TOM ROA	
	Āe, mārika.	Exactly, I agree.
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Aku kupu tēnei, me whakamārama mai ōu whakaaro mō tērā “proposition” koinei te kupu a te Pākehā.	All I'm asking if you could perhaps expand on that.

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	TOM ROA	
	Me tēnei pea e au, e pakanga i Ōrākau.	Perhaps I should say it this way. Now, we go back to the battle of Ōrākau.
	Kō te kōrero a ōku tīpuna mātua, i tū rā ki reira, engari kō te wāhi whai ake mō te whawahi, kō paratui, te kōtata nei kei hanga tike. Nō reira, te whakaaro a ētehi, kia kawe a mai kia pakanga ki reira.	Now, according for what I've learned from my ancestors, another area which we regarded as another ground for our advantage, but others were of the opinion that the war should take place elsewhere.
	Heoi anō, nō roto i te whakaaro a Manga mā, taihoa koa pēnei āhua e uru mai kei roto i Te Rohe Pōtae. Taihoa koa, me noho tonu ērā āhuatanga ki waho atu. Nō reira i tū ai te pakanga ki Ōrākau ki te rongo.	When I regard to Manga and his instructions, that this battle should not take place within the Rohe Pōtae. In other words, the battle should take place outside of Te Rohe Pōtae and hence Ōrākau was the chosen place.
	He whakatūturu nā Rewi kia noho motuhake, te Mana Māori o roto o Te Rohe Pōtae. Kia kaua e whakaea, kia haere mai a te hoa riri Pākehā, ā te hoa ia Pākehā ki roto o Te Rohe Pōtae. Kia noho mana motuhake i runga o Te Rohe Pōtae, o ngā whenua, o ngā tāna, o ngā tāngata, o ngā whakahirinakitangi tēnei ngā ki Kīngitanga.	Now Rewi gave specific instructions that the Mana Māori should still remain within Te Rohe Pōtae and it was agreed that soldiers should not come within the Rohe Pōtae. That this is the special area, the Rohe Pōtae, it's lands and its peoples and how we manage ourselves, should always give reference to the Kingship.
1425	**ANNETTE SYKES**	
	In my last point I want to elaborate to develop that proposition being accepted in some parts in the Crown, by the Crown at that time. Would you agree was extraordinary for Wahanui to address the house of representatives, not as a member of the House of Representatives, but as someone who asserted the Sovereignty of the King Country in light of	

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	your response?	
	TOM ROA	
	Kātahi rawa atu. Koia tētahi o ngā kōrero o waenga ki taku rongo o ngā mokopuna a wahanui. E hara a Wahanui i te Mema Parememata. He aha te take i whakaae ai tana whakaaturanga ki ngā Whare Pāremata. Ā tērā pea, he tāngata whai mana.	Now those, those were some of the teachings and stories passed down from family members of Te Wahanui. Now how, now why was it that he took upon this particular avenue of presenting his, his kōrero within Parliament?
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Since that time, are you aware of any single individual in the history of this country who has addressed Parliament in that way as part of its formal proceedings, to assert the sovereignty of the peoples of the Māori Nation?	
	TOM ROA	
	Karekau.	I am not aware of anybody.
	ANNETTE SYKES	
	Thank you I have no further questions.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	I'm assuming now the claimant counsel have questions.	
	RICHARD BOAST	
	May I, I have a couple of questions Sir. Richard Boast here.	

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	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes.	
	RICHARD BOAST	
	Kia ora Mr Roa. I'm counsel for Ngāti Raukawa in these proceedings, and I would just like to ask you a couple of questions about the visit to Cambridge as well, which is paragraph 78 in the English language version of your evidence. Do you know roughly when that would've been, his visit, sometime in the early 1880s I assume?	
	TOM ROA	
	I'm sorry when, when these wānanga were held, ah, we weren't giving timings of that kind, I'm sorry.	
	RICHARD BOAST	
	Right. It's the case though that the Cambridge Court was, if you like, at its height from around about I think 1880 to 1886, huge numbers of blocks went through the Court at that time. I just want, I'm asking you, it does – question I'm putting to you, it does seem likely that Tāwhiao's decision to go there probably had a connection with that.	
	TOM ROA	
	It certainly seems like it.	

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	RICHARD BOAST	
	Yes, and it's the case as well isn't it that Wahanui and the other chiefs, when it came to deciding where the Native Land Court should sit to hear Te Rohe Pōtae case in 1886, they were very insistent that that be not at Cambridge, but elsewhere, correct?	
	TOM ROA	
	My understanding is that's correct, and so they brought the Court over to ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga.	
	RICHARD BOAST	
	And again, what I'm wondering is, in your view, could there perhaps be some connection between Tāwhiao's visit to Cambridge round about that time, and that decision to not have the Court sit there. I'm wondering is there some kind of common factor and play in which Tāwhiao and the Maniapoto chiefs Wahanui were all of a single mind, with respect to Cambridge, the Court, and the appropriate place for Te Rohe Pōtae investigation to be heard?	
	TOM ROA	
	I am unsure.	
	RICHARD BOAST	

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	Fair enough.	
	TOM ROA	
	But I would venture to suggest that, ah, Tāwhiao had no desire from my understanding to be involved in any way with any Court of the Crown.	
	RICHARD BOAST	
	Right.	
1430	**TOM ROA**	
	His assertion was that he was of his own mana and he would conduct his own Parliament and have his own upper and lower houses in that Parliament, and they would conduct their own, ah, ways of dispensing justice. So, part of his contention was that the Māori Land Court should not take place in the King Country. My understanding is that the Court taking place in Cambridge was a sore point for him. My understanding is that when those responsible for the execution of their surveyors were not entertained by the Court, his stance was justified, his stance was vindicated. That with the introduction of the Land Court and the agreement from the Maniapoto chiefs that that should take place, I understand that Tāwhiao was very unhappy with that.	
	RICHARD BOAST	

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	Kia ora, thank you for that.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Kia ora, excuse me, Sir, it's Mr Melvin here for the Crown. I did mean to just ask one further question which is just whether the attachment to your evidence Nehenehenui kō te Kāwanatanga, that's in Māori, is there an English translation of that available?	
	TOM ROA	
	I understand it's in preparation, but not yet.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	To be filed with the Tribunal?	
	TOM ROA	
	I don't know whether it's to be filed with the Tribunal, but I do know that perhaps Paul Meredith, when he gives his evidence shortly, may be able to give some guidance in that.	
	GEOFFREY MELVIN	
	Thank you. It would be good to have an English translation if one is available. Kia ora. Thank you, Sir.	
	JOHN BAIRD	
	Mr Roa, I think you've explained very clearly the Ngāti Maniapoto understanding of the compact or the Ki	

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	Tapu and why this was the understanding. I just wondered if you'd have any comments or could shed any light on what the Crown's understanding of that might've been of that compact and why they might've had that understanding or did it change over time?	
	TOM ROA	
	My understanding is that with the signing of the Treaty, now a number of Maniapoto chiefs signed the Treaty and so therefore their hapū and hapū who associated with those chiefs agreed and were committed to the understandings of the Treaty. Now we - the debate around the differences between the Māori translation and the English version rage but it is clear that from my point of view, that the Crown had different understandings about that document. Leading on from then, it is my contention that for the first perhaps 10 years following that, there was a general period of peace where things seemed to be following a, if not, the absolute point of the law, a general understanding in progressing matters for Aotearoa, New Zealand. In that space of time, however, it was clear that Māori interests were being undermined. Māori interests were illegally being trampled.	
1435	So I think with respect that leading up to the crossing of the Mangatāwhiri, there were agreements made and perhaps through the course of the, of the Inquiry, instances of those agreements will come to light. Through that period of time, verbal and other contracts were broken, primarily it is my understanding and my assertion, because Crown agents and others are illegally and other, through other means, obtained	

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	land so that at times blood was spilt, and incidence in Pukekohe leading up to the crossing of the Mangatāwhiri are examples of that. Now in the crossing of the Mangatāwhiri, it is our understanding that that occurred because business interests, ah, pushed the point that there were lands, rich lands to be had, and so those business interests, um, advised and, ah, forced the Crown and the colonial forces to order the crossing of the Mangatāwhiri, so that in, in a very roundabout way, I guess I am saying that, ah, the Pākehā mindset seems to be on the obtaining of land. Ah, the Crown's mindset appear to be, we have to make sure that these business interests for the economy of New Zealand are, ah, are advanced. Hence, the crossing of the Mangatāwhiri, hence the building up of the land league and the Kīngitanga to hold on to the land, to stop the bloodshed amongst Māori ourselves and to maintain and retain Mana Māori Motuhake.	
	JOHN BAIRD	
	So you the Crown, you believe the Crown understood but were pressured by other interests and allowed themselves to be persuaded?	
	TOM ROA	
	Short answer, "Yes," and I, and I, ah, I mean, um, correspondence is, ah, between the church missionary Society and their lobbying of the, ah, of I think it's Lord Salsbury in England and their, ah, their wish to treat fairly with the natives, was a, a key point in England. However, business interests and frankly greed, played	

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	another part in the situation here in New Zealand.	
	JOHN BAIRD	
	Yeah thank you I think that's two good examples as to the why.	
	TOM ROA	
	Kia ora.	
	PROFESSOR POU TEMARA	
	E Tame.	
	TOM ROA	
	Kia ora e Pou.	
	PROFESSOR POU TEMARA	
	Tēnā rawa atu koe mō ō kōrero me te wai o tō kōrero e whakatoko nei ki mua i a mātau i tēnei ahiahi. Kai te wāhanga tuarima, tekihana tuarima o tō – o kōrero, e whakaputaina ana e koe ō whakaaro mō Te Ki Tapu. Nā, kua tuhia ki ō mātau ngākau te whakaaro o Te Ōhākī Tapu. I tēnei rā, ka rongo mātau i te Kawenata Tapu, ka rongo hoki i te pitihana tapu. Taku mōhio nei, kai te mārama mātau i te rerekē o te kawenata me te pitihana, engari me te kī anō, anā kai tuku i ara kōrero, kotahi anō tērā whakaaro, kō te kawenata, kō te Ohāki Tapu. Tokorua kō rua i tēnei rā he kōrero ana mō te Ki Tapu.	Professor Temara is just acknowledging the evidence put forward by Tom Roa thus far. Can we look at point 5 of your briefing, and of course you've got your explanation of the terminology Ki Tapu. Now it is within our hearts that Te Ōhākī Tapu, it is within us. We've heard of the kawenata tapu, we've heard of the pitihana or the petition and we do know the difference between the covenant and the petition, but however, when you look at it from those people who instigated those particular kawenatas, it remains the same, but now I wish to talk about the Ki Tapu.

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	He pātai, he aha te rerekē o te Ki Tapu me te Ohāki Tapu?	My question is, what is the difference between te Ki Tapu and Te Ohāki Tapu?
1440	**TOM ROA**	
	Kei te marama pea ki tēnei kupu ki te tapu, ā, e ai ki āku mātua, i roto i a mātau wānanga. Kō Te Ohāki, he kupu nā te rangatira, he kupu e tuku ana ki tana iwi.	Now, perhaps we should reflect on this word "tapu" the sacredness. Now, according to my elders and all the various wānanga that we've had.
	Hei kupu Ohāki. Hei whakamaumarahatanga mā te iwi ki ngā tohutohu whakamutunga a te kaumātua, ā te ariki, hei tauira koia tērā kō te kupu a Maniapoto te tīpuna, ki a ngā uri, ā, kia mau ki tēnā, kia mau ki te kawau mārō, whanake ake, whanake ake.	Now the Ohāki is the word given from our leaders or the chief. It is which drives its people the word or the Ohāki is reflection by the – via the iwi from the chief at that particular time. Now, when we talk about the sayings of Maniapoto to his descendants that we should hold fast, hold fast to the kawau mārō and advance it now.
	Ki au he Ohāki tērā, nā te tapu o te kaumātua rā o Maniapoto, i tapuwai engari kō te Ki Tapu, kō taku kupu tēnei me rangatira ana au, ki a koe, me rangatira ana koe. He whakāetanga o waenga i a tahu, kō koe, ki konā, me ōu kaupapa, mau rā, hei tiaki mai āku pānga ki roto i tēnei kaupapa. Kō au ki kōnei, e tiaki nei, i ō whai pānga nei ki tēnei kaupapa e tiaki nei i aha.	For me that is an Ohāki because of the tapu or the sacredness and of course the tapuness, the sacredness of that particular ancestor Maniapoto, but when we say the Ki Tapu or the word is sacred, that is something which I say on my behalf towards you, it's an agreement or some – in other words it is saying, you over there driving your particular perspective, and I am here looking after the interests of my perspective and who i represent.
	PROFESSOR POU TEMARA	
	A, nō reira, kei te marama e ai ki ōu kōrero.	I get an understanding of what you've laid down in your evidence.
	Kāore pea i eke te Ohāki Tapu hei whakamārama i ngā kōrero a ngā rangatira ki ngā rangatira. Nā te mea, i te tino	Perhaps it can be said that the Ohāki Tapu – but we reflect on those at the time of Wahanui and Manga, even though

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	ora hoki a Manga mā, e te tino ora ai a Wahanui mā, e hara i te mea whakahemohemo ana rātau te tino kaha nei, nē?	they've since passed, but Te Ohāki still continues now. That's all I wanted to ask of you at that time.
	Heoi anō, koira anō taku pātai ki a koe. A kene pea he wā kei ngā rā e haramai nei ka kōrero mai anō ka kōrero anō taua mō ngā manu nei. Kia ora.	Now, perhaps later on throughout the week that we can discuss this particularly further. Thank you.
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Heoi anō, e hiahia ana au ki te kōrero a ngā manu nei. E tangitangi mai ngā manu.	The Judge has asked that he reflects back on the powerful image of the birds.
	What your explanation of Tāwhiao his discussion with mea, to me, was quite profound, because as I took it, you were pointing to the fact that these birds that were referred to were birds that were consumed, eaten and therefore they had a noa essence to them, as compared to the tīrairaka, pīwaiwaka, the fantail and I just wanted to be clear, the explanation that you've given, is that your interpretation or is this a kōrero that you have heard in past years?	
1445	**TOM ROA**	
	Kō ēnei kupu, te kupu nā taku aunty, te rūrūhia o taku Matua, Lena Ormsby, kō ia te tamāhine a John Ormsby, te mea tuatahi o Ōtorohanga.	For me, these understandings were given by my aunty, Lena Ormsby. She is the daughter of John Ormsby and of course who was the first mayor of ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga.
	I au e tamariki ana ka whakamoea au ki ana rekereke te whakamahana i tana tinana i waenganui pō. Waru tekau noa atu ngā tau o te kuia nei taua wā. No roto o Pirongia te kuia nei. Haere ai mātau ki Ngāruawāhia ki ngā Koroneihana, ko au i waenganui ia raua ko tana hoa tāne, tā	Now when I was young, I certainly knew about things like, you know looking after this particular, this particular matriarch. She was 80 at that time. She was of Pirongia and of course during those times, we went to the Coronation at Ngāruawāhia and of course at that time, her husband was

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	mātau, ia mātau haere ake ana.	still alive.
	And in our travels we would pass the spot where Tāwhiao laid down his arms and declared peace. From that time, I recall asking her about the birds and her response was as I said, "A he whakanoa, he whakanoa." Wēnei manu nei he mea kai e te tangata, engari ko te Pīrairaka, Tāwhiao was lost in the forest and people were looking for him, and two fantail came to him and led him out to the people. So the Pīrairaka for our people at Pirongia and particular, is a kaitiaki and should one go to our marae at Pūrikiriki, there are two Pīrairaka carved into the back wall.	Yet the birds, they take the tapu away, the sacredness because we eat it, it becomes noa or neutral.
	Ki te taha wānanga o tō mātau whare.	The learning side within our house.
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Tuarua, it seems to me that one of the conundrums particularly from a Pākehā world view is to understand the complexity of mana because we have kōrero in terms of the establishment of the Kīngitanga, the establishment of the Rohe Pōtae and the placing of the lands under the mana of the King, and yet, there is the – it seems to me at least that there is a, there is mana that remains with those iwi that have placed their lands under the King and there are hapū and so forth. And I just wondered if you could elaborate on, this aspect of mana and particularly when it came to the likes of Wahanui and others making a decision that went, went against what Tāwhiao had laid down.	
	TOM ROA	

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	Um, perhaps if I might answer this in, in, ah, maybe three different ways. The first way is that, um, my learnings are that we have this thing called an iwi and then we have these hapū who belonged to that iwi. Now that doesn't mean that those hapū live under those iwi. Each hapū has its own mana, its own authorities, its respects, and its own regulations, its own way of life; however, each hapū chooses to interact with the other hapū in order to form this thing called, "An iwi." In order for those hapū to go together, should ever the iwi be challenged? Also if there's something to be celebrated, then those hapū can celebrate as iwi. The establishment of the Kīngitanga was to prevent and to protect – to prevent the loss of land, to hold on to the land, ah, to hold on to the bloodshed to stop this group fighting that group, and to maintain Mana Māori Motuhake. Ah, in terms of that Mana Māori Motuhake, in terms of the bloodshed and in terms of the, the land being lost. Land has mana.	
1450	Blood whakapapa has mana, so the Mana Māori Motuhake, ah, I might suggest this is my own interpretation, but I understand that its, it's an amalgam of things that I've been, been taught. The Mana Māori Motuhake is not vested in one person or one grouping of people. If we compare that to Tino Rangatiratanga, Tino Rangatiratanga is the rangatira holding sway, and so therefore, it is akin to sovereignty. I wonder if this might be part of the difficulty for the other than Māori people that they do not have an understanding of a true democracy, where this rangatira and his mana with his hapū, whānau, iwi, have sway over this part of the land, but they are only able to hold that if they are successful in	

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	negotiating their way through and with other mana, other authority. So this retention of Mana Māori Motuhake in my opinion is the retention of each rangatira having his, her mana recognised, respected by other rangatira. This whānau's mana, this whenua's mana is a Mana Māori Motuhake, and that mana is respected, recognised by other mana. When that breaks down, there is a loss of balance and too often the spilling of blood is the result. Hence, in this evidence my assertion of the Mana Whatuahuru.	
	Koia tērā te mana e whatu nei i ngā mana katoa, kia tau te ao huru, kia tau te rangimaria.	This is a mana kia tau which clearly is its drive is peace, through peaceful means.
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Mr Mahuika. I'm assuming Mr Roa was your client. Did you have any re-examination?	
	MATANUKU MAHUIKA	
	No, no, not my client sorry Sir.	
	GLENN TOOTILL	
	No re-examination Sir.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	No re-examination. Kia ora koe.	
	TOM ROA	
	Tēnā koutou.	

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	GLENN TOOTILL	
	Sir I've just been advised that Mr Kaati has agreed for Mr Meredith to present next on the basis that he will go after Mr Meredith. I note we have got five minutes Sir. Did you want – kai te pai, so Mr Meredith will present now. He will be led Sir by Mr Bennion and I note there's been a document filed, that's A110.	
1455	**TOM BENNION**	
	Sir, Mr Bennion here. So, you have his, Mr Meredith's chapter from the oral and traditional report which is chapter 9. If there was any confusion, there has been a bit of confusion around chapters 8 or 9, but it is the one chapter, chapter 9 and you have his summary, I think which is A110(b) and as you'll see Mr Meredith is going to present the summary with a PowerPoint presentation and we can make that available and can I thank the Tribunal for accommodating him on the basis that we're going to have him present, have questions from claimant counsel and then hold him over to the second week for questions from the Crown. So, Mr Meredith, if you could proceed.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Kia ora Tom. Arohamai, tēnā tātau o – kia ora te whānau o Waikato. Tēnā tātau, he mihi atu nei ki tō tātau nei whare e tū ake nei, ki āku koroua, ki āku kuia, kua ngare nōku e tū nei hei whāriki i ngā kōrero. Kua roa te wā e rangahau ana –	I greet all those present within the great house here and to my elders, it is my honour to stand before you and of course lay down the evidence on behalf of us all.

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	i ngā kupu a ngā tīpuna engari kua Ngaro. No reira, he Hōnore nui tēnei, kei āku kua nui, kua rahi, tēnā koutou katoa.	
	Otirā, ngā mema o te Taraipiunara, tēnei rā te mihi atu nei ki a koutou, me ngā taniwha ki tēnei taha, tēnā koutou katoa.	To members of the Tribunal and of course the big taniwha that are there, our legal counsels are represented there, thank you.
	And thank you John just for allowing me just to go before you. I have some other pressing matters back at Victoria University. My name is Paul Edward Meredith. My principle hapū is Ngāti Kapatuhi. I belong to the Amohanga Nikora whānau and as such am descended from Rawiri Te Hauparoa and Makareta Hinewai and they are up on screen there. Rawiri Te Hauparoa is recorded as turning Charles Hursthouse's horse around at ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga when Hursthouse first attempted an explorer to survey for a railway line through Ngāti Maniapoto's territory. He is also recorded as hosting the Blue Ribbon representatives at Waitomo and signing the petition to prohibit liquor in the King Country. Te Rauparaha's first wife was Makareta Hinewai. They separated not long after the Waikato war. Makareta Hinewai later married William Henry Grace, a Native Land agent at Kihikihi. He is somewhat infamous, has a somewhat an infamous name as well associated with native land acquisition in the King Country. My grandmother and other members of my extended family and I note Uncle George and Aunty Barbara are outside there. They still reside on land that constituted the Grace Homestead in Kihikihi. I recall as a teenager reading old minute books in Māori and letters from the likes of Rewi Maniapoto at my grandparents'	

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	house. These were parts of William Henry Grace's papers. I also read material from my great grandfather, Perehe Brown Te Amohanga, who often wrote to Wellington to press Ngāti Maniapoto's claims. Also, if we are to believe some family gossip, I can also claim descent from Major William Gilbert Mair as a result of liaison with one of my kuia on my great grandfather's side. Mair was among other things the first Native Land Court Judge at ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga. On my Pākehā side from my father, I am descended from Theodore John Meredith who was a member of the Waikato militia and forth at the battle of Rangiriri where of course they had Māori forbearers fighting on the other side. In return for his military service, Theodore Meredith was granted a one acre section in Alexandra, Pirongia township and 58 is just outside that's been part of the confiscated Waikato lands. Family records also remember one of the Meredith boys chastised by his parents for regularly swimming across the Pūniu River to fraternise with the local Māori. He was primarily driven by a pellet for dried shark. So, and I remember this is a 13 year old reading those papers. I'm now 41, so I have a long and personal interest in this history that pre-dates my commission from the Crown Forestry Rental Trust to work on Ngāti Maniapoto's oral and traditional history. Now part of that work as I mentioned, I contributed chapter, "Kei rarara ngā ringaringa," nā Maniapoto's attempts to control the spread of the hands of the Pākehā, in the, this paper has relevance for the Te Ōhākī Tapu hearings. What really tried to do is, you know.	
1500	Kia hoki anō tātau ki ngā kupu a Rewi mā, ā Wahanui mā, ā Taonui mā.	Yeah I just want to translate it, when I look back on the teachings of Rewi and Wahanui and Taonui.

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	Now the search for the voices of the Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira who were principally engaged with the Crown at this time has been central to the research for my – for this paper. And we are fortunate that newspapers of the day often record speeches of important gatherings in detail and those rangatira were avid correspondence for Government officials, with Government officials, newspapers, Māori newspapers, Pākehā newspaper and among themselves. So what we have been left is a rich archive of writings that are an unprecedented contemporary witness to Ngāti Maniapoto activity and opinion of the time, and complement our kōrero tuku iho or oral histories.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Kia ora e Tā. Before we get into the body of things, it's just after 3.00, so, me whakairea i reira, and we will come back at 3.20 and resume Mr Meredith's evidence. Kia ora.	
	HEARING ADJOURNS: 3.02 PM	
	HEARING RESUMES: 3.22 PM	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	People outside, shall we keep the noise at, noise down please. Kai a koe Mr Meredith.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	I do want to emphasise that point though. He nui ngā kupu a ngā tīpuna a Wahanui mā, a Rewi mā, a Taonui mā nā rātau	There were many teachings left behind, Wahanui, Taonui. Now if you look within the instructions and teachings which

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	i tuku mai i roto i ngā tuhituhinga. Haunga ngā kōrero a waha, he nui nā kōrero, ngā tuhituhinga ngā rātau. Heoi anō, Ngāti Maniapoto were stalwarts of the King Movement. Ngāti Maniapoto leaders were instrumental of Pōtatau as the first Māori King and a gathering at Haurua. This event is known to Ngāti Maniapoto as Te Puna o te Roimata, The Wellspring of Tears. Rewi Maniapoto himself raised the King's flag at his anointment at Pōtatau's anointment at Ngāruawāhia at 1858, and he stayed in 1879. Ko au te tangata i whakahaere ai te Kīngi o te motu nei. I was the chief supporter of the King in this side. Rewi was a nationalist and he and other Maniapoto believed that a pan-tribal movement, unifying the Māori people under one sovereign equal to the Queen of England could bring in an end to intertribal conflict, now kāti te whakaeke toto, keep Māori land in Māori hands, kāti te hook whenua, and provide a separate governing body for Māori. When Tāwhiao's father Pōtatau was there, he said, he said to his son, "E muri rā, ara mau ki Te Nehenehenui," afterwards hold fast to Te Nehenehenui. Pōtatau was referring here to Tāwhiao being able to count on Ngāti maniapoto, not only as supporters of the Kīngitanga but also as close relatives. It was natural then that Tāwhiao and his Waikato followers would also retreat across Te Pūniu into the refuge of Te Nehenehenui. The Pūniu river now took on a new significance for Ngati Maniapoto and the Kīngitanga. The Pūniu river was now a powerful symbol of the European's confiscation line and a border between King Tāwhiao and Ngāti Maniapoto on one side and the Pākehā on the other. According to Kīngitanga historian Carmen Kirkwood, Government recognition is recorded in Kīngitanga sources, and I do remember the late Tui Adams telling me this.	they left behind; however, at that –

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	He could quote that, "Nā Tāwhiao, ko tēnei taha o Te Pūniu, ngā take katoa o tēnei taha o Te Pūniu, ko te Kāwanatanga te rangatira. Nā, kei tēnā taha o Te Pūniu, ngā take katoa kei tēnā taha o Te Pūniu. Ko koe Tawhio, tūturu te rangatira. Tāwhiao on this side of the Te Pūniu river, all matters affecting this side of Te Pūniu, the Government is responsible. Now, on that side of Te Pūniu, all matters pertaining to that side of Te Pūniu, you Tāwhiao, are totally in control." Now I think they actually might be referring to here, when McLean met Tāwhiao and is recorded in, and it's in my chapter, he's recorded as saying to Tāwhiao and again it's partly in English but partly in Māori.	I believe the speaker will give his translation following through and he has.
1525	"Ko koe te mana tuturu kai tērā taha."	Referring to that you hold the mana of that side.
	Rewi and others in particular supported Tāwhiao's major course, the restoration of Waikato lands. Te tono a Tāwhiao rāua ko Rewi, e mea nei kia whakahokia a Waikato ki a rāua. Te request of Tāwhiao and Rewi which asks that Waikato be returned to them. I think we also have to remember that Rewi himself suffered confiscation. He suffered raupatu at Kiekie there where his principal house was Huiterangiora. And he's also recorded in 1875 when he was over in the Bay of Plenty, he said, "Me houhou e rātau te rongo ki te whenua, arā me whakahoki mai." Ngāti Maniapoto's loyalty to Tāwhiao and the political movement, that was the Kīngitanga, did now however usurp its own traditional tribal leadership. As the Kawenata o Maniapoto stated, "Tōpū tonu te iwi me te mau tonu o te mana o te reo o ngā Rangatira." The tribe was still united and maintained the leadership of their respective chiefs. And can I just clarify something about – I heard some discussion about the	

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	Kawenata. The Kawenata was a document 1904. There was a – at that time, Maniapoto was – were divided into three. Some were seen following the Kīngitanga, some were following the Government, some were following the, the teachings of Te Whiti and Tohu. So it was an attempt by the Rangatira of that time, and that turn of the century period when many Māori communities, many Māori tribes are sort of, "Where are heading? How can we maintain our Māori, Māoriness, well the same time, make our way in this world," you know. And so there was a meeting at Māhoenui at Christmas time, major gathering and there was attempt to try and reunite and bring Maniapoto back together. That document has been translated. I think Te – someone from the Waitangi Tribunal. A research assistant translated it, and I also understand that Rovina Maniapoto has also done a translation, so, that might assist, um, um, Crown law. Where okay. These Ngāti Maniapoto leaders were some of Tāwhiao's closes advisors and Tāwhiao himself often referred to the need to consult these rangatira. In 1882, Rewi has translated a saying, "It is not our rule that Tāwhiao should act independently of his council, the chiefs of the King party. Tāwhiao's knowledge of this induces him to act with great caution and when his advisers act independently of him, they are censured. Tāwhiao does not act without first consulting his council nor the members of his council without consulting him." And members like Rewi, Wahanui are recorded as – and other key Maniapoto chiefs, Taonui are recorded as being part of a, um, the Kings Council, and in fact at - and Huiterangiora Kiekie was Rewi's local Kīngitanga Rūnanga. Tāwhiao furthermore did not have unfetted occupation of Ngāti Maniapoto lands. For example, I give 1885 examples. Maybe on reflection isn't the best	

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	example, but Ngāti Maniapoto, ah, Ngāti Matekore, supposedly offered to place 400,000 acres extending to Rangitoto under the mana of Tāwhiao, Ngāti Maniapoto and others within the wider Te Rohe Pōtae alliance quickly rejected this. And also my paper referred to an 1880 example of my own great, great, great grandmother Makareta Hinewai, when it was suggested that Tāwhiao might settle at Whenuahou, and there's several letters between her and Tāwhiao and Rewi and she says, "Kia rongo mai koe, me mutu tō whakaaro haere ai ki reira noho ai." So nonetheless, despite attempts by Government officials and newspaper reporters to play up the idea of a widening split between Maniapoto and Waikato for out dating 70s, Ngāti Maniapoto remained throughout this period generally supportive of King Tāwhiao and the Kīngitanga movement as representative of Māori independence and a vehicle to maintain their rangatiratanga over their rohe. Thus also think they also managing that delicate relationship where you know, probably one of the reasons why they were quite keen for Waikato lands to be returned to Waikato is because they were – this accommodation of, of Waikato and what that might mean in terms of, ah, long occupation.	
1530	King Tāwhiao and Ngāti Maniapoto leaders in post-aukati, quite a popular word in Maniapoto is puru, puru to halt and defend against any further advance of the colonial and imperial troops. Later they were to stop the encroachment of Pākehā settlement, the roads, the railway lines, the Native Land Court and what Ngāti Maniapoto called "ngā kaihoro whenua" or the land swallowers that were the land purchase agents, people like William Henry Grace and	

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	others and George Wilkinson. aukati or puru were essentially declarations to preserve their rangatiratanga by opposing a notional boundary line or frontier across which unauthorised passage was restricted or prohibited. Speaking to the Native Minister John Bryce in December 1883 at the meeting at Kihikihi to discuss the survey, Rewi Maniapoto himself stated that he fixed the boundaries of the aukati and the Tūhua chief Ngatai, noted that Wahanui erected posts marking off that district to be tapu against Europeans which he protected accordingly. Ngāti Maniapoto guarded and protected the aukati. Ngāti Maniapoto was also prepared to use force to maintain the aukati, although it was generally the case that victims were well warned before final action was taken and there are several examples in the paper. One of the more well known incidents was the killing of William Moffatt, which Ngāti from the Tūhua territory was implicated. Ngatai himself spoke of that incident in 1885, "I sent my man called Te Kati to warn him not to come, but he paid no attention to my message and persisted in coming on. He persisted in coming on the next day and was killed." For Ngāti Maniapoto the aukati or puru was not an isolation policy but a rangatiratanga policy. It was about Ngāti Maniapoto asserting control over who could cross their borders and whose law predominated. These aukati or notional boundaries should not be seen as the traditional boundaries of Ngāti Maniapoto. Wahanui, when he was giving evidence in the Native Land Court in 1886 stated, "Kō Te Rohe Pōtae nei nāku nei anō. Ehara i te rohe tīpuna iho nō mua. Engari, e rohe anā au, kō au kei tua nei kō te Pākehā kei tua atu." This boundary was my doing, was my doing. It is not an ancestral boundary of past. Instead I laid the boundary, I on this side, the European on	

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	the other. Beyond the aukati, the district remained a largely autonomous territory. Many Pākehā quickly came to view this area as King Tāwhiao's territory hence the region becoming known to others as the King Country. For Ngāti Maniapoto, however, much of this district was still traditionally known as Te Nehenehenui, and in the kawenata they use the phrase, "Kō Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi, kō Te Nehenehe Nui te whare." And the aukati or te puru o te Pākehā was much about ensuring that the whare remained tapu, restricted and secure to Ngāti Maniapoto. It was also seemingly a way of reclaiming the geography and the symbolism of the confiscation line by instituting their own tikanga and imposing their own jurisdictional terms on those Europeans who would seem to cross it. The end of the 1860s, 1870s or there when others of Ngāti Maniapoto being reported as expressing overtures of peace and actually Rewi himself, I talk about this in the chapter, he said he actually didn't want to try and take on the Pākehā, he said he didn't want to fight them, but then he was talked into it and then when those who wanted to surrender he told them, "No, if we're going to fight, we're now going to fight to the death." For Ngāti Maniapoto, the first major discussion of peace negotiations with a senior government minister was in 1869 at a meeting with the defence minister Donald McLean who is also well known as the chief native land purchasers, right words, but is very well known to Māori, known as Te Mākarini and that was as meeting at Te Pāhiko near Te Kuiti, not far from here and where Rewi, Taonui, Hauāuru and Wahanui were present at this meeting. Rewi is quoted as saying at this gathering, "Kō te riri kia mutu, ka whitingia te whenua e te rā i runga i tā rātau kōrero, ka uaina e te ua, ka tino kaha a muri ake nei, te mahana me te māramatanga	

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	o te rā." Anger shall cease. The sun shines over the land with what they have discussed. The rain washes away and afterwards the sun shall be much more warmer and brighter. What is more popular and well known analogies was this reference to the planting of a tree.	
1535	Over the years, you know, he talked about, "Tētahi he rākau pai." He made reference to this at a meeting in 1878 and the letter to the Native Minister Sheehan he commented, "I kite a Manga," this is Rewi talking, "I kite a Manga i a Tā Tānara Mākarini i Pahiko i te takiwā ki Te Kūiti. Mea ana a Manga i reira ai, tēnā me tiri e taua tētahi rākau pai, ā, ka waiho kia tupu ana. Nō te tupuranga ka tupu, ka mate i te hau. I kite anō hoki a Manga i a Tākuta Porena," he was the native minister at the time, Collin, "A, i whakamātau rāua ki te tiri i tētahi rākau ki Areka, ki Taupō. Nā te huka o Tongariro i mate ai. Kātahi ka mauria mai taua rākau ki Waitara whakatō ai, kātahi ka tupu, kua tupu ināianei kua whai hua." Manga saw David – saw Donald McLean at Pahiko which place is near Te Kuiti. Manga on that occasion said, "Let us plant a tree of good and let it grow." When it was planted the wind came and it was blasted. Manga also met Dr Pollen and they also endeavoured to plant a tree at Alexandra and at Taupō, but when the snows of Tongariro once appeared that tree was destroyed. Then the tree was brought to Waitara to be planted. It now grows, it bears fruit. And as much as Rewi sought the restoration of Waikato's lands he also sought the restorations of the lands to the south. Wahanui was also – expressed overtures of peace. There were a couple of key events that involved Wahanui. Tom Roa's already referred to the incident, the manu and the guns at Pirongia in 1881, Wahanui accompanied Tāwhiao on	

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	his goodwill towards the Waikato and was present when Tāwhiao made the presentation of guns to Major William Mair, Alexandra as a token of his declaration that there would be no more fighting. Wahanui was Tāwhiao's principal speaker. It is said that he came forward after these words by Tāwhiao and addressed Major Mair as follows, pointed to the guns he said, "Do you know what this means, Major Mair? This is the result of what Tāwhiao said to you, that there would not be any more trouble. This means peace." That gun has been kept within Ngāti Maniapoto as a token of that important gesture of peace. Also in the last days of November 1885, Wahanui was involved in another gesture of peace. At Alexandra, Wahanui handed over to Mr George T Wilkinson, government agent at Waikato, a taiaha to be afforded to the Honourable John Ballance the then native minister. The name of that taiaha according to the newspapers of the day was Mahuta, but Ngāti Maniapoto today recall it as Maungārongo. The taiaha was to indicate the final withdrawal of the aukati and that from henceforth no more bloodshed would take place between the Europeans and Ngāti Maniapoto. The taiaha was to be put on display in the general assembly library, however, what happened was Ballance and Grey who were quite well known for their political spats, with point scoring, Sir George Grey said that Wahanui had tricked him and that wasn't really a taiaha, it was a broomstick, but it was, it was a real taiaha and George Grey was on the parliamentary library committee and they actually built a nice glass case for it and there was a nice plaque, gold plaque made for it, talked about the lifting of the aukati et cetera, but when Ballance got all	

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	embarrassed it was all played out in the newspaper, he got embarrassed and refused to have it – allowed to be on display. An opportunist MP from Otago said, "We'll have it," and it ends up in – eventually in the Otago Museum. It's currently on display as part of the Tainui exhibition at Te Papa and I've been making inquiries at Otago Museum and I know that senior members of Ngāti Maniapoto would probably like to see that taiaha returned northward. But that is a picture of the taiaha there, Maungārongo. Admitted diplomacy and peacemaking with government representatives, Rewi, Wahanui and other Ngāti Maniapoto leaders pressed their demands to protect their mana whenua and mana tāngata. As Rewi told the native minister John Sheehan in 1879, "Kō tau tikanga kei a koe, kō taku kei au?" Your affairs are your own, my affairs are my own. In 1882, Rewi was quoted in translation, speaking of his long wish for a project of, "Making the whole of the territory a reserve under my own, that is the Māori mana. Nothing will move me during my lifetime to alter my opinions in relation to the land question, which means my holding intact all our Māori territory."	
1540	Rewi also remained resolute about the return of Waikato's confiscated lands, right up until, you know, throughout 1882 and to 1883 and beyond, probably. Rewi was thus seeking the recognition of a Māori territory and sought alliances with neighbouring iwi. In 1879 Rewi described the boundaries of what he considered to be their territory, which was essentially what became known as Te Rohe Pōtae. Rewi is recorded as describing the names of places and creeks on his boundary in very minute detail. He ended at Taupō, the Ngāti Tūwharetoa leaders, Te Heuheu and Kingi Herekiekie,	

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	took up their boundary where Rewi stopped. Other chiefs also described their boundaries from Ruapehu and Tongariro mountains through to Mōkau. It is reported that the chiefs agreed unanimously amongst them that Rewi should be their head arranging chief. This is in 1879, Rewi wanted then the boundary surveyed and the rightful owners acknowledged with a view that the land would be permanent and inalienable Māori problem. Rewi stated, "Kaua e tukua ki whakararua ahau i runga i tēnei whenua, e puritia nei a ahau." Do not allow my possession of this land to be disturbed. Rewi maintained that Europeans would enjoy equal privileges but Māori law would prevail over both Māori and European within the territory and the law makers would be Māori. Rewi and others of Ngāti Maniapoto were also aware of the rumours of gold in the Tūhua country and were adverse to the desire of gold prospectors to work on that area, fearing the influx of Pākehā into the territory that would bring with it if sufficient quantities were discovered. I think Rewi talked about someone giving him some gold and he chucked it away, chucked it in the river. Rewi, Wahanui and others were also generally adverse to the intrusion of the Native Land Court into their territory. At a Kingite Meeting, Wahanui asserted the Native Land Court as a house. The Court is a building put up by you, Pākehā, "The house is yours and the Māoris go into it. It is said to the Maoris cease going into the house." Rewi and Wahanui only participated in the Native Land Court at Waitara so they could assert their rights against a claim for Mōkau Lodge by Ngāti Tama. Rewi also only took part in the Court at Cambridge to defend his rights in the Maungatautari block against Ngāti Raukawa. Rewi clarified why he was participating in Native Land Court process, he said, "I am going to Courts now so that the	

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	boundary of our country may be fixed." Ngāti Maniapoto's quest for a Māori territory was not that implausible to them given the proposals made by Sir George Gray to Tāwhiao at the meeting at Hikurangi May 1878 where he said, "E tū ana koe i tō mana, ka pitiria atu e te Kāwanatanga, kō koe anō he kaiwhakahaere mō te takiwā." "You will stand on your authority to which the government will add that you are to be the administrator within your district." Tāwhiao, however, would not accept that, which did not include the restoration of Waikato's confiscated lands and Rewi and the other chiefs remained in alliance with the king. All around Ngāti Maniapoto were encroaching settlement pressures, nonetheless Rewi wanted progress. He met their premier in February 1882 in Hamilton and told him, "The time has come where Māori and Pākehā should take action to cement a union of friendship and confidence between the two races." In late October 1882 the Native Minister John Bryce proposed new terms to settle Waikato's grievances. This included among other things, encouraging Ngāti Maniapoto to give Tāwhiao and Waikato people some of their lands, although in Māori it's probably a bit more than encouraging, he says, "Ka tohe te Kāwanatanga kia Ngāti Maniapoto kia hoatu e rātau tētahi wāhi tō rātau whenua ki a Tāwhiao a rātau kō tona iwi." And I think – so tohe may be more, it seems like we'll press Ngāti Maniapoto to give some of their lands to you. Bryce met with Tāwhiao and his supporters at Whatiwhatihoe pressing him again in answer to the proposal. Wahanui is recorded as objecting to Tāwhiao losing his mana. He says, "We cannot give up the king's mana." As to the assertion by Bryce that two sovereigns were not wanted in this island, Wahanui apparently replied, "Who sent for them?" Meaning who asked for the Queen's mana here?	

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	His proposals were rejected and annoyed Bryce and left the gathering with somewhat of a vowed threat, "If trouble comes," this is Bryce, "If trouble comes, it is your fault and not mine because you will not accept my offers." Ngāti Maniapoto would've been well aware of Bryce's actions at Parihaka where he led 1600 armed constabulary to arrest the leaders Te Whiti and Tohu and break up the village and of course some Ngāti Maniapoto like Te Mahuki and my great, great, great grandfather Rawiri Te Hauparoa were at Parihaka, Te Hauparoa was a ploughman at Parihaka. And so as one commentator remarked, Mr Bryce comes north with a Parihaka reputation and he has himself to blame if the natives naturally look upon his actions with suspicion.	
1545	Ngāti Maniapoto records this at a time when Bryce was putting the pressure on the tribe. And so under Te Kawenata they remember this time as, "Te kupu a Te Paraihe i kī ai kia Wahanui, 'Ka uhia te kapua taimaha ki runga ki a Ngāti Maniapoto.'" Bryce said to Wahanui, "A heavy cloud would be placed over Ngāti Maniapoto." Wahanui received a letter from an annoyed Bryce shortly afterwards after their meeting. Bryce seemed to blame Wahanui and Ngāti Maniapoto for Tāwhiao's rejection of his proposal. Bryce also advised Wahanui that the new Amnesty Act might not be able to be applied to any wrongdoers within the King Country, and Bryce of course no doubt was referring to Te Kooti who was by this time living amongst – was taking refuge amongst Ngāti Maniapoto and Te Rerenga Wetere, the latter associated with the death of the Reverend Whitely. Wahanui was accused by Bryce of trying to return to old issues surrounding the Waikato war	

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	and in another veiled threat, noted he was happy to discuss those again but reminded him, “Engari me mahara koe, i rite tahi te urunga o Ngāti Maniapoto ki taua raruraru ki tō Waikato, ā kua tika anō me i pērātia hoki te whiu mō rātau me tō Waikato nē?” But remember that the Ngāti Maniapoto were as deep in that trouble as the Waikato, and this being so, should not the same punishment have fallen upon them as upon the Waikatos? Bryce was of course referring to the raupatu of Waikato lands, and Wahanui was told that the closure of the country in which Ngāti Maniapoto reside could not long remain and the issue of veiled threats from Bryce were, were quite common in my research. Bryce asked Wahanui to carefully consider these reasons and communicate the contents of his people, of his letter to the people so that they, and I’m quoting Bryce now, so that they may know with whom the fault lies if trouble thereafter come upon us. Yet another failed threat to Wahanui. Wahanui’s reply was brief, denying that it was of Maniapoto that Tāwhiao did not approve of the proposal. He said, “E hara i ahau, e hara i a Ngāti Maniapoto,” that Tāwhiao did not approve. And then he, then he asked for more time to just talk with the people. Rewi or Manga also received a similar letter from Bryce. Wahanui and other Ngāti Maniapoto chiefs gathered at Rewi’s settlement on the Pūniu river. This is around February 1883. A scheme was then formed by which they could avoid the enormous expense incurred in passing their lands through the, the Land courts, and which of course they were adverse to anyway. A resolution was proposed and accepted unanimously that a certain number of men should be sent to better mark their rohe porotaka or external boundary by erecting posts in order to better protect it. They were also to report upon the extent of the lands of	

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	Ngāti Maniapoto but also neighbouring parts of Ngāti Raukawa, Tūwharetoa and Whanganui territories whose people were prepared to join in an alliance. Taonui and a number of others were selected to carry out this work. The trip occupied three months, after which Taonui reported back to the people at a gathering at Te Kuiti. Rewi also wrote Bryce indicating that Ngāti Maniapoto prayed for a proclamation of Amnesty over their district. "Ko ngā tāngata hara kia tino murua. Let the wrongdoers be absolutely forgiven." Rewi, Wahanui and others wanted time, but the pressure did not abate. Bryce was determined to treat, to have several exploratory surveys made through the King Country. Ngāti Maniapoto also learnt of the Government's decision to proceed with surveying land at Kāwhia despite Tāwhiao's objection. Furthermore, to the south Mōkau, the Government continued to make overtures about opening up the 50,000 it had supposedly purchased. Wahanui, Rewi and Te Rerenga Wetere arranged for a large territorial gathering held at Totoro near Mōkau on the 26th of February 1883 with a view to discussing with the people developing proposals for Bryce. Now I think to get a sense of the significance of this, this hui it was reported that 10,000 eels and 5000 snapper had already been sent on ahead. Unfortunately the hui was postponed due to severe flooding, but it was supposed to be this wide. They were trying to get a wide territorial agreement, so it was a – we think about the significance of what was happening here. Wahanui agreed to briefly meet with Bryce at Alexandra on the 7th of March 1883, but he had said that he didn't want to talk business. He was actually trying to borrow a £100 from, from the Government to buy a race horse in Taranaki and perhaps that's what he wanted to talk about.	

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1550	However, Bryce had other ideas. Wahanui was advised of his intention to send Charles Hursthouse to begin an exploratory trip from Alexandra through Mōkau and on to Taranaki, to ascertain whether it was suitable for a railway line. The next Bryce, next day Bryce dispatched Charles Hursthouse on an exploratory survey. On crossing the Alexandra bridge named by Tāwhiao as Tāwhara kai Atua, Te Toko of Ngāti Maniapoto warned him not to proceed. On arriving at Ōtorohanga, Apoto Taratutu, Wetere Te Kāwana and Rawiri Hauparoa and some 50 other locals stopped Hursthouse. No violence was used but he was told in unequivocal terms that he could not proceed without the permission of Wahanui and was directed to return to see him. And so we then, they give him a bit of a kai and that and when he tries to take off again, ah, Rawiri Hauparoa grabs his horse and says, “No you’re going in the wrong direction,” turns his, the head of the horse and points him back to Wahanui at Alexandra. When Hursthouse returned and endeavoured to discuss the subject with Wahanui, Wahanui was adamant that he could not discuss this alone and needed the presence of the people. Wahanui received a telegram from Bryce seeking his assistance to clear the path for Hursthouse to see that Ngāti Maniapoto did not turn him around again, with yet another sort of veiled threat or even blatant threat, Bryce warned Wahanui that he tika, ka taea e ahau anō te whakawātea tonu huarahi. I am able to clear my own path. A similar telegram was sent to Rewi. Despite this intimidation, Wahanui’s reply was once again proof, reiterated his desire that these matters needed to be discussed by the whole tribe and that they shouldn’t be rushed, rushed. On the 15th of March the pressured Ngāti Maniapoto leaders gathered at Te Kuiti here at Taonui’s	

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	house which was known as Taupiri. Winitana Tupotahi of Ngāti Paretekawa spoke in favour of allowing Bryce to proceed but in a careful and appropriate way. He reminded the gathering that the application of the puru was stoppage. This had resulted in suffering for both the people and the land. "Ka mate te tāngata, ka mate te whenua." Wahanui proposed to Ngāti Maniapoto that the tribe Bryce to go on with the railway exploration of – Bryce also recommending a petition to Parliament for the things they wanted. This included their own rūnanga or committee to make laws and adjudicate upon their land and the survey of their own external boundary. Wahanui's whānau preferred words in Māori which was not translated suggests he accepted responsibility for what might eventuate. "Koinei āku kupu te koha a rua te mutu tautahi nō mua tēnei." And these are the same words I think that he said to Tītoko Waru when Reverend Whitely had been killed. He accepted responsibility for that there. So you could see the - I think the burden that Wahanui was taken, was taking on. He also said, "Nā kei reira, ka mōhio tātau, um, ki te ora mātau ki te mate rānei, otirā ki taku, ka ora tātau." So I think we can sense the burden that Wahanui himself as, as a leader of the people, um, was placing on his shoulders. Following this meeting, Wahanui led a delegate of chiefs from the hui to negotiate the proposals with Bryce. This is the next day, so they must've made some speed to get across to Alexandra from here. This meeting place at Whatiwhatihoe, sorry. The account by Hataraka, a Tūhoe chief, suggested Wahanui asserted his mana over his land seeking recognition for the boundary and the authority of chiefs to manage the lands. According to Hataraka, Wahanui after privately consulting with rangatira present, told Bryce they consented to his man	

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	to go through to Mōkau and Taranaki, but let the feet only go along the road and go neither to one side or the other. Keep straight on to the end and look not to the right or to the left. When Bryce then indicated that he would dispatch his man the next day, Wahanui immediately told him to stop and wait for two weeks. Wahanui told Bryce, "The tribe is absent. I alone am here, and they must assemble and hear what has been said by me," and it's quite a constant theme as Wahanui is always talking about, "Taihoa, I need to consult the people." Hataraka stated that this agreement was put in writing. Hataraka was most likely referring here to reciprocal agree – exchange of letters between Wahanui, Rewi and other chiefs, and Bryce at that meeting. Both these letters are dated 6th of March 1883. I know that Cathy Marr located these in draft form. Also note that Ann Parsons and Tui Adams, in one of their articles also refer to these letters. I'm not quite sure if they realise the significance, but in the end they realised the significance, but in the end they – that whole idea of don't look to the left, don't look to the right is also captured in those words, "Kei rārā ngā ringa o te Pākehā."	
1555	So, let not their hands spread out, just make your exploratory survey and keep going, let it close up behind you. So what the letter from Wahanui and the others, for permission for Bryce and his men to proceed although on the condition his hands not spread out, the letter also stated that the government was not to allow applications for surveys in their district until the question was fully discussed in that Ngāti Maniapoto intended sending the petition to establish their own Rūnanga or committee for their lands. It says in Māori there, "Kia whakamana mai e koutou kō te Rūnanga	

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	mo te whenua o Ngāti Maniapoto." Bryce's letter in reply confirms that Bryce's men would only undertake on activity and that this was the exploration of the land for a suitability of a railway route, furthermore than no applications for minor surveys apart from those for trig stations would be allowed to proceed until Ngāti Maniapoto had time to discuss the matter. Bryce however hoped that the leaders of Ngāti Maniapoto would soon make applications to the Native Land Court for surveys to determine the rightful owners and ensure there was no confusion. Bryce also looked forward to their petition which he hoped would carefully outline the laws they wished to propose and promised it would be carefully considered and Cathy Marr notes that the chiefs later used this letter from Bryce to them as written proof of the understanding of the agreement the government made with them before a government inquiry in 1889 which I understand is referring to the Taupō-nui-a-Tia agreement. In 1885 in a meeting with the then Native Minister John Ballance, Wahanui further explained his understanding of this agreement and I'm quoting Wahanui now, "When Mr Bryce took office he made a compact with me, which was signed, that a search for the railway was to be made and if a suitable line were found he was to return and let me know. There were five of the Ngāti Maniapoto present when this contract was made but they are not here now." It's unfortunate we don't have the Māori version of this to see what words he used for compact or contract "I spoke to the five who were there and I said, 'How shall we do in the absence of the majority of the people?' They said, 'It cannot be helped, we must act for them as they are not here.' They said, 'We will agree to what Mr Bryce asks.' It was then agreed on the understanding that it was only to be an	

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	investigation to find out the best route for the railway and after it was found, they were to return and let the Māoris know before doing anything else. I then said to Mr Bryce, 'What you wish for has been agreed to, now I want you to agree to my request.' Mr Bryce asked me, 'What do you want?' I then said, 'I am going to send a petition to the House and I want you and your Cabinet to back it up.' I went on with the petition at once, but you know yourselves what it is." In December 1884 in a letter to Ballance, Taonui reminded the native minister that Wahanui had only agreed to a preliminary survey of the railway route. Taonui was of the opinion that Wahanui could not have agreed to anything more. Taonui referred to, as the people weren't all present, Taonui referred to te whakaoati a te Paraihe, asking Ballance to fulfil Bryce's whakaoati. John Ormsby in correspondence with Wahanui earlier that year concerning in part the railway exploration also referred to e ai ta te whakaoati a te Paraihe i Whatiwhatihoe, according to the whakaoati of Bryce at Whatiwhatihoe. Taonui and Ormsby's use of the word "whakaoati" to explain what they understood Bryce had promised, to some extent indicates the significance and similarity of Ngāti Maniapoto attached to this agreement. Whakaoati is a lone word, the word "oati" being a transliteration for oath, whakaoati is a word that Māori then most likely best understood through their biblical readings, as one Māori newspaper explained they give a fuller sort of explanation in the chapter but in essence was he kupu whakaharahara te oati, he kupu teka noa atu, e kore e wareware i te Atua. The oath was a very great word, lying generally is not forgotten by the Gods. And only recently and it was a shame I didn't see it before, especially saw in the letter to – Wiremu Tāmehana referred to the same	

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	phrase, te Ki Tapu, te Ki Oati. So, I think they run together. According to Hataraka, Bryce agreed to Wahanui's request to wait for two weeks before sending in his surveys. Despite that promise, Bryce sent Hursthouse and his companion Newsham underway within four days of the 16th of March signing. Hursthouse and Newsham were accompanied by Te Rerenga Wetere and 26 other Māori. Recently part in Te Rerenga Wetere was probably perhaps eager to prove his loyalty, to display his loyalty. On reaching Te Uira, they were forcibly detained by Te Mahuki and his followers. When Wahanui heard of this incident he collected a large body of men to rescue the Europeans.	
1600	Wahanui was also no doubt eager to demonstrate he would honour his agreement with Bryce even if Bryce had already breached it by sending his men so early. However, Te Kooti was able to affect the rescue of Te Rerenga Wetere's reinforcements in the chief Wharo. Wahanui was eager to subject Te Mahuki to Ngāti Maniapoto law, but Te Mahuki was arrested when he tried to occupy Alexandra. Bryce seized the opportunity to then apply Pākehā law. Following the Te Mahuki incident, Bryce travelled through the King Country himself with Te Wetere, Te Rerenga Wetere's guide and talked about – he actually wrote a letter I think to Wahanui and talked about the similar of that, of the Native Minister going through the King Country and was – when he finally got, ah, was whether Waitara or New Plymouth, he was welcomed with some symbolism, ah, with some fanfare. The symbolism of him going through the King Country, supposedly opening up the King Country. Te Mahuki incident would have reminded Waha that not all of Ngāti Maniapoto were in complete agreement with their	

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	leadership, and he himself knew he needed time to consult with his tribe as well as the other tribes in the alliance, Te Rohe Pōtae alliance. Wahanui continued to plead for time and caution. Wahanui forfeit an article, a manifesto published in several newspapers in April 1883. Wahanui spoke of a piri pono, piringa pono, a bond of good faith. Wahanui concluded, "E hoa mā, kei Pōtatu te mahi Kāwanatanga, otirā ka mārama te whakahaere kei koru , e ai tā te Ki Tapu. Oh my friends, not be too hasty in your work of Government, but be judicious in your management lest we fail in accordance with the sacred word," and Tom's already discussed some eloquency, ah, the Ki Tapu. But Wahanui using that phrase was more than likely I think referring to his recent agreement with Bryce. As Wahanui would later, remark later in 1888, we place absolute reliance on the word of Mr Bryce who has personally told us that he would give due respect to our land and that he would prevent all evil practises from being done in our district. So hāunga nā kōrero i tuituia, ko ngā, ngā kōrero a waha, nā – te whakawati a te Paraheke i ngā rangatira o Ngāti Maniapoto. In April 1883 along with co-authors Te Ni and Te Kohika wrote to Sir George Grey thinking his support for a forthcoming petition for a reserve for the wider alliance of Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Whanganui. E hoa - Rewi writing to Grey - "E hoa, he kupu atu tēnei nāku ki a koe mō te takiwā whenua e rāhuitia ana e te iwi nui tonu, e Maniapoto, e Raukawa, e Tūwharetoa, e Whanganui, e tino whakatūturu ana hei nohonga mō ngā tāne mō ngā wāhine mō ngā tamariki me ngā uri whakatupu o tua atu, me tuku ki te Pāremata, māna e whakamana tēnei rāhui. Friend, respecting the land whichis kept by the great bulk of the people by Maniapoto, by Raukawa, by	That's reflecting on the oath between Bryce and Te Wahanui.

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	Tūwharetoa, by Whanganui is completely being kept secret for an abiding place for the men, the women, the children and for future descendants. Give it to Parliament. It is for them to authorise this reserve." And then he also in that letter, same letter, refers notes that, "Kua tū ngā pou o te porotaka nei," referring to Taonui's work, then also refers to the, "Kua huaina te ingoa." He says it's been given a name. He says, "Ko te Ki Tapu a te iwi," but I think that some have interpreted it as, the name is ko te Ki Tapu o te iwi, but I think, I think that's what he's saying, is he says, "Ko te Ki Tapu o te iwi a kia kaua e whakanoa e te Pākehā, e te Māori te Pākehā. And the sacred word of the people is, Let those posts not be broken by either the, um, the Māori or by Māori or Pākehā, so it appears again we see that, that phrase, "Ki Tapu." Okay. In June 1883, Ngāti Maniapoto submitted their proposed petition to Parliament. The petition was also from Ngāti Raukawa, Tūwharetoa and the Whanganui tribes and was an attempt to secure the future of this wider Rohe Pōtae alliance of neighbouring iwi. Partly by appealing to the Tiriti o Waitangi, they talk about, "Tino whakapūmautia ai te tino tangatiratanga me te kore anō hoki e whakararuraru a mātau noho i runga i ō mātau whenua. The petitioners hoped they secure to them their lands and jurisdictional control in the face of the proposed opening of their district to roads, the railway and the Native Land Court. The petitioners were also critical of the operation of the Native Land Court. In particular the associated lawyers and the land speculators whom they described as 'Kaihoro whenua," land swallowers. Ngāti Maniapoto in alliance requested a law to reform both the Court and land dealings. So it's quite a significant document that petition and we can sort of capture and particularly when we read the Māori, the	

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	essence of what they were trying to see, you know what they were feeling at the time and engaged with them what they hoping achieve, and they talk about, "Kua karapoti e ngā mahi nanakia, e ngā mahi whakaawai a ngā Hōro Whenua," the outrageous practices and the temptations of these land speculators.	
1605	Talk about he aha te pai ki a mātau o ngā rori, o ngā rerewē, o ngā Kooti Whenua mehemea ka waiho ēnei hei ara rironga mō ō mātau whenua. What's the benefit of roads and railways and the Native Land Court if these are means of obtaining our lands? So, while fully alive to the advantages of having the country open up to European settlement, the petition first noted that their lands were preferable over all those so called advantages. Ngāti Maniapoto and others wanted some guarantee that they would not be subjected to the mahi kino or the evils connected to the Native Land Court before coming to any determination on the question. They moreover requested at Parliament to pass a law securing their lands to them and their descendants forever, making them absolutely inalienable by sale. The petitioners wanted to be allowed to fix the boundaries of their tribes, hapū and their proportionate claim of each individual. When all that was done they wanted this division to be recognised as legal in Pākehā law in which Pākehā themselves would then have to respect us. Interesting thing about that engagement with Parliament there, now, we've got our laws, we've got our Māori law, we understand them but we've got this Pākehā law that aren't actually – Pākehā's aren't actually respecting our Māori law, so maybe we should make some Pākehā law that your Pākehā people will respect. They gave that boundary in some detail, this undoubtedly	

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	being the result of Taonui's boundary work. The petition was signed by Wahanui, Taonui, Rewi, Maniapoto and 412 others. Wahanui later sent a letter to the editor of the Korimako newspaper which he claimed there had been wide consultation about this petition. In correspondence in August 1883, Wahanui commented more about the intent of the petition whilst also expressing concern with parts of the Native Land amendment bill and the Native Committees Bill which Bryce considered, which satisfied the petition as a request. Wahanui was adamant that the lawyers and the land agents were only troublesome and approved that part of the bill which excluded them from their land claims. However, Wahanui stated that they wanted some words in the bills to address their request for their delineation of their boundaries, the principal objective being to secure their land within those boundaries. Wahanui also considered that the Native Committee Bill did not fulfil what they wanted in the petition, namely that they were to manage their own affairs and after they had settled land claims, then the government would be asked to send some person vested with power to give effect to their arrangements and not till then. In 1885 when speaking to a Parliamentary select committee in the context of wanting more powers for a Native Committee to manage affairs in the Rohe Pōtae, Wahanui explained that he had stated to Mr Bryce formerly that what he wanted from the petition was to have the administration of the whole of the lands in the district. I'm sorry if I'm getting repetitive here but I can see a theme. I think it's quite simple. Wahanui commented on his disapproval of Pākehā administering their lands. "Ki te mea, ka whakaranua te wai tai ki te wai Māori ka kawa te wai. Wai hoki ka tupu te raruraru i te Pākehā ki te mea ka tohe tonu te Pākehā ki te whakahaere i a mātau	

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	whenua." "If you mix salt water with fresh water, the water will be disagreeable. Likewise there will be trouble with the Pākehā if the Pākehā persists in arguing to administer our lands." In late November 1883 at a meeting with Bryce, Wahanui, Rewi, Taonui and others agreed to a survey of their external boundary despite some opposition from Ngāti Haua and Tāwhiao's followers. Bryce was eager for ongoing progress with the opening up of the King Country, Bryce maintained, "My march is onward and the sooner that is accepted by the Maoris, the better for them and us." For Bryce the talk of survey was about getting the title of lands investigated through the Native Land Court. The Ngāti Maniapoto leaders, however, were more concerned with maintaining unity through having their external boundary recognised the lands within which they would continue to control. They were still opposed to the Native Land Court investigating internal subdivisions. At the meeting Bryce spoke of the cost for surveys, Wahanui replied, "Let there be one survey, let the survey be an external one. That is all." Rewi Maniapoto supported Wahanui but noted he would send him to mark off the boundaries. Rewi wanted that tribal boundary to be determined again. I think he just wanted to reconfirm it and probably continue that discussion with those neighbouring communities. Taonui also spoke in connection with Wahanui, "Let there only be one survey, the subdivisions to stand back, tribal boundaries to be arranged first, no other survey to take place till authorised by the natives. A committee will arrange all those matters." That's Taonui speaking. The Ngāti Maniapoto leaders also mentioned Ngāti Hikairo's proposed application for survey of the Kāwhia region. Wahanui claimed that a portion of their interests overlapped with those of Ngāti Maniapoto. Indeed	

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	Wahanui, Rewi and others claimed Ngāti Hikairo were one with Ngāti Maniapoto and I'm quoting Wahanui, "The Ngāti Maniapotos and Ngāti Hikairos are one people, their interests should not clash."	
1610	Wahanui and others had asked for a Rūnanga for their whenua so that they themselves might investigate and adjudicate their own titles. What Bryce offered them was a Native Committee, pursuant to the Native Committees Act 1883. The committee was known as the Kāwhia Native Committee and John Ormsby, this is the only photo I've been able to find of John Ormsby, but this is actually part of the ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga Local Council but there he is in the middle there, quite a significant figure, senior Maniapoto leader at the turn of the century. John Ormsby was certainly a protégé of Wahanui and was elected chairman as members from the outset were dissatisfied with the powers awarded to them by the Act. Ormsby himself noted in his opening address to the first sitting of the committee, "He titiro noku, he tino iti rawa te kaha e homai ana ki te komiti i roto i te ture mo ngā Komiti Māori." It appears to be that the Native – the power given to the committee under this law for Native Committees is little. Wahanui, giving evidence before the Native Affairs Committee on the Native Land Disposition Bill in August 1885 commented that he wanted our own committees to have full power to administer the lands and the whole of the administration should be vested in the committee. The committee believed that they ought to have all Māori lands brought before them instead of being taken to	

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	the Native Land Court, Ormsby noted that the committee audit would not be proper to individualise titles, instead they were of the belief that the title should be given in favour of hapū. I was quite fortunate when I was at early days at Waikato University where the late Dame Evelyn Stokes gave me copies of the Kāwhia Minute Books. I've been reading them for about 15, 16 years, but there are some images of them there. The Native Committee also took the lead against the policy of pre-emption which was reasserted by the Crown in the King Country with the Native Land Alienation Restriction Act 1884. At the second meeting, the Kāwhia Committee in August 1884, the committee declared, “Kei roto kei te Pire e whai nei kia riro mā te Kāwanatanga anake te hokonga o ngā whenua Māori, tētahi tikanga kino rawa ki tā mātau titiro.” “In the Bill the government seeks to have the sole purchase of native land which is a very bad practice in our view. Ngāti Maniapoto was generally opposed to pre-emption. Taonui gave evidence before the Native Land Commission in 1891 noting that the restrictions on land dealings and that Ngāti Maniapoto wished the restrictions removed from that land. Should the restrictions be taken off, quoting Taonui, he says, “I'm not one who is in favour of land selling, but I am in favour of leasing the land.”	
1615	I ought to have in my own hands the making of the arrangements with respect to the leasing of my land – that is the land of which I am the owner. The Crown writer pre-emption was finally removed in 1900. I think in the last	

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	chapter I also quoted Wahanui seemed to be a bit confused about French and he said, "Why would we sell our land for?" All this really to sell it to the – a lower bidder. Ngāti Maniapoto leaders were also conscious of the negative impact and debasing influences in liquor on the Māori population. In April 1884, Wahanui having learnt that the Armed constabulary working on the Alexandra Kāwhia Road was to have a canteen at Hikurangi, protested to Bryce the sale of liquor in the midst of his people. Despite Bryce's assurances that the canteen will only sell to members of the Armed Constabulary, Wahanui knew from experience elsewhere that the liquor would find its way to local Māori. A report from Whatiwhatihoe noted that Wahanui decreed that no liquor licence be granted in the wider King Country district with general support from the people. Wahanui's protest was widely reported and would've encouraged the Blue Ribbon Temperance movement who circulated a petition for prohibition in the Aotea block. It was stated that some 800, and others claimed 1400, within the district signed the petition. This included Wahanui, Rewi and Taonui. In late 1884 a proclamation was issued under the Licensing Act prohibiting the issue of publicans' licences within the district. However, Wahanui – what - Ormsby and others are disappointed that the proclaimed district did not include the area between Kāwhia and Aotea harbours. This area was added when Ngāti Hikairo was adjourned to the external boundary. And Wahanui actually met with the Governor-General when he was in Wellington and discussed the whole licensing issue and it was during that time he was down there it was advised that this proclamation was to be made. Wahanui was actually visited, was in Wellington, ah, for the whole 4th session of Parliament and he was the, um, guest of	

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	the Native Minister, John Ballance, who hosted him. Must've cost a bit of money. And so Wahanui travelled over land to wellington, in 1884. He didn't like travelling by boat, to press this petition and lay several matters before Parliament, the liquor question being one of them. Wahanui elaborated further on issues he brought to Wellington recalling a year later that when he arrived in Wellington, he spoke to the Native Minister about (1) with regard to the external boundary line, to leave us – (2) to leave us to sanction the making of the railway line, (3) that the gold should not be worked by Europeans without our authority, (4) with regard to giving power to the Māori community. Committee is to conduct matters for the Māori people, (5) that no liquor licenses should be granted within certain boundaries, (6) that the Native Land Court should not try any of our lands without our first sanctioning it and that the European should refrain from interfering with the lands but leave the Natives to manage themselves. Now Wahanui was always talking about wanting to consult him, wanting time to consult the people, and while he was, while he was in Wellington, he actually does that. Um, he actually writes back to John Ormsby, gives him a list of take and asked him to consult the people, and I was luck – I was fortunate I found this. This is a waiata book actually by Ngākuru Rangitawhiria who was actually a member of the Native - of the Kāwhia committee. In there was this correspondence from Ormsby. It says that Wahanui has written to us. We need to discuss this, and so some of the take – and look at this one, "Ko te Rohe Pōtae nei, um, ko Te Rohe Pōtae nei kia tino whakatapua kia kore ai te ringa o waho e totoro mai ki roto me te ringa o roto e totoro atu ki waho. Firstly that the Rohe Pōtae should be completely reserved so that outside hand cannot reach him,	

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	and those hands inside cannot reach out." Ngāti Maniapoto leaders not want the lands for this to be able to come in and purchase or its own people to sell land. Some of the, some of those things I've already covered. Ko te komiti mō te poraka me kia tere te whakamana. Ko ngā mahi rori kia āta haere. Ko te Kōti Whenua kia tino turakina rawatia atu, kia kaua e eke mai ki runga i te poraka nei, and then he lists them first and then he goes on with some further discussion about them, about each point. Um, my translation is not very good. A ko te koura e mahia tāhaetia i roto i te poraka nei. This whole gold prospecting. Um, and ko te kohi moni hei utu mō te rūri o te rohe Pōtae nei.	
1620	I think they eventually paid 1200 pounds taking into account that that part of Taupō-nui-a-Tia block which gets cut out, and then this last one, "Kō te tono ki te Kāwanatanga kia whakatokomaha ngā mema Māori mō te Pāremata," heoi anō, kō ngā take nei ēnei. So, they also actually wanted to increase the members of Parliament, letter reform for the MMP then. But they realised that they needed that – that Parliament was there to make laws and they needed more Māori representation and they themselves could not achieve that as the Kāwhia Committee based in the King Country. Okay, also may I observe that Wahanui was also very busy familiarising himself with existing and proposed legislation to ensure he was in a position to speak to any new government measures. She notes, for example, the register entries of 5 September 1884 record that copies of Acts and other material were forwarded to Wahanui for his information. So, he said when he went down there that he wanted to understand Parliament and the way it made laws and so he	

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	was actually, it was part of an educational trip for him. While in Wellington, as we heard before, Wahanui appeared before the bar on the 1st of November 1884. Captain Gilbert Mair was his translator. His speech is recorded in the Parliamentary debates, but we are fortunate that through the work of the legal Māori Archive and that they've excavated Ngā Kōrero Paremete we've got Wahanui's words also in Māori. So, he continued to press his claim for the administration of his territory, he said, "E ki tuturu ana ahau, kō to mātau whakaaro e pēnei ana, mā mātau anake e whakahaere aua whenua." "I say that we wish to have the sole administration of these lands." He reiterated that the Native Land Courts should not be brought into force on the lands of his people but that the management should be vested in the Native Committees. Wahanui likened his watch to his land, as a watchmaker would fix his watch in need of repairs, so should Parliament fix the native land laws if so required. Parliament as a lawmaker was to support and facilitate Ngāti Maniapoto's administration of their territory. I still try and think about this, because I was thinking Wahanui also made some comment about the Kāwhia Committee, he said, "Now those elected must understand their only power," he's talking about the Kāwhia Committee, "Is to carry out the wishes of the owners of the land," and he says, he went on to do this and do that and also reflecting on the comment that Gorst made when he talked about people like chiefs like Wiremu Tamihana and Rewi Maniapoto when he said, "Yes, they are our rangatira, they are chiefs, but these men only execute the will of the	

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	people." So, to some extent I think Wahanui sort of saw Parliament as a, "Hey, we'll tell them what to do, we'll tell them what laws to make and then they will make the laws to assist us." I think this is one of the ways, you know, the Parliament will listen to the will of the people. In the last paper I also talk about how they might have understood what a petition was, this is the way you achieve things, you petition at Parliament and they'll give you what you want. Might've been a bit misguided, who knows. Wahanui's next comments reflected the apprehension that Ngāti Maniapoto had for their lands in the face of Pākehā settlement, you know, that pressure that he was feeling and what they had seen occur in other places. "Kei te takoto pai tonu, tōku tupura oneone e rangi kei te mataara tōku ngākau kei pā mai he raruraru, nā reira ahau i haere mai ai." At present there is no embarrassment with regard to my land. The title to it is undisputed but I am actuated by a fear that trouble will come upon it, that is why I come here now." Having addressed the lower house, Wahanui was given leave to address the bar of the upper house or the Legislative Council on the 6th of November 1884. His speech was very similar to the one that he had given in the lower house. His primary objective was to have the mana whakahaere i tōku whenua i raro i te mana o te kāwana. Full control and power over my own lands subject to the authority of the governor. Interesting comment. Interestingly, Wahanui referred to Parliament as sacred. "He mea tapu tēnei Pāremete," and, "He tapu hoki ana mahi me haere i runga i te pono me te tika." "Its work should be sacred and should be undertaken with truth and equality." So, you	

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	know, such philosophical comments provide us with sort of an insight with how Wahanui would have viewed his negotiation and his agreements with government representatives. "He tapu hoki ana mahi me haere i runga i te pono me te tika." No doubt we'll discuss that a bit later. Wahanui will return again to Wellington in 1885, committed to progressing his petition. While in Wellington in 1884, Wahanui appeared before the North Island Railway Route Committee.	
1625	Wahanui viewed the railway line as providing some leverage for what Ngāti Maniapoto and others wanted in connection with, with their lands. Says, "The Government will only assist me in the object with which I have to come to Wellington. I will be very strong to give effect to the wishes of the Government in regard to this railway making. He also makes these comments there, asking him questions, he goes, "Well you know when I – I, ah, sure you got to say you got back and consult Parliament. When you ask me I've got to go back and consult my people," discussed in the larger paper. When Ballance met with Ngāti Maniapoto, leaders at, Ngāti Maniapoto leaders at Kihikihi in February 1885, he advised the gathering that our desire is to push on the line with full speed so that there will be in the construction of it. Wahanui reminded Ballance that the contact that he had made with Bryce was merely for the exploration of the railway route. Wahanui asked for more time to consult those of the wider alliance who had not yet consulted, in particular Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Taonui supported Wahanui's request, this is a meeting in February 1885, "Wait a bit before you commence to form the line that we may talk the matter over."	

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	Ballance granted Wahanui and others a mere three weeks to complete their consultation. John Ormsby spoke at some length during this meeting, we sort of see John Ormsby coming to the fore in terms – as a spokesman for Ngāti Maniapoto, and noted their objection to the roads and the railway for fear that they may be rated in connection with them. The Crown and Native Lands Ratings Act gave the Government power to proclaim and land subject to rates, although it may not have passed through the Native Land Court, given Ngāti Maniapoto's resistance to the Native Land Court, they were worried that rates would go on accumulating and when they came to use their land, the accumulation of rates would be demanded from them. And Ballance promised and agreed that Government should abstain from proclaiming land under the Act along the line of the railway or along the roads leading up to the railway. However, he noted that when the land was leased or sold, then it should be subject to rates. Ormsby welcomed Ballance's response and argued that it should not be applied to customary Māori land. And was leased or sold, then it should be subject to rates. Ormsby suggested Ballance sign a document to satisfy them that the Act should not be put in force over their lands. In the absence of the document however, and was leased or sold, then it should be subject to rates. Ormsby remarked, "We just believe what he says but we bear in mind the compact that was entered into between Bryce and ourselves regarding the railway line." And again I think it's true in here till the 16th of March agreement. I think Wahanui is talking about the agreement with Bryce. He's referring to that 16th of March. Not just the written agreement but probably what was discussed at that meeting. On, and what was promised. On the 4th of March 1885,	

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	Wahanui advised the Government that they confirmed consent for the railway line that would allow a chain wide for the line. The decision was a result of a meeting held over three days, 24th to the 27th February 1885 with representatives from the native, from Ngāti Maniapoto, Raukawa, Hikairo, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Whanganui. (inaudible 16:28:16) also agreed to Ngāti Maniapoto's request that he allow Wahanui to dig the first sod, and put it in the barrow. And I was hoping the wheelbarrow might be called up today. There's a photo over there. They – it's quite a, quite a lot of fanfare. There's another photo you can see flags and – that Maniapoto erected, and from the words on that flag, "Te Ika a Māui," but also, "Te Rangimārie." The premier will then perform would then perform. So Wahanui will turn the first sod, put in the barrow and the Premier will then perform the ceremony of wheeling it away. Symbolically this was important to Ngāti Maniapoto as an articulation and a recognition of their mana over their land. There was some debate over who would turn the first sod from the Tāwhiao fellas, thinking, suggesting leadership. The local Government agent – ah, Wilkinson recorded the speeches of the day including those of Wahanui and Hope Te Rangianini. The focus of Wahanui's speech was on – was with regard to Stout's reference that the restrictions on spirituous, spirituous or whatever, well liquor in this district, Stoutn said, "We are standing here on soil on which there has been a Proclamation that no liquor shall be sold. Wahanui referred to the appropriateness of the Pūniu river as an aukati for alcohol. I myself, um, quoting Wahanui, "I myself consider the proper boundary by which to keep back the liquor is a river of fresh water like the Pūniu." Wahanui also suggested a name for the section of the railway across	

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	their district. He offered the name Tūrongo. Tūrongo of course is one of the principal ancestors of the Ngāti Maniapoto people. On hearing this, Wilkinson comments that Rewi who was standing beside Wahanui also called out Tūrongo in acquiesce. Wahanui stated that he wished that name to apply only to the chain wide of land that belongs to the railway. Hopa Te Rangianini a rangatira of Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Kaputuhi emphasised the limitations of the land Ngāti Maniapoto had agreed to be taken.	
1630	"All that you are to take is a line for the railway, from one end to the other." There's some confusion as to whether the land for the railway line was a gift or to be paid for. Ormsby in a telegraph to Ballance stated that this was to be paid for, one chain wide and fenced at once on both sides. Wahanui on the other hand stated in 1885, "We will give the land for the railway and for the railway stations. What return will they make for our giving our land for the railway and the railway stations?" However, when it was put to Wahanui that the building of that railway had been agreed to mainly for the purposes of getting the country, so opening up the country, Wahanui was somewhat taken aback. This is before the select committees when it was in Wellington. "I did not know that the railway was to be made with the object or with the understanding that the land was to be settled on each side." Wahanui and others were clear in their minds about the limits of the land that they were gifting. When members of the Native Affairs Committee in 1885 pressed Wahanui on the issue about submitted his land to the Native Land Court his reply was blunt. "Do you think that	

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	I would hand over my land to be destroyed to be swallowed up? I will not consent to the Native Land Court adjudicating on land at present." Many of the Ngāti Maniapoto leaders had witnessed first hand the impact of the Native Land Court on neighbouring iwi including scenes of debauch and drinking and I heard mention of the Cambridge Court and in there, in my chapter, I give a quote by an MP from the south who went through Cambridge and talks about all the drinking and debauchery that occurred and of course Rewi was over there, he witnessed all this when he was defending his interests in the Maungatautari and Wahanui also at Waitara, so they were quite aware of the impact of liquor at Native Land Court sittings. Ormsby reiterated to the Native Minister in 1885 that it was Ngāti Maniapoto's desire that they should be allowed themselves to manage matters concerning their own lands and quoting Ormsby, "The reason why we wish to manage our lands ourselves is because we being the owners of land know all about it and are the proper persons to manage it." This was a general principle of the Kāwhia Committe, "Mā te iwi Māori anō, e whiriwhiri o mātau take pānga ki te whenua." "The Māori themselves should investigate our claims to interest in land." Wahanui spoke in a similar vein later that year to the Native Affairs Committee, "I stated to Mr Bryce formerly that I am to have the administration of the whole of the lands in my district. I have made the same statement n my petition. I told Mr Bryce on that occasion that when my petition reached the house I wish him to bring forward a measure, vesting the whole authority in me, I mean in ourselves. Why should our land be taken from us or why should our authority over that land be held back. This was	

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	the representation I made to Mr Bryce formerly and again I make that representation to this committee." When Wahanui read in the *Waikato Times* in November 1885 that he had consented to having their lands put through the Native Land Court, Wahanui was quick to write to the newspaper to correct the statement. "Kāore kau āku kupu pēnei. Māku anō e whakahaere ōku whenua. Kua rongo ahau ki te kino o ngā mahi a tāua Kooti i ngā whenua Māori." "I never said that. I will manage my own lands. I have heard of the evil works of the Court in this dealing with native lands." Wahanui, Rewi and Taonui did not have unfettered support from within the wider alliance of the Rohe Pōtae. They often had to negotiate with those who were either opposed to any connection with the government like King Tāwhiao through to those who wanted to put their lands through the Native Land Court. They were also managing a collective of tribes who had, in the not too distant past jealously guarded and fought for their tribal independence and authority over their own lands. So, for example, in June 1884, apologies I've got the name wrong in the paper there, but Whiti Patato expressed Ngāti Raukawa's purported opposition to Wahanui's management of their lands. "Kāore au i pai kia uru taku takiwa ki te Wahanui whakahaere." "I will not allow my district to come under Wahanui's jurisdiction." So Rewi and Wahanui sent Hiriti Te Paerata who is Ngāti Raukawa and Wharo to Ngāti Raukawa and they managed to bring Whiti back on side. So, when Wahanui stated, "I need time to consult. I need time to discuss." It's part of that managing that collective managing that alliance and the various	

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	perspectives in it. It was also significantly disappointing for Ngāti Maniapoto leaders when on 31st of October 1885 Te Heuheu Horonuku formally made an application to the Native Land Court for a hearing of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa lands. Te Heuheu had seemingly not been content with the way the Rohe Pōtae boundary had split Ngāti Tūwharetoa claim.	
1635	Te Heuheu was asserting his right to have his territory heard in the Native Land Court as a whole Taupō-nui-a-Tia. This application struck a heavy blow at the whole Rohe Pōtae alliance concept. The title to Taupō-nui-a-Tia was investigated in a sitting of the Native Land Court held at Taupō on January the 19th, ah, 1886. Taonui tried to convince Te Heuheu beforehand to stop the sitting of the Court but it was to no avail, and he actually you know ended up going, taking it all the way to the Supreme Court and then, and encouraging the Taupō-nui-a-Tia Commission. Taonui would later remark with regard to Te Heuheu's claim, "He has already crucified us with Taupō-nui-a-Tia." He was quite upset. In late December 1885, Te Rangihuatau, Tāwhirimatea and Tukehu o te Motu made an application to the Land Court for the Waimarino block of around 490,000 acres which cut into an area of the Tuhua part of the Rohe Pōtae. These Whanganui chiefs were also worried about their Whanganui customary interests. Ngāti Maniapoto leaders were seeking to have a controlled sort of opening of the Rohe Pōtae or controlled entry of Pākehā, of Rohe Pōtae lands and decisions of that Te Heuheu and the Whanganui chiefs to treat their lands and the penalty was only - seen only to weaken the alliance. Wahanui continued to remind the Government that he wanted the Kāwhia Committee to	

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	have full power to administer the lands and that the whole of the administration should be vested in the Committee. In late 1885, a proposal was put to the Kāwhia Native Committee to put the whole block with the Native Land Court but this was lost on voting. An amendment was carried however, that the committee investigate the title. Subsequently and was leased or sold, then it should be subject to rates. Ormsby proposed that a request be made publicly to the people that they allow their claims to be settled by the committee, and if they refuse to do so, that the committee would no longer consider it advisable to oppose the Native Land Court. Nah, think there's a number of applications were being made to the Native Land Court and the Government at that time was actually forwarding them to the Native – Kāwhia Native Committee. Our meeting was held at Te Kopua in April 1886 and unfortunately we don't any detailed account of that meeting. However it was at this meeting that it was decided to make a renewed application for the external boundary which was duly dated 28th of April 1886. The names on application include Wahanui, Rewi, Tāonui, Wetere, Tana Te Kanawa, Tūkorehu, Whiti Patato, Pakukohatu and number of others they've got there. Other names were appended. The application divided the boundary among the five tribes recognising the customary interests of each. And so the matters moved relatively fast. By mid may it was being reported that large buildings were in the course of construction at ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga. Ngāti Maniapoto leaders were adamant that the Court sitting should be held at ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga and resisted several attempts to have it adjourned to Alexandra or Kiekie. One of the key reasons for this was that the Ngāti Maniapoto leadership wanted the Court to be held at a distance from	

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	any European settlement where drink would have been available. The general absence of drink, lawyers and agents appear to suggest the orderly Court sitting. I think, um, and Taonui had paid for the construction of the house, and, ah, so it was a courthouse during the day and in the evening it was a dance hall and he was on average making £9 in door takings. Ah, so, so we had this sort of orderly Court sittings being reported in the newspapers. No drunkenness, et cetera, et cetera. However, the Court clerk for the Rohe Pōtae case, H Cowper, spoke of other activity behind the scenes. Mr Wilkinson had the bad – he says, "Mr Wilkinson the Government agent, had the bad taste to pitch his tent alongside Wahanui in the latter's encampment, where it was alleged, he was quietly and constantly sounding the chief for the purchase of land by the Government. It was during that first Native Land Court sitting. Wahanui, Rewi and Taonui, and other leaders were utterly opposed to the participation of presence of land purchasing agents and Pākehā lawyers in the Court because of the past dealings, and particularly didn't like Grace there, William Henry Grace. On the 28th of July 1886, the Native Land Court began the investigation of the title to the Rohe Pōtae Block also known as the Aotea Block. The presiding Judge was Major William Gilbert Mair, former resident Magistrate and the one who implored Rewi and others at Orakau to surrender. Wahanui led the claim for Ngāti Maniapoto who claimed by ancestry permanent occupation and by the power to hold possession. The ancestor set up was Tūrongo. Several counter claims were set up there with much conflicting evidence, particularly over the Mana Whenua of Kāwhia. Cowper remarked that the determination of the chiefs to preserve the inalienability of the Rohe Pōtae lands, was given voice from time to time	

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	during the period of the Court. So – no they didn't give up on their, what was the ultimate desire, even during that Court hearing and that they'd agreed to the Court hearing. Cowper also noted that on the final date, Wahanui again pressed on the Court that the land must made inalienable, and the Judge declared that all orders would contain certain restrictions against sales, mortgages, liens.	
1640	Cowper made the following reflection albeit somewhat patronising about the notion of a south Government Ngāti Maniapoto territory. He was writing in the 1920s. He idea of publishing a book but couldn't find the money to. He had a publisher lined up in England but he couldn't find the, a grant to support publication. So that manuscript is in the, of all places, the Canterbury Museum. He stated that a magnificent opportunity presented itself to organise and see all the tribes into an economic structured recess of municipal south administrative powers, their own revenues, their own district managements and their own industrial and commercial activities to the exclusion of competition by resident white people. They could've adopted all the benefits and advantages of British laws of civilisation without its evils with judicious tutelage, this is the patronising bit, a native state could've been formed with the right representation and dominion Parliament and so framed as to envisage every paper preserving a race intact for probability all time but on a higher plane, so he didn't think that local self-Government wasn't that impossible. The Native Land Court had firmly arrived a mid Ngāti Maniapoto and not be long before the kaihoro whenua the purchase agents began the further expansion of Pākehā settlement. Ngāti Maniapoto had a reluctantly agreed to the Native Land Court	

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	in their territory and Wahanui is said will continue to lament his presence. I think in the last chapter I quote the waiata by Puhiwahine when she's leaving the Court, lamenting the presence of the Court and the impact of it. Sorry I think the quote the song from Rewi Maniapoto who's catching a train, talk about catching a train to ŌtorohangaŌtorohanga, going to the Court. Anyway, In 1888 Wahanui wrote to Ballance complaining about the Native Land Alienation Act being repealed in favour of the Native Land Administration Act 1888. Now our – and he says, "Our principal reason in consenting to have our land in the Rohe Pōtae here surveyed and adjudicated at Court was," again he's referring back to, again the 16th, well the 1883 agreements, a promise made to us by the Hon Mr Bryce when he was Native Minister. And I quote those words again, "We placed absolute reliance on the word of Mr Bryce, for he personally told us that he would give due respect to our land, and that he would prevent all evil practices from being done in our district. It was owing to the favourable nature of the proposals of the Government that we agreed that the railway should go through our district, and freely granted the sites for the stations. Wahanui then went on to seek a more independent and knowledgeable Native Land Court." He thought all the Judges should be a bit more knowledgeable in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. In June 1889 Wahanui, Taonui and Hauauru were advised by T W Lewis of the Native Affairs Department that the Government intended to purchase lands in the Rohe Pōtae, as it was not, according to Lewis, "in the interest of the owners that their land should be allowed to remain waste and unoccupied." This is sort of familiar rationale that many Māori have heard from the Crown. "...and the consequences for Ngāti Manipoto of the	

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	subsequent purchasing activity was well captured by the Ngata-Stout Commission in 1905 in their interim report on the Native Lands in Te Rohe Pōtae (King Country) District," and I quote Ngata-Stout, "We are not aware of any Native district, which until 1886 was closed to the law-courts, where the Native Land Court has been so active and where subdivision has proceeded so far as in this portion of the Rohe Pōtae. Ngata and Stout quoted Shakespeare's Hamlet when they described Pākehā settlement coming, "not single spies but in battalions". I've come to the end. In years to come - nearly to the end - in years to come much would be made of a 'sacred compact' or a 'solemn pact' between Ngati Maniapoto and the Government and questions have been raised over whether there was actually a pact, whether it was sacred, and when the term was first used, and sometimes we get a bit caught on trying to find labels, caught up in finding labels and we should just look, you know, at what was – look at discussions. But Ngāti Maniapoto have always understood that their rangatira made a compact and I think Wahanui, Rewi, Taonui, and others also understood that they had made a compact with the Crown, which was of a solemn nature, and of course Wahanui himself said, you know, "He tapu ana mahi," referring to Parliament. Securing certain promises and agreements in return for allowing the railway line to cross through the King Country, particularly became associated with debate over whether to keep the King Country a dry district. And I can remember looking in my great grandfather's papers. The box is full of clippings about the whole licensing issue, and In 1949 Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Maniapoto is probably prominent, most prominent to the scholar in the 20th century, produced a bilingual document entitled "The King Country Sacred Pact," and the	

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	Licensing Commission and here Jones translated Sacred Pact as Ohāki Tapu. He also used the words Ohāki Pono and he also talked bout he kupu marae. From the late 1860s onwards there was a series of negotiations and agreements between Ngāti Maniapoto and other tribes of the Rohe Pōtae alliance and Crown representatives. There were some key moments including the 16th of March 1883 meeting, in exchange for letters, the petition, the Aotea Survey Agreement in December 1883. Wahanui before Parliament in the latter half of 1884, the Crown's undertakings at Kihikihi in 1885 and the turning of route for the railway line. These were rangatira exchanges and tapu for Ngāti Maniapoto in a sense that they were at the highest level of political engagement. Amid all this, Ngāti Maniapoto consistently sought recognition of the whole of their territory under their mana.	
1645	We'll just leave the final word to Wahanui as he stated before Parliament in 1884, "He whenua papatupu ērā nō mātau ake kāore anō kia ekengia e te mana Pakea, kāore anō kia pā noa tōna ringaringa, kāore anō kia takahia noa e te waewae o te Pākehā. Koia ahau e kī nei, waiho kia mātau te tikanga me te whakahaere ināianei." "The lands that I speak of are ancestral lands and the hands of the Europeans have never touched them. No white man's foot has not trodden upon those lands, nor has any European obtained authority over them. This is the reason, while I say that we should have administration of those lands." Kia ora tātau.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Yes, Sir, now, just before Mr Meredith begins to answer	

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	questions from claimants, I just have a couple of extra matters to put to him. Sir, I think i gave to the registrar of electronically, I don't know how we describe this process. The papers that I want to put so I understand you've got copies and I've got paper copies for those that require them. There's a copy for Ms Sykes, in particular here, and others and the Crown is...	
	WAIATA	
	Ka eke ki Wairaka, Ka titiro whakamuri; Kati ko te aroha Te tapui i Kakepuku Kia rere arorangi Te tihi ki Pirongia, Kei raro koe, e Toko! Taku hoa tungane, Naku ano koe Huri atu ki muri, Mokai te ngakau Te Whakatau iho Kia po ruatia E awhi kiri ana. Kati au ka hoki Ki toku whenua tupu, Te wai-koropupu, E ki a mai nei I Hawaiki ra ano, No Ngatoro-i-rangi, I hu ra i Tongariro	

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	Ka mahana ki tana kiri, Na Rangi mai ano Nana i marena, Ko Pihanga te wahine, Ai hu, ai hau, Ai marangai kiri, Ki te muri e-i! Kokiri e!	
	TOM BENNION	
1650	Sir, so I think there's just four documents and I think there's copies there for some counsel and for the Crown which will be handed out now. Of course the Crown will have time to consider this as this will come up in the next hearing weeks. I'll make a start. Mr Meredith, have you been given a copy of those papers?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes, I have.	
	TOM BENNION	
	So, I just want to expand very briefly on papers that the Crown produced in te reo. Now, I know that your report has mainly commented on communication by Wahanui and others in te reo, but you do refer to some Crown documents and I just want to look at the language that the Crown uses in te reo. So, the first document I want to take you to, do you see, I think the Tribunal should see as PM4, I think that's the number they've got, but it's Marr document bank A78(a)	

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	volume 1, page 451, do you see that?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm, yep.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Again, it's called Ngā Tikanga enei i raro Iho, yes?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yep.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Now, in your summary and I'm looking at paragraph 32, you talk about October 1882, John Bryce proposes new terms to settle Waikato grievances and I just want you to identify, do those look familiar to you as those terms?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes, they are.	
	TOM BENNION	
	So, the document we're looking at is the te reo Māori document that Bryce or a draft or whatever that was prepared, yes?	

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	PAUL MEREDITH	
	And I think they also published, I think it was the Auckland Star, they were also published in some newspapers.	
	TOM BENNION	
	So this is an offer to Tāwhiao to settle matters?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes.	
	TOM BENNION	
	And I just want to check a couple of the pieces of language here and get your view on them. You refer to, in your summary, you refer to the fact that Bryce is suggesting that he will somehow encourage Waikato to take up Maniapoto land or encourage Maniapoto to give Waikato land and I think on the second page there under tuatoru, am I correct in thinking that that's the point at which he makes that offer?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	That's correct. Ka tohe te Kāwanatanga kia Ngāti Maniapoto, so in that use of the term tohe in there is probably members of the Tribunal. A bit more expert to me in the language but tohe is quite a, to press, ka tau tohe, so it's probably a bit more than encourage, pressed is I think quite a good, useful word.	

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	TOM BENNION	
	All right, and is there anything more, is there anything else in the document that helps you understand how he might've meant that?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	No, I mean it's quite clear from that tuatoru, quite straightforward. That's one of the beauties of some of the language of that time, It's quite natural free-flowing Māori, a bit easier to understand.	
	TOM BENNION	
	All right, so for a Māori audience at that time, how would they have understood that? You said something about	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	So that term "tohe" you know, "Ka tohe te Kāwanatanga kia Ngāti Maniapoto," I think they probably would've felt a bit concerned that, you know, they're going to go directly to Tāwhiao in Waikato and the same is still Tāwhiao and Waikato, we're going to press Ngāti Maniapoto, so I think it was a bit more than encourage.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Okay, can I come to the third page and I think the – I remember from Ms Mar's report there was a discussion at the end of this document about what Tāwhiao would give in return and it was that he would recognise the Queen and the	

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	sovereignty of the Queen. Can you –	
1655	**PAUL MEREDITH**	
	Yes that's quite interesting. There's sort of no mention of Kāwanatanga here but the phrase that's used is, "te mana o te rangatiratanga o te Kuīni me ana ture."	
	TOM BENNION	
	So where are you reading from, the third page -	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	So I'm on the third page and that's below tuaiwa, "I whakaae a Tāwhiao inaia tonu ki te mana o te rangatiratanga o te Kuīni me ana ture." I think from memory, for the translation that was the Sovereignty of the, of the Queen and her laws.	
	TOM BENNION	
	So that's the mana and rangatiratanga, recognition of mana and rangatira of the Queen was what was being asked by the Government or for Tāwhiao to reason on, yes?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes according to this it is.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Yes all right. Now I want to come to the second document which is the – and Tribunal members, you may have it as	

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	PM1, it say, "New Zealand Herald extract of 2nd of 1882," do you see that? Do you have a copy of that in front of you? The letter from the Honourable Native Minister to Wahanui. So you have, you have got it or you haven't?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Oh sorry.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Oh you have.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes I've got it.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Okay.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	I got two copies actually.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Been over supplied, all right. Now I'm looking again at your summary and you talk about – this is – am I correct in thinking this is the – what you're talking about in paragraphs 34, 35 of your summary after the rejection of this, these terms of October, November 1882, the Minister writes to Wahanui. This is that letter isn't it? Is that right?	

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	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm, yeah. And it's interesting that's been published too, let everyone know.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Mmm. Now you've noted various parts from it, but I want to take you to – I want to get some understanding of the Crown's use of te reo here.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm.	
	TOM BENNION	
	At the beginning of the letter in English it says, this is a letter from me to you which you do well to regard as one of great importance.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Can you just, you just tell me what the Māori that associate, that's associated with those words?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	

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	"He mea pai kia whakaarohia e koe he tikanga," I can't make out that – sometimes when they're published in the newspaper, you always find they get some of the A's and the O's wrong, but I can't quite make, tikanga nuinga pea, tikanga o roto. He tikanga nui ngā tikanga o roto.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Have you – is the -	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	But that pretty much captures what's in English I think.	
	TOM BENNION	
	It captures what's in English.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yeah I think so.	
	TOM BENNION	
	All right, all right. And just jumping to the end of the letter, it says, "It is my wish that the contents of this letter, the English should be communicated to the people."	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mmm.	

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	TOM BENNION	
	Does, does the Māori simply reflect that or does it suggest any broader way that should happen or anything of that nature?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	No it just says, "Kia whakaaturia atu ngā kōrero o tēnei pukapuka atu ki te iwi," then it says, "Kia mōhio ai rātau ki te tangata nāna te hē, mehemea ka pā mai he raruraru kia tātau a muri ake nei." So, and then, so it says, "So that the people will know whose fault it was if trouble then comes. Just an interesting thing to end on. You know again that pressure and you know, published widely, who's to blame, Wahanui.	
	TOM BENNION	
	And just getting back to the 2nd, 3rd paragraph of the letter, there's a discussion there about a session of Parliament the Pardon of Culprits and it says in the English, "How can that proclamation be issued while Tāwhiao claims a sovereignty setting himself outside the Queen's law."	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Now can you take me to the Māori, to the Māori version of	

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	that, te reo for that and, and explain what terms -	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	No it says he's –	
	TOM BENNION	
	And explain what terms they're using?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	"Te mea e pupuri tonu ana a Tāwhiao i tana Mana Kīngitanga i tukia ai ia i waho o te ture o te Kuini." So the Mana Kīngitanga, the mana of the King, King Sovereignty pea as opposed to the Queen's laws, te ture o te Kuini. So there's definite use of the word "mana" here. You got mana Kīngitanga, then you got the, in that previous letter we looked at, "Te mana o te rangatiratanga," so you know, they, um, carefully knew what they, you know, there's no use of the word "Kāwanatanga" here to convey the notions of sovereignty, whether it's the Queen's sovereignty or the king's sovereignty.	
	TOM BENNION	
	So –	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	So, I think they had a good understanding of, you know –	
1700	**TOM BENNION**	

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	So where the letter says, "Claims are sovereignty," you're saying that's equating with mana, Kīngitanga, is that right?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	For Tāwhiao's sovereignty, mana Kīngitanga?	
	TOM BENNION	
	Yes. Now, I just want to come to the next paragraph in the letter that says, "Remember that Maniapoto were as deep in that trouble as the Waikato and this being so, should not the same punishment have fallen upon him as upon the Waikato." Now, in terms of the te reo Māori part of the letter, again, is it as straightforward as we see it there? Is there anything else implied or understood?	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Sorry, Mr Bennion, which part are you referring to in English?	
	TOM BENNION	
	Paragraph 1, 2, 3, 4, the paragraph that begins, "When you spoke at Whatiwhatihoe."	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	This is to whaikōrerotanga i Whatiwhatihoe, i te mea nei, he aha koe kia kōrerotia ngā kōrero o mua me ngā take e raruraru ai ngā iwi e rua ki Waikato. So, I think that's very much conveyed in the Māori, e pai ana ahau kia kōrerotia e	

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	taua kōrero, mehemea e tino hiahiatia ana e koe, engari me mahara koe e rite tahi te urunga o Ngāti Maniapoto ki taua raruraru ki tō Waikato, ā, kua tika rā anō me pērā hoki te whiu o rātau, me – to Waikato there – so the punishment that Waikato suffered maybe, you know, as opposed to what you suffered and yet you were right in amongst it with them. So, you know, he was telling Tāwhiao, you know, "If you want to bring up old issues we can go there, but just, you know, be weary of the consequences of what, you know, what the return to those discussions might have." So, again more availed sort of threats.	
	TOM BENNION	
	And just lastly on this letter, I want to go to another 1, 2, 3 paragraphs down, the paragraph beginning, "Another is that government owns larges blocks of land near Mōkau," and sorry, the next paragraph, the third reason is that the construction of such public works will greatly enhance the value of everybody's lands. Again, can you just take me to te reo Māori of that and I'm particularly interested in understanding how you see the words "greatly enhanced the value of everybody's land" comes across?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	So, as I say, te tau toru o ngā take, mā te mahinga o ngā rori, o ngā rerewē, ka nui ake te utu o ngā whenua o ia tāngata, o ia tāngata e haere nē ana e aua rori, e aua rerewa, ā, hei painga hoki mō ērā a te tāngata ahakoa Māori, Pākehā rānei. So, the value, I suppose the word they've used is "utu" which is not actually probably the value, but utu	

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	is more about payment, so it'll increase the – and it's sort of there as a suggestion that we're quite keen on purchasing this land and if you want to sell it, well, the railway alongside it will increase the value but they've used the word "utu" as opposed to maybe wāriu, the value of the land, so utu is a payment, so it's sort of suggesting purchasing and selling it. It's quite interesting Māori, actually.	
	TOM BENNION	
	And then just lastly, I've got two final documents, they sort of go together. This is the Tribunal will know it as PM 2 and PM 3, PM stands for Paul Meredith 2 and 3. You'll see that the PM 2, there's an extract from Cathy Marr's main report, page 934. Have you got that in front of you?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm.	
	TOM BENNION	
	And the last paragraph on that page says, "What is likely to be the te reo Māori copy of this letter," and she's talking about a letter of 10 October 1883, survives in the outwards letter books and the departmental records and she goes on to say, "Bryce claimed to Wahanui that he had undertaken matters to make their path easier. He had amended legislation for Māori land," et cetera. Now, I understand from a footnote on the next page that you provided a preliminary translation of this to Ms Marr some time ago, is that right?	

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	PAUL MEREDITH	
	I'd forgotten all about it, but apparently so.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Well, I'm just particularly interested, the next document you've got is the letter itself from her document bank, do you see that? From volume 1, page 427.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes.	
	TOM BENNION	
	I'm particularly interested in and if you can give me a reasonable rendering of what's being said on the second page of that letter about these changes that have been made to the Māori Land Act and to the Māori Land Court, what is, what in more precise terms if we can, what is Bryce actually saying that he has done?	
1705	**PAUL MEREDITH**	
	So it's just, and the use of the word like, "Whakanawari te huarahi," so make it easier for you, mō koutou. Ah, so it's pretty, so - whakatikatika ai te Pāremata, te ture o te Kooti Whenua. So there's amendments, whaka like whakatikatika is more like improvements really or corrections. Ah, so and it says, "Kia kore ai e nui o koutou money, moni e pau i runga i	

TIME	TE REO AND ENGLISH (VERBATIM)	INTERPRETATION OF TE REO INTO ENGLISH
	te whakawahanga Whenua," so that you don't expend so he's talking about these amendments so you don't have a great expense in putting your lands through the Native Land Court investigation and, "Kua kore hoki ngā kamupene me ētahi atu tāngata e āhei te haere atu ki te whakapatipati i a koutou." And because they were quite opposed to these land companies and other purchase agents, so he says, "No," sort of band them. They are able anyway to come and whakapatipati tō – hea aha te whakapatipati, grease up (laughs). Well what essentially what Wilkinson was doing by pitching his tent next to Wahanui was whakapatipati i a Wahanui. Um, then says, "Whakapatipatia i te mea kāre anō i whakawātea ngā Whenua Māori." Whakawātea as the lands – he says the lands should not yet been adjudicated,and he then he says, "Kua mana hoki māna hoki he ture mō ngā komiti Māori," and then there's also been a, a law enacted for Māori committee's or native committees.	
	TOM BENNION	
	So how, just in that sentence there, you're saying, "Kua mana hoki te ture."	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Is that, has mana been used yet?	

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	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Ah, it's probably – maybe it's been acted but it's been given authority, authorised probably the proper word is you know.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Okay.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	It's hard to try and explain it in English but when you read in Māori, ah, kua mana, kua mana he ture, ā, kua mārama. So some, something's probably do get lost in translation. I think when all this, what I was trying to do was trying to – even when we had some of that, you know up – sometimes we only had the English translation, was to try and get in to their heads, what they were saying, but also what the, what they understood was being said to them, and what they also you know – what they understood was happening.	
	TOM BENNION	
	In terms, in terms of that last, the last point about the committees. What do you think they thought was being said to them in terms of that discussion there? What sort of authority do you think they thought they might have?	

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	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Well it's not, doesn't say much really. Just says that -	
	TOM BENNION	
	What was, what was some of -	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	It just says that a native committee has been a ture, a law for a native committee has been authorised.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Okay.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Might be on the next page, but.	
	TOM BENNION	
	All right.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	So it goes on to say, and then also for, um, Native Reserves.	
	TOM BENNION	

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	Is that the Whenua Rahui?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Next there on the next page.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Mmm.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	So it does gives the impression that he's gone you know, looked at this partition. He's gone away, put this – these amendments before Parliament and he thinks that he's, um, given him something.	
	TOM BENNION	
	All right.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Particularly like the Native Committee but you know as we see from and was leased or sold, then it should be subject to rates. Ormsby's reaction at the first committee meeting, says you know, the power was very small.	
	TOM BENNION	
	When, when he says – does the, does the letter convey that or not?	

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	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Um, no not that I see.	
	TOM BENNION	
	Okay can you – yeah I think we've got questions from claimants Sir, but we maybe -	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Well, it's ten past five. Can I just understand how many claimant counsel have questions for Mr Meredith? There's at least four or five. Mr Meredith you intending to stay till tomorrow anyway.	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Mhm.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Yes?	
	PAUL MEREDITH	
	Yes.	
	JUDGE AMBLER	
	Well I think we, we have had a long first day, and I suggest	

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	we resume in the morning. I realise there is a bit, a bit of pressure on the timetable but we probably done not too badly, so we will resume in the morning with the questions from claimant counsel. As far as the Crown and the Tribunal is concerned, Mr Meredith is going to return in the second week to answer whatever questions are then. So if there are no procedural matters that need to be raised and discussed this evening, kāhore? Nō ka hoki atu kia koutou. Kia ora.	
1710	**PIRIPI WARETINI**	
	Te manu whakatū āhuru. Kia tau te rangimārie. E te kaiwahakawa, Matua, e Te Amapara, tēnā koe. Tēnā kōrua hoki, ngā kaipupuri, whatukura ao Māori, tēnā kōrua rā anō, kō koe hoki te māreikura tā hītori. Ngā māngai a ture, ngā māngai a iwi, tēnā tātau. Nā ngā pīrairaka a Tāwhiao, e haramai, te puta a te ngahere, haramai tonutia rā whakaputa i tēnei ngahere nunui a mamae, kia tau māri ai te Whatu Āhuru te whakatau ai.	The speaker is just acknowledging the panel, the Judge and of course all those here who are gathered. Now, we reflect on the fantails that were spoken in respect of Tāwhiao and with these words and oaths given from God above, we take prayer.
	Me inoi tātau, e tū.	
	KARAKIA	
	E te Atua, kia tau mai tō Wairua Tapu. Te ara atu haramai a te iwi, murua ngā hara hei painga ki te katoa, Māori, Pākehā, kia oati ai, pai mārire ki te rangi, pai mārire ki te whenua, pai mārire ki te iwi. Āmine.	
	HIMENE	
	Mā te mārie, ā te Atua Tātau katoa e tiaki	

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	Mana anō e whakaū O tātau ngākau ki te pai Mā te Atua, tamaiti rā Mā te Wairua Tapu hoki Rātau, Atua kotahi nei Tātau katoa e whakapai Āmine	
	KARAKIA WHAKAMUTUNGA	
	Nō reira e te Atua, kaha rawa e te Ariki. I ngā kupu rangatira a te tīpuna te tuku mai e muri rā, haramai ki TeNehenehenui o te riri, kia mau.	
	HIMENE	
	Nau te Korōria Nau te Korōria Nau te Korōria Rire, rire hau Pai mārire	
	HEARING ADJOURNS: 5.14 PM	