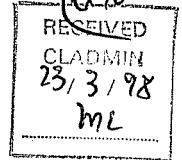


OFFICIAL

Wai 215 # A76
Wai 42a # A11



Wai 42(a), 215

CHANGES IN A MAORI COMMUNITY

WAIROA RIVER HAPU OF TAURANGA

Report on social, economic and political conditions of Ngati Kahu,
Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango (Wairoa Hapu)
1830-1997

prepared by
Antoine Coffin
for Wai 42a claimants
Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi & Ngati Pango
and Waitangi Tribunal

November 1997

Contents

	<i>page</i>	
Title	1	
Contents	2	
1.0 Introduction	4	
1.1 The Claim	4	
1.2 The Report	4	
1.3 Wairoa Hapu Origins	5	
1.4 Traditional Rohe	10	
1.5 Social Structure	11	
1.6 Hapu relationship with land and water	13	
1.7 Current Situation	17	
2.0 Early Contact	19	
2.1 Missionaries	19	
2.2 Traders	23	
2.3 Settlers	23	
3.0 Raupatu - Land Confiscation	24	
4.0 Resettlement	28	
4.1 Commissioners Court 1868-1886	29	
4.2 Hapu Reserves	30	
4.3 Pressure to 'open up' 1868-1890	34	
5.0 A Century of Change. Colonisation	39	
5.1 Economic Development	39	
5.2 Council Intervention in Maori Affairs	42	
5.3 Education	44	
5.3.1 Native Schools	44	
5.3.2 Te Reo	49	
5.4 Health	51	
5.5 Social Cohesion	55	
5.5.1 Hapu Migration	55	
5.5.2 Urban Threat	58	
5.6 Community Development	62	
5.7 Maori Institutions and Participation	65	
6.0 Conclusion	72	
Bibliography	75	
Appendices	<i>page</i>	
Appendix I	Waitangi Tribunal Brief	2
Appendix II	Statement of Claim	3
Appendix III	Language survey 1977	8

OFFICIAL

Wai 215 # A76
Wai 42a # A11

25 3 98
ML

Wai 42(a), 215

CHANGES IN A MAORI COMMUNITY

WAIROA RIVER HAPU OF TAURANGA

Report on social, economic and political conditions of Ngati Kahu,
Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango (Wairoa Hapu)
1830-1997

prepared by
Antoine Coffin
for Wai 42a claimants
Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi & Ngati Pango
and Waitangi Tribunal

November 1997

Contents

	<i>page</i>
Title	1
Contents	2
1.0 Introduction	4
1.1 The Claim	4
1.2 The Report	4
1.3 Wairoa Hapu Origins	5
1.4 Traditional Rohe	10
1.5 Social Structure	11
1.6 Hapu relationship with land and water	13
1.7 Current Situation	17
2.0 Early Contact	19
2.1 Missionaries	19
2.2 Traders	23
2.3 Settlers	23
3.0 Raupatu - Land Confiscation	24
4.0 Resettlement	28
4.1 Commissioners Court 1868-1886	29
4.2 Hapu Reserves	30
4.3 Pressure to 'open up' 1868-1890	34
5.0 A Century of Change. Colonisation	39
5.1 Economic Development	39
5.2 Council Intervention in Maori Affairs	42
5.3 Education	44
5.3.1 Native Schools	44
5.3.2 Te Reo	49
5.4 Health	51
5.5 Social Cohesion	55
5.5.1 Hapu Migration	55
5.5.2 Urban Threat	58
5.6 Community Development	62
5.7 Maori Institutions and Participation	65
6.0 Conclusion	72
Bibliography	75
Appendices	<i>page</i>
Appendix I	Waitangi Tribunal Brief
Appendix II	Statement of Claim
Appendix III	Language survey 1977
	2

Appendix IV	Language Survey 1977	9
Appendix V	Interviews	10
		<i>page</i>
Appendix VI	Population Statistics for Wairoa	47
Appendix VII	List of Original grantees, Te Papa 453 and 91, 1886	49
Appendix VIII	List of Original grantees, Te Papa 8, 1886	51
Appendix IX	List of Original grantees, Te Puna 182,	52

List of Figures

Figure 1	Ngamarama
Figure 2	Mai te Puwaha o te awa o Wairoa ki Kuranui
Figure 3	Lower Wairoa
Figure 4	Wairoa Today
Figure 5	Crown grants of Te Papa 453, 91 and 8
Figure 6	Te Puna 182
Figure 7	Te Paeroa Native School Site / Te Papa 8A

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Claim

This report has been commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal to give weight to the Wai 42(a) claim of Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango hapu of Tauranga (*Appendix II*). This claim filed in 1995 amended the previous Wai 27 lodged in October 1986. The 42(a) claim involves the confiscation of claimants land under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and subsequent actions, policies and Acts of the Crown and its agencies that have affected the hapu.

This report can be read in conjunction with other reports that influence the Wai 42a claim:

- ❖ ***Wai 42a Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango. Part1.*** Desmond Kahotea. 1996.
- ❖ ***Wai 42a Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango. Part2.*** Antoine Coffin. 1996.
- ❖ ***Wairoa River and Coastal Environment. Issues and Options Paper.*** Antoine Coffin. Land Resource Studies, Bay of Plenty Polytechnic. 1995.
- ❖ ***Wairoa River.*** Rachael Willan. 1996.
- ❖ ***Hydro-electricity in the Wairoa River Catchment: Land Acquisition.*** Rachael Willan. 1996.

1.2 The Report

This report gives an account of critical social, political and economic conditions experienced by Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango between 1830 and 1994 based on historical reports and documents, and oral traditions including a number of formal and informal interviews.

The introduction of this report looks at the historical context of Wairoa Hapu identifying origins, traditional rohe, systems of kinship, political organisation, traditional relationships with the environment and reviews the current situation of land holdings and hapu identity. An account of major changes

that have taken place from first contact with early missionaries and traders and later the military invasion that precluded confiscation of Tauranga Lands under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 (Raupatu) focuses on the alienation of land for settlement and the assimilationist policies of government and local government thus providing a background for specific themes of education and health, economic opportunity, social cohesion, political structures and participation.

1.3 Wairoa Hapu Origins

Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango (Wairoa Hapu) are a mixture of sub tribal groups linked by common ancestors, intermarriage, geography and resources. Our oral traditions tell us that some of these sub tribes have occupied the region for over eight hundred years and would no doubt have been among the first inhabitants of this land.

Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi are hapu of Ngamarama origin that have remained on their ancestral lands. Ngamarama are the first occupants of Tauranga lands, the upper Waihou in the Waikato and Waihi and Whangamata areas preceding the waka and waka descent groups who came to Tauranga to settle and included a number of other Ngamarama hapu along the Wairoa River; Ngati Taane and Ngati Tira.¹

Two important factors in the tradition of these Ngamarama hapu was the Tainui descent groups territorial expansion from Patetere over the Kaimai Range to the Wairoa River² providing a complexity of Ngamarama descent through intermarriage and political domination with Raukawa and 19th century perception or tradition that their occupation had been extinguished

¹ Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. Wai 42a, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango, Part1, Waitangi Tribunal. p19

² ibid p23

by Ngati Ranginui and so had their identity or operation as a group. 19th century accounts of the tradition of occupation in Tauranga emphasize conquest of tangata whenua by first Ranginui and second Ngaiterangi.³

Steedman states that although the tribal name of Nga Marama became non-existent the hapu descendants of the original title still occupied the Wairoa:

"It wasn't until Ranginui (2) came to this district in the early eighteenth century that the tribal name of Nga Marama became non-existent but by no means were the people of that original title extinguished. The embers of that tribal name through domination and intermarriage faded into obscurity. Ranginui simply pushed them back into the hills to make room for his people. The remnants of the Nga Marama who were established on the eastern side of the Wairoa River were not interfered with and still live there under sub tribal titles, those being Ngati Taane, Ngati Kahu...."⁴

The survival of Ngamarama hapu as active units and their relationship with Tainui and latter Ngati Ranginui is also qualified by kaumatua Albert Tuariki Brown of Wairoa.

"In earlier days the Tainui people from the Waikato and the Ngati Raukawa from Tokoroa area came to collect kaimoana. Our people took them in and looked after them during those visits. That is why there is continuing good relations between the Tainui people of the Waikato and ourselves today....

People have asked why Ngati Ranginui never invaded here, but if you look around us, those four pa looked down at this point (beside the Wairoa River). Any enemy coming in here would be a sitting duck - they would be destroyed.

The first tribes in the area were Ngati Rangi, Ngati Motai, Ngati Tamahapai, Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango.⁵

Ngati Pango are a distinct hapu of Tainui and Ngamarama origin⁶ whose ancestors took the Ngamarama lands on the Western slopes of the Kaimai

³ ibid p19

⁴ Steedman, John Aramete Wairehu. 1996. "He Toto, Te Ahu Matua a nga Tupuna." p.34

⁵ Albert Brown. 22.03.1988

⁶ Gates, Lou. 1996. "Consultation with Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango on Northern Arterial Proposal." Nugent Consultants. p8

ranges.⁷ Ngati Pango are genealogically linked to Tainui through their tupuna, Tamapango, who lived at Okauia, on the foothills of the Kaimai Ranges near Matamata. That area is referred to as the Pouherenga Waka o Tama Pango.⁸ Through intermarriage close links have been formed between families of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango.

Ngati Kahu are descendants of the ancestors Kahu and Kahu tapu. Kahu (the name of previous wharenuī) is of Ngamarama origins and Kahutapu a tipuna with connections to Ngati Raukawa and the ancestral waka of Takitimu and Tainui.⁹

Kinship links between Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango are signified in the following lament by Te Pakaru.

He aha raa, kei aku hoa e haere tiitaha nei ahau
Ko Kuranui tonu, te whakamaui i koroa iho ai,
Me mihi kau ake e te ngakau ki runga o Paihau,
Kia Pai ai taaku haere ki te puke i Hauturu.
Ki te waa huri atu ki Kaimai, ki te iwi ana raa
Me mihi kau iho ki te wai e rere i roto Opuaki
Te Whakamaurutanga ki te rere i Oturu.
Ki nga motu raa ia
Kia pai ai taaku haere ki te puke i Kotare
Kai tika ai taaku titiro ki te puke i Te Uru
Ki nga manu a Tamarau, e heke ai raa te roimata
I aku kamo ki roto o Arataka, ki Poukuri raa
Kia tika ai taaku ki te parekura i a Pango
Kia titaha ai taaku titiro ki te puke Te Mangaroa
Kia huri mai ai oku mahara ki Te Auroa raa
Ki Tuku tapere, ki Te Motuiti, Te Rau o te huia,
Ki Kuranui tonu, i rutia iho ai to aroha i ahau eee.

In this lament, Te Pakaru complains that his friends at Tauranga are not supporting him, so he turns sorrowfully back to Kuranui and other well-known

7 Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. p9

8 Gates, Lou. 1996. "Consultation with Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango on Northern Arterial Proposal." Nugent Consultants. p8

9 Kahutapu is the present wharenuī at Wairoa Marae

landmarks, the forest clearing Paihau and the hill Hauturu. His way back takes him through the village of Kaimai where he pauses at the waterfall, Te Rere i Oturu, above the camping place that his tears may flow into the Opuiaki stream, a tributary of the Wairoa River, to carry his message back to the people at Tauranga. He reaches the peak of Kotare on the ridge of the Kaimai range from which he can see all the way from Te Puke i Te Uru, a hilltop pa to the north of Kaimai village, to Nga Manu a Tamarau, a peak southeast of Kuranui. From here his tears fall into the Arataka (Arataha) stream. He looks around to the place where Pango's people were overwhelmed, from the peak of Mangaroa to the lowlands of Auroa, another name for Te Kaokaoroa o Patetere, to the streams near Kuranui, Tukutapere, Te Motuiti and Te Rau o te huia, and pours out his love for all these places.¹⁰

The following whakapapa (genealogy) shows the descent from Raukawa, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Raukawa and son of Mahinarangi and Turongo. This whakapapa is important in maintaining the relationship with Tainui and Takitimu descent groups.

		Mahinarangi		
		Raukawa		
		Rereahu		
		Ihingarangi		
		Te Huri		
		Hinemapuhia		
		Rauti		
		Koroki		
		Hape		
		Mahangawhitu		
		Atutaki		
		Ranapu		
		Huapiri		
		Te Tikioterereata		
		Kahuoterangi		
		Te Kahutapu¹¹		
Tiwai	Rangihirere	Wehinui	Waitutu	Tokihi
Haua	Takiriripo			
Perahia	Kumeroa			
	Ngati Kahu			

¹⁰ Gates, Lou. 1996. "Consultation with Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango." p13

¹¹ Kahutapu is the wharenuui at Wairoa Marae

This Ngamarama whakapapa shows the descent lines for four Ngamarama hapu namely Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Taane and Ngati Tira.

Ngamarama whakapapa

Raumati¹²

Karewa

Ngarara whakawae

Ngamarama

Tane	Kahu	Tira	
Waimuhu	Putaputa	Tamaue	
Toroa	Te Ikaatereni	Tamawaha	
Matuaiwi	Te Hoata ¹³	Te Manukikaitara	
Te Arawhata	Toko	Wharemaheuheu	Kaimahoe
Pakaruwakanui ¹⁴	Kahoe		Te Maioro
Roropakaru	Rahiri		Te Awaroa
Te Huri*	Ata		Mikaere
Te Ore	Auru		Ngataierua
Tereapu	Tapui		Toi
Ihiata	Pitakataka		Te Weku
	Perahia		Rowha
			Werohia
Ngati Rangi	Ngati Kahu		Ngati Tira

*Te Huri¹⁵

Te Ore	Te Taenui
Te Hongi	Tahuri
Perahia	Te Kumeroa

-
- 12 Steadman, taken from Ngawharau Ms
 13 Tupuna name of the Wairoa Marae wharekai
 14 Were Ngati Taane at this time
 15 Ngawharau Ms

1.4 Traditional Rohe

Archaeological information and the oral traditions of Wairoa Hapu confirm the long inhabitation of the Wairoa River Valley from the harbour fringe inland to the western slopes of the Kaimai Ranges.¹⁶ This settlement pattern was an important factor in the distribution of resources and maintaining the social and political relationships between hapu groups through the corridor from the Tauranga Harbour to the interior.

This rohe or district forms the ancestral landscape, which includes the continuous natural and cultural landscape. This includes natural features such as water catchment areas, forests, bush, marshlands and physical formations such as valleys, volcanic plateau and estuaries, and cultural features such as pa, mahinga kai, waahi whare/pae kainga, parekura, ara/paparahi- trails, waahi mahi, waahi noho, waahi tupuna and waahi tapu.¹⁷

The rohe can be broadly referred to as “Mai te puwaha o te awa a Wairoa ki Kuranui” literally meaning from the mouth of the Wairoa River to Kuranui on the western slopes of the Kaimai ranges representing a tradition of occupation, kinship and user rights. This area encompasses the west side of the lower Wairoa River from the rivermouth pa Pukewhanake inland to Te Irihanga and Poripori with Te Pirirakau having overlapping interests; the east side of the Wairoa River from Whakaheke and Wharepoti inland following the river to Ruahihi bordering Ngati Hangarau lands; and on the slopes of the

¹⁶ “Ngati Kahu lands follow the Wairoa River inland to the Kaimai neighbouring the hapu Ngati Hangarau of Peterema and in the Kaimai, hapu of Ngati Raukawa. Ngati Pango and Ngati Rangi lands extend on the west side of the Wairoa River to Poripori, Te Irihanga and Te Whakamarama with Te Pirirakau”.

¹⁷ Coffin, Antoine. “Evaluation of the Cultural Heritage Landscape, Wairoa River, Ngati Kahu.” Tauranga District Council and Ngati Kahu Resource Centre. p9

Kaimai ranges following the Opuiaki River to Hanga and Kuranui. The Tauranga Harbour was shared with other hapu and the advantages of mild seasonal changes, rich soils and abundant harbour and river resources provided good sources of sustenance. In physical terms it is this high concentration of resources which enabled Wairoa hapu to provide maximum support for the hapu and their continued regular occupation of this area over the centuries.¹⁸

1.5 Social Structure

Traditional Maori society was communal and organised around a system of large or extended families; the subtribe (hapu) and iwi (tribe). The hapu was the most important and autonomous of these groups and most kainga (unfortified village), pa (fortified village) and Marae were associated with hapu groups. Each hapu consisted of several family units (whanau) and had its own territorial boundaries.¹⁹ Membership related to descent to a common ancestor, social and economic relations and obligations with each other. The operation of the hapu was traditionally and remains determined by a set of relations of extended family groups to each other as individuals or members of groups. Residences, gardening, resource gathering and utilisation areas were allocated for individual family and the wider hapu use throughout the entire Wairoa Hapu territory.²⁰

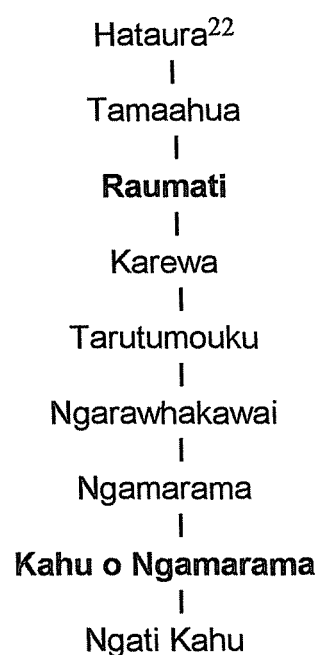
Traditional leadership of these indigenous peoples were based on principles of heritage and ascription. Ingenuity, skill, initiative and bravery were just as important qualities for leadership as inherited mana and tapu from chiefly

¹⁸ Kahotea, Desmond. 1993. "Statement of Evidence to Planning Tribunal."

¹⁹ Tester, Frank J. 1984. *Observations on Maori Land and Resource Development, with Implications for Canadian Northern Development and Northern Indigenous People.* p36

²⁰ Kahotea, Desmond. 1993. "Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal."

forebears.²¹ Such attributes are recalled in the oral tradition of Kahu o Ngamarama, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati Kahu who was considered the teina or junior. His mana as a leader was derived from providing sustenance for the people and leading by example. Raumati, another ancestor, gains his fame from burning the Te Arawa waka, an act that may be considered foolish due to his soon demise but was a sign of great courage. The following whakapapa shows the descent line from Hataura to Kahu through Raumati.



Whakapapa show that arranged marriages were quite common or at least extremely strategic during these early times. This would be useful in strengthening ties for the purposes of holding land but also for averting war or bloodshed and to quell animosities between families or hapu. This practice was not just limited to whanau and hapu within the Wairoa Hapu. Important also was outside forces such as the Ngati Raukawa sub tribes, who were strong warrior people. After the conflicts and intermarriage between Wairoa Hapu and Ngati Raukawa subtribes strong relationships have been

²¹ Walker, Ranginui. 1993. *Traditions and Change in maori Leadership*. p1
²² Steadman. 1996. "Toto, Te Ahu Matua a nga Tupuna." p327

forged that are still acknowledged today. This practice of arranged marriage has occurred till the turn of the century.

Ritual and formal practices were left to chiefs and tohunga (experts). Oral tradition speaks of tohunga on the Wairoa who would perform ritual ceremony and that this practice was restricted only to the initiated. Kaumatua (male elder) and kuia (female elder) were the whanau leaders making decisions concerning the working of family land, the control and use of family property, and the rearing and education of children. The maintenance of culture was transmitted through daily experiences relating to activities such as gardening, hunting and food gathering, social gatherings and in formal situations such as ceremonial activities and rituals through whakapapa, moteatea (chants) and karakia (incantations). These experiences were learnt from birth and reinforced gender roles that were strongly adhered to with clear understandings to the place and position of women, men and children.

Prior to 1864, Wairoa hapu were responsible for their own well being, with social structures in place which enabled them to cater for their economic subsistence and exchange systems, social networking with other hapu, local and external social and economic obligations, military, and social and economic functioning of the members themselves, with tribal people responsible for each other.²³

1.6 Hapu relationship to land and water

In pre-European Aotearoa, people lived in a world where gods, people, land, sky and sea, plants, birds, reptiles, fish and other animals shared in a unity of

²³ Kahotea, Desmond. 1993. "Statement of Evidence to Planning Tribunal."

being which was expressed in a language of common descent. The universe began with a stirring of primal energy which produced thought and then consciousness in a series of genealogical stages that eventually also generated lands, gods and people. Tribal accounts told how the cosmos was formed, and its elements were distinguished from one from another. The earth, quite late on in this story, was distinguished from the sea, and was shaped by ancestor gods for human habitation. Various groups of people arrived in various places, and after some time of occupation in a place they became its tangata whenua (people of the land). Tangata whenua status was achieved by harvesting and protecting its resources, burying the placentas of babies and the bones of ancestors in the ground, and naming its various features.²⁴ Land and people became bound together over time. Use of the resources in a region followed patterns of kinship and alliance. People acquired rights by descent, marriage, friendship and gift, and exercised these in patterns which varied by family, by season and by need. Rights were kept alive by reciprocity, with land and sea by constant use and with other people by gifts and practical assistance. Use rights crossed over land and sea in unique networks which could overlap in very complex ways.

Mana over land required occupation to remain valid. Ahi kaa (burning fires) showed that people were present; claims by conquest or gift without subsequent occupation soon lapsed. Leaders exercised their mana on behalf of kinship groups, and could not act without their active support and approval. The leaders on behalf of the people respected the tapu of resources and places. In all production, communication with the guardian gods was required to protect the mauri (life force) of resources. In the absence of such communication the life force of resources became depleted,

²⁴ placentas known as the whenua which is the same name given to land.

and they died.²⁵ Swimmer describes the relationship between land and tangata whenua:

“Land was the most valuable and sacred part of the Maori heritage part of the living body of the tribe the individual had lived there all the life and his ancestors are buried there. Inseparable from the land are the multiplicity of sprit beings which make up the mana of the tribe the community without its atua (spirits/gods) was unthinkable and already dead in spirit.”²⁶

Indeed the Marae symbolises this tradition as the embodiment of the ancestors, where operating as a descent group, the roles of each member within the hapu and outside of the hapu participate in ceremonial roles on the Marae. Today “the concept of identity is still inextricably tied up with the land and expressed through Maori institutions, especially the Marae.”²⁷ The expression of ones identity is reflected in the relationship to land, water and ancestors all of which are interconnected. Astute speakers with knowledge in whakapapa will be able to call on, depending on the situation, elaborate whakatauki that illustrate and reinforce identity with place, time and event.

From Wairoa Marae can be observed pa that served this role in the past and these pa represent a chronology of ancestors. There is Pukewhanake, Paorangi, Whakaheke, Te Papa o Wharia and Pukekonui or Pukehou the pa of Ngati Pango who live on the west side of the river. Pukehou, Whakaheke and Taumatawhioi situated below the Marae are urupa or burial grounds of recent generations. Surrounding these areas are other urupa or areas where ancestors were deposited in an earlier past by the river, in the wetlands, and hills. These are some of the many waahi tapu that are bound into the

25 Salmond, Ann. 1993. “Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal, Ngati Kahu V Tauranga District Council.”

26 Swimmer. 1974. pp80-81

27 Tester, Frank J. 1984. *Observations on Maori Land and Resource Development, with Implications for Canadian Northern Development and Northern Indigenous People.* p40

landscape. Urupa and other forms of burial confirm the mana of Wairoa hapu, the ancestors are present in this area in many forms. These taonga imbue the land with a spiritual quality that ties hapu to the land. They make the land speak of the history. The land has wairua or spirit and that wairua is the personification of life that has been created, nourished, sustained and eventually consumed by life itself on this land and river over many generations or centuries of Wairoa Hapu ancestors.

The Wairoa River is tapu or sacred to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango, a special symbol of ancestral occupation and focus since the times of Ngamarama. Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango are the guardians or kaitiaki of the Wairoa River, this being reinforced by the location of pa and the river spirit or taniwha 'Te Pura'. The river is important to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango as a bounty of food in the form of fish, protection against known and unknown forces, malignant or friendly medium, for the future and the past, health and well-being of the hapu.

Settlements have always been located on the river, this continued occupation and focus on the river over the centuries has led to the development of a unique cultural/spiritual relationship with the river from the puwaha (mouth) inland to the tributaries and catchment. Other hapu of Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui have used the river to get access to their inland cultivations at areas near Poripori or inland to the Waikato but it is Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango that are recognised as having the kaitiaki role over the river.

The river was a dominant part of the former economy of Ngati Kahu providing an important source of food which is still maintained as a source of spiritual and cultural sustenance which was not restricted to the area of the river mouth but continued along its extent to the upper catchment.

The Wairoa has traditionally been a source of spiritual and physical healing too. Both in traditional and modern times the river has been used as a purifier or as a whakanoa, to remove tapu. Hapu members use it to ward off malignant forces or as a way to neutralise wrongs that have been committed.

The river, the land and Wairoa hapu are inseparable as they are the connection to the ancestors and the source of spiritual power and physical sustenance.

1.7 Current Situation

Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango are located today on land bordering and overlooking the Wairoa River. Ngati Kahu has a marae and two urupa, the pa Whakaheke and a small knoll known as Taumatawhioi situated on Crown grants Te Papa 453, 91 and 8, less than 295 acres.²⁸ Ngati Pango has a *papa kainga* located west of the Wairoa river consisting of resident landowners with the hapu urupa, Pukehou, a pa known in the past as Pukekonui overlooking the Wairoa River. This area was allocated as a Crown Grant Te Puna 182 to Ngati Pango and Ngati Kuku. Only 26 acres remains in hapu ownership. Most land was alienated by partition and eventual sale.

Today, the identity of Ngati Rangi has been incorporated into Ngati Kahu, through intermarriage, migration and leadership changes in this century. A factor which has contributed to the amalgamation of these two hapu was the allocation of settlement reserves by the Crown, Parish of Te Papa 453 and 91 both to Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu. Traditional animosities between

²⁸ Wairoa Marae is located on east side of the lower Wairoa River, State Highway 2

Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi are still maintained by families continuing age old disputes that are a fact of life for Ngati Kahu. Although intermarriage has blended some families there are still many families whose whakapapa is distinctly Ngati Rangi. Ngati Pango has survived as a hapu without a marae through residence on ancestral land or papa kainga.²⁹

The main religious beliefs are Mormon, Ratana, Mihingare, and Katorika. The Ngati Kahu resident population fluctuates seasonally with Christmas numbers reaching 220 and winter about 110.³⁰ Ngati Pango numbers only 15 on their remaining lands. Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango affiliate to Ngati Ranginui Iwi through social and economic obligation.

Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango maintain their interests in Maori owned returned blocks by attending land meetings and supporting activities. Hapu members are currently promoting and developing effective participation in the management and development of blocks outside Maori ownership.

For Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango the impact of the Raupatu (Land Confiscation) in 1864, was social and economic marginalisation. The alienation from the whenua and the awa, the essence of Maori existence contributed to the conditions of the poor health, social, cultural and economic development that followed. Later assimilationist and hegemonic policies of the Crown and local government are problematic as they prevent Wairoa hapu from regaining their former autonomy and prosperity. The non-participation in economic activities and reliance on subsistence living and employment are indicative of the loss of the hapu resource base. From

²⁹ Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. *Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi*. Waitangi Tribunal. p1

³⁰ population of 220 taken from Coffin, Antoine. Dec 1996. "Wai 42a, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango, Part2." Waitangi Tribunal. p 23
population of 110 is an estimate during September - October 1997

this context, the report examines the changes of Wairoa hapu from the 1830s to 1997.

2.0 Early Contact

At the time of European arrival, Wairoa Hapu were among the most affluent people in this country. They occupied the shores of the Wairoa River, and had access to a wide range of resources - offshore and harbour fishing grounds, eeling pools in the river, fertile horticultural lands and forests in the Kaimai Ranges.³¹ Tauranga was a wealthy place and very densely inhabited. When it was first visited by European missionaries, 1000 canoes were counted on the beach between Otumoetai and Te Pápa, and the Europeans were told that the local people could muster 2500 fighting men.³²

Kahotea identifies Pukewhanake at the mouth of the Wairoa River and inland settlements Pawhakahoro, Purakautahi and Hanga as major settlements during 1830s to 1850s.³³ In 1864, eleven Wairoa Hapu settlements were recorded.³⁴

2.1 Missionaries

Samuel Marsden was the first pakeha visitor to describe the Tauranga district. In July 1820 he made a journey from the Thames area up the Waihou River and its tributary the Ohinemuri, through the Karangahake Gorge and climbed up the top of Hikurangi at the western end of the harbour. He noted the fine timber in the forest and remarked on the large area of fern country between the bush clad ranges and the harbour. He found no

31 Salmond, Ann. 1993. "Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal."

32 Salmond, Ann. 1993. "Statement of Evidence to Planning Tribunal."

33 Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. Wai 42a, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangī, Ngati Pango, Part1, Waitangi Tribunal. p37

34 ibid, p51

inhabitants in the western portion of the fern land. Of the District he commented that he could not see why any ships had not been at Tauranga since Captain Cook.³⁵ Elder has said:

They are in want of tools of every kind as they are not visited by Europeans. Supplies for ships might be got here as they had plenty of potatoes and pork.³⁶

For many years, barter occurred between the Maoris and the sealers, whalers, and any ship that happened to come along. This was direct personal exchange of goods, and when the missionaries arrived they also exchanged goods with local Maori.³⁷ Missionaries brought technology; new metal tools, building techniques, and supplies of medicine. These items of barter were important factor in the arrival of new religious teachings.

Following Marsden's route in 1826 and 1828, the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) mission schooner Herald visited Tauranga. Tribal conflict was rife in the area and consequently establishment of a mission was delayed until 1838-39 with the Te Papa Mission Station. In 1831, H.Williams and Chapman visited Rotorua, in response to an invitation from one of the chiefs, to establish a missionary amongst them. They called in at Tauranga and went to Rotorua via Maketu.³⁸

C.M.S missionaries made a number of exploratory journeys in the Thames Valley, Rotorua, Tauranga, Maketu districts between 1831 and 1833. Local tribes hoped that the missionaries would become the means for obtaining a

35 Kahotea Desmond. 1983. "The Interaction of Tauranga Hapu with the Landscape." University of Auckland. p74

36 Elder. 1932. p268

37 Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society. No.59 *Early Flax Traders around Tauranga* by Kathleen Fletcher. p24

38 Kahotea, Desmond Tatana. 1983. "The Interaction of Tauranga Hapu with the landscape." University of Auckland. p76

regular supply of tools, weapons and merchandise as they had been for the Ngapuhi.³⁹ Kahotea says that:

The 1840s -50s was a period of great missionary control and influence but the influence declined in the 50s as the locals became more assertive and independent through their trading activities and political associations and as the influx of colonial settlement Settlers were not being attracted to the Bay of Plenty region and the land sold in Tauranga was the 240 hectares at Te Papa to the C.M.S in 1839.⁴⁰

Christian Missionary influence reached the hapu on the Wairoa River in the 1830s with frequent visits by Archdeacon Brown and later the Roman Catholic Priests headed by Pompalier. At this time several settlements existed along the banks of the Wairoa River. These included Pukewhanake on the western side of the rivermouth , a settlement of considerable proportions and smaller villages; Haehaenga near the present Peterehema Marae, Poteriwhi overlooking the river near the present State Highway 2 and Carmichael Road junction, Te Papa o Wharia, a village on the riverbank and directly across the river Pukekonui (now known as Pukehou).

As demonstrated, traditional ritual beliefs and ceremonies were aristocratic. The early Christian missionaries worked very hard to change the habits of the Maori and with the arrival of Christianity the tapu of chiefs and tohunga was eliminated. Missionaries demanded that Maori free slaves and put aside extra wives before being baptised. Pakeha power manifested itself in the array of ships, weapons and goods. This show of force was instrumental in undermining the mana of chiefs. Stokes comments that the old religion was under attack from the missionaries and being replaced by new teachings. The mana of tohunga and ariki was being undermined.⁴¹ Indeed, the missionaries took the role of providing medicine for ailments that had been

39 ibid

40 ibid

41 Stokes, Evelyn. 1990. *Te Raupatu o Tauranga*. University of Waikato. p8

the domain of tohunga and native healers. They did this by being active in the Tauranga area, and treating influenza that had been introduced during the 1830s and 1840s.

There is evidence of dissension between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican missionary, Brown, during the years of early contact with local Maori. This included verbal disputes over the foundations of each church, one of which was recorded by Brown at Pukewhanake in full view of the local Maori.⁴² Many other such like incidents are recorded and are related to the competitive nature of 'conversion' during these times. It is evident that a number of Maori changed their allegiances between the Christian religions and the traditional ritenga.

There is evidence of Wairoa people becoming literate through missionary contact. The Anglican Missionary A.N. Brown was the most frequent visitor to the Wairoa having overseen the erection of a church in 1842 at Pukewhanake, near the mouth of the Wairoa River. The erection of the church 48 feet by 26 feet, was assisted by a party of 70 from Maungatautari.⁴³

Numbers attending frequent services generally reached between 80 and 150 Maori although a service on the 29th May 1849 boasted 300. The following day 263 attended and Brown recorded that half could read the New Testament clearly indicating some success in literacy.⁴⁴ Smaller services were also held at Haehaenga (now Peterehema), Hanga and Okauia.

42 ibid, pp14-15

43 Brown, A.N. Journal; Volume III, Jan 1, 1841 - Dec 31, 1843, Jan 1, 1841 - Dec 31, 1843 Tauranga Library Archives. pp21

44 ibid, pp60-61

A major role of the early missionaries was to teach, and although the doctrine may have been narrow, basic literacy and language would have been advantageous for local natives during interaction with pakeha traders and in all types of communication. This concurs with Rose who confirms that Tauranga Maori were willingly and successfully participating in the colonial economy and dominated Tauranga's trade in the 1840's and 1850's.⁴⁵

2.2 Traders

A number of traders had arrived in the region by the 1830's, and new crops and European foods and goods were being introduced. These complemented the potato and pigs that the local Maori had procured from earlier sealers and other vessels.

Among these traders the Frenchmen, Bidois, Borrell and Potier, at the mouth of the Wairoa River built ships for trading.⁴⁶ By the 1840s coasting vessels were being locally built and Maori were exporting wheat, potatoes, indian corn and onions to Auckland. With large areas of versatile and productive land as a resource base, cash crops as well as subsistence farming provided sudden wealth for the area. Tauranga Maori proved to be very adept to new technologies and by the 1850s a large number of Maori owned trading vessels were taking Tauranga produce to the Auckland market.

2.3 Settlers

Oral traditions do not refer to contact with European settlers till the late 1860s, probably due to inaccessibility and settler reluctance to venture into

⁴⁵ Rose, Kathryn. "The Impact of Confiscation. 1865-1965". Crown Forestry Rental Trust. p6

⁴⁶ Stokes, Evelyn. 1990. *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana*. p7

unknown territory. Brown's knowledge of colonisation in other areas of the world, such as Australia, must have influenced his comments in 1839:

Poor fellows ! They will receive very different treatment from traders, should this place be hereafter colonized. Collision must then take place, and the weakest will suffer.⁴⁷

He was clearly aware of the impending dangers to the Maori through European settlement. According to Rob Steven in Land and White Settler Colonialism, the settler colonists wanted only one thing from the Maori people: their disappearance altogether. After they had disappeared their land could be taken and converted into a source of bourgeois wealth which would provide even wage labourers with a standard of living unknown elsewhere in the world.⁴⁸ Furthermore he says:

It is not just that there was no role for Maori people in the settler society. Their mere existence threatened the very developments which were making the place such a prized destination for destitute Britons. They therefore had to be got rid of somehow. To do so literally, as the settlers had in Australia and America, might have been counter-productive, since the deceptions by means of which the colony had been acquired, the Treaty of Waitangi, would have been totally exposed.⁴⁹

3.0 Raupatu - Land Confiscation

By the 1850s local resistance to selling land to Europeans was growing. Local groups allied with their Waikato relations and joined with them in the Kingitanga (King Movement). Governor Grey sent troops to set up military posts in the Waikato and Taranaki, and when the tribes on those lands resisted war broke out.⁵⁰ The subsequent effort to 'throw open' the country was demonstrated by the Raupatu of 1864, where land in Tauranga was

47 Brown. 1839. August 20th. p18. Tauranga Library Archives

48 Steven, Rob. 1990. *Land and White Settler Colonialism, the case of Aotearoa*. p29

49 ibid

50 Salmond, Ann. 1994. "Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal."

confiscated by the Crown under the auspices of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863.

In order for confiscation to be 'legal' the natives of the particular area had to be in rebellion against the Crown.⁵¹ The armed resistance including the Battle at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) on the 23rd April 1864 and Te Ranga on 21st June 1864 provided the necessary 'rebellion' which saw the confiscation of all Tauranga lands. The prelude to surrender on August 5th 1864 is well documented and not elaborated on in detail here. It is sufficient to note that the government of the time was dominated by land speculators Whitaker and Russell, and Tauranga was a focus for pupuri whenua (land holding) sympathisers, who occupied large areas of very fertile land. According to the *Southern Cross* in 1866, "Tauranga... contained a fine agricultural district, one which Mr. Whitaker had set his eyes; and so Tauranga was invaded". The matter was described in the *New Zealander* in 1864;

Had the troops not set foot on their lands...there would have been no rising amongst them....it was in defence of their lands which were thus unceremoniously, and in their opinion, unnecessarily invaded, that they took up arms against troops, and so made, as it were, common cause with the Waikato's.

Wairoa Hapu had links with the Waikato through their Ngamarama and Tainui ancestors, and they assisted in the fighting at Gate Pa and Te Ranga. T.H Smith's report on 11th February 1864, gives a number of 43 adult male Maori at Poteriwhi, Papa o Wharia, and across the river at Pukekonui of which 30 had gone in support of Waikato. According to Kahotea, when troops invaded Tauranga in 1864, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango aligned themselves with Ngati Ranginui and Ngaiterangi in defence of their homes and families.⁵²

⁵¹ In accordance with New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 sec2 "Whenever the Governor in Council shall be satisfied that any Native tribe or Section of a Tribe or any considerable number thereof has since the first day of January 1863 been engaged in rebellion against Her Majesty's authority it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to declare that the District within which any land being the property or in the possession of such Tribe or Section or considerable number thereof shall be situate shall be a District within the provisions of this Act and the boundaries of such District in like manner to define and vary as he shall think fit."

⁵² Kahotea, Desmond. 1993. *Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal*.

Following the Maori victory at Gate Pa, Wairoa hapu retreated to inland settlements in fear of retribution by government troops and militia.

On the 6th May 1864, Cavalry accompanied the General towards Wairoa and to Poteriwhi which was deserted. Most things portable were taken leaving simply the cracked bell of the Whare Karakia. The flagstaff was still standing but the coveted King flag had been carried away, and under the General's orders destroyed the pa by throwing down the defences, firing their wooden defences and burning the whares, leaving it in ruins. The flagstaff was hauled down by Hamiora Tu.⁵³

On the opposite side of the river to Poteriwhi the settlement of Pukekonui, with its extensive corn mill, was noticed by the cavalry but not a living soul seen about. "From the number of whares in the village it must of boasted a large population; and the regularity of position and uniformity in size of their houses must of stamped it as a model settlement."⁵⁴

Several articles of loot were obtained by the soldiers in the shape of pigs, fowls, articles of domestic use and two or three barrels. Troops returned on the 12th May with one 6-pounder Armstrong gun, the intention being to occupy a position on the Wairoa, with intermediate posts between that and Tauranga, and thus to combine the protection of Tauranga on the west, by clearing away the enemy to a greater distance in that direction, with the enclosure of a considerable area of valuable land.

The following day the demolition of the Maori work at Poteriwhi was commenced with a view to the construction of a redoubt to accomodate 150

53 New Zealander 31 May 1864 p5

54 ibid

men.⁵⁵ The stay for the troops was temporary, however, as focus was turned to a strategic position at Te Papa. Six weeks later on the 21 June 1864 an offensive by troops against Maori at Te Ranga, an unfinished fortification inflicted great losses:

107 Maoris were found and carried up to the rifle pits, and we have brought in 27 wounded, all severely, and ten prisoners. Many more must have been killed in the ravines, whom we did not find.

.... I must not conclude without remarking on the gallant stand made by the Maoris at the rifle pits; they stood the charge without flinching, and did not retire until forced out at the point of the bayonet.⁵⁶

Many of Wairoa Hapu had been at Poteriwahi and were taken by surprise with the attack on Te Ranga. In the aftermath of these battles, 9 Ngati Kahu (including 3 elderly men), 2 Ngati Rangi and 11 Matehaere (the Wairoa Mill area) surrendered.⁵⁷ Among the Maori attending the Pacification hui on 5th and 6th August was the influential leader Pene Taka, the engineer behind Gate Pa and Poteriwahi fortifications. Pene Taka married into Ngati Rangi and held a leadership role within Wairoa Hapu and Te Pirirakau.

Governor Grey addressed both 'friendly' and 'hostile natives' at the meeting in Tauranga, promising the 'hostile' Maori that no more than one fourth of their lands would be taken in reprisal, and the 'friendlies' that their rights would be scrupulously respected. No boundaries were fixed at this time. However, later the Crown confiscated 50,000 acres between the Wairoa and Waimapu Rivers. The Crown took more west of Wairoa due to a lack of arable land between Wairoa and Waimapu. Much of the Wairoa Hapu lands were within the confiscation boundary. Pene Taka subsequently abandoned his allegiance to the Governor, and the friendly Ngaiterangi to support the

⁵⁵ Gifford and Williams. 1940. *A Centennial history of Tauranga*. See also Coffin, 1996, p126-130

⁵⁶ Colonel Greer to the Deputy Quarter Master General, 21st June 1864. AJHR 1864 E3 p75.

⁵⁷ AJHR 1864 E6

Ngati Rangi, some of Ngati Kahu, and Ngati Pango. Many joined the Pai Marire faith, some groups resisting surveys from the military settlements that were planned, and in 1867 troops were again brought into the area.⁵⁸ This situation deteriorated when an armed contingent of imperial troops attempted to converge on an undefended settlement, Te Irihanga. A soldier was shot because hapu members were undoubtedly protecting the women and children. Secondly, a vengeful scorched earth campaign ensued and soldiers dug up and destroyed crops, burnt whare, took domestic animals, and killed hapu members. An oral account is given by the late Roy Tokona of Ngati Rangi about the grief experienced by proceeding generations:

My father found it hard to go to that place because of the feelings that overtook him. He would wander away to grieve and I respected his feelings. I would not dare ask him why he was crying but I knew the answer anyway his grief was due to our whanau who perished there.

Many years later my father told me of the brutality of the white soldiers that his father witnessed. Women, children and old people were mercilessly slaughtered. The hatred of the white man for the dark race was a fanatical and merciless reality. It was these acts against the weak that were grievous to his conscience.⁵⁹

The area of confiscation was extended inland. Traditional land rights were deemed to have been extinguished in the whole of the Tauranga area, and replaced by Crown title.⁶⁰

4.0 Resettlement

By 1879, 274,821 acres of Tauranga lands were under government control. The Tauranga Commissioner of Native Reserves J.A. Wilson set aside 7000 acres of this as inalienable reserves, saying that 'I think that the reserve of each hapu should, if possible, be separate, that it should be of good quality,

58 See Kahotea. 1996. pp48-72.

59 Bowers, Lynda. 1995. *Conservation Plan, Te Irihanga Pa.*

60 Salmond, Ann. 1994. *Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal.*

and sufficiently large to support the hapu'.⁶¹ These reserves were, however, granted with little regard to the ancestral rights; many were already partitioned, some were subsequently translated into individual titles or Maori freehold land, and was eventually sold. These policies were intensely divisive within and between hapu. Concerted land-holding strategies even on the remnant lands were difficult to maintain. The enforced conversion of communal land into individual private property was among the most devastating of all onslaughts the settlers made on Maori. Consolidated holdings could be broken up and purchased bit by bit from individuals, determined by the economic and social vulnerabilities of the land holders which forced them to sell. Rob Steven says:

It was the sordid, devastating system of land purchasing, not war and confiscation, which really brought the Maori people low....Nothing save perhaps epidemic disease, was so disruptive of Maori life as this.⁶²

4.1 Commissioners Court 1868-1886

With the confiscation of all Tauranga lands, settlers and land agents were keen to allocate Maori land, partly to fulfill Greys promise. The return of three quarters to Ngaiterangi with one quarter being retained by the Crown.⁶³ Section 3 of the Tauranga District Lands Act 1867 authorised the Governor to appoint individuals to enquire into this matter that was specified in the 1865 proclamation. The local Resident Magistrate or Civil Commissioner, came to be known as Commissioners of Tauranga Lands. H.T. Clarke was the first Commissioner to be appointed in 1868 being the Resident Magistrate from 1862.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Stokes. 1990. p153

⁶² Steven, Rob. 1990. *Land and White Settler Colonialism*. p30

⁶³ General reference to all Tauranga Maori at that time.

⁶⁴ O'Malley, Vincent. 1995. *The Aftermath of the Tauranga Raupatu*. pp26, 219

The process of allocation, however, was slow and protracted with evidence of an absence of a continuous record of the administration of Tauranga lands. On many occasions extreme dissatisfaction on the part of Maori towards the actions of the Commissioners. This dissatisfaction was a result of several factors:

- 1) unsurrendered rebels were ineligible to receive grants of land;
- 2) land was to be distributed as equitably as possible whilst those hapu within the continuous block of 50,000 acres missed out;
- 3) customary land-holding rights were not the sole principle for allocation;
- 4) land was given to other Maori who had no claim whatever to them;
- 5) land given to Europeans and others;
- 6) sittings of the Commissioners Court were not publicly advertised;
- 7) appointed assessors often had vested interests in the land;
- 8) inconsistent appointment of interpreters.

The return of lands in Tauranga proceeded in a seemingly haphazard manner, and without the benefit of any clear guidelines as to how the Commissioners ought to proceed. During the years 1868 - 1886, there were four Commissioners, and between them eight terms of appointment.⁶⁵ Eventually H.W. Brabant, after dealing with the bulk of the lands between 1881-86 concluded the reign of the Commissioners Court with a report detailing the lands returned. The Native Land Court was then given responsibility for partition and appointing successors.⁶⁶

4.2 Hapu Reserves

Hapu members were not able to establish themselves until allocation of crown grants to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi had been determined in the late 1880s. In 1881, the population of Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango at Wairoa was listed as 56 people (31 Kahu, 25 Pango) with 15 Ngati Rangi living at

⁶⁵ Brabant, Clarke, Mair, Wilson

⁶⁶ *ibid.* p35

Huharua.⁶⁷ In 1886, Crown grants of Te Papa 453 and 91 located on the east side of the lower Wairoa River were given to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi.⁶⁸ 56 members were listed as owners. Another fifty acres was apportioned to Ngati Kahu pending their good behaviour.⁶⁹ Ngati Pango had to share their lands on the west side of the river at Pukekonui with Ngati Kuku, whose family members were related. 205 acres was apportioned to Ngati Pango. The proportion of land granted within the 50,000 acre confiscation boundary to Wairoa Hapu in the 1880's represents only a small fraction of the land claimed by Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango to be in customary title. Salmond calculates that 1/50 of the ancestral estate of Wairoa Hapu was returned.⁷⁰ Economic activity had previously occurred across much of the ancestral landscape and was by no means restricted to the settlements and immediate surrounds. Inland areas were also allocated. Lands where complex systems of ownership and user rights had existed for centuries were surveyed and allocated dependent on the strength of cases before the Commissioners Court. In the absence of orators for all Court sittings and the expertise provided by predominantly loyal native agents Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango lost much of their tribal estate to others. It is not to say that others did not have a stake in the lands but the new land tenure prevented Wairoa hapu exercising their traditional rights to land and stopping their eventual sale. Subsequently, the sale of Pukewhanake, Te Paorangi to H.T. Clarke, the Commissioner for lands and the alienation of many other blocks to settlers transpired.⁷¹

67 AJHR. 1881 Census. G3

68 See Appendix VII

69 See Appendix VIII

70 Salmond, Ann. 1993. *Statement of Evidence to Planning Tribunal.*

71 Te Puna Lots 178, 179, 180

Four major settlements were located on the Wairoa River during 1830's-1850s with eleven by 1864, corresponding with an economic revolution brought by new technology. After the Raupatu and with the allocation of lands, only two settlements remained. The following table illustrates the loss:

Table 1: Wairoa Hapu Settlements: 1830 - 1997

1830-1850	1864	1867	1886	1997
Pukewhanake	Pukewhanake	Te Irihanga	Te Pura	Te Pura
Pawhakahoro	Poteriwhi	Kaimai	Pukekonui	Pukekonui ⁷²
Purakautahi	Papa o Wharia	Poripori		
Hanga	Purakautahi			
	Pukekonui			
	Te Irihanga			
Te Papa o Wharia	Poripori			
Poteriwhi ⁷³	Rangiora			
	Pawhakahoro			
	Kaimai			
	Hanga			
	Kuranui			

Hapu members are also recorded as residing with other hapu following the Raupatu. Pene Taka and some of Ngati Rangi resided at Huharua with Te Pirirakau and some of Ngati Kahu at Rangiwaea with Te Ngare.

This dislocation had a profound effect on Wairoa hapu survival as distinct identities. Ngati Rangi has become absorbed into Ngati Kahu whilst Ngati Pango has dwindled to only a couple of families on their papakainga. The physical attributes of the reserves are worthy of mention here. The land in the grants to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi consisted of two blocks; Te Papa 91, a plateau area above the river plain suitable for subsistence farming and

⁷² also known as Pukehou.

⁷³ May have been known previously as Wairoa

settlement; the other block known as Te Papa 453 was a marshland. It was unable to be used for settlement or economic return. The two blocks consisted of 244 acres 2 roods; 137 acres and 107 acres 2 roods respectively. Therefore, more than a third of their reserves were uninhabitable and uneconomic. The loss of settlements, as previously indicated in the Table 1 and the limitations of grants to support adequately would be contrary to Grey's promise for adequate areas for settlement. The Ngati Pango lands of Te Puna 182, shared with Ngati Kuku are more complex with economic development occurring under the guidance of Hori Ngatai. In August 1874, the government announced that they were about to build a water powered mill at the Wairoa for Maori. This mill was completed and opened in about September 1875, however, it was not till 1888 that the mill was in consistent use. The mill produced quality flour for the Tauranga District that had relied on imported flour. Hori Ngatai was also responsible for repairing the Wairoa Mill in 1887 and there was a consequent return to the wheat industry.⁷⁴ David Borell said:

.... it was related to me by some of these elders that are gone, that phenomenal crops were harvested. In their exuberance over the apparent magnificence of their crops, they pooled their resources and built a flour mill just west of the Wairoa River Bridge. The activating power was water power, obtained through a flume from a fairly large lagoon. They progressed into that field, until the advent of the sparrow, when the depredations of that bird in the growing cereal became so serious, that its cultivation was finally abandoned.⁷⁵

It was closed in 1893 with the grind stones being sold to work the mill at Waimapu.⁷⁶ By the turn of century, Te Papa 182 and the adjoining mill area

⁷⁴ Rose, Kathryn. 1997, Jan. *The Impact of Confiscation: Socio-Economic Conditions of Tauranga Maori, 1865-1965*. p41 (AJHR 1887 Sess II, G5, p6)

⁷⁵ Journal of the Tauranga Historical Society. Sept 1864. No.21 *Historic Te Puna* by David Borell. p14

⁷⁶ Bellamy, A.C. 1982. *Tauranga 1882-1982*. Flour Mills, ed A.C. Bellamy. Tauranga County Council. pp204-207

was extensively partitioned with a number of the small sections sold or in European title.

To a remarkable extent, Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi have managed to resist the pressures that came upon them at that time, and in the years that followed. The reserve at Te Wairoa was already partitioned when it was returned to them. Of lots Te Papa 8, 91 and 453, in the intervening years since the return only three small lots have been sold, as well as a number of land takings for Public Works, however, Ngati Pango have not fared so well with 23 acres remaining of their reserves.

4.3 Pressure to 'Open Up' 1868-1890

Of the strong motivating factors behind the confiscation of Tauranga lands and the change in land tenure was the pressure to 'open up' the area for settlement and economic development. According to O'Malley extinguishment of aboriginal title was the first step towards opening up Maori lands to European settlement, and the individualisation of title was regarded as a crucial prerequisite to the amalgamation of Maori into the mainstream of colonial New Zealand life.⁷⁷ Even though the allocation of lands was undetermined, pressure was being placed on Tauranga Maori to open up the Kaimai for gold. The *Daily Southern Cross* covered the story 7 December 1868:

....Recently the native owners of that country had a meeting at Te Papa, and it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to that settlement to ascertain the mind of the natives living there, and also to inform them that the owners of the land had made up their minds to throw open the country for prospecting parties. The handful of Hauhaus residing thier received the deputation with every mark of respect, but told them that the land and the golden treasures underneath it were in the hands of King Tawhiao...

⁷⁷ O'Malley, Vincent. 1995. *The Aftermath of the Tauranga Raupatu, 1864-1981*. p35

...messengers were sent to Tokangamutu, informing the Kings Council of what was going on in Tauranga; and last Wednesday two of Kereopa's emissaries arrived at Kaimai, with an edict from the King placing an aukati on that valuable district so that there is virtually an end to any attempt on our part at discovering or developing the vast resources...⁷⁸

The aukati that was placed on the Kaimai by the Maori King and adhered to by Wairoa hapu, referred to as Hauhau, effectively stopped any opening up the Kaimai till 1876 where again, the question of gold was met with contrasting views. A meeting was held on Thursday 3rd of August 1876, at Wairoa to discuss the issue. Some 700 people were present to discuss the question of opening up the Kaimai Country. Hori Tupaea had already given the consent for prospecting before the meeting was called but intended to debate the extent of the prospecting. Although the majority of speakers were in favour, it was clear that the opening up of the Kaimai was for gold prospecting only and the consenting chiefs would receive a payment. If there was no gold, the prospectors were to leave. Te Ngaruwheti of Wairoa voiced his opinion on the matter.

The land claimed by me , I will not consent to be opened.⁷⁹

And here Ngamuka clearly spells it out.

If there is no gold as Hori Tupaea told you the land still remains to the owners. I am favourable to prospectors looking for gold.⁸⁰

Hori Ngatai had this to say;

.... It won't end here but you can agree to either allow the prospectors or not, don't talk about the land but the gold only.⁸¹

And Te Mete;

I agree with Hori Ngatai, seek for the gold but let the land alone.⁸²

78 Daily Southern Cross. 7.12.1868.

79 Bay of Plenty Times. 5.08.1876. p3 col 1

80 ibid

81 ibid

82 ibid, col 2

The underlying desire of Pakeha was in roading and settlement as well as the opening up for prospectors. The issues surrounding the question of gold seem contrary to that believed by the native owners.

"It must be borne in mind that other interest beside gold are involved here (Kaimai). We have to consider the development of this vast district between here and Cambridge of which we are all concerned, the settlement of which will follow. A broad view must be taken of the question and the speedy settlement of all native difficulties must be considered. We are satisfied with any advance in this direction by those who have control of native affairs in our district and who appear to consider their particular mission is to delay progress for no apparent reasons.⁸³

The settler's wish to see the Kaimai opened to accomodate 'progress' and attract investment received political support. During the time of the 'question of gold' the issue of opening up the Tauranga district was being presented to the Minister of Public Works and subsequently to both Houses of the General Assembly. The "Report upon lands suitable for the settlement of immigrants at Tauranga" from Mr A. Follet Halcombe in 1871, an immigration officer, intencioned to facilitate the widespread development at the expense of local Maori.

Of the Maori lands, the block between the Wairoa and Ruangarara rivers, of about 5,000 acres, is rather broken, but good open fern land, and it has an especial value as lying on what will be the main line of road via Kaimai to the Upper Waikato. I am informed there will be little difficulty in acquiring this from the Native owners, and its acquisition would give the Government a compact and extensive block for settlement between the Wairoa and Te Puna rivers.

Grants made by New Zealand Commissioner in Te Papa, Te Puna and Katikati blocks of some 10,000 acres... have nearly all fallen into the hands of Europeans, either by purchase or lease, and therefore cannot be held to interfere in any way with the settlement of the district.

Now that the obstacles hitherto existing to settlement have been removed, or are in course of removal, the settlement of the district by the ordinary means will probably be very rapid, and the effect of peace and the formation of roads should be allowed a short time to develop itself before any expensive and somewhat experimental means of forcing settlement should be resorted to by the Government except in the case of

⁸³ Kaimai Goldfield Deputation to H.W. Brabant. 1876. Roads, Gold, Settlement.

the Kati Kati block, which offers a very fine field for special settlement of a superior class of men.⁸⁴

Land purchase agents were active in the area too. Their methods were so corrupt that in some cases agents received criminal convictions. All the same, Europeans generally agreed that the alienation of Maori land should proceed. Local opinion made this plain when the Crown's acquisition of the Te Puke lands was discussed in the local press :

"The whole of that country...lays waste - as it has lain for centuries under the nominal control of contending tribes - unproductive and unoccupied, save by a handful of dusky savages...When we consider the cornucopia of blessings which the occupation of such a wide district, by an industrious and energetic population would confer upon the community, we begin to realise...the heavy loss we are now sustaining and must endure so long as it remains "Native Land."⁸⁵

F.A Whitaker, land purchase agent for the firm of Russell and Whitaker echoed similar sentiments in Parliament in 1877:

It is.... " absolutely essential, not only for the sake of ourselves, but also for the benefit of the Natives, that Native Titles should be extinguished, the Native Custom got rid of, and the Natives as far as possible placed in the same position as ourselves".⁸⁶

However, land holdings were protected by restrictions on sale of Native Lands. These restrictions were made clear in the Native Land Act 1867 (s13) but the Act was vague and lacked clear guidelines for Commissioners administering the return of lands.⁸⁷

Because of reports of the dubious activities of land agents restrictions on sale were investigated by the Native Affairs Committee. On 24 October 1878 the committee recommended to the government:

84 AJHR. 1873 D - 6. pp 1-5

85 Bay of Plenty Times 1874.

86 Stokes, Evelyn. 1990. *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana*. p208.

87 Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. wai 42a p

That, in the opinion of the Committee, no other portions of the land in the Tauranga District which was returned by the Government to the natives should be allowed to be alienated, by way of sale or by way of lease, for a longer period than twenty one years, and then only by public auction or by public tender. ⁸⁸

Although there was resistance to this in Tauranga, Grey remained adamant that the restrictions would remain. Subsequent grants were issued with the proviso that 'Grantees are not to sell, mortgage or lease for a longer period than twenty -one years except with the consent of His Excellency the Governor first obtained'.⁸⁹ Despite this directive, lands continued to be alienated and on 30 November 1885, George Elliot Barton, a lawyer and Member of the House of Representatives, was commissioned to inquire into all applications for removal of restrictions referred to him by the Native Minister.

Barton started his investigations in Tauranga in January 1886. His enquiries revealed that after making all the lands returned to the Tauranga tribes inalienable in 1878, the Crown failed to enforce this policy. When reports about some of the shadier dealings done in the district, the Crown made, a belated effort to enforce the restrictions. Brabant was specifically instructed that alienation restrictions could not be removed without unanimous agreement of the owners to sell. Moreover, this disavowal of the Crown's obligation to Maori was heightened even further in the late 1880s through a number of legislative measures. This effectively validated illegal land dealings and undermined the original reasoning behind imposing alienation restrictions.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Report of Native Affairs Committee, 24 October 1878. (Taken from O'Malley, 1995. p66)

⁸⁹ *ibid.* p68

⁹⁰ *ibid.* pp90-91

Kahotea states that removing of alienation restrictions were influenced by political and active pressure to open up the Kaimai for gold prospecting and settlement, Waikato land speculators, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Haua land sellers, political change brought about by the collapse of the Grey Government, acceptance by Commissioner Brabant that the "Natives possessed sufficient other land", a minority of willing native sellers, a lack of specific guidelines for Commissioners Court and the Crown's policy in rewarding "friendly chiefs" by award of land.⁹¹

With enormous pressures on local Maori to sell during the onslaught of prospectors, land agents and the rigors of the new land tenure created by the Commissioners Court system, European settlement was assured.

5.0 A Century of Change. Colonisation 1880s-1997

5.1 Economic Development

By the early 1880s a nucleus of settlement had been established at Katikati and around the town of Tauranga. This was a vantage point for a core of businessmen and land agents, who exerted constant pressure on government to 'open up' more land and accelerate the process of colonisation which was to their advantage. The expansion of farm settlements was steady but not spectacular. At this time large areas were still abandoned but under the cover of bracken fern, these areas being easy to break in for farming. Most inland areas were unsuitable for development because of poor access and other inhibiting factors to farming in the area, and these were not farmed till later in the 20th Century.⁹²

⁹¹ Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. Wai 42a, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango. p114

⁹² Kahotea, Desmond Tatana. 1983. *Interaction of Tauranga Hapu with the landscape*. University of Auckland.

Construction of roading and railway infrastructure was well under way from the 1870s-80s. Land was taken by proclamation in 1872 for the East-West Road with the Wairoa River bridge of wooden construction connecting the rough track, completed in 1874.⁹³ Its replacement in 1915 was a ferro-concrete expansion some 20 metres up the river and previous upgrades of the road traversed what is believed by locals to be two separate burial grounds, one on each side of the river.⁹⁴ Further works were delayed by the depression and it was not till 1925 that the railway across the Wairoa River was completed. Again in 1966, construction of the State Highway 2 Wairoa bridge and approaches involved the taking of hapu land and destruction of significant sites and areas.⁹⁵

Before 1940, farmers in the district found drainage of the coastal swamp areas difficult and some areas remained largely undeveloped until quite recently, whilst limited access and poor soils in the upland areas rendered them unattractive and uneconomic to any but the extensive farmers. From late 1946, the area experienced extensive development of grassland farming for dairy, cattle and sheep, followed by deer and goats in the 1970s. Tauranga County became one of the fastest growing rural counties in New Zealand. Whilst the traditional farming of sheep, cattle and dairying continued horticulture generally began to increase from the late 1950s with intensive horticulture from the 1970s. A range of horticultural products, particularly fruits were prevalent with a kiwifruit boom in Tauranga including the Wairoa and Te Puna areas.⁹⁶ Horticulture represents the change of landuse from traditional farming over most of the district.

⁹³ Coffin, Antoine. 1996. Wai 42a. p49

⁹⁴ *ibid*

⁹⁵ see Coffin, Wai 42a, Public Works and Waahi tupuna.

⁹⁶ Lands in private ownership.

Local Maori at Wairoa gained some economic benefits from the Maori blocks on the lower Kaimai through royalty's based on per 100 foot log measurement. Many were employed during the 1930s - 1950s at the mills. Rimu was cut, and later tawa when treatment was available. Little development occurred at Wairoa. The characteristics were not uncommon to land under Maori ownership throughout New Zealand:

- ❖ marginal in quality
- ❖ remote from major markets
- ❖ in small and discontinuous portions or parcels
- ❖ frequently unsurveyed and without secure legal title
- ❖ subject to multiple ownership and succession
- ❖ a number of absentee owners.⁹⁷

Moves within the hapu to join the economic boom in kiwifruit prompted Ngati Kahu members approaching the then Ministry of Maori Affairs to support development at Wairoa. They were flatly denied and Wairoa hapu saw the Maori Affairs Development Schemes of Matapihi, Welcome Bay and neighbouring Te Puna.

A plan for development was essential. The Council's attitude was that they had many other more urgent matters, particularly roads and bridges to attend to than worrying about planning schemes.⁹⁸ However, the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 became law and required Councils to pay much more serious attention to planning matters. From the early 1970s it became apparent that there was a major change in land use throughout the district

⁹⁷ Asher, George and Naulls, David. Mar 1987. *Maori Land. Planning Paper No.29*. New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington. p55

⁹⁸ Hansen, Neil. G. 1995. *Tauranga County, 1945 to 1989*. Western Bay of Plenty District Council. p22

from farming to horticulture on smaller blocks. Thus a review of Council's District Scheme was initiated.

5.2 Council Intervention in Maori Affairs

With the introduction of the Town and Country Planning Act 1977, Tauranga County Council adhered to an interventionist and paternalistic role in the management of Maori interests.

Hansen points out that in those days, Section 3 of the Town and Country Planning Act was a directive to prohibit residential subdivision on land that was of potential agricultural and horticultural production. This of course had a dramatic effect on Maori wishing to develop housing. In addition to this being stipulated in the Act, it was also reiterated from time to time by the Government and upheld by the Planning Tribunal. Consequently, the Council were often unable in many cases to allow for residential subdivision in rural multiply owned Maori land.⁹⁹ This proved an awkward situation for Wairoa Maori who being a traditional, communal people living close together were confined within the limited area apportioned after confiscation. To combat this the council intervened and supported partition and subdivision of Maori land in order to attain legal title for owners thus being responsible for the much of the individualisation of titles that has occurred before 1989.

Early in the period under review Maori housing was in a poor state. As a result of this, the Department of Maori Affairs arranged finance for Maori people without homes or adequate accommodation to build their own dwellings on multiple owned land in which they were shareholders. In many cases the homes were not on a freehold title but were just situated on a multiple owned block of land with an assurance given to the owner that they were allowed to occupy the house built with Maori Affairs Department housing finance. This situation was obviously untenable and there was a desire of the individual owners to obtain freehold title.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ ibid. p36

¹⁰⁰ ibid. p37

Provision for Maori in the Town and Country Planning Act was limited. This reflected the reluctance of that period to involve Maori in any meaningful way. Recognition was given to "the relationship of the Maori people and their culture and traditions with their ancestral land".¹⁰¹ However, no recognition or account of Maori issues seem to have translated to the objectives set out in the District Scheme that were much focused on the 'efficient use' of land. Mr. Barnett, Chairman of Tauranga County Council, reiterated this view in 1979 with his statement to Maori gathered at Hungahungatoroa Marae.

I believe that the Maoris are going to have to accept the fact that land is perhaps becoming more prominently an economic problem than previously and that some of the traditional attitude towards Maori land will have to be modified. If the Maori people, and I can well understand their wish, wish to retain Maori land in Maori ownership then this land must be used to best advantage. It must be used to produce the maximum income and Maori owners must accept that they must pay their fair share of the rates as does every other landowner within the county. This calls for very practical and perhaps somewhat different thinking on the part of the Maori Landowners.¹⁰²

This paternalistic view towards Maori reaked of assimilation and exploitation of finite resources. It did not recognise the true situation that Maori were facing. Indeed, in the wake of prolific growth land prices rose and the Council's enthusiastic rate collection method saw the Te Papa 453 marshland drained and farmed to pay the rates.

With the expansion of the Tauranga City Council boundary over Tauranga County in 1989, urban development progressed rapidly in the eastern area of Wairoa close to the Ngati Kahu lands. The semi retirement lifestyle of Tauranga was supplemented by an increase in horticultural industry and urban dwelling development. With urban sub division as the investment alternative, rural blocks were being broken down into 10 acre - 4 hectare life

¹⁰¹ Town and Country Planning Act 1977. sec3, 4

¹⁰² Mr E.K. Barnett. 1979. Chairman, Tauranga County Council. *Seminar on Alternative Landuse*, Matapihi. Department of Maori Affairs. p17

style blocks and smaller. The demand for land incepted a demand led strategy adopted by Tauranga District Council in the late 1980s and with the restructuring of boundaries in 1989-1990 Wairoa was incorporated in Tauranga District, the boundary with Western Bay of Plenty District Council (WBOPDC) being half way across the Wairoa river. These plans to urbanise Wairoa were met with stern resistance from Ngati Kahu. These matters are dealt with in the chapter on Urban Threat.

5.3 Education

5.3.1 Native Schools

From the earliest days of Pakeha settlement education for Maori was defined by Pakeha. Education was central to assimilationist policies of first the missionaries, and later government officials.¹⁰³ Official education competed with Iwi and hapu-based education systems that could teach people to read in both languages as well as learn traditional knowledge. These educational systems proved remarkably adaptable in the face of Pakeha knowledge. The introduction of Pakeha education was initiated by the early missionary Brown. Brown held religious tuition at Haehaenga and Pukewhanake during the 1830s and 1840s. According to Mitzi Nairn the first mission schools taught entirely in the Maori language. Soon, among the Maori population, literacy was high. Then English was introduced as a foreign language. The Native Schools Act 1858 made government grants available to schools teaching the English language with an English curriculum. Another Act in 1867 carried the attack further: it established English as the sole medium of instruction.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Nightingale, Tony. March 1996. *History of the Economic and Social Conditions Affecting Tauranga Maori*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust. p79

¹⁰⁴ Mitzi Nairn. 1983. *Lessons from the past - Racism and Land - A historical perspective*. NZ Environment Magazine. No.38

Some Maori attempted to emulate Pakeha methods of instruction prior to the development of Native schools in the Tauranga area. Unpaid staff efforts often failed through lack of funding and premises. Some schools were initially set up on temporary sites, for example the Paeroa Native School started out in an old mill and moved several years later once attendance's had been confirmed.¹⁰⁵ A school at Wairoa did not get off as early as hoped due to the boom in construction in the Tauranga township. The boom was no doubt a product of post Raupatu availability of resources. This is recorded in the *Bay of Plenty Times* in 1873:

as a sign of the times, and a proof of the large amount of building now going on in Tauranga, we may mention that the Government have not received a tender for the erection of a school house at Wairoa. Mr. Hopkins Clarke twice invited public tenders, but with no result.¹⁰⁶

The Native schools were only erected after local Maori petitioned the Department of Native Affairs, and, after 1879, the Education Department. In 1884, a Native school was established under section 144 of the Land Act 1877, a policy of George Grey for the establishment of Native Schools. Maori of the district had to be willing to supply a site. Some hapu had concerns about donating land, which they thought might be used for the education of Pakeha.¹⁰⁷ Part of the Parish of Te Papa No. 8 granted to Ngati Kahu, was already defined as a school site. This was known as Te Paeroa or the Parish of Te Papa 8A. Growing animosities of the local hapu caused by the confiscation of their lands and the use of Te Papa 8A for education by Pakeha were noticed by officials. In 1891 ten children of school age were not attending from the local settlement and throughout the 1890s, low and

¹⁰⁵ Nightingale, Tony. March 1996. *History of the Economic and Social Conditions Affecting Tauranga Maori*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust.

¹⁰⁶ Bay of Plenty Times. 19 July 1873. Tauranga Library Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Nightingale, Tony. March 1996. *History of the Economic and Social Conditions Affecting Tauranga Maori*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust. p81
See also BAAA 1001/706b

irregular attendance was common.¹⁰⁸ In 1894, the school inspector recorded only 44% attendance. He noted the following reasons for Maori reluctance of the to send their children:

The people of Te Pura , the settlement near the school, seem first now to be apathetic with regard to school matters. The teacher suggests what are in all likelihood two of the reasons for this state of affairs; it is thought that if the school lapses, the land will return to the natives the influence of the "King" movement is strongly felt here.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, this was not isolated. In 1895 the schools inspector noted the resolve of Maori:

The natives about Tauranga are among the most difficult of all Maoris to deal with in educational matters; it seems to me that they and the Waikatos are unable to forget that their lands have been confiscated.¹¹⁰

The desire of local Maori to appoint Native school teachers of Maori descent was met with stern resistance from Pakeha. At Huria, the deteriorating relationship between Maori and the Native School officials was one of the factors contributing to its closure in 1900, and the subsequent requests for reopening the school under the supervision of a teacher of the hapu's choice was not acceptable to the Inspector for schools. Thus, the school was closed permanently and buildings were removed in 1904 to Paeroa, and used in addition to the ones there.¹¹¹

The prospect of a Maori teacher at Te Paeroa becoming a reality was quickly responded to in a letter to the Director of Education in 1929 from the Native School Headmaster and is included here in its entirety.

108 Equals more than one quarter of children of age to attend.

109 BAAA 1001 238a *Inspection schedule 10.08.1894*

110 BAAA 1001 238a *Inspection schedule 13.06.1895*

111 Nightingale, Tony. March 1996. *History of the Economic and Social Conditions Affecting Tauranga Maori*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust. pp85-86

There is a rumour in the settlement here that a native girl of the district Hairini - a relative of the Maoris of this district - is to be appointed second assistant at this school next year. I hope the rumour is untrue. Such an appointment would be a disastrous thing to have happen. Paeroa Native School is perhaps unique in one respect that the European part of the school (20 children) is of the upper middle class - cultured people who insist upon the best for their children. The Maori people of this district are just the opposite. Economic and other factors have produced a native type which is I should imagine about as low as could be found. Low in intelligence and moral behaviour and decidedly unclean in their habits and persons. These two classes do not mix. In short they dislike each other. It follows that a school of the Paeroa type must be managed with tact to keep both Europeans and Maoris satisfied and loyal. Both parties appear to be satisfied at present but I am certain that the introduction of a native teacher would undo the work of the last two years. It is not difficult to see that the Europeans would strongly object to having their children taught by one so much their social inferior. Any girl willing to live in the same domestic and social conditions as the Maoris of this district is most decidedly not the right kind of person to be teaching the class of Europeans we have here.

I know we are entitled to a second assistant but I hope no appointment will be made until such time as a cultivated European can be found for the positions.¹¹²

The apparent fear of a Maori reprisal to pakeha domination is echoed strongly in references to keeping the natives 'loyal' and sub-servant. A Maori teacher was not appointed.

Native Schools provided a basic education, that was designed to give Maori what was needed to conform to English society. This was not designed to facilitate secondary and university education. Certainly the Maori graduates that emerged from the education system at the turn of the century were almost without exception, products of the elite private Maori Schools, Te Aute and St Stephens. No evidence of students from Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangī and Ngati Pango attending these schools has been found. This is clearly visible by the lack of secondary school attendance by kaumatua who were children attending the Native Schools from the 1930's.

¹¹² BAAA 1001 931B 44/6. *letter to Director of Education Wellington from Headmaster FA Dale Te Paeroa Native School, 8.11.1897*

During the 1930s the Native Schools curriculum was changed, with the addition of Maori Cultural activities and an increasing emphasis on practical skills. The concentration of Native Schools on agriculture, technical skills and home-making was consistent with a policy in evidence since the 1860s. It did not prepare students for higher education.¹¹³ Nor was there any secondary schooling specifically targeted at Maori until the establishment of Maori District High Schools after 1940. By the end of the 1930s, only nine percent of Maori students stayed at school to the upper standards, compared with twenty two percent of Pakeha children.¹¹⁴

In 1939 about 40 children, most of which were from Judea attending the Otumoetai Public School moved to Te Paeroa. The sudden overcrowding of the school and poor quality of existing accommodation placed extreme pressures on the school. Tensions between Maori and Pakeha flared again, this time 'contributed to by the Parents and Teachers Association who did not approve of the two races being educated side by side'.¹¹⁵ By 1946 only two or three pakeha children were left in the school.¹¹⁶

Accounts from previous Maori students especially those of the 1930s and 1940s emphasise the favour for sports and Maoritanga at school. The general comments related to the school being for Maori, this was seen as being positive. The indicators of success for the Maori students differed from their Pakeha counterparts. One, doing well in sports and Maoritanga. Two, being with all the other Maori children. The bridging of the primary schooling with further Maori teaching at Ngati Kahu is important to note also. This

113 Rose, Kathryn. 1997 Jan. *The Impact of the Confiscation: Socio-Economic Conditions of Tauranga Maori, 1865-1965.* p143.

114 *ibid*, p143. (Orange. 1988, pp114-115)

115 BAAA 1001 931B 44/6 *Memorandum to Education Department.*
22.03.1946

116 *ibid*

illustrates the emphasis the hapu have placed on retaining their culture and doing this on their own if possible. Minnie Gotz kuia of Ngati Kahu recalls her days at the Paeroa Native School during the 1930s and 1940s:

“Heaps of Maoris (at school) Heaps of young kids (from Hangarau). Highly recognised school this for everything, every Maori around here. Sport we had, Maoritanga, like we had very strong their action songs and from there you went straight into Kahu, Ngati Kahu. were all the same pupils and that’s where I learnt a lot. When I finished school, Deane (a member of Ngati Kahu) came to teach there. Actually she was our tutor, many years.”¹¹⁷

Deane Reweti of Ngati Kahu is a long time assistant teacher at the school. Her influence in the school has been essential in maintaining a local Maori input in the school.

The Te Paeroa Native School was extended across the road and was later known as Bethlehem Native School.¹¹⁸ The name was further changed recently to Bethlehem Primary School. Since its establishment it served Wairoa, Peterehema, Huria and Te Puna Maori and Pakeha families.¹¹⁹

5.3.2 Te Reo

During 1976 and 1977, two census surveys of language use in Maori communities were carried out in Tauranga.¹²⁰ One included Katikati, Rereatukahia and Lower Kaimai. The other included Tauranga City, Mount Maunganui and Bethlehem. Both surveys results were very similar identifying nearly everyone over the age of 45 speaking Maori well, but few under that age were fluent. In the Lower Kaimai 60 % said they had limited or no understanding of spoken Maori. In Tauranga City which included

117 Minnie Gotz, 25.7.96.

118 Named changed on 26th July 1945.

119 BAAA 1001 223b 44/8 *Conveyance and board, school transport, 1933-1948*

120 Martin, Paula. “*Te Tirohanga i te korerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i nga kainga Maori me nga rohe. Survey of language use in Maori Households and Communities.*” 1973-1978. No.104 & No.105. Maori Unit of the NZ Council for Educational Research. (See Appendix III & IV)

Bethlehem, 56 % respond the same. The reasons given why a lack of knowledge of Te Reo was prevalent among Maori included:

One person said it was a great pity that only Maori people can speak Maori. Another man said he blames himself and parents like him for not teaching their children Maori. Isolation and "Pakeha influence" were the factors in the decline of use of Maori. He also said that being punished in schools for speaking Maori put many people off teaching it to their own children.¹²¹

Others said:

The most common reason given for this was isolation from other speakers of Maori in the area Many parents were unable to teach their children Maori because of their own lack of knowledge, but even those who were speakers were encountering difficulties in teaching their children. As one man said, "It is difficult to learn Maori because to learn it properly you have to live in a Maori environment." Another man agreed when he said, "What choice do we have now? The lifestyle is Western and so is the language."¹²²

In recent years, the resurgence of Maori identity, particularly in the area of Te Reo, has seen the establishment of Kohanga Reo (language nests). Ngati Kahu kuia of the Marae initiated a Kohanga Reo, set up informally at the Wairoa Marae in 1987. A shed was later used at the back of a Ngati Kahu home while moves to see the return of the education block were being taken. The Kohanga then utilised the old school house located on Te Papa 8A. Rent was paid for the use of the premises and subsequent actions on the part of Ngati Kahu saw the land returned to Ngati Kahu and the Kohanga was officially opened. A sum of fifteen thousand dollars was paid for the headmasters quarters at the front of the property which was derived from the Land trusts and the Marae. The block has been set aside for education and kokiri purposes. It was hoped by the hapu that part of the site would be used for kura kaupapa however the Bethlehem Primary School have already established a Bilingual unit across the road which includes children from Ngati Hangarau and Ngati Kahu.

121 ibid. No.105 p6

122 ibid. No.104. p7

5.4 Health

Early contact with Europeans brought some disturbing consequences. The introduction of sickness and disease in particular had a catastrophic impact on Wairoa Hapu. The death through the introduction of the influenza virus and other contaegens are told in the oral tradition of Wairoa Hapu and referred to with great sadness. The mass burial of many Maori in the Kaimai and lower Wairoa are unrecorded during these times. In January 1837 Brown noted that "a great number of the natives are suffering from influenza. "They say it is a mate pakeha as they never had a similar illness before".¹²³ By 1953, Commander Hochstetter suggested that there were about 1000 people living around the harbour; perhaps one tenth of its pre-contact population.¹²⁴

In 1884, two part-time schools were established at Huria and Peterehema (Bethlehem), but their early progress was also affected by sickness and scarcity. In 1886, the inspector of Paeroa School, Bethlehem reported that "there has been great scarcity of food here and this has interfered much with the school work. Sickness has been prevalent and six children have died. On the whole I think the Natives & teachers deserve credit that the condition of the school is so good."¹²⁵ Paeroa Maori were eager to keep the school open despite the lagging attendance. In January 1887, the Secretary of the Paeroa School Committee, Rahiri Ngawharau requested that the school remain open, stating that:

¹²³ Brown Journals. 1837. January 7th. p4

¹²⁴ Salmond, Ann. 1993. *Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal. Ngati Kahu V Tauranga District Council*. [from Stokes. 1990. Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana. p9]

¹²⁵ Rose, Kathryn. 1997 Jan. *The Impact of Confiscation: Socio-Economic Conditions of Tauranga Maori, 1865-1965*. p54. (BAAA 1001/254b Supporting Documents Volume V, pp1537-1544, p1539).

it is principally on account of hunger that the children are away. The return of our children to the School will soon take place. At any rate it is our earnest request that the school be not closed.¹²⁶

The measles epidemic severely affected all three schools in Tauranga in 1893. In June 1893, Paeroa School was "entirely emptied by measles" and Huria School was similarly affected soon afterwards.¹²⁷ Paeroa School recorded a 68 percent attendance in 1893.¹²⁸

Native School Teachers continued to play a significant part in the provision of health services to Maori. They found that the Health Department was as reluctant as the Native Department was to provide all but a minimum of medical supplies. Furthermore, the teachers did not receive any training on health care. In August 1912, Frances Baker, a teacher at Paeroa school, requested a supply of medicines. She was informed that the Health Department would provide "simple remedies and stock mixtures for the use of Native children and indigent Maoris. It cannot agree, however, to supply anything in the way of luxuries; if these be required, the Maoris must endeavor to contribute to the expense".¹²⁹

Through the Native School teachers, the Department of Education was involved in the Crown's provision of health services to Maori - representing a further division of the responsibility for Maori health. A difference in opinion arose between Health and Education officials over the closing of Paeroa School during a measles epidemic. Following a doctor's report in April 1912 that ten Maori pupils were suffering from the measles, the District Health

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p54 (p1537)

¹²⁷ Rose, Kathryn. 1997 Jan. *The Impact of Confiscation: Socio Economic Conditions of Tauranga Maori, 1865-1965*. p58. (BAAA 1001/225a, Supporting Documents Volume V, pp1545-1661, p1559).

¹²⁸ *ibid*, p58. (AJHR, 1893 E2, pp6, 15).

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p100. (H 1 162/43 12619. Supporting Documents Volume I, pp179-199, p191).

Officer closed the school. The Department of Education responded negatively to this closure.¹³⁰ This case supports the Department's view that in the majority of cases nothing is gained by closing a Native School on such an occasion.

The school has been closed for a month (a second fortnight's closing was ordered after the first), but I am informed by the teacher that, nevertheless, the epidemic has not been checked in the least; as practically every child has suffered. It is of no use to keep the children from meeting in school when they mix freely outside; and in school they are at least warm and dry.¹³¹

On 31 March 1915, Baker reported an outbreak of typhoid amongst her pupils, stating that, 'two children who spent their holidays in the bush came back and sickened, and as there was no attempt made to isolate them the disease spread and is likely to spread still further. Six school children are absent but so far none have died'.¹³² The District Health Officer believed that this correspondence implied that nothing had been done by the Health Department to alleviate conditions, and he pointed out that the district nurse had been in daily attendance, Doctor Stuart had attended frequently and the inspector had visited the settlement. Baker stated that she had not intended to lay a complaint about the Health officials in the district, noting that 'the Doctors and the Nurse have got on remarkably well with the Maoris, and if reports have not been sent in I expect it is because the Nurse was too busy'.¹³³ The typhoid continued to impact upon Maori at Paeroa during May 1915.¹³⁴

130 *ibid*, pp100-101.

131 *ibid*, p101 (H 1 162/43 12619. Supporting Documents Volume I, p196).

132 *ibid*, p101 (H 1 162/43 12619. Supporting Documents Volume I, pp179-199, p190).

133 *ibid*, p102 (pp182-183)

134 *ibid*, p102 (p184)

In 1918, an influenza epidemic in the district required temporary hospitals to be set up. Although several were set up in outlying districts only two marquees and seven tents were erected in the Tauranga Borough but were for European only.¹³⁵

Continuing outbreaks of typhoid was a primary concern of the Health Department during the 1920s and 1930s. By 1926, the incidence of typhoid amongst the non-Maori population was negligible, only continued outbreaks amongst Maori marred New Zealand's record.¹³⁶ Between June and November 1924, there were twenty one cases of typhoid among Maori in the Tauranga area, four of whom had died. Five cases were reported on Motiti Island, four at Matapihi, two at Te Puna and six at Maungatapu. Papamoa, Wairoa, Bethlehem and Tauranga Township had all had cases of typhoid.¹³⁷

Then again sudden outbreaks of influenza and seemingly low resistance amongst the Maori students took its toll. An inspection report conducted on 15th June 1926 registered 61 of 63 in attendance however only two weeks later on 3 August only 39% of students were attending due to 'severe influenza'. The Education department closed the school. When it reopened 6 days later almost 60% of students were still absent.¹³⁸ Attendance was much affected by measles too as reported in March 1927 and again in August 1938. However, no accounts of following troubles seem to occur, as children in 1939 were reported as 'very clean' and Paeroa was a 'happy school'. By the 1940s the only health concerns were cases of wide spread

¹³⁵ BAAK A 49/83b *Memo for District Helth officer, Auckland, concerning Temporary Hospitals in Bay of Plenty*. Whakatane, Jan 16th 1919.

¹³⁶ Rose, Kathryn. Jan 1997. *The Impact of Confiscation: Socio Economic Conditions of Tauranga Maori, 1865-1965*, p128 (AJHR 1926 H31, p3)

¹³⁷ *ibid*, 129 (H 1 131/4/48 16920. Supporting Documents Volume 1, pp127-145, p145).

¹³⁸ BAAA 1001 931B 44/6 (*Inspection Reports and General Correspondance, 1926-1947*)

pediculosis (headlice) which were apparently out of control due to reluctance of the Health Department to supply adequate and effective means of treatment.¹³⁹

5.5 Social Cohesion

People who lose their lands to an alien culture bear the additional risk of identity loss and social and cultural impairment. This could not have been more apparent than in the confiscation of Maori land, where the effect was not only to acquire land but to take control of the people and to effect a social reordering. Loss must therefore be assessed not only in terms of individual deprivation and personal suffering. It must also be assessed in terms of the impairment of the group's social and economic capacity, the generation distortion of its physical and spiritual well-being, and the flow-on effects on subsequent standards of living.¹⁴⁰ These effects or impacts manifest themselves in everyday lifestyle and routines built on generation social and economic circumstances. As indicators they can be used to comprehend the scale of impact on the most important identity, the society.

5.5.1 Hapu Migration

By the late 1890s, hapu members were establishing themselves on the Crown granted lands apportioned to them on the lower Wairoa River. A Marae near the present State Highway 2 and papakainga areas for families were established. Subsistence farming supplemented by seasonal wage was the norm for much of the early 1900s. Four generations of hapu grantees lived at Wairoa before the Second World War. The rise of the new political

¹³⁹ BAAA 1001 931B 44/6. *Memo to Director of Education from Mrs Dale, 26th July 1940.*

¹⁴⁰ *Kaupapa Tuatahi, Taranaki Report.* 1996. Waitangi Tribunal. p134

elite, Pomare, Apirana Ngata and later the rise of the Ratana candidates encouraged Maori to embrace the ways of the Pakeha, in education, work, religion, life style and politics. The war brought with it opportunities for employment in a diversity of labouring and manufacturing jobs many of which were in the cities. By the 1960s the most significant process in modern history apart from the land grab was now underway. The face of Maori politics would be changed forever by the huge wave of Maori migration to the cities. In the space of two decades, Maori changed from being mainly rural to mainly urban dwellers. Before the Second World War, 90 per cent of Maori lived in the countryside. In 1950, this figure was 80%. However, by 1965, half of all Maori were living in the cities. Twenty years later, well over 80% of Maori lived in urban areas. One quarter of the total population of 450,000 is now concentrated in Auckland, the working class capital of Aotearoa. ¹⁴¹

Factors influencing migration were:

- ❖ population growth of hapu restricted by finite reserves;
- ❖ development of social inequalities due to land shortages and inequalities in land distribution;
- ❖ lack of economic or employment potential from hapu resources;
- ❖ low wages and perception of better opportunities for earning elsewhere;
- ❖ perception of better quality education for children;
- ❖ cultural systems; values, ideologies of the family; collapsing or dysfunctional;
- ❖ desire to improve family social and economic status particularly through education of children and higher earnings;
- ❖ better medical facilities;
- ❖ political changes.

Along with this mass migration to the cities, Maori changed from being mainly subsistence farmers to mainly wage workers. Maori were now directly exploited by capitalists as a consequence of losing their economic independence in the land grabs.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Workers Voice. 26.9.94. p9

¹⁴² ibid

This dramatic change in a short period of time created a Hapu society that is a cultural dynamic influenced by major forces in modern society. It is becoming difficult to generalise hapu members or descendants into a cohesive social grouping due to the major changes that have taken place through urbanisation. Some members may still frequent Wairoa in holidays or return home to social occasions and funerals but the large majority who are now second, third and fourth generation urban Maori do not. One of the leading kaumatua from Wairoa estimated 5000 descendants could claim to be a descendant of a Ngati Kahu ancestor from 1860.¹⁴³ Others have felt this number to be conservative but this estimate does illustrate the mass exodus and dynamics of modern hapu society at the present time.

This change brought both negatives and positives. The migrating population has reduced population pressures and maintained a quality of life based on space and the increase in personal confidence and self esteem of those who return to the hapu to share their experiences and skills, as has occurred in the last fifteen years in particular, are indeed positive. But the negatives seem to far outweigh the benefits for the hapu unit.

Negatives for individuals

- ❖ Migration means becoming a member of a minority and experiencing social and economic marginality due to racism and due to a lack of skills or education;
- ❖ pressure to meet many demands such as remit funds back to families as well as to local organisations such as Marae and Committees;
- ❖ some loss of cultural values, traditions and particularly for children, language loss, discipline and responses to peer group.¹⁴⁴

Negatives for Community

- ❖ through depopulation, a loss of village communal life;

¹⁴³ Te Ruruanga Te Keeti

¹⁴⁴ Census 96. 71.1% of Maori only speak English.

- ❖ decrease in subsistence agricultural production;
- ❖ skill loss;
- ❖ loss of able members of the population;
- ❖ more elderly people not receiving family care;
- ❖ decline in passing of local traditional knowledge and customs
- ❖ imbalances in demographics (e.g. fewer young families, more elderly)
- ❖ changes in traditional practices such as arranged marriages;
- ❖ breaking up of families

The growing strength of Urban Maori Authorities, representing those Maori who have lost their traditional ties with rural communities, reinforces a major change in the structure of society from traditional rural community life styles based around marae to an increasingly transient and fast paced life style where experiences include a range of *part-time* Maori environments.

Therefore, to identify and quantify social changes in an indigenous people, such as the Hapu society, an understanding of the nature of the society is essential. The fact being that the degree of technological and cultural difference between the urban Maori and the rural Marae community will differ and contribute to the level of changes.

5.5.2 Urban Threat

During the 1980s the hapu lands on the eastern side of the river were being consolidated by moves within the hapu to protect the last bastion. By 1986 two Land Trusts had been formed and a Marae Community Zone established. Much of these lands at Ngati Kahu (Te Papa 453, 91 and 8) are administered by two trusts; Ngati Kahu / Te Pura Trust; Formed in 1984 administering the Te Papa 91 and 8 blocks for housing and subsistence horticulture; and Te Papa 453 Trust formed in 1970s to utilise land to meet payments of rates in the County and to support the Wairoa Marae. The '453' or 'repo' was previously pristine marshlands similar to areas adjacent and north of the

railway bridge.¹⁴⁵ Blocks outside the Trusts are either those with European title or smaller petitioned blocks in 'Maori Freehold title' In 1992, only one partitioned section had been alienated to someone outside the hapu membership.¹⁴⁶ The Ngati Kahu Marae Community Zone was established in 1984. In 1986, the boundary was extended to include areas for housing with the objective to implement the concept of hapu wide administration of lands. By 1986, the two Trusts were working together and are now in the process of forming one administration.

With the new boundaries formed under the local government restructuring in 1989, Ngati Kahu lands came under the jurisdiction of the Tauranga District Council. The council looking to accomodate residential demand throughout Tauranga targeted Bethlehem as an area suitable for potential urban development. This increasing pressure of urbanisation was met with stern resistance from Ngati Kahu culminating in a Planning Tribunal hearing in 1993 involving the Tauranga Urban Growth Strategy and Plan Change No1 1991. With the introduction of the Resource Management Act 1991, Ngati Kahu were able to take the case to the Planning Tribunal. They received a decision in their favour. The urban limits of the city, in particular intensive residential development, was prevented from proceeding until detailed analysis and input from tangata whenua was completed.

Urbanisation is still seen by Ngati Kahu as one of the fundamental threats to the survival of the hapu as an entity. The impact of land takings for public works, the amount of development that had previously occurred causing the destruction and modification of waahi tapu, the pollution of the river and

¹⁴⁵ see Coffin. Figure 13, Appendix S, *Wai 42a*, 1996 or *Wairoa River and Coastal Environment: Issues and Options Paper*. 1995

¹⁴⁶ Kahotea, Desmond Tatana. June 1992. *TUGS Cultural Resource Inventory*. page xxiii, appendix 9.

harbour, had profound effects on the hapu perception of urbanisation of the ancestral landscape. The impacts considered by Ngati Kahu in the Planning Tribunal case were investigated by Desmond Kahotea and Ann Salmond and were included in their statements of evidence. Notable economic impacts identified for urban development, particularly residential and perhaps industrial zonings, was the resulting higher valuations and higher rating payments. Securing rating payments for multiple owned Maori land holdings is very difficult and in some cases the end result is that they are sold off or developed by entrepreneurs for urban purposes.”¹⁴⁷ Rates valuation has been included as part of the Wai 42a claim and is likely to be strengthened by recent legal precedents. These economic factors (high prices) related with residential areas in a ‘prestige’ area like Bethlehem likewise effectively disallow any real opportunity to buy back lands that have been sold or are in private ownership.

The ramifications with an increase in population of new residents were also investigated and it was determined the Maori community may experience a change in the types of curriculum or find it increasingly difficult to maintain Maori values and traditions in the local schools. In a modified environment such as a urban city a pattern of unilateral decision-making by non-indigenous authorities, based on the values and beliefs of the majority culture will become apparent. This will undoubtedly impact on the values and beliefs regarding relationships between indigenous people and land, with pressure being placed on hapu to conform to the standards of surrounding neighbours.

An examination of the cultural impacts as is the case with modern construction, when old contours are re-shaped by infrastructure and building

¹⁴⁷ Beca Carter 1991:55

development; show that waahi tapu are desecrated or obliterated, ancestral sites are concealed from sight and surrounded by residential overlook. The access to ancestral sites and areas that have not been destroyed may not be possible with smaller land lots and new owners from outside the area.

The essence of waahi tapu (sacred places) is that they are places of power, dangerous places for inappropriate uses, which require controlled and careful access. Unless their ancestral guardians are at hand, this is very difficult to ensure. They are also places of ritual communication with ancestors, and this is not a public business. Tangata Whenua have argued that intensive residential development over and around waahi tapu inimical to their functioning as places of spiritual significance for hapu.

Wairoa hapu consider that all these impacts magnify the loss already suffered by confiscation of the land. The Bethlehem / Wairoa area has been targeted as an expensive and prestige area. With the advent of intensive subdivision the Maori community will notice the reality of marginalisation and being looked down upon. "By the time my children are adults the Ngati Kahu people will be surrounded by high class housing, malls and thousands of Tauwi. Ngati Kahu is too small and too fragile to survive it."¹⁴⁸ Hapu will become ghettoized on their turangawaewae. Recognition of kaitiakitanga and rangatiratanga will be generally ignored in a modified urban environment through loss of natural and physical resources and the imposition of the majority culture values.

Attention will need to be given to the future environment in which hapu are expected to be a part of especially for private interactions between tangata whenua with the rivers and harbour that will become increasingly difficult with

¹⁴⁸ Kaumatua from Planning Tribunal case 1993.

user groups competing to use the resources and the increased pressure on hapu lands for alienation and/or community infrastructures. There is a fear, that urbanisation will destroy comfort of village life and that inevitable physical and cultural assimilation will become a reality, ironically this was the ambition of the early settlers.

5.6. Community Development

Until the 1960s, Wairoa had effectively been in a vacuum. No community development had occurred and the continued reliance of subsistence farming supplemented by seasonal employment persisted. After the Second World War there were only some 15 homes and 8 or 9 small whares at Te Pura.¹⁴⁹ According to the Maori Affairs District Officer, Barber, in 1961, ten families at Wairoa required homes.¹⁵⁰ By the late 1960s, five homes had been built under the Maori Affairs Loans scheme accommodating a growing population on the hapu lands. However, morale was low during these times because the State Highway realigned in 1965-68 through the side of the Marae reserve. Later in the 1970s, rating issues forced the draining of the Te Papa 453 marshlands.

Additionally the influence of alcohol had profoundly damaging effects on social development. Hapu members have recalled the impacts on individuals and the community. Ngaronoa Reweti-Ngata remembers what she saw when she returned home from the city:

.... one of the first things when I first came home was to see the club on the marae. Alcohol on the marae. To me it was an impact on our life that I hadn't noticed before so I had gone away with a child's view of what Ngati Kahu life was like at our hapu. And I'd come back and been [sic.] hit in the face with reality. And the reality was to me that I saw in our

¹⁴⁹ Aerial photo C.1950. Coffin, Wai 42a. 1996 Appendix S, Figure 13
¹⁵⁰ MA 1 30/9/3 Part 2. Barber, Rotorua to Head Office, Ministerial Housing Representations, Tauranga, 20.1.61

people, and maybe this was judgmental on my part but I actually saw that our people were fragmenting and disintegrating in front of me.¹⁵¹

Kuia of Ngati Kahu, Kawainga Tata, also recalls the impacts of alcohol and the low moral of the people:

Problems started for Maori through the introduction of alcohol, hardship on being unsuccessful in getting government loans after the war to run farms. That was the impact on Maori with the confiscation. Families deteriorated through alcohol.¹⁵²

The steady migration of young families away from Wairoa for better economic and social opportunities meant a declining number of able persons to carry out subsistence farming and an increase of dependence on cash income. Attempts to gain assistance in economic farming during the 1970s were declined and it was not until the 1980s, with the return of hapu members from cities that community development began. The return of hapu members who gained expertise, skills and education had an immediate impact at Wairoa and continue to do so.

The establishment of two land trusts, Te Papa 453 and Ngati Kahu Te Pura; to stop the alienation of hapu lands and to address all land matters, including rates, as well as the designation of a Marae Community Zone was achieved by the influence of these returned members. The land Trusts initiated a number of schemes under Macess, including a fibre glass module and a horticulture project to teach traditional methods to young people. In all these developments a strong commitment was given from Crown agencies and delegated authorities. Thus the Wairoa people have responded in support. Other community developments that have taken place include:

- ❖ Establishing the Ngati Kahu Te Pura Outrigger Club on the Wairoa River in 1988 supported by Tauranga District Council.

151 Ngaronoa Reweti Ngata. 20.03.97 (Appendix V, p14)

152 Kawainga Tata. 13.08.97 (Appendix V, p45)

- ❖ A new wharenui Kahutapu completed in 1990 with the help of lotteries funding.
- ❖ Establishment of the Ngati Kahu Corporation to help hapu members with tangihanga expenses.
- ❖ The establishment and running of Ngati Kahu - Te Pura Te Kohanga Reo on the old school block that was returned to Ngati Kahu by the Ministry of Education and DOSLI and is used as a health clinic funded through the Crown.
- ❖ Setting up a Te Reo Rumaki (Maori Language Immersion School) at Bethlehem Primary School with support from the Ministry of Education.
- ❖ Rebuilding the wharekai Te Hoata with funding from local committees, Tauranga Moana Trust Board and Lotteries Commission.
- ❖ Moving the sports club off the Marae.
- ❖ The establishment of the Ngati Kahu Resource Centre carrying out functions relating to health and social services, resource management, Treaty claims, and a venue for regular meetings to discuss hapu issues.
- ❖ A newsletter has been produced and distributed to Ngati Kahu members who have become registered on the beneficiary role to inform them of recent events and activities as well as hapu history.
- ❖ Social Development Plan prepared by Mokohiti Brown and Mita Rahiri.
- ❖ Having regular wananga for rangatahi fostering and preserving identity, tikanga and self awareness through field trips and marae stays.
- ❖ Inviting Pakeha and Maori groups to gatherings at the Marae particularly tertiary students.
- ❖ Founding working parties to handle relations with the District Councils and Crown agencies.

Much of all the community development that has occurred at Wairoa is the combination of two important factors. One, the return of hapu members from cities who have gained expertise, skills and education and implement them in the community and secondly, the resource assistance of Crown agencies and local authorities.

5.7 Maori Institutions and Participation

Maori have consistently lost interest and support for institutional organisations that have been created by the Crown with functions that are hegemonic and assimilationist. Furthermore, the wish of Maori is to be involved at a local level among villages and communities where interest is more real and intensive because of the greater personal involvement. This helps to foster traditional culture.

During the 1880s, a Runanga was set up at Rangiwaea, following the guidelines set out by King Tawhiao known as the laws of the *Kauhanganui*. On 22 April 1886 it was agreed by the kaumatua to establish a Komiti Taitamariki, which was given powers to make regulations and see that they were enforced. Minutes from a meeting held at Te Haka a Te Tupere in November 1886 give Te Raroa Herewini as representing Ngati Kahu and Te Amo Keiha Kereti for Ngati Hangarau among others.¹⁵³ The Komiti appointed a Judge who was Te Kuka, Porikapa as Policeman and Te Rohe as clerk. The Chairman of the Komiti was Manahi Te Hiakai.¹⁵⁴

The komiti made judgements and where necessary disciplinary actions over a range of offences involving young Maori people. In this capacity it acted as a court or tribunal. The kind of cases over which it had jurisdiction were offences concerned with:

1. He tangata (people)
2. He kai (food)
3. He taonga (property)

Under the first heading, He ture mo te tangata, offences against the person were listed as follows:

1. he patu i te tangata (striking a person)

¹⁵³ Te Raroa is a brother to Rahiri Ngawharau

¹⁵⁴ Stokes, E. 1980. *Whanau o Tauwhao*. p63

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| 2. | he kohuru i nga kotiro ririki | (ill-treatment of young girls) |
| 3. | he puremu | (adultery) |
| 4. | he kanga | (cursing) |
| 5. | he hoko i te tangata | (trafficking in people) |
| 6. | he whakakino ingoa | (calling names, slander) |
| 7. | he huarangi tukino | (drunken violence) |
| 8. | he whakairi kakahu ki te ara | (hanging clothes on the roadway
i.e. on fences in public view) |
| 9. | he kararehe whakamate tangata | (dogs attacking people and causing
injury or death) |
| 10. | he whakapae teka | (false accusations) |
| 11. | he tango i te utu whakapahi | (taking revenge with violence) |
| 12. | he korero teka | (telling lies) |

Some additional offences which seem to have been added later included the prohibition on a widow or widower remarrying too soon after the death of a spouse, and provision of fines for desertion of a wife and for bestiality.

Offences concerning food were:

1. he pau nga kai i te tangata
2. he pau nga kai i te kararehe

These provisions covered consumption of food or exhausting the supply of food for people and animals.

Offences against property included the following:

1. he taonga i tahaetia i te tangata (stealing a man's possessions)
2. he taonga i ata whakaritea a i tupononoa te he i muri o te whakaritenga (claiming property as one's own knowing it belongs to someone else, receiving stolen property)
3. he nama moni (indebtedness)
4. he taonga taka a he tangata ke nana i kite (claiming property found by chance)
5. he wharewahia e te tangata (breaking into a man's house including damaging it)
6. he taonga wahia i te kararehe (destruction of property by animals)
7. he taonga pau i te kararehe (consumption of property by animals)
8. he taonga pau i te ahi a te tangata (destruction of property by fire)

9. he taongataha ki roto i nga rua a te tangata (stealing from a man's food storage pits)
10. he whakaporiro i nga kararehe (animals should be neutered to prevent fighting and injury to other animals)
11. he parani tahaetenei kupu me parani to kararehe (animals must be branded for identification)
12. he keeti i waiho kia tuhera (leaving a gate open for animals to roam)
13. he pokanoa ki te hopu i nga kararehe ki te eke ranei (taking an animal for one's own use without the owner's permission)¹⁵⁵

In 1900 the Government blunted the challenge of the *Kauhanganui* and the Maori Parliament by establishing Maori Councils. The statute ensured the councils carried out state goals of political government and social hegemony by giving them low-level, non-political tasks. These included such matters as improving Maori health, marae sanitation, discouraging tohunga, and ensuring compliance with new building standards for meeting houses. After ten years, when it was deemed that the political threat from chiefly leaders had receded, financial support for the councils was withdrawn and they became moribund.¹⁵⁶

Local government administration carried out by Town Boards, Borough Councils and County Councils during the first half of this century was generally the closely guarded domain of local European administrators. Even in areas where there was a large Maori population such as Tauranga, there was a reluctance on the part of the local Europeans to encourage Maori participation due to the vexed question of control of idle Maori lands, organised Maori opposition to general policy and the jealousy shown by Europeans against Maori interference in affairs regarded mainly as the concern of local European citizens.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Stokes, E. 1980. *Whanau o Tauwhao*. pp63-65

¹⁵⁶ Walker, Ranginui. 1993. *Tradition and Change in Maori Leadership*. p9

¹⁵⁷ Winiata, Maharaia. p317

The Maori Council system was revived under the Maori Social and Economic Act 1945, and revamped under the Maori Welfare Act 1962. Leadership in this quasi-autonomous non-government organisation was validated by a four tiered elective process based on parochial committees, executives, district councils and a national council. This bureaucratic structure, derived from Pakeha models, sat uneasily over kin-based corporate groups of whanau, hapu, and marae committees. Although the Maori Council was separated from its predecessor by half a century, its underlying agenda of political government and social hegemony was the same. The Maori Council and its subsidiaries were expected to promote the social, economic, cultural, educational and spiritual advancement of the people. Like its predecessor, the Maori Council was not fully funded for the task.¹⁵⁸ Consequently local Maori have lost confidence in the Council which has experienced periods of recess.

The Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board was set up in 1981 to administer compensation for full and final settlement of land confiscations in Tauranga. From its inception, Ngati Kahu has been an active member of the Board. Representatives include the the late Albert Tuariki Brown, Kotene Pihema, Mokohiti Brown and Phillip Hikairo. The Trust Board has assisted Ngati Kahu through the building of a shed to facilitate a Maccess fibre glass module and financial assistance in the construction of a new wharekai.

Nevertheless, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, and Ngati Pango have included the Tauranga Moana Trust Board Act 1981 in its Wai 42a claim. The following are generally thought to be the issues of concern:

- ❖ the imposition of a Pakeha structure that disregards traditional identities;
- ❖ the question of accountability to the Crown and its agencies;

¹⁵⁸ Walker, Ranginui. 1993. *Tradition and Change in Maori Leadership*. p10

- ❖ the question of accountability of the Crown to hapu as the Treaty partner;
- ❖ the failure of the Trust Board Act to adequately compensate affected hapu;
- ❖ the Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board Act 1981 is ambiguous and vague in its definition of beneficiaries for settlement of grievances against the Crown.

It is important to mention the role of Maori activists during the 1970s and early 1980s. Their actions politicised issues of the Treaty of Waitangi in the public arena. The *hikoi ki Waitangi* land march in 1984 and an array of protests were catalysts for awareness and debate on the issues facing Maori and indirectly challenged many Maori working in the government system. Many of the members of activist groups such as Te Kotahitanga Movement, Te Roopu Matakite, Nga Tamatoa, the Waitangi Action Committee and Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga i nga Haahi, are descendants of Ngati Ranginui Iwi. These groups were instrumental in the empowerment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 to address historical injustices.¹⁵⁹

The effect of these groups on hapu communities was immediate. Not only had the Waitangi Tribunal been established and claims were subsequently lodged in 1986 but individuals of those political movements returned to their traditional communities to inspire locals to take a more politically aware and active role in self determination.¹⁶⁰ The 1987 Town Hall occupation and soon after, the library occupation are examples of this resurgence in the contemporary expression of protest for Maori land rights.

159 Walker, Ranginui. 1993. *Tradition and Change in Maori Leadership*. p11
 160 P.C. 27 on behalf of Ngati Kahu was lodged by Kotene Pehema and others, later amended by Wai42a in 1995.

At a local level, the Planning Tribunal hearing *Ngati Kahu V Tauranga District Council* in 1993, the stopping of the auction sale of a property at Wairoa by Ngati Kahu in 1995 and a showing of resistance by Ngati Pango people to the sale of a landing reserve, followed a growing resistance to Pakeha authority throughout the country.¹⁶¹ Both the Beca Carter report and the Heritage Management report comment on difficulties in communication between Maori groups in the area and the local authorities.¹⁶² It is likely that these difficulties arise from a long history of Crown and local body interventions in Tauranga Moana, contrary to the interests of local hapu, and from contradictory philosophies with regard to land use and conflicting understandings of mutual rights and obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi.

In the background to this, a number of Iwi Incorporated Societies were being set up to receive funding for provision of health and social services under the pretense of Article III matters of the Treaty of Waitangi. Ngati Ranginui Iwi Society was established in 1993, and in this role they have carried out the hegemonic role of its predecessors, with little or no participation in economic and political activities.

Hapu collectives have since found favour with local Maori as opposed to institutions such as Iwi societies, Trust Boards and Maori District Councils. Again the favouritism of community authority paralleling traditional structures was attractive. Moves within Ngati Kahu to resist urbanisation of the Bethlehem area that culminated in the 1993-94 Planning Tribunal case, saw the establishment of the Runanga o Ngati Kahu. Even though the Runanga Bill was not passed into law, Judge Bollard acknowledged and recognised

¹⁶¹ BOP Times. 30.11.95.

¹⁶² Beca Carter. 1991. p101 & Tauranga District Council. 1993. p.83-86

the Runanga of Ngati Kahu as a traditional tribal Runanga with mandate to represent the people.¹⁶³

In July 1995 a meeting of Ngati Kahu, Ngai Tamarawaho and Ngati Ruahine, hapu representatives moved that a 'recognised and bona fide body' was needed regarding 'Treaty Claims, Resource Management and social issues' with emphasis on hapu ownership and management of natural, physical and cultural resources.¹⁶⁴

The priority is that all whanau and marae come together and support and do *mahi* (work) together. Each of the marae within Wairoa and Waimapu rivers, inclusive of Waitaha come together and try to speak together as one. The main korero is to ensure that the marae and hapu speak for themselves.¹⁶⁵

Other hapu joined the collective and by August of 1995 Te Paenohotahitanga o Ranginui a Hei (hapu alliance) with representatives of hapu between the Waimapu and Wairoa Rivers was formed. Hapu included were:

Hapu	Marae
Ngai Tamarawaho	Huria
Ngati Kahu	Wairoa
Ngati Ruahine	Waimapu
Ngai Te Ahi	Hairini
Ngati He ¹⁶⁶	Maungatapu
Ngati Hangarau	Peterehema

In September 1995 the hapu alliance hapu claimed *Tino Rangatiratanga* over all resources within the defined boundaries of Waimapu and the Wairoa

¹⁶³ Te Runanga Te Keeti. 1996. Wairoa Marae. The Runanga was represented by Ngati Kahu Te Pura Trust, Te Papa 453 Trust and Wairoa Marae Maori Committee.

¹⁶⁴ Minutes of meeting at Ngati Kahu Resource Centre, 7 July 1995. Ngati Kahu Resource Centre.

¹⁶⁵ Peri Kohu. Minutes of Hapu Alliance meeting held at Maungatapu Marae, 6.11.95

¹⁶⁶ Although not a Ngati Ranginui hapu they chose to align themselves with this alliance due to interest in the issues and the close relationship with Ngai Te Ahi.

Rivers, mai Mangorewa ki Ruahine.¹⁶⁷ This was acknowledged in a formal signing ceremony with the Mayor of Tauranga District Council and the Ngati Ranginui Iwi Society, however, other institutions ignored the covenant.

The alliance was political by its very nature in dealing with Treaty Claims, *Rangatiratanga*, and resource management issues that had not been in the realms of previous Maori organisations other than the Trust Boards in a hegemonic role to the Crown in administration of settlement assets.¹⁶⁸ Questions of sovereignty and governorship were common in debate and active participation in political movements was prevalent. The hapu alliance operated till December 1996. Te Runanga o Ngati Kahu based at the Ngati Kahu Resource Centre has since applied for incorporation and charitable trust status.

6.0 Conclusion

In the space of just 47 years Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango hapu had their economic, social, political and cultural livelihood destroyed at the hands of capitalistic European settlers. The early missionaries and traders had found a native people that adapted quickly to new technology and ideas, implementing them for economic prosperity and growth. Although introduced diseases did have a profound impact on the population of Maori, Wairoa hapu were still among the most affluent in the country. However, the Colonial Government encouraged and supported a campaign to settle Tauranga at the expense of the Maori inhabitants. With local resistance to the sale of lands for settlement, troops were sent to Tauranga to break the 'aukati'. Heavy losses were inflicted on both sides however the better

¹⁶⁷ in this context denoting absolute authority over the resources.

¹⁶⁸ Tauranga Moana Trust Board was set up in 1981 and received \$250, 000 as full and final settlement.

equipped and numerous troops and militia proved too strong and by August 1864, most Maori had surrendered. Grey declared all Tauranga Lands confiscated but promised only one quarter would be taken by the Crown and three quarters returned. Although some from Wairoa surrendered, they later took up arms again against the Crown and proceeded to stop surveying of Wairoa lands. Troops, militia and friendly Maori mercenaries were sent into the area and carried out a scorched earth campaign. This campaign destroyed crops, settlements and was responsible for the death of Wairoa hapu members.

The desire of European settlers to take the lands and get rid of the Maori was supported politically, socially and, in the end, economically. In the case of all the Tauranga hapu, land confiscation has greatly reduced their land base causing dysfunction and dislocation that still exists today. The size of their respective hapu reserves were so small that no hapu have been able to partake in or gain from any economic development. Hapu members are, for the most part, at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder. Some families were forced to move away from the land to seek their livelihood and have since become third, fourth and fifth generation urban Maori.

The concerted effort to assimilate Maori in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century through education was interrupted by times of 'apartheid'. Unquestionable racism further inflamed the tensions between Maori and Pakeha. Maori continued to suffer from epidemics up until the 1930s, largely as a result of a seemingly reluctant health system.

Today, severed ties with former pa and waahi tapu either through loss of ownership, lack of access or total obliteration, has lead to the inability of tangata whenua to perform their role as kaitiaki on ancestral lands outside of their ownership. Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango are continually having to be

reactionary. They have found themselves responding to developments for the benefit of the wider community and continually compromising their way of life, or continued existence, as a Maori community. Continually fearful that they may witness further erosion of their heritage, which is their inheritance for succeeding generations, Wairoa hapu lack resources and economic thrust to carry their people into the next century.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

National Archives

Education files. BAAA 1001 National Archives, Auckland

Maori Affairs. MA 1 30/9/3 National Archives, Wellington

Government Publications

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)

Raupatu Document Bank (RDB)

Statutes

Town and Country Planning Act 1977

Resource Management Act 1991

Serials

Bay of Plenty Times. Tauranga District Library

The Daily Southern Cross. Tauranga District Library

Workers Voice. Fortnightly paper of the Communist Party of New Zealand.
26 September 1994. Issue No.18

New Zealander

Mitzi Nairn. 1983. *Lessons from the past - Racism and Land - A historical perspective.* *NZ Environment Magazine.* No.38

Secondary Sources

Armstrong, David Anderson, "Ngati Makino and the Crown: 1880-1960".
Evidence for Wai 275. Waitangi Tribunal 1995

Asher, George and Naulls, David, *Maori Land*, Planning Paper No.29. New
Zealand Planning Council, Wellington. March 1987

Beca Carter. "Urban Growth Study", Tauranga District Council, 1991

- Bellamy, A.C. *Tauranga 1882-1982*. ed A.C. Bellamy. Tauranga County Council. Tauranga District Library, 1982
- Lynda Bowers, "Conservation Plan, Te Irihanga Pa". 1995
- Antoine Coffin, "Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango, Part2.", Report for Waitangi Tribunal Wai 42a.1996
- Antoine Coffin, "Evaluation of the Cultural Heritage Landscape, Te Awa o Wairoa/Ngati Kahu", Report for Ngati Kahu Resource Centre and Tauranga District Council. 1997.
- Lou Gates, (Te Ruruanga Te Keeti), "Consultation with Ngati Kahu and Ngati Pango on the Tauranga Northern Arterial Proposal", Prepared by Nugent Consultants for Transit NZ, 1996
- Gifford and Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga*, Dunedin, 1940
- Neil G Hansen, *Tauranga County, 1945 to 1989. The story about the post World War II years, of wide ranging development, until local government reorganisation*. Western Bay of Plenty District Council. 1995.
- Desmond Kahotea, "Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi. Part1", Report for Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 42a, 1996.
- Desmond Kahotea, "Statement of Evidence to Planning Tribunal, Ngati Kahu V Tauranga District Council", 1993.
- Desmond Kahotea, "Cultural Resource Inventory: Sites and Areas of significance", Tauranga District Council. 1992.
- Tony Nightingale, March 1996. *History of the Economic and Social Conditions Affecting Tauranga Maori*. Crown Forestry Rental Trust.
- Vincent O'Malley, *The Aftermath of the Tauranga Raupatu, 1864-1981*, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1995
- Kathryn Rose, *The Impact of Confiscation: Socio-Economic Conditions of Tauranga Maori, 1865-1965*, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, Jan 1997
- Ann Salmond, "Statement of Evidence to the Planning Tribunal, Ngati Kahu V Tauranga District Council". 1993
- Schimmer, 1974
- John Steedman. *He Toto, Te Ahu Matua A Nga Tupuna*, 1996.

- Rob Steven, "Land and White Settler Colonialism, the case of Aotearoa".
David & Bill Willmott (eds) *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*,
Wellington, 1990
- Evelyn Stokes, *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, Volume 1*, University of
Waikato. 1990
- Evelyn Stokes, *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, Volume 2*, University of
Waikato. 1992.
- Evelyn Stokes, *Tauranga Moana: The Impact of Urban Growth on Rural Maori
Communities*, University of Waikato, 1980
- Evelyn Stokes, *Whanau o Tauwhao: A History of Ngaiterangi*, University of
Waikato, 1980.
- Frank J Tester, *Observations on Maori Land and Resource Development,
with Implications for Canadian Northern Development and Northern I
ndigenous People*, Department of Geography, University of Waikato
and Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University Downsview,
Ontario, 1984
- Paula Martin, *Te Tirohanga i te korerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i nga
kainga Maori me nga rohe: Survey of language use in Maori
Households and Communities*, No. 104 & 105, Maori Unit of the NZ
Council for Educational Research, 1973-1978
- Waitangi Tribunal *Te Kaupapa Tuatahi, Taranaki Report*, 1996.
- Ranginui Walker, *Tradition and Change in Maori Leadership*, Te Tari
Rangahau o te Matauranga Maori, University of Auckland, 1993.

Theses

- Desmond Kahotea, "Interaction of Tauranga hapu with the landscape."
University of Auckland, 1983.

Maharaia Winiata,

Interviews

Albert Brown. 22.3.88. Transcript. Terehia Bowen.

Minnie Gotz. 25.7.96. Tape 1

Hone Ngata. 1996. *Te Ahuatanga o nga Whakairo, Kahutapu, Wairoa
Marae*. Tape 6.

Ngaronoa Reweti-Ngata. 20.03.97. Tape 7

Kawainga Tata. 13.08.96. Notes

Cherrill Whaiapu. 4.11.96. Tape 2.

Other Sources

Minutes of Te Paenohotahitanga o Ranginui a Hei. July 1995-Dec 1996.
Ngati Kahu Resource Centre.

Minutes of Te Pura Ngati Kahu Trust. 1984-1994. Ngati Kahu Resource
Centre.

Department of Maori Affairs. Seminar on Alternative Use of Maori Land.
Hungahungatoroa Marae. University of Waikato. 1979.

A.N. Brown Journals, Tauranga District Library

Journals of the Tauranga Historic Society. Sept 1864. No.21 Historic Te
Puna by David Borell. Tauranga District Library

Appendices

		<i>page</i>
Appendix I	Waitangi Tribunal Brief	2
Appendix II	Statement of Claim	3
Appendix III	Language survey 1977	8
Appendix IV	Language Survey 1977	9
Appendix V	Interviews	10
Appendix VI	Population Statistics for Wairoa	47
Appendix VII	List of Original grantees, Te Papa 453 and 91, 1886	49
Appendix VIII	List of Original grantees, Te Papa 8, 1886	51
Appendix IX	List of Original grantees, Te Puna 182,	52

Appendix I

Waitangi Tribunal Brief

- ❖ Kaumatua and kuia interviews about their understanding of the impacts of the loss of land and loss of control of resources within your rohe.
- ❖ The particular tribal hapu history of what happened to the people after raupatu or loss of land through various means and the efforts made to maintain or regain lands.
- ❖ The impacts on the hapu of return of lands to the people outside the hapu who may not have been entitled to it.
- ❖ The present state of the hapu within the traditional rohe (or elsewhere) including the surviving marae (and new marae), kohanga reo, kura kaupapa, and kokiri (where appropriate), hapu lands still held and any hapu based economic development.
- ❖ Current issues regarding, representation on local bodies, boards etc, consultation and partnership arrangements in resource management and conservation. Other contemporary issues concerning the policies and legislation of the Crown.
- ❖ Any other matters not covered in other reports that are necessary to underpin your claim to the Tribunal.¹

¹ letter to Ngati Kahu Resource Centre. M T Love. 10.12.96

Appendix II

Wai 42(a) Statement of Claim

Wai 42(a) was lodged in 1995 and amended the previous claim of Wai 27 lodged by Kotene Pehema on behalf of Ngāti Kahu.

To the Registrar
Waitangi Tribunal

We
Nga Kaumatua

Mack Apaapa	Ngati Kahu/Ngati Pango
Morehu Ngatoko	Ngati Rangi
Henare Rahiri	Ngati Kahu/Ngati Rangi
Ruruanga Te Keeti	Ngati Kahu
Louie Knap	Ngati Kahu/Ngati Rangi
Nellie Ormsby	Ngati Kahu/Ngati Rangi
	Ngati Pango
Alfred Brown	Ngati Kahu/Ngati Rangi
Pat Eru	Ngati Pango

Me Nga Kaiwhakarite

Des Tatana Kahotea	Ngati Kahu/Ngati Rangi
Maxine Reweti-Ngata	Ngati Kahu
Philip Hikairo	Ngati Kahu

Who Represent And Act On Behalf Of The Following Hapu,
Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi, Ngati Pango of Te Ongaonga and Wairoa, Tauranga

Claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, that we, and the Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango hapu are prejudicially affected by the action of the Crown in:

1. The confiscation of our ancestral lands under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, and Tauranga Districts Land Act 1867 and 1868.
2. Extinguishment of Customary title over our ancestral lands under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863.
3. Administration of our lands by Commissioner's under the Tauranga Districts Land Act 1867 and 1868.
4. Policies of the government to implement the confiscation of our lands which led to the destruction of our villages, Te Irihanga, Poripori and Kaimai by government forces in 1867.

5. Removal of Alienation Restrictions on the following lands that were returned- Poripori, Purakautahi, Te Irihanga, Waimanu, Oteora, Mataiwhetu, Te Ongaonga, Kaimai, Kumikumi, Mangatotara Blocks.
6. Imposition of Survey Liens on lands returned under the Tauranga District lands Act 1867, 1868.
7. Inclusion by commissioners of those with "take kore" claims to our ancestral lands.
8. Subsequent action of successive governments and agents of the Crown who have implemented policies and legislation which has affected the operation and maintenance of our respective hapu.

A.

In particular we say as follows:

1. The action of the Crown to confiscate our lands in the 50'000 Acre Confiscation and policies in administration of confiscated land has put us in a state of economic, social and cultural marginalisation from which we have not recovered.
2. Forced alienation of our ancestral lands has led to the disturbance and desecration of our waahi tapu subsequent to confiscation and alienation.
3. The administration and action of the Commissioner's Court has led to the alienation of waahi tapu, papakainga.
4. Taking of lands for public works
Railway - Gazette 20/3/30 p. 791 State Highway 2
5. Policies and action of central, regional Local Government, agents of the Crown, that is detrimental to the social and cultural fabric and maintenance of our hapu. Rating, District plan changes re zoning.
6. Land valuation practice of Valuation New Zealand. Rural and urban growth and development has placed us under incredible pressure to maintain our remaining lands in face of limited ability to generate income to pay rates or other demands that are placed on us as land owners.
7. Culturally inappropriate uses of river, Te Wairoa - recreation, fishing
Despoliation of awa through collapse of Ruahihi Canal.
8. The terms and settlement of the Tauranga Raupatu with the Tauranga Moana Trust Board Act 1981.

And We Claim that these matters are contrary to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

We seek the Following Relief:

Seek forms of redress either land or other for the severe economic, cultural, social and political marginalisation we have endured since the confiscation of our lands.

Return of Reserve 4A DPS5233, former Lot 181 to Ngati Pango

Physical return of land alienated by the Raupatu that is of high cultural significance (former pa/settlements, waahi tapu). Papa o wharia, Poteriwhi to Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangi, and Pukewhanake and Paorangi to Ngati Ranginui hapu.

The Crown recognize our mana, ownership and kaitiaki role of our sacred awa, Te Wairoa.

Seek an Act of Parliament to define our "Marae Community Zone" of Parish of Te Papa 453, 8, 51; Parish of Te Puna 182 to protect the last remaining ancestral lands in our ownership so that it would remain inalienable.

Acknowledgement and commitment by the Crown to ensure the protection and conservation of cultural and natural values of our ancestral landscape such as waahi tapu, papatipu, mahinga kai, to maintain our mana and kaitiaki roles over the confiscated lands.

Any Crown land or former Crown land vested to agents of the Crown or statutory bodies within our hapu rohe be vested back to our hapu as part of any settlement agreement with the Crown.

Ngati Kahu, Ngati Rangi and Ngati Pango is without any independent funds and we ask:

1. We seek assistance from the Tribunal to research and collate information necessary for our claim.
2. That Joe Williams be appointed as our Counsel.
3. The claim to be heard at our marae at Te Wairoa, Tauranga and assistance given to meet the costs of the hearing to our marae.

4. That the Tribunal give notice of this Application to the Crown Law Office, Tauranga District Council, Western Bay of Plenty District Council, Valuation New Zealand.

This Claim Amends our earlier claim Wai 27 of October 1986 made in the names of

Albert Brown
Henare Rahiri
Mack Apaapa
Kotene Pihema

for the Ngati Kahu - Te Pura and 453 Trusts.

We Can Be Contacted care of the following address:

Appendix III

The Maori Language in Katikati, Rereatukahia and Lower Kaimai.

Martin, Paula. Te Tirohanga i te korerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i nga kainga Maori me nga rohe. Survey of language use in Maori Households and Communities. 1973-1978. No.105. Maori Unit of the NZ Council for Educational Research.

=====

**KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MAORI IN KATIKATI
REREATUKAHIA AND LOWER KAIMAI 1976**

	Katikati		Rereatukahia		Lower Kaimai	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<i>Fluent Speakers</i>						
45 yrs & over	9	90	6	86	4	80
25 to 44 yrs	4	31	4	67	1	11
15 to 24 yrs	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 to 14 yrs	-	-	-	-	-	-
Overall	14	17	10	23	5	14

<i>Understand Easily</i>						
45 yrs & over	10	100	6	86	5	100
25 to 44 yrs	9	56	5	83	2	22
15 to 24 yrs	-	-	7	54	2	40
2 to 14 yrs	-	-	3	18	2	13
Overall	19	22	21	49	11	31

<i>Limited Understanding</i>						
45 yrs & over	-	-	1	14	-	-
25 to 44 yrs	4	25	1	17	5	56
15 to 24 yrs	4	27	3	23	-	-
2 to 14 yrs	20	44	7	41	3	19
Overall	28	33	12	28	8	23

<i>No Knowledge</i>						
45 yrs & over	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 to 44 yrs	3	19	-	-	2	22
15 to 24 yrs	11	73	3	23	3	60
2 to 14 yrs	25	56	7	41	11	69
Overall	39	45	10	23	16	46

(Numbers and percentages refer to members of households visited;
percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number).

=====

Appendix IV

The Maori Language in Tauranga City, Mount Maunganui and District.

Martin, Paula. Te Tirohanga i te korerotanga o te reo rangatira i roto i nga kainga Maori me nga rohe. Survey of language use in Maori Households and Communities. 1973-1978. No.104. Maori Unit of the NZ Council for Educational Research.

Results of the Linguistic Survey

Iwi Affiliation

Our informants mentioned a total of over 20 major iwi to which they or the members of their household belonged. The largest iwi mentioned overall, by far, was Ngaiterangi with 343 members (or about half of the people included in the survey). Three-quarters of the members of the families we visited in Matapihi were from Ngaiterangi; about a fifth also had Ngati Awa affiliations.



Ability to Speak and Understand Maori

The information in the table shows that the majority of the people who could speak and understand Maori well in our survey, were over the age of 45. Very few people under 25 had a good understanding of spoken Maori - only three people under 15 (all in Tauranga City) could speak Maori well.

About a quarter of the under 15 year olds had at least some knowledge of Maori, (except in Te Maunga where we did not come across anyone under 25 who had any knowledge of Maori) and a slightly higher proportion of 15-24 year olds had some knowledge of Maori. Very few people over 45 had absolutely no understanding of Maori.

KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MAORI IN TAURANGA CITY MOUNT MAUNGANUI, TE MAUNGA AND MATAPIHI 1976

	Tauranga C		Mt Maunganui		Te Maunga	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<i>Fluent Speakers</i>						
45 yrs & over	37	74	23	82	4	80
25 to 44 yrs	21	29	12	31	1	13
15 to 24 yrs	4	7	4	10	-	-
2 to 14 yrs	3	2	0	0	-	-
Overall	65	21	39	20	5	13
<i>Understand Easily</i>						
45 yrs & over	43	86	25	89	4	80
25 to 44 yrs	34	147	18	46	2	25
15 to 24 yrs	14	24	6	15	-	-
2 to 14 yrs	11	8	1	1	-	-
Overall	102	32	50	25	6	15
<i>Limited Understanding</i>						
45 yrs & over	6	12	1	4	-	-
25 to 44 yrs	21	29	18	46	2	25
15 to 24 yrs	18	24	20	50	-	-
2 to 14 yrs	20	14	23	25	-	-
Overall	65	20	62	31	2	5
<i>No Knowledge</i>						
45 yrs & over	1	2	2	7	1	20
25 to 44 yrs	17	24	3	8	4	50
15 to 24 yrs	27	46	14	35	5	100
2 to 14 yrs	107	78	69	74	21	100
Overall	152	48	88	44	31	79

(Numbers and percentages refer to members of household - percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number).

Appendix V

Selected Transcripts

Ngaronoa Reweti-Ngata. Born 1946. Is currently a whanau counsellor with expertise in drug and alcohol awareness and violence. She has been actively involved in Maori political activist groups during the 1970s and early 1980s and continues to advocate Maori Rangatiratanga and traditional land rights.

Interview with Ngaronoa Reweti Ngata. 20 March 1997 (tape 7)

Social Impacts

(Antoine): "Talk about your role as a counselor and things that you have seen and some of the impacts you see that may be attributed to the Raupatu."

(Ngaronoa): Kia ora Antoine. Ko Ngaronoa Reweti-Ngata toku ingoa. Mauao te maunga. Ko Tauranga te Moana. Ko Takitimu me Mataatua oku waka. Ko Ngaiterangi me Ngati Ranginui oku iwi. Ko oku hapu, ko nga hapu katoa o Tauranga Moana. Engari, ko taku hapu tuturu ki ahau nei, ko te hapu nei o Ngati Kahu. Ko oku whanau, ko nga whanau o Te Wheoro, Te Keeti, Bennett, me te Reweti. Tena koe Antoine.

Ai, How shall I begin this ?."

(Antoine): "Where you were born"...

(Ngaronoa): "First of all I'll start at the beginning..."

(Antoine): "Back in the old days"

(Ngaronoa): "I was born here at Tauranga. Tauranga Maternity Hospital as it was known then. In 1946, that makes me sound real old.

(Antoine): That's after the war."

(Ngaronoa): After the war and perhaps coming into the new war, the new world as it is now days. But anyway just to say I was born here in Tauranga. I have lived all my life in Ngati Kahu hapu. I attended Bethlehem School and

Tauranga Girls College then at the age of 18 I moved away to Te Whare Wananga o Tamaki Makaurau where I was a Art student, fine art student for three years. And from there I moved to Training College and in 1970 um. This is a very fast chronological order up to the time I got married to Hone Ngata, Ngati Porou. And we were married in 1970. But coming back to the time of my childhood, I think it is important to say that as a child growing up I always believe that um I had a sheltered life. My father was Te Hereaka Reweti and ko toku mama, ko Dene Hinemoa Bennett. And as a whanau we lived on the other side of the awa, on the Ngati Pango side. This is what I remember anyway. And although we didn't have much in the sense of material terms, as a whanau we were happy together, very strong and very close in terms of our aroha and my mother and father were very loving and very free with us, in the sense that as a child I was able to move around on the whenua and not sort of be limited in anyway by my parents. They allowed all of us, I'm the eldest then my brother Hikurangi, and Stephen Tu Hawaiki, then Maringi, and Gabrielle and then Takiri. So for the older ones, that's me, Hikurangi, Stephen and myself, when we lived on the other side of the river we had a free rein on the whenua. At an early age we learnt to appreciate the land and the river. Prior to that as my mother has told me, as a baby, I was brought up on this side of the awa, the Ngati Kahu side and lived on the papakainga there. Where Uncle Pat Te Wheoro has his home, 7 Carmichaels Road, I'm living there now at the moment with my family so we have returned to the papakainga o nga tupuna. So anyway that's completed a full circle from that time I was a child, a baby and then when we shifted from the Ngati Kahu side to Ngati Pango across the river and there now with my own family coming back to the papakainga where I was first raised as a child, so in those years what I saw, to me the marae was always very strong. There was a lot, all our kaumatua and kuia. I remember seeing them all as a child stand up to speak on the Marae and our koroua like Peter Buff, and Tureiti

Rahiri and Kapene Rahiri and Taylor Ormsby. Even I remember Herewini Ormsby. He was a tino koroua in that time. So I saw all our kaumatua stand on the marae to speak. And also our kuia, Nanny Hinetu, Nanny Hoana, and the picture I got as a child was that our life was free and happy because in a sense I looked at my kaumatua, my koroua and kuia, I always saw them being happy. I don't know if they were or not but that's how I always saw them. And I always saw the marae being there to cater for all our needs, when there were tangi there and birthdays, and weddings. I saw Mick Bishara and June Thompson married at our marae. As a child I thought that was tino pai rawa atu. I had never seen that before. And um, I saw pictures to do with the marae which are all the happy ones. Nanny Hoana sitting under the Ngaio tree playing her piano accordion. Different things like that to me sort of show different aspects of family life, hapu life. Even in the place where I'm staying now, seeing the Te Wheoro family and some of Uncle Pat's friends, cousins they would have been sitting under the Pohutakawa tree having a drink together. Just generally enjoying themselves and um I don't seem to remember at that time as a child. I never really saw violence or anything like that make me, have caused to think things were not happy, but this is through a child's eyes. So to us the awa was, well to me, to myself, the awa was very special place for me. Still is. I think my wairua is bound inextricably with the awa. When things happened at home here when I was away in Auckland, I would dream about things that happened at home. And it was always the awa that showed me that. If the waters were rough or if they were muddy I knew things weren't good back home and sometimes I would be shown other things which let me know that there was a tangi at home. So in a way even when as a Ngati Kahu, I moved away from my tribal lands, the ancestral lands, I moved to other places like Auckland or even, I went to Gisborne. I always had that link back home To me its always been a spiritual link. A wairua link. So, um with regard to show how things were

when I was a child. I grew up as a rangatahi with other of my cousins and most of our time was spent (pause) at the river. Who could dive the longest, who could swim under the water the longest, who could swim the fastest across the river and those simple pleasures were really important to our people. And there were times like Christmas Day, New Years Day, when there were holidays held in those times. All the whanau would go to the river, so you'd see the young kids there that go there after kai and then you'd see the older ones who would come down as well and I always seem to remember that the awa was at that time, the place where we spent 90% of our time. So the awa is very important. Now, the impact of the Raupatu on our people, I didn't really see until I was a lot older and until I had gone away from home and I then moved after working in Tauranga, in Tamaki Makaurau, I met Hone and moved back to Gisborne and working with his people there for sixteen years and then I came home, I got a culture shock when I came home. I then saw that something had changed since I had been away or maybe it had always been there but it was a real culture shock to me because I saw the impact of um. When I first came home, somewhere I've written a story on it, I wrote it, the housing, the housing in Tauranga, just all of a sudden. When I had left it seemed like a little town but there it was, a city in front of my eyes. The impact of the city on our people, I couldn't even see our people. By that I mean. When I was young and went to town you'd see Maori's everywhere on a Friday night. The first time I went to town, I couldn't see anybody, I felt pretty lonely. And that's a funny thing to say but I thought, Where are they all ?. Where's our people ?. And it was like overnight they had become invisible. And I was very concerned. I don't now why but I knew something was drastically wrong. So coming back to own little hapu of Ngati Kahu (pause), one of the first things when I first came home was to see the club on the marae. Alcohol on the marae. To me it was an impact on our life that I hadn't noticed before so I had gone away with a child's view of what Ngati

Kahu life was like at our hapu. And I'd come back and hit in the face with reality. And the reality was to me that I saw in our people, and maybe this was judgmental on my part but I actually saw that our people were fragmenting and disintegrating in front of me. It was quite a scary thing. And I remember we had this hui at the marae. It was to talk about the club so I went along as a young person. I was really interested in what was happening to our hapu. I wanted to be able to learn, I was just prepared to come home and listen and observe for the first six months or first year and not have anything to say, you know. Because everywhere else I was known as someone who got up and talked about how I felt about things that were happening here in Aotearoa but I thought it was important to come home and just listen and just watch. But one of the first meetings I went to was to do with the jungle club as they called it and it was to do with the social club on the marae and um they were talking about whether it should be shifted off the marae or not, what were people's views on drinking beer on the marae, um, and there were two different groups. One group was definitely in favour of keeping beer on the marae. I'd have to say this was the older age group and some of the younger ones. These were some of my cousins who had recently come back as well. We had an opposing view and I can remember being told by one of our kaumatua there that beer has been here since the beginning and who were we to question it. I think then, this is even before I heard the word Raupatu, that is when I saw dramatically the impact of Raupatu on our people. At the time I didn't know that's what it was but when we started doing research and we started talking about Raupatu, I started looking at the history, the social impacts I could see that had happened and had impacted on our people, that was the very first one that I actually had some direct involvement in trying to set right.

.... So alcohol, the fragmenting, the breaking down of the Tikanga on the marae because when I was a kid, I'll tell you my Nanny Hera, she'd sit down talk to me. She would talk about how things should be on our marae and I remember that when I was a kid so when I came home and I saw the old people sought of doing all the things which I always thought were wrong, that was really confusing for me, a young person. (pause) and I was angry with them for a while, I judged them, I judged them too harshly because I didn't understand what had happened for them but all I knew was what ever happened to them, I didn't want it to happen to us. If nobody stands up to fight for it, we'll end up being just like them. I don't think it's harsh on my old people, I just saw it as a result of what happened. So that was the breaking down of the Tikanga as I saw it. Or letting it go, maybe it was just letting it go and alcohol played a big part in that. And then I saw that alcohol was just a symptom, that was a way to escape, it was a way to forget. So in one breath while I was being angry with them, in the next breath I was finding an excuse for them. And in a way that has been a big impact on my life. I saw the alcohol first and then I saw the drugs come later. And you know I was always so proud of our young people, I love them, but in the short time that I've been home, like the last ten years, eight years, actually back in my hapu, I've seen the damage that has been done by alcohol, the absolute destruction of the family. The family and the whanau. And then because of that each whanau is what makes our hapu strong, so then I saw the fragmentation of the hapu. And then later in the last few years I've seen how much of a hold drugs has on our people, not just the young people either but also the older ones. So I'm not saying this in a judgmental way. I'm just recognising, these are the impacts, impacts that have been um, by disease or illnesses that have been borne by tauiwi. They just brought it in a bottle, brought it in a pill, brought it in a smoke, drugs and our people picked it up. Like I sought of saw that the fragmentation within ourselves, you know because, as a hapu maybe

habitually we, some of us had lost the way or didn't really have any guidance by those who we thought we should have guidance from - our kaumatua and kuia. And because the impacts within the hapu showed itself within whanau, fighting, violence, wife beating, beating up on each other - tane, the kids being affected by it. Those are all social impact".

(Antoine): "When you were at Ngati Pango, do you remember when there times of troubles. Were they ever dealt with in a certain way by the older people. Was a sense of justice where they had a system of dealing with things?"

(Ngaronoa): "Well, what I remember vividly is, when I was living on the Ngati Pango side I actually felt the it was safe on that side of the river there were just a few families there, Uncle Mac's family, Uncle Harry's family, Arahi and Pat Eru used to live there too at that time and Aunty Lena Parata², she married Lindsay Parata and um you know small families there. And so in a sense we all really lived really closely with each other and they were always visiting backwards and forwards. The other one was Te Hono Paroane and Aunty Ka. So I was surrounded by older people who seemed more ngawari than the other side of the river but maybe that's because we had more space to spread out. But what I do remember vividly is that at those times through being with my nanny Hera a lot and I'm aware that at there level within there they had a Wairoa Tribal Committee, was known as and what I'm aware of is that they used to have a lot of discussion there and arguments about things but they always tried to resolve it within the tribal committee setting. my Nanny showed me at a young age, she was the secretary, she took the minutes and she talked to me about how certain things would come up and

2 nee Lena Brown

they would discuss them and try to resolve them but I always saw that as being within their own peer group, their own age group. I was aware that when something bad happened a long time ago, before my time, a particular tane was banished from here because of something he had done. So what I understood was that they as old people dealt with it according to the Tikanga you know. Although I wasn't quite sure what happened, all I knew was that something bad had happened, something wrong according to Tikanga and he was banished from here and never came back. I have heard that korero again since, I'm a lot older now. But I remember hearing it then and so in a sense I always felt that they tried to correct things in their way. I'm not sure if they did or not. From that day to this, I see that whatever our mechanisms are to correct, whakatikatika nga mahi raruraru i roto i te hapu, that we as a hapu, perhaps that's generalizing too much, we don't actually deal with it and this brings me to the point where I say as a whanau counselor I've seen that with my own eyes. We don't deal with it. We haven't put into place or we haven't used traditional structures to deal with any raruraru within the hapu. People tend to turn a blind eye to it or else they will think that, they say well it's their business, no-one else's to interfere. But I draw the line and people and our rangatahi being wasted. Their wairua, their hinengaro, their tinana and even our kaumatua and kuia and I draw the line at the violence that happens within our hapu in full view of everybody and it's not corrected, because I see that there are people in our hapu that have that role but their not taking on that responsibility ... because some of the kaumatua, kuia I speak of some of them have passed on and I'm aroha to them, because passed away with all that nawe still in them. So, to me the Raupatu, it comes back to the korero where you say your whenua is your turangawaewae. If you don't have your whenua, you don't have your turangawaewae, you don't have your mana, there's a loss of mana, there's a loss of prestige, a loss of authority in a sense that when there is a person have a right to stand up and

say what you think and be heard as a rangatira. I think of some of our kaumatua as rangatira, but when the land was raupatu'ed that was in a sense a loss of mana, although I always say that they can't take that away from us but its a fact ki a ngai taua te iwi Maori - Whenua, the two go together. Where there is a loss of whenua there is a loss of mana and that has impacted on our people the most in different ways, physically in that our whanau are not as strong together as they used to be, traditionally because the family structures have been broken down, kaumatua, kuia koroua are having to readjust to a way that is not of there making, not of their choosing and becoming very unsure in a world that is outside the marae and in a sense because they have had to move out into that world and back into the marae unless they are being very strong and actually come back into the marae with us. This outside influences. By that I mean the alcohol and the drugs and the breakdown in Tikanga, smoking in the wharenuui. To me those are simple, basic ture that should be observed on the marae but those have been the impacts that I've seen, in a simple sense and yet to me they are important because it was the whole focus of our life (marae), in terms of where we hold our ritual ceremony. Coming back to the other side of it, another social impact, we've seen the drift of whole whanau away from Ngati Kahu. Ngati Kahu have how many people on the ground ?. 100, not even that, living right here at home, I've counted them. And a lot of our whanau have moved away from Ngati Kahu, for a lot of different reasons. Some to get employment and work because they couldn't find it at home here, because of infighting that results from a certain group of people jammed back into a small space, so you get the victim mentality where we tend to turn in on ourselves and give ourselves a hard time rather than look out there and see where the problem is coming from and deal to that. Its to do with a loss of really believing that we can achieve things as Maori by holding fast to our mana. Because in this world I need to say this before I forget The other impact really

important to talk about is the education system that was put in place here after the Raupatu. The school is right here, Bethlehem School and you know it's a known fact that when our tupuna first started school, if they spoke Maori they would get a strap for it and in a sense that has come down to my generation where especially, a lot of Ngati Kahu, I think we have always been sort of rebels or fighters. That's what I believe because I can remember back to school days where we have been taught that all the rebels in the book, ones like Te Kooti, Hone Heke and those ones and I learnt a new word, it was called loyalists. I didn't know what it was, a loyalist and I was told that these were the ones who fought for the government or crown. So we got to understand at an early age that if we half way rebelled, sort of seen as not following the school line or what was happening in the school, we got strapped for it. I saw my cousins getting strapped. I saw Daddam get strapped within an inch of his life. My Uncle Wayne had to carry his bike around on his back round and round the playing field because he said something that wasn't appropriate at the school. Maori kids were singled out for punishment when they didn't toe the line, when they didn't toe the pakeha line. So you learnt at an early age to either keep your mouth shut, you don't talk Maori or you'll get a strap, if you rebel you tended to align yourself with history books that said the rebels were the bad guys and the good guys were the ones who fought for the crown and so you got to learn that pretty early in your life. So all the things that were important to us as kids and I know to my Mum's generation, those were all seen as bad. The education system, that was nothing to do with Te Reo Maori, nothing to do with Maori culture. There were a lot of degrading things done at school to us as Maori which you know like they would inspect your head for kutu's, expected Maori's to have kutu's, flick through with a ruler. I mean really degrading things that they did to us as kids. We just stood there in line and took it. We were made to march around the quadrangle to Colonel Bogies military tune for goodness sake. I can

remember the marching around the tennis court, you know. We had to march. We were from the time we got into school they readjusted our thinking so that when I did quite well at school, got through and went away to Auckland everyone said Ah kia ora, good on you Macko, you did good. Your schooling did good for you and I said "I did that in spite of what i learnt at school". So it was just to really, just readjust the thinking. So we had, all our kids came out of kura thinking like that, our parents and our grandparents. So in a sense it was like trying to fight against a onslaught of foreign ideas and that was an impact - Education. That in a sense had an impact on our people because when we talk about education, it wasn't a fully rounded education, it wasn't an equal education, it was a tauivi education. So what that did was, people of my mothers generation, she's seventy now. They got to think that if you are going to succeed in this world you have to follow, learn as much of the pakeha way and forget your own Maoritanga. And they really believed that, sincerely. I have no nawe with them about that but that is what the school system taught them. So that is different kind of impact, but it was a social impact because what has happened now generations later where we could have really strong forward thinking proactive development happening for us as a hapu and that being spearheaded by our kaumatua group. In fact our kaumatua sometimes, some of the kaumatrua group reflect those sort of attitudes that I'm talking about and it's something that has been engrained in them since they were young.

(Antoine): Did the old people talk about the Raupatu or was it never spoken of ?

(Ngaronoa): Kia ora. My, in my experience it wasn't. I should say it was spoken of symbolically in this way that, it wasn't talked about as being the Raupatu but it was talked about, I just go back to my Nanny's korero when

she talked about the carvings and she talked about Bruce Knox, who's one of the whanau as well. He used to come back from Wellington to come and visit her and he had all these carvings in a book and she sat me down one day and talked about the meanings of them and then she talked about the Raupatu land sense, a particular carving meaning this point that you are coming to and appoint you are coming out of when she talked about, like our history. She alluded to it in so many ways but she didn't say that this is the Raupatu. She just showed me what our life was prior to the Raupatu, she showed it through the carvings that she in turn had been shown by Bruce Knox and then other than my Uncle Robert Te Wheoro, he's past away now. His middle name is Te Raupatu but nobody knew that but I knew it because he told me, he signed his name for me and he talked about that, to be called Te Raupatu but it was like he was given a name and nobody talked about it. I don't know if it was just because the particular, perhaps that was for our particular whanau, I don't know or perhaps it was to do with the ways of some of our hapu were. Maybe it was to shield us during this mamae korero in our early days but I was actually shown how things were prior to the Raupatu. So when you say when people talk about the Raupatu much. My Nanny, apart from discussions about how things should be, my koro Tumai, he never spoke about it, he never spoke about it at all. I only talked to my Mother..... Talked to me about it because I thought he was he just kept it to himself. The only thing he talked about was our tipuna Bennett, two of his tamaiti were buried down there beside the river. Things like that every now and again he would pass out information and if I come to my mother, my Mother talked a lot about the Raupatu and she talked about how koro told her that Poteriwhi, she talked about the soldiers coming up there and they must be driven back up into the bush and I thought kia ora to my Mother cause I had never heard that korero till just recently. It's like, I think because we are working on it here at Ngati Kahu, some of our old people are feeling all right to bring out this

korero. That is what she shared with me quite recently. Apart from that most of my kaumatua and kuia and some of them outside of Ngati Kahu have from time to time talked about how things were before. They've shared that with me. But, as far as talking about the Raupatu itself, you see to me, it was like a no - no subject. It was kind of hushed up and put down there somewhere, no one wanting to talk about it. That's just to me. It may be different in other whanau's. I think it would depend in a sense who was carrying that particular korero and who it was shared with. Whether like me as a kotiro or say perhaps you as a Tane. So, some people get told some things but we get shown in other ways. I've been shown in other ways about the Raupatu but it's not anyone talking to me about it.

(Antoine): You were talking earlier about when you were a child and went to town, everybody was in town. Did people go elsewhere, to a lot of other places further away? What would be the furthest our people, whanau's went to?

(Ngaronoa): I think, I suppose what I really needed to say was that there was a lot of inter communication, there was a lot of moving backwards and forwards between the Marae. We had weekend dances up here, Saturday night dances and everybody came from Waitao, Huria, everywhere to come here to Wairoa to dance and things like that and vice versa, we travelled backwards and forwards. But town on a Friday night was a neat place to be you know and if you went in to pay the bills or go to the pictures, but, in the time when I was growing up anyway you could still see quite a few of our people out on the street.

(Antoine): Why do you think that's changed? You wouldn't necessarily think it was to do with economics because a lot of our people were quite poor for

quite a while. Would you attribute it to the city moving putting physical barriers between hapu. It being predominantly rural between the two hapu's.³ A lot of the urban barriers coming up. Would be the case at all?

(Ngaronoa): Yeah. I felt it very strongly like that when I first came home. I actually felt that the city then was starting to move outwards and that the city's face was changing. I thought the city's face was changing cause there were special places downtown where certain, our people livedKemureti, Taikato's lived right in town and a lot of our people lived actually in town, and then when I came back in the 1980's all those places were gone, you know, so in the old days the town was more of a communal area where you had a lot of rented accommodation, homes that people actually lived in.

.... They'd been bought out you know. They'd been bought out or shipped out, what ever or rated out and um so what you had replacing them was these huge, I think how I described them in my korero when I came back home; huge, sterile, mirror tiled buildings. Which our people don't feel comfortable around. Even now it is quite difficult even to go into one of them and we can say well, "That's stupid" but its a fact that the changing face of the city has presented to our people, like, its like a rich, a rich mans town, well it is. And I don't know why it was, so what I did when I came back home and went to town, I only saw say one, in the old days I would have seen, the balance was reversed. That's what I noticed. So in the old days would have been a majority of Maori and less pakeha. So it was quite comfortable in town, it like Rotorua is now. But when I came back I saw that the balance had changed and there was one Maori to fifty pakeha on the street and unless you were moving in the, you know our people like moving together. So unless you

³ Ngai Tamarawaho at Huria and Te Papa and Ngati Kahu at Wairoa.

were with a group of people or on your own I found this quite isolating and so that's to do with the influx of more tauwi coming to Tauranga as well cause they see it as being a it's the fastest growing city in these last few years in the Bay of Plenty and so that has a lot to do it so the balance has actually changed as well in terms of numbers of people and who they are. So with that in mind, I went down to Merivale, to Greerton and I saw, that's where our people are. They're out at Merivale, or Greerton or places like that. They're not actually in the city. The city is really the executives tower, the corporate tower, that's how I see it. And people out there might disagree with that but to me see its still an impact. Its the urbanisation of Tauranga Moana and its coming out this way so fast but in fact even though its still there in the main city area it's still has an impact on our people and whether they want to be there or not. A lot of people don't even want to go into town now. So a lot of them shop at places like Brookfield or Cherrywood. They go to those places. They don't go into town. You know what I mean, eh. And it's something that unless you sit down and talk about it, you don't realise it's happening but it's what it is. Our people are really distancing themselves from the city because it presents a sterile, mirror tiled, facade. It's like vacant, like a vacant look, you can't see anything there. So they don't go there. That's how I read it anyway.

(Antoine): You talked about the interaction with other hapu was quite predominant when you were small. You were living over at Ngati Pango. Did youse ever interact with Te Pirirakau? Did you ever see them at the River?

(Ngaronoa): I'll think of that and say no, not really unless you look at the families who were living across there. That's like the Smith's, Aunty family have connections back to Pirirakau. They were at the river. Sonny Smith's boat was always there at the river but they're Hangarau as well but apart from

that I never saw any Pirirakau there. The only time I ever saw Pirirakau there down at the river. This is honesty. Was when they'd come back on a Saturday night after six o'clock closing and play two up down the river. Under the poplar trees. That's the only time, I Didn't actually see them, I Heard them. I heard all those fellas from Pirirakau, all the Borrells, the Bidois playing two up down the river and I always used to wonder what those fellas were doing you know that was the only time, they were there for half an hour and then gone. So that's the only connection we had. I think it was just a stop on the way home and that's a bit humourous.

(Antoine): Talk about interaction with other hapu and that have been affected by urbanisation that has followed on from the Raupatu. Did you have much when you were younger, did you see interaction with across the hill, the Raukawa and Waikato. Did you ever see, remember people coming across to visit families, to have hui, at Tangis, people from the other side coming to pay their respects?

(Ngaronoa): As a child I, when we were at the tangi's. First of all I had better explain it. As tamariki at the tangi's we had a certain place where we were to be and not meant to be but having said that we were supposed to be out of sight, out of mind but having said that I used to watch the different groups that would come onto the Marae and different ope that would come onto the Marae and I seem to think. I seem to think, I seem to remember that there were connections, they were the connections that came to the tangis on our Marae from other hapu. I don't know if other Iwi. I'd have to get Nanny to tell you that but I do know that, you know I can actually talk on that. I remember the buses pulling up at the Marae and they'd come from across the hill or even out this way. I better be specific when I say out this way. I was

just thinking of Nanny Taiaho and them used to come over from Matakana but across the hill I seem to remember people coming from across the hill.

There's so many things going through my head and actually when I talk there is a lot of emotions there as well which I , which haven't surfaced for a long time.

(Antoine): We'll talk more about the Marae. We've talked about your Nanny's talking about what should have been happening on the Marae. When you were young you were saying you saw all the kaumatua getting up to do their whaikorero and the kuia being there as well. When you came back, was the representation there in terms of, were there the kaumatua to do the whaikorero, were there the kuia or was it changed?

(Ngaronoa): When I first came back to our hapu, I noted that there were particularly strong kaumatua. By that I mean, within the hapu. What they said was law and I'm talking about Uncle Albert Brown there. He had his own way of talking and he was, he had authority when he spoke, whether people agree with me or not. I also think of the other ones who sat on the paetapu. I think of your koro⁴, I think of Uncle Joe sitting there. And how he was quiet and had a different manner altogether. You know, in a sense he was quietly spoken but when he stood up to speak, he spoke with authority and he was listened to for the same reason. You know, the representation of kaumatua on our Marae in contrast to those earlier years, I would say a lot of our kaumatua on our Marae, they actually came from other Marae to awahi us because there really I could count five of them I think off my head. I count Uncle Albert, Uncle Tame Whaiapu, Henare is always sitting there, Uncle

⁴ Joe Mohorangi Kuka

Mac, Uncle Awhi, and Te Ruruanga you know since I've come home. But of those Te Ruruanga and Henare are younger but of the older ones you see um, but also you can count extras in that like Uncle Joe, you can count Uncle Tauaiti. He used to come and awhi our Marae always. Uncle Wiremu, (BillyGum - Uncle Wiremu Nuku).

So when I came back I actually looked at our Ngati Kahu kaumatua. I felt that the representation wasn't there as before. We were very, to me I thought we only had five or so kaumatua and at any time there was a tangi or anything else happening on our Marae other kaumatua, they would come along and tautoko, who were connected by whanaungatanga and whakapapa. So it wasn't the same as in those old days.

With our kuia, yes I have to say that, Ngati Kahu our kuia have always been there. Also in recent years, in a sense, that a lot of them have become widowed and I think of Aunty Te Ruia, Aunty Pauline, Auntie Nellie, and most of the kuia in our hapu, even the younger ones have become widowed in recent years. So what we have is a hapu where there is a lot of kuia and only a few kaumatua. That has its own kind of impact in terms of what is handed on and what is learnt within our hapu. Does that answer your question?

(Antoine): Back down to the river again. A lot of people have talked about the plentifulness of kai and especially even up to the 1960's. A lot of them have noticed changes from the 1970's and especially in 1981 with the collapse of the Ruahihi Dam collapse. Going back to the 1970's, were you here in the 70's?

(Ngaronoa): I was away. I left in the 1960's but I can say just quickly that prior to that I have this wonderful picture in mind of standing up on the bridge,

the old bridge and looking down at the river. I being there all by myself and looking down in the water between the first and second pile and watching the herrings coming up the river. Absolutely thick between the two piles. They were swimming quite close to the surface and just seeing the sun shining on their bodies as they're swimming. Now that was then in the 1960's or early 1960's. When I came back, if I'm lucky I'll see a mullet jumping. That was back in 1987. So when the Ruahihi Dam collapsed in [1981sic] I wasn't here. I was away. And when I came back I sort of noted that, when I used to live on the old hill across the other side I looked out and always see the fish jumping on the river. You could see them jumping all the way up the river. I haven't seen that for a long time. Sometimes I've gone down to the river early in the morning just to see if I can see the fish jumping up the river but they're not there anymore. And I've never seen the herrings under the bridge, even the new bridge as I saw them then. So, you know I think since the Ruahihi Dam collapse obviously that would have had a big effect on the fishing, the fishing grounds and the breeding grounds I should think, the fish on their way up and down the river. Fishing was something we did alot. We'd sleep down the river, sleep between the poplar trees, light a fire, sleep down there. Our family wanted, just come down from home and put our fishing line out and most people in those days, we just use bamboo line. You know nowadays they have every other kind of line you can think of but in those days just a bamboo line or a hand line. So then, you know the fish were plentiful. We still go down fishing now. I've taken the girls down so they can learn how to fish, how to catch tuna, how to even bait their own fishing lines so they can keep that. That Tikanga that I learnt in sense is good to know, feel the wairua of the awa the same as I did whether you be swimming in it, fishing for kai or just there, you know. So that's to do with the awa. The other thing was that we always knew as kids when we swam across the river from the sandbank and across to the other side we always knew that's where the

Taniwha was and there's no fear of that with tamariki. We all knew that and we'd swim backwards and forwards at the river and the water then was clear, it was clear all the time. Nowadays the water is clear when it's full tide and when the tide is going out it's filthy. So I'm not sure if pollution up river is being drained into the river in those times but the river water is always brown, really brown. At low tide it makes me wonder what lies under the water, is it the pollution. And yet, in the old days you would never see that and the other thing that the river is really silted out, you can't feel the sand, I enjoy being in the river prior to the 1970s because you feel sand on the bottom and it felt clean. You stand in the water, stand in the river feel that sand under your feet and it felt good, you know, you could feel then but now you stand in the river and feel all this silty and muddy stuff underneath your feet eh. And you know the river's not right. So, yeah, so the impacts of the Dam collapse has had an impact on the river and also the other thing too, this is something I was talking about with Hone because there are so many swimming pools around now. Swimming pool in town, swimming pool around in other places and you know our people don't use the river like they used too. In the old days you see, when I was growing up you go and learn to swim in the river, you learnt in the river and even when you were young you learnt in the river and you had older ones that taught you how to swim in the river. You see now our kids have got to learn in the swimming pool because they see it as being safer but you see, in fact it took that focus away from the awa because it was seen to be more accessible for some people or perhaps they preferred it because the kids are just in a little square, easily controlled I just know it's sad. Our people don't use the awa as much as they used too. There's still families who always swim there, always fish there. You know a lot of times too they they go off and swim in the swimming pool cause its more controlled, seen as safer but in fact when we were growing up down the river, we learnt at an early age. How to be safe in the water. That's just something

else I've noticed. It's still an impact The focus for the awa has changed for some people and some families. Kia ora. I'm sure there's a lot of things I haven't talked about. What are they?

(Antoine): The State Highway that goes by the Marae.

(Ngaronoa): I knew you were going to ask that. I'll tell you this neat little story first of all. Its about Uncle Te Hono. Kia ora uncle where ever you are. That he is this wonderful koroua that lived on the other side, the Ngati Pango side. And I grew up with him and Auntie Ka. I used to go across to their place all the time but that's the thing I don't see anymore. As a koroua, he was he would have been. I'm sure in his seventies, maybe late sixties cause to me he always seemed really old. But he walked across the bridge and he was on his way to, might of been up to his Brothers place, you know, up to Uncle Tame, Paraone's place, maybe up to see one of his whanaunga's or down to the shop but there used to be sign down, just below the Wairoa Marae and it had on it, you know a AA sign⁵, a big yellow sign with Bethlehem painted on it. That koroua, he walked across the bridge, up the hill. I don't know if he carried something with him but he always took the sign out and he was very respectful, he didn't throw it, he just took it out and lay it on the ground and he would carry on and he'd come back. He'd come back in the afternoon and the sign would be up again, so the roadworks guys or Ministry of Works had been out to put the sign up again. Next morning the sign would be down again. You know I can remember one time talking to him and he was the one doing that and I thought, see, that was passive resistance. He was asserting his mana, he was saying to these guys, this is not Bethlehem, this is Wairoa. They didn't get the message for a longtime

⁵ yellow Automobile Association sign

and finally they took the sign away. So before I get back to my other korero I just wanted to put that their you know. I think that's real important. It shows people that there was passive resistance or some kind of resistance to the change. Okay, coming back to my korero, talking about our people and the way things have changed.

[enter the rat]

(Antoine): State Highway 2

(Ngaronoa): Sorry, I got totally put off by the rat Okay State Highway 2. Well the history for that goes back a long way. And in regard to our hapu, with regard to our family, Bennett family and when that State Highway 2 was put through. They didn't ask anybody's permission to do that. And the driveway where the marae is now. On the other side of that there was a bank where all the lilies grew. And beside that was the track and went up from the road to my koro's place down behind the Marae. And then on the other side we had the bank and that was the old road. But you know that State Highway 2, when they took that, they didn't ask anybody if they could have it, they didn't compensate or anything like that, they just took it and brought it right in close to the Marae and did away with koro's track. That has been a thorn in our side for a while because nothing was ever done. I shouldn't say nothing was done but there was always with a view that, that had taken place illegally, like nobody asked us whether we wanted to have that done or not, any of Ngati Kahu. But I say illegally because okay by the law they were able to do that, yeah sure there were Acts that was set up for that, it's still illegal⁶ eh. It's deliberate, its deliberate theft in a sense by the government. They

⁶ natural law of justice

write out the law and they go ahead and do what they want to do. So they took that land for State Highway number 2 and the thing was that the land on the other side they didn't return it to the hapu, it went into private ownership. So those are two things that have always been talked about in my family, the Bennett family. Apart from that it was State Highway 2 going there past the Marae, that has a big effect on the Marae itself, the Marae protocol or its impact on the ceremonies that take place on the Marae itself. I should say that in regard to the traffic noise and just that thing of you know our Marae, its like its just perched up on the side of the road. So even with that the Marae boundary or area has become lessened and there's still that feeling of being squashed back into a certain space. There's still that feeling because the Marae itself, you know the Marae atea, that whole area was designated, set aside by our people, as a special area. And so when that was lessened, part of the land removed for the State Highway, it's pushed our people back into a less area and so as we know when were thinking about the building of Marae or wharenuui and wharekai, where ever we determine to have our Marae area. It's a big question, not just something that happens overnight, so if we are looking to move the Marae or stay where we are it still creates a lot of problems in that we only have a small space and a physical space and the spiritual space of the Marae is as important as one to the other. So the road definitely impacted in terms of another intrusion, in terms of the traffic, in terms of the noise and also it is very noticeable that as far as State Highway 2 is concerned the Ministry of Works at that time, Road Transit as they call them now, they completed a footpath up as far as the corner of Carmichael Road and State Highway 2 down back towards the shops. You see I'm being real horrible here and say that's because pakeha's live on both sides of the road there but from Carmichaels Road down to the Marae there was nothing, even though we pay our rates and even though this big flash highway went past the Marae, there was no provision made for amenities, according to the

Tauranga District Council for our people and you see to me it, just once again it proves the point that if its something that will help Pakeha or Tauwiwi they will do it, if it served Tauranga District Council's needs they will do it because they get good kudos out of that, but because it's Maori, it's not seen as being important and in fact that State Highway 2, the fact that they didn't ask about it at all and then when they did put it through they didn't actually finish off their mahi and make sure that road was safe for our people which are traveling backwards and forwards. That only came about because some of us got proactive and went down to the ratepayers meeting and put it forward and said "Hey, how come we've got a footpath up here and not down by the Marae" so as you see now we have a footpath. That might be a little thing to some people but in fact to us it's quite a big thing. So, in terms of the impact of State Highway 2 right up from Carmichaels Road, the increased traffic right down to the river there and now the new bridge across the river. Even in terms of taking more of the land, you know because it's moved to this, the right side of the road and not to the left and I mean its still cutting right through our whenua so State Highway 2 bisects the whenua On the left hand side we have the block which we know as the severance block and that purely, I mean the name says it, severed from the rest of the whenua of Ngati Kahu which is on the right hand side of the road. That's a simple but dramatic example of how tauwiwi has split our whenua and the land and the people. Also in terms of our thinking that's happened. So that's State Highway number 2.

What else has happened around the place that we can talk about. We've talked about the river. I want to talk about the impacts of those, the fact of all that building that is taking place around Taniwha Place, around Te Papa o Wharia there. You around Poteriwhi. Gee that, you know, all that area is sacred to us. That I knew as a kid, I go back to this again. The difference

between things that I was able to do as a child, I'm not able to do now because of the way things are. That land there, all along the riverbank down Taniwha Place, up around Te Papa o Wharia. You see when we were young we could go down there and right around the riverbank and that's all been closed in and fenced in so we can't anymore. And the other thing is that on the other side, the Waimarino Canoe club. That's another impact on the awa which I wasn't aware of till I came home and it's very I'm trying to say this as nice as possible, it's very disheartening, actually it makes me bloody furious to look at it, that's honest because all that area round there, its all tapu that area round there. And somewhere on that corner there my tipuna's buried there and all I know is that, that Waimarino Club has actually spread out, its spreading out more and more. When it was first there it was a small area. It shouldn't have been there in the first place ahakoa its is. So it was there, people kind of accepted that, maybe because they thought they couldn't change it but what I see as time goes on it's actually spreading out more and more along that riverbank and what I actually worry about is the fact that the accessibility from that side around to our waahi tapu, to me is quite frightening and really worrying and that's something that needs to be dealt with. And those houses that have come up all of a sudden overlooking the river. Been built there only recently in recent months. The other night Hone and I went for a drive down there and we turned around and onto the bridge and there must be a new house that's been there but maybe they've just connected all the electricity but they turned the lights on, all the lights on. I'd never seen it before. Its like all these things are happening around us and sometimes we're not aware that they've happened till it's too late to stop them. So in terms of impact, we can say a social impact is that the people of the hapu are now carrying or getting stressed by it. So you've got stress on three different levels and that's a social impact. Cause the wairua part is not being answered because you can see things happening that we can't change,

your powerless to change, so the wairua first of all feels that and is aggrieved by it and there doesn't seem to be any healing for that, then the mind, you know, our hinengaro, we look at it and take it in and either we deal with it or we don't so you know we either get pukuriri or we get sad or we decide that we will do something about it or we think no and try and switch it off. You see all that does is it just drives it out further and down to your wairua. And then physically we look at it and you can make change, you can do something to change it or else you can sit by and just watch it happen. That's how, I'm glad that in Ngati Kahu anyway we are actually addressing that, trying to address it the best way we can physically and hopefully because we do that physically it also for some of our people they get to feel a bit of relief in terms of the stress, whether mentally or at a wairua level. Because it does affect us eh. I mean you just see yourself in a spiritual sense we talk about waahi tapu and somebody comes and builds on it, puts a big fat house on there and they have no idea of the sacredness of the place, you know, they just takahia on the mana of our tipuna and us. And we the descendants watch it and sometimes we feel empowered to change it and sometimes not. So, I guess that's what this really comes down to in terms of social impact. At the end of the day because of the social impacts of our people, our hapu, how that has affected us and basically it is to say the majority of our people feel powerless to change it but there are a few that feel it can be changed or it can be addressed and arrested, so that it doesn't continue. But I mean the impacts for our people are going to just carry on, there will be more and more unless it is reversed and that's where the Raupatu claims are really important cause for the first time in history it gives us a chance to redress that mamae that has taken place and the deliberate plunder of the lands and the people. I'm sorry, I'm getting a little, like soap box when I talk about things like this. But you can't really talk about Raupatu or social impacts or anything like that without coming out with some resolution at the end of it otherwise all we're doing is

continuing it on for the next generation. So we do some fighting talk there. I'll say straight up, I'm a fighter, I believe in fighting for things, I don't always think you need to follow the law to get justice because sometimes the law is deliberately written so that we will not have justice. So at the end of the day it comes down to every person deciding for themselves what they can live with, what they can't live with and how to change it and that's the challenge for each and every one of us.

You know working as a counselor, you see a lot of the breakdowns in the whanau, even the, between tane and wahine, even where tamariki are concerned, you see that because it's like a, the roles are changing or have been changed, historically. So, where the turanga, the turangawaewae or turanga perhaps, men always stood at that place and felt comfortable with [that sic.] and same as women and there was that equal balance of roles. It wasn't a case of I'm better than you or anything like that, but it was an equal balance of roles cause I'm sure way back in the beginning, traditionally, our wahine and tane really supported and awahi each other and fought together actually to make things right, to make things happen for our people but in today's world you see tauiwi is slightly different in regard to place of tane, place of wahine and so you have that, that presents itself within some of the whanau, even as to how they recognise themselves in terms of mana and because there has been a loss of mana or even an understanding of mana. There is mana in the tane and mana in the wahine and mana of the tamaiti and each is important in its own right. But that's not really recognised. Some times a lot of the negative things that come out of abuse you know, whether talking physical abuse or verbal abuse or the other kind of abuse for that matter is from us not understanding those traditional, I mean the pure essence of what our traditional roles were. I know things change with time and we adapt to the new world around us, the traditional systems have

become broken down, so whanau either look after each other or they get into this nuclear family where you just look after yourself and bugger anybody else because that happens too. So we have some of the people who are holding on to the old way and trying to keep to our Tikanga and yet we have some of our people who are living an individualistic lifestyle. And some who sort of move between the two. So that in a way creates a whole lot of confusion because within the whanau, roles and responsibilities are kind of, there's a vagueness about them. Not clear cut like they used to be. So some way or another we've got to take the best of the old world and the new and bring it together so that can work for our people. So as a whanau counselor, as someone who works with our pakeke, our rangatahi and tamariki I've seen that. And in a lot of the areas that you see where it needs the development like in terms of self confidence, self esteem, all those things to do with mana, you know, mana tangata, mana wahine, mana o te tamaiti and I find in a lot of work just actually talking it through, just hearing korero from those ones who come to see me about, in terms of confidence, confidence to do something, having self esteem in themselves but if they don't, they feel they have to get it by, basically beating up on somebody else or putting someone else down. You know those things are really important and its like we almost forget to talk about them and so they come and ask me, "What's mana?, what does that mean?". I'm thinking that they understand it. They don't. They say no one has ever explained to them what it means. So I think this is where I feel our kaumatua are very important if they can actually talk about these things with our younger people and give them an understanding. By this I mean our kaumatua tuturu, so that we can some insight. We have our own version or picture of what mana is or any of those other taonga, you know we talk about all the different kupu that are special to us. Even when we talk about tapu, you know, what does that mean, tapu and noa. Social Impacts in terms of Te Reo, you know, the loss of our reo, eh, since the Raupatu. Well we lost

all our speakers. We lost our rangatira. We lost our chiefs. We lost our speakers. Our kaikorero. So, how long has it taken us, a hundred years or so to try and get back to a level that when we were talking the reo. Know we're learning the reo. So you see its been an impact like that. So its impacted on us, in our language, on our customs and our just everything we do. Kia ora.

**Hone Ngata. *Te Ahuatanga o nga Whakairo, Kahutapu, Wairoa Marae.*
1996. pp6-7**

That one represents the hapu of this river. Not only Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango, Ngati Motai, Ngati Rangi, Tamahapai further up. If you understand Ngati Kahu hapu today we're only limited to, what I'm saying is, the only land we have in our possession today is from this road here, up that road and down to the river. It about three hundred acres Antoine. Now before the land confiscation's in the 1860's, the land wars, Ngati Kahu had up to about 15,000 acres which went all the way up the river to the Kaimai. So it included all those hapu. So when the land was taken it was devastating on this hapu of Ngati Kahu so all we have now is the Marae Community Zone. So the people were forced to live on this 300 acres of land. So all these wealthy people are wanting to build on here, on what we say is our land. Not only Ngati Kahu, this was the whole of Ngati Ranginui between the Wairoa River and the Waimapu. The whole city area, Huria Marae, Hangarau, Ngai Te Ahi on the other side, there land was stolen!! and the reason was because Gate Pa and General Cameron came here with his constabulary, they were defeated there. So what they did a few weeks later was that they ambushed Ranginui so our tupuna's died fighting for their land but anyway, that one represents the hapu, or the sub-tribes around the Wairoa Awa.⁷

.... And then we come across to here and this is red. What's red in our history? Blood. A lot of people don't like, well this meeting house speaks the truth of our past. The truth of our past showed that at Pukehinahina which is the Maori name for Gate pa took place a battle against the British and can you see that symbol on the top there. That's the sign of victory there so our tupuna had a victory a Gate pa when the forces of General Cameron came

⁷ Hone Ngata. *Te Ahuatanga o nga Whakairo, Kahutapu, Wairoa Marae.*
1996. p5

here to attack our people. They were defeated at Gate pa. The red signifies the blood of all the people who lost their lives there and those tupuna who lost their lives fighting for the land. The little white figures you see in here they portray the spirit of our people who died fighting there, Gate pa. Many of them from this hapu. After the battle of Gate pa there's a waahi tapu on the awa here. Our tama toa , our Maori warriors came back to bath in the healing waters of the Wairoa. At the bottom there, there's a shape, a calabash or hue. Tauranga Moana Trust Board, that's their logo. That calabash, there's a saying in the bible that was true at Gate Pa where an English soldier lay dying and one of the kuia's sneaked down at night and took him water and it was based on that biblical saying "If thine enemy thirst, give him drink". "If your enemy is hungry, give him kai". That's really the honour our people fought with Maori people are the most hospitable people in the world. If Hitler came to the front gate, they would give him a powhiri, you know. I know when I was in Gisborne as a young man the springboks came here in 1981 and I was totally against them coming to our country because they practice apartheid and I opposed the springbok tour, Maxine and I. I said to my people, "If Hitler came to the marae you'd welcome him". They said "yeah we would". That's the Maori way you see. The Maori way is to not demean the next person but to uphold your own mana. So where ever you go and someone has a go at you, just hold your mana, maintain your own mana, and forget about them cause he's not worth it. Never reduce yourself to the other persons low status. Always maintain your own high standards.

As I said earlier you come across to this one here. See the two half faces. That's a musket in that one there. At Te Ranga shortly after the battle of Gate pa. Te Ranga is about ten miles from here. With the help of some informers, English managed to ambush our people at Te Ranga. They

slaughtered our people at Te Ranga after Gate pa so they got there own back and they slaughtered our people there. These things are a reminder cause we don't want these things to ever happen again. We don't want history to repeat itself. The other thing I want to say is that my kuia's, your kuia's, Antoine's kuia's, Maxines kuia's many of them they don't talk, tell these stories. That's because it's so painful. So its been left to the younger generation to talk about these things. This is part of your history and you don't get taught these things in history. You learn about the French revolution and what's happened in America, you learn all about Europe and what happened in England but you'll never learn about what happened here. Because what they tell you happened here, Captain Cook came here and brought all these nice things here and we got out of our grass skirts and started wearing nice clothes and we are always happy as long as we have got the guitar and Maori are very laid back and casual. Like singing. That's what we have been taught in school. You don't have to speak Maori. As long as you can speak English you can get a job but the reality is you know the prisons are full of our people, we are the biggest dole cues in the country and that is our reality. We have lost most of our land. Out of 66 million acres, we have only 3 million acres left. Who's got the rest. The Crown.

Kawainga Tata 13th August 1996

Grandfather built his own boat, dark green inside and out called the "Green Hornet". Norene remembers being in the "Green Hornet" around Pupuwai. Plenty of mamaku, manuka, ti kouka, raupo, and a little toetoe mainly around the railway bridge. There were no pohutakawa, only on the other side (west side).

There used to be harvesting of harakeke. Dense vegetation at Wairoa. Scattered blackberry especially when road was put through along road verges.

Grandfather built the shed with raupo for his calves. Built the marae with Mac Apaapa being his right-hand man. Cooking was done outside.

The Bennetts were the band. Pay a shilling at the door. All the dances were held in the wharenuī.

The papakainga at Wairoa were all closer to the river than they are now.

Three (3) springs

- one for kaanga wai (well away from drinking water)
- one for drinking water which ran into,
- one for washing. Dug out for clothes.

Eel was put into spring to keep water clean of the film that can form on the surface.

Every Sunday went to church, Mormon. This was held at the marae during the 1940's and 1950's. Church stopped people going to the marae.

During Summer at Wairoa for cultivating potatoes and kaanga. Winter was spent at Cambridge Road. We were known as the gardeners.

Fish was so plentiful at Wairoa. Fish heads and bones were obtained from the fishworks for pawhara. Long lines of fishbones drying out along the fence. Fishbones were soaked in salt water overnight then hung out on barbed wire fence. Dried tuatua were boiled then soaked in salt water then sewn up and hung up to dry. All the kids knew when they were ready.

Mataitai / Fishing at the Wairoa

At Te Tawa:	pipi's, tuangi
At the railway:	furthermost reaches of patiki
Special place through the repo:	tamure kingfish
Towards Ruahihi:	Koura (a substance was smeared over a manuka branch so koura would stick or

cling to it. The branch was fastened by line to the bank.)

Pawhara eels

Washing

Head first, standing in line with other family members. Used taniwha soap.

Next to the railway, drain was a clean creek with a rock bottom. There was a growth of harakeke that the old people worked.

Shown photo's of house-boat. Ngatai gave them permission and even offered pupuwai to them for a price without Ngati Kahu's knowledge.

House beside the marae the Te Keeti papakainga.

We had pataka and rua for kai. Before harvesting riwai, the kuia's were flat out making kete. Communal harvest, young girls cook for workers. Ormsby's from Te Puna came to help.

Pirirakau were kupapa. Never saw Pirirakau on the river (no roads). Only mixed with Pirirakau through sport. There were no boundaries. Ngati Kahu shared. They knew where there fishing grounds were. Only rules were, share with the hapu, take enough for a feed, and don't sell. The Smith's were hard out fishing and selling and were spoken to.

Whakaheke had no tapu for the kids as they ate fruit there. The tapu was cleared for everyone. Cemetery for the Apaapa's, Ngawharau's. Taumatawhioi was for the Ormsby's then the Poumako's, Brown's, etc.

Poplars behind Gordan's shed were grown for firewood as money for the marae. Money didn't come back to the marae.

Lining for Whare-kai was from grandads house. We had to live in a house with no lining.

Men at Wairoa were generally very violent, also hardworking, great providers and loyal to their jobs.

Bread was cooked in the ground using hot shells. Camp ovens.

Karaka berries. Heaps of trees. Berries were ready when birds came around and the smell was in the air. Most picked off the ground, put in billies and soaked. Outer shell comes off, then boiled then soaked again. Grandma hid them on top of the whare riwai. Rich in protein.

Remember watching Nanny make cloaks, whariki, kete. Was Bibbin's teacher.

First school was at the side of the river, moved to the school site at Carmichaels Road then to Bethlehem Primary site of present.

Problems started for Maori through the introduction of alcohol, hardship on being unsuccessful in getting government loans after the war to run farms. That was the impact on Maori with the confiscation. Families deteriorated through alcohol.

Cherrill Whaiapu. 4.11.96. Extraxcts from Interveiw

Family Religions?

Ratana

You now um as far back as I can remember when I first came back here, they had beer on that Marae. They used to have um it in the kitchen, which was a dirt floor then. That's my first coming back here. I don't even remember changing the back. I suppose I didn't really go down there that much. And the other thing, they used to have, and thats what I'd probably always want to see it again. They used to have tennis courts, one down the bottom where the club is know and one up the top and you always saw someone playing tennis, you know, playing there. And you could see like those younger people in those days, they had something to do. They played their sports and the older people too funnily enough. And it's missing now. Yeah, it's a social impact. I think that had a big impact, them taking away what sporting facilities that they did have. Even though they thought they were doing a good thing. I think they could of developed things better, when they had their chance, then when the money that was around. Like there was a lot of money around at that time. You could get grants of all sorts, even to the Marae. You see you come back to it, there again they used and abused themselves, that Marae should have been upgraded then when the money was around. All the other Maraes were getting done but why not Ngati Kahu

....I'm only a social drinker, now and again sort of thing. So, that side doesn't really matter but if anyone is going to benefit it should be the people themselves. You now if they are going to it anyway. It should be done properly and in a controlled environment I don't think any individual should benefit from an enterprise like that. It should go back to the people to do good for the people. It doesn't have to be like people when they look at the lands even that are thinking what's in it for them. But even if money comes in from the land back to the Marae they're benefiting because they are thing of the Marae. Ngati Kahu lands are not rich. So they cannot pay out like some places can pay. Not all places can pay out that sort of money anyway. But if money is coming back to the people and the Marae they are still benefitting as a beneficiary plus their children and grandchildren. That's how I look at it. For myself, even though I'm and inlaw but I benefit from it. But I don't look at it in the terms of money. I would never sell what interests I've got I see it as a benefit for my children ro grandchildren or great grandchildren in the future to come and if ever this place is going to get right, got to do it now, the old people have got to come to it or its going to be left up to the young people and that could be a long way away I believe um some of the young people are doing the right thing now with the skills that they've got but its up to the old people to support them and help them instead of fighting the good they fight the good as well. Even if its good they still fight it. Because most of the stuff that's being done is done with the view that environmental as well eh

Appendix VI Population Statistics

Wairoa hapu Demographics

Heale (1865 field notebook)

Hapu	Residence
Ngati Rangi [sic]	Te Papa o Wharia [sic]
Ngati Tama [sic]	
Matehaere	Mill, Wairoa

1864 T.H.Smith, Civil Commissioner (taken from Stokes:1990:18)

Tribe	Settlement	Joined Insurgents at Waikato	Total Adult Males
Ngati Tamahapai			
Ngati Rangi	Papa o Wharia [sic], Poteriwhi		
Ngati Pango			
Ngati Motai	Pukekonui, Purakautahi	30	43

Note: numbers differ from AJHR 1864 E3 No.20 which are given as 29 and 41 respectively).

Surrendered rebels on 24th July 1864: AJHR 1864 E6, p20, 23

Name	Hapu	Weapons
Warepapa	Ngati Kahu	Spear and pouch
Tiherua	Ngati Kahu	Old man
Terea	Ngati Kahu	Old man
Te Manu	Ngati Kahu	Old man
Ngawaru	Ngati Kahu	
Ko Romeka	Ngati Kahu	
Te Teira	Ngati Kahu	
Hiakita	Ngati Kahu	
Te Rei	Ngati Kahu	
Wiremu Rota	Ngati Rangi [sic]	
Te Apaapa[sic]	Ngati Rangi [sic]	

Putnam 1872 (CD 72/1149)

Ngati Rangi	Irihanga	Raumati
Ngati Pango	Rangiora	Tuiwi

1878 (AJHR 1878, G2)

Hapu	Residence	Adult/Male	Total
------	-----------	------------	-------

Ngati Kahu	Rangiwaea, Poteriwhi	10	31
------------	----------------------	----	----

1881 (AJHR 1881, G3)

Hapu	Residence	Adult/Male	Total
Ngati Pango	Wairoa	11	25
Ngati Kahu	Wairoa, Kaimai	13	31
Ngati Rangi	Huharua	6	15

October 1883. List of Ngati Rangi and Ngati Kahu at Te Pura, Wairoa.⁸

Ngati Rangi		
Ngati Kahu	Te Pura	54

April 14th 1900. Ngati Tamahapai and Ngati Rangi land claim to the Crown.

Ngati Tamahapai		
Ngati Rangi		47

Official List of Landless Maoris who lost their land by confiscation. 22 May 1900.⁹

Ngati Tamahapai		29
-----------------	--	----

⁸ Kahotea, Desmond. 1996. Ngati Kahu, Ngati Pango, Ngati Rangi. p149
⁹ ibid. p147

Appendix VII List of Original Owners, Te Papa 453 and Te Papa 91, 1886.

244a. 2r. 0p

Crown grant under "The volunteers and Others Lands Act, 1877" dated the 3rd June 1886.

Ngati Kahu and Ngati Rangī

Raumati Ngamanu
Ngakuru Parera
Te Apa Apa Ngamanu
Mita Rapata
Wahawaha Tuata
Whira Rapaia
Hamiora Ngakuru
Penetaka Tuaia
Wharepapa Tihe
Tere Tehora
Te Teira Taumataherea
Te Raroa Herewini
Taukotahi Heteria
Te Ketī Herewini
Hipirini Apaapa
Rahiri Ngawharau
Whaiapu Wiremu
Ngawharau Herewini
Hune Pehi
Ngati Tauaia
Ngahoro Mihinui
Mereana Rangihaere
Ngati te Kotuku
Ngarama Rapata
Mere Rahiri
Te Tie Ngakuru
Te Hiri Hiri Wiremu
Hera Ngawharau
Tiori Wahawaha
Taiapo
Ngakoere Te Teira
Haua Herewini
Harata Herewini
Rauriki Whaiapu
Te Waikawa te Wharepapa
Tarakiteawa Tauaia
Hanuere Wiremu
Te Amomamuka Mihinui
Hohepa Ngarama
Te Taupe Ngarama

Puti Ngarama
Pene Apaapa
Paraiki Ngawharau
Tuangahuru Ngawharau
Poihipa Whaiapu
Te Pere Wharepapa
Puaia te Wharepapa
Mangu Apaapa
Riripeti Ngarama
Tutanumia Ngawharau
Hera Wharepapa
Te Ripoi Te Peira
Whaewhae Wharepapa
Te Kehe Ngawharau
Kui Ngawharau
Riripeti Whaiapu

Total: 55

Appendix VIII List of Original grantees, Te Papa 8, 1886
50acres

Ngati Kahu

Wharepapa
Te Teira Taumataherea
Te Apaapa Ngamanu
Raroa Herewini
Keeti Herewini
Whaiapu Wiremu
Rahiri Ngawharau
Hipirini Apaapa
Hune Pehi
Hera Ngawharau
Rauriki Whaiapu
Mere Rahiri
Kumeroa Te Kotuku
Waikawa Wharepapa
Paraiki Ngawharau
Taungahuru Ngawharau
Winoka Ngawharau
Weneri Whaiapu
Te Pere Wharepapa
Tiaki Wharepapa
Pene Apaapa
Te Hunuku Apaapa
Tutanumia Ngawharau
Keehi Ngawharau
Wahine iti Whaiapu
Mereona Rahiri
Whaewhae Wharepapa
Kui Wharepapa
Te Ripoi Te Peira

Total: 34

Appendix IX

List of Original grantees, Te Puna 182,

Hori Ngatai
Te Aria
Renata Toriri