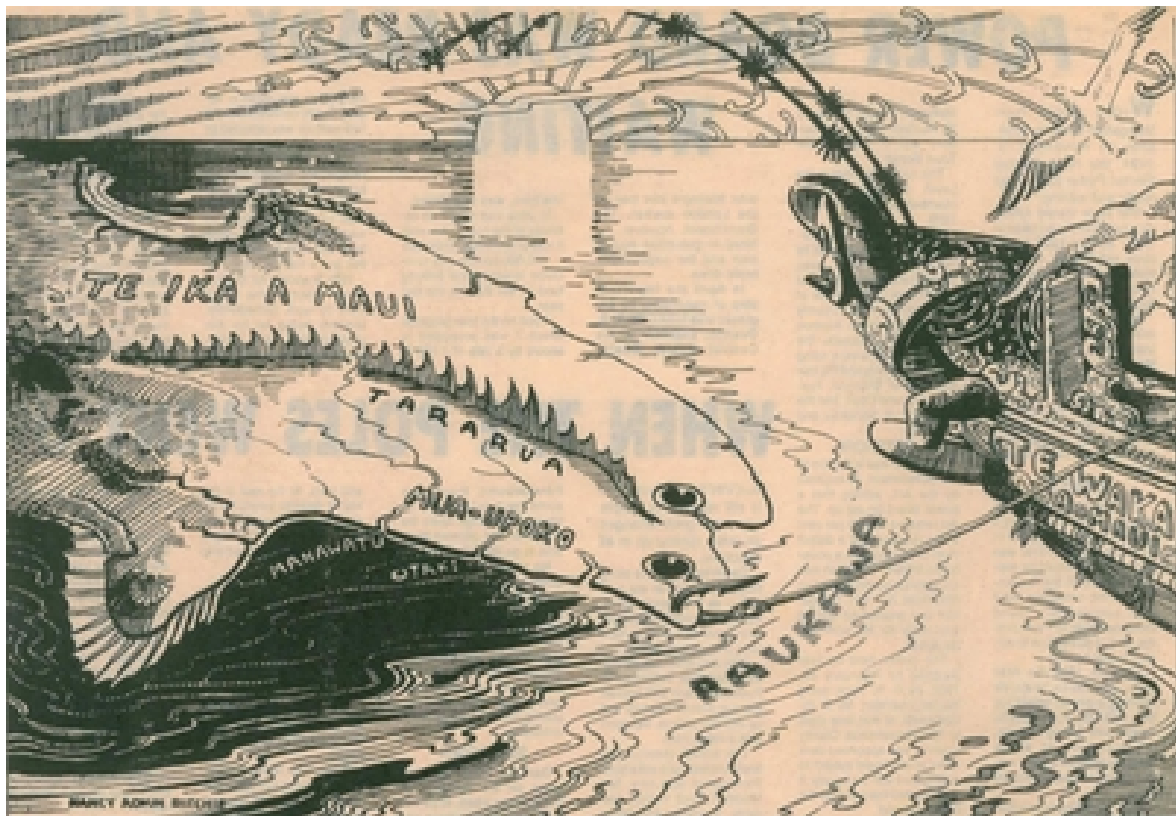
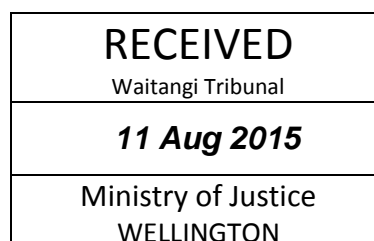


# MUAUPOKO ORAL EVIDENCE AND TRADITIONAL HISTORY REPORT



WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry  
Report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal

Louis Chase  
AUGUST 2015



## Cover Image<sup>1</sup>

Original artwork created by Nancy Adkin Ritchie for the dust cover of Leslie Adkin's book, *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-names and their Topographic and Historical Background*, (Wellington, 1948).

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<sup>1</sup>[http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/images/show/17231-nancy-adkin-ritchies-art-work-for-cover-of-leslie-adkins-book?view\\_size=large](http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/images/show/17231-nancy-adkin-ritchies-art-work-for-cover-of-leslie-adkins-book?view_size=large)

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## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Mihi**

Tuatahi, me mihi atu au ki tō tātou Matua-nui-i-te-rangi mō ōna manaakitanga katoa, ahakoa te piki, te heke, kia haere tonu ngā whakamoemiti ki a ia. Ka rua, kia maumahara ai tātou ki a tātou mate i hingahinga haere nei i runga i ō tātou marae maha, e kore rawa rātou e ngaro, e warewaretia. Ka toru, ka nui te mihi kia koutou Muaupoko iwi, Muaupoko tangata, Muaupoko whenua arā, Te Tuarā o te Ika, Te Ūpoko o te Ika, Te Karu o te Ika-a-Māui, tēnā koutou.

### **About the Researcher**

My name is Louis Torehaere Chase and I affiliate to Ngati Waewae, a hapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa. But we who reside at Te Reureu are commonly referred to as Ngati Pikiahuwaewae, whanaungatanga roopu-a-hapu from Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa. I hold a degree in Maori and a postgraduate diploma in Maori Development from the University of Waikato. My previous work has been with the Crown Forestry Rental Trust as a research assistant, Nga Kaihautu o Te Arawa; as a researcher/report writer for direct negotiations with the Crown, Ngati Tuwharetoa Wai 575; as a researcher in the Central North Island Inquiry and research manager in the National Park, Whanganui, and Rohe Potae Waitangi Tribunal District Inquiries. Unrelated work to the Waitangi Tribunal process has included mana-whenua reports for the Tuwharetoa Settlement Trust and Ngati Rangitahi in the Central North Island Iwi forest collective, and individual hapu profile reports and tribal thematic reports for Ngati Tuwharetoa direct negotiations with the Crown.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to acknowledge the staff at the Waitangi Tribunal, Andrew Francis, Kesaia Walker and Rauhina Scott-Fyfe for their assistance and support in writing this report. I would also like to acknowledge the Muaupoko claimants who helped expand my knowledge of a people who are steadfast and resolute about their history, their whenua, maunga, moana and what it is to be Muaupoko.

### **Report Commission**

The direction commissioning this research report (Wai 2200, #2.3.10) required the preparation of a Muaupoko oral evidence and traditional history report for the Porirua ki Manawatu district inquiry. Report preparation has involved consultation with Muaupoko claimants which commenced on 9 February 2015 and ended prior to the filing of this report.

## Methodology

The report commission outlined five specific themes<sup>2</sup> which have been incorporated into this report under three sections: Muaupoko te iwi; principal landmarks; and influences on Muaupoko. A central requirement was that the researcher should consult with Muaupoko claimants; interviewees were selected using the same process adopted when drafting the Muaupoko oral evidence and traditional history scoping report filed in January 2015 (Wai 2200, #A124). Many of the interviews (see below for list) were conducted with claimants who were already mindful of the scoping report, many of whom had contributed korero to it, so they were aware of what the process involved. Other Muaupoko tangata whenua not part of the scoping report were interviewed and provided their specific insights. As with the scoping report, this report also relied on korero provided at Kawiu Marae, Levin 17-18 February 2014, held as part of the Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district's Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui.<sup>3</sup> Documented sources were included to provide historical and/or chronological context. The researcher was also mindful that two other reports were in the process of being written for this inquiry, so care had to be given not to duplicate their information; this was managed by discussions and the circulation of draft material to one another.<sup>4</sup> For example, testimony contained in Native Land Court minutes relating to early Muaupoko settlement, ancestral rights to Horowhenua, Te Rauparaha's heke and the various battles and conflicts in the region prior to 1840 has not been covered in this report. Jane Luiten and Kesaia Walker have made thorough use of this material in their Muaupoko land alienation and political engagement report.<sup>5</sup>

1	Interviewee(s)	Date	Location
2	Henry Williams	5 March 2015	Otaki
3	Carol Murray	5 March 2015	Otaki
4	Hingaparae Gardiner	5 March 2015	Otaki
5	Peter Huria	6 March 2015	Hokio Beach
6	Ada Tatana	25 March 2015	Himatangi
7	Doug Tatana	25 March 2015	Himatangi
8	Bruce Wright	26 March 2015	Levin
9	Richard Takuira	26 March 2015	Levin
10	Charles Rudd	27 March 2015	Levin
11	Bill Taueki	16 July 2015	Levin

<sup>2</sup> See appended Report Commission – themes 2a. - 2e.

<sup>3</sup> Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3,.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Hamer, 'A Tangled Skein': 'Lake Horowhenua, Muaupoko, and the Crown, 1898-2000,' (Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, June 2015), and Jane Luiten, with Kesaia Walker, 'Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement DRAFT Report' (A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry (Wai 2200), June 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Jane Luiten, with Kesaia Walker, 'Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement DRAFT Report' (A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry (Wai 2200), June 2015. See chapter 1 'War and Resettlement, 1820-1845'.



A draft report was distributed to inquiry parties on 11 June 2015, and feedback was requested by 25 June 2015. A research hui was also held at Kawiu Marae, Levin on 2 July 2015 seeking feedback from claimants and legal counsel on both this report and the Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement draft report, which was also in draft form at the time. Much of the hui feedback was positive and, in the case of this report, some valuable information was imparted.

### *Research Challenges*

The most challenging aspect of this report has been the short timeframe of approximately six months. The short timeframe aside, there will always be information or people who are overlooked, or not given enough coverage. The time factor made it difficult to meet with all of the Muaupoko claimants for a number of reasons including lack of contact details or unavailability. The whakapapa table within the report sought clarification, corrections and additions from claimants, which was outlined on several occasions. No responses were provided to the researcher, however, so the whakapapa table remains unchanged. Another difficulty encountered was that much of the tribal history is documented by non-Muaupoko persons, or extracted from the Maori/Native Land Court minute books or the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*. These sources are useful, but it is important to consider that there is a lack of traditional korero from Muaupoko kaumatua with knowledge of tribal whakapapa, karakia, waiata, moteatea and whanau histories which hold valuable accounts not readily found in the sources noted above.

### **Report Outline**

This draft report is divided into three sections: Muaupoko te iwi; principal landmarks; and influences on Muaupoko. Section one examines Muaupoko origins commencing with the arrival of the waka Kurahaupo and the tribe's eponymous ancestors. Many Muaupoko maintain that they are tangata whenua, not a waka iwi, whereas, perusal of the whakapapa table (p.12) notes that principal rangatira descend from tupuna such as Kupe, Toitehuatahi and Whatonga. The geographical nature of Muaupoko residency and mana-whenua is highlighted as is how the tribe developed relationships with neighbouring iwi either through shared whakapapa to similar tupuna, intermarriages or peace-making relationships.

Section two investigates the principal landmarks of the Muaupoko people commencing with Tararua maunga, Lake Horowhenua and its tributaries, the coastline and Kapiti Island. This section explores how these landmarks are valued by the Muaupoko people. The physical value is, of course, the food stocks that were gathered, and the resources needed for habitation, which developed into a spiritual value because generations of Muaupoko sustained themselves on what their landscapes offered them.

Section three examines two influences on the Muaupoko people: historically the people within and without the tribe and the changed landscape. The former bears witness to the people who had negative and positive impressions on the tribe. The latter examines the changed landscape and how this has affected the tribe and the environment. The last part of this section discusses the health and wellbeing of the tribe from past records to data captured from the 2013 census.

Manawatu Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry District – WAI 2200

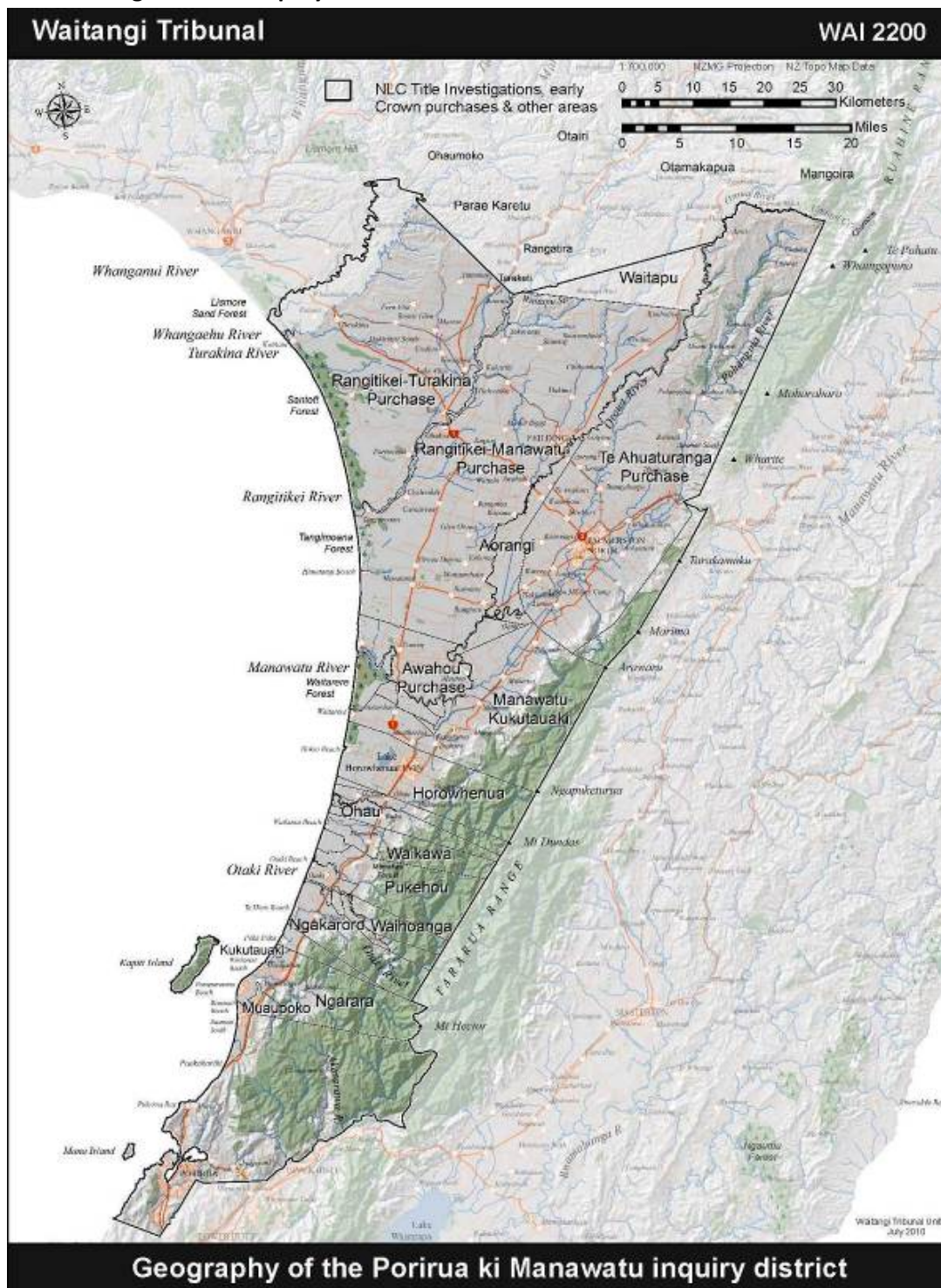


Figure 1: Porirua ki Manawatu Waitangi Tribunal District Inquiry (Wai 2200) boundaries

The western boundary of the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry district extends to the Whangaehu River in the west and down the Kapiti Coast to near the Porirua Harbour, including Mana and Kapiti Islands. The southern boundary follows the boundary of the Whanganui-a-Tara inquiry district from the Tasman Sea to the Tararua Ranges. The eastern boundary follows the boundary of the Wairarapa ki Tararua inquiry district from the Tararua Ranges to the Ruahine Ranges. The northern boundary follows the northern boundaries of the 1849 Rangitikei-Turakina purchase, the 1866 Rangitikei-Manawatu purchase, and the 1864 Te Ahuaturanga purchase, from the Ruahine Ranges to the Whangaehu River.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Source: Waitangi Tribunal: <http://www.justice.govt.nz/tribunals/waitangi-tribunal/documents/district-inquiries/porirua-ki-manawatu-district-map>

## **SECTION ONE – MUAUPOKO TE IWI**

This section examines Muaupoko from several aspects: tribal origins commencing with waka arrival and eponymous ancestors utilising tribal and archaeological accounts. A whakapapa table is essential in considering eponymous ancestors and intertribal relationships that form the basis for Muaupoko mana-whenua, which is explored in some detail in the section regarding Muaupoko tupuna. With these principal tupuna explained, more detail is added to define the rohe of Muaupoko in a traditional sense. Within this geographically defined rohe reside the seven hapu of Muaupoko as recognised today, with some commentary provided on historical hapu. Intertribal relationships are examined to identify whether this relationship is a result of whakapapa to the same eponymous tupuna or from intermarriage, and how these relationships developed and were maintained.

### **1.1 Origins of Muaupoko**

The first component of the Muaupoko pepeha states Kurahaupo as the tribe's waka that carried their tupuna to these shores, which is covered in a short commentary below. However, there are varying tribal accounts of who actually captained the waka, which of course is their particular history according to their traditional korero. Muaupoko maintain that Whatonga was the captain of Kurahaupo and according to their whakapapa, one of their leading tupuna. There is also the complexity of whether Muaupoko was indigenous or descended from waka-tupuna.<sup>7</sup> Archaeological evidence notes that there was a progression of races that inhabited the Horowhenua region over several hundred years, these people being the Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and those who arrived on the Kurahaupo waka. The former people were assimilated either by the latter, annihilated or just left the area for other lands. However, the possibility is that there may have been battles (as is the case when an outside group intrudes), intermarriage and departures. Those who remained on the rohe eventually became the Muaupoko people. Bruce McFadgen believes the 'first peoples' arrived in the region around 500 to 600 years BP (years Before the Present).<sup>8</sup>

#### **1.1.1 Kurahaupo Waka**

When Whatonga and his companions were competing in a canoe race back in Hawaiiki, a gale blew their canoe out to sea taking them to Rangiatea (Ra'iatea). When Whatonga eventually returned home, he was told that his grandfather Toitehuatahi had set out in search of him and his companions. Without delay, Whatonga decided to search for his grandfather and acquired a deep-sea voyaging outrigger called 'Te Hawaii' which he renamed Kurahaupo. The hull of Kurahaupo was made from four sections, with one haumi at the bow, and two haumi at the stern. The waka had twenty-six thwarts or seats for the fifty-two

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<sup>7</sup> See section 1.1.3. Archaeological accounts of GL Adkin's theory of 'Waitaha, followed by Ngati Mamoe and later fleet Maori.'

<sup>8</sup> Bruce McFadgen, 'Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa A study in tectonic archaeology,' New Zealand Department of Conservation, May 2003. p.12.

paddlers, two anchors and two areas for bailers. The waka crew also included four caretakers; two crew tending to the anchor; four crew tending to the ropes and sails; two crew tending to the fire; and two steersmen at the stern. With preparations complete the Kurahaupo and its crew of sixty-six set off in search of Toitehuatahi.<sup>9</sup>

Rangitane agree with this account to some extent stating that Whatonga was one of the principal chiefs aboard Kurahaupo, whose descendants:

....eventually migrated south from Mahia Peninsula to settle much of the lower North Island and the top of the South Island. The tribes associated with this waka include Rongomaiwahine (Mahia), Te Ati Haunui a Paparangi (Wanganui), Rangitāne (Manawatu, Tamaki Nui a Rua, Wairarapa, and Wairau), Ngāti Apa (Rangitikei and Marlborough), Muaupoko (Horowhenua), Ngai Tara (Wellington and Kapiti), Ngāti Kuia (Pelorus), and Ngāti Tumatakokiri (Golden Bay).<sup>10</sup>

Other iwi traditions differ from those of Muaupoko. For instance Te Aupouri of the Muriwhenua/Te Hiku o Te Ika in the far north claim descent from Pohurihanga who brought the Kurahaupo waka from Rangitahua (Raoul Island in the Kermadec Islands) after repairing damage to the lashings that almost wrecked the waka. Most of the crew were transferred and brought to Aotearoa aboard the Aotea and Mataatua waka, whilst Pohurihanga and others stayed and repaired Kurahaupo.<sup>11</sup> Ngati Ruanui and Ngati Apa claim Ruatea as the captain of Kurahaupo, and state it was he (Ruatea) who repaired Kurahaupo at Rangitahua.<sup>12</sup> Another Taranaki tradition claims descent from Te Moungaroa and Turu who were principal men aboard Kurahaupo.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.1.2 Tribal Accounts

The writer acknowledges that there is an abundance of historical reports, publications and documented sources that detail who Muaupoko are as an iwi and as a people. This report is written to reflect what the people of Muaupoko have to say about themselves. Within the tribe, there are two schools of opinion regarding origins, with some advocating that they are descended from tupuna who arrived on Kurahaupo waka and others stating that they the Muaupoko were resident when the waka arrived. Be it subjective, oratorical or traditional, this is an account of their history, their recollections of their traditions and customs. Jane Luiten noted that when talking to Muaupoko claimants, their stories,

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<sup>9</sup> Elsdon Best, *The Maori Canoe*, (Wellington, New Zealand, A R Shearer, Government Printer, 1976). pp.393-394.

<sup>10</sup> Rangitane o Wairarapa Inc.: <http://www.rangitane.iwi.nz/iwi-history/>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/Documents/getting-involved/consultations/current-consultations/offshore-islands/11-te-runanga-nui-o-te-aupouri-trust.pdf>. Submission by Te Runanga nui o Te Aupouri Trust on the proposed regional coastal plan: Kermadec and Subantarctic Islands. 31 March 2011.

<sup>12</sup> Tony Sole, *Ngati Ruanui: A History*, (Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2005).p.44.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, pp.43-44. Sole also noted that there were several other waka in Taranaki traditions that arrived prior to Turi in the Aotea waka, but the two best known waka being the Kurahaupo and Tokomaru (pp.42-43). See GL Adkin, *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-names and their Topographic and Historical Background*, (Wellington, 1948) pp.124-126, who stated a section of Muaupoko forbears arrived in the Aotea waka with Turi and settled along the Taranaki coast southward to the Manawatu eventually linking with their kinsmen from Whatonga.

traditions and experiences of war and dislocation pre-treaty, are not supported by existing historical accounts:

Finding evidence relating to Muaupoko is problematic. Muaupoko's own history became a casualty of the war and dislocation of the 1820s, while the early historical record by European travellers, Crown officials, and scholars was largely based on the perspectives of the new migrants in control of the district, rather than those who were dispersed or marginalised in the new order.<sup>14</sup>

Ada Tatana spoke of when their tupuna resided in the islands where with overpopulation and lack of resources many were prompted to venture to the lands first sighted by Kupe. They brought with them the mauri and an atua that personified the sun. On arrival in the Horowhenua district, they were awed by the abundance of the fish and birdlife, but were unable to find signs of human occupation. They were a spiritual people whose whole existence was based on karakia and wairua. Sometime later a group of unknown origin arrived and observed how these spiritual folk interacted with their surroundings. They called them Mua-te-tangata. The two parties displayed no aggressive tendencies towards each other and eventually there were intermarriages and, according to Ada Tatana, the Mua-te-tangata adopted the spiritual practices brought by the newcomers, to the point, she says, that the original Mua-te-tangata spirituality and traditions were diluted. According to Ada Tatana, the Muaupoko people today are a mixture of the Mua-te-tangata and the later arrivals.<sup>15</sup>

Kevin Hill recounted an incident from the Maori/Native Land Court minute books in which one of his ancestors was decapitated, giving rise to the name Muaupoko. However, he did add that the name may have originated from a nearby stream, called Muaupoko.<sup>16</sup> The name Muaupoko (the front of the head) defines the geographical location within Te Ika a Maui.<sup>17</sup> Eugene Henare provides another example, stating that 'Mua-o-te-tangata' denotes the people of the area, the people of the head of the fish. He spoke of the ancestor Māui, whose people they are, Mua-o-te-tangata, the people who have resided in the area since time immemorial.<sup>18</sup>

Vivienne Taueki draws from her experience and knowledge regarding waahi tapu, and in her view the Muaupoko boundary is a geographical area on the fish (Te Ika a Maui), which in itself has a tapu dimension. Accordingly, Lake Horowhenua (also known as 'Waipunahau') is not only their kai basket, but also represents the eye of the fish and Muaupoko are the kaitiaki of the eye of the fish. Muaupoko are

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<sup>14</sup> Jane Luiten, 'Muaupoko Land and Politics Scoping Report,' (Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, July 2014), pp.18-19

<sup>15</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 20 November 2014, Himatangi.

<sup>16</sup> Kevin Hill, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.89.

<sup>17</sup> Bryan Gilling, 'Ihaia Taueki and Muaupoko Lands: A Brief History,' A Report Commissioned by the Ihaia Taueki Trust Board, April 1994. p.1.

<sup>18</sup> Eugene Henare, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3

not a waka tribe but in time married waka tangata, and later became tangata whenua. She says Muaupoko are a fish tribe who have a direct whakapapa relationship to the fish.<sup>19</sup> Charles Rudd uses the expression Maupoko<sup>20</sup> and doubts the validity of the name Muaupoko, which the writer has heard from others using this pronunciation Maupoko. Charles Rudd<sup>21</sup> provided some information regarding pronunciation that he listed in order of importance:

1. Muu-au-poko,
2. Mau-poko,
3. Mua-poko,
4. Mua-uu-poko,
5. Mua-Upoka.

W K Te Aweawe of Rangitane had another take on the Muaupoko. He claimed they were ‘an offshoot of the Rangitane tribe,’ and that the original name was Hamua and that the name Muaupoko should be Mau-upoko (head carriers) from an incident that occurred at Himatangi. The story relates to a period when two hapu of the Manawatu area, Ngati Hineaute and Ngati Rangitepaia, went fishing at Himatangi and observed a party of Rangitane from the Horowhenua heading in their direction. The fishing group set about welcoming their kin who ignored them and continued on their journey. Seeking an explanation, the fishing group followed these travellers; one, who was lagging behind, threw a basket at his pursuers, and upon inspection it held the head of the chief Hanehane a close relative of Ngati Hineaute and Ngati Rangitepaia. Angered, a skirmish took place at a nearby stream leaving only six survivors of the travelling party able to make it to the other side, one of whom hurled an insult, ‘Mau upoko ma,’ (head carriers). This term became a general name for all those residing in the Horowhenua region and further south.<sup>22</sup>

Regardless of the varying interpretations of origin or pronunciation, the main fact endures: namely, that Muaupoko maintained their ahi kaa on the land, or as some tribal members believe, prior to the arrival of Kurahaupo waka and the later arrivals from the north. Post-Treaty accounts of ahi kaa were provided as evidence before the Native Land Court and are covered in Jane Luiten and Kesaia Walker’s ‘Muaupoko Land and Politics Report’ being prepared for the Wai 2200, Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry.<sup>23</sup>

### 1.1.3 Archaeological Accounts

Much of the information utilised for this section is extracted from some of the earliest accounts of those who were actively involved in excavations in the area. Many of their theories have been superseded through the advent of modern radiocarbon dating methods or people re-investigating source material

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<sup>19</sup> Vivienne Taueki, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, pp.60-61.

<sup>20</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 1 November 2014, Levin.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Rudd, 4 December 2014, Kawiu Marae, Levin.

<sup>22</sup> W Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast: Maori History and Place Names*, (Wellington, 1966).pp.4-5.

<sup>23</sup> Jane Luiten, with Kesaia Walker, ‘Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement DRAFT Report’ (A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the Porirua ki Manawatu inquiry (Wai 2200), June 2015). Also see Terry Hearn, ‘One past, many histories: tribal land and politics in the nineteenth century’, 2015, Wai 2200, #A152.

and correcting earlier theories.<sup>24</sup> For instance Adkin spent much time documenting and mapping sites in the Horowhenua region. He also theorised several periods of occupation around Lake Horowhenua prior to what he perceived as 'fleet-waka' arrival. Anthony Dreaver wrote that Adkin held to this belief of 'cultural succession' of Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and fleet-waka tradition, and had very little interest for Maori traditions that did not correlate with this theory. In fact, Adkin was protecting the traditions as espoused by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best, instead of protecting the traditions of Maori people.<sup>25</sup>

This section may help to provide additional information to the traditional beliefs of what some of the Muaupoko people stated earlier, that they were pre-Kurahaupo waka with others advocating that they are descendants of Kupe, and other notable tupuna who sailed here from the islands. Some theories have been added to assist in the understanding of how and why archaeologists study the past, and what methods they employ.

### *Theories*

Archaeologist Jack Golson believes that Maori traditions of origin and myth need to be balanced with the findings of archaeology.<sup>26</sup> This statement is based on the theory that tradition 'deals with the deeds of individuals in a context of social units, families, clans or tribes, and archaeology deals with the surviving paraphernalia of everyday activity, and the units into which it organises this material, cultures, phases, or aspects, are of its own devising.'<sup>27</sup> Surprisingly, Golson noted, archaeology and tradition observe different aspects of prehistoric activity and that any overlap is often small. On this basis, tradition and archaeology need to be integrated, which is no easy task, because if material is uncovered from a certain tribal area, it is not safe to assume that it belongs to that tribe, the material itself may not be distinctive of the tribe; and the more remote the period the more difficult the task of integration of tradition and archaeology. The danger is that 'archaeology and the study of traditions become operationally completely independent of each other.'<sup>28</sup>

Ian Keyes, a member of the Geological Society of New Zealand, suggested that in the sequence of New Zealand's prehistory human occupation has to be measured by one of two principles:

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<sup>24</sup> See article by Janet M. Wilmshurst, Atholl J. Anderson, Thomas F. G. Higham, and Trevor H. Worthy, 'Dating the late prehistoric dispersal of Polynesians to New Zealand using the commensal Pacific rat,' *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* (2008), and DR Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori*, (A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1976). pp.14-29.

<sup>25</sup> Anthony Dreaver, *An Eye for Country: The Life and Work of Leslie Adkin*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1997). p.254.

<sup>26</sup> Early archaeological studies of the area were conducted by Adkin, Rolston, Golson and Keyes who used tools and methods of their respective periods of study. These early pioneers paved the way for later archaeological studies conducted by Bruce McFadgen who benefitted from present technology, see subheading 2.1.3 – old trails (Tararua).

<sup>27</sup> Jack Golson, 'Archaeology, tradition, and myth in New Zealand prehistory', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 69, no 4 (1960). p.380.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.



1. that of an initial “basic stock” out of which all later peoples evolved, with the likelihood that any new arrivals had only minor impact on the course of overall culture evolution, and
2. that the span of New Zealand prehistory saw the arrival at separated intervals of various groups from several parts of the Pacific.

Keyes supported the latter principle, arguing that each migrant group introduced new ideas and that their characteristics according to the iwi and districts they encountered were either subsumed thoroughly or partially; there was no country-wide uniformity, or ‘Maori culture.’<sup>29</sup>

### *Mangaroa Pa-site*

Richard Rolston began work on the Mangaroa pa-site on 23 October 1942, which was located on the north-western extremity of lake Horowhenua (see figure 2).<sup>30</sup> Fortunately for Rolston, Leslie Adkin had already uncovered several details about the origin of the pa-site, namely that it was pre-Muaupoko, and the latter inhabitants, the Muaupoko, named it Mangaroa, its original name being unknown. What Rolston was able to ascertain from the pa-site structure was that it was built as a place of refuge with defensive palisades. Adkin postulated that the pa-site must have ‘belonged to lengthy successive occupation, but all were pre-Muaupoko.’<sup>31</sup> Rolston returned to the pa-site on 2 April 1946 and continued to examine artefacts such as adzes, green stone chisels, sharpened flints, and vessels used for the manufacture of kokowai pigment. A sapling, sharpened to the shape of a spear, was found close to what remained of the former palisading; and at the base and between the palisading Rolston discovered a number of human bones. These discoveries correlated with Rolston’s 1942 assumption that the palisading was indeed used for defensive purposes.<sup>32</sup>

### Proto-Ngati Mamoe

Keyes noted that within Polynesia, early traditional warfare took the form of open combat, and that fortified sites were characteristic of Melanesian warfare. The concept of fortified pa-sites was introduced by a people whom Keyes terms as the proto-Ngati Mamoe: “Melanesized” Tongans (i.e. Tongans with a background of Fijian cultural traits, including Melanesian members) who followed a course into southern waters. The proto-Ngati Mamoe (Te Tini-o-Mamoe), who arrived around 1200 AD made contact with the present inhabitants, who themselves, Keyes suggested, originated from eastern Polynesia, and both groups co-existed until the arrival of the ‘fleet-Maori’. The original name for these people was Te Tini-o-Mamoe, after their chief Whatu-Mamoe; however, upon the arrival of the ‘fleet-Maori’ the prefix ‘Ngati’

<sup>29</sup> IW Keyes, ‘The Ngatimamoe: The Western Polynesian-Melanesoid sub-culture in New Zealand’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 76, no 1 (1967). p.47.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Rolston, ‘Excavations at pa-site Lake Horowhenua’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 53, no 4 (1944). p.163.

<sup>31</sup> GL Adkin, ‘A Patu type attributable to the Ngatimamoe culture, from the Horowhenua-Manawatu area, Western Wellington’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 72, no 1 (1963). p.29.

<sup>32</sup> Rolston, Richard, ‘Further excavations at pa-site, Lake Horowhenua’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 56, no 3 (1947). p.264.

was adopted.<sup>33</sup> However, modern radiocarbon dating methods estimate human arrival to be 1280 AD by dating seeds gnawed by rats. Palaeoecologist Janet Wilmshurst and colleagues determined that the Pacific rat was introduced to both islands of New Zealand around 1280 AD either as stowaways or deliberately brought here. The new radiocarbon dating of rat bones and rat-gnawed seeds overturned earlier (1995-1996) radiocarbon dating methods on rat bones that put human habitation 1,000 years prior with little or no archaeological evidence. Because the technology and methods employed during 1995-1996 radiocarbon datings of rat bones was flawed, Wilmshurst et al tended to rely more on radiocarbon dating seed predation from introduced rats. They concluded that seed predation from rats did not occur prior to 1280 AD.<sup>34</sup>

The style of defensive pa-sites emanating from Fiji was adopted by Tongan navigators who were either on a colonising expedition or in search of resources (mainly timber for canoes) not readily available in their homeland. The Fijian people had adopted two defensive pa-sites, the ridge defence and defences best suited for flatter coastal areas with a deep protective ditch, raised embankments and vertical timber palisading. Keyes believed that proto-Ngati Mamoe introduced this defensive architecture to New Zealand, which soon became widespread following both intermarriage with the inhabitants of the Bay of Plenty region and subsequent warfare. When those from central-Polynesia arrived, they were unaccustomed to this type of defensive structure and quickly became adept, and in time the complex network of Maori fighting pa was developed.<sup>35</sup>

#### Waitaha

Adkin believed that the Mangaroa pa-site was first inhabited by the Waitaha people, who were later ousted by Ngati Mamoe. Adkin stated that many of the artefacts found at the pa-site made it difficult for him to establish to which people, the Waitaha or Ngati Mamoe, these artefacts belonged. One theory was that if the Waitaha had been expelled, any of their artefacts and implements remaining would have

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<sup>33</sup> Keyes, 'The Ngatimamoe: The Western Polynesian-Melanesoid sub-culture in New Zealand', p.51. In 1905, James Cowan wrote that the extinction of the Ngati Mamoe 'as a tribe' occurred 150 years previously at the hands of the Ngai Tahu people. Cowan noted that history was only repeating itself, because several generations prior to the Ngai Tahu engagements and conflicts with the Ngati Mamoe, Ngati Mamoe had extinguished the 'land-tillers of the Waitaha tribe.' Many of the conflicts between Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe took place in the Murihiku region of the South Island, along the Waiau River and the southern and south-western shores of Te Anau. Suffering defeat after defeat, Ngati Mamoe retreated to the western side of the Waiau River and became cave-dwellers, Cowan stated that many of the caves and rock shelters could still be found, along with stone weapons and implements. Those of Ngati Mamoe who survived these conflicts, Cowan assumed, made their way to the West Coast, Sounds and possibly to Milford. Whilst these battles were taking place, the coastal Ngati Mamoe suffered a similar fate around Dusky Sound (Fiordland). Cowan believes these events took place shortly before the arrival of Captain Cook (1773) on his second voyage aboard the *Resolution*. Cowan suggested that not all Ngati Mamoe were slain, women and children were saved or enslaved; see James Cowan, 'The last of the Ngati-Mamoe. Some incidents of southern Maori history', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 14, no 4 (1905). p.194.

<sup>34</sup> Janet M. Wilmshurst, Atholl J. Anderson, Thomas F. G. Higham, and Trevor H. Worthy, 'Dating the late prehistoric dispersal of Polynesians to New Zealand using the commensal Pacific rat,' *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* (2008). <http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/science/plants-animals-fungi/ecosystems/prehistoric-settlement/human-arrival>

<sup>35</sup> Keyes, 'The Ngatimamoe: The Western Polynesian-Melanesoid sub-culture in New Zealand', p.57.

either been used or copied by Ngati Mamoe. Adkin was able to differentiate the style and workmanship of several artefacts unearthed at the site from what he termed ‘the general native culture of the district.’ Artefacts in the form of adzes were also found two and a half miles east of the northern end of Lake Horowhenua in what would have once been dense native forest. These finds prompted Adkin to modify earlier theories that Waitaha were confined mainly to the coastal region, and that the site where these adzes were located was on a general route into the bush used possibly for seeking resources or on bird-hunting forays for species not available on the coast. Other finds and signs of occupation were of a more recent nature (Adkin surmised these being Muaupoko), demonstrating that this was a well-used route.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 2: Mangaroa pa, from G.L. Adkin, 1932.

List of items found in mound one:

1. Long-handed spade; staff with knobs at both ends; small scoop; bottom portion of flat-bladed ko.
2. Greenstone chisel; and two pumice rubbers or burnishers.
3. Shell trumpet.
4. Tattoo-blade; portion of flint core; triangular adze; adze with back rounded transversely.
5. Two good grindstones.
6. Two whale-bone combs.
7. One comb; a fairly large grinder; and a grinder just in the early stages of use.
8. A grinder; adze; shell artefact; drill point; two cutters or saws; and a piece of skull with a V-shaped groove.
9. Small adze, with gapped cutting edge, brownish colour.
10. Split stone grinder; nearby eleven human bones, mostly limb.
11. Adze with gapped cutting edge, a large flake is missing

13. Worked piece of wood with five holes pierced through it. Where artefacts are sketched, sketch numbers correspond with their site numbers.

List of items found in mound two:

14. Toggle, good with V-shaped saw cut running length-wise; hammer-stone.
15. Adze.
16. Unfinished toggle (lacks drilled hole); scraper; cutter; and pumice rubber.
17. Greenstone adze.
18. Grindstone.
19. Two grindstones; fragment of schist; and back section of skull, with a number of its fragments.
20. Two large cutters or saws; fragment of greenstone; good flint knife; water-worn oval stone from Pukerua coastal area; small pestle-shaped stone, has been used to grind kokowai, of which it shows the stains.

<sup>36</sup> GL Adkin, 'Supplementary data relating to the ancient Waitaha', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*: vol 59, no 1, (1950). p.52.

from the back; this flake was recovered.  
12. Good heavy hammer-stone, may be green gabbro.

21. Rock-sandstone patu, unusual squat form.
22. Unfinished adze, roughly flaked.
23. Small adze-shaped pounder.
24. Greywacke core, from which a number of flakes have been struck to form cutters, and saws, a number of flakes, and saws secured appeared to be from this core.

Adkin believed that Waitaha had occupied the Horowhenua and Wellington regions also,<sup>37</sup> considering that the termination of the Waitaha occupation in the region occurred about 1000 A.D. From this period, Ngati Mamoe occupied the region until the arrival of the 'fleet-Maori'.<sup>38</sup> However, Adkin like many of period and their theories would be superseded by modern radiocarbon dating methods estimating human arrival to be 1280 AD.

### *Patu Origins*

Rolston had unearthed a patu from one of the mounds at Mangaroa pa-site, which was similar in shape and form to a patu found a short distance from the Manawatu River around 1932. This Adkin named the Makurerua-Linton patu and was able to formulate some theories of its manufacture.<sup>39</sup> Adkin deduced that these two patu could not be ascribed to the ancient Waitaha, because Waitaha patu were fashioned from whalebone rather than rock sandstone, and were slender and elongated as opposed to the two short squat-like patu under examination. Comparisons to later hand clubs also showed differences in fashion and possible usage. Having excluded the Waitaha and 'fleet-Maori' patu designs, Adkin returned to the Ngati Mamoe culture. Figures 3 to 5 depict the three distinct patu forms; Waitaha, Ngati Mamoe and 'fleet-Maori'. Adkin was also able to identify the material of both 'Ngati Mamoe' patu as belonging to a 'sub-metamorphic greywacke group of rocks,' but of different variety, 'both, however, could have come from South Island outcrops.'<sup>40</sup>

Ian Keyes, in keeping with his Ngati Mamoe theory, agreed with Adkin's assessment that the two patu were dissimilar to that of the Waitaha and 'fleet-Maori' designs, and that Adkin was most probably correct in saying that these two patu 'must have been used by men of super-sized grasp.'<sup>41</sup> This is consistent with Fijian Melanesians being the largest members of the Melanesian race, and

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<sup>37</sup> Adkin, 'Supplementary data relating to the ancient Waitaha', p.11. Adkin was able to compare middens and artefacts from Horowhenua with those located in Wellington and found commonalities.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.24. Historian and ethnologist, James Herries Beattie, born in Otago in 1881, developed an interest in Maori tradition. Maori elders of the region received Beattie well and sought to preserve their traditional knowledge by imparting this to a suitable recipient. After studying North Island traditions, namely the Takitimu tradition that the Waitaha came in the Takitimu waka (circa. 1350), Beattie found that the South Island Maori whakapapa to Waitaha pre-dated the Takitimu arrival; rather, the Waitaha came in the Uruao waka about 850 A.D. Beattie deduced that the Takitimu (Waitaha) settled amongst the Uruao Waitaha and adopted the name, see <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4b16/beattie-james-herries> and <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WaiPort-t1-body-d1-d8-d6.html>.

<sup>39</sup> Adkin, 'A Patu type attributable to the Ngatimamoe culture, from the Horowhenua-Manawatu area, Western Wellington', p.23.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.p.29

<sup>41</sup> Keyes, 'The Ngatimamoe: The Western Polynesian-Melanesoid sub-culture in New Zealand', p.60.

intermarriages with the Tongan race produced the proto-Ngati Mamoe people who ventured to New Zealand around 1200 AD. Keyes also points out that Maori favoured lighter and handier thrusting weapons designed for a lateral slashing blow, whereas these two patu were designed as bludgeoning hand clubs.<sup>42</sup>

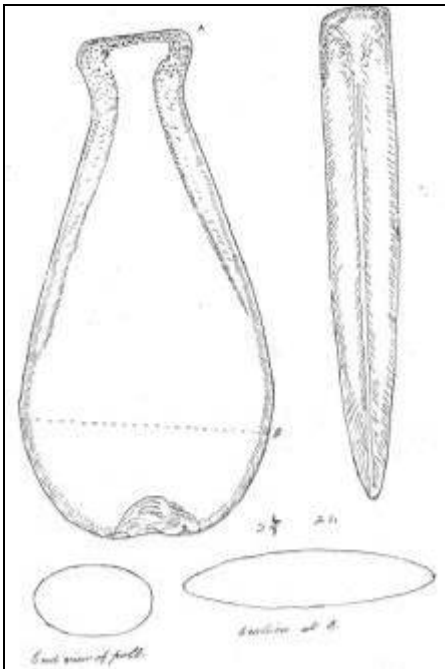


Figure 3: Mangaroa patu

Dimensions:

- Length 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.;
- max. breadth of blade, 4  $\frac{5}{16}$  in.;
- max. thickness (at grip knob), 1  $\frac{3}{16}$  in.;
- weight, 2 lb.

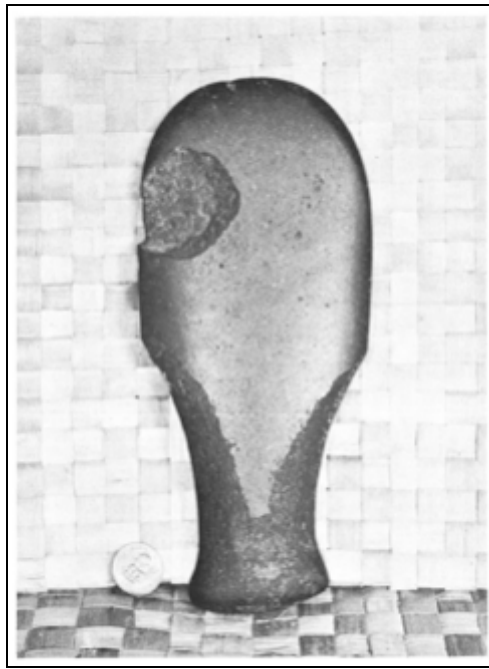


Figure 4: Makurerua-Linton patu.

Dimensions:

- Length, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.;
- max. breadth of blade, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.;
- max. thickness (at grip knob), 1 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.;
- weight, 2 lb. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  oz. (restored).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Adkin, 'A Patu type attributable to the Ngatimamoe culture, from the Horowhenua-Manawatu area, Western Wellington', p.28.

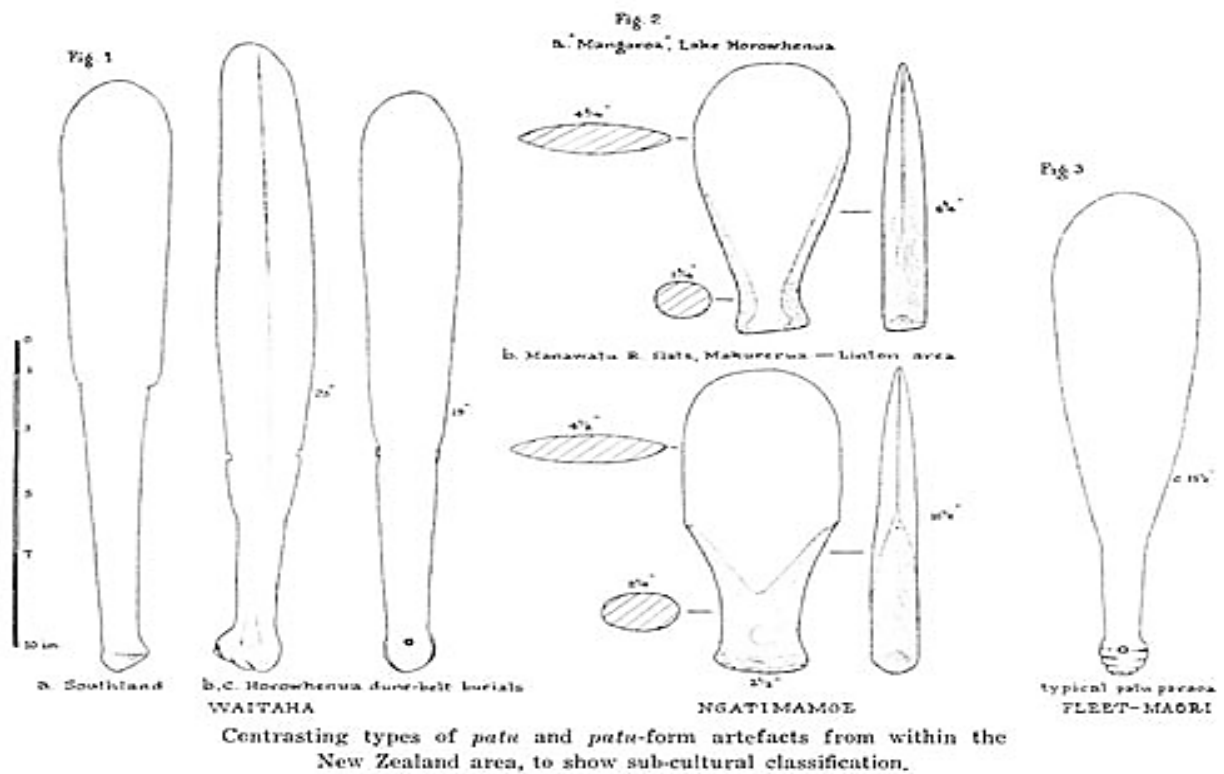


Figure 5: Patu comparisons

## 1.2 Muaupoko Whakapapa

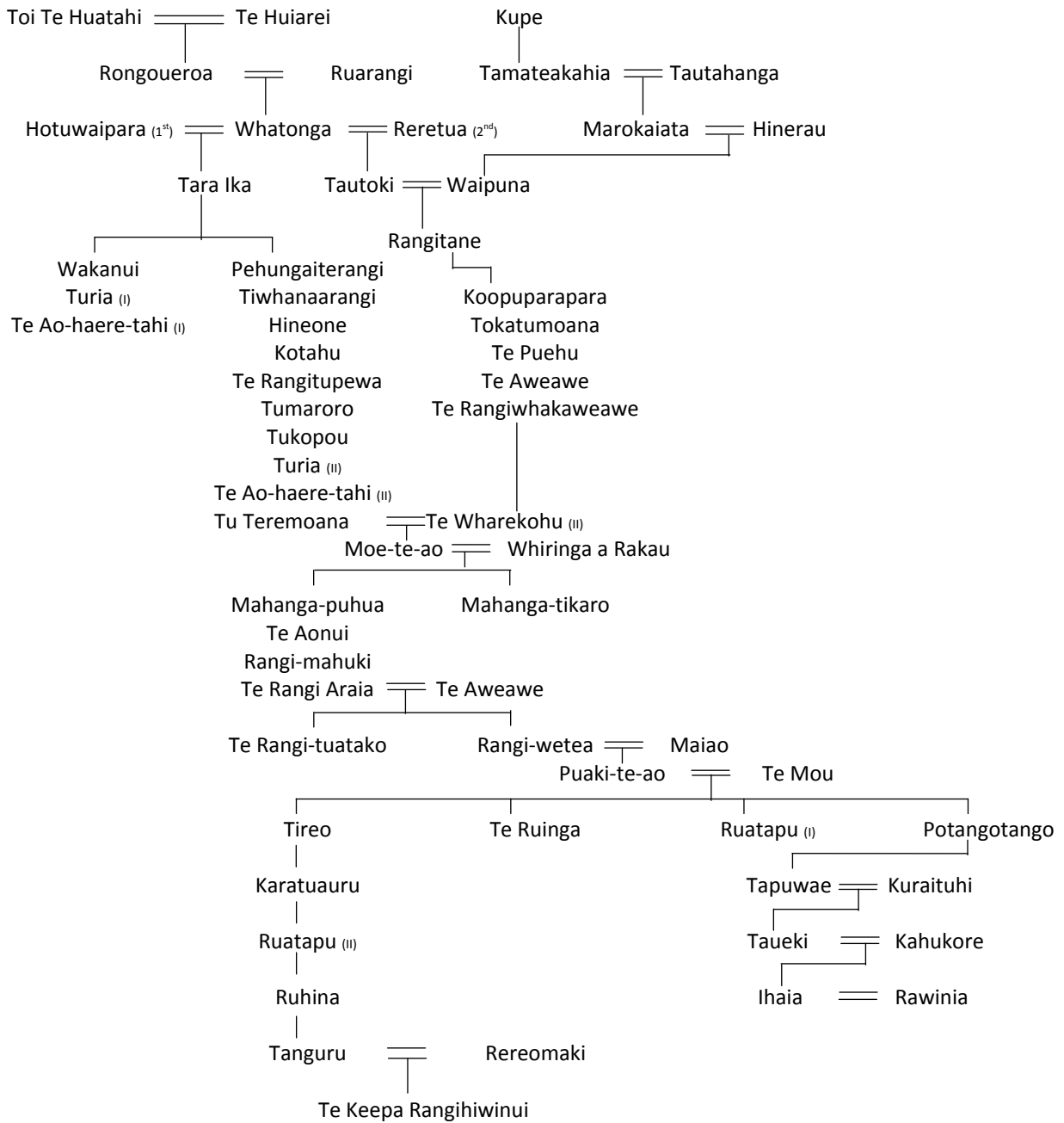
This whakapapa is adapted from several sources to trace the descent lines from Toi Te Huatahi to Puakite-ao and Te Mou, whose descendants are Te Keepa Rangihwinui and Taueki. This whakapapa does not note all of the important tupuna of Muaupoko, rather it captures those tupuna who established and maintained mana-whenua for Muaupoko.

Whakapapa sources:

- i. Potangaroa, Joseph, 'Tupuna: Book 2 of Rangitāne o Wairarapa history series,' (Te Puni Kokiri/Ministry of Maori Development, 2012).
- ii. Biltcliff, G. S. A., 'Ngati Pariri', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 55, no 1, (1946), pp. 40-80.
- iii. Gilling, Bryan, 'The Ihaia Taueki Trust, A report to the Beneficiaries,' 16 April 1994.
- iv. Mitchell, Hilary and John, 'Te Tau Ihu O Te Waka, A history of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough,' *Volume 1: Te Tangata me Te Whenua – The People and the Land*, (Wellington, Huia Publishers, 2004), p.58.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> <https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=mFb8fALKJuIC&pg=PA192&lpg=PA192&dq=whakapapa+te+wharekoku&source=bl&ots=Wbx5X1ISJw&sig=BcJT-CjgoH7QAPsRTNn6vRCMw&hl=en&sa=X&ei=BCKvVJWvB4Ok8AX42IKwCw&ved=0CD4Q6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=whakapapa%20te%20wharekoku&f=false>

Figure 6: Whakapapa of Toi-Te Huatahi and Kupe



### 1.3 Muaupoko Tupuna

#### 1.3.1 Kupe

This section will focus on Kupe who arrived in Aotearoa aboard the Matahourua waka, reputed to be the first waka to voyage to these shores. The fact that Kupe was aboard Matahourua is a story of Kupe deceiving Hoturapa (the true captain of Matahourua) and eloping with Kuramarotini the betrothed of Hoturapa to Aotearoa. On arrival at Whangaroa Harbour Kupe set out to explore lands of this country.<sup>45</sup>

The most popular version is of Kupe, a chief living in Hawaiiki, arguing with Maturangi whose pet octopus had stolen bait from Kupe's fishing lines. Kupe boarded Matahorua with his companion Ngake (or Ngahue) aboard Tawirangi (or Tawhirirangi) and both set sail in pursuit of the octopus to Aotearoa where it was finally killed. Kupe explored the country and discovered greenstone in the South Island, later returning to Hawaiiki from Hokianga. On his return Kupe informed his people of the new land he had discovered, one of whom was his nephew Turi, who as captain of Aotea waka, took the second waka to voyage to these shores.<sup>46</sup> This story is consistent with the previously discussed tribal accounts that the Kurahaupo had sustained damage and was repaired at Rangitahua (Raoul Island in the Kermadec Islands), with some of the Kurahaupo travellers completing their voyage on the Aotea and Mataatua waka.

#### 1.3.2 Toitehuatahi

Toitehuatahi is an important ancestor to many iwi of Aotearoa, who each have their own traditions and stories relating to this tupuna. In Te Arawa tradition Toitehuatahi never left Hawaiiki, and in Tuhoë tradition Toitehuatahi is known as Toikairakau.<sup>47</sup> Rongowhakaata trace their ancestry back to Toitehuatahi, saying that this tupuna is 'one of the cornerstone founding ancestors of most tribal groups of the North Island.'<sup>48</sup> Ancestors of Ngati Porou are also descended from Toitehuatahi, and from Whatonga came Te Whironui (who possessed one of the Ngati Porou waka – Nukutere) who married Araiara, from this union came Huturangi who married Paikea.<sup>49</sup> Tainui tradition says that when Kupe returned to Hawaiiki he left directions on how to find Aotearoa, and many generations later Toitehuatahi arrived. Rather than searching for Aotearoa, Toitehuatahi was in fact searching for his grandson Whatonga and companions who had been lost in a gale.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Jeff Evans, *Nga Waka O Nehera: The First Voyaging Canoes*, (New Zealand, Oratia Media Ltd, 2009).pp.95-96. Evans notes that there are several names for the waka – Matahourua, Kowhao-mata-rua, Mataharua, Matahoru, Matahorua, Mataorua, Matawhaoru, and Matahwaorua, p.94.

<sup>46</sup> DR Simmons, *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori*, (A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1976). pp.17-19.

<sup>47</sup> Elsdon Best, 'Tuhoë, the children of the mist', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 22, no 87 (1913). pp.49-50

<sup>48</sup> <http://rongowhakaata.iwi.nz/culture/whakapapa/>

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.ngatiporou.com/article/nga-tipuna-o-ngati-porou>

<sup>50</sup> Bruce Biggs, *Nga Iwi O Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, (Auckland University Press, 1995). pp.14-15. Biggs notes that when Pei Te Hurunui Jones was relating this piece of history, he was relying on Percy Smith's genealogical base



### 1.3.3 Whatonga

Rangitane o Wairarapa claim descent from Whatonga, whom they believe was searching (aboard the Kurahaupo waka) for his grandfather Toitehuatahi. On arrival at Muriwhenua, they were told to sail towards Maketu in the Bay of Plenty, from there to Whakatane eventually locating Toitehuatahi at Kapu Te Rangi. After a short stay, Whatonga commenced exploring the west coast, finally arriving at Nukutaurua Bay on the Mahia Peninsula. Whatonga continued moving south eventually building pa at Heretaunga and Whanganui a Tara, and at Matirie on the Wairarapa coast.<sup>51</sup>

Both stories of Toitehuatahi searching for his grandson Whatonga and Whatonga searching for his grandfather Toitehuatahi are explained by Elsdon Best. Whilst Toitehuatahi and Whatonga resided in Hawaiki, Whatonga accepted a canoe race challenge, and during the race he was swept out to sea by a gale and carried across the ocean, eventually arriving at Rangiatea (Ra'iatea). Meanwhile Toitehuatahi made preparations to search for his grandson and set out on the waka Te Paepae ki Rarotonga, sailing westward to Samoa and then southwards to Rarotonga. Unable to find Whatonga, Toitehuatahi made for Aotearoa making landfall at the Chathams, eventually landing at Tamakimakaurau. After a sojourn, Toitehuatahi headed down the coast towards Whakatane. While Toitehuatahi was searching the ocean, Whatonga was able to return home to Hawaiki, and made preparations to find his grandfather, and set off aboard the waka Kurahaupo with a crew of sixty-six. Making landfall at Rarotonga, Whatonga was informed that his grandfather had headed towards Aotearoa. Following another journey, Whatonga made landfall at Muriwhenua and then headed down the west coast, landing at Tonga-porutu (northern Taranaki) where he was informed that Toitehuatahi had indeed arrived and was living in the Bay of Plenty. Whatonga set off again, this time with a reduced crew, for some had decided to stay and live with the locals. On arrival at Maketu, Whatonga was directed to Whakatane, to his grandfather Toitehuatahi.<sup>52</sup>

Trevor Hill illustrated the tribe's eponymous waka – 'Ko Kurahaupo a tatou waka, ko Whatonga te tangata' with descent lines down to Mahangapuhua raua ko Mahangatikaro and then to the tini o Muaupoko (the multitude of Muaupoko).<sup>53</sup> Kevin Hill acknowledged that his korero commences in Hawaiiiki-nui with Toitehuatahi (Toi the explorer) and that his grandchild Whatonga named and divided up the lands in conjunction with Toi. Kevin traced the journey of the Kurahaupo throughout the motu

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chronology, which was later discredited. The attached whakapapa notes that Kupe and Toitehuatahi were relatively from the same generation.

<sup>51</sup> [http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/attachments/055\\_enviro\\_edusheets\\_sheet2-ancestors.pdf](http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/attachments/055_enviro_edusheets_sheet2-ancestors.pdf).

<sup>52</sup> <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BesCano-t1-body-d7-d5.html>

<sup>53</sup> Trevor Hill, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.94.

establishing gardens and settlements.<sup>54</sup> Charles Rudd spoke of origins and eponymous ancestors and his knowledge to whakapapa to Kupe and to Whatonga (great-grandson of Kupe) and to Tara Ika, one of Whatonga's two sons. Eugene Henare spoke of Tara Ika and his connections to the ancient tribes of Ngai Tara, stating:

... in the earlier days (days gone by), we were all the one people, Ngāti Apa, Rangitāne, Muaūpoko, Ngāi Tara, Ngāti Ira, even our South Island whanaunga down there, Ngāti Kuia, they all off the same waka Kurahaupō.<sup>55</sup>

#### 1.3.4 Tara Ika

Charles Rudd spoke of how the Tararua Ranges were named after Tara Ika and how the Manawatu Gorge sets the boundaries for Ngai Tara and others from the Tararua ridgeline to the Rimutaka Ranges of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington).<sup>56</sup> Tara Ika established himself and his people in the Whanganui-a-Tara region, whilst his half-brother Tautoki established his people in the Wairarapa area extending to Woodville and back along the coast in a southerly direction to Whanganui-a-Tara and up the Hutt River.<sup>57</sup> The whakapapa table notes that the descendants of these two brothers make up the tribes of Ngai Tara, Rangitane and Muaupoko. More importantly they are immortalised in some of the land features, Tararua Maunga: 'Nga waewae e rua a Tara' or 'the spanned legs of Tara', meaning that his people had a foothold on either side of these ranges, and Te Whanganui a Tara, the great harbour of Tara.<sup>58</sup> The full name for Kapiti Island is 'Te Waewae Kapiti o Tara raua ko Rangitane - the boundary between Tara and Rangitane.'<sup>59</sup>

#### 1.3.5 Tuteremoana

Charles Rudd also argued that the name Te Waewae Kapiti o Tara raua ko Rangitane should instead reflect Tara Ika and his brother Tautoki (father of Rangitane), and that the peak of Kapiti is named after Tuteremoana and the southern side is named after his wife Te Wharekohu.<sup>60</sup> Several generations from Tara Ika we arrive at Tuteremoana, the eponymous ancestor and high chief of the Ngai Tara, Rangitane and the Ngati Awanuiarangi people. His domain ranged from the Hawkes Bay, Manawatu, Wairarapa, Kapiti and Wellington regions. Whilst living at Heretaunga (Hawkes Bay) intrusions from the Ngati Kahungunu forced Tuteremoana south towards Wellington and Kapiti. The battles between the Ngati Kahungunu and the people of Tuteremoana eventuated in peace, which was confirmed by the marriage

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<sup>54</sup> Kevin Hill, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.88-89.

<sup>55</sup> Eugene Henare, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.22, 38.

<sup>56</sup> Charles Rudd, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.54.

<sup>57</sup> Elsdon Best, 'The Land of Tara and they who settled it. Part II', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 27, no 105 (1918). p.152.

<sup>58</sup> Rangitane o Wairarapa Inc.: <http://www.rangitane.iwi.nz/iwi-history/>

<sup>59</sup> <http://maori.com/whakapapa/tutere.htm>

<sup>60</sup> Charles Rudd, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.54.

of Moe-te-ao (the daughter of Tuteremoana and Te Wharekohu) to Te Whakahirangi, the descendants of this union are the Ngati Moe resident at Papawai, Greytown in the Wairarapa.<sup>61</sup>

### 1.3.6 Potangotango

Bryan Gilling identifies the earliest Muaupoko as being the children of Te Mou and of Ngataitoko; Te Mou married Puakiteao and they had four children: Tireoterangi (m), Te Ruinga (f), Ruatapu (m), and Potangotango (m) who were raised at Te Koropu near Hoki. The descendants of Ngataitoko make up the Ngati Pariri hapu of Muaupoko.<sup>62</sup> Bill Taueki describes the people situated at Lake Horowhenua as having a common ancestry from Potangotango, and because of this ancestry he believes that they have the right to talk about the lake.<sup>63</sup> Vera Sciascia noted several hapu situated to the seaward side of the lake whose main papakainga was Te Rae o Te Karaka, Pipiriki, Kupe, Otaewa, Te Hau and the marae Kohuturoa, whose principal ancestors were Puakiteao and Te Mou and their children. Vera says:

...back in the 1800s they all lived together where they wanted to because the whakapapa put them so close together they just lived at all these papakainga together.<sup>64</sup>

### 1.3.7 Taueki

The 1820 amiowhenua southern expedition to the Upoko o Te Ika was led by Hokianga chiefs Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone, who were joined by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata at Kawhia.<sup>65</sup> Bill Taueki states that when the amiowhenua expedition reached the Horowhenua they engaged the Muaupoko people at Rae o te Karaka pa-site, killing Tapuae (Tapuwae), the father of Taueki, and several others. Bill believes that the island-pa sites on Lake Horowhenua were primarily used as fishing islands and after the amiowhenua raid, Muaupoko began to fortify these islands against any future attacks, especially attacks involving firearms.<sup>66</sup>

Te Rauparaha returned to Kawhia, however, hostility arose between himself and the Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto iwi led by Te Wherowhero causing Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa people to leave Kawhia and migrate southwards to Taranaki in what is known as the heke tahu-tahu-ahi.<sup>67</sup> In early 1823 Te Rauparaha arrived in the Horowhenua region and began his war of attrition with Muaupoko. Heavily defeated, some Muaupoko survivors sought refuge in bush-clearings in the Tararua ranges; as Bill Taueki stated, these survivors scanned the area from these vantage points surviving as best they could and

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<sup>61</sup> <http://maori.com/whakapapa/tutere.htm>

<sup>62</sup> Gilling, 'Ihaia Taueki and Muaupoko Lands: A Brief History,' p.1.

<sup>63</sup> Bill Taueki draft speaking notes for the: WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #A76.

<sup>64</sup> Vera Sciascia, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.117.

<sup>65</sup> Luiten and Walker, 'Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement DRAFT Report', p.10.

<sup>66</sup> Hui with Bill Taueki, 16 July 2015, Levin.

<sup>67</sup> Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, pp.11-12.

staying one step ahead of Ngati Toa skirmishing parties bent on locating them; and through all this distress and upheaval, Taueki still remained on the land whilst Te Rauparaha occupied Kapiti.<sup>68</sup>

The arrival of Te Whatanui c.1828 to the Horowhenua and his meeting with Taueki, and the peace-making arrangement demarcating a boundary extending from Tauateruru to the sea for Muaupoko to live, was a momentous event. Charles Rudd is adamant that this act between Taueki and Te Whatanui is no small matter, it actually saved the tribe.<sup>69</sup> Bill Taueki stated that this boundary became an area for the tribe to live and, over the subsequent years, a safe haven for many who had fled to return. However, those returning to the Horowhenua did not go unnoticed by Te Rauparaha and, by 1834, he was able to enlist the help of Wi Tako of Te Atiawa and Te Puoho of Ngati Tama in luring the Muaupoko to Waikanae for what became known as the 'feast of the pumpkins.' Taueki was one who decided to stay at Horowhenua and, thus, was spared the slaughter that took place. In a 10-year period Taueki had witnessed his father's death at the hands of Ngapuhi, the death of his tribesmen at the hands of Te Rauparaha and the death of those at Waikanae.<sup>70</sup> Because Taueki had not fled, choosing instead to remain on the land, the ahi kaa of Muaupoko was not extinguished.

#### 1.3.8 Mahuera Paki Tanguru-o-te-rangi

Mahuera Paki Tanguru-o-te-rangi is commonly known as Tanguru, the renowned Muaupoko fighting chief and father of Te Keepa Rangihwinui. McDonald recounted how during the Te Rauparaha raids Tanguru, a noted warrior and a 'man of magnificent physique', was pursued by a group of Ngati Toa warriors led by Te Rangihaeata. When Tanguru realised that Te Rangihaeata was the only one left in pursuit, he stopped and adopted a defensive pose ready to strike. Te Rangihaeata, when seeing Tanguru and the stance he had taken chose not to fight, rather, he told Tanguru to escape. McDonald noted that when disagreements arose between Muaupoko and Ngati Toa, Muaupoko would counter, asking when Tanguru and Te Rangihaeata met and who was it that refused to fight.<sup>71</sup>

Te Rangihaeata was born in 1780, the son of Rakahera and the sister of Te Rauparaha, Waitohi. Standing, according to Richard Kidd, six feet two inches tall, with a broad frame and a legendary reputation for ferocity in battle, he was also a talented tactician like his uncle Te Rauparaha. For twenty five years, his exploits frightened Maori and Pakeha alike on both islands. In his old age he tired of war, but this did not

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<sup>68</sup> Hui with Bill Taueki, 16 July 2015, Levin. Luiten and Walker 'Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement DRAFT Report' pp.14-15, 19, noted that possibly 200 Muaupoko left the area under the leadership of Kotuku. Taueki and others deliberately opted to remain on the land, 'to take shelter among the rata-trees on his own land.'

<sup>69</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 27 March 2015, Levin.

<sup>70</sup> Hui with Bill Taueki, 16 July 2015, Levin. Bill Taueki believes that Te Rauparaha left Taueki and other survivors of Muaupoko unmolested at Horowhenua for several years from the 1828 peace-making with Te Whatanui till the 1834 feast of the pumpkins.

<sup>71</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga: early days in Horowhenua, being the reminiscences of Mr Rod McDonald*, (Palmerston North, 1929).pp.9-10.

dim his disdain for anything Pakeha. Te Rangihaeata died from measles at Otaki in 1855.<sup>72</sup> During the Ngati Toa attack, Tanguru's wife Rere-o-Maki swam across Lake Horowhenua to safety with her son Te Keepa Rangihiwini on her back. Later, Tanguru, Rere-o-Maki and their son Te Keepa found refuge with her people at people at Putiki Wharanui, near the mouth of the Wanganui River.<sup>73</sup>



Figure 7: New Zealand Shilling 1965

The defensive stance adopted by Tanguru is epitomised on the New Zealand shilling above.



Figure 8: Royal New Zealand Air Force No.3 Squadron

The Royal New Zealand Air Force No.3 Squadron has also adopted the Tanguru stance as its emblem with the words 'kimihia ka patu' – seek and destroy.<sup>74</sup>

In his later years, Tanguru dreamt that the sands of Komokarau (Komokorau) were blowing over him, a sign that his time was near, and that he desired to return to the lands of his father. Komokarau, McDonald wrote, is the sacred burial place of the Muaupoko, situated halfway between Lake Horowhenua and the sea. McDonald was present when Tanguru returned on a bullock-dray, with an escort of fifty Whanganui, noting that Tanguru was 'a tall, gaunt, rather bent old man, of gigantic frame,' who lived his last months at Raia te Karaka (Rae o te Karaka) on Lake Horowhenua.<sup>75</sup>

### 1.3.9 Te Keepa Rangihiwini

Te Keepa was born in the early 1820s at Tuwhakatupua, on the Manawatu River and later educated at Putiki Church Missionary Society. He had a colourful career as a constable, a mail courier, a native assessor to the Rotorua district Maori Land Court, an ensign commission in the native contingent and later was promoted to the rank of Major.<sup>76</sup> Enlisted as a constable of the New Munster armed police force, one of his duties was to courier mail by foot between Wellington and Whanganui. When hostilities

<sup>72</sup> Richard Kidd, 'Te Rangihaeata: A Personal Analysis', *Journal of the Nelson and Marlborough Historical Societies*, vol 2, issue 2, 1988, [http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-NHSJ05\\_02-t1-body1-d7.html](http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-NHSJ05_02-t1-body1-d7.html)

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihiwini-te-keepa>. Because of her status amongst the iwi of the Whanganui River, Rere-o-Maki was one of the signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi, on 23 May 1840. She is thought to be one of only five women to have signed the Treaty, - <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1r4/rere-o-maki>

<sup>74</sup> [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Royal\\_New\\_Zealand\\_Air\\_Force\\_emblems](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Royal_New_Zealand_Air_Force_emblems). The No.3 squadron was originally formed as a bomber squadron on 1 August 1930 and after serving successfully during the Second World War in the Pacific the squadron was disbanded. The squadron was reformed in 1965 with Sioux, Iroquois and Westland Wasp helicopters. The Squadron is based at RNZAF Base Ohakea.

<sup>75</sup> E. O'Donnell, with J. McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p.99.

<sup>76</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihiwini-te-keepa>

arose with the Hauhau movement, Te Keepa joined the native contingent, fighting alongside the government forces, distinguishing himself in several campaigns and receiving his Queen's Sword of Honour for conspicuous bravery in 1870 at Pakaitore/Moutoa Gardens followed by the New Zealand Cross in 1874 and the New Zealand War Medal in 1876.<sup>77</sup>

Te Keepa's valour was evident in 1868 when Titokowaru and his Hauhau forces had gained ascendancy over government colonial volunteers and Maori troops. Te Keepa and his own troops acted as the rear-guard for Captain Thomas McDonnell both at the battle of Te Ngutu-o-te-manu in September and for Lieutenant Colonel G. S. Whitmore at the battle of Moturoa in November. It was also in November 1868 that Te Keepa was promoted to Major and led a combined force of his own contingent, European officers and rank-and-file soldiers in pursuit of Titokowaru. Between 1868 and 1869 Te Keepa was engaged in seeking out Te Kooti on the East Coast and engaging with him at Te Porere, south of Tokaanu.<sup>78</sup> Te Keepa was also at Parihaka in 1881, this time against Te Whiti o Rongomai and Te Tohu Kakahi who had adopted the path of peaceful resistance to European incursion; some of their followers being of Muaupoko descent (refer to the section on Te Arai-a-Rongo). Even though Te Keepa was militarily engaged against Maori who sought retention of their lands, by 1880 he had become an advocate for Maori control over their lands and their economic development.<sup>79</sup>

#### 1.4 Muaupoko Tangata

Witnesses who spoke before the Waitangi Tribunal at Kawiu Marae, Levin, in February 2014 stated that their tupuna were people of exceptional strength and ability when it came to wielding traditional weapons in combat. However, the growing use of the musket, especially from the 1820s onwards, overwhelmed forever such prowess, and traditional warfare proved of little value in the face of modern weapons and gunfire.<sup>80</sup>

McDonald recalled Raia Te Karaka pa<sup>81</sup> where 200 Muaupoko resided with their chiefs, Taueki, Himiona te Haupo and Te Rangi Rurupuni, stating 'where hardly one was under 6 feet in height.' McDonald was not only impressed with their physique but also with their longevity, commenting on Noah Te Whata who had passed away 20 years previous at the age 115 years and Pioho Tamata Maunu whom McDonald knew was older. Many of the old men he called 'splendid old fellows,' tattooed former fighting men and

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<sup>77</sup> <http://wanganuilibrary.recollect.co.nz/nodes/view/1554>

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihwinui-te-keepa>

<sup>79</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihwinui-te-keepa>

<sup>80</sup> See section three – Te Rauparaha, on how firearm warfare affected Muaupoko tree-fort and island-pa sites.

<sup>81</sup> See Anthony Dreaver, *An Eye for Country: The Life and Work of Leslie Adkin*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1997). p.167. In 1931 Elsdon Best, although extremely ill and 75 years of age, visited Levin and provided Adkin with a copy of *Te Hekenga*, and spent a day with local Muaupoko annotating several names that appeared in the book. Hence Raia Te Karaka was annotated to Te Rae o te karaka (the place of the karaka tree). The writer uses the term Raia te Karaka when quoting from McDonald.

cannibals now converted to Christianity.<sup>82</sup> McDonald attributed the physique of the Muaupoko and the coastal people of the area to an outcome of the traditional mode of travelling by foot which had produced and developed ‘the splendid physique of the old-time native’; idleness was uncommon amongst men and women because food gathering, tending gardens and flax weaving resulted in a high standard of fitness and longevity.<sup>83</sup>

### 1.5 Inter-Iwi Relationships

This section will outline the relationships of several iwi to Muaupoko either by combined whakapapa to certain tupuna or intermarriage. Charles Rudd, speaking about the relationships between those iwi residing east and west of the Tararua peaks being the descendants of the twin brothers Mahangapuhua and Mahangatikaro, states:

...Muaupoko people used to traverse over to the Wairarapa and vice versa, the people over there were Rangitāne, Kahungunu and Ngāti Hāmua used to come over that maunga over to our people over this side.<sup>84</sup>

Henry Williams concurs, stating that Muaupoko had good relationships with Ngati Kahungunu, Rangitane and also with the tribes from the Whanganui.<sup>85</sup> Edward Karaitiana stated that the relationship between Muaupoko, Ngati Kahungunu and Rangitane is based on whakapapa, and he too argues that at one time they were all one people.<sup>86</sup> Phillip Taueki acknowledged that Muaupoko had relationships with iwi from the Wairarapa, Heretaunga and Whanganui, and wished to investigate these relationships and support these iwi in their respective Waitangi Tribunal claims.<sup>87</sup>

#### 1.5.1 Rangitane

The name Rangitane traditionally incorporates all of the descendants of Whatonga which includes Ngati Apa, Ngai Tara and Muaupoko. Ngati Hamua, a hapu of Rangitane ki Wairarapa shares a close link to Ngai Te Ao and Ngati Pariri hapu of Muaupoko, and once lived on the shores of Lake Horowhenua. Ngati Hamua also noted that the Ngai Te Ao and Ngati Pariri once resided in the Wairarapa district.<sup>88</sup>

According to the whakapapa in section 1.2 the relationship between Muaupoko and Rangitane is an ancestral relationship through the two wives of Whatonga – Hotuwaipara (1<sup>st</sup>) and Reretua (2<sup>nd</sup>).

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<sup>82</sup> O’Donnell, E, with McDonald, J, *Te Hekenga*, p.37.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, pp.40-41.

<sup>84</sup> Charles Rudd, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.54.

<sup>85</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.37.

<sup>86</sup> Edward Karaitiana, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.45.

<sup>87</sup> Phillip Taueki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.78.

<sup>88</sup> *Nga Tupuna – The Ancestors*, Ngati Hamua Environmental Education series – (sheet 2 of 9):

<http://www.gw.govt.nz/assets/council-publications/Ngati%20Hamua%20Env%20Ed%20Sheets%20Nov%202006.pdf>

Through both wives the two half-brothers, Tara Ika and Tautoki emerge. Their descendants took the names of Ngai Tara and Rangitane culminating in the marriage of Tuteremoana (descendant of Tara Ika) to Te Wharekohu (descendant of Tautoki) producing Moeteao (Ngai Tara). The marriage of Moeteao to Whiringa a Rakau from Ngati Ira would produce twin sons, Mahangapuhua and Mahangatikaro. And in time the descendants of these tupuna would eventually emerge as the Muaupoko people.<sup>89</sup>

The Rangitane o Wairarapa speak of when a pa once stood at Hapuakorari (post-European settlement); the residents of the pa maintained the communication links to iwi on both sides of the Tararua. If there was impending trouble they would sound the warning with musket fire. Musket fire was also used to alert those on either the western or eastern sides of the Tararua if there was bereavement.<sup>90</sup>

### 1.5.2 Ngati Apa

Two hapu of Ngati Apa – Ngati Kauae and Ngati Taura – claim descent from Papawhenua, a descendant from chiefly lines of Kurahaupo waka, namely Whatonga and Toitehuatahi. Because of this whakapapa relationship, they share ancient origins with the hapu of Muaupoko and Rangitane.<sup>91</sup> The 1822 Ngati Toa southern migration from Kawhia to the west coast caused some apprehension amongst the leaders of Ngati Apa, Rangitane, Whanganui and Muaupoko who all held concerns at Ngati Toa intrusion into their territory. Because of the marriage of Te Pikinga of Ngati Apa to Te Rangihaeata of Ngati Toa, the Ngati Toa lived peaceably for a period with their hosts at Rangitikei. After three months the Ngati Toa prepared to commence their journey south, but were warned by their Ngati Kauae and Ngati Taura hosts not to molest the Muaupoko people living south of the Manawatu River, to which Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata agreed. However, two of the travelling party killed Waimai, a woman of Muaupoko, which demanded retribution from Muaupoko and other iwi culminating in the attack on Te Rauparaha and his kin at the feast of eels at Papaitonga.<sup>92</sup>

### 1.5.3 Ngai Tara

Tara or Tara Ika, the eponymous ancestor of the Ngai Tara people, was the son of Whatonga and Hotuwaipara. Prior to his birth, his mother was cleaning fish and pricked her hand on the spine of a nohu, similar to a porcupine fish and from this incident Tara (spine) received his name.<sup>93</sup> Tara's descendants took the name Ngai Tara and resided at Matiu (Somes Island) and Motukairangi (Miramar) in the Wellington district. Although related to Rangitane through shared descent from Whatonga and Toi and intermarriage, Ngai Tara suffered several defeats at Pahiatua, eventuating in the Ngai Tara people

<sup>89</sup> See whakapapa table in section 1.2.

<sup>90</sup> <http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/index.php/h/hapuakorari>

<sup>91</sup> <http://www.ngatiapa.iwi.nz/hapu.html>

<sup>92</sup> <http://www.whangaehumarae.co.nz/tupuna/te-rangipikinga>

<sup>93</sup> Elsdon Best, 'The Land of Tara and they who settled it', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 26, no 4 (1917). p.152.



adopting the name Rangitane in the Wairarapa district and the name Ngati Ira in the Wellington district.<sup>94</sup> Rather than accept that Ngai Tara were conquered and displaced by Ngati Ira, Anderson and Pickens believe that intermarriages took place over the generations between the iwi that settled relationships. Whanganui-a-Tara could all claim descent from Tara, Muaupoko, Rangitane, Kahungunu and Ira, through the whakapapa of Tuteremoana who is an important ancestor of Ngai Tara, Muaupoko and Rangitane. Wharekohu, the wife of Tuteremoana was of Rangitane descent, and their only child Moeteao married a Ngati Ira chief, producing twin sons Mahangapuhua and Mahangatikaro.<sup>95</sup>

#### 1.5.4 Ngati Ira

Ira or Ira-kai-putahi (Ira the heart eater) received his name after his father Uenuku killed Ira's mother, Takarita for an indiscretion and plucked out her heart, cooked it and fed to Ira who was a child at the time. The descendants of Ira took the name Ngati Ira and were resident in the Waiapu region; however, over time arguments and disputes arose amongst the iwi of the East Coast forcing the Ngati Ira to seek new lands. One branch of Ngati Ira settled in the Opotiki district and eventually became a hapu of the Whakatohea iwi. Under the leadership of Te Rerekiokio another group of Ngati Ira reached the Wairarapa region,<sup>96</sup> followed later by a party under the leadership of Whakumu, the son of Te Rerekiokio. The Kahungunu and Rangitane of the Heretaunga district had been engaged in open warfare with Whakumu and his people. Fearing that the Heretaunga tribes would combine and eventually defeat them, Whakumu decided to leave and headed south via the coastline where food was readily available for the journey. The Ngati Ira southern migration had several incidents, mainly because the Heretaunga Kahungunu and Rangitane had sent word to their whanaunga in the Wairarapa that Ngati Ira were approaching and to attack them. Battles were fought along the coast and the Ngati Ira took many prisoners. Eventually they arrived at Potaka near Palliser Bay. Peace was made with Whakumu marrying Hineipurangi, a chieftainess of the Wairarapa. The Ngati Ira grew in numbers and settled along the shores of Port Nicholson and Pukerua abutting the lands of Muaupoko.<sup>97</sup>

### 1.6 Te Rohe o Muaupoko

The rohe of Muaupoko once ranged from the Rangitikei River in the north to Rimurapa (Sinclair Head) in the south, and from the peak of Tararua maunga in the east to the coastline in the west inclusive of Kapiti Island. This rohe was not solely Muaupoko; rather it was established by their tupuna Tara Ika and his brother Tautoki which included other iwi who also shared similar whakapapa to these tupuna.

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<sup>94</sup> Angela Ballara, 'The Origins of Ngati Kahungunu', PhD thesis, Victoria University, 1991, cited in Robyn Anderson and Pickens, Keith, *Wellington district: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatu*, (Wellington, 1996). p.4.

<sup>95</sup> Anderson and Pickens, *Wellington district: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei, and Manawatu*, p.6.

<sup>96</sup> Elsdon Best, 'The Land of Tara and they who settled it. Part II', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 27, no 105 (1918). pp.49-71. Best gives no indication of what happened to this group led by Te Rerekiokio, but instead focuses on Whakumu and his later group of Ngati Ira.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

### 1.6.1 Mountains to the Sea

Charles Rudd gave a pragmatic description of the term rohe, being the landscape that provided the ability to feed oneself by means of kai rakau, kai rongoa, kai ika and other resources, this being the key to survival. Each hapu had this ability to feed their own from the resources within their own rohe. He believes that bivouacs, rather than marae, were the norm for people who gathered traditional kai seasonally. But in another context regarding waahi tapu, Charles affirmed that the rohe is from the mountains to the sea, cautioning that to divulge the sites for gathering and hunting resulted in loss of mana.<sup>98</sup>

### 1.6.2 Whatanui and Taueki

Bryan Gilling recounts John McDonald's recollections of a meeting held in 1828/1829 between Te Whatanui and Taueki and how high carved posts were erected to define a boundary of 20,000 acres from Tenamairangi to Tauateruru, to the snowline on the ranges, along the range to another peak, then down to Ngatokorua Island in the Poroutawhao swamp, then southwest to Oioao flat. This event happened as a result of warfare between Te Rauparaha and Muaupoko several years earlier, with the arrival of Raukawa ariki Te Whatanui bringing a cessation of hostilities. Despite historical writings that place Muaupoko in a slave-like and subservient position, assessed later in this report, what is apparent is that a rohe was established within which Muaupoko and Te Whatanui's people were able to accommodate each other.<sup>99</sup>

### 1.6.3 Horowhenua Subdivision 1873

Forty-four years later, due to the influence of Te Keepa Rangihiwini the alliance made by Whatanui and Taueki was increased from being a 20,000 acre block to 52,000 acres. Several reasons for this have been given in historical records: retribution for past hostilities on the Muaupoko people,<sup>100</sup> threats of armed revolt if the traditional area was not extended,<sup>101</sup> and/or, government manipulation to acquire land, which in light of later events seems to be the main objective.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Charles Rudd, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.55-56.

<sup>99</sup> Gilling, pp.5-6. This rohe is generally accepted by Muaupoko claimants the researcher has spoken with, because this agreement still allowed Muaupoko to have mana over their tribal lands.

<sup>100</sup> See E O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.118: those of the Muaupoko who enlisted in the colonial forces sought to secure rifles and fight against the Hauhau in the Taranaki, or the Ngati Awa (Te Atiawa) who they blamed for the massacre at the feast of pumpkins, Waikanae in 1834. See section 3.6 of this report detailing the events leading up to the 1873 Native Land Court title investigation of Muaupoko in conflict with Ngati Raukawa.

<sup>101</sup> Te Ara - <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihiwini-te-keepa> Te Keepa threatened to bring his native contingent if the area of Muaupoko land was not extended by the Native Land Court.

<sup>102</sup> Luiten and Walker, 'Muaupoko Land and Political Engagement DRAFT Report', pp.242-243.

## 1.7 Nga Hapu me nga Marae o Muaupoko

### 1.7.1 Marae of Muaupoko

The marae listed below, Kawiu and Kohuturoa, are those readily acknowledged by present day Muaupoko. However, from the pre-Te Rauparaha era, Adkin noted nine lakeside pa and kainga with six island pa at Te Waipunahau (Lake Horowhenua). Furthermore, Katihiku Pa stood near the mouth of the Otaki River and was one of the Muaupoko pa-sites along the coast subject to Ngati Toa attack. From here a young warrior, Ihaka Te Rangihouhia, escaped from his pursuers and reached Lake Horowhenua to retell his story.<sup>103</sup> Ngati Toa and Ngapuhi also attacked a Muaupoko and Ngati Ira Pa at Pukerua Bay called Waimapihi (1819-20) and overwhelmed the occupants.<sup>104</sup>



Figure 9: Kohuturoa Marae<sup>105</sup>

The principal hapū of Kohuturoa Marae include Ngai Te Ao, Ngarue, Ngati Hine, Ngati Pariri, Ngāti Tamarangi, Ngāti Whanokirangi and Punahau. The whare tupuna is named Pariri, and the wharekai is Te Aroha. The marae is ancestrally associated to the waka Kurahaupo, the maunga Tararua, the river Hokio and the moana Punahau (Lake Horowhenua/Te Waipunahau).<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Kapiti Coast District Council, <http://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/Our-District/Heritage-Trail/otaki-and-te-horo/pukehou/>

<sup>104</sup> Linda Fordyce, 'Teacher Notes – The Pa of Porirua 1830-1850,' Pataka Education, undated: <http://www.pataka.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/The-Pa-of-Porirua-11.pdf>

<sup>105</sup> <http://www.maorimaps.com/main-map#vid=1&criteria=9&url=/marae/13259>

<sup>106</sup> Ibid



Figure 10: Kawiu Marae<sup>107</sup>

The hapu that affiliate to Kawiu marae include Ngai Te Ao, Ngarue, Ngati Hine, Ngati Pariri, Ngati Tamarangi, Ngati Whanokirangi and Punahau. The whare tupuna is named Te Huia o Raukura, and the two wharekai are Rangimarie and Takeretanga. The marae is ancestrally associated to the waka Kurahaupo, the maunga Tararua, the awa Hokio and the moana Punahau (Lake Horowhenua/Te Waipunahau).<sup>108</sup>

#### 1.7.2 Hapu of Muaupoko

As noted above with the marae of Kawiu and Kohuturoa, the hapu affiliations are Ngai Te Ao, Ngarue, Ngati Hine, Ngati Pariri, Ngati Tamarangi, Ngati Whanokirangi and Punahau. Some of the witnesses speaking before the Waitangi Tribunal on 17-18 February 2014 at Kawiu Marae gave their whakapapa descent lines and their hapu affiliations. Some agreed with the above named hapu with others providing varying interpretations.

Vera Sciascia spoke of two prominent hapu of the early 1800s being Ngai Te Ao and Ngati Pariri and how many of the Muaupoko people can whakapapa to these hapu, with additional hapu being Ngati Hine, Tamairangi, Whanokirangi, Ngarue and Punahau.<sup>109</sup> Maria Lomax traced her descent from the ancestor Potangotango whose first wife was Whanokirangi, which is the name of her hapu today.<sup>110</sup> Eugene Henare stated that he represented two Wai claims (1491 and 1621) that are for Maori owners on certain lands, saying that the tribe was preceded by whanau and hapu. As a claimant he was representing the

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.maorimaps.com/main-map#vid=1&criteria=9&url=/marae/13258>

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Vera Sciascia, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.117.

<sup>110</sup> Maria Lomax, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.16.

descendants of those who were originally on the land during the mid-to-late 1800s, and during that period discussion and negotiations were held with the owners rather than hapu or iwi.<sup>111</sup>

Henry Williams identified himself as Ngati Tamarangi and Ngati Hine.<sup>112</sup> Vivienne Taueki identified herself as Ngati Tamarangi, but could not provide evidence on other hapu who had been brought to the Waitangi Tribunal's attention (on 17-18 February 2014), stating that it was up to Muaupoko to discuss these hapu and for these hapu to show their traditional links to the whenua via marae and urupa.<sup>113</sup>

Bryan Gilling records that Kerehi Tomu (Te Mititawha) stated that Muaupoko consisted of four hapu each with their own respective rangatira: Himiona Kowhai of Ngati Pariri, Kerehi Tomu of Ngati Ao or Aiteao, Makere Te Rou and Noa Te Whata of Ngati Hine and Ihaia Taueki of Ngati Tamarangi.<sup>114</sup> Using the system of eponymous ancestors when reviewing the names of the tupuna regarding the Horowhenua Subdivision No.11 ownership list, Charles Rudd was able to identify thirty hapu.<sup>115</sup>

Wakahuia Carkeek provides a story of a Muaupoko hapu named Ngati Rangi who resided in the Paekakariki and Paraparaumu area at a pa called Nga Mahanga. Ngati Rangi were always quarrelling with their neighbours Ngati Ira (who were also distant relations) over boundaries and a pa that Ngati Ira had erected on what they perceived as their land. Ngati Rangi then planned to attack the Ngati Ira via a certain route that would surprise their enemy. However, their plans were overheard by a Rangitane slave who managed to slip away and warn Ngati Ira. Forewarned, the Ngati Ira defeated their attackers, enabling the survivors to return to their pa.<sup>116</sup>

### **Summary – Muaupoko Te Iwi**

This section has examined the origins of Muaupoko which was not clear-cut given the complexity of the information regarding the tribe. Tribal waka traditions vary regarding the Kurahaupo waka; however, Muaupoko traditions maintain that Whatonga was the rangatira of the waka and one of their principal tupuna. Some Muaupoko believe that they were pre-waka, however, the whakapapa table indicates that Muaupoko descend from some chiefly bloodlines who were waka-Maori, namely Toitehuatahi and Whatonga.

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<sup>111</sup> Eugene Henare, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.24-25.

<sup>112</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiū Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, *Wai 2200*, #4.1.3, pp.31-32.

<sup>113</sup> Vivienne Taueki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.62.

<sup>114</sup> Gilling, p.2.

<sup>115</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 1 November 2014, Levin.

<sup>116</sup> Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, pp.6-7.

Toitehuatahi and Whatonga are mentioned along with other Muaupoko tupuna who established mana-whenua by naming certain landmarks on arrival, and those tupuna who maintained mana-whenua through various stages of the tribe's history. Many of these early tupuna became the eponymous ancestors to other iwi, the descendants of Tara Ika becoming Ngai Tara, with the Rangitane descending from Tara Ika's brother Tautoki. The Ngati Apa claim descent from Toitehuatahi and Whatonga, hence the close Muaupoko whakapapa relationship to all these tribes. The tupuna of the early 1800s faced a turbulent period of hostility from northern iwi armed with modern weapons. Taueki witnessed these attacks, but unlike others he chose to remain on the land, an act that maintained the tribe's mana-whenua, especially when Ngati Raukawa chief Te Whatanui arrived. Tanguru openly fought these invaders but eventually had to take refuge with his wife's people on the Whanganui River. Te Keepa Rangihwinui progressed in the Pakeha system, and eventually became an advocate for the Muaupoko lands during the latter periods of the 1800s.

The lands that these tupuna established and maintained became the rohe of Muaupoko, initially based on whakapapa that permitted descendants from other areas free movement, interaction and intermarriage. This dynamic changed with the coming of northern iwi, the Muaupoko were unable to defend their rohe. The arrival of Te Whatanui offered some respite, when he and Taueki made peace and agreed to an area of land, or rohe for the Muaupoko to reside and for both iwi to co-exist. The Native Land Court of 1873 defined a new rohe for Muaupoko with a legal title. Resident on these lands prior to Te Rauparaha's arrival were several Muaupoko pa-sites, island-pa and kainga; however, today the tribe has two marae situated around Lake Horowhenua consisting of seven hapu. The number of hapu was a matter of debate for some tribal members, and only the tribe as a whole can decide on this issue. Most importantly, this section has identified who established Muaupoko mana-whenua, who maintained mana-whenua in spite of outside influences, and who the mana-whenua people of Muaupoko are today.

## SECTION TWO – PRINCIPAL LANDMARKS

This section will outline the principal landmarks of Muaupoko utilising traditional and contemporary information to show the intrinsic value that these landmarks have to the tribe. As with each landmark, traditional korero is used to establish what value, whether spiritual or physical, these areas mean to Muaupoko. In most cases these landmarks have a whole raft of values which are also outlined. In all instances these landmarks were established because of the food and resources that could be gained for day-to-day needs, or stored for later use.

### 2.1 Tararua Maunga

The Muaupoko people have many traditional stories pertaining to Tararua Maunga. Eugene Henare spoke of the ancient tracks that were used by Muaupoko to travel to the Wairarapa and to Kahungunu and vice versa, adding that in more recent times trampers have been lost on occasions, something that never happened when the tribe made the traditional journey over the Tararua Maunga to the coast and back.<sup>117</sup> Rather than establish trails, many of the tramping clubs around the Tararua Ranges used those that were originally traversed by Maori on both sides of the ranges. Early trampers observed that Maori followed well-defined ridges and some even assisted the first surveyors of the ranges. In 1863 Surveyor J R Crawford spent a night at a pa on Mount Hector (Pukemoumou); the next day he was accompanied by two Maori, who were under instructions from their chief to make sure he did not find or take any gold, such were the rumours of the period.<sup>118</sup>

#### 2.1.1 Spiritual Lake – Lost Lake

##### *The 1,000 acre reserve*

Chris Maclean writes of the 1,000 acres set aside from the Tararua block purchase as a reserve to protect the sacred lake of Hapuakorari, but according to his reference the exact location remained uncertain.<sup>119</sup> Charles Rudd supplied a copy of a map of the 1886 Horowhenua subdivisions showing a lake situated at Tawirikohukohu on the Tararua Ranges, and according to him, it is a spiritual lake that appears visibly but is unable to be found physically. He noted that the lake is only sketched on the 1886 map (see below). He has known trampers and hunters who have sighted the lake who on trekking through the bush towards it were unable to find its location.<sup>120</sup>

Joseph Potangoroa describes the lake as the lost lake of the Tararua (Hapuakorari), with an interesting history. Like Charles Rudd he claims that the government purchase of the block set aside a 1,000-acre

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<sup>117</sup> Hui with Eugene Henare, 18 October 2014, Levin. See section below on old trails.

<sup>118</sup> Levin Waiopahu Tramping Club Inc., 'Seventy Five Years in the hills,' p.4

<sup>119</sup> Chris Maclean, *Tararua the Story of a Mountain Range*, (Wellington, Whitcombe Press, 1995), pp.68-71.

<sup>120</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 1 November 2014, Levin.

reserve to protect the sacred Lake Hapuakorari with no formal survey, because the location was uncertain.<sup>121</sup> Charles Rudd agrees with both Chris Maclean and Joseph Potangoroa about the name Hapuakorari, and provided other names such as Kapuakorari and Kapuakomari.<sup>122</sup> Joe Tukupua spoke of the mauri connection that Lake Horowhenua has to the mysterious lake in the Tararua. The latter to which Muaupoko connect spiritually is likened to the mist and rain that constantly fall on the Tararua and descend by way of streams to the plain connecting to Lake Horowhenua and eventual releasing to the sea.<sup>123</sup>

### *Search for the lake*

Not long after the government's acquisition of the Tararua, a £200 reward was offered to anyone who could successfully locate the lake. In 1885 one expedition set out to claim the reward, and like those who over years have searched, this one, too, failed. It was not until 1928 that a party found the dried up bed of a lake on the western slopes in the location described to them by bushmen and local Maori, south of Waiopahu overlooking Horowhenua. It is believed that seismic activity was the cause of the lake being drained; however, an underground fissure still feeds the Otaki River from this location.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Joseph Potangoroa regarding the history of Hapuakorari, <http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/index.php/h/hapuakorari>

<sup>122</sup> Claimant feedback hui, 3 December 2014, at Kawiu Marae, Levin.

<sup>123</sup> RJ Morrison, Geraghty, Paul A, Crowl, Linda, *Science of Pacific Island Peoples: Land use and agriculture*, (The University of the South Pacific, Institute of Pacific Studies, 1994).p.143.

<sup>124</sup> <http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/index.php/h/hapuakorari>





### *Pulse of the fish*

The Rangitane o Wairarapa who reside on the eastern side of the Tararua have their own traditional stories pertaining to Hapuakorari (lost lake), and like Muaupoko they share a spiritual link and observe that tapu nature of this site. The Ngati Hamua of Masterton maintain that when the sun shines on the lake the reflection shimmers down into the central Wairarapa valley, and because of this they have named the lake the 'pulse of the fish' of Te Ika a Maui the North Island. And like those of Muaupoko who maintain that Lake Horowhenua is the eye of the fish, the Rangitane believe that Lake Wairarapa is also the eye of the fish.<sup>126</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Patupaiarehe

Elsdon Best provided some information supplied to him from native informants (Best gave no names or tribal affiliations) of patupaiarehe who resided on the peak of Pukemoremore Tararua. The invasion of surveyors to this tapu area caused the patupaiarehe to leave Pukemoremore. Best stated that the surveyors and the way that they surveyed the area, a sight uncommon to the patupaiarehe who were of a 'joyous disposition', was the reason why they left. Best was unable to determine whether these beings were ghosts, spirits or spirits of the dead, however, the names 'patupaiarehe' and 'turehu' usually define beings who permanently reside in the world of the living.<sup>127</sup>

McDonald described the patupaiarehe as a fair-skinned fairy people who dwelt exclusively in the forest and whose habitat was high in the kiekie trees.<sup>128</sup> The Rangitane of the Wairarapa region speak of the patupaiarehe who dwell high in the rata tree using the encircling rata vines as a staircase. The patupaiarehe are short in stature, have fair skin and eyes that glow, with long tasselled hair, who Rangitane believe are the descendants of a banished hapu from the Wairarapa. They have certain character traits such as mischievousness and malevolency towards man; once they were known to carry away animals, preserved kai, children and, on occasion, wives.<sup>129</sup>

#### 2.1.3 Old Trails

An unknown informant from Ngati Wehiwehi hapu of Ngati Raukawa related to Elsdon Best of the time in his youth when a Ngati Kahungunu war party from the Wairarapa district crossed the Tararua using the Kaihinu trail (also called the Tokomaru trail) and attacked them at Horowhenua. Mountain biker and tramper Peter McDonald cites the work conducted by archaeologist Bruce McFadgen and Phil Barton a

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<sup>126</sup> <http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/index.php/h/hapuakorari>. This concept is endorsed also by Muaupoko members Bruce Wright and Richard Takuira. Hui at Levin, 26 March 2015.

<sup>127</sup> Elsdon Best, 'Māori Religion and Mythology: Being an Account of the Cosmogony, Anthropogeny, Religious Beliefs and Rites, Magic and Folk Lore of the Māori Folk of New Zealand, Part 2,' (Te Papa Press, 1924). p.549.

<sup>128</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.110-111.

<sup>129</sup> <http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/index.php/stories/taniwha-of-the-wairarapa/nanakia>

member of the Tararua tramping club, both of whom confirm that Best's informant was correct, and that Maori 'knew the Tararua well.' Radiocarbon dating of sites in the northern and southern Tararua indicated that Maori traversed the ranges in search of food. At one site a stone oven was uncovered. Early surveyors noted Maori tracks through the Tararua, or Maori informed settlers of certain tracks. Phil Barton used this information to collate nine possible tracks, which McFadgen was able to apply to an archaeological site map.<sup>130</sup> Figure 12 details the nine tracks described by Barton and archaeological sites.<sup>131</sup>

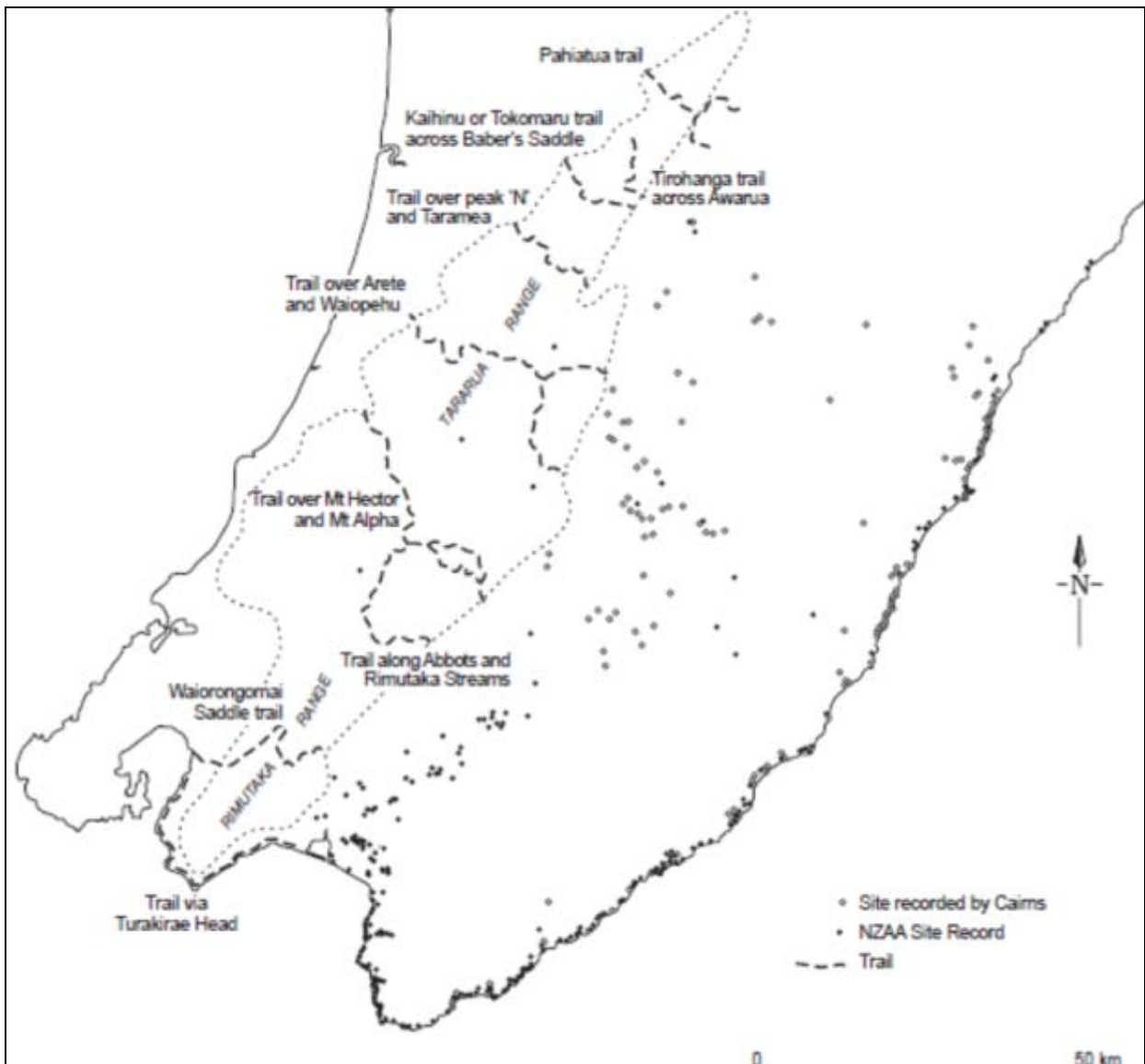


Figure 12: Nine traditional tracks around or across Tararua Ranges

#### 2.1.4 Traditional Resources

The Muaupoko habitation was confined mainly to the coastal area around Lake Horowhenua where kai was more abundant and accessible. The researcher asked whether Muaupoko ventured into the bush-

<sup>130</sup> Peter McDonald, *Foot-tracks in New Zealand*, (Waipukurau, Central Hawke's Bay, Fine Print Company, 2011). p.23.

<sup>131</sup> McFadgen, 'Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy,' p.5.

clad Tararua to gather kai, but Doug Tatana responded by asking why would Muaupoko bother when the coast and areas around the lake provided ample kai and resources.<sup>132</sup>

### *Birdlife*

The Department of Conservation notes that the Tararua was one of the last known refuges for the huia (last sighted in 1903) which were once numerous throughout the range and beyond. There are several reasons for the extinction of the huia; predation from introduced pests, deforestation of the lowlands for pasture, and indiscriminate collecting for museum specimens and fashion.<sup>133</sup> Huia feathers became fashionable following the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (later becoming King George V and Queen Mary) in 1901,<sup>134</sup> a tail feather was gifted to the Duke and placed in his hat-band causing a worldwide fashion sensation with feathers fetching £1 to £5 each.<sup>135</sup> Other species to have suffered a similar fate are the kokako, kiwi, whio (blue duck) and the toutouwai (North Island Robin). What forest birds remain are often heard but are difficult to locate. Fruit bearing trees at lower altitudes nourish the nectar eating birds such as the kereru, bellbird and tui. Small numbers of North Island kaka and kakariki are still present in the forest canopy, as well as ruru, and the occasional karearea.<sup>136</sup>

### *Native Fish*

The Department of Conservation has observed over a dozen species of native freshwater fish in the Tararua Range rivers, streams, springs and wetlands. Also observed are several nationally threatened species such as the giant kokopu, short-jaw kokopu (both whitebait species), long-finned eel and the non-migratory dwarf galaxiid and brown mudfish:



Figure 13: Giant Kokopu<sup>137</sup>



Figure 14: Short-jawed Kokopu<sup>138</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Hui with Ada and Doug Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

<sup>133</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/wellington-kapiti/places/tararua-forest-park/nature-and-conservation/wildlife/>

<sup>134</sup> <http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchAndCommonwealth/NewZealand/Royalvisits.aspx>

<sup>135</sup> <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions/whales/EducationResource.aspx?irn=325>. Because of European settlement and the subsequent decline of the huia, Maori chiefs of the 1880s placed a ban on hunting which was formally supported by the Governor of New Zealand in 1892. Photographs of the Duke's 1901 visit with a huia feather in his hatband caused hunters to flout the law adding to the huia birds' extinction.

<sup>136</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/wellington-kapiti/places/tararua-forest-park/nature-and-conservation/wildlife/>

<sup>137</sup> <http://blog.doc.govt.nz/tag/giant-kokopu/>

<sup>138</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-animals/freshwater-fish/whitebait-migratory-galaxiids/>



Figure 15: Brown mudfish<sup>139</sup>



Figure 16: Long-finned eel<sup>140</sup>



Figure 17: Dwarf galaxiid<sup>141</sup>

Species not threatened are the bullies, banded kokopu, koaro and torrent fish. Apart from the upland and Cran's bullies, which remain in their freshwater habitat and prefer more open rocky streams, concealing themselves among rocks at the stream margins where the water flows quietly, the aforementioned fish species are migratory and go to sea as larvae. The mudfish prefers gently flowing wetlands and backwaters, and during periods of drought burrows into the moist bed and remain dormant until there is sufficient rainfall.<sup>142</sup>

## 2.2 Te Waipunahau/Lake Horowhenua

Lake Horowhenua was once shrouded with dense forest of pukatea, kahikatea and rata on the lake margin and swamp areas. The former vegetation around the lake is described as a podocarp forest in a wetland ecosystem.<sup>143</sup> The Department of Conservation states that podocarp trees are as old as the time when New Zealand was once part of the super continent of Gondwana,<sup>144</sup> and the best known surviving species from that era are kahikatea, rimu, miro, matai and totara. Podocarps reproduce by spreading their seeds in berries which are transported and passed through native birds.<sup>145</sup> From the lake inland to the Tararua Range stood nikau, totara, karaka, matai and rimu which provided food, shelter and other

<sup>139</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/mudfish>

<sup>140</sup> <http://www.forestandbird.org.nz/saving-our-environment/eels>

<sup>141</sup> R M McDowall - [https://www.niwa.co.nz/freshwater-and-estuaries/nzffd/NIWA-fish-atlas/fish-species/dwarf\\_galaxias](https://www.niwa.co.nz/freshwater-and-estuaries/nzffd/NIWA-fish-atlas/fish-species/dwarf_galaxias)

<sup>142</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/wellington-kapiti/places/tararua-forest-park/nature-and-conservation/wildlife/>

<sup>143</sup> Treadwell & Associates, 'Assessment Of The Outstanding Landscapes & Natural Features Of The Horowhenua District,' August 2009, a report prepared for the Horowhenua District Council. p.23.

<sup>144</sup> Gondwana was an ancient supercontinent that broke up about 180 million years ago. The continent eventually split into landmasses recognisable today as: Africa, South America, Australia, Antarctica, the Indian subcontinent and the Arabian Peninsula: <http://www.livescience.com/37285-gondwana.html>

<sup>145</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/Documents/about-doc/concessions-and-permits/conservation-revealed/podocarp-hardwood-forests-lowres.pdf>



necessities for survival. Native birds such as the kereru abounded.<sup>146</sup> The forest cover is shown in figure 18, a painting by John Barr Clarke Hoyte.<sup>147</sup> McDonald described the beauty of the surrounds:

The lake lay clasped in the emerald arms of bush which surrounded it on every side save immediately about where we stood... Straight and tall timber grew to the water's edge, fringed with flax and nodding manuka, and over the bush... pigeons flew literally in their thousands.<sup>148</sup>



Figure 18: Lake Horowhenua, 1875 painted by John Barr Clarke Hoyte (1835-1913).

### 2.1.1 Waahi Tapu

Outlined below are the Muaupoko views pertaining to taonga and sites of significance and some of the policies that have been initiated.

#### *Taonga and Muaupoko views*

Vivienne Taueki has been active in protecting waahi tapu sites, most notably the tapu nature of Lake Horowhenua and taonga found at certain sites in the area, and she continues to work in this field. On display at the Levin library are several taonga, which Eugene Henare believed should be held at a location more suited to tikanga Maori because of the close proximity of a food stall and dining areas.<sup>149</sup> Charles Rudd indicated that Muaupoko need a whare taonga, a museum to preserve their taonga with

<sup>146</sup> Ministry for the Environment, 'Managing Waterways on Farms: A guide to sustainable water and riparian management in rural New Zealand,' Wellington, May 2001. p.106.

<sup>147</sup> From Auckland Art Gallery collection at:

<http://collection.aucklandartgallery.govt.nz/collection/results.do%3Bjsessionid=E7F66D0CB428C46D5927E2A268E818AC?view=detail&db=object&id=7923>

<sup>148</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.25.

<sup>149</sup> Hui with Eugene Henare, 17 October 2014, Levin.

facilities and protocols similar to what he observed at Te Papa Tongarewa Museum Wellington. Charles believed that taonga presently housed in museums should remain there until Muaupoko have proper facilities and procedures in place to cater correctly for the preservation of their taonga.<sup>150</sup>

#### *Taonga sites recorded*

Figures 19 and 20 outline many sites of significance Adkin identified.<sup>151</sup> Section 1.1.3 detailed archaeological evidence of early occupation in the Horowhenua region and artefacts unearthed during excavation of several sites. Suffice it to say that many traditional sites have been identified; however, there are sites not readily known or accidentally unearthed during roading works or local council remedial works. The Horowhenua District Council has a memorandum of partnership with the Muaupoko Tribal Authority (MTA) and a commitment to consulting with the tribe.

#### *Taonga and Policies*

In early 2014, the MTA hosted the Hon Christopher Finlayson, Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations and officials who attended a sites-of-significance visit.<sup>152</sup> The MTA is actively engaged with government departments and councils regarding taonga tuturu, tangata koiwi, waahi tapu and waahi tupuna, with a component of their strategy that includes a database of sites of significance and taonga.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 27 March 2015, Levin.

<sup>151</sup> See GL Adkin, *Horowhenua: Its Maori Place-names and their Topographic and Historical Background*, (Wellington, 1948) pp.445-462, no pagination, see area map seven.

<sup>152</sup> MTA news December 2014. [http://muaupoko.iwi.nz/wp/?page\\_id=38](http://muaupoko.iwi.nz/wp/?page_id=38)

<sup>153</sup> Taonga Strategy 2012, Muaupoko Tribal Authority: Annual Plan, 2015-2016, Appendix B, pp.8, 14.

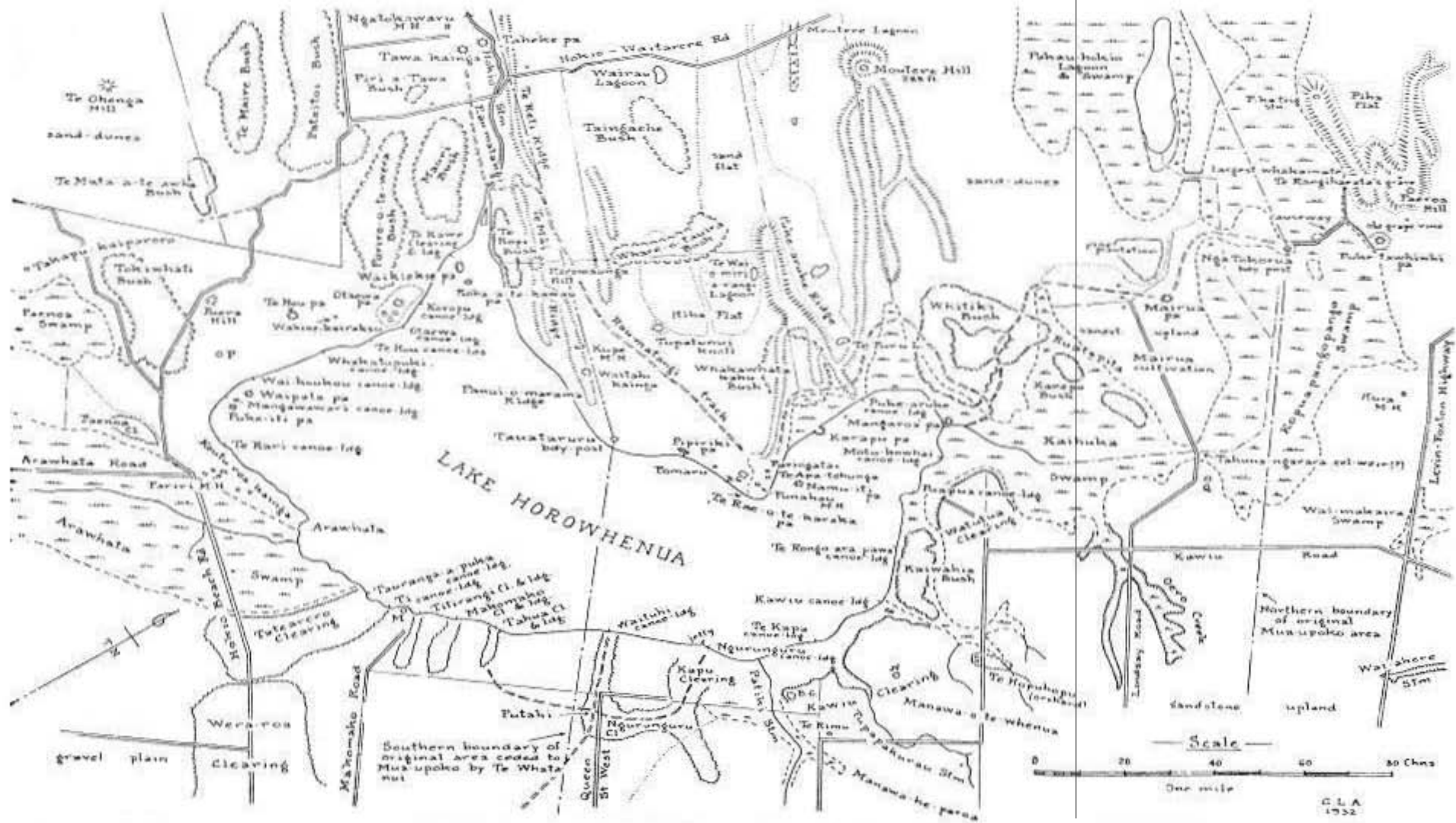


Fig. 119. Lake Horowhenua and environs showing place-names and sites.

Figure 19: Lake Horowhenua – GL Adkin, 1932.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>154</sup> [http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/15821-lake-horowhenua-and-environs-adkin-fig-119?view\\_size=large](http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/15821-lake-horowhenua-and-environs-adkin-fig-119?view_size=large)



Adkin provided an explanation for some of the sites as pre-Te Rauparaha, stating that no fewer than nine kainga and fortified pa were located, at one time or another, on or near the shores of the lake, and in addition, six pa were built out in its waters on artificial islands. The lakeside pa and kainga were:<sup>155</sup> 1. Mangaroa, 2. Te Rae-o-te-karaka, 3. Waitahi, 4. Te Hou, 5. Otaewa, 6. Koutu-roa, 7. Tawa, 8. Takehe, 9. Pipiriki

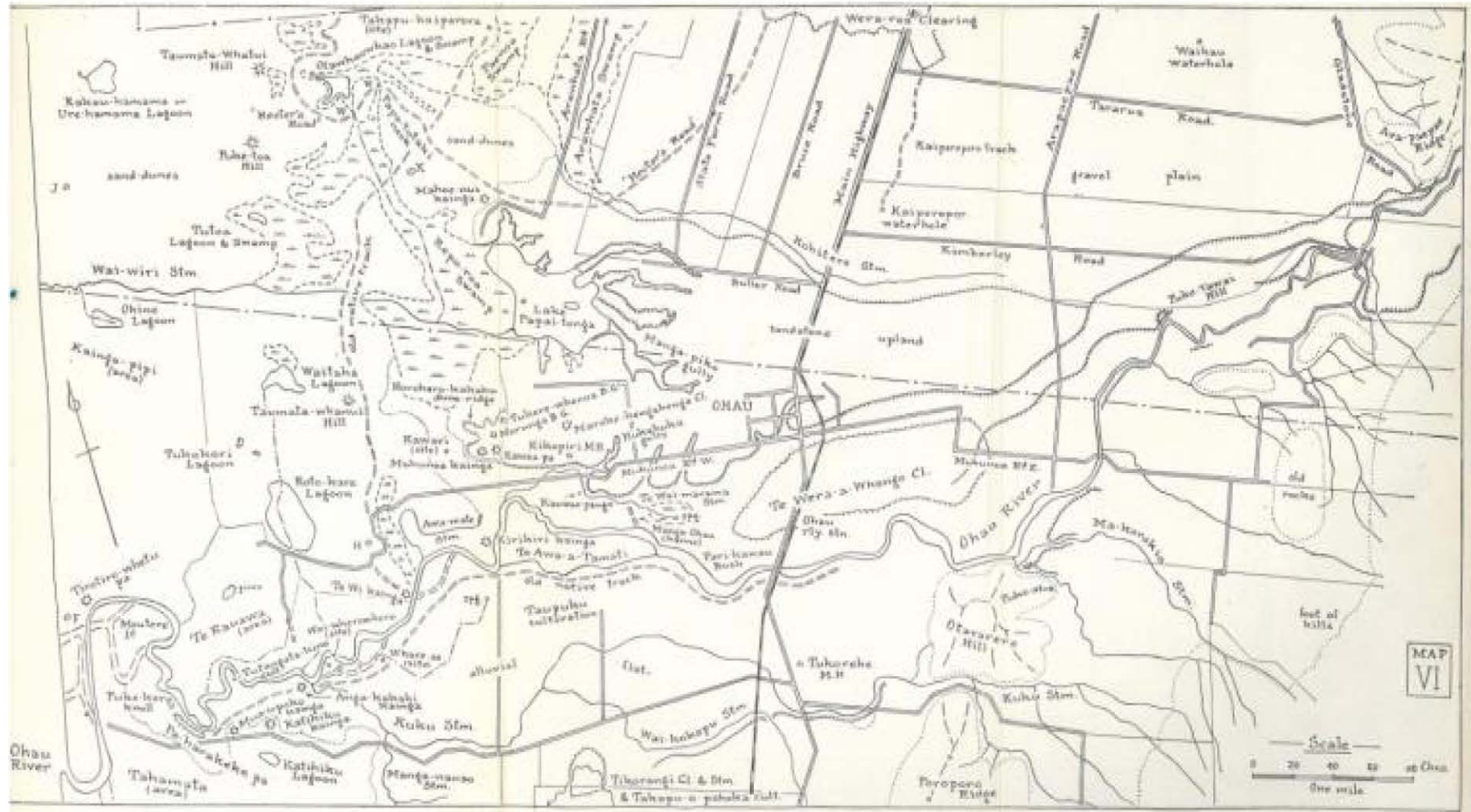


Figure 20: Lake Papaitonga, Ohau village, the Ohau River and Kuku Stream.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*. pp.445-462. No pagination, see area map seven.

<sup>156</sup> [http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/image\\_files/0000/0009/6002/Horowhenua\\_Maori\\_Place-Names\\_-\\_Map\\_VI\\_by\\_Adkin.jpg](http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/image_files/0000/0009/6002/Horowhenua_Maori_Place-Names_-_Map_VI_by_Adkin.jpg)

### 2.1.2 Traditional Resources

The main staple gathered from Lake Horowhenua was the ubiquitous eel which were augmented with other food sources available in the rohe. The kakahi or freshwater mussel was an abundant staple for Muaupoko prior to the pollution of Lake Horowhenua as were ducks and duck eggs. Flounder were also caught in the Patiki Stream.

#### *Eels*

##### Accounts of Occupation

During the 1896 Horowhenua Commission, several Muaupoko witnesses gave evidence of occupation through conquest, settlement, residence, burial grounds, cultivations and subsistence, or the right to gather kai from the land, lake, streams and the sea. This section will explain how rights to catch eels were stated and often disputed. Te Keepa Te Rangihwinui, under examination regarding the Horowhenua No.11 Subdivision replied that this block was settled by the ancestors, and that their ancient burial grounds, cultivations and houses were located there, also their means for subsistence – eels, crayfish and flounders. When asked was this the primary means of subsistence for the tribe, Te Keepa replied in the affirmative.<sup>157</sup> Te Rangimairehau of Muaupoko concurred with Te Keepa saying that the tribe and their ancestors all subsisted off the land and from the eels and shellfish from Lake Horowhenua.<sup>158</sup>

The Horowhenua Commission of 1896 exhibited a memorandum of lease dated 20 May 1892 between lessor Keepa Te Rangihwinui and lessee Walter Buller for the 581 acre 2 roods 16 perches of the Horowhenua No.14 Subdivision. Covenants and powers of the Land Transfer Act applied with one exception:

That the said Keepa Te Rangihwinui shall have the right at all times to erect eel-weirs or traps, and to put down eel-baskets at the outlet of the Waiwiri Lake, at the south-west corner of the said block, for the purpose of catching and taking eels therefrom, and to that end shall be allowed full liberty of ingress and egress at all convenient times and seasons.<sup>159</sup>

##### Spawning Habits

Rod McDonald cited the work of Danish scientist Ernst Johannes Schmidt<sup>160</sup> and other European scientists who at that time discovered the spawning habits of eels, knowledge he noted, that Maori had possessed for centuries. Because of this knowledge, Maori employed their own techniques of capture and made preparations for the annual eel migration. Schmidt learned that European and American eels

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<sup>157</sup> *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, Te Keepa Rangihwinui to the Horowhenua Commission, 1896, I G-02, p.29.

<sup>158</sup> AJHR, Te Rangimairehau to the Horowhenua Commission, 1896, I G-02, p.89.

<sup>159</sup> AJHR, Horowhenua Commission, 1896, I G-02, p.319.

<sup>160</sup> J Schmidt, "The breeding places of the eel", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B* 211, 1922, pp.179-208.

bred together at a certain place in the Atlantic and returned to the location of their parents. McDonald noted that the New Zealand eel was no different, because the Pakauhokio Lake eels differed in weight and size to those found in Lake Horowhenua. Eels found in the Wairarawa and Buller (Papaitonga) lakes were slimmer and longer with an unusual high crown on the head. The Maori of the area could at a glance distinguish which lake along the coast certain species eels hailed from.<sup>161</sup>

In 1964, Charles Curtis wrote an article for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* regarding his nine day observation of eeling customs at Lake Horowhenua. Curtis chose the month of March because it coincided with the eel migration to the sea, the hinapouri or the moonless nights.<sup>162</sup> Edward Karaitiana explained the significance of the hinapouri in Te Wai Pounamu (South Island), where in January preparations are made for the February start of the journey of the tuna heke [migrating eel] which can last for three months.<sup>163</sup>

Asked whether the eeling seasons are the same for the North and South Islands, Edward Karaitiana explained that the tuna heke season (hinapouri) is the same for all areas for the long-fin eel, stating that lakes that back onto the ocean separated by shingle bars all have eel migration potential. Edward's great-uncle informed him that the Wairarapa Lakes were similar to Lake Horowhenua in their eel potential before pollution and farm runoff damaged this valuable resource.<sup>164</sup>

#### Lake Horowhenua Pataka

Adkin referred to a sketch drawn by Reverend Richard Taylor (1870) showing pataka storehouses, which were used to store eels caught in large quantities, built on poles situated in Lake Horowhenua. Adkin spent some time trying to establish from which side of the lake this sketch was made. He determined that Taylor had moved position so as to incorporate all of the salient features. The presence of a number of pataka on the lake was later substantiated in 1932 when a pataka was discovered at the northern end of the lake, making a total of four known pataka. Adkin concluded that there may have been more.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.45-46.

<sup>162</sup> CS Curtis, 'Notes on eel weirs and Maori fishing methods', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 73, no 2 (1964). pp.167-170.

<sup>163</sup> Correspondence with Edward Karaitiana, 25 November 2014.

<sup>164</sup> Correspondence with Edward Karaitiana, 3 December 2014.

<sup>165</sup> GL Adkin, 'Former food stores in Lake Horowhenua', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 51, no 3 (1942), pp.181-186.

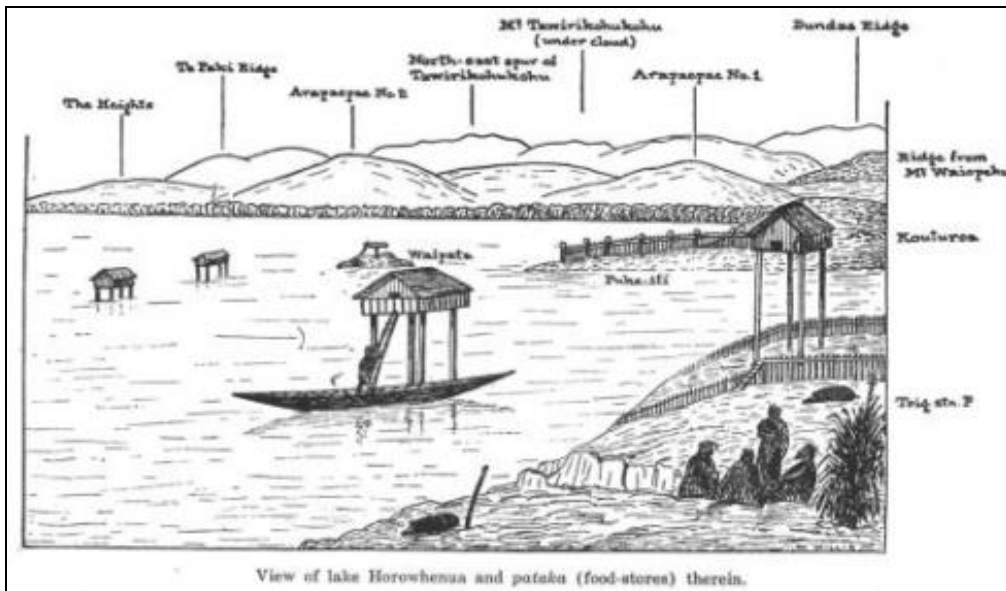


Figure 21: Pataka tuna on Lake Horowhenua<sup>166</sup>

### Hinaki Construction



Figure 22: Kareao or supple-jack vines.<sup>167</sup>

Curtis noted that supple-jack vines or kareao were used to construct hinaki or eel traps with a funnel-shaped entrance with a sack tied at the other end with green flax used to empty the eel catch. Four manuka wooden braces were attached to the sides, used as handles to lift the hinaki. Although the theory of construction is traditional, the materials have evolved to wire netting covering and wire handles rather than manuka. Another net, the funnel shaped naha kupenga, used supple-jack hoops with green flax that had been dried for two days for the netting mesh. Like the hinaki, modern materials such as wire and fish nets were used. However, Curtis did construct a net using traditional materials, and states that he produced good results. Curtis also noted that mesh size varied. As the Hokiio stream is slower moving, a smaller mesh was used so that the eels did not escape. Faster running water required a larger mesh because the eels moved so fast, the opportunity for escape was limited.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Ibid p.185.

<sup>167</sup> <http://www.visitzealandia.com/species-member/supplejack/>

<sup>168</sup> Curtis, 'Notes on eel weirs and Maori fishing methods', pp.167-170.



Adkin recorded information regarding eel fisheries, especially the traditional abundance that could be gathered along the west coast from Otaki northward to Whanganui that made these sites prime locations for human habitation. Adkin noted that the Horowhenua lakes, lagoons, streams and watercourses abounded with two distinct species (the long-fin and short-fin<sup>169</sup>) with several local varieties, for instance the piharau or lamprey eel.<sup>170</sup>

Eels were caught in large numbers and prepared for either immediate consumption or dried and stored for later consumption. Another form of live storage was either in artificial ponds or tanks. Adkin paid specific attention to the names of eel-catching methods and the locations of sites used. He noted also that damage to the eel fishery was already underway. This was when European landowners adjoining the lakes and the streams sought permission from Maori owners to the lower water levels to increase livestock pasturage. The reduced water levels impacted on the scenic beauty, natural wetlands and the eel feeding areas, prompting Adkin's observation:

...that a dear-bought bid for progress has been made in the accelerated obliteration of the beautiful, natural, moisture-conserving water-features of our landscape.<sup>171</sup>

#### Marae Opening

*Te Ao Hou* (The New World) the Department of Maori Affairs magazine, commented on the opening of the wharepuni Te Huia o Raukura, and how splendid the marae grounds looked, especially the flowers which had been selected to bloom in March. March was also the period for the harvest of puhi (local variety of eel<sup>172</sup>) which, according to the article, were served in abundance.<sup>173</sup> Wairarapa Chief, Aporo Te Kumeroa told Percy Smith about the various eel species in the rivers flowing into Lake Wairarapa, stating that the puhi (also called hao) had blue eyes, and was the best eating of all the species.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> See Grant Tempero, 'Assessment of Fish Populations in Lake Horowhenua, Levin'; client report prepared for Horizons Regional Council. Environmental Research Institute Report No.15, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, 2013, p.7, quoted from B Cunningham, Moar, A. and Parr, P, 'A Survey of the western coastal dune lakes of the North Island, New Zealand.' *Marine and Freshwater Research* 4, 1953. pp.343-386.

<sup>170</sup> Hui with Bruce Wright and Richard Takura, 26 March 2015, Levin.

<sup>171</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.17-29.

<sup>172</sup> See *Te Hekenga*, McDonald describes two broad divisions of the eel family, with one division having two species or varieties, the hau and the puhi. The hau is approximately 18 inches in length at the time of migration to the sea, and the puhi being several inches longer. The second division has three varieties: the silver bellied papaka, the yellow bellied rehi rehi, and the ringo. Local Maori informed McDonald that the rehi rehi usually attained a huge size and was not one of their favourite staples. The hau and the puhi in unusual circumstances could also match the rehi rehi in size, pp.45-46.

<sup>173</sup> <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao08TeA/c25.html>

<sup>174</sup> [http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz\\_50/rsnz\\_50\\_00\\_003470.html](http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_50/rsnz_50_00_003470.html)



Figure 23: Opening of Te Huia o Raukura 1954<sup>175</sup>

### Muaupoko Memories

Henry Williams spoke of his youth growing up around the lakes and streams in the district and how he caught eels and other freshwater delicacies, but upon his return from the South Island some 44 years later, he noticed the difference. The Patiki Stream, Henry stated, was now a filthy drain leading into the lake with few, if any, eels:

There are no longer eels in that lake, if there were I'm sure I wouldn't eat them because I think if you ate them you'd die.<sup>176</sup>

Vera Sciascia responded by stating that she has eaten the kai from Te Moana o Punahau (Lake Horowhenua) despite the pollution, but the kai would be purged in clean water for a week or two before eating.<sup>177</sup> Henry Williams enquired why the lake had changed in his absence, altering how the eels would run and how they would migrate back to the lake in. Henry noted that there were no more eels left, and that in the days of his kuia, the eels would run in March on the Hokio Stream, and that they would catch them in their thousands. The quality of the silver belly eels was known as the best in the country. The catch was stored in big holding boxes and shared out as koha to whanau. Sadly, the koroua says that this tradition is no longer exists, a great loss to the tribe.<sup>178</sup>

Edward Karaitiana's evidence was similar. He compared the loss of such a resource to those in the South Island fortunate enough to still have this kai, and the shame of loss felt by the Muaupoko.<sup>179</sup> Bill Taueki explained the importance of eels and the migratory run to the sea (the hinapouri or tuna heke), which

<sup>175</sup> <http://teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/issue/Mao08TeA/c25.html>

<sup>176</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.34.

<sup>177</sup> Vera Sciascia, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.117-118.

<sup>178</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.34.

<sup>179</sup> Edward Karaitiana, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.45.

they still fish today.<sup>180</sup> The photograph below shows the spearing technique as utilised in 1926 to gather eels; according to the reference those pictured are members of the Taueki whanau.



Figure 24: The last of the old Maori war-canoes on Lake Horowhenua. Members of the Taueki family spearing eels from the canoe "Hamaria"; length about 60ft. 9 June 1926.<sup>181</sup>

Henry Williams remembers when there were tangihanga; the waka Hamaria would transport tupapaku across the lake to the urupa, and on the return trip those on board would catch eels for the hakari at the marae. Henry's sisters, Hingaparae and Carol, recalled their childhood years spent camping along the Hokio stream catching eels for the duration of the tunaheke period.<sup>182</sup>

Kararaina Toitaha Wiremu Murray spoke similarly about the annual March run of eels to the sea, using the term hinapouri. The eels were caught in vast numbers and held in boxes and reserved for times when the eels did not run, or for use at the marae. The traditional method of drying eels was practised to enable this kai to be traded with whanau for other kai not local to the area. She also highlighted the fact that these forms of kai gathering were handed down to her by her kuia, along with the instruction that they were to look after the eels during this March run period.<sup>183</sup>

Hingaparae Gardiner recalled the time of her youth and how her kuia would set up camp to catch and pawhara or dry the eels, which were not only vast in numbers but (at a certain period) large in size. And if the eels had missed the outgoing tide they were left stranded on the beach where the people gathered them in abundance. She stated that:

We used to actually sleep there, they built a little whare, had tents and there was a long drop and all that jazz, and we loved it, used to really love this life of about six weeks, and that's what

<sup>180</sup> Bill Taueki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.9-10.

<sup>181</sup> Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: <http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=3487>

<sup>182</sup> Hui with Henry Williams, Hingaparae Gardiner, Carol Murray, 6 March 2015, Otaki.

<sup>183</sup> Kararaina Toitaha Wiremu Murray, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, pp.39-40.

we watch them do was...catch eels...Now the eels aren't there anymore...the eels, toheroa and the kakahi, these are three main kai that we ate in those days and now we can't have them because of paruparu in the lake and restriction of the toheroa at the beach.<sup>184</sup>

### *Kakahi – freshwater mussels*

Despite the pollution in Lake Horowhenua, Vera Sciascia has her own means of cleansing the kakahi:

There is still the tuna and there is still the kakahi. I mean even with the paru there, there is a way that we as Muaūpoko people have always done and we usually put our kakahi in a bucket, put it under running water and we leave it there for a week or two, it cleans itself and then we cook it. Kei te ora tonu au.<sup>185</sup>



Figure 25: Kakahi siphon at work<sup>186</sup>

Dr Kevin Collier and Dr Sue Clearwater note that the kakahi has an ecological significance as the engineers of the ecosystem. In large numbers, kakahi filter huge bodies of water, transforming nutrients and carbon, also oxygenating sediment, thus benefitting other freshwater life by creating beds of stable habitat:

‘A single mussel can filter around 1 litre of water per hour, and so dense mussel populations can process the whole volume of a shallow lake in a matter of days, removing fine organic particles and sediment suspended in the water and increasing water clarity.’

The kakahi breeding cycle occurs during the summer months, discharging mussel larvae into the water column which attach to the gills and fins of host fish. The larvae gradually detach and settle in the sediment, and as juveniles (< 0.5 mm) their main staple is small algae, bacteria and organic particles. However, the larvae and juveniles are susceptible to copper and ammonia, common elements in urban and agricultural pollution. The loss of larval host fish is a contributing factor to kakahi failure to reproduce.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Hingaparae Gardiner, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, pp.40-41.

<sup>185</sup> Vera Sciascia, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, p.118.

<sup>186</sup> Waiology; science of New Zealand's freshwaters: <http://sciblogs.co.nz/waiology/2014/12/05/the-secret-lives-of-freshwater-mussels/>.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, Dr Kevin Collier is an Associate Professor at the Environmental Research Institute, University of Waikato. Dr Sue Clearwater is a freshwater ecologist at NIWA - National Institute of Water & Atmospheric Research.



The caption accompanying figure 25 states:

Part of a bed of freshwater mussels quietly doing their thing 24/7. The inhalant siphon is fringed with tentacle-like sensory cilia and will occasionally “cough out” clumps of pseudo-faeces comprised of particles that have been rejected for ingestion.<sup>188</sup>

Hingaparae Gardiner spoke of how the restrictions at the beach and the pollution of Lake Horowhenua have affected traditional staples such as toheroa, eels and kakahi. She was speaking of a time when the Muaupoko people were raised on such kai. She also stated that there is a need for someone to restore these sources of kai.<sup>189</sup> Similar are the memories of her brother, Henry Williams, who explained that in his youth Lake Horowhenua was their bread basket and the Patiki Stream that ran into Lake Horowhenua consisted of pure freshwater. The kai they were able to gather were eels, kakahi (freshwater mussels), patiki (freshwater flounders) and watercress.<sup>190</sup> Vivienne Taueki reiterated the significance of Lake Horowhenua, stating: ‘it is a kai basket, it’s valuable to us for its eels, its flounder, its kakahi, etc.’<sup>191</sup> Vivienne also added that the Muaupoko customary rights to their fisheries were never ceded and that these rights are recognised by the High Court and Supreme Court and not subject to the Fisheries Act.<sup>192</sup>

#### *Primary Staples*

Ada Tatana stated that in her youth duck eggs were a main nutritional source and could be gathered around Lake Horowhenua<sup>193</sup> Carol Murray and Hingaparae Gardiner held similar recollections, because wild ducks on the lake were a staple for many of the families.<sup>194</sup> Hingaparae noted that the three main kai that they ate as children were eel, toheroa and kakahi, the same staples that fed most the families. Sadly, much of this kai has been adversely affected by pollution.<sup>195</sup>

#### *Tawhara - Kiekie*

This section discusses the plant life available to Muaupoko for traditional food stocks. McDonald provided some detailed accounts of the Maori diet; in particular the edible flower of the kiekie plant whose flavour he likened to that of a ‘soft-flavoured apple, with a suggestion of pear-flavouring, and decidedly pleasant.’ The kiekie was located in many places of the bush some twenty to thirty feet up in

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<sup>188</sup> Source: Bruno David, Waikato Regional Council, <http://sciblogs.co.nz/waiology/2014/12/05/the-secret-lives-of-freshwater-mussels/> .

<sup>189</sup> Hingaparae Gardiner, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.41.

<sup>190</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.33-34.

<sup>191</sup> Vivienne Taueki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.60.

<sup>192</sup> Vivienne Taueki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.61.

<sup>193</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 20 November 2014, Himatangi.

<sup>194</sup> Hui with Henry Williams, Hingaparae Gardiner, Carol Murray, 6 March 2015, Otaki.

<sup>195</sup> Hingaparae Gardiner, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.41.

the trees. The flowers ripened from October to the middle of December;<sup>196</sup> figures 26 and 27 show the kiekie fruit and flower.<sup>197</sup> Elsdon Best stated the:

...kiekie (*Freycinetia Banksii*), provided two luxuries for the Maori, the fruit (ureure, teure, pirori, tirori, patangatanga), and also the fleshly bracts surrounding the spadix, and known as tawhara, these were considered quite a dainty; they are sweet and have a peculiar flavour.<sup>198</sup>



Figure 26: Kiekie Fruit



Figure 27: Flowering Kiekie

Ada Tatana spoke of this kai and when she was young her role was to climb up to the plant and cover it with a bag so that the birds could not eat the fruit. Ada, too, stated that this kai had a wonderful taste hence, the task of protecting it from the birds.<sup>199</sup> Charles Rudd has similar thoughts on the sweetness of this treasured kai and how many of the younger generation of Muaupoko will never have the experience of eating or harvesting this kai.<sup>200</sup>

### *Bird Snaring*

Unlike the high-country bush where pigeons were caught feeding on the miro berry by using a water-trough perched in the tree with overhanging nooses, the low-country bush was devoid of miro trees so a different method was employed. McDonald recounted that a daily routine was to climb an 80 foot rata tree and patiently wait for pigeons which landed on a prepared platform and were snared by the patient fowler. Shags, ducks and tui were caught using assorted techniques of prepared snares or long poles with nooses attached to the end.<sup>201</sup>

### *Adverse Changes*

Henry Williams recalled an era when the Patiki Stream consisted of pure freshwater and how they caught flounder and other favourite kai from lake and stream. When Henry returned home some 44 years later

<sup>196</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.57-60.

<sup>197</sup> <https://cbusnz.wordpress.com/our-world/native-plant-list/>

<sup>198</sup> Elsdon Best, 'Forest lore of the Māori,' Dominion Museum Bulletin, 1942. pp.54-55.

<sup>199</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

<sup>200</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 1 November 2015, Levin.

<sup>201</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.41-43.

he noticed the pollution at Lake Horowhenua and the Patiki Stream, and how the flounder had vanished. The stream of pure freshwater that he once knew was now a drain of duckweed and dirty water.<sup>202</sup>

Bill Taueki spoke of the destruction wrought by cows trampling the kakahi beds.<sup>203</sup> A National Institute of Water & Atmospheric Research report referred to the 1970s when sediment was discharged into Lake Horowhenua from sewage, run-off from pasture and dairy sheds, and land use practices allowed the digging of drainage ditches through wetlands and swamps. Cows and pigs had direct access to the lake and streams.<sup>204</sup> Charles Rudd noted that some kai is still located in the lake, but the presence of sediment (sewage from past discharges) is inconsistent with fundamental tikanga Maori, that is, bodily wastes contaminate food.<sup>205</sup> Maria Lomax recalled that when there was a function at the marae, they as children would go by truck to gather kai such as eel, kakahi, pipi and toheroa to feed the people. Times have changed; the lack of kai has overtaken their ability to feed their own, let alone manuhiri or parties of guests.<sup>206</sup>

### 2.1.3 Middens

Adkin noted that there were 70 distinct midden-heaps situated between Lake Horowhenua and the sea encompassing a strip of land of approximately seven square miles. The middens were classified into two distinct groups or age-belts, the younger belt extending from the fore-dune inland for less than a quarter of a mile, the older belt lying farther inland. The younger middens consisted mainly of pipi shells with some tohemanga, the older middens of pipi and two varieties of cockle (tipatipa and kaikaroro). Adkin was able to determine that there was a 'time-interval between the accumulation of the two midden belts,' denoting that there were two distinct peoples responsible. The older belt contained 'oven-stones,' which may have been used to create hot water for opening the shells, a process where hot stones were placed in a receptacle of water to open shellfish. These shells, Adkin noted, were still in good condition compared to the younger belt (no oven-stones), which were brittle and were probably opened by direct fire. The younger midden belts close proximity to the sea, Adkin attributed to Muaupoko, the older belt to that of a people who preceded the Muaupoko.<sup>207</sup>

Archaeologist Bruce McFadgen builds on Adkin's findings but notes that two shell middens on the western shore of Lake Horowhenua contained mainly pipi with some paua, with other middens around the lake containing mostly freshwater mussels. McFadgen labels the two belts described by Adkin the

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<sup>202</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.33-34.

<sup>203</sup> Bill Taueki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.9-10

<sup>204</sup> 'Lake Horowhenua Review: assessment of opportunities to address water quality issues in Lake Horowhenua,' (NIWA client report for Horizons Regional Council, June 2011). pp.46-47.

<sup>205</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 1 November 2014, Levin.

<sup>206</sup> Maria Lomax, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.16.

<sup>207</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.39-40.

inland belt and coastal belt and had similar findings to those Adkin espoused. One midden at Muhunua West contained a wide range of fish, bird and shellfish, reflecting the habitat of the region. Moa remains found at inland middens west of Lake Horowhenua, Waikanae, Paekakariki and Raumati, and a flint knife and gizzard stones found on Mount Waiopahu indicate that moa hunting took place in the Tararua ranges.<sup>208</sup>

## 2.2 Nga Awaawa

Lake Horowhenua is fed by surface run-off and groundwater from the Patiki (Kawiu Drain), Poupou (Mangaroa) and Arawhata Streams and the Queen Street, Domain, and Pa drains.<sup>209</sup> The Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council defines the drains as ‘modified natural watercourses.’<sup>210</sup> Figure 28 shows the location of the Arawhata, Patiki and Hokio Streams.<sup>211</sup> This section will focus on the water flows into the lake and the traditional kai that these streams provided to the tribe.

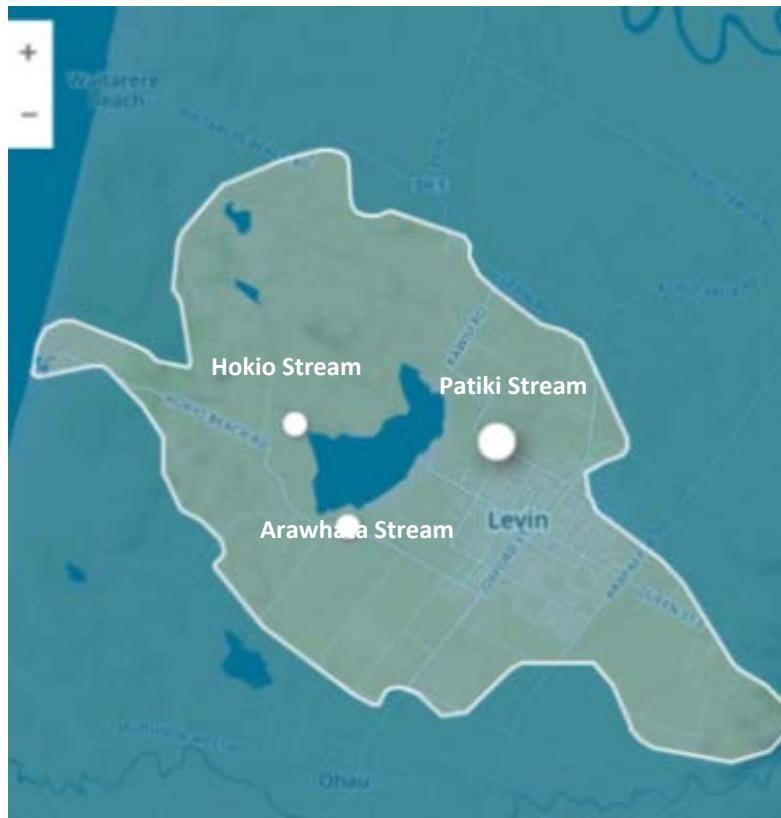


Figure 28: Monitored sites in the Lake Horowhenua catchment<sup>212</sup>

Marokopa Wiremu Matakatea provided a symbolic historical view of how the streams represent the human body's arteries. These arteries originate from a puna called 'Tawhirikohukohu' on Tararua

<sup>208</sup> McFadgen, 'Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy', pp.13-14. See Julian P Hume and Michael Walters, *Extinct Birds*, (T. & A. D. Poyser, London, 2012). pp.28, 32-34, the authors cite nine species of moa. Two species subfossil remains were found in both the North and South Islands, six species solely in the South Island and one species in the North Island. Each species differed in height and weight and were all deemed extinct c.1350-1450.

<sup>209</sup> 'He Ritenga Whakatikatika, Lake Horowhenua & Hokio Stream, Te Pataka o Muaupoko rāua ko Ngati Pareraukawa,' (Lake Horowhenua & Hōkio Stream Working Party June 2013), p.9.

<sup>210</sup> Lake Horowhenua and Hokio Stream Catchment Management Strategy, Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council, 1998.p.7.

<sup>211</sup> <http://www.lawa.org.nz/explore-data/manawatu-wanganui-region/freshwater/lake-horowhenua/>

<sup>212</sup> <http://www.lawa.org.nz/explore-data/manawatu-wanganui-region/freshwater/lake-horowhenua/>

Maunga and from this heart flow nine streams. Marokopa Matakatea recited whakapapa in which he mentioned twins, Mahangatikaro and Mahangapuhanga. The former headed to the east of the maunga, the latter stayed on the western side. Five of the streams flow eastward to Mahangatikaro, the remaining four flow westward to Mahangapuhanga.<sup>213</sup>

Marokopa Matakatea spoke of how he believed that their ‘taonga heartbeat’ was known by many names (Lake Horowhenua, Punahau, and Te Takere Tangata o Punahau) and is fed by a sacred puna Te Hapu o Koraru (the previously discussed Hapuakorari), situated on their maunga. Of spiritual significance, this puna can only be located by those of true Muaupoko or Ngai Tara descent. He emphasised that these arteries were in a dire state because of pollution, and that his generation may be the last to see the great tuna-heke (eel migrations).<sup>214</sup>

### 2.2.1 Hokio Stream

Lake Horowhenua has one outlet, the Hokio Stream, which flows for four kilometres in a westerly direction to the coast. The Hokio abounded with fish-stocks such as freshwater mussels and crayfish, flounder, whitebait, and native kokopu and koaro. As the tribal staple, eels were caught in large numbers using hinaki as they migrated from Lake Horowhenua to the sea.<sup>215</sup> Figure 29 shows the stream’s outlet from Lake Horowhenua.<sup>216</sup>



Figure 29: Lake Horowhenua and Tararua background, with the Hokio Stream foreground.

<sup>213</sup> Marokopa Wiremu Matakatea, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.97.

<sup>214</sup> Marokopa Wiremu Matakatea, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.98-99.

<sup>215</sup> ‘He Ritenga Whakatikatika, Lake Horowhenua & Hokio Stream, Te Pataka o Muaupoko rāua ko Ngati Pareraukawa,’ (Lake Horowhenua & Hōkio Stream Working Party June 2013),p.10.

<sup>216</sup> Horowhenua Historical Society Inc. <http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/images/786-aerial-view-of-lake-horowhenua-and-levin>

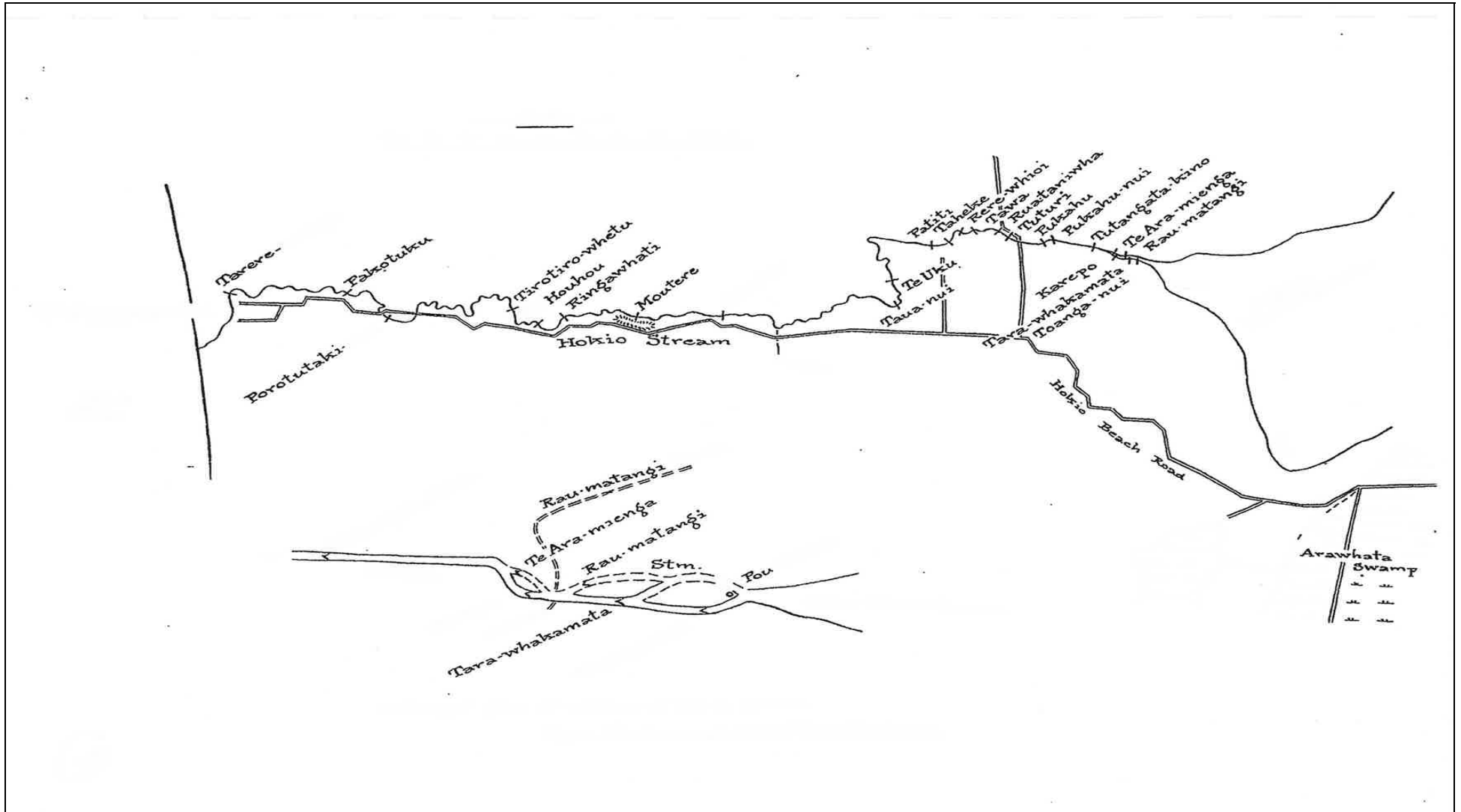


Figure 30: Former eel weir on the Hokio Stream<sup>217</sup>

<sup>217</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, p.22.



As figure 30 suggests, eel weir or pa along the Hokio Stream were important for catching eel in large numbers. Henry Williams, recalling his youth, stated:

...in my day my two kuia's [sic] had an eel pa out the Hokio Stream, there's three eel pas going out the Hokio Stream, and when they had the run in March they caught those eels by the thousands, when I say "thousands" they were thousands.<sup>218</sup>

Figure 31 shows an eel weir (pa tuna) named Ruataniwha, on the Hokio Stream.



Figure 31: Eel weir on the Hokio Stream<sup>219</sup>

Adkin described the rau-matangi as a series of fences that channelled eels into hinaki, in most cases the catch was so large that what could not be immediately consumed was stored in artificial ponds or dried. The rau-matangi of the Hokio differed to those employed in Lake Horowhenua because these pa tuna 'were jealously guarded family or individual property,' valued for their productivity and their importance as a food supply for the Muaupoko people.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.44.

<sup>219</sup> Eel weir on Hokio Stream. Adkin, George Leslie, 1888-1964: *Photographs of New Zealand geology, geography, and the Maori history of Horowhenua*. Ref: PA1-q-002-082, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.  
<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22517212>

<sup>220</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.18-20.



Figure 32: Eel-basket (hinaki) constructed of tokororaro vine, at the Hokio Stream.

The caption for figure 32 states:

Eel-basket (hinaki) constructed of tokororaro vine, at the Hokio Stream. Mua-upoko craftsmanship, 29 November 1925.<sup>221</sup>

This vine could be the aka-tororaro otherwise known as the New Zealand passion flower or New Zealand passion fruit. Figure 33 shows the tororaro plant which is now rare because of browsing stock.<sup>222</sup>



Figure 33: Branches of tororaro (*Muehlenbeckia astonii*),

### The Hokioi

Adkin cited a waiata composed by the Ngati Apa chief Te Hakeke for his infant son Te Raraoterangi whose mother was Muaupoko:

Te rau o te Huia e noa te tinana  
 tera to piki te Hokioi i runga  
 Nga manu hunahuna, kaore i kitea  
 E te tini e te mano

Feather of the Huia too mean for your person  
 Your head-adornment a feather of Hokioi,  
 the bird of mystery, unseen  
 by the multitude.

Adkin later learnt that the use of the word Hokioi meant the great bird of prey, arguing that the Hokio stream and the Pakau-hokio lagoon both derive from the Hokioi. On these grounds, the accepted translation for Hokio as the 'wind whistling past the ears' should be rejected, and the translation should be 'a loud rustling noise' in the air, as experienced by Haunui-a-nanaia, a tohunga of ancient times who was searching for his wife along that coast. The ancient Maori believed that the loud rushing noise high in the heavens came from the Hokioi bird, and this bird did once exist. Adkin cited old sub-fossilised remains had been located in the region that fit the early Maori description of the Hokioi.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Adkin, George Leslie, 1888-1964: Photographs of New Zealand geology, geography, and the Maori history of Horowhenua Ref: PA1-q-002-083. <http://natlib.govt.nz/items?i%5Bcollection%5D=Adkin+album+13>

<sup>222</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report*, Volume III: Powerlessness and Displacement, Wai 863, Legislation Direct: Wellington, 2010. p.935.

<sup>223</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.154-155. See Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, pp.154-155 who stated that the pakau-hokio lagoon should be spelt pakau-hokioi, the wing of the hokioi bird.



## Raurekau



Figure 34: Raurekau

Carol Murray spoke of the time when patiki and kakahi were harvested all year round and she has noticed the decline in gathering kai over the last fifty years. Carol also recalled that when a surplus of eels was caught, this was shared with whanau who did not live locally. Carol also mentioned the process of using raurekau with eels.<sup>224</sup>

Charles Curtis observed a method of cooking eels wrapped in raurekau leaves at the Hokio Stream, outlining the procedure he witnessed in 1964:

The eels are not cleaned nor the slime removed. A stalk of the bracken fern is placed in the mouth of the eel and pushed down to the tail with a twisting motion. The dark upper sides of the leaves are placed against the eel and the slime helps make them stay in place. The *raurekau* leaves are used in pairs. They grow with one on each side of the branch opposite each other. They are picked together with a piece of the central branch attached. Wrapping the eel is commenced at the head. The leaves are wound on in a spiral, with new leaves being added as required. When the tail is reached the leaves are secured with a strip of flax. The eel is then cooked over embers of a fire. The eel is cooked over a metal grid, but I am informed that in former times the fern stalk was simply pushed into the ground, and the eel turned from time to time until cooked. The eel was cooked in its own fat by this method.<sup>225</sup>

### 2.2.2 Patiki Stream



Figure 35: Patiki Stream source

As noted previously from Muaupoko witnesses, the Patiki stream abounded with flounder and eels, and the water was fresh and pure. Figure 35 is sourced from the Land Air and Water Aotearoa (LAWA) website which notes that this stream is a valued habitat for the giant kokopu, a rare native fish.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Hui with Carol Murray, 5 March 2015, Otaki.

<sup>225</sup> Curtis, 'Notes on eel weirs and Maori fishing methods', p.170.

<sup>226</sup> <http://www.lawa.org.nz/explore-data/manawatu-wanganui-region/freshwater/lake-horowhenua/patiki-stream-at-kawiu-road/>

Decades earlier, Adkin observed that the smooth, sandy floor of the stream up to the lakebed provided an ideal habitat for flounder to grow to large proportions.<sup>227</sup> As stated previous by Henry Williams, when he returned home 44 years, later the flounder had vanished and the pure freshwater stream was now a drain of duckweed and dirty water.<sup>228</sup>

### 2.2.3 Arawhata Stream

The Arawhata Stream is spring-fed and contributes 70 per cent of the total surface input into Lake Horowhenua. Figure 36 shows that groundwater aquifers inland from the lake are fed from the Tararua Ranges.<sup>229</sup>

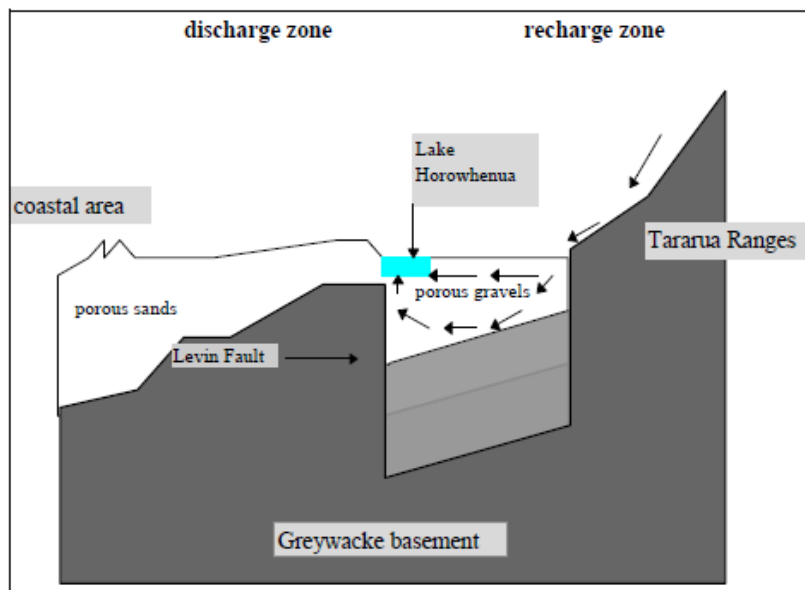


Figure 36: cross section of groundwater and Lake Horowhenua

The Tararua Range contains the upper catchments of the Hutt, Waikanae, Waitohu, Waiohine, Ohau, Waingawa, Boar Bush Gully and Kaipaitangata rivers; with an annual rainfall measurement of around 5,000mm that supplies water for the Wellington-Hutt, Kapiti, Horowhenua and Wairarapa urban populations.<sup>230</sup>

Adkin noted that before the area was drained of its swamp for farmland, leaving only the stream, there grew a large number of kiekie. The translation for 'arawhata' being ladder denotes how the Muaupoko made ladders to scale the trees for the sweet edible fruit of the kiekie namely the tirori and tawhara.<sup>231</sup>

### 2.2.4 Waiwiri Stream

The 'pot' pictured in figure 37 is a man-made or artificial unlined pond situated on an elevated area of sand dunes approximately 300 metres from the Waiwiri Stream. The pond receives secondary treated effluent via a 7.1km pipe laid from the Levin Wastewater Treatment Plant to Hokio Sand Road along

<sup>227</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, p.296.

<sup>228</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.33-34.

<sup>229</sup> Lake Horowhenua and Hokio Stream Catchment Management Strategy, Manawatu-Wanganui Regional Council, 1998.p.9.

<sup>230</sup> Treadwell & Associates, 'Assessment Of The Outstanding Landscapes & Natural Features Of The Horowhenua District,' August 2009, a report prepared for the Horowhenua District Council. p.29.

<sup>231</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.140-141.

Hamaria Road and Hokio Beach Road.<sup>232</sup> The Waiwiri Stream was revered as an abundant food source with its outlet to the coast also providing a plentiful supply of shellfish. Adkin stated that when Muaupoko occupied this area the tribe had an extensive eel fishery, with some twenty separate eel weir located on the stream. When Ngati Raukawa occupied the area, they too enjoyed the abundant eel fishery, building five eel-weirs of their own.<sup>233</sup>



Figure 37: Location of the 'pot' to Lake Papatonga (Waiwiri)<sup>234</sup>

### 2.3 Te Taha Moana

Muaupoko identity and wellbeing are intimately intertwined with their natural environment, being their traditional and customary places, resources and kai species from the mountains to the sea. The traditional and intrinsic value of these ecosystems and what they provide have a taonga status for the iwi. This status is premised on ancestral connection and association with the customary responsibility to serve as kaitiaki for the following generations. Ecologist and research scientist Geoff Park whose research focused on New Zealand's coastal plains wrote:

“A swamp or coastal foreshore ecosystem that possessed such qualities, or a river ecosystem, or a forest, could be considered, with the people it sustained, to be a living being and be termed a ‘taonga’.”<sup>235</sup>

<sup>232</sup> <http://www.horowhenua.govt.nz/Council/Council-Projects/Completed-Projects/Levin-Wastewater-Treated-Effluent-Rising-Main-Pump-Station/>

<sup>233</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, p.414.

<sup>234</sup> <https://www.google.co.nz/maps/@-40.6409994,175.2499793,4339m/data=!3m1!1e3>

<sup>235</sup> Geoff Park, ‘Effective Exclusion? An Exploratory Overview of Crown Actions and Maori Responses Concerning the Indigenous Flora and Fauna, 1912–1983’, published by the Waitangi Tribunal, cited in Allen, Sinner J, Banks J, Doehring K 2012. ‘Waiwiri Stream: Sources of Poor Water Quality and Impacts on the Coastal Environment.’ Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No.9. Cawthron Report No. 2240. 48 p plus appendices, p.6.

Figure 38 shows the current land cover which consists mainly of exotic forests and low production exotic grasslands.<sup>236</sup> To the Muaupoko people Hokio Beach holds much significance; historically it was an area covered predominantly in dune lands and swamp (see land cover maps: figures 54, 55, 79, 86). Inland from the dune-lands there was thick forest cover of pukatea, kahikatea and rata on the lake margin and swamp areas. These provided Muaupoko with an abundance of kai that could be gathered from the coast and the inland swamps, streams, lakes and forest.

The exotic forests growing on Muaupoko trust lands have potential to earn financial benefits for the owners; the problem is the quality of the soil. To get a full financial gain from the trees it is required that that a 25-year rotation is implemented to get the best tensile strength needed from the wood for timber construction. As Peter and Paul Huria explained, the benefits are there but because of the soil quality the longest period of rotation is required.<sup>237</sup>

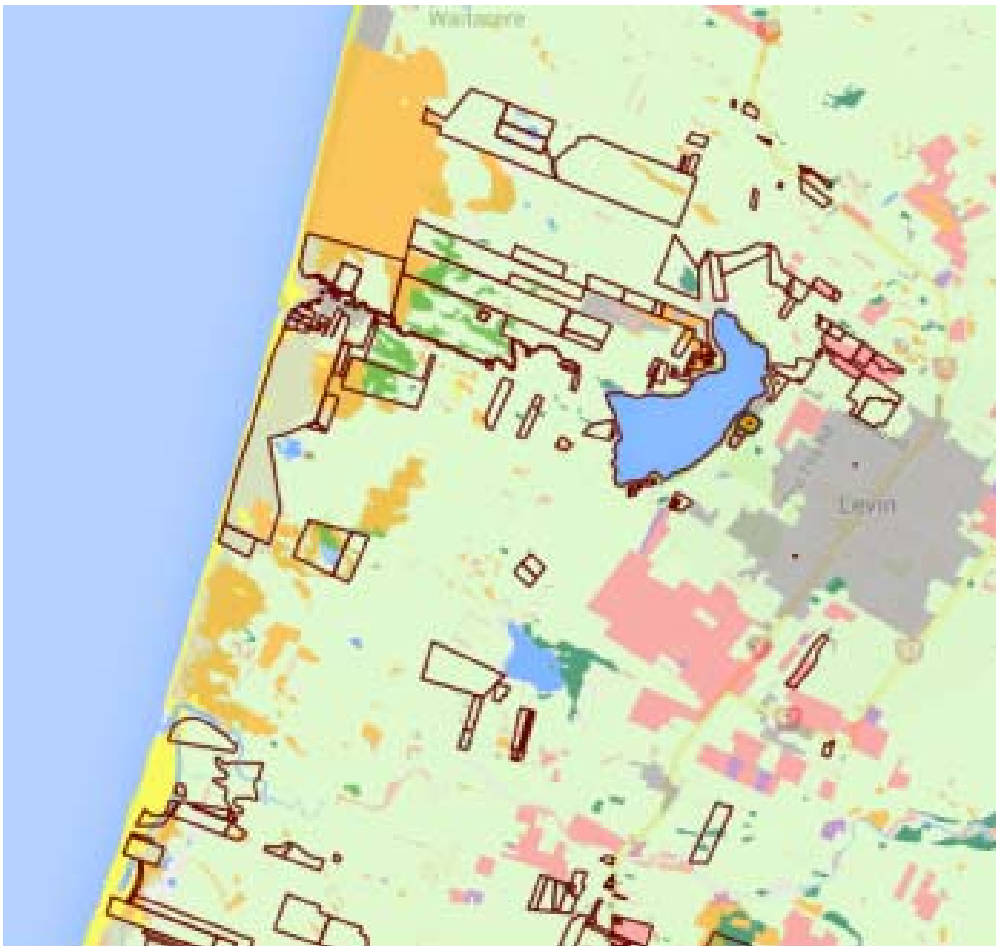
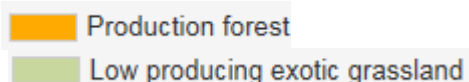


Figure 38: Current land-cover<sup>238</sup>



<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Hui with Peter and Paul Huria, 6 March 2015, Hokio.

<sup>238</sup> <http://whenuaviz.landcareresearch.co.nz/place/79610>; when utilising this webpage, click the right-hand icon for a series of different overlays.

### 2.3.1 Waahi Tapu

#### *Komokorau*



Figure 39: Komokorau, burial site of Maori chiefs

According to McDonald Komokarau (Komokorau), the white sand-hill, is the burying place of the Muaupoko, 'their mausoleum, within which is housed the sacred dead of who knows how many centuries ... a shallow hole, or cave, was dug, and in this the corpse was placed. Then from the top, the roof was broken down, and the sand, drifting ever inland from the sea, insured the dead man a lasting sepulchre.'<sup>239</sup>

#### *Whanau-pani and Onehunga*

Peter Huria described the time when the 30-acre Whanau-pani block was to be sold for non-payment of rates, and how he spoke at a hui to oppose the sale. A member of the local council informed Peter that there was no waahi tapu status attributed to the block. Peter replied that the land was soaked with tears, hupe (mucus) and sweat. This land was the place where the dead were laid out for mourning prior to interment at Onehunga, another adjacent sand dune. And if the sale was to go ahead, Peter warned that he would inform all adjoining Maori landowners to plant crosses on their land as a means to halting the sale and to show the spiritual significance the site has to the Muaupoko people.<sup>240</sup>

### 2.3.2 Traditional Resources

#### *Toheroa – Paphies ventricosa*



Figure 40: Toheroa (*Paphies ventricosa*).

Research tells us that the toheroa is one of the surf clam species of Aotearoa. It is a member of the wedge clam species, others being the tuatua (two species), and the pipi. Other surf clam species are the trough shells, wedge shells, venus shells, sunset shells and cockles. Of all the surf clam species the toheroa has the most demanding habitat requirements.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>239</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.99.

<sup>240</sup> Hui with Peter and Paul Huria, 6 March 2015, Hokio Beach, Levin.

<sup>241</sup> KH Heasman, Keeley N, Sinner J. 2012. 'Factors Affecting Populations of Toheroa (*Paphies ventricosa*): A Literature Review.' Manaaki Taha Moana Research Report No. 10. Cawthron Report No. 1997. 29 p. plus appendices, pp.1-2.



A number of Muaupoko spoke to the Waitangi Tribunal in February 2014 at Kawiu Marae about this delicacy, and how it was gathered and in most cases shared out to whanau. Noa Nicholson gave the traditional name tohemanga and how it was a favourite kai for the mokopuna.<sup>242</sup> Most important was that this kai was readily available and easy to access. Maria Lomax reminisced about the abundance of kai that once was, and how her grandparents would be upset at the state the kai is in now:

....we'd go when there was anything on here to get the kai, to feed the people, and there's none of that now, we can't get any of it....I feel so sad cos that's how I was brought up, it's to feed the people, look after the people of the marae and look after the wairua who looks after you and believe me, the wairua looks after me and family.<sup>243</sup>

Hingaparae Gardiner noted the restrictions now in place when gathering toheroa because of the decline in numbers. As a child she had collected this kai whenever and wherever she wanted. She also noted that because of pollution, other staples like toheroa, eels and kakahi are now also hard to gather.<sup>244</sup> Marokopa Matakatea spoke for the protection of the toheroa, despite the fact that Muaupoko have unrestricted rights to collect this kai, as he believes that preservation is currently more important than harvest.<sup>245</sup>

The two photographs below show tohemanga and toheroa digging activities circa 1913. Whether these two species are the same with different names – toheroa (*Paphies ventricosa*) and tohemanga (*Oxyperas elongata*) cannot be scientifically answered. However, kaumatua and kai gatherers of the area use the two names interchangeably, whilst others say the tohemanga is the local dialectal name for the toheroa.<sup>246</sup>



Figure 41: Tohemanga Digging, Hokio Beach circa 1913<sup>247</sup>



Figure 42: Toheroa Digging, Hokio Beach circa 1913<sup>248</sup>

<sup>242</sup> Noa Nicholson, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.142.

<sup>243</sup> Maria Lomax, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, p.16.

<sup>244</sup> Hingaparae Gardiner, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, p.41.

<sup>245</sup> Marokopa Wiremu Matakatea, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, p.99.

<sup>246</sup> Newcombe E, Poutama et al, 'Kaimoana on beaches from Hōkio to Ōtaki, Horowhenua.' p.i

<sup>247</sup> Adkin, Leslie (photographer), circa 1913:

<http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/105450> & <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/105448>

### *Pipi - Paphies australis*

The pipi and tuatua are two intertidal (area of seashore covered only at high tide) species found along the Horowhenua coastline. Statistical data shows that pipi and tuatua are still harvested, but densities are much lower than in the past.<sup>249</sup> According to Muaupoko the pipi was a staple food source for many of the tribe, recorded in the middens unearthed by archaeologists. Carkeek stated that because of war and the transient nature of the people:

Shellfish was often dried and stored for future use. Even at the present day the old process of drying pipsis and stringing them out on long strips of thin flax for later use is still carried out by the older Maoris, and it is said that at one time in the Otaki district every house had its store of pipi maroke or dried pipi.<sup>250</sup>

McDonald noticed that the task of preparing pipi was undertaken by the women whilst the men fished. The pipi were dried and strung on flax then stored for winter. Pipi preparations were indicated by the huge mounds of pipi shells located along the coast.<sup>251</sup>

### *Pingao - Ficinia spiralis*

Department of Conservation



Figure 43: Pingao or golden sand sedge (Ficinia)

The Department of Conservation states that the pingao has an important role because of its sand-binding ability in the coastal dune ecosystem. The pingao not only stabilises coastal dunes but also encourages sand dunes to form by trapping windblown sand at its base which also promotes an environment for other plant species to flourish. Figure 43 shows a young plant which can produce flower heads up to 30cm long.<sup>252</sup>

The Department of Conservation notes that the disappearance of pingao from the coastal environment can be attributed to several factors:

- i. burn-off by settlers for agricultural land development and forestry at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,
- ii. marram grass with its invasive nature, smothers the smaller and less competitive pingao,
- iii. stock grazing by sheep and cattle, followed by possums and rabbits which also developed a taste for pingao,
- iv. sand mining, and
- v. indiscriminate use of vehicles in dune areas.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Newcombe et al, 'Kaimoana on beaches from Hōkio to Ōtaki, Horowhenua.' pp.1-2.

<sup>250</sup> Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, p.103.

<sup>251</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.57.

<sup>252</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-plants/golden-sand-sedge-pikao-pingao/>

<sup>253</sup> <http://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-plants/golden-sand-sedge-pikao-pingao/>

### Harakeke - *Phormium tenax*

There are two known varieties of flax species native to Aotearoa, the harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) and the wharariki (*Phormium cookianum*) and within each species there are numerous varieties. The harakeke is distinguishable by its deep red flowers, whereas the wharariki has yellow or orange flowers and is not generally used for weaving.<sup>254</sup> Harakeke was an important fibre plant to Maori, with traditional uses for kakahu (clothing), whariki (mats), kete (baskets), taura (ropes), bird snares, fishing lines, kupenga (nets) and kono (eating plates). Harakeke was also used as a rongoa (medicine) for toothache, boils and even as a disinfectant. The harakeke leaves were also used to bind wounds and broken bones. Nectar from the harakeke flowers were used as a sweetener for food and beverages.<sup>255</sup>



Figure 44: Wharariki flower<sup>256</sup>



Figure 45: Harakeke flower<sup>257</sup>

### Whariki/mat weaving at Kawiu Marae



Figure 46: Caption reads 'Kawiu Pa makes up for lost time' circa 1953.

A 1953 *Te Ao Hou* article shows the preparations being undertaken for the opening of the new meeting house at Kawiu Marae. The article notes that there was an enthusiasm on the marae for Maori language classes, haka and action songs. This was due, according to the article, to the influence of the local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League and Parekohatu Tihi, head weaver. The article stated that Parekohatu and her team of weavers were weaving mats for the new meeting house.<sup>258</sup>

<sup>254</sup> <http://www.alibrown.co.nz/gathering-flax.html>

<sup>255</sup> <http://www.paharakeke.co.nz/about>

<sup>256</sup> Photo by Allison Buchan - <http://www.visitzealandia.com/species-member/wharariki/>

<sup>257</sup> Photo by Steve Attwood - <http://www.visitzealandia.com/species-member/flax/>

<sup>258</sup> <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao05TeA/c21.html>



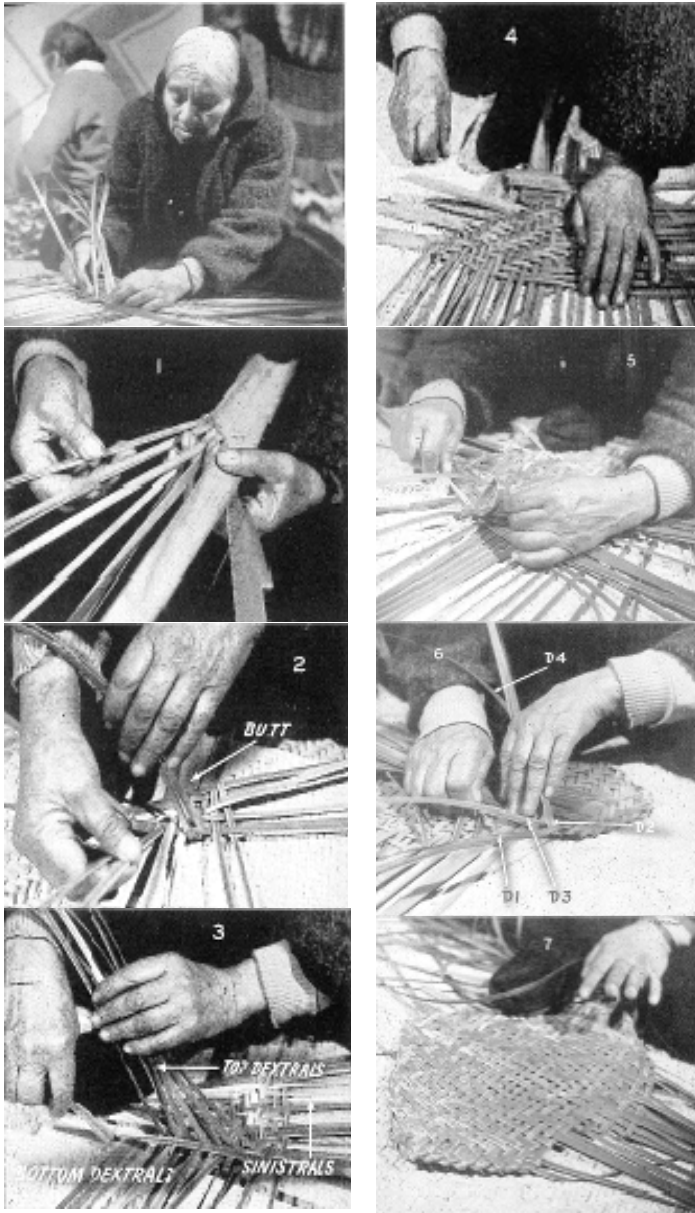


Figure 47: Parekohatu Tihi weaving

The photographs here show Parekohatu, a descendant of Te Keepa Rangihwinui, mat weaving for the new Kawiu Marae meeting house, helped by members of the local Maori Women's Welfare League who collected and prepared the flax. *Te Ao Hou* stated that one large mat could take a fortnight to complete:

...her patterns are always flawless, regular and harmonious.

Parekohatu Tihi, the article stated, had a strong determination to preserve the ancestral knowledge of this skill by passing it on to the younger generation. Two days a week were set aside for those wishing to learn, beginning in the morning till ten o'clock at night.<sup>259</sup>

## 2.4 Kapiti Island

The full name for this island is 'Te Waewae Kapiti o Tara raua ko Rangitane' (where the boundaries of Tara and Rangitane join). This saying is significant when considering that Muaupoko claim descent from Tara, or Tara-ika whose descendant Tuteremoana married Wharekohu, the descendant of his half-brother Tautoki (the father of the Rangitane, eponymous ancestor of the tribe Rangitane). Hence the tapu nature of Kapiti to Muaupoko and Rangitane, the cave at the southern end of the island contains the remains of Rangitane ancestors. The highest peak on the island is named after the ancestor Tuteremoana, and when his wife Wharekohu died he had her interred in a cave at the island's southern end which today bears the name Wharekohu Bay.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>259</sup> <http://teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/issue/Mao05TeA/c21.html>

<sup>260</sup> Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, p.159.



Figure 48: Kapiti Island

According to the *Lore of the whare-wananga*, Whatonga and his wife Hotuwaipara and their son Tara-ika all died at Kapiti and are buried in the cave of Ngai Tara, with Turia the grandfather of Tuteremoana.

Tuhoto-ariki (brother of Turia and great grandson of Whatonga) was appointed and designated to the whare-wananga, and was taught all traditional knowledge of the kauae-runga and the kauae-raro (knowledge relating to heaven and earth). Tuhoto-ariki was another important tohunga of Ngai Tara who is also buried on Kapiti.<sup>261</sup>

The coastline of Kapiti abounded with seafood, and its bush provided a plentiful store of native birds. Natural springs and streams ensured an ample supply of fresh water, and the fertile soil had the capacity to produce good crops. The western side of the island had sheer cliffs which restricted waka landings, and made the monitoring of accessible shores easy for the defender who could utilise the high peaks to monitor the distance for any threats.<sup>262</sup>

### Summary – Principal Landmarks

This section has examined the principal landmarks of the region and the physical and spiritual relationships to the Muaupoko people. The physical relationship was evident primarily because of the abundant food resources available to the tribe. The lowland forest, lakes, streams and the close proximity of the coast provided an ample supply of food and resources necessary for survival. The spiritual significance is attributed to the unbroken Muaupoko occupation on their land. This relationship is noted in figures 19 and 20 charting many of the tribe's sites of significance. The spiritual lake – Hapuakorari atop Tararua maunga – has a spiritual significance to both Maupoko and the Rangitane people of the Wairarapa and an interesting history because it was included in the 1873 Horowhenua

<sup>261</sup> HT Whatahoro, Smith, S Percy, *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga: Or Teachings of the Maori College on Religion, Cosmogony, and History*, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.118. Perusal of the whakapapa chart at section 1.2 notes that there are two Turia and two Te Ao-haere-tahi. The Lore of the Whare-wananga states that Turia is a great-grandson of Whatonga (which is correct if he is the son of Wakanui, who is the son of Tara-ika) and is also the grandfather of Tuteremoana which is correct if Turia is six generations removed from Pehungaiterangi another offspring of Tara-ika; see Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast*, p.159 for the whakapapa that corresponds with the Lore of the Whare-wananga. However, Carkeek noted that other whakapapa show more generations between Whatonga and Tuteremoana; see also Carkeek p.161 for place names of Kapiti.

<sup>262</sup> Ngati Toa Rangatira and Toa Rangatira Trust and the Crown, Deed of Settlement Schedule: Documents, 2012. p.5.

block title with no formal survey, and later a £200 reward was offered for its location. Urupa like Komokorau and Onehunga and Whanau-pani, where the dead were mourned prior to interment, are but a few of the spiritual places of the tribe.

This section has highlighted the traditional resources available to the Muaupoko people from the various areas of the tribal rohe. Muaupoko memories regarding their kai, the abundance and the methods employed illustrate a lifestyle that was as rich as the resources they gathered, whether from the bush, lake, streams or the coast. Their memories also note the decline of these resources, with some stating that neither their tamariki nor their mokopuna will ever experience what they saw and how they lived. For example, Lake Horowhenua once had a plentiful supply of freshwater mussels and eels, which were the main staple for Muaupoko, supplemented with flounder from the pristine streams. Additional kai such as pipi and toheroa was once gathered from the coast in vast quantities. The former dunelands and lowland forest cover provided kai directly or formed part of the ecosystem that these resources were dependent upon. This ecosystem also provided material for building, clothing and implements with some resources serving as a pharmacy.

What is pivotal is that these resources once existed in abundance, and were preserved as such, now face a slow, or in some cases a rapid, rate of depletion. Resource depletion is a major concern for Muaupoko, but this concern is also mirrored in how it affects the people, such as their traditions of learning to gather kai and teaching successive generations, conserving kai and the custom of sharing.

### SECTION THREE – INFLUENCES ON MUAUPOKO

This section examines the people who influenced and shaped the lives and destiny of Muaupoko. The invasion by Te Rauparaha brought Muaupoko to near extinction, only curtailed by the arrival and intervention of Te Whatanui. Years later, Te Keepa Rangihwinui brought about resurgence in the tribe through his military career and desire to regain the lands that Muaupoko had lost. His military career was in concert with that of other prominent leaders from neighbouring whanaunga iwi like Peeti Te Aweawe of Rangitane and Kawana Hunia of Ngati Apa. They served alongside Te Keepa who also played a dominant role leading up to the 1873 Native Land Court title determination of the Horowhenua block which elevated the Muaupoko claim, and marginalised the Ngati Raukawa claim.<sup>263</sup>

The changed and altered landscape and principle landmarks of Muaupoko have had a major effect on the Muaupoko people. The pollution of Lake Horowhenua has had an immense impact on traditional kai and resources, affecting Muaupoko mana, physicality and spirituality. The former landscape of the entire region is compared to the present in map form which shows the vast geographical and ecological changes and how this has affected the traditional kai and resources of the Muaupoko, but also how this affects the general population, because pollution, deforestation, lack of coast and dune management systems and adverse changes to dunelands and wetlands is a community problem. This section concludes with some data from Statistics New Zealand and Te Puni Kokiri with some added insights from historical reports and Muaupoko tangata whenua.

#### 3.1 Te Rauparaha

An abundance of historical reports, tribal reports and publications exists that detail the deeds and exploits of Te Rauparaha and his southern raids. This section examines how Te Rauparaha had an overriding effect on Muaupoko in warfare, and assesses how he influenced Muaupoko subsequently, largely in a negative vein. Peter Huria described the raids by Te Rauparaha and his allies in the 1820s as a ‘terrorist attack’,<sup>264</sup> and when Peter was informed that Te Keepa Rangihwinui, Peeti Te Aweawe and Kawana Hunia in 1870-1871 had at their disposal 300 rifles and seasoned military fighters from their respective iwi and were openly challenging Ngati Raukawa, Peter replied that they had the opportunity to drive Ngati Raukawa into the sea.<sup>265</sup> This statement is based on the fact that the Muaupoko, Rangitane and Ngati Apa suffered much during the 1820s, and 50 years later the situation was now reversed.

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<sup>263</sup> See section 3.2.4 that describes how the 1873 Native Land Court awarded the Horowhenua Block to Muaupoko instead of Ngati Raukawa, and section 3.6 that describes the tensions between Muaupoko and Ngati Raukawa prior to the 1873 Native Land Court.

<sup>264</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 21 November 2014, Hokio.

<sup>265</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 6 March 2015, Hokio; see below, section on allegiances of the account regarding Te Keepa Rangihwinui, Peeti Te Aweawe and Kawana Hunia. This is not say that Peter is ‘anti-Raukawa’, rather, Peter’s wife is of Ngati Huia descent, and he has a lot of respect for these people.

Muaupoko dismiss the commonly-held notion that as a result of Te Rauparaha's attacks they became slaves and were subservient; however, many admit that they suffered dearly.

Te Rauparaha even had an intergenerational effect on Muaupoko: Henry Williams remembers how his elders wished that they did not marry people from Ngati Raukawa.<sup>266</sup> However, according to Henry, many of his whanau married Ngati Raukawa people, and now they have tamariki and mokopuna of mixed Muaupoko and Ngati Raukawa descent.<sup>267</sup> Charles Rudd recalled how the advent of the gun devastated Muaupoko who, as noted earlier, were renowned for their hand-to-hand dexterity with traditional weapons. He believes that all this resides in the past, in light of the fact that his tamariki and mokopuna are also of Ngati Toa, Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga and Te Atiawa extraction.<sup>268</sup> Eugene Henare possesses similar thoughts saying that many Muaupoko, himself included, are descendants of Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Muaupoko.<sup>269</sup>

### 3.1.1 Tree Fort

Eldson Best provided an account of events prior to the invasion of Ngati Toa, Ngati Raukawa and Te Atiawa, when Muaupoko-occupied lands from Paekakariki to Manawatu, with one of the Muaupoko settlements situated at Whakahoro on the Waikawa River near the present township of Manakau. Best related how the Muaupoko at Whakahoro constructed a tree-village or fort atop three immense kahikatea trees, with large beams laid from tree-fork to tree-fork to serve as a platform for houses some fifty feet from the ground. Provisions were stored aloft, also a stockpile of stones to hurl down at intruders. If an enemy approached, the Muaupoko retreated to their tree fort and could resist their enemy so long as their provisions lasted. However, the arrival of Te Rauparaha and firearms changed the whole dynamic, with one informant telling Best that to remain aloft meant they would be shot like birds 'me he pupuhi manu.'<sup>270</sup>

In 1845 Thomas Bevan saw the tree fort that was once used by the Muaupoko prior to the invasion of Ngati Toa, Ngati Raukawa and Te Atiawa. The tree fort was constructed as a defensive position from attackers such as Ngati Apa and Ngati Kahungunu of the Wairarapa who crossed the Tararua by way of

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<sup>266</sup> Te Rauparaha is deemed responsible for Te Whatanui and Ngati Raukawa migrating to the area. Te Rauparaha's mother, Parekohatu, was of Ngati Raukawa descent.

<sup>267</sup> Hui with Henry Williams, Hingaparae Gardiner, Carol Murray, 6 March 2015, Otaki.

<sup>268</sup> Charles Rudd, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.56.

<sup>269</sup> Conversation with Eugene Henare, 31 October 2014, Levin.

<sup>270</sup> Eldson Best, 'The tree-fort of the Muaupoko tribe of Maoris, at Whakahoro', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol 2, no 2 (1893), pp.87-88.

the ancient trails. Bevan's account regarding construction and the reasons why the tree fort was abandoned is similar to that provided by Elsdon Best.<sup>271</sup>

### 3.1.2 Lake-pa Islands

Figure 49 shows two of the six artificial lake-pa islands constructed by Muaupoko as protection from Te Rauparaha.<sup>272</sup> McDonald describes how these island-pa were constructed by driving stakes into the lakebed then interlacing them with manuka forming a circular cavity. This cavity was filled with sand brought in baskets by canoe from a hillside on the north-west shore of the lake. Muaupoko thought themselves safe from the firearms Te Rauparaha wielded, because any attacker would need canoes which Muaupoko had either hidden or sunk save the few that they had kept for themselves.



Figure 49: Roho o te kawau and Waikiekie

Te Rauparaha, with Ngati Toa, left Kapiti at night by canoe and on arrival at the Hokio stream hauled their canoes the three mile distance up the stream to the lake before daylight. By morning shots were heard; with no defence against this type of weapon some made for the shore by canoe or swam only to meet their death by Ngati Toa canoes or men waiting on the

shore. Of the 300 Muaupoko who were encamped on the island-pa only a few escaped, one of whom was Te Rangi Rurupuni, who recounted this incident to McDonald.<sup>273</sup>

<sup>271</sup> Thomas Bevan, *Reminiscences of an Old Colonist*, (Manakau, Wellington 1908, printed by Frank Penn, Otaki Mail, Otaki), pp.40-41.

<sup>272</sup> Source: Horowhenua Historical Society Inc. [http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/5393-lake-horowhenua-view-of-islands?view\\_size=large](http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/5393-lake-horowhenua-view-of-islands?view_size=large). The inscription on the reverse side of the photograph states the date as 1920; however, this photograph appeared in a 1910 publication 'Knights Horowhenua & West Coast Guide' Sept 1910. See also O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.12.

<sup>273</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.10-13.



Figure 50: Artificial Islets in Lake Horowhenua

Figure 50 details the six islets situated at Lake Horowhenua:

1. Waikiekie,
2. Te Roha o te Kawau,
3. Waipata,
4. Pukeiti ,
5. Karapu or Moana Karapu,
6. Te Namuiti, and
7. the exit from Hokio outlet to the sea.<sup>274</sup>

Thomas Buick wrote that the first island-pa attacked by Ngati Toa was Waipata who had swam to the island under cover of darkness brandishing hand weapons to overwhelm the sleeping occupants. On hearing what was happening the other island pa readied themselves for an attack, however, with daylight coming Ngati Toa withdrew to the shoreline. As recounted by McDonald, it was not until Te Rauparaha had assembled enough canoes to transport his forces from Kapiti to the Hokio stream that he could attack Waikiekie and the other island-pa.<sup>275</sup>

Figure 51 notes several island-pa photographed by G L Adkin with the caption:

Lake Horowhenua from Pukearuhe canoe landing, showing Namu-iti island pa (left of centre, background), Rae-o-te-karaka pa (right of centre, background), Karapu island pa (right background) and Paringatai (extreme right, background).<sup>276</sup>

<sup>274</sup> <http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/site/images/show/15816-artificial-islets-in-lake-horowhenua>

<sup>275</sup> TL Buick, T L, *An old New Zealander, or Te Rauparaha, Napoleon of the south* (London, 1911), pp.91-94.

<sup>276</sup> [http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/images/show/18450-lake-horowhenua-from-pukearuhe-canoe-landing-circa-1910?view\\_size=large](http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/images/show/18450-lake-horowhenua-from-pukearuhe-canoe-landing-circa-1910?view_size=large) from - mp.natlib.govt.nz - Reference Number: PA1-q-002-013





Figure 51: Lake Island-pa ca 1910 by G L Adkin.

### 3.2 Te Whatanui

Te Whatanui was regarded as a chief of Ngati Raukawa whose heartland stretched from Maungatautari (township of Cambridge) to the Patetere plateau (region surrounding the township of Putaruru). The early nineteenth century saw an outbreak of conflicts between Ngati Raukawa and the Waikato tribes and with those from Kawhia. To avoid these conflicts Te Whatanui initially sought to establish his people in the Hawkes Bay region of Heretaunga, rather than settle in the Cook Strait region at the invitation of Te Rauparaha. After several battles in the Heretaunga, the Whanganui and upper Rangitikei regions, Te Whatanui took his people to the Heretaunga and built Puketapu pa by the Tutaekuri River. The peaceful coexistence with Ngati Kahungunu soon developed into conflict with an attack and defeat of Puketapu pa. After this defeat, Te Whatanui chose to take his people to the Kapiti Coast close to Te Rauparaha.<sup>277</sup>

#### 3.2.1 Conciliation

On one occasion in the mid-1820s, when Te Whatanui and his Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Te Kohera were on their first migratory approach to the coast, several Ngati Apa were killed and eaten. When news reached Ngati Apa, chiefs of the tribe and Paora Turangapito, the brother of Te Hakeke, sought revenge by attacking this party. Te Whatanui travelled down the Rangitikei River by waka knowing that rival war parties were seeking him. He decided to release prisoners taken from earlier campaigns and also fired warning shots to let it be known that conciliation was one of two options available to him. Te Whatanui

<sup>277</sup> Angela Ballara, 'Te Whatanui', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012. URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t86/te-whatanui>

also sent ranking women as peace envoys, because he wanted only to settle and he was conscious that his party included women and children. Eventually peace was arranged between Te Whatanui and most of the Ngati Apa and Muaupoko.<sup>278</sup>

### 3.2.2 Peace Arrangement

The peace arrangement between Taueki and Te Whatanui began when Te Whatanui was returning from Hawke's Bay and encountered a group of Muaupoko who were fleeing from Te Rauparaha. Rather than attack them, Te Whatanui persuaded the Muaupoko to gather their people and return with him and resettle on their lands at Rae o te karaka. At first, Taueki and Muaupoko were suspicious; however, Te Whatanui was reassuring and proposed to Taueki that they make peace. Taueki then said to Te Whatanui, 'If you want any timber, there is bush; you can use that,' and Te Whatanui did not go to any other place.<sup>279</sup> In 1850 Te Keepa Rangihwinui reported to the Colonial Secretary, Alfred Domett, his understanding of those in residence at Horowhenua. According to Te Keepa Muaupoko had been allowed to reside in the area ever since it was taken possession of by the Ngati Raukawa under the leadership of Te Whatanui, to whom Muaupoko 'in a great measure owe their existence.'<sup>280</sup>

### 3.2.3 Pepeha

When Te Whatanui made peace with Muaupoko Te Rauparaha replied saying:

Kāpā he rākau kotahi, tēnā te rākau rua, whata ake he rākau, hāpai ake he rakau. Kei te whai au ko te kakī tangata, ko te kakī whenua kia mau i au  
When a person strikes, another replies; when a weapon is poised, another is lifted. I go for the human throat in order to seize the throat of the land.<sup>281</sup>

It appears that Te Rauparaha was unimpressed with Te Whatanui's peaceful overtures; he wanted Te Whatanui to join him in his campaign of annihilation. When Te Rauparaha asked Te Whatanui to join him in warfare, he had a saying:

E kore e pikitia tōku tuarā  
My backbone must not be climbed<sup>282</sup>

This pepeha is similar to that used by Te Wherowhero to Hone Heke when Hone Heke sought assistance in attacking Auckland. It is a pepeha of warning, that to do so will bring about harsh consequences.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation from C.1769 to C.1945*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1998). pp.245-246.

pp.245-246.

<sup>279</sup> Gilling 'Ihaia Taueki and Muaupoko Lands', an Interim Report for the Ihaia Taueki Trust, March 1994. pp.10-11.

<sup>280</sup> Luiten, 'Muaupoko Land and Politics Scoping Report,' p.13.

<sup>281</sup> Mead, *Nga Pepeha a Nga Tupuna*, p.117.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid*, p.193.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, p.193.

After Te Whatanui asked Muaupoko to settle at Raia te Karaka (Rae o te karaka), a meeting with Muaupoko was held at Raumatangi with Te Whatanui reassuring the tribe of his peaceful intentions. Taueki of Muaupoko mused:

Koai nui ai he maru koe  
I doubt whether you are a safe rata to shelter under

Te Whatanui replied:

Heoia no te mea e pa ki au ko te ua anake o te rangi  
Nothing can touch me but the rain from Heaven.

McDonald, too, noted that this truce inspired by Te Whatanui frustrated Te Rauparaha who saw so many Muaupoko survivors and knew that these people would in the future dispute ownership over the land. Safe under the protection of Te Whatanui, and not heeding his warning, Muaupoko were enticed by Te Rauparaha to Waikanae to sample a new kai with red flesh culminating in the 'battle of the pumpkins,' and the slaughter of several hundred Muaupoko.<sup>284</sup>

### 3.2.4 Loss of Mana

Ngati Raukawa were the applicants to the Native Land Court title investigation of March-April 1873 of the Horowhenua block. Luiten stated that upon investigation the Horowhenua block was awarded to Muaupoko on the basis that:

Muaupoko was in possession of the land at Horowhenua when Te Whatanui went there, that they still occupy these lands, and that they had never been dispossessed of them.<sup>285</sup>

When asked in 1896 about Te Whatanui's mana on the Horowhenua block Te Rangimairehau replied that Te Whatanui's mana had been taken by the Native Land Court of 1873, and the land awarded to Muaupoko.<sup>286</sup> The Native Land Court award in 1873 of the Horowhenua block to Muaupoko upset Ngati Raukawa because land that they had settled upon as established by Te Whatanui was no longer theirs, and their appeals for a re-hearing were ignored.<sup>287</sup>

## 3.3 Neither Conquered nor Subordinate

Dr Jonathan Procter commented that the Muaupoko people were neither conquered nor subordinate to migrant iwi who arrived in the area pre-European settlement, stating that:

It is important to point out that Muaūpoko is a strong, vibrant and active iwi that has participated in the development and growth of this nation. Muaūpoko has a strong history and defined cultural

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<sup>284</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.17-18. See Gilling p.7, Te Rauparaha enlisted the support of Te Puoho of Ngati Tama and Wi Tako of Te Ati Awa to invite Muaupoko and Rangitane to Waikanae.

<sup>285</sup> Luiten, 'Muaupoko Land and Politics Scoping Report', pp.48-49.

<sup>286</sup> AJHR, Horowhenua Commission, 1896 I G-02, p.93

<sup>287</sup> Raeburn Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960,' (Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Victoria University, report commissioned by CFRT, 2000). p.16.

landscape that it is still deeply connected to and as an iwi we have determined our future as we see fit.<sup>288</sup>

Dr Procter provided further context from early documented records and accounts which placed Muaupoko as having the freedom to 'roam,' therefore scotching the slave myth, because they were free to make choices. He believes that this myth was perpetuated by the Crown to promote and achieve its own various objectives. The fact that Muaupoko had the freedom to make choices does not support the notion of slavery, which he believes is inconsistent in both European and Muaupokotanga convention.<sup>289</sup> The Maori concepts of 'take raupatu, take tuku, and ahi kaa' were explored in detail by Dr Procter, who stated that Muaupoko were never conquered and still had the ability to remain on their settled lands, with all their names of sites of significance still intact.<sup>290</sup>

Kerehi Wi Warena endorsed these sentiments by saying:

....we have never given over ahi kaa. We also believe in our world view we have never suffered raupatu but it seems that through those key words [the] Crown has taken it upon itself to treat Muaupoko in a way that ahi kaa and raupatu have been either removed or exacted on Muaupoko which led by default to a continuous subjugation of our rights as a people and practice of its cultural values and the practice of its beliefs.<sup>291</sup>

Dr Procter commented on both European terminology and the Muaupoko concept regarding slavery, with the latter having no acceptance of it in their 'culture or tribal structure.' However, he debunked the European terminology, stating that Muaupoko:

....not only held military positions of influence that shaped this nation, but we've also held native title to land, sold land, bought land, leased land, farmed land, and employed people to work on our land, which has led us to be an integral part of the development of this region and nation throughout the 19th and 20th Centuries.<sup>292</sup>

Vivienne Taueki argued that Muaupoko have held onto and maintained their customary rights and practices of interring their dead up until the 1950s, despite the general view of a supposedly conquered tribe. Vivienne Taueki stated that Muaupoko have and still maintain their ahi kaa, qualifying this with their customary fishing rights having been recognised in the High Court and Supreme Court and that

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<sup>288</sup> Jonathan Procter, *Muaupoko Nga Korero Tuku Iho* hui for the Wai 2200 – Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3. p.108.

<sup>289</sup> Jonathan Procter, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.108-109.

<sup>290</sup> Jonathan Procter, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.110. European convention cited by Procter detailed that slavery was abolished in Britain in 1807 which was observed throughout the British Empire. The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi made the Muaupoko people subjects of the Queen and according to Procter the notion of slavery did not and could not apply.

<sup>291</sup> Kerehi Wi Warena, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiu Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.115.

<sup>292</sup> Jonathan Procter, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.109.

these rights existed before the arrival of Europeans.<sup>293</sup> Ada Tatana held that rather than customary fishing rights, Muaupoko fishing rights are ancestral, a right that pre-dates High Court recognition.<sup>294</sup>

### 3.4 Te Keepa Rangihwinui

Kerehi Wi Warena sheds some light on the actions of Te Keepa Rangihwinui, stating how Te Keepa's position in the military was at first somewhat humble. But it was his 'elevated' whakapapa within Muaupoko that gave him the mana to get his own tribesmen to deploy at the government's request. Muaupoko military involvement with the government helped to propagate Te Keepa's career, or as Mr Warena put it:

...Muaupoko were in a place at that time to work with the Crown to help establish communities that will be meaningful for future generations. It might have been a little bit unheard of at the time but innovative in the effect that for Muaupoko and those that give their time and eventually their lives to fit within a vision it would bring two alien societies together all foreign for lack of a better word.<sup>295</sup>

Te Keepa Rangihwinui (also known as Major Kemp) and his contingency's involvement with the government naturally put them at odds with other iwi. The long held peace that Muaupoko had enjoyed with neighbouring iwi was in jeopardy. Tensions arose and to some extent still remain today. Nevertheless, during the time Major Kemp was away on 'government business', the Crown was able to implement its policy of land acquisition in the Horowhenua district. Not only was the Crown encroaching on Muaupoko lands, but also neighbouring Iwi. It was not until Major Kemp returned home that he realised the gravity of the situation, so he sought a solution, a haven for Muaupoko. Mr Warena believes that Major Kemp was visionary to the extent that the Horowhenua block was conferred in title in 1873 by the Native Land Court to Muaupoko.<sup>296</sup>

#### 3.4.1 Spirituality and Conflict

McDonald provided some insight as to the reason why most Muaupoko were reluctant to follow the Hauhau faith; rather, many men joined Te Keepa Rangihwinui and fought on the British side against the Hauhau in Taranaki. McDonald recounted the reason why Muaupoko, despite protests from Te Whatanui warning them not to go, accepted an invitation from Te Ati Awa and ventured to Waikanae to feast on the pumpkins. Several hundred Muaupoko were slaughtered at the feast, and those who survived bore hatred towards Te Ati Awa. When those of Te Ati Awa returned to Taranaki in 1848, many Muaupoko enlisted and joined Te Keepa in the Taranaki campaign. According to McDonald, Te Keepa with 100 of his

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<sup>293</sup> Vivienne Tauaki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.61.

<sup>294</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

<sup>295</sup> Kerehi Wi Warena, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.114.

<sup>296</sup> Kerehi Wi Warena, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.114-115.

tribesmen was dispatched to Whanganui, with a second contingent later joining, many of who would not, McDonald noted, return.<sup>297</sup>

One Muaupoko chief, Hanitaha Kowhai (Hanita Kowhai), died fighting alongside Te Keepa in the Taranaki campaign.<sup>298</sup> According to Ada Tatana, Wiki, the wife of Hanitaha Kowhai, was the first Maori to receive a widow's pension.<sup>299</sup> The widow's pension that Ada was referring to may well have been under the Military Pensions Act 1866. This Act introduced a system of pensions and lump sum payments for those who had been killed or wounded in active service. It provided for all members of the Colonial Forces, including European and 'Native' officers and privates, and their widows, children and other family members.<sup>300</sup>

There are accounts of Muaupoko having some involvement during the 1860s with the Hauhau movement, for instance. But Rangitane of the Wairarapa district had maintained peaceful relationships with Europeans, with some of their local chiefs pledging allegiance to the Queen. However, some of their people had travelled north to Taranaki and joined Titokowaru in his campaign against government forces, whilst others became involved with the Hauhau and Kingitanga movements. In 1865 a small group of Hauhau visited their relatives in the Wairarapa, causing undue panic. Three years later, a group consisting of local supporters and a large contingent of Muaupoko Hauhau returned and camped some distance from Masterton causing panic amongst the European population, who perceived them as a threat to peace. They sought government assistance and erected a redoubt to protect themselves. In keeping with their pledge of allegiance, local chiefs chose rangatira Tawhirimatea Ngatuere as spokesman, who resolved the situation by negotiating with the Hauhau. The place where the negotiation took place was named 'Mikimikitanga-o-te-Mata-o-Ngatuere' (the surprised look on the face of

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<sup>297</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.18, 118-119. Another account states that the Te Atiawa (Ngati Awa) returned to Taranaki as early as 1823. One reason being that Waikato were preparing an expedition to Taranaki seeking vengeance for an earlier defeat at the battle of Te Motu-nui. Another reason was that they were aware that Te Rauparaha had used them to suit his own agenda. Although some Te Atiawa stayed in the area, the bulk who returned to Taranaki depleted Te Rauparaha's fighting strength. Source: *Journal of the Polynesian Society* - Volume 18 1909, No. 4. 'History and traditions of the Taranaki coast: Ch. XV contd. Ati-Awa return to Taranaki,' pp.157-182. See Gilling, 'Ihaia Taueki and Muaupoko Lands', p.7. Gilling states that the date of the Battle of the Pumpkins was 1834, and that Te Rauparaha could not attack Muaupoko whilst they were under the protection of Te Whatanui, he was able to lure the Muaupoko by enlisting support from Wi Tako of Te Atiawa and Te Puoho of Ngati Tama. Like McDonald, Gilling is unsure if it was the pumpkin or watermelon that was used to lure Muaupoko to the feast at Waikanae.

<sup>298</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.37, 119

<sup>299</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

<sup>300</sup> Military Pensions Act 1866, s 2. The Law Commission, Towards A New Veterans' Entitlements Scheme: A Discussion Paper On A Review Of The War Pensions Act 1954, July 2008, Wellington, New Zealand, Issues Paper 7. See also Alex McKenzie, Social Assistance Chronology 1844–2014: A historical summary of social security benefits, war pensions, retirement pensions, taxation measures, family assistance, housing, student support and labour market programmes (as at December 2014), The Ministry of Social Development. McKenzie states that the Military Pensions Act 1866 made provision for pensions and lump sum payments for officers and men of the Colonial Forces who had been killed or wounded on active service in the Maori wars of the 1840s (1843-1847) and 1860s (1860-1872). Payments were higher for European than Native members of the Colonial Forces and were determined in relation to rank and the level of disability. Provision was also made for widows and relatives in certain cases. These pensions were payable on a discretionary basis.

Ngatuere) because of the large number of Hauhau gathered before him.<sup>301</sup> McDonald noted that there were adherents of the Hauhau within Muaupoko at the same period when Te Keepa and his tribesmen were engaged in Taranaki, but was unsure if any of them fought against their kinsmen. Raniera, a sergeant of Te Keepa's force, threatened that the first Hauhau he would shoot would be his brother Motai, one of the many adherents of the Hauhau living at Raia te Karaka.<sup>302</sup> Ada Tatana stated that one of her tupuna, Rere Te Amo was an adherent of the Hauhau movement.<sup>303</sup>

### 3.4.2 Te Arai-a-Rongo

Movements opposed to land sales such as the Hauhau and Kingitanga were dominant advocates of armed resistance; however, some Muaupoko chose the path of passive resistance (Te Arai-a-Rongo). A waiata poi was composed by Muaupoko when travelling to Parihaka in the Taranaki region, pledging their support to the pacifist movement of Te Whiti-o-rongomai and Tohu Kakahi. The waiata 'e rere ra te motu nei,' was sung as the armed constabulary invaded and occupied Parihaka on 5 November 1881.<sup>304</sup>

#### **E Rere Ra**

E rere ra te motu nei ki roto koia o Parihaka  
na Tohu ra i whakahaere mai nga tikanga  
i tere paepae ai te motu nei  
to pikitanga kei te Purepo  
to heketanga kei Toroanui  
kia whakarongo koe ki te reka mai o te korero  
Hei, hei, hei  
Matou tonu au ki a koe e Tohu  
e te ngakau whakapuke tonu  
me aha ia ra e ma uru e  
ko te hau ka wheru, whakamomotu  
e whiuwhiu ana kei te uru, kei te tonga  
ka haramai I roto  
ka koharihari  
Hei, hei, hei<sup>305</sup>

In March 1901, W E Goffe (Under-Secretary, Department of Justice) reported that he had completed the Maori census for the Wanganui, Rangitikei, Manawatu, Oroua, Horowhenua, Pohangina, and Kiwitea districts. Goffe noted that a large proportion of Muaupoko were still 'under the influence of the Parihaka prophets, Te Whiti and Tohu,' and several at Levin refused to assist in the census or provide any information to the sub-enumerator. As Goffe pointed out, the chief objective of this faith was to 'balk

<sup>301</sup> <http://education.rangitane.iwi.nz/index.php/places/details/2/2/34>

<sup>302</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.119.

<sup>303</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

<sup>304</sup> Sian Montgomery-Neutze, 'Taku Raukura' (Te Wananga o Raukawa 2010) Wai 2200, A015.

<sup>305</sup> He wananga i nga waiata me nga korero whakapapa o Muaupoko (Wai 2200, A015(a)). p.25.



the Government as much as possible in any of its transactions with the Maoris.’ Information was only provided after Goffe had advised his sub-enumerator on how to act in a proper fashion.<sup>306</sup>

McDonald noticed that many Muaupoko believed in the doctrine of divine intervention as espoused by Te Whiti and that the Pakeha would be washed into the sea. Therefore many Muaupoko chose not to support their claims to land, rather, they chose to await divine intervention, and those who did support their claims, sold their lands on completion of title individualisation. From the proceeds of the sale these Muaupoko bought gifts for Te Whiti and paid for their migration to Parihaka, only to return empty handed.<sup>307</sup>

### 3.5 Muaupoko Surrender 1864

On 29 November 1864 a list was presented to the House of Representatives detailing the number of Maori who had surrendered, the date of surrender, the weapons surrendered and from which tribe they came.<sup>308</sup>

Name of District	No. of men surrendered	No. of guns given up	Maori weapons
Thames	66	38	6
Lower Waikato	49	8	10
Raglan	36	20	0
Upper Waikato	39	10	1
Waiuku	11	0	0
Manawatu	40	2	1
Rotorua	40	3	3
Central Whanganui	61	3	3
Tauranga	235	81	15
Total	577	165	39

Table 1: Surrender list, 1864.

Of the forty men listed for the Manawatu district, twenty-two stated their tribe as Muaupoko:

No.	Date	Name	
1	23 April 1864	Wiremu Te Raorao	There is some difficulty in establishing whether these men were part of the Hauhau movement or Kingitanga supporters. The dates of Muaupoko surrender either precede the 29 April 1864 battle of ‘Gate Pa,’ at Tauranga, or follow one day later, with Rangirurupuni Te Matihaere surrendering on 14 June 1864. Perusal of the entire list shows
2	“ “	Ihaia Taniki	
3	“ “	Matene Pakanera <sup>309</sup>	
4	“ “	Te Kerehi Tomo	
5	“ “	Ngariki	
6	“ “	Ngakanga	
7	30 April 1864	Motutohe	

<sup>306</sup> AJHR, 1901, H-26b, pp.16-17.

<sup>307</sup> O’Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.184-185.

<sup>308</sup> AJHR, Fitzgerald to the House of Representatives, 1864, I E-06.

<sup>309</sup> Matene Pakauwera (no.23?) of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

8	“	“	Hapimana Tohu <sup>310</sup>	that Tauranga Maori (235 men) first surrendered their arms on 24 July 1864, some three months after the battle of ‘Gate Pa’. Another battle prior to 1864 was the battle of Rangiriri, October-November 1863, where the Kingitanga forces were defeated. <sup>316</sup> As noted earlier in this report, there were Hauhau adherents within Muaupoko whilst Te Keepa Rangihwinui was engaged against the movement in Taranaki, as well as the Bay of Plenty. Another point is that none of these men surrendered any weapons. This question of weapons held during this time is discussed below, when Muaupoko decided to align themselves with Te Keepa Rangihwinui and government forces.
9	“	“	Warena Mitiwahu	
10	“	“	Te Raorao	
11	“	“	Anaru Tuhinga	
12	“	“	Te Pioka	
13	“	“	Hetariki Matao <sup>311</sup>	
14	“	“	Hetaraka Motutohe	
15	“	“	Moihi Rakuraku <sup>312</sup>	
16	“	“	Noa Tawhiti <sup>313</sup>	
17	“	“	Winara Te Raorao	
18	“	“	Manihera Te Mata	
19	“	“	Waitere Kakura	
20	“	“	Hopa Te Piki <sup>314</sup>	
21	“	“	Hete Te Whata	
22	14 June 1864		Rangirurupuni Te Matihaere <sup>315</sup>	

### 3.5.1 Hauhau or Kingitanga

After the battle at Rangiriri, government focus shifted to Tauranga to obstruct the flow of reinforcements and supplies from Tauranga Maori to the Kingitanga forces. It was here at Pukehinahina, or Gate Pa that a government force was defeated by a smaller-sized force of 250 Ngai Te Rangī.<sup>317</sup> However, on 21 June 1864 government forces avenged their earlier loss by defeating Kingitanga forces at Te Ranga.<sup>318</sup>

Considering the dates it is doubtful whether these Muaupoko men were present at these battles, more likely they were aligned with the Kingitanga in October-November 1863. Many of the other tribal groups who surrendered admitted fighting alongside the Kingitanga at Orakau and Tauranga. Three of the Ngati Raukawa who surrendered during the same period admitted that they were involved in battles in the Waikato and at Orakau.

The absence of Taranaki Maori in the list also dispels the Hauhau theory. This does not mean that Muaupoko were not supporters of the Hauhau, as noted earlier, many Muaupoko sided with this movement. However, Hanita Kowhai died fighting alongside Te Keepa in the Taranaki campaign, and

<sup>310</sup> No.65, of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

<sup>311</sup> No.61, of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

<sup>312</sup> No.53, of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

<sup>313</sup> No.36, of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

<sup>314</sup> No.27, of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

<sup>315</sup> No.5, of the 81 owners to the Horowhenua Subdivision no.11, 1886.

<sup>316</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/maori-king-movement-1860-94/response-to-war>

<sup>317</sup> <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/war-in-auranga>

<sup>318</sup> <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cow01NewZ-c42.html>

Raniera, a sergeant of Te Keepa's force, threatened that the first Hauhau he would shoot would be his brother Motai, one of the many adherents of the Hauhau living at Raia te Karaka (Rae o te Karaka).

### 3.5.2 Allegiances

An 1868 census stated that the population of Muaupoko numbered 125 persons of 'friendly' disposition, with Noa Te Whata and Maru Te Rangimairehau as the leading men.<sup>319</sup> The problem of a true Muaupoko population count presents itself in light of McDonald's account that Te Keepa Rangihwinui and his Muaupoko contingent numbered 'in all about 100 men, practically the whole of the able-bodied members of the tribe,' with another twenty replacements joining at a later date.<sup>320</sup>

The date that Te Keepa and his Muaupoko contingent assembled at Whanganui was early 1866, and after several military engagements Te Keepa was promoted to Major in November 1868, the same date as the census.<sup>321</sup> Prior to Te Keepa leaving the Horowhenua, one of his two messengers, Heta Te Whata, (possibly Hete Te Whata one of the 22 who had surrendered in 1864), was sent to summon the tribe to consider joining Te Keepa in his campaign against the Hauhau.<sup>322</sup>

Whether Heta Te Whata or any of the twenty-two men who surrendered left with Te Keepa is uncertain; however, allegiances had certainly changed because McDonald observed that when Muaupoko assembled at Te Keepa's request, the main issue considered was whether government rifles would be secured.<sup>323</sup>

### 3.6 Muaupoko 'War and Peace'

James Cowan recounted how 'old Chief Te Rangimairehau,' had shown him Pipiriki pa on the western side of Lake Horowhenua, which was built by Te Keepa in 1872 as a defensive position against Ngati Raukawa with whom they were quarrelling over land ownership. The Muaupoko force in this pa had in their possession some three hundred rifles.<sup>324</sup> Ngati Raukawa responded by building Paeroa pa, but apart from animals and crops being destroyed and houses burnt on both sides there was no loss of life in the exchanges.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> AJHR, List of Maori Tribes and Chiefs, 1868 A-1, p.59.

<sup>320</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.118-119. McDonald stated that a second contingent or taua of twenty men later departed to replace the casualties of the first contingent. Sadly, McDonald notes that, many of these men would not return home.

<sup>321</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihwinui-te-keepa>

<sup>322</sup> E O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.118.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> AJHR, James Cowan to the Superintendent, Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, 1908, I H-2a. p.2

<sup>325</sup> David Young, *Woven by Water: Histories from the Whanganui River*, (Wellington, Huia Publishers, 1998), p.113.

Adkin provided a plan of Pipiriki pa (figure 52) stating that this was named and modelled after a pa on the Whanganui River.<sup>326</sup> The construction was a mixture of European military blockhouse and Maori fighting pa, which was built because of Muaupoko's extreme bitterness and resentment toward Ngati Raukawa. With rifles in their possession the Muaupoko were ready to commit acts of violence and aggression. Adkin noted that no armed conflict eventuated, but Te Keepa was able to secure official recognition of his territorial demands.<sup>327</sup>

McDonald stated the cause of this dispute was that Ngati Raukawa sought to have the reserve that was established by Te Whatanui surveyed, which Muaupoko objected to, threatening to shoot any surveyor. McDonald stated that if any boundaries were to be established, it would be according to Muaupoko, and if Ngati Raukawa had any disputes, Muaupoko were willing to use Te Keepa's rifles to assert their claim.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.300-301.

<sup>327</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.299-300.

<sup>328</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.123.

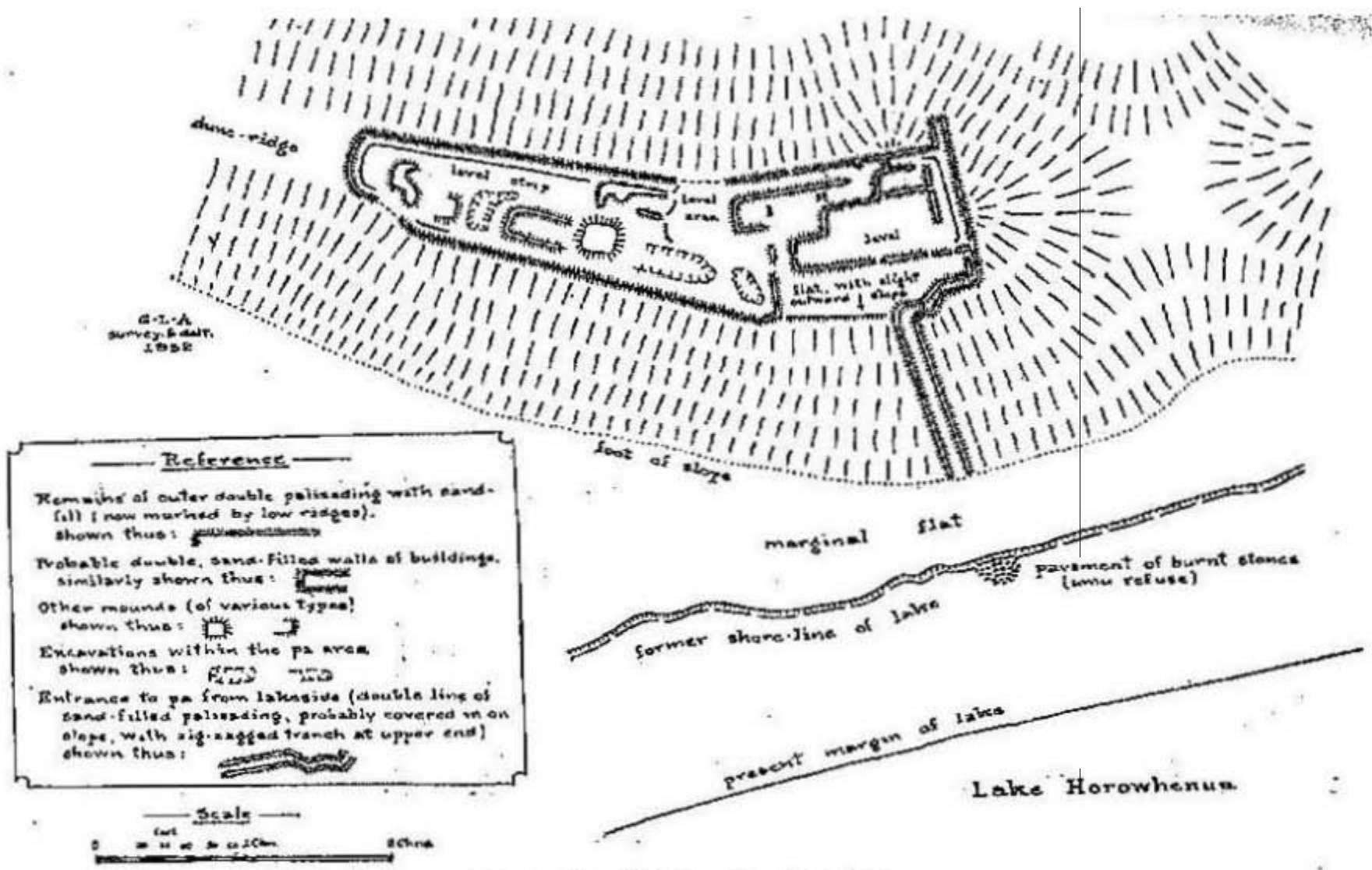


Fig. 155. Plan of Pipiriki pa, Lake Horowhenua.

Figure 52: Pipiriki Pa <sup>329</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, p.301

### 3.6.1 Peeti Te Aweawe

Peeti Te Aweawe, a Rangitane rangatira, was another who had joined government forces in 1866, and like Muaupoko, his people had suffered at the hands of Te Rauparaha and Ngati Toa, followed by Te Atiawa, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Kauwhata. Peeti Te Aweawe distinguished himself in the Taranaki campaign of 1868 to 1869 and had fought alongside Te Keepa. Like Te Keepa, he retained a considerable number of rifles which he used to challenge Ngati Raukawa in 1868. Peeti Te Aweawe also supported Te Keepa's claim in 1871 to 1872 to the ownership of the Horowhenua district and his quarrels with Ngati Raukawa. Peeti Te Aweawe died on 30 June 1884 and was buried at Puketotara near Rangiotu.<sup>330</sup>

### 3.6.2 Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke

Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke, of Ngati Apa who had married Haewa of Muaupoko, was involved with Te Keepa in building Pipiriki pa,<sup>331</sup> and had brought with him rifles from his past military service for the government. The involvement of Kawana Hunia of Ngati Apa, and Peeti Te Aweawe of Rangitane may have accounted for the high figure of 300 rifles stated by Te Rangimairehau to James Cowan, especially considering that the Muaupoko contingent of 1866-1868 numbered at best 120 men. Letters and petitions were written by Ngati Raukawa to the government imploring the government to have these rifles deposited in the government store at Whanganui. Matene Te Whiwhi argued that Kawana Hunia and the Ngati Apa claims were confined to the Manawatu and settled in the Native Land Court in July 1869. Te Whiwhi stated that the lands of the Horowhenua were formerly arranged by the late Te Whatanui but now Muaupoko and Kawana Hunia were erecting houses on the lands of Te Whatanui.<sup>332</sup>

### 3.6.3 Raukawa Protests

Matene Te Whiwhi noted that the guns belonged to the government and were issued by the government to Ngati Apa, Rangitane and Muaupoko.<sup>333</sup> A year later, Tamihana Te Rauparaha wrote to the government asking why they had not confiscated the weapons from Kawana Hunia, and that they themselves had pushed Kawana Hunia back to the Rangitikei. Kawana Hunia returned in July 1871 with Te Keepa and their people armed with weapons and violently set upon the descendants of Te Whatanui, which prompted Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Ngati Awa to take up arms also. Written requests for government intervention were ignored, prompting Ngati Raukawa to visit Native Minister McLean personally and request that the Minister send the government soldiers (Te Keepa and Kawana Hunia)

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<sup>330</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t27/te-aweawe-te-peeti>

<sup>331</sup> Young, *Woven by Water*, p.113.

<sup>332</sup> AJHR, Matene Te Whiwhi to McLean, 1871, I F-8.p.11.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid.

away. The Minister complied by sending Te Keepa and Kawana Hunia to Whanganui and to Rangitikei respectively.<sup>334</sup>

### 3.6.4 December 1877 Hui

The clashes of the early 1870s between Muaupoko and allied iwi leaders against Ngati Raukawa had receded by 1877. There appeared to have been a combined attempt from iwi to support the new government as evinced in *Te Wananga* newspaper dated 5 January 1878 referring to a hui held at Motuiti, Foxton on 4 December 1877 that was attended by the 'Ngati Raukawa tribes from Otaki and on to Rangitikei; also, by the great tribes of Rangitane and Muaupoko.'<sup>335</sup> The article stated that all these tribes were in agreement and had passed a resolution to support the new government of 'Sir George Grey' and that the old Government should be 'extinct forever' because of the evil that their laws had done to both islands.<sup>336</sup>

It is noted that the glad tidings of the signatories to this letter to Sir George Grey (by then Premier) were somewhat premature. By 1878 the economy was in a state of depression, the following year Grey lost a division in the House and failed to win a majority in the ensuing election. He resigned in October 1879 because four of the Auckland members had defected.<sup>337</sup> What is apparent is that there seems to be no separation of tribal rankings in this letter, although the author clearly states that Muaupoko were one of the 'great tribes.'<sup>338</sup>

### 3.6.5 Reconciliation and Peace

Figure 53 is a photograph taken in 1910 at Pukekaraka (the hill where the Karaka trees grow), Otaki. The foreground in front of the grotto is called the 'wall of reconciliation and peace,' built by Muaupoko to signify the reconciliation between the local Maori, and the end of war between Muaupoko and Ngati Raukawa.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> AJHR, Petition from Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Henare Te Herekau and Rawiri Te Wanu to The House Of Representatives 1871, I I-01. p.4.

<sup>335</sup> <http://www.nzdl.org/gsdImod?e=d-00000-00---off-Oniuepepa--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-1lpa--11-en-50---20-about-Muaupoko--00-0-41-00-0-4---0-0-11-00-OutfZz-8-00&cl=search&d=22 5 1.10&gg=full>

<sup>336</sup> <http://www.nzdl.org/gsdImod?e=d-00000-00---off-Oniuepepa--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-1lpa--11-en-50---20-about-Muaupoko--00-0-41-00-0-4---0-0-11-00-OutfZz-8-00&cl=search&d=22 5 1.10&gg=full>

<sup>337</sup> George Grey, Biography – Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

<sup>338</sup> <http://www.nzdl.org/gsdImod?e=d-00000-00---off-Oniuepepa--00-0---0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----0-1lpa--11-en-50---20-about-Muaupoko--00-0-41-00-0-4---0-0-11-00-OutfZz-8-00&cl=search&d=22 5 1.10&gg=full>

<sup>339</sup> [http://campus.udayton.edu/mary/resources/shrines/new\\_zealand.htm](http://campus.udayton.edu/mary/resources/shrines/new_zealand.htm). The Society of Mary (Marists) was established in 1844 at Otaki, by a French Marist named father Comte, source: <http://www.sm.org.nz/about/nz-province/new-zealand-marist-history1/>





Figure 53: the wall of reconciliation and peace<sup>340</sup>

### 3.7 Changed Landscape

The previous sections dealt with the people who influenced Muaupoko. This section examines how the former Muaupoko landscape has changed, and how this change has influenced the Muaupoko people.

#### 3.7.1 Pepeha

Many, if not all iwi have a pepeha that defines who they are by their ancestral association to their maunga (mountain), awa (rivers), roto (lakes), awaawa (streams) and sometimes moana (sea). These ancestral associations describe the mana of the tribe and are symbols of their status, prestige, spiritual association and physical occupation. Bill Taueki believes that Tararua Maunga and the awaawa that flow from the ranges to the Muaupoko taonga 'nga wai o rua' - that is Te Waipunahau (Lake Horowhenua) and Waiwiri (Lake Papaitonga) - with their eventual release to the sea, and all the land and resources within make up the pepeha of Muaupoko. However, Mr Taueki is adamant that without the Tararua maunga being in their possession, the detrimental effects to their streams and lakes, not to mention the adverse impacts to the land and resources, render this pepeha somehow incomplete. The ancestral spiritual and physical associations are a memory; he states the impacts of European intrusion and Crown manipulation are a stark reality.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Ibid

<sup>341</sup> Hui with Bill Taueki and whanau, 30 October 2014, Levin.

### 3.7.2 Land loss

Raeburn Lange identified that between 1870 and 1930 the Horowhenua, Manawatu and Rangitikei districts where forests and swamps once existed were cleared for agricultural purposes, relegating the Muaupoko, Rangitane and Ngati Apa people to small scattered communities. With little retained land these tribes struggled with limited success in the shared economic development of the district. Lange notes that there was some government assistance for educational and health needs, however, assistance in land development, which would have improved the situation, did not occur until later. Land loss also impacted on the tribes' ability to gather traditional resources from the forests, swamps, lakes, rivers and sea.<sup>342</sup> Edward Karaitiana mentions the Native Land Court system and how shares have become so fragmented that it is insufficient to support a whanau, and it disassociates one not only from the land but also to one's extended whanau:

I've never lived on my ancestral lands, there's nothing left, you know like we get a little fragmented interest but there was – there was just nothing left for us. And so, apart from meeting whanaunga at hui's and hearings like this, we ended up being scattered basically to the four winds and I think it's – I think it's quite a pity to live your whole life and not know your relations.<sup>343</sup>

### 3.7.3 Early Descriptions

#### *Te Waipunahau*

Archaeologist Susan Forbes was able to make a comparison of what the former Lake Horowhenua would have looked like by comparing it to the present state of Lake Papaitonga:

...grass and scrub covered dunes would have been typical lowland forest species like tawa, mahoe, titoki, kahikatea, pukatea, harakeke and totara.<sup>344</sup>

Forbes describes the past 150 years of changes to the lake environment as 'rapid and overwhelming', drawing on historical records and interviewees' living memories. Those of the latter recounted vibrant stories of teeming fish stocks and the beautiful natural scenery now tinged with pain, sadness and loss because of these rapid changes. The historical evidence provided by the likes of McDonald and Thomas Bevan<sup>345</sup> also describes the stark beauty of the region prior to settlement, and what was once a 'garden of Eden' is now a 'picture of waste and desolation.'<sup>346</sup> Adkin describes Lake Horowhenua as a lake of 'surpassing beauty, being largely surrounded by virgin forest,' with plentiful flocks of waterfowl. Other important food stocks included eel, flounder, inanga and freshwater mussels.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Raeburn Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960', pp.134-135.

<sup>343</sup> Edward Karaitiana, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.45.

<sup>344</sup> Susan Forbes, 'Te Waipunahau – Archaeological Survey,' (Prepared for the Horowhenua Lake Trustees), 1996, pp.6-8.

<sup>345</sup> See Bevan, *Reminiscences of an Old Colonist*.

<sup>346</sup> Forbes, 'Te Waipunahau', pp.6-8.

<sup>347</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, p.18.

### *Native Bush*

The forest of the lowland region consisted of pukatea, rata and kahikatea with nikau, totara, matai, rimu and karaka extending westward from the Tararua Range. This dense bush cover prevented permanent settlement which was mainly confined to the coastal region and around Lake Horowhenua. Both provided ample supplies of food stocks. The bush provided a large selection of food stocks such as berries and native birds.<sup>348</sup> Adkin also noted that permanent settlement was centred around the coastal dune belt because of the dense forest of the inner lowland and the Tararua foothills made it difficult for the tools of the period to hew out any place for occupation. However, there were exceptions where the industriousness of the people made it possible for several bush clearings as a means to gather birds and edible bush products.<sup>349</sup> McDonald described how the Muaupoko occupied a country:

....which judged by Maori standards, was the garden of New Zealand....Truly a favoured land, and a fortunate people, those who possessed it.<sup>350</sup>

The swamp, streams, lakes and coast provided an abundance of delicacies. The native bush stretched across the coastal flatlands (the location of the township of Levin) to the Tararua and was the feeding ground for thousands of pigeons.<sup>351</sup> Adkin provided some useful commentaries, much of which is recounted from McDonald, noting how the heavily forested hinterland was replaced by railway and roads, as was the forested inner plain and foothills with farms. The destruction of the forest cover also altered river-courses which were once able to control any sporadic discharges of heavy rainfall from the mountains; floodwaters became swift and also destructive, eroding the rich alluvial flatlands.<sup>352</sup>

### *Sand Dunes*

Archaeologist Bruce McFadgen describes how the sand dune topography of the Kapiti and Horowhenua region influenced human activity because of the food sources and raw materials for tools and clothing from lakes and lagoons trapped within the dunes. Apart from some river beds and unstable dunes, the dunes of Maori settlement were forested with a large array of plant life. Fossil trees from archaeological sites and forest remnants seen by early European settlement indicate that the dune region had been covered in tawa, matai, hinau, miro, totara, pukatea, and kahikatea.<sup>353</sup>

McDonald noted that when his father secured a 12,000 acre lease from Te Whatanui and Muaupoko for a sheep run, they set about clearing and burning much of the countryside. Unfortunately the flatlands

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<sup>348</sup> 'He Ritenga Whakatikatika, Lake Horowhenua & Hokio Stream, Te Pataka o Muaupoko rāua ko Ngati Pareraukawa,' (Lake Horowhenua & Hōkio Stream Working Party June 2013), pp.9-10.

<sup>349</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.30-31, for a detailed list of thirty six named bush clearings and several clearings used for refuge.

<sup>350</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.5.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid*, pp.5, 25.

<sup>352</sup> Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.5-6.

<sup>353</sup> McFadgen, 'Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy', pp.11-12.

ran less stock thereafter and the loss of vegetation cover on the ridges assisted in the damage to the sand hills and other local land features.<sup>354</sup> McFadgen agrees that European settlement cleared most of the forest cover on the dunes, however, forest clearance had occurred with the arrival of the first people 500 to 600 years BP (years Before the Present) with little impact.<sup>355</sup>

#### 3.7.4 Land Cover

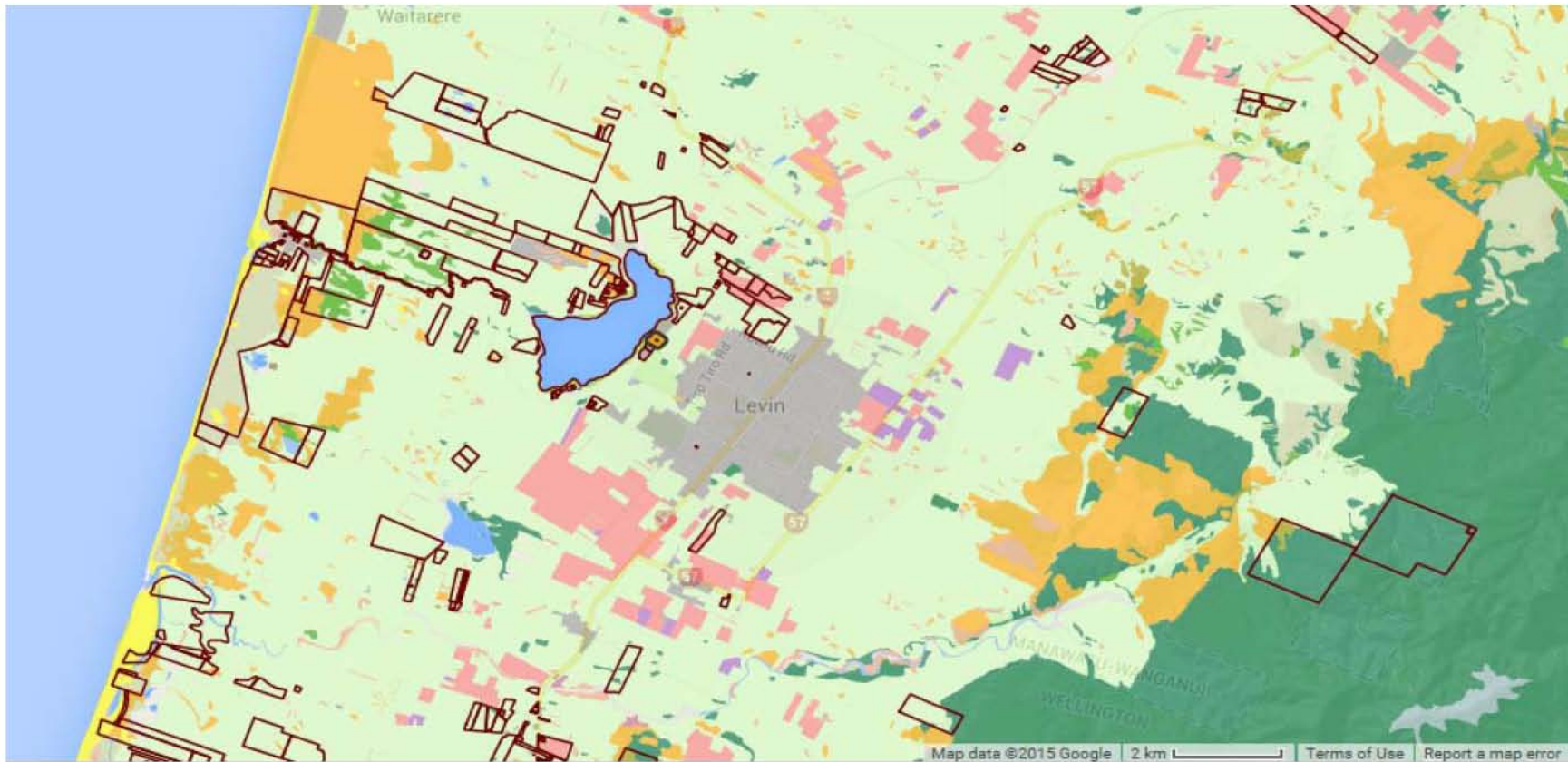
The maps below<sup>356</sup> show the current land cover from the Tararua Range to the coast with a predominant cover of production and exotic forests, cropping and high producing exotic grasslands. The historic vegetation map shows an extensive cover of lowland and highland softwood and hardwoods with dunelands along the coast. The last two maps show the historic wetlands consisting mainly of swamps interspersed with bog and marsh. The present wetland, although much reduced in size, consists mainly of bog and marsh. The land blocks in red denote Maori-owned land.

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<sup>354</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.24.

<sup>355</sup> McFadgen, 'Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy,' p.12.

<sup>356</sup> <http://whenuaviz.landcareresearch.co.nz/place/79610> Visualising Maori Land - Landcare Research, Te Puni Kokiri.



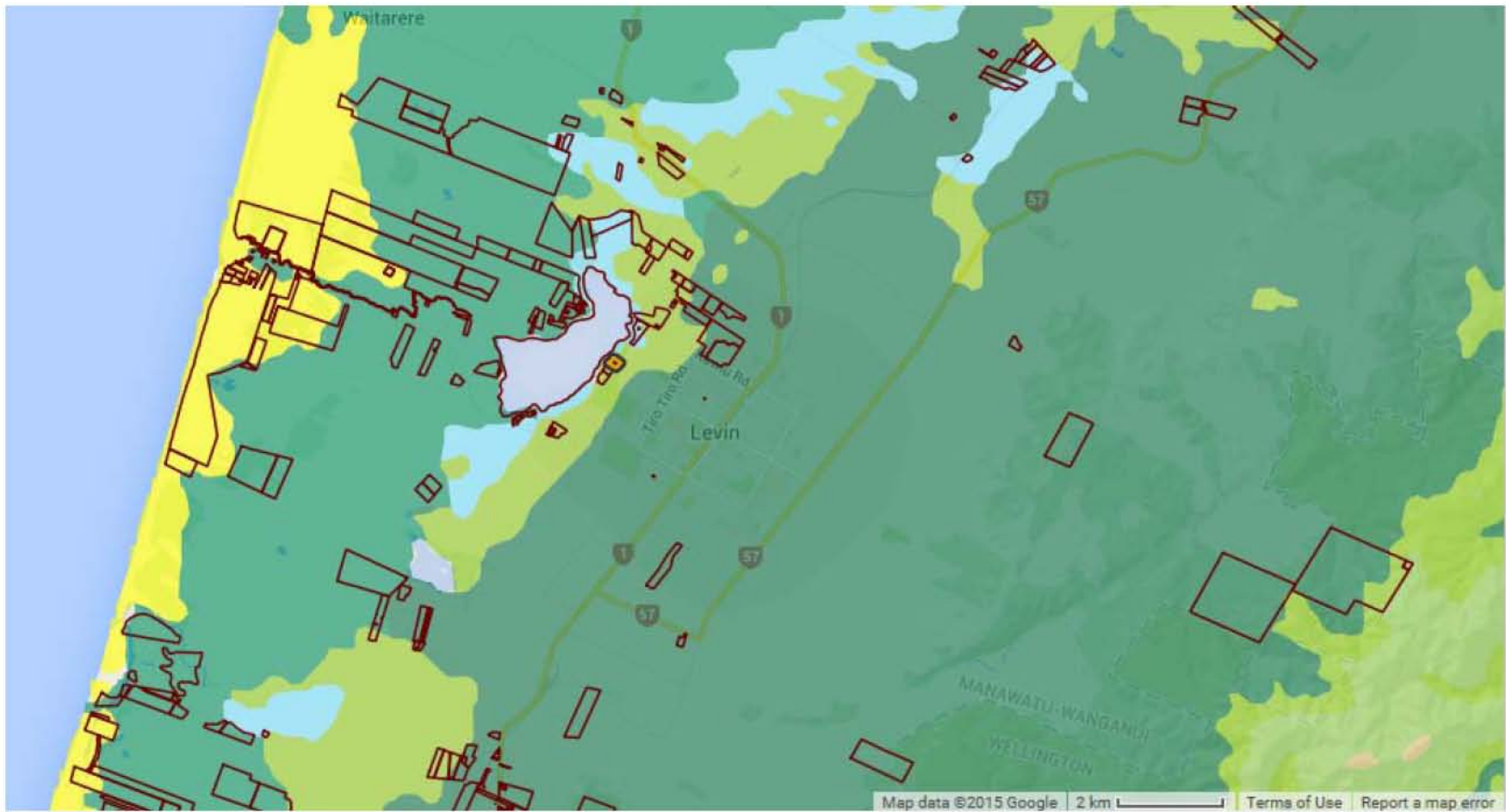
**Current Landcover**

Based on Landcare Research's Land Cover Database, this layer is a thematic classification of 27 general land cover and land use classes: Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 New Zealand (BY).

Mangrove	Coastal sand and gravel	Herbaceous saline vegetation	Herbaceous freshwater vegetation
Inland water	Cropping	Horticulture	High producing exotic grassland
Low producing exotic grassland	Depleted grassland	Flaxland	Fernland
Manuka and or Kanuka	Mixed exotic shrubland	Gorse and or broom	Grey scrub
Matagouri	Sub alpine shrubland	Tall tussock grassland	Alpine areas
Indigenous forest	Production forest	Other exotic forestry	Gravel/bareground
Permanent snow and ice	Mines and dumps	Urban	

Figure 54: Current land cover





**Historic Vegetation**

Based on a range of environmental variables, New Zealand's potential vegetation composition was predicted and mapped. This layer shows the likely location of a range of vegetation based on these environmental variables.



Figure 55: Historic vegetation

Figure 55 above outlines what the historic vegetation of the landscape once looked like, consisting of dunelands and lowland wetlands. The figures below show some of the vegetation that would have covered the area and some of the uses that these plants have, particularly as a food source, raw materials or medicinal applications.

Figure 56: Manuka [*Leptospermum scoparium*]



A potion of manuka bark is used externally and internally as a sedative. It was also used for scalds and burns. The ash from the bark treats skin diseases. Steam from boiled leaves in water was useful for colds. Boiled, the inner liquid was used as a mouthwash.<sup>357</sup>

Figure 57: Hukihuki [*Coprosma tenuicaulis*]<sup>358</sup>



Hukihuki, or swamp coprosma, is a dense small-leaved shrub that can tolerate some shade. The leaves have a conspicuous network of veins. The flowers are white and wind-pollinated. Small, round, black fruit appear in autumn.<sup>359</sup>

Figure 58: Toetoe [*Sortaderia toetoe*]<sup>360</sup>



Toetoe is used in the process of making bread from raupo pollen.<sup>361</sup> The toetoe grass was plaited in cylindrical baskets used for cooking food in hot springs.<sup>362</sup> The reeds were much used on the inner surfaces of houses, such as ceilings, walls and partitions.<sup>363</sup>

Figure 59: Tutu [*Coriaria ruscifolia*]<sup>364</sup>



The fruit of the tutu plant is edible; however, every other part is rated as deadly because of the neurotoxin tutin that attacks the muscular and nervous systems. Despite the plant's deadly reputation, the fruit was an important food source and could be drunk as a refreshing beverage, or boiled with seaweed to make a jelly. The fermented juice had a laxative affect, used to relieve constipation. The leaves and shoots were used to dress wounds, or made into a lotion to treat sores, cuts, boils and bruises.<sup>365</sup>

<sup>357</sup> <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/Education/OnlineResources/Matariki/MaoriMedicine/Pages/Manuka.aspx>

<sup>358</sup> [http://www.forestflora.co.nz/Ecosourcing%20news/Ecosourcing%20news\\_Coprosma\\_tenuicaulis.htm](http://www.forestflora.co.nz/Ecosourcing%20news/Ecosourcing%20news_Coprosma_tenuicaulis.htm)

<sup>359</sup> <http://www.gw.govt.nz/hukihuki/>

<sup>360</sup> <http://www.nznativeplants.co.nz/shop/Grasses+reeds++rushes/Cortaderia+fulvida.html>

<sup>361</sup> Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*. p.390.

<sup>362</sup> Papakura *The Old-time Maori*, p.175.

<sup>363</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.34.

<sup>364</sup> <http://meaningoftrees.com/>

<sup>365</sup> <http://meaningoftrees.com/>



Figure 60: Ngaio [*Myoporum laetum*]<sup>366</sup>



The ngaio contains the liver toxin ngaione which is present in the leaves and should not be taken internally.<sup>367</sup> Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) made a potion from the inner bark for treating cuts, bruises and swellings.<sup>368</sup>

Figure 61: Kowhai [*Sophora microphylla*]



The kowhai contains the toxin cytisine which can cause illness if consumed. However, a potion made from the bark was used to treat diseased skin, scabies, dandruff, gonorrhoea and various aches and pains. This potion was also used to dress wounds, cuts, bruises, sprains, broken bones, swellings and rashes. The wood has many uses because of its denseness and durability, and the flowers were used to make a yellow pigment.<sup>369</sup>

Figure 62: Koromiko [*Hebe stricta*]<sup>370</sup>



Koromiko is used by Maori as a remedy for diarrhoea by chewing the leaves.<sup>371</sup> Bushmen were treated for English cholera by chewing the leaves and swallowing the juice and a potion was kept in stock by a leading druggist in the colony.<sup>372</sup> Dried leaves were sent to Maori troops in Egypt during the First World War to alleviate dysentery.<sup>373</sup> So successful was the koromiko as a medicine, that Walter Brockie of Christchurch Botanic Gardens sent seeds to Russia to assist in their programme for treating troops with dysentery.<sup>374</sup>

<sup>366</sup> <http://folksong.org.nz/rona/>

<sup>367</sup> Cheryl Williams, *Medicinal Plants in Australia Volume 4: An Antipodean Apothecary*, (Australia, Rosenberg Publishing, 2013). p.312.

<sup>368</sup> Te Rangi Hiroa, (Sir Peter Buck), 'Medicine amongst the Māoris in ancient and modern times,' Otago University, 1910.p.68.

<sup>369</sup> <http://meaningoftrees.com/>

<sup>370</sup> [http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz.info/image\\_files/0000/0007/0419/Hebe\\_salicifolia\\_Koromiko\\_South\\_Island\\_.jpg](http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz.info/image_files/0000/0007/0419/Hebe_salicifolia_Koromiko_South_Island_.jpg)

<sup>371</sup> Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), 'Medicine amongst the Māoris in ancient and modern times,' p.68

<sup>372</sup> Thomas Kirk, *The forest flora of New Zealand*, (Government Printer, 1889).p.244.

<sup>373</sup> HH Allan, Director, Botany Division to Major Moor, Director General of Medical Services, New Zealand Army, 13 October 1941. Botany Division files 52/1.

<sup>374</sup> <https://gardenofgodsandmonsters.wordpress.com/2013/07/19/warriors-aid-and-giver-of-life-eternal-hebe-salicifolia/>

Figure 63: Titoki [Alectryon excelsus]<sup>375</sup>



Fruit of the titoki is edible, but the extracted oil from the black seeds was used for many medicinal cures.<sup>376</sup>

Figure 64: Totara [Podocarpus totara]<sup>377</sup>



Totara: wood was most preferred for traditional Maori carving.<sup>378</sup> Bark was used as a splint with flax leaves, a receptacle for carrying water<sup>379</sup> and as a vessel for carrying preserved birds. It was also used as a vessel for stone boiling.<sup>380</sup> Because it is rot-resistant the timber was excellent for housing, bridging, fencing and many other construction uses.<sup>381</sup>

Figure 65: Mahoe [Melicytus ramiflorus]<sup>382</sup>



Mahoe's inner bark was scraped and the juice applied to sores or used to cover diseased skin.<sup>383</sup> Black juice of the mahoe berry were mixed with the ashes of the awmato and used to create a dye for tattooing.<sup>384</sup>

<sup>375</sup> <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/435652963925221162/>

<sup>376</sup> Rev. Richard Taylor, *A leaf from the natural history of New Zealand*, (Robert Stokes; J. Williamson, 1848), p.22.

<sup>377</sup> <http://www.fergumurraysculpture.com/new-zealand/southern-alps-and-glaciers-9-pages/vi-kahikatea-swamp-forest/>

<sup>378</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.37.

<sup>379</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.38.

<sup>380</sup> Elsdon Best, 'Food products of Tuhoeland', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 35 (1902). p.93

<sup>381</sup> Colenso, 'On the Māori Races of New Zealand', p.13.

<sup>382</sup> [http://www.oratianatives.co.nz/catalogue\\_extras.php?photo\\_id=783](http://www.oratianatives.co.nz/catalogue_extras.php?photo_id=783)

<sup>383</sup> Hiroa, (Sir Peter Buck), 'Medicine amongst the Māoris in ancient and modern times,' p.67.

<sup>384</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.37.

Figure 66: Kawakawa [*Macropiper excelsum*]<sup>385</sup>



Kawakawa was used internally to treat the kidneys and help with stomach problems. It was used externally for cuts, wounds, boils, abscesses, and nettle stings. It was also a treatment for rheumatism, aches and pains including toothache. When kawakawa is thrown on a campfire and burnt it reputedly keeps mosquitoes away.<sup>386</sup>

Figure 67: Kohekohe [*Dysoxylum spectabile*]<sup>387</sup>



The kohekoe's bitter leaves were used for medicinal purposes.<sup>388</sup> A weak tonic from the leaves stopped the secretion of breast milk.<sup>389</sup>

Figure 68: Wharangi [*Meleicope ternata*]<sup>390</sup>



The gum of the wharangi was chewed to cure foul breath.<sup>391</sup> However, the nectar from this tree is known to yield toxic honey.<sup>392</sup>

Figure 69: Matai [*Prumnopitys taifolia*]<sup>393</sup>



Tapped trunk juice was also used to make 'matai beer,' a favourite amongst early bushmen.<sup>394</sup>

<sup>385</sup> <http://www.temarareo.org/TMR-Kawa.html>

<sup>386</sup> <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/Education/OnlineResources/Matariki/MaoriMedicine/Pages/Kawakawa.aspx>

<sup>387</sup> <http://www.bushmansfriend.co.nz/pictureview.asp?PicID=59980>

<sup>388</sup> Taylor, *A leaf from the natural history of New Zealand*, p.20.

<sup>389</sup> James Henry Kerry-Nicholls, 'The origin, physical characteristics and manners and customs of the Māori race, from data derived during a recent exploration of the King Country, New Zealand,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1886, p.404.

<sup>390</sup> [http://www.treeandshrub.co.nz/shop/index.php?route=product/product&path=37\\_50&product\\_id=143](http://www.treeandshrub.co.nz/shop/index.php?route=product/product&path=37_50&product_id=143)

<sup>391</sup> Johannes Carl Andersen, *Maori Life in Ao-tea*, (Whitcombe and Tombs, 1907), p.637.

<sup>392</sup> <http://www.terrain.net.nz/friends-of-te-henui-group/trees-native-botanical-names-m-to-q/wharangi-melicope-ternata.html>

<sup>393</sup> <http://www.pfaf.org/user/Plant.aspx?LatinName=Prumnopitys+taifolia>

<sup>394</sup> TH Easterfield, McDowell, J C, 'The chemistry of *Podocarpus totara* and *Podocarpus spicatus*', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 48 (1915). p.3



Figure 70: Kahikatea [*Dacrycarpus dacrydioides*]<sup>395</sup>



A decoction of kahikatea leaves was used to treat urinary and internal illness.<sup>396</sup>

Figure 71: Kaikomako [*Pennanatia corymbosa*]<sup>397</sup>



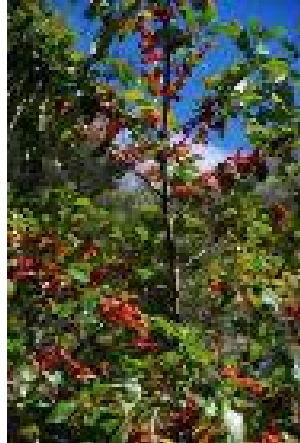
Kaikomako was a main nutritional source and highly valued for obtaining fire by friction.<sup>398</sup>

Figure 72: Mapou [*Myrsine australis*]<sup>399</sup>



As the mapou wood is elastic it will not snap or break, and is ideal for fishing net handles.<sup>400</sup>

Figure 73: Karamu [*Coprosma robusta*]<sup>401</sup>



Leaves of the karamu were used in baptism ceremonies.<sup>402</sup>

Figure 74: Maukoro [*Carmichaelia odorata*]



The native scented broom is found in the southern part of the North Island and the northern and western parts of the South Island. Its natural habitats are rivers, terraces, flats and streams and forest margins.<sup>403</sup> Also known as the taunoka, with a Maori pepeha that says: 'e rite koe ki te taunoka – you are like the taunoka.' This saying refers to an unreliable and hesitant person.<sup>404</sup>

Figure 75: Makomako [*Aristolelia serrata*]<sup>405</sup>



Makomako bark was also used as a small water carrier.<sup>406</sup>

Figure 76: Kohuhu [*Pittosporum tenuifolium*]<sup>407</sup>



Bruising the kohuhu bark produced a fragrant gum used to perfume titoki and kohia.<sup>408</sup>

<sup>395</sup> <http://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/Environment/Natural-resources/Biodiversity/Forest-fragments/Kahikatea-forest-fragments/Life-in-a-kahikatea-forest-fragment/>

<sup>396</sup> Goldie, 'Māori medical lore', p.118.

<sup>397</sup> <http://gardenmaine.com/2012/12/11/did-you-say-kaikomako/>

<sup>398</sup> Colenso, 'On the Māori Races of New Zealand', p.27.

<sup>399</sup> <http://www.tiritirimatangi.org.nz/mapou>

Figure 77: Cabbage tree [Cordyline australis]<sup>409</sup>



The cooked root [kaoru] of the cabbage tree is edible. This strong fibre is ideal for mats and can be used for ropes.<sup>410</sup>

Figure 78: Harakeke [Phormium tenax]



The dressed fibre of the harakeke was a traditional material for fishing nets.<sup>411</sup> Plaited strips were even used for boat sails.<sup>412</sup> The alkaline gum of the harakeke is a soothing substance when applied to wounds, burns and scalds.<sup>413</sup> Chewing on the root alleviates constipation.<sup>414</sup> Old flax baskets were used as cooking receptacles for pork; green baskets gave meat a bitter taste.<sup>415</sup> When immersed in a solution of alum, the flax is converted into pulp for paper manufacture.<sup>416</sup> The gum of the flax was used to seal letters,<sup>417</sup> and as an adhesive for china, a sealing wax and a cloth waterproofing agent.<sup>418</sup> Because muka fibre is strong it was used to manufacture rope<sup>419</sup>

<sup>400</sup> Te Rangi Hiroa, (Sir Peter Buck), 'Māori food-supplies of Lake Rotorua, with methods of obtaining them, and usages and customs appertaining thereto', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 53 (1921). p.447.

<sup>401</sup> <http://www.fergusmurraysculpture.com/new-zealand/golden-bay-13-pages/golden-bay-xi-the-hydro-walk-golden-bay/>

<sup>402</sup> Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui* p.75.

<sup>403</sup> <http://www.terrain.net.nz/friends-of-te-henui-group/new-plant-page/carmichaelia-odorata-scented-broom.html>

<sup>404</sup> Hirini Moko Mead, *Nga Pepeha a Nga Tupuna*, (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2004).p.44

<sup>405</sup> [http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz.info/friends\\_of\\_te\\_henui/images/show/9024-aristotelia-serrata-wine-berry-makomako](http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz.info/friends_of_te_henui/images/show/9024-aristotelia-serrata-wine-berry-makomako)

<sup>406</sup> Best, 'Food products of Tuhoeland', p.83.

<sup>407</sup> [http://www.crocus.co.uk/plants/\\_/pittosporum-tenuifolium-golf-ball-pbr/classid.2000019582/](http://www.crocus.co.uk/plants/_/pittosporum-tenuifolium-golf-ball-pbr/classid.2000019582/)

<sup>408</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.37.

<sup>409</sup> <http://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/ti-kouka-the-cabbage-tree/>

<sup>410</sup> Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p.435.

<sup>411</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.35.

<sup>412</sup> Hiroa, Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck), 'Māori plaited basketry and plaitwork Part 2: Belts and bands, fire-fans and fly-flaps, sandals and sails', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 54 (1923). p.706.

<sup>413</sup> William H Goldie, 'Māori medical lore', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 37 (1904). p.119.

<sup>414</sup> Hiroa, (Sir Peter Buck), 'Medicine amongst the Māoris in ancient and modern times,' p.68.

<sup>415</sup> Makereti Papakura, *The Old-time Maori*, (Gollancz, 1938).p.175.

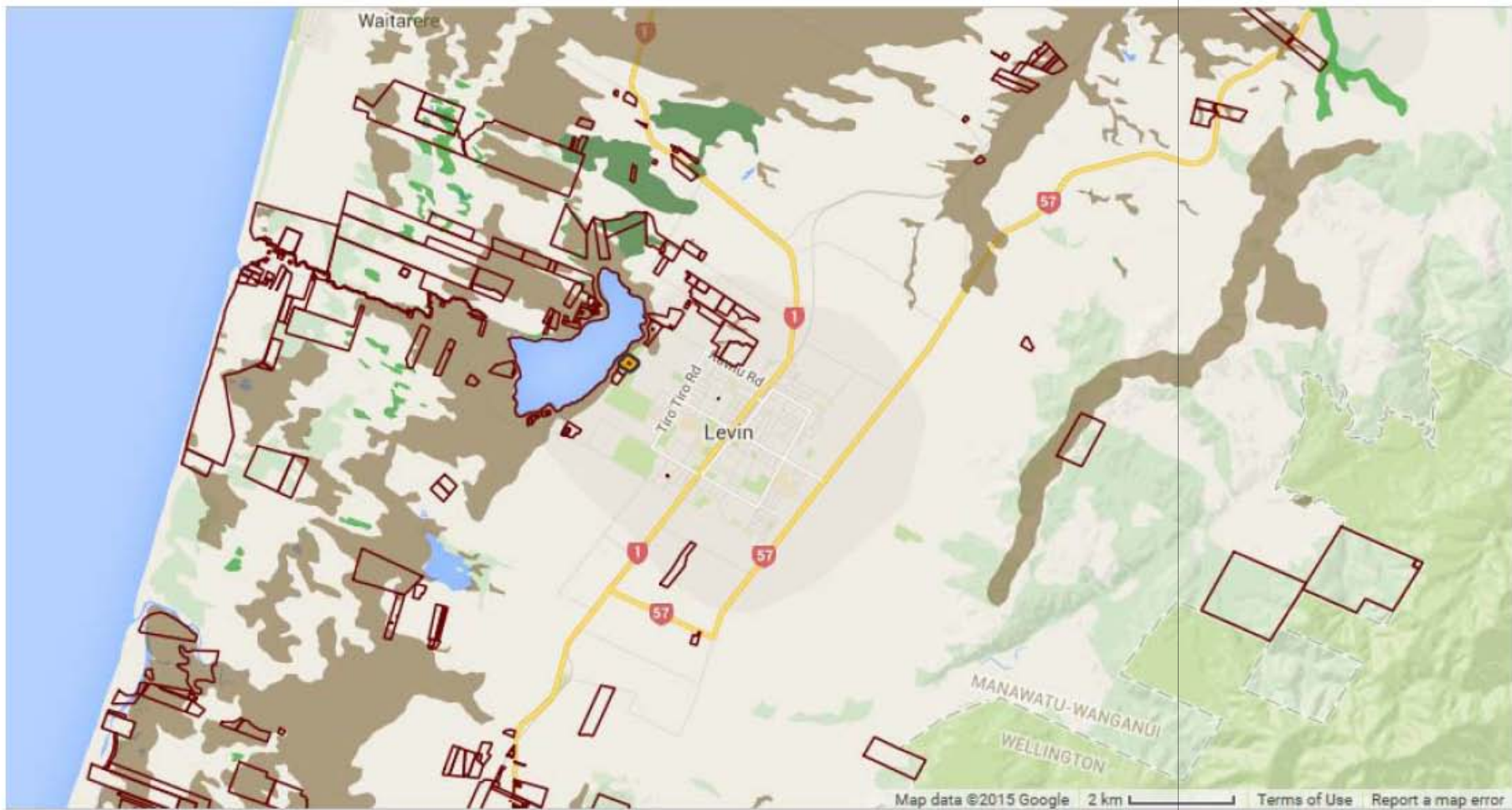
<sup>416</sup> Rev., Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui. New Zealand and its inhabitants*, (Wertheim and MacIntosh, 1855), pp.435-436.

<sup>417</sup> George Butler Earp, *New Zealand: Its emigration and gold fields*, (London, Routledge and Co., 1853).p.131.

<sup>418</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.35.

<sup>419</sup> Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, pp.435-436.





**Historic Wetlands**

This layer shows the historic extent of wetlands throughout New Zealand. Historical extents were derived from field observations and known soil characteristics.









- |   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
|  Bog   |  Fen    |  Gumland |  Inland saline |
|  Marsh |  Pakihi |  Seepage |  Swamp         |

Figure 79: Historic wetlands

### *Current and Historical Wetlands*

Much of the changes in the wetlands are attributable to pastoral farming and exotic forestry, which was mostly carried out after wetland drainage prior to 1942. Similar data records that in 1942 sand dune and scrub cover for the Hokio district was 88% (of 240 ha), 8% in 2008, exotic forest cover 0% for 1942, and 27% for 2008, with pasture cover 29% for 1942 and 52% for 2008.<sup>420</sup> The Kurahaupo people, who settled between Whanganui and Foxton, resided near rivers, swamps and lakes. This country provided a valuable food resource:

The dune lakes contained a plentiful supply of tuna (eels) and the wetlands were also an important resource for harakeke (flax) used for weaving, while raupo and kakaho (toetoe seed stalks) were used for construction of whare (houses) and other structures. Pingao, used for kete and tukutuku panels was found on the more open dunes.<sup>421</sup>

Geoff Park states that the value of wetlands to Maori was the bird life that was available for food and the native fish that came to spawn. Park provides an historical account of Crown policies regarding the draining of wetlands for a pastoral agricultural economy, particularly under the Highways and Watercourse Diversion Act 1858 and the Public Works Act 1876.<sup>422</sup> Park discussed the significance that swamp lands have to indigenous peoples and the indigenous ecosystem by quoting Rodney Giblett, lecturer in cultural studies:<sup>423</sup>

Without the wetland, the world would fall apart. The wetland feeds and holds together the skeleton of the body of nature. Without the wetland, there would be nothing to replenish the skeletal system of the dry land, the backbones of mountain ranges, the ribs of ridges, the limbs of peninsulas and capes . . . all of which supply and make possible the fertile plains . . . on which agriculture takes place, on which industry depends, on which cities 'live', or more precisely which they parasitically suck dry.<sup>424</sup>

The duneland streams, wetlands and channel streams were once flourishing with a large variety of associated flora. These are named with attached figures and explanations regarding traditional uses to provide a background of what the region once offered and how Muaupoko would have utilised the resources within their rohe. The flora also provided food and a habitat for native birds and fish stocks. Other readily available essentials such as building materials, clothing fibres, nutritional and medicinal plants are also outlined.

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<sup>420</sup> Newcombe E, et al, pp.12, 16-18.

<sup>421</sup> Treadwell & Associates, 'Assessment Of The Outstanding Landscapes & Natural Features Of The Horowhenua District,' August 2009, a report prepared for the Horowhenua District Council. p.27.

<sup>422</sup> Park, *Effective Exclusion?* pp.19-20,25.

<sup>423</sup> Rodney Giblett is a lecturer in cultural studies in the School of Communication and Cultural Studies, Curtin University of Technology, Australia.

<sup>424</sup> Rodney James Giblett, *Postmodern Wetlands: Culture, History, Ecology*, (Edinburgh University Press; 3 edition, 1996) cited in Park, *Effective Exclusion?* p.25.



Figure 80: Kapungawha [*Schoenoplectus validus*]<sup>425</sup>



Harvested in the summer, the stems are hung until completely dried. When ready for use the stems are moistened for the manufacture of mats and baskets.<sup>426</sup>

Figure 81: Upoko-tangata [*Cyperus ustulatus*]<sup>427</sup>



The leaves were stripped of outside edges and were used for mats, baskets, and outer thatching for houses.<sup>428</sup>

Figure 82: Pukio [*Carex secta*]<sup>429</sup>



Pukio was useful as thatching for houses.<sup>430</sup>

Figure 83: Raupo [*Typha orientalis*]<sup>431</sup>



The seeds of the pappus of the raupo were applied to wounds and old ulcerated sores as a protection against dust.<sup>432</sup> The pollen of the raupo can be baked into bread or cakes. The inner part of the roots are eaten raw, or pounded and eaten like porridge. Leaves were used in lining and roofing for houses and thatching for storehouses. The raupo down was used as filling for beds and pillows. Past time uses included the making of poi (leaves), with the down as stuffing. Leaves were also used in kite manufacture.<sup>433</sup>

Figure 84: Oioi [*Leptocarpus similis*]<sup>434</sup>



William Colenso wrote that the oioi is 'by far the best of all the rushes and sedges for thatching, on account of its durability.'<sup>435</sup>

Figure 85: Wiwi [*Juncus gregiflorus*]<sup>436</sup>



<sup>425</sup> <http://www.taranakiplants.net.nz/natives/lowland/kapungawha.html>

<sup>426</sup> <http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/science/plants-animals-fungi/plants/ethnobotany/weaving-plants/information-sheets/kuta-and-kapungawha>

<sup>427</sup> <http://www.forestflora.co.nz/Plant%20profiles/Cyperus%20ustulatus.htm>

<sup>428</sup> Colenso, William, 'On the Māori Races of New Zealand', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 1 (1868). p.14.

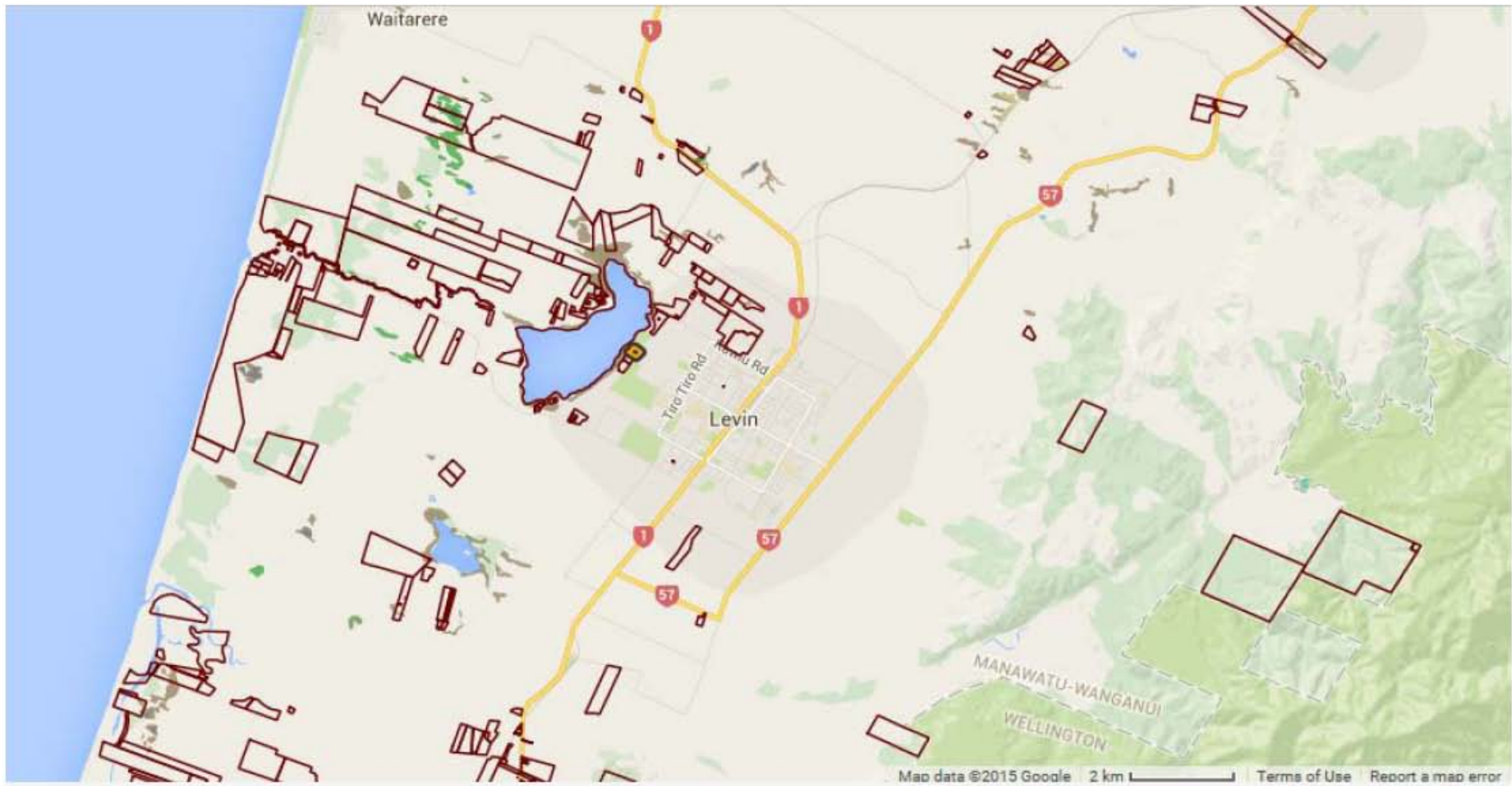
<sup>429</sup> [http://www.nzplants.co.uk/epages/es121783.sf/en\\_GB/?ObjectPath=/Shops/es121783/Products/carsec](http://www.nzplants.co.uk/epages/es121783.sf/en_GB/?ObjectPath=/Shops/es121783/Products/carsec)

<sup>430</sup> Elsdon Best, 'Maori forest lore', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, vol 41 (1908). p.248.

<sup>431</sup> [http://maoriplantuse.landcareresearch.co.nz/WebForms/PeoplePlantsDetails.aspx?firstcome=firstcome&PKey=431c22a0-5241-4a38-9efb-5e719ecd4515&theSearchString=raupo~\[typha~orientalis\]&SearchType=1&SearchPage=0&SearchDB=1&SearchGroup=&FieldSearch1=&FieldSearch2=&FieldSearch3=&Field1=1&Field2=1&Field3=1&FromSearch=true](http://maoriplantuse.landcareresearch.co.nz/WebForms/PeoplePlantsDetails.aspx?firstcome=firstcome&PKey=431c22a0-5241-4a38-9efb-5e719ecd4515&theSearchString=raupo~[typha~orientalis]&SearchType=1&SearchPage=0&SearchDB=1&SearchGroup=&FieldSearch1=&FieldSearch2=&FieldSearch3=&Field1=1&Field2=1&Field3=1&FromSearch=true)

<sup>432</sup> William Colenso, On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, Volume 1, 1868.p.38.

<sup>433</sup> [http://maoriplantuse.landcareresearch.co.nz/WebForms/PeoplePlantsDetails.aspx?firstcome=firstcome&PKey=431c22a0-5241-4a38-9efb-5e719ecd4515&theSearchString=raupo~\[typha~orientalis\]&SearchType=1&SearchPage=0&SearchDB=1&SearchGroup=&FieldSearch1=&FieldSearch2=&FieldSearch3=&Field1=1&Field2=1&Field3=1&FromSearch=true](http://maoriplantuse.landcareresearch.co.nz/WebForms/PeoplePlantsDetails.aspx?firstcome=firstcome&PKey=431c22a0-5241-4a38-9efb-5e719ecd4515&theSearchString=raupo~[typha~orientalis]&SearchType=1&SearchPage=0&SearchDB=1&SearchGroup=&FieldSearch1=&FieldSearch2=&FieldSearch3=&Field1=1&Field2=1&Field3=1&FromSearch=true)



**Current Wetlands**

This layer shows the current extents of wetlands throughout New Zealand.

- |       |        |         |               |
|-------|--------|---------|---------------|
| Bog   | Fen    | Gumland | Inland saline |
| Marsh | Pakihi | Seepage | Swamp         |

Figure 86: Current wetlands

<sup>434</sup> <http://www.nzplants.co.uk/Leptocarpus-similis>

<sup>435</sup> Colenso, 'On the Botany, Geographic and Economic, of the North Island of the New Zealand Group', p.34.

<sup>436</sup> [http://www.nzplantpics.com/nz\\_grasses.htm](http://www.nzplantpics.com/nz_grasses.htm)

### 3.8 Pollution

Pollution has not only affected the landscape but also the people. When reminiscing about the traditional kai that could be collected from the land, the lakes, streams and the coast, Muaupoko place the blame fully on the pollution that has occurred and ask whether this situation can be reversed. Many Muaupoko speak of the physical sustenance that their landscape once provided them with, but also note how their spiritual connection to the whenua, lakes, streams and coastline has suffered since European colonisation.

#### 3.8.1 Lake Horowhenua –The Eye of the Fish

Vivienne Taueki speaks of her people's belief that Lake Horowhenua is the 'eye of the fish,' and that the eye, because of man-made interference, is suffering. The blood vessels and tear ducts, namely the streams that lead into and out of the lake have been interfered with; the eye itself has suffered because of repeated pollution from direct sewage, storm water and farm run-off discharges.<sup>437</sup> Although treated sewage was discharged into the lake from 1952 to 1987, even today large amounts of nutrients and sediment still continue to enter the lake, giving it a monitored ranking in 2010 of seventh worst out of 112 in New Zealand. The current condition is that the lake in the summer period is regularly closed due to the presence of cyanobacteria, caused by introduced nutrients and sediment entering and adding to discharge elements already present.<sup>438</sup> Peter Huria stated that the 'lake is a sacred body of water for him and for his tupuna for hundreds of years.' Peter wanted more action rather than words, arguing that because the problems are known, the community needs to get behind the kaupapa.<sup>439</sup>

#### 3.8.2 Kaitiakitanga

Many of those Muaupoko interviewed for this report spoke of their roles as kaitiaki of the land, rivers and streams, lakes and the coastline. Within these geographical features can be found the burial places and kainga of their ancestors, the kai and food stocks that sustained the tribe for generations. Henry Williams and his sisters, Hingaparae and Carol, spoke of their youth and the various kai that could be gathered in abundance from the flounder and watercress in the Patiki Stream, the eels and kakahi from Lake Horowhenua and the Hokio Stream, and the whitebait at the river mouth. When asked what caused the decline of their former kai, their answer was pollution to Lake Horowhenua that impacted all the way along the Hokio Stream to the coast. They also related the spiritual significance of the Tararua Ranges and Lake Horowhenua, part of their whakapapa, with the practical significance being the ability of learning to gather kai as they had learnt from their kuia. When asked whether their children and

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<sup>437</sup> Hui with Vivienne Taueki and whanau, 30 October 2014, Levin.

<sup>438</sup> 'He Hokioi Rerenga Tahī, The Lake Horowhenua Accord Action Plan 2014-2016,' (An accord between Lake Horowhenua Trust; Horowhenua Lake Domain Board; Horowhenua District Council; Horizons Regional Council; and, Department of Conservation), p.1.

<sup>439</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 11 April 2014.

grandchildren would ever experience what they had seen, their response was that their mokopuna have lost their rights. As to whether the lake and streams would ever be restored to what they had experienced, they felt probably not in their lifetime or that of their mokopuna.<sup>440</sup>

### 3.8.3 Fish Stocks

Massey University freshwater biologist Dr Mike Joy believes that the health of the fish stocks is a good indicator of the condition of the lake, but the results of such findings can only be put into context and contrasted with the health of another lake in the vicinity, such as Nga Manu Nature Reserve in Paraparaumu (see figure 87).<sup>441</sup> Nga Manu Nature Reserve has had no sewage discharged into it and the catchment has no dairy farms or local horticulture. The wetlands are also still intact. The eels (short and long fin) netted and released in Nga Manu Lake were of good size and condition, which is attributed to the health of the lake, whereas the number of eels in Lake Horowhenua are sparse. Mike Joy used the same eeling techniques and netting time for both lakes to contrast his findings, given that the unknown factor is ‘what constitutes a healthy population in Lake Horowhenua?’<sup>442</sup>

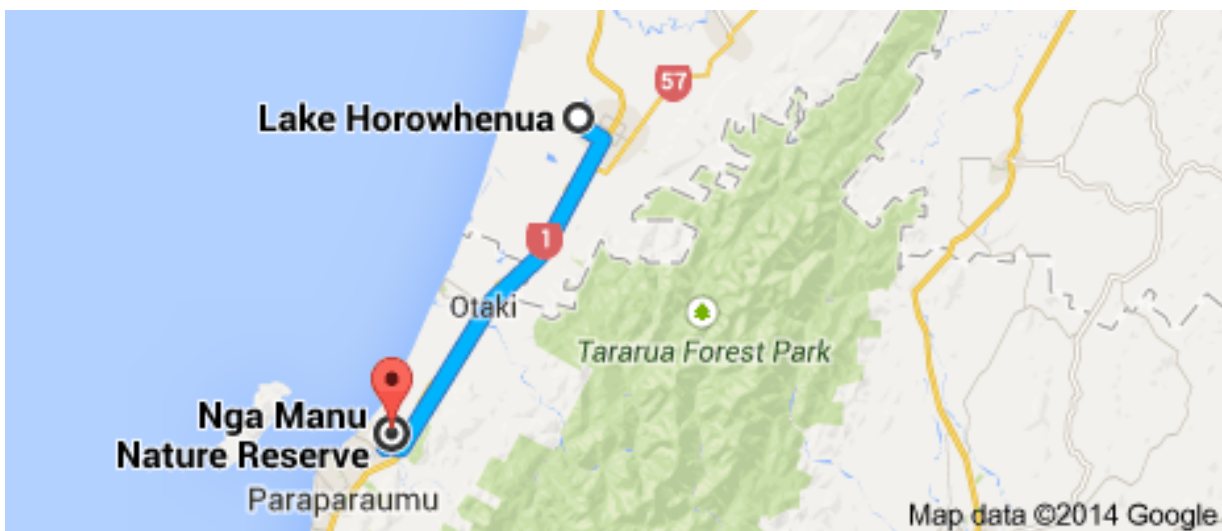


Figure 87: Nga Manu Nature Reserve

### 3.8.4 Observations

#### *Beneath the Surface*

Philip Taueki provided a DVD documentary called ‘Beneath the Surface,’ which was produced by Nicki Atkinson and Susan Harvey as part of their studies towards their Masters degrees in Science Communication at the University of Otago early in 2014. One of those interviewed in the documentary

<sup>440</sup> Hui with Henry Williams, Hingaparae Gardiner, Carol Murray, 6 March 2015, Otaki.

<sup>441</sup> The Nga Manu Trust was established in 1974 and owns a 13-hectare site in Waikanae that is operated as Nga Manu Nature Reserve. This area contains the largest single remaining remnant of original coastal lowland swamp forest on the Kapiti Coast. Source: <http://www.ngamanu.co.nz/about.php>

<sup>442</sup> Nicki Atkinson and Susan Harvey, ‘Beneath the Surface’, made in conjunction with The Centre for Science Communication NHNZ, University of Otago. Documentary (DVD)



was Rachael Selby who commented on the unhappiness, fighting and the political issues surrounding Lake Horowhenua, which she attributes to and believes is reflective of the 'un-wellness' of the lake.<sup>443</sup>

### *Ill Health*

Peter Huria suggests the present state of ill-health amongst the Muaupoko people reflects the present health of the lake, streams, coastline and whenua. He recounts the tears in the eyes of kaumatua who have borne witness to these challenges, or what he terms the 'deprivations' that the Muaupoko people have endured.<sup>444</sup>

### *Spiritual Connection*

Henry Williams and his sisters, Hingaparae and Carol, believe Lake Horowhenua and Tararua are part of their whakapapa and that they, the Muaupoko people, are spiritually connected to these taonga. The pollution of the lake has affected these connections and has resulted in the loss of their mana and that of their mokopuna. Their mokopuna will never witness how they, in their youth caught eels, flounders, whitebait, toheroa or any other of the kai that abounded, let alone the experience of, and experience gained, from gathering traditional kai.<sup>445</sup>

### *Last Generation*

Marokopa Matakatea recalls the time when a night's catch of eels could fill 200 chaff sacks, and they would line the eels up at the marae by the thousands. However, because of the pollution, he believes his generation are the last to experience the tuna heke, saying: 'Today it's still happening, I don't think we'll ever get it back how it was before, but that's what it is.'<sup>446</sup>

### *Night Soil*

Ada Tatana spoke of returning home to Levin by train from school in Wellington, and on one particular night in 1946, she saw the 'poo cart,' doing the rounds collecting human waste in buckets.<sup>447</sup> Being inquisitive, Ada and a friend decided to follow the poo cart which ended its rounds at a council property abutting Lake Horowhenua, where they observed the contractor disposing of the contents into a drain. History records sewage being first discharged into Lake Horowhenua in 1953, but Ada had observed this incident in 1946.<sup>448</sup> An article by Corrie Swanwick says that night soil collections began in the early days

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<sup>443</sup> Atkinson and Harvey, 'Beneath the Surface'

<sup>444</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 21 November 2014, Hokio.

<sup>445</sup> Hui with Henry Williams, Hingaparae Gardiner, Carol Murray, 6 March 2015, Otaki.

<sup>446</sup> Marokopa Wiremu Matakatea, Nga Korero Tuku Iho, p.98.

<sup>447</sup> Night soil (human waste) had to be removed (at the householder's expense) by council contractors who came to be known as night-men. They had to work between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m., emptying pails of excrement into their carts, which had specially constructed wooden tanks. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/sewage-water-and-waste/page-3>

<sup>448</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

of Levin and continued until the 1920s and probably the 1930s when septic tanks became popular. The 'night man' collected full cans outside lavatories after dark replacing them with an empty container, and then disposed of the night soil at what is now the Playford Park complex.<sup>449</sup>

### *Descendants Unite*

A recent article in the *New Zealand Herald* entitled 'Maori descendants unite for lake restoration,' noted the concern held by many of the Maori community from Ngati Pareraukawa (a hapu of Ngati Raukawa) and Muaupoko. Ngati Pareraukawa member and working party convenor Professor Whatarangi Winiata has witnessed the impact on Lake Horowhenua and the Hokio Stream, stating:

Our people have been located beside the lake and stream for almost 200 years... The first 150 years those water bodies sustained our people. Sixty years ago the council made a decision which has had disastrous consequences for our hapu, for local iwi and now for the community as a whole. That decision to discharge sewage into the lake in 1953 continues to have significant negative consequences today.<sup>450</sup>

### *Solutions*

When asked about his aspirations regarding the lake, Philip Taueki responded pragmatically. First, he stated that the sediment should be removed and all inflows that cause damage should be stopped. Mr Taueki has also sought options for removing the sediment from the lake, such as dredging, which would solve the original problem and form a new foundation for the lake's restoration.<sup>451</sup> Peter Huria believes that the term 'sediment' is the wrong terminology; rather, the consistency of the pollution is more akin to sludge, which he estimates to be of some five million cubic metres. Rather than dredging the sludge, he believes a system of submersible pumps similar to that used for iron sand extraction is a better solution.<sup>452</sup>

Both Mike Joy and Mike Smith (Water & Environmental Care Association) agree that to restore the lake, all nutrients that flow into the lake on a daily basis need to cease. Levin Mayor Brendan Duffy says that attempts to improve the water quality from the Queen Street storm water drain were made by the proposed use of wetlands. This proposal was stopped by Vivienne Taueki (member of the Lake Horowhenua Trust) who filed a court injunction on the basis that water quality improvement would be minimal and the proposed wetlands were cosmetic. Mayor Brendan Duffy agreed that the proposal was dealing with someone else's asset, but was seeking constructive dialogue. Duffy intimated that there had been dialogue with five interested parties (Lake Horowhenua Trust, Horowhenua District Council,

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<sup>449</sup> Corrie Swanwick (1910-2005) was a local identity, and Levin's unofficial historian, who wrote many stories which were published in the local newspapers. <http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/topics/35-francis-corrison-swanwick-corrie>

<sup>450</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 11 April 2014, [http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=10876937](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10876937)

<sup>451</sup> Hui with Philip Taueki, 31 October 2014, Levin.

<sup>452</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 6 March 2015, Hokio.

Horizons Regional Council, the Department of Conservation and the Lake Domain Board) who had signed a letter of intent to form an accord to make a difference. Vivienne Taueki responded that previous attempts to form an accord (in 1958 and 1998) had achieved little, and asked whether another would improve the health of the lake. In Vivienne's view, the solution would be to implement mechanisms in the district plan to regulate intensive farming and land use activities in the region. Mike Joy agrees that the solution is to regulate the water catchment, the source of the problem.<sup>453</sup> Historian Paul Hamer's report concluded that progress has been made regarding restoration plans; however, for water quality to improve would require time, changed land-use practices in the catchment and a substantial financial investment.<sup>454</sup>

Local resident, Fyfe Williamson offers a different theory of how pollution enters Lake Horowhenua and the Hokio Stream. He believes that the cause is the network of clay pipes installed in the 1950s, many of which are broken:

"Sewage leaks out of the pipes under Levin and flows into the lake. It also flows all the way down to the Hokio Beach, and pollutes all the waterways."

Williamson believes that in summer sewage flows out of the pipes into the groundwater, and in winter the groundwater flows into the pipes which eventually overflow the sewage treatment plant.<sup>455</sup>



Figure 88: Fyfe Williamson above a water race at the western end of Queen St, Levin<sup>456</sup>

### *Holistic View*

Charles Rudd believes that in order to clean up Lake Horowhenua a holistic view is needed to ascertain how pollutants enter the lake. The Queen Street drain was not the only contributor of storm water into the lake; as Charles noted, some natural creeks had been converted into storm water flows, together with what he believed were illegal drains. It is alleged other contributors are the former landfills around Levin that leach into the lake. Because of sediment build-up behind the lake weir, native fish are unable to cross it, and any alterations to the weir could affect those living downstream at Hokio. Charles stated

<sup>453</sup> Atkinson and Harvey, 'Beneath the Surface', see also Tempero, *Assessment of Fish Populations in Lake Horowhenua, Levin*, p.7

<sup>454</sup> Paul Hamer 'A Tangled Skein': 'Lake Horowhenua, Muaūpoko, and the Crown, 1898-2000,' (Wai 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, June 2015), p.407.

<sup>455</sup> *Dominion Post*, 30 December 2010:<http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/local-papers/horowhenua-mail/4183413/Resident-says-broken-sewerage-pipes-polluting-lake>

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*



that whatever measures are undertaken, a holistic view drawing upon the views of all parties and the community is the only solution. In his view the 1998 attempt to form an accord between the Lake Horowhenua Trust, Horowhenua District Council, Horizons Regional Council, the Department of Conservation and the Lake Domain Board had failed.<sup>457</sup>

Charles felt there was a way :

‘We need community people on there. It was the five groups last time who mucked it up.’ Canvassing views from as wide a pool as possible would be beneficial, he said: ‘Somebody on the committee's going to say something that no one's thought about.’<sup>458</sup>



Figure 89: Charles Rudd at Lake Horowhenua<sup>459</sup>

### 3.8.5 Hokio Stream

The Hokio Stream has been a long-standing issue of contention for the Hokio residents who have worried about the health of the stream for many years. Local resident and kaumatua Peter Huria holds newspaper clippings and documents detailing his disputes with the early county councils, borough councils, district councils and regional councils over the way the Hokio Stream and the beach have been adversely affected. Recently, Peter and the residents of Hokio Beach have had to deal with flooding and blockages along the Hokio Stream, with water backing up to residents' homes. Peter states that because of the high water table in the area, the stream needs to be kept clean and straightened every 15 years so that there is a direct release of water to the sea. However, no such work has been done on the stream for 22 years, and in the last four years the stream has moved 500 metres in a southerly direction.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 22 March 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/8459106/Lakes-woes-go-beyond-simple>

<sup>458</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 22 March 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/8459106/Lakes-woes-go-beyond-simple>

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>460</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 21 November 2014, Hokio.



HOKIO Beach resident and kaumatua Peter Huria, front, with other residents concerned about the health of the Hokio Stream, responsible for flooding the access route and properties. They are standing on what is left of a sand dune that collapsed into the stream.

Figure 90: Peter Huria and residents at Hokio Beach<sup>461</sup>



Figure 91: Newly dug channel at Hokio

As a result of the story published in the *Levin Chronicle* in November 2014, groups including members from Horizons Regional Council, Horowhenua District Council, Hokio A Trust and 30 residents met on 11 December 2014. The general consensus was to dig a channel to straighten the stream's course from the settlement to the sea. This view was supported by the Horowhenua District Council's chief executive who recommended that remedial works were required to relieve the environment and the community from flood damage. Work began on 20 December and involved excavating a channel 200m long and 5m wide. Although many of the Hokio beach community are pleased with the results, Phillip Taueki, chairperson of the Hokio A Trust was not so impressed. He stated that the new channel was dug on trust

<sup>461</sup> *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 28 November 2014, p.1

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*

land without the trust's knowledge. Phillip Taueki stated that sediment from Lake Horowhenua and the Hokio landfill polluting groundwater are more urgent health issues.<sup>463</sup>

### 3.9 Hokio Beach

#### 3.9.1 Toheroa Regulations 1969

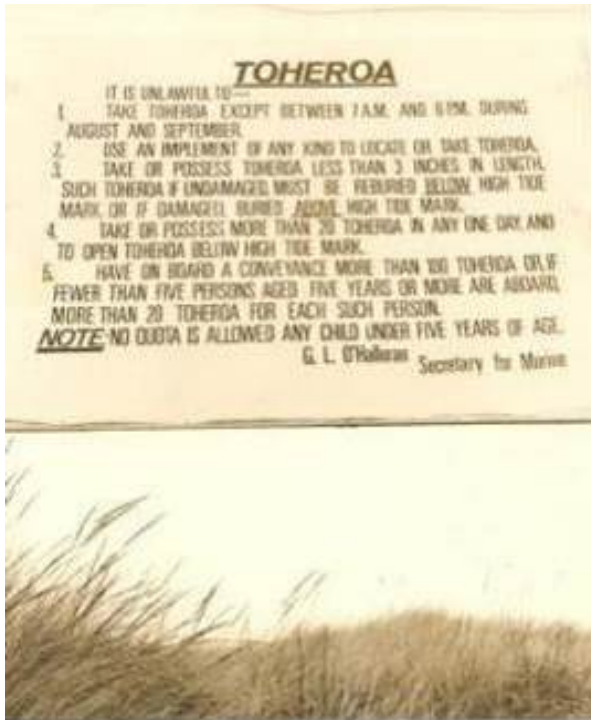


Figure 92: Toheroa Notice, Waitarere Beach, 1969.

Figure 92 shows the 1969 regulations placed on toheroa gathering at Waitarere beach, a period when there was a marked decline in harvesting nationwide.<sup>464</sup> As stated previously, the Muaupoko people know that pollution and destruction to the breeding beds are some of the reasons for the decline in toheroa stocks. The estimated toheroa population along the Waitarere beach was 2.5 million in 1935, which slumped dramatically to under 100,000 in 1955, declining to 45,760 in 1961, before an increase to 475,500 in 1965. Estimated studies for Hokio Beach recorded 700,000 in 1948, 16,720 in 1961, and 311,520 in 1965.<sup>465</sup>

Figure 93 shows canned toheroa produced by the Meredith brothers.<sup>466</sup> Although toheroa canning was conducted at Tikinui on the northern shores of the Kaipara Harbour, several factors in the demise of the toheroa are noted: the factory used a mechanical digger to uproot the toheroa causing environmental destruction and waste, and toheroa was commercially exploited from the 1900s, peaking in the 1940s, and ceasing in 1969.<sup>467</sup>



Figure 93: Canned toheroa in the 1950s

<sup>463</sup> *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 9 January 2015, p.3.

<sup>464</sup> Source: Horowhenua Historical Society, <http://horowhenua.kete.net.nz/en/site/images/1253-toheroa-notice-waitarere-beach-1969>

<sup>465</sup> Heasman, Keeley N, Sinner J, 'Factors Affecting Populations of Toheroa (*Paphies Ventricosa*)', pp.7-8, 30.

<sup>466</sup> <https://convincingreasons.wordpress.com/2014/11/18/toheroa-extinction-in-a-tin-can/>

<sup>467</sup> [http://www.foodstyle.co.nz/2010\\_magazine/articles/a2010\\_03\\_04.html](http://www.foodstyle.co.nz/2010_magazine/articles/a2010_03_04.html)

There were no commercial canning operations along the lower North Island's west coast region but studies indicate that there is no single contributing factor either to population fluctuations, or changes in abundance or distribution. Rather, these are the cumulative effects of a host of issues.<sup>468</sup> Some possible contributing factors to toheroa decline include land cover change altering freshwater flows to beaches, food availability, sand smothering, vehicular traffic, predation, over-harvesting, weather and climate, and toxic algae bloom.<sup>469</sup>

### 3.9.2 Car Wrecks



Figure 94: Hokio Beach car dump.

In November 1989, Hokio Beach residents wanted a car dump removed because it was an 'eye-sore and a blot on the landscape.' The car dump was established by the local council to prevent sand-drift. However, the Conservation Department agreed with the Hokio residents that the car dump was not doing its job and that the cars should be removed and a windbreak built. The fence would encourage sand build-up on the seaward side with marram grass planted on the range-side to offer protection.<sup>470</sup>

### 3.9.3 Damage to Breeding Beds

Peter Huria explained the importance of toheroa at Hokio Beach, where he has had to deter four-wheel drive and trail bike enthusiasts from ruining the toheroa and pipi breeding beds. Peter pointed out that damage to the toheroa beds has been a long-running issue, but thankfully people are starting to understand the importance of what he and his brother Paul have been trying to achieve. The brothers became involved as kaitiaki to the toheroa beds and the eel migration at Hokio Stream at the request of the then local kaumatua. Peter was able to resolve the dune car dumping problem by having the council remove the car bodies, thus preserving the sand dunes.<sup>471</sup> Figure 95 shows the council removing car bodies from the sand dunes, but as Peter Huria explained to the press at the time:

Our ancestors resided there, where there was food. Every sand dune in that area was named. They sat on the dunes observing weather patterns to work out times to go fishing ... land behind the car dump also contained sacred burial sites.<sup>472</sup>

<sup>468</sup> Heasman, Keeley N, Sinner J, 'Factors Affecting Populations of Toheroa (Paphies Ventricosa)', p.v.

<sup>469</sup> Newcombe et al, Kaimoana on beaches from Hokio to Otaki, Horowhenua, pp.1-2.

<sup>470</sup> *The Weekly News Levin*, 1 November 1989.

<sup>471</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 21 November 2014, Hokio.

<sup>472</sup> *Weekend Chronicle, Levin*, 11 January 1990.





Figure 95: Car wreck removal, Hokio Beach 1990.

### 3.10 Health

This section on the health of Muaupoko examines their former diet, which has been discussed in section two regarding principal landmarks and what resources were readily available. This section looks at the correlation between diet and the health of the people.

#### 3.10.1 Diet

##### *Former Diet*

Thomas Bevan recalled when he arrived at Otaki in 1845 how numerous and industrious Maori once were, with wild horses and cattle roaming their tribal lands, their gardens and orchards, with the sea also yielding large bounties of fish. The once-populated kainga along the coast lay desolate. Bevan remembered he never saw a Maori suffering any physical complaints and if they did suffer an injury 'their wounds healed with wonderful rapidity.'<sup>473</sup>

McDonald noted that cooking was done in a *whare-umu* or cookhouse separate from the living quarters. He believed this was a safety measure because of the inflammable nature of the homes of the period. Firewood was collected from the Weraroa clearing during the autumn months for use during the winter. Apart from the children who had a midday meal, the rest subsisted on two meals a day, which generally consisted of pork, eels, fish, dried shark, the occasional mutton and beef with pigeon and other bush birds served as relish. Pipi were strung on flax and were sun-dried for the winter months, which is evident from the large numbers of shells found in middens along the coast, as discussed earlier.<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Bevan, *Reminiscences of an Old Colonist*, pp.25, 29.

<sup>474</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.57.

As stated earlier, many Muaupoko regarded Lake Horowhenua as their food basket because in former times the lake was stocked with an abundance of kai that sustained generations of the iwi. This diet from the lake and streams was also supplemented with kai from the bush and the coast. Because of the close proximity of food sources Muaupoko never had to venture far.<sup>475</sup> Adkin found that former settlements were mainly confined to the coastal region.<sup>476</sup> This is evinced in figure 96 showing Lake Horowhenua and the lowland forest.



Figure 96: Lake Horowhenua painting by Charles Decimus Barraud c. 1860 (Horowhenua Library Trust, 2009)

Figure 96 was painted by Charles Decimus Barraud showing the lake, the artificial islands, the Tararua Ranges in the background, Te Maai Ridge in the extreme left foreground and the head of Hokio Stream. Susan Forbes noted that the area around Lake Horowhenua consisted of lowland forest species like tawa, mahoe, titoki, kahikatea, pukatea, harakeke and totara.<sup>477</sup> McDonald remembered waterfowl and forest birds were caught in vast numbers and with relative ease, using Maori methods as opposed to the 'gun-carrying Pakeha.'<sup>478</sup>

### 3.10.2 Introduced Disease

Raeburn Lange cites the scarcity of reliable information regarding Maori ill-health before 1870 when statistics were more focused on epidemic rather than endemic disease. However, Lange was able to find some useful information from various sources focusing on diseases introduced by the colonisers. Infections such as measles, influenza, and tuberculosis were prevalent from the 1850s to the 1860s in the Horowhenua and Manawatu districts. Te Keepa Rangihwinui in 1850 recommended that a medical

<sup>475</sup> 'He Ritenga Whakatikatika, Lake Horowhenua & Hokio Stream, Te Pataka o Muaupoko rāua ko Ngati Pareraukawa,' (Lake Horowhenua & Hokio Stream Working Party June 2013), p.6.

<sup>476</sup> See Adkin, *Horowhenua*, pp.30-31.

<sup>477</sup> Forbes, 'Te Waipunahau', pp.5-6.

<sup>478</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.42-43.

dispensary be established at Te Awahou to cater for the whole district in combating a fever which he thought to be tuberculosis. Other sources believed that the disease may have been typhoid, which had caused many deaths at Otaki.<sup>479</sup>

McDonald noted that many Maori living between the Manawatu River and Otaki in the mid-1860s died from an outbreak of influenza, which was followed by scrofula, a form of tuberculosis. Although there were doctors available to treat influenza, McDonald noted that Maori had little or no faith in them, choosing instead the remedies of the tohunga. Besides, doctors were somewhat perplexed when trying to treat scrofula.<sup>480</sup> Fortunately Agnes McDonald was able to find a treatment for scrofula, and applied to the Native Minister Sir Donald McLean for medical supplies which were granted.<sup>481</sup>

Raeburn Lange noted that pre-contact Maori observance of hygiene was conducted through their religious system rather than any form of science. The dead and sick were considered tapu, uneaten food scraps were discarded or avoided because of their possible contact with a person's head, which was also considered tapu. Human waste, menstrual cloths and the practice of spitting were avoided because of their human by-products, like uneaten food, which could be used in the art of makutu. They were appropriately disposed of. Maori medical officer Maui Pomare in 1902 was advised by Te Whiti o Rongomai that the sanitary programmes employed by the government were already practiced in a traditional sense by Maori. Te Whiti stated that village cleanliness and the disposal of rubbish were a daily routine for the menfolk in maintaining sanitary conditions. Lange states this was a routine observed in a Muaupoko village well into the later nineteenth century. Lange argues that the traditional Maori diet was adequate, but the insufficiency of protein may have reduced their resistance to disease. However, pre-contact Maori who observed sanitary principles, who lived an active lifestyle and ate food either grown or gathered, suffered little ill-health.<sup>482</sup>

### 3.10.3 Stress

Ada Tatana spoke of the stress that many whanau felt due to the loss of traditional food stocks that could be gathered in Lake Horowhenua and the coast. Like many Muaupoko, Ada says that the lake, streams and coast were the food-basket for generations. During the hard times of the great Depression and the Second World War, Maori and Pakeha alike gathered kai from these sources. From the 1950s

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<sup>479</sup> Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960', p.26.

<sup>480</sup> E. O'Donnell, with J. McDonald, *Te Hekenga*, p.93.

<sup>481</sup> <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m2/mcdonald-agnes>. Born Agnes Carmont in Scotland, c.1829, raised by her uncle, a doctor in Glasgow, where she assisted him in his duties acquiring a knowledge of medicine. In 1854 Agnes married Hector McDonald. The couple raised five girls and five boys of their own, and the son of Hector and Te Kopi, a niece of Te Rauparaha. Te Kopi is thought to have died giving birth to their son, Hugh in 1848.

<sup>482</sup> Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920*, (Auckland University Press, 1999). pp.5-7.



onwards it became noticeable that pollution was affecting these food sources. Ada believes this caused a lot of stress, which also affected the people's dignity and spirituality. The once thriving community living around the marae and lake was diminished with many moving into town. This new life adjustment made it stressful for some, heightened also by the availability of alcohol.<sup>483</sup> Charles Rudd agrees with the fact that the loss of former kai impacted on their mana, the physical loss being the same as a spiritual loss.<sup>484</sup>

Peter Huria blames the pollution discharged into Lake Horowhenua and along the Hokio Stream as one of the main causes of untimely deaths amongst the Muaupoko. His statement is based upon the ages of those who have died, being mostly in their 50s. Peter also believes that the present state of ill-health is attributable to what has happened to the Muaupoko Lake, streams, coastline and whenua.<sup>485</sup>

#### 3.10.4 Alcohol

Thomas Bevan wrote in 1856 about the excessive drinking that took place at the funeral of Te Rangihaeata. He was concerned at the connection between destructive diseases and social immorality to the consumption of alcohol, a situation Maori were experiencing. Bevan noted that liquor could be obtained from the 'grog shanties' along the coast, which old residents pointed out corresponded with the Maori population decline in the coastal region.<sup>486</sup>

Such habits were only compounded by the New Zealand Wars, the period when Te Keepa Rangihiwini and his Muaupoko contingent fought in Taranaki, as suggested in an account written by Marten Hutt. He argued that Maori who fought in the service of the Crown received a daily rum ration which helped spread the habit and taste for strong liquor.<sup>487</sup>

McDonald noticed the change in attitude and behaviour in Maori when strong liquor was imbibed. Former social infrastructures that had kept Maori mana intact for generations fell by the wayside. McDonald admitted that his father owned a licensed accommodation house; however, his father regulated the supply of rum to Maori because of its potency and he certainly did not want them to commit acts contrary to their sober demeanour. According to McDonald, Maori were fond of alcohol especially strong liquor, but because of their ignorance they were unaware of the pitfalls such as long-term consumption causing premature death, or dropping dead literally from consuming raw alcohol. One Muaupoko chieftainess, when seeing the foundations for a hotel in Levin being dug said several years

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<sup>483</sup> Hui with Ada Tatana, 25 March 2015, Himatangi.

<sup>484</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 27 March 2015, Levin.

<sup>485</sup> Hui with Peter Huria, 21 November 2014, Hokio.

<sup>486</sup> Bevan, *Reminiscences of an Old Colonist* p.16.

<sup>487</sup> Marten Hutt, 'Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori. Maori & Alcohol: A History. Wellington, Printing Press, 1999. p.29. Hutt is an HRC postdoctoral research fellow at the Health Services Research Centre, Wellington.

later 'they are digging a grave for my people.'<sup>488</sup> Lange stated that social disintegration, impoverishment and ill-health were attributed to excessive liquor consumption.<sup>489</sup>

### 3.10.5 Cigarette Smoking

The 2013 census notes that 44.8 per cent of Muaupoko (total population 2,691) have never been regular smokers, 29.1 per cent were regular smokers, and 26.1 were ex-smokers. Women were the highest (30.3 per cent), with the overall population of regular smokers being the 25-34 year age group.<sup>490</sup>

#### Smoking behavior, 2013

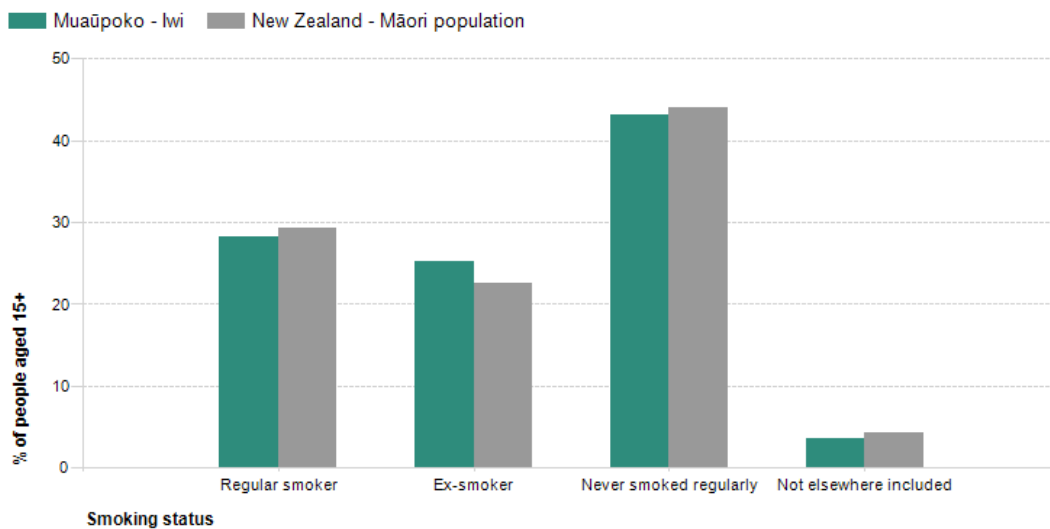


Figure 97: Smoking behaviour, 2013.

Figure 97 notes that the rate of Muaupoko regular smokers is lower than the total Maori population, with an improving number of ex-smokers, and lower number of those who have never smoked.<sup>491</sup>

Figure 98 shows the proportion of Muaupoko aged 15 years and over who smoked cigarettes regularly by age group in the 2006 and 2013 censuses. Over the seven year period there has been a decline in cigarette smoking across all of the age groups within Muaupoko.<sup>492</sup> Although this is a positive result, the data does not state the reasons for the decline: whether there is a greater awareness of health issues, or that it corresponds with the rising prices over the period.

<sup>488</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, pp.69-72.

<sup>489</sup> Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960', p.99.

<sup>490</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>491</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/smoking?BMMAoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

<sup>492</sup> [http://m.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&tabname=Cigarettesmoking](http://m.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&tabname=Cigarettesmoking)

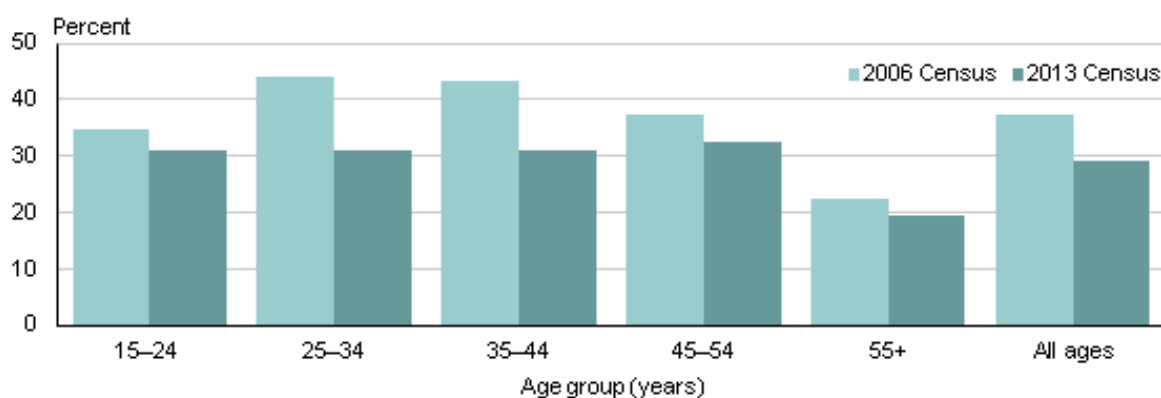


Figure 98: Smoking - 2006 to 2013 statistical data

### 3.11 Muaupoko Statistics

To identify any trends, this section examines Muaupoko-specific demographic data compared with the total Maori population of New Zealand. Another consideration is to identify how Muaupoko, despite the near decimation of their population in the early 1800s, have fared in population growth and areas of education, employment and income. Additional information is gathered from technical and historical reports and interviews with claimants to provide an overall insight or trends.

#### 3.11.1 Source Information

The bulk of the information provided below has been extracted from two sources – Statistics New Zealand<sup>493</sup> and Te Puni Kokiri<sup>494</sup> websites. The 2013 statistical data is cross-referenced with data from 2001 and 2006 to outline any trends and fluctuations. There was no census carried out in 2011 because of the Christchurch earthquake.<sup>495</sup>

#### 3.11.2 Maori Statistics 2013

The 2013 census defines Maori descent as being those people who are a descendant of a person of the Maori race of New Zealand. The Maori descent counts form the basis of iwi statistics. In 2013:

- 598,605 people identified with the Māori ethnic group
- 668,724 people were of Māori descent<sup>496</sup>

<sup>493</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true). The Muaupoko profile is one of a set of iwi profiles based on data from the 2013 Census.

<sup>494</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk?lwiID=190&es=5>. Te Puni Kokiri - Te Whakahura a Kupe, a socio-demographic profile of New Zealand Iwi and Rohe. The name 'Te Whakahura a Kupe' speaks of the spirit of discovery, as embodied by the celebrated explorer Kupe.

<sup>495</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse\\_for\\_stats/Corporate/Corporate/CorporateCommunications\\_MR25Feb2011.aspx](http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/Corporate/Corporate/CorporateCommunications_MR25Feb2011.aspx)

<sup>496</sup> <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-maori-english.aspx>

### 3.11.3 Muaupoko Statistics 2013

The information provided is based on all people of Maori descent who gave Muaupoko as their iwi, or one of several iwi, living in New Zealand on 5 March 2013.<sup>497</sup> Statistics New Zealand notes:

This data has been randomly rounded to protect confidentiality. Individual figures may not add up to totals, and values for the same data may vary in different text, tables, and graphs. The accuracy of percentages and medians may be affected by this rounding, particularly for iwi with small populations.<sup>498</sup>

#### *Population*

Numbering 2,691, Muaupoko make up less than one per cent of the total Maori population; 1,248 are males and 1,443 female. The 2013 population figures showed an increase from 2006 (2,499) and 2001 (1,836).<sup>499</sup> Of this total number of 2,691, 756 affiliated with Muaupoko as their sole iwi, with 1,935 affiliating to other iwi as well. Muaupoko figured slightly higher in the under 15 year age population with 34.3 per cent as compared to the total Maori figure of 33.1 per cent. A total of 630 Muaupoko were aged between 15-29 years, an increase since 2006, similar to the 30-64 years and 65 years and over.<sup>500</sup>

#### *Geography*

Main urban areas are defined as an area with a population of 30,000 or more; this is where 51.4 per cent of Muaupoko reside as opposed to 65.6 per cent of the total Maori population. The majority of the tribe (91.3 per cent) live in the North Island, dispersed in the Manawatu-Wanganui area (1,176 people), Wellington (483 people), and Auckland (258 people), with the remainder either living in the South Island or overseas.<sup>501</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>498</sup> Ibid.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>501</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

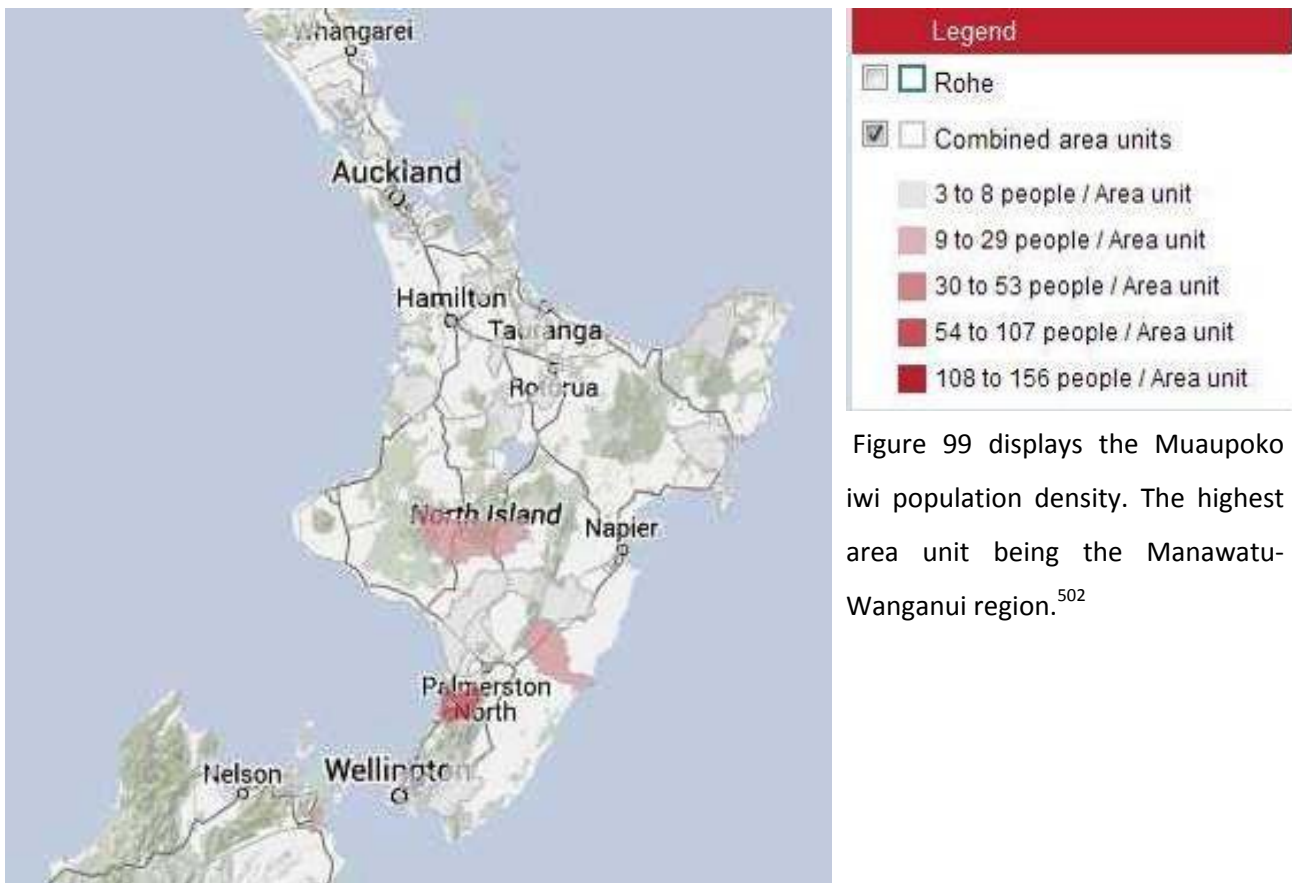


Figure 99: Distribution of Muaupoko in 2013.

Figure 99 displays the Muaupoko iwi population density. The highest area unit being the Manawatu-Wanganui region.<sup>502</sup>

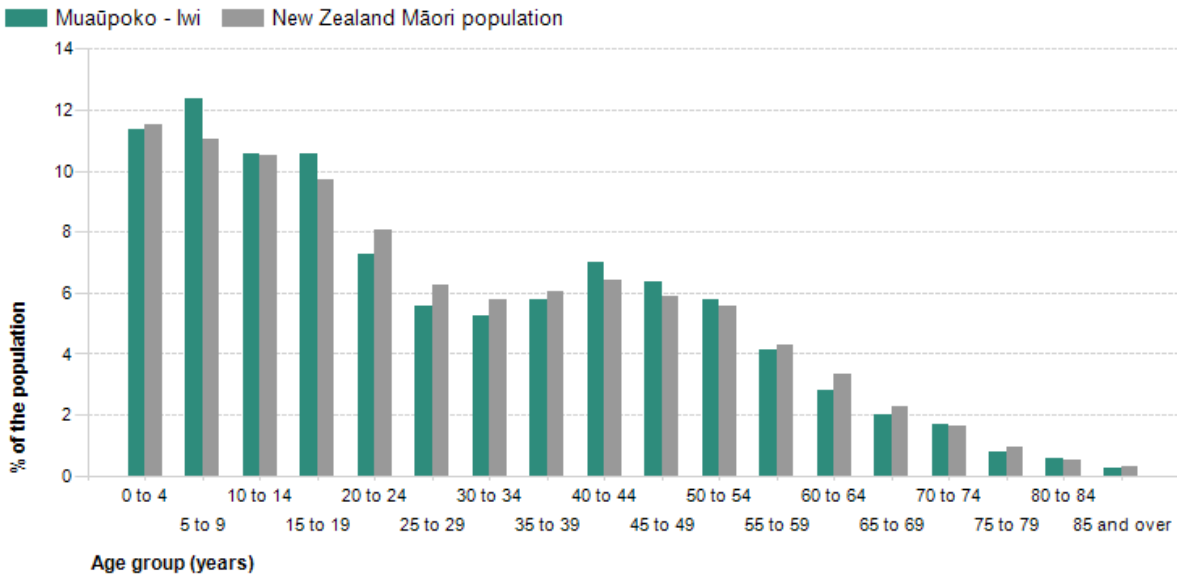
#### *Five year age groups*

Te Puni Kokiri notes that ‘the age structure of a population is particularly useful because it provides key insights into the likely level of demand for services and facilities (as most services and facilities are age-specific).’ The comparisons of Muaupoko to the total Maori population indicate that Muaupoko have a higher percentage of those aged five years to 19 years, with a lower percentage of those 20 to 29 years.<sup>503</sup>

<sup>502</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/iwi-density>

<sup>503</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/five-year-age-groups?lwiID=190&es=5>

## Five year age structure, 2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings, 2013.

Figure 100: Five year age structure, 2013.

### *Te Reo*

Henry Williams, reflecting on his childhood, stated that his kuia spoke Maori but would not allow Henry and other mokopuna to speak the language. This was at a time when schools deterred Maori students from speaking their reo Maori. Henry states:

Our kuis didn't want us to speak it in the home because they thought that we [were] better if we stayed with the English language, so that was a loss.<sup>504</sup>

Similar sentiments were shared by Henry Williams's sister, Hingaparae Gardiner who, through her own lack of knowledge of te reo, later took classes to learn the language.<sup>505</sup>

Uruorangi Paki wished that she had the knowledge of her kuia, and recalled how her mother was 'strapped' and because of this her mother never allowed her to learn te reo Maori. Uruorangi hopes that the language will be spoken by her mokopuna (great-grandchildren) who are at kohanga reo and that they will regain what three generations have lost in her family from not speaking te reo.<sup>506</sup> Noa Nicholson is a strong supporter of the Maori language, but she has noticed how the vocabulary of te reo Maori has changed. She believes that if the language is to survive, patience is the key and those who are proficient in te reo should not give fault or doubt others. Noa also believes that the language has a

<sup>504</sup> Henry Williams, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.31-32.

<sup>505</sup> Hingaparae Gardiner, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, p.41.

<sup>506</sup> Uruorangi Paki, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, WAI 2200 Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, held at Kawiū Marae, Levin, 17-18 February 2014, Wai 2200, #4.1.3, p.156.

deeper meaning; it embraces traditions, personal observations, waiata, and the simple everyday things in life experiences that she remembers from her youth.<sup>507</sup>

### Muaupoko Statistics 2013 – Te Reo

The largest percentage of Muaupoko who could hold conversational te reo Maori in everyday life was the 15-64 year age group (65.7 per cent), with the ratio being 57.1 per cent female to 42.9 per cent male.<sup>508</sup>

<i>Conversational Maori</i>	2013	2006	2001
Muaupoko Population	23.5 per cent	24.7 per cent	27.4 per cent
Total Maori Population	18.4 per cent	20.0 per cent	21.1 per cent

The figures indicate a drop in conversational te reo Maori for both Muaupoko and the total Maori population.<sup>509</sup>

Table 2: Conversational te reo Maori

Languages spoken Language indicator	Number within iwi	2013	
		% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Maori only	24	0.9	1.1
English only	1,974	73.4	77.5
Maori and English	570	21.2	16.1
Other languages	63	2.3	2.7
No language	48	1.8	2.2
Not elsewhere included	12	0.4	0.5
<b>Total population</b>	<b>2,691</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The data in table 3 indicates that Muaupoko, when compared to the total Maori population, have a higher percentage of people who can speak Maori and English, and a lower percentage of those who speak English only.<sup>510</sup>

Table 3: Languages spoken.

### Religion

Te Puni Kokiri data notes the diversity of religious beliefs and the number who responded with no religion. These figures are based on the tendency for belief in religion generally to be stronger within the older the population as well as on the changes in values and belief systems in New Zealand society as a whole.<sup>511</sup>

<sup>507</sup> Noa Nicholson, *Nga Korero Tuku Iho*, pp.136-145.

<sup>508</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>509</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>510</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/language?es=5&IwiID=190>

<sup>511</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/religion?IwiID=190&es=5>



Religion Muaūpoko - Iwi		2013		
Religion	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	
Anglican	273	10.1	10.5	
Baptist	12	0.4	0.6	
Catholic	624	23.2	10.7	
Christian nfd	135	5.0	5.5	
Latter-day Saints	72	2.7	2.8	
Methodist	30	1.1	1.8	
Pentecostal	48	1.8	1.6	
Presbyterian, Congregational and Reformed	75	2.8	3.5	
Other Christian religions	33	1.2	1.9	
Ratana	129	4.8	5.6	
Ringatū	15	0.6	1.8	
Other Māori Christian religions	3	0.1	0.1	
Buddhist	6	0.2	0.4	
Hindu	0	0.0	0.1	
Islam/Muslim	6	0.2	0.2	
Judaism/Jewish	0	0.0	0.1	
Sikh	0	0.0	0.0	
Spiritualism and New Age religions	12	0.4	0.5	
Other religions	24	0.9	0.7	
No religion	1,095	40.6	46.2	
Total people	2,694			
Total responses	5,499	100.0	100.0	
Not elsewhere included	213	7.9	9.6	

Table 4: Muaupoko Religion, 2013.

The 2013 census notes that religious affiliation includes all people who stated religious affiliation, whether as their only religious affiliation or as one of several. Where a person reported as having more than one religious affiliation, they were counted in each applicable group.<sup>512</sup>

### Education

The 2013 census notes that a 'formal qualification' includes qualifications achieved at secondary school and in tertiary education (both below degree level and bachelor's degree or higher).<sup>513</sup>

- 71.5 per cent held a formal qualification, compared with 68.7 per cent of the total population of Māori descent
- 12.2 per cent (201 people) held a bachelor's degree or higher as their highest qualification,
- Women were more likely than men to have a formal qualification, 74.8 per cent compared with 66.8 per cent
- 28.7 per cent held no formal qualification
- 51.3 per cent of people aged 65 years and over had no formal qualification, compared with 25.4 per cent of those aged 15–29 years and 28.2 per cent of those aged 30–64 years.

<sup>512</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>513</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&tabname=Education](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&tabname=Education)

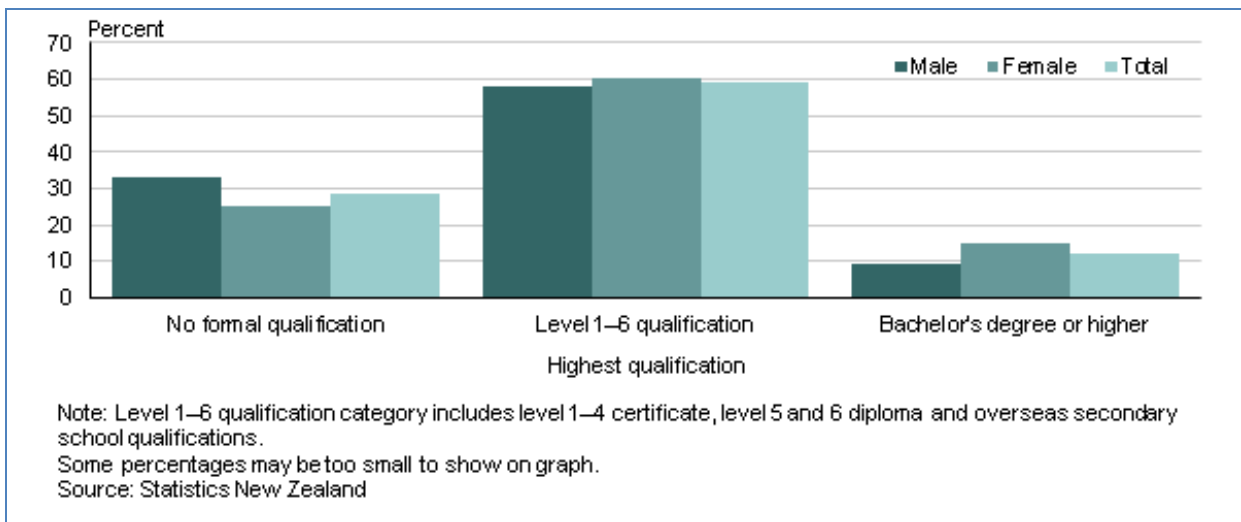
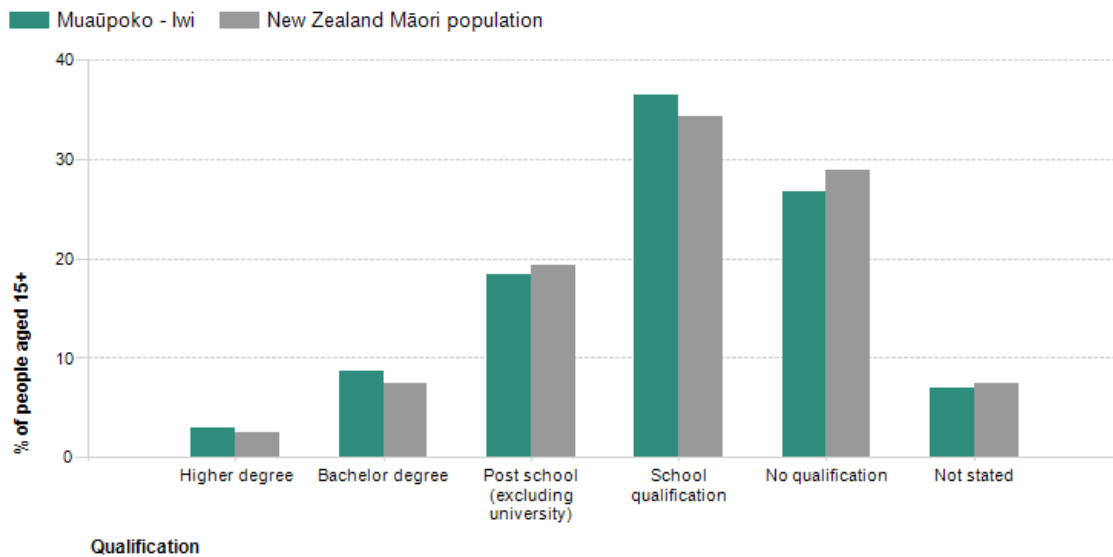


Figure 101: Highest qualification for Māuaupoko aged 15 years and over by gender<sup>514</sup>

### Highest qualification achieved

Figure 102 makes several educational comparisons to that of the total Māori population, revealing that Māuaupoko have a higher percentage of people with a school qualification, bachelor degree and higher degree. Correspondingly, Māuaupoko have a lower percentage of people with no qualification, as well as a lower percentage of people with post-school qualifications (excluding university).<sup>515</sup>

### Highest qualification achieved, 2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings, 2013.

Figure 102: Highest qualification achieved 2013.

<sup>514</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&tabname=Education](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&tabname=Education)

<sup>515</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/highest-qualification?es=5&iwid=190>

## Field of highest qualification

The table below lists several factors that might influence the field of qualification, the age of the population, the availability of jobs within fields, the types of occupational fields which are available in any given industry or area, and the ambitions to enter any particular profession or industry. When compared to the total Maori population, Muaupoko figured higher in the fields of society and culture, education, management and commerce, and slightly lower in the field of engineering and related technologies.<sup>516</sup>

Field of highest qualification Field of study	2013		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Agriculture, environmental and related studies	12	0.7	1.3
Architecture and building	33	1.9	2.3
Creative arts	39	2.2	2.0
Education	81	4.6	3.1
Engineering and related technologies	51	2.9	4.2
Food, hospitality and personal services	42	2.4	2.4
Health	39	2.2	2.7
Information technology	18	1.0	1.2
Management and commerce	96	5.4	4.9
Natural and physical sciences	6	0.3	0.7
Society and culture	117	6.6	5.2
Field of study not given	42	2.4	2.1
No post-school qualification	1,053	59.5	59.3
Not elsewhere included	141	8.0	8.7
<b>Total aged 15+</b>	<b>1,770</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 5: Field of highest qualification.

## Labour Force

Of the working age 15 years and over, 1,237 Muaupoko of 1,767 Muaupoko (or 69.9 per cent) were in the labour force, which is slightly above the total Maori population (68.4 per cent). A total of 71.4 per cent of urban Muaupoko were in the labour force. However, the unemployment rate for the tribe increased from 10.5 per cent in 2006 to 14.6 in 2013, with women featuring slightly higher than the men, with the highest rate of Muaupoko unemployed (30.4 per cent) being in the 15-24 years of age category.<sup>517</sup>

## Labour Force Status

The table below indicates that a larger percentage of Muaupoko were employed part-time as compared to the total Maori population, with smaller percentages in full-time employment and those not in the

<sup>516</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/fields-of-qualification?es=5&iwiID=190>

<sup>517</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

labour force. Despite the Muaupoko population increase in 2013 compared with that of 2006, this is also reflected in the increase of those not in the labour force, unemployed and employed part-time.<sup>518</sup>

Labour force status	2013		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Employed	1,059	85.5	85.9
Employed Full-time	798	64.4	66.2
Employed Part-time	261	21.1	19.8
Unemployed	180	14.5	14.1
Total labour force	1,239	100.0	100.0
Not in labour force	528	29.9	31.6
Total aged 15+	1,767	100.0	100.0

Table 6: Labour force status, 2013.

### Unpaid Activity

The table displays the statistical data for unpaid activities, which Te Puni Kokiri states is the:

...recognition of the significant contribution of voluntary and unpaid work in the economy, particularly by women, this question in the census provides data that has not traditionally been collected in social and economic statistics. It includes data on unpaid work including domestic activity, unpaid child care, aged care and care of people with disabilities.<sup>519</sup>

Muaupoko - Iwi	2013			2006		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Unpaid activity						
Household work for own household	1,461	82.7	80.5	1,251	80.3	80.1
Looking after a child who is a member of own household	750	42.4	38.1	621	39.9	39.1
Looking after a child who is a member of own household who is ill or has a disability	222	12.6	11.0	180	11.6	11.0
Looking after a child who does not live in own household	468	26.5	21.6	390	25.0	22.2
Helping someone who is ill or has a disability who does not live in own household	240	13.6	11.1	180	11.6	10.8
Other helping or voluntary work for or through any organisation group or Marae	429	24.3	17.7	345	22.2	17.0
No activities	144	8.1	10.3	153	9.8	10.0
Not elsewhere included	84	4.8	5.9	99	6.4	6.8
Total aged 15+	1,767			1,557		
Total responses	3,798			3,219		

Table 7: Unpaid activity, 2013.

### Employment

Full time employment (30 hours or more) for those Muaupoko aged 15 years and over was down from 2006 (79.6 per cent) to 2013 (75.3 per cent). Women worked more part-time jobs than their male counterparts, 31.9 per cent to 16 per cent respectively. However, women figured higher in the most

<sup>518</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/employment-status?es=5&lwiID=190>

<sup>519</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/unpaid-activities?lwiID=190&es=5>

common occupational groups as professionals compared to men who more often were labourers. As employers or self-employed (without employees), men figured higher than women (12.7 per cent of women to 8.0 per cent of men). The largest number of Muaupoko in the workforce (89.0 per cent), were paid employees, the remainder being unpaid family workers (1.0 per cent) and employers or self-employed (without employees) at 10.5 per cent.<sup>520</sup>

### Industry Sector of Employment

The industry sector of employment is influenced by the socio-economic status and skill-base of the Muaupoko population, as well as the industries and employment opportunities available. The table below identifies the industry sector where Muaupoko populations work.<sup>521</sup>

Industry sector of employment Muaūpoko - Iwi	2013		NZ Māori population %
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	
Industry Sector (ANZSIC96)			
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	60	5.7	6.9
Mining	3	0.3	0.4
Manufacturing	105	9.9	11.2
Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services	9	0.9	0.8
Construction	60	5.7	8.8
Wholesale Trade	27	2.6	3.7
Retail Trade	108	10.2	8.7
Accommodation and Food Services	51	4.8	5.9
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	48	4.5	5.1
Information Media and Telecommunications	15	1.4	1.4
Financial and Insurance Services	18	1.7	2.5
Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services	12	1.1	1.9
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	51	4.8	5.1
Administrative and Support Services	33	3.1	3.7
Public Administration and Safety	78	7.4	5.8
Education and Training	141	13.4	8.5
Health Care and Social Assistance	135	12.8	9.2
Arts and Recreation Services	18	1.7	2
Other Services	48	4.5	3.7
Not Elsewhere Included	36	3.4	4.7
<b>Total employed population</b>	<b>1,056</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 8 indicates that when compared to the total Maori population, Muaupoko have a higher percentage of people employed in education and training, health care and social assistance, and public administration and safety. The figures for construction are lower than for the total Maori population.

Table 8: Industry sector of employment

### Early Cottage Industries – Mid-1800s Enterprise

In 1849 Muaupoko were growing wheat, maize, potatoes, kumara and various varieties of fruit and vegetables, which was augmented by marketable new crops, such as peaches which were sold for six pence a bushel. A year later Te Keepa Rangihiwini recorded that Muaupoko were growing three acres of wheat, seven acres of maize, 13 acres of potatoes and four acres of kumara, with three acres

<sup>520</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tablename=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tablename=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>521</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/industries?IwiID=190&es=5>

consisting of other crops. Te Keepa noted that Muaupoko were involved in the flax industry (as were all Maori living between the Manawatu River and Otaki) and prepared 120 tons per annum which they sold for £10 per ton.<sup>522</sup> To satisfy their developing taste for luxury goods, Muaupoko were rearing pigs for sale or trade with buyers from Wellington.<sup>523</sup>

### Occupations

The table below compares the spread of occupations for Muaupoko between 2006 and 2013 with comparisons to that of the total Maori population.<sup>524</sup> In all, 32.5 per cent of Muaupoko of working age (15 years and over in 2013) worked as managers and professionals compared to 29.2 per cent of the total Maori population. Down slightly are technicians and trades workers, with significantly higher figures for community and personal service workers. Apart from labourers, other occupations were fairly matched. Comparisons with the 2006 figures show that Muaupoko figures were higher for the upper echelons of occupation, with lower figures for technicians and trades workers, clerical and administrative workers, machinery operators and drivers and labourers, with sales workers faring slightly better.

Occupation of employment Muaūpoko - Iwi	2013			2006			Change
	Number	%	NZ Māori	Number	%	NZ Māori	2006 to 2013
	within iwi	within iwi	population %	within iwi	within iwi	population %	
Managers	138	13.0	13.5	108	10.8	12.1	+30
Professionals	207	19.5	15.7	159	15.9	13.4	+48
Technicians and Trades	75	7.1	10.8	90	9.0	11.8	-15
Community and Personal	159	15.0	10.7	123	12.3	9.9	+36
Clerical and Administrative	105	9.9	10.5	111	11.1	10.9	-6
Sales Workers	84	7.9	8.3	81	8.1	8.5	+3
Machinery Operators and	81	7.6	7.8	93	9.3	8.9	-12
Labourers	144	13.6	16.9	168	16.8	18.0	-24
Not Elsewhere Included	66	6.2	5.8	69	6.9	6.6	-3
<b>Total employed population</b>	<b>1,059</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,002</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>+57</b>

Table 9: Occupation of employment, 2006-2013.

### Income

The median income for Muaupoko (half received more and half received less than this amount) was \$22,600, with men receiving \$26,400 and women \$21,400. The median income for the total Maori population was \$23,700 and \$28,500 for the New Zealand population.

<sup>522</sup> Lange, 'The social impact of colonisation and land loss on the iwi of the Rangitikei, Manawatu, and Horowhenua region, 1840-1960', pp.33-35. In 1860, William Searancke reported to the Native Secretary Donald McLean that wheat was growing at all kainga between the Manawatu River and Otaki - *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, Horowhenua Commission, 1861, C-1, No.71, p.296.

<sup>523</sup> O'Donnell, E, with McDonald J, *Te Hekenga*, p.165.

<sup>524</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/occupations?IwiID=190&es=5>



### Total personal income

A total of 46.3 per cent of Muaupoko reported an annual income of \$20,000 or less, whilst 8.4 per cent received over \$70,000 per annum.

### Sources of personal income

- 62.5 per cent of Muaupoko received wages or salaries, with
- 8.1 per cent receiving income from interest, rents or other investments, and
- 7.9 per cent received income from self-employment or from business.
- 29.1 per cent received income support as their primary source of income.<sup>525</sup>

The figures above total 107.6 per cent, however, Statistics New Zealand explains sources of personal income:

... includes all people who stated each source of personal income, whether as their only source or as one of several. Where a person reported more than one source of personal income, they have been counted in each applicable group.<sup>526</sup>

### Annual individual gross income, 2013

Te Puni Kokiri states that the amount of income an individual receives is linked to a number of factors: employment status, age, qualifications, and type of employment. Compared to the total Maori population, Muaupoko have a larger percentage of people who earn \$10,001 to \$15,000 (10.5% compared to 9.4%).<sup>527</sup>

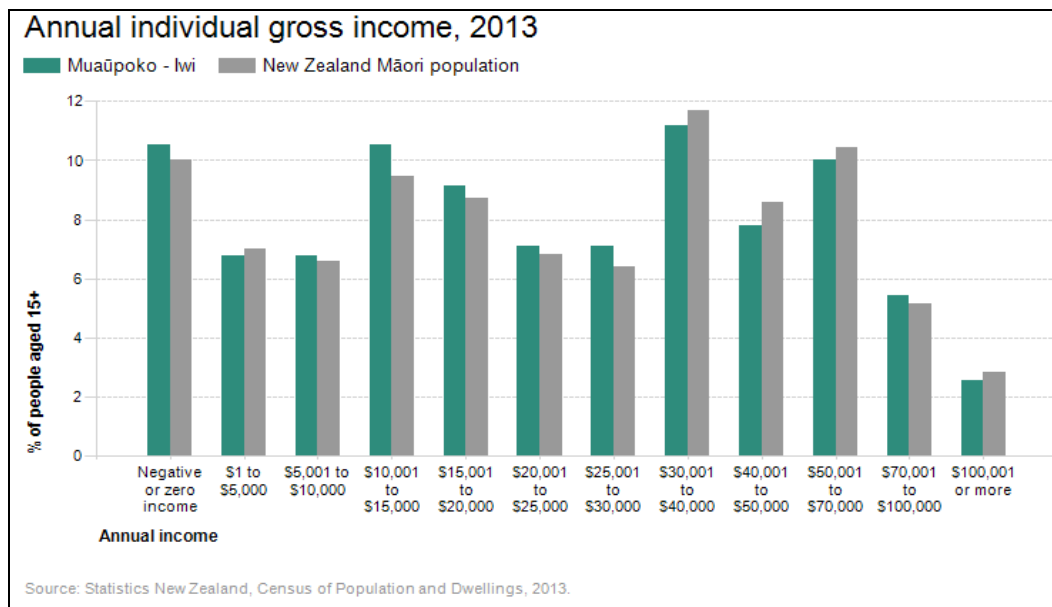


Figure 103: Annual individual gross income, 2013.

<sup>525</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true).

<sup>526</sup> [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request\\_value=24616&parent\\_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/iwi-profiles-individual.aspx?request_value=24616&parent_id=24614&tabname=&p=y&printall=true)

<sup>527</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/individual-income?IwiID=190&es=5>

## Household Income

Annual household gross income	2013		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
\$20,000 or less	225	8.8	8.3
\$20,001 - \$30,000	210	8.2	7.0
\$30,001 - \$50,000	375	14.6	14.0
\$50,001 - \$70,000	321	12.5	13.6
\$70,001 - \$100,000	465	18.1	16.7
\$100,001 or more	564	22.0	23.0
Not stated	402	15.7	17.5
<b>Total people</b>	<b>2,562</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Households vary in size, so some have a greater number of dependents for the income generated. Many retirees will show a higher proportion of households with low income. The table provides a summary of the number of individuals with a certain household income, rather than the number of households.<sup>528</sup>

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2013.  
Table 10: Annual household gross income, 2013.

## Income sources

Income sources are a useful indicator of socio-economic status, and assist in evaluating the economic opportunities and socio-economic status of Muaupoko. Compared to the total Maori population, Muaupoko have a slightly higher percentage of people drawing income from wages, salary, commissions and bonuses (61.6% compared to 58.1%), with a smaller percentage of those self-employed or in business (7.8% compared to 9.0%). The Muaupoko figure is also slightly higher for people living on domestic purposes and unemployment benefits, or having no source of income.<sup>529</sup>

Muaupoko - Iwi	2013			2006		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Wages, salary, commissions, bonuses etc	1,089	61.6	58.1	1,014	65.1	63.1
Self-employment or business	138	7.8	9.0	129	8.3	9.6
Interest, dividends, rent, other invest.	141	8.0	7.9	153	9.8	9.2
Payments from a work accident insurer	30	1.7	1.4	39	2.5	1.9
NZ superannuation or veterans pension	138	7.8	7.7	102	6.6	6.2
Other superannuation, pensions, annuities	18	1.0	1.0	21	1.3	0.9
Sickness benefit	81	4.6	4.4	66	4.2	4.0
Unemployment benefit	126	7.1	6.4	90	5.8	6.4
Domestic purposes benefit	147	8.3	7.8	138	8.9	8.4
Invalids benefit	60	3.4	3.8	54	3.5	3.8
Student allowance	57	3.2	3.7	45	2.9	2.7
Other govt. benefits, payments or pension	93	5.3	5.3	63	4.0	3.9
Other sources of income	42	2.4	1.9	45	2.9	2.2
No source of income	168	9.5	9.1	93	6.0	6.6
Not stated	27	1.5	2.3	36	2.3	2.9
<b>Total aged 15+</b>	<b>1,767</b>			<b>1,557</b>		
<b>Total responses</b>	<b>2,355</b>			<b>2,088</b>		

Table 11: Income source, 2006-2013.

<sup>528</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/household-income?lwid=190&es=5>

<sup>529</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/sources-of-income?lwid=190&es=5>

## Households

### Household type

The majority of Muaupoko (2,088 people) live in one-family households, with the second largest proportion (231 people) living in multiple-family households. Household type can be linked to 'housing availability and affordability as well as social and cultural preferences for certain living arrangements.'<sup>530</sup>

Household type	2013		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
One family households	2,088	81.6	79.1
Multiple family households	231	9.0	11.0
Group households	75	2.9	3.3
Related individuals, non family	27	1.1	1.0
Lone person households	138	5.4	5.7
Other non-classifiable households	0	0.0	0.1
<b>Total people</b>	<b>2,559</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 12: Household type, 2013.

### Family Type

The table shows the structure of Muaupoko families within a household and the number of parents with an age grouping of children. The differences between that of Muaupoko and the total Maori population is the higher percentage of people in couples with dependent children, couples with children, and a lower percentage of couples without children.<sup>531</sup>

Family type	2013		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Couples with children	1,209	54.8	53.3
Couples with dependent children	1,104	50.1	47.8
Couples with adult children only	105	4.8	5.5
One parent families	714	32.4	31.6
One parent with dependent children	612	27.8	27.1
One parent with adult children only	102	4.6	4.4
Couples without children	282	12.8	15.1
<b>Total people</b>	<b>2,205</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 13: Family type, 2013.

### Household size

Household size (the number of people in a household) can be attributed to a number of factors: the lack or abundance of affordable housing, early relationships (pre-children), the advent of children, and adult children leaving home. The 2006 to 2013 'number within iwi' data shows a substantial increase in the

<sup>530</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/households?BMMAoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

<sup>531</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/families?BMMAoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

'four usual residents' category. Figures are lower in the 'six or more usual residents' category. Comparisons with the total Maori population show a larger percentage of people living in households with four usual residents (25.0 per cent compared to 23.2 per cent), and a smaller percentage of people living in households with two usual residents (15.5% compared to 17.3%).<sup>532</sup>

Household size Muaūpoko - Iwi	2013			2006			Change 2006 to 2013
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	
One usual resident	138	5.4	5.7	108	4.6	5.0	+30
Two usual residents	396	15.5	17.3	354	15.1	16.6	+42
Three usual residents	516	20.2	19.3	474	20.2	19.3	+42
Four usual residents	639	25.0	23.2	537	22.9	23.1	+102
Five usual residents	405	15.8	16.0	399	17.0	16.4	+6
Six or more usual residents	465	18.2	18.6	477	20.3	19.6	-12
<b>Total people</b>	<b>2,559</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,349</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>+210</b>

Table 14: Household size, 2006-2013.

### Housing tenure

Housing tenure refers to the financial arrangements under which someone has the right to live in a dwelling. A high number of rental housing can indicate either a disadvantage in the Muaupoko community, or that it is attractive to young singles and couples. This rental issue is prevalent with a high proportion of Muaupoko in rental accommodation (1,248 people), an increase of 228 people from 2006.<sup>533</sup>

Housing tenure Muaūpoko - Iwi	2013			2006			Change 2006 to 2013
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	
Owned	1,146	44.8	44.0	1,140	48.5	45.7	+6
Owned with a mortgage	873	34.2	32.4	903	38.4	34.1	-30
Owned without a mortgage	273	10.7	11.5	237	10.1	11.6	+36
Rented	1,248	48.8	48.7	1,020	43.4	45.0	+228
Rented from private sector	1,002	39.2	36.1	762	32.4	32.1	+240
Rented from local/central government	207	8.1	10.0	201	8.6	10.8	+6
Rented from unknown sector	39	1.5	2.6	57	2.4	2.1	-18
Other	96	3.8	4.7	138	5.9	5.9	-42
Not elsewhere included	66	2.6	2.7	51	2.2	3.4	+15
<b>Total people</b>	<b>2,556</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,349</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>+207</b>

Table 15: Housing tenure, 2006-2013.

<sup>532</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/household-size?BMMAoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

<sup>533</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/tenure?BMMAoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

## House rental payments

The rental data table below is attributed to the value of the residential property, and needs to be correlated with the household income data table to assess what housing stress households in the Muaupoko community are facing.

Weekly housing rental payments Muaūpoko - Iwi	2013		
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %
Under \$50	12	1.0	0.8
\$50 to \$99	93	7.5	8.5
\$100 to \$149	78	6.3	8.5
\$150 to \$199	162	13.0	9.4
\$200 to \$249	198	15.9	12.6
\$250 to \$299	258	20.8	16.2
\$300 to \$349	144	11.6	14.8
\$350 to \$399	114	9.2	10.7
\$400 to \$449	72	5.8	5.5
\$450 to \$499	12	1.0	3.3
\$500 and over	66	5.3	5.4
Not elsewhere included	33	2.7	4.4
<b>Total people</b>	<b>1,242</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 16: Housing rental payments, 2013.

As noted above, just under half of the Muaupoko population are in rental accommodation (48.8 per cent). Compared to the total Maori population, Muaupoko have a higher percentage of people in households paying a weekly rental of \$250 to \$299 (20.8% compared to 16.2 per cent), a larger percentage of people in households paying a weekly rental of \$150 to \$199 (13.0 per cent compared to 9.4 per cent), a larger percentage of people in households paying a weekly rental of \$200 to \$249 (15.9 per cent compared to 12.6 per cent), and a smaller percentage of people in households paying a rental of \$300 to \$349 (11.6 per cent compared to 14.8 per cent) per week.<sup>534</sup>

## Dwellings

Te Puni Kokiri notes that 'access to appropriate housing is critical to wellbeing. In general, a greater concentration of higher density dwellings is likely to attract more young adults and smaller households; while larger, detached or separate dwellings are more likely to have families and prospective families living in them.'<sup>535</sup>

<sup>534</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/housing-rental?BMmaoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

<sup>535</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/dwellings?BMmaoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>

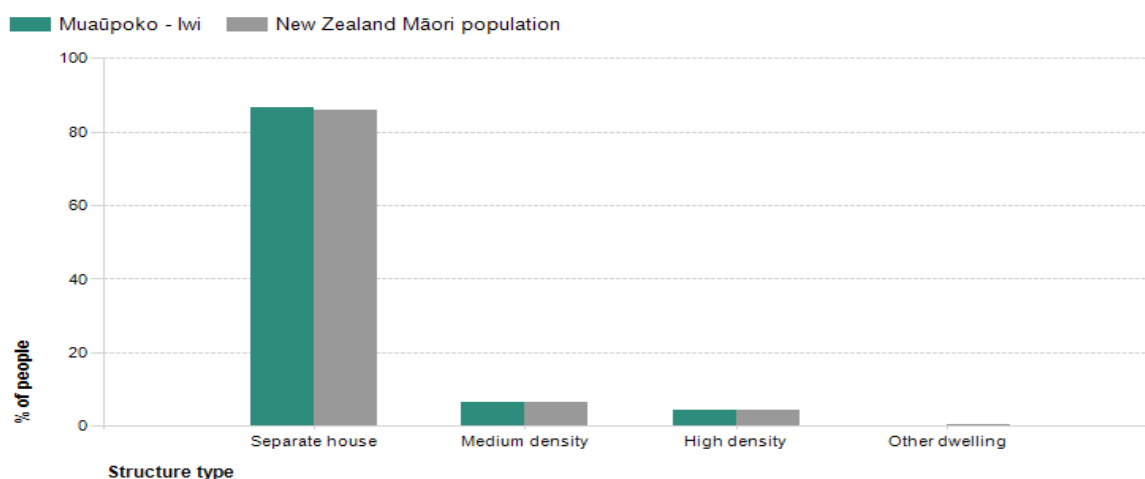


Figure 104: Dwelling structure, 2013.

### Number of bedrooms per dwelling

The data in table 17 shows that there is a decrease in the number of Muaupoko living in one and two bedroom dwellings from 2006 to 2013. Increases occur in the three and five or more bedrooms categories, and dramatically so in the four bedroom range. When compared with the total Maori population, Muaupoko have a higher percentage of people in dwellings with four bedrooms (29.0 per cent compared to 25.9 per cent), with a smaller percentage of people in dwellings with two bedrooms (9.7 per cent compared to 11.9 per cent).<sup>536</sup>

Number of bedrooms per dwelling Muaūpoko - Iwi	2013			2006			Change 2006 to 2013
	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	Number within iwi	% within iwi	NZ Māori population %	
One bedroom	48	1.9	2.3	51	2.2	2.4	-3
Two bedrooms	249	9.7	11.9	255	10.9	12.4	-6
Three bedrooms	1,245	48.6	48.2	1,194	50.8	50.3	+51
Four bedrooms	744	29.0	25.9	633	26.9	24.2	+111
Five or more bedrooms	231	9.0	9.8	183	7.8	8.5	+48
Not elsewhere included	45	1.8	1.8	33	1.4	2.2	+12
<b>Total people</b>	<b>2,562</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,349</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>+213</b>

Table 17: Number of bedrooms per dwelling, 2006-2013.

### Summary – Influences on Muaupoko

As has been discussed, Te Rauparaha had a profound effect on Muaupoko, almost decimating the entire population. The advent of Te Whatanui and his peace arrangement with Taueki contravened Te Rauparaha's plans of annihilation and established a place for continued Muaupoko occupation on their lands. The 1873 Native Land Court award of the Horowhenua block recognised that Muaupoko had never

<sup>536</sup> <http://tpk.idnz.co.nz/tpk/bedrooms?BMMaoriDescentID=1&IwiID=190&es=5>



been dispossessed of their lands. The fact that they were never dispossessed, and still had possession of their lands, dispelled the notion that Muaupoko were slaves.

Muaupoko were proactive in the development of the nation, even in the defence of the nation. Te Keepa and Muaupoko men fought in several campaigns, even against some of their own who supported armed resistance by aligning with Titokowaru, and others who chose passive resistance with Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi. By the early 1870s, Te Keepa and his Muaupoko veterans began to exert pressure on Ngati Raukawa who wanted to have the lands surveyed. Muaupoko were not alone; Rangitane and Ngati Apa, with their respective rangatira and land war veterans, allied themselves to the cause. Ngati Raukawa objected to this coalition of armed men and their hostile intentions towards them sought a resolution from the government. Fortunately, the climate had changed by the mid-1870s with Muaupoko and Ngati Raukawa collectively showing their support for the new government of Sir George Grey. This mutual support is epitomised in the erection of the 'wall of reconciliation and peace,' at Otaki in 1910.

The landscape of the Horowhenua has changed immensely since the 1870s. Archaeologist Bruce McFadgen attributes much of this to European settlement, noting also that the first people cleared the land, though with little impact. Much of the forests and swamps were felled, cleared, and drained for agricultural purposes, which is shown in figures 83 to 86 outlining the former and current land cover. A changed landscape and landlessness has denied or hindered Muaupoko's ability to gather traditional food-stocks and resources from the land, as well as the ability to reap or adequately share in the economic benefits from retained lands.

Problems with traditional and even contemporary food gathering are exacerbated with the impacts of pollution on Lake Horowhenua, local streams and the coastline. This disassociation from their traditional lands, resources and lifestyle has affected the tribe's ability to exercise their ancestral rights as kaitiaki. The tribe's physical and spiritual attachment to the land and waterways has been affected with some saying that things (former landscape) will probably not improve in their lifetime, or as Charles Rudd states 'physical loss being the same as a spiritual loss.'<sup>537</sup>

The health of the former landscape was mirrored in the health of the Muaupoko people with early European observers in the district praising their wonderful physique, good health and hygienic practices. However, Muaupoko had little resistance to introduced diseases such as measles, influenza, tuberculosis and typhoid. Over time, all these accumulated factors have placed undue stress on the people, and in

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<sup>537</sup> Hui with Charles Rudd, 27 March 2015, Levin.

some instances have led to untimely deaths. Despite all these overwhelming factors, the Muaupoko population has grown steadily. Approximately half of the population is urban, with the majority living in the Manawatu-Wanganui region.

Despite some of the kaumatua having little or no te reo Maori, statistically the tribe fares better than the total Maori population in conversational Maori. The largest proportion of non-conversational te reo speakers feature in the 15 to 65 year age group, which suggests that the strength of the language possibly resides in the kura kaupapa and whare kura. Religious affiliations were similar to the total Maori population, but more than doubled in the Catholic faith; this may be due to the faith being established in the Otaki district since 1844.

In terms of education, Muaupoko women fared better than their male counterparts in respect to holding a formal qualification. The tribe as a whole did relatively better when compared to the total Maori population for highest qualification held in 2013, more so in the fields of education, management and commerce, and society and culture.

This is evident in the tribe's industry sector of employment statistics when compared to the total Maori population where they feature more predominantly in education and training, health care and social assistance, and public administration and safety. Nationally, the Muaupoko population featured slightly higher in the labour force statistics; however, this figure is offset by the high unemployment rate within the tribe, which parallels the population growth rate figures since the 2006 census. More Muaupoko were involved in unpaid activity than the total Maori population, which suggests that the tribe, or the women of the tribe, are involved in voluntary work or care for children, the aged or those with a disability.

Of those employed within the tribe (75.3 per cent over the age of 15 years), women were more inclined to be employed in professional work, and men as labourers. When compared to the total Maori population, Muaupoko figured higher in the occupations of professionals and management. Despite these healthy figures in qualifications, occupations and employment the Muaupoko median income was lower than the total Maori population and the New Zealand population. Most of the tribal income was drawn from wages, salary, and income support.

## CONCLUSION

In former times three concepts maintained a symbiotic existence: mana-whenua, mana-rawa, and mana-tangata. Mana-whenua (lands, coastline, lakes and streams) contained or propagated mana-rawa (resources) which were sustainably utilised for the benefit and survival of the mana-tangata, the people. The traditional forms of sustainable environmental management were disregarded for agricultural purposes and indiscriminate practices of waste disposal. Today, the reverse is most apparent with the tribal lands suffering environmentally, former food stocks depleted or facing depletion, all of which has had an adverse effect on the Muaupoko people.

### *Mana-whenua*

This report has considered several issues, two of which need special attention: Muaupoko origins and Muaupoko mana-whenua. The former is based upon two theories that are not too distinct from one another, that is, tangata whenua and tangata waka. Some Muaupoko maintain that they have inhabited their lands since time immemorial, whilst others claim descent from principal tupuna who arrived on the Kurahaupo Waka. Several of these early waka tupuna and their descendants set about naming many of the prominent landmarks that still bear the names today. And in turn, their descendants maintained mana-whenua through their whakapapa relationships with neighbouring iwi, and by virtue of their individual mana during the difficult periods of the tribe's history, such as the northern invasions and the Native Land Court. The period of invasion from the north by Ngapuhi and later by Te Rauparaha and his allies, for all intents and purposes should have brought about the total annihilation of the Muaupoko people, and their ancestral right of mana-whenua. The arrival of Te Whatanui and the subsequent peace arrangement with Taueki provided a means for the continuance of Muaupoko mana-whenua. The Native Land Court title investigation recognised Muaupoko mana-whenua and granted title as such. Unfortunately, today Muaupoko mana-whenua has been greatly reduced and physically altered. Very few lands are retained by the tribe and collective ownership resides in several trusts representing individual owners.

### *Mana-rawa*

The former food stocks and resources that Muaupoko once gathered is a major theme of discontent amongst the tribe. Many Muaupoko spoke of the kai they once gathered and the practice of how they gathered kai, the lessons learnt and reasons why such customs were observed. These same people now speak of what they have lost, and how it has affected them and the future generations. The decline in these resources is attributed to the period from 1870 to 1930 when land was cleared for agricultural purposes, and from 1952 to 1987 through sewage, storm water and farm run-off discharges into Lake Horowhenua. The pollution that enters the lake finds its way along the Hokio Stream to Hokio Beach

affecting resources along the coast. Asked what they want, those spoken to reply: cease all discharges, restoration of Lake Horowhenua and proper consideration for their lands and coastline. In former times, the pristine ecosystem of lowland forests, dunelands, and coastline provided resources in abundance and variety. The mana of the people was mirrored in the mana of the whenua, the rawa or the wealth of the resources available to them.

#### *Mana-tangata*

The 2013 census statistics provided much information on the state of the Muaupoko people with correlations to previous tribal census figures and to the total Maori population. Statistical data indicates that the Muaupoko people are slightly above average when compared to the total Maori population with some trends showing improvement from previous years; however, an increase in unemployment has also followed suit. The statistical information does not detail how the Muaupoko people feel with regard to their lands and waterways, their former way of life and their culture. In terms of mana-whenua and mana-rawa Muaupoko have endured much, their mana as a people now parallels that of the land and its resources. Muaupoko interviewed for this report discussed former times when the land provided much and how they maintained traditional practices that were passed on from their tupuna, with the hope they, too, can transfer this knowledge to their tamariki and mokopuna.

Many environmental and scientific studies have been conducted. These are positive steps in the right direction, the restoration of mana-whenua and the resources within, the mana-rawa which is necessary for, and must be directed to restore the former physical and spiritual essence of the Muaupoko people, their mana-tangata.

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**Wai 2200, #2.3.10**

Wai 2200

**WAITANGI TRIBUNAL**

**CONCERNING** the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

**AND** the Porirua ki Manawatū  
District Inquiry

**DIRECTION COMMISSIONING RESEARCH**

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Tribunal commissions Louis Chase, historian, to prepare a Muaūpoko oral evidence and traditional history report for the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry.
2. The oral evidence and traditional history report will address the following matters:
  - a) The origins, early history and early settlement patterns of Muaūpoko in this inquiry district, and the contemporary tribal landscape of Muaūpoko, including hapū areas of significance and present-day marae locations;
  - b) The geography of the rohe of Muaūpoko, including Lake Horowhenua, the location and description of significant sites, traditional resources and taonga of Muaūpoko within the inquiry district according to Muaūpoko understandings, and Muaūpoko customs and protocols for protecting and managing these sites, resources and taonga;
  - c) Key whakapapa of Muaūpoko of relevance to the claims, Muaūpoko hapū internal and external relationships, wider regional relationships and the establishment, evolution, maintenance and defence of Muaūpoko mana whenua throughout the generations as Muaūpoko understand it, and particularly in the three to four generations prior to witnesses giving evidence in the Native Land Court;
  - d) The major external impacts on Muaūpoko tribal identity in the period prior to 1900, including those arising from the outcome of warfare with other groups, Muaūpoko service in the colonial government and military (for example Te Keepa Rangihwinui), Muaūpoko support for Premier George Grey in 1877, and Muaūpoko support for Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi at Parihaka; and,
  - e) The impacts of land alienation and resource loss on Muaūpoko, including on education, health, food supplies, socio-economic development, on maintaining culture and spirituality, and on maintaining

Muaūpoko ancestral rights. Particular regard will be had to matters concerning Lake Horowhenua.

3. The researcher will consult with Muaūpoko claimants during the preparation of this report, and obtain relevant oral and traditional evidence on these issues relevant to their claims.
4. The commission commenced on 9 February 2015. A complete draft of the report is to be submitted by 10 June 2015 and will be circulated to parties for comment.
5. The commission ends on 7 August 2015, at which time one copy of the final report must be submitted for filing in unbound form. An electronic copy of the report should also be provided in Word or Adobe Acrobat PDF format. Indexed copies of any supporting documents, audio or transcripts must be filed by 12 August 2015. The report and any subsequent evidential material based on it must be filed through the Registrar.
6. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.
7. The Registrar is to send copies of this direction to:
  - Louis Chase
  - Claimant counsel and unrepresented claimants in the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry
  - Crown counsel for the Porirua ki Manawatū district inquiry
  - Chief Historian, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
  - Principal Research Analyst, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
  - Manager Research and Inquiry Facilitation, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
  - Inquiry Facilitator, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
  - Inquiry Supervisor, Waitangi Tribunal Unit
  - Solicitor General, Crown Law Office
  - Director, Office of Treaty Settlements
  - Chief Executive, Crown Forestry Rental Trust
  - Chief Executive, Te Puni Kōkiri

Dated at Gisborne this 14<sup>th</sup> day of May 2015



Deputy Chief Judge C L Fox  
Presiding Officer  
**WAITANGI TRIBUNAL**