

APAKURA TE IWI: MANA WHENUA, MANA MOANA

*Research into Ngāti Apakura's
customary marine area, for Apakura
Rūnanga's application under the
Takutai Moana Act 2011*

19 o TIHEMA, 2022



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>E mihi ana Acknowledgements.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Mana Pounamu Consulting.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Table of Figures.....</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Apakura te Iwi: Mana Whenua, Mana Moana.....</i>	<i>6</i>
Ngā kāinga e rua.....	6
Te pūrongo nei This report	7
Te pūtake Ancestral origins	8
Te pūrere o Ngāti Toa-rangatira Ngāti Toa-rangatira's exodus	10
Te hokohoko Trade and exports	14
Ngā mihingare Missionaries.....	18
Te Tiriti o Waitangi.....	20
Te haere o te hokohoko Trade continues.....	22
Ngā rima tekau: mahi a te rangatira The 1850s: chiefly exploits.....	24
Heke o te riri War descends.....	26
Te kino i Rangiaowhia The atrocities at Rangiaowhia	26
I muri The aftermath.....	27
He mana anō nō te hapū nei o Apakura Ngāti Apakura have their own mana	29
Te hokinga ki Kāwhia Returning to Kāwhia.....	30
Tū tonu te mana Apakura i Kāwhia Apakura's enduring mana at Kāwhia	31
Ngā kupu o ngā whitu tekau Writings of the 1870s.....	32
Te mutunga o te rautau Close of the nineteenth century.....	34
Te reta o Penetana Penetana's letter	35
Haupōkia nui tonu The enduring pre-eminence of Haupōkia	37
Rihi Te Rauparaha.....	38
Ngā nuipepa o ngā 20 me ngā 30 Mediascapes of the 1920s and 1930s	42
Ngarongo-Herehere Rangitawa.....	42

Mai i tuawhenua ki uta From the mountains to the sea	46
He whenua noa iho? Ngā rima tekau ‘Idle Māori lands’: the 1950s	47
Te huringa rautau The turn of the twenty-first century	48
Apakura nui tonu i Kāwhia Apakura everlasting in Kāwhia	48
He tohu o Ngāti Apakura Enduring markers of Apakuratanga	49
Ngā wawata Hopes for the future	49
He kupu whakamutunga Concluding remarks	50
<i>Rārangi Rauemi Bibliography</i>	<i>51</i>

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Kāwhia moana.	6
Figure 2: Two esteemed Ngāti Apakura rangatira, Hōri Te Waru and Haupōkia Te Pakaru (Angas, 1847, pp. 102–3).	9
Figure 3: (Right) Lithograph of Haupōkia Te Pakaru’s children (Angas, 1847, p. 79).	11
Figure 4: Pou of Haupōkia Te Pakaru, carved by Tahi Meihana (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Rereahu), which stands outside the Ōtorohanga District Library. Photo courtesy of the Ōtorohanga District Library, with thanks to Heather Taylor.	16
Figure 5: Wesleyan mission-premises at Kāwhia. No. CV [105] September, 1846. Ref: PUBL-0139-105. Used with permission of Alexander Turnbull Library (image copy purchased).....	19
Figure 6: Haupōkia's son, Te Pakaru, circa 1840. Photo courtesy of Moepātu Borell.....	21
Figure 7: (Right) The tūpuna Penetana Pukewhau, born circa 1830, died 1904. Wai 898 #P2(a) [PERMISSION PENDING] (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013b).....	36
Figure 8: Photo of tūpuna Rihi Te Rauparaha with her children in 1910, likely taken at Puti Point in Kāwhia (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 2). [PERMISSION PENDING]	39

APAKURA TE IWI: MANA WHENUA, MANA MOANA



Figure 1: *Kāwhia moana*.¹

Ngā kāinga e rua

In 1898, the tūpuna Penetana Pukewhau wrote of Ngāti Apakura's development of their sovereign lands. He wrote (in Tamaki Legal, 2013, p. 9):

“Koia tēnei ā rātou kāinga e rua ko Rangiaowhia, ko Kāwhia.”

In short prose, some 125 years ago, koro Penetana described the dual inland and coastal reach of Ngāti Apakura's ('Ngāti Apakura'; 'Apakura') mana, both at Rangiaowhia, and Kāwhia. This report explores Ngāti Apakura's mana moana and mana whenua in this way, specifically detailing Ngāti Apakura's relationship to whenua and moana surrounding the Kāwhia Harbour. This is to support Apakura

¹ Photo credit: Happyfeijoa (talk) 00:16, 9 September 2010 (UTC) - I (Happyfeijoa (talk) 00:16, 9 September 2010 (UTC)) created this work entirely by themselves, Public Domain, available at <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=28755015>.

² 'These are their two homes: Rangiaowhia and Kāwhia.'

Rūnanga's claim under the *Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011*, in relation to their iwi's customary marine area. The legal test contained in the *Takutai Moana Act* ('the Act') is to demonstrate an iwi or hapū's undisturbed possession of relevant coastal areas since 1840. This report focuses on Ngāti Apakura's mana and presence in Kāwhia Harbour from pre-contact, through to the present day. The specific geographic area in question, as defined by the Act, begins at Kahua Point in the north, and ends at Paparoa Point in the south. Throughout this report, this is referred to as the 'Ngāti Apakura customary marine area'.

[Te pūrongo nei | This report](#)

Apakura Te Iwi: Mana Whenua, Mana Moana broadly traces the chronology of Ngāti Apakura's presence, relationship, and mana in Kāwhia Harbour, from the ancestral emergence of Apakura, through to its existence as an iwi today. The narrative that follows necessarily speaks both to the iwi's coastal residence in the harbour, as well as their second home – 'te kāinga e rua' – of Rangiaowhia (see also O'Malley, 2016, p. 35). This is because a reading of Apakura history as it relates to the Kāwhia Harbour is inevitably tied to their inland stronghold, for the events that unfolded there – both through the spectacles of industry and war (see, for example, Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 142; O'Malley, 2016, p. 294; Laing et al., 2019, pp. 3–4) – directly impacted upon the political and economic fortunes of the entire Apakura confederation, and especially so in Kāwhia.

This links to the second critical caveat of this report. The destruction of Rangiaowhia by Crown troops in 1864, and subsequent confiscations of land thereafter, has indelibly altered the historical archive with regards to the stories, memories, and histories of Ngāti Apakura as they are remembered today. During the zenith of Apakura's wealth across the mid-nineteenth century (see Bennion Law, 2014, p. 8; Meredith et al., 2010, pp. 91, 91–6; Tamaki Legal, 2013, pp. 16–7), the pages of Apakura's history swell with stories of tūpuna, events, journeys, and negotiations. But the invasions and dispossession of whenua in the 1860s triggered untold social, economic, and political obliteration (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010a, p. 134; Laing et al., 2019, pp. 3–4), scattering the remaining survivors to the four winds in a diasporic movement known as 'Te Ara o Ngā Roimata' (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 270; Laing et al., 2019, pp. 5–6). From this point, tracking Apakura histories becomes difficult –

but by no means impossible – because the historical imprint hitherto left by patterns of socio-economic and political movement, was largely no more. This has resulted in Apakura fading from centre-stage, so much so that today, they are more commonly acknowledged as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto or Waikato-Tainui, rather than an iwi in their own right (I explore this in detail later). Thus the title of this report is ‘Apakura Te Iwi’, emphasising their rangatiratanga in word and in memory.

The upshot of this is that the written historical record for Ngāti Apakura is fractured. Evidencing undisturbed possession of their customary marine area thus requires piecing together disparate fragments to form a mosaic that, while incomplete, is nonetheless legible. Oral histories from whānau today have been critical in bridging the story of Ngāti Apakura into the present, and so detailing Apakura mana moana in Kāwhia necessitates drawing on both repositories – archival and qualitative – to do so. In writing this report, then, we begin with exploring Apakura’s early whakapapa lines that were based in and around Kāwhia, and the arrival of their tūpuna tawhito aboard the waka Tainui. To that we now turn.

Te pūtake | Ancestral origins

The early ancestors of Ngāti Apakura arrived on the waka Tainui, which also carried to Aotearoa the emergent dynasties of Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Toa-rangatira (White, 1887, pp. 176, 162). ‘Ngāti Apakura’ refers to the offspring of a “party of red men” (White, 1887, p. 176), and today’s descendants whakapapa to the union of the antecedent tūpuna Whatihua II and Apakura, some 25 generations ago in the fifteenth century (Apakura Rūnanga Trust Board, 2022; Bennion Law, 2014, p. 2, para 9; Ngāti Apakura Rūnanga, 2010). Whatihua himself was a descendant of Hoturoa, captain of Tainui waka, and his wife, Apakura, “was sixth in line from Ngātoroirangi ... famed tohunga of the Te Arawa waka” (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 31). Closely related to Ngāti Apakura are Ngāti Hikairo, with Hikairo a direct descendant of Whatihua and Apakura as well, himself born to Tamatea and Tumarouru (Ngāti Apakura Rūnanga, 2010, p. 2). Indeed, at times, Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Hinetu were considered hapū of Apakura itself (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 89). Both Apakura and Hikairo share a strong presence in Kāwhia today, and as we continue, it is important to keep in mind the shared whakapapa lines across different present-day iwi. In practice today, this often means that a single tūpuna is jointly

claimed by different but related hapū. Nevertheless, from the time of the early ancestors, Ngāti Apakura and their many uri established themselves at Kāwhia, achieving mana whenua status there with other iwi and hapū (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 131). Although some of their descendants eventually moved inland, those that remained ‘preserved the ahikā status of Apakura at Kāwhia’ (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 131). From the dawn of Ngāti Apakura, therefore, there has always been an ancestral connection to Kāwhia moana.



Figure 2: Two esteemed Ngāti Apakura rangatira, Hōri Te Waru and Haupōkia Te Pakaru (Angas, 1847, pp. 102–3).

Te pūrere o Ngāti Toa-rangatira | Ngāti Toa-rangatira's exodus

The early nineteenth century, up until 1820, was a time of significant upheaval for hapū living in Kāwhia, with a “continued contest for dominance” unfolding for the peoples living there (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 79). In this, Ngāti Toa-rangatira were central protagonists, with the great rangatira Te Rauparaha (also of Ngāti Raukawa descent) leading the charge to stake claim over Kāwhia. This saw intense conflict with Waikato-Maniapoto forces, culminating in the ‘Battle of Kāwhia’ in 1820. Ngāti Toa-rangatira pā were overwhelmed by the onslaught that followed, and in the face of this, capitulated (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 80). Confronted with certain defeat, a ‘terms of surrender’ were brokered, requiring Te Rauparaha and his people to immediately leave Kāwhia. “Within days”, the Waitangi Tribunal explains, “Te Rauparaha had departed, accompanied by Ngāti Toa-rangatira and parts of Ngāti Koata” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 81). It is here that the great Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Urunumia, Ngāti Kinohaku, and Ngāti Maniapoto tūpuna Haupōkia Te Pakaru enters this story, born of chiefly descent as the son of “...Rangiua Te Huetu and Te Raunahi[,] born at Takapauae at Tuhua northeast of Taumarunui. He was named after Haupōkia I[, a tūpuna of his]” (Borell, 2017, p. 6).³ Born at Takapauae (near Taumarunui), Haupōkia traversed far and wide in his remit as rangatira, and for a time was based in Kāpiti and Rangiaowhia, but settled, and was eventually farewelled in death, in Kāwhia itself (Borell, 2022b). His flight across the political landscapes of the time is an enduring feature of Apakura histories across the western coastline and inland.

In G.F. Angus’ 1847 *The New Zealanders* (Angas, 1847), Haupōkia (here called Te Pakaru, and “sometimes Apokea” [Haupōkia]) is described as a “celebrated orator, and the mildness of his manners, combined with the general amiability of his conduct, have

³ The multiple whakapapa lines rangatira – and indeed, any individual – have mean tūpuna often connect to overlapping ancestral identities, as we see here. As matua Tom Roa has explained, “There is so much overlap, especially today, so many of us have a whakapapa to not just various hapū, and various iwi. Back in the 1800s, someone might assert strongly for some hapū, and then in another [land] block for another hapū. This is very common... [Today] I can show that [one of my] tupuna is [for example] also Ngati Urunumia, not just Ngati Kauwhata” (Roa, 2022). This can complicate a linear reading of whakapapa today, especially when exploring rights to whenua. Nevertheless, as matua Tom continues, “...Tēnei te whakapapa ko wai o tātou o Ngāti Maniapoto e hara i te uri o Apakura? Ko tātou katoa ēnei nō reira te whanga ra mai i te raupatu kei runga i a tātou katoa. Who of Ngāti Maniapoto is not a descendant of Apakura? We are all descended from Apakura. And so the pains of Apakura are upon all of us” (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 130). Elsewhere, for example, in *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru*, Haupōkia Te Pakaru is considered an Urunumia rangatira (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 297). But the *Maniapoto Deed of Settlement* acknowledges Haupōkia as Ngāti Maniapoto, not Apakura, in detailing the pā and kāinga in Kāwhia harbour, where Harihari and Waiharakeke was a kāinga of Haupōkia (The Crown and Ngāti Maniapoto, 2021, pp. 9, 21). This again speaks to the layering of different ancestral identities onto a single tūpuna, as iwi and hapū groupings based in Kāwhia share similar lineage.

long rendered him a universal favourite amongst all who know him” (Angas, 1847, p. 103). At the time of Angus’ work, Haupōkia was based at Ahuahu, in Kāwhia. His likeness was captured by Angus (see Figure 2) alongside his contemporary, Hōri Te Waru, and in another portrait, his children – to his wife, Te Koi – are depicted in lithographic form, including Powharo, the tallest girl, Te Raunanahi (who became Haupōkia III), and Rangiteriwi, sitting on the ground (Angas, 1847; Borell, 2017, pp. 8–9) (see Figure 3). As Angus wrote in 1847, Haupōkia and his tamariki “[resided] not far from the Mission Station of Ahuahu, on the banks of Kawhia Harbour: and the children are universal favorites at the Mission house, where they learn to read in the native school” (Angas, 1847, pp. 78–80). As we shall see, Haupōkia was pivotal in the development and construction of the very mission house Angus is referring to, through his later connections to Wesleyans missionaries.



Figure 3: (Right) Lithograph of Haupōkia Te Pakaru’s children (Angas, 1847, p. 79).

Returning to the saga of Ngāti Toa-Rangatira, it is said that in the final hours of Te Rauparaha's evacuation, Haupokia (Haupōkia; Te Pakaru) ensured safe passage to the fallen leader and his followers, given the uneasy state of affairs following the battle.⁴ Haupōkia sheltered Te Rauparaha at what became later known as Hekepō pā, so named to refer to the fleeing of Te Rauparaha under cover of darkness (Borell, 2022a). 'Hekepō', therefore, references the descent into the night in this way, with Ngāti Toa-rangatira never again returning to Kāwhia moana.

The beneficence shown by Apakura to Ngāti Toa-rangatira in this episode bespeaks the strong relationships long established between the two peoples, prior to the Battle of Kāwhia. The following tikanga kai, described by matua Tom Roa to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2013, further exemplifies this:

Ka noho ko Ngāti Apakura te iwi mana ki Ngāroto. He whakataunga mau roa o waenga i a rātau me ngā iwi o Te Hauāuru, kei tōna wā, me haere mai a Ngāti [Toa], ā Ngāti Toa, me ētahi atu ki uta, ki Ngāroto ki te hī i ngā kai o te wai Māori. Ā mō tōna wā, ko Ngāti Apakura ki tai, ki Kāwhia ki te hī i ngā kai wai mōna. [Ngāti Apakura were the people of mana at Ngāroto. There was a long standing agreement amongst them and the peoples of the coast, of the season Ngāti Toa and other coastal tribes could come to Ngāroto to harvest fresh water foods, and in its season, Ngāti Apakura and the inland tribes could travel to the coast to Kāwhia and harvest seafood] (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013a, p. 46).

Highlighting Apakura's inland connection and mana at Ngāroto,⁵ matua Tom is articulating what is essentially a tikanga of reciprocity between Kāwhia-based iwi, such as Ngāti Toa-rangatira, and Ngāti Apakura. This saw a reciprocal exchange of resources, each iwi harvesting inland or coastal resources respectively, under one another's mana. Although matua Tom goes on to explain later hostilities between Ngāti Toa-rangatira and Ngāti Apakura (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013a, pp. 46–7), this nonetheless reflects an early-established tikanga of customary use of coastal resources

⁴ Haupōkia was intimately familiar with repelling other hostile iwi. In 1822, Waikato-Maniapoto were confronted with Hongi Hika's heavily armed invasion forces (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 82). Hika pushed his forces through to Kāwhia and Orāhiri, triggering a retreat of Waikato-Maniapoto survivors south. In the theatre of battle, Haupōkia Te Pakaru travelled south to Te Horangapai, constructing a pā to withstand further Ngā Puhī advances (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 83).

⁵ See also matua Tom's korero about Ngāti Apakura's historic presence in the bountiful Waipā-Pūniu area, a "corridor" running between Pirongia and Kakepuku and providing access to Waikato in the north and to the harbours in the west". On this, Tom Roa "...describ[ed] his Ngāti Apakura tūpuna harvesting freshwater crayfish, freshwater fish, and eels, and also damming the streams flowing from lake Ngāroto so they could farm ducks and weka" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 3). This geographic link between the coastal and inland areas as a highway of movement and commerce gives insights to Ngāti Apakura's presence in both areas, as well as their economic prosperity.

by Ngāti Apakura at Kāwhia harbour, through their relationships with Ngāti Toa-rangatira. This may also offer insight into Haupōkia's later actions at Hekepō, which, in this light, may be read as maintaining the mana of this relationship until the very end.

With Te Rauparaha and his peoples having now abandoned Kāwhia,⁶ Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Māhuta, and Ngāti Apakura resettled the area in the subsequent power vacuum. Here, Haupōkia "...brought his Ngāti Urunumia people back from Te Horangapai to occupy the southern shores, where he was joined by several other Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira." Ngāti Māhuta took control of the harbour entrance, while Ngāti Hikairo settled lands from Pirongia to the harbour's northern shores (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 84). This joint presence of related iwi and hapū in Kāwhia remains an enduring characteristic today, with multiple overlapping whakapapa lines and rights of mana whenua and mana moana. Nevertheless, soon after Ngāti Toa-rangatira's departure in 1822, Haupōkia's principal settlement was at Waiharakeke, in Kāwhia (Borell, 2017, pp. 6–7), and he became recognised as mana whenua there. As whaea Moepātu Borell explains,

...Haupokia and the many Rangatira [of Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Urunumia] then took on the 'mana whenua' of Kawhia harbour. Haupokia now had kainga (settlements) from Takapauae, Mokau and Waiharakeke at the south of Kawhia Harbour. Haupokia stayed at each place at a given season but was more often called to the sands of Waiharakeke (Borell, 2017, pp. 15–6).

What these early pre-Te Tiriti o Waitangi histories emphasise is that Ngāti Apakura have had ongoing relationships to Kāwhia harbour, through whakapapa, tikanga, and eventually, occupation. This standing in Kāwhia becomes ever more apparent as Ngāti Apakura establish and expand their trading empire from the 1820s through the next forty years. For now, this historical context underscores Ngāti Apakura's presence in Kāwhia moana, and their long-established custom of gathering kaimoana from the harbour's plenty.

⁶ Some Ngāti Toa-rangatira who had intermarried with Ngāti Maniapoto stayed on in Kāwhia, but the vast majority of the population had left.

Te hokohoko | Trade and exports

Ngāti Apakura histories in the early- to mid-1800s were marked by a burgeoning trade empire, based on commodities such as harakeke and flour. So powerful did Apakura become in this regard that Rangiaowhia was featured in a popular London-based circular in 1849, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Petrie, 2006, p. 221). But it was much earlier, in the 1820s, that the seeds of this empire were sewn, in Kāwhia (see also Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 137). Harakeke was abundant in Kāwhia, more broadly reflective of the abundance of resources in the harbour area. “The name Kāwhia means ‘abundance of everything’”, described koro John Kāti, in which

...the Kāwhia South area was always known for its abundance of kai, both land based and mātaītai. The fish stocks were such that inland hāpu would congregate at various places like Waipuna, Waiharakeke, Kinohaku and Ōhau during the species runs, along with mohimohi, kahawai, mangō, tāmure and pātiki. These were caught from November through to April and were sun dried or smoked for preservation. According to the Wesleyan Missionaries, the estimated population of iwi living on the southern shores of the Kāwhia Harbour was in the vicinity of 3-4000 people. There was an abundance of fish stock in Kāwhia... The people living there were heavily reliant on the shellfish beds for the likes of pipi, kōkōta, ngoro, kūtai and titiku, just to name a few. Waiharakeke and Ahuahu inlets had pipi beds... Mangō, kahawai and tāmure were the staple diet of the Maniapoto Tainui iwi where these fish graced the table at hui, especially during large gatherings which were held to coincide with the harvesting of fish (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014a, pp. 1553–4).⁷

This plenty has culminated in the illustrious whakataukī for the area (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 136),

Kāwhia kai, Kāwhia moana, Kāwhia tangata.

The robust flax-based economy that soon emerged in Kāwhia exemplifies this proverb (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 136) (to which Haupōkia later became a critical element of). Harnessing this resource as a key trade commodity was a priority for rangatira of the day, and especially so for Te Puaha. Te Puaha, of Kāwhia, had married Haupōkia's granddaughter Iriaka, and sought to bring the lucrative flax trade to Kāwhia harbour,

⁷ In this excerpt, koro John was referring to the aggregate loss of these kaimoana stocks, due to pollution, resource over-exploitation, and the introduction of invasive foreign species into Kāwhia harbour.

and indeed it was “...Puaha [himself who] brought the first trading ships into Kawhia harbour” (Borell, 2017, p. 11). In 1823, he “entered negotiations” with Sydney-based trader John Kent, and by 1825, trade in flax was in full flight (Boulton, 2011, pp. 24–5; see also Borell, 2017, p. 17). For Te Puaha’s mokopuna, Tony Haupokia, his tūpuna was the paragon of entrepreneurship:

[Te Puaha] travelled on the sailing ships and he showed the sailors the different parts of Aotearoa. He circumnavigated the North Island and travelled overseas, and he was constantly looking for commercial opportunities to trade, and so he went on the sailing ships guiding the Pakeha sailors to the different parts that they wished to go to and places good for growing flax, and the seeds (Boulton, 2011, p. 25).

Later, in 1830, Haupokia himself travelled to Sydney aboard a flax trader with his contemporary, rangatira Hōri Te Waru (Te Waru), also of Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Apakura (Petrie, 2006, pp. 47–8). Portraits of both ennobled chieftains were captured in Angus’ *The New Zealanders* (see Figure 1 above) (Angas, 1847, pp. 102–3), Angus describing Te Waru as “the principal chief” of Ngāti Apakura, a “remarkable... man of distinguished ability and prowess in all matters connected with government of his people” (Angas, 1847, p. 103). In this, Angas noted Te Waru was based both at Waipā, inland, as well as at Ahuahu in Kāwhia (Angas, 1847, p. 103), again emphasising the dual presence of Apakura both inland and coastally. Haupokia’s likeness has also been captured in a carved pou outside the Ōtorohanga District Library (see Figure 4), encircled with ebony harakeke in memoriam of his preeminent role in the flax trade.

Both Haupokia and Te Waru were based in southern Kāwhia (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 117), and Te Waru actively promoted the flow and exchange of trade, later establishing a flour mill at Rangiaowhia, where his mana extended to (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 101; Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 54; Crown Law, 2013, p. 6). Apakura rangatira sent the “first fruits” of this new flour mill to Queen Victoria, as a chiefly gesture acknowledging her mana (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 170). In recognition of this, Queen Victoria gifted a portrait of her family to the Apakura rangatira in the 1840s, a copy of which is held in the Te Awamutu museum (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 171). This chief-to-chief exchange again reflects the mana of Apakura in the mid-nineteenth century, as titans of trade and industry.



Figure 4: Pou of Haupokia Te Pakaru, carved by Tabi Meihana (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Rereahu), which stands outside the Otorohanga District Library. Photo courtesy of the Otorohanga District Library, with thanks to Heather Taylor.

For harakeke, Sydney was a major export market at the time, and on their journey there in 1830, sought investment “to establish a trading network” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 101). There, they met with merchant Joseph Montefiore to do so. To incentivise Montefiore, Haupōkia offered land at Ahuahu, close to the Waiharakeke River, “for a flax depot” and a house for Montefiore to be based in (Boulton, 2011, p. 28; Francis, 2011, pp. 9–10). Montefiore eagerly invested, returning with Haupōkia and Te Waru from Sydney on the journey home, and subsequently sent traders to be based in the region to oversee operations (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 99, see also 208; Borell and Joseph, 2012, pp. 140–1). As historian Hazel Petrie explains,

[Haupōkia and Te Waru’s] offer of abundant flax supplies, land, a house, and a store for his agent not only enticed Joseph Montefiore to visit their area, but also gave him the confidence to establish two traders under their mana (Petrie, 2006, pp. 47–8).

Additionally, across the early nineteenth century, Kāwhia harbour was considered “one of the safest harbours on the otherwise treacherous west coast”, and emerged as a “crucial site of encounter” (O’Malley, 2016, p. 37). This significantly facilitated the relatively unencumbered movement of trade in and out of the harbour.

Haupōkia’s provision of land to Montefiore was later discussed before the House of Commons in 1838, in describing Māori/Pākehā land arrangements (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 208). While Montefiore had been gifted the land in question, his presence in Kāwhia was at “the behest of Māori”, and indeed under the mana of Haupōkia himself (Borell and Joseph, 2012, pp. 142, 141–2). This emphasises the centrality of Apakura’s mana whenua status in Kāwhia, the gifting of land exemplary of this and the rangatira-to-rangatira engagement between Haupōkia and Montefiore. In time, trading posts and stations were established at Ahuahu, as well as one further south at Mōkau, consolidating the reach of Apakura’s emerging trade empire.

These foreign traders became part of the fabric of life and the local Māori economies, an ethic rangatira like Haupōkia were keen to exercise (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 205). For example, John Cowell and his son, John Cowell junior, established trading posts in Kāwhia, on a 5,000 acre property on the Awaroa River. Cowell senior lived with Ngāti Apakura there (Tauariki et al., 2012, p. 400), with Cowell junior based at Hauturu, in the Kāwhia Harbour as well. Cowell junior’s first wife was of Ngāti Hikairo descent, who died after the birth of their son. His later marriage to Martha Riden

(Mata Rihana), “half-sister of Toetoe, an influential Apakura chief”, solidified his connection to Ngāti Apakura. The missionary John Whiteley led their marriage service at Kāwhia on 16 August 1845 (Francis, 2011, p. 16). Elsewhere, settler Amos Kent, who had earlier traded muskets for flax after his arrival in the mid-1820s, similarly supported the development of Kāwhia as a central trading post (O’Malley, 2016, p. 37). In short time, therefore, and prior to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Kāwhia emerged as a centrepiece for trade in harakeke in the North Island (Francis, 2011, pp. 11, 15), with Apakura a critical driver of this. This underscores Ngāti Apakura’s presence and mana in Kāwhia harbour throughout the 1830s, as an iwi commanding an expansive trading network. Their mana upon the moana – literally through the trade of harakeke to other domestic and international ports via Kāwhia harbour – was matter-of-fact, and it is logical to presume this entitled Ngāti Apakura to customary rights over Kāwhia harbour, in gathering kaimoana to nourish their iwi.

Ngā mihingare | Missionaries

Missionaries were prominent in Kāwhia in the 1830s, and Haupōkia eagerly welcomed them to his rohe. In 1834, Reverends Brown and Hamlin landed at Waiharakeke, where, on October 18, they wrote of their arrival “...at the abode of Haupokia, the Chief, in the evening. He is a fine young man, of very pleasing manner and much intelligence [and] he is a great warrior” (Borell, 2017, pp. 20–1). The next year, in April 1835, the Wesleyan Reverend John Whitely also arrived in Kāwhia, to be stationed there as a missionary (O’Malley, 2016, p. 38). Haupōkia later gifted land to Whiteley at Te Ahuahu, “...the land soon [becoming] known as ‘Waitere’... a transliteration of [Whiteley’s name]” (Borell, 2017, pp. 21–2). He developed strong relationships with such missionaries, and in 1835, in honour of these connections, built a mission house at Te Ahuahu, Waiharakeke, upon the gifted lands (New Zealand History, 2022). The completed mission station was captured in etching a decade later (see Figure 5).

This gifting of land again reinforces Haupōkia’s mana, and thus that of Ngāti Apakura’s, in mid-1830s Kāwhia. Later, in 1839, Whiteley baptised Haupōkia with the name, ‘Robert Newton’, or ‘Nuitone’, which he then became known as (Borell, 2017, p. 22) (his name at his passing was Haupōkia Te Pakaru Nuitone in 1867, being interred at Te Pahi, and leaving “descendants...as numerous as the sands at Waiharakeke” (Borell, 2017, pp. 29–30)). This relationship with Whiteley would continue in earnest,

and even involved Haupōkia's sale of land to the Wesleyan missionary. Given Haupōkia's rangatira status in Kāwhia, it followed that he would similarly oversee economic transactions of this type in his rohe. He was involved in a number of land sales throughout the mid to late 1830s, and in 1839, alongside his contemporary Te Raku, "...sold the Tauranga block in the Kāwhia district to John Whiteley... for £1 in cash, tobacco and a variety of household goods and tobacco" (New Zealand History, 2022). In another instance, Wesleyan William White purchased "all the land between Mōkau and Whanganui Rivers", in an attempt to protect it from the zealous New Zealand Company (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 119). Haupōkia, among other rangatira, signed the deed on 28 January 1840. This again reflects Haupōkia's mana and breadth of influence, as signatory to sales of land.

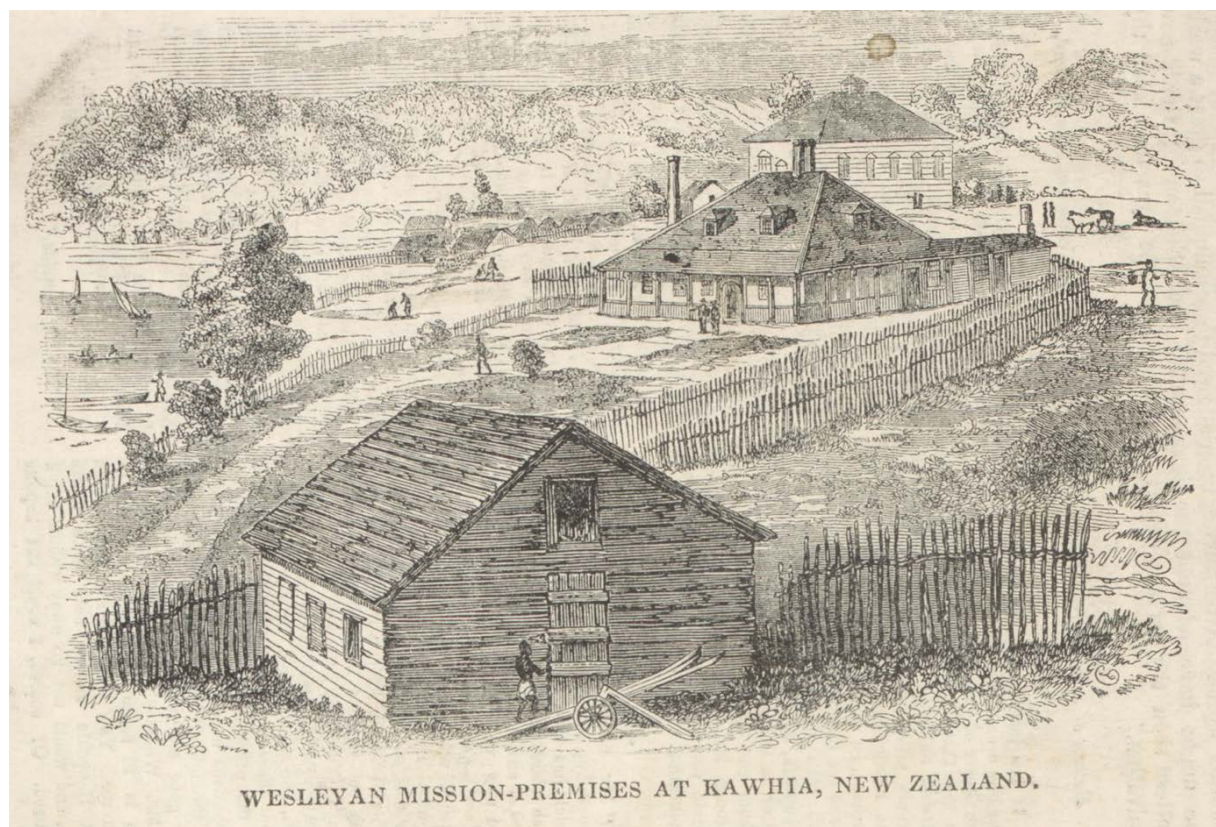


Figure 5: Wesleyan mission-premises at Kāwhia. No. CV [105] September, 1846. Ref: PUBL-0139-105. Used with permission of Alexander Turnbull Library (image copy purchased).⁸

⁸ Available at <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22634326>.

Elsewhere, both Te Waru and Haupōkia were involved in other land transactions with the Wesleyans, across the mid- to late-1830s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 214), and in his remit as rangatira, Haupōkia also provided land in Kāwhia to inland Ngāti Maniapoto hapū, to bring them closer to trading corridors (Moepātu Borell in Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 117). Later, in 1844, Revered Whiteley was involved in settling land disputes in Taranaki. To help resolve the matter, he sent for Haupōkia Te Pakaru's assistance because of his notable "presence and influence". Whiteley considered it "most beneficial" to have Haupōkia attend the deliberations, which had been hampered by some rangatira unwilling to participate. However, these attitudes shifted once Haupōkia arrived, where "we had the satisfaction of seeing all the Natives present [at the meeting]" (Whiteley, 1844) – a direct result of Haupōkia's mana and standing across the region. Haupōkia and Te Waru's combined involvement and leadership here is a reflection of their mana in Kāwhia and beyond, and it is by virtue of this that we can reasonably infer Apakura's mana over their moana and customary marine area in Kāwhia. This is likewise the case as we move into the 1840s.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Missionaries also played a central role both in communicating the intent of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and advocating for rangatira in Kāwhia sign. Haupōkia signed the Manukau-Kāwhia copy of Te Tiriti in Kāwhia on 21 May 1840 (O'Malley, 2010, p. 73), and, embodying the 'kāinga e rua' nature of Ngāti Apakura, also signed the Waikato-Manukau version⁹ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 98; New Zealand History, 2022). It is said that Haupōkia's signing of Te Tiriti was encouraged by John Whiteley, who explained the document as a "mechanism for safeguarding property"; he signed with this in mind, in the "protection of our lands, mana, and Tino Rangatiratanga" (Meri Walters in Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 100). Whiteley actively encouraged other rangatira from Kāwhia to Mōkau to sign (Brazendale, 1990; see also O'Malley, 2016, p. 42) (other missionaries were also present at the signings of Te Tiriti, such as Wesleyan James Wallis (Buick, 1914, p. 209; New Zealand History, 2022)). For instance, Te Waru signed on 25 May, again in Kāwhia (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 101), and Te Pakarū (hereinafter, Te Pakarū; see Figure 6), likely son of Haupōkia and

⁹ See (New Zealand History, 2021; Orange, 2021, p. 378) for the Manukau-Kāwhia copy of the Treaty.

rangatira of southern Kāwhia (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 132), also signed in March/April 1840, but this time at the Waikato Heads (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 132).



Figure 6: Haupōkia's son, Te Pakaru, circa 1840. Photo courtesy of Moepātu Borell.

That Te Waru signed in Kāwhia, and not Rangiaowhia, shows the continual movement between the inland and coastal reach of Apakura's domain, Kāwhia being a 'second home' to key Apakura rangatira, where harbour resources – and of course the port itself – were critical to trade and prosperity. In Te Waru's case, "This demonstrates the mana that [he] held and the specific relationship that the Crown had with Apakura" (WAI898, #a23, p. 71, in Bennion Law, 2014, p. 25). Te Waru was a recognised leader of Ngāti Apakura, and other of his iwi such as Ngāti Hinetū, and on 21 May he signed Te Tiriti "on behalf of Apakura" (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 147). This is similarly the case for Haupōkia, who signed at both locations, and Te Pakaru, who, while a recognised rangatira of Kāwhia, signed in Waikato. Dr Robert Joseph, in providing evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2014, similarly spoke of how the signing of Kāwhia-based Apakura rangatira reflected the mana and standing of Apakura as an iwi. He explained: "Pungarehu signed at Waikato heads on 11th of April 1840, and Hori Te Waru at Kāwhia on 25th May 1840. So two known Apakura rangatira signed the Tiriti o Waitangi, both versions, again highlighting the mana of Ngāti Apakura as a tribe" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014b, p. 148).

[Te haere o te hokohoko | Trade continues](#)

By the 1840s, Ngāti Apakura's trading empire was well underway, the iwi prospering up until to the Crown's ransacking of Rangiaowhia in February 1864, and the wider conflicts of the time (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 591). Indeed, "Apakura embraced settler trade and prospered" (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 131). In addition to harakeke came trade in wheat, oats, and potatoes, being produced and milled (in the case of wheat) at Rangiaowhia, Apakura's second home. So wealthy did Apakura become that they purchased 2.5 acres of land at Onehunga to store and sell wheat grown at Rangiaowhia to the Auckland market, as well as other crops (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, pp. 16–7), with a storehouse built for this purpose (Wai 898, #A143 Para 14. Wai 898, #A143(a) p. 76 in Bennion Law, 2014, pp. 64–5). Onehunga, being close to the burgeoning settlement of Auckland, was thus "a strategic trading location for Ngāti Apakura" (Tamaki Legal, 2013b, p. 3).¹⁰ By the mid-1840s, Ngāti Apakura (as well as

¹⁰ In correspondence produced in Gordon Lennox's evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2013, a letter authored by the tūpuna Karaiti, in the latter nineteenth century, wrote of the Apakura storehouse in Onehunga (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 6). The letter records a list of Apakura hapū, which include: Ngāti Rangi Mahora, Ngāti Marotaua, Ngāti Kaiotota, Te Waikopi, Ngāti Tū, Ngāti Kiri, Ngāti Rau, Ngāti Tautuku, Ngāti Raparapa, Ngāti Kapui, Ngāti Waikohika, Ngāti te Awheoro, Ngāti Pareterakau, Ngāti Tāheke, Ngāti Waitapu, Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Parehuia, and Ngāti Tupatu (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, pp. 6–7).

Ngāti Maniapoto) had extended its sphere of influence to include cultivations at Waitara, in Taranaki (O'Malley, 2016, p. 103). In time, their empire expanded well beyond Auckland as well, their agricultural and horticultural produce exchanged in Australia, and as far afield as San Francisco in California (Borell, 2017, p. 20; Tamaki Legal, 2013a, pp. 16–7). This reflects how “extremely influential” Apakura was during the early to latter nineteenth century, before the massacre at Rangiaowhia (Laing, Borell & Maki-Midwood, 2019, para 11, p. 2), and how wealthy the Kāwhia- and Rangiaowhia-based iwi really were.

Apakura's economic and trade successes, both inland and coastally, were noted in media of the time, as in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* feature on Rangiaowhia in 1849 (Petrie, 2006, p. 221). Earlier, in 1846, an article in *The New Zealander* notes that people of Te Mahoe pā (today, Te Mahoe marae) in Waiharakeke, were in Auckland trading pigs – probably at the Onehunga storehouse – to help finance the construction of a flour mill, presumably at Waiharakeke itself. The article notes that the hapū were expected to return and continue trade, to support the mill's development (*The New Zealander*, 1846, p. 2). While it does not specify exactly who of Te Mahoe was present, given these events referenced Waiharakeke, a known Apakura rohe, it seems logical to presume that this was indeed done under the mana of Ngāti Apakura. It also follows that Haupōkia was involved, or at the very least supported the endeavour, given his rangatira status at Waiharakeke. The 1840s through to 1864 were thus Apakura's “‘golden age’ before the war”, characterised by abundance in trade in this manner, as well as Apakura's leadership throughout (Meredith et al., 2010, pp. 91, 91–6).

As these instances exemplify, Ngāti Apakura were titans of trade and industry, and, as detailed in the iwi's Joint Closing Submissions, “Apakura was an extremely influential, coherent and prosperous Māori kinship political group with mana motuhake before and after the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, right up until the invasion of Rangiaowhia” (Bennion Law, 2014, p. 8). As matua Tom also explains, “Before the Raupatu, Ngāti Apakura were an Iwi of mana; with a wealth shared by Waikato-Maniapoto. These Iwi possessed a burgeoning economy of some substance” (Bennion Law, 2014, p. 8). So great was their trading empire that, today, Apakura is recognised as bringing these

agricultural skills and knowledge into Te Rohe Pōtae (Robert Te Huia in Tauariki et al., 2012, pp. 452–3). During the golden age, Rangiaowhia was known as the “bread basket” of the North Island, with Ngāti Apakura recognised as prolific agriculturalists in the Waikato and Kāwhia areas (Laing et al., 2019, p. 3, para 16). But throughout, one thing has remained clear: Apakura’s mana moana in Kāwhia harbour, and their ancillary customary rights of using the moana to derive economic and social benefit.

Ngā rima tekau: mahi a te rangatira | The 1850s: chiefly exploits

The historical record for Ngāti Apakura in the 1850s reflects a politically and economically powerful people, but also a people coming to terms with a changing world, and importantly, their place in it. The following examples underscore this, with a particular focus on the exploits of Apakura rangatira in this milieu. With the rising settler population came increased demands for land by the Crown, but this was met with Apakura resistance. In 1854, amidst widespread rangatira refusal to sell their lands to the Crown, Haupōkia (identified here as Nuitone Te Pakarū, his baptismal name) placed a tapu “over a large land area stretching from Mōkau north to Harihari, near Kāwhia” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 270). This was done with the explicit purpose of arresting sale of land to the Crown across this area (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 270), a feat only possible given his mana and authority over vast tracts of western coastline. As with all rangatira, Haupōkia was fluent in the new forms of communication introduced through colonisation, such as writing. In a letter dated from Ahuahu, Kāwhia, September 7, 1857, Haupōkia (again identified as Nuitone Haupōkia Te Pakarū) is the first of four signatories to a back-and-forth exchange of correspondence to Hare Reweti. Dispatched from Kāwhia, the letter demonstrates Haupōkia’s continued presence and mana, and likewise that of Ngāti Apakura, in 1857 (*Whetu o te tau*, 1857, p. 1).

But communication, and indeed the exchange of ideas, was done on a much larger, entrepreneurial scale by Ngāti Apakura. In the same year as this letter, Ngāti Apakura and Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira Wiremu Toetoe and Hemara Te Rerehau Paraone (Haupōkia’s great nephew) journeyed to Vienna aboard the Austrian frigate, *Novara*, to both explore the European city and learn how to operate printing presses. Their diary manuscript, preserved by the National Library, recounts some of their voyage:

This [manuscript] was written by... Te Hemara Rerehau [and] Wiremu Toetoe who went to Europe on board of the Austrian frigate ‘Novara’ with Dr Hochstetter[. T]hey visited Vienna & the Archduke Maximilian. He showed them all over the city & on parting asked what he would like him to give them as a present, he answered ‘A printing press & types’. So it was brought to N.Z. & used by the Kings Native to print their little paper called the Hokioi in the year 1861 (Toetoe and Rerehau, 1858).

Wiremu and Te Hemara boarded the *Novara* from Kāwhia for their continental voyage. The printing press was later presented by the Austrian Emperor, Franz Josef (Borell and Joseph, 2012, pp. 184–6; see also Tauariki et al., 2012, pp. 492–4). From entertaining Emperors, to resisting the Crown purchase of land, Ngāti Apakura in the 1850s were a sovereign people of wealth and authority, their mana extending across the far reaches of the globe. What remains throughout these extraordinary episodes of encounter, juxtaposing the epic spectacles of Apakura’s adventures, is the iwi’s unbroken, continual, and grounded presence in Kāwhia harbour. From there they traded their goods to the world, using the port as a transnational conduit of exchange across the very moana itself. Running this economy inevitably meant maintaining its workforce, and so again it is reasonable to draw the inference that by virtue of the magnitude of Apakura’s mana in Kāwhia, it follows that their people would be nourished by kaimoana from within the customary marine area, and likely beyond.

These patterns continued through across into the 1860s. In 1862, Government Commissioner James Armitage notes that Ngāti Apakura is recognised as one of the “four major tribes at Kāwhia” (Tauariki et al., 2012, p. 435). Based on information recorded by Armitage at that time, in the Appendix to the *Journals of the House of Representatives*, the Ngāti Apakura population in northern Kāwhia in that year was approximately 120,¹¹ larger than the Hikairo population of 80 (Ngāti Apakura Rūnanga, 2012, p. 235). Around the same time, Armitage wrote of entering the Kāwhia harbour, at Ruauku, and being welcomed both by Hikairo and Ngāti Apakura, ‘who are from Rangiaowhia but resident here [in Kāwhia]’ (Ngāti Apakura Rūnanga, 2012, p. 367). Shortly thereafter, Tamakawe Haupokia Te Pakaru, likely second son of Te Pakaru, wrote to the Governor on 26 May 1863. His letter was sent from the Wesleyan Mission House in Kāwhia, and concerned the wellbeing of Pākeha in Kāwhia (Te Pakaru, 1863). This back-and-forth of communication and engagement with

¹¹ Earlier, in 1844, the Ngāti Apakura population was recorded to be a sizeable 740, and later, 630 in 1858 (Fenton, 1859 in Joseph and Borell, 2013, p. 7). It is unclear, though, if these numbers include uri living at Kāwhia and Rangiaowhia.

government by Apakura in the Kāwhia harbour again reiterates Apakura's enduring and continued mana and presence therein.

Heke o te riri | War descends

As part of their vehement campaign against the Kīngitanga, the Crown, who saw the movement as “an affront to the Queen’s sovereignty” (O’Malley, 2019, p. 102), invaded the Waikato region in 1863. As a “deliberate war of conquest and dispossession”, the Crown’s invasion sought to obliterate the Kīngitanga and “‘dig round’ the King until he fell” (O’Malley, 2019, p. 104). Spearheaded by Governor Grey, the costly invasion pivoted on confiscating Māori lands of those “who resisted the invading troops” (O’Malley, 2019, p. 104), enabled by the *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863*, and the *Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863*. Confiscated lands would then be sold to settlers at great profit, simultaneously raising revenue for the Crown and dispossessing Māori from their lands.¹² Ngāti Apakura was Kīngitanga-aligned, using the printing press from Vienna to publish *Te Hokioi e Rere Atu*, a form of “printed propaganda” on behalf of the Kīngi movement (Te Awamutu Museum, n.d.; see also Biddle, 2017; *Digital NZ* and Zokoroa, n.d.). More critically, as the country’s ‘bread basket’, Rangiaowhia provided the Kīngitanga with supplies (see also Meredith et al., 2010, p. 99), and severing this link was uppermost priority for the Crown (O’Malley, 2016, p. 289). This came to a head on Sunday, February 21, 1864.

Te kino i Rangiaowhia | The atrocities at Rangiaowhia

At dawn, armed troopers raided Rangiaowhia, “...whose terrified, screaming residents ran in every direction for their lives” (O’Malley, 2019, p. 122; see also Bennion Law, 2014, pp. 43–5). Following an earlier battle with Crown forces, Kīngitanga forces were encouraged by their foe to evacuate tamariki, wāhine, and kaumātua to safer harbours, and in light of this, Rangiaowhia became a “designated place of sanctuary” (O’Malley, 2019, p. 122). But when time came for battle, the Crown, aware of the settlement’s status as a sanctuary pā, laid siege to Rangiaowhia instead of the nearby fighting pā. A rare Ngāti Apakura survivor’s account of the invasion describes the terror of that moment:

¹² The template for confiscation came through British occupation of Ireland in the 1600s; Grey, who had previously been stationed there, used a similar policy in South Africa as well New Zealand (O’Malley, 2019, p. 105).

Most of the soldiers had not bothered to attack the [fighting] pa, they were even now approaching through the fields of corn. Our men were unable to turn them away, our village of Rangiaowhia was doomed (in O'Malley, 2021).

Of all the atrocities that day, colonial troops set fire to the raupō whare within the settlement, including the whare karakia. The wahine's account continues:

The soldiers came shouting and shooting through our kainga [village], burning our raupo whare. Our church was the biggest whare of all, made of raupo like the rest but with a cross on top as a tekoteko. Perhaps the soldiers didn't know it was a church when they set it alight. That's what some people said later. When they realised that they were about to be burnt to death the people inside began screaming. Those who tried to escape were shot as they reached open ground (in O'Malley, 2021).

In one instance, an elderly koroua came out signalling surrender by waving a white blanket, but the British, indifferent to this, shot and killed him (O'Malley, 2019, pp. 122–3). Upon witnessing this, those remaining inside perished in fire (Cross-examination Ms Borrell Wai 898, #A97 Report Hearing Week 4 Transcript Wai 898, #4.1.10 p. 262, in Bennion Law, 2014, p. 45; see also Laing et al., 2019, pp. 3–4). British accounts corroborate these experiences, noting their troops set the whare karakia alight (Cameron in O'Malley, 2016, p. 292). But in their official accounts, they record only twelve Māori casualties; the actual toll is likely far higher (see O'Malley, 2019, p. 122). The deliberate targeting of an undefended civilian population by the Crown remains an “incomprehensible act of savagery”; Kīngitanga-aligned Māori had “...complied with requests to remove their families out of harm's way, only for the troops to deliberately target them in the most horrific manner possible” (O'Malley, 2019, p. 123).

I muri | The aftermath

Many commentators write of Rangiaowhia as a pivotal turning point in the story of Ngāti Apakura. This is equally as important in recounting Apakura's relationship to Kāwhia moana. Prior to the invasion and subsequent confiscations of land, Apakura were an established, “extremely influential, coherent and affluent [people, who] traded across Aotearoa, the Tasman and the Pacific and ventured worldwide” (Bennion Law, 2019, p. 3). Apakura were an “independent and prosperous iwi”, and as matua Tom Roa reiterates, “Ngāti Apakura were an iwi of mana” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 24). But following the ransacking of Rangiaowhia, as he continues, “...the tragedies of war and their effects on the children, old men and women; along with the loss of their physical resources, Ngāti Apakura's mana was no more” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p.

612). The war, invasion, and confiscations had severely circumscribed Ngāti Apakura's spheres of influence, losing control of areas they had traditionally been based – including both Kāwhia and of course, Rangiaowhia (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 230). As matua Tom summarises:

The problem... after the sacking of Rangiaowhia, and the spreading of Apakura to the four winds, [was] that [Apakura's wealth and] influence... dissipated. Because of the loss of Rangiaowhia. So the effect of that was that Apakura tended to be regarded as being under the protection of Maniapoto, Hikairo, and Tūwharetoa in particular, into the twentieth century. Because of the devastation of Rangiaowhia, that sphere of influence didn't disappear [entirely], but it became dissipated because people tended to label Apakura as 'refugees' (Roa, 2022).

Indeed, so devastating was the collapse of Ngāti Apakura, in mana and economy, that during a hearing in 1947, Pei Te Hurinui Jones commented that Apakura were the "worst sufferers under the confiscation" (cited in Laing et al., 2019, p. 10, para 41). "For Ngāti Apakura", wrote Moepātu Borrell and Robert Joseph,

...their universe of cultural meanings regarding Ngāti Apakura history as tangata whenua became fragmented, their knowledge systems became intransmissible, and songs and legends became meaningless for they were tangata with no whenua – left without substance. The loss of land for Ngāti Apakura meant that they were refugees with little or no whenua. In terms of tikanga, the loss of whenua and resources meant Ngāti Apakura could not manaaki and exhibit whakawhanaungatanga each other, let alone manuhiri (Borell and Joseph, 2012, p. 270).

The 'first home' of Ngāti Apakura was thus no more. "[Apakura's] livelihood was taken from them and their belongings were looted. Members of their family were murdered defending their property" (Lennox, 2010, p. 1). In his evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal, Tame Tuwhangai describes how the remaining Ngāti Apakura survivors fled, a diasporic journey that became known as 'Te Ara o Ngā Roimata' – the Trail of Tears (see also Joseph and Borell, 2013, p. 25; Laing et al., 2019, pp. 5–6). As he explains,

After our Tupuna were forced out of Rangiaowhia by the Government Soldiers they had spent some nights in hiding and emerged from the swamps from where they were hidden they gathered together after sometime The Men the Women and children, who accompanied the old Ngati Apakura Chief Te Wano, they started on their long trek 'Te Ara o nga Roimata' (Tuwhangai, 2010, p. 7).

The diaspora scattered in all different directions, with "no choice" but to become subsumed and sheltered by other iwi, including Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Hikairo, and Ngāti Mahuta (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019a, p. 84, 2020, p. 16). In

1927, kaumātua Pehi Rauparaha of Ngāti Apakura, who was then 72, similarly described this desertion of Apakura in “[all] different directions”, following the confiscations and massacre, as far afield as Taupō, Tokaanu, Mōkau, and Waihi (Waikato Times, 1927, p. 9; see also O’Malley, 2016, p. 352). The dispersion of Apakura historically and today is thus a “direct result” of these events, “reflected by the large number of Ngāti Apakura-affiliated marae [within the Maniapoto and Waikato areas]” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 25). So profound was this tragedy of diaspora, precipitated by war and confiscation, that the tūpuna Te Rangīāmoa composed the lament, *E Pa Tō Hau*, in memoriam of the losses suffered by Ngāti Apakura (Meredith et al., 2010, pp. 101–5). In the waiata she weeps, “He ua te ua e, tāheke ko wai i runga rā, ko au ki raro nei ai e, e ua i ako kamo, moe mai e...” (rain, oh rain, you above and I below, and tears fall as rain from my eyes)” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, pp. 14–5, 2018a, pp. 605–6).

He mana anō nō te hapū nei o Apakura | Ngāti Apakura have their own mana

In time, hapū who had sought shelter under the mana of other hapū and iwi gradually came to be known as of those iwi themselves – rather than Apakura (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 432).¹³ Moreover, as matua Tom has emphasised, the strength of whanaungatanga between Apakura and these iwi means “[it is difficult] ‘to separate and individualise’ Apakura apart (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 16). He has also noted that following the confiscations, Henry Tūwhāngai mistakenly recorded Ngāti Apakura as a hapū, rather than the sovereign iwi it had always been (Roa and Harris, 2022). These are some of the reasons why today, Ngāti Apakura is often misread as being a hapū of these present-day iwi, and without knowledge of this historical circumstance, this misconception remains. But of course, many whānau continue to identify as ‘Ngāti Apakura te iwi’, emphasising that despite the tragedy of Rangiaowhia, Apakura endure. “He mana anō nō te hapū nei o Apakura” (‘Ngāti Apakura have their own individual mana’), described matua Tom (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 14), and as Robert Joseph, Moepātu Borell, and Harry Maki-Midwood have described, while Ngāti Apakura does have “close whakapapa ties” to Waikato, Ngāti

¹³ Other Ngāti Apakura hapū that have been identified in the past include Ngāti Hikairo, Rangimahora, Ngāti Rahui, Ngāti Hinetu, Puhiawe, and Ngāti Horotakere. Marae of Ngāti Apakura include Kahotea, Tane Hopuwai, Waipātoto, and Rotowhīro (Tom Roa in Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, pp. 15–6).

Hikairo, and Ngāti Maniapoto, Apakura remains an iwi unto itself, with “distinct whakapapa lines” (Bennion Law, 2014, p. 2, para 10).

This conflation of Apakura with larger iwi like Waikato-Tainui has been used against Apakura interests by the Crown in the past, who have relied on this assumption, stipulating that Apakura is a hapū – rather than an iwi – to that end. In 2017, claimant Stephen Laing refuted these assumptions, evidencing the tribal registration forms of Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Maniapoto, the latter to whom Apakura is also affiliated. Each form lists affiliated marae of Ngāti Apakura, but the two are not identical, with some marae overlapping, but others not. (If the Crown’s case was robust, the two would mirror one another). This is irreconcilable with the Crown’s assertion, and, as matua Stephen explains, “makes no sense” (Laing, 2017, p. para 7, 2):

If we are just Waikato-Tainui, then what about the five Apakura marae that are well outside of the Waikato-Tainui rohe and not accounted for within the Waikato-Tainui structure but are instead listed under the Maniapoto Maori Trust Board structure? And what about the two Apakura marae listed within the Maniapoto Maori Trust Board structure which are solely Apakura hapū affiliated marae (Mangarama and Tane Hopuwai)? How can Maniapoto represent our interests without our involvement? Clearly our identity is much more complex than what the Crown is willing to or cares to engage with or address (Laing, 2017, p. para 7, 2).

[Te hokinga ki Kāwhia | Returning to Kāwhia](#)

Part of the flight to the four winds saw Apakura also retreat to Kāwhia, as Ngāti Taiheke Apakura and Ngāti Te Akaimapuhia kaumātua Gordon Lennox described in 2010. Following the fleeing of Apakura, he explained, some Apakura kin (including matua Gordon’s tūpuna, Pukewhau Penetana, whose words opened this report) went to “[stay] at Awaroa in Kawhia which was a Ngati Taheke Apakura block of land they had mana over”. In a later attempt to claim back what was lost, “[Apakura also] reconnoitred with Tawhiao and stayed with him until the 1880’s in the hope that their land would be returned to them” (Lennox, 2010, p. 1). Again in 2010, matua Gordon summarised to the Waitangi Tribunal the history of Apakura as one of abject loss, following the atrocities at Rangiaowhia: “Ngāti Apakura have been basically a tribe that has been minimised since the war of 1863 and the confiscations that followed and a lot of the hapū’s that were part of Apakura have been taken into other tribes, such as Maniapoto, Hikairo, Mahuta and so on and so forth.” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010a, p. 134). As Robert Joseph has similarly noted,

Ngāti Apakura [has become] a scattered people both geographically and socio-politically. Ngāti Apakura used to be a strong, vibrant and thriving Iwi with many constituent hapū, with mana whenua in a vast area around Kāwhia, Pirongia, Ngāhinapouri, Tuhikaramea, Ōhaupo, Rangiaowhia, Kakepuku, and Te Awamutu with a strong economic base with numerous resources which resulted in amazing prosperity. Ngāti Apakura had mana motuhake prior to the 1864 invasion. The egregious actions of the Crown changed everything (Joseph, 2013, pp. 12–3).

Tū tonu te mana Apakura i Kāwhia | Apakura's enduring mana at Kāwhia

Kāwhia was a natural shelter for Apakura following the massacre and destruction of Rangiaowhia, especially so given their mana had been well-established there. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century, we see Apakura consolidating their presence in Kāwhia in various ways. As we have done so far, we can infer Apakura's customary marine rights through their continued existence and presence in Kāwhia, but at times, we are also able to draw on explicit evidence that validates this point as well. More on this shortly.

Following Rangiaowhia, on 7 February 1889 Ngāti Hikairo gifted the 743-acre Mangaora block (where Puti Point is) to Ngāti Apakura (Laing et al., 2019, p. 9, para 41), and later in 1892, Hikairo also gifted Kāwhia E, Te Whetutakaora of 146 acres (Managaroa is on the main road into Kawhia, with a bridge close by named after Puti Point) (see also Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 432 [Footnote 54], 2018, p. 603). Kāwhia E was gifted “out of affection for those outside of Hikairo, including Apakura” (Bennion Law, 2014, p. 81; Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 4). This allowed space for Apakura refugees to be based, and a shelter for future descendants. Manga Ormsby reflects on this:

Ka rongo au i ngā kōrero, ngā koroheke rānei mō ō rātou whenua i raupatuhia I murua e rongo ana tērā mai i te wā e iti ana kua rongo ake te whakaaro ka mōhio ki te whakarongo i te kōrero. Ka rongo ana ki a rātou i te murua o ngā whenua o Ngāti Apakura. Māringanui i arohangia i tērā iwi o rātou, e Hikairo, ka whakawhiwhia ake a Mangaora. [I heard those stories from very early times when I could first learn to speak and I heard of the confiscation of Ngāti Apakura lands and we were fortunate that Ngāti Hikairo gave us lands.] (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010b, p. 25).

A point of clarification is important here. While these gifts are significant, it is important to read them as *enhancing* Apakura's continued status and presence in the Kāwhia harbour, with the Crown's actions at Rangiaowhia cementing the connection of Apakura to Kāwhia moana. There is perhaps a misapprehension that Apakura's

basis in Kāwhia is through the gifting of the Mangaroa block from Hikairo, which is inconsistent with the historical narratives explored in this report. Thus, Ngāti Hikairo's gift alone did not elevate Apakura to mana whenua status in Kāwhia, but augmented an already well-established claim.

Nevertheless, gifted lands became central to Apakura presence in the Kāwhia harbour. In evidence provided by matua Stephen Laing to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2014, he detailed his whānau connection to the Mangaroa 2 block, and how his grandmother raised his mother, Rihi Te Rauparaha, there in the late 1800s to early 1900s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014b, p. 294). Kuia Rihi is asserted as a tūpuna of Apakura (Roa, 2022). Matua Stephen describes his mother's relationship to the whenua there: "My mother and Rihi, with the rest of the whānau, cultivated the land. There were extensive vegetable gardens and fruit trees. The whānau would also collect kaimoana from the Kāwhia Harbour" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014b, p. 294). Through matua Stephen's words we explicitly see the relationships between Apakura tūpuna and Kāwhia moana, harvesting kai both from the whenua and moana in a customary manner, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Ngā kupu o ngā whitu tekau | Writings of the 1870s

The written record for the 1870s remains imprinted with the histories and stories of Ngāti Apakura in Kāwhia, with tūpuna replete across mediascapes of the time. These are instances that demonstrate Apakura presence in Kāwhia harbour in the years following Rangiaowhia. For example, Haupōkia and his descendants are prominent in news media, and the broader Māori political landscape. For example, a widely circulated Government telegram, republished by various newspapers, described the visit of the steamboat *Luna* to Kāwhia, on April 2, 1873 (*Bruce Herald*, 1873, p. 3; *Marlborough Press*, 1873, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 1873, p. 2). The ship carried then acting Governor Mclean, enroute to Wellington, and anchored nearby the mouth of the Waiharakeke river (*Bruce Herald*, 1873, p. 3). There the dignitaries met Haupōkia (likely son of Haupōkia Te Pakaru):

[The *Luna* anchored] close to the house formerly occupied by Mr S. A. Joseph, now of Messrs Montefiore, Joseph, and Co., Sydney. Some Maoris at once came off, accompanied by the chief Manehao's two sons and Haupokia (*Marlborough Press*, 1873, p. 2).

After the encounter, Haupōkia then “accompanied Mr McLean to Wellington” (*Marlborough Press*, 1873, p. 2). The *Wanganui Herald* similarly captured Haupōkia’s journey, and after Wellington, they went south to Alexandra. In that article, Haupōkia proclaims, in relation to the Kingite (Kīngitanga) movement, that “he and his tribe will not interfere between the Government, and the apprehension of Purukutu” (*Wanganui Herald*, 1873, p. 2). This was a statement of significant gravity, because Apakura had supported and allied with the Kīngitanga up until the ransacking of Rangiaowhia. These chief-to-chief encounters during this diplomatic journey reflects Haupōkia’s standing as a prominent rangatira, and also his mana as a rangatira in Kāwhia moana, like that of his father. Further, that the *Luna* docked near the house formerly owned by Joseph Montefiore is no accident, for, as we have seen, this was built by Haupōkia Te Pakaru (Haupōkia’s father), who built relationships with the Jewish merchant earlier in the 1830s.

Haupōkia’s continued standing as a rangatira is reflected in a letter he wrote in 1876 concerning the return of Māori land (Te Pakaru, 1876, p. 1). Dispatched from Kāwhia on 20 June, to his friend Bush at the Raglan Court, Haupōkia described his recent return from Hikurangi, and his attendance at speeches delivered by Tawhiao and settler politician Donald McLean to Waikato rangatira. He wrote,

I penei hoki a Tawhiao ki te ritenga o te Maori. Ahakoa he tutua te tangata, kei te kupu te rangatiratanga. Ka tirohia te tika o taua kupu, te marama, ka hoki te whenua. Tawhiao followed Maori custom, [which says] that even if a person is a commoner, his nobility lies in his words. We will see the correctness, the evidence, of that statement when the land comes back (Te Pakaru, 1876, p. 1).

In his measured prod towards McLean and the government for seizing land, as well as the duplicitous nature of words and promises, he subtly implies that only upon the actual return of land will their mana – and words – be validated. Yet again, we see the art of chieftainship alive in Haupōkia (the junior) in highlighting an issue of such gravity (the return of land), penning a letter to his contemporary, Bush, to do so. These are the continued diplomatic actions of a rangatira, and that this letter was sent in 1876 from Kāwhia continues to demonstrate this Apakura rangatira’s presence and base in Kāwhia, and his engagement as a rangatira in diplomatic affairs elsewhere in Te Rohe Pōtae.

Later, in the same year, another government communique published in the *Bay of Plenty Times* in 1876, from Raglan (where the younger Haupōkia would have

frequented given the proximity to Kāwhia) the ‘Hauhau’ religion – Pai Mārire – was being discussed. The article references a letter submitted by Haupōkia with regards to this, which infers “no evil is anticipated” as a result of the movement (*Bay of Plenty Times*, 1876, p. 3). While the mention to Haupōkia is passing, it nonetheless reflects a continued visible presence of the Apakura tūpuna in Kāwhia and surrounds, and in the case of the letter to Bush, so much so that he appears in the everyday politics of colonial New Zealand life. These various examples from across the 1870s emphasise the continuity of Apakura rangatiratanga in Kāwhia, using the moana and harbour as a key post for trading, negotiation, and diplomacy. Again, it is from here that we can reasonably infer the customary marine rights this continued to give rise to, for Ngāti Apakura post-Rangiaowhia.

Te mutunga o te rautau | Close of the nineteenth century

As we move to the end of the nineteenth century, the pattern of Apakura presence and occupation in Kāwhia harbour continues. From 1883, settlers had moved to, and based themselves in Kāwhia itself, and to solidify Crown control following the sovereignty wars in the decades prior,¹⁴ militia were stationed in the town (O’Malley, 2016, p. 545). Despite this, the historical record continues to evidence Apakura mana within Kāwhia moana, reflected through continued Apakura interests in land, and the formal awarding of title to them. To begin, the Te Rohe Potae (Aotea) block title investigation took place in 1886, which identified three Apakura rangatira who had interests in that land: Aperahama Patene, Hone Arama, and Rangiterewai Haupokia (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 4). Later, in 1899, both Ngāti Hikairo and some Ngāti Apakura tūpuna were awarded a 5356-acre segment of the Aotea-Rohe Pōtae block in Kāwhia. As we have already seen, Hikairo gifted the 743-acre Mangaora block and ‘Kawhia E’ to Apakura.¹⁵ But like the Aotea-Rohe Pōtae block, Mangaora was partitioned in 1910, from which Apakura were then awarded the smaller 63-acre ‘Mangaroa 2’, known also as Puti Point. Later in 1894, a petition was brought by Aperahama Barton of Te Akaimapuhia, who claimed the Te Awaroa block in Kāwhia “through ancestry and occupation” in the area. In speaking of this in evidence presented to the Waitangi Tribunal, matua Gordon Lennox emphasised how these Apakura interests through Te Akaimapuhia

¹⁴ See Moana Jackson’s framing of these conflicts as wars for sovereignty (Jackson, 2016).

¹⁵ While Kawhia E became the subject of Crown purchase, it does evidence Apakura interests in the Kāwhia harbour through the 1890s.

remain an example of Apakura mana whenua at Kāwhia (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014b, p. 95, see also 2020, p. 432). While the history of these transactions creates a complicated and somewhat challenging narrative to follow, they underscore an enduring Apakura presence in Kāwhia moana and by extension, their customary marine rights in the area.

A point of clarification is important here. As we have seen, there remains a close whakapapa relationship between hapū in Kāwhia (i.e., Ngāti Hikairo and Apakura), and, following the destruction of Rangiaowhia, Apakura refugees were taken in by related iwi, and in time, assumed those iwi identities, rather than Ngāti Apakura. An upshot from this situation is that Apakura interests in land have sometimes been recorded as, for example, Ngāti Hikairo. This was the case with the tūpuna Te Rauparaha Penetana being awarded interests in Kāwhia blocks in 1886, which were actually of Apakura, and thus the court recorded these as Hikairo interests (OT MB 2 p. 104, in Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 1). As matua Stephen Laing has explained, the effect of this has been to undermine Apakura identity and their connection to these lands (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 2). He continues, “[b]ecause our lands were awarded to individuals in a way that did not reflect our Ngāti Apakura mana whenua and our relationships with neighbouring iwi and hapu, it is difficult to say what lands were actually awarded to Ngāti Apakura through this process” (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 2). While this does highlight the difficulty in properly identifying Apakura land interests, there is a plethora of other evidence that nonetheless achieves this.

Te reta o Penetana | Penetana’s letter

Throughout the written archive of Ngāti Apakura, tūpuna Penetana Pukewhau’s letter regarding the development of Apakura’s sovereign lands remains a profound insight into the reach of Ngāti Apakura’s territorial mana. His words began this report, and it is during this time period, on July 28, 1898, that he wrote his famous letter:

Rārangi tuatahi tēnei o tāku whakahaere mo te mahi ahuwhehenua a tēnei iwi Apakura. Koia tēnei ā rātou kāinga e rua ko Rangiaowhia, ko Kāwhia. This is the first line of my involvement in the development of Apakura iwi lands. These are their two homes, Rangiaowhia and Kawhia (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 9).

He went on to describe how Ngāti Apakura has “...begun farming wheat at Kawhia. It is taken to the mill and churned round and round. It is very precious. Their Pakeha is Hone Kaora [(likely John Cassells)]... Ngati Apakura move between their settlements [of] Rangiaohia and Kawhia” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014c, p. 1). Penetana here

underscores Apakura's continued mana in Kāwhia, as well as Rangiaowhia, in the late nineteenth century. Describing both as 'home' reinforces that Apakura were not newcomers to Kāwhia, but – as this report has detailed at length – mana whenua in their own right. A photo remains of koro Penetana, in Figure 7 below.



Figure 7: (Right) The tūpuna Penetana Pukewhau, born circa 1830, died 1904. Wai 898 #P2(a) **PERMISSION PENDING** (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013b).

Haupōkia nui tonu | The enduring pre-eminence of Haupōkia

Haupōkia and his many namesakes remain central protagonists throughout the epic of Ngāti Apakura, both in Waikato and Kāwhia, in the late nineteenth century. In 1886, the *New Zealand Herald* wrote of a reported discovery of gold in Kāwhia, in Harihari (close to Marekopa); to underscore the report's authenticity, the *Herald* makes mention of Haupōkia, explaining that "Haupokia himself believes in the report" (New Zealand Herald, 1886, p. 5). The report goes on to say that the area in which the discovery was made was the same locale in which gold was found by Reverend Whiteley some twenty years prior. Haupokia Te Pakaru worked closely with Reverend Whiteley, and it is likely the Haupokia identified in the *Herald's* article is his son or grandson. A segment of land at Harihari later became of interest to the Crown, who, from 30 October 1890, leased it as a grazing run under the *Land Act 1885*. Haupōkia Te Pakarū explained to the then Native Minister that Nuitone Te Pakarū (his senior), "...who had opposed land sales at the time of the Harihari block transaction, 'was one of the old people who had a very strong claim to that block and it has ever since been in occupation by him and then by me'" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a, p. 315; Boulton, 2011, pp. 312–4).

Elsewhere, in 1892, Haupōkia is listed as one of several kaitono claiming for the Te Tahaora block in the Kāwhia harbour (*Ko te Kahiti o Nui Tirenī*, 1892, p. 39). At the turn of the twentieth century, Haupōkia remains a prominent figure in such judicial hearings, as Grant Young's research has shown (Young, 2003). In short, Young explored the ways in which the Land Court had been used by claimants as a forum to continue old antagonisms, conflicts, and battles from the past. One such issue brought to the Otorohanga court in 1900 concerned Haupōkia Te Pakaru's claim of conquest over an 11,500 acre block in the Kāwhia harbour, Taumatatotara (Young, 2003, pp. 268–70). As we saw earlier, Ngāti Toa had abandoned the harbour in 1819, resettling further south in Kāpiti. The claimants in this case challenged Haupōkia's right of occupation based on this conquest. The court found in favour of these claimants, finding Haupōkia's occupation " 'too slight' to justify a longer 'ancestral right'", whereupon "[o]ccupation over the last generation or two did not constitute this 'original right'" (Young, 2003, p. 271). Although finding against Haupōkia, the court's acknowledgement of at least one or two generations of presence at Taumatatotara is useful for our purposes, in detailing the ongoing presence of Ngāti Apakura in the

Kāwhia harbour area. Further, this moment should be read in conjunction with the broader narratives of Apakura's enduring mana at Kāwhia, which, in contrast to the 1900 case, continue to show ancestral continuity, and in that, a relationship to moana and the customary marine area.

As move into the twentieth century, the goings on of the Haupōkia whānau continue to be imprinted in the mediascape of the time. The *Kawhia Settler and Raglan Advertiser*, for example, detail court records that identify a Toehau Haupokia receiving judgement by default in a civil case, and an R.J. Haupokia received summons in another civil case (*Kawhia Settler and Raglan Advertiser*, 1918, p. 4). This again reflects an Apakura presence in Kāwhia, continuing into the early twentieth century. From gold, to the leasing land and legal transactions, these affairs demonstrate a maintained Ngāti Apakura presence at Harihari, and indeed in Kāwhia more broadly at this time. The imprint throughout these examples at the close of the nineteenth century is of Apakura's enduring mana in the area, and equally so, their use of customary marine resources to nourish themselves, their whānau and hapū.

Rihi Te Rauparaha

Puti Point (Mangaora 2) became known as 'te Kāri o Rihi', or the Garden of Rihi, in reference to the celebrated ancestress Rihi Te Rauparaha (see Figure 8), born in the late nineteenth century, who lived and owned of the block (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, pp. 11–2; Bennion Law, 2014, p. 88). Kuia Rihi and her whānau regularly collected kaimoana from the harbour, and cultivated the land as well (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 12). For example, her mokopuna Raymond Fenton described how his father, Huia William Fenton, was born (in 1922) and raised at Puti Point by Rihi (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013c, p. 3). Huia also lived at Pirongia, but "...[t]he whānau moved between these two kainga just like their ancestors before them. This was to get kaimoana from Puti Point and use the inland whenua for growing food and catching tuna" (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013c, p. 3). This is clear evidence of Apakura presence in the Kāwhia harbour in the early- to mid-twentieth century, in exercising customary rights to Kāwhia moana from Puti Point.

But the Crown was eager to acquire Rihi's whenua. An assiduous record keeper, she vehemently opposed this, protecting it with fierce determination. Correspondence between her and the Native Department in the years that followed reveals an epic of

David-and-Goliath proportions, as she stood firm and resisted encroachment upon her whenua. Her prolonged struggle with the Crown extended from 1919 to 1927, writing at one point, for example, of the dismay of finding a telegraph pole erected on her land while she was away at Christmas, “without consulting me about it” (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 14). Her message to the Crown was clear, reminding them of whose land this was. She fervently protested the proposal to acquire her land for “scenery preservation” under the Public Works Act 1903, and in this instance, her resistance was so great that it scuttled the Crown’s attempt to do so (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 511).¹⁶



Figure 8: Photo of tūpuna Rihī Te Rauaparaha with her children in 1910, likely taken at Puti Point in Kāwhia (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 2). [PERMISSION PENDING]

By the time of the Kāwhia Land Development Scheme in the 1930s, however, the Crown was willing to force through its agenda, irrespective of Rihī’s opposition. The

¹⁶ As Rihī’s great-grandson Gordon Lennox explained, “It appears that my great grandmother Rihī Te Rauaparaha, amongst others, made a conscious effort to have as much of our Apakura rohe recorded as possible” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013b, p. 4, para 16). It is through those efforts, and her petitioning the government so diligently, that that record remains intact.

Scheme was established in 1931, and was one of several Depression-era initiatives designed to provide financial assistance to ‘impoverished’ Māori communities, following the ascension of the *Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 499). The scheme was met with substantial opposition from landowners, spearheaded by kuia Rihi. As a field officer for the Native Department, Pei Te Hurinui Jones inspected the lands in question to establish their economic development potential (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 509). Consultation with landowners was part and parcel of this process, but, as the Waitangi Tribunal has noted, his consultation efforts were not comprehensive, and “not all owners consented to the development on their lands” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 510). To this, however, “Jones was unresponsive”, dismissing the opposition of Mangaora and Kāwhia landowners in May 1931 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 510). Ngāti Apakura, owners of Mangaora blocks 1-7 did not want their lands entangled in such a scheme, or to be subject to mortgage, but all blocks were subsequently included in the Land Development Scheme, and later subsumed into the counterpart Maniapoto scheme in 1938 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 510). Throughout, Ngāti Apakura opposition was abundantly clear: “they did not want their lands included in the land development programme” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 510), neither in Kāwhia nor Mangaora (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014d, pp. 293–4).

And so to her great dismay, Rihi witnessed her home being subsumed into the Kāwhia Land Development Scheme, and became, in practice, under the authority of the government. In October 1933, she petitioned then Prime Minister Gordon Coates, demanding an end to the development on her land, and the “swaggers” who were often onsite. In this, she did not want “...to allow my children and grandchildren to become wanderers on the road” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 511). The scheme also prohibited the private alienation of land, which meant that Rihi could not sell produce or resources from her land, as her whānau had done in the past by “supplying the local dairy factory with firewood” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 511). She later engaged lawyers to later contact the Native Minister and Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage. In 1936 he responded, writing that the Native Department had “...no intention of dispossession you of your land and you can rest assured that nothing further will be done without the owners being consulted” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 512). This statement, and the later actions of officials, saw a temporary cessation of work on Rihi’s whenua, but critically, the land “remained within the scheme.”

Kuia Rihi passed in 1942, and with that, her presence and resistance. In time, her land became combined with the rest of the Mangaora blocks (becoming ‘Mangaora A’), resulting in Ngāti Apakura “los[ing] management and control over their lands for a number of years” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 513). In the words of matua Stephen Laing, “We therefore have lost our rangatiratanga over the 63 acre Mangaora 2 block” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 513). In this saga, so the Waitangi Tribunal summarises, “the Crown failed to establish consent of the majority of landowners”, but proceeded to take control of Rihi’s whenua despite the Native Minister’s assurance the scheme would not “interfere with her land” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 513). In the years following her passing, this dispossession continued. In 1969, Apakura lost the land interests at Puti Point entirely through a process of compulsory conversion under the *Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967* (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, pp. 15–6, specifically para. 131; Bennion Law, 2014, p. 89). This “permanently sever[ed]” whānau ties to these lands (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 17), and once again we see how Apakura’s land interests have been “severely affected” by raupatu, alienation, and land title reforms (Tamaki Legal, 2013a, p. 23). For matua Stephen, the cumulative loss of this whenua was especially hard on his whānau:

[T]he alienation of our whanau interests has come at a huge loss to us. It deeply saddens me to know of all of the struggles Rihi Te Rauparaha and my mother went through, as well as other members of the whanau, to try and keep this land for their future generations and that now our rangatiratanga at Puti Point has been severely diluted or, as in my case, lost entirely (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 461).

Nevertheless, Rihi’s mana wahine, strength, determination, and vigour live on in the pages of Apakura history. Given her powerful opposition, and tireless lobbying of government, the Waitangi Tribunal subsequently found that the 1930s land management scheme in Kāwhia was “...inconsistent with principles of the Treaty of Waitangi” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 544). This chronicle emphasises the powerful link Rihi and her whānau have to the whenua, and the lengths they went to in order to protect it. This is an ongoing exercise of kaitiakitanga and mana whenua, evidencing the relationship Apakura has with Kāwhia moana, but also demonstrates how the connection to whenua can always be interrupted by the actions of the Crown.

Ngā nuipepa o ngā 20 me ngā 30 | Mediascapes of the 1920s and 1930s

As we move toward the mid-twentieth century, there remains a media imprint of Apakura tūpuna in and around Kāwhia harbour. In 1922, the *Auckland Star* wrote of the death of Ngāti Apakura rangatira, Noka Hukanui. Koro Noka was born in Kāwhia, and his “boyhood was spent near where the ancestors of his people landed from Hawaiki about the year 1350” (*Auckland Star*, 1922, p. 5); he also fought against the British invasions of the Waikato during the wars of the 1860s. In 1922 again, an article from the *Pahiatua Herald* described the new Governor’s arrival to New Zealand, Lord Liverpool, who was welcomed by Kirimata Charles Peters “of the Ngati Apakura tribe, of Kawhia” (*Pahiatua Herald*, 1912, p. 3). That the article specifies Kirimata’s Apakura connection in being “of Kawhia” denotes the continued presence of the iwi in the Kāwhia moana. Four years later, Rerehau Haupōkia, grandson of Nuitone Haupōkia, died at Kinohaku, in Kāwhia, 1926. The *Waipa Post* noted that his tangi drew “together the largest crowd of Maoris and Europeans ever seen in Kawhia South” (*Waipa Post*, 1926), and that he was well respected by Pākehā. In 1926 as well, another Haupōkia whanaunga is mentioned: Tuhea Haupokia. Representing Kinohaku in the Kāwhia Annual Regatta in 1926, Tuhea is noted as part of the crew for the Champion Whaleboat Race, and Flying-Mile Whaleboat Race (*Kawhia Settler and Raglan Advitiser*, 1926, p. 2). Tuhea was to suffer a motor accident later in 1930, so writes the *Kawhia Settler and Raglan Advitiser*, in which he fractured his skull. He was sent to Hamilton from Kāwhia for an x-ray examination (*Kawhia Settler and Raglan Advitiser*, 1930, p. 2). These disparate but connected examples across the mediascape of the 1920s, from exploits in life and in death, show a continued footprint of Ngāti Apakura descendants in the Kāwhia harbour, continuing from the prior century. As we have emphasised across this report, it is reasonable to presume nourishment from the moana continued during this time, including partaking in water sports as Tuhea did during the 1926 regatta.

Ngarongo-Herehere Rangitawa

In the 1930s, journalist James Cowan published *The Maori: Yesterday and Today* (Cowan, 1930). In it, he details the story of Ngarongo-Herehere Rangitawa, ostensibly of Ngāti Urunumia descent (Roa, 2022),¹⁷ who grew up in the Kāwhia harbour and

¹⁷ Matua Tom Roa mentioned kuia Ngarono “always asserted Urunumia”, but this may also have included Apakura (Roa, 2022).

describes her upbringing (Cowan, 1930, pp. 192–8). Translated by Cowan, Ngarongo details her upbringing and relationship with Kāwhia to her Ngāti Maniapoto whanaunga, Raureti Te Huia, from further inland at Waipā. Given the fluidity and interconnection of whakapapa links between Kāwhia whānau of the time, there is a possibility kuia Ngarongo had Apakura affiliations as well. Thus, she speaks of the abundance of kai from the harbour (Cowan, 1930, pp. 193–4), including a variety of fish and shellfish, and details where and how certain species were caught and processed for eating (Cowan, 1930, pp. 193–4). As she describes:

The pipi shellfish was one of our most abundant foods; our hapu's ground was Taaoro yonder; the kind of pipi found there was the kokota. There was another cockle called the pipi hungangi; this was very plentiful, and for it we worked the sand-banks and tide-washed flats at Tuhingara, Toreparu, Otaroī, Hakaha, Te Wharau, Tahunaroa, Te Maire, and other places. For the pupu shellfish we worked Tarapikau and other banks. Another food was the tuna, the eel. We had many eel weirs, too, but my food-gathering was chiefly on the seashore and in the estuaries. There were many places where we hauled the nets for fish of the sea; we had landing-places for tamure (snapper), and mango (shark) at Te Umuroa, at Te Maire, at Ohau, at Whangamumu, and many other beaches, where we brought the hauls ashore and split the fish up and hung them in long lines to dry in the sun. There was the patiki, too, the flounder. It was most pleasant work, that fishing of old. There were three places in particular where our hapu brought its catches of sharks and dogfish ashore; they were Ngawhakauruhanga, Ohau, and Purakau. We had special places where we fished for moki (cod) and for the koiro (conger-eel), and there was also a place where the whai (stingaree) abounded. That was at Koutu-kowhai. There was, too, small fresh-water fish called the mohi-mohi, and there was an appointed place for taking it. Our best time for catching fish of all kinds was from November to March, when the north and north-east winds blew and the weather was pleasant and warm. That was when the nets were drawn. All the people were engaged in this work, and great numbers of fish were sun-dried for winter food. And there was, too, the spearing of flounder by torchlight at night. My son, that was a delightful occupation, the rama patiki. There were certain nights when these patiki were plentiful on the sand-banks, and that was when we got great numbers of them by means of torch and spear (Cowan, 1930, pp. 193–4).

It is not clear from the text alone if Ngarongo also belongs to Ngāti Apakura, but some insight is offered by an anecdote she later shares in the article about Hone Te One¹⁸ and his vessel, the *Nepukaneha* (Nebuchadnezzar) (Cowan, 1930, p. 196). She also makes mention of the vessel *Aotearoa*, and explains that both that and the

¹⁸ Hone Te One was a Ngāti Hikairo rangatira, as well as Native Magistrate (National Library of New Zealand, 2022).

Nepukaneha were used to transport goods – “wheat and maize, fruit, pigs, pumpkins, vegetable marrows, and dressed flax” (Cowan, 1930, p. 196) – to Onehunga for trade. Given the trading storehouse and land block Ngāti Apakura owned in Onehunga, it is likely Apakura rangatira were directly involved with these ships, and by similar extension, to Ngarongo herself. Keep in mind as well that Haupōkia I was Ngāti Urunumia, and thus a tūpuna to Ngarongo, which may also connect her to Ngāti Apakura. While there is a degree of historical interpretation here, her story nonetheless provides considerable insight into the day-to-day life of hapū living around Kāwhia moana and gathering kai, and through this Urunumia and Apakura connection, exercising their customary marine rights accordingly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the same year as Cowan published *The Maori*, koro Reihana Rangitaawa was born, likely a mokopuna of Ngarongo, and similarly of Ngāti Urunumia descent. In evidence he provided to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2013, koro Reihana spoke of his birth and upbringing in the Kāwhia harbour in the early- to mid-twentieth century (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014e, pp. 312–4). He describes his relationship to the harbour, in Waipuna, but also the challenges brought by Pākehā farmers:

I was born at Waipuna in Kāwhia on 30 June 1930. I am the ninth from 19 children. Fifteen of my brothers and sisters grew up and have families of their own. Only four are alive today, two boys and two girls. My oldest sister, Lucy Henry, myself, my youngest sister Pera MacDonald (she would have been here but she's down at Te Papa), and my younger brother Willie Āmuri (I don't know whether he's here). We grew up on the Hauturu-Waipuna C block. There are a number of wāhi tapu and urupā located on that block – Reihana Hikuroa and his wife Māwe are buried in one of the urupā there. Reihana was my father's cousin. They call the place where Reihana lived Te Mania. My great grand uncle and great grand aunty are buried in another urupā on the block. Their whānau name was Hepi. There were quite a few owners in that block. I have always wanted to go back to my birthplace at Waipuna, however I have been unable to because the majority of my parents and grandparents shares were taken as they were deemed uneconomic by the Crown. My nephew Bill will discuss how these shares were taken being deemed uneconomic. When I was about six years old the block where our home was situated became landlocked, whereas previously we had access to the main road, Kinohaku-Kāwhia Road... Our only way to get to Kāwhia was by launch which took about two hours, otherwise we accessed the road along the foreshore at low tide onto Kinohaku-Kāwhia Road. We could not go through the farmers land because he threatened us if we put a foot on his farm. From our house it was about nine miles to the nearest school in Kinohaku. It was about two and a half miles to get to the Waiharakeke Bridge which involved us walking along the foreshore at low tide (because of how our block

was landlocked). Because of the distance in our early years we did not attend school. The Education Board gave notice to my father that he would be fined if we did not attend school. As a result of the Education Board notice, when I was about seven years old we moved to Māhoe where we had other land from our grandparents. One of the reasons we moved there was because the local cream truck driver agreed to transport us to Kinohaku 1 School at Waiharakeke. However, no sooner had we moved there than we were told that we could not cross the Pākehā dairy farmer's land to get to the main road. We were landlocked again! We had to wait for low tide or swim across the Waiharakeke channel to get to the main road, Ōwhiro Road. It would have taken a further nine miles (eighteen miles in total) to get to school. Within a period of about two to three years we moved again to Kinohaku on the Kāwhia-Kinohaku road. We built a small house at Waitaumanu in 1939 and at the age of nine and a half I began to attend school at Kinohaku 2 School. This was three and half miles from our home. I attended school here for about two years. Because of the distance, sometimes we were late and therefore we get the strap (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014e, pp. 312–4).

Ancestral names related to Ngāti Apakura are replete in koro Reihana's story, and equally so using Kāwhia whenua and moana as a conduit of transport, a place to bury the dead, and likely a space from which to gather kai as well. If we can see in here his Apakura links, as we inferred from his tūpuna before him, koro Reihana's kōrero emphasises an ongoing relationship to Kāwhia moana through to wartime New Zealand (although one that was impeded by Pākehā farmers in later years).

Following the end of World War II, the efforts of the Kinohaku Tribal Committee emerge from the historical record. Based around where koro Reihana was later based, the Committee attempted to protect the mana and wellbeing of Kāwhia moana. In exercising kaitiakitanga over the harbour and her resources, the Committee consistently raised the issue of fish depletion in the Kāwhia Harbour from 1946-8, with letters and correspondence sent to relevant authorities. This, however, was to no avail (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014a, p. 1552), their concerns being ignored or disregarded. But crucially, this highlights an ongoing engagement with the mauri and wellbeing of Kāwhia harbour in the mid-twentieth century, as a classic display of kaitiakitanga over a critical resource. While this is a short snippet of history, it nonetheless illustrates how Apakura-related whānau were attempting to maintain customary marine rights for their people, and the preservation of mana ika therein.

Mai i tuawhenua ki uta | From the mountains to the sea

Earlier in this report, we saw the tikanga kai between Ngāti Toa-rangatira, who prior to the 1820s held mana whenua status at Kāwhia, and their inland whanaunga, Ngāti Apakura. This was reciprocal exchange of resources, with each iwi harvesting inland or coastal resources respectively, under one another's respective mana (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013a, pp. 46–7). In the 1950s and 1960s, this tikanga remained intact, although this time with Kāwhia-based Ngāti Apakura. In describing elements of his upbringing, matua Tom Roa details what this tikanga kai looked like for him as he grew up in post-war Aotearoa:

We would go to Kāwhia from Ōtorohanga, and ask, 'What's the fishing like over there?' And they [might] say, 'No, the moon's not good, we'll go somewhere else.' And when they'd come inland, they'd say 'How's the eels?' I once visited our Uncle, John Rubay [of Apakura]. [We drove over], and Uncle says 'Come have a cup of tea. Best you go over there [for kai moana].' We're sitting there for two hours with him, and he wouldn't let my parents go. And I'm playing with one of his sons. And then one of his sons comes in, with a couple of sack loads of fish, and mussels, and a sack load of pipis. And Uncle John does a bit of a cackle and a laugh, and Dad and Uncle Harry do a bit of a laugh too. Cos that's part of the tikanga. They have every right to have kai [from the moana], and Uncle John's manaaki of them is to give it to them, knowing when he comes to Ōtorohanga, there'll be kai from the gardens, and kai from the river. And that's what Dad did, whenever Uncle John and Auntie Agnes came into town. This was in the 1950s/1960s. We never went to the beach to swim, but primarily to get kai. In the 50s, there was a sandbar in Kāwhia harbour, which had its own name. (I've forgotten it). We would go to Kāwhia, and knock on somebody's door, and they would row us out there on a row boat to get pipis on a sandbar out there. And they'd row us out to the mussel beds too. We had every right to those kai. And not only did we have a right, our relations there would provide us with the wherewithal to access that kai. It was a clearly understood tikanga. John Kāti and others at Waitere still do that. They provide flounder, they just manaaki people. But [it's] not just about manaaki, but knowing the tikanga of that manaaki. There was a favourite floundering bay when I was a kid. And we'd go out torching for flounder, and then some of the relations from Kāwhia would come along and join us. There was never 'Hey, what do you think you're doing?' It was [just] accepted you could go and get your flounder, [and you never] never needed permission. Just down from Waipapa marae. Same with pūpū, all kinds of kai. We could go and get whenever it suited... [For] tangi [or] unveiling[s], [we'd go] to fill our own larder. In the process some [kai moana] might end up in the fridge [or meatsafe] at home... And sometimes seafood would end up in there. Pipis on string, my chewing gum. It was a natural thing to do (Roa, 2022).

More than 130 years on, this tikanga kai of reciprocity between the coast and inland remained, and these experiences of matua Tom demonstrate an ongoing Ngāti

Apakura presence in Kāwhia harbour, and one directly premised on gathering and sharing kaimoana in customary use of the moana's plenty. Further, Apakura's continued presence in Kāwhia is reflected in matua Tom's whanaunga, Apakura descendant Tame Tuwhangai, who was born in Kāwhia in the early 1960s "and raised on the south side of Kāwhia Harbour (Tuwhangai, 2013, p. 2). The life matua Tom illustrates is likely one matua Tame similarly experienced growing up 'on the south side'.

He whenua noa iho? Ngā rima tekau | 'Idle Māori lands': the 1950s

As we move into the 1950s, a new form of land alienation for Apakura emerged, this time through the dangerous label of 'idle lands'. At the time, Māori lands considered 'underperforming' by Pākehā standards were at risk of being further alienated (Brooking, 1996, 1992; Waitangi Tribunal, 2019b, pp. 109, 113–4). Land had to be productively used – in a capitalist sense – and was considered "productive [only] if it was being farmed... by Pākehā farmers" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019b, pp. 109, 112). Under section 387 of the *Māori Affairs Act 1953*, and the related *Māori Purposes Act 1950*, councils could bring action against landowners "...if the land was either unoccupied or unfarmed or not kept cleared of noxious weeds or if the owners had failed to pay rates" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019b, p. 112). The Kāwhia County Council actively prosecuted iwi and hapū landowners to this effect (p. 112), likely in a bid to force the payment of rates (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019b, p. 113). One such example was the Kāwhia County Council's action over the Apakura-held Awaroa B44B block in March 1954, "on the grounds that the block had weeds and was not being properly farmed, even though one of the owners was grazing the land and was seeking a formal lease" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019b, pp. 114–5). The land was then subsumed into the Māori Trustee's jurisdiction in 1955, before leasing it in twenty-year or decade increments – likely without proper consultation and agreeance of the Ngāti Apakura landowners (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019b, p. 115). But throughout these encounters, what has endured is Ngāti Apakura's presence and link to whenua and moana in Kāwhia harbour, in spite of the machinations of local government. Apakura's continued residence in Kāwhia nonetheless demonstrates an ongoing relationship to the moana, even if that relationship has been frustrated by local government politics. All in all, 'Apakura nui tonu ē': Apakura are everlasting.

Te huringa rautau | The turn of the twenty-first century

At the beginning of this report, we emphasised how the historical record for Ngāti Apakura is indelibly fractured, largely due to the social, political, and economic fallout precipitated by the ransacking of Rangiaowhia. While the nineteenth century is replete with Apakura tūpuna making their mark on a changing world, this characteristic does not carry through in earnest into the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, there remain some puzzle pieces we can bring together to show Apakura exercising their customary marine rights in Kāwhia harbour. In the 1980s and 1990s, for example, matua John Kāti described how a taiāpure (reserve for local fishing) was installed over the Kāwhia harbour to control fishing in the area, and set regulations accordingly (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014a, pp. 1561–2). This was an attempt to mitigate diminishing fish stocks, echoing the concerns of the Kinohaku Tribal Committee some fifty years prior, as, for example, “the mango... used to grace the tables [of our hui] are not there anymore. But we do get some snapper and ... some mātaītai. But not to the same extent as in the past” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014a, p. 1563). As with the Committee, this again reflects Apakura’s kaitiakitanga over Kāwhia moana, in seeking to ensure the generational sustainability of resources in the area.

Apakura nui tonu i Kāwhia | Apakura everlasting in Kāwhia

The presence of Apakura descedants in Kāwhia has continued into the 2000s and beyond. For instance, matua Raymond Fenton and his whānau were based at Te Māhoe, on the Hauturu West G2 section 2B2 block, from 2000–4 (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013c, p. 6). He was invited by one of the landowners to move onto the block, and as he explained, “I would like to be able to live on our Kawhia whenua with my whānau” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013c, p. 8). This is complicated, however, by lack of available employment, as “there is no work for us in Kawhia” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013c, p. 8). This is an ongoing issue that similarly confronted his father, Huia, decades earlier: “A big reason why [my father] Huia never returned to Kawhia is because there are no jobs there” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013c, p. 4). But Apakura land interests have endured in Kāwhia, as matua Gordon Lennox explained in 2013. “Currently”, he explained, “our whānau has interests in the Hauturu West BB9, Kawhia E2B1, Te Awaroa B4 Sec 4A, Te Awaroa B4 Sec 4B and Mangaora A blocks under the Wiremu Te Rauparaha Penetana Fenton Whānau Trust and the Te Rauparaha Penetana Whānau Trust” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, pp. 10–11). The Trusts were established in the late-1990s and 2005 respectively to consolidate the interests of descendants from these tūpuna

(Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 11), with an estimated 600 present-day kin, including matua Raymond (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 12). Given the fragmented nature of shareholdings, there is a desire “... to get all our shares combined into the trusts and get some management structure for these interests where we can actually get things done” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 12). What these examples demonstrate is a continuing Ngāti Apakura presence in Kāwhia harbour, and by extension, a relationship with the moana herself.

He tohu o Ngāti Apakura | Enduring markers of Apakuratanga

Makers of enduring Apakura identity remain in and around Kāwhia moana. There are numerous Ngāti Apakura-affiliated marae in the area, including:¹⁹ Mōkai Kāinga in Aotea Harbour, with a wharenuī on Mokoroa (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020, p. 432); Te Mania Pā, known today as Rākaunui marae (The Crown and Ngāti Maniapoto, 2021, p. 19; Te Māhoe was a pā at Waiharakeke (The Crown and Ngāti Maniapoto, 2021, p. 21); Maketū marae, which affiliates also to Ngāti Māhuta and Hikairo (Borell and Joseph, 2012, pp. 126–7); and Whakanamu pā in Kāwhia. Combined, these various Apakura-related marae reflect “...that Ngāti Apakura has mana whenua and mana motuhake in these respective Marae, although not exclusively” (Joseph, 2013, p. 6; Bennion Law, 2015, p. 13). Similarly, Apakura Street stands at Kārewa Beach, near Maketū marae, with Kaora Street extending out to the marae itself. The latter is likely a reference to Hone Kaora (John Cassells), who worked closely with Ngāti Apakura in the nineteenth century. Together, these are lasting symbols of Apakura in Kāwhia moana, memorialising the heights of Apakura wealth and industry, as well as their continued mana in the harbour today.

Ngā wawata | Hopes for the future

More recently, some Apakura whānau are hoping to develop their lands for tourism, and re/establish kāinga and marae in the Kāwhia harbour. However, Hauturu West BB9 and Kāwhia E2B1 are landlock blocks, exacerbated by “so many restrictions” for resource and land development (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 12). Elsewhere, the Te Awaroa B4 Sec 4A block has an Apakura urupā upon it, and Apakura whānau would like to establish a Taheke Apakura marae upon it. This is because “...at the moment we are connected to a number of Marae around Kawhia but do not have a Marae of our

¹⁹ Please note other hapū beyond Ngāti Apakura similarly affiliate to these marae, as is very often the case with other marae around Aotearoa.

own or a kainga to return to” (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 13). Te Awaroa B4 Sec 4B1 and Te Awaroa B4 Sec 4B2 are also used by whānau, even though they either need significant development or are in danger of flooding (Apakura Rūnanga, 2013a, p. 13). All of these examples show a protracted, continuous engagement of Apakura whānau to the Kāwhia harbour area, despite being limited in what they can do on their whenua because of being landlocked, fragmentalisation of shareholding, or resource consent restrictions. Nevertheless, this reflects Apakura mana whenua and mana moana interests being exercised within the Kāwhia harbour up into the twenty-first century.

[He kupu whakamutunga | Concluding remarks](#)

We began this report by emphasising that although the historical record for Ngāti Apakura is fractured, particularly from the early twentieth century, the mosaic of evidence that remains nonetheless offers a compelling insight into Apakura’s connection and occupation in Kāwhia moana. As reiterated throughout, this body of records, kōrero, and history does evidence a continued and enduring Ngāti Apakura presence in the Kāwhia harbour stretching back to the earliest ancestors, and similarly so, exercising customary marine rights in that area. From a titan of industry in pre-Te Tiriti Aotearoa, Ngāti Apakura emerged as a powerhouse of entrepreneurship, trade, and exploration, connecting Kāwhia and Rangiaowhia – ngā kāinga e rua o Apakura – to the world in the early- to mid-nineteenth century. But as the Crown’s agenda shifted from partnership to self-preservation, Apakura suffered extraordinary losses, epitomised in the destruction of Rangiaowhia in 1864. The refugees scattered along Te Ara o Ngā Roimata thereafter sought shelter elsewhere, but importantly, those that returned to Kāwhia did so both under their own tribal mana, long established since the ousting of Ngāti Toa Rangatira in the 1820s, as well as that of other resident iwi such as Ngāti Hikairo. The thread throughout these stories of encounter is that in the waxing and waning of Apakura’s fortunes, whānau have continued to live and occupy around Kāwhia’s moana, right up until today. Whether resisting land development schemes like kuia Rihi Te Rauparaha, or tracing the long whakapapa of the Haupōkia whānau, Apakura’s customary marine rights, illustrated across the last 200 years of residence, endure.

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